The following images appear as chapter openers: p. 12 Artists Poster Committee (Frazier Dougherty, Jon Hendricks, Irving Petlin), *Q: And Babies?* 1970, courtesy of the Center for the Study of Political Graphics, photo by Ron L. Haeberle; p. 40 Carl Andre, *37 Pieces of Work* (detail), 1969, art © Carl Andre/Licensed by VAGA, New York, NY; p. 83 Robert Morris, *Untitled [Timbers]*, 1970, photo © 2009 Estate of Rudy Burckhardt/ Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York, art © 2009 Robert Morris/Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York; p. 126 Lucy Lippard at Ad Hoc Women's Committee protest, Whitney Museum, 1971, courtesy of Lucy R. Lippard; p. 172 Hans Haacke, *MOMA-Poll* (detail), 1970, photo by Hans Haacke, © 2009 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York/ VG Bild-Kunst, Bonn. Chapter 3 appeared in a different form as "Hard Hats and Art Strikes: Robert Morris in 1970," *Art Bulletin* (June 2007): 333–59.

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Acknowledgments

Completing a book is a peculiar form of labor, as it is a solitary task that is also dependent upon much collective assistance. Many people have generously contributed to this work in all kinds of ways, and I could not have done it without their research input, editing advice, and emotional support.

First of all, many thanks go to the artists I discuss within these pages: Carl Andre, Hans Haacke, Lucy Lippard, and Robert Morris. All made themselves available to answer my questions, and I am forever appreciative of their help, in particular Lippard's careful edits, Haacke's aid with documents, and Morris's willingness to house me as I combed through his personal papers. Others who took time from their busy schedules to be interviewed include Paula Cooper, Ed Giza, Alex Gross, Jon Hendricks, Poppy Johnson, Alfred Lippincott, Donald Lippincott, Robert Murray, Willoughby Sharp, Jean Toche, and Gene Tulchin. Jan van Raay let me pore over her contact sheets and helped me locate and reproduce some of her photographs.

Many thanks are owed to Stephanie Fay, Sue Heinemann, and Eric Schmidt at University of California Press for their editorial guidance. As readers for UC Press, Suzaan Boettger and Erika Doss gave intelligent and thorough comments. Nicole Hayward did a wonderful job designing the book. I am grateful for the librarians, archivists, registrars, and reference specialists who assisted me along the way, especially those at the Archives of American Art, the Paula Cooper Gallery, the Getty Research Institute, the Museum of Modern Art Archives, the Museum of Contemporary Art, San Diego, the New York Public Library, New York University's Fales Library and Special Collec-

Introduction

In 1969 an anonymous letter circulated in the New York art world, declaring, "We must support the Revolution by bringing down our part of the system and clearing the way for change. This action implies total dissociation of art making from capitalism." It was signed, simply, "An art worker."[1] A nameless, self-described art worker issues a utopian call, implying that how art is made and circulated is of consequence within the political sphere. The urgent plea suggests that *art work* is no longer confined to describing aesthetic methods, acts of making, or art objects—the traditional referents of the term—but is implicated in artists' collective working conditions, the demolition of the capitalist art market, and even revolution.

Art in the United States went to work in the late 1960s and early 1970s, as both artists and critics began to identify themselves as art workers—a polemical redefinition of artistic labor vital to minimalism, process art, feminist art criticism, and conceptualism. This book examines the specific social contexts of this redefinition, showing its centrality to artists' attempts to intervene, through their activism and art making, in a profoundly turbulent moment: the Vietnam War era. My arguments for this new version of artistic labor are developed through four case studies: Carl Andre, Robert Morris, Lucy Lippard, and Hans Haacke. They were core participants in the Art Workers' Coalition (AWC), founded in New York in 1969, and in the New York Art Strike Against Racism, War, and Repression, which grew out of the AWC in 1970. Together, these two groups vocally agitated to redefine artists as workers. As art critic Lil Picard wrote in May 1970, Andre, Haacke, and Lippard were among the

1

"faithful and leading personalities of the AWC."[2] Though not involved in the AWC, Morris took center stage in activist organizing when he headed the Art Strike.

Rather than write a full-scale history of the AWC and the Art Strike, I look closely at the artistic and critical practices of these four key figures to explore the special power and flexibility of the term *art worker*. These four were far from the only figures to call themselves art workers, but their individual practices, which I attend to along with their collective identity as workers, shed light on the various tensions within that self-identification. I delve into the fraught, often unresolved relationship between the rhetoric of self-declared art workers and the political claims of their art and writing.

The group identity of the art worker exerted pressure on individual understandings about artistic labor within the AWC and the Art Strike. In addition, though art workers attempted to organize collective political actions, collective art making was not widely embraced or emphasized. Most did not question single authorship, even as they identified as a coalition. This problematic is purposefully left unresolved here. Written as a series of monographic case studies—"Carl Andre's Work Ethic," "Robert Morris's Art Strike," "Lucy Lippard's Feminist Labor," and "Hans Haacke's Paperwork"—the book examines how four prominent art workers, each differently invested in advanced art, attempted to confront the meaning of his or her own labor in a moment of historical turmoil. Each chapter brings this narrative into focus in a new way. As a series of case studies, this account does not aim for an encyclopedic scope; rather, it gestures toward the malleability and complexity of these influential artists' political understandings of artistic work. These art workers were chosen in part because, though each was central to the AWC or the Art Strike, and each plays a major role in postwar art in the United States, those overlapping realms of influence have gone underexamined.

In addition, I limited my case studies to living artists, thereby acknowledging that we are at an watershed moment in which these figures are entering history. They are pursued for their archives and their contributions to the past, yet are also very much alive (and as reflective and insightful as ever). Memory, however, can be notoriously unreliable, and it has been a challenge to attempt to balance the numerous gaps, inconsistencies, and conflicting narratives as I describe the reimagination of artistic labor through the lens of these four self-declared art workers.

I claim that the emergence of the art worker in the 1960s and 1970s in the United States was catalyzed by the AWC and the Art Strike but was also dialectically forged in relation to these artists' own changing artistic and critical methods. The redefining of art as labor was, I argue, pivotal to the minimal art that preceded and informed

the AWC, the process art that relied upon literally laboring bodies, the feminist politics that understood work as gendered, and the conceptual strategies that emerged through and from notions of art as work.

One persistent narrative about postwar American art is that minimalism fed into institutional critique, with feminism sometimes added only as a footnote; taking a somewhat different route through that argument, I map how the *rise of the art worker* (always gendered) importantly rearticulated each of these practices. Artistic labor was a site where ideas about making art and writing criticism were tested and transformed, thus affecting the shape, form, and look of political art. My own critical investments in art, politics, and labor are driven by my commitment to feminism, as it has provided a way to understand artistic work in its broadest ramifications.[3] These feminist concerns are made most explicit in the chapter on Lippard but extend beyond it, since gender configured the relations between male art workers like Morris and their objects, and since the burgeoning feminist movement gave many women art workers a productive way to conceive of artistic labor. (Feminism, too, provides a way to theorize connections between militarism and masculinity, as well as to think through the gendering of subjectivity in times of national crisis.)[4]

Attempts to link art and labor have been central to American modernism. In the 1930s artists of the Works Progress Administration, seeking solidarity with the laborers they depicted, organized the Artists' Union. Thirty years later, artists tried to rekindle the progressive identity by naming themselves art workers; however, they manifestly refused the aesthetic dimensions of the WPA's social realism. *Art Workers* tracks the unprecedented formation in the United States of an advanced, leftist art not committed to populism—that is, not primarily concerned with making its images accessible to the very people with whom these artists asserted a fragile solidarity. At the same time, the book attends to these artists' commitment to political change and their belief that art matters—that it *works*.

This study offers the first sustained look at the relationship between the activist art organizations of this period and the emergence of new models of artistic and critical labor.[5] The story I tell about art and work thus differs from the one chronicled by Caroline Jones in her important book *Machine in the Studio: Constructing the Postwar American Artist.*[6] As Jones points out, this era was marked by a concern with artistic identity in which artists such as Frank Stella, Robert Smithson, and Andy Warhol vacillated between positioning themselves as executives and as blue-collar workers. Jones contends that the effort in the United States in the 1960s to link art making to traditional labor played out in artists' self-fashioning as workers. Building

on her scholarship, I contend that, for the artists of the AWC and Art Strike, the identity of worker was political above all.

As some of the most prominent faces of the movement to redefine art as work, the four art workers I examine understood the meaning of artistic labor differently: for Andre it meant minimal sculpture; for Morris, construction-based process pieces; for Lippard, feminist criticism as "housework"; for Haacke, institutional critique. What is more, their influential artistic and critical practices in the late 1960s and early 1970s were uniquely shaped *in active dialogue* with shifting notions of art as work. The status of artistic work was called into question by the practitioners of minimalism, process art, feminist criticism, and conceptualism. Their forms of making (and not making) both highlighted and undermined conventional artistic labor.

Helen Molesworth has noted that "in the period following World War II, artists came to see themselves not as artists producing [in] a dreamworld but as workers in capitalist America."[7] The rise of New Left social movements, including anti–Vietnam War activism and feminism, led artists and critics to debate what kinds of art work mattered politically and what their collective role might be within activist politics. In a time when diverse populations (such as "youth" and "students") were summoned and discussed as cohesive entities, how and why did artists choose to organize not just as artists but as *art workers?* The yoking of art to labor was especially charged given the changing status of workers within the thinking of the U.S. New Left, which distinguished itself from earlier leftist organizing in part by reorienting energy away from union labor activism.[8] Rather than believing that only blue-collar workers were the potential agents of revolution, New Leftists began to champion "intellectual laborers" such as students and artists. The specific formations of artistic labor activated by Andre's minimalism, Morris's process art, Lippard's feminist criticism, and Haacke's conceptualism were bound up in this shift, as well as in the large-scale workplace and economic transitions that inaugurated postindustrialism.

While similar efforts to organize artists were occurring at this time elsewhere— for example, in England and Argentina—this book focuses decidedly on New York City.[9] New York, with its density of artists living within a rapidly changing urban landscape, its many powerful art museums, its history of an active Artists' Union chapter in the 1930s, and its consolidated, well-organized antiwar movement, provided an especially fertile ground for fostering the anti-institutional politics of the AWC and the Art Strike.[10] Other local circumstances that might have provided further momentum for the emergence of the AWC include the collective activities of New York Fluxus and the energized network of dancers affiliated with Greenwich Village's

Judson Memorial Church, especially as both offered alternative ways to think about artistic labor.[11] Questions about artistic activism and radical form, however, are relevant for the broader literature on art of the 1960s and 1970s. The four art workers of my case studies were all intimately involved in the AWC and the Art Strike, but their diverse artistic activities in this time period mean that the chapter on each of them opens up distinct issues, from the origins of materials (Andre), for example, to the nature of intellectual labor (Haacke). Mining the sometimes strained relations between labor, artists, and activism, I excavate how complicated fantasies about and identifications with "workers"—a vexed category—lie at the heart of the political aspects of art production in the 1960s and 1970s.

Toward a Radical Practice

"End your silence." So read the letter published in the *New York Times* in April 1965 decrying U.S. involvement in Vietnam. Signed by over four hundred critics, artists, and novelists involved with the group Writers and Artists Protest, it marks the first collective anti–Vietnam War effort by artists in the United States.[12] As Francis Frascina's useful account demonstrates, this ad was only the beginning of artists' organizing against the war.[13] In 1966 the Artists' Protest Committee, based in Los Angeles, created the *Artists' Tower of Protest,* also known as the *Peace Tower,* a nearly sixty-foot-high work designed by sculptor Mark di Suvero that stood for three months at the corner of La Cienega and Sunset. Di Suvero's steel-pole construction, a tall tetrahedron, served as a focal point for the over four hundred two-by-two-foot panel artworks installed around the tower in a one-hundred-foot-long wall (Fig. 1). The *Peace Tower* presented a visually pluralistic response to the U.S. military conflict in Vietnam: any artist who wanted to submit a panel was able to, and the panels were later anonymously sold in a lottery organized by a local peace center.[14]

The panels, designed by artists including Eva Hesse, Roy Lichtenstein, Nancy Spero, and Ad Reinhardt, were aesthetically diverse—some utilized abstract forms; others depicted figurative, well-known antiwar motifs, such as Alice Neel's skeleton surrounded by flames emblazoned "Stop the War" (Plate 1). They were installed "democratically"—that is to say, in no particular order. As the detail in Plate 1 demonstrates, the wall's expansive visual logic accommodated a cacophony of styles, with panels featuring President Johnson's face, an appropriated fragment from Picasso's *Guernica,* a handwritten signature, and typewritten text pieces alongside more allu-
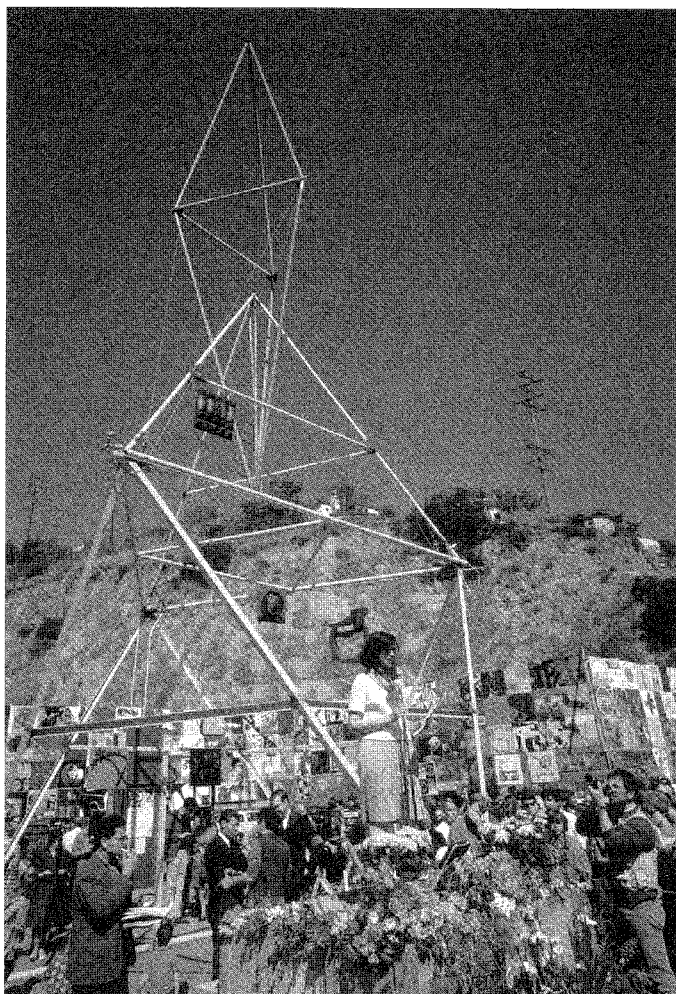
FIGURE 1 Susan Sontag at the dedication of the *Peace Tower*, designed by Mark di Suvero et al., Los Angeles, 1966. Photograph by Annette Del Zoppo. Charles Brittin Archive, Research Library, The Getty Research Institute. Used with permission (2005.M.11).

sive geometric shapes and painted swaths of color. One panel shows a tic-tac-toe game that has resulted in a stalemate and suggests that in war, too, there are no winners. Arranged in a typically modernist grid, the squares, while they shared little formally, attained an overall, quiltlike cohesion. Further, the varied designs were corralled together under the hand-lettered proclamation "Artists Protest the Vietnam War" and thus registered as responses to the war regardless of their content.

Positioned in an empty lot ("last used for selling Christmas trees")[15] at a busy intersection, the *Peace Tower* sought to maximize its visibility within West Hollywood; the nearby "gallery row" on La Cienega secured the area as an epicenter of contemporary art. But rather than use the existing spaces for art, the *Peace Tower* became an alternative, public exhibition site outside the art institution. Though it garnered much
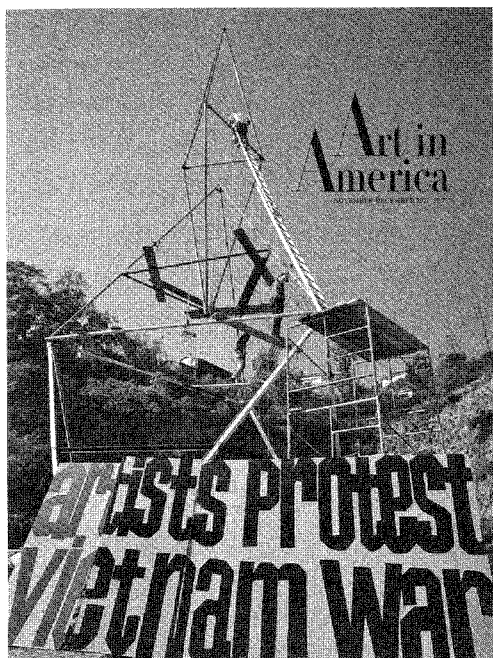
FIGURE 2 Cover of *Art in America*, November–December 1971, featuring the *Peace Tower.* Courtesy Brant Publications, Inc. Cover photograph by Charles Brittin.

press attention in L.A. at the time, the *Peace Tower* was publicized nationally only when it was placed on the cover of the November–December 1971 issue of *Art in America;* the recent agitations of the AWC and the Art Strike made the tower's antiwar message freshly relevant and helped pull it from obscurity (Fig. 2). Significantly, though it was six years after the fact, *Art in America* published no photos of the completed *Peace Tower;* instead, it was depicted in progress, with three figures climbing like construction workers over its gantrylike frame. In the accompanying article, artists were referred to as "artist-builders" and contrasted with the "hardhats and jocks" that reportedly "came around to harass and make trouble."[16] Such polarization of "artists-builders" against hard-hat laborers is symptomatic of the persistent class tensions embedded in the term *art workers.*

The *Peace Tower* was dedicated in a ceremony on February 26, 1966, with speeches by Susan Sontag, among others, seen in Figure 1 standing atop a makeshift wooden podium laced with flowers. She stated, "We've signed petitions and written our congressman. Today we're doing something else—establishing a big thing to stand here, to remind other people and ourselves that we feel the way that we do."[17] Sontag, who at her best was one of the most incisive and articulate critics of the twentieth century, calls the tower "a big thing to stand here"; that her eloquence is reduced to monosyllables indicates her uncertainty about what, indeed, the function of such a mon-

ument might be. It does not educate, convince, or persuade, for instance; rather, it reflexively "reminds" or reinforces already-held beliefs. This might be a recognition that for the most part minds were already made up about the war. But Sontag's unusual, perhaps unconscious ambivalence about the tower betrays a larger anxiety about the role of objects—"big things"—in the mid-1960s.

Many U.S. artists echoed Sontag's uneasiness about the insufficiency of object-based art, particularly its inability to oppose a war-saturated media culture. A year after this speech, in 1967, Reinhardt, a contributor to the *Peace Tower* (his panel placed the words NO WAR on a plain blue ground), admitted that for him "there are no effective paintings or objects that one can make against the war. There's been a complete exhaustion of images."[18] The *Tower* embodied several notions of artistic activism that were rapidly falling out of favor. Not long after, *Peace Tower* designer di Suvero categorically refused to show his work in the United States for the duration of the war "for fear of compromise."[19] Methods such as assembling an unjuried patchwork of paintings to be sold (even if the profits were donated) would be called into question as art workers strove to bring together their radical politics with their reinvented aesthetic strategies.

The Vietnam War's effect on artistic production is often illustrated by works whose antiwar message is explicit—Peter Saul's *Saigon* (1967) or May Stevens's *Big Daddy* series (1967–75), for instance.[20] But how was artistic labor broadly articulated and developed in relation to both politics and advanced art? How did artists shift from action ("artists' protest" or "artists' dissent") to the collective identity of a coalition or a strike? Shifting conceptions of activism and artistic labor spawned an investment in emerging, possibly political, forms of art—forms not legibly antiwar in any conventional way. Hal Foster has cogently observed that the artistic developments of this era (such as minimalism) "must be related to other ruptures of the 1960s—social and economic, theoretical and political." However, he admits, "the diagram of these connections is very difficult to produce."[21] Indeed. Interrogating such ruptures, but by no means resolving them, I examine how artists grappled with the commodification of their own labor within a museum system implicated in the ongoing Vietnam War.

Andre, Morris, Lippard, and Haacke are by now canonical figures, but their embrace of artistic labor as a radical practice—a rehearsal or trial, the refining and trying out of politics—has been overlooked. *Radical practice* is a term drawn from Herbert Marcuse, whose writings on art and work exerted great influence in this moment.[22] While Marcuse uses the phrase to describe the bleeding of art into revolutionary politics, it is also associated with performance and as such maps an uneven

field of attempts, rehearsals, and potential failures. By identifying themselves as art workers, these figures gave themselves a stage on which to experiment with their activism and their art and to test how those might intersect. Some of their art was explicitly billed as quasi-theatrical, like Morris's 1970 process pieces of timber, concrete, and steel whose construction was initially supposed to be witnessed by the public. As with many practices, these efforts sometimes fell flat or missed their mark. Yet the many misreadings, thwarted attempts at collectivity, and misrecognitions underlying the term *art worker* also proved incredibly fertile, as the era's redefinition of artistic labor inaugurated new forms of both artistic making and political protest.

The Vietnam War Era

The period that encompasses the late 1960s and early 1970s is often referred to as the "Vietnam War era."[23] How did this periodization matter to the art of the time, and why does it matter now to art historians?[24] Recent monographs, anthologies, and major museum exhibition catalogs, along with contemporaneous publications—such as the voluminous art criticism in periodicals like *Artforum*—make these years not only a flourishing subfield of art history but perhaps the most exhaustively discussed in all of post-1945 U.S. art. It has become commonplace to mention the vast cultural changes of this time in relation to the tremendous innovations occurring within art production, and many have made crucial, specific connections between the political and aesthetic practices in this era.[25] At the same time, some authors who write about this period—one indelibly marked by the U.S. presence in Vietnam—only glancingly reference the war.[26] It has proven especially contentious to conclusively link art movements such as minimalism and conceptualism to the antiwar politics of the era. As Tony Godfrey queries about conceptual art: "Were the artists of the late 1960s political or apolitical? Did they have Utopian aspirations, or were they careerists? Why, if they were so politically motivated, is there so little direct reference in their works to the Vietnam War or the student riots in Paris in 1968?"[27] These are fruitful questions, and although adversarial politics were frequently made palpable in the art of this era, those politics could also be veiled or difficult to decipher.

One way such commitments surfaced in art of the 1960s and 1970s was through the politicization of artistic labor. This was made manifest, both overtly and not, in the work of Andre, Morris, Lippard, and Haacke, whose artistic and critical practices in turn redefined what it meant to be an art worker. Art and activism, in other words,

were rehearsed—or *practiced*—through each other, although artists who identified themselves as art workers found that identity increasingly conflicted, if not impossible. Even as art workers considered their aesthetic making integral to—or autonomous from—their political work, they felt the discontinuities generated by the reorganization of both art and labor in the late 1960s. Art workers, *as such,* restlessly asked questions about effective modes of protest in the Vietnam War era; specifically through an emphasis on artistic labor, these figures made antiwar and other protest politics visible in the art world.

This era continues to be a contested subject whose significance is very much in flux, not least because "Vietnam" has come to stand in for (still pertinent) questions of the validity of foreign military intervention and the function of public protest. The media firestorm about Senator John Kerry's Vietnam War record during the 2004 presidential election demonstrates that establishing such historical records is an ongoing, volatile project. While most scholars view the war as a catastrophic mistake, revisionists rewrite it as a "just cause" or "necessary war"; these contrasting viewpoints underscore how it continues to be framed by opposing interpretations.[28]

Moreover, this time period seethed with transformative potential as extraordinary numbers of people became politically active, and not simply because of the war. Various social movements—Black Power, Chicano rights, women's liberation, and gay rights—exploded in the late 1960s and were often met with state-sponsored hostility and violence.[29] These liberation movements, as well as waves of cultural innovation and vast numbers of people experimenting with "alternative" lifestyles, opened up possibilities for profound political and social change. In the late 1960s, in nearly every sphere of public and private life, normative culture was being interrogated. Acute crisis seemed imminent as the Vietnam War became more and more unpopular and skepticism toward the U.S. government escalated. To cite but one statistic, though one that indicates the sheer scope of the growing antistate unrest: by 1970, resistance to the draft was so strong that in some states only half the draftees were enlisting.[30] Emboldened by the discord within the United States as well as momentous international events such as the uprisings in Prague and in France of May 1968, many believed that revolution was right around the corner.

This mood of nascent revolution was felt in many ways in the United States and fed into claims about artistic labor and its social value. I take the art workers at their word when they express utopian dreams of transforming (or smashing) the art world, as well as remaking the wider world, though I also recognize the often unformed nature of such political visions. As Fredric Jameson asserts, "One wants to

insist very strongly on the necessity of the reinvention of the Utopian vision in any contemporary politics: this lesson, which Marcuse first taught us, is part of the legacy of the 1960s which must never be abandoned in any reevaluation of that period and our relationship to it. On the other hand, it also must be acknowledged that Utopian visions are not yet themselves a politics."[31] Historians of this era must be wary of succumbing to a nostalgia that sentimentalizes the moment and glosses over its complicated risks, gains, and losses. At the same time, dismissing the art workers as merely naive threatens to diminish their lasting contributions to debates about institutional inclusion and the autonomy of art. It is therefore crucial to account for both the hopeful idealism and the ultimately untenable contradictions of art workers' desires to reconfigure the role of viewers, market values, commodity-objects, art institutions, and coalitional politics. This entails granting that their "successes" as well as their "failures" might be productive, critically assessing the art workers' fervent stridency while also acknowledging their troubling inconsistencies and limitations. (To some, this era ushered in a newly self-reflexive method of art making precisely *because of* the "failure" of 1960s utopianism.)[32]

The moniker *art worker* gave left-leaning artists a collective identity to rally behind. That identity also brought a sharp focus to their frustration with the war in Vietnam and the increasingly repressive tactics of the U.S. government. The term elaborates the dense meanings embedded in the phrase *art work*—that is, it spells out the relationship between art as an object and as an activity. It also asks, implicitly: What work does art do? How does it put pressure on systems of representation and forms of signification? How does it intervene in the public sphere? How does it function economically; how does it structure relations; how does it put ideas into circulation? The definition of artistic labor in the late 1960s and early 1970s was highly mobile and included writing, curating, and even viewing art. Despite the widely held belief that art of this time effectively dismantled traditional notions of work (as it was "deskilled" or "dematerialized"), it will be made clear that the serialized steel plates of Andre's minimalism, the spilled timbers of Morris's process works, the chance-based collages of Lippard's writing, and the paper ephemera of Haacke's conceptualism are not a denial of work—an erasure of artistic craft—but forms meant to underscore art's connections to labor, if ambivalently. This book also demonstrates that artistic labor at this time was not simply a matter of unstable political identification but was structured by its relationship to art institutions as museums became poststudio workplaces, sites of managerial authority, and targets of antiwar activism all at once.

From Artists to Art Workers

Coalition Politics

It all started with a kidnapping. On January 3, 1969, artist Vassilakis Takis marched into New York's Museum of Modern Art, unplugged his kinetic piece *Tele-sculpture* (1960), and retreated to the MoMA garden with the piece in hand. Although the museum owned the work, it was not, in the artist's mind, his best or most representative work, and he had not agreed to show it in their exhibition *The Machine as Seen at the End of the Mechanical Age*. Takis's protest of its inclusion without his permission became the catalyst for a wider movement. Takis, who had witnessed firsthand the student/worker revolt in Paris in May 1968, tied his individual discontent to a larger, shared perception of artists' collective disenfranchisement with respect to art museums. He issued a flyer announcing his action as "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 centres for all artistic activities."[1] The statement calls for cross-class solidarity as it envisions revitalizing the institutional spaces of art viewing. Takis's reclamation subjected the ostensible neutrality of the art institution to scrutiny, a scrutiny that would continue in many artists' actions over the next few years. How does art circulate in a capitalist market system, and what rights do artists have over their work once it enters the museum?

Friends and supporters quickly rallied around Takis, including fellow artists affili-

ated with the Howard Wise Gallery such as Wen-Ying Tsai, Tom Lloyd, Len Lye, Farman, and Hans Haacke. Many of these artists, including Takis, pursued technologically oriented art—hence, perhaps, the urgent need to unite "artists with scientists." Other concerned artists and critics soon joined the cause, including Carl Andre, John Perreault, Irving Petlin (who was central to the organizing efforts of the Los Angeles *Peace Tower* in 1966), Rosemarie Castoro, Max Kozloff, Lucy Lippard, and Willoughby Sharp. Together, they adopted a group name—the Art Workers' Coalition (AWC). Within a few months, the AWC was busy telegraphing the need for comprehensive changes throughout the New York art world.

The name Art Workers' Coalition drew upon several precedents. For one, it echoed the venerable Art Workers Guild, established in England in 1884 as an outgrowth of William Morris's Arts and Crafts movement, which had sought to reinvigorate handcrafting as a part of an explicitly socialist project to dealienate labor.[2] Despite the similarity in name, the two groups had little in common; many artists in the AWC emphasized their *lack* of conventional craftsmanship, either by making conceptual art or by having their minimal sculptures made by professional fabricators. A more immediate precedent was found in the Black Emergency Cultural Coalition, formed in 1968 in New York to protest the Metropolitan Museum of Art's *Harlem on My Mind* show.[3] This group, whose members had some overlap with the AWC, had recently employed the language of the coalition (and the use of the term *emergency* would later feed into the Emergency Cultural Government of 1970, discussed in Chapter 3). The AWC positioned itself not as a guild, association, committee, or ensemble but as a provisional coalition of disparate individuals. With that moniker, it thrust artistic labor and a tendentious and tenuous collectivity to the center of its identity.

This book is not a chronological history of the AWC; instead, I focus specifically on how, though it has been seen primarily as a vehicle for artists' rights, antiwar organizing, and struggles against racism and sexism, this group critically transformed the meaning of *art work* in the late 1960s and early 1970s. (Ironically, racism and sexism would become insurmountable internal problems that led in part to the demise of the coalition.) There are competing accounts of this organization, and I provide only a brief outline of its salient activities here.[4] Its narrative is especially complicated given the many inconsistencies that attend the term *art worker*—not least, artists' incompatible moves to identify with and distance themselves from "the workers," a category itself under great pressure at this time. Primary among the AWC's ambitions was the public redefinition of artists and critics as workers: these art workers asserted that their practices were located within specific social relations, subject
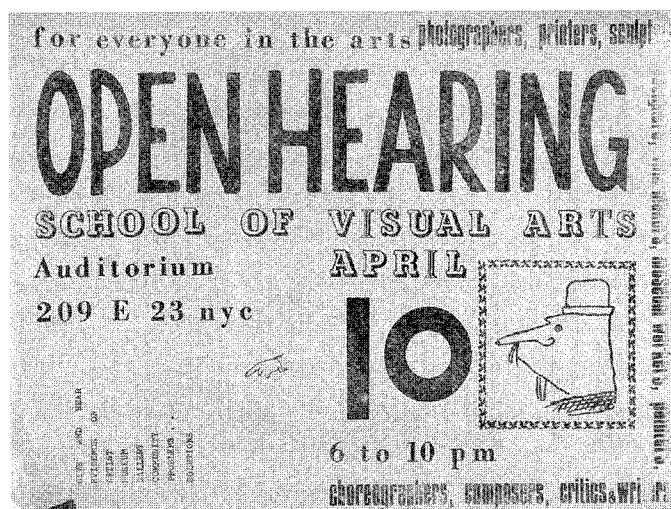
FIGURE 3 Art Workers' Coalition, flyer for the open hearing at the School of Visual Arts, New York, April 10, 1969. Image courtesy of the Lucy R. Lippard Papers, ca. 1940–2006, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

to economic imperatives and exacting psychic costs. In some cases, artists took this literally and asserted that their work was governed by the power differentials (and exploitation) inherent to the rules of employment within the capitalist West. For others, the recognition that art was work had more metaphoric weight and was a move of empowerment rather than degradation; *work* signified serious, valuable effort. (Like so many aspects of "work," these differences were informed by gender.)[5] As much as it means to signal synthesis or hybridity, I argue that the term *art worker* would present an intractable conflict in that it connected art to work while also distancing artists from labor's specific class formations.

After Takis's kidnapping of his sculpture, the AWC issued a preliminary list of demands, many of which emphasized concerns about artists' rights to control their work, including "copyrights, reproduction rights, exhibition rights, and maintenance responsibilities."[6] (Haacke collaborated with Lloyd and Andre to draft this communiqué.)[7] The artists also requested a conversation with the director of MoMA to discuss museum reform; when that failed to happen, they held their own meeting on April 10, 1969, at the School of Visual Arts, extending an invitation to many categories of art workers beyond visual artists, including "photographers, painters, sculptors . . . museum workers . . . choreographers, composers, critics and writers" (Fig. 3). This early document, with its old-fashioned cartoon figure, its two small, clip-art pointing hands, and its use of outdated fonts to mimic the look of a circus flyer, is reminiscent of some Fluxus materials. Though Fluxus might have offered a recent, local precedent for collective artistic activity in New York, within a few months

such a deliberately anachronistic aesthetic would disappear, to be replaced by posters and placards that largely used only text and resonated with the minimal and conceptual practices of many in the coalition. This flyer's faux-naïf design indicates that the stark, language-based look later favored by the AWC had not yet developed.

Several hundred attended the April 10 meeting, and over seventy speakers read statements, which addressed artists' rights along with the Vietnam War, racism, and sexism. Transcripts of the speeches read at the meeting—the "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"—varied in tone, from mild reforms such as having artists serve on museum boards, to suggestions for overhauling the art press, to revolutionary demands to dissolve all private property. Institutional inclusion and access were consistent themes, as some artists called for black and Puerto Rican representation in museums and others repudiated the corrupt market system. While many spoke of the potential power of artists coming together for a common cause, gushing sentiments of solidarity did not pour forth from every quarter. Feminist artist Anita Steckel castigated the critics in the meeting for not reviewing her shows. She ended her rant by turning on her fellow art workers: "J'accuse, baby!"[8]

Although the AWC had no aesthetic agenda and included artists who worked in a range of styles, from Leon Golub's figurative paintings to Haacke's systems art to Andre's minimal sculpture, the notion of the art worker offered artists an up-to-date, politically relevant model of identity. It enflamed New York artists as they organized for change in the art world and in the wider public sphere. The diverse participants at the open hearing included Andre, Robert Barry, Gregory Battcock, Selma Brody, Frederick Castle, Mark di Suvero, Hollis Frampton, Dan Graham, Alex Gross, Haacke, Robert Huot, Joseph Kosuth, Sol LeWitt, Lippard, Tom Lloyd, Barnett Newman, Lil Picard, Faith Ringgold, Therese Schwartz, Seth Siegelaub, Gene Swenson, and Jean Toche (this is by no means a comprehensive list). Many were prominent minimalists and conceptualists (including Andre, Barry, Graham, Haacke, Kosuth, and LeWitt) and their curatorial and critical champions (Battcock, Lippard, Siegelaub). Several speeches at the open hearing, such as the one by Graham, emphasized that conceptualism might be one way out of the relentless marketing of art, and questions about autonomy, decommodification, and authorship raised by minimalism and conceptualism emboldened the antiestablishment ethos of the AWC.

Through the AWC, artists asked basic questions about their working conditions, in particular the uses and misuses of their artworks that they claimed rights over,

even when the objects were no longer under their material ownership. Art's very mobility leaves it open to multiple reframings; some artists sought to thwart potentially less-than-ideal circumstances of reception by ceasing to make objects (or "products") or by creating only site-specific installations. Artists sought guarantees that might allay their fears about losing control of their works, financially and otherwise. In 1971 AWC member Siegelaub, along with Robert Projansky, formulated an artists' rights contract, still used by Haacke, granting artists some financial protection in the reselling of their work.[9] With the contract, "The Artist's Reserved Rights Transfer and Sale Agreement," art was increasingly folded into the category of intellectual property.

In addition, art workers understood the *social and political,* not just economic, value of their art. They became aware of how their art circulated, its symbolic and ideological "use" that challenged previous claims of its autonomy. Many art workers felt that as image makers in a time of war dominated by images they might have something unique to offer the antiwar movement. John Perreault, in his statement for the open hearing, said, "We cannot merely follow the techniques of the New Left or the students. These may offer inspiration, but as artists we are in a position to provide new examples for other groups by developing more effective methods of protest."[10] Some became frustrated by the AWC's lack of interest in these "more effective" protests and formed action-based splinter groups and committees, such as the Guerrilla Art Action Group (GAAG), the Art Strike, the Emergency Cultural Government, and Women Artists in Revolution (all discussed in the chapters that follow).

The open hearing was more than an airing of grievances about museum reform. One of the most extreme, idiosyncratic statements came from Lee Lozano: "For me there can be no art revolution that is separate from a science revolution, a political revolution, an education revolution, a drug revolution, a sex revolution, or a personal revolution. I cannot consider a program of museum reforms without equal attention to gallery reforms and art magazine reforms which would eliminate *stables* of artists and writers. I will not call myself an art worker but rather an art dreamer and I will participate only in a total revolution simultaneously personal and public."[11] Read as a foreshadowing of her *General Strike Piece,* which announced her total withdrawal from the art world, this brief paragraph lays out a vision of a revolution so total that it encompasses almost every sphere of life, and it echoes the feminist calls to erase the distinction between the personal and the political.[12] It also highlights an uneasy dynamic of the AWC and its offshoots, which, though they included many of the rising stars of an increasingly consolidating art industry and art press—Andre, Morris, Haacke, and Lippard among them—also envisioned the eradication of that industry.

FIGURE 4 Joseph Kosuth, forged Museum of Modern Art Visitor's Pass, designed for the Art Workers' Coalition, 1969. Offset and rubber stamp on card stock, 2½ × 4 in. © 2009 Joseph Kosuth/Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York.
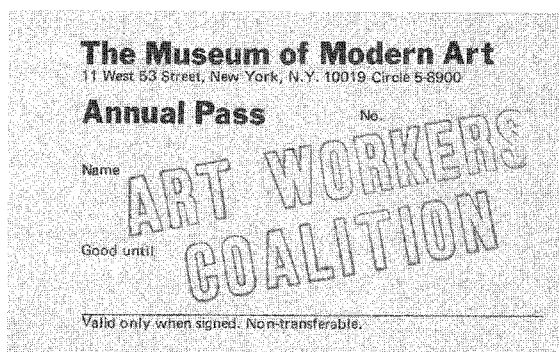
Lozano's denunciation of the term *art worker* in favor of *art dreamer* signals a model of individual rather than collective transformation; she soon followed through with her promise and abandoned art making altogether.

Those at the open hearing adopted a platform of thirteen demands, circulated as a point of debate, revision, and departure during the next few years. The demands—including planks about greater racial and gender diversity within museums—demonstrate how the question of artists' rights and control over their work in the institution moved rapidly into other activist concerns. From the original issue of museum display, the AWC moved to taking on the war and became the primary anti–Vietnam War outlet for New York artists. The leap between these two issues was not all that great, as artists became concerned with how art was used for ideological and economic ends within a larger political system in which museums served a central role. Disgust with the museum "system" was at the very heart of the AWC, and art institutions were a logical target in artists' eyes, especially because of their powerful boards of trustees that had members like the Rockefellers. (David and Nelson Rockefeller both served on the MoMA board of trustees; Nelson was at the time the Republican governor of New York State.) The artists and writers of the AWC felt they were waging not only local battles about artists' rights but battles of global significance. As action artist Jean Toche said succinctly, "To fight for control of the museums is also to be against the war."[13]

The AWC insistence on "democratizing" museums took several forms. For one, the group called for greater transparency and a larger voice in museum policies such as exhibition schedules and acquisitions. They also wanted to extend the public's access to the museum and demanded free admission for all. To that end, conceptualist Kosuth designed a forged AWC "annual pass" to MoMA in order to subvert the

FIGURE 5 Tom Lloyd's son at the
Art Workers' Coalition and Black
Emergency Cultural Coalition
protest at the Museum of Modern
Art, New York, May 2, 1970.
Photograph © Jan van Raay.

usual procedures of paid museum admissions (Fig. 4). Drawing on his skills as a
text-based artist, Kosuth mimicked the look of a museum pass and emblazoned it
with an official-looking stamp reading "Art Workers Coalition" where an individual's
name would usually go, affirming the collective identity of the group. This hijacked
pass turned the bureaucracy against itself, appropriating the pass to assert art work-
ers' declared right to free entry. Mirroring Kosuth's own linguistic, word-focused art,
the card demonstrates that while conceptual art is sometimes cast as unconcerned
with functionality, artists in the AWC used their conceptual toolbox to hammer out
activist, interventionist objects.

Many of the AWC protests and activities focused on the art world's racist exclu-
sions. Some agitated for a special Martin Luther King Jr. wing of MoMA, to be ded-
icated to black and Puerto Rican artists; others advocated the decentralization of art
institutions, calling for branches in Harlem and elsewhere.[14] In one photo of such a
protest in 1970, Tom Lloyd's son holds a toy gun as a picketer behind him wields
a sign that reads, "Racist MoMA!" (Fig. 5). Although softened by his smile and the
small scale of the fake gun, the child's stance recalls images of the militant branch
of the Black Power movement, the Black Panthers, a reminder that the politics of
racial inclusion had serious stakes and was viewed at the time as connected to revo-

lutionary possibilities. Many photos of AWC protests include family members; these intergenerational demonstrations indicate that it was a training ground not only for artists, writers, and museum workers but for their children, though, as the chapter on Lippard details, the "work" of parenting was not always acknowledged as such.

The AWC was decidedly anarchic in its organization—it had no elected leaders and no set agendas, just meetings on Monday nights generally held at alternative spaces. Ideologically it was also all over the map. Was it merely "middle-class trade unionist"?[15] Or was it subversive, with the potential to "make or break the museum and the entire art world"?[16] Some in the AWC felt that museums should "use their political influence in matters concerning the welfare of artists, such as rent control for artists' housing, legislation for artists' rights."[17] They idealistically proposed a system of universal wages for all artists, to be paid out of a fund generated by the resale value of the art of dead artists. However, many within the group believed that only by demolishing the art market would they help inaugurate total revolution. As art critic Gene Swenson cried in 1970, "Institutions have already begun to tremble at our mild demands, our thirteen points. Let the state wither away. We have only begun."[18] Recognizable in these complex, contradictory claims are both a reformist and a revolutionary drive. These factions inevitably came into conflict with each other.

Over the next two years, AWC members undertook many protests, including parades, vigils, and performances urging museums to take a public stand on the Vietnam War.[19] In 1969 they asked MoMA to co-sponsor an antiwar poster that would become the iconic image of the New York art Left in this era (Plate 2). This poster was developed by a subcommittee of the AWC after the U.S. massacre of civilians at My Lai was revealed. It reproduces Ron Haeberle's photograph of dead women and children on a dirt road with a superimposed, blood-red text, typed in the classic newspaper font—"Q: And babies? A: And babies"—a snippet drawn from a television interview by Mike Wallace with the army officer Paul Meadlo. The poster appropriates two forms of journalistic coverage, documentary photography and televisual utterance, to graphically illustrate the war's casual attitude to the loss of life.

In the end, the museum did not support the poster financially or otherwise, and the AWC printed and distributed it without their assistance. (Though careful to use a union printing shop, the art workers were rudely reminded of their political distance from other types of workers when many in the shop were openly hostile to the project.)[20] The incident with MoMA disheartened many within the AWC who felt that the museum had yielded to board members' political pressure, in particular the objections of CBS president William S. Paley. As the most important museum for con-

FIGURE 6 Art Workers' Coalition demonstration in front of Picasso's *Guernica*, Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1970. Photograph © Jan van Raay.

temporary art and as the employer of many art workers who had worked there as pages, clerks, and guards (including LeWitt and Lippard), the one "closest to [their] hearts,"[21] MoMA became the primary target for antiwar actions. In January 1970, art workers held a protest in front of Picasso's *Guernica*. Members of the action-oriented AWC offshoot GAAG clustered together in front of the painting holding the poster, drawing parallels between U.S. crimes like My Lai and the bombing of innocents during the Spanish Civil War while also sharpening the distinction between the large, painted scene and the freely given protest posters (Fig. 6). The two artists in the center of this photograph—Lloyd and Toche—hold the poster nearly flush against the surface of the painting, stretched between their extended arms. It hovers just above the fist of the fallen soldier—the same figure that appeared in the *Peace Tower*—and the artists' hands, gripping the corners of the paper, echo its grasping clutch.

While the demonstration claims that the Vietnam war crime grimly reflects *Guernica*'s carnage, the poster's visual relationship to the painting is one of inversion rather than symmetry. Picasso's muted palette of gray shades emphasizes a shardlike fragmentation of the bodies, some of which hurl across the space to flee the destruction. Its jumble of broken and upright figures stands in contrast to the full-color, yet tragically inert, villagers depicted in the photograph. In addition to wielding their posters, the protesters placed funeral wreaths under the painting, and Joyce Kozloff sat down on the ground, holding her eight-month-old baby in her arms; his live body was meant

to vivify the dead children in the poster.[22] In the wake of their disappointment at MoMA's not co-sponsoring the *And Babies* poster, the AWC unsuccessfully petitioned Picasso to remove *Guernica* from MoMA until the Vietnam War ended.[23] This use of the painting as both a metaphoric and a literal backdrop says much about the art workers' strained relationship to the politics and aesthetics of the historic, modernist avant-garde. The term *avant-garde,* viewed as antiquated and irrelevant, had largely fallen into disrepute among U.S. leftist artists by the late 1960s. Picasso's failure to heed the art workers' boycott all but confirmed such a devaluation; as art historian Paul Wood has observed, by 1970 the integrity and prestige associated with avant-garde status had all but evaporated.[24]

While conducting antiestablishment protests, the AWC also went through conventional channels to secure its goals. In 1969 it received a $17,000 grant from the Rockefeller Brothers Fund and the New York State Council of the Arts "for research activities in order to establish Community Cultural Centers in eight black and Spanish speaking and poor sectors of greater New York."[25] The grant was refused, yet the irony of seeking Rockefeller money—associated with companies manufacturing military munitions and with Gov. Rockefeller's prowar views—is striking. And this recourse to such grant money was deemed unsavory, as demonstrated by an AWC-designed flyer featuring a hand-drawn, fake bill—"One Blood Dollar"—that substituted an image of Rockefeller in the place of George Washington (Fig. 7). "Not valid for Black, Puerto Rican, or Female Artists," and "All power to the museums!" read its disclaimers; the bill is signed by Henry Geldzahler (curator at the Metropolitan Museum) and Paley (chief of CBS and MoMA trustee). The collusion between state and cultural power is summed up in this satire, and it illustrates the AWC's persistent complaints about art museums: their exclusionary practices, their corporate affiliations, and their elitist management. Although the "blood dollar" caricature is itself part of a long lineage of older forms of activist art such as political cartooning, one persistent claim of this book is that art workers' protest documents such as posters, placards, and flyers were frequently in dialogue with their evolving aesthetic forms.

By 1971 applying for Rockefeller's money was unthinkable, and museum boards were further cast as the art worker's enemy. An AWC flyer issued in the wake of the Attica prison riots of 1971, which ended with a bloody attack by the New York state police, expressed the artists' anger: "We demand that the butcher of Attica resign as a trustee from the Museum of Modern Art. It is a mockery that Rockefeller supports the arts. It is intolerable that Rockefeller uses the art of the 20th century to gild his prison." A poster for a demonstration was more succinct and pointed to the gov-
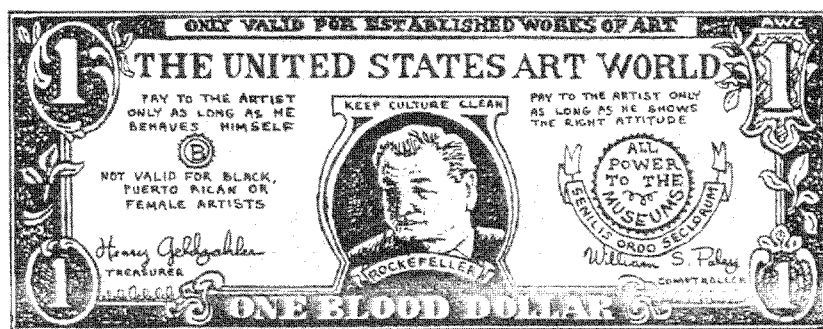
FIGURE 7 Art Workers' Coalition, "One Blood Dollar," ca. 1970. Fake photocopied bill, offset on paper, 6 × 2½ in. Image courtesy of the Lucy R. Lippard Papers, ca. 1940–2006, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

ernor's power in both state policy and the museum: "At Attica and at the Modern, Rockefeller calls the shots" (Plate 3). The black and white text is placed on a dark ground splattered with bloody red bullet wounds. With its almost abstract-expressionist use of paint, this poster mimics a gestural brush stroke to drive its point home. It seems to ask: What better visual language than repurposed action painting is there to address, and attack, MoMA, the very temple of such painting's sanctification?

Along with its anti-institutional and antiwar demonstrations, the AWC had a significant proto-union component that should not be discounted: members voted to form a union on September 23, 1970.[26] In lieu of support from museums or private monies such as the Rockefellers, art workers were at a loss for how best to generate the wages they agitated for. Their somewhat untenable ideas on this matter were not lost on skeptical commentators. When the AWC demanded subsidies for universal employment, Hilton Kramer queried, "From what untainted sources should the necessary funds be drawn? The Federal Government, which is conducting the war in Vietnam?"[27] This question had no satisfactory answer, though some looked seriously to artists' guilds in countries such as Holland and Denmark as models. As art critic and AWC member Alex Gross wrote, "It may be that a free-wheeling undogmatic artists' union of the type that has existed in Holland for the last 25 years may provide a few optimistic answers for the future."[28] Many complications accompanied this union drive, not only because the underlying convictions of AWC were notoriously heterogeneous, but also given the New Left's contentious, sometimes strained, relationship with union labor.

Further, the AWC emerged in a distinct political and economic climate: art workers saw their organizing as countering the corrupt free-market capitalism of the United States. The international artists' unions (which also existed in many eastern

European countries like Poland) that interested Gross, however, flourished in socialist climates or under the aegis of state-funded arts programs that provided wages for artists. Some members of the AWC at the time who called for unionizing poorly understood these structural differences, and it is doubtful that they would have been interested in adhering to the requirements that can come with such state support. Still, others, such as Swenson, with his desire for the state to "wither away," advocated for the full-scale transformation of the United States toward such socialism. The formation of a progressive artists' union seemed to many to potentially herald—if not actively catalyze—that change.

Paradoxically, it was primarily those artists who did not "work" in the conventional sense—minimalists, whose work was made in factories; performance/action artists, who did not make objects; and conceptualists, whose work was dematerialized and did not evidence traditional skills—who gestured toward affiliation with blue-collar workers. As my case studies demonstrate, this tension shadowed the identity of the AWC throughout its history. Some in the coalition sought to align themselves with union labor and demonstrated for artist/worker solidarity—as in the March 18, 1970, protest supporting the postal workers' strike, which included GAAG co-founder Toche and art critic Gross (Fig. 8).[29] Toche, an emissary from the community of art workers, holds a flyer that places the words "Support Postal Workers Strike" next to an image of J. M. Flagg's 1917 poster of Uncle Sam, shorn from its familiar context of military recruitment. According to Toche, such a public protest was central to his larger project to move the AWC away from its art world focus into the realm of "on the street" labor politics; his invitation for the postal workers to join the art workers' museum demonstrations, was not, however, reciprocated.[30]

Toche's and Gross's show of support was somewhat unusual, as many art workers, and U.S. leftists more generally, were in the process of rethinking long-held ideas about the revolutionary potential of workers. Influenced by thinkers like C. Wright Mills and Herbert Marcuse, Tom Hayden's "Port Huron Statement" of 1962 (a seminal manifesto of the New Left) bemoans "indifferent" rank-and-file unionists and the "quiescent labor movement."[31] Both Mills and Marcuse urged the Left away from its union roots; Marcuse, for his part, saw organized labor sharing "the same stabilizing, counterrevolutionary needs of the middle classes."[32] The working class, seduced by what Marcuse termed "one-dimensional society," which "delivers the goods, guns and butter, napalm and color TV," had turned into a conservative force seeking to preserve its materialistic way of life.[33] However, Marcuse was chastised for his "crabby elitism" when it came to blue-collar labor; many labor historians in-
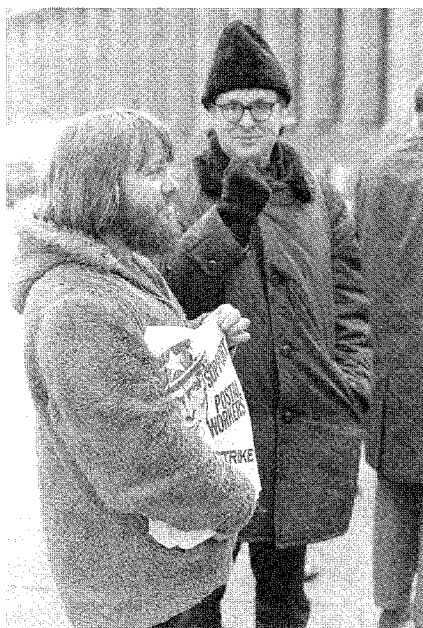
FIGURE 8 Jean Toche (left) and Alex Gross (right) supporting the New York postal worker strike, March 18, 1970. Photograph © Jan van Raay.

sisted that workers were not "one-dimensional" but "varied, dynamic, contradictory."[34] Hayden, like many in the New Left, recognized the importance of coalitions of students and labor and saw great promise for reinvigorating the labor movement, particularly if it could become responsive to the needs of black workers.

Still, in 1969 Carl Oglesby, then president of Students for a Democratic Society, wrote, "'You are nothing without the workers,' advises a grand old revolutionary warhorse who won the colors in the anti-fascist resistance . . . [, he] who cannot fathom why his sons should now say, 'who precisely are they?'"[35] Who *were* the workers? Oglesby answers his own question, saying, "The composition of the work force has been significantly altered by the massive assimilation of industry and technology. Students and workers are from now on one and the same. . . . The factory of the postindustrial state is the multiversity. Students are now the working class."[36] In fact, leftist art workers often turned to students as their models; in 1970 Lawrence Alloway noted that the AWC was "in spirit closer to student protest than to earlier artists' commitment to communism."[37] In resonance with this trend, some art workers distanced themselves from blue-collar labor by embracing "deskilled" art or turning to scholarly methods such as data gathering.

The AWC dissolved after less than three years, partly because of its inability to recognize structural inequalities—including racism and sexism—in its own organization. "By the end of 1971," wrote Lippard, "the AWC had died quietly of exhaustion, back-

lash, internal divisions . . . and neglect by the women, who had turned to our own interests."[38] Haacke further reflected back on the short-lived nature of the AWC, proclaiming that the individualistic nature of Western art making was at odds with collective organizing. He commented on the group's pronounced, and fatal, lack of "coherence of ideas": "What one wants, the other objects to strenuously; e.g. one wants to destroy museums, the other wants to reform them or to use the museums as they are for his own artistic ends, and the third simply wants a piece of the pie."[39] Haacke's retrospective clarity about the conflicting nature of the AWC with regard to privilege, status, and access to power maps several of its major fault lines.

The AWC's significance extended beyond its short life span, as it brought together a disparate group of artists to challenge the role of the institution and the autonomy of art in a time of social crisis. It advocated for a host of causes, some of which have persisted, including the artists' rights contract and the institution of museum free days. (First started in February 1970, the free day was a direct result of the art workers' agitations.)[40] In addition, the AWC validated artists', critics', and curators' claim to the label *worker;* in doing so, it provided momentum for the drive to unionize museum staff.[41] In 1971 the MoMA staff voted to form the Professional and Administrative Staff Association (PASTA), redirecting some of the organizational energies that were waning within the AWC. However, as Andrea Fraser has noted, if the AWC helped clarify these art workers' need for a union, it also signaled the beginning of a new trend toward the professionalization of art.[42]

Art versus Work

How is the making of a sculpture any different from the making of some other kind of commodity? At the heart of this question lie several critical issues: the division of labor under capitalism, the importance of skill or *technē*, the psychic rewards of making, the weight of aesthetic judgments, and the perpetually unfixed nature of the artist's professional status since roughly the fifteenth century. The history of Western art is marked by the unstable distinction between artistic, "creative" production and the economics of "true" labor. The social value of making art has been in flux since the Renaissance, when the "author" of a work as a concept was born. The transition of art making from a mere manual occupation to an inspired vocation has been the subject of much literature, including Michael Baxandall's key work on the separation of art from craft in the Renaissance and artists' assumption of a specialized

class position.[43] Objects such as paintings were no longer the products of anonymous craftsmen but the singular creations of named individuals, and artists' earnings began to rise along with their status.

In the 1960s art workers theorized how modes of human making are affected by specific economic strictures, the aestheticization of experience, and the production of sensibilities.[44] What makes the coherence of the phrase *art worker* challenging—even oxymoronic—is that under capitalism art also functions as the "outside," or other, to labor: a nonutilitarian, nonproductive activity against which mundane work is defined, a leisure-time pursuit of self-expression, or a utopian alternative to the deadening effects of capitalism. While his writings on the matter vary over time and are by no means unified, Karl Marx's contributions to this subject have been among the most influential.[45] He makes many explicit connections between artistic making and labor, writing, for instance, "A writer is a productive laborer in so far as he produces ideas, but in so far as he enriches the publisher who publishes his works, he is a wage-laborer for the capitalist."[46] Because of the erosion of patronage models, the artist is often *more* subjected to the tastes of the market and its deadening effects than other wage laborers are. This casts art not as "play" or nonwork but as another part of the capitalist division of labor. Yet Marx holds out the hope for expression or production beyond the market that might be unalienated, if still requiring skill: "Really free labor, the composing of music for example, is at the same time damned serious and demands the greatest effort."[47]

Drawing on Marx's theoretical work, and prompted by a desire to make art legitimate, necessary, and meaningful, artists in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries tried to erode the distinction between art and labor by insisting that their actions, and the products of those actions, were indeed work. These efforts were often specifically socialist, even as their products ranged from high-priced luxury goods (as in the utopian craftsmanship model of William Morris) to laboratory experiments and functional design (as in the productivist art undertaken in the wake of the 1917 Russian Revolution).[48] The Mexican muralists of the 1920s identified themselves as workers, founding the Revolutionary Union of Technical Workers, Painters, and Sculptors in 1922 and attempting to create new iconographies that would be legible to the working class.[49] (In contrast to the muralists' depictions of greedy industrialists and heroic laborers, however, the art workers of the late 1960s and early 1970s did not, by and large, take a populist stance or insist that their art itself was "for the workers.")

In the 1920s and 1930s in the United States, artists formed revolutionary cultural organizations in attempts to "forge links between them and the proletariat," as An-

FIGURE 9 Artists' Union Rally, ca. 1935. Left to right: Edward "Deyo" Jacobs, Winifred Millus, and Hugh Miller. Photograph by Irving Marantz. Courtesy of the Gerald Monroe research material on Works Progress Administration, American Artists' Congress, and Artists' Union, ca. 1930–71. Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

drew Hemingway has phrased it.[50] Hemingway's nuanced account provides documentation of the ideological, economic, and social factors that led to the formation of the Artists' Union in 1933. Having taken part in the state-funded projects of the Works Progress Administration, the artists in the Artists' Union were literally wage laborers, and on that ground they agitated for workers' rights and demanded better pay (Fig. 9). "Every artist an organized artist," proclaimed the posters at a 1935 rally, featuring their signature logo in which an upraised fist wielding a paintbrush is reminiscent of the Soviet hammer and sickle. The Artists' Union produced a newsletter (the *Art Front*), went on strike, and organized themselves like the industrial unions that were increasingly influential. In 1938 they voted to affiliate with the CIO. The New York branch was especially militant, demanding employment of all artists by the federal government. Taking their cues from the sit-down strikes and picket lines in the Midwest, the New York Artists' Union held violent demonstrations to protest the steady dismantling of WPA funding by the local administrator, Colonel Brehon Somervell, who "had a profound conviction that to create 'pictures' was not 'work.'"[51]

Artists in the late 1960s and early 1970s—working under distinctly different economic conditions—looked back to the 1930s as the moment of the most ardent championing of art and/as labor in the U.S. context. Robert Morris recollects a widespread interest in the Artists' Union's organizing efforts, citing Francis O'Connor's recently published book *Federal Support for the Visual Arts: The New Deal and Now* (1969), which was circulated in the AWC.[52] O'Connor used this study to make recommendations

to the National Endowment for the Arts regarding federal funding: lauding the WPA, the report promoted state support for the arts and countered the prevailing wisdom that such a system would necessarily impose formal restrictions on artists. Encouraged by these findings, some AWC artists supported a wage system for artists, even as the artists proved difficult to organize in any systematic way. As Lippard admitted, "Advocates of a tighter structure, of a real dues-paying union, have reason but not reality on their side."[53] Some art workers worried that governmental oversight would rob aesthetic production of its transgressive status. While admiring the Artists' Union for its solidarity and collective energy, Jim Hurrell, in an article for the *Artworkers Newsletter* entitled "What Happened to the Artist's Union of the 1930s?" declared that the New Deal state's "sterile prerequisites" had defanged the art[54] (even though, in fact, the WPA artists experienced some degree of artistic freedom in their projects). Few artists in the 1960s and 1970s wanted to return to making social realist works under the auspices of the state; instead they sought new forms of oppositional art that were in concert with, yet not subsumed under, their politics.

One of the legacies of Marx's thought is his assertion that art is a mode of skilled production—a form of work—much like any other and as such is open to categories of analysis that attend to its production, distribution, and consumption. Within this rubric even purportedly "autonomous" abstraction practiced by artists of the 1940s and 1950s came under scrutiny by the art workers. As early as 1965, Barbara Rose stated that "art as a form of free expression is seen as a weapon in the Cold War."[55] The Left, haunted by the specter of Stalinism, had seen abstraction as one way out of doctrinaire socialist realism. By the early 1970s, however, in no small part because of the efforts of Max Kozloff, an AWC member, artists had become acutely aware of how avant-garde art in the United States had been made to serve state power abroad.[56] According to these accounts, abstract expressionist artists, who, for some, embodied the romantic ideal of working free from the pressures of the market, had, however unwittingly, been marketed and sold as part of an ideological program in which the American government trumpeted artists' freedom to create works seemingly unrelated to politics, in distinction to Soviet socialist realism. The Cold War era's volatile entanglements of abstract form, ideology, and politics cast a lingering shadow on artists in the late 1960s, and some pursued "difficult" artistic practices that were consciously removed from "expression." As witnesses to the morphing of culture into what Theodor Adorno termed "the culture industry," art workers understood how their efforts could become caught up in regimes of commodification as well as in the larger machine of the military-industrial complex.[57] In the face of this instrumen-

talization, some sought to assert art's "unsaleability and functionlessness," to quote Rose's assessment of the radical promise of minimal art, while at the same time organizing as workers to puzzle through their shared role in protest culture.[58]

Thus the Vietnam War–era generation of leftist artists was influenced by numerous factors, including a rejection of previous forms of artistic labor within the United States. They were also aware—if unevenly—of contemporary international developments, not least the climate of radicalism of May 1968. As Guy Debord wrote about the Situationist International: "An international association of Situationists can be seen as a union of workers in an advanced sector of culture, or more precisely as a union of all those who claim the right to a task now impeded by social conditions; hence as an attempt at an organization of professional revolutionaries in culture."[59] Debord drew upon Marx's conceptions of how art is itself *productive,* for he understood aesthetics as formative to the education of the senses—art, that is, helps create social subjects. In fact, relatively recent translations of relevant texts by Marx emphasized the psychic effects of alienated labor, self-estrangement, and negation— useful concepts to apply to the psychologically dense act of producing art.[60] One writer in 1973 provides a summary of Marx's notions that circulated at the time: "The similarity between art and labor lies in their shared relationship to the human essence; that is, they are both creative activities by means of which man produces objects that express him, that speak for and about him. Therefore, there is no radical opposition between art and work."[61] Art workers took this sentiment as a rallying point.

As T. J. Clark noted in 1973, within the fine arts, "for many reasons, there are very few images of work."[62] In the late 1960s and early 1970s, representations of work were politically interesting to art historians like Clark. More to the point, the question of how artistic making might be understood as a category of labor was, when Clark was writing in the early 1970s, just beginning to be thought through with rigor via the new field of social art history.[63] Much of the art examined in this book does not provide easy visual proof that the artist "works" and is instead somewhat resistant to such imaging, either because the labor in question is performed by other hands or because it is primarily mental. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, that is, many laboring artistic bodies were displaced: they yielded to the body of the viewer or to the body of the installer, or they were somewhat effaced in a move toward intellectual work.

In the 1960s and early 1970s, the publication of English editions of texts by Antonio Gramsci, the influence of Debord, the importation of Frankfurt School writers such as Adorno and Marcuse, and the appearance of contemporary writings by Louis

Althusser (both in French and in translation) also drove a reevaluation of how art and labor might be considered together.[64] Marcuse in particular exerted considerable influence on art workers. In his early writings, he fostered a utopian conception of how work might function. He believed that once erotic energies were no longer sublimated, work would be transformed into play, and play itself would be productive: "If work were accompanied by a reactivation of pre-genital polymorphous eroticism, it would tend to become gratifying in itself without losing its *work* content."[65] Moreover, in the late 1960s Marcuse turned his attention to artistic making and often explicitly connected it to his ideas about work. In books such as *An Essay on Liberation* and *Counterrevolution and Revolt,* he saw the merging of art and work as the ultimate aim of any revolution.[66]

The class mobility conferred on artists makes for a complex story, and artists' identification with, dependency on, and estrangement from the bourgeoisie are long-standing issues—for Renaissance art historians as well as for theorists of modern art. The artist's ambiguous class position raises a series of questions about both art and work: How can art be a profession if there is no employer? To count as "work," need the effort involved be paid? Need it be, as Harry Braverman defined it in 1974, "intelligent and purposive"?[67] What, then, does this mean for artists whose work goes, intentionally or not, unseen or unsold? Or is work simply, as Studs Terkel put it in 1972, "what people do all day"?[68] Is "work" an activity, or is it a spatial designation, a place or site? And how does the art itself function—how does it produce meanings, representations, and social relations? What mode of production is art making, and how does it mediate between the political economy of exchanged goods and, to use Jean Baudrillard's phrase, the "political economy of the sign"?[69] That is, how does art, as an object and a system of signification, circulate as both commodity and sign?

Precisely these questions were at stake for artists in the 1960s and 1970s, along with others: How might art operate in and upon the public sphere, and how might it serve as a kind of political activity? What was new about the conception of the art worker was not only the turn away from an explicitly unified aesthetic but also the art workers' almost single-minded focus on the art museum as their primary antagonist. Because artists in this period did not receive wages from a socialized state or a government program in any systematic way, they viewed the museum as the primary gatekeeper of power, prestige, and value.

By calling themselves art *workers,* artists in the late 1960s meant to move away from taints of amateurism (or unproductive play) and to place themselves in the larger arena of political activity. This is the connotation summoned by the British political

theorist Carole Pateman in the definition of work she offers in her 1970 book *Participation and Democratic Theory:*

> By "work" we mean not just the activity that provides for most people the major determinant of their status in the world, or the occupation that the individual follows full time and that provides him with his livelihood, but we refer also to activities that are carried on in co-operation with others, that are "public" and intimately related to the wider society and its (economic) needs; thus we refer to activities that, potentially, involve the individual in decisions about collective affairs, the affairs of the enterprise and of the community, in a way that leisure-time activities usually do not.[70]

Art is often understood as an essentially solitary, individual act, but Pateman's term provides one way to configure a broader terminology for artistic identity; it also suggests that "leisure-time activities" are usually—but not always—opposed to art. Pateman's definition of work is useful, especially as it encompasses questions of the public and of the collective.

While *labor* and *work,* as near-synonyms, are used somewhat interchangeably, it is important to recognize that they are not exact equivalents. Instructive evidence of the distinctions between the terms that operated in the late 1960s and early 1970s can be found in mainstream and scholarly texts on employment, trends in the workplace, managerial styles, and human production, from sociological studies, government reports, and congressional testimonies to trade paperbacks and business handbooks. In these texts *work* and *labor* are by no means transposable. *Work* refers to jobs and occupations in the broadest sense; *labor* designates organized labor or union politics. Two books from the era illustrate the point: one, *Work in America,* is a governmental report assessing employment trends, productivity, and worker satisfaction; the other, *Labor in America,* brings together conference papers proclaiming the urgency of unionization and the possibilities of raising class consciousness.[71]

As Raymond William notes, *work* stands in for general doing or making, as well as all forms of paid employment, while *labor* is more explicitly affiliated with the organization of employment under capitalism. As "a term for a commodity and a class," *labor* denotes both the aggregate body of workers as a unit and "the economic abstraction of an activity."[72] Williams further comments on the slightly outmoded and highly specialized nature of labor; the phrase *art worker,* meant to signal class affiliations even as those affiliations were frequently disavowed, thus activated a much wider sphere of activity than *art laborer* and was used to encompass current concerns such as process and fabrication.

U.S. Labor in the Late 1960s and Early 1970s

Artists were developing into art workers within a specific historical context. The late 1960s and early 1970s witnessed widespread uncertainty about the value of work in an emerging information-based economy, including feminist calls for pay equity and an intensification of strikes unprecedented since the 1930s. The very definitions of *work* and *labor* in the Vietnam War era were undergoing massive shifts that called their contours relentlessly into question. *Labor* was being stretched to encompass more and more territory (as feminists defined household chores as work, and new categories of laborers organized, such as Chicano farmworkers). By the late 1960s, moreover, attitudes toward work were changing as many young people dismissed, scorned, and otherwise devalued regular wage labor.[73]

More substantive changes being wrought in global and national economies forced a reevaluation of what it meant to work, what work should look like, and who counted as a worker. From 1962 to 1969, real wages (after taxes and adjusted for inflation) dropped significantly.[74] In addition, work became increasingly hard to find, as rising inflation due to the cost of the war swelled unemployment rates, especially among blacks in urban areas. Work in the United States is marked by stark gender and race inequalities. The unemployment rate in the mid-1960s for blacks was double that of whites; education levels were also lower, and proportionally twice as many blacks worked in low-paying manual or service jobs.

Nationally, agitation against labor conditions reached a boiling point at this time. In 1972 General Motors workers in Lordstown, Ohio, went on strike for twenty-two days, not to protest low wages or increase benefits, but to insist that working in factories was fundamentally inhumane. The workers objected to the punishing pace of the assembly line, GM's push for "industrial speed-up," and the constant monitoring and regimentation that characterized the Taylorized shop floor. In other words, they rebelled against industrial work itself. As Gary Bryner, the Lordstown union president said in 1972, "There are symptoms of the alienated worker in our plant. The absentee rate, as you said, has gone continually higher. Turnover rate is enormous. . . . [The worker] has become alienated to the point where he casts off the leadership of his union, his Government. He is disassociated with the whole establishment. That is going to lead to chaos."[75] The alarmist tone suggests that alienation at work undermines a worker's obedience not only to factory managers and union leaders but also to the state, leading to an unraveling of society. Bryner was careful to note that this alienation stemmed from the systemic problem with factories and un-

just conditions of labor rather than from individual workers' declining work ethic. Discontent in the workplace led to a great wave of strikes known as the Vietnam War–era "Labor Revolt."[76] Strike activity reached a peak unseen since the 1940s, climaxing in a dramatic number of shutdowns from 1970 to 1972. Labor historians have traced this wave of strikes to low wages and to "a widespread increase in strike-proneness" as a more restless workforce became more willing to engage in extreme actions.[77]

Even outside organized labor, dissatisfaction with work was palpable enough to prompt a Senate subcommittee hearing in 1972 dedicated to the perceived crisis of "worker alienation."[78] This remarkable deployment of the Marxist concept of alienation within official U.S. governmental discourse demonstrates how widespread the language of alienation was at this time. The crisis—the threat the union leader called a brewing "chaos"—seemed all the more dangerous as it sent ripples out beyond the circle of unionized labor. Large numbers of students went on strike to protest the Vietnam War, and groups like the Chicano Moratorium demanded an end to work as usual. The strike and its cousin the moratorium extended the focus of protest from working conditions to demand nothing less than the withdrawal of citizens from the nation. As Marcuse said in 1972, "In spreading wildcat strikes, in the militant strategy of factory occupations, in the attitude and demands of young workers, the protest reveals a rebellion against the *whole* of working conditions imposed, against the *whole* performance to which one is condemned" (italics in original).[79]

No longer did industrialization promise an end to the worker's misery, as some had proclaimed in the immediate post–World War II era. The days of cheerily optimistic tracts such as *Industrialism and Industrial Man* (1960), which predicted that technology would lead to less work and more leisure for virtually the entire workforce, had passed.[80] By the mid-1960s pessimism began to set in; with real wages declining and unemployment rates ballooning, it was commonplace to assert that as technology took over, alienation in the workplace crept in. Books like Bertell Ollman's *Alienation: Fundamental Problems of Marxism* (1971) and István Mészáros's *Marx's Theory of Alienation* (1970) sharpened an interest in alienation as *the* central problem of capitalism.[81]

It is not overstating the case to suggest that the popular attitude toward work in this decade was summed up in the very first sentence of Terkel's best-selling oral history of 1972, *Working: People Talk about What They Do All Day and How They Feel about What They Do*: "This book, being about work, is, by its very nature, about

violence—to the spirit as well as the body."[82] Terkel took this bleak assumption as his starting point; in the United States in 1972, work was violence. The explicit connection between work and violence was also made in 1972 when members of a special task force, formed by Nixon's secretary of health, education, and welfare, decried the degradation of work in America because of industrial manufacturing processes, the numbing effects of the division of labor under Taylorism, and the exclusion of both blue- and white-collar workers from decision making: "Significant numbers of American workers are dissatisfied with the quality of their working lives. Dull, repetitive, seemingly meaningless tasks, offering little challenge or autonomy, are causing discontent among workers. . . . As a result, the productivity of the worker is low—as measured by absenteeism, turnover rates, wildcat strikes, sabotage, poor-quality products, and a reluctance by workers to commit themselves to their work tasks."[83]

Even white-collar workers felt the toll of Taylorism as dissatisfaction permeated all levels of employment. To cite the government task force's report: "The office today, where the work is segmented and authoritarian, is often a factory. For a growing number of jobs, there is little to distinguish them but the color of the worker's collar: computer keypunch operations and typing pools share much in common with the automobile assembly line."[84] The report notes that the line between blue- and white-collar workers was porous, a comment that suggests the possibility of an unexpected alliance between different sectors of workers if they recognized their common oppression. The resistance to current conditions of work was waged on multiple fronts, from organized labor to the women's movement, which, inflected by socialist theories, analyzed the gendering of labor and promoted nothing less than a total restructuring of everyday life. For example, feminists redefined household chores as work—possibly remunerative—and advocated for equal pay for women in the workforce.[85]

At the bodily rather than the psychic level, workplace dangers were being exposed by Ralph Nader, who reported that in 1968 "a total of 14,300 people died in industrial accidents in our country—almost exactly the same as the number of American servicemen who died in Vietnam that year."[86] Because the working class was disproportionately fighting in the Vietnam War, the parallel with the wartime body count is notable.[87] These juxtaposed statistics signaled that working-class bodies were being treated as expendable, whether they were crushed on the factory floor or gunned down in Southeast Asia.

Postindustrial Professionalization

Just as artists increasingly embraced manufactured objects as part of their work process, such manufacturing was being broadly reconfigured. In addition to being framed by the Vietnam War, the late 1960s and early 1970s initiated economic and cultural changes known in shorthand as postindustrialism.[88] In this time, the composition, tenor, and manufacturing base of work in the United States shifted measurably, as did the international economy. Hallmarks of the changing order include a growing emphasis on technological information and knowledge, the decline of skilled manufacturing jobs, and a transition away from a goods-producing economy to a service economy. This break was noted at the time in texts such as Alain Touraine's *Post-industrial Society, Tomorrow's Social History* (1969) and Daniel Bell's *Coming of Post-industrialism* (1973).[89]

Furthermore, the postindustrial society is characterized by an increasingly complex interweaving of the economic and the cultural. That is, the postindustrial is connected with the postmodern (as a culturally dominant style, a mode of capitalism, and a historical period). Art historians have suggested that the 1960s, in its artistic and political ruptures, represented, as Hal Foster has written, "a paradigm shift towards postmodernist practices."[90] The economic, social, and political crises of the late 1960s and early 1970s were loosely bracketed, in the U.S. context, by the Vietnam War; indeed, Fredric Jameson called Vietnam the "first terrible postmodernist war."[91] At the threshold of this new economic order, and in a time of political turmoil, work—and art—was both ruthlessly redefined and reorganized. In other words, there was a complex interface between the war, postmodern forms, and postindustrial labor conditions.

This turn to postindustrial labor generated further class anxieties for artists. Art workers understood themselves to be a marginal population, underpaid and undervalued—especially if they did not make marketable art. Sometimes, instead of identifying themselves as the downtrodden proletariat, they turned to racial metaphors. Andre in 1976 referred to his position in relation to the museum as "slave practice."[92] This statement is shocking, as artists have privileges, choices, and opportunities that slaves do not; such claims of righteous victimhood and powerlessness verged on the ludicrous. The New York artistic Left was fraught with problematic exclusions with regard to race even as it espoused and attempted inclusiveness. Black artists such as Lloyd, Ringgold, Art Coppedge, and Benny Andrews, as active members of the AWC, made highly visible, widely supported demands for racial equity in museum exhibitions;

it was one of the primary planks of the AWC's thirteen demands. But comments about the "enslaved" status of artists indicate that the cross-racial solidarity claimed by the AWC could itself be laced with racism. Ringgold, who was arrested along with GAAG founders Hendricks and Toche for her participation in the antiwar *Flag Show* at Judson Church in 1970, later recalled the impressively quick integration of race-related issues into the AWC's platform but also denounced the Art Strike of 1970 as a platform for "superstar white artists."[93] Likewise, black scholar Michele Wallace (Ringgold's daughter) recounts that the Art Strike was her mother's most visible encounter with the racism of the art world.[94] Dissatisfied with the lack of attention to racial inequities among art workers, she and Ringgold defected from the AWC and formed a splinter group, Women Students and Artists for Black Artists' Liberation (WSABAL).

Art workers' dubious connections with "slaves"—and with the conventional working class—were made all the more pronounced by the inauguration at this time of an unprecedented boom market for art. Thomas Crow writes of this paradox: "It will emerge that the story of art within the new politics of the 1960s is one of considerable ambivalence, as artists attempted to reconcile their stance of opposition with increasing support for their activities in a new and aggressive global marketplace."[95] Artists were supported by patrons and institutions as never before, giving them increased opportunities to receive grants, sell their works, and garner press attention. Harold Rosenberg commented in 1967 that minimalism "reflects the new situation of art as an activity that, having left the rebellious semi-underworld of bohemia, has become a profession taught at universities, supported by the public, discussed in the press, and encouraged by the government."[96]

In other words, in the 1960s occupational prestige for artists increased greatly. One factor in this, as Howard Singerman has documented in his *Art Subjects: Making Artists in the American University,* was the large number of artists receiving formal training in universities, which legitimized art making as a field of study and emphasized artists' "employable" skills.[97] Brian Wallis posits that another factor in this professionalization was the formation, in 1965, of the National Endowment for the Arts, which actively encouraged artists to "market" themselves and offered seminars on "the business of being an artist."[98] The NEA began granting awards to individual artists in 1967 and quickly became a source of income; included on the list of NEA grant recipients from 1967 and 1968 were Andre, Jo Baer, Dan Flavin, Robert Huot, and Morris.[99]

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In the late 1960s and early 1970s, new marketing tools aimed at young artists— for example, a series of workshops run by the management consultant Calvin J. Good-

man, "The Artist's Own Business" (Fig. 10)—promised to teach artists and dealers how to "develop new markets, improve their pricing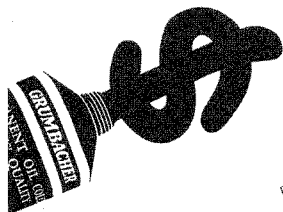 policies, and earn more income through increased art sales." One seminar addressed "the artist as an independent businessman." The cover of Goodman's promotional brochure makes his agenda clear: on it a tube of Grumbacher oil paint squeezes out a dollar sign. Similarly, how-to books like *The Artist's Guide to His Market*, published in 1970, suggested that artists approach banks and furniture stores and offer to show their work in lobbies and show-rooms.[100] (Unsurprisingly, the title reads "*his* market"—feminist artists were seeking alternatives to a gallery system that mostly excluded them.)

In 1967 Rosenberg commented that "instead of being . . . an act of rebellion, despair or self-indulgence, art is being normalized as a professional activity within society."[101] Diana Crane, in her quantitative account of the explosion of the New York art world from 1940 to 1985, tracks broadening governmental, corporate, and foundation support, as well as growing numbers of individual patrons who were buying larger numbers of artworks. Galleries and dealers were turning bigger profits, and corporate art collections expanded at an astounding rate, from sixteen founded in 1940–59 to nearly eighty established in 1960–79.[102] Using Bureau of the Census statistics, Crane also indicates how the ranks of those who identified themselves as "working artists" swelled considerably (in 1970 that number was six hundred thousand).[103] The number of art dealers in New York more than doubled between 1961 and 1970.[104]

Simultaneous with the NEA's boosterism and the explosion of corporate support for art, reports appeared that forecast the end of the gallery system, the collapse of the art market, and the dire economic position of artists. One 1969 report called "The Economic Crisis in the Arts" reported a "glum outlook" for the arts, saying that despite the "myth of a cultural boom" the situation was bleak.[105] An article in the *Saturday Review* in 1970 admitted that despite the much-lauded increase in arts patronage artists still scrambled for money, lived in poor conditions, and had scant resources.[106] It cited a report issued by the MacDowell Colony that found that only one in ten painters or sculptors "was able to support himself and his family on what he earned from sales of his work."[107] Lippard finds even that small fraction inflated—"Almost nobody could pay rent from art."[108] As Gross wrote in 1970: "We are on the brink of a genuine state and national emergency situation in the arts. . . . An emergency will have to be declared in Washington and Albany within the next six months if the art world is to survive in any form at all and if thousands of artists are to escape eviction, starvation, or the total annihilation of their profession."[109]

It is hard to get a handle on these competing claims—the art market is booming

FIGURE 10 "The Artist's Own Business," brochure for a seminar led by Calvin J. Goodman, 1971. Courtesy Calvin J. Goodman and Gee Tee Bee.

but most artists are starving—but this contradiction is exactly the point. The art market was (and still is) predicated on a "star system" that elevates only a small number of individuals. Most others struggle to pay the rent, take up adjunct teaching positions, or work day jobs. By the mid-1960s some artists were acknowledged professionals making decent livings, but nonetheless many felt themselves to be disenfranchised workers who demanded greater control over their working conditions. The rising number of educated artists, it could be argued, raised artists' sense of the value of their artistic labor. Art workers' unionizing efforts ignited precisely when market forces legitimized artists' desire for status and money.

Although the AWC and the Art Strike as organizations effloresced and quickly folded, their legacies—including a complex investment in art as work—endure. The reimagining of artistic labor dramatically altered how art was made and circulated in the United States, as well as how its forms and aesthetics were theorized. Conceptions of artists as workers were not monolithic and were often unpredictably deployed, as the case studies that follow demonstrate. But the major redefinition of artistic identity vis-à-vis class, protest politics, and the art institution was unprecedented in the United States.

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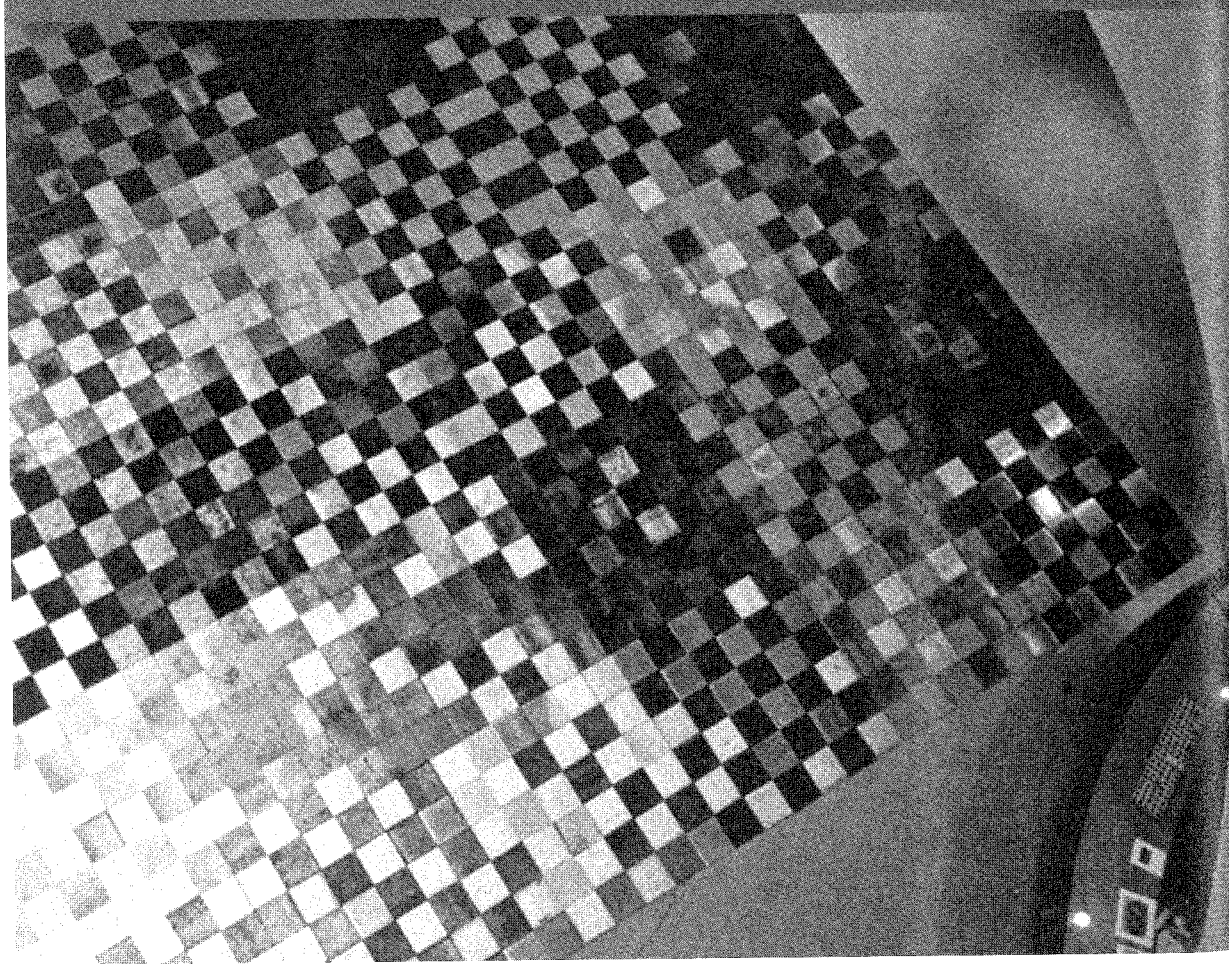
Carl Andre's Work Ethic

Bricklaying

"What a load of . . . art work, Bob" (Fig. 11). This photograph of bricklayer Bob Breed leaning against a chest-high stack of bricks appeared in a British newspaper in 1976. It made pointed reference to the controversy sparked by the Tate Gallery's purchase of Carl Andre's *Equivalent VIII*—a arrangement of 120 firebricks stacked two high, six wide, and ten deep in a rectangular solid on the ground (Fig. 12). The caption declared that the Tate's purchase had upgraded Breed's quick stacking—it reportedly took the bricklayer all of five minutes—to the status of a valuable "masterpiece." This humorous news item from the Luton *Evening Post* was only one of hundreds of articles, irate letters to the editor, cartoons, and sarcastic caricatures produced when it was revealed in early 1976 that the Tate had used public funds to purchase Andre's low stack of bricks.[1] So great was the uproar about this purchase that *Equivalent VIII* quickly became "the most derided work of art ever shown" in England.[2]

The *Evening Post*'s joke, of course, is that for the photograph's presumed audience, *Equivalent VIII* (first version 1966, remade in 1969) is essentially valueless and that to call it art is nothing but a load of crap (the implied word after the ellipses). The suggestion that bricklaying and art making might be indistinguishable from one other is the source of the photograph's humor; even as the ad flirts with the interchange-ability of these forms of labor, it ultimately delineates, polices, and hardens the line between the worker and the artist by presenting this commonality as absurd.

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FIGURE 11 "What a load of . . . art work, Bob," Luton *Evening Post,* February 17, 1976. © Tate, London, 2009.

FIGURE 12 Carl Andre, *Equivalent VIII,* 1966. Firebricks, 120 units, each 2½ × 4½ × 9 in. Art © Carl Andre/Licensed by VAGA, New York, NY. Photograph © Tate, London, 2009.
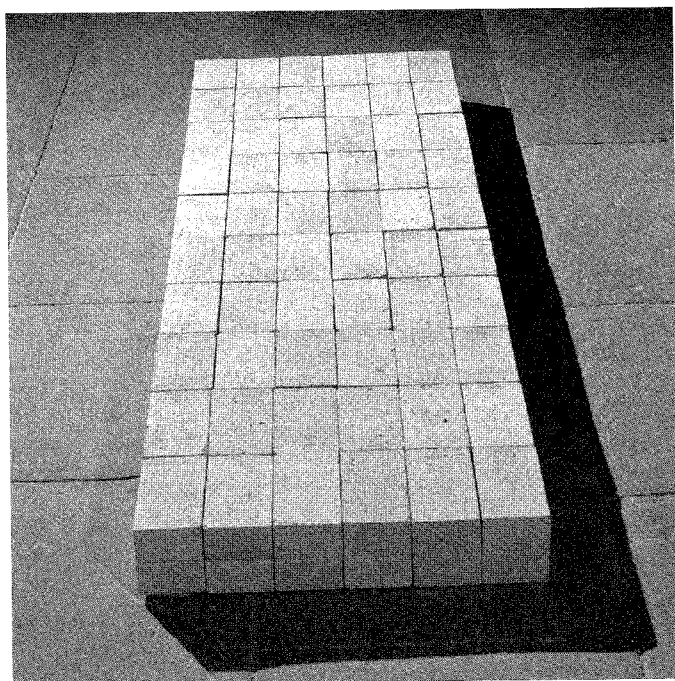
Questions of the valuation of labor loom in the press accounts of the "Tate bricks," as they came to be called.[3] Many criticisms stemmed from the fact that the sculpture— bought in 1972 for around four thousand pounds—cost more than a bricklayer would earn in a year.

Held in place by gravity alone, the bricks of *Equivalent VIII* are lined up one on top of another in straightforward rows and columns. The lack of staggering or interweaving—the technique that gives brick walls their strength—between the two layers in *Equivalent VIII* renders the sculpture useless as a structure and implies instead a contingency and rearrangeability. The bricks just sit: they are not stacked in a faux wall, nor is the public invited to walk on them like a patio floor. In this, the bricks retain a mute antiutilitarianism. As Andre stated, "I wouldn't ever be interested in laying a brick wall with mortar."[4]

The *Western Daily Press* thus got it wrong when it asserted, "The Tate Gallery has decided that bricklaying is an art."[5] In a sense, *Equivalent VIII* lets us see precisely what bricklaying is *not*—it is not a matter of merely arranging bricks on the ground, especially not flush on top of each. In the *Evening Post*'s photograph, as in many of the scandalized articles about the incident, bricklayers were asked to prove themselves equal to Andre by making similar stacks. None of their configurations look anything like *Equivalent VIII;* instead, bricks pile up in thick columns that stagger their seams. Regardless, their ordinariness was cause for scorn, as reflected in the comment that "bricks are not works of art. Bricks are bricks. You can build walls with them or chuck them through jeweler's windows, but you cannot stack them two deep and call it sculpture."[6] Andre's art, with its laconic placement of available industrial units—as well as its purchase and installation in a museum—appropriates for itself the mantle of labor, thereby destabilizing a value system that relies on a differentiation between "real" and artistic work.

Efforts to align Andre with literal bricklayers were not limited to clever parodies or horrified news accounts; Andre himself utilized this classed terminology. As he wrote in 1973: "My work derives from the working-class crafts of bricklaying, tile-setting, and stone-masonry."[7] From the 1960s on, interviews with Andre mention his working-class background as a significant factor in his working method.[8] Some key facts, then, that have shaped Andre's reception as it is relentlessly biographized: his grandfather was a bricklayer, his father was a draftsman for the shipbuilder Bethlehem Steel, and Andre himself worked for four years as a brakeman for the Pennsylvania railroad.[9] He recalls his hometown of Quincy, Massachusetts, as dominated by industrial shipyards and flat planes of steel; and his artist's publication *Quincy Book*

documents this formative landscape with black-and-white photos and shows careful attention to the sites of steel and granite production.[10] Invoking this gritty childhood backdrop helped shore up his claims to a complex class identity that was also signaled through his predilection for blue overalls—"Maoist coveralls," they were called in 1970[11]—his daily uniform starting in the 1960s. While Andre's art from the beginning was intimately invested in identifications with and anxieties about "work," these anxieties were heightened in the late 1960s during the AWC era.

This identity was by no means straightforward. Still, assertions of resonances between artistic production and labor mattered to Andre a great deal, and he often repeated them during the years of the AWC and after. His biographical stake in such a class formation surely helped him feel authorized to assert, as he did in 1976, that "the position of the artist in our society is exactly that of an assembly line worker in Detroit."[12] This blunt assertion forces a reductive equivalence between the labor of the factory worker and that of the artist (disregarding the distinct relations each has to free time and access to cultural capital) and resonates within a long history of artists aligning themselves with the working class as a wider avant-garde gambit.

In Andre's case this identity was nuanced, though he was also the most visible figure to promote radicalism as a style. For instance, in a photograph taken at the 1970 Art Strike, Andre and Robert Morris stand surrounded by a teeming, unruly crowd who thrust their hands into the air to demand attention (Fig. 13). With his bushy beard "that would look well on a revolutionary poster,"[13] overalls, and commanding physical presence, Andre is the focal point of the image. He is also, with his mouth clearly caught midsentence and his palm outstretched, the central figure holding court amid a multitude of clamoring voices. As much as his wardrobe choice signals a working-class affiliation, this affiliation has always been shadowed by ambivalence; as he stated in 1970, he did not identify with a "producing, literally, working class."[14] Instead, Andre has long insisted that he is both bourgeois and laborer, and in response to criticisms that he carries out "work like working-class work, but you wear clean overalls," he admits that his connection to the working class is "formal rather than practical," though he does not "think this formal connection is false."[15]

This chapter asserts that Andre's "formal" alignment of art making with work does in fact hinge on questions of form—that is, aesthetics, materials, and process. Of all the art workers this book investigates, Andre went the furthest to promote art making as "a vocation" and a "trade."[16] This identification was fraught by the tension between the symbolic nature of artistic work and the literal facts of manufacturing—

FIGURE 13 Carl Andre (center left) and Robert Morris (center right) at the New York Art Strike Against Racism, War, and Repression, May 22, 1970. Photograph © Jan van Raay.

its real bodies, materials, and consequences. Andre's very class mobility—his decision to drop out of the middle class or reidentify with the workers—is itself an indication of class privilege. Andre influentially articulated and enacted the charged ambiguity between worker and artist. His theories of work were fundamental to the politicization of artistic labor in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Looking at issues of material labor and how his artworks were fabricated—investigating, one might say, not only how a "pile of bricks" became art but also how those bricks came to *be* in the first place—this rereading differs from the primarily Duchampian accounts that have held sway in the Andre literature for the past several decades. Fundamental questions about process—the actual *work* of making art—are often elided in discussions of minimalism. Douglas Crimp's analysis of Richard Serra regarding steel workers and the efforts of rigging provides one important corrective to this, particularly his look at Serra's "attentions to the processes and divisions of labor."[17] These questions about fabrication and materiality are crucial to understanding the politics of minimalism during the Vietnam War. Andre's art foregrounds labor while also disavowing it, and it is critical to keep this dialectic alive.

Minimalism's Ethical Grounds

From its inception, minimal sculpture had a contested relation with artistic labor. The philosopher Richard Wollheim coined the term *minimal art* in 1965 for a new

movement in art that seemed to deploy a "minimal" amount of work.[18] Wollheim's argument partially pivots on an axis of the viewer's judgment. What, he asks, are the minimum criteria that enable viewers to identify a work of art? He proceeds from categorization to discuss making itself, insisting that production as well as reception creates art. Wollheim was not particularly familiar with the sculptures now most closely associated with minimalism; he instead was writing about the appropriation strategies of Duchampian readymades and Robert Rauschenberg's combines, works that may be subject to popular suspicion, Wollheim speculated, because they "fail to evince what we have over the centuries come to regard as an essential ingredient in art: work, or manifest effort."[19]

Wollheim suggested that this "minimal" effort requires us to recalibrate our understanding of the "work" of making art and to broaden the definition of art to include acts of decision making.[20] The detractors Wollheim conjures—who do not believe that enough actual labor was involved in creating the work—occasionally vocalized their dissent in the mid-1960s. Mark di Suvero, for example, claimed in 1966 that minimalism was not art since its objects were unmanipulated by the artist's hand. He said, "I think my friend Don Judd can't qualify as an artist because he doesn't do the work. . . . A man has to make a thing in order to be an artist."[21]

Di Suvero's objections aside, by the late 1960s sending art out to be made at a factory based on a sketch or blueprint was a widespread and accepted practice. First hailed as a "breakthrough" and "landmark" for sculpture,[22] it was institutionalized at the 1966 *Primary Structures* show at the Jewish Museum, and by the end of the decade the "rationalism of manufactured units" verged on being the hegemonic style.[23] As dancer Yvonne Rainer explained in her summarizing account of minimalism, the very first charge for those making minimalist objects was to "eliminate or minimize the role of the artist's hand [and] substitute factory fabrication."[24]

Some sculptors refused to make small-scale models, giving industrial manufacturing plants little more than line drawings on graph paper or schematic diagrams. This was the era when artists were "turning the studio into a factory,"[25] as Barbara Rose claimed about the sculptor David Smith. Smith's reliance on hand-welding and his personal involvement in every stage of production, however, puts him firmly with a generation earlier than that of, say, Tony Smith, who claimed to have ordered a six-by-six-by-six-foot steel cube—his now-iconic 1962 sculpture *Die*—over the phone, Lazlo Moholy-Nagy style, with simple verbal instructions. As Anne Wagner details in her study of Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux, sculpture has long been associated with the division of labor, since muscled workmen/assistants perform the physical making

in distinction from the intellectual work of the artist.[26] This division was emphasized in minimalism, and the turn to factory fabrication has been seen as further removing any touch of human labor.

The much-touted elimination of the artist's hand, however, was rarely enacted. While minimal artworks aspired to look like factory works rolling off assembly lines, they were meticulously crafted, one-off creations or very limited editions. Generally, minimalist objects were as unique and as skillfully and finely crafted as "old-fashioned" sculpture; it was the choice of mass-produced materials that set them apart. Even if Morris's pale gray geometric solids were made by hand, they seemed manufactured because they used industrial plywood. (Morris's laconic wood also stands in distinction to West Coast minimalists' embrace of fiberglass and other "finish fetish" materials.)[27] Still, the myth of hands-off industrial manufacturing was rapidly assimilated into the repertoire of sculptural making. Art magazine articles detailed the processes of sheering, rolling, and welding steel, sometimes reverently transcribing fabrication procedures with all their minutiae and jargon. An *Arts Magazine* article from 1971 recounts in great detail the making of one factory-fabricated sculpture; a typical line reads, "Everdur sheet .156 inches thick was prepolished to be a #8 NEMA finish by pregrinding on a reciprocating table surface grinder with a wet 80-grit grinding belt to achieve uniform thickness."[28] This arcane and specialized terminology was most likely unintelligible to the majority of the magazine's readers, yet the inclusion of these instructions implies that art audiences were hungry for signs of technological proficiency. Caroline Jones's critical account of workmanlike studio practices also describes the intense investment in these technologies and practices.[29] As Robert Smithson observed, the "valuation of the material products of heavy industry . . . led to a fetish for steel and aluminum as a medium."[30]

New industrial techniques were the crux of much minimal art. Many artists reported looking to technical journals for information on which materials and processes would best suit their aesthetic programs. Artists swapped information about which metal-rolling plant or fiberglass producer most meticulously followed directions or let artists into the factory to modify their plans. Robert Murray reported working with furniture plants, stainless steel tanker companies, and bridge and helicopter fabricators; Dan Flavin contacted General Electric about using their equipment in exchange for publicity.[31] Such sources of materials would be a significant concern of minimal artists in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

While Andre began his foray into the serial units that typify minimal sculpture as early as 1960, with his *Elements* series, he started his signature floor works in the

mid-1960s. These pieces—metal squares of aluminum, zinc, or steel laid out on the floor, for instance, or a line of firebricks—mean to present materials purely as themselves, without recourse to illusion, narrative, symbolism, or personal expression. Andre's earliest floor series consisted of 120 sand-lime firebricks set in mathematical arrangements—these are the *Equivalents* series from 1966, of which the Tate piece was one part. Much of his seminal work follows the schema set forth by *Equivalents*: serial, geometric units that are placed directly on the ground, from stacks of timber to billets of foam to rows of bricks to plates of metal. In a radical inversion of pedestal-bound sculpture, viewers are invited to walk on the metal works, their steps on the plates making a distinctive, if muffled, noise. In his metal floor works, the plates are often one foot square, having been cut to Andre's simple specifications, and then are laid out, by hand, with the help of gallery assistants on the bare ground. The plates never overlap and are often set up in a square, although sometimes Andre forms different patterns such as long thick lines or pixilated triangles.

In Andre's *37 Pieces of Work* (1969), aluminum, copper, steel, magnesium, lead, and zinc—what he termed the "metals of commerce"[32]—are laid out, 216 plates of each metal, in a 1,296-unit square over a thirty-six-square-foot area (Plate 4). The title evokes questions of labor at the very outset and plays with the indeterminacy of *work* as both a noun and a verb; Andre's title refers to the thirty-six metal squares used to make each precisely repeated pattern, as well to the piece as a whole. Each metal plate, one foot square, is part of a decorative chessboard. This enormous patchwork—the largest of Andre's works in square footage—was the centerpiece of his 1970 Guggenheim solo exhibition. Meant as a study in proportion and balance, with its strict symmetry and its contrasting hues of light and dark and pulsing earthy colors, it was likened by Andre to a fugue by Bach.[33] Diane Waldman, the curator of the show, called it "almost Byzantine in its splendor."[34] Its horizontality brings viewers back to an encounter with metal as a sensuous entity; the sound of their footsteps changes subtly as they walk across the hopscotch surface. Andre said in 1969, "My dream is to make an art which approaches timelessness, and I don't mean timelessness as a quality. I mean a place of stillness and serenity where we can re-gather ourselves."[35]

Among the minimalists, Andre (and perhaps Flavin) went the furthest to actualize the claims of industrially made art. He is insistent on the (somewhat self-evident) point that he had no part in the making of his objects when he states, "I did not mine the ore. I did not forge the metal. I did not burn the brick."[36] Andre brags that his work "reflects the conditions of industrial production; it is without any hand-manufacture whatsoever."[37] This statement is true only in a limited sense: some of An-

dre's metal plates, for instance, have slightly wavy edges, indicating that they are flame cut (cut by hand with a torch) rather than machine milled.[38] Such subtleties of line are evident only when one sees the work in person; this work is notoriously resistant to photography.[39]

By the mid-1960s Andre was at the forefront of an abstract, politically committed art practice. For Andre's critics, horizontality was central to these politics, and not only because he emphasized how his art enacted a complete negation of sculptural traditions of verticality. In one of his best-known artistic statements, Andre spoke of putting Constantin Brancusi's *Endless Column* "on the ground." He continued, "Most sculpture is priapic with the male organ in the air. In my work Priapus is down on the floor. The engaged position is to run along the earth."[40] While the word *engaged* here has an explicitly erotic connotation, it has also been read as a stand-in for "socially committed." As David Bjelajac wrote in 2001, "Andre's art was influenced by his sympathy with leftist politics. He argued that horizontal sculptures running across the ground signified a political engagement with lived space and the real world."[41] Although Bjelajac addresses only one aspect of "engagement," this assessment sums up a critical consensus about Andre's work that was nascent in the 1960s. From the very beginning, his "leveled" artworks were linked to notions of equality or a level society. Andre's political affiliations no doubt contributed to these readings; however, most writers did not cite his statements, instead discussing formal matters to bolster support for his art's "broad social implications," as Gregory Battcock put it in 1970.[42]

Some interpretations of Andre's work pointed to its challenges to the art market; one critic reported in 1967, "Andre's art is extremely radical and very daring; it completely upsets many criteria of traditional methods of judging and evaluating art. . . . The very nature of his works severely limits their potential market."[43] This statement quickly became irrelevant as collectors and museums began to clamor for Andre's art, but the parallel between his form and his politics—both termed "radical"—lingered. In 1969 Barbara Rose insisted that minimalism's "cleanliness, integrity, efficiency, and simplicity" relate to an "ideally leveled, non-stratified democratic society."[44]

These readings respond to several elements in the works: the standardized, "ordinary" materials were perceived as "common" and antielitist.[45] In addition, the use of "equivalent" units suggested an "anti-hierarchical and anti-authoritarian" approach.[46] Andre, moreover, countered the usual prohibitions about touching artworks by inviting audiences to walk on his art, a move that embraced bodily participation. Finally, their flatness and levelness seemed to subordinate the floor works to the viewer. As

Gregoire Müller noted in 1970, "Horizontality is almost an ethical limitation. . . . Horizontality is what we know."[47] For Müller, horizontality, perhaps because it negates monumentality, implies an *ethics*.

The discourse about the accessibility and ethics of Andre's floor works fed directly into the rhetoric surrounding the 1969 formation of the AWC, to which Andre was central. The ethics of making art were very much at issue in the late 1960s, just as Andre began producing his metal plates. Lucy Lippard referred to a "growing ethical and political concern" in the art world in 1970.[48] This issue mattered intensely to Andre, as did his emerging sense of what, following Helen Molesworth, I call his "work ethic."[49] To return to an issue central to the scandal of the Tate bricks—what is the value of the artist's specialized form of labor?

Andre's claims regarding the "proletarianization of art and artists by the ruling class," as he put it in 1976, are by no means unique.[50] For Andre, David Smith's involvement with the welders' union was the most immediate and important art historical precedent.[51] He also looked to other antecedents from earlier in the century—the Russian artists in the wake of the 1917 Revolution being among the most notable and influential. Although U.S. artists in the late 1960s knew little about the Russians and understood their goals only vaguely, Camilla Gray's *Great Experiment: Russian Art, 1863–1922*,[52] published in 1962, offered enough information to bathe the constructivists in a hazy romantic glow, as did a number of articles published from 1968 to 1970 that provided U.S. artists with information on revolutionary Russian art.[53]

After the revolution, according to Gray, some Russian artists moved briefly into working for factories. As salaried workers, they envisioned their artistic endeavors as part of a larger process of the socialist reconfiguration of all manner of making and living. For them, the job of the cultural worker was to engage in imaginative speculation—to envision or engineer objects in advance of their making. *Art worker* was a term much in circulation in this moment, for these artists understood themselves to be actively participating in the creation of a future society and saw their work as continuous with that creation.[54] They couched even their nonutilitarian objects in the language of labor; as Vladimir Mayakovsky wrote, "Poetry is a manufacture."[55] Because they labored under the unique conditions provided by a revolutionized state, however, this work was manifestly not understood as alienated: their production was tied to the vision of a collective world, and many of the objects they created were designed to be used.

Gray's book fueled further speculation about the merging of art and labor when it very briefly described Vladimir Tatlin's work for the Lessner metallurgic factory (that
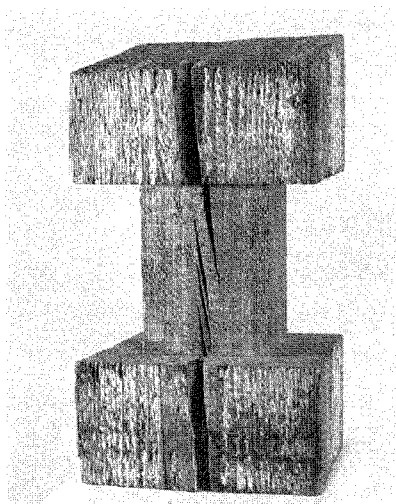
FIGURE 14 Carl Andre, *Wooden Piece*, 1959. Wood, 16 × 8½ in. Art © Carl Andre/Licensed by VAGA, New York, NY.
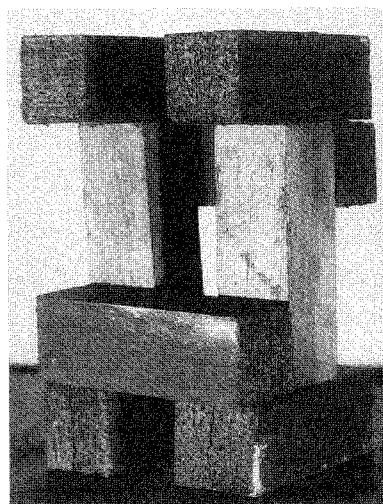
FIGURE 15 Alexander Rodchenko, *Spatial Construction*, 1920. Art © Estate of Alexander Rodchenko/HAO, Moscow/VAGA, New York.

it was a metallurgic factory was no doubt significant for Andre). The realities of these artists' forays into wage labor were probably less than ideal.[56] Andre, aware of their formal experiments and also familiar with their active engagement with the working class, mused, "I would like to think my work is in the tradition of the Russian revolutionary artists, Tatlin and Rodchenko."[57] Andre clearly studied these artists carefully, even given his limited means of access, as is evident in *Wooden Piece* (1959, Fig. 14), a geometric configuration of stacked lumber that is a clear homage to Alexander Rodchenko's *Spatial Construction* (1920, Fig. 15). Designating a piece of unworked, unpainted lumber as sculpture is especially striking given the primacy of carved, hand-tooled wood within postwar sculpture. The use of industrially processed timber is thus a gesture of refusal that seeks to reject a whole history of sculptural efforts; this early piece uses the basic materials of construction and industry to put Andre squarely into a neo-constructivist lineage.

But Andre's statement about the parallel between the artist and the factory worker is distinct from these earlier moments, primarily because his idea of art as work was not accompanied by a rhetoric that the art itself was "for the people." Even as his use of "equivalent" units gestured toward a kind of nonhierarchical leveling,[58] there was no detectable populism in Andre's esoteric works, which were neither experiments in materials that led to new everyday objects nor realist depictions of valorized working men. What were the conditions of intelligibility for Andre's 1976 contention of

an "exact" parallel between the factory worker and the artist? It was, in effect, a summarizing statement made coherent by the insistent discourse of the preceding few years in which artists struggled with their identities as art workers—within the "elite" art world and its institutional spaces.

Andre has referred to himself as a "post-studio" artist.[59] Unlike Andy Warhol, to whom the same term has been applied, or such precursors as Marcel Duchamp (who made drawings, installations, and large-scale glass works), Andre has emphasized that he does not *create* anything. (He does, however, draw diagrams on graph paper— the geometrical arrangement of his units—that he calls "security drafts.")[60] Andre draws in space with the materials; this drawing is a matter of selecting and arranging. He calls metal manufacturers, orders squares, and has them shipped directly to museums for placement on the floor. If he is not present for the installation of a work, he sends instructions for the museum's installers. Rather than manipulate his materials behind closed doors, Andre annexes the museum floor as his studio space— the institution, in other words, becomes his work site.

Andre and the Art Workers' Coalition

Andre became one of the key AWC players as early as March 1969, and by November of that year he was one of the most visible and active members, speaking at meetings and issuing proclamations on museums and their economic interests in the Vietnam War. Although this casually organized group had no elected leaders, Rose called Andre the group's "leading light" and "spokesman."[61] (He preferred to describe himself as a "stalwart.")[62] Lippard recalls that "it was Carl Andre, our resident Marxist, who insisted on the term *workers*, bringing a sector of the art world into the proletariat in one eloquent swoop and including critics, curators, and other art types in the labor force."[63] (Lippard confesses that Andre was one of the few people in the AWC "who'd actually read Marx.")[64]

Andre consolidated his position as the "resident Marxist" by his active participation in the AWC and by his singular obsession as a sculptor with materiality; his work sought to bridge "historical materialism"—another term for Marxism—with actual, physical materiality. As he put it in 1970, "My art is atheistic, materialistic, and communistic."[65] He elaborated: "Matter as matter rather than matter as symbol is a conscious political position I think, essentially Marxist."[66] As recounted in Chapter 1, the AWC was founded out of concern about the conditions of display and moral "own-

architects, choreographers, composers, critics & writers, designers, film-makers, museum workers, painters, photographers, printers, sculptors, taxidermists, etc.

ARE ASKED TO COME TO THE MUSEUM OF MODERN ART GARDEN
21 WEST 53RD STREET AT 3:00
ON SUNDAY, MARCH 30TH.

AMONG THE REASONS THIS ACTION IS BEING CALLED ARE THESE:

1) TO DEMONSTRATE THE RIGHT OF ART WORKERS TO USE ALL MUSEUM FACILITIES:
2) TO SUPPORT THE DEMANDS OF BLACK ARTISTS;
3) TO DEMAND THAT ALL MUSEUMS EXPAND THEIR ACTIVITIES INTO ALL AREAS AND
   COMMUNITIES OF THE CITY;
4) TO DEMAND FREE ADMISSION ON BEHALF OF ANYONE WISHING IT;
5) TO DEMAND ACCESS TO MUSEUM POLICY-MAKING ON BEHALF OF ART WORKERS.

DEMONSTRATE
OUR STRENGTH
AT MOMA!

FIGURE 16 Early Art Workers' Coalition flyer, "Demonstrate Our Strength at MOMA!" March 1969. Image courtesy of the Lucy R. Lippard Papers, ca. 1940–2006, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

ership" of artworks. Andre's art, with its emphasis on materiality, economic fact, and the "metals of commerce," seemed to rehearse an ideological program regarding issues of control and display that were central to the AWC.[67]

However, as James Meyer has perceptively noted, Andre's materialism "is not well understood."[68] Orthodox Marxist theory proves insufficient grounds for any complex understanding of the stakes of Andre's sculpture during these years, in part because it charts lines of influence in only one direction—as if Andre's work were shaped by the AWC in some mechanistic way. But these lines are difficult to chart, and in fact Andre's equalizing vision was also in dialogue with and had an impact on the AWC's expansive conception of artistic labor. Flyers announcing early AWC meetings list a wide spectrum of art workers (Fig. 16): "architects, choreographers, composers, critics and writers, designers, film-makers, museum workers, painters, photographers, printers, sculptors, taxidermists, etc."[69] This reflects how Andre himself proposed the broadest possible definition in an interview in 1970:

> 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 artworks

by doing artwork 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 elitism.[70]

Minimalism has often been cited for activating viewers—making them conscious of their bodily encounter with the sculptural objects in specific sites.[71] But it is one thing to say that the viewer becomes aware of the physical space and her place within it, and quite another to then name that viewer an art worker on the same footing as the artist, the collector, or the museum guard. Yet this leveling is enacted by Andre's floor-based works themselves, as the relentless horizontality of the metal plates puts viewers on the same plane, occupying the space together. In this context the floor pieces might be seen as an attempt to imagine and create an adequately large "political, economic, and social organization" or field—this is the radical spatiality that Andre's floor works perhaps propose. They become foundational *platforms*—literally and spatially—for new kinds of relations between object, maker, viewer, and institution.

It was such an alterative political platform that Andre agitated for within the AWC. While the original thirteen demands of the AWC focused on increased racial diversity and artists' rights, by March their demands had a radical socialist tone, calling for palliative economic measures only "until such time as a minimum income is guaranteed for all people."[72] They called for rental fees for showing works, profit sharing for resold works, and "stipends and health insurance to working artists."[73] Inspired by state-subsidized artists' incomes in some European countries, they hoped to implement similar policies in the United States, and in September 1970 over three hundred artists passed a motion to form a union in New York.[74] Alex Gross commented, "In Holland, the state buys the artist's work to the extent that he has a guaranteed yearly income. There is no reason why the same thing can't be done here."[75] In fact, there were several reasons why not, including the antigovernment stance held by most art workers disgusted by the ongoing Vietnam War.

Andre actively pushed for wages for artists; at the October 1969 meeting of the AWC he called for artists' work to be "widely and honorably employed" and "justly compensated."[76] At the April 1969 open hearing, he insisted, to thunderous applause,

"The art world is a poison in the community of artists and must be removed by oblit-eration."[77] Andre's words, filled with hope and rage, articulate a wish for new forms of social relations between artists, ones not framed by the market. Then-editor of *Artforum* Philip Leider later admitted that what Andre read was actually written by Leider as a mocking exaggeration of the AWC.[78] Andre's full-scale appropriation of someone else's words could be linked to the ethos of factory fabrication—here, again, he did not "make the work" himself. Regardless of its parodic intent, this text was read with full conviction. Andre's disregard of the originally scornful tone of the text demonstrates that, however ridiculous or far-fetched it seemed to some, many in the AWC were compelled by idealistic visions that aspired to bring together a new "community of artists." That Andre read someone else's words and claimed them as his own also points to a wider strategy of political appropriation or reclamation that troubled conventional notions of authorship and effaced the role of the maker.

By the late 1960s Andre was one of the artists commanding relatively high prices—according to one source, his 1969–70 prices were in the $3,000–$8,000 range, at a time when many other artists were not selling at all.[79] Andre elaborated on the gross discrepancies in the art world in a December 1969 talk, saying that "ninety-nine percent of advanced artists . . . get nothing, or certainly no serious part of their incomes from art."[80] He expounded:

> Art is a lousy career. I mean in terms of what society thinks. . . . And it's a very bad sys-tem where a dozen people get tremendously over-inflated incomes. . . . I myself have been in New York and working with an organization called the Art Workers Coalition. . . . One of the problems we confront, is the fact that we don't want to take anything away from those twelve artists who have six figure incomes. . . . But the point is, let's put a floor on it so that a person can have a career as an artist, he doesn't have to be an advanced artist, he can be any kind of artist he wants to be, he just has to say he's an artist and certain things should therefore be provided: health insurance, dental insurance.[81]

Andre articulates a dream to bring all artists up financially, establishing a "floor"— a significant phrase given his sculpture—rather than to take some artists (including himself) down. How to reconcile unequal financial situations among artists at vari-ous levels of commercial success would prove an unsolvable dilemma for the AWC. On April 14, 1970, he participated in a panel at MoMA on "art and subsidy"; pan-elists considered everyday economics, housing, and sources of income for artists.[82] Andre's comments elicited the following angry thought from John Hightower, the MoMA director (although at the time he was too abashed to say it aloud): "The Mu-

seum of Modern Art was not established as a foundation to support the livelihood and lifestyles of artists. . . . Don't use us to take care of your lives."[83]

Some artists viewed the moniker *art worker* as a hollow attempt at collectivity. As the artist Paul Brach said in 1971: "The hysteria of the rhetoric blew my mind. . . . Carl [Andre] and Bob Morris—have used it to do a hell of a lot of grandstanding, as far as I'm concerned. . . . I think one of my problems in relating to the Art Workers' Coalition is that somewhere in my early twenties I stopped thinking of myself as a worker in the proletarian fantasy. I am an intellectual and not a worker."[84] According to Brach, Andre's and Morris's class politics involved imagining artists as "workers in the proletarian fantasy," and he objected to this vision by explicitly associating his own work with intellectual labor.

Minimalists like Andre also faced a different accusation. Karl Beveridge and Ian Burn wrote in the *Fox* in 1975 that "the split between art and real problems emerged in the 1960s in an essentially apolitical and asocial art—to the extent that, for most artists, political engagement meant moving to an extra art activity."[85] In other words, for artists such as Andre activism was an alibi for not making explicitly political art. Perhaps, Beveridge and Burn suggest, these artists asserted themselves as workers precisely because their labor was no longer evident in their objects. Their politics were *displaced* onto their personal identities, enacted on the level of personal style rather than artistic content.

Although Andre's work has remained fairly aesthetically consistent since the mid-1960s, in 1971, the heyday of the AWC, Andre broke from his usual format with a show that acknowledged the shaping forces of commodification and patronage on artistic practice. At the Dwan Gallery, he laid out twenty-two different lines of found material, from plasticine bricks to steel rods to lead-plated copper wire to thin ribbons of scavenged metal (Fig. 17). Although the works in the line show differed little visually from some of his earlier works, this exhibition nonetheless marked a departure for Andre with regard to his pricing: each yard of material would be priced according to the income of the collector. The scraggly snakes of materials, the variation of gestural lines scribbled and scrawled in different textures and colors, and the installation's almost two-dimensional quality made this installation as close to a drawing as any work Andre had ever produced.

Reviewers immediately related the Dwan show of 1971 to Andre's larger political agenda of that time. "A new wrinkle here, which for Andre may be an effort to unthwart himself politically, is the imposition of an egalitarian pricing system on collectors: 1 percent of the purchaser's gross annual income per linear yard of the work."[86]
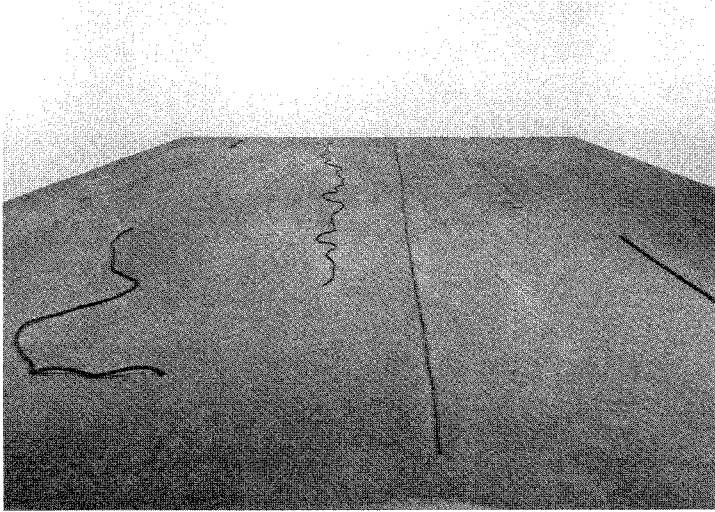
FIGURE 17 Installation shot of Carl Andre's exhibition at the Dwan Gallery, New York, 1971. Photograph by Walter Russell. Courtesy of the Paula Cooper Gallery, New York. Art © Carl Andre/Licensed by VAGA, New York, NY.

Andre pegged the value of the work directly to the collector's income. By requesting a payment of 1 percent of the purchaser's annual income for each yard of sculpture—measured out like so much expensive silk—Andre interrogated how the value of art is commonly linked to the artist's cultural worth. The material has value, he suggests, not because of any intrinsic quality it might possess or because of its selection and arrangement by an artist, but because of the wealth of the collector. An exhibit of materials found on the street priced in such a manner could be staggeringly expensive or a bargain, depending on what the buyer earned. Not only does this pricing turn questions of artistic value on their head, but it also opens the possibility of purchase to those for whom art is usually far outside the realm of economic feasibility.

Andre increasingly hardened his position that institutionalizing art severed objects from their maker. He referred to this as a "slave practice," maintaining that his "works of art installed as trophies of acquisition [are] enslaved to a vision of sales."[87] Andre's tellingly hyperbolic critique asserts that the commodification of art is somehow akin to the brutal deprivations of slavery. It also reads like a boilerplate summation of Marx's conception of alienation, in which the wage laborer is alienated because of specialization from the object he produces. Yet theorists and laborers alike have long idealized art as the very opposite of alienated labor. For instance, Mike Lefevre, a steelworker interviewed in 1972 by oral historian Studs Terkel for his book *Working*, offers this testimony:

I'm a dying breed. A laborer. Strictly muscle work . . . pick it up, put it down, pick it up, put it down. . . . It's hard to take pride in a bridge you're never gonna cross, in a door you're never gonna open. You're mass-producing things and you never see the end result of it. I would like to see a building, say, the Empire State, I would like to see on one side of it a foot-wide strip with the name of every bricklayer, the name of every electrician, with all the names. So when a guy walked by, he could take his son and say, "See, that's me over there on the forty-fifth floor. I put the steel beam in." Picasso can point to a painting. What can I point to?[88]

Lefevre explicitly articulates his alienation from the steel he helps produce, which is funneled toward projects that he will never see or use. He contrasts his situation with that of the artist, who in Lefevre's idealized vision can point with pride to the object he creates.

The disconnect between the object and its maker, however, is precisely what Andre evoked when he claimed that artists were akin to factory workers: "The assembly-line worker has no equity in any part of his production. Once he receives his wage packet at the end of the week, he's completely severed from his production. He can't say what's done with it, and he gets no profit or benefit from it. In a similar way, the artist, by receiving money, is severed from any connection to the true vision or destiny of his work."[89] For Andre, the degradation of the art worker stemmed from artists' lack of control over their works: that is, the circumstances of their display and sale. This statement skirts the actual processes of consumer capitalism and the wage labor system, collapsing the distinction between use value and symbolic value: unlike factory workers, artists do have some control over their products, as they can decide not to sell them or choose to give them away.

If the line show at the Dwan Gallery demonstrated Andre's desire to micromanage the conditions of sale for his artworks, he was especially particular about how his works were received and shown. His "security drafts," which were really certificates of authenticity, were one way to get around the works' reproducibility. He wanted his works to be *his*: you could not find your own firebricks and make your own version of *Equivalent VIII*. Agitated by the disregard museums, galleries, and collectors showed toward his exacting display requirements, Andre, in calling the alienated artist to arms, was singularly concerned that artists maintain a strong voice in the resale, display, and maintenance of their work. (Such issues were especially important to minimal and conceptual artists, whose works in theory were readily reproducible.)

The question of artists' rights galvanized the New York art world, as in the formulation of the "Artist's Reserved Rights Transfer and Sale Agreement" that resulted

from the AWC's organizing efforts, especially their call for a percentage of profits from resold works. (As Alexander Alberro has chronicled, this sale contract was drafted in 1971 to help artists maintain control—financial and otherwise—over their artworks as these works entered the marketplace.)[90] The AWC was deeply involved in questions of the "value" of artistic work as well as issues of control over its display: these questions riveted Andre and shaped his practice from the beginning.

While the AWC shied away from pronouncing what socially engaged art should look like, the founding motifs of minimal art were integral to some of its own protest materials: for example, a flyer from 1970 weaves Andre's aesthetics into the fabric of the AWC's practice (Fig. 18). Typed on standard letter-sized paper, it lays out the hope that a Vietnam Moratorium—a day when all business as usual is halted to resist the war—will escalate month after month, day after day, until every moment is annexed into protest. Seen next to one of Andre's word poems, "Leverwords" from 1964, the flyer reflects one of his favorite configurations for words on a page, in lines of graduated length that form a beveled edge cascading down the white sheet. The following is an excerpt:

```
L E V E R W O R D S
beam
clay beam
edge clay beam
grid edge clay beam
bond grid edge clay beam
path bond grid edge clay beam
```

(Text © Carl Andre/Licensed by VAGA, New York, NY)

The AWC leaflet turns the simple shape of Andre's poem into the shape of propaganda, relying on the simplicity of the typeface, serial repetition, concrete elements, and a design that emphasizes escalation. Here the AWC has borrowed Andre's minimalist aesthetic for its polemic.[91]

Andre's work crystallized an ideology of making and the market that found favor among influential, and like-minded, critics and curators, especially those affiliated with the AWC. His rapid rise to prominence in this time, including his solo show at the Guggenheim in 1970, attests to the effect of his art among critics such as Rose and Lippard, who wrote favorably about him and curated his work into important shows. Perhaps Andre's works gained momentum during the AWC years because

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THE DAYS OF MORATORIUM

OCTOBER 15
NOVEMBER 13 14
(WASHINGTON 15)
DECEMBER 13 14 15
JANUARY 13 14 15 16
FEBUARY 13 14 15 16 17
MARCH 12 13 14 15 16 17
APRIL 12 13 14 15 16 17 18
MAY 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18
JUNE 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19
JULY 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19
AUGUST 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20
SEPTEMBER 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20
OCTOBER 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21
NOVEMBER 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21
DECEMBER 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22
JANUARY 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22
FEBUARY 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23
MARCH 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23
APRIL 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24
MAY 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24
JUNE 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25
JULY 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25
AUGUST 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26
SEPTEMBER 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26
OCTOBER 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27
NOVEMBER 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28
DECEMBER 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28
JANUARY 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29
FEBUARY 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28
MARCH 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 ....

ART WORKERS
COALITION

FIGURE 18 Art Workers' Coalition, "The Days of Moratorium" flyer, 1970. Image courtesy of the Lucy R. Lippard Papers, ca. 1940–2006, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

they fit a certain ethic of representation; what is more, his hybrid art worker identity—born of a marriage of hands-off production with an insistence on the artist's tenuous status as a worker—became available for adoption by others.

Charting connections between an artist's art and politics can be tricky, even when the art is clearly meant as protest. It is made all the more difficult when the art in question is, on its surface, so resistant to direct reference. David Raskin offers one model

for mapping these links; his writing on Donald Judd details the artist's political affili-ations and thinks through how those might be in dialogue with Judd's boxes.[92] An-dre's politics function a bit differently. If the AWC had some influence on how he made art, his art in turn shaped the direction of the AWC. Andre's work in essence formed a platform on which the AWC's philosophies (broadly understood) could articulate themselves; both how he made his sculptures and how he understood his own labor were crucial elements of this influence. That is, minimalism made available the con-ditions through which artistic labor might be rendered newly visible. Minimalism was not only in keeping with the AWC; minimalism, at least as practiced by Andre, with his emphasis on leveling and labor, helped make the notion of the art worker possible.

During the AWC years, Andre issued contradictory proclamations about the value of art. Sometimes he granted it incredible powers of sustenance and vitality: "Given: Art is a branch of agriculture. Hence: 1. We must farm to sustain life. 2. We must fight to protect life."[93] At other times he viewed it as a useless, even frivolous affair. Andre's wavering reflects the complex diversity of interests in high art, as opposed to mass culture, an issue that was poorly understood in the 1960s and 1970s. He also insisted that, though art was of interest to few people, it was not "elitist." The "elite" as a category had attracted new attention with the publication in 1956 of C. Wright Mills's *The Power Elite,* which posited incestuous relations between the over-seers of the military, the government, and large corporations that began in select prep schools and Ivy League universities and were sealed in equally select country clubs.[94] (Among the prep schools Mills mentions in *The Power Elite* is Andover, where Andre himself had been a student—a further complication to his claim of a purely working-class childhood.) The notion of the power elite was made urgent by the Vietnam War. For the New York art world, the example that hit closest to home was the Museum of Modern Art board of trustees, made up of governmental and corporate leaders such as the Rockefellers.

The charge of elitism carried a special sting for self-proclaimed art workers, as it was firmly understood to be a characteristic of the institutions they were fighting. As founding AWC member Takis wrote in a January 1969 statement, "Artworkers! The time came [sic] to demystify the elite of the art rulers, directors of museums, and trustees."[95] When in 1971 the staff of MoMA, drafting off the successes of the AWC, organized into a union, they chose to affiliate with the Distributive Workers of Amer-ica, a militant, mostly black and Latino union, a move one journalist saw as a pro-tective measure against charges of being "middle-class kids playing revolutionar-ies. . . . They shrivel up inside when you call them elitists."[96] Within the AWC, the

charge of elitism became a bit of a bogeyman; many AWC flyers scorned Rockefeller and the "elite" who ran the museum. Andre attempted to counter art's inherent elitism when, for his 1970 Guggenheim show, "at the request of the artist" there was no private opening and instead the museum held a free day.[97]

When the Whitney Museum displayed Andre's work in 1976 in an "unacceptable" position next to a wall with a window, he responded with the most scathing indictment he could muster: "The [museums] are the true elitists, don't you think. . . . An elite is a minority that has, in some aspect, power over the majority. My position with the Whitney is a powerless one. That is what this whole thing proves."[98] By casting himself as powerless—as, in effect, an alienated worker—Andre could buttress his claims that he was opposed to elitism.

This anxiety about elitism strikes at the uncertain position of the abstract artist within the Left. Many artists in the AWC wanted their art to be political without having to compromise its nonrepresentational, esoteric form. They struggled to define the social value of their specialized work, given that its primary audience was precisely this "elite." The term *avant-garde*—which could have given minimalism, at least as practiced by Andre, some political purchase because of its implied antagonism to mass culture—had little currency for the AWC. Minimalists did not have a thinker like Clement Greenberg to defend their art's estrangement or autonomy from popular culture as a critical, even political task or to demonstrate that such autonomy rested on the question of radical form.

The minimalists of the AWC did have Herbert Marcuse, however. Or, to be more precise, they had a set of critics who appropriated Marcuse's theories to justify the relevance of minimal art. Gregory Battcock was at the center of this appropriation, although in practice it often meant creatively misinterpreting Marcuse himself. Battcock's "Art in the Service of the Left?" (note the uncertainty implied by the question mark) insists that "Minimal art, electronic sound experimentation, and Conceptual choreographic efforts all remain subversive," even though, "according to Marcuse, they fall short of being acceptable as art."[99] Plowing right past these apparent contradictions, Battcock decides that Marcuse "is wrong on this, his major point."[100] Battcock repeatedly invokes Marcuse as the cornerstone of minimal aesthetics—a viewpoint that would become widespread as Marcuse's theories exerted great influence on artists and activists alike in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

"Art," Marcuse wrote, "opens the established reality to another dimension: that of possible liberation."[101] Marcuse called for new forms in art that would pave the way for revolutionary sensibilities, hoping that art could sustain "a dialectical unity be-

Art in the One-Dimensional Society

By HERBERT MARCUSE

As a kind of personal introduction, I would like to say a few words about how I came to feel the need for occupying myself with the phenomenon of art. I use the term 'art' throughout in the general sense which covers literature and music as well as the visual arts. Similarly, 'language' (of art, artistic language) is meant to refer to the picture, sculpture, and tone as well as to the word.

It was some sort of despair or desperation. Despair in realizing that all language, all prosaic language, and particularly the traditional language somehow seems to be dead, it seems to me incapable of communicating what is going on today, and archaic and obsolete compared with some of the achievements and force of the artistic and the poetic language, especially in the context of the opposition against this society among the protesting and rebellious youth of our time. When I saw and participated in their demonstration against the war in Vietnam, when I heard them singing the songs of Bob Dylan, I somehow felt, and it is very hard to define, that this is really the only revolutionary language left today.

Now, this may sound romantic, and I often blame myself for perhaps being too romantic in evaluating the liberating, radical power of art. I remember the familiar statement made long ago about the futility and perhaps even about the crime of art, that the Parthenon wasn't worth the blood and tears of a single Greek slave. And equally futile is the contrary statement that only the Parthenon justified slave society. Now, which one of the two statements is correct? If I look at Western civilization and culture today, at the wholesale slaughter and brutality it is engaged in, it seems to me that the first statement is probably more correct than the second. And still, the survival of art may turn out to be the only weak link that today connects the present with hope for the future.

In many a discussion I've had, the question was raised about the survival of art in our times. The very possibility of art, the truth of art was questioned. And it was questioned because of the totalitarian character of our 'affluent society' which easily absorbs all non-conformist activities, and by virtue of this very fact invalidates art as communication and representation of a world other than that of the Establishment. I would like to discuss here whether this statement is actually correct, whether the closed society, the omnipresent, overwhelming society in which we live today, whether this is really the reason for the agony of art in our times. And discussing this question involves the larger question as to the historical element in all art. And if we look at this historical element in art, we would have to say that the crisis of art today is only part of the general crisis of the political and moral opposition to our society, of his inability to define, name and communicate the goals of the opposition to a society which, after all, delivers the goods. It delivers the goods, bigger and perhaps even better than ever before and it exacts, for the delivery of these goods, the constant sacrifice of human lives: death, mutilation, enslavement. But they occur far away enough so that it doesn't really touch the majority of us very much.

The traditional concepts and the traditional words used to designate a better society, that is, a free society (and art has something to do with freedom), seem to be without any meaning today. They are inadequate to convey what man and things are today, and inadequate to convey what man and things can be and ought to be. These traditional concepts pertain to a language which is still that of a pre-technological and pre-totalitarian era in which we live. They do not contain the experience of the 'thirties, 'forties and 'sixties, and their rationality itself seems to militate against the new language which may be capable of communicating the horror of that which is and the promise of that which can be. Thus, since the 'thirties, we see the intensified and methodical search for a new language, for a poetic language as a revolutionary language, for an artistic language as a revolutionary language. This implies the concept

'Systemic Painting': Jo Baer, Primary Light Group: Red, Green, Blue, oil on canvas. Courtesy Guggenheim Museum.
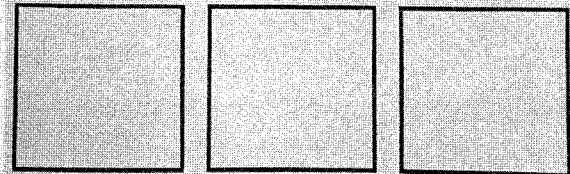
FIGURE 19 Article by Herbert Marcuse in *Arts Magazine,* May 1967, 26. Reproduction of Jo Baer, *Primary Light Group: Red, Green, Blue,* 1964–65, oil on canvas, triptych, each panel 152.3 × 152.3 cm, Museum of Modern Art. Courtesy of Jo Baer.

tween what is and what can (and ought to) be."[102] Art critics picked up on a parallel here with Andre's art. Peter Schjeldahl wrote in 1973 that "Andre's message seems more ethical and social than esthetic. That is, his work seems to exist less as something to be enjoyed than as an embodied proposition about what art *ought* to be."[103] And in 1978 Rose asserted that Andre's art was "democratic," further stating: "Andre displays the raw materials with which we could transform the world, if we cared to build a new order."[104] Rose's vision of building a new order echoes certain formulations made by Marcuse.

We cannot know what kind of "liberatory" art forms Marcuse had in mind, for he gave no specifics in terms of visual art. It matters, however, that someone—perhaps Marcuse himself, or Battcock, who was an editor at *Arts Magazine*—decided to illustrate the front page of Marcuse's 1967 *Arts Magazine* article "Art in the One-Dimensional Society" with three minimal squares (Fig. 19).[105] These paintings, by

the AWC member Jo Baer, establish an immediate visual sympathy between the title and minimalism.[106] It is unclear what, exactly, this parallel means. Do the paintings endorse the new form Marcuse envisions? Or are they the blank face of the one-dimensional society itself? They appear to stand in for minimalism, productively understood here as an art that diagnoses the flatness of contemporary society and proposes a new aesthetic that would move beyond this flatness.

Marcuse offered some minimal artists a way to see their formal, abstract experiments as gestures of political possibility. The resonance between minimalism and Marcuse was not limited to form; Marcuse was also a significant theorist of the changing status of the worker, and his conception of labor was instrumental for artists as they looked for ways to organize a viable political identity around their unique form of work. In his *Essay on Liberation,* Marcuse theorized that in the new economy the educated intelligentsia—students and artists—rather than the working class were the agents of change.[107] Marcuse's theory reinflects Andre's statement about the "proletarianization" of the artist subjugated to the ruling class. Andre did not say that artists were the same as workers, but, like Marcuse, he claimed that artists (that is, art workers) occupied the revolutionary position once held by workers. For Marcuse, revolutionary subjects above all throw the whole system into question by abolishing their own dependence on that system. The slogans of the AWC speak to this aim, even if their goals for a system that included (and paid) them all did not.[108]

Making Matter Matter

While Andre scavenged materials for his first works from Manhattan construction sites—Phyllis Tuchman records that "he found several plates," which then spawned his signature style—he quickly discovered that foam, brick, and metal in multiple, regular-sized units were not easy to come by and had to be purchased at metal suppliers or specially ordered.[109] He relied on the small manufacturing plants in lower Manhattan, although by the late 1960s these were being rapidly replaced by artists' lofts. As he continued to use to numerous standardized units (which he could not salvage from garbage piles), Andre discovered the best suppliers through trade magazines about metals and mining. His lifelong interest in metals and their properties had made him a regular reader of technical books and *Scientific American.*[110]

Over the next decade, he made works with a variety of metals, as well as with ivory, magnets, stones, and wood. Some of his metals are elemental—lead, silver, gold, cop-
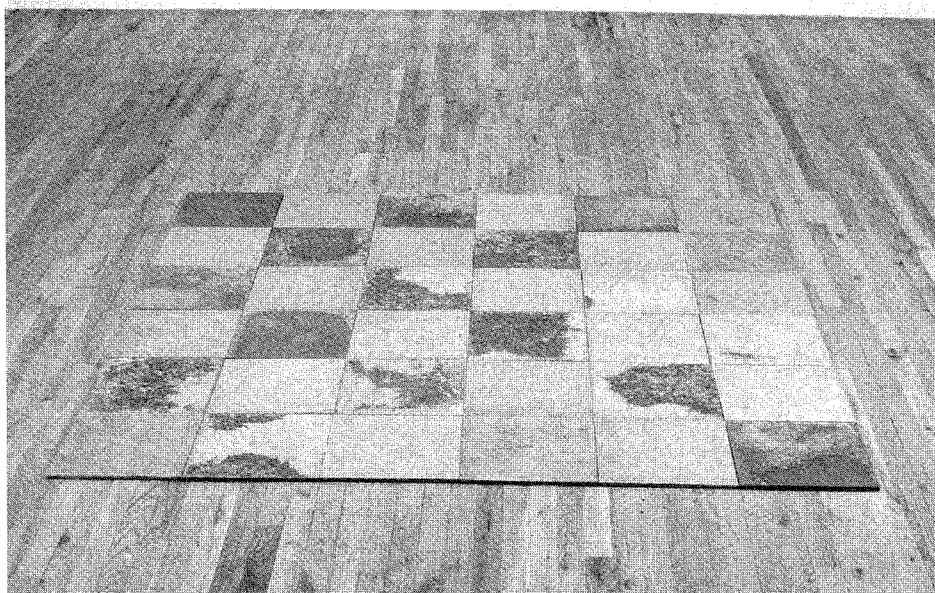
FIGURE 20 Carl Andre, *Magnesium-Zinc Plain,* 1969. Zinc (18 units) and magnesium (18 units), each 12 × 12 × ⅜ in, overall 72 × 72 × ⅜ in. Photograph courtesy of the Paula Cooper Gallery, New York. Collection of Museum of Contemporary Art, San Diego. Art © Carl Andre/Licensed by VAGA, New York, NY.

per, magnesium, and aluminum—and in 1968 he underscored this, using a reproduction of the periodic table to advertise an exhibition at the Dwan Gallery. He has used some nonelemental metals: steel, for instance, which is most commonly an alloy of iron and carbon.[111] In the 1960s Andre's steel came primarily from U.S. Steel in Pennsylvania, a common source for many artists because the factory let them specify the size and thickness of the plates.[112]

One of Andre's very first square metal floor pieces was a three-inch square of eighteen-carat gold (*Gold Field,* 1966, Plate 5). The art patron Vera List commissioned *Gold Field* after she had purchased one of Andre's magnet pieces. Andre remembers going down to the custom jewelry makers in the Bowery and asking for an ounce of gold made into a small, three-inch flat square—the price, $600, was equal to the price he got from List.[113] Andre quickly realized what a productive method laying out metal squares could be, and the next few years saw a burst of activity, making many floor piece iterations, such as *Magnesium-Zinc Plain* from 1969 (Fig. 20), which lays out alternating metals, their blotchy patinas mottling their surfaces as they dully reflect the gallery lights.

Critic Barbara Rose saw *Gold Field* as an ironic gesture about the corrupt nature of commissions, writing that "Andre's first blow to the profit motive consisted of tak-

ing the money a collector had paid for a commission, buying an ingot of gold with it and giving the gold back to the collector."[114] It was meant to be different from other sculptures made of precious materials because it was more visibly and literally tied to its worth, dissolving the line between use and exchange value. Andre recounts bringing the work—not an ingot but a very small flat sheet—to List in a velvet casing, proud of how delicate and rare it seemed. He was disappointed by how dwarfed the work was in List's palatial apartment.[115]

However, Andre was compelled by the aesthetic properties of the flattened metal itself, as is evident from his making squares of metal one of his primary motifs soon thereafter. Furthermore, Andre was interested in the economic power of gold, noting in 1969 that to "take all the gold out of Fort Knox . . . would break the whole myth of the system. It would break the whole Western capitalist system."[116] Andre's comment on the gold standard—dismantled two years later, in 1971—reveals his awareness of both the symbolic and the real power of metals. For Andre, metals guaranteed value; if they underlay the capitalist system (metaphorically and literally), their recirculation could, perhaps, also undermine that system.

In his important work on minimalism, Hal Foster has written that works such as Andre's, with their manufactured units like so many standard commodity objects, in some respects embody industrial efficiency.[117] They are also, he asserts, complexly entangled in the transition to a postindustrial order. In addition, Andre further positions his work within a temporally complicated place somewhere between the preindustrial—that is, the crafted and the hand-worked—and the manufactured. He has mentioned his profound respect for the "crafts" of construction work and the great kinship he feels with the dignity and grace of bricklaying.[118]

More crucially, throughout the late 1960s and early 1970s, Andre emphasized that he *did* work with his hands. While friends and rivals such as Smithson were making large-scale earthworks, he wanted to be known as the minimalist who was not attracted to the massive. As he said in 1970, "I like to be personally involved. Part of the reason why I make things in elements is because they come in sizes I can handle. I can actually put down a piece by myself. I've only done a couple of things with elements I couldn't handle myself."[119] Is there much distance between asserting that he personally handled his art and saying it was *hand worked?* Even if positioning a block of wood is not carving it by hand, Andre, by repeatedly invoking his bodily involvement with his art, means to bridge that gap.

For Andre, making art is primarily a matter of lifting and placing. "My making a mark on a canvas has never convinced me. Moving a brick from one side of a room

to another, that convinces me. I know I've done something when I've done it."[120] These rudimentary tasks of lifting and placing—related to his idealized notion of bricklaying—are akin to manipulation, to carving or marking a surface. Those tasks become his brush strokes. In this way, he participates bodily in making his art. He has emphasized that participation further by relating his artwork to manual lifting: "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."[121]

The metal floor works thus have a dialectical relationship with industrial procedures. The plates look as though they are straight off the assembly line roller—freshly pressed steel, shiny aluminum, glinting zinc—yet they are intentionally cut to be just heavy (or light) enough for one individual to lift. Recall steelworker Lefevre's definition of "muscle work" in *Working:* "Pick it up, put it down, pick it up, put it down." With his floor works, Andre presents himself as a laborer with a single skill; this reduces the idea of labor to a distillation of manual work. What is more, his work telescopes through the preindustrial and the postindustrial all at once.

Consider *Lever* (1966; remade in 1969), a long straight row of 137 firebricks: the bricks are positioned thin side up (Fig. 21). This placement recalls an illustration in Frank Gilbreth's 1911 study of brickworkers that demonstrates the "right way to pick up [a] brick" (Fig. 22). Gilbreth, a motion analysis pioneer who worked in the tradition of F. W. Taylor, calculated precisely how workers interacted with materials to develop the "one best way" for moving with efficiency.[122] He wanted to decrease wasted motions to increase worker productivity. Although Gilbreth is often seen as a ruthless Taylorist engineer scheming to turn workers into machines, in fact he aimed to create less effort and strain for the workers to humanize the workplace. His first study was of bricklayers, and Andre's grandfather was probably schooled in his techniques. As this diagram illustrates, Gilbreth recommended turning the bricks on their edge so that workers could grab them more effectively; *Lever*'s laying of bricks with no overlap conforms to Gilbreth's recommendation. One might assume that Andre's bricks likewise facilitate an efficient laying out, prepped as they are for easy pickup. Yet the bricks in *Lever* significantly differ from those illustrated: they are tightly packed in their neat row, allowing no room for the hand to grasp them. What is more, they are *on the ground*. Gilbreth's single most important innovation was to recommend that bricks be placed on a waist-high scaffold so that workers would not "waste" motion bending down to pick them up.

Lever, like all of Andre's work, places materials backbreakingly on the floor. Andre's art thwarts efficiency, requiring the installer to bend over and pick up, bend over
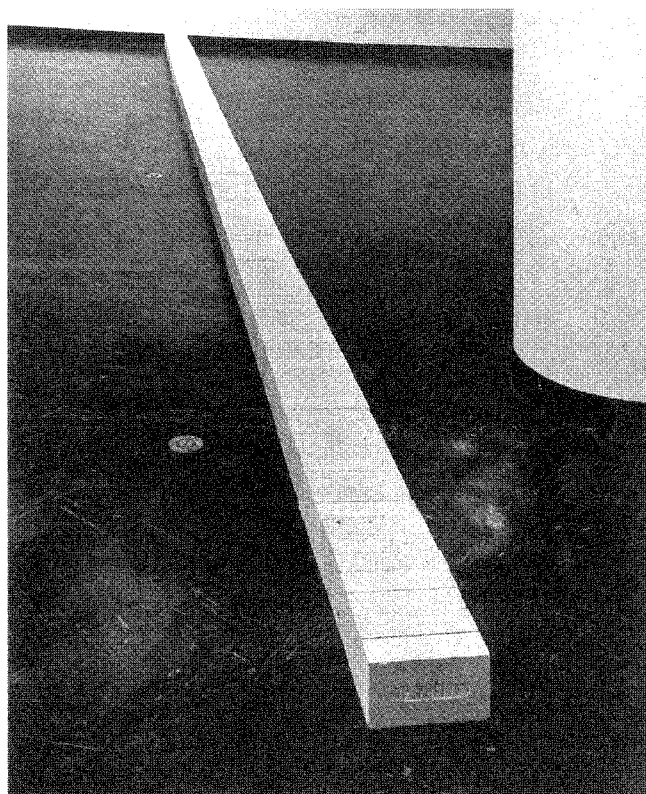
FIGURE 21 Carl Andre, *Lever,*
1966, installed in the *Primary
Structures* exhibit at the Jewish
Museum, New York. Firebricks,
137 units, each $4\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{7}{8} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ in.,
overall $4\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{7}{8} \times 348$ in.
Photograph © The Jewish Museum,
New York/Art Resource, NY. Art ©
Carl Andre/Licensed by VAGA, New
York, NY.
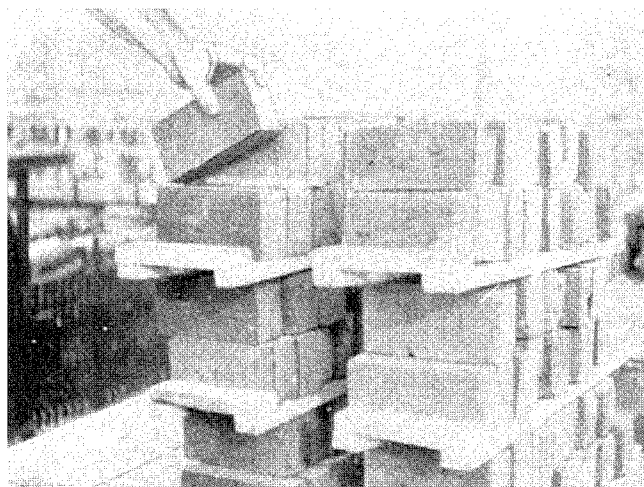
FIGURE 22 Frank B. Gilbreth,
illustration from *Motion Study: A
Method for Increasing the Efficiency
of the Workman* (New York: D. Van
Nostrand, 1911). Caption reads,
"Right way to pick up brick from
upper tier on the packet."

and put down.[123] His works demonstrate a longing for the days before Taylorized work and efficiency, a time when a worker could obsess about squaring bricks just so, moving materials from one side of the room to another, feeling the weight and heft of a handheld load. As Alex Potts asserts, "In hindsight, the world of industrial processes evoked by Andre's work has more to do with the aging rust belt than with the new world of consumer commodities and high technology industry. The materiality of his work, with its evocations of industrial grittiness, might now even have a slightly nostalgic patina."[124] The arrangement of the metal pieces, too, suggests the need for the care and precision not of a machine but of a craftsman. These works represent a deliberate archaism, harking back to artisanal times while invoking standardized factory fabrication. Are the artists who embraced manufactured art engineers, craftsmen, or factory line workers? Though Andre claims that artists have been proleterianized, he acknowledges that "my social position, really, in the classic Marxist analysis, is I'm an artisan."[125]

A curator recently wrote the following account of installing an Andre retrospective in Oxford, England: "It was hard, physical labor, some of the time; but never at any point did anyone ask 'Why?' People identified with the work so totally that there was not even the usual request for a verbal explanation of the meaning. . . . There was never one moment of alienation, only a straightforward love and respect for the material."[126] The use of the term *alienation*—and the suggestion that the installation of an Andre exhibition forestalls that alienation—is remarkable. If one is tempted to dismiss this statement as an instance of enthusiastic curatorial excess, there might be a grain of truth regarding the relationship between the installer and the art. Perhaps Andre's respect for his materials, and the impossibility of laying them down efficiently—one must be gentle and conscious in aligning them precisely—enacts in some small measure Andre's dream of contradicting the Taylorist rigidity of industrial manufacturing. As the comparison to Gilbreth shows, something in the way the materials are laid out—something inherent in Andre's work—resists mind-numbing routines. The curator's statement is curiously defensive, as if the installers would be expected to feel more resentful handling Andre's work than that of other artists; this may be explained by the lasting fallout from the Tate bricks controversy, which pitted artist and worker against each other.

If a lasting legacy of minimalism was that it handed over much of the "work" to viewers by activating them in their perceptual space, Andre's minimalism also nominates *installers* as part of the act of making, inviting them to contribute to the art's experiential gestalt. As the artist has said, "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 out when they want to and put them away when they want to."[127] Installers, spectators, and the artist are on equal ground doing the work that actualizes the art. For Andre this work is not the grind of employment but the unalienated pleasure of "putting [the works] together."[128] Yet whose labor is he invoking here? It is first and foremost his own, as well as that of the installers and spectators, but the other laborers with whom he wants to assert an affiliation are often erased from his account of making. There are working bodies behind his metals and his bricks, workers that his own accounts have not taken into consideration; asking questions about his art's actual manufacturing is one way to bring those bodies at least partially into view.

In an early review of Andre's sculpture, Mel Bochner asserts that Andre "de-mythologized the artist's function. . . . There is no work or craftsmanship."[129] More recently, Benjamin Buchloh has argued that minimal sculpture such as Andre's dis-mantled the "mythified construction techniques" of previous sculpture because of the "transparency of [his] production procedures."[130] Both Buchloh and Bochner mo-bilize the idea of "myth," as if Andre's metal plates had come clattering down to wake us from our collective dream and return us to cold hard reality. They also both claim that the *work* is "transparent." This reading asserts that Andre's minimalism is a ver-sion of Duchamp's readymade, and the importance of Duchamp's example of inves-tigations of art, value, and artistic identity in the 1960s and 1970s should not be un-derestimated. Buchloh in particular has done pioneering work to assess the relation between the historical and the neo avant-garde. Yet the Duchampian influence claimed for minimalism overlooks the material specificity of its objects; thus Andre's actual production process is not often interrogated.

It is a powerfully deceptive aspect of Andre's work that it appears so ordinary and unworked. It is true that most of his earliest works were "scavenged" and that he con-tinued to use local found materials in some of his pieces. While *64 Steel Square* was composed of sixty-four precut steel plates that Andre had purchased from a salvage company on Canal Street, this was not his process for the vast majority of his works. Clearly a square plate of gold was not merely lying on the street like so much rub-bish. It is true that Andre did not make his magnesium, nor did he shape it or cut it—but how, even, did he locate it? Can one just call up a metal supplier and ask for a square of pure copper? Could you do so in 1967, and where would that copper have come from? The readymade argument makes Andre's choices more concep-tual than aesthetic, when Andre deeply resented being called a conceptualist, as-

FIGURE 23 Carl Andre, *Reef,* 1966, remade at the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York, 1969. Styrofoam planks, 65 units, each 20 × 10 × 108 in., overall 20 × 108 × 650 in. Photograph courtesy of the Paula Cooper Gallery, New York. Art © Carl Andre/Licensed by VAGA, New York, NY

serting that his art has "nothing to do with ideas-in-the-head and everything to with matter-in-the-world."[131]

Rosalind Krauss writes that "minimalist sculptors . . . exploit a kind of found object for its possibilities as an element in a repetitive structure. This is true . . . of Carl Andre's rows of Styrofoam planks or firebricks."[132] But neither industrial lime bricks nor large orange Styrofoam planks of a work like *Reef* (1966, Fig. 23) are "found objects" in the way that Duchamp's bottle rack is. With *Reef,* the planks are tilted on end and lined up in a row on the ground like an outsized, inflated version of *Lever* to become a confrontational presence. *Reef,* made of buoyancy billets used to keep docks afloat, was constructed of planks made by Defender Industries in New York; each plank cost $22.25 for a total of $1,780.[133] When a similar Styrofoam work, *Crib*

(1967), sold to a collector in Germany, the planks had to be specially ordered from Dow Chemical. Since Dow was worried about their flammability, Andre wrote to the collector, "I would suggest that when writing you state they are for 'marine application.'"[134] In other words, these were not found on the street but purchased at specialized stores or ordered from chemical companies.

Styrofoam was not Andre's only use of Dow products. In his 1969 *Magnesium-Zinc Plain,* the underside of the magnesium (Plate 6) bears the imprint of Dow Chemical. (I was allowed to violate Andre's own rules for viewing the art and turn over the metal plate).[135] This brand imprint speaks volumes about the materiality of metal and Andre's ethics of making, issues that nonetheless remained somewhat obscured at the time of the work's creation. Though it was not meant to be seen, the underside of this plate is remarkable and offers up a wealth of visual interest. It has a scribbled mark—the abbreviation for magnesium—handwritten at a skewed angle in dark gray over the mottled, lighter gray patina of the scratched, worn metal. The sudden intrusion of the linguistic mark harks back to Andre's word poems. The stamped imprint, visible on the right side of the plate, is hard to decipher initially but floats between surface and ground in ghostly light blue. It is repeated three times: DOW MAGNESIU—the final M was severed by the arbitrary cuts made when shaping the plate.

In 1969–70 Flavin used his signature fluorescent lights in the *Spaces* show at the Museum of Modern Art; as is detailed in small print in the catalog entry for this work, these lightbulbs were manufactured and donated by General Electric (Fig. 24). GE at the time was under fire for its major governmental contract with the military, producing munitions for the Vietnam War; not only that, but when the show opened, GE workers were on strike. In response to Flavin's art, the AWC sent a letter that accused him of collaborating with the enemy by using GE-made materials. They demanded that he take responsibility for using products that they felt were directly implicated in the war they had united to end. "We question the use of Art (and artists) by a corporation that is one of the largest government contractors of war material. . . . Is it moral for you as an artist to benefit from a company involved in human destruction?"[136] Battcock wrote an article in *Arts Magazine* that explicitly addressed where artists got their materials and these corporations' connections to the war. As Battcock speculated, "The artists get their materials where they can. Why not? There is no connection that can be philosophically demonstrated between the art works themselves and the war. However, there is just one connection; even though it isn't a scientific one, it is ideological."[137]

Dan Flavin

untitled (to Sonja). 1969.

Yellow and green fluorescent light,
14' high x 20' 6" wide x 33' 6" deep.

Lights donated by General Electric,
Large Lamp Division. Fixtures partially
donated by Curtis-Electro Lighting
Incorporated.
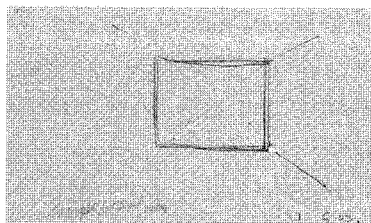
the complete fluorescent system. 1963. Pencil on paper, 3 x 5". Owned by the artist
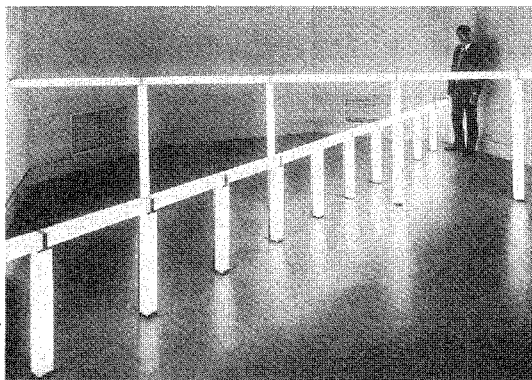
greens crossing greens
(to Piet Mondrian who lacked green). 1966.
Translucent plastic covered green
fluorescent light, approximately
4' high x 20' wide x 22' long.
Stedelijk van Abbemuseum, Eindhoven

FIGURE 24 Dan Flavin, entry in catalog for *Spaces* exhibition, curated by Jennifer Licht, Museum of Modern Art, New York, December 30, 1969–March 1, 1970. Museum of Modern Art Library, New York. Image © The Museum of Modern Art/Licensed by SCALA/Art Resource, NY. Art © 2009 Stephen Flavin/Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York.

Likewise, when Maurice Tuchman's 1969 exhibit *Art and Technology* at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art praised the public involvement of private industry "in the creating of art works," a skeptical reviewer asked, "Are any of the participating corporations manufacturing for the American war machine?"[138] Artists were asked about where their materials came from, and the answers were often understood to be matters of life and death.

But Andre never came under fire for using Dow-made Styrofoam or Dow-made magnesium, even though Dow Chemical was a far larger target for antiwar protesters in the late 1960s than GE. A major manufacturer of napalm, Dow was second only to the ROTC as a target on college campuses.[139] One of the bloodiest riots of the 1960s took place during a sit-in to protest recruitment for Dow at the University of Wisconsin in 1967; nearly one hundred students and police officers sustained injuries.[140] Most leftist groups boycotted Dow, and by 1969 stockholders put pressure on the company to disinvest from the chemical weapons business.[141]

Maybe the absence of discussion around Andre's Dow materials reflects Andre's political clout in the AWC, but it also goes back to the specificity of his materials and their veiled, opaque origins. Because we use lightbulbs in our everyday lives and see their brand name when we purchase them, we know GE made them. This is not the case for massive planks of Styrofoam or a solid flat square of magnesium, neither of which has any domestic use. The readymade argument confuses Styrofoam cups, which can be bought at the grocery store, with large buoyancy billets, which are highly specialized materials. Krauss repeatedly characterizes Andre's work (along with that of his fellow minimalists) as composed of "everyday objects," "commonplace" materials drawn from "ordinary stuffs," remarkable for their very "banality." (These phrases are taken from a single paragraph in her important and pathbreaking *Passages in Modern Sculpture*.)[142] Copper might be as ordinary as the pennies in your pocket, but a large carpet of it, shining and pure under your feet, is about as "everyday" for the average viewer of art as a trip in a submarine. To say that these metals are "banal" or "transparent" ignores the fact that most viewers have no idea how these things are made or where they come from. The readymade reading of minimalism, as much as it wants to "demythologize" sculpture, rests on its own myth, which is that its materials are "everyday," when many of them are quite extraordinary or remote. Buchloh's and Krauss's signature, brilliant contributions to the literature on minimalism continue to be formative to understandings of this movement. Despite the broad—and deserved—influence of that Duchampian paradigm, however, it is vital to reconsider the material aspect of Andre's work beyond the readymade rubric.

This veiling of Andre's materials is one of the key characteristics of the postindustrial age. Andre's art points back in time, to the artisanal and preindustrial, but it is also predicated on *post*industrial conditions. There are two interrelated features of the postindustrial landscape: the manufacturing basis of the economy is eroded because of a rise in service or information-related jobs, and what manufacturing remains is displaced, sent elsewhere, outside our (collective) view. Steel is still milled, but it no longer occupies a certain national imaginary, largely because production has moved outside U.S. borders. As Mike Davis has argued, it is a characteristic of the postindustrial to assume that work has disappeared, or has been taken over by machines, when in fact such hard labor continues unabated, relocated to poor, underdeveloped countries.[143]

In the years that factory fabrication became so prominent in the art world, steel mills and other manufacturing plants were shutting down in record numbers. The

industrial base of the United States shifted just as Andre began to move away from his carved wood pieces to his prefabricated floor works; the early and mid-1960s are notable for the great expansion of global trade routes involving the raw materials of capitalism. Andre's metals followed a logic of global availability. Donald Lippincott, who owned and ran the art fabrication firm Lippincott Inc., reported that while his firm never had any problems acquiring metals, their price rose and fell depending upon the world economic situation. The quality of the metal likewise fluctuated on the basis of the global market.[144] U.S. industrial production of metals reached its peak in 1968; thereafter it steadily declined, and America looked aggressively to the world's supply.[145]

In short, Andre's materials were part of a U.S. industrial context that was becoming somewhat obsolete. Michael Newman has observed that the displacement of "the industrial mode of production . . . from the centre of advanced economies was probably what made it available for art."[146] By the early 1970s the steel for Andre's art no longer necessarily came from Pennsylvania. Instead, it was increasingly likely to be imported from developing nations. Nowadays such items are both more within reach and more confusingly distant than ever. One can order a $^3/_8$-inch-thick square foot of aluminum—exactly Andre's preferred dimensions—from MetalsDepot and have it shipped out directly (Fig. 25). Re-creating his *144 Aluminum Plain* at 2008 prices would cost more than six thousand dollars, plus shipping fees. But as the metals are easier to buy, their sources are receding. Where such things originate is anyone's guess: despite the map of North America on this catalog cover, the company reports that it has changed the source of the metal it purchases on the basis of market fluctuations and that much now comes from eastern Europe.[147]

This transition was well under way when Andre began making his allegedly "everyday" objects, and by the early 1970s the manufacturing sector of the U.S. economy had greatly changed. Following a 27 percent drop in steel use during the 1960s, the U.S. steel industry saw its first-ever decline in production in 1973.[148] By 1975 scores of plants were closing in the Midwest, and an era was ending.[149] The shutdowns continue today. The Bethlehem Steel Company in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, which not only worked with sculptors such as Robert Murray in the 1960s but also employed Andre's father, closed its doors in 1995 after almost 150 years of metal production. Automation, foreign imports, and domestic competition drove it out of business. There are now plans to turn the plant into a "recreation and retail complex" that will include the Smithsonian National Museum of Industrial History, complete with an "iron and steel tour."[150] In other words, the Bethlehem Steel Company, like Andre's
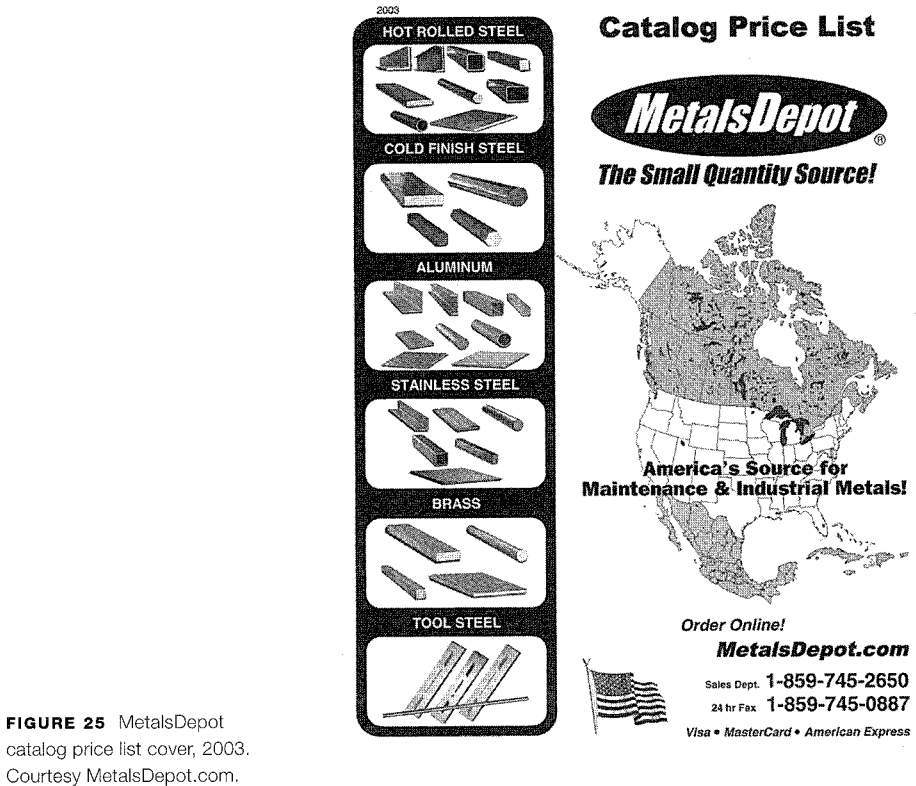
FIGURE 25 MetalsDepot
catalog price list cover, 2003.
Courtesy MetalsDepot.com.

work before it, will move metal into a museum. That the Massachusetts Museum of Contemporary Art (a former electrical parts factory) and Dia:Beacon (a former Nabisco printing plant) are now the two largest repositories of minimal art in the United States is no coincidence—these transformations follow the logic of turning shut-down industrial plants into spectacular showcases for quasi-industrial art objects.

This obsolescing of the industrial is integral to the process of Andre's making, as in the example of *Equivalent VIII*. When Andre first found a single sand-lime brick at a construction site in Manhattan in 1966, he immediately liked the brick's non-domestic properties—its solidity, its unusual pallor.[151] To find enough such bricks to make the entire *Equivalent* series, which required almost a thousand bricks, he located a brickworks in Long Island City, Queens. After his 1966 Tibor de Nagy show, where none of the works sold, he returned them to this factory.[152] When Andre wanted to reconstruct the art in 1969, he went back to the factory to repurchase the bricks, only to find that it had closed. "This $20 million factory had just disappeared," he

reported with amazement. "I find that it very often happens that materials that I work with, which are perfectly accurate, disappear practically overnight."[153] The story of these bricks is also the story of the dismantling of New York's industrial base. Although in the early part of the century New York had many manufacturing industries, by the mid-1950s they were slowly being displaced as Robert Moses's plans for Manhattan moved manufacturing out of the city.[154] Andre felt himself a victim of the displacement of manufacturing. In 1972, when his dealer Virginia Dwan closed her gallery and he lost his representation, he complained that he felt like a worker in a New England mill whose plant had been shut down.[155]

Minimalism in the War Years

What is the relationship between politics and art?
A. Art is a political weapon.
B. Art has nothing to do with politics.
C. Art serves imperialism.
D. Art serves revolution.
E. The relationship between politics and art is none of these
things, some of these things, all of these things.

Carl Andre (1969)

Did Andre's art have a dialogue with the politics of the Vietnam War era?[156] For some critics, the answer is an easy "no." Irving Sandler wrote that Andre "never connected his art with revolutionary or utopian politics."[157] Likewise, in 2000 Hilton Kramer wrote of minimalism, "The art itself was so little affected by the war in Vietnam and the antiwar movement and everything that went with it. . . . [The war] had absolutely no influence on the minimalist movement."[158] Kramer's opinion is not merely revisionist hindsight; some critics in the 1960s and 1970s accused minimal art of a supreme lack of interest in its own historical moment and castigated it for irresponsibly removing itself from the social turmoil of the time. The autonomy of minimalism—for Andre, his work's "stillness" stood in opposition to a war-filled world, and he often slid from promoting antiwar politics to describing his art's own "peaceful qualities"[159]—led to accusations of irresponsible detachment.

Some even suggested that minimalist art such as Andre's *colluded* with the war, especially in its reliance on technology. James Meyer has stated, "The circulation of minimal art in Europe in 1968–69 became a pretext for contesting US military pol-

icy at the height of the Vietnam war."[160] Factory-made minimal work seemed to some to buttress U.S. imperialism; when the show *The Art of the Real: USA 1948–1968* traveled abroad in 1968 it elicited widespread protests because of perceived links between the art and U.S. domination. Likewise, the exhibit *Minimal Art* at the Hague's Gemeentemuseum in 1968 aroused a storm of violent controversy regarding the role of U.S. aggression in Vietnam, even as its artists, particularly Andre, explicitly marked themselves as against the war.[161] Although defenders felt that Andre's art challenged the market and democratically approached questions of work, critics of his art circled back to minimalist art's (dis)engagement with labor and its status as an art commodity.[162]

Minimalism is a slippery referent, however, and has generated starkly contradictory readings. Charles Harrison and Paul Wood sum up the problem: "It is, of course, impossible to draw a secure connection between a B52 raid in Vietnam and an art gallery in America filled with bricks. . . . Rightly or wrongly, bricks, felt, earth, and other such materials were held to be adequate vehicles of a conjoint aesthetic *and* political critique."[163] As early as Battcock's introduction to his anthology *Minimal Art* in 1968, critics gestured to this art's relationship to the war. "Today, the artist is more immediately involved in daily concerns. Vietnam, technological development, sociology, and philosophy are all subjects of immediate importance."[164]

One writer asserted more forcefully in 1978, "Carl Andre's art is an art of protest. It grew in America alongside the civil unrest that culminated in the campaign for the withdrawal of the U.S. Army from Vietnam. Andre placed adverts in the New York art press, personally congratulating the North Vietnamese on the liberation of their people."[165] The writer refers to a single ad, in the spring 1975 issue of *Art-Rite* magazine, that was actually sponsored by a group of eight people, including Lippard, Angela Westwater, and Irving Petlin, but it is narrated here as Andre's sole doing (Fig. 26). In other words, just as Andre's work was seen as affirming the "establishment," it was also viewed as "an art of protest." More recently, art historians have taken up the case for the politics of minimalism. Many claim that its progressive, democratic impulse stems from the object's relationship to the viewer. Meyer additionally brings in the notion of Adornian negativity, contending, "Much like the Beckett plays that Adorno admired, minimalist work communicates precisely in its 'lack of communication.'"[166]

The muteness is directed, if paradoxical. Andre's art means to register as a protest against current modes of making and work. His materials are in dialogue with industrial conditions, yet he also wants to engage in the handmaking of work—a kind of bricklaying—to shore up his claim that as an artist he is at once blue-collar worker

Congratulations to the people
of Viet Nam.

Carl Andre
R. Baranik
C.B. Helman
Lucy Lippard
Irving Petlin
Jack Sonenberg
May Stevens
Angela Westwater
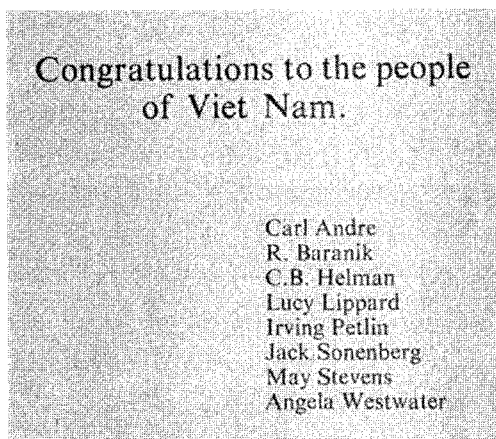
FIGURE 26 Advertisement congratulating "the people of Viet Nam," *Art-Rite*, Spring 1975, 53.

and artisan. There is a romance about the industrial materials that he uses (the beauty of elements mined in America's heartland) even if they might be produced by the same company that makes napalm or might be imported from other countries. At the same time, Andre's art maintains the illusion that there are materials separate from trademarking or corporate capital. This wish could be termed his "industrial nostalgia," and it goes along with his desire for unalloyed—uncorrupted, even—metals from a Pennsylvania mill. In 1972 Andre said that he preferred to utilize "the pure metals of commerce, as pure as they are."[167] (None of the metals Andre uses are in fact "pure," as he well knows, but rather are alloys of some kind. Unadulterated elemental metals are nearly impossible to come by, since they lack any commercial or industrial applications.) The readymade model has encouraged this veiling; Andre relies on his materials' "ordinariness" when their actual origins are extraordinarily complicated. While we are welcome to walk on his metal squares, they are not meant to be turned over.

Noting that Andre used Dow-produced magnesium is not simply crying hypocrisy, but it is challenging Andre's own claims that his work is "innocent"; as he stated in 1978, "Perhaps one thing my work is about is the fundamental innocence of matter. I don't think matter is guilty of all the transgressions of which we are accusing it."[168] Yet connections between military hardware and consumer goods were being made by the AWC at this time, even though some saw this as reductive and simplistic. Donald Judd posited in 1975 that "Flavin was scolded by the Art Workers' Coalition a few years back because the fluorescent tubes he used were made by a company that made something for the Vietnam war. It all gets silly. Flavin pointed out that the most common toilet was made by a company that also supplied some-

thing for the War."[169] Andre did not address this complicity, instead generating an impossible binary between production (the "innocence" of materials) and consumption (museums' use of his art as "slave practice").

There is a more generous reading of Andre's work. He dreams of an art that can recalibrate worth and work and sees himself recirculating these charged materials, defusing them by taking them out of the economy of war and redirecting them to the realm of aesthetic contemplation. As Charles Harrison wrote in 1969, "In a culture where materials are assessed according to their scarcity in relation to their usefulness for economic, military, or propaganda purposes, Carl Andre's series of sculptures involving different metals in identical configurations acts powerfully to redress the balance."[170] In showing how matter matters, then, Andre alludes to—but does not directly figure—the larger systems of how resources are valued and exchanged. In a similar vein, in 1967 Robert Morris envisioned using war materials in a project that would be, as he puts it, "interruptive." Although it is unclear if this project ever came to fruition, Morris said, "I'm really concerned to subvert the particular technology that I've gotten my hands on; which is strictly a war technology that I'm using. I'm using a company that makes, ah . . . services, missiles."[171] Morris believes that contracting with the military-industrial complex is one way to subvert it. A similar conclusion might be drawn about Andre, whose art, after all, was embraced because it offered a way to deploy materials that would oppose their use by the "establishment." Think of his *Gold Field* and his idea that the large-scale recirculating of gold could make or break the "whole Western capitalist system." Andre recently stated that his work is, at its core, an attempt to "find the most just way of putting particles together."[172] This idea of justice might find its outlet in shifting the value of metals from militaristic commerce toward a glittering, gridded space of aesthetic order, equivalence, and texture.

"There is no symbolic content to my work," Andre says.[173] It is a modernist move for an artist to claim that his matter lacks symbolic reference. He wants to be a *realist*— this turns his industrial nostalgia into a profound nostalgia, as well, for modernism. This is not the literalism of Michael Fried but rather that of Philip Leider when he writes that Andre's work is "a literalism, first and foremost, of materials." Leider maintains that Andre's materials "introduce into art a new kind of truth, a new source, so to speak, of believability, a truth based so nakedly and explicitly on the facts of the real world as to suggest a revitalized and wholly different 'realism.'"[174] These "facts of the real world" are the elemental forces of, say, gravity, which Andre's sculptures do not contest; they are not the facts of postindustrial metal production.

Moralism underlies many descriptions of Andre's minimalism. Leider's reading makes Andre's art a clarion call to "truth" and "believability" in a time of uncertainty and doubt. His view is sympathetic to Andre's own vision; his insistence that the materials simply are what they present themselves to be removes them from any association with a world or economy beyond the fact of their obdurate gravity on the gallery floor. For Andre metals do not have much outside reference beyond the industrial and modernist nostalgia with which he imbues them. In other words, it is a willful oversight more than gross negligence, a determination to see the surface of the metal but not its underside. How could they signify the war when for him they are self-contained as sensuous, precious, and without function—consciously removed from functionality—in a global marketplace?

This self-containment does not, however, describe the experience of the art, which potentially carves out a horizontal, spatial field of "equivalence," Marcuse's "dimension of possible liberation." Andre's minimalism moves the meaning of art away from internal individual experience out onto a field of social relations—into what Krauss rightly calls "cultural space."[175] His art, with its platforms for interaction and bodily awareness, tries to create a place—perhaps even a utopian site—where meaning can be reconstituted or leveled, both literally and figuratively justified. Crucially, Andre's minimalism also activates a different set of bodies—just outside his vision are the displaced bodies of workers in mills, in mines, and on shop floors. Andre's romance of the artisanal does not allow him to see these workers; like the hidden Dow chemical imprint, they are the underside of his art. In the Vietnam War era, he did not fully think through the ideology of materials and connect them systemically to the war and political economies, an examination pursued by others in the AWC.

For Andre, sculpture has everything to do with location, as is summarized by his formulation "sculpture as place."[176] The "hereness" of his sculpture also points away from itself to a "thereness"—the complex zones of imports, exports, and global markets. The materials Andre uses manifestly did not appear within the museum as readymades scavenged off the street; they had a prehistory in factories, shops, mines overseas, and chemical companies. These origins are the defining preconditions of industrially fabricated art, which during the apex of Andre's production was increasingly reliant upon postindustrial manufacturing conditions and the opening of world markets. With their insistent veiling, Andre's works both refuse to figure the Vietnam War and gesture toward a wider political site of which the war was but one part. Andre has talked of his "ideal piece of sculpture" as a road.[177] This road, paved with contradictions, leads out of the museum and into the world.

ROBERT MORRIS
RECENT WORKS
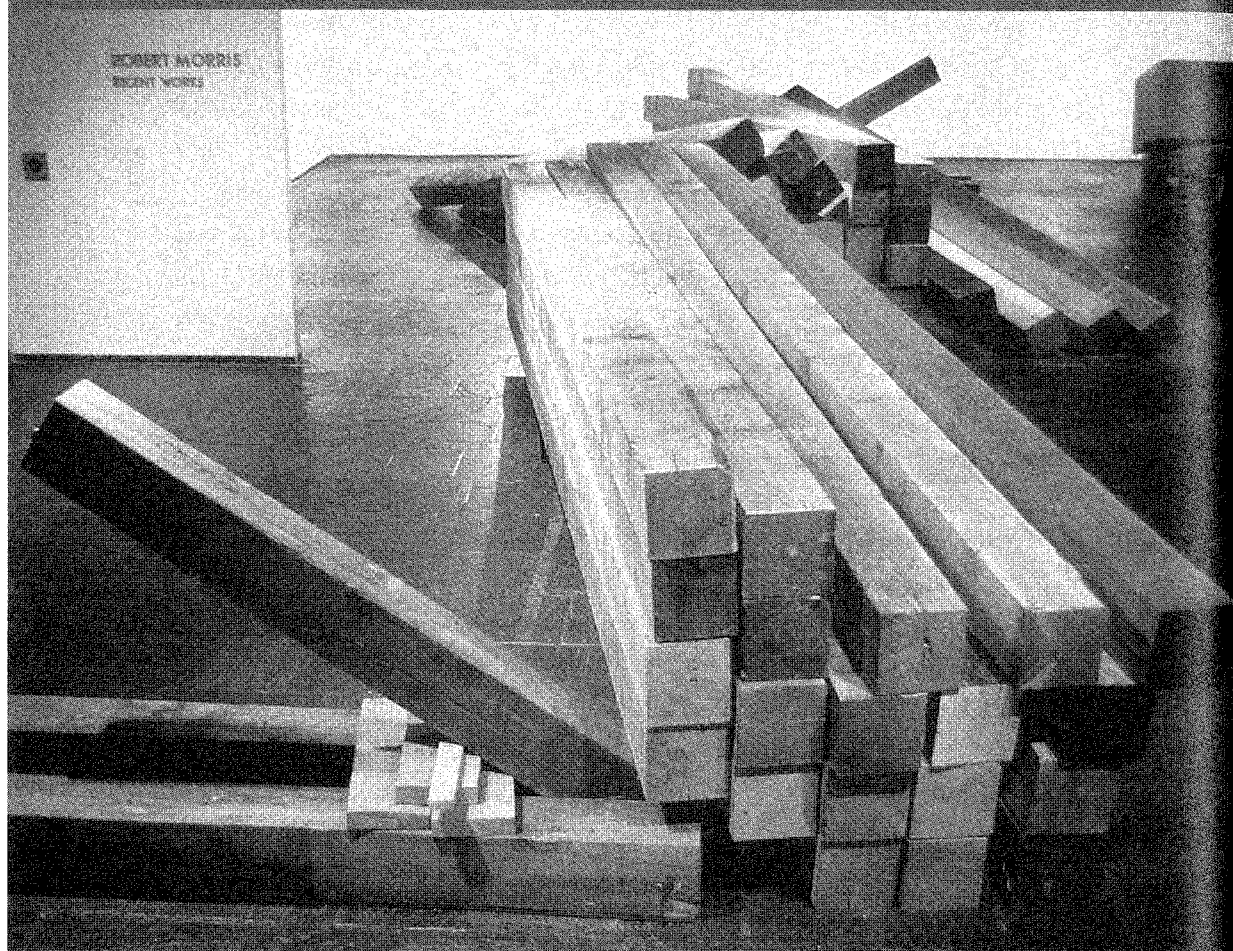
Robert Morris's Art Strike

Exhibition as Work

For his 1970 solo exhibition at the Whitney Museum of American Art, *Robert Morris: Recent Works,* Robert Morris created process pieces—"spills" of concrete, timber, and steel—that filled the entire third floor of the museum (Fig. 27). These constructions, including a ninety-six-foot-long installation that spanned the length of the room, were the largest pieces the Whitney had ever exhibited (Plate 7). Assembled over the space of ten days, the installations were built with the help of a team of more than thirty forklift drivers, crane operators, and building engineers, as well as a small army of professional art fabricators (Fig. 28).[1] An article in *Time* magazine observed, "As workmen moved in with gantries, forklifts, and hydraulic jacks to help Morris do his thing, the museum took on the look of a midtown construction site."[2] To accommodate the massive installations, the walls in the gallery space were removed, and there was concern that the floor might not be able to support their weight. Instead of a traditional opening, viewers were invited to watch the labor progress day after day, although this component of the show ended after an injury pinned an art installer under a steel plate as a result of faulty rigging.[3]

Using machinery and multiple assistants to create large artworks was standard practice by 1970, and contemporaneous outdoor projects by Richard Serra (*Shift,* 1970–72) and Robert Smithson (*Spiral Jetty,* 1970) dwarf Morris's Whitney exhibition in terms of sheer grandiosity. While most artworks of this scale require help from

FIGURE 27 Installation shot of *Robert Morris: Recent Works* at the Whitney Museum of American Art, New York, 1970, featuring *Untitled [Concrete, Steel, Timbers]*, approx. 6 × 16 × 96 ft. Destroyed. Photograph by Rudy Burckhardt © 2009 Estate of Rudy Burckhardt/Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York. Art © 2009 Robert Morris/Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York.
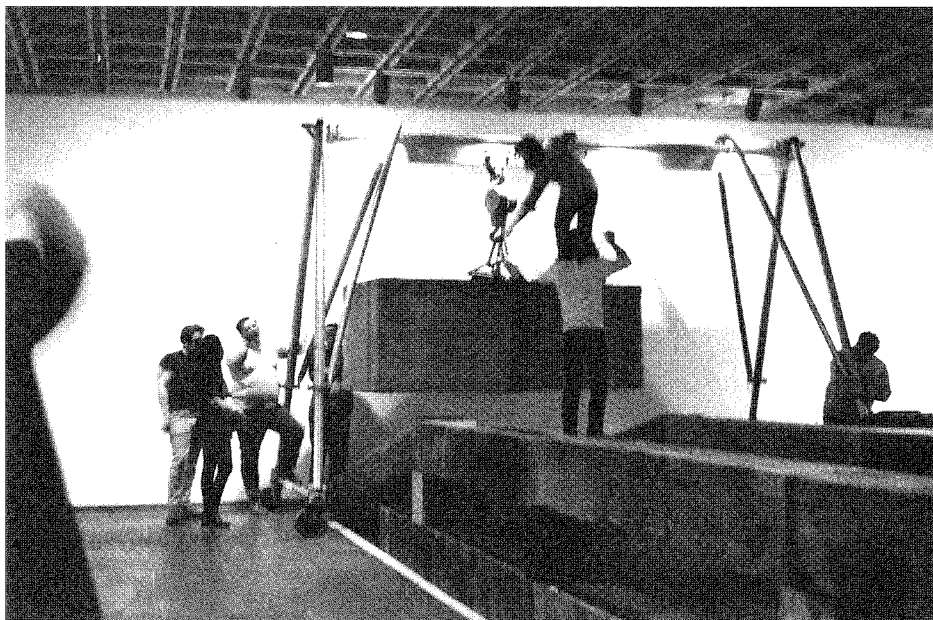
FIGURE 28 Workers install Morris's Whitney exhibition, 1970. Photograph by Roxanne Everett, © Lippincott Inc. Courtesy of the Lippincott Inc. photography collection, 1968–77, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

studio apprentices or installers, this exhibit uniquely theatricalized these workers' bodily involvement at the same time that it proposed an uneasy equality between artist and assistant. The pieces were made partially by chance—the workers rolled, scattered, and dropped concrete blocks and timbers, then left them to lie as they fell. In thus relinquishing compositional control, Morris insisted on an unprecedented degree of collaboration between himself and the workers who installed the show. He thematized the literal materials and means of construction work, and he enacted a work stoppage—an art strike—by shutting this show down early. By circumventing the studio and fabricating the work wholly on the floor of the museum, Morris figured the art itself as a specific kind of work, performed at a specific kind of work site.

The 1970 Whitney show was initially intended by curator Marcia Tucker as a comprehensive midcareer survey that would complement the artist's recent solo exhibitions at the Corcoran Gallery and the Detroit Institute of Arts in late 1969. Just before it opened, Jack Burnham laid out the expectations for the upcoming Whitney show: "The Washington and Detroit shows have presented aspects of Morris's work during the past ten years; most probably the Whitney will touch on all periods of the sculptor's development in a more complete way."[4] Both Tucker and Morris agreed until late 1969 to exhibit some of his earlier, well-known pieces alongside a small number of previously unseen, new works. But by mid-December, Morris turned away from this idea, writing to Tucker, "I do not wish to show old work."[5] As he elaborated in a letter a few weeks later: "I feel a separate room of older objects shown somewhere off the third floor is antithetical to the position I take with respect to this show and the point I want to make about a redefinition of the possibilities for one-man shows in contemporary museums of art. . . . My hope is that the museum can support a showing situation which allows the artist an engagement rather than a regurgitation: a situation of challenge for the public and risk for the artist."[6] By trying to "redefine" conventional retrospectives, Morris sought nothing less than a total renovation of the ideas of the solo show, one that entailed both "challenge" and "risk." He wanted to use his exhibition, not to solidify or historicize his reputation, but to push a political and aesthetic agenda. This was news to the curator, who had been proceeding with a catalog for a very different kind of show.[7]

Morris tinkered with plans for the exhibition right up until its first day. In the end, he decided to show only six pieces: four steel-plate sculptures and two new site-specific installations in which he subjected unrefined industrial components to a series of actions in which chance played a role. Tucker later recalled that the show required "more machinery" to install than she had ever used and that for the museum as well

as for the artist, "it was an absolutely phenomenal amount of work."[8] By filling the gallery space with raw materials that had been jostled, pulled, rigged, and dropped, Morris went to great lengths to *emphasize* effort while simultaneously denying conventional notions of specialized artistic skill, a denial that provoked comment in the press at the time. "What team of corduroy road-builders went berserk here?" one reviewer asked.[9]

Within the discipline of art history, the phrase most frequently employed to describe the making of art is artistic *process*. Process encompasses the full range of artistic activity, from conceptualizing the work, to drawing in preparatory notebooks, to applying the paintbrush. Most generally, it refers to solitary studio practices. In the late 1960s, however, in concert with the radicalization of artistic labor as a form of work, *process* took on a more precise meaning and was applied to art that emphasized the procedures of its own construction: that is, work that highlighted the performative act of making rather than presenting itself as a finished object. This redefinition relocated artistic activities beyond the traditional site of the studio and moved art making into other contexts—galleries and museums, primarily, but also outdoor sites such as streets, parks, or remote landscapes. Such "process art" straddled the lines between performance, sculpture, and installation and did not usually result in a "final" object.

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, artists increasingly challenged art's commodity status, seeking to remove it from marketability as a distinct and salable product—art was, famously, "dematerialized." The work of art, seen as increasingly irrelevant as a noun, evolved into an active verb, as was best characterized by Richard Serra's *Verb List* (1967–68). In this work, Serra presents a list of infinitives that function to generate his process-based art: "to roll, to crease, to fold . . . to bundle, to heap, to gather." Process art's emphasis on simple "workmanlike" actions has as one of its sources the task-based dance of the network of choreographers and dancers who were affiliated with performances at Judson Memorial Church, such as Yvonne Rainer.[10] Like conceptual art, process art was viewed as resisting conventional ideas of artistic labor, not least because it questioned the status of the product.

Maurice Berger has importantly theorized how *process* was a key word in New Left thinking as well as in the new art of the late 1960s.[11] This semantic parallel activates an understanding of both process art and the New Left as aligned with democratic ideals of open debate and interactivity. As Stanley Aronowitz wrote, "The nature of the New Left, summarized in a single word, . . . was process."[12] However, *process* does not adequately describe these artists' political understanding of their own modes of production. Artists such as Morris were starting to see their activities not only as
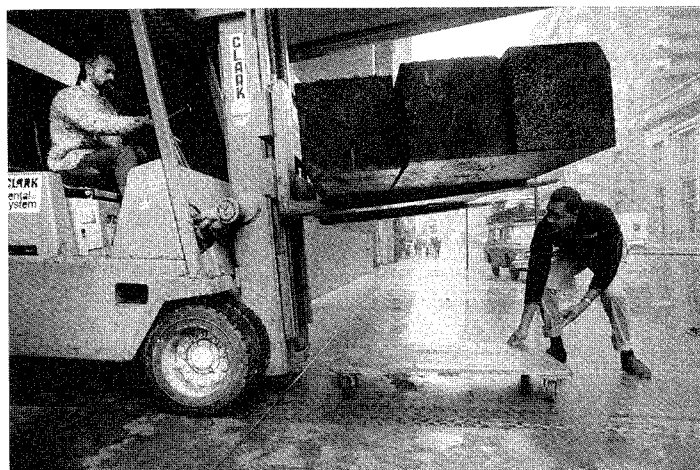
FIGURE 29 Robert Morris drives a forklift as he installs his Whitney exhibition, 1970. Photograph © Gianfranco Gorgoni/Contact Press Images.

process but also, polemically, as *work*. Morris's exhibition rehearsed and spectacularized this move to make process work and to make work process and in so doing made clear the stakes of aligning radical art, artistic activism, and artistic labor.

Morris's 1970 Whitney works are accessible today only as photographs, drawings, and written and verbal descriptions.[13] Even though the exhibit generated a voluminous amount of documentation (photographic and filmic), a series of Gianfranco Gorgoni photographs, published in 1972, for decades constituted its primary public archive.[14] Beyond documenting the exhibit, these photographs contribute to its discursive framing; in them, Morris is repeatedly depicted at work—gloves on, shirt stained with perspiration and dirt. In one image, for example, Morris drives a forklift, a cigar planted firmly in his mouth (Fig. 29). Gorgoni places the viewer down on the street as he captures Morris hauling large timbers through the Whitney's loading entrance. A man is removing the dolly from under the lift. His frame is contorted as he crouches below the wood, and the beams loom above his doubled-over body. Artists rarely drive their own materials in through museums' delivery doors, but the photograph produces evidence that Morris is adept at working with machinery and the matters of construction, a point reiterated in a 1970 interview when he stated that "a fork-lift truck works fine" as a tool for heavy lifting.[15] In another image, the artist braces himself against a large wooden beam as three men scramble above him (Fig. 30). The faceless workers appear as dark silhouettes against the white museum wall, while Morris, smoking a just-lit cigar, is carefully framed by a large block behind his head. The depiction of the artist's manual and mechanical effort actively promotes the sense that he has become, as one review remarked, a "construction man."[16]
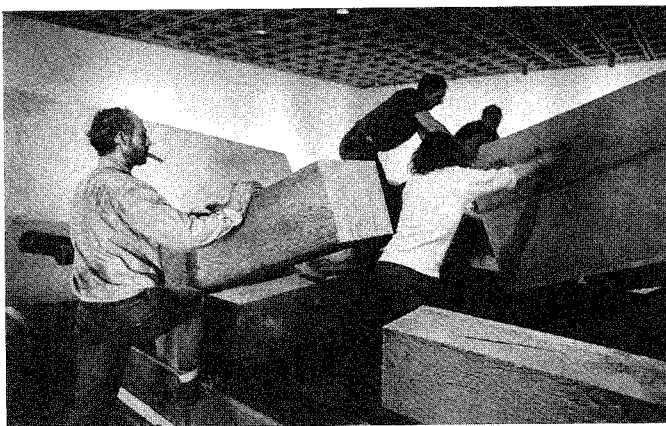
FIGURE 30 Robert Morris and workers assemble *Untitled [Concrete, Timbers, Steel]*, 1970. Photograph © Gianfranco Gorgoni/Contact Press Images.

Morris's Whitney installations—*Untitled [Timbers]* and *Untitled [Concrete, Timbers, Steel]*—made extensive use of building materials. In *Untitled [Timbers]* (Plate 8), placed close to the stairs and elevators, wood beams from twelve to sixteen feet long were stacked in a grouping that rose seven feet high and extended almost fifty-five feet down the length of the room. Single timbers jutted out diagonally at about eye level at either end, wedged under some of the beams to hoist them off the floor. Buttressed by a few smaller slats so that they pointed at a nearly direct forty-five-degree angle, they were provocative, resembling fulcrums or levers awaiting the viewer's pumping hand. At one end, the pile cascaded down in a great tumble, fanning out along the floor. So precarious were the timbers that the museum installed signs warning visitors not to touch them.

Other gallery spaces besides the Whitney were overflowing with lumber around 1970. Richard Serra, in a show at the Pasadena Art Museum, placed twelve red and white fir logs, each sawed into three parts, in rows on a large concrete slab (Fig. 31). To align the logs, each four feet in diameter and more than twenty feet long, required cranes, pulleys, and a sizable crew of hired workers. Serra wanted to build a viewing platform to give visitors a better perspective on the enormous geometry of the work. Such installations, using the raw materials of construction and depending on teams of wage laborers, took the measure of the artist's own investment—economic outlay, man-hours, rented equipment, and bodily effort.

This bodily effort was emphatically gendered. As Peter Plagens, writing about Serra's *Sawing* as well as an earlier lumber work of Morris's, maintained:

> The museum functions as a vagina, the invited artist as a penis. The museum, a pampered spinster by breeding, has discovered the thrill of getting herself roughed up in fleet-

FIGURE 31 Richard Serra, *Sawing: Base Plate Measure (12 Fir Trees),* installation piece for the Pasadena Art Museum, 1969. Wood, 35 × 50 × 60 ft. © 2009 Richard Serra/Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York.

ing encounters with difficult artists. . . . The more difficult the posture (outsize logs in a *cul-de-sac*), the greater the burden (tons of material), the more critical the inconvenience (demands of manpower), the greater the titillation.[17]

Such an astonishing assertion makes clear how art making performed on an outsize scale using heavy industrial materials was understood as the domain of men. This association went beyond the sphere of art making, as blue-collar labor like construction and steel work was steeped in a rhetoric of masculinity. The construction worker, or "hard hat," was seen as paradigmatic of both the "working class" and unbridled manliness.[18] Plagens's comment, even as it means to deflate the grandstanding of massive art projects, reinforces overblown claims about large-scale artworks and the artists who made them. It ignores the many female artists making big art, while it also reductively figures the museum as feminine, its interior space a penetrated orifice "roughed up" by invited artists.

Morris himself has recently looked back at this moment, admitting the sexism implicit in the equating of outsize sculpture, heavy labor, and masculinity: "The minimal artists of the sixties were like industrial frontiersmen exploring the factories and the steel mills. The artwork must carry the stamp of *work*—that is to say, men's work, the only possible serious work, brought back still glowing from the foundries and mills without a drop of irony to put a sag in its erect heroism. And this men's work is big, foursquare, no nonsense, a priori."[19] The use of industrial procedures, or "men's work," cements Morris's repeated solicitation of an alliance or an affiliation with working-class culture, which is implicitly gendered male (and—the worker under Morris's forklift notwithstanding—racially coded white).[20]

Even before the Whitney works, Morris manifested an interest in how the making
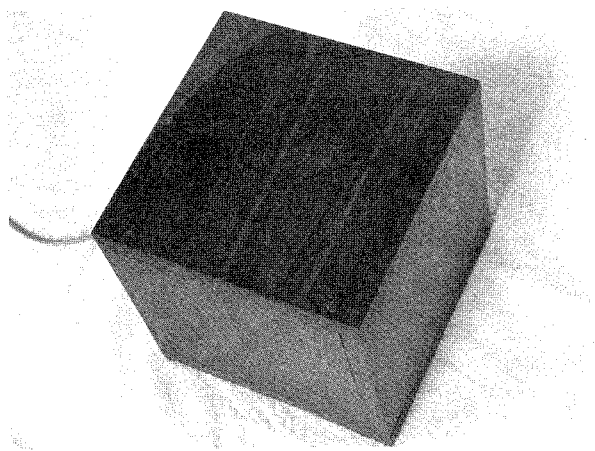
FIGURE 32 Robert Morris, *Box with the Sound of Its Own Making*, 1961. Wood and recording device, 9 × 9 × 9 in. © 2009 Robert Morris/Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York.

of simple cubes could reflect on questions of labor; take, for instance, *Box with the Sound of Its Own Making* from 1961 (Fig. 32). In this piece, Morris built a small walnut box, recording the noises of this activity: sawing, drilling, and nailing. The process took over three hours, and the audiotape of Morris's work was then played from inside the finished box. This in effect absents the body of the maker, leaving only an aural record of his actions. With the Whitney pieces, almost a decade later, Morris exploded the little box, increasing the scale of his materials, and with this increase came vastly augmented effort, a laboring intentionally, even anxiously, made visually available for the public and press to witness. As crews of workmen and construction equipment replaced Morris's modest saw and hammer, *Box*'s simple record of making was transformed into a stage set with elaborately orchestrated demonstrations of physical work.

Likewise, Morris's *Site* of 1964 pointedly delineated the bodily politics of construction and minimal form. In this performance, Morris, wearing heavy-duty gloves and a mask of his own face, dismantled and reassembled a large plywood box. A soundtrack of jackhammers and drills accompanied his actions, audibly linking art making to construction, even if Morris's "work" here consisted not of building but of complex rearranging. As he removed the sides of the box, artist Carolee Schneemann was revealed inside, (un)dressed and posing as the reclining figure in Edouard Manet's painting *Olympia*.

Berger cogently contends that *Site* puts two forms of labor (sex work and art making) into relation.[21] If, in Plagens's view, the "white cube" of the museum is gendered female, in *Site* the feminized component of the cube of minimalist sculpture is similarly revealed—even though, with its exaggerated role playing, that feminization is
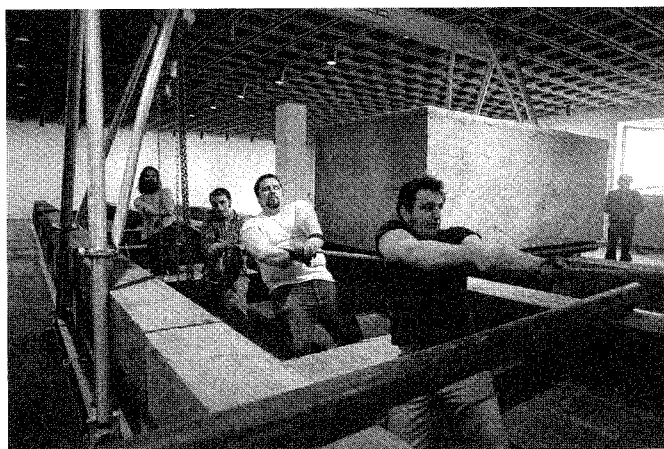
FIGURE 33 Workers install Morris's *Untitled [Concrete, Timbers, Steel]*, 1970. Photograph © Gianfranco Gorgoni/Contact Press Images.

partial and compromised. Richard Meyer suggests that "while Morris's *Site* might seem to criticize the sexual economy of modernist art-making, it also simulates it, and that simulation bears significant traces of its sources, traces of domination, bravado, and inequity."[22] In other words, insofar as *Site* is about the gendering of labor, it asks what kinds of bodily labor occupy the museum and gallery. In the Whitney show, with its all-male crew of haulers and installers, those laboring bodies are distinctly, even excessively, coded as masculine. (This exaggeration opens into more complicated questions of Morris and camp, which I have taken up elsewhere.)[23]

The Value of Scale

While the elements in *Timbers* were importantly hefty—they weighed as much as 1,500 pounds each—the second installation at the Whitney was truly, impressively, gigantic. *Untitled [Concrete, Timbers, Steel]* was made by pushing concrete blocks on steel rods down two parallel rows of timbers until they tipped and toppled in random patterns along the steel rollers. A Gorgoni photograph records this process (Fig. 33); in it, four men pull with all their might, muscles bulging with the strain. The men stand between two parallel tracks of wooden beams and lean back with the effort required to tug the concrete. Just out of the frame of the picture is the concrete block they are hauling. We see mostly a chain of hands and arms grasping at the ropes— the camera focuses on the effort rather than the object. (Gorgoni's shot also captures a fellow cameraperson, seen at the right of the frame.)

The blocks were in fact a compromise: Morris wanted to use blocks of rough-quarried

granite, but engineers warned that the floor was likely to collapse under the weight, so he replaced them with concrete cubes. The blocks, fabricated by Lippincott Inc., had cores of plywood and were therefore much lighter than the planned quarried stone. At Morris's insistence, the wall text included the following caveat: "The limitations of the building—floor loads, entrances and elevator capacity—forced modifications to be made on all works shown. The timber stack was to have been longer. The work with concrete blocks was to have been considerably wider and rough quarried, irregular granite blocks of larger sizes were to be used instead of concrete. . . . Thickness on all steel was to have been greater. My objections to the design of many aspects of the building are strong."[24] The blocks, supported by cross-beams, were pushed along the tracks until they reached an unsupported area and caved in, tilting the beams up around them with some of the steel poles crowded alongside the cube's wooden cradle. At one end the blocks crashed all the way to the floor.

The work's very composition (or lack thereof)—unstable, loosely arranged, contingent—was meant to have a political significance; as Morris commented in a 1967 essay, "Openness, extendibility, accessibility, publicness, repeatability, equanimity, directness, and immediacy . . . have a few social implications, and none of them are negative."[25] This essay, penned some three years before the Whitney show, provides a template for Morris's process work of the late 1960s, including his contemporaneous felt works. At this time, he was deeply interested in the properties of chance and gravity—the component parts of what was called antiform.[26] Of all his art, the Whitney works go the furthest in demonstrating how, for Morris, this "publicness" and "openness" have positive social implications—ones that rest on notions of labor. As he wrote in an essay published just as the Whitney show was opening: "Employing chance in an endless number of ways to structure relationships, constructing rather than arranging, allowing gravity to shape or complete some phase of the work—all such diverse methods involve what can only be called automation and imply the process of making back from the finished work. . . . At those points where automation is substituted for a previous 'all made by hand' homologous set of steps, the artist has stepped aside for more of the world to enter into the art."[27]

Morris has aligned chance and automation because they both deemphasize the artist's hand. This is an analogical model of argument: if his process is like work, it becomes work. Analogical and metaphoric thinking of this kind grew to be critically important as leftist artists like Morris sought to refashion themselves as art workers. They were *akin to* workers, and this likeness was meant to register their work's political claims. For Morris, relinquishing control in his process works expressed a de-

sire to have his art take place in an arena of social and political relevance, to have "more of the world" enter in. Morris's repeated use of the word *automation* is also significant for its registration of a turn to deskilling and machinic factory fabrication.

Many saw the Whitney works as ideal instances of "antiform," a term that was itself ideologically loaded. Berger's work on this subject describes how *form* was a key word in Herbert Marcuse's widely circulated writings on progressive aesthetics.[28] In 1967 Marcuse gave a lecture at the New York School of Visual Arts, subsequently reprinted in *Arts Magazine,* in which he spoke of art's need to find a new way to model relations to the world. Marcuse did not prescribe what such revolutionary art practice, or form, would look (or sound) like.[29] He stressed, though, that all modes of production, including art making, needed new collaborative conditions of labor, stating that "the social expression of the liberated work instinct is cooperation, which, grounded in solidarity, directs the organization of the realm of necessity and the development of the realm of freedom."[30] Morris attempted to demonstrate these lessons in the Whitney show by seeking to initiate a type of meaningful artistic labor in concert with "real" workers.

The materials he used were likewise meant to have literal rather than symbolic value. Morris stipulated that all the materials he used for the Whitney show be acquired "on loan," that is, cycled back into the economy of construction after the exhibit was taken down. The steel was ideally to be sent back to its manufacturer, the timbers to their mill, and the granite blocks to their quarry. Substituting concrete blocks, which had to be specially made, for the proposed granite threw a kink into this planned closed circuit. Donald Lippincott remembers that the timber was sold back to the mill in Connecticut; he recalls that his fabrication firm kept the steel for future projects.[31] Assembled rather than transformed, the materials for the Whitney show underwent no physical changes that would compromise them in future building projects. (Likewise, for his show at the Tate Gallery in 1971, Morris used plywood that he hoped would be recycled "for something I feel good about . . . given to artists, used for necessary housing.")[32] The museum was transformed into a way station on the trip from mill to skyscraper or apartment complex. Morris further insisted that the economic value of the show be no more than the cost of the materials and the hours of labor paid to himself and the installers.[33] Since these works were never for sale, for whom was this "value" calculated? It is unclear how this gesture functioned aside from its symbolism. The works were designed to be temporary, thereby enacting a resistance to the commodity nature of the art object familiar during the late 1960s and early 1970s, a resistance taken up and extended by the "dematerialized"

nature of artistic practices produced alongside Marcuse's call for new forms of aesthetic relations.[34] To call Morris's Whitney show a simple instance of dematerialization, however, misses the artist's insistence on both raw, massive materiality and its "rented," transitory nature. The Whitney show was a concrete, even monumental endeavor, and hence of a different nature than "dematerialized" linguistic conceptual art, with its attempts to banish the object by turning art into utterance (attempts that were thwarted by the eventual institutional absorption of conceptual magazine pages, postcards, and so on).

Moreover, the word *dematerialization* was not limited to conceptual art practices and to the commodity character of art. It also pertained to the changing conditions of work in late capitalism. Marcuse used the word in his 1969 *Essay on Liberation,* arguing that advanced industrialism is marked by "the growing technological character of the process of production, with the reduction of the required physical energy and its replacement by mental energy—dematerialization of labor."[35] Thus the term itself marks a shift from manual to intellectual labor. In the Whitney show, these paired dematerializations—one of the art object, one of the emergent conditions of labor—inform each other, particularly around the question of value.

Part of Morris's political project in 1970 consisted of an attempt to liquidate the work of art's special commodity character *as art* by insisting that the only "value" of his pieces was the sum of their materials' exchange value.[36] Morris treated his materials as if they had no symbolic value; he wanted them to function in the realms of industry and construction (where they went back to be reused) rather than to merely metaphorize such uses. Only by materializing the labor of the artist, Morris seemed to say, can the object be properly dematerialized. He wanted his labor's value to be equivalent to that of the riggers and installers; thus he did not transform the materials into high-priced collectibles. The timbers, steel, and concrete would bear no trace of his hand; returned back to the factories, they would resist even the artistic aura of a readymade in a gallery. Nonetheless, these now-destroyed, "uncommodifiable" installations do circulate as photos; more to the point, following Pierre Bourdieu, the museum show itself increased Morris's own cultural value and is inexorably intertwined with the market.[37] As he performed this manual work, his "mental energy" and his status as an artist also fueled the economy of worth.

The Whitney show represents Morris's best effort to find new models of making and displaying art, and he hoped these models would defeat both the co-optation of artistic labor and the commodity logic of the object. The artist wants to reject fetishism outright (even as the process of making itself becomes somewhat fetishized). With

their careful, public deployment of physical work, the installations endeavored to retain—to depict and inscribe—the labor power that went into their construction. Much of this inscription was achieved by the art's sheer scale as it specifically implicated the space of the Whitney as a work site. As Annette Michelson put it in her 1970 *Artforum* review, "The multiplicity and strenuousness of action, the series of pragmatic re-calculations and adjustments . . . the hoisting, toppling, hammering, rolling of great weights and volumes produced a spectacle, framed, intensified, by the low-ceilinged, rectangular space of the galleries, animated by the sounds of hammer upon steel and wood, of chains and pulleys and the cries of crewmen calling to one another."[38] Artistic work as "hard labor" reached an apex of visibility with the Whitney show, and the frame of the museum walls, its very institutionality, proved integral to this spectacularization.

Although the two large process pieces formed the centerpieces of Morris's Whitney show, he also displayed four steel sculptures, three of which—the *Steel Plate Suite*—were set alongside the back wall of the gallery (Fig. 34). The works in this suite were made of two-inch-thick steel plates assembled with brackets specially designed by Morris and slotted into different geometric configurations (rectangle, triangle, I-shape). The brackets held the plates together without screws or drilling; thus undamaged, the plates could be recycled. The fourth work consisted of two steel plates lying at a slant on a low, polished stone column (Fig. 35). The *Suite* (in distinction to the chance-oriented, process pieces) was based on drawings, and a version of this series had been shown at the Corcoran in 1969; it was hence not uniquely "performed" as the other works were. Further, because the steel was "rented" from different local mills for both the Corcoran and the Whitney, the plates themselves were subtly distinct in each show. As Morris pointed out, "Steel doesn't come the same twice from the mill. . . . I like that kind of difference."[39] The name of Morris's fabrication company, Lippincott, was visibly scrawled in chalk on some edges like an author's signature. Although simply slotted together, the steel plates were also conceived to make labor evident, as they required gantries and cranes to rig them and hands to assemble them (Fig. 36).

Contemporary reviewers of the Whitney show were awestruck by aspects of the colossal; they mentioned the sheer mass of the show, the numbers of workers, the heaviness of the elements. Statistics piled up like so many rough-edged timbers. Michelson highlighted the magnitude of the steel and marble piece: "The weight of the steel in this piece was 12,000 pounds."[40] According to Cindy Nemser, the Whitney show cost the museum "an unprecedented amount of money to install."[41] The
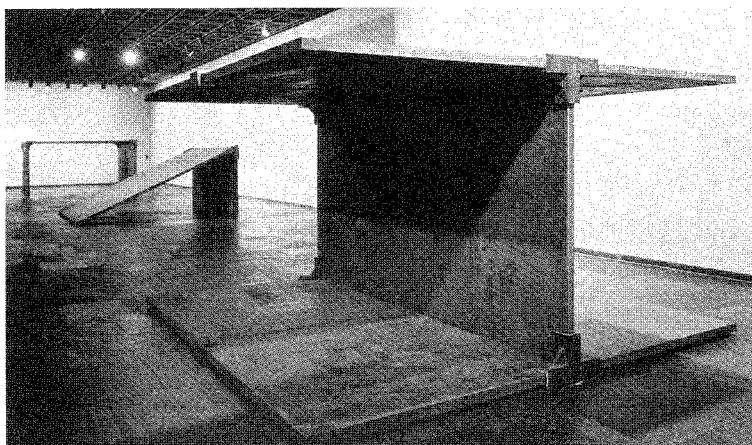
FIGURE 34 Robert Morris, *Steel Plate Suite*, 1970. Each plate 2 × 60 × 120 in. Destroyed. Photograph by Peter Moore. Art © 2009 Robert Morris/Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York.

exhibition was framed as a Herculean expenditure of labor power and capital, and the installations' rugged monumentality—their spills, valleys, and peaks—lent themselves to classically American metaphors. For example, *Untitled [Timbers]* was referred to as "a great mass of the biggest timbers this side of the Wild West."[42]

More minimal in style than the large process installations, the steel plate works received little attention, except for a hand-wringing notice from a reviewer at *ART-News*. "Though these works obviously required machine labor to assemble, they are more dangerous than huge; they're on a human scale which places the slab's rusted edges right where they could do the most damage to a careless viewer's forehead or shinbone."[43] What is striking about this review is how it recapitulates the emphasis on art's relation to the spectator's body (a relation at the forefront of the critical literature on minimalism) and recasts it in the most negative light possible. By moving the confrontation between object and viewer into the realm of physical harm, this review makes overt the fear latent in Michael Fried's influential account of how minimalism's "aggressive" theatricality is an explicit result of its corporeal scale.[44]

Scale became for Morris not only a function of perception but also a measure of bodily effort. E. C. Goossen pressed this issue in a 1970 interview with Morris:

> ECG: It's interesting that most of what we call architectural standards, like 4 × 8' plywood . . . are really related to arm length . . . to what a man can carry, what a carpenter can handle. . . . But there are new units now being built which are much
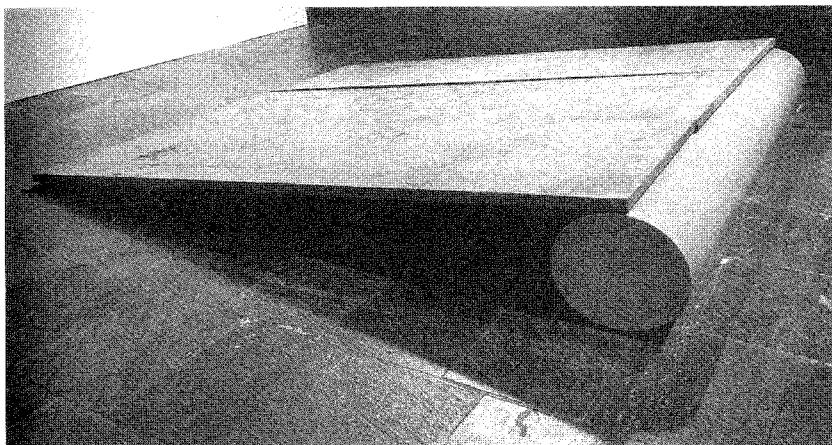
FIGURE 35 Robert Morris, *Untitled,* 1970. Steel and marble. Destroyed. Photograph by Rudy Burckhardt © 2009 Estate of Rudy Burckhardt/Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York. Art © 2009 Robert Morris/Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York.

FIGURE 36 Museum visitors watch installers use gantries to assemble Morris's *Steel Plate Suite,* 1970. Photograph by Roxanne Everett, © Lippincott Inc. Courtesy of the Lippincott Inc. photography collection, 1968–77, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

> too heavy to be handled even by a number of men because they're geared for fork lifts and cranes and other systems.
>
> RM: Yes.[45]

Minimalism is often said to have "activated" the body—the body of the viewer, that is—but this quote points to the ways it also activated the *body of the maker* as a worker. Scale, in other words, became a measure of how much work was done and whether the body, alone and unaided, could do the job. The larger the art object, the more work was needed—whether from machines or teams of workers.

Scale was central to the reception of Morris's Whitney exhibition. As Michelson put it: "No consideration of this exhibition can do without some mention, some sense of these dimensions and of the demands made by scale and weight of materials upon the resources of the Museum's space, its circulation potential."[46] Michelson comprehends the way in which Morris's scale entails an institutional component: that is, how scale seeks to put pressure on the museum's very limits of feasibility. What can the museum hold, how much can it support, how much flexibility does it allow its artists and its audiences?

Morris addressed these questions in literal and symbolic terms. First, he compromised on his materials because of fears that the Whitney floor would not bear the weight of his sculptures. Second, when he rejected a retrospective and instead used the exhibition as a showcase for collective, public physical effort, his show raised institutional issues about the kind of artistic labor usually represented in museum shows (needless to say, primarily singular and private). These ideas were crucial for Morris in the early 1970s, as he aimed to "go beyond the making, selling, collecting, and looking at kind of art, and propose a new role of the artist in relation to society."[47]

Morris's exhibition took place at an especially charged moment in American history—late winter and spring of 1970—that must be tracked to fully understand what happened in the aftermath of his Whitney opening. During these months the AWC reached the height of its activity and influence, including its successful pressuring of MoMA to implement a free day in February. A brief political time line, charting a span of six tumultuous weeks from April to mid-May of 1970, further fills in the contested circumstances of Morris's show: the Whitney show opened (April 9), the United States bombed Cambodia (April 29), the National Guard shot and killed four students at Kent State (May 4), and, in a highly publicized confrontation, New York City construction workers attacked antiwar protesters (May 8). On May 15, Morris decided to shut down his show two weeks early in a self-declared strike—a vexed

gesture that stemmed from, and was implicated in, debates about labor and laborers in the United States. With this gesture, he became central to the AWC offshoot called the New York Art Strike Against Racism, War, and Repression that did in fact propose for artists a "new role . . . in relation to society": the role of the art worker.

Artists and Workers/Artists as Workers

"At 30," writes Morris, "I had my alienation, my Skilsaw, and my plywood."[48] A double meaning is implicit in this quote, which equally invokes art and the characteristically "alienated" condition of modern labor. Morris claims his alienation with some pride, treating it as another aspect of minimal art making, one that goes hand in hand with the tools and materials of construction—construction increasingly done with the help of manufacturing plants.

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, the art press and artists alike were fascinated by the use of factory fabrication, and accounts of successful working partnerships between artist and manufacturers were reported in great detail.[49] Finding appropriate fabricators was challenging for those 1960s artists, from the minimalists to an artist like Claes Oldenburg who wanted large-scale works. Contrary to the argument that much factory fabrication entailed giving up artistic control, many artists required detailed oversight of their works. Even as they were barred, in some instances, from shop floors because of union regulations, they wanted to monitor and in some cases participate in every aspect of their works' fabrication. Because union shops followed stringent protocol about who could operate machinery and handle materials, this was seen as a hindrance to those sculptors who wanted to step in and get their hands dirty during their art's manufacture.[50] The dilemma of artist-specific fabrication needs was partially remedied in 1967 by the opening of Lippincott Inc., the first large-scale firm to utilize industrial working procedures in North America devoted exclusively to making sculpture. Advertisements placed in major art magazines announced Lippincott's services and showcased some of its completed works. Other firms joined the burgeoning ranks of those that manufactured sculpture, a potentially promising area of growth for industrial plants otherwise in danger of becoming obsolete, such as Treitl-Graz and Milgo Industrial, Inc.[51]

Overseen by Donald Lippincott and occupying ten acres in North Haven, Connecticut, Lippincott Inc. encouraged artists to build their works "all at once": that is, to work directly with the materials full scale rather than first perfecting the design

with a small model and then enlarging it. In a laudatory article in *Art in America,* Barbara Rose pointed to the unique situation initiated by Lippincott, in which "artists were encouraged to work on the spot, directly assisting the welders and joiners and making alterations as they work."[52] (Here the *artists* assisted the *workers,* rather than the other way around.) The firm became the manufacturer of choice for Robert Murray, Oldenburg, Barnett Newman, and Morris, and artists raved about what Rose called "the humanized environment of the 'factory.'"[53] The scare quotes around "factory" matter; because of its highly specialized focus on art only, Lippincott was never considered a true manufacturing plant. Although it often made editions of works (such as the multiple versions of Newman's *Broken Obelisk*), it was by no means an industrial setup primed to pump out identical objects ad infinitum. An exhibition, *Artist and Fabricator,* held in 1975 at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, celebrated the close cooperative relationship between Lippincott Inc. and artists and repeatedly emphasized the firm's investment in craftsmanship rather than manufacture; it was "more a communal studio than a factory."[54] While the lines between artist and worker might not have always been clear with some large-scale fabricators, since young artists often work or apprentice in shops, the Lippincotts had a policy against hiring artists, maintaining a stricter division.

Although Lippincott allowed artists a unique amount of control over the production of their works, many chose to continue to work with traditional factories such as Arko Metal and Bethlehem Steel, preferring an "authentic" industrial environment. Not everyone was sanguine about the successful collaboration between artist and blue-collar factory worker, however. Some saw it as an undermining of "real" artistic work. As Dore Ashton wrote in 1967, "The beaming solidarity of workers and sculptors is certainly pleasant to encounter in the rash of machine-shop photographs used to illustrate articles on the new 'movement.' But it is a feature-story writer's fabrication, designed to elevate fabrication itself into artistic virtue."[55] Yet factory fabrication was increasingly validated as part of the sculptural process, even as the fabricators were marshaled into identities other than that of simple workers— that is, artisanal assistants.

The separation between artist and assistant was often blurred. Take the ad for the Lippincott factory published in the fall 1970 edition of *Avalanche* (Fig. 37). Here, again, Morris drives a forklift—a further demonstration that the work, while machine-manufactured in a quasi-industrial factory, still had some sort of a relation to the artist's laboring body. This photograph presents a nostalgic view of the kind of honest toil that was amply on display in the Whitney show and offers it up to prospective clients
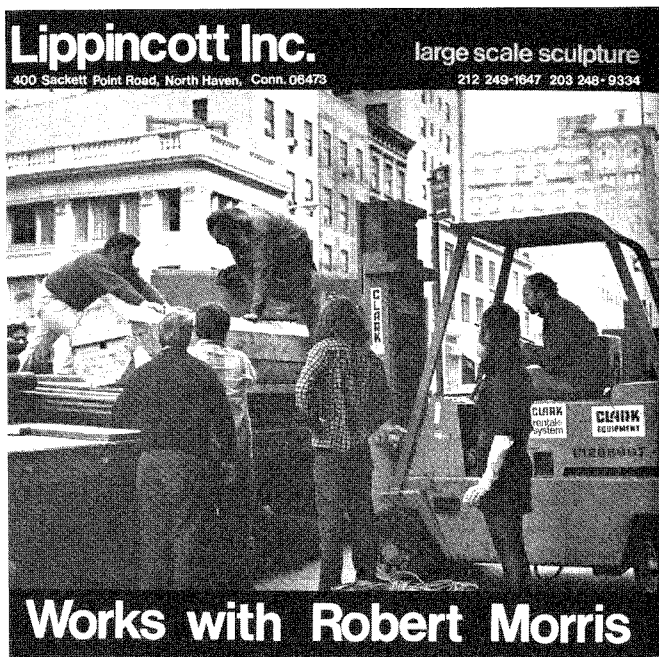
FIGURE 37
Advertisement for
Lippincott Inc., featuring
Robert Morris on a
forklift, originally
published in *Avalanche,*
Fall 1970. Photograph
© Lippincott Inc.

of Lippincott, suggesting that they, too, can participate in the evidently "hands-off" yet participatory procedures of factory fabrication. The ad is selling not the final product—Morris's sculpture—but a fantasy about inhabiting the position of the laborer. It is also an image that wants to extend the boundaries of the artwork; art is a process, it implies, that takes place on the streets as much as in museums, although the presence of the woman in the photograph codes it more as "art" than as the male domain of "work."

If the artist was authorized to slip into the role of the laborer on the shop floors of Milgo and Lippincott, were the workers, in a reciprocal move, allowed to inhabit the role of the artist? Robert Murray, who contracted with Bethlehem Steel to make some of his steel-plate sculptures and is seen in Figure 38 wearing a hard hat alongside a machinist, reported that at the end of making his work *Duet,* the shop crew gave the foreman the gift of a beret with a card that read, "Trade in your hard hat."[56] The beret is, of course, meant as a joke, and a good-natured one at that; it is a marker of bohemia, if not slightly foppish effeminization. The punch line of the hat swap actually underscores the distinction between the artist and the foreman and demonstrates that when the artist becomes a "worker" it is ultimately at the level of the engineer, manager, or overseer.

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, there were two separate but intertwined dis-

FIGURE 38 Robert Murray (left) works on his sculpture *Duet* at Bethlehem Steel Shipyard, 1965. © Robert Murray. Photograph by Baylis Glascock/ Robert Snyder.
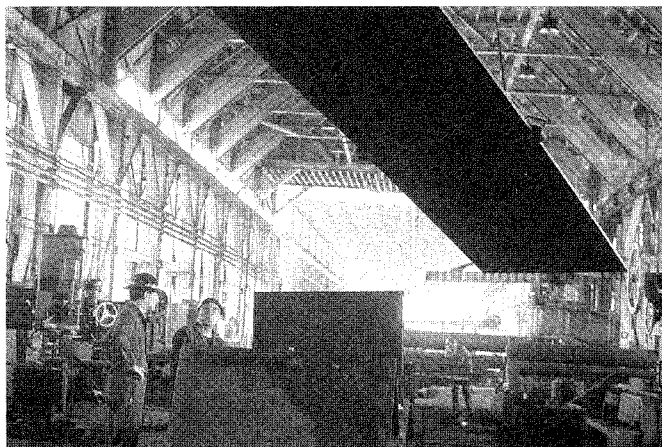
courses regarding large-scale sculpture and its fabrication. On the one hand, artists dissociated themselves totally from production, thereby claiming for the work the status of a manufactured object like any other; on the other hand, artists insisted that they were factory producers, with as much claim to the shop floor as the products themselves. Morris veered back and forth between these paradigms; in his "Notes on Sculpture, Part 3," he extols "repetition and division of labor, standardization and specialization," but then, in the same essay, he asserts that "specialized factories and shops are used—much the same as sculpture has always utilized special craftsmen and processes."[57] Did artists understand this new way of working as a deskilling of art or as a revival of the old-fashioned workshop? Or were Morris's contradictory claims an attempt to reassert specialized "artistic" skills in the face of the alleged erasure of the hands-on touch?

"Deskilling" was itself implicated in wider debates about the beginnings of the post-Fordist, postindustrial age, which saw the decline of skilled manual work in the early 1960s (although deskilling had been a main feature of the division of labor in classic industrial capitalism as well). Harry Braverman put the term *deskilling* into wide circulation in his 1974 book *Labor and Monopoly Capital: The Degradation of Work in the Twentieth Century*.[58] In what is now termed deindustrialization, the early to mid-1960s saw a precipitous decline in blue-collar factory jobs in the United States (a loss of almost a million jobs between 1953 and 1965), while simultaneously marking a rise in white-collar employment; this wholesale transformation marks the shift to the postindustrial age. Precisely at this moment artists became interested in factory work themselves.

Process

Rather than viewing factory fabrication of artwork as indicative of the general shifts in the economy, some artists—Morris among them—saw it as part of a wider, self-conscious attempt to expand the realm of art into the political sphere. As noted, process became a central concept for this expansion. Morris stated, "As process becomes a part of the work instead of prior to it, one is enabled to engage more directly with the world in art making because forming is moved further into presentation."[59] In other words, art goes from the realm of the individual to that of the political when the process—the effort, the labor—becomes the art itself. Morris moves to make *work* the work of art. Like conceptual art, process art was viewed as resisting conventional ideas of artistic labor. As Joseph Kosuth explained, "The *activity* was the art, not the residue. But what can this society do with *activity*? Activity must mean labor. And labor must give you a service or a product."[60] Well, not really: audiences and art spaces alike quickly found use for artists' objectless process works. Process as a distinct artistic category became increasingly institutionalized with exhibitions such as the 1969 Edmonton Art Gallery's *Place and Process,* which featured, among other works, Morris riding quarter horses.[61]

In her *New York Times* review of Morris's 1970 Whitney exhibition, "Process Art and the New Disorder," Grace Glueck commented, "The process, to paraphrase McLuhan, is also the product."[62] Glueck's formulation keeps alive the notion that in process art some remainder of the action might still be bought and sold. Clearly, the photographs are one such product; as mentioned, a prodigious number of images were taken of this exhibit, indicating that this might have been an event as much to be recorded as seen live.

For his part, Morris attempted to lay bare the constructedness of his sculptures within the museum. The artist put his own labor on display to demonstrate how the physical work of the artist becomes reified. To quote a relevant passage from Karl Marx, "Labour produces not only commodities; it produces itself and the worker as a commodity."[63] *Process* does not by itself adequately describe Morris's exhibition of his own modes of production—he presents it as work and himself as the commodified object of that work. As Morris mused later that fall, "The artist today has allowed himself, his personality and style, to be used as a commodity of cultural exchange. His 'professional self' is bought and sold."[64] Not that this work was universally read as honest labor; in fact, the Whitney show had mixed, if voluminous, critical responses. Some reacted quite negatively, particularly to its heralded move toward viewer

interactivity. Invoking what he called Morris's "severely limited imagination," Carter Ratcliff in *Art International* asserted that "Morris's productions establish a static, half-dead condition for themselves and for the viewer."[65] *ARTNews* erroneously reported that one of the installations had been removed from the exhibition because "it got too dangerous for spectators."[66] The mistake is telling because it demonstrates that Morris's decision to make his retrospective a situation of "risk" for himself was promptly perceived as one of threat to the audience.

The works do seem to invite physical interaction, even as their tenuous construction makes that interaction perilous. Increasingly, Morris evinced a fascination with the risky elements of interactive art, declaring in 1971, "I'd rather break my arm falling off a platform than spend an hour in detached contemplation of a Matisse. We've become blind from too much seeing."[67] With this purposefully contentious statement, does Morris mean to imply that violence is the only "real" or appropriate relationship one might have with art? Of course, he had no interest in actually injuring his audience; rather, his comment reveals his intense uncertainty about the value of aesthetic objects at a time when passive spectatorship was aligned with regressive politics.[68]

For Morris, the way out of such "detached contemplation" was art that actively courted the audience's participation. As political theorist Carole Pateman argued in 1970, participation became a stand-in for "democracy," particularly in industrial work contexts;[69] likewise, artists felt that the more they could do to recruit the viewer into the work, the more egalitarian the work's ideological import. Moreover, Morris's statement places participation in the realm of (potentially confrontational) physical interaction. Observing art from a distance is safe; for it to have any impact, one needs to be thrust into the middle of it, and at times the stakes of participatory art are ratcheted up to court bodily harm.

One year after the Whitney show, Morris turned his 1971 Tate Gallery retrospective into an audience-interaction obstacle course.[70] In this show, he invited viewers to perform tasklike activities—dragging rocks along on ropes, pushing small weights, climbing up sloping plywood inclines, and walking along low tightropes. The show was closed five days after it opened because, in the course of "participating" in his rickety jungle gym, visitors inadvertently sustained sprains, gashes, and bruises.[71] The Whitney show, with its cautions against touching, prohibited this kind of interaction; even as critics wrote that the public "participat[ed] in the action," its only involvement was to spectate.[72]

Some reviewers saw the Whitney works as aesthetic failures—unsuccessful marriages of compositional chaos and control. One review criticized the neat patterns

that ensued after such an ostensibly disordered process: "The untitled amalgam of things looks . . . as though a bomb had hit some huge structure and the debris had been knocked over and fallen in an unaccountable straight line."[73] Morris himself recalls being somewhat disappointed with how ordered the works turned out.[74] And their composition does appear rather carefully woven even though they were made in large part by chance. In *Untitled [Timbers]*, the contingency of the spilled end beams does not detract from so much as underscore the alignment of the rest of the stack. In *Untitled [Concrete, Timbers, Steel]*, the round ends of the steel poles punctuate the phrasing of the solid tipped blocks with a series of holes (Plate 9). The different elements provide a study of textural contrasts: the relatively smooth, light gray surfaces of the concrete top the dense, dark lumber track. There is a regularized rhythm to the work, which places block after block in a linear configuration like units rolling down an assembly line. Despite Morris's wish to break with conventional sculpture, one commentator observed the "almost-symmetry and almost-balance and almost-phrasing in this piece that puts it very nearly into the orthodox sculptural context."[75] It is perhaps *because* the installations were unplanned that they became so repetitive and, hence, composed.

How does one manage a crew of thirty to forty workers with so few plans and preliminary drawings? As Morris wrote to Tucker when the show was in its developmental stages, "I'm planning a large timber piece that I have never tried—it involves 12' × 12' timbers falling down in a particular way. . . . Can't draw this since I don't know what it will look like."[76] One drawing that resembles the Whitney works harks back to Serra's *Verb List:* it details actions—"dragged, fell, tipped"—done to unspecified materials as directional arrows indicate blocks and rollers in motion (Fig. 39). The single extant plan Morris did for these works appears grossly insufficient for the task of coordinating this team and the materials for the process installations (Fig. 40), even as it is wrought on the official, to-scale museum floor plan. A Gorgoni photograph shows Morris crouching on the ground consulting this plan, and while he examines it with due intensity, it merely indicates the eventual placement of the sculptures—as in the small drawings of the steel-plate works—not the layout of their parts or their overall contours (Fig. 41). In the picture, he resembles a foreman with his blueprint, wielding a pencil with precision with one hand as he clutches a stumpy cigar with the other. The sleeves of his work shirt are rolled up; like his posture, this sartorial detail indicates that he is getting down to business. The vein in his forehead bulges with effort and concentration. Behind him, just barely visible, is a roll of white tape, used for marking the floor of the museum. The delicacy of the well-sharpened

FIGURE 39 Robert Morris, *Act-Move*, ca. 1970. Pencil on paper, 8½ × 11. Art © 2009 Robert Morris/Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York. Photograph by the author.

FIGURE 40 To-scale floor plan of the third floor of the Whitney, with Morris's drawings and notations, 1970. Pencil on paper, 11 × 17 in. Art © 2009 Robert Morris/Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York. Photograph by the author.

FIGURE 41 Morris consults his floor plan drawing, 1970. Photograph © Gianfranco Gorgoni/Contact Press images.

pencil with its refined point contrasts with the gnawed and burnt ends of the thick cigar.

Given the absence of a real blueprint, most likely the crew figured out a way to roll the concrete along the timber and then repeated that process with each block multiple times along the stretch of the piece—although it was supposed to communicate disarray, it came out ordered. Another preparatory drawing in the same vein reveals Morris's interest in much looser heaps of materials (Fig. 42). The works' final regularity no doubt results in large part from the collaborative aspect that Morris was so invested in. The hired hands that worked to assemble these pieces did what workers are trained to do and rewarded for doing: they executed their task efficiently, with as little wasted time and motion as possible, rolling blocks down the tracks in the same manner over and over. (It is curious that Morris anticipated chaos to ensue from two parallel tracks and neat, identical squares of concrete—compositional elements that severely curtail possibilities for asymmetry.)

Despite the various appraisals of the Whitney show, the press was unified on one theme: Morris's public installations effectively merged, or at least destabilized, the positions of laborer and artist. In interviews during this time, Morris often mentioned his working-class origins and his persistent work ethic; the show went even further to secure this affiliation.[77] Here the vital, active participants were not the audience but the workers, and their exceptional visibility within the museum made it look "as if Uris Brothers had moved in with a load of raw materials for a construction project."[78] The trade that Morris inhabited was clearly specified: construction, which was in 1970 a tendentious and politically besieged identity.

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FIGURE 41 Morris consults his floor plan drawing, 1970. Photograph © Gianfranco Gorgoni/Contact Press Images.
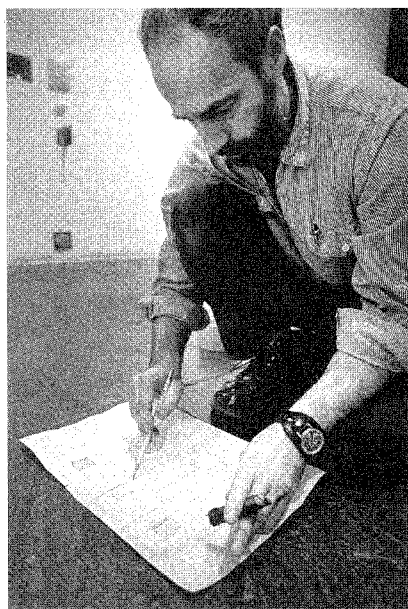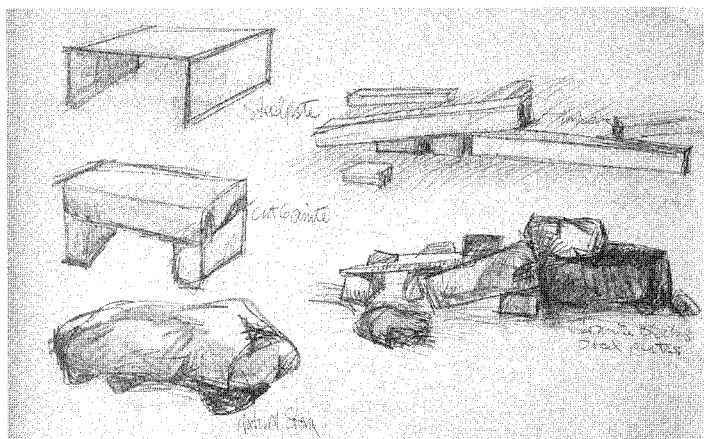
FIGURE 42 Robert Morris, *Untitled [5 Studies Using Steel Plates, Timbers, Granite, and Stones]*, 1969. Pencil on paper, 42 × 59 in. Art © 2009 Robert Morris/Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York. Photograph by the author.

pencil with its refined point contrasts with the gnawed and burnt ends of the thick cigar.

Given the absence of a real blueprint, most likely the crew figured out a way to roll the concrete along the timber and then repeated that process with each block multiple times along the stretch of the piece—although it was supposed to communicate disarray, it came out ordered. Another preparatory drawing in the same vein reveals Morris's interest in much looser heaps of materials (Fig. 42). The works' final regularity no doubt results in large part from the collaborative aspect that Morris was so invested in. The hired hands that worked to assemble these pieces did what workers are trained to do and rewarded for doing: they executed their task efficiently, with as little wasted time and motion as possible, rolling blocks down the tracks in the same manner over and over. (It is curious that Morris anticipated chaos to ensue from two parallel tracks and neat, identical squares of concrete—compositional elements that severely curtail possibilities for asymmetry.)

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Detroit and Hard Hats

A few months before the Whitney show, Morris produced a work outside the Detroit Institute of Arts that formally foreshadowed his Whitney installations (Fig. 43). Near the colossal scale of the Whitney pieces, it relied upon a similar process of collective construction. Composed in part out of chunks of the demolished I-94 overpass that Morris had spotted when driving from the Detroit airport, this found-object work was for him an instance of bricolage. He employed forty-ton industrial derricks to move the concrete, railroad ties, timbers, and scrap metal. Then, with the help of the Sugden Company construction crew, Morris installed his work on the north lawn of the Detroit Institute; the materials were roughly piled into a long, overlapping stack that resembled a toppled or destroyed structure.

Interestingly, some in the Detroit press focused less on Morris's art than on the actual laborers who helped to assemble these pieces. A reporter for the *Detroit Free Press* even interviewed the crane operator, Bob Hutchinson, who commented with evident satisfaction, "Only in America can a man awake a crane operator and go to sleep an artist."[79] (Although referred to as a "semi-sculptor" in the article, Hutchinson, it was revealed, had not been invited to the show's opening.) Not everyone was so pleased with this vaunted collaboration; Otto Backer, the construction foreman (also called, with some sarcasm, a "co-creator" of the art), complained that the work was "a mess" that might invite citations for zoning violations. Backer was especially unhappy about the prospect of removing the broken bridge abutment when the show was over; Morris did not stay to assist with the work's dismantling.

In the outdoor Detroit piece, as in the Whitney works, Morris invested in the monumental as a way to make labor visible. As he elucidated in his retrospective look at this decade, "The great anxiety of this enterprise—the fall into the decorative, the feminine, the beautiful, in short, the minor—could only be assuaged by the big and heavy."[80] Slipping into the realm of decor—problematically coded female and hence frivolous—would belittle Morris's enterprise to reestablish art's cultural necessity. That necessity can be located in the "risk" he mentioned to Tucker: not just challenge for the viewers but also the risk he took regarding his work's market value, given its increasing massiveness. Jack Burnham perceived the institutional impossibility of the Detroit outdoor work in terms of Morris's resistance to its commodification: "Last year Morris mentioned some of the problems connected with storing, paying for, and selling these goliaths. 'What do you do if they don't sell?' I asked. 'Make them larger,' he replied."[81]
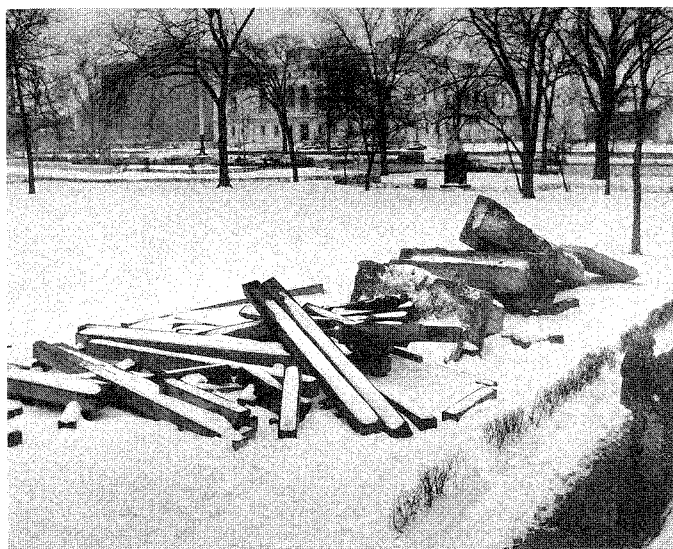
FIGURE 43 Robert Morris, *Untitled,* 1970, installation piece for the Detroit Institute of Arts. Scavenged concrete, steel, and timbers, 16 × 25 × 40 ft. Destroyed. © 2009 Robert Morris/ Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York.

In fact, these works were to Morris mere rehearsals for much more ambitiously sized projects. As he proposed to curator Sam Wagstaff a few months after his Detroit Institute show, "I have a work in mind that is better, far better, than the one we did last winter and no more expensive. . . . Get one of those stingy steel merchants and crooked highway contractors to throw in a few tons of metal and a few tons of wet concrete and I'll make a work that will make the *Monument to the Third International* look like a wine rack at Hammacher Schlemmer."[82] The proposition casually distanced Morris from the overseers of manual work, with its mentions of "stingy merchants" and "crooked contractors." At once recognizing the political import of Vladimir Tatlin's *Monument* while also denigrating it, Morris, with his swaggering claim, implied that his artwork would assert its political significance in a way that Tatlin's maquette could not, primarily at the level of scale. (This is scarcely fair; Tatlin's piece was, after all, a *model.*) Here Morris measured his work's importance against smallness—such as an upscale wine rack—and asserted that his gritty, monumentally sized construction materials would leave the realm of effete decoration behind.

Possibly because of the press about the participation of a construction crew, the Morris show in Detroit was viewed as a rare art show that had cross-class appeal. Enthused one supporter to Wagstaff: "Don't know how you do it—but you've brought in a whole new audience to art—hard hats!—and made everyone stop and ask that crucial question (again); what is art?"[83] The recruitment of hard hats both as art makers (the crane operator) and as a newfound audience for art would take on special significance for

Morris's Whitney show. Who were these workers that were summoned both as the makers and as the improbable spectators of postminimalist sculpture?

In 1970 hard hats served as the paradigmatic emblem of blue-collar culture. According to historian Joshua Freeman, "By the 1970s, the hardhat itself became the central symbol of American labor, a role earlier filled by the leather apron, the lunch pail, and the worker's cap. . . . The multiple symbolic meanings of the hardhat were intensely gendered."[84] The hat itself functioned almost as a symbolic totem that conferred on its wearer associative powers of working-class masculinity. This was more than a matter of symbols; statistically speaking, women had virtually no representation in the construction industry before 1978, when the government began requiring construction companies to employ affirmative action policies along gender lines. A decade later, women still made up only 2 percent of the building fabrication workforce.[85]

Aside from invoking clearly gendered resonances, recruiting hard hats as participants in the making or viewing of art also reflected a brand of antielitism familiar to leftist ideologies. Within the AWC, organizing as workers provided a certain leverage, since, as artists attempted to model themselves on other trade unions, moments of actual association with hard-hat culture were perhaps understood to literalize or bolster their claims to this identity. The crane operator's fantasy of class mobility was inverted in the *déclassement* of the art worker: only in America, one could say, could one go to sleep an artist and wake up a worker. In the context of the Vietnam War, this alliance between hard hats and artists proved, not surprisingly, untenable. It unraveled precisely around the Whitney show even as Morris explicitly invoked construction and manufacture as the basis for art's formal means.

On May 8, 1970, a few weeks after Morris's show opened, several hundred prowar construction workers lashed out at students who had gathered in lower Manhattan to protest the bombing of Cambodia. "War Foes Here Attacked by Construction Workers" read the front-page headline in the *New York Times*.[86] Seventy people were injured as construction workers, "most of them wearing brown overalls and orange and yellow hard hats, descended on Wall Street from four directions."[87] The workers proceeded to storm City Hall and forced officials to raise the American flag that had been lowered to half-mast to honor the four students shot dead by the National Guard at Kent State on May 4.

Now known as the hard-hat riots, the incident received widespread media coverage at the time and has become a flash point in discussions of alliances between blue-collar workers and the New Left during the Vietnam War. Some have used the assaults to validate the viewpoint that the American working class was a conservative,

FIGURE 44 "Hard-hatted construction workers breaking up an antiwar rally at the Subtreasury Building," *New York Times*, May 9, 1970, 1. Photograph © Carl T. Gosset, Jr./The New York Times.

prowar force; others have asserted that the workers on May 8 were instigated by un-known forces, "managed" in some way by dark-suited bosses.[88] In any case, their iden-tification as hard hats—in some way metonymic of a mainstream "American public"—was central. In the words of one construction worker who participated in the May 8 riot, "The construction worker is only an image that's being used. The hard hat is be-ing used to represent all of the silent majority."[89] More than any other single event, the hard-hat riots served to redefine publicly the position of the laborer as politically conservative.

A news photograph of the riot depicts crowds of white men—not all of them in hard hats—massing together with American flags and hand-lettered "USA" signs held aloft (Fig. 44). This counterdemonstration was taken as proof that the working class—which, after all, was drafted into the armed forces in disproportionate numbers—was finally having its say about the war.[90] The building trades were facing one of their slowest times in the early 1970s, a factor that may have contributed to these work-ers' anger; many blue-collar workers were in April 1970 on the verge of a major work shutdown.[91] Some at the time viewed the riots not as a bullying display of prowar sentiment but as a discharge of political rage due to a loss of economic power; as one proclamation put it in 1971, "The link between declining jobs in the construction

industry—as a result of Nixon's high interest-rate policies that make construction money scarce—and the hard-hat demonstrations should be obvious."[92]

The May riots irrevocably colored the symbolism of construction workers. Hard hats became strongly linked to hawkish, prowar positions, an association that lingered even as labor increasingly turned against the war in the early 1970s, a move that was arguably crucial to the ultimate end of the U.S. involvement in Vietnam.[93] Construction workers in particular became known as militantly conservative, and as photographs of prowar hard hats continued to circulate in the press and the art world, the hard hat itself became a marker of aggressive patriotism. For example, in a by-now familiar campaign strategy designed to show the honest, plain-folks side of the politician, Richard Nixon was presented with a hard hat by a coalition of union presidents on May 26, 1970. Although he was photographed wearing the hat, he refused to let the photograph be published because of the hat's negative associations with the worst kind of prowar brutishness. "Shrinks with horror at idea of hard hat," explained one Nixon official in an internal memo, *"no hard hat . . . would never live it down."*[94]

Strike

The hard-hat riots were but one instance in an inflammatory period in 1970 that encompassed an unprecedented amount of protest and demonstration throughout the United States. In April and May 1970, the bombing of Cambodia and the killings at Kent State and Jackson State, Florida, propelled the antiwar movement to a new level of vigor. Even the Nixon administration perceived the difference in degree of radical resistance spreading through the streets, in workplaces, and on campuses: worried one official, "We are facing the most severe internal security threat this country has seen since the Depression."[95] These antiwar disruptions dovetailed with a surge of labor unrest. In 1970 the number of strikes by union workers had reached a postwar high; as labor historians have documented, "Large strikes were more important in 1970–72 than at any time during the 1930s, and the proportion of workers involved in them was surpassed only in 1946–49."[96] As part of what has been termed "the Vietnam era labor revolt," a postal wildcat strike in March of 1970 halted the U.S. mail in fifteen states, and record numbers of wildcat strikes by autoworkers shut down plants in the Midwest.[97] High-profile strikes such as the 1968 Memphis sanitation workers' strike, the United Farm Workers' strike of 1973, the 1972 longshoremen's strike, the 1968 New York City teachers' strike, and late 1960s wildcat strikes

in the auto industry led some union leaders to coin this phrase. And in April 1970, the Teamsters, air traffic controllers, steelworkers, various teachers' unions, and workers for New York newspapers held strikes.[98]

Not included in this statistic are the vast strikes called against the Vietnam War, such as student walkouts (which climaxed the week of May 8 and virtually paralyzed the nation's institutes of higher learning, with more than 80 percent of universities closing), nonunion work stoppages to protest the war (such as those enacted by the film industry in May 1970), and the ongoing Women Strike for Peace campaign. As the *Washington Post* observed on May 6, 1970, "The nation is witnessing what amounts to a virtual general and uncoordinated strike."[99] In his comprehensive account of the antiwar movement, Tom Wells contended that in May 1970 "the antiwar movement was alive as never before. The political possibilities seemed stupendous. A truly general strike against the war was not inconceivable—just shut the whole country down."[100]

Artists were swept up by the promise of work stoppages, walkouts, and boycotts as well. On May 13, in New York, the artists in the Jewish Museum group show *Using Walls* voted to close the show to protest the U.S. government's escalating violence in Southeast Asia and on campuses.[101] Morris participated in this show and the subsequent shutdown; inspired by the forceful message of artistic blackout, he decided to dismantle his Whitney show several weeks early. As a prominent artist who had just launched a major solo show that mimed the procedures of construction and hence provided fresh evidence for the art worker's self-descriptor, Morris was uniquely positioned to capitalize on the ethics of mass shutdown. On May 15 he sent a notice to the Whitney Museum demanding that his show be ended immediately, stating, "This act of closing . . . a cultural institution is 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."[102] He declared himself "on strike" against the art system and further demanded that the Whitney close for two weeks to hold meetings for the art community, to address both the war and a general dissatisfaction with the art museum as an agent of power. In Morris's view, "A reassessment of the art structure itself seems timely—its values, its policies, its modes of control, its economic presumptions, its hierarchy of existing power and administration." The Whitney administration at first refused his request, but after Morris threatened to use the museum as a site for a massive sit-in, it acquiesced and closed the show on May 17.

Morris's demand was a stunning instance of an artist using the polemical language

of the strike for political purposes. While it echoed the 1937 Artists' Union strike, Morris's strike was not a campaign about wages or working conditions.[103] Although not involved with the AWC, Morris was propelled to the forefront of New York artistic activist circles when he shut down his Whitney retrospective. The day after his show was closed, concerned artists held a meeting at New York University's Loeb Center to discuss what they could do to protest the bombings of Cambodia. Over one thousand people attended, and "Robert Morris, Robert Morris, Robert Morris was the name on everyone's lips."[104] He was elected chairman of an offshoot of the AWC known as the New York Art Strike against Racism, War, and Repression. (Poppy Johnson, in a gesture of gender conciliation, was elected co-chair.)[105]

The Art Strike was by no means unified about its overall strategy or how overarching artists' withdrawal should be. Some pressed for the cessation of all art except antiwar protest art—a surprisingly popular view and one Morris evidently endorsed as he asserted that abstract art was racist and bourgeois and should possibly be stopped.[106] "If art can't help the revolution, get rid of it," proclaimed one anonymous poster created during the Art Strike.[107] Some articulated the belief that art making should be stopped in favor of reaching out to the proletariat. As Nemser reported, some artists (she does not name them) "demanded that artists make works that could be used as propaganda to unite the artists with the workers."[108] This proposal, seen as a call for old-fashioned social realism, was roundly rejected, and not only because artists were looking for wholly unprecedented aesthetic models for political artistic practice. The invocation of "the workers" was also challenged: "Mention of the workers had driven a frantic Ivan Karp to the podium. Wringing his hands, he reminded the hotheads of what the construction men had done to the students only a week before. 'Remember who your enemies really are,' he implored."[109] In short, hard hats had gone, in the space of a few weeks, from idealized participants in artists' efforts to democratize their practices to a force aligned with their enemies.

Artists at the meeting ratified a motion about the efficacy of an art strike. They demanded that New York museums shut down on May 22, seeking to stop business as usual for one day as a gesture of protest against U.S. military involvement in Vietnam. Some museums and galleries agreed to close their doors. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, which failed to do so, was picketed by a group of several hundred artists, led by Morris and Johnson, who acted as spokespeople for the event (Fig. 45). At its peak, its ranks swelled to over five hundred artists who remained on the picket line for hours in defiance of the Metropolitan's contrary decision to stay open late.

Photos of the Art Strike, taken by Jan van Raay, depict the steps of the Metropol-

FIGURE 45 Robert Morris cups his hands around his mouth to be heard as he is handed a bullhorn on the steps of the Metropolitan Museum during the May 22, 1970, New York Art Strike Against Racism, War, and Repression. Poppy Johnson stands beside him. Photograph © Jan van Raay.

itan Museum thick with protesting artists, their black-and-white posters lined up like shields (Fig. 46). With its unified, monochromatic, text-only graphics—recalling the pared-down aesthetics of conceptualism and invoking a Kosuth language piece—the Art Strike seemed to one observer to be "put into action like a new kind of ARTFORM."[110] Many of the images position Morris at the center of the event— pointing accusingly at the museum, for instance, or addressing the crowd and being handed a makeshift bullhorn as Johnson flanks him. In other photos, however, different characters are foregrounded. For instance, artist Art Coppedge raises a revolutionary fist as he stands next to assistant director Joseph Noble, whose suit and bitter expression mark him immediately as the "establishment" antagonist (Fig. 47). Coppedge was an active member in the branch of the AWC that sought equal representation in museums for black and Puerto Rican artists, and his strident gesture is an active reminder that in fact the Art Strike put "racism" before "war" in its title. The strike's confrontational attitude was not just with the museum power elite; as Therese Schwartz and Bill Amidon reported, "One smiling, amiable construction worker talked to two artists. He remained unconvinced, defended his prosperity and good job, saying that he wasn't being persecuted. More construction workers who worked in the museum were allowed in, followed by the chant 'construction
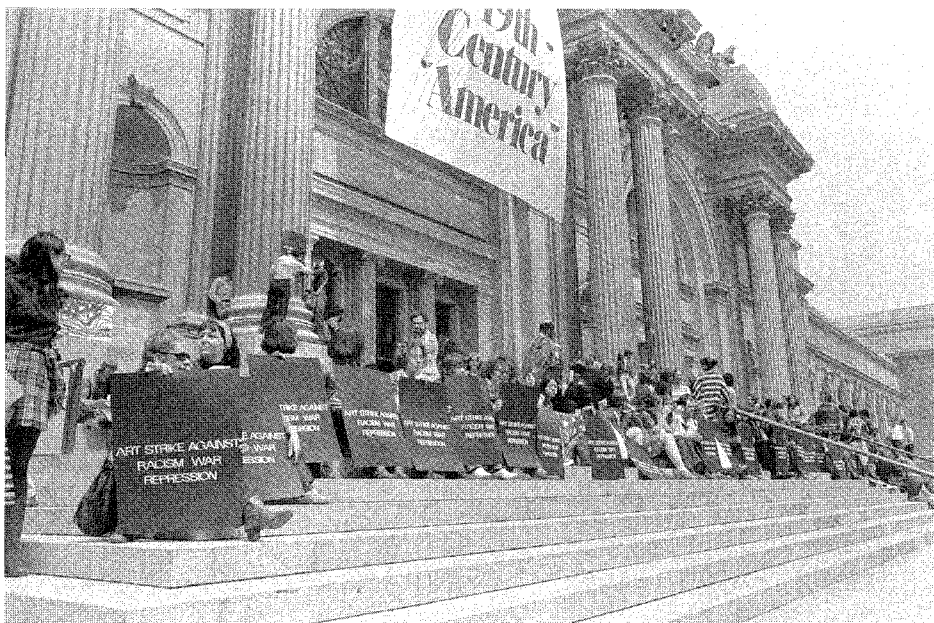
FIGURE 46 On the steps of the Met, uniform text-only posters are wielded by protesters at the Art Strike, 1970. Photograph © Jan van Raay.

FIGURE 47 Art Striker Art Coppedge raises a defiant fist as he stands next to Metropolitan Museum administrator Joseph Vleach Noble, May 22, 1970. Photograph © Jan van Raay.
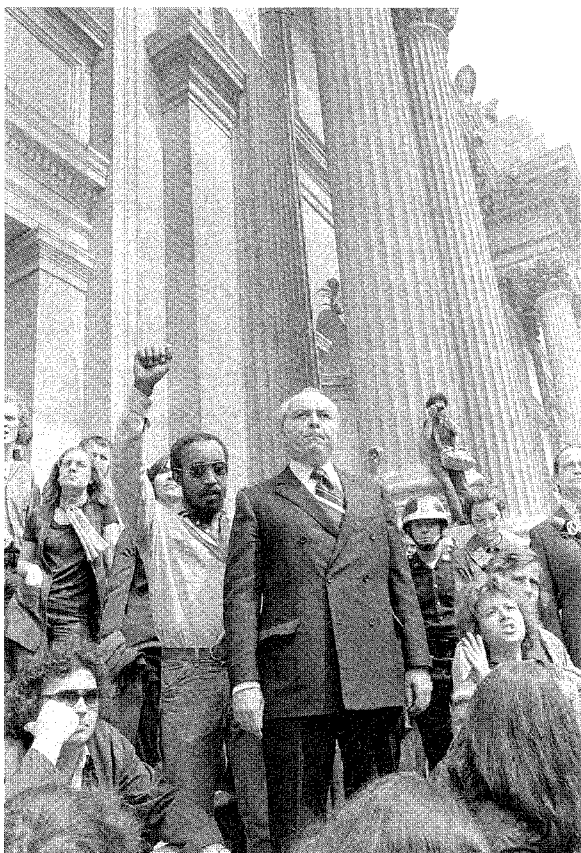
workers, join us!'"[111] This hopeful chant of solidarity fell on deaf ears; still, Andre, in his worker's coveralls, swept the stairs with satisfaction when the event was declared over, and the strike was deemed a success.

Throughout this spring, strike sentiment among artists gained momentum. The International Cultural Revolutionary Forces (consisting of GAAG founders Hendricks and Toche, along with occasional others) took the notion of a strike quite literally, calling for "all artists to stop producing art, and become political and social activists."[112] (At an earlier meeting of the AWC in 1969, Lee Lozano, foreshadowing the language of the Art Strike, launched her "General Strike Piece" by declaring her withdrawal from all art world functions in order to undergo total "personal revolution.") Artist and critic Irving Petlin declared that artists should participate in the "waves of strikes, calls, interruptions, demands, non-cooperation, sabotage, resistance, by no business as usual anywhere." He called on artists to "withhold their work, deny its use to a government anxious to signal to the world that it represents a civilized, culturally-centered society while melting babies in Vietnam. No."[113] While artists as image makers were positioned take an active part in the battle of images being fought about the popularity of the war, many chose instead to stop showing their work. Jo Baer and Robert Mangold removed the works they had on view at the MoMA for the month of May to protest the Cambodia bombings, and Frank Stella closed his MoMA solo exhibition for the day of the Art Strike.

Those taking part in the strike went under the assumption that aesthetic practices were *productive* and that their stoppage would interrupt the functions of economic or social life in some crucial way. The Art Strike, reliant upon the space of the art institution, is a sign of how the art workers had moved from thinking that "work" consisted of physical making in the studio to understanding that "work" occurred when art was on display, in the realm of viewership. As much as the strike was a rhetorical gesture, it was also meant to signal alliances with the conventional strikes as well as the student strikes that were energizing the antiwar movement. The Art Strike raised significant questions about the viability of the "art worker" identity, given that with art there is no consolidated employer, nor is there a factory line to halt. These questions had serious implications as artists sought the most effective means to enact reforms within their "work sites"—museums and galleries. Because it sought to dissuade visitors from entering art institutions, the Art Strike might more accurately be termed a boycott. Still, it drew on the rhetoric of the general strike and the moratorium, which in their most radical forms went beyond protests of working conditions to gestures that sought nothing less than revolution.

It might be tempting to read the Art Strike as the culmination of a conceptual strategy—the logical conclusion of Morris's "dematerialization." Such a reading ignores the political context—the labor revolt—within which the Art Strike and the closure of the Whitney show occurred. As part of the rising tide of strikes engulfing the nation, the Art Strike used the motif of work stoppage as a galvanizing practice to embrace a range of issues. If, in this sense, the Art Strike could be described as a conceptual performance, it was at the same time a performative act aimed at political intervention.

Morris's tactic of withholding his artistic labor by shutting down his Whitney show early could also be read as a form of aesthetic refusal much influenced by Marcuse's theory of a "Great Refusal"—"the negation of the entire Establishment."[114] The Great Refusal, the possibility of imagining alternatives to the "massive exploitative power of corporate capitalism,"[115] was most expansively outlined in Marcuse's 1969 *Essay on Liberation*, a book that was highly influential for the New York art Left.[116] In the late 1960s Marcuse saw hopeful indications that this refusal was undermining mainstream society, especially in the widespread "collapse of work discipline, slowdown, spread of disobedience to rules and regulations, wildcat strikes, boycotts, sabotage, gratuitous acts of noncompliance."[117] Morris took his theory of artistic negation directly from Marcuse's theories, as seen in the following statement made by Morris about 1970: "My first principle for political action, as well as art action, is denial and negation. One says no. It is enough at this point to begin by saying no."[118]

In 1970 posters and antiwar art struck artists as less and less relevant, and withdrawal—a refusal to let things proceed as normal—took over as a popular protest strategy. As Lucy Lippard put it, "It's how you give and withhold your art that is political."[119] But some criticized the Art Strike as flawed in design and motive and dismissed its calls for the withdrawal of art as ineffectual. In June 1970 a small group of art strikers, including Morris, met with Senators Jacob Javits and Claiborne Pell of the Senate Subcommittee on Arts and Humanities in Washington, D.C., to discuss the ramifications of removing art from state-sponsored exhibitions. The senators were unmoved and commented that if the strike had involved doctors or other types of workers deemed "necessary" for society to function, their withholding of labor would be a different matter.[120] Others saw the strike as a threat. Said John Hightower, then-director of MoMA, "The irony of conducting a strike against arts institutions is that it puts you in the same position of Hitler in the 30s and 40s, Stalin in the 50s."[121] Hardly: the Art Strike did not advocate the complete closing of all museums but, along with the AWC, pushed to make museums more widely accessible.

PLATE 1 Panels for the *Peace Tower* (detail), Los Angeles, 1966. Mixed media. Photograph by Charles Brittin. Charles Brittin Archive, Research Library, Getty Research Institute. Used with permission (2005.M.11).

PLATE 2 Artists Poster Committee (Frazier Dougherty, Jon Hendricks, Irving Petlin), *Q: And Babies?* 1970. Lithograph, 25 × 38 in. Courtesy of the Center for the Study of Political Graphics. Photograph by Ron L. Haeberle.

PLATE 3 Art Workers' Coalition, *At Attica and at the Modern, Rockefeller Calls the Shots,* 1971. Poster, silkscreen on paper. Image courtesy of the Lucy R. Lippard Papers, ca. 1940–2006, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

PLATE 4 Carl Andre, *37 Pieces of Work,* 1969, installation view, Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York. Aluminum, copper, steel, lead, magnesium, and zinc, 1,296 units (216 of each metal), each 12 × 12 × ⅜ in.; overall 432 × 432 in. Art © Carl Andre/ Licensed by VAGA, New York, NY.

AT ATTICA
and at the Modern
ROCKEFELLER
CALLS THE SHOTS

AWC '71
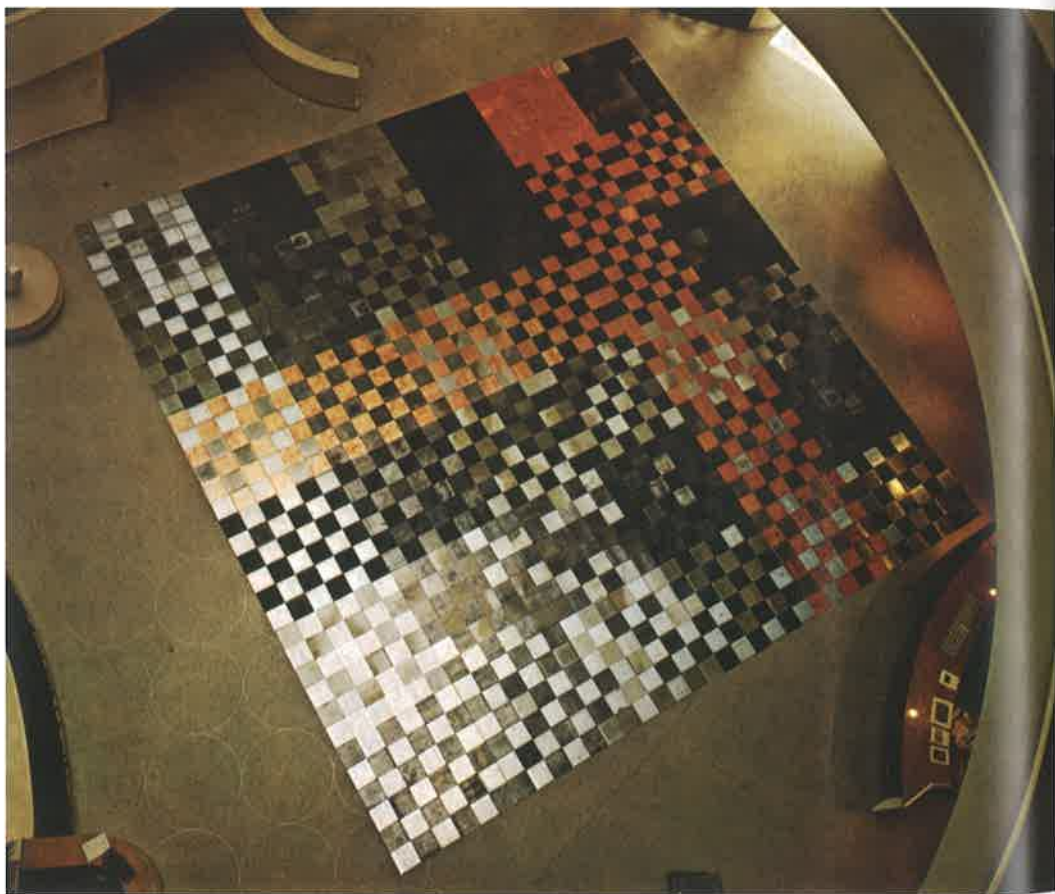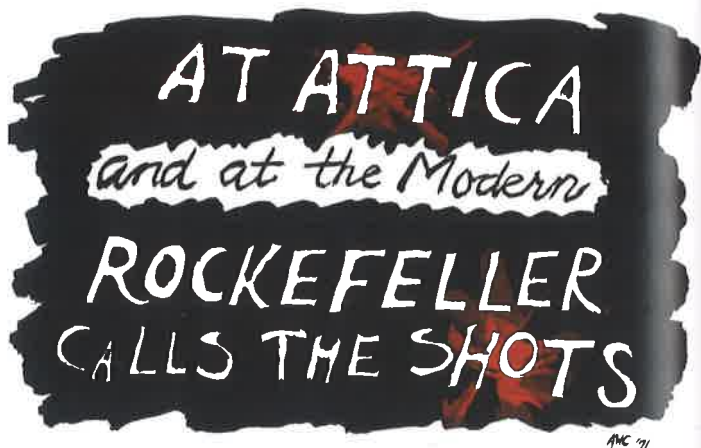
PLATE 5 Carl Andre, *Gold Field,* 1966. Gold, 3 × 3 × ⅛ in. Photograph by Jeffrey Price, courtesy of the Paula Cooper Gallery, New York. Art © Carl Andre/Licensed by VAGA, New York, NY.

PLATE 6 Carl Andre, reverse side of magnesium plate from *Magnesium-Zinc Plain,* 1969, with Dow imprint. Photograph by Pablo Mason. Collection of the Museum of Contemporary Art, San Diego. Art © Carl Andre/Licensed by VAGA, New York, NY.

PLATE 7 Installation shot of *Robert Morris: Recent Works* at the Whitney Museum of American Art, New York, 1970. Photograph by Peter Moore. Art © 2009 Robert Morris/Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York.

PLATE 8 Robert Morris, *Untitled [Timbers]*, 1970, installation piece for the Whitney show. Wood, approx. 12 × 20 × 50 ft. Destroyed. Photograph by Rudy Burckhardt © 2009 Estate of Rudy Burckhardt/Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York. Art © 2009 Robert Morris/Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York.

PLATE 9 Robert Morris, *Untitled [Concrete, Timbers, Steel]*, detail, 1970. Photograph by Rudy Burckhardt © 2009 Estate of Rudy Burckhardt/Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York. Art © 2009 Robert Morris/Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York.

PLATE 10 Hans Hacke, *News,* 1970. Installation at *Software* exhibition, Jewish Museum, New York. Multiple telex machines streaming news from around the world. Photograph by Hans Haacke. © 2009 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York/VG Bild-Kunst, Bonn.

PLATE 11 Hans Haacke, *Gallery-Goers' Birthplace and Residence Profile, Part 1* (detail), 1969. Interactive installation at Howard Wise Gallery, New York; blue and red pushpins on wall map. Photograph by Hans Haacke. © 2009 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York/VG Bild-Kunst, Bonn.

PLATE 12 Hans Haacke, *MOMA-Poll*, 1970. Interactive installation with clear plastic voting boxes, text panel, chart of results, at *Information* exhibition, Museum of Modern Art, New York. Photograph by Hans Haacke. © 2009 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York/VG Bild-Kunst, Bonn.

Instead, as a letter back to Hightower emphasized, "You fail to understand the meaning of symbolic denial (closing the museum for ONE DAY!) which speaks to the actual denial of life by forces of violence."[122]

The conditions for an art strike lasted only a few months, as they were embedded in the specific historical coincidence of the Vietnam War, the large-scale strikes around the country, and the activities of the AWC. As early as September 1970, postmortems for the Art Strike appeared in print: "Feelings among Strike activists range from apathy to suspicion to disgust. The protest, if not destroyed, is dormant. What happened?"[123] By November 1970, the Art Strike had birthed several related organizations, one of them the Emergency Cultural Government, an ad hoc group (including Morris) that lobbied artists to withdraw from the American Pavilion at the 1970 Venice Biennale to protest U.S. military action in Vietnam and Cambodia.[124]

What *had* happened? The answer lies, in part, in the growing feminist movement and the defection of many women involved in the Art Strike to women's action groups, which I discuss further in Chapter 4. And, despite the attention paid to the word *racism* in the Art Strike, some artists of color felt that this was merely lip service.[125] The Art Strike eventually was folded back into the AWC, and its activities tapered off by the end of 1971, although it did help mobilize the museum staff as workers and was actively supportive of the union drive and strike of the Professional and Administrative Staff Association of the Museum of Modern Art.

In a further resignifying of the potent symbol of the hard hat within the context of a strike, one protest poster from the 1971 PASTA MoMA strike appropriates the Rembrandt-school painting *Man in a Golden Helmet* (Fig. 48). The subject of this canonical painting is made to speak, as a pasted-on word balloon saying "Strike" issues forth from his closed lips. Many of the strategies used by the strikers in their placards were art-historically savvy, with a similarly detoured Bruegel painting and the familiar image of Uncle Sam. The Rembrandt-era work, perhaps chosen because the helmet of the title was so prominent, was captioned "Even a few hard hats support PASTA MOMA," making reference to the ostensibly conservative blue-collar workforce so politically contested just one year before.

Every standard account of the closure of Morris's Whitney show puts it within the context of the Art Strike. Was there, perhaps, another reason that Morris was so eager to shut down his Whitney show on May 15? In the aftermath of the hard-hat riots, construction was no longer a viable metaphor for the new relations between work, labor, and politics that Morris sought in 1970. The intense ideological contradictions that accompanied the yoking together of "art" and "workers" were made starkly, and

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What *had* happened? The answer lies, in part, in the growing feminist movement and the defection of many women involved in the Art Strike to women's action groups, which I discuss further in Chapter 4. And, despite the attention paid to the word *racism* in the Art Strike, some artists of color felt that this was merely lip service.[125] The Art Strike eventually was folded back into the AWC, and its activities tapered off by the end of 1971, although it did help mobilize the museum staff as workers and was actively supportive of the union drive and strike of the Professional and Administrative Staff Association of the Museum of Modern Art.

In a further resignifying of the potent symbol of the hard hat within the context of a strike, one protest poster from the 1971 PASTA MoMA strike appropriates the Rembrandt-school painting *Man in a Golden Helmet* (Fig. 48). The subject of this canonical painting is made to speak, as a pasted-on word balloon saying "Strike" issues forth from his closed lips. Many of the strategies used by the strikers in their placards were art-historically savvy, with a similarly detoured Bruegel painting and the familiar image of Uncle Sam. The Rembrandt-era work, perhaps chosen because the helmet of the title was so prominent, was captioned "Even a few hard hats support PASTA MOMA," making reference to the ostensibly conservative blue-collar workforce so politically contested just one year before.

Every standard account of the closure of Morris's Whitney show puts it within the context of the Art Strike. Was there, perhaps, another reason that Morris was so eager to shut down his Whitney show on May 15? In the aftermath of the hard-hat riots, construction was no longer a viable metaphor for the new relations between work, labor, and politics that Morris sought in 1970. The intense ideological contradictions that accompanied the yoking together of "art" and "workers" were made starkly, and

FIGURE 48 Professional and Administrative Staff Association (PASTA) of the
Museum of Modern Art on strike, August 30, 1971, supported by the Art Workers'
Coalition. Photograph © Jan van Raay.

uncomfortably, visible. The driving ideas behind the Whitney exhibition, with its am-
bitious, even wishful assertions of collaborative production, workers and artist work-
ing side by side, had soured. One writer described the following pervasive feeling in
the wake of the hard-hat riots: "The masses, those cabdrivers, beauticians, steel-work-
ers, ironworkers, and construction men so beautifully romanticized by generations
of dreamy socialists, are really an ugly bunch of people."[126] After the hard-hat riots
in May 1970, Morris commented in the *New York Post*, "Museums are our cam-
puses."[127] This assertion draws a parallel between student strikes and the Art Strike,
solidifying the artists' affinity with *students* rather than with blue-collar workers.

    In Morris's Whitney show, the art is formally associated with the building trades,
as are the myriad photographs that depict it as an active "construction site." Un-
derscoring that he was above all an art worker, Morris performed the position of the
blue-collar forklift driver; such an identity proved far less alluring after blue-collar
workers stormed down lower Manhattan waving flags and beating up students. Mor-
ris's sudden involvement with the Art Strike struck some as careerist or opportunis-
tic; stickers appeared in downtown New York that read, "Robert Morris: Prince of
Peace."[128] Critic Nemser scoffed, "Greater sacrifice hath no man than to shut down
his art show for his fellow man."[129] Although Morris was at the periphery of the AWC
before the Art Strike, his involvement in the Art Strike and the Emergency Cultural
Government constituted genuine efforts to come to terms with the ethics of art mak-
ing and art display in the "museum system." It also represented an attempt to find

a new kind of political viability after his formal process exercise at the Whitney turned into such a critical, aesthetic, and ideological disappointment.

Morris's disillusionment with the possibility for cross-class affiliation paralleled that of the New Left in general, as the Left embraced Marcuse's belief that the working class was "counterrevolutionary."[130] The Whitney show, which was the residue of collaborative production with a team of dozens of workers, suddenly betrayed sympathies with regressive politics, and Morris sought to remove it from view. Certainly, the art projects he proposed in the months after the end of the Whitney show, with their focus on precisely his uncertainties revolving around labor, the value of art, and questions of collectivity, articulate a rejection of his previous models of art making.

Morris On and Off the Clock

Where could Morris go after striking at the Whitney? Morris seemed to sense that the way he'd been working was insufficient to address the turmoil of these six weeks in 1970. He pondered the question in a notebook a month after his show closed: "Feel I have to re-invent an art viable for myself and consonant with the conditions of change that have occurred over these last two months. Something either more public or more private? No clear idea at this point."[131] Morris remained serious about his commitment to deflating overvalued artistic labor, as his next project demonstrated. This was the Peripatetic Artists Guild (PAG), a series of proposed projects based on "saleless wage commissions" (Fig. 49). Starting in November 1970, Morris placed a series of ads in art magazines announcing that the guild (consisting only of Morris and, briefly, Craig Kauffman) was available for projects such as "explosions—events for the quarter horse—chemical swamps—monuments—speeches—outdoor sounds for the varying seasons—alternate political systems." Ranging from the prosaic (speeches) to the toxic (chemical swamps) to the utopian (alternative political systems), these proposals were to be executed for a twenty-five-dollar-an-hour wage "plus all travel, materials, construction and other costs to be paid by the owner-sponsor."

Morris's list included both art and nonart activities; some of them, such as "theatrical projects for the masses," had vaguely political overtones that alluded back to the Art Strike. Many of them reflected work he had already been engaged in (such as riding quarter horses). The owner-sponsor, as he termed it, could call on the artist to execute any number of actions, all for the same pay, negating the hierarchy that assigns different scales of value to art pieces than to, say, construction projects. The

THE PERIPATETIC ARTISTS GUILD ANNOUNCES
ROBERT MORRIS

Available for Commissions Anywhere in the World

EXPLOSIONS—EVENTS FOR THE QUARTER HORSE—CHEMICAL SWAMPS—MONUMENTS—SPEECHES—OUTDOOR SOUNDS FOR THE VARYING SEASONS—ALTERNATE POLITICAL SYSTEMS—DELUGES—DESIGN AND ENCOURAGEMENT OF MUTATED FORMS OF LIFE AND OTHER VAGUELY AGRICULTURAL PHENOMENA, SUCH AS DISCIPLINED TREES—EARTHWORKS—DEMONSTRATIONS—PRESTIGEOUS OBJECTS FOR HOME, ESTATE, OR MUSEUM—THEATRICAL PROJECTS FOR THE MASSES—EPIC AND STATIC FILMS—FOUNTAINS IN LIQUID METALS—ENSEMBLES OF CURIOUS OBJECTS TO BE SEEN WHILE TRAVELING AT HIGH SPEEDS—NATIONAL PARKS AND HANGING GARDENS—ARTISTIC DIVERSIONS OF RIVERS—SCULPTURAL PROJECTS—

Collaborative Projects with Other Artists Invited

The above is but a partial listing of projects in which the artist is qualified to engage. No project is too small or too large. The artist will respond to all inquiries regarding commissions of whatever nature

Terms of Commissions

Sales or fees for any projects are not acceptable. A $25.00 per working hour wage plus all travel, materials, construction and other costs to be paid by the owner-sponsor. Subsequent sales of any project by the owner-sponsor will require a 50% return of funds to the Peripatetic Artists Guild (PAG) to be held in trust for the furtherance of saleless wage commissions between other artists and owner-sponsors. A contract will be issued for every commission.

Address all Inquiries to PAG, 186 Grand St.
NYC 10013

FIGURE 49 Robert Morris, "The Peripatetic Artists Guild Announces Robert Morris," 1970. Printed advertisement, *Artforum* 9 (November 1970): 23. © 2009 Robert Morris/ Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York.

use of the term *guild* recalls a skilled artisanal association, and this language was per-haps used in concert with the AWC; both asserted art's legitimacy as a profession. Although Morris placed the ads hoping to solicit proposals, resulting in queries from twenty-one interested parties, no commissioned projects came out of the PAG (in retrospect it appears to offer a remarkably good deal).

Morris did not mean the PAG as a joke; he saw it as the future of progressive art practices. As he wrote, "Working wages for art effort in an interacting situation with the outside world must replace [the museum/gallery system]."[132] The art world, ap-parently, was not ready to embrace this replacement, and disapproval came even from such seemingly sympathetic quarters as the fledgling *Artworkers News*, a broadsheet published in New York between 1971 and 1982.[133] Sandwiched between items on laws affecting artists and getting health insurance and listed under the heading "Rip-Offs and Cop-Outs: Tales of Horror from the Art World!" was an article appalled by the "fake" business of the Peripatetic Artists Guild. "We are somewhat concerned by a few aspects of this affair. . . . We would be happy to hear exactly how things were dealt with in this 'guild.'"[134]

If Marx considered wage labor the heart of alienation and exploitation, and often explicitly contrasted it to the relatively free, fulfilling labor of artistic creation, why would artists wish to mime the pay structure of hourly wages?[135] Morris's resort to wage labor in the PAG had implications beyond the financial. The PAG would se-cure his place within a class system in which artists were on some level equivalent to wage workers—the epic performance of work was no longer the best way to cri-tique the system. At this point, the display of construction in the Whitney exhibit ap-peared showy or false. His project proposals in the summer of 1970 after the closure of the Whitney show even go so far as to mock his previously straightforward attempts to forge a collective model of working. Instead, his rehearsals of the procedures of construction turned into a farce.

One proposal, called "Work at Pier 45," is a kind of ironic coda to the Whitney show, envisioned at an incredibly grand scale. This pageant-type event was to include a nude woman leading a team of horses, which are themselves dragging enormous U.S. flags covered in flyers that picture the atrocities of the Vietnam War, as well as jug-glers, acrobats, firefighters playing poker, and a National Guard drill team. The pro-posal continues: "The Timber Piece I did at the Whitney will be redone. The forty 26 foot timbers will be brought up on the moving luggage ramps, assembled and spilled. The process should take several hours and require a crew of five."[136] Thirty white rabbits would be released, a dozen televisions would be scattered throughout

the scene, and the audience members—wearing placards around their necks with the names of casualties from the Vietnam War—would watch the scene perched on bales of hay. This proposal is notable for its reimagination of the Whitney timber piece, and because Morris inserted pictures of war horrors and the names of the dead into this circuslike atmosphere.

A different proposal from the same period imagines a choreographed scene of mass toil: "100 men in a field dragging a steel plate . . . 100 men and women planting, 20 men carrying timber, 20 men rolling large boulders, 10 horses." *Untitled [Timbers]*, originally conceived as an earnest attempt to forge a method of transparent production, has metamorphosed into a fantastical scene of a campy, Busby Berkeley–type spectacle, as if conceding that that was its place, in fact, all along. Morris spun out visions of vast work with a pluralized and mixed gender cast, yet he recognized the hollowness of its forced collectivity. He added: "Make a political text for these differentiating any false Marxist notions about togetherness, the workers, etc. Some of text from Marx himself—i.e. demonstrate by words that its political content merely apparent—i.e. the 'collectivism' of the working people useless, non-productive, art."[137] From the Whitney exhibition, to the Art Strike, to the wage labor of the PAG, to this sorry scene of "useless art": the trajectory here is toward cynicism.

Morris's transition also records a widely shared cultural sense that work, war, and resistance might all be subsumed, and diffused, under the category of the spectacle.[138] He moved from an old-fashioned (even Old Left) idea of the arm-in-arm linkage of work and politics to an absurd parade of war photos, nude women, and onlookers. This is not Abbie Hoffman's strategic, even ecstatic acceptance of an image culture and media intervention; rather, it is akin to Todd Gitlin's bitter contention that the embrace of spectacle—that moment when protesters addressed the cameras to proclaim, "The whole world is watching"—was the very death of the New Left.[139] If the Whitney show was a failure, it was because the elements Morris wished to bring together were irreconcilable. Morris's re-presentation of industrial objects and his desire to shift them from the realm of art to work led not only to a romanticized personal identification with working-class labor but also to culturally incoherent objects. While Morris wanted a show that would be sensitive to populist visions of artists and workers collectively forging new relationships, the version of labor he performed was fast obsolescing. The crude pulleys and weights do not necessarily speak to their moment—a moment that was rapidly undergoing major shifts—but in fact hark back to a previous time.

Morris's Whitney show does not even demonstrate a last gasp of industrial man-

ufacture just as that version of construction becomes moot. As Michelson notes, these basics of construction date from Stonehenge and the pyramids. She quotes a crew worker's astonished utterance upon witnessing the installation of *Concrete, Timbers, Steel:* "My God! This is like 2000 BC!"[140] In his effort to forge an art from raw materials and construction crews, Morris displayed a profound nostalgia for the preindustrial (rather than postindustrial) mechanics of hard manual work. (This sentiment includes nostalgia for the lost masculinity of working-class manhood. In this, Morris is not alone; anxieties attendant to shifts in the conditions of production—and in times of war—are often displaced or refigured in sexualized terms.)

The collapse of artists' identification with workers after the hard-hat riots points to the misrecognitions inherent in trying to eradicate distinctions between art and labor.[141] Morris's 1970 Whitney exhibition—and its photos of strong-armed workers hauling heavy loads, their faces grimacing, their muscles straining—crystallized apprehensions facing the leftist U.S. art world about how to make art viable as a form of labor. Why, in so many of the shots of Morris in which he is supposedly one of the workers, is he puffing on a *cigar*, the very symbol of "bossness"? The fictive identification with labor that these works insist upon vacillates between the artist as foreman and the artist as "construction man." It is critical that there are no photos of Morris actually wearing a hard hat during the installation of the 1970 Whitney show; it sits on his head spectrally, in the realm of psychic projection and fantasy.

Despite a flurry of major press attention given the Whitney show in 1970, it has largely disappeared from Morris's historical record.[142] This erasure is striking. It discounts Morris's most important (if problematic) effort to merge political purpose and artistic form, and it overlooks the pivotal role the exhibition played in Morris's own development. After the Whitney and Tate shows, Morris abandoned postminimalism as he shifted away from nonfigurative process art. Thus Morris's Whitney show produced a critical rupture within his practice; as Alex Potts has astutely theorized, the Whitney show constituted a "crisis . . . ending in a bleak rejection of almost everything [Morris] had seemed to stand for."[143] The events of 1970 signaled a major shift in American artists' ideas about the relation between art and labor; the AWC itself limped along for only about a year after the Art Strike. The Art Strike is often referred to as a triumphant moment of artistic activism, but investigating the contradictions attendant to its most fervent period—May 1970—reveals the fractured and unsettled nature of the identity "art worker."

Lucy Lippard's Feminist Labor

One thing museum administrators can't seem to realize
is that most of the artworkers lead triple (for women, often
quadruple) lives: making art, earning a living, political or
social action, and maybe domestic work too.

Lucy Lippard (1970)

Women's Work

"Herewith the twenty-two reviews. Hope they make whatever the deadline is. Slight delay as I had a baby last week."[1] Lucy Lippard sent this letter and its accompanying parcel of reviews to the editor of *Art International* on December 11, 1964. The casual mention of the birth of her son demonstrates the furious pace at which Lippard worked—over twenty reviews sent off only one week postpartum! Lippard had concealed her pregnancy until this moment—"Luckily, the editor was in Switzerland. I didn't tell him till I'd had the baby"[2]—and her brisk, slightly defiant tone is a measure of how carefully she positioned herself vis-à-vis her gender in the beginning of her career. Lippard recognized that her work as a mother might be seen as an impediment to her work as a writer, and her conflicting identities as a laborer (to both reproductive and remunerative ends) would sharpen with her increasing awareness of feminism.

In this chapter, the concept of artistic labor is expanded to consider how art critics and curators affiliated with the AWC and the Art Strike understood their production in political terms. How were writers' contributions likewise corralled under the "art workers" rubric? This chapter also examines how the feminist movement of the late 1960s changed what counted as legitimate artistic labor. The history of U.S. feminism is also a history of work; likewise, labor history is incomplete without women's contributions. Labor, with its gendered double meaning, was central to all the com-

plex, somewhat factionalized strands of second-wave feminism. The timeline of feminism in the United States stretches back much farther than the 1960s, with important nineteenth- and early twentieth-century precedents. By 1966, with the founding of the National Organization for Women, feminist influence was nascent within leftist circles, and by 1969 women's liberation was a major social movement. This "second wave" consolidated itself in the late 1960s, coming on the heels of—and intricately connected to—both the civil rights movement and the New Left, although feminism was by no means welcomed with open arms as it gained momentum. As Ellen Willis wrote, "We were laughed at, patronized, called frigid, emotionally disturbed man-haters and—worst of all on the left—apolitical."[3]

Some historians mark the 1963 publication of Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* as one catalyzing start date for the women's liberation movement, as its descriptions of the ruthless social conditioning of women "planted a seed for ideological change."[4] Friedan's book investigated the push for women to return to domestic labor after World War II, and the psychic pressures that attended this widespread initiative to return women to house-bound work. Despite these pressures, many women stayed at their jobs; bolstered by the great influx of women into the job market during the war, by the early 1960s more than one-third of all workers in the United States were women.[5] However, research showed that for every dollar a man earned a woman with a similar level of experience would receive fifty-nine cents. (So familiar and politically meaningful was this statistic that some women's rights buttons simply read "59¢.")

The publication of the 1963 report for the Presidential Commission on the Status of Women, which looked at wage discrimination and labor standards, ushered in a new era of legislation regarding gender inequity, such as the Equal Pay for Equal Work Act of that same year.[6] The U.S. Supreme Court issued an order to end sexual discrimination in hiring practices in 1971, and 1972 saw congressional approval of the Equal Rights Amendment, even though this amendment failed to be ratified ten years later in the state-by-state vote. Pay equity, also known as comparable worth, was a mainstay of 1960s feminist thought—the original platform of NOW included a plank on "equal pay for equal work."[7]

For radical feminists, such goals were far too modest. While cultural feminists advocated for maternity leave, radical feminists sought to abolish conventional ideas of motherhood altogether.[8] They called for a revolution that would liberate women as a class. As the 1969 Redstockings manifesto proclaimed, "Women are an oppressed class. Our oppression is total, affecting every facet of our lives. We are exploited as sex objects, breeders, domestic servants, and cheap labor."[9] In 1972 the International

Coalition for Wages for Housework called for a new socialized economy in which women would be paid for their housework; they noted that two-thirds of the world's work—including the often unacknowledged labor of cooking, cleaning, and child rearing—was performed by women, with only 5 percent of it compensated. In other words, women's work was at the forefront of feminism, and questions of labor were central for Lippard as she grew to understand her feminist and art-critical pursuits as gendered forms of work.

The demographic to which Lippard belonged—white, educated, middle class, urban—registered most significantly the atmospheric changes regarding U.S. cultural feminism: she was studying at Smith just as Friedan was interviewing alumni there regarding what she termed the "crisis" facing women in which they felt torn between families and careers. Lippard's concealment of her pregnancy from the editor of *Art International* is symptomatic of this crisis. Reciting Lippard's biographical information is not meant to reduce her to statistics; rather, it helps untangle how her status as a woman and her status as a critic were both called into question in the late 1960s and led her to make specific choices in her writing and activist commitments. As Anne Wagner points out, exploring how women experience their own "femaleness"—richly understood—is one way of trying to get at "the business of artistic selfhood"; for female makers in the twentieth century, this identity comes freighted with uniquely gendered pressures and expectations.[10]

The case of Lippard makes clear how unstable and expanded the concept of artistic labor became in the late 1960s and early 1970s, as she herself identified as an art worker but not necessarily an artist. This identification was forged through a catalyzing visit to Argentina and through her participation in the AWC—activities that fostered Lippard's understanding of gendered labor. Lippard's trip to Argentina and her involvement with the AWC thus functioned as pivot points between her early, formalist criticism and her later feminist engagements.[11] This trajectory follows the general contours of the careers of many feminists whose political awareness grew out of trips to the South (whether the segregated U.S. South or Latin America) and the antiwar movement.[12]

Lippard's path was shaped by her understanding of writing as work—that is, as a paid job as much as an intellectual pursuit—a view informed in large part by her consciousness of herself as a working woman. Reflecting back on her first few years of writing criticism (from 1964 to 1969), Lippard blanches when she discovers that she used to say, "'the artist, *he*,' 'the reader and viewer, *he*,' and worse still—a real case of confused identity—'the critic, *he*.'"[13] She thought of herself as "one of the

boys," along with her husband, Robert Ryman, and artists and friends Sol LeWitt and Robert Mangold.[14]

The position of "artist's wife" was a tricky one, especially for women artists who were trying to forge careers for themselves alongside, and often in the shadow of, their husbands. In a 1972 interview with Paul Cummings, Ryman admits that having a critic, as opposed to an artist, wife was less problematic in terms of competition. Cummings asks, "Was there a lot of career conflict between the demands of your activity and her work?" Ryman responds, "No. Of course, it would have been worse if she had been a painter, too. That would have been very bad."[15] (Ryman and Lippard divorced in 1968.) Lippard's situation reflected a different dynamic, as she did not consider herself an artist: she worked as a freelance researcher while also pursuing a master's degree at New York University's Institute of Fine Art. Lippard has recalled that her desire for that degree was motivated less by an academic drive than by the raise in pay she would get doing research—it would enable her to ask for three, instead of two, dollars an hour.[16]

Unlike most of her colleagues in graduate school, she had to work while pursuing her studies; this enhanced her perception that she was, as she reflected in 1976, the "proletarian of the Institute."[17] Following a long line of thought regarding the classed nature of the gender divide, most influentially the work of Friedrich Engels and Simone de Beauvoir, women-as-proletariat was a familiar trope of Marxist and socialist feminists of the second wave.[18] It became a common refrain in the late 1960s and was picked up by popular feminist writers such as Germaine Greer, who claimed, "Women are the true proletariat."[19] Thus, just as Andre's and Morris's attempts to cast themselves as laborers were freighted with specifically gendered connotations, so too was Lippard's self-identification as "the proletarian of the Institute." "I called myself an art-historical whore," Lippard recounts, "because I'd research anything anybody asked me to."[20] Lippard slips quickly between calling herself proletarian and a prostitute—the signature category of female low-class labor. This statement couples the mercenary aspects of her fledgling career with an implicitly sexual component. Lippard's claim to be a "whore" is self-mocking but also indicates how compromised it felt to be a woman "selling ideas" within a male-dominated field.

To extend the sexualized metaphor, Lippard's critical activities were in the beginning quite promiscuous. Writing on objects as diverse as African masks and pop prints, she did not subscribe to any one doctrine that might limit her objects of inquiry. While Lippard often included women artists among her examples, in these early writings gender was not one of her primary concerns. None of the monographic ar-

ticles in her first book of art criticism, *Changing: Essays in Art Criticism*, featured a woman artist, as she herself would later point out.[21] In fact, in some unpublished correspondence from the mid-1960s, she displayed a flippant tone toward women's making. For instance, in a 1965 letter recommending a woman for an artist's residency at the MacDowell Colony, she remarked: "She . . . has none of the belligerence sometimes associated with lady painters."[22] The letter bears a handwritten annotation, presumably made by her some time after the original date of the letter—two surprised exclamation points next to the word *belligerence*. Their presence speaks to Lippard's later distance from this attitude.

But this phase of scattered attention within her criticism did not last. Like much of the New York art world in the late 1960s, Lippard moved away from writing about all manner of eclectic objects to championing both the "eccentric abstraction" she named in 1966 and, later, "dematerialized" art. She began to write primarily about minimal and conceptual artists—many of whom were fellow art workers—seeing radical potential for this advanced art and its ephemeral, participatory, and idea-based components. Her conception of herself as an "art-historical whore" was transformed as she embraced the term *art worker,* and this shift in self-identity was integral to her shift in her criticism. As she embraced writing as a distinctly political form of labor, she also turned increasingly to feminist art.

Shadowing Lippard's identity as an art worker was the simultaneous professionalization of art criticism. To quote Amy Newman: "The institutionalization in America of what has come to be known as 'the art world'—an entity encompassing production, distribution, promotion, display, and consumption of art as well as its intellectual, topical, legal and social dimensions—took place in the 1960s and early 1970s."[23] Lippard's ability to scrape together a living as a freelance critic was a testament to the increasing value of criticism in the United States and its status as a professional identity; its writers not only began to earn higher wages but were granted new measures of institutional prestige. This is not to say, however, that the role of the critic was at all lucrative. When the National Endowment for the Arts began granting awards to individual critics in 1972, the art-critical world increasingly mirrored the art industry as a system of a few stars at the top and everyone else—undervalued, overworked—at the bottom. As Irving Sandler commented: "Notwithstanding the newly elevated image of art critics, their economic condition remained low. A few were well paid and had full-time jobs, notably those employed by the *New York Times, Newsweek,* or *Time.* But most were free-lance, writing for monthly art journals; they were the most poorly paid of art professionals. With the

exception of a handful who could turn out reams of writing, they had to support their criticism by teaching, lecturing, curating guest shows in museums, jurying, etc., often risking conflicts of interest."[24] Given how many critics and artists were close friends and colleagues within this small New York circle, the potential for conflicts of interest was real. Many art workers keen to interrogate the "autonomy" of criticism and the interlocking of publicity and power would soon become targets in the antiestablishment ethos of the AWC.

Visiting Argentina

"I was politicized by a trip to Argentina in the fall of 1968," says Lippard in a 1969 interview published in the preface to her *Six Years: The Dematerialization of the Art Object.*[25] She repeats this statement in her books *From the Center* and *Get the Message? A Decade of Art for Social Change,* as well as in numerous interviews conducted over the past twenty-five years; it has become the mythic origin story of her embrace of socially engaged art practices.[26] Yet little is known about what Lippard did in Argentina or why it might have affected her so. How might her trip have had repercussions for her own formulation of the labor of her writing and curatorial work when she returned home? I do not assert a clean line of connection between the artistic and activist practices Lippard saw in Argentina and what she did upon her return in to the United States.[27] Assuming that 1960s artistic traffic moved smoothly along the greased wheels of increasing internationalism fails to acknowledge how the unique circumstances of art production in different countries left much room for misapprehension and broken lines of communication, and indeed the story of Lippard in Argentina is one, in part, of mistranslation.[28]

What, then, happened to Lippard in Argentina? In 1968 she was invited by the Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes in Buenos Aires to be a juror for a large exhibition.[29] The other juror was Jean Clay, curator and critic for French art magazines (the award was in part organized by the French embassy). Such an invitation is indicative of an increasingly itinerant art world that encouraged curators and critics to travel an international circuit of shows and biennials. While this artistic tourism has always been undertaken by the wealthy, in the 1960s, along with the greatly globalizing economy and the expanding flow of information across national boundaries, it was more and more woven into the everyday fabric of artists' and critics' lives. The relatively transportable nature of conceptual art, with its postcards and artist's books, also eased the

international traffic of contemporary art—in many cases, the artist sent instructions to execute the art on the spot without the usual shipping fees and insurance problems. Exhibits like *When Attitude Becomes Form,* mounted in 1969 at the Kunsthalle, Berne and the Institute of Contemporary Art in London, promoted a global sense of conceptual contemporary art in contradistinction to the vaunted "Americanness" of abstract expressionism. Enhancing this international circulation of art was the increased distribution of art magazines such as *Art International* and *Artforum* throughout Europe and the United States.

For Lippard, this new portability offered great promise for decentralizing the art world. As she wrote excitedly in 1969, "One of the important things about the new dematerialized art is that it provides a way of getting the power structure out of New York and spreading it around to wherever the artist feels like being at that time."[30] However, she soon recognized the limitations of art's political possibility. Just as Lippard expressed the hope that conceptual art could somehow challenge the art/power nexus, this ephemeral art was being embraced by multinational corporations eager to find new ways of promoting themselves to sophisticated audiences such as those who traveled far and wide to see exhibitions.

This was certainly the case with her jurying experience in Argentina. Held during the height of the repressive military regime of General Juan Carlos Onganía, the show and the awarding of its prizes turned into a rancorous event. The exhibit was sponsored in part by a plastics corporation, and, according to Lippard's recollections, she and Clay were pressured to give the top prize to an artist whose medium was plastic. Apparently the artist was selected before the jurors even arrived in the country, much less viewed the art. Lippard recounts that this was a bewildering experience for her. The prize, ostensibly an honor of artistic quality or innovation, was an overt attempt to press art into the service of business publicity, and the incident opened Lippard's eyes to the toxic influence of corporate patronage. In her words, "I was forced to confront and reject corporate control."[31]

Recalling her serviceable but spotty Spanish, and her astonishment at the overt paramilitary culture—there were machine guns leveled at her as she came and went from her hotel, for instance—Lippard has said, "I honestly didn't know what to make of it."[32] In addition, the French embassy had placed limits on the political expressions of the artists in the show, many of whom were making art sympathetic to the May 1968 student/worker rebellions. She and Clay—who had come, as Lippard recounts, "straight from the barricades in Paris"[33]—instead gave out many prizes, thereby thwarting a competition meant to reward a single artist.

Many of the Argentinean artists in the competition also withdrew their work from the show in protest of political censorship, and some were arrested after storming the galleries of the museum to declare their solidarity with the French struggle.[34] In a collective statement entitled "We Must Always Resist the Lures of Complicity," they declared: "Our NONPARTICIPATION in this prize is but a small expression of a greater will to NOT PARTICIPATE in any act (official or apparently non official) that signifies complicity with all that represents, at various levels, the cultural mechanism that the bourgeoisie has put in place to absorb any revolutionary process."[35] As with the Art Strike two years later, the concept of "nonparticipation" would prove a vital tactic for leftist artists. The violent state response to the artists' boycott exposed Lippard to the efficacy and force of artistic withdrawal as a political strategy. But it was also the clarifying moment in which she witnessed firsthand a transparent attempt by a corporation to utilize art in the service of "branding."

The use of corporate-made materials was increasingly under scrutiny by many minimal and conceptual artists who would soon affiliate themselves with the AWC.[36] (The corporate sponsorship of museums or shows like *When Attitude Becomes Form,* for instance, became a major source of critique for artists such as Haacke.) Art workers debated how art served promotional purposes. Critic Gregory Battcock stated, "The corporation isn't interested in owning and collecting, yet it nevertheless feels it is getting its money's worth in a less tangible but equally valuable commodity."[37] With the Bellas Artes show, Lippard was confronted with the fraught valuation of her work as a critic. While before she had bragged about "researching anything anybody asked," this instrumentalization threatened her sense of the autonomy of critical judgment. Because of her intimate relationships with some of the artists she wrote about, this fragile autonomy was at times seen as compromise, but never had she been so forced to confront how her critical approval might be converted baldly into monetary value.

After Lippard and Clay completed their jurying, they sought to make connections with the radical artists who had withdrawn their work from the show in protest of its demand for depoliticized art. Lippard stayed in Argentina after the fracas with the prizes and traveled to Rosario, where she met the Grupo de Artistas de Vanguardia, also known as the Rosario Group. A few months after Lippard left, the Rosario Group presented one of the most coherent attempts of any artists' group in the 1960s to merge art and politics within the context of labor: *Tucumán Arde (Tucumán Burns).*[38] The circumstances surrounding this event are too complex to capture in any detail here. Briefly, *Tucumán Burns* was the culmination of the collective effort of over thirty artists, students, and workers who conducted interviews, gathered documents, and
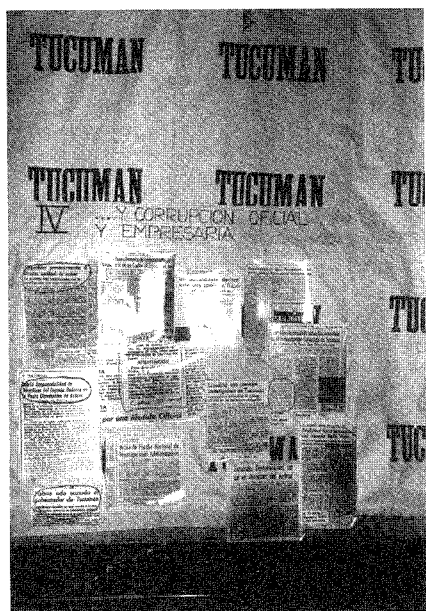
FIGURE 50 Grupo de Artistas de Vanguardia (Rosario Group), *Tucumán Arde [Tucumán Burns]*, 1968, installation (designed by León Ferrari), Confederación General de Trabajo (CGT), Argentina. Misleading news accounts are highlighted. Courtesy of Graciela Carnevale.

compiled statistics about the terrible poverty that had recently gripped the northwest province of Tucumán. The Onganía regime had recently "rationalized" the economy of this region, shutting down the sugar refineries that were the primary source of jobs and income in the area.[39] However, in a blatant case of pure misinformation, the government embarked on a media campaign to declare that what was in fact the region's economic devastation was a triumphant success.

The Rosario Group, formed in response to the regime's distorted accounts, sought to reinvent political art aesthetically and ideologically in the wake of their disillusionment with censorious art museums and elite prizes. They decided to not show in conventional art spaces and to embark on an activist campaign to expose the lies about the poverty in Tucumán. The members sought to counteract the state's false claims by collecting a wealth of information, drawing upon the help of economists and journalists, among others, to gather what they referred to as "counterinformation," which included posters, newspaper accounts, photographs, and graphs. On November 3, 1968, the group displayed their efforts in the union halls of the General Confederation of Labor in a collective installation entitled *Tucumán Burns*. In *Tucumán Burns*, viewers were confronted with two levels of information—one the polished untruths of the regime, the other the interviews and statistical graphs of the Rosario Group, as in an installation designed by the artist León Ferrari (Fig. 50).[40] Ferrari, known for his calligraphic, word-based works, used juxtaposition and visual disso-

nance as a way to drive home the contradictions of the omissions, lies, and inventions of the official accounts.

The strategy of *Tucumán Burns* was based on the idea of "a mass-mediatic art" that Eduardo Costa, Roberto Jacoby, and Raul Escari had proposed in 1966, in which "the making disappears. Hence the work becomes a commentary on the fact that it actually is a pretext to launch the process of information."[41] Faced with these competing accounts, and with no interpretative mediation, the viewer was prodded into an active involvement with the material. As Andrea Giunta has written, with *Tucumán Burns*, the Rosario Group effectively became journalists; in their manifesto, they spoke of a social, transformative, revolutionary art based on an "overloaded informational and counter-informational installation."[42] For some of the artists involved, the event represented so drastic a collision between art and politics that art dissolved under the pressure; during the years of the dictatorship, some stopped making art altogether to pursue other work such as social research or to join guerrilla resistance organizations. One participant in *Tucumán Burns,* Eduardo Favario, joined the Workers' Revolutionary Party in 1969 and was killed by the Argentinean army in 1975.[43]

Lippard met the Rosario artists as they were commencing their fact-finding investigations but was not present for the final installation that opened in November 1968; she later spoke with great respect about how these artists "felt they could not make art in a world so miserable and corrupt."[44] *Tucumán Burns* represented for Lippard a situation in which artists moved fully into the realm of social justice struggles and showed her the political possibilities of collaborating with workers and unions. Lippard's embrace of the Rosario Group's political merging of art and information (whether journalism or a series of linguistic propositions) was in accordance with her advocacy of conceptual art. But it is crucial that Lippard was *not* in Argentina to see the final incarnation of *Tucumán Burns* at the union hall, with its wheat-pasted posters lining the halls, walls, and floor. Every available surface was covered with images, spray-painted words, and texts in this massive display (Fig. 51). She knew the project only in its first steps, both journalistic and theoretical, and hence did not witness the complexity of the final installation, with its all-over environment of large-scale photos, graffiti, charts, recorded testimonials, and reports. The result is that she in part misread *Tucumán Burns*—she thought it represented the *total evaporation* of art that she had already glimpsed with some conceptual work, the absolute ceasing of art making, when in fact the Rosario Group understood their work as a collective, new form of practice meant to hold art, information, and activism in sustained tension. The event had significant visual and performative elements, including short

FIGURE 51 Grupo de Artistas de Vanguardia (Rosario Group), *Tucumán Arde [Tucumán Burns]*, 1968, installation shot with murals and graffiti in background, Confederación General de Trabajo (CGT), Argentina. Courtesy of Graciela Carnevale.

films and audio clips from the Rosario Group's fieldwork, lights pulsing on and off in the union hall, and the serving of bitter coffee without sugar (a reminder of the closing of sugar refineries in the Tucumán region).[45] Unaware of these almost theatrical elements, Lippard understood it as a withholding or denial of art—a turning away from images—rather than art's reinvention.

As a critic, Lippard was especially attracted to the idea of art as written information. She would later connect her chronological, pastiche style in her book *Six Years: The Dematerialization of the Art Object* (a compendium of quotations, excerpts, and artists' statements) to democratic viewing: "I enjoy the prospect of forcing the reader to make up his or her own mind when confronted with such a curious mass of information."[46] Information became inherently political; as Lippard said in a lecture in 1969, "The dispersion of information about art and information that is art . . . [is] connected to radical political goals; these parallels are so obvious that they don't have to be pointed out."[47] This assertion was backed up by numerous examples of artists embracing information as a way to inject politics into art praxis, not least Kynaston McShine's 1970 *Information* show at New York's MoMA—a pivotal exhibition that put peace posters next to news clippings next to conceptual art projects and that included a piece of experimental writing by Lippard in the catalog. The Rosario Group's gathering of statistics and reports demonstrated that information could be politicized beyond a celebration of "media culture" or a formalist dematerialization that resisted the commodity nature of art.[48]

While Lippard was inspired by what she had seen in Argentina, one of the most radical aspects of the Rosario Group—namely their integration with local workers and unions—was never attempted within the AWC. As Blake Stimson has asserted,

"A compelling historical question is why artists in Argentina made the jump to throw their lot in with workers and activists (most notably in the 1968 *Tucumán Arde* event) and redefined their aesthetic in response to the heated political climate developing around them when artists in New York, by and large, did not develop an aesthetic position that sided directly with the Civil Rights movement and the protests against the war that were transforming their milieu."[49] Stimson's question is significant. Any answer would have to point out that in the late 1960s there were not parallel political or economic systems in Argentina and the United States. And many black and Latino artists in the AWC and the Art Strike *did* see their aesthetic efforts as aligned with the civil rights movement—including Faith Ringgold, Tom Lloyd, and Ralph Ortiz, all of whom were involved in the AWC's efforts for greater diversity within museums, even as some, such as Ringgold, would become disillusioned by the racism within the Art Strike.[50] The Rosario Group was making work under a severely repressive regime, in collaboration with an exceptionally militant union; such a collaboration would have been unthinkable within the context of the United States given both the intensely antibureaucratic nature of the New Left and the conventional, even conservative union politics in the United States.

As Lippard recounted in a letter to Martha Rosler in 1977, "I've seen first-hand other artists in Argentina and Australia working with labor unions but in the U.S. the problems are something else and it's hard to remember the unions are as often the enemy as they are the heroes and that the sympathetic 'working class' in the U.S. is really the *un*working or non-working class—the unemployed."[51] Most in the AWC were more interested in redefining workers and critics as specialized kinds of workers—as well as emphasizing how largely *unpaid* their labor was—than in developing literal, lasting alliances with blue-collar labor.[52] A *Tucumán Burns*–type event was never tried, and would likely not have been feasible, within the AWC. Yet despite Stimson's assertion, there were attempts to develop "an aesthetic position" in direct alignment with protests against the war. Lippard was a vocal and active participant in these efforts.

Three Antiwar Exhibits

In January 1969, just months after Lippard returned from Argentina, the AWC was born, and its broad definition of who counted as an "art worker" importantly included curators and critics.[53] As one of these critics/curators, Lippard was especially concerned with questions of display and institutionality, as is reflected in the statement

FIGURE 52 Kestutis Zapkus, Lucy Lippard, Jean Toche, and other art workers (seen on the left) break up a trustees' dinner at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, January 12, 1971; Zapkus is about to release a container of cockroaches. Photograph © Jan van Raay.

she read at the AWC's open hearing at the School of Visual Arts in April 1969. In this text, she reflects on the limitations of museum spaces and calls for changing conditions of art viewing and creating "a new and more flexible system that can adapt itself to the changes taking place today in the art itself."[54]

By early 1969 Lippard had established herself as one of the most tireless members of the AWC, a highly visible participant in many of their collective protest actions. For example, a photograph by Jan van Raay from a 1971 protest captures Lippard (herself in the process of getting her camera ready) and Jean Toche (passing out leaflets) standing behind artist Kestutis Zapkus in the Louis XVI Wrightsman period room at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Fig. 52). Zapkus is pictured just as he was about to unleash a vial of cockroaches at this museum trustees' dinner, saying as he did so that it was to "keep Harlem on your minds" (a reference to the rancorous *Harlem on My Mind* exhibit at the Met that was viewed by many as ignoring the input of the local African American community). Given that the protests against this exhibition focused on its negative portrayals of the neighborhood, Zapkus's battle cry is puzzling, as it upholds stereotypes of Harlem as a site of pestilence. Nevertheless, this intentionally abrasive action did interrupt the meal by rendering the food unpalatable and was part of a larger effort by the AWC to infiltrate and expose the moneyed, private gatherings of trustees happening under crystal chandeliers just as the museum was refusing to sponsor free admission to the public.[55] The invited dinner guests, seen in the periphery of the photo with their business suits, tuxedos, and carefully coiffed hair, provide a stark contrast to the scruffy beards and ragged coats sported by the art workers. Many of the figures in the image are somewhat blurred, including the unrecognizable AWC member in the immediate foreground;

van Raay and the others had burst on the scene unannounced and had to act fast. They were quickly, and violently, escorted out by the museum security; Toche sustained some injuries and considered taking legal action against the museum in the aftermath.[56]

But such direct action was only one part of Lippard's interventionist efforts as an art worker; she also curated three distinctly different, high-profile antiwar shows from 1968 to 1970. Seen together, these exhibits illuminate the growing uncertainties within the New York art world regarding how best to integrate art and politics—what Lippard would call in a 1970 *Arts Magazine* article "The Dilemma."[57] The efficacy of pursuing political art was endlessly debated, and by no means secure, within the AWC—some felt that stopping all art was the only true revolutionary act. Many others felt that artists' main role was to keep making their own art: as Sol LeWitt wrote in 1968, "I don't know of any art of painting or sculpture that has any kind of real significance in terms of political content, and when it does try to have that, the result is pretty embarrassing. . . . The artist wonders what he can do when he sees the world going to pieces around him. But as an artist he can do nothing except be an artist."[58]

Just after Lippard returned from her eye-opening experience in Argentina, she, along with Robert Huot and Ron Wolin, organized a group exhibition of minimal artworks as a benefit for an antiwar group, the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam. With this show, Lippard tried to argue that politics were integral to the artistic practice then closest to her: minimalism. "An exhibition of good abstract art held as a benefit for the anti-war movement does not strike me as a contradiction," wrote Lippard somewhat defensively.[59] This show was significant for several reasons: it was the inaugural show held in Paula Cooper's pioneering SoHo gallery on Prince Street, which opened in fall 1968 and was the first gallery to move into the area. It thus also heralded a new era in which cheaper rents sent artists downtown to raw warehouses and former sites of manufacturing as they inhabited both actual and metaphoric spaces of industrial labor.

The debates about Carl Andre's work, discussed in Chapter 2, illuminate how some critics in the 1960s, and later art historians, have drawn parallels between the aesthetics of minimalism and antiwar politics. The AWC itself maintained a plurality of opinions about the social import of abstracted forms. Most minimal artists would never have argued that there was an articulated antiwar content to their work (even if they made other claims for minimalism's politics, as Andre did when he said his work was "communistic"). Lippard, Huot, and Wolin's show to benefit the Student Mobilization Committee, however, was a key instance in which the aesthetics of minimalism were directly aligned with peace efforts.
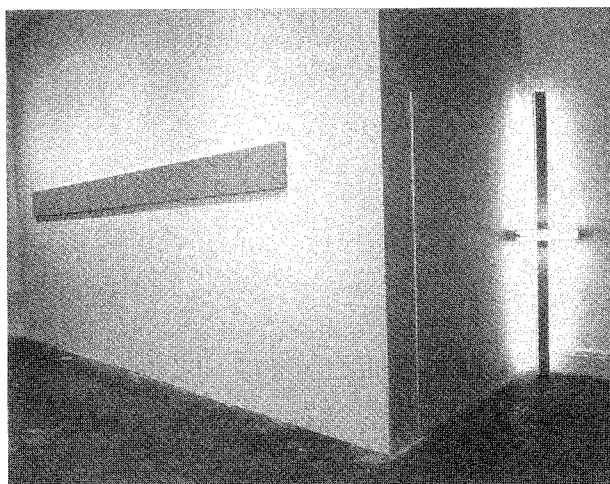
FIGURE 53 Installation shot of exhibition to benefit the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, Inaugural Exhibition, Paula Cooper Gallery, New York, October 22–November 1, 1968. Works by Robert Huot (left) and Dan Flavin. Photograph by James Dee. Courtesy of the Paula Cooper Gallery, New York.
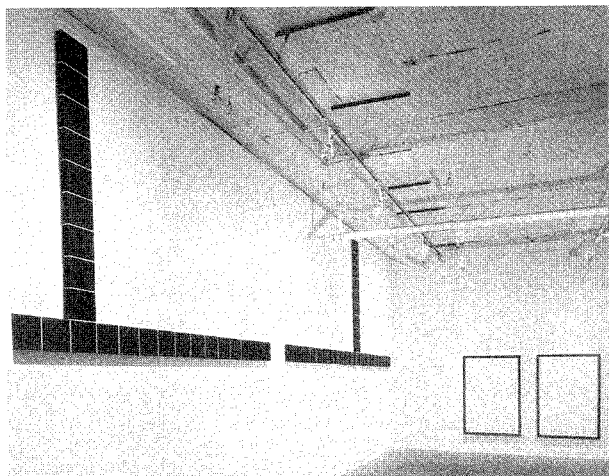
FIGURE 54 Installation shot of exhibition to benefit the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, Inaugural Exhibition, Paula Cooper Gallery, New York, October 22–November 1, 1968. Works by Will Insley (left) and Jo Baer. Photograph by James Dee. Courtesy of the Paula Cooper Gallery, New York.

The show was billed as a "major exhibition of non-objective art to benefit the National Student Peace Group." Lippard called it "the best 'Minimal show'" she had ever seen.[60] Featuring Andre, Jo Baer, Robert Barry, Bill Bollinger, Dan Flavin, Robert Huot, Will Insley, Donald Judd, David Lee, Sol LeWitt, Robert Mangold, Robert Murray, Doug Ohlson, and Ryman, the exhibition featured works that were sold at their normal market rates (Fig. 53). This installation shot shows a wall piece by Huot and a piece installed in a corner by Flavin, emanating its cool light; just one year later Flavin would be excoriated by the AWC as participating in the war economy by using these GE-made tubes. The hard edges of the floor-based works such as Baer's painted, minimal squares play off the geometries of Insley's serial wall units (Fig. 54). The stark blacks and whites of the wall works were laid out in the somewhat unfinished loft-like spaces of the Paula Cooper Gallery, demonstrating an affinity between minimal

PRICE LIST

CARL ANDRE ($1500)

JO BAER $950

BOB BARRY $800

BILL BOLLINGER $500

DAN FLAVIN $2000

ROBERT HUOT $1500

WILL INSLEY $3000

DON JUDD $3750

DAVID LEE $1200

SOL LEWITT per hour

ROBERT MANGOLD $2500

ROBERT MURRAY $2500

DOUG OHLSON $2000

ROBERT RYMAN $900

for peace

FIGURE 55 Price list "for peace" for Student Mobilization Committee benefit show, 1968. Image courtesy of the Lucy R. Lippard Papers, ca. 1940–2006, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

forms and the formerly industrial architecture. The gallery donated its normal cut of the profit (the proceeds were split fifty-fifty between the artists and the gallery). With works priced from $500 to $3,000, the show raised thousands of dollars for the Student Mobilization Committee.[61] A price list from Lippard's archive seems to be incomplete, as it shows only four works sold with the characteristic red star next to the prices listed (Fig. 55).

The curatorial statement maintained that this was not a show of unrelated works by artists committed to end the war; rather, the aesthetic of minimalism itself was at stake. It was billed as "the first benefit exhibition of non-objective art," and it was "intended equally as a statement of an esthetic position and in support of peace."[62] "These 14 non-objective artists are against the war in Vietnam. They are supporting this commitment in the strongest manner open to them, by contributing major examples of their current work. The artists and the individual pieces were selected to represent a particular esthetic attitude, in the conviction that a cohesive group of important works makes the most forceful statement for peace."[63] Lippard recalls that

FIGURE 56 New York's Angry Arts Week, *Collage of Indignation,* detail, 1967.
Photograph © E. Tulchin.

she did not want this to look like a traditional fund-raising show with second-rate "benefit art"; instead, she, Huot, and Wolin asked the artists to contribute major pieces that would generate the most interest and money. "It's a kind of protest against the potpourri peace shows with all those burned dolls' heads. . . . It really looks like an exhibition first and a benefit second," she told Grace Glueck.[64] Her comment against the "potpourri peace show" seems a direct criticism of earlier efforts such as the 1966 Los Angeles *Peace Tower* or the *Collage of Indignation* (Fig. 56), a 1967 collaborative mural at the Loeb Student Center at New York University spawned by the Artists and Writers Protest's "Angry Arts Week"—efforts Lippard did fully support but was interested in augmenting with a more coherent alternative.

The *Collage* was conceived in part as a kind of large-scale petition; hence some artists did not contribute imagery but simply signed their names or were included on the mural as supporters of the cause.[65] However, the *Collage* was seen as taking a further step away from antiwar imagery into the realm of language-based or conceptual protest. Therese Schwartz reported in 1971 that "many artists had departed from their
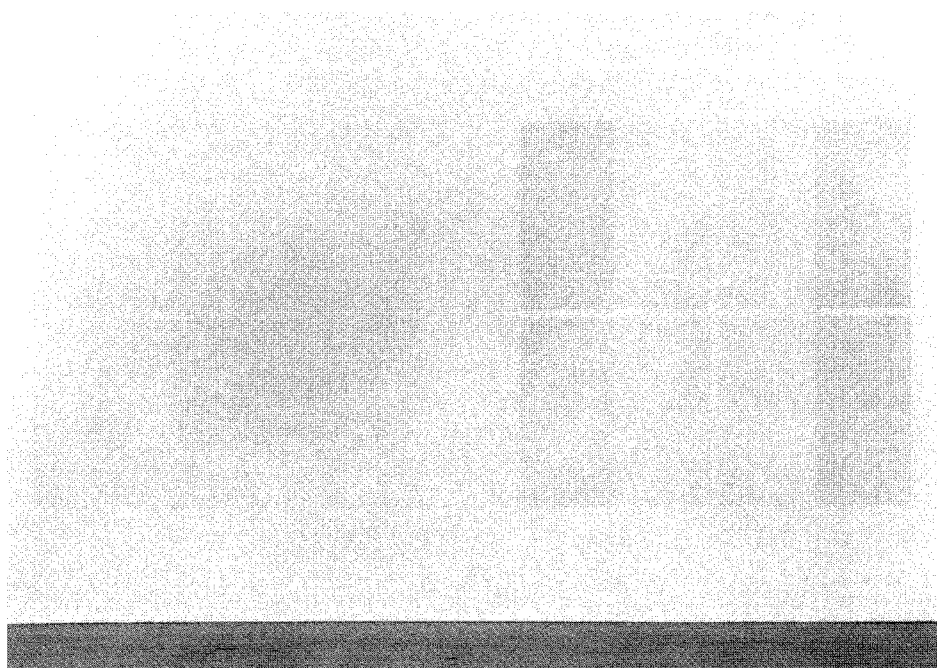
FIGURE 57 Sol LeWitt, *Wall Drawing #1: Drawing Series II 14 (A and B),* first installation, Paula Cooper Gallery, New York, October 1968. Black pencil, variable to walls. First executed by Sol LeWitt. Photograph courtesy of the Paula Cooper Gallery. Art © 2009 the LeWitt Estate/Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York.

usual styles to hit out with a word painting or an obscenity slogan. . . . Such expletives seemed to say: a show of art-as-protest isn't possible any more; the next step is words on paper or canvas."[66] Schwartz's read is somewhat overstated; this detail shows that the *Collage,* like the *Peace Tower,* included all sorts of representations, featuring scrawled phrases ("Johnson's Filthy War"), figurative images such as Bernard Aptekar's gun-wielding cartoon man, and Herman Cherry's phallic, flag-patterned "lovesword" that conjoins militarism and masculinism in one concise image.

In contrast to this eclectic approach, for the Paula Cooper benefit show, Lippard instructed the artists to "give the best thing you have for what you believe in."[67] The peace show included some works now understood as major breakthroughs: for instance, LeWitt made his first-ever wall drawing in what would come to be his signature style, *Wall Drawing #1* (Fig. 57). The drawing was excerpted from a larger series that appeared in Seth Sieglaub's *The Xerox Book,* and it would later appear as the cover of Lippard's book *Changing.* The work was priced, according to the price list, "per hour" on the basis of the amount of work it took to complete the drawing—the buyer purchased both the idea and the artist's labor, not the object itself. LeWitt's trans-

formation of art from a singular, purchasable object to a dematerialized wage labor system prefigures Morris's 1970 Peripatetic Artists Guild.[68]

LeWitt's wall drawing, with its laying bare of artistic labor in the context of an antiwar show, brought together minimalism, conceptualism, and leftist politics. His move from drawing on paper to drawing directly on the wall, thus activating the spatial frame of the gallery, has been cited as one of the most significant moments in the shift from minimalism to conceptualism, since it demonstrates how, as he famously stated, "The idea becomes the machine that makes the art."[69] Yet contrary to this declaration his art is generated not by rote mechanics but by individual touches, and the effort is often painstaking, tedious, and hand-cramping. Although he would later delegate the labor by having others perform the task of drawing—thus emphasizing it as a conceptual piece—the first wall piece at Paula Cooper was drafted by LeWitt himself. After the show, it was simply painted over.

This work's resistance to commodity logic was only one part of its critique in the context of the benefit show. As Bernice Rose has written, "LeWitt's transposition of his drawings from the restricted if traditional format of a sheet of paper to the architectural space of a wall with which it became absolutely identified was a radical move."[70] Its radicality functioned on multiple registers—its shift to merge the work with its site rendered paper obsolete, and the resulting piece was temporary and ephemeral. The move to the wall also underscored the work's spatial, institutional frame. An iteration of his earlier serial drawings, *Wall Drawing #1* places tightly spaced parallel lines head out in alternating directions (horizontal, vertical, and diagonal) in two adjacent, four-foot-square grids, following his instructions about "lines in four directions, each in a quarter of a square." The drawing dramatizes the labor of its making, a grid whose density and precision underscore the draftsman's bodily efforts (its light gray marks, made by thin graphite sticks, make the work difficult to reproduce).

Lippard has reported that when LeWitt came to do a similar drawing in her home in 1971, her young son referred to LeWitt's careful handiwork as "making peace."[71] She suggests, however, that this childish misreading of "piece" with "peace" is felicitous. For LeWitt, the thoughtfulness and absorption required by this process recall meditative practices. The fragility of the drawing, with its delicate, carefully spaced, intentional marks that sometimes shakily veer off course, embodies LeWitt's insistence that seemingly logical systems or instructions, even when faithfully followed, can become intuitive, poetic, excessive. (Recall his famous formulation that conceptual artists are "mystics" rather than "rationalists.")[72] It is notable that the benefit show

did not bill itself as "against the war" but, as the price list shows, *"for peace."* Following Andre's proclamations about his art's search for "stillness and serenity," the mostly monochrome art in the Paula Cooper show was for Lippard a reaction against all that is violent, loud, excessive, and maniacal in society—the blankness of Baer's squares, for instance, and the near-invisibility of LeWitt's work.

The Paula Cooper benefit show was hung and advertised in conventional ways— no antiwar slogans appeared on the newly converted industrial walls of the gallery. As such it prefigured later efforts of the AWC to emphasize that art served a political function within larger social and economic systems, not simply at the level of explicit reference or content. For Lippard, Wolin, and Huot, it was also, to cite the press release, a matter of minimal artists "putting their particular esthetic achievement on the line."[73] The reduction and simplicity of minimalism—often read as mute antiexpression—were here proffered as a "forceful statement."

The connections being asserted between minimal aesthetics and antiwar politics were not widely embraced. As seen in the case of Andre's work, within the context of the politicization of artistic labor minimalism proved an unstable signifier—at once indicative of a radical politics and a highly suspect rarified artistic practice.[74] The show itself was not well received, and even critics affiliated with the AWC had a difficult time agreeing with the exhibit's premise. As Battcock queried in his review, "Why does a cohesive group of important works make a forceful statement for peace?"[75] For him, nothing inherent to a "cohesive group" bespeaks an antiwar stance; this might as well be a group of similarly designed shoes. Furthermore, to him the curatorial statement seemed to suggest that *only* minimalist aesthetics oppose the war and thus invalidated other forms of art. Finally, he was disturbed by what he saw as the show's "old-fashioned principles of restriction and exclusion."

The question of exclusion would continue to haunt Lippard's antiwar curatorial efforts. A second such exhibit, entitled *Number 7*, was held in May of 1969 at the Paula Cooper Gallery and was composed primarily of dematerialized and conceptual art, with works by almost forty artists from the United States and Canada, including Andre, Mel Bochner, Dan Graham, Hans Haacke, Joseph Kosuth, Christine Kozlov, Adrian Piper, and Robert Morris. At the opening, visitors were asked to contribute to the AWC, and the show was billed as a benefit for the fledgling group. One room was practically "empty," featuring such invisible works as Haacke's fan, positioned outside the gallery door to redirect the air current, and a piece by Huot consisting of "existing shadows."[76] The other was crammed with information, text pieces, and tables laden with artists' books, thus demonstrating both poles of conceptualism: a lack

ART IDEAS ARE THE PROPERTY OF ALL ARTISTS

WE TAKE ISSUE WITH THE NAMING OF PERSONALITIES INVOLVED IN any IDEA or IDEAS. THE ASSOCIATION OF A NAME WITH OBJECTIVE MATERIAL ART PROPERTIES IMPLIES:
4.) INDIVIDUAL POSSESSION c) ENERGY + IMAGINATION DOMINATED BY UNIQUE CREATORS
3.) EXCLUSIVE CONTROL

2.) THE COMMUNITY OF SUCCESSFUL ARTISTS CHOSEN BY A POWERFUL INDIVIDUAL, A THEME + GOOD IDEA, A GALLERY, A CURATOR, A REVOLUTION.

FIGURE 58 Protest leaflet objects to the "inner circle" of Lippard's "compiled" show *Number 7,* at the Paula Cooper Gallery, 1969, to benefit the Art Workers' Coalition. Image courtesy of the Lucy R. Lippard Papers, ca. 1940–2006, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

of visual stimulation versus a surfeit of textual material. This show differed from the minimal show in several significant respects. First, it displayed more conceptual than minimal art; second, it nowhere announced that its aesthetics were being put "on the line" as intrinsically political. However, it was even more unconventional as a benefit than the minimal show, given how few works conformed to the logic of discrete objects that could be bought and sold.

Number 7's diverse roster of artists included many of the AWC's supporters, ones who often vocalized their unease with the exclusionary practices of curating. Lippard tried to distance herself from being its curator by stating on the announcement that it was "compiled" by her—a more neutral term that implies gathering information, as for a report, rather than making selective aesthetic decisions. Lippard's efforts to organize sophisticated art shows that also benefited antiwar groups met with harsh criticism within the AWC. As is demonstrated in an anonymous protest flyer from 1969, some decried the selectivity of the show, which appeared to be everything that the AWC's antiestablishment ethos claimed to be against (Fig. 58). This flyer repro-
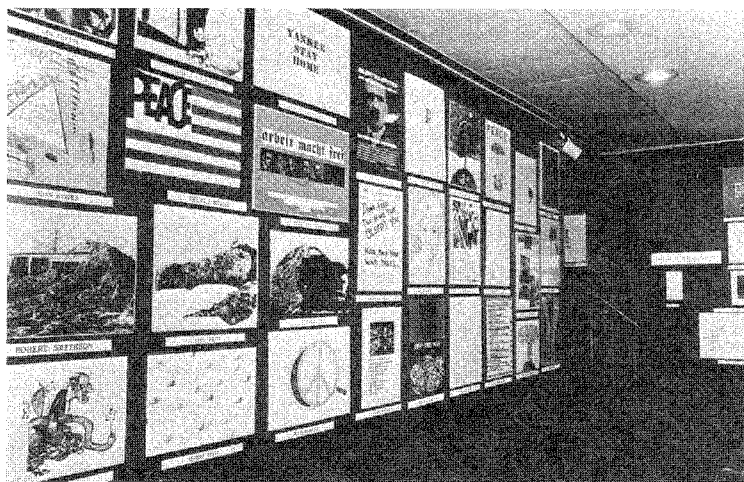
FIGURE 59 Installation shot of *Collage of Indignation II,* organized by Lucy Lippard, 1970–71, New York Cultural Center (and other places). Photograph by Cosmo. Courtesy Lucy R. Lippard.

duces the small postcard announcement for *Number 7* (the typed portion in the lower middle half of the flyer that lists the artists' names) and places scathing epithets around it, branding the artists the "inner circle" and insisting that "art ideas are the property of all artists."[77] This flyer demonstrates the branch of the AWC that wanted to rid the art world of any proprietary impulses—it castigates the naming of individual artists "chosen by a powerful individual." That the show was curated as opposed to constituted from an open call, that the works were for sale, and that this show was held in a gallery are all mentioned as suspect. The flyer goes so far as to align the power of the curator with the power of the most reviled figure in the art world: Gov. Rockefeller, who is invoked in a collaged quote from a newspaper headline: "A Tense Nicaragua Awaits Rockefeller." Does this clipping indict Lippard (known to have traveled to Latin America), along with Rockefeller, as an imperialist?

Perhaps in response to criticisms faced about her allegedly "exclusionary" curatorial work, in late 1970 Lippard organized a show of specially commissioned protest posters from over one hundred well-known and emerging artists at the New York Cultural Center (Fig. 59). Its title, *Collage of Indignation II,* was an homage to the earlier 1967 *Collage of Indignation* mural. Lippard's *Collage* exhibit consisted of original, "touching yet *salable*" works, as she put it, meant to finance anti–Vietnam War organizations (her emphasis).[78] Each of the works was meant to sell at market value, with that money then used to produce cheap, widely disseminated posters that could circulate beyond the art market.

Collage of Indignation II demonstrated a conventional approach to visual protest and the role of the artist in antiwar organizing: the making of posters. Some appropriated familiar icons such as the peace sign, while others echoed the artists' own familiar styles, as in Alex Katz's pencil drawing of a child's face (modeled on Lippard's son) plaintively staring out at the viewer above the word "Peace." A few of them indicated connections to the advanced art practices of conceptualism and minimalism—such as Robert Morris's *War Memorial* print (not pictured in this shot) and Robert Smithson's photograph of his January 1970 *Partially Buried Woodshed,* an installation on the campus of Kent State in Ohio (eerily foreshadowing the role Kent State would soon play in the antiwar movement).[79] Smithson's poster is visible at the very left edge of this installation shot, next to Leon Golub's napalm-burned figure. As Lippard wrote of such posters five years later, "As art and as 'good ideas,' they worked. As political propaganda, most of them stank."[80] To Lippard's dismay, only one, by Robert Rauschenberg, was produced as a poster that was distributed; the show's failure to generate money seemed to indicate the collapse of this model of artistic protest or, more simply, the fact that the artists were not that good at making political propaganda. Perhaps the cacophony of styles—which Lippard embraced—diluted the overall force of the posters show, even though many works had a graphic strength. In the face of these failures, Lippard was disillusioned by the inability of artists to create art that reached outside the confines of the somewhat insular art world but was also unwilling to confront the inherent contradiction of artists invested in decommodification suddenly making emphatically *salable* works.

The criticisms Lippard faced for her minimal and conceptual benefit shows recapitulate some of the tensions within the AWC—should its art be populist and "accessible"? Should its shows be nonjuried? Should the role of the curator be dismantled? Should there be evaluative judgments on the part of critics? Or should the entire art industry and its "star system" be demolished? There were no simple answers to these questions, and though Lippard became vocally antagonistic toward the rigid editorial practices of the taste-making *Artforum*—even declaring herself on "boycott" against the magazine from 1967 to 1971 in opposition to its formalist, Greenbergian methodology—she continued to curate and write about minimal and conceptual art. (This boycott, she admits, was mutual, for neither was the magazine interested in publishing her writing that embraced more political art practices.)[81] In April 1970 the AWC formed, along with a host of other subcommittees, a "publications committee" to draft a list of demands that would alter the way that art magazines functioned; the demands were an indirect criticism of what was perceived as the dogma

of *Artforum* and were influenced by Lippard's self-proclaimed "boycott." They suggested that all articles should be selected by a "collective editorial board" and published on the basis of "quality and commitment and not by how well they conform to pre-established criteria."[82] The AWC included platforms for increased diversity in the art press: it insisted that magazines present articles every month featuring unknown artists, black and Puerto Rican artists, and women artists.

The position of nonartists within the anti–art world discourse of the AWC was precarious—and not just for Lippard. Although many critics and some curators were welcomed into the AWC, others recall being actively excluded. Despite Carl Andre's claim that even collectors, gallerists, and dealers were art workers, Paula Cooper recounts that although the AWC would hold meetings—and benefit shows—in her gallery, on occasion during their action planning sessions they would not let her attend their gatherings, and she would stand outside the locked doors waiting to be let back in.[83]

A November 1969 meeting between the AWC and the International Association of Art Critics manifested these tensions. As AWC member and art critic Gregory Battcock (a perpetually confrontational voice in this time period) stated, exaggerating the hysterical pitch of criticisms against his profession: "The museums are not the enemy. . . . The art critics are glued to their comfortable notions, prestigious publications, elegant dinner parties, elitist associations and systematic art criticisms. They will write anything, anyplace, anywhere, for a buck. . . . Marcuse benevolently labels them 'kept intellectuals.' In fact, they are frightened leeches that suck for all they are worth and what they resent more than anything is not getting paid for their sinister 'work.'"[84] Presumably this is a parody, although it is often difficult to discern in some of these documents what is political fervor and what is mere sarcasm (such is the indecipherability of the archive's tone and affect). Here the charge that art critics write for money is particularly scathing; yet Battcock knew better than anyone that criticism was hardly lucrative. Perhaps he leveled this histrionic critique to locate himself more firmly within the art workers' community. As he complained in 1970, "The great silent majority aren't construction workers; they are art critics."[85] In contrast to Morris's efforts to align his 1970 Whitney process piece with the motifs of construction, Battcock displaces these workers and claims disenfranchisement for his own labor.

It was in the midst of widespread disgust with the editorial practices of the art presses that Lippard courted the notion that the categories of "artist" and "critic" were in total flux. She began to disavow the separation of the two in hopes of expanding these disciplines. Artists such as Dan Graham, Mel Bochner, Morris, and Smithson

often wrote lucid criticism, and they created magazine works that were often perceived as displacing, or making irrelevant, more traditional critical writing.[86] Indeed, Joseph Kosuth wrote in 1970 that conceptualism effectively "annexes the function of the critic."[87] Ursula Meyer concurred when she asserted, "Conceptual artists take over the role of the critic in terms of framing their own propositions, ideas, and concepts."[88] In a self-effacing move, Lippard wrote in 1969, "The artists are so much more intelligent than the writers on the subject that the absence of critical comment hasn't been mourned."[89]

If, as Lippard later recounted, "in the mid-60s the lines between 'artist' and 'critic' and 'theoretician' were blurred,"[90] no one worked harder to blur those lines than she did. She even faced accusations that her curation was little more than an elaborate and personal art project.[91] Her long-standing affiliation with artists rather than with academics stemmed from her awareness that her position was intimately bound up with the economic realities of the capricious market and the harsh financial reality of both freelance and artistic life. As she wrote in 1970, "The serious working critic (as opposed to the serious but less regularly writing curator or scholar) is subjected to the same pressures, insights, and quick changes as the artist, and as the art world in general."[92] This recognition solidified the collective identity of "art worker" as a class and opened up the realm of artistic "work" to include critics and curators.

In addition, the linguistic basis of conceptualism expanded the parameters of what "art work" might be; this helps explain Lippard's increasingly fluid migrations among the tasks of critic, curator, and conceptual author, using words as her medium. This, however, is only one part of the story, for her understanding of herself as an art worker was also shaped by her political engagements—and by her feminism. Lippard's journalism gave way to more experimental formats in the late 1960s (formats indebted to the languages of minimalism and conceptualism), including the simple presentation of information with little explanation, such as her catalog essay for the MoMA Duchamp retrospective, which consisted of "readymade" fragments and puns.[93]

After becoming aware of the beginning phase of the Rosario Group's use of information for political ends in *Tucumán Burns*—in particular, their technique of juxtaposing contradictory sources that the viewer had to actively interpret—Lippard embraced a more open form of criticism that bled into what others saw as a kind of artistic practice. For instance, in her contribution to the 1970 *Information* exhibition catalog, she matched artists' names with sentences from the *Art Index* that were selected on the basis of an arbitrary, predetermined system. This piece was produced in lieu of the text she was supposed to write for the catalog; instead of a list of page

numbers where the artists appeared, she substituted random "entries" that drew from an eclectic array of recent art publications. (Her "entry" on Christopher Cook, for example, is a passage about Etruscan bronze statues.) In the context of a museum exhibition catalog, this text also functioned as an artwork—requiring that the interpretive connections be made by the viewer rather than articulated.[94] Lippard believed this type of writing to be more accessible, even populist, and it seemed to her a logical outgrowth of minimalism and conceptualism's notions of democratizing the art world.[95] The catalog for her 1969 show 557,087 at the Seattle Art Museum Pavilion was a compendium of quotes and short statements written on index cards that could be read in any order.

Lippard's experimental piece appeared in the artists' pages in the *Information* catalog, rather than as the concluding, explanatory text. This organizational decision in part legitimized her as a working artist, even though she herself never considered her writing "art," instead declaring herself more interested in extending the boundaries of art making and criticism. (In his acknowledgments, curator Kynaston McShine called her, with distancing scare quotes, a "critic.")[96] While she continued to identify primarily as a writer, her forays into the world of language experimentation were recognized as traversing the borders between writing and art making. Art historian Barbara Reise admonished her in 1971, "Dammit, although you don't like to think of yourself as an 'artist,' as a writer/researcher/critic/art historian, you are an artist rather than a commodity maker and you should be treated with respect as such."[97] Reise's comment indicates that at this time the definition of an artist was bound up in the making or rejecting of commodities. In keeping with the ethos of conceptualism, it was the generation of *ideas* that mattered.

Women Writing (as) Art

Lippard's changing ideas about what counted as artistic work developed in relation to a larger reconsideration of the various meanings—gendered meanings—of labor. The years 1969 and 1970 saw the greatest growth in the feminist movement, with widespread media coverage, incremental mainstream acceptance, and more and more women joining feminist organizations across the country. This culminated on August 26, 1970, when over fifty thousand women marched up New York's Fifth Avenue as a part of the Women's Strike for Equality. The march, held on the fiftieth anniversary of the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment for women's suffrage, was the largest

demonstration to date for women's rights.[98] Although the Women's Strike was held in late August, it was announced as an upcoming event at the NOW annual conference on March 21, 1970—just as strike activity in the United States peaked to an all-time postwar level. Like the New York Art Strike, the Women's Strike for Equality adopted terms consonant with the rash of union shutdowns, wildcat strikes, student walkouts, and antiwar protests that were threatening to shut the country down in March and April of 1970.[99] This timing gave NOW's call particular urgency.

Clearly the motif of work stoppage was a galvanizing political practice for a range of issues. What would happen if all women refused to work, even for one day? Friedan, in her March 1970 rallying cry to announce the upcoming strike, noted that it was an opportunity to show how the economy might function when "the women who are doing menial chores in the offices as secretaries put the covers on their typewriters and close their notebooks, and the telephone operators unplug their switchboards, and the waitresses stop waiting, cleaning women stop cleaning, and everyone who is doing a job for which a man would be paid more stops."[100] The Women's Strike went beyond the workplace—where women were vastly underrepresented and underpaid—and called for women to cease doing their household chores as well. This emphasis on women's work within and beyond the home erased the distinction between domestic, hence ostensibly private, and public labor. The question of public and private gets to the heart of the feminist movement, as the phrase "The personal is the political" was an oft-repeated slogan that linked individual circumstances to larger sexist social structures.

Given this swelling tide of feminist consciousness in the late 1960s, it is with a somewhat apologetic tone that Lippard admits she did not become a feminist until 1970.[101] Lippard has discussed her embrace of the women's movement as somewhat delayed; her first years in the AWC were spent ignoring the influence of feminism within the art world. Women's rights were addressed by the AWC in an uneven, and for many women unsatisfactory, way. While there were often gestures toward inclusion (such as the election of Poppy Johnson to co-chair the Art Strike, alongside Morris), by fall of 1969 many women felt that they needed their own organization in order to address their systematic exclusion from the art world. The feminist offshoot of the AWC, Women Artists in Revolution (WAR), formed in 1969, but Lippard did not join any women's art group until late in 1970. She was still attached to the idea that she "made it as a person, not as a woman."[102] The notion of "personal politics," of course, was the linchpin of 1960s feminism; and this phrase yokes together private experiences and public, or systemic, sexism. While the origins of this phrase are

contested, it stemmed in part from C. Wright Mills's 1959 book *The Sociological Imagination,* which examined the nexus of "private troubles" and "public issues," and it was popularized by feminist theorist Carol Hanisch in 1969.[103]

As a well-known female art critic, Lippard was in a double or even triple bind in the AWC. As Sophy Burnham's gossipy account of the art world at this time claims, she was "a critic who belonged to the art establishment by virtue of writing for it and who was therefore much respected by AWC, whose avowed purpose was to destroy the establishment."[104] The tension generated by this paradox meant that Lippard's influence was also resented, as was seen with the response to *Number 7.* And increasingly she came under scrutiny by the female members of the AWC, particularly the newly formed feminists in WAR. Juliette Gordon wrote in 1970 that "suddenly WAR began exactly a year ago, without a name, in answer to an unstated need among women in the Art Workers' Coalition. Although women made up half of the coalition, they rarely spoke up at the intense discussions held sometimes twice weekly, except for one woman who held all the male artists in her power since she was an art critic who could build or destroy a reputation."[105] That "one woman," clearly, was Lippard, who in early 1970 still saw herself as one of "the boys."

Yet her gender also marked her as different within critics' circles, especially around questions of labor. In 1966 Gene Swenson, Irving Sandler, and Lippard tried to organize a critics' union to establish fair fee structures and professional standards that would afford them some degree of financial protection. It never happened. Instead, as Lippard has recounted, "It fell apart over arguments as to who was a critic and other idiocies; there is unfortunately a definite chasm between the interests of those who write criticism now and then but have a lucrative teaching job to support them, and those like me who live and support child [sic]."[106] In this statement, Lippard subordinates the more publicly valued labor of her writing to the domestic work of supporting her child. She defines her professionalism through her need to sustain a household. As a single mother, she is not just a mother but a breadwinner, and this turns her criticism from a side project into an urgent source of income. Lippard's status as a *working mother* was at the heart of many of her anxieties about her labor— and further distinguished her from her (mostly male) colleagues. For instance, in 1972 she was asked to be a visiting scholar at the School of the Art Institute in Chicago, but child care issues prevented her from taking the job.[107]

The issue of Lippard's femaleness, while not explicitly foregrounded in her writings before 1968, was raised in other ways. Her gender was also leveled against her to demean her status as an intellectual. Clement Greenberg, for example, wrote in

1969 of "lady art critics" writing "so much crap about art" and bemoaned that "someone like Miss Lippard can be taken seriously."[108] The unmasked sexism of Greenberg's comment is especially harsh considering the increasing number of serious female art critics at this time, including Barbara Rose (who began writing for *Artforum* in 1965), Rosalind Krauss and Annette Michelson (both of whom started in 1966), and writers like Amy Taubin and Barbara Reise. They were more than just "lady art critics": they were on the forefront of an increasingly professionalized field that wielded unprecedented influence. (It is remarkable, for instance, how much of the first significant writing about minimalism came from these women.)[109]

Interestingly, many female art critics active at this time ended up making their most well-known contributions to feminism. Although Ti-Grace Atkinson is better known for her leadership role in lesbian feminist organizations and her book *Amazon Odyssey*, she wrote for *ARTNews* after graduating with a fine arts degree from the University of Pennsylvania in 1963 and was the first director of Philadelphia's Institute of Contemporary Arts.[110] Similarly, dance critic Jill Johnston, who was an early advocate of the Judson Church school of task-based dance and wrote for the *Village Voice*, went on to pen the classic lesbian-feminist tract *Lesbian Nation: The Feminist Solution*.[111] Alice Echols has noted that many influential feminist theorists first pursued art careers, including Shulamith Firestone, Kate Millett, and Patricia Mainardi.[112] How might the sexism of the art world have catalyzed feminist awareness among these women?

Lippard's resistance to feminism "was dispelled when [she] wrote [her] first novel and was forced to examine a woman's life in terms of personal politics."[113] She has stated repeatedly that the process of writing her novel *I See/You Mean* led her to feminism.[114] While Lippard initially began writing criticism to support her fiction, by the mid-1960s she was so busy lecturing and writing criticism that she never could finish this novel, even as she worked on it intermittently throughout the years. Fragments are found scattered throughout the archive—tellingly, there are drafts for AWC posters scrawled on the backs of its typewritten pages. In the spring of 1970, when she spent a few months in rural Spain away from the tumult of the New York art world, she was able to work on her novel more consistently. She continued to revise it through the 1970s, and it was finally published in 1979 by the feminist press Chrysalis.[115]

I See/You Mean is an experimental book heavily indebted to the languages of both minimalism and conceptualism. Its cover features a line drawing of a map of ocean currents, swarming with directional arrows to indicate the ebb and flow of water and recalling the quasi-scientific look of much conceptual art (Fig. 60). While the novel
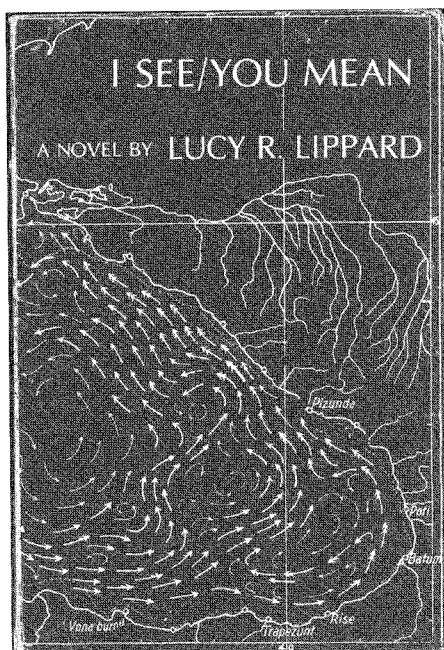
FIGURE 60 Lucy R. Lippard, *I See/You Mean*, 1979, cover. Courtesy Lucy R. Lippard.

does not totally eschew traditional storytelling, the narrative can be difficult to follow as it veers between dialogue, "found" quotes, and photographic descriptions. The four principal characters—a writer, an actor, a model, and a photographer—are referred to as *A, B, C,* and *D,* a possible nod to the "ABC art" of minimalism. The character named *A* is the most clearly like Lippard herself: she is a writer (or, rather, she "wants to be a writer")[116] and is married to *D,* an artist/photographer. *A* carries the book's clear emotional weight, and hers is the most fleshed-out storyline: she marries, has a son, has nasty fights with her husband, and eventually gets a divorce.

The book is a work of fiction; however, as Lippard herself has noted, much of it was drawn from her life. "It wasn't autobiographical but there was a character I definitely identified with. As I was writing her, or she was writing me, which is what it felt like, a lot of stuff started to seep through the cracks of my resistance of the women's movement."[117] The characters have rambling, heated conversations about the women's movement, war, sex, and politics as they wind their way through the very loose narrative of jealousies, divorces, and, to use a term true to its time, personal growth. Lippard plots their shifting dynamics onto a kind of emotional grid: "A red line is drawn from *A* to *D*. Anxious anger. A violet line is drawn from *D* to *B*. Truce. A blue line is drawn from *A* to *E*. Affection."[118] These vectors of emotion read in some ways like the directives of LeWitt's wall drawings. Lippard's book is full of

such moments of appropriation of the realm of the visual (in this case, line and color) using verbal shorthand. As a result, the novel does not easily lend itself to explication. Lippard also weaves in snippets from other sources, including unattributed block quotes from sources like R. D. Laing, Marshall McLuhan, C. G. Jung, and miscellaneous subjects such as childbirth, the Tarot, and magic. Altogether, it deploys each of the primary modes of linguistic conceptual art—"lists, diagrams, measurements, neutral descriptions."[119]

Much of the book comprises long descriptions of invented, imaginary photographs. Continuing her exploration of text as art, the book is, as she has put it, "a perverse and absurd idea—a visual book, made of words."[120] She utilizes the tropes of minimal and conceptual art and in doing so grapples with her sense of the insufficiency of criticism. She writes, thus, of her "sheer envy for the concreteness" of the image.[121] This envy for the visual is evident throughout the book. Lippard, as a critic, seems afraid she cannot write without illustrations, so she attempts to create them out of words: "Black and white, horizontal. A clean white beach with small waves cutting in a diagonal across the lower right corner of the photography. Shrubbery in the background. In the distance, two figures in bathing suits lying in each other's arms on a striped towel, legs entwined. Their bodies form a long arrow shape pointing away from the water."[122] The heavy reliance on photos within her book predates by one year the 1980 publication of Roland Barthes's *Camera Lucida*.[123] Barthes's book includes images, while Lippard, writing without the benefit of his example, shies away from reprinting photos. (*Camera Lucida* discusses only one photograph that is not reproduced.) "It's a temptation to include a few real photographs, separated from their descriptions, to see if one recalls or echoes the other at all—a memory game," she writes. "But that's too gimmicky."[124] The lack of actual pictures also functions as an implicit critique of strict formalism. By providing formal analyses of photographs to which the viewer has no access, Lippard increasingly frustrates the reader's expectations of narrative coherence. Reading about the way these pictures look—the texture of their grain, the lines of their composition—we begin to long for an acknowledgment of their larger context and significance to the overall plot.

I See/You Mean is a further instance of Lippard's rejection of formalist criticism, as it demonstrates the need for interpretation and the inadequacy of mere description. At several moments, the book signals its own insufficiency in the face of the power of the image; this is especially true of the moments in which the Vietnam War interrupts the narrative. Near the end of the book, Lippard prints a list of brief, one-line descriptions of some of the most well-known photographs from the Vietnam

like fascists, curse the well-endowed like frustrated bankers, go to jail like criminals, disorient like the insane. We live through it. So it will have to happen to us.

A colored photograph of bodies in a road. Bloody bodies in a dirt road.
And babies? And babies.
A black and white photograph of a soldier dying.
A black and white photograph of a general smiling.
A black and white photograph of a young man in a wheelchair throwing medals like flowers.
A colored photograph of a child OD'ed on flowers.
A black and white photograph of policemen beating a young girl.
A black and white photograph of a prisoner being shot.
A black and white photograph of women weeping.
A black and white photograph of a movie star and an orphan.
A colored photograph of a blackened landscape, green already blurring its contours.
And us? And us.

Restless A.
Scheming B.
Frantic D.
Verging E.
Sexually inactive A.
Dissatisfied B.
Erratic D.
Loved E.

Black and white, vertical.
Head of a small child peering out from the top of a knobby fruit tree. Hair very long, pale, blown out like dandelion fuzz. Body invisible in the leaves. Face heartshaped with straight brows and eyes, large mouth twisted into a grimace so the smile is mostly on one side of the face.

Q is laughing.
Q is making faces.
Q is crying.
Q is trying.
Q is wondering.
Q is finding things out.

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FIGURE 61 Lucy R. Lippard, *I See/You Mean,* 1979, page 121, with short descriptions of antiwar photographs and posters. Courtesy Lucy R. Lippard.

War, including the My Lai photograph used by the AWC in their *Q: And Babies?* poster in 1969 (Fig. 61). There is no commentary to accompany this list; it sits on the page like a poem, as if in tacit acknowledgment that no further descriptions are needed to supplement these potent, immediately recognizable images. Directly underneath this passage is a description of a child—the experimental layout of the text brings into proximity images of the war and scenes of domestic life.

As much as *I See/You Mean* aims to be a conceptual work, with all its rigor and dryness, it also oscillates between an ostensibly neutral presentation of information and the eruption of impassioned discussions or *A*'s interior dialogues about feminism and sexuality. Lippard conjectures, "A book's like a camera. You load, focus, take, develop. The original camera obscura was a dark room, a good metaphor for the mind,

or an unopened book . . . or a womb."[125] Book/camera/womb: this set of associations traces a line between the text itself, the medium Lippard is most at home with, and the interior of a woman's body. The novel, with its extensive stretches of unidentified dialogue and disjointed narrative floating in and out of first person, is proclaimed on the back cover to be "open-ended, female"—with this, Lippard turns away from seeing her book's fragmentation as a strategy of (gender-neutral, even politically democratic) conceptual art to seeing it as distinctly, even perhaps essentially, "female." The mobility of such fragmented writing techniques left them open to be recuperated as conceptual (as in her *Information* contribution) as well as polemically feminist.

Although not yet involved in the women's movement when she began writing, the book includes many references to consciousness-raising—the group process by which women came to understand shared experiences as a result of patriarchy rather than individual circumstance. Consciousness-raising had its roots in Mao Zedong's notions of experience-based "perceptual knowledge." Though it was taken up by radical feminists such as the Redstockings in the late 1960s, by 1972 it was integrated into the mainstream women's movement.[126] In the early 1970s over one hundred thousand women were regularly meeting in C-R groups.[127] For Lippard, in an inversion of the typical trajectory, the isolated experience of writing the book, or "putting herself down on paper," as she called it, helped her see how her life was shaped by class and gender.[128] As a result, the novel is oddly caught between private insight and public revelation—the precise tension held in play in consciousness-raising sessions. This parallel was acknowledged; as *D* remarks to *A*, "It's like reading a novel—all that Consciousness-Raising."[129] Throughout *I See/You Mean*, Lippard's autobiographical impulses, while palpable, are at the same time made generic. The lack of proper names opens up greater potential for the characters to be ciphers or blank screens onto which readers can project. In other words, the novel structurally reflects the involution of public and private that consciousness-raising depends upon. Reflecting on her position through this fictional account, Lippard began to write for herself, "and by extension . . . for women."[130]

Crafting Protest

In 1970 Lippard came back to New York after writing her novel in Spain and immediately immersed herself in the women's movement, which, as she has written, "changed my life in many ways, not least being my approach to criticism."[131] She be-

came active in the Ad Hoc Women Artists' Committee—an outgrowth of the AWC that was committed specifically to fighting the underrepresentation of women, particularly women of color, in the art world. She was one of the participants in a high-profile Ad Hoc protest in which she, Brenda Miller, Poppy Johnson, Faith Ringgold, and others demanded that 50 percent of the artists included in the 1970 Whitney Annual be women and nonwhite. Lippard's half-visible sign, with large stenciled letters, baldly calls for "50% BLACK WOMEN ARTISTS" (Fig. 62). Their organizing took the form of nearly four months of picketing, leafleting, the production of fake tickets, forged press announcements, and a guerrilla installation in which they left eggs and unused menstrual pads saying "50%" around the museum during the opening.[132] An earlier event launched by WAR produced a flyer that declared, "Museums are Sexist! Museums discriminate against female artists!" (Fig. 63). Alongside such slogans and statements about discriminatory practices, cut-out eyes from portraits of female artists "look back" accusingly at the institution. These watchful gazes illustrate the poster's declaration that "women have eyes of their own."

Up until the end of 1971, there was some attempt to integrate women's issues into the wider thrust of AWC organizing, and some art workers came out in support of abortion rights at a march in spring 1970, wielding posters that read, "Art Workers for Abortion Repeal." Andre professed his admiration for the energy women brought to the group, writing in 1971 to critic Barbara Reise: "Last evening Lucy Lippard and her gang broke up a private banquet at the Met, releasing roaches. The last vestiges of militancy are being nurtured by the women. Without them the movement would be dead."[133] As the picture of this event reveals, the instigator of the cockroach protest was not a woman; still, Andre utilizes the maternal language of "nurturing" to describe Lippard's function within the group.

By late 1971 Lippard was part of a wider trend in which the women wandered away from the AWC to form feminist groups like WAR, the Ad Hoc Women Artists' Committee, and Women Students and Artists for Black Artists' Liberation—a large-scale defection that, according to her, led to the eventual unraveling of the AWC. "The women became politicized and the men went back to their careers," recounts Lippard.[134] By late 1971 the AWC was crippled without the active participation of many of its women members, which raises questions about who, exactly, was doing the sorts of secretarial and organizing labor necessary to keep it going. In fact, the primary archives of the AWC were kept by women such as Virginia Admiral and Lippard; they did much of the work of transcribing texts, taking notes, and editing recordings of meetings.

FIGURE 62 Lucy Lippard demanding "50% black women artists" as part of the Ad Hoc Women's Committee protest, Whitney Museum of American Art, New York, 1971. Courtesy Lucy R. Lippard.

FIGURE 63 Women Artists in Revolution protest flyer, "Museums are Sexist!" 1970. Image courtesy of the Virginia Admiral Papers, ca. 1947–80. Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

In a brief few years, the feminist offshoots moved from being "ladies' auxiliaries" of the AWC, to use Firestone's phrase, to being independent groups that spawned numerous long-lasting political projects.[135] While many feminists focused on museums and agitated for fuller inclusion of women's art within the established spaces such as the Whitney or MoMA, others sought to establish alternative networks and founded collaborative, nonjuried spaces. The early 1970s saw a flurry of collective activity within feminist art in the United States, including the founding of the *Feminist Art Journal* (the first women's art magazine) and the establishment of A.I.R. (the first women's cooperative art gallery). Feminist artists and writers looked at how the systematic exclusion of women was a result not just of the barriers of a chauvinistic idea of quality but of the power differential that produced discrepancies in the treatment and valuing of men's versus women's labor in both the public and the private sphere.

In the midst of advocating for alternative structures, Lippard faced attacks on her integrity as a critic that were edged with sexism. Once, at a talk, she confronted Greenberg about the subjective nature of artistic "quality," and after she introduced herself, he said, "Oh, you're Lucy Lippard. I thought you were a schoolteacher from the Bronx."[136] This condescension demoted her to a dilettante, and his pink-collar choice of profession further reduced her to the ultimate outsider in this educated, predominantly male, Manhattan crowd. While Greenberg focused on dismissing Lippard's professional contributions to criticism, others attacked her political credibility.

An anonymous letter sent to Lippard in 1970 deserves to be quoted at length because its scathing tone speaks volumes about what sorts of resistance she faced as she moved between her roles as critic, activist, mother, and feminist:

> There she is, our Lucy, making speeches at meetings, handing out leaflets on the barricades at West 53rd Street. . . . She explains to her boy: "It's so UNFAIR, darling. If only the Museum of Modern Art had given as much space to a show of your daddy's work as they're giving to Bill de Kooning's, or are going to give to Oldenburg's, WE might have made it in the big time. Then Mommy wouldn't have had to work so hard, turning out all those potboilers. . . . And, Ethan darling, if only they'd realized that my Pousette-Dart show should have had *at least* as much space as the de Kooning; it's all so UNFAIR, darling. Just because they're hung up on this silly old bourgeois, old-hat, liberal notion of *quality*. . . . And that's why, darling, your mommy became an intellectual prostitute."[137]

The author of this letter proffers the assumption that Lippard's participation in the AWC stemmed not from a broad sense of injustice but from a personal vendetta

against the museum. The attack turns into a mock discussion between Lippard and her son. While it was not uncommon for art workers to bring their children and grandchildren to protests, this letter specifically uses Lippard's motherhood against her.

More startling is how this indictment aligns her criticism with prostitution. Although Lippard referred to herself in jest as a "whore," this letter, with its references to Lippard's "potboilers," alleges that her writing is somehow degraded and cheap. By mimicking a conversation between mother and son (who are specifically classed via the upper-crust term *darling*), the letter also invokes her role as a mother and casts her as a crude status seeker. It erases the intellectual labor of her work and asserts that her writing is a bodily activity, a service performed for money and easy gratification. It is difficult to imagine a man in a similar situation receiving such a letter, and this relentless sexualizing of the female critic suggests that a woman writing about art is somehow a perversion of the relationship between the (male) artist, his audience, and his (male) interpreter. It also bespeaks the perceived crisis of critical autonomy—Lippard was seen as mixing work with pleasure, being "in bed," as it were, with her subjects.

Despite these attacks, Lippard relished her position as a feminist critic and curator whose main pursuit was not to be a gatekeeper but to expose audiences to women artists. In 1971, at the Aldrich Museum, she curated the first all-women art show in a museum, *Twenty-Six Contemporary Women Artists*. (WAR had organized an all-women show in 1969 at the alternative space MUSEUM.) This show was a significant departure from Lippard's previous curation of fairly well-known artists, as it included only women who had never had solo shows in New York. For her it was a "form of personal retribution to women artists" that she feared she had "unintentionally slighted" in the past, as she confessed in her curatorial essay.[138] Indeed, the early 1970s for Lippard were marked by a series of acts of contrition, and she sought to make up for her former "exclusionary" attitude. Her exhibition *c. 7500*, first presented at the California Institute of the Arts in 1973, refuted common conceptions that conceptualism was dominated primarily by men; Lippard's show presented over thirty female conceptual artists. "For the record, I could have included many more," she wrote in her introduction.[139]

Starting in 1970, Lippard changed the focus of her criticism; she now wrote to further the reevaluation of how women's art was perceived and accepted within the institutions of art. She did so with an awareness that making art was always, for women, a matter of carving out time in between paid work and unpaid domestic activities. As she wrote in 1971: "Women often have three jobs instead of two: their art, work

for pay, and the traditional unpaid 'work that's never done.' The infamous Queens housewife who tries to crack the gallery circuit is working against odds no Queens housepainter (as Frank Stella was) has had to contend with."[140] This statement about unpaid domestic labor was issued by Lippard at a time when women artists were embracing the radicalization of their labor; for them, it meant a newfound acknowledgment that their work had value. This came on the heels of a wider feminist recognition that *all* the work women did, including housework and child rearing, was labor. As Juliet Mitchell wrote in "Women: The Longest Revolution," "Domestic labor is enormous in terms of productive labor. In Sweden, 2,340 million hours a year are spent by women in housework compared with 1,290 million hours spent by women in industry."[141] The question of women's housework spanned the diverse sectors of U.S. 1960s and 1970s feminist approaches (from liberal to radical/socialist) as many writers connected unpaid domestic labor to women's "underclass" status.[142]

"Women have always worked," writes Alice Kessler-Harris, and this work "involves a constant tension between two areas of women's lives: the home and the marketplace."[143] For Lippard, this tension was made greater by the fact that, as a freelance writer, there was no separation of spaces for her—her workplace was her home, and vice versa. After her personal exploration of sexism in *I See/You Mean*, her writing openly questioned the divide between public and private spheres. She began to embark on a more confessional approach to writing, with a liberal use of the first person and asides about "serving tea" as an artist's wife. In fact, she began to see that criticism itself was analogous to domestic labor; as she asserted in 1971, "It is far easier to be successful as a woman critic, curator, or historian than as a woman artist, since these are secondary, or housekeeping activities, considered far more natural for women than the primary activity of making art."[144] Tellingly, the union of museum workers, PASTA MoMA, was composed of mostly women, for reportedly 75 percent of the museum staff was female as opposed to 25 percent of the management.[145] Lippard reiterates this formulation when she comments that women function primarily as "art housekeepers (curators, critics, dealers, 'patrons')."[146] As Laura Cottingham has pointed out, such a gendered identity would likely strike a critic such as Greenberg as dismissive.[147] But rather than demoting criticism, this parallel at the same time elevates it; for Lippard, the maternal act of caring for the household is one of dignity.

What is more, criticism for Lippard *becomes* housework, a job that is inherently feminized, a form of gendered service rather than making or creating.[148] This striking redefinition of criticism *as women's work* also calls into question the nature of

FIGURE 64 Mierle Laderman Ukeles, *Hartford Wash: Washing, Tracks, Maintenance: Inside*, performance at Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Connecticut, July 22, 1973. Courtesy Ronald Feldman Fine Arts, New York. © Mierle Laderman Ukeles.

"housework"; how could (paid) writing count as "a chore"? Lippard's association of criticism with housework seemingly redefines the "house" as that of a delimited artistic community. Feminism at this time expanded a definition of housework that went beyond traditional ideas of it as unpaid and "of the house." Some have claimed that housework, being contained within the domestic sphere, is not a mode of production. But there is an economics to the household itself—it is wrong to presume that domestic work is somehow "outside" questions of employment. Lippard, fully aware of feminist debates about remuneration and the productive value of housework, was not trivializing the critic's job but contending that although criticism is consumed differently from art objects, both are implicated in the market.

The division between women's public and private labor also played a significant part in many early feminist artworks, including Mierle Laderman Ukeles's performance series *Maintenance Art*. In 1969 Ukeles wrote her "Maintenance Art Manifesto," which declared that the tasks of labor could be divided into those of "development," and those of "maintenance," such as chores, cooking, and child care.[149] This labor was often invisible, she claimed, not only because it had to be perpetually performed, but because it was undertaken by women in the private sphere. Ukeles proposed making that unseen labor visible within the space of the art museum, and in 1973's *Hartford Wash: Washing, Tracks, Maintenance,* part of Lippard's *c. 7500* exhibit, she did just that (Fig. 64). She worked both inside and outside the Hartford Wadsworth

Atheneum to dust display cases, scrub floors, and mop stairs. On her hands and knees with rags in hand and wearing ordinary clothes, Ukeles did not announce or mark out her performance and as such was virtually invisible as an artist. Helen Molesworth comments that Ukeles's piece "brings theoretical questions of public and private . . . to the fore, specifically with regards to the problematic of labor."[150]

Ukeles's distinctions between the invisible, ongoing work of maintenance and the productive process of development are in dialogue with Hannah Arendt's categorizations of "labor" versus "work." In *The Human Condition*, Arendt writes that labor, as related to the cyclical processes of life and death, is perpetual, is never completed, and does not result in a final product. "It is indeed the mark of all laboring that it leaves nothing behind, that the result of the effort is almost as quickly consumed as the effort is spent."[151] Labor, she writes, fights the decay of the world in "the monotonous performances of daily repeated chores."[152] Arendt loosely genders this category by connecting labor with fertility and birth, and she contrasts it to work, which entails the fabrication of things and objects and is "world-making": that is, transformative of nature, with a beginning and an end. Though for Arendt the work of art is the most "worldly of all tangible things," the most "worked" of objects, Ukeles subverts this notion by insisting that her ephemeral performance, her "unseen" bodily labor, becomes art within the space of the institution.[153] Recalling the slogans of the Women's Strike in 1970, Ukeles asks: Who is going to pick up the garbage after the revolution?[154]

Picking up the garbage, dusting the furniture, ironing, darning socks: these daily, useful, necessary, and unpaid tasks were increasingly turned into subject matter for feminist art. A further aspect of women's work that was reinflected with value in feminist art was skilled hand-making, or craft. Although some crafts had long been affiliated with rote chores (the making of rag rugs, for instance), most were categorized as "hobbies." If the boundaries between public and private and between domestic and "legitimate" forms of work were blurred in Ukeles's work, they were further transgressed in feminist art reevaluations of craft. While pop art's embrace of "low" materials as a source for their artistic explorations had blurred the distinctions between mass and high art, the spheres of "high" art and craft were still strictly separated.

Craft is sometimes cast as the trivialized, amateur "other" within the discourse of artistic labor—a mere leisure pursuit—or, conversely, seen as utilitarian or applied design. Yet many movements within modernism have also embraced handiwork and decoration (the Arts and Crafts movement and the Russian constructivists, to name just two). In the early 1970s the feminist art movement embraced the procedures
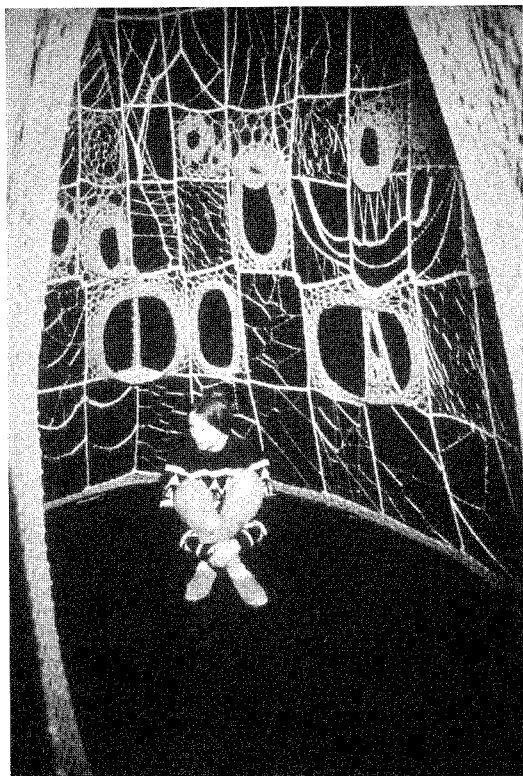
FIGURE 65 Faith Wilding, *Crocheted Environment (Womb Room),* 1971–72, installed at *Womanhouse,* Los Angeles. Rope, wool, twine, 9 × 9 × 9 ft. Courtesy Faith Wilding.

and "personal projects" of craft as a way to revalue women's labor. While shunned by many modernist critics for its taint of amateur decoration, craft became a way for feminist artists to critique the denigration of domestic, female work within the art institution.[155] Miriam Schapiro used swatches of fabric in her "femmage" works, begun in 1971 as a way to feminize the procedures of collage. Ringgold commenced a series of fabric-based works in 1972 and later made a series of story quilts related to African American history. Quilting in particular was undergoing a transformation from being seen as merely utilitarian to being recognized as significantly contributing to aesthetic debates; this was exemplified in a significant early feminist art historical text, Patricia Mainardi's 1973 "Quilts: The Great American Art," which argued for the importance of quilts in American art.[156]

Likewise, weaving, crocheting, and knitting saw a resurgence of interest among feminist artists. Faith Wilding's immersive installation *Crocheted Environment (Womb Room)* was created as part of the 1971–72 *Womanhouse* project under the auspices of the California Institute of Arts Feminist Art Program (Fig. 65). While much of the work in *Womanhouse* interrogated the place of women's work, *Crocheted Environment*

was the most overtly indebted to hobby handicraft, and its large-scale webbing expanded crocheting out from its usual site of individual "lapwork"; here it provided a protective, collective space that could be entered. Wilding's environment, as sanctuary but also claustrophobic cocoon, revealed the double bind of unpaid, repetitive work that was at once durational chore and escapist pastime; the artist herself has brilliantly theorized the connections between female labor, domesticity, and craft.[157]

Lippard was somewhat slow to accept the idea that crafts were legitimate forms of artwork; she has written that she had to "work at" or push herself to come to like such art.[158] Instead, she interrogated the distinction between craft and art using the art she already knew and respected, particularly art that incorporated the use of untraditional art materials into its practices, such as that of Eva Hesse. While Hesse would not live to see the women's movement fully take hold in the New York art world, her use of fiber was seen by Lippard as protofeminist—even when these fibers were often of industrial rather than domestic materials. As Elissa Auther notes, the use of fiber arts within the process work of artists such as Morris and Hesse acted as a critique of the autonomy of art, since it melded the industrial, the decorative, and the modern.[159] Lippard was quick to see continuities between the work of Hesse and traditions of women's craft: "Women are always derogatorily associated with crafts, and have been conditioned towards such chores as tying, sewing, knotting, wrapping, binding, knitting, and so on. Hesse's art transcends the cliché of 'details as women's work' while at the same time incorporating these notions of ritual as antidotes to isolation and despair."[160] In other words, rather than looking to women's actual craft practices and attempting to argue the case for them *as art*, she took what was clearly accepted in the realm of art and asserted it *as craft*.

As Lippard began writing about how female artists utilized craft, she began to seek out explicitly feminist locations for her criticism. One such place was *Ms.* magazine, founded in 1971. Her "Household Images in Art," published in *Ms.* in 1973, celebrated "'female techniques' like sewing, weaving, knitting, ceramics, even the use of pastel colors (pink!) and delicate lines" in recent feminist art.[161] Feminism, she stated, opened up these techniques for women artists who had previously been afraid to use them. This essay, however, was careful not to align work about the domestic sphere and chores with craft techniques alone. Lippard did not generalize about what *style* women artists utilized when they used "household imagery," and she ended her article with Ukeles's *Hartford Wash*.

Lippard's early articles on craft were in the recuperative mode: rather than using craft to try to dismantle the hierarchy of art altogether, she lauded only "named" artists

such as Hesse and Judy Chicago. As feminist criticism evolved, however, Lippard grew more attuned to how the movement to integrate craft into models of honored artistic practice was not always sensitive to the still-flourishing communities of anonymous craftswomen. Lippard was most excited about projects that linked these separated spheres, such as British artist Margaret Harrison's collaborations with low-wage craftswomen who did piecework at home. In *Homeworkers* (1977), Harrison worked with nonunion women to create an image-text piece that was shown in schools and community centers. Such collectivities were for Lippard the crux of a true feminist critique. As she wrote in a 1978 article in the journal *Heresies,* "The greatest lack in the feminist art movement may be the lack of contact and dialogue with those 'amateurs' whose work sometimes appears to be imitated by professionals."[162]

If Lippard's writing style often mirrored the art she discussed, so did her embrace of feminism. Her occasionally fragmentary writing style, at first seen as reliant upon conceptualism, was by the mid-1970s recuperated under the essentializing sign of "women's imagery." In a 1975 roundtable on "female imagery," Lippard noted "a certain anti-logical, anti-linear approach also common to many women's work. . . . Women are, for all kinds of reasons, more open."[163] While this might seem to have some surface similarities to the *écriture féminine* espoused by French feminism, Lippard's ongoing experiments with pastiche and experimental forms, as in the mosaic format of *Six Years* or her writings that took the form of dialogues between unidentified speakers, were attempts to make verbal quilts—that is, to align her work with *craft.*[164]

Along with her interest in manual hand-making, Lippard pursued making active connections between working women and the feminist art movement. In 1982 she co-organized, with Candace Hill-Montgomery, an exhibition entitled *Working Women/ Working Artists/Working Together* (Fig. 66). This show brought together artists and members of the National Union of Health Care Employees, District 1199 (a majority of whom were women of color), to collaborate on artworks on the theme of non-domestic female labor.[165] The poster for this show features a black woman with a toolbelt strapped around her waist. Her face turns toward the camera with a small smile as her body and hands are still engaged in their manual work of lifting. There is no caption information to clarify if she is a conventional laborer—one of those statistically few women involved in the construction trade—or an artist in the midst of making a large-scale piece. (In fact, she is Marianne Shepherdson, a carpenter from Massachusetts, who was featured in Susan Lindeman's art piece.) This blurring is precisely the point of the show, and the exhibition thwarts expectations not only about
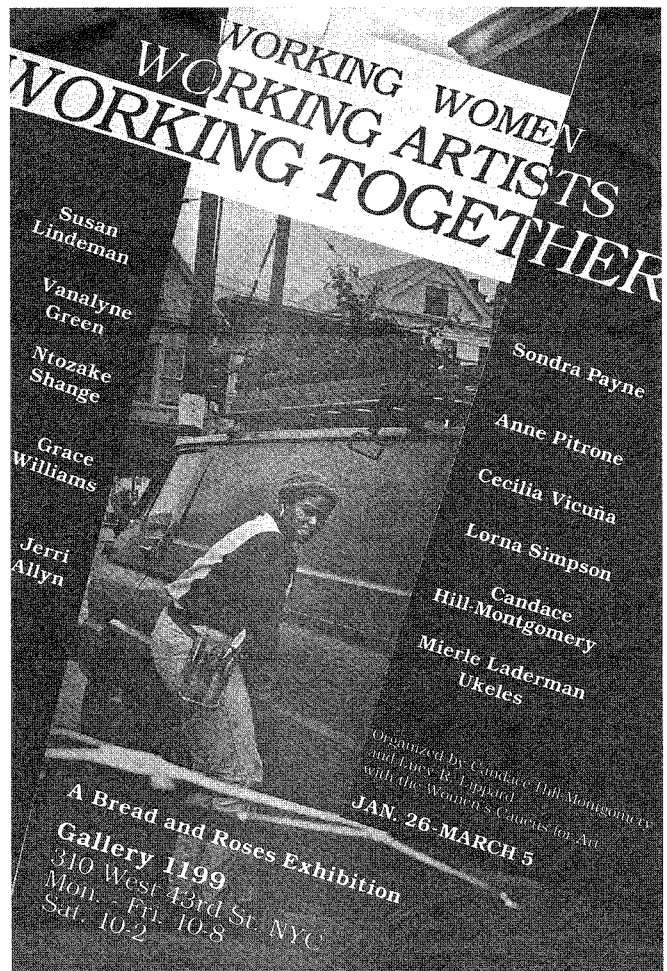
FIGURE 66 Poster for
*Working Women/Working
Artists/Working Together*
exhibition, organized by
Candace Hill-Montgomery
and Lucy R. Lippard at
Gallery 1199, New York,
1982. Image courtesy
of the Lucy R. Lippard
Papers, ca. 1940–2006,
Archives of American Art,
Smithsonian Institution.

manual labor as (white) men's domain but also about female artistic labor as distinct
from union politics. Beyond demonstrating a commitment toward bringing together
different spheres of gendered labor, *Working Women/Working Artists/Working Together*
prefigured the trend in "relational aesthetics" some years later, described by French
thinker Nicolas Bourriaud as art "that takes as its theoretical horizon the sphere of
human interactions and its social context."[166] Exhibits such as the one for District
1199 demonstrate that relational art had significant early roots in the feminist move-
ment of the 1970s, particularly as practiced by Lippard and the women she worked
with (though this aspect is not theorized as such by Bourriaud).

To conclude, let me return to 1968. Lippard came back from Argentina with a new

sense of the interrelatedness of economics, nonparticipation, and power in art. As she said in a 1969 interview that was later edited and published in *Six Years:*

> It becomes clear that today everything, even art, exists in a political situation. I don't mean that art itself has to be seen in political terms or *look* political, but the way artists handle their art, where they make it, the chances they get to make it, how they are going to let it out, and to whom—it's all part of a life style and a political situation. It becomes a matter of artists' power, of artists achieving enough solidarity so they aren't at the mercy of a society that doesn't understand what they are doing. I guess that's where the other culture, or alternative information network, comes in—so we can have a choice of ways to live without dropping out.[167]

Yet what she experienced in Rosario regarding collaborative work across class divisions proved difficult to translate, interpret, and understand.[168] For a few brief years, it looked like this wish might be fulfilled within the AWC. But with its relentless focus on an already established circuit of institutions like MoMA, the AWC never fostered "the other culture, the alternative information network" that Lippard dreamt of. Where this "other culture" *did* develop was within feminism, in collectives such as *Heresies,* and with the women's movement came a more radical version of Lippard's wish for a "solidarity" that encompassed both "a lifestyle and a political situation." In other words, it was belatedly—and within the context of the women's movement rather than the AWC—that Lippard was able to enact some of the possibilities opened up to her by *Tucumán Burns.* Shows such as *Working Artists/Working Women/Working Together* were in effect a delayed reiteration of the connection between art workers and union workers that she had seen glimpses of in Argentina: a vision of artistic labor sensitive to race, class, and gender.

5

Question:

Would the fact that Governor Rockefeller
has not denounced President Nixon's
Indochina policy be a reason for you not
to vote for him in November ?

Answer:

If 'yes'
please cast ⬛⬛⬛ into the left box;
if 'no'
into the ri⬛⬛

Hans Haacke's Paperwork

News

For his contribution to the group show *Prospect 69* in Düsseldorf, Hans Haacke installed a teletype machine that streamed news from the DPA, Germany's wire service. Viewers were invited to peruse the rolls of paper printed with breaking headlines from around the world as they came scrolling out (Fig. 67). This work, entitled *News,* was repeated in 1969 at the Howard Wise Gallery, this time using the United Press International service. In both instances, the machines ran continuously when the gallery was open, churning out long streams of paper that collected in heaps on the floors. At the end of each day, these reams of reportage were posted on the walls, then taken down every third day and rolled into tubes for storage. A different version of *News* appeared in the 1970 *Software* exhibition, organized by Jack Burnham, at the Jewish Museum.[1] Haacke installed five teletype machines that issued reports from Germany's DPA and Italy's ANSA wire service, as well as the *New York Times,* Reuters, and UPI. Here, Haacke let the paper gather in an increasingly voluminous wad, only to be discarded at the end of the show (Plate 10).

The artistic use of the telex device in the late 1960s was a global phenomenon: Argentine artist David Lamelas's *Oficina de informatión sobre la Guerra de Vietnam a tres niveles: La imagen visual, el texto y el audio* (Office of Information about the Vietnam War on Three Levels: Visual Image, Text, and Audio) at the 1968 Venice Biennial featured a teletype machine in a small, glass-walled office (Fig. 68). A paid "secretary"

5

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If 'yes'
please cast [illegible] into the left box;
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FIGURE 67 Hans Haacke, *News,* 1969. Installation with telex machine on table, rolls of paper, at *Prospect 69,* Kunsthalle Düsseldorf, September–October 1969. Photograph by Hans Haacke. © 2009 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York/VG Bild-Kunst, Bonn.
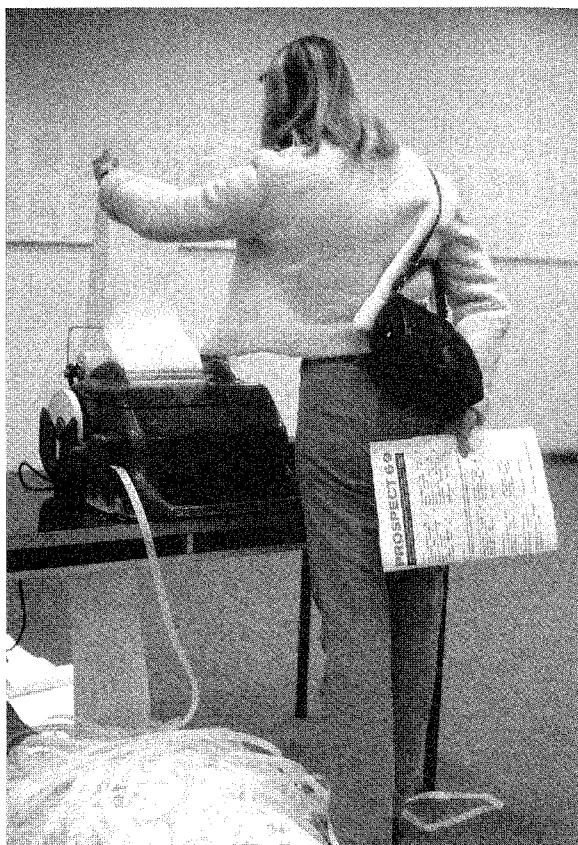
FIGURE 68 David Lamelas, *Office of Information about the Vietnam War on Three Levels: Visual Image, Text, and Audio,* 1968. Multimedia installation with telex machine, wall panel, and live performer, at Venice Biennale, 1968. Courtesy of David Lamelas and Monika Sprüth & Philomene Magers Ltd.
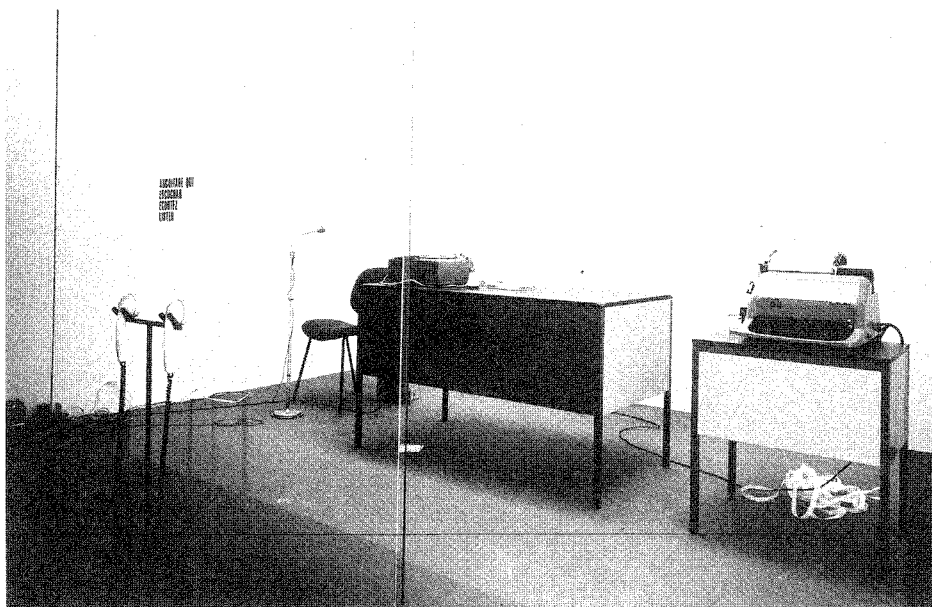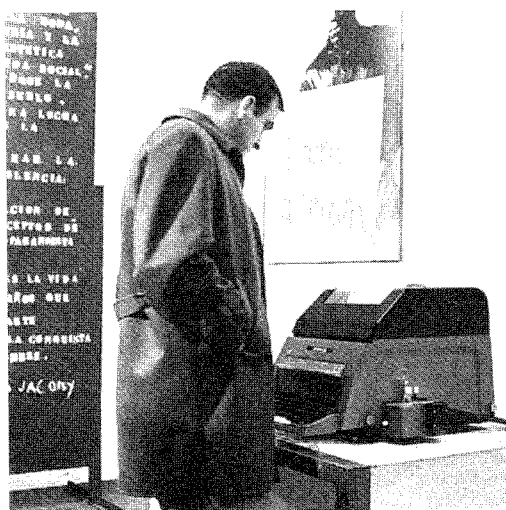
FIGURE 69 Roberto Jacoby, *Mensaje en el Di Tella*, 1968. Multimedia installation with blackboard, teletype, photograph, in Buenos Aires, May 1968. Photograph by Oscar Bony. Courtesy of Roberto Jacoby.

read into a microphone the cables from ANSA related to events in Vietnam in several different languages; when there was other news, she sat silently. Lamelas used a female office worker to mediate and translate the headlines, distancing the viewer from the information and providing a further level of mediation between the events occurring across the globe and their eventual bureaucratic consumption, while also commenting on the gendered role of media spectacle.[2] Her silences were as important as her words: How much of the news of world being reported was *not* about Vietnam?

Similarly, another Argentine artist, Roberto Jacoby, used a teletype machine in his work *Mensaje en el Di Tella* (Message in the Di Tella) for the controversial Buenos Aires show *Experiencias 68* at the Instituteo Torcuato Di Tella in May 1968 (Fig. 69). Jacoby was part of a loose affiliation of leftist artists who were increasingly radicalized under the repressive conditions of the Argentine regime. Here Jacoby installed a telex machine to relay information from the Agence France Presse about the ongoing May 1968 Paris uprisings, using the art institution as an international communication outpost. His wall mural text message, seen on the left, declared that "all the phenomena of social life" have been converted into "aesthetic material" and "the medias of mass communication."[3] He further railed against old avant-garde notions of "affirmation and negation," instead advocating for the "artist becoming a propagandist." The telex streamed out messages about the student/worker uprising while being connected visually to other international protest movements, such as the photograph, placed above it, of the 1968 Memphis sanitation strike in which African American laborers carried signs declaring "I Am a Man."

While Lamelas and Jacoby were concerned with bringing awareness about certain political events—Vietnam and May 1968—into the spaces of art, Haacke was interested as well in the *sheer volume* of streaming information—its daunting proliferation, its accumulation, its arbitrary ordering. With wire services, reports are transmitted one after another, from sports to political events to entertainment tidbits, creating the appearance of a real-time, if random, transcription of the globe's goings-on. Haacke strove to re-represent that flow objectively, with no further aesthetic frame, aware that different viewing subjects would come to the material with various agendas and interpretive lenses. The standard account of *News* is that Haacke, by bringing the social/political world of headlines into the ostensibly "neutral" spaces of the gallery or museum, reveals the interpenetration of these two spheres.[4] But his transformation of the gallery into a newsroom is more historically specific, and somewhat more excessive, than this account acknowledges.

The late 1960s are characterized by the complex economic restructuring known as postindustrialism—one part of which includes a move away from manufacturing toward the collection, processing, and management of information. Michael Hardt posits that the informationalization of industrial production has become increasingly ruled by "immaterial labor"—services that create knowledge, emotional responses, and social relationships. Not only that, the production of affect crucially undergirds what he calls "creative and intelligence manipulation."[5] Looking closely at Haacke's art in the years of the AWC, however, shows us that the relationship between labor, information, and affect is by no means straightforward.

In *News,* the teletype's urgent staccato pacing is metonymic of immediacy and fast-breaking developments. Five of them simultaneously clacking in one small space must have been somewhat deafening. This audio component adds an importantly sensory supplement to Haacke's laconic presentation, as do the sheets cascading to the floor in a dramatic white tangle reminiscent of contemporaneous scatter pieces such as Robert Morris's tangled piles of felt. Stories from around the world commingle and merge, effacing their national origins as they overflow into a pile of dense, snarled ribbons. This "overflow" is of critical importance in Haacke's work, for his version of artistic labor as information management (recalling journalistic fact finding and sociological data gathering) was specifically forged in the late 1960s through his affiliation with the AWC. Looking at his work next to the art workers' demonstrations and protest graphics, I propose that Haacke's appropriation of information was in explicit conversation with the activist practices of the AWC.

News marked a decisive shift within Haacke's practice, even as it continued to ev-
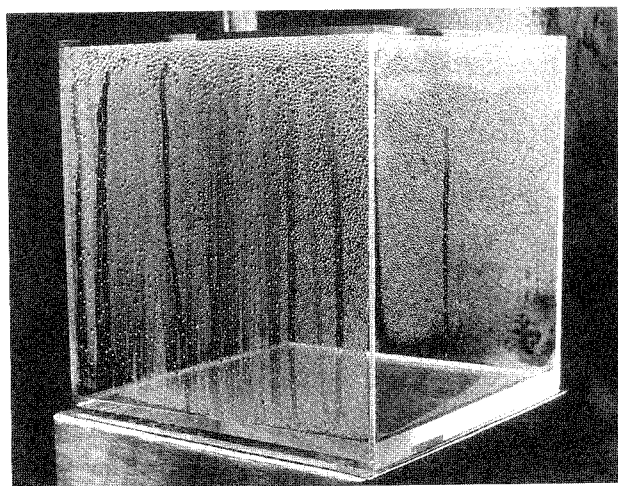
FIGURE 70 Hans Haacke, *Condensation Cube*, 1963–65. Clear acrylic plastic, water, light, air currents, temperature, 12 × 12 in. Photograph by Hans Haacke. © 2009 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York/VG Bild-Kunst, Bonn.

idence his interest in what Jack Burnham labeled "systems art."[6] Theories of representation and the state came together in the urgent need to understand both as "systems"; some chose for their method of analysis the systems of structuralism, while others looked to class relations. *Systems,* like *process,* was a 1960s New Left buzzword picked up by artistic practice. Pamela Lee notes that such a phrase resonated with the imperative to "name the system," first articulated by Paul Potter in his antiwar speech "We Must Name the System," delivered at the April 1965 march on Washington.[7] The art workers' understanding of the art world as a "system" was most explicitly explored by Haacke.

Starting in the early 1960s with his affiliation with the German Zero group, Haacke's projects were invested in technological systems theory and utilized organic, kinetic, or mechanical processes: in *Condensation Cube* (1963–65), for example, the moisture inside a Plexiglas cube varies with the relative temperature of the surrounding gallery and is influenced by the number of visitors at any given time (Fig. 70). *Condensation Cube* is one logical precedent to Haacke's institutional analysis in that it demonstrates how the space in which an artwork is placed—its material atmospheric conditions that include massed bodies, temperature, and light—compromises a system, one that is allegorized and miniaturized in the small, self-contained "hothouse" cube. Yet its beads of water, slowly rising and falling in barely perceptible drips, are an abstract way to register the conditions of spectatorship.

Haacke continued to explore the convergence of technology and biology in the late 1960s and 1970s after he moved to New York, with works like his 1969 *Chickens Hatching,* which featured a grid of incubators, lamps, and chicks as they emerged

from their eggs, and *Norbert: "All Systems Go"* (1970–71), in which he taught a myna bird in a cage to say, "All systems go" in a parody of cybernetic pioneer Norbert Wiener.[8] Although there are continuities throughout his practice, around 1969 Haacke began to move away from these quasi-scientific experiments to art that utilized facts and statistics to address the art institution itself.

In short, he embraced the medium of *information*. And, as he stated in 1971, information "can be very powerful. It can affect the general social fabric."[9] The year 1969 was, significantly, when the AWC, which sought to forge a political identity for artists as workers, was founded. These identifications were never simple and were overburdened with fantasy and misrecognition. Further, the yoking of artistic identity with rhetoric about "the workers" would prove unstable given the uncertain relationship with blue-collar labor in the New Left, which insisted that radical political change would be catalyzed not by an increasingly complicit working class but by a new critical intelligentsia. This is a shift that Haacke not only promoted but prefigured: his vision of artistic labor pointed to an emerging model of labor as information management within a service economy, although this view of artists as knowledge workers had its own ambivalences.

The AWC and Conceptual Art: Decentralizing Museums

Haacke was one of the original founding members of the AWC who joined Takis to protest the unauthorized display of his sculpture in MoMA's *Machine* show in early 1969. With Tom Lloyd and Andre, he authored the earliest statement of demands for artists' rights. He was also among those in the AWC who voted, in the fall of 1970, to form an actual dues-paying union. According to Haacke, artists, "being an economically and consequently politically weak group," needed to organize in order to "impose their ways of procedure and their ideals on the distribution system of art."[10] Casting hopeful eyes back to the 1930s for useful precedents, some in the AWC advocated the return of an organization such as the Artists' Union. This model, however, proved difficult to update. In the late 1960s, of course, no government-sponsored workaday artistic employment existed (aside, perhaps, from teaching). And, given the antistate fervor of the art workers' protests against the Vietnam War, looking to the government for remuneration was not an option. Who, then, to turn to? The AWC's "Program for Change" exhorted museums to pay artists rental fees to exhibit work, as well as to set up "stipends, health insurance, and help for artists'

FIGURE 71 Hans Haacke, *Gallery-Goers' Birthplace and Residence Profile, Part 1,* 1969. Interactive installation with blue and red push pins on wall map, at Howard Wise Gallery, New York. Photograph by Hans Haacke. © 2009 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York/VG Bild-Kunst, Bonn.

dependents."[11] In other words, AWC wanted museums to function as their employers, not least by guaranteeing them stable incomes. As artists became workers, then, museums were implicated as management.

Haacke's famous assertion that museums are "managers of consciousness" (which mobilizes a metaphoric use of management) stems in no small part from the AWC's literal understanding that artists were workers within an art "industry."[12] He likewise embraced the identity of art worker, even calling his art "job-oriented."[13] In the excellent critical literature on Haacke—including works by Rosalyn Deutsche and Benjamin Buchloh—his affiliation with the AWC is only glanced at.[14] Buchloh, for instance, discusses the shift Haacke underwent around 1970 as he began to move from organic/biological works to art that utilized information with no mention of his activist work at all.[15] Yet the AWC's influence on Haacke was vital, as it not only catalyzed his investigations of the discursive framing of art but also affected his art's specific forms, particularly the polemical presentation of information.

While *News* marked Haacke's first foray into art as journalism, this area of interest was further extended in his 1969 *Gallery-Goers' Birthplace and Residence Profile,* exhibited at the Howard Wise Gallery in New York (Fig. 71). In this work Haacke moved from providing, as he did in *News,* a mere conduit of streaming, prepackaged information to being an active investigator. His work became a collection of statistics that were geared toward ferreting out truths and facts about the art world system; Buchloh

has referred to this as Haacke's "factography."[16] In line with figures such as John Heartfield, Haacke's work asks us to interrogate the mutual exclusivity of the categories of journalism and art. Unlike *Condensation Cube,* whose viewership is relatively undifferentiated, *Profile* asks direct questions about the specificity of art viewers.

In the gallery profiles, Haacke invited visitors to mark on a large map both where they were born and their current residences; the results revealed a confined distribution of art audiences in the New York area, concentrated primarily in lower Manhattan, with a significant cluster of red pins indicating native New Yorkers (Plate 11). It is a map colored by social geography. Its participatory component meant that the look of this object was ever-changing, even as it bore a visual resemblance to more static modes of abstraction, with its pricks of primary color against a dark blue and white ground. With the *Birthplace and Residence Profile,* Haacke wanted to discern how an interest in art derived from specific class formations as they played out geographically. As a relatively recent emigrant, such questions of birthplace, home, and location were of special significance to him. (It is also important that most of the art workers lived in the same general area in Manhattan and as such were part of a geographic community—and local economy—along with the coalition forged through the AWC. The distinctly urban stew of activism in New York, with its heated yet inconsistent rhetoric about the politics of art and making, might have prompted some artists to flee for seemingly less conflicted landscapes, as Smithson did in his forays into the U.S. West.)

The polls gave the viewer a modicum of participation—a gesture that, while small, perhaps offered, as Kirsi Peltomäki has suggested, an affective surge of spectatorial pleasure in that it provided a way to reflect on in-crowd formations and shared social space.[17] Haacke followed this with other audience polls that collected information about viewers' demographic profiles as well as their political leanings, religion, and views of the Nixon administration.[18] Endeavoring to quantify the art world system as a network of tastes to be charted and analyzed, he reported the results of the polls in bar-graph form. Haacke's polls bear a surface resemblance to the questions issued by sociologist of taste Pierre Bourdieu and Alain Darbel in their 1969 book *The Love of Art: European Art Museums and Their Public.*[19] *The Love of Art* asserts that an appreciation for art is determined by objective social factors that promote cultural appreciation, such as income and education. By questioning the constitution of the "public" of art museums, Bourdieu and Darbel assert that one's level of education significantly determines one's inclination to visit museums (the so-called "cultivated disposition"). To track quantitatively how cultural capital affects the "logic of museum

visiting,"[20] their methodology includes questionnaires about visitors' residences, level of education, and political leanings.

While *The Love of Art* was an early (and uncharacteristically positivist) project for Bourdieu, it plays an important foundational role in his theorizations of the networks that subtend the production, distribution, and reception of art. Bourdieu's later writings on cultural production examine not just artists but also "critics, publishers, gallery directors, and the whole set of agents whose combined efforts produce consumers capable of knowing and recognizing the work of art as such."[21] Indeed, the overlaps between Haacke's art and Bourdieu's theories of "taste" led them to collaborate on a book project entitled *Free Exchange*.[22] Bourdieu and Darbel, like Haacke, see museums as spaces structured by exclusion and privilege. In their concluding paragraph, they excoriate the "false generosity" of the ostensibly public museum, writing that the museum "is reserved for those who, equipped with the ability to appropriate the works of art, have the privilege of making use of this freedom."[23] The polemics of this statement matter: here the authors do not simply present data but offer a pointed political analysis.

Haacke's investigation into the audience as a social system significantly diverges from Bourdieu's work in that Haacke in the late 1960s and early 1970s insisted that the information he presented was without any interpretive framework or summarizing conclusions (although, as Deutsche asserts, these polls themselves had their own "mediating effect").[24] He did not, he claimed, marshal data to prove or disprove a hypothesis. "I leave it up to you as far as how you evaluate the situation," he said. "You continue the work by drawing your own conclusions from the information presented."[25] His lack of interest in synthesizing the data or making inferences moved him closer to the myth of objective journalism than the situated sociology advocated by Bourdieu.

In this, Haacke proposed a different model of artistic labor than the ones offered by Andre, Morris, and Lippard: the artist as number-cruncher. It represents a further instance of the degree to which artists affiliated with the AWC understood their "work" quite broadly; for Haacke, "The studio is again becoming a study."[26] Haacke activated another central paradigm for political laboring, that of the "information specialist," and described his "real-time systems" art as a "double agent."[27] The description evokes a strategy for the New Left outlined a year later in Marcuse's *Counterrevolution and Revolt*. Marcuse writes of the subversive potential of Rudi Dutschke's notion of the "long march through the institutions": that is, "working against the established institutions while working in them . . . by 'doing the job,' learning (how to program

and read computers, how to teach at all levels of education, how to use the mass media . . .), and at the same time preserving one's own consciousness in working with the others."[28] Haacke viewed his art as this "doing the job," working within the institution to interrupt the uncritical flow of data, news, and numbers.

Haacke's art participates in the general trend at this time toward understanding the artist—as well as the common worker—not as a construction laborer but as a "knowledge manager," one who collects, processes, and manages data.[29] Buchloh has influentially termed this the "the aesthetic of administration."[30] Even at the time, conceptual art was seen as mirroring "an economy whose base is shifting from production to information processing."[31] As Sol LeWitt noted in 1967, "The aim of the artist would be to give viewers information. . . . The serial artist does not attempt to produce a beautiful or mysterious object but functions merely as a clerk cataloguing the results of his premise."[32] LeWitt casts the artist as a petty bureaucrat who mimics the procedures of the desk clerk.

In this decade, artists and corporations alike sought out literal connections between art, manufacturing, and business. Experiments in Art and Technology, founded by Robert Rauschenberg and the Bell Laboratories scientist Billy Klüver in 1966,[33] and John Latham and Barbara Steveni's Artists Placement Group, founded in 1966, pursued collaborations between artists, engineers, and technology firms. The APG was a British organization that established residencies for artists in a variety of governmental departments and corporations. At the time, the APG was heralded as a direct product of "the post-industrial society . . . the change from a goods-producing to a service economy . . . and the creation of a new 'intellectual technology.'"[34] About a dozen artists were placed in companies during the APG's existence, in places such as British Steel, Esso, and the British Department of Environmental Health. The APG had its artists literally become office workers in direct response to the ever-interconnecting spheres of art, labor, and the new service economy. But these residencies were always rife with contradiction—were the artists there to simply act as the creative supplements to corporate research and development, to turn the wheels of industry's production? Or was the artist embedded in industry, as Lippard characterized her understanding of the APG, as "a jolt . . . to fuck up the ordinary corporate thinking habits"?[35] As Peter Eleey has observed, the APG attempted to maintain a "delicately Utopian co-existence of antagonism and service."[36] Like so much artistic labor in this era, artists working "within" institutions (whether museums or corporations) thwarted any easy distinction between complicity and resistance.

Facts, figures, and documents: instead of metal squares or large timbers, these are the building blocks of Haacke's artistic labor. Yet this is not a free-floating matrix of data. Instead, Haacke's use of different country's news agencies and his polls about location also show how his interests became increasingly *spatialized* as he deepened his interest in the systems of power in the art world. In his April 10, 1969, statement read aloud at the large AWC open hearing, Haacke made it clear that the physical space of the museum was of special concern to him, particularly in light of his previous art/research in the gallery-goers' polls that revealed the homogeneity of art audiences in New York. While the texts read at the open hearing broached a diverse series of topics related to the just-formed AWC, such as racism, sexism, war, and the politics of the art world, Haacke's statement persistently characterized the museum as a location of power, calling for "a radical decentralization, a dispersal of the Museum's activities into all areas of the city." He continued: "Such a decentralization would liberate the arts from their fashionable Midtown ghetto and would open them to the communities. A relocation in cheaper neighborhoods would also contribute to desecrating the temple. As soon as Museum officials are willing to work in the various loft-districts of the city, a lot of financial problems are solved."[37]

The notion of "decentralization" of the museum was a common refrain at the time for the AWC and related groups such as the Black Emergency Cultural Coalition (BECC).[38] While they also wanted a specific wing and study center for black and Puerto Rican art in MoMA named after Martin Luther King Jr., some in the AWC believed that opening branches in underserved areas such as Harlem would provide a way to increase its accessibility to (somewhat ill-defined) "communities."[39] Protests by the AWC, particularly its Black and Puerto Rican Committee, called for the museum to "Decentralize or Die," as one protest poster read. The much-longed-for decentralization occurred to some degree, though not under the aegis of MoMA, when the Studio Museum in Harlem opened in 1968 and El Museo del Barrio opened in Spanish Harlem in 1969. Importantly, the founder of El Museo was Ralph Ortiz, a member of the AWC and occasional participant in GAAG.[40]

More, even, than opening special branches of museums, conceptual art promised to potentially explode the idea of the brick-and-mortar institutions as repositories and authorities of art. Lucy Lippard forcefully linked conceptualism's primacy of ideas with the broader goals of making art and information more accessible. In a lecture in 1969 she stated,

Last spring, members of the Art Workers' Coalition, which is a dissenting artists group in New York, spent a great deal of time talking about alternate structures, viable alternatives to the current art-world set-up. . . . Decentralization takes place by word and photograph, by easily and rapidly transportable media and by the physical moves of the artist himself.[41]

The radical dematerialization of conceptual art, with its use of postcards, telegrams, and easily transportable ideas, was seen as tied to decentralization—though Lippard and many others quickly recognized how fragile those connections were. Still, from 1969 on, in the wake of the formation of the AWC and its calls for decentralization, Haacke's work aggressively questioned how museums occupied both actual and ideological sites. To do this, he marshaled site-specific forms of data collection and information gathering.

Information

One of the most graphic uses of informational and investigative practices occurred in 1969; this was GAAG's performance *A Call for the Immediate Resignation of All the Rockefellers from the Board of Trustees of the Museum of Modern Art,* known simply as *Blood Bath.*[42] In this action, four artists (Jean Toche, Jon Hendricks, Poppy Johnson, and Silviana) gathered in the peak hours in MoMA's lobby.[43] Without warning, they began ripping each other's clothes off, screaming incoherently as they burst concealed bags filled with nearly two gallons of blood (Fig. 72). As the artists sank to the floor, bloodied and half-stripped, they lay amid scattered leaflets that accused the Rockefellers and the museum they supported of using "art as a disguise, a cover for their brutal involvement in all spheres of the war machine." Photographs of the action document its urgent violence, with the dark blood soaking the men's "respectable" suits—specially chosen and worn as costumes to help heighten the visual effect of their subsequent destruction[44]—as they roughly grabbed each other.

The photograph of them playing "dead" on the museum ground, white flyers stained with blood, recalls images of the massacre of My Lai, but it also captures, somewhat blurrily, the gathering crowd of museumgoers in the background (Fig. 73). The upper portion of the image is dominated by the legs of the spectators, although it is clear that not all of those in the immediate area of the protest action were so absorbed by GAAG's frenzy: several of the legs indicate people who have turned away. Still,

FIGURES 72–73
Guerrilla Art Action Group,
*A Call for the Immediate
Resignation of All the
Rockefellers from the
Board of Trustees of the
Museum of Modern Art.*
Performance by Jon
Hendricks, Jean Toche,
Poppy Johnson, and
Silviana in MoMA lobby,
November 19, 1969.
Photograph by Hui Ka
Kwong. © Guerrilla Art
Action Group.

the small audience who formed around them by and large read the street theater cues correctly, for they "watched silently and intently" while the artists writhed on the ground in the blood and then burst into "spontaneous applause" when GAAG rose up to leave the museum, signaling the end of the piece.[45]

GAAG's flyer included a three-point summary of research that detailed the Rockefellers' financial involvement with corporations that manufactured napalm and other war munitions, including Standard Oil and McDonnell Aircraft (Fig. 74). The artists' half-naked bodies referred both to the stripping effects of napalm and to the tangle of corpses in much wartime photography, and their live bodies within the museum sought to animate and make vivid the horrors of war. The gesture or action was in

A CALL FOR THE IMMEDIATE RESIGNATION OF ALL THE ROCKEFELLERS FROM THE BOARD
OF TRUSTEES OF THE MUSEUM OF MODERN ART

There is a group of extremely wealthy people who are using art as a means of
self-glorification and as a form of social acceptability. They use art as a
disguise, a cover for their brutal involvement in all spheres of the war
machine.

These people seek to appease their guilt with gifts of blood money and dona-
tions of works of art to the Museum of Modern Art. We as artists feel that
there is no moral justification whatsoever for the Museum of Modern Art to
exist at all if it must rely solely on the continued acceptance of dirty
money. By accepting soiled donations from these wealthy people, the museum
is destroying the integrity of art.

These people have been in actual control of the museum's policies since its
founding. With this power they have been able to manipulate artists' ideas;
sterilize art of any form of social protest and indictment of the oppressive
forces in society; and therefore render art totally irrelevant to the exist-
ing social crisis.

1. According to Ferdinand Lundberg in his book, The Rich and the Super-Rich,
   the Rockefellers own 65% of the Standard Oil Corporations. In 1966,
   according to Seymour M. Hersh in his book, Chemical and Biological Warfare,
   the Standard Oil Corporation of California - which is a special interest
   of David Rockefeller (Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Museum of
   Modern Art) - leased one of its plants to United Technology Center (UTC)
   for the specific purpose of manufacturing napalm.

2. According to Lundberg, the Rockefeller brothers own 20% of the McDonnell
   Aircraft Corporation (manufacturers of the Phantom and Banshee jet
   fighters which were used in the Korean War). According to Hersh, the
   McDonnell Corporation has been deeply involved in chemical and biological
   warfare research.

3. According to George Thayer in his book, The War Business, the Chase
   Manhattan Bank (of which David Rockefeller is Chairman of the Board) -
   as well as the McDonnell Aircraft Corporation and North American Airlines
   (another Rockefeller interest) - are represented on the committee of the
   Defense Industry Advisory Council (DIAC) which serves as a liaison group
   between the domestic arms manufacturers and the International Logistics
   Negotiations (ILN) which reports directly to the International Security
   Affairs Division in the Pentagon.

Therefore we demand the immediate resignation of all the Rockefellers from
the Board of Trustees of the Museum of Modern Art.

New York, November 10, 1969
GUERRILLA ART ACTION GROUP
Jon Hendricks
Jean Toche

FIGURE 74 Guerrilla Art Action Group, *A Call for the Immediate Resignation of All the Rockefellers from the Board of Trustees of the Museum of Modern Art,* communiqué, 1969. Offset on paper, 8½ × 11 in. © Guerrilla Art Action Group.

effect a delivery method for the flyer, a way to circulate its point-by-point condemnation in as visible a manner possible. GAAG, it seems, was not quite convinced of the power of disembodied information and simple paperwork to act as an explosive political device; their investigation, however dutifully reported, was not meant to stand alone. The visibility they craved was akin to journalism—*Blood Bath* functioned with a kind of excessive insistence on the evils of the institution precisely as it relied upon

and exploited the museum's networks of visibility. This action made sense only when performed within the spaces of the museum; the institutional frame made GAAG's critiques legible.

Direct quotation from journalistic sources was also deployed in the AWC-designed poster from 1969 entitled *Q: And Babies? A: And Babies* (co-designed by GAAG member Hendricks; Plate 2). This poster, which twinned a journalistic photograph of the massacre at My Lai with excerpts from a television interview with one of the involved soldiers, is perhaps the AWC's most well-known artifact and appears in most accounts of their antiwar activism. But it also exists within a larger project of the art workers' political appropriation of information and news—both its words and its images. Its arresting short phrases, juxtaposed with an explicit photograph of dead civilians, make it the most visually sophisticated political work created under the auspices of the AWC. As with much effective sloganeering, its redundancy works to great effect: the phrase "and babies" appears twice, as question and affirmation, and acts like a rhythmic reminder of the presence of the small children in the photograph.

The citation of information was a popular strategy for the AWC. An anonymous flyer from 1969 entitled "AWC Research," for example, lists a series of statements regarding acquisitions at the Museum of Modern Art, including a statement by board member David Rockefeller. Rockefeller comments that art is a "commercial undertaking" and refers to art viewers as "customers" (Fig. 75). The flyer seeks, with unadorned quotes, to expose the classed nature of taste. This is a protest poster as research and reportage, and it rests on the perhaps naive hope that the bald information it presents is enough to spark outrage—that investigative methods such as those exposing the My Lai massacre to the U.S. public will incite shifts in policy.

This flyer foreshadows one of Haacke's major motifs, which is the reframing of brief but damning quotations of institutional and corporate voices. In 1975 Haacke created his first examination of corporate patronage, *On Social Grease*. In this work, Haacke photoengraved magnesium plaques with quotations from business leaders and museum officials extolling the connections between business and the arts (Fig. 76). These direct quotes, as on the AWC's flyer, are presented without interpretive commentary—and this marshalling of a strategic neutrality is a persistent mode of operation in his work of this period, for both rely upon the citation of public information. It is no surprise that the Rockefellers appear in the anonymous flyer, GAAG's *Blood Bath*, and Haacke's piece—they were at the heart of the AWC's critiques of the connections between the museum, the state, and corporate interests in the Vietnam War. There is a similar logic of quotation in the AWC's protest poster, *Blood Bath*,

The Museum of Modern Art

Rockefeller, referring to his conversation with Diego Rivera regarding the artist's mural for Rockefeller Center which was commissioned, rejected and later destroyed:

I finally said, "Look, Diego, we just can't have this. Art is free in its expression, but this is not something you're doing for yourself, nor for us private collectors. This is a commercial undertaking. Therefore, we have to do something that is not going to offend our customers but that is going to give them pleasure and joy. Instead, you included just about every sensitive political and religious subject in your mural."
— Rockefeller at The New School, 1967

I am not really concerned with what the artist means . . . .
— Rockefeller, *New York Times*

I buy art mostly from catalogues . . . . I check things that I like. Sometimes the people at MOMA help me screen things too.
— Nelson Rockefeller, Member of the Policy Committee for the Collection of Masterworks, 1969

MOMA was never intended to be merely a depository for artistic treasures. It was conceived as an institution that would work in and with the community vigorously participating in its life.
— Rene d'Harnoncourt, Director of Museum Collections, 1954

In September 1947, under the terms of a formal agreement between the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Museum of Modern Art, the Museum of Modern Art sold to the Metropolitan twenty-six works already deemed "classical," the proceeds to be used for the purchase of more "modern" works.
— Alfred H. Barr, Jr.

A. W. C. RESEARCH

FIGURE 75 Art Workers' Coalition, "AWC Research," flyer featuring quotes about the Museum of Modern Art trustees, ca. 1970. Image courtesy of the Lucy R. Lippard Papers, ca. 1940–2006, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

FIGURE 76 Hans Haacke, *On Social Grease* (detail), 1975. Photoengraved magnesium mounted on aluminum, 77.2 × 76.2 cm panel. First exhibited at John Weber Gallery, New York, 1975. Photograph by Walter Russell. © 2009 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York/ VG Bild-Kunst, Bonn.
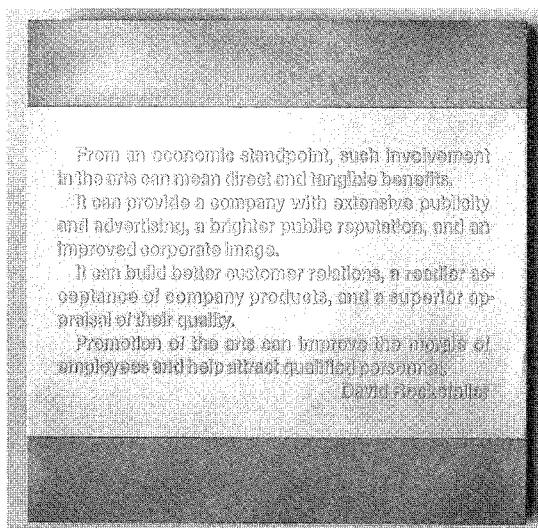
and Haacke's later works, such as *On Social Grease.* As is detailed below, there are further lines to be drawn more concretely to connect the AWC's methods of research and Haacke's institutional critique.

Haacke produces his objects with great scrupulousness, and his materials are always carefully selected. For *On Social Grease,* he specifically chose magnesium because it is the metal used to make newspaper engraving plates, and he made the plaques to mimic commemorative markers that would be "at home in the lobby of corporate headquarters or in the boardroom."[46] In other words, with *On Social Grease,* Haacke appropriates the actual means and materials of journalism, as well as corporate back-patting, aesthetically underlining their connection with the manufacture of "truth."[47] Haacke's attention to such details is important for recalibrating our understanding of his work not as the simple presentation of research but as a process that extends, iconographically and literally, out into the wider information world.

"Information" was a tremendously important concept for artists around the world in the late 1960s and early 1970s. The trend toward art as journalism was famously institutionalized by the MoMA show *Information,* curated by Kynaston McShine and on view a few short months after the Art Strike of May 1970 (July 20–September 20). *Information* was the first international survey of conceptual art at a major U.S. museum, and it suggested a relationship between word- and photo-based art and a larger world of signs, messages, and global communications. The exhibition was viewed by many in the AWC as a bit of an olive branch, if not an outright concession to their demands for more input into museum exhibitions, for it included many within the AWC ranks. For instance, extending the process he had originated in the 1968 minimalism for peace benefit exhibit, LeWitt paid four draftsmen $4.00 an hour, for four hours a day, for four days, to make a colored-pencil wall drawing.

The catalog was seen as an extension of the show (rather than mere documentation) and a work in its own right. The front and back covers are composed of a grid of mass media devices and vehicles of speed, including a Volkswagen Beetle, computer, telephone, television screen, typewriter, radio, and steamship, all rendered in harsh high contrast under a screen of dot-matrix-like circles that reference a Marshall McLuhan pattern-recognition test. At the center of the back cover is a teletype machine of the sort Haacke used in *News* (Fig. 77). The catalog includes free-form artists' entries, the curator's essay, and a nearly fifty-page section that brings together, uncaptioned, images culled from a diverse range of sources, from Godard film stills to Duchamp playing chess. Within this conceptual photo essay one finds shots of the moon landing, spreads from the *New York Times,* and photographs of mass demon-

strations and protests. One page includes a reproduction of the AWC's *Q: And Babies?* poster (Fig. 78) alongside ads announcing promotional materials for galleries in Milan and Stockholm; the contrast of this artistic cosmopolitanism, complete with a blonde woman, her bared breasts accessorized by a chunky chain necklace, and the gruesome Vietnam massacre scene could not be more stark. These images—some of which were also installed within the show itself—made the claim that the exhibition was a compendium of timely, political "documents" rather than artworks. The inclusion of such antiwar images, moreover, appeared to be a response on the part of the museum to the art workers' desire for art institutions to take a stand on the war.

At the entrance to the show stood Haacke's *MOMA-Poll*, which asked viewers their opinions about New York governor Nelson Rockefeller's support of the Vietnam War. This work consisted of two transparent ballot boxes, aesthetically reminiscent of the *Condensation Cube*, set up under a printed sign reading: "Would the fact that Governor Rockefeller has not denounced President Nixon's Indochina policy be a reason for you not to vote for him in November?" (Plate 12). Viewers were issued color-coded ballots keyed to their fee status; thus the distinct responses of full-fare visitors, members, guest-pass holders, and those who came on the museum's free day were clearly
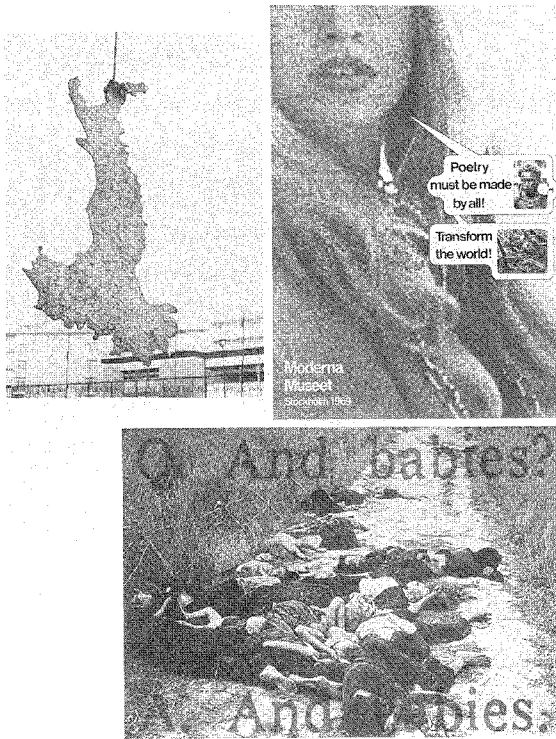
FIGURE 78 *Information,* edited by Kynaston L. McShine (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1970), page 142. Offset, printed in color, 10 × ¾ × 8¼ in. The Museum of Modern Art Library, New York. Digital Image © The Museum of Modern Art/Licensed by SCALA/Art Resource, NY.

visible. (The free day had been instituted that prior February as a direct result of the AWC; Haacke wanted to make evident how such a day affected the museum's visitorship, in both numbers and political persuasion.) Each ballot triggered a counting device that tallied the results, and there was a horizontal chart panel next to the ballot boxes where a daily number count was entered. The precise tally mattered a great deal to Haacke, for he felt going into the show that the public opinion it registered was by no means a foregone conclusion. But the exact numbers on the graph became somewhat irrelevant as the ballots piled up inside the clear boxes, with final results— 25,566 voting yes, 11,563 voting no—showing the large majority (69 percent) voting "yes" (indicating, counterintuitively, a vote against Rockfeller). Where Haacke had previously used animals like birds and chickens in his experimental art, now museum viewers were the guinea pigs.

Rockefeller was at that time a high-profile member of the MoMA board of trustees. One of the AWC's most insistently voiced arguments related to the direct links between art institutions and the Vietnam War. As Carl Andre put it, "It is a pretense of the museum that they are an apolitical organization. . . . The board of trustees are exactly the same people who devised American foreign policy over the last 25 years.

Man for man they are the same."[48] Haacke's poll sought to make those connections overt. With this critique, he took the museum somewhat by surprise. He told McShine only that he was going to conduct a viewer poll and did not supply him in advance with the question.[49] In the catalog, he stated only that it would be "an either-or question referring to a current socio-political issue."[50] Museum director John Hightower, coming out of a beleaguered first six months in his tenure (characterized primarily by the persistence and ferocity of the AWC's animosity), did not want to have another Art Strike–type fight on his hands. He decided that not allowing the work in the show would cause more controversy than letting it stand, so he fought for its inclusion, even as Governor Rockefeller lodged serious objections to it.

Hightower recalled receiving a phone call after the show opened from the governor asking him to "kill that element of the exhibition."[51] Hightower wrote back that Haacke's *Poll* was "not inconsistent with the role of provocateur that artists enjoy."[52] He went on to note that it would be to Rockefeller's credit if he allowed himself to be criticized openly, and he exhorted Rockefeller to respect the long-standing tradition of the museum as a place of free speech. The fact that the AWC was sparked by an incident concerning artists' rights was not lost on Hightower, and his correspondence with Rockefeller underscores that the *Information* show was in many respects meant to appease the AWC.

While the *MOMA-Poll* targets the links between the museum's overseeing board and the Vietnam War and is considered a foundational moment in the artistic movement of "institutional critique," its inclusion also bespeaks a certain tolerance toward critique within the institution. Its inclusion in *Information* is not simply a lesson in what Marcuse termed in 1965 "repressive tolerance," the notion that to "tolerate" subversive dissent effectively renders such subversion ineffective.[53] Art museums do not see themselves as the conservative antagonists to radical artists, but neither do they always identify as neutrally "apolitical," as Andre would have it. Art institutions have instead long fostered an understanding of themselves as actively, progressively *supporting* artistic and political avant-gardes, not just putting up with them. Marcuse's repressive tolerance is perhaps less helpful here than Michel Foucault's governmentality, which theorizes that an institution's benevolence, or active political engagement, helps refine its power as it shapes complicit citizenship.[54] But the institution's response was uneven—neither totally tolerant nor totally antagonized. Museums such as MoMA and the Metropolitan did occasionally respond to art workers' demonstrations with strong-armed, even violent tactics—threatening lawsuits, issuing injunctions, or resorting to physical violence (as was the case with the cock-

roach protest). In some instances, struggles between museum security and art workers led to bodily injury. The state also at times responded to the art workers with repressive force, as when it arrested three art workers (Hendricks, Toche, and Ringgold) for defaming the flag in 1970 during the *Flag Show* held at Judson Memorial Church.

Haacke has insisted that his polls are framed to be as objective as possible, intentionally phrased so as not to prejudice the answer—this is part of his wider quasi-empirical sociology. As he wrote in 1971, "Following standard polling practices, I tried to frame the questions so that they do not assert a political stance, are not inflammatory and do not prejudice the answers."[55] But one unnamed author in the *Science Times* criticized the *MOMA-Poll* for its badly leading, biased question and singled it out as a negative example about how to skew polls.[56] Its confusing phrasing, the "not" then "not" double negative adding up to a strange kind of affirmation—"Yes, I will not vote for Rockefeller"—does not so much mine the rhetoric of pollsters as make that rhetoric somewhat absurd. Perhaps Haacke's strategic neutrality, his careful portrayal of himself as utterly objective, allowed him to smuggle in critique under the guise of science. Even with its insistence on the exact toting up of statistics, its data exist primarily as a succinct visual field—because of these transparent boxes, we know the results at a glance. The exact numbers themselves are less important than the clutter of multihued tickets, meant to signal classed electoral leanings.

The *MOMA-Poll* harnessed viewer participation for a specific end: produced just months prior to an election, it mimicked the procedures of voting to make public the audience's (as well as the museum's) political affiliations. Because the ballots were cast into two separate boxes, viewers had to signal visibly their positions if they wished to participate, thus perverting the privacy of the voting booth. There are few in situ photographs of the poll in action; the one most widely reproduced features a woman, her loosely upswept hair and glasses silhouetted against the white wall, casting her ballot clearly in the left, or "yes" box as a man next to her reads Haacke's question (Fig. 79). (It was surely intentional to place the antiwar box on the *left*.) The inclusion of two figures here highlights that her choice is open, or readable, to anyone in the gallery; Haacke's desire for transparency is extended from the question itself—which brings to light a relation between the state and the museum—to the viewer's political leanings.

By physically siting his works within the spaces he criticized, Haacke established a dependency on the museum context. The poll fell under the category "art" while performing a critique of the very place that granted it this art status. He felt his work

Question.

Would the fact that Governor Rockefeller has not denounced President Nixon's Indochina policy be a reason for you not to vote for him in November?

Answer:

If 'yes'
please cast your ballot into the left box;
if 'no'
into the right box.

FIGURE 79 Hans Haacke, *MOMA-Poll,* 1970. Interactive installation with clear plastic voting boxes, text panel, chart of results, at *Information* exhibition, Museum of Modern Art, 1970. Photograph by Hans Haacke. © 2009 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York/VG Bild-Kunst, Bonn.
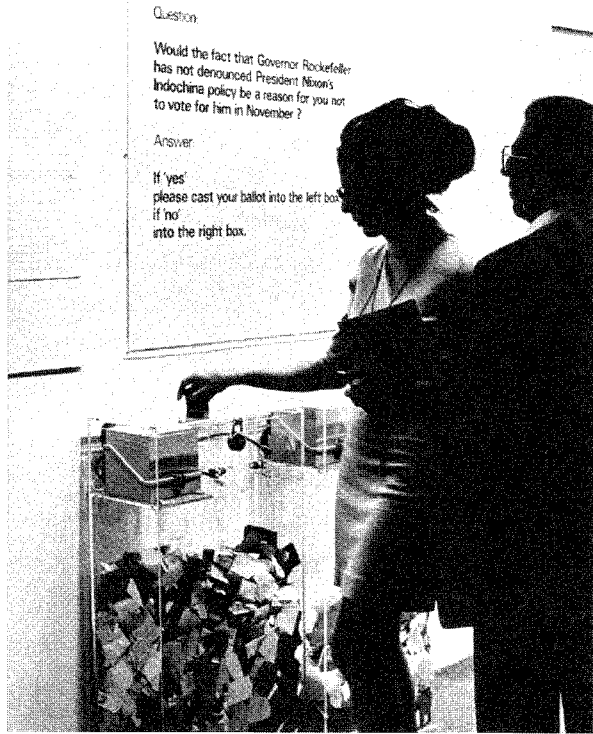
had more clarity and efficacy when it was located within institutions as opposed to outside them. As he said in 1971, "The *MOMA-Poll* had even more energy in the museum than it would have had in the street—real socio-political energy, not awe-inspiring symbolism."[57] This is indicative of how some art workers of the AWC focused on art institutions as the arenas for publicity and protest, rather than directing their antiwar energies out in the public sphere (as in, say, the 1966 *Peace Tower*). As Hilton Kramer wrote in the early 1970s, "The museum has become one of the crucial battlegrounds upon which the problems of democratic culture are being decided."[58]

The *Information* show was a controversial effort on the part of MoMA to further mine this "battleground."[59] In his withering critique of the exhibition, Kramer mocked the idea that the most politically relevant thing for artists to do was "to go to town with the Xerox machine," and he lambasted it as "unmitigated nonsense . . . tripe . . . an intellectual scandal."[60] The leftist art critic and AWC member Gregory Battcock, however, felt that protest, not art, was the loser in this particular fight. He claimed that the works in *Information* became absorbed and neutralized within the frame of the museum: "The art works have to be made specifically for the Museum

of Modern Art, and that's what's wrong. They should have been made *against* it."[61] Battcock's notion of accommodating versus adversarial art drew from his engagement at this time with the writings of Marcuse, and he saw the exhibit as a clear example of repressive tolerance. Because the works in *Information* respond to the site of the museum but do not interrupt its daily functioning, according to Battcock, they are not "abusive" enough to their context. Instead, "The potential of a negative confrontation is wasted."

In an unmistakable (yet unattributed) reference to Marcuse, he states that art should "widen the gap that already exists between that which is and a vision of what can be."[62] This directly echoes Marcuse's vision for an art that sustains "a dialectical unity between what is and what can (and ought to) be."[63] While he maintained that the *Information* show fell short of the mark, Battcock did in other instances embrace the radical negation of conceptualism, particularly as it instanced its own decommodification.[64] Haacke's knowledge management in the *MOMA-Poll* suffered under Battcock's loose Marcusian reading, as it concerned itself with unmasking present conditions rather than offering a "prefigurative" vision of a utopian world, to use Marcuse's phrase.

For many in the AWC, in fact, the *Information* show did not go far enough. The word itself was picked up and resignified on an Art Strike protest flyer that hails the viewer with a cacophony of fonts, some intentionally outdated like an old-fashioned printed handbill, undiluted by any images as it lays out its six-point accusations: "INFORMATION! INFORMATION! 1. You are involved in the murderous devastation of S.E. Asia." (Fig. 80). It goes on to detail racism, sexism, and repression and implicate the viewer—"You are involved unless you stop it!"—and the museum in which the flyer presumably circulated. This, it seems to suggest, is the real information that matters, not the show up on the walls of the institution, which might distract from the cause.

Though for a critic like Kramer the *Information* show represented a near-collapse of art into propaganda, some art workers viewed all image-based art as insufficient in the face of the war. An unsigned sketch from 1970 lays out a dream of a wholly transformed museum in which art has been totally evacuated to make room for news (Fig. 81). Here visitors are confronted with a statement about the museum's stance against the war, flanked by movie screens on opposing walls with projected footage of, on the left side, protests against the war, including films of peace marches and demonstrations, and, on the right, atrocities of racial injustice, war, and repression. This directed, even propagandistic, information is in the service of *taking a stand* (even

FIGURE 80 "Information!" Art Strike flyer, 1970. Image courtesy of the Lucy R. Lippard Papers, ca. 1940–2006, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.
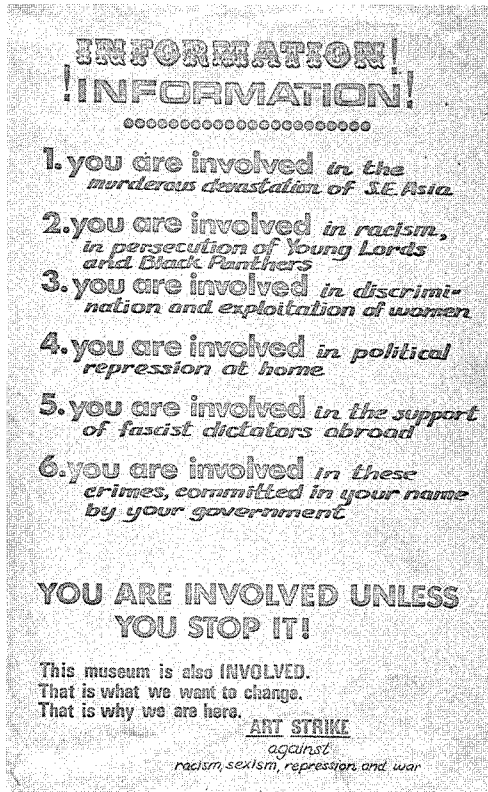
FIGURE 81 Sketch for museum featuring announcement that it "takes the following stance against the war," unsigned, ca. 1970. Pen on paper, 8½ × 11 in. Image courtesy of the Lucy R. Lippard Papers, ca. 1940–2006, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.
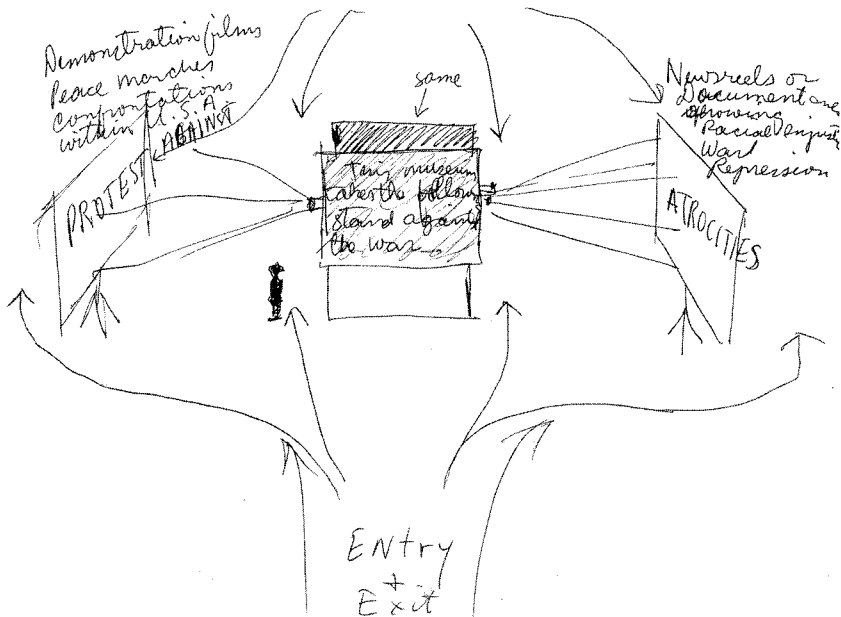
though the sign in the middle of the room stops short of actually prescribing what that stand is). In this sketch there cannot be enough information. As Lil Picard wrote in the wake of the Art Strike, with its protest on the steps of the Metropolitan: "Art now enters a new phase. In the future Art will be the political information of truth. What happened since about four weeks in the galleries and museums of New York is a new Art Form. . . . In the coming year this kind of Information-Art will be the one in which America will be again a leading force."[65]

Such a vision had some basis in reality. On the day of the Art Strike in May 1970, the Jewish Museum let artists set up information tables with antiwar literature, effectively obviating its function as an art museum, and MoMA launched a special photography exhibit in early May that included recent pictures by Garry Winogrand of the hard-hat riots. The sketch of the politicized museum also echoes one of the most coherent attempts of any artists' group in the 1960s to merge art, information, and politics: the Rosario Group's 1968 *Tucumán Arde (Tucumán Burns)*, discussed in Chapter 4. Many in this Argentine group advocated the abandonment of art in favor of social research; Jacoby, one of the artists who used a telex as a medium, was involved in the Rosario Group and was clearly continuing his interest in the possibilities of art in the service of propaganda. The Rosario Group's move out of the art world and into the union hall had few parallels in the U.S. context; the sketch in Figure 81 instead envisions a recuperated museum pushed beyond tolerance or "neutrality," a fantasy museum turned into a propaganda machine. Recall the January 1969 flyer issued by Takis that inaugurated the AWC: "Let us unite, artists with scientists, students with workers, to change these anachronistic situations [museums] into information centres for all artistic activities."[66]

While minimal art was pressed into an antiwar context in Lippard's 1968 benefit show at the Paula Cooper Gallery, there also existed a tension within the AWC regarding the status of object making in general as a political project. The drawing shows a more far-ranging negation of art than the alleged evaporation of art enacted by conceptualism.[67] Such a fantasy of the museum becoming an information center perhaps also highlights a widespread feeling about the irrelevance of traditional artistic making. In 1969 Cindy Nemser reported a "revolution of artists" in which "many young artists are refusing to make art objects" and described it as "closely related to the iconoclastic and egalitarian impulses that motivate students causing upheavals on campuses all over the world."[68] If "painting," "objects," and "images" were deemed insufficient, some in the AWC still believed that idea art, or text-based conceptualism, might be effective. The dematerialized efforts of conceptual art and po-

litical performance were, in some respects, generated by this tension. It is by now common to link the dematerialization of art to the political imperatives of the era— Joseph Kosuth was merely the most succinct when in 1975 he called conceptual art "the art of the Vietnam war."[69] Kosuth made the connections between conceptual art and the war not on iconographic grounds but on ideological ones, since both conceptual art and the Vietnam War era shattered some of the foundational myths of modernism, which put its faith in art's ahistoricity and autonomy. He wrote in 1975 of the end of a movement of which he had been a major part, one that had struggled to come to terms with the wreckage of modernism by emphasizing intellectual processes. This emphasis on conceptual process had been meant to challenge art's dependence on the market; thus the "death" of conceptual art came when it was absorbed by the institution. Still, conceptualism's linguistic basis and purported resistance to the market—even when recognized as partial and compromised—was seen by many as a reaction against, if not an antidote to, mediatized spectacle.

Tellingly, the sketch of the museum as information center shows no static artworks at all, only *moving images*, and the museum has become a hotline to mass-media information. Perhaps granting immediacy and urgency to film and television rather than art was a response to the feeling that the mediatization of culture was fast eclipsing artistic interventions. As McShine puts it in his essay for the exhibition catalog *Information*, "An artist certainly cannot compete with a man on the moon in the living room."[70] McShine's view that art had been overwhelmed by televisual spectacle was widespread. Lippard comments even more forcefully that "Abbie Hoffman (as *The Drama Review* and other sources have known for some time and the media are beginning to appreciate fully), the Weathermen bombings, Charlie Manson, the storming of the Pentagon, are far more effective as radical art than anything artists have yet concocted. The event-structure of such works gives them a tremendous advantage over the most graphic of the graphic arts."[71] Lippard lists a series of extreme, even violent events, nominating them as "effective radical art" precisely because they make such good television. An oft-rehearsed pronouncement regarding the Vietnam War is that it was waged via images: on television, in the newspaper, as graphics and posters. It was, to cite Michael Arlen, the first "living-room war."[72] While this well-worn phrase has become a cliché, there are crucial ways in which contemporary wars *are* those of conflicting visual propaganda. "Politics" has become an arena of managed spectacle, careful publicity, and tactical performance. Rather than strategize about how to make meaningful interventions in this "war of images," many artists in the late 1960s and 1970s often chose to *stop* making art—or at least to stop displaying it

(as in the Art Strike). Quasi-journalistic institutional critique offered itself as one alternative for artists seeking ways to intervene in this war of information.

Information was MoMA's major attempt to address some of the issues regarding the politicization of art raised by the AWC. The museum was under pressure not only to take a stand on the Vietnam War, and to "democratize" itself in terms of its audience, but also to show more contemporary, experimental art. Although the AWC included many representational and abstract painters such as Nancy Spero and Leon Golub, the *Information* show clearly linked political activism with conceptual art. In the catalog, McShine's curatorial essay made this clear, famously referencing not only the Vietnam War and Kent State but global repression and military dictatorships:

> If you are an artist in Brazil, you know of at least one friend who is being tortured; if you are one in Argentina, you probably have had a neighbor who has been in jail for having long hair, or for not being "dressed" properly; and if you are living in the United States, you may fear that you will be shot at, either in the universities, in your bed, or more formally in Indochina. It may seem too inappropriate, if not absurd, to get up in the morning, walk into a room, and apply dabs of paint from a little tube to a square of canvas. What can you as a young artist do that seems relevant and meaningful?[73]

The medium of painting receives the most scathing attack here, reduced to the absurdly ineffective application of "dabs of paint." After suggesting that the medium of painting is bankrupt—one suspects abstraction is his specific target—McShine offers up an alternative in its place: the open-ended conceptual art on display in *Information*, whose meaning was completed by the viewer. The new "relevant" art therefore hinged on the concept not only of "information" but of "participation."

Participation was widely embraced circa 1970 as a tool, along with information, to democratize art. This was forcefully conveyed in the context of the *Information* show (Adrian Piper's contribution was a set of empty notebooks for viewers to fill) and its catalog, which included a blank page for readers to write on, encouraging them to make their own marks and thus nominating them as co-creators (Fig. 82). *Participation* had multiple meanings in the late 1960s and early 1970s; we saw in Chapter 3 how it resonated in connection to democratic openness. Further, as artists embraced the idea of the spectator "completing" the work of art, so too did participation become an influential buzzword within labor management. Writers such as Paul Blumberg in his 1968 book *Industrial Democracy: The Sociology of Participation* argued that allowing workers a modicum of input at their jobs, even if highly limited, would increase workplace satisfaction.[74] In the late 1960s and early 1970s, just as artists in-
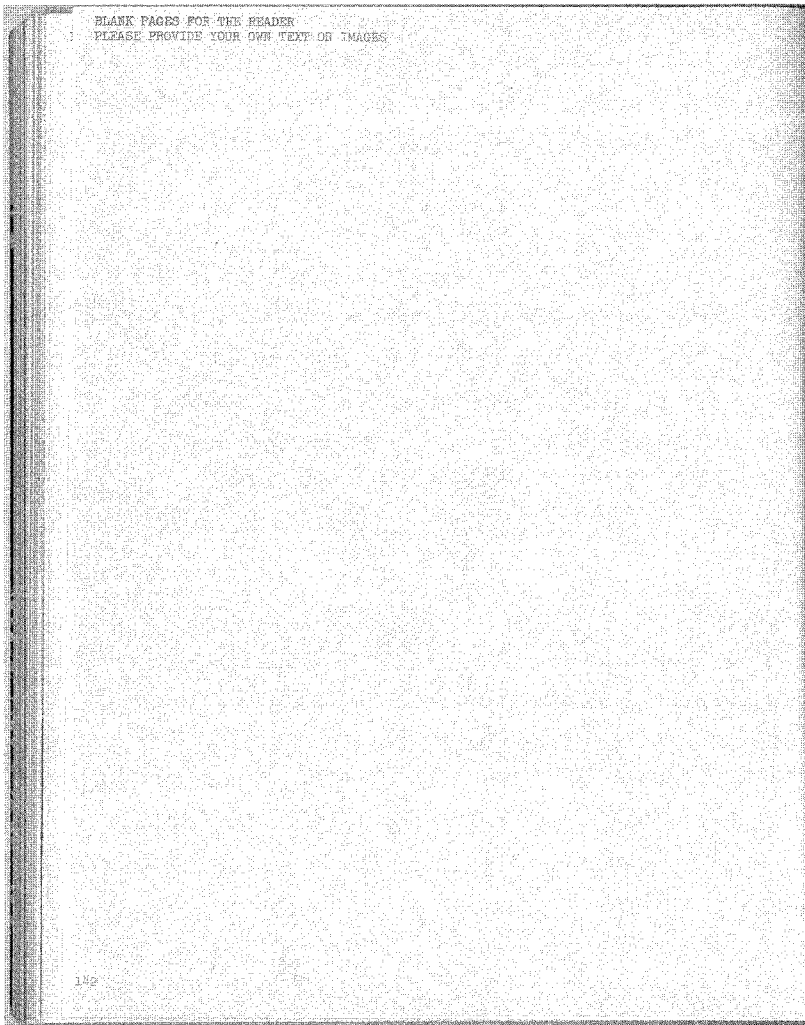
FIGURE 82 *Information,* edited by Kynaston L. McShine (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1970), page 181. The Museum of Modern Art Library, New York. Digital Image © The Museum of Modern Art/Licensed by SCALA/Art Resource, NY.

vested in audience participation as a way out of modernist alienation, factories were reorganizing around the principle of participation. Many commentators saw remedies for worker dissatisfaction rooted in greater work freedom and "psychic benefits" such as "job enlargement, enrichment, rotating work groups or teams, worker participation, and the removal of time clocks."[75] For instance, a new Proctor and Gamble factory, unveiled in 1969, was heralded for its "open" floor plan and its focus on despecialization. Workers were touted as having unprecedented control in this new environment that fostered "industrial democracy."[76]

That artists most often gave viewers small, controlled arenas in which to partici-
pate suggests a possible analogue between participatory art and this new model of
corporate management. Haacke's poll is on some level indicative of this. To be sure,
the viewer participates in his work as she votes; in fact, the art relies upon the reg-
istry of those acts of participation. Yet this participation is reduced to an either/or
choice (such are the sadly limited choices of democracy in the United States). The
limited arena of the blank *Information* catalog page, too, is a somewhat disingenu-
ous, even hollow gesture. These catalogs have a brisk trade on rare book sites, but
how many include the caveat "includes handwritten comments"?

Moreover, the concept of *not participating* was taking the globe by storm in this era:
general strikes in France, student strikes in Mexico, the U.S. "labor revolt" of spring
1970, as well as the movement against the Vietnam War and the women's movement
with their myriad moratoriums, boycotts, walkouts, and shutdowns. As Barbara Rose
noted in 1969, "If no object is produced, there is nothing to be traded on the com-
mercial market . . . Such non-cooperation can be seen as reflective of certain politi-
cal attitudes. It is the esthetic equivalent of the wholesale refusal of the young to par-
ticipate in compromised situations (e.g. the Vietnam war)."[77] Dematerialization is
here posited as a direct consequence of the wider noncooperation and "refusal to par-
ticipate" evidenced in the burning of draft cards and student strikes. Such refusals
were occurring throughout the international art world. Recall the boycott of the Ar-
gentinean exhibit juried by Lippard and Jean Clay in 1968. The Argentine artists who
withdrew from that contest issued a letter of protest that explicitly referred to the idea
of "nonparticipation."

As with the Art Strike, the language of withdrawal in some circumstances was even
more politically compelling than that of participation. While Haacke believed that art
critical of the institution needed that institutional context for its impact to register, he
also at times withheld his work from exhibition. For instance, he withdrew from the
1969 São Paulo Biennial to protest the military regime in Brazil, writing that he did
not wish to be "an accomplice of the U.S. Government. . . . I believe that any exhibit
organized and in the name of the U.S. government abroad is a public relations job for
this government and has the potential to divert attention away from its machinations
and the war in Vietnam."[78] As with the Art Strike, noncooperation was seen as a strat-
egy for artists who understood the ethical consequences of circulating their art.

In addition, there was an even grimmer counterpoint to the optimism of partici-
pation on the rise in the 1960s: corporate participation. This was to be more influential
for Haacke's art than the idea of audience involvement as a way to foster (in some

general sense) democracy. Note the word choice in the patron's statement for the 1969 exhibition *When Attitudes Become Form*. "We at Philip Morris feel it is appropriate that we participate in bringing these works to the attention of the public."[79] Likewise, when Maurice Tuchman's 1969 exhibit *Art and Technology* at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art lauded how "private industry is publicly involved in the creating of art works," a skeptical reviewer queried, "Are any of the participating corporations manufacturing for the American war machine?"[80] The term *participation* could span a range of meanings, from "active viewer engagement" to "partnerships with industry," connoting corrupt influence from the military-industrial complex.

In 1967 David Rockefeller founded the Business Committee for the Arts to help "stimulate, encourage, and advise" corporate interest in the arts, and with "ninety corporate leaders as charter members, they raised $825,000."[81] Rockefeller's committee was one of the earliest attempts by museum boards to court the sponsorship of industries, and by the time the AWC was formed in 1969, artists were increasingly aware that museums, particularly the Whitney, the Metropolitan, and the Modern, answered to corporate patrons. The artist as worker was annexed into this corporate model as the museum was seen as increasingly continuous with industry. Within this climate, Haacke's art-as-document-gathering (which he declared acted as a "double agent") could also be termed "whistle-blowing": that is, acting to undermine his workplace.

Journalism

Haacke continued his appropriation of investigative journalism in his *Shapolsky et al. Manhattan Real Estate Holdings, a Real-Time Social System, as of May 1, 1971*. For this piece, Haacke spent weeks combing the New York County Clerk's Office and going through newspapers to track each property owned by the Harry Shapolsky family and its associates—one of the largest owners of run-down properties in areas such as the Lower East Side and Harlem. He then photographed the facades of these 142 buildings and assembled accompanying data sheets that listed, among other facts, address, lot size, building code, date of acquisition, holding title, and assessed tax value (Fig. 83). The piece also included two maps of these properties and six charts outlining business transactions such as sales and mortgages, criss-crossed with a dizzying web of lines. The photo and text blocks are usually installed in a thick, rectangular band around the museum space, but the work was originally intended to be
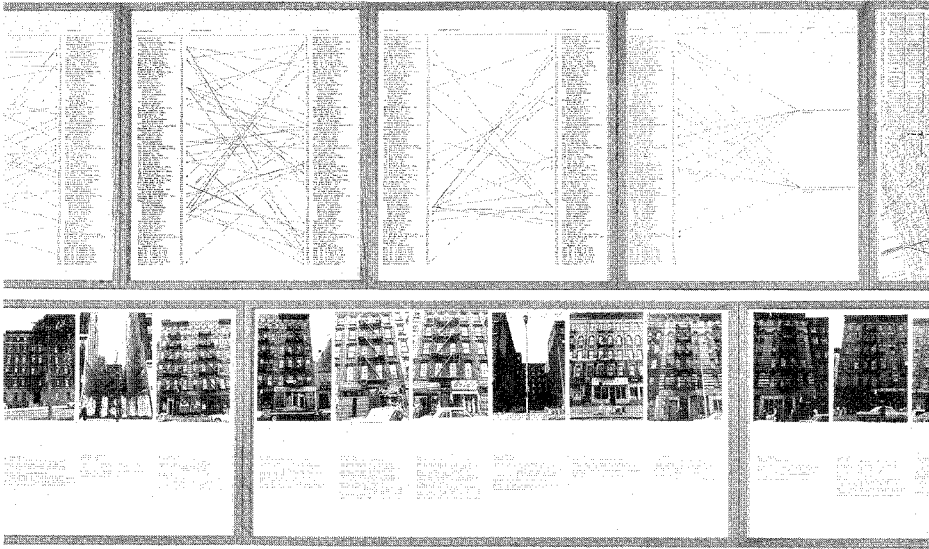
FIGURE 83 Hans Haacke, *Shapolsky et al. Manhattan Real-Estate Holdings, a Real-Time Social System, as of May 1, 1971,* detail, 1971. Installation with 142 black-and-white photographs, 142 typewritten cards, 2 excerpts from New York City maps, 6 charts, detail. Photograph by Fred Scruton. © 2009 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York/VG Bild-Kunst, Bonn.

placed on a specially built shelf on the curved, inner railing of the Guggenheim Museum's spiraling rotunda, as part of Haacke's one-person exhibit in 1971.[82]

This merging of architecture and artwork never happened, for Haacke's show was canceled before it went on view, and its curator, Edward Fry, who had worked closely with Haacke, was fired.[83] *Shapolsky* and its subsequent censorship by the Guggenheim Museum have been widely discussed elsewhere.[84] Haacke's process in the making of this piece was painstaking: he spent weeks combing through the New York County Clerk's Office to track down how Shapolsky was in fact not an individual but a group and to report its selling and exchanging of mortgages. Combining the pictures—assiduously photographed in straightforward documentary fashion—with the data sheets for each property, Haacke produced a mountain of information regarding the spaces of power and capital in Manhattan. Grace Glueck has commented on "his diligence and skill as an investigative reporter." She continues, "Had Haacke not devoted himself to art, he might have become an exemplary journalist."[85] In fact, a *Village Voice* article used Haacke's research as a basis for designating the Shapolsky group as one of the worst slumlords in New York. (The artist's research proved useful in other contexts. Haacke's similar piece on the holdings of landlord Sol Goldman

piqued the interest of the New York Police Department in their investigation of Goldman's partner's possible Mafia connections. Haacke recalls going to an unmarked police building and having the police make copies of all of his records.)[86]

Shapolsky et al. was denounced by Guggenheim director Thomas Messer as nothing but a "muckraking venture."[87] That Messer saw the work as mere journalism—and hence not art—justified his cancellation of Haacke's show. Messer suggested that, with its simple listing of facts and its black-and-white photography, *Shapolsky* lacked even the bare minimum of effort and aesthetics. Messer's press statement about the cancellation of the show argued that Haacke's work was unacceptable because of its "reduction of the work of art from its potential metaphoric level to a form of photo journalism concerned with topical statements rather than with symbolic expression."[88] Haacke had refused to raise mere information up to the level of artistic discourse, which was predicated, in Messer's view, on metaphor and "symbolic expression." But with his invocation of "muckraking," Messer also alluded to misleading "yellow" journalism that gave the lie to journalism's supposed autonomy or political neutrality. It was a contradictory accusation—Haacke's information was tainted by prejudice but also too unmediated, "unworked." Messer's main contention was that there was not enough conventional artistic skill in *Shapolsky*. Haacke's data, then, were seen as literal journalism that disregarded the difference between a museum wall and a newspaper; location was at stake. The issue of the appropriate space or site of such material was a bit of a smokescreen, of course, from the larger problem the museum had with the potentially libelous exposure of these slumlords with their dummy corporations and shady dealings. The Shapolskys were not literally affiliated with the Guggenheim, as is often erroneously thought. Instead, as Fredric Jameson notes, the museum's objection may have partly stemmed from its sense of a shared "ruling class ideology" with the Shapolsky family.[89]

In the face of these attacks regarding "muckraking," Haacke asserted that there was "no evaluative comment" in this work.[90] Both Messer and Haacke mobilized the notion of unadorned facts to different purposes. Haacke maintained that his information was utterly "neutral," claiming that since "the facts would speak for themselves, no validating commentary has accompanied the factual information."[91] This was meant to rescue the work from accusations that it was an open indictment. Messer, on the other hand, saw the work's lack of interpretive material as cause to deny its status as art. At stake in the fracas over *Shapolsky* was, in part, the relative visibility of conceptual artistic labor. Messer's claim that Haacke's work lacked evident effort, or was "found" (sans any surplus value from the imaginative or aesthetic work of the

artist) reduced his labor to an act of nomination, or, better, an act of *displacement:* the information had simply been moved from the clerk's office to the gallery space.

Haacke maintained that his information was in some sense pure reference, utterly without mediation. But even as the mountain of paperwork here referred to the mind-numbing accounting characteristic of information management, fact finding, data processing, or investigative reporting, Haacke was not strictly committed to truth. In fact he offered to substitute a fictitious name for Harry Shapolsky (Harvey Schwartz) when the show first came under fire, potentially severing the information from its referent altogether (although retaining the referent's shadow by keeping the same initials and by using a similarly Jewish-sounding last name).[92] Haacke's "facticity" (to use Buchloh's term) is often taken as a given, even though his *MOMA-Poll* asks a leading question, and even though the Shapolsky piece is guided by subjective choices about what data are selected, how they are compiled, and how they are presented. His aspiration to what Bourdieu calls transcendental objectivity is actually a compli-cated pose of transparency—a strategic neutrality—to protect his art from the charge that it is only photodocumentation or, worse, propaganda (as if documentary pho-tography were at all simple or as if these categories were discrete).

One of the overarching claims of this book is that many artists organized around the moniker *art worker* even though evident, traditional labor was somewhat evacu-ated from their art. Conceptual art, in particular, was seen as the negation of work. In the late 1960s, Kosuth asserted that to speak of a "conceptual *work* of art" was a contradiction in terms; he preferred the term *art proposition.*[93] This reflects what has been termed the "deskilling" of art, or the denial of conventional artistic work. Artis-tic work, however, did not deskill as much as reskill: that is, it did not disappear but rather was converted from the production of conventional aesthetic effects into other kinds of endeavors. What marks *Shapolsky* is how explicit it makes Haacke's labori-ous mapping. The piece is above all a record of intense research; the photos, partic-ularly, produce an index of Haacke's time-consuming itinerary, which involved trekking all over Manhattan. There is no lack of effort here. Rather, this work sug-gests a surfeit of it, an overwhelming assemblage of documents that serves as a tran-scription of mental and bodily work. It is a documentation of an extreme performance of labor, not McShine's "dabs of paint" but the collection of information.

To what extent, however, is this information usable by the casual viewer? The data lack a filter to direct the viewer's attention; there is, to draw from the language of journalism, no "lede" here. Haacke does not so much "refuse" work or process as re-fuse to make it easily digestible. As Buchloh has commented, Haacke's work not only

FIGURE 84 Art Workers' Coalition protest at the Guggenheim Museum after the cancellation of Hans Haacke's show, May 1, 1971. Left to right: Yvonne Rainer, Jan van Raay, and Jon Hendricks. Photographer unknown. Courtesy of Hans Haacke.

FIGURE 85 Art Workers' Coalition protesters form a conga line after the cancellation of Haacke's exhibition, Guggenheim Museum rotunda, May 1, 1971. Photograph © Jan van Raay.

"demands new skills" at the level of the artist's production—its abandonment of the traditional procedures of aesthetic art making—but also makes demands of its viewers, asking them to interpret and filter information.[94] Mark Godfrey remarks that *Shapolsky's* usual double-banded configuration makes it "difficult for the viewer to see the whole work at once."[95] Imagine how much more impossible to grasp it would have been if installed as originally intended, curling up the Guggenheim's rotunda, forming a spiral that could be taken in only when viewers wound their way up or down the length of the ramp.

There is something eccentric or even *excessive* about all these facts and figures and photos and somewhat bewildering charts. These formal choices underscore how contingent the work is upon repetition and seriality—not so far from Hanne Darboven's gridded panels that overwhelm gallery spaces or the webbed lines of LeWitt's wall drawings. The shimmering grids of LeWitt, for instance, though made in accordance with a written set of instructions, when executed exceed those directions, producing visual supplements, aesthetic effects that cannot be contained by the rigor of those systems. Such repetition, as Briony Fer has argued, is "never the preserve of the logical and the rational."[96] It is critical that we cannot as viewers take in all of *Shapolsky*, that it exceeds comprehension and spills out of the tidy frame of "mere" journalism. This excess somewhat beyond the rational is also seen in Haacke's overflow, on view as well in his large heaps of paper churning from the telex; all these charts and lines effect an *amplification* of banality that brings with it an affective charge.

In the wake of the show's cancellation and the firing of Fry, art workers mobilized against the museum. Petitions were circulated to censure Messer, angry letters were written, and the Guggenheim briefly overtook MoMA as the most demonized art institution in New York. Over one hundred art workers signed a petition refusing to have dealings with the museum, including Andre, Morris, and Lippard. As Donald Judd telegrammed to Messer, "I don't see how I or anyone can ever show anything in the Guggenheim" (a position that, predictably, did not last long).[97] A flyer, designed by Carl Andre for the AWC and lettered in his signature blocky font, called for artists to demonstrate at the Guggenheim. They assembled in the lobby with posters declaring "Free Art!" and proceeded to join in a conga line—which itself mimicked the spiraling form of the museum—that was led up the ramp by dancer Yvonne Rainer, seen here to the left of photographer Jan van Raay and Hendricks (Fig. 84). In this protest dance, the artists circled the space where Haacke's photos and texts would have been (and where two installers had already begun building the low, broad shelf on the railing). This bodily motion, with its own delights and sensuous pleasures even in the midst of the protest's real anger, reminds us that "work" is never a simple matter of remuneration or process or effort but is accompanied by an affective register that includes the production of social emotion. The overflow, this eccentric supplement, to Haacke's procedures hints to a move beyond journalism or data into the realm of excess, illogic, and free form. The conga line, which includes children walking hand in hand with adults as they spin around the ground floor of the Guggenheim, littering it with flyers as a camera crew captures the action, reminds us that while labor was important to the art worker, so was radical play (Fig. 85).

Propaganda

The cancellation of the Guggenheim show further impelled Haacke to investigate how museums were beholden to industry-connected trustees and corporate sponsors. In 1974, he produced *Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum Board of Trustees,* a work that outlined board members' corporate affiliations, linking them to companies such as the Kennecott Copper Company, which had played a central role in the brutal overthrow of democratically elected Chilean president Salvador Allende in 1973 (Fig. 86). This series of seven brass-framed text panels under glass spells out the details of Haacke's (again assiduous) research into the connections between art and commerce. While they might appear to be simple lists of names and affiliations—kissing cousins to the kind of agitprop that the AWC produced with its flyers—it is important that we not assume that his aesthetic choices are by any means given or transparent. Each decision was based on Haacke's research. The clean, sans-serif Helvetica font and the panel's symmetrical formatting mimed the bland aesthetics of the business world, in particular drawing from the visual look of the corporate "tombstone."[98] *Tombstones* is a term used in the financial world for print advertisements placed in newspapers such as the *Wall Street Journal* to announce mergers, acquisitions, or other significant financial transactions. The frames were equally consciously chosen: brass is an alloy of copper, and the panel on copper is the most damning of them all, with its excerpts from the *New York Times* outlining the connections between the privatization of Chilean's vast copper mines, Kennecott Copper, and the 1973 coup. In the case of Haacke's work, the "tombstone" also commemorates the death of Allende.

This piece is an outgrowth of Haacke's previous investigations into museums' corporate ties, but it has another, never-before-acknowledged precedent—art workers' protest posters, never previously published, that were produced in 1970 by the AWC for a protest that targeted the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Fig. 87 and Fig. 88). Although crudely homemade, with distinctively hand-lettered words, the posters are also the result of careful library excavations, for they detail the connections between museum board members such Roswell Gilpatrick, seen here in a smiling head shot, the U.S. government, and the military-industrial complex. There is a strong formal mirroring between Haacke's work and these earlier activist posters, for both list these facts on large white sheets. As political posters, in fact, they are somewhat strange—compare them to the efficiency of the brief quotes in the *And Babies?* poster. Difficult to read or digest in an easy glance, they do not necessarily lend themselves to

SOLOMON R. GUGGENHEIM MUSEUM

CORPORATE AFFILIATION OF TRUSTEES

Kennecott Copper Corporation

FRANK R. MILLIKEN, President, Chief Exec. Officer & Member Board of Directors

PETER O. LAWSON-JOHNSTON, Member Board of Directors

ALBERT E. THIELE, past Member Board of Directors

Multinational company mining, smelting, refining copper, molybdenum, gold, zinc and coal. Copper based mill products.

Operates in the U.S., Australia, Brazil, Canada, Colombia, Costa Rica, England, Indonesia, Italy, Netherlands Antilles, Nigeria, Peru, South Africa.

El Teniente, Kennecott's Chilean copper mine, was nationalized July, 1971 through Constitutional Reform Law, passed unanimously by Chilean Congress. Chilean Comptroller General ruled profits over 12% a year since 1955 to be considered excess and deducted from compensation. His figures, disputed by Kennecott, in effect, eliminated any payments.

Kennecott tried to have Chilean copper shipments confiscated or customers' payments attached. Although without ultimate success in European courts, legal harassment threatened Chilean economy (copper 70% of export).

President Salvador Allende addressed United Nations December 4, 1972. The New York Times reported:

The Chilean President had still harsher words for two U.S. companies, the International Telephone & Telegraph Corp. and the Kennecott Corp., which he said, had "dug their claws into my country", and which proposed "to manage our political life."

Dr. Allende said that from 1955 to 1970 the Kennecott Copper Corp. had made an average profit of 52.8% on its investments.

He said that huge "transnational" corporations were waging war against sovereign states and that they were "not accountable to or representing the collective interest."

In a statement issued in reply to Dr. Allende's charges, Frank R. Milliken, president of Kennecott, referred to legal actions now being taken by his company in courts overseas to prevent the Chilean Government from selling copper from the nationalized mines:

"No amount of rhetoric can alter the fact that Kennecott has been a responsible corporate citizen of Chile for more than 50 years and has made substantial contributions to both the economic and social well-being of the Chilean people."

"Chile's expropriation of Kennecott's property without compensation violates established principles of international law. We will continue to pursue any legal remedies that may protect our shareholders' equity."

President Allende died in a military coup Sept. 11, 1973. The Junta committed itself to compensate Kennecott for nationalized property.

1973 Net sales : $1,425,613,531   Net after taxes : $159,363,059   Earn. per com. share : $4.81

29,100 employees

Office: 161 E. 42 St., New York, N.Y.

FIGURE 86 Hans Haacke, *Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum Board of Trustees,* detail, 1974. Seven panels in brass frames under glass, 61 × 50.8 cm each. Photograph by Hans Haacke. © 2009 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York/VG Bild-Kunst, Bonn.

picket lines or address themselves to the casual viewer. To be sure, there is a distance between these quickly made protest posters and Haacke's professionally printed, brass-framed sheets, but the direct parallel in their simple listing of affiliations is striking.

The posters were shown at the Met itself during an event that was conceived of as a revisiting of the early art workers' open hearing. Held in the museum's "Great Hall" for five hours on October 20, 1970, it was sponsored by the AWC, the Art Strike, Women Artists in Revolution, and other groups, and the arena for the protest was demarcated by massed posters that were punctuated by one that queried, "Do you trust these trustees?" (Fig. 89). As with Haacke's institutional critique, art workers
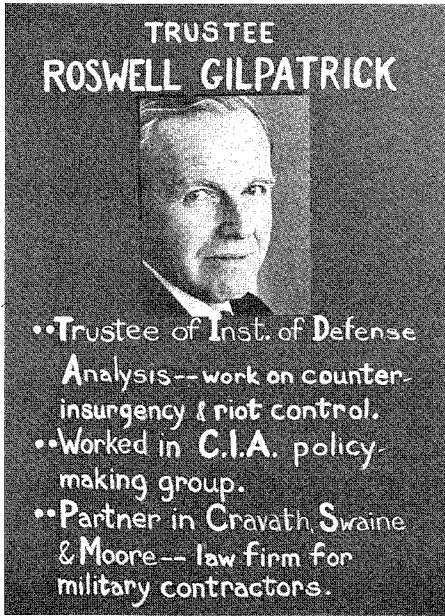
FIGURE 87 Poster featuring business affiliations and background of Metropolitan Museum trustee Roswell Gilpatrick, designed for the Art Workers' Coalition and Artists International to protest involvement of the museum's trustees in the Vietnam War, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, October 20, 1970. Photograph © Jan van Raay.
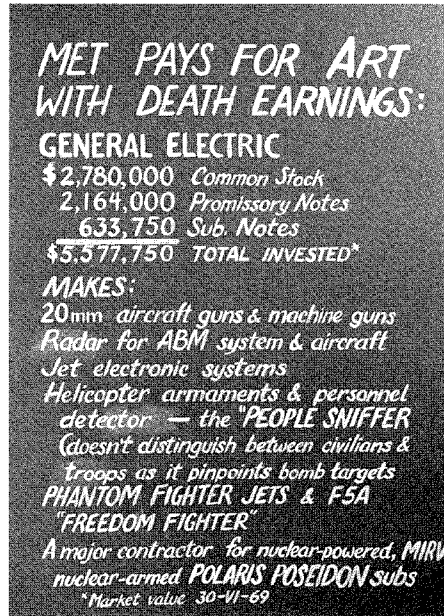
FIGURE 88 Poster "Met Pays for Art with Death Earnings," outlining corporate ties between the museum and GE, designed for the Art Workers' Coalition and Artists International to protest involvement of the museum's trustees in the Vietnam War, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, October 20, 1970. Photograph © Jan van Raay.

FIGURE 89 Alex Gross gives a speech just before he dons his Egyptian outfit, Art Workers' Coalition and Artists International protest, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, October 20, 1970. Photograph © Jan van Raay.

advocated for holding their demonstrations on the museum's own grounds. This entailed agreeing to some of the institution's own rules, and the AWC Black and Puerto Rican Committee declined to participate as a result. "The museum had chosen cooperation instead of confrontation," explained the story in the *New York Times,* headlined "Metropolitan Is Host to Antagonists."[99] *Host* carries a double meaning, referring to a congenial invitation but also implying a parasitical relationship: this account casts artists as dependent, and not especially welcome. Aware of the potential for eruptions of violence, the museum put heightened security measures into place, but the crowd turned out to be sparse and well behaved. The museum provided a podium, which was quickly affixed with a poster declaring "Artist Power" with a graphic that echoed the "power to the people" fist as well as the 1930s Artists' Union logo.

Alex Gross gave a speech in which he proposed the total "liquidation of art," interrupting himself midway through to don a specially designed Egyptian-themed costume, complete with a staff and hat ornamented with ancient symbols. This speech was a performance in the prankster tradition of Abbie Hoffman; Gross was interested in walking a tightrope between performing such theatrical absurdities and taking seriously the exposés behind him. His outfit was a nod to the museum's famed holdings in Egyptian art directly adjacent to the protest space, as well as an attempt, as he recalls, to make the event (and himself) "look a bit ridiculous to minimize the chance for violence, which given the state of the Coalition and other groups at that time, was very real."[100]

Such violence did not erupt this time. Instead, though the trustees were lambasted for promoting "counterinsurgency and riot control" and for "exploiting cheap black labor" through their investments in South Africa, they were relatively unfazed by the event. One trustee, Roland Redmond, came by and commented, "We're giving them an opportunity to express themselves, and if that allows them to let off steam and gives them satisfaction, I suppose that's all right."[101] The AWC trustee posters do not marshal information "objectively" in the same way that Haacke's *Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum Board of Trustees* purports to; they mean to function as propaganda and are unabashed about that. "The Met pays for art with death earnings," trumpets a headline, followed by exact calculations regarding the Met's investments in GE. Such an interpretive slogan does not accompany Haacke's trustee piece; rather, his strategic neutrality acts to *neutralize* information away from accusations of propaganda. In Haacke's work, the vast body of information is presented in a hyperbolically unemotional and understated way; there is no accusing slogan to drive its point home. Perhaps propaganda is both the greatest hope for the dream of art as news and, si-

FIGURE 90 Hans Haacke, *News*, 2005. Installation with dot-matrix printer, rolls of paper, connected to Internet news source, at Paula Cooper Gallery. Photograph by Ellen Page Wilson. © 2009 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York/VG Bild-Kunst, Bonn.
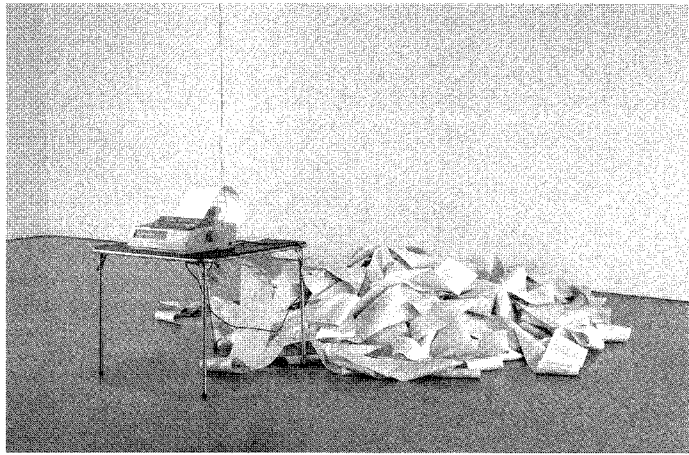
multaneously, its worst nightmare: greatest hope because the polemical cast of propaganda might move people to act and worst nightmare because the taint of information as propaganda can delegitimate not just art but activism.

Haacke redid *News* at the Paula Cooper Gallery in 2005. Unable to locate any now-obsolete teletype machines, he rigged up a daisy-wheel printer to an Internet news source (Fig. 90). For gallerygoers constantly accessing their PDAs or downloading headlines, the anachronisms foregrounded in this version were quaint and also a little melancholy. Viewers are not used to waiting for information anymore; people now carry the news with them. Nor are they used to thinking about art spaces as detached, impenetrable fortresses. *News* also read differently in 1969 in terms of the public function of information. The release of the Pentagon papers, journalistic investigations about atrocities, reports about body count, and photographs such as the one used in the *And Babies?* were viewed as factors that eroded the popularity of the war and led to its cessation. Information was widely perceived as having the ability, in Haacke's words, to "affect the general social fabric."

By 2005, the status of information had changed: the Iraq war, justified by grotesque distortions and blatant lies, was nonetheless grinding bloodily ahead. Arguably, the collapse of 1960s idealism put to rest the notion of truth as invincible and gave way to paranoid cynicism. The myth of pure information, given the compromised role of many "embedded" reporters in the Iraq war, serious manipulation and outright censorship, and the merger of state and corporate news interests, has been further eroded. The 2005 redoing of *News* therefore took on a slightly nostalgic cast.

Haacke's work from 1969 on, with its intentionally cool aesthetic, evinces a grow-

ing distrust in propagandistic excess at the same time that that distrust reproduces excess in a different form—the too-muchness of unfiltered information that becomes somewhat difficult to process. Haacke's "strategically neutral" use of information was in part forged as a reaction against the shrillness of political works such as Gross's posters and GAAG's *Blood Bath*. If the management of affect has become a hallmark of corporate strategy, this gives a new traction to Haacke's intentionally bland aesthetics. Haacke underwent a profound disenchantment when the AWC broke apart in 1971, one that went along with his abandonment of technology. By the 1970s, hopes that technological advances would make the world more human for workers and artists alike were dimmed, and even former advocates of its utopian promise such as Jack Burnham proclaimed its failure.[102] Walter Grasskamp has commented, "It is scarcely possible to understand the development of Haacke's work in the late 1960s without being aware of the growing influence of the two failed utopias of this decade, one political, one technological, both of which promised to bring the bourgeois relation of art to an end."[103]

As Haacke later wrote, the AWC never had a sufficient "coherence of ideas" to maintain its organizing energies.[104] Despite this disillusionment, it was in concert with the AWC that Haacke proposed a new kind of work, a new kind of worker, and a new kind of activism, all trafficking in information. Yet Haacke's role as paper pusher circa 1970 was no less fictive than the AWC's working-class fantasies—as an artist, his relationship to power and employment was quite different from that of the worker chained to his desk. For Haacke, though its ideological grounds proved untenable, the AWC successfully catalyzed the following, critical, question: "Why is art made, what kind of art is produced, by whom, under what circumstances, for what audience, who in fact uses it, for what ends and in what context?"[105] These are the issues, above all, that were brought to the fore by the art workers, and they continue to haunt our current economy dependent upon the production of information and immaterial labor. The model of the artist as knowledge specialist, investigative journalist, or archive hunter (as in the new documentary work of artists such as Trevor Paglen) has proved much more durable in the intervening thirty years than the one of the artist as old-fashioned artisan, or blue-collar construction worker, offered by the likes of Andre or Morris. Though the attempt to move from artists to art workers in the late 1960s was accompanied by many misrecognitions, the attempt to politically reorganize artistic identities should not be seen, reductively, as a failure. The brief life of the art worker as a coherent identity was also productive, and it ushered in new kinds of artistic forms—not least, institutional critique.

Epilogue

In 2006, the 1966 Los Angeles *Peace Tower* was reenacted for the Whitney Biennial. Relocated from its original position in an abandoned lot to the museum's courtyard, it featured hundreds of individual panels designed by contemporary artists—some of which featured an antiwar theme and some of which did not. This remaking evidences a resurgence of interest in 1960s and 1970s artistic activism, but for many viewers in 2006, such as artist Martha Rosler, this new version, embraced by the art institution and sited in an "unfortunate, but telling" location next to the café, was reduced to "a brushed steel clothesline barely visible from a sliver of Madison Avenue," diminishing the tower's original intent.[1] As an object, it appeared ungainly, easily overlooked, naive—a "big thing" (to recall Susan Sontag) that, instead of being made freshly pertinent to the ongoing war in Iraq, according to another critic, "didn't exactly emanate utopian energy from its lonesome hole in the ground."[2]

That same year saw another kind of remaking from the Vietnam War era. At the 2006 "Rethinking Marxism" conference at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, artist Kirsten Forkert passed around the transcripts from the AWC's 1969 open hearing, one of the largest and most polemical gatherings of art workers of the time. Participants read aloud selections from the speeches delivered by art workers, ranging from Lozano's announcement of her "general strike" to Haacke's call for museum decentralization. Echoing Carl Andre's appropriation of Philip Leider's text, these rereadings were meant to vocalize and rehearse these archival documents, to sound them out anew and hear how they might reverberate today. Like the resurrected
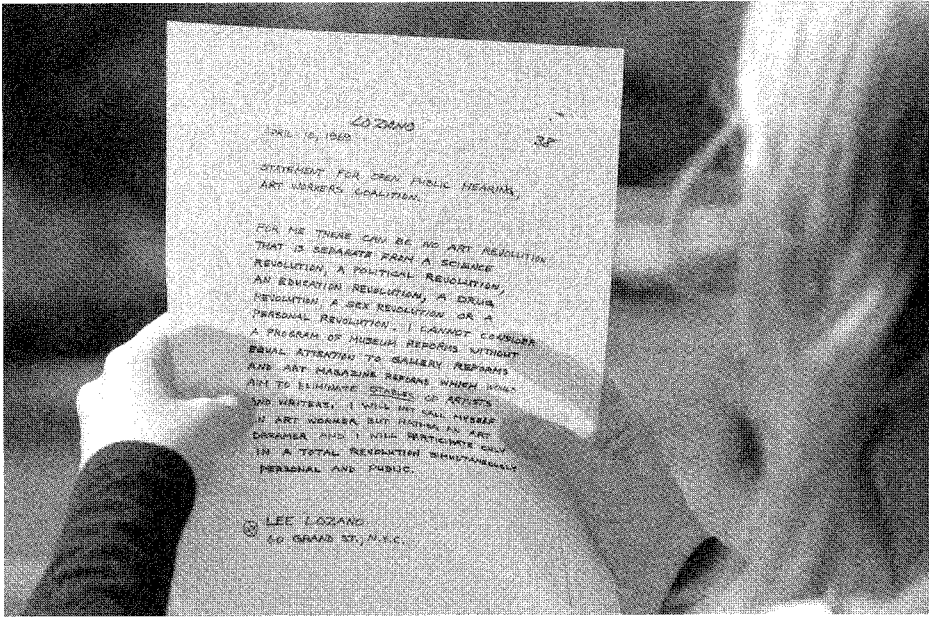
FIGURE 91 Lee Lozano's statement from the open hearing held by the Art Workers' Coalition in 1969, seen here as a public speech reenactment organized by the *Journal of Aesthetics and Protest,* outside Southern Exposure, San Francisco, May 18–19, 2007. Photo by Steve Rhodes.

Peace Tower, some statements did not age well. However, in contrast to the tower's relatively conventional display of art against war, many of the open hearing's calls remained presciently relevant, particularly those that urged artists to come together in the name of economic justice and peace. Forkert stated that the project came out of her interest in past artists' collective organizing. She wondered: What lessons might such organizing have in 2006, given the gap between art stars benefiting from record-breaking auction prices and overworked artists who piece together adjunct work to pay their bills and cannot afford health insurance? Rehearsing the speeches from the open hearing became a way to reflect upon "what might have changed (or not changed) between 1969 and the present."[3]

Forkert's respeaking has inspired other actions that revisit these statements. Interestingly, one AWC text that has proven especially popular is Lee Lozano's, in which she rejects the term *art worker* in favor of *art dreamer.* The editors of the Los Angeles–based *Journal of Aesthetics and Protest* have sponsored several collective, public readings of Lozano's statement, always to enthusiastic response (Fig. 91). There are several reasons for its persistent recirculation today. Its relative brevity lends itself to becoming a group chant (it is easier for many voices to speak together when the text is short). In addition, the repetition of the word *revolution*—eight times in the space

of three punchy sentences—provides a certain rhythm and momentum to Lozano's words, a cadence that, when spoken aloud, becomes more insistent as it culminates with the final alliterative emphasis on the "personal and public." In addition, because it does not dwell (as many of the other AWC documents do) on the specificities of 1969, Lozano's rousing, idealistic vision is more easily drawn into the present.

Many contemporary artists have looked back at artistic labor circa 1970 for a model of how best to organize around questions of work. For example, a group entitled WAGE (Working Artists and the Greater Economy) was formed in the fall of 2008 in New York City. Sounding much like the AWC, WAGE "calls for an address of the economic inequalities that are prevalent and proactively preventing the art worker's ability to survive within the greater economy. We demand payment for making the world more interesting."[4] Whether this demand will gain traction, given the volatile art market and the global economic crisis, remains to be seen (it may well be more in the realm of art dreaming).

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, the concept of "art worker" provided a flexible, if unstable and frequently contradictory, identity for artists and critics like Andre, Morris, Lippard, and Haacke. As such, it furnished artists a framework in which to understand their production as politically meaningful, even vital, during a time in which the value and meanings of "work"—and who counted as "workers"—were undergoing massive transformations. In the wake of these groups' dissolution in 1971, many of the participating artists became disillusioned and lost faith in what had once been potent forms of collective political action. In 1979, less than a decade after the 1970 New York Art Strike had galvanized nearly five hundred artists, Yugoslavian artist Goran Dordević sent out a call for an international art strike "as a protest against the art system's unbroken repression of the artist."[5] He received about forty replies, the vast majority negative, including ones from AWC veterans Lippard, Haacke, and Andre. Andre, who had been a vocal leader on the steps of the Metropolitan Museum with the Art Strike, replied, "From whom would artists be withholding their art if they did go on strike? Alas, from no one but themselves."[6] This statement indicates a turn away from the strategies of collective withholding that had once seemed so potent.

Yet understanding art workers' art and activism as *practices* indicates that they should not be measured by simplistic ideas of "success" or "failure." The AWC lasted less than three years, yet as Julie Ault has commented, it marshaled organizing energies hitherto unmatched: "No art field group evidencing an equal base of support, critical stance, or idealism has existed since."[7] Beyond cynicism and collapse, then, how

might we assess the legacies of the term *art worker*? Lippard, for her part, still uses the term.[8] Despite its short life, the AWC spawned other organizations across the country that agitated for artists' rights, including Artists Meeting for Culture Change, Artists for Economic Action, the Artists' Community Credit Union, the Boston Visual Artists Union, the Atlanta Art Workers Coalition, the Los Angeles–based Visual Artists Rights Organization, and the Artists' Rights Association, and its participants were key figures in the founding of the Bronx Museum of Art, El Museo del Barrio, the Women's Caucus for Art, and other still-flourishing organizations. It also paved the way for later groups such as Artists Meeting for Cultural Change, Political Art Documentation/Distribution, Group Material, and REPOhistory. The AWC's validation of artistic labor also advanced a number of lasting causes, from securing a museum free day to pressing for racial and gender inclusion. In addition, the recognition of artistic labor, both manual and intellectual, as a valid form of work provided momentum for museum workers to organize. In 1971, riding the coattails of the AWC, the Professional and Administrative Staff Association of MoMA was born. Art Strike and AWC veterans gave them organizational tips when they decided to go on strike. This group was the forefront of white-collar organizing, pointing to the potential for professional unions to be "a decisive new force in the knowledge industry."[9]

The realm in which the art workers sought to intervene is precisely where they had a measurable impact—that is, the spaces and policies of the art museum. As Lippard has written, "Not much changed fundamentally about the artist-museum relationship until the AWC brazenly proposed that artists should have some control over their own production and its distribution."[10] Art workers in the late 1960s and 1970s attempted to undermine the "managed" spaces of museums and galleries by instituting radical pricing structures for art, undertaking collective process pieces, declaring art strikes, organizing benefit shows, and pursuing the political redirection of information. The idea of artistic control, as well as the idea that art might work for or against other institutional interests, has gained wide currency. However, other recent organizing efforts by artists serve to measure the distance between the late 1960s and early 1970s and now. For instance, many artists are moving away from issues of control, as exemplified in the 1971 artists' rights contract, and instead advocate opening up intellectual property, embracing creative commons, and abolishing copyright restrictions. And Gregory Sholette's important scholarship reminds us that there are broad, informal economies of artistic production and distribution that exist somewhat outside monolithic notions of the art market.[11]

The art workers I have examined understood themselves to be polemically work-

ing both within and *against* the auspices of very specific kinds of military-industrial institutions—that is to say, art museums. Museums continued to serve as a target for a diverse range of groups like the Guerrilla Girls, whose title pays homage to GAAG, and the Women's Action Coalition. These groups, following in the art workers' wake, explicitly problematized the economic and representational politics of art institutions. But the 1960s and 1970s black-and-white readings of art institutions as monolithic no longer make much sense. As art has increasingly migrated to other, alternative spaces, "the museum" is no longer seen as all-powerful and is now a flexible, complex space of entertainment, commerce, and public culture. As the market has been refined and expanded, activist artists have continued to reimagine possible avenues of resistance.

One arena artists have looked to for this resistance is the realm of relational art, yet as Lane Relyea asserts in his essay "Your Art World: Or, The Limits of Connectivity," the much-touted flexibility of such work is ideologically intertwined with new forms of capitalism.[12] Could it be that the art worker's relationship to the shifting ground of late capitalism was much more influential than we ever thought? The emphasis on participation, flexibility, and multitasking is taken from the studio into the factory, and the strong resonance of certain terms—*deskilling, dematerialization, participation, alienation*—points to a multidirectional flow of influence in the 1960s and 1970s that continues today. The shifting contours of artistic work have roughly paralleled the changes in industrial production in the economy at large; Irving Sandler noted that the transition from blue-collar labor to white-collar management "provided new role models for artists."[13] But perhaps, instead of arguing that the alterations in labor practices register more visibly within artistic "work"—as is mandated by the tired "art reflects society" formulation—we can point to the influence running in the other direction: with the rise of the "culture industry," artistic practice began to influence the workplace.

Reflecting upon the 1960s and 1970s anxieties about artistic labor helps historicize more recent debates about the increasingly blurred lines between paid and creative labor within "artistic" workplaces and the neoliberal spaces of capitalism in the late 1990s and early 2000s. How was the laboring of artistic practice indicative of a wider movement in which culture became commodified *as work*? The "immaterial labor" described by Michael Hardt finds its purest example in the artist who receives so-called "psychic rewards" and cultural capital rather than, necessarily, living wages; in return, the artist is part of a service economy of translation, knowledge production, administration, and the creation of affect.[14]

Within neoliberalism, which encourages individual entrepreneurship and self-marketing, start-ups and software companies emulated the unstructured way artists organize their time. This annexation of leisure into the workspace—the lack of a demarcation between being on or off the clock—paradoxically contributed to an atmosphere of constant work, with no downtime, masquerading as "leisure." A heightened interest in an "artsy" workforce, especially in the information and design sectors, resulted in new kinds of quasi-artistic workplaces in which, say, advertising executives are called "creatives" and aspire to studio situations within the bland confines of their corporate offices. How does art making within this economy distinguish itself from the commercial advertising that threatens to absorb it?

In 1999 Andrew Ross argued that the idealization of flexible labor drew explicit inspiration from the artistic sector.

> It is clear that the mentality of artists' work is more and more in demand. . . . Indeed, the traditional profile of the artist as unattached and adaptable to circumstance is surely now coming into its own as the ideal definition of the postindustrial knowledge worker: comfortable in an ever-changing environment that demands creative shifts in communication with different kinds of clients and partners; attitudinally geared toward production that requires long, and often unsocial, hours; and accustomed, in the sundry exercise of their mental labor, to a contingent, rather than a fixed, routine of self-application.[15]

The workplace, in short, began to mold itself around the specific contours of artistic labor. It might be, then, that the recognition of artists as a special sort of knowledge worker has had repercussions in the broader discourse of the workplace. In addition to Ross, thinkers such as Brian Holmes and Paolo Virno have commented on how artistic labor provided a usable model for a rapidly reorganizing corporate sector.[16]

In recent years, as globalism has promoted the merging of art, service economies, and commerce, artistic practice has increasingly thematized art making as "work." Some contemporary artists' projects include the antisweatshop collaborative knitting of Cat Mazza, Christine Hill's conceptual art salesroom "Volksboutique," and Andrea Fraser's numerous pieces regarding the art/service industry.[17] In 2004 Taiwanese artist Hsin-I Eva Lin, recalling Lozano, undertook a personal forty-five-day art strike to "call attention to the insecurity of labor in a global economy."[18] That so many of these projects are by women indicates the lasting importance of feminism to current understandings of labor. Some artists have explicitly ironized art making as postindustrial knowledge work. To cite but one example, in 2006, Oakland-based artists Sean Fletcher and Isabel Reicher launched a corporation, "Death and Taxes," that

managed their daily affairs. Under the motto "Our business is our lives," their official quarterly reports detailed previously private transactions to make visible the corporatization of art making and the seepage of its fixations on the bottom line into everyday life.

To conclude, let me invoke one final performance of artistic labor: on November 14, 1969, the day of a nationwide anti–Vietnam War moratorium, members of GAAG dumped red liquid on the lobby floor of the Whitney. The artists then produced sponges and mops and began furiously to scrub the bloodied floors, intentionally spreading the crimson pigment as far as possible. GAAG's labors were accompanied by two scripted lines of dialogue, which they muttered as their hands became stained with fake blood: "We've got to clean this place up. This place is a mess from the war."[19] In so doing, they castigated the museum for its failure to respect a nationwide antiwar moratorium. (This demand was a compromise: GAAG in fact wanted all museums to shut down entirely for the duration of the Vietnam War.)[20]

Unlike other works by GAAG, in which museum visitors hung back to watch the spectacle unfold, the Whitney scrubbing piece inspired other museumgoers to join in: two young women and a man who were in the lobby also crouched down, bloodying their own clothes in order to begin swabbing. Here museum patrons were tacitly invited into the script of the action: Poppy Johnson (the one woman artist participating in this performance) brought enough sponges to go around.[21] GAAG rendered their efforts utterly manifest—by making a mockery of cleaning, they visibly *worked* at dirtying the floors. It was a performance inflected with gendered labor, to be sure, but GAAG also wanted to hit home their polemic about the art institution as implicated in the war—sullied, even—despite its purported neutrality. But their alignment with labor only went so far. When a Whitney worker approached them to ask what their demands were and identified himself as part of the repair and maintenance team, someone in GAAG replied, "That's not enough, we want to see an official representative of the museum."[22] They waited until the director of public relations came to take their leaflet, and then they abandoned their buckets and rags and left the museum, leaving a wide swath of shiny, slippery liquid behind for the cleanup crew. This refusal to deal with the worker who would be responsible for cleaning up their mess exemplifies the frequently tense affiliation between the artists' identifications as art workers and the "actual" working class. Such a contradiction demonstrates the vexed nature of artistic labor *as labor* in this moment.

As I write this book, as in the late 1960s and early 1970s, the United States is again engaged in an intractable, brutal war. GAAG's performance raises many questions.

What if we took the strident calls of these art workers seriously and tried to reimagine all spheres of artistic production and circulation as bound up in this military conflict? What kinds of cross-class organizing might be possible in an economy of flexible knowledge work and in a time of heightened financial uncertainty? And, finally, what kinds of responses to this historical moment are possible? How might we account for the art workers' utopian rhetoric and their important interventions that insisted that artistic work matters? Should we stand back and watch, applaud, call security, or drop to our knees and join in?

Notes

The following abbreviations are used throughout the notes:

AAA Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC

AWC Art Workers' Coalition

GAAG Guerrilla Art Action Group

GRI Getty Research Institute Library, Los Angeles

MoMA Museum of Modern Art, New York

RMA Robert Morris Archive, Gardiner, New York

TGA Hyman Kreitman Research Centre, Tate Gallery Archive, London

INTRODUCTION

1 Typed flyer signed "An art worker," June 1969, New York, Lucy Lippard Papers, Museum of Modern Art file, AAA.

2 Lil Picard, "Protest and Rebellion," *Arts Magazine,* May 1970, 18–19.

3 These feminist interventions—both U.S. based and not—include the writings found in Mary Kelly, *Imagine Desire (Writing Art)* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1997), and Martha Rosler, *Decoys and Disruptions, Selected Writings, 1975–2001* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2004).

4 For one clarion call that includes many of the significant feminist scholars working in this vein, see the statement "Transnational Feminist Practices against the War—A Statement," by Paola Bacchetta, Tina Campt, Inderpal Grewal, Caren Kaplan, Minoo Moallem, and Jennifer Terry, issued in October 2001 and later published in *Meridians: Feminism, Race, Transnationalism* 2 (2002): 302–8.

5 Francis Frascina has helpfully charted many antiwar art activities of this time in his *Art, Politics, and Dissent: Aspects of the Art Left in Sixties America* (Manchester: Manchester

University Press, 1999). Artist Andrea Fraser has written about the AWC in terms of service economies and artistic autonomy; see "What's Intangible, Transitory, Mediating, Participatory, and Rendered in the Public Sphere, Part II," in *Museum Highlights: The Writings of Andrea Fraser,* ed. Alex Alberro (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2005), 55–80. Gregory Sholette has also written extensively about collectivity and new models of work; see his "State of the Union," *Artforum* 46 (March 2008): 181–82.

6   Caroline Jones, *Machine in the Studio: Constructing the Postwar American Artist* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

7   Helen Molesworth, "Work Ethic," in *Work Ethic,* exh. cat., ed. Helen Molesworth (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003), 25.

8   For an early, influential articulation of this shift, see C. Wright Mills, "Letter to the New Left," *New Left Review* 1 (September–October 1960): 18–23. See also Chapter 1.

9   An account of the 1972 formation of the British Artists' Union can be found in John A. Walker, *Left Shift: Radical Art in 1970s Britain* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2002); for more on Argentine artists' organizing in the 1960s, see Andrea Giunta, *Avant-Garde, Internationalism, and Politics,* trans. Peter Kahn (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007). While the membership of the AWC was primarily limited to New York, the group went on to inspire similarly named organizations in Boston and Atlanta in the late 1970s.

10   Other regional U.S. histories regarding art and politics have been explored by Patricia Kelly, *1968: Art and Politics in Chicago* (Chicago: Depaul University Art Museum, 2008), and Peter Selz, *Art of Engagement: Visual Politics in California and Beyond* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006).

11   For more on Fluxus in this regard, see Robert E. Haywood, "Critique of Instrumental Labor: Meyer Schapiro's and Allan Kaprow's Theory of Avant-Garde Art," in *Experiments in the Everyday: Allan Kaprow and Robert Watts—Events, Objects, Documents,* ed. Benjamin H. D. Buchloh and Judith F. Rodenbeck (New York: Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Art Gallery, Columbia University, 1999), 27–46; and Hannah Higgins, *Fluxus Experience* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002). Sally Banes's look at Judson dance is an invaluable chronicle of the city that slightly predates the moment I am looking at; *Greenwich Village, 1963: Avant-Garde Performance and the Effervescent Body* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993). Catherine Wood's smart, focused study on Yvonne Rainer insightfully investigates questions of labor; *Yvonne Rainer: The Mind Is a Muscle* (London: Afterall Books, 2007).

12   "End Your Silence," *New York Times,* April 18, 1965, sec. 4, E7.

13   Frascina, *Art, Politics, and Dissent.*

14   An in-depth account of the 1966 *Peace Tower* is found in Francis Frascina, "'There' and 'Here,' 'Then' and 'Now': The Los Angeles Artist's Tower of Protest (1966) and Its Legacy," in his *Art, Politics, and Dissent,* 57–107.

15   Art Berman, "Sunset Strip Project: Art Tower Started as Vietnam Protest," *Los Angeles Times,* January 28, 1966, 3.

16   Therese Schwartz, "The Politicization of the Avant-Garde," *Art in America* 59 (November–December 1971): 99.

17   Susan Sontag, "Inventing and Sustaining an Appropriate Response (Speech at the Artists' Tower Dedication)," *Los Angeles Free Press,* March 4, 1966, 4.

18   "Ad Reinhardt: Art as Art," interview by Jeanne Siegel, broadcast on WBAI, New York,

June 13, 1967, published in Jeanne Siegel, *Artwords: Discourse on the 60s and 70s* (New York: De Capo, 1985), 28.

19   Quoted in James Aulich, "Vietnam, Fine Art, and the Culture Industry," in *Vietnam Images: War and Representation,* ed. Jeffery Walsh and James Aulich (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1989), 73.

20   Lucy Lippard's *A Different War: Vietnam in Art* (Seattle: Real Comet Press, 1990) is the most comprehensive account of Vietnam War–related visual art. Other exhibition catalogs include C. David Thomas, ed., *As Seen by Both Sides: American and Vietnamese Artists Look at the War* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1991) and Maurice Berger, ed., *Representing Vietnam, 1963–1973: The Antiwar Movement in America* (New York: Hunter College, Bertha and Karl Leubsdorf Art Gallery, 1988).

21   Hal Foster, "The Crux of Minimalism," in *The Return of the Real* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1996), 68.

22   Herbert Marcuse, *Counterrevolution and Revolt* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1972), 122.

23   The military conflict between the United States and North Vietnam from 1959 to 1975 is known colloquially as the Vietnam War. However, an official declaration of war was never issued, and the conflict's deadly impact was felt far beyond Vietnam, throughout Southeast Asia, including Laos and Cambodia. (In Vietnam, it is known as "the American War.") For a basic history, see David Elliot, *The Vietnam War: Revolution and Change in the Mekong Delta, 1930–1975* (New York: M. E. Sharpe, 2003). For more on the antiwar movement, see Michael S. Foley, *Confronting the War Machine: Draft Resistance during the Vietnam War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003); Rhodri Jeffreys-Jones, *Peace Now! American Society and the Ending of the Vietnam War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999); and Tom Wells, *The War Within: America's Battle over Vietnam* (New York: Henry Holt, 1994).

24   The challenge of periodization is addressed by Fredric Jameson's "Periodizing the Sixties," in *The 60s without Apology,* ed. Sohnya Sayres et al. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), 178–209.

25   Numerous useful overview texts address these subjects, including Thomas Crow, *The Rise of the Sixties: American and European Art in the Era of Dissent* (New York: Harry Abrams, 1996); Erika Doss, *Twentieth-Century American Art* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002); Patricia Hills, *Modern Art in the USA: Issues and Controversies of the 20th Century* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2001); David Joselit, *American Art since 1945* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2003); and Anne Rorimer, *New Art in the 60s and 70s: Redefining Reality* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2001). In addition, new monographic studies have thought through the connections between the artistic forms and politics of the 1960s; for instance, Branden W. Joseph, *Beyond the Dream Syndicate: Tony Conrad and the Arts after Cage* (New York: Zone Books, 2008); Carrie Lambert-Beatty, *Being Watched: Yvonne Rainer and the 1960s* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2008); and Pamela Lee, *Chronophobia: On Art in the Time of the 1960s* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2004). Recent exhibition catalogs have also contributed to this literature; see Ann Goldstein and Anne Rorimer, eds., *Reconsidering the Object of Art: 1965–1975* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1995); Ann Goldstein and Lila Gabrielle Mark, eds., *A Minimal Future? Art as Object, 1958–1968* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2004); and Cornelia H. Butler and Lisa Gabrielle Mark, eds., *WACK! Art and the Feminist Revolution* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2007).

26   For instance, Carter Ratcliff, *Out of the Box: The Reinvention of Art, 1965–1975* (New York: Allworth Press, 2000).

27   Tony Godfrey, *Conceptual Art* (London: Phaidon Press, 1998), 15.

28   See Michael Lind, *Vietnam, the Necessary War: A Reinterpretation of America's Most Disastrous Military Conflict* (New York: Free Press, 1999).

29   The literature on this era is immense. Its memory has been reconstructed, rehearsed, and rehabilitated in academic writings, television, film, and fiction. For some examinations of the decade that emphasize its battles both overseas and within U.S. culture, see David Anderson and John Ernst, eds., *The War That Never Ends: New Perspectives on the Vietnam War* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2007); Terry Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996); Alexander Bloom, ed., *Long Time Gone: Sixties America Then and Now* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001); M. J. Heade, *The Sixties in American History, Politics, and Protest* (Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborne, 2001); David Maranniss, *They Marched into Sunlight: War and Peace in Vietnam and America, October 1967* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2003); and Maurice Isserman and Michael Kazin, *America Divided: The Civil War of the 1960s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).

30   David Steigerwald, *The Sixties and the End of America* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995), 108.

31   Fredric Jameson, *Postmodernism, or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1991), 159.

32   Joseph Kosuth argues that the collapse of 1960s idealism led to an increasingly critical engagement with the commodity; see his "1975," *Fox*, no. 2 (1975): 94.

1. FROM ARTISTS TO ART WORKERS

1   Flyer reproduced in AWC, *Documents 1* (New York: AWC, 1970), 1.

2   The Marxist basis of William Morris's conceptions of aesthetics and art production is explored in Caroline Arscott, "William Morris: Decoration and Materialism," in *Marxism and the History of Art: From William Morris to the New Left,* ed. Andrew Hemingway (London: Pluto Press, 2006), 9–27.

3   Members of both the BECC and the AWC included Faith Ringgold, Benny Andrews, and Tom Lloyd. The *Harlem on My Mind* exhibition was criticized by black artists and Harlem residents, not least because it was organized with no community input. For more on the BECC, see Benny Andrews, "Benny Andrews' Journal: A Black Artist's View of Artistic and Political Activism," in Mary Schmidt Campbell, *Tradition and Conflict: Images of a Turbulent Decade, 1963–1973* (New York: Studio Museum in Harlem, 1985), 69–73. For an especially detailed look at the debates about the Metropolitan Museum show, see Bridget Cooks, "Black Artists and Activism: *Harlem on My Mind* (1969)," *American Studies* 48 (Spring 2007): 5–39.

4   More detailed—and not entirely compatible—histories include Julie Ault, ed., *Alternative Art, New York, 1965–1985* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002); Alex Gross, "The Artists' Branch of the 'Movement,'" unpublished manuscript; Francis Frascina, *Art, Politics, and Dissent: Aspects of the Art Left in Sixties America* (Manchester: Manchester

University Press, 1999); Lucy Lippard, "The Art Workers' Coalition: Not a History," in *Get the Message? A Decade of Art for Social Change* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1984), 10–20; Beth Anne Handler, "The Art of Activism: Artists and Writers Protest, the Art Workers' Coalition, and the New York Art Strike Protest the Vietnam War" (PhD diss., Yale University, 2001); Bradford Martin, *The Theater Is in the Streets: Politics and Public Performance in Sixties America* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2004); and Alan W. Moore, "Artists' Collectives: Focus on New York, 1975–2000," in *Collectivism after Modernism: The Art of Social Imagination after 1945,* ed. Blake Stimson and Greg Sholette (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007), 192–221.

5   Lippard's awareness of her critical writing as work, discussed in Chapter 4, is a case in point.

6   "Statement of January 5, 1969," reproduced in AWC, *Documents 1*, 5.

7   Hans Haacke, interview, April 21, 2007.

8   Transcripts of the AWC hearing are printed in AWC, *An Open 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* (New York: AWC, 1970).

9   Alexander Alberro's *Conceptual Art and the Politics of Publicity* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2003) discusses the artist's rights contract at length and cogently maps the emergence of conceptual art as intellectual property.

10 Perreault, in AWC, *Open Hearing*, statement 52.

11 Lozano, in AWC, *Open Hearing*, statement 38.

12 Lozano, however, rejected any identification with the women's movement; after leaving the art world altogether, she subsequently moved to Dallas and commenced a project in which she refused to speak to women. For a persuasive reading of this rejection, see Helen Molesworth, "Tune In, Turn On, Drop Out: The Rejection of Lee Lozano," *Art Journal* 61 (Winter 2002): 64–73.

13 Jean Toche, in GAAG, *GAAG, the Guerrilla Art Action Group, 1969–76: A Selection* (New York: Printed Matter, 1978), n.p.

14 To some extent, this branching out into communities happened without the participation of already-established museums, as in the 1968 opening of the Studio Museum in Harlem.

15 Robert Katz, *Naked by the Window: The Fatal Marriage of Carl Andre and Ana Mendieta* (New York: Atlantic Press, 1990), 229.

16 Alex Gross, "Black Art-Tech-Art-Prick Art," *East Village Other,* April 2, 1969, 12.

17 Lippard, "Art Workers' Coalition," 20.

18 Gene Swenson, "From the International Liberation Front," ca. 1970, Lucy Lippard Papers, AAA, Swenson file.

19 These include the AWC's symbolic funeral procession through the streets of New York carrying banners with the names of Vietnamese and American casualties; Tosun Bayrak's three-block-long street theater that was a riot of fighting, sex, animals, food, and bodily excretions; and Yayoi Kusama's naked peace protests in the MoMA sculpture garden. These events are recounted in Lippard, *Get the Message?* and Martin, *Theater.*

20 Francis Frascina, "My Lai, *Guernica*, MoMA, and the Art Left, 1969–70," in *Art, Politics and Dissent,* 117.

21   Lucy Lippard, phone interview, September 14, 2004.

22   "Guerrilla Art Action in Front of *Guernica* on 3 January 1970," in GAAG, *GAAG,* n.p.

23   For more on the controversy surrounding the AWC poster, see Frascina, *Art, Politics, and Dissent,* 160–208, and Amy Schlegel, "My Lai: 'We Lie, They Die' or, a Small History of an 'Atrocious' Photograph," *Third Text* 31 (Summer 1995): 47–66.

24   Paul Wood, "Introduction: The Avant-Garde and Modernism," in *The Challenge of the Avant-Garde,* ed. Paul Wood (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 13.

25   Lil Picard, "Protest and Rebellion," typed draft manuscript, 5. Lil Picard Papers, AAA.

26   Grace Glueck, "Artists Vote for Union and Big Demonstration," *New York Times,* September 23, 1970, 39. These unionizing efforts would continue past the demise of the AWC; see, for instance, Howard Ostwind, "We Need an Artists Union," *Art Workers News,* May–June 1974, 2–3.

27   Hilton Kramer, "About MoMA, the AWC, and Political Causes," *New York Times,* February 8, 1970, 107.

28   Alex Gross, "Anti-Culture Day: October 20," *East Village Other,* October 13, 1970, 13.

29   This major strike involved over 150,000 government employees; see Stephen C. Shannon, "Work Stoppage in Government: The Postal Strike of 1970," *Monthly Labor Review* 101 (July 1978): 14–22.

30   Jean Toche, interview, September 21, 2001.

31   Tom Hayden, *Port Huron Statement* (Ann Arbor: Students for a Democratic Society, 1962). See also Philip S. Foner, *U.S. Labor and the Vietnam War* (New York: International Publishers, 1979); Peter Levy, *The New Left and Labor in the 1960s* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994).

32   Herbert Marcuse, *An Essay on Liberation* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1969), 15.

33   Ibid., viii.

34   Michael Harrington, "Old Working Class, New Working Class," in *The World of the Blue-Collar Worker,* ed. Irving Howe (New York: Quadrangle Books, 1972), 135; and Herbert Marcuse, *One-Dimensional Man: Studies in the Ideology of Advanced Industrial Society* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1964).

35   Carl Oglesby, "The Idea of the New Left," in *The New Left Reader,* ed. Carl Oglesby (New York: Grove Press, 1969), 13.

36   Ibid., 18.

37   Lawrence Alloway, "Art," *Nation,* October 19, 1970, 381.

38   Lippard, *Get the Message?* 24.

39   Hans Haacke, statement in "The Role of the Artist in Society Today," *Art Journal* 43 (Summer 1975): 328.

40   On the first free day at MoMA the museum tripled its attendance, and, as reported in the *New York Times,* "the crowd . . . was 'younger and less white' than usual, and included many family groups," "Art Notes," *New York Times,* February 11, 1970, 51. The free day still exists today, though for many museums it has been limited to a free evening, often branded by corporate sponsors, as in MoMA's "Target Free Friday Nights."

41   See Therese Schwartz, "AWC Sauces Up MoMA's PASTA," *New York Element,* November–December 1971, 2–3, 16. PASTA MoMA officially affiliated with Distributive Workers of

America, Local 1, Museum Division, in May 1971. Their 1971 strike, which lasted from August 20 to September 3, focused on a wage increase, job security, and a greater voice for staff in policy decisions.

42 Andrea Fraser, "What's Intangible, Transitory, Mediating, Participatory, and Rendered in the Public Sphere, Part II," in *Museum Highlights: The Writings of Andrea Fraser,* ed. Alex Alberro (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2005), 73.

43 Michael Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth-Century Italy: A Primer in the Social History of Pictorial Style* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972). In addition, Deborah J. Haynes's fascinating book *The Vocation of the Artist* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997) connects religious history to theories of artistic production and the ethics of visionary imagination in order to analyze artistic work in relation to the notion of a "call."

44 This long-standing theoretical problematic can only be alluded to here; it has been most recently and intelligently mapped by John Roberts, *The Intangibilities of Form: Skill and Deskilling in Art after the Readymade* (London: Verso, 2007).

45 See especially Karl Marx, *The Grundrisse,* ed. and trans. David McLellan (New York: Harper and Row, 1971).

46 Karl Marx, "Productivity of Capital/Productive and Unproductive Labor," in *Theories of Surplus Value,* pt. 1 (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1969), 401.

47 Karl Marx, "Labour as Sacrifice or Self-Realization," in *Grundrisse,* 124. Jean Baudrillard critiques Marx's reliance upon a binary of work and nonwork (or play), insisting that nonwork is just "the aesthetic sublimation of labour's constraints." Jean Baudrillard, *The Mirror of Production,* trans. Mark Poster (St. Louis, MO: Telos Press, 1975), 35–51.

48 The Russian precedent is explored in more depth in Chapter 2.

49 Two studies that consider this movement are Leonard Folgarait, *Mural Painting and Social Revolution in Mexico, 1920–1940* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998); and Anthony W. Lee, *Painting on the Left: Diego Rivera, Radical Politics, and San Francisco's Public Murals* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

50 Andrew Hemingway, *Artists on the Left: American Artists and the Communist Movement, 1926–1956* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 20. Other indispensable accounts of this phenomenon in the 1930s in particular are Patricia Hills, "Art and Politics in the Popular Front: The Union Work and Social Realism of Philip Evergood," in *The Social and the Real: Political Art of the 1930s in the Western Hemisphere,* ed. Alejandro Anreus, Diana Linden, and Jonathan Weinberg (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006); Helen Langa, *Radical Art: Printmaking and the Left in 1930s New York* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004); and A. Joan Saab, *For the Millions: American Art and Culture between the Wars* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004).

51 Quoted in Francis O'Connor, *Federal Support for the Visual Arts: The New Deal and Now* (Greenwich, CT: New York Graphic Society, 1969), 47.

52 Robert Morris, interview, May 26, 2006. His marked concern circa 1970 with labor history stands in contrast to his previously disengaged attitudes, as when in 1968 he claimed to have no interest in politics; Robert Morris, interview by Paul Cummings, March 10, 1968, AAA.

53 Lippard, "Art Workers' Coalition," 17.

54   Jim Hulley, "What Happened to the Artists Union of the 1930s?" *Artworkers Newsletter,* May–June 1974, 3.

55   Barbara Rose, "ABC Art," *Art in America* 53 (October–November 1965): 69.

56   Max Kozloff, "American Painting during the Cold War," *Artforum* 11 (May 1973): 43–54. Eva Cockcroft followed up on Kozloff's work in her "Abstract Expressionism: Weapon of the Cold War," *Artforum* 12 (June 1974): 39–41. These debates are most extensively, and elegantly, chronicled by Serge Guilbaut, *How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art: Abstract Expressionism, Freedom, and the Cold War,* trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985).

57   This term first appeared in Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer, "The Culture Industry: Enlightenment as Mass Deception," in *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (1947), trans. John Cumming (New York: Continuum, 1991), 120–67.

58   Rose, "ABC Art," 66.

59   Guy Debord, "Theses on Cultural Revolution," *Internationale situationniste* 1 (June 1958): 21; trans. John Shepley, reprinted in Tom McDonough, *Guy Debord and the Situationist International: Texts and Documents* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2002), 62.

60   *The Grundrisse* (1857–58) was known primarily in the United States only in excerpts until it was translated by David McLellan and published by Harper and Row in 1971. Martin Nicolaus discussed the work in his widely read article "The Unknown Marx," *New Left Review* 48 (March–April 1968): 41–61, reprinted in Ogelsby, *New Left Reader.* Works by Marx that were available in English included *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts,* trans. Martin Milligan (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1959); *Precapitalist Economic Formations,* introd. Eric Hobsbawm (London: Lawrence and Wisehart, 1964); and *Capital,* vol. 1, ed. Friedrich Engels, trans. Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1969).

61   Adolfo Sánchez Vázquez, *Art and Society: Essays in Marxist Aesthetics* (London: Merlin Press, 1973), 63. A further way to map artistic labor in a Marxian vein is to understand art objects as paradigmatic fetishes. Although they lack an instrumental use, they accrue surplus value and as such are *ur*-commodities that circulate smoothly in market economies.

62   T. J. Clark, *Image of the People: Gustave Courbet and the 1848 Revolution* (1973; repr., Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), 80. Linda Nochlin, however, offers a counterpoint that crucially pushes labor in gendered directions that Clark overlooks; see her "Morisot's *Wet Nurse:* The Construction of Work and Leisure in Impressionist Painting," in *Women, Art, and Power and Other Essays* (New York: Harper and Row, 1988), 37–56.

63   While writers such as Max Raphael, Arnold Hauser, and Meyer Schapiro practiced versions of Marxist art history before the 1960s, social art history as a movement was consolidated with the publication of works such as T. J. Clark, "On the Social History of Art," in *Image of the People,* 9–20, and his "Conditions of Artistic Creation," *Times Literary Supplement,* May 24, 1974, 561–62. See Max Raphael, *The Demands of Art* (London: Routledge, 1968); Arnold Hauser, *The Social History of Art,* trans. Stanley Goodman (New York: Vintage Books, 1951); and Meyer Schapiro, "The Social Bases of Art," first presented at the First American Artists' Congress in 1936 and reprinted in Charles Harrison and Paul Wood, eds., *Art in Theory, 1900–1990* (London: Blackwell, 1992), 506–10.

64   For example, Antonio Gramsci, *The Modern Prince and Other Writings,* trans. Louis Marks (London: New Left Books, 1957); Louis Althusser, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses," first published in *La Pensée* (1970) and reprinted in *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays,* trans. Ben Brewster (London: New Left Books, 1971), and *For Marx,* trans. Ben Brewster (London: Allen Lane, 1969).

65   Herbert Marcuse, *Eros and Civilization: A Philosophical Inquiry into Freud* (1955; repr., Boston: Beacon Press, 1966), 196.

66   Marcuse, *Essay in Liberation,* and *Counterrevolution and Revolt* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1972).

67   Harry Braverman, *Labor and Monopoly Capital: The Degradation of Work in the 20th Century* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1974), 38.

68   Studs Terkel, *Working: People Talk about What They Do All Day and How They Feel about What They Do* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972).

69   Jean Baudrillard, *For a Critique of the Political Economy of the Sign,* trans. Charles Levin (St. Louis, MO: Telos Press, 1981).

70   Carole Pateman, *Participation and Democratic Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 55.

71   U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, *Work in America: A Report of a Special Task Force to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1973); Lafayette Harter and John Keltner, eds., *Labor in America: The Union and Employer Responses to the Challenges of Our Changing Society* (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 1966).

72   Raymond Williams, "Work," in *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976), 284; see also his "Labour" entry, 145–48.

73   See, for instance, the various commentaries that decry the younger generation's lack of a work ethic in the glossy coffee-table book *200 Years of Work in America: Bicentennial Issue, Think: The IBM Magazine, No. 3, July 1976* (New York: IBM, 1976).

74   Patricia Cayo Sexton and Brandon Sexton, *Blue Collars and Hard-Hats: The Working Class and the Future of American Politics* (New York: Random House, 1971), 35.

75   Gary Bryner, testimony, Senate Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower and Poverty, *Worker Alienation: Hearings before the Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower, and Poverty of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare,* 92nd Cong., 2nd sess., 1972, 8. For more on the Lordstown strike, see Stanley Aronowitz, *False Promises: The Shaping of American Working Class Consciousness,* rev. ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1991).

76   Details about the frenzy of strikes in 1970 are in Chapter 3.

77   P. K. Edwards, *Strikes in the United States, 1887–1974* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1981), 174.

78   U.S. Senate Subcommittee, *Worker Alienation.*

79   Marcuse, *Counterrevolution and Revolt,* 21. Marcuse cites several mass media articles that note rising rates of worker absenteeism and sabotage.

80   Clark Kerr et al., *Industrialism and Industrial Man* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1960).

81   Bertell Ollman, *Alienation: Fundamental Problems of Marxism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971); István Mészáros, *Marx's Theory of Alienation* (London: Merlin Press, 1970).

82   Terkel, *Working*, xi.

83   U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, *Work in America*, xv–xvi.

84   Ibid., 38.

85   The International Wages for Housework Campaign was founded in 1972; feminist writers such as Shulamith Firestone and Kate Millett examined the devaluing of women's work in the early 1970s. Shulamith Firestone, *The Dialectic of Sex: The Case for Feminist Revolution* (New York: Morrow Press, 1970); Kate Millett, *Sexual Politics* (New York: Doubleday, 1970).

86   Sexton and Sexton, *Blue Collars and Hard-Hats*, 103.

87   Christine Appy, *Working Class War: American Combat Soldiers and Vietnam* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993).

88   The precise phrase and exact periodization are a matter of much debate. Ernest Mandel argues that late capitalism is not "post-"—that is, after—industrialism but "constitutes generalized universal industrialism for the first time in history." Ernest Mandel, *Late Capitalism* (1972; repr., London: Verso, 1978), 387. While he dates the arrival of this new era to about 1945, most other theorists place it in the 1960s and 1970s. See Fredric Jameson, *Postmodernism, or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1991); David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity* (London: Blackwell, 1989); Mike Davis, *Prisoners of the American Dream: Politics and Economy in the History of the U.S. Working Class* (New York: Verso, 1986); Krishan Kumar, *Prophecy and Progress: The Sociology of Industrial and Post-industrial Society* (London: Penguin Press, 1978); Perry Anderson, *The Origins of Postmodernity* (London: Verso, 1998).

89   Alain Touraine, *The Post-industrial Society, Tomorrow's Social History* (New York: Random House, 1971), originally published as *La société post-industrielle* (Paris: Denoël, 1969); and Daniel Bell, *The Coming of the Post-industrial Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1973).

90   Hal Foster, "The Crux of Minimalism," in *The Return of the Real* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1996), 36.

91   Jameson, *Postmodernism*, 44. For more on the Vietnam War era and postmodernism, see Michael Bibby, ed., *The Vietnam War and Postmodernity* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999); and Marianne DeKoven, *Utopia Unlimited: The Sixties and the Emergence of the Postmodern* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004).

92   On printed postcard sent by Andre in 1976, David Bourdon Papers, Andre file, AAA. For another example, see Alex Gross, "The Artist as Nigger," *East Village Other*, December 22, 1970.

93   Faith Ringgold, *We Flew over the Bridge: The Memoirs of Faith Ringgold* (Boston: Bullfinch Press, 1995), 176.

94   Michele Wallace, *Invisibility Blues: From Pop to Theory* (London: Verso, 1990), 195.

95   Thomas Crow, *The Rise of the Sixties: American and European Art in the Era of Dissent* (New York: Harry Abrams, 1996), 12.

96   Harold Rosenberg, "Defining Art," *New Yorker*, February 25, 1967, reprinted in Gregory Battcock, *Minimal Art: A Critical Anthology* (1968; repr., Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 303.

97   Howard Singerman, *Art Subjects: Making Artists in the American University* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

98   Brian Wallis, "Public Funding and Alternative Spaces," in Ault, *Alternative Art, New York*, 174.

99   These artists received grants averaging $7,500 each. "Individual Artists Who Have Received Awards from the NEA through November 20, 1968," Misc. Correspondence file, Lucy Lippard Papers, AAA.

100   Betty Chamberlain, *The Artist's Guide to His Market* (New York: Watson-Guptill, 1970).

101   Harold Rosenberg, *The Anxious Object: Art Today and Its Audiences* (New York: Horizon, 1967), 13.

102   Diana Crane, *The Transformation of the Avant-Garde: The New York Art World, 1940–1985* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 6.

103   Cited in ibid., 4.

104   Sophy Burnham, *The Art Crowd* (New York: David McKay, 1973), 31.

105   Richard F. Shepard, "Ford Fund Glum on Arts Outlook," *New York Times*, March 2, 1969, 47.

106   Russell Lynes, "The Artist as Uneconomic Man," *Saturday Review*, February 28, 1970, 25–28, 79.

107   Ibid., 26.

108   Lippard, phone interview, September 17, 2008.

109   Alex Gross, "Arts Disaster Kills Thousands," *East Village Other*, November 17, 1970, 1.

2. CARL ANDRE'S WORK ETHIC

1   Colin Simpson, "The Tate Drops a Costly Brick," *Sunday Times* (London), February 15, 1976, 53.

2   Laura Cumming, "A Floored Genius," *Guardian*, July 6, 2000, 23.

3   Robert Semple Jr., "Tate Gallery Buys a Pile of Bricks—Or Is It Art?" *New York Times*, February 20, 1976, 70.

4   Sandy Ballatore, "Carl Andre on Work and Politics," *Artweek*, July 3, 1976, 1, 20.

5   Untitled, unsigned opinion column, *Western Daily Press*, February 21, 1976, "Tate Bricks" file, TGA.

6   Keith Waterhouse, *Daily Mirror*, February 19, 1976, quoted in Carl Andre, "The Bricks Abstract: A Compilation by Carl Andre," October 1976, reprinted in *Minimalism*, ed. James Meyer (London: Phaidon Press, 2000), 251.

7   Carl Andre, letter to the editor, *Artforum* 11 (April 1973): 9.

8   These biographical facts are repeated in most interviews with Andre; see David Bourdon, "The Razed Sites of Carl Andre," *Artforum* 5 (October 1966): 15–17; Jeanne Siegel, "Carl Andre: Artworker," *Studio International* 179 (November 1970): 175–79, reprinted in *Artwords: Discourse on the 60s and 70s* (New York: De Capo Press, 1992), 129–40 (all further page citations are to reprint); and David Sylvester, *Interviews with American Artists* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001). Andre's biography proves contentious because of the 1985 death of his wife, Ana Mendieta, an important feminist Cuban-born artist. Mendieta's death has haunted Andre's reputation—as well as hers, of course—and continues to frame many discussions of his work in the United States. For more on their relationship, see Laura Roulet, "Ana Mendieta and Carl Andre: Duet of Leaf and Stone," *Art Journal* 63 (Fall 2004): 80–101.

9   See Bourdon, "Razed Sites," 16.

10   Carl Andre, *Quincy Book* (Andover, MA: Addison Gallery of American Art, 1973).

11   Barbara Rose, "The Lively Arts: Out of the Studios, On to the Barricades," *New York*, November 1970, 55.

12   David Bourdon, "Carl Andre Protests Museological 'Mutilation,'" *Village Voice*, May 31, 1976, 118.

13   Thomas Hess, "Carl Andre Has the Floor," *New York Magazine*, June 7, 1976; reprinted in Paul Feldman, Alistair Rider, and Karsten Schubert, eds., *About Carl Andre: Critical Texts since 1965* (London: Ridinghouse, 2006), 154. This book includes an especially astute reading of Andre and the literature on his work. Alistair Rider, introduction to Feldman, Rider, and Schubert, *About Carl Andre*, 8–18.

14   Siegel, "Carl Andre," 131.

15   Peter Fuller, "Carl Andre on His Sculpture II," *Art Monthly*, June 1978, 5–11, reprinted in *Cuts: Carl Andre Texts, 1959–2004*, ed. James Meyer (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2005), 48 (all further page citations are to reprint).

16   Paul Cummings, *Artists in Their Own Words: Interviews* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1979), 21.

17   Douglas Crimp, "Redefining Site Specificity," in *On the Museum's Ruins* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1993), 157.

18   Richard Wollheim, "Minimal Art," *Arts Magazine*, January 1965, reprinted in Gregory Battcock, *Minimal Art: A Critical Anthology* (1968; repr., Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 387–99 (all further page citations are to reprint).

19   Ibid., 395.

20   James Meyer's genealogy of this term suggests that the longevity of the phrase *minimal art* had less to do with Wollheim's specifically labored connotations than with the reduced physical properties of the art itself; yet he also plots minimalism as a contested discursive field. James Meyer, *Minimalism: Art and Polemics in the Sixties* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001).

21   "A Symposium on 'The New Sculpture,'" with Mark di Suvero, Donald Judd, Kynaston McShine, Robert Morris, and Barbara Rose, New York, May 2, 1966, unpublished transcript, AAA. A condensed version of this appears in J. Meyer, *Minimalism* [2000], 220–22.

22   Grace Glueck, "Art Notes: Anti-collector, Anti-museum," *New York Times*, April 24, 1966, X24.

23   John Perreault, "Union Made: Notes on a Phenomenon," *Arts Magazine*, March 1967, 29. In his *Minimalism* (2001), James Meyer cites the fashion-magazine coverage of "Primary Structures" as the signature moment of minimalism's incorporation into the mainstream.

24   Yvonne Rainer, "A Quasi Survey of Some 'Minimalist' Tendencies in the Quantitatively Minimal Dance Activity midst the Plethora, or an Analysis of *Trio A*," in Battcock, *Minimal Art*, 263–73.

25   Barbara Rose, "Shall We Have a Renaissance?" *Art in America* 55 (March–April 1967): 31.

26   Anne M. Wagner, *Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux: Sculptor of the Second Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986).

27   See James Meyer, "Another Minimalism," in *A Minimal Future? Art as Object, 1958–1968*, ed. Ann Goldstein and Lila Gabrielle Mark (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2004), 33–49.

28   John Lobell, "Developing Technologies for Sculptors," *Arts Magazine,* June 1971, 27–29.

29   Caroline Jones, *Machine in the Studio: Constructing the Postwar American Artist* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

30   Robert Smithson, "A Sedimentation of the Mind: Earth Projects," *Artforum* 7 (September 1968): 44.

31   See Dan Flavin to Barbara Rose, June 12–13, 1966, Barbara Rose Papers, AAA.

32   Cummings, *Artists,* 187.

33   *Upholding the Bricks,* VHS, directed by Mark James (London: Mark James Production, 1990), TGA.

34   Diane Waldman, *Carl Andre* (New York: Guggenheim Museum, 1970), 21.

35   Carl Andre, Michael Cain, Douglas Huebler, and Ian Wilson, "Time: A Panel Discussion," March 17, 1969, moderated by Seth Siegelaub as a benefit for the Student Mobilization Committee Against the War, transcript edited by Lucy Lippard, 6, Lucy Lippard Papers, AAA.

36   *Upholding the Bricks.*

37   Quoted in Paul Wood, "On Different Silences: From 'Silence Is Assent' to 'the Peace That Passeth Understanding,'" in *Carl Andre and the Sculptural Imagination,* ed. Ian Cole (New York: MoMA, 1996), 25. Fuller version published as "Art and Value" (1978) in J. Meyer, *Cuts,* 44.

38   My thanks to Walter Bryan, metallurgist, for his help with questions about mining, milling, rolling, and cutting.

39   For a masterful take on this dilemma, see Alex Potts, "The Minimalist Object and the Photographic Image," in *Sculpture and Photography: Envisioning the Third Dimension,* ed. Geraldine A. Johnson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 181–98.

40   Bourdon, "Razed Sites," 103–8, also see Enno Develing, *Carl Andre* (The Hague: Haags Gemeentemuseum, 1969), 33.

41   David Bjelajac, *American Art: A Cultural History* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2001), 364.

42   Gregory Battcock, "The Politics of Space," *Arts Magazine,* February 1970, 40–43.

43   John Coplans, "The New Sculpture and Technology," in *American Sculpture of the 1960s,* ed. Maurice Tuchman (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1967), 23.

44   Barbara Rose, "The Politics of Criticism V: The Politics of Art, Part II," *Artforum* 7 (January 1969): 44–49.

45   The latter half of this chapter will challenge the assumption that his materials were in fact "everyday," hence the use of scare quotes here.

46   Enno Develing, "Carl Andre: Art as a Social Fact," *Arts Canada,* December 1970–January 1971, 47–49.

47   Gregoire Müller, "Carl Andre at the Guggenheim," *Arts Magazine,* November 1970, 57.

48   Lucy Lippard, "The Dilemma," *Arts Magazine,* November 1970, reprinted in *Get the Message? A Decade of Art for Social Change* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1984), 4–10.

49   Helen Molesworth, ed., *Work Ethic,* exh. cat. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003).

50   Bourdon, "Carl Andre Protests," 118.

51   Paul Wisotzki, "Artist and Worker: The Labour of David Smith," *Oxford Art Journal* 28 (October 2005): 347–70. Andre noted that Smith "considered himself redder than Mao"; quoted in Siegel, "Carl Andre," 129.

52   Camilla Gray, *The Great Experiment: Russian Art, 1863–1922* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1962).

53   For example, Jack Burnham, "System Esthetics," *Artforum* 7 (September 1968): 30–35: Ronald Hunt, "The Constructivist Ethos: Russia, 1913–1932," *Artforum* 6 (September 1967): 23–29; and John Elderfield, "Constructivism and the Objective World: An Essay on Production and Proletarian Culture," *Studio International* 179 (September 1970): 73–80.

54   For more on postrevolutionary Russian visions of artistic labor, see Guggenheim Museum, *The Great Utopia: The Russian and Soviet Avant-Garde, 1915–1932* (New York: Guggenheim Museum, 1992), and Michael Andrews, ed., *Art into Life: Russian Constructivism, 1914–1932* (New York: Rizzoli, 1990).

55   Vladimir Mayakovsky, *How Are Verses Made?* (1926), trans. G. M. Hyde (London: J. Cape, 1970), 57.

56   For two recent accounts of this moment, see Maria Gough, *The Artist as Producer: Russian Constructivism in Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), and Christina Kaier, *Imagine No Possessions: The Socialist Objects of Russian Constructivism* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2005).

57   Willoughby Sharp, "Carl Andre: A Man Climbs a Mountain," *Avalanche*, Fall 1970, quoted in J. Meyer, *Cuts,* 229. Maria Gough has examined the "constructivist" claims of Frank Stella and Andre in "Frank Stella Is a Constructivist," *October* 117 (Winter 2007): 94–120.

58   For more on the *Equivalent* series, see David Batchelor, "Equivalence Is a Strange Word," in Cole, *Carl Andre,* 16–21.

59   "My cliché about myself is that I'm the first of the post-studio artists (that's probably not true)." Quoted in Phyllis Tuchman, "An Interview with Carl Andre," *Artforum* 8 (June 1970): 55. Caroline Jones discusses the linkage of "post-studio" work to postmodernism in "Post-Studio/Postmodern: Robert Smithson and the Technological Future," in *Machine in the Studio,* 268–73.

60   Andre uses this term to describe the certificates of authorship that he generates when works are sold; these then become the guarantees that someone's piece is "authentic." He recognizes the irony of "authenticating" a work that could easily be reproduced: "I do not sign the substance of my work but I am willing to give 'deeds of ownership' to those who require them. That is probably a form of culture lag and a mistake." Andre Gould, "Dialogues with Carl Andre," *Arts Magazine,* May 1974, 27–28.

61   Rose, "Lively Arts," 54.

62   Carl Andre, interview, August 7, 2003.

63   Lucy Lippard, "Biting the Hand: Artists and Museums in New York since 1969," in *Alternative Art, New York, 1965–1985,* ed. Julie Ault (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2002), 84.

64   Lucy Lippard, phone interview, November 13, 2001.

65   Bourdon, "Razed Sites," 17.

66   Siegel, "Carl Andre," 134.

67   For Andre's most extensive statement about commodification and art, see Carl Andre and

Jeremy Gilbert-Rolfe, "Commodity and Contradiction or Contradiction as Commodity," *October* 2 (Summer 1976): 100–104.

68   James Meyer, "Carl Andre, Writer," in *Cuts,* 17.

69   AWC, "Demonstrate Our Strength at MoMA!" flyer, Political and Documentation/ Distribution Archive, AWC files, MoMA Archives.

70   Siegel, "Carl Andre," 130. Andre's inclusion of collectors among art workers was unusual within the AWC. It is probably relevant that Andre's work was hotly pursued by collectors in the United States and Europe at this time; see the records from his dealer Virginia Dwan, Dwan Papers, AAA.

71   One of the earliest of these accounts is Annette Michelson's "An Aesthetics of Transgression," in *Robert Morris* (Washington, DC: Corcoran Gallery of Art, 1969), 7–75. It was reiterated by many minimalist sculptors themselves, particularly Morris.

72   See AWC, "13 Demands," typewritten leaflet, submitted January 28, 1969, to Bates Lowry, director of MoMA, attached to the press release "Artists Protest against Museum of Modern Art," March 14, 1969, signed by Carl Andre, Lloyd, and Hans Haacke, AWC file, Lucy Lippard Papers, AAA.

73   Lucy Lippard, "The Art Workers' Coalition: Not a History," in *Get the Message?* 13.

74   See Grace Glueck, "Artists Vote for Union and a Big Demonstration," *New York Times,* September 23, 1970, 39.

75   Quoted in Jay Jacobs, "Pertinent and Impertinent," *Art Gallery,* November 1970, 7–8.

76   Lippard, "Art Workers' Coalition," 17.

77   Audiotaped recording of the AWC open hearing, 1969, Lucy Lippard Papers, AAA.

78   Philip Leider, quoted in Amy Newman, ed., *Challenging Art: Artforum, 1962–1972* (New York: Soho Press, 2000), 267–77.

79   Sophy Burnham, *The Art Crowd* (New York: David McKay, 1973), 27.

80   Carl Andre, "Art Now Class," transcript of talk, December 12, 1969, 11, Barbara Reise Papers, TGA. Edited version appears in Peggy Gale, ed., *Artists Talk, 1969–1977* (Halifax: Press of the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, 2004), 10–31.

81   Andre, "Art Now Class," 12–14.

82   Audiotape of "Art and Subsidy," April 14, 1970, MoMA Archives.

83   In an interview in 1996, the former director of MoMA John Hightower recalled that he wished he had said during the time of the AWC that the museum was established to show artworks rather than to caretake and pay artists. John Hightower, interview by Sharon Zane, April 1996, transcript, Museum of Modern Art Oral History Project, MoMA Archives, 62–63.

84   Paul Brach, interview by Barry Schwartz, 1971, transcript, n.p., AAA.

85   Karl Beveridge and Ian Burn, "Don Judd," *Fox,* no. 2 (1975): 138.

86   Carl Andre capsule review, *ARTNews,* May 1971, 10.

87   Postcard from Andre to David Bourdon, April 23, 1976, Bourdon Papers, AAA.

88   Quoted in Studs Terkel, *Working: People Talk about What They Do All Day and How They Feel about What They Do* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972), xxxi.

89   Bourdon, "Carl Andre Protests," 118.

90   Alex Alberro, *Conceptual Art and the Politics of Publicity* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2008).

91   Liz Kotz provides a keen look at Andre's poetry in *Words to Be Looked At: Language in 1960s Art* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2007).

92   David Raskin, "Specific Opposition: Judd's Art and Politics," *Art History* 24 (November 2001): 682–706.

93   "The Artist and Politics: A Symposium," *Artforum* 9 (September 1970): 35–39.

94   C. Wright Mills, *The Power Elite* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956).

95   Statement by Takis, read at a panel moderated by Jeanne Siegel and broadcast on WBAI, April 29, 1969, reprinted in Siegel, *Artwords*, 122.

96   A. H. Raskin, "Behind the MoMA Strike," *ARTNews*, January 1974, 37.

97   Guggenheim show postcard invitation, 1970, Carl Andre artist file, MoMA Library.

98   Quoted in Ballatore, "Carl Andre," 1, 20.

99   Gregory Battcock, "Art in the Service of the Left?" in *Idea Art: A Critical Anthology* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1973), 21–30. See also his "Marcuse and Anti-art," *Arts Magazine,* Summer 1969, 17–18, and *Why Art: Casual Notes on the Aesthetics of the Immediate Past* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1977).

100   Battcock, "Art in the Service," 28.

101   Herbert Marcuse, *Counterrevolution and Revolt* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1972), 87.

102   Ibid., 93.

103   Peter Schjeldahl, "One Takes Away, the Other Piles It On," *New York Times,* April 29, 1973, 21.

104   Barbara Rose, "A Retrospective Note," in David Bourdon, *Carl Andre, Sculpture, 1959–1977* (New York: Jaap Reitman, 1978), 11.

105   Herbert Marcuse, "Art in a One-Dimensional Society," *Arts Magazine,* May 1967, 26–31.

106   Baer was one of the first artists to withdraw her work from a museum show to protest the bombings of Cambodia in 1970; see her letter to Kynaston McShine dated May 14, 1970, Art Strike files, MoMA Archives. She recalls that she had no idea why her works were chosen for this article. Jo Baer, e-mail, March 2007.

107   Herbert Marcuse, *An Essay on Liberation* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1969).

108   Herbert Marcuse, "Revolutionary Subjects and Self Government," *Praxis: A Philosophical Journal* 5 (1969): 326–29.

109   Phyllis Tuchman, "Background of a Minimalist: Carl Andre," *Artforum* 16 (March 1978): 30.

110   Andre also researched where to locate his metals, usually from contacts he had with other minimalists and fabricators. Carl Andre, interview, August 7, 2003. On his reading of *Scientific American*, see Cummings, *Artists,* 177.

111   Robert Smithson provides a cursory overview of steel production in "Sedimentation of the Mind," 44.

112   Carl Andre, interview, August 24, 2003.

113   Carl Andre, phone interview, February 11, 2004. According to Joshua Mack, List's heir and the current owner of the piece, Andre had to receive special permission from the government to purchase the gold from Fort Knox because from 1933 until 1971 U.S. citizens were

forbidden to buy gold bullion. However, eighteen-carat gold (used for *Gold Field*) is not pure bullion, so it is unclear if Mack is correct about this narrative. Joshua Mack, e-mail, December 9, 2003.

114   Rose, "Lively Arts," 55.

115   Carl Andre, phone interview, February 11, 2004.

116   *Carl Andre* (The Hague: Haags Gemeentemuseum, 1969), 6.

117   Hal Foster, "The Crux of Minimalism," in *The Return of the Real* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1996). Rosalind Krauss articulates a similar viewpoint in "The Cultural Logic of the Late Capitalist Museum," *October* 54 (Fall 1990): 3–17.

118   In the 1990 video *Upholding the Bricks,* Andre mentions that he thought part of why the British held special scorn for his brick works was because bricklayers are seen as lower class and undignified. This is echoed in Cumming, "Floored Genius," 23. For an insightful examination of craft as a mode of production and of the dialectic between handiwork and conceptual work, see Glenn Adamson, *Thinking through Craft* (London: Berg, 2007).

119   Sharp, "Carl Andre," 24.

120   Sylvester, *Interviews with American Artists,* 279.

121   Siegel, "Carl Andre," 135.

122   Frank Gilbreth, *Motion Study: A Method for Increasing the Efficiency of the Workmen* (New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1911).

123   Potts notes that this intimate engagement with the work is one that Andre alone has access to. Alex Potts, *The Sculptural Imagination: Figurative, Modernist, Minimalist* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 231. However, this tactile work importantly includes the installer and the assistant.

124   Ibid., 327.

125   Siegel, "Carl Andre," 131.

126   Eva Meyer-Hermann, "Here and Now in Retrospect: On the Paradox of Curating a Carl Andre Exhibition," in Cole, *Carl Andre,* 9–15.

127   Siegel, "Carl Andre," 137.

128   Quoted in Sylvester, *Interviews with American Artists,* 275–77.

129   Mel Bochner, review of "Primary Structures," *Arts Magazine,* June 1966, 32–35.

130   Benjamin H. D. Buchloh, "Michael Asher and the Conclusion of Modernist Sculpture," in *Neo-Avant-Garde and Culture Industry: Essays on European and American Art from 1955 to 1975* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2000), 10.

131   Quoted in Frances Colpitt, *Minimal Art: The Critical Perspective* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1990), 8.

132   Rosalind E. Krauss, *Passages in Modern Sculpture* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1981), 245.

133   Giuseppe Panza files, Andre box 1, GRI. This work was purchased by Panza in 1973 for $21,000.

134   Andre to Giuseppe Panza, May 18, 1977, Giuseppe Panza files, Andre box 1, GRI.

135   Dow made magnesium until the mid-1970s, when it sold its production plants to the International Magnesium Association. Thanks to Chris Gilbert, then-curator at the Baltimore Museum of Art, for facilitating my viewing of this piece.

136   GAAG, Anim, and AWC to Flavin, December 22, 1969, AWC files, MoMA Archives.

137   Battcock, "Politics of Space," 40–43.

138   Guy Williams, letter to the editor, *Artforum* 7 (February 1969): 4–6.

139   See Douglas Robinson, "Dow Chemical Office Picketed for Its Manufacture of Napalm," *New York Times*, May 29, 1966, 2; "Students Arrested Recruiting at Dow," *New York Times*, March 20, 1968, 3.

140   William O'Neill, *Coming Apart: An Informal History of America in the 1960s* (New York: Quadrangle/New York Times Book, 1971), 289.

141   Anthony Ripley, "Napalm Assailed at Dow Meeting," *New York Times*, May 8, 1969, 12.

142   Krauss, *Passages in Modern Sculpture*, 198.

143   Mike Davis, *Prisoners of the American Dream* (London: Verso, 1986).

144   Donald Lippincott, phone interview, June 23, 2003.

145   See, for instance, John Neely, *Practical Metallurgy and Materials of Industry* (New York: Wiley, 1979).

146   Michael Newman, "Recovering Andre: Remarks Arising from the Symposium," in Cole, *Carl Andre*, 12.

147   MetalsDepot customer service, two phone conversations, October 21, 2003, and July 2, 2007.

148   Anne P. Carter, "The Economics of Technological Change," *Scientific American*, April 1966, 629.

149   National Materials Advisory Board, *Competitiveness of the U.S. Minerals and Metals Industry in a Changing Global Context* (Washington, DC: Commission on Engineering and Technical Systems, 1990); W. O. Alexander, "The Competition of Metals," in *Materials: A Scientific American Book* (San Francisco: W. H. Freeman, 1967), 196.

150   See the plans for this museum, which celebrates "America's industrial achievements," at www.nmih.org.

151   Andre's metals and bricks were intimately related; in fact, the limestone used for his bricks can be a by-product of the steel manufacturing process.

152   Andre discusses selling his original 1966 bricks back to their manufacturer, and his subsequent choice of bricks to remake *Equivalent*, in a conversation with Tate curators and conservators held just after the Tate purchased his work. See "Carl Andre in Conversation with Ronald Alley, Richard Morphet, Simon Wilson, Penelope Marcus, Angeles Westwater," transcript, May 12, 1972, TGA, TAV 19AB.

153   "Roundtable with Tate Curators," 1972, TGA, 10. Andre used firebricks as a substitute for the sand-lime bricks, a costlier endeavor since each firebrick cost sixty cents as compared to the nine cents each for the original bricks.

154   For more on Moses, see Robert A. Caro, *The Power Broker: Robert Moses and the Fall of New York* (New York: Vintage Books, 1975).

155   Carl Andre, interview, August 7, 2003.

156   The quotation above is from Lippard, "Dilemma," 5.

157   Irving Sandler, *American Art of the 1960s* (New York: Harper and Row, 1988), 267. For the section epigraph, see "The Artist and Politics."

158   Hilton Kramer, quoted in A. Newman, *Challenging Art*, 299–300.

159   Andre et al., "Time: A Panel Discussion."

160   J. Meyer, *Minimalism* [2001], 263.

161   Andre reportedly wore an antiwar button to the opening of *Minimal Art*. J. Meyer, *Minimalism* [2001], 263, 315 n. 83.

162   Ursula Meyer, "De-Objectification of the Object," *Arts Magazine,* Summer 1969, 20–22.

163   Charles Harrison and Paul Wood, "Modernity and Modernism Reconsidered," in *Modernism in Dispute: Art since the Forties,* ed. Paul Wood et al. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 216. Emphasis in the original.

164   Battcock, introduction to *Minimal Art,* 26.

165   Lynda Morris, "Andre's Aesthetics," *Listener,* April 6, 1978, TGA.

166   J. Meyer, *Minimalism* [2001], 187.

167   Cummings, *Artists,* 187.

168   Quoted in Fuller, "Carl Andre," 9.

169   Donald Judd, "Imperialism, Nationalism and Regionalism," in *Donald Judd: Complete Writings, 1959–1975* (Halifax: Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, 1975), 221–22.

170   Charles Harrison, "Against Precedents," *Studio International* 178 (September 1969): 91.

171   Robert Morris, interview, in Alex Alberro and Patricia Norvell, eds., *Recording Conceptual Art* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 64.

172   Carl Andre, phone interview, September 3, 2003.

173   Quoted in Kenneth Baker, *Minimalism: Art of Circumstance* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1988), 138.

174   Philip Leider, "To Introduce a New Kind of Truth," *New York Times,* May 25, 1969, D41.

175   Krauss, *Passages in Modern Sculpture,* 270.

176   Bourdon, "Razed Sites," 14. See also Didie Gust, "Andre: Artist of Transportation," *Aspen Times,* July 18, 1968, quoted in Develing, "Carl Andre," 47.

177   Quoted in P. Tuchman, "Interview with Carl Andre," 57.

3. ROBERT MORRIS'S ART STRIKE

1   There is some slippage between the terms *installer* and *fabricator* here: fabricators are usually the actual constructors (welders, molders) of art objects, but since these works were assemblages of unaltered raw materials, their "fabrication" became a matter of arrangement and placement.

2   "Maximizing the Minimal," *Time,* April 20, 1970, 54.

3   Although the worker, Ed Giza, an employee of the art fabrication firm Lippincott Inc., was rushed to the hospital, he suffered nothing more serious than bruising (Ed Giza, interview, November 2003).

4   Jack Burnham, "A Robert Morris Retrospective in Detroit," *Artforum* 8 (March 1970): 66–75.

5   Morris to Marcia Tucker, December 14, 1969, RMA.

6   Morris to Tucker, December 28, 1969, RMA.

7   Marcia Tucker, *Robert Morris* (New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1970), presents an overview of Morris's earlier work.

8   Quoted in Sean H. Elwood, "The New York Art Strike (A History, Assessment, and Speculation)" (MA thesis, City University of New York, 1982), 52.

9   Dore Ashton, "New York Commentary," *Studio International* 179 (June 1970): 274.

10   Annette Michelson notes that Morris's 1970 Whitney show followed directly on the heels of Yvonne Rainer's dance *Continuous Project—Altered Daily* (which took its title from a 1969–70 Morris process piece) in that same location. Michelson suggested that the Morris exhibit could be read as a subtle response to Rainer's piece. See Annette Michelson, "Three Notes on an Exhibition as a Work," *Artforum* 8 (June 1970): 64. For an incisive, thoughtful consideration of Rainer's work, including political resonances that Morris might have been attuned to, see Carrie Lambert-Beatty, *Being Watched: Yvonne Rainer and the 1960s* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2008).

11   Maurice Berger, *Labyrinths: Robert Morris, Minimalism, and the 1960s* (New York: Harper and Row, 1989), 93.

12   Stanley Aronowitz, "When the New Left Was New," in *The '60s without Apology*, ed. Sohnya Sayres et al. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), 20.

13   While the literature on performance has dealt with the methodological problem of historicizing the ephemeral, the art-historical writing on destroyed process works and minimal sculpture has undertheorized this problem. For two helpful models, see Alex Potts, *The Sculptural Imagination: Figurative, Modernist, Minimalist* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), and Pamela Lee's *Object to Be Destroyed: The Work of Gordon Matta-Clark* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2000).

14   Grégoire Müller and Gianfranco Gorgoni, *The New Avant-Garde: Issues for the Art of the Seventies* (New York: Praeger, 1972).

15   E. C. Goossen, "The Artist Speaks: Robert Morris," *Art in America* 58 (May–June 1970): 108.

16   Christopher Andreae, "Portrait of the Artist as a Construction Man," *Christian Science Monitor,* May 6, 1970, 12.

17   Peter Plagens, capsule review, *Artforum* 8 (April 1970): 86.

18   For an overview of the historical context of how the "hard hat" came to be an emblem of masculinity, see Joshua B. Freeman, "Hardhats: Construction Workers, Manliness, and the 1970 Pro-War Demonstrations," *Journal of Social History* 26 (Summer 1993): 725–39.

19   Robert Morris, "Size Matters," *Critical Inquiry* 26 (Spring 2000): 474–87. Anna C. Chave's seminal "Minimalism and the Rhetoric of Power" also considers the gendering of minimalism and the macho claims of some minimalist artists (*Arts Magazine,* January 1990, 44–63).

20   The racializing of the working class is discussed in Stanley Aronowitz, *False Promises: The Shaping of American Working Class Consciousness,* updated ed. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1992).

21   Maurice Berger, "Morris Dancing: The Aesthetics of Production," in *Labyrinths*, 81–105.

22   Richard Meyer, "Pin-Ups: Robert Morris, Lynda Benglis, and the Erotics of Artistic Identity," unpublished manuscript, 1991, 6. For more on the masculinity performed by Mor-

ris, see Amelia Jones, *Body Art/Performing the Subject* (Minnesota: University of Minneapolis Press, 1998).

23   Julia Bryan-Wilson, "Hard Hats and Art Strikes: Robert Morris in 1970," *Art Bulletin* (June 2007): 333–59.

24   Typed draft of Morris's wall text, RMA.

25   Robert Morris, "Notes on Sculpture, Part 3," *Artforum* 5 (June 1967): 24–29, reprinted in *Continuous Project Altered Daily: The Writings of Robert Morris* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1993), 33 (all further page citations are to reprint).

26   Morris, "Anti Form," *Artforum* 6 (April 1968): 33–35, reprinted in *Continuous Project,* 46. Morris later distanced himself from this term, which was given to his article by *Artforum* editor Philip Leider. One comprehensive look at "antiform," as well as crucial notions of dematerialization, and revolution in sculpture at this time, is provided by Richard J. Williams, *After Modern Sculpture: Art in the United States and Europe, 1965–1970* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000). Suzaan Boettger has also provided a helpful consideration of "antiform" vis-à-vis the Vietnam War and reactions against minimalism in *Earthworks: Art and the Landscape of the Sixties* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).

27   Robert Morris, "Some Notes on the Phenomenology of Making," *Artforum* 8 (April 1970): 62–66, reprinted in *Continuous Project Altered Daily,* 87 (all further page citations are to reprint).

28   In *Labyrinths,* Berger focuses on Marcuse's emphasis on desublimation and libidinal repression; I expand on his account to make labor and class more central. I am also indebted to James Meyer's lucid *Minimalism: Art and Polemics in the Sixties* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), which touches on the U.S. reception of Marcuse in the late 1960s, and to Williams's account in *After Modern Sculpture.*

29   Herbert Marcuse, "Art in the One-Dimensional Society," *Arts Magazine,* May 1967, 29–31. Marcuse is not entirely of one mind about the possibilities of art to create new modes of thinking and living. Charles Reitz labels the first major period of Marcuse's thinking on these matters as "Art-against-Alienation" (1932–72) and his subsequent phase as "Art-as-Alienation," a phase that started with the publication of *Counterrevolution and Revolt* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1972) and was consolidated in his *The Aesthetic Dimension: Toward a Critique of Marxist Aesthetics* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1978). See Charles Reitz, *Art, Alienation, and the Humanities: A Critical Engagement with Herbert Marcuse* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2000). See also John Bokina and Timothy J. Lukes, eds., *Marcuse: From New Left to the Next Left* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1994); and Douglas Kellner, *Herbert Marcuse and the Crisis of Marxism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984).

30   Herbert Marcuse, *An Essay on Liberation* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1969), 91.

31   Donald Lippincott, phone interview, June 23, 2003.

32   Morris to Michael Sylvester, January 19, 1971, Robert Morris file, TGA.

33   Morris himself was paid a flat fee (the exact amount is not available in any records). The installers, many of them employees of Lippincott Inc., worked for hourly wages that were, according to the recollections of owners Donald and Alfred, quite desirable and competitive. The Lippincotts did not kept detailed records of the pay schedules of the workers, but they could remember vague wages and benefits; phone interview with Donald Lippincott,

June 23, 2003, and with Alfred Lippincott, March 10, 2006. These terms were negotiated by Morris in a series of letters to Tucker and included the provision that "the funds ordinarily spent on booze, guards, other expenses of the opening" be used on materials and the cost of the installation. Morris to Tucker, February 2, 1970, RMA.

34   Gregory Battcock, one of the most avid followers of Marcuse's theories as well as an influential art critic, wrote that the heart of "antiart" (which he renamed "outlaw art" so as to maintain its status as art) was the denial of "art as a marketable item." Gregory Battcock, "Marcuse and Anti-Art," *Arts Magazine,* Summer 1969, 17–19.

35   Marcuse, *Essay on Liberation,* 49.

36   For a distinction between use value and exchange value, see Karl Marx, "The Fetishism of Commodities and the Secret Thereof," in *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy,* vol. 1, trans. Ben Fowkes (New York: Vintage Books, 1976), originally published in 1867.

37   See, for instance, Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste,* trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984).

38   Michelson, "Three Notes," 61.

39   Goossen, "Artist Speaks," 110–11.

40   Michelson, "Three Notes," 63–64.

41   Cindy Nemser, "Artists and the System: Far from Cambodia," *Village Voice,* May 28, 1970, 20–21. This is echoed by Tucker, who remembered it as the "most expensive show" she curated, quoted in Elwood, "New York Art Strike," 52.

42   Ashton, "New York Commentary," 274.

43   "Reviews and Previews," *ARTNews,* Summer 1970, 65–66.

44   Michael Fried, "Art and Objecthood," *Artforum* 5 (June 1967): 12–23. In contrast, Morris lauded the "situational" aspect of minimal art that was a function of its scale within the particular gallery space; see Robert Morris, "Notes on Sculpture, Part 1," *Artforum* 4 (February 1966): 42–44. Branden W. Joseph has recently examined the theatrical basis of Morris's work and intelligently linked it to questions of power in "The Tower and the Line: Toward a Genealogy of Minimalism," *Grey Room* 27 (Spring 2007): 58–81, reprinted in *Beyond the Dream Syndicate: Tony Conrad and the Arts after Cage* (New York: Zone Books, 2008), 109–52.

45   Goossen, "Artist Speaks," 108.

46   Michelson, "Three Notes," 64.

47   Robert Morris, statement on poster insert, in Michael Compton and David Sylvester, *Robert Morris* (London: Tate Gallery, 1971).

48   Robert Morris, "Three Folds in the Fabric and Four Autobiographical Asides as Allegories (or Interruptions)," *Art in America* 77 (November 1989): 144.

49   See, for example, John Perreault, "Union Made: Report on a Phenomenon," *Arts Magazine,* March 1967, 26–31.

50   See Robert Murray's 1967 letter to Barbara Rose in her "Questions about Sculpture," Barbara Rose Papers, AAA.

51   On Milgo and its clients, see John Lobell, "Developing Technologies for Sculpture," *Arts Magazine,* June 1971, 27–29.

52   Barbara Rose, "Blow Up: The Problem of Scale in Sculpture," *Art in America* 56 (July–August 1968): 87.

53   Ibid., 90.

54   Donald Lippincott, interview, in Hugh Marlais Davis, *Artist and Fabricator* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1975), 40.

55   Dore Ashton, "The Language of Technics," *Arts Magazine,* May 1967, 11.

56   Barbara Rose, "Shall We Have a Renaissance?" *Art in America* 55 (March–April 1967): 35.

57   Morris, "Notes on Sculpture, Part 3," 27.

58   Harry Braverman, *Labor and Monopoly Capital: The Degradation of Work in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Monthly Review, 1974).

59   Morris, "Some Notes," 92.

60   Joseph Kosuth, "1975," *Fox,* no. 2 (1975): 95. Emphasis in original.

61   "Place and Process," reviewed by Willoughby Sharp, *Artforum* 8 (November 1969): 46–49.

62   Grace Glueck, "Process Art and the New Disorder: Robert Morris Exhibits Works at Whitney," *New York Times,* April 11, 1970, 26.

63   Karl Marx, *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844,* in *The Marx-Engels Reader,* ed. Robert C. Tucker (New York: Norton, 1978), 71.

64   Robert Morris, handwritten entry in notebook, October 13, 1970.

65   Carter Ratcliff, "New York Letter," *Art International,* Summer 1970, 136.

66   Capsule review, *ARTNews,* Summer 1970, 66.

67   Morris to Michael Compton, January 19, 1971, Robert Morris file, TGA.

68   For more on questions of physical violence, active viewership, and the Vietnam War, see Frazer Ward's "Grey Zone: Watching *Shoot," October* 95 (Winter 2001): 115–30.

69   Carole Pateman, *Participation and Democratic Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970).

70   Jon Bird compellingly claims that the 1971 Tate show was Morris's effort to come to terms with questions of play. Moreover, he suggests that in retreating from "work" to leisure, Morris reintroduced the figure of the female within his art, as *Neo-Classic,* the film made of the Tate show, demonstrates the different activities as performed by a naked woman. Jon Bird, "Minding the Body: Robert Morris's 1971 Tate Gallery Retrospective," in *Rewriting Conceptual Art,* ed. Michael Newman and Jon Bird (London: Reaktion Books, 1999), 106.

71   According to curator Michael Compton, visitors suffered from sprained fingers, crushed toes, torn skin, and more; Compton to Morris, May 13, 1971, TGA. See also Robert Adam, "Wrecked Tate Sculpture Show Closed," *Daily Telegraph,* May 4, 1971; and Richard Cork, "Assault Course at Tate Gallery," *Evening Standard,* April 30, 1971, both in Robert Morris file, TGA.

72   Glueck, "Process Art," 26. Berger also erroneously calls the Whitney show "participatory" in *Labyrinths,* 116.

73   Joseph Kaye, "Museum Agog over a Morris Exhibit," *Kansas City Star,* April 22, 1970, 8B.

74   Robert Morris, interview, May 26, 2006. He elaborated, "In retrospect my employment of process and chance seems quite circumscribed in that Whitney show." E-mail, December 12, 2006.

75   Ashton, "New York Commentary," 274.

76   Morris to Tucker, February 2, 1970, RMA.

77 See, for example, Goossen, "Artist Speaks," 105. See also a more recent interview in which he summarizes his biography: "Up from the working class. Maniac for work. Work ethic. Workmanlike in the beginning." Quoted in "Golden Memories: WJT Mitchell Talks with Robert Morris," *Artforum* 32 (April 1994): 89.

78 Glueck, "Process Art," 26.

79 Al Blanchard, "Bridge to the Art World," *Detroit Free Press,* January 15, 1970, 8A, Detroit Institute of Arts Papers, AAA.

80 Morris, "Size Matters," 478.

81 Burnham, "Robert Morris Retrospective," 71.

82 Morris to Wagstaff, October 19, 1970, Samuel Wagstaff Papers, AAA.

83 Daniel Berg to Wagstaff, March 21, 1970, Samuel Wagstaff Papers, AAA.

84 Freeman, "Hardhats," 725.

85 Molly Martin, ed., *Hard-Hatted Women: Stories of Struggle and Success in the Trades* (Seattle: Bay Press, 1988).

86 Homer Bigart, "War Foes Here Attacked by Construction Workers," *New York Times,* May 9, 1970, 1.

87 Ibid.

88 This is maintained by Peter Levy, *The New Left and Labor in the 1960s* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994).

89 Richard Rogin, "Why the Construction Workers Holler, 'U.S.A. All the Way!' Joe Kelly Has Reached His Boiling Point," *New York Times Magazine,* June 28, 1970, 179.

90 For the classed nature of the draft, see Christian Appy, *Working-Class War: American Combat Soldiers and Vietnam* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993).

91 Mike Lamsey, "Blue Collar Workers May Be Next to Strike," *Washington Post,* April 5, 1970, 30.

92 Patricia Cayo Sexton and Brendon Sexton, *Blue Collars and Hard-Hats: The Working Class and the Future of American Politics* (New York: Random House, 1971), 5.

93 See the chapter on labor in Rohodri Jeffreys-Jones, *Peace Now! American Society and the Ending of the Vietnam War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999).

94 Internal White House memo, H. R. Halderman to Charles Colson, May 1970, quoted in Tom Wells, *The War Within: America's Battle over Vietnam* (New York: Henry Holt, 1994), 447.

95 Anonymous Nixon aide, quoted in James M. Naughton, "U.S. to Tighten Surveillance of Radicals," *New York Times,* April 12, 1970, 1.

96 P. K. Edwards, *Strikes in the United States, 1881–1974* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1981), 180.

97 Jeremy Brecher, *Strike!* (San Francisco: Straight Arrow Books, 1972), 249.

98 "Scorecard on Labor Trouble," *New York Times,* April 5, 1970, 159.

99 Nicholas von Hoffman, "A Real Bummer," *Washington Post,* May 6, 1970, C1.

100 Wells, *War Within,* 429.

101 Artists participating in *Using Walls* included Richard Artschwager, Mel Bochner, Daniel Buren, Craig Kauffman, Sol LeWitt, Robert Morris, and Lawrence Weiner.

102 Whitney Museum, unpublished press release, May 15, 1970, Protest file, Whitney Museum Archives.

103 See Gerald M. Monroe, "Artists on the Barricades: The Militant Artists Union Treats with the New Deal," *Archives of American Art Journal* 18, no. 3 (1978): 20–23.

104 Nemser, "Artists and the System," 64.

105 Poppy Johnson, interview, September 2002. For a blow-by-blow account of the New York Art Strike, see Elwood, "New York Art Strike"; Grace Glueck, "Art Community Here Agrees on Plan to Fight War, Racism, and Oppression," *New York Times*, May 19, 1970, 30; and Therese Schwartz and Bill Amidon, "On the Steps of the Met," *New York Element*, June–July 1970, 3–4, 19–20. See also Julie Ault, "A Chronology of Selected Alternative Structures, Spaces, Artists' Groups, and Organizations in New York City, 1965–1985," in *Alternative Art, New York, 1965–1985*, ed. Julie Ault (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002), 17–78. Glueck's article from 1970 was accompanied by a photo of a scruffy-looking Morris standing at a podium and addressing the assembled crowd; displayed prominently behind him is a poster reading "WORKERS."

106 Elizabeth C. Baker, "Pickets on Parnassus," *ARTNews*, September 1970, 32. Morris, embracing figuration in the immediate aftermath of the Art Strike, made his "War Memorials" series of lithographs that same year, some of which he exhibited as protest posters—for instance, in Lippard's *Collage of Indignation II* show at the New York Cultural Center in 1970.

107 Corinne Robins, "The N.Y. Art Strike," *Arts Magazine*, September–October 1970, 27–28.

108 Nemser, "Artists and the System," 21.

109 Ibid., 64.

110 Lil Picard, "Teach Art Action," *East Village Other*, June 16, 1970, 11. Emphasis in original.

111 Schwartz and Amidon, "On the Steps," 19.

112 International Cultural Revolutionary Forces, flyer, May 31, 1970, Protests and Demonstrations file, MoMA Archives.

113 Irving Petlin, quoted in "The Artist and Politics: A Symposium," *Artforum* 9 (September 1970): 35.

114 Marcuse, *Essay on Liberation*, 25.

115 Ibid., vii.

116 See Gregory Battcock's "Marcuse and Anti-Art II," *Arts Magazine*, November 1969, 20–22.

117 Marcuse, *Essay on Liberation*, 83.

118 Robert Morris, notebook page, ca. 1970, RMA.

119 Lucy Lippard, "The Art Worker's Coalition: Not a History," in *Get the Message? A Decade of Art for Social Change* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1984), 16.

120 Barbara Rose, "The Lively Arts: Out of the Studios, On to the Barricades," *New York Magazine*, August 10, 1970, 54–57.

121 John B. Hightower, typewritten statement, May 22, 1970, Art Strike file, MoMA Archive.

122 Art Strike to Hightower, May 25, 1970, Art Strike file, MoMA Archive.

123 Baker, "Pickets on Parnassus," 32.

124   Grace Glueck, "Artists to Withdraw Work at the Biennale," *New York Times*, June 6, 1970, 27.

125   Michele Wallace wrote a scathing letter claiming that the Art Strike was a racist action that had nothing to do with real battles for inclusion and diversity within the art world: "Black art workers denounce art strike . . . as a racist organization which is designed to project SU-PERSTAR ANTI-HUMAN ARTISTS." See typed letter to the Art Strike, June 14, 1970, RMA. In effect, she asked: What does it mean to demand the withdrawal of all artistic labor when, as a disenfranchised person of color, that labor has never been valued in the first place? For more on this, see Michele Wallace, "Reading 1968: The Great American Whitewash," in *Invisibility Blues: From Pop to Theory* (London: Verso, 1990), 195.

126   Pete Hamill, quoted in Herbert Gutman, *Work, Culture and Society in Industrializing America* (New York: Knopf, 1976), 14.

127   Quoted in Ralph Blumenfeld, "Daily Closeup: Show Mustn't Go On," *New York Post*, June 4, 1970, 37.

128   This is recounted by Lucy Lippard in *A Different War: Vietnam in Art* (Seattle: Real Comet Press, 1990), 53.

129   Nemser, "Artists and the System," 20–21.

130   Marcuse, *Counterrevolution and Revolt*, 8.

131   Robert Morris, notebook, June 19, 1970, RMA.

132   Robert Morris, handwritten addendum to unpublished "Politics" statement, ca. 1970, RMA.

133   The *Artworkers News* was affiliated, not with the AWC, but rather with the National Art Workers Community, an organization that focused on practical issues for artists such as listing grant agencies. See Alex Gross, "The National Art Workers Community," *Art in America* 59 (September–October 1971): 23.

134   "Two-Man Guild?" *Artworkers News*, Spring 1972, 2, 7.

135   Ed Kienholz also proposed an artistic wage labor system in his *Concept Tableaux*, dated 1963–67. In these works, he wrote descriptions of the works he would make, provided a collector paid him up front for materials and his time. Morris had a copy of one these tableaux sent to him by a curator at the Corcoran in early 1970; Kienholz file, RMA.

136   Robert Morris, undated typewritten proposal, ca. summer 1970, RMA.

137   Robert Morris, typewritten proposal, September 22, 1970, RMA.

138   Guy Debord has of course been the most extensive theorist of the spectacle; see his *Société du spectacle* (1967), translated into English as *Society of the Spectacle* (Detroit: Black Dog Press, 1973). An outstanding new account of Debord and the French Left is found in Tom Mc-Donough, *"The Beautiful Language of My Century": Reinventing the Language of Contestation in Postwar France, 1945–1968* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2007).

139   Todd Gitlin, *The Whole World Is Watching: Mass Media and the Making and Unmaking of the New Left* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980).

140   Michelson, "Three Notes," 64.

141   The accident that hurt the worker and hence ended the public component of the Whitney show is telling. The specter of bodily harm summoned by this injury—as well as those that have occurred during the installing of Serra's pieces—raises troubling questions about artists inhabiting the position of the "worker," as they are most often removed or distanced from the bodily danger posed by the manipulation of equipment and heavy materials.

142 For instance, the exhibit is nowhere mentioned in the large-scale retrospective *Robert Morris: The Mind/Body Problem* (New York: Guggenheim Museum, 1994). This absence is noted by Pepe Karmel in his 1995 interview with the artist, "Robert Morris: Formal Disclosures," *Art in America* 83 (June 1995): 88–95, 117, 119.

143 Potts, *Sculptural Imagination*, 251.

4. LUCY LIPPARD'S FEMINIST LABOR

The epigraph is from Lucy Lippard, "The Art Workers' Coalition: Not a History," *Studio International*, November 1970, reprinted in Lucy Lippard, *Get the Message? A Decade of Art for Social Change* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1984), 15.

1   Lippard to Jim Fitzsimmons, December 11, 1964, Lucy Lippard Papers, AAA.

2   In Lucy Lippard, "Freelancing the Dragon: An Interview with the Editors of *Art-Rite*," *Art-Rite*, no. 5 (Spring 1974), reprinted in Lucy Lippard, *From the Center: Feminist Essays on Women's Art* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1976), 17 (all further page citations are to reprint).

3   Ellen Willis, "Radical Feminism and Feminist Radicalism," in *The '60s without Apology*, ed. Sohnya Sayres et al. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), 94.

4   Barbara Ryan, *Feminism and the Women's Movement: Dynamics of Change in Social Movements, Ideology, and Activism* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 42.

5   Ruth Milkman, ed., *Women, Work, and Protest: A Century of U.S. Women's Labor History* (New York: Routledge, 1985).

6   Presidential Commission on the Status of Women, *American Women* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1963).

7   Alice Kessler-Harris, *A Woman's Wage: Historical Meanings and Social Consequences* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1990). An in-depth look at the comparable worth movement in the United States can be found in Linda M. Blum's *Between Feminism and Labor: The Significance of the Comparable Worth Movement* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991).

8   For more on the distinction between cultural and radical feminism, see Alice Echols, *Daring to Be Bad: Radical Feminism in America, 1967–1975* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989).

9   Redstockings, "The Redstockings Manifesto," in *Feminist Revolution*, ed. Redstockings (New Paltz: Redstockings, 1975), 4.

10 Anne M. Wagner, *Three Artists (Three Women): Modernism and the Art of Hesse, Krasner, and O'Keeffe* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996) 238.

11 For a more comprehensive look at her turn away from formalism, see Laura Cottingham, "Shifting Ground: On the Critical Practice of Lucy Lippard," in *Seeing through the Seventies: Essays on Feminism and Art* (Amsterdam: G and B Arts, 2000), 1–46. Another examination of her engagement with activism is found in Jayne Wark, *Radical Gestures: Feminism and Performance Art in North America, 1970–2000* (Montreal: McGill Queens University Press, 2006).

12 For a book that follows this arc precisely, see Sara Evans, *Personal Politics: The Roots of Women's Liberation in the Civil Rights Movement and the New Left* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979).

13   Lucy Lippard, "Changing since *Changing,*" in *From the Center,* 2.

14   Ibid., 3. Anna C. Chave has tracked how such dense social networks might have affected the critical reception of minimalism (in "Minimalism and Biography," *Art Bulletin* 82, no. 1 [March 2000]: 149–63).

15   Robert Ryman, interview by Paul Cummings, transcript, Oral History Project, AAA, reel 3949, 33.

16   Lippard, "Freelancing the Dragon," 16.

17   Ibid., 17.

18   Friedrich Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State* (1884), ed. Eleanor Burke Leacock (New York: International Publishers, 1972); Simone de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex* (1949), trans. H. M. Parshley (New York: Penguin Books, 1972).

19   Germaine Greer, *The Female Eunuch* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1971), 25.

20   Lippard, "Freelancing the Dragon," 16.

21   Lucy Lippard, *Changing: Essays in Art Criticism* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1971), and "Changing since *Changing,*" 2.

22   Lucy Lippard to MacDowell Colony, dated March 11, 1965, Lucy Lippard papers, AAA.

23   Amy Newman, introduction to *Challenging Art: Artforum, 1962–1974,* ed. Amy Newman (New York: Soho Press, 2000), 7.

24   Irving Sandler, *American Art of the 1960s* (New York: Harper and Row, 1988), 115.

25   Lucy Lippard, preface to *Six Years: The Dematerialization of the Art Object, 1966–1972* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 8. The unpublished transcript of the complete interview, conducted with Ursula Meyer in December 1969, is in Lucy Lippard Papers, AAA. Many of the incidents that she recalls about her trip to Argentina were shared with me in an ongoing series of interviews conducted between 2003 and 2008.

26   Lippard, *From the Center,* 3, and *Get the Message?* 2.

27   In fact Lippard's trip has been a point of contention in arguments about the influence of South American on North American conceptual art; the Argentinean theorist Oscar Masotta used the term *dematerialization* a full year before Lippard. See Oscar Masotta's "Después del Pop, nosotros desmaterializamos" (After Pop, We Dematerialize), lecture presented at the Instituto Di Tella in Buenos Aires, July 21, 1967, reprinted in Mari Carmen Ramírez and Héctor Olea, *Inverted Utopias: Avant-Garde Art in Latin America* (Houston: Museum of Fine Arts, 2004), 532–33.

28   Lippard herself sees the basic lesson of this trip as a "one-liner" about stopping art "when the world is such a mess." Lippard, phone interview, September 17, 2008.

29   Lucy Lippard, phone interviews, November 10 and December 12, 2003.

30   Lippard, preface to *Six Years,* 8.

31   Lippard, *Get the Message?* 2.

32   Lucy Lippard, phone conversation, September 14, 2004.

33   Lucy Lippard, phone conversation, November 26, 2003.

34   Andrea Giunta, *Avant-Garde, Internationalism, and Politics: Argentine Art in the Sixties,* trans. Peter Kahn (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007), 269.

35   Juan Pablo Renzi et al., "We Must Always Resist the Lures of Complicity," paper presented

in Rosario, 1968, trans. Marguerite Feitlowitz and reprinted in *Listen! Here! Now! Argentine Art of the 1960s: Writings of the Avant-Garde,* ed. Inés Katzenstein (New York: MoMA, 2004), 295.

36   See the discussion of the debates around Dan Flavin's use of GE lightbulbs in Chapter 2.

37   Gregory Battcock, "Marcuse and Anti-Art II," *Arts Magazine,* November 1969, 20–22.

38   *Tucumán Burns* has been written about at greater length by Andrea Giunta, Alexander Alberro, and Mari Carmen Ramírez. See Giunta, *Avant-Garde, Internationalism;* Alexander Alberro, "A Media Art: Conceptualism in Latin America in the 1960s," in *Rewriting Conceptual Art,* ed. Michael Newman and Jon Bird (London: Reaktion Books, 1999), 140–51; and Mari Carmen Ramírez, "Tactics for Thriving on Adversity: Conceptualism in Latin America, 1960–1980," in Ramírez and Olea, *Inverted Utopias,* 425–42.

39   The *New York Times* reported that the region was "in a state of incipient rebellion." Malcolm W. Browne, "Argentine Province Nears Revolt amid Poverty and Repression," *New York Times,* August 4, 1968, 4.

40   See the "Tucumán Burns" manifesto, by Maria Teresa Gramuglio and Nicolás Rosa, reprinted in Alexander Alberro and Blake Stimson, eds., *Conceptual Art: A Critical Anthology* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2000), 76–81.

41   Eduardo Costa, Roberto Jacoby, and Raul Escari, "A Mass Mediatic Art," in Ramírez and Olea, *Inverted Utopias,* 531.

42   Giunta, *Avant-Garde, Internationalism,* 274.

43   Luis Camnitzer, *Conceptualism in Latin America: Didactics of Liberation* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2007), 68.

44   Lippard, *From the Center,* 3.

45   A film about this event directed by Mariana Marchesi was shown at the 1999 *Global Conceptualism* show at the Queens Museum.

46   Lippard, preface to *Six Years,* 6.

47   Lippard, "Toward a Dematerialized or Non Object Art," typewritten transcript of lecture given at the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, November 29, 1969, Lucy Lippard Papers, AAA.

48   More about this exhibit appears in Chapter 5.

49   Blake Stimson, "'Dada—Situationism/Tupanamos—Conceptualism': An Interview with Luis Camnitzer," in Alberro and Stimson, *Conceptual Art,* 499.

50   Ringgold recounts her involvement with and then detachment from the group in *We Flew over the Bridge: The Memoirs of Faith Ringgold* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1995).

51   Lippard to Martha Rosler, February 6, 1977, Lucy Lippard Papers, AAA.

52   Ramírez has argued that *Tucumán Burns* is in fact more closely aligned with a heroic avant-garde than with the neo-avant-garde, which alerts us to rethink how the avant-garde positions itself quite locally against the state and the institution. See Mari Carmen Ramírez, "Blueprint Circuits: Conceptual Art and Politics in Latin America," in Alberro and Stimson, *Conceptual Art,* 550–63. This statement also asks us to question the accepted periodization of the transition from the avant-garde to the neo-avant-garde in the 1960s and to account for the diversity of these developments internationally.

53   For more on Lippard's retrospective take on the AWC and WAR, see "Biting the Hand: Artists

and Museums in New York since 1969," in *Alternative Art, New York, 1965–1985*, ed. Julie Ault (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2002), 79–114.

54   Lippard, statement for the April 10, 1969, open hearing, in AWC, *An Open 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* (New York: AWC, 1970), 57.

55   Timothy Ferris, "A Creepy Protest at Museum," *New York Post*, January 13, 1971; Lucy Lippard, "Charitable Visits by the AWC to MoMA and the Met," *Element*, January 1971, reprinted in *Get the Message?* 21.

56   Jean Toche, interview, September 21, 2001.

57   Lucy Lippard, "The Dilemma," *Arts Magazine*, November 1970, reprinted in *Get the Message?* 4–10 (all further page citations are to reprint).

58   Quoted in Lippard, "Sol LeWitt," in *Sol LeWitt*, ed. Alicia Legg (New York: MoMA, 1978).

59   Lippard, "Dilemma," 7.

60   Lippard, "Prefatory Note," in *Get the Message?* 2.

61   This figure cited to me by Paula Cooper in an interview, April 2, 2002, was $10,000, but the gallery does not have complete records about what sold. Student Mobe file, Lucy Lippard Papers, AAA.

62   Press release, "For Peace," Student Mobe file, Lucy Lippard Papers, AAA.

63   Ibid.

64   Grace Glueck, "A Party That Includes You Out," *New York Times*, October 27, 1968, D26.

65   Gene Tulchin, phone interview, November 12, 2007.

66   Therese Schwartz, "The Politicalization of the Avant-Garde," *Art in America* 59 (November–December 1971): 99–100.

67   Lucy Lippard, phone interview, October 15, 2003.

68   A comparable wage system had been worked out several years earlier by Ed Kienholz in his series *Concept Tableaux* (1963–67). Kienholz, in his contract drawn up with gallerist Dwan, stated that "the hourly wage shall be a sum equal to the combined hourly union wage scale for plumbers, electricians, and carpenters then prevailing in the Los Angeles area." See Ed Kienholz, "Contract for the Purchase of a Concept Tableau," Dwan Gallery file, Lucy Lippard Papers, AAA.

69   Sol LeWitt, "Paragraphs on Conceptual Art," *Artforum* 5 (June 1967): 83.

70   Bernice Rose, "Sol LeWitt and Drawing," in *Sol LeWitt* (New York: MoMA, 1978), 26.

71   Lucy Lippard, "Back to Square One: Remembering Sol LeWitt (1928–2007)," *Art in America* 95 (June–July 2007): 47.

72   Sol LeWitt, "Sentences on Conceptual Art," *0–9*, no. 5 (January 1969): 3.

73   "Major Exhibition of Non-Objective Art, Oct. 22," press release, vertical files, Smithsonian American Art Museum Library.

74   See, for example, Ursula Meyer, "De-Objectification of the Object," *Arts Magazine*, Summer 1969, 20–22.

75   Gregory Battcock, "Art: Reviewing the Above Statement," *Free Press Critique*, October 1968, B1.

76   Lippard, *Six Years*, 100.

77   Anonymous flyer, 1969, MoMA file, Lucy Lippard Papers, AAA.

78   Lippard, "Dilemma," 9.

79   Suzaan Boettger discusses the multiple reframings of Smithson's woodshed in *Earthworks: Art and the Landscape of the Sixties* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).

80   Lucy Lippard, "(I) Some Political Posters and (II) Some Questions They Raise about Art and Politics," *Data Arte,* November–December 1975, reprinted in *Get the Message?* 29.

81   Lippard, "Freelancing the Dragon," 25.

82   AWC, "The Art Magazines: Demands of the Publications Committee, AWC," April 1970, Virginia Admiral Papers, AWC file, AAA.

83   Paula Cooper, interview, April 2, 2002.

84   Gregory Battcock, "Remarks Read to the Meeting of the Art Workers Coalition and the Critics from the International Association of Art Critics," November 10, 1969, Virginia Admiral Papers, AWC file, AAA.

85   Gregory Battcock, "Informative Exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art," *Arts Magazine,* Summer 1970, 24–27.

86   For more on conceptual projects in magazines, see Anne Rorimer, "Siting the Page: Exhibiting Works in Publications—Some Examples of Conceptual Art in the USA," in M. Newman and Bird, *Rewriting Conceptual Art,* 11–26.

87   Joseph Kosuth, "Introductory Note by the American Editor," *Art-Language* 1, no. 2 (1970): 2.

88   Ursula Meyer, *Conceptual Art* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1972), viii.

89   Lucy Lippard, interview by Ursula Meyer, December 1969, excerpted in the preface to Lippard, *Six Years,* 7.

90   Lucy Lippard, "Intersections," in *Flypunkter/Vanishing Points* (Stockholm: Moderna Museet, 1984), 14.

91   Peter Plagens, review of "557,087," *Artforum* 8 (November 1969): 64–67.

92   Lippard, *Changing,* 12.

93   Anne d'Harnoncourt and Kynaston McShine, eds., *Marcel Duchamp* (New York: MoMA, 1973), 200–211.

94   Lucy Lippard, "Absentee Information and/or Criticism," in *Information,* ed. Kynaston McShine (New York: MoMA, 1970), 74–81.

95   Lippard, preface to *Six Years,* 5.

96   McShine, *Information,* 2.

97   Barbara Reise to Lippard, January 29, 1971, TGA.

98   Judy Klemesrud, "Coming Wednesday: A Herstory-Making Event," *New York Times Sunday Magazine,* August 23, 1970, 4–10.

99   This wave of strikes is discussed in Chapter 3.

100   Betty Friedan, quoted in Deirdre Carmody, "General Strike by U.S. Women Urged to Mark 19th Amendment," *New York Times,* March 21, 1970, 20.

101   Lippard, "Prefatory Note," 3.

102   Lippard, "Changing since *Changing,*" 4.

103   C. Wright Mills, *The Sociological Imagination* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959); Carol Hanisch, "The Personal Is Political" (1969), reprinted in *Feminist Revolution* (New Paltz: Redstockings Press, 1975), 204–5.

104   Sophy Burnham, *The Art Crowd* (New York: David McKay, 1973), 16.

105   Juliette Gordon, "The History of Our WAR from the Beginnings to Today or Life under Fire in the Art World Dear Workers," *Manhattan Tribune*, May 2, 1970, reprinted in Jacqueline Skiles and Janet McDevitt, eds., *A Documentary Herstory of Women Artists in Revolution* (New York: Women Artists in Revolution, 1971), 4.

106   Lippard to Jan (last name unknown), July 27, 1975, Lucy Lippard Papers, AAA.

107   Harmony Hammond—another single mother—recalls Lippard coming to do a studio visit in the early 1970s, when both of them had their children in tow. "It was a tremendous relief to be validated as a mother and a working woman by another woman in the same position." Hammond, interview, September 13, 2008.

108   Clement Greenberg, interview, *Montreal Star,* November 29, 1969, quoted in Lucy Lippard, "Prefaces to Catalogues," in *From the Center,* 41.

109   Barbara Rose, "ABC Art," *Art in America* 53 (October–November 1965): 57–69; Lucy Lippard, "New York Letter: Rejective Art," *Art International* 9 (September 1965): 58–63; and Annette Michelson, "An Aesthetics of Transgression," in *Robert Morris* (Washington, DC: Corcoran Gallery of Art, 1969), 7–75.

110   Ti-Grace Atkinson, *Amazon Odyssey* (New York: Putnam, 1974).

111   Jill Johnston, *Lesbian Nation: The Feminist Solution* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1973).

112   Echols, *Daring to Be Bad,* 317 n. 70. See Shulamith Firestone, *The Dialectic of Sex: The Case for Feminist Revolution* (New York: Bantam Books, 1970); Kate Millett, *Sexual Politics* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1970); and Patricia Mainardi, "The Politics of Housework," reprinted in *Sisterhood Is Powerful,* ed. Robin Morgan (New York: Random House, 1970), 447–54.

113   Lippard, *Get the Message?* 3.

114   Lucy Lippard, *I See/You Mean* (Los Angeles: Chrysalis Books, 1979). Although Lippard has written other fiction, this remains her only published novel.

115   Working with this tiny press had its drawbacks. The book was published in a very limited run (two thousand copies), the money was put up front by Lippard herself for the printing costs, and the press did such a poor job of distributing it that she said she has "cases" of the book in a closet somewhere. Lippard, phone interview, November 10, 2003.

116   Lippard, *I See/You Mean,* 6.

117   Quoted in Susan Stoops, "From Eccentric to Sensuous Abstraction: An Interview with Lucy Lippard," in *More Than Minimal: Feminist Abstraction in the 1970s* (Waltham, MA: Rose Art Museum, Brandeis University, 1996), 27.

118   Lippard, *I See/You Mean,* 18.

119   Lucy Lippard, "Escape Attempts," in *Six Years,* xv.

120   Lippard, *I See/You Mean,* 40.

121   Ibid., 41.

122   Ibid., 8.

123 Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography,* trans. Richard Howard (New York: Hill and Wang, 1980).

124 Lippard, *I See/You Mean,* 44.

125 Ibid., 52.

126 For an outline of consciousness-raising practices, see Kathie Sarachild, "Radical Feminist Consciousness Raising," speech given at the First National Women's Liberation Conference, Chicago, November 27, 1968, reprinted in Shulamith Firestone, ed., *Notes from the Second Year: Women's Liberation* (New York: Tanner Press, 1970), 295–309.

127 Anita Shreve, "The Group: Twelve Years Later," *New York Times Magazine,* July 6, 1986, 3.

128 Lippard, *I See/You Mean,* 43.

129 Ibid., 49.

130 Lippard, "Changing since *Changing,*" 4.

131 Ibid., 2.

132 Grace Glueck, "Women Artists Demonstrate at the Whitney," *New York Times,* December 12, 1970, A19.

133 Handwritten postcard from Andre to Reise, January 14, 1971, Reise papers, TGA.

134 Lucy Lippard, phone interview, November 2001.

135 Firestone, *Dialectic of Sex,* 33.

136 Quoted in A. Newman, *Challenging Art,* 171.

137 This letter is undated, but its unmistakable references to specific actions by the AWC locate it sometime in 1970. Lucy Lippard Papers, AAA.

138 Lucy Lippard, "Twenty-Six Contemporary Women Artists," in *Twenty-Six Contemporary Women Artists,* exh. cat. (Ridgefield, CT: Aldrich Museum, 1971), reprinted in Lippard, "Prefaces to Catalogues," 41 (all further page citations are to reprint).

139 Lippard, "Changing since *Changing,*" 13.

140 Lippard, "Twenty-Six Contemporary Women Artists," 41.

141 Juliet Mitchell, "Women: The Longest Revolution," *New Left Review,* no. 40 (December 1966): 15–27.

142 See, for instance, the range of perspectives represented in Ellen Malos, ed., *The Politics of Housework* (New York: New Clarion Press, 1975).

143 Alice Kessler-Harris, *Women Have Always Worked: A Historical Overview* (Old Westbury, NY: Feminist Press, 1981), 41.

144 Lippard, "Twenty-Six Contemporary Women Artists," 42.

145 See the interview with four striking PASTA workers (all of them women) in Lawrence Alloway and John Coplans, "Strike at the Modern," *Artforum* 12 (December 1973): 47.

146 Lucy Lippard, "The Pink Glass Swan," in *The Pink Glass Swan: Selected Essays on Feminist Art* (New York: New Press, 1995), 123.

147 Cottingham, "Shifting Ground," 25.

148 Andrea Fraser has recently taken up the idea of the "service economy" of art, in all its registers; see Fraser, "How to Provide an Artistic Service: An Introduction," in *Museum Highlights: The Writings of Andrea Fraser* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2007), 153–62. See also Steven Henry Madoff, "Service Aesthetics," *Artforum,* September 2008, 165–69, 484.

149 Mierle Laderman Ukeles, "Maintenance Art Manifesto" (1969), reprinted in *Documents* 10 (Fall 1996): 10.

150 Helen Molesworth, "Cleaning Up in the 1970s: The Work of Judy Chicago, Mary Kelly and Mierle Laderman Ukeles," in M. Newman and Bird, *Rewriting Conceptual Art*, 114.

151 Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958), 87.

152 Ibid., 100.

153 Ibid., 167.

154 Ukeles's later work would in fact investigate the world of garbage collection; her *Touch Sanitation* piece (1978–80) involved her personally shaking hands with and thanking over 8,500 New York City sanitation workers.

155 See Griselda Pollock and Rozsika Parker, *Old Mistresses: Women, Art, and Ideology* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981), and Rozsika Parker, *The Subversive Stitch: Embroidery and the Making of the Feminine* (London: New Women's Press, 1984). The feminist history here is rich and crucial; one galvanizing figure regarding craft as women's work has been Judy Chicago and her *Dinner Party* (1974–79). For more on this work's lasting importance, see Amelia Jones, ed., *Sexual Politics: Judy Chicago's Dinner Party in Feminist Art History* (Los Angeles: UCLA, Armand Hammer Museum of Art and Cultural Center/University of California Press, 1996).

156 Patricia Mainardi, "Quilts: The Great American Art." *Feminist Art Journal* 2 (Winter 1973): 1, 18–23.

157 Faith Wilding, "Monstrous Domesticity," in *M/E/A/N/I/N/G: An Anthology of Artists' Writings, Theory, and Criticism*, ed. Susan Bee and Mira Schor (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000), 87–104. For more on *Womanhouse*, see Arlene Raven, "Womanhouse," in *The Power of Feminist Art: The American Movement of the 1970s, History and Impact*, ed. Norma Broude and Mary D. Garrard (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1994), 48–65.

158 Lucy Lippard, "Fragments," in *From the Center*, 63.

159 Elissa Auther, *String, Felt, Thread and the Hierarchy of Art and Craft in American Art, 1960–1980* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009).

160 Lucy Lippard, *Eva Hesse* (New York: New York University Press, 1976), 209.

161 Lucy Lippard, "Household Images in Art," *Ms.*, March 1973, reprinted in *From the Center*, 56–59.

162 Lucy Lippard, "Making Something from Nothing (Towards a Definition of Women's 'Hobby Art')," *Heresies*, no. 4 ("Women's Traditional Arts and the Politics of Aesthetics"; Winter 1978), 65.

163 Roundtable discussion, "What Is Female Imagery?" *Ms.*, May 1975, 23–29.

164 For instances of this dialogical writing, see Lucy Lippard, "Six," *Studio International* 183 (February 1974): 18–21, and "What, Then, Is the Relationship between Art and Politics?" in *Get the Message?* 30–36.

165 See Lucy Lippard and Candace Hill-Montgomery, "Working Women/Working Artists/Working Together," *Women's Art Journal* 3 (Spring–Summer 1982): 19–20. This is just one example; Mary Kelly and other British feminists also produced art collectively with working women from 1973 to 1975, including an extensive chronicle of the hours of unpaid domestic labor performed by female factory workers. Margaret Harrison, Kay Hunt, and Mary

Kelly, *Women and Work: A Document on the Division of Labor in Industry* (London: South London Art Gallery, 1975). Lippard also worked directly with unions beyond an explicitly feminist context, in shows such as *Artists Working with Unions: Union Made* (1984), organized by Jerry Kearns and Lippard for Bread and Roses, held at the District 1199 Cultural Center in New York.

166   Nicolas Bourriaud, *Esthétique relationelle* (Dijon: Les presses du réel, 1998); English ed., *Relational Aesthetics,* 2002; this translation by David Macey, in Claire Bishop, ed., *Participation: Documents of Contemporary Art* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press), 160.

167   Lippard, preface to *Six Years,* 8–9.

168   The emphasis I place on this trip departs from Lippard's own sense of its importance in her career. While I respect her account, I nevertheless wish to make an interpretive leap to suggest that the implications of the Argentina visit were potentially far-reaching.

5. HANS HAACKE'S PAPERWORK

1   Jack Burnham, "Note on Art and Information Processing," in *Software: Information Technology. Its Meaning for Art,* exh. cat. (New York: Jewish Museum of Art, 1970).

2   David Lamelas, conversation with author, Los Angeles, October 1, 2004.

3   Roberto Jacoby, "Message in the Di Tella," flyer distributed as part of *Experiencias 68.* Courtesy of the artist. Translation by the author.

4   See Hans Haacke et al., *Framing and Being Framed: 7 Works, 1970–1975* (Halifax: Press of the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, 1975). The Haacke literature is rich and extensive, including Rosalyn Deutsche, "Property Values: Hans Haacke, Real Estate, and the Museum," in *Evictions: Art and Spatial Politics* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1996), 159–94; Brian Wallis, ed., *Hans Haacke: Unfinished Business* (New York: New Museum, 1986); the numerous essays by Benjamin Buchloh, especially "Hans Haacke: Memory and Institutional Reason," *Art in America* 76 (February 1988), reprinted in his *Neo-Avant Garde and Culture Industry* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2000), 203–41 (all page citations are to reprint); and Matthias Flügge and Robert Fleck, eds., *Hans Haacke: For Real, Works, 1959–2006* (Berlin: Richter, 2007).

5   Michael Hardt, "Immaterial Labor and Artistic Production," *Rethinking Marxism* 17 (April 2005): 175–77. This concept has gained wide currency among many theorists and has been written about in texts such as Marina Vishmidt and Melanie Gilligan, eds., *Immaterial Labour: Work, Research and Art* (London: Black Dog Press, 2005); Maurizio Lazzarato, "Immaterial Labor," in *Radical Thought in Italy: A Potential Politics,* ed. Paolo Virno and Michael Hardt (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006). Extending and revising these ideas within the realm of artistic production are the writings of Sabeth Buchmann, Brian Holmes, and John Roberts; see, for instance, Sabeth Buchmann, "Under the Sign of Labor," in *Art after Conceptual Art,* ed. Alexander Alberro and Sabeth Buchmann (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2006), 179–95; "The Spaces of a Cultural Question: An E-Mail Interview with Brian Holmes," 2004, www.republicart.net/disc/precariat/holmes-osten01_en.htm; John Roberts, *The Intangibilities of Form: Skill and Deskilling in Art after the Readymade* (London: Verso, 2007).

6   Jack Burnham, "Systems Esthetics," *Artforum* 7 (September 1968): 30–35, and "Real Time Systems," *Artforum* 8 (September 1969): 49–55.

7   Pamela Lee, *Chronophobia: On Time in the Art of the 1960s* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2004), 62.

8   See Sabeth Buchmann, "From Systems-Oriented Art to Biopolitical Art Practice," paper presented at the Tate Modern conference "Open Systems: Rethinking Art c. 1970," September 17, 2005, http.//publication.nodel.org/From-Systems-Oriented-Art-to-Biopolitical-Art-Practice.

9   Jeanne Siegel, "An Interview with Hans Haacke," *Arts Magazine,* May 1971, 19.

10   Haacke's comments are in Carl Andre, Hans Haacke, Jean Perreault, and Cindy Nemser, "The Role of the Artist in Today's Society," symposium at the Allen Memorial Art Museum of Oberlin College, April 29, 1973, published in *Art Journal* 43 (Summer 1975): 327–28. Haacke still uses the artists' contract; see Roberta Smith, "When Artists Seek Royalties on Their Resales," *New York Times,* May 31, 1987, H29–30.

11   AWC, "Program for Change," AWC file, MoMA Archives.

12   Hans Haacke, "Museums: Managers of Consciousness," in Wallis, *Hans Haacke,* 60–72.

13   Yves-Alain Bois, Douglas Crimp, and Rosalind Krauss, "A Conversation with Hans Haacke," *October* 30 (Fall 1984): 47.

14   Deutsche, "Property Values"; Buchloh, "Hans Haacke: Memory."

15   Benjamin Buchloh, "Hans Haacke: From Factographic Sculpture to Counter-Monument," in Flügge and Fleck, *Hans Haacke,* 42–59.

16   Buchloh, "Hans Haacke: Memory," 211.

17   Kirsi Peltomäki, "Affect and Spectatorial Agency: Viewing Institutional Critique in the 1970s," *Art Journal* 66 (Winter 2007): 37–51.

18   Although he planned these polls in 1969, because of software malfunctions the first completed tabulations occurred in 1971. See Wallis, *Hans Haacke,* 83–85.

19   Pierre Bourdieu and Alain Darbel, *The Love of Art: European Art Museums and Their Public,* trans. Caroline Beatty and Nick Merriman (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), originally published as *L'amour de l'art, les musées d'art européens et leur public* (Paris: Editions de minuit, 1966). Haacke recalls reading Bourdieu's works by the early 1970s in German translations, in particular *Foundations for a Theory of Symbolic Violence* and *On the Sociology of Symbolic Forms;* see Molly Nesbit, *Hans Haacke* (London: Phaidon Press, 2004), 8.

20   Bourdieu and Darbel, *Love of Art,* 71.

21   See Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production,* ed. Randal Johnson (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 37.

22   Pierre Bourdieu and Hans Haacke, *Free Exchange,* trans. Randal Johnson and Hans Haacke (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995), originally published as *Libre-échange* (Paris: Le seuil/Les presses du réel, 1994).

23   Bourdieu and Darbel, *Love of Art,* 113.

24   Rosalyn Deutsche, "The Art of Not Being Governed Quite So Much," in Flügge and Fleck, *Hans Haacke,* 69.

25   Jeanne Siegel, "Interview with Hans Haacke," 20.

26 Lucy Lippard and John Chandler, "The Dematerialization of Art," *Art International* 12 (February 1968): 31–36.

27 Siegel, "Interview with Hans Haacke," 21.

28 Herbert Marcuse, *Counterrevolution and Revolt* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1972), 55.

29 See Paul Osterman et al., *Working in America: A Blueprint for the New Labor Market* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2003).

30 Benjamin Buchloh, "Conceptual Art, 1962–1969: From the Aesthetic of Administration to the Critique of Institutions," in *L'art conceptuel: Une perspective,* ed. Claude Gurtz (Paris: Musée d'art moderne de la ville de Paris, 1989), 25–53, reprinted in *October* 55 (Winter 1990): 105–43.

31 Howard Junker, "Idea as Art," *Newsweek,* August 11, 1969, 81.

32 Sol LeWitt, "Serial Project #1," *Aspen Magazine,* no. 5–6 (1967): n.p.

33 On EAT, see Lee, *Chronophobia,* and Anne Collins Goodyear, "The Relationship of Art to Science and Technology in the United States, 1957–1971: Five Case Studies" (PhD diss., University of Texas, 2002).

34 John A. Walker, "APG: The Individual and the Organization," *Studio International* 185 (April 1976): 160.

35 Lucy Lippard, interview by Ursula Meyer, December 1969, unpublished draft, excerpts of which were published in Lucy Lippard, *Six Years: The Dematerialization of the Art Object, 1966–1972* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), "Concept Art" file, Lucy Lippard Papers, AAA, 14.

36 Paul Eleey, "Context Is Half the Work," *Frieze,* November–December 2007, 154–59.

37 Hans Haacke, statement in AWC, *Open Hearing,* 46–47.

38 A chronology of these events is found in Benny Andrews, "Benny Andrews' Journal: A Black Artist's View of Artistic and Political Activism, 1963–1973," in Mary Schmidt Campbell, *Tradition and Conflict: Images of a Turbulent Decade, 1963–1973* (New York: Studio Museum in Harlem, 1985), 68–73.

39 For an incisive look at how "community" is marshaled for a variety of purposes but rarely cogently delineated, see Miwon Kwon, *One Place after Another: Site Specific Art and Locational Identity* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2002).

40 For an overview of the history of El Museo, see Fatima Bercht and Deborah Cullen, eds., *Voces y visiones: Highlights from El Museo del Barrio's Permanent Collection* (New York: Museo del Barrio, 2003).

41 Lucy Lippard, "Toward a Dematerialized or Non Art Object," typewritten transcript of lecture given at the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, November 29, 1969, 13, Lucy Lippard Papers, AAA.

42 Alan Moore has discussed GAAG as protojournalists in his "Collectivities: Protest, Counterculture, and Political Postmodernism in New York City Artists' Organizations, 1969–1985" (PhD diss., City University of New York, 2000). More on GAAG can be found in Bradford Martin, *The Theater Is in the Streets: Politics and Public Performance in Sixties America* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2004).

43 See GAAG, *GAAG, the Guerrilla Art Action Group, 1969–76: A Selection* (New York: Printed Matter, 1978), n.p.

44   Jon Hendricks, interview, October 2002.

45   GAAG, "Communiqué," in *GAAG*, n.p. For more on the antiwar theatrical events of this time, see Norma M. Alter, *Vietnam Protest Theater: The Televised War on Stage* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996).

46   Bois, Crimp, and Krauss, "Conversation with Hans Haacke," 47.

47   Because of the connections between Dow Chemical and Andre's magnesium plates, I attempted to find out where Haacke got his magnesium, but he has no recollection of where the metal might have come from other than "a supply store on Canal Street." Hans Haacke, phone interview, October 27, 2003.

48   Jeanne Siegel, "Carl Andre: Artworker," in *Artwords: Discourse on the 60s and 70s* (New York: De Capo, 1985), 132.

49   Hans Haacke, interview, April 21, 2007. See also Tim Griffin, "Historical Survey: An Interview with Hans Haacke," *Artforum* 43 (September 2004).

50   Hans Haacke, "Proposal," in *Information*, ed. Kynaston McShine (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1970), 57.

51   John Hightower, interview by Sharon Zane, April 1996, transcript, MoMA Oral History Project, MoMA Archives, 60.

52   John Hightower to Gov. Nelson Rockefeller, July 2, 1970, John Hightower Papers, MoMA Archives. The Rockefellers do not have fond memories of Hightower's brief (two-year) reign as director of MoMA. David Rockefeller criticized how the museum turned "into a forum for antiwar activism and sexual liberation," recalling a 1970 show where viewers were invited to have sex behind burlap curtains (certainly an apocryphal tale). Quoted in Kelly Devine Thomas, "From Little Men in Red Coats to 'Boy with a Red Vest,'" *ARTNews*, April 2003, 118–19.

53   Herbert Marcuse, "Repressive Tolerance," in *A Critique of Pure Tolerance*, ed. Robert Paul Wolff, Barrington Moore Jr., and Herbert Marcuse (Boston: Beacon Press, 1969), 95–137.

54   For more on Foucault and governmentality in the case of the museum, see Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (New York: Routledge, 1995), and George Yúdice, Fredric Jameson, and Stanley Fish, eds., *The Expediency of Culture: Uses of Culture in a Global Era* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003).

55   Typed statement from Hans Haacke "to all interested parties re: cancellation of Haacke one-man exhibition at Guggenheim Museum," April 3, 1971, 2, Haacke personal papers, New York.

56   "Asking the Right Questions," *Science News*, July 11, 1970, 31.

57   Siegel, "Interview with Hans Haacke," 19.

58   Hilton Kramer, "The National Gallery Is Growing: Risks and Promises," *New York Times*, June 9, 1974, 137.

59   For an intelligent discussion of the *Information* show, see Eve Meltzer, "The Dream of the Information World," *Oxford Art Journal* 29, no. 1 (2006): 115–35.

60   Hilton Kramer, "Miracles, 'Information,' Recommended Reading," *New York Times*, July 11, 1970, D19.

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62 Ibid., 27. In a footnote, Battcock cites R. W. Marks's *The Meaning of Marcuse* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1970).

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64 Gregory Battcock, "Art in the Service of the Left?" in *Idea Art* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1973), 18–29.

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66 Flyer reproduced in AWC, *Documents 1,* 1.

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68 Cindy Nemser, "A Revolution of Artists," *Art Journal* 37 (Fall 1969): 44.

69 Joseph Kosuth, "1975," *Fox,* no. 2 (1975): 94.

70 Kynaston McShine, "Essay," in McShine, *Information,* 139.

71 Lucy Lippard, "The Dilemma," *Arts Magazine,* November 1970, 29.

72 Michael Arlen, *Living-Room War* (New York: Viking Press, 1969).

73 McShine, "Essay," 138.

74 Paul Blumberg, *Industrial Democracy: The Sociology of Participation* (London: Constable, 1968).

75 Harry Braverman, *Labor and Monopoly Capital: The Degradation of Work in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1974), 24.

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82 Hans Haacke, interview, April 21, 2007. Unfortunately for the art historian, no sketches or preparatory drawings of this proposed configuration remain; Haacke dislikes keeping such artifacts for fear they will ossify into valuable artifacts.

83 Robert McFadden, "Guggenheim Aide Ousted in Dispute," *New York Times,* April 27, 1971, 12.

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85 Grace Glueck, "A Kind of Public Service," in *Hans Haacke: Bodenlos/Bottomless,* ed. Walter Grasskamp et al. (Stuttgart: Edition Cantz, 1993), 71.

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88 Thomas Messer, "Guest Editorial," *Arts Magazine,* Summer 1971, 5.

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90 From Hans Haacke, "Statement on Cancellation," April 3, 1971, Haacke personal files, New York.

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99 "Metropolitan Is Host to Antagonists," *New York Times,* October 21, 1970, 38.

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104 Andre et al., "Role of the Artist," 327–31.

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EPILOGUE

1 Martha Rosler, "The 2006 Whitney Biennial," *Artforum* 44 (May 2006): 285.

2 Daniel Birnbaum, "The 2006 Whitney Biennial," *Artforum* 44 (May 2006): 283.

3 Kirsten Forkert, "Art Workers' Coalition (Revisited)," *Journal of Aesthetics and Protest* 5 (Fall 2007): 94.

4   See the WAGE "wo/manifesto" at www.wageforwork.com.

5   Goran Dordević, "The International Strike of Artists?" Berlin, Museum für [Sub]Kultur, 1979, n.p., Art Strike files, MoMA Archives. Similarly, Gustav Metzger called for an art strike from 1977 to 1980, and U.S. and British anarchists held an art strike from 1990 to 1993 to "free the artist and the artist's product from the chain of commodity." They called on "all cultural workers to put down their tools and cease to make, distribute, sell, exhibit, or discuss their work." See Rachel Kaplan, "Adding More Fuel to the Art Strike Fire," *Coming Up!* January 1989, 29. Such strikes have not garnered much attention as a large-scale protest strategy.

6   Postcard dated March 21, 1979, in Dordević, "International Strike of Artists?"

7   Julie Ault, "For the Record," in *Alternative Art, New York, 1965–1985*, ed. Julie Ault (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002), 5.

8   Lucy Lippard, "No Regrets," *Art in America* 95 (June 2007): 75; this is a revised text of the keynote talk that opened the MoMA symposium *The Feminist Future* (January 26–27, 2007). To be fair, she calls herself a "recovering, post-feminist artworker," indicating some level of distance from the phrase.

9   Lawrence Alloway, "Museums and Unionization," *Artforum* 13 (February 1975): 4.

10   Lucy Lippard, "Biting the Hand: Artists and Museums in New York since 1969," in Ault, *Alternative Art, New York,* 91.

11   Gregory Sholette, *Dark Matter: Radical Social Production and the Missing Mass of the Contemporary Art World* (London: Pluto Press, 2009).

12   Lane Relyea, "Your Art World: Or, the Limits of Connectivity," *Afterall* 14 (Autumn–Winter 2006): 3–8.

13   Irving Sandler, *American Art of the 1960s* (New York: Harper and Row, 1988), 82.

14   Sabeth Buchmann, "Info-Work and Service Work," trans. Jamie Owen Daniel, *October* 71 (Winter 1995): 103–8.

15   Andrew Ross, "Mental Labor," Yerba Buena Center for the Arts, San Francisco, 1999, www.yerbabuenaarts.org/ed/essays/mental_labor.html, and *No-Collar: The Humane Workplace and Its Hidden Costs* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2004).

16   Brian Holmes, "The Flexible Personality: For a New Cultural Critique," in *Hieroglyphs of the Future* (Zagreb: Arkzin Press, 2003), 117; Paolo Virno, *A Grammar of the Multitude,* trans. Isabella Bertoletti, James Cascaito, and Andrea Casson (Brooklyn: Semiotext[e], 2004).

17   See Andrea Fraser's writing on the AWC and art as a service in *Museum Highlights: The Writings of Andrea Fraser,* ed. Alex Alberro (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2005).

18   Quoted in Lippard, "No Regrets," 87. This work was then parodied in Lin's *De-Strike* Net-based interactive installation at the 2007 Venice Biennale.

19   Recounted as "Action Number 4," in GAAG, *GAAG, the Guerrilla Art Action Group, 1969–76: A Selection* (New York: Printed Matter, 1978), n.p.

20   "Manifesto for the Guerrilla Art Action Group," 1969, in GAAG, *GAAG,* n.p.

21   Poppy Johnson, interview, Greenport, Long Island, October 8, 2001.

22   GAAG, "Action Number 4," n.p.

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