Art Workers should come to the SCHOOL OF VISUAL ARTS auditorium 209 East 23rd. Street, on Thursday April 10, between the hours of six and ten in the evening to hear and give testimony in:

AN OPEN PUBLIC HEARING ON THE SUBJECT:

WHAT SHOULD BE THE PROGRAM OF THE ART WORKERS REGARDING

MUSEUM REFORM

AND

TO ESTABLISH THE PROGRAM OF AN OPEN ART WORKERS COALITION

This hearing will be held according to certain rules. Every art worker who wishes to air his views will be permitted to make a statement of his attitudes and complaints about all art institutions and conditions, regardless of his point of view in strictly artistic matters, and regardless of his previous or actual affiliation with any art institutions or activities. All witnesses are encouraged to present their views in writing to make the task of producing a complete record of the testimony easier. Written material too lengthy to be read aloud may be inserted entire into the record. East witness must announce or sign his name in connection with his statement. No credentials are required.

East person who wishes to speak will be assigned, upon arrival, an approximate time for speaking. Any witness who does not wish to wait or return for his turn, may give the secretary a brief statement to be read at the appropriate time. Statements may also be read by persons other than whose signature they bear. Statements may also be made by groups provided that a member of the group signs his name. Witnesses may arrive at the meeting at any time. Additional witnesses will not be admitted to the list of speakers after nine. If there are enough additional witnesses to warrant it, another hearing will be held on the following day to complete the record of testimony.

The complete record of the proceedings of this hearing will be published and brought to the attention of all art workers and art institutions in New York City and elsewhere. An unlimited amount of copies will be made available at cost to anyone requesting them. The committee which has organized this hearing will read it carefully and prepare a report drawing conclusions from all of the testimony. This report will be freely circulated and is intended to form a solid basis for a permanent organization designed to represent the best interests of all art workers.

ART WORKERS COALITION
Public Hearing Committee
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* The numbers on this page refer to section NOT to page.
JEAN TOCHE'S

STATEMENT TO BE READ AT THE OPEN HEARING OF THE ART WORKERS
COALITION AT THE SCHOOL OF VISUAL ARTS ON APRIL 10, 1969

FIRST, I WOULD LIKE TO SUGGEST THAT THE ACTIONS SHOULD BE DIRECTED AGAINST
ALL MUSEUMS AND ALL ART INSTITUTIONS, AND ESPECIALLY AGAINST THOSE - WRITERS,
CRITICS, COLLECTORS, CURATORS... - WHO DIRECT, BEHIND THE SCENES, THAT ART
ESTABLISHMENT.
SECOND, I BELIEVE THAT THE OBJECTIVE SHOULD NOT BE TO OBTAIN A SERIES OF
REFORMS FROM THE MUSEUMS, BUT TO GET EFFECTIVE PARTICIPATION IN THE RUNNING
OF THESE INSTITUTIONS IN THE SAME MANNER AS, TODAY, STUDENTS ARE FIGHTING
FOR THE CONTROL OF THE SCHOOLS AND UNIVERSITIES. IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT
THE DIRECTORS AND CURATORS OF THE MUSEUMS HAVE NO REAL POWER, BUT MAINLY
CARRY OUT THE POLICIES OF THE MUSEUMS' PATRONS.

* * * * * * * *

REGARDING THE STRUCTURE OF THE ART WORKERS COALITION, IT IS EVIDENT THAT WE
NEED SOME KIND OF ORGANIZATION IN ORDER TO FUNCTION EFFICIENTLY. HOWEVER,
I BELIEVE IT SHOULD TAKE THE FORM OF A COMMUNE, AND NOT OF AN AUTHORITARIAN
CENTRALIZED HIERARCHY.

THEREFORE I WANT TO MAKE THE FOLLOWING SUGGESTIONS:
1. NO LEADERSHIP AND NO HIERARCHY IN ANY FORM.
2. ALL IDEAS AND CURRENTS AMONG THE COMMUNITY MUST BE RESPECTED AND
   EQUALLY GUARANTEED, EVEN IF THEY REPRESENT ONLY A MINORITY OF THINKING.
3. ALL DECISIONS ARE TAKEN BY VOTE IN A PUBLIC ASSEMBLY, OPEN TO EVERYBODY,
   TO BE CARRIED OUT BY ACTION COMMITTEES.
4. ALL ACTION COMMITTEES ARE ACCOUNTABLE TO THE PUBLIC ASSEMBLY AND THEIR
   MEMBERS CAN BE REPLACED AT ANY TIME BY THE PUBLIC ASSEMBLY. HOWEVER,
   THE ACTION COMMITTEES SHOULD HAVE A GREAT FLEXIBILITY OF ACTION,
   ESPECIALLY AT THE LEVEL OF EACH DISCIPLINE REPRESENTED, IN ORDER TO BE
   ABLE TO RESPOND IMMEDIATELY TO ANY URGENT SITUATION.
5. ANYONE CAN CALL A PUBLIC ASSEMBLY AT ANY TIME, ON 24 HOUR NOTICE. THE
   PUBLIC ASSEMBLY SHOULD MEET AT LEAST ONCE A WEEK AND, IN CASE OF
   EMERGENCY, FUNCTION ON A 24-HOUR BASIS.
6. ANYONE CAN ATTEND THE PUBLIC ASSEMBLY, MAKE SUGGESTIONS, AND VOTE.
7. AN INFORMATION COMMITTEE SHOULD BE FORMED, FOR GENERAL RESEARCH, TO
   DISTRIBUTE INFORMATION, AND TO INFORM THE PUBLIC ASSEMBLY OF ANY NEW
   DEVELOPMENTS.
8. A VIGILANCE COMMITTEE SHOULD BE FORMED, ACCOUNTABLE TO THE PUBLIC
   ASSEMBLY AND WITH ACCESS TO ALL COMMITTEES, TO REPORT ANY ATTEMPT TO
   CONTROL INFORMATION OR ACTION, OR ANY ATTEMPT OF ANY KIND TO ESTABLISH
   AN AUTHORITARIAN DICTATORSHIP.
9. SPOKESMEN FOR THE COMMUNITY SHOULD NOT HAVE ANY POWER OF ACTION OR
   DECISION. THEY ARE ACCOUNTABLE TO THE PUBLIC ASSEMBLY FOR WHAT THEY
   SAY AND WRITE, AND THEY CAN BE REPLACED AT ANY TIME BY THE PUBLIC
   ASSEMBLY.
10. A NATIONAL & INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE SHOULD BE FORMED TO SUPPORT AND
    COLLABORATE WITH SIMILAR ORGANIZATIONS OF ARTISTS, STUDENTS AND
    WORKERS FROM OTHER CITIES AND ABROAD.
11. AN ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE SHOULD BE FORMED TO COORDINATE ALL
    INFORMATION AND ACTION, AND TO PERFORM SECRETARIAL DUTIES. HOWEVER,
    THIS COMMITTEE SHOULD HAVE NO POWER OF DECISION.
12. A TREASURER SHOULD BE SELECTED WHO IS ACCOUNTABLE TO THE PUBLIC
    ASSEMBLY AND CAN BE REPLACED AT ANY TIME BY THE PUBLIC ASSEMBLY.
13. A LIBRARY SHOULD BE CONSTITUTED, OPEN TO ANYONE AT SPECIFIED TIMES,
    WITH FREE ACCESS TO ALL RECORDS OF THE PUBLIC ASSEMBLY AND OTHER
    DOCUMENTS AND INFORMATION.

* * * * * * * *
AS TO TACTICS, OUR FIRST OBJECTIVE SHOULD BE TO FIND OUT EXACTLY WHO CONTROLS, BEHIND THE SCENES, THE POLICIES OF THE MUSEUMS AND OTHER ART ESTABLISHMENT INSTITUTIONS. WE SHOULD THEN PROCEED TO TARNISH THEIR PUBLIC IMAGE IN ORDER TO FORCE THEM TO PROVE PUBLICLY WHO THEY REALLY ARE, THAT IS, THE BOSSES OF CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS WHICH MANIPULATE PEOPLE AND ARE BASICALLY AT THE SERVICE OF THE REPRESSIVE FORCES OF SOCIETY. WE MUST NOT FORGET, FOR INSTANCE, THAT THE BIG BANKS OWN A GREAT DEAL OF SOUTH AMERICA AND ARE THEREFORE RESPONSIBLE FOR SOME OF THE MISERY AND SLAVERY OF THE WORKERS IN THOSE COUNTRIES. THE PATRONAGE OF THE ARTS BY SUCH INSTITUTIONS AND PERSONALITIES EXPLAINS THE VERY PROCESS OF ALIENATION OF THE MASSES BY THE ART ESTABLISHMENT, ITS USE FOR PROPAGANDA, ITS CORRUPTION, AND ITS SEGREGATION OF BLACK AND PUERTO RICAN ARTISTS. WE CAN ONLY DO THIS BY DIRECT CONFRONTATION. BY DOING THIS WE WILL GRADUALLY GET THE SUPPORT OF OTHER ARTISTS AND OTHER PROGRESSIVE REVOLUTIONARY GROUPS. WE SHOULD ALSO PARTICIPATE, WHenever POSSIBLE, IN THE ACTIONS OF THESE OTHER GROUPS IN ORDER TO EXPAND OUR EXPERIENCE IN DEALING WITH SUCH ACTIONS AND TO DEVELOP A BINDING COMMUNITY SPIRIT.


A THIRD OBJECTIVE SHOULD BE THE FEDERAL AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS WHICH FINANCE THE PUBLIC MUSEUMS. THE PROLONGATION OF THE WAR IN VIETNAM WILL HAVE, AS A DIRECT CONSEQUENCE, A CUTBACK OF FUNDS FOR SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT AS WELL AS CULTURAL FUNDS, AND THE EVENTUAL CLOSING OF ALL PUBLIC MUSEUMS. TO FIGHT FOR CONTROL OF THE MUSEUMS IS ALSO TO BE AGAINST THE WAR IN VIETNAM. ANOTHER OBJECTIVE SHOULD BE A DIRECT PARTICIPATION OF ARTISTS IN THE ART PRESS, I.E. THE POSSIBILITY OF AN ALTERNATIVE BY ARTISTS TO WHAT THE CRITICS WRITE. THIS SHOULD LATER BE EXTENDED TO ALL THE PRESS MEDIA (DAILY PAPERS, RADIO, TELEVISION...). HOWEVER WE WILL NOT OBTAIN THAT OBJECTIVE BY CAJOLING THE MEMBERS OF THE PRESS AND BY HIDING WHAT WE REALLY ARE. WE MUST NOT FORGET THAT THEY ARE ON THE OTHER SIDE AND WILL ALWAYS TRY TO TWIST, IGNORE, OR DESTROY WHAT WE ARE FIGHTING FOR. ON THE CONTRARY, WE MUST TRY TO INVOLVE THEM DIRECTLY IN OUR ACTIONS, THAT IS, MAKE SURE THAT THESE REPORTERS ARE NOT IMMUNE TO THE REPRESSIVE PRACTICES OF THE POLICE ANY MORE THAN WE ARE. ONLY THEN WILL THEY BE ON OUR SIDE, AS HAPPENED IN CHICAGO AND DURING THE FRENCH REVOLUTION LAST MAY.

FINALLY, WE SHOULD HAVE A GOOD SYSTEM OF COMMUNICATIONS (TELEPHONE, VOLUNTARY MESSENGERS...), ESPECIALLY IN TIMES OF CRISIS, AND WHENEVER WE EXPRESS OURSELVES WE SHOULD USE A DIRECT APPROACH, AND NOT A LITERARY ONE. (BIG POSTERS PRINTED CHEAPLY BY SERIGRAPHY WITH THE HELP OF ART STUDENTS...)

JEAN TOCHE
APRIL 9, 1969
REMARKS TO THE PUBLIC HEARING

April 10, 1969
Art Workers' Coalition

So far,

The Coalition is the best trades union I have ever been associated with. This is an achievement only in terms of the trades union movement, which is a nineteenth century phenomenon rapidly passing out of style. The trade union is not being superseded by a more powerful agglomeration of suppressed forces. It is expiring because all of its aspirations have been achieved, on the one hand, and on the other, people now think differently than they did in the nineteenth century. At last! Some time ago, I had the idea that in the near future, workers will strike, but their strike will be a permanent one. They will say, we refuse to work under any conditions! At that time, there will be a general recognition of a situation which already exists on a broad scale. The series of factors which results in the requirement that each person justify his existence in terms cast down to him by superior beings of all sorts is no longer viable. Already the question of who will be offended if people say fuck on television is imponderable. A year ago, the Pope of the Roman Church made a serious announcement. He said that the church heads were facing a leadership crisis which was threatening the very foundations of that institution. The implications of all early modern revolutions from the First French Revolution to the First Russian Revolution are that one set of rulers is preferable to another. The exemplary revolution which I believe is indicated by our experience at the present time is a revolution of a substantially different sort. It is a revolution so broad in its implications that its success will render meaningless everything that can be expressed and recorded and published in connection with this hearing. I say this in order to indicate the scale of the proceedings in which I believe we are involved, no matter whether we like it or not.

We are speaking tonight in the auditorium of an art school which according to some predominant definitions of what a school is, is not a school at all. According to this definition, this school is a small business. It is as because the powers that be recognize the fact that this school does not do what all real schools must do—they must prepare people to live in a situation which must be described as slavery. It is a tribute to the School of Visual Arts and its owner Silas Rhodes that we are permitted to express such thoughts as we may care to make public on his premises.
The Art Workers' Coalition, like every other worthwhile organization, had its genesis as an anecdote. Something happened, and somebody made a fuss about it. Who this was and what happened is a matter of readily available information which is of no importance. The fact that each person who is speaking here tonight has some complaints about how life is lived at present also doesn't matter. The only thing that matters is that things are going forth. People are doing something they want to do. All artists, even the most avaricious and status-conscious artists, realize this basic reality. As my friend Carl Andre has remarked on countless occasions, anybody who thinks we are doing all this simply for money is nuts. There are a great many easier ways to get rich. I want to speak of a level of reality in which everyone realizes that everything we do is art. Those who fruitlessly oppose this view will need be deaf to my remarks.

Through the medium of this hearing, the Art Workers' Coalition has an opportunity to redefine for a modern period the question of what the reality of art consists in. This is my personal interest in this organization. I personally detest museums, and have done for many years, but this does not lead me to expect that they can be reformed for my purposes. I simply have nothing to do with them. Those who wish to reform museums are beyond my comprehension, because I am sure that nothing that is remotely connected with museums will ever interest me.

I want to pose some questions which I think should be dealt with by this organization if it is ever to become anything more than a trade union.

**How can artists demonstrate to people generally that they do not have to justify their existence as some kind of a worker?**

**How can modern art be appreciated by people who are not in on the making of it?**

**Recognizing that all art is fraudulent, what kind of a fraud should be perpetrated at this time and in this place?**

**Are artists today willing to plan on the destruction of their livelihood which consists in the entertainment of isolated, rich persons?**

**What is the consistency of the freedom which artists today enjoy?**

**How can we know it survives in a time of surpassing collectivity when as we all know it is founded on ideas of individuality, originality and private life? And if it can't survive, what forms can it take?**

**Who are we? Where do we come from? Where are we going?**

It would be possible to question this. The implications are clear: the existence of artists is threatened as a result of somebody's fight with a famous museum. I for one hope that we do not ignore these matters in favor of meaningless bullshit designed to improve working conditions.

840 Broadway, New York 3.
It happens that last night I went out to have something to eat and my tape recorder and two of the tapes that I made for a performance scheduled for later tonight were stolen from my loft because I forgot to lock the door of the elevator. This experience, although I have hardly had time to assimilate its meaning, indicated to me that I should add something to this speech specifically concerning the aspect of art which is related to private property. I believe that this organization should make no attempt to enforce the proprietary rights which may be claimed by avaricious artists. On the contrary, artists should take the lead in declaring themselves in favour of and in league with the thieves, vandals, and vandals of all sorts who are now making life difficult for people who own things, and who will soon make private property a thing of the past. In this connection, artists should renounce all claims to originality and uniqueness in their own work, and devote themselves instead to addressing and directing all the rebellious natures in society because of the privileged position which artists already enjoy, namely that of licensed disturbers of the peace.

...
"ART IS THIS INTENSE FORM OF INDIVIDUALISM THAT MAKES THE PUBLIC TRY TO EXERCISE OVER IT AN AUTHORITY THAT IS AS IMMORAL AS IT IS RIDICULOUS, AND AS CORRUPTING AS IT IS CONTEMPTIBLE. IT IS NOT QUITE THEIR FAULT. THE PUBLIC HAS ALWAYS, AND IN EVERY AGE, BEEN BADLY Brought up. THEY ARE CONTINUALLY ASKING ART TO BE POPULAR, TO PLEASE THEIR WANT OF TASTE, TO FLATTER THEIR ABSURD VANITY, TO TELL THEM WHAT THEY HAVE BEEN TOLD BEFORE, TO SHOW THEM WHAT THEY OUGHT TO BE TIRED OF SEEING, TO AMUSE THEM WHEN THEY FEEL HEAVY AFTER EATING TOO MUCH, AND TO DISTRACT THEIR THOUGHTS WHEN THEY ARE WEARIED OF THEIR OWN STUPIDITY. NOW ART SHOULD NEVER TRY TO BE POPULAR. THE PUBLIC SHOULD TRY TO MAKE ITSELF ARTISTIC."

"AN INDIVIDUAL WHO HAS TO MAKE THINGS FOR THE USE OF OTHERS, AND WITH REFERENCE TO THEIR WANTS AND WISHES, DOES NOT WORK WITH INTEREST, AND CONSEQUENTLY CANNOT PUT INTO HIS WORK WHAT IS BEST IN HIM. UPON THE OTHER HAND, WHENEVER A COMMUNITY OR A POWERFUL SECTION OF A COMMUNITY, OR A GOVERNMENT OF ANY KIND, ATTEMPTS TO DICTATE TO THE ARTIST WHAT HE IS TO DO, ART EITHER ENTIRELY VANISHES, OR BECOMES STEREOTYPED, OR DEGENERATES INTO A LOW AND IGNORABLE FORM OF CRAFT."
Why do we protest the Museum of Modern Art?

A private institution controlled by an un-paid board of trustees operating at the pleasure of these trustees, has enough problems in bringing art to the public, within the limits of its private institutionalized nature; the protest itself has been termed unwise, ungracious, and misdirected. Well, is it?

A museum operating under the guidelines that served perfectly well two hundred years ago is a threat to art and the museum today such as the Modern, the Whitney (god forgive us) and the Metropolitan are dangerous institutions that, in modern society, have no justifica-

cation except for the fact that they offer solace, amusement and distraction to the very rich. That's not all they do. If it were, there would be insufficient reason to protest. They actively support/antiquated values and distorted obsessions that are not simply hypocritical -- they are oppressive, reactionary, culturally debilitating and socially and aesthetically

dominating.

The simple fact is that those who control the museum -- whatever museum you care to consider -- are the superrich who control ALL legitimate communicative agencies. The trustees of the museums and the associated press, direct N.B.C. and C.B.S., the New York Times, and that greatest cultural travesty of modern times -- The Lincoln Center. They own A.T.& T., Ford, General motors, the great multi-billion dollar foundations, Columbia University, Alcoa, Minnesota Mining, United Fruit AND A.M.K., besides sitting on the boards of each others museums.
Newton, Minister for Defense (I'd prefer to say "Offense") for the Black Panther Party. And this is only one instance of how art can and should begin to find its way back to the mainstream of reality and to supplying the metaphysical and practical demands of the human condition rather than the psychotic caprices of the super-rich.

Since the Museum, by grace of its board of Trustees, has indirectly supported these many years the international imperialist conspiracy designed to smother the appeals from oppressed peoples everywhere, it is only fitting that now we realize what has been happening that we begin to make some amendments. In this view I again insist that Mr. Bates Lowry (I got this idea from Mark Rudd) incidentally disclose his role in the worldwide imperialist conspiracy -- I am perfectly serious -- there is so much we don't know and that he could tell us -- and that he turn himself in for a trial in front of a people's tribunal. I urge this democratic peoples body assembled here to seriously consider the enormous gains toward enlightenment of the contemporary art structure, its reasons, its behaviors and the far reaching social, cultural and ethical implications.

In otherwords, I am convinced that there is a lot to learn, and trying Bates Lowry before a democratic court would be useful, practical. Neither Mr. Lowry himself, nor anyone else should have anything to fear, other than the truth and knowledge. But have we not been trained to fear, along with god almighty, just these virtues?
The implications of the facts are enormous. Do you realize that it is those trustees of the Metropolitan and Modern museums who are waging the war in Vietnam? Well, they are. They are the very same people who called in the cops at Columbia and Harvard; and they are justifying their sickly disgusting slaughter of millions of peoples struggling for independence and self-determination by their precious, conscious support of ART. Anyone who lends themselves to this fantastic hypocrical scheme needs their head examined.

It could be no worse if control and administration of the museum were turned over to the department of defense -- if fact, it might be a good idea. As long as the museum functions under the guise of an artistic and educational operation, under the control of same people who con other people into robbing, oppressing, burning, maiming, killing and brainwashing for them, than complete we must continue our protest and agitate for their/removal from the art condition. I call upon the directors and trustees of the museum to begin immediately negotiations preparatory to turning the museum, lock, stock and barrel, over to the department of defense. At least we will know where we're art. in the garden of the museum.

The other day I suggested that the art research facilities of the museum be turned over to service in the interest of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. I've changed my mind -- that's not nearly enough. I do not think it at all far-fetched to suggest that the museum supply inactive funds to make up the 700,000 bail bond demanded by the corrupt California court for freedom pending trial of Huey billboard.
I am sick and tired of hearing how the museum cannot afford to give everyone free admission. And, probably as public long as it remains a private/institution & (a private museum is very much like a catholic university) it probably can't afford it; but why must it remain a private institution in the first place? Is the administration exploring ways of divesting itself of ownership of the corporation? Has the government been approached to take it over? No, it hasn't.

I call for the resignation of all the trustees from this museum, the metropolitan and the scandalously corrupt Whitney museum (I keep thinking of those chronographs they sell in conspiracy with Brentano's, -- deliberately attempting to un-do what one hundred years of aesthetic cerebral labor has suddenly one understands achieved); perfectly well how they can drop more bombs in vietnam than have every been doped before, anyplace.

Before we can formulate proposals for the future conduct of the museum, we must learn what they have been up to all these years. Then we must examine our own position; we are not students disrupting the university from within in, from a position of at least nominally, some authority and responsibility -- rather we are, I certainly hope, outsiders who have nothing to loose. We have truth, understanding and maybe even hope, to gain.
Notes to A.W.C. at S.V.A. - April 10, 1969

1. No Identification with the Imperialistic Policies of the U.S. Government.
2. No Taxes - A.W.C. should have an alternative to the War budget.
3. No Conscription - A.W.C. should be willing to house, hide, and counsel all who would evade the Draft.
4. Boycott of the Media:
   No Reproductions,
   No Announcements,
   No Publicity,
   No Reviews,
   No Previews,
   No Interviews,
   No Classified Ads,
   No Un-Classified Ads,
   Remember Ads Art should be seen and not heard ABOUT.

Gerry Herdman
Minority "A"
From the International Liberation Front

We meet tonight, not for us alone. We wish to change policies, so that the tyranny reflected in the institutions of this nation at the present moment can never again oppress us or our children. We demand that the nepotism, favoritism and fear of innovation of the New York art world be exposed; the official avant-garde taste during these last five years of the Great American Military Dictatorship has had the taste of a credibility gap. The revolution we seek is no more -- and no less -- than to tell the truth.

In this proposed return to democratic principles, truth telling may once again become a secondary concern of artists. The innovation and training of sensual appetites, which is the traditional concern of artists, seems a frivolity to most citizens (as it seemed to Plato) for politics seeks to subdue those conflicting appetites which are the very meat of art. But art also cannot flourish in a time of war and exaggerated tensions. The tyranny of military requirements reveals itself slowly, at first in traces of conversations, in esthetic theories which detach the spirit of the times from the events.

Tyranny even begins to creep through the studio doors as the artist sits alone, until the fear of a police inspector (be he from the 5th precinct or the Guggenheim Foundation) paralyzes those senses essential to guide the artist's voyage of discovery.

And so we have a stake in peace for Vietnam, simply as professionals, in the fairer distribution of national resources, in the end of racist domination in the Senate, the militarization seizure of the electoral processes by the people, and the establishment of a world community -- we have a stake in these ideals if only because these things would help restore that privacy which is the pre-requisite of art.
Tonight our concern is specific. The institutions responsible for setting standards directly applicable to our world of art have not only failed us, they have failed the wider community they claim to serve; these institutions have become positive weapons, a cultural ABM, of that tyranny which now oppresses all mankind with its balance of terror. We are here to help set those institutions free.

We must think in new terms. We are entering a new dimension in the space travels of this planet. Like Michaelangelo's slaves, we struggle to emerge from our unformed nature. Our past is measured by a yardstick kept at the same temperature and humidity in the Library of Congress; but our course through the stars cannot be charted by this tyranny of a computerized past. Who can best remember the measurements of the past in such travels as these? Who can bring moral accuracy to the projections of our society? Surely the better guide is not the letter of the laws of history but, rather, the spirit of tradition. We seek not only to reform the old, but to teach ourselves new uses for the old (how else can we test old ways?); the old will be forced to reform itself if it wishes merely to survive. We need completely new institutions whose measures are not yet fixed, a post-modern calculus. We wish to learn from the art which our spiritual ancestors have left us not those footnoted lessons of establishment catalogues and magazines which turn the spirit to cliche and cliche to credibility gap; we would learn those rituals which liberate the soul, those lessons which turn a collective past into the free man, which turn individuality into supreme fiction.
We begin. We wound the tocsin, and its cry already rises above the jangling voices of fear. History has for too long been written for the homeless few charged with coding the past. Their world of cowed and petty bureaucrats needs their codes, their iron glossaries of morality, in order to keep the machinery of nationalism and racism in working order. But we would not be bureaucrats. We would be free, not slaves. Already we re-write history. We offer, even to the bureaucrats, a way to escape the cages which official approval has built around them. Let Kenneth Noland and Frank Stella get out of their lackey's uniforms, let them stop serving the masters of their modern house, let them come and join us field niggers. Is it not better to be chained to poverty than to be an Uncle Tom of the soul? Is it not better to be bloody in defiance than to be praised as the artist with the purest water in his vein?

We are the revolution. We will be free, because our spirit is already free. We are the irresistible tide of the future. We remember the examples of Jan Palach and Martin Luther King in our hearts. The tide drowns even our own fears. The more we give, the more we sacrifice, the more we are. Ours is a golden dream, ours is a promised land, and we are first settlers beyond that new frontier. Our political aims are simple and sturdy: a world beyond guns, a chance to stake out our own territory in the infinite land of the soul, and the right to hope for immortality. Our artistic aim is even simpler: we want to be free.

Institutions have already begun to tremble at our mild demands, our thirteen points. Let the state wither away. We have only begun.
April 10, 1969

Do we want to concern ourselves with the administration and organization necessary in establishing a strong power block for purposes of issuing ultimatums to institutions for private satisfactions? What is truly private and personal is usually generally applicable.

The artist, may even the non-artist knows that his destiny is his own right. The man of yesterday had only hopes for a good life. The man who now still hopes is putting his lifestyle in other's hands. Making art is the artist's responsibility; its care and exposure should be by command of its maker.

To free those energies that are otherwise diverted, the artist should be entitled to life's basic necessities: food, shelter and clothing. We can get this money from the profits of dead artists. We should demand, from exorbitantly priced works sold on the auction block, from high priced older works sold by institutions, a cut for the living. Wealthy living artists, as well as wealthy non-artists should contribute to the income of their contemporaries; not by hiring them as lackeys, but by buying their art for their own collections or buying their art to give it away as gifts to institutions or their poorer relations. A trust fund should be started whereby wealthy artists can contribute money and or a work for sale. Stipends awarded on the basis of need.
Artists use their dead compatriots as heroes, to keep them company in their waiting. There is a great choice of dead heroes. I wish to keep the dead alive for the moments of waiting; and to delegate the interested living to spend time making lists of the dying. The artists needs a more viable, open, immediate situation; more opportunities to present, with dignity, the thing he is doing.

Functional Institutions are great warehouses. We should encourage them to store our works for us. The artist should not have to be his own nightwatchman. But neither do we want a dumping ground. Facilities should be available to those who wish to store large works.

The institution can provide a computer system listing all dead and living artists, with coffee table top read-outs to eliminate art book clutter. Information is not art. To experience art one has to have time for an arrested moment. The non-artist, the non-maker of art, the art lover, is a radar scan, a shopper. Provide the information and a place for people to search, to hear, to touch, when they are in their inbetween times. Find places to put art where there were none. To see art when in the inbetween times, you need to put art in the inbetween places. Call these places museums.
We aestheticians can no longer contend with the social frown of isolation and alienation in an atelier existence. The milieu not only conflicts with the artists' way of living but also builds up a wall of resistance by the very nature of what the artist absorbs, reflects and symbolizes. The artist reveals and defines like a magnifying glass; defies dogma and dishonesty like a reducing glass, and ridicules the obscenity of misinformation and preconception. We are more than the media, the bridges, the catalysts: we, too, change our modes from impressions and abstraction and gray shadows into expression and concrete realism. With this plasticity we contribute toward the expanding "it" of consciousness. Each one of us has an art system of downtown and uptown, an underground; art and science, an inside and outside world in which an attempt is made to purify contamination and influence the environment.

New York City, the apex of the materialistic system, has become a desert. All of us must work for its reclamation. The American disease is affluency in a Walt Disney apparition of skyscrapers and illusionary skylarks. People struggle for summits of self in a cancer of object narcissism. The history of Western Civilization has been a mystique entertaining death, destruction and depression, counterpointed with attempts to enlighten and eliminate the causes of these negative forces. War and peace, crime and punishment is in all of us. At the end of the McLuhan age where efficiency is numbers on machines along an assembly line of axiomatic presumption, it is not necessary to repeat in series the Exodus, Plato, Sophocles, Dante or the caprichios of DeKooning anymore than we can return to cubism. The press, TV, and radio report to us murder, violence,
assassination, funerals, poverty and human wretchedness. The helpless protest is not enough. We must collectively seek positive solutions and take action to overcome this propulsion through the ages. Why not start within the structure of the art community and the people of New York to strive for a new dictionary of definitions. Power, sustenance, potential, education can have a different institutional meaning. Each of us is a changing museum and our exhibition buildings should mirror the artists as well as the people of New York and the world.

We need to list the grievances, resources and sources for this endeavor and work with the entire community. Separatism is not the solution. New York City is a world collage and a cultivating center. Generations go by with only a murmur of reform. Revolution, dissent, succession, civilian war is not the solution. The artists fight alienation as well as all other groups.

The sponsors of our institutions and the artists must get together. Art should not be restricted to the galleries, the studios, the museums or the homes of the wealthy: creativity is a spiritual need for everyone. The city buildings and streets need to be cleaned up and painted. The people have to do it themselves but they need guidance. Historical architecture should be purchased for studio space and community workshops. Children and students should be involved and given responsibilities such as the planting and caring of flowers in the parks and playgrounds. The Museum of Modern Art should have rooms of changing shows for children and young artists and folk art. New York City has to become the environment with radiating centers of groups of people gathered for the purpose of positive activity. This takes nothing away from the individual but should only enhance his sense of belonging and
productivity. The issue is not just the artist and the Museum of Modern Art; we must establish a basis for survival that is not just repetitious cannibalism.

Selma Brody
My talk is in 3 parts.

FIRST PART:

I'd like to take advantage of this public meeting to say that I am leaving the Art Workers Coalition, for a few months.

My reasons are as follows:

a) That I am Tired - Having worked 3 relentless months for this coalition. Now I'd like to cultivate my inner life and my new friendships, and tend to my sexual life, which has been suffering from the tensions inherent in public and political engagements.

b) That at this Hearing the Art Workers Coalition, is entering a new phase. There are enough art workers with new ideas and fresh energies, to see that the Coalition, G.R.O.W.S.

In 2 or 3 months from now I'll ask to join the ranks again, and hope that I will be accepted with gladness by my companions of today.

I also promise that if the spirit of the art workers has vanished away, from internal dissensions or from external pressures, I will do everything to Revive this Spirit of Resistance.

c) Corollary:

All the papers, letters, documents, and addresses, in my possession will be available to whomever wishing copies of them. I will be in New York City, and I'll be happy to be useful to any art worker whose needs could be furthered in privacy.

LONG LIVE THE ART WORKERS COALITION
I Hate Hypocrisy.

I Hate the hypocrisy of the Establishment and I hate hypo-critical artists.

The subject of this Second Part of my Testimony is a delicate one. It pertains to VANDALISM and VIOLENCE.

In the week that followed our orderly demonstration at the Museum of Modern Art, there were several noteworthy items reported by the press. (The texts are available, New York Times). I summarize.

On April 4; Bates Lowry declared at a luncheon that most of the museums, across the land, were facing bankruptcy and closure. He appealed to corporations and businesses for assistance.

On April 6; City budget director Hayes, asked every City museum to cut down expenses by 24% per 100. Meaning more than ISO art workers dismissed from their jobs and the closing of some museum wings, at a time when more diversified and larger cultural centers are urgently needed. The cutback was termed "CATASTROPHIC" by the representative of the City museums.

On April 8; Roger Stevens (National Council of the Arts), and A. Heckscher, in an interview at Sardi's, deplored the acute shortage of funds in the arts. Stevens said that he is optimistic, Heckscher said; He is very pessimistic, about the fullfilment of our cultural needs.

HEAR ME WELL, THESE CUTBACKS ARE VANDALISM.

It is irrelevant to me that the you cannot pinpoint the sources from which this kind of social injustice and violence is generated. To violate the growing needs of people by cutbacks IS VANDALISM. Who gave the orders? City Hall will blame Albany, Albany will blame Washington, Washington will blame Texas, and Texas will blame Hunt's tomatoes. All of this is very clever - But this will not reconcile the spirits that hunger for justice.
And my point is that Violence and Vandalism are morally justified if we are pushed against the wall.

I have lived in danger for 13 years, and for 5 years I've been protesting against the genocidal war perpetuated by the United States Government on the people of Vietnam.

Did you know that many of our Art-lovers of the establishment are also War-lovers? Sure you did. Why to think about it? because right now the Investors are most absorbed and most bedazzled by their own war and their own war technology, and people's growing need for culture, and the urgent needs of a dying democracy, are near last on the long list of priorities.

I would be sorry, please believe me, quite sorry, if a loved Masterwork, of a prominent collection, went up in flames, and was destroyed. However I would not be sorrier for this act of vandalism, more than I have been...grieving... for the Cruel Napalming of such monastery, the destruction of such school, or the burning of villages.

Let's keep our moral values, and our judgement in a correct balance.

Let the perpetrator of outbacks be warned once more, that men and women, pushed into the despair of economic slavery, have complete moral justification in their use of retaliatory violence, and select selective terror, to protect the rights of all individuals to be honored, and to achieve the ultimate social goals of freedom and justice. As brother Malcolm X said,

IT TAKES TWO TO TANGO, and if, WE GO, YOU GO with us, JACK.

POWER TO ALL PEOPLE
THIRD PART

Concerning some policies of the Museum of Modern Art.

The 1956 Change of Policy.

From 1942 (643 works in catalog) to 1956 (1,360 works), during 14 years the museum aquired 717 works of art.

From 1956 to 1967 (18,451 works in the catalog) that is, in 11 years, 17,011 acquisitions.

I salute the restraint that Alfred Barr showed in the early years of the Museum's growth.

I deplore the successful efforts of Mrs. S. Guggenheim, of Mr. John H. Whitney and the other Greats of the City, who in order to protect their art collections from devaluation, changed the mutable policy of the Museum, into one concerned with permanence, thus transforming a living museum into a mausoleum of aquisitiveness.

Children's Carnival in Harlem.

The carnival was established more than 10 years ago. It was in Brussels in 1959. It has been to Spain and Italy. A copy of it was presented to India in 1962. WHY MUST HARLEM BE LAST? I have no words of praise for this afterthought on the part of the museum.

Does the MOMA fairly represent contemporary art trends? NO.

I have yet to see Acid Art at the museum, altho this trend has been very deeply changing today's visual vocabulary. I'll wait a long time before seeing Erotic Art, at the museum, as well as the art of the Motherfuckers, who work through leaflets and posters, and Earth Art. Of course I believe that this last trend is on its way to acceptance. It's very safe.

ART IS THE ARTIST

THANK YOU FOR LISTENING.
To the Public Hearings Committee
Art Workers' Coalition

Gentlemen:

As film-makers, we wish to bring to your attention the following points concerning the Museum of Modern Art as a whole, and its Film Department in particular:

1) The Museum's repeated assertion of its own "private" nature, in reply to a variety of requests from the art community on behalf of the whole community, is socially retrograde, reminiscent of 19th Century laissez-faire arguments. That private institutions used and supported by the public have public responsibilities, is knowledge at least as old as the Sherman Act.

2) In view of its tax-exempt status as a nonprofit organization, the Museum is, like churches, quite obviously supported by the public. Therefore, like churches, it should limit its admission charge to a voluntary donation.

3) We support plastic and graphic artists in their demand that the Museum return to the terms of its 1947 agreement with the Whitney and Metropolitan Museums, whereunder work was to be sold after 20 years, the proceeds of such sales going to finance the purchase and exhibition of new works by living artists. However, we retain important reservations with respect to film. It is plain that the archival functions so admirably fulfilled thus far by the Film Dept. are in no way comparable to the formation of a permanent collection by the Fine Arts Dept, since the work of the former is to preserve for future circulation artifacts which run high risks in the present, while the latter, in an attempt to eliminate present risks, tends to limit severely the availability of works, or remove them from view entirely.

4) We demand the fullest possible autonomy for the Museum's Film Dept., consonant with the acknowledged kinship film bears to the other visual arts. The Museum at large must recognize both the separateness of film with respect to the other fine arts, and its absolute parity with them; or risk the embarrassment of being the last intellectual organism in the community to do so.

5) In line with this new departmental autonomy, and recognition of film, we demand that the Museum allocate appropriate funds to the Film Dept., to carry on its work and expand its programs.

We gloss the word "appropriate" as follows:

The Museum has reportedly admitted that the largest number of its paying visitors come to see the daily film programs. We therefore suggest that the Museum give to the Film Dept., for
its own uses, all admissions paid during the sixty minutes immediately prior to each film showing, plus a portion of the total operating budget and endowment income proportionate to the number of membership cards shown during that same time period.

Of course the Department must retain the entire net proceeds of its rental program, and of all Museum publications relating to film. In addition, it must be made possible that the Department receive, for its specific use, grants, gifts and bequests, as well as a fraction of all monies left or made available to the Museum at large, in accordance with the importance of film art to the community (as evidenced by its admitted drawing power).

6) Such expanded resources should make possible the elimination of certain deficiencies and abuses, in the following respects:

6a) The Film Dept. has recently undertaken to acquire new films for its Archive. We consider this necessary and laudable. But the Dept. has been driven, unwillingly and presumably through penury, to ask for films at or near laboratorv cost.

Now we are aware of the Museum's general policy of buying paintings and sculpture below market (i.e. gallery) prices, and we deplore that policy for its bumptious immaturity of viewpoint. But to ask for films "at cost" starves our persons and insults our art, however much we may admire the archival program and wish to help it—since it presumes to single us out, among all artists and indeed among all persons who perform work in our society—in questioning our right to be paid for our work at all.

Furthermore, we are thus asked to become philanthropists, benefactors of the institution, in spite of the fact that film is an art made cruelly expensive by commercial rates (tax deductible for commercial movie makers as "legitimate business expense"). As for philanthropy, that is typically an activity of persons of great means, who make no art at all.

6b) The Film Dept., desiring to show new work to the public, has been unable to pay either a nominal rental (about $1 per minute) for the use of films shown to large paid audiences, or any honorarium to film-makers appearing personally. This must be from sheer lack of money, since members of the Department have repeatedly expressed regret over this state of affairs.

6c) In a tentative agreement of October 31, 1967 between the Film Department and the New York Film-Makers' Cooperative, the Dept. was to distribute new films under its regular rental system, on an agreeable basis of shared costs and returns. Film-makers viewed such an arrangement favorably as tending to show new work to a wide audience: film is, after all, an art to be seen and enjoyed, and not merely buried in storage vaults. However, nothing has come of that agreement—presumably because the Museum would not spare the Film Dept. funds to hold up its end of the bargain.

7) We are profoundly puzzled by the Film Department's action in arrogating to itself the privileges of a pre-selection jury for
a recent international festival, the XV Kurzfilmtage at Oberhausen, Germany. In a word, they decided who might and might not have their films shown abroad. Bearing in mind that the Museum was, in all probability, acting on a request from the festival organizers, we ask nevertheless whether the Department will attempt to pre-screen films for the next Belgian festival, for instance; and whether, had they done so for the last one, they would, in fact, have chosen the films which, at Knokke-le-Zoute, bore witness to the tremendous innovative vitality of the new American cinema.

But there is a more crucial problem hiding here. Film festivals had their origin in a desire on the part of responsible persons of sensibility to bring new films to their own locales. Prizes were offered as bait. The films brought visitors, the visitors spent money, the innkeepers were delighted.

But now festival juries presume to judge which films are "best". In a world which let the Divine Comedy lie fallow for centuries, and lost half the work of Bach, they decide which work is to be rewarded, and which ignored.

As an institution dedicated to expounding the most advanced principles in the arts, the Museum must instigate a continuing dialogue in the film community, indeed in the whole art community, concerning whether the competitive mode is really germane to the arts.

There is a crucial distinction between the rôles of middleman and mediator, and the Museum's usefulness to the community rests precisely upon a constant effort to maintain that distinction in critical focus.

Meanwhile, I offer for the Museum's reflection that last month, the good burghers fattened in the festival town of Oberhausen, while in America the vivid and ebullient art of film went begging. Does the Museum love the art of film as we do? Then they must perform an act of love for our art, that will somehow compare with our own in making it.

8) Finally, we wish to state, both as reminder to the Museum, and as encouragement to those working in other arts and now anxiously considering alternatives to the Museum-and-gallery hierarchy, that film-makers long ago abandoned all hope of using the established commercial channels for distribution and exhibition. We have our own cooperative distributors, our own theaters, our own publications and lecture bureau, -- but above all, our own free and uncoerced judgment of what may be done with our work, by whom, how and when. We feel that we best serve our own needs, and, ultimately, those of the community as a whole, by these means.

We have always had a school: the Museum's film department was our grammar school and university, as 42nd Street and our own Cinematheque have been our graduate school. The film department was and is unique in the world, and no one has valued the Museum more, or for better reason, than we film-makers.

What we do not have is a Museum, an impersonal public repository where our most permanent work will be maintained in trust for the whole people, to teach, to move, and to delight them.
because we believe that art belongs to the whole people. It is part of our small permanent human wealth, since it is never diminished in use; it can be possessed only in understanding, and never through mere ownership.

So we call upon the Museum of Modern Art to become our museum, in the largest sense. As film-makers, as artists and as human beings, we cannot demand less.

Yours very sincerely,

(signed) Hollis Frampton
Ken Jacobs
Michael Snow
Naomi Levine

Oh beautiful world, oh world of so much sweetness that could be. As if it isn't enough that the laws of our archaic society bind us and prohibit joy and life. As if it isn't enough that our economic and political systems suffocate and submerge and wound all but the very, very strongest; new even those who survive and become creative artists are so bitter with envy, bitterness and aggression and "Well, let's see how I can best and only do for myself" syndrome. The rottenness is beginning to show in the creative arts too - as if all the rest isn't enough!

The spirit that existed ten to fifteen years ago in painting is fading - how people used to crowd together, even if they didn't like each other's work - they did. They tried to help each other. They came to each other's openings and shows. They became successful: the blood in them became very thin. The painter who wants to ... works things out is no longer "in". Instead of blood, it's ideas that flow in the artist's veins: it's much more profitable. "Painting" as such is said to be "dead". It's supposed to be happening, now, in film.

Well, it started to happen. About five years ago it started, every filmmaker helping the other, going to each other's shows, even helping to film. And a few still are involved with helping above and beyond anything they get paid for. Len Lye does not stand alone: there is Brakhage, Mumber, Breer, Gehr. These people do care and always try to help, but there are hundreds of others I knew of who do not. There is not the exciting feeling of all of us being together as pioneers in a relatively new medium. We
Don't all get together and support each other by attending the shows. There is no allegiance to the art of filmmaking, but just to our silly selves. And it is a shame, with all the horror in our streets, our Vietnam, our racism, our economy that chokes and mutilates men's spirit, the man who is supposed to know - the Creative Artist - even he is dying. Very soon there will be no-one, no place, and no interest in film as an art, as a growing creative art.

I always believed that it was the artist who knew. But the showing of extreme self-centeredness and bitterness, this is not knowing. When the artist does completely disappear, there will be no hope left, because it is the artist, manifest in his being that expresses the joy and reality of being and feeling itself. And if those of us who are filmmakers and painters don't help each other, we will not survive. The creative artist will perish. Something must be done now.
CARL ANDRE
A REASONABLE AND PRACTICAL PROPOSAL FOR ARTISTS WHO WISH TO
REMAIN FREE MEN IN THESE
TERRIBLE TIMES

Recently, artists, sensing that the times are out of joint, have demonstrated at the Museum of Modern Art and at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. They have been demanding free admission to the Modern and various actions designed to assure black artists representation in the museums.

The difficulty is that the proposals are not radical enough; all granted, the corrupt conditions in which artists work and live would not be altered.

The solution to the artist's problems is not getting rid of the turnstiles at the Museum of Modern Art, but in getting rid of the art world. This the artists can easily do by trusting one another and forming a true community of artists.

1. All artists should withdraw instantly from all commercial connections, gallery and otherwise. Gallery exhibitions must be picketed; all gallery exhibitions, all the time, until the artists exhibiting feel their shame and withdraw to join the community of artists.

2. No more "shows" and "exhibitions." Let artists show their work to their friends, and let artists see the work of their friends. But no more public exhibitions.

3. No cooperation with museums. They make "shows," yet everything wrong. "Will you lend a painting?" "No." So they will borrow a painting from a person to whom an artist has sold a painting. Fine. At least the proper relations between artist and museum have been established, the proper distance between what museums do and what artists do is maintained.

4. No more "scene." No Vouge, Time, Life, Newsweek, interviews. Artists who permit themselves to be used this way are not in the true community of artists, who are universally hostile to such public humiliation.

5. No more big money artists. Big money artists who don't immediately sever all commercial connections and commence instantly to sell their pictures at modest and reasonable sums should be held in the utmost contempt by the community of artists.
The point is not that artists should not have a lot of money. The point is that in this society, the amount of money you get, the speed with which you get it and the amounts you get at a time go very far in determining the community toward which you will gravitate. And so big money artists, drawing huge sums in great rushes, take on the life-style and attitudes of the only other community that earns large doses of money in frantic bursts — the entertainers. And, like the entertainers, the big-money artist soon becomes involved in fashion, in obsolescence, in a paranoid, nasty fear and hatred of the fellow behind him, and begins to live the kind of life with which entertainers have been disgusting us for several decades now.

6a. For similar reasons, no more "young unknown artists" either.

Collectors all have a secret dream: to discover their very own artist, unmentioned, unshowned, unknown, and they pursue this dream vigorously and expensively. Perhaps because they doubt their taste, and are never certain that they like what they buy, or would have liked it had they come to it "on their own", they are constantly prowling the studios of young artists about whom they are told, and forever buying their work at prices that to both are unheard-of.

So that not an uncommon way of life among younger artists is the professional role of "young unknown artist." To such horrors does the art world lead; these young people are, in their own way, as nightmarish as the professional transvestites one sees on 42nd Street.

When people come to town to see "unknown" artists, there is thus an entire class of young people who are the regular itinerary. These artists never seem to become "known" and never seem to stop being "young" and "unshown." Every once in a while such an artist "pops publicly," so to speak, but it is extraordinary for how many years such an artist will show regularly, and still be a "young, unknown artist."

6. People who wish to own works of art should do so by moving into and the community of artists. No one should ever "represent" an artist. Artists should their artists and other collectors in a face-to-face and man-to-man way.
7. Each artist should decide what money he needs to lead the kind of life he needs.
Each artist should decide how much he needs for his food, his rent, his grass, his parties
his love, his records or his books or his car or his family, and for helping other artists who are his friends and who don't sell. Let the artist charge
so much for his work and no more. Let no one except the artist decide how much he needs to
live. Collectors and sales will not disappear with the disappearance of the art world. They
will simply come to the artists they admire and ask to see and purchase their work,
and they will deal with the artist directly, in a human fashion.

8/ Artists should attach binding conditions to the sale of their work. Such conditions
should include the condition that the work may not be re-sold; that upon the death
(or loss of interest in the work) of the owner, the various museums have first refusal on
the work of art. Should they refuse, the work may pass to the heirs of the purchaser.
Another condition should be made universal and should be enforced systematically, rigorously
and with a constant eye to filling loop-holes out of which the force of the condition drains:
that condition is, no owner may in any way enrich himself through the possession of the
work of art.

9. No more "reproductions." Reproductions lead to a false and destructive kind of
"fame" which separates artists from the community of artists by making them "famous"
and rich. Reproductions give rise to a body of people who "know your work" without every seeing it. This is an abomination. Artists should forbid people to snap pictures of their
work.

10. Let the museums alone. They are not the proper focus for artists' attentions. For
better or worse, our past is there, and our standards. Museum people are a peculiar and
distant breed of people; artists are not that type and couldn't do the job better if they
had the chance. Artists can pressure museums -- those that wish to -- even teach them a
little something now and then. But for the most part museum people are hopeless and always
will be hopeless and it is best for artists to simply pay them no mind. When things are
good, artists will be interested. When things are not good in the museums, they should merely
be ignored. Museums will never be right: they are owned by the wrong people, controlled by
the wrong people and staffed by the wrong people. But the right people are artists and artists
simply will not do that kind of work on a regular, day to day basis. This is not to say
that artists should not, for example, attempt to pressure museums to collect and preserve
the works of black artists. But this kind of activity is in the same nature as artists
who wish to join Vietnam demonstrations or rent demonstrations -- not those who
are interested in such things, do it.

With the elimination of the art world, there are no problems between black and white
artists. Black artists simply become part of the community of artists; collectors are
directed to their studios by better-selling friends; struggling black artists are helped
along by their white or more successful black friends.

11. The art press should be treated like museums, and for the same reasons. If the art
press is responsive to the community of artists, it will flourish. If it is not, it will
wither. There is nothing, once the art world is abolished, to prevent an art press from
springing up within the art community.

12. Artists should take every nickel they can get from foundations, grants, the various
ways the rich have found to give away their money. Artists should constantly be demanding
more and larger grants and foundations.

13. Artists should teach if they want to, and can do it right. Artists should never conform
to the structure of the various educational systems which employ them. Teaching should be
understood as simply moving into another community of artists, most often a younger one.
If none of the younger community of artists become the artist's first friends and lovers
then he is probably doing it wrong.

The immediate cause of the sense of infinite corruption, degradation and humiliation
that is the normal lot of the American artist today is the art world. The proposals for
behavior outlined above are neither difficult nor far-fetched -- in good part, in fact,
these proposals simply describe life as it is currently lived among nine out of ten
artists. One has only to observe what happens to the sense of friendship, love, fraternity
and comradeship among artists as they are "picked up" by the art world to see, instantly,
that the rewards of such "success" are death and degradation. The art world is a poison in
the community of artists and must be abolished removed by obliteration. This happens the
instant artists withdraw from it.
It will surely be objected that there have always been dealers, always been middle-
men, always been galleries, always been big money artists and starving artists, always been
"shows" and "exhibitions" and "reproductions," always been a "scene." The answer is that there
may very well be all these things again. But not now. Now, this xxxxxxx "system" has been
the curse and xxx corruption of the life of art in America in the world and it must be
repudiated, abandoned, crushed out like a xxxxxxxx cigarette.

(ADOPTEO)
To whom does art belong? Art as sexuality inevitably belongs to the person who made it. Under the way we live now art as product belongs to the person who buys it, the institution that displays it, or the gallery that owns the artist. But there is another way of owning art. Art as energy source belongs to everyone who can get a look at it; (an example being the room in the de Kooning show containing Easter Monday and Gotham News and the rest. All of us who have been there own those paintings.) It seems to me that it is with this last way of owning art that the ART WORKERS COALITION is, or should be, involved. The word "workers" in the name is a hopeful sign. Under any more or less organized economic system workers contribute their labor into the process of production, and it is how that labor is used which distinguishes the system. If the basic decision is made that the artist's labor is to generate product then the actions of the AWC must follow certain lines. If the AWC decides that the artist's labor, as it relates to society, is to generate art as energy source then the group's actions must follow other, and quite different, lines; for ownership is irrelevant to art as energy source.

If the AWC accepts the idea of art as product then it must become, in effect, a labor union if it is to continue at all. Many of the original thirteen points would seem to have sprung from something like that impulse, and a generous and necessary one it is. If nothing else ever came from the AWC it would none the less be worthwhile and memorable if it convinced the Museum of Modern Art to stop charging an admission fee. But dealing from strength with museums and galleries still admits the basic fact of art as product, and this presents problems, possibly unsolvable ones, to the idea of the AWC. For the gallery and museum system forces a kind of "mercantilist" thinking on the artist whether he wants it or not. There is only so much space, so much representation, so much soft, inflationary money around. What I get I take from you. Artists are quite simply in competition with one another. And this, it seems to me, might eventually prove fatal to the AWC as a union in the ordinary sense of the word. We are all ready to sacrifice just about anything except privilege and the mercantilist sensuality of choice that is its not so secret joy.

If the AWC were to devote itself to the idea of art as energy
source much of this tension between wish and desire might be avoided. It might even be possible to find the beginnings of a moral equivalent to privilege. The word "workers" comes up here again. Those who pass for workers in the United States, men in the UAW for instance, or longshoremen, are in a curious historical position. If imperialism is the internationalizing of the class struggle then much of the true proletariat of the United States lives in Guatemala, and Chile, and Japan, and Spain. That is to say that the American workers' class position in relation to workers of many other countries is essentially bourgeois. It may take a considerable act of imagination to see artists as being in the same class role, but to the extent that they are involved with art as product I think perhaps they are. The marriage of art and technology is being consummated in the smoldering bodies of Vietnamese peasants.

Suppose however that the AWC were to declare something like "all power to the workers". In saying this they would not need to be repeating the old slogans of art in the service of the revolution which seem to have produced neither good art nor any revolution at all. Rather they might be saying that art belongs to all who can grasp it and draw energy from it. What this would mean in practical terms I don't know. But realizing that this is a question to ask at all is a start. A beginning might be the setting up of a cooperative somewhat along the lines of that organized by New York's underground film-makers. The AWC could thus become a clearing house for the rental and distribution of art, and one which, like the film-makers cooperative at least in its early days, did not make value judgements on the art it handled. The New York art scene being what it is however the AWC might find itself having to make judgements on who its customers could be.

This is only the most tentative of suggestions. In fact it may all be nonsense, but if it serves to make artists think about their historical situation in New York in 1969 it will have served a purpose. If they are going to think about it I would add one further word of warning. The cry "all power to the workers" means just that, "all power" to all "workers". It does not mean that the oyster dredgers control blue points and the artists control acrylics. It means that energy flows as evenly as possible from each segment of society to all others; and when that happens the moral equivalent to privilege will have been found.
V. I. Lenin is supposed to have said "ethics is the esthetics of the future."

In our discussions about moving things around I suggested it would be useful to define art simply as skill which is based on knowledge and practice and to say that bad art is non-art, that is, what happens when one doesn't know what one is doing. In our revolution both slaves and money will be abolished.

Artistic workers are losers in the class-money system. In other words, as workers we are supposed to be poor. In the past our choices have been, first, to advance ourselves within the entrepreneur class by making more money thru increased and cheaper production. And second, by the surrender of a certain amount of license regarding the choice of what we do, to obtain glory from the dispensers of glory, that is, by seeking patrons from among the rich and powerful.

In society as it is now structured, in this object-oriented, industrialized, and socialized society, the problems of individual and independent art workers may phrased in this way: The problem now is one's inability to exchange a sufficient amount of objects for money sufficient to obtain the living and working conditions one desires. In other words the immediate problem of contemporary art is selling it and the foremost question is WHO WANTS IT?
Lee - 2

The apparent answer is several thousand rather rich people known as art collectors. They are a species of the genre which includes stamp collectors, coin collectors, and gun collectors. They have in common a perverted materialism in which the abstract and objective value, monetary worth, falsely proclaims itself to be the supposedly ancient and subjective value, beauty. Selling, even of art, is per se a social act. Where money is the source of social power, society will value all things, even art, accordingly.

The things which we make, if they are to be sold, must generally conform to international standards for currency. This means that art objects which can be easily counterfeited are no good to a collector. It means further that art objects must be preservable, that is to say insurable, and they must be transferable or negotiable. That the prime utility of collectable objects is currency means that these things which we make and indeed we ourselves are subject to financial manipulations which have nothing to do with art and which are not necessarily of any value to ourselves.

Art as currency is institutionalized through the policies of museums. This is inevitable. Museums are started by collectors. They are maintained by annual contributions from collectors. All objects in their permanent collections, excepting those donated by art workers, are given by collectors or purchased from funds donated by collectors. In return museums provide a number of services which are
Lee - 3

valuable to collectors. Foremost among these services is
that of certifying the authenticity and historical merit of
particular art objects, namely those collectors own. In this
sense each museum functions as a semi-autonomous branch bank
in a world-wide system to guarantee the value of collected art.
Second, museums with the collusion of the government provide
collectors with a device to avoid paying taxes by treating
contributions as tax deductible like a business expense. The
rationale is that museums are educational institutions and
the government's presumption is that any education is per se
in the public interest. The fact that the educators are by
and large simply our richest citizens is in no way discourag-
ing to the government.

Third, museums, by opening themselves to the public,
are able to educate non-collectors as to what their personal
attitude should be vis-a-vis the private property of the rich.
Namely, DO NOT TOUCH. Also, don't smoke and keep moving.

Finally, museums publicize collectors by way of
admiring their collections and praising their generosity.
This publicity is maxim valuable to collectors and their wives
both in their own milieu and in liberal circles.

THE problem of revolutionary art workers is our inability to
obtain the living conditions which we desire. In the official
syntax, we lack money. I do not believe that art collectors or
their museums will, even under our pressure, make any substan-
tial contribution to the solution of this. At best they will
attempt to buy off a couple of hundred art workers whose art
may or may not interest them.
Nor will the galleries be much help toward a solution. With few exceptions, they would rather sell one thing to a rich collector for a high price than to the public at any price.

The solution will rather be found partly through our art, that is aesthetically, and partly through political action. To the extent to which one may wish to sell what one makes, art workers will have to make an art which is appropriate to the living conditions of a vastly greater number of people than those who currently buy it. The ultimate dignity of art, as all art workers ought to know, is in making art, not in owning it. What is the dignity in owning an object which is so valuable that it is worth your life to defend your possession of it? To these ends art workers ought to prohibit museums from displaying our art in such a way as to discourage ordinary people from wishing to have it. Indeed, what art workers ought to require from museums is complete license regarding the terms under which their own art is shown. That would include whether and to what extent the police should be allowed to guard it and it would include whether the public had to pay to see it and if they did who got the proceeds.

As for political action, I urge the Art Workers Coalition to support anything which tends to increase the wealth of the relatively poor, that is, which undermines the utility of money. As the motherfuckers write, "the hip revolutionism is a product of history and exists in this time and space: It is not a replaying of 'bohemianism'; it is not an artistic 'drop-out' class open only to the bourgeoisie; it is
not an 'elite' criticism of American culture; and it is not a harmless anomaly. The hip revolution is the product of material conditions. It grows out of a real change in economic possibilities -- technology as the tool not the rule. Man as free being confronts the possibility of being free and the mirror is shattered by play. Before sophisticated electronics, total unemployment was only a dream -- now it is only limited by fear and that fear becomes a new class distinction -- those who have it and those who don't." The proper goal of art workers is to include everybody. War, victory, unemployment should be our slogan.

Total communized unemployment.
Proposed rate schedule for art work rental:
first work: $10.00 per day exhibition day
second work: $5.00 " " "
each additional work: $1.00 " " "

example:
In the exhibition *Art of the Real* there were 28 living artists and the exhibit was open to the public on 59 days.
28 artists - first work - 59 days: $16,520.
10 " a second " - " " : 2,950.
10 " additional works - " " : 590.

total cost to MOMA $20,060.

In other words an artist with one work in exhibit would have received $590, and an artist with two would have received $885.

proposed terms:
- prompt payment at end of exhibit.
- applicable to all museums which charge admission on any days when admission is charged.
- Applicable only to temporary exhibits.
- applicable to all works exhibited whether they be from the permanent collection, private lenders, or the artist's gallery or studio.
- rate should be considered a minimum fee and higher rates could be demanded or negotiated by artists on an individual basis
Artists must use their art for political ends that will free the museums, as artists are now freed simply, the artists must have continued control of their work once it leaves their hands. Central, in that, the museums, galleries, and collectors listen to the artists as artists, and not as freaks for the museums, galleries, and collectors to take advantage of, and keep in a controlled back door position. One of the steps to this end is facilities. Facilities the Modern Art Museum now designs use facilities we not only demand, but will have: facilities such as free admission, at least two days a week, perhaps Tuesdays and Thursdays, when the museum open at night all the time. Facilities such as space, space for, and used by, contemporary alive artists. A number of possibilities exist here. A section of the Museum could be used to put on 5 simultaneous one man shows per week, Tuesday through Sunday. That would mean at least 260 shows per year. In order to help the museum's administrative staff, let artists themselves choose who they want to show with.

Another possibility, assuming the museum might not want a large invasion of artists, would be for the museum to provide a section (at least six or seven big rooms) for one artist to live in for one month. At the end of his month he could take away the things of his he wanted. Anything left would become property of the museum. The museum could rent, however, remove or place his work in another location without the artist's permission. Each artist would have a studio during his month, as to whether he wanted the public admitted to any, or all of his part of the museum.

Let the Museum sponsor shows in other parts of the city and country. As for example, earthworks in the parks and rivers, left shows, a giant army show, or anything and anywhere, artists can think of.

Another possibility of artist control, outside the museum framework, would be to set up a "protective" organization, an organization that every artist would join. It would be protective in that it would collect rents or royalties each time a work is published or shown. The money would go to the artist. Organizations have been set up to deal with royalties and rental fees in the other arts. Music for example, has protective agencies in ASCAP and BMI. Radio and television stations, as well as live performances, pay for music they use whether it is rock and roll, Mozart, or music cassette. Performance fees and royalties are paid composers and writers. Artists get nothing.
Carl Strueckland

The young man who was here before Mr Smith, I think, more or less put into a capsule what I wanted to say. I'd like to make a proposal that Mr Battcock become the next prosecutor, the next public prosecutor, of whatever organization comes into being. I find a tremendous sadness and negative attitude among most of the people here tonight, as if they hadn't lived, as if they hadn't had fun, hadn't been alive. I suggest that we stop over-reacting to foundations, museums and such. And there's been very little talk of the complicity of so many artists. They've been part of whatever you're denouncing now. Without them it wouldn't have been possible. So I also second Mr Smith's statement: there has to be a personal revolution. There's no other revolution. And no violent overthrow of anything has ever been a true revolution. I take it you don't happen to be in tune yet.
I want to tell you about the New York Element and I'd like you to look at a copy. This is an artists' newspaper. It was started by an artists section of the Peace and Freedom Party. Then the art section disbanded because most of us felt that we didn't want to be in anything as organized as a political party, and a few of us started a paper on our own. Now on the editorial board there are a couple of painters, a filmmaker and a writer and we're really an independent paper. As far as I know this is the only artists' newspaper in New York today, and it's really ...... among the things we don't allow are any critics, and we don't have reproductions of anybody's paintings. We only let someone who's really concerned with something write in our paper......

But I think you ought to use it as a place to write, if you still believe in the written word, and after you leave here tonight this ought to get around somewhere else.

We invite you to contribute. It has to be something that you know about, you're interested in and no gimmick. From our first issue, we said we'd only have people who are really involved in what they're writing about. Now we really want you to be part of this. We'd like you to write to us, we'd like you to have ... if you have thoughts about tonight, for instance, write it and send it to us.
In 1947 the Museum of Modern Art agreed to sell all "classical" works to the Metropolitan Museum and concentrate on those that were "still significant in the modern movement". 26 works were sold at the time. The proceeds were "to be used for the purchase of more 'modern' works." The Board of Trustees reversed this enlightened policy in 1953 and decided to establish a permanent collection of "masterworks", a species of works that is impossible to define. We are witnessing the consequences of this decision today, a decision worthy of a stamp collector's mind. The Museum of Modern Art has become an art-historical mausoleum. Most of the space is taken by classical works and the majority of special exhibitions are historical exhibitions. The "masterwork" approach has resulted in timidity, conservatism, arrogance and a systematic mythologization of modern art. Consequently at the rare occasions, when contemporary works are shown, these works receive more attention, prestige and ensuing commercial value than they would have accumulated and deserved, if large contemporary exhibitions were being held continuously. Certain galleries and collectors naturally have an interest in influencing the choice of works, since such rare chances for exposure can yield sizable profits.

If the Museum of Modern Art and for that matter all museums concerned with the art of this century were seriously committed to their stated objectives they would have to do a lot of soulsearching and adjustment of the traditional list of priorities. This would lead to a type of museum that has little resemblance to what we know today. Artists would participate in the decision making process and be represented on the Board of Trustees. And such an institution could certainly not fulfill its job in a high-rise structure in Midtown-Manhattan, a plan the Modern is considering at present. The very idea of a skyscraper for art shows how much museum officials have lost touch with the present. A radical
decentralization, a dispersal of the Museum's activities into all areas
of the city and the establishment of numerous autonomous branches might
be the only viable approach for the future. It is necessary to introduce
a highly flexible MWM system, able to adjust to the changing needs and
not another plan for further petrification and the greater glory of the
Museum's priesthood. Such a decentralization would liberate the arts
from their fashionable Midtown ghetto and would open them to the commu-
nities. 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.

Following the policy of 1967 the Museum of Modern Art could sell all
its "classical" works to the great museums for the history of art in the
country. This would provide space, a considerable amount of money and
an unfamiliar urge to look out for contemporary work. There is no reason
to hang on to a precious painting on 55rd Street, if it could equally
be shown on Fifth Avenue and 52nd Street. On its way uptown it would
have made a couple of 100,000 dollars. The money is needed to fulfill
the needs of the artists and the communities today and in the future.
A modern museum with all its resources and political influence has the
responsibility to morally and financially encourage the work of living
artists, without any claim to grant a dubious stamp of approval. This
entails an extensive program of sponsorship of artists, irrespective
of gallery connections, as well as the additional recruitment of
government and business sponsorship. Hopefully this will relieve the
artists from thinking in terms of salability of his works in the profit-
oriented art market.

Modern Museums should be places that make things possible, not impossible:

[Signature]

April 10, 1968
Len Lye

I approve of everything that's going on here, absolutely. Maybe it's because it's protest, and I have protested all my life, in my art, about the way society dishes it out to the artists. Now I came across a passage in Proust which explains very well, in one short paragraph, how an artist sweated it out, ate his heart out, this that and the other and nobody really knows the debt that society owes that artist. ...(incoherent) And I am here to suggest that we don't bother about that goddam museum. If you bother about it, demand the resignation of the head of it. He's not worth it. I used to admire the Museum of Modern Art, they covered a lot of ground, they did this that and the other, but the behaviour of that crowd in the face of our protest, where they got jittery and unyielding, being afraid of the trustees, no doubt ...(incoherent) So I'm not much good on this exhortation, but I'll tell you about the beginnings of this all. This a letter from Howard Wise. You'll find out why he is sorting a few things out with the Museum. It's to Mrs Elizabeth Shaw, Director of Public Relations, Museum of Modern Art.

March 24th, 1969

re: Artists' Protest

Dear Liz:

Following our conversation after the luncheon the other day, that one or more of the five artists in my gallery who are involved with the artists protest had threatened to harm or destroy works of art at the Museum, I have spoken with each
of these artists, that is Takis, Tsai, Lye, Haacke and Tom Lloyd. Each denied having made any such threat, implicit or overt. "An artist would be crazy to harm the work of another artist" was typical of their comments. These artists are not crazy. They are only frustrated by what they feel is a lack of concern on the part of the Museum for their work and their welfare. (I'll say welfare.) They feel, for instance, that there is a sort of symbiosis between the artist and the Museum, that the artist needs the Museum for his existence, and the Museum needs the artists in order to remain alive. "It doesn't - it needs five hundred million of us. The galleries need us too.

Now I'm bellyaching about .... You can't blame the public for the kind of materialism they've all been conditioned by, and the artist's thing is private as well as public. But it's mainly through the Museum that the artist can reach the public. You see, the Museum and the galleries are made for the public. Unless we demand or request or whatever and get the Fifth Avenue business and take our work down Fifth Avenue and work out some gimmicks.

As a matter of fact I had a friend who once tried to make the Museum buy some of my stuff. This is not needed, mind you, I don't give a goddam about museums, because they're not big enough for the kind of hunky stuff I want to do. (Anyway I've got to speed it up.)

[Continuation of letter from Howard Wise]

"................................. and group shows, that the works are properly displayed in such exhibitions. This is what started..."
the present dialogue. Takis removed his work from the Machine show after he had requested that it be withdrawn and that it be replaced by a work which had been selected by the director of the exhibition in the first place, and to which he had agreed. His request was ignored etc. etc.

Everybody bellyaches about this business of quality. Well, forget quality. Time looks after quality. The Black artists have got to leapfrog in, we’ve got to help them. When my mother saw me fiddling in a corner with a pencil and paper, she said, Ok, I’ll see that you get drawing lessons. She gave me the feeling I could make it. She knew what I was after. So, what Black mother up in Harlem would see a kid, a little boy drawing and say ‘I’m going to get you drawing lessons’. That’s an aside, but the main point is the protest. I’m only here because I’m a bit of a pioneer in the kinetic routine, and I don’t need the Museum of Modern Art so much.
I have a little aside to Mr. Farman: I'd like to say that
my sexual life has never been better since the demonstration
at the Museum of Modern Art.

I speak for Minority A. Minority A is an organization that was
very tentative at the small demonstration at the Museum of
Modern Art. It was a little demonstration at the large
demonstration at the Museum of Modern Art. In a sense the
large demonstration at the Museum of Modern Art has lost a few
more members, and the smaller Minority A gets, the fewer it becomes. Minority A served us at that time. We intend
to continue action against the gallery as well as the museums.
We know both are involved in the misuse and abuse of art. We
are going to use our action to form the basis for an alternative
to the present inequitable system. To us in Minority A, America
is a political idea and nothing else. There is no majority—
ethnic, cultural or racial in this country. There are only
minorities. Majorities are out. The only majorities in this
country are income level neighbourhood protection agencies.
Income level neighbourhood protection agencies must be
dispossessed of any claim to determining the nature of this
land. Minorities should be concerned with only the big and
general questions or be involved with those particular,
manageable issues which they can resolve immediately. Minorities
are not to be preempted, collected, run, produced or corrupted
into any kind of consensus. The Museum of Modern Art is such a
trap. It is in the middle; it has no authority. At best, its

(5)
thoughts work out in the open. Otherwise, it takes up the rear of the gallery system. It reinforces, makes respectable, provides tenure for art?names. It protects investments, and educates by intimidation. Minority A welcomes the idea of many small organizations with open wings, joining when we deem it's good, joining when we feel it's for the good of the whole community. Minority A however is not to be masked by the interests served by . . . . Minority A repudiates the authority of the scene. It denies the authority of art media, an inefficient record of the reality of this time. Minority A joins with those who are willing to step out of their everyday pursuits to destroy the devil in the world. Until then, we will continue to exert ourselves in our local activity to get at the devil that dwells in small details.
Edwin Mieczkowski for Minority A

America is a political idea and nothing else.

There is no majority or principal ethnic, cultural or racial group determining the fate of this idea. There are only minorities. There is no consensus.

Income level neighborhood protection agencies must be dispossessed of any claim to determining the nature of this land.

Minorities should be concerned with only the big and general questions determining the fate of this land or be involved with those particular manageable issues directly at hand. Everything in the middle is a trap and not worth bothering about.

The Museum of Modern Art is such a trap. For those who see it has no authority. It performs its function by storing work out in the open. It is an essential part of the gallery system. It reinforces, makes respectable and provides tenure for art names.

Minority A repudiates the authority of the scene. It denies the weight given today to the role of art media - an admittedly inefficient record of the reality at this time.

Minority A joins with those who are willing to step out of their everyday pursuits to destroy the devil in the world. Otherwise we continue to exert ourselves in local activity aimed at ridding ourselves of the devil that dwells in small details.
Some points bearing on the relationship of works of art to museums and collectors:

1. A work of art by a living artist would still be the property of the artist. A collector would, in a sense, be the custodian of that art.

2. The artist would be consulted when his work is displayed, reproduced or used in any way.

3. The museum, collector or publication would compensate the artist for use of his art. This is a rental, beyond the original purchase price. The rental could be nominal; the principle of a royalty would be used.

4. An artist would have the right to retrieve his work from a collection if he compensates the purchaser with the original price or a mutually agreeable substitute.

5. When a work is resold from one collector to another, the artist would be compensated with a percentage of the price.

6. An artist should have the right to change or destroy any work of his as long as he lives.

Some points bearing on the Museum of Modern Art and its relationship to artists and the general community:

1. The MoMA would be limited to collecting work no more than 25 years old.

2. Older work would be sold and the proceeds used to maintain a truly modern collection.

3. The shows should reflect an interest in and the promotion of modern works of art.

4. A system of branch museums would awaken interest in modern art in the communities of the city. More exhibition space would
then be available and curators would be responsive to elements within the community.

5 The museum could not only purchase work but also commission works of painting, sculpture, film, dance, music and drama and use its facilities to show them.

6 The works of artists not usually shown or works of art not readily available because of size or location should be encouraged and shown.
The basis of most complaints between artists and museums like the Modern seems to be the conflict between the permanent collection and the loan exhibitions. Artists are reluctant to cooperate in shows when their work is not being bought, and vice versa. It seems a system guaranteed to produce ill will, everybody knows of endless individual variations on this theme.

They are now being amplified to an unheard-of extent by the Museum’s projected "New American Painting and Sculpture" show. This will concentrate on Abstract Expressionism in the 40’s and 50’s and will eventually occupy a new wing. It is not a loan show, but a Museum Collection show and the artists involved are being asked to donate major works to the collection so that they will show up well in future catalogues, dissertations, books. In other words, to maintain their so-called "historical" respectability, they must be well represented in the world’s best collection of modern art, and to be well represented they must give their major works to the Museum (if they still own them; if they don’t, they’re out of luck). This kind of blackmail is in many cases being leveled at artists whose work the museum ignored during the 40’s and most of the 50’s when prices were low; now they are asked to forgive and forget and guarantee their own place in "history".

It will take a lot of guts for any of these artists to refuse to have their own room in this show and in the permanent collection; at the same time it will take a lot of the opposite to go along with such a plan. It is difficult to see why the museum did not conceive of this as a loan show of rather than pretending to make an "historical" selection from gift horses, but in any case it offers a perfect and timely example of the way artists are exploited.

There seems little hope for broad reform of the Museum of Modern Art. It has done a great deal in the past and now seems to have become so large and
unwieldy that it has outgrown its usefulness. The conventional museum is by nature too big, too bulky, too slow to keep track of and keep up with the studios in a time of such rapid change. The present policy of throwing an occasional bone to recent art is insufficient. The recent sections of both the Modern Machine show and Dada and Surrealism made this obvious. When it attempts to rival the galleries and even the smaller museums, the result is inevitably disappointing.

What is really needed is not just an updated Monolith of Modern Art but a new and more flexible system that can adapt itself to the changes taking place today in the art itself. All the media have rejected traditional confines: room space, proscenium stage, academic symposia, literary readings. I would like to see the Museum of Modern Art retain its respected position as a study center for the history of modern art (and by modern art I mean art of the last 50 years or so; the older work belongs in the Metropolitan, as was originally stipulated by the Museum itself). The money spent on exhibitions could be channeled into purchases, free admission for all artists, night film showings, etc. The exhibition function could be shifted to a series of smaller museums resembling branch libraries, in loft buildings or any large, simple space, each of which would naturally evolve an identity, style and structure of its own. There is no reason why these branches should even be called Museums; they are needed more as vital community centers that would provide workshop space for experimental projects in all media, including performance, as well as space for showing art or organizing more open situations. The fact that this idea in one guise or another has come up several times in the last few months among poets, dancers and visual artists indicates its relevance.

Just propping up existing institutions won't do; imaginative planning is
sex called for. The very loosely knit and constantly changing group that for the time being calls itself the Art Workers’ Coalition may or may not be the right instrument for advancing these changes. We’re still in the discussion stages. The point of an open hearing at this time is to get people thinking about change instead of continuing the personal griping and backbiting that always goes on; to crystallize and analyze the broad dissatisfaction and see where constructive energy can be directed. It has been exciting to see common ideas emerge from extraordinarily different and often conflicting esthetic positions. The reason for continuing, (aside from the fact that it brought up the very valid point of an artist’s control over his work), was the fact of such trans-esthetic solidarity; the fact that there was support for further discussion despite basic disagreement with much of the first group’s program. The present organization, if you can call it that, survives by its own flexibility, by its precarious ability to absorb opposing opinions. No two people involved think alike; few support all and some support none of the 13 demands drawn up by Takis and his six colleagues. No one can speak for anyone else. I for one don’t think we can dictate esthetic choices to the Museum and I am against any more motley group shows as well as inclusions of any group on a separatist basis. Nevertheless the black artists and the artists without galleries have every right to speak for themselves. My own interest is in projection of a constructive alternative to the present situation, in increased civil rights for artists in general.

Lucy R. Lippard
I wish to speak extemporaneously about my feelings about what's going on here today, and what's been going on in the last few weeks. There seems to be a community of artists working throughout the world. There's a whole social fabric that rests very, very precariously on something we know as an art object, and art itself. I think if one wanted to describe this manifestation graphically, you would say that an art object would be a rock in a pool and various functionary levels going out from this rock would be dealers, critics, the museums, the/media, a whole fabric or system, all barricading anyone who's as I am that little object. Well would seem that interested/in my work to try and change the machinery or the context in which the art has been made and is being seen, would seem that the greatest asset that artists have is their art. It would seem that for a social protest or any other type of action in withdrawing your work or setting tight controls over it, you would achieve the goals that are being sought. I'm not in accordance with many of the goals, I'm not quite sure what some of the goals are, really, and it would seem that the Museum of Modern Art would be a very good point to focus on, because it seems to be a very unyielding organization. Perhaps one way in which dealings with the Museum can be handled would be by withholding work from exhibition, not necessarily from that museum, but countless museums around the world. It's a big question on this, to accede to the demands that are being
Seth Siegelaub 2

asked. It would seem that a lot of thought should be
given as to what these demands are. I've heard a broad
range of demands, and there seem to be some things that
are very relevant. It would seem that all this has to do,
in a certain sense, with the context in which art is being
seen, and the rights which the artist has in having it seen
in the proper fashion. And it would seem that the art is
the one thing that you have and the artist always has and
which picks you out from anyone else. There's a class of
human beings who make art and a class who don't, some
of whom happen to be curators of museums, directors or museum
trustees. This is the way your leverage lies. I would think
that by using that leverage you could achieve much greater
goals than in any other ways. It's the one seemingly unique
aspect of an artist, that he makes art and no-one else does.
Mr. Bates Lowry  
Director, Museum of Modern Art  
11 East 53rd Street  
New York, New York 10019  

My dear Mr. Lowry:  

The Museum of Modern Art, as one of the great cultural institutions of our nation's greatest city, has a special role to play in fulfilling the needs of our citizens for full cultural identification. The measure of the responsibilities of your institution would seem to be amply recognized on the basis of your own statements relating to the goals of the Museum, expressed in your publication Toward The New Museum of Modern Art, from which I shall quote at some length in this letter.  

"The Museum's national and circulating exhibitions have brought modern art to thousands of institutions in the United States and Canada. Increased funds will make possible the development of a program specifically adapted to the needs of smaller communities, and of educational institutions from which must come many of the future leaders of our country's cultural life." (17) It is from this position that more than 200 black and Puerto Rican brothers and sisters from public, private and parochial schools on the secondary school level, as well as art schools, colleges and universities of the metropolitan area, will undertake a walking tour of the Museum of Modern Art on Sunday, 13 April 1969, for the purpose of making an in-depth evaluation of the present program of the New Museum of Modern Art in terms of its adaptation to meeting and serving the needs of the "smaller communities" of black and Puerto Rican people. It is our view, in which I believe you will concur fully, that these young people, as the "future leaders of our cultural life", ought to be made aware of the services of your great institution is supporting through your programs their education and careers in the arts in terms of special relevancy to them as products of a black and Puerto Rican culture. We know that you cannot fail to be pleased by their moves in this direction. We hope, then, that you will undertake to make available to us the facilities of your auditorium on that date, at any hour between, day 11:00 A.M. and 1:00 P.M., to enable us to properly orient these young people prior to the tour, without serious inconvenience to your regularly scheduled program for that day."
Mr. Bates Lowry - 2

Because our program is one of research and evaluation, we feel we ought not to rely solely upon that visual evidence of the Museum's programs available on that day, since this might result in an unfair assumption that these represent the only such programs or the limit of such programs undertaken by the Museum, when in fact this might not necessarily be the case. Accordingly, we recognize the need of obtaining further information such as could only be furnished to us by you and your staff. We would, therefore, wish to submit to you at some time in the early future, a rather detailed questionnaire to aid us in this project. This letter will undertake to set before you the form which some of those inquiries would take.

"The New Museum of Modern Art will in fact become the only American Art Museum which, in its own field, is foremost in the world. Inevitably it will be a magnet attracting to New York from every quarter of the globe all those interested in the visual arts of our time." (16) We believe that this statement embodies a very ambitious goal and necessarily imposes upon the Museum an almost unequalled responsibility, which, we have no doubt, you are struggling most manfully to meet. We of the black and Puerto Rican community of this city share both your interest in meeting that responsibility and the responsibility of seeing that it is met. That alone, please be assured, prompts our inquiries and the suggestions which we undertake to make. For we have a very special stake in the Museum's fulfillment of its goals and its responsibilities which you cannot fail to recognize as being both exigent and legitimate. It is for this reason that we rely upon your cooperation with our project. Our black and Puerto Rican brothers and sisters in the metropolitan area, as well as throughout the country, require every encouragement in order to develop and create effectively. Above all, they require images with which they can most readily identify. They are naturally attracted to the Museum of Modern Art as a locus for cultural identification. Their hopes represent an added responsibility imposed upon your Museum and ours by the greatness of its purpose and its plans.

The old Museum had 12000 square feet of exhibition space, little or none of which was given over to cultural programs pertinent to the black and Puerto Rican cultural communities. We would not entirely agree with the argument that considerations of space alone could warrant such a sweeping omission. Be that as it may, however, we are more concerned with how much of the additional 31000 square feet of space in the New Museum is appropriated to that purpose. We certainly do not believe it unreasonable to expect and to conclude after some four years and a seventy-five per cent increase in the amount of exhibition space available that the space issue will be held to offer a valid explanation for failure to remedy this deficiency. This is not to prejudge the matter and conclude that it has not been remedied, or is not in the process of being remedied. Of course, we feel we can safely rely upon you to advise us of the extent
to which the latter may be the case.

It does, however, seem more than a little conflicting with the established practice of the Museum in reserving galleries for the exhibition of the works of different cultural groups that no such wing has ever been reserved for the exhibition of works which are the product of black and Puerto Rican culture. Gallery #6, for instance, is reserved for French and Italian artists; #7 for German Expressionists; #15 for Italian Futurists. The purpose in this would seem to be to present works which bear artistic unity as to period and/or portrayal based upon features of national cultural personality. It need hardly be emphasized, Mr. Lowry, that the distinctiveness of the various cultural groups which form the cultural tapestry of our nation each demand their own spokesmen. Jackson Pollock's art would never be held to be inclusive of pre-Columbians, or of American Indians today; it is absolutely absurd to hold that it is inclusive of black and Puerto Rican culture. Were that the case, then there could be no valid objections to having Soviet artists paint America while in Kiev, or black or Puerto Rican artists depict Croatian peasant life. We know, of course, that such an idea would be dismissed as utter madness at the very least. If we want to portray Croatian culture, then we must depend upon Croats to do it. It is no argument to submit that techniques in Croatian art have not advanced sufficiently to permit Croatian artists to paint with an accomplishment which might favorably compare with Crozco or Degas; the fact is that is we are going to portray Yugoslavia, then we must portray Croatia; and if we are going to portray Croatia, then we must portray it through the work of its own artists. We would think that sufficiently elementary. If the Museum of Modern Art does not feel that the black and Puerto Rican communities form a sufficiently important part of our nation to warrant portrayal, then it ought to say so, directly and immediately. Then, at least, we shall know -- which is not to say we do not already know -- what the issue really is.

There is, of course, the question as to whether the Museum is under any obligation, aside from considerations of artistic integrity, to present a program of cultural identification for black and Puerto Rican people. (We do not expect the argument that artistic integrity can be satisfied by total failure to do so.) It inevitably goes to the question as to how private the Museum actually is. "Gifts to the Museum of Modern Art are of course deductible for income tax purposes." (43) Tax deductions are a form of public financial support, representing, for the most part, funds which would find their way into the public coffers without this tax benefit. Since the cost of
prosecuting the war in Viet-Nam, or of putting a man on the Moon, or of flood control in the Missouri Valley, is not affected by money being donated to the Museum, such donations in fact require a redistribution of the tax burden to raise lost revenues. The Museum of Modern Art, then, is a direct beneficiary of public monies. This is not to say by any means that this is desirable; quite the contrary, it is completely desirable, provided that the Museum recognizes that it is a beneficiary and discharges its responsibility as a legatee. That responsibility comprehends public service to the Puerto Rican and black communities which support the Museum through the payment of higher tax levies.

The Museum appears to recognize this to some extent. It has established, for example, the Children's Art Carnival for the first time in Harlem. The Museum claims that the Carnival will serve 9000 children, which would be triple the average served in past years. How this is possible, aside from the doubtful accuracy of the figure, really is not nearly so important as whether or not the program satisfies the need of community children for cultural identification. We submit that it does not, and that a full investigation by competent art educators from the local community should be undertaken at the instance of the Museum to determine how it can be made to do so. Art which is not relevant is worse than no art at all; it leaves the feeling that art itself is not relevant to life, when art ought to be the highest relevancy in life.

The glaring shortcomings of the Museum vis-a-vis the black and Puerto Rican communities clearly require the setting up of a special Black Wing to enable the Museum to present a harmonized portrayal of black culture in America. There simply is no way of getting around this. Yet, we challenge the Museum to declare that it has ever sought the endowment of such a wing, as it has undoubtedly sought the endowment of a German-Austrian Wing, Dutch Wing, Parisian Wing, or other ethnically or nationally identifiable wings. We challenge the Museum to say that it has ever approached the black cultural or financial community and sought funds or other assistance for setting up a program embodying cultural identification for blacks or Puerto Ricans. We would go so far as to challenge the Museum to state that it has ever gone so far as to develop a comprehensive plan for setting up such a wing in the event that funds were provided for it.

Yet, there is little to be accomplished by remonstrating over the sins of omission and commission in this area visited upon generations of the past. What is important is that the Museum has now the opportunity to accomplish something in the way of
remedying those injustices in the present and the future. Again, we challenge the Museum to declare how it intends to go about doing so. We challenge the Museum to offer a constructive alternative to the Black Wing. We challenge the Museum to sit down with leaders of the black and Puerto Rican cultural communities and develop a comprehensive scheme to meet its responsibility in this area in the future.

We are waiting, Black and Puerto Rican children are waiting. Art is waiting. We cannot wait very much longer, Mr. Lowry. Nor can the Museum if it is not to become, as one poster at the recent demonstration rudely and indelicately suggested, the Mausoleum of Modern Art. We would like to know what plans you have for the Museum.

Very truly yours,

TOM LLOYD
FAITH RINGGOLD
STUDENTS AND ARTISTS UNITED FOR A MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. WING FOR BLACK AND PUERTO RICAN ART AT THE MUSEUM OF MODERN ART OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK
A RESEARCH AND EVALUATION OF THE MUSEUM IN ITS DEFAULT OF CULTURAL RESPONSIBILITY TO THE PUBLIC AND CULTURAL INTEGRITY TO ITSELF AND THE ART COMMUNITY OF THIS CITY, THE NATION AND THE WORLD

INFORMATION
This form consists of Parts I and II. Part I is for you to fill in and mail to the address indicated at the bottom of the form. Part II consists of a series of questions addressed to the Museum and its staff and is to be mailed to the Museum if you believe these questions ought to be answered. Thank you for your support. Thank you for joining us in an effort to end cultural genocide practiced against blacks and Puerto Ricans at the Museum of Modern Art. Thank you for joining our fight to establish a Martin Luther King, Jr. Wing for Black and Puerto Rican Art at the Museum of Modern Art.

MR. TOM LLOYD
156-02 107th Avenue
Jamaica, New York
657-6433

MRS. FAITH RINGGOLD
345 West 145th Street
New York, New York
862-5876

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PART I

1. Does the regular attendance at the Museum today suggest that blacks and Puerto Ricans use, enjoy and understand the Museum’s collection?
   YES____ NO____ UNCERTAIN____

2. Do any exhibitions in the galleries relate to black and Puerto Rican experience as to subject matter, means of expression, or personal identification?
   YES____ NO____ UNCERTAIN____

3. If your answer to (2) is YES, which ones?

4. Are there any publications (1st floor), films (Auditorium), or other visual aids that relate to the black or Puerto Rican experience? YES____ NO____ UNCERTAIN____

5. If so, how many films____, publications____, other____?

6. Do you believe, after touring the Museum, or on the basis of your knowledge of the Museum and its programs, that a MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. WING FOR BLACK AND PUERTO RICAN ART would serve the purpose of genuine cultural freedom and portrayal of the culture of black and Puerto Rican people at the MUSEUM OF MODERN ART? YES____ NO____ UNCERTAIN____

NAME________________________
ADDRESS_____________________
CITY_________________ STATE____ ZIP_____

PLEASE MAIL YOUR FILLED OUT QUESTIONNAIRE TO ONE OF THE PERSONS LISTED ABOVE. WE WILL NOT DISCLOSE YOUR NAME OR ADDRESS WITHOUT YOUR PERMISSION

THANK YOU.

STUDENTS AND ARTISTS UNITED FOR A MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. WING FOR BLACK AND PUERTO RICAN ART AT THE MUSEUM OF MODERN ART
Dear Mr. Lowry:

As a member of the interested public, I request that you forward to me at the address given above answers to the following questions at your earliest convenience:

1. Does the Museum recognize the existence of an authentic, distinct Black Art Movement?

2. If so, how has the Museum presented the body of work of this Movement in its permanent collection and national and international exhibitions?

3. Does the Museum's permanent collection of over 30,000 works of art include the works of black and Puerto Rican artists? If so, which, and how many?

4. Can the Museum claim in good faith to be a "private" institution when:
   a. Its donated collection, endowments and deficit-erasing contributions are made possible through tax abatement on donors amounting to almost the full dollar value of such support?
   b. It receives sizeable additional income in the form of direct public funds for so-called "free admission" and services for public school children and teachers, federal commissioning of exhibits at international exhibitions, construction of models for urban development programs, and other such schemes, as well as for sundry other publicly commissioned projects?
   c. It invites and solicits public subscription and attendance at which admission fees are charged?

5. Does the Museum recognize this form of public financial support as imposing any obligations upon it toward the public?

6. How does the Museum provide for adequate safeguards that race plays no part in the selection of works for inclusion in its permanent collections and circulating exhibitions?

7. In view of the support of racist policies in South Africa by the investments of several corporations of prominent trustees of the Museum--David Rockefeller and the Chase Manhattan Bank, to name one--is not public credibility as to the effectiveness of these safeguards, assuming they exist, seriously weakened?

8. How does the Museum provide in its collections, exhibitions, programs, publications, and services, cultural identification for black and Puerto Rican citizens?
9. How do such community activities as the Children's Art Carnival in Harlem provide for cultural identification for black and Puerto Rican children?

10. How does the Children's Art Carnival seriously arrive at its figure of 9000 children to be served annually in view of the average of 3000 in prior years?

11. How does the Museum decide, in a way which insures that considerations of race play no part, which works of art to accept as gifts and exhibit in its permanent collections?

12. How does the Museum define "quality" as a standard used in selecting works?

13. Would the Museum assemble a special collection for exhibition of works of black and Puerto Rican artists of "quality" lent to it for that purpose?

14. Does the Museum encourage—and if so, how—black and Puerto Rican artists in the early stages of their development in terms of providing for group presentation of their work?

15. What is the Museum's principal objection to the application of the criteria of "quality, historical significance and significance of the moment" to the selection of works by black and Puerto Rican artists?

16. Does the Museum presently have, either in operation or in advanced planning stages, a program of community workshops for black and Puerto Rican communities in order to create a liaison between the Black and Puerto Rican Art Community and the Museum in order to advance public knowledge of its development and to further acquaint the Museum with its force as an expression?

17. What are the objections to the Martin Luther King Jr. Wing for Black and Puerto Rican Art which the Museum would suggest to be most valid?

18. In what way does the Museum feel threatened by the existence of a Martin Luther King, Jr. Wing for Black and Puerto Rican Art?

19. Is it the position of the Museum of Modern Art that, in view of the Museum's cultural responsibilities to the public and the art community, that the people of the black and Puerto Rican communities should passively accept the denial to them of a Martin Luther King, Jr. Wing for the exhibition of their cultural expression?

20. What is the Museum's alternative to the Martin Luther King Wing in order to satisfy the legitimate demand of black and Puerto Rican citizens for cultural expression and identification in the Museum of Modern Art?
Robert Barry

Why bother with the Museum of Modern Art? Why not work outside it and leave it to those who want it. If it doesn't serve us, why not let it be.

More than any other museum, it pretends to be what it is not. Its very name "Modern" is a lie. It has failed to live up to its original promise.

The spirit of the museum and the spirit of art are two totally different conceptions. The Museum is a huge, artistically impotent superstructure of something other than art, but with great influence. Under the guise of art, and without art's spirit it is even opposed to the true art spirit. And most of all it is unfortunately mistaken for the actual reality of art.

The energies of art are subject to conscious cultivation and planning. Art is split into branches. Art becomes cultural values which must be preserved for a few and for their own sake. The Museum epitomizes what Heidegger calls: "The boundless work of dismemberment of the human spirit carried on by the practical intelligence".
Wilbur Woods

As an architect, I'd like to address the artists' community. Those of us who are disturbed that the Museum of Modern Art sees fit to charge such an exorbitant admission price, rather than let the public, as well as the artists, have free access to the exhibitions, might well reflect on the extravagance with which the Museum itself was built.

When the original building was built in 1939, there was an attempt by the architects to make this building a part of the new age - the use of stainless steel and glass, neon lighting and 'hard crisp lines of the new esthetic of the no-nonsense international style of architecture.

Some thirty odd years later, when the Museum carried out its major expansion plans for a new wing and enlarged garden, the esthetic had changed to that of a richly embellished elegance. It was significant that Philip Johnson was selected as the architect for this new image that so completely overpowers the older building. Mr Johnson, by his own statements, sees himself as a court architect; he would prefer the role of architect to the king to that of "architect to the people".

The aristocratic trustees are interested in retaining prestige and image and Mr Johnson provides the right amount of elegance, pomp and grandeur. Of course, it is not just the Museum of Modern Art that manages to squander the too-limited resources of the art world on over-embellished architecture and personal
monuments to the past. It seems as though a fight for identity has really been fought between the Museum of Modern Art, the Whitney Museum, the Guggenheim, and lest we forget our sick relations, the Huntington-Hartford Gallery of Modern Art. The incredible expenditures involved and the apparent irrelevance of this escalation of image-mongering to the requirements of art exhibitions indicates strongly to me that the trustees of these museums are extremely irresponsible. It would be better that the walls come tumbling down and the art come back to the real artistic community.

There are several questions regarding the architecture of art exhibitions which I'd like to address to the Art Workers Coalition.

1 Are buildings for the purpose of showing art really necessary, and if so, what kinds of buildings should your work be shown in?

2 In a time of open-ended activity and vitality in the world of art, should the museum be a neo-classical monument made of polished marble, granite, teak and bronze or shouldn't the museum be just as vital, open-ended and forward-looking as the art itself.

3 Why are artists as a community never consulted about the programming and design of a new exhibition facility? Why shouldn't the artists as a community develop their own alternative solutions to these extravagant museum buildings? There are no limitations to the type or size of space which might be used. I would urge the artist community to seek out like-minded architects with professional skills and talent to match the demands of today's
technology and tomorrow's potential, and with the use of design workshops and open discussions, they would define new solutions to the problems of art exhibitions.
April 4, 1969

AN OPEN LETTER TO TODAY'S VISITORS TO THE MUSEUM OF MODERN ART

A PROPOSAL FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A BLACK WING AT THE MUSEUM
OF MODERN ART IN MEMORY OF DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

WHY A BLACK WING? MARTIN LUTHER KING MEMORIAL AT MOMA SEGREGATED BLACK

On October 30th, 1968 at the Museum of Modern Art, prominent black artists were segregated in a back room at a memorial show in honor of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.—or rather, in contempt of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Among those black artists subjected to this humiliating, racist cultural segregation were Jacob Lawrence, Charles White, Romare Bearden, and the late Bob Thompson. No one save the three black advisors on the Committee protested this racist insult to the black cultural community, which was really the most blatant contempt for the creative struggle which permeated the life and perpetrated the death of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

THE WHITE CULTURAL COMMUNITY SUPPORTED WHITE RACISM IN THE NAME OF DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

Originally the Memorial Exhibition for Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. had included the works of no black artists! Black artists were included for the first time as the direct result of pressure from the black cultural community. None of the white members of the Committee even recognized the racism, nor were they repelled to the point of raising their voices against this insult to the memory of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. How, we ask, can the white cultural community survive when its leadership, in the persons of such distinguished figures as Mayor John Lindsay, Mrs. Aristotle Onassis, Carroll Janis of the Sydney Janis Gallery, Edward Fry of the Guggenheim Museum, Henry Geldzahler of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, John Gordon of the Whitney Museum, Donelson Hoopes of the Brooklyn Museum, Karl Katz of the Jewish Museum, and William S. Rubin of the Museum of Modern Art, fail to react to the Museum of Modern Art's racist treatment of black artists and blatant insult to the memory of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.? Obviously, they either expected black artists to be segregated, or they felt such a liberal streak that they were included at all that mere relegation to a back room represented in their minds a giant stride toward tokenism at the Museum of Modern Art. More likely, they never thought anything at all which is the best way to support the racism that buried Martin Luther King. Whatever the explanation, black artists can no longer wait for MOMA's brand of integration, which is already 100 years late in coming.
A MESSAGE TO THE BLACK AND PUERTO RICAN COMMUNITY ABOUT THE IMPORTANCE OF PORTRAYING THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF OUR CULTURAL HERITAGE

WHY IT IS IMPORTANT
Although we are all members of the same human family, our experience as a people has helped to make us different from other groups, just as our individual experiences make us as individuals different from one another. That differentness is a right; it makes us who and what we are, and that differentness has a right to be respected and preserved. The differentness of other Americans is recorded and preserved in the art of their group; their children and our children see it, and this fosters identification and a sense of worthwhileness. Our children and we ourselves are entitled to this same identification, respect, and sense of worthwhileness enjoyed by others. The public vehicle for helping to sustain and encourage all of this is the museum. For people alive, developing and contributing today, the foremost vehicle in the world for telling the story of cultural contribution is the Museum of Modern Art.

IS IT BEING DONE?
We want you to find this out for yourselves. On Sunday, April 13th, at 12 Noon, 200 black and Puerto Rican students will assemble in the Auditorium of the Museum of Modern Art for a brief orientation on methods of evaluating whether or not the Museum of Modern Art is usefully fulfilling its obligation to portray the cultural contributions of black and Puerto Rican artists and to determine whether that portrayal could be better served by the establishment of a black and Puerto Rican wing at the Museum. Cultural leaders of the community will speak to the group. We urge you to support this work either by personally attending, or by encouraging others to attend, or both.

WHY A SEPARATE WING?
The Museum maintains wings for the exhibition of Dutch, Russian, Italian, Austro-Germanic, and other ethnic and national cultural contributions. Blacks and Puerto Ricans amount to more than 25 million Americans—'one out of every eight.' Our distinctiveness as a people is clearly recognized in the many laws, practices and customs within the American society which declared and even today declare such a difference. In short, we are different for purposes of unequal treatment, but not different for purposes of equal recognition of our cultural individuality. If we are different—and we are among the first to insist that we are—then we ought to be able to present that difference through our art and other cultural contributions in a Martin Luther King, Jr. Wing of the Museum of Modern Art.

SUPPORT YOUR CHILD'S RIGHT TO KNOW, ENJOY AND UNDERSTAND HIS RICH CULTURAL HERITAGE. HELP TO FREE BLACK AND PUERTO RICAN ART FROM THE CULTURAL GENOCIDE PRACTICED BY THE MUSEUM OF MODERN ART TODAY. WITHOUT A MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. WING, BLACK AND PUERTO RICAN ARTISTS WILL HAVE TO WAIT ANOTHER 100 YEARS FOR FREEDOM, IF CULTURAL GENOCIDE DOES NOT IN FACT, AS IT SEeks TO DO, WIPE OUT OUR CULTURE ENTIRELY. BRING THIS PAPER WITH YOU TO THE MUSEUM THIS SUNDAY, OR MAIL IT TO A MEMBER OF OUR COMMITTEE:

Tom Lloyd 154-02 107th Ave., Jamaica, N.Y. STUDENTS & ARTISTS FOR A MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. WING FOR BLACK ART AT THE MUSEUM OF MODERN ART
In our society artists have no power. They have no power because they are divided against themselves and fail to organise as a group. Because they have no power, they are exploited and manipulated by those who have it. In most cases, instead of objecting to or even being aware of this exploitation, they take pride in the reason for it. We are individuals, they say, we neither want nor need organisation. If you are good, you will make it in spite of the disadvantages; if you do not, you can console yourself with the thought that making it is not the artist’s true objective anyway.

We do not realise that we are encouraged in this rationalisation by those who exploit and manipulate us. Like women, like the black people, we are fed with a careful fiction as to the nature of our wishes and our goals. How many times have the black people in the South been told that they are happier and more contented than those in the North? How many times have women been told that to do something well or even seriously will preclude a happy relationship with a man? Anything, that is, that falls outside the conventional role of woman.

For artists, if not for the public, la vie bohème, the romantic garret, the purity of poverty, the love affair with starvation may be perhaps romantic popcorn. Still overlaying it is a more serious myth. You cannot really expect to make a living from art; artists get their satisfaction from doing their work and showing it; they don’t really need to be paid for it, they are already so lucky to be creative and gifted and so on.

Yet, as we all know, there is money in art; a great deal of it in fact; huge sums change hands yet somehow scarcely ever finish up in the pocket of the artist. Why should this be so?

The crux of the problem is twofold: the legal concept of art as an investment object; the social concept of art as a luxury object. Many artists have fought against this latter definition for years by changing the nature of their work; by making it too large or too ugly or too dirty or too insignificant for galleries and smart apartments. Their work has usually been domesticated in the end, however, and their protest has failed to make art a less esoteric commodity.

They should have realised that without an attack on the legal and financial structure of the art world, no democratization of the art object is possible. Without a change in these areas, art will remain a luxury and the artist a superfluous.
What changes then can be made to diminish the value of art as investment and at the same time give an economic and legal power to the artist proportionate to his role of creator? I have four proposals to make:

Firstly: the greatest financial gains from art are realised by those who buy work cheap in the artist’s youth and sell it dear when he is old or dead. Our objective should be to change the law so that one half of all such gains reverts to the artist, and after his death partly to give his descendants and partly to a central fund created for the benefit of all artists. Such a fund would provide work grants, old age and sickness benefits, help for dependents of deceased artists, legal advice service and other social benefits. In cases where gains are realised through tax losses obtained by collectors who donate work to museums, one half of such gains should also be passed on to the artist or his descendants and the fund.

(We should strive to promote)

Secondly: the concept of renting art. Scales of minimum rental fees should be established, and all institutions charging admission to exhibitions should be legally obliged to pay fees to the participating artists. In the case of dead artists, fees would be paid to the fund. Public exhibitions of private collections should also return a royalty to the artist or to the fund.

Thirdly: maximum commission rates changeable by galleries should be established by law.

Fourthly: The reproduction of artists’ work in books, magazines, on television or in films should return a royalty fee to the artist or the fund.

Some of these suggestions exist as fact in one form or another in the fields of literature and music. And although it can be objected that art is different since it is intrinsically valuable as a unique object whereas music and literature have value only in their idea and not in their physical form – yet, one can maintain that the sale of an art work conveys only the right to private and personal enjoyment thereof and not to the right to financial gain, personal publicity or public acclaim. Or at least not to these advantages without paying artist for them.

I have concentrated on economic proposals because I feel that all the frustrations met in relationships with galleries and landlords, museums and collectors, all the slights and inequities to which we are subjected are a direct result of our having no financial power either individually or through a representative organisation. Improve our legal and economic rights and the other relationships will als
also change.

But sit on every museum committee in the world and without financial backing we will always be overruled.

I have no doubt we can bring about change, even change as drastic or even more drastic than what I am proposing here. But to do so, we must stop being brainwashed into the belief that things are for the best as they are; we must be prepared to spend time building an organization to represent us; we must be able to define our demands and research the means to carry them through to law. It will not be quick or easy and it cannot be done only in New York City or even perhaps not only in the U.S. for the art world is international and if our reforms are to be effective, they must be applied on a global scale. It's a big job, but we can start it moving...
There is a widespread dissatisfaction about the existing state of the art world today.

Galleries provide a limited forum and only one that relates to art as commodity. They are insufficient in their presentation of the range of living art: what should be seen, and when and how, profits dictate styles.

Museums, ideologically committed to living art, are more and more barricaded behind walls of institutional bureaucracy. A world of play it safe, ersatz experience, and tax free status.

The artist may spend his life as a cabinetmaker, working to furnish museums. He is the weakest link in the chain of the art world, the most expendable.

There is a good deal of significant work of quality, which never gets above 14th Street (or 3rd or whatever), because of a market situation.

This is a proposal for artists to merge their individual powerlessness into a community, to try having some say-so in their own destiny.

The expression of this solidarity would be a center for living art, cooperatively financed, run by artists for artists to fill the gap left by the art world.

In the event of existing institutions, it would avoid becoming a downtown uptown. It would provide an alternative showing living art in a framework free of power play, property and out of the hands of profiteers. There would be no sales.

Its primary purpose would be the presentation of esthetic issues as they are current, showing new concepts before they are safe, exhibited as the artist intends them to be, under his control. Exhibitors would not be limited to membership to avoid another code gallery situation.
2.21 It could show valid works in styles neglected by uptown fashion, large scale works untouched by galleries, and any form or anti-form felt to be significant but of dubious commercial value.

2.3 The problem of quality would be tackled by rotating juries elected by members and which would prevent power monopoly by one group. An exhibition committee could consider any proposals for exhibitions by any group whatsoever.

2.4 It would be a temporary project designed to last 2 or 3 years and then, to continue, it would be reorganized and restructured according to future needs. This would avoid institutionalism and make the community concentrate on the present problems which confront it.

2.5 It could include a broad participation in the visual arts as well as film, dance, music, etc.

2.6 By its independent example it might make a slight dent in policies of existing institutions with more capital but with fewer ideas.
THE MUSEUM OF MODERN ART EXCLUDES BLACK AND PUERTO RICAN ART
The Museum is the international pace-setter of the modern art movement. Its exclusion of the work of black and Puerto Rican artists has denied them recognition, support, and the impetus for development which every art school and movement requires. It stands as the redoubt of the only great cultural empire in America which, however unwittingly, perpetuates total and unrelenting racism in America. Music, dance, theatre, literature, and audio-video communications have made themselves great by enriching themselves with the cultural wealth of black and Puerto Rican heritage; they have shared the prestige of artistic regeneration through a new and dynamic cultural infusion. In order to develop as a movement, black and Puerto Rican art requires national and international exposure. Either it will receive it, or the decaying effects of a society already weighted with war and racism will crush what little hope remains that art is not indeed dead in America. But Black and Puerto Rican art are alive! In search of museum retrospectives! Of major exhibitions, international representation, and all the exposure which museum publications, commissions, grants, and sponsorship can give!

THE MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. WING WILL BE SEPARATE--BUT ONLY AS THE YOLK IS SEPARATE FROM THE SHELL. Black determination has never failed to provide creative leadership to surmount every hurdle to freedom. We cannot be free until our art is free. We would gladly be free in any way. But we have been 34 years at the Museum waiting to be free without being separate, and there have been no retrospectives for Jacob Lawrence or Romare Bearden, no publications devoted to their work, no group shows for our younger artists. If our art is not to be mixed with the art of whites, well, so be it! Give us our own wing, where we can show our black and Puerto Rican artists, where we can proclaim to the world our statement of what constitutes value and truth and the spirit of our people! Give it to us, or tell us that we have no place at all in your museums, just as we have no place in your churches and clubs and cooperatives. Can the Museum of Modern Art at least be that honest about it? We ask Governor Rockefeller and Mr. Philip Johnson of Johnson's Wax--trustees of the Museum--to make reason prevail. We will have our art, and we will have our wing. We have our own thing to do, something that grows out of our different experience as a people, coupled with the unceasing need of black and Puerto Rican people to give reason and vitality to existence. Modern Art needs a new direction and impetus--away from the "Cool School" emphasis of use of materials in the hope of avoiding the revolution. Black and Puerto Rican Art proclaims to the world: "We are the revolution! We are 25 million strong, very much alive and very seldom cool! Our art is not dead, and we will not let it die, because to kill our art is to kill the spirit of our people! That is why we must have the Martin Luther King Wing----NOW!!!!!

AT 12 NOON AT THE MUSEUM OF MODERN ART, 21 W 53 St., in the AUDITORIUM, SUNDAY, April 13, we will conduct an evaluation of the Museum in its default of cultural responsibility to the public and cultural integrity to itself and the artistic community. TAKE PART. CARE. SAVE BLACK AND PUERTO RICAN ART FROM CULTURAL GENOCIDE. SAVE AMERICAN ART FROM THE FOLLY OF RACIST SUICIDE!
I'm going to forego the pages I submitted, because Bob Barry and others have said pretty much what I wanted to say. Except that I don't quite understand why we should all be showing so much kindness to that energy trap up there. I don't see why we can lend our virility to their obvious sterility. They cannot deal with the kind of energy we as artists are involved in. They've made this quite obvious. I don't think you're going to reform them - do you know who they are, the people who're dealing with you as artists. We know what we're after. Why don't we just let them die a natural death? I don't think I'm the only artist who felt obliged to pack up and moved up... I'm living in Vermont now. The only thing I can say is that what I'd like to see happen is on May 10th and 11th come up to Vermont at my invitation and do there what you don't think you can do here. We're going to have an artists' carnival up there on May 10th and 11th in Putty, Vermont, and I want anybody who wants to come up and do anything they want to do to come up there and do it. We'll try to see that you get a sleeping bag, we'll try to see that you get a place to sleep and we'll try to feed you. I concerned myself for ten years here with the problems of getting my art shown and I'm no longer interested, and I don't see why you're all interested in that place up there.
This is sort of a strange event for me because I went to this school and sat in this auditorium, and every time I was here I really don't know what's happening here.

listening to a lot of people, and I think it's about time we decided to do something other than talking. The museums and the galleries should be on their fucking knees, man and we're playing games here, talking a lot of bullshit. We've just got to like...there was this one cat who came over here and said something. He said we should all go out and we should organize and we should do it together for one reason, because we are part of a subculture. And when we get together we'll decide what we want to do. You'll decide, not the museums or the galleries. They'll just have to wait while we decide what we want to do. I think we have to organize, it's got to be loose but that's what we've got to do. On Monday we meet, we get together, we put together some sort of a resolution and we just move.
QUOTATIONS FOR 1967

THE MOBILIZATION OF CULTURE

"In both camps (Free World & Eastern) non-operational ideas are non-behavioral and subversive."

Herbert Marcuse (1963)

"Even science, especially the magnificent science of our own day, has become one element of technique, a mere means."

Hauss (N.D.)

"The aesthetic philosophy of impressionism marks the beginning of a process of complete inbreeding in art. Artists produce their works for artists, and art, that is the formal experience of the world _sub specie artis_, becomes the real subject of art."

Arnold Hauser (N.D.)

"As the unity of the modern world becomes increasingly a technological rather than a social affair, the techniques of the arts provide a most valuable means of insight into the real direction of our own collective purposes. Conversely, the arts can become a primary means of social orientation and self-criticism."

Marshall McLuhan (1948)

"...the total mobilization of all media for the defense of the established reality has coordinated the means of expression to the point where communi-
cation of transcending contents becomes technically impossible. The spectre
that has haunted the artistic consciousness since Mallarme - the impossibility
of speaking a non-reified language, of communicating the negative- has ceased
to be a spectre. It has materialized."

Marcuse (1963)

"An army without culture is a dull-witted army, and a dull-witted army cannot
defeat the enemy."

Mao Tse-Tung (1944)

"For example, if a statement on the importance of the arts to both the in-
dividual and the community were made by a person of high authority, by the
President of the United States, the condition of art would be improved almost
instantaneously."

Victor D'Amico (1965)

"We aren't going to spend a kopeck on this dog shit."

Krushchev (1962)
ART AND FOOD

"Art everywhere stands in contradiction to its own ethical purposes. What are we to do? Everywhere the ethical predicament of our time imposes itself with an urgency which suggests that even the question 'Have we anything to eat?' will be answered not in material but in ethical terms."

Hugo Ball (1917)

"It is high time to recognize at last that the problems of art and stomach are very far from each other."

Malevich (1915)

"An Oldenburger has more taste than the real thing."

E. Benkert (1967)

"What is happening now is not the deterioration of higher culture into mass culture but the refutation of this culture by the reality. The reality surpasses its culture."

Marcuse

"It is harder to shout louder than the War or the Revolution."

Trotzky (1924)

THE NEW LEFT

"Cubism and Futurism were the revolutionary forms in art foreshadowing the revolution in political and economic life of 1917."

Malevich (1920)

"The prime virtue of avant-garde art used to be the ability to go against the grain of one's own time and follow one's own bent regardless of current fashion, acceptance or ideas of what art has to be. In the American art world of today, one of the few who embodies that virtue is Andrew Wyeth."

Frank Galleani (1967)
"Art always borrows its seriousness from values—religious, romantic, scientific—it fails to live up to. The formal interests of the artist and his delight in his craft set him apart from genuine holiness, love, or research. Yet when logic induces the artist to consider art capable of renewing itself by its own means he finds himself in a blind alley. Art today needs political consciousness in order to free itself from the frivolity of continual insurrections confined to art galleries and museums. The actions of society present a resistance against which modes of art can test their powers and reinstate the creation of images as a vocation of adult minds."

HAROLD ROSENBERG, December 16, 1967

Signed Minority A.
Berkhert
Herdman
Hewitt
Mieczkowski
The 1967 Painter knows that:

Technology has triumphed

Society is becoming increasingly totalitarian

Painting is becoming increasingly free and pure

Painting no longer has a subversive function

Society accepts the painter in his role as painter

The mobilization of culture in America is as complete, and more successful, than it is in Russia

The Russians will eventually get the message that pure art threatens nothing

The American Way of accepting and using it all is much more practical

Johnson will pass; someday America will have a President who has to do the same things as Johnson, but in a very hip way

It is easier to be an artist now than it was thirty years ago

An artist has friends everywhere, and is very grateful

Museums, galleries, and dealers have been around for a long time

Artists support the Status Quo

Artists protest the War in Vietnam

Artists make the kind of art they want

This is the way it is in America in 1967.
It seems to me this anxiety to become part of the establishment is not very revolutionary. The business of having works of art shown cannot be done in cooperation with any museum or the establishment. What artists need is a new society of independents, where anybody, black or white or whatever, can show his work. I believe that the overriding issue with the museum is what happens to the painting or sculpture after it gets in and is acquired by the museum. This is the crux of the problem, and I find that the museum in this regard behaves like any other (institution). In this country, under American-style capitalism, a man who owns a work has complete legal and unalterable, irrefutable, possession of it. He can hang it upside down; he can repaint any part of it; he can, if he wishes, legally destroy it totally. I do not say that the Museum does or will do these things, but what it does do with one's work is done in the same spirit of complete possession. It can place it in any kind of theme show or group show; it can make any kind of historical pattern that it pleases, without any consideration of the artists' wishes. In England and in France, the wishes of the artist, even after he has sold the work, are given more respect. What I would like to see is that the Museum respect the wishes of the artist, even if the artist is wrong. This would not only create a living relation between the museum and the artist, but the museum would become an exemplar to others and show them how they should behave to those who make the works. After all, the Museum is not an oracle of behaviour.
between itself and collectors and galleries, and the change in attitude would have a great effect. Collectors, government and state would pay attention and have some regard for the artists' wishes, if they saw that the Museum was involved not only in seeing that a work of art be preserved, but if the Museum would also have some respect for the artists' wishes concerning how the work be used.

(It is Newman's wish that this statement be used only in its entirety)

READ BY BARBARA REISE
I myself have been a little critical of all this concern about the Museum, as it seems to get increasingly dull every year. And why people want to get involved in such a dull place ... Then I started thinking about it. It's a fine idea. In the thirties and the forties ....

(Interruption from floor: read a short story then.)

No, I'm not reading a short story, I'm reading my own statement. ... it was the only place in the world that you could see Matisse at that time, which was more interesting than what was going on in studios around 14th street. Except that I think we forget that it was never reliable as an exhibition context for America. It always presents European stuff. It never looked for the good stuff in the United States of America. There have been protests, you know, for twenty years about this. But I don't think that.... the problem there is that it is very dull. It's not acting as a stimulus for art that's happening here or any place else. anything! It's run by a lot of academic minds who're more interested in political connections with the critics and the galleries than real understanding of art. But I don't see that replacement with this sort of capitalist political thing with politics of other specialist interest groups is an immense (improvement). I don't see that the establishment of a black wing is going to make it necessarily a more interesting place than to establish a wing for bearded artists, or women
artists or blond artists. And I don't think a closed system
is any answer at all. And I mean Ok, what about an open system.
Can we get an open system out of the Museum of Modern Art. Maybe
to a certain extent we could make it open up by reevaluating
itself, but I don't think that's ultimately the best way.
I think if we ... and it doesn't seem to have been very successful
to date. Right now the security guard, the director of
security is in charge of the Museum's reaction to all protest
by this coalition, and he's an ex-officer of the FBI. And the
fear is such right now that tonight, in order to prevent curators
at the Museum of Modern Art from attending, not necessarily
speaking at, just attending this open hearing, the directors
organized an obligatory dinner party. I don't think constant
pressure without new ideas is going to make them change.
So, Ok, what else? I'd like to see a little more competition
in the capitalistic system to the Museum of Modern Art: the
Whitney and the Jewish, the Guggenheim Museum don't seem to
be providing it, so how about an open municipal gallery or
How to finance that?
and state, place. I suggest we try to get government, city, support,
and federal support to get both space and a measure
of support to keep it going. And you could do this by something
that people are trying to get together in England, that is to
add a tax on sales of art in commercial galleries - they sell
dead art, they don't sell much live art. But if we could have
it on all art sold by dealers or galleries, then use the revenue
from that to subsidise municipal or open galleries or open
gallery situations, to increase direct grants to artists, we
might get something else going. I'm not saying it would necessarily be better, but at least it would be a step in another direction.
STATEMENT FOR OPEN PUBLIC HEARING, ART WORKERS COALITION.

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 AIM TO 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.

LEE LOZANO
60 GRAND ST., N.Y.C.
The subject is the artist, the object is to make art/free/. The art world stinks; it is made of people who collectively dig the shit; now seems to be the time to get the collective shit out of the system.

Where does the cycle begin? Let's begin with the individual painter or sculptor ensconces 'high' in his loft world, making his pile of shit (perhaps is he really shitting, in his mind's eye, on the world) having engested art information and raw material from the shared world, pissing his time away, the labor of his love perhaps to be redeemed to be realized at some other time.

The stuff is transformed when it is transposed into imposed 'higher' values. First, a gallery, then, perhaps a museum, and further extended by translation into the data of art information when reproduced in an art magazine; at which point the artist, seeing the transposition, is pissed off. As time is transposed money is transposed into private worth for the artist and a 'high'/quality/for the collector and art critic in this business society. The art world is a collection of people who dig the dirt, or pay the artist to dig it for him, to get a 'piece' of the action - the games people play - for personal fun and profit ("a profitable experience"). Everybody has their private part (parts) to contribute - for the media it's just another slice of life/entertainment.

It's time it seems to leave all this shit behind; the art world is poisoned; get out to the country or take a radical stance. (According to the dictionary, "root", the root of radical and the root of root are the same - does dirt or evil really have roots?).

Should art be a lever against the Establishment? Make art dangerous? but art is only one item among the dangerous commodities being circulated in this society and, unattractive as it may be, one of the less lethal. Withhold? - a closed system dies of suffocation.

The writer in the past has been presented with an analogous problem. All magazines in order to survive are forced to present a well-known point of view to identify readers with advertisements just as in the past the structure of the book as object functioned to re-press the author's private, interior perspective or vision of life to the private reader who has bought the unique illusion as he reads through the narrative - linear, progressive, continuous from beginning to vanishing end point - his perspective as supposed to be altered by a novel insight into the world; he is changed; in Marx, Zola and Brecht's time he hopefully motivated to change affect into effecting changes back in the outside world. Magazines - art magazines - continue this fiction of assuming private points - of - view whose sum they must assume to be the collective view of its readership and advertisers. They depend exclusively for their economic existence on selling ads to galleries for the most part. For what it's worth to the readers who will buy it, the critic who must sell it, quality in art is all that counts (time is money which counts/ man is the measure of
all things). For the writer and recently, some so-called conceptual artists, there is a simple solution: buy the ads himself - the cycle thus feeds back on itself: invest in oneself - it's a free society.

Actually, it's not the artists, the galleries, the collectors, the critics or the art magazines who support the structure at all - but the United States Government = you and me - geared to corporate needs - which, through the tax structure make it profitable to run a non-profitable art "business" to by and donate "works" to museums (in the process serving the soul purpose of feeding artists and Madison Avenue types in the overall process of making a lot of money for yourself), etc., etc..

The conceptual artist conceives of a pure art without material base, conceived simply by giving birth to new ideas - an art that ideally mean and not be of baseball or Monopoly in the den, but without ball, bat, gravity, dice or money. But it's free and like sex, with a minimum of two people (subject/object; inside/outside; ying/yang; receiver/sender; people who take pictures of each other just to prove that they really existed) anyone can play, making their rules as they go along.

The artist laboured under the myth of trying to define himself (and his time) in terms of his work - his unique contribution - his raison d'être; rather than be defined by society in their image.

But art is inevitable part of the larger order of society, its language and world shared and interdependent with the language, "vision" and stuff of its specific Time, Life, place and function.

All human brains perceive and think partially in symbols which have a relationship to external signs available to all which reduce to various interrelated language systems which relate to the larger social order at a given moment.

What does the artist have in common with his friends, his public, his society? Information about himself, themselves and all ourselves - which is not reduced to ideas or material but shares in both categories as it has a past, present and future time/space. It is neither subjective or objective "truth"; it simply is - it is both a residue "object" and neutral "etherial" media transcribed - transcribed upon/ translation - translating the content of single and collective man's internal and external position, work, ideas, activities.

The artist is not a machine; the artist shares in mankind's various media of expression having no better 'secrets' or necessarily being more inside or outside of things than any other person; he is more calculating: he wants things to be as interesting as possible; to give and have return pleasure; to contribute to the life-enhancing social covenant. Perhaps young artists, with their new naïveté have replaced the old naïveté of their fathers.

My opinion (more later); we must go back to the old notion of socially: good works* as against the private, aesthetic notion of "good work" - i.e.: art to go public.

spoken at 9:55 at VA Open Hearing
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Aside from many other issues and issues, which could take volumes, one which just came to my personal attention is plainly this: not one reviewer from any newspaper, not one - Times, Post, Voice or whatever - came to review my show this March.

I said to view. Man, it's one thing to view and then decide not to review. But not to have the courtesy and the sense of responsibility to at least view the work - of a third show - the first and second of which were fully reviewed by all these papers, quite favorably and at some length, leaves one with the rather strong impression that these guys are not doing their jobs. I knew the cop-out is probably: "How can we cover everything?"

But what is their job? Just what is their responsibility to artists who are showing? To the other artists who want to know about what's being shown and to the (you should excuse the expression) lay public. Of course they're busy men but they're either prepared to do the thing or else they are going to become a useless vestige - constantly nitpicking about the same old favorites. The whole fucking American star system. What is this Hollywood number? What the fuck are we showing the damn stuff for in New York and paying the damn high percentages to the galleries here for if these guys are going to ignore the majority of us, and simplyater for the favored few. This is another rotten part of the art power structure and the favorites system that's going down. J'accuse baby.
I don't think that the Museum of Modern Art is responsible for most of the difficulties experienced by artists. I don't even think that Howard Wise should be crucified upside down, or that Leo Castelli and John Canaday should be napalmed in the sculpture garden.

I also think that black artists should expect something better than a darkies wing in the Modern. If they're good enough, why should they be allowed to come out and hang with the white folks? Could people say "His skin may be black, but he paints like he's white." Would there be separate washrooms? Separate entrances, maybe? How about a wing for women? WASPS over thirty? Jewish heterosexual magic realists? The idea is degrading and unjustified on both political and aesthetic grounds. The only works that belong in a black wing of the Modern are paintings by Ad Reinhardt. A black museum is a good idea. A separate but equal Modern is a rotten one. Artist power should be able to do better than that.

The real enemies of the artist are indifference and lack of money. Let's talk about money. It would be nice if this group could agree about reasonable things, but even if it can't, there's a good deal that artists can do to help themselves financially, even without new legislation, on an individual basis. The existing law of contracts allows you to sell your work with the provision that you will receive a percentage of the profit gained from any later re-sales, a kind of commission. Perhaps the knowledge that he would benefit by later increases in value of his work would take some of the pressure off an artist to start at the top, to become a superstar overnight.

The art speculator is looked down on now, but let's encourage him. His trading is the only mechanism that can drive art prices up. Let speculation thrive, as long as the artist gets his cut.
Legally, artists together and separately, should uphold the principle that an artist continues to own the rights to his work the way an author owns a literary property. The painting or sculpture is like a manuscript; the owner can keep it, or show it to his friends, but the artist continues to hold the rights of reproduction, including the right to collect royalties if he wants them. Can we all agree on that? Other questions are more difficult. Must the artist be paid, and how much, if his work is loaned to a museum or other exhibition? Can the owner of a work destroy it if he likes?

Many rights can be had by just taking them, without asking museums, galleries, or anybody else. Artists don't have to beg for everything, stop even though it sometimes seems so. Let's all stop begging, even when it pretends to be an "demanding." At the appropriate time, I would like to see someone move that a committee be formed, with legal advice, to draft a model sales contract that secures the maximum possible control for the artist over his work. Individuals can then, if they want to, agree to sell or give up certain rights, but let's start out, from now on, in the position of landlords, rather than tenants. You can have artists without museums; you can't have museums without artists.
There are certain things we know. Art has to be free to us. We do it, we ought to get in. That's obvious. I think that the trouble is also that the Museum doesn't care about us, which means that we're going to need to do certain things. I have certain things that I would like to do too. Vote on it. But first of all, they give millions in order to expand their real estate, but they do nothing for the artists who give their work. I think that's obvious. I think that the demands for renting, for money and so on, really smack of the art bourgeoisie. That's terrible. I think that we stand quite outside of that. There's something that we do as artists that's really revolutionary, and eventually it's going to get through to the culture. We're not a subculture, we are the culture. The way that they (run) the Museum now, they hang dead art up there for dead souls. The reason for this dead art is that we know that all art is equal, because we know the joy of making it. And that's the real moment of art. Afterwards, it's no longer your work. They deal with it, they make the money from it, they hang it on the wall. And that Museum shouldn't be called the Museum of Modern Art any more. It's lost its right to that title. It only deals with the past art. It has paintings on there of men who should be in a museum that is like a historical tomb. The Museum is run by dealers; it should be run by artists. I think it's obvious that we should
tax the dead art, because that's the place where dealers make money. They're glad to see us dead. And somehow that profit should end up helping those who are alive. Now about the Black wing. I think that all artists should be in the Museum. For me, the colour of my skin is like everybody's......... the heart is the same colour, the blood is, and we know it. If we're going to allow racist ideas to come into us, then we're going to have to suffer later. I think that the black artists have been treated unfairly. I don't know what to do about it. The question is what we're going to do as far as artists acting together. Because if they break our unity, then we are, then they can cut us apart. They've done it before. There are four things, and I'd like to vote on them. We can boycott it, we can shut it down, we can change its name, and we can meet again. Ok I'd like to take a vote on the first part.

(Varl says that the meeting is on Monday. I would like to propose that these four points be voted on at the meeting.)
One of the Architectural profession's most prestigious firms, Skidmore, Owings and Merrill, is putting its skills, resources, and name behind the brutal racism of South Africa. For the sake of profit, the firm is building for a government which says: "We want South Africa White... Keeping it white can only mean one thing, namely White domination, not leadership, not guidance, but control, supremacy." (Prime Minister Verwoerd 1963)

Written into the laws of the Republic of South Africa this policy has kept 3 million whites the slave-masters of 11 million black Africans. This is Apartheid and S O M is helping underwrite its furtherance.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>THIS IS APARTHEID</th>
<th>WHITE (Europeans)</th>
<th>BLACK (Africans)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Population (millions)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per capita income (1959)</td>
<td>$1,819</td>
<td>$109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average wage in mining (1962)</td>
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<td>$216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ages subject to tax</td>
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<td>18-65</td>
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<tr>
<td>Income exempt from tax</td>
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<tr>
<td>Education expenditure per pupil</td>
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<td>$18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infant mortality per 1,000 births</td>
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<td>200+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persons in registered trade unions</td>
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<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persons convicted of pass offenses</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>384,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On March 21, 1960, in Sharpeville, South African police fired on a crowd of peacefully demonstrating black Africans killing 67 and wounding hundreds more. They were protesting the laws which required them to carry pass books—dog tags which label their bondage.

In the following year South Africa's economy almost collapsed after a flight of capital from the country which resulted from fear that the Sharpeville massacre might lead to bloody revolution; fear that South Africa's expulsion from the British Commonwealth might reduce profits and that the economic boycott by small nations might snowball. But the U.S. corporations rescued the economy by pouring in $233 million additional investment so that by 1963 South African gold and foreign exchange reserve had tripled to a record high—and the Apartheid regime was secured. Since then business has boomed and the strength of the white oppressors has multiplied.

And indication of the current state of the economy is the Carlton Center complex designed by S O M. It will occupy a super-block formed by five cityblocks, includes the world's tallest concrete building (for offices), a 400-bedroom hotel with 90 additional apartment suites, two department stores and parking for 3,000 cars. There will be gardens, fountains, side-walk cafes and a skating rink. The estimated cost of the project is between $50 and $100 Million and is the largest commercial development in Africa.

AND SOMEWHERE AN SOM ARCHITECT IS DRAWING TWO SETS OF BATHROOMS—WHITE AND BLACK.

This project is financed by Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa, whose Director is the infamous New Jersey profiteer and multi-millionaire Charles W. Engelhard. Through various holding companies he is said to control 23 South African firms with total assets of more than $2.57 billion. Engelhard, along with David Rockefeller's Chase Manhattan Bank, Dillion, Read & Co. and over two hundred other American Companies, have invested hundreds of millions of dollars in industrial development in South Africa.

The Carlton Center has been made possible because U.S. business continues to be attracted to South Africa by a modern, developed, industrial society with 3 million prosperous white customers and a labour force of 11 million black africans prohibited by law from organizing unions, collective bargaining, striking, moving without permission, and voting. The Apartheid policy keeps the average black miner earning less than $1 a day, while in 1962 for example, the American companies in South Africa earned $72 million. This was easily double the 11.8 percent average profit reported by the U.S. Department of Commerce on U.S. investments in all foreign countries.

Skidmore, Owings and Merrill has climbed aboard this gravy train—a train fueled by the blood and misery of 11 million black Africans.
We, The Architects' Resistance, say that Skidmore, Owings and Merrill's support of Apartheid reveals them for what they are, and most of the architectural profession, are unprincipled practitioners of an art for its own sake and, mainly, for the sake of profit. The pursuit of profit and fame have led SOM and most of the rest of the profession to build their monuments in reflection of their own egos—at the expense of those whose labour builds them and with small regard for those who must live with them.

SOM's other "social" works, such as their involvement in Baltimore's highway program, incriminate them. To present themselves as advocates of black American communities, no matter how up-to-date their techniques, is after South Africa, sheer, unprincipled hypocrisy. To build for corporations whose profits come from the exploitation of oppressed masses—be they South African Blacks, Peruvian copper miners, or American Blacks; to build for Governments who maintain themselves at the price of brutal oppression and genocide—be it South Africa at Sharpeville or the U.S. in Vietnam; and to build for profiteering middlemen whose only concern with social order and for the masses' use of what is built is the profit that can be wrung: this is cynical, evil and dangerous. The urban crisis, the Vietnam war, the violence of a Chicago are all born of the shallow moralism typified by our profession.

We, as architects, must see ourselves as servants of the social order whose environments we form.

TO BUILD FOR OPPRESSIVE INSTITUTIONS IS TO SUPPORT THOSE INSTITUTIONS.

We are socially responsible for our actions.

We ask architects and architectural students who cannot tolerate the role they have been asked to play to join the Architects' Resistance in our efforts to change architecture from irrelevant and oppressive profit-making to an art truly in the service of a society based on fundamental human values.

The architectural profession designs a mere 10% of buildings constructed in this country. This 10% is mostly monuments built for the business world to symbolize its power and wealth and to attract more profit. It is mausoleums to house Government and its oppressive agencies. It is schools where creativity is treated as a discipline problem, and cultural differences as delinquency. It is inhuman housing built for profit, or to house those whose real neighborhoods, have fallen before highways. It is prisons. And because we continue to see ourselves as an elite group of "artists" we keep ourselves from soiling our hands with the remaining 90% of construction that forms the grey desert out of which our sparkling monuments rise. By the creed of the AIA we must sit in our carpeted offices waiting for those who can pay our fees or who want "art" to come and accept our sculptural vision.

We live in a country where power lies in the hands of the few, and we serve those few—as the Master Builders of history served their kings. The people do not have power over the formation of their environment but must accept whatever is forced on them. We, as architects, are not taught, or even permitted, to go out to the user and apply our skills to put physical form to his vision. We serve only to put "aesthetic" form to the avarice and power of rulers—even those who have openly enslaved millions under Apartheid.

THE ARCHITECTS' RESISTANCE

The Architects' Resistance has been formed so that this prostitution of the profession may be stopped and so that we may move towards a society where the power lies with the people, and where architecture is a tool of that power. We wish to find means to assist the rehumanization of society by restructuring the architectural profession to deal with living people on human terms.

Architecture is a tool for mobilizing people, for making them more aware of themselves and their human dignity. Architecture must not be the hand-maiden to the dehumanization of object-oriented capitalism. Architects must not respond to the industrialists, the financiers, the politicians, nor to the acclaim of the professional journals.

Architecture is not an abstract art existing in a social vacuum.

It is an integral part of the totality of forces molding our society; political, economic, social. It cannot continue to operate in a moral void.

The Architects' Resistance hopes to fill that void by bringing ethical and political conscience to the practice of architecture.

TAR is an action group, a communications network, a research organization. We will issue and mobilize behind future position papers on broad topics within the profession—registration, the awarding of commissions, etc. and specific instances of the misuse of our professional skills.
AS A PRE-CONDITION TO THE RESPONSIBLE PRACTICE OF ARCHITECTURE WE DEMAND AN IMMEDIATE END TO THE COLLUSION BETWEEN ARCHITECTURE AND RACISM. WE DEMAND:

— that SOM and Paul Weidlinger Assoc. (Engineers) immediately dissociate themselves from the Carlton Project in Johannesburg and remit all profits accrued to Black organizations in South Africa.
— that the AIA publicly and immediately censor SOM and any other firms building in South Africa and that they drop these firms from membership if they refuse to halt their operations in South Africa.
— That the AIA refuse to hold its national convention in Chicago and publicly condemn the police state tactics of Mayor Daley.

WE URGE:

— that all architects of conscience examine closely the nature of the work they and their firms are engaged in and resign immediately from those organizations they can no longer morally support.
— that all architecture and planning students examine their future associations very critically before entering the brothels.

For further information please contact:
The Architects' Resistance
c/o Renaissance
338 E. 6th St.
New York, New York
MUSEUM REFORM?

There will be much talk tonight.

It is not necessary for art workers to waste energy complaining about establishment museums, who by their very nature are unresponsive collections of art out of the past. These collections are supported by rich and powerful men who have vested interests in maintaining the status quo.

Visual artists should take positive action and support a contemporary vision of a responsive museum. A museum without a permanent collection. A museum that is interested in what the artist is creating now. A museum where the quality of its exhibitions will be determined by artists.

This museum exists. It is called "Museum, a project of living artists" and is located at 729 Broadway. It is a fledgling organization, battling the giants of the art establishment with a new concept. Museum will change attitudes with exhibitions of fresh work, not talk.

Its success will be determined by your participation.

Jon Bauch
144 E 7th St
THREE QUESTIONS

1. Can the artist, by earning more from his work, finally prove to our society that he is a dedicated professional who works to benefit himself and his people?

2. Can the artist, in a Democracy, by remaining aloof from the politics of the country, hope to reap the fruits of social change?

3. Can the artist, by being forced to support the Establishment's mythical concept of an avant-garde delegate himself in the near future to the position of a shoe salesman?
Bruce Brown  
(Painter)  
79 St Mark's Place  
NYC

The current status of art works as commodities must be changed. The values attached to commodities involve price speculation and manipulation, along with conspicuous consumption, power from market control etc. To append art with such concerns and all the social and political trivia which surround them builds a great wall between the artist and society through which precious little light is able to seep. Artists become alienated, involuted, bitter or some compromise. Let us free art from the control of the commercial middle-man so that the artist may reach out directly to the people. Artists must found their own museums, bring art to the streets, become involved with architecture and city planning - in a word, they must become the active functional visionaries of the new incoming culture, not the toadies of the upper middle class elite. We must conceive of our roles as extending beyond just the execution of private art in our studies, in the same way that the atomic research scientists should have had active concern for the moral extension of their work.
It is not important basically who runs the Museums, since their management is a commercial venture. The artist isn't emotionally or technically equipped to run a Museum. What is important is the status of the artist within this commercial structure of Museum and Gallery complex. Place in the professional sense - representational in the sense that the artist is able to set his own criteria - his own individual criteria - (self) - what is wrong with the existing structure today is that the artist is forever being coerced and bludgeoned by the commercial galleries and their Directors, and by Art Historians running Museums to produce flamboyant and superficial "Musical Comedies" for the promotion of higher attendance records.

The artist has become a dupe and is forced to run in packs - a non-professional "gradesman."

It is important that we regain this lost dignity - take back that which we have relinquished to Public Relations and anti-intellectual establishment - and once again crystallize our concepts - recapture that which belongs to the Creative.

JOSEPH DI DONATO
17 BROXIVILLE ROAD
BRONX, NEW YORK 10708
Proposal:
A New York Biennale to be shown at the two armories on the East side (34th and 27th St at Lexington) backed by the three museums (sponsored) and funds to be raised with the help of the museums. To include all professional artists to be screened only on basis of professionalism by known artists in their section.
So much has been said about the ideology of A.W.C. and about the contrast between reforming the museums on the one hand and setting up an alternate structure to them on the other, that I wonder if an important point has not been missed. It is a concrete everyday point that hits the artist in the stomach in a concrete everyday way, and I wonder if it isn’t really one of the first things we should be attending to. I am speaking about the actual return an artist can expect when he sells a work of art. The museums may or may not be eventually reformed or an alternate structure may or may not eventually be set up, and certainly both are desireable, but what about the artist here and now when he sells a work of art?

As things now stand, he will receive the selling price and that is the end of it. But if the buyer one day resells the work of art, it is this buyer alone who may profit from any increase in price. I believe this is grotesquely unfair to the artist, and that our museums are stacked, as are galleries and private collections, with works of art that illustrate the grotesqueness of this principle. Extreme cases where the artist is living in penury while his pictures fetch outrageous prices may be an exception, but they are by no means unknown. In any case an artist can be said to possess some sort of proprietary interest in his work even
after he has sold it. I believe the A.W.C. must give further currency to this notion and also help the artist to obtain a fairer return for his work by instituting a form which I shall refer to, for the sake of simplicity, as an A.W.C. sheet. I believe this sheet has a great role to play in the future of dealings in the art world and may serve to perpetuate the name of the A.W.C. long after the group itself has ceased to exist.

As I see it, the A.W.C. sheet will consist of a form listing the name of the artist, the work of art (if it has a name), a description or reproduction of this, and, most important, the name of the purchaser and the price he has paid for the work of art. At the bottom of the A.W.C. sheet will be a statement that the buyer guarantees to pay the artist a certain percentage of the profit he may make if he ever decides to resell the work of art. This statement the buyer will be required to read and sign. The percentage could vary between 10 and $30\%$ and should perhaps be decided at future meetings of the A.W.C. or perhaps be left open for the artists and the purchaser to decide among themselves.

Large quantities of these sheets should be printed up and the word should be spread among artists that this sheet is to serve as the standard form or at least as a model for all sales of all works of art. Obviously
Obviously the force of the A.W.C. Sheet will be partly symbolic and honorary at first, and it may be difficult for artists in all cases to determine if their works of art may not have been secretly or accidentally resold in distant parts of the country or the world. In the absence of a central agency handling and checking up on all works of art covered by A.W.C. Sheets, it will also be difficult to be certain that the regulations I have described will have been carried out by in all cases. In this connection I am somewhat hopeful that the mere existence of the A.W.C. Sheet may spur into existence the body necessary to enforce its provisions, and that this body will perhaps comprise the nucleus of something resembling the first trade union for artists in this country. I of course recognize that the great majority of artists are by nature opposed to extreme forms of organization and I very much respect this point of view myself, but these considerations do not deter me from hoping that some sort of viable authority may one day be formed to protect the rights of artists in this manner, and assure them a fair return for their work.

What I have described also has a second part. I have spoken of the duty of the buyer to share the artist when reselling the work of art, but there is also another factor. By far the largest and most important buyers of works of art are our museums. There is absolutely no reason why the museums should
not agree to strengthen the A.W.C. principle here and now by promising to pay a percentage of the price for any work created by a living artist to the artist himself. This would of course have to apply to all cases where the work of art was not bought directly from the artist himself. For some reason museums buy very few works of art from the artist himself. Once again a fair percentage would have to be worked out by subsequent meetings of the A.W.C., but once the percentage had been decided upon and the museums properly informed of the intentions of the A.W.C., I personally can see no reasons why the museums should not immediately agree to this A.W.C. principle.

If the museums were to disagree and refuse to adopt it, then it would seem fair to me that artists all over the country should resposess their work from museums all over the country or engage in such demonstrations, sit-ins, or other acts as seem likely in each individual case to bring the museum in question to its senses. What is being proposed is scarcely a radical principle—it would merely reinforce what is already a relatively popular notion, that a creator should have some sort of proprietary right in his work even after he has sold it—this is almost a principle of common law. The artists can furthermore point out in their defence that they are only asking for the same return from their
work as is received by writers, composers, and filmmakers in the form of copyrights and royalties. These groups, along with actors and theatre people in general, also have labor unions to defend their rights. Artists do not yet have any of this, and it is high time they began to work in the direction of gaining what other groups had begun to receive as much as thirty years ago. Popular feeling will very probably run highly in favor of the artists if they make this a principle plank of their platform. The direction is forward, and the time to take steps in that direction is now.
Dr. Holmes

Statement:
The question is: Is it possible to be joyous as an
artist? Are poems and sculptures meaningful or are they
on their way out - as man seems to be? The Museum of
Natural History's centennial exhibition this May is
called "Can man survive?"

Jack Burnham in Beyond Modern Sculpture suggests man is
evolving into "an inorganic concentration of information-
processing energy". Man's tools and his art works will not be
extensions of himself, but the other way around.

When Lascauxvian man put the imprint of his own head on the
walls of the caves, it was as if he were saying: "Look, I am real.
This representation of myself outside myself makes me know more
strongly that I exist". "I breathe; I think; I close my eyes
and see colored images; I close out sounds and imagine new ones."

What is the contemporary artist's connection to his own work?
Is it important to himself, forgetting the importance it may
have to others?

Takis removed his sculpture from the Museum of Modern Art because
he still has a viable tie to it. Perhaps he felt there was some-
thing of his own spirit encapsulated in it. In contrast, many
artists unknowingly have a lemming-like and self-destructive
relationship to what they make. Or they have a ritualized
relationship. The activity associated with the work may be base
fide in appearance, but the appropriate affect and intellect are not combined to the activity.

These same artists have succumbed to the depersonalizing pressures of overpopulation; technology; and the establishment as epitomized in the museum, the gallery, and even more difficult to detect - the pressures from the group of artists to which he belongs. The following quotes appear in "The Eternal Present: the beginnings of Art" by S. Gideen:

"Art transposes man's attitude toward space, to the emotional sphere...."

"It is necessary to take action before space can become visible: it must acquire form and boundary from the hand of nature or the hand of man."

I believe that the Art Workers' Coalition must make all necessary efforts to open up new spaces for the artist. More space is needed to celebrate being a man.

30 Catlim Avenue
Staten Island, N.Y. 10304
B. Huey

Statement made to Museum of Modern Art. Saturday 22 March 1969

We are a small group from the art community who are symbolically requesting free admission for all. We are intentionally small so we can avoid any violence or vandalism. This is a peaceful demonstration. The Museum of Modern Art is not only our target. We are making these demands (5) and (13 points) on all museums where appropriate.

Here and now we are concentrating on the issue of free admission for all. We are also leafleting to call for a large demonstration.

General and short statement

I think we should continue to press for free admission to museums, also for doors open until midnight two days a week. We should support the demands of Black artists and continue to push the museums to expand their activities to all communities.

In other words, the 13 demands and 5 reasons are still valid. But I feel we should begin to consider a completely different and new structure, one of our own making. I think we are essentially wasting a lot of energy, particularly on the so-called Museum of Modern Art. Rather than concentrating our efforts on minor reforms of an elitist power-oriented structure, we should move quickly to form an organization which can reflect the needs and goals of the art community as we see them now, and also attempt to anticipate the future.

I therefore propose be set up a "board" representative of the active art community, i.e. artists, art writers, museum workers, etc. to coordinate a broad variety of art activities.
A rough idea of the selection of representatives and operation
This board could be elected each year at an open hearing or
series such as this one. The board members would be salaried
and it would be possible for them to devote ample time to their
duties. The involvements of the board would range from a show
of paintings by teenagers from the lower east side to earthworks
in River Park on Staten Island. A group with an idea for a show
could come to the board and the board would help find a space and
help put the show together. The board would have no gallery
space of its own, only office space. It would be completely
flexible in the kind of material it could present.
To Whom It May Concern,

The Art Workers Coalition should demand the following as steps toward improving film activities at the Museum of Modern Art:

1) Replacement of Willard Van Dyke as head by Henri Langlois, head of the Cinematheque Francaise. Langlois would be asked to bring a true Cinematheque to New York, one in which artists and film lovers could become actively involved in policy decisions at the Cinematheque.

2) Replacement of all staff members of the Museum film department, with the exception of Adrienne Mancia, the only staff member who has evidenced a true interest in filmmaking and film as art. New staff members should include Jonas Nekas as curator of avant-garde films, Amos Vogel, curator of contemporary foreign films, and a number of consultants operating in their area of special competency.

3) Establishment of regional centers for film exhibition, especially a 12nd Street film house and one in Harlem, bringing black-made films and similar films to the black community.

4) Changing hours of screenings at West 53rd Street theater to coincide better with working people's hours. Better two shows at night than two shows during the day attended by Fifth Avenue secretaries and wealthy old ladies.

5) Expansion of Film Study Center and opening of Center to public, to afford wider access to films in the MOMA archive.

6) Transfer of entire archive to 8mm for nationwide free distribution of MOMA films.

7) Full cooperation of MOMA with all non-profit, educational organizations seeking to exhibit MOMA films.

8) Establishment of governing board in film, comprised of filmmakers, critics and other film people to oversee the activities of the film department, insuring that artists have a role in forming MOMA policy.

9) Payment of print fees for all films taken on deposit at MOMA.

James MacDonald
I would like to propose a response to the Museum of Modern Art's invitation to present a list of artists who would like to be given a chance to be "examined" by MOMA directors - in hopes of exhibiting. This is in essence an empty invitation, like the one that goes "Drop over sometime", an invitation which it is understood that one doesn't accept.

The MOMA's invitation was atoken gesture. I feel we should respond in the spirit of this hearing, as an art community.

Let us submit a list of the 50,000 working artists of the New York art community.
I feel that the forming of the Art Workers Coalition is an important step forward and if pursued correctly will result in considerable reforms within and without the museums and other art institutions. It is particularly important that for the first time artists, writers, choreographers, filmmakers, etc. are working together towards common goals, irregardless of their individual styles or aesthetic outlooks. As one of the original supporters of Takis I have seen this movement expand and grow within a very short time. The rapid growth I take to an indication that the movement offers the very real possibility of fulfilling certain long-felt needs within the art community. I offer it my continuing support.

After this Hearing, the most important task is the formulation and adoption of a new set of demands. These new demands should then be presented to MOMA in the most dramatic way possible. Petitions must be drawn up and signed and ads taken in the newspapers. A large list of signatures is crucial.

I would like the new demands to include:

1. one free day (to be financed by keeping the Museum open in the evening).

2. The appointment of a responsible person to handle any grievances arising from the Museum's dealings with artists.

3. The wishes of a living artist in regard to the display of his work owned by the Museum in any group show other than the permanent collection be respected.

4. The payment of rental fees for works of art borrowed by the Museum for special shows.

5. A large, yearly show (possibly in one of the Armories), unjuried and open to all who wish to display their work.
It is unlikely that MOMA will accept any of our new demands. If, however, they do, AWC will end as an organization unless it is understood from the beginning that AWC fills a need much larger than mere museum reform. If the Museum accepts our demands there is the danger that AWC will become an establishment "labor union" of artists. This must be avoided. AWC must draw up a list of policies that go beyond mere museum reform.

Since it is more likely that MOMA will reject our demands again, new ways of exerting pressure must be developed. 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.

It must be made clear that the museums now need the artists more than the artists need them. How can we make this clear? If none of the new demands are met, I suggest we consider a boycott of the museum. The effect of this, however, is contingent upon the membership strength of AWC. Artists with works on loan to the Museum can be encouraged to withdraw their works. We can also get artists to sign statements that they will refuse to loan works without rental fees.

Hkkkkkkk, It might be advantageous to begin developing our own alternative structures. AWC should consider sponsoring a yearly, unjuried show on its own.

John Perreault
THE SMALL COOL TAME REVOLUTION, PROTEST AND DEMONSTRATION MARCH 30TH IN MOMA BY THE ART WORKERS COALITION MET WITH VERY LITTLE SUCCESS BY THE MUSEUM OFFICIALS. NOTHING HAS HAPPENED UP TO NOW, AND VERY LITTLE WILL CHANGE IF THE ARTISTS INTERESTED IN CHANGE DO NOT GO ABOUT IT WITH A PLAN AND CREATIVE IDEAS. IT SEEMS TO ME THAT THE VISUAL ARTISTS IN GENERAL ARE SLOWER THAN THE WRITERS, ACTORS, MUSICIANS AND POETS IN TRYING TO CHANGE SOCIAL CONDITIONS RELATING TO OUR SOCIETY, TO POLITICS AND TO WAR. ALL THE OTHER ARTS, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THE VISUAL ARTS, ARE ACTIVE IN MAKING ATTEMPTS AT CHANGE. WE HAVE OFF-BROADWAY AND OFF-OFF-BROADWAY; WE HAVE GUERILLA THEATER, STREET THEATER, LIVING THEATER, EROTIC THEATER, EROTIC LITERATURE, WILD MOVIES, UNDERGROUND PAPERS AND MAGAZINES, NUDE THEATER AND NUDE FLICKS, MULTI-MEDIA HAPPENINGS AND MULTI-MEDIA EVENTS. BUT THE GALLERIES ON MADISON AVENUE AND ON 57TH STREET AND THE MUSEUMS OF NEW YORK HAVE NOT CHANGED MUCH IN THE LAST TEN YEARS. JUST A LITTLE PLASTIC MATERIAL HAS BEEN ADDED, AND A FEW ELECTRIC LIGHTS SHINE BRIGHTLY ONCE IN A WHILE. THE EXPERIMENTAL SHOW HAD TO GO TO THE MUSEUM IN BROOKLYN, AND THE BROOKLYN MUSEUM IS IN TROUBLE NOW - A 24% CUT FOR THE NEXT FISCAL YEAR. THEY SENT OUT A LONG PRESS STATEMENT OF COMPLAINT WHICH HAS JUST ARRIVED ON MY DESK. THE CULTURAL ACTIVITIES OF THE MUSEUMS ARE FACING CUTS, BUT THE SITUATION OF THE MUSEUM OF MODERN ART (ACCORDING TO DIRECTOR BATES LOWRY IN THE NEW YORK TIMES OF APRIL 4TH) IS NOT YET CRITICAL IN COMPARISON TO THE GENERAL SITUATION ACROSS THE COUNTRY.

AWC'S DEMAND FOR A FREE VISITING DAY TO THE MUSEUM COULD EASILY BE FULFILLED; SO COULD SOME OF THE OTHER 13 POINTS. BUT THE BASIC ILLNESS OF THE ART GALLERY AND MUSEUM SITUATION AS IT IS CAN NOT BE SOLVED BY THE 13 POINTS. THE WHOLE SYSTEM IS OLD-FASHIONED AND HAS TO BE ADJUSTED TO THE NECESSITIES OF THE COMPUTER-ELECTRONIC-CYBERNETIC-SPACE AGE.
AWC HAS TO WORK ON IT TOGETHER. SPECIAL INTEREST GROUPS WHO WANT TO PUSH
THEIR OWN DEMANDS (ARTISTS ARE EGOMANIACS) HAVE TO BE FOUGHT FROM THE
VERY BEGINNING. THE WORD "COMMUNE" COULD ALSO BE CHANGED TO "TRIBE".
MAYBE IT WOULD REMOVE THE "POLITICAL" STIGMA FROM THE ART WORKERS COALITION
WHICH, UNFORTUNATELY, SOUNDS LIKE A POLITICAL PARTY. ARTISTS ARE ALWAYS
VERY NAÏVE ABOUT POLITICS. IT'S NOT THEIR BUSINESS. THEIR BUSINESS
IS ART. TO DO ART IS DIFFICULT ENOUGH. IT SEEMS TO ME THAT THE WHOLE
TROUBLE WITH MOMA IS BASICALLY DUE TO THE DEMANDS OF THE ART PATRONS
WHO HAVE THE POWER OF CONSENT TO THE AWC'S DEMANDS. IF ARTISTS DID NOT
WORK, THERE WOULD BE NO ART: THAT'S A VERY SIMPLE TRUTH, ISN'T IT?
THERE ARE MANY WAYS TO FIGHT FOR RIGHTS. ONE IS TO STRIKE. IT SEEMS TO
ME THAT SOME OF THE ARTISTS, ESPECIALLY THE ONES WHO COULD NO LONGER
DIGEST THE HUMILIATION OF THE GALLERIES (MAKING THE ROUNDS WITH SLIDES,
TALKING TO GALLERY MANAGERS - I DO NOT HAVE TO GO INTO DETAIL AS EVERYONE
KNOWS WHAT IT MEANS TO DO THIS TERRIBLE LEG WORK AND TO FACE THE STUPID
OPINIONS OF THE INSENSITIVE, SELF APPOINTED JUDGES OF ONE'S WORK) -
AS I SAID, THE ONES WHO COULD NO LONGER STOMACH THIS ROUTINE OPENED UP
SHOWS IN THEIR OWN STUDIOS. OTHERS JUST FORGET ABOUT GALLERIES, JOIN
THE MUSEUM FOR $20 A YEAR, TEACH AND NEVER SHOW; OTHERS DO STREET ART.
STILL OTHERS THINK, AS DOES ONE ARTIST WHO WROTE ME A FEW DAYS AGO:
TOTAL
"IF GALLERIES AND MUSEUMS CLOSED, IF/MILITARY RULE CAME, IT WOULD STILL
GO ON BY LETTER, BY NOTEBOOK, BY PRIVATE SHOW."

IN THE CASE OF MOMA, AT LEAST TO GET THIS MUSEUM ON THE SIDE OF THE
ARTISTS WHO ARE THE LAST CREATIVE FORCE IN A WORLD OF TOTAL DESTRUCTION -
IF MAN DOES NOT CHANGE THE CONDITIONS ON OUR PLANET (FEAR OF ALL OUT
ATOMIC WAR, POLLUTION, RACISM, CRIME) - IT SHOULD BE AGREED THAT A
CHOSEN COMMITTEE OF AWC WILL BE ADMITTED TO THE POLICY-MAKING COMMITTEE
OF THE MUSEUMS AND THAT THE ARTISTS WILL HAVE SOME INFLUENCE IN THE FUTURE
REGARDING SPECIAL SHOWS AND SELECTIONS OF WORKS FOR THE PERMANENT COLLECTIONS AND THE LENDING LIBRARY OF MOMA, FOR THE CHOICE OF FILMS, MULTI-MEDIA PERFORMANCES, SYMPOSIA AND OTHER DISCUSSIONS, LECTURES AND EVENTS.

\textit{An Artist}

As a seasoned revolutionary and art reporter I hate to be called a critic, I don't think anybody should criticize art, or has a right to make absolute statements about what is good or bad in art. Art is a process that changes, and the art which we thought excellent sometimes proves to be banal, bad and shallow; and the banal can become art,—I would like to suggest three ideas which could be added to the 13 points.

1. MOMA should open an independent experimental wing. This wing could be situated on the right side of the museum in the room facing 53rd Street with a large plate glass window. Here an extra entrance could be built. This experimental department would be open terrain with changing exhibitions of young experimenters in the arts in every possible medium. The entrance fee would only be for all the other departments. The new experimental wing would serve the people, the artist, the youth. Anything sold in it would be profitable to the museum. And maybe the new experimental art would sooner or later liquidate the deficit of $600,000 that director Bates Lowry told us about in his statement in the New York Times. To make room for the experimental wing, the art of the permanent collection belonging to the beginning of this century and to the end of the last century (Impressionists, Cubists, German Expressionists, some Picassos, Legers, Chagalls) could be transferred to the Metropolitan Museum, or any other museum that shows art of the past. In the museum of modern art, the emphasis should be on ultra-modern art and not on the art of yesterday.
2. AWC's commune or tribe will provide artists to give lectures to the public in the daily lecture series, which up to now are given by lecturers belonging to the museum staff.

3. AWC's commune or tribe should assist the patrons, curators and museum directors in selecting the special events shows, retrospectives, group shows, etc. and should also be heard if decisions are to be made in selecting work for purchases or for exhibitions in the lending library.

I think that only artists can really judge art; they do it, so they know it. Art is created by artists, not by curators, historians or administrators. It seems to me that with the cultural explosion, the whole web of the art-industry world, the art-publicity world, is today more powerful than the artists themselves. The artists only do the things; their power is "minimal." Sometimes they get money, but they are mostly on the losing side of the game.

LIL PICARD
APRIL 10, 1969
ARTIST & ART-REPORTER.

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One reason that so many artists have become alienated from the uptown art scene is to be found, I think, in the search for content that the artist undertakes in his work. If it does not become a form of reality, art remains only meaningless decoration or a luxury product. Now we are becoming aware that just to show work, even good work, in the galleries or museums does not change the context which has been established, which treats art as commodity and/or entertainment. Also, all types of art are so widely spread that their effects cancel one another out; we end up, as it were, with no art, only "superstars". In place of growth and development, we have artificially stimulated movements which are quickly disposed of when their novelty and commercial usefulness has gone. This situation has existed since Abstract Expressionism made the uptown scene, but only now has it become apparent that organic development must take place outside of the art market. Part of the reason for this is that most of the dealers, curators and critics who form the establishment have a life style with is allied to the status quo. Life style is, of course, a determinant of taste and sensibility, which in this case favors elegant decorativeness, easy solutions, and arty gestures.

/2...
As artists are well aware, the truth is that the search for reality involves commitment and a struggle for viable form: it cannot be tied up in packages and neatly labelled Pop, Op, Minimal, etc. The only solution is for each artist to understand that the art scene as it exists (and it is impossible to see how it could change) is diametrically opposed to the development of an art with valid content. We need a new beginning, difficult as this is to bring about, founded on the common bonds between artists that, freed from commercial and competitive pressures, could hopefully be the underlying basis for positive work.

Peter Pinchbeck.
Qualitative judgments aside, it is a fact that certain recent
movements in art and music have helped to extend the public's
tolerance of art forms and have contributed to an increased
incorporation of art forms into everyday life. The question
which must be asked is, is this extended tolerance taking place
within the art world itself? Or is the mythification of art
being perpetuated by an anachronistic system which is accepted
as tradition?

To direct the attacks of this movement solely against the Museum
is illegal and unrealistic. Both the gallery and the museum
are part of a system which has lost sight of its reason for
existing - to represent artists and to make art accessible - and
turned into a monstrous automaton which manipulates artists as
though it has forgotten it is nothing without them. The present
system is parasitic, eaten through with exploitation and corruption.
Only the ego of the artist permits it to exist.

4 facets of the system which must change

1. The gallery as it exists is a business. The art product is
handled in the same manner exactly as commercial products. Out
of a large number of products a few are chosen by certain standards
of desirability and promoted. A commercial product is desirable
for obvious reasons: it tastes creamier, washes whiter, etc.

In the art world standards of judgment are considerably less
distinct, as they cannot be arrived at through single comparison.
And the choice is not made by the consumer but by the gallery
who then allows the public to select from its selection. Which
brings us to a second facet which must change.
2 The gallery dictates taste. The public sees only what is in the gallery and the museum, which means he sees about 20% (very rough guess) of what goes on. He is not choosing first hand but second hand. This is where the gallery has its hold on the artist. But art doesn't need promotion - it only needs to be made accessible.

3 The gallery is not concerned with the rights of the artist. There is no such thing as a copyright or royalties in the art world. Someone can buy a piece from a young artist for $200 and resell it for twice as much when he has gained a reputation and the artist makes nothing on it. He is bullied into donating works to museums in order that he be sufficiently represented. He is given nothing for reproductions of his work in magazines. A gallery, no matter how good, is exploiting the artist, unless it backs him on these rights.

4 Galleries do not bring art to people, they bring art to the rich. Go into a gallery. Tell them you are John Smith and you want to see some of so and so's work because you missed his last show. There will be little cooperation. Were you a Burton or a Kennedy and were your intent to buy, chances are you would have the ingratiating cooperation of the director himself. The fact that they sacrifice space, the single most important factor in exhibiting work, for prestigious addresses reiterates their true intentions.
Alternatives to this system depend on removing the money-making orientation. Remove the middleman. Have "free" galleries run by a rotating board of directors (artists perhaps but not necessarily) who are not paid by commission but who are paid a flat salary. The expenses would be supported by a small percentage of every artist's yearly earnings.

Decentralize the gallery system by moving it into different areas. Make it more accessible to more people.

Cut museum directors and gallery directors down to what they are, custodians of art.

17-19 Eleecker St, NYC.
Over the past year the New York Free Theater has been initiated by a group of radical artists, composers, actors and critics. Black and white artists have been working together creating a community participation theater which attempts to help the communities with whom we perform evolve a political understanding adequate to the situation we all find ourselves in, adequate to changing basic social institutions and processes.

Our experiences have been wildly differentiated, but in relation to this open hearing of the Art Workers' Coalition, I would like to raise two small issues:

- The Free Theater brings radical arts festivals into forgotten, oppressed communities, hoping to decentralize, anarchize and democratize the arts and dissolve the boundaries between art and life. Forget the museums, mass media and bureaucratized arts institutions. Abandon the totalitarian rationalization of the arts and help us as we work on the streets and in the communities of Manhattan, the Bronx, Brooklyn, Queens and Staten Island. Our desire to destroy repressive arts institutions is negated by the media attention our public demonstrations direct toward them. By maintaining our focus on these institutions we waste our energies while learning only more sophisticated styles of rebellion which end in reconstituting us to, and reintegrating us into these institutions.

If we wish to democratize the arts and help all of us develop our creative capacities, then let us redirect some of our energies. Let us withdraw some of our creative energies from self-referent
groups and redirect them to the aesthetic and political growth of the mass of American citizens we usually see as helpless victims of "fascist enemies". A movement such as the Art Workers' Coalition faces the danger of becoming just one more elitist group, which in the name of liberation expropriates power for itself. We can avoid this by initiating projects throughout the country, creating a mass base of radical political and aesthetic consciousness. This is the precondition for radical social transformation.

Specifically we would welcome, as we assert our comradeship with the Art Workers' Coalition, an interfeeding with you. Join us this summer as we run workshops around the New York area. The N.Y. Free Theater is located at 87 West 3rd St, NYC, 477-0400. Please let us work together. Also a number of radical theater groups have come together to organize the Radical Theater Repertory (RTT 243 E 11th St). RTT and ANC should join together in a non-competitive coalition. We must maintain adequate communication amongst all our actions.

New York Free Theater.
THE LINE OF REASONING BEHIND THE ATTACK ON THE PRACTICES OF THE MUSEUM
OF MODERN ART CAN BE APPLIED TO A MORE FAR REACHING AND LOGICAL TARGET:
THE ART SCHOOLS. SINCE ARTISTS AND CURATORS (ART HISTORIANS) ARE USUALLY
EDUCATED IN THE SAME SCHOOLS; AND THE ART ESTABLISHMENT BEING WHAT IT IS
POLITICALLY; WE ALWAYS HAVE THE SITUATION OF AN OLDER GENERATION OF ART HIS-
TORIANS COMPLAINING ON THE ART OF YOUNGER ARTISTS. THIS TELESCOPING SOCIAL
PROBLEM OF THE GENERATION GAP IS USED POLITICALLY BY THE ART ESTABLISHMENT
TO RETAIN CONTROL OF THE SCENE. AT THE SAME TIME, IT PROVIDES A DUBIOUS
SOURCE OF AGRATION THAT ARTISTS CAN REBEL AGAINST. WHEN AN ARTIST HAS
REACHED A CERTAIN LEVEL OF REBELLION AND HAS SHOCKED ENOUGH PEOPLE, HE IS
ADOPTED INTO THE ESTABLISHMENT WITH MUCH PUBLICITY LAUDING HIS COURAGEOUS
AVANT GARDENESS TO BE ASSIMILATED AND FORGOTTEN WITHIN A FEW MONTHS. ONLY
THOSE ARTISTS EXTREMELY AWARE OF THE FAST PACED SCENE CHANGES CAN HOPE TO STAY
IN THE SPOTLIGHT FOR LONG, AND EVEN THEY EVENTUALLY APPEAR TO BE SELLOUTS.

I WAS ONCE TOLD BY A PAINTER THAT IF YOU MAKE A GRAB FOR THE SPOTLIGHT
YOU HAD BETTER MAKE SURE YOU HAVE SOMETHING TO SAY IN CASE YOU GET IT.
THIS IS IN TOTAL ERROR, BECAUSE THE SPOTLIGHT MEANS THAT SOME CRITIC OR
CURATOR THINKS YOU'LL BE IN FASHION AND PLUGS YOUR WORK. SUCCESS DEPENDS
SOLELY ON HOW LONG YOU CAN CAPTIVATE THAT CRITIC'S TASTE.

JUST AS THE ART SCENE IS RUN BY A COMMERCIAL ESTABLISHMENT DESIGNED FOR
THE WEALTHY NOBLES OF THE WORLD, SO ARE THE ART SCHOOLS UNDER STRONG OUTSIDE
CONTROLS.

THE SCHOOLS HAVE DESERTED ART IN MASSE AND HAVE BEGUN TO DEVOTE MOST OF
THEIR EFFORTS TO ESTABLISH DOMINATE COMMERCIAL AND DESIGN IMAGES FOR THEMSELVES.
THIS IS KEEPING IN LINE WITH FEDERAL AID PROGRAMS TO SCHOOLS OFFERING TRADE
SKILLS THAT CAN PROVIDE JOBS FOR STUDENTS. MANY SCHOOLS HAVE COME TO DEPEND
ON THIS MONEY FOR CONTINUED OPERATION. A FINE ARTIST IN THEIR MIDST IS AN
(2) ENIGMA TO THEM; A SOURCE OF DISRUPTIVE AGITATION, A POTENTIAL TROUBLE MAKER. THEY, IN THEIR LIMITED UNDERSTANDING, CANNOT CONCEIVE WHY ANYONE WOULD WANT TO "SUFFER" WITH THEIR ART WHEN THEY COULD BE LINING THEIR POCKETS.

WHILE THE ARTIST IS BOUND ON BOTH SIDES BY THIS MORAL CONSTIPATION, HE STILL MUST CREATE HIS ART, AND HE STILL MUST EDUCATE HIMSELF. I OFFER THREE GENERAL STEPS TO TAKE TO BEGIN THE TRANSITION INTO THE FUTURE OF ART:

(I) ARTISTS MUST WITHDRAW TOTALLY FROM GALLERY AND MUSEUM AFFILIATIONS AND BEGIN TO SET UP SECONDARY METHODS OF DEALING WITH THEIR ART.

(II) BEGIN TO BREAK DOWN THE SYSTEM OF EDUCATION PRACTICED IN THE SCHOOLS AND CONSTRUCT NEW PLACES OF EDUCATION FOR ARTISTS. IT SHOULD BE A PLACE WHERE ALL ARTISTS ARE TEACHERS AND ALL TEACHERS ARE STUDENTS, A PLACE OF EXCHANGE, NOT GIVE AND TAKE, OF DOING NOT TELLING. IT SHOULD BE A PLACE OF COMMUNICATION NOT A SCHOOL.

(III) ATTEMPT TO REDISTRIBUTE THE CULTURE AND GET IT OUT OF THE POPULATION CENTERS SO THAT EACH ARTIST IS FREE TO BE HIS OWN CENTER OF CULTURE AND HIS OWN SOURCE OF VALUES.

IN CONCLUSION: AMERICAN ART IS STILL VERY MUCH A REGIONAL THING—SO MUCH SO, THAT ARTISTS HAVE TO RELEARN AND REDIRECT THEIR ART WHEN THEY CHANGE CULTURE OR POPULATION CENTERS. IT IS OUR GREAT FAILURE THAT WE HAVE NOT BEEN ABLE TO GIVE EVERY MAN A KNOWLEDGE OF HIS CULTURAL HERITAGE IN THIS CENTURY OF MASS COMMUNICATION. IT IS TIME NOW TO BEGIN USING THE ESTABLISHMENT AND THE MEDIA FOR OUR PURPOSE AND TO STOP THEIR USING OF US FOR GAIN.
A STATEMENT

One of the acute problems facing most artists today, simply stated, is that his chances for getting his work out, that is exhibiting his work, is very slim. The uptight gallery situation upon which he is dependent is totally insufficient. There are just too many artists around and not enough galleries to show the work. To presume that the galleries have weeded out all the good artists from those that are not so good, in the process of selecting their stables, is for the birds. All artists have a right to show their work and should have appropriate space available to them for this purpose. Let natural selection, rather than gallery selection be the weeding out factor. The gallery situation which exists today has resulted in a surreptitious in-fighting amongst the artists jockeying for a little in-position. He has developed a secretiveness and an off-handedness that is sometimes taken for a cool. As one artist recently said, "If you have heard about it, it is already too late. What can we do to get out of this shitty situation."

To seek a solution from the present museum structure is at best a meager palliative. It won't solve anything. Most artists will be in no better position than they were before.

What we need clear and simple, is another museum; a special kind of museum devoted solely to exhibiting contemporary art works. This museum should neither buy, own, or show art collections. At this point I would like to make a proposal which follows.
PROPOSAL

1) That the Museum of Modern Art, The Whitney Museum, The Suggenheim Museum, The Jewish Museum, and any other major Museum in the City of New York form a joint committee, for the purpose of raising funds, organizing, and actually taking the responsibility for the construction of a two-winged Museum

a) That a committee of artists and critics be created by each group respectively, to consult with and act in conjunction with the Museum committee.

b) That all members of this committee shall be paid for their time and effort.

2) That this Museum shall be co-owned by the respective Museums involved. That these respective Museums be responsible for directing, staffing, and maintaining the New Museum.

3) That this Museum shall not collect, buy, or own any art work, nor shall they exhibit any permanent collections.

4) That this Museum have a rotating committee or jury comprised equally of Museum Curators, Critics, and Artists, and that these rotating juries be responsible for the selection of all exhibitions.

5) That one wing be used solely for annual exhibitions, of which there be four or five during the course of the year. That at least two of these annuals be comprised of only artists who have not had their work shown in regular galleries or other Museums over a period of two years. That one of these annuals be in the nature of an international.

6) That all artists of other nationalities, residing in the United States for a short period of time, shall be eligible to exhibit their work.

7) That the other wing of the Museum be devoted exclusively to small select group shows from six to twelve artists. That these shows be organized in the following manner: Groups of artists be formed together on the basis of a common image, by the artists themselves. That they submit photographs, slides of their work as a group, for jury selection. That the jury select a number of these groups, that will be exhibited over a period of one year.
3) That all rejected groups can either re-submit the following year to a totally new jury, or can disband and reform into other groups and then re-submit.

9) That no artist that is shown in any of these group shows may show with any other group for that year.

Lastly, if this proposal is ever considered, that this paper shall be considered as a working paper, subject to modifications with all necessary additions and changes.

Submitted by:
JULIUS TOBIAS, sculptor
9 Great Jones Street
New York, N.Y. 10012

# 982-1795
I would like to make this recommendation: that all children years of age be admitted to museums with or without pay, as they themselves may indicate. If guides are needed to help or watch a program could be instituted for high school girls to work in the museum one morning or afternoon a week, to conduct small children, singly or in groups -- and giving them the choice of what they would like to see: painting, sculpture, photography, architecture, design. It will also be a good art education for the guides, who, in intervals of freedom, could visit the museum library or be shown through the staff rooms to become cognisant with the activities of which a museum consists.

Ruth Vollmer.
The Modern Museum is a business or monopoly. Unlike monopolies regulating public consumption of fare in other businesses, the government does not seek to destroy it but rather applauds it for being a good example of capitalistic efficiency. And well it should be applauded on this abstract basis; for what other business has been so devious as to be able to set the standards by which it is to be judged?

The lack of concern for this monopoly is two-fold. The government enjoys seeing leftist-leaning, communist-inspired artists under regulation. What could be better than regulating them and public taste for so long and having artists believe they are not really being regulated but are having a favor done for them? The other reason is a loop-hole made in their regulation of monopolies. A private institution can't be prosecuted under the same laws of collusion as a public institution, whether or not that private institution has triple the power and effect of any public institution. Thus the Museum of Modern Art gets underwritten by the CIA and NBC and CBS join in to give the public the news as they see it. This leaves MoMA in the hands of the trustees who are, incidentally, also the trustees of the Guggenheim, the Los Angeles County Museum and every other museum in this country. These people have different overt manifestations but they are the same people. Your one vote today is directly commensurate with the size of your financial last name.

The object of the wealthy is to control and exploit the poor (sensibility now being firmly established as a concomitant of bank
JAY WHOLLY

balance) and to tell them what is good and bad art. The irony here is that they believe they have a right to do this.

The Museum makes the mistaken assumption that because they acquire a painting it must be good, and if they acquire ten paintings they must be great. The gallery with its prestige is the microcosm that allows this to occur. They proceed from here to give the results of their findings, the "Kudo" to the artist and the assurance to their investments a show. They present the public with apples and pears; how are the people supposed to know cherries exist.

It doesn't take an assessment such as this to show the Museum has no qualitative basis for judgment - look at the collection. I would like to ask a question here. Why, with all the bad white art in the Museum isn't there and equal quantity of bad black art? Since the Museum doesn't make qualitative judgments about art, it is impossible for them to say that it is because the black artists are not of the same high (low?) standard. I must thus conclude that the Museum is racist.

In order to perpetuate the hoax that the Museum has so surreptitiously gone about creating, they have stooped to blackmail and giving the media false information. I wonder how far they will go before it is all over. For blackmail I refer you to the letters sent to artists that are to be represented in the Museum's permanent historical document of the forties. Artists were told that if they did not want to be represented by the small or insignificant works that the Museum acquired earlier, they must donate large canvases. The show was arranged by
The Museum told the press that the artists' coalition told them that they intended to come to the Museum for their Sunday demonstration and "vandalize" the art. This was after executive members of the staff had been informed by individual participants in the coalition that we had no such intention, nor would anything of that nature occur.

The Museum should have only revolving group shows and should have no permanent collection. This would eliminate the need to make their investments pay. The exhibits should be governed by a revolving board of an equal number of artist, critics and administrators. It should revolve once a year with each board being responsible for two shows.

The money for this could be raised through tax-deductible donations by the few people who would still be interested in art. If too much money was raised, grants could be given out to artists. All artists could be taxed 2 or 3% of their yearly earnings for the same purpose.

The New York Times should not be allowed to print articles on art. All artists should refuse to participate in any show that does not have the democratic bases described above. A law couldn't be passed similar to the one in France, then all artists should make anyone who buys anything sign a contract guaranteeing that the artist receive a percentage of the increase in value whenever it is resold. As these things are enacted, a levelling-off of prices should occur and all art of living artists, good or bad, should cost the same amount.
There are a lot of things besides the Modern that a group of Artists as a power block could direct their energies toward.

**THE ECONOMIC SITUATION**

*IE* JOB, RENT, FOOD, SUPPLY MONEY. Research should be done of the WPA support of artists during the depression. Also research into the Scandinavian support of their artists. Some sort of ground plan or link up should be made with the projected minimum annual wage. This seems projected pretty far into the future but we may get some ideas.

**THE DISPLAY AND SELLING OF WORK.**

I think ideas should be suggested for alternatives to the uptown situation. Research should be done on Legal copywrites. Lincoln center has State and Rockefeller money for theater and dance why not some for LIVE ART. Groups could be formed to set up a few galleries up and down the Bowery, like the star turtle to form a down town nucleus like tenth street used to be. WE could form a mutual aid society.

**EDUCATION**

A lot of painters have been offered interesting structural things at colleges. Some research into black Mountain might be a good idea at this time. A lot of places like Ford like to back experimental Education ideas. The community of Paul Williams at Stony point offers another idea for research into living working communities in proximity to New York.

**PUBLICATION**

MY final idea I think is most pertinent to this particular group and time. How about getting out a publication that could be a forum for ideas and research at this time. Research IT IS and SCRAP and lets try to come up with something. We have writers with us lets take advantage of them. The Columbia students have set up there own printing shop. We could even dream of something like THE GREAT BEAR PRESS.

Ann Wilson