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AMERICAN INDIAN MOVEMENT



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Dana Claxton,
AIM #1, 2010,
gelatin silver print,
152 × 107cm.
Courtesy the artist

CounterIntelligence: A Glossary of Doubled Agency

– Charles Stankieveh

Guideposts for the dim, replicate half-world where counterintelligence raises deception to the second and third power.

– ‘Observations on the Double Agent’, *CIA Studies in Intelligence* journal, 1962

Do keep in the shadow, and remember the shadow moves.

– Canadian Army training pamphlet, 1940

The following glossary contemplates the intersections of art and military intelligence communities, presenting case studies that explore the hidden gestures and strategic deceptions of the shadow world. Navigating a theatre of double agents and the duplicity of objects that oscillate between art and artefact, the question arises: not only what is the *subject*, but how does this subject shape *subjectivity*? In thinking about the poetic contra the paranoid, one must pass through Paul Klee’s theory of making the invisible visible and into the field of secret epistemology, which understands that decoding the image is sometimes not as important as realising that the spectacle of the image itself serves to hide what matters most.

Anthony Blunt, Sir

During World War II, Cambridge University art historian Sir Anthony Blunt (1907–83) worked as a spy for the British counterintelligence Security Service, popularly known as MI5. After the war he was knighted and held several prestigious positions including

Surveyor of the King’s Pictures, Director of the Courtauld Institute of Art and paid consultant for many international museums including the National Gallery of Canada. For the latter he acquired, in 1953, the painting *Augustus and Cleopatra* (c.1630),

Charles Stankieveh uncovers the interconnected histories of art, military technology and espionage.

which Blunt had himself attributed to Nicolas Poussin, in 1938. Before Blunt, Poussin was a minor artist of no real consequence, but starting with his earliest art historical writings, Blunt lifted the painter to persona grata in the canon with a completed catalogue raisonné and a major survey at the Louvre in 1960.¹ Pieced together from factual fragments and furtive fictions, not unlike Blunt’s own secret personality, the function of a ‘Poussin’ was authored during the twentieth century in a cloud of controversy and entwined with the persona of Blunt.² At the nexus of this controversy one could investigate a double Anthony: one in the narrative of the painting and one in the narrative surrounding the painting.

Serendipitously, the classical iconography in the work of art foreshadowed the modern double agent, or inversely: ‘When causes cannot be repeated, there is no alternative but to infer them from their effects.’³ Two key clues. First, if we believe Blunt and take this image to represent a meeting between the conquered Cleopatra and Emperor Augustus, then we notice immediately that the third person in the triangle of power is absent: Marc Antony, the

1 From the very beginning of his published research essays, Blunt wrote on Poussin, and the painting *Augustus and Cleopatra* was his first public attribution. See Anthony Blunt, ‘Poussin’s *Et in Arcadia ego*’, *The Art Bulletin*, vol.20, no.1, 1938, pp.96–100; and A. Blunt, ‘A Newly Discovered Poussin’, *Apollo*, vol.27, no.160, 1938, pp.197–99. Blunt was by no means the first to write on Poussin; Walter Friedländer was the first modern scholar to write on the painter, in 1914, and started Poussin’s catalogue raisonné of drawings, but Blunt finished the five-volume work. Most importantly, the Louvre exhibition was a watershed moment for Poussin scholarship and popularity, resulting in several subsequent books edited and written by Blunt: *Exposition Nicolas Poussin: Mai-juillet, 1960* (exh. cat.), Paris: Édition des Musées nationaux, 1960; *The Paintings of Nicolas Poussin: Critical Catalogue* (exh. cat.), London: Phaidon, 1966; *Nicolas Poussin*, New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1967.

2 While an enormous body of literature exists around Blunt (articles, plays, novels, pulp fiction, films, memoirs, etc.), there are few measured and comprehensive accounts. Miranda Carter’s *Anthony Blunt: His Lives* (London: Macmillan, 2001) has been critically received as the best attempt at portraying a character with many secret lives.

queer lover of Cleopatra and adversary of Augustus.⁴ It is the absence and yet ghost of Antony that complicates love and creates a political body. Perhaps one can draw a parallel to another queer Anthony: Sir Anthony Blunt, who was publicly outed as a homosexual by the magazine *Private Eye* in 1979 as part of a case for his treachery and proof of duplicity.⁵ Second, the key to the painting is yet another element in between Augustus and Cleopatra, this time, however, it is not a lack but rather the present object of exchange. What is it that Cleopatra delivers to her conqueror Augustus – what is the motivation for the event and also the secret to the tableau?

In 1938, Blunt posited the theory, based on the narrative told by Cassius Dio, that the object is a pouch of love letters between Cleopatra and Julius Caesar that bear witness to Augustus's uncle formerly holding Cleopatra in good graces.⁶ Of course, the contents of the pouch remain a mystery. (Forensic X-rays of the painting cannot tell us more about its contents.)⁷ A year after discovering the painting and starting his career at the Warburg Institute, the war interrupted Blunt's academic life. Among Blunt's portfolio of tasks as a spy at the Ministry was the development and management of operation XXX, or TripleX. It would seem Blunt shifted his analysis of pouches in paintings to an analysis of pouches in reality. Blunt's XXX programme devised a way to secretly intercept diplomatic pouches in transit which were supposed to have immunity from police and custom officers' search and seizure rights.⁸ Furthermore, one of the first tasks conducted by Anthony Blunt as Surveyor to the King's Pictures (the title for curator of the royal family's art collection) was a discrete mission in 1945 to recover the private letters of the British monarch in fractured post-War Germany.⁹ The clandestine recovery of information was not a new practice for Blunt and, while it might seem odd for an art curator, it is illustrative of his double identity.

By the 1970s, cracks started surfacing publicly in the dual identities of Poussin's painting and Blunt himself. In 1971, the National Gallery of Canada revoked Blunt's attribution of the painting to Poussin, demoting it to an unknown Italian painter. (Blunt would hold firm to his 1938 conjecture to the end.) This crisis of identity paled in comparison to Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's parliamentary pronouncement, in 1979, that revealed Sir Blunt was a double agent for the Soviets since the very start of his career as an art historian at Cambridge – casting a blow to the legitimacy of both his 'intelligences'. The British intelligence community already knew for decades that Blunt was part of the Cambridge Spy Ring, but Blunt had strategically negotiated immunity and secrecy in exchange for revealing information (a gambit that ultimately proved politically useless for the Ministry). In a 1979 BBC press conference a few days after Thatcher's announcement, he tried to contextualise his actions as motivated by 1930s anti-Fascist impulses and a deep loyalty to his friends. Without remorse he read from a prepared statement: 'This was a case of political conscience against loyalty to country, I chose conscience.'¹⁰ In the end, Blunt has remained an enigma, posing more questions than answers. Specifically, the question remains of whether he was such an ambitious curator because of

3 I use the term 'serendipitously' in reference to Carlo Ginzburg's etymological tracing of the word in his essay about the Morelli Method and its precursor Giulio Mancini, doctor to the Pope and possibly the first connoisseur, who wrote during the 1920s in Rome on art, including on Poussin at the exact time and place Blunt conjectured the painting was produced. See C. Ginzburg, 'Morelli, Freud and Sherlock Holmes: Clues and Scientific Method', *History Workshop*, no.9, Spring 1980, pp.22-23.

4 Antony's contemporary Cicero writes of Antony's disgraceful youth and intimate relations with Curio, who was married to Fulvia, who in turn eventually married Antony. Cleopatra originally married Julius Caesar, but after his assassination married Antony, with whom she had twins. Plutarch's biography of Antony in his curiously titled *Parallel Lives* also recounts Antony's queer sexuality and provided a narrative source, along with Cassius Dio's history, for Blunt's interpretation of the painting. See Plutarch, *Parallel Lives* 2; and the second of Cicero's *Orations*.

5 It is important to remember that homosexuality was not decriminalised in the UK until as late as 1967, and even then only partially. Blunt's intelligence contemporary and war hero Alan Turing (1912-54) was chemically castrated for his sexual orientation. Art historian Luke David Nicholson has attempted to parallel the lives of Poussin and Blunt using queer theory, see his 'Anthony Blunt and Nicolas Poussin: A Queer Approach', unpublished PhD thesis, Concordia University, Montréal, 2011.

6 See Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 51.12.1-3. Blunt also suggests the pouch could be an inventory of the treasures owned by Cleopatra to be bequeathed to her conqueror. See Plutarch, *Parallel Lives* 78; and A. Blunt, 'A Newly Discovered Poussin', *op. cit.*, p.199.

7 Radiographs of the painting were made in 1976 at the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

8 Diplomatic pouches are a reciprocal international convention between sovereign nations to 'permit and protect free communication [which] may employ all appropriate means, including diplomatic couriers and messages in code or cipher'. United Nations, 'Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations', 1961, article 27. For the publication of the source documents that Blunt passed to the Russians, and one of the only official (though leaked) admissions of the TripleX programme's existence, see Nigel West and Oleg Tsarev, *TRIPLEX: Secrets from the Cambridge Spies*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009, p.20; for the description of the TripleX programme and Blunt's role, see M. Carter, *Anthony Blunt: His Lives*, *op. cit.*, pp.273-74.

9 *Ibid.*, pp.311-19. Blunt actually conducted three different missions for the royal family to post-War Germany, recovering letters, jewels and other valuables. At least on one trip 'Blunt travelled back with a sealed packet which he instructed MFA&A must not be opened by Customs'. *Ibid.*, p.316.

10 Broadcast on BBC 1, 20 November 1979.

Augustus and Cleopatra, c.1630-50, oil on canvas, 145 × 195.2cm. Courtesy and © National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa



his passion for art, or because his superlative professionalism was the perfect cover for his intelligence career. More generally, his narrative questions straightforward notions of agency, authorship and attribution that resonate beyond his particular circumstances.

Archive

Flies in the Archive. Brazilian flies that typo Buttles into Tutttles. Or was it Tutttles into Buttles?¹¹ Flies that turn into Files. Files in the Archive. If the word ‘file’ comes from the word ‘string’, what red threads simultaneously cut and weave through the archive? Michel Foucault wrote that the archive is the ‘general system of the formation and transformation of statements’, but a nuanced reading of an archive is not only a connecting of the dots between the files to create a system as imaginary as Italo Calvino’s *Invisible Cities* (1972) but also an understanding of what is *not* included in the archive and why.¹² It is always important to remember: the archive is not inherently good, just as the museum is not inherently good, but often associated with the mausoleum, for example by Theodor Adorno or Robert Smithson.¹³ Those who hold power have the choice to exclude, erase and redact the information they decide not applicable to the construction of truth. An archaeology of the archive does not relate analysis to geological excavation, but it sometimes does refer to sifting through the layers of redacted ink.¹⁴ Nor is the archive always backwards looking; it can be that which forges the future in times of conflict, from the original Ark of the Covenant, to the battle of Jericho, to the ‘open archive’ of the current Israeli Government Press Office.¹⁵ Moreover, ever since IBM’s punch cards processed Jewish people for internment in World War II, the archive has approached a labyrinth (nearing the infinity of a Jorge Luis Borges story) where, by today’s autocorrect algorithms, the words ‘banal’ and ‘bane’ are as close as a typo.¹⁶

- 11 Terry Gilliam’s classic dystopian film *Brazil* - shot fittingly in 1984 - begins with a fly that a bureaucrat swats and kills, resulting in the carcass falling into a printer and jamming the mechanism so that an arrest order is mistakenly created for a Buttles instead of a Tuttle. The rest of the film proceeds as a nightmare based on a case of mistaken identity, reminiscent of Kafka’s *The Trial* (1925).
- 12 Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language* (1969, trans. Alan M. Sheridan Smith), New York: Pantheon Books, 1972, p.130.
- 13 See Theodor W. Adorno, ‘Valéry Proust Museum’, *Prisms* (trans. Samuel and Shierry Weber), Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1967, p.175. See also ‘What is a Museum? A Dialogue between Allan Kaprow and Robert Smithson’ (1967), in Robert Smithson, *The Collected Writings* (ed. Jack Flam), Berkeley: University of California, 1996, pp.43-51.
- 14 For an interesting consideration of geological excavation and memory in contrast to Michel Foucault, see ‘Discussions with Heizer, Oppenheim, Smithson’ (1970), in *ibid.*, pp.242-61.
- 15 See Nathalie Casemajor’s analysis of the state’s aggressive flooding of the public domain as a digital strategy to write history: ‘Framing Openness: The Digital Circulation of Israel’s National Photographic Memory’, *tripleC*, vol.12, no.1, 2014 pp.286-98.
- 16 See Edwin Black, *IBM and the Holocaust: The Strategic Alliance between Nazi Germany and America’s Most Powerful Corporation*, New York: Crown Books, 2001.

Avant-Garde

By the turn of the twentieth century, the term ‘avant-garde’ shifts from its military origins in the Middle Ages to an aesthetic badge normally worn by a man no less macho. Originally signalling a company of soldiers on the outer fringe and thus the first to scout and encounter the enemy, it was metaphorically applied to artists venturing into new aesthetic territory. While the term’s double meaning finds its paragon in the Italian Futurists, who celebrated the aesthetics of war in the trenches of noise and the radiating machines, there is a more complicated crossover between the roles of artist and spy in pastoral landscapes, tranquil seascapes and sunset city skylines. Military scouts and spies since the first records of conflict have travelled the landscape and made sketches of enemy positions and architectural renderings of fortresses.¹⁷ Before the *plein-air* fashion of painting, spies undertook their gaze not only from under the cover of a tree’s shadow but also under the cover of the personality of landscape artists.¹⁸ It is no surprise then that artists were often accused of espionage during times of conflict, from Pierre-Auguste Renoir, suspected of spying on the Commune of Paris in 1871 while painting on the banks of the Seine, to the confiscation of a 1917 Cubist portrait of Igor Stravinsky by Pablo Picasso, which officers on the Italian-Swiss border mistook for a military map.¹⁹ Popular spy fiction had created a hysteric paranoia during World War I, and since photography had not yet comprehensively supplanted drawing as the means for rapid documentation, the artist as observer and image-maker was a prime suspect for surveying and disseminating sensitive information.

This military suspicion was compounded by a growing cultural misunderstanding of modern art. From the depiction of visual perception in Impressionism to the fracturing of the space-time continuum in Cubism, artists moved further and further away from modes of realism, thus widening the trench between the popular understanding of what an artist should create and the sceptical sketches on canvas. Echoing the ignorant confiscation of Picasso’s portrait, Frances Stonor Saunders points out that by the mid-twentieth century, and particularly during the witch-hunts under US senator Joseph McCarthy, not only the artist but modern art itself was under trial through proclamations such as “ultramodern artists are unconsciously used as tools of the Kremlin” and the assertion that, in some cases, abstract paintings were actually secret maps pinpointing strategic United States fortifications’. The fury culminated with such accusations as: ‘Modern art is actually a means of espionage.’²⁰ It is here that the history of art and intelligence tradecraft take divergent paths, a split exacerbated during the Vietnam War, when the artistic community sided with the counterculture movement and against the military-industrial complex.²¹

Conceptualism

Art historians such as Max Kozloff, Eva Cockcroft and, later, Serge Guilbaut have marked the shift of power in the art world from Paris to New York with the birth of Abstract Expressionism – what some see as the first uniquely ‘American Art’.²² But such a shift in power across the Atlantic occurred in all areas, from economics to intelligence. While one field was not dependent on the other, the birth of American Art coincided with that of the US Central Intelligence Agency, formed in 1947. Infamously, ex-CIA officer Thomas W. Braden admitted in his 1967 confession, ‘I’m glad the CIA is “immoral”’, that the CIA secretly funded the arts as ideological warfare against communism on a variety of fronts, funding touring symphonies, art shows and the academic journal *Encounter*.²³

Cultural managers of powerhouses such as the Museum of Modern Art in New York had significant ties to the US secret services, often sharing roots in the close-knit Ivy League

17 Ulrike Boskamp provides a good sweeping historical account of the mistaken identities between spies and artists in ‘Spion als Künstler als Spion’ (‘Spy as Artist, Artist as Spy’), in *Fabian Reimann: Amateur* (exh. cat.), Leipzig and Hannover: Spector Books and Kunstverein Hannover, 2013, pp.57-72.

18 See Allain Manesson Mallet, *La Géométrie pratique*, vol.3, Paris: Anisson, 1702, p.8.

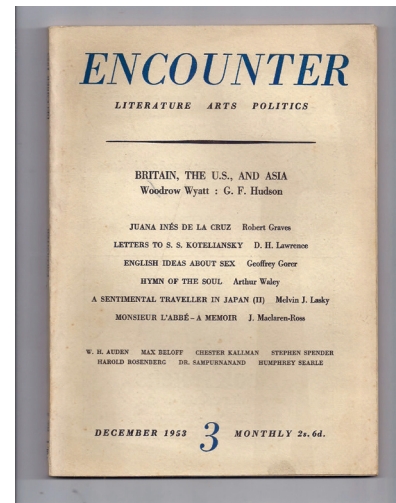
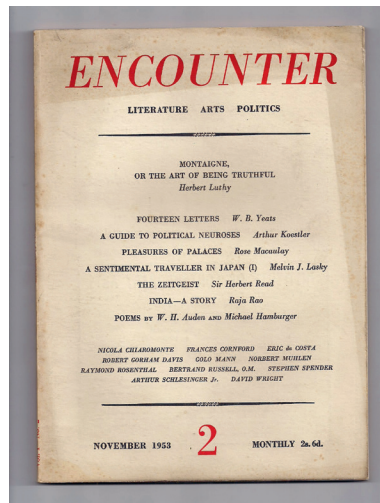
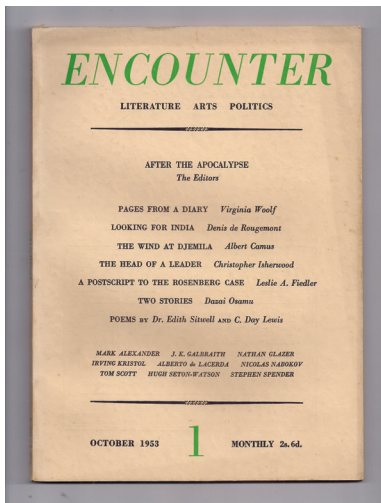
19 See James Fox, “‘Traitor Painters’: Artists and Espionage in the First World War, 1914-1918’, *The British Art Journal*, vol.9, no.3, 2006, p.63; and Carina Nandlal, ‘Picasso and Stravinsky: Notes on their Friendship’, *COLLOQUY: text theory critique*, vol.22, 2011, p.86.

20 Frances Stonor Saunders, *Who Paid the Piper?: The CIA and the Cultural Cold War*, London: Granta, 2000, p.253.

21 Dwight Eisenhower coined the term ‘military-industrial complex’ in his farewell address of 17 January 1961.

22 See Max Kozloff, ‘American Painting during the Cold War’, *Artforum*, vol.11, no.9, May 1973, pp.43-54; Eva Cockcroft, ‘Abstract Expressionism, Weapon of the Cold War’, *Artforum*, vol.12, no.10, June 1974, pp.39-41; and Serge Guilbaut, *How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art: Abstract Expressionism, Freedom, and the Cold War* (trans. Arthur Goldhammer), Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983.

23 Thomas W. Braden, ‘I’m Glad the CIA is “Immoral”’, *Saturday Evening Post*, 20 May 1967, pp.10-14.



Covers of *Encounter*, issues 1-3, 1953. Collection of the author

community. In 1952, the US government established a secret agency, the National Security Agency (NSA), devoted to the future of warfare - that is to say, the immaterial age of information. Interestingly, parallel to the intelligence community's modernisation, American Art underwent its own 'dematerialisation' (to cite a term first used by Oscar Masotta and extracted by Lucy Lippard).²⁴

Circumventing the gallery-based market strategy (at the time at least), Conceptual Art dealt with ideas and information as the primary means of production and reception, foreshadowing the way in which the exchange of information today defines everyday life, economics and geo-politics. Joseph Kosuth attempted to define 'Art as Idea as Idea' (1966) through the use of reproductions, language and objects; more radical still, Robert Barry believed 'A SECRET DESIRE TRANSMITTED TELEPATHICALLY' (1969) was possible as the end game of art - a dream not only bypassing the fetish of the art object, but even traditional surveillance-wiretapping.

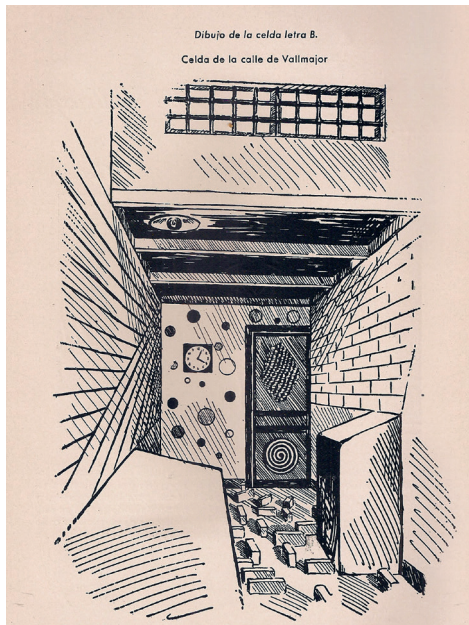
Counterculture

Buckminster Fuller defected from the counter-attack of game theory into the counterculture of the World Game. At the birth of the Cold War, Fuller was hired to collaborate with the US Department of Defense and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology's Lincoln Laboratory to build the outpost architecture that would house the nodes of the future networked continent of North America.²⁵ Concerned that Soviet bombers flying over the Arctic ice cap and bombing major urban centres were the greatest danger facing North America, in 1951 a think tank devised an electromagnetic curtain across the Canadian Arctic, which turned an indigenous *nomad's* landscape into a colonial *no-man's* territory and a military theatre into a video game.²⁶ To shelter the radio equipment of this Distant Early Warning (DEW) Line, Fuller designed the rigid geodesic radome, a design that is still used to cover radio antennae at military bases in the Arctic and beyond, as well as at intelligence stations such as the Royal Air Force Menwith Hill in the UK and various NSA sites around the globe.²⁷ By 1967, the geodesic dome had acquired enough cultural status that it started to shift from a synecdoche of military and industrial invention into an ideological icon. Built for the utopic Expo 67 in Montreal as a showcase of Americana (including a large Dymaxion Map painting by Jasper Johns alongside Apollo space artefacts and photographs), Fuller's epic geodesic dome for the

24 See Pip Day, 'Locating "2,972,453": Lucy R. Lippard in Argentina', in *From Conceptualism to Feminism: Lucy Lippard's Numbers Shows, 1969-74*, London: Afterall Books, p.78, note 5.
 25 See Paul N. Edwards, *The Closed World: Computers and the Politics of Discourse in Cold War America*, Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1996, especially chapters 2, 3 and 4.
 26 For an analysis of military colonialism in the Arctic, see my *Magnetic Norths: A Constellation of Concepts to Navigate the Exhibition* (exh. cat.), Montreal: Galerie Leonard and Bina Ellen Art Gallery, 2010; and 'Magnetic Anomalies in the Arctic: Colonial Resource Extraction, Meteoric Cults, and the Rare Earth Age', in Nadim Samman and Boris Ondreichka (ed.), *RARE EARTH* (exh. cat.), Berlin: TBA21 and Sternberg Press, 2015, pp.82-94 (see pdf online for erratum).
 27 See F. Robert Naka and William W. Ward, 'Distant Early Warning Line Radars: The Quest for Automatic Signal Detection', in *Lincoln Laboratory Journal*, vol.12, no.2, 2000. This highly technical essay, recounted by the engineers who built the DEW radar system, includes a very good appendix, 'Appendix B: Rigid-Space-Frame Radomes', pp.200-03.

US pavilion became the symbol of a shifting era. As 1960s counterculture grew increasingly critical of the military-industrial complex, the network of the geodesic dome – along with Fuller’s World Game – became the blueprint for the architecture of the Drop City commune in Colorado and the distribution model of *Whole Earth Catalog* subscribers.

Alfonso Laurencic, prison-cell design, c.1930s. From Ministerio de la Gobernación, ‘Apéndice I al Dictamen de la Comisión sobre ilegitimidad de poderes actuantes en 18 de Julio de 1936’. Collection of the author



Double Agent

Double agents, or intelligence assets who work for two opposing agencies, are tricky, often impossible-to-control personalities. Since their very premise is to play the ambiguity over who controls them, the reality of who is working for whom is often never clear, merely a game with a fuse destined to run out.²⁸ A rare species, such agents have existed since the earliest records of military strategy; even Sun Tzu’s fifth century BCE *Art of War* includes the double agent as one of five types of spy.²⁹ Based on the schism of identity (and often more than just in two), the paranoia of an embedded double agent within an agency also causes the snake to swallow its tail, as the power of surveillance normally directed towards the enemy turns inward to cannibalise its own body in search for the mole hiding in a *mise en abyme*. While famous spies took on the role

of curators and artists like Sir Anthony Blunt in the 1940s and the KGB’s Rudolph Abel in the 1950s, the art did not always remain in the circulation of the artworld.³⁰ French double agent Alfonso Laurencic not only played both sides of the Francoist-Republican struggle in 1930s Spain, he also extracted the paranoia out of Surrealism for real psychological warfare. It came to light in a 1936 court document that he used Bauhaus and Surrealist aesthetic theories to design torture chambers and prison cells.³¹ This included optical illusions, clocks that ‘melted’ by constantly changing time, shifts in lighting conditions and architecture devoid of expected and functional angles.

Drone

The birth of polyphony was in the reverb of the drone. The earliest Western technique to move toward polyphony consisted of a countermelody improvisation sung over a plainchant. Due to the large, vaulted space of Gothic cathedrals, reverb and resonant tones echoed as drones, thus creating the foundation for music. By the thirteenth century, a particular drone technique called ‘basilica’ was used to describe when one singer held a continuous note while another sang over the top.³² As the dominant form of power of the period, the Church propelled the most advanced technologies, amongst them the prototype of the multimedia spectacle: the organ Mass with stained-glass-filtered light rays colliding with the smoke machines of the swinging censers. In an era before steam power and combustion, the overpowering spectacle of an organ Mass would have been unlike anything else a citizen would have experienced – the lower drones of the pneumatic machine rumbling the basilica sustained by the power of the Pope.³³ But not all drones were purposeful. A continuous sounding of a pipe organ caused by mechanical defect was called a ‘cipher’ – a word we normally associate with secret writing. A third meaning of the word defines an entity without will and

28 See the declassified guide published internally for CIA intelligence controllers: F.M. Begoum, ‘Observations on the Double Agent’, *Studies in Intelligence Journal*, 1962, pp.57-72.

29 See Sun Zi, *The Art of War* (trans. Victor H. Mair), New York: Columbia University Press, 2009, chapter 12.

30 German artist Fabian Reimann has created two installations and two publications based on the biographies and popular culture around Blunt and Abel.

31 See Ministerio de la Gobernación, ‘Apéndice I al Dictamen de la Comisión sobre ilegitimidad de poderes actuantes en 18 de Julio de 1936’, Barcelona, 1936.

32 Paul Hillier, *Arvo Pärt*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997, p.84.

33 I owe the insight of the sonic power and territorial reach of the Cathedral’s acoustic radiance to a conversation with my mentor R. Murray Schafer when I was his teaching assistant in graduate school in 2005. For a comprehensive theory from the thinker that coined the term ‘soundscape’, see his classic *The Tuning of the World* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977).

which does the bidding of others. Today, the most technologically advanced extension of power across the pastoral territory is again a drone; but this time it is not the cipher of an organ, but rather the drone cipher under the encrypted remote control of a video-game player who in turn is under the direct bidding – without due legal process – of the executive power of the state.

Encryption

In the early 1990s, encryption technology was the exclusive domain of military intelligence organisations like the NSA. However, with the birth of digital communication and e-commerce, academics and entrepreneurs realised encryption needed to go mainstream. The US administration and the NSA battled to limit civilian and corporate encryption, crying that effective encryption would make snooping more difficult. Plans to provide back-door access to commercial encryption were supposedly thwarted through the argument of free competition in an increasing international market – the logic being that limiting the encryption strength of consumer products would undercut the value of US products. Still functioning under a Cold War mentality, the US government made the export of strong encryption illegal to minimise the enemy’s access, while allowing US citizens to defend their constitutional rights to privacy. Technically, digital encryption was classified under export laws as a munition; just as Lockheed Martin would need permission to sell fighter jets, so would Lotus 1-2-3 accounting software need approval, under the same legal code. Within this so-called first ‘crypto war’ rose an unlikely player: Philip Zimmermann. Not a top scientist participating in the peer-review world of Stanford, nor an NSA mathematician secretly working in the black epistemological hall of mirrors at Fort Meade, Zimmermann was an anti-nuclear activist and amateur coder. His role was not so much in developing the theory of public-key encryption (the standard for most online exchanges of encrypted information), but in making it available to the masses. In 1991 Zimmerman uploaded his source code to the internet, violating export laws, and lawsuits followed. In a second round of anti-government protest responding to the ludicrous and overzealous censorship of what Zimmermann thought was a basic right – that the same privacy of correspondence attributed to classic mail letters should be attributed to email letters – he published a book. But his book was not a manuscript arguing for his side of the story, instead it was a strategic gesture: *PGP Source Code and Internals* (1995).³⁴ The book’s 933 pages are exclusively composed of the computer code printed in Optical Character Recognition (OCR) type. Henceforth, all one needed to do was rip out and scan the pages and one had the computer programme – circumnavigating the encryption export law because, technically, the book was just a book and could be seen as a piece of writing under the expression of free speech. Zimmermann, essentially as a political gesture more than a practical plan, bypassed an archaic law that was being used to restrict new technology by successfully using an even more archaic technology: the book based on moveable type, circa 1455, became the book of moveable export, circa 1995.

Language Games

‘What we cannot speak about we must pass over in silence’, wrote Ludwig Wittgenstein at the end of his major treatise, *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus* (1921). He later went on to develop his theory of language games, published posthumously in *Philosophical Investigations* (1953). In between formulating his two major treatises, Wittgenstein built his sister’s house in Vienna from 1926–28.

A *Gesamtkunstwerk*, the house was entirely designed by Wittgenstein, from the master plan down to door handles and locks. Metaphorically, *the key* to the passage from a logical ordering and picture of the world as seen in the blueprint of the *Tractatus* to the pragmatic navigation of language games is literally *the key* to the Haus Wittgenstein – that small object whose purpose is to open and close spaces, lock and unlock social engagements. Arthur Danto in 1964 used Wittgenstein’s theory of language games in his seminal essay ‘The Artworld’.³⁵ Arguing for an ‘interpretive model’ of aesthetics, a transcendent concept of art is pulled out of the museum and back into the world of the artefact; or inversely, as Alfred Gell asked in his anthropological essay ‘Vogel’s Net’, why not consider hunting traps as conceptual art?³⁶

34 Philip Zimmermann, *PGP Source Code and Internals*, Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1995.

35 Arthur Danto, ‘The Artworld’, *The Journal of Philosophy*, vol.61, issue 19, 1964, pp.571–84.

36 Alfred Gell, ‘Vogel’s Net’, *Journal of Material Culture*, vol.1, no.1, 1996, pp.15–38.



Danto ends his classic essay by defining the value of this new useful art, and in doing so he returns to the classic tale of Hamlet, and particularly the role of the famous scene in which the play-within-the-play is revealed as a mousetrap designed to catch his uncle. Here art is a play, a dangerous game, Danto argues, where ‘as a mirror held up to nature, [it] might serve to catch the conscience of our kings’.³⁷ Today the most important keys are not to our houses; rather, they are the ones that lock and unlock our virtual lives: bank

accounts, email, computers, social networks.³⁸ Such keys reduce our language games down to single civilian passwords that define our subjectivity in direct contrast to the single key search terms typed by NSA officers. The social network exhibitionist versus the dragnet of an overzealous intelligence machine.

Psychedelics

‘Just say know.’ A mantra of the countercultural movement as articulated by Timothy Leary, fired Harvard professor, drug evangelist and far-out prophet of rebelling against the Man, Uncle Sam.³⁹ While there are art historical precursors to installation art, such as El Lissitzky’s *Proun Room* of 1923, psychedelics fuelled the 1960s.⁴⁰ ‘Happenings’ in ‘Environments’ by Allan Kaprow and USCO, as well as the new genre of expanded cinema, blurred reality boundaries supplemented with a pharmacological breakdown of all systems: patriarchy, government and the academy. In a time before research ethics boards existed, psychological experiments ranged from Leary’s clinical trials at the university to his ‘Time Chamber’ safe space at home.⁴¹ Leary ended up in prison but didn’t let the walls of Folsom keep his mind from expanding. In 1974 he self-published the book *Terra II: A Way Out, The Starseed Transmission*, which included, in binary code, a message to aliens. In the arena of the Cold War, the earth had finally been completely colonised, and the only unknown places left were *outer* and *inner* space. Dr John C. Lilly, a biologist who studied dolphin language as a test case to establish a baseline theory of communication with extraterrestrials, developed the most extreme form of immersive environment: a sensory-deprivation water tank to amplify psychedelic experiences.⁴² But not all psychedelics were taken by choice in order to increase one’s knowledge. Ken Kesey, author of *One Flew Over the Cuckoo’s Nest* (1962) and the other main character fostering a critical party-art scene in Leary’s era, was exposed unwittingly in 1959 to the CIA’s MKULTRA programme.⁴³ One of the darker elements of the CIA’s programme occurred from 1957–64 at McGill University in Montreal, where Dr Donald Cameron experimented with LSD to reprogramme people’s minds. Patients going into the Allan Memorial Institute at McGill were often diagnosed with minor issues such as anxiety or post-partum depression, but after three months of LSD-induced coma and other techniques that the CIA (aggressively) called ‘coercive’ strategies, it was found ‘patients’ (read prisoners) entered states of psychological ‘regression’ – in other words, entered a childlike state, even confusing their interrogators as their parents.⁴⁴ Cameron’s experiments

Key to Haus Wittgenstein, designed by Ludwig Wittgenstein, c.1926–28. Collection of the author

37 A. Danto, ‘The Artworld’, *op. cit.*, p.584.

38 While I disagree with Boris Groys’s understanding of how the internet works, the accurate observation that our subjectivity is externalised in our digital passwords comes from one of his lectures: ‘Documents, Constellations, Prospects’, Haus der Kulturen der Welt, Berlin, 18 March 2013. Similar technical misunderstandings of networks and algorithms occur in his DOCUMENTA13 notebook, as do similar brilliant observations on the failures of technology to manifest democracy, see B. Groys, *Google: Words beyond Grammar = Google: Worte jenseits der Grammatik*, Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz, 2011.

39 ‘Just Say Know’ is from Timothy Leary’s 1998 foreword to the second edition of his classic *The Politics Of Ecstasy* (1968). In his new polemic, he subversively made a pun on Nancy Reagan’s ‘War on Drugs’ slogan ‘Just Say No’, from the 1980s.

40 While several factors combined to establish the genre of ‘installation art’ in the 1960s, the *Proun Room* in Berlin is usually the first cited example in the Western tradition of a single immersive work. See, for example, Claire Bishop, *Installation Art: A Critical History*, New York: Routledge, 2005, p.8.

41 See James Nisbet, *Ecologies, Environments, and Energy Systems in Art of the 1960s and 1970s*, Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2014, especially chapter 2.

42 John C. Lilly, Lambros D. Callimahos et al., ‘Communication with extraterrestrial intelligence’, *IEEE Spectrum*, vol.1.3, no.3, 1966, pp.153–63.

43 James Nisbet, *Ecologies, Environments, and Energy Systems in Art of the 1960s and 1970s*, *op. cit.*, p.53.

44 John Marks, *The Search for the Manchurian Candidate*, New York: Times Books, 1979, pp.140–50.

might have ceased in 1964, but by that time his ‘theory of coercion’ had been established and directly codified in CIA documents, such as the *KUBARK* counterintelligence manual

While famous spies took on the role of curators and artists in the 1940s and 50s, the art did not always remain in the circulation of the artworld.

for interrogation, drafted in 1963, which defined ‘the principal coercive techniques [as] arrest, detention, the deprivation of sensory stimulus, threats and fear, debility, pain, heightened suggestibility and hypnosis and drugs’.⁴⁵ The titles of some CIA coercive strategies included: The All-Seeing Eye, Spinoza and Mortimer Snerd, The Wolf in Sheep’s Clothing and, most tellingly, Alice in Wonderland.⁴⁶ Lamentably, the CIA

Director Richard Helms ordered the destruction of all MKULTRA files to wipe out the existence of the unethical experiments. Fortunately, however, some documents were filed in the wrong place and discovered a few years later, thanks to the Freedom of Information Act.⁴⁷

Redaction

Trauma, the radical cut in reality that is beyond anticipation, is defined as such because it does not fit within the structure of the subject’s world. Trauma is always doubled. Trauma-as-black-hole compresses the subject against the event horizon. Never able to reach the hidden core or escape to warn another, it is this event as the source of trauma that the subject revolves around and around, repeating a fragmented narrative in limbo. Subject. Thrown under: *subject*. Trauma is doubled not as event but rather reproduced in the failure to communicate the original traumatic event. A 1925 notion of the unconscious in Sigmund Freud’s note about the ‘Mystic Writing Pad’: a child’s writing game that allows surface erasure of a message, but permanently records all marks on a soft pad underneath the surface.⁴⁸ The old espionage trick: revealing a message whose traces were left on a previous top sheet of paper by lightly shading the debossed page below. The Freedom of Information Act of 1967: intended to lift the veil of secrecy and reveal the inscriptions in the permanent record while keeping the US government accountable for its actions, both as a historical record of past events and promises of future exposés. Redaction strategically counteracts the accountability of the record, leaving back holes as scars in the text prohibiting the trauma from surfacing. Whole documents, released but fully redacted, leaving only the header ‘Secret’ or ‘Confidential’, bury evidence in an empty gesture of transparency.

Site (Specific, Non + Black)

Starting in the 1960s, American art retraced the path of Manifest Destiny by ‘going West’. A new breed of artists, ambitious and not yet at the centre of the New York scene’s power play, explored the landscape as the new space of physical production – not as *plein-air* painters creating visions of the landscape but through engaging with pay dirt itself. Lawrence Wiener set off explosives to blow pits in the ground of California; Michael Heizer dug zigzagging ditches, reminiscent of war trenches, in the Nevada flats; Donald Judd renovated a World War II-era POW camp built by the US Army in Texas into a personal museum; and ex-CIA pilot James Turrell flew over most of the US until he found a location to construct a starlight observatory at Roden Crater in Arizona. Supposedly exiting the white-cube ideology critically identified by Brian O’Doherty, site-specific art rebelled against the artificially neutral walls of the gallery to engage with a history of place or geography of locus. The question is, to what degree were these gestures ideological? How opportunistic were they? Were these artists trying to escape the institutionalised art market of New York, and the control of galleries,

45 CIA, *KUBARK Counterintelligence Interrogation*, July 1963 (declassified January 1997), p.103. Contrary, I’m sure, to Dr Lilly’s hopes, his research into sensory deprivation chambers was influential to the *KUBARK* programme alongside the contracted research conducted illegally at McGill. See *ibid.*, pp.87–90, 116, note 26.

46 *Ibid.* pp.67, 75–76.

47 Henry Giniger, ‘Montreal Hospital Pays Woman Who Sued Over C.I.A.’, *The New York Times*, 16 May, 1981. Canadian artist Sarah Anne Johnson’s grandmother was the patient and plaintiff mentioned in this article. Johnson has repeatedly returned to the family trauma in her large-scale installations, sublimating her grandmother’s experience into a multifaceted long-term project that recreates the multiple rooms of a doll house at human scale.

48 Sigmund Freud, ‘A Note Upon the Mystic Writing Pad’ (1925), *The International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, vol.21, 1 January 1940, pp.469–74.

or were their macho moves simply requiring a larger canvas? Today Donald Judd's Marfa attracts pop stars and playboys. Lucy Lippard, once an important voice in supporting site-specific land art, says: 'I argue now for the nearby, a micro-view of land and art, grass-roots connections rather than macro pronouncements. In fact, I've come to the reluctant conclusion that much land art is a pseudo-rural art made from a metropolitan headquarters, a kind of colonisation in itself.' Or the bumper-sticker version: 'Land Art is for city people.'⁴⁹ Robert Smithson and his understudy Gordon Matta-Clark possessed a keen sense of the paradox of site-specific earthworks and the headquarters of the art world. Their respective *Partially Buried Wood Shed* (1970) and *Splitting* (1974) articulated a sense of the problematic aspects concerning the power gestures of working at such a grand scale. Smithson, in particular, developed the language to articulate parallel to Conceptualism the idea of the 'Non-site'. Here the link between the remote locations away from the gaze of the spectator is articulated, connecting the site-specificity of the earthwork and the non-site sculpture in the gallery. What does it mean to offshore the production of art while cashing in on the value, when few see the jetty spiralling beyond reach? Today artists and organisations like the Center for Land Use Interpretation travel to remote locales to take photographs of military outposts and secret military prisons, returning with documents to display in galleries, creating a Trinity of Sites: Site-specific, Non-site, Black-site.⁵⁰

Shadow

The theatre ... not only destroys false shadows but prepares the way for a new generation of shadows, around which assembles the true spectacle of life [...] And for the lovers of realism at all costs, who might find exhausting these perpetual allusions to secret attitudes inaccessible to thought, there remains the eminently realistic play of the double who is terrified by the apparitions from beyond.

– Antonin Artaud, *The Theatre and its Double*, 1938⁵¹

The Witch of Endor's summoning of Samuel's shade for King Saul in the Old Testament is the first example in the Western canon of the shadow underworld. From the beginning, the shadow played the role of secret intelligence, predicting the fall of kings. Samuel prophesied Saul's demise in battle the following day with the Philistines.⁵²

X-Rays

The establishment of the Chemical Laboratory of the Royal Museums in Berlin in 1888 was a milestone moment in the analysis of cultural artefacts for their authenticity and attribution.⁵³ Wilhelm Röntgen invented radiography in 1895 and already within a year his former student Walter König X-rayed an oil painting. Documentation of the forensic analysis of artworks began, however, in 1914, when Alexander Faber registered a German patent for the application of radiographic analysis to the examination of paintings.⁵⁴ Eventually the method spread to Amsterdam and Paris, and by the 1930s it was implemented into museum infrastructure and then at academic institutions, including the newly minted Courtauld Institute for Art under the technical eye of Stephen Rees-Jones, the long-time director of the institute's laboratory under Sir Anthony Blunt.⁵⁵ X-rays were first conducted to look under the skin of the paint to see traces of earlier versions of a painting, or of a

49 Lucy R. Lippard, *Underminings: A Wild Ride Through Land Use, Politics, and Art in the Changing West*, New York: The New Press, 2014, p.88; and 'Location/Dislocation', keynote lecture at Creative Time Summit, New York, 10 October 2013.

50 Is not the US military's Trinity Site in New Mexico, the earth's first nuclear explosion, the ground zero and ultimate implosion of this triangulation: a one of a kind geographic site that was originally secret but today an empty space memorialised for public tourism?

51 Antonin Artaud, *The Theatre and its Double* (1938, trans. Mary Caroline Richards), New York: Grove, 1958, p.54.

52 See I Samuel 28:3-25.

53 See Maria Filomena Guerra, 'Archaeometry and Museums: Fifty Years of Curiosity and Wonder', *Archaeometry*, vol.50, no.6, 2008, pp.951-67.

54 See Richard F. Mould, *A Century of X-rays and Radioactivity in Medicine: With Emphasis on Photographic Records of the Early Years*, Bristol: Institute of Physics Publishing, p.96. See also the best contemporary overview of the history of radiographic analysis, published as a technical bulletin by the National Gallery, London as a precursor to the current techniques used there: Joseph Padfield, David Saunders, John Cupitt and Robert Atkinson, 'Improvements in the Acquisition and Processing of X-ray Images of Paintings', in Ashok Roy (ed.), *National Gallery Technical Bulletin*, vol.23, 2002, distributed by Yale University Press.

different painting altogether (also known as *pentimenti*, Italian for repent). Originally called ‘shadowgraphs’, radiographs are not the only invisible wavelengths that can peek behind Parrhasius’s curtain. Researchers also analyse works of art with infrared rays that penetrate the surface layer of paint and reflect off the underdrawing – paint being more translucent than graphite to the long waveforms of infrared. Under such analysis, a work’s authenticity can often be determined, since more corrections and underdrawings signify a working-through of process typical to an original.

On a larger canvas, archaeologists scan the earth as an image, searching for anomalies in the landscape that might signify ancient ruins, or the origins of culture. Terraformed geological strata below the surface disrupt or fertilise an overlapping time leaving Anthropocene traces. At the turn of the twenty-first century, forensic analysis – as accelerated archaeology – gleans infrared satellite imagery testifying as evidence of hidden mass gravesites.⁵⁶ Darkness descends as ethnic cleansing entombs cultures by burying bones, hell’s heat exhumed by the coming light of the infrared. As Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari once said: ‘The earth has become that close embrace of all forces, those of the earth as well as other substances, so that the artist no longer confronts chaos, but hell and the subterranean, the groundless.’⁵⁷

Zone

The Soviet Occupied Zone. The Green Zone in Baghdad. The Demilitarised Zone between the two Koreas. Dubai’s Economic Exclusive Zones. William Burroughs’s and David Cronenberg’s Interzone. The Zone is the liminal territory, the space between borders, the region between reason and unreason, the buffer between fact and fiction, the transition between Fall and Rise, constantly undergoing deterritorialisation. The Zone in Andrei Tarkovsky’s epic science-fiction film *Stalker* (1979) is a particular type of site: a nebulous location demarcated by high-security military patrols and yet abandoned on the inside. Here the industrial is left to decay and the natural exudes a mystical presence that overcomes any trace of the human. Why is the Zone, the Zone? Is it the site of alien encounters (extraterrestrial or extrastatecraft⁵⁸), military experiments gone awry, or a secret dimension beyond comprehension? How does one know about the secret, that which, as Wittgenstein said, we cannot speak about? How do those inside the secret understand their own epistemology?⁵⁹ Traditionally, knowledge was produced in the order of secret religions and guilds, but after the Enlightenment, and exacerbated in the era of big data, the myth of democracy tells us information must be open-source and knowledge verified under peer review. And yet, a whole shadow world shifts in the Zone, visible at times only through the ancient art of heraldry or the fortune of leaks. Sometimes we can only circle around the shadow and thus attempt to define the trauma in our subjectivity by delimiting its perimeter like the event horizon of a black hole.

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- 55 Dr L.G. Heilbron’s analysis and conservation for the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam can be found in George William Clarkson Kaye, *The Practical Applications of X-rays*, London: Chapman & Hall, 1922, p.105; and in *American Art News*, vol.19, no.25, 2 April 1921, pp.1-12. For the results at the Courtauld, see Stephen Rees-Jones, ‘Notes on Radiographs of Five Paintings by Poussin’, *The Burlington Magazine*, vol.102, no.688, 1960, pp.302, 304-08.
- 56 See Laura Kurgan, ‘Kosovo 1999: SPOT 083-264’, *Close Up at a Distance: Mapping, Technology, and Politics*, New York: Zone Books, 2013, pp.113-28; and Thomas Keenan and Eyal Weizman, *Mengelle’s Skull: The Advent of a Forensic Aesthetics*, Berlin: Sternberg Press, 2012.
- 57 Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (1980, trans. Brian Massumi), Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987, p.339.
- 58 See Keller Easterling, ‘Zone: The Spatial Softwares of Extrastatecraft’, *Places Journal*, June 2012, available at <https://placesjournal.org/article/zone-the-spatial-softwares-of-extrastatecraft/> (last accessed on 7 September 2016).
- 59 See Judith Reppy (ed.) *Secrecy and Knowledge Production*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Peace Studies Program, 1999; and Eva Horn, ‘Knowing the Enemy: The Epistemology of Secret Intelligence’, *Grey Room*, issue 11, Spring 2003, pp.58-85.

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Colophon

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Afterall
Central Saint Martins
1 Granary Square
London N1C 4AA
T +44 (0)20 7514 7212
E contact@afterall.org

Afterall Research Centre

Directors: Charles Esche, Mark Lewis
Publishing Director: Caroline Woodley
Manager: Joyce Cronin
Researchers/Editors: David Morris,
Lucy Steeds, Helena Vilalta
Associate Editor: Louise O'Hare
Editorial Assistant: Louis Hartnoll
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