

MANIFESTO: A Moderate Proposal

The people have spoken. They have put it in writing. They have created manifestos.

MANIFESTO: A Moderate Proposal, an exhibition of the ideas, wishes, and demands of scores of citizens with something to say and a need to be heard. It is our current climate of discord that created *MANIFESTO: A Moderate Proposal*. It was conceived to give these citizens a soapbox and to amplify their voices. These voices are many, and these voices belong to people from various walks of life.

These voices belong to inmates at sun-baked correctional facilities in Southern California, and they are the voices of cloistered scholars at elite colleges. These are the ideas of professional writers and self-taught artists as well as the concerns of developmentally disabled students.

This catalogue was published in conjunction with the exhibition *MANIFESTO: A Moderate Proposal*, curated by Ciara Ennis and Jennifer Vanderpool, presented at Pitzer College Art Galleries, January 20 – March 29, 2018.

Pitzer College Art Galleries
1050 N. Mills Avenue
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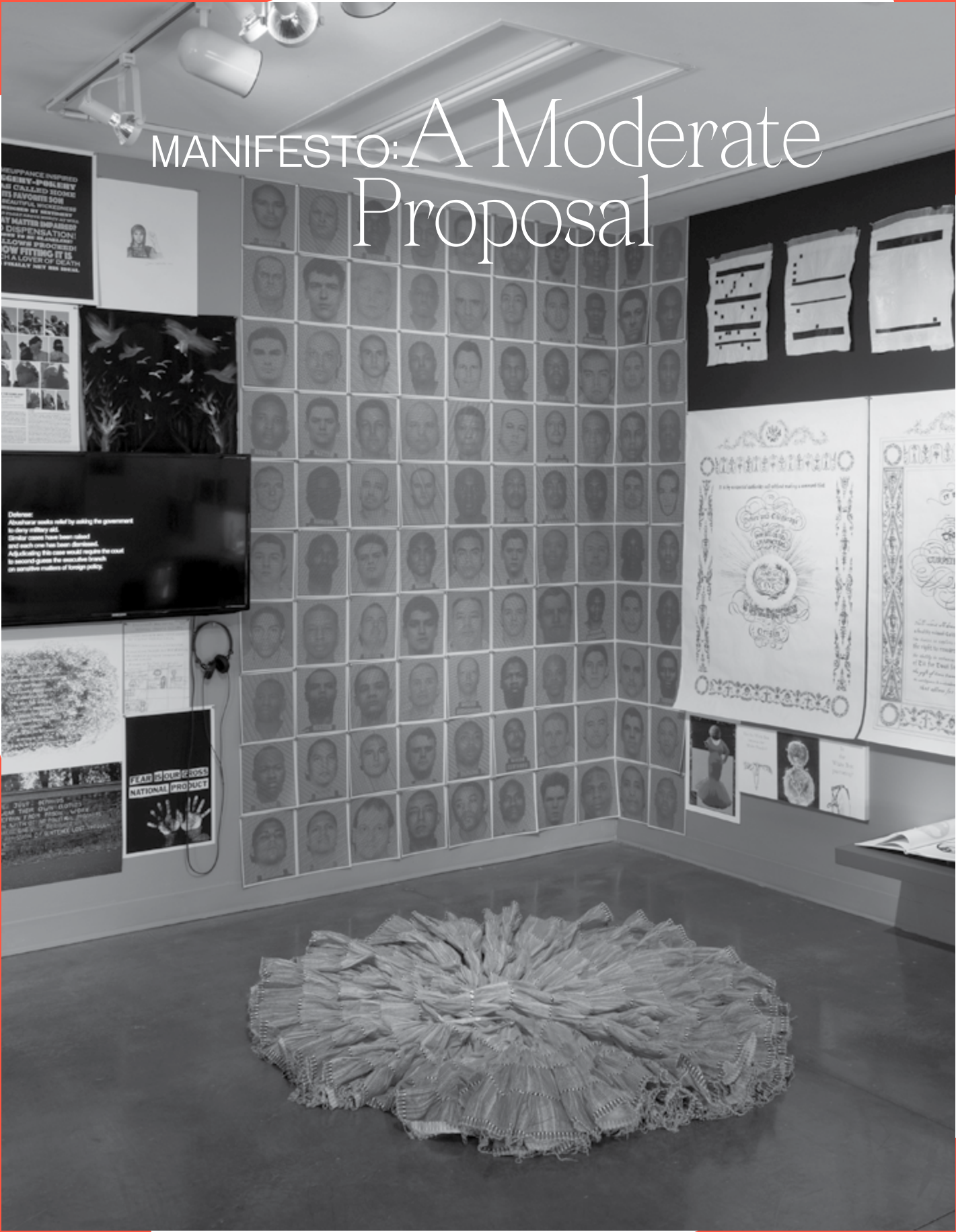
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Gregory
Sholette

Confronting Fascist Banalities on the Centenary + TEN of the Futurist Manifesto

Манифест! Manifestare! Léiriú! 宣言! For well over one hundred years, at regular punctuated intervals, and perhaps even before you finish this sentence, someone somewhere in the world is preparing to detonate an artistic manifesto. The objective is clear enough: carve out a yawning cavity within the otherwise predictable topography of art historical tropes and social norms. Once triggered, the manifesto sends its cultural shrapnel hurtling in all directions, leaving behind chasms and craters where time itself becomes twisted into an unstable artifact. At least this is the heartfelt aspiration of every literary bombardier and poetic pugilist: to blow up the present in order that one day cultural pilgrims will visit the revolutionary ground zero of this or that mythic avant-garde art movement.

Vorticism, 1914, *POW!*
Dadaism, 1918, *WHAM!*
Constructivism, 1920, *CRACK!*
Surrealism, 1934, *KABOOM!*

And rocketing above all such incendiary proclamations is Filippo Tommaso Marinetti's car-crash-inspired nocturnal *l'écriture: The Futurist Manifesto*. As we approach its centennial year, it has become, as I argue below, the epitome of all artistic manifestos, then and since (well, at least for the moment). Simultaneously prognostic, denunciatory, proscriptive, and bombastic, Futurism's very name announces its own totalizing ambition, which is aimed at nothing else than demolishing the present and with it a future of untethered contingency. To be clear, Futurism was never destined to be the poster child of the artistic manifesto. That dubious honor has everything to do with our contemporary present, a time in which noise, speed, nationalism and sustained crisis are so commonplace that a daily catastrophic reality has come to resemble white noise in an office building's interior: it soon just melts away into the background of our experience.

Futurism, 1909, *SMASH!*

"It is the 'unbuilt' or unfulfilled nature of the future that drives manifestos," Hans Ulrich Obrist.² At first glance, the manifesto's historical momentum appears to derive from its singular proximity to what Obrist calls an "unbuilt" future. And yet, what if the real vibrancy of this literary and poetic form is built upon its secret dependency on an entirely backwards-looking gaze, one that anxiously anticipates its own demise and future exhumation? Futurism's claim to the future, in other words, finally made sense when, as a movement, it was dead and in the past. This interplay between *avant-* and *rear-guard* position is reminiscent of Derrida's remark on the significance of the meaning of the archive: "If we want to know what this will have meant, we will only know tomorrow."³ One thing is clear, all manifesto writing today and for decades is marked by this entanglement with its own archival sedimentation. (And perhaps this is also true in reverse? But, I am getting ahead of myself.)

Secondly, manifestos don't create new movements out of thin air, any more than they do out of the "unbuilt" future. Instead, they make opaque phenomena already present, though unseen for a variety of reasons. For instance, the *United States Declaration of Independence* did not instigate the historic rebellion against British colonial rule; instead, it made manifest within a single document the reality of widespread anti-colonial resistance. "We hold these truths to be self-evident."⁴ Yes, but self-evident or not, the dissident colonists still had to codify these "truths," inscribe them onto a piece of physical parchment, and collectively endorse their declaration.

Likewise, seventy-two years later, Marx and Engels' *Communist Manifesto* provided a name, a theory and a historical genealogy for what was already a turbulent phase of class struggle. This *making manifest* is therefore the real novelty that the manifesto inaugurates, often by inventing a new discourse or by cobbling together previously unrelated forms of declaration and expressions. At least this is the manifesto's classic *modus operandi*, from its golden age if you like, a time and a space that now seems impossible to access (more on this at a future moment).

Thirdly, if every manifesto seeks to *make manifest* the ineffable, then every manifesto has its own spirits and apparitions to contend with. “All the powers of old Europe have entered into a holy alliance to exorcise this (communist) specter,” observed Marx and Engels with regard to the revolutionary socialist movements of mid-19th century Europe.⁵ Their assertion comes across almost like a dare, as though these two youthful revolutionaries found themselves standing alongside the haunting presence of a working class suddenly made corporeal and decided to invite the bourgeoisie to insert its plump fingers into the proletariat’s gaping wounds.

Spectral forces, class struggle, dialectics and exchange value are only some of the phantom phenomena the manifesto seeks to make manifest. There are also scientific ideas and abstract concepts, new technologies, or even that unspeakable something that a particular society is loath to acknowledge about itself (consider the unconscious sexual drives Freudian theory exposed to a repressed Victorian society). This brings us to a curious incongruity. In order to materialize the immaterial and put flesh on the ineffable, most manifesto writers turn their back on the ethereal spires of philosophy or high society to seek out the world of the pedestrian and everyday (again, consider such psychoanalytic staples as libidinous slips of the tongue and neurotic tics, but also the Constructivist’s embrace of engineering principles instead of traditional aesthetics).

On the eve of the Bolshevik Revolution, avant-garde Russian poet Vladimir Mayakovsky called on artists to leave the museums behind, declaring that “the streets shall be our brushes, the squares our palettes.”⁶ Gabo and Pevsner’s 1920 *Realistic Manifesto* demanded that art must “accompany man everywhere where his tireless life takes place and acts...so that the flame of life does not go out in man.”⁷ Other avant-garde spirit manifestations took on no less sweeping expectations, even when they preferred painting to making public art. *The Cubist Manifesto* (*Du “Cubisme”*) of 1912 called for an art of absolute clarity, wholly conceived and formed “by the spirit before its execution,” yet somehow conceived without “formal knowledge of nature, sensuality, or sentimentality.”⁸

At other times, this *making manifest* necessitated an embrace of the vulgar and profane. In 1918, on the cusp of World War I, Romanian poet Tristan Tzara proposed that the word “Dada” is itself “of no importance,” though to write a *Dada Manifesto* is to: Fly into a rage and sharpen your wings to conquer and disseminate little abcs and big abcs, to sign, shout, swear, to organize prose into a form of absolute and irrefutable evidence, to prove your non-plus ultra and maintain that novelty resembles life just as the latest appearance of some whore proves the essence of God...Boomboom, boomboom, boomboom.⁹

Though once again it is Futurism, which most fiercely brought these contrary forces of the high and low, the sacred and secular, into spectacular collision, with widely recognized disastrous consequences. In the preamble to Marinetti’s 1909 manifesto, we find the poet and his friends have stayed up all night, standing alone in the industrial city of Milan with “the engineers in the infernal stokeholes of great ships, alone with the black spirits which rage in the belly of rogue locomotives, alone with the drunkards beating their wings against the walls.”¹⁰ The introductory passage soon gives way to what is by now a typical manifesto formula: the itemized list of demands, expectations or exhortations. And Futurism’s signature stipulation? Item number three, the exaltation of “aggression, feverish sleeplessness, the double march, the perilous leap, the slap and the blow with the fist.”¹¹

Marinetti published his manifesto in the pages of the news daily *Le Figaro*, but he also dropped copies of it from airplanes in the form of leaflets, as if anticipating the imminent deployment of aerial warfare that would soon target both military as well as unarmed civilians. Almost three decades later, Walter Benjamin famously described Marinetti’s testament as “the consummation of *“l’art pour l’art”* and an aestheticizing of politics.”¹² Writing on the cusp of the next horrific world war, and the same year that Mussolini’s fascist forces invaded and annexed Ethiopia, Benjamin accused Marinetti and the Italian Futurists of glorifying technologically enhanced forms of human self-annihilation.

For the Futurists, real freedom could only be purchased at great cost to others, including, for example, the Ethiopian people, whose spear-wielding army was defeated in 1939 by Italian soldiers and paramili-

tary Black Shirts deploying modern weapons such as poisonous gas. Fortunately, freedom has also meant something quite different for the majority of other manifesto writers both then and since.¹³ Scores of declarations call for independence from such oppressive forces as:

Colonialism:

If we loved and understood Indian art, we should know that even now the Indian craftsman could, if we let him, “Build for us and clothe us in ways of beauty that could not be attained in modern Europe for any expenditure of money at all.” *Art and Swadeshi* by Sri Lankan theorist Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, 1909.¹⁴

Racism:

“Black youth turns its back on the tribe of the Old. The tribe of the Old says, ‘assimilation.’ We respond, resurrection!” *Négreries: Black Youth and Assimilation* by Aimé Césaire, 1935.¹⁵

Capitalist dogma:

“Armed with a lucid ideological conception based on principles of materialist rationalism, revolutionary art operates in the social context through a process that grasps the fundamental elements that constitute reality.” *Tucumán Arde Manifest*, by the Argentinian collective Tucumán is Burning, 1968.¹⁶

And even freedom from literature itself:

“[Let us] throw Pushkin, Dostoevsky, Tolstoy, etc., etc. overboard from the Ship of Modernity.” *A Slap in the Face of Public Taste* by Mayakovsky et al, 1917.¹⁷

Still, the most imperious and grandstanding manifesto of all demanded freedom not just from high art and its bourgeois sentiments, but from all progressive social values with Marinetti making a promise to “Demolish museums and libraries, fight morality, feminism and all opportunist and utilitarian cowardice.” *The Futurist Manifesto*, 1909.¹⁸

Is anything beginning to sound familiar?

In the years before, as well as just after the First World War, artistic manifestos were sweeping calls to change not just culture, but absolutely all social norms. It was as if the cultural avant-garde longed for an aesthetic transformation that was as risky and comprehensive as political revolution itself. “Everything which we loved is lost. We are in a desert.... Before us is nothing but a black square on a white background!” writes Kazimir Malevich in 1926.¹⁹ According to Polish scholar Przemysław Strożek, the most visible touchstone of this long-

ing for comprehensive cultural and social transformation was American jazz culture that arrived in Europe at the very start of the 20th century.

In Europe, the cakewalk acted as a precursor to jazz, which became an essential element of popular culture in the 1920s. Enthusiastically accepted by such avant-garde movements as Dadaism, Constructivism and Abstractionism, jazz created in Europe an artistic metaphor for the fusion of the spirit of ancient Africa and modern American life and the fusion between high and low society. It thus demonstrated the exoticism of the dynamic development of new technologies. For some, jazz, as an example of modern art, was perceived as strictly Futurist.²⁰

Strożek’s arguments are engaging and complex. They involve an unusual reading of the role African and African American black culture played within the various modernisms of the early 20th century, including the openly racist Futurist movement. Space does not permit me to explore all of these ideas here, though one aspect of this line of analysis seems key: the impact of America, or the idea of America as a modern society and simultaneously a frontier, as a land of technological innovation, and of “primitive” black and native cultures. Consider this line from the 1912 *Manifesto of a Futurist Woman*, “If you don’t like this, you should have your weakly sentimental head split open by an apache-dancing tramp with a pistol.”²¹ A contradictory as well as fantastic image of indigenous and African Americans allowed the Futurists to fuse modernism with savageness and ferocity (and soon enough Flanders would confirm this marriage).

Futurist artist Umberto Boccioni summarized what we might call “barbaric modernism,” or “primitive modernism,” stating that “our time initiates a new era naming us *the primitives of a new, completely transformed sensibility*.”²² The connection to the popular culture of the United States is unmistakable. “It is this passionate love of Reality that makes us prefer the American *cake-walk* to hearing the Valkyri,” Boccioni insisted a few years later.²³

No great leap of logic is needed to suggest that a certain American imaginary, one that was brimming with contradictions, racial intricacies, and an apparent disregard for Continental high culture, but favored capitalist markets, technological advancement

and accelerated “jazz” living, that this spectacular construction was situated at the crux of Futurism. And it is this link between a historic Fascist-friendly art movement and the Americanization of the neo-liberal world that retroactively situates Futurism as the apotheosis of the radical manifesto, and, I will argue, the cultural spirit of contemporary society.²⁴

COVFEFE!
@realDonaldTrump²⁵

Since the end of the post-war era, the world has been thoroughly “jazzed-over” by the non-stop and overpowering United States culture and entertainment industry. Even when its ubiquitous messaging reflects progressive social values, it is not a strictly positive phenomenon. With the election of 2016, we now come face to face with the latest version of this cultural export model, and it is certainly anything but progressive. But there it is. Or rather, here “he” is. Topped off with an artificial tan and ridiculous hair, shamelessly unreal and whipped into shape as if by a *pâtissier*. He used the new and remade pieces of the fantasy-industrial complex as nobody had before. Twitter became his unmediated personal channel for entertaining outrage and untruth.²⁶

The erasure of the post-war liberal consensus now unfolding rapidly across the globe is strongly fueled by the new US president. It is also, counter-intuitively, deeply repetitive, and in the least interesting possible way. A banal Fascism is taking hold of the world, whose original name is Futurism, though the movement is clearly dead, and returns today in strangely anemic form. Yes, all of the familiar Futurist motifs are present:

- Speed* (Trump’s rapid-fire tweets.)
- Machine Lust* (Putin’s alleged doomsday weaponry.)
- Noise and Tumult* (The bellicose rants of pro-Brexit politicians and anti-immigrant protestors.)
- Xenophobia* (Italy’s new PM Giuseppe Conte, who promises to “stop the immigration business,” while his interior minister Matteo Salvini asserts, “The good times for illegals are over—get ready to pack your bags.”²⁷)
- War Hygiene* (The high but also low-intensity warfare on the poor, the unarmed, and *the other* in Italy,

Hungary, Myanmar, Yemen, Sudan, Syria, Philippines, Palestine, the United States, and the list is growing.²⁸) But something is off. This new Futurist vanguard is paradoxically routine, operating involuntarily, like a mechanized authoritarian contraption, churning out regular denunciations of the welfare state, and rhythmically stoking the population’s existential fears about sudden deprivation so nicely tenderized by the 2008 fiscal crisis. Except no matter how often alt-Right ideologue Steve Bannon invokes a Fascist thinker like Julius Evola, or former CIA Chief Mike Pompeo squeals that “legal and bureaucratic impediments to surveillance should be removed,”²⁹ the obscene thrill of Marinetti in Milan, 1909—no matter how revolting—is gone.

*I Really Don’t Care, Do U?*³⁰
*Me ne frego.*³¹

At best, Trump is a third-rate Marinetti whose digital declarations ping-pong across a planet tethered together by networks of immeasurable fiber optic cable, concrete arteries of automobile-choked highway, containerized shipping channels, privatized public spaces, real estate laws, reality TV politics, and a pharmaceutically infantilized global population. One hundred years in the making, this process of Americanization is nearly total. Its directives no longer need to be shouted out, though we still find plenty of bluster. In truth, a cellular buzz does the heavy lifting of this movement: “you need more speed,” “more shares,” “more friends,” “more cars,” “more phones,” “more bandwidth,” “more things,” “more friends,” “more shares,” “more bandwidth”...And then there are those tracer-bullet tweets streaming out of the White House and into our brain stems by the most remarkable performance artist of this century (thus far). Are these bite-sized proclamations not really a new genre of micro-manifesto?

Still, this is not, nor will it ever be, Marinetti’s movement. It is instead a bathetic, bargain-basement version of Futurism redux, more like an *astroturf* reinterpretation of the notorious avant-garde faction than a “roaring motor car which seems to run on machine-gun fire.”³² Nor does this sallow Futurist Americanization of the world mean that *resistance is futile*. Antithetical manifestos must be written,

and written, and written again in opposition to such cynical forces as gentrification (see: School of Echoes, Southwark Notes), racism (Edgar Heap of Birds, Stephanie Syjuco, Max King Cap and Claudia Rankine), environmental injustice (Joyce Campbell), and political oppression (Tony Crowley, Elena Bajo, Elana Mann and John Burtle).³³ That stated, one troubling question continues to haunt all such exemplary efforts: is it possible that the only authentic manifesto conceivable at this moment is that manifesto which remains not only unwritten, but *unwriteable*?

Artist, activist, and writer Dr. Gregory Sholette is co-curator with Olga Kopenkina of *Imaginary Archive: documenting a past whose future never arrived*, and is author of the books *Delirium and Resistance: Activist Art and the Crisis of Capitalism*, and *Art As Social Action* (with Chloë Bass and Social Practice Queens/SPQ). Sholette is a founding member of the artists’ collectives of Political Art Documentation/Distribution (1980-1988), REPOhistory (1989-2000), and Gulf Labor Coalition (2010-ongoing). A graduate of the Whitney Independent Studies Program, UC San Diego, and The Cooper Union, he received his doctorate from the University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands. Sholette is a professor on the faculty of the Queens College, CUNY Department of Art.

1. The word “Manifesto!” in Russian, Italian, Irish, and Simplified Chinese.
2. Hans Ulrich Obrist, “Manifestos for the Future,” *e-flux Journal* #12–January 2010: <https://www.e-flux.com/journal/12/61336/manifestos-for-the-future/>
3. Jacques Derrida, *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression*, *University of Chicago Press*, 1996, p 36.
4. John Hancock et al, *United States Declaration of Independence*, *Philadelphia*, July 4, 1776.
5. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The Communist Manifesto*, London, 1848.
6. Vladimir Mayakovsky, “The Order to the Army of Art,” in the newspaper *Art of the Commune Petrograd*, 1918–1919.
7. Naum Gabo and Antoine Pevsner, *Realistic Manifesto*, 1920: <http://www.terezakis.com/realist-manifesto.html>
8. Albert Gleizes and Jean Metzinger, *Du “Cubisme”*, (Cubist Manifesto), Eugène Figuière Éditeurs, Paris, 1912: (excerpts) http://www.learn.columbia.edu/monographs/picmon/pdf/art_hum_reading_46.pdf
9. Hugo Ball wrote the first *Dada Manifesto* two years earlier than Tzara, and it is possible the latter is also a response to the more cautious language of Ball’s declaration. The excerpt above is from the University of Pennsylvania’s online library version of Tzara’s 1918 Dada Manifesto at: http://writing.upenn.edu/library/Tzara_Dada-Manifesto.1918.pdf
10. Filippo Tommaso Marinetti, *The Manifesto of Futurism*, Milan, Italy, 1909.
11. *The Futurist Manifesto* item number 10.
12. Walter Benjamin, 1936, “The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility,” Michael W. Jennings, Brigid Doherty, Thomas Y. Levin, eds, Belnap Press, 2008. https://monoskop.org/images/6/6d/Benjamin_Walter_1936_2008_The_Work_of_Art_in_the_Age_of_Its_Technological_Reproducibility_Second_Version.pdf
13. An excellent laundry list of manifestos that extends well beyond Anglo-white American and European documents is found in Jessica Lack, *Why Are We ‘Artists’?: 100 World Art Manifestos*, Particular Books/Penguin Random House, 2017.
14. Ibid, pp 1–6.
15. Ibid, pp 29–32.
16. Ibid, pp 113–118.
17. Ibid. David Burliuk, Alexander Kruchenykh, Vladimir Mayakovsky, Victor Khlebnikov, *A Slap in the Face of Public Taste*, 1917: <https://www.marxists.org/subject/art/literature/mayakovsky/1917/slap-in-face-public-taste.ht>
18. *Manifesto of Futurism*, op cite.
19. Kazimir Malevich on the founding of *Suprematism* circa 1913.
20. Przemysław Strożek, “Futurist Responses to African American Culture,” in *Afromodernisms*, Fionnghuala Sweeney and Kate Marsh, eds, Edinburgh University Press, 2013.
21. Valentine de Saint-Point, *MANIFESTO OF THE FUTURIST WOMAN (RESPONSE TO F. T. MARINETTI)*, March 25, 1912: <https://hta102sp2016.files.wordpress.com/2016/01/03saintpointmanifesto-of-futurist-women.pdf>
22. Strożek citing Umberto Boccioni et al. (1910), “Technical Manifesto of Futurist Painting,” quoted in Ester Coen, *Umberto Boccioni*, (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1988) p. 231; *original emphasis*.
23. The cakewalk was allegedly an African American form of dance performed by plantation slaves that traveled to Europe at the start of the 20th century along with ragtime music and jazz. Strożek citing Boccioni in, *Gli scritti editi e inediti*, ed. Zeno Birolli, Milan: Feltrinelli, 1971, p. 87.
24. A startling and at times disturbing exhibition recently on view at the Prada Foundation in Milan, Italy, (February 18 – June 25, 2018), entitled *Post Zang Tumb Tuuum. Art Life Politics: Italia 1918–1943* made this link between fascism and Futurism all the more conspicuous and contemptible, including a 1934 photograph of Marinetti dressed in a dinner suit giving orders to a deferential kitchen maid while standing before Boccioni’s painting “Dynamism of a Footballer,” (1913), and another image showing Nazi Party leader and founder of the Gestapo, Hermann Göring, attending and approving a Futurist exhibition of paintings and sculpture on display in Berlin, 1934. (For a time, both Göring and Joseph Goebbels collected avant-garde art even as they publicly denounced it as degenerate.)
25. On May 31, 2017, President Trump tweeted: “despite the constant negative press covfefe,” after which the indecipherable typo “Covfefe” became a viral media event, perhaps even strangely echoing the discovery of the word Dada some 101 years earlier.
26. Kurt Andersen, “How America Lost Its Mind,” *The Atlantic*, September 2017 Issue: <https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2017/09/how-america-lost-its-mind/534231/>
27. Jason Horowitz, “Italy’s New Populist Government Articulates Vision, but Few Specifics,” *The New York Times*, June 5, 2018: <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/06/05/world/europe/italy-government-giuseppe-conte.html>
28. “Top US court backs Trump travel ban on Muslim-majority countries,” June 25, 2018, *Al Jazeera*: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/06/supreme-court-upholds-trump-travel-ban-180626142504629.html>
29. Jonathan Landay, “Trump’s CIA pick supports domestic surveillance, opposes Iran deal,” *Reuters*, November 18, 2016: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-trump-pompeo-newsmaker-idUSKBN13D2HM>
30. A slogan written on First Lady Melania Trump’s \$1,000 jacket as she visited a detention center housing children separated from their parents following her husband’s executive order in April of 2018.
31. 1920s Italian slogan “I don’t care” (to die for my country) popular with soldiers going into battle, and later picked up by Benito Mussolini as a Fascist slogan.
32. Marinetti, op cite.
33. Examples of manifestos presented in the exhibition *Manifesto: A Moderate Proposal*, curated by Ciara Ennis and Jennifer Vanderpool Pitzer College Art Galleries, Claremont, California, January 20 to March 29, 2018: <https://www.pitzer.edu/manifesto/>

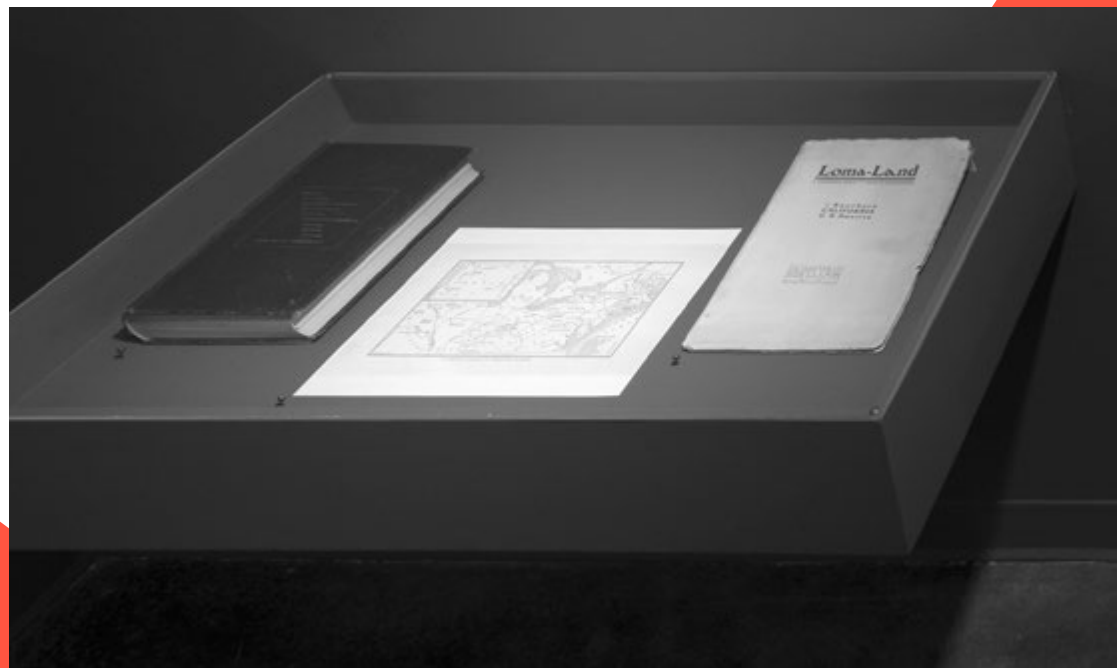


Contributors

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Contributors





Special Collections

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Young Lords Organization banner.

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Assorted protest badges.

The Claremont Colleges Library

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10.
Map of Communistic Societies.

11.
Universal Brotherhood and Theosophical Society Loma-Land: A Delightful Place for Rest or Residence. Point Loma San Diego Calif.: Theosophical Pub. Co., 1901.

12.
Morris, William. *Chants for Socialists*. London: Socialist League Office, 1885.

13.
Frame Up: The Opening Defense Statement made by Angela Y. Davis, March 29, 1972.

14.
Fee Angela Davis [pamphlet], c1970.

15.
Mayo, Winifred. *Prison Experiences of a Suffragette*. Pasadena, California: The Clinker Press, 2012.

16.
Free David Hilliard poster, 1971.

17.
United Farm Workers flag.

18.
Radical Newspaper collection, Special Collections, The Claremont Colleges Library.

#100hardtruths-#fakenews
Companion

Studies for Wheelchair Bound (2017)
Photographs, text, plastic baggies,
Dimensions variable

Parting Words (2009-Present)
Digital prints, about 8 x 10 in. each

DO (2017)
Digital print on paper

Alexandra/Craig
Juhasz/Dietrich

Alice Marie
Perreault

Amy
Elkins

Andrew
Bracey

—14—

—15—

Alice
Könitz

Alison
O'Daniel

Andrea
Bowers

Anne
Bray

*Boycott Monsanto, Nestlé, and Exxon
Mobil, it's easy!* (2018)
Wood, acrylic paint and paper,
14 x 16.5 x 13.25 in.

Shift Away From Ears Manifesto (2017)
Stacked acetate, 8.5 x 11 in.

*Excerpt from Woman's Suffrage,
Emma Goldman, 1910* (2018)
Archival image on paper, 31 x 11.0875 in.

Written for ASU in 2016

White Fetish #1 (devotional) (2018)
5 x 7.5 x 4 in.

Anthony
Bodlović

The Art of Zipping Up (2015)
*Some Arms Carry Things. Some Arms Are
Carried in Pockets* (2015)
*Fighting with Feathery Sheets and
Fluffy Duvet* (2015)

Arseli
Dokumaci

*Emergence and Transformation
out of Linearity* (2017)
Press and Release no. 1-5 (2017),
11 x 17 in. (series of five prints)

Ava
Morton

The Jarred and Disintegrating Specimen (2017)
Ink-jet prints, 24.375 x 16 in. (Two prints)

Byron
Toledo

–16–

April
Bey

Astri
Swendsrud

–17–

Bill
Anthes

Candice
Lin

COMPLY (Divine/Venus) (2017)
CMYK image transfer on gessobord, 16 x 12 in.

Confetti Divination (Pentagram) (2015)
Graphite and confetti on paper

Monkey Painting

Psalmanazar's prayer (2017)
Fabric, dye, ceramic, brass wire, iron
nails, dried fruit, ink on mulberry paper,
50 x 37.5 x 2 in.

Twelve miles does not equal twelve miles (after Antonin Scalia) (2017)
Digital print, 12 x 18 in.

Let Them Eat Cake (2017-18)
Pencil on paper, cake, 28 x 31.5 in.

The Kid Pack (2017), Porcelain, photocopy transfer, underglaze, acrylic paint, 9.5(H) x 9 (W) x 8 (L) in.
Kids 'n' Drugs (2017), Porcelain, photocopy transfer, underglaze, 9 (H) x 13.5 (W) x 9.5 (L) in.
Women's Lib (2017), Porcelain, photocopy transfer, underglaze, 13(H) x 6.5 (W) x 6.5 (L) in.

Sunday Service (2017)
Announcement board / tablet with replaceable letters, 29.25 x 18.25 in.

Carlin
Wing

Carrie
Paterson

Cathy
Akers

Chris
Christian

-18-

-19-

Carlos
Jackson

Catherine/George
Long/Doran

Charlotte
Watson Sherman

Chris
Michno

Braceros being sprayed with DDT (2017)
Screen print, 29.625 x 43.75 in.

Manifesto 1 and 2: Screenshots from *Stalemate* by Doran George. *Summer Dancing* 2009. Decoda. Coventry UK. Film by Barry Shils.
Manifesto 1 and 2: Original photos by Christian Kipp. Performance of *Impasse* by Catherine Long, choreographed by Doran George. *Summer Dancing* 2014. Decoda. Coventry UK. Images edited by Catherine Long.

KNEEL: AN ANTHEM (2017)
Mixed media

Exodus (2017)
Graphite on paper, 28.25 x 37 in.

Fiona Jack, Fasces (2016)
14 x 19.5 in., Embroidery on found textile
Collection of Michael Ned Holte

Collection of Michael Ned Holte

NOT MY MARS (2018)
Printer paper, 8.5 x 11 in.

Connie Samaras

Caution bomb (2016), Paper, 8.5 x 11 in.

Danielle Adair

*Bandaging the interferences of unnecessary upset
and injury to the human body* (2018), 36 x 35.875 in.
The Mask of the Shoeshiner, Photographs,
19 x 12.75 in. (Twelve photographs)
The Face of the Homeland (Public action in the city
of La Paz, Bolivia), Printed document on photo-
graphs, 18.5 x 13 in.

Edgar Endress

–20–

Christina Ondrus

Altered States / Non-Dominant (Partial
List of Psychonautic Techniques) (2014)
Graphite and flashe on paper, 20 x 16 in.

Dana/Natalya Sperry/Pinchuk

Dreaming Youngstown (2011-12)
Posters, 24 x 33 in. Total project size:
Dimensions variable

David Michael Lee

Are These Just Words (2017)
Paper, 40 x 36 in.

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Edgar Heap of Birds

Tsistsistas Reviance (2017)
Serigraph, 24 x 34.5 in.

Don't Laugh at Anti-Semitic Jokes
Printed graphic with text, 31.75 x 35.5 in.

*Four scores from Propositional Attitudes:
what do we do now?* (2018)
Digital prints, 13 x 19 in. each

Notes To A Pregnant Artist (2017)
Archival inkjet prints and polyvinyl
acetate, 18 x 24 in.

Evan Hynes
Brain Storming (2017)
Pencil on paper, 13.875 x 8.75 in.
Joe Zaldivar
Scoring Social Justice Points (2017)
Pencil and paper drawing, 8.75 x 13.875 in.

Patrick Dwyre
Possibilities (2017)
Pencil and marker on paper, Dimensions variables

Katie Mendeza
*Animals and Humans Escape from
Technology* (2017), Pastel and pen drawing
18.25 x 24.5 in.

Edgar
Arceneaux

Elana/John
Mann/Burtle

Fay
Ray

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—23—

Elena
Bajo

Faith
Wilding

Fiona
Jack

First Street
Gallery Art
Center
Patrick Dwyre,
Evan Hynes,
Katie Mendoza &
Joe Zaldivar

*EVERY SOMETHING IS AN ECHO OF
NOTHING (anarcho-sculpture)* (2012-2018), Wood,
polyurethane-reclaimed garbage bags, 7 ft.
STILL SQUARE, BLACK SONATA (score) (2018),
Polyurethane-reclaimed garbage bags, 2 x 3 ft.

Womb Entanglement (2016)
Pen and watercolor on paper, 9 x 11.5 in.

There's something wrong somewhere (2017)
Embroidery on linen, 58.5 X 6 in.
This we refused (2017)
Embroidery on wool, 45 X 2.5 in.
Speakers Corner (2017)
Applique linen on wool, 49.5 x 28 in.

Under Construction: Section 2 (2017)
Acrylic and ink on drywall, 24 x 14 in.

*Manifesto of the Utopian Union of
Unemployed People* (2017)
Typed documents, 11 x 8.5 in.

*Arbetsbeskrivning/Description of the
Working Process* (2018), 12 x 8.97 in.
English translation: Magnus Koch

The Border Paradox (2017)
Digital print, 16 x 20 in.

Francesca
Lalanne

Gluklya
(Natalia Pershina-
Yakimanskaya)

Helén
Svensson

Ingrid
Rojas Contreras

–24–

–25–

Glenn
Harcourt

Ginger
Wolfe-Suarez

Ian
Ingram

Ingrid
Von Sydow

ART IS ART (2018)
Printer paper, 8.5 x 11 in. (Three sheets)

*SEEKING ALTERNATIVE
MEASUREMENTS OF TIME* (2017)
Neon sign, 20 x 60 in., edition of 10

The Smallest Manifesto (2018)
Typed document with magnifying
glass, 6.5 x 2.5 in.

We are the Revolution, drawn/painted
manifesto and words inspired by the
activist/student/hero Takiyah Thompson,
who was instrumental in taking down
a Confederate monument in North
Carolina in 2017.

Jane Fonda (2017)
Pencil on paper, 11 x 17 in.

Jane
Callister

The inter, intra, and beyond matrix
(chart accompaniment to *A Relational Love Odyssey*) (2017) (L), Printed diagram;
Rainbow Throat Atop a Fiery Mountain
(2017) (R), Pencil, pen, paint, metallic
pen, string, plant material, diptych:
25.19 x 25.19 in. each

Jennifer
Moon/Laub

All the decisive blows are struck
left-handed (2017)

Jenny
Perlin

Manifiesto de la emulsión
(para Téo Hernández) (2018)
Pen on paper, 1.25 x 8.5 in.

Jesse
Lerner

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Jennifer
Moon

Definition of Abundance: Principle
1 of The Revolution (amended 2017)
Diptych: 25.19 x 25.19 in. each,
Unframed, fourth edition, Printed
by Onomatopee, Eindhoven, The
Netherlands, for Onomatopee research
project 0142—*We Are The Market*,
Graphic design: Mook Attanath

Jen
Smith

WE MAKE THE RULES (2010)
Satin and linen, 2 x 18 ft., Collection
of Commonwealth and Council

Jenny
Yurshansky

Projection (I Have a Dream) (2008)
Paper, offset print,
26.5 x 10 x variable height in.

Jessica
McCoy

Embellished "Elle Décor" Spread
with Harris and Llewyn (2017)
Collage, marker and paint
on paper, 12 x 12 in.

Question of the white box (2017)
Pencil on wood, tryptic: 10 x 8 in. each

Jessica
Wimbley

UNDANTAGET, (the Exception) (2017)

Johanna
Karlin

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Joe
Parker

*The Reconciliation Manifesto Recovering
the Land Rebuilding the Economy by
Arthur Manuel and Grand Chief Ronald
Derrickson, Preface by Naomi Klein,
Joe Parker's book, return when done* (2017)
Book, 9.125 x 6.063 in.

Josh
Callaghan

You must repent to get in (2017)
Ink-jet prints, 10 x 8 in.

*Prevent Energy Expenditure: Californians
Should Use a Drying Rack* (2018)
Printer paper, 8.5 x 11 in.

Joyce
Campbell

Infinity: Grid (2017)
Ceramic, 15 x 23 x 5 in.

Julia
Haft-Candell

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Juan
Silverio

Mariposa 500 S Av (2017)
Printed black and white photo collage,
8.375 x 11 in. (Nine collages)

Juliet
Johnson

everyone already knows about self care
(2017), Streamers, plastic, paint, text,
Dimensions variable

I am everything. I am nothing. (2017)
40 x 30 in.

Justin Luis
Arroyo

Systems of Knowledges (2017)
Printed paper with text and paint, 25x18 in.

Karen
Lofgren

Un-Entitled Certificate (2012/2018)
Ink-jet print, 36 x 47 in.

Kaucyila
Brooke

Black Squares (2017)
Oil on linen, diptych: 6 x 6 in.

Liat
Yossifor

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Kang Seung
Lee

Untitled (la revolución es la solución!)
(2017), Offset print, edition of 1,000,
24 x 36 in.

*Untitled (A man flees from a looted
sporting goods store at Vermont Ave
and 1st St)* (2017), Offset print, edition
of 1,000, 24 x 36 in.

kate-hers
RHEE (이미래)

And then there were none (2013)
Single-channel HD video, 6:56 min,
edition of 7, Performers: Abbéy
Odunlami and kate-hers RHEE

Kotti & Co,
Berlin

*to have and to need (Haben and
Brauchen) Manifesto*, printed
documents with set and graphic images,
11 x 8.5 in. (Ten prints)

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Lisa Anne
Auerbach

Hope for the Best, Brace for the Worse (2017)
Acrylic on paper, 12 x 9 in. (Two pages)

We (2017), Mixed media, 6 ft. diameter
(19 yards of fabric)

Aneurysm (2017), Lead, 13 x 13 in.

Do Not Tell Us to Tone It Down (2017)
Computer-generated image with text,
21 x 15 in.

*An Invocation to Honor Death/
To Manifest a Future Free of
Petro-Capitalism* (2018)
Poster, 20 x 24 in.

Lisa
Jevbratt

Liz
Young

Luis
Zepeda

Martabel
Wasserman

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—33—

Liz
Glynn

Lorenzo Hurtado
Segovia

Matt
Ohm

Max
King Cap

Time Does Not Equal Money (2018)
Handwritten on paper, 12 x 9 in.

*Un lugar donde los conceptos no son
lo suficiente* (2009), Silkscreen print,
edition of 100, 8.75 x 6.5 in.

*Manifesto Notes Self Guidelines of
Sculpture Making* (2017)
Handwritten on paper, 8.375 x 5.25 in.

Rain Delay (2016), Digital print, 20 x 16 in.
Scalia (2016), Digital print, 20 x 16 in.
Never Forget (2007), Digital print, 20 x 16 in.

Lineman (2009)
Digital print, 43 x 51 in.

Lineman (2009)
Newsprint, 60 pages, 11 x 17 in.

Michael
Parker

*Small Treasures, Keepsakes, and
Curiosities* (2017)
Photographs, flip book, wood block,
jewelry case, autograph book, metal
tin, plastic hand. Dimensions variable

Michelle
Wiener

Manifesto No. 39 (2017)
Graphite on paper, 12 x 9 in.
Manifesto No. 53 (2017)
Graphite on paper, 12 x 9 in.
Manifesto No. 68 (2017)
Graphite on paper, 12 x 9 in.

Nancy
Baker Cahill

Untitled (2018), Dimensions variable

Olga
Koumoundouros

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Michelle
Dizon

Mike/İlhan
Bode/Usmanbaş

Nuttaphol
Ma

Peter
Su

Gaza Before the Law (2017)
Single-channel HD video (color
with sound), looped

Devr-i kebîr (Great Rotation) (2017)
Single-channel HD video (color with sound)

*Small Gestures >
Poetic RESISTANCE!* (2017)
Mixed media on fabric,
Approximately: 38 x 28 in.

Bronnard (after Pierre Bonnard) (2017)
Oil on canvas

The Racial Imaginary Manifesto (2016)
Digital print, 16 x 20 in.

Racial
Imaginary

NOTHING (Second Edition) (2017)
Digital print on paper, 7 x 7 in., 60 pages

Sadie
Barnette

this counts too: engineering at home (2017)
Printed text and images, 36 x 14.75 in.

Sara/Caitrin
Hendren/Lynch

Book with 31 digital prints,
8.27 x 11.69 in. each

Seher
Uysal

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Robin/Ann
Lehleitner/Whittaker

Sandra/Eduardo
DeLaLoza/Molinari

Sarita
Dougherty

Seth
Pringle

MANIFESTo (Found Poem from an
*Interview Between Robin Lehleitner and
Ann Whittaker, Dec. 1, 2017*) (2018)

Compass for Where the Rivers Join (2017)
Pencil on paper, 14 x 17 in.

Ancestors and Dawn (2014)
Oil on board, 20.5 x 20.5 in.

Able To Fail (2017), Pencil on paper

Fear is our Gross National Product (1986)
Off-set print, 19 x 13 in.

Made by Prisoners in a California Prison
(2003), Ink-jet print, 24 x 18 in.

Human Eyes? Criminal Eyes? (2017), Ink-jet
print, 24 x 18 in.

Sheila
Pinkel

FREE TEXTS (2012), Paper, 8.5 x 11 in.

Stephanie
Syjuco

Manifesto for Vaporizing (2018)
Printed text and photo, 10.875 x 8.5 in.

Tyler/Naida
Stallings/Osline

POW (2017)
Tempura on fabric, 22 x 27 in.

Rise Up like the Birds (2017)
Tempura on fabric, 22.5 x 21.75 in.

The Artists From
California
Rehabilitation
Center, Norco

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Southwark
Notes, London

Southwark Notes-whose regeneration?
(2017), Typed documents, 11 x 8.5 in.
(Three documents)

Suné
Woods

Chaos Arising (2017)
Collage of magazine cuttings on paper,
10 x 9.5 in.

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The Artists
From California
Institution For
Women, Chino

*Hold This Earth Tightly with Both
Hands* (2017), Tempura and fabric on
construction paper, 14 x 21.75 in.

The Rational
Dress Society

JUMPSUIT, a manifesto (2015)
Banner, 95 x 43.75 in.

About Cure Park (2017)

Map to CIW (2017), Printer paper, 8.5 x 11 in.

Gentrification is Displacement and Replacement of the Poor for Profit Syllabus by School of Echoes (2017)
Printed words on paper, 11 x 8.5 in.
(Two documents)

pegah pasalar, *lost in her hair* (2016)
Single-channel video, 6:23 min.
Hazel Batrezchavez, *Yo Salie // I left* (2017)
Single-channel video, 2:55 min.
Felipe Baeza, *Category is Mitad y Mitad* (2007)
Single-channel video, 3:00 min.
Zahra Zavareh, *expect expulsion* (2017)
Single-channel video, 5:59 min.
XIAOQING ZHU, *Mutual Measurement* (2017)
Single-channel video, 5:06 min.
Julian Harper, *implicit* (2017)
Single-channel video, 12:26 min.
Luis Mejico, *Skivvy (Excerpt)* (2017)
Single-channel video, 8:20 min.
Ythan Ponio, *Dinuguan* (2017)
Single-channel video, 5:49 min.

Theo
Tegelaers

Tom Skelly,
artist with Art
In Correction,
William James
Association

Ultra Red/
School of
Echoes
Los Angeles

Vermont
College of
Fine Art

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—41—

Timothy/Rebekah
Berg/Myers

Tony
Crowley

Victoria
Marks

Viêt
Lê

This Way Lies Madness Lies (2018)
Neon sign, 22 x 22 x 3 in.

The Five Just Demands (1981), Mural
Moderate Demands (2012), Mural

Outside In (a film by Victoria Marks
and Margaret Williams) (1993)
Single-channel video, 14:14 mins.

Nhac Vàng | Golden Music Clocktower
Twelve love songs are played in their
full duration emanating from the Pitzer
College Clocktower.

The Neuro-materialist Manifesto (2017)
Paper with ink, 8 x 11.5 in. (Four sheets)

The Neuro-materialist Manifesto

1. I am calling for the right of every citizen on the planet
Birth to have the opportunity to fully develop his or her neural
plastic potential and capacity. I seek to create fully develop-
ed singular entities constituting a multiplicity, whose differ-
ences rather than similarities in neural architectures is/
are embraced.

2. Neural plasticity is a characteristic of the human brain
that knows no rigid gender boundaries. It concerns the
ways and means through which the environment the environment
couples to the plasticity of the developing brain, especially
during what are referred to as critical periods, but as we
have learned from Catherine Malabou, throughout life as well.

3. The intricate relationship of the human cultural habitus,
its regularities, repetitions, and synchronicities concretizes,
constructs, and composes the neurobiological substrate in the
form of generationally specific neural architectures. Conserv-
ative and right wing governments attempt to limit experience,
education, and knowledge to minimize the complexity of this
process in order to create a homogenous, easily managed people.
The withholding of education for women in some parts of the
world and the defunding of arts education in the United States
are cases in point. They can be forces which can act against
structurally determined asymmetrical power relations by generating
difference, variation, and noise. It does so by first destabili-
zing the given as a condition of possibility, in the existential
field of lived experience and then, as a result, in the deconstru-
ction and reconstruction of the brain, architecture. It can
be understood as a condition that transforms what Giorgio
Agamben has called the zoo into a specialized form of bios.

Core Values of the WCCW (2017)
Printed text on paper, 17 x 11 in.

Warren
Neidich

Women's Center
For Creative Work

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Weshoyot
Alvitre

Xarabyte

There is no suffrage in sovereignty (2017)
Handwritten words on antique US flag,
Dimensions variable

Desperanza a las maneras de tamales (2017)
Single-channel video





MANIFESTO: A Moderate Proposal

Their broad variety of concerns were harvested by a team of varied volunteers—Andrea Bowers, Olga Koumoundouros, Việt Lê, Ultra Red, Carlin Wing, and Jenny Yurshansky—to collect manifestos that are printed on paper, painted on canvas, formed in neon, shot on video, and carved in wood.

MANIFESTO: A Moderate Proposal is a multitude of opinions hung densely, floor-to-ceiling, in sections that reflect the numerous themes that include immigration, ableism, race, resistance, religion, and gentrification.

MANIFESTO: A Moderate Proposal was conceived as an outlet for ideas and proposals for the healing of discord in our society and improvement of conditions for all citizens. With the public sphere embroiled in a seemingly intractable contest of us-versus-them so virulent that has filtered down to a neighbor-vs-neighbor antagonism, it is essential that we reexamine just who we are and what we stand for. *MANIFESTO: A Moderate Proposal* has joined the conversation.