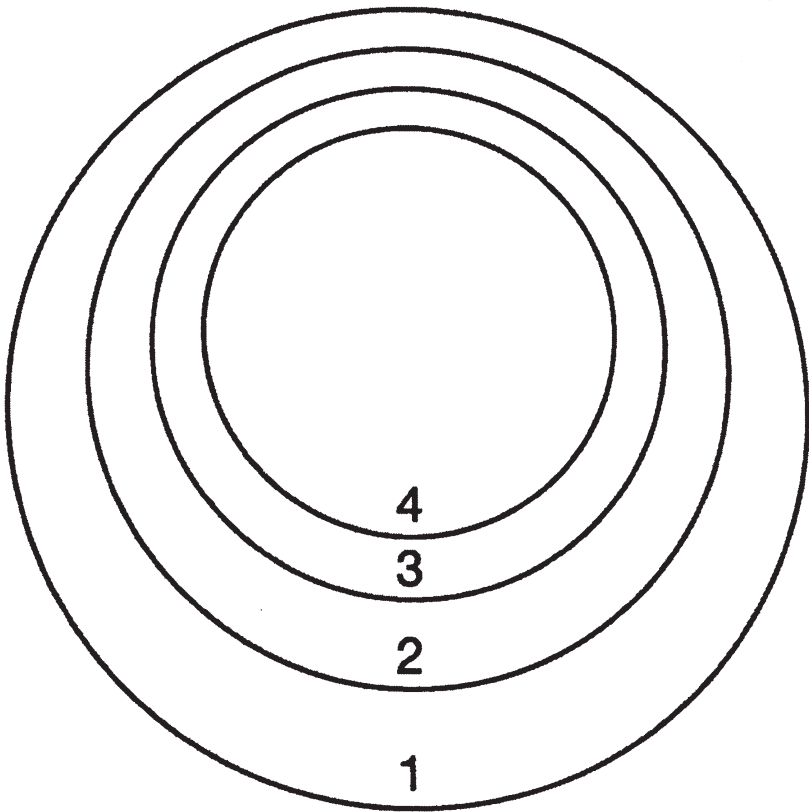# THE EXHIBITIONARY COMPLEX

Exhibition, Apparatus, and Media from Kulturhuset to the Centre Pompidou, 1963–1977

Kim West

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General Introduction: A Tale of Four Circles

In the spring of 1971, Pontus Hultén, director of Moderna Museet in Stockholm, was interviewed by the critic Yann Pavie in the French art review *Opus International*. Hultén was in Paris on the occasion of *Alternative Suédoise*, a group exhibition featuring the works of eight young Swedish artists, produced as a collaboration between the Stockholm institution and the Musée d'Art Moderne de la Ville de Paris.[1] The interview in *Opus*, titled "Toward the Museum of the Future" and preceded by a brief introduction by Pavie, focused on questions concerning the role and the function of the museum of modern art in contemporary society: What notion of culture should the museum entertain? How should it conceive of its audience? How should its task be defined?

Answering Pavie's questions, Hultén began by drawing up a schematic history of the modern art museum during the postwar period. The 1960s, he claimed, had been a decade of revision of the museum institution, during which new cultural forms had gradually been admitted into the sanctuary of the exhibition space. The museum had become a "*cour des miracles*" where socially unacceptable actions, objects, and events – "inadmissible" works of art, music that "could not be played in concert halls", films that "could not be projected in cinemas" – could be tolerated.[2] However, after 1968, Hultén argued, even this progressive notion was insufficient, because it remained premised on an understanding of the museum as a space of separation and closure: "a closed, isolated place, where in the final instance everything was allowed since it had no repercussions for social reality". The question that the museum now faced was therefore how to create an institution that could sustain a situation of spontaneous participation, critical discussion, and communal collaboration, providing "examples for the full range of activities that renew people's way of thinking". "We must convey the real validity of our manifestations, at their own scale and with their proper means, so that they may consequently inspire a new conception of life."[3]

"Starting from this question", Hultén stated, "we constructed a theoretical model of the modern museum":

> We imagined an abstract model in three dimensions, of a spherical shape. This sphere consists of four concentric layers:
>
> The outermost layer, the spherical envelope, which connects to the universe of everyday life, is characterized by an accelerated concentration of information. This information should be unedited, to the extent possible. We see it as raw and direct material. Here we find for example telex printers from all news agencies.
>
> This represents a sort of "zero degree" of information, a place where the individual is attacked by different types of information. Of course it is impossible to obtain completely unmanipulated information, but the very fact that it is often contradictory will create a situation of conflict, a critical situation. The situation of the street is recreated and intensified, the conditions for discussion enhanced.
>
> The second layer will be reserved for the workshops, that is, will comprise spaces and tools: rooms where means of production are available, from simple hammers and nails to paintbrushes and the computer. These tools will be made available, but nothing will be defined regarding their use, nor which fields should be exploited, nor which should be the aims of the experiments. The museum staff can act as instructors for these machines. The workshops could be used by an artist, by a group of artists, by us, or by anyone. Specialists in the domains of art and communication will be available for all sorts of problems.
>
> The third layer of the sphere will present the productions of the workshops and will be dedicated to different manifestations: visual arts, films, photos, dance, concerts… but also exhibitions of "completed products". This is cultural activity as we are already familiar with it. But it is probable that the contact with the workshops will give this activity a more revolutionary aspect.
>
> The final layer, the core, will contain the "memory" of the processed information; this is the role of the conservators and the museum's collection.[4]

In the magazine, this theoretical model was accompanied by a simple image: a diagram showing four circles of gradually diminishing sizes, arranged one inside the other and stacked toward the upper edge of the circles, as if to suggest concentric circles placed on top of each other and viewed from a slight angle in an abstract space. The model and the diagram announced a comprehensive new vision for a future museum. Rather than as a space of separation, a repository for valuable objects and a sanctuary for divergent practices, the museum was here conceived as a center of information, as a vast databank, processor, and transmission station that should be

open toward the social field and integrated into society's circulation of information.

This fundamental revision of the role and the function of the museum was based on an equally fundamental reconsideration of the status of the artwork, the roles of the artist and the spectator, and the nature of the exhibition. The outlines of this reinterpretation can only be vaguely discerned in the description. The artwork, it seems, was understood as a parcel of processed information, in accordance with a basic input-output model – as data registered at the outer layer of the spherical structure, then refined in workshops, then exhibited, and then perhaps stored in the center's memory core. The artist and the spectator, in turn, were both understood as active users, who would employ the instruments at hand in the workshop spaces in order to process the data and raw materials gathered at the outer layer, and then transform them into products, into artworks. And the exhibition was conceived as an ephemeral interface, which would mediate between the productive and the storing layers of the center, and then transmit configurations of contents culled from these layers out into the social field.

At the time of the interview in 1971, this diagram had already had something of a career, and its history was far from over. Nor was it the exclusive creation of Pontus Hultén. In a narrow, causal sense, its prehistory can be traced to a set of institutional proposals and exhibition projects from the mid and late 1960s: the unrealized Kulturhuset project, developed by a group of people associated with Moderna Museet in Stockholm between 1963 and 1970; and the exhibition *Pictures of Sweden 1969*, organized by the curator and activist Pär Stolpe (also a member of the group working on the Kulturhuset proposal) at the Sweden House in Stockholm. In a wider sense, its theoretical genealogy of course stretches beyond these projects. The diagram was first drawn as an abstract representation of the institutional reorganization planned for Moderna Museet after the Kulturhuset project's collapse, in the first years of the 1970s. Concrete implementations of the diagram around and after the time of the interview can be found in a number of exhibitions and institutional ventures at Moderna Museet during this period, while its aftereffects, in turn, extend into the Centre Georges Pompidou project in Paris, where Hultén was named director of the Visual Arts Department in 1973. Here too, the wider theoretical, aesthetic, and artistic ramifications of the diagram point beyond the scope of these specific projects.

This dissertation is an attempt to write a critical history of this diagram. It will study its development, its various formulations, its implementations (realized as well as merely projected), and its effects (immediate as well as extended). It will follow the trajectory of the diagram from the early debates regarding the institutional location of modern and contemporary art within the great program for a modernization of Stockholm's city center, during which democratic access, popular participation, and dynamic multidisciplinarity were first promoted as the ideals of a new, Swedish cultural policy; through a series of exhibition projects, museological enterprises, and artistic proposals at Moderna Museet and elsewhere, by artists and curators such as Pär Stolpe, Ronald Hunt, Everett Ellin, Katja Waldén, and Öyvind Fahlström, which sought to harness the potentials of new information technologies for progressive and critical ends; to the debate surrounding the inauguration of the Centre Pompidou in Paris, where the ideals of openness and flexibility were denounced as the principles of a new control machine. Tracing this fragmented history, this study will attempt to chart the positions that this diagram, in its different stages of articulation and materialization, mapped out in relation to its social, cultural, and technological context: how the various exhibitions and proposals related to their social and political conditions, how they organized their relations to other fields of cultural production and display, and, retrospectively, what positions they claim within the histories of exhibitions, museology, and curatorial projects. On the most general level it will ask to what extent the diagram's various manifestations respond to, or conversely are products of, a concurrent mutation in the nature of the "exhibitionary complex", in turn keyed to the incipient restructuring of the system of late twentieth-century capitalism.

At the horizon of this study is therefore a question of the definition and the critical status of the "exhibitionary complex" – a concept to which we will soon return – at a highly charged historical moment, a period over which several historiographic paradigms compete for authority. In the mid 1960s, the projected Kulturhuset in Stockholm was conceived as the cultural crown jewel of the Swedish modernization process, the *telos* of its great story of rationalization and democratization. When the actual Kulturhuset was inaugurated in 1974, a shell of a building, preemptively gutted of the contents for which it had been designed and instead inhabited – incredibly – by the Swedish parliament, modernism was, according to another story, fully extinct, and the sociocultural configuration that was to become known as postmodernism was assuming shape.[5] With respect to these conflicting, or at least uncomfortably coexisting narratives this study aims to do two things. On the

one hand, it attempts to inscribe the projects and exhibitions it examines into an understanding of the historical shift in the social, economic, and cultural conditions of Western societies between the mid-1960s and the mid-1970s that has been labeled – to name just some of the numerous terms applied here – the onset of late capitalism, the transition into the postmodern, or the development of the society of control.[6] On the other hand it seeks to explore the extent to which a study of this contested period undertaken from the point of view of the "exhibitionary complex" could lead us to question some of the assumptions on which these narratives are based – assumptions about modernist endgames, about a historical crisis that opens up onto another cultural, even epistemic space – and instead suggest other, transverse or underlying continuities, so as to locate contradictions and virtualities in the historical constitution of the present.[7]

The exhibitions, projects, and discourses under study here will therefore not serve as *examples*, that is, as unique instances that represent a more general trend – perhaps a certain techno-utopianism in the period's exhibition-making. Instead, I will – to make a bold claim, one I will be compelled to justify throughout this study – understand these projects as *indexes* of and *agents* in historical developments: as material embodiments or inscriptions of the socioeconomic processes and modes of power that define the aesthetic, technological, and political conditions of cultural production at a certain moment; and as more or less refractory catalysts in these same processes, which may enforce their effects, but also affect them so as to enable other modes of subjectivity and experience. In other words, the exhibitions and projects I study do not *stand in* for more general processes, but general processes are at work *in them* and through them, reconfiguring them and defining them – and they in turn respond to these processes, act upon them, challenge them and reroute them, contributing to the definition of the field within which they operate. Saying that my objects of study are not examples is of course not meant to suggest that my archive should somehow have established itself – on the contrary, questions of selection and canon will have to be addressed, my choices justified. Instead the point is one of methodology. The aim of this study is critical and genealogical: rather than to establish or complement an art historical or museological narrative, it attempts to discern the outlines of the historical field of tensions and forces within which a new configuration of the exhibitionary complex comes into shape – a configuration that I believe in many respects anticipates the contemporary condition. For this field of tensions is also the field of critical

possibility, where pockets of relative autonomy and sites of conflict may still be detected or produced.

i) The Exhibitionary Complex

Essential to Hultén's vision of the future museum in the *Opus* interview was his insistence on the life and the activity of the new institution. At its outer layer, the "spherical museum" should be open toward the social life of urban space, an extension of the street into the art institution and of the art institution out into the street. What was "new" about his model, Hultén said, was "the addition of the two first layers, which connect and create a direct collaboration between the museum institution and the social phenomena of everyday life […]. Our theoretical model imagines a full communication in both directions, not just between the different concentric layers, but also between the world outside, the city, and the world inside, the museum."[8] The workshops in turn should transform the museum into a place of production, potentially involving artists and spectators alike, to some extent anticipating what Daniel Buren would call "the extinction of the studio".[9] These spaces, Hultén stated, "could be used by an artist, by a group of artists, by us, or by anyone". And finally the museum's collection should not be conceived as a treasury, a storage space where artworks are confined to eternal conservation, but as a living, dynamic memory available for public perusal and for recon-figuration as exhibition, constantly updated by the influx of processed information from the outer layers of the institution.

The museum, then, was conceived as a place of social activity and a site of production, and the collection was understood as a responsive, evolving organism. In all of these respects Hultén's theoretical model differed radically from the traditional conception of the public art museum as it had been developed since the late eighteenth century. According to Carol Duncan's influential account, the public art museum is a scripted space, a site of "civilizing rituals" through which the visitors symbolically enact their participation in a certain society. Across its various historical incarnations, Duncan argues, the public art museum has two central features. First, it creates what she, with a slightly confusing metaphor, calls a "liminal" space, a "marked-off […] zone of time and space in which visitors, removed from the concerns of their daily, practical lives, open themselves to a different quality of experience".[10] It does so through a variety of means: by estab-lishing codes of conduct, such as measured silence, restricted movements, and absence of practical activities; and by creating an atmosphere of contemplation, enforced through the imposing character of the museum

architecture and the serenity of the gallery design. Second, it organizes this "liminal space" so that the visitor's trajectory through the museum becomes the performance of a civic ritual. It does so through the logic of the collection and the setup of the display. In the "universal survey museum", as Duncan and Alan Wallach call it, the arrangement of the museum's collection is aligned with a universal narrative of evolution or progress, which the visitor retraces and enacts as she moves through the exhibition spaces.[11]

These two features, the separation from the everyday praxis of social life, and the establishment of an educational logic of collection and display with claims to universal validity, recur in most critical accounts of the social and cultural logic of the modern art institution. In his seminal suite of essays from 1976, *Inside the White Cube*, Brian O'Doherty famously argued that the gallery space – including, but not limited to the space of the museum – was "constructed along laws as rigorous as those for building a medieval church. The outside world must not come in, so windows are usually sealed off. Walls are painted white. The ceiling becomes the source of light." In this secluded, quasi-religious space, "[w]orks of art are mounted, hung, scattered for study. Their ungrubby surfaces are untouched by time and its vicissitudes. Art exists in a kind of eternity of display […]. This eternity gives the gallery a limbolike status; one has to have died already to be there."[12] In his equally influential "On the Museum's Ruins" from 1980, Douglas Crimp dramatically asserted that the museum was the exclusive space of modernity, inevitably confirming its aspirations to reduce otherness and establish homogeneity and order. "Foucault", Crimp wrote, "analyzed modern institutions of confinement – the asylum, the clinic, and the prison – and their respective discursive formations – madness, illness, and criminality. There is another such institution of confinement awaiting archeological analysis – the museum – and another discipline – art history."[13]

In their understandings of the art institution as a space of separation from social life, Duncan, O'Doherty, and Crimp draw on a rich tradition of denunciations of the museum, which in some respects dates back to the emergence of the modern, public art institution as such.[14] And since at least as early as the futurists – "Museums, cemeteries!", Marinetti's first Futurist manifesto exclaimed in 1909[15] – the museum has been the object of vehement critique on the part of the avant-garde, calling for the negativity of art's separation from the lifeworld to be itself negated. Such condemnations have been leveled with varying degrees of sophistication and complexity, from the somber dialectics of Theodor Adorno's famous dictum that "Museums are like the family sepulchers of works of art",[16] or Robert

Smithson's no less grim yet ultimately ambiguous remark that "Museums are tombs, and it looks like everything is turning into a museum",[17] to the situationists' blunt conclusion that, in order for art to survive, "It is not enough to burn the museums. They must also be sacked."[18] This dialectics between negation and sublation has, in its different versions, been integral to critical conceptions of the social logic of the artwork and its institutional framework among radical art movements in the pre-war and postwar periods alike.

In his writings on the birth of the museum, the culture historian Tony Bennett to some extent adheres to this tradition, detailing how techniques of power are operating in and through modern public art institutions. But he also questions some of the assumptions that the avant-garde, dialectical framework is based upon, avoiding the morbid metaphors of the tomb or the cemetery, as well as the uneasy analogy between the museum and the sacred space of rituals. His acclaimed text, "The Exhibitionary Complex", published in 1988, refers directly to Douglas Crimp's Foucauldian rejections of the museum as an institution of confinement, and of art history as a discourse of homogenization. Rather than confinement, Bennett remarks, the public art museum is an institution of exhibition, where visitors and artworks, subjects and objects are all put on display according to a logic of self-regulation and discipline. "The exhibitionary complex", he writes, "perfected a self-monitoring system of looks in which the subject and object positions can be exchanged, in which the crowd comes to commune with and regulate itself through interiorizing the ideal and ordered view of itself as seen from the controlling vision of power".[19] In other words, the public art institution is not the site of a negation of social life, but a place where social life is organized according to another pattern, and a specific mode of subjectivity is shaped: a space of biopolitical circulation rather than of isolation and death.[20]

Just like Carol Duncan, Bennett therefore sees the art museum as a scripted space, an institution where the organization of objects for display entails an organization of the subjects enjoying the spectacle of the display. But unlike Duncan he does not understand the museum as a "secular temple", a quasi-liturgical space of seclusion where devoted individuals perform codified rituals in order to gain access to a determined community. The development of the public art museum, Bennett argues, must instead be read in conjunction with that of a set of other modern apparatuses, technologies, and discourses, which precisely break with the old regime of exclusion and together form "a complex of disciplinary and power

relations", operating in full sight. The "emergence of the art museum", he writes, "was closely related to that of a wider range of institutions – history and natural science museums, dioramas and panoramas, national and, later, international exhibitions, arcades and department stores – which served as linked sites for the development and circulation of new disciplines (history, biology, art history, anthropology) and their discursive formations (the past, evolution, aesthetics, man) as well as for the development of new technologies of vision".[21] On analogy with the generalization of carceral surveillance techniques across the institutions of the social field in Foucault's study of the prison, the exhibitionary complex is here seen as a network of apparatuses through which techniques of power are channeled, organizing the order, relationships, and modes of visibility of objects, and the movements, gazes, and modes of visibility of subjects, so that their interplay produces a governable and, ideally, self-governing population.[22]

Bennett's notion of the "exhibitionary complex" has two major methodological consequences. First, it implies that the public art museum belongs to a system of modern institutions in which techniques of power are at work, organizing regimes of visibility and associated modes of subjectivity. Second, it establishes that any critical account of the nature and the function of an exhibitionary apparatus must take into consideration its constitutive affiliations to a set of other apparatuses, discourses, and technologies, linked together into a loose yet coherent network. Bennett's essay mainly discusses world exhibitions and fairgrounds from the period between the mid-nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries, and their relationships to discourses of natural history and anthropology. However, it is the claim of the present study that his concept remains valid, *mutatis mutandis*, for a study of late twentieth-century and contemporary exhibition practices and their related discourses. It is evident to what extent Pontus Hultén's theoretical model, with its emphasis on viewer participation, the museum as a site of production, and the collection as a responsive organism, differs from the institutions that Bennett describes. The public envisioned by Hultén was not the docile spectacle of the aspiring middle class on a Sunday stroll at the science fair, but a creative, classless community defining itself through collaborative activity. And the modes of collection and display implied by his model were not the chronological arrangement of the spoils of imperialist conquest or the radiant splendor of national painting schools, but a dynamic memory bank and display interface through which the creative community would maintain its integrity and communicate with the social field.

It is clear, however, that Hultén's model, in its different versions and implementations, warrants analysis as a relay or vehicle of power. For example, as we shall see, the projected Kulturhuset was, at least among municipal authorities, explicitly conceived as a control device, one that should exert a pacifying influence on the new crowds converging on Stockholm's modernized city center in the late 1960s. Similarly, Moderna Museet's exhibition program in the early 1970s was consistently traversed by the tension between emancipatory energies and inscription into new patterns of control, as apparent not least in the exhibition *Utopias and Visions 1871–1981* (1971), which promoted Buckminster Fuller's technocratic imaginaries and global, managerial protocols alongside the legacy of the Paris Commune. Such examples, while indicating the enduring validity of Bennett's Foucauldian perspective, also confirm that any attempt to trace the genealogy of these exhibition projects and institutional proposals demand that we take into account their relationships to a wider network of apparatuses and technologies. Bennett's references to dioramas, amusement parks, and department stores will have to give way here to a consideration of the new complex of media apparatuses that was under development during the late twentieth century – from accessible consumer devices such as cameras, tape-recorders, and Xerox machines, to broadcast networks and advanced computer systems. As this new media complex was coming into shape, gradually coalescing into an integrated information environment – as enthusiastically prophesied and promoted by Marshall McLuhan and many others – the integrity of the exhibitionary apparatus was continuously called into question. Correspondingly, one problem we will be addressing concerns the logic of what the art and exhibition historian Olivier Lugon has described as the modern art exhibition's paradoxical perseverance as a social and cultural form, even as it has accommodated the forms and the protocols of new information technologies.[23] In this respect the interdisciplinarity and polyvalence of Hultén's theoretical model of the museum, where separate artforms and media were to coexist under the common banner of information, should be understood as a response to the transformation of the field of forces within which the exhibitionary complex would assume its contemporary formation.

ii) Exhibitions as Media

In Hultén's diagram of the future museum, the institution's different functions – from the outer layer of information capture to the central memory bank, with the exhibition as a mediating, internal relay and interface – were fully integrated with one another, forming a coherent whole modeled on the information processor. This idea of the museum as a super-institution that incorporates a variety of capacities and disciplines in one totality, and that conceives of its input and output under a single, general category – be it "culture" or "information" – was, as we will see, one of the main reasons for the failure of the Kulturhuset project, as no agreement could be reached regarding the administration of the new, unified structure. But more importantly it speaks to the understanding among Hultén and his associates of the changing media environment within which they operated. Construed as a system for storing, routing, and transmitting information in alternate ways, the purpose of the spherical museum was to create "situation[s] of conflict", establishing conditions of social agency and dissent. Here, as we shall see, the Moderna Museet group was informed both by early ventures into digital museology, calling for a computerization of the museum's filing systems and a redesign of its administrative structures, in line with a general McLuhanist vision of media integration, and by the experiments of the progressive and activist media collectives of the 1960s and 1970s, which aimed to "reverse the direction" of mass media, transforming all passive receivers into active transmitters, so as to liberate the emancipatory potentials of new information technologies.

What Hultén's theoretical model represented, then, was an exhibitionary apparatus understood as a critical media system. "Apparatus", of course, is a theoretically overdetermined concept, and so a brief note on vocabulary is in order. In the following, the term "exhibitionary apparatus" will be employed to refer to the material and discursive framework that supports the production, distribution, and reception of the specific type of media called exhibitions. In this respect, my use of the term will structurally correspond to Jean-Louis Baudry's distinction between the "basic cinematic apparatus", that is, "the ensemble of the equipment and operations necessary to the production of a film and its projection", and the cinematic "*dispositif*", which "solely concerns projection and […] includes the subject to whom the projection is addressed".[24] However, while we will understand the exhibitionary and the cinematic apparatuses as mutually dependent, to the extent that they are both imbricated in the "exhibitionary complex", we

will not follow Baudry – and much of the "apparatus theory" of cinema studies in general – in his exclusive focus on the ideological effects of the cinema theater's perspectival arrangement, which on his account constitutes the spectator-subject as passive in relation to the projection's self-occluding representation of reality.[25] Instead, our notion of the exhibitionary apparatus will borrow from Foucault's concept of the *dispositif* – often translated as "apparatus" – the emphasis on the productive functions of the apparatus as a relay of power and knowledge, and as a vehicle of subjectification, while eschewing that concept's more vague, meta-historical and epistemological implications, as "a more general case of the *episteme*", where "the *episteme* is a specifically discursive apparatus, whereas the apparatus in its general form is both discursive and non-discursive, its elements being more heterogeneous".[26]

How should we theorize the status of the exhibition as a medium of communication and of aesthetic experience, as supported by the exhibitionary apparatus? A common misconception is to understand the exhibition on the model of the modernist artwork. According to such an approach, the exhibition is a signifying entity characterized by a specific set of material and technical prerequisites, prerequisites that in turn imply more or less defined rules of formal composition. A critical exhibition would be one that turned back toward its own, specific conditions, revealing their hidden operations and cultivating its proper, unique qualities.[27] A whole tradition of twentieth-century experiments with the exhibition format could reasonably be interpreted along these lines, from Yves Klein's notorious *Le vide* (1958), to Michael Asher's "material withdrawal" exhibitions in the early 1970s.[28] Following the semiotician and museologist Jean Davallon, scrutiny of the exhibition's specific mode of signifying forces us to turn away from this model and instead consider exhibitions as media. In an obvious respect, he points out, exhibitions mediate: they are transitive rather than reflexive. Unlike artworks, which show themselves, exhibitions show, are in the service of what they show. And not only do they render objects visible, but they also indicate how they should be perceived, regulating their reception. In this sense, exhibitions share their basic features and objectives with other media: they employ technical arrangements in order to give receivers access to semiotic elements. "On the most general level", writes Davallon, "we can therefore define the exhibition as a *dispositif* that results from an arrangement of things in a space with the (constitutive) intention of rendering them available to social subjects."[29]

But as media, exhibitions are also distinctive in several respects. Davallon singles out two factors. First, the exhibition creates a separate symbolic space, but featuring "real" objects rather than representations. Unlike the image or the film, whose elements are fully integrated and reduced to one semiotic level, the exhibited objects always retain a connection to their "external" reality, transcending their adherence to the exhibition's symbolic dimension. "The exhibition", writes Davallon, "defines, circumscribes, constructs a space of language distinct from the world of external reality; but at the same time, in order to do so, it has recourse to objects that belong to that same external reality, and it invites the visitor to enter into the space of language. It maintains (or rather, constructs) a separation between the world of language and the world of reality, while assuring, organizing, operating regulated passages between the two worlds."[30] Second, the spectator is physically present in the space of presentation, to some degree participating, through her movements and her shifting attention, in the definition of its semiotic arrangement. The exhibition's significance is therefore not simply determined by its production, but internal to its reception: "The visitor is not only a spectator who enters in order to experience (and participate symbolically in) the production of an event, but in order to live it and participate fully in its production. The exhibition as cultural object can therefore be defined as a *dispositif* within which *the event of reception* is produced."[31]

To clarify the singularity of this mode of signification, Davallon compares the exhibition to the theater performance. Superficially, he notes, the two arrangements are similar: in both there are spaces with "real" objects, into which the spectator enters physically. Furthermore, in both cases the producer delegates the responsibility of the signifying event: to actors and objects on one hand, and to exhibited objects on the other. But unlike the elements of the theater performance, the exhibited objects do not transmit a plot or a fiction. Therefore, in the exhibition, the spectator will not identify with the ostensive objects and project her desire onto them. Such "double delegation", Davallon points out, is essential to the communicative structure of the theater performance (and here, we may note, Davallon also refers directly to Baudry's "basic cinematic apparatus").[32] It is what establishes the scene as an intermediary space, which remains disconnected from the producer, but also maintains a degree of separation from the spectator. In the exhibition there is no such "double delegation": scene and spectator space are conflated, and the spectator becomes the "actor", in the

sense of "the one who acts", the one who is physically present in the arrangement and ensures its signifying operation.[33]

All "texts", Davallon notes – making a concession to a hermeneutic truism – are dependent on the participation of the receiver for their communication to succeed. In a relatively stable system, such as the novel, the writer will therefore employ various narratological, rhetorical, and stylistic means to guide the reader toward the intended interpretation. Due to its constitutive interactivity, material heterogeneity, and semiotic ambiguity, the conditions for the exhibition's successful semiotic operation are different. Rather than as a pre-existing text, it must be understood as a space where text could be possible, where language could be produced, given the right kind of cooperation on the part of the spectator. In the exhibition, there are therefore no equivalences to the material conditions and formal rules of the novel or the modernist artwork, but "communicative strategies" that guide the spectator toward a more or less high degree of organized participation. Only in this way can the exhibition succeed semiotically, can it achieve coherence in its aesthetic definition such that the spectator's conjectures may be considered accurate or inaccurate. Methodologically, therefore, the exhibition demands a move from text to media, "from a semantico-pragmatic machine to a socio-symbolic *dispositif*", as Davallon puts it.[34]

The implications of this shift are evident. The exhibition, following Davallon, cannot attain critical efficiency through formal self-reflexivity, simply because its semiotic function is not effectuated by recourse to a technical support proper to it, however volatile or immaterial. In order to be critical it must instead act upon its transitive features, that is, the means through which it models the event of its reception. The critical dimension of the exhibition understood as a "socio-symbolic *dispositif*" is the space between its objects and the spectators: the communicative strategies it employs, the ways in which it organizes movements and attention, anticipates trajectories and sightlines, determines relationships and modes of interaction. In this respect, we might say – without following the full implications of the concept – that it corresponds to Deleuze's account of Foucault's notion of the *dispositif*: it establishes lines of force rather than limits, modulating "curves of visibility" and "enunciation", and setting up vectors of agency and subjectification.[35] In their efforts to remodel the exhibitionary apparatus as a critical media system geared toward extended social autonomy, Hultén and his associates often proved their command of the exhibition's specific domain of effectivity in this sense – but also, perhaps, their grasp of how this transitive dimension was becoming a field of increasing contestation with the

development of advanced techniques of consumer solicitation on the part of the late twentieth-century media complex.

At the most general level, the question I will here direct to the Moderna Museet group's various projects and proposals, is therefore how the exhibitionary apparatus adapted and responded, how it was transformed and how it persevered, in the face of the mutations of the exhibitionary complex, as that complex gravitated toward full compatibility with, or even dissolution into, a new, increasingly integrated media environment, whose development was itself indissociable from the incipient restructuring of the capitalist system underway between 1963 and 1977. In many respects this was the problem that these projects themselves addressed. Exhibitions such as *Pictures of Sweden 1969* or *For a Technology in the Service of the People* (1972) sought precisely to devise display arrangements that would dislodge new media from their assigned functions within systems of value extraction and control, and instead render them available for critical and emancipatory use. In order to articulate what was at stake in such projects and practices I will take some cues from the architectural theorist Reinhold Martin, whose *The Organizational Complex* provides a set of critical concepts for understanding how a cultural form – the book investigates corporate architecture in the US between the late 1940s and the early 1960s – could mediate the systemic social, cultural, and economic managerialism at the horizon of the period's cybernetic imaginary.

"Media organize", Martin writes in the book's title essay.[36] That is, beyond communicating specific contents to receivers, media establish patterns of order in the social field, itself understood as a system tending naturally toward disorder and disintegration. For Martin, architecture must be understood as one among many such media, "regulating the organizational nexus".[37] What he describes in his study is how principles and models developed within the interdisciplinary, military-industrial research program of cybernetics were deployed in architecture and urban planning in the US during the postwar period, establishing an "organizational complex" extending to all sectors of society and culture, ultimately contributing to a "reconditioning" of the postwar subject. According to the theorems of first-generation cybernetics, patterns of information function as regulative ideas in relation to which organisms adjust themselves through feedback, and maintain organization in the face of constant entropic drift.[38] The "degree of antientropic, informational *organization* in cybernetic systems", Martin writes, "is regulated through feedback, a continuous cycling of information […] back into a system to correct its course, consolidate its

form, or modify its output".[39] In his argument, the organizational complex is the total network of media through which such patterns of information are transmitted and sustained, from radio and emerging television technologies to architecture and – we might add – the exhibition; it is the "network of networks" that "integrate[s] spaces and subjects into naturalized organizations".[40]

Although the situation Martin describes is specific to the geopolitical and economic conditions of the US in the postwar period, his analysis is obviously linked to the projects under study here. In the *Opus* interview, Hultén's description of the museum of the future as a critical media system, a place for "communication, encounters, and transmission", or a center for "reflection" and "para-scientific research on present and future socio-cultural practices", was articulated in terms imported from the cybernetic lexicon. The "methodology" of the new center should be based on the "veritable science of information which is in the process of being developed in correlation with the new orientation in the natural sciences and the humanities: informatics, cybernetics, linguistics, semiology, art history…"[41] Furthermore, as we will see, the "panel" or "screen exhibitions" at Moderna Museet's Filialen department during the early 1970s employed display formats that can be related to the cybernetic experiments with techniques for "pattern-seeing", using aesthetic forms as heuristic countermodels to social entropy. In a related way, the international, four-node telecommunication system set up by E.A.T. (Experiments in Art and Technology) for the exhibition *Utopias and Visions 1871–1981* (1971), was based on a technocratic notion of securing an egalitarian social organization solely through the deployment of responsive media networks.

But Martin's study is also relevant to our purposes in a wider sense, beyond direct or indirect empirical connections. A central operation in the cybernetic systems that, in his account, make up the organizational complex, is the solicitation of voluntary interaction, and the concomitant parsing of feedback, tying basic libidinal structures and ordinary social behaviors ever closer to processes of intensified commodification and instrumentalization. With such a transition – a key feature of what James Beniger has called a "control revolution" of the systems of production, distribution, and consumption in postwar society[42] – the familiar figures of the "culture industry" and its "mass deception" give way to contemporary techniques of interactive conformism and "mass customization", to use another concept coined by Martin.[43] It is only in this context, we can note, that the emphases on social activity and participation in the projects under

study here – from the Kulturhuset project, with its combination of preservative resources and facilities for social interaction, to Öyvind Fahlström's "variable" installations and maps, with their idiosyncratic models of co-creation, pattern-seeing, and play – assume their full, ambivalent, and problematic significance.

iii) Autonomy and Compatibility

How should we understand the Moderna Museet group's model and diagram of a future museum, at the level of the critical concept it proposed? In the *Opus* interview, Hultén presented it as a transition from a place of isolation and closure, to one of activity and circulation. The "*cour des miracles*" of the traditional museum in its 1960s permutation, "a sort of place where society tolerated actions which exceeded the framework", should, he stated, be replaced by the spherical Information Center, "a base permitting direct contacts between artist, public, and society", which would function as a "system of emissions […] not only inside the institution, but also with all institutions of the same sort, and with the organs of circulation and communication", and where "ideas that expand the conception of life […] can be expressed and developed in a permanent fashion".[44]

It would be convenient to grasp this transition as a post-1968 negation of the "institution", rejecting the ideology of the art museum as a site of independence from social determinations – a place where "everything was allowed since it had no repercussions for social reality", as Hultén phrased it – in favor of an "anti-museum" awaiting its own sublation in post-artistic social practice, perhaps as a more civil version of the situationists' exhortation to sack and burn the museum. But even a cursory consideration of the Moderna Museet group's model shows that this was not what Hultén and his associates intended. What their model proposed was instead an alternative mode of integrating the sheltering functions of the museum – its features as a "*cour des miracles*" – with a systemic aggregate of further resources, itself integrated differently with its social context and with media networks. Rather than a merely defensive conception of the art museum as a sanctuary for the free, dynamic nature of modern art – we will call this the "museum in movement" – they now sought an affirmative understanding, where the exhibitionary apparatus would serve as a "catalyst" for the specific modes of sensible experience potentially afforded by the art exhibition, so as to contribute to an extension of the conditions of social, cultural, and political self-determination in society. We will call this the "project of autonomy".

One way of theorizing this shift is with reference to Jacques Rancière's conception of the particular status of the "aesthetic regime" of art, and by extension of the apparatuses that sustain it, within the general "political aesthetics" that defines a political community by setting up "a way of seeing, arranging, and knowing the world, of speaking a kind of performative truth about how humans live together such that certain historical possibilities come into view and others disappear", as Reinhold Martin says with reference to Rancière's concept in a recent text.[45] For Rancière, the emergence of the "aesthetic regime" of art from the ruins of the classical system of the arts, through which art was separated from socially coded technical criteria, subject matters, and categories of spectatorship, granted art a certain, relative autonomy[46] – and his meta-historical conceptual framework here, we might note, corresponds to the basic narrative informing the account of modern art's conflicted autonomy by a theorist such as Peter Bürger.[47] The "aesthetic regime" of art, Rancière argues, delimits a specific sphere of experience, where the "distribution of the sensible", our "way of seeing, arranging, and knowing the world", can in principle be reconfigured, rendered indeterminate, where "the visible and the invisible", "noise and speech" – what Deleuze called the "curves of enunciation" and "visibility" of the "*dispositif*" – can be "apportion[ed] and reapportion[ed]".[48] In Rancière's account, such estrangement and reconfiguration may make "certain historical possibilities come into view and others disappear", as Martin expressed it, providing resources for "disagreements" and "disidentifications" with prevailing orders, and consequently for new modes of subjectification that set the political ideal of equality into play.[49]

"Extending autonomy" would here signify extending the conditions of such estrangement into new social sectors and new domains of sensible existence, so as to facilitate modes of disidentification and subjectification, creating "situation[s] of conflict", "critical situation[s]", as Hultén stated in the *Opus* interview. And a privileged vehicle for such a process could potentially be the exhibition, by virtue of what Davallon described as its inherently ambiguous mode of signification. According to Rancière, any "distribution of the sensible" – whether at the level of the arrangement of correspondences, sightlines, and trajectories within an art exhibition, or at the level of the foundational exclusions that constitute a certain community, and its others – is, by definition, traversed by two opposed forces: the tendency toward organizing the sensible into an integrated aesthetic whole, where the "curves of enunciation" and "visibility" are locked in relations of exhaustive legibility and subject positions are determined; and the tendency

toward rupturing such "consensual" arrangements, actualizing the ideal of equality as a principle of dissent, potentially facilitating new subjectifications. The first tendency is what Rancière calls the logic of "police", with reference to Foucault's studies of the managerial "police science" of the nascent, modern nation-state, and the second is what he simply calls the process of "politics", which renders equality operative as dispute.[50]

This dichotomy, admittedly, is a rather blunt analytical instrument, but it may nevertheless assist us in conceptualizing the general problem facing the Moderna Museet group as they sought to enlist new media and information technologies for their "project of autonomy", translating their Kulturhuset proposal into the computer-like Information Center diagram presented in the *Opus* interview. On the one hand, new media appeared to offer resources for an equalization of the relations of cultural production, giving people unfettered access to information, and rendering "each receiver a potential transmitter", as an influential text by Hans Magnus Enzensberger suggested.[51] As we will see, the multimedia arrangement of Pär Stolpe's *Pictures of Sweden 1969*, and several exhibitions at Moderna Museet during what we will call the institution's "laboratory years", were precisely experiments in employing the resources and techniques of new media in order to set up alternative information systems, providing conditions of disagreement, and proposing new models of social agency. On the other hand, the ambition to merge the exhibitionary apparatus with new media inevitably affiliated that apparatus with the social, cultural, and economic ideals to which those media were themselves committed, aligning it with the logic of what Martin called the "organizational complex". As we will also see, at the endpoint of the project, launched by the first wave of digital museologists in the late 1960s – and in many respects continuing today – to reduce "incompatibility" between the museum and new digital technologies, there was the techno-utopian vision of a "cultural osmosis of the museum into a brave new medium", that is, its integration within a comprehensive information environment where "word and image" would "join" together in pure legibility, and social contradictions would be resolved.[52]

In order to frame the critical stakes of this opposition – which we will refer to as the "conflict of compatibility" – we will devote some attention to the early sociological and media theoretical writings of Jean Baudrillard, especially those in which he addressed what he described as the "cybernetic idealism" of the period's techno-enthusiasm, in direct polemical engagements with writers such as Enzensberger and McLuhan.[53] In Baudrillard's account – which we will approach at once as an index of a historical constel-

lation of forces, and as a perceptive, if ultimately misguided description of those forces, helping us grasp their ramifications – any progressive or critical project whose operations remained "compatible" with the general "theoretical model" of media as they were currently organized, would unavoidably confirm the political and economic logic into which that model was itself inscribed. The notion of a "critical reversal of the media", he held, was therefore fundamentally misconceived, since cybernetic systems "know how to introduce what negates them *as supplementary variables*".[54] Instead, a critical project must operate at the level of the "model of communication" informing those media, rendering its distribution of positions – the roles it allocates for subjects and objects, the visible and the invisible, signals and noise – indeterminate. In this sense, Baudrillard's texts may assist us by negatively demarcating the space in which a critical project for an exhibitionary apparatus, enlisting the resources of new media for the purposes of "extending autonomy", could be – and may perhaps in some respects still be – practiced.

I write "negatively" because these were not the conclusions Baudrillard himself drew from his premises. For Baudrillard, the generalization of what he called "sign exchange value", supported by the "extended nervous system" of mass media, "no longer [left] any point exterior to the system".[55] The establishment of a new information environment, he argued, generated a space in which "the refractory models of transcendence, conflict and surpassing" could no longer be sustained.[56] True "[r]eciprocity" – a mode of social interaction, that is, not determined by the "code" of "sign exchange value" – instead presupposed "the destruction of the media such as they are".[57] Today, of course, Baudrillard's cynical fatalism seems outdated. And yet its underlying end theorem, its arguments of the closure of the space of contestation, and of the exhaustion of the concept of critique, are currently being resurrected and repurposed, in order to justify the deployment of a "post-critical" project, which seeks to extricate cultural practices from any connection to an emancipatory politics.[58] With different variations, the contemporary proponents of "post-critique" instead advocate "non-oppositional arrangements and scenarios", developed from positions "embedded" within "multiple economies" and information systems, for example promoting what a recent study in "post-critical museology" presents – in terms that could have been borrowed directly from McLuhan – as a social and cultural osmosis of the museum with the "distributed" and "hybrid networks" of major digital media platforms.[59] The possibility for the exhibitionary apparatus of remaining a space of indeterminacy, contradiction, and

disagreement, and consequently of serving the extension of autonomy rather than its obliteration, presupposes, we will argue, that we reject such end theorems, and their associated post-critical, or simply uncritical defeatism.

iv) From Kulturhuset to the Centre Pompidou

This dissertation traces the history of a discursive model: the proposals, outlines, diagrams, and descriptions of an exhibitionary apparatus devised by a large network of artists, curators, critics, activists, architects, and politicians loosely centered around Pontus Hultén and Pär Stolpe between 1963 and 1977. It has three main parts, studying in turn the model's prehistory and development, in the context of the project to transfer Stockholm's Moderna Museet to a purpose-built structure in the city's "renewed" downtown district; its critical implications, as delineated by two projects that in opposite ways sought to integrate the exhibitionary apparatus with new media; and its partial implementations and effects, as the model was put to the test in an attempt to reconceive of Moderna Museet's existing facilities as an Information Center. We will also briefly look at the model's afterlife as one of the sources informing the Centre Pompidou project in Paris.

Part I examines the Kulturhuset project, focusing on its first, formative phase, during which it was understood that the building today standing at Stockholm's Sergels Torg (Sergel's Square) would house Moderna Museet. Our main interest here is the new concept and model of an exhibitionary apparatus that was the outcome of that phase, one historical reference for which was Vladimir Tatlin's *Monument to the Third International* (1920). We will frame our reading of this ambitious institutional, architectural, cultural, and political undertaking as an interrogation of the way the group around Hultén and Stolpe – including, among many others, the architect Peter Celsing and the curator and pedagogue Carlo Derkert – gradually came to abandon the museological model on which Moderna Museet's pioneering activities in the early and mid 1960s had been based – the "museum in movement" – in favor of an understanding of the exhibitionary apparatus as a "catalyst for the active forces in society". We will seek to derive the principles of that transition by studying how the group adapted to, responded to, and internalized the various problems, contradictions, and demands the project was faced with during its seven years of development.

Charting this development, two sources will be emphasized: Peter Celsing's plans for the building in Stockholm's modernized city center,

which were developed in dialogue with Hultén and his associates, but which were also, necessarily, compelled to respond to a range of political, economic, and infrastructural demands; and the notion of the "house of all activities", a model for alternative, radically democratic social and cultural institutions devised and promoted by a network of leftwing activist groups from 1967 onwards, notably in connection to the unrealized "Gasholder" project in Stockholm, one of whose initiators and organizers was Pär Stolpe. We will then direct our attention to the final versions of the unrealized proposal for Kulturhuset's program that Hultén, Stolpe, and several others assembled in 1969, and situate them in relation to the nascent discourse of institutional critique in the US. Our account of these developments is indebted to the small but growing literature on Kulturhuset, but there have been no previous, comprehensive efforts to reconstruct the institutional model itself that was developed by Hultén, Stolpe, and their colleagues.

Part II then attempts to grasp and to conceptualize the critical ramifications of the Moderna Museet group's translation of the Kulturhuset proposal into the Information Center model, which emphasized the group's commitment to new media. It does so by way of close readings of two concurrent but unrelated projects, both of which operated at the intersection of museology, exhibitionary practice, and information technology, and which both in different ways impacted the Information Center model. The Museum Computer Network, launched and developed by the curator and museologist Everett Ellin and a group of computer engineers in New York in 1967, was among the first projects to attempt to apply digital archival and communication resources to the institution of the museum. Ellin advocated the digitization of collection catalogues, and their interconnection in a global information network, foreseeing wide-ranging consequences for the "museum environment", as well as for the new "information environment" into which the museum would be absorbed. Reading some of Ellin's today largely forgotten, programmatic texts for the Museum Computer Network, we will seek to grasp the social and cultural vision at the endpoint of his enterprise, relating it to today's attempts to align the museum – render it "compatible" – with the rhythms, practices, and demands of twenty-first-century media.

Pär Stolpe's controversial and conflicted exhibition project *Pictures of Sweden 1969*, planned for and partially realized at the new Sweden House in Stockholm, made extensive use of advanced communication systems and visual media, aiming to provide visitors with the means for questioning the representation of the nation Sweden on the part of official institutions,

corporations, and mass media, and to produce other images and accounts of the country's social reality. The exhibition was designed as an interactive "newsroom" and a multiscreen image environment, setting up an elaborate system for alternative information feeds, media "reversals", and confrontations between images and counter-images. Reading Stolpe's exhibition alongside the Museum Computer Network, we will probe in what ways it remained immanent to the conceptual framework of what Baudrillard described as the period's "cybernetic idealism", and in what ways it challenged that framework, outlining a space for critical affiliations of the exhibitionary apparatus with new media.

Part III, finally, studies the endeavor to realize the Information Center model at Moderna Museet after the collapse of the institution's Kulturhuset project. We will here examine both the museum's plans for a reorganization, renewal, and extension of its facilities – in the context of which Hultén and Stolpe first drew their circular diagram of the future museum – and a number of its different exhibitions, activities, and projects, through which the Moderna Museet group experimented with display techniques, distribution methods, and modes of interaction, in preparation of the realization of the Information Center. We will approach these different projects and activities as the elements of one coherent institutional undertaking, seeking to piece together an image of the Information Center in practice. A central aspect of this enterprise was the institution's emphasis on new forms of visual communication, on account of which a specific experimental department was established at the museum, known as Filialen, directed by Stolpe. The gradual polarization, during the first years of the 1970s, between Filialen and the museum's main department, and their increasingly incommensurable conceptions of the politics of the image, contributed to the termination of the Information Center project.

Reviewing the different display formats, modes of spectatorship, and methods of distribution that the various actors at Moderna Museet employed during what we will call the institution's "laboratory years", we will devote some attention to their experiments with the "screen exhibition" format, designed to foster new modes of agency in changing information environments, and to facilitate new modes of distribution, blurring the distinction between the exhibitionary apparatus and broadcast media. In their conception of the exhibitionary apparatus as a "transmission center", Hultén, Stolpe, and the others sought to render the museum operative on the field opened by new, global telecommunication networks. As we will see, divergent notions of internationalism were at play here, from the

technocratic managerialism of Buckminster Fuller's *World Game*, to the calls for international solidarity on the part of leftwing groups and civil rights movements such as the Black Panther Party, and to the idiosyncratic cartographies of Öyvind Fahlström's statistics-based, political works of the early and mid 1970s, such as *World Bank* (1972). The question of the political implications of these notions, often framed as a problem of US imperialism, became one of the issues over which the polarization of the Moderna Museet group developed into manifest conflict, and the institutional project around which they had coalesced was dissolved. A coda to part III will then inquire into the afterlife of the Moderna Museet group's vision of the Information Center, and its possible impact on the early phase of the Centre Pompidou project in Paris, for whose Visual Arts Department Hultén was appointed the director in 1973.

In a concluding discussion, we will assess the critical legacy, and the possible enduring significance of the Information Center model, by returning briefly to the debate surrounding the opening of the Centre Pompidou in 1977, famously condemned by Jean Baudrillard as a "carcass of signs and flux, of networks and circuits", heralding the end of culture and critique. What the Information Center model leaves us with is instead the question of how, today, the exhibitionary apparatus might remain a site of contestation and agency, and provide resources for elaborating how new media technologies and networks could be deployed for the reinvention and the extension of the realm of the public.

PART I

A Project of Autonomy:
Kulturhuset, 1963–1970

We maintain that only the full power of the multi-million strong pro-
letarian consciousness could bring into the world the idea of this monu-
ment and its forms.

Nikolai Punin

Introduction: From the Museum in Movement to the Catalyst for Social Change

In December 1962, Pontus Hultén wrote a letter to Piet Sanders, an art collector and professor of law at the Netherlands School of Economics in Rotterdam. Sanders had been appointed by a committee of Town Elders in Amsterdam to oversee the recruitment of a successor to Willem Sandberg as the director of the city's Stedelijk Museum. Hultén had attached a résumé to the letter, and a list of exhibitions held at Moderna Museet in Stockholm between 1956 and 1962, as well as a typewritten, four-page text, titled "How does one wish a museum for modern art to function?".

In the text, Hultén outlined a broad, general vision of the nature and the task of the modern art museum, to be implemented in Amsterdam should he be granted the position there. He located his reflections within a vaguely sketched postwar landscape. In "static" or "primitive" societies, he wrote, which wish to "completely dominate art" – his examples were, somewhat incongruously, Catholic societies, Nazi Germany, and Soviet Russia – "artists fight for their lives". He went on:

> In the society we wish to live [sic] the fundamental idea is that confidence is placed in the individual possibilities of man. These fundamental values are associated with the fact that the existence of each individual is unique. One believes that man, individually, has the ability of creating a reasonable relationship to his fellow citizens, and to give a form to his existence. The art which wishes to express this fundamental idea, and which is created with this point of departure, can only be built on the sincerity of the artist towards himself. He cannot work after any rules which are decided upon in advance. Inasmuch as we change during our existence, we must constantly reexamine our viewpoints. The task of society thus becomes to give the artist an opportunity to develop his possibilities with the largest possible freedom. A modern museum, therefore, should stand on the side of the artists, not on the side of the public; observe with interest and curiosity, not with misgivings, what the

artist does. One must try in the first instance to understand, and only in the second to be critical.[1]

What we will try to grasp in the following is the logic by which this understanding of the museum, according to which it "should stand on the side of the artists, not on the side of the public", was transformed into the vision of the museum as a "catalyst for the active forces in society", which, six years later, would inform the Kulturhuset proposal.

Hultén had a well-established personal and professional relationship with Sandberg and the Stedelijk in Amsterdam. In March, 1961, the exhibition *Movement in Art*, curated by Hultén together with Carlo Derkert, Billy Klüver, and Daniel Spoerri, had opened there (under the title *Bewogen Beweging*), before travelling to Moderna Museet (*Rörelse i konsten*), and then to the Louisiana Museum in Denmark (*Bevægelse i kunsten*). This was an important, programmatic exhibition in the early history of Moderna Museet. It was the first, large-scaled thematic exhibition they produced, and it combined works by contemporary artists, such as Jean Tinguely, Allan Kaprow, and Robert Rauschenberg, with works by artists from the historical avant-garde, such as Man Ray, Viking Eggeling, and Francis Picabia. Alexander Calder, who was represented with no less than thirty-two "mobiles", ranging from the small-scaled to the monumental, and Marcel Duchamp, who was in Stockholm to inspect and sign Ulf Linde's replica of the *Large Glass* (1915–23/1961), shown for the first time in the exhibition, functioned as mediators of sorts between the generations.[2]

Movement in Art set out to account for modern art's inherently dynamic nature, and many of the works on display were mobile, kinetic, or participatory. Hultén had developed the show's underlying concept in different texts and exhibitions since the early 1950s.[3] In an article on Jean Tinguely from 1955, written on the occasion of an exhibition Hultén had organized at the Galerie Denise René in Paris, called *Le Mouvement* – in fact a direct rehearsal for the 1961 exhibitions, featuring many of the same artists – he had stated that modern art, from the futurists and onwards, had "harnessed the time factor", rejecting "the sacred values of earlier art […]: absolute beauty and eternal order".[4] In Stockholm and Amsterdam in 1961, the conspicuous abandonment of such ideals of beauty and order in favor of what was perceived as confusing interactivity and a provocative use of degraded, non-artistic materials, had given rise to intense criticism and heated public debates. In Swedish press, the "great art debate" raged for months, pitting the group around Moderna Museet – Hultén and Derkert, but also the

influential young critic Ulf Linde – against defenders of a traditionalist or even classicist notion of the nature of the artwork such as Rabbe Enckell and Sven X:et Erixson, who rejected the exhibition's "active" or "creative" spectatorship, and lambasted the museum's "scandalous" acquisition policy.[5] Suggesting a generational divide in artistic tastes and expectations, the controversy contributed to the reputation of the young institution, a lesson that was quickly learnt by Hultén and his associates.

As an extension of the collaboration on *Movement in Art*, in the winter of the same year Moderna Museet housed an exhibition with works from the Stedelijk's collection, titled *Stedelijk Museum Amsterdam Visits Moderna Museet Stockholm*. The short catalogue featured one of Sandberg's characteristic poetic essays, which reflected briefly on the current state of the museum of modern art, and the challenges it faced. In it, Sandberg set up a rudimentary opposition between the "static museum", where "things are always in their place", and "the museum where it moves", which could respond to the dynamic nature of the modern human being, who "develops with her own time, and constantly changes viewpoint". With "its cinema theater, its concerts, its courses, its special tours for school kids, its exhibitions, its catalogues, its library, its restaurant, the stedelijk is a museum that moves a lot, just like everything that is living".[6] Alongside Sandberg's text an essay by Hultén introduced the Amsterdam museum and its pioneering director for a Swedish audience. "He has created a new type of museum", Hultén wrote. "[A]n active and dynamic affair, where the art collection constitutes the core around which the events revolve." Opening the institution to a wide range of events and artforms, what he had achieved, Hultén continued, was a "democratization" of the modern art museum, such that it now appealed to "all social classes, in a way it did not before". In the generic, even "anonymous" spaces of Sandberg's institution, "an 'elastic' exhibition technique, with movable walls and temporary arrangements, can be fully developed".[7]

In the fall of 1962, the Stedelijk in Amsterdam hosted an exhibition that would turn out to be equally controversial as *Bewogen Beweging*, titled *Dylaby*, short for "Dynamic Labyrinth". Hultén and Moderna Museet were not formally involved in the project, but had important stakes in it nevertheless. The participating artists – Tinguely, Niki de Saint Phalle, Spoerri, Rauschenberg, Martial Raysse, and Per Olof Ultvedt – were all close friends of Hultén, who had been party to the discussions about the exhibition with Sandberg and his collaborator Ad Petersen from the outset.[8] *Dylaby* took the notion of the dynamic nature of modern art to new lengths. Not only were

most of the works on display kinetic and participatory – from de Saint Phalle's macabre shooting gallery to Ultvedt's unwieldy, deliberately malfunctioning wood contraptions – but they had also all been produced inside of the museum itself, in the weeks leading up to the opening. The site-specific creation and the participatory spectatorship disrupted the relationships between traditionally separate moments of modern art's production and distribution cycle, rendering them quasi-simultaneous and placing them in intimate vicinity to one another, almost to the point of merging.

The institutional model developed at the Stedelijk in Amsterdam and at Moderna Museet in the late 1950s and early 1960s has been referred to as the "open museum".[9] The concept of course brings to mind Umberto Eco's notion of the "open work". But it may be Eco's concept of a "work in movement" that more appropriately accounts for the activities at Sandberg's and Hultén's institutions. In *The Open Work* (1962), Eco described "open works" as works that maintain a structural openness for diverging readings: "though organically completed, [they] are 'open' to a continuous generation of internal relations which the addressee must uncover and select in his act of perceiving the totality of incoming stimuli". "Works in movement", in turn, are works that are actually physically incomplete, and that demand a more comprehensive and practical mode of collaboration: they "are characterized by the invitation to *make the work* together with the author".[10] "In the present cultural context", Eco wrote,

> the phenomenon of the "work in movement" is certainly not limited to music. There are, for example, artistic products which display an intrinsic mobility, a kaleidoscopic capacity to suggest themselves in constantly renewed aspects to the consumer. A simple example is provided by Calder's mobiles or by mobile compositions by other artists: elementary structures which can move in the air and assume different spatial dispositions. They continuously create their own space and the shapes to fill it.[11]

For Eco, the open work, and *a fortiori* the work in movement, could therefore perform an epistemological function. Their formal and material inconclusiveness allowed them to adequately represent, or even embody the "discontinuity of phenomena" that characterized the modern condition. "The open work assumes the task of giving us an image of discontinuity", Eco wrote in his chapter on "The Open Work in the Visual Arts". "It does not narrate it; it *is* it. [I]t almost becomes a sort of transcendental scheme that allows us to comprehend new aspects of the world."[12] Drawing on

Sandberg's vision of a "museum that moves", Hultén, as we shall see, wanted to realize a "museum in movement" in a manner close to Eco's ideal, where the visitors would be addressed as co-creators, and could consequently experience and learn to relate ethically to the dynamism of modern existence.

After *Dylaby*, Spoerri, Tinguely, de Saint Phalle, Ultvedt, and Hultén began discussing a sequel, to be produced in a similar fashion. The result was one of the most iconic exhibitions in the history of Moderna Museet, and one of the defining exhibitions of European 1960s art: *She – A Cathedral* (*Hon – en katedral*), which opened in June 1966, after a few hectic weeks of conception, planning, and construction inside the museum's largest exhibition hall.[13] Niki de Saint Phalle's gigantic, reclining, spread-eagled *Nana* figure, which doubled as outrageous main spectacle (visitors entered it between its legs) and as exhibition architecture (inside it was a labyrinth with participatory installations and forged artworks), can be seen as the culmination of the innovative exhibition program that Moderna Museet had pioneered since the late 1950s, with its open-ended production processes, its active spectatorship, and its canny publicity schemes.[14] The exhibition, of course, was a great audience success, and received intense attention from the press, both in Sweden and internationally; the image of de Saint Phalle's figure was omnipresent, appearing in *Time* magazine as well as in Marshall McLuhan and Quentin Fiore's bestselling *The Medium is the Massage*. In what is perhaps the most incisive study of Moderna Museet's activities during the first years, Patrik Lars Andersson locates *She – A Cathedral* in a geopolitical context, as the culmination of a decade-long project on the part of Moderna Museet to develop a socio-cultural identity at a safe distance from the two strands of the cold war divide. In Andersson's reading, the "openness" of Hultén's exhibition program had been an attempt at claiming a social responsibility for art without edging too close to either American consumer culture or the socialist utopianism of the European avant-garde. This project, Andersson claims, with an argument to which we will have reason to return, ran into a crisis around 1965, as the escalation of the US interventions in Vietnam polarized public opinion, making "neutrality", however skillfully brokered, untenable.[15]

In 1962, *Dylaby* had been the last exhibition at the Stedelijk in Amsterdam under Sandberg's direction. His first choice for his own successor was Hultén, for whom he felt a profound sympathy and trust, as regards both artistic tastes and professional attitude, sentiments that were shared. Several points in Hultén's text to Piet Sanders and the Town Elders

in Amsterdam should therefore be understood strategically, as implicit admissions of support for Sandberg's directorship and artistic program, against the more or less overtly hostile machinations of conservative politicians and opinion-makers. In this respect, Hultén's emphatic claim that the museum should side with the artist, not the public, and should attempt to understand first, and only then be critical, must to some extent be read against the background of the intense debates following both *Bewogen Beweging* and *Dylaby*, when Sandberg and the participating artists had come under violent attack for desecrating the sanctity of the museum, passing off junk and playground attractions as objects of fine art.[16]

But beyond the strategic maneuvering, Hultén's text, written in a formative phase of Moderna Museet's early history, offered a rich, if brief and idiosyncratically argued theoretical account of the direction in which he wanted to develop Sandberg's "new type of museum". The text set up a basic correspondence between the "versatility" of the modern artwork, and the "uniqueness" of each single human being, positing what we could perhaps call an individualism of universal recognition. The "fundamental idea", Hultén wrote, "is that confidence is placed in the individual possibilities of man". Individually, he went on, man "has the ability of creating a reasonable relationship to his fellow citizens", that is, a relationship that recognizes the other's singularity. Art that wishes to "express this fundamental idea" must be "built on the sincerity of the artist towards himself" (because, we may infer, it is only by not pretending to be someone else that he can be recognized as himself, in his singularity). But since, in modern societies, "change" is "the natural climate", man's existence is a process of continuous development. Therefore we must – in order to be sincere to ourselves – "constantly reexamine our viewpoints".[17] An art that properly expresses the fundamental uniqueness of each individual existence, is therefore by necessity an art that is in constant movement. "The more versatile an art work, the larger is its 'quality'", Hultén wrote. "And this is directly connected with the fact that one believes that the unique in the existence of each individual is a fundamental value: 'Poetry must be made by all and not by only one', writes Lautréamont."[18]

The logical leap of this final quote – which would be recycled seven years later, in the title of one of Moderna Museet's most important exhibitions of the post-1968 period – is slightly confusing, but can be accounted for, at least in a generous reading. "Poetry must be made by all", that is: Everyone has the potential to engage in the type of self-scrutiny that is fully realized only in the modern artwork, and that is the condition for a true acknow-

ledgment of the singularity of the other. The soft avant-gardism of this argument resonates clearly with the hermeneutics of empathy developed by Ulf Linde in a number of oft-quoted texts during the same period. In *Spejare* from 1960, and in his articles on the author Lars Ahlin from the same years, Linde argued for an "open" understanding of the significance of the modern artwork, where the spectator's cognitive, existential, and emotional investment in the work of understanding translated into a responsible relationship to the profoundly human, contingent nature of the social world, adding a moral dimension to Eco's concept.[19] Similarly, in Hultén's 1962 vision of the museum, modern, dynamic art's expression of the transitory nature of the human condition was also a potentially universal, ethical imperative of recognition. And this imperative could only remain valid as long as its purity was maintained, that is, as long as art maintained its freedom to reinvent itself, to be in constant movement. "The task of society", Hultén wrote, is "to give the artist an opportunity to develop his possibilities with the largest possible freedom".[20]

As an institution in society, a modern art museum should therefore attempt to "give an all-rounded and as current a picture as possible of that which occurs in art without consideration to the good tastes or preconceived opinions [sic]". It should avoid "impersonal and 'official' […] interests", as well as (within reason) "pressure from art dealers". Instead, it should "show that which is original, personal, unknown". Two general features should characterize a museum of this type. First, since the "boundaries between the different spheres of art become more and more mobile", it should look past the traditional art museum's narrow focus on paintings and sculpture, and also show "film, music, architecture, poetry, ballet, etc.". By extending its scope of activities in this way, the museum would not only represent the "widening of the artistic perception that characterizes this century", but also attract a new, larger audience. Second, the arrangement of temporary exhibitions should be one of its central concerns. The task of informing the public about current developments in the field of art, through "separate [i.e. solo] exhibitions, or theme exhibitions, or group exhibitions", was essential, and "cannot be left entirely to the management of the art dealers". "The combination of temporary exhibitions and permanent collections", Hultén wrote, "are [sic] the ideal forms for the central activities of a modern art museum."[21] By integrating these different measures and features, the museum envisioned in Hultén's 1962 text would become a "museum in movement", an adequate shelter for the versatility of the

modern artwork, defending its freedom to express its principle of sincerity and recognition.

In July 1968, the exhibition *Vladimir Tatlin* opened at Moderna Museet, where it was shown until early October. It was organized by Hultén, Carlo Derkert, and the Danish art historian Troels Andersen, and featured a large selection of photographs and reproductions.[22] Its centerpiece and unrivaled main attraction, however, was the reconstruction of Tatlin's famous model for a *Monument to the Third International*, prepared by Ulf Linde and Per Olof Ultvedt, and realized by the museum's technicians Arne Holm and Eskil Nandorf. According to the original plans, Tatlin's tower, which had been commissioned by the Department of Fine Arts (IZO) within the nascent Soviet state's Commissariat for People's Education (Narkompros) in 1919, would have been an imposing edifice. The enormous steel-and-glass construction would stand 400 meters tall, housing the headquarters of the Comintern. Its arches would straddle the River Neva, in the heart of Petrograd (currently St. Petersburg), the capital of the October revolution. Its leaning, spiraling, triumphantly dynamic cone grid would enclose, on the lowest level, a cuboid volume, featuring a conference hall, where international congresses and public events could take place. Above the cube, there would be a pyramidal volume, which would house the "executive functions" of the Comintern, that is, facilities for the government and "other administrative [...] bodies". Above the pyramid, in the top of the tower, there would be a cylindrical volume and a hemispherical dome, housing an information and propaganda center and transmitters, featuring "a newspaper; the publication of proclamations, brochures and manifestoes [...], a telegraph, projectors for a large screen located on the axes of a spherical segment [...], and a radio station, the masts of which rise above the monument".[23] The tower's four transparent, geometrical volumes would all revolve at different speeds: the cube at one revolution per year, the pyramid at one per month, and the cylinder and the dome at one per day.

In an article about the reconstruction, Linde described how he and Ultvedt were able to deduce the logic of the tower's construction from the properties of its materials. The vertically stacked, geometrical glass volumes in its interior should revolve at different speeds. The mechanics necessary for this could only be housed in a tilted cone structure. The load-bearing structural envelope should be transparent, and therefore had to consist of upright steel rods, reclining at various angles against a common axis. The steel rods had to be held in place, and therefore the embracing steel cords became necessary, spiraling as a double helix toward the top of the tower.[24]

According to its structural design, then, Tatlin's construction seemed to refute the hierarchical relationship between form and content, between active idea and passive matter. Its shape and its logic were born out of the material itself. The technological miracle of this multifunctional tower would arise as if organically from the forces of production of a new, modern type of society, realizing its full potential. As a completed edifice it would not only stand as a symbol of that society, a "monument" to the Third International, but also perform actual, vital functions within society, as government facilities, a propaganda center, and a public institution for culture and information. For the core group around Moderna Museet, this combination of separate functions – artistic, political, and educational – within a single, integrated totality was a compelling model. If the site-specific production of *She – A Cathedral* was emblematic of Moderna Museet's pioneering exhibition program during the early to mid 1960s, the reconstruction of Tatlin's revolutionary tower was so of the museum's institutional and exhibitionary experiments during the period that stretched between, approximately, 1967 and 1973.

In October 1968, as the Tatlin exhibition was dismantled and replaced by Palle Nielsen's celebrated *The Model: A Model for a Qualitative Society*, Moderna Museet finally entered into formal and official negotiations on the realization of a project that Hultén and some of his colleagues had been discussing, planning, and preparing since 1963: to relocate the museum's facilities and activities to a vast new, purpose-designed building that would stand at the heart of Stockholm, the capital of the modern, Swedish welfare state. The enormous structure, to be built along the southern edge of Sergels Torg, in the very center of the city, would stretch to 85 meters wide, its sweeping glass façade conceived as a gigantic TV-screen facing the public square. On the street level, the building would house various information outlets, giving citizens access to newsfeeds, journals, books, and other media. There would be large, flexible spaces for collaborative, creative activities and public events. In the eastern part of the building, the floors above the ground level would feature exhibition spaces and Moderna Museet's collection. The western part of the building would house the executive functions of the Swedish state, more precisely the house of parliament. In the heart of the building, encased in glass, a spiraling staircase would allow visitors to climb to the top of the building, while looking out onto the piazza below.

In January and March of 1969, Hultén, along with Carlo Derkert, Pär Stolpe, Pi Lind, Anna-Lena Thorsell, and Bror Andersson, who together

formed the "Expert Group" of the project's General Program Committee, handed in their final proposals for a program for the new institution, now called Kulturhuset (The Culture House). For the Expert Group, the flexible, open, and participatory nature of their institution derived directly from their understanding of the aim of cultural production within a modern, democratic society. "Kulturhuset", they wrote,

> must function instrumentally – as a catalyst for the active forces in society, for social debate, for social critique. Its aim should be to contribute to creating the conditions for experiments in social coexistence on a democratic, collective basis. It can be used in order to continuously trace and create situations of constructive coexistence between individuals and groups of people.
>
> Fundamentally, Kulturhuset should be open, free and flexible. It should never be closed to anyone, and everyone should always have the possibility to influence its atmosphere and activities.
>
> The actual democracy that society as a whole strives to create for each individual should be the starting point for the realization of Kulturhuset.
>
> It should be a starting point for human coexistence.[25]

In the Expert Group's texts, we recognize several of the ideas expressed in Hultén's letter to Piet Sanders in 1962. Kulturhuset's spaces should be polyvalent and flexible, facilitating all kinds of artistic and social activity, from dance performances to film production. They should combine traditional museum capacities with educational and informational functions normally associated with schools or libraries. There should be an interplay between the collection and the temporary exhibitions, so that the collection should become the "memory" of the center's many activities, and the axis around which they would revolve. And spectatorship should be active and participatory, although the general framework and purpose of this activity were now revised.

But there were also apparent and significant differences between the 1962 suggestions and the Expert Group texts. For the Expert Group, the "starting point for the realization of Kulturhuset" should be the "actual democracy that society as a whole strives to create for each individual". In other words, Kulturhuset should be realized from out of the very concept of democracy. This bold notion could be read simply as an intensification of the formulations in the 1962 letter, where the aim of the museum was to defend modern art's ability to express the dynamic singularity of each individual existence. But Kulturhuset should also, inversely, *realize democracy*, in a fundamental, or indeed radical sense. It should function,

the Expert Group wrote, as a "catalyst for the active forces in society", and create "the conditions for experiments in social coexistence on a democratic, collective basis". Its activities, that is, should generate new forms of democratic life, extending equality and self-determination into new social sectors and new fields of individual and collective existence. For the expert group, the aim of their projected exhibitionary apparatus should be to function as a medium through which the practices and the freedoms of democracy could be affirmed and enhanced, in accordance with its concept.

For this purpose, all available resources should be enlisted. The cultural activities at Kulturhuset should not be restrained by the borders between separate institutional functions, by the frontiers between specialized disciplines, or by the different conventions, materials, and techniques of traditional artforms. It should not be determined by the class demarcations of contemporary society, by the biases of mainstream media, or by the limited access to new technologies. For the Expert Group, the notion of a "new unitary function" of the projected center, which would represent a distinct development from the "old culture of popular education", was developed with direct reference to Tatlin's monument.[26] This affirmative understanding of the pedagogical and heuristic aim of the new apparatus, where it should establish new, radically democratic models of social agency and dissent, marked a clear distinction from the ethics of sincerity and recognition of Hultén's "museum in movement". The museum was no longer a sanctuary that upheld the pure freedom of modern art to express its dynamic nature, but a catalyst that would render contemporary art active as a principle of extension of the freedoms of democratic society. The path from *She – A Cathedral* to the *Monument to the Third International*, therefore, takes us from a defensive to an affirmative notion of autonomy.

Let us assume, as a working hypothesis for the following argument, that the ideas expressed in Hultén's 1962 letter – or some approximation of them – could sustain Moderna Museet's ambitions until around 1967–68, when a change in emphasis becomes detectable. Why were these ideas insufficient for the Kulturhuset project? And by which logic were they replaced with the ideas outlined in the Expert Group writings, from 1969? In the following chapters, we will trace this transition by way of an account of the development of Moderna Museet's relocation plans, from their first announcement in 1963 to their final collapse in 1970. The account will be structured around a series of readings of the different writings, articles, protocols, proposals and sketches about the project that were written, drawn, recorded, presented or published by Hultén, his colleagues, and a

number of other critics, journalists, activists, politicians, and public servants during this period. A large part of this material, from private and public archives, as well as from printed sources, has not before been subject to academic study.

Needless to say, however, the following chapters will also draw on the available secondary sources. Here, two titles deserve special mention: Kurt Bergengren's *När skönheten kom till city* from 1976, which features the most detailed account of the Kulturhuset project by someone directly involved in its development; and the architectural historian Christoph Grafe's dissertation *People's Palaces: Architecture, Culture and Democracy in Two European Post-War Cultural Centres* from 2010, which features the most exhaustive historical study to date of the planning and construction of Celsing's building, as well as a penetrating discussion of the Kulturhuset project in relation to the development of other European cultural centers during the postwar period, primarily the South Bank Centre in London.[27]

We will describe the overall development of the Kulturhuset enterprise as a project of autonomy.[28] That is, we will chart how the original conception of the "museum in movement" was challenged by the conditions and demands of the new Kulturhuset project, and how Hultén and his associates gradually attempted to overcome and internalize these obstacles by devising an affirmative understanding of the autonomy of the art institution, where the mode of experience of contemporary art became the principle for a widening of the political field of rational self-determination.

This part has three main chapters. Chapter one briefly describes the social and political context within which the Kulturhuset project was first conceived and announced. In the most immediate way, this context was the vast project for a renewal, regulation, and modernization of Stockholm's city center, undertaken between 1951 and 1979, which resulted in the demolition of a large portion of Stockholm's old inner city neighborhoods.

Chapter two then follows the Moderna Museet group's responses to this situation: to the problems the project was confronted with, to the new possibilities that were opened, and to the new alliances that were forged, between 1963 and 1968. It was during this period that the Kulturhuset project assumed its shape, and that Peter Celsing, in dialogue with the Moderna Museet group, developed the general design of the building that now stands at Sergels Torg. Not the least of the challenges that the group had to face was the decision, in late 1967, that the building, whose design had already been approved, should also house the Swedish parliament. An institutional experiment that would have a decisive impact on the Moderna

Museet group's vision for Kulturhuset, furthermore, was the project of transforming an old gasometer building in Stockholm into a "house of all activities". Behind that project was, among others, Pär Stolpe, who would soon be recruited to the Kulturhuset Committee's Expert Group.

Chapter three discusses the Kulturhuset project's final stage and crisis, when the arduously elaborated proposals of Moderna Museet and the Expert Group were unceremoniously crushed against the hard reality of Stockholm's municipal politics. A first section will briefly look upon the parallels between the Moderna Museet group's renewed interest in Tatlin's experiments, and more generally in the political dimensions of early Russian constructivism, and their concurrent Kulturhuset plans. We will then examine the definite version of the Expert Group's proposal for Kulturhuset, showing how it sought to reconcile the project's many, heterogeneous conditions, purposes and demands. We will also relate that proposal to the emerging discourse of institutional critique, by way of a short analysis of Pontus Hultén's confrontation with the Art Workers' Coalition in New York in 1969. In order not to mire our account of the Expert Group's proposal in bureaucratic details, a final, separate section of the chapter will then be devoted to a chronological account of the political machinations that led to the collapse of Moderna Museet's Kulturhuset project.

1.

Moderna Museet in the City Center

"Place it in the midst of the city center", wrote the cultural critic Kurt Bergengren about Moderna Museet in an article in the daily *Aftonbladet* on March 7, 1963. "At Sergels Torg or in the part of the Fyrmörsaren block which opens toward Brunkebergstorg, where the telephone administration is currently located. This way the five trumpet blasts of the exclusively commercial activities in the city would immediately acquire a more rich resonance."[1]

The article, titled "Moderna Museet at Sergels Torg" and signed by Bergengren, but prepared together with Hultén, first announced the idea that Moderna Museet should be transferred from its original, provisional location at Skeppsholmen, to Stockholm's rapidly changing city center.[2] The bold suggestion was instantly received with great enthusiasm. No less an authority than Hjalmar Mehr – Social Democrat, City Commissioner of Stockholm,[3] and at this moment at the height of his powers as the politician ultimately responsible for the city's renewal project – signed his support. In an article in the same newspaper on March 14, titled "A Living City Center", he stated, "Personally, I like [Bergengren's] idea. It is constructive and intelligent, a practical proposal which is concrete and tangible".[4] In this way, Moderna Museet's relocation became an element in the gigantic and highly complex project called, with various, equally ominous denominations, the "Norrmalm Regulation", the "Klara demolition", or the "City Sanitation".

The City Sanitation was a product of the "golden age" of postwar economic affluence in Sweden and the Western world generally.[5] As the organicist – and, we may note, eminently biopolitical – metaphor implies, the Sanitation aimed to decontaminate, to restore sanitary conditions, and ultimately health, to a social body. The illness that plagued central Stockholm was, on the most basic level, poor circulation.[6] The insufficient amount and the substandard quality of office workspaces in the city, where

the administration of Swedish business life was concentrated, stifled the region's productivity, stalling the cycle of growth and prosperity. The lack of attractive and appropriately scaled retail outlets impeded consumption, preventing the proper circulation of commodities. And the inadequate and congested infrastructure kept traffic – pedestrian, car-bound, and public – from circulating efficiently, threatening health, and further thwarting productivity. This sclerosis of the urban system, it appeared, would soon reach a point of crisis. During the first boom years of the early 1950s, city officials estimated that, over the coming decades, Stockholm would grow exponentially, rapidly overwhelming the city's capacity.[7] The cure they prescribed was to reintegrate the city in the economic, social, and infra-structural circulatory system of postwar capitalism, facilitating the "social metabolism" of production and exchange, to borrow a term from Marx.[8] And this would demand nothing less than the comprehensive replanning of central Stockholm, whose street grid dated back to the city plans of the seventeenth century, turning it into a modern metropolitan system opti-mized for the requirements of intensified urbanization, growing natality, increasing private car use, extended public commuting, escalating produc-tivity, and soaring consumption. A modern welfare state in full economic expansion, in short, presupposed a fully functioning capital.

The need of sanitation was especially urgent in what had effectively become the city's downtown district, in Lower Norrmalm, a relatively small area just north of the historical city center in Gamla Stan (The Old Town). Set on a ridge that separated the Norrström River from the northern parts of the inner city, the area featured predominantly residential buildings and narrow streets dating from the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries. Traffic was hopelessly congested and the building stock was derelict and overcrowded. Alongside the residents there were small busines-ses and light industry, such as tailoring and printing. The municipal arts and crafts academy, Konstfackskolan, was located there. So were the editorial offices of several Stockholm newspapers. There was a late night ecosystem of restaurants, bars, and theaters. Apparently, although these neighborhoods covered only a minuscule portion of the Stockholm region's total surface, over 25% of its workplaces were located there.[9] And all prognoses pointed to a dramatic population growth. Scores of white-collar workers, it was expected, would soon be travelling to the center, by car or by public transport, from the suburbs and satellite towns that were con-currently under development.

In accordance with a plan for a relatively modest modernization of the city center established in the immediate postwar years, a first cycle of demolitions and redevelopments had been initiated in 1952, warranted by the extension of the city's first two subway lines through the center.[10] The construction and the interlinking of the tunnel systems necessitated infrastructural adjustments, with concomitant interventions in the urban fabric, which in turn cleared the ground for other redevelopments and initiatives. To this first phase belonged the development of the five notorious high-rises – famously described by Yngve Larsson, in 1952, as five triumphant "trumpet blasts" in the city's overall symphony[11] – located between the Hötorget market place and what would become Sergels Torg. But these projects were modest compared to what was to come. As the City Sanitation evolved from its early stage, where adjustments vital for the sustainment of the urban system were carried out more or less ad hoc, and where politicians and developers seized upon the opportunities that were opened, the need for comprehensive programs and plans became apparent.[12]

The sanitation project would be based on two such plans, normally referred to as "City 62" and "City 67". Each of them represented a vast new cycle of demolitions, constructions, and redevelopments. City 62, which was ratified after intense debates and political struggles in September 1963, established an area of regulation which included most of the inner downtown district. According to the plan, over three hundred properties would be razed, to make place for 7,000 new office workplaces and eighteen block-sized parking houses, with 20,000 parking places. New roads would be drawn, existing streets would be widened, and a car tunnel would be added to the subterranean infrastructure.[13] Lower Norrmalm would be completely refashioned, rendered unidentifiable – as in fact it was. City 67, ratified in January 1968, considerably radicalized the sanitation, and widened its scope. It would now include almost all of Norrmalm, and extend into Vasastan in the north, and Östermalm in the east. It would effectively have entailed demolishing over 50% of all buildings in what is today central Stockholm above Gamla Stan, and replacing them with parking houses, office complexes, and shopping malls, had the plans not been revoked following escalating public protests in the early 1970s.[14] Moderna Museet's relocation project played key strategic roles in securing the approvals of both the City 62 and the City 67 plans.

With the first redevelopments in the 1950s it had soon become apparent that the undertaking was practically and legally highly complex, and involved substantial expropriations and relocations for which no clear

precedents existed. As the scale of the project grew, these challenges became more urgent, and called for new legislation, comprehensive agreements between different government branches, and wide-ranging contracts or understandings between commercial and public interests. One major problem was the state's ownership of land in the city. The City Sanitation was a municipal project, realized without support from the state. But as Sweden's capital, many national institutions and agencies were necessarily located in Stockholm. The situation was especially complex in the lower Norrmalm district, the epicenter of the City Sanitation, which was pervaded with state-owned properties, many of which had particular political or historical significances, including Preissiska Huset, the Royal Water Administration, and the Royal Telegraph Administration. The dividing lines of state and municipal ownership often cut straight through separate neighborhoods, even single blocks.[15] Above these complications the threat also constantly loomed of the Swedish parliament and the National Bank, which would both within the foreseeable future need to vacate their insufficient premises on Helgeandsholmen and, either permanently or temporarily, seek out new, central locations.[16]

Why did Hjalmar Mehr, in March 1963, express such undivided enthusiasm for the relocation of Moderna Museet to the heart of this contested area? While he was no enemy of culture, it is safe to assume that he had ulterior motives.[17] In a general sense, it was in Mehr's interest to present the City Sanitation as a moderate project, with measured effects on the social and cultural fabric of the downtown area. In order to ensure the approval of City 62, and appease those in favor of preserving historical buildings and exerting a modicum of infrastructural restraint, he had to convey the image that the plan in fact represented a temperate alternative to the ambitions of an even more radical demolitionist wing. Support for the establishment of a major art institution in the midst of the ruins and the high-rises would send a clear signal that he was committed to sustaining cultural life in the emerging, sanitized landscape.

But more specifically, Mehr had been involved in intricate deliberations with several different parties regarding the development of the Fyrmörsaren, the Skansen, and the Frigga blocks south of Sergels Torg, the area Kurt Bergengren had pointed out as the appropriate location for the new Moderna Museet. It had long been apparent that the buildings overlooking this central square would come to represent the face of the new Stockholm once the sanitation was completed. As it currently stood, on the eastern side of the square, the Scandinavian Bank was erecting its new headquarters, and on the

northern side, various department stores were being installed. Mehr wanted to avoid another bank façade toward the square, and had instead struggled to convince a major international hotel corporation to open a new branch on the attractive location. Several investors and developers had expressed interest. A prerequisite for the advancement of the negotiations, however, had been that the state would release its holdings in the blocks to the city.

Mehr had believed that he had reached a deal, based on a convoluted scheme of trades and promises, but in late February 1963, the state rejected the city's offer to buy the relevant properties, arguing that it wanted to maintain the possibility of locating the National Bank on its Fyrmörsaren lot.[18] On March 7, Bergengren and Hultén's article was published in Aftonbladet. For Mehr, the museum proposal indeed must have appeared "intelligent", "practical", and "constructive". It made it possible for him to argue that, since a public cultural institution on this highly visible site would be in everyone's interest, the state's influence over the area should be limited to the southern part of Fyrmörsaren, where it could house its bank. Furthermore, since the museum in question was a state institution – at this moment, Moderna Museet was still formally a branch of the National Museum – it stood to reason that the Crown should also, as a counter-offer, transfer the control of its remaining properties in the neighborhood to the City. Already in June, in an informal Land Commission session, the parties agreed that the National Bank should be located in the southern part of Fyrmörsaren, that there should be a cultural institution in the northern part, and that the City and the Bank together should arrange an architectural competition for the design of a new complex of buildings in the neighborhood.

There had been nothing accidental about Bergengren and Hultén's proposal. As a journalist specialized in culture and urban planning, Bergengren had been following the development of the City Sanitation for years, and was aware of the symbolical importance of the location, as well as of the complicated ownership situation in the area.[19] He was also a fervent supporter of Moderna Museet, and had published several articles about the institution, and about its problematic conditions at Skeppsholmen, which was at that time still a military island.[20] Hultén was probably not as knowledgeable of the city's property relations, but he was no stranger to political machinations and media schemes. What won public and critical approval in their text was the argument that the new city that was arising out of the ashes after the demolitions was an entirely commercial one, conspicuously lacking public cultural amenities. Theaters were being torn

down, while office buildings, department stores, banks, and hotels were being erected. There is still, Bergengren wrote, "a chance to introduce tones of entertainment and culture in the midst of the commercial activities that dominate the city center".[21]

Bergengren reiterated the point in an article in *Aftonbladet* on March 17, three days after Mehr's response. In the text, titled "The City – A Place for the Exchange of Commodities and Ideas", and featuring illustrations of an imagined museum at Sergels Torg by Olle Eksell – simple drawings depicting a generic, international style complex, vaguely resembling the UN head-quarters – Bergengren's main argument was that the Stockholm region's infrastructural transformation would inevitably channel great flows of people through the city center, and that such centralization could be turned into a virtue if resources for culture and education were made available on strategic sites. "The point of placing an active culture facility in the heart of Stockholm's mercantile center", he wrote, "is to transform it into a place for the exchange not only of commodities and services, but also of ideas".[22] Over the following months, the discussions about the proposal were intense among journalists and critics. While everyone did not agree that Moderna Museet should be entirely transferred to Sergels Torg – some argued that it should maintain its base and its collection at Skeppsholmen, and open a branch in the city center, while others meant that it should be combined with a library – there was a general consensus regarding the need of a cultural institution as an alternative to the predominant market forces in the district.[23]

The consolidation of the proposal as a matter of public interest brought further attention from politicians. Perhaps as a testament to the impact of his persistent lobbying, the General City Plan Committee's statement regarding the City 62 plan in September 1963, clearly echoed Bergengren's proposal, affirming the need of non-commercial facilities in the district. In January 1964, Social Democratic members of parliament Oskar Lindkvist and Stellan Arvidsson presented a motion to the assembly, proposing that Moderna Museet should be housed in a new culture center in Fyrmörsaren. "In the planning of the new city center", they echoed, "there is a need to balance the dominance of banks and department stores around Sergels Torg with a cultural facility. This would give Swedish cultural policy a clear profile."[24] During 1964, the process slowly advanced. In March, the result of another, related competition was announced: to the surprise of many, it was decided that the large fountain on the eastern side of Sergels Torg would be adorned with Edvin Öhrström's obelisk, *Crystal–Vertical Accent in Glass and Steel* (*Kristall–vertikal accent i glas och stål*, completed in 1974). In

April, the Building Board (*Byggnadsstyrelsen*) announced that they supported the construction of a cultural edifice in the city center. In December, finally, the City Council formally decided that the architectural competition should in fact take place.[25] The competition was announced and the brief made public in June the following year, with a deadline for proposals set for December 1965, later postponed until February 1966.

<p style="text-align:center">*</p>

In a general way, the plans to relocate Moderna Museet to the city center fulfilled four overall purposes within the City Sanitation, which would determine the project's conditions as it was gradually developed.

First, they served a complex set of strategic, political functions within the urban renewal plans. The culture center was used as leverage to negotiate the transfer of property rights from the state, so that demolitions and redevelopments could proceed. Here the most striking example was Preissiska Huset, a listed historical building that housed Stockholm's County Council, and that was uniquely old for the area, dating back to the seventeenth century. The architectural competition brief specifically asked the architects to provide two proposals for the site, one with Preissiska Huset intact, the other without it. It of course turned out that the presence of the house constituted a major impediment for any coherent design, and several of the architects dismissed the demand as impracticable, which was probably what the composers of the brief had hoped for. Together with the incentive of a national art institution in the same neighborhood, this convinced the State representatives to let go of the building.[26]

What these stories of convoluted acquisition plots and entrenched city-state conflicts revealed, however, was not only the bureaucratic cunning of the politicians and interest groups involved in the renewal project, but also the extent to which Moderna Museet's relocation plans were imbricated within the larger historical process of structurally aligning the city with a new configuration of the capitalist mode of production, characterized by modernized production methods, extended fields of capital accumulation, and intensified consumption. In this regard, Stockholm's City Sanitation was a particularly ambiguous and paradoxical project, emblematic of the tension constitutive of Swedish social democracy since at least the 1930s. At once a large-scaled socialization project, based on systematically expropriating privately owned properties, *and* a comprehensive reorganization of the city into an effective "social machine", whose units were then reintegrated

into the process of capital valorization and exchange – preferably leased back to commercial actors, so that the city would be able to profit from the value appreciation of the land – it embodied what Manfredo Tafuri has described as the core contradiction of social-democratic city-planning, where the utopian dimension of the plan as project is closed, and super- seded by the plan as reality and "operative mechanism".[27]

Second, the Kulturhuset project was also intended to serve a function of social control. Sergels Torg and the Hötorgs-City were designed as major infrastructural intersections in Stockholm's new urban system, through which large populations, from different social classes and age groups, would circulate. That banks, office complexes, and retail outlets could not be expected to sufficiently contain the movements and behaviors of these new crowds – often predominantly young, with limited purchasing power – had become urgently apparent in the summer of 1965, when a series of riots had broken out in the area.[28] Municipal officials and police authorities anti- cipated that a large-scaled institution for culture and entertainment in this district would exert a pacifying influence over the new social forces. It is our "hope", the Kulturhuset Committee would write in 1969, that "activities meaningful for an ambulating public – and especially for youth in the city – could contribute to the reduction of public disturbances of different sorts".[29] Such police concerns would eventually be called upon to justify the rejec- tion of the Expert Group's proposal for Kulturhuset as a "catalyst for the active forces in society".

On a more general level, the renewal of Stockholm's city center can be read within the context of the development of power relations and modes of governmentality in Swedish postwar society. As Helena Mattson has shown, the ideal citizen of the Swedish welfare state, as it was developed after the Social Democratic Party's ascension to power in the early 1930s, was a "reasonable consumer", who would benefit from a range of regulations, securities, and subventions in order to be able to freely form a sound and educated relationship to the market.[30] Consequently, Mattson argues, the biopolitical design of a healthy, productive, and self-disciplined population, instigated by the "social engineers" of pre-war social democracy, fashioned a mode of subjectivity uniquely appropriate for the social relations of the consumer society that emerged during the postwar decades. The City Sanitation was integrated in this paradoxical process. It was supposed to grant citizens a high standard of living, new degrees of individual freedom, and security from the fluctuations of the market, by extending public transport systems, promoting individual motorization, and providing access

to comfortable, affordable, and sanitary housing. At the same time its predominant aim was to stimulate productivity and consumption, and the overwhelming majority of the buildings and structures in the new city districts were built for commercial purposes. These opposed, yet mutually reinforcing tendencies – between socialization and commodification, and between freedom and control – formed the external conditions of Moderna Museet's relocation project, and Kulturhuset became a site where their latent contradictions became visible as conflict.

Third, the role that was circumscribed for Moderna Museet's project by the public debate through which it was first introduced was as an exception to the commercial logic that governed the City Sanitation's redevelopments. Kurt Bergengren was here the most persistent in demanding that there should be alternatives to the city's dominant "mercantile" rationality.[31] But as we have seen, many others agreed, establishing a near consensus regarding the desirability of a cultural institution in the emerging, sanitized city center, and this argument then found resonance among public officials. So it was on account of the principle of exception that Moderna Museet's relocation plans won political mandate, and could enter the path toward realization. For the group behind the museum, this was the project's first internal condition, the basic concept to which their proposals had to answer.

Of course, responding to this ideal, the project also had to respond to the social logic of art's autonomy, its "double character as both autonomous and *fait social*", as Adorno phrased it.[32] And in this case, this double character was manifested as contradiction. The reason the museum was asked to perform a role as exception was that, as such, it would legitimize the order from which it would be the exception. The City Sanitation was flawed, illegitimate, the critics argued, because it did not provide spaces for cultural and non-commercial activities. Should there be such spaces – should Moderna Museet relocate to Sergels Torg, for example – then, according to the same argument, the City Sanitation would evidently be legitimate. This pointed to a fundamental problem for the Moderna Museet group. What was demanded of them was that the institution they proposed should, in some very general sense, realize art's autonomy: that it should be a space, say, for artistic freedom and for aesthetic, disinterested experiences. The question was of course how they should reconcile that freedom with the sanctioned, legitimizing function of their institution, "as a convenient alibi for the state powers", as Öyvind Fahlström put it.[33] In one respect, the history of the development of Moderna Museet's Kulturhuset proposals was the history of the treatment of that problem, and the model of an

"affirmative autonomy" outlined by the Expert Group in 1969 can be understood as an attempt to respond to it.

Fourth, due to its strategic location, its exceptional and legitimizing status within the new urban environment, and its inherent symbolical dimension as an art institution, the new museum in the city center was inevitably expected to fulfill a representative function, as a face of the new Stockholm, an emblem of the virtues of the City Sanitation, and ultimately a symbol of the modern Swedish welfare state. This aspect had been present in the project from the outset, and the competition brief would seize upon it explicitly. For architects, the designated location was charged with historical significance. Sergels Torg would come to replace Brunkebergstorg as the main inner city square, but also constituted the endpoint of the broad Sveavägen, which had been conceived in the seventeenth century as a majestic boulevard that would lead from the Haga castle in the north of the city, to the Royal Castle in the old town. Those plans had never been fully realized, and the avenue's fate had been debated by generations of politicians and city-planners since then. The responsibility for solving this age-old problem now fell upon the architects of the new culture center – and indeed, Celsing's wall responded to it in unambiguous terms.

In his speech at the opening of the completed Kulturhuset in October 1974, Hjalmar Mehr emphasized the wider significance of the project. "In fact the question here concerns not only Kulturhuset", he stated.

> Kulturhuset constitutes the crowning achievement, but the work itself is the City Regulation. […] There is something deeply symbolic about the fact that the first major inauguration of the completed City Regulation is that of Kulturhuset. It manifests the important role culture plays, and *should* play, in the heart of Stockholm – culture taken in its widest sense, as a fundamental part of the social and material construction of society.[34]

In 1974, of course, the turn of events surrounding both the Kulturhuset project and the City Sanitation at large had drastically shifted the conditions of their public perception. The building at Sergels Torg did not stand as a symbol of Stockholm's, let alone Sweden's progressive cultural policy, nor of the great achievement of the urban renewal project. Instead, it stood as a blatant and uncomfortable sign of the indecisiveness and lack of cultural ambitions of the local politicians, and of what was now commonly regarded as the great crime of the City Sanitation, which had effaced the whole core of the inner city, and with it its life.

2.
The Square and the Screen:
Toward a Definition, 1963–1968

2.1 The Early Proposals

During the period between 1963 and 1968, the Moderna Museet group's visions for Kulturhuset gradually assumed a more defined shape, in dialogue with the development of the architectural plans for the site. While it is not possible to establish precisely when the group, with Hultén in its center, first entered into discussions with Peter Celsing – the earliest records of an exchange are from November 1966, but almost certainly they were in contact prior to that – it is clear that their respective projects were forged in a mutually defining relationship. Celsing's winning proposal for the design of the building complex in several respects was guided by an understanding of Moderna Museet's program, and responded to details about the new museum project as described by Hultén in various articles and presentations. Hultén and the Moderna Museet group in turn responded to the new possibilities afforded by Celsing's architectural proposal, which seems to have allowed them to revise aspects of their own project, shifting the terms of its relationship to its social and urban context.

What was the logic of the future museum that Hultén and his associates envisioned during this early phase? Even in March 1963, Bergengren's and Hultén's article had presented several of the ideas that would go on to become recurring themes in the Moderna Museet group's writings and proposals. Introducing the notion of the "cultural living room", Bergengren and Hultén described the institution as a place where the transitory nature of life in the modern city could come to expression and find an adequate shelter. Their formulations here directly recalled Hultén's letter to Piet Sanders, written only months before.[1] Their text then went on to list the many functions that Moderna Museet could fulfill were it to relocate to an

adequate building in the designated area. There would be, they wrote, a "permanent exhibition", giving an overview of recent national and international developments in art; there would be temporary exhibitions, with works from different artforms and genres, from painting and sculpture to architecture and crafts; there would be concerts, theater performances, lectures and films; there would be a library, a "children's museum", an art bookstore, and a restaurant. Combining all these features, the institution, Bergengren and Hultén stated, would become "a concentrated and energetic culture center in the heart of the city".[2] Asked to comment on the proposal a few days later, Hultén added that, due to its central location, the future museum could establish a contact with a new audience, so as to introduce the "irrational and thought-provoking" element of contemporary art into everyday urban life.[3]

The proposal to relocate Moderna Museet to the city center was enthusiastically endorsed not only by Hjalmar Mehr, but also by prominent cultural figures and businessmen such as Carl Nordenfalk, the director of Nationalmuseet and Hultén's superior, and Gerard Bonnier, an influential publicist and chairman of Moderna Museet's friends' association.[4] Together with the public debate that ensued, this was apparently sufficient for the local politicians to spring into action.[5] As we have seen, in June 1963 a provisional accord between the city and the state about land rights was reached, and it was agreed that an architectural competition should be held. However, by the time the accord had been ratified, and the committee for the architectural competition had been composed, one and a half years had passed. A press release announcing the competition was sent out to Swedish and Nordic media in December 1964. The competition brief was then made available to architects in June 1965. It was rumored that the further delay was due to disagreements within the competition committee regarding the brief's requirements.[6]

When Hultén, in February 1965, published his first, proper vision, in his own name, of the future, relocated Moderna Museet, his article, printed in *Dagens Nyheter*, therefore had several strategic aims. First, sensing that the outlook of the Sergels Torg project was uncertain, he wanted to raise public opinion, and reaffirm Moderna Museet's as yet unofficial – although widely established – connection to the enterprise. Second, Hultén in all likelihood suspected that the competition brief's description of the future culture center would be vague, and so his article sought to provide the prospective architects – who would soon start preparing their competition entries – with details about the nature of the institution that the building should

house. The *Dagens Nyheter* text was accompanied by an article in the daily *Stockholmstidningen*, which further specified the museum's needs. These two articles, in turn, were parts of a veritable media campaign, which included radio appearances, public meetings, as well as several additional articles about Moderna Museet by Hultén's reliable ally, Bergengren.[7]

Arguing that a museum, rather than a more changeable culture or entertainment center, should be placed at Sergels Torg, Hultén's *Dagens Nyheter* article, titled "Moderna Museet in the City Center", developed the notion of a dynamic interplay between collection and exhibitions. Whereas "exhibition halls" exclusively devoted to temporary displays and activities would inevitably become "weightless and aleatory", Hultén claimed, a collection would give the institution a measure of stability and durability. The art collection, he wrote,

> becomes the axis around which the temporary events move. [It] becomes the element that, in a natural way, provides continuity, and to which the visitor returns after viewing the temporary arrangements. Many of the myths of our time are crystallized in contemporary visual arts, and nothing could be more appropriate than an art collection as the center of a living and dynamic cultural institution.[8]

Such dynamism, Hultén went on – also a familiar theme – should come to expression in the institution through the intermingling of different artforms and cultural practices. "Artforms constantly inspire each other", he wrote, "and these streams of inspiration are also experienced by the public". An institution supporting such a multifarious program, sustained by the collection, would provide an exception within the "monotonously commercial character of these neighborhoods". At the same time, he argued, the new city center had the advantage of being "socially unmarked". Placing a cultural institution in these "popular neighborhoods", rather than, as is customary, in the "bourgeois" part of town, could therefore contribute to turning the new district into "the property of everyone, a classless area".

Hultén's second article, in *Stockholmstidningen*, was a response to a critique of his earlier text. In a polemic published in the same daily, the critic Bengt Olvång had accused Hultén of wanting to establish a "hastily conceived colossus [of] uniformity", one that would absorb all artforms into its unitary space, reducing their differences.[9] "Our intention is not at all to create a colossus", Hultén replied. "Instead, we understand the new museum as a bundle of muscles that push, pull and lift, that present the new visual arts, music, film, theater, poetry, etc., together in a meaningful way,

and that does so in the midst of the new city center, because that is where the new art belongs."[10] Hultén then enumerated the different functions and spaces that the center could contain, in a seventeen-item list that directly repeated Bergengren's and his own list in the article from March 1963, but with three significant additions, all of which would become hallmarks of Hultén's new idea of the museum, with effects beyond the Kulturhuset project itself.

First, developing an idea he had mentioned in the previous article, Hultén now proposed that the "cultural living room" – which had been a general metaphor for the whole center in the 1963 text – should be a separate, polyvalent social space inside the new institution. This accommodating and flexible space should be like a "promenade hall", and feature concerts, theater performances, and lectures. Second, Hultén introduced the notion of a "study collection", an idea he had practiced since the foundation of Moderna Museet in 1958, and that he would remain committed to and realize in different versions for the rest of his life.[11] The study collection should embody the dynamic interplay between the collection and the exhibitions, between the permanent and the temporary. Here the idea remained vaguely outlined: "all the artworks in the house", wrote Hultén, "should be made available to the public, so that even the ones that are not on display in the exhibition spaces can be studied". Third, the institution should feature an open "experimental workshop" for artistic activities, a "playhouse for grownups". For the time being this idea too lacked any detail, but it would go on to become a defining feature of the Expert Group's Kulturhuset proposals in 1969, as well as of the following plans.

Hultén's additions to the 1965 list as compared to the 1963 one therefore all emphasized participation and inclusiveness. One factor might help explain this stress on audience outreach and engagement. In April 1965, the results of a survey about museum visitor habits had been made public, overseen by the influential sociologist Harald Swedner. Three institutions had been the objects of the study: Lund konsthall in the south of Sweden, the Louisiana Museum in Denmark, and Moderna Museet. The results, according to Swedner, were unequivocal: art museum visiting was an exclusively middle- and upper middleclass affair, and the overwhelming majority of the visitors had a pronounced, special interest in the arts. "Art centers", he wrote, "are generally a meeting place for a very small group of people with a marked interest in the arts, a group that predominantly consists of young persons with a high school and university education. Older visitors, apart from being well educated, also generally have a high

income, allowing them to purchase art."[12] In short, Moderna Museet was a space for what Swedner, with a well known concept, had called "*finkultur*", "high culture", in Swedish a pun on the expression "*finrum*", a sort of embellished salon space in bourgeois apartments used only on especially festive or noble occasions.[13]

In the article where Swedner presented his concept of "*finkultur*" as a sociological category, titled "The Barrier to High Culture" and published in the same year, Swedner had advanced a set of hypotheses about the conditions that at once defined and restricted access to "*finkulturen*".[14] Based on surveys about theater visiting in several Swedish cities, they were generally straightforward: "*finkultur*" demanded an "emotionally and intellectually active viewer", and so "persons in social group 3 (where manual labor is the most common)" would be less receptive to it; to engage with "*finkultur*" cost money, and so it was inherently exclusive; and "*finkultur*" was more rewarding for educated people, and so it would appeal to privileged social groups. Some hypotheses were more directly relevant to the Kulturhuset project. "*Finkultur*", Swedner remarked, was normally housed in "prestige palaces" located in connection to the residential neighborhoods of "persons in social group 1 and 2", where working class people were rarely inclined to visit. And then there was, Swedner argued, the more complex problem of a "strong sense of community among the workers' groups", through which the social groups that identified as workers defined themselves in opposition to the middle- and upper classes, and therefore excluded themselves from appreciation of "*finkultur*". Swedner's analysis consequently called for a change or extension of cultural output, beyond "*finkultur*"; for a relocation of cultural institutions to "popular" or "socially unmarked" neighborhoods; and, more vaguely, for the development of models of subjectivity not defined against "*finkultur*", that is, for inviting a new audience to identify itself positively as a community through the engagement with an extended, inclusive notion of culture.

On the one hand, it is obvious that Hultén's suggestions for the relocation of Moderna Museet to the city center can be read along such lines. The democratic and participatory ideal of the "museum in move-ment", inherited from Sandberg's Stedelijk in Amsterdam, was directly aligned with the aim of breaking down the barriers of "high culture", in Swedner's sense. In a general respect, Moderna Museet's program through-out the early and mid 1960s had been engaged in a complex negotiation with the shifting definitions of "popular" and "high" culture, as emble-matized by the institution's close affiliation with Pop Art and *Nouveau*

réalisme, represented in key exhibitions such as *American Pop-Art* (1964) and *She – A Cathedral* (1966). One of the achievements of the museum during this period – regardless of Swedner's verdict – was the compromise it had staked out between attempting to reach a wider audience through the inclusion of "accessible" cultural forms, and maintaining a skeptical "neutrality" with respect to an Americanized consumer culture, by housing exhibitions and activities that ironically affirmed or deconstructed that culture's tropes. What made this compromise insufficient was not only, as Patrik Lars Andersson has convincingly argued, the Vietnam movement and the increasing untenability of neutrality towards US influence, but also the demand posed by the Kulturhuset project to further integrate the museum in its social and urban context.[15]

On the other hand, Moderna Museet's program, from the late 1950s onwards, had been predicated on a rejection of the conditions of Swedner's concept, which, however vaguely, postulated an opposition between modern or avant-garde art, as a subspecies of "*finkultur*", and audience appeal, or more fundamentally public availability. The ideal to which Hultén and his associates were pledged was closer to the notion of a popular avant-garde, or an "other avant-garde", to borrow a concept coined by Peter Wollen: one that holds that "formal innovation" is necessary for art to adequately address new social, cultural, and technological conditions, yet is not reconciled to the "minority status" which is unavoidably ascribed to a "purist" or "formalist" position.[16] The combination of formal integrity and mass audience appeal, Wollen argued, was precisely what had been sought by early Soviet avant-garde cinema, and during his own period by the French New Wave. At Moderna Museet, a comparable ideal had been at work in the institution's important film program, which had played a pivotal role in establishing the new museum's audience during the first years, and which had begun introducing the French New Wave alongside experimental filmmakers as early as 1958.[17] But the reluctance both toward equating popular art with a rejection of formal experiments, and toward a strictly formalist program – for example, as a legitimizing discourse, Greenbergian self-reflexivity seems to have been virtually unknown at Moderna Museet during the period under study here – characterized the museum's program in general, at least until the mid 1970s. And the Kulturhuset plans seemed to offer the Moderna Museet group the material conditions for pursuing that project, by establishing a reconfigured exhibitionary apparatus at a central, urban site, strategically located at the intersection of large, heterogeneous population flows.

*

Hultén had been right in assuming that the architectural competition brief would be vague. When it was finally made available to architects on June 1, 1965, the only traces in the text of the Moderna Museet group's suggestions were a few contorted, noncommital sentences about the polyvalence and flexibility of the future center's exhibition facilities.

Presented as the "program for a general ideas competition [*idétävling*]", the brief stated that the entries should provide "studies for the design of the buildings in the neighborhoods immediately to the south of Sergels Torg in Stockholm", with regards to "their use, the appropriate land use, the exterior environment around the blocks, and their interior environments".[18] The buildings should house the National Bank, a theater, a hotel, and exhibition facilities. The bank should be located in the southern part of the Fyrmörsaren block. The locations of the other institutions were left undetermined, but it was assumed that the exhibition facilities could be placed along the northern rim of the competition area, opening onto the square.

With regards to infrastructural and zoning demands, the brief's guidelines were few and relatively vague. The square's position at the intersection of three of central Stockholm's main streets, the brief explained, created a highly charged traffic situation, necessitating a system for pedestrian circulation in several levels, which the buildings opening onto the square must reflect and accommodate. And the height of the structures on the site, the brief posited, should not exceed the general height of the surrounding architecture, so as not to compete with "Sveavägen's architectural theme".

Echoing the ideas that had been circulating in the months and years leading up to the competition announcement, the brief outlined three general functions for the future buildings. First, there was the symbolical function that comes with the location, "in the new heart of Stockholm, at the endpoint of Sveavägen, facing Sergels Torg along its southern edge". Second, there was the social function of acting as an exception to the city center's dominant commercial logic, "so that the activities around the square become more balanced". And third, by introducing cultural activities in the new district, the new buildings should "give adequate expression to the transitoriness and dynamism of the modern city". [19]

For a building complex with these functions it was at present, the brief remarked, "not possible, nor even desirable" to determine the "relationships between different activities, in a way that would be valid over time and form the basis for defined functional specifications of the spaces". The "rapidly

changing working conditions of cultural institutions", and their ongoing attempt at "reaching a larger audience, through new forms of activities", instead posed new demands on the structures to be "variable and expansive". Nevertheless, the brief attempted to summarize the competition's general aim. "The program", it stated, with a remarkable sentence, "can therefore be formulated as a demand for the greatest generality, with the possibility of a variable use within a certain framework, as well as the possibility of direct redispositions of the building's volume for other functions, and the structures should, as concerns their form and their content, give expression to this flexibility".[20]

For the bank, the hotel, and the theater, separate appendixes provided fairly detailed specifications of necessary resources and structural requirements. Regarding the exhibition facilities the brief suggested simply that competition entries should "give a theoretical account of flexibility as architectural and constructive principle", and demonstrate how this idea could be applied in the disposition of the building. In a cursory description it then proposed that the "upper floors" of the building in the northern part of Fyrmörsaren should house administrative functions and a "center for traffic control", looking out over the Sergels Torg traffic circle. "The other half, the lower floors", it went on,

> should be available for public use, amenable to quick and short-term redisposition, so that about one third of the spaces may house temporary exhibitions in large and synoptic spaces, or may completely or in part be used for parties, lectures, prize ceremonies, film screenings, concerts, scenic arrangements, ballets, and the like; and another third may house smaller exhibitions and more permanent arrangements, so that this part, by itself or together with the remaining third, may be used for study groups, courses, and lectures connected to its activity, and house its own administration.[21]

While the list of functions and activities here vaguely recalled Hultén's lists in his articles from the previous years, the brief's account of the building's polyvalence appeared almost willfully incoherent – as if designed to preclude the notion that the institution's activities could be subsumed under one concept and one directorship. It is probable that this incoherence reflected a conflict within the prize committee, which included representatives of both the state and the municipality, and that this is what had delayed the completion of the brief. The City officials, it appears, wanted to prevent formulations that could commit them to financing a large, national

cultural institution in "their" new building complex. In this sense, the tortured sentences in the brief that did not so much outline a program for the exhibition facilities as anticipate the impossibility of one, were symptoms of the tension that would ultimately lead to the collapse of Moderna Museet's Kulturhuset plans.

2.2 Celsing's Screen

In "On Space", his inauguration lecture as professor in architecture at the Royal Institute of Technology in Stockholm in 1960, Peter Celsing established a distinction between two kinds of space. On the one hand there was what he called "physical" and "quantitative" space. He exemplified it with a cursory reference to renaissance perspective, but we may infer that it was more generally a space of scientific rationality and standardization. On the other hand, there was "metaphysical" and "qualitative" space. This space he described as a "force field" defined by the "concentration" and the "radiance" of the objects out of which it was composed, with respect to a physical, situated, and affective subject. This was the space that emerged out of lived, social experience, and it was animated by "memories and associations".

In order to "demonstrate this modern experience of space", Celsing suggested,

> let us go on an excursion to the old marine environment of Skepps-holmen. As we climb the road that has been dug into the hill toward Barracks no. 2, we have a strong perception of space. We experience a continuous series of sense impressions as the positions of the buildings change in relation to our movement. Between the free, simple volumes internal correspondences and interstices appear, giving rise to an experience of space, as palpable as that of moving within enclosing walls. We are in a force field, a metaphysical space. […]
>
> We step into Moderna Museet. We now leave one structure and enter a new one. How well this museum suits us and the art it contains, with its large, unobstructed floor surfaces, where we freely place our symbols, paintings, and drawings. […]
>
> The definition of art as vitality suggests itself. Regarding painters such as Picasso, Matta, Mathieu, or Jackson Pollock, we could almost say that the artworks are examples of energy transformed into object. The space of the artworks is defined by the radiance of the separate units.
>
> Within Moderna Museet there are no obtrusive, physical limitations of space, that pull us out of the force fields of the art objects. The ceiling's strut, armature, and metal drums constitute a structure so porous that light sifts through, enhancing the sense of liberty inspired by the large surfaces.
>
> To our free movement across the floor, responds the light ceiling construction's promenade above us. The large surface, which gives free-dom for change and movement, is what is essential in the space. The task of the architectural limitation of space in this context becomes to facilitate and emphasize the manifestation of liberty. Moderna Museet is

a space furnished with the expressions of the modern spirit, and it is limited by the force fields of these objects.[22]

"The façade", Celsing continued,

> is the meeting point between outside and inside. It can be a solid wall of great density, or a very porous structure, where the wall's functions are clearly separated according to spatial limits, climate concerns, and elements of construction. The façade outlines our activity, our organization, our attitude to our surroundings, our ethical and aesthetic values and needs.
> The façade reveals where we want to belong, in a common world culture or a regional cultural environment; whether we understand the world as a space we all want to share under equal conditions, or as a more narrow space limited to the district, the nation, etc.[23]

Reading these words it seems inevitable that Celsing would win the competition for the Sergels Torg complex. The two defining features of the Kulturhuset building were there: the open, flexible floor plans, designed to accommodate the artworks, "the expressions of the modern spirit", whose "force fields", with respect to the sensations of the freely moving spectator, were what should define and limit the space; and the façade, understood as a sign that communicates the values and the ideals of a social and cultural community. Remarkably, it is as if Celsing had derived these characteristics, and maybe even the very notion of a "metaphysical" space, from his experience of visiting Moderna Museet, in the years immediately following its opening. But, we might note, the dynamic aesthetic of Moderna Museet's program here also corresponded to a general understanding of architecture as the planning and deployment of dynamic, responsive systems, rather than as the construction of static enclosures, in line with a cybernetic language that was gaining influence in architectural practice at this moment, and of which Celsing was undoubtedly highly aware.[24]

Celsing's Kulturhuset plan, of course, was a compelling response to the competition brief's call to "account for flexibility as architectural and constructive principle", and to propose a structure that could answer to the location's representative demands. The sweeping gesture with which his building cut across the two lots in the northern part of the competition area, integrating the whole public square in one coherent architectural expression, was unrivaled in its ability to combine adherence to the district's architectural theme with a grandiose architectural statement, proposed on the scale of the city as a whole. Among the other competition entries there

were attempts at uniting the different blocks into a single structure or mega-structure, but none of them achieved the convincing simplicity and legibility of Celsing's bold pen stroke across the lower Norrmalm map.[25] And the deceptively simple structural principle of the building, designed as a load-bearing back wall with cantilevered floor-shelves, screened off from the facing piazza with an expansive glass wall, seemed to clearly communicate the ideals of flexibility and openness, while providing the conditions for their material, spatial realization.

So if the competition brief's description of the center's exhibition facilities was an elliptic and reductive adaptation of the Moderna Museet group's prior suggestions, without their totality and coherence of vision, Celsing's entry restored that unity, by designing his structure as a stack of irregularly scaled yet isomorphic volumes, each an internalized extension of the public square outside and below. In the competition sketches the symbolical cohesion of these spaces was secured by the unbroken horizontals of the floor slabs, which seemed to impose a basic, underlying commensurability on the interior's functions and activities. Peculiarly, in these drawings the glass façade itself – which would of course become the defining feature of the built structure – was entirely absent, invisible, as if fully absorbed into its communicative function. Celsing's competition statement about his design, on the other hand, although laconic, almost cryptic in its sparse wording, stressed the façade's central role: "The house is characterized by its contents. Against the illuminated city wall the human being is projected. The façade becomes a screen."[26]

How should we understand the function of this at once prominent and self-effacing wall? What was the logic of Celsing's screen? The transformation of the façade as an opaque surface that can carry symbolical inscriptions, into a screen, that is, a transparent membrane or interface where the inside communicates with the outside, followed, it seems, from Celsing's attempt to reconcile his understanding of the social, urban, and topographic qualities of the competition area, and of the critical stakes of its ongoing modernization, with his grasp of the social and cultural logic of Moderna Museet's project in the early to mid-1960s. The problem he set out to resolve, we could say, was how to realize the "museum in movement" architecturally, so as to thereby realize a "qualitative" urban space, within the context of a functionalist renewal project seemingly at odds with such ambitions. In this sense, Celsing's aspirations were caught in a complex relationship with what Reinhold Martin has described as a key project in postwar architecture in the West: that of "restoring to rationalized postwar

experience the dimension of affective physiognomics", by devising structural and aesthetic forms that could respond to the fluid, organic logic of the postwar corporation, such as precisely the curtain wall and the open floor plan.[27] Interestingly, Celsing arrived at these same forms – usually associated with commercial office architecture – from the opposite direction, seeking the architectural conditions for organizing a spatial experience refractory to the logic of the marketplace.

Before everything else, the Kulturhuset building is a line. It is a longitudinal line, that both separates and articulates, drawn between two highly charged zones of Stockholm's inner city: the Hötorgs-City north of the competition area, and the Klara and Jakob neighborhoods to the south. The Hötorgs-City was the first area of inner city Stockholm to be "sanitized", and its old urban fabric was almost entirely erased in order to make place for a new traffic system, a new street grid, and modern architectural forms, housing predominantly commercial enterprises. It was explicitly planned as an area for the postwar, motorized consumer.[28] The Klara and Jakob neighborhoods were also slated for thorough modernization, and a majority of the extant buildings awaited or were in the process of demolition, but there the old street grid was mostly preserved, separated from the main thoroughfares directly to the north. While its architecture was being almost entirely replaced, with blocks rather than houses as the compositional units, its street plan and its skyline should still conform to the overall layout of the old cityscape. This was a mostly pedestrian district, and the intention was that patterns of circulation in the area – and, by extension, social patterns – should to some extent be preserved.[29]

There is little doubt that Celsing found the functionalist renewal of the Hötorgs-City area insensitive, with its unmitigated and one-sided rationalization of the urban fabric.[30] His ambivalent position with respect to the functionalist legacy,[31] and to what in the architectural discourse of the 1970s would become known as the "White/Gray"-debate – the conflict, that is, between a "neoformalist" appraisal of architecture as independent form, and a "neorealist", ironic play with historical and cultural references – has often been noted.[32] In "On Space", this ambivalence was apparent in Celsing's unresolved relationship to the figure of Le Corbusier, who was presented as a contradictory character, at once the "prophet" of an internationalist, humanist sensibility, and a representative of "the kind of human who sees the mastery of nature as a self-evident and innate right", who elevates his Apollonian structures above the ground, separating the human dwelling from the earth, tragically condemning her to alienation and root-

lessness.[33] Celsing's practice prior to the Kulturhuset project, which had mainly consisted of a series of commissions for churches in new satellite towns and suburbs in Sweden, had allowed him to achieve an idiosyncratic compromise between these strands: between the standardized building techniques and the formal language of postwar functionalism, and an expressive architectural language based on using symbolically connotative materials, archaic and historical building typologies, and crafts-like techniques, in an intense dialogue with the physical, social, and cultural determinants of the local context.[34] The Kulturhuset building was an attempt to reconcile a similar set of opposites.

Celsing's line across the Lower Norrmalm map therefore served two functions, dialectically interrelated: one conservative, one transformative. First, the Kulturhuset building should form a wall, a physical and symbolical barrier against the advance of the City Sanitation, behind which the "memories and associations" of the old cityscape's "qualitative" space should be preserved.[35] It is significant in this regard that Celsing, unlike several other of the competing architects, chose to separate the different institutions of the complex into distinctive buildings. The second prize-winner Henning Larsen, for example, proposed a dwarfing megastructure, an interconnected system of large volumes or cells suspended as an extended ceiling over a vast, block-sized piazza, housing all the separate functions – bank, theater, hotel, culture center – together, and establishing an architectural continuity across the segments of the competition lot.[36] Celsing, on the contrary, disarticulated the institutions, placing the National Bank, the theater, and the exhibition facilities in separate structures, located on different sides of the demarcating line formed by Kulturhuset's back wall. It indicates that he understood that the heterogeneity of the Moderna Museet proposals could only become an effective program within a coherent totality: that a communal space functioning at once as a hotel lobby, a bank vault foyer, a theater entrance, and a multidisciplinary "cultural living room", would entail administrative complications incongruent with the organizational suppleness and versatility sought by Hultén and his associates. But we could also read Celsing's dispersal of the institutional structures as an argument about the symbolical location of the different institutions with respect to the historical transformation of the city. Whereas the theater and the bank were placed in separate, monofunctional buildings, responding to the classical definitions of their institutional functions, and located in the preserved street grid of the Klara and Jakob area, the polyvalent

culture center, while seated in that historical area, opened out toward the redrawn urban environment of the Hötorgs-City.[37]

In spite of the important functions of the back wall, the Kulturhuset structure was therefore characterized by its frontality. In fact, the back wall is almost exclusively visible from the front, as it rises above the volume of the building, its vast vertical articulations circumscribing the rooftop space as an open-air floor plane. From the rear, the building cannot be entered at all, and hardly even approached. There, the back wall is for the most part absorbed into the adjoining theater and bank buildings, and its exposed surface is a mute, inconspicuous but slightly ominous, high concrete wall, windowless and visible mostly from the narrow passageway below. This aspect of the building exemplifies an almost mystical, "archeological" tendency in Celsing's work, where architecture not only adapts and responds to its existing topographical, climatological, and geographical conditions, but also seeks to extract "metaphysical" value from the deep social and geological sedimentations of its location. In "On Space", this tendency was vaguely presented as the necessary complement to the Corbusian, ascending movement, and equally untenable without its dialectical counterpart. In a remarkable passage, Celsing wrote:

> Such an embrace of local determinations cannot be taken to its endpoint – its ultimate consequence would be that homes, as well as industries, military facilities and hangars would be located underground, ensuring adequate protection from the elements, and appropriate warmth and humidity. [Similarly,] the exposed, open life in the United Nations offices cannot be compensated for by a dark space of meditation, where the radiance from a block of iron ore would invite to something resembling the pagan worship of stones – an insult to convinced members of any religion.[38]

Celsing's most dramatic architectural presentation of this tendency can be found in his unrealized project for a new headquarters for the Swedish Cooperative Union in Stockholm, developed between 1963 and 1965. The building was conceived as a multi-story office complex, 370-meters long, and integrated into Stadsgårdsberget on the city's Södermalm island, a mountain side which was in need of structural reinforcement. Supported by an expansive concrete ledge inserted along the top of the rock face, and cantilevered on a sequence of monumentally scaled vertical bars, the looming, overhanging structure would follow and adapt to the physiognomy of the mountain, as if it had emerged directly out of the bedrock. As

an architectural expression it sought to condense and extend, rather than to cover and replace, the expression of the environment itself.[39]

In a comparable way, although less spectacularly, Kulturhuset is built into Brunkebergsåsen, the ridge or kame on which the Klara and Jakob neighborhoods sat prior to the City Sanitation. The ridge had been a naturally differentiating topographical element, constituting a major impediment to a functional traffic system, as well as an obstruction to the old project of extending Sveavägen down to the river. A large part of it had already been dug out, to clear the space for Sergels Torg and to make way for traffic adjustments. Kulturhuset's massive barrier reasserted that topographical demarcation, defending it, while proposing it as the ground and the source for its own progressive, "qualitative" contents. Not insignificantly, the most perceptive early reader of this aspect of Celsing's Kulturhuset plan was Pontus Hultén, who immediately grasped the building's argument regarding the critical, historical stakes of the area's sanitation. The back wall, he wrote,

> is of a size reminiscent of a mountain side. It creates an association to the geological context. The wall indicates that until here, Brunkebergs-åsen has been dug out. So the building assumes into itself an event of urban geology. This feels just right. It is far too rare that we get to sense the landscape's structure through the skin of buildings drawn over it. […]
>
> The architecture of the twentieth century is based on a small number of ideas. The mountain side-house is a new idea, as far as I can tell. It may remind us of the troglodyte dwellings in central France, for example (Alexander Calder lives in one of those), where the house has been dug out of the soft cliff walls and the rest of the structure rests on the cave entrance. But of course this is something completely different, here the house is placed in front of the wall, not inside of it. The house is the opposite of a cave, with its glass walls and ceiling. We here have an opportunity to develop a house without equivalent, a new creation that emerges out of the conditions of the square and the urban landscape, and out of the demands of its contents.[40]

Emerging out of its physical and historical site in Brunkebergsåsen, then, the frontality of Kulturhuset was adequate to its second function: to act as a transformative force in the "quantitative" space generated by the City Sanitation north of the back wall's demarcation line. This of course conferred an important function onto the façade facing the square. "The façade outlines our activity, our organization, our attitude to our surroundings, our ethical and aesthetic values and needs", Celsing had written

in "On Space". In his previous works, the façade had indeed assumed a significant role, as a sign mediating between the building and the phenomenological scale of its human inhabitant. Ulf Linde has analyzed how, through an intricate use of materials and tensions, Celsing's façades achieved a compositional balance, sincere to the dimensions and the purpose of their structures. Their function was to invite an affective and associative relationship to the buildings, attaining what Linde described as a second-level, humanist functionalism.[41] According to Sivert Lindblom, the sculptor with whom Celsing collaborated at the time of the Sergels Torg competition, Celsing experimented with various solutions for how the Kulturhuset façade should establish such a relationship between the structure and the inhabitants of the new city, between the building and the human. Hospitalized for a heart condition, he had been intrigued by the zigzag pattern of his ECG trace, and sketched on possibilities for translating it into a pattern for vertical creases of the building's façade.[42]

But this rather blunt metaphor was not the appropriate solution for Kulturhuset. What was to ensure the progressive impact of the building on its urban environment was the cultural activities of Moderna Museet, which for Celsing had a privileged capacity to facilitate "qualitative" space. Hultén's and the Moderna Museet group's vision for a "museum in movement", we recall, was based on an ethics of recognition, where the versatility of the museum should provide adequate shelter for the transitory nature of the modern artwork, itself an expression of the transitoriness of the modern human condition. Hultén's articles about Moderna Museet's possible move leading up to the architectural competition had been roughly faithful to this vision, vaguely yet pragmatically suggesting a new, multidisciplinary institution whose shifts between artforms, genres, and media, and whose fluid adaptivity to the responses and actions of its visitors, would defend the conditions for art to remain "in movement", while providing a cultural space of exception in the emerging, sanitized city districts – functioning as what Hultén would come to refer to as a "*cour des miracles*", in his 1971 *Opus* interview.

Celsing's design for the Kulturhuset building was clearly an attempt at securing the conditions for such versatility. Conceiving the main body of the building as a stack of open floor surfaces, with a minimum of spatial divisions or functional specifications, he sought to establish an architecture of human and artistic liberty, where space would be defined primarily by the "force fields" generated through the free relationship between human subjects and artworks. But this also entailed that the notion of the new

center as a "shelter" or a "*cour des miracles*" was insufficient for the hopes that Celsing had pinned on his building's effects on its urban, architectural environment. The "force fields" should not be enclosed within an "obtrusive physical limitation of space", as he had phrased it in 1960, but should be extended beyond the structure that facilitated them, doubling as an imaginary architecture, or even an "architecture without architecture", to borrow the Archigram expression.[43] The façade must not be an obstacle, an opaque surface, no matter how appropriately composed or balanced. Instead, necessarily, it "becomes a screen", as Celsing expressed it in the competition entry. The floor shelves become so many "stages" from which the center's cultural output is transmitted across the piazza and the surrounding streets.

This fantasy of a pure legibility of the inside from the outside – remarkable, considering the scale of the building – is evidenced in the sketches Celsing had prepared for the competition entry. The often reproduced, abstract drawing of the Kulturhuset façade, where the center's visitors, engaged in various activities, are distributed across the floors as notes on a musical score, asserted precisely this transparency of the building surface, and the unshrouded visibility of its contents, as if the structure had lacked depth altogether. Another sketch, of Kulturhuset at night, drawn from a street-level perspective, confirms the impression: the façade is entirely invisible, and the building seems to consist exclusively of open floor shelves, as stages on which the visitors – interestingly, these early sketches feature nothing that can be identified as artworks – can be clearly seen, outlined against the brightly lit ceilings, with the protruding back wall as a theatrical backdrop.[44] The extent to which the building was conceived as a theater stage, with the piazza and the surrounding streets serving as the audience area, was apparent in the Expert Group's suggestion, in 1969, that the roof could actually function as a stage for "theater plays with gigantic marionette puppets for an audience standing on the square".[45] These ambitions were quickly abandoned once construction began, and it became evident that any meaningful viewing of art inside (let alone on top of) the massive, glazed building from the square below would be unthinkable. As Wilfried Wang clarifies, "For this transparency to have been realized, the skylights' illumination of the rear wall (and at night an artificial equivalent) should have been continuous, from top to lower floors, and […] Sergels Torg should have been kept in the shade at all times."[46]

The descriptions of the façade as an "image screen" (*bildskärm*) or even a "TV-screen", terms that Celsing used somewhat indiscriminately alongside

the theatrical metaphors, therefore appear more adequate to the actual design of the building, with its enormous glass wall.[47] During the press conference announcing the competition results, in July 1966, Celsing referred to the façade as a "giant, living TV-screen", where the separate floors would be "image-strips" or "slideshows" (*bildband*) displaying the building's activities.[48] The repeated references to "projections" – "Against the illuminated city wall the human being is projected", for instance[49] – also indicate that he may have been playing with the idea of actually using the façade as a media interface, in a way that resonated with some of the exuberant schemes of the Archigram group, for example, or with Renzo Piano and Richard Rogers' visions for the Beaubourg building a few years later (and indeed, with Tatlin's proposal for the top segment of his revolving tower).[50] And yet it would be misguided to attempt to inscribe Celsing's building into a tradition of pop-modernist or high-tech architectural projects, where an appreciation of new technological possibilities, and of their consequences for social relations and building techniques, would determine the structural layout of the building. Partly overlapping with his work on the Sergels Torg complex, Celsing designed Filmhuset (The Film House), the new headquarters for the Swedish Film Institute in Stockholm, another large, multifunctional structure, housing offices, cinema theatres, and film studios. The building's eastern façade, whose dimensions were comparable to Kulturhuset's, but unlike it did not open toward a public square, was drawn explicitly to resemble a film strip, its two long, lateral files of windows advertedly recalling the sprocket holes of a celluloid strip. Here, the façade's relationship to film was purely decorative.

Similarly, at Kulturhuset the concept of the "TV-screen" seems to have been primarily a convenient metaphor for the function Celsing envisioned for the façade. It implied the notion of an outward effect on the environment the building would face. As an architectural structure Kulturhuset would not simply envelop and shelter an interior, but radiate or transmit its particular organization of spatial experience – its "force fields" – toward the exterior (an influence in the other direction, we could note, seems to have been less of a preoccupation for Celsing, even though it was essential for the Moderna Museet group). But for all that it was not a comprehensive attempt at rethinking architecture as media, or at actually going "beyond architecture", as the title of Archigram's exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art in Oxford in 1967 would declare, dissolving structure and form into the "flows and fast edits" of a new television environment.[51] If the development of modern communication technologies, and their deploy-

ment on a mass scale, had brought about a "crisis of place", as Beatriz Colomina has phrased it, then Celsing's response to this situation was not to abandon the tectonic and topographic determinations of building in favor of an indeterminate architecture of modularity and fluidity.[52] On the contrary Celsing attempted to reassert place, to insert architecture into the landscape so as to supplement its absent historical identity, regenerating "qualitative" space through the semantic, visual, and affective evocation of "memories and associations". The grounding, "archeological" movement of Kulturhuset, Celsing seemed to claim, could therefore only be realized through its opposite, ascending, expansive movement, that is, its projection out into urban space of Moderna Museet's activities.

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The article Hultén wrote about Celsing's winning architectural proposal, titled "Stockholm's Cultural Living Room" and published in *Dagens Nyheter* in November 1966, registered the new possibilities afforded by the screen facing the square.[53] "It will appear perfectly natural and self-evident", Hultén stated,

> that from this building there will emanate cultural activities that are aware of no class boundaries, that directly address the "man on the street". To give the new art, which in itself knows of no class boundaries, the opportunity to emerge in an architecturally accomplished environment in the midst of a renewed city center – this would be an achievement worthy of an active democratic view of culture.[54]

The article added two aspects to Hultén's previous suggestions for the future culture center. First, it featured a new emphasis on information technology and mass media. The multifunctional "cultural living room", Hultén now proposed, should function as a "promenade hall, with a few large artworks and TV-screens", where "for example Alvar Aalto, Charles Chaplin or Marshall McLuhan can lecture to the Stockholm audience". And the center should accommodate "the modern image", including the "new photography" and the "new industrial arts and architecture", as well as the "musical theater, the non-commercial film, the happening-theater, the electronic theater". Second, Hultén suggested that, by hosting these new, "intermediate" artforms, the future culture center could potentially serve a critical function, with respect to the compartmentalization of modern society. In response to the "increasing specialization in many domains", he wrote, "the borders between

artforms are gradually dissolving and disappearing", realizing the dream of a "synergy of the arts, which we have spoken of since the time of the Bauhaus", but on "a scale that no one could have imagined". Although they were facilitated by new visual media, Hultén argued, the new, "intermediate", "homeless" artforms that resulted from this process all related back to "painting and sculpture", the native artforms of the museum. And therefore their natural destination would be the "new type of museums", such as the Stedelijk in Amsterdam or the MoMA in New York, of which the future center at Sergels Torg should also be an example.

Indeed, what could be a more appropriate shelter and transmitting apparatus for this intermediate art – an art, that is, "which in itself knows of no class boundaries" – and the new technologies that supported it, than a structure housing a modern art collection, featuring flexible, polyvalent spaces for the intermingling of artforms and activities, and framed by a giant TV-Screen? Hultén's text, accordingly, was devised as an enthusiastic tribute to the merits of Celsing's proposal. But we may also note another, evident source of Hultén's new speculations. Published on November 29, his article had been prepared in the immediate aftermath of the notorious *9 Evenings: Theatre & Engineering*, held at the 69th regiment Armory in New York on October 13–23, at which Hultén had assisted. This was the first project overseen by Billy Klüver's new organization E.A.T. (Experiments in Art and Technology), and it included contributions by a number of artists close to Hultén and Moderna Museet, such as Fahlström, Rauschenberg, and Robert Whitman, working in collaboration with engineers and scientists.[55] Klüver's early statements regarding E.A.T. presented the organization in terms reminiscent of the Bauhaus legacy, seeking to overcome social separation through a new "synergy" of art and engineering: "To firmly establish the artists [sic] free access to technology, engineering and the technical processes is not only a cultural, educational or aesthetic problem but amounts in fact to an organic social revolution".[56]

However, as always, there was also a more direct, strategic motive behind Hultén's endorsement of Celsing's screen. In fact, his article in *Dagens Nyheter* served an additional function as an entry in a debate that had engulfed Swedish media since the announcement of the Sergels Torg competition results, effectively preventing the development of the project. Judging the architectural competition, the prize committee had given a special mention to a second proposal, which could not be formally condoned since it did not conform to the directives of the general city plan. Known as the EGT proposal, after its architects Ralph Erskine, Leonie

Geisendorf and Anders Tengbom, it called for a radical revision of some of the core principles of the City 62 plan, resurrecting the old dream of opening a north-south axis through central Stockholm by extending Sveavägen down to Gustaf Adolfs Torg. Almost certainly designed as a provocation against the lack of transparency with which the City Sanitation was conducted, the EGT proposal completely disregarded the geographical limits and requirements of the competition brief. It suggested that the dividing Brunkeberg ridge should be entirely leveled, and that, on the pedestrian level, Sergels Torg should open onto a broad corso leading down toward the Royal Castle, on both sides of which the theatre, the National Bank, the hotel, and the exhibition facilities should be spread out in separate block-sized buildings.[57] The official – if limited – validation of this proposal on the part of the prize committee sanctioned the reopening of a debate about the basic tenets of the entire urban renewal project, and during the period between September 1966, and May 1967, the full range of positions regarding the restructuring of lower Norrmalm was played out again in a stream of articles, public discussions, radio broadcasts, and TV-shows.[58]

Why was the EGT proposal granted such importance, when it could have been immediately dismissed for disregarding the competition brief's requirements? It is possible that it was simply an expression of a divided opinion, which had been suppressed until then. As we have seen, the Sergels Torg competition had been designed as an instrument to circumvent critique, and to secure the transfer of land rights from the state, so that the sanitation of lower Norrmalm could proceed. The EGT proposal's irreverent attitude to the competition guidelines pried open a space for dissenting views regarding this process. However, two of the most well-informed commentators about the City Sanitation, Kurt Bergengren and Anders Gullberg, have a less charitable view. The EGT debate, they hold, could never have led to any concrete results. It was in fact a smoke screen, diverting attention from other projects which were being developed simultaneously, out of the public's eye – notably Mehr's new plans for an enormous, Pan Am-backed hotel complex in the Storviggen neighborhood, facing Brunkebergstorg.[59] "The EGT debate had for months served as a curtain between the city renewal politics and the public", Bergengren wrote. "While the latter meditated on the beautiful pictures of a walkway for inner city *flâneurs*, in the background the scene was being set for a completely different play."[60]

Either because it had served its purpose, or because it was finally judged impracticable, on May 16, 1967, the EGT proposal was conclusively dis-

missed by the General City Plan Committee, and Celsing's plan was ratified.[61] In a memorandum to Hultén dated June 27, Carlo Derkert outlined some of the events and challenges Moderna Museet now faced. As the relocation project would enter a phase of formal planning, a number of things needed to be clarified. In what capacity would the Moderna Museet group present their proposal? To whom would it be addressed? And how would they ensure its efficiency? Derkert named seven possible members of a "Kulturhuset group", which, he thought, would officially advocate the museum's relocation to the city center in front of the Stockholm Executive Board, among them the politician Wilhelm Forsberg (who would in fact become the chairman of the Kulturhuset Committee), Hultén himself, as well as Knut Wiggen from Fylkingen and Arne Weise from the Swedish Television (none of whom would actually be involved). "[M]ost of these people have no idea of the realistic conditions for the museum's engagement at Sergels Torg", Derkert observed. "They want to locate the museum at Sergels Torg, but believe that they can separate the outward activities – exhibitions, performances, modern music – from the museum's collections."[62] This was therefore the moment for the Moderna Museet group to develop their earlier suggestions into a clear program, that would convince the officials of the value and the necessary unity of their activities, as well as to forge new alliances, mobilizing support from groups more closely aligned with their ambitions.

2.3 The House of All Activities

"Young people today live in a relationship of constant tension with society", the writer and activist Pär Stolpe stated in a text about what was known as the Gasholder project, composed around the same time as he was first engaged to work with Hultén and the others on the Kulturhuset proposal.

> The lack of faith in the established institutions, the absence of communication between the generations, and the moral bankruptcy that many young people experience in their Western welfare situation, and in their relationship to the third world, create constantly renewed and increasing demands for collective existence, dialogue, and conditions for constructive action in the social and political sense.[63]

In Stockholm, Stolpe argued, this situation was exacerbated by the City Sanitation. While the new urban system was channeling large crowds into the city center, the "access to spaces for other forms of coexistence" there remained drastically insufficient. He therefore proposed the creation of a "house of all activities" (*allaktivitetshus*), to be established in an old, disused gasometer building near the city center. The aim of this new house, he explained, with formulations which would be reused verbatim in the Expert Group's Kulturhuset proposal in January 1969,

> is to contribute to creating the conditions for experiments in social coexistence on a democratic, collective basis. It can be used in order to continuously trace and create situations of constructive coexistence between individuals and groups of people. […]
>   The actual democracy that society as a whole strives to create for each individual should be the starting point for the realization of the house of all activities.[64]

What was the "house of all activities"? And how should the Gasholder project realize its ideals? In 1966, Bo Lagercrantz, City Preservation Officer (*stadsantikvarie*) and director of the City Museum of Stockholm, had noticed that a large, derelict gasholder in the northern part of the inner city was scheduled for demolition, in order to leave place for a new thoroughfare. Lagercrantz recognized both the historical value of the unusual, circular brick structure, and the potentials of its monumentally sized space – measuring 48 meters in diameter, and 34 in height – and acted to secure its preservation and redevelopment. In December 1967 Lagercrantz's recommendation was dismissed by the city's Property Management Com-

mittee (*fastighetsnämnden*), but he managed to postpone the demolition by urging that a new round of deliberations should be held once other proposals for the use of the building could be evaluated.[65] Lagercrantz then invited a group of architecture students at the Royal Institute of Technology to produce sketches and concepts for the use of the structure, while working simultaneously to raise public opinion for the building's preservation, resulting in a stream of articles in the press.[66] A "working group for the gasholder" was independently formed, chaired by Pär Stolpe, and in February 1968 the student projects and the working group's proposal were shown at a quickly assembled exhibition at the City Museum.[67]

   The Gasholder project was never realized, but the "house of all activities" became one of the important concepts around which what has been called the Swedish "alternative movement" – the sprawling network of independent groups, collectives, and "centers", generally associated with the Vietnam movement, the student movement, and, more vaguely, the formation of a "new left" – coalesced in the late 1960s and the early 1970s.[68] In the years between 1968 and 1972, "houses of all activities" were established in the Swedish cities of Stockholm, Gothenburg, Lund, and Borlänge, as well as in Copenhagen, Denmark. Their basic ideals, as summarized by Ivar Fernemo and Rolf Ruthström, active at the Avenyen 18 center in Gothenburg in 1969 and 1970, were:

> – that they should contribute to the integration of all social categories
> – that the visitor should participate actively in their operations
> – that the operations should, among other things, serve to render the visitor conscious about society, the causes for its deficiencies, and stimulate the visitor to actively confront those problems
> – that the visitor should have a large influence over the running of the operations[69]

"Houses of all activities", then, were essentially experimental social centers, ideally operated as self-governing communes. The emphasis on social integration was central to all of the "houses" that were practically realized. They sought specifically to accommodate disenfranchised individuals and social groups, alienated from "the established institutions": the young and the retired, "housewives" and immigrants, but also homeless people and drug addicts.[70] In several cases, the "houses of all activities" took on the responsibilities of public assistance and even healthcare institutions, tasks for which they were ill equipped. The story of the Gamla Bro "house of all activities" in Stockholm between 1969 and 1972 was precisely the story of

how a group of idealistic activists and social workers was overwhelmed by the demands of maintaining an underfinanced, self-organized social center, increasingly frequented by vagrants and addicts.[71]

As regards the activities fostered by the "houses", they were intentionally undefined. The "houses of all activities", in principle, were places where anyone was invited to do anything. In practice, they became outlets for the period's burgeoning alternative culture, favoring collective and "anti-elitist" practices, attracting a predominantly young audience. There were open, collaborative artistic workshops of different kinds. There were often spaces for children's activities, reminiscent of Palle Nielsen's *The Model* at Moderna Museet in 1968. There were film screenings and discussions, organized by new independent film groups. There were regular concerts with bands connected to the new "music movement": International Harvester, Fläsket Brinner, Arbete & Fritid. In several cases there were ambitious exhibition programs, hosting groups such as Bildaktivisterna (to which we will return) or various "neighborhood" (*byalag*) art collectives. And there were political meetings, information sessions, and open debates, organized by activist groups such as Alternative City (*Alternativ stad*) and Action Dialogue (*Aktion samtal*). The vaguely outlined ideal informing the programs of the "houses of all activities", was that of a playful, participatory "total art" (*allkonst*, a word with Romantic roots), which would, as the "all activist" Tomas Löfström phrased it, "tear down the walls between the artificial categories created by society".[72]

In the same text, Löfström stated that the "houses of all activities" should be "miniature model[s] of the new society", a "society of community and justice, in the center of which is an active, creative human".[73] The "houses" sought to provide models for new modes of political organization most evidently through their decision-making structures. Without exceptions – but under varying economic and political conditions – the "houses of all activities" were designed as horizontal structures, where the executive organ should be the congregation of all "active" members, which by definition did not exclude anyone. Decisions were supposed to be made by majority vote in general assemblies (*stormöten*). Predictably, this entailed various complications, such as "endless discussions about practical details", conflicts due to "unfamiliarity with meeting praxis", and eventually decreasing participation.[74] Different kinds of intermediate organs and middlemen were therefore introduced – coordination councils, working groups, managers – in order to effectivize the process, and to "neutralize and control" groups or individuals who exerted disproportionate power. As Bertil Nelhans ana-

lyzed already in 1971, the "houses" consequently tended to be "re-bureau-cratized" precisely on account of their anti-bureaucratic ideals, resulting in complex, opaque organizational structures, which was another reason the experiments were generally shortlived.[75]

How should the model of the "house of all activities" have been realized at the Gasholder, the project which, through Stolpe's engagement, was most directly connected to the Kulturhuset enterprise? In fact, although it had been at the origin of the concept, the Gasholder stood out among the various attempts at establishing "houses of all activities". Unlike the centers which were temporarily realized across Sweden, the Gasholder project had clear affinities with a range of visionary architectural and institutional projects in the 1960s, arguing for the integration of new technological systems both at the level of structure and of programming. In different descriptions and letters, the Gasholder working group and the architecture students related the project to contemporary, techno-utopian endeavors such as Joan Littlewood and Cedric Price's Fun Palace (1964), or the multimedia architectural imaginaries of Buckminster Fuller and the Archigram group, as well as to venues of late 1960s psychedelic culture, such as the "multimedia discotheque" Electric Circus in New York, or the flexible, multipurpose cultural center known as the Center 42 in London.[76]

Among these references, the most apparently relevant for the Gasholder project was Littlewood and Price's infamous, unrealized Fun Palace. Planned as a center for culture, leisure, and entertainment to be located in East London in the early 1960s, the Fun Palace was supposed to be a radically flexible and participatory structure, whose design and use would be entirely defined through the engagement and behavioral patterns of its visitors. It was conceived as a vast, open, high-tech scaffold or framework, supporting a wide range of modular architectural elements and technologies, which could all be moved around and repurposed, creating ever new spaces, pathways and functions: from wall sections, floors, and escalators, to stage arrangements, communication systems, and audiovisual devices. Information technologies would be available throughout – "information pillars", "teaching machines", "knowledge jukeboxes" – and Littlewood and Price enlisted a range of engineers, social scientists, and artists to contribute to the proposal. The whole edifice, they imagined, would be like the combination of a giant mechano set and an interactive, self-learning cybernetic toy, offering people the opportunity to playfully anticipate the fullness of life in a society of automated production.[77]

In the Gasholder proposal, a comparable set-up was envisaged for the purposes of realizing the "house of all activities". The working group, which alongside Stolpe included, among others, the choreographer Margaretha Åsberg, the theater director and engineer Sören Brunes, and the writer and musician Thomas Tidholm, had developed the proposal in dialogue with the architecture students, as well as with a wider "ideas collective", including Hultén, Bo Lagercrantz, Bengt af Klintberg, Gunnar Palm, and over sixty others.[78] For the working group, the large, open volume of the building was ideally suited for the deployment of an entirely adaptable apparatus, where visitors could congregate beyond predefined categories, and where different activities and events could be staged "without compromising in any way with the aim of the operation, which must be based on complete flexibility and variability in every sense".[79]

The proposal's basic idea for the architectural redevelopment of the building was therefore simple. A new floor structure should be added, creating two separate spaces. On the lower floor, housed below ground level, in the void left by the base of the gasometer's water tank, there should be a generic, modular system of spaces for activities, social spaces, a café, workshops, and offices. Walls and screens should be movable, so that new spaces, pathways, and environments could be set up, "plugged in", or rearranged according to need. On the floor above, the vast, round main space should remain open and undefined, without permanent partitions. The only fixed structure would be a large, technical framework – directly reminiscent of the Fun Palace "scaffold" – which would support a modular system for structures, spaces or stages, a "<u>comprehensive and movable technical apparatus</u> for productions of the most varying kinds". "The large space", the Working Group proposed, "should be equipped with a traverse or hoist device that could serve the entire space and have a lifting capacity of ten tonnes". Furthermore, a "system for pipes and spatial modules […], and a sound, light, and communication system along the walls […] should be installed".[80]

As regards the institutional organization, an early version of the working group's proposal suggested that the Gasholder should be structured as a "company", administering its "economic, organizational, artistic [and] social" affairs, while guaranteeing its independence from "authorities and organizations, associations and institutions". The company's board, they added, should feature "representatives of vital social sectors", as well as an "executive group", in charge of planning the operations.[81] In a later text, Stolpe instead argued that, at the Gasholder, "the majority should decide

about everything essential in regular assemblies" – closer to what would become praxis at the other "houses of all activities".[82]

Throughout the different versions of the proposal, however, the working group maintained that the program for the Gasholder should be highly collaborative. Activities should be overseen by groups of "creators" (*realisatörer*), who would guide the various projects, realizing their own and others' ideas. Production processes should be arranged so that visitors would be "naturally activate[d]", making them "co-creators". This inter-activity, the working group developed, should be supported by an elaborate feedback system, a "comprehensive <u>system for democratic interaction</u>, […] which makes it possible for certain audience groups […] to influence the design of the program as a whole." "The Working Group", they detailed, "proposes an audience response apparatus [*en mentometerapparatur*] that will be used regularly for questions of general significance."[83]

But the most bewildering passages of the working group's early proposal were its final two pages, which suggested examples of the "house's" possible activities. Graphically the page spread was designed as a visual poem, with words, phrases, and paragraphs distributed across the surface without obvious syntactic or logical relationships. Freefloating nouns and frag-mented sentences described a variety of environments and activities: "play-rooms (for some and all ages)", "contact and communication perfor-mances", "love-in (out) / teach-in (out)", "informative performances (inter-national events, economy, politics, etc)".[84] Interspersed among the words and phrases were short paragraphs quoted from a recently published text by Öyvind Fahlström, to whom Stolpe had reached out for support and contributions. The text, which had appeared in the journal *Form* in October 1967, was titled "On Pleasure Houses", and was framed as a contribution to the debate about the Kulturhuset project, the centralizing tendencies of which Fahlström objected to. "Build entertainment houses [*nöjeshus*] instead of culture centers [*kulturhus*]", he had written. "Not one gigantic building but several, many entertainment houses and especially in Märsta and other places where the fast food joint is the only entertainment facility for young people."[85]

Judging by the elements of the text which were cited approvingly in the Gasholder proposal, visiting Fahlström's "pleasure houses" – and, by exten-sion, the Gasholder – would have been somewhat like experiencing Little-wood and Price's Fun Palace, but on psychotropic drugs. "[U]tilize mobile units and variable spatial constructions" to create "constantly shifting labyrinths", Fahlström suggested, "so people do not know where they will

go, what they will see, what will happen to them (the fun house in a new way)". Or set up "[r]ooms", he continued, "where one moves through plastic like mud or jelly", "[t]ropical rooms with heat and light, water, tropical plants, jungle with birds", featuring "[p]sychodramatic situations which vary according to the audience".[86] In a later text which commented directly on the "houses of all activities", Fahlström proposed that their scope should be expanded further, through integration with media networks (ideas, as we will see, to which he would return in connection to Moderna Museet's Information Center project). "A more important step", he wrote,

> would be to challenge Swedish Radio's monopoly (and its terror through bad Muzak), and create local, underground radio shows with space both for radical pop music, poetry, satire, journalism and above all political debate, and for communication between activist groups. A sounding house of all activities – the illegality of which, if we persisted, it would be increasingly difficult to assert.[87]

The Gasholder project, of course, was never realized. After a brief period of intense debate and media attention in early 1968, an official inquiry was commissioned, to which Stolpe was attached as an advisor. As the project disappeared from public view, political interest and support waned, and at a vote in the City Executive Board in February 1970 a narrow majority finally decided in favor of demolition.[88]

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On November 6, 1968, Pär Stolpe was invited to join the Expert Group appointed to develop a program proposal for Kulturhuset, in all likelihood on account of his work on the Gasholder project. Did this mean that Celsing's flexible screen edifice would become the site of a "house of all activities"? As it turned out, first of all Kulturhuset should be the house of parliament.

In the Swedish municipal elections of September 1966, the Social Democratic Party had lost its majority in the City Council of Stockholm, throwing the future of the Kulturhuset enterprise into doubt. To the great frustration of Peter Celsing – in whose favor the protracted EGT debate was finally resolved in mid 1967 – the new leaders in the City Hall were reluctant to assume the political and economic responsibilities of the complex project. At the same time, Sweden's political establishment was

preparing for a constitutional reform, shifting from a bicameral to a unicameral parliament, with far-reaching consequences for the country's legislative structure and electoral system. The reform – to be effectuated by the start of 1971 – was a matter of administrative efficiency, and not, as one might have thought, of democratization (in fact, the electoral bases of the two chambers had long been equally democratic).[89] But the reform did have decisive practical consequences, not least architecturally. Two chambers literally had to be made into one, and adjusted for new structures and routines. The existing parliament building on Helgeandsholmen would therefore have to close, and it was not certain where the parliament would relocate to, nor whether the move would be temporary or permanent.

It was in this situation, in mid 1967, that Åke Hedtjärn, director of the City Sanitation office, had what is in the annals of Stockholm's municipal bureaucracy known as the "Hedtjärnian Stroke of Genius": that the parliament should take up residence in the new building planned for Sergels Torg. This would not only solve the parliament's housing problem, but also secure the realization of Celsing's proposal, in spite of political unwilling-ness.[90] Hedtjärn first made sure to consolidate his idea properly with prospective construction companies, ensuring that the building process would actually be feasible within the narrow timeframe. He then ap-proached Celsing about the idea, who immediately seized on the oppor-tunity, sensing that it might be the only way to save his project.[91] On December 7, the City Council received a formal request from the parlia-mentary offices, asking if the facilities could be placed at their disposal. Almost instantly – on December 12 – the parliament was sent a response in the form of preliminary construction schemes, including cost calculations, prepared by Celsing's office. Then followed a period of intense planning and lobbying, during which Celsing and his associates detailed the plans for the adaptation, produced new, attractive scale models, and met with officials and contractors. In February 1968, the parliament received more specified plans and the models, but already on the new year the process of preparing requests to construction companies had begun.[92]

According to the new plans, the theater would serve as the main debating chamber, while the hotel would be adapted for use as lodgings for members of parliament. Above street level the whole western part of the Kulturhuset building would house the parliament's offices, meeting rooms, and res-taurant. What remained for the cultural center – that is, presumably, Moderna Museet – was therefore a part of the ground floor of the building, as well as the totality of its eastern part. That part, however, would be con-

structed separately at a later date, so as not to delay the finalization of the parliament's facilities, which must unconditionally be available for use in January 1971. These arrangements would be valid for an estimated period of ten years. A formal and definitive offer, with detailed specifics of the adaptation, was sent from the city to the parliament on May 9, 1968. The parliament accepted on May 30, clearing all the issues concerning land rights, and the City Council allocated the funds for the construction on June 17.[93]

3.
The Kulturhuset Vision, 1968–1970

3.1 Tatlin in Stockholm

On July 3, 1968, *Vladimir Tatlin* opened at Moderna Museet. It was an almost entirely home-made exhibition. In the main exhibition space on the museum's ground floor stood the 4,70-meter reconstruction of the *Monument to the Third International*, installed as a sculpture on a white pedestal, about one meter in height. On the walls were enlarged reproductions of Tatlin's drawings of the tower, first published in Nikolai Punin's pamphlet about the project from 1920. In a separate, smaller space, there was documentation from the production of the first model of the tower, as well as other reconstructions, of a counter-relief and a Tatlin chair, borrowed from museums in Portsmouth and Newcastle. In a vitrine, rare catalogues and photographs were displayed. A Sciopticon slide show projected images of further works by Tatlin and several of his contemporaries, as well as photographs from constructivist exhibitions, scenographies, and architectural projects in post-revolutionary Russia.[1] The complete absence of original works in the exhibition testified to the refusal of Brezhnev-era Soviet Union to officially acknowledge the artistic achievements of that period. Despite diplomatic efforts by the Swedish Embassy in Moscow, and by Minister of Education Olof Palme, the Ministry of Culture of the Soviet Union had resolutely declined to lend any works, referring to "the extensive work on the systematization and restoration of this artist's work [which] is at present in progress".[2]

This was not the first presentation of Russian constructivism at Moderna Museet. In the winter of 1965-66, Naum Gabo had been one of three artists, with Malevich and Yves Klein, who had served as the "key figures" of *The Inner and the Outer Space: An Exhibition Devoted To Universal Art*, a group show that, as Hultén explained, aimed to "trace a line that runs through

modern art", where art "uses negation as a means of expression, and where the motifs are emptiness, space […], silence, stillness, contemplation".[3] Featuring almost two hundred works by 38 artists, *The Inner and the Outer Space* was the museum's most ambitious attempt since *Movement in Art* (1961) to produce an exhibition that would programmatically combine historical and contemporary works. Alongside the three key figures, who were represented with around fifty works each, the exhibition featured works by artists such as Barnett Newman, Ad Reinhardt, and Donald Judd. As a statement on a tendency in modern and contemporary art, however, *The Inner and the Outer Space* was less apposite than *Movement in Art*. Perhaps to compensate for the museum's close association with Pop Art and *Nouveau réalisme*, the Moderna Museet group had enlisted several artists who were, in a North American discourse, affiliated with a Greenbergian legacy, seeking to work through, or even escape, the endgames of self-reflexive formalism. But, taking the cue from the recently deceased Klein, Moderna Museet's curatorial presentation of those works disregarded from their attention to material and phenomenological conditions, and instead advanced a mythologizing reading, proposing that the negation of figuration and pictorial composition should be seen as a leap into a mystical beyond, *inner* as well as *outer*. "The image of space in art is an image of our ability to penetrate the universe through our imagination", Hultén wrote. "Since we all carry our own universes inside of us, these images also become images of ourselves."[4]

Naum Gabo, of course, had been an important figure in the postwar reception of Russian constructivism in the West. In the essay "Cold War Constructivism" (1986), Benjamin Buchloh detailed how Gabo's work was instrumental in the process of canonizing a depoliticized version of the history of the early Soviet avant-garde, which would remain unchallenged for decades. Together with his brother Antoine Pevsner, Gabo had left the Soviet Union in the early 1920s. As Buchloh showed, after arriving in the US in 1946, the two artists provided a consistent account of their experiences in post-revolutionary Russia, according to which constructivism had originally been an aestheticist project, based on cultivating and refining the inherent artistic qualities of new industrial materials. That project had then been "falsified" by artists like Rodchenko and Tatlin, who had subjected the new techniques to functional purposes, instrumentalizing their free, artistic potentials – which in turn paved the way for the Stalinist interdict against the avant-garde, and against artistic freedom generally. This account, Buchloh wrote, "would be endlessly repeated" in almost identical terms by a

generation of critics and scholars, "from the early 1950s into the late 1970s". "The strategies of such a reorganization of the history of constructivism", he argued, "now seem obvious: first of all, it was necessary to disinherit the actual historical participants, and to deny the development of the movement; then, to erase its commitment to mass audiences and ignore its utilitarian dimensions; and finally, to reorient it toward European and American concepts of artistic autonomy and modernism."[5]

In his presentation of Gabo for *The Inner and the Outer Space*, Hultén produced what amounted to a local variation on that neutralizing narrative. His story emphasized Gabo's experience in Scandinavia in the early 1910s. In the relative reclusion of Norway, where Gabo could meditate on the magnificent serenity of the fjords, the artist, Hultén speculated, had found the inner calm that had allowed him to develop the "universally valid" language of his early sculptures. The simplicity of his materials and the economy of his means, Hultén admitted, echoed modern engineering techniques, and yet, he insisted, Gabo's aims were by no means utilitarian. "Gabo's achievement: to transform empty space into a volume charged with spiritual value, naturally transcends the realm of practical inventions, and ultimately represents a new worldview, where values are no longer tied to matter, where emptiness is as much a material as solid bodies are, where space is our world, which we can conquer through the force of our intellect, and where it is demanded of every spectator that his imagination should operate with the space as material…"[6] While Hultén's text acknowledged Gabo's association with the constructivist project in the immediate post-revolutionary moment, his account of the artist's "achievement" therefore stressed the work's transcendent nature, where the negation of matter as traditionally conceived opened for an experience of the beyond, and where this corresponded to the potential ability of all spectators to "conquer space", to make their own "imagination […] operate with the space as material". This argument, we might note, remained consistent with Moderna Museet's commitment to the "work in movement", and its underlying ethical imperative of recognition.

It is instructive to compare that account with Hultén's presentation of Tatlin in the 1968 catalogue, which opens with the following sentences:

> Tatlin's ideas were not revolutionary only in the sense that they were new and radical, but also in that they were bound up with the political revolution taking place in Russia during the later 1910s. Tatlin is beyond doubt the one great Russian artist from these years who was closest to the Revolution. Tatlin's ideas on the material as a carrier of a work's

content (meaning, sense) can very well be translated to the political situation, or be seen as reflecting political ideas.[7]

As the brief text continued, Hultén made an idiosyncratic effort to come to terms with the connection between Tatlin's formal experiments and their revolutionary purpose. "The *material* of the Revolution was its basic *ideas*", he developed – before adding, with a turn that blurred the distinction, the "theory behind Tatlin's constructivism is that a rational construction, a logical structure based on the properties of the material (i.e. the basic ideas), is the content".[8] But while its dialectics between "ideas" and "material" remained unresolved, Hultén's Tatlin preface can be said to term by term inverse the strategic exclusions that Buchloh described as fundamental to the Cold War constructivist narrative. First, it unequivocally reaffirmed the position of Tatlin, and by extension of the revolutionary artists and artist organizations, in the history of constructivism. Second, it clearly established that Tatlin's artistic project was indissociable from his radical social ideals. And third, it emphasized aspects of his production that did not apparently correspond to what Buchloh called "European and American concepts of artistic autonomy and modernism".[9]

Even aside from its immediate political contents, the Tatlin exhibition therefore announced a shift in the Moderna Museet group's outlook. The museum's contribution to the critical revision of the Cold War constructivist narrative, and the implicit argument that the legacy of constructivism could somehow be reclaimed, signaled that they were now seeking other, politically progressive or radical models for thinking the social function of their practice. And their attention to the constructivist experiment indicated that they framed that investigation in the most general, comprehensive terms: that, in their view, such models could only be devised through a reconfiguration of the relationship between the exhibitionary apparatus and new, technological means of production, distribution, and reception. Of course, this corresponded to the general problem that the constructivist artists had begun to address during their "laboratory period", within the framework of their experiments with what Aleksei Gan in 1922 theorized as the properties of "factura", "tectonics", and "construction".[10] In these experiments, the constructivists attempted to incorporate and engage with technical means of production and industrial materials, but also, as Buchloh explains in the essay "From Faktura to Factography", to transform "the forms of distribution and institutions of dissemination and reception […] as well".[11] Moderna Museet's interest in revisiting such questions was

apparent not only in the Tatlin show, but also in several other exhibitions at the museum around the same time, such as the ones devoted to the photomontage practices of John Heartfield and Raoul Hausmann in the fall of 1967, or the two influential, screen-based architectural displays *Hello City* (*Hej stad*, 1966) and *Masses* (*Massor*, 1968), as well as the exhibition of revolutionary poster art in the spring of 1968.[12]

More specifically, the Tatlin exhibition made manifest two general concerns that would become central to the Kulturhuset vision, and then to the Moderna Museet group's projects during the institution's own "laboratory period" between 1969 and 1973. The first was an attention to new display formats, necessitated by the material redefinition of the artwork in relationship to new means of technical reproduction and distribution.[13] While the decision to realize the Tatlin exhibition without original works, using both crafts-based and mechanical reproduction techniques, had been made out of practical necessity – the denial of their requests to lend original works – it was nevertheless significant: the exhibition could be realized exclusively with reproductions and documentation, which would have been unthinkable with a display of traditional, studio-based practices. The irreducibly political dimension of this exhibitionary model, we might note, set it apart from Moderna Museet's longstanding engagement with Duchamp, whose gnostic ruminations on the ontological status of the artwork maintained an ironic distance to the social ideals of the historical avant-garde.[14]

The second, associated concern was an interest in how the exhibitionary apparatus could be integrated differently with a changing complex of media apparatuses, with the conduits for disseminating information and cultural forms. For the Moderna Museet group, the multimedia phantasm of Tatlin's tower here appears to have served as a model or example, informing their proposal for the functional organization of the institution which should be housed in Celsing's screen edifice. The *Monument to the Third International*, we recall, would have been a dynamic, polyvalent structure, inside whose spiraling steel framework a system of four geometric glass volumes would have been suspended, revolving at different speeds. As Mark Wigley has noted, it would have operated as an enormous device for filtering and transmitting information. Propositions and views from the Comintern's congress, assembling in the vast glass cube in the tower's base, would be filtered up to the party's executive committee, which would meet inside the glass pyramid above. From there the information would again be filtered up to the information office housed in the cylindric volume at the third level of the tower – from which it would then, yet again, be filtered

upwards to the glass dome at the top. From there, finally, the fully processed information would be transmitted out into the world, in a range of media formats: radio broadcasts and film projections, newspapers and pamphlets.[15]

Tatlin's visions of an interplay of the tower's different functions – political, cultural, agitational – and of the integration of this totality with the communication circuits of an emerging socialist society, seem to have spoken directly to the Moderna Museet group's aspirations. Indeed, it was this "idea of the unitary function" (*helhetsfunktionen*), which Carlo Derkert would seize upon when he compared the Kulturhuset project to Tatlin's tower.[16] The Moderna Museet group's main sources for understanding Tatlin's project were two texts by Nikolai Punin, both published in excerpts in the exhibition catalogue. The first, lesser known of these texts, published in March 1919, was written as Tatlin was in the first stages of work.[17] It emphasized the tower's capacities as a center for information and incessant mobility, allowing for a high degree of functional flexibility. The tower, Punin wrote, should "contain halls for lectures and gymnastics, premises for agitation and other rooms, which can be used for different purposes as required". He went on:

> The monument contains also an agitation center, from which one can turn to the entire city with different types of appeals, proclamations and pamphlets. […] On one of the monument's wings […] one can also attach a giant screen, on which it would be possible in the evenings with the help of a film reel – visible from a great distance – to send the latest news from cultural and political life throughout the world. For the reception of instant information, a radio receiver of worldwide range is to be installed in the monument, together with an own telephone and telegraph station […] and other possible information apparatus [sic]. […] Also, the monument is to contain various small centers, whose function is mainly artistic; it will include a typographic workshop, perhaps a canteen, etc.[18]

"Tatlin's initial conceptualization of the monument", Maria Gough remarks in a recent essay, "takes the form of something like a gigantic, mobility-mad, multitasking, spectacle-producing communication device dedicated to revolutionary agitation".[19]

What would be the social logic of such a "gigantic device" in Stockholm in the late 1960s? Of course, according to the constructivist artists and theorists, the ultimate *telos* of their activities was the destruction of art, its transcendence through full incorporation in industrial production. In a

post-revolutionary society, the freedom of art would be socially realized, and so there could be no place for art as a specific sphere of practice and experience.[20] What the Moderna Museet group seems to have found among Tatlin and the constructivists, instead, were models for an alternative, social institutionalization of art, for integrating its mediating apparatus differently with new technological means of production, distribution, and reception. The paradox that had haunted the Kulturhuset enterprise since the outset, we recall, had been this: that it should both function as an exception from the commercial logic dominating its social, urban context, and – by serving as a sanctioned exception – legitimatize that same logic, serving as its "alibi", as Fahlström put it.[21] How should Kulturhuset's exceptional status be reconciled with the socially transformative practices it would house? How could it serve at once to defend art's freedom, and to realize it socially? For the Moderna Museet group, Tatlin's tower provided a model for the integration of Kulturhuset's many different, seemingly incommensurable functions: for thinking how the exhibitionary apparatus could serve at once as a museum of modern art, a house of parliament, and a catalyst for social change; as a shelter for art's integrity, an executive organ for the political establishment, and an agitational broadcast station.

3.2 The Program

The Expert Group of the Kulturhuset Committee presented the final version of Moderna Museet's proposal for the new institution at Sergels Torg in two writings in January and March 1969. The Expert Group had been appointed in November of the previous year, and consisted of Hultén and Carlo Derkert from Moderna Museet, Pär Stolpe, recruited from the Gasholder project, and Pi Lind, founding director of Pistolteatern, as well as the journalist Anna-Lena Thorsell (possibly invited on account of her writings on children's and youth culture), and Bror Andersson from the Workers's Educational Association (*ABF*, possibly invited as a trade union representative).[22]

Confronting the many demands and contradictions of the long-gestating project, the Expert Group's proposal endeavored to integrate two seemingly opposed, if not incongruent ambitions. First, Kulturhuset should have a progressive impact upon its urban and social environment, fostering active, cultural, and political self-determination among its potential visitors. Here the Group's first writing advanced – and we are already familiar with the formulations – that "Kulturhuset must function instrumentally – as a catalyst for the active forces in society, for social debate, for social critique". It should be a place for "experiments in social coexistence on a democratic, collective basis". "The actual democracy that society as a whole strives to create for each individual", the Group stated, recycling Stolpe's formulations for the Gasholder project, "should be the starting point for the realization of Kulturhuset".[23] Their second writing added: "In our work with the objectives and the planning of Kulturhuset we have come to support a current definition of the concept of culture according to which culture is not something that can be held or owned in the material sense, but something that you may participate in. Culture is a process, an attitude that is revolutionary and creative."[24]

Second, the Group wanted to maintain Moderna Museet's commitment to a museological principle of preservation and permanence, but repurpose it within the context of the new center. Here too, the phrasing was familiar: "We hold […] that it is today necessary to establish a point of departure in the art collections, because they give Kulturhuset an axis around which its operations can revolve" (B, 55). "Point of departure" was here the key qualification. As a core element of the new institution, the modern art collection would not only serve a patrimonial function, safeguarding a representative selection of historically significant artworks, but also, and perhaps

above all, symbolically and economically support the active, progressive center's pledge to the freedom embodied by that art, from which its function as a "catalyst" would be derived. "[A]rt from the twentieth century", the Group wrote, "is distinguished from that of previous centuries in that it provides examples of a highly experimental attitude toward the surrounding world, both artistic and social in nature." (Ibid.)

How should this reconciliation of opposites – of practice and preservation, and of the different modes of display and spectatorship they entailed – be realized concretely? The Expert Group divided Celsing's building – the parts reserved for the parliament excluded – into three separate sections: "the Square, the Wedge, and the House". The sections had different functions, "to a large extent determined by their positions and general characteristics". Together, however, they must "form a unity with a common, active artistic and social objective", and furthermore there should be a functional flexibility, so that "activities are not permanently tied to specific spaces". (A, 51)

The Square – a large space opening directly onto Sergels Torg at the ground floor – should be an extension into the building of the public piazza, and should maintain a "character of meeting place and street". (Ibid.) In a memorandum presented just before the nomination of the Expert Group, Hultén stated that this space must not be a "shop window for the museum", but should function as "an inclusive and effective contact surface [*kontakt-yta*] with the people outside", and "facilitate activities or qualities not supported by the ordinary street environment".[25] A preparatory discussion between Derkert, Stolpe and several others, held at around the same time, referred to the intended institution as an "open house", and a "laboratory" for improvised activities.[26]

And indeed, in the Expert Group proposal, it was in this section of the building that the connection to Stolpe's vision of the "house of all activities" was the most clear. The Square, they suggested, should be a place for "different activities, which are born here and can be developed on site or in other parts of the building". There should be access to tools and materials of all sorts: "paper, wood, metal, water, light, sound, film, radio, TV, ITV". These materials would be stored in the basement below, and then transferred up in "modules and containers" by "special personnel", capable of managing them and introducing them to the visitors or users. (A, 51) Commenting on the Kulturhuset project in 1970, Öyvind Fahlström noted that in this section "there should be access to tape recorders, loudspeakers, projectors, as well as materials and tools for preparing performances or

constructions of many kinds".[27] In a later interview, Hultén added that this floor should be "filled with raw information, news; we were planning on having news coming in from all the wire services on a telex".[28] The space, the Expert Group further specified – in direct correspondence to the technical framework envisioned for the Gasholder – should be equipped with a multioutlet power grid and a system for transmission of audiovisual signals. There should be no permanent furnishings or interior walls. Total flexibility and openness should reign. (A, 51)

The Square should also – and indissociably – be a space for social existence. Through its location, the Group speculated, it could potentially "satisfy a latent need for being active among children, young people, old people, and people of all sorts seeking contact", and consequently reach citizens who had been "overlooked when it comes to spaces for free, creative activity". (Ibid., 52) The Square should therefore also function as a shelter, providing warmth during the winter, as well as "hot soup and fresh sandwiches" served from "carts of the type you find in large railway stations". (Ibid., 51) Newspapers, magazines, and paperbacks should be available. Alongside the social amenities there should be simple and versatile resources for public display, such that on-site productions could be immediately exhibited.

> For example, we can imagine that people on the Square want to make music. Then we simply wheel out mics, a PA system and a podium. If someone wants to paint or build sculptures the necessary materials can be quickly obtained. If an amateur filmmaker brings a film, it can be shown with short notice […]. (Ibid.)

In The Wedge – a space extending from The Square in below the street behind Kulturhuset's back wall, like a wedge – functional specifications would be more defined, although flexibility should still be in force. Its four interconnected parts should be optimized for scenic performances (including "light and sound shows"), film screenings, and dance or concert arrangements. (Ibid.) In the film facilities, wrote Hultén in the earlier memorandum, both "feature films and ciné-tracts" could be shown, and there should be "slide projectors, which the audience can also use to present their own images".[29] In the main space, the Expert Group suggested, "large art constructions such as *She* or *The Model* could be presented" – which testifies both to the intended polyvalence of the spaces, and to the kind of audience appeal and interactivity the Group had in mind. (A, 51)

Finally, The House, consisting of the available parts of Celsing's building above the ground floor, should feature a version of Moderna Museet's facilities, as they had been shaped at Skeppsholmen, and then gradually reconceived across the different stages of the museum's relocation plans. On the first floor above the building's entry level there should be "easily accessible" spaces, devoted to "more quiet and contemplative activities: reading, listening to music in headphones […], looking at video-taped TV-shows". "Compared to The Square", the Group wrote, "this space will be a calmer 'living room', with resources for studies and entertainment of different sorts". It should also feature a "children's department, where the experiences from *The Model* at Moderna Museet may come to use". (A, 52)

The floor above the "living room" would feature the "main space of the museum part". This would be the core exhibition facilities of the center, its primary display interface, and it would fulfill an essential function of mediating between the activities nurtured in the spaces below, and the relative stasis of the collection, predominantly housed on the floors above. In this space, the Group wrote, "the largest and most important exhibitions are located, whether they have been produced at The Square or in The Wedge, or have been imported to the House." Stressing the multidisciplinary and polyvalent character of the facilities, the Group added that they may support "exhibitions of photography, urbanism, painting, arts and crafts, sculpture, etc." Alongside these amenities, on the same floor, the "public study collection" should be located, where "a large part of Moderna Museet's three thousand artworks are shown on pull-out screens". (Ibid.)

On the two top floors of the building, in turn, "the museum's collection of painting, sculpture, drawings, and graphic arts will be exhibited" – and possibly also stored, although that remained unclear – in regularly modified configurations, so that "the visitors are offered a constantly renewed image of the contents of the collection". The collection, the second writing stated, "represents a 'memory' for personal experiences in many different human and social contexts" (B, 55); in a later text Hultén referred to it as a "collective memory bank".[30] On the rooftop "large sculptures such as Tinguely and Saint Phalle's *Fantastical Garden* can be placed".[31] The Expert Group, as we have seen, also imagined that this open-air floor-plane, facing Sergels Torg and the Hötorgs-City, could function as a scene for "theater plays with giant marionette dolls for an audience standing on the piazza". (A, 52)

According to the functional organization of the Group's proposal, Kulturhuset should therefore be characterized by a general, ascending movement, where visitors, and potentially artworks, would gradually climb

from the bustling activity and multifarious exchange of The Square, toward the relative calm of the top floors of The House. This progressive ascension was the main point that Hultén emphasized in later recollections and interviews about the project, and he described it as a movement toward increasing complexity and abstraction: "we imagined a sort of psychological development in the building, so that if you move upwards from below, you would move from more active to more contemplative undertakings";[32] "as you went up a floor, what you encountered was more complex than what was on the previous floor";[33] "you would gradually pass from the environment of the street, with its openness and chaotic generality, toward the relative clarity, rationality [*överskådlighet*], light, intelligence of the art collections, an environment of contemplation and intimacy".[34]

This way of organizing the center's functions, of course, was a logical response to the design of Celsing's building, and the consistency with which Hultén underlined it in texts and interviews indicates that it may have been the guiding principle for the Moderna Museet group's vision for Kulturhuset, perhaps since as far back as the announcement of the architectural competition results in 1966. It is what should secure the "organic" coherence of the center's activities, its unity as an exhibitionary apparatus.[35] A both structural and semantic mediator of this unity would be the large, centrally located, and glass-encased spiral staircase, which would allow "a simple and clear oversight of the building's organization" for visitors circulating through the center, at the same time as it would display that circulation to other people inside and outside, communicating the building's functional organization.[36] A comparable function would be served by the second floor exhibition facilities, where not only works produced at the ground floor or "imported" to the institution could be shown, but also, we may assume, works from the collection. Theoretically, the system would allow for a two-way exchange, such that works produced at The Square and then filtered through the display interface could end up in the collection, the center's "memory", while activities on The Square could be informed by works or arrangements available on the exhibition or collection levels above.

Like the exhibitionary apparatuses discussed in Tony Bennett's study of the birth of the museum, Kulturhuset would therefore organize the relationships and modes of display of objects, and the interdependent activities, gazes and modes of visibility of subjects, according to a carefully orchestrated logic. At the general level of the modes of subjectivity implied by this arrangement, liberating and potentially repressive effects would be inter-

woven. In Bennett's account, the visitors of the early modern cultural institutions were aspiring participants in the emerging bourgeois public sphere, who at the same time interiorized the image of themselves as a disciplined population.[37] The ideal public of Kulturhuset, instead, would be a consciously self-governing, classless community of creative individuals. It would regulate itself not from the point of view of "the controlling vision of power", or with respect to the "order of things" inscribed in universalizing museum surveys,[38] but from the point of view of the dynamic practices of modern and late modern art, as represented in the center's exhibitions and collections.

Observed in a historical perspective, it of course appears evident that, in the coming decades, such ideals of creative self-regulation would be vulnerable to co-optation, with the deployment of a "new spirit" of capitalism, and of new modes of governmentality, such that the concepts of flexibility and dynamism would be repurposed as organizational principles for "post-Fordist" labor relations and the power relations of "control society". However, it is here important not to submit to the enticing teleology of these concepts, and mistake the effects of the co-optation for the preceding project of emancipatory reform. We will address these questions more directly in part II, turning toward the critical ramifications of the translation of the Kulturhuset vision, in the years following the project's collapse, into a model for the museum as an Information Center, where the ascending movement from social activity to contemplation was replaced with a centripetal movement from data retrieval to information storage.

To the description of the intended Kulturhuset's functional organization in the Expert Group's first writing, the second writing added a brief discussion of the institution's economic and administrative structure. The Group's position regarding economy was straightforward. "Kulturhuset", they wrote, "must not segregate between classes [*får ej fungera klasskiljande*], and must not function commercially". (B, 55) Consequently no profit-driven enterprises should be allowed in the building, and entry to all sections and facilities should be free of charge. The public funds allocated yearly for the operation of the institution should be controlled, in their totality, by the direction. "Kulturhuset's economy must be construed as a unity", the Group stated, and this, they specified, included funds for museum acquisitions, which "must be integrated in the total economic planning", since "the collections must not be understood as an isolated part of Kulturhuset". (Ibid.)

These demands were in line with the Group's persistent argument – which would turn out to be the main point of contention with the Kulturhuset Committee, under which the Expert Group served – that the institution should operate under one leadership. "A fundamental part of our argument", the Group wrote, "is also that Kulturhuset, in order to function as a unity with one common, active artistic and social objective, must be placed under one single administrative directorship". (Ibid.) In some respects this was a contradictory requirement, but it cannot simply be written off as an expression of undue ambition on the part of Pontus Hultén and Moderna Museet, as some City officials would do in connection to the initial project's failure.[39] In order for the center to function as an "organic totality", characterized by a flexible, multidisciplinary interchange, it could evidently not be split up into different departments, with separate directors and programs, competing for the same funds and visitors; it could not be structured as a "cultural tenement house", as Pär Stolpe phrased it.[40]

More fundamentally, however, the demand rehearsed, at the level of administrative structure and decision-making, the tension between activity and permanence, between practice and preservation, that characterized the Group's proposal as a whole. This was neatly summarized in the Group's statement that

> In our view, Kulturhuset must be led and administered by those who work there in intimate collaboration with the visitors and the public. *One* person should have the main responsibility for the realization of the collectively made decisions. (B, 55)

So on the one hand employees, visitors, and the public would collectively "lead and administer" Kulturhuset, presumably through some sort of direct democracy. From various comments by Stolpe, we may infer that this process should be modeled on the experiments with new organizational structures at the "houses of all activity", which, as we saw, favored horizontal decision-making in general assemblies.[41] On the other hand, the institution would maintain a vertical administrative structure, presumably in order to remain compatible with the bureaucratic organization of its supporting political, economic, and juridical framework. In this way, the director would be able to answer in terms to possible challenges to the program, or to interferences with the institution's independence – and as Hultén was also well aware, in such situations a valuable collection would provide important leverage.[42] The director, in short, should serve a minimal,

protective and executive function, but otherwise refrain from meddling with the self-governing activities of the center.

The Expert Group's proposal did not develop further how this contradiction between autarchy and co-determination should be resolved – how the "*One* person" should "realize" the "collectively made decisions". A benevolent hypothesis would be that the structure of authority would be aligned with the institution's general functional logic, such that the directorship could also exert an influence over the operations of the upper exhibition and collection floors, which would then filter down, legitimizing and providing continuity for the "experiments in social coexistence" on the lower floors – which, in turn, could theoretically filter back up to and affect the upper floor program. On such a model the direct democracy of the ground floor activities would to some extent permeate the operations of Kulturhuset as a whole.

It should here be kept in mind that, preparing their proposal, the members of the Expert Group were always fully aware that the other half of the Kulturhuset building would be occupied by the Swedish parliament. "The most important feature of the Expert Group's proposal", Stolpe stated in a retrospective manuscript from the 1970s,

> was after all that, during a long period of time, Kulturhuset would operate with the provisional parliamentary headquarters right next door. This added an important aspect to the new vision of culture we wanted to present, where we (in accordance with the general objectives of the arts council) wanted to give people the opportunity to realize themselves with the possibility of direct access to their political representatives [*att förverkliga sig själva med möjligheter till direkt kontakt med sina politiska representanter*].[43]

Here, the scope of the Expert Group's attempt to devise a "catalyst for the active forces in society" becomes apparent. Kulturhuset should be effective, it seems, not only in its immediate environment, but also at the structural and mediated level of parliamentary decisions and policies.

In its immediate social and urban context, Kulturhuset would function as an experimental social center, on the model of the "house of all activities", creating "situations of constructive coexistence between individuals and groups of people" (A, 52). A keyword here, as Hultén would later note, was "expansion".[44] Kulturhuset would reach out to further social strata, inviting and catering to members of the population alienated from cultural and political existence: "those who are outside of the organizations, those who do not

dare to go to exhibitions or the theater, or to participate in debates, those who do not dare to make music or images or otherwise voice their interests" (B, 54).[45] And, again like the "house of all activities", Kulturhuset would also serve to expand the scope of that existence. Its multidisciplinary, dynamic nature would represent a rejection of the prevalent division of labor in society, setting up – however implicitly – another ideal for creative practice and existence. By providing a structure for social coexistence and access to various tools, it should create the conditions for new modes of individual and collective self-realization, in line with that ideal. In one word, the Expert Group wanted Kulturhuset to create the conditions for a "multi-dimensional", rather than a "one-dimensional man".[46]

Of course, it is conceivable that the Expert Group imagined that, through its proximity to the provisional parliamentary facilities, this social experiment could exert some sort of informal influence over parliamentary debates and decisions. But judging from Stolpe's comment, Kulturhuset should also be formally effective at that level, by giving visitors "direct access" to "their political representatives". What is important here is not the specifics of this undeveloped suggestion. (Would visitors simply meet with politicians in the lobby? Or would there be some technical arrangements for addressing propositions or demands to them?) What is essential is that it indicates the scale at which the Expert Group framed the objectives of their project. They were not content with conceiving of Kulturhuset as a separate zone of social and artistic experimentation – a "*cour des miracles*", again – which could then possibly have transformative effects on the wider social field. They also approached the problem at the level of the concept of culture, which, as we have seen, they defined as "a process, an attitude that is revolutionary and creative" (B, 56). From this perspective they asked how social and cultural policies would have to be designed so as to support that concept's realization, and how an exhibitionary apparatus could be devised so as to function as a "catalyst" in that process.

This is one way of understanding Stolpe's parenthetical remark about an accord between the Kulturhuset project and "the general objectives of the arts council". The reference was to some extent anachronistic: the Swedish Arts Council (*Kulturrådet*) would not formally present their important directives for a new cultural policy, which included strong statements about equality, widened access to cultural means and activities, and "reduc[ing] or prevent[ing] the negative effects of the market economy", until 1972.[47] But it speaks of the Expert Group's ambition to situate their Kulturhuset project – a proposal for a social and material redefinition of the exhibitionary appara-

tus – within the framework of a structural reconsideration of the methods of cultural production, distribution, and reception, that would be conducive to an extension of the domain of self-determination in democratic society. In this sense the Expert Group's Kulturhuset proposal was connected to the period's different, more or less experimental attempts to reform the social, economic, and cultural policies of the Swedish welfare state in accordance with ideals of increased equality and influence, which would result in legislation and initiatives such as the co-determination act and the wage-earner funds.[48] Moderna Museet's concurrent revision of Tatlin's legacy, and their attempt to reclaim the constructivist project of reconfiguring the relationship between artistic and industrial production, were evidently indissociable from this general enterprise – for which, it seems, they consciously promoted the *Monument for the Third International* as an icon and a model.[49]

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How does the Expert Group's proposal for a "catalyst for the active forces in society" compare to other, contemporary attempts at critically revising the museum, or more generally the art institution? Incidentally, at the same moment that the members of the Expert Group were finalizing the details of their first writing, presented to the Kulturhuset Committee on January 5, 1969, Hultén was at the receiving end of an influential attack against the institution of the museum – indeed, according to some, one that was instrumental for the creation of the very genre of "institutional critique".[50]

    The story is well known. On January 3, 1969, the Greek artist Vassilakis Takis entered the MoMA in New York, and removed a work of his from the exhibition *The Machine as Seen at the End of the Mechanical Age*, curated by Hultén. Takis was dissatisfied with Hultén's choice of work, a small kinetic sculpture owned by the MoMA called *Tele-sculpture* (1960), and had attempted to convince Hultén to select another work, one more representative of his practice, and more suitable in scale for the exhibition.[51] Takis saw *Tele-sculpture*'s final inclusion in the exhibition, in spite of his repeated objections, as evidence of the artist's general disenfranchisement with respect to the institution of the museum.[52] Along with artists Hans Haacke, Willoughby Sharp, and several others, Takis moved the sculpture to MoMA's garden, where they staged a sit-in and distributed a flyer that announced the scope of their intervention:

> Let us hope that our unanimous decision January 1st 1969 to remove my work from the Machine exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art will be just the first in a series of acts against the stagnant policies of art museums all over the world. Let us unite, artists with scientists, students with workers, to change these anachronistic situations into information centers for all artistic activities, and in this way create a time when art can be enjoyed freely by each individual.[53]

The immediate effect of the action was that, after discussions with the museum's director Bates Lowry, the work was actually withdrawn from the exhibition. But the leadership's vague, noncommital responses to the larger issues of museum policies and artists' rights provoked the group to stage further protests, interventions, and hearings, which quickly attracted great attention and support. In this way, Takis's removal triggered the foundation of the Art Workers' Coalition (AWC), which would go on to become a key force in the period's radical artists' movement in the US. In many respects, as Julia Bryan-Wilson writes in her recent study of the AWC, this movement was characterized by an

> almost single-minded focus on the art museum as their primary antagonist. Because artists in this period [in the US] did not receive wages from a socialized state or a government program in any systematic way, they viewed the museum as the primary gatekeeper of power, prestige, and value.[54]

The convolutions of this coincidence merit reflection. The AWC, an organization in favor of comprehensive museum reform, was founded – at least partly – as the result of a protest against Hultén, who was at that same moment involved in an ambitious project to create a new, reformed museum institution, which would in many ways have embodied the ideals of the AWC. On the one hand, it is evident that their interests were aligned. The Expert Group and the AWC belonged to the same post-1968 environment, and shared the egalitarian and anti-bureaucratic ideals characteristic of the period's new left. Their separate calls for the rejuvenation and democratization of an ossified museum establishment were largely interchangeable.[55]

On the other hand, their trajectories diverged. The Kulturhuset project, we might say, belonged to a minor tradition of progressive – "open", "dynamic" – museums and art institutions in Europe, including the Stedelijk in Amsterdam, Louisiana in Denmark, and the unrealized Fun Palace project

– to which we could add the Institute of Contemporary Arts (ICA) in London and the Kunsthalle Bern – and it would remain a reference for a series of differently scaled institutional experiments during the 1970s, such as the Düsseldorf Kunsthalle, and the Centre Pompidou in Paris.[56] For the AWC, on the contrary, the museum figured mainly, as Bryan-Wilson notes, as a "gatekeeper of power, prestige, and value". The AWC's activities were generally directed against the museum, and the most obvious legacy of their protests and demands was the "escape attempts" of 1970s US art: the alternative space movement, land art, the use of magazines and publications as display and distribution formats, and so on.[57]

What were the causes for this divergence? One obvious reason was, as Bryan-Wilson suggests, the differences in state policy and economic structure. While Swedish artists in the late 1960s did not generally "receive wages from a socialized state", as she puts it, the European welfare states did provide entirely different conditions for institutional experimentation than the US. As we have seen, the Kulturhuset project was underwritten by a municipal urban renewal project, within which it should realize and represent the values of Swedish cultural policy, ambitions that directly informed the Expert Group's proposal. Different but comparable conditions held for institutions in Holland, the UK, and France.[58] The absence of such policies and support systems in the US, combined with the ongoing war in Vietnam, seem to have made critical artistic and institutional experimentation at the scale and the level of the museum practically inconceivable. Through their donors and trustees, the major museums were inextricably enmeshed in the interests of the US "military-industrial complex". Senior corporate executives and financers populated the museum boards, which became the preferred targets for the AWC's most renowned interventions, such as the performance (by the AWC offshoot the Guerilla Art Action Group) *A Call for the Immediate Resignation of All the Rockefellers from the Board of Trustees of the Museum of Modern Art*, also known as *Blood Bath* (1969).[59]

A second, more speculative reason has to do with art historical lineage. The concept of art that was represented in Moderna Museet's projects during the period, and that also informed the Expert Group's proposal, was not mediated through the demands and negations of formalist modernism, limits that artists with critical ambitions in New York were essentially compelled to engage with.[60] Specifically, the Expert Group arrived at their understanding of the art museum as a "catalyst" for alternative social relations and information flows with a minimal awareness of the rejection

of visuality and materiality characteristic of contemporary Conceptual Art. In Benjamin Buchloh's influential, dystopian account, Conceptual Art represented the endgame of the project of modern art, the final moment at which art managed to mimic and internalize its antagonistic social conditions. Conceptual Art, wrote Buchloh, was able to turn "the violence of that mimetic process back onto the ideological apparatus itself", and to "purge artistic production of the aspiration toward an affirmative collaboration with the forces of industrial production and consumption".[61]

The Expert Group's proposal did not result from such a "purge". On the contrary, it maintained the legacy of Moderna Museet's affiliation with Pop Art and *Nouveau réalisme*, as well as with E.A.T. and the pledge to fuse art and technology, in the form of the hope of a popular or "other avant-garde", to refer once again to Peter Wollen's term[62] – but mediated through the contradictions and possibilities of the Kulturhuset project, including the potentials of Celsing's building, and the social ambitions of Stolpe's "house of all activities". What the Expert Group sought – and this is one way of understanding their effort to reclaim Tatlin's tower, and the constructivist experiment – was a new model precisely for the "affirmative collaboration" between the art institution and other apparatuses of cultural production, distribution, and reception. Under the conditions afforded by Swedish cultural policy, such a reconfiguration of the exhibitionary apparatus, and of its position within the exhibitionary complex, would ideally be embodied in Kulturhuset's multidisciplinary setup, where relations between different functions would be modeled on the total, flexible system. Through dynamic shifts, crossovers, and alliances between artforms and social practices, it would confront the separation and stratification characteristic of a society in the process of rapid technological modernization, expanding the domains of individual and collective self-determination.

The two art historical lineages, then, correspond to two different models of the exhibitionary apparatus. In retrospect, the understanding of the museum and the art institution that informed the AWC's practices was perhaps best summed up in Brian O'Doherty's critical concept of the "white cube", which described the gallery space as a container isolated from social reality, displaying commodified artworks for passive, disembodied contemplation and consumption. At the conceptual horizon of institutional critique was the negation of that model.[63] But the persistent talk of the art institution as a site of exclusion or distinction failed to address the changed social logic of the exhibitionary apparatus as the component of a mutating complex of other apparatuses for dissemination and reception of informa-

tion and cultural forms. The Kulturhuset project, instead, belongs to a series of attempts – leading most obviously from the Fun Palace to the Centre Pompidou – to affirm the fluidity and polyvalence of a new information environment, and the resources of new technological means of production and distribution, in order to establish the institutional conditions for experiments with new modes of social and cultural existence. Here, the exhibitionary apparatus was understood as a communication medium in a network of other media, where spaces were forcefields, not containers, and walls were screens, not solid boundaries or frames.

A third, connected reason has to do with the level at which the critical potentials of new media technologies could be deployed. Many of the artists, critics, and curators associated with the AWC, such as Lucy Lippard, Hans Haacke, and Seth Siegelaub, were invested in the project of using information technology to interrogate or open lines of flight out of an artistically and politically regressive institutional environment. But as Mary Anne Staniszewski has argued, these attempts had no lasting repercussions for the museum. Instead, they were reinscribed within individual artistic projects, through the establishment of the "installation" format, and the development of these critical practices therefore ran parallel to a consolidation and extension of "white cube" institutional routines. An exhibition such as the well known *Information* at the MoMA (1970), which was in many respects an attempt by that institution to accommodate – or perhaps domesticate – some of the AWC's demands and practices, was here emblematic. While it featured a number of critical Conceptual Art and Systems Art projects, such as Haacke's influential *MoMA Poll* (1970), or Group Frontera's participatory CCTV arrangement *Especta* (1970), it also signaled the separation between the emerging installation format and exhibition design. "In other words", writes Staniszewski,

> artistic practice became more self-consciously political regarding the workings of the institutions of art at the moment when the Museum of Modern Art in particular, and modern museums in general, were disavowing these realities in their installation practices. Ironically, the examination of the ideological dimensions of an exhibition by Conceptual artists simultaneously circumscribed the political within the domain of the individual artist, thereby releasing the institution from any such responsibility and fostering the myth of an aesthetic institution as a neutral site.[64]

This myth did not inform the Kulturhuset project. On the contrary, and partly for the reasons we have discussed, for the Expert Group the levels of display and of the exhibitionary apparatus remained open as spaces for progressive social, artistic, and technological experimentation. If the Expert Group's terms were often similar to those of critical Conceptual Art and Systems Art, the objects and the scope of their practices therefore differed. For example, many aspects of the Kulturhuset proposal – the organic inter-relationship between the center's functions, the open exchange between its interior and exterior, the emphasis on recursive self-regulation, not to mention the high-tech grid of the entrance level space – suggested a vicinity to a contemporary cybernetic, even techno-utopian imaginary. But here, it was the exhibitionary apparatus, and not merely the artwork or the installa-tion, that was understood on the model of the self-governing system. These aspects would become clearly pronounced in the period following the col-lapse of the Kulturhuset project, when the proposal was explicitly developed into the model of the museum as an Information Center. Adding another twist, the measures that Takis had called for in the flyer he distributed at MoMA during his protest against Hultén's curatorial despotism – that is, to transform the "anachronistic situations" of art museums into "information centers for all artistic activities" – were therefore at the core of the endeavors of Hultén and his associates, whereas they would remain beyond the scope of the AWC.

Finally, in one respect the AWC's practices place the Kulturhuset project in an unforgiving light. Throughout its brief history, from the announce-ment of its "13 demands" in January 1969 until its dissolution in 1971, the AWC was an anti-racist project, directly associated with the civil rights movement. Its early statements called for the extension of the museum's activities into "the Black, Spanish and other communities", and for a section of the MoMA to be placed "under the direction of black artists".[65] The AWC's embrace of feminist issues was not as immediate or consistent, but they gradually came to the forefront, on the initiative of offshoot groups such as Women Artists in Revolution (WAR) and the Ad Hoc Women Artists' Committee, which during a protest outside the Whitney Museum of American Art in 1971 called for the inclusion of "50% black women artists" in the museum's annual survey exhibition.[66]

Such demands were conspicuously absent not only from the Expert Group's proposal, but from all of the many articles, statements, sketches, and proposals related to Moderna Museet's Kulturhuset project from 1963 onwards. The Expert Group's association with the FNL movement, and

more generally with the new left's calls for international solidarity with "third world" liberation movements, did not translate into issues concerning civil rights or cultural representation. It was not until the exhibition *Pictures of Sweden*, curated by Pär Stolpe at the Sweden House in Stockholm in the spring of 1969, and the events in support of the Black Panther Party around the exhibition *Poetry Must Be Made by All! Transform the World!* at Moderna Museet in the winter of the same year, that questions of the situation of immigrants in Sweden and of minority politics were explicitly addressed. Feminist politics were not acknowledged until the exhibition *Women* (*Kvinnor*), curated by Group 8, at Stolpe's Filialen in 1972.[67] For the white and predominantly male participants in the different groups involved in the Kulturhuset project, problems of race, ethnicity or gender did not register politically. A generous interpretation would hold that feminist and anti-racist policies were implicit in the proposal's universalist calls for equality and self-determination, but that would fail to account for the persistent underrepresentation of women and minority groups in projects by several of the Expert Group's members, as well as in Moderna Museet's acquisitions, during the decades to come.[68]

3.3 Chronology of a Collapse

November 6, 1968

At a meeting at the Stockholm City Hall, the Kulturhuset Committee appointed Andersson, Hultén, Lind, Stolpe, and Thorsell as its Expert Group.[69] Carlo Derkert's assumption, in a memorandum to Hultén the previous year, that Hultén would join the Committee itself, therefore turned out to be false.[70] The difference was not merely technical. It meant that Moderna Museet would not be directly represented in the Committee that was tasked to present a program proposal for the new institution to the Stockholm Central Executive Board (*Stadskollegiet*). Instead, a buffer zone was established between Moderna Museet and the Executive Board, so that the museum, via the Expert Group, would have to address their proposal to the Committee, which would then decide whether or not to relay it to the Executive Board for approval. As it turned out, the Expert Group's proposal was never submitted to the Executive Board.

Why this maneuver? In all likelihood because the municipal Executive Board, to which the Committee answered, wanted to circumscribe the influence of Moderna Museet, which served under the National Museum. The municipal politicians did not want the project they had initiated and financed to be controlled by a state institution. Possibly, they were also concerned about Moderna Museet's reputation as a site of subversive activities. What the Committee had in mind for Kulturhuset, it became apparent at the same meeting in November, was an arrangement where Moderna Museet would share the building with several other facilities, such as a branch of the City library, a youth center, and a tourist information bureau.[71]

January 5, 1969

The Expert Group's first writing was prepared in response to a specific request. Contrary to the Committee's wishes, Hultén had insisted that, for a relocation to Sergels Torg to be of interest to Moderna Museet, the museum must be guaranteed disposal of the totality of the building, parliamentary facilities excluded.[72] The Committee therefore asked the museum to describe their requirements in more detail.[73] The Expert Group's reply – their first writing – seems to have been troubling to the Committee, whose immediate reaction was to forward it for evaluation to the Police and Fire Authorities. At a preparatory meeting with the Committee, these authorities

stated that "great problems would arise if the freedom and openness suggested by the proposal were to be realized".[74]

The formal statements from the same authorities a few days later were less categorically dismissive,[75] but for the Committee two main problems remained. First, there was the question of whether Kulturhuset would be able to fulfill its function as a vehicle of social control under the conditions described by the Expert Group, and especially if the dissolution of the boundary between the Sergels Torg piazza and the entrance level "Square" were to be achieved.[76] Second, there was the question of the executive authority over the institution. The Committee framed this as a problem of the program's diversity. If Moderna Museet were to dispose of the whole building, they argued, then unavoidably the choice of cultural activities available to the audience would be limited. Behind this unwillingness to acknowledge the radical flexibility and diversity described in the Expert Group's proposal there was the problem – which appears to have been unsurpassable to the Committee – of whether a state institution alone should be allowed to control a municipally funded project.[77]

The Expert Group's second writing, in March, attempted to address some of these concerns, by outlining more clearly the administrative and economical structure of the potential institution, and by proposing that public order in the building should be maintained by the institution's own staff (B, 55). The Committee seems not to have been convinced: they refrained from responding, and scheduled no new meetings with the Group for two months. Meanwhile, the Executive Board was growing impatient over the lack of advancement, and asked the Committee to develop its own proposal, independently of the Expert Group, and regardless of whether Moderna Museet would in fact relocate to Sergels Torg.[78]

April 21, 1969
From the Kulturhuset Committee's proposal, submitted for approval to the Executive Board:

> main points in the program for spaces in the eastern part of the building, to serve as guidelines for detailed technical planning:
>
> a) In the entrance hall at the Sergels Torg pedestrian level, a variety show restaurant is installed […].
> b) The first floor above the Sergels Torg street level is prepared for information activities directed by the city. A cafeteria is also installed.

    c)   A part of level 7 [second above street level] is at the disposition of a <u>library</u>, designed according to the city librarian's proposal to the committee.

    d)   The upper floors are designed as <u>exhibition spaces</u> (according to the current hypothesis, Moderna Museet), mainly in accordance with the preliminary documents (concerns a part of level 7 and the whole of levels 9 and 10 [the top floors, directly above level 7]).[79]

In the spaces on the pedestrian level of the building's western part – where the Expert Group had envisioned the "Square" – the Committee suggested "<u>a winter garden</u> with movable plant beds".[80]

News of this proposal was transmitted to the Expert Group *post factum*, at a Committee meeting on May 9, to which Hultén was invited.[81] Frustrated at the absent dialogue, and the seemingly categorical rejection of their ideas, Hultén and his associates made the debate public. In the following days and weeks, among other things, Kurt Bergengren – ever reliable – published an article in *Aftonbladet*, the Expert Group published a summary of their two writings in *Dagens Nyheter*, and a public discussion about the competing proposals was arranged at Moderna Museet, at which no representatives from the Committee attended.[82] In June, Wilhelm Forsberg, chairman of the Committee, presented his view of the matter in *Dagens Nyheter*, but other than maintaining that the institution should be "diverse" and "inclusive", and so could not be controlled solely by Moderna Museet, he did not address the contents of the Expert Group's writings.[83] On June 25, the Executive Board provisionally approved the Committee's proposal.

August 27, 1969
In a letter to Forsberg, Olof Palme, then Sweden's Minister of Education, urged the municipal politicians to reconsider. The solution, he wrote,

> which was accepted by the Central Executive Board on June 25 […] means that Moderna Museet's facilities, in case of a relocation, would not be significantly larger than their current exhibition spaces. […] It is a solution to the question of the museum's facilities which from the state's point of view must be considered insufficient and which is not deemed desirable by the museum's leadership.[84]

Negotiations between delegations from the city and the state, which had not advanced since they were first initiated in April, were now reopened, while Hultén and his associates once again tried to create public opinion.[85] The

positions, however, were locked. The state demanded that Moderna Museet should be granted a larger part of Kulturhuset, and that the city should contribute to the raised operational costs of the relocated institution, beyond the state budget. The city insisted – remarkably, considering the Expert Group's strong emphasis on co-determination – that it could not accept

> that Moderna Museet would dispose of the predominant part of the eastern part of Kulturhuset. The reasons are that the city and its citizens would be deprived of any decisive influence over Kulturhuset's activities, and that there would not be sufficient space in Kulturhuset for, among other things, the planned library or the information activities through which the city has intended to partly accommodate the growing demands for an expanded municipal information.[86]

February 27, 1970

The negotiations never broke the deadlock. From a press release, signed by members of both delegations:

> The city's delegation has in this situation concluded that it is natural that the city will direct Kulturhuset on its own, and without Moderna Museet.
>   From the state's side the question to consider now is how an expanded activity at Skeppsholmen may be accommodated.
>   On the city's part, the Kulturhuset Committee will now have the task to present proposals for the disposition of the whole of Kulturhuset in the new situation. We may assume that the provisional program which has already been approved by the Central Executive Board will remain generally valid.[87]

The Expert Group had made a last, desperate attempt at raising opinion the previous month. Astonished to learn, in a newspaper item, that without consulting them the Committee had gone on an international research trip to museums and culture centers in Helsinki, Paris, Grenoble, and East and West Berlin, the Group published an open letter, asking the Committee why they had been excluded from the deliberations, why the public was not informed about the project's development, and what the Committee's intentions for Kulturhuset were.[88] Forsberg's somewhat magisterial response pointed out that there had been no new developments, that members of the Committee had in fact made various public statements over the previous months, and that the Expert Group was welcome to submit its viewpoints. As regards Moderna Museet, he stated, it had always been his assumption that it would "constitute a part of kulturhuset at Sergels Torg". "On the

contrary", he added, "I have always been completely foreign to the idea that Moderna Museet alone should dispose of all spaces in kulturhuset."[89]

In early March, Hultén sent a letter to Peter Celsing:

Dear Peter

So finally our collaboration, which I had been greatly looking forward to, will not take place. It's very sad. Although we had long suspected that this would be so, it feels rather bitter now that it is definitely over for our part. We will now attempt to bring about an extension of our premises out here. P.O. Olsson will be the architect, which is in order, since he stood for the reconstruction.

If you would ever need any material or information for the Sergels Torg building, please call.

With best wishes
Yours truly
Pontus[90]

January 11, 1971
The inaugural session of Sweden's new unicameral parliament, held in Celsing's theater building behind Sergels Torg, was opened with a speech by former prime minister Tage Erlander. As if bracing himself against the social and technological optimism embodied in the center's architecture and high-tech design – the theater-turned-debating chamber, for example, now included its own TV studio, and communication technology was hard-wired into the parliamentarians' seats[91] – Erlander sounded a note of caution, directed at the exuberant desires of the period's radical youth. "The technical advancements", he said, "have triggered expectations, hopes and demands from the citizens, whose realization far exceeds the framework of our economic resources." Since our means "should not be squandered on futilities", the "parliament's most important task today is to […] assemble around a constructive, strong economic policy".[92]

While the session's celebration of political realism proceeded, the new branch of the City Library, called the Reading Lounge (*Läsesalongen*), first opened its doors at Kulturhuset's ground floor. The Lounge was to some extent an appropriation of Hultén's idea of a "cultural living room", and of the Expert Group's "Square". It was arranged as a space for dwelling and social encounters as much as for reading and borrowing books. There were cushioned pits, chess tables and multimedia stations. There had even been

plans to install telex printers, where newsfeeds would be continuously trans-mitted.[93] But evidently, there were no mobile display arrangements, no carts with PA systems or slide projectors. The library was not governed through direct democracy, nor was it fully integrated with the rest of the center.

The Reading Lounge would become a great success, Kulturhuset's signa-ture achievement. But the Committee had struggled to figure out what to do with the other parts of the vast ground floor. The winter garden was one solution. Another was to use the expansive glass façade as a display window where other municipal cultural institutions could advertise their ongoing activities. This may be what Peter Weiss saw as he passed by the building on a nightly city walk two weeks before the first opening.

> As soon as the stores close the newly built city center ceases to live. In the evening it is completely empty, not just boring, dead. The monu-ments to the glory of capitalism rise coldly, giant tombstones above the ashes of the former city. […] Abnormal actions often become sym-bolically charged, and now the decorators of the mausolea have filled the windows of the so-called Kulturhuset with figures wearing eighteenth-century clothes. The life-sized dolls, with pale, kitschy plastic faces, are rigidly lined up like the last afterimages of what was once flushed out, ladies in crinoline, gentlemen in frocks, a groom, coachmen and maids, a theater harlequin. Even at night these glassed in dummies advertise the total clearance sale which has befallen the city of Stockholm.[94]

October 15, 1974
Sweden's monarch, King Carl XVI Gustaf, arrived by horse-drawn carriage to the grand inauguration of the finalized Kulturhuset. Hjalmar Mehr spoke to the large crowd of the City Sanitation's virtues and the new cultural center's importance. "The applause is measured. The mood is almost distracted. Everyone in the room is a bit tired of Kulturhuset," one com-mentator noted.[95]

The eastern part of the building, constructed separately because of the parliament's rigorous schedule, was finished in 1972, and had been standing empty since then. Apparently, the Committee's suggestion, that the large exhibition spaces should be used for collaborations with other municipal art institutions, such as Liljevalchs and the City Museum, had been difficult to realize.[96] Until his untimely death in March 1974, Celsing had fought for the center to be led and administered as one institution, rather than being divided up into separate departments, with different leaderships, interests and agendas. "Don't let them turn it into a bingo parlor", he groaned.[97] But as an institutional project its failure seemed inexorable. "Kulturhuset", as

Hultén phrased it, "sank with open valves into a not even agitated sea of moral and legal collapse."[98]

PART II
Databank and Interface:
the Conflict of Compatibility

Where there is communication, there is no State.

The Situationist International

Introduction:
From Culture House to Information Center

Moderna Museet's Kulturhuset project was an ambitious attempt to reconsider the status and the function of the exhibitionary apparatus under new social and technological conditions. In spite of its discouraging ending, its effects would be felt in several important institutional projects in Sweden in the years and decades to come. It would also gain an international reputation, although mostly informally, through Pontus Hultén's continued career and network of affiliations. Essential to the project, both at the level of the general structure it proposed for a future art institution, and at the level of that institution's resources, was its embrace of new information technologies. For the Expert Group, it appears – and as we shall see, this is not entirely implausible – one model for the center's overall organization had been the cybernetic system. And several of the center's sections would have prominently featured state of the art technological devices, for the visitors to use at their convenience. As we have already noted, these traits would become even more pronounced in the months following the initial project's collapse, when the Kulturhuset proposal was reinterpreted and developed into a model for the museum as an Information Center.

How should we understand this reinterpretation, this ambition to rethink the exhibitionary apparatus as a media system? What does it imply for the integrity and the critical status of the exhibition as a social and cultural form? And what is its significance today? In this part, we will address the conditions and the ramifications of this general problem, by pursuing two sets of questions. First, what did it actually entail to render the exhibitionary apparatus compatible with early digital technologies (specifically, third and fourth generation computer systems)? What was at stake critically in this process? These questions will be discussed by way of a reading of some of the guiding documents of the Museum Computer Network, an early museological attempt at enlisting the resource of the

computer for reforming core functions of the museum. Second, how were the progressive potentials of such an integration understood in radical artistic and curatorial projects of the period, and how did these projects frame their relationship to the growing social impact of mass media? These issues will be interrogated through a study of the conflicted exhibition *Pictures of Sweden*, curated by Pär Stolpe at the Sweden House in Stockholm in 1969. Both of these projects – the Museum Computer Network and *Pictures of Sweden* – in different ways informed the development of the Kulturhuset and the Information Center plans.

There is a paradox at work in the enthusiasm for – or the fetishization of – new media technology in much politically radical art in the years around 1970. On the one hand, such technology was enlisted for its socially progressive effects. "The new media are egalitarian in structure", Hans Magnus Enzensberger optimistically argued, in a text to which we will return.[1] Lightweight photo equipment, video cameras, CCTV systems, telex printers, Xerox machines, computer devices and so on were praised for their emancipatory potentials. The relations of cultural production were going to be balanced: people would have unfettered access to information, and the ability to create their own images, newsfeeds or aesthetic arrangements as alternatives to the "mainstream" output. On the other hand, the extent to which media technology, independently of its actual application, was already embedded in specific social structures, often seems to have been underestimated. The horizon of possibility of many progressive projects was determined by the range of consumer devices available on the market. The spectacle of their use – subversive or otherwise – remained immanent to corporate strategies, such as marketing plans, the education of consumer habits, or the opening of new market sectors. More fundamentally, as elements in the social process of reproduction of advanced capitalism, they contributed to the organization of patterns of behavior and modes of subjectivity optimized for the exercise of control and the extraction of surplus value.[2] As one of the most perceptive early critics of the period's techno-enthusiasm, Jean Baudrillard, claimed – in an argument to which we will also return – new communication technologies were, by virtue of their technical definition, "in inexorable solidarity with the system of power".[3]

So while new media technology was employed for its socially progressive effects, its inherent social dimension was disavowed. According to an influential genealogy, the second term of this contradiction was destined to eclipse the first. That is, the emancipatory promise of new media would inevitably be overpowered by their effectivity as instruments for the rein-

vention of labor relations, production methods, and legitimizing imaginaries, on the part of capital. Their radical potentials would not be realized as democratization and the extension of the realm of autonomy, but as the reinforcement, in a new "spirit", of the capitalist mode of production.[4] For example, the North American counterculture's faith in the liberating effects of cybernetic systems and "access to tools" – the slogan of tech entrepreneur Stewart Brand's influential *Whole Earth Catalog*, founded in 1968 – would not give rise to a new mode of independent and self-sustaining communal life, but to "Californian ideology", new distribution networks, and precarious labor conditions.[5] Information access and responsiveness to feedback would not lead to new levels of social awareness and political influence, but to the consolidation of a new governmentality, where enhanced techniques of profiling and customization, on the part of both corporations and intelligence agencies, would foster a seamless society of control, and where the circuit of marketing, polling, and policy would be locked in a closed loop, reducing parliamentary politics to a disenfranchising, post-political spectacle.[6]

In the strong version of this recuperation narrative, exemplified perhaps most clearly by Luc Boltanski and Ève Chiapello's *The New Spirit of Capitalism*, the critical artistic projects of the 1970s not only underestimated the extent to which the social structures of capitalism would be able to accommodate their radical ideals. The "artistic critique", Boltanski and Chiapello argue, actually served in the interest of the system it purported to criticize. It did so by forcing capitalism to develop a new set of justifications that superficially incorporated some of the critics' values, permitting it to respond to the charges without calling its own core principles into question; and by provoking capitalism to transform its modes of profit creation, so as to displace the terms of the critique, seemingly withdrawing its very object.[7] What Yann Moulier Boutang has called a new phase of "cognitive capitalism", describes precisely a political economy defined by horizontal, fluid networks, cooperative creativity, and immaterial investments, modeled on Californian, "countercultural" entrepreneurialism,[8] and there is a plethora of concepts that, although they emphasize different aspects, and relate differently to the legacy of Marxian thought, draw a similar image of a capitalism that has assimilated the language of critique and emancipation, while reinforcing its own structural functions.[9] For Paolo Virno, the reorganization of relations of production in response to the "failed revolution" of the 1970s, "has given life to a sort of paradoxical 'communism of capital'".[10]

There is no doubt that, in important respects, this recuperation narrative is valid. The radical movements of the late 1960s and the 1970s, with their hopes for the liberating powers of new media, provoked a transformation in the production methods and the spirit of capitalism. In the Swedish context, the long debate about Rudolf Meidner's wage-earner funds proposal in the late 1970s and the 1980s – a direct outcome of the demands for economic democracy and co-determination in the post-1968 new left – became an ideological battleground, where the Swedish employers' association mobilized a new set of concepts partly shaped on the critics' ideals, which would serve to legitimize a restructuring of the labor market according to neoliberal principles of flexibility and entrepreneurship.[11] Rightwing commentators have described this ideological shift as the overcoming of a "crisis in democracy", to quote the title of a notorious report from 1975: the "explosion of communication and social interaction" during the 1960s brought about an excessive rationality and sense of entitlement among the citizens, placing inordinate demands on authorities, and threatening to make Western democracies "ungovernable";[12] there is a long tradition of accounts that similarly dismiss the "students' revolt in May 1968" as a politically immature expression of generational defiance, whose true legacy was to usher in a new age of hedonistic individualism.[13] Studies such as Boltanski and Chiapello's perform an essential, critical work of "denaturalizing" such narratives of the historical necessity of neoliberalism's development, of how the spoiled children of the "golden age" awoke from their rebellious daydreams, reminding us instead of the social antagonism and the ideological violence at the heart of that process.[14]

And yet there is a risk that the denaturalizing account itself settles into doxa, in spite of its intentions. The analysis of the recuperative function of the "artistic critique" of the 1960s and 1970s, whose operations were not only assimilated by capital, but actively served to reinforce its spirit, is today enlisted to legitimize what Jacques Rancière has described as a "post-critical critique",[15] according to which the absence of "any point exterior to the system" of capitalist social relations, as Jean Baudrillard wrote already in 1972, renders the notions of critique and opposition obsolete.[16] Since the "great contestations" of the post-1968 period – Virno's "failed revolution" – were unable to do otherwise than fuel the rise of neoliberal ideology, the project of critique as such is declared defunct, in favor of programs that advocate affirming the immanent, rupturing tendencies of capitalism itself, pushing it toward its point of terminal implosion, as Baudrillard prescribed, or liberating the constituent forces of the "multitude", as in the post-auto-

nomist tradition.[17] Or else they may more complacently propose that we "project […] forward alternative (not necessarily oppositional) arrangements or scenarios", as one influential "post-critical" text suggests.[18] Ironically, neoliberal ideology today justifies the subjection of the traditional institutions of the bourgeois public sphere – such as the university or the museum – to the law of profit creation, forcing many critics (or post-critics) into the defensive position of struggling to preserve the institutional infrastructure of the modern concept of critique. The recuperation narrative is insufficient to the extent that it serves to validate this dichotomy between critique as futile opposition, destined to strengthen the new spirit of capitalism, and a "projective" post-critique – either "accelerating" or complacent – whose difference from the process of extending the field of capital accumulation often verges on the indiscernible.

What we have called the Expert Group's "project of autonomy" was not evidently reducible to either of these positions. It sought an unstable dialectics, where the institutional autonomy of art, understood as the preservation of a space of ideal exception from capitalist social relations, would feed and feed off an "affirmative" ambition to extend the realm of social and cultural self-determination in society. Rather than an avant-garde dialectics between negation and sublation, this was a systems-like, mutually reinforcing relationship between a set of museological and institutional functions that would maintain the integrity and continuity of modern art, and a set of social practices and policy ideals that would implement that art's promise – to embody a free and "highly experimental attitude toward the surrounding world" – so as to reconcile art with its social institutionalization. The Expert Group's proposal, of course, was summarily rejected. But what was the fate of their vision? How should we understand their "catalytic" model in relation to the conflicting forces – the emancipatory practices and ideals, and the "recuperative" transformations of the methods of cultural production, distribution, and reception – which traversed the complex of new media? Did the development of the Kulturhuset proposal into the diagram for a new media system – the transition from culture house to information center – equal its subsumption under the logic of "cognitive" or "cybernetic capitalism"? Or did it provide a model for how the exhibitionary apparatus might enlist the resources of new technologies, but for the ends of extending the domain of self-determination, facilitating new disagreements and subjectifications, to again refer to Rancière's terms?

It is against the background of these general questions that the following three chapters will study the Museum Computer Network and *Pictures of*

Sweden 1969. In chapter four, we will discuss the theoretical framework that the Museum Computer Network outlined for the technical modernization of a set of basic museological functions – collection management, audience relations, exhibition design – at once announcing a comprehensive, if vaguely articulated vision of the museum's social and technological environment. A final section of this chapter will briefly relate this framework to the current tendency toward establishing an exhaustive "compatibility" between the institution of the museum, and the devices, protocols, and social patterns of digital, networked media. Chapter five will examine the refractory, ambivalent "incompatibility" set into play by the exhibition *Pictures of Sweden 1969*, as it attempted to stage a critical encounter between the opposing forces of, on the one hand, the egalitarian promise of new media, and on the other hand their use in the service of class and colonial interests by corporations and mass media. Chapter six, which concludes this part, will then assess the relationship between the Museum Computer Network and *Pictures of Sweden 1969*, and what remaining options may be extracted from the "conflict of compatibility" that they enact, by way of a discussion of what Olivier Lugon has described as the paradoxical perseverance of the exhibition, in the face of the development of more "effective" media for the diffusion of objects, information, and representations. With reference to Enzensberger's media essay, and Baudrillard's early, sociological and media theoretical writings, we will here seek to chart the possible, remaining space for a "project of autonomy" within the changing configuration of the exhibitionary complex, as it verges on dissolution in a new media environment.

4.

The Ideology of the Museum Computer Network

Computerized information systems that encompass the full spectrum of museum resources will create the opportunity of restructuring the museum environment itself.

Everett Ellin

4.1 Standardize, Connect, Control

On April 6, 1967 the North American museologist, art dealer and media theorist Everett Ellin gave a lecture at the department of Art History at Stockholm University, on the invitation of Moderna Museet. His talk, with the fashionably McLuhanist title "Museums as Media", introduced the work of an organization he had recently helped set up in New York, called the Museum Computer Network.

The Museum Computer Network was created in response to a seemingly unambiguous problem: the discrepancy between, on the one hand, the computing and archival capacities of new information technologies, and on the other hand the antiquated and disorderly state of museum filing systems and routines. "In the brave new electronic world", Ellin stated in an article in the journal *Computers and the Humanities*, "few bastions of the humanities have withstood the march of technology more tenaciously than the art museum". "The communication circuits of these institutions", he went on, "are overloaded to the point where a failure in critical areas of their activity is seriously threatened".[1]

There is no doubt that the situation was serious (and, we might note, it would remain so for a remarkably long time). As Ellin pointed out in several texts during the period, and as many museologists have witnessed since, the cataloguing of museum acquisitions and collections – in everything from art museums to ethnographic or natural history museums – was

performed in idiosyncratic ways, without coherence between different institutions, and often without established standards even within a single museum. Records and catalogues, generally kept in so-called "day books" or registrars whose overall appearance had not changed in over a century, were publicly inaccessible, and often illegible to anyone except the curators who had authored them.[2]

This disarray had crippling consequences for basic museological and curatorial tasks. For example, in order to assemble a comprehensive retrospective exhibition, a curator would have had to travel to all the museums and collections that could be expected to hold works by the relevant artist – and not just to see the works, but also to learn which ones actually existed. There, local curators or custodians would possibly provide access to their prized catalogues, and in the best case assist with deciphering them. This was an evidently inefficient process, with unsafe returns. The lack of general archives or records was also detrimental to scholars, as Ellin would often emphasize. It impeded, he wrote, "even the simplest study of a given body of art", and made it difficult to "draw conclusions from the comparative examination of larger groups of objects".[3] And these problems in turn were aggravated by the growing popularity of museums, owing to what Ellin called the "cultural explosion" of the 1960s, which forced institutions to devote their resources to managing audience flows and accommodating various expectations and needs. As Ellin said, a "failure in critical areas" of the museums' activity was threatened.

Indeed, the situation corresponded to what James Beniger, in his landmark study of the social and economic conditions of modern communication systems, has called "control crises", where material and information flows exceed the capacity of technologies to contain them.[4] What the Museum Computer Network proposed in response to this crisis was straightforward. First, to establish standardized formats for museum records, that would facilitate data capture and indexing, ensure the computer compatibility of collection records, and secure a general, transdisciplinary, and trans-institutional commensurability between separate catalogue items. Second, to equip museums with computers and databanks capable of processing, storing, and providing access to such information, available to professionals but eventually also to the public. And third, to interlink those computers and databanks into a multi-institutional network, accessible from a central mainframe, or even from its distributed nodes.[5] Together, these measures should provide the museum community with the

adequate means for managing their growing collections and the heightened demand for their services.

The Museum Computer Network was launched in early 1967 as a collaboration between sixteen institutions in the New York region, including the New York University, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and the MoMA, where its main office was located. Already from the outset, however, its outlook was global, as evidenced by the lecture tour to European universities and art institutions that Ellin undertook in the spring of that year, during which he visited Stockholm, as well as, among other places, Oslo University, the British Museum, and the ICA in London.[6] "It is not at all unlikely", Ellin wrote, "that the next decade will witness the creation of numerous central data banks of museum holdings, organized first on a national basis and later interconnected to form a worldwide museum information network."[7]

Concretely, the Museum Computer Network was engaged in the development, promotion, deployment, and support of a system of data management programs called GRIPHOS (General Retrieval and Information Processor for Humanities Oriented Studies), which, explains David Williams, "allowed direct access to records and provided for the creation of indexed files on items in the collection".[8] GRIPHOS, museologist Katherine Jones-Garmil comments,

> was one of the pioneering efforts in the standardization of museum information. The project produced a data dictionary that was used by all subsequent GRIPHOS users. Changes and additions were submitted to a committee for review. The definitions and the syntax of the information entered into each field were kept to a standard so that, in theory, information could be shared among member institutions.[9]

Looking back at the project, David Vance, one of the architects of the system, noted that

> Costs of data capture were determined but those of selective retrieval, using GRIPHOS, were underestimated with dire consequences for the future. The folly of giving a computer too much information per item (which should have been obvious even without an experiment) went unnoticed.[10]

4.2 A New Renaissance

In practical terms, the Museum Computer Network was therefore a technical project with the specific aim to rationalize museum filing systems.[11] This may or may not have excited Ellin's Stockholm audience. More essential was the way in which Ellin outlined the general *telos* of the project, that is, its possible, transformative effects on the museum institution as a whole, and conversely, the museum's possible transformative role within a new social and technological configuration. Two of Ellin's texts are here important: "Museums as Media", a version of the lecture he gave during his European tour in 1967, published in the *ICA Bulletin* that same spring; and "Information Systems and the Humanities: A New Renaissance", a paper delivered at the conference *Computers and Their Potential Applications in Museums*, organized by the Museum Computer Network and IBM at the Metropolitan Museum in New York in 1968.

In "Museums as Media", Ellin's reliance on Marshall McLuhan was evident and explicit. The museum, Ellin declared, is a "medium of communication", in that it "extend[s] the visual faculty through the use of certain technological innovations such as a specialized shelter, new installation techniques, controlled lighting, etc.".[12] Reiterating McLuhan's thesis – at this point already widely circulated – that the content of a new medium is always an old one, and that an old medium becomes self-aware when it is absorbed into the new one, Ellin proposed that "we are at last witnessing the cultural osmosis of the museum into a brave new medium". (MaM, 14) "As the museum becomes the content of the new electronic environment", he went on, "we may confidently expect the museum itself to be transformed into an art form." (Ibid., 15)

Two things would characterize the new situation into which the museum would be absorbed. First, Ellin wrote, the new electronic technology, which is the "dominant medium of our time", creates a "new state of 'all-at-onceness'", an "environment that is all-enveloping in the sense that we are all in touch with each other and […] capable of experiencing (often through more than one of our senses) many forms of communications simultaneously" (ibid.). Second, this state of "all-at-onceness" forges a new sensorium, reshaping the human faculties of sensibility and cognition: it "alters our psychic environment, imposing on us a distinct pattern of perceiving and thinking" (ibid., 14). A new mode of subjectivity appears, then, native to its emerging electronic, interconnected, and multisensory habitat. In *Understanding Media*, McLuhan had famously conceptualized

this as the "retribalization" of man in the "global village" of the new electronic age, which dissolved the social patterns of the previous "age of literacy".[13]

For Ellin, the sublation of the museum into this new realm of multi-sensory interconnectedness implied a significant historical break. In "Museums as Media", he described this break as the transition from a "Renaissance" to a "non-linear" organizational matrix, in accordance with McLuhan's conceptual framework. In its nineteenth-century embodiment, Ellin wrote, the "museum, as a communication medium, […] installed its inherited treasures in the linearly organized Renaissance manner in buildings which were (and still are) pristine examples of the uniform, continuous Renaissance space" (MaM, 14). "[I]n contrast to the Renaissance mode", he went on, the "[e]lectronic technology is teaching us how to read our world through numerous simultaneous sensory experiences", calling "upon a multiplicity of stimuli for the exposition of information supplemental to the works themselves" (ibid., 15).

What appears slightly confusing here, of course, is Ellin's identification of a "Renaissance" mode of display with "linearity". In McLuhan's sprawling media history, "linearity" is associated with the development of perspective in Renaissance painting, which is in turn associated with the "uniform, lineal repeatability" of the Gutenberg press.[14] This was also the connection McLuhan emphasized in his comments on the "non-linear museum" during a seminar on "museum communication" at the Museum of the City of New York in the fall of 1967, which counted Ellin among its participants.[15] It is a museological commonplace, however, that in the cabinets and *studioli* of Renaissance princes, scholars or merchants, the organization of artworks and artifacts was in fact anything but "linear", and that progressive or evolutionary – that is, linear – models of organizing museum displays emerged precisely with the *break* from a courtly mode of presenting and mediating art.[16] This is not insignificant for an understanding of the social logic of modern display conventions. As Andrew McClellan has noted in his study of the birth of the public art museum in France during the revolutionary period, a "solution to the apparent contradiction between Revolutionary ideology and the purpose of much past art lay in […] the reidentification of iconic paintings as art objects occupying a place in the history of art", that is, in their "displacement to a museum and an arrangement of the collection by school and chronology".[17]

One year after his European tour, in 1968, Ellin had adjusted his historical account in a critically interesting way. In "Information Systems

and the Humanities: A New Renaissance", the function allocated to the renaissance had been reversed. Here, the renaissance display was not the model of a "linear" organizational matrix, but on the contrary represented the lost harmony between object and information, which it was the task of the new technology to reinstate. "[T]he holdings of the Wunder-Kammer and the palace museum were Cineramic illustrations of the new concepts for which they stood", Ellin wrote. They were "three-dimensional encyclopedias in which example merged with its literal context", and where "word and image joined in a display environment that functioned as an efficient information system".[18] He went on, in a remarkable passage, which deserves to be quoted at length:

> But this idyllic union of fact and artifact was regrettably short-lived. The democratization of museums and the coincident strides of print technology soon put an end to the romance. Once Napoleon opened the doors of the Louvre to the people of France, the palazzo became the public museum. While the citizens stormed the gallery, the scholars retreated to the cellars and took their data with them. Learning moved from vitrine to written record, from plinth to printed page. Books proliferated and, in the pristine world of the museum, cognition gave way to contemplation. As collections were purged of their textual significance and information was distilled into a discrete archival commodity, the convenient object-oriented retrieval system that had worked so well in the cloistered days of the Medici disappeared. Data, alas, were left to their own devices. The shift was hardly noticed, and visual control of information faded quietly away. (ANR, 324)

How should we understand this association of technological and informational progress, with the restoration of a premodern regime of social and cultural privilege? As the "citizens stormed the gallery", the "union of fact and artifact" was dissolved. And as "the information system became nonsystemic", the museum visitor could no longer persist in the "ceaseless quest for knowledge", and instead "became a flaneur" (ibid., 325). An "efficient information system", on the contrary, where "word and image join" in pure legibility, would preclude such aimless wandering, and be inseparable from an integrated social order, apparently without antagonism or contradiction. The "higher purpose that should inspire our present efforts", wrote Ellin, should be the "realization of the on-line intellectual society" (ibid., 334), "a network of interconnected information systems encompassing the full spectrum of man's achievements" (ibid., 333).

Let us attempt to grasp the scope of this vision of a "new renaissance". In fact, it corresponds to how Jean Baudrillard, in his early, media theoretical texts, critically described the social and political implications of McLuhan's vision of a new electronic age. According to Baudrillard, McLuhan's writings offered a "mythological travel shot" of the emerging consumer society, where value was dislodged from any connection to natural needs or organic relationships, from the old world of products and their lived meanings, and was instead circulated as a "code" of signs through the "extended nervous system" of modern media.[19] McLuhan's excited prophesies, Baudrillard argued, amounted to a "cybernetic idealism", a "blind faith in radiating information", which promoted the transformative effects of new media, while eliding their structural alignment with, and their role in the consolidation of, the new, consumerist configuration of capitalism.[20] McLuhan's – and, by extension, Ellin's – vision of a global information environment, was therefore, he held, indissociable from the process of extending capitalist social relations, of integrating practices and modes of subjectivity further with patterns of value extraction and control, creating an exhaustively defined and administered social space. What "McLuhan has outlined, in the exalted mode", Baudrillard stated, is a space from which "the refractory models of transcendence, conflict and surpassing" are expelled, in favor of a "social environment of synthesis in which a total abstract communication and an immanent manipulation no longer leave any point exterior to the system".[21] In the "semio-aesthetic order" of a "cybernetized society", he developed, "nothing compromises the interconnection of the elements and the transparency of the process", and an "absolute *legibility* of signs and messages" reigns.[22]

"[T]he electronic media", Ellin had remarked, "provoke rather significant changes in the distribution of sensory awareness." (MaM, 15) And indeed, as read via Baudrillard's concepts, his vision of a "new renaissance", where "word and image" would join in "an efficient information system", does suggest a specific mode of organizing what Jacques Rancière calls the "distribution of the sensible", "apportioning" what we can see and say, the "curves of visibility" and "enunciation", according to a logic of the "police".[23] As we have discussed, Rancière's notion of the "police" denotes a principle of control and administration, whereby an integration of social structures and sensory (aesthetic) relationships is pursued, in order to reduce antagonism and maximize governability. It is the tendency toward a homeostatic and self-identical social space, or, in Baudrillard's words, a "society that has become its own pure environment".[24] Unlike Baudrillard,

however, Rancière does not accept the notion that a "police" organization of the sensible, however exhaustive, would entail the closure of the possibility of dissent or critique.

At the horizon of Ellin's endeavor, then, there was the mirage of an enveloping haze of information, where social contradiction would be effaced and everything would be available and interconnected in a great synthesis. According to Ellin's McLuhanist dialectics, the museum should assist in this "step to the further reaches of the electronic age", which "may bring us to the edge of omniscience" (ANR, 333). Concretely, how would the work of the Museum Computer Network contribute to the development of this new state? We can discern three aspects of their project where the computerization of museum catalogues would facilitate the historical transformation of the "linear" museum into an "efficient information system", so as to serve the "larger enterprise" of a "true community of scholars" (ibid., 334), that is, ultimately, the convergence of the social, the cultural, and the technological into an integrated, mediatized, aesthetic environment.

First, as we have seen, the Museum Computer Network's core project to standardize, digitize, and interconnect museum filing systems would entail obvious museological, curatorial, and managerial advantages, counteracting the "control crisis" threatening the museums of Western postwar societies. Beyond the rationalization of administrative tasks, one element of this crisis management would be to segmentalize the museum visit, with the aim to relieve audience pressure from traditional museum services such as access to collections and exhibitions. In order to solve the "traffic problem", Ellin wrote, the new electronic media could be used to "differentiate the didactic function of the museum from the classical experience of contemplation". By "physically separating the processes of instruction, orientation and research from the areas preserved [for] contemplation, [new] techniques of electronic communication will free the museum to concentrate upon its custodial responsibilities, including the creation of publicly accessible storage areas where its collection can be retained in readily accessible form" (MaM, 15).

Such compartmentalization, Ellin noted, could also be realized at a more general level. The establishment of a network of museum data bases would facilitate a wider distribution of the museum as a "medium of communication", "preserving the museum itself" in its traditional form "for those who come to enjoy or study its contents".[25] The museum, in other words, would become the exclusive domain precisely for the "classical experience

of contemplation", still premised on the physical encounter with actual objects, whereas other functions would be delegated to the interconnected information system. "While there is, of course, a limit to the number of persons who can visit a museum in a single day, the audience which may address itself through the medium of the computer to that same institution's dominion of information is theoretically unlimited", Ellin wrote. "It is not at all far-fetched to speculate that […] museum lectures and simulated exhibitions (in audio/visual form) will be delivered electronically, upon request, to a classroom console or even to the home."[26] Presumably, this is what it means that the museum would become the "content" of a new medium. The museum would be liberated from the constraints of informational, educational, and communicational functions for which other media had become better suited, while its traditional features and facilities could consequently be "transformed into an art form" (MaM, 15). At the same time, those old features would now in effect be secondary to, and serve as the functions of a "new electronic environment" (ibid.), which would drastically alter the conditions for maintaining their specificity, and more generally for understanding the museum's social logic as an institution.

Second, as Ellin often emphasized, the standardization and interconnection of catalogue records would open new avenues of cross- or multidisciplinary research, "encouraging for the first time", he wrote, "dialogues between scholars in fields with overlapping areas of concern".[27] "[T]he appearance of computerized intradisciplinary data bases that cut across institutional or, indeed, regional lines will open […] research possibilities which could scarcely be considered before".[28] As a consideration regarding the heuristic values of standardization, Ellin's argument here recalls André Malraux's well-known reflections from 1947, concerning the effects of the widespread availability of photographic art reproductions for art historical scholarship, and for art appreciation in general. According to Malraux, the ubiquity and relative uniformity of such reproductions, in exhibition catalogues, books, magazines, and newspapers, created a new, "intellectualized" relationship to the artwork, situating it within an expanded – ultimately universal – cultural and historical context. Here, correspondences could appear between traditionally separate genres and media: between easel paintings and stained-glass windows, between bas-reliefs and coins. "[A] 'Museum without Walls' is coming into being", Malraux wrote, "and (now that the plastic arts have invented their own printing-press) it will carry infinitely farther that revelation of the world of art, limited perforce, which the 'real' museums offer us within their walls."[29]

In a sense, the Museum Computer Network sought to implement such a "museum without walls", rendered more pervasive still through the resources of advanced communication technology.[30] The "cultural osmosis of the museum into a brave new medium" would fuse the museum's educational and informational functions with a generalized media environment, rationalizing and multiplying the connections between disciplines and cultural forms. This promise of interdisciplinarity also had implications for the sensory configuration of the new environment. The convergence and semiotic compatibility of separate genres and media, Ellin claimed, would inevitably engage the perceiving, cognizing subject synaesthetically: it would "envelop us, inviting […] multisensory reception", a "new capability to perceive concurrently at many different sensory levels". (MaM, 15) And this, at the same time, corresponded to a new understanding of the possibilities of exhibition display, "within the walls" of the traditional museum space. As the "content" of a new environment, Ellin argued, the "museum of the future" could "attune itself" to the multimodal versatility of new media through, for example, an "imaginative intercultural approach to museum displays" that would "step-up the sensory setting of exhibitions". "The juxtaposition of conceptually related objects from different periods or styles (as distinguished from the chronological ordering of homogenous material) can itself establish a multi-level situation" (ibid.).

Third, widened and ultimately public access to information about collections, through computers located in "museums, libraries, and educational institutions" (ANR, 327), would evidently contribute to the further rationalization of museum administration, by allowing people to plan their visits ahead, and so on. But increasingly frequent inquiries into catalogue records would also generate feedback, that is, the data consisting of the queries themselves, providing museums with a source of information for customizing their output. Museums, wrote Ellin, "will soon be obliged to identify the variant expectations of their public and to deal with these in different ways".[31] "[I]t should be clear", he developed,

> that systematization in handling the information that is now only theoretically at our command will bring with it the capability of structuring our audience, in ways that today seem scarcely possible, by providing us with a logic source for programming other museum activities. By this means, we might hope to orient and serve the museum visitor in a variety of modes keyed, under computer control, to his individual requirements. (ANR, 332)

How exactly such customized service would work remained vague. Ellin talked of programming a computer to direct an "orientation gallery where the visitor's prospective encounter with the institution's bewildering assortment of material might be individually styled", and where the individual may "choose an itinerary designed to his requirements, or rely instead on a random visit dictated by his own tastes and responses".[32]

Details notwithstanding, the general logic was clear. Visitor response would be solicited, recorded, and processed for the purpose of rationalizing management – from custodial tasks to the design of exhibitions – in order to maintain institutional cohesion in the face of threatening entropy, or "control crisis". Here, of course, the legacy of Norbert Wiener's cybernetics in Ellin's McLuhanism was clearly apparent.[33] The same feedback logic would be in operation at the level of the integrated social and communicational environment envisioned by Ellin as the overall *telos* of the Museum Computer Network. The all-enveloping, multisensory character of new electronic media, Ellin wrote, would also be fundamentally responsive, demanding "total participation" (MaM, 15). Ideally, he stated, the system should function as an "available, intelligent, and informed colleague", who would "have total recall" and be able to adapt immediately to the user's demands. (ANR, 334)[34] Extending across the social field, this museum environment would therefore immerse the human subject in an ether of information, fluidly anticipating and responding to her actions, desires, and needs. However, as Baudrillard argued, participation would here be confined to the level of the circulation of signs effected through the system's nodes, and would therefore serve to consolidate rather than to challenge its structure.

4.3 The Museum Environment

Realizing the Museum Computer Network turned out to be more difficult than expected. In 1968, Ellin had optimistically predicted that techniques for digital photography would soon be widely available, permitting "images to be compacted and stored digitally as easily as text, for handy recovery" (ANR, 326). As Ellin himself noted in an interview in 2004, it had taken "about 35 years" to develop imaging techniques of a sufficient quality, "and not because there was no effort; it was hard".[35] The organization's fatal mistake, however – and one that it shared with several related initiatives – was to underestimate the time and the resources necessary for digitization. Data capture – inscribing tags, filing addresses, and codified details about collection items into record fields – was extremely labor-intensive, especially as long as what David Vance called "the abominable key punch for data entry" (as opposed to screen-based interfaces) prevailed.[36] Costs consequently spiraled. "MCN's trial data bank, for example", Vance noted, "had cost $1.50 per item, a fraction of which would have been prohibitive."[37]

In the specific case of GRIPHOS – the system managed by the Museum Computer Network – the situation was aggravated by the proprietary model pioneered by the organization. In order to facilitate cross-institutional standardization and exchange, Robert Chenhall explained, the organization's developers understood that "certain constraints would have to be built into the system". "Thus", he wrote, "the user of the GRIPHOS system does not have the freedom either to modify the computer programs or to establish his own data categories."[38] The inherent complexity and inertia, and consequent costs, of the data capture process precluded widespread subscription to the organization's services, and as the development of computer technology outpaced GRIPHOS updates and reconfigurations, the system fell into disuse. The initial enthusiasm that had animated the Museum Computer Network waned. In 1970, the project's generously funded pilot period ended, and the organization's main office was transferred from the MoMA to the State University of New York at Stony Brook. Meanwhile, the organization's first director, Ellin – an art entrepreneur and visionary McLuhanist – was succeeded by David Vance, an information scientist and engineer.[39] But like several other early digitization efforts, the Museum Computer Network persevered. A generation of technophile museologists and librarians bravely spent their professional lives in museum and university basements laboriously feeding catalogue data into rapidly aging information processors.[40]

It is of course difficult to decide what effects, if any, Ellin's lecture in Stockholm in 1967 actually had on Hultén's and the Moderna Museet group's ongoing reconception of the museum. Hultén himself was impressed yet initially somewhat suspicious, stating in an article that Ellin's proposal "appeared specious: he spoke of the computer-programmed museum, where you respond to the demands of the increasingly large audience electronically, by way of individually computer-programmed visitor orientation, etc."[41] Ellin and Hultén continued their dialogue, however, not least during Hultén's time at the MoMA preparing the *Machine* exhibition; Ellin was also kept informed about, and expressed his interest in, the Kulturhuset project.[42] More generally, Ellin's Stockholm intervention seems to have contributed to the adoption of a language of cybernetics and media theory in Swedish discussions about the museum, as indicated by several articles in the press during the period.[43] Notably, the official inquiry on Swedish museum policy, known as MUS 65 – published in 1973, but under development since 1965 – devoted a section to the computerization of museum catalogues, referring to the Museum Computer Network as a leading organization in the field.[44]

But regardless of possible causal connections, the correspondences between Ellin's vision for the Museum Computer Network, and the Moderna Museet group's attempt to socially and technologically redefine the museum, are, at least superficially, apparent. Several key notions and themes are common for the two enterprises. Ellin's technical understanding of the collection records as a "data base" that serves the museum's function as a "medium of communication", was clearly echoed by Hultén's, Stolpe's and the Expert Group's repeated references to the museum's collection as a dynamic "memory" or "memory bank", which, according to documents from 1970 onwards, should form the core of a spherical information center. The two projects also shared a basic conviction about the heuristic, artistic and social values of inter- or multidisciplinarity, and in some instances the Moderna Museet group connected this to the standardizing effects of new imaging technologies, paralleling Ellin's argument.[45] Furthermore, Ellin's emphasis on the importance of participation and feedback evidently played into Moderna Museet's longstanding engagement with open, dynamic, or, from the late 1960s onwards, egalitarian production and reception models.

We can see, therefore, why the Moderna Museet group would have been receptive to Ellin's ideas, in their work with the Kulturhuset project and its aftermath. The point here, however, is not that Hultén and his colleagues attempted to realize some version of the Museum Computer Network, or

that one project could be exhaustively accounted for in the other's terms. The point is that Ellin outlined a wideranging theoretical framework for the social, economic, and administrative consequences of merging the museum with new media, allowing us to gauge the critical stakes of the Moderna Museet group's investment in an associated project. What the Museum Computer Network demonstrates is the extent to which new cybernetic systems and media technologies, while entailing undeniable benefits for the management of museums, were at the same time inscribed in a more general project of establishing – or, in line with Ellin's "new renaissance", restoring – a non-contradictory social and aesthetic environment, potentially aligning them with the organizational logic of a wider media complex.

*

The Museum Computer Network did not overnight induce the historical transformation Ellin had envisioned. But the organization's project anticipated and contributed to a structural reorganization of the museum that is ongoing today, and that has profound effects for the social logic of that institution, and for our understanding of its basic functions, activities, and techniques. In effect, the museum, and exhibitionary apparatuses generally, are now becoming the "contents" of an exhibitionary complex that is to an ever increasing degree being technically integrated with, or in other ways subjected to the logic of, digital, networked media, and the various interests that manage their operations and ideals, which puts pressure on these apparatuses to adapt to their new environment.

For Ross Parry, an authority within what could be called "digital museum studies", the history of the relationship between the museum and digital media can be summarized as a slow and methodical process of securing compatibility. In *Recoding the Museum: Digital Heritage and the Technologies of Change* from 2007, Parry traces this process in several related fields, describing how the digitization of filing systems, the growing presence of "digital objects" inside the exhibition space, the embedding of interactive technologies in display and mediation devices, and the virtualization of the museum visit through the proliferation of online resources, have transformed the museum, turning an "object-oriented", material, and conservative patrimonial structure into an "experience-oriented", user-driven, and multi-channel media system. "What emerges", Parry writes, "is a museum recoded": "any fissures or tensions between the

concept of the computer and the concept of the museum have, in recent years, been moving to a point of resolution – of compatibility".[46]

The choice of word is not insignificant. In its comforting neutrality, "compatibility" seems to suggest that the process is of a primarily technical nature, and that, while it may entail comprehensive changes and improvements, it does not fundamentally alter the museum's social or institutional logic. But as we have seen, the consignment of basic museum operations to new media also implies their affiliation with the social, political, and economic ideals to which those media are committed, either structurally or contingently. Today, "compatibility" is a euphemism for the transfer of public cultural, material, and patrimonial values into the hands of the private corporations that control the dominant platforms of contemporary digital media. It is indissociable from the general synchronization of cultural forms, everyday practices, and modes of subjectivity with the demands of ubiquitous networked platforms and devices, themselves aligned with the distributed and continuous production models, the always-on financial markets, and the pervasive control operations of contemporary, global capitalism.[47]

The basic logic of this general process consists in seeking to render the totality of the social field available for information harvesting of the type imagined by Ellin in 1968, and consequently to make it "compatible" with cybernetic "control and communication", to refer to the subtitle of Norbert Wiener's groundbreaking book from 1948.[48] The mission statement of one of the major digital media corporations today announces, infamously, that its aim is to "organize the world's information and make it universally accessible and useful".[49] The establishment of such a globally exhaustive and universally accessible archive, of course, has the useful effect of generating vast amounts of feedback, in principle permitting a total mapping of all user routines and preferences. The big data sets assembled through such mapping can be analyzed through powerful statistical models, producing operational or humanly legible information which is then passed on to corporations, institutions or intelligence agencies. Such industrially scaled processing of feedback – or even "feed-forward"[50] – allows for the detailed profiling, prediction, and formatting of individual or collective behavioral patterns, facilitating what Reinhold Martin has called a "mass customization" of the output in all domains of the political economy of contemporary capitalism: industrial production, financial practices, information services, policing operations, and, inextricably, corresponding modes of subjectivity.[51]

Museum catalogues are one set of archives to be incorporated into this total archive. The effects of this transfer extend to all aspects of the museum institution. Most immediately, it has an obvious bearing on acquisition policies and the cultural logic of patrimony. An enterprise such as the Google Art Project – the project, that is, to create a global, digital art museum, with dynamic, high quality images of works from the collections of major museums and institutions from around the world – will inevitably generate large feedback streams, from which patterns of user preferences may be derived. Such information, once channeled back to "traditional" museums, will legitimize the mass customization of acquisitions and collection displays, reinforcing current, homogenizing trends toward global competition between major museums for iconic masterpieces, hagiographic blockbuster programming, or super-scaled signature commissions. This pervasive logic, supported through the myriad ways in which museums record or obtain visitor statistics, serves to align and imbricate private and public art institutions with the speculative financial operations prevalent in the upper echelons of the art market, where artworks and artists' careers function as investments whose values are inflated through the anticipation and manufacturing of future demand.[52] To adopt the data base as a model for museum collections and displays, the critic Mike Pepi writes, is equal to the "operationaliz[ation of] neoliberal practices in the cultural sphere". This "reformatting" of the museum in accordance with "interests originating from the model of the Silicon Valley enterprise", with its "constantly updating streams/cycles", and its "structured, indexed, [and] digitally stored data sets", is inseparable from a financialization of patrimony, which "transfers enormous amounts of hard-won cultural capital […] into the networks of […] global technology organizations".[53]

A similar feedback logic, where protocols for predicting actions and preferences are derived from large sets of user data, and employed to correlate museum functions with patterns of behavior and attention fostered by contemporary digital media, applies to the field of exhibition design. Theoretical models developed within the academic discipline of "space syntax", first introduced in the 1970s, permit for detailed analysis and quantification of the social "language of space" in museums and other settings.[54] Comprehensive mapping of movements, fields of vision, zones of attention, and modes of interaction generates statistics that can be fed into computer-assisted design software, and used for the planning and modeling of display systems, spatial configurations, or visitor traffic routes. The more spectacular implementations of such methods, where state of the art surveil-

lance techniques merge seamlessly with digitally enhanced display environments, are generally not found in art museums, but in the immersive and interactive spaces of technical or natural history museums, or among the creators of the shopping worlds – the most direct descendants of the nineteenth-century exhibitionary apparatuses described in Tony Bennett's study.[55] It would be a mistake, however, to assume that the exhibitionary practices of the contemporary art museum are not at a basic conceptual level affiliated with the logic of control and value extraction at work in such spaces. While artists and curators, for reasons to which we will return, have often been reluctant to adopt the ideals of the "wired" or the "virtual" museum, the development of feedback-generated and digitally augmented display techniques parallels, and is dialectically related to, the critical disinvestment from exhibition design in the contemporary art museum, in favor of the individualized installation format.[56]

Yet perhaps nowhere else in the museum field are the ideals of "compatibility" more spectacularly at work than in architecture. The rise of the iconic museum building, emblematized by superstar architects such as Frank Gehry or Zaha Hadid, and commissioned by global museum franchises or consortiums such as Guggenheim, the Louvre, Tate, or LVMH, dovetails with the transfer of cultural, aesthetic, and patrimonial values to global media corporations through the processes of digitization and media integration.[57] The complex, biomorphous, gravity-defying masses and geometries that secure the iconic status of these buildings – eagerly desired by companies vying for global brand recognition, prestige, and market shares – depend, for their structural viability, on the powerful computing capacities of contemporary cybernetic technologies at all stages of the planning and building process. These technologies, Reinhold Martin notes, today facilitate comprehensive mass customization throughout architectural practice, allowing design and construction to dynamically implement or adapt to input and feedback. It is now possible, he writes, "to fabricate the pieces of a building directly from computer files, with no intermediary representations", and to transfer "adjustments made in the computer […] to production on demand with […] minimal retooling".[58] The range of these technical resources extends continuously from the macro-level of city-planning, national representation, and global imaginaries, to the micro-level of individual desires. One logical outcome of the customization of architecture to anticipated consumer demand, is the production of globally visible icons, whose massively marketed and mediatized presence then affects future demand, in a perfect loop. The same resources, and by the

same logic, permit the detailed adjustment of architecture to suit a panoply of preformatted, personal preferences, securing the exhaustive integration of the singular with the global. "[I]n the seamlessly pliable network of personal choices thus called forth", Martin states, "conflict and dissent are assimilated into a pluralistic, managerial utopia"[59] – the contemporary modulation of what Baudrillard described as the "semio-aesthetic order" of a society that has become its own pure environment.

5.

The Incompatible Image:
Pictures of Sweden 1969

Today a country belongs to the person who controls communications.

Umberto Eco, 1967

5.1 Provocation

In Öyvind Fahlström's only feature film, the semi-documentary *Provocation* (Swedish title *Du gamla du fria*), released in 1972 but shot during the summer of 1969, a group of leftwing artist-activists enter into the recently inaugurated Sweden House in Stockholm, armed with canisters of ammonium sulfide (stink bombs).[1] A sequence of miscolored and poorly framed stills, probably shot with a concealed camera, show the nervous pranksters as they awkwardly stroll around in the center's ground floor and shop area, and conspicuously "forget" large paper bags below the ventilation ducts. An alert elderly lady observes their curious behavior and helpfully hands the weaponized bags back to the discomfited rebels, who quickly retreat and disband.

Why the Sweden House? Earlier that summer, the new center, designed by the functionalist architect Sven Markelius and located at the picturesque Kungsträdgården, in the heart of the city, had been the site of a highly publicized scandal. For the formal opening of the building, which featured generous exhibition facilities in two floors, the center's executive organization, the Collegium for Swedish Information Abroad, had wanted to commission an inaugural exhibition that should present the center's activities in an interesting and modern way. The Collegium was a conglomerate of institutions which all in different respects had missions to promote and facilitate Sweden's international relations. The Swedish Institute for Cul-

tural Exchange would be headquartered at the Sweden House, and representatives of the Chamber of Commerce, the Tourist Agency, the Trade Council, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs would all have offices there.[2] The topic of the inaugural exhibition, it had been vaguely agreed among the institutions, should be "the image of Sweden abroad".[3]

On the recommendation of Bo Lagercrantz, the director of the City Museum of Stockholm and a local authority on matters of exhibitions and museums, Pär Stolpe, who had gained a certain reputation through the Gasholder project, was invited to present a proposal for the exhibition.[4] The radical project submitted by Stolpe, by this time associated with several of Stockholm's leftwing activist collectives, was received with great enthusiasm. It entailed conceiving of the exhibition as a complex, dynamic, and participatory media technological arrangement, that would give visitors the opportunity to examine the "pictures of Sweden" produced by national and international mass media, political interest groups, and corporations, as well as to interrogate and reconfigure those images in the light of other depictions of Swedish social reality. The obvious critical dimension of the project was lost on the Sweden House officials, who were apparently sufficiently impressed by the high-tech gloss of Stolpe's early descriptions to place full confidence in his aptness and capabilities.

When Kjell Öberg, the Collegium's director and Sweden's former ambassador to Beijing, received the exhibition folder four days before the scheduled opening on May 31, 1969, he was shocked at its description of the project, as well as at its irreverent cover design (courtesy of Carl-Johan de Geer, artist and editor of the subversive *Puss* magazine), and proceeded to postpone the exhibition indefinitely, on the grounds that Stolpe had violated the terms of his contract.[5] Stolpe and his collaborators fired back with a press release claiming censorship, and a heated public debate ensued, which in turn led to protest actions, artist boycotts, and large manifestations.[6] Unfounded rumors circulated that radical students intended to occupy the building, and police presence was intense. After arduous negotiations between Stolpe and the Sweden House, the exhibition finally opened for the public on June 16, when it was reportedly seen by five thousand visitors – only then to be closed definitely that same evening by the director of the Swedish Institute, citing breaches of the revised agreements.[7] Further debates, accusations, and lawsuits followed, which would not be resolved until the author Per Olov Enquist published two scathing, detailed accounts of the Collegium's questionable management of the

situation in the newspaper *Expressen* later that fall, months after Fahlström's failed stink bomb attack.[8]

To the extent that *Pictures of Sweden 1969* – the official English-language version of the exhibition's final title – is remembered today, it is because of this scandal. In the annals of the Swedish "68 movement", the turmoil around the inauguration of the Sweden House has a minor place alongside such events as the Båstad tennis riots (1968), the occupation of the Student Union building (1968), the occupation of the Gamla Bro "house of all activities" (1970), and the great battle to save the elm tree grove in Kungs-trädgården (1971). In terms of newspaper coverage, bureaucratic paper-work, and legal files, it is probably one of the most well-documented exhibitions in modern Swedish history.[9] But of course, only a minuscule portion of this material discusses the exhibition itself. Stolpe's actual pro-ject, developed in collaboration with the environmental activist Per Kågeson and the radical media collective Bildaktivisterna (the Image Activists), remains almost totally forgotten, and deserves to be recognized on its own merits.[10]

In fact, as a hybrid between different exhibition genres, *Pictures of Sweden 1969* lacks obvious parallels in the history of the radical exhibition experiments of the 1960s and 1970s, in Sweden and internationally. Stolpe's open-ended arrangement combined production methods, display tech-niques, and modes of organizing reception from the trade fair, the world expo, the expanded cinema environment, and the guerilla TV installation. In a general way, the exhibition's multimedia format and active spectator-ship were indebted to Moderna Museet's "open", dynamic and participatory exhibitions of the mid 1960s. Among Moderna Museet's projects, the most obvious models or precursors for *Pictures of Sweden 1969* were the architectural exhibitions *Hello City* (1966) and *Masses* (1968), the former of which Stolpe has referred to as an example, and Palle Nielsen's *The Model: A Model for a Qualitative Society* (1968), which was developed in coopera-tion with the activist collective Action Dialogue (*Aktion Samtal*), with which Stolpe and Bildaktivisterna also collaborated.[11] As we recall, in November 1968, Stolpe was invited to participate in the Kulturhuset Com-mittee's Expert Group, and his contributions to the group's work ran parallel to his preparations for *Pictures of Sweden 1969*.

As an intervention into the social mediation of a political representation – the category "Sweden" – *Pictures of Sweden 1969* interrogated the critical status and capacity of the exhibition as a medium of communication, in relationship to a rapidly changing complex of media apparatuses. The exhi-

bition attempted to reorganize the exhibitionary apparatus so as to stage a public dispute, a disagreement regarding the image of the nation, as well as, more generally, the social and political structure of the media complex that produced and circulated that image. It sought not only to facilitate "dis-identifications" with a certain "picture of Sweden", but also to enable other practices and modes of subjectification, ultimately envisioning an egalitarian organization of the media.

5.2 Project

"The new media are egalitarian in structure", wrote Hans Magnus Enzensberger in his influential theoretical essay, "Constituents of a Theory of the Media", a text that was first published over a year after the Sweden House debacle, but that emerged from a similar ambition to redirect the circuitry of mass media for critical or emancipatory ends.[12] Taking his cue from Bertolt Brecht's 1930 reflections on the function of radio, Enzensberger argued that a "socialist theory of the media" should describe the conditions under which the "structure" of new media, that is, the inherently liberating potentials of their technical definition, could be realized in practice.[13] His argument – which would be methodically criticized in an article by Baudrillard from 1971, dramatically titled "Requiem for the Media"[14] – was that, under the current organization of relations of production, "electronic media" were constrained to serve merely as a unilateral "distribution medium", and that, instead, a communicative "reciprocity" between transmitter and receiver should be established.[15] On account of the "pacesetting", "determining" role of new media, such equilibration of the forces of cultural production would imply a general reorganization of the social division of labor.

How should such a de-hierarchization take place within what the museologist and semiotician Jean Davallon calls the "arche-media" of the exhibition?[16] Davallon, as we have seen, describes the exhibition as a "socio-symbolic *dispositif*" that is essentially transitive and participatory, in the sense that it serves to show objects rather than (reflexively) itself, and depends on the presence and activity of the visitor, on her movements and shifting attention, for the very definition of its semiotic arrangement. On a basic level, therefore, the exhibition is characterized by its semiotic ambiguity (because its objects always retain a connection to their "own", "external" reality) and its constitutive interactivity.[17] In this respect, the "open" or "dynamic" exhibition format pioneered in progressive postwar institutions such as Moderna Museet, the Stedelijk in Amsterdam, or the ICA in London, was not so much a transgression of exhibitionary conventions, as an indication that the practice of exhibition-making had achieved a stage where conscious manipulations of its "socio-symbolic" conditions had become possible.[18]

In his media essay, Enzensberger had reservations regarding the value of the "open" and "participatory" experiments of contemporary art and literature, dismissing them as "invitations to freewheel": "mere noise permits of

no articulated interactions".[19] Stolpe and his collaborators, on the contrary, affirmed the exhibition's constitutive indeterminacy and interactivity, claiming them as resources that could be directed critically against the unilateral and hierarchical organization of mass media. Their exhibition was conceived as an arrangement for rendering images uncertain, equivocal, both through their estrangement within a separate socio-symbolic space, and through montage effects, where streams of images with varying provenance – from corporate PR departments to migrant workers – would play off against each other. But the exhibition also attempted to subject the new technologies themselves – videos, computer terminals, CCTVs, etc. – to the same operation, at once exposing them as objects of reflection, and rendering them available for "reciprocal" use. In a sense, this is what Davallon means by referring to the exhibition as "arche-media". As the primordial media technology, or "apparatus for placing receivers in the presence of objects and entities of language", it permits for a "work of reflection" regarding the social and symbolic dimension of media in general.[20]

The aim of *Pictures of Sweden 1969*, Stolpe and Kågeson explained in the exhibition folder, was to counteract the limited representation of the nation Sweden (a concept that remained undefined throughout the different presentations of the exhibition, and perhaps necessarily so: it had to be unresolved, problematic) that resulted from the unequal organization of "the mass communication technology which is today accessible to the human being in the industrially developed nations", but which was currently under the control of political and commercial interests. The "ideal condition", on the contrary, would be one where "all citizens have the same possibility to employ modern communication technology, or at least to influence its use". This, Stolpe and Kågeson argued, would be the closest one could come to a "true" image of Sweden.

> The exhibition *Pictures of Sweden* attempts to display many different images of Sweden, in order to approach as closely as possible the ideal condition. Consequently we show how Swedish Radio and the privately owned newspapers view Sweden; how large-scale industry depicts reality; as well as how different institutions and organizations perceive the country. Furthermore, low-income groups in society are given the opportunity to present their own images of Sweden on equal conditions.[21]

The production of the exhibition required extensive image mining, as well as ambitious solicitation from various technology companies in order to secure the necessary technical resources on a relatively modest budget (roughly 125,000 SEK, which was considerable at the time, but not close to covering the actual costs). Stolpe contacted Swedish and international news agencies, image bureaus, broadcasting companies, film centers, museums, embassies, institutes, corporations, retail outlets, and the police, asking them for contributions – "films, photo slides, sound tapes, newspaper clippings", etc. – related to a vaguely described theme of "the image of Sweden abroad", encompassing "the whole spectrum of concepts such as 'national information', 'propaganda' and 'international communication'".[22] Meanwhile, the Bildaktivisterna group, armed with cameras and Sony Helical Scan video recorders, set about producing photographic and video reportages documenting other aspects of Swedish social reality and labor conditions, a process that was supposed to be ongoing over the course of the exhibition.

Among the companies that accepted Stolpe's requests to donate, lend or subsidize technical equipment – cameras, slide frames, projectors, screens, computer technology, loudspeakers, furniture, services, etc. – were Philips, Siemens, Luxor, Kodak, Bell & Howell, Bull General Electric, Bofors, and Ericsson, as well as a number of smaller, local firms. All the supporting companies were attracted by the exhibition's potential PR value, and what Stolpe proposed here went beyond sponsorship in any conventional sense. Essentially, the exhibition would double as a trade fair, where the contributing companies could showcase their products in a modern and youthful setting, legitimized by the cultural and diplomatic prestige of the Sweden House. Participants were invited to present promotional material alongside their products, and to include advertisement in their selection of images. Since the critical function of Stolpe's project was predicated upon the antagonistic heterogeneity of the exhibition's elements, it could support, even profit from the presence of material of this kind.[23] In his correspondence with the commercial partners, Stolpe was – regardless of the Sweden House's allegations – consistently transparent about the polyphony he pursued. On the other hand he never alerted anyone to the intended confrontations between images and counter-images, which would of course have impacted the PR outcomes, even had the exhibition not been embroiled in a mediatized scandal.

How would this material be organized? Across the different stages of planning and development, the exhibition's overall spatial framework

remained fairly consistent, while the composition of its separate parts underwent several mutations. Since an essential idea of the exhibition was that it should evolve in response to current events and visitor input during the scheduled, three-month exhibition period, it was in fact never fully realized (and consequently there is no "final" stage that a critical historical account should reconstruct). From Stolpe's first presentations of the project, when it was titled "Distance Center: Sweden, Swedish Information Abroad, National Information, International Communication" (where "Distance Center" is in English in the original), the exhibition was supposed to feature three rooms, each with its own image material, display technique(s), and mode of spectatorship.

The most prominent of these spaces would be a spectacular multimedia environment, where "fifteen to twenty-five" projectors would display still and moving images on "ten to fifteen" static and revolving screens, some of which would be set in motion by the visitors, who would be clothed in high-collared, reflective vlieseline coats. The early drafts emphasized the immersive and dynamic character of the arrangement, setting the project in dialogue with a tradition of expanded cinema experiments such as Stan VanDerBeek's *Movie-Drome* (1965), Charles and Ray Eames' exhibitions for IBM (1964–1975), or Andy Warhol's *Exploding Plastic Inevitable* (1966–67), to name some obvious examples.[24] Stolpe's specification, in the first written presentation of the project (February 1968), that the walls of the room "should be entirely covered with a shining silvery material (tin foil), which reflects and refracts all light", indicates that Warhol's Factory may have been an active model (and indeed, the date of Stolpe's description coincides with the well-known Warhol exhibition at Moderna Museet).[25] Furthermore, as Nikolas Glover points out in his dissertation about the Swedish Institute, a reference in early discussions between Stolpe and Sweden House officials was the Expo 67 in Montreal, where several pavilions had employed immersive multiscreen arrangements to great popular acclaim.[26] In these early proposals, then, the room should establish a dynamic and technologically refined space of experience, a separate sensorium where images and visitors would both be estranged within a highly abstracted atmosphere. "[W]e could say", Stolpe wrote,

> that the general atmosphere imparts a sense of very high abstraction, and of great perfection [...]. All surfaces are highly polished and shining, movements nimble and beautiful, the light varied, an ever-changing flickering of passing images. We are in a relationship of tension between *now here* and *now in the surrounding world*. The city, Stockholm, and

Sweden, are refracted against the rotating international reality, sounds and images are interspersed across our bodies and in our minds, and at the same time the Sweden House, its idea and its function interact with the events, as a significant instrument for our experience.[27]

In the later descriptions of the same space, which were to some extent realized for the public opening, there was less emphasis on polished, high-tech surfaces (probably because Stolpe no longer had to impress his commissioners), but the radicality of the proposal remained unmitigated. The vlieseline coats disappeared, but screens were still revolving or reflective, projections still overlapped, "sounds and images" were still "interspersed across our bodies and in our minds", and the material on display was still "as diverse as possible", in terms of both provenance and content.[28] The intended effect, it appears, was that the "pictures of Sweden" should not coalesce into a coherent whole, and that the spectators, serving as both viewers and screens, should be split between subjects that observed a heterogeneous spectacle, and components of that fractured spectacle itself. *Pictures of Sweden 1969* here seemed to intensify the deconstructive aspects of what was perhaps the most important model for Stolpe: the exhibition *Hello City*, organized by a group of architects at Moderna Museet in April 1966, where a large selection of slides all concerned with the problem of modern city planning had been projected onto a labyrinth of (static) screens, accompanied by lights and music, creating an overwhelming, disorienting, vaguely psychedelic environment.[29]

This has significant implications for how we understand the other two, adjacent spaces of *Pictures of Sweden 1969*, which served respectively as a "newsroom" and as a "recreational area", and where the exhibition's information output, including that in the first space, could to some extent be manipulated. The newsroom should feature: video booths activated by photo cells, showing "interviews with foreigners in Sweden"; "telephoto" equipment for continuous reception and display of images from image bureaus; telex printers for newsfeeds from news agencies; a "time-sharing" (online) computer terminal connected to a mainframe at the L.M. Ericsson headquarters, with access to statistics about Sweden's population, economy, and domestic and international industrial production; a CCTV system with live video feeds from Sweden House interiors, various central Stockholm locations (possibly from police and department store surveillance cameras), and Swedish television, shown on three monitors and one Eidophor (video

projector); and a large-scale slide show of a world map, detailing "Sweden's most important relations to other countries".[30]

The recreational area, in turn, would be located on a mezzanine overlooking the other two rooms, and would consist of a comfortable "plastic landscape", with access to national and international newspapers and magazines.[31] Refreshments would be available, and music would play, such as the exhibition's original soundtrack, the satirical folk tune "Made in Sweden" by Björn Häggqvist (another cause for Sweden House outrage, since it accused the Swedish Minister of Interior of complicity with torture and murder in authoritarian regimes).[32] On a ledge a "command system" should allow visitors to control some of the projectors in the first space, pointing them in different directions – an idea that was dropped as the planning proceeded.

Generally, it seems that the participation effectively facilitated by the instruments in these two spaces would have been limited. Visitors could use the computer terminal, browse through the material from the news agencies and the image bureaus, and to some degree manipulate the CCTV system, in arrangements that vaguely corresponded to the feedback systems of guerilla TV groups such as the Raindance Corporation, to name one example.[33] But mainly, the exhibition's technical interactivity would consist in establishing what Stolpe called a "communicative atmosphere", where visitors would move through a dynamic, responsive media environment, observing technologies as objects of possible use rather than actually using them.[34] Real visitor influence would be mediated through Stolpe, Kågeson, and the Bildaktivisterna group, who would be present throughout, and continuously adapt the exhibition in response to visitor demands and current events, by adding new images and videos, rearranging news- and imagefeeds, and so on.

In his media essay, Enzensberger's ideal was a reciprocal use of media technologies, where receivers would to an equal degree be transmitters, such that an egalitarian communication would be established. Fundamentally, his argument remained compatible with the conciliatory holism of Norbert Wiener's cybernetics, where intelligent systems maintain harmony, or "homeostasis", through feedback.[35] In a limited sense, *Pictures of Sweden 1969* anticipated what would be Baudrillard's critique of this position, in that it rejected such an ideal of communicative harmony. The kaleidoscopic display of national representations created by Stolpe and his collaborators was not an image of dialogical pluralism, assimilating conflict and dissent. Instead, the "true image" of Sweden, where everyone would have equal

access to modern communication technologies, would necessarily be an antagonistic image, an image of social contradictions. Indeed, as Stolpe stated in a letter to potential contributors, the aim of the exhibition was to "approach, with some degree of veridicality, the fluctuating and opaque phenomenon which is improperly called '*the* image of Sweden abroad'".[36]

Still, Stolpe was more optimistic regarding the liberating potentials of media technologies than Baudrillard, whose "Requiem for the Media" drastically argued that proper communicative reciprocity would require "the destruction of the media such as they are".[37] There can be little doubt that, from the outset, Stolpe wanted the antagonism set into play by his exhibition to remain commensurable with the arrangement of the exhibition itself. He invested great energy – literally thousands of letters, phone calls, meetings – in planning its multimedia setup, hoping that it would allow for critical reversals of the definition of the nation's image. For Baudrillard, the ideal of a "critical reversal of the media" was an illusion, since it remained immanent to the "theoretic model of communication", based on the polarity between transmitter and receiver, on which the current organization of media was based. This system, he held – and we will soon return to this argument – could not be challenged by feedback reversals, which merely "introduce what negates [it] as *supplementary variables*". Instead, true communication would presuppose that antagonism become effective at the level of the system itself, such that it would question the "operational form" of media, which "reflects their social form".[38]

5.3 June 16, 1969

As it turned out, the antagonism triggered by *Pictures of Sweden 1969* did not remain reconcilable with the exhibition itself. During the afternoon and evening of its single day of public existence, the exhibition was not realized so much as expended. Stolpe and his collaborators had complied with most, but not all, of the new demands, and there was a defiant attitude among the exhibition group and significant parts of the large audience.[39] To some extent, the exhibition operated critically at both the immanent level of Enzensberger's reversals, and the systemic level of Baudrillard's destructive exchange. It was neither exhaustively an arrangement for the confrontation of antagonistic images, nor exclusively a subversive attack directed at the social structure of mass media – but somehow both, in an incomplete, unresolved synthesis. As an attempt to reconfigure the critical setup of the exhibition in response to a changing media environment, and in spite of the fact that it was never fully realized, *Pictures of Sweden 1969* presented a challenge to the McLuhanist vision – epitomized, as we have seen, by Ellin's project for the Museum Computer Network – of a seamless integration of the exhibitionary apparatus with new media. The breakdown at the Sweden House suggested precisely that the endeavor of securing such "compatibility" could only be pursued at the risk of forfeiting the conditions of autonomy.

But on Monday, June 16, 1969 the exhibition was there: a complex, contested object, the center of great attention because of the preceding weeks of public quarrelling. What was actually shown? The surviving installation shots generally confirm the descriptions of the exhibition in the different proposals and plans. A large part of the images included in the exhibition, however, has been lost.[40] A document conveniently titled "List of contents of the exhibition *Pictures of Sweden*", prepared by Stolpe and Kågesson for the deliberations with the Sweden House officials, details the selections of films and images that would be shown during the exhibition's first week. Throughout that week, it specifies, the "main theme" of the displays in the central space would be "Immigrants in Sweden".[41] The theme was apparently carefully chosen, and not only because it obviously concerned questions of the identity and the representation of a nation. In addition to his post as the director of the Collegium at the Sweden House, Kjell Öberg served as the chairman of a "Working Group for Questions of Immigration", set up by the Swedish Minister of Interior in 1966. In the fall of 1969, Öberg would leave the Collegium to assume the directorship of the Swedish

Migration Board, an important new government agency. There, he was immediately embroiled in a controversy regarding the expulsion of a group of forty-seven French Roma immigrants, who had requested political asylum on the grounds that they were being persecuted and systematically discriminated in France.[42] But already in May 1969, Öberg had been involved in another, publicized debate concerning the expulsion of a Greek immigrant to his country of origin, then under Junta rule.[43]

Bildaktivisterna had produced at least two series of slides connected to these topics: one about the everyday life of a group of Finnish Roma immigrants, showing their austere living conditions; and one with "images from working environments […] and the Greek Club, as well as some regular dwelling places for foreigners in Sweden".[44] Juxtaposing these shots with the bland tourist images furnished by the contributing companies and institutions – and distributed across the world as pictures of the nation – *Pictures of Sweden 1969* implied that the Sweden House was perpetuating a racist, or at least stereotypical and exclusive imaginary. Confrontations like these, it seems, were recurrent in the exhibition, and they were not always subtle, which is confirmed by an article that Stolpe, Kågeson, and Bildaktivisterna published in the magazine *Foto och filmteknik* in early 1970, tellingly titled "Propaganda and Reality". Illustrating the text, which consists of a brief account of the events of the previous summer, is a selection of photographs from the exhibition, arranged as a sequence of *one-plus-one* juxtapositions, where tourist marketing images that revel in stereotype are placed next to mostly unsentimental shots of another Swedish reality: a healthy, blonde nuclear family in a vacation house next to a Roma woman and her two daughters in front of a row of dilapidated shacks; a wealthy couple arranging a sumptuous Christmas table next to a lonely, crooked old man in front of a bowl of soup in a retirement home; a blonde boy in a field of flowers next to a blonde boy on a street in front of a social housing complex, and so on.[45]

However, the sheer mass of different motifs and viewpoints dispersed out into the dense, crowded environment of screens and monitors – noisy, hot and humid from all the flashing, whirring projectors – also appears to have had a relativizing effect. One of very few articles that actually mentioned the exhibition's contents expressed puzzlement at the alarm caused by its inclusive array of representations.

> All sorts of things are in it: Police expelling a gypsy family. Swedish history illustrated with shots from an old Gustav Wasa-film. Some

demonstrations with red flags, interrupted by commercials for Swedish glassblowing.[46]

There certainly was no lack of red flags. Another series of slides by Bild-aktivisterna showed scenes from May Day rallies in Stockholm, focusing on expressions of solidarity with various international liberation and resistance movements: Vietnam, Greece, Spain.[47] Accompanying this leftist interna-tionalism were demands for transparency and accountability directed to Swedish corporations operating abroad. Projected alongside proud images of modern factories and machinery supplied by companies such as SCA, ASEA, and Bahco, was yet another Bildaktivisterna suite, this one showing protests against Swedish involvement in the Cabora Bassa dam project in Mozambique, then still a Portuguese colony.

The Cabora Bassa campaign was one of the defining events in the mobilization of Swedish opinion against the colonial and apartheid regimes in Southern Africa, and would contribute directly to the shift in the official Swedish attitude toward liberation movements in the region. Among the companies that competed to participate in the construction of the vast dam on the Zambezi River, which would among other things power a new industrial region in South Africa, was the Swedish electrotechnical corpora-tion ASEA (today ABB).[48] Bildaktivisterna's images showed anticolonial slogans ("genocide in Mozambique, ASEA profits"), as well as quotes ascribed to politicians and industrial leaders, such as Åke Vrethem, director of the ASEA group ("South Africa should be regarded as the foremost outpost and pillar of civilization in Africa"), and Arne Geijer, Social Democrat and chairman of the Swedish Trade Union Federation ("If ASEA wins the order of 120 million crowns it will contribute to our safety").[49] The Sweden House had been created precisely to promote the interests of corporations and organizations such as these, and there is no doubt that the exhibition group wanted to hold the institution itself accountable for its tacit endorsement of apartheid policies. *Pictures of Sweden 1969* here seems to have set up a stark choice for its visitors: either support international solidarity with a movement for national autonomy, or condone colonialist dispossession in the "developing world" on the part of a Swedish corpora-tion. Apparently an exhibition that framed the political stakes of national representation in these terms could not be tolerated.

6.

The Perseverance of the Exhibition

The institutions and the conventions of the modern art exhibition, the art historian Olivier Lugon points out in a recent text, emerged concurrently with the technologies and supports of modern mass media. During the nineteenth century, museums, world expos, and art fairs were conceived and deployed alongside the invention of photography, the emergence of the illustrated press, and the experiments of early cinematography.

The technical devices for the mass reproduction and distribution of visual representations, Lugon notes, underwent a rapid evolution. Innovations and attractions – the daguerreotype, the kinetoscope, the diorama – swiftly became obsolete, and were just as quickly replaced by new, more efficient instruments or contraptions. The general tendency of this historical process was toward an increased quality and mobility of the technically reproduced image, making it possible for the public to enjoy ever more reliable representations with ever less effort.

> It would therefore have been natural to imagine that this mediatized diffusion of objects, as comfortable as it was efficient, would rapidly rend the sluggish practice of the exhibition obsolete. This has not been the case. In spite of the illustrated journals, in spite of cinema, in spite of television, and in spite of the computer, which is in the process of integrating them all, the exhibition has never lost its force of attraction. Whether this has to do with the unique value of encountering a materially present object, or with the singular attraction of an activity of knowledge engaging the spectator's physical motricity, or with the specific powers of a cultural practice which has achieved the status of social ritual, people have not ceased to want to displace themselves in order to physically and collectively approach objects or images, whose reproductions are easily available elsewhere.[1]

In fact, Lugon continues, the opposite has taken place. The exhibitionary apparatus has not been replaced by new media, but instead has incorporated them, as both objects and instruments of display. From the photographic shows of the mid-nineteenth century, to the integration of information technology in the postwar exhibition space, new media have continuously been admitted into, or put to use inside, the spaces of museums, galleries, art centers, or project rooms, apparently without fundamentally challenging their institutional integrity or their social status. Tony Bennett's notion of an "exhibitionary complex", we recall, indicated that the museum was constituted as a node in a network of other display apparatuses. The exhibitionary apparatus can no longer claim to be the defining model within that complex – as implied in Bennett's concept – but it has defended its distinctiveness and cohesion even as that complex has undergone momentous shifts, verging toward dissolution in the distributed network of twenty-first-century media.

This has not been an unproblematic process, but, as we have seen, one that has continually generated new contradictions, changing the conditions for thinking the exhibition's critical potentials. In Everett Ellin's vision for the Museum Computer Network, the museum would be absorbed into a technological environment, which would liberate it from communicational functions for which other media had become better suited, which would in turn allow the museum to freely develop its "proper" qualities – even to be "transformed into an art form", as Ellin stated (MaM, 15). But as the "content" of that environment, it was inevitable that the museum would be aligned with the social, cultural, and economic ideals to which the new technologies were committed. Core museum functions such as collection cataloguing, visitor interaction or exhibition design would be brought in correlation – rendered "compatible" – with patterns of behavior and attention fostered by new media, in line with the general project of an exhaustive social integration of cybernetic technologies. For Jean Baudrillard, the endpoint of this tendency toward a "cybernetized society" was a "semio-aesthetic order" extended across the social field, designed to preclude dissent and antagonism.[2]

As the example of *Pictures of Sweden 1969* confirms, the conditions for devising a critical exhibitionary project addressing these circumstances became increasingly precarious. The institutions and corporations that supplied the different technologies and services put to use in the exhibition at the Sweden House did not at all agree that the new media were "egalitarian in structure", as Enzensberger held.[3] On the contrary, they were comfortably

convinced that their products were structurally congruent with the ideals of trade and rationalized, efficient communication – with what Baudrillard, during the same years, theorized as economic and sign exchange value – and they were determined to ensure that their contributions came to no other use. However, precisely through its incompatibility with the ideal of a seamless social integration of new media, Pär Stolpe's antagonistic project suggested how the exhibitionary apparatus might remain a site of contestation, even as it enlisted the capacities of the new technologies. The critical reconfiguration to which it subjected those technologies did not remain immanent to their established operational form, and their non-conciliatory use – though short-lived – was not evidently reducible to feedback, to the function of "supplementary variables" within a homeostatic system. Instead, we might say, with *Pictures of Sweden 1969*, the exhibitionary apparatus served as a site where media could be reorganized so as to stage a dispute regarding the organization of media.

What Lugon describes as the paradoxical perseverance of the exhibition as a social and cultural form in the face of the development of mass media is therefore the continuous arbitration of a conflict, where the process of "compatibility" is pitted against the conditions of autonomy, which may today be entering a state of crisis. In order to probe the critical stakes of this conflict, let us briefly dwell on Baudrillard's theoretical reading from the late 1960s and early 1970s, which has the particular advantage of rejecting both the McLuhanist vision of a total, seamless, sociotechnical integration, and the leftwing project of an emancipatory recircuiting of new media. For Baudrillard, McLuhan's prophesies of a global information environment – in which, as Ellin hoped, we may be brought "to the edge of omniscience" (ANR, 333) – constituted the exemplary description of a society where the "system of the circulation of signs (sign exchange value) abolishes all reference", generating a "social environment of synthesis in which a total abstract communication and an immanent manipulation no longer leave any point exterior to the system".[4]

Baudrillard's irreverent attempt to adapt Marx's critique of political economy to the conditions of consumer society by extending it toward the domain of semiotics, postulated a basic homology between the sign and the commodity. Just as exchange value is an abstraction from use value in the classical Marxian description of the commodity form, so "sign exchange value" is a reduction from "symbolic exchange" in Baudrillard's analysis of the "sign form". Where the exchange value of the product represents the rationalization and curtailment of its "concrete" uses within a system of

general equivalence, the "sign exchange value" of the object of consumption results from a rupture with the ambivalence of a singular, self-effacing event of exchange (Baudrillard's realm of the "symbolic"), and indicates the prestige that the object confers upon the consumer, within a general semiological code of values.[5] The provocation of Baudrillard's argument was his claim that, in this more general political economy, use values, and the subjective needs they correspond to, were in fact secondary to, and structured by, the code of sign exchange values. That is, the subject and its needs were constituted with recourse to the logic of sign exchange, consolidated through the system of objects and the circulation of signs in consumer capitalism. Needs, Baudrillard stated in "Beyond Use Value", describe "the relation of the individual to himself conceived in economic terms": "Far from the individual expressing his needs in the economic system, it is the economic system that induces the individual function and the parallel functionality of objects and needs".[6]

The "theoretical model of communication" on which McLuhan's and Ellin's, as well as Enzensberger's visions were based was, according to Baudrillard, entirely immanent to this regime of sign exchange values. This was the argument of "Requiem for the Media": the "conceptual infrastructure" that supports the current organization of mass media is "ideologically connected with dominant practice, as was and still is that of classical political economy"; it is "the equivalent of this political economy in the field of communication".[7] Baudrillard's schematic description of this "theoretical model of communication" referred to Roman Jakobson's analysis (but he could just as well have quoted the widely known Shannon-Weaver diagram), which is founded on the separation of transmitter and receiver, upheld by the intermediary, interconnecting message.[8] For Baudrillard, what was excluded from this structure, where the univocal code of the message secures the equivalence and the bipolarity of the interlocutor positions, was precisely the conditions of any kind of reciprocal and ambivalent ("symbolic") exchange. No reversals of the respective positions, and no interventions at the level of the message, would ever be able to challenge this structure, and therefore the compatibility of new media with the generalization of exchange value. Under the conditions established by this model, therefore, critique was impossible. "It is a strategic illusion to have any faith in the critical reversal of the media", Baudrillard wrote. True critique "can emerge only from the destruction of the media such as they are – through their deconstruction as systems of non-communication".[9]

This, we may note, would be one way of understanding Lugon's notion of the paradoxical perseverance of the exhibition form. For Baudrillard there could be no critical transformation of the media, beyond that of full-scale destruction. Any notion of the involvement of the exhibitionary apparatus in such a project must therefore be an illusion. And one logical response to this impossibility would of course be to renounce all critical ideals, and allow the exhibitionary apparatus to settle into a "post-critical" normality, where it fulfills a limited set of specific, irreducible functions as the "content" of a new media environment. In this way, the exhibitionary apparatus could persevere – although at the cost of its autonomy, that is, of its potentials as a site for "reapportionings" of the aesthetic definition of the social, to once again refer to Jacques Rancière.[10] While Baudrillard's argument effectively dismantled the "cybernetic idealism" of both Ellin's McLuhanism and Enzensberger's "critical reversals", what it proposed as an alternative was therefore an inconclusive, cynical *either-or*: either we must "terminally accelerate", affirming the "destruction of the media such as they are" – which was the path Baudrillard himself chose, as signaled for example by the nihilistic call of his notorious essay about the Centre Pompidou in 1977, to "*make Beaubourg buckle*" in favor of the elusive "symbolic exchange" (we will return to this text further on);[11] or we must abandon contestation altogether, and accept full "compatibility" with the prevalent organization of the media – opening toward a more complacent "post-critique" which, to again quote a characteristically noncommittal text, "actually respects or reorganizes multiple economies, ecologies, information systems, and social groups".[12]

Accordingly, a recent study on "post-critical museology", commissioned by the Tate conglomerate, argues that the "widening gap" between the critical, theoretical perspective adopted in academic studies of the museum, and the embedded knowledge to which real, practical museum professionals are privileged, calls the validity of critique into question. "[T]he project of cultural and institutional change that Institutional Critique and Critical Museology aimed to pursue through ideological scrutiny of the museum", Victoria Walsh writes, is today "clearly outmoded and exhausted". "[W]ith arguably little or no impact on the practices and policies of museums it can, in many respects, be seen as a failed project".[13] Instead, the museum must "embrace and map" the "new groupings and collectives" that today populate its spaces, and become a "distributed museum".[14] This, the same study maintains, is the reason for "the museum's current enthusiasm for the potential of digital technology and networked communications".[15] The

"interactivity available to users in the many-to-many forms of 'social media'", the authors write, "constitutes one of the important cultural and technical networks by which the invisible non-technical networks of the distributed museum could be traced and made visible".[16] As might be expected, the text directs no critical attention to the economic and political implications of such a project of "social media" integration, nor to the logic by which it would format the "social".

The question we must ask here is of course to what extent the critical potentials of the exhibitionary apparatus, in its confrontation with new media, were exhausted by Baudrillard's either-or. The project of *Pictures of Sweden 1969*, as we have seen, was based on a notion of transferring critical agency to the visiting public, by allowing it to intervene in the social mediation of a political representation – the image of the nation Sweden – so as to challenge the unequal organization of mass media, and, by extension, the relations of cultural production in general. At an apparent level, it was aligned with Enzensberger's notion of an "emancipatory use of media", which would make "each receiver a potential transmitter", liberating the use values of new technologies in a process of collective production and self-organization.[17] For Baudrillard, as we know, use values were secondary to the code of sign exchange values inscribed into and sustained by the structure of mass media, and in "Requiem for the Media", he therefore categorically dismissed the critical or emancipatory potentials of a democratization of media access: "We know the results of such phenomena as mass ownership of walkie-talkies, or everyone making their own cinema: a kind of personalized amateurism, the equivalent of Sunday tinkering on the periphery of the system".[18]

But what *Pictures of Sweden 1969* demonstrated was precisely the insufficiency of Baudrillard's dismissal as an argument against the ambition of enlisting new media for socially transformative ends. On the contrary, the binary Baudrillard set up negatively circumscribed the domain in which such a project might still be critically effective. For even as it subscribed to Enzensberger's ideals, the operations of *Pictures of Sweden 1969* did not remain consigned to the level of the exchange of signs sustained by the structure of mass media. Its invitations to participate and intervene in the construction of the representation "Sweden" did not merely reverse the direction of communication, turning receivers into transmitters and vice versa. They did not merely invert the "one-to-many" relationship, or replace it with "many-to-many" transmission, which, in Baudrillard's view, would have remained consistent with the "cybernetic illusion" of recipro-

city. Instead, the antagonistic confrontations of images, the estrangement of visitor roles, and the dislocation of media from their functions in the circulation of values, supported by the inherently indeterminate and inter-active medium of the exhibition, called the model of transmission as such into question, establishing an ambivalence at all levels of the structure of communication, such that the critique could not be instrumentalized as feedback, and the exhibition was consequently terminated. And while the spectacular, seditious bonfire of the exhibition's one day of public existence, during which its vast technical and artistic resources were irreversibly expended in front of five thousand visitors, does call into mind the gift economy or the potlatch, at its horizon was not the transcendental mutu-ality of a "symbolic exchange", but rather the vision of a constructive reorganization of the means of cultural production and distribution, along with an attempt to challenge the commodity status of the image.

In this sense, what *Pictures of Sweden 1969* suggested through its incom-patibility with the prevalent organization of mass media was the possibility of what Baudrillard's critique of the reign of sign exchange values in consumer society, discarded outright: that new media could be deployed for a reinvention of the realm of the public. That they could serve, not the further consolidation of the "pluralistic, managerial utopia" of cyber-netically administered non-dissent, but a political project for extending the domain of social and cultural self-determination in society. That, perhaps, exhibitions, on account of their potential status as "arche-media", were especially suited for confronting the problems of such an undertaking, through their ability to act as "media of reflection" regarding the social logic of media in general. This, therefore, would be the critical interpretation of Lugon's notion of the paradoxical perseverance of the exhibition form: the exhibition has preserved its "force of attraction", in spite of the develop-ment of more "efficient" media, not because of the establishment of a post-critical normality, where it accepts its destination as the "content" of a new environment, but because, insofar as its faculties of estrangement and indeterminacy are upheld, insofar as it is defended as a site of systemic contradiction and potential dispute, it remains resistant to, or "incom-patible" with, the process of an exhaustive, "semio-aesthetic" integration which reduces the scope of social practice and experience.

During the same months in 1969 that Pär Stolpe and his collaborators were struggling with the Sweden House, attempting to convince its directors to open the exhibition they had commissioned to the public, the members of the Kulturhuset Expert Group, including Stolpe, were slowly

growing to accept that their vision for the new institution was never going to be realized. Some of them – primarily Stolpe, Hultén, and Carlo Derkert – therefore regrouped, and began to think of how their "catalytic" model for Kulturhuset could be adapted into a model for transforming the old Moderna Museet at Skeppsholmen into an "Information Center". There is no doubt that Stolpe had an important role in this conceptual shift. What the antagonisms in and around *Pictures of Sweden 1969* had demonstrated was what was at stake in such a translation. To the extent that it preserved the ambivalence of the exhibition's specific, transitive space of interactivity and experience, the exhibitionary apparatus could become a privileged site for the "conflict of compatibility", where another social organization of the media could be imagined, which would serve the interest of the public rather than its dissolution.

PART III

The Information Center:
Moderna Museet During the Laboratory Years,
1969–1973

Introduction: Utopias and Contradictions

Kulthus stands at the center of Stockholm, it was Fuller's first hi-rise dome structure. It has weathered that last five turbulent years remarkably well, as has the hus's primeorganiser [sic] – K. G. Pontus Hultén. The following interview took place on March 1st, 1981.

Q. How are things working out in the new "house"?

A. Quite well, I think, not necessarily as we planned of course, but some very interesting things happen here.

Q. Can you tell me what was happening in the streets just outside – there was a demonstration that seemed to be rapidly breaking down into street fighting?

A. Well there's no doubt they are all part of our scene here. Rival groups are always coming and fighting it out. You know the kind of thing – some Italian conflict – the Swedish partisans come here and help work it out. We can supply information from the newsroom – and the video link-ups enable people to check they're enacting the precise situation. I say "enacted" but of course that no longer carries its old meaning – this action is the real, its [sic] just duplicated. There are people who would still like to treat it as a show; they would really just like to sit in the "house" and watch the skirmishes, hospitalizations etc… Luckily that kind of person is becoming extinct – what we simply cannot allow is the old voyeurism.

Q. There's nothing in the house then that might relate to the non-participational condition?

A. Well there's live-T.V. from 769 nations and a book library still. I guess they are both part of the old structure; though the way we have T.V. as such a sheer barrage of information, it could drive you insane in 3 minutes. […]

Q. Are your functions still duplicating some existing organizations. You were accused initially of functioning as a central community center – are you still?

A. Only someone who never saw us in action on a day to day basis could have suggested that. Our activities were much too diversified, and our functions were defined by the people who came to use us. It varied over the first two years from a Trade Union agit-center to a carnival of and for freaks. Now our function seems to be oriented to that of a totally new participatory kind of journalism – as you saw in the streets, this has evolved to a position in which participation now rules entirely over the old documentary idea. For a while what occurs is a transcendence of the art-reality dialectic *and* the provocation-participation dialectic. The idea of making possible an everyday realization of that state for all is our new project.[1]

There was no "Kulthus" designed by Buckminster Fuller in central Stockholm, of course. No Trade-Union agit center with live TV from 769 nations, where video link-ups from the newsroom supplied information to participatory visitor-provocateurs enacting journalistic street fights outside. The fictive "interview with Pontus Hultén, Stockholm 1981" was the curator and critic Ronald Hunt's witty contribution to the catalogue for the exhibition *Utopias and Visions 1871–1981*, held during the summer of 1971 at Moderna Museet on Skeppsholmen, to which Hultén, Stolpe, Derkert and their colleagues had retreated after the collapse of the Kulturhuset project.

Although the Moderna Museet group's vision for Kulturhuset had at this point been definitively rejected as an unrealizable utopia – the building at Sergels Torg was now gradually being put to use as the house of parliament and as a municipal library and entertainment center – they were by no means ready to give up their plans for devising a new, reformed museum institution, reconfigured and resourced so as to be able to confront its social, political, and technological moment. As evidenced by Hunt's imaginary interchange with Hultén (who, we can assume, must at least have been given the opportunity to read and approve the text before it was printed, seeing as he was still the director of the museum), the concepts and models outlined in the work with the Kulturhuset project were still actively referenced at Moderna Museet at the start of the new decade. Indeed, their vision was still in a state of development, and new figures and themes were continuously being introduced in the story.

Utopias and Visions 1871–1981 was produced by Moderna Museet to mark the centenary of the Paris Commune in 1971. Formally it was a relatively unusual exhibition for the institution, and it still stands out in its exhibition history, where it enjoys an almost mythical status. It had four main components. There was an open-air educational environment, in

period room style, about "everyday life during the seventy days of the Commune", featuring life-sized cut-out dolls, props and tools, and explanatory displays with images and documents.[2] In an adjacent building there was a workshop modeled on the printshops of Communal Paris, where visitors could print their own posters or flyers using simple techniques. Alongside this historical material, there were what the exhibition collective referred to as "three modern utopian situations".[3] In the museum's garden, a Buckminster Fuller dome was erected, in which the artists and musicians Moki and Don Cherry orchestrated a sort of freeform-jazz commune for parts of the exhibition period. In a small shed built specifically for the exhibition, a video display presented Fuller's *World Game* for the audience. Finally, the same space featured an ambitious "communication situation", organized in collaboration with Billy Klüver's E.A.T. It consisted of an international, four-node telex system, where users in Stockholm, Ahmedabad, Tokyo, and New York could exchange their visions for the near future, responding to questionnaires about their expectations about society and culture in 1981.

The exhibition's eclectic montage of historical and contemporary references, old display techniques and advanced information systems, and modes of spectatorship and interaction, and its simultaneous investment in local communities and international networks, were, in a sense, emblematic of the heterogeneous aggregation of forces that the Moderna Museet group was trying to achieve at the institution during its "laboratory years" between 1969 and 1973. This was a rich and intense period in the history of the museum, one of anticipation and experimentation, but also of resistance and contestation. It was when Hultén and Stolpe developed what they called the "circular function model" – the diagram with four circles, representing the functions of an ideal museum – and, together with their colleagues, outlined a comprehensive plan for transforming Moderna Museet into a multifunctional, participatory Information Center. Meanwhile, exhibitions such as *Utopias and Visions 1871–1981* and *Poetry Must Be Made By All! Transform the World!* (1969), and the program at Filialen between 1971 and 1973, confirmed the museum's commitment to developing new, egalitarian modes of cultural production, distribution, and reception, as suggested by the Tatlin exhibition in 1968.

During these years the museum also put on monographic or retrospective exhibitions of, among others, Max Ernst, Björn Lövin, Joseph Beuys, Louise Nevelson, Günter Uecker, Ed Kienholz, Paul Thek,[4] Jean Tinguely, and Jacques Villeglé, as well as large survey shows such as *Surrealism?* and

Images of the 1910s. This was Hultén's final period at Moderna Museet, and while he was engaged in, if not directly responsible for, several of these exhibitions, it seems that he gradually scaled back his involvement in the museum's operations in proportion to his increasingly demanding international career.[5] This was also a time of conflict at the institution, during which it came under attack for its association with post-1968, leftwing activism and radical civil rights groups, and long-standing alliances between people and departments broke down into open antagonism.

In the following part, we will attempt to piece together the new idea of the museum that the Moderna Museet group sought to realize during these years. It studies the group's proposal for a renovation, expansion, and reorganization of the existing institution on Skeppsholmen, as well as a selection of the museum's exhibitions and activities which, it could be argued, served as experiments with new production models, display techniques, and modes of spectatorship in preparation of the institution's transformation. The chapters that make up this part read these documents and activities as elements of one coherent, yet inconclusive, or perhaps in some respects even *unfinished* project. At the most general level, the problem the Moderna Museet group faced was how to configure an exhibitionary apparatus that could contribute both to facilitating new modes of subjectification under shifting conditions of production and mutating power relations, and to the development of a media system adequate to the interests of new social subjects, through which they could realize and extend their autonomy.

The period under examination in this part is delimited, at its outset, by the implosion of the Kulturhuset enterprise, the inevitability of which was undoubtedly apparent to its authors by the fall of 1969, although it was not formally decided until February 1970. In late 1969, the group's energy was instead diverted back to the decade-old, dormant project of reforming and expanding the existing museum on Skeppsholmen. This was when Stolpe was first employed at the museum, and one of his tasks was to assist in the undertaking. 1971 saw the opening of Stolpe's project space Filialen, which was explicitly conceived as a testing ground for the museum's imminent reconstruction, where a new politics of the image was tried out and interrogated.

Four events then mark the end of the period, in 1972–3. In May 1972 it was decided that the trial period of Filialen would not be extended, and in July 1973 the space was closed, despite much protest and support. In June 1973, it was finally announced that Hultén was leaving his post at the

museum to take up the directorship at the Musée National d'Art Moderne in Paris, to be integrated within the new cultural institution under construction in the city's Beaubourg neighborhood. In October, the opening of the exhibition *New York Collection for Stockholm* at Moderna Museet sparked a polarizing debate, rupturing friendships and collaborations, regarding the predominance of North American "avant-garde" art in the museum in particular, and US imperialism in general. Most important for our concerns, however, was the surprising decision by the Ministry of Education to reject the museum's expansion and reorganization plans, taken in September 1972, but not announced publicly until April 1973. Instead, funds were allocated for a moderate renovation, including some additions to the existing building and a minor increase in the museum's operating budget. This effectively meant the termination of all prospects of realizing the comprehensive vision of the new museum that had been under development since the later phase of the Kulturhuset project.

At the level of a more general social, cultural, and economic history, the period in question here is bookended by two major crises. At one end, there is the immediate aftermath of the global events of 1968, when conservative forces and organizations in all sectors of society were struggling to grasp and to contain – often resorting to arcane measures of police violence and repression – the proliferation of radical social movements, with their new cultural, communal, and libidinal arrangements, their new modes of political organization, and their vehement demands of social justice, solidarity, and co-determination.[6] This, as we have noted, was what the Trilateral Commission described as the "explosion of communication and social interaction" of the 1960s, which, they feared, would render democracies "ungovernable".[7]

At the other end, there are the epochal shifts and ruptures of 1973, which, it is widely agreed, mark the endpoint of the "golden age" of postwar affluence and growth: the end of the Bretton Woods agreement, the first OPEC oil shock, the US-backed military coup in Chile, and so on.[8] As David Harvey and many others have shown, these events announced a shift in the structure of financial markets and in the ideological orientation of basic political discourse, which laid the groundwork for the globalization of the capitalist system and the full deployment of the neoliberal project in the years and the decades to come.[9] New international divisions of labor were drawn up, new methods of production and control were put in place, a new "spirit" of capitalism was born. According to an important tradition of theorists, this transition represented a paradigm shift on a world-historical

scale, into a postmodern condition of social, cultural, and epistemic fragmentation.

The Swedish situation, of course, was not isolated from these processes. On the contrary, they had a profound impact, generating a series of contradictions with significant repercussions across the social field. On the one hand, coming out of the "record years" of the 1960s, the Swedish labor movement had a historically strong bargaining position, and could negotiate comprehensive rights and benefits reforms.[10] The conditions of unmatched economic growth and near full employment still sustained the corporatist compromise between government, trade unions, and corporations, and the public sector was set on a path of extension and development which would continue into the 1980s. In the cultural field, the late 1960s was a period of rapid expansion, with large public investments in, for example, public service broadcasting and the performing arts.[11] In 1969 – as we have mentioned – the official inquiry into a future Swedish cultural policy was launched, which would result in a far-reaching and by most standards radical proposal in 1972, ratified by the government in 1974.

On the other hand, during the 1960s it had also become clear to which extent the Swedish welfare project rested on, and sustained, deep structures of inequality. A series of studies and official inquiries showed that the corporatist model resulted in a concentration of wealth and power that threatened to undermine the influence of political democracy.[12] It was also becoming apparent that the ongoing, vast housing projects and urban renewal schemes across the country were working against their purposes, solidifying structures of privilege and segregation.[13] At the same time, the vigorous movements for solidarity with various anti-colonial and anti-imperialist struggles contributed to a growing awareness of the global imbalances on which the prosperity of the "golden age" in the West was founded.[14] The new left and the 1968 movements challenged these structures with their demands for extended social, political, and economic democracy. In some instances the demands won political resonance, and were translated into proposals for increased co-determination in workplaces, or reforms in corporate structures and wealth distribution, which pointed beyond the terms of the corporatist agreement.

When the economic crises and recessions of the early and mid-1970s hit Sweden, an already conflicted political situation was therefore exacerbated. The wave of strikes in Sweden in the first half of the 1970s, which began with the great iron-ore miners' strike in the Northern region of Norrbotten between December 1969 and February 1970, can be seen as indicative of

this tension, where labor demands forged under economic conditions generally favorable to industrial capital – concretized as calls for fairer wages and ameliorated working conditions – were posed on employers facing narrowing profit margins as a result of international economic convulsions and labor market shifts.[15] This situation intensified the polarization between the conflicting parties, heralding a radicalization of Swedish leftwing politics which would continue throughout the 1970s, and putting further stress on the corporatist compromise.[16] Similarly, when many of the political proposals projected or put forward in the 1960s – not least the major policy review for Swedish museums, known as MUS 65 – surfaced from their long passage through the structures of inquiry and ratification, the economic ground on which they had been developed had begun to crumble. What had been conceived in a spirit of optimism, and with the hope of at least the possibility of accord, could only be realized in antagonism and struggle.

An appropriate term for this phase could perhaps be the "late welfare state". This should of course be understood in relation to the concept of "late capitalism", which was developed most prominently in Ernest Mandel's book with the same title from 1972, and went on to enjoy widespread application, by Fredric Jameson and others.[17] Today it appears abundantly clear that the "great shock" of the crises of the early 1970s did not, as the theorists associated with the concept of "late capitalism" suggested, aggravate the contradictions of the capitalist mode of production to the point that it was set on a path of "late", terminal decline, but on the contrary forced the capitalist system to adapt itself and develop its methods of valorization so as to achieve new levels of social integration.[18] Evidently, one target against which it directed its expansionist logic was the social, economic, and political structures with which it had existed in a precarious balance during the postwar decades of reconstruction and Keynesian regulation, triggering a crisis in the welfare project that is in many respects ongoing today, in ever intensified fashions. In short, it was not capitalism that entered its "late" period, but the welfare state.

The tensions of this "late" condition were in a sense anticipated by the ambivalence of Ronald Hunt's mock interview with Hultén in the *Utopias and Visions* catalogue, with its curious mix of cynicism and exhilaration, of disillusionment at the idealist dream of peacefully realizing the promise of participatory art, and excitement – however sarcastic – at the anarchic potentials of the impending condition of high-tech abundance. The fictive interlocutors dismiss television broadcasts and live feeds as relics of an "old

structure", and yet celebrate them for their capacity to enable a "totally new kind" of post-documentary journalism, which transcends the "art-reality dialectic *and* the provocation-participation dialectic", causing bedlam in the streets of Stockholm.[19] The notion of the "Kulthus" as a "Trade Union agit-center" is, the Hultén of the future holds, ludicrously obsolete, and yet he concludes the "interview" with a peculiar fable, which posits that the origin of the new "hi-rise dome structure" in central Stockholm was in fact a drastic case of workers' activism:

> in 1973 when for some reason Earth art was still big in the museums' world, we decided to do our own version, if you remember, people called it the Social-Democrat Earth Show. We simply emptied the entire gallery and filled it with a month's coal output from the Northern mines. All was well until that lag of consciousness caught up with the miners – they suddenly became aware of a new stage of alienation […]. This was of course intolerable, as you know they came to Stockholm en masse, and in a pretty violent demonstration actually burned the coal, [and] the museum too, of course.[20]

It could be argued that, through its very irony, Hunt's text is a sincere representation of the social conditions out of which it emerged. The inconsistencies of his more or less outrageous fabulations reflect a situation where an emancipatory cultural and political project could only be conceived as an inherent contradiction.

Similar tensions cut through the whole of Moderna Museet's program during the laboratory years. The moment of undivided enthusiasm had passed. After the defeat of the Kulturhuset plans, brought about at least to some extent by the reluctance of the municipal politicians to support a project with ties to the new left, and after the violent cancellation, or even censorship, of *Pictures of Sweden 1969* on the part of an agglomerate of public and commercial media organizations, it was no longer possible for the Moderna Museet group to place unreserved faith in the benevolence of official cultural policy, or in the intrinsically liberating or disruptive potentials of new media. The projects at the museum in the following period were instead marked by an awareness of the unavoidably antagonistic dimension of any attempt at enlisting public resources, or at releasing the egalitarian potentials of information technologies, for the purposes of developing a "project of autonomy".

What the experience with *Pictures of Sweden 1969* had revealed was the degree to which new media – from mass media to accessible consumer

devices – were congruent with, and determined by, the social and economic interests of their controlling corporations and organizations. If their uses were to have socially progressive effects, they would have to be realigned with the interests of another mode of social existence, which itself remained to be developed. For the Moderna Museet group, the commitment to experimenting with new technologies therefore became more closely entwined with the search to invent alternative models of community, agency, and social experience. Combined with the group's loss of confidence in political functionaries following the Kulturhuset collapse, this translated into a radicalization of their program, most markedly on the part of the museum's activist contingent. The resulting polarization within the museum between the defenders of a "popular", often leftwing culture, and what they perceived as the representatives of an antiquated "high art" avant-gardism, contributed to the final disintegration of the group's project.

In three chapters, the following part reads the Moderna Museet group's Information Center project as an attempt to adapt their "project of autonomy" to these conflicted social and technological conditions. In chapter seven, we focus on the group's plans for a renewal, extension, and reorganization of the institution on Skeppsholmen. While the scale of this undertaking was smaller than the Kulturhuset enterprise, the group could now develop its vision without being restricted by the many inconsistent demands underlying the earlier endeavor. Their new notion of the museum as an Information Center went further than before in reconceiving of the institution as an egalitarian media system, where a critical engagement with contemporary visual media would permeate all different operations. The model described by their diagram, as we already know, implied a comprehensive reconsideration of the constitutive elements of the museum institution, from the material definition of the artwork and the technical status of the exhibition, to the role of the visitor and the function of the collection.

Chapter eight studies how the Moderna Museet group sought to implement this model practically through its program of exhibitions and activities during the laboratory years, 1969–73. Adopting a synoptic perspective, the chapter looks at a number of projects both at Moderna Museet's main department, and at Stolpe's Filialen department, examining the modality of their attempts to reclaim aspects of the constructivist legacy, the politics of the image at work in their search for new exhibitionary production techniques, their experiments with critical "pattern-seeing" models and montage-based display arrangements, and their search for new, networked modes of authorship, spectatorship, and community. For

example, in *Poetry Must Be Made By All! Transform the World!*, and in several of the exhibitions at Filialen, such as *People's Images* (1971), an anti-fetishist conception of the artwork, supported by new, cheaper, and more accessible printing and photocopying techniques, enabled popular, collaborative production models, as well as a notion of display as documentary montage, which in turn facilitated new modes of spectatorship and agency. A concluding section of this chapter then considers the critical ramifications of these models of spectatorship and agency in the context of the increasing globalization of determining economic and political structures, through a comparative reading of two projects by Buckminster Fuller and Öyvind Fahlström, which were both featured in important exhibitions at Moderna Museet during the laboratory years.

Chapter nine, finally, studies the methods of distribution that the Moderna Museet group experimented with in their attempt to render the exhibitionary apparatus critically operative on the field opened by new telecommunication networks. Here, the group reconceived of the travelling exhibition as an itinerant information relay, designed to establish new lines of exchange, interaction, and solidarity beyond existing national or international communication conduits. The limited shipping and insurance costs of exhibitions such as *Poetry Must Be Made By All! Transform the World!* or *Women* should facilitate modes of circulation inconsistent with the production methods of traditional museums. *Utopias and Visions 1871–1971*, and several projects at Filialen, explored similar possibilities through experiments with global telecommunication networks, but often with diverging, if not opposed political ambitions.

In a coda we will then briefly discuss the relationship between the Moderna Museet group's Information Center model, and the Beaubourg enterprise in Paris, which was in its first phase of development during these years. While Hultén in many respects arrived to an already defined institutional situation when he took up the post as the director of the new center's Visual Arts Department in the fall of 1973, it appears likely that the Information Center diagram, which Hultén had presented for an audience of museum directors, curators, and museologists in Paris in 1969 and 1970, exerted an important influence over the design of Beaubourg's early program directives and architectural competition brief.

Moderna Museet's laboratory period, it could be argued, belonged to the last wave of efforts where institutional experimentation could be understood, with some reason, as constitutively linked to a project of radical social transformation at the scale of society as a whole. The termination of

their enterprise with the rejection of their new museum project in 1972–3, was followed by a conservative turn in the institution's programming under the new director Philip von Schantz, who held the position between 1974 and 1977. During the decade that subsequently followed, this institutional disinvestment from the ideal of social liberation was then generalized, as a "new spirit" of capitalism sanctioned the routine dismissal of such endeavors as at once naively utopian and regressively dogmatic.

Today, the experiments of Moderna Museet's laboratory period have a paradoxical legacy. On the one hand they are vaguely heroized, and are sometimes quoted in, or called upon as models for, exhibitions and art projects. At the same time – and remarkably – the projects of the Moderna Museet group during these years remain marginalized in historiography, and their validity as institutional models continues to be denounced. To quote one representative example, in his memoirs from 2008, the authoritative Ulf Linde wrote that "Pär Stolpe […] wanted to transform [Moderna Museet] into a propaganda central for red ideas. On the surface he seemed calm and reasonable, but when it came to destroying the museum's reputation he was a brute".[21] By studying Moderna Museet's technologically advanced and politically contentious Information Center project, the following chapters want to show that, while they sometimes reflected reductive political positions, the experiments of Moderna Museet's laboratory period should not be dismissed with recourse to stereotypes of leftist dogmatism. An attempt to grasp the scope of these experiments may perhaps instead remind us that the question of the role of the museum – or of any other media apparatus – in a project of social transformation, remains meaningless if it is not addressed at the level of the social.

7.
The Circular Function Model

We advocate the creation of a model system in the form of a vast experimental laboratory, which could stimulate and test every kind of information situation; in other words, the museum seen as a center of information, as a television broadcasting station.

Pontus Hultén et al.

7.1 Genesis of the Diagram

There are two early sketches of the "circular function model". One, possibly older, is drawn in Pär Stolpe's hand, and shows four roughly concentric circles amidst a disarray of quickly sketched geometric shapes: overlapping rectangles, triangles, and ovals suggesting rooms or other spatial dispositions. The annotation of the four circles is sparse. The first, outermost circle, we read, is the "info[rmation] dep[artment]". The second is the "workshop". In the third, it is written "exh[ibition], film, theatre", as well a fourth, illegible word. In the inner circle it says "Coll[ection]". In thin pockets drawn between the first and the second, and the second and the third layers, the word "analysis" is inscribed. A row of arrows runs straight through the four circles, from the upper left down to the bottom right, indicating a passage through the layers in to the core, and then onward out again. Some of the other shapes on the paper vaguely resemble scenic arrangements or schematic projector beams. A few of them intersect or overlap with the four circles, but it is impossible to tell if they belong to the same representation, or if they were just drawn on top of one another.[1]

The second sketch, in Pontus Hultén's hand, is at once more reduced and more detailed. Here the four circles are drawn using a pair of compasses, and there are no other interfering elements. The annotation, still by hand, is more carefully written, for reading rather than for memory or

support, and provides further information. A rubric above the diagram states "Model of Mod[erna] Mus[eet's] future activities", with the added qualification "(three dimensional)". The outermost layer is described as containing "primary information (such as teleprinter messages)". The second layer contains "place and tools for processing the information (workshops for the public, artists, and museum personnel)". The third layer holds "processed information (art exhibitions, films, music, dance, theatre…)". In the core we find "art collection, film archive… stored, processed information = MEMORY".[2] The annotated reproduction of the diagram in the French art journal *Opus International* in May 1971 is a word-by-word translation of this sketch.[3]

We are by now familiar with the diagram. It represents an abstraction and a topographical rearrangement of the Expert Group's proposal for Kulturhuset. The basic features correspond: the "information department" with the house's "Square" and "living room" spaces; the "information processing" layer with the building's workshop facilities; "processed information" with the exhibition floor; memory core with the top floor collection. The ascending movement, as we have noted, has become centripetal, but its logic remains the same. The obvious difference, of course, is that the diagram is more explicitly modeled on the technical organization of the computer, its various functional departments now described as layers for data capture, processing, interface, and storage. While this shift, as we have seen in previous chapters, was to some extent informed by an idealized conception of a new information environment – a "cybernetic idealism", imported via Ellin's McLuhanism, Billy Klüver's vision of an art-engineering fusion, or the radical attempts to "reverse" the media – it is clear that, by now, the Moderna Museet group was also aware of the translation's critical stakes.[4] It is our argument here that the group's Information Center project cannot be dismissed as a well-intended, credulous, techno-utopian fantasy, ultimately expediting the museum's compatibility with the generalized managerialism of sociotechnical integration, but that it should be read as a methodical attempt at remodeling the exhibitionary apparatus as a critical media system.

Hultén's version of the diagram was reproduced in a handful of copies, for attachment to a document outlining the museum's reorganization and expansion plans, signed by Stolpe and addressed to Eric Hedquist, secretary of the official inquiry into Swedish museum policy, MUS 65, on June 24, 1970. The list of appendixes referred to the diagram as "Function model for the new Moderna Museet. Spring 1970".[5] A letter from Stolpe to Hultén

discussing the preparation of the document, dated June 17, referred to the diagram as "the old (circular) function model".[6] In spite of the apparent discrepancy, we can almost certainly date the diagram to the period around the final Kulturhuset collapse, in February 1970. Its immediate purpose was to serve as an illustration of the general ideal informing the various processes of institutional redefinition, reorganization, and expansion that the group was now setting in motion on Skeppsholmen.

7.2 Remodeling the Apparatus

Realizing the Information Center on Skeppsholmen would involve several core changes. First, Moderna Museet should be granted autonomy from its host institution, the National Museum, under which it had served as a department since its creation in 1958. Then, the museum should adopt a new, extended model of activities, which would entail a new organizational plan, necessitating concomitant administrative and personnel changes. Finally, the institution's building should be renovated and extended according to a design developed by the architect Per Olof Olsson, who had been responsible for the original adaptation of the old military barracks into a museum.

In his letter to Hedquist, formally a petition to the MUS 65 inquiry regarding Moderna Museet's separation from the National Museum, Stolpe set out a comprehensive, point-by-point plan for the museum's transformation process. The changes should be implemented gradually, and run in parallel or in relay over a period of three to four years, from 1970 to 1974. The institutional separation should be effected in stages, first in a preparatory sense, as the phasing in of new operational guidelines. At the same time, the museum should be granted special "experimental funds", which it would use to "begin suggesting, researching and trying out the new forms of activity" in its public program. Meanwhile, work on the architectural extension should begin, and the design should be continuously adapted to the experiences from the ongoing experimental activities. During the period when the institutional separation would then be practically effected and the building's extension finalized, temporary spaces should be allocated for the continued program. Finally, answering to the demands arising from these processes and experiments, new museum departments should be established and the workforce expanded.[7]

"The separation from the National Museum is a fact", Stolpe summarized, "the extension ready, and the personnel structure and *the museum's total organization* can be described definitively in 73–74". "This means, therefore", he went on,

> that we can today describe the total development of the museum [*hela museets utveckling*] as an experiment with a gradual and continuous transition from an older function, where the emphasis was on the museum's activities of collection, toward a cultural museum reflecting the present with futural aspects and with an emphasis on what is essential in contemporary visual communication.[8]

This description is significant, because it confirms to what extent all aspects of the museum's operations were in fact conceived as elements of one coherent project of institutional experimentation. It is as close as we get to a program for how the museum's laboratory period should result in the practical implementation of the circular diagram. But what is the import of this process for understanding the concept of the "Information Center"? What do the museum's core changes imply for our reading of the group's model for a new exhibitionary apparatus?

a) The Separation

Also attached to Stolpe's letter to Hedquist was a dense sixteen-page document written by Hultén together with Bengt Dahlbäck, director of the National Museum. The text, a "Draft to a proposal" for the separation between Moderna Museet and the National Museum, argued that, due to its increasingly dynamic, collaborative, and ephemeral nature, modern and contemporary art was inconsistent with the essentially preservative, static functions of a museum tasked with safeguarding the nation's classical artistic heritage.[9] A "contemporary museum" [*samtidsmuseum*], they held – and we recognize the ideas[10] – must be sufficiently versatile to be able to host all kinds of practices and media, and respond quickly to current trends and developments. It should be prepared, they wrote, to act as a "co-creator, in the sense that exhibitions often demand that artworks are produced in direct collaboration with the artists, possibly with the objects' destruction in mind from the outset".[11]

The argument, of course, was not that Moderna Museet's preservative functions should be entirely eliminated, but that the logic of its collection should change, from a conserving repository to a living, responsive, and accessible memory. Moderna Museet had been conceived as a "transitory museum", in accordance with the "Louvre-Luxembourg system": contemporary artworks would be deposited and displayed there, and then transferred to the historical institution once their period of actuality had passed.[12] This attachment to the parent institution's classical heritage, the museum directors now claimed, had a stifling effect on Moderna Museet's operations, in the shape they had come to assume. Instead, the young, growing institution should be granted full control over its proper collection, which should consist exclusively of works from the twentieth century. Art from this century, Hultén argued in a separate memorandum, was essentially different from that of earlier periods. This was not merely a shift in styles and techniques, but a fundamental change in the concept of art

toward dynamism, innovation, and engagement with current social and technological developments, which would remain valid beyond future stylistic currents.[13] "The varying attitudes can be compared to the difference between historical and experimental research", as the MUS 65 inquiry phrased it when its voluminous report, which gave full support to the separation – and one of whose authors was, incidentally, Hultén himself – was finally published in 1973.[14]

Crucially, the domain of Moderna Museet's patrimonial responsibilities should also be formally extended beyond painting and sculpture, to include technically reproduced images and objects: photography, possibly film, as well as certain kinds of everyday design and crafts objects, such as posters and graphic prints.[15] Such objects and media had of course been shown in and acquired by the institution since its early years, on account of its inclusive art concept and its "dynamic", multidisciplinary exhibition practices. But the official enlargement of its general brief with its separation from the historical institution, would now sanction a more programmatic shift toward a critical engagement with visual communication and mass media. As Stolpe put it in his letter to Hedquist, the "concepts information– communication must become central in the new institution's function".[16] The MUS 65 inquiry endorsed the idea, arguing that the separation was necessary because "modern art museums, if they are to maintain the important role in cultural development they gained during the 1960s, must considerably broaden their platform beyond classical visual media, so as to include many new forms of images, such as film, photo, electronic images, and information of other kinds, as well as information critique".[17]

b) The Reorganization

The same logic of actuality, responsive versatility, and critical engagement with contemporary visual media informed the museum's administrative reorganization plans. Five new museum departments should be established, Stolpe explained in his letter to Hedquist: "a) information and com-munication technology, b) drawings and graphic prints, c) photo, d) crafts [*konsthantverk*] and e) pedagogics".[18] Personnel changes, Stolpe developed, should meet the related demands, with separate department heads or "administrators" acting under one principal director. The department heads, he wrote, with formulations that call into mind the tension between vertical and horizontal decision-making in the Kulturhuset proposal, should

operate as "working administrators", that is, they have no specific teams working under them. They are all part of the museum's executive direction, and together with the director plan the whole operation of the institution. Their domains of responsibility should not be described as delimited from one another, but instead overlap at most points, so that collaborations between them are fully natural. The same goes, to a large extent, for the [technical] personnel.[19]

Stolpe's list of departments leaves no doubt as to the central role of the information activities within the new structure. Already in the museum's present state, Stolpe noted, the notions of information and communication were essential to its operations, "through its natural ambition to register and process current tendencies in society's cultural activities, mainly in order to place the collections in a vital context". However, "this is not yet explicit in its guidelines, and there is certainly no sufficient organization for such functions, as regards neither spaces, nor personnel, nor economy".[20]

As a stage in the museum's total reorganization project, a separate, temporary annex for experiments with information activities should therefore be created, with a view to being fully integrated as a key department within the main institution. This was Stolpe's project space Filialen, where, he noted in a letter to Hultén, the "virgin domain" of new visual media should be methodically explored, through "extensive fact collection and analysis, as well as a work of practical orientation".[21] Housed in a large, old military canteen close to the main building, the new space should serve, Stolpe wrote in a letter addressed to representatives of several Swedish media organizations and educational departments, as a "workshop" for the impending "extension of the museum's activities and goals", and should include "various forms of image work", with an emphasis on "film and electronic image (video and TV)".[22] Presenting Filialen at the first opening a few months later, in March 1971, Stolpe explained that the ultimate aim of the project was that Moderna Museet as a whole should function

> as a forum for the capture, documentation, and discussion of the significance of contemporary images, a place where we meet to encounter different kinds of visual intentions [bildavsikter], a site where we discuss and take a position toward new images, a museum for contemporary communication generally.[23]

As Filialen would be dismantled after its trial period, and realized as a permanent information department, the outcomes of its experiments

should therefore ideally inform all operations of the museum. The Circular Function Model is, we may assume, the model for this institutional integration, where interdepartmental relations and professional roles would be fluid. We can note that, in spite of the earlier project's embrace of new media technologies, this decisive, pervasive role of the projected information department did not have an apparent equivalent in the Kulturhuset vision. And it is a testament to the rapid polarization at Moderna Museet during the early 1970s that Filialen soon developed into a relatively isolated operation, with an increasingly fraught relationship to the other parts of the institution.

c) The Extension

The preparations for the architectural renovation and extension at Skeppsholmen, it appears, began in direct connection to the Kulturhuset collapse. An early, schematic sketch, prepared by Per Olof Olsson in April 1970 as support for discussions with the Moderna Museet group, shows the new graphics department wedged between two main exhibition halls, one of which would be an addition. To the west of the new hall, a suite of four, smaller, combined workshop and exhibition spaces would be located. Adjoining these spaces there would be a new lecture hall. Together the spaces would form a single system, and arrows suggest possible circulation paths leading through the different sections.[24]

In the definitive version of the original extension proposal, presented to the Building Board in the spring of 1971, the departments are spread out over a more dispersed complex. The departments for graphics and photography are located in separate structures, joined to the main museum body by a new restaurant. Their relative detachment corresponds to the specific responsibilities conferred on Moderna Museet with the enlargement of its patrimonial duties, through the expected separation from the National Museum. To the northwest of the old structure, the large, principal architectural addition features several interconnected, voluminous exhibition spaces, one of which is a combined public workshop. The floor below houses public and restricted study and storage spaces, as well as technical amenities. In spite of the sizable additions, the plan was carefully designed not to interfere with the Skeppsholmen island's assiduously protected historical environment. The general style of the main added structure, we might say, would be late modern normal: a sleek, rectilinear, non-ornamented box with sweeping window panes, constructed using prefabricated concrete elements, corten steel, and termopan glass sheets.[25]

Inside, a clean pragmatism would reign, with walls and ceiling in unplastered concrete, and floors in rubber-coated wood. "The quality of the interiors", Per Olof Olsson wrote, "is comparable to that of a workshop".[26]

The total interior surface of the extended museum would be 7900 m², as compared to the 2400 m² currently at its disposal, and the 5700 m² the museum would have gained access to were the transfer to the eastern part of Kulturhuset to have taken place.[27] This surface, Hultén argued in a formal letter to the Building Board, was what Moderna Museet needed to meet the requirements of their growing collections, and to maintain their leading role in cultural development. In "modern art museums", he wrote, "there must be more space for creative activities", areas where "both visitors and artists get the opportunity to engage". Furthermore, "TV in its different forms is quickly becoming a new, important subject within the domain of a visual museum [*bildmuseum*]". An "experimental operation with visual communications of different kinds" will consequently be started, "with a special focus on the electronic image and its possibilities". Listing the museum's demands Hultén therefore included, alongside new spaces for temporary exhibitions and collection displays, "extended place for an active audience which is given the possibility not only to enjoy but also to create 'culture'", "extended place for experiments with new visual media", and "extended place for artists to act within the museum".[28]

These priorities were confirmed by Per Olof Olsson's description of the Moderna Museet group's initial renewal project in a recollecting article in 1977. The original program, he wrote,

> entailed considerably extended spaces, and furthermore several new operations: a paper museum where drawings, lithographies, prints, posters, images of all kinds should be collected, a workshop where the public, museum people, and artists should work together, a "memory" where it would be possible to gather and process all the material that, in the shape of current events, expressions of opinion, and personal and collective experiences, influence artists as well as all of us. To this should be attached a library and an image archive with extensive audiovisual resources. And with the help of TV and telex printers the museum should be in contact with other institutions across the world, and arrange global symposia.[29]

The Building Board accepted this proposal without significant reservations, and translated it into a formal proposition, presented to the government's Ministry of Education (to which the Office of Cultural Affairs then answered) on April 24, 1972.[30] In September, the Ministry responded, giving

the Building Board the official assignment to develop detailed plans and budget calculations for an extension of the museum not exceeding 3500 m^2, existing spaces included, that is, less than half of the space the museum had asked for.[31] It is difficult to see this as anything else than a rejection of the Moderna Museet group's program during the laboratory years.

7.3 Toward the Museum of the Future

Three aspects of Moderna Museet's renewal plans on Skeppsholmen appear especially significant for our reading of the Information Center project. First, on account of its separation from the National Museum, the museum was involved in a reassessment of its status as a patrimonial institution. The formal extension of the museum's acquisition domain toward technically reproduced images and objects encouraged the Moderna Museet group to revise the definition of the institution's core preservative and exhibitionary functions. Second, in their approach to new media, the Moderna Museet group adopted a decidedly critical attitude. The projected reorganization of the institution, and the associated Filialen experiment, were intended to integrate "information critique" as a principal component of both its public program and its administrative setup. Third, as evidenced by the bureaucratic maneuvers involved in their attempt to secure the architectural extension, and the following rejection of their original renewal plans, the group was faced with a complex political situation, forcing them into an intricate play of alignments and oppositions. This condition also had ramifications for how they understood the museum's social logic.

Let us return to Pontus Hultén's interview with Yann Pavie in *Opus International* in 1971. It is one of a few interviews and statements Hultén gave in France during Moderna Museet's laboratory period, before his nomination to the Centre Pompidou post. The records of these exchanges are among the most important sources for understanding the Information Center concept, not least because Hultén was explaining himself to an audience unfamiliar with the Swedish context. In the *Opus* interview, we recall, Hultén described his new vision of the museum as a response to the insufficiency of its prevalent role as a "*cour des miracles*", a sanctuary for "deviating" practices or otherwise "unadmissible" objects. Instead, he argued, the museum must "participate directly in the social phenomena of everyday life", which are "characterized by an accelerated concentration of information".[32] The model for this participation was the systems-like Circular Function diagram, with its four circles.

The Information Center model was, if not historically unique, then at least distinctly original in its attempt to confront the new condition of "accelerated information" at the level of the structure of the museum as a whole. There had of course been other, more or less utopian institutional experiments with new information technologies, such as the Fun Palace enterprise (which we have already discussed), or Paul Otlet's universal

library, Mundaneum, at the start of the century – but none of them took into account the specific functions of the museum. Similarly, in the late 1960s and early 1970s a series of noted exhibitions reflected on the possibilities and challenges of new media, such as the seminal *Cybernetic Serendipity* at the ICA in London, which Hultén visited in 1968, or the already mentioned *Information* at MoMA in 1970, or Jack Burnham's important *Software* at the Jewish Museum in New York that same year – but none of these projects addressed the issue at the level of the exhibitionary apparatus. What the Information Center model described – and more clearly so than the Kulturhuset proposal – was a museum conceived in its totality as a cybernetic system, which would fold the exterior of information flows and social forces into its interior, and channel them through its different departments and on through an extended network of media apparatuses. "Our theoretical model", Hultén stated,

> imagines a full communication in both directions, not just between the different concentric layers, but also between the world outside, the city, and the world inside, the museum. We must also imagine a permanent system of emissions between the different layers, not only inside the institution, but also with all institutions of the same sort, and with the organs of circulation and communication: written and oral press [*press écrite et parlé*]…[33]

Decisive in this conception of the museum as a processor and transmitter of information was the Moderna Museet group's choice not to exclusively emphasize dematerialized modes of circulation, ephemeral activities, or temporary exhibitions *at the expense* of the preservative function of the collection. Instead, their model was based on the organic interplay between interface and databank, between the social, creative, and transient activities of the center's reception, workshop, and exhibition layers, and the collection as a repository of objects "which bear witness to our manifestations […]: artworks, films, magnetic tapes…" "In my opinion", Hultén held, the "collection represents a necessary continuity." It "must remain, even if it poses problems of a practical order concerning the conservation of works which entail a historical responsibility".[34]

We of course recognize this idea: as far back as 1962 Hultén had talked of the combination of permanent collection and temporary exhibitions as ideal for a modern art museum.[35] But in 1971 we can also read this in relation to a specific debate, triggered in large part precisely by the dominant influence that Moderna Museet's dynamic program in the 1960s had

come to exert on Sweden's museum community. In 1970, a group of regional museum directors published a short, polemical book titled *The Museum of the 70s* (*70-talets museum*), which went against the main tenets of current Swedish museum policy, particularly as represented by the members of the MUS 65 inquiry. The book argued that the emphasis on temporary exhibitions in the period's policy documents and funding guidelines represented a misconception of the nature and the function of the museum institution. "It is not in the exhibition that we find the specificity of the museum", they maintained. What is "unique about the museum's public operation" is the "capacity of objects to give rise to concrete experiences". In serving this purpose, they argued, "the museum must start from its collections".[36] They therefore called for a general restoration of the museum's patrimonial and preservative functions, as against the tendency to prioritize travelling exhibitions, active culture centers, or auxiliary events. Such conservatism, they suggested, was critically motivated in modern society, where the "growing importance of mass media" and the "development of communications" created increased isolation and rootlessness, a "problem of contact" and fleeting attention.[37]

The Moderna Museet group's Information Center project responded to this argument by rejecting the dichotomy on which it was based. For a museum which accommodated new media, and whose patrimonial domain now included technically reproduced images and objects, there could be no strict opposition between the permanence of the collection and the ephemerality of the exhibition, between the durable materiality of the artwork and the virtuality of the passing event. As represented graphically perhaps most clearly in Pär Stolpe's early sketch, the Circular Function Model described a fluid continuity between the information capture layer and the memory core. Discussing the group's architectural plans in the *Opus* interview, Hultén correspondingly talked of a "free communication at all levels", which "facilitates an exchange of ideas at every instant".[38] In another key document, the "Exchange of Views of a Group of Experts" organized by UNESCO in Paris in 1969 and 1970, Hultén stated that "no museum can exist without a collection, i.e. a selective nucleus as a storehouse of information and a source of inspiration for future decisions". This, he underlined, is "an important consideration" for the notion of "the information center".[39]

In one respect, however, the Moderna Museet group agreed with the regional museum directors, although they inflected their argument. For the Moderna Museet group too, the "growing importance of mass media" called

into question the museum's traditional mode of operation, necessitating a structural adaptation of its functions and facilities to new means of production, distribution, and reception. But, the group held, in order to defend its integrity as the "content" of a new information environment – as Everett Ellin and McLuhan would have put it – the museum must also engage critically with the modes of social practice and experience imposed by those media, as they were currently organized. Conversely, a museum that managed to sustain its integrity at a new level of media integration could, on account of its specific modes of social experience and interaction, potentially exert a critical effect on the new environment. This two-way critical process was essential to the group's conception of the Information Center. In Stolpe's early sketch, the inscription of the word "analysis" between the capture, processing, and interface layers indicated to which extent the system as a whole was envisioned as an apparatus of critical reflection. And in the *Opus* interview, Hultén stated that the "museum of the future" will be a place of "communication, encounters, and transmission; it will be an instrument of reflection, a center of para-scientific research on current and future socio-cultural practices". It can only function, he said, "through a perpetual activity of research concerning the systems of critical analysis capable of permanently processing information".[40]

In a text written as a questionnaire response regarding Moderna Museet, commissioned by UNESCO in 1970 for publication alongside the "Exchange of Views of a Group of Experts", Öyvind Fahlström discussed the museum's new institutional vision, and related it back to Stolpe's *Pictures of Sweden 1969*. That exhibition, Fahlström wrote, was supposed to function "as a sort of information center", where there would be "incoming telex-materials from news agencies all over the world, as well as possibilities for the audience to study the patterns according to which Swedish mass media filtered this material". Inside the exhibition, "photos, film, and TV would present an image of Swedish society which was multi-facetted but highly critical".[41] Similarly, Fahlström explained, the future Moderna Museet's "information department" – the outer layer of the Circular Function Model, described in detail – should "capture […] unprocessed information, events and facts about the contemporary world (social-political-cultural)".

> They expect to equip this department so that ultimately it will be equal or even superior to the central newsroom of Swedish Television. (For example with resources to transmit video tapes through telephone.) This will be a unique central newsroom: the first in the world to be con-

structed without norms for how the material should be filtered and interpreted.

What will happen no one can know for sure. The museum imagines that ideally there would be a "permanent critical seminar" – which in turn, above raised awareness, could lead to initiatives such as protests against injustices, and/or publications, films or exhibitions.[42]

Fahlström's account of the future museum's critical setup is confirmed in various statements by both Hultén and Stolpe – and it is important to note to which extent, around 1970, their interests were aligned in this respect. In the *Opus* interview Hultén claimed that "the aim of all this is not to monopolize a certain category of information, but to multiply the sources of information".[43] Presenting Filialen in 1971, Stolpe, as we saw, stated that the ultimate aim of the project was to establish "a place where we meet to encounter different kinds of visual intentions", where we "discuss and take a position toward new images".[44] "Awareness is hampered because information is constantly distorted", Hultén elaborated in the "Exchange of Views of a Group of Experts". "All need information, and the question is what method should be used to obtain it?" Therefore, he explained, we "advocate the creation of a model system in the form of a vast experimental laboratory, which could stimulate and test every kind of information situation". "*Purpose*", he summarized: "Protection against predigested information. Resistance to monopolies."[45]

This critical conception placed the Moderna Museet group in a complex relationship to political authorities. On the one hand, their Information Center project was fully congruent with the new Swedish cultural policy which was under development during the same years. In its general objectives, discussed widely in the press at the time, the Swedish Arts Council established that the aim of cultural policy should be to "improve communication between different groups in society", "protect the freedom of expression", "safeguard the culture of previous ages and bring it to life", and "foster diversity and […] reduce or prevent the negative effects of the market economy".[46] As Stolpe noted in an interview in 1977, "the new cultural policy […] could be translated into our activities point by point".[47] The MUS 65 inquiry, in which Hultén was a member, was tasked with outlining museum policy directives in accordance with these objectives, and, as we have seen, it generally defended Moderna Museet's interests. On the other hand, as evidenced not least by the cancellation of *Pictures of Sweden 1969*, less progressive political officials were provoked by what they perceived as an increased politicization of the programs at publicly financed

cultural institutions, and therefore – somewhat paradoxically – urged for those institutions to be placed under more close political governance, for example through representation on executive boards. This contradiction, as we will see, was on full display in the debate triggered by a report from the Parliamentary Audit Office in 1971, which accused Moderna Museet of "repeatedly disseminating partial and extreme political propaganda".[48]

The most exhaustive reflection on this convoluted situation on the part of the Moderna Museet group can be found in the remarkable "Exchange of Views of a Group of Experts", which we have already quoted. This is an unusual and important document, which merits a brief philological excursus. On October 6 and 7, 1969, and on April 1, 1970, a group of eight prominent European museum professionals met in Paris on the invitation of UNESCO to discuss the "Problem of the museum of contemporary art in the West". Along with Hultén, the participants were all key figures in the small, closely knit network of European experimental art institutions. There was Pierre Gaudibert, a deputy curator at the Musée d'Art Moderne de la Ville de Paris, responsible for the creation of its contemporary department ARC (*Animation, Recherche, Confrontation*) in 1967. In 1971 he curated the exhibition *Alternative Suédoise*, a co-production with Moderna Museet, and he was a friend of Hultén's. There was Michael Kustow, director of the ICA in London between 1968 and 1970, also a friend of Hultén's, with whom he nurtured plans of future institutional innovation. There was Jean Leymarie, the director of the Musée National d'Art Moderne in Paris, which, it had recently been announced, was going to be incorporated into the new culture center to be established in the city's Beaubourg neighborhood. There was François Mathey, chief curator at the Musée des Arts Décoratifs in Paris, which had hosted the two Moderna Museet co-productions *Pentacle* and *Foultitude* (the French iteration of the exhibition *Masses*) in 1968. Mathey was the founding director of the CCI (Centre de Création Industrielle), and, together with Leymarie, a member of the team responsible for establishing the general brief for the future Beaubourg center, into which the CCI would also be incorporated. There was Georges Henri Rivière, a figure of authority in the French museum community, as founding director of the ethnological Musée National des Arts et des Traditions Populaires in Paris between 1937 and 1967, and first director of the International Council of Museums (ICOM). Rivière had once been a co-editor of the legendary magazine *Documents* together with Georges Bataille and Carl Einstein, and was now an editor of UNESCO's museological journal *Museum*. There was Harald Szeemann, who had just resigned from the directorship at the Kunsthalle

Bern after the controversies surrounding his seminal exhibition *When Attitudes Become Form* (1969), and who was now in the process of preparing *Documenta 5* in Kassel (1972). And finally there was Eduard de Wilde, who had succeeded Willem Sandberg as the director of the Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam, after Hultén had withdrawn his candidature for the same post.

The exchange between this group of amicable patriarchs seems to have been largely informal and spontaneous, veering in many directions. Assuming what must have been a laborious task, Harald Szeemann "wrote an account based on the taped discussions", which was then sent back to the members of the group, who "made their reservations known", and a collective text was established, with little regard for coherence or logical consistency, which was published in the journal *Museum* in 1972.[49] Presented as a "discussion on a crisis, or rather on the beginning of a functional and structural re-evaluation", the text grapples with how the institution of the museum could adequately adapt to the social, artistic, and technological upheavals of the 1960s.[50] It covers a wide range of topics, from the museum's mutating relationship to a new, active audience, and the changing production methods of artists, to the transformations of the art market, and the new functions of museum architecture. Notable in the text is the absence of any acknowledgment of the period's increasingly vocal feminist and civil rights movements – remarkable, considering the recent events in France, and that the participants (not least Hultén, who was directly implicated) must all have been aware of the debates instigated by the Art Workers' Coalition and associated groups in the US at the time.

In spite of the lack of indications, it appears evident from a close reading that Hultén was an authoritative voice during the deliberations. Indeed, the French museologist Dominique Poulot refers to the text – which has the status of a classic in French museum studies – as "Pontus Hultén's famous article".[51] It is not implausible that Hultén brought the most elaborate considerations regarding the structure and functions of a future museum to the discussions, seeing as he had been forced to methodically develop and articulate his ideas in relation to several major institutional projects over the course of the past decade. In any case, a full section of the text is devoted to the Moderna Museet group's notion of the Information Center, featuring a detailed presentation of the Circular Function Model;[52] and Hultén's interventions regarding several related topics, such as the status and continued importance of the collection, are clearly identifiable. Meanwhile, other segments of the text, which are not as evidently attributable, remain

relevant for our understanding of the Moderna Museet group's project, since Hultén himself was undoubtedly receptive to his colleagues' ideas.

In the discussions, the participants returned repeatedly to the questions of the museum's relationship to authorities, and of the institution's social logic in general. The text opens by laying out – in almost Adornian terms – the paradoxical role of the contemporary art museum, as a site that should at once shelter art, and socially mediate its critical principle. The "inner contradiction in the role of the museum – that it is the epitome of the system, but at the same time relatively free to criticize it – is important for the museum of today and for its immediate future". "The museum", the interlocutors developed, "can only function towards promoting artistic interests provided it is outside the restraints of society. Because it is none the less subject to the rules of society, it falls into a position of conflict".[53]

How should the art museum address this conflict? The general ideal, the participants seemed to agree, was that the freedom embodied by the artist should be extended to society at large. But in order for the "creative, 'classless' society", which is "the theme of artistic activity today", to "become a reality", a fundamental "transformation of our relationships with artists" would be necessary. And such a transformation, the interlocutors held, could potentially jeopardize the museum's function as a sanctuary for art's freedom, "because society does not yet offer any alternative means of giving everyone the opportunity of feeling and behaving like an artist". "We should like all shepherdesses to be capable of becoming princesses", the museum directors generously wrote. But since "[a]t the present time" this remains "the words of a fairy tale", they concluded that "only the mid-dlem[e]n" – that is, themselves, as representatives of the mediating institution of the museum – had "the power to fulfill the dream of unison between the creative individual and society".[54]

The participants suggested different models for how the museum should further promote such a "unison", not evidently consistent with one another. "The museum of the future might take the form of new activities planned on ideological lines", they wrote, vaguely. "To begin with, it should be recognized that the adventure which is art is moving further and further away from the function of a community monument or a collection, which must be classified with the art of the past almost as soon as it takes shape" – an argument, we can note, which was directly at odds with Hultén's belief in the importance of a "living" collection.[55] But since "there is no denying the fact that our institutions are subsidized by the municipality or by the State", and "[m]useums, therefore, have their place in society, whether we like it or

not", the "ideological lines" of art's adventure should not "provide the pretext" for a "swing to the extreme left", that is, presumably, to a social activism irreconcilable with the state and the institutions it supports.[56] Instead, the museum should shield the freedom of the artist from the demands of society, while minimizing the authority it itself imposed as an agent of society. "The positive conclusion which we are left with", the interlocutors stated, "can be formulated as follows: a new vision and intimations of a classless way of life, free from the measurable value principle, can only find expression nowadays in the work of eccentric outsiders".[57]

Against this model the Information Center concept was set in sharp contrast, pushing the text toward manifest contradiction. For the Moderna Museet group, as we have seen, the notion that the museum should sign a minimal contract with society so as to protect its own status as a shelter for "eccentric outsiders" – that is, again, as a *cour des miracles* – was decidedly insufficient for thinking how an exhibitionary apparatus could be integrated in, and act upon, society's network of forces. Accordingly, the "Exchange of Views of a Group of Experts" also proposed that the museum should be seen as "a transmitting center" or "a television broadcasting station",[58] and, it continued, that it should "enjoy the [same] respect granted, for example, to scientific institutes on which society passes no value judgements".[59] "We should like support for the sake of what we do", the text went on, "and not for our services in promoting the cultural prestige of our backers".[60] So, on this account the museum would appropriate features from the mass media system and from institutions of research, and perform a utilitarian function whose merits would not be measured against art's value as an instrument of social distinction (its "sign exchange value", to borrow Baudrillard's concept). Although no open disagreements are recorded in the exchange, it seems clear that this model is inconsistent with the new corporate funding and "art-based marketing" agreements pioneered by Szeemann's *When Attitudes Become Form* in the spring of 1969.[61] Instead, while "authorities and society" would still inevitably regard the museum as a "subversive force", they should also recognize, the interlocutors stated, that "we conscientiously discharge our duties, i.e. cultivation of awareness, education of visitors, provision of information, and the development of sensibility".[62]

The "Exchange of Views of a Group of Experts" therefore allows us to discern two opposed models for the social logic of the exhibitionary apparatus. On the one hand, there is a model where that apparatus limits its claims to social function in exchange for a sustained existence as a sanctuary for

"eccentric outsiders", consistent with a mode of operation disconnected from the classical patrimonial and educational functions of the museum, and associated with an emerging paradigm of funding by monetizing art's social prestige through marketing and sponsorship arrangements. This model, we might note, corresponds to a shift in the production methods in the exhibition field toward increased "curatorial" independence and mobility, of which Szeemann was an early and emblematic representative.[63] And accordingly, Szeemann was skeptical of Hultén's vision of the future museum. "I find Pontus Hultén's theoretical scheme interesting", he stated in an interview in 1972, with reference to the Information Center model, "but it is an abstract construction, which to me appears incompatible with the demands of the artworks and the mentality of artists. I believe that all attempts to transform the museum into a factory of information are doomed to fail, because one would necessarily have to degrade people by giving them tasks and roles". "The artwork", he maintained, "results from the engagement of one single individual".[64]

On the other hand, we can identify a model where the exhibitionary apparatus seeks to extend its function as a social mediator of art's freedom through critical integration with mass media circuits, dependent on an economic system which recognizes art's social effects rather than its prestige value. This model corresponds to the Moderna Museet group's notion of the museum as a laboratory for "para-scientific research" on alternative "information situations" and new modes of sensibility and community, aligned with a general social program expressed at the level of state cultural policy. This, of course, was the model that the Moderna Museet group was, during that same moment, attempting to realize at Skeppsholmen – and not only with respect to the museum's structure and organization, but also in the practice of exhibition-making.

8.
Information in Practice

8.1 Art of the People

In the expression "*auteur* politics", the word "*auteur*" has usually been emphasized, whereas the important word was "politics".

Jean-Luc Godard

In August 1968, Jean-Luc Godard visited Sweden to participate in a series of public seminars regarding the possible uses of cinema for the new social movements. At the ABF in Stockholm, what had been announced as a screening of films from the May and June revolts in France, with following discussions, instead turned into a two-day workshop in "film tract" production, during which several artists and activists associated with the Moderna Museet group were present, among them Tommy Tommie, a member of the Bildaktivisterna collective.[1]

"Film tracts" were short, unsigned films, usually the length of one standard 16mm film reel (about three minutes), shot with light-weight portable cameras. They were generally edited inside the camera itself at the moment of filming, and mostly consisted of still images and interspersed text frames, with no sound. Their formal qualities were decided by pragmatic concerns: they were cheap and quick to produce, should be simple to circulate, and were designed for immediate screening and discussion. They had limited critical ambitions beyond the current moment, and their topics were often specific to local issues and debates. The genre had been created during the May protests in Paris – reportedly the idea came from Chris Marker – and had swiftly been taken up by a heterogeneous group of film-makers, including Godard, Philippe Garrel, Jean-Pierre Gorin, and many

others. In total, a couple of dozen films were produced under the "film tract" heading.[2]

During the two-day workshop in Stockholm, Godard apparently kept a low profile. He supplied the raw film and provided practical advice, but did not interfere with the filmmaking process. The Swedish participants chose to devote their tract to a debate concerning a proposed reform of university admission regulations, known as UKAS. Using the film tract technique, they shot a reel showing themselves brandishing informative text plates, holding them up in front of their faces so as to guard their anonymity. Something went wrong, however, and in the developed film the texts were illegible. Although the experiment was "undoubtable proof" of the technique's inexpensiveness, the first Swedish film tract was a failure.[3] "I hope [it] will be forgotten", commented one of the participants.[4]

For Godard, the "film tract" endeavor, although short-lived, was an important experience. It impelled him to expand the critical scope of his practice toward film's conditions of production, distribution, and reception – toward all aspects of what Jean-Louis Baudry called the "basic cinematic apparatus".[5] "It permits us to rethink cinema at a very simple and very concrete level", Godard stated in an interview in 1969. Our interest "is less in distribution than in production. There is a local value in working and discussing together. It allows us to move forward. And then the distribution can take place in apartments, in meetings. We can exchange films with other, neighboring action committees".[6] Although Godard would soon abandon such idealistic notions of popular cinematic activism, and, from around 1973, gradually distance himself from the militant, Maoist language he had adopted, this turn away from the traditional circuits of the modern film industry was decisive in Godard's practice, and has informed his "shapeshifting" relationship to the mutating complex of late twentieth (and twenty-first) century media ever since.[7]

The "film tract" experiments must have resonated with the Bildaktivisterna group, as well as with the members of the recently constituted, radical film organization The Film Center (*FilmCentrum*), who also participated in the workshops at ABF.[8] During 1968, they had been engaged in the development of similar, or at least directly relatable, mobile and versatile modes of film and exhibition practice. What the Bildaktivisterna group called "pocket exhibitions" were cheaply and quickly produced display systems, consisting of simple, foldable cardboard screens or panels, on which montages of photographs and texts were arranged.[9] They could be easily transported, and swiftly and effortlessly installed – hung on walls, placed

freely on floors, or mounted on other supports – in any kind of space: indoors or outdoors, in apartments or on city squares. The screens were generally prepared in direct connection to political events, either in order to function as information tools in ongoing manifestations, or in order to facilitate discussion and debate in the immediate aftermath of incidents or conflicts. Their contents, correspondingly, were either thematically related to the issues under contestation, or consisted of documentation from recently occurred events or interventions, so as to provide counter-narratives to official or mainstream media reports. Just as the "film tracts" of Godard and his colleagues, the "pocket exhibitions" allowed the Bildaktivisterna group to control the full cycle of production and distribution.

Right before his trip to Stockholm, Godard, together with William Lubtchansky, had shot the raw footage for A Film Like Any Other (Un film comme les autres, 1968), a stylistically unforgiving film, consisting mainly of an hour-long sequence of oblique shots of a discussion between student protesters and workers in a field, repeated twice with different soundtracks. This would become the earliest work signed by the collective known as the Dziga Vertov Group. With the Dziga Vertov Group, Godard and his closest collaborator, Jean-Pierre Gorin, aimed to methodically and critically develop a political film practice that would encompass all aspects of the cinematic production process, surpassing what they had now come to perceive as the insufficiently reflected "film tract" venture. As film scholar David Faroult has pointed out, the choice of the Dziga Vertov moniker served to set the filmmakers apart from the simplistic, spontaneist notions of a "popular" cinematic practice that had informed the earlier project. Instead, it signaled their ambition to situate their work in a tradition of formal artistic as well as political experimentation.[10]

Claiming Vertov's name, in this respect, meant above all two things. First, it signified, as Faroult argues, to accord critical primacy to the film's montage over its elements, to the relationships between images over the images themselves.[11] The isolated, "unique" images diffused through mass media, Godard claimed, necessarily represented partial, distorted, "imaginary" views of reality. Only the relationships between images were "real", that is, could adequately display the complex, contradictory process of reality. The task of political filmmaking was therefore to "establish such relationships politically, […] in order to politically resolve a problem".[12] Vertov here stood for the ideal of a new mode of cinematic vision – Kino-Glaz, the "cinema-eye" – which, using the full range of film's technical resources, could serve as an instrument for grasping and proposing a political resolution of the con-

traditions of modern society. As Annette Michelson has written, through the political art of montage, Vertov sought to "annul" the fragmentation of the common world, turning the film's community of images into the "formal instantiation of a general community".[13]

Second, Vertov was also the filmmaker for whom the critical principle of montage was extended to all dimensions of the cinematic apparatus – for whom, as he wrote, the film "is subject to montage from the moment the theme is chosen until the film's release in its completed form".[14] This "unity", where a "just" mode of distribution would derive from a "just" method of production, was, Godard stated, Vertov's "most important" lesson.[15] As Godard wrote in a well-known text in 1970, the task of cinema was not only to "make political films", but to "make films politically". To do the first, he elaborated, "is to make *British Sounds*" (a 1969 film signed by the Dziga Vertov Group). To do the second "is to struggle for the showing of *British Sounds* on English television", that is, to channel it through other, possibly more "popular" media conduits.[16] Accordingly, the Dziga Vertov Group largely withdrew from the film industry's production and distribution circuits, in favor of arrangements with various European television networks – all of which, however, refused to broadcast the films they had commissioned.

The Dziga Vertov Group's critical approach to the "basic cinematic apparatus" therefore led them to engage with the exhibitionary apparatus. In February 1970, the two films *British Sounds* and *Pravda* (1969) premiered at Pierre Gaudibert's ARC department at the Musée d'Art Moderne de la Ville de Paris.[17] While the group's presence in the museum was to some extent circumstantial, and not essentially different from previous museum or gallery screenings of Godard's work – such as the twelve-hour retrospective at Moderna Museet in March 1968 – it is nevertheless tempting to read this convergence as indicative of a wider mutation in the complex of late twentieth-century media, affecting the "basic cinematic apparatus" as well as the exhibitionary apparatus, and demanding that new critical models of practice be developed beyond their increasingly arbitrary separation.

It is in such a widened context that we can also situate the exhibition experiments of the Bildaktivisterna group. Throughout their brief existence, the group had consistently argued that they were not exclusively a collective of photographers or artists, but that they worked "with the means of expression which is the most effective in a given situation", such as "image (not necessarily photographic), sound, text or film, by themselves or in

combination".[18] As Jonas (J) Magnusson has put it, the Bildaktivisterna group deployed a full-scaled "information system", incorporating different media, and assuming responsibility for all aspects of the apparatus of production, distribution, and reception.[19] In 1971, the group disbanded – mostly, it seems, because it had relied on a fragile model of spontaneous self-organization. But as the members dispersed, the group's modes of operation were, in several respects, appropriated and systematized within the framework of Moderna Museet's Information Center project, where they came to inform above all the work at Pär Stolpe's department for experiments with new visual media, Filialen, extending the collaboration that had begun with *Pictures of Sweden 1969*.

8.2 The Community of Images

We are dwelling here on Godard's Stockholm visit, and on the Dziga Vertov Group venture, not in order to exaggerate their tenuous causal connections to the activities of the Moderna Museet group, or the parallels between the historical trajectories of the French film collective and the Bildaktivisterna group, but because this nexus of affiliations provides a useful vantage point from which to consider the Moderna Museet group's exhibition practices during the museum's laboratory years. Throughout their period of existence between 1968 and 1973, the Dziga Vertov Group grappled with a number of problems and themes that the members of the Moderna Museet group were also forced to confront in the same years, as they were experimenting with their exhibition program, "suggesting, researching, and trying out […] new forms of activity" in preparation of the full realization of the Information Center on Skeppsholmen.[20]

Such points of intersection included (a) the search to reclaim elements of the artistic and political legacy of the early Soviet avant-garde, as a way of addressing the complications of promoting an "art of the people", and of seeking to reconcile art's socially transformative ambitions with its institutionalization within political and economic structures. For the Moderna Museet group, this entailed above all to seize upon the qualities of what has been called the "transitional objects" of "laboratory constructivism", which suggested other models for thinking art's integration in production systems and media conduits. Common to the Information Center project and the endeavors of the film collectives, was also (b) the search for egalitarian production methods, founded in an attempt to defetishize and materially redefine the artwork. At Moderna Museet, this was indicated by the shift from referring to artworks, paintings, photographs, or films, to using the more general, and supposedly more democratic, "images" [bilder]. It was around the understanding of the ramifications of such a shift that the relationship, and then the conflict, between the experimental space Filialen, and Moderna Museet's main department, were delineated. Furthermore, central to the Information Center project was also (c) the effort to devise a display format – an exhibitionary art of the montage – adequate to new technologies of production and distribution, and capable of accounting for contemporary social antagonisms. And such a format should (d) invite new modes of social agency and subjectification: of authorship, spectatorship, and community. Here, the display system employed by members of the Moderna Museet group can be related to models for "pattern-seeing"

theorized by postwar cyberneticians, as well as to the critical, documentary montage techniques practiced by the period's activist movements and collectives.

a) Transitional Environments

"This is the second part of Moderna Museet's series: 'From cubism to society as art'. The first part was the presentation of Vladimir Tatlin's work which was shown in the summer of 1968", Hultén writes in the preface to the catalogue for *Poetry Must Be Made By All! Transform the World!*, shown at Moderna Museet between November 15 and December 21, 1969.[21] In many ways this can be seen as the exhibition that inaugurated the museum's laboratory phase, as the Kulturhuset collapse was coming to appear increasingly inevitable.

If *Poetry Must Be Made By All! Transform the World!* was a sequel to the Tatlin exhibition, however, it nevertheless diverged from its precursor in decisive respects. The homemade Tatlin show, we recall, announced the Moderna Museet group's ambition to engage politically with the technical definition of the exhibited object, through its exclusive reliance on documents and reproductions. But in terms of the arrangement it proposed, that exhibition had remained faithful to traditional display conventions: enlarged photographs and documents were hung separately on the walls, reproduced objects were presented as sculptures on pedestals, there were no specific amenities for audience interaction, and so on. *Poetry Must Be Made By All! Transform the World!* – from which, it should be noted, poetry was largely absent – considerably radicalized the group's attempt to devise an exhibition form suited to the new status of the object and new modes of spectatorship.

The exhibition, according to the organizers' own description, consisted of five main elements. First, there was a series of twenty-four aluminum screens on which were mounted in total 230 photographs, with captions and informative texts on attached plates. As "supplements" there was also a small number of objects: reconstructions of constructivist and Surrealist objects, as well as a mask borrowed from an ethnographic museum. Second, there was the catalogue, which reproduced most of the photographs from the exhibition alongside an anthology of quotes and short articles, and which was presented as constitutive to the exhibition, rather than as an accessory. Third, there was the "fourth wall" (possibly the organizers were unaware of the concept's theatrical connotations): an empty wall, or "tabula rasa" on which visitors could write, hang posters, mount photographs, post

invitations, etc. Fourth, there was a "Book Café", where books and magazines were for sale, "mostly Marxist, socialist and anarchist literature". And fifth, there was a program of seminars on topics related to the exhibition's themes, as well as more loosely connected screenings, performances, concerts, and meetings by political groups and activist arts collectives, such as Bildaktivisterna, who presented their work at the museum in December 1969.[22]

As is evident from this list the exhibition sought to abide by the Lautréamont quote in its title (which, as we have seen, Hultén had cited as early as 1962), emphasizing the ideal of participation and co-creation: visitors were invited to contribute, exchange, intervene. At the same time, the exhibition invoked a range of historical references regarding the integration of artistic practices in everyday life and in industrial production, affiliating the audience's activities with a tradition of avant-garde experimentation. The screens and the reproduced objects were installed with small interstices on and along the walls of the exhibition space, establishing an enveloping setting within which the public events could take place. In accordance with the ideal of database-interface interaction essential to the Information Center model, the exhibition's spatial constellation of historical signs served as the environment for its transitive, necessarily interactive "event of reception", to refer to Jean Davallon's concept, mediating the activities the visitors were invited to engage in.[23] In this way, the exhibition's arrangement was inconsistent with the notion of immediate, popular modes of audience interaction, of the kind that still informed the "film tract" endeavors, and the Bildaktivisterna group's "pocket exhibition" experiments.

Of the twenty-four photo-screens in the exhibition, fifteen were devoted to Russian suprematist and constructivist experiments. The exhibition, the curator Ronald Hunt wrote in his catalogue introduction, wanted to "document the reactions of artists" to the "revolutionary state" of a "*non-hierarchical – classless society*". "In Russia, when the Revolution was *young*", he explained, "poetry had manifested itself there – on the streets".[24] In a recollecting text from 2010, Hunt elaborated that the exhibition "attempted to bring to light that *prefiguration* of the supersession of art" which had been "hinted at by the 20s avant-gardes".[25] According to Hunt, then, the exhibition's proposal had adhered to the familiar avant-garde dialectics of the death or transcendence of art, and the concomitant realization of a resolved, classless society. And since that supersession had never been fully achieved, what the exhibition had shown was in fact the tragic traces of a

failed revolutionary dream – it had, Hunt reflected, "point[ed] to a site where hope has flowered" – but now "recuperated" in the very institutional spaces it had sought to abolish.[26]

However, many of the constructivist references included in the show seemed to suggest another model for thinking art's social logic. The ultimate aim of the constructivists' "laboratory period" experiments – to which two screens were devoted, headlined "From fine art to design" – was, as we know, the destruction of art, through full integration in industrial production.[27] But what was emphasized in the presentation of those experiments at *Poetry Must Be Made by All! Transform the World!* was instead their "transitional" status. "The Obmokhu exhibition", one text plate read, referring to an important "laboratory" display of constructivist structures in 1921, "represents a transitional phase between painting and design". "It is […] remembered as an exhibition of 'new sculpture'", and yet many "of the exhibitors (among them Rodchenko), were to move to design".[28]

As recent art historical research has shown – most importantly Christina Kiaer's study of the "socialist objects of Russian constructivism" – the "transitional" phase of "laboratory constructivism" did not necessarily end with a tragically failed shift into productivism, as has often been held.[29] Instead, it was extended across the fluid, unsettled period in post-revolutionary Russia known as the "New Economic Policy", when a semi-capitalist economy was allowed so as to facilitate the shaping of a new socialist society out of the country's only partially modernized, war-ravaged social structures. As Kiaer shows, the "transitional objects" that emerged from this period – some of which were referenced in *Poetry Must Be Made By All! Transform the World!* – were constructed to serve as agents for the development of new modes of subjectivity and exchange under these transitional conditions.[30] Rather than fantastic, premonitory – and, in retrospect, unavoidably tragic – visions of the sublation of art and life into a new synthesis, they suggested alternative models for art's social institutionalization, through various modes of integration in production cycles, distribution circuits, and media networks.

It is in such a more open, "transitional" context, it appears, that we may understand *Poetry Must Be Made by All! Transform the World!*, and by extension the Moderna Museet group's ambitions during the institution's own "laboratory years". Here, Vertov's film practice, which applied the critical principle of montage to all levels of the cinematic apparatus – "from the moment the theme is chosen until the film's release in its completed

form", as he said – was a key reference, and one of the exhibition's screens was devoted to Vertov's *Kino-Glaz* movement, describing how, for the filmmaker, "montaging" could show a "new dynamic type" of "transformed" everyday life.[31] Other examples in the exhibition of constructivist experiments with mass media conduits, included the "living newspaper" movement, where travelling art collectives staged news items in more or less improvised theatrical performances, as a sort of "dramatized montage" of "political events" and "facts of everyday life";[32] or the "agit trains" which, among other things, travelled with a mobile film studio across the country, allowing workers and inhabitants in distant villages to shoot films of their own everyday life, and then watch and discuss them together the same evening.[33] And Tatlin's tower was once again on display at the museum, now in the shape of a smaller, preliminary model, accompanied by two screens of documentation of his early reliefs and his later, utilitarian constructivist objects, as well as a reconstruction of his imaginative "air-bicycle", the *Letatlin* (1931). Of course, the *Monument to the Third International* was to some extent a utopian project, with its ambitions of colossal scale, its modern materials, and its impracticable mechanics, but as we have seen the structure also served as a model for a reconfigured relationship between social forces, mass information technologies, and institutions of political governance, which were supposed to inform one another in an integrated, revolutionary media apparatus.[34]

A similar preoccupation with attempts to devise alternative models for art's social institutionalization was apparent in the section devoted to the Paris Commune in Moderna Museet's exhibition *Utopias and Visions 1871–1981*, in 1971. The emphasis here was not on the Commune's quasi-utopian legacy as a tragic, heroic prefiguration of the realized communist society – the function it still served in official communist historiography at the time – but on how the city's everyday life was practically modified and redrawn during the short, prematurely interrupted "transitional" period of its storied seventy-two days. The exhibition's didactic, period-style outdoor display – with life-sized, cut-out figures resembling Communard soldiers and workers installed in a makeshift manner among the bushes and old buildings around Moderna Museet, accompanied by photographs and informative texts – focused on the reorganization of news media, the tentative workplace reforms, the public cultural manifestations, and the radical changes to the educational system during the Commune. As presented here, art's integration in everyday life was not the effect of a "great, all-cleansing flood that [upsets] society to its core", as Peter

Kropotkin was quoted as stating in the catalogue, but belonged to the less dramatic history of a provisional, experimental reconfiguration of the complex of social institutions and media apparatuses.[35]

At some point concurrently with the preparations for the Communard display in 1971, the Moderna Museet group, it appears, had plans to appropriate an old, empty military building on Skeppsholmen, known as the "torpedo workshop", and put it to use as some sort of institute for media research – either specifically as a part of the *Utopias and Visions* exhibition, or more generally as a component of the museum's reorganization project.[36] The name of the annex would have been "Torpedo: the Institute for Special Studies at Moderna Museet (Vhuchemas)".[37] It is unclear whether "Vhuchemas" was supposed to be an acronym for something, but there can be no doubt that it alluded to VKhUTEMAS, the legendary art school in Moscow where several of the leading constructivist artists taught during the 1920s. The Torpedo-"Vhuchemas" institute was not realized in 1971, in all likelihood because Pär Stolpe's Filialen was set up to serve a similar function, but the project testifies to the connection that the Moderna Museet group perceived between their brief reflection on the Paris Commune, their recurring interest in the "transitional" period of Russian constructivism, and their Information Center plans.[38]

b) From Work to Image

Between 1971 and 1973, the Moderna Museet group produced six exhibitions with the word "images" in their titles: *People's Images* (1971), *Images of the 1910s* (1972), *Images of the Archipelago* (1972), *Advertising – A Distorted Image of Society* (1972), *The Image-Subject in School* (1973), and *Visible and Invisible: the New Images of Science* (1973). To varying degrees, these exhibitions eschewed "traditional" artworks in favor of "homemade" technical reproductions – photocopies, prints, documents, reconstructions – in accordance with the model from the Tatlin show and *Poetry Must Be Made by All! Transform the World!*. Four of them took place at Stolpe's Filialen, which, as we have seen, was expressly defined as "a forum for the capture, documentation, and discussion of the significance of contemporary images", and where the majority of exhibitions were produced using similar techniques. Considering Filialen's central role in the Moderna Museet group's reorganization plans, the shift from "work" to "image" can be seen as paradigmatic for the Information Center project in general.

What was at stake in this shift? To talk of "images" rather than paintings, photographs, sculptures or, more generally, artworks, was of course meant

to announce an ambition, on the part of the Moderna Museet group, to address a wider sphere of mass media and visual culture, beyond the forms and genres traditionally channeled through institutions of "fine arts". It was congruous with their efforts both to adapt their program to new technologies of visual production and dissemination, and to appeal to a more "popular" audience, beyond the social strata which had historically constituted the museum's demographic. It signaled the group's wish to align the exhibitionary apparatus with the democratization of the means of cultural production – with the new availability of low-cost photo, video, and copying equipment, and so on – so as to facilitate new, equally popular modes of spectatorship.[39]

Emblematic of this attempt was *People's Images* (*Folks bilder*) in 1971, one of the early, programmatic exhibitions at Filialen, which pushed the notion of audience participation toward its limit. Announcing the exhibition, the curators Pär Stolpe and Carin Guyho published an open invitation, asking the public to

> send in your images, as soon as possible – just as they are – images by, about and for the Swedish people. You are welcome to make texts to the images. Send new ones and old ones, in black-and-white or color, slides or moving images, all sorts. But attention! No professional images.[40]

The museum received "about one thousand" contributions, which were all exhibited, accompanied by a program of public activities, including several open sessions where participants were invited to present and discuss their own images.[41] Although the exhibition was an audience success – images kept flowing in during the exhibition period, which was extended – it was not a unanimous critical triumph. As one commentator noted, the "amateur camera is a good thing, but it is used for documenting vacations […] – not for discovering or revealing reality".[42]

Remarkable about *People's Images* was its apparent formal simplicity in relation to other exhibitions organized by the Moderna Museet group during the same years. Essentially, it was like the "fourth wall" of *Poetry Must Be Made By All! Transform the World!*, but without the three other walls, which had established an environment of historical signs through which the public contributions were mediated. Or, to take another example, it resembled the participatory elements of Stolpe's *Pictures of Sweden 1969*, but without the surrounding critical arrangement: without the Bild-aktivisterna collective's documentation of Swedish labor conditions, or the

juxtapositions with corporate imagery, and so on. Indeed, it seemed to subscribe to a relatively straightforward faith in Enzensberger's claim about the egalitarian structure of new media.

Describing *People's Images* in 1974, Stolpe approvingly quoted a review of the exhibition which had referred to the "growing distance" between "the so-called artistic image" – the kind normally shown in museums, that is – and "the images most people come into contact with on a daily basis", supposedly through mass media or new devices for consumer use.[43] The argument, in so many words, was that artworks were elitist, whereas images were popular – and what *People's Images* had attempted to establish was nothing less than "a photo album for the whole Swedish people".[44] Of course, the terms of this opposition, between a popular image and an elitist artwork, were irreconcilable with the general ideals informing the Information Center project, which was predicated on the faith in fusing artistic practices with new media, and in establishing an organic interplay between the experimental tradition of the twentieth-century avant-garde, and current social and cultural activities.[45]

How should we understand Filialen's position in this context? On the one hand, by framing *People's Images* as a "popular" exhibition directed against "the so-called artistic image" – that is, by implication, against the legacy of avant-garde art, as represented in Moderna Museet's collection – the curators seemed to dismiss any notion of a productive relationship between collection and exhibition, between databank and interface, suggesting instead that artworks were critically compromised by virtue of their mere association with the museum.[46] This was an antagonistic position, and there is no doubt that, during its two and a half years of existence, Filialen's relationship to its parent institution became increasingly conflicted. In a text from 1974, after the shutdown of the space, Stolpe bitterly argued that Moderna Museet's exhibition program during the 1960s had been a "giant fraud", exclusively concerned with "stuff from the cultural hegemony Stockholm-Paris-New York", and characterized by a "paternalistic attitude toward the audience".[47] Derkert and Hultén reciprocated, stating that Stolpe's project had been "hostile" to "art" and "culture": Filialen had privileged a vacuous "mass culture", and it "fell, not only because of its limited economy [but] also because it denied fantasy, poetry, the subconscious".[48]

This polarization, which, as we will see, was fully developed by the time of the "New York Collection" debate, may perhaps help us understand why Stolpe and the network around Filialen never seem to have paid any

attention to the practices of contemporary Systems or Conceptual artists, who had comparable ambitions to devise critical exhibition and distribution models adequate to new communication technologies – practices of which at least Hultén was undoubtedly aware. In fact, the disconnect here is noteworthy: Filialen's program of exhibitions and activities, which ran between March 1971 and July 1973, did not, it appears, have any points of contact with relatable, often highly mediatized attempts at disclosing the economic underpinnings of the museum institution, and the "elitist" class demarcations of its audiences, such as Hans Haacke's sociological works from the early 1970s, or at redefining the exhibition in relation to new "non-object" practices and reproduction techniques, such as Lucy Lippard's "suitcase" exhibitions, the "Numbers Shows", which toured America and Europe during the same period.[49]

On the other hand, we should keep in mind that Filialen was conceived as a component of a larger apparatus: the museum as a whole. While the space may have featured projects that, in themselves, seemed to disregard from or even reject the museum's commitment to the avant-garde legacy, as an element of the Information Center project Filialen served as a complement to the other departments, an additional "layer" of activities addressing a wider field of visual output. In the spring of 1971, for example, *People's Images* was programmed to run alongside two arguably more "avant-garde" exhibitions in the main spaces: a monographic show of the Swiss "concrete" artist Richard Paul Lohse's abstract, modular paintings, and Swedish artist Björn Lövin's eccentric, fullscale environment, *Mr. P's Coins: Consumer in Infinity* (*Herr P:s penningar: konsument i oändligheten*).[50]

More generally, Filialen's program in many respects corresponded to the descriptions of the "Square" in the Kulturhuset proposal, or of the "Information Department" in the Information Center model: a space of "data capture" and social activities, where information flows were intercepted and critically scrutinized, and public events and exhibitions could be realized with short notice. The intention from the outset had been that Filialen should operate as an integrated rather than isolated initiative, and at least in an early phase there was a working interchange between Filialen and its parent institution. An exhibition such as the ambitious *Images of the 1910s*, curated by among others Carlo Derkert and Katja Waldén, and held in Moderna Museet's main building in the spring of 1972, employed the display format and the wide outlook on visual culture characteristic of Filialen's exhibitions, but did so partly in order to con-

textualize differently early Swedish modernist painting, a theme which would in all likelihood have fallen outside of Filialen's scope.[51]

Perceived in this way, as a complement to the output of the main departments, Filialen was an important critical corrective to Moderna Museet's program, in the shape it had come to assume during the institution's one and a half decades of existence, and as it was presently conducted. While *People's Images* seemed to signal a problematic faith in the inherently emancipatory potentials of new, "popular" media technologies – and, more generally, in the very existence of a "popular" social subject, which could be represented in an exhibition – Filialen's "anti-elitist" pledge to display images rather than merely artworks also entailed a critical attention to the social and economic structure of the complex of mass media, and to how changing patterns of media use shaped new modes of subjectivity.

The exhibition *Advertising – A Distorted Image of Society* (*Reklam – en förvanskad bild av samhället*), to take a characteristic example, set out to examine the social function of both commercial imagery and "official" information, and, in the words of the curators – a new left collective called the Young Philosophers' Mass Media Group (*Unga filosofers massmedia-grupp*) – "to reveal the lies, show the truths hidden behind the beautiful images, the seductive texts, and the false ideology of advertising".[52] The exhibition's arrangement was accordingly unambiguous, juxtaposing ads of different provenance – from the car and pharmaceutical industries, to the recently founded "Social Information Authority" (*Nämnden för Samhälls-information*), tasked with coordinating the information from different Swedish government departments and agencies – with texts highlighting false or tendentious claims, statistics revealing exaggerations or misrepresentations, and counter-images or documents recontextualizing biased messages. The arrangements were mounted on white cardboard screens, on which visitors were also invited to write comments or pose questions.

More importantly, it was at Filialen that the feminist collective Group 8 organized the exhibition *Women*, marking the first time gender politics was addressed at Moderna Museet. The exhibition employed the documentary montage technique that had become the standard at Filialen, with texts, images, and statistical data arranged on screens distributed across the space. Using newspaper cut-outs, pedagogical drawings and paintings, and an array of quotes and slogans, the display addressed "the position of women in production and reproduction", that is, their exploitation as wage laborers, as mothers and domestic workers, and as "sex-objects" in the pornographic and beauty industries.[53] The screens were accompanied by

various objects, such as mannequins dressed up as "wage-slaves" or pin-up girls, a nuclear-family dollhouse, a gynecological chair, male and female contraceptives, and tampons and pads – all installed for "emotional impact", even shock. One of the pillars inside the Filialen exhibition space was refashioned as a "modern-time caryatid", metaphorically "holding up the edifice of society".[54] Alongside this informative and polemical material, the exhibition featured screens reflecting on the prevalent modes of representing women in classical and modern visual arts – that is, women as they had historically been, and continued to be, figured within the institution of the museum. "Man has formed two images of the woman in art, one for his own pleasure, the other as her example", a text frame announced in all capitals, as a small atlas of images and quotes traced a sinuous line from the motif of the *Madonna of Humility* in Renaissance painting, and the voluptuous female bodies of the Rococo, to the subservient, exposed women of contemporary "men's magazines", and Niki de Saint Phalle's accommodating *She*.[55]

c) Screen Montage: Seeing Patterns

Most of the exhibitions at Filialen, and several ones at Moderna Museet's main departments during the laboratory years, looked strikingly similar, at least as regards their overall dispositions. Large screens or panels, ranging between one and two meters in height and two and four meters in width, were distributed across the exhibition space, standing on the floor, hanging from the ceiling, or mounted on walls, often in relatively dense constellations. On the screens, texts and images were arranged in various sequences or ensembles. In many cases, the screens were accompanied by different kinds of objects, either found or manufactured, which served as three-dimensional illustrations or as elements of installation-like compositions. Together, the screens and the objects formed more or less enveloping environments: transient, makeshift information scenographies occupying most of the visitors' fields of vision, choreographing their movements, and establishing settings for social encounters or interventions.

As a display format, this spatial, documentary montage technique of course corresponded to the shift from work to image. The earlier exhibitions at Moderna Museet which were the format's most obvious precursors and models – the architectural displays *Hello City* in 1966 and *Masses* in 1968 – were both based on comparable screen arrangements, and both exclusively employed technically reproduced images, generally uncaptioned photographic slides, projected onto the screens.[56] At Filialen,

and in *Poetry Must Be Made By All! Transform the World!*, parts of *Images of the 1910s*, and the Commune display in *Utopias and Visions* – among other examples – the images were generally photographic prints, photo-copies, or simple drawings and paintings, physically mounted on the screens alongside texts that were mostly handwritten or consisted of newspaper cutouts, often occupying the dominant part of the surfaces. In this respect, they related directly to the Bildaktivisterna group's "pocket exhibitions". Common to all of these exhibitions was that the display format was customized for new, widely available, simple-to-use, and low-cost means of visual production.

This methodical attempt to devise a display format optimized for new technologies and production methods, had decisive consequences for the exhibitions' general aesthetic configuration: for the ways in which their elements were arranged and for how their "events of reception" were organized.[57] It entailed specific composition techniques, as well as particular models of authorship, spectatorship, and agency, corresponding to the new information environments. The resulting arrangements were not strictly "installations", if we reserve that term for the domestication of radical exhibition experiments through their "circumscri[ption] within the domain of the individual artist", as Mary Anne Staniszewski put it,[58] but the elements of a concerted endeavor to forge a politics of display valid at the level of the exhibitionary apparatus.

Any exhibition, almost without exception, can be seen as a spatial montage of objects and signs, a meta- or super-assemblage that incorporates variously scaled objects, with different kinds of artistic status, and distributes them in a more or less undefined space, transforming it into space within which the presence, ambulations, and attention of the viewer generates significance.[59] However, in the screen displays at Filialen and in Moderna Museet's main departments, the relatively constricted surfaces that served as the main supports for the exhibited elements, combined with the fact that those elements – the photocopies, prints, images, and texts – often had the status of interdependent semantic units rather than complex aesthetic objects, seem to have impelled the organizers to direct attention to problems traditionally associated with the "arts of montage": collage, literary montage, cinematic montage, editorial montage. These were exhibitions whose significance and critical value were determined by the relationships between elements rather than by the elements' internal features; by the juxtaposition, association, confrontation, and sequential organization of images, rather than by the images themselves.

According to which principles were the screen montages effected? Of course, the modes of composition employed in these exhibitions, which covered a wide range of topics, and were organized by a large network of curators, artists, critics, and activists over the course of several years, varied considerably, both between exhibitions and within separate displays. To generalize, it seems that the screen displays at Moderna Museet's main departments, such as the ones in *Poetry Must Be Made by All! Transform the World!*, and *Images of the 1910s*, tended to be organized according to a pedagogical, art historical logic of iconographic classification and periodization, whereas the montages at Filialen were closer to the tradition of the agitational wall newspaper, favoring unambiguous information transmission, contestation, and narrative and argumentative sequences. Within these general frameworks, however, numerous other logics and principles were at work, where juxtapositions and constellations were set up to more ambivalent effect.

Consider for example the twenty-four aluminum screens in *Poetry Must Be Made by All! Transform the World!*, where images were arranged in relatively sparse constellations against a neutral gray background, with a moderate use of texts and captions, in a manner that might recall the plates of Aby Warburg's *Atlas Mnemosyne* (1927–1929). In both of these cases, photographic reproductions of artworks were disposed in simple grids, and organized according to technique, motif, period, or school – as in Warburg's plate concerned with the Laocoon group and the motif of suffering (no. 41a), or in the screens devoted to the "Surrealist Revolution" in *Poetry Must Be Made by All! Transform the World!*.[60] The screens at the Moderna Museet exhibition, however, featured no apparent equivalents to the speculative, anachronistic juxtapositions in some of Warburg's *Atlas* plates, such as the notorious final montage, where images from a Eucharistic ritual in the Vatican in 1929 sit next to a photograph of Raphael's fresco, *The Mass at Bolsena* (1512), in turn placed next to a nineteenth-century illustration of Japanese *Harakiri* ritual suicides, and a spread from a German illustrated journal, featuring images from a polo tournament.[61] Instead, in *Poetry Must Be Made by All! Transform the World!* the juxtapositions transcended the taxonomic framework only at the macro-level of the exhibition's total montage, where a speculative continuity was proposed – in a way, we should note, that was neither original nor unproblematic – between the "unity of art and life" in "Primitivist society", represented by the "Naven Ceremonies" of the Iatmul People in New Guinea (the topic of the first screen), the "transgressive" or "transitional objects" of

Dada, constructivists, and Surrealists (the subjects of the twenty-one screens that formed the exhibition's main body), and situationist graffiti during the May 1968 protests in Paris (documented on the final two screens).[62] Here, then, the multi-screen montage operated by establishing groups and series, suggesting sweeping continuities and sinuous filiations, rather than by creating unexpected confrontations of single images and signs.

Similarly, in *Images of the 1910s* the screen montages served mainly to suggest general continuities and correspondences. The exhibition's largest screen (roughly two by seven meters) featured 126 reproductions of art-works – photographs, prints, and lithographs – grouped together under the general heading "Images of the Nineteenth Century". In broad strokes, by way of image clusters and sequences, its montage outlined main tendencies in that century's Swedish painting – from the mid-century adherents to the Düsseldorf school, and the impact of Realism and Impressionism, to the *fin de siècle* Romanticist reaction – as a synoptic micro-exhibition within the exhibition.[63] Its purpose was to provide a backdrop for the other displays, concerned with such topics as "The Big Social Issues of the 1910s", "The Camera Images of the 1910s", and "The Artists and the War, 1914–1918". With reference to the deeper, art historical lineages, the idea seems to have been, it should become possible to discern patterns in the multiplicity of early twentieth century images – paintings and photographs, reproductions and originals – on the surrounding walls and screens. "It is our hope", Carlo Derkert and Katja Waldén wrote in the catalogue – appropriately designed as a folder containing loose sheets of paper, postcards, and reproductions – "that these different images together, through contrast and interaction, will allow the visitors to see, discover, and experience the 1910s, a decade filled with conflicts and decisive events, just as our own".[64]

Here too, then, the display favored relationships over individual images. The exhibited objects were consistently inserted within larger groups or series: the smaller reproductions in comprehensive grids on screens, the original artworks in similar, less numerous ensembles on separate screens, or in larger constellations on the walls, where the dense arrangements recalled the "wallpaper" hanging of traditional *Salon* displays. The overall impression, as can be confirmed from installation shots, was one of nearly overwhelming information abundance, a structured visual excess that could only be navigated by seizing on the available categories of selection and organization. Through such a spatial montage of documents and images, through the "contrast and interaction" of artworks and reproductions, the exhibition's organizers sought to critically represent the complexity of an

historical process – the decade of the 1910s – revealing patterns in its chaotic wealth of data.

In this respect, the composition of *Images of the 1910s* allows us to identify two intertwined genealogies of the screen montage format adopted for the Information Center project. On the one hand, we can relate it – distantly yet clearly – to a history of efforts, on the part of postwar cyberneticians and media theorists such as Norbert Wiener and György Kepes, to enlist aesthetic forms as heuristic devices for "seeing patterns" in complex information environments. For Wiener, the "pattern" was the organizational principle with reference to which cybernetic systems could maintain cohesion – "homeostasis" – within the entropic flows of matter and information.[65] For Kepes, it was by studying the "patterns" of modern art – encompassing everything from painting to sculpture, architecture, and design – that scientists could acquire a new "language of vision", so as to be able to navigate, and control, the rapidly changing social, cultural, and technological landscape of the atomic age. In *The New Landscape of Art and Science*, which was first materialized as an exhibition (1951), and then developed into a book (1956), Kepes assembled a vast montage of photographs – of the organic and the inorganic, from microorganisms to infrastructural networks and cosmic nebulae – designed to educate a "pattern-seeing" that could provide purchase on an increasingly overwhelming sensorial reality,[66] so that "the alienation of the scientific specialist" could be "overcome by the retrained eye of the artist", as Reinhold Martin has phrased it.[67]

On the other hand, Moderna Museet's screen exhibitions also, and more directly, belonged to a tradition of documentary montage experiments in 1960s and 1970s culture, which included the documentary novel, the new modes of activist documentary filmmaking, and the documentary theater, or "theater of fact" – all of which employed critical montage techniques in order to navigate situations of information abundance, exclusion, or bias. Here, the ultimate aim was not to secure systemic "homeostasis" within a new landscape of information, but rather to chart social contradictions, providing orientation for political contestation. "The strength of the documentary theater", Hultén's and Carlo Derkert's friend Peter Weiss wrote in his "Notes on the Documentary Theater" from 1968,

> lies in its ability to assemble the fragments of reality into a useful pattern, a model of the actual events. It is not situated in the center of events, but adopts an observing and analyzing attitude. Through its montage technique it emphasizes distinct details in the chaotic material of the

external reality. By confronting controversial details it calls attention to an abiding conflict, an appeal, or an issue of principal importance, to which it then, with the help of its collection of facts, proposes a solution.[68]

This double legacy – of heuristic pattern-seeing and antagonistic montage – was evident at Filialen, where the polemical and political aspects of the documentary montage technique were stressed – often, but by no means invariably, at the expense of ambivalent juxtapositions and constellations. Several of the exhibitions there were explicitly conceived as information resources for mapping the "chaotic material of the external reality", revealing "useful patterns" or emphasizing "distinct details" in "abiding conflicts", so as to provide visitors with the tools for "proposing solutions", and acting accordingly.

An exhibition such as *Bingo or Life?*, organized by the Artists' Center (*Konstnärscentrum*) in 1973, is emblematic for what was sometimes called the "debate exhibitions" at Filialen, which employed the screen montage format for mapping current social issues, providing counter-information, or intervening in ongoing debates. The exhibition's specific topic was the Swedish Arts Council's proposal for a new cultural policy, which had been made public in October of the previous year. The exhibition was designed to inform about the proposal, pedagogically editing, reorganizing, and reframing the large material – the text of the proposal amounted to over 700 pages of bureaucratic prose – into clearly legible parcels of information. Besides presenting and interrogating the proposal's core ideas, the organizers wanted to direct attention to independent cultural initiatives that, they held, had been insufficiently acknowledged by the Arts Council.[69] A large part of the exhibition was therefore made up of displays that introduced the activities of several independent culture centers around the country, arranged by those centers themselves. The exhibition's underlying critical question was whether the new cultural policy, as outlined by the proposal, could "withstand the pressure from commercialism", as one text plate read. Hence *Bingo or Life*: would the exploitative entertainment of the gaming arcades, or the living, popular culture of the independent centers, prevail?

Of all the exhibitions at Filialen, *Bingo or Life?* was perhaps the least imaginative in terms of composition and scenography. The main display section, concerned with the policy proposal, was arranged simply as a wall of screens standing upright on the floor, cutting off the space, reducing the

relationships between separate screens to linear succession, and blocking all further sight lines and connections in the general arrangement. The screens featured quotes and explanatory texts, alongside simple satirical drawings and paintings (culture was an egg crushed under the boot of commercialism, the state was a hungry wolf about to devour its citizens, etc.). At one end of the corridor formed by the screen wall a slot machine was placed, as a reminder of the dire fate that awaited if the forces of commercialism were to triumph. Next to the slot machine, a text plate helpfully explained: "Gaming arcades and bingo are examples of the commercial exploitation of man's need for community and activity".[70] In the other parts of the space, the displays prepared by the independent culture centers were installed in a studiously commonplace manner, and were characterized by a similar predilection for information redundancy. Hung as posters on the pillars of the space, or standing on the floor along the walls, the screens presented the centers' edifying activities with illustrated texts, in a style reminiscent of the bureaucratic information material that was circulated by those state or municipal institutions from which the centers asserted their independence.

The Closed City – the Closed Society, one of the last exhibitions at Filialen, organized by, among others, the critics Fanny Kempe and Bengt Olvång, employed a simple yet more nuanced, somehow permissive mode of composition. The exhibition, shown in February and March 1973, addressed the many closures of alternative social and cultural institutions in Sweden in the early 1970s: the Kulturhuset collapse, the rejection of the Gasholder project, the shutdown of the Gamla Bro "house of all activities", the termination of the Hagahuset venture in Gothenburg, and so on.[71] It was in a sense a melancholy exhibition, reflecting on a period of institutional experimentation that seemed to be coming to an end, or at least to lose its support from official institutions and social agencies, forcing the movements behind it to adopt more small-scaled, "underground" models of operation. Of course, in the background to the exhibition was the closure of Filialen itself, which had been announced several months earlier, and was now being effected, in spite of vigorous opposition.[72]

In *The Closed City – the Closed Society*, the screens were spaciously arranged, generally mounted on legs, and distributed across the floor in different angles to each other, so as to invite free movements through the environment, without imposing strong narrative or argumentative sequences – an "open" disposition, as if to mark its opposition to the shutting down of public spaces that was the exhibition's theme, and in stark contrast to the heavy-handed scenography of *Bingo or Life?* On the screens in *The*

Closed City – the Closed Society, various kinds of text-image montages were effected, ranging from generic, informative arrangements, where didactic texts were combined with illustrations or tables of statistics, to photographic presentations, where mostly uncaptioned images were set in grids, allowing for less formatted modes of reading – such as in the screens documenting the effects of the closing of Stockholm's late night coffeeshops, which had functioned as provisional homeless shelters, featuring images by photographers such as Per-Erik Åström and PeO Olsson, as well as Gunnar Smoliansky, a former member of the Bildaktivisterna group.

d) Networked Subjects

Just like *Bingo or Life?*, *The Closed City – the Closed Society* was an exhibition that, through its method of production, its mode of composition, and the status it conferred on the exhibited objects, rejected traditional models of authorship. In both exhibitions, the screen montage format shifted the attention from individual images, some of which could be ascribed to specific artists or photographers, to relationships and constellations, which could not be unequivocally attributed to any single author. Both exhibitions were also collaborative productions, organized by sprawling networks of groups and individuals, rendering the question of individual curatorial responsibility if not strictly undecidable, then at least critically irrelevant. To varying degrees, this was valid for all of the screen exhibitions during Moderna Museet's laboratory period, and the political implications of this authorial structure were often stressed. "*Images of the 1910s*", Carlo Derkert and Katja Waldén wrote in the show's catalogue, pointedly emphasizing the collective work effort, "is an exhibition that, both in terms of ideas and practically, is the work of a group, the whole staff at Moderna Museet, as well as staff from the technical workshops at the National Museum".[73]

Similar things could be said about the other screen exhibitions: about *Poetry Must Be Made by All! Transform the World!*, with its enveloping, 230-image, multi-screen arrangement, and its unclear curatorial situation (it was "conceived by Ronald Hunt", its "commissaries" were Hultén and Katja Waldén, Pär Stolpe was responsible for its public activities, and a number of artists and technicians were involved in preparing the screens and the reproductions);[74] about *Utopias and Visions*, with its loose, multi-part structure, its documentary montage display about the Paris Commune, and its long list of co-producers, consisting of twenty-nine names, arranged without order of priority;[75] and about all of the screen exhibitions at Filialen that were organized by political collectives, working groups, art associa-

tions, or independent culture centers, from *People's Images* and *Advertising – A Distorted Image of Society*, to *Women, Bingo or Life?* and *The Closed City – the Closed Society*.

What emerges from this list is the outline of a further shift. The transition from artwork to image, to which the screen montage format corresponded, also implied a shift in the structure of exhibitionary authorship. If art exhibitions were commonly seen as more or less self-sufficient super-assemblages of singular artworks, where authorship was shared with varying emphasis between the artist and the curator (or the "commissary", the "custodian", the "superintendent", etc.), here exhibitions were products of collective, networked subjects, who functioned as mediators or relays in streams of information: who registered or assembled archives of data, and, using different montage techniques, organized them into navigable, legible patterns. This model of authorship, of course, corresponded to the ideals informing the Information Center project, to the attempts at devising display formats and "new forms of activity" adequate to the reconception of the exhibitionary apparatus on the model of the computer, designed to "stimulate and test every kind of information situation", as Hultén phrased it in the "Exchange of Views of a Group of Experts".[76]

This process also entailed new modes of spectatorship. The screen montage displays precluded contemplative spectatorship of the kind associated – sometimes adequately, sometimes not – with "normal" museum displays. Facing multi-image grids, or more or less complex, enveloping constellations of texts and images, an art viewer was not invited to settle into an absorptive relationship to a single artwork, but – or at least so was the idea – to seek correspondences or analogies, to probe underlying rationalities or attempt to resolve contradictions. The ideal visitor to the screen exhibitions was someone who oriented herself through fields of information, actively discerning patterns suggested by the montage of the displayed material. This, as the members of the Moderna Museet group would not hesitate to emphasize, placed the visitor on an almost equal footing with the exhibition author, in terms of the activity required for extracting meaning from the arrangements. To the exhibition author as a relay and processor of information flows, corresponded the spectator as discerner of patterns, who could critically navigate or grasp complex processes or situations, so as consequently to be able to claim agency within situations which had exceeded her grasp, and make rational decisions and take informed action.

It therefore appears appropriate that, with few exceptions, the screen exhibitions provided surfaces or settings for various kinds of actions on the part of the visitors, from the "fourth wall" in *Poetry Must Be Made by All! Transform the World!,* and the open invitation of *People's Images*, to the "blank screens" in many, if not most, of the Filialen exhibitions, onto which the audience was invited to leave comments or make other contributions. Here, however, participation seems to have assumed a specific role. It was no longer understood on the model of artistic co-operation, serving to abolish the distinction between producer and consumer in an event of collective creativity. The visitors who wrote on the blank screen of *The Closed City – the Closed Society*, or who posted announcements for political manifestations on the "fourth wall" of *Poetry Must Be Made by All! Transform the World!*, were not – in spite of Ronald Hunt's contention – people who, however provisionally, "superseded" the separation of art and life. Nor were they active co-producers of what Umberto Eco called the "work in movement", enacting the dynamic nature of human co-existence.[77] Such enactments, as Peter Weiss argued in his notes on the documentary theater, could never amount to more than "vague excitement, to emotional participation, and to the illusion of engagement in current affairs".[78]

Instead, in these exhibitions visitor interventions were mediated, and functioned as indicators of the structural democratization of the exhibitionary apparatus. That is, the blank screens and the fourth walls solicited *actual* participation, but also, and perhaps above all, invited visitors to identify as *potential* participants or producers. On the one hand, they were resources for feedback and co-determination, which could be employed by visitors to criticize the ongoing exhibition, to amend biased selections of images, or to suggest alternatives to current activities. That even this remained an idealized notion of spectator engagement was confirmed by the quality of most of the visitor contributions to the blank screens at Filialen, which rarely seem to have raised above the level of public-restroom graffiti. Judging by installation shots, the surfaces did not feature constructive objections, improvised critical montages, or artistic interventions, but mostly misogynist, racist, and violently conservative abuse. On the other hand, the blank screens also operated as signs alongside the other signs in the exhibitions, serving to postulate the right of all to access the means of production, to employ the resources of the exhibitionary apparatus: to write, to show, to dissent, and so to assert their parity with the subject of communal authorship. Interspersed among the information grids and the constellations, the blank screens were empty signs of

equality, calling upon visitors to identify as subjects, as members of a political community, and to reject any arrangement that did not grant them that possibility.

8.3 World Game / World Bank

What were the critical ramifications of these models of perception and agency, of critical pattern-seeing and subjectification, in the shifting technological and political landscape of the early 1970s? One juxtaposition, drawn from Moderna Museet's program during the laboratory years, may serve to dramatize the conflict inherent in attempts at employing such models and techniques for socially transformative ends – and, by extension, in enlisting them for the purposes of reforming the practices of the exhibitionary apparatus, in relation to a changing complex of media apparatuses.

On the one hand, we have a large map of the world, on which various patterns are traced: clusters of dots, meandering lines, and intricate networks stretching across the oceans and the continents, suggesting different global resources, flows, and relationships. On the other hand, we have the image of Robert S. McNamara – US Secretary of Defense, architect of the Vietnam war, president of the World Bank – as a small monkey, sitting on the shoulder of a corpulent lady in front of a bank vault, also resembling a jail cell. The map with the patterns comes from Buckminster Fuller's *World Game* project (initiated in 1965), which was shown, or perhaps rather demonstrated, as part of *Utopias and Visions 1871–1981* in 1971. The image, in turn, is an element of Öyvind Fahlström's installation *World Bank* (1971), which was acquired by Moderna Museet as part of the infamous "New York Collection", and shown in the exhibition with the same name, in 1973.

Fuller's *World Game*, of course, was only a "game" in a specific sense of the term. It can be described as a vastly ambitious attempt to apply an idiosyncratic version of game theory in order to coordinate experimental research regarding the exploitation and the distribution of earth's resources, for the purpose of enhancing the living conditions of the human species. First conceived to figure as a gigantic display in Fuller's geodesic dome at the Expo 67 in Montreal, the *World Game* called for teams of "players" – in practice, groups of researchers at various US universities, interlinked by telecommunication systems – to probe a statistical database called the "World Resources Inventory", and to visualize their findings on a dynamic "Dymaxion map" (Fuller's alternative world map, representing the proportions of land and water masses more realistically than the traditional Mercator projection), so that patterns could be discerned on the scale of the world as a whole. The teams would then, as Fuller put it, "play" with

different scenarios for "how to make the total world work successfully for all of humanity".[79] Their theories would be fed into a mainframe computer, and the processed output would be graphically represented on the map.

It goes without saying that this was not a game which could be effortlessly "played" by anyone within the limited timeframe of a museum visit. The Moderna Museet group was aware of this, and in the end the presence of *World Game* at *Utopias and Visions* amounted to little more than the screening of a film about the project by Robert Snyder, inside a small shed next to the exhibition's open-air, Paris Commune display, with a Dymaxion map on an adjacent wall.[80] As can be gathered from Hultén's correspondence with several of Fuller's associates at his headquarters in Carbondale, Illinois, however, a more ambitious presentation had been foreseen, which should have included the display of "a series of WorldGame [sic] situations". "We will have a back projection arrangement in which we can show, with two (or three) synchronized projectors a big scale Dymaxion map and superimpose various patterns on the map." "The projectors", Hultén elaborated, "can superimpose up to 80 successive patterns."[81] Perhaps misunderstanding Hultén's request, what Fuller's office provided was, rather than such patterns, "an 80 slide *presentation* on World Game", which appears not to have been shown.[82]

In his contribution to the *Utopias and Visions* catalogue, Gene Young-blood – the expanded cinema pioneer and media theorist who had taken on an informal role as a countercultural spokesman for Fuller – described, in general outline, how the *World Game* was played, and what was its overall aim. The players, he explained, should "examine the coded presentation of the world's problems", "extrapolating and comparing" different tendencies. On this basis, they should then "formulate the 'moves' of the *World Game*, in terms of different solutions to the problems […] always striving to draw *more from less*". A "move" that did not meet this demand – one of Fuller's recurring slogans – would be "considered worthless". "The solutions", Youngblood went on, "constitute individual 'sessions' […] but are not counted as 'answers'." Instead, they should be fed back into the mainframe computer, and "evaluated against other solutions", in an open-ended process. "The game never ends", Youngblood wrote, but is "continuously modified and adapted" to "humanity's growing 'metaphysical' fortunes, as represented by the solutions to the *World Game*, which in turn allow us to control our material future without recourse to ideological premises".[83] The *World Game*, he explained, would therefore not be based on the zero-sum, "Drop Dead" mentality of traditional game theory, as associated above all

with the mathematical models of John von Neumann, where participants would compete against each other and one winner would take all, but on the communal principle of "Utopia or Oblivion" – another Fuller slogan, which was displayed as a neon sign above the entrance to the exhibition at Moderna Museet – according to which everyone would compete together for a common goal, and there could be no loser.[84]

In Fuller's and Youngblood's view, the *World Game* was consequently nothing less than a computerized and networked system of governance, which would demonstrate the insufficiency and obsolescence of all existing political institutions, or even altogether replace the old world of "ideological premises", politicians, and sovereign nation-states – not to mention conflicts or wars – in favor of global, technologically enhanced auto-regulation, through interactive statistical analysis, patterning, and resource management.[85] It was premised, as Reinhold Martin has written, "on the abilities of its players to grasp – and thereby to manage and to direct – the totality of the dynamic world system with the help of maps".[86] The *World Game*, Youngblood brazenly announced in his text, "is a concrete scientific alternative to politics".[87]

This extreme technocratic vision, Felicity Scott has argued, was emblematic of Fuller's "avowed and programmatic rejection of politics", throughout his career.[88] The fantasy of a "world-around, satellite-relayed, and world-integrated computer accounting system" which could "overnight, physically realize the 'Omnibillionaire Commonwealth' of its humans", as Fuller speculated in a characteristic formulation,[89] carried to a level of near-absurd hyperbole Enzensberger's belief that new media were egalitarian in structure. And of course, it was haunted by the same basic contradiction as Enzensberger's assertion. The *World Game* was founded on the notion that new information technologies would, by virtue of their inherent qualities, advance socially progressive ends. And yet Fuller refused to acknowledge the inherent social dimension of those technologies, that is, the ways in which they structurally imposed the ideals of their controlling interests. By presenting a depoliticized vision of a world-enclosing, interactive network of information, economy, and management, the *World Game* naturalized the establishment of new global divisions of labor, methods of production, and modes of power, on the part of those multinational organizations with which Fuller's project was inextricably entangled, from various private corporations and the US military, to NASA and the UN – the "military-industrial complex", in the period's parlance.[90] The smooth surface on which patterns of resources and relationships could

be clearly outlined and quantified, and flows of raw materials, goods, and information could be harmoniously administered and redirected, was the idealized image of a global capitalism without contradictions.

Öyvind Fahlström's *World Bank* was a direct response to such a depoliticized vision of global managerialism, sustained by new information technologies and networks. In the installation, the image of Robert McNamara as an ape was one element in a constellation of sculptural and pictorial signs, all executed in the playful yet precise style of Fahlström's works from these years, evoking at once statistical pictograms and comic book figures. At the center of a table draped in purple velvet – the fabric of wealth and privilege – a pyramid of gold bars was placed, around which eighteen, relatively small cut-out shapes and maps were neatly disposed: geopolitical representations with economic statistics, human characters, and other figures. As per Fahlström's instructions, the arrangement should be shown in a dark room, lit by one spotlight pointed at the stack of gold. This "theatrical tableau", he explained, should illustrate the "political pressure applied by the World Bank to the Third World". It was, he noted, the first work he had "based entirely on historical and economic data".[91]

Accordingly, among the "set-pieces" on the velvet surface was a sequence of maps and figures illustrating the history of Venezuela's dealings with the World Bank. First, a group of three annotated geopolitical maps of the country sketched the background: "up to 1959", when Venezuela was under "military dictatorships", "98% of export" consisted of oil, while "100% of oil" was "owned by foreign companies".[92] Then, in 1959, the new "leftist-nationalist coalition" established a "small national oil company, CVP [*Corporación Venezolana del Petróleo*]", which, however, due to the "limited market" and low oil prices, went into "crisis". In 1961, the country therefore "appl[ied] for WB loan". Two schematically depicted human figures illustrate the subsequent development. The first shows a farmer down on his hands and knees, with, on his back, five weights, representing "WB stipulations", such as "Sell CVP oil at a loss!", "Ease taxation on foreign companies!", and "Increase concessions to foreign investors!". In the second, the farmer lies flat on the ground, crushed under the burden of the stipulations, and trampled by a boot; the image is captioned: "1965[:] back to military dictatorship".[93]

The other maps and figures in the installation proposed variations on the same theme, charging the World Bank with imposing "stranglehold stipulations" on its loans and investments. Micro-displays were devoted, for example, to the Bank's generous relationship with the junta in Brazil, or to

its vast stakes in the predatory Volta dam project in Ghana. Next to the image of the simian McNamara on the shoulders of a large lady – who, Fahlström maintained, represented the "obese West"[94] – a small world map located all the "major WB loans" to the "third world", offering a grim, telescopic overview of an emerging, neocolonial empire. At the opposite end of the table, the World Bank was rendered as a giant octopus wearing a Santa Claus mask, handing out small bags of "WB loans" and "US aid" with two of its tentacles, while holding a farmer in a stranglehold and withdrawing a giant bag of "corporate profits" with two other ones.

Fahlström's *World Bank* therefore functioned as an explicit leftwing counter-image to the "one-world", "Spaceship Earth" vision underlying Fuller's *World Game*. In its "theatrical tableau", the map segments were not the elements of a manageable system of resources and flows, but characters in a drama of exploitation, oppression, and conflict. As Fahlström noted, he had become aware of the World Bank "during the big demonstrations in Copenhagen when the World Bank members, among them Robert McNamara, held their annual meeting there in 1970".[95] During the week of September 21–25 that year in Copenhagen, manifestations organized by organizations such as the Danish Vietnam Committees and the notorious Communist Working Group (*Kommunistisk Arbejdskrets*), led to violent clashes with the police, which made headlines worldwide.[96] The protesters accused the World Bank, and McNamara in particular, of pursuing an aggressive neocolonial policy, seeking to consolidate "first world" hegemony by locking "less-developed countries" into chronic debt, while working actively to undercut leftist governments and liberation movements in favor of "social structures responsive to the demands of progress", as the chairman of the World Bank's board of governors put it in his opening address at the meeting, with a careful euphemism.[97] Fahlström's *World Bank* echoed this critique, and he may have gathered information directly from protest leaflets and slogans.[98] His main source, however, seems to have been the journalist Felix Greene's widely read *The Enemy: What Every American Should Know About Imperialism* (1970), a relentless indictment of US imperialism, to which Fahlström also devoted one of his "Notes"-drawings in 1971, *Notes 9 (Reading Felix Greene's "The Enemy")*.[99] "First world" aid programs, Greene argued, were holding "underdeveloped countries" in a "stranglehold of debt", while US foreign interests, through policies and investments, were "grabbing any opportunities to make the most profit", like "the tentacles of some hungry octopus searching for food".[100]

But Fahlström's *World Bank* also opposed Fuller's *World Game* on a more fundamental conceptual level. Fahlström's work was based on a different understanding of mapping and pattern-seeing, and proposed other modes of game-playing and agency. In contrast to Fuller's holistic world map, which showed the continents as one continuous body of land, suggesting a coherent world system, the cartographic elements of *World Bank* were decontextualized and disarticulated: flat, partial, indeterminate signs, floating freely in a dark space. The map it offered was fragmented, an assemblage of inconclusive details, the gaps between its cut-out segments emphasized as much as the information they conveyed. What provided the constellation's aesthetic coherence was the ominous scenography, which seemed to mimic the gilded and armored seclusion of a bank vault, as if the floating signs were held in place by the weight of gold – or even as if the very idea of a stable grasp of the global dynamic of forces was somehow associated with, or indebted to, the might of the World Bank.

As Fahlström had noted, *World Bank* was the first work he had based entirely on "historical and economic data", and it occupied an intermediate position in his artistic development. On the one hand, in terms of formal composition, it resembled the "pool"-works he had been making since 1967, such as *The Little General (Pinball Machine)* (1967–68): variable structures where silhouette cut-outs, generally derived from newspaper imagery or comic magazines, floated upright in shallow pools of water, forming ever-changing constellations which could to some extent be manipulated by the viewer. *World Bank*, it appears, was not conceived as a variable work, but its horizontal, flatbed disposition and silhouetted elements clearly recalled the earlier installations. On the other hand, *World Bank* announced a series of cartographic works where Fahlström established maps saturated with data on social and economic issues, such as the "Notes"-drawings, and the "historical painting" *World Map* (1972).[101] In these maps, literal variability was replaced with semantic abundance and a density in pictorial composition that precluded exhaustive apprehension. The *World Map* was overwhelmingly detailed, its surface crowded with comic strip-like frames of illustrated information, but without assigning priority to any mode of reading, linear or otherwise. It was, Fahlström noted, "a medieval type of map", where the "shapes of countries are defined by the data about them", demanding an active pattern-seeing, a work with establishing syntactic relations and clusters of coherence. At the same time, it resolutely withheld any promise of a global synthesis.[102] Just as the cartographic elements of the

World Bank installation, the *World Map* did not represent a world that could be harmoniously managed as an integrated system.[103]

In some respects, however, it was a world that could be "played". Fahlström's notion of the game here differed radically from the one informing Fuller's *World Game*. For Fuller, the rules of the game were in a sense set. The *World Game* should provide a global overview of the distribution of earth's resources, and the redistributive "moves" of the players should then be processed through a computer system, which would determine if the moves were successful in deriving *more from less*, in which case they should be applied. The blanket validity of statistics, the scientific objectivity of the computer, and the benevolent efficiency of the (hypothetical) global administration system were here conditions a priori of the game's function.

For Fahlström, the specific freedom afforded by the model of the game was, on the contrary, the possibility of playing *with the rules themselves*, so as to reveal, and draw enjoyment from, their arbitrary nature. In a text about the variable "game paintings" he created from 1962 onwards – metallic boards to which were attached silhouetted figures mounted on magnets – he wrote that the "association of disparate elements to each other thus makes game rules and the work of art will be a game structure". The active spectator, he elaborated, "will find relations which will make him able to 'play' the work, while the elements that he does not relate and in general his individual disposition make for the chance, the uncertainty that, when clashing with the 'rules' create the thrill of a game".[104] In a text from 1966, he developed further:

> The crucial point is that I as an 'artist', and I and others as 'human beings', come up against what we experience as the *absolute rigidity* of appearances and adjust our possible variations accordingly. Therein lies a fundamental and inexhaustible tension. […] Without manipulating the works of art you do not realize the fantastic nature of the astronomical freedom of choice and the enormous rigidity of the parts' appearance […]. After this fundamental fact comes the brittle rigidity of the game-rules – like our conventions and agreements: the border between the Congo and Angola, the numbers in the telephone book, the buttoning of jackets. There the tension lies in the possibility of breaking against the rigidity – as it does in my game models.[105]

In Fahlström's conception of the game, then, the rules and the act of playing were caught in a dynamic interrelationship, an at once mutually constitutive and mutually destabilizing process. The viewers derived the "rules" from

the "rigidity" of the formal composition and the design of the elements. This allowed them to play the game and enjoy the "astronomical freedom of choice": to make associations, to establish connections, to construct narratives from the figures and the information. But this freedom could then be directed back toward the rules, as derived by the viewers, revealing that they were not immutable, that their "brittle rigidity" was not resistant to manipulation – that, on the contrary, it was possible to "manipulate the world", to quote another of Fahlström's texts.[106] Such destabilization, in turn, would of course change the conditions of further variations, of further realizing the "freedom of choice" – and so on.

The ideal behind Fahlström's aberrant dialectic of rules and moves, then, seems to have been a system susceptible to perpetual self-critique and transformation at all levels, including, precisely, the level of its rules, of the basic principles according to which the system's cohesion should be sustained. This, we can note, set him apart both from the oppositional "Drop Dead" rationality of traditional game theory ("my elementary interpretation of the concept of a game", Fahlström wrote, "has nothing to do with strategic theories of von Neumann or Herman Kahn"),[107] and from the conciliatory "Utopia or Oblivion" worldview of Fuller's *World Game* – both of which naturalized their technological conditions and social ideals, keeping their rules firmly outside the reach of the game's moves. Read as a response to Fuller's project, Fahlström's *World Bank* therefore challenged Fuller's sublimation of the *World Game*'s rules, his refusal to acknowledge the arbitrary, social, political, and economic nature of the global system of computerized managerialism he aimed to establish, and his concomitant, technocratic assumption of an inherent link between technological development and social justice.

<p style="text-align:center">*</p>

In this way, we could perhaps also read Fahlström's *World Bank* as a challenge posed to the Moderna Museet group's Information Center project, their vision of extending autonomy by integrating differently the exhibitionary apparatus within the complex of new media apparatuses. Politically, Fahlström located his more or less utopian vision of a dynamic reconciliation of moves with rules – or, if we extrapolate, of critical agency with its mediating social structures, or of a progressive Information Center with "mainstream" media systems, and so on – within an emerging, global nexus of forces. Any system, he held, could only sustain its integrity and indepen-

dence by operating as an agent of difference with and upon its rules, its determining conditions. In the case of a political project, those rules were now increasingly set by multi- or supranational forces, economic as well as governmental.

With their Information Center project, Fahlström had reported enthusiastically in 1970, the Moderna Museet group wanted to establish a "central newsroom" constructed "without norms for how the material should be filtered and interpreted", where a "permanent critical seminar" would generate "raised awareness" and catalyze "initiatives such as protests against injustices, and/or publications, films or exhibitions".[108] In order for such a project to be critically valid – so, at least, was the argument of Fahlström's cartographic world games – it must assert itself at the level of the "rigid" structures and technologies from which its rules of agency and practice derived, so as to resist alignment with the social and economic ideals of a new global, technocratic managerialism, as embodied by Fuller's *World Game*.

From this vantage point, it might be interesting to briefly revisit the infamous, heated debate surrounding the exhibition *New York Collection for Stockholm* at Moderna Museet in the fall of 1973, where Fahlström's *World Bank* was first shown.[109] The exhibition, curated by Hultén in collaboration with Billy Klüver and E.A.T., featured thirty-one works, which were all acquired by or donated to Moderna Museet as part of a concerted initiative, financed through a complex arrangement with, among others, the Swedish Ministry of Education and various private donors, and supported by several major New York art dealers, who waived their commission fees.[110] Among the artists in the "New York Collection" – which was finally obtained at a fraction of its market value, and which Hultén considered as his parting gift to the museum (he had by this time already accepted the post at the Centre Pompidou) – were, along with Fahlström, Robert Rauschenberg, Claes Oldenburg, Robert Morris, Richard Serra, and Hans Haacke.[111] As has been discussed by several art historians, including Marianne Hultman and Hiroko Ikegami, the *New York Collection for Stockholm* became the locus of a highly contentious debate regarding the predominance of US art in the museum's collection, and the global influence of US cultural, political, and economic interests in general.

The debate ignited immediately upon Moderna Museet's first announcement of the venture in the summer of 1972, possibly fueled by the museum direction's decision, made only weeks before, to deny extended funding for the Filialen department, suggesting a shift in the institution's policies.[112] After subsiding the debate then regained momentum around the exhi-

bition's opening, in October 1973, and continued unabated throughout the fall. In June 1972, a group of artists including Margareta Carlstedt, painter and chairman of the Artists National Organization (*Konstnärernas Riks-organisation*), and Per Olof Ultvedt, formerly a close ally of Hultén and now a leftwing activist and professor of sculpture at the Royal Art Academy, published an article in *Dagens Nyheter* vehemently rejecting the core justification of the announced project: that Moderna Museet's longstanding relationship to the generation of postwar US artists associated with such names as Rauschenberg and Oldenburg deserved to be consolidated through an acquisition of major works. "New York avant-gardism from the 1960s", the critics argued, was not "important enough to merit another purchase at this level". What the project revealed, they held, was on the contrary the museum's undemocratic decision structure and unclear financial arrangements, which allowed Hultén to willfully enforce the project without transparency or accountability. Indeed, the critics suspected that US interests had seized upon the initiative as an occasion to mitigate anti-American sentiments among the Swedish cultural and diplomatic establishments, going so far as to imply bribery.[113]

An article signed by roughly the same group, now including Pär Stolpe, reiterated the charges following the opening of the exhibition in 1973, but emphasized the internationalist and popular aspects of the argument, relating it directly to the closure of Filialen. "The authoritarian elite museum belongs to the nineteenth century, or should do so", they wrote. "We hold that the audience should have the possibility to see images of all kinds" – as opposed to only avant-gardist artworks – "and from all parts of the world, even if some of them are not listed on the stock exchanges in Paris or New York for the moment." If an "inclusive operation such as Filialen is strangled because it is deemed too expensive", then the purchase of "objects that the museum already has enough of" for a "much larger sum" – referring to the public funds invested in the New York acquisition – is evidence of a "fundamental error of judgment".[114] For the art critic Folke Edwards, in his review of the exhibition, these were all valid objections. But even apart from that, he maintained, the show was a "'monumental' disappointment". The artists at Moderna Museet, he wrote, appeared spoiled with "economic and technical resources", mistaking "scale" for artistic significance. "The objects have grown in format and gained ever more impressive dimensions – while losing considerably in specific weight." "I for one", he concluded, "cannot see that Oldenburg's gigantic Mickey Mouse, or Rauschenberg's mud bath [...], or Fahlström's world bank add

an inch to their artistic stature. Quite the contrary."[115] Carlstedt, Ultvedt, Stolpe, and the others went even further in their own assessment of the exhibition. What we criticize, they stated, is "the one-sided fixation on New York modernism from the 1960s, and the great overestimation of this art, characterized by technocratic emptiness and an uncritical acceptance of consumer society".[116]

In their defenses of the project, Hultén and his allies emphasized the economic benefits of the acquisition, as well as the often critical attitudes of the participating artists with respect to US policies, but rarely responded directly to the objections. Hultén admitted that the museum's acquisition routines should be more transparent, and attempted to justify the project by providing an account of its favorable financial setup, detailing the structure of the agreements between artists and art dealers, but without clarifying the stakes of the US investors.[117] For Olle Granath, assistant curator at the museum, the protests were misguided because they failed to acknowledge the "oppositional" attitudes of many of the artists in the New York Collection. It is vain to believe, he claimed – with an argument that could be used to defend most attitudes, oppositional or otherwise – "that it would be possible for […] Claes Oldenburg, Andy Warhol and others to formally impeach the American social system, and have it declared obsolete".[118] In an article in *Dagens Nyheter*, Öyvind Fahlström made a comparable point, claiming that the "internationalism" of the participating artists was "not opposed to political awareness". "For the visual artist", he wrote, "internationalism means to absorb perspectives from all parts of the world, to experience global community and solidarity."[119]

The "New York Collection" debate therefore marked the moment when the polarization between what had become two factions at Moderna Museet was fully achieved, when the split between the network behind Filialen, and Hultén and some of his associates, became complete. We can note two things about the positions that emerged. For the protesting camp, the "new vision of culture" that, in their view, was pursued by Filialen's program – a culture that was radically democratic and "popular", that was produced and supported by new groups, centers, and associations, and that provided transparent orientation regarding current social issues and debates, local as well as international – was now perceived as definitely irreconcilable with the "avant-gardist", studio-based, and US-centered art practices represented by *New York Collection for Stockholm*.[120] Art that could be associated with the formalist tradition of postwar modernism (widely grasped), that conformed to the exhibition standards of "authoritarian elite museums"

(again, widely grasped), or that supported the "dominance" of the "Paris-New York axis", was dismissed, and this rejection, by extension, seemed to preclude any consideration of the critical significance of artworks at the level of formal composition or technical definition. This is why the protesters could accuse "New York modernism" wholesale for "technocratic emptiness" and "uncritical acceptance of consumer society" – a remarkable assertion, of course, and even more so if we consider that it was elicited by an exhibition including such works as Fahlström's *World Bank* and Hans Haacke's *High Voltage Discharge Travelling* (1968).[121] As a critical program, this "vision of culture" therefore denied the legitimacy of any attempt beyond the strictly utilitarian at "manipulating" the determining features and formal possibilities of technologies or media with respect to artistic or exhibitionary practices – that is, of playing with the rules, in Fahlström's conception.

Hultén, on his part, underscored precisely the importance for artists of manipulating or playing with the conditions set by new technologies and media apparatuses. At the same time there were salient critical issues raised by the protesters that the defending camp at Moderna Museet did not care to answer, or even intentionally obscured. In the *New York Collection for Stockholm* exhibition catalogue, Hultén warned of the threat of increasing alienation posed by rapid technological development, arguing that it was necessary to "confront those who create the conditions of the new technology with the sense of responsibility and freedom prevalent within the domain of art", through interdisciplinary ventures such as E.A.T.[122] But while Hultén maintained the ideal of freely manipulating the new technologies, he refrained from acknowledging, let alone responding to, the protesters' central objection that Moderna Museet, by canonizing the "New York connection", and by collaborating, via E.A.T., with major US technology corporations, was lending implicit support to the US "military-industrial complex". Here, the strategy of Hultén and his allies was to defer responsibility to the "oppositional" artists in the exhibition, as if that would render the project, or even the institution, immune to critique. And as Hiroko Ikegami has pointed out, the protesters were not "entirely off the mark": the Teledyne Corporation, which had "provided technical assistance for [Rauschenberg's] *Mud Muse*", was in fact a US defense contractor, directly involved in the Vietnam war – and similar objections could be (and were) leveled against other corporations with which E.A.T. collaborated.[123] Indeed, urged to account for the provenance of the funds used to acquire

the collection, E.A.T.'s lawyer Theodor Kheel could only gnostically offer that it was "a donation from many sources".[124]

For Hultén in 1973, to "confront those who create the conditions of new technologies" was therefore something else than to engage critically with the social and economic determinations of the exhibitionary apparatus, as it faced incorporation into – was being rendered "compatible" with – a mutating complex of media apparatuses, itself brought in alignment with an emerging paradigm of global managerialism and power. And since the Filialen network now appeared to reject any association with "avant-garde" practices, for both of the opposed factions, the polarizing "New York Collection" debate consequently represented a rupture with the socially transformative, formally and technically experimental, and internationalist institutional model that the Moderna Museet group had coalesced around and attempted to implement during the previous years – that is, the vision of the Information Center. This split therefore also signaled a break with what had been the Moderna Museet group's general ambition since at least the final phase of the Kulturhuset project, to reclaim and appropriate elements of the constructivist legacy, seeking alternative modes for the social institutionalization of art by integrating its mediating apparatus differently with new technological means of production and distribution – an ambition, as we have seen, which had set the group's efforts in cor- respondence with many other initiatives and collectives of the period, such as the Dziga Vertov Group. The 1973 conflict in which these positions were fully delineated, however, was a symptom, and not the cause, of the final disintegration of the Moderna Museet group's Information Center project.

Widening Circles

I mean, what have our places got to do with the way the world actually works? What are we doing still hanging up pictures and putting on concerts and lectures in the old style – however experimental their content – when the world shifts because a teenager in Manchester copies the teenagers from Los Angeles he sees on television? Or the rituals of barricades and hijacks and car-bombs are transmitted over the ether and their germs take root like an epidemic in Tokyo, in Paris, in Athens, in Prague? What are we in a world which seems to be going so much faster because we know so much more about it so much more quickly?

Michael Kustow

In his recent book on Buckminster Fuller, Mark Wigley points out that the "clearest precedent" for Fuller's vision of an "architecture in the age of radio" – an architecture, that is, that would be dislodged from traditional notions of solidity or place, could be effortlessly transported, erected, and provide shelter anywhere, and would be fully integrated with new information circuits and media – was "Vladimir Tatlin's remarkable 1920 design for a monument to the Third International". Noting that, in accounts of the constructivist project, the "two thin vertical radio masts" at the top of the edifice are "usually overlooked", Wrigley writes that the "whole structure" would in fact have been "a gigantic radio tower with a series of rotating geometric elements hanging within it".[1] "The whole world would ultimately be networked to the tower's communications." "All buildings", Wigley goes on, "would soon become part of one hyperextended space of wires and wireless."[2]

The Moderna Museet group also recognized what appeared to be the clear correspondence between the two visionary architects and inventors. Eliding the political chasm that separated the creator of the *Monument to*

the Third International from the globetrotting guru of "Spaceship Earth", an unsigned article in the *Utopias and Visions* catalogue – likely to have been written by Hultén – argued that Tatlin and Fuller shared a basic concern with the just and economic distribution of the world's resources, and pointed out that Fuller was working on his air-transportable "Dymaxion house" and his agile "Dymaxion car" at the same time as Tatlin was "busy with his projects for air-bikes for Soviet citizens", the *Letatlin*.[3] At Moderna Museet in 1971, then, Fuller's idealized and depoliticized global managerialism could still be perceived as congruous with the more or less utopian, socialist internationalism associated with Tatlin's experiments during the "laboratory" phase of post-revolutionary constructivism, in an uneasy, unstable amalgamation.

The Moderna Museet group's Information Center project was, throughout its short period of gestation, beset with the latent contradiction of these irreconcilable conceptions of the link between telecommunications and internationalist social concerns – a contradiction which would eventually develop into manifest conflict. For Hultén, as we recall, the new museum should be seen as a "transmitting center", even as a "television broadcasting station", which would serve as a "center for para-scientific research on current and future socio-cultural practices".[4] Öyvind Fahlström, on his part, noted that the Information Center should "capture […] unprocessed information, events, and facts about the contemporary world (social-political-cultural)", which would then be "filtered and interpreted" in unforeseen ways, so as to catalyze protests and initiatives.[5] Per Olof Olsson, the architect responsible for the renovation and extension of Moderna Museet's facilities on Skeppsholmen, in turn recalled that "with the help of TV and telex printers the museum should be in contact with other institutions across the world, and arrange global symposia".[6]

Stating that the museum should be seen as a "television broadcasting station", or that the exhibitionary apparatus should be understood as a "transmitting center", of course begged an important question: what would be the nature of an exhibition that could be broadcast? What would characterize an exhibition that could serve the functions of a television show: that could circulate freely, be displayed through various receiving apparatuses, and possibly even be multiplied indefinitely; that could travel unimpeded across distances, like radiowaves through the ether? How should the exhibitionary apparatus interface, interfere, or be integrated with the emerging, global conduits of broadcast media and new communication technologies, which could suddenly carry news of protests or injustices,

trends or movements instantly across regions, nations or continents – but without relinquishing its integrity, its irreducible qualities as an exhibitionary apparatus?

This was a problem that – as we have already touched upon repeatedly – was of central concern to the Moderna Museet group, and they experimented with a range of methods and techniques for addressing it, from showing works using new media (which they had of course been doing since the early 1960s) and integrating global telecommunication networks in existing display systems (as in the "Utopia Q & A", to which we will soon return), to devising new exhibition formats appropriate for alternative modes of distribution. In the latter sense, the Moderna Museet group's most comprehensive effort during the laboratory years was their experiments with the screen display format at Filialen and at Moderna Museet's main department. Like the "pocket exhibitions" of the Bildaktivisterna collective, these exhibitions were designed specifically for light and cheap transport, and for simple installation and dismantlement, while their reliance on technically reproduced images made multiplication conceivable (although it rarely seems to have been practiced) and guaranteed that, in occurrence, insurance costs would be kept to a minimum. In a sense, these were exhibitions that could be broadcast.[7]

And the question of transmission was one of their core aspects. Out of the thirty exhibitions shown at Filialen during its two and a half years of existence – the majority of which used the screen display format – more than half travelled to various other locations after their installation at the experimental annex: regional museums, art centers, libraries, community centers, and so on. For example, "about one hundred images" from *People's Images* at Filialen in 1971 – the exhibition featuring "amateur" images "by, about and for the Swedish people" – were "assembled into a small travelling exhibition, mounted on cardboard screens. The idea was that it should function as an incitement to local image exhibitions of the same kind".[8] And in 1972, parts of the exhibition *For a Technology in the Service of the People* (*För en teknik i folkets tjänst*), curated by among others the PowWow group as an "alternative exhibition during the UN environmental conference in Stockholm", "were used as separate travelling exhibitions and went to a number of places around Sweden", while *Advertising – A Distorted Image of Society* went on to "different museums and libraries", and the feminist exhibition *Women* travelled to "the libraries of most larger cities" – among many other examples.[9]

The same holds for the less numerous but important screen exhibitions at Moderna Museet's main department. *Images of the 1910s* was prepared to function as a travelling exhibition featuring both important historical paintings from the museum's collection (available for loan because of the impending renovation) and the contextualizing screen montages with documents and reproductions.[10] But it was *Poetry Must Be Made By All! Transform the World!* which represented the Moderna Museet group's most ambitious attempt by far to reconceive the travelling exhibition as a sort of global, itinerant information relay, designed to catalyze local interventions. The idea of sending the homemade, light-weight exhibition on an international tour seems to have been part of the project from the outset. Before the opening in Stockholm, the museum engaged a New York-based PR agency, Withers Swan, to administer international relations regarding the exhibition.[11] The agency was tasked not only with promoting the exhibition for museums and art centers – "it's one of the most portable exhibitions of the decade", a Withers Swan agent enthusiastically boasted in 1971[12] – and, to some extent, managing its tour, but also with handling press relations, soliciting advance reports, comments, and reviews. This was a methodical endeavor by the Moderna Museet group to interpolate the exhibitionary apparatus in a global media complex.

It turned out to be a demanding affair. In Stockholm, Katja Waldén seems to have been left more or less alone in charge of the complicated logistical operation. In the spring of 1970, the exhibition travelled to the Munich Kunstverein, where a group of art students, invited by the institution's director Rainer Kallhardt, perceptively seized upon the potentials of its "fourth wall" – which was in this case an entire, separate exhibition space – employing it as an appropriately mediatized framework for staging a protest against the conservative leadership of the local art academy, triggering an intense debate, which ultimately resulted in the closing of the exhibition two weeks ahead of schedule.[13] From Munich the exhibition went on to the Städtische Kunsthalle in Düsseldorf and then to the Hamburg Kunstverein, the last stop of what had effectively become its German tour (other European institutions had announced interest, but for unclear reasons they backed out).[14]

The rest of the tour was chaotic. In the spring of 1971, the exhibition travelled to the Vancouver Art Gallery, where it was on display over the summer, after which it vanished.[15] Its next scheduled stop was the Museum of Art at the Rhode Island School of Design in March 1972, from which it should journey southwards to the Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes in

Montevideo, before heading back north to Canada, for a one-year tour of art museums and galleries in the country, organized by the National Gallery of Canada in Ottawa.[16] "*Poetry* is lost!", a letter from the Withers Swan agency to Waldén exclaimed. "Mrs. Shadbolt [of the Vancouver Art Gallery] says it's enroute [sic] to Ottawa. Why and how, I can't imagine. And it has been in Edmunton [sic]! Did you know that? How much have they payed [sic]? Who have they payed [sic]?"[17] It turned out that the exhibition was in fact still at the Fine Arts Gallery of the University of Alberta, Edmonton, where it was in such a poor shape that staff were futilely trying to tape the worn-out photographs and text labels back onto the aluminum screens.[18] When the crates arrived to the Museum of Art in Providence, Rhode Island in February 1972, the displays were, the museum's director sternly concluded, "beyond repair", and the exhibition was cancelled.[19] No further instructions (let alone reimbursements) from Moderna Museet followed, and the exhibition was placed in storage, where it remained until 1982, when the reconstructions were returned to Stockholm and the screens were destroyed.[20]

Rather than attempt to transform the exhibitionary apparatus into a high-tech telecommunication device, the Moderna Museet group's experiments with itinerant, "broadcast" exhibitions sought to render that apparatus critically operative on the field opened by the deployment of new national and transnational media networks. Their use of portable, technically reproducible, and non-fetishist display formats endeavored to adapt the exhibitionary apparatus to new production and distribution methods, while maintaining many of the exhibition's basic features as a "socio-symbolic *dispositif*", with Jean Davallon's concept: the irreducibly social and interactive nature, and the semiotic ambiguity, of its specific modes of spatial organization and spectatorship.[21] In this sense, we might again note, the Moderna Museet group's ambitions differed from comparable experiments with the exhibition's material definition, and alternative methods of circulation, among contemporary Conceptual artists and curators such as Lucy Lippard and Seth Siegelaub, whose "suitcase" shows and experiments with alternative distribution methods were still predicated on the ideal of abandoning or escaping the institutional "enclosures" of the "traditional" exhibition space of the gallery or the museum.[22] For example, Siegelaub's "Xerox Book" show in 1968, and his "catalogue exhibitions" in 1969, similarly experimented with technical reproducibility and integration with mass distribution networks, but did so by negating spatial organi-

zation, and therefore certain modes of social spectatorship, claiming the exhibition catalogue itself as the exhibition format.[23]

<p style="text-align:center">*</p>

In 1966, Peter Celsing had, in dialogue with Hultén and others, designed the Kulturhuset building as a vast image-screen, which would project the dynamic "force fields" of the institution's activities out across the adjoining piazza and neighborhoods, exerting a catalyzing influence on its social, urban environment. Conceived as a transmission station that should be inserted into, and act upon, new media networks, the Information Center project radically widened the ideal scope of that expansive, catalyzing force, making it potentially global in reach.

That the possibility of interfacing with global communication networks was, for the Moderna Museet group, directly linked to a political imaginary, was apparent in one of the "utopian situations" presented at *Utopias and Visions* in 1971, the "Utopia Q & A 1981", organized by E.A.T. The "Utopia Q & A", a press release from E.A.T. stated, was the "first world-wide people-to-people information service to explore aspects of life in 1981". It consisted of four interlinked telex terminals, stationed at Moderna Museet in Stockholm, E.A.T.'s "Automation House" in New York, the National Institute of Design in Ahmedabad, and the "Xerox Showroom" in the Sony Building in Tokyo.[24] Visitors were invited to use the terminals to pose "questions about 1981" to visitors in the other cities, as well as to answer questions transmitted from the other terminals. The questions, a project description explained, "should deal with the future in terms of one's everyday life […]. They should not be the kind which can be answered by going to a library".[25] Because of the time differences, the system would be active twenty-four hours a day, for the duration of the exhibition period at Moderna Museet. In this respect, the E.A.T. associate Fujiko Nakaya argued, the project would create a sense of being-together defying spatial and temporal distances, a "free community where citizens in four cities around the world could participate during one month"[26] – even a "tele-commune", as one reviewer of *Utopias and Visions* put it.[27] The general aim of the project, Nakaya went on, was to "Liberate media so as to allow human beings to speak".[28]

As the slogan indicates, E.A.T.'s notion of an interconnected, multi-national community equated technological development with social progress in a manner that recalled the technocratic visions of Buckminster

Fuller – or indeed of Marshall McLuhan and Everett Ellin. And it was based on a similar unwillingness to acknowledge the economic interests, or to consider the political ramifications, of establishing global networks of communication and control. Just as Fuller's *World Game*, the "Utopia Q & A" presented an idealized view of a new, global surface of communication, where information flows and relationships could be harmoniously administered. The "sample questions" provided by the different E.A.T. branches to users of the telex terminals consequently avoided potentially antagonizing themes, focusing instead on vague generalities, such as differing social mores and lifestyles, or depoliticized humanitarian or environmental concerns: "What kind of tactile senses do you like best?", "Sweden is known for its pornography, but if you see your son looking at one [sic] what will you do?", "Will there be a democratization of individual uses of energy (resources, food, mobility, etc.)?".[29] The direction of E.A.T.'s political outlook was suggested by the list of "professionals" and "wise men" that they proposed should be "approached to answer questions", which included I. G. Patel, Buckminster Fuller, and Milton Friedman.[30] Again, the vision of a smooth, global surface of information turned out to be the mirage of a global capitalism without contradictions.

Enmeshed with this technocratic vision was – in an open paradox concisely summarized by the uneasy amalgamation of Fuller and Tatlin in the *Utopias and Visions* catalogue – the Moderna Museet group's concurrent leftwing, critical, and internationalist agenda, which resulted in a range of projects concerned with the consequences of neocolonial social and economic policies, in local as well as global contexts. Important to grasp the general stakes here was the exhibition *For a Technology in the Service of the People*, organized by the PowWow collective in collaboration with Pär Stolpe and others, at Filialen. Prepared to coincide with the gigantic UN Conference on the Human Environment held in Stockholm in June 1972 (one of the venues of which was Kulturhuset), the ambitious exhibition consisted of a constellation of screen displays, installations, and interactive arrangements, all proposing alternative, eco-political technologies for urban and rural living. It featured presentations on self-sustaining food production, alternative modes of shelter, clean energy sources, and egalitarian community structures. There was an open workshop, as well as regular outdoor seminars on popular uses of technology, and the exhibition as a whole was conceived as a collective work in progress, that would change and expand in relation to visitor response.

As Felicity Scott has shown in a recent study, the project of *For a Technology in the Service of the People* was to challenge the depoliticization of the environmental question on the part of the organizers of the UN conference and its official auxiliary events, such as the Life Forum, a sprawling "counterconference" coordinated by the techno-entrepreneur Stewart Brand, that included a "tent city" in the Stockholm suburb of Skarpnäck, hosted by Hog Farm, a US hippie collective.[31] Against the "Spaceship Earth" humanitarianism and the "environment yes, politics no" approach favored by both the Hog Farmers and many Western world leaders at the main conference, the PowWow exhibition sought to replace the problem of looming environmental destruction within a general critique of the capitalist mode of production. "We mean", the exhibition's program leaflet announced,

> that the technology which has been developed has been made to serve false needs, induced by the market, and corporate manipulations of the market. To some extent a change in the power over production and its organization can reduce alienation, […] pollution, and the waste of non-renewable resources. But we do not think that is enough. Changes in the methods of production are also essential in order to create a social and political system that serves the real needs of the people. We are interested in technological changes that would promote the following goals: workers' control over production, self-realization through creative work, collaboration, independent economic development […], local self-sufficiency, the preservation of resources […].[32]

The exhibition, as Scott argues, therefore not only proposed a practical program for environmentally and socially progressive uses of "alternative technologies", but also critically outlined the changing political and economic landscape within which such technologies should be brought into service. For the organizers of the exhibition, the UN conference's supposedly "apolitical" project to facilitate sustainable economic development in the Third World, was in fact a drive to consolidate Western, US-led capitalism's control over new global sectors, securing new cheap labor pools and natural resources. "[T]he transfer of science, technology, and managerial paradigms to developing countries", Scott writes, "was a center-piece of […] Cold War era US foreign policy hoping to reconstruct the Global South in alignment with American capitalism and to produce dependency".[33]

By mapping causes as well as possible solutions of the impending environmental disorder onto a global cartography of social, economic, and

geopolitical shifts, *For a Technology in the Service of the People* therefore also, we might say, outlined the landscape in which the critical, leftist contingent of the Moderna Museet group strove to operate. The resulting image – which could perhaps have been drawn by Öyvind Fahlström – showed the ominous contours of an emerging, neocolonial, technocratic empire, but also, and indissociably, charted the common lines of resistance and solidarity that connected different, local communities and liberation movements into an international network of dissent and emancipation. In this network, the Black Panther Party's resistance against the "internal colonization" of the African-American population in the ghettos of major US cities – evoked by several solidarity manifestations and events at Moderna Museet, such as a public information meeting in connection to *Poetry Must Be Made By All! Transform the World!* in November 1969, and an evening of concerts, readings and screenings on July 4, 1970 – were linked to the systematic repression and disenfranchisement of Romani immigrants in Sweden – the topic of the exhibition *Not Approved: Gypsy* (*Ej godkänd – zigenare*), organized by the Finnish Romani association in collaboration with former Bildaktivisterna member Björn Myrman at Filialen in the spring of 1973 – which were in turn connected to the effects of industrialization and intensified urbanization on the social and environmental systems of Nordic archipelagoes, one cause of which was increased global competition in the volatile and conflicted petroleum industry in the early 1970s.[34]

The latter example was the subject of one of the largest exhibitions at Filialen, *Images of the Archipelago* (*Skärgårdsbilder*), curated by Stolpe, and shown during the winter of 1972–73. This was an exhibition that stood out among the Filialen projects, and even more so in the general exhibition history of Moderna Museet. With its period setup and its folkloristic elements, it would not have appeared incongruous at an ethnographic or historical museum. The exhibition featured photographic screen montages, text panels, paintings, maps, and models, as well as a large selection of cultural artifacts and utilitarian objects, arranged as period environments or pedagogical installations. The display was designed to evoke social life in three Nordic archipelagoes: the Estonian island of Ruhnu, Kökar outside of Åland, and the Stockholm archipelago. There were folk costumes, fishing rods, buckets, and model boats, as well as photographic suites – by, among others, Mikael Wahlberg – that documented traditional farming and fishing techniques, and scenes from the everyday lives of local families.[35] These images of the archipelago were meant to provide a sense of a social and

cultural reality that was now on the verge of extinction, as the processes of economic and technological modernization induced migration toward industrialized urban areas, while increased tourism and environmental changes were further depopulating the island communities.

An interview-based film directed by Stolpe and several others, and shown as part of the exhibition's program, *Money That Grows* (*Pengar som växer*, 1971), located the political situation of these geographically and demographically marginal societies in a nexus of regional, national, and ultimately global forces. The film's starting point was a very local event: on May 1, 1969, the small oil tanker Palva, belonging to the Finnish, state-owned petroleum company Neste OY, ran aground in the Kökar archipelago, releasing one thousand tonnes of crude oil into the sensitive marine environment. From there, the film's circles widened. Stolpe and his collaborators interviewed island inhabitants, who talked of the black oil still washing ashore on their beaches, and of the poisonous chemical agents used during the aborted sanitation efforts – but also of the members of their families who had moved to the mainland, and now lived in the provisional workers' villages erected around the oil refineries of the Finnish petroleum giant. They interviewed municipal politicians and city planners, who spoke of the new industrial zones appearing in urban peripheries, and of their effects on existing, local communities and ecosystems – as well as of the vast urban redevelopment and mass housing schemes across the Nordic countries, and the social segregation that they generated. And they interviewed state politicians and business leaders, who agreed that, under conditions of increased international competition and pressure from US petroleum corporations, a company like Neste OY, in spite of being state-owned, operated in a sphere largely beyond democratic control or political accountability.[36]

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"Many of the exhibitions at Moderna Museet have […], both as regards content and disposition, been strongly agitational and political in character", a memorandum by the Swedish Parliamentary Audit Office (*Riksdagens revisorer*), an authority tasked with auditing the state finances, declared in June 1971.[37] "Artistic activity which is in this way funded with means from the state has […] on repeated occasions taken the shape of partial and extreme political propaganda."[38] Although the remedies that the auditors proposed for this situation would never be implemented, their

report seems to have played a decisive role in the termination of the Information Center project.

The memorandum, described as an inquiry into "certain state-funded exhibition activities", focused on three recently founded art institutions: the Swedish Exhibition Agency (*Riksutställningar*), an experiment with travelling exhibitions overseen by the MUS 65 committee, NUNSKU, a newly instated committee for funding and producing Swedish exhibitions abroad, and Moderna Museet, which was at this moment little over one decade old. The auditors were highly critical of the operations at all three institutions, reprimanding them for using public means to promote "subjective and partial" opinions.[39] In the three institutions, the auditors argued, the leadership either operated without political transparency, or lacked sufficient oversight and control to prevent "certain special interest groups" from "unduly usurp[ing] public economic support".[40] For this reason, the auditors proposed that the executive boards of the institutions should be restructured so as to include "parliamentary elements", which would provide their directorships with "valuable factual knowledge about the functions and values of democratic society".[41]

The strongest critique in the memorandum was directed at Moderna Museet. The auditors detected an "agitational and political" character in several of the institution's recent exhibitions, such as (not inadequately) in *Poetry Must Be Made All! Transform the World!*, as well as in the historical survey *Surrealism?* in 1970 (with which, the auditors concluded, the museum argued that art "should function as a revolutionary force"), and in *Edward Kienholz: 11+11 Tableaux* in 1970 (which, they astutely observed, was "highly critical of different circumstances in our society").[42] But most of the agitation, the auditors held, took place during the activities arranged around the actual exhibitions. The auditors objected to what they perceived as a leftist and anti-American bias in the museum's program of events, singling out the activities related to the Black Panther Party in 1969 and 1970, and the three "immigrant evenings" organized in connection to *Poetry Must Be Made All! Transform the World!* in 1969.

We can note three things about the auditors' critique. First, they did not register the tensions running through Moderna Museet's program during the laboratory years, where, as we have seen, leftist internationalism could coexist, sometimes in open contradiction, with technocratic models of globalization. More blatantly, they disregarded from the many aspects of Moderna Museet's program during the period which did not confirm their perception of the institution's leftwing bias. There were no mentions, for

example, of the exhibition of Swedish publicist and businessman Gerard Bonniers' large, private art collection during the summer of 1968, or of the comprehensive retrospective of Swedish modernist painter Sven X:et Erixson, which ran parallel to *Poetry Must Be Made By All! Transform the World!* in 1969.[43] Second, what seems to have provoked the strongest reaction from the auditors were the events calling for internationalist and anti-racist solidarity with various minority groups, notably the Black Panthers. It is conceivable that this slant was connected to a desire among parts of the political establishment to rehabilitate diplomatic relations with the US, damaged by the vocal Swedish opposition to the Vietnam war at all political levels.[44] And third, it is unclear to which extent the auditors' views actually represented state policy. The Social Democratic government to which the Audit Office reported was, we may recall, at the same time engaged in a comprehensive inquiry into a new cultural policy, which would establish that the goals of cultural policy should be increased social equality, decentralization, and mitigation of the "negative effects of the market economy".[45]

The reactions against the memorandum, which had been sent out for referral to the concerned institutions and which soon reached the press, were swift and strong. Asked to comment, Hultén noted sternly that "this tastes of the 1930s", while Stolpe argued that "our task is to reflect the current social debate, and if it comes to expression in provocative and radical forms we must follow along".[46] And while the conservative newspaper *Svenska Dagbladet* predictably sided with the auditors, condemning Moderna Museet for its "red partisanship" – museums, an editorial stated, "are not supposed to be revolutionary playhouses"[47] – the liberal and leftist press, along with influential Social Democratic politicians, supported the institution, criticizing the auditors for their lack of tolerance. In a signed editorial, Olof Lagercrantz, editor-in-chief of the liberal *Dagens Nyheter* – and a good friend of Hultén – wrote that it "would have devastating effects on our art life if the parliament were allowed to decide which artworks are raw and subjective".[48]

In existing accounts of this affair, the story ends here: the memorandum from the auditors was dismissed, their suggestions were not followed. As for example the sociologist Martin Gustavsson writes, the "memorandum was met both with a resounding no from the instances to which it was referred […], and with a cold response from the government".[49] To support the latter claim, Gustavsson quotes the Social Democratic Minister of Education Ingvar Carlsson (also head of the Office of Cultural Affairs), who in an

article published April 26, 1972 stated: "The government will not take any actions as a result of the writing from the Parliamentary Audit Office".[50] The same day, Prime Minister Olof Palme supported the same line in an interview. In these cases, however, Carlsson and Palme did not refer to the auditors' memorandum, but to their final writing, in preparation of which the memorandum had been composed and sent out for referral.

In the final writing from the Audit Office, addressed to the government on April 7, 1972, the auditors restated their objections, while taking into account, and dismissing, the critical responses from the concerned institutions and the press. "Admittedly", they conceded, "most exhibitions at Moderna Museet can be reconciled with the purposes for which the museum has been established. However, in many cases, too numerous for them to be described as incidental, it is possible to discern a tendency toward political bias, in support of certain extremist ideas and groups."[51] As evidence of this, the auditors now referred to the Filialen department, to which, they wrote, "the ideologically tainted activities at Moderna Museet are mainly located" – but which, we should note, had not been inaugurated by the time the auditors had prepared their earlier memorandum. An exhibition such as *Advertising – A Distorted Image of Society*, the auditors observed, "offered a very negative image of the functions and effects of advertising, without even suggesting that the problem could be seen from different perspectives". Similarly, they held, the program of events at Filialen had "a strong element of revolutionary romanticism".[52] In order to prevent such bias and extremism, the auditors repeated, institutions should be "placed under the leadership of specific boards with parliamentary elements".[53]

No such actions were taken by the government, as Ingvar Carlsson confirmed. But it appears improbable that the Ministry of Education's decision to reject Moderna Museet's proposal for an extension, renovation, and reorganization of the museum's facilities on Skeppsholmen – and consequently to terminate the Information Center project – would not have been informed by the Audit Office's inquiry. The dates and the events line up. On April 7, 1972, the auditors' final writing, which shifted the target of the criticism against Moderna Museet toward Filialen, was sent to the government, falling within the remit of the Ministry of Education. On April 24 (as we have discussed above, chapter 7.2c), the Building Board sent the final version of the Moderna Museet group's renovation and extension proposal for approval to the Ministry of Education. On April 26, Minister of Education Ingvar Carlsson stated in the press that the Audit would not lead

to any actions on the part of the government. In May, it was decided that Filialen's trial period would not be extended, and therefore that the annex would be shut down. And on September 29, the Ministry of Education sent their response to the Building Board, signed by Ingvar Carlsson, instructing the Building Board to develop detailed plans for a reduced extension of Moderna Museet's facilities, in effect rendering the Information Center plans unrealizable.

Of course, it is not evident how this web of reprimands, proposals, and decisions should be untangled – nor how it played into the increasing polarization within the Moderna Museet group between the Filialen network and Hultén and his associates. But one possible scenario, suggested by the documents, is that the antagonistic Filialen annex, and the Information Center project of which it was an integral element, were sacrificed in order to avert increased political control of the museum, in the shape of a "board with parliamentary elements", as the auditors had proposed. On this hypothesis, the Audit Office's decision, in their final writing, to shift the focus of its criticism from Moderna Museet in general to Filialen in particular, also suggested a practical solution: remove the cause of concern, avoid further measures. With such a maneuver, everyone could be content. The auditors, and the conservative forces with which they were aligned, could announce that their criticism had not been without effect, and that an agent of revolutionary extremism had been neutralized. Government representatives could pronounce elevated statements about artistic freedom and institutional independence, while eliminating a source of cultural, political, and diplomatic discord (and erasing a large item from the state budget). And Moderna Museet could persist as an autonomous institution, without parliamentary interference – if only by reverting to the model of the *cour des miracles*, renouncing the vision of the museum as a catalyst of progressive practices. Order could be restored.

*

In his "autobiographical fiction" *Tank* from 1975, Michael Kustow recounts his turbulent experience as director of the ICA in London between 1968 and 1970. Seeking to develop the Institute into a "workshop for the new, a center of innovation", with an intense program of theater performances, concerts, manifestations, seminars, and high-tech exhibition experiments, Kustow – who, we recall, had participated in the UNESCO seminars, and remained a friend and associate of Hultén – soon found himself in conflict

with the institution's board.[54] The "armor-plated war-machine" of the novel's title serves as an image of the combative attitude Kustow reluctantly had to adapt in order to overcome various "Chairmanic interdictions", and impose his program.[55]

Upon his return to the ICA in January 1970, after a two-month "enforced vacation", the novel's protagonist K finds the Institute transformed: offices have been restored to their former use, a new official administrator has been recruited, discipline is reinstated.

> K began to exercise the muscles of his mind once more. He felt he had used up or seen through the clutch of insights and instincts with which he had begun the Institute, and now he was seeking new grounds for action. He started to glimpse them in conversation with a colleague from a European contemporary art center who came to visit the Institute.
>
> He sat with the man one evening at the Institute bar. Through the windows they could see down on the roofs of government departments. They swapped problems, compared notes about the things all directors of publicly-financed arts institutions discuss: subsidy, independence from government interference, how to deal with one's board of governors, how to keep both Establishment sponsors and radical artists happy, how they had ever managed to wind up doing such an odd, demanding, unnameable job as this.
>
> "I sometimes think", said K, "that although we call our centers and institutes avant-garde, in fact they're completely out of touch with what's really happening in the present, let alone the future."
>
> "So soon anachronisms", murmured the man from Europe.
>
> "I mean, what have our places got to do with the way the world actually works? What are we doing still hanging up pictures and putting on concerts and lectures in the old style – however experimental their content – when the world shifts because a teenager in Manchester copies the teenagers from Los Angeles he sees on television? Or the rituals of barricades and hijacks and car-bombs are transmitted over the ether and their germs take root like an epidemic in Tokyo, in Paris, in Athens, in Prague? What are we in a world which seems to be going so much faster because we know so much more about it so much more quickly?"
>
> "Islands. Little isolation units –"
>
> "– Doing oldfashioned newfangled things."
>
> "I tell you, I've been thinking. You have a piece of paper?"
>
> The man drew four concentric circles on the back of an envelope.
>
> "Look. A diagram of a new kind of museum of modern art. Four circles. From the city, you enter: in the outer circle you find information. Real information in a raw, untreated state. Unedited telex news, press agency reports, videophone terminals, yes? Events, opinions, fashion news, raw. Permanent input of industrialized information, unprocessed. Everybody can bathe in it. Then they go to the second circle. Means of treating the information. Videotape, printing press, offset litho, yes?

Anybody – the public, the artists, the museum people – can use them to extract from the flood of information their own rich matter. Okay?"

"Fine."

"Third circle. Processed information – art. Exhibitions and performances, tapes and films. Put together by the museum people serving outside people – artists and not artists, right? The kind of program we put on now, but in a new context. Final, central circle. The permanent collection. The best of what has been made in the past, constantly reassessed, so that what is made now can be seen in a true perspective. A place of contemplation. And you store all the information – historical, critical, all the context – in a computer, so that each spectator can call up the references and connections he's interested in. That's the most traditional role of the museum – as a *memory*. But the memory never stands still."

"And people can see how change is transformed into what's permanent."

"Right. It would cost a lot, of course. And people would say it wasn't artistic."

They finished their drinks, got up, said goodbye. K went home, excited by the possibilities of the plan, enthused by its responsive openness, sobered by knowing how far he, and all of them in the same game across the continents, were from making it happen.[56]

Coda: "A Live Center of Information": The Paris Connection

In 1975, the French cultural review *L'Arc* interviewed Pontus Hultén, who had then served for two years as the director of the Visual Arts Department within what was by now known as the Centre Georges Pompidou, under construction in the heart of Paris.

> L'Arc: *In an article in the review* Museum *a couple of years ago, you proposed a project for an ideal museum in the form of a three-dimensional model featuring four concentric spheres, representing four different domains of activity. If you have today accepted to direct the "visual arts" sector of Beaubourg, is it because you see a possibility of realizing that ideal model there?*
>
> P.H.: In effect, my work, my hope consists in rendering it possible. But perhaps it is too optimistic to imagine that we will be able to realize this model *immediately*. The realization of the outer sphere, with "raw" information, which places the interior space of the museum in contact with the exterior space of the street or of life, will no doubt encounter great difficulties. The society we live in has become too aggressive. The risks of conflict too great. Museums are in a sense *cours des miracles*, where it is possible to do things that cannot be done elsewhere. But the hope is that it will be possible – that is, when museums must no longer protect themselves from the aggressiveness of outside life. I am convinced that, in order to live, they must be places not only for exhibitions, but also for creation, open to the large public, and on one level with life.[1]

Hultén had been offered the appointment at Beaubourg in the fall of 1972, apparently soon after the Swedish Ministry of Education had delivered its final, discouraging response to the proposal for an extension of Moderna Museet's facilities on Skeppsholmen, in September.[2] He started the new position in the fall of 1973, and his first months in Paris therefore coincided with the debate around the *New York Collection for Stockholm*, which

opened in October of that year. Although Hultén's vague remarks in the *L'Arc* interview about the "risks of conflict" and the "aggressiveness of outside life" were primarily comments about a French post-1968 situation (described in unspecified and depoliticized terms, as his critics would note),[3] it is difficult not to also read them in relation to those recent quarrels and debates in Sweden – as if Hultén had brought not only the hope of rendering his vision possible to Paris, but also a certain skepticism regarding the ideal of turning the museum into anything other than a *cour des miracles.*

The various statements Hultén made about his ambitions for Beaubourg's Visual Arts Department in the years leading up to the inauguration of the center in January 1977 generally confirm that impression. In a text presenting the gigantic, new department – which would result from the merging of the Musée National d'Art Moderne, France's main modern art museum, and the Centre National d'Art Contemporain, a relatively young institution dedicated to artistic production and temporary exhibitions – Hultén explained that, once integrated into the Beaubourg center, the department would feature "three sections […] corresponding to three different functions": the "*permanent*", the "*temporary*", and the "*tools*", that is, the collections, including resources for "conservation, presentation of works, acquisitions"; the "manifestations", including "the exhibitions, and the program of presentations"; and "documentation", providing instruments "necessary for research and scientific work".[4] What we are familiar with as the Information Center diagram's first circle, then, that outer "envelope" or membrane which would "connect to the universe of everyday life", and establish a "system of emissions […] with all institutions of the same sort, and with the organs of circulation and communication", had here – just as Hultén suggested in the *L'Arc* interview – been erased.[5]

To this contraction of the Circular Function Model, was added a renewed emphasis – prompted by the Beaubourg center's multi-institutional structure, which would include not only the new Visual Arts Department, but also the Bibliothèque Publique d'Information (a large public library), the Centre de Création Industrielle (a center for industrial design, architecture, and city planning), and IRCAM (an experimental music laboratory) – on the virtues of flexible interchange between traditionally separate cultural forms, as well as a corresponding stress on popularity and audience outreach. "Beaubourg", Hultén wrote in an article in *Le Monde* in 1974, "is a unique and original effort to unite the different elements of modern culture, and to render them accessible to the public in

one single location."[6] In an interview in *Art Press* from the same year, Hultén stated that what made Beaubourg "internationally exceptional" as a "museological experiment" was the "absence of compartmentalization", which made it possible to "make all the supports of modern sensibility immediately and simultaneously accessible", so as ultimately to "reverse the long tradition of separation between connoisseurs and laymen".[7]

In a sense, then, Hultén's statements about the orientation of the Visual Arts Department at Beaubourg marked a regression toward his early 1960s idea of a "museum in movement", with its accents on dynamic interplay between collection and exhibitions, interdisciplinarity, and audience outreach and engagement. They are closer in kind to his writings related to Willem Sandberg and the Stedelijk in Amsterdam, and to his pre-Expert Group outlines for the Kulturhuset project, than to the notion of the museum as a "catalyst for the active forces in society", or a socially trans-formative "broadcasting station". Different accounts by Hultén's associates in Paris support this view, often comparing his museological vision to Sandberg's, and underlining his commitment to collaboration across the artforms and to visitor interaction, while generally eliding the critical dimensions of the program at Moderna Museet in the years prior to his Paris move. In his book on the development of the Beaubourg project from 1976, Claude Mollard, the chief administrator of the center during the early phase, offers a brief account of the Kulturhuset venture in Stockholm, proving that it was in fact an active reference for the group around Hultén at Beaubourg – but invokes it only as a precursor to the Paris center's multi-institutional setup, its urban location, and to some extent its architecture (a "screen-building" opening toward a large, pedestrian piazza).[8] Remarkably, it is as if Hultén, given the opportunity to pursue his Information Center plans within the ostensibly high-tech framework of the Centre Pompidou, chose to limit the range of those plans, excluding precisely their most techno-enthusiast aspects: the conception of the exhibitionary apparatus as a progressive, cybernetic media system, which would channel information flows and social forces through its interior, and out toward an exterior network of urban arrangements and media apparatuses.[9]

It should here be noted that, when Hultén started his position in 1973, two years had passed since Renzo Piano and Richard Rogers had won the architectural competition, the construction of the building had already begun, and the general principles of the center's institutional structure and program were already well established. As director of the Visual Arts Department, Hultén could therefore not influence the conception of the

center at a fundamental level – and so it is incorrect to claim, as Swedish commentators sometimes have, that Beaubourg was modeled on Kulturhuset, or even Moderna Museet, in Stockholm.[10] That Hultén had a major role in developing the program and in setting the exhibition standards of Beaubourg's Visual Arts Department, on the other hand, is of course beyond doubt. That topic, however, is outside the scope of the present remarks.[11]

But the reference to the *Museum* article in the *L'Arc* interview with Hultén, also suggests another, earlier, and in some respects deeper connection between the Beaubourg venture and the Information Center project. As we recall, the article in *Museum* – the "Exchange of Views of a Group of Experts" – was based on seminars organized by UNESCO, at which not only Hultén, but also Jean Leymarie and François Mathey, both directly involved in the development of the Beaubourg center, participated. The seminars were held in Paris in October 1969 and April 1970, during the same time that a team of museum experts, including Leymarie and Mathey, and under the direction of the cultural administrator Sébastien Loste, was assembling what became known as Beaubourg's *Livre rouge*, that is, the general program directives for the new institution, from which the architectural competition brief would be derived.[12] And so the question is: what was the nature of the correspondence between the Moderna Museet group's model for the Information Center, as presented by Hultén at the UNESCO seminars, and the core conception of Beaubourg as a center of "constantly renewing information", as the competition brief phrased it?[13]

Posing essentially the same question, but from the opposite direction, the architectural historian Ewan Branda asks, in what is the most comprehensive critical study of the development of Beaubourg's "architecture of information", "From where did this view of a cultural center as information center originate?"[14] Branda locates the Beaubourg competition brief, as well as Piano and Rogers' winning response – according to which the new cultural complex in Paris should function as a "live center of information"[15] – within a minor tradition of architectural and institutional information visions, including Paul Otlet's Mundaneum, Malraux's *Musée imaginaire*, and Joan Littlewood and Cedric Price's Fun Palace. Among the sources that informed the genesis of the competition brief, however, Branda ascribes a decisive role to the UNESCO seminars, whose "conceptual cross-section diagram of an architectural information machine consisting of four concentric rings", he argues, gave a "much more concrete form" to the notion of "the museum as an information system". "Most importantly", he

develops, "the model discussed at the Unesco workshop suggested that information went beyond metaphor or a broad understanding of cultural trends: this new institution would need to actually perform as an information system."[16]

An overview of the Beaubourg competition brief confirms Branda's assessment. "The entire Centre has been inspired by an original perspective", the brief read, "that of constantly renewing information: news of artistic creation in its many forms, news of industrial design, and especially the constant keeping up-to-date of those institutions, Library and Museum, which may be considered the memories of ideas and form."[17] Such integration of "memories" with resources for information reception and treatment, would characterize the center's functional organization as a whole. There should be, the brief explained, a centrally located "newsroom", offering visitors access to "newspapers, journals and recently published books", as well as "simple information services […] where staff will also be able to answer questions by telephone". "Main news items", the text continued, "will be the objects of small, regularly renewed exhibitions. The newsroom will also host frequent exhibitions of contemporary print and photography."[18] In the main library facilities, in turn, one "will also find modern devices necessary for the reception and diffusion of information".[19]

These information resources, the brief went on, should serve the center's openness toward, and continuous interchange with, its social and cultural surroundings. Architecturally, the building should seek "a permeability as complete as possible between the Center and its environment".[20] "The Center should not therefore stay isolated; its activity will necessarily overflow the limits of the building, leaving its mark on the district and spreading throughout France and other countries by means of travelling exhibitions, television broadcasts, publications, etc."[21] Such expansive, outward functions, however, the brief argued, must be fully integrated with the center's internal organization. The center's different "activities will only be meaningful if they convey a shared experience […]. None can be self-sufficient: all are needed. Unity must be created by the public."[22]

Accordingly, the display spaces for the museum's collection "should not be conceived in relation to some specific idea of presentation", but "on the contrary, be supple enough to permit, with only minimal adjustments, any mode of presentation". "Contemporary art", the brief added, "will be exhibited in conjunction with the so-called historical collections; the choice of works will be ceaselessly renewed in relation to their actuality".[23] The "zone for temporary exhibitions", in turn, "should allow the public […] to

communicate with the museum and the polyvalent spaces", and there should be an "experimental Gallery […] accessible as directly as possible for visitors coming in from the street".[24] Throughout, in collection spaces, temporary exhibition zones, and library facilities, amenities for information, documentation, and communication should be available, for use by artists, researchers and visitors, so as to "enable a far greater public to realize that although creativity affects an appearance of liberty, artistic expression is not inherently autonomous, its hierarchy is merely fictitious, and that there is a fundamental link between today's art forms and the productive relations within society".[25]

While the brief's terms are too generic to allow determination of their exact sources, the overall correspondence between the early Beaubourg directives and the Information Center model is apparent. The brief's integrated information system incorporates elements of the model presented at the UNESCO seminars which date back to Hultén's Sandbergian "museum in movement": collection and exhibition interplay, art-form cross-breeding, visitor interaction. However, it also proscribes ideals consistent with features of the Information Center vision that Hultén was distancing himself from by the time he took up his position at Beaubourg, notably an "outer layer" of inside-outside permeability, engagement with the urban environment, and extended "broadcasting" of exhibitions and activities.

The relationship between the Beaubourg venture and the Information Center model was therefore paradoxical. By 1973, Hultén had severed his ties with the antagonistic, troublesome leftwing contingent he had enjoyed a productive interchange with during the final phase of the Kulturhuset project and the early years of Moderna Museet's "laboratory period". Arriving in Paris, he was to some degree disillusioned with the prospects of realizing the full scope of the Information Center project, and the social ideals to which it was inextricably linked. Instead, he scaled back his ambitions, seeking to establish a "museum in movement" at Beaubourg. Emblematic here was his decision to invite Jean Tinguely, together with Niki de Saint Phalle and Bernhard Luginbühl, to stage a sequel of sorts to the successful *She* (1966) – arguably the highpoint of Moderna Museet's achievements during its dynamic period in the early and mid 1960s – for Beaubourg's early program, resulting in the unwieldy *Crocrodrome* (1977), produced and installed in the new center's vast entrance forum.[26] But the apparatus within which Hultén settled in order to deploy his "museum in movement", to clear a space for his *cour des miracles* – the spectacular high-

tech structure and institutional experiment of Beaubourg, a "live center of information" – was designed in general accordance with the principles of the Information Center project, as originally and fully conceived during the "laboratory" years. In some sense, the early phase of the Beaubourg project could perhaps be read as the unresolved amalgamation of those closely interrelated, and yet diverging institutional models. Here, Jean Baudrillard's cynical but perceptive remark, that Beaubourg was a "carcass of signs and flux, of networks and circuits", which "cho[se] as its content the traditional culture of depth", acquires a different resonance.[27]

Conclusion: Of What Was Beaubourg the End?

To the extent that we can speak of an "exhibitionary complex" today – and it has been the wager of the present study that this concept remains critically valid, provided that we are attentive to its shifting implications – it is evidently no longer made up primarily of those apparatuses with which Tony Bennett first associated the concept in his historical study of the birth of the museum: amusement parks and department stores, trade fair pavilions and pre-cinematic displays.[1] The network of apparatuses in relation to which the exhibitionary apparatus today achieves its definition, and must defend its integrity, is primarily the network of digital media, that vast matrix of ubiquitous, interconnected devices and platforms, that global infrastructure of shared information standards and ideals, which now imposes its rhythms and demands on every aspect of social, political, and cultural existence – *and then*, there is that set of other, more or less anachronistic apparatuses, those old museums and art centers, libraries and cinema theaters, which are gradually being integrated in, or rendered compatible with, the circuits and protocols of contemporary digital media.[2] As museologist Ross Parry stated in 2007, "any fissures or tensions between the concept of the computer and the concept of the museum have, in recent years, been moving to a point of resolution – of compatibility".[3]

But while the exhibitionary apparatus is today undoubtedly the "content" of a new information environment, as Everett Ellin announced, referring to Marshall McLuhan's widely influential concept, while we are unquestionably, in Ellin's words, "witnessing the cultural osmosis of the museum into a brave new medium" (MaM, 14), the exhibitionary apparatus also, as the art and exhibition historian Olivier Lugon pointed out, seems somehow to persist, to maintain the integrity of its specific modes of display and organizing reception, to resist full integration in, or alignment with, or indeed sheer overpowering by, the complex of late twentieth and twenty-first-century media. People, Lugon noted, "have not ceased to want to dis-

place themselves in order to physically and collectively approach objects or images, whose reproductions are easily available elsewhere".[4]

The history of the process by which the "fissures and tensions" between museums and digital media approach "a point of resolution" is, in other words, not unequivocal. It is also the history of a conflict, where what the museologist Jean Davallon called the "arche-media" of the exhibition, characterized by constitutive indeterminacy and interactivity,[5] has been continuously reasserted, under changing technological configurations, against what Jean Baudrillard, in the early 1970s, described as the tendency of the new information networks to establish a homeostatic and exhaustively administered social space, a "semio-aesthetic order" of "absolute legibility".[6] As a privileged site for such a "conflict of compatibility", the exhibitionary apparatus has served both as a vehicle for the promotion and deployment of the new cybernetic paradigm, itself indissociable from what Reinhold Martin has called an "organizational complex" of global economic and governmental managerialism, and as a platform for attempts at devising alternative modes of socially integrating new media, aiming to facilitate the extension of the realm of social and cultural self-determination.[7]

This study has sought to locate the mutating, experimental institutional project that was initiated with Moderna Museet's Kulturhuset plans and that, in a sense, culminated with the Information Center vision, within the history of this moving contradiction, where the qualities and the potentials of the exhibitionary apparatus have been continuously contested and asserted in relation to the ongoing reconfiguration of the exhibitionary complex, as it has verged toward dissolution in a new information environment. In part I, we charted the development of the Moderna Museet group's Kulturhuset project into a "project of autonomy". Tracing the group's schemes for that vast, highly convoluted and conflicted institutional venture across their different formulations and variations, three chapters reconstructed how the loose collective of critics, curators, artists, and architects centered around Pontus Hultén came to gradually abandon their notion of a "museum in movement", which would provide a shelter for the dynamic nature of modern art, in favor of a conception of the museum, and of the culture center within which it would be incorporated, as a "catalyst for the active forces in society", that would employ all artistic and technical means available in order to extend cultural and political self-determination into new social sectors, and new fields of individual and collective existence.

Pursuing this end, Kulturhuset's program, as outlined in the Expert Group's writings from 1969, strove to reconcile the opposed forces that traversed the exhibitionary complex. On the one hand, the future center would feature new visual technologies and media as integral elements of its institutional infrastructure. In dialogue with Kulturhuset's architect Peter Celsing, and borrowing directly from the notion of a "house of all activities" promoted by several Swedish leftwing collectives at the time, the Expert Group modeled their proposal for the new center partly on Tatlin's multi-functional and technologically advanced *Monument to the Third International.* The building was conceived as a giant image-screen, which would beam the "force fields" of the institution's activities out into urban space, and the institution's lower floors, open toward the adjoining piazza and equipped with state-of-the-art communication instruments, were supposed to foster social practices and modes of communal interaction which could, it was hoped, exert a progressive influence on the surrounding social field, as well as on the politicians working in the parliamentary offices upstairs. On the other hand, the institution would maintain a set of preservative functions and display conventions that would secure the continuity of the "highly experimental attitude toward the surrounding world" embodied by the practices of modern and contemporary art. In the systems-like integration of these diverging operations, the "experiments in social coexistence" conducted in the center's social facilities would feed and feed off the modern art practices safeguarded by the institution's resources for conservation and display.

With the Information Center project, the Moderna Museet group wished to translate the Kulturhuset proposal's "project of autonomy" more thoroughly into the terms of a discourse of cybernetics and information theory. Part II of this study analyzed the stakes of this conceptual shift – from culture house to information center – by way of close readings of two museological and exhibitionary ventures, both in different ways invested in the project of merging the exhibitionary apparatus with new information technology: the Museum Computer Network, launched in 1967, and *Pictures of Sweden 1969.* Although Everett Ellin's project, to digitize museum catalogues and interconnect them into a "worldwide museum information network", can in many respects be seen as the first systematic effort to render the museum and digital media fully compatible, there is a near total absence of critical reflection on this endeavor in museological literature.[8] Ellin's enthusiastic vision of a comprehensive "computerization" of the "full spectrum of museum resources", which would "restructure the

museum environment itself" and encourage "total participation", ultimately bringing us "to the edge of omniscience", was unapologetically aligned with what Baudrillard described as the "cybernetic idealism" of Marshall McLuhan, anticipating the contemporary tendency toward a "mass customization" of the output in all sectors of the political economy of global capitalism, to once again refer to Reinhold Martin.

Pär Stolpe's exhibition *Pictures of Sweden 1969*, in turn, was based on the politically divergent yet conceptually congruent notion of a "critical reversal of the media", which would, as Hans Magnus Enzensberger held, transform each receiver into a potential transmitter, liberating the inherently egalitarian nature of new media. But while this assumption of an intrinsic link between technological development and social justice remained consistent with the cybernetic paradigm, and the basic model of transmission on which it was founded, the exhibition's actual, irreducibly antagonistic and ambiguous arrangement at the Sweden House exceeded that conceptual framework, suggesting how the exhibitionary apparatus might remain a site of critique and contestation, even as it enlisted the resources of new media. Placing *Pictures of Sweden 1969* alongside the Museum Computer Network therefore allowed us to outline the basic problem that the Moderna Museet group faced as they translated the "project of autonomy" into their Information Center plans, diagrammed by the computer-like Circular Function Model: in order to maintain the aim of extending the domain of self-determination, an exhibitionary apparatus integrated with the complex of new media must at once resist full "compatibility" with those media, that is, alignment with the social, political, and economic ideals to which they were structurally or contingently committed.

As the Moderna Museet group advanced toward the implementation of the Information Center project in Stockholm, this "conflict of compatibility" developed into a crisis, exacerbated by the shifting political and economic conditions of the early 1970s, in Sweden and globally. Part III of this study traced the various manifestations and the gradual intensification of that crisis, toward the definitive disintegration of the Moderna Museet group's concerted efforts, in 1973. It examined both the museum's reorganization plans, and a number of its exhibitions and activities, reading them as the elements of one coherent institutional undertaking, a central component of which was the Moderna Museet group's ambition to place a greater emphasis on new visual media and information technology, which was in turn connected to the formal extension of the museum's patrimonial responsibilities toward technically reproduced images. In order to probe the

conditions and the consequences of such an institutional reconfiguration, in a context of the increasing social impact of mass media, the museum established a separate, temporary annex for critical experiments with new visual media, known as Filialen, directed by Stolpe. The intention was that, once its trial period was over, Filialen would be integrated as a permanent information department at the museum, then conceived in its totality as a "transmitting center" or a "broadcasting station", designed for "protection against predigested information" and "resistance to monopolies". The short-lived Filialen soon became a site of conflict, and it was around that department's allegiance to the popular "image", made possible by new, widely available tools of visual production and dissemination, as against the "avant-gardist artwork" and "authoritarian elite museums", that the polarization of the Moderna Museet group was first delineated.

At the level of exhibition practices, the project to integrate the exhibitionary apparatus differently in new media networks also entailed a comprehensive recalibration. On the one hand, in a number of projects, such as the "screen exhibitions" at Filialen and the museum's main department, the search for new technological configurations was directly linked to the attempt to catalyze new subjectifications. Exhibitions such as *Poetry Must Be Made By All! Change the World!*, *Women* or *For a Technology in the Service of the People*, experimented with display formats adequate to new production techniques, alternative methods of circulation, and new models of spectatorship, designed to facilitate critical pattern-seeing and agency, and to open lines of exchange and solidarity beyond existing communication conduits. On the other hand, several exhibitions and activities at the museum at the same time promoted – often in direct, open conflict with the critical projects – an idealized, technocratic imaginary, where the deployment of new telecommunication systems would harmoniously open a smooth, global surface of community and interaction. Projects such as the presentation of Buckminster Fuller's *World Game*, and the E.A.T. collaboration "Utopia Q & A 1981", both at the *Utopias and Visions* exhibition in 1971, were based on the disavowal of the new, international divisions of labor, and the concomitant social inequalities, on which the establishment of their technological infrastructure would depend. The opposition to this emerging paradigm of global managerialism and power, often associated with US imperialism, triggered the political interventions and the debates – notably around the contentious *New York Collection for Stockholm* in 1973 – that led to the termination of the Information Center project.

Approaching this sequence of institutional experiments – from the early Kulturhuset proposals to the final attempts at realizing the Information Center – from the point of view of the exhibitionary complex, has therefore allowed us to locate them within a nexus of technological developments, power relations, and geopolitical shifts, generally keyed to the incipient restructuring of the capitalist system in the period between the last years of the "golden age" and the energy crises of the 1970s. It has permitted us to chart how the exhibitionary apparatus has approached its new critical and creative possibilities, while struggling to maintain its integrity, its fundamental *incompatibility*, within a network of media apparatuses gradually coalescing into a total, integrated information environment, inextricable from an emerging "organizational complex" of economic and governmental managerialism, and directly anticipating today's global matrix of digital, networked media. Locating these experiments, almost all of which failed to be fully realized, within that nexus of forces, has therefore also served to map some of the contradictions that had to be naturalized, and some of the energies that had to be diverted or repressed, in order for that complex to assume its present shape – contradictions which might perhaps still be rendered active as conflict, and become the sites for new forms of practice, even new projects of autonomy. A core premise of this study has been precisely that such a critical and genealogical perspective – which traces the inscription of practices and phenomena within patterns of power and value extraction, so as to uncover their constitutive contradictions and latent virtualities – remains theoretically and politically valid, as against the predominance of endgame narratives, and their corresponding attitude of post-critical defeatism.

For a generation of art critics, art historians, museologists, architectural theorists, and philosophers, one date seems to mark a turning point in the history of the late twentieth-century museum of modern and contemporary art: January 31, 1977, the day the Centre Georges Pompidou was inaugurated in Paris. Numerous commentators described this as a momentous event, representing the terminal, spectacular manifestation of the conflict between the old place of the museum, and the fluid realm of new media apparatuses, between the disruptive ideals of the avant-garde, and the conservatism of patrimonial canonization, or between the radically popular cultural practices of the 1968 movements, and the recuperating mechanisms of a new, governmental control machine. For Jean Baudrillard, as we have noted, the high-tech structure now erected in the center of Paris was a "carcass of signs and flux, of networks and circuits", which "cho[se]

for its content the traditional culture of depth".[9] According to Reyner Banham, "It is very difficult nowadays to see [Piano and Rogers' building] as anything other than a kind of terminal monument" to the "megastructure movement", that final avatar of modern architecture's progressive embrace of new technologies.[10] For Annette Michelson, Beaubourg represented the "supreme museological instance of the imagination of the late capitalist era", with its announced program of Americanized blockbuster exhibitions.[11] The critic Marie Leroy, writing on behalf of the cultural committee of the French socialist party PSU, held that the new institution "secured the policing of cultural production, in accordance with the demands of a market in full restructuring", and so enabled "the reproduction of capitalist relations of production in the specific sphere of the culture industry".[12] And for Andreas Huyssen, Beaubourg was the historical embodiment of the "failure and frustration" of the "European attempt to escape from the 'ghetto' of art and to break the bondage of the culture industry".[13]

Among these commentators, then – and others could have been quoted – a sense of historical, cultural, and political closure, of the final eclipse of a horizon, was prevalent. The museum had been fully subsumed in the late capitalist culture industry, the progressive dream of merging the exhibitionary apparatus with new information technologies had turned out to serve the exclusive interests of a new regime of exploitation and managerial power. How do we assess this end theorem from the vantage point of our present configuration of social, cultural, and technological forces? And what can we learn from the Information Center model in this constellation? In order to address these questions, let us briefly return to Baudrillard, whose infamous essay on the "Beaubourg-Effect", published soon after the center's opening, offers one of the most comprehensive arguments for considering the new institution in Paris – the last station, we might say, of the Moderna Museet group's Information Center project – as a vehicle for control and deterrence.

<p style="text-align:center">*</p>

Of what was Beaubourg the end? "By means of a museological script which is there only to rescue the fiction of humanist culture, the actual labor of the death of culture is enacted", declared Baudrillard, with characteristic hyperbolism.[14] The high-tech framework of Piano and Rogers' building, this "body entirely composed of flux and surface connections", was "the

ultimate gesture toward translation of an unnamable structure: that of social relations consigned to a system of surface ventilation (animation, self-regulation, information, media)".[15]

In other words, Beaubourg embodied, even radicalized, "monumental-ized", what Baudrillard had called, in 1972, the "semio-aesthetic order" of a new "cyberneticized society", fully aligned with the generalization of "sign exchange value", and founded on the expulsion of "the refractory models of transcendence, conflict and surpassing".[16] It was the manifestation of an order in which there could be no depth, no culture, no critique. "We enter a social environment of synthesis in which a total abstract communication and an immanent manipulation no longer leave any point exterior to the system."[17]

And yet inside Beaubourg's shell of "networks and circuits", as its "content", there was that perfect anachronism, that archetypal, old place devoted to the culture of depth: a museum. A collection of twentieth-century artworks, of modernist artifacts, of traces of culture and transgression, some of them assembled into displays through which visitors were invited to ambulate, drift, linger, to cross paths, even to interact – rather than being transported using "suction, propulsion, or what have you, some kind of motion in the image of that baroque theatricality of flux which makes for the originality of the carcass".[18]

So what should have been placed inside of Beaubourg? Not nothing. Emptiness could still have served as spectacular negation, as "a masterpiece of anti-culture". Stroboscopic lights perhaps, "streaking the space whose moving pedestal is created by the crowd" – or else a Borgesian labyrinth of multiplied, deracinated signs, an "experiment in all the different processes of representation: diffraction, implosion […], chance connections and disconnections". A "culture of simulation and fascination", that is, "and no longer a culture of production and meaning".[19]

But "in another sense", noted Baudrillard, it is "not true that Beaubourg displays an incoherence between container and contents."[20] Because the old medium – as always – had become the content of a new medium. Or because, to phrase it otherwise, the "fissures and tensions" between the new information environment (container) and "the concept of the museum" (content), had reached "a point of resolution – of compatibility".[21] "Beaubourg", Baudrillard wrote, "is nothing but a huge mutational operation at work on this splendid traditional culture of meaning, transmuting it into a random order of signs and of simulacra that are now […] completely homogeneous with the flux and tubing of the facade."[22]

And so "the masses" – those notorious 20,000 daily visitors that exhilarated and overwhelmed the directorship of the new center – did not in fact come there because they "wanted culture", Baudrillard proclaimed.[23] They came there in order to be initiated into "this new semiurgic system", "under the pretext of acculturation into meaning and depth".[24] Culture in the center was fully integrated with the emerging "semio-aesthetic order", and "acculturation" into "humanist culture" consequently served the opposed purpose: it "enacted" the "labor of death of culture", as Baudrillard melodramatically put it.

The center's contents were therefore "merely the ghostly support for the medium's operation, whose function is still that of beguiling the masses". They were phantomal objects of pure feedback: people "come here to choose the objectified response to all the questions they can ask, or rather *they themselves come as an answer* to the functional, directed questions posed by the objects", in an "integrated circuit".[25] The real contents of the Centre Pompidou, in this sense, were the masses themselves. "Thus this concave mirror: it's because they see the mass(es) inside it that the masses will be tempted to crowd in."[26]

However, Baudrillard proposed, the visitors did not come there only because they "obey the commands of deterrence". Certainly, people were drawn to Beaubourg to consume, to choose objects customized to fit their desires, desires themselves customized as "answers" to the "questions posed by the objects"; and they came there because they came there, in an even tighter loop, that is, in order to enjoy the spectacle of their own mass congregation. And this system worked. The surge of people flooding into the new center, Baudrillard claimed, was approaching "*critical mass*", threatening the building's structural integrity: "Above 30,000 it threatens to 'buckle' Beaubourg's structure".[27]

"But at the same time", Baudrillard now asserted – and here the unresolved contradiction indicates the hidden dialectics of his argument – the visitors "aim expressly and unknowingly [*expressément, et sans le savoir*] for [the] annihilation" of Beaubourg. "Beaubourg's success is no mystery; people go there *just for that*", he wrote. They "stampede to it just to make it buckle".[28] Because this was their only possible response, the only mode of abolition available to them, in "defiance of a massive acculturation into a sterile culture".[29]

We recognize the idea: "*Make Beaubourg buckle!*", Baudrillard's "new revolutionary slogan",[30] corresponds to his position in "Requiem for the Media", that true reciprocity "can emerge only from the destruction of the

media such as they are".[31] Just as no "critical reversals" could challenge the "model of transmission" according to which media were currently organized, so "[f]ire, explosion, destruction are no longer the imaginary alternatives for [the] edifice" of Beaubourg, and the new information regime it monumentalized. "To a universe of networks, permutations, and flux, the response is reversion and implosion".[32]

We are therefore back at Baudrillard's either-or: either "the media such as they are" are destroyed, or generalized sign exchange value reigns supreme; either "institutions" are made to "implode [by] themselves, by the power of ramification, feed-back, overdeveloped control circuitry", or Beaubourg's "model of *absolute* security", its system of "semiurgy" and "deterrence", is extended to "all social levels".[33] In "The Beaubourg-Effect", Baudrillard still maintained the myth of an originary, fuller, more general mode of exchange – idiosyncratically modeled on the pre-modern gift economies theorized by Marcel Mauss and Georges Bataille – that, pre-sumably, was present as residue or trace in the culture whose "labor of death" was enacted by the center: "culture is a precinct of secrecy, seduc-tion, initiation, of a highly ritualized and restrained symbolic exchange".[34]

It was from the vantage point of his privileged access to that more general exchange, and in favor of its redemptive realization, that Baudrillard could look down upon the emerging system of signs and flux, and summon its implosion through spiraling feedback and overload. And it was on account of this access that he could perceive what Beaubourg's visitors "expressly and unknowingly" wanted, rather than the falseness of the center's "culture". Baudrillard's next step – already suggested in the Beaubourg essay, with its fantasy of a stroboscopic play of empty signifiers – would be to discard the enigmatic concept of the "symbolic" altogether, and, as so many after him, pronounce the end of history, in favor of the accelerated proliferation of simulations.

The Moderna Museet group's Information Center project – which still figured, however vaguely, in the background of the Beaubourg enterprise – was never reducible to the terms of Baudrillard's Manichean opposition. The system of museological and social functions that Hultén, Stolpe, and their associates had outlined was not designed to slot smoothly into place as the "content" of a new information environment, sustaining the museum's "fiction of humanist culture" even as it was rendered compatible with the circuits and protocols of the new media apparatuses (the fantasy of digital museology), or "transmuted" into "a random order of signs and simulacra", in Baudrillard's words. Nor, evidently, did the Moderna Museet group

envisage the implosion of the exhibitionary apparatus, or the full abolition of "the media such as they are", in favor of "symbolic" redemption or the end of history.

The Information Center project was refractory to such end theorems. What it proposed was a set of abstract and practical models for critically inserting the exhibitionary apparatus in the mutating complex of new media, aiming to preserve the integrity of that apparatus under new social, technological, and economic conditions, while setting its specific resources to work for an extension of the realm of social and cultural self-determination. The project's premise was the sustained incompatibility of the exhibitionary apparatus: that what Baudrillard announced, and then quickly disavowed, as the contradiction between the realm of "signs and flux, networks and circuits", and the "anachronistic cultural contents" of the museum, must be upheld, perhaps even exacerbated as conflict.[35] Because the question the Information Center project posed was not only how to defend the relative autonomy of the exhibitionary apparatus within a pervasive information environment, but also, inversely, how the exhibitionary apparatus could serve as a catalyst for the extension of autonomy across and through the environment of new media networks, as they exerted an ever stronger impact on the definition of social life.

These problems – that, at least, has been a guiding assumption of this study – remain as urgent now as they were four decades ago. We are today, it may be argued, approaching a condition of full social integration of digital, networked media, where processes of data harvesting are operating in every crevice of sensible existence and across the extent of the social field, where the rhythms of everyday life are increasingly synchronized with the temporalities of ubiquitous software platforms, themselves aligned with the currents and demands of global, neoliberal capitalism, and where these tendencies are enforced by media monopolies historically unparalleled in might and scope.[36] An arrangement of the aesthetics of social space is assuming shape, where the "curves of enunciation" and "visibility" are converging into what Jacques Rancière calls a "police" configuration of the "distribution of the sensible", deployed at a comprehensive, global scale.[37] It is as if today's dominant digital media companies were aspiring specifically to corroborate Baudrillard's demoralizing premonitions, of "a society that has become its own pure environment", or a "semio-aesthetic order" which "no longer leave[s] any point exterior to the system".[38]

But it is precisely because reality today sometimes resembles an enactment of Baudrillard's most dystopian prophecies, that we must reject

the fatalistic either-or scenario he himself derived from them. We should not accept settling into complacent reliance on the inherent benevolence of digital interconnectedness – a position that may here be represented by those self-avowed "post-critical museologists" who hold that, through the integration of "social media", the museum can "trace" its "invisible non-technical networks", and so come into its own as a "distributed museum".[39] But nor should we heed to Baudrillard's own, millenarian response, his call to "*Make Beaubourg buckle!*" or destroy "the media such as they are" – although the mere fact that the new wave of "digital abolitionism" today is gaining mainstream traction, when it would have been dismissed as reactionary Luddism only a few years ago, indicates that circumstances are becoming untenable.[40]

What both of Baudrillard's options – complacency or implosion – have in common is that they naturalize the prevalent configuration of the media complex, and of the social relations it generates and feeds upon, under the pretext of our supposed transition into a post-historical state, which places their social, political, and economic conditions beyond critical reach. With Rancière's terms, what they both exclude is the very dimension of politics, as the practice that seizes upon the "wrongs" of "consensual" social configurations, in order to actualize equality as disidentification and subjectification.[41] What the Information Center project leaves us with, instead, is the question of how, today, the exhibitionary apparatus might contribute to the critical transformation of the media complex, so as to serve the extension of the realm of the public – that is, of potential disagreements, and of free, collective self-determinations – rather than its eradication. And the first condition of any such project is that the exhibitionary apparatus must preserve its incompatibility, its status as a site of systemic contradictions. Only then could it inform new disputes regarding the current organization of the media infrastructure, and future struggles for one conducive to new freedoms and experiences.

Retracing and reconstructing the history of the Information Center model, with its four circles of information, workshops, exhibition, and collection – or in other words, of data capture, processing, interface, and memory – has perhaps allowed us to gauge the dimensions and the implications of such an undertaking. As a model for a museum of the future, it proposed a relocation and a functional recalibration of its preservative resources – its collection, or memory bank, or data base – in relation to its other layers, its other functions as an exhibitionary apparatus, themselves integrated differently with new information systems and media networks.

Such reconceptualization, of course, is arguably an even more urgent task today. In relation to the contemporary media complex, it would demand, as we have seen, that we critically confront the tendency toward pervasive data harvesting and mass customization, both by rejecting the privatizing transfer or outsourcing of data resources – museum collection catalogues, image banks, visitor statistics, user mapping, polls – to major media corporations, and by encouraging experimentation with alternative media infrastructures, with socialized data bases and public-owned access networks.[42] As a model for exhibitionary practices, the Information Center scheme resulted in projects that sought to counteract information monopolies, experimenting with critical media interfaces and alternative distribution methods, drawing upon, and recircuiting, the exhibition's inherently ambiguous mode of signification. Such endeavors too remain vital today. They would require facing the reductive, standardizing, and balkanizing effects of ubiquitous, networked software platforms and data ranking systems, for example by establishing idiosyncratically organized libraries or archives, or by privileging mute, non-responsive, indeterminate display formats, allowing visitors to construct their own correspondences and interactions.[43]

Today, of course, the diagram of the exhibitionary apparatus as an Information Center, this old vision of a future museum, itself belongs in a museum. And writing a text such as this one could probably be argued to contribute to its further memorialization: to its conservation, preservation, its inscription in an archive of exhibitionary and museological practices – to creating a museum of the second order, as it were, a museum of museums. But as we know, just as it is only by pursuing its experimental reinvention that the perseverance of the exhibitionary apparatus might be secured, so it is only by preserving its integrity that it might serve as a site for transformative practices and experiences.

Notes

A Tale of Four Circles

[1] *Alternative Suédoise* was curated by Pierre Gaudibert, director of the department ARC (*Animation Recherche Confrontation*) at the Paris museum. Its all-male cast consisted of Dick Bengtsson, Ola Billgren, Lars Englund, John-e Franzén, Lars Hillersberg, Einar Höste, Olle Kåks, and Ulrik Samuelson. The exhibition was first shown at Moderna Museet in Stockholm, October 24–November 29, 1970, and then at the Musée d'Art Moderne de la Ville de Paris, January 22–February 21, 1971.

[2] "*Cours des miracles*" was the name given to extra-legal zones in Paris during the Ancien Régime, where, supposedly, the inhabitants – vagabonds, outlaws, outcasts – were every night miraculously cured from the ailments and disabilities they had pretended to suffer from during the day, in order to induce compassion and raise alms.

[3] Yann Pavie, "Vers le musée du futur: entretien avec Pontus Hultén", *Opus International*, no. 24–25, May 1971, p. 58. All translations are my own unless otherwise noted.

[4] Ibid, pp. 58ff.

[5] See e.g. Charles Jencks's infamous account in *The Language of Post-Modern Architecture* (New York: Rizzoli, 1977), which pins the location of the death of modern architecture to 3:32 p.m., July 15, 1972, the moment the Pruitt-Igoe housing project in St. Louis was demolished (p. 9).

[6] I am here referring primarily to David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity* (London: Blackwell, 1990), Fredric Jameson, *Postmodernism, or, the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1991), and Gilles Deleuze, "Postscript on Control Societies", in *Negotiations*, trans. Martin Joughin (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), but the references could of course be multiplied.

[7] In this respect the present study learns from the historiographic and methodological considerations of Felicity D. Scott's *Architecture or Techno-Utopia: Politics After Modernism* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2007).

[8] Pavie, "Vers le musée du futur: entretien avec Pontus Hultén", p. 61.

[9] See Daniel Buren, "The Function of the Studio", trans. Thomas Repensek, *October*, no. 10, 1979, p. 58.

[10] Carol Duncan, "The Art Museum as Ritual", in *Civilizing Rituals: Inside Public Art Museums* (London: Routledge, 1995), p. 20.

[11] See Carol Duncan and Alan Wallach, "The Universal Survey Museum", *Art History*, vol. 3, no. 4, December 1980. See also their earlier article, "The Museum of Modern Art as Late Capitalist Ritual: An Iconographic Analysis", *Marxist Perspectives*, no. 4, 1978.

[12] Brian O'Doherty, *Inside the White Cube: Ideology of the Gallery Space* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), p. 15. First published as a series of three essays in *Artforum* in 1976.

[13] Douglas Crimp, *On the Museum's Ruins* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1993), p. 48.

[14] Suffice it to note here Quatremère de Quincy's critique against Napoleon's "abduction" of monuments from Rome and their subsequent installation at the new Louvre museum. See *Letters to Miranda and Canova on the Abduction of Antiquities from Rome and Athens*, trans. Chris Miller and David Gilks (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2012).

[15] F. T. Marinetti, "The Founding and Manifesto of Futurism", trans. Lawrence Rainey, in *Futurism: An Anthology*, eds. Christine Poggi, Lawrence Rainey, and Laura Wittman (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), p. 52.

[16] Theodor W. Adorno, "Valéry Proust Museum", trans. Samuel and Shierry Weber, in *Prisms* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1981), p. 175.

[17] Robert Smithson, "Some Void Thoughts On Museums", in *The Collected Writings*, ed. Jack Flam (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), p. 42.

[18] T.J. Clark, Christopher Gray, Donald Nicholson-Smith, and Charles Radcliffe, "The Revolution of Modern Art and the Modern Art of Revolution" [1967], http://www.cddc.vt.edu/sionline/si/modernart.html, last accessed August 16, 2014.

[19] Tony Bennett, "The Exhibitionary Complex", in *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (London: Routledge, 1995), p. 69.

[20] The concept "biopolitics" of course refers to Michel Foucault's investigations of the "administering of life" in modern institutions and techniques of power. The most important texts here are *The History of Sexuality, vol. 1: The Will to Knowledge*, trans. Robert Hurley (London: Penguin, 1981), part V, "Right of Death and Power over Life"; and *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the Collège de France 1977–78*, trans. Graham Burchell, ed. Michel Senellart (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).

[21] Bennett, "The Exhibitionary Complex", p. 59.

[22] See Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, trans. Alan Sheridan (London: Penguin, 1977), part IV, ch. 3, "The Carceral". We might note that Foucault himself rarely mentions the museum in his texts, and when he does, such as in his celebrated lecture "Different Spaces" from 1967, he describes it as one of modern society's "heterotopias" and "heterochronias", which may potentially afford a reflexive distance from the "normal", social organization of time and place. Foucault, "Different Spaces", trans. Robin Hurley, in *Essential Works of Foucault, vol. 2: Aesthetics, Method, and Epistemology*, ed. James D. Faubion (New York: The New Press, 1998), p. 182.

[23] See Olivier Lugon, "Introduction", in Lugon (ed.), *Exposition et médias: Photographie, cinéma, télévision* (Lausanne: Éditions l'age d'homme, 2012).

[24] Jean-Louis Baudry, "The Apparatus: Metapsychological Approaches to the Impression of Reality in Cinema", trans. J. Andrews and B. Augst, in Gerald Mast, Marshall Cohen and Leo Baudry (eds.), *Film Theory and Criticism: Introductory Readings* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 693n. See also Thomas Elsaesser's remarks in "Between

Knowing and Believing: The Cinematic Dispositive After Cinema", in François Albera and Maria Tortajada, *Cine-Dispositives: Essays in Epistemology Across Media* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2015), pp. 49f.

[25] Jean-Louis Baudry, "Ideological Effects of the Basic Cinematographic Apparatus", trans. Alan Williams, *Film Quarterly*, Vol. 28, No. 2, Winter 1974–1975.

[26] Michel Foucault, "The Confession of the Flesh", trans. Colin Gordon, in *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings*, ed. Colin Gordon (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980), p. 197. These wideranging aspects are emphasized in Deleuze's influential reading of Foucault's concept. See Gilles Deleuze, "What is a *dispositif*?", in *Michel Foucault, Philosopher*, ed. and trans. Timothy J. Armstrong (New York: Routledge, 1992), p. 159. Giorgio Agamben discusses these definitions in *What Is an Apparatus?, and Other Essays*, trans. David Kishik and Stefan Pedatella (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009). For an overview and critical discussion of the variations of the Foucauldian concept, as well as of different problems of translation, see Jeffrey Bussolini, "What is a Dispositive?", *Foucault Studies*, No. 10, November 2010.

[27] I am here of course referring to Clement Greenberg's notion of the modernist, self-critical artwork. See "Modernist Painting", in *The Collected Essays and Criticism*, vol. 4 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), pp. 85–93.

[28] See Pierre Restany, "Yves Klein, *Le Vide*, Paris le 28 avril 1958", in Bernd Klüser and Katharina Hegewisch (eds.), *L'Art de l'exposition: Une documentation sur trente expositions exemplaires du XXe siècle*, trans. Denis Trierweiler (Paris: Éditions du regard, 1998), pp. 255–263, and Kirsi Peltomäki, *Situation Aesthetics: The Work of Michael Asher* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2010), pp. 28ff.

[29] Jean Davallon, *L'exposition à l'œuvre: Stratégies de communication et médiation symbolique* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1999), p. 11. In references to Davallon's use of the term "*dispositif*" we will maintain the original French, in order not to confuse it with our own use of the concept of "apparatus".

[30] Ibid, pp. 20f.

[31] Ibid, p. 28. We can note that Davallon appears indifferent to the experimental exhibition practices of postwar art, insisting, for example, on the object status of the exhibited elements, or on the absence of physical bodies in the exhibition space (other than the spectators), seemingly dismissing Conceptual Art and Performance Art altogether. However, it is not certain to what extent Davallon's account is vulnerable to such objections. What he describes are the semiotic conditions of exhibition practices, not their changing forms, and even today many exhibition formats born out of the experiments of the twentieth-century avant-garde – empty exhibitions, interactive arrangements, etc. – are only conceivable negatively, as critical interrogations or rejections of their own conventions.

[32] Cf. Jean-Louis Baudry, "Ideological Effects of the Basic Cinematic Apparatus". See also Laura Mulvey, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema", *Screen*, vol. 16, no. 3, 1975, and *L'exposition à l'œuvre*, pp. 22f.

[33] Cf. ibid, pp. 27f.

[34] Ibid, p. 18.

[35] Gilles Deleuze, "What is a *dispositif*?", p. 160.

36 Reinhold Martin, *The Organizational Complex: Architecture, Media, and Corporate Space* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2003), p. 15.

37 Ibid, p. 9.

38 For a canonical account, see Norbert Wiener, *The Human Use of Human Beings: Cybernetics and Society* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1954).

39 Martin, *The Organizational Complex*, p. 21.

40 Ibid, p. 4.

41 Pavie, "Vers le musée du futur: entretien avec Pontus Hultén", p. 63.

42 See James Beniger, *The Control Revolution: Technological and Economic Origins of the Information Society* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986), part III.

43 Reinhold Martin, *Utopia's Ghost: Architecture and Postmodernism, Again* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), p. 127.

44 Pavie, "Vers le musée du futur: entretien avec Pontus Hultén", pp. 58ff.

45 Reinhold Martin, *The Urban Apparatus: Mediapolitics and the City* (Minneapolis: Minnesota University Press, 2016), p. 4.

46 Rancière theorizes the emergence of the "aesthetic regime" in several texts. See Jacques Rancière, *The Politics of Aesthetics*, trans. Gabriel Rockhill (London: Continuum, 2004), *Aesthetics and Its Discontents*, trans. Steven Corcoran (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2009), and *Aisthesis: Scenes from the Aesthetic Regime of Art*, trans. Zakir Paul (London: Verso, 2013).

47 Peter Bürger, *Theory of the Avant-Garde*, trans. Michael Shaw (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984).

48 Rancière, *Aesthetics and its Discontents*, pp. 24f.

49 For Rancière's most comprehensive presentation of his system of philosophical and political concepts, see *Disagreement: Politics and Philosophy*, trans. Julie Rose (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), esp. ch. 2. On "disidentification", see also his "Politics, Identification, and Subjectivization", *October*, no. 61, Summer 1992.

50 Rancière, *Disagreement*, pp. 28–42. Foucault analyzes the "police science" in *Security, Territory, Population*, lectures 12 and 13.

51 Hans Magnus Enzensberger, "Constituents of a Theory of the Media", trans. Stuart Hood, in *Critical Essays*, eds. Reinhold Grimm and Bruce Armstrong (New York: Continuum, 1982), p. 62.

52 Everett Ellin, "Museums as Media", *ICA Bulletin*, no. 169, May 1967, p. 14, and "Information Systems and the Humanities: A New Renaissance", in *Computers and Their Potential Applications in Museums: A Conference* (New York: Arno Press/The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1968), p. 324.

53 Jean Baudrillard, "Design and Environment, or How Political Economy Escalates into Cyberblitz", in *For a Critique of the Political Economy of the Sign*, trans. Charles Levin (St. Louis: Telos Press, 1981), p. 199.

54 Jean Baudrillard, "Requiem for the Media", in ibid., p. 181.

55 Jean Baudrillard, "Review of Marshall McLuhan's *Understanding Media*", trans. Mike Gane, in *The Uncollected Baudrillard* (London: Sage Publications, 2001), p. 43, and "Design and Environment", p. 202.

56 Ibid.

57 Baudrillard, "Requiem for the Media", p. 177.

[58] See Jacques Rancière, "The Misadventures of Critical Thought", in *The Emancipated Spectator*, trans. Gregory Elliot (London: Verso, 2009).

[59] See Andrew Dewdney, David Dibosa, and Victoria Walsh, *Post-Critical Museology: Theory and Practice in the Art Museum* (London: Routledge, 2013).

PART I
From the Museum in Movement

[1] Pontus Hultén, "How does one wish a museum for modern art to function?", draft for a letter to Piet Sanders, December 4, 1962, pp. 1f. Pontus Hultén Archive (PHA), 4.1.52. There are several versions in Swedish and English of this text in the Hultén archive. I am quoting what appears to be the most definitive English-language draft of the version sent to Piet Sanders.

[2] For a discussion about *Movement in Art* as one among a series of important exhibitions at Moderna Museet that sought to "establish a mutually constitutive relationship between history and present", see Hans Hayden, "Dubbel bindning: Moderna Museet som plats för tolkning av samtid och historia", in Anna Tellgren (ed.), *Historieboken: Om Moderna Museet 1958–2008* (Stockholm/Göttingen: Moderna Museet/Steidl, 2008), p. 181.

[3] See Pontus Hultén, "Fem fragment ur Moderna Museets historia", in Olle Granath and Monica Nieckels (eds.), *Moderna Museet 1958–1983* (Stockholm: Moderna Museet, 1983), p. 36.

[4] Pontus Hultén, "Vicarious Freedom, or On Movement in Art and Tinguely's Meta-Mechanics", in *Jean Tinguely: A Magic Stronger Than Death* (Milan: Bompiani, 1987), p. 32. Originally published in Swedish in the magazine *Kasark*, 1955. Regarding the exhibition at the Galerie Denise René in 1954, see Patrik Lars Andersson, *Euro-Pop: The Mechanical Bride Stripped Bare in Stockholm, Even* (diss. The University of British Columbia, 2001), pp. 37ff. For a detailed discussion of *Kasark* in the context of the Swedish art and exhibition history of the 1950s, see Anders Karlin, "*Kasark*: en liten tidskrift av oerhörd vikt", in *OEI*, no. 56-57, 2012, pp. 145–178.

[5] See Hans Hedberg (ed.) *Är allting konst? Inlägg i den stora konstdebatten* (Stockholm: Bonniers, 1963). About the debate, see e.g. Leif Nylén, *Den öppna konsten: Happenings, instrumental teater, konkret poesi och andra gränsöverskridningar i det svenska 60-talet* (Stockholm: Sveriges Allmänna Konstförening, 1998), pp. 112f, and Patrik Lars Andersson, *Euro-Pop*, pp. 95ff.

[6] Willem Sandberg, "Stedelijk är sextiosex år gammalt", in *Stedelijk Museum Amsterdam besöker Moderna Museet Stockholm* (Stockholm: Moderna Museet, 1962), p. 3.

[7] Pontus Hultén, "Sandberg och Stedelijk Museum", in ibid., pp. 5ff. It is worth pointing out here that the MoMA in New York had also been an important model for Moderna Museet in its pre-establishment and early phase. It had been the central reference for Otte Sköld, the founder of Moderna Museet and Hultén's predecessor as director, who died in 1958. See Annika Öhrner, "Moderna Museet in Stockholm – The Institution and the Avant-Garde", in Tania Ørum and Jesper Olsson (eds.), *A Cultural History of the Avant-Garde in the Nordic Countries 1950–1975* (Leiden: Brill Rodopi, 2016).

[8] For a detailed account of the genesis of the exhibition, see Meredith Malone, "Dynamic Labyrinths", in *Nouveau Réalisme: Performative Exhibition Strategies and the Everyday in*

Post-WWII France (diss.: University of Pennsylvania, 2006). See also Ad Petersen's recollections in "*Dylaby*, un Labyrinthe Dynamique au Stedelijk Museum", in Katarina Hegewisch and Bernd Klüser (eds.), *L'art de l'exposition: une documentation sur trente expositions exemplaires du XXe siècle*, trans. Denis Trierweiler (Paris: Éditions du Regard, 1998), as well as the documentation in Bruce Altshuler, *Biennials and Beyond – Exhibitions That Made Art History, 1962–2002* (London: Phaidon, 2013), pp. 25–36.

[9] See e.g. Bernadette Dufrêne, *La création de Beaubourg* (Grenoble: Presses Universitaires de Grenoble, 2000), pp. 78–87. See also Peter F. Althaus, "Le musée ouvert, une expérience pilote", in André Desvallés (ed.), *Vagues: une anthologie de la nouvelle muséologie, vol. 1* (Maçon: Éditions W, 1992). For a discussion on the concept of an "open art" in Sweden, see Leif Nylén, *Den öppna konsten*, pp. 111–115.

[10] Umberto Eco, "The Poetics of the Open Work", in *The Open Work*, trans. Anna Cancogni (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1989), p. 21.

[11] Ibid., p. 12.

[12] Umberto Eco, "The Open Work in the Visual Arts", in *The Open Work*, p. 90.

[13] For an elucidating discussion of *She – A Cathedral*, in the context of a detailed biographical account of Hultén and his work at Moderna Museet, see Andreas Gedin, *Pontus Hultén, Hon & Moderna* (Stockholm: Langenskiöld, 2016). The production process of *She* is meticulously documented in *Hon – en historia* (Stockholm: Moderna Museet, 1967), a collection of photographs, anecdotes, and press clippings about the exhibition's development and reception – a remarkable, early example of institutional auto-historiography.

[14] For a critical reading of the PR strategies around the exhibition, see Benoît Antille, "*Hon – en katedral*: Behind Pontus Hultén's Theatre of Inclusiveness", in *Afterall*, no. 32, Spring 2013.

[15] Patrik Lars Andersson, *Euro-Pop*, ch. III, "The Mechanical Bride Stripped Bare in Stockholm, Even", esp. pp. 177–207. Andersson identifies Moderna Museet entirely with Hultén: "I refer to Moderna Museet as 'Hultén's museum' in order to emphasize how much the museum had become associated with his vision" (p. 64n109).

[16] See the discussion about *Dylaby*'s critical reception in Malone, "Dynamic Labyrinths", pp. 249–259.

[17] Hultén, "How does one wish a museum for modern art to function?", p. 2.

[18] Ibid., p. 3.

[19] See Ulf Linde, *Spejare* (Stockholm: Bonniers, 1960), p. 68. See also the two articles on Lars Ahlin in *Efter hand: texter 1950–1985* (Stockholm: Bonniers, 1985), pp. 406–426 (originally published in 1960 and 1967).

[20] Hultén, "How does one wish a museum for modern art to function?", p. 2.

[21] Ibid., pp. 3f.

[22] This exhibition, the first major museum survey of Tatlin's work since the early 1930s (he died in 1953), was an important element in the international canonization of the artist.

[23] Nikolai Punin, "The Monument to the Third International", trans. Christina Lodder, in Charles Harrison and Paul Wood (eds.), *Art in Theory 1900–2000: An Anthology of Changing Ideas* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003), pp. 336f. An earlier, partial translation of this text is included in the Stockholm catalogue.

[24] Ulf Linde, "Ur materialet självt", *Dagens Nyheter*, July 28, 1968. See also Troels Anderson, "On the Reconstruction of the Tower 1967–68", and Ulf Linde and Per Olof Ultvedt, "Report on the Reconstructing", in *Vladimir Tatlin* (Stockholm: Moderna Museet, 1968). On the history of the different reconstructions of the tower, of which the 1968 Stockholm version was the first, see e.g. Nathalie Leleu, "'Mettre le regard sous le contrôle du toucher': Répliques, copies et reconstitutions au XXe siècle: les tentations de l'historien de l'art", *Les Cahiers du Musée National d'Art Moderne*, no. 93, Fall 2005, and Maria Gough, "Model Exhibition", *October*, no. 150, Fall 2014.

[25] Carlo Derkert, Pontus Hultén, Pi Lind, Pär Stolpe, and Anna Lena Thorsell, "Skrivelse från expertgruppen den 5 januari 1969", in *Om kulturhuset: Kulturlokalerna vid Sergels Torg, Kulturhuskommitténs slutrapport*, Kommunstyrelsens utlåtanden och memorial nr. 49, bihang (Stockholm: Kommunstyrelsen, 1971), p. 52.

[26] See Carlo Derkert's notes from an Expert Group meeting, undated but in all likelihood from late 1968 or early 1969: "This does not exclude the old culture of popular education [*allmänbildningskulturen*]: ABF, libraries, museums with paintings – No, no, – *But the idea of the unitary function* [*helhetsfunktionen*] *is new* (as in Tatlin's tower for the 3rd intnl.)". Carlo Derkert Archives (CDA), 2009/94:3:25. See also the discussion between Derkert, Ingela Lind, Karin Lindegren, and Katja Waldén in Granath and Nieckels (eds.), *Moderna Museet 1958–1983*, p. 153.

[27] Kurt Bergengren, *När skönheten kom till city* (Stockholm: Aldus, 1976), and Christoph Grafe, *People's Palaces: Architecture, Culture and Democracy in Two European Post-War Cultural Centres* (diss. Technische Universiteit Delft, 2010). Regarding Moderna Museet's Kulturhuset plans, see also Eva Eriksson, "Förvandlingar och lokalbyten: Moderna Museets byggnader", in Tellgren (ed.), *Historieboken: Om Moderna Museet 1958–2008*, pp. 74–81.

[28] I borrow the notion of a "project of autonomy" from Pier Vittorio Aureli's study of the architectural theory of the Autonomia movement in Italy in the 1960s – however, as we will see, not in order to signal an affiliation with the tradition of autonomous and post-autonomous thought, but merely to indicate the inherently political dimension of the concept of autonomy, as used here. See Pier Vittorio Aureli, *The Project of Autonomy: Politics and Architecture Within and Against Capitalism* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2008).

1.
Moderna Museet in the City Center

[1] Kurt Bergengren, "Moderna Museet vid Sergels Torg", *Aftonbladet*, March 7, 1963. The "five trumpet blasts" refers to the five high-rises in the city's modernized Hötorget district. The expression was coined by Yngve Larsson in 1952. Larsson had also been the first to introduce the idea of a cultural institution at Sergels Torg, in 1960: "On one point we must admit that the critics are right: our new city center is exclusively devoted to barter and trade – it would certainly have been quite nice and adequate if it could also have housed some institution representative of our cultural life! [B]etween Sergels Torg and Brunkebergstorg lies the large Fyrmörsaren block, which belongs to the state and the Telegraph Administration. With due respect for the Telegraph Agency, would this not be the right place for […] the fine arts, for an institution with wide connections to the spiritual

life of the capital, with the cultural needs of the Stockholmers?" Yngve Larsson, "Nedre Norrmalm: Historiskt och ohistoriskt", in *Samfundet St. Eriks årsbok 1960* (Stockholm: Wahlström & Widstrand, 1960), p. 184.

[2] Concerning the relationship between Hultén and Bergengren, see e.g. Margareta Romdahl, "Moderna Museets chef: Tal om bred kultursyn för svårt för Stadshuset", *Dagens Nyheter*, March 3, 1970, where Hultén states that it was he and Bergengren that "launched" the proposal in *Aftonbladet*. Their collaboration seems to be an accepted idea. In his monumental work about the Stockholm City Sanitation, urban historian Anders Gullberg writes that "In all likelihood, the proposal originated from Hultén himself". *City – drömmen om ett nytt hjärta: Moderniseringen av det centrala Stockholm 1951–1979, vol. 1* (Stockholm: Stockholmia förlag, 2002), p. 465.

[3] "City Commissioner" translates "Finansborgarråd", a term without obvious English equivalent. Where applicable I follow the brief glossary appended to Thomas J. Anton's *Governing Greater Stockholm: A Study of Development and System Change* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), p. 229.

[4] Hjalmar Mehr, "Ett levande city", *Aftonbladet*, March 14, 1963.

[5] See Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Extremes: A History of the World, 1914–1991* (New York: Vintage Books, 1996), part II.

[6] City planning under the regime of biopolitics and security, Michel Foucault stated in 1978, with respect to the French eighteenth-century city of Nantes, is "a matter of maximizing the positive elements, for which one provides the best possible circulation, and of minimizing what is risky and inconvenient, like theft and disease, while knowing that they will never be completely suppressed". Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the Collège de France 1977–1978*, ed. Michel Senellart, trans. Graham Burchell (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), p. 19.

[7] See Thomas Hall, *Huvudstad i omvandling: Stockholms planering och utbyggnad under 700 år* (Stockholm: Sveriges Radios förlag, 1999), p. 144.

[8] Marx introduces the notion of the process of exchange as a "process of social metabolism" in the chapter of *Capital, vol. 1* on "Money, or the Circulation of Commodities". Karl Marx, *Capital, vol. 1*, trans. Ben Fowkes (London: Pelican Books, 1976), p. 198.

[9] Gullberg, *City – drömmen om ett nytt hjärta, vol. 1*, p. 189.

[10] See Hall, *Huvudstad i omvandling*, pp. 139ff.

[11] See Gullberg, *City – drömmen om ett nytt hjärta, vol. 1*, p. 494n1.

[12] See ibid., pp. 432ff.

[13] Hall, *Huvudstad i omvandling*, pp. 154f.

[14] See Anders Gullberg, *City – drömmen om ett nytt hjärta: Moderniseringen av det centrala Stockholm 1951–1979, vol. 2* (Stockholm: Stockholmia förlag, 2002), pp. 68ff.

[15] See Gullberg, *City – drömmen om ett nytt hjärta, vol. 1*, pp. 438ff.

[16] See Gullberg, ibid., p. 440, and *City – drömmen om ett nytt hjärta, vol. 2*, pp. 66f.

[17] Björn Elmbrandt, *Stockholmskärlek: En bok om Hjalmar Mehr* (Stockholm: Atlas, 2010), p. 107.

[18] Gullberg, *City – drömmen om ett nytt hjärta, vol. 1*, pp. 440ff.

[19] See Bergengren, "Moderna Museet vid Sergels Torg", and *När skönheten kom till city*, p. 151.

[20] See e.g. Kurt Bergengren, "Moderna museets desperados", *Aftonbladet*, April 23, 1962; "Marinen torpederar Skeppsholmen", *Aftonbladet*, November 11, 1962; and "Riv Moderna museets fängelse", *Aftonbladet*, November 11, 1962.

[21] Bergengren, "Moderna Museet vid Sergels Torg".

[22] Kurt Bergengren, "City – en plats för utbyte av varor och idéer", *Aftonbladet*, March 17, 1963.

[23] See e.g. O-son, "Moderna museet vid Sergels torg", *Aftonbladet*, March 16, 1963; "Moderna museet gärna i nya city", unsigned, *Svenska Dagbladet*, April 4, 1963; Evert Sverkman, "Citymuseum och bibliotek", *Stockholmstidningen*, May 29, 1963; Kurt Bergengren, "Miljökonsten hör ihop med Moderna museet – men var ska ett aktivt kulturcentrum ligga?", *Aftonbladet*, July 11, 1963; Kurt Bergengren, "Tomrummet vid Sergels Torg", *Aftonbladet*, October, 1963; Kurt Bergengren, "Citybalansen", *Aftonbladet*, December 14, 1963; Knud W. Jensen, "Museet mitt i stan", *Dagens Nyheter*, February 15, 1964.

[24] "Moderna museet till Sergels torg?", unsigned, *Aftonbladet*, January 27, 1964.

[25] Gullberg, *City – drömmen om ett nytt hjärta, vol. 2*, p. 17.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Manfredo Tafuri, *Architecture and Utopia: Design and Capitalist Development*, trans. Barbara Luigia La Penta (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1976), p. 135.

[28] See e.g. Bergengren, *När skönheten kom till city*, pp. 204–207.

[29] Kulturhuskommittén, "Kulturhuset vid Sergels Torg", dated April 14, 1969. Stockholm City Archives (SA), 0218/B:1.

[30] Helena Mattson, "Designing the Reasonable Consumer: Standardisation and Personalisation in Swedish Functionalism", in Helena Mattson and Sven-Olov Wallenstein (eds.), *Swedish Modernism: Architecture, Consumption and the Welfare State* (London: Black Dog Publishing, 2010), pp. 78f.

[31] Bergengren, "City – en plats för utbyte av varor och idéer".

[32] Theodor Adorno, *Aesthetic Theory*, trans. Robert Hullot-Kentor (London: Continuum, 1997), p. 6.

[33] Öyvind Fahlström, "Moderna Museet – Från pompa och stät, till informationscentrum", in Granath and Nieckels (eds.), *Moderna Museet 1958–1983*, p. 170.

[34] Quoted in Bergengren, *När skönheten kom till city*, pp. 20f.

2.
The Square and the Screen

[1] Hultén's candidature for the Amsterdam post had provoked violent reactions from conservative Dutch critics, outraged that a foreigner was considered for the position. A portrait in the daily De Telegraaf vividly described Hultén as a "shouting, beer-swilling barbarian", who scandalized the Stockholm high bourgeoisie with his bad manners during a movie premiere. Hultén withdrew his candidature in the spring of 1963, and the position was eventually granted to Eduard de Wilde. See the correspondence between Hultén, Sanders, Sandberg, and Asger Jorn in PHA, 4.1.52.

[2] Bergengren, "Moderna Museet vid Sergels Torg".

[3] "De stöder tanken på Moderna museet i City", *Aftonbladet*, March 19, 1963.

4 Ibid.

5 See above, ch. 1, note 23.

6 See Madeleine Kats, "Det var en gång en grop", *Expressen*, May 20, 1965, and Per Olof Olsson, "Medborgarhus i Örebro", *Arkitektur*, no. 5, 1965, p. 139.

7 See e.g. Lars Öhrngren, "Sätt museet mitt i stan", *Vecko-Journalen*, no. 8, 1965; Clas Brunius, "En rejäl lokal!", *Expressen*, February 8, 1965; "Kultur på skuggsidan i City-tävling", unsigned, *Expressen*, February 19, 1965; Katarina Dunér, "Det rörliga museet", *Sydsvenska Dagbladet*, February 24, 1965; Kurt Bergengren, "Var ska vi lägga kulturen?", *Aftonbladet*, March 31, 1965; Kurt Bergengren, "Platser för kulturpolitisk eftertanke: Humlebæk, Sergels Torg", *Aftonbladet*, April 1, 1965; Ragnhild Prim, "Moderna museet bör ges plats vid Sergels torg!", *Medborgaren*, June 25, 1965. Public debates with Hultén, Derkert, and several critics and public officials were organized at the City Committee in February, and at the Liberal Students' club in April, where panelists included Harry Schein and Harald Swedner.

8 Pontus Hultén, "Moderna museet i centrum", *Dagens Nyheter*, February 17, 1965.

9 Bengt Olvång, "Ett likriktat konstliv", *Stockholmstidningen*, May 11, 1965.

10 Pontus Hultén, "Därför Sergels torg", *Stockholmstidningen*, May 22, 1965.

11 Its final embodiment is the Pontus Hultén Study Gallery at the current Moderna Museet on Skeppsholmen, designed by Renzo Piano to house Hultén's personal collection, which he donated to the museum before his death in 2005. On the study gallery, see Anna Lundström, *Former av politik: Tre utställningssituationer på Moderna Museet 1998–2008* (Stockholm: Makadam förlag, 2015), pp. 54f.

12 Harald Swedner, "Vem går på Moderna museet? De unga och de välbärgade", *Expressen*, April 23, 1965. This of course parallels Pierre Bourdieu and Alain Darbel's conclusions in their classical study *The Love of Art: European Art Museums and their Public* [1969], trans. Caroline Beattie and Nick Merriman (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991), based on surveys carried out in European museums during the same period.

13 In his classical study on the concept of the public sphere, Jürgen Habermas discusses the appearance of the "salon" space – the "*finrum*" – in bourgeois apartments, and its subsequent disappearance as private homes become increasingly "open" and "exposed", describing this process as indicative of the public sphere's structural transformation. See Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger and Frederick Lawrence (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1989).

14 Harald Swedner, "Barriären mot finkulturen", in *Om finkultur och minoriteter* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1971), pp. 65ff.

15 See Andersson, *Euro-Pop*, pp. 177ff.

16 Peter Wollen, "The Two Avant-Gardes", in Tanya Leighton (ed.), *Art and the Moving Image* (London: Tate/Afterall, 2008), p. 179.

17 On Moderna Museet's film club, see Magnus af Petersens and Martin Sundberg, "Scenkonst: Happenings och rörlig bild på Moderna Museet", in Tellgren (ed.), *Historieboken: Om Moderna Museet 1958–2008*, and Gedin, *Pontus Hultén, Hon & Moderna*, pp. 148–154. On the early history of Hultén's engagement with film, see also Karlin, "*Kasark*: en liten tidskrift av oerhörd vikt", pp. 153–172.

[18] *Resultat av allmän nordisk idé-tävling om bebyggelse inom kvarteren Fyrmörsaren, Skansen och Frigga söder om Sergels torg i Stockholm* (Stockholm: Stadskollegiet, 1966), p. 133. For a discussion, see also Grafe, *People's Palaces*, pp. 397–404.

[19] Ibid., p. 134.

[20] Ibid. For the record, the untranslatable Swedish original here reads: "Programmet kan därför formuleras som ett krav på största generalitet med möjlighet till variabelt utnyttjande såväl inom en viss ram som möjlighet till direkta omdispositioner av byggnadsvolymen för andra funktioner, och byggnaderna skall till innehåll och form ge uttryck för denna flexibilitet."

[21] Ibid., p. 139.

[22] Peter Celsing, "Om rummet", in Lars Olof Larsson, Anne-Marie Ericsson, and Henrik O Andersson (eds.), *Peter Celsing: En bok om en arkitekt och hans verk* (Stockholm: Liber Förlag/Arkitekturmuseet, 1980), pp. 119f.

[23] Ibid, p. 121.

[24] See e.g. Reinhold Martin's discussion of the new "physiognomy of the office", in *The Organizational Complex*, pp. 80–121.

[25] In most other entries two or more buildings were located in the area opening toward the square, reducing the coherence of the architectural expression. Some entries proposed gigantic structures extending across the whole competition area, often combined with high-rises. The entries – 45 in total – are presented in *Resultat av allmän nordisk idé-tävling*, pp. 17–47.

[26] Peter Celsing, "Förslagsställarens beskrivning", in ibid., p. 69.

[27] Reinhold Martin, *The Organizational Complex*, p. 81.

[28] See Gullberg, *City – drömmen om ett nytt hjärta, vol. 1*, pp. 254ff.

[29] This was expressed explicitly in the City 62 plan, and the General City Plan Committee reiterated the view in their comments. See "Generalplaneberedningens utlåtande om cityplanen", in *Resultat av allmän nordisk idé-tävling*, pp. 142–154. As Thomas Hall remarks, for this to have worked, great prudence should have been exercised in the interventions in the area south of Sergels Torg, which it was not. See Hall, *Huvudstad i omvandling*, p. 186.

[30] See e.g. Celsing, "Struktur för kultur", in *Arkitektur*, no. 7, 1967.

[31] For example, looking back at Celsing's practice in 1980, the architects Stefan Alenius, Jan Angbjär, and Magnus Silfverhielm saw it as one of several "mannerist" responses to the crisis of functionalism in Swedish architecture. See "Manierismer, eller Vad gör vi med vårt funktionalistiska arv", in *Manierismer* (Stockholm: Arkitekturmuseet, 1980).

[32] In *The Architecture of Peter Celsing* (Stockholm: Arkitektur förlag, 1996), Wilfried Wang writes that Celsing's "poetry of matter" was "capable of addressing the sensuous and psychological needs of inhabitants and users, something that was seen to have been insufficiently addressed by the dispirited followers of twentieth-century 'white' architecture" (p. 9). Further on, Wang compares Celsing's projects to "Venturi, Scott Brown and Rauch's early houses", although "Celsing's designs are quite distinct in their physical, material presence […], in contrast to the […] studied layering of Venturi, Scott Brown and Rauch's schemes." (p. 79) The founding document of the "White/Gray" debate was Colin Rowe's introduction to the book *Five Architects* in 1972 – about the "New York

Five": Peter Eisenman, Michael Graves, Charles Gwathmey, John Hejduk, and Richard Meier – according to which the exhaustion of the utopian hopes underpinning the functionalist program must be responded to with an architecture that adheres to the "*physique*" of modern architecture rather than to its "*morale*", that is, that maintains modern architecture's tradition of formal innovation but separates it from its social project. See Colin Rowe, "Introduction to *Five Architects*", in K. Michael Hays (ed.), *Architecture Theory Since 1968* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1998), p. 82. Against this "White" neo-formalism, Robert A. M. Stern, Robert Venturi, and Denise Scott Brown proposed a "Gray" architecture that would play freely with classical and vernacular citations, unmoored from demands of formal veridicality. See e.g. the "Five on Five"-section edited by Stern for *Architectural Forum*, 138, no. 4 (May 1973), presented explicitly as a response to the position of Rowe and the New York Five. The core assumption of both strands was that architecture was now divorced from the socially transformative ideals of the "modern project", and in subsequent architectural discourse the debate has therefore been historicized as a key moment in the postmodern *rappel à l'ordre*. See e.g. Reinhold Martin, "History: The Last War", in *Utopia's Ghost*, pp. 29ff., which reinserts the debate within precisely that social and technological context whose validity it disavowed (namely, the context of the Vietnam war and the increasing social impact of cybernetic technologies). See also Scott, *Architecture or Techno-Utopia*, pp. 40–56, which seeks to relativize Manfredo Tafuri's somber contention that both sides of the debate aimed for an empty "resemanticization" of architecture, and that the conflict therefore announced the end of architecture. See Tafuri, "The Ashes of Jefferson", in *The Sphere and the Labyrinth: Avant-Gardes and Architecture from Piranesi to the 1970s*, trans. Pelligrino d'Acierno and Robert Connolly (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1987).

[33] Celsing, "Om rummet", p. 122.

[34] Grafe, *People's Palaces*, pp. 425ff.

[35] Lennart Holm, "Stadsbyggets dilatationsfog", in *Peter Celsing: En bok om en arkitekt och hans verk*, p. 159.

[36] See the description of the proposal in *Resultat av allmän nordisk idé-tävling*, pp. 75–81. Larsen's proposal satisfies most conditions of the definitions of "megastructure" quoted in Reyner Banham's *Megastructure: Urban Futures of the Recent Past* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1976), pp. 8f. It is not certain, however, to what extent the cells of Larsen's structure would have been "plug-in" or "clip-on", as the original definition demanded.

[37] Jan Henriksson, "Arbetet på kontoret", in *Peter Celsing: En bok om en arkitekt och hans verk*, p. 100.

[38] Celsing, "Om rummet", p. 122f.

[39] See Wang, *The Architecture of Peter Celsing*, pp. 52ff. See also Lars Olof Larsson, "Peter Celsings arkitektur", in *Peter Celsing: En bok om en arkitekt och hans verk*, p. 44; as well as Celsing's statement regarding Stadsgårdsberget: "For a rehabilitation of the mountain we see it as essential to find a structure that relates organically to the mountain's character of wall" (ibid., p. 70).

[40] Pontus Hultén, "Stockholms kulturella vardagsrum", *Dagens Nyheter*, November 29, 1966. Also published as "Celsings fondbyggnad vid Sergels torg", *Arkitektur*, no. 7, 1967, pp. 401f.

[41] Ulf Linde, "Celsing och fasaderna", in *Peter Celsing: En bok om en arkitekt och hans verk*, p. 131. "As is evident, functionalism emphasizes that which functions, and functions according to human needs. The mistake was that those needs were defined too narrowly – that only the physical needs were seized upon, since they could be easily determined and measured. But the human being also has other needs, and if we regard Celsing's architecture from such a wider perspective it can appear as more functional than the architecture of the orthodox functionalists."

[42] Sivert Lindblom, interview with the author, November 5, 2014.

[43] Simon Sadler, *Archigram: Architecture Without Architecture* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2005), pp. 196f.

[44] As represented in these drawings, Celsing's building would therefore be characterized by what Colin Rowe and Robert Slutzky, in two noted texts, called "literal", as opposed to "phenomenal" transparency, that is, a transparency achieved through the "inherent quality of [the] substance" (the glass wall) rather than through a phenomenal ambivalence, where figures "interpenetrate without optical destruction of each other" – which would indicate, again, that Celsing's aim was not to mitigate the effects of functionalist rationalization through the façade's "affective physiognomy", but by conceiving of the building as a conduit of aesthetic content, acting upon its social and urban context. See Colin Rowe and Robert Slutzky, "Transparency: Literal and Phenomenal", *Perspecta*, vol. 8, 1963, and "Transparency: Literal and Phenomenal… Part II", *Perspecta*, vol. 13/14, 1971.

[45] "Skrivelse från expertgruppen den 5 januari 1969", p. 52. See also Pär Stolpe, "Hur vi tänkte oss Kulturhuset", undated and unpaginated manuscript [mid 1970s]: "On the rooftop floor (outdoors), finally, we imagined an outdoors environment in the summertime, as well as a podium for monumental spectacles for an audience in the surrounding city: puppet shows, image displays, concerts". Pär Stolpe Archives (PSA), "Moderna Museet, reconstruction".

[46] Wang, *The Architecture of Peter Celsing*, p. 64. Celsing's occasional collaborator Sölve Olsson found this aspect of the Kulturhuset project problematic in a more fundamental sense: "Kulturhuset is a stage, with Sergels Torg as its auditorium. A visitor to the exhibitions at Kulturhuset is an actor [*aktör*] who turns her back at the audience and instead observes the backdrops." Sivert Lindblom and Sölve Olsson, "Arkitekten som konstnär, konstnären som arkitekt", in *Peter Celsing: En bok om en arkitekt och hans verk*, p. 112f. This critique, we may note, disregards from the renegotiation of the role of the spectator instrumental to Moderna Museet's program.

[47] For a related discussion of the "curtain wall's" constitutive relationship to the organizational logic of the mass media screen, see Reinhold Martin, *The Organizational Complex*, pp. 95ff.

[48] "'Stadsmur' skall dela Stockholm: Peter Celsing vann klart tävling om Sergels torg", unsigned, *Dagens Nyheter*, July 5, 1966. See also Kurt Bergengren, "Torget och rymdkapseln", in *Aftonbladet*, July 9, 1966.

[49] Celsing, "Förslagsställarens beskrivning", in *Resultat av allmän nordisk idé-tävling*, p. 69.

[50] See Sadler, *Archigram*, pp. 121ff.; Ewan Brenda, *The Architecture of Information at Plateau Beaubourg* (diss. University of California Los Angeles, 2012), pp. 120ff.; Punin, "The Monument to the Third International", p. 337.

[51] Sadler, *Archigram*, p. 197.

[52] See Beatriz Colomina, *Privacy and Publicity: Architecture as Mass Media* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1994), ch. 2, "City".

[53] Hultén began advising Celsing immediately upon the conclusion of the Sergels Torg competition, in the fall of 1966. See for example the memorandum addressed to Celsing in November 1966, which consisted of a verbatim repetition of the list of functions of the future Moderna Museet featured in Hultén's article in *Stockholmstidningen* one and a half years earlier. Untitled and unsigned promemoria, with Moderna Museet letterhead, dated November 15, 1966. Peter Celsing Archives (PCA). In the spring of 1968 Hultén was then formally engaged as a consultant to Celsing on the Kulturhuset project. See "Tidplan", in *Om kulturhuset*, p. 19: "As a consultant for questions regarding the program for Kulturhuset's spaces the museum director Pontus Hultén, Moderna Museet, was engaged".

[54] Hultén, "Stockholms kulturella vardagsrum".

[55] The event had originally been conceived as an "art and technology-festival" with Swedish and North American participants that should take place at the experimental music venue Fylkingen in Stockholm in the summer of 1966. However, at a late stage in the preparations, Fylkingen withdrew from the project, and E.A.T. and most of the US participants relocated the project to New York. See Barbro Schultz Lundestam, "9 Evenings", in Barbro Schultz Lundestam (ed.), *Teknologi för livet: Om Experiments in Art and Technology* (Paris: Schultz förlag), pp. 66–81. See also Jack Burnham, "Art and Technology: The Panacea That Failed", in Kathleen Woodward (ed.), *The Myths of Information: Technology and Postindustrial Culture* (Madison: Coda Press, 1980).

[56] Untitled document, signed by Billy Klüver and Robert Rauschenberg. Moderna Museet Archives (MMA), F2oc:2. We will return to E.A.T. in part III, chs. 8 and 9.

[57] See the presentation of the proposal in *Resultat av allmän nordisk idé-tävling*, pp. 106–112.

[58] The project, and the following debate, is discussed in Bergengren, *När skönheten kom till city*, pp. 210ff., and Gullberg *City – drömmen om ett nytt hjärta, vol. 2*, pp. 19ff. and 53ff.

[59] Gullberg, *City – drömmen om ett nytt hjärta, vol. 2*, pp. 35ff. The project was never realized. The Storviggen neighborhood eventually became the location of Gallerian, a large shopping mall. Pan Am erected their hotel at Tegelbacken (the Sheraton).

[60] Bergengren, *När skönheten kom till city*, p. 218.

[61] Gullberg, *City – drömmen om ett nytt hjärta, vol. 2*, p. 56.

[62] Carlo Derkert, memorandum to Pontus Hultén, dated June, 27, 1967, headlined: "Till Pontus från Carlo (En intervju med Bo Wijkmark)". CDA, 2009/94:3:105. Bo Wijkmark was a member of the General City Plan Committee.

[63] Pär Stolpe, "Om allaktivitetshuset Gasklockan i Stockholm", p. 2. Dated November 27, 1968. PSA, "The Gasholder House of All Activities".

[64] Ibid., pp. 2f.

[65] Olof Näsman, *Samhällsmuseum efterlyses: Svensk museiutveckling och museidebatt 1965–1990*, (diss. Umeå Universitet, 2014), p. 123f.

[66] See e.g. Bo Lagercrantz, "Ett allrum för stockholmarna", *Dagens Nyheter*, January 5, 1968.

[67] The exhibition at the City Museum of Stockholm was open between February 9–28, 1968.

[68] There is a plethora of texts about the Swedish "alternative movement", "68-movement", or "student movement". For an overview, see Kjell Östberg, *1968: när allting var i rörelse* (Stockholm: Prisma, 2002), ch. 2, "Det röda 60-talet". On the Vietnam movement, see Åke Kilander, *Vietnam var nära: en berättelse om FNL-rörelsen och solidaritetsarbetet i Sverige 1965–1975* (Stockholm: Leopard förlag, 2007). On the "alternative city"-movement, and the new "neighborhood" organizations, see Ulf Stahre, *Den alternativa staden: Stockholms stadsomvandling och byalagsrörelsen* (Stockholm: Stockholmia förlag, 1999). One important source for understanding this period in a critical perspective is Peter Weiss's notebooks from the 1970s, which in parts read as a condemnation of Stockholm's City Sanitation, and of Swedish Social Democracy's betrayal of its historical responsibility. See *Konvalescensdagbok*, trans. Ulrika Wallenström (Stockholm: Bonniers, 1993), which covers the second half of the year 1970, and *Notisböcker 1971–1975*, trans. Ulrika Wallenström (Stockholm: Arbetarkultur, 1984) and *1975–1980*, trans. Ulrika Wallenström (Stockholm: Arbetarkultur, 1985). In Sweden the notion of a "new left" is associated with the publication in 1966 of Göran Therborn and Lars-Ola Borglid's anthology *En ny vänster: en debattbok* (Stockholm: Rabén & Sjögren, 1966).

[69] Ivar Fernemo and Rolf Ruthström, "Aveny 18", *Paletten*, no. 3, 1970, p. 34. Thank you to Mats Eriksson Dunér for giving me access to this text.

[70] See Stolpe, "Om allaktivitetshuset Gasklockan i Stockholm", p. 1. See also Ivar Fernemo, "Råd till en allaktivist", in Bertil Nelhans (ed.), *Allaktivitet – ja, men hur?* (Stockholm: Prisma, 1971), p. 189.

[71] See Bertil Nelhans, "Hur det blev", and Behandlingsgruppen på Gamla Bro, "Rapport från Gamla Bro", in Nelhans (ed.), *Allaktivitet – ja, men hur?*.

[72] Tomas Löfström, quoted in Bertil Nelhans, "Vad man ville", in Nelhans (ed.), *Allaktivitet – ja, men hur?*, p. 22.

[73] Ibid.

[74] Nelhans, "Hur det blev", p. 39.

[75] Bertil Nelhans, "Allaktivitet – byråkrati eller antibyråkrati?", in Nelhans (ed.), *Allaktivitet – ja, men hur?*, p. 205.

[76] See e.g. Christer Bodén, "Så vill vi ha gasklockan!", *Svenska Dagbladet*, January 19, 1968. See also "Exempel på liknande utförda eller planerade projekt i utlandet", unsigned and undated document, appendix to proposal dated February 9, 1968, and Pär Stolpe's letter to Bo Lagercrantz, dated January 18, 1968. PSA, "The Gasholder". The Center 42, also known as the Roundhouse, near London's Regent Park, was an old, circular engine shed which was converted into a combined theater, concert venue, and culture center in 1964. While it featured an "art studio workshop" and various less determinate social facilities, it remained a relatively traditional institution. In a review from 1964, Reyner Banham pitted the Center 42 and the Fun Palace against each other, decidedly favoring the latter: "What matters is that the various activity-spaces inside the FP will not be fossilized in a single architectural *schema* that may become functionally out of date in five years and is out of fashion already, like Center 42's theatre-in-the-roundhouse". "People's Palaces" [1964], in *A Critic Writes: Essays by Reyner Banham* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), p. 107.

[77] See Stanley Mathews, "The Fun Palace: Cedric Price's Experiment in Architecture and Technology", *Technoetic Arts* vol. 3, no. 2, 2005, and "The Fun Palace as Virtual

Architecture: Cedric Price and the Practices of Indeterminacy", *Journal of Architectural Education*, 2006. See also Mary Louise Lobsinger, "Cybernetic Theory and the Architecture of Performance: Cedric Price's Fun Palace", in Goldhagen and Legault (eds.), *Anxious Modernisms: Experimentation in Postwar Architectural Culture* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2000), and Simon Sadler's discussions about the relationship between Price and Archigram, in *Archigram: Architecture Without Architecture*.

[78] See "Associerade gruppen – Gasklockan vid Sabbatsberg", unsigned and undated document, appendix to proposal dated February 9, 1968. PSA, "The Gasholder". See also Näsman, *Samhällsmuseum efterlyses*, p. 126n644.

[79] "Allaktivitetshuset: förslag från arbetsgruppen gasklockan vid Sabbatsberg", in *Gasklockan* exh. cat. (Stockholm: Stockholms stadsmuseum, 1968), p. 9.

[80] Ibid, p. 15.

[81] Ibid., pp. 12f.

[82] Stolpe, "Om allaktivitetshuset Gasklockan i Stockholm", p. 3.

[83] "Allaktivitetshuset: förslag från arbetsgruppen gasklockan vid Sabbatsberg", p. 13. The "mentometer" was a system of handheld devices for collecting audience response data, used for example in TV game shows.

[84] Ibid, pp. 16f.

[85] Öyvind Fahlström, "Pleasure Houses", in Jean-François Chevrier (ed.), *Öyvind Fahlström: Another Space for Painting* (Barcelona: MACBA, 2001), p. 244.

[86] "Allaktivitetshuset: förslag från arbetsgruppen gasklockan vid Sabbatsberg", pp. 16f. Quoted from Öyvind Fahlström, "Pleasure Houses", pp. 244f.

[87] Öyvind Fahlström, "Notiser från Nixonland", *Puss*, no. 12, 1969, unpaginated. Thank you to Mats Eriksson Dunér for giving me access to this text.

[88] See Näsman, *Samhällsmuseum efterlyses*, pp. 131–134.

[89] See Bo Särlvik, "Party and Electoral Systems in Sweden", in Bernard Grofman and Arend Lijphart (eds.), *The Evolution of Electoral and Party Systems in the Nordic Countries* (New York: Agathon Press, 2002), p. 249. The reform was partially implemented in 1969. In 1970 the first general elections under the new constitution were held, and the first unicameral parliament was inaugurated on January 11, 1971.

[90] Gullberg, *City – drömmen om ett nytt hjärta, vol. 2*, p. 134. In fact, the idea had already been introduced one year earlier, by Göran Sidenbladh, director of Stockholm's City Building Office (*Stadsbyggnadskontor*), but neither he nor anyone else seem to have taken it seriously at the time.

[91] See Jan Henriksson, "Om arbetet på kontoret", in *Peter Celsing: en bok*. See also Grafe, *People's Palaces*, p. 459, who quotes Celsing's associate Per Ahrbom as stating that Celsing was "informed about the request one morning [and] produced sketches for an alternative use of the western part of the Kulturhus and the theatre as a debating chamber and parliamentary offices on napkins over lunch".

[92] Bergengren, *När skönheten kom till city*, pp. 276ff.

[93] Gullberg, *City – drömmen om ett nytt hjärta, vol. 2*, p. 134.

3.
The Kulturhuset Vision, 1968–1970

[1] See Pontus Hultén, letter to Troels Andersen, April 19, 1968. MMA, F1a:45.

[2] Letter dated March 26, 1968, quoted in *Vladimir Tatlin*, p. 92.

[3] Pontus Hultén, "Avslutande inledning", in *Den inre och den yttre rymden: En utställning rörande en universell konst* exh. cat. (Stockholm: Moderna Museet, 1965), unpaginated. Tatlin, El Lissitzky, and Gabo had also been featured in *Movement in Art* in 1961, in all likelihood with works borrowed from the Stedelijk in Amsterdam, as examples of the tendency toward dynamism in modern art. See Hultén, "Kort framställning av rörelsekonstens historia under 1900-talet", in *Rörelse i konsten* exh. cat. (Stockholm: Moderna Museet, 1961), unpaginated.

[4] Hultén, "Avslutande inledning", unpaginated.

[5] Benjamin Buchloh, "Cold War Constructivism", in *Formalism and Historicity: Models and Methods in Twentieth-Century Art* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2015), p. 382.

[6] Pontus Hultén, "Om Naum Gabos första skulpturer", in *Den inre och den yttre rymden*, unpaginated.

[7] Pontus Hultén, "Foreword", trans. Keith Bradfield, in *Vladimir Tatlin*, p. 3.

[8] Ibid., pp. 3ff. My italics.

[9] Buchloh, "Cold War Constructivism", p. 382.

[10] See Aleksei Gan, *Constructivism*, transl. Christina Lodder (Barcelona: Editorial Tenov, 2013), pp. 61ff.

[11] Benjamin Buchloh, "From Faktura to Factography", in *Formalism and Historicity*, pp. 274ff.

[12] *Hej stad*, curated by Sture Balgård, Eva Björklund, and Jöran Lindvall, Moderna Museet, April 1–17, 1966; *John Heartfield*, Moderna Museet, September 1–October 1, 1967; *Raoul Hausmann*, curated by Beate Sydhoff, Moderna Museet, October 21–November 19, 1967; *Revolutionens språk*, curated by Carlo Derkert, Moderna Museet, March 23–April 28, 1968; *Massor*, curated by Sture Balgård and Jöran Lindvall, Moderna Museet, November 1–17, 1968.

[13] There is no evidence, however, that anyone in the Moderna Museet group at this point read Walter Benjamin's artwork essay, whose second version was published in Swedish translation in 1969. Benjamin, *Bild och dialektik*, ed. Carl-Henning Wijkmark (Lund: Cavefors, 1969).

[14] "It is difficult to interpret his work in detail – it is an infinitely complex puzzle which he has left for the afterworld to solve", wrote Ulf Linde in *Dagens Nyheter* upon Duchamp's death in October 1968. "In memoriam", in *Efter hand*, p. 242. See also Andersson, *Euro-Pop*, p. 46.

[15] Mark Wigley, *Buckminster Fuller Inc.: Architecture in the Age of Radio* (Zürich: Lars Müller Publishers, 2015), pp. 32f. The literature on Tatlin's tower is evidently unsurveyable. For a list of references, see Maria Gough, "Model Exhibition", *October*, no. 150, Fall 2014, p. 11n3.

[16] Derkert, notes from Expert Group meeting, late 1968/early 1969. CDA, 2009/94:3:25.

[17] See Norbert Lynton, *Tatlin's Tower: Monument to Revolution* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), pp. 93ff.

[18] Nikolai Punin, "On the Tower", trans. Troels Andersen and Keith Bradfield, in *Vladimir Tatlin*, p. 56. To this date this is the only available English translation of this text.

[19] Gough, "Model Exhibition", p. 13.

[20] See e.g. the famous statement by Tatlin's workshop from 1920, "The Work Ahead of Us", trans. Troels Andersen and Keith Bradfield, in *Vladimir Tatlin*, p. 51. Or see Gan, *Constructivism*, pp. 18ff.

[21] Fahlström, "Moderna Museet – Från pompa och ståt, till informationscentrum", p. 170.

[22] Kulturhuskommitténs allmänna programutskott, protocol from meeting November 6, 1968, §4. SA, 0218/B:1. See also Anna-Lena Wik Thorsell, "Vi drömde om oändlig öppenhet", *Svenska dagbladet*, October 15, 2004.

[23] "Skrivelse från expertgruppen den 5 januari 1969", p. 52. (Hereafter quoted as A.)

[24] "Skrivelser från expertgruppen den 25 januari och 17 mars 1969", in *Om kulturhuset*, p. 56. (Hereafter quoted as B.)

[25] Pontus Hultén, "P.M. för planeringen av den nedre entréhallen och de fyra teatrarna i Kulturhuset vid Sergels Torg", dated October 24, 1968, p. 1. SA, 0218/B:4.

[26] Carlo Derkert, "Stormöte för att diskutera kulturaktiviteter", handwritten notes, undated but in all likelihood from October 1968, p. 3. CDA, 94:3:105. The reference to the "open house" – an "arts lab-operation in London" – was made by Stolpe, almost certainly with regards to the Center 42 Roundhouse. See above, ch. 2.3. Present at the meeting were also other members of the Gasholder working group, several architects from Celsing's office, as well as a youth center representative.

[27] Fahlström, "Moderna Museet – Från pompa och ståt, till informationscentrum", p. 170.

[28] Hans Ulrich Obrist, "Interview with Pontus Hultén" [1996], in *A Brief History of Curating* (Zurich/Dijon: JRP|Ringier/Les Presses du réel, 2008), p. 46.

[29] Hultén, "P.M. för planeringen av den nedre entréhallen…", p. 2. About "ciné-tracts" (in French in the text) – a very specific reference to the activist film experiments of Jean-Luc Godard, Chris Marker, and numerous others in Paris around May 1968 – see below, ch. 8.1, which discusses Godard's "ciné-", or "film-tract" workshops in Stockholm in October 1968.

[30] Hultén, "Fem fragment ur Moderna Museets historia", p. 48.

[31] This is almost certainly a reference to the sculpture group *The Paradise* (1966), now permanently installed in front of Moderna Museet on Skeppsholmen.

[32] Pontus Hultén, transcription of statement in "Angeläget" on Swedish Radio, September 8, 1969, p. 3. SA, 0218/E:1.

[33] Obrist, "Interview with Pontus Hultén", p. 46.

[34] Hultén, "Fem fragment ur Moderna Museets historia", p. 48.

[35] Hultén, in "Angeläget", p. 3.

[36] Hultén, "Fem fragment ur Moderna Museets historia", p. 48.

[37] See Bennett, "The Exhibitionary Complex", pp. 69ff. et passim.

[38] See ibid., e.g. pp. 75ff. See also Duncan and Wallach, "The Universal Survey Museum".

[39] See e.g. Wilhelm Forsberg, "Kulturhuset – en replik", *Aftonbladet*, January 29, 1970.

40 Pär Stolpe, "Några ord om Kulturhuset i Stockholm", §4. PSA, "Moderna Museet, reconstruction".

41 See above, ch. 2.3.

42 See Obrist, "Interview with Pontus Hultén", p. 47.

43 Stolpe, "Några ord om Kulturhuset i Stockholm", §9.

44 Hultén, "Fem fragment ur Moderna Museets historia", p. 47.

45 Similar expressions recur in several texts. "[S]uch a place of activities […] IS A PLACE FOR EVERYONE – WE MUST CEASE THINKING IN CATEGORIES"; "Roof over the head, food, warmth for everyone, everyone, everyone", writes Derkert in his notes, "Stormöte för att diskutera kulturaktiviteter", pp. 2f. See also Stolpe's comments in a discussion between the Expert Group and the Kulturhuset Committee: "Our new view of culture means that we turn to the individuals outside of the organizations, who have been rendered passive in contemporary society". "P.M. Sammanfattning av diskussion om olika alternativ för kulturhusets utnyttjande under tiden för riksdagsprovisoriet, förd vid sammanträde med kulturhuskommitténs allmänna programutskott och dess expertgrupp den 22.1.1969", p. 4. SA, 0218/A:4.

46 Herbert Marcuse, *One-Dimensional Man: Studies in the Ideology of Advanced Industrial Society* (London: Routledge, 1964).

47 SOU 1972:66, *Ny kulturpolitik, del 1: nuläge och förslag*, p. 171. We will return to this in part III.

48 See e.g. Östberg, *1968: när allting var i rörelse*, pp. 153ff.; Janerik Gidlund, *Aktionsgrupper och lokala partier: temporära politiska organisationer i Sverige 1965–1975* (Lund: Liber, 1978); and Olof Ruin, "Svensk politisk stil: att komma överens och tänka efter före", in Arvedson, Hägg, and Rydén (eds.), *Land i olag: samhällsorganisation under omprövning* (Stockholm: Studieförbundet Näringsliv och Samhälle, 1982), pp. 40–45.

49 For example, the cover of a book on the new cultural policy commissioned by the Arts Council – Sven Nilsson's *Debatten om den nya kulturpolitiken* (Stockholm: Allmänna förlaget, 1973) – features an image of the reconstruction of Tatlin's tower.

50 See Alexander Alberro, *Conceptual Art and the Politics of Publicity* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2003), pp. 125ff. See also Mel Ramsden, "On Practice" [1975], in Alexander Alberro and Blake Stimson (eds.), *Institutional Critique: An Anthology of Artists' Writings* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2009), pp. 193ff., which introduces the term, as well as Alberro's introduction in the same volume, "Institutions, Critique, and Institutional Critique".

51 In correspondence with Takis in 1968, Hultén had offered to include the larger work that Takis preferred in later iterations of the exhibition, but not at the MoMA, where production had already begun. "If you want to withdraw the piece from the exhibition, I can naturally not do anything but accept your decision. On the other hand, I do not know how the museum will react to your wish to withdraw a piece that they own themselves." Pontus Hultén, letter to Takis, July 22, 1968. PHA, 4.2.52-8.

52 Julia Bryan-Wilson, *Art Workers: Radical Practice in the Vietnam War Era* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), p. 13.

53 Takis, statement dated January 3, 1969, in Art Workers' Coalition, *Documents 1*, p. 1. Available on primaryinformation.org/pdfs/, last accessed January 26, 2016.

[54] Bryan-Wilson, *Art Workers*, p. 31. See also Alberro, *Conceptual Art and the Politics of Publicity*, which argues that Gregory Battcock's comments during the open hearing organized by the AWC at the School of Visual Arts in New York on April 10, 1969, "introduce the need for a critical reassessment not only of artists' self-understanding, but also of the idea that cultural institutions are neutral, and do not restrict, prohibit, or exclude anything on ideological grounds. This newfound skepticism formed a crucial stage in the emergence of those developments known collectively as 'institutional critique'" (p. 127).

[55] See the statements gathered at the AWC's open hearing on April 10, 1969. AWC, *Open Hearing*, available on primaryinformation.org/pdfs/, last accessed January 26, 2016.

[56] One important source here is the document titled "Exchange of Views of a Group of Experts", prepared by Harald Szeemann, former director of the Kunsthalle Bern, but based on discussions between him, Hultén, and the directors of several of the other progressive art institutions in Western Europe at the time (such as the Stedelijk Amsterdam, ICA in London, and Le Musée d'Art Moderne de la Ville de Paris), published in UNESCO's museological magazine *Museum*, vol. XXIV, no. 1, 1972. We will return to this in part III.

[57] See Lucy Lippard, "Escape Attempts", in *Six Years: The Dematerialization of the Art Object…* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997). There were of course exceptions, in the form of institutional experiments such as Alanna Heiss's Institute for Art and Urban Resources Inc. in New York (which would become PS1), but the general description remains valid. See Lauren Rosati and Mary Anne Staniszewski (eds.), *Alternative Histories: New York Art Spaces 1960 to 2010* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2012), which traces the histories of the "alternative spaces" movement in New York.

[58] See François Mairesse, *Le Musée hybride* (Paris: La Documentation française, 2010), ch. 3, "Les musées et l'État": "There exists therefore a sort of golden age of the museum as an emanation of public authorities, which develops along the whole twentieth century in Europe and reaches its apogee during the 1970s" (p. 92). For an even wider perspective, see Pedro Lorente, *The Museums of Contemporary Art: Notion and Development* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), esp. pp. 212–220. For a discussion of the situation in France during the period, see Rebecca J. DeRoo, *The Museum Establishment and Contemporary Art: The Politics of Artistic Display in France After 1968* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), ch. 2, "Dismantling Art Institutions: The 1968 Explosion of Social Awareness".

[59] Bryan-Wilson, *Art Workers*, p. 184.

[60] For an important critical reading, from the historical perspective of the 1990s, of minimalism as a gateway in postwar US art, see Hal Foster, "The Crux of Minimalism", in *The Return of the Real: The Avant-Garde at the End of the Century* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1996). Moderna Museet's obliviousness of the formalist imperative in the 1960s was, as we have seen, demonstrated *via negativa* by the exhibition *The Inner and the Outer Space*, which included works by several of the minimalist artists, but placed them in a cosmic, mystical curatorial framework.

[61] Benjamin Buchloh, "Conceptual Art 1962–1969: From the Aesthetics of Administration to the Critique of Institutions" [1989], in *Formalism and Historicity*, pp. 462ff.

[62] Wollen, "The Two Avant-Gardes".

[63] As Charlotte Klonk shows in *Spaces of Experience: Art Gallery Interiors from 1800 to 2000* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), the "white cube" concept did not directly correspond to any historically established display conventions, but primarily served as a negative model against which artists, critics, etc. could direct their critique. "O'Doherty's idea of the gallery as an isolated white cube was a fiction invented at just that point in the 1960s when many artists (including O'Doherty himself) came to understand their artistic practice as a form of institutional critique. The image of the museum as a sealed container from which the artist could break out offered a powerful target." (p. 218)

[64] Mary Anne Staniszewski, *The Power of Display: A History of Exhibition Installations at the Museum of Modern Art* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1998), p. 281. See also her "On Creating Alternatives and 'Alternative Histories'", in Rosati and Staniszewski (eds.), *Alternative Histories*, p. 12.

[65] Art Workers' Coalition, "13 demands", in *Documents 1*, p. 13.

[66] Bryan-Wilson, *Art Workers*, pp. 160f.

[67] Concerning these exhibitions, see below, chs. 5 and 8.

[68] See Martin Sundberg, "Innanför och utanför tullarna: Moderna Museet", in Anna Tellgren and Jeff Werner, *Representation och regionalitet: genusstrukturer i fyra svenska konstmuseisamlingar*, *Kulturpolitisk forskning*, no. 3, Statens Kulturråd, 2011. See also John Peter Nilsson (ed.) *The Second Museum of Our Wishes*, exh. cat. (Stockholm: Moderna Museet, 2010).

[69] Kulturhuskommitténs allmänna programutskott, protocol from meeting November 6, 1968, §4. SA, 0218/B:1. Carlo Derkert was not formally invited into the Expert Group from the outset, but it seems that Hultén insisted on his participation, and he was subsequently formally accepted as a member and as a co-signer of their different writings.

[70] Derkert, memorandum to Pontus Hultén, dated June 27, 1967. CDA, 2009/94:3:105. See above, ch. 2.3.

[71] Kulturhuskommitténs allmänna programutskott, "Aktiviteter föreslagna att förekomma i kulturhuset och ungdomslokalerna vid Sergels torg", dated November 6, 1968, p. 2. SA, 0218/B:1.

[72] See letter from Erik Stenmark and Carin Hörlén to Moderna Museet, December 12, 1968. SA, 0218/D:1.

[73] Ibid.

[74] "Protokoll S90, fört vid sammanträde den 15 januari 1969 beträffande brand- och ordningsfrågor", signed by Lars Romare, p. 2. SA, 0218/D:2. Present at the meeting were representatives from the Committee, the architecture office, the construction company, and the police and fire authorities.

[75] "Svarsskrivelse från polismästaren", dated January 29, 1969, signed by Å. Hasselrot, Folke Rutstedt and Bert Lewinson, and "Yttrande från brandchefen", dated January 23, 1969, signed by Carl-Otto Falk and Robert Sommar, in *Om kulturhuset*.

[76] This concern gave rise to a question of the legal status of Kulturhuset's pedestrian level entrance spaces, as described in the Expert Group's writings. Should they be defined as public space (*allmän plats*), like the piazza outside, or as specific, or private space (*enskild plats*)? After contacts with the city solicitor it was established that the spaces were specific, and that, therefore, the police would not need to grant permission for public events there.

See Hans Månsson, "PM angående entréhallarnas upplåtelseform i kulturhuset", dated March 31, 1969, and letter from the Stockholm solicitor to the Kulturhuset Committee dated April 29, 1969, signed by E.G. Westman and Dag Löwbeer. SA, 0218/A:1.

[77] See e.g. Wilhelm Forsberg's comments during the meeting between the Committee and the Expert Group on January 22, 1969. "P.M. Sammanfattning av diskussion om olika alternativ för kulturhusets utnyttjande under tiden för riksdagsprovisoriet, förd vid sammanträde med kulturhuskommitténs allmänna programutskott och dess expertgrupp den 22.1.1969", pp. 2ff. SA, 0218/A:4.

[78] Letter from Stockholms stads fastighetskontor to the Kulturhuset Committee, dated March 17, 1969, signed by Åke Hedtjärn and Jan Sjögren. SA, 0218/D:2.

[79] Proposal from the Kulturhuset Committee to the Stockholm Executive Board, dated April 21, 1969, signed by Wilhelm Forsberg, Erik Stenmark, and Carin Hörlén, p. 13. SA, 0218/D:2.

[80] Ibid., p. 6.

[81] "Protokoll KÖ1, fört vid programsammanträde beträffande kulturhuset östra den 9 maj 1969", signed by Per Hallgren and Lennart Rudin. SA, 0218/D:2.

[82] Kurt Bergengren, "Här missas ett viktigt tillfälle: Huset – öppet eller låst", *Aftonbladet*, May 10, 1969; Andersson, Derkert, Hultén, Lind, Stolpe, Thorsell, "Ett kulturhusprogram: Experiment i social samlevnad", *Dagens Nyheter*, May 18, 1969; Gun Leander, "De ansvariga deltog ej i debatt om kulturhuset", *Dagens Nyheter*, May 21, 1969.

[83] Wilhelm Forsberg, "Kulturhuset vid Sergels Torg: Ramar för frihet åt morgondagens kultur", *Dagens Nyheter*, June 15, 1969.

[84] Olof Palme, writing to Wilhelm Forsberg on August 27, 1969, quoted in "Förhandlingar med staten angående Moderna Museets eventuella förflyttning till Sergels Torg", in *Om kulturhuset*, p. 31.

[85] Hultén, in "Angeläget"; Stig Johansson, "Tio frågor till Pontus Hultén: In med mannen från gatan!", *Svenska Dagbladet*, September 9, 1969; Kurt Bergengren, "De två citykulturerna", *Aftonbladet*, September 21, 1969.

[86] "Förhandlingar med staten angående Moderna Museets eventuella förflyttning till Sergels Torg", in *Om kulturhuset*, p. 31. We can note that there is a paradox here between the Committee's two main objections against the Expert Group proposal. On the one hand it raises control concerns, and to some extent because the Group, by dissolving the limits between the cultural institution and the facing public piazza, seem to be handing over *too much influence* to the public. On the other hand, its supposed limited diversity gives visitors *too little influence* over the institution's activities.

[87] Press release, February 27, 1970, signed by L. Sandgren, B.J. Sjönander, R. Pålsson, H. Mehr, G. Agrenius, W. Forsberg, N. Hallerby. SA, 0218/B:2.

[88] Derkert, Hultén, Lind, Stolpe, Thorsell, "Öppet brev till Stockholms Kulturhus-kommitté", *Aftonbladet*, January 24, 1970.

[89] Wilhelm Forsberg, "Kulturhuset – en replik", *Aftonbladet*, January 29, 1970.

[90] Pontus Hultén, letter to Peter Celsing, dated March 5, 1970. PCA.

[91] See E. Mikkelinen, T. Andersson, R. Birksjö, "Teleteknik i den svenska enkam-marriksdagen", *Ericsson Review*, no. 3, 1971, and Hugo Wennerholm, "Riksdagen i arbete: Frågor av intresse ur elektrisk synpunkt under handläggning", *Elinstallatören*, no. 6, 1971.

92 Tage Erlander, "Hälsningsanförande", Riksdagens protokoll 1971:2, p. 8.

93 The arrangement is depicted on one of Celsing's watercolor sketches for Kulturhuset interiors. PCA.

94 Peter Weiss, *Konvalescensdagbok*, p. 207 (entry dated December 27, 1970).

95 Lars Westman, "Vad ska ni göra med mitt kulturhus?", *Tidskriften Vi*, no. 43, 1974, p. 42.

96 Kulturhuskommitténs kansli, "PM nr 17: Alternativt förslag till disposition av kulturlokalerna vid Sergels Torg", dated January 28, 1970, signed by Erik Stenmark and Carin Hörlén. SA, 0218/A:1.

97 Westman, "Vad ska ni göra med mitt kulturhus?", p. 42.

98 Hultén, "Fem fragment ur Moderna Museets historia", p. 50.

PART II
From Culture House to Information Center

1 Hans Magnus Enzensberger, "Constituents of a Theory of the Media", p. 55.

2 In this respect their functions could be described in the terms of Althusser's "Ideological State Apparatuses", although, for reasons we have already touched upon, we find the concept problematic. Just like in the case of Jean-Louis Baudry's notion of the "basic cinematic apparatus" (see above, General Introduction, section ii), we do not adopt an exclusive focus on the "ideological effects" of the apparatus, nor do we follow Althusser in ascribing priority to the state as an agent of power. See Louis Althusser, *On the Reproduction of Capitalism: Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses*, trans. G.M. Goshgarian (London: Verso, 2014).

3 Jean Baudrillard, "Requiem for the Media", p. 173. I have adjusted the translation. See "Requiem pour les media", in *Pour une critique de l'économie politique du signe* (Paris: Gallimard, 1972), p. 213.

4 Luc Boltanski and Ève Chiapello, *The New Spirit of Capitalism*, trans. Gregory Elliot (London: Verso, 2005).

5 Fred Turner traces this trajectory in *From Counterculture to Cyberculture: Stewart Brand, the Whole Earth Network, and the Rise of Digital Utopianism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006). See also the catalog to the exhibition *The Whole Earth: California and the Disappearance of the Outside* exh. cat. (Berlin: Sternberg Press/Haus der Kulturen der Welt, 2013), which, the editors and curators Diedrich Diedrichsen and Anselm Franke state in their introduction, studied "how the culture of revolt gradually distanced itself from its political objectives, while the other central conceptual models of the [*Whole Earth*] *Catalog* […] helped to develop the standards of the neoliberal era" (p. 8). Felicity Scott discusses the Whole Earth Network and the North American Commune movement in "Revolutionaries or Dropouts", in *Architecture or Techno-Utopia*. On "Californian Ideology", see Richard Barbrook and Andy Cameron, "The Californian Ideology", *Mute*, vol. 1, no. 3, September 1995. We will return to Stewart Brand briefly in ch. 9.

6 See Gilles Deleuze, "Postscript on Control Societies". On "governmentality", see Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population*, ch. 4, and *The Birth of Biopolitics*, trans. Graham Burchell (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008). Jacques Rancière discusses the figure of the "end of politics" in e.g. "The End of Politics or the Realist Utopia", in *On the Shores of Politics*, trans. Liz Heron (London: Verso, 1995), although he remains skeptical about the notion of

a "post-political" condition. For him, "post-politics" is merely the effect of the constant tendency – "the oldest work of the art of politics" – toward the "auto-suppression of politics" in favor of an "auto-regulation of the social", at the expense of politics as a project of emancipation.

[7] Boltanski and Chiapello, *The New Spirit of Capitalism*, pp. 28f.

[8] Yann Moulier Boutang, *Cognitive Capitalism*, trans. Ed Emery (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2011), pp. 8f. ("From Lenin in England to Marx in California") and 56ff.

[9] See e.g. Franco "Bifo" Berardi's "semio-capitalism", *The Soul at Work*, trans. Francesca Cadel and Guiseppina Mecchia (New York: Semiotext(e), 2009), or the Tiqqun collective's "cybernetic capitalism", "L'hypothèse cybernétique", in *Tout a failli, vive le communisme!* (Paris: La Fabrique éditions, 2009).

[10] Paolo Virno, *A Grammar of the Multitude*, trans. Isabella Bertoletti, James Cascaito, and Andrea Casson (New York: Semiotext(e), 2004), p. 111.

[11] This argument is developed in detail in Bo Stråth's *Mellan två fonder: LO och den svenska modellen* (Stockholm: Atlas, 1998).

[12] Michael Crozier, "Western Europe", in Michael Crozier, Samuel Huntington, and Joji Watanuki, *The Crisis in Democracy: Report on the Governability of Democracies to the Trilateral Commission* (New York: New York University Press, 1975), p. 11 and p. 41. See also Jacques Rancière's discussion about this report in *Hatred of Democracy*, trans. Steve Corcoran (London: Verso, 2006), pp. 6ff.

[13] Influential texts here include Raymond Aron's early *La révolution introuvable* (Paris: Fayard, 1968), and Luc Ferry and Alain Renault's *La pensée 68: Essai sur l'anti-humanisme contemporain* (Paris: Gallimard, 1985). An instructive catalog of Swedish anti-68 accounts (as well as affected recollections by reformed or nostalgic participants) can be found in Kurt Almqvist (ed.), *Betydelsen av revolutionsåret 1968: Kårhusockupationen 40 år* (Stockholm: Atlantis, 2008). The tradition of conservative or even revisionist histories of "May 1968" is discussed in e.g. Kristin Ross, *May '68 and its Afterlives* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002) and Serge Audier, *La pensée anti-68: Essai sur les origines d'une restauration intellectuelle* (Paris: Éditions La Découverte, 2009).

[14] Boltanski and Chiapello, *The New Spirit of Capitalism*, p. xliv.

[15] Rancière, "The Misadventures of Critical Thought", p. 40.

[16] Baudrillard, "Design and Environment", p. 202.

[17] See Virno, *A Grammar of the Multitude*, but see also Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri's *Empire* trilogy. For a recent discussion, see Benjamin Noys, *Malign Velocities: Accelerationism and Capitalism* (Winchester: Zero Books, 2013), pp. 63–72.

[18] Robert Somol and Sarah Whiting, "Notes around the Doppler Effect and Other Moods of Modernism", *Perspecta*, vol. 33, 2002, p. 75. Somol and Whiting's essay is a reference text for the "post-critical" tendency in architectural debate, first articulated as a turn against the legacy of Manfredo Tafuri in North American architectural theory and practice. Somol and Whiting's position is critically discussed in e.g. George Baird, "'Criticality' and Its Discontents", *Harvard Design Magazine*, no. 21, Fall 2004/Winter 2005, and Reinhold Martin, "Critical of What? Toward a Utopian Realism", *Harvard Design Magazine*, no. 22, Spring/Summer 2005; Martin also revisits the debate in *Utopia's Ghost*, pp. 128f.

4.
The Ideology of the Museum Computer Network

[1] Everett Ellin, "Museums and the Computer: An Appraisal of New Potentials", *Computers and the Humanities*, vol. 4, no. 1, Sept. 1969, p. 25.

[2] See Ross Parry, *Recoding the Museum: Digital Heritage and the Technologies of Change* (London: Routledge, 2007), ch. 2, "From the 'day book' to the 'data bank': the beginnings of museum computing".

[3] Everett Ellin, "Computer Horizons in the Museum World", *Museum*, vol. XXIII, no. 1, 1970–1971, p. 9.

[4] James Beniger, *The Control Revolution: Technological and Economic Origins of the Information Society*, p. 12.

[5] See Ellin, "Museums and the Computer: An Appraisal of New Potentials", pp. 25ff.

[6] See Liza Kirwin, "Oral history interview with Everett Ellin, 2004 Apr. 27–28", Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. Available on www.aaa.si.edu/collections/interviews/oral-history-interview-everett-ellin-12188, last accessed March 15, 2016.

[7] Ellin, "Museums and the Computer: An Appraisal of New Potentials", p. 28.

[8] David Williams, "A Brief History of Museum Computerization" [1987], in Ross Parry (ed.), *Museums in a Digital Age* (London: Routledge, 2010), p. 17.

[9] Katherine Jones-Garmil, "Laying the Foundation: Three Decades of Computer Technology in the Museum", in K. Jones-Garmil (ed.), *The Wired Museum: Emerging Technology and Changing Paradigms* (Washington: American Association of Museums, 1997), p. 37.

[10] David Vance, "The Museum Computer Network in Context", in Richard B. Light, Andrew Roberts, and Jennifer D. Stewart (eds.), *Museum Documentation Systems: Developments and Applications* (London: Butterworth & Co., 1986), p. 41.

[11] The organization still exists. It has of course revised its aims, but its overall ambition remains the same, at least in spirit. Its current mission statement reads: "MCN is a welcoming and candid community of professionals passionate about empowering museums to address challenges and embrace opportunities within the evolving digital landscape" (www.mcn.edu, last accessed April 15, 2016).

[12] Everett Ellin, "Museums as Media", *ICA Bulletin*, no. 169, May 1967, p. 14. (Hereafter abbreviated MaM.)

[13] Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* [1964] (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1994), p. 24.

[14] McLuhan, *Understanding Media*, p. 117.

[15] Jacques Barzun, Marshall McLuhan, and Harley Parker, *Exploration of the Ways, Means, and Values of… Museum Communication With the Viewing Public: A Seminar* (New York: The Museum of the City of New York, 1967). During this scattered exchange, Ellin attempted to convince McLuhan to elaborate on the relationship between "non-linearity" and the museum, but the media theorist digressed.

[16] A classical study here is Krzysztof Pomian's *Collectors and Curiosities: Paris and Venice, 1500–1800*, trans. Elizabeth Wiles-Portier (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990).

[17] Andrew McClellan, *Inventing the Louvre: Art, Politics, and the Origins of the Modern Museum in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), pp. 112f. See also Jacques Rancière's comments about the display logic of the early public museum, in "The Little Gods in the Street (Munich-Berlin, 1828)", in *Aisthesis: Scenes from the Aesthetic Regime of Art*, pp. 26ff.

[18] Everett Ellin, "Information Systems and the Humanities: A New Renaissance", in *Computers and Their Potential Applications in Museums: A Conference*, p. 324. (Hereafter abbreviated ANR.)

[19] Jean Baudrillard, "Review of Marshall McLuhan's *Understanding Media*" [1967], p. 43; and *The System of Objects* [1968], trans. James Benedict (London: Verso, 1996).

[20] Jean Baudrillard, "Design and Environment, or How Political Economy Escalates into Cyberblitz", p. 199.

[21] Ibid., p. 202.

[22] Ibid., p. 188.

[23] See e.g. Rancière,"Aesthetics and Politics", and above, General Introduction, section iii.

[24] Baudrillard, "Design and Environment", p. 202.

[25] Ellin, "Museums and the Computer: An Appraisal of New Potentials", p. 29.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Ellin, "Computer horizons in the museum world", p. 9.

[28] Ellin, "Museums and the Computer: An Appraisal of New Potentials", p. 28.

[29] André Malraux, "Museum Without Walls", in *Voices of Silence*, trans. Stuart Gilbert (St. Albans: Paladin, 1974), p. 16. In a recent study, Georges Didi-Huberman argues that the "museum without walls" also served as the compositional principle for the montage of text and images in Malraux's book itself, which necessitated a non-traditional, collective mode of authorship. "We must recognize in its author a man out in the field, a man of action, rather than a 'thinker', an organizer rather than an 'artist'." Georges Didi-Huberman, *L'Album de l'art à l'époque du 'Musée imaginaire'* (Paris: Éditions Hazan, 2013), p. 29. It should also be noted that the idea of the heuristic and scientific advantages of catalogue standardization has a rich prehistory in the library sciences. The Belgian inventor Paul Otlet, who in the early twentieth century created the Universal Decimal Classification system, which would go on to become the universal library standard, also established the Palais Mondial or The Mundaneum in Brussels, which housed his enormous attempt to establish a universal filing card system, but which also functioned as a technical museum, showcasing important inventions and devices. See e.g. Paul Otlet, *International Organisation and Dissemination of Knowledge: Selected Essays of Paul Otlet* (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 1990), and W. Boyd Rayward, *The Universe of Information: The Work of Paul Otlet for Documentation and International Organisation* (Moscow: International Federation for Documentation, 1975).

[30] Indeed, in his introductory remarks to the conference organized by the Museum Computer Network and IBM at the Metropolitan Museum in 1968, Edmund A. Bowles from IBM explicitly referred to the notion, stating that "Only when the curator, the academic scholar, the registrar, and the exhibit designer, for example, have at ready access data banks in machine-readable form of museum holdings, bibliographies, and photo collections throughout the country – if not the world – will the 'museum without walls', to

borrow a phrase, become a reality." Edmund A. Bowles, "Introduction to the Work of the Conference", in *Computers and Their Potential Applications in Museums: A Conference*, p. xix.

[31] Ellin, "Museums and the Computer: An Appraisal of New Potentials", p. 30.

[32] Ellin, "Museums and the Computer: An Appraisal of New Potentials", p. 29.

[33] See e.g. Norbert Wiener, *The Human Use of Human Beings*. Reinhold Martin discusses the relationship between McLuhan and Wiener in *The Organizational Complex*, ch. 1.

[34] Ellin here quotes a report commissioned by the US National Academy of Sciences, *Communication Systems and Resources in the Behavioral Sciences* (Washington, D.C.: National Academy of Sciences, 1967), p. 46.

[35] Kirwin, "Oral history interview with Everett Ellin, 2004 Apr. 27–28".

[36] Vance, "The Museum Computer Network in Context", p. 44. It is worth noting here that one of the participants at the Museum Computer Network's and IBM's joint conference in 1968 was J.C.R. Licklider, one of the pioneers of early, networked computing, known (among others) for having introduced the notion of a "graphical user interface" – that is, a screen-based interface where the user interacts with the computer through graphical icons, as in virtually all of today's operating systems. At the conference, Licklider gave a technical paper on "Computer Graphics as a Medium of Artistic Expression", which did not convey an equally advanced understanding of "artistic expression". See *Computers and Their Potential Applications in Museums: A Conference*, pp. 273–302. See also M. Mitchell Waldrop, *The Dream Machine: J.C.R. Licklider and the Revolution That Made Computing Personal* (New York: Penguin Books, 2001).

[37] Vance, "The Museum Computer Network in Context", p. 43.

[38] Robert Chenhall, *Museum Cataloging in the Computer Age* (Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1975), p. 243.

[39] See Marla Misunas and Richard Urban, "A Brief History of the Museum Computer Network", in Marcia J. Bates and Mary Niles Maack (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Library and Information Sciences, Third Edition* (New York: CRC Press, 2009).

[40] This process is described in detail in Ross Parry's *Recoding the Museum*, ch. 7 et passim. As Parry explains, starting in the early 1980s, the bulk of the digitization was then performed by a subproletariat of data capture laborers employed under various neoliberal "job creation" schemes, working under strictly Taylorist protocols. These new "keyers", "coding clerks" or "shelf inventory personnel" were often treated as second-rate employees, kept at a distance from the "creative cabinet" of the museum's curatorial workforce. (See pp. 125ff.)

[41] Pontus Hultén, "Att välja konst – och kaktus", *Tidskriften Vi*, April 1967, p. 11.

[42] In a letter to Peter Celsing dated November 8, 1968, Ellin explained that, to his regret, "the photographs you provided me" of "your building" – without doubt a reference to Kulturhuset – had arrived too late for them to be included in the "Architecture of Museums Exhibition [at the MoMA]" (curated by Ludwig Glaeser, September 25–November 11, 1968). Ellin also mentions that Hultén "is in New York at the moment" and that he is "having a little gathering for him tomorrow evening". PCA.

43 See e.g. Agneta Palme, "Datamaskinen nu mogen att överta museets roll", *Svenska Dagbladet*, April 7, 1967, and Lennart Holm, "Museet som massmedium", *Svenska Dagbladet*, July 15, 1968.

44 SOU 1973:5, *Museerna: Betänkande av 1965 års musei- och utställningssakkunniga*, p. 73. We will return to this inquiry below, part III.

45 See e.g. Hultén, "Stockholms kulturella vardagsrum" (November 1966).

46 Parry, *Recoding the Museum*, p. 14.

47 For a recent account of the correlation between the demands of contemporary capitalism and the rhythms of contemporary media technology, with a direct relevance for the historical transformations of museum display techniques, see Jonathan Crary, *24/7: Late Capitalism and the Ends of Sleep* (London: Verso, 2013).

48 Norbert Wiener, *Cybernetics: or Control and Communication in the Animal and the Machine* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1948).

49 www.google.com/about/company/, last accessed April 22, 2016.

50 In *Feed-Forward: On the Future of Twenty-First-Century Media* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015), Mark B.N. Hansen defines "feed-forward" media as media operating through "computational processes [which] occur at time frames well below the thresholds constitutive of human perceptual experience", and which "seem to introduce levels of operationality that impact our experience without yielding any perceptual correlate" (p. 4). That is, as opposed to "feedback" media, which gather data about past behavior and then predict future behavior, "feed-forward media" may register and process user response, and predict the correlating user behavior, before users themselves are physically, cognitively aware of it. "[T]oday's media industries", Hansen writes, "have honed methods for mining data about our behavior that feature as their key element the complete bypassing of consciousness, the direct targeting of […] the 'operational present' of sensibility" (ibid.).

51 Martin, *Utopia's Ghost*, pp. 127f.

52 The museum "functions as an ideal vitrine for the new financial consortiums", the poet and philosopher Pierre Alferi writes in a recent, unforgiving article about the new Fondation Louis Vuitton in Paris, co-signed by prominent philosophers such as Giorgio Agamben, Georges Didi-Huberman, and Jean-Luc Nancy. "Fluctuating like money, [art's] movement is akin to that of a stock market value. For a society that dreams of rapidity, and is indexed on fluxes, [it] has the very profile of the object of desire." Pierre Alferi, "Is Art a Mere Luxury Good?", trans. Anna De Filippi and Lucie Mercier, available on www.kunstkritikk.no/kommentar/is-art-a-mere-luxury-good/, last accessed April 26, 2016.

53 Mike Pepi, "Is a Museum a Database? Institutional Conditions in Net Utopia", *e-flux journal*, no. 60, December 2014. In this respect, the art sociologist Olav Velthius's claim that digital, networked media have not had any significant impact on the operations of the art market, appears to be based on an unwillingness to acknowledge the pervasiveness of that impact, across all levels of the political economy of contemporary art. "In some culture industries", Velthius writes, "demand is increasingly shaped in new ways through digital technology […]. In the art market, however, the equivalents of these trends are by and large absent. The Internet has so far hardly had a profound impact on distribution practices – amateurs have not questioned the authority of cultural experts nor have they found new legitimate platforms for their new creations." Olav Velthius, "The Contemporary Art

Market Between Stasis and Flux", in Maria Lind and Olav Velthius (eds.), *Contemporary Art and Its Commercial Markets: A Report on Current Conditions and Future Scenarios* (Berlin/Spånga: Sternberg Press/Tensta Konsthall, 2012), pp. 37f. While this is surely to some extent valid, at least in comparison to other cultural fields, the process of securing "compatibility", which involves the increasing dependency on user feedback, undoubtedly affects the logic underlying the "authority of cultural experts", regardless of whether it is questioned by "amateurs".

[54] See Bill Hillier and Julienne Hanson, *The Social Logic of Space* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), and Bill Hillier and Kali Tzortzi, "Space Syntax: The Language of Museum Space", in Sharon MacDonald (ed.), *A Companion to Museum Studies* (London: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011). See also Kali Tzortzi, "The Art Museum as a City or a Machine for Showing Art?", *Architectural Research Quarterly*, vol. 14, no. 2, June 2010, which features a discussion of Pontus Hultén's exhibition designs at the Centre Pompidou in the late 1970s.

[55] See Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum*. Michelle Henning provides a useful overview of the literature on these techniques and developments, in *Museums, Media and Cultural Theory* (Maidenhead: Open University Press, 2006), esp. chs. 2 and 3. In the documentary *The Creators of the Shopping-Worlds* (2001), the filmmaker Harun Farocki follows a team of architects, interior designers, consultants, analysts, surveillance technicians, behavioral scientists, and businessmen, as they employ a large arsenal of digital profiling technologies – mapping everything from eye movements to the circulation of shoppers through retail environments – for the planning of a shopping mall in Germany. Since 2001 the use of such technologies has of course escalated exponentially.

[56] See above, ch. 3.2.

[57] For a discussion of Hadid's ambivalent rehearsals of "historical avant-garde" experiments – notably quoting supremacist and constructivist painting – see Hal Foster, "Neo-Avant-Garde Gestures", in *The Art-Architecture Complex* (London: Verso, 2011).

[58] Martin, *Utopia's Ghost*, p. 127.

[59] Ibid., p. 128.

5.
The Incompatible Image

[1] A relatively well-financed film considering its experimental nature, *Provocation* was the first major production supported entirely by the Swedish Film Institute. After a complicated post-production process it failed to secure a distribution deal, and remained virtually unseen upon its extremely limited release, at a Stockholm cinema theater leased by Fahlström himself. To this day the film has never been officially re-released, although it is shown from time to time in film clubs and museums.

[2] The other organizations represented in the Collegium were the Ministry of Education, the Information Department, the national and the international Press Agencies, and the International Department of the Swedish Radio.

[3] See e.g. the protocol from the Collegium meeting on November 9, 1967. National Archives (NA), the Collegium for Swedish Information Abroad (CSI), 420460/FIa/19.

[4] On the Gasholder project, see above, ch. 2.3.

[5] The first points of contention were Stolpe's alleged deviation from the Collegium's desired topic, the "image of Sweden abroad", and the legality of screening a critical interview with a trade union representative against his will. As the debate continued these allegations were dropped and new ones presented, generally claiming that the project was politically biased.

[6] The exhibition was closed, Stolpe and his collaborators claimed, because it was "politically uncomfortable". "Utställningen Sverigebilder tillsvidare stoppad", press release, May 31, 1969. NA, Swedish Institute (SI), 2709/10/F/F1/282. Among the protest actions the most famous one was the artist Siri Derkert's decision to block the public inauguration of her permanent, site-specific artwork for the Sweden House façade, "as long as the exhibition *Pictures of Sweden* is not opened". Siri Derkert, letter to Håkan Landelius, superintendent, Sweden House, May 31, 1969. NA/CSI, 420460/FIa/222.

[7] A telegram sent from Per-Axel Hildeman, director of the Swedish Institute, to Stolpe at 11.30 p.m. on that date reads: "On behalf of the board I have decided to close the exhibition effective immediately. The reason is that you have not accommodated certain of our demands regarding changes to the exhibition." NA/SI, 2709/10/F/F1/283.

[8] See Per Olov Enquist, "Inga slag vinns med censur" and "Vi ska kila in oss, sa Öberg", *Expressen*, September 11 and 20, 1969.

[9] The National Archive holds more than 2000 pages of documents directly related to the exhibition. A survey commissioned by the Swedish Institute in October 1969, counted 193 articles and news items about the subject in Swedish press and broadcast media.

[10] The only historical account of the exhibition with some detail is the section devoted to it in Nikolas Glover's dissertation about the Swedish Institute, *National Relations: Public Diplomacy, National Identity and the Swedish Institute 1945–1970* (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2011), pp. 146–154. I am indebted to this text for helping me navigate the vast Swedish Institute archives. Glover's focus, however, is on the debate regarding the cancellation of the exhibition, and his remarks about its contents and structure, though perceptive, are generally brief. The debate triggered by the exhibition's cancellation is also discussed in Marianne Hultman, "The Inauguration of Sweden House in May 1969: A Collage", in Maria Lind (ed.), *Liesbeth Bik & Jos van der Pol: Moderna Museet Projekt 24.11 2000–28.1 2001*, exh. cat. (Stockholm: Moderna Museet, 2001), pp. 72–75.

[11] Regarding "The Model", see Lars Bang Larsen and Palle Nielsen, *The Model: A Model for a Qualitative Society* (Barcelona: Museu d'Art Contemporani de Barcelona, 2010).

[12] Hans Magnus Enzensberger, "Constituents of a Theory of the Media", p. 55. The text was originally published as "Baukasten zu einer Theorie der Medien", in *Kursbuch*, vol. 20, 1970. It was almost immediately translated into English in the *New Left Review*, I/64, November–December 1970, and into Swedish, as "Byggsats till en mediateori" (abridged version), trans. Erich Schwandt, in *Ord & bild*, no. 7-8, 1970.

[13] See Bertolt Brecht, "Radio as a Means of Communication: A Talk on the Function of Radio" [1930], trans. Stuart Hood, in Armand Mattelart and Seth Siegelaub (eds.), *Communication and Class Struggle: 2. Liberation, Socialism* (New York/Bagnolet: International General/IMMRC, 1983), pp. 169–171.

[14] Baudrillard's "Requiem for the Media" was originally published as "Requiem pour les media", in *Utopie*, no. 4, 1971.

[15] Enzensberger, "Constituents of a Theory of the Media", p. 48.

[16] Davallon, *L'Exposition à l'oeuvre*, p. 36.

[17] Ibid., pp. 20f. and 28.

[18] See ibid., pp. 16ff., and pp. 250ff., for arguments to this effect.

[19] Enzensberger, "Constituents of a Theory of the Media", p. 75.

[20] Davallon, *L'Exposition à l'oeuvre*, pp. 36f.

[21] Per Kågeson and Pär Stolpe, "Sverigebilder/Pictures of Sweden 1969", in *Sverigebilder 1969*, exh. cat. (Stockholm: Sverigehuset, 1969), p. 2. It was exactly these lines that Kjell Öberg reacted to in the letter that led to the postponement, and then the cancellation of the exhibition. See letter from Öberg to the Swedish Institute, May 27, 1969. NA/SI, 2709/10/F/F1/282.

[22] Pär Stolpe, letter sent from the Swedish Institute, cosigned by Bo Wingren, on February 17, 1969. NA/SI, 2709/10/F/F1/282.

[23] In this respect, *Pictures of Sweden 1969* can be seen as a minor, critical, and idiosyncratic contribution to the tradition of politically radical trade fair exhibitions, dating back to the press agency exhibitions in post-revolutionary Russia, and El Lissitzky's famous *Pressa* exhibition design in Cologne in 1928. See e.g. Maria Gough, "Model Exhibition", *October* no. 150, Fall 2014.

[24] Among recent, important publications concerning the history of expanded cinema, see: Gloria Sutton, *The Experience Machine: Stan VanDerBeek's Movie-Drome and Expanded Cinema* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2015), and François Bovier and Adeena May (eds.), *Exhibited Cinema / Cinéma Exposé* (Paris: ECAL/Les Presses du réel, 2015).

[25] Pär Stolpe, "Programmering till Pär Stolpes skiss för utställningsform", appended to promemoria from the Sweden House exhibition group, February 16, 1968. NA/CSI, 420460/FIa/222. The exhibition *Andy Warhol* was shown at Moderna Museet February 10–March 17, 1968.

[26] Glover, *National Relations*, p. 152, and Promemoria from the Sweden House exhibition group, February 16, 1968. NA/CSI, 420460/FIa/222. About Expo 67, see e.g. Gene Youngblood, "World Expositions and Nonordinary Reality", in *Expanded Cinema* (New York: P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1970), pp. 352–358; and Jeffrew Shaw and Peter Weibel (eds.), *Future Cinema: The Cinematic Imaginary After Film* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2003). See also below, ch. 8.3, for a discussion of Buckminster Fuller, whose geodesic dome became the main icon of Expo 67.

[27] Pär Stolpe, "Kort beskrivning av förslag till öppningsutställning: Distance center, Sverigehuset – 1968", March 12, 1968. NA/SI, 2709/10/F/F1/282.

[28] See Stolpe's letter of February 17, 1969.

[29] The exhibition was curated by Sture Balgård, Eva Björklund, and Jöran Lindvall. On the exhibition, see Sven-Olov Wallenstein, "1966: Thinking the City", in *Architecture, Critique, Ideology: Writings on Architecture and Theory* (Stockholm: Axl Books, 2016).

[30] See Pär Stolpe, "Distance Center: Sverige, sverigeinformationen i utlandet, nationell kommunikation, internationell kommunikation (Beskrivning av modell med förslag till invigningsutställning i Sverigehuset 1969)", April 9, 1968. NA/CSI, 420460/FIa/219. See also Stolpe's letter of February 17, 1969. Although the group behind *Pictures of Sweden 1969* arrived at this arrangement independently, it should be noted that, at the time, the

notion of the exhibition or the installation as a newsroom was relatively common among Conceptual artists such as Hans Haacke, David Lamelas, and Roberto Jacoby. See Julia Bryan-Wilson, *Art Workers: Radical Practice in the Vietnam War Era*, pp.173ff.

[31] The plastic furniture, also installed at other places around the exhibition, was designed by Istvan Foth and Pär Stolpe, in collaboration with the company Overman, which proudly presented the venture in a PR leaflet included in the exhibition. The leaflet's English summary reads: "Istvan Foth and Pär Stolpe, two young designers, have in close co-operation with Overman AB, Tranås developed seating units for relaxation, with which they have furnished the floor of the exhibition hall upstairs. Important to the designers has been to create a piece of furniture flexible in its use but also resistant to 'Tear and Wear' and not too expensive. The designers believe that their furniture will be used both by children and grown up people, and among other fields they mention schools, libraries, homes and various public spaces where their furniture should have a market." Overman AB, "Sittlandskap i Sverigehuset utställningshall". Bildaktivisterna Archive (BA).

[32] The song was commissioned by Stolpe, who had met Björn Häggqvist at Öyvind Fahlström's home the previous summer. See Stolpe, letter to Björn Häggqvist, September 2, 1968. NA/SI, 2709/10/F/F1/282.

[33] See e.g. David Joselit, *Feedback: Television Against Democracy* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2007), pp. 91–103. Incidentally, in 1970, two years after Stolpe's first "Distance Center" project proposal, the Raindance Corporation proposed a "Center of Decentralized Television" for the Jewish Museum in New York. It was never realized.

[34] Pär Stolpe, letter to the press bureau at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, April 30, 1968. NA/SI, 2709/10/F/F1/282.

[35] See Norbert Wiener, *The Human Use of Human Beings: Cybernetics and Society*, pp. 95f.

[36] Stolpe, letter of February 17, 1969.

[37] Jean Baudrillard, "Requiem for the Media", p. 177.

[38] Ibid., p. 177 and p. 181.

[39] Among the new demands was the stipulation that "The exhibition should not propagate for any particular political opinion" – which, it could be argued, Stolpe's antagonistic, multi-perspectival set-up was never supposed to do. PSA, "Pictures of Sweden". According to Per Olov Enquist, the concrete demands that were not met, and that the Sweden House management referred to in order to legitimize the final cancellation of the exhibition, had to do with the graphic design of the exhibition folder, where the "S" in "Sverigebilder" was replaced with a dollar sign, indicating the Americanization and commercialization of Swedish media; Björn Häggqvist's song for the exhibition; a newly produced video tape that presented the background to the exhibition's first postponement; and, wrote Enquist, "Some images concerning the Cabora Bassa project". See Enquist, "Inga slag vinns med censur".

[40] After the definite cancellation, the exhibition group was barred from the Sweden House. Bildaktivisterna were denied access to the photographs and videos they had produced, and a juridical process was set in motion, which resulted in the return of some of the material, which is today kept in the Bildaktivisterna Archive, courtesy of Tommy Tommie. See also Bildaktivisterna, letter to the Swedish Institute, September 11, 1969. NA/SI, 2709/10/F/F1/283.

41 Per Kågeson and Pär Stolpe, "Innehållsbeskrivning till utställningen Sverigebilder", dated June 2, 1969, p. 1. NA/SI, 2709/10/F/F1/283.

42 See Lawen Mohtadi, *Den dag jag blir fri: en bok om Katarina Taikon* (Stockholm: Natur och Kultur, 2013), ch. 7.

43 See e.g. Olle Wästberg, "Fallet Kotzikos – ett skrämmande exempel", *Expressen*, May 28, 1969.

44 Kågeson and Stolpe, "Innehållsbeskrivning till utställningen Sverigebilder", p. 1.

45 Bildaktivisterna, Per Kågeson, and Pär Stolpe, "Propaganda och verklighet", *Foto och filmteknik*, no. 1, 1970, pp. 36f.

46 Clas Brunius, "Expressen hann titta: Inga märkliga bilder", *Expressen*, June 17, 1969.

47 "Förteckning över diabilder 1:a majdemonstration", unsigned and undated. NA/SI, 2709/10/F/F1/282.

48 See Tor Sellström, "The Shadow of Cabora Bassa", in *Sweden and National Liberation in Southern Africa, vol. 1: Formation of a Popular Opinion 1950–1970* (Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 1999), pp. 483–504. After intense criticism, ASEA withdrew their bid, and in 1970 the Swedish state recognized and began giving economic support to FRELIMO, the Mozambique Liberation Front.

49 "Förteckning över diabilder Cabora Bassa", unsigned and undated. NA/SI, 2709/10/F/F1/282. I have not been able to determine the authenticity of the quotes.

6.

The Perseverance of the Exhibition

1 Olivier Lugon, "Introduction", in Lugon (ed.), *Exposition et médias: Photographie, cinéma, télévision*, pp. 9f.

2 Baudrillard, "Design and Environment", p. 199.

3 Enzensberger, "Constituents of a Theory of the Media", p. 55.

4 Baudrillard, "Design and Environment", p. 202.

5 Baudrillard develops these concepts across several texts in *For a Critique of the Political Economy of the Sign*, but see "For a General Theory", for a concise summary. For Marx classical analysis of the commodity form, see *Capital, vol. 1*, ch. 1.

6 Jean Baudrillard, "Beyond Use Value", in *For a Critique of the Political Economy of the Sign*, p. 133.

7 Baudrillard, "Requiem for the Media", p. 178.

8 Ibid., pp. 178f. For a discussion of Baudrillard's understanding of the "transmission model", in relation to Claude Shannon and Warren Weaver's "mathematical theory of communication" and Roman Jakobson's communication theory, see Gary Genosko, *Remodeling Communication: From WWII to the WWW* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012).

9 Baudrillard, "Requiem for the Media", p. 177.

10 See Rancière, *Aesthetics and its Discontents*, pp. 24f., and "The Misadventures of Critical Thought", p. 40. See also above, General Introduction, section iii.

11 Jean Baudrillard, "The Beaubourg-Effect: Implosion and Deterrence", trans. Rosalind Krauss and Annette Michelson, *October*, no. 20, Spring 1982, p. 9. On Baudrillard and "terminal acceleration", see Noys, *Malign Velocities*, ch. 6.

[12] Somol and Whiting, "Notes around the Doppler Effect and Other Moods of Modernism", p. 77.

[13] Victoria Walsh, "The Context and Practice of Post-critical Museology", in Katarzyna Murawska-Muthesius and Piotr Piotrowski (eds.), *From Museum Critique to the Critical Museum* (London: Routledge, 2015), p. 200.

[14] Andrew Dewdney, David Dibosa, and Victoria Walsh, *Post-Critical Museology: Theory and Practice in the Art Museum*, p. 245.

[15] Ibid., p. 167.

[16] Ibid., pp. 201f.

[17] Enzensberger, "Constituents of a Theory of the Media", p. 62.

[18] Baudrillard, "Requiem for the Media", p. 182.

PART III
Utopias and Contradictions

[1] Ronald Hunt, "An interview with Pontus Hultén, Stockholm 1981", in *Utopier och visioner 1871–1981*, exh.cat. (Stockholm: Moderna Museet, 1971), p. 10. Unlike the other contributions to the catalogue, this text is printed in parallel Swedish and English versions. Interestingly, the Swedish version translates "central community center" as "allaktivitetshus".

[2] Untitled and unsigned introduction, in ibid., p. 1.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Paul Thek's exhibition at Moderna Museet, *Pyramid* (November 6, 1971–January 9, 1972), is the object of a recent study by Susanne Neubauer, *Paul Thek in Process* (Zürich: JRP|ringier, 2012).

[5] Hultén was on leave from the museum for one year starting July 1971. During this period Carlo Derkert served as acting director, while Olle Granath was recruited as an associate curator.

[6] About 1968 in a global perspective, see George Katsiaficas, *The Imagination of the New Left: A Global Analysis of 1968* (Boston: South End Press, 1987), which argues that "it is in reference to the global constellation of forces and to each other" that the period's new left movements "can be understood in theory as they occurred in practice" (p. 3). For an account of General de Gaulle's extraordinary measures in France in June 1968, as well as a general discussion of the post-1968 "restoration", see Ross, *May '68 and its Afterlives*.

[7] Michael Crozier, "Western Europe", p. 41. See above, part II, Introduction.

[8] For historical overviews, see Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Extremes*, part III, and Tony Judt, *Postwar: A History of Europe Since 1945* (New York: Penguin Press, 2005), part III.

[9] See David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity*, part II, and *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

[10] For recent, critical overviews, see e.g. Werner Schmidt, "From Fordism to High-Tech Capitalism: A Political Economy of the Labour Movement in the Baltic Sea Region", in Norbert Götz (ed.), *The Sea of Identities: A Century of Baltic and East European Experiences with Nationality, Class, and Gender* (Huddinge: Södertörn Academic Studies, 2014), p. 84, and Lars Ekdahl, "Svensk arbetarrörelse under demokratins århundrade: en essä", in

Håkan Blomqvist and Werner Schmidt (eds.), *Efter guldåldern: arbetarrörelsen och fordismens slut* (Stockholm: Carlssons, 2012).

[11] In 1969, TV2, Sweden's second public television network, was launched, and during the same period the Swedish National Concert Institute (*Rikskonserter*) was developed, among other initiatives. For useful overviews and discussions, see e.g. Tor Larsson and Per Svensson, "Cultural Policy in Sweden", *Journal of Arts Management, Law, and Society*, no. 31, Spring 2001, p. 88, and David Karlsson, *En kulturutredning: pengar, konst och politik* (Göteborg: Glänta produktion, 2010).

[12] Widely read and influential here was C.H. Hermansson's *Monopol och storfinans – de 15 familjerna* (Stockholm: Rabén & Sjögren, 1965), which showed how power and wealth in the Swedish economy was concentrated to a small number of dynasties. It was followed by a number of official inquiries, grouped together in the so called "concentration inquiry" (*koncentrationsutredningen*), such as SOU 1968:7, *Ägande och inflytande inom det privata näringslivet.*

[13] On the early critique against the alienating and segregating effects of the new urban renewal and mass housing projects, see Helena Mattson, "Where the Motorways Meet: Architecture and Corporatism in Sweden 1968", in M. Swanerton, T. Avermaete, and D. van den Heuvel (eds.), *Architecture and The Welfare State* (London: Routledge, 2014), which discusses the debate surrounding the inauguration of the Skärholmen suburban center in 1968. See also Stahre, *Den alternativa staden*, pp. 61–75, which discusses the critique against Stockholm's City Sanitation and the emergence of the "neighborhood" collective movement.

[14] See e.g. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Extremes*, ch. 12, "The Third World".

[15] See e.g. Walter Korpi, "Unofficial Strikes in Sweden", *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, vol. 19, no. 1, March 1981, pp. 75–82, and Torsten Sverenius, *Vad hände med Sveriges ekonomi efter 1970? En debattbok* (SOU 1999:150), pp. 112–207. See also Ingela Johansson's *Strejkkonsten: röster om kulturellt och politiskt arbete under och efter gruvstrejken 1969–70* (Göteborg: Glänta produktion, 2013), which gathers a wealth of documents regarding the artistic responses to, and actions in solidarity with, the strikers in Norrbotten.

[16] See e.g. Ekdahl, "Svensk arbetarrörelse under demokratins århundrade: en essä", pp. 109ff, and Östberg, *1968: när allting var i rörelse*, pp. 123–152.

[17] Ernest Mandel, *Late Capitalism* [1972], trans. Joris De Bres (London: Verso, 1978).

[18] Fredric Jameson, *Postmodernism, or, the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*, p. xx. See also Peter Osborne, "The Postconceptual Condition, or, the Cultural Logic of High Capitalism Today", *Radical Philosophy*, no. 184, March/April 2014, p. 19: "How very late, it now seems, still to have been periodizing capitalism as 'late' in 1991" – referring to Jameson's book – "at the very moment of its most powerful renewal". Instead, Osborne proposes the concept of "high capitalism".

[19] Hunt, "Interview with Pontus Hultén, Stockholm 1981", p. 10.

[20] Ibid.

[21] Ulf Linde, *Från kart till fallfrukt* (Stockholm: Bonniers, 2008), p. 236. See also Per Bjurström's comments on Stolpe's "provocations" and "aggressive negativism", in

Nationalmuseum 1792–1992 (Höganäs: Nationalmuseum/Wiken, 1992), p. 329. Numerous comparable references could be added here.

7.
The Circular Function Model

[1] The Circular Function Model (Stolpe version). PSA, "Moderna Museet, reconstruction".

[2] The Circular Function Model (Hultén version). PSA, "Moderna Museet, reconstruction".

[3] Pavie, "Vers le musée du futur: entretien avec Pontus Hultén", p. 58. It is not unlikely that Hultén himself made the translation.

[4] See above, part II.

[5] Pär Stolpe, letter to Eric Hedquist, secretary of the 1965 Museum and Exhibition Inquiry (MUS 65), June 24, 1970, p. 3 ("Bilagor"). PSA, "Moderna Museet, reconstruction".

[6] Pär Stolpe, letter to Pontus Hultén, June 17, 1970, p. 2. PSA, "Moderna Museet, reconstruction".

[7] Stolpe, letter to Eric Hedquist, June 24, 1970, pp. 1f.

[8] Ibid., p. 2.

[9] Bengt Dahlbäck and Pontus Hultén, "Utkast till förslag om moderna museets avskiljande från nationalmuseet med östasiatiska museet", dated June 12, 1969, attached to Stolpe's letter to Hedquist. PSA, "Moderna Museet, reconstruction".

[10] See above, part I, Introduction and ch. 2.

[11] Dahlbäck and Hultén, "Utkast till förslag om moderna museets avskiljande från nationalmuseet med östasiatiska museet", p. 2.

[12] Ibid., p. 1. See also Eva Eriksson, "Förvandlingar och lokalbyten: Moderna Museets byggnader", in *Historieboken: Om Moderna Museet 1958–2008*, p. 67.

[13] Pontus Hultén, "P.M. angående samtidsmuseerna", dated May 2, 1968, attached to Stolpe's letter to Hedquist. PSA, "Moderna Museet, reconstruction".

[14] SOU 1973:5: *Museerna: Betänkande av 1965 års musei- och utställningssakkunniga*, p. 124. Hultén was invited as one of the inquiry's experts on January 17, 1969, replacing Carl Nordenfalk, retiring director of the National Museum (p. 3). Even apart from Hultén's participation, the inquiry was generally positively predisposed to Moderna Museet's program. Another key member of its group of experts was Bo Lagercrantz, who, as we have seen, was a reliable supporter of Stolpe, for example recommending him for the Sweden House exhibition. See above, ch. 5.

[15] The exact definition of Moderna Museet's domain of responsibility was a matter of debate. Also attached to the petition to Hedquist and the MUS 65 inquiry, was a document written by Hultén titled "Remarks regarding the department for crafts and industrial arts [*konsthantverk och konstindustri*] at Moderna Museet". It argued that "unique utility artifacts [*unika bruksföremål*]" should remain at the National Museum, that "mass produced utility artifacts" should be transferred to the collections of the Nordic Museum, but could be exhibited elsewhere, whereas "Moderna Museet collects mass produced *objects* to the extent that they are especially *visual* [*bildmässiga*], for example posters, examples of typography [and other objects] which *directly relate* to modern visual arts". Pontus Hultén, "Synpunkter rörande avdelningen för konsthantverk och konstindustri på Moderna Museet", dated June 23, 1970. PSA, "Moderna Museet, reconstruction". As Anna

Tellgren has detailed, in 1971, photography first became a part of Moderna Museet's official remit, with the incorporation of the collections of the organization Friends of the Photographic Museum (*Fotografiska Museets Vänner*) in Moderna Museet's collection. Anna Tellgren, "Fotografi och konst: Om Moderna Museets samling av fotografi ur ett institutionshistoriskt perspektiv", in Tellgren (ed.), *Historieboken: Om Moderna Museet 1958–2008*, pp. 129f. See also Annika Gunnarson's text on Moderna Museet's graphics department in the same volume, "Sidbyte: Modern och samtida teckning och grafik på Moderna Museet".

[16] Stolpe, letter to Eric Hedquist, p. 2.

[17] SOU 1973:5, p. 124. A part of this sentence repeats verbatim a formulation in Pontus Hultén's letter to the Building Board, February 10, 1972, p. 2. NA, Ministry of Education (ME), Acts from Cabinet Meeting, September 29, 1972, no. 14.

[18] Stolpe, letter to Hedquist, p. 2. Drawing on the experiences from the exhibition *The Model* in 1968, a special children's workshop had been established at Moderna Museet in 1969, which then became a permanent feature at the museum. On this workshop, and on Moderna Museet's pedagogical activities in general, see Anette Göthlund, "Arbete i verkstad och zon: Konstpedagogik for barn på Moderna Museet", in Tellgren (ed.), *Historieboken: Om Moderna Museet 1958–2008*. For a discussion of Carlo Derkert's pioneering pedagogical program, and his contribution to the postwar tradition of arts pedagogy, see Kristoffer Arvidsson, "Carlo Derkert i efterkrigstidens konstpedagogiska landskap", *Biblis*, no. 57, Spring 2012, pp. 37–47.

[19] Pär Stolpe, "Preliminär personalplan för Moderna Museet efter delningen", dated June 16, 1970. Attached to Stolpe's letter to Hedquist. PSA, "Moderna Museet, reconstruction".

[20] Stolpe, letter to Hedquist, p. 2.

[21] Pär Stolpe, letter to Pontus Hultén, June 17, 1970, p. 2. PSA, "Moderna Museet, reconstruction".

[22] Pär Stolpe, letter to Swedish media organizations and educational departments, December 14, 1970, pp. 1f. PHA, 2.22. There are numerous formulations by Stolpe to the same effect. See e.g. his letter to the journalist Margareta Romdahl, June 5, 1973, p. 2: "Filialen was created in 1971 for two reasons. 1. We needed to separate the activities from the collections in the old house which is too small for both. 2. We needed an experimental activity in preparation of the extension of the museum which we were working hard to assure at the time, a trial operation which could give us concrete experiences of how a different and more open activity could look in the new house on Skeppsholmen." MMA, F2bb. See also his letter to the board of Statens Konstmuseer, December 23, 1976, p. 1: "In 1970–71 we decided to create a special experimental operation at Moderna Museet in preparation for the reconstruction, extension, and comprehensive reorganization of the museum […]. When Filialen was created it was very clearly stated from the museum […] that the aim was to present the results for evaluation with regards to the new conditions at Moderna Museet after the reconstruction, when the experimental operation would be integrated in the extended main museum." PSA, "Moderna Museet 1975–".

[23] Pär Stolpe, presentation of Filialen, March 1971, quoted in the preface to Pär Stolpe (ed.), *Filialenrapporten* (Stockholm: Moderna Museet, 1974), p. 3.

[24] Per Olof Olsson, "Utbyggnad av Moderna Museet. Diskussionsförslag II", April 8, 1970. PSA, "Moderna Museet, reconstruction". A handwritten comment notes that "this proposal does not describe an architectural solution but only surface areas", but the sketch adheres generally to the actual surface plan of the museum.

[25] See Per Olof Olsson, plans for Moderna Museet's extension, dated November 12, 1970, and "Moderna Museet, Skeppsholmen, Stockholm. Förslag till ombyggnad och tillbyggnad", November 12, 1970. NA/ME, Acts from Cabinet Meeting, September 29, 1972, no. 14.

[26] Olsson, "Moderna Museet, Skeppsholmen, Stockholm. Förslag till ombyggnad och tillbyggnad", p. 1.

[27] See letter from the Building Board to the Ministry of Education, April 24, 1972, p. 2. NA/ME, Acts from Cabinet Meeting, September 29, 1972, no. 14. See also Pontus Hultén, "Ang. Moderna Museet på Skeppsholmen eller Sergels Torg", May 7, 1969. PSA, "Moderna Museet, reconstruction".

[28] Pontus Hultén, letter to the Building Board, February 10, 1971, pp. 2f. NA/ME, Acts from Cabinet Meeting, September 29, 1972, no. 14.

[29] Per Olof Olsson, "Moderna Museets tillbyggnad", *Arkitektur*, no. 3, vol. 77, April 1977, p. 2.

[30] Letter from the Building Board to the Ministry of Education, April 24, 1972.

[31] Letter from the Ministry of Education to the Building Board, signed by Ingvar Carlsson and Leif Larson, November 29, 1972. (Diarienr. 2010/72, nr. 396.) MMA, F2bb.

[32] Yann Pavie, "Vers le musée du futur: entretien avec Pontus Hultén", pp. 58 and 61. See also above, General Introduction.

[33] Ibid., p. 61.

[34] Ibid.

[35] See above, part I, introduction.

[36] Erik Hofrén, Harald Hvarfner, Sten Rentzhog, and Sune Zachrisson, *70-talets museum: samspel, kontakt, kommunikation* (Stockholm: LTs förlag, 1970), pp. 13 and 15. This debate is also discussed in Olof Näsman, *Samhällsmuseum efterlyses – Svensk museiutveckling och museidebatt 1965–1990*, ch. 7.

[37] Ibid., p. 33.

[38] Pavie, "Vers le musée du futur: entretien avec Pontus Hultén", p. 62.

[39] Pierre Gaudibert, Pontus Hultén, Michael Kustow, Jean Leymarie, François Mathey, Georges Henri Rivière, Harald Szeemann, and Eduard de Wilde, "Exchange of Views of a Group of Experts", *Museum*, vol. XXIV, no. 1, 1972, p. 26.

[40] Pavie, "Vers le musée du futur: entretien avec Pontus Hultén", p. 63.

[41] Öyvind Fahlström, "Moderna Museet – Från pompa och ståt, till informationscentrum", in *Moderna Museet 1958–1983*, p. 170. Most of this text is quoted in English in Michael Kustow, "Profiles and Situations of Some Museums of Contemporary Art", *Museum*, vol. XXIV, no. 1, 1972, pp. 36–44.

[42] Fahlström, "Moderna Museet – Från pompa och ståt, till informationscentrum", p. 171. For the record, Fahlström's description of the Information Center model reads: "In the course of planning, the museum has been divided into four 'concentric' functions. Starting from the 'outside' we meet the collection of raw, unprocessed information, events and facts

about the world today (social-political-cultural). […] This brings us to the next layer of the circle, the 'workshop' for processing the information. The principle here is for everybody to have access to a printing press, video equipment, etc., so as to be able to make something of the information for themselves. This activity in turn overlaps with the material-processing undertaken by the museum itself to produce exhibitions and performances. These will be designed both by the museum staff and by outsiders on contract for a specific occasion, so that artists will be able to work as project makers and not merely as object makers, as is generally the case. Finally, we have the innermost circle, the traditional function of the museum, providing us with a constant and necessary reminder of what has been done so that the things now being done can be seen in their true proportions. It is here that the permanent works of art are collected and information stored in the library and in a computer with the help of which facts and references can be obtained at a moment's notice. This last circle is also information, treated by artists and preserved. It is the age-old function of the museum as MEMORY." Ibid. Quoted from Kustow, "Profiles and Situations of Some Museums of Contemporary Art", pp. 43f.

[43] Pavie, "Vers le musée du futur: entretien avec Pontus Hultén", p. 61.

[44] Stolpe, *Filialenrapporten*, p. 3.

[45] Hultén et al, "Exchange of Views of a Group of Experts", p. 14.

[46] SOU 1972:67, p. 28.

[47] Pär Stolpe, interviewed in Eva Eriksson, "Har den blivit bra den här tillbyggnaden?", *Arkitektur*, no. 3, vol. 77, April 1977, p. 11.

[48] See Riksdagens revisorer, "Granskningspromemoria nr 8/1971 (projekt nr B 16): Viss genom statsmedel bekostad utställningsverksamhet". MMA, F2ba:1. See below, ch. 9.

[49] Hultén et al, "Exchange of Views of a Group of Experts", p. 4.

[50] Ibid., p. 7.

[51] Dominique Poulot, "La mise en exposition: état de la question", in Jean Davallon (ed.), *Claquemurer, pour ainsi dire, tout l'univers: la mise en exposition* (Paris: Éditions du Centre Georges Pompidou, CCI, 1986), p. 283. A French version of the text is included in the standard museological textbook *Vagues: une anthologie de la nouvelle muséologie*, where it is attributed to the whole collective of participants. By contrast, the republication of a small part of the text in the journal *The Exhibitionist* in 2012 attributes it primarily to Szeemann. See Szeemann, "Exchange of Views of a Group of Experts", introduced by Chelsea Haines, *The Exhibitionist*, no. 6, June 2012, pp. 23–27.

[52] See Hultén et al, "Exchange of Views of a Group of Experts", pp. 13f. For the record, the description of the Information Center model here reads: "A cross-section of a spherical museum of this type would be roughly as follows: *First circle activity*. Primary information, i.e. all information, even before it is processed by television, radio, and the press; in other words material from press agencies, wire services, live discussions, news comment, fashion reports, etc. *Second circle*. Studios and technical facilities for processing information for the public, artists, and the museum. *Third circle*. The processed information, which is currently available in the form of exhibitions, concerts, plays, and films. *In the center*. The collection as memory bank. The memory bank and what is stored in it together make up the collection as a place for contemplation (not necessarily in the same building)."

[53] Ibid., p. 6.

[54] Ibid., p. 16.

[55] Ibid., p. 13.

[56] Ibid., p. 18.

[57] Ibid., p. 20.

[58] Ibid., p. 14.

[59] Ibid., p. 25.

[60] Ibid.

[61] See Claudia Di Lecce, "Avant-garde Marketing: 'When Attitudes Become Form' and Philip Morris's Sponsorship", in Christian Rattemeyer et al, *Exhibiting the New Art: "Op Losse Schroeven" and "When Attitudes Become Form" 1969* (London: Afterall Books, 2010), pp. 220–229.

[62] Hultén et al, "Exchange of Views of a Group of Experts", pp. 25f.

[63] Various aspects of this shift are discussed in Nathalie Heinich and Michael Pollak, "From Museum Curator to Exhibition *Auteur*: Inventing a Singular Position", in Reesa Greenberg, Bruce Ferguson, and Sandy Nairne (eds.), *Thinking About Exhibitions* (London: Routledge, 1996), a sociological analysis of the "deprofessionalization" of the exhibition curator, as that function is separated from traditional, museological duties and criteria of competence, and begins to assume a creative status; and Paul O'Neill, "The Emergence of Curatorial Discourse from the Late 1960s to the Present", in *The Culture of Curating and the Curating of Culture(s)* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2012), which discusses the emergence of the "exhibition maker" in the late 1960s and early 1970s, describing it as the result of a process of "demystification" of the mediatior's role, whereby the curator gains self-awareness – although without discussing the relationship between that process and the tradition of museological reflection.

[64] Yann Pavie, "Entretien avec H. Szeemann", *Opus International*, no. 36, June 1972, p. 44. Thank you to Adeena May for giving me access to this text.

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8.
Information in Practice

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[1] See "Filmpamflett nr 1", in *Filmrutan*, no. 3, 1968, pp. 178f. See also Cecilia Grönberg, Jonas (J) Magnusson, and Kim West, "'…sprängkilar för en ny bildålder…' (ur ett samtal med Tommy Tommie Luleå 8–10 januari 2016)", *OEI*, no. 71/72, 2016, p. 303. As we have seen (above, ch. 3.2), a reference to the "film tracts" (or "ciné tracts") found its way into one of Hultén's outlines of the Kulturhuset project, dated October 1968. Among other artists who participated in the ABF workshop was Hanns Karlewski, who soon afterwards founded the collective *The People's Workshop* (*Folkets ateljé*), a Swedish version of the French *Atelier populaire*, the poster workshop created at the Beaux-Arts academy during the May 1968 protests in Paris. Karlewski's exhibition *The Betrayal* (*Sveket*) was shown at Moderna Museet's Filialen October 20–November 7, 1971. According to the filmmaker Margareta Vinterheden, Godard also visited the student film club in Uppsala. See Johansson, *Strejkkonsten*, p. 136 and p. 337.

[2] See e.g. the list of titles in Nicole Brenez and Christian Lebrat (eds.), *Jeune, dure et pure! Une histoire du cinéma d'avant-garde et expérimental en France* (Milano: Cinémathèque Française/Edizione Mazzotta, 2001), p. 333.

[3] "Filmpamflett nr 1", p. 179.

[4] Håkan Nyberg, quoted in Johansson, *Strejkkonsten*, p. 321.

[5] Jean-Louis Baudry, "Ideological Effects of the Basic Cinematic Apparatus". Originally published in *Cinétique*, no. 7/8, 1970.

[6] "Deux heures avec Jean-Luc Godard", in *Jean-Luc Godard par Jean-Luc Godard, tome 1: 1950–1984*, ed. Alain Bergala (Paris: Cahiers du cinéma, 1998), p. 332.

[7] See Michael Witt, "Shapeshifter: Godard as Multimedia Installation Artist", *New Left Review*, no. 29, September–October 2004.

[8] On the Film Center, see Carl Henrik Svenstedt, *Arbetarna lämnar fabriken: Filmindustrin blir folkrörelse* (Stockholm: Pan, 1970), pp. 42–57. Svenstedt also mentions Godard's workshops at ABF.

[9] See Bildaktivisterna, "Bildaktivisternas målsättning och organisation. Stockholm, september 1969", *OEI*, no. 71/72, 2016, p. 299.

[10] David Faroult, "Never More Godard: Le groupe Dziga Vertov, l'auteur et la signature", in Nicole Brenez, David Faroult, Michael Temple, James Williams, and Michael Witt (eds.), *Jean-Luc Godard: Documents* (Paris: Éditions du Centre Pompidou, 2006), p. 122.

[11] David Faroult, "Du *Vertovisme* du groupe Dziga Vertov: À propos d'un manifeste méconnu et d'un film inachevé (*Jusqu'à la victoire*)", in ibid., pp. 134f.

[12] Jean-Luc Godard, "'Manifeste' (*El Fatah*, juillet 1970)", in ibid., p. 140. See Faroult's comments on this problematic text, in "Du *Vertovisme* du groupe Dziga Vertov", pp. 136ff.

[13] Annette Michelson, "Introduction", in Dziga Vertov, *Kino-Eye: The Writings of Dziga Vertov*, ed. Annette Michelson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), p. xxxvii.

[14] Dziga Vertov, "From Kino-Eye to Radio-Eye" [1929], in ibid., p. 88.

[15] "Le Groupe 'Dziga Vertov'", in *Jean-Luc Godard par Jean-Luc Godard, tome 1*, p. 343.

[16] Jean-Luc Godard, "Que faire?", in *Jean-Luc Godard: Documents*, pp. 145f.

[17] See Jean-Luc Godard, "Pravda", in *Jean-Luc Godard par Jean-Luc Godard, tome 1*, pp. 338ff; the texts by Godard and Faroult in *Jean-Luc Godard: Documents*, pp. 129ff; and Antoine de Baecque, *Godard: biographie* (Paris: Éditions Grasset, 2010), pp. 463f.

[18] Bildaktivisterna, "Bildaktivisternas målsättning och organisation. Stockholm, september 1969", p. 299.

[19] Jonas (J) Magnusson, in "'…sprängkilar för en ny bildålder…' (ur ett samtal med Tommy Tommie Luleå 8–10 januari 2016)", p. 301.

[20] Stolpe, letter to Hedquist, p. 1. See above, ch. 7.2.

[21] Pontus Hultén, "Preface", in Katja Waldén (ed.), *Poetry Must Be Made by All! Transform the World!*, exh. cat. (Stockholm: Moderna Museet, 1969), p. 3.

[22] See Pontus Hultén, letter to Wolfgang Becker (director of Die Neue Galerie, Aachen), January 9, 1970. MMA, F1a:54. Similar descriptions of the exhibition are repeated in a number of letters and writings by Hultén and Stolpe. See also Geir Haraldseth's recent historical account, "The Lost Tribes of the Moderna: A Discord From 1969", *The Exhibitionist*, no. 10, October 2014. Regarding the Bildaktivisterna group's participation, see "Preliminärt program för utställningen". MMA, F1a:54.

[23] See Davallon, *L'exposition à l'oeuvre*, p. 28. See also above, General Introduction, section ii.

[24] Ronald Hunt, "Introduction", in Waldén (ed.), *Poetry Must Be Made by All! Transform the World!*, p. 5.

[25] Ronald Hunt, "*Icteric* and *Poetry Must Be Made by All / Transform the World*: A Note on a Lost and Suppressed Avant-Garde and Exhibition", published on www.artandeducation.net/paper/icteric-and-poetry-must-be-made-by-all-transform-the-world-a-note-on-a-lost-and-suppressed-avant-garde-and-exhibition/ (published August 3, 2010), last accessed August 7, 2016.

[26] Ibid. We can note that here Hunt's Situationist affiliation becomes apparent: he was a close acquaintance of David and Stuart Wise, who contributed photomontages and reproductions to the exhibition in Stockholm, and who were the founders of the British, para-Situationist group King Mob. See David Wise, with Stuart Wise and Nick Brandt, *King Mob: A Critical Hidden History* (London: Bread and Circuses Publishing, 2014), for a partisan account.

[27] See Benjamin Buchloh's discussion in "From Faktura to Factography", and Gan, *Constructivism*, pp. 18ff. See also above, ch. 3.1.

[28] Waldén (ed.), *Poetry Must Be Made by All! Transform the World!*, p. 32. For an incisive discussion of the OBMOKhU exhibition, and the previous, associated debate regarding the delimitations of "composition" and "construction" at the INKhUK research center, see Maria Gough, *The Artist as Producer: Russian Constructivism in Revolution* (Berkeley: University of Californa Press, 2005), chs. 1 and 2.

[29] Christina Kiaer, *Imagine No Possessions: The Socialist Objects of Russian Constructivism* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2005), pp. 25ff.

[30] Ibid., pp. 2ff.

[31] Waldén (ed.), *Poetry Must Be Made by All! Transform the World!*, p. 59.

[32] Ibid., p. 45.

[33] Ibid., p. 53. The "agit trains" would inspire another of the French, post-1968 film collectives with its origins in the film tract movement: the Groupe Medvedkine, founded by Chris Marker and named after the Russian director responsible for the "film train" project in 1920s Russia, Alexander Medvedkine. See here Marker's essay film about Medvedkine, *Le tombeau d'Alexandre* (1993).

[34] Ibid., pp. 20ff. See also above, ch. 3.1.

[35] *Utopier och visioner 1871–1981*, p. 1.

[36] The art critic Bengt Olvång mentions the project in an article about Filialen from 1973, with reference to Hultén's 1971 interview in *Opus International*. See Olvång, "Rädda filialen!", *Aftonbladet*, June 20, 1973: "For example, in an interview in the French art review 'Opus' Hultén formulates his ideas about the 'museum of the future' as: 'it will be an instrument of reflection, a center of para-scientific research on current and future socio-cultural practices'. And at Skeppsholmen he wishes to establish a space for such research in the old torpedo workshop." Curiously, Olvång's article was published after it had been announced that Hultén was leaving Moderna Museet for the planned Beaubourg center in Paris.

[37] The name is given in the letterhead to a test print of stationery for the annex, filed among similar test prints for promotional material for *Utopias and Visions*. PHA, 4.2.51. Carlo Derkert also refers to the "Torpedo Institute" in a comment about realized and unrealized

attempts at creating a "workshop for the arts", where "poetry could be made by all", in Ingela Lind, Carlo Derkert, Karin Lindegren, and Katja Waldén, "Vägarna till Moderna Museet", in *Moderna Museet 1958–1983*, p. 154.

[38] Upon his return to Moderna Museet after his one-year sabbatical in 1972, however, it seems that Hultén did set up a "Torpedo Institute", but now without any references to constructivism, or more generally to socially transformative experimentation. This new Torpedo Institute, Hultén explained in an interview with Pierre Restany in 1976, was supposed to facilitate collaborations between artists and scientists (as opposed to engineers, like in E.A.T.). During its short existence, its participants included "an astronomist, an information scientist, two theoretical physicians, and one biologist". Their work resulted in the exhibition *Visible and Invisible: the New Images of Science*, curated by Eric Dyring, at Moderna Museet, March 17–May 6, 1973. See Pierre Restany, "Per il nuovo Centre Pompidou: intervista di Pierre Restany a Pontus Hultén", *Domus*, no. 558, May 1976.

[39] A related shift toward a new focus on mass media images, the social functions of images, and semiological models of analysis, it should be noted, took place around the same period within the discipline of art history, and within the field of art education, in Sweden. See Gert Aspelin et al, *Bildanalys* (Stockholm: Gidlunds förlag, 1973).

[40] "Moderna Museet efterlyser svenska folkets fotografialbum", *Expressen*, April 8, 1971.

[41] See Stolpe (ed.), *Filialenrapporten*, pp. 18f.

[42] Bengt Olvång, "Kamp och dokument", *Aftonbladet*, April 29, 1971.

[43] Stolpe (ed.), *Filialenrapporten*, p. 18.

[44] See "Moderna Museet efterlyser svenska folkets fotografialbum".

[45] In this regard we might also note that, as represented by *People's Images*, the "popular" shift from work to image differed fundamentally from the relatable shift from "work" to "text" in Roland Barthes' classic essay from the same year, "From Work to Text". In that text, Barthes proposed a decidedly more experimental, or "avant-garde" (although he had reservations about the term) liberation of the multiplicity, playfulness, and pleasures of the signifier (text), from the institutional enclosures of the order of the signified (work). See Roland Barthes, "From Work to Text", trans. Richard Howard, in *The Rustle of Language* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1986). Originally published as "De l'oeuvre au texte" in *Revue d'esthétique*, 1971.

[46] For a discussion of this conflict with direct reference to Filialen's activities, see Torsten Bergmark, "Där konsten håller till", in *Konstnären som politiker* (Stockholm: Arbetarkultur, 1972).

[47] Pär Stolpe, "Fram för ett nytt Modernt Museum på Skeppsholmen 1975!", *reflexer* ("editorial supplement" to the art review *Paletten*), no. 2, 1974, pp. 51f.

[48] Hultén, "Fem fragment ur Moderna Museets historia", p. 50, and Carlo Derkert, in Ingela Lind, Carlo Derkert, Karin Lindegren, and Katja Waldén, "Vägarna till Moderna Museet", pp. 156ff.

[49] See e.g. Julia Bryan-Wilson, *Art Workers: Radical Practice in the Vietnam War Era*, pp. 173–213; Rachel Churner (ed.), *October Files 18: Hans Haacke* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2015); and Cornelia Butler et al, *From Conceptualism to Feminism: Lucy Lippard's Number Shows 1969–74* (London: Afterall Books, 2012).

[50] The exhibition *Richard Paul Lohse*, curated by Zdenek Felix, toured a number of European art centers in 1970–1971, such as Jean Leering's Stedelijk van Abbemuseum in Eindhoven and the Kunsthalle Bern. It was held at Moderna Museet between March 13– April 18, 1971. Lohse was also a pioneer in experimental exhibition design, but the exhibition at Moderna Museet seems to have made no reference to this. See Richard Paul Lohse, *New Design in Exhibitions – 75 Examples of the New Form of Exhibitions* (Zürich: Verlag für Architektur, 1953). Björn Lövin's *Mr. P's Coins: Consumer in Infinity* was shown between February 20 and April 11. Regarding this exhibition, see Helena Mattson, "Life as a Full-Scale Demonstration: Konsument i oändligheten: 1971", in T. Arrhenius, M. Lending, J. McGowan, and W. Miller (eds.), *Place and Displacement: Exhibiting Architecture* (Zürich: Lars Müller Publishers, 2014).

[51] *10-talets bilder* was shown at Moderna Museet February 5–April 9, 1972.

[52] Unga filosofers massmediagrupp, quoted in Stolpe (ed.), *Filialenrapporten*, p. 53. *Advertising – A Distorted Image of Society* was shown at Filialen January 22–March 12, 1972.

[53] Kerstin Boulogner, quoted in Harriet Clayhills, *Utställningsboken: Exempel på förnyelse av ett medium* (Stockholm: Liber/Riksutställningar, 1983), pp. 102ff. See also Stolpe (ed.), *Filialenrapporten*, pp. 61ff.

[54] Boulogner, in *Utställningsboken*, p. 104.

[55] See installation shots from the exhibition. Moderna Museet Image Agency (MMIA), "Women".

[56] Regarding *Hello City*, see above, ch. 5.2. Regarding *Masses*, curated by Sture Balgård and Jöran Lindvall, and shown at Moderna Museet November 1–17, 1968, see *Massor: Sveriges arkitekturmuseum och Moderna Museet visar svenska deltagandet vid XIVe triennalen i Milano 1968*, exh. cat. (Stockholm: Sveriges Arkitekturmuseum/Moderna Museet, 1968), which features documentation from the exhibition's prior iteration at the *XIVth Triannale di Milano*, 1968. See also the documentation in MMA, F1a:47.

[57] See Davallon, *L'exposition à l'oeuvre*, p. 28.

[58] Staniszewski, *The Power of Display*, p. 281. See also above, ch. 3.2.

[59] See Davallon, *L'exposition à l'oeuvre*, pp. 27f.

[60] See Aby Warburg, *Gesammelte Schriften II.1: Der Bilderatlas Mnemosyne*, eds. Martin Warnke and Claudia Brink (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2008), pp. 74f; and Waldén (ed.), *Poetry Must Be Made by All! Transform the World!*, pp. 84–102.

[61] Warburg, *Der Bilderatlas Mnemosyne*, pp. 132f. In *Atlas, ou le gai savoir inquiet: L'oeil de l'histoire, 3* (Paris: Les Éditions de Minuit, 2011), Georges Didi-Huberman discusses this montage as emblematic of the "oversight" practiced by Warburg, "this 'encompassing gaze' vowed to the discovery of new configurations, but also to dissociation and loss of all unity", which defines at once "the *force* and the *pathos*" of his *Atlas* (p. 274).

[62] See Hultén, letter to Wolfgang Becker. MMA, F1a:54

[63] See Björn Springfeldt and Douglas Feuk, "1800-talets bilder", in Carlo Derkert and Katja Waldén (eds.), *10-talets bilder*, exh.cat. (Stockholm: Moderna Museet, 1972), unpaginated.

[64] Carlo Derkert and Katja Waldén, "10-talets bilder", in *10-talets bilder*, unpaginated.

[65] See Norbert Wiener, *The Human Use of Human Beings*, p. 96.

[66] György Kepes, *The New Landscape in Art and Design* (Chicago: Paul Theobold, 1956). In 1961, Kepes had invited Pontus Hultén to contribute to the volume he was editing on the role of motion in contemporary arts and visual culture, as part of the six volume series on *Vision + Value* Kepes was preparing for the George Braziller publishing house. The published volume, *The Nature and Art of Motion* (New York: George Braziller, 1965), features no contribution by Hultén, however. See György Kepes, letter to Pontus Hultén, December 21, 1961. PHA, 3.18.

[67] Reinhold Martin, *The Organizational Complex*, p. 67.

[68] Peter Weiss, "Anteckningar om den dokumentära teatern", trans. Bengt-Erik Hedin, in *Rapporter* (Stockholm: Bo Cavefors Bokförlag, 1968), p. 163.

[69] See the presentation by the exhibition group in Stolpe (ed.), *Filialenrapporten*, pp. 117f.

[70] See installation shots. MMIA, "Bingo or Life?".

[71] See the list of topics and of participating institutional collectives in Stolpe (ed.), *Filialenrapporten*, p. 112.

[72] See e.g. Bengt Olvång, "Rädda filialen!".

[73] Carlo Derkert and Katja Waldén, "10-talets bilder", in *10-talets bilder*, unpaginated.

[74] Waldén (ed.), *Poetry Must Be Made by All! Transform the World!*, p. 2.

[75] *Utopier och visioner 1871–1981*, p. 16.

[76] Hultén et al, "Exchange of Views of a Group of Experts", p. 14.

[77] Umberto Eco, "The Poetics of the Open Work", p. 21. See above, part I, introduction.

[78] Weiss, "Anteckningar om den dokumentära teatern", p. 163.

[79] Buckminster Fuller, "How It Came About (World Game)" [1969], *Your Private Sky: R. Buckminster Fuller, the Art of Design Science*, eds. Joachim Krausse and Claude Lichtenstein (Zürich: Lars Müller Publishers, 1999), p. 473.

[80] Only excerpts of the film, transferred to video, were on display continuously during the exhibition. The full film, *The World of Buckminster Fuller* (1971), was screened twice, as part of the exhibition's program of events. See Pontus Hultén, letter to Robert Snyder, undated (September/October, 1971). MMA, F1a:61.

[81] Pontus Hultén, letter to Thomas B. Turner, March 22, 1971. MMA, F1a:61.

[82] Thomas B. Turner, letter to Pontus Hultén, March 25, 1971. MMA, F1a:61. My italics.

[83] Gene Youngblood, "Buckminster Fullers Världsspel", in *Utopias and Visions 1871–1981*, p. 15.

[84] The sign said "utopi eller ajöss", a colloquial translation of Fuller's slogan, literally meaning "utopia or bye-bye". Ironically, as Mark Wigley has shown, the early models and prototypes out of which Fuller developed the pacifist *World Game*, such as the *Geoscope*, originated in the project to design a "Presidential Situation Room", that is, a global military command and control center, for NORAD (North American Aerospace Defense Command), during World War II. See Mark Wigley, "Planetary Homeboy", *Buckminster Fuller Inc.: Architecture in the Age of Radio*, pp. 258ff. On von Neumann's game theory and its economical applications, see Yanis Varoufakis and Shaun Hargreaves-Heap, *Game Theory: A Critical Text* (London: Routledge, 2004).

[85] Youngblood, "Buckminster Fullers Världsspel", p. 15. See also e.g. Buckminster Fuller, "World Game", *Critical Path* (New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 1981), p. 202: "There can be

no planetary equity until all the sovereign nations are abolished and we have but one accounting system – that of the one family of humans aboard Spaceship Earth".

86 Reinhold Martin, "Fuller's Futures", in Hsiao-Yun Chu and Roberto G. Trujillo (eds.), *New Views on R. Buckminster Fuller* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009), p. 179.

87 Youngblood, "Buckminster Fullers Världsspel", p. 14.

88 Felicity D. Scott, "Fluid Geographies: Politics and the Revolution by Design", in *New Views on R. Buckminster Fuller*, p. 162. See also pp. 168f., where Scott traces this rejection to the "universalizing epistemology" of his "one air-ocean world", informing his projects from the 1920s and onwards.

89 Fuller, "World Game", pp. 215f.

90 For detailed accounts, see Wigley, *Buckminster Fuller Inc.: Architecture in the Age of Radio*, chs. 3–5.

91 Öyvind Fahlström, letter to Björn Springfeldt, September 10, 1973, quoted in Chevrier (ed.), *Öyvind Fahlström: Another Space for Painting*, p. 246.

92 Moderna Museet's online archive features detailed photographic documentation of Fahlström's *World Bank*. See

http://sis.modernamuseet.se/sv/view/objects/asitem/artist$004011/10/primaryMaker-asc?t:state:flow=a66b9b4f-f1e3-4a4c-91fd-dc7b9dacf9a7, last accessed October 4, 2016.

93 The accuracy of Fahlström's historical data here seems approximative. In 1960, Venezuela, under president Rómulo Betancourt, participated in establishing the OPEC oil cartel. In 1964, constitutional general elections were held, heralding the "institutionalization of democracy" in Venezuela. See H. Micheal Tarver and Julia C. Frederick, *The History of Venezuela* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2005), p. 115.

94 Fahlström, letter to Björn Springfeldt, p. 246.

95 Ibid.

96 On the role of the Kommunistisk Arbejdskrets (KAK) in the riots, see Peter Øvig Knudsen, *Blekingegadeligan 1: Den danska cellen*, trans. Margareta Norlin (Stockholm: Karneval förlag, 2010), pp. 124–145.

97 Hedi Nouira, "Opening Address by the Chairman", in *1970 Annual Meetings of the Board of Governors: Summary Proceedings* (Washington, D.C.: International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 1970), p. 10.

98 See e.g. the pamphlet by Kommunistiskt Ungdomsforbund, *Om verdensbanken* (Copenhagen: KUF, 1970).

99 Reproduced in Chevrier (ed.), *Öyvind Fahlström: Another Space for Painting*, p. 265.

100 Felix Greene, *The Enemy: What Every American Should Know About Imperialism* (New York: Random House, 1970), p. 143 and p. 156. For a discussion of Fahlström's references to Felix Greene, see Sophie Cras, "Öyvind Fahlström's Impure Pop in a World of Impure Cold War Politics", in Annika Öhrner (ed.), *Art in Transfer in the Era of Pop: Curatorial Practices and Transnational Strategies* (Stockholm: Södertörn Academic Studies, 2017).

101 See Öyvind Fahlström, "Historical Painting" [1973–74], quoted in Chevrier (ed.), *Öyvind Fahlström: Another Space for Painting*, p. 262.

102 Öyvind Fahlström, "Description of Five Paintings" [1975], quoted in ibid., p. 258.

103 Regarding Fahlström's heterogeneous cartographies, see Brian Holmes, "Cartography of Excess: Bureau d'Études and Multiplicity", in *Unleashing the Collective Phantoms: Essays in*

Reverse Imagineering (New York: Autonomedia, 2008), and Bureau d'Études, "Machines de resymbolisation: Réflexions à partir du travail d'Öyvind Fahlström", *Multitudes*, no. 15, 2004. Both of these texts also make the connection to Fuller's *World Game*.

[104] Öyvind Fahlström, "A Game of Character" [1964], in Chevrier (ed.), *Öyvind Fahlström: Another Space for Painting*, p. 145. This notion dates back to the earliest phase of Fahlström's career. Commenting on his frieze painting *Opera* from 1952–53, he wrote that "One ought to be able to make simple rules for oneself, create frames of reference within the work of art" ("Frontispiece of the silkscreen edition of *Opera* (1953–1957)" [1968], quoted in ibid., p. 47). There are comparable statements in his "Manifesto for Concrete Poetry" from 1953. See ibid., pp. 51–59.

[105] Öyvind Fahlström, "Hotdogs and Tweezers – A Running Commentary" [1966], in ibid., pp. 175f.

[106] See Öyvind Fahlström, "Manipulating the World" [1964], in ibid., p. 170.

[107] Fahlström, "Hotdogs and Tweezers", p. 174. On the relationship between Fahlström's notion of the game and the mathematical models of game theory, see Pamela M. Lee, *New Games: Postmodernism After Contemporary Art* (London: Routledge, 2013), pp. 141–157.

[108] Fahlström, "Moderna Museet – Från pompa och ståt, till informationscentrum", p. 171. See also above, ch. 7.3.

[109] *New York Collection for Stockholm* was shown at Moderna Museet October 27–December 9, 1973.

[110] See Marianne Hultman, "New York Collection for Stockholm", in Lundestam (ed.), *Teknologi för livet: Om Experiments in Art and Technology*, pp. 160f.

[111] For a complete list of works in the collection, see Maria Görts, "Rutiner och val: Framväxten av Moderna Museets samling", in Tellgren (ed.), *Historieboken: Om Moderna Museet 1958–2008*, p. 31n34.

[112] On the May 1972 decision to close Filialen, see letter from Pär Stolpe to Bengt Dahlbäck, June 5, 1973. PSA, "Moderna Museet Filialen, 1970–74".

[113] Karl Olof Björck, Margareta Carlstedt, Sten Dunér, Bror Marklund, and Per Olof Ultvedt, "Det finns en värld utanför axeln Paris-New York", *Dagens Nyheter*, June 27, 1972.

[114] Bo Ahlsén, Margareta Carlstedt, Karl Olof Björck, Sten Dunér, Pär Stolpe, and Per Olof Ultvedt, "Restlager på Moderna Museet", *Dagens Nyheter*, November 18, 1973.

[115] Folke Edwards, "Vad händer under Philip den andre?", *Expressen*, November 14, 1973.

[116] Bo Ahlsén, Margareta Carlstedt, Karl Olof Björck, Sten Dunér, Pär Stolpe, and Per Olof Ultvedt, "För USA i tiden?", undated manuscript (late October–November, 1973). PSA, "Moderna Museet Filialen, 1970–74". This is a version of the text published by the same group in *Dagens Nyheter* on November 18, 1973.

[117] Pontus Hultén, "Moderna Museets chef svarar: en enastående samling", *Dagens Nyheter*, June 16, 1972.

[118] Olle Granath, "Lysande rester ur det förflutna", *Dagens Nyheter*, November 4, 1973.

[119] Öyvind Fahlström, "Sverige – bara ett litet land bland många andra", *Dagens Nyheter*, June 29, 1972.

[120] See Ahlsén, Carlstedt, Stolpe et al, "Restlager på Moderna Museet".

[121] Ahlsén, Carlstedt, Stolpe et al, "För USA i tiden?".

[122] Pontus Hultén, in *New York Collection for Stockholm*, exh. cat. (Stockholm: Moderna Museet, 1973), unpaginated.

[123] Hiroko Ikegami, *The Great Migrator: Robert Rauschenberg and the Global Rise of American Art* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2010), p. 146. In 1970, E.A.T. had been criticized for similar reasons by the Art Workers' Coalition, which in a leaflet titled "Eating for Fun and Profit" posited that "EAT is used by industry to cleanse its image of exploitation and dehumanization" and that "EAT plays a dangerous game of flirtation with industry engaged in the manufacture of war material". Art Workers' Coalition, "Eating for Fun and Profit", leaflet, March 1970. PHA, 4.1.26. See also the article by AWC member Alex Gross, "Who Is Being Eaten?", *East Village Other*, March 3, 1970. A critical history of E.A.T. remains to be written.

[124] See Hultman, "New York Collection for Stockholm", p. 164, and Ikegami, *The Great Migrator*, p. 146.

9.
Widening Circles

[1] Wigley, *Buckminster Fuller Inc.: Architecture in the Age of Radio*, p. 30.

[2] Ibid., p. 33.

[3] "Om Buckminster Fuller" (unsigned), *Utopier och visioner 1871–1981*, p. 14. Hultén handled all the correspondence with Fuller's office in preparation of the 1971 exhibition, and he was well acquainted with Fuller's work since 1967, if not earlier, when he decided to include several of Fuller's projects in the *Machine* exhibition at MoMA. See the documents related to Fuller in MMA, F1a:61, and PHA, 4.2.51.

[4] Hultén et al, "Exchange of Views of a Group of Experts", p. 14, and Pavie, "Vers le musée du futur: entretien avec Pontus Hultén", p. 63.

[5] Fahlström, "Moderna Museet – Från pompa och ståt, till informationscentrum", p. 171.

[6] Olsson, "Moderna Museets tillbyggnad", p. 2.

[7] It should here be noted that similar ideas were central to the experimental exhibition practices at the recently founded National Exhibition Agency (*Riksutställningar*), a trial operation with Swedish itinerant exhibitions originally overseen by the MUS 65 committee. See Helen Broms and Anders Göransson, *Kultur i rörelse: en historia om Riksutställningar och kulturpolitiken* (Stockholm: Atlas, 2012). We should also note that, although Moderna Museet was often the object of reports, news items, and debates on Swedish Television, the institution appears to have shown little interest in attempting to engage critically or experimentally with the apparatus of broadcast television itself. On Moderna Museet on Swedish television during the late 1950s and 1960s, see David Rynell Åhlén, *Samtida konst på bästa sändningstid: Konst i svensk television 1956–1969* diss. Stockholm University (Lund: Mediehistoriskt arkiv, 2016), pp. 136–155.

[8] Stolpe (ed.), *Filialenrapporten*, p. 19.

[9] Ibid., p. 54, p. 67, and p. 78.

[10] For example, under the title *The Painting of the 1910s*, a reduced version of the exhibition was shown at Gävle Museum August 29–September 21, 1975. See "Carlo Derkert kommer med *Tiotalets måleri* ur Moderna Museets samlingar", press release from Gävle Museum, August 1975. MMA, F1a:64.

[11] See e.g. letter from Katja Waldén to Simone Swan, November 3, 1969, which refers to a recent visit by Swan to Moderna Museet. A copy of a letter from Swan to an unknown addressee, dated November 28, 1969, states that "When I saw Pontus Hultén in Stockholm last month he described the show as easily reproducible and transportable (it weighs only 400 kgs., or 883 lbs.)". MMA, F1a:54.

[12] Letter from Karl Kilian of the Withers Swan agency, to Philippe de Montebello, Houston Museum of Fine Arts, February 8, 1971. MMA, F1a:54.

[13] The exhibition was scheduled to be shown at the Munich Kunstverein July 8–August 16, 1970, but was closed on August 3. When the Kunstverein's Board of Directors decided to shut down the student intervention, Moderna Museet insisted that the exhibition as a whole must be closed. On the debate in Munich, see "Dokumentation über die Presseveröffentlichungen zur Schließung der Ausstellung im Münchner Kunstverein: 'Poesie muß von allen gemacht werden! Verändert die Welt!'", which collects dozens of newspaper articles regarding the conflict. MMA, F1a:54. The debate was one of the topics of an exhibition and seminar series curated by Søren Grammel and Maria Lind at the Munich Kunstverein in 2003, *Telling History: An Archive and Three Case Studies*. See Ana Paula Cohen, Søren Grammel, and Maria Lind, "Telling Histories", in *Gesammelte Drucksachen 2002–2004, Kunstverein München* (Berlin: Revolver Publishing, 2005), pp. 198–205. See also Haraldseth, "The Lost Tribes of Moderna: A Discord from 1969", p. 20.

[14] The exhibition was shown at the Städtische Kunsthalle Düsseldorf between October 6–25, 1970, and at the Hamburg Kunstverein between February 5–March 7, 1971.

[15] The exhibition opened at the Vancouver Art Gallery on July 9, 1971.

[16] See Moderna Museet's correspondence with Angel Kolenberg, Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, Montevideo in 1971, and with Dennis Wheeler, The National Gallery of Canada, September–October, 1971. MMA, F1a:54.

[17] Letter from Lys McLaughlin of Withers Swan agency to Katja Waldén, January 4, 1972 [misdated 1971]. MMA, F1a:54.

[18] The exhibition had been shown at the Fine Arts Gallery of the University of Alberta, Edmonton, during the fall. Due to some sort of communication failure, this iteration of the exhibition had been planned by Doris Shadbolt at the Vancouver Art Gallery and Myra Davis in Edmonton without the knowledge of either Moderna Museet or the Withers Swan Agency. See letter from Lys McLaughlin to Myra Davies, January 6, 1972. MMA, F1a:54.

[19] Letter from Stephen Ostrow, director of the Museum of Art at Rhode Island School of Design, to Hultén, February 18, 1972. MMA, F1a:54.

[20] See the correspondence between Moderna Museet and the Museum of Art at Rhode Island School of Design, 1972–74, and then 1981–82. MMA, F1a:54.

[21] Davallon, *L'Exposition à l'oeuvre*, p. 36.

[22] See again Butler et al, *From Conceptualism to Feminism: Lucy Lippard's Numbers Shows 1969–74*, and Alberro, *Conceptual Art and the Politics of Publicity*, p. 24. See also above, chs. 3.2, and 8.2b.

[23] See Alberro, *Conceptual Art and the Politics of Publicity*, pp. 148ff.

[24] Billy Klüver, "Projects Outside Art II", in Schultz Lundestam (ed.), *Teknologi för livet*, p. 180.

[25] "Description", in *Utopia: Question and Answer: A Project for the Exhibition: "Utopia and Visions: 1871–1981" at the Moderna Museet, Stockholm*, unsigned compendium, dated May 30, 1971. MMA, F2oc:3.

[26] Fujiko Nakaya, "Om Experiments in Art and Technology och E.A.T. Tokyo", in Schultz Lundestam (ed.), *Teknologi för livet*, p. 114.

[27] Jan Olof Mallander, "Konsten att få ut mera av mindre", *Dagens Nyheter*, August 14, 1971.

[28] Nakaya, "Om Experiments in Art and Technology och E.A.T. Tokyo", p. 114.

[29] "Sample Questions From E.A.T. New York" and "Sample Questions From E.A.T. Tokyo", in the *Utopia: Question and Answer* compendium.

[30] "Utopia: Question and Answer", in ibid.

[31] See Felicity D. Scott, *Outlaw Territories: Environments of Insecurity/Architectures of Counterinsurgency* (New York: Zone Books, 2016), chs. 3 and 4.

[32] *För en teknik i folkets tjänst*, program leaflet, quoted in Stolpe (ed.), *Filialenrapporten*, p. 80.

[33] Scott, *Outlaw Territories*, p. 213.

[34] On the events related to the Black Panther Party, see "Preliminärt program för utställningen". MMA, F1a:54. See also e.g. "Över 2500 deltog i Svarta Pantrarnas fest", *Svenska Dagbladet*, July 5, 1970. On the "internal colonization" of the African-American population in the US, see Stokely Carmichael, "Black Power", in David Cooper (ed.), *The Dialectics of Liberation* [1968] (London: Verso, 2015), p. 161. *Ej godkänd – zigenare* was shown at Filialen April 27–May 7, 1973.

[35] See "Skärgårdsbilder – bilder och föremål från Runö, Kökar och Stockholms skärgård", in Stolpe (ed.), *Filialenrapporten*, pp. 98–104.

[36] *Money That Grows* was made by Gösta Dahlgren, Göran Gunér, Wilhelm Helander, Roland Lundin, Mikael Wahlberg, Birgitta Persson, Rudi Spee, Pär Stolpe, Mikael Sundman, and Hans Wigren. It was funded by Swedish Television's TV2 network, where it was aired on February 5, 1971. A small exhibition – which can perhaps be seen as a study for the exhibition at Filialen – was prepared to coincide with the broadcast, at the City Museum of Stockholm. The interviews in the film were transcribed and published as a book: Pär Stolpe, *Pengar som växer* (Stockholm: Rabén & Sjögren, 1971).

[37] Riksdagens revisorer, "Granskningspromemoria nr 8/1971 (projekt nr B 16)", p. 19. MMA, F2ba:1.

[38] Ibid., p. 26.

[39] Ibid., p. 17.

[40] Ibid., p. 2.

[41] Ibid., p. 32.

[42] Ibid., p. 20.

[43] *Gerard Bonniers samling* was shown at Moderna Museet June 6–August 25, 1968. *Sven Erixson: Målningar 1913–1969* was shown November 8, 1969–January 18, 1970.

[44] In December 1969, a businessman from Texas who had visited Moderna Museet during the Black Panther Party event the previous month, wrote an outraged letter to a number of diplomats, Swedish-American publications, and trade organizations, which caused concern at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and may have contributed to provoking the Audit

Office's inquiry. See e.g. letter from Sten Sundfeldt, press secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, to Hultén, December 19, 1969. MMA, F1a:54.

[45] Regarding the Swedish Arts Council's "general objectives", see SOU 1972:67. See also above, ch. 7.3. According to Andreas Gedin, the critique against Moderna Museet originated among conservative politicians in the parliament. He also notes, however, that the chairman of the Audit Office was a Social Democratic parliamentarian, Nancy Eriksson. See Gedin, *Pontus Hultén, Hon & Moderna*, pp. 248–251.

[46] Pontus Hultén, quoted in Bo Östlund, "'Ett blandat inlägg i kulturpolitiken'", *Svenska dagbladet*, June 4, 1971, and Pär Stolpe, quoted in Thomas Lindblad, "Skarp kritik mot Moderna Museet: statliga medel används till politisk propaganda", *Dagens Nyheter*, June 4, 1971.

[47] Bo Östlund, "'Moderna Museet har röd slagsida'", and "Revolutionära lekstugor", unsigned editorial, *Svenska dagbladet*, June 4, 1971.

[48] Olof Lagercrantz, "Konst och politik", *Dagens Nyheter*, June 13, 1971.

[49] Martin Gustavsson, "Pengar, politik och publik: Moderna Museet och staten", in Tellgren (ed.), *Historieboken: Om Moderna Museet 1958–2008*, p. 47.

[50] Ibid.

[51] Riksdagens revisorer, "Riksdagens revisorers skrivelse till Kungl. Maj:t den 7 april 1972 med anledning av granskningspromemoria nr 8/1971 angående viss genom statsmedel bekostad utställningsverksamhet", in *Riksdagens revisorers verksamhetsberättelse för år 1972* (Stockholm, 1973), p. 147.

[52] Ibid., pp. 147f.

[53] Ibid., p. 151.

[54] Michael Kustow, *Tank* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1975), p. 30. The book was written between January 1971 and October 1973 (see p. 204). In a letter to Hultén dated September 18, 1968, Kustow regretted that he had not been present at the ICA when Hultén visited the exhibition *Cybernetic Serendipity*. And in a postcard to Hultén dated April 5, 1972, Kustow asked if "anything [has] happened about your plan for a new museum, with information/communications? I may be able to raise some money for it here – a rich film producer wants to buy prestige." PHA, 3.18.

[55] Kustow, *Tank*, p. 166.

[56] Ibid., pp. 167ff.

Coda: "A Live Center of Information"

[1] "Entretien avec Pontus Hultén", *L'Arc*, no. 63, 1975, p. 12.

[2] See Restany, "Per il nuovo Centre Pompidou: intervista di Pierre Restany a Pontus Hultén".

[3] See Marie Leroy, *Le Phénomène Beaubourg* (Paris: Syros, 1977), p. 28: "Such admirable (false) naivety from the angel of Stockholm! This random violence does not concern him. Its source escapes him. He does not wish to discuss either its causes or it consequences. If (bourgeois) culture is silent, if the noise is in the streets, then this is no one's fault. For him, that other – institutional – violence, perpetrated by the dominant class, that law of profit which liquidates the heart of a city, expulses its inhabitants, and irremediably tears up the affective tissue of a community, does not count for anything."

[4] Pontus Hultén, "Toutes les muses", *L'Arc*, no. 63, 1975, p. 5. This text was originally published in a brochure edited by the Département des arts plastiques, Centre Georges Pompidou in 1975.

[5] Pavie, "Vers le musée du futur: entretien avec Pontus Hultén", p. 61.

[6] Pontus Hultén, "Un lieu de rencontre pour le passé et la recherche", *Le Monde*, May 16, 1974.

[7] Otto Hahn, "Beaubourg: entretien avec Pontus Hultén", *Art Press*, no. 8, December/January 1974.

[8] Claude Mollard, *L'enjeu du Centre Georges Pompidou* (Paris: Éditions 10-18, 1976), pp. 202ff.

[9] As Ewan Branda shows, Hultén was opposed to the notion of understanding Beaubourg as a "broadcasting center" which would circulate travelling exhibitions in the rest of the country, since that would "reinforce perceptions of hegemony of Paris over the broader territory". Instead, the idea was that Beaubourg should "promote spontaneous initiatives" on the part of regional cultural institutions, although it is unclear how that would have worked practically. Ewan Branda, *The Architecture of Information at Plateau Beaubourg*, p. 47.

[10] A recurring misconception is also that Hultén was the first director of the Centre Pompidou, and that he was recruited specifically because he was the mind behind the institutions on which Beaubourg was modeled (that is, Moderna Museet and Kulturhuset). See e.g. Andrew McClellan, *The Art Museum from Boullée to Bilbao* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), p. 86, and Claes Britton, "The Second Coming of Moderna Museet", *Stockholm New*, no. 5, 1997. Robert Bordaz, followed by Jean Millier (until 1980) and Jean-Claude Groshens (until 1983) were the directors (*présidents*) of the Centre Pompidou during Hultén's tenure as director of the center's Visual Arts Department, a position he was offered, as Bernadette Dufrêne clarifies, "after all French curators [*conservateurs*] had declined the proposition", due to the conflicts surrounding the integration of the Musée National d'Art Moderne, and its collection, in the new structure. Bernadette Dufrêne, *La Création de Beaubourg*, p. 87. The only part of the Centre Pompidou which can actually be said to have been informed, in its initial phase, by Kulturhuset, was the "newsroom", the "salle d'actualité" of the BPI, whose director Jean-Pierre Seguin visited the Swedish cultural center in January 1971, and was impressed by the inviting atmosphere, the range of resources, and the generous opening hours of Kulturhuset's "reading lounge", "Läsesalongen", which had opened that same month (and which, we recall, was the sole element of the Expert Group proposal to have been approximately realized). See Jean-Pierre Seguin, *Comment est née la BPI: Invention de la médiathèque* (Paris: Bibliothèque publique d'information, 1987), p. 65.

[11] On Hultén's early exhibitions at the Centre Pompidou, see e.g. Dufrêne, *La Création de Beaubourg*, ch. 7 ("Beaubourg expose, Beaubourg s'expose"), and Jean-Marc Poinsot, "Incertitudes et évidences: de la crise comme moteur de l'histoire", in Bernadette Dufrêne (ed.), *Centre Pompidou, trente ans d'histoire* (Paris: Éditions du Centre Pompidou, 2007). See also DeRoo, *The Museum Establishment and Contemporary Art*, ch. 5, and Lorente, *The Museums of Contemporary Art*, ch. 8.

[12] Loste put together the team, and they developed the *Livre rouge*, between December 1969 and June 1970. The architectural brief was officially adopted in July, and the competition was announced in November. See Branda, *The Architecture of Information at Plateau Beaubourg*, p. 43 and pp. 63f.

[13] *Concours international d'idées à un degré (programme du concours)* (Paris: Ministère d'état chargé des affaires culturelles, 1970), p. 4.

[14] Branda, *The Architecture of Information at Plateau Beaubourg*, p. 35.

[15] Renzo Piano and Richard Rogers, *Du Plateau Beaubourg au Centre Georges Pompidou* (Paris: Éditions du Centre Pompidou, 1987), p. 54. See also Kester Rattenbury and Samantha Hardingham (eds.), *Supercrit #3: Richard Rogers, The Pompidou Centre* (London: Routledge, 2012).

[16] Branda, *The Architecture of Information at Plateau Beaubourg*, pp. 40ff. Claude Mollard also refers to the UNESCO seminars as formative, in *L'enjeu du Centre Georges Pompidou*, p. 38n1.

[17] *Concours international d'idées à un degré (programme du concours)*, p. 4.

[18] Ibid., p. 12.

[19] Ibid., p. 19.

[20] Ibid., p. 9.

[21] Ibid., p. 4.

[22] Ibid., p. 3.

[23] Ibid., p. 17.

[24] Ibid., p. 14.

[25] Ibid., p. 3.

[26] On the *Crocrodrome*, see Pontus Hultén (ed.), *Jean Tinguely: A Magic Stronger than Death* (Milan: Bompiani, 1987), pp. 252–57, and DeRoo, *The Museum Establishment and Contemporary Art*, pp. 178f.

[27] Baudrillard, "The Beaubourg-Effect: Implosion and Deterrence", p. 3 and p. 6. We might note that Baudrillard also singled out Tinguely's presence in the center as emblematic of this contradiction: "Within this carcass that might have served as a mausoleum for the hapless operation of signs, Tinguely's ephemeral, self-destructing machines are reexhibited under the rubric of the eternal life of culture. Thus everything is neutralized at the same time: Tinguely is embalmed in the museological institution and Beaubourg is trapped within its so-called artistic contents." (p. 5.)

Conclusion: Of What Was Beaubourg the End?

[1] Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum*.

[2] On the temporalities of contemporary media and new protocols of control, see e.g. Crary, *24/7: Late Capitalism and the Ends of Sleep*, Hansen, *Feed-Forward: On the Future of Twenty-First-Century Media*, and Alexander Galloway, *Protocol: How Control Exists After Decentralization* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2004). On the imbrications of digital media and global infrastructural standards, and on "infrastructure space" as such as "spatial software", see Keller Easterling, *Extrastatecraft: The Power of Infrastructure Space* (London: Verso, 2014).

[3] Parry, *Recoding the Museum*, p. 14.

[4] Lugon, "Introduction", p. 10.

[5] Davallon, *L'Exposition à l'oeuvre*, pp. 20f., and p. 28.

[6] Baudrillard, "Design and Environment, or How Political Economy Escalates into Cyberblitz", p. 188 and p. 199.

[7] Martin, *The Organizational Complex*, pp. 3ff., and pp. 38ff.

[8] For a critical, if cursive, discussion of the "digitízation of the museum", which at least acknowledges the existence of the Museum Computer Network – but does not go beyond mentioning it – see Bernard Deloche, "L'irruption du numérique au musée: de la muséologie à la noologie", in François Mairesse (ed.), *Nouvelles tendances de la muséologie* (Paris: La documentation Française, 2016). As far as I have been able to tell, most, if not all, other discussions of Ellin's project and of the early history of digital technologies in the museum, are of a generally technical nature, often conforming to teleological or evolutionary narrative models. See in this regard e.g. Jones-Garmil, "Laying the Foundation: Three Decades of Computer Technology in the Museum", as well as other contributions in the same anthology: Jones-Garmil (ed.), *The Wired Museum: Emerging Technology and Changing Paradigms.* As we have seen, the same largely holds for Ross Parry's discussion – the most detailed yet – in *Recoding the Museum.*

[9] Jean Baudrillard, "The Beaubourg-Effect: Implosion and Deterrence", p. 3 and p. 6.

[10] Reyner Banham, "Enigma of the Rue du Renard", *Architectural Review*, May 1977, p. 277.

[11] Annette Michelson, "Beaubourg: The Museum in the Era of Late Capitalism", *Artforum*, April 1975.

[12] Leroy, *Le Phénomène Beaubourg*, p. 35.

[13] Andreas Huyssen, "The Search for Tradition: Avantgarde and Postmodernism in the 1970s", in *After the Great Divide: Modernism, Mass Culture, Postmodernism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), p. 166.

[14] Baudrillard, "The Beaubourg-Effect", p. 6.

[15] Ibid., p. 3.

[16] Baudrillard, "Design and Environment, How Political Economy Escalates into Cyberblitz", p. 188 and p. 202.

[17] Ibid., p. 202.

[18] Baudrillard, "The Beaubourg-Effect", p. 3.

[19] Ibid., pp. 5f.

[20] Ibid., p. 6.

[21] Parry, *Recoding the Museum*, p. 14.

[22] Baudrillard, "The Beaubourg-Effect", p. 6.

[23] See here the animated discussion between Baudrillard and Beaubourg's director Robert Bordaz, during a radio broadcast in January 1978: "Jean Baudrillard: […] The masses don't come because of the meaning of this culture, that is, the cultural norms which should be those of culture, of intellectuals. […] Robert Bordaz: But why shouldn't people who aren't intellectuals have culture? Jean Baudrillard: That's not the point. They don't want it. They need other things. Robert Bordaz: They don't want it! What an idea!". "Le Centre Georges Pompidou (France Culture, 6 janvier 1978)", in Valérie Guillaume (ed.), *Jean Baudrillard et le Centre Pompidou: Une biographie intellectuelle* (Paris: Le Bord de l'Eau, 2013), p. 48.

24 Ibid., "The Beaubourg-Effect", p. 6. Translation modified. Cf. Jean Baudrillard, "L'effet Beaubourg: Implosion et dissuasion", in *Simulacres et simulation* (Paris: Galilée, 1981), p. 100.

25 Baudrillard, "The Beaubourg-Effect", p. 8.

26 Ibid., p. 9.

27 Ibid.

28 Ibid.

29 Ibid., p. 10. Translation modified.

30 Ibid., p. 9.

31 Baudrillard, "Requiem for the Media", p. 177.

32 Baudrillard, "The Beaubourg-Effect", pp. 10f.

33 Ibid., p. 3 and p. 11. Translation modified.

34 Ibid., p. 5. On Baudrillard's "symbolic exchange", see *Symbolic Exchange and Death*, trans. Iain Hamilton Grant (London: Sage Publications, 1993), and *The Mirror of Production*, trans. Mark Poster (St. Louis: Telos Press, 1975), esp. ch. 5. See also e.g. Alain Caillé, "Jean Baudrillard, anti-utilitariste radical et/mais dandy?", in Nicolas Poirier (ed.), *Baudrillard, cet attracteur intellectuel étrange* (Paris: Le Bord de l'Eau, 2016). "One thing is for certain, however", Caillé concludes: "if [Baudrillard] is right, then humanity will soon end, and there will be no one left to confirm it." (p. 66.)

35 Baudrillard, "The Beaubourg-Effect", p. 3.

36 See again, e.g., Crary, *24/7*. For a speculative, theoretical account of new modes of sovereignty and governance under conditions of "planetary-scale computation", see Benjamin H. Bratton, *The Stack: On Software and Sovereignty* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2015).

37 See Rancière, *Disagreement*, ch. 2.

38 Baudrillard, "Design and Environment", p. 188 and p. 202.

39 Andrew Dewdney, David Dibosa, and Victoria Walsh, *Post-Critical Museology: Theory and Practice in the Art Museum*, pp. 201f.

40 See e.g. Jack Linchuan Qiu, *Goodbye iSlave: A Manifesto for Digital Abolition* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2016). "The tide has broken", Geert Lovink writes: "The self-evident Californian Ideology" and "the hegemony of the once powerful libertarians [are] finally being contested". *Social Media Abyss: Critical Internet Cultures and the Force of Negation* (Malden: Polity Press, 2016), p. 2. The literature on "critical net studies" is of course vast, and growing exponentially. For one overview, see Julieta Aranda, Brian Kuan Wood, and Anton Vidokle (eds.), *The Internet Does Not Exist* (Berlin: e-flux journal/Sternberg Press, 2015).

41 See Rancière, "Politics, Identification, and Subjectivization", and *Disagreement*, ch. 2.

42 See Evgeny Morozov, "Socialize the Data Centers!", *New Left Review*, no. 91, January-February 2015, pp. 64f.

43 On indeterminacy as display principle, see Jacques Rancière, *La méthode de l'égalité: Entretien avec Laurent Jeanpierre et Dork Zabunyan* (Paris: Bayard, 2012), p. 304.

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The Exhibitionary Complex: Exhibition, Apparatus, and Media from Kulturhuset to the Centre Pompidou, 1963–1977 studies the new Information Center model of the art museum that was developed by a group of artists, curators, architects, and activists connected to Moderna Museet in Stockholm between the mid-1960s and the mid-1970s. Through close readings of Moderna Museet's unrealized Kulturhuset project, and a series of related attempts at rethinking the exhibition and the museum in relation to new information technologies, systems, and networks, it traces the origins, the critical implications, and the effects of this model, according to which the museum should function at once as a catalyst for the active forces in society, a vast experimental laboratory, and a broadcasting station.

In this study, the museum is understood as an exhibitionary apparatus, the specific characteristics of which are configured in relation to other apparatuses for display, distribution, and interaction, which together form an exhibitionary complex, caught in a process of gradual integration with the expanding network of cybernetic media. The study asks under what conditions the exhibitionary apparatus might preserve its particular modes of social and aesthetic experience, while acting as a transformative force on and through the new information environments.

Aesthetics, School of Culture and Education, Södertörn University.