

**Please be aware that this exhibition contains artworks that feature violence, nudity, and offensive language.**

# Exhibition Playlist

Immerse yourself in the Vietnam War era with this playlist of popular music from the period.

To listen, scan the QR code [insert code]

Or search “Artists Respond: American Art and the Vietnam War” on Spotify.

“THE ENEMY. His lack of equipment is a constant source of wonder to the GI’s. Surrounded, this Vietcong ‘defected’ in the best Maoist tradition. Caught in the wires of an ‘automatic ambush,’ he produced a Chieu Hoi (safe conduct) pass to classify himself as a ‘rallier’ to the GVN [South Vietnamese] side.”

“Despite the \$50,000 a minute the U.S. pours into Vietnam, many disabled veterans of the South Vietnamese Army end up as beggars. This one lived with his family in a shack made from old cardboard boxes in the main square of Cantho, the largest town in the Delta.”

# **Vietnam Inc., 1971**

**Three copies of first-edition book**

Philip Jones Griffiths Foundation

# Yvonne Rainer

Born San Francisco, Calif., 1934

**WAR**, 1970

Handwritten notes

Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles

**Draft press release for Yayoi Kusama's  
*Anatomic Explosion on Wall Street,***

July 14, 1968

Reproduction

Courtesy of Yayoi Kusama Inc.

# **Wally Hedrick**

Born Pasadena, Calif., 1928–died Bodega Bay, Calif., 2003

## **War Room, 1967–68/2002**

Oil on canvas

Collection of Paul & Karen McCarthy



## **PLEASE DO NOT TOUCH**

Entry to *War Room* allowed only under supervision,  
available Friday–Sunday, noon to 5 p.m.

The door of *War Room* may not be closed.

# Wally Hedrick

Born Pasadena, Calif., 1928–died Bodega Bay, Calif., 2003

## **Black and Blue Ideas, 1958/1967**

Oil on canvas

Courtesy of the Wally Hedrick Estate and The Box, LA

# **Bruce Nauman**

Born Fort Wayne, Indiana, 1941

## **Raw War, 1970**

Neon, glass tubing, wire, transformer, and sequencer

The Baltimore Museum of Art, Gift of Leo Castelli, New York, BMA 1982.148

Like its counterparts in bar and shop windows, Bruce Nauman's neon sign begs attention, aiming to engage a public beyond the solitary viewer. Rather than peddling war to the masses, however, it seems to broadcast a state of emergency. The neon's flipping between the words "raw" and "war" mimics the call and response of protest, the work adopting the cadence of civil disobedience.

# Philip Jones Griffiths

Born Rhuddlan, UK, 1936–died London, UK, 2008

## **WHAM VIETNAM**, c. 1970

Handmade book

Philip Jones Griffiths Foundation

Philip Jones Griffiths created this book dummy as a sample for publishers. He provisionally titled his project *WHAM VIETNAM*, noting that the completed book would demonstrate “[a]n onslaught, not only by bullets, bombs and napalm, but also of an alien force tearing apart the very fabric of traditional Vietnamese society, perpetrated as part of winning the hearts and minds of the people, known, less euphemistically [sic], as the WHAM program.”

# On Kawara

Born Kariya, Japan, 1932–died New York City, 2014

## **Title**, 1965

Acrylic and collage on canvas

National Gallery of Art, Washington, Patrons' Permanent Fund 2006.40.1.1

The year 1965 marked a turning point in the war in Vietnam. President Lyndon Johnson set a new course of open warfare, sending ground troops to South Vietnam and beginning a bombing campaign against the North. On Kawara's *Title* alludes to this escalation in three succinct phrases. Its central canvas records the date of its creation, while the words "ONE THING" predict the overwhelming presence the Vietnam War would soon have in the public consciousness.

# **Suellen Rocca**

Born Chicago, 1943

## **The State of L.B.J., 1967**

Ink on coated paper

Courtesy Corbett vs. Dempsey

Suellen Rocca's whimsical drawing teases out President Lyndon B. Johnson's identity as a Texan, reducing his personality to pictograms associated with "wild west" clichés that seem to explain his willingness to keep U.S. forces in Vietnam.

# Chicago Artists' Collaborative Protest Papers, 1968

Screen print book, ed. 130

Open to a print by Jim Falconer, born 1943, Hinsdale, Ill.

Courtesy Corbett vs. Dempsey, Chicago

This portfolio includes contributions by 20 artists based in Chicago in 1968. Like the 1967 *Artists and Writers Protest against the War in Viet Nam* made by artists in New York, the effort included a diverse range of artists of varying styles and backgrounds. Even artists who did not otherwise speak out in their work, such as sculptor Richard Hunt, contributed a print, revealing the many ways the war created a feeling of urgency in Chicago.

# Edward Kienholz

Born Fairfield, Wash., 1927–died Sandpoint, Idaho, 1994

## The Eleventh Hour Final, 1968

Tableau: wood paneling, concrete TV set with engraved screen and remote control, furniture, lamp, ash trays, artificial flowers, *TV Guide*, pillows, painting, wall clock, window, and curtain

Glenstone Museum, Potomac, Md.

Writing about this work in 1970, Edward Kienholz pointedly asked, “What can one man’s death, so remote and far away, mean to most people in the familiar safety of their middle-class homes?” *The Eleventh Hour Final* gives physical form to the idea of the “living room war,” a term describing the fact that the Vietnam War was the first in U.S. history to be televised. By 1967, the three major networks had increased their evening news broadcasts from 15 minutes to 30, and reporting about the war became intimately entwined with domestic scenes like this one. The title combines the name for the last broadcast of the day with an ominous sense of the hour before doom.



# Hans Haacke

Born Cologne, Germany, 1936

## **News**, 1969, reconstructed 2019

Newsfeed, printer, and paper

San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, Purchase through gifts of Helen Crocker Russell, the Crocker Family, and anonymous donors, by exchange, and the Accessions Committee Fund

Amid the turmoil of the late 1960s, Hans Haacke sought to break down the supposed barriers between the “real” world and the art world. *News* presents a teletype machine relentlessly churning out the news of the day. With this piece on display, the museum becomes a place of engagement, highlighting the important work incumbent on any news consumer. Emphasizing the challenge of sifting through a mass of reportage was especially apt at the work’s conception, given the multiple and conflicting perspectives on the Vietnam War. Today, the newsfeed is live and conveys information about current events.

**This reconstruction of *News* draws on multiple news agency sources.**

**The print-outs can be handled to read the news, but please do not tear or remove the pages.**

Arriving in South Vietnam in 1966, Philip Jones Griffiths set out to produce an in-depth analysis of the war. He could not do so by selling individual photographs to newspapers and magazines, where they would be captioned and contextualized by others. Instead, he spent years creating a book over which he maintained full authorial control. The images in *Vietnam Inc.* appear in careful juxtaposition and sequence, with text written by Griffiths himself. He considered the essential story of the war to be the collision of two profoundly different cultures, U.S. and Vietnamese. His book conveys how the conflict not only consumed countless lives, but it also transformed an entire society, driving masses of rural people into urban slums, overturning traditional social structures, and encouraging a shift toward a consumer-based culture—hence his title. *Vietnam Inc.* is groundbreaking for emphasizing sustained observation and analysis over incidents of sensational violence.

**Captions beneath the photographs are by Philip Jones Griffiths.**

# Dan Flavin

Born New York City, 1933–died Riverhead, N.Y., 1996

## **monument 4 for those who have been killed in ambush (to P. K. who reminded me about death), 1966**

Red fluorescent light

The Estate of Dan Flavin

Using his signature medium of fluorescent light, Dan Flavin conjures an atmosphere of dread, aggression, and death. One fixture juts menacingly out from the corner, confronting the viewer like the muzzle of a gun. In his title, Flavin declares this minimalist sculpture a monument to those “killed in ambush,” a fate and combat tactic associated with the war in Vietnam. The dedication “to P. K.” alludes to Flavin’s friend, the artist Paul Katz, with whom he had discussed the human toll of the war.

# Martha Rosler

Born New York City, 1943

## **Seven photomontages** from the series *House Beautiful: Bringing the War Home*, c. 1967–72

Unless otherwise noted, all are from The Art Institute of Chicago, through prior gift of Adeline Yates; exhibition copies provided by Mitchell-Innes & Nash, New York

In her series *House Beautiful: Bringing the War Home*, Martha Rosler addresses both heteronormative gender roles and militarism, juxtaposing the “feminine” realm of domestic life with the “masculine” business of waging war. Here she combined documentary and advertising images cut from popular magazines, like *Life* and *Ladies’ Home Journal*. The composite scenes often show figures from the warfront, such as soldiers or refugees, unexpectedly moving through affluent homes in the United States. The images reveal social and economic connections that are often overlooked. As Rosler put it, “We are not ‘here’ and ‘there’—we are all one, and that is crucial.”

# Martha Rosler

Born New York City, 1943

**Tron (Amputee)**, from the series  
*House Beautiful: Bringing the War Home*,  
*in Goodbye to All That*, Issue 3,

October 13, 1970

Newspaper

Courtesy of the artist

During the Vietnam War, Martha Rosler did not exhibit her *House Beautiful: Bringing the War Home* collages in art galleries; instead, she produced black-and-white photocopies of them, which she handed out as flyers at antiwar demonstrations. Some were also circulated in the underground press, such as the San Diego–based feminist newspaper *Goodbye to All That!*. Today, Rosler exhibits the images as color photographs.

# Timothy Washington

Born Los Angeles, Calif., 1946

**1A**, 1972

Etched aluminum, leather, metal studs, nail, and draft card

Private Collection, Courtesy of Tilton Gallery, N.Y.

“1A” was the U.S. government’s designation for individuals available for active military service during the Vietnam War. Timothy Washington’s title testifies to the personal impact of the draft, especially in African American communities, which were disproportionately affected by it for much of the conflict. Etched in aluminum is a self-portrait of Washington and, behind him, his older brother. Washington stretches his arms toward a tombstone-like piece of leather in which he has embedded his defaced draft card; his name is replaced with “John Doe,” and his 1A status marked “forever.” His brother reaches forward, perhaps to prevent the younger man’s defiant hand gesture, possibly to pull him back from a premature grave.

# **Rosemarie Castoro**

Born New York City, 1939–died New York City, 2015

## **A Day in the Life of a Conscientious Objector, 1969**

Digital projection

The Estate of Rosemarie Castoro, Courtesy of Hal Bromm Gallery

On 24 different days in February and March 1969, Rosemarie Castoro spent one hour composing a poem that she hand-printed on graph paper. The resulting 24-part work of visual poetry—which the artist presented as a slide show—channels the imagined perspectives of a draft evader, a soldier at war, and a political revolutionary. Alternating between these contrasting views, Castoro acknowledged the ongoing debate about democratic rights and responsibilities and the tension between the values of dissent and service.

# Mark di Suvero

Born Shanghai, China, 1933

## **For Peace**, 1971–72

Ink, watercolor, and collage on paper

Private Collection

Sculptor Mark di Suvero made this drawing in Europe, during his self-imposed exile in protest of the U.S. war in Vietnam. *For Peace* revisits the last major work di Suvero completed before departing the United States: a 41-foot high, bright red structure once titled *For Peace* (now known as *Mother Peace*, 1969–70). The sculpture is a rare work in which di Suvero made explicit reference to peace, both in its title and the symbol cut into one of its beams. The peace symbol is prominent in the drawing as well, appearing twice in elements collaged to its surface.



## Mark di Suvero

### ***Mother Peace***, 1969–70

Painted steel

Gift of the Ralph E. Ogden Foundation,  
Storm King Art Center, Mountainville, N.Y.  
Artwork © Mark di Suvero, Courtesy the  
artist and Spacetime C.C.,  
Photo © Storm King Art Center



# Ad Reinhardt

Born Buffalo, N.Y., 1913–died New York City, 1967

## **Untitled**, from the portfolio *Artists and Writers Protest against the War in Viet Nam*, 1967

Screenprint and collage on paper

International Center of Photography, Gift of the Artists' Poster Committee with funds provided by the ICP Acquisitions Committee 2002

On a postcard addressed to “War Chief, Washington, D.C.,” artist Ad Reinhardt pens a list of demands, including “no war,” “no draft,” and “no fear.” The flip side of the card then reveals the artist’s equal conviction that a distance must be maintained between art and war: “no art of war,” “no art about war,” and, finally, “no art as war.” While Reinhardt had a long history of political engagement, his opinions were not generally visible in his abstract monochrome paintings.

# Robert Morris

Born Kansas City, Mo., 1931–died Kingston, N.Y., 2018

## **Trench with Chlorine Gas**, from the series *Five War Memorials*, 1970

Lithograph

Private Collection, Courtesy of Castelli Gallery

Robert Morris created this lithograph in the aftermath of the U.S. invasion of Cambodia and the killing of students at Kent State University, Ohio, and Jackson State College, Mississippi. A prominent minimalist sculptor, Morris had not previously referenced the war in his work. Here he proposes an X-shaped trench brimming with noxious gas to memorialize the horrors of war, rather than its heroics. The artist implies an analogy between chlorine gas, a substance banned after World War I (1914–18), and chemicals weaponized in Vietnam, such as Agent Orange.

# Robert Smithson

Born Passaic, N.J., 1938–died Amarillo, Texas, 1973

## Partially Buried Woodshed, Kent State, 1970

Gelatin silver print

International Center of Photography, Gift of the Artists' Poster Committee with funds provided by the ICP Acquisitions Committee 2002

Robert Smithson completed his earthwork *Partially Buried Woodshed* at Kent State University some four months before that campus in Northeast Ohio saw National Guardsmen open fire on student protesters, killing four. Smithson had created *Partially Buried Woodshed* by piling dirt onto a shed until its central beam cracked. The gesture later seemed emblematic of a political breaking point reached nationwide. For many, the shootings at Kent State rendered the place synonymous with broad public distrust of the government. Smithson embraced this retrospective reading of his work, submitting this photograph to an exhibition of peace poster designs in 1971.

# Rudolf Baranik

Born Lithuania, 1920–died El Dorado, N.M., 1998

## **Napalm Elegy: White Silence/White Night, 1970**

Oil and photo-collage on canvas

Private collection, promised gift on long-term loan to the Minneapolis Institute of Art  
L2018.65

Rudolf Baranik and his wife, May Stevens (whose artwork is on view in the next gallery), were critical organizers in the New York antiwar movement. Baranik made leaflets and contributed to collective public works in order to protest the war. This painting comes from his series *Napalm Elegies* (1967–74), prompted by an image he saw of a Vietnamese child badly burned by napalm. Napalm, a long-burning and very sticky gel used by the United States in flamethrowers and bombs in Vietnam, is notorious for inflicting agonizing disfigurement and death on its victims. A World War II veteran, Baranik was especially sensitive to the plight of civilians and was outraged to learn of the use of chemical weapons in Vietnam. The source image is abstracted in the center of his painting, lit with a hot white intensity that may resemble an x-ray.

# Corita Kent

Born Fort Dodge, Iowa, 1918–died Boston, Mass., 1986

Clockwise from top left:

**yellow submarine, 1967**

**handle with care, 1967**

**right, 1967**

**phil and dan, 1969**

**stop the bombing, 1967**

**news of the week, 1969**

Six screenprints

Corita Art Center, Immaculate Heart Community, Los Angeles, Calif.

A Catholic nun and educator, Corita Kent embraced the bright colors, bold lettering, and simplified graphics of Pop art to create prints that serve as “advertisements for the common good.” Adopting the poetry of commercial packaging and street signs, Kent’s work promotes love, unity, and social justice. After leaving the Catholic Church in 1968, she began incorporating photographs from the news media. For example, *phil and dan* shows Philip and Daniel Berrigan, Jesuit peace activists who stole draft records from a Selective Service office and burned them. “I’m not a picket woman,” Kent once said, “though I admire people who are; I’m not brave enough not to pay my income tax and risk going to jail. But I can say rather freely what I want to say in my art.” For Kent, prints offered a way to “beat the system of advertising at its own game . . . oppose crass realism, crass materialism, with religious values, or at least with real values.”

# Art Workers' Coalition

Active 1969–71

## **Q. And babies? A. And babies., 1970**

Offset lithograph

Smithsonian American Art Museum, Gift of Jon Hendricks, 2017.10

The Art Workers' Coalition (AWC) was a group of New York artist-activists. After the exposé of atrocities committed by U.S. soldiers in 1968 at Sơn Mỹ, known now as the My Lai Massacre, AWC members Frazer Dougherty, Jon Hendricks, and Irving Petlin designed this poster. Its image was taken at the scene by army photographer Ron Haeberle. The devastating phrase “And babies” came from a news interview with soldier Paul Meadlo, who had participated in the slaughter. Rather than symbolism or metaphor, the artists used journalistic evidence to convey the horrors of the war—horrors the government had kept hidden for more than a year. They printed 50,000 posters, distributed them free, and displayed them during protests, confronting the public with war's grisly truths.

# Donald Judd

Born Excelsior Springs, Mo., 1928–died New York City, 1994

## Untitled, 1971

Electro-photographic print on yellow paper

International Center of Photography, Gift of the Artists' Poster Committee with funds provided by the ICP Acquisitions Committee 2002

Though Donald Judd opposed the Vietnam War, his minimalist sculpture, made of industrial materials in repeating geometric forms, conveyed no trace of his antiwar views. He did, however, create this untitled poster for the 1971 Westbeth Peace Festival. Here, Judd combines 32 historical and contemporary texts addressing pacifism, activism, governmental overreach, and war itself. The artist's oft-cited approach to composition—placing “one thing after another”—informs the poster's construction, with the accumulation of texts conveying the persistent rhetoric of war making.

# Carl Andre

Born Quincy, Mass., 1935

## **“It was no big deal, sir.”, 1971**

Collage and ink on paper

International Center of Photography, Gift of the Artists' Poster Committee with funds provided by the ICP Acquisitions Committee 2002

At the center of this work is a page from a 1940s medical manual showing a soldier with a traumatic facial injury. The caption—“It was no big deal, sir.”—is a chilling quotation from Lt. William Calley, Jr., the only U.S. soldier convicted for his role in the atrocities at Sơn Mỹ (known as the My Lai Massacre). Calley’s comment about his crimes was widely reported during his trial, when Andre created this work. A minimalist sculptor, Andre made this unusually explicit piece of protest art for *Collage of Indignation II*, an exhibition of peace poster designs.



# William Copley

Born New York City, 1919–died Sugar Loaf Key, Fla., 1996

## **Untitled**, from the portfolio *Artists and Writers Protest against the War in Viet Nam*, 1967

Screenprint

International Center of Photography, Gift of the Artists' Poster Committee with funds provided by the ICP Acquisitions Committee 2002

William Copley's bold print inviting viewers to consider the meaning of service and patriotism formed part of a collaborative portfolio called *Artists and Writers Protest against the War in Viet Nam*. (Contributions by Ad Reinhardt and Carol Summers are presented elsewhere in this gallery.) It was created as a limited-edition portfolio to raise funds for the activist group Artists and Writers Protest. Sixteen visual artists participated, displaying a wide range of styles and approaches. Art critic Max Kozloff wrote of the portfolio, "No matter how varied their theme or form, these [images] are meant to testify to their authors' deep alarm over a violence which . . . has been impossible for them to ignore."

# David Hammons

Born Springfield, Ill., 1943

## America the Beautiful, 1968

Lithograph and body print

Oakland Museum of California, The Oakland Museum Founders Fund

When David Hammons made *America the Beautiful*, the United States was beset by turmoil at home and abroad. The artist admitted that such conditions mattered to his work: “I feel that my art relates to my total environment—my being a black, political, and social human being.” Hammons created this image by coating his face and arms with grease, pressing them against the paper, and sprinkling the imprint with pigment. Here, his torso and head are draped beneath the flag, which seems both a comfort and a weight. His face, formed by the combination of two profile views, underscores a double consciousness, suggesting the complexities of

identifying as black, as American, and both.



David Hammons making a body print in his Slauson Avenue studio, Los Angeles, 1974.  
Photo by Bruce W. Talamon; Artforum

# Faith Ringgold

Born New York City, 1930

## **Flag for the Moon: Die Nigger,** from the series *Black Light*, 1969

Oil on canvas

Glenstone Museum, Potomac, Md.

Faith Ringgold, an advocate for racial justice and women's rights, created *Flag for the Moon: Die Nigger* in the year of the first moon landing, 1969. In it, she addresses U.S. government hypocrisy—massively investing in space exploration and war while ignoring its vulnerable black citizens. Ringgold's blunt title, camouflaged in the flag design, questions the sacrifices African American soldiers were making in Vietnam on behalf of a country rife with racism. She included this painting in *The People's Flag Show* in 1970, a group exhibition protesting censorship that resulted in her arrest, as one of its organizers, for flag desecration.

# Rupert García

Born French Camp, Calif., 1941

## ¡Fuera de Indochina!, 1970

Screenprint

The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Robert Marcus  
1990.1.83

Rupert García joined the U.S. Air Force in 1962 and served in Thailand in 1965 and 1966. Upon his return to the United States, he studied art at San Francisco State College. There he joined two antiwar movements: Chicano art and Third World Solidarity. In *¡Fuera de Indochina!*, a brown face screams the work's title in Spanish—in English, “Get out of Indochina!” The face could express pain, defiance, or both emotions. García created the print to raise funds for the National Chicano Moratorium, a group that framed its antiwar stance as a civil rights issue, citing statistics that Mexican Americans comprised a disproportionate number of U.S. soldiers and casualties in Vietnam.

# Liliana Porter

Born Buenos Aires, Argentina, 1941

## Untitled (*The New York Times*, Sunday, September 13, 1970), 1970

Screenprint

Collection of Leah and Andrew Witkin, Brookline, Mass.

Images of unidentified Vietnamese people appeared frequently in U.S. news coverage of the Vietnam War, and were often adopted in antiwar art as symbols of wartime suffering. Liliana Porter's print is unusual in calling attention to the humanity usually ignored in such a photograph. Here she uses a picture taken by photojournalist John Schneider. It depicts a woman detained by U.S. and South Vietnamese forces on suspicion of communist affiliation. Porter's text first introduces the woman from afar, stressing her difference as a "northvietnamese." Her words ultimately guide the viewer to empathy and identification, equating the captive woman with "my mother, my sister, you, I."

# Malaquias Montoya

Born Albuquerque, N.M., 1938

## Viet Nam/Aztlan, 1973

Offset lithograph

Smithsonian American Art Museum, Museum purchase through the Frank K. Ribelin Endowment 2015.29.3

Malaquias Montoya's activist artmaking began in the context of the California farm workers' movement, but it soon referenced the full cultural and political dimensions of the fight for Chicano civil rights. His iconic *Viet Nam/Aztlan* reveals the links among the antiwar, anticolonial, and civil rights movements. Its design equates Vietnam with Aztlán, the mythic Chicano homeland said to be located in the southwestern United States, identifying Chicanos as a conquered and occupied people. In the middle, a Vietnamese soldier and a Chicano man merge together. At the bottom, beneath yellow and brown clenched fists, is the Spanish word *Fuera*, meaning "get out."

# **Tomi Ungerer**

Born Strasbourg, France, 1931–died Cork, Ireland, 2019

## **Eat, 1967**

Offset lithograph

Oakland Museum of California, All Of Us Or None Archive, Gift of the Rossman Family

In Tomi Ungerer's poster, the imperative EAT, reminiscent of restaurant and diner signage, takes a sinister tone. The U.S. government's stated intention was to free the people of Vietnam and give them the tools of democracy. Yet Ungerer renders this ideological nourishment as a force-feeding. Even as he recognized U.S. hypocrisy, the artist, too, wore cultural blinders. His racially stereotyped depiction of a Vietnamese as a helpless victim of American aggression overlooks the fact that Vietnamese people were not mere bystanders of the war, but actors in it.

# James Gong Fu Dong

Born San Francisco, Calif., 1949

## **Vietnam Scoreboard, 1969**

Embossed etching

San Francisco State College Art Department Collection

When U.S. public discourse reduced Southeast Asian lives to numbers or symbols, Americans of Asian descent saw that most of the people dying in the war looked like them. In *Vietnam Scoreboard*, James Gong Fu Dong juxtaposes a photograph of his relatives in China with a picture of a smiling U.S. pilot. “Scoreboard” refers to the victory marks on the side of the plane, which take the silhouetted form of Dong’s family portrait—real people turned into a symbol of achieved “kills.” A pioneering work that combines Asian American consciousness with an antiwar message, *Vietnam Scoreboard* illuminates the real-life connections between “us” and “them,” personalizing the war’s often dehumanizing rhetoric.



# Judith Bernstein

Born Newark, N.J., 1942

## **Fucked by Number, 1966**

Charcoal and mixed media on paper

Collection of Dannel Rangel

A pioneer of feminist art, Judith Bernstein forcefully critiqued militarism and the constructs of masculinity during the Vietnam War. This work highlights the approximate number of U.S. soldiers killed in Vietnam at the time Bernstein made this drawing. The phallic, draw-by-number imagery suggests that the public “connect the dots” between the escalation of the war and U.S. leaders’ apparent need to project toughness and masculinity. Bernstein’s dark humor and taboo language were inspired by the raw, uncensored messages she observed written in men’s bathrooms while a student at the Yale School of Art. During these years, increasing numbers of young men were being called into combat, and Bernstein found many graffiti expressing anguish and anger about the war.

# John Lennon

Born Liverpool, UK, 1940–died New York City, 1980

# Yoko Ono

Born Tokyo, Japan, 1933

## **WAR IS OVER! IF YOU WANT IT, 1969**

Offset lithograph

Courtesy of Yoko Ono Lennon

In March 1969, rock star John Lennon and artist Yoko Ono celebrated their marriage by inviting reporters into their hotel room in Amsterdam to witness a “bed-in” for peace in Vietnam. It was a media event broadcast around the world. In December, they continued their antiwar campaign with posters and billboards that appeared simultaneously in 12 international cities. Declaring **WAR IS OVER!**, the qualification in smaller type—**IF YOU WANT IT**—underscores the importance of each reader wishing for and working toward peace.

# Seymour Rosen

Born Chicago, 1935–died Los Angeles, 2006

## **Photographs of Asco's *Stations of the Cross*, 1971, printed 2019**

Three gelatin silver prints

Smithsonian American Art Museum, Museum purchase through the Frank K. Ribelin Endowment

*Stations of the Cross* was a walking “ritual of resistance” against what the performance group Asco considered to be the “useless deaths” taking place in Vietnam. The male members of the group (which originally comprised Harry Gamboa Jr., Gronk, Willie Herrón III, and Patssi Valdez) paraded down Whittier Boulevard in East Los Angeles, with Herrón as a Jesus/death figure bearing a large cardboard cross. The procession ended with the trio blocking a U.S. Marines recruiting office with the cross, symbolically halting military recruitment from their Mexican American neighborhood. One year earlier, this same street had been the site of the National Chicano Moratorium March—the largest war protest organized by a minority group, and one that called out the disproportionate burden borne by people of color on the front lines.

# Yvonne Rainer

Born San Francisco, Calif., 1934

## **Trio A with Flags, 1970**

Performance film transferred to video; black and white, sound, 5:20 minute excerpt from 18:45 minute original

Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles 2006.M.24

Presented on November 9, 1970, as part of *The People's Flag Show*—a group exhibition protesting flag desecration laws—*Trio A with Flags* was adapted from Yvonne Rainer's *Trio A*, first danced in 1966. In *Trio A with Flags*, the six participants first tied flags around their necks and stripped out of their street clothes before performing the work twice. The group danced in silence, a quiet that encouraged meditation on the relationship between the flag and the body—between the state, its engagement in war, and the vulnerability of bare flesh.

Clockwise from upper left:

## **Peter Moore**

Born London, UK, 1932–died New York City, 1993

### **Contact sheet of photographs of Yvonne Rainer's *WAR*, 1970, printed 2018**

Digital exhibition print

Courtesy of Paula Cooper Gallery, New York

### **Photographs of Yvonne Rainer's *WAR* at the Loeb Student Center, New York University, 1970, printed 2008**

Three gelatin silver prints

Courtesy of Paula Cooper Gallery, New York

## **Yvonne Rainer**

Born San Francisco, Calif., 1934

### ***WAR*, 1970**

Handwritten notes

Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles

A leading figure of avant-garde dance, Yvonne Rainer departed from the expertise of traditional theatrical dance to instead employ ordinary movements and task-like actions in her choreography. In preparing *WAR*, Rainer made a list of verbs she found in newspaper accounts of the Vietnam War, as well as from texts about other military conflicts. She then used those verbs—*mobilize*, *occupy*, *resist*—to create the work's vocabulary. Split into two teams, her performers executed actions in an indeterminate order while a narrator read excerpts from Rainer's source material. The participants' freedom to improvise during the piece raises questions about the agency people on the front lines do or should possess.

# Yayoi Kusama

Born Matsumoto, Japan, 1929

## **Anatomic Explosion on Wall Street, 1968**

Two performance photographs, exhibition copies

Courtesy of Yayoi Kusama Inc.

During the run-up to the 1968 presidential election, Yayoi Kusama staged a series of antiwar performances at symbolically resonant locations throughout New York City. At the Stock Exchange, a site she considered emblematic of the military-corporate complex, the artist painted polka dots on the nude bodies of frolicking dancers. Across the street at Federal Hall, the group gyrated at the feet of the statue of George Washington, hero of the American Revolution and an inspiration to Hồ Chí Minh, the president of Communist North Vietnam during the Vietnam War. *Anatomic Explosion on Wall Street* was a protest that used nudity to mock militarism, replaced aggression with desire, and infused antiwar politics with playful sexuality. Best known today for her mirrored “infinity rooms,” Kusama first garnered national media coverage for these countercultural performances for peace.

# May Stevens

Born Boston, Mass., 1924

## **Big Daddy Paper Doll, 1970**

Acrylic on canvas

Brooklyn Museum, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. S. Zachary Swidler 75.73

In paintings from 1967 to 1976, May Stevens created a character she called Big Daddy, based on a photograph of her father. Big Daddy came to represent patriarchal authority, white supremacy, and unquestioning patriotism rolled into one. Her series depicts him as a self-satisfied, late-middle-aged man with a pasty white complexion and bald, phallic head. In *Big Daddy Paper Doll*, he sits at center, flanked by outfits representing an executioner, a soldier, a police officer, and a butcher. Arms smugly crossed and a bulldog perched in his lap, Big Daddy embodies the threat of state surveillance and violence, both at home and abroad—the target of protest in this period.

# Fred Lonidier

Born Lakeview, Ore., 1942

## **29 Arrests**, 1972, printed 2008

Photographs with text on panel

Museum of Contemporary Art, Chicago, Restricted gift of the Buddy Taub Foundation  
2014.51

Fred Lonidier created *29 Arrests* in the immediate aftermath of a sit-in protest at the 11th Naval District Headquarters in San Diego. As police arrested antiwar demonstrators, the protesters were posed and photographed, one by one. Standing a few paces back, Lonidier captured the process, framing the officers as well as the arrestees in his photographs. *29 Arrests* acknowledges the camera's power as a tool of state control while at the same time asserting its potential for activism.



# Terry Fox

Born Seattle, Wash., 1943–died Cologne, Germany, 2008

## **Defoliation**, 1970, printed 2010

Performance, photographs by Barry Klinger, six gelatin silver prints

University of California, Berkeley Art Museum and Pacific Film Archive, Gift of Brenda Richardson 2014.1.a–f

In his “first political work,” Terry Fox wielded a flamethrower to burn a large patch in a garden bed of jasmine. It was a spot on the campus of the University of California, Berkeley, where wealthy patrons liked to lunch. Defoliation was a well-known element of the war in Vietnam, part of the U.S. effort to deprive Communist forces of physical cover and food crops. Fox noted that a somber mood set in as the audience recognized “what was going on—the landscape was being violated.” In the coming days, the garden remained “a burned-out plot”—a reminder of the massive destruction taking place in Vietnam.

# Judy Chicago

Born Chicago, Ill., 1939

## **Immolation**, from the portfolio *On Fire*, 1972, printed 2013

Inkjet print

Smithsonian American Art Museum, Museum purchase through the Luisita L. and Franz H. Denghausen Endowment 2018.11.6

The title *Immolation* and the cross-legged pose of the nude figure evoke a famous photograph of the Buddhist monk Thích Quảng Đức, who set himself on fire to protest the South Vietnamese government in 1963. Other monks and U.S. peace activists repeated his radical act. The colorful smoke in *Immolation* might also refer to the war's "rainbow herbicides"—most notoriously, Agent Orange—used by U.S. forces to remove leaves in combat zones. Judy Chicago created *Immolation* when she led the country's first feminist art programs, initially at Fresno State College and then at California Institute of the Arts (CalArts).



Thích Quảng Đức's self-immolation,  
June 11, 1963. Photo by Malcolm  
Browne for the Associated Press.

# **Dennis Oppenheim**

Born Electric City, Wash., 1938—died New York City, 2011

## **Reading Position for Second Degree Burn, 1970**

Color photograph

Collection of Linn Meyers

Conceiving of his body as an art medium, Dennis Oppenheim lay on the beach for five hours with a volume of military field tactics on his bare chest. Two photographs documenting the beginning and end of his performance show the artist sunburned, except for the area covered by the book. In his mild physical self-harm, Oppenheim registered a sense of what many human bodies in 1970 had to endure. His weaponizing of the sun, in particular, conjured media reports of U.S. soldiers baking in the Vietnamese heat and of Vietnamese citizens being burned, far more gruesomely, by chemical napalm weapons.

# Chris Burden

Born Boston, Mass., 1946–died Topanga, Calif., 2015

## Shoot, 1971

Performance; photographs by Alfred Lutjeans  
and Barbara T. Smith

Courtesy of the Chris Burden Estate

In Chris Burden's landmark performance *Shoot*, a small group watched a marksman shoot the artist through the arm with a rifle. Exploring physical risk and spectatorship, the piece challenges viewers to consider their roles as potential perpetrators or witnesses of violence. When he conceived *Shoot*, Burden recalled, "you saw a lot of people being shot on TV every night, in Vietnam, guys my age." Enacting literal bloodshed and assembling a willing audience around it, the work uncomfortably encapsulates the experience of most people in the United States as onlookers to the Vietnam War.

# Yoko Ono

Born Tokyo, Japan, 1933

## **Cut Piece**, 1964, performed 1965

Performance, 16 mm film by Albert and David Maysles transferred to video; black and white, sound, 8:25 minutes

Courtesy of Yoko Ono Lennon

In Yoko Ono's *Cut Piece*, audience members were invited to approach the artist and, one by one, cut away pieces of her clothing. The drama that unfolded placed spectators in a disconcerting position; each had to consider whether to stop, interfere with, or escalate the action. Although Ono is of Japanese, not Southeast Asian, descent, her racial identity informs this performance of *Cut Piece*. Presented at Carnegie Hall in the weeks after the first U.S. Marines arrived in South Vietnam, it raised timely questions about how to respond to an evolving, uncertain situation, particularly one that places others under duress.

# Benny Andrews

Born Madison, Ga., 1930–died New York City, 2006

## **Liberty #6 (Study for Trash), 1971**

Oil on canvas with painted fabric collage

Courtesy of Michael Rosenfeld Gallery, LLC, New York, NY

Benny Andrews cofounded the Black Emergency Cultural Coalition, which sought racial equality in the art world. He was also a military veteran, having served in the Air Force in the 1950s. *Liberty #6 (Study for Trash)* was part of a group of paintings he created to register “his feelings and impressions of this place—America,” touching on themes of sexism, justice, and war. He was appalled by news accounts of citizens who vocally supported the war despite the immense loss of life and evidence of the government’s deceit. Andrews noted that “*Trash* [was] . . . about the failure of American institutions, such as the church and the government, to respond to massacre. I called it taking all the American values to the trash, and I tried to present it in an artistic way.”

# James Ormsbee Chapin

Born West Orange, N.J., 1887–died Toronto, Canada, 1975

## A Medal for Johnnie, 1967–69

Oil on canvas

Gift of Eric Brecher in honor of Pradeep Hathiramani and Otto Warmbier 2017.108  
Minneapolis Institute of Art

James Ormsbee Chapin was a lifelong political liberal and occasional radical. He is best known for the empathetic and thoughtful paintings he made in the 1920s and 1930s of workers, farm laborers, and their families. *A Medal for Johnnie* is an icon of antiwar venom that derived from the artist's involvement in pacifist groups and his particular anger over the U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War. Chapin was so upset over the political climate in the United States that, in 1969, he moved his family to Toronto, Canada, in protest and to insure that his two sons would not be called for military service.

# Gregory Gillespie

Born Roselle Park, N.J., 1936—died Belchertown, Mass., 2000

## **Vietnam Shrine, 1966**

Oil on canvas

Collection of Eric Brecher

Gregory Gillespie was living and working in Italy when the United States entered the Vietnam War. Already drawn to the violent imagery of late medieval and Renaissance Christian art, he made this, his only work directly related to the war. Gillespie used the format and meditative purpose of devotional panels showing Jesus Christ as the Man of Sorrows, enduring earthly suffering. Often these images are shockingly raw to contemporary eyes. To their medieval audiences they presented images of Jesus as a means to evoke empathy and compassion. Contemplation of Jesus's bloody, wounded body was thought to bring viewers closer to understanding the physical depth of sacrifice and the potential for spiritual triumph over flesh. Gillespie's bloody, lacerated head seems to imply no possibility for redemption in war, a horrific outcome of Earthly violence offering no higher lesson.



# Peter Saul

Born San Francisco, Calif., 1934

## Target Practice, 1968

Acrylic on canvas

Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, Smithsonian Institution, Joseph H. Hirshhorn Purchase Fund 2016

Peter Saul created his *Vietnam* paintings to deliver, as he put it, a “cold shower” of “bad conscience” to the viewer. Here, all players in the war are grotesquely dehumanized. The ferocious Day-Glo scene shows distorted U.S. soldiers attacking cartoonish Vietnamese people. In skewering what he saw as a racist war, Saul puts on display Western stereotypes of Asians. Intense and startling, these images are designed above all to confront and engage the viewer. Though motivated by current events, the densely packed tableau full of movement came entirely from the artist’s imagination.

# Philip Guston

Born Montreal, Quebec, Canada, 1913–died Woodstock, N.Y., 1980

## San Clemente, 1975

Oil on canvas

Glenstone Museum, Potomac, Md.

*San Clemente* depicts the recently resigned U.S. president, Richard Nixon, with a grotesquely swollen leg, its deformities manifesting what Philip Guston saw as the immorality of Nixon's tenure. A renowned Abstract Expressionist painter, Guston was moved by the upheavals of the late 1960s to develop a style of cartoony figuration. He described his move away from abstract painting this way: "I was feeling split . . . The war, what was happening to America, the brutality of the world. What kind of man am I, sitting at home reading magazines, going into a frustrated fury about everything—and then going into my studio to adjust a red to a blue?"

# Leon Golub

Born Chicago, Ill., 1922–died New York City, 2004

## Vietnam II, 1973

Acrylic on canvas

Tate: Presented by the American Fund for the Tate Gallery, Courtesy of Ulrich and Harriet Meyer (Building the Tate Collection) 2012

Leon Golub was a vocal activist against the Vietnam War long before depicting the conflict directly in his painting. For years he addressed the theme of human violence in more generalized ways, as in his *Gigantomachies*—epic scenes of warring, struggling men. In the first several years of the war, he addressed its horrors by emphasizing human suffering in startling figure paintings. Beginning in 1972 he made three largescale paintings that make it clear through facial features, dress, and the details of weaponry that Vietnam is his explicit subject. Golub compared the immense scale of these works to the “grotesqueness” of U.S. military might. The irregular cuts in *Vietnam II*'s canvas and the loose way it hangs emphasize his desire to confront the viewer: “The shock of encountering a brutal, tangible monster of this kind means that you have to take account of it—you have to figure out why such a thing appears in your world.”

# Jim Nutt

Born Pittsfield, Mass., 1938

## Summer Salt, 1970

Acrylic on vinyl and enamel on wood

Museum of Contemporary Art, Chicago, Gift of Dennis Adrian in honor of Claire B. Zeisler 1980.30.1

*Summer Salt* depicts a bound figure, possibly a scene of torture. The wordplay in its title—which sounds like “some assault”—as well as its extreme depiction of the body were typical of the Hairy Who, a group of six Chicago artists that counted Jim Nutt a member. Nutt’s violent takes on the human form—most extreme from 1968 to 1970—coincided with increasing draft calls, civil unrest, and media images of the war’s human cost. Nutt’s painting registers the period’s unease and trauma, but he was reluctant to assign specific meaning to it. He said, “The fact that some bodies were abbreviated or had amputations had more to do with how a particular work developed than with some overall concept of meaning. The specific meaning of the paintings I can’t really explain to myself or anyone else.”

# Judith Bernstein

Born Newark, N.J., 1942

## **A Soldier's Christmas, 1967**

Oil, fabric, steel wool, electric lights, and mixed media on canvas

Collection of Paul and Karen McCarthy

While studying painting at the Yale School of Art, Judith Bernstein became fascinated by the graffiti she found in men's bathrooms. With more and more of their generation being called to combat, young men often expressed fear and anger about the war in Vietnam. She channeled their darkly mocking tone and taboo sexual imagery in her art. The scrawled message in *A Soldier's Christmas* captions an image of a woman's spread legs adorned with an American flag and Christmas lights. Bernstein's profane imagery and language convey the force of her opposition: "I wanted to make the ugliest paintings I could. I wanted them to be as ugly and horrifying as the war was."

**Lights are off to preserve the artwork.**

**PLEASE DO NOT TOUCH.**

# Claes Oldenburg

Born Stockholm, Sweden, 1929

## Fireplug Souvenir — “Chicago August 1968”, 1968

Plaster and acrylic paint

Collection of Claes Oldenburg & Coosje van Bruggen, courtesy of Paula Cooper Gallery, New York

“In Chicago, I, like so many others, ran head-on into the model American police state,” wrote Claes Oldenburg of his experience at the 1968 Democratic National Convention, an event marked by police violence against antiwar protesters. “I was tossed to the ground by six swearing troopers who kicked me and choked me and called me a communist.” Oldenburg went on to cancel an exhibition slated for a Chicago gallery, stating, “[A] gentle one-man show about pleasure seems a bit obscene in the present context.” The gallery instead mounted a group exhibition voicing opposition to Chicago mayor Richard J. Daley, who had authorized the police’s conduct. Oldenburg contributed 50 small sculptures modeled after the city’s style of fireplug, suggesting that one be thrown through the gallery window “to launch the protest exhibition.”

# Barnett Newman

Born New York City, 1905–died New York City, 1970

## Lace Curtain for Mayor Daley, 1968

Corten steel, galvanized barbed wire, and enamel paint

The Art Institute of Chicago, Gift of Annalee Newman 1989.433

Barnett Newman produced this rare sculpture for a protest exhibition organized after the 1968 Democratic National Convention in Chicago, when Mayor Richard J. Daley had authorized the police to use extraordinary force against antiwar protesters. The sculpture's barbed wire form echoes that of barriers attached to army jeeps in Chicago for crowd control. Although Newman, then in his sixties, rarely made artworks referencing current events, this one openly aligns with his self-description as an "artist-citizen." Newman is known for his large color-field paintings, but this menacing perversion of the modernist grid boldly departs from that style.



Military police jeeps covered in barbed wire during the August 1968 Democratic National Convention, Chicago. Photo by Charles Roland, 1968

# William Weege

Born Milwaukee, Wisc., 1935

## The print portfolio, *Peace Is Patriotic*, 1967

25 offset lithographs

Private collection, promised gift on long-term loan to the Minneapolis Institute of Art

William Weege made his bold and complex portfolio of 25 prints, *Peace Is Patriotic*, as a Master's thesis project at the University of Wisconsin, Madison. Pointedly published on July 4, 1967, the portfolio features jarring images of sexualized bodies and medical illustrations, militarism, and patriotic slogans, often combined in the same composition. Weege exhibited the prints in Chicago in the wake of the 1968 Democratic National Convention, and individual plates such as *Napalm* became popular mass-produced posters. The ambitious project combined Weege's accumulated skills in graphic design, map-making, and typography as well as his experience with photomechanical processes. Together, these tools allowed him to "dissect the psychology of the war" and "expose the vile underside of the American mentality."



# Art Green

Born Frankfort, Ind., 1941

## **Examine the Facts, Consider the Options, Apply the Logic, 1965–66**

Oil and acrylic on canvas

Collection Museum of Contemporary Art Chicago, gift of Dennis Adrian and Phyllis Kind in honor of the artist 1995.92

The figure of U.S. Secretary of Defense Robert Strange McNamara sits in the center of this imaginary dystopian interior. Art Green was inspired to paint him in the setting after seeing a photograph in *Time* magazine that showed McNamara in his office lost in thought. The caption below the picture struck Green as eerily absurd and cold as it related to the Vietnam War. It was McNamara's mantra: "examine the facts, consider the options, apply the logic." Green recalled, "That's how we got into this mess . . . he was a very logical man, and so I put him in an irrational situation."

# **Dominick Di Meo**

Born Niagara Falls, N.Y., 1927

## **LBJ Butcher, c. 1967**

Screenprint on canvas apron

Courtesy of the Artist and Corbett vs. Dempsey, Chicago

Dominick Di Meo, a critical figure in the antiwar movement in Chicago, served as a connector between the activist community in the Midwest and those in Los Angeles and New York. He condemned what he considered to be the brutal foreign policy of U.S. President Lyndon B. Johnson with “LBJ Butcher” aprons—created on actual aprons to be worn in street actions and other public protests.

# Ralph Arnold

Born Chicago, 1928–died Chicago, 2006

## **Above the Earth, Games, Games, 1968**

Collage and acrylic on canvas

Courtesy of the Museum of Contemporary Photography at Columbia College,  
Chicago

Ralph Arnold often addressed bigotry, social injustice, and the Vietnam War in his collage paintings of the late 1960s. *Above the Earth, Games, Games* juxtaposes full-contact football players with U.S. soldiers in Vietnam. Arnold may have seen a 1965 *Esquire* magazine article that called football “the American War Game,” for normalizing violence against other male bodies and integrating military strategies and tactics in play.

# **Robert Donley**

Born Cleveland, Ohio, 1934

**LBJ**, 1968

Oil on canvas

Courtesy of the Artist and Corbett vs. Dempsey, Chicago

Robert Donley's large, bold caricature of U.S. President Lyndon B. Johnson plays on his identity as a Texan, clad in a cowboy hat and boots, sowing skulls rather than seeds into the earth.

# **Seymour Rosofsky**

Born Chicago, 1924–died Chicago, 1981

## **Vietnam, Chicago, Czechoslovakia, 1968**

Oil on canvas

Courtesy the estate of Seymour Rosofsky and Corbett vs. Dempsey, Chicago

Seymour Rosofsky, a World War II veteran, explicitly compares local and international violence in this pointed painting. His examples are the 1968 Democratic National Convention in Chicago, the war in Vietnam, and Prague Spring. The latter incident refers to the Soviet Union's August 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia as a means to suppress the liberal reforms of newly elected Alexander Dubček as first secretary of the country's Communist Party. Dubček's changes included loosening restrictions on travel, speech, and the media. He was forced to resign after the invasion. Rosofsky's comparison across international boundaries suggests a call to be alert to repressive regimes and to resist violence whether at home or abroad.

# Wally Hedrick

Born Pasadena, Calif., 1928–died Bodega Bay, Calif., 2003

## War Room, 1967–68/2002

Oil on canvas

Collection of Paul & Karen McCarthy

A combat veteran of the Korean War, Wally Hedrick was among the earliest American artists to decry the U.S. intervention in Vietnam. His long-running series of black monochromes are not timeless abstractions but, rather, statements of protest. He created examples such as *Black and Blue Ideas* by canceling out existing pictures in layers of black pigment. For Hedrick, this concealment symbolized the absence of enlightened thought. The series culminated in *War Room*, a trap-like structure of inward-facing canvases, signifying that the United States had become “boxed in” in Vietnam. Inside this work, the sense of overwhelming blackness is only relieved by looking upward to the open top.

# Wally Hedrick

Born Pasadena, Calif., 1928–died Bodega Bay, Calif., 2003

## Madame Nhu's BarBQs, 1963

Oil on canvas

The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, Museum purchase, Unrestricted Art Acquisition Endowment Income Fund 2004.95

Wally Hedrick's painting refers to the Buddhist monk Thích Quảng Đức, who set himself on fire in protest of the South Vietnamese government's oppression of Buddhists. The monk's death was broadcast to the world via indelible photographs of his body engulfed in flames. *Madame Nhu's Bar-B-Qs* mentions Trần Lệ Xuân (known to Americans as Madame Nhu), a member of South Vietnam's ruling family and part of its Catholic minority. After the monk's suicide, she said she was "willing to provide the gasoline for the next barbeque." The painting invokes the Catholic Sacred Heart and quotes a Buddhist mantra, contrasting both the sacred humanity of Christ and the compassion of Buddha with Trần Lệ Xuân's caustic remark.

# Jesse Treviño

Born Monterrey, Mexico, 1946

## **Mi Vida, 1971–73**

Acrylic on drywall, mounted on aluminum

Collection of Inez Cindy Gabriel

Jesse Treviño was drafted and served as an infantryman in Vietnam, sustaining serious injuries while on patrol in early 1967. Doctors later amputated his right arm—the one he had previously used to paint. Painstakingly created with his left hand, *Mi Vida* (in English, *My Life*) marked Treviño's rebirth as an artist. It portrays his postwar life, from his new prosthetic to his daily coffee and *pan dulce*, Mexican pastries. Treviño painted *Mi Vida* in private, on his bedroom wall, when he was still struggling with chronic pain and the transition to civilian life. Through its creation, he found a new direction for his art, one explicitly rooted in his personal experiences and perspective as a Chicano.



# Mel (Melesio) Casas

Born El Paso, Texas, 1929–died San Antonio, Texas, 2014

## Humanscape 43, 1968

Acrylic on canvas

Mel Casas Family Trust

A leading figure in Con Safo, one of the earliest Chicano art groups, Mel Casas had been drafted, served in, and injured during the Korean War. The experience informed his opposition to U.S. involvement in Vietnam. In the artist's words, "the skills of war are killing"—a statement projected here. "\$KILL\$" also stresses what Casas considered to be the financial motivations driving war; as Casas put it, "dollars kill." The figures in front could be a soldier moving from induction, to being equipped, to preparing to fire. Alternatively, 1968 being a presidential election year, the figure at left might be a commander-in-chief being sworn in, his upright arm echoed by the weapons wielded on his orders.

# Edward Kienholz

Born Fairfield, Wash., 1927–died Sandpoint, Idaho, 1994

## **The Non-War Memorial, 1970/1972**

Military uniforms, sand, book, acrylic vitrine, plaque,  
and printed statement

Whitney Museum of American Art, New York, Gift of Nancy Reddin Kienholz  
2003.14ah

Troubled by his country's wartime sacrifice of its young, Edward Kienholz proposed creating a landscape of vast waste and destruction. In *The Non-War Memorial*, he imagined thousands of army uniforms—the same number as U.S. soldiers killed in the war—filled with clay and placed in a chemically destroyed meadow in northern Idaho. Given that mechanical and chemical deforestation were deliberate U.S. military strategies in Vietnam, Kienholz's unrealized plan to plow under and poison a pristine field sought to bring home a bit of the war.

# T. C. Cannon

Caddo/Kiowa, born Lawton, Okla., 1946–died Santa Fe, N.M., 1978

## Untitled (T.C. and Skeleton), 1975

Ink on paper

Collection of Jason Aberbach

T.C. Cannon created this self-portrait in 1975, the year the Vietnam War officially came to an end. He depicts himself shirtless and clasping a bottle of beer, his other arm slung around the shoulders of a comrade—a skeleton in a combat helmet and blood-spattered fatigues. The artist had served in Biên Hòa in 1967 and 1968. A member of the Kiowa tribe and also of Caddo descent, he had enlisted in the army in part motivated by a sense of allegiance to tribal warrior traditions. In this Cannon was apparently not alone: Native Americans served in Vietnam in greater numbers per capita than any other U.S. ethnic group. Many, like Cannon, were volunteers. A few months into his duty, Cannon had encountered death at close range. “I have already seen some young men die . . . and I don’t like it,” he wrote home to a former teacher. “But maybe death wasn’t meant to be friends with young men.” Perhaps not, but as his drawing attests, under conditions of war, death and the young became inevitable companions.

# Philip Jones Griffiths

Born Rhuddlan, UK, 1936–died London, UK, 2008

Twelve gelatin silver prints

(from left to right and top to bottom)

## **Vietnam, 1967**

The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles 2010.3.7

## **Vietnam, 1970**

Philip Jones Griffiths Foundation

## **Vietnam, 1970**

Philip Jones Griffiths Foundation

## **Vietnam, 1970**

Philip Jones Griffiths Foundation

## **Qui Nhon, Vietnam, 1967**

Philip Jones Griffiths Foundation

## **Danang, Vietnam, 1967**

Philip Jones Griffiths Foundation

## **Vietnam, 1967**

The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles 2010.3.2

## **Saigon, Vietnam, 1968**

Philip Jones Griffiths Foundation

## **Saigon, Vietnam, 1968**

Philip Jones Griffiths Foundation

## **Can Tho, Vietnam, 1967**

Philip Jones Griffiths Foundation

## **Nha Be, Vietnam, 1970**

The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles 2010.3.6

## **Quang Ngai, Vietnam, 1967**

The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles 2010.3.1

## Harry Shunk

Born Reudnitz, Germany, 1924–died New York City, 2006

## János Kender

Born Baja, Hungary, 1937–died West Palm Beach, Fla., 2009

## Claes Oldenburg's *Lipstick (Ascending) on Caterpillar Tracks*, 1969, printed 2019

Three inkjet prints, exhibition copies

Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles 2014.R.20  
Published by students of the Yale School of Art and Architecture

Far left

**Novum Organum, No. 7:** Special “Colossal Monument” Issue focusing on recent gift of Claes Oldenburg's *Lipstick (Ascending) on Caterpillar Tracks*, May 15, 1969

Broadside: photo offset and screenprint (recto and verso)

Yale University Art Gallery, Gift of Stuart H. Wrede, B.A. 1965, M. Arch. 1970

In 1969, a group of Yale University students calling themselves the Colossal Keepsake Corporation invited Claes Oldenburg, a renowned alumnus, to create his first monumental sculpture. Without the administration's permission, they placed Oldenburg's *Lipstick* in a prominent site on campus, close to the president's office and a World War I memorial. Its installation drew a large crowd, spurred by coverage in a special issue of a student publication. At a time of student protests nationwide, the artist described the piece as a “platform for speechmaking.” Its inflatable phallic form—which never operated properly—seemed to poke fun at hyper-masculine, militaristic rhetoric. Ten months later, having fallen into disrepair, the sculpture was removed by the artist. A permanent version returned to Yale in 1974, this time with the university's endorsement.

# Carlos Irizarry

Born Santa Isabel, P.R., 1938–died San Juan, P.R., 2017

## Moratorium, 1969

Screenprint

Smithsonian American Art Museum, Museum purchase through the Luisita L. and Franz H. Denghausen Endowment 2013.24.1a, b

The density of images in *Moratorium* conveys the overwhelming presence of the Vietnam War in everyday life. Here, Carlos Irizarry took photographs and text from media sources. Dominating the left side is a likeness of U.S. Vice President Spiro Agnew, famous for his dismissal of antiwar intellectuals as “impudent snobs,” next to an image of a large antiwar protest. U.S. President Richard Nixon’s face appears below, his face tinted orange and repeated in a Pop art–style grid. Irizarry also quotes antiwar works by other artists: Picasso’s 1937 painting *Guernica* (illustrated below left) and Jasper Johns’s 1969 *Moratorium* flag poster (illustrated below right). Picasso’s painting—condemning the Nazi bombing of Spanish civilians—had been on loan in New York since the 1940s, and Vietnam War–era activists embraced it as an emblem of war resistance.



# Carolee Schneemann

Born Fox Chase, Penn. 1939–died New Paltz, N.Y., 2019

## **Snows**, 1967, re-edited 2009

Kinetic theater performance, 16 mm film transferred to digital video; color and black and white, sound; 20:30 minutes

Electronic Arts Intermix (EAI), New York

## **Viet-Flakes**, 1962–67, re-edited 2015

16 mm film transferred to digital video; toned black and white, sound, 7 minutes

Smithsonian American Art Museum, Museum purchase through the Frank K. Ribelin Endowment

Carolee Schneemann presented *Snows* as part of “Angry Arts Week,” a New York festival protesting the war in Vietnam. The piece integrated live performance with sound, light, and film, including Schneemann’s own *Viet-Flakes* (shown here, alternating with performance footage of *Snows*). To create *Viet-Flakes*, Schneemann panned over war photography clipped from magazines and newspapers. Disorienting and sickening, the film acknowledges the emotions of helplessness, outrage, and apathy that people in the United States felt when viewing media images of faraway suffering. With *Snows*, the artist enacted a bodily response to such pictures. The three male and three female performers play a series of changing and contradictory roles, which, at times, directly echo the imagery in *Viet-Flakes*.

# Nancy Spero

Born Cleveland, Ohio, 1926–died New York City, 2009

Clockwise from upper left:

## **Victims on Helicopter Blades, 1968**

Gouache and ink on paper

Collection of Terri Weissman

## **Female Bomb, 1966**

Gouache and ink on paper

The New School Art Collection, New York, N.Y.

## **The Bug, Helicopter, Victim, 1966**

Gouache and ink on paper

Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, Philadelphia, John S. Phillips Fund Art

In her expressionistic *War* series, Nancy Spero employs the atomic bomb as a symbol of overwhelming state power and indiscriminate destruction. She also depicts weaponry associated with the U.S. air war in Vietnam. Trying to imagine how Vietnamese civilians saw “these technological monsters wreaking destruction on them,” she portrays helicopters and bombers as terrifying and sometimes animalistic machines. Here, Spero abandons oil paint on canvas and embraces antiwar subject matter, purposefully rebelling against the preferences of mainstream collectors and gallerists.



# Dominick Di Meo

Born Niagara Falls, N.Y., 1927

## **LBJ**, c. 1967

Photomontage and oil on canvas

Private collection, promised gift on long-term loan to the Minneapolis Institute of Art

Dominick Di Meo was one of the earliest artists in Chicago to protest and organize against the Vietnam War. He printed *Landscape Beautification Johnson Style* and distributed copies on the street as a call to action (on display in a nearby case). He also made this larger version on canvas. In each composition, U.S. President Lyndon B. Johnson's angry head rises behind a dense structure of human skulls and bones, his features visually rhyming with the expressions of the death heads.

Di Meo's title refers to the Highway Beautification Act, a 1965 bill signed by President Johnson that aimed to reduce the visual clutter of billboards, junkyards, and other "eyesores" by restricting their placement and numbers. As the United States became more deeply embroiled in the Vietnam War, human costs escalated, dissent at home intensified, and Johnson's domestic programs looked increasingly out of touch and at odds with the brutality of his foreign policy.

# Ed Paschke

Born Chicago, 1939–died Chicago, 2004

## **Tet Inoffensive, 1968**

Oil on canvas

Collection of Robert Bergman

Ed Paschke's *Tet Inoffensive* looks like a photo collage but was handpainted from multiple sources. It refers to the Tet Offensive, a devastating surprise attack on U.S. and South Vietnamese troops in early 1968 by the Vietcong and North Vietnamese forces. It was a turning point in the war that struck at U.S. public support for the war and led President Johnson not to seek re-election. Paschke's painting critiques American imperialism and the glorification of violence in the media that had become standard in the 1960s. In the upper corners of the painting, he reproduced a famously horrific image that earned its photographer, Eddie Adams, a Pulitzer Prize; in it, South Vietnamese General Nguyễn Ngọc Loan shoots a Vietcong guerilla point-blank on the streets of Saigon during the Tet Offensive. In the lower corners, also doubled, is an image of North Vietnamese leader Hồ Chí Minh, smoking with a smirk on his face. In the center, an image of outlaw Butch Cassidy used for target practice is flanked by a pair of heads belonging to Hollywood cowboy John Wayne. Accustomed to playing the American hero, Wayne is disembodied, his head superimposed on the body of a female acrobat.

# Kim Jones

Born San Bernardino, Calif., 1944

## **Wilshire Boulevard Walk, 1976,** printed 2016

Performance, six photographs by Jeff Gubbins

Courtesy of Zeno X Gallery, Antwerp

Kim Jones created his “Mudman” persona in the years following his service as a marine in Vietnam. Of his time there, he wrote, “sweat like pigs work like dogs live like rats red dust covered everything.” In his performance *Wilshire Boulevard Walk*, Jones marched 18 miles across Los Angeles, first from sunrise to sunset and, a week later, from sunset to sunrise. He traveled with a structure of bound sticks strapped to his back and his body slathered in mud, evoking the “red dust” of Vietnam. Both imposing and vulnerable, Mudman speaks to the challenge of reconciling wartime and peacetime lives. Jones performed this work nine months after the North Vietnamese victory and the end of the war. He confronted passersby as a phantom of a war just ended—but a war that, for many veterans, was still marching on.

“PERSONAL HYGIENE—particularly that of the Vietnamese—was always a matter of great concern to Americans. Every American seemed quite convinced the people were somehow ‘unhygienic.’ . . . The Marine was demonstrating to bored mothers how to bathe a child. One mother realized the Marine was using her vegetable dish to stand the boy in and, to the embarrassment of the other Marines, grabbed the dish and strode off, cursing such disregard for the basics of cleanliness.”

“LIMITS OF FRIENDSHIP. A Marine introduces a peasant girl to king-sized filter tips. Of all the U.S. forces in Vietnam, it was the Marines that approached ‘Civic Action’ with gusto. From their barrage of handouts, one discovers that, in the month of January 1967 alone, they gave away to the Vietnamese 101,535 pounds of food, 4,810 pounds of soap, 14,662 books and magazines, 106 pounds of candy, 1,215 toys, and 1 midwifery kit. In the same month they gave the Vietnamese 530 free haircuts.”

# Martha Rosler

Born New York City, 1943

**Vacation Getaway**, from the series  
*House Beautiful: Bringing the War Home,*  
*in Goodbye to All That, Issue 3,*

October 13, 1970

Newspaper

Courtesy of the artist

# Carol Summers

Born Kingston, N.Y., 1925–died Santa Cruz, Calif., 2016

**Kill for Peace**, from the portfolio

*Artists and Writers Protest against the War  
in Viet Nam, 1967*

Screenprint with punched holes

International Center of Photography, Gift of the Artists' Poster Committee with funds provided by the ICP Acquisitions Committee 2002

# **Guerrilla Art Action Group**

Active New York City, 1969–

## **A Call for the Immediate Resignation of All the Rockefellers from the Board of Trustees of the Museum of Modern Art (Blood Bath), 1969**

Performance, three photographs by Ka Kwong Hui,  
handbill, and communiqué describing the performance

Collection of Jon Hendricks



**Balloons**

# **First Lady (Pat Nixon)**

The Art Institute of Chicago, Claire and Gordon Prussion Fund for Contemporary Art

**Red Stripe Kitchen**

**Beauty Rest**

**Makeup/Hands Up**

# **Cleaning the Drapes**

# Booby Trap

**right, 1967**



**handle with care, 1967**

**stop the bombing, 1967**

**phil and dan, 1969**

**news of the week, 1969**

**yellow submarine, 1967**

Visitors may enter “War Room” by Wally Hedrick  
Somedays and Otherdays, 10am - 2pm.  
There is a limit of 3 visitors at any one time.

# **Dominick Di Meo**

Born Niagara Falls, N.Y., 1927

## **Landscape Beautification Johnson Style, c. 1967**

Photomechanical print on paper from an original  
photomontage

Courtesy of the Artist and Corbett vs. Dempsey, Chicago

# **Kim Jones**

Born San Bernardino, Calif., 1944

## **Mudman Structure (large), 1974**

Sticks, mud, rope, foam rubber, shellac, and acrylic;  
shown with chair, boots, and bucket of mud

Courtesy of Zeno X Gallery, Antwerp