
We the People: The Art of Robert Rauschenberg and the Construction of American National Identity

Author(s): Christin J. Mamiya

Source: *American Art*, Vol. 7, No. 3 (Summer, 1993), pp. 40-63

Published by: The University of Chicago Press on behalf of the Smithsonian American Art Museum

Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3109112>

Accessed: 09-10-2018 17:22 UTC

REFERENCES

Linked references are available on JSTOR for this article:

https://www.jstor.org/stable/3109112?seq=1&cid=pdf-reference#references_tab_contents

You may need to log in to JSTOR to access the linked references.

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at <https://about.jstor.org/terms>



JSTOR

Smithsonian American Art Museum, The University of Chicago Press are collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *American Art*

We the People

The Art of Robert Rauschenberg and the Construction of American National Identity

Christin J. Mamiya

"Each generation of Americans must define what it means to be an American."

— Bill Clinton, Inaugural Address, 20 January 1993

In the early 1970s, Walter Hopps, curator of twentieth-century painting and sculpture at the National Collection of Fine Arts in Washington, D.C., began planning that institution's 1976 Bicentennial activities. He convinced the National Collection's commissioners to allocate the museum's entire Bicentennial budget to a major retrospective of the art of the contemporary American artist Robert Rauschenberg (b. 1925). Hopps claimed, "[Rauschenberg] seemed to me the great example of the 'Citizen Artist,' in the eighteenth-century sense that our Founding Fathers so revered, someone who felt a great sense of responsibility to the life of his time, who was deeply involved in it in all sorts of different ways." Hopps concluded that Rauschenberg was "the most deeply and quintessentially American artist."¹

How can we account for this perception that Rauschenberg and his work are peculiarly American, that the artist and his art somehow capture a nationalistic sensibility? This question is intriguing because Rauschenberg's work met with great hostility and scorn from critics and

the public alike when it was first publicly exhibited in the late 1950s. In addition, his art is visually complex and ambiguous, combining areas of sweeping abstraction with sections of clearly figurative elements. As such, his work lacks the clarity and immediacy that nationalist rhetoric ostensibly demands. More generally and more importantly, the perception that Rauschenberg and his work are quintessentially American raises the question of how art participates in the construction of national identity.

Nationalism as "An Imagined Political Community"

In recent years, the issue of nationalism, or national identity, has become more prominent due to a wide range of international geopolitical convulsions, ranging from the changing status of Hong Kong to the struggle for independence by many Eastern European regions and Soviet republics. Clearly, national identity is not a fixed, monolithic entity but a shared sensibility that is constantly being

Tracer, 1963. Oil and silkscreen on canvas, 84 x 60 in. The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri



redefined, refined, and renegotiated in accordance with historical circumstances and demands. Although a sense of unity is perhaps more apparent during times of national crisis, an ongoing modification of the parameters of shared identity occurs even during periods of relative stability, when the assertion of a strong national identity and sense of purpose may seem less important. Given the diversity and heterogeneity of the American population, the question of what constitutes "Americanness" and how that sensibility is cultivated and reinforced in a mass audience is an intriguing one.

American nationalism . . . has been predicated . . . on the creation and acceptance of an "imagined community."

Over the years, scholars have put forth theories variously based on cultural, linguistic, political, geographical, or religious factors to explain the phenomenon of feeling that one belongs to a nationally defined entity. Historian Eric Hobsbawm correctly notes that these factors are themselves indefinite and constantly shifting, limiting their value in defining nationhood. Given these vagaries, perhaps the most useful approach is that put forth by historian Benedict Anderson. In his study *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Anderson defines a nation as "an imagined political community . . . *imagined* because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, . . . yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion. . . . It is imagined as a *community*, because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always

conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship." This definition is particularly useful in discussing the development of American nationalism, precisely because many of the previously cited factors, such as religion, language, ethnicity, or culture, cannot be said to play a major role in American national identity. American nationalism, therefore, has been predicated (more so than that of European nations) on the creation and acceptance of an "imagined community." Historian Ernest Gellner emphasizes this constructed nature of nationalism when he states: "Nationalism is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness: it *invents* nations where they do not exist" (emphasis added). Thus, in considering the question of American nationalism, it is important to consider nationalism not as a given, but as a nebulous ideology constantly subjected to revision.²

Those with an interest in cultivating a national spirit have often turned to the realm of culture to foster such a sensibility. In earlier periods, the visual arts, among other cultural forms, were particularly effective in fostering nationalism because of widespread illiteracy. The critical value that was placed upon heroic and monumental history painting during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries served to enhance this role of art as propaganda even further. More generally, however, the visual arts have proven to be useful vehicles for such an endeavor because they have the power to reinforce complex ideological claims and to perpetuate myths while ostensibly remaining outside the realm of heavy-handed political propaganda. Most often this has been accomplished in art by invoking references to a shared past in the form of symbols, rhetoric, or traditions. In the case of the United States, this strategy is difficult to establish, much less maintain, because of the instability of its relatively brief historical narrative; that is, the body of traditions and mythologies upon which

American artists can draw is, relatively speaking, limited.

Numerous art historical studies have demonstrated how art has been used by those with specific nationalistic political agendas to reinforce their claims.³ Such scholarly explorations have been predominantly synchronic in nature, focusing on a particular historical moment and its artistic representation. These studies are useful because they concretely illustrate the authority and power that visual images have in engendering nationalism. Yet most of these studies do not address the ongoing negotiation that is part of the process of defining and refining national identity. Rather, they present a well-formulated national image or agenda that was visually communicated at a particular point in time.

Instead of focusing solely on a specific concept of American nationalism that gets translated into or reflected in art, we can further our understanding of this process by revealing diachronically the instability of national identity and the role that art plays in that constant negotiation. While it is important to examine the content and form of the individual artworks, such a visual analysis is not in and of itself sufficient. One must also look at the arena in which these artworks circulate and the politics of art consumption to comprehend the broader function of art as a disseminator of nationalist rhetoric. Methodologically, focusing on the artworks alone would serve as an admission that there exists a coherent concept of nationalism that is being visualized and communicated. But, as Ernest Gellner points out,

that is altogether the wrong way to see it. The media do not transmit an idea which happens to have been fed into them. . . . It is the media themselves, . . . [that] automatically engenders the core idea of nationalism, quite irrespective of what in particular is being put into the specific messages transmitted.

*The most important and persistent message . . . is that the language and style of the transmissions is important, that only he who can understand them, or can acquire such comprehension, is included in a moral and economic community.*⁴

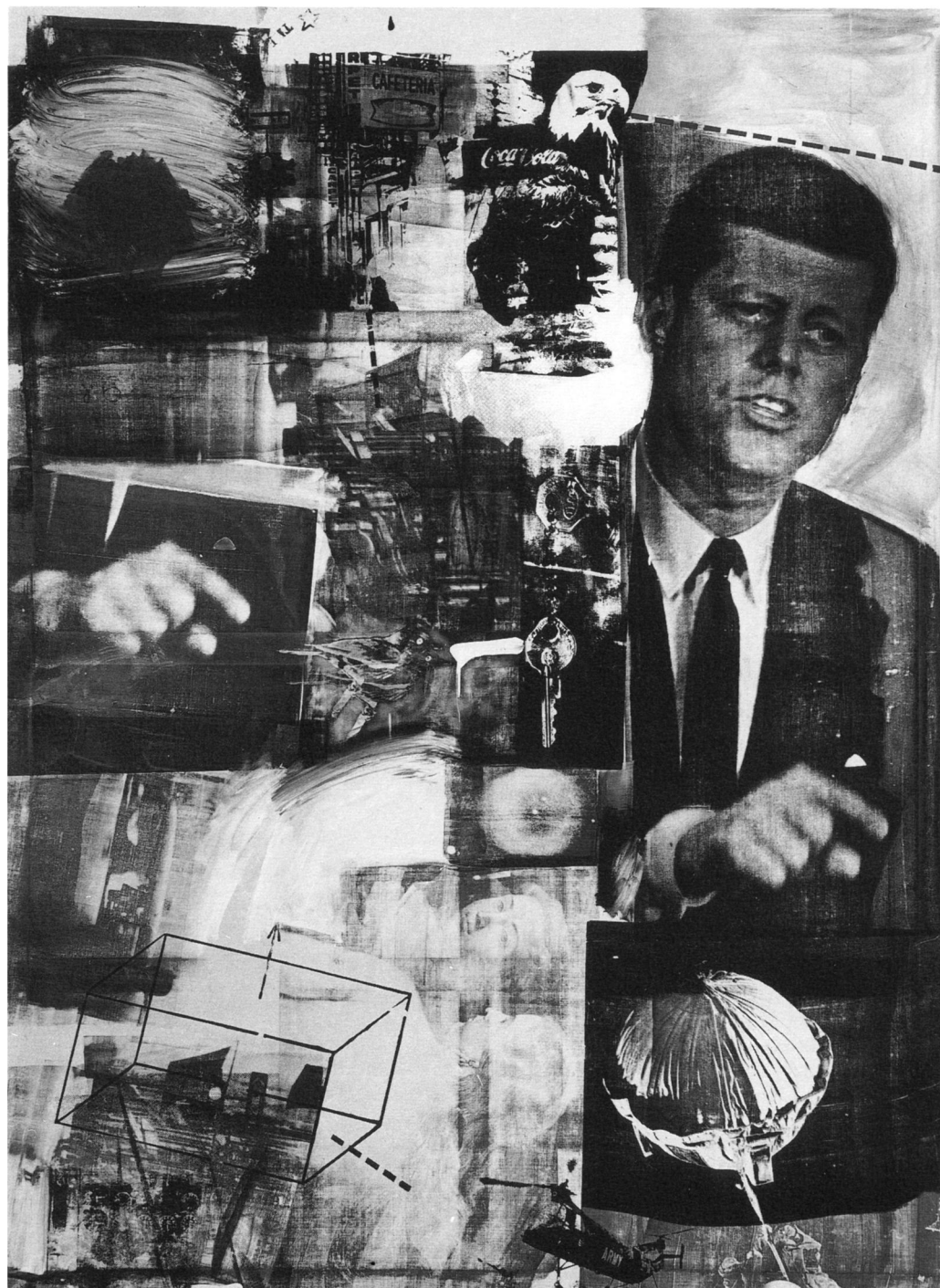
We must, therefore, consider how art, as a vehicle for the transmission of ideas, has increasingly been positioned in the United States, not as the refuge of the elite, but as a medium accessible to all Americans. This availability is part and parcel of the construction of national identity because it contributes to the perception of an “imagined community.”

Rauschenberg's Art: An Ideal Case Study

To this end, the work of the contemporary American artist Robert Rauschenberg serves as an ideal case study. Rauschenberg's career spans a period from the 1950s, when the Cold War mentality prompted a clear mandate for a well-defined American identity, to the present, when a global economy and growing emphasis on multiculturalism have made the notion of national identity more problematic. From the entrenched “us versus them” mentality that dominated the Cold War era, through the optimistic idealism of the New Frontier and Great Society years, to the retrenchment of a strong conservative agenda during the Reagan and Bush administrations, the historical record has been one of shifting ideological stances, changing economic policies, and revamped political rhetoric.

Further, Rauschenberg serves as a good case study because he has been involved over the past three decades with projects that, having been produced under governmental auspices or presented through large-scale public forums, can be seen as promoting “American” qualities. Examining four of these projects—the 1964 Venice Biennale, the NASA Art

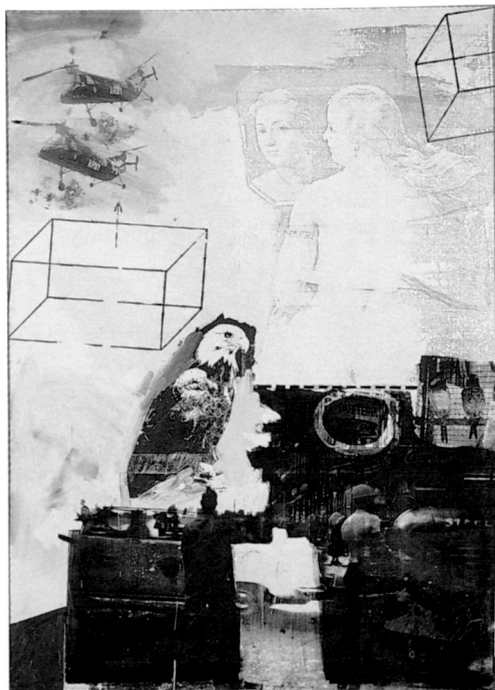
- 1 *Buffalo II*, 1964. Oil on canvas,
96 x 72 in. Collection of Mrs. Robert
Mayer, Winnetka, Illinois



Program, the commissioned covers for *Time* magazine, and the Rauschenberg Overseas Culture Interchange (ROCI)—persuasively illustrates the means by which art participates in the construction of national identity.

Over the past three decades, Rauschenberg's art has been perceived as embodying an American spirit. This perception is not due entirely to the artworks themselves; indeed, most of Rauschenberg's images are visually cryptic

- 2 *Tracer*, 1963. Oil and silkscreen on canvas, 84 x 60 in. The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri



and ambiguous. Meaning, however, does not reside solely in the artworks themselves. The ability of art to reinforce national identity is derived from the interaction of the images with specific historical circumstances that imbue them with ideological resonance.

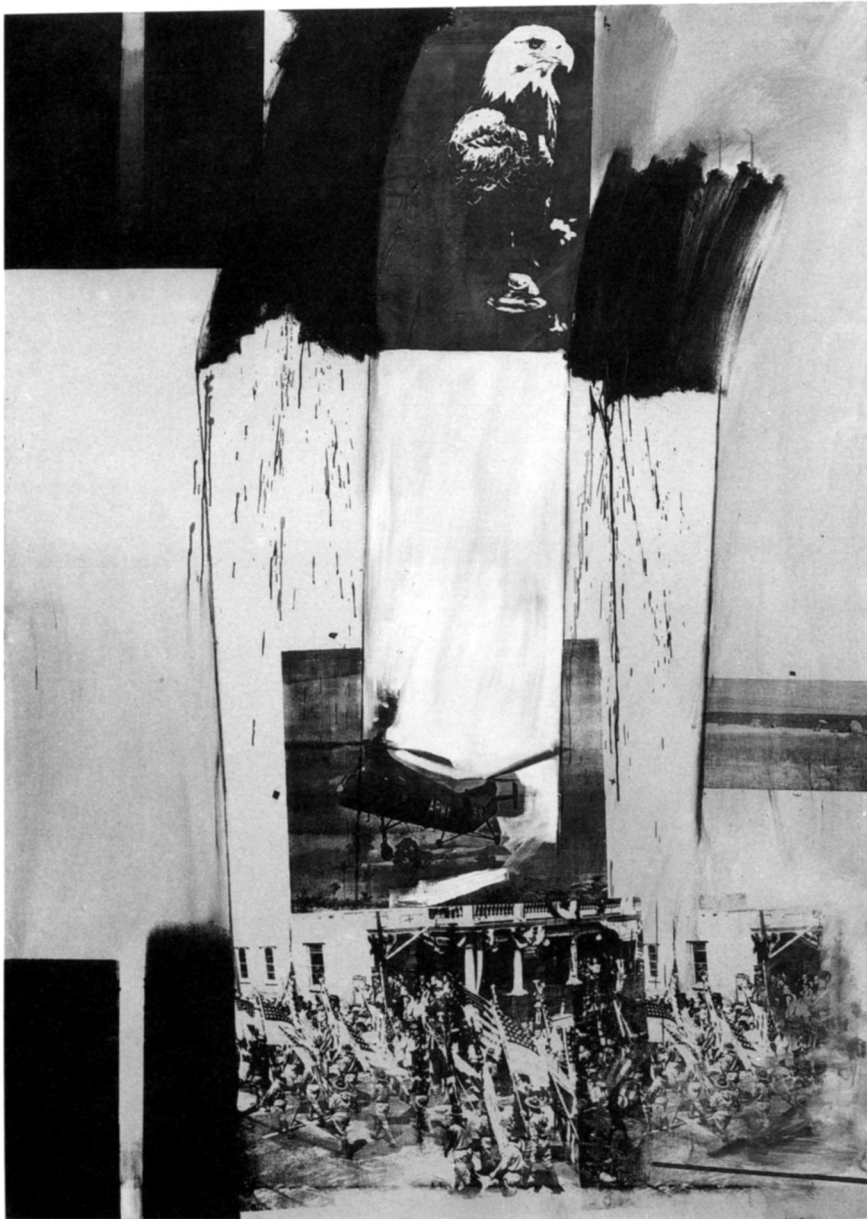
In this case, in the 1960s, the figurative elements in Rauschenberg's work referred to American economic and political hegemony. Concurrently, the abstract passages provided the visual metaphor, established during the 1940s and 1950s, that equated abstraction with the freedom that all Americans enjoyed. In addition, the presentation of his work in forums that involved governmental sponsorship, such as the 1964 Venice Biennale and the NASA Art Program, prompted nationalistic readings of the images—readings that supported the positive image of the United States the Kennedy and Johnson administrations were trying to cultivate.

By the 1980s, Rauschenberg's art had crystallized into a recognizable, predictable style, and he had acquired the status of an old master. This accrued reputation

added to the authority that Rauschenberg's work commanded, so that in the conservative climate of the 1980s, his work continued to play a role in the construction of national identity. The *Time* magazine covers and the ROCI project not only demonstrate this, but also illustrate the dramatic repositioning of art into ever more public arenas. Rauschenberg's style had not changed dramatically over the years, yet the nationalist readings of his work that had been established in the 1960s endured. Thus, despite the shift from the liberal agenda of the Kennedy administration to the staunchly conservative political climate of the Reagan and Bush administrations, his work was still useful in constructing American nationalism. Indeed, that Rauschenberg's work came to be viewed as more traditional than cutting edge perhaps made it more appropriate given the value and credibility with which nationalist rhetoric often endows tradition. In recent years, Rauschenberg's work has continued to help an American audience refine its sense of national consciousness—a particularly significant feat given the challenges to American international hegemony that have been presented by countries such as Japan.

The XXXII Venice Biennale (1964)

The XXXII Venice Biennale in 1964 provided a dramatic chapter in the ongoing negotiation of American national identity, and Rauschenberg's art figured prominently in this process. The Biennale, long considered one of the most significant regular exhibitions of contemporary art, consists of works from numerous countries, each with its own pavilion. The Biennale awards coveted prizes to artists selected by an international jury. The United States pavilion had traditionally been sponsored by a private institution, but at the 1964 Biennale, it was spon-



3 *Kite*, 1963. Oil and silkscreen ink on canvas, 84 x 60 in. Private collection, Paris

sored by the U.S. government under the auspices of the U.S. Information Agency (USIA). The USIA selected Alan Solomon, then a curator at the Jewish Museum in New York, to serve as commissioner of the United States pavilion. He understood the nationalistic overtones that governmental sponsorship entailed, particularly in an arena in which the competition seemed to be between countries rather than individual artists. Indeed, Lois Bingham, chief of the Fine Arts Section, USIA Exhibition Division,

claimed that she chose Solomon as commissioner because she wanted someone who could curate “a cohesive show which said something for America.”⁵

Solomon’s selection of Rauschenberg as one of the highlighted artists in the American pavilion was a logical choice.⁶ Visually, Rauschenberg’s work is replete with imagery that could be interpreted as celebrations of American economic and military hegemony. In Biennale works such as *Buffalo II* (fig. 1) and *Tracer* (fig. 2), Rauschenberg alludes to political, economic, military, and cultural dimensions of American life. He often excerpted his imagery from the contemporary mass media—either newspapers or magazines—and photomechanically reproduced it onto the canvases, thereby imbuing it with an immediacy. For example, by utilizing a familiar image of the recently assassinated President Kennedy gesturing forcefully in the midst of a speech, Rauschenberg reinforced Kennedy’s charismatic and authoritative aura, not merely reflecting the eulogizing that was taking place, but actively contributing to the mythologizing process.

Buffalo II and *Tracer* also include allusions to American economic dominance through Rauschenberg’s references to large multinational corporations. The late 1950s and 1960s represented the zenith of the maturation of America’s consumer culture, and companies such as Coca-Cola, through their extensive advertising campaigns and calculated marketing strategies, were among those most responsible for the prominence of American business abroad. In a number of his works, Rauschenberg included Coca-Cola signs, which were an integral part of the company’s marketing efforts. Rauschenberg also produced works that incorporated actual Coca-Cola bottles. In *Curfew* (1958, private collection), also exhibited at the Biennale, Rauschenberg cut a ledge into the canvas, on which he placed four of the uniquely shaped Coca-



4 *Canyon*, 1959. Combine painting (oil, pencil, paper, metal, photograph, fabric, wood on canvas, plus buttons, mirror, stuffed eagle, cardboard box, pillow, paint tube), 81 3/4 x 70 x 24 in. Private collection, Paris

Cola bottles. Because most of the painting consists of sweeping, abstract brushstrokes, attention necessarily gravitates to the bottles.

Rauschenberg's reference to the growth of multinational corporations had nationalist overtones because this economic expansion and emphasis on a consumer society was the foundation of Kennedy's New Frontier program. The acceptance and promotion of Keynesian economic principles by the Kennedy (and later, Johnson) administration had resulted in the maturation of a culture heavily oriented toward consumption and spending. Even during the Eisenhower presidency, Americans were encouraged to

be good consumers to strengthen not only the economy, but the country's image as well. During his visit to the USSR in 1959, Vice President Nixon reinforced this connection by announcing to the Soviet public (in a speech widely reported to the American public) that

*the average weekly wage of a factory worker in America is \$90.54. With this income he can buy and afford to own a house, a television set and a car. . . . What is more, the great majority of American wage earners have done exactly that. . . . The United States—the world's largest capitalist country—has . . . come closest to the ideal of prosperity for all in a classless society.*⁷

Through statements like this, government officials succeeded in convincing the American public that consumption was a national imperative. By the 1960s, this imperative to consume reached its high point. Therefore, Americans in the 1960s would not only have felt comfortable, but, more likely, reassured by the presence of such recognizable consumer icons as Coca-Cola signs and bottles in Rauschenberg's artworks.

Other elements surface in Rauschenberg's art that could be interpreted as promoting the American national interest. The repeated appearance of military helicopters in such works as *Kite* (fig. 3) called to mind the United States' insistent military presence around the world. On a more symbolic level, visitors to the American exhibition at the Biennale would have also seen bald eagles in *Tracer*, *Buffalo II*, *Kite*, and *Canyon* (fig. 4).

Thus, the visual elements in Rauschenberg's work suggest a reading focused on American dominance and way of life. Yet one might easily argue that in terms of how these images are presented—in a fragmentary and collaged manner—these works lack a cohesiveness and that the dominant "message" is one of ambiguity and ambivalence. Moreover,

the intended meaning of many of the individual references in the paintings is unclear. While Rauschenberg's inclusion of military helicopters in his paintings could be interpreted as a reference to American military strength, it could, for example, also be read as a condemnation of the American presence in Southeast Asia. Certainly the rising tide of antiwar activism in the United States in the 1960s would support such a reading. Yet this potentially negative reading did not come to the fore. The critical response to Rauschenberg's work at the Biennale suggests that his works were perceived as positive statements about the United States and its policies—a response shaped by his works being read in the context of the Biennale and the international political arena of the 1960s. Thus, the interaction between the historical circumstances and the images imbued Rauschenberg's works with ideological resonance.

The historical context of the 1960s reveals why it was important to have a show that “said something for America” and why Rauschenberg's work was particularly appropriate for this task. During the 1960s, the nations of the Western world were jockeying for political and economic control in the postwar geopolitical landscape. The formation of the European Economic Community in 1957 was a significant turning point in the expanding struggle because it signaled a more contentious relationship between the United States and the European countries that had depended upon the United States for support in the immediate postwar years. As a result, U.S. government officials sought ways to counteract the potential strength and exclusionary practices of an economically unified Europe and to reestablish the United States to its former position of economic and political preeminence.

Art, although ostensibly a separate sphere of activity, had proven to be a

useful weapon in the Cold War struggle of the 1950s, and the effectiveness of art as propaganda could not have been lost on Kennedy. Throughout his presidency, he strongly promoted the arts and advocated an active role for them in the public arena. He understood the benefits that could be derived from refuting the image of America as a cultural wasteland—benefits that went beyond the realm of culture. Declared Kennedy, “Above all, we are coming to understand that the arts incarnate the creativity of a free society.” Other government officials concurred, including Senator Jacob Javits, who stated in 1962, “It is high time that we, as a people, realize that the visual and performing arts are not a luxury but a necessity in the defense of our free society against a backdrop of the cold war.” Max Isenbergh, a member of the State Department during the Kennedy administration, was equally direct about the benefits that could be accrued from the arts:

At the least, therefore, a serious effort to improve the quality of American cultural life would be a boost to national morale. It would inevitably be more. . . . It would do no less than transform the national character and open, for the whole world to see, an exhilarating new chapter in the American Revolution for the nineteen sixties.

Such statements clarified the role that art could play in promoting national cohesion.⁸ Such statements were also part of the repositioning of art that was taking place. Increasingly, art was being presented to the public by museum administrators and government officials as democratically available to all. This strategy was a logical one, given the role they hoped the arts would play in encouraging national unity. To be effective as a unifying mechanism, art had to be perceived not as the purview of a cultural elite, but part of the public domain.

This association of art with freedom not only addressed the issue of accessibility, but

also involved the type of art that was being produced. During the 1950s, government officials promoted art that reinforced the perception of the United States as the land of the free, and to most people, that translated into avant-garde art. After all, avant-gardism had been established as a challenge to the reigning canons in art and had come to be associated with subversion. What better way to demonstrate the freedom that artists—and, by extension, all citizens—enjoyed in America than to promote seemingly incomprehensible avant-garde art? A reviewer for the Catholic weekly *America* noted in 1963: “It would seem to be the undeviating policy of totalitarian governments to quell artistic movements that do not serve the regime. Thus, it is no surprise that the Soviet policy has shown little tolerance of artistic freedom.” The democracy and freedom accorded American artists was illustrated by the response of the Soviets. This same reviewer commented that “the Oct. 19 issue of *Izvestia*, the Moscow daily, charged that our American modern artists are undermining Communist principles. The United States, it was alleged, was using a current exchange show for ‘ideological subversion.’ All those abstract prints are . . . political dynamite.”⁹

In the context of the Biennale, this same contrast was reiterated for the mass American audience in strikingly clear terms in *Newsweek*. In a review of the Biennale, *Newsweek*’s art critic noted, “The only real note of academicism and retrogression was sounded by the Russian social realists, the real yawn of the Biennale.” This critic then provided the telling contrast: “Alan Solomon . . . spoke for his generation when he said, ‘American artists are open to all new experiences. Their force has been the absence of tradition.’”¹⁰

Yet the avant-garde was itself French in origin and as such was associated with European culture. What was needed in

this forum was an art form that was avant-garde but also unmistakably American. Rauschenberg’s art admirably fit the bill. His abstract passages were reminiscent of the paintings of the Abstract Expressionists, which had been hailed as prime demonstrations of the liberated and accepting atmosphere that existed in America. At the same time, Rauschenberg’s art was replete with recognizable images that served as references to American military and economic hegemony.

When Rauschenberg was awarded the international grand prize for painting, it seemed to signal not just the supremacy of American art, but of American political and economic policies as well.

It was not, however, simply the inclusion of such images or the way they were depicted that lent these artworks a symbolic force that served to legitimize the image of the United States as a dominant economic and political force. The ability of these images to construct or reaffirm American national identity was strengthened by the fact that they were presented under governmental sponsorship. This almost ensured that they would be read as celebrations of the American way of life. From the response that the Biennale received, this most certainly was the case. When Rauschenberg was awarded the international grand prize for painting, it seemed to signal not just the supremacy of American art, but of American political and economic policies as well. Complained one French critic: “We [Europeans] are now [in the eyes of the Americans] nothing but poor backward Negroes, good only for being

colonized.”¹¹ Comments such as this served as acknowledgment of the United States’ dominant position, not so much culturally, but economically.

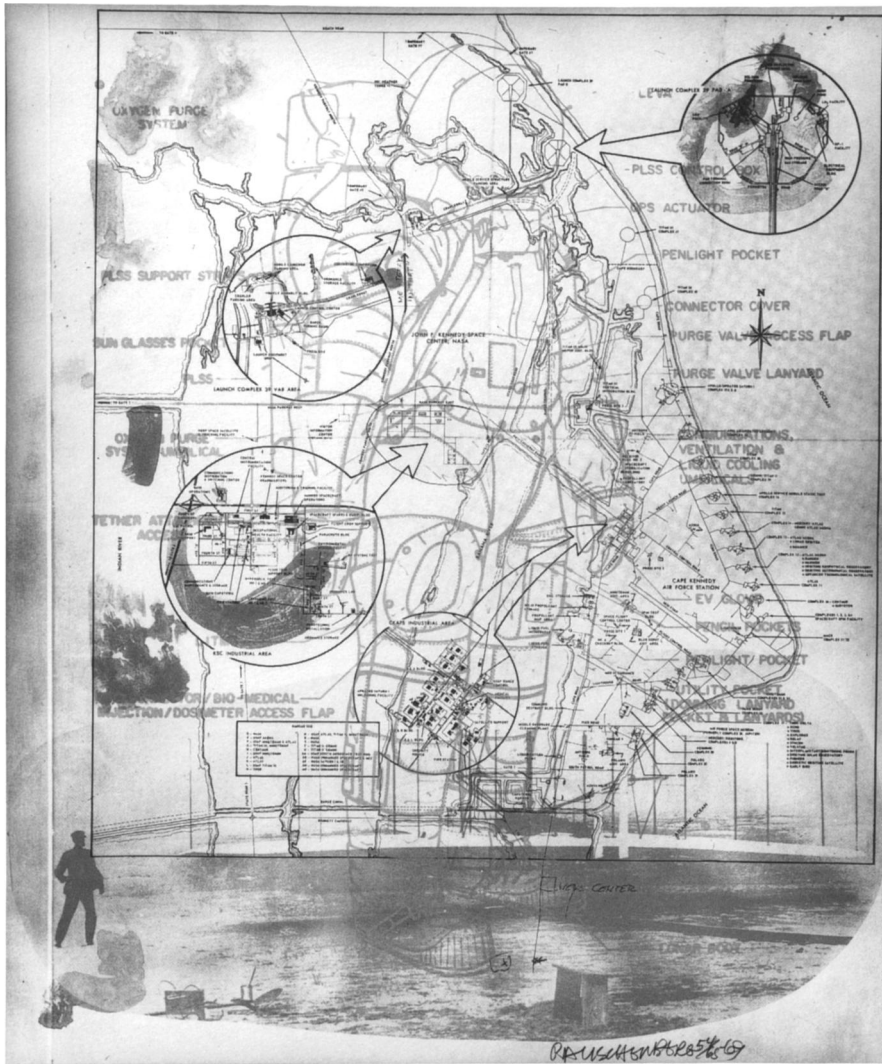
The hostile, anti-American feelings that were generated abroad by Rauschenberg’s work and victory contributed, in turn, to the clarification of American nationalism at home. Because the reception of these works was largely predicated on what was perceived as their “American” quality, they acquired the power to define what was American and were endowed with an ideological resonance. The lingering Cold War necessitated an image of a unified, economically and militarily dominant country, and Rauschenberg’s work ultimately promoted this image of “Americanness.” A wide range of press reports disseminated this message to an American public. Accounts of the Venice exhibition and Rauschenberg’s victory appeared in, among other sources, *Time*, *Newsweek*, *The New Republic*, *Harper’s Magazine*, and *Life*. That *Life* magazine carried the story is particularly revealing, since *Life*’s editors had positioned that publication over the years as a truly mass circulation magazine that spoke to and about the average American citizen. The title of the article that appeared in the 10 July 1964 issue tells the crux of the story: “Europe Explodes as American Takes Prize.” Here the victor is identified not as Rauschenberg, but as an American, and the Biennale is reduced to a competition between countries. The story, accompanied by photographs of Rauschenberg and his work, explains the value of his work to an uninformed audience: “His recent works . . . read like newsreels of our immediate past, interspersed with areas of slapdash abstract expressionist painting which, Rauschenberg is telling us, is as much a part of our history as an astronaut landing.” The reviewer concludes, “Take another look at . . . America, he seems to be saying, there is more beauty in it than meets your eye.”¹² Clearly, this review

encouraged a chauvinist pride in America, supporting the nationalist claims of government officials and the USIA. As a result of the images themselves and historical demands, Rauschenberg’s art thus participated in the cultivation of American national identity.

The NASA Art Program

That Rauschenberg’s works were viewed as good visual material to reinforce a sense of national consciousness or identity was further demonstrated by his participation in the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) Art Program in 1969. In the early 1960s, the nascent Apollo space program was an important component in Kennedy’s New Frontier agenda. During the previous Eisenhower administration, the space program had not commanded such attention. Not only did President Eisenhower refuse to approve any manned program beyond the Mercury program, but the Space Council (NASA was officially formed in 1958) accomplished so little that Eisenhower proposed abolishing it. In the wake of the *Sputnik* launchings, however, Kennedy became convinced that a manned lunar landing was the most effective way for the United States to demonstrate its superiority in space.¹³ Unfortunately, the American public was initially skeptical about the need for or potential of this program, and the Kennedy administration had to work hard to gain widespread public support. The government had to find a way to translate complex technological and ideological concepts into language that the general lay public could understand.

Instituted in 1963 to accomplish this, the NASA Art Program was an overt acknowledgment of art’s persuasive power. In this program, artists were invited to Cape Kennedy (now Cape Canaveral) to depict space launches. The artworks that were produced were then



5 *Trust Zone*, 1969. Lithograph, 40 x 33 in.

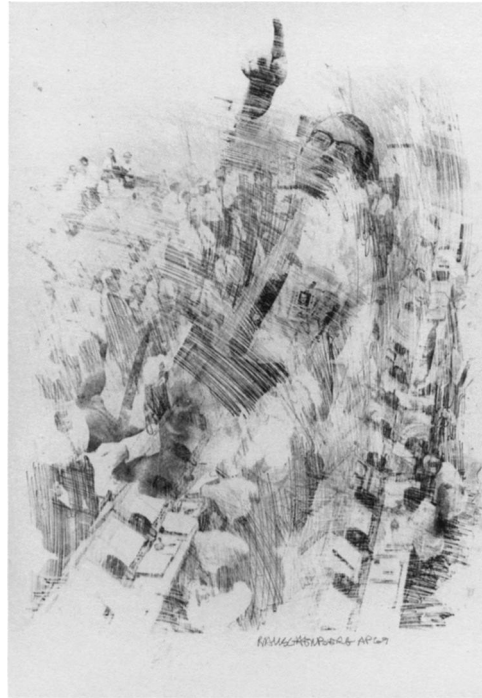
organized into exhibitions that traveled around the country.

Art provided an ideal vehicle because it could be presented as divorced from the controversies that swirled around the approval and inception of the Apollo program. Art was ostensibly more transparent (and therefore truthful). Claimed the first director of the NASA Art Program, "I am convinced that . . . in the long run the truth seen by an artist is more meaningful than any other type of record." The NASA Art Program was perceived as an effective means of public education. One of the founders of the program explained, "Since NASA has a mandate to keep the public informed

about its progress in space exploration, it was realized that the artists, through their work, could provide new insights into various space-program activities."¹⁴ That this program was designed specifically to intercede between governmental agencies and the public and to translate NASA's scientific endeavor into human terms is evidenced by its relative neglect after the success of the Apollo moon landing in 1969 and its resurrection for the Space Shuttle program, another program requiring extensive translation for a lay public, in 1976.

This use of art is also significant because it represented part of a concerted effort to "democratize" art. While art has always had a public, the increasing predominance of avant-gardism in the twentieth century resulted in a dramatic dwindling of an audience for art. With its insistence on promoting art as a self-justifying, self-enclosed activity, cut off from society at large, avant-gardism succeeded in alienating much of the public for art. Thus, undertakings like the NASA Art Program stand as resolute attempts to enlarge art's audience. While the Venice Biennale was an established part of the art world, the NASA Art Program expanded the audience beyond those limits.

In 1969, Rauschenberg was invited to participate in this art program. Given the extensive press that his victory at Venice had received and the growing perception that his works embodied an American spirit, his selection was not surprising. He produced a number of works for NASA, including *Trust Zone* (fig. 5). In this work, the viewer is confronted with a jumbled array of technical-looking diagrams. These linear drawings, seemingly incomprehensible to the layperson, are layered over a rudimentary map of Florida's Cape Canaveral area. Upon further inspection, the linear diagrams reveal a drawing of an astronaut, and the labels around the edge of the print serve



to identify various features of the astronaut's space suit, such as "purge valve access flap" and "communications, ventilation & liquid cooling umbilicals." The human aspect of the astronaut is diminished, as this individual becomes conceptually and visually lost within the intricate spiderweb of technical and scientific devices. As if to emphasize the overwhelming sense of ignorance or confusion that a layperson might feel in the awesome presence of space technology, Rauschenberg included a tiny silhouetted figure in the lower left-hand corner. This figure appears dwarfed by the extensive maze of scientific progress. In this manner, Rauschenberg presented an empathetic image that reassured individual citizens that their views were shared. Further, by titling the work *Trust Zone*, Rauschenberg suggested that the field of space exploration is so complex that the average American citizen cannot possibly expect to understand it but should trust those in a position of authority—scientists, engineers, and government officials. Such a message would have

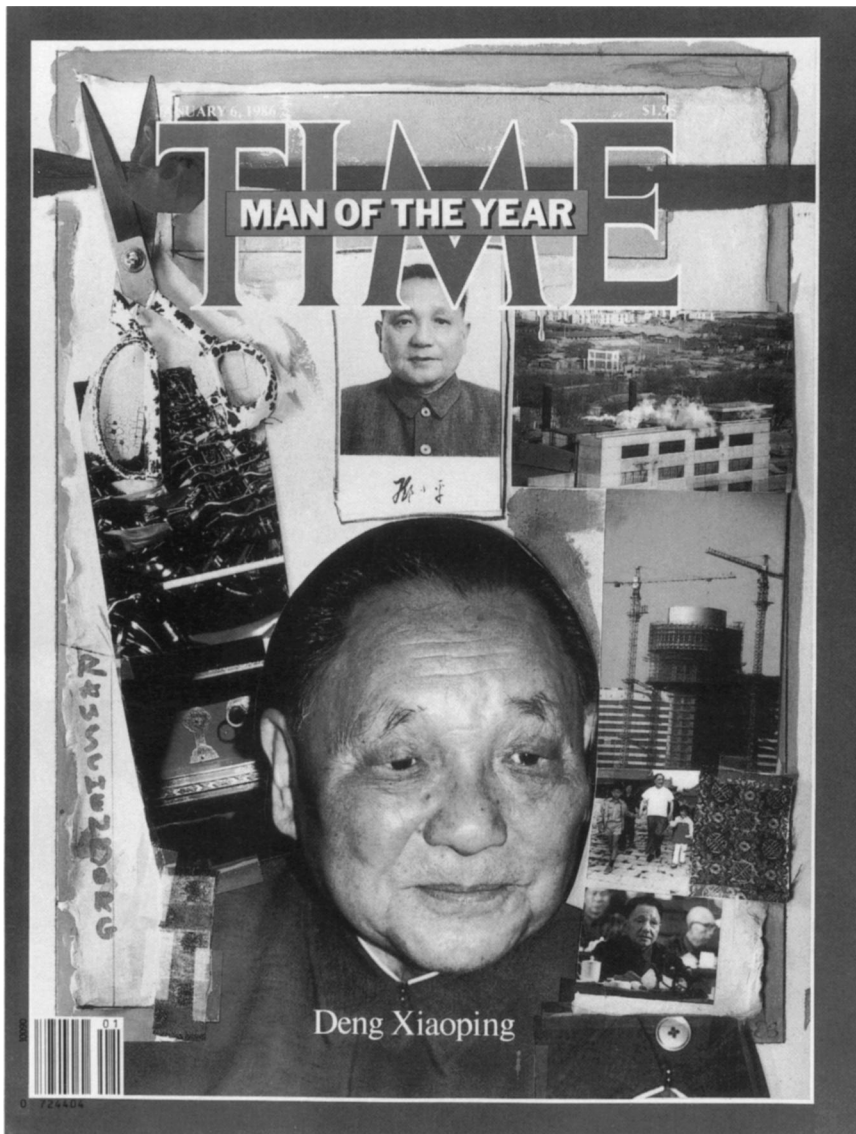
admirably suited the needs of NASA and the government because it encouraged support for the ongoing space exploration and allayed the public's fears and anxieties about the dangers of this endeavor. In another image, *Sky-Rite* (fig. 6), Rauschenberg communicates the awe and excitement generated by lift-off, as a person points skyward. The lithograph's scratchy, frenetic lines augment the sense of energy.

Although there is no definitive documentation as to the public response to these artworks, the fact that Rauschenberg has a standing invitation to participate in the NASA Art Program at any time in the future suggests that NASA officials were more than pleased with the works he produced for this program. From their perspective, then, Rauschenberg's art succeeded in conveying an appropriate message about the U.S. space program and American national strength.

The *Time* Magazine Covers

Despite the national scope of the NASA Art Program, its limited exhibition schedule meant that the works produced for the program received only moderate exposure. It can, therefore, be argued that the ability of Rauschenberg's NASA prints to construct or reinforce a strong sense of national identity was limited. Such was not the case, however, with the cover designs for *Time* magazine commissioned from Rauschenberg in 1986 and 1987. These projects decisively shifted Rauschenberg's influence from the world of art exhibitions to a wide-ranging public forum, where art was no longer perceived as the rarefied domain of a cultural elite.

Particularly in the postwar period, *Time* experienced continuous and sustained growth until it eventually acquired a position of preeminence in the burgeoning information industry. In 1960, President Kennedy claimed that *Time* had



7 Rauschenberg's cover of *Time*, 6 January 1986

by far the greatest influence on the “swing opinion” that decided elections and influenced public attitudes on important issues. By 1977, Time Incorporated made the claim, based on circulation figures, that “more people in more countries get their news from *Time* than from any other single source.”¹⁵ Such statements reveal the power that *Time*, as an information-disseminating entity, had in building consensus.

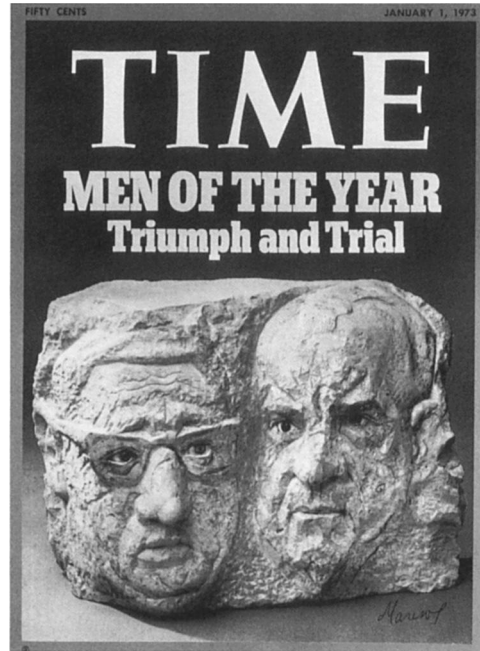
Few publishers would dispute the importance of cover design. Particularly for a mass circulation periodical like *Time*, the cover design is crucial in

enticing potential readers to pick up and buy the magazine. Not only does the cover image serve as a sales magnet, but it also can suggest the approach that the magazine is taking in its main cover story. In other words, it is not merely illustrative, but interpretive as well.

In 1986, *Time*'s editors commissioned Rauschenberg to produce a cover (fig. 7) for their annual man of the year issue. The subject of the cover was Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping. The changing of the guard in China presented immense possibilities for radical change in that country, and *Time*'s editors had selected Deng precisely because of this potential. The cover article lauds Deng's “bold experiments” and the “fresh evidence of his determination to push his reforms through to their conclusions.” *Time*'s selection of Deng suggested that it was optimistic about what it described as “Deng's dream of hauling China out of its still desperate backwardness into the 20th century.”¹⁶

Rauschenberg produced a composite cover image in a style that was, by then, recognizable (at least in art circles) as “a Rauschenberg.” The image consists of a large photograph of Deng Xiaoping in the lower center of the cover. The rest of the cover consists of collaged photographs of the Chinese leader, scenes of his country, and pasted-on fragments of fabric. Across the top of the cover appears a red ribbon stretched horizontally, with a pair of scissors in the upper left-hand corner poised to cut the ribbon. Rauschenberg included the ribbon and scissors to indicate that something new was happening in China.¹⁷ Through his choice of imagery, Rauschenberg attempted to capture the revolutionary spirit that *Time*'s editors wanted to convey in the issue.

Time's art director Rudy Hoaglund wanted the cover of this issue to help Americans refine their sense of the situation in China and, in turn, refine a sense of their own national identity.



His statements regarding his choice of Rauschenberg reveal that he hoped this cover image would convey more than a descriptive likeness of the leader's face. Because the story about Deng Xiaoping dealt with the anticipated "revolution" in China, Hoaglund sought an image that was radical.¹⁸ He perceived Rauschenberg's art as progressive and thus appropriate for this cover.

By this time, however, more than twenty years after Rauschenberg's landmark victory at Venice, Rauschenberg's signature style—the combination of figuration and sweeping abstract passages—seemed more conventional than radical. Yet Hoaglund invoked the equation of abstraction with radicalism because it evoked the passion of earlier messages that associated abstraction with freedom available to artists and, by extension, all Americans. In addition, with its dependence on established tradition and myth, nationalist rhetoric was well-served by Rauschenberg's style, which had already been established as American, making it an appropriate traditional reference.

The balance between figuration and abstraction was also very appropriate for this forum and this assignment. Previous man of the year covers, particularly those depicting American leaders such as Ronald Reagan, Richard Nixon, Henry Kissinger, and Jimmy Carter, demanded a more straightforward image to convey a direct message about American strength and stability. Accordingly, the artists chosen were those best known for their resolutely figurative style, whose work was not necessarily extolled for its radical quality, such as James Wyeth, Marisol, Alfred Leslie, George Segal, Audrey Flack, and Jim Dine. For example, for the 1972 man of the year cover depicting Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger, *Time* commissioned Marisol to create the cover image. She produced a marble relief sculpture of the two men (fig. 8) reminiscent of Gutzon Borglum's presidential renderings for Mount Rushmore. By designing a visual analogy that likened Nixon and Kissinger to Washington, Lincoln, Jefferson, and Roosevelt, Marisol constructed an appropriately celebratory nationalist reading of these images for an American mass audience.

The situation in China was, however, not so clear-cut, and its effect on the United States was complex. What was required was an image that conveyed the upheaval and clarified the issues. By incorporating both figurative and abstract images, Rauschenberg's image of Deng Xiaoping could be read simultaneously as ill-defined (due to the abstract areas), reassuringly familiar (due to the inclusion of photographs), and ultimately somewhat confusing, thereby paralleling the American perception of the situation in China.

This perception was articulated in the cover story itself, which enumerated the reforms that had thus far produced great upheaval and change. While breathlessly anticipating the potential for positive change in China, *Time* was cautious in rendering an early verdict on the eventual

success of Deng's programs. It admitted that Deng's "revolution" was "a high-risk gamble" and that "the potential consequences" (such as democratization) "may be too much to hope for."¹⁹ Although focused on the changes in China, the *Time* article ultimately served to reinforce the value of the American way of life and thus strengthened the public's sense of national identity. It accomplished this by praising the changes that Deng was instituting that seemed to shift China's "desperate backwardness" toward capitalism. Indeed, the policies that *Time* singled out for praise seemed to be those that dramatically paralleled Reagan's policies in the United States. For example, the article addressed the potential that decentralization of government control offered—a concept vigorously promoted by the Reagan administration.

Rauschenberg's cover design translated these complex ideas and ideological parallels into visual form. Many of the photographs placed around the central image of Deng call to mind scenes from thriving American cities—images of high-rise buildings and construction cranes. By this time, Rauschenberg's reputation, solidified over the decades as a result of his participation in projects like the Venice Biennale and the NASA Art Program, supported this nationalist reading of the image. Despite his relative youth, Rauschenberg had become "an American master," and as such, his art was invested with a staunch authority. This accrued reputation gave added meaning to the *Time* cover, since Rauschenberg's association with this cover was hard to miss: his name appears in large pink letters on the left side of the cover, leaving no doubt as to the artist. By selecting a high-profile American artist rather than a staff graphic designer to design these covers, *Time's* editors were also sending a message to the general American public about the democratic availability of art. This subtly reinforced a nationalist



perspective by engendering a perception of an "imagined community."

In 1987, *Time* commissioned Rauschenberg to do another cover (fig. 9). He was asked to illustrate the cover story for that week, "Change in the Weather: America's Agenda After Reagan"—another story that involved the clarification of American national identity and purpose. He produced an image that consists of hazy, brushy areas overlapping fragments of fabric. In the lower center of the image appears a golden weathervane topped with an eagle. As with the previous cover, the magazine's editors perceived Rauschenberg's signature style as effective in conveying the sense of the article. The story dealt with the changes that were taking place in America in the wake of the Reagan administration. Because the story dealt with complex, abstract ideas, Hoaglund felt that abstract art was a good way of communicating the article's message. He also wanted to illustrate change without being too specific.²⁰ Rauschenberg's art, as cryptic and ambiguous as it was, served the purposes of the magazine.



10 *Samarkand Stitches #1* from *ROCI U.S.S.R.*, 1988. Unique screen/fabric collage, approx. 76 x 66 in.

Rauschenberg himself was eager to do this assignment, in part because of his political stance. “Reagan preaches a glowing land of honey and roses and cuts out funding for education and welfare,” he criticized.²¹ While this criticism may seem to contradict the notion of a staunch American nationalism, it does highlight three major aspects of the concept of national identity. First, it is always being negotiated and is not static; therefore, what may be strongly defended as “American” during one period may be renounced during another. Second, it reflects a limited acceptance of critical discourse and disagreement that has been hailed as a demonstration of American

freedom and democracy. Third, it reveals the fragile and often contradictory nature of visual communication. There is often a disjuncture between the message intended by an artist and the meaning the work acquires in a larger arena. In this case, Rauschenberg apparently agreed to accept this commission because he felt that the country needed dramatic change in the wake of Reagan’s presidency. Yet, despite that implicit criticism, the work still fits into a larger, ongoing historical development of nationalism.

Formal documentation as to the public response to these covers is scant. Subsequent issues carried no letters to the editors commenting on Rauschenberg’s art, and the *Time* archivist stated that the images “did not stir readers to write in about the cover art.”²² Certainly, documentation of this nature would provide additional support for the contention that Rauschenberg’s art had a demonstrable effect on the construction of American national identity. The absence of such documentation does not, however, negate this contention. Indeed, one could argue that the lack of vitriolic letters or complaints implies tacit acceptance by the American public and suggests that Rauschenberg’s covers were, in fact, effective in communicating a sense of America’s position in the 1980s.

Rauschenberg Overseas Culture Interchange (1984–90)

Rauschenberg’s most recent project, the Rauschenberg Overseas Culture Interchange, which he began in 1984 and concluded in 1990, reveals the degree to which Rauschenberg had become identified with an American vision. Accordingly, it shows how his works participated in the perpetuation of ideals and myths that have come to be perceived as peculiarly American.



11 *Guarded Mirror Rivers* from *ROCI Venezuela*, 1985. Acrylic and collage on plywood panel, 49 ½ x 98 ¾ in. Collection of the artist

Rauschenberg conceived the Rauschenberg Overseas Culture Interchange, or ROCI for short, in the late 1970s as a way to promote peace and understanding among people of the world through art. The project consisted of visits by Rauschenberg to various countries during which he would produce artworks that would then be exhibited both internationally and in the United States. Rauschenberg accepted no federal funding for this extensive project and thus overtly distanced himself from any perception of governmental sponsorship. Given his history, however, it is not surprising that he was perceived as a representative of America and everything it embodied, including foreign policy. The countries he visited were, significantly, those with whom the United States maintained important but tenuous relationships. Among the countries that

were part of ROCI were China, Japan, the USSR, Venezuela, Chile, Cuba, and Mexico.

In various press statements about this project, Rauschenberg claimed that he hoped to explore the cultural values and imagery that gave each country its unique cultural identity. Accordingly, he incorporated both imagery and materials from each country into the artworks he produced for ROCI. In *Samarkand Stitches #1* and *Guarded Mirror Rivers*, for example, Rauschenberg utilized images of traditional textiles from the USSR and Venezuela (figs. 10, 11).

Press releases announced that Rauschenberg would be “working with local painters, writers, and artisans in order to convey the regional and cultural characteristics of each of the . . . countries where he will be creating objects.” Despite

this overt acknowledgment of the artistic heritage of each country, many critics denounced what they perceived as a paternalistic overtone. Rauschenberg's insistence on working with local artists to convey the cultural characteristics of their own cultures seemed, at best, well-intentioned but naive and, at worst, imperialistic in imposing American art on a local public at the expense of indigenous art. To many, this project embodied a paternalistic arrogance. Upon Rauschenberg's visit to Mexico, Mexican journalist and book artist Felipe Ehrenberg recalled, "There was some understandable resentment that a . . . museum . . . would show and surround with such drums and trumpets a series of propositions already handled by artists in Mexico years back that hadn't been able to reach public forums."²³

Despite Rauschenberg's avowal that this project was apolitical, it was difficult to avoid the perception that it was very political. The interventionist foreign policies of the Reagan and Bush administrations, combined with the view of Rauschenberg as "uniquely American" (and therefore representative of the United States), endowed this project with political overtones. To many observers, Rauschenberg's presence in these countries, though restricted to the cultural realm, paralleled and indirectly reinforced the larger American political and military presence. This perception was enhanced even in indirect and mundane ways. For example, Rauschenberg utilized the Venezuelan Air Force to fly ROCI artworks from Santiago to Caracas. He enthused, "Since this is an odyssey to encourage peace, the most direct way is to engage all the armies to haul art around. . . . They'll have to stop some of the wars if all of the planes are hauling art around."²⁴ This transparently naive suggestion, perhaps delivered tongue in cheek, articulated the connection between politics (in the form of military action) and art.

The presentation of ROCI to an American audience reinforced a sense of national identity by demonstrating American superiority in art. Like the Venice Biennale, this was an opportunity to compare the cultures of entire countries rather than the talents of individual artists. Over the course of the ROCI project—from 1984 to 1990—the works were included in various exhibitions of Rauschenberg's art. These shows were often accompanied by reviews in the press that clarified the issues for the viewing public. The press coverage of Rauschenberg's visit to China, for example, emphasized the freedom that American artists enjoyed. The *L.A. Weekly* described the proceedings in China:

As interesting as the artwork itself were the viewers' reactions. Some stared in amazement, others laughed uncomfortably. They had clearly never experienced anything like this and seemed to be struggling with the notion that Rauschenberg's work was "art" at all. . . . Rauschenberg began the question-and-answer period by referring to the exhibition of Tibetan art he had seen the previous evening. Noting a lack of experimentation with new materials and forms, he asked if such experimentation was prohibited by authorities. A full three minutes of uncomfortable silence elapsed before a student was courageous enough to respond. "The content of the works is chosen by the artist himself," he said. "The form has been determined by the selection committee." He went on . . . "We are making progress."²⁵

This account is significant for a number of reasons. First, it reinforced for readers in the United States the importance of form. This perpetuated the belief, much as it was expressed in the discourse about the 1964 Venice Biennale, that the formal choices made by an artist could be linked to certain political stances. Though Rauschenberg's habit of combining both

- 12 (Overleaf) *Shuttle Buttle (Wax Fire Works)* from *ROCI U.S.A.*, 1990. Acrylic, fire wax, enamel, and object on mirrored aluminum, 72 ¾ x 144 ¾ x 17 ½ in. Saff Tech Arts, Oxford, Maryland

abstract and figurative areas could no longer be described as truly radical by the 1980s, the rhetorical association that equated abstract art and avant-gardism with radicalism and political freedom continued to be invoked. Thus, in the *L.A. Weekly* account, the statement that in China “experimentation was prohibited by the authorities” could easily be interpreted as a reference to the totalitarian nature of the political system there. This indirectly reassured the American public about the righteousness of their political system.

Second, this exchange cast the whole artistic discourse in terms of Western values and served to reinforce for an American public the superiority of those values. The Chinese artists and public appeared retrograde and even ignorant in their approach to art. The conclusion of this newspaper review emphasized this further:

*Rauschenberg began to praise the Dada movement, but had to stop to explain who the Dadaists were. Later, when he noted how Leonardo da Vinci and Michelangelo had both been condemned during their lifetimes for their experimentation, he was interrupted by a question from someone in the audience: “They’re Italian, right?”*²⁶

This news report also subtly reinforced a nationalistic perspective: Leonardo da Vinci and Michelangelo are not identified by their artistic legacy, but by their national affiliation.

Any ambiguity about the nationalist overtones of this project was dispelled by the concluding series in *ROCI*, executed in 1990. Rauschenberg literally brought *ROCI* home and came full circle in the final series: *ROCI U.S.A.* In works such as *Shuttle Buttle* (fig. 12), Rauschenberg reiterates the visual vocabulary and format established early in his career. The space program references that surfaced in his works for the Venice Biennale and

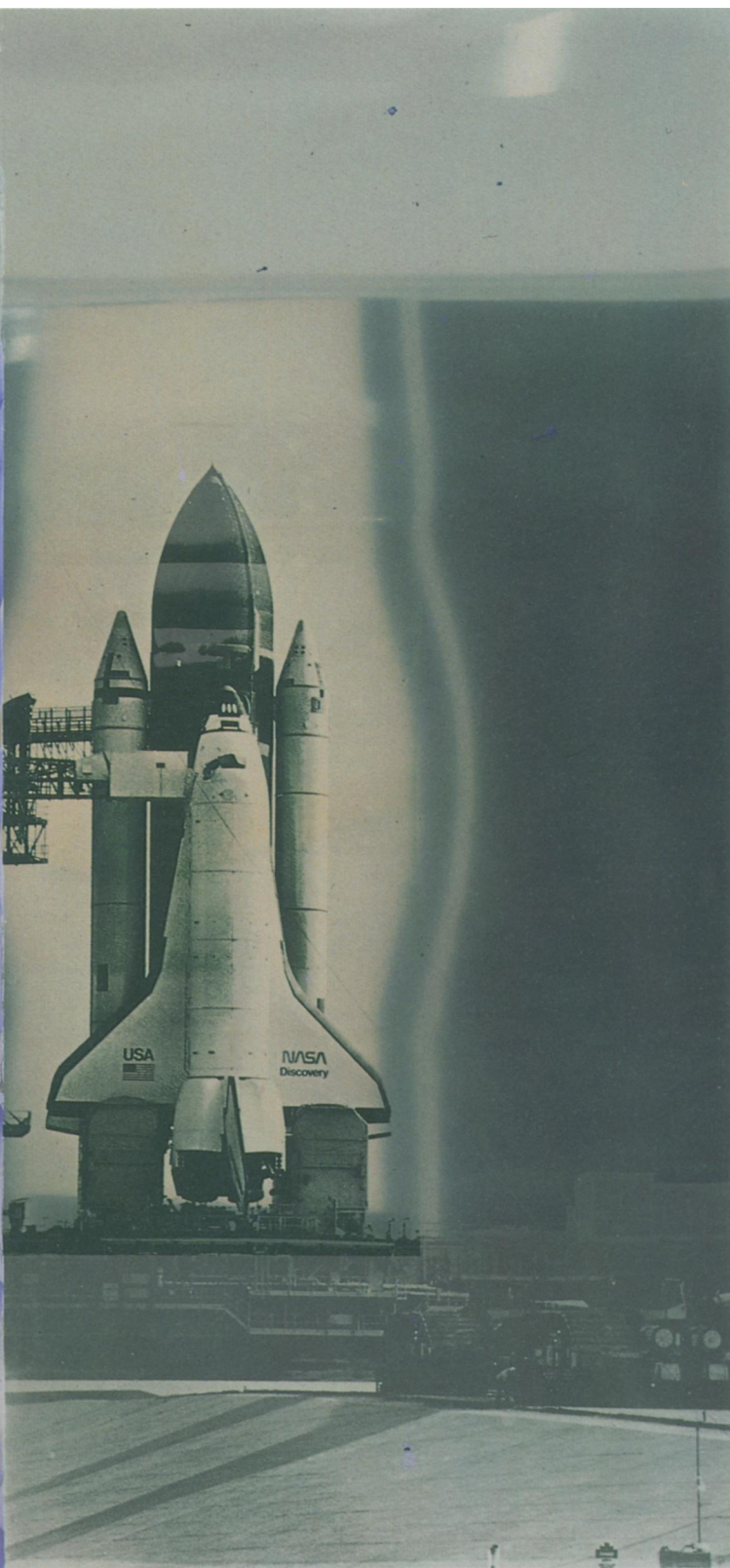
NASA Art Program appear here in the form of distinctly reproduced photographs of the space shuttle *Discovery* (with NASA logo, American flag, and USA initials clearly visible). These photographs are surrounded by brushy, hazy areas, reminiscent of the painterly Abstract Expressionist passages common to Rauschenberg’s early works. Given Rauschenberg’s history, it would be difficult to read these *ROCI U.S.A.* prints in other than a celebratory nationalist manner.

“Since [ROCI] is an odyssey to encourage peace, the most direct way is to engage all the armies to haul art around.”

In addition, the historical arena in which *ROCI* was eventually presented ensured its reception as a project that represented an American agenda. The works produced as part of *ROCI* were not exhibited as a comprehensive unit until 1991, after the conclusion of the project, when a major show was mounted at the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C. As the closest thing the United States has to a formal national museum, the National Gallery of Art endowed the *ROCI* project with an added stature.

Art has been insistently promoted as transparent and divorced from politics even as it has been consistently appropriated by governmental groups to reinforce ideological claims. In this manner, it has served as a significant vehicle in the ongoing negotiation of national identity. Over the past few decades, Robert Rauschenberg’s art has been deemed particularly appropriate for this purpose. In the early years of his career, govern-





ment officials at the USIA and NASA utilized Rauschenberg's work to visually support and translate complex ideological claims. Rauschenberg's art was easily presented as radical and therefore appropriate to represent the United States during a period in which the distinctions between the freedom of a democratic nation and the limitations of totalitarianism were important for national identity. This utilization, facilitated by specific images in the artworks that were derived from American media and culture, allowed Rauschenberg's work to play a significant role in the assessment and modification of American nationalism.

Given the shifting political climate throughout the 1970s toward a more conservative perspective, one might expect the role of Rauschenberg's art in constructing national identity to have diminished. Such was not the case. By the 1980s, Rauschenberg's signature style

was more traditional than radical, but the nationalist readings of his works persisted even when his art was not presented under governmental sponsorship.

Rauschenberg's accrued reputation endowed his works with an authority. This authority, coupled with the then-conventional nature of his art, served as a reference to established traditions—traditions that invoked the rhetoric of revolution and change. This reference was central to much of the conservative nationalist rhetoric and accounts for the continuing participation of Rauschenberg's art in the nationalist discourse of the 1980s. In addition, his work was increasingly showcased in expanding public arenas, making it appropriate and, indeed, effective in constructing American national identity. As such, Rauschenberg's art has reaffirmed the power and potential of the visual arts.

Notes

- 1 Walter Hopps, quoted in Calvin Tomkins, *Off the Wall: Robert Rauschenberg and the Art World of Our Time* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, 1980), p. 297–98.
- 2 Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983), pp. 15–16; Ernest Gellner, *Thought and Change* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), p. 168. See also E. J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1983); Louis L. Snyder, ed., *The Dynamics of Nationalism: Readings in Its Meaning and Development* (Princeton: D. Van Nostrand Company, 1964); and Peter Boerner, ed., *Concepts of National Identity: An Interdisciplinary Dialogue* (Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 1986).
- 3 See, for example, Richard A. Etlin, ed., *Nationalism in the Visual Arts* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1991); Lawrence J. Vale, *Architecture, Power, and National Identity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992); and Wilbur Zelinsky, "O Say, Can You See? Nationalistic Emblems in the Landscape," *Winterthur Portfolio* 19 (Winter 1984): 277–86. *Art in America* 79 (September 1991) is a special issue devoted to art and national identity.
- 4 Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, p. 127.
- 5 Lois Bingham, quoted in Laurie J. Monahan, "Cultural Cartography: American Designs at the 1964 Venice Biennale," in *Reconstructing Modernism: Art in New York, Paris, and Montreal 1945–1964*, ed. Serge Guilbaut (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1990), p. 382. Laurie J. Monahan's "Cultural Cartography: American Designs at the 1964 Venice Biennale" is an excellent detailed study of the conceptualization, realization, and reception of the American pavilion at the Biennale. Although much of my discussion deals with issues covered in Monahan's study, I am interested in viewing this event in a larger synchronic and diachronic arena. In other words, while Monahan focuses her attention on the French response to the American pavilion, I am more interested in the general response (from both Americans and those abroad), and I am dealing with this event as part of an ongoing dynamic.
- 6 In addition to the work of the four major artists (Robert Rauschenberg, Jasper Johns, Morris Louis, and Kenneth Noland), the American contribution included limited exhibitions of the work of John Chamberlain, Claes Oldenburg, Jim Dine, and Frank Stella.
- 7 Richard Nixon, "Setting Russia Straight on Facts About the U.S.," *U.S. News & World Report* 47 (3 August 1959): 70.
- 8 John F. Kennedy, "The Late President's Last Reflections on the Arts," *Saturday Review* 47 (28 March 1964): 17; Jacob Javits, quoted in Gary O. Larson, *The Reluctant Patron: The United States*

- Government and the Arts, 1943–1965* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983), p. 160, n. 15; Max Isenbaugh, quoted in Larson, p. 155. For discussion of the use of art during the Cold War, see Max Kozloff, "American Painting during the Cold War," *Artforum* 11 (May 1973): 43–54; Eva Cockcroft, "Abstract Expressionism, Weapon of the Cold War," *Artforum* 12 (June 1974): 39–41; and Serge Guilbaut, *How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983). Although the XXXII Venice Biennale ran from 20 June to 15 October 1964, it was organized and planned during 1962 and 1963, hence the discussion on Kennedy's position on the arts. Lyndon Johnson, for the most part, continued the policies established by his predecessor regarding the arts.
- 9 "Art and Subversion," *America* 109 (16 November 1963): 620.
 - 10 "Carnival in Venice," *Newsweek* 64 (6 July 1964): 74–75.
 - 11 Pierre Cabanne, "L'Amerique proclame la fin de l'Ecole de Paris et lance le Pop'Art pour coloniser l'Europe," *Arts* (Paris) 968 (24–30 June 1964): 16.
 - 12 Rosalind Constable, "Art Pops In: Europe Explodes as American Takes Prize," *Life* 57 (10 July 1964): 68.
 - 13 See Arnold S. Levine, *Managing NASA in the Apollo Era* (Washington, D.C.: National Aeronautics and Space Administration, 1982), pp. 17–18.
 - 14 Hereward Lester Cooke, *Eyewitness to Space* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, n.d.), n.p.
 - 15 Curtis Prendergast with Geoffrey Colvin, *The World of Time Inc.: The Intimate History of a Changing Enterprise, 1960–1980*, vol. 3 (New York: Atheneum, 1986), pp. 31, 538.
 - 16 George J. Church, "China: Deng Xiaoping Leads a Far-reaching, Audacious But Risky Second Revolution," *Time* 127 (6 January 1986): 26.
 - 17 See "A Letter from the Publisher," *Time* 127 (6 January 1986): 4.
 - 18 Rudy Hoaglund to author, 20 June 1988.
 - 19 Church, pp. 26, 41.
 - 20 Hoaglund to author, 20 June 1988.
 - 21 Rauschenberg, quoted in Maureen Bashaw, "Artist Spills His 'Gluts,'" *Fort Myers News-Press*, 26 March 1987, p. 1D.
 - 22 Eugenia Dooley, Time, Inc., editorial offices, to author, 21 May 1991.
 - 23 National Gallery of Art news release, 31 July 1985, p. 2; Felipe Ehrenberg, quoted in Jane Addams Allen, "Rauschenberg's Worldwide Art Exchange," *Washington Times*, 31 May 1985.
 - 24 Allen. See also Barbara Gamarekian, "Rauschenberg Carrying His Art to Many Lands," *New York Times*, 3 August 1985; and Mary Battiata, "Rauschenberg, the Art Explorer," *Washington Post*, 1 June 1985.
 - 25 Nico Israel, "Zen and Now," *L.A. Weekly*, 14–20 March 1986, p. 55.
 - 26 *Ibid.*, p. 55.