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The Ascendancy of Abstraction for Public Art

The Monument to the Unknown Political Prisoner Competition

Joan Marter

Our complex civilization has found its crisis in the contradiction that exists between individual concepts of truth and duty and totalitarian concepts of uniformity and blind obedience. Everywhere the human conscience has been in revolt against inhuman tyrannies. In that conflict lies the unique tragedy of our age, and the sculptors of the world, of the whole world, *were asked to accept the challenge of such a theme and to express its significance in a monumental style.*

—Herbert Read[1]

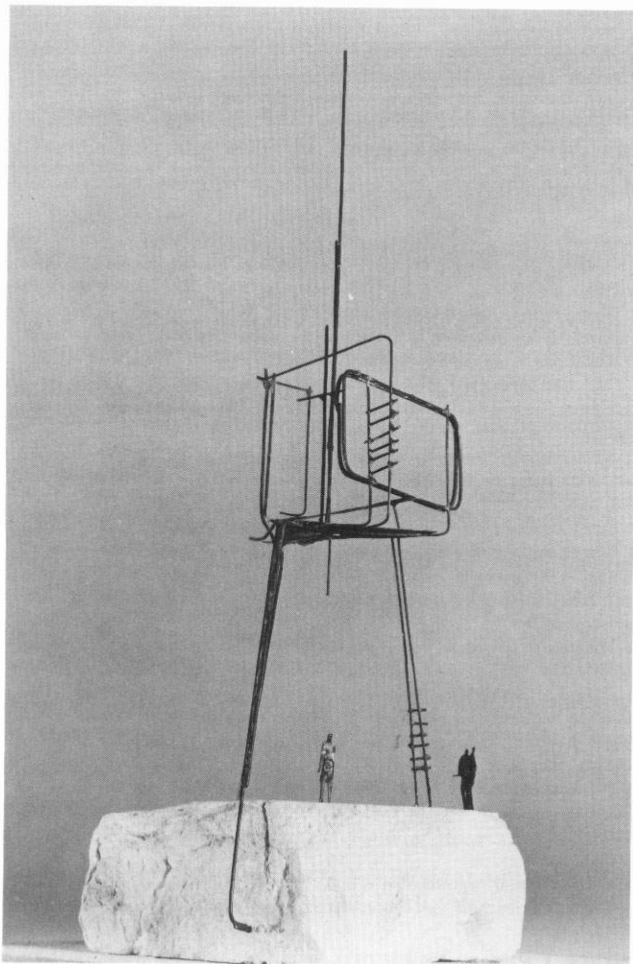

FIG. 1 Reg Butler, *The Unknown Political Prisoner (Project for a Monument),* 1951–53, welded bronze, brass wire, and sheet, 17⅜ inches high on limestone base, 2¾ × 7½ × 7¼ inches. Museum of Modern Art, New York, Saidie A. May Fund.

Traditional forms of public monuments seemed irrelevant in the immediate postwar years, when the inexorable rise of abstraction in modern art was coupled with the profound suffering and devastation caused by atomic and conventional weapons, the Holocaust, and the political oppression of Communism. This paper considers the American response to an international competition with an aesthetic agenda: to find a new means of expression for the public memorial, as well as a covert political one. In 1953, even before Abstract Expressionist painters were used as a weapon of the cold war, sculptors working in abstract modes (most of whom had never made public sculpture) were chosen to demonstrate the acceptance of modernism as an embodiment of America's social and political values. The selection of the United States entries for the international competition for the Monument to the Unknown Political Prisoner, and the subsequent success of several of these maquettes at the final competition in London, cannot be separated from the involvement of American officials at every level in planning this cold war project. Despite the official sponsorship by the Institute of Contemporary Arts in London (ICA), the sculpture competition was initiated by the American Anthony Kloman at the behest of a single "benefactor" who remained anonymous. Kloman had previously served as a United States cultural attaché in Europe, and the competition had other connections with the U.S. State Department.

Although none of the proposed monuments, including the first-prizewinning entry by Reg Butler (*fig. 1*), were ever constructed, the Unknown Political Prisoner competition became a locus for postwar debates on the efficacy of abstraction versus figuration in the creation of public sculpture and in itself represents an early intrusion by the State Department in affirming the cultural supremacy of the United States and its allies. In the cold war pronouncements on Abstract Expressionism, abstraction came to be associated with the freedom of the individual (read both anti-Fascist and anti-Communist) while figuration provoked associations with the Socialist Realism of the Communists and the Third Reich.[2] A subtext might be given to the foremost of the Russian Constructivists in the West, Naum Gabo among the American applicants (*fig. 2*), and his brother Antoine Pevsner

FIG. 2 Naum Gabo, *Model for a Monument to the Unknown Political Prisoner,* 1952, plastic and wire mesh, 15 × 3½ × 3¼ inches including slate and plastic base. Tate Gallery, London.

among the French entries; both were given awards in the final competition. As stated, none of the prizewinners' proposals were ever realized, but many of the Americans, including Alexander Calder, Herbert Ferber, Richard Lippold, and Theodore Roszak, subsequently created abstract sculptures on public sites. Within two decades, abstraction in public sculpture became completely institutionalized with the formation of the Works of Art in Public Places program of the National Endowment for the Arts and various "percent for art" guidelines implemented by the General Services Administration and other government agencies.

In 1953 members of the National Sculpture Society and other creators of public works were unprepared for the new bias toward abstraction taken by the jury for the American preliminary competition. Figurative sculptors were outraged at the transformation of concepts for public monuments, and their reactions were widely noted in the press. The eleven winning entries displayed at the Museum of Modern Art in New York (MoMA), focused on the controversy of the viable approaches to public art, while signaling the postwar involvement of museum trustees, directors, curators, and patrons in promoting America's cultural image on the international scene.

Despite the relative neglect of the international competition in the literature on postwar art, initially the project had worldwide attention. Sponsors at the ICA had predicted about

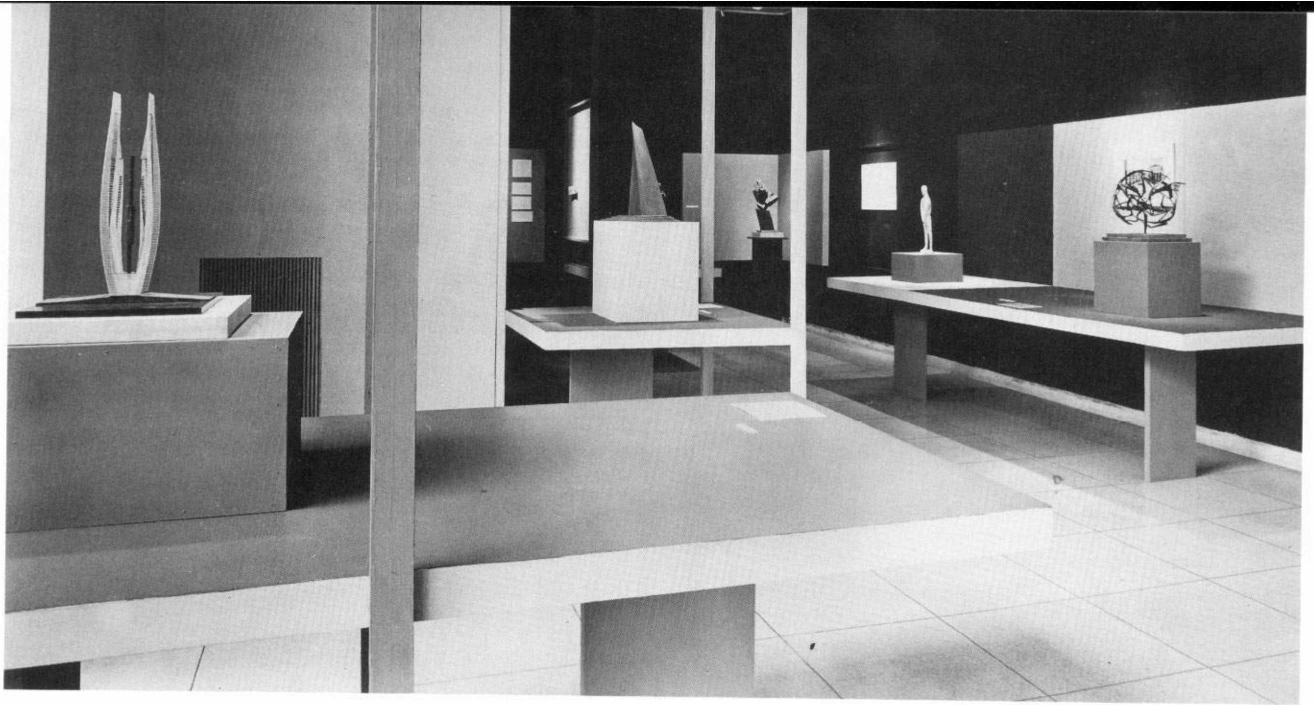

FIG. 3 Installation view of the exhibition *International Sculpture Competition: The Unknown Political Prisoner,* January 27–February 8, 1953, Museum of Modern Art, New York.

eight hundred entries worldwide but received thirty-five hundred applications from fifty-seven countries. The conduct of the competition has been considered elsewhere, but a review of certain details is worth mentioning as an introduction to the American preliminary competition.[3] The theme of the international competition as outlined in announcements issued by ICA was deliberately ambiguous and not directly related to World War II. Witness this statement included with the application form sent to all participants:

A theme has been chosen because a theme is inherent in the whole idea of memorial sculpture. But a theme is no limitation on style and the organisers wish to emphasise that a symbolic or a non-representational treatment of the subject will receive the same consideration as a more naturalistic treatment.

The organisers also wish to emphasise that the competition is international in scope, and that in their view the theme should be regarded as of universal significance. No artist of any nationality is excluded from the competition, and the theme is to be viewed as one of the widest human significance. In choosing as a theme THE UNKNOWN POLITICAL PRISONER they have felt a desire to have commemorated all those unknown men and women who in our time have given their lives or their liberty to the cause of human freedom. The sculpture winning the grand prize will be installed on some site of international importance, such as a prominent situation in any of the great capitals of the world. Such a site can be determined after the award has been made, and in relation to the style adopted by the sculptor, but the monument should be conceived as standing free, and independent of any architectural setting.[4]

By mentioning that "a symbolic or non-representational treatment of the subject will receive the same consideration as a more naturalistic treatment," the competition guidelines seemed to encourage sculptors working abstractly to apply. The outcome gives evidence, in fact, that the bias toward abstraction characterized the project overall. Prizes of more than eleven thousand pounds were advertised, and announcements suggested that not only the first-prize entry but others might also be commissioned for sites around the world. At a time when few public monuments were being constructed and the economy of Western Europe in particular was depressed, these were compelling incentives to enter the competition.

The progress of the American preliminary competition, and the character of the winning entries deserve scrutiny for what they reveal about the overall goals of the organizers and the involvement of key museum officials in international politics. The international sculpture competition was announced in various American publications as early as May 1952. In *Artnews*, for example, a short article reported thirty-two thousand dollars in prize money, which was certain to attract the attention of American sculptors.[5] By September 30, 1952, the deadline for the submission of maquettes to the receiving center in New York City, four hundred American entries had been recorded. Because of this overwhelming response, and similar numbers in Western Europe, ICA arranged preliminary competitions in Germany, England, France, and the United States. The number of maquettes to be chosen for the final competition was proportional to the overall tally of entries received. Jurors for the preliminary competition in New York were given a quota of eleven entries. Ultimately a total of 140 entries represented all participating nations at the competition in London.

Among the American applicants were members of established sculpture groups and others who are identified with

the Abstract Expressionist generation, such as Ferber, David Smith, Ibram Lassaw, Peter Grippe, Seymour Lipton, James Rosati, and Roszak. Since the preliminary competition was arranged by MoMA, which took a proprietary interest in the selection of the jurors and organized a small exhibition of the winning entries (*figs. 3 and 4*), the bias toward abstract works should have been expected. Other details included in the "Terms of the Competition" encouraged the success of contemporary modernists who were much admired by the jurors. In addition to the instructions that the overall dimensions of the maquettes should not exceed fifty centimeters in any direction, applicants were advised to include photographs or drawings of "his [*sic*] maquette set up to show how the completed work will look."[6] Applicants were asked to submit photographs of at least two other finished pieces of sculpture for consideration by the jury.

The American jury, chaired by Andrew Carnduff Ritchie (director, Department of Painting and Sculpture, MoMA), included Henri Marceau (associate director and chief of Painting and Sculpture at the Philadelphia Museum of Art), Charles Seymour (curator at the Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven), Hanns Swarzenski (fellow in research at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston), and Perry Rathbone (director of the City Art Museum of St. Louis). These museum officials were inclined to select the work of artists already recognized as promising young sculptors by MoMA. When the controversy surrounding the preliminary competition was at its most vociferous, each of the jurors was asked to prepare a statement for the press. Marceau, for example, noted that the work of the jurors was complicated by the fact that a specific site was not mentioned and that while the actual models were limited in size, the sculptors could suggest the dimensions of the executed work. He noted that the jury examined the photographs of previously executed work and considered these in making the final choice: "The jury looked for consistency of approach and execution as between the model submitted and previous work."[7]

Of the eleven artists chosen to represent the United States in the international competition, six had already received recognition at MoMA. Among these were Gabo, who was applauded by Ritchie in *Abstract Painting and Sculpture in America* as one of the exiles from the original Constructivist movement in revolutionary Russia.[8] Calder had been the subject of a major retrospective in 1942. Roszak had been included in the *Fourteen Americans* exhibition at MoMA curated by Dorothy Miller in 1946.[9] Two of the sculptors, Ferber and Lippold, had been recently chosen for the *Fifteen Americans* show organized at MoMA in 1952.[10] Gabo, Lippold, Calder, Roszak, Ferber, and Wharton Esherick were also included in a major sculpture exhibition that was organized by Ritchie in 1952 (first installed at the Philadelphia Museum of Art before going to MoMA in the spring of 1953). The catalogue essay prepared by Ritchie for *Sculpture of the Twentieth Century* identified these artists as descendants of the Cubists and Constructivists of early modernism, whom Ritchie considered part "of a new avant-garde movement now vaguely called abstract expressionism, whose principal practitioners are American."[11] Five sculptors among the preliminary winners—Calder, Ferber, Gabo, Lippold, and Roszak—were already represented in MoMA's collection.[12] The other artists winning in the preliminary competition were mostly from other states and did not achieve the fame of the first group. Of the two New Yorkers, Calvin Albert and Rhys Caparn (*fig. 5*)—the only woman among the finalists—neither had distinguished entries.

Of the sculptors from other states, Keith Monroe from

FIG. 4 Installation view of the exhibition *International Sculpture Competition: The Unknown Political Prisoner*, January 27–February 8, 1953, Museum of Modern Art, New York.

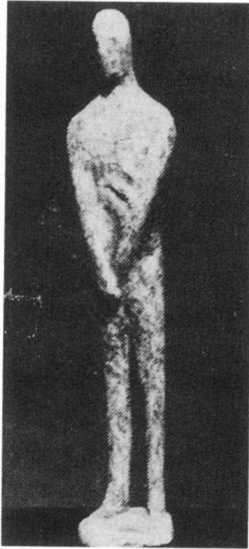
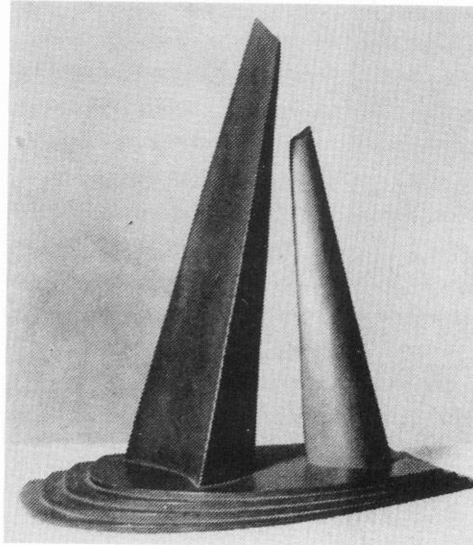

FIG. 5 Maquettes by (left to right) Rhys Caparn, Wharton Esherick, and Herbert Ferber, from "International Sculpture Competition: The Unknown Political Prisoner" (American Preliminary Exhibition), exh. brochure (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1953).

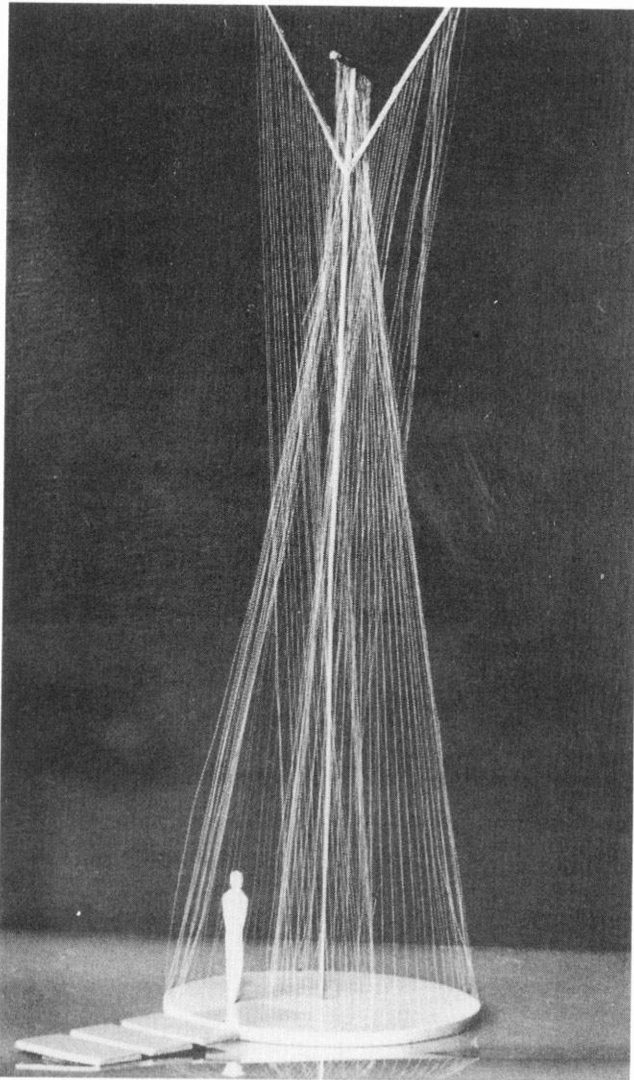

FIG. 6 Richard Lippold, maquette for *The Unknown Political Prisoner,* 1952, from *International Sculpture Competition: The Unknown Political Prisoner,* exh. cat. (London: Tate Gallery, 1953).

California and J. Wallace Kelly from Pennsylvania, neither subsequently received much attention. Gabriel Kohn submitted his maquette during a one-year teaching position at the Cranbrook Academy of Art in Bloomfield Hills. He returned to New York in 1954 and exhibited with artists of the New York School.

Among the most successful entries from the artists not identified with the New York School were the architectonic projects by Monroe and Esherick. Monroe, an artist and designer residing in San Francisco, had sent a model of two freestanding slabs. One had a slit at the top through which light came to the "prisoner" who was positioned between the slabs. Monroe, who had served in World War II, had exhibited since 1946 in Bay Area galleries. In 1951 and 1952 he was awarded first prize in sculpture at the San Francisco Art Festival.[13]

Aline B. Louchheim, a *New York Times* art critic, wrote admiringly of the proposal by Lippold (*fig. 6*). In this model, thin wires are stretched upward to a mastlike structure. The taut wires form an inner and outer "tent" that the spectator could walk between—"at once caged and free."[14] An eventual prizewinner in London, Lippold wrote a statement that attempted to justify the use of abstraction as appropriate to the theme of the competition:

Actual political imprisonment is an experience restricted to a comparative minority of the world's population, and will be beyond the experience of most people who are likely to encounter a memorial to those for whom it was a reality. If such a memorial is to have universal and timeless meaning, it seems to me it must do more than illustrate the reality of the theme of political imprisonment. It must depict this theme in terms which are common to the many kinds of imprisonment which confront all men daily, any one at any time, and can lead to

an understanding of all the kinds of inner as well as outer imprisonment from which no man is immune. . . . I have tried to translate these concepts into a piece of sculpture which illustrated their abstract natures. Therefore, no literal image appears in my work, which would limit the kind of imprisonment involved. Also I have tried to create an image which would be seen not as a complete form, containing a prisoner, and observable from the outside, but as a structure which cannot be considered complete without the inclusion in it of the spectator; so that only the two together can create the total experience.[15]

Esherick also had the idea of enclosing walls for his monument (*fig. 5*), but here the forms allude to freedom rather than confinement: the surfaces are partly concave, and two large forms swoop upward. Calder received an honorable mention for a construction of three spikes that had some similarity to stabiles produced earlier by the artist, but the most vertical element appears to have a javelin piercing it (*fig. 7*). The work was described by one critic as "a mounted crusader charging at full speed."[16]

When Roszak was notified that his maquette (*fig. 8*) was among the winning entries, he wrote to Ritchie:

Frankly, I am immensely pleased that my maquette is included in a journey to England for consideration by the International Jury. This is not only because I feel that the ICA has undertaken a commendable and timely project, but it seems to me historically fitting that the socio-political implications of the Unknown Political Prisoner should again find renewal in the land that fathered the initial concept of civil rights and liberties. The concept of the Unknown Political Prisoner undoubtedly has many ramifications, yet examining it from a human and moral point of view, it strikes me as coming perilously close to the embodiment of man's finest moments—particularly when he stands defiant in the face of oppression and ultimately vindicates his stand as an individual, in social triumph.[17]

Roszak's project seems related to his earlier images of flight (*The Spectre of Kitty Hawk* [1946–47; Museum of Modern Art] comes to mind). His negative feelings toward war were suggested in other examples of the postwar years. This maquette features dynamic movement forward, reminiscent of the *Nike of Samothrace* (ca. 200 B.C.; Louvre, Paris) or Umberto Boccioni's *Unique Forms of Continuity in Space* (1913; Museum of Modern Art). The large, spiky element jutting out from Roszak's sculpture suggests a violent struggle with a nearby foe. Roszak also submitted a drawing of his proposal installed as a public monument in a barren landscape (*fig. 9*), showing both the front and back view of the sculpture in the same image. Although the majority of the eleven entries were nonobjective, Roszak's maquette had a clearly figurative basis. He objected to many of the entries among the international contestants because they emphasized the theme of imprisonment by depicting bars or cages. In a later interview he reflected on his entry:

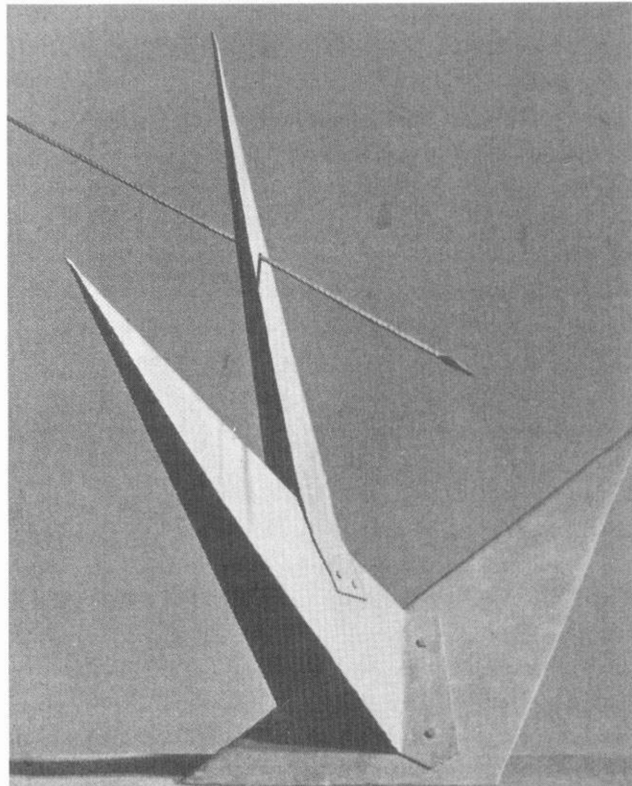

FIG. 7 **Alexander Calder, maquette for *The Unknown Political Prisoner*, 1952, from *International Sculpture Competition: The Unknown Political Prisoner*, exh. cat. (London: Tate Gallery, 1953).**

I know that men have certain strong beliefs about their political positions and they are perfectly willing to consciously accept the consequences of these beliefs. To me, this is kind of a hero's deed, and therefore I wanted that to become a heroic thing, instead of one of dejection and confinement.[18]

The small brochure prepared for the exhibition of the eleven American entries announced: "Each of the American winning entries has been awarded a $200.00 prize contributed by Mr. Joseph Verner Reed, patron of the arts."[19] Therefore, in addition to the announced prizes to be awarded in London, the American preliminary competition had separate prizes. Who was this patron, and how was he connected with the project? Joseph Verner Reed (1902–1973) had served in the Army Signal Corps during World War II, attaining the rank of major. After the war he was involved in various civic and philanthropic activities. He was a trustee of the Yale University Art Gallery and after 1955 a trustee and later president of the American Shakespeare Festival Theatre. Notable also was his active role as a Republican. During Eisenhower's administration he was a cultural attaché to the United States ambassador to France.[20]

The involvement of a prominent Republican philanthropist with the American preliminary competition only contributes to the overall impression that this project had

strong political implications. As Burstow has explained, the anonymous patron of the largest international competition ever organized was John Hay Whitney, chairman of the Board of Trustees of MoMA and United States ambassador to Great Britain beginning in 1956.[21] A liberal Republican, Whitney helped to organize Citizens for Eisenhower and was finance chairman of the victorious Eisenhower/Nixon campaign. As a dedicated anti-Communist, Whitney sought to strengthen America's cultural and economic links to European allies in the cold war. Whitney also had association with government intelligence beginning with the Office of Strategic Services (forerunner of the CIA) during World War II and continuing with the State Department and the Central Intelligence Agency. In 1967 a *New York Times* article exposed one of Whitney's charities as a conduit for CIA funds, and correspondence exchanged among principals of the international sculpture competition suggests also that Whitney's funds were not the sole sponsor of this costly project.[22]

For example, in 1958 Whitney wrote to Barr on stationery from the Department of State regarding plans to erect the winning sculpture by Butler in Berlin. Whitney in this letter offers ten thousand dollars toward the project but suggests that the rest of the money must be raised from other sources.[23] Even three years earlier, Barr himself alluded to the complicated funding for the international competition in a letter to Kloman. Barr proposed that Roland Penrose and Butler both be informed that the "so-called donor's contribution" was a small amount of money and that this individual was "an anonymous front for the expenditure of funds coming from quite another source."[24]

Whether these funds actually came from the State Department or the CIA, as is likely, or another source, Whitney was clearly the "front" for a costly venture in American propaganda. Even before Barr served as a juror for the competition in London, he recognized that the project was assumed to be "American propaganda" and thus withdrew his plans for a lecture at the ICA entitled "Art under the Nazi and Soviet Dictatorships."[25] The ill-fated international sculpture competition was planned as an acknowledgment by "the sculptors of the world" of the superiority of capitalist systems, the United States and its Western allies, over totalitarian systems.[26] In the capitals of Western Europe, beginning with Berlin—a divided city—would be a public reminder of the triumph of the rights of the individual over Communist and Fascist collectivism. What better model then for this new message of freedom than a monumental abstract sculpture—deliberately ambiguous but titled nonetheless a Monument to the Unknown Political Prisoner.

Grave misunderstandings shadowed the international competition and ultimately caused its failure. For Americans and Europeans alike there was unwillingness to acknowledge the underlying politics that brought this competition about (though the outrageously generous prize money should have caused some suspicions). Sculpture groups in the United States did not admit that this project was totally different from previous competitions for public monuments (though the prospectus prepared by the ICA and the involvement of MoMA were clues that conventional figurative memorials were not to be considered). English critics were disdainful of the competition, and prizewinning entries were soundly condemned by both the conservative and leftist press, though for different reasons.[27] The underlying propagandistic motivations must have been suspected by the English press, given that Kloman was an American, and the mysterious prize money was channeled through him to an almost insolvent ICA.

Why the competition ultimately failed cannot rest on the reasonableness or worthiness of Butler's design. In fact, Barr must have felt pangs of conscience toward Butler, who experienced profound disappointment over the reception of his entry. After the original maquette was destroyed when it was exhibited in London, Butler made another that was promptly purchased by Barr for MoMA (*fig. 1*) and placed on exhibition in New York with a wall label written by Barr himself defending the work:

On March 12, 1953, Reg Butler's model won a first prize of about $12,600 in the great international competition for a monument to The Unknown Political Prisoner organized by the Institute of Contemporary Arts in London. Some 2000 sculptors from 56 different countries competed. On March 13, 1953 the model was put on exhibition at the Tate Gallery. On March 15th it was destroyed by a young Hungarian artist, a refugee from totalitarian persecution. He called the model "rubbish" and anti-humanistic. Artistically conservative, he had doubtless been aroused by the newspaper headlines which attacked the prize-winning model as "futuristic" and "abstract." (The most virulent criticisms appeared in the conservative and communist press. The extreme right and extreme left generally do like the same kind of art). . . .

Unlike the Washington Monument in Washington, or the Cenotaph in London—and contrary to hasty or prejudiced press accounts—Butler's design is not at all abstract. To many thoughtful and receptive observers, it is a movingly dramatic and human conception. . . .

In the highest sense the design seems humanistic without being banal or sentimental. The three great bronze women

FIG. 8 Theodore Roszak, *The Unknown Political Prisoner (Defiant and Triumphant),* 1952, steel brazed with nickel-silver, 14⅝ × 18¼ × 9 inches excluding wood and steel base. Tate Gallery, London.

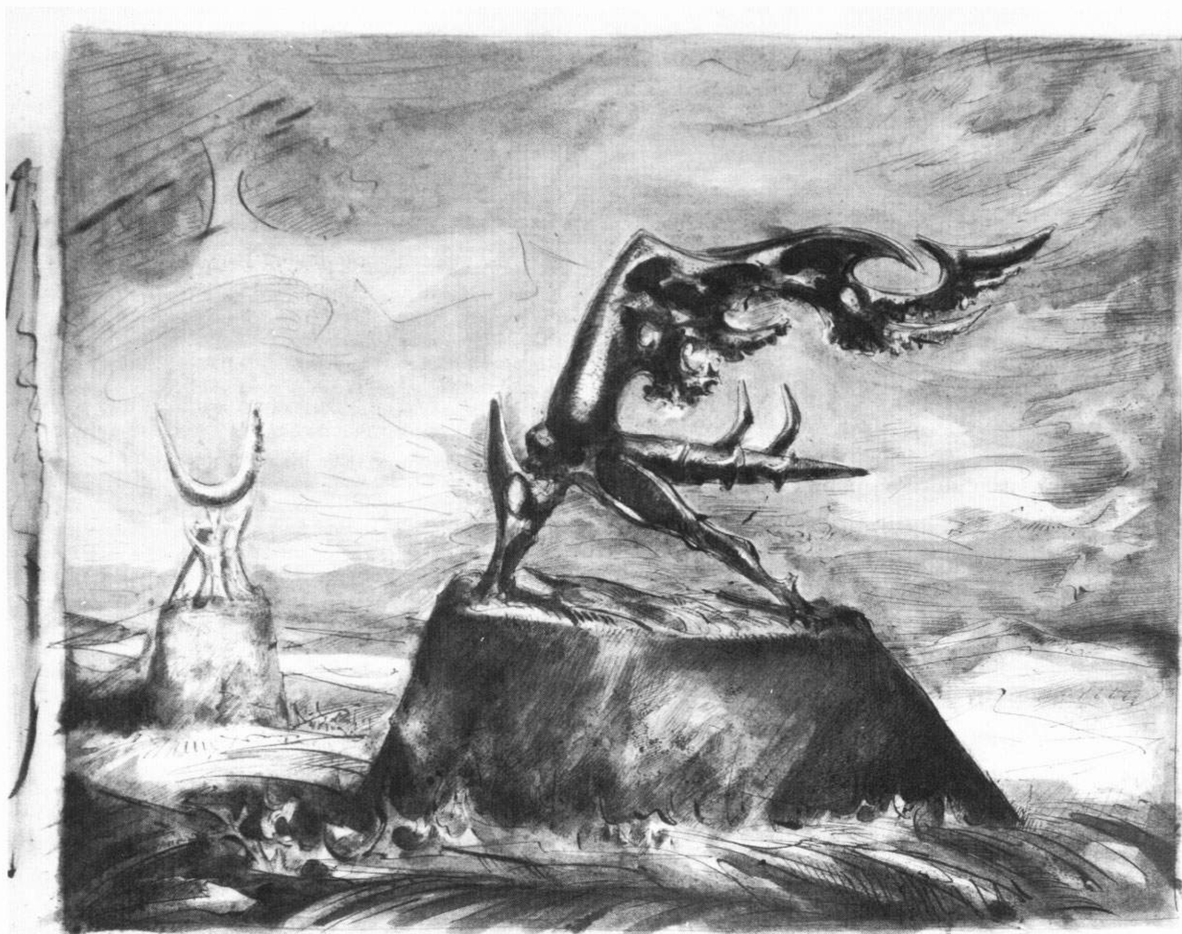

FIG. 9 Theodore Roszak, *Study for the Monument to the Unknown Political Prisoner,* 1952, pen and ink and wash on paper, 18$\frac{5}{16}$ × 24⅜ inches. Estate of the artist.

who stand in watchful meditation beneath the empty scaffold-cage give it meaning, pathos and dignity and recall the women beneath the cross or at the empty tomb of another "political prisoner" of 2000 years ago.[28]

Evoking Christ as a political prisoner and begging for a figurative reading of a work that was elsewhere compared to television aerials was Barr's attempt to educate his public to abstraction and to give some universal significance to this project. By the following decade abstract sculpture did succeed in being chosen for public sites. Soon the original prizewinners were making large-scale projects for public sites in cities, airports, office towers, and government office complexes, although their constructions were not memorials with the heavy-handed political associations found in this competition.

Why did this competition, which promised so much, ultimately fail to deliver? Thousands of dollars in prize money were actually awarded, but the stipulation that "the sculpture winning the grand prize will be installed on some site of international importance, such as a prominent situation in any of the great capitals of the world" was never fulfilled. The reason frequently given for the failure to realize the Butler project on a public site was the antagonism toward the design, but the correspondence involving the project suggests otherwise.

Plans for the Butler monument to be erected in Berlin continued through the 1950s, but by 1957 it became obvious that the "source" that was to be used to finance the installation was no longer interested in the project. Was this a philanthropist bowing to demands of public taste? Or was it no longer desirable, given the changes in cold war politics, to erect a Monument to the Unknown Political Prisoner in a city that was shared by Soviet and Allied powers? The international competition for the Unknown Political Prisoner monument provoked storms of controversy when it was happening but was soon forgotten. However, many of the sculptors who were honored in this competition have become the principal creators of abstract sculpture on public sites. The magisterial Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington, D.C., and related projects in other cities, as well as recent Holocaust memorials suggest the viability of monumental abstract forms as means of remembrance.

Notes

I wish to acknowledge a grant from the Research Council, Rutgers University, for the preparation of this article. The Watson Library at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and the archives of the Museum of Modern Art, New York, were essential resources for this research. Special thanks to Rona Roob at MoMA for her assistance with the exhibition archives and the Alfred H. Barr Papers.

1. Herbert Read (ICA president), foreword to *International Sculpture Competition: The Unknown Political Prisoner*, exh. cat., by Institute of Contemporary Arts (London: Tate Gallery, 1953).

2. Berthold Hinz, *Art in the Third Reich* (New York: Pantheon, 1979), and Igor Golomstock, *Totalitarian Art in the Soviet Union, the Third Reich, Fascist Italy and the People's Republic of China* (New York: HarperCollins, 1990). For a discussion of Abstract Expressionism and cold war politics, see Francis Frascina, ed., *Pollock and After: The Critical Debate* (New York: Harper and Row, 1985).

3. See Robert Burstow, "Butler's Competition Project for a Monument to 'The Unknown Political Prisoner': Abstraction and Cold War Politics," *Art History* 12 (December 1989): 472–96; Richard Calvocoressi, "Public Sculpture in the 1950s," in Sandy Nairne and Nicholas Serota, eds., *British Sculpture in the Twentieth Century*, exh. cat. (London: Whitechapel Art Gallery, 1981), 135–39.

4. Quoted from application, Institute of Contemporary Arts, London, "International Sculpture Competition," 1952. My thanks to Victoria Garvin at MoMA for providing access to this material in the Department of Painting and Sculpture.

5. "Sculpture Competition in England," *Artnews* 51 (May 1952): 61.

6. Ibid., 3.

7. Henri Marceau, "Statement for International Sculpture Competition," December 22, 1952, "Monument to the Unknown Political Prisoner," Department of Painting and Sculpture, Museum of Modern Art, New York.

8. See Andrew Carnduff Ritchie, "The Second Wave of Abstraction, c. 1930–1950," in *Abstract Painting and Sculpture in America* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1951), 64–65.

9. Dorothy C. Miller, ed., *Fourteen Americans* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1946), 58–61.

10. Dorothy C. Miller, ed., *Fifteen Americans* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1952), 10–11, 27–29.

11. Museum of Modern Art, *Sculpture of the Twentieth Century*, exh. cat. (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1952), 4–5. The exhibition was shown at the Philadelphia Museum of Art, October 11–December 7, 1952; Art Institute of Chicago, January 22–March 9, 1953; and Museum of Modern Art, April 29–September 7, 1953.

12. For a complete listing of works and dates of accession, see Alicia Legg with Mary Beth Smalley, *Painting and Sculpture in the Museum of Modern Art* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1988).

13. Subsequent to his selection as an American prizewinner in the Unknown Political Prisoner competition, Monroe was included in a *New Talent* exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art, November 17, 1953–January 17, 1954. See *New Talent: Monroe, Schwartz and Sowers*, exh. cat. (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1953).

14. Aline B. Louchheim, "Unknown Political Prisoner Is Theme of Sculpture Competition," *New York Times*, January 28, 1953.

15. Richard Lippold quoted in Institute of Contemporary Arts, *International Sculpture Competition: The Unknown Political Prisoner*, exh. cat. (London: Tate Gallery, 1953), cat. no. 33.

16. Eric Newton, "Political Prisoners on Parade," *Time and Tide*, March 21, 1953, 368.

17. Roszak to Ritchie, December 28, 1952, "USA Competition for the Monument to the Unknown Political Prisoner," Department of Painting and Sculpture, Museum of Modern Art, New York.

18. Theodore Roszak, interview with James Elliott, New York, February 13, 1956, in Theodore Roszak Papers, 76, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

19. Quoted from brochure, "International Sculpture Competition: The Unknown Political Prisoner" (American Preliminary Competition), exh. brochure (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1953).

20. Steven R. Weisman, "Joseph Verner Reed, Patron of the Stage, Is Dead," *New York Times*, November 26, 1973, 34.

21. Burstow, "Butler's Competition Project," 482. John Hay Whitney (1904–1982) was chairman of Whitney Communications and U.S. ambassador to Great Britain, 1956–61. He was the publisher of the *New York Herald Tribune*, 1957–61, and editor-in-chief, 1961–66.

22. E. W. Kenworthy, "Whitney Trust Got Aid from a Conduit of the C.I.A.," *New York Times*, February 25, 1967. Kenworthy reported: "A charitable trust established by John Hay Whitney received $325,000 in 1964 and 1965 from the Granary Fund of Boston, used by the CIA to channel money from front foundations to various organizations here and abroad." (Whitney had established his charitable trust in the 1950s.)

23. Whitney to Barr, June 6, 1958, MoMA Archives, Alfred H. Barr Papers, roll 2179, frame 709, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, New York.

24. Barr to Kloman, January 6, 1955, MoMA Archives, Alfred H. Barr Papers, roll 2179, frame 786, Archives of American Art, New York.

25. Barr to Roland Penrose, Institute of Contemporary Arts, London, February 2, 1953, MoMA Archives, Alfred H. Barr Papers, roll 2179, frame 1122, Archives of American Art, New York.

26. Read, *International Sculpture Competition*.

27. John Berger, for example, wrote: "I believe the competition can be said to have been a total failure. First, because it aimed to stimulate sympathetic, public interest, and in fact has—with good reason—alienated the public. Secondly, because it has failed to inspire a single important work." John Berger, "The Unknown Political Prisoner," *New Statesman and Nation*, March 21, 1953, 338.

28. Wall label by Alfred H. Barr for MoMA, MoMA Archives, Alfred H. Barr Papers, roll 2179, Archives of American Art, New York.

JOAN MARTER *is co-guest editor of this issue of* Art Journal.