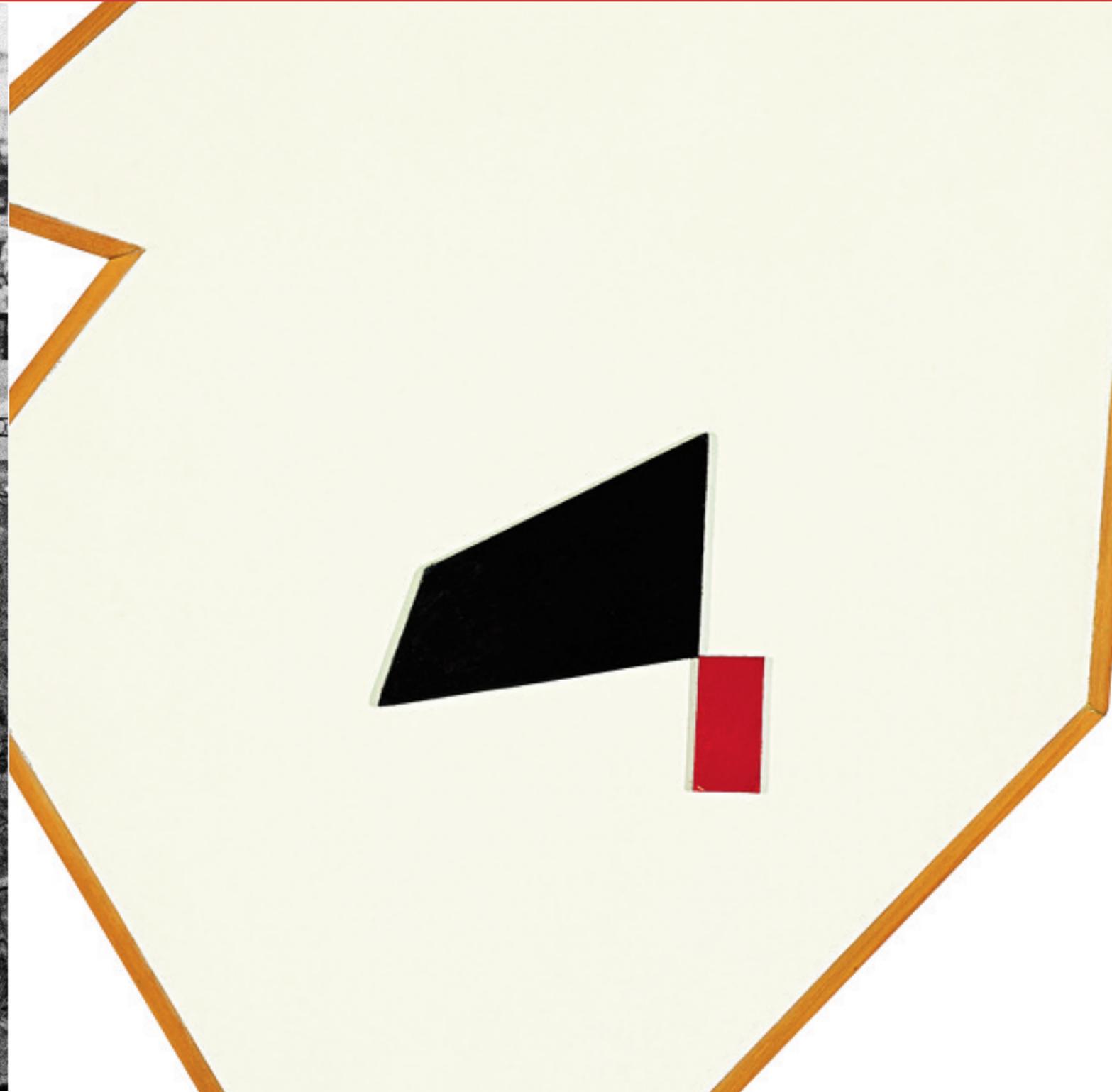




ICAA Documents Project Working Papers

The Publication Series for *Documents of 20th-Century Latin American and Latino Art*

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The *ICAA Documents Project Working Papers* series brings together papers stemming from the Documents of 20th-Century Latin American and Latino Art Project at the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston. It also serves as the official vehicle to assemble and distribute related research by the Center's team of researchers, staff, and affiliates.

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Cover: Tomás Maldonado, detail of *Sin título*, c. 1945, tempera on board, 79 x 60 cm, private collection, Buenos Aires.

Back Cover: *No +*, Art Action (Mapocho River), Santiago, 1983. CADA video still. © CADA / Lotty Rosenfeld, 2013

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PARTISAN LIFE AND REVOLUTIONARY PRACTICE: THE PLACE OF IDEOLOGY IN NONOBJECTIVE ARGENTINEAN ART AND CONCEPTUAL CHILEAN HAPPENINGS

Marcela C. Guerrero

In this third edition of the *ICAA Documents Project Working Papers*, the ICAA is delighted to highlight the two winning essays of the first installment of the Peter C. Marzio Award for Outstanding Research in 20th-Century Latin American and Latino Art. Named after the late director of the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, who was a champion of the ICAA since its inception in 2001, the award recognizes creative new scholarship in this field. The best graduate student essay and best undergraduate student paper awards were generously underwritten by The Transart Foundation for Art and Anthropology, a private nonprofit organization based in Houston that supports the creative process of contemporary artists and scholars who integrate advanced and relevant social, anthropological, or cultural research in their work. Each essay had to produce outstanding academic knowledge based on the newly published primary-source materials available from the digital archive Documents of 20th-Century Latin American and Latino Art and its companion book series, *Critical Documents of 20th-Century Latin American and Latino Art*.

After receiving close to a dozen papers in the summer of 2012, the ICAA asked a group of three distinguished scholars of Latin American art—all members of the editorial board of the *ICAA Documents Project*—to select the winning essays based, principally, on those that best used the documents available on the digital archive and book series. The jury also upheld parameters such as the ability to communicate a persuasive and cogent argument on any topic regarding 20th-century Latin American and/or Latino art, and the ability to comply with the formatting and image requirements. The award committee decided on Sean Nesselrode’s “The Art of Partisan Life: Nonobjectivity Translated to Buenos Aires, 1944–48” and Molly Moog’s “CADA: A Revolutionary Practice” as the winning graduate and undergraduate papers, respectively.

A Ph.D. candidate at New York University’s Institute of Fine Arts, Nesselrode wrote “The Art of Partisan Life” for a course taught by Dr. Robert Lubar entitled “The Non-Objective Universe: Painting in Europe, c. 1914” in spring 2012. Opening with a refreshingly original formal analysis of the work *Sin título* from c. 1945 by Tomás Maldonado (Buenos Aires, born 1922), Nesselrode dives into a revision of European nonfigurative movements and how these became translated in the Argentina of the 1940s. Focusing on the group Arte Concreto-Invencción [Concrete Art–Invention],

and the subsequent offshoot collective Asociación Arte Concreto-Invencción [Association of Concrete Art–Invention], the author argues that Argentine artists such as Maldonado took full advantage of the deracination of nonobjectivity and the movement’s lag time in arriving to Argentina, and pushed nonfigurative painting to new extremes. Its most radical reformulation, as Nesselrode argues, was the shaped canvas imbued with ideological underpinnings that responded to a belief in Marxist dialectical materialism. With intelligent use of archival texts readily available in the *ICAA Documents Project* digital archive, Nesselrode documents how deeply invested the *concreto-invenccionistas* were in projecting a nonfigurative art that did not merely fulfill an artistic program but that sought to have an impact in the daily reality of Argentines.

Ideology is also at the forefront of Molly Moog’s “CADA: A Revolutionary Practice,” an essay that stems from her undergraduate thesis written under the supervision of Dr. Angela Miller at Washington University in St. Louis, Missouri, and approved in spring 2012. In her essay, Moog analyzes how the “NO +” slogan, originally developed in 1983 by the Chilean group Colectivo Acciones de Arte [Arts Action Collective], or CADA, became a means of raising awareness of the politicization of public space during the military dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet (1973–90). In the several art happenings that CADA organized from 1979 to 1985—the period they were active—and that the author discusses in her essay, it becomes evident that the artists collective was particularly deft at co-opting the codes of the official discourse and distributing them to the general public with the intention of galvanizing political and societal change. Moog was able to weave the complex history of CADA’s art actions and make a cogent analysis of them thanks to her impressive research skills of the documents she accessed through the *ICAA* digital archive.

The ICAA and the Museum are delighted with the outcome of this first edition of the Peter C. Marzio Award. With the publication of this third installment of the *ICAA Documents Project Working Papers*, the ICAA is proud to add Nesselrode’s and Moog’s essays to the ever-expanding body of knowledge that the digital archive helps to promote and foster. The ICAA congratulates Sean and Molly, and promises to keep a close eye on what will surely be their many future contributions to the field of Latin American and Latino art.

ART FOR PARTISAN LIFE: NONOBJECTIVITY TRANSLATED TO BUENOS AIRES, 1944–48

Sean Nesselrode

Introduction: Memory and Reformulation

Upon viewing Tomás Maldonado's *Sin título* [Untitled] (fig. 1), c. 1945, the first image that comes to mind, prior even to that of the work itself, is Kazimir Malevich's 1915 *Painterly Realism of a Boy with a Knapsack—Color Masses in the Fourth Dimension*. It is almost impossible to overlook the similarities: Maldonado reiterates the composition of the well-known canvas, organizing black and red quadrilaterals in a roughly diagonal relationship against a white ground. A self-conscious evocation of a painting renowned not only in Maldonado's native Argentina but also internationally as an art historical milestone in the development of nonobjective painting, *Sin título* proposes a genealogy in which Malevich's project culminates in a different hemisphere three decades after its initial creation.

Maldonado has acknowledged this work's dialogue with *Painterly Realism*,¹ yet the formal differences between the two reveal a rethinking rather than a repetition of Malevich's painting. The irregular black trapezoid begins to imply movement in space, a slight recession counteracted by the resolute orthogonality of the contiguous red rectangle.² This tension between spatiality and flatness is literalized by the material properties of the work itself: the black and red forms are rendered in tempera on cardboard and affixed in shallow relief to the cardboard backing, painted in white enamel. The interplay of media that results from this collage, as well as the projection of forms into actual space, confers upon the quadrilaterals a degree of autonomy from their implied ground.

The term *implied* is deliberately used to describe the ground, as the most obvious and consequential difference between these two paintings lies in Maldonado's use of the shaped canvas.³ Forming an irregular heptagon, it refutes the entire tradition of the rectangular frame that defines the painting as a bounded window. Instead, the ground becomes a figure itself, a dynamic component of the composition that places the seeming autonomy of the quadrilaterals into tension. Maldonado has noted "the red-black structure ... was compositionally linked, by way of a complex connective network, with the perimeter of the 'irregular frame.'"⁴ Indeed, the forms participate within a set of internal pressures and forces, a "network" that pits the flatness of the "self-contained organism" against its capacity for dynamism.⁵ As Omar Calabrese assesses, Maldonado resurrects the "memory" of Malevich's geometry only to "reformulate" it according to an entirely new enterprise.⁶ Maldonado subtly invokes conventions of figuration, namely the figure-ground relationship and the suggestion of spatial depth, only to interrogate them by reaffirming the material flatness and formal self-sufficiency of the object itself.

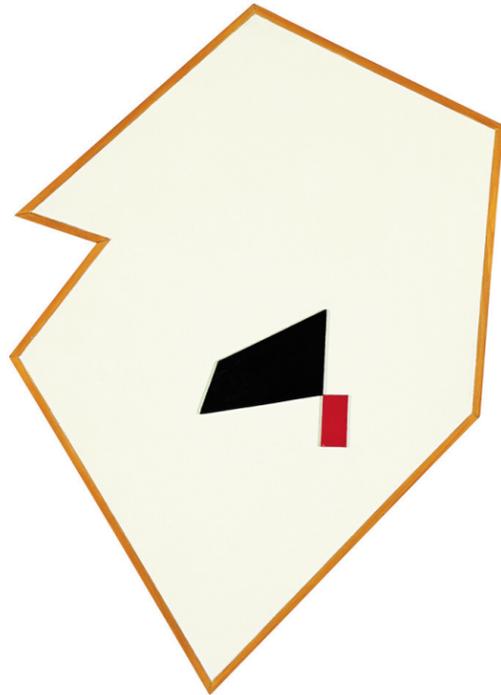


Fig. 1. Tomás Maldonado, *Sin título*, c. 1945, tempera on board, 79 x 60 cm, private collection, Buenos Aires.

The introduction of nonobjectivity and the invention of the shaped canvas in Argentina during the 1940s have received a fair amount of attention,⁷ and indeed the works produced during this time by the loosely defined Arte Concreto–Inención [Concrete Art–Invention] group certainly reveal a formal artistic program that is markedly different than those of their European forerunners. Less understood, however, are the motivations behind these developments: why did Maldonado and his artistic contemporaries dialogue with European figures such as Malevich, and precisely what conditions—artistic and ideological—enabled such a memory and reformulation to occur in the first place? These questions can begin to be answered by considering contemporaneous texts by the artists, who often doubled as theorists and political activists. While many of these have been previously published in translated or excerpted forms, the ICAA Documents of 20th-Century Latin American and Latino Art digital archive has made available in one location a wealth of writings in their original, complete format. Access to these documents allows for a more thorough understanding of Arte Concreto–Inención's formal and ideological ambitions, as well as its complex relationship with European Modernism.

An interpretation of modern European art history as a progressive march toward complete nonobjectivity characterized Arte Concreto–Inención, which was inaugurated in 1944 with the first and only publication of *Arturo* magazine, and of which Maldonado

was a founding member. Internal disagreements would result in the group's splitting into two factions in 1946: the more rigorous, collective program of pure nonobjective painting of Maldonado's Asociación Arte Concreto–Inención [Association of Concrete Art–Invention] differed from its arguably more celebrated Madí counterpart, which undertook interdisciplinary public actions that were more ludic in nature.⁸ The formation of Arte Concreto–Inención may thus be considered the beginning of a trajectory of Argentine art that sought to rid painting of all traces of figuration, a project that was furthered by the Asociación.

A sense of radical rupture distinguishes *Arturo*, which famously opens with the "Inventar" [To Invent] manifesto:

TO INVENT: To find or discover by force of ingenuity or meditation, or by mere chance, something new or unknown. / The artist must find, imagine, or create his or her work /
INVENTION: The action and effect of inventing. / Something invented. / FINDING INVENTION against AUTOMATISM.⁹

From the outset the artists put forth a theory of invention that necessarily seeks to do away with representation. Yet in spite of the group's firm stance against "automatism," the means by which invention may be undertaken remain open: less important than a rigorous style or technique is the proposition that the work be fully autonomous and divorced from the natural world, by any means necessary.

This flexibility would initially produce a degree of heterogeneity evident in the diversity of approaches in *Arturo*—Maldonado's woodcut print for the cover reveals an interest in figurative abstraction that, surprisingly, evokes the automatism that the "Inventar" manifesto so explicitly opposes (fig. 2). Very quickly, however, Maldonado and the later Asociación would link "invention" with an aesthetic program of the "concrete," indebted to European terminology and yoked with a distinctly Marxist materialist ideology. For this reason, this flank of younger Argentine artists may be termed *concreto-inventoristas* [concrete-inventionists].¹⁰ Such a designation not only foregrounds the continued self-identification with "Arte Concreto–Inención," but it also identifies "invention" and "concrete" as the two terminological cornerstones of the 1940s Argentine avant-garde.¹¹ Whereas "invention" privileges the process by which a work of art may be created, "concrete" designates the aesthetic and ultimately ontological properties of an invented work of art: modifying Theo van Doesburg's initial conception of *Art Concret*, the Argentine iteration of "concrete" espouses absolute nonfiguration, to the extent that the work becomes a self-sufficient, fundamentally material object.¹² In this sense, then, process and product are linked in a theoretical framework intended to enter, and ultimately supersede, an art historical narrative of abstraction originating in Europe.

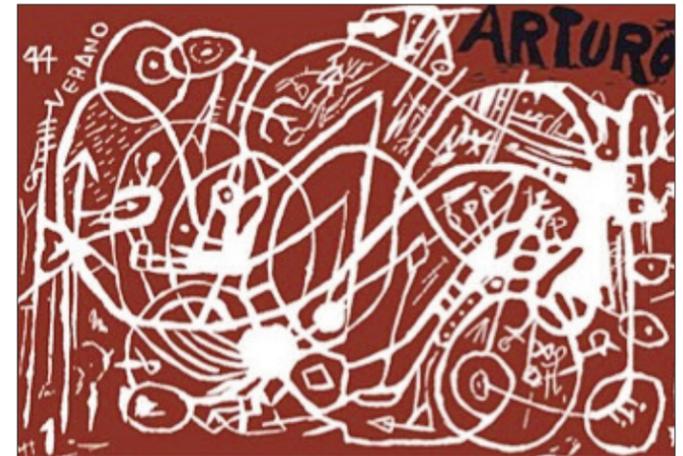


Fig. 2. Tomás Maldonado, cover design for *Arturo: Revista de arte abstracto* (Buenos Aires), no. 1 (Summer 1944), woodcut, Archivo Raúl Naón, Buenos Aires.

Within this narrative, the prospect of doing away with figuration comes rather late, as abstract and nonobjective art had developed in Europe more than three decades prior to their introduction to Argentina. From an Argentine (and broader Latin American) perspective, however, the radical nature of the ideas published in *Arturo* cannot be overstated: until the summer of 1944 the most "vanguard" artistic statements, to use the *concreto-inventoristas*' criteria, consisted of the quasi-cubistic figurative work of Emilio Pettoruti and Lucio Fontana. The lag time in the transatlantic migration of nonfiguration to South America merits consideration, as the Argentines responded to their European predecessors but did so in a manner that pushed "concrete" art in an entirely new direction.

In considering this translation it is less fruitful to parse the distinctions between the individual *concreto-inventoristas* than it is to understand the oft-indirect manners in which a history of European Modernism was received, largely after-the-fact, and adapted to suit an entirely new context. The concepts of "invention" and "concrete" art derived from European attempts in the 1930s to consolidate abstraction and nonobjectivity against figuration, especially Surrealism, but the consequent deracination of nonfiguration enabled the *concreto-inventoristas* to reformulate it along Marxist lines. Their most groundbreaking formal innovation, the shaped canvas, was the means by which they pursued a rigorous program of materialist nonobjectivity. It is this development that characterizes the so-called *época heroica* [Heroic Era] of the Argentine avant-garde, a period that began with the 1944 publication of *Arturo* and terminated with Maldonado's first trip to Europe in the summer of 1948. Spanning only four years, the *época heroica* saw a young generation of artists espousing a version of nonfiguration that was as political as it was aesthetic—a utopian endeavor that sought to confirm the social utility of art by means of materializing it as a physical, and deeply partisan, object.

Nonfiguration Consolidated and Disseminated

Arturo is canonically taken as the seminal publication that announces the arrival of Arte Concreto–Invención, heralding a complete departure from the figuration and academicism that had preceded it.¹³ Though unprecedented, it appeared neither spontaneously nor theoretically fully formed, as evident in the well-documented discrepancy between the texts and the illustrations, which collectively do not amount to a coherent whole.¹⁴ The journal proclaims a desire to realize a break with the past, but the parameters of such a break were largely undefined.

Some have argued that the contradictory nature of *Arturo* reflects some of the ambiguities and instability of the Argentine sociopolitical climate in the early part of the decade, which was marked by a military coup d'état that installed a military junta and resulted in the rise to power of Juan Domingo Perón.¹⁵ Alternatively, Maldonado stated that his automatist woodcut is evidence of “a brief, transitory lapse into abstract expressionism.”¹⁶ Neither of these assertions, however, fully explains *Arturo*'s inconsistencies. More revealing is Maldonado's comment that the journal articulated “the voice of the many tensions, intentions, and expectations shared by the young Latin American intellectuals in those years.”¹⁷ The pluralism at work within *Arturo*, as well as the stated opposition to Surrealism, aligns the Argentines with a series of groups that formed in Europe during the 1930s to counter the dominance of Surrealism: Cercle et Carré [Circle and Square (1930)], Art Concret [Concrete Art (1930)], and Abstraction-Création [Abstraction-Creation (1931–36)].¹⁸

Thus, these contradictions may be read as evidence not of disagreement, despite the eventual splitting of the group, but rather of an initial eclecticism. Considered in this light, *Arturo* exists as an outgrowth of the varied approaches to abstraction and nonobjectivity that had developed in Paris during the 1930s.¹⁹ To understand the development of Argentine concreto-inventonismo, then, it is first necessary to consider at some length its prehistory—the project undertaken by Cercle et Carré, Art Concret, and Abstraction-Création. The Argentines were deeply informed by the coalescing of abstract and nonobjective art under a single rubric, which resulted in a retrospective approach to nonfiguration that proved ripe for interpretation.

Founded by the Belgian artist Michel Seuphor and the Uruguayan Joaquín Torres-García, Cercle et Carré responded to the precarious situation of nonfiguration in 1929: in the face of global economic crisis and an unsympathetic art market, Seuphor and Torres-García sought to assert the social relevance of abstract and nonobjective art by forming a united front.²⁰ Yet if Cercle et Carré sought to combat the forces that threatened the survival of nonfiguration (Surrealism in particular), it did so in a largely defensive manner, defining itself against figuration with a pluralism akin to that which would be seen fifteen years later in *Arturo*. Cercle et Carré published three issues of an eponymous journal in an effort to group these various strains into a broadly defined program.²¹ What is most telling about the journal is its nonspecific approach to not only style but also ideology. As out-

lined by Gladys Fabre, the members of Cercle et Carré spanned the political gamut from communist to conservative factions, a mix tolerated by a generalized rhetoric of “constructing a modern world.”²² What was at stake was not any specific ideological implication of nonfiguration, but whether nonfiguration could even possess ideological implications at all.

The leniency of Cercle et Carré was opposed by the strictures of Art Concret. The same month as Cercle et Carré's group exhibition in Paris, Theo van Doesburg published a volume that espoused a much more severe program of a universalized art based on mathematics and science.²³ A list of rules that leaves no room for any possibility of figuration, his manifesto declares that painting “must receive nothing from nature's given forms, or from sensuality, or sentimentality... [and have] no other meaning than ‘itself.’”²⁴ Art Concret advanced the furthest incursion into nonobjectivity, opposing not only figuration but also all traces of abstraction based on the natural world.²⁵ Van Doesburg's formal dogmatism attracted only four other artists, who all signed the Art Concret manifesto and whose nonobjective works were reproduced in the journal.²⁶ It also made Art Concret as similarly short-lived as Cercle et Carré. Art Concret did not survive past the end of 1930, but the notion of the “concrete” would have staying power: Max Bill would later adopt the term, in a relatively decontextualized manner, as a means of describing a wholly nonobjective art.²⁷

Abstraction-Création, assembled in 1931 from the remnants of Cercle et Carré and Art Concret, was once again characterized by a holistic approach to nonfiguration:

Abstraction, because certain artists have come to the conception of non-figuration through the progressive abstraction of Nature's forms.

Creation, because other artists have come to non-figuration directly through a geometrical conception or through the sole use of so-called abstract elements such as circles, planes, bars, lines, and the like.²⁸

Abstraction and creation (a term analogous to “concrete” art) are thus reconciled as two strategies to the same end, and indeed Abstraction-Création was the most fully realized grouping of artists, publishing five cahiers and exhibiting periodically before giving way to the Salon des Réalités Nouvelles in 1939.²⁹

In considering Abstraction-Création and its antecedents, what becomes evident is a move toward the categorization of nonfiguration as a single, albeit multivalent, category of art. The deracination of abstraction thus divests its constituent elements—be they Cubism, Suprematism, or Neo-Plasticism—of ideological specificity. The strategy of reproduction and consolidation present in the groups' cahiers thus amounts to a retrospective inventory. Embattled by the threat of its potential (and aesthetic) irrelevance, nonfiguration in the 1930s asserted its viability by summing up its accomplishments to that point and reaffirming its social utility, but only in the

vaguest of terms: as Abstraction-Création declared in the preface to its second cahier, its only orthodoxy was lack thereof, a “total opposition to all forms of oppression of any kind.”³⁰ The very act of narrativization necessitated the distillation and formalization of a contentious history into a succession of discrete aesthetic movements, which were embodied by a pantheon of figures whose writings and works of art were reproduced within the pages of these journals.³¹

This hagiography, and the consequent emptying of ideological specificity, was by no means restricted to these three artist groups, nor to Paris. The five issues of the journal *Plastique*, founded by Sophie Taeuber-Arp in 1937, circulated internationally on both sides of the Atlantic;³² *Circle: International Survey of Constructive Art* served largely the same purpose in London.³³ In New York, the history of Modernism was most famously codified in the Museum of Modern Art's 1936 exhibition *Cubism and Abstract Art*.³⁴ The notorious genealogical chart published in the accompanying catalogue interpreted the first decades of the twentieth century as an uninterrupted progression toward “abstract art,” a revision that deliberately elided both the overlaps and dissonances between the presumed progenitors.

Maldonado has cited not only the catalogue of *Cubism and Abstract Art*, but also the cahiers of Abstraction-Création, as particularly formative.³⁵ The history of nonfiguration that emerges from the 1930s becomes the history printed in the exhibition catalogues and art journals that circulated widely in cosmopolitan Buenos Aires.³⁶ If Maldonado refers to 1944–1948 as the years of “splendid isolation,”³⁷ this isolation was purely physical. He and his colleagues were keenly aware of goings-on abroad, and even if they lacked the opportunity to see works such as Malevich's *Painterly Realism* in person, they were privy to a narrative that they would read as a series of systematic attempts to realize an elusive, but inevitable, triumph over representation.

Maldonado also lists the 1944 publication of *Universalismo Constructivo* [Constructive Universalism] as formative to his work.³⁸ Consisting of several hundred texts by Torres-García, *Universalismo constructivo* puts forth a metaphysical concept of a universal art, which reconciles pre-Hispanic motifs with European nonfiguration. The result, as exhibited in the *Construcciones* by Torres-García and his followers, was an abstracted pictorial language characterized by grids and simplified, pictographic signs.³⁹ Indeed, there was no more important conduit between Europe and Latin America than Torres-García, whose return to the Río de la Plata region in 1934 constituted one of the loudest transliterations of abstraction to the hemisphere. Torres-García's many lectures and exhibitions were well attended by concreto-inventonistas such as Arden Quin and Alfredo Hlito.⁴⁰ The first paintings produced by the latter, such as *Estructura* [Structure], bear the stamp of Torres-García not only in their titles but also by means of their subdivision of the canvas into separate quadrants and semi-pictographic forms. Even Maldonado, who conceded only that Torres-García exerted a “modest” influence on the concreto-inventonistas, visited his atelier in January 1943.⁴¹

Most important, however, was Torres-García's continuation of *Cercle et Carré* by means of the journal *Círculo y cuadrado* [Circle and Square]. A direct translation of its French namesake, the first issue of *Círculo y cuadrado* in May 1936 introduced itself as the “second era of *Cercle et Carré*, founded in Paris.”⁴² Not only does the statement lend the journal a European pedigree, but it also frames *Círculo y cuadrado* as an uninterrupted continuation of its Parisian counterpart. Immediately beneath this assertion, however, is the notification that the journal acts “for the modern constructivist movement,” which realigns the consolidating efforts of *Cercle et Carré* with Torres-García's *Universalismo constructivo*.⁴³ The South American iteration of the journal ultimately serves as a mouthpiece for an entirely different group, Torres-García's Asociación de Arte Constructivo [Association of Constructive Art].⁴⁴ Nevertheless, the journal communicated news from Europe that, although filtered through Torres-García's sensibilities, further exposed younger Argentine artists to abstract and nonobjective painting.⁴⁵

Thus, when Arte Concreto–Invención announced its arrival in 1944, its initially pluralistic stance toward nonfiguration stemmed from a long process of amalgamation that had been translated indirectly, and imprecisely, across the Atlantic. The evacuation of a specified political ideology enabled the Argentines to apply a largely undefined notion of “invention” to the general concept of nonfiguration. It also, soon after the publication of *Arturo*, allowed the concreto-inventonistas to reinvest nonobjectivity with a declared Marxist ideology, a move that would push nonfigurative painting toward entirely new, materialist directions.

Art for Partisan Life

If the eclecticism of *Arturo* may be understood as analogous to that of *Abstraction-Création*, the development of a strict aesthetic and ideological program by Maldonado and the concreto-inventonistas might then be likened to the dogmatism of *Art Concret*. As Maldonado described, the época heroica was defined by “relations with the European vanguard [that] were not at all passive ... [but] markedly critical: we wanted to go beyond them, and we were determined to take them to extremes, even to the destruction or denial of all artistic paradigms.”⁴⁶ The means by which this occurred was the shaped canvas, first theorized by Rhod Rothfuss in *Arturo*. To be fair, the shaped canvas did enjoy a history prior to its embrace by the Argentines, but the concreto-inventonistas departed from the formalism of Laszlo Perí's *Raumkonstruktionen* [Spatial Constructions] and Charles Shaw's architectonic *Plastic Polygons* in their attempt to produce a theory that infused the aesthetic with the ideological.⁴⁷ In his article, Rothfuss exalts the shaped canvas as a means of integrating the painted forms with their perimeter. After reviewing a familiar history of art originating with Paul Cézanne and Paul Gauguin, he argues that nonfigurative painting remains:

stuck to the *window-shape* concept of naturalistic pictures ... the edge of the canvas plays and must always be made to play an active role in the artistic creation. A painting must meet no interruptions, beginning and ending on its own.⁴⁸

It is worth noting that such a statement is a dramatic rereading of European Modernism. Rothfuss reorients van Doesburg's premise that the work of art have "no other meaning than 'itself'" from the realm of the pictorial into that of the material. No longer may painting be nonfigurative in terms of its depicted forms, but it must also deny the very possibility of representation by transforming the work into a physical, self-contained object.

The Asociación would push this idea of the shaped canvas by interpreting it as a strategy for undoing the entire figure-ground dialectic, a problem that Maldonado explicitly identified as central to the prospect of "invention." In 1946, the year the Asociación was founded, he would insist that "AS LONG AS THERE IS A FIGURE ON A GROUND, EXHIBITED IN AN ILLUSORY MANNER, THERE WILL BE REPRESENTATION."⁴⁹ Indeed, illusionism was the stated enemy of the Asociación. Its "Manifiesto invencionista" [Inventionist Manifesto], published the same year in conjunction with its first public exhibition at Peuser Hall, denounced various illusions—of space, expression, reality, and movement.⁵⁰ Shaped canvases such as Maldonado's *Sin título* (c. 1945) thus figure the ground as a means of inventing an "aesthetically belligerent" object integrated with but not representative of the natural world.⁵¹ Even the *concreto-invencionistas'* preferred term for the shaped canvas, the *marco recortado* [cut-out canvas], implies an autonomous figure literally cut away from its ground.⁵²

While the manifesto espouses a wholesale eradication of illusionism, the actual paintings produced by the *concreto-invencionistas* demonstrate a subtler, much more profound interrogation of pictorial figuration. The shaped canvas was developed as early as 1945, a dating confirmed by its presence in photographs from the only two exhibitions held by Arte Concreto–Invención. The difficulty in identifying the works exhibited, however, necessitates a consideration of those reproduced in the publications of the later Asociación, several of which are dated prior to that group's formation.⁵³ Two works by Manuel Espinosa and Raúl Lozza, reproduced in the first and only issue of the journal *Arte concreto* in August 1946,⁵⁴ simultaneously hint at and undercut figural elements in their use of the shaped canvas.

While Maldonado's *Sin título* presents a network of geometric relationships that remained embedded in its formal composition, Espinosa's *Pintura* from the same year makes those relationships explicit (fig. 3). Consisting of what appears to be a parallelogram superimposed upon a trapezoid, *Pintura* functions as a kind of doubled composition. The vertical lateral edges of both quadrilaterals, the horizontal bar defining the upper edge of the smaller trapezoid, and the generally cruciform structure of the work all establish an orthogonal picture plane. The dodecagon that results from the superimposition of these shapes, however, is an irregular form that refutes any notion of the painting as "window." The grid formation deriving from the overarching structure of *Pintura* similarly creates a tension between potential space and the resolute flatness of the grid itself. Not only does the central triangle hint at an inverted perspectival system, but the unbroken, intersecting black lines invite the viewer to visualize a panoply of quadrilaterals, triangles, and irregular poly-

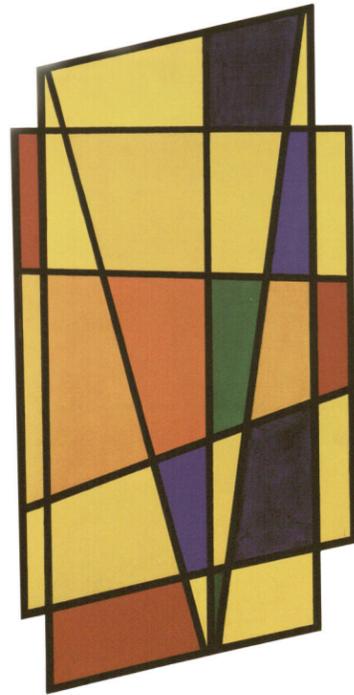


Fig. 3. Manuel Espinosa, *Pintura*, 1945, oil on masonite, private collection, 33 x 20.8 cm, Buenos Aires. Reproduced with permission of Colección Espinosa, Buenos Aires, Argentina.

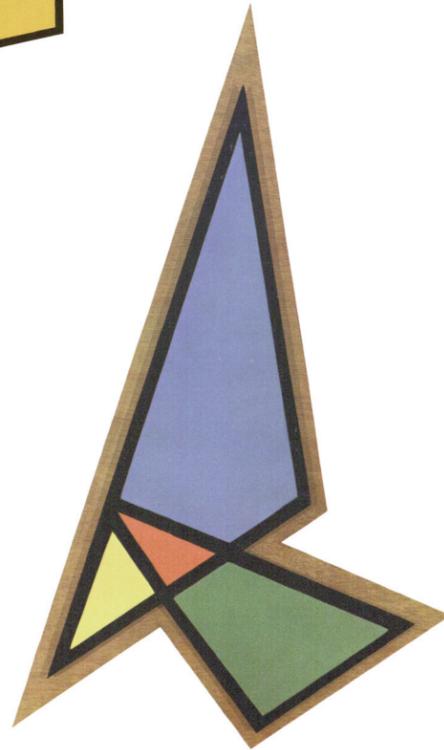


Fig. 4. Raúl Lozza, *Pintura no. 72*, c. 1945, paint on enamel, 60 x 37 cm, Museo de Arte Contemporáneo Sívori, Buenos Aires.

gons. The effect is that of a shuffling overlap of forms, an establishment of space that consists of superimposed planes rather than continuous recession—a space that is snapped back to the two-dimensional picture plane by virtue of the overriding grid structure.

The distinction between figure and ground is similarly challenged by Raúl Lozza's *Pintura no. 72*, also c. 1945 (fig. 4). Lozza more clearly combines shapes to produce an overlapping point that, again, invites new formal configurations. The central red triangle may be read as a singular form against an irregular ground, but this is quickly negated

by the contiguity and coloring of the discrete shapes that would compose such an implied ground; ultimately, there is potentially no ground present. Like Espinosa's work, *Pintura no. 72* suggests overlapping depth while reaffirming flatness, questioning the distinctions between the figure and the ground by presenting an almost impenetrable matrix of intersecting lines. Both determining and determined by the shaped canvas, these lines imply internal networks that affect the very structure of the work itself. The shaped canvases may read as autonomous figures divorced from a ground, but these figures are subject to further subdivision.

Despite his prominence in Arte Concreto–Invención and the Asociación, Maldonado created relatively few works during the época heroica. An early *Pintura* from 1944 uses a similar strategy of contiguous shapes determined by the shaped canvas. Instead of black lines traversing the entirety of the composition in grid formation, the polygons are arranged into small clusters that seem to group into four general quadrants (fig. 5). The discrete forms may thus function as independent entities or as the building blocks of a larger system—a modular understanding of composition that is literalized by a photomontage Maldonado created in 1947 for the newspaper *Orientación*, the official (and, under Perón, illegal) organ of the Partido Comunista de Argentina [Communist Party of Argentina (PCA)] (fig. 6). Illustrating an article on "problemas para la vida partidaria" [problems for partisan life], the photomontage proves significant with respect to the treatment of the constituent forms of its shaped canvas structure. The modules established by the network of black lines consist of separate photographs of Party leaders, save for a single image of a political rally that connects the three leftmost modules in a vertical column.⁵⁵

Also revealing is the manner in which the montage imagines the distinctive shaped canvas composition as literally filled with communist political imagery. The *concreto-invencionistas* made no secret of their Marxist affiliations, going so far as to declare publicly their allegiance to the PCA in the pages of *Orientación* in 1945.⁵⁶ Despite the outlawing of such leftist positions under *peronismo*,⁵⁷ they proved their leftist credentials not only by contributing to *Orientación*, but also through an embrace of Marxist rhetoric that extended to their artistic theory. This is most explicitly at work in Hlito's "Notas para una estética materialista" [Notes for a Materialist Aesthetic], which applies the theory of dialectical materialism to a received history of art, culminating in "invention" as defined by the Asociación (fig. 7).⁵⁸ Hlito links the creative process with the aesthetic object—a connection between labor and product, in Marxist terms—to promote an art that is more honest, more relevant to Argentine life, and ultimately revelatory of the systems that underpin society.⁵⁹ As the "Manifiesto invencionista" states, "Concrete art will accustom humanity to a direct relationship with things, not with the fiction of things."⁶⁰

Maldonado's montage about "partisan life" was actually the second he produced for *Orientación*; the first, in commemoration of the October Revolution, was much more appropriately Soviet in sensibility, juxtaposing jagged fragments alongside one another in varying

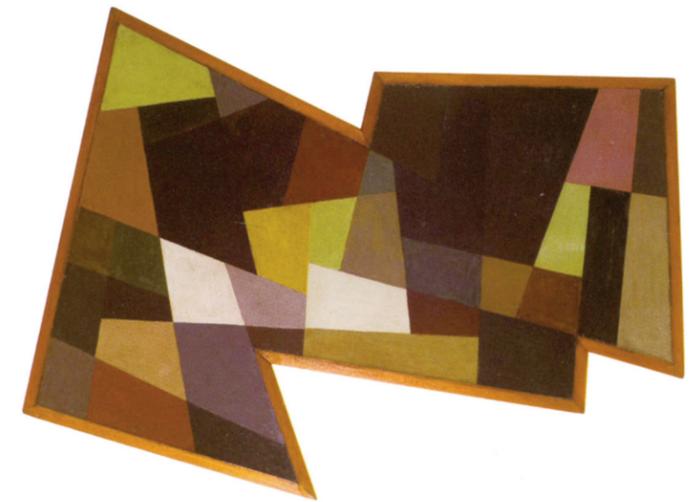


Fig. 5. Tomás Maldonado, *Pintura*, 1944, paint on wood, 38 x 51 cm, Colección del Infinito Arte, Buenos Aires.

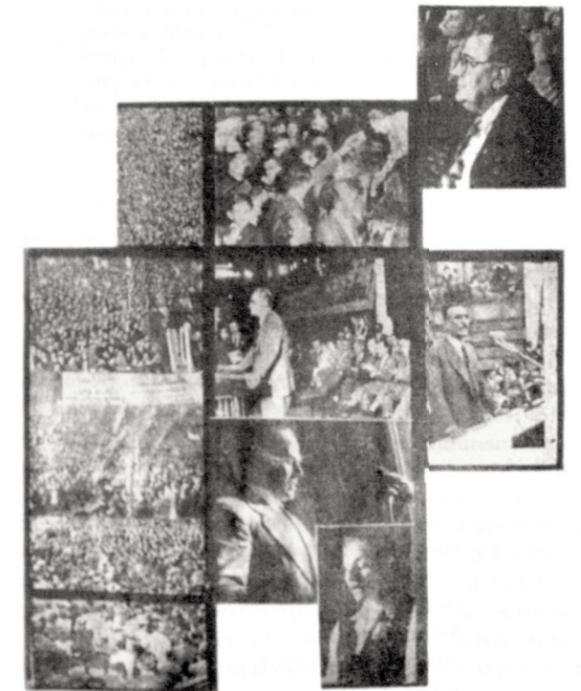


Fig. 6. Tomás Maldonado, photomontage for Juan José Real, "Tres problemas de la vida partidaria" [Three Problems for Partisan Life], *Orientación: órgano central del Partido Comunista* (Buenos Aires), January 8, 1947.

scale.⁶¹ The later montage, however, proves more informative in that it does not look back retrospectively but is instead grounded in the present thematically and, in *concreto-invencionista* terms, stylistically. It is also much more indicative of how the shaped canvas and accompanying modular geometry work as a visualization of structural systems, alluding to the conventions of figuration as a means of exposing and overcoming them.⁶² Paradoxically, then, this montage may serve as the most illuminating visual example of the *concreto-invencionistas'* merging of art and ideology. The shaped canvas does more than divorce the figure from the ground or materialize the

Notas para una estética materialista

1. — El materialismo dialéctico concibe el arte como la práctica estética del hombre.
 2. — Al mismo tiempo, considera las diversas formas que ha adoptado el arte, en el curso de la historia, e interpreta su movimiento como producto de las contradicciones que se suscitan en el proceso de la práctica social.
 3. — La historia de la evolución del arte moderno, desde los impresionistas hasta el arte llamado "abstracto", constituye un ejemplo en donde aquellas contradicciones internas, derivadas de la práctica misma, conducen a resoluciones parciales. El antagonismo surge cuando las diversas resoluciones parciales—que en la práctica estética pasan a ser otros tantos estímulos concretos—entran en contradicción con las viejas formas del arte.
 4. — El materialismo dialéctico aplicado a la interpretación de la práctica artística, comienza por establecer una distinción entre el proceso y su producto: el objeto material con propiedades estéticas. Difere, por lo tanto, esencialmente, de las diversas interpretaciones idealistas, las que, por no conocer el arte y la actividad sensible como práctica, no tienen en cuenta la distinción.
 En efecto, ellas parten de supuestos irracionalizados, tales como la pretensión "facultad representativa del sentido interno"; de formas pre-establecidas de la sensibilidad, que determinan a su vez las características del juicio, etc. El error idealista consiste, pues, en considerar los juicios y los sentimientos estéticos, como algo ya dado, en el "sentido de intuición o estas potencias firmadas."
 5. — Los sistemas metafísicos se han distinguido, entre otros cosas, por no reconocer la diferencia que media entre el mundo físico e histórico y el mundo de la representación. Esto equivale, en estética, a no considerar la naturaleza histórica y práctica del arte, y, en consecuencia, a confundir, en la especulación sobre lo bello o sobre los elementos del juicio, las propiedades del objeto natural con las del estético.
 6. — Como hemos dicho, para el materialismo el proceso estético constituye una práctica condicionada. Por esta concepción materialista del arte como práctica no ha sido, en modo alguno, resultado de una crítica formal; ha surgido, cuando las contradicciones internas de la obra de arte exigieron la verificación del procedimiento que la daba origen.
 7. — A la antigua estética idealista no le importaba la realidad del objeto, ya que se representaba intuitivamente; para la estética materialista, en cambio, es indispensable que el objeto exista realmente. O sea: mientras, para la estética idealista, el objeto aparece incluido en el proceso de la práctica

artística como mera "intuición sensible", para la concepción materialista el objeto es definido y cobra realidad en el proceso. Lo que equivale a decir que, en la primera, el proceso consistía en una representación, que, por supuesto, no se resolvía dialécticamente en el objeto; mientras que, en la segunda, el proceso consiste en la invención y el objeto es su resultado.
 8. — Para la concepción formalista clásica era el espíritu el que proporcionaba el orden, la forma, mientras el mundo sensible aportaba la materia, "el contenido". De esta manera, eran separadas materialmente las condiciones de las cosas de las cosas mismas.
 Hegel definió esta actitud "clásica" como un momento en el cual "el sujeto libre, determinándose a sí mismo, encuentra en su propia esencia la forma exterior que le conviene". Pero pronto se advierte que esa forma constituye una limitación, su fin y su límite, empujando a integrarse en el espíritu puro. Nace así la forma romántica, y la estética comienza a debilitarse infructuosamente en la teoría de los "contenidos". El proceso artístico se resuelve en la intuición pura y en la contemplación; el sujeto no proporciona solamente la forma, sino que el "contenido" mismo de la realidad es dado por él.
 En este sistema de las representaciones, en que sujeto y objeto constituyen "contenidos implícitos", confundidos en el abrazo de la "proyección sentimental", todo se vuelve factible de convertirse en fenómeno estético, mientras contemplamos una necesidad específica de la naturaleza humana.
 9. — Para la estética materialista, el objeto se agota en sus propiedades. Más allá de la invención, como del único medio posible para construir un arte en consonancia con la concepción materialista del conocimiento.
 Al no separar el objeto de sus cualidades, determina que la propiedad estética reside en la concreta materialidad de la obra de arte.
 10. — El arte, como toda actividad que en su proceso va cambiando constantemente de la forma de la acción, a la forma del ser", se verifica concretamente en el objeto. En el proceso de la invención estética, la práctica se manifiesta como productora de una nueva cosa, con propiedades nuevas.
 "Lo nuevo es la organización y con ella deben relacionarse las nuevas propiedades" (Bakhtin, CII, por J. Lwiza).
 11. — La nueva propiedad determina el nuevo contenido, el nuevo "ser". "El trabajo ha sido incorporado a la materia del trabajo; lo que en el obrero aparece como movimiento en el producto en reposo, aparece como ser en lugar de "proceso de ser" (C. Marx).

ALFREDO HLITO



Antonio Caraduje, M. Espinosa, Enio Iommi, A. Malenber, T. Maldonado, S. Contreras, L. Preti y Raul Lozza

Fig. 7. Alfredo Hlito, "Notas para una estética materialista," *Arte concreto*, no. 1 (August 1946): 12, ICAA Record ID: 731423. Reproduced with permission of Sonia Henríquez Ureña de Hlito, Buenos Aires, Argentina for ICAA Digital Project.

painting. It also, as utilized in concreto-inventionism, engenders a system of modular organization that exposes the underlying structure of the composition. This process of acknowledging the "internal structures of form and color," as articulated by Mario H. Grawdowczyk and Nelly Perrazo, speaks to a worldview that understands history and society as fundamentally structural, logical, and most importantly comprehensible.⁶³

The notion of nonfiguration as a demystified, and demystifying, art was articulated by Edgar Bayley in "Sobre arte concreto" [On Concrete Art], published in *Orientación* in February 1946. Bayley calls for "an art consistent with the material life of a society" that "no longer can be based on representational forms that have been the common denominator of all past artistic schools and styles, because representation in art is the spiritual reflection of classist social organizations."⁶⁴ Couched in a revolutionary rhetoric of class struggle and social liberation, the aesthetic severity of Argentine nonfiguration is explicitly framed as a distinctly sociopolitical program. Seven months after publishing "Sobre arte concreto," Bayley would continue to defend concreto-inventionism against potential accusations of incomprehensibility and elitism. His "Introducción al arte

concreto" [Introduction to Concrete Art], structured in a question-and-answer format, points to an understanding of painting that educates and enlightens the viewer:

- Q: Concrete art is incomprehensible.
- A: Is it necessary to deduce the nonexistence of light by the blindness of the blind?
- Q: Concrete art is anti-democratic: it is reserved for the initiated.
- A: Is the French language anti-democratic since one must learn it to understand it?⁶⁵

The inelegance of Bayley's analogies notwithstanding, his assertions reveal a deep investment in the painting as a tool for effecting real change in the world. The system of interrogation and revelation in works such as Juan Melé's 1946 *Marco recortado no. 2* [Cut-out Canvas no. 2] thus acquires political dimension. In his painting Melé presents an irregular grid that appears to recede into space while simultaneously reaffirming its own strict planarity—a rehearsal and denial of illusionism that accordingly exposes it as an operational system itself (fig. 8).



Fig. 8. Juan Melé, *Marco recortado no. 2*, 1946, oil on masonite, 71 x 46 cm, Colección Patricia Phelps de Cisneros.

The initiative to politicize art takes on particular urgency when considered in light of the hostile sociopolitical climate of Argentina in the 1940s. Maldonado's montage and the texts by Hlito and Bayley were all created shortly after Perón was elected president, thanks to the support of a nationalized union coalition. The very proletariat that Marxism (and, by extension, nonfiguration) sought to address was thus, in the eyes of the political left, co-opted for the purposes of

a staunchly pro-business, fascist regime.⁶⁶ The precise relationship between peronismo and concreto-inventionism remains somewhat ambiguous. Certainly the rigorous interrogation of figuration may be read as a response to the ubiquitous *peronista* propaganda, which trafficked in sentimentalized images of the archetypal *descamisado* worker, the Argentine nuclear family, and of Juan, and especially Eva, Perón.⁶⁷ Perazzo looks to the rhetoric of Minister of Culture Oscar Ivanissevich, who publicly pathologized abstract and nonobjective art as degenerate and mentally deficient, as evidence of an antagonism.⁶⁸ This assertion is corroborated by Maldonado's rare comment that directly refers to the policies of the government and "the anguished, fat men of the Ministry of Culture ... that hate our art for being joyful, clear, and constructive."⁶⁹ Andrea Giunta counters by acknowledging that regardless of their political convictions, the concreto-inventionistas remained largely "on the margins" of the government's focus, their political stance being located outside the dominant discourse.⁷⁰

Certainly the illegal nature of leftist publications like *Orientación* necessarily positioned the concreto-inventionistas as politically antagonistic to peronismo, but overtly anti-government statements like that of Maldonado remain scarce. Rather, it was primarily through their art that they attempted to ignite a dialogue absent from the figurative, largely academic work that populated the galleries of Buenos Aires and the Salones Nacionales during this period.⁷¹ More than a stylistic alternative, the concreto-inventionistas sought an ideological one as well: "Our works have a revolutionary mission; their goal is to help transform daily reality through the effective intervention of every reader or spectator of the aesthetic experience..."⁷² This political reality begins to explain the theoretical and formal rigor of concreto-inventionism, which was circumscribed by a rhetoric of militancy that denied any possibility for the eclecticism that had defined *Arturo*. No better example of this can be found in Maldonado's public accusation of Torres-García as "eclectic"—a slur attributed not to Torres-García's dialogue with European sources but rather by his perceived unwillingness to engage them beyond an aesthetic level.⁷³

The aesthetic and ideological functions of the shaped canvas are most clearly laid out in Maldonado's "Lo abstracto y lo concreto en el arte moderno" [The Abstract and the Concrete in Modern Art]. Maldonado relates a trajectory of art history that by 1946 had become authoritative: the initial abstraction of Cubism, which here is read as revelatory of the "abstract mechanism" of representation itself, progresses through a series of distinct movements to the more "concrete" work of Neoplasticism, which most fully but unsatisfactorily distances itself from represented form.⁷⁴ Concreto-inventionism, Maldonado argues, develops the shaped canvas as a means of pushing nonfiguration to its next stage, "materializing" figures and "spatializing" the plane as a means of firmly situating the work of art as an agent in the world. The Argentine avant-garde ultimately attempts to outdo its European antecedents, but it does so by means of a willful misreading made possible only by temporal, geographic, and ultimately theoretical distance.

Conclusion: The Problem of Limits

"Lo abstracto y lo concreto en el arte moderno" marks a turning point that hastened the end of the época heroica, as Maldonado alludes to a new structure that modifies the shaped canvas: the *coplanar*. Where the marco recortado cuts the figure away from the ground, the coplanar—a constellation of discrete forms arranged against a wall—literalizes the process of physical separation. The Raúl Lozza piece that illustrates the article features components connected together with rods (fig. 9), but occasionally the coplanares consist of individual shapes wholly independent of one another: in either iteration, these works shift the focus of the shaped canvas from internal tension to external spatial relationships. Each constituent form is painted a different color and achieves a sense of self-sufficiency, which suggests that the coplanares dissociate the shaped canvas into its component modules. The centrifugal force of their unbounded compositions threatens to separate these fragmented modules from one another, and indeed the possibility of this motion in space inadvertently serves to undercut the structural principles at work in the shaped canvases.



Fig. 9. Tomás Maldonado, "Lo abstracto y lo concreto en el arte moderno," *Arte concreto*, no. 1 (August 1946): 6, ICAA Record ID: 731507. Reproduced with permission of Tomás Maldonado, Milano, Italia for ICAA Digital Project.

If the coplanes most fully materialize nonobjectivity as a system of interrelationships, this apotheosis inadvertently exposes an inherent vice present in the shaped canvas: once placed against a wall, they inevitably read as figures against a ground, a reiteration of the figuration that the concreto-inventoristas so adamantly rejected.⁷⁵ Photographs of the coplanes attest to this phenomenon: their placement against a white ground call to mind nothing so much as Maldonado's *Sin título*, the red and black forms of which he would dismiss as “too autonomous.”⁷⁶ A limit had been reached, and figuration, it seemed, had become unavoidable.

Realizing that the project of the Asociación had reached an impasse, in 1948 Maldonado traveled to Italy, Zurich, and Paris, where he met with a number of artists, most prominently Georges Vantongerloo and Max Bill, who by this point had formulated his own theory of “concrete” art.⁷⁷ In Zurich Maldonado would write “El arte concreto y el problema de lo ilimitado” [Concrete Art and the Problem of the Unlimited], a text in which he once again traces art historical attempts to resolve the figure-ground problem and ultimately concedes the failure of the shaped canvases in doing so.⁷⁸ Dismissing the shaped canvas as “a three-dimensional solution to a two-dimensional problem,”⁷⁹ Maldonado and the concreto-inventoristas returned to the orthogonal frame, ushering in a new period defined by hard-edged forms and evanescent lines against flat, unmodulated grounds. This turn was also marked by a divestment of ideology from painting, as the concreto-inventoristas either left or were finally expelled from the PCA.⁸⁰ The moment of “splendid isolation” had passed.

Although the concreto-inventoristas ultimately designated the shaped canvas an unfulfilled project, its revolutionary reformulation of nonfiguration constitutes a significant development in not only Argentine but also European painting. Exposed to publications such as the cahiers of *Abstraction-Création*, *Círculo y cuadrado*, and *Cubism and Abstract Art*, the Argentines imbued a consolidated, linear, and primarily formalistic history of art with radical politics that responded, however obliquely, to their current sociopolitical context. Concreto-inventorismo thus repurposes recognizable artistic forms—such as Malevich's Suprematist shapes, Mondrian's grids, or Lissitzky's axonometric configurations—and reconfigures their ideological coordinates. Nonfiguration does not simply seek to evacuate representation but rather serves a didactic purpose, visualizing and thereby reifying a Marxist ideology grounded in a structural understanding of the world. Concreto-inventorismo thus acts as a kind of blueprint, a systematic mapping of systems meant to reaffirm the social vitality of nonfiguration and provoke social transformation.

Somewhat poetically, the abandonment of this project occurred precisely as the Argentine avant-garde began to garner official recognition both at home and abroad. In 1947, a series of exhibitions exhibited the Asociación and the Madí together as a “new art,” culminating the following year with the *Salón de nuevas realidades* [Salon of New Realities] at the Galería Van Riel.⁸¹ If the *Salón* intended to replicate the *Salon des Réalités Nouvelles* in Buenos Aires, however, this was a slightly redundant enterprise: in 1948 both the Asociación and the Madí contributed

to the Parisian exhibition, signaling the official legitimization of South American nonfiguration as part of an international art historical tendency.⁸² It also marked a certain repetition of history. If concreto-inventorismo was born from the coalescence and formalization of abstraction and nonobjectivity in the 1930s, it reenacted this process through the reconciliation of the various strains of the Argentine avant-garde and their consequent depoliticization. The rectilinear canvas would return to prominence; nonfiguration would be dealt with in primarily aesthetic terms; and the pursuit of a materialized, partisan geometry would be discontinued. It may be argued, with a tinge of irony, that it was ultimately in this forsaking of a politicized, objectified art that the concreto-inventoristas most fully followed the art historical trajectory that they had worked so ardently to enter.

NOTES

- ¹ María Amalia García, *Tomás Maldonado in Conversation with / en Conversación con María Amalia García* (New York: Fundación Cisneros, 2010), 29.
- ² Ana Pozzi-Harris reads the forms as thwarting notions of receding space or representation. “Marginal Disruptions: Concrete and Madí Art in Argentina, 1940–1955” (PhD diss., University of Texas at Austin, 2007), 335–37.
- ³ The term “shaped canvas” will be used to refer to a structure in which the orthogonality of the traditional frame is disrupted or done away with altogether, rather than to the material specificity of canvas itself.
- ⁴ Maldonado, quoted in García, 32.
- ⁵ *Ibid.*, 29.
- ⁶ Omar Calabrese, “Tomás Maldonado: The Arts and Culture as a Totality,” in *Tomás Maldonado* (Milan: Triennale Design Museum, 2009), 20.
- ⁷ See for example Nelly Perazzo, *El arte concreto en la Argentina en la década del 40* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones de Arte Gaglianone, 1983), 62–63; Dawn Ades, “Arte Madí/Arte Concreto–Inventorismo,” in *Art in Latin America* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1989), 241–52; Gabriel Pérez-Barreiro, “Buenos Aires: Breaking the Frame,” in *The Geometry of Hope* (Austin: Blanton Museum of Art, University of Texas at Austin; New York: Grey Art Gallery and Study Center, New York University: 2007), 28–37.
- ⁸ The Asociación would come to include Edgar Bayley, Antonio Caraduje, Simón Contreras, Manuel Espinosa, Claudio Girola, Alfredo Hlito, Enio Iommi, Rafael and Raúl Lozza, Juan Melé, Alberto Molenberg, Primaldo Mónaco, Oscar Núñez, Lidy Prati, Jorge Souza, and Matilde Werbin. Madí, meanwhile, was founded by Carmelo Arden Quin and Gyula Kosice, originally consisting of Martín Blaszkó, Esteban Eitler, Diji Laań, Valdo W. Longo, Rhod Rothfuss, and Elizabeth Steiner. See Pozzi-Harris, 36–37.
- ⁹ “Inventar,” *Arturo: Revista de arte abstracto*, no. 1 (Summer 1944): n.p. All translations are my own unless otherwise indicated.
- ¹⁰ The matter of assigning a name to refer to these artists is problematic, as these various groups were quite porous. Pérez-Barreiro refers to these artists as “inventorista” artists, as the term “invention” predates “concrete,” while Pozzi-Harris's use of the term “Concrete” highlights their affinities for European nonfiguration as well as Marxist thought. Pérez-Barreiro, 28–37; Pozzi-Harris, 38–40.
- ¹¹ Gyula Kosice has stated that the emphasis on “invention” and the “concrete” lies outside the practices of the Madí, an assertion that will be followed in this consideration of “concrete” art in Argentina. Perazzo, 62–63.
- ¹² Pozzi-Harris has done work regarding the genealogy of these terms in concreto-inventorista literature, noting that “inventorismo” appears initially in *Arturo*, while “concreto” is a term adopted most forcefully by the Asociación, beginning with the first issue of its *Revista de Arte Concreto* in August 1946. Pozzi-Harris, 38, note 51. For further discussion on the development of these terms, see Perazzo, 55; Alejandro G. Crispiani, “Frutos de la inventorismo,” in *Tomás Maldonado, un moderno en acción: Ensayos sobre su obra*, ed. Mario H. Gradowczyk (Buenos Aires: Editorial de la Universidad Nacional de Tres de Febrero, 2008), 49–53.

- ¹³ See Ades, 241; Perazzo, 55–57; Pozzi-Harris, 6–7; Gabriela Siracusano, “Punto y línea sobre el campo,” in *Desde la otra vereda: momentos del debate por un arte moderno en la Argentina (1880–1960)* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones del Jilguero, 1998), 179–83; Mario H. Gradowczyk and Nelly Perazzo, *Abstract Art from the Rio de la Plata: Buenos Aires and Montevideo, 1933–1953* (New York: Americas Society, 2001), 39.
- ¹⁴ The most obvious of these contradictions lies in the coexistence Maldonado's woodcut, his earliest known artistic output, and the stated reproach of Surrealism with its sinuous lines and figural forms that begin to suggest legibility as signs. The woodcut seems wildly inappropriate given the essays by Arden Quin, Kosice, and Bayley that theorize invention as a means of doing away with irrationality, automatism, or the subconscious. Even the “Inventar” manifesto allows for strategies of chance in addition to “force of ingenuity or meditation,” an invitation to less methodical modes of creation that sits uneasily alongside the call for “INVENTION against AUTOMATISM” and Bayley's later attack against Dalí and Surrealism. Edgar Bayley, “Durante mucho tiempo el criterio....,” *Arturo: Revista de arte abstracto*, no. 1 (Summer 1944): n.p. ICAA Record ID: 730241. See also Pérez-Barreiro, 32.
- ¹⁵ Pérez-Barreiro, 31.
- ¹⁶ Tomás Maldonado, quoted in Giacinto di Pietrantonio, “Entrevista a Tomás Maldonado,” in *Arte Abstracto Argentino*, ed. Marcelo Pacheco and Enrico Crispolti (Buenos Aires: Fundación PROA, 2002), 62–63, reprinted in *Argentine Abstract Art*, accompanying English-language text, trans. Javier Barreiro Cavestany et al., 25.
- ¹⁷ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁸ Moreover, the emphasis on “concrete” art positions the concreto-inventoristas as the inheritors of the legacy of Theo van Doesburg's Art Concret. Their two exhibitions under the banner of Arte Concreto–Inventorismo further stressed this connection through their titles: *Art Concret Invention* [Concrete Art Invention] was held at the home of the psychoanalyst Enrique Pichón-Rivière in October 1945, while *Movimiento Arte Concreto–Inventorismo* [Concrete Art–Invention Movement] took place at the home of photographer Grete Stern in November the same year. These exhibitions were held in the homes of well-known figures of the Buenos Aires intellectual elite, partly due to the unfavorable artistic and political climate in 1945. Maldonado, Hlito, and Raúl Lozza did not participate in the second exhibition, portending the splitting of Arte Concreto–Inventorismo into the Asociación and the Madí. See Perazzo, 62.
- ¹⁹ Paris served as the point of reference for most Argentine artists, not only because the city experienced a resurgence of cultural import resulting from the arrival of legions of émigrés fleeing the encroachment of fascism, but also because Buenos Aires, like Paris, was a cosmopolitan, multinational metropolis. *Abstraction Création 1931–1936* (Paris: Musée d'Art Moderne de la Ville de Paris, 1978), 5. For additional studies of these groups and the general artistic atmosphere in 1930s Paris, see also Gladys C. Fabre, *Arte Abstracto, Arte Concreto: Cercle et Carré, Paris, 1930* (Seville: Institut Valencià d'Art Modern, 1990); Robert S. Lubar, “Abstract Polemics in Paris,” unpublished manuscript, 2012.
- ²⁰ See Gladys Fabre, “Cercle et Carré 1930,” in *Arte Abstracto, Arte Concreto* 29–34.
- ²¹ In the first issue Torres-García defines construction as the abandonment of mimesis and the presentation of “the idea of a thing” rather than the thing itself. Seuphor similarly discusses “architecture,” the idea of form as structural scaffolding that can only be discovered through abstraction: “Abstraction of the real world, of its mathematical and architectonic secret, becomes the substantial nourishment of our cerebral world.” Joaquín Torres-García, “Vouloir Construire,” *Cercle et Carré*, no. 1 (March 15, 1930): n.p.; Michel Seuphor, “Pour la Défense d'une Architecture,” *Cercle et Carré*, no. 1 (March 15, 1930): n.p. See also *Abstraction Création 1931–36*, 15–17; Gladys Fabre, “Cercle et Carré 1930,” 29–34.
- ²² Fabre, “Cercle et Carré 1930,” 33–34.
- ²³ Van Doesburg was initially invited to join Cercle et Carré but declined because of the group's tolerance of figuration. See Doris Wintgens Hötte, “Van Doesburg Tackles the Continent: Passion, Drive, and Calculation,” in *Van Doesburg and the International Avant-Garde: Constructing a New World*, ed. Gladys Fabre and Doris Wintgens Hötte (London: Tate, 2009), 10–19; Stephen Bann, “The Basis of Concrete Painting,” in *The Tradition of Constructivism* (New York: Viking Press, 1974), 191.
- ²⁴ Theo van Doesburg, “Art Concret,” *Art Concret* (April 1930): 1.
- ²⁵ For a more in-depth discussion of Art Concret and van Doesburg's thoughts on nonfiguration, see Fabre, “Art Concret 1930,” in *Arte Abstracto, Arte Concreto*, 61–68.

- ²⁶ These were Otto-Gustaf Carlsund, Jean Héllion, Léon Arthur Tutundjian, and Marcel Wantz
- ²⁷ Though he is one of the most prominent figures in the translation of “concrete” art to South America, Max Bill would not play a critical role in the Argentine avant-garde until 1948, when Maldonado first met him in Europe. His approach to “concrete” art, similar to but even more formalistic than that of van Doesburg, will thus not be dealt with at length. For further information see Max Bill, “Konkrete Kunst,” *Zürcher konkrete Kunst* (Zürich: n.p., 1949), reprinted in *Max Bill*, trans. Eduard Hüttinger (New York: Rizzoli, 1978): 61–67.
- ²⁸ *Abstraction-création: Art non-figuratif* 1 (1932): 1.
- ²⁹ The diversity of approaches afforded by the general definition (or lack thereof) of Abstraction-Création is manifest in the list of artists who contributed to the cahier. The first issue alone boasted writings and reproductions by Jean (Hans) Arp, Willi Baumeister, Istvan Beothy, Carl Buchheister, Alexander Calder, Robert and Sonia Delaunay, Katherine Sophie Dreier, William Einstein, Frantisek Foltyn, Otto Freundlich, Naum Gabo, Laure Garcin, Albert Gleizes, Jean Gorin, Jean Héllion, Auguste Herbin, Evie Hone, Mainie Jellett, František Kupka, László Moholy-Nagy, Piet Mondrian, Majorie Moss, Anton Pevsner, John W. Power, Enrico Prampolini, Léonce Rosemberg, Kurt Séligmann, Michel Seuphor, Hans Schiess, Kurt Schwitters, Henri Strazewski, Wladyslaw Strzeminski, Sophie Taeuber-Arp, Léon Tutundjian, Georges Valmier, Theo van Doesburg, Georges Vantongerloo, Paul Vienny, Jacques Villon, Friedrich Vordemberge-Gildewart, and Edward Wadsworth. *Abstraction-création: Art non-figuratif* 1 (1932): 1–48.
- ³⁰ *Abstraction-création: Art non-figuratif* 2 (1933): 1. Perazzo identifies that several general topics discussed in the writings of the Abstraction-Création cahiers are the social relevance of art, its reception by the public, the legibility of abstraction, the question of technological development, and notions of the collective. “Concrete Art in Europe,” 19.
- ³¹ These strategies have not been immune from critique, as some have interpreted consolidation as a move that defangs nonfiguration, yielding “facile, decorative work.” Hal Foster et al., “1937: Naum Gabo, Ben Nicholson, and Leslie Martin publish *Circle* in London, solidifying the institutionalization of geometric abstraction,” in *Art Since 1900*, vol. 1 (New York: Thames and Hudson, Inc., 2004), 288.
- ³² *Plastique* covered a wide array of subjects in German, English, and French. Its first issues centered on Suprematism, German art, and United States abstraction before shifting its focus to poetry. *Plastique* nos. 1–5 (1937–39), reprinted in *Plastique. Numbers 1–5 (1937–1939)* (New York: Arno Press, 1969).
- ³³ The publication was founded by Naum Gabo, Ben Nicholson, and Leslie Martin. *Circle: International Survey of Constructive Art* (London: Faber and Faber, 1937).
- ³⁴ A lengthier analysis of the impact of Cercle et Carré, Art Concret, and Abstraction-Création can be found in Fabre, “Internacionalización del arte abstracto-concreto,” in *Arte Abstracto, Arte Concreto*, 289–310.
- ³⁵ Di Pietrantonio, 62–63, reprinted and translated in *Argentine Abstract Art*, 25.
- ³⁶ Pérez-Barreiro, 31.
- ³⁷ Maldonado, quoted in Di Pietrantonio, 59 (original quote in English).
- ³⁸ Maldonado, quoted in Di Pietrantonio, 59.
- ³⁹ The appropriation of the terms “constructive” and “construction” serves as another example of the emptying of politics from abstraction (in this case the adamantly communist project of Russian Constructivism).
- ⁴⁰ The links between Torres-García and Arte Concreto–Inventorismo are further explicated in Cristina Rossi, “Torres García en el Buenos Aires de los primeros cuarenta. Acerca de la circulación de la obra *torresgarciana* antes de la aparición de la revista *Arturo*,” *Latin American Studies Association* (2004): 1–19. See also Jacqueline Barnitz, “Torres-García's Constructive Universalism and the Abstract Legacy,” in *Twentieth-Century Art of Latin America* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001), 127–42. Additionally, Torres-García has been credited with introducing the term “invention” to Latin America, though in a definition that relates to singular formal innovation than a general process of art making. Torres-García, “Lección 50: De la inventorismo en la pintura,” *Universalismo Constructivo* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1984), 308–11.
- ⁴¹ Di Pietrantonio, 63, reprinted and translated in *Argentine Abstract Art*, 25.
- ⁴² *Círculo y cuadrado* 1 (May 1936): n.p.
- ⁴³ *Ibid.*

- ⁴⁴ See Mari Carmen Ramírez, *El Taller Torres-García: The School of the South and Its Legacy* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1992).
- ⁴⁵ The first issue of *Círculo y cuadrado*, for example, contains a letter from Paris by Jean Hélon that describes the continued dominance of Surrealism and recommends the British journal *Axis: Quarterly Review of Abstract Painting and Sculpture*, another example of a retrospective publication about European nonfiguration. Jean Hélon, “Carta de Paris,” *Círculo y cuadrado* 1 (May 1936): n.p.
- ⁴⁶ Maldonado, quoted in Di Pietrantonio, 59.
- ⁴⁷ Maldonado asserts that despite the development of the shaped canvas by these artists, they “did not properly systematize or draw any conclusion pertaining to the structure.” “Lo abstracto y lo concreto en el arte moderno,” *Arte concreto*, no. 1 (August 1946): 6. [ICAA Record ID: 731507](#). See also García, 34.
- ⁴⁸ Rhod Rothfuss, “El marco: un problema de plástica actual,” *Arturo: Revista de arte abstracto*, no. 1 (Summer 1944): n.p. [ICAA Record ID: 729833](#)
- ⁴⁹ Maldonado, “Lo abstracto y lo concreto,” 5.
- ⁵⁰ Asociación Arte Concreto–Inventción, “Manifiesto invencionista,” *Arte concreto*, no. 1 (August 1946): 1.
- ⁵¹ Maldonado, quoted in Gradowczyk and Perrazo, 52.
- ⁵² *Ibid.*, 33–34.
- ⁵³ In considering the shaped canvases, it must also be noted that many of the works still extant have been back-dated, repainted, or wholly reconstructed. See Pérez-Barreiro, 35.
- ⁵⁴ In December of the same year *Arte concreto* was followed by the *Boletín de la Asociación de Arte Concreto Inventción*, which too numbered only one issue.
- ⁵⁵ Juan José Real, “Tres problemas para la vida partidaria,” *Orientación: órgano central del Partido Comunista* (Buenos Aires), January 8, 1947. See also Ana Longoni and Daniela Luca, “De cómo el ‘júbilo creador’ se trastocó en ‘desfachatez’” El pasaje de Maldonado y los concretos por el Partido Comunista. 1945–1948,” in *Tomás Maldonado, un moderno en acción*, 59–61; Carlos A. Molinari, *El arte en la era de la máquina: conexiones entre tecnología y obras de arte pictórico, 1900–1950* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Teseo, 2011), 130–31; Daniela Lucena, “Arte y revolución: Sobre los fotomontajes de Tomás Maldonado,” *Izquierdas* 13 (August 2012): 18–28.
- ⁵⁶ “Artistas adhieren al comunismo,” *Orientación: órgano central del Partido Comunista* (Buenos Aires), September 19, 1945.
- ⁵⁷ See José Gabriel Vazeilles, *La izquierda argentina que no fue: Estudios de historia ideológica* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Biblos, 2003); Miguel Murmis and Juan Carlos Portantiero, *Estudios sobre los orígenes del peronismo* (Buenos Aires: Siglo XXI Editores Argentina, 2004); Loris Zanatta, *Breve historia del peronismo clásico*, trans. Carlos Catroppi (Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamérica, 2008).
- ⁵⁸ Alfredo Hlito, “Notas para una estética materialista,” *Arte concreto*, no. 1 (August 1946): 12. [ICAA Record ID: 731423](#)
- ⁵⁹ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁰ Asociación Arte Concreto–Inventción, “Manifiesto invencionista,” 1.
- ⁶¹ Rodolfo Ghioldi, “La Unión Soviética, líder de la paz,” *Orientación: órgano central del Partido Comunista* (Buenos Aires), November 6, 1946.
- ⁶² See Crispiani, “Una definición plástica del marxismo,” in *Objetos para transformar el mundo*, 83–140.
- ⁶³ Gradowczyk and Perazzo, 57.
- ⁶⁴ Bayley, “Sobre arte concreto,” *Orientación: órgano central del Partido Comunista* (Buenos Aires), February 20, 1946.
- ⁶⁵ Edgar Bayley, “Introducción al arte concreto,” *Boletín de la Asociación de Arte Concreto–Inventción*, no. 2 (December 1946): n.p. [ICAA Record ID: 729894](#)
- ⁶⁶ With its contradictory stances and shifts in political allegiance, peronismo is notoriously difficult to define, but a history of its relationship with unions may be found in Álvaro Abós, *La columna vertebral: sindicatos y peronismo* (Buenos Aires: Legasa, 1983). See also David Tamarin, *The Argentine Labor Movement, 1930–1945: A Study in the Origins of Peronism* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1985).
- ⁶⁷ Mariano Ben Plotkin, *Mañana es San Perón: A Cultural History of Perón’s Argentina*, trans. Keith Zahniser (Wilmington, Del.: Rowman and Littlefield, 2003); Marcela Gené, *Un mundo feliz: Imágenes de los trabajadores en el primero peronismo 1946–1955* (Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica de Argentina, S. A., 2005); Guillermo E. D’Arino Aringoli, *La propaganda peronista (1943–1955)* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Maipue, 2006).
- ⁶⁸ Perazzo, 122. Iwanishevich’s tastes were far more academic, and he infamously condemned “degenerate art” such as Cubism, Futurism, and Surrealism in a speech marking the opening of the Salón Nacional in 1948. Excerpts from the speech were reprinted in “Inauguró ayer el XXXIX Salón de Artes Plásticas,” *La Nación* (Buenos Aires), September 22, 1949. [ICAA Record ID: 824394](#). See also “El XXXIX Salón de Bellas Artes será abierto esta tarde,” *La Nación* (Buenos Aires), September 21, 1949. [ICAA Record ID: 824360](#)
- ⁶⁹ Tomás Maldonado, “Los artistas concretos, el ‘realismo’ y ‘la realidad.’” *Arte Concreto*, no. 1 (August 1946): 10. [ICAA Record ID: 731518](#)
- ⁷⁰ Andrea Giunta, “El arte moderno en los márgenes del peronismo,” in *Vanguardia, internacionalismo, y política: arte argentino en los años sesenta* (Buenos Aires: Paidós, 2001), 45–83.
- ⁷¹ See Giunta, “Nacionales y Populares: los salones nacionales del peronismo,” in *Tras los pasos de la norma: Salones Nacionales de Bellas Artes (1911–1989)*, ed. Marta Penhos and Diana Wechsler (Buenos Aires: Editorial del Jilguero, 1999), 153–90.
- ⁷² Asociación de Arte Concreto–Inventción, “Nuestra militancia,” *Arte Concreto*, no. 1 (August 1946): 8. [ICAA Record ID: 731530](#)
- ⁷³ Maldonado writes, “in the ‘constructivist’ works by Torres-García we can find cubism (a bad one), impressionism ... and some cheap symbolism (suns, pictographic puppets, fish).” “Torres-García contra el arte moderno,” *Boletín de la Asociación de Arte Concreto–Inventción*, no. 2 (December 1946): n.p.
- ⁷⁴ Maldonado, “Lo abstracto y lo concreto,” 5–7.
- ⁷⁵ Hlito would comment that “the walls to which those paintings [the *coplanares*] were fixed immediately assumed the optical function that the canvas had fulfilled before, so that the background reappeared again...” Hlito, “El tema del espacio de la pintura actual,” *Nueva visión*, no. 8 (1955): 11. [ICAA Record ID: 730755](#)
- ⁷⁶ Maldonado, quoted in García, 29.
- ⁷⁷ In Italy he met Max Huber, Bruno Munari, Piero Dorazio, Achille Perilli, Gianni Dova, Diego Peverelli, and Gillo Dorfles; in Zurich he met Bill, Richard P. Lohse, Camille Graeser, and Verena Loewensberg; and in Paris Vantongerloo. Di Pietrantonio, 59.
- ⁷⁸ Maldonado, *El arte concreto y el problema de lo ilimitado: notas para un estudio teórico*, unpublished manuscript (1948) (Buenos Aires: Ramona, 2003).
- ⁷⁹ Maldonado, quoted in Gradowczyk and Perrazo, 52.
- ⁸⁰ Crispiani, “Las raíces latinoamericanas del invencionismo,” 71; Calabrese, 18.
- ⁸¹ See Edgar Bayley, “Nuevas realidades,” *Ciclo: arte, literatura, pensamiento modernos* (Buenos Aires), November–December 1948, 88–90. [ICAA Record ID: 730488](#). Other exhibitions from 1947 were *Arte nuevo* at Salón Kraft and another exhibition of the same title at Galería Payer. See Perazzo, 93–95.
- ⁸² Participants included Aníbal Biedma, María Bresler, Juan Del Prete, Juan Delmonte, Manuel Espinosa, Lucio Fontana, Alfredo Hlito, Enio Iommi, Gyula Kosice, Jacqueline Lorin-Kaldor, Dily Laaí, Alberto Molenberg, Tomás Maldonado, Lidy Prati, Rhod Rothfuss, Jorge Souza, and Rodolfo Uricchio. *Salon des Réalités Nouvelles*, no. 2 (Paris: 1948): n.p. See also Pierre Descargues, “Réalités Nouvelles,” *Arts* (Paris), July 23, 1948.

CADA: A REVOLUTIONARY PRACTICE

Molly Moog

CADA: A Revolutionary Practice

Today, in Santiago, Chile, the slogan “No + lucro” is graffitied all over the walls of the city and written on handmade signs hoisted over crowds of Chilean student protesters. The symbol “No +,” which means simply *No más*, or no more, is employed by the contemporary Chilean protest movement that developed in 2011 under the government of President Sebastian Piñera to demand quality, affordable education, better environmental stewardship, and more class equality from the government. Chilean students demanding “No + Lucro” [no more profit] object to the profit reaped by the private sector from educational policies rooted in the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet that leave students in debt. The slogan “No +” is ubiquitous in contemporary Chilean culture. Last year students used the slogan as they took to the streets to protest a hydroelectric energy proposal that would endanger Chilean Patagonia’s pristine environment. The slogan can be seen in the music video for the song “Shock” by Chilean rapper Ana Tijoux, which articulates the stance of the Chilean protest movement against the greed, corruption, and “shock doctrine” politics of the Piñera government (fig. 1).

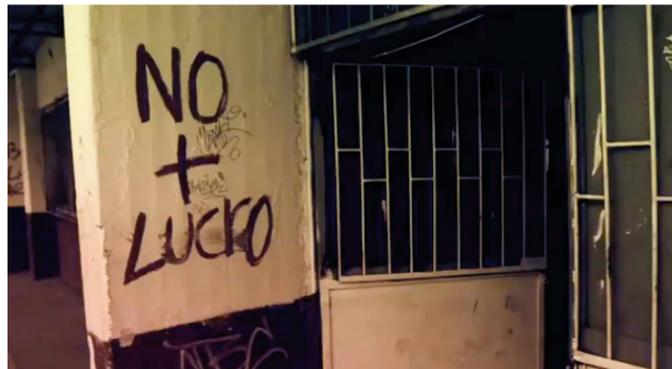


Fig. 1. Ana Tijoux, Still from Music Video for *Shock*, 2012.
© Ana Tijoux, 2012

The “No +” that has become a powerful symbol of the current student protest movement was not generated by this movement, but was developed in the 1980s as a response to Pinochet’s repressive dictatorship, which lasted from 1973 until 1989. On September 11, 1973, a military junta, including General Pinochet, led an attack on the Chilean presidential palace, La Moneda, to demand the resignation of President Salvador Allende, who had placed Chile on the road to socialism. Allende refused to resign, committing suicide inside the palace while the junta advanced on La Moneda with tanks and the air force bombed the palace from above. The military regime that followed was characterized by the same brutal force and control exhibited during the coup. Censorship, torture, and repression were

employed by Pinochet’s government with the justification that these measures were necessary for preserving order, restoring the Chilean economy, and defending against what the military regime alleged to be a Marxist foe attempting to infiltrate the Chilean government.

“No +” appeared for the first time in 1983. It was originally developed as part of a participatory art action by the Chilean artists collective El Colectivo de Acciones de Arte [The Art Actions Collective], or CADA, during a period of heightened protest against the Pinochet regime. The slogan implies a blank to be filled by the observer who, in so doing, participates in the art action. The members of CADA graffitied the symbol “No +” on the walls of Santiago under the cover of night, leaving the phrase to be discovered and completed by the thoughts or graffiti of passersby. Citizens completed the phrase with what they desired to experience no more of, such as “No + dictadura” [No + dictatorship], “No + tortura” [No + torture], “No + muertes” [No + deaths], “No + armas” [No + guns] (fig. 2). “No +” exemplifies the intersection of art, politics, and activism in CADA’s art interventions in the Chilean urban landscape and in the quotidian life of Chilean citizens. CADA’s art actions manipulated the signs and symbols of past and present events to encourage a deconstructive critical response to the discourse and actions of the Pinochet regime and to the political and social reality of Chilean society. Today this highly charged symbol has been appropriated by the current student protest movement to serve the same purpose that it did in the 1980s, that of encouraging critical discourse. The general critical attitude provoked by CADA’s art actions, which originally deconstructed the official discourse of the Pinochet regime, makes these works relevant to the present, in which the after-effects of the Pinochet regime are subject to renewed scrutiny.



Fig. 2. CADA, *No +*, Cerrillos District, Santiago, 1983. © CADA / Lotty Rosenfeld, 2013

CADA was formed in 1979 and remained active until 1985, although the composition of its members changed over the years. CADA was principally composed of a core group of five individuals: the writer Diamela Eltit, the poet Raúl Zurita, the sociologist Fernando Balcells, and the visual artists Lotty Rosenfeld and Juan Castillo. According to Eltit, the members of CADA were united by “a desire for an exit, the street, the city, the conscientious politicization of public space.”¹ The multiple components of CADA’s art actions reflected the diverse perspectives of its members and their distinct fields of expertise.

Unlike North American “happenings” in the 1960s, in which artists intervened in the public environment to create a self-referential artistic critique, CADA’s art actions were a specific response to the political and social conditions of dictatorial Chile as well as international social and political conditions. CADA’s first art action, *Para no morir de hambre en el arte* [So as Not to Die of Hunger in Art], was composed of four interventions all executed on October 3, 1979. The primary component of the art action consisted of the distribution of half-liter bags of milk to one hundred families in La Granja, a *población*, or lower-class neighborhood, in Santiago. Each bag was marked with the words “½ liter of milk,” which served as an immediately recognizable reference to Salvador Allende’s program to combat malnutrition among Chilean children by providing half a liter of milk for every child: “from Arica to Magallanes...in every home, in every *población*, in every sector [home to] workers or modestly employed rural laborers, there will be the possibility of a half liter of milk [for] the children of Chile.”² CADA’s reference to Allende’s thwarted policy recalled the idealism of Allende’s Unidad Popular government. CADA revived this idealism by realizing Allende’s goal, albeit on a smaller scale. CADA’s distribution of milk among the residents of La Granja was filmed and photographed, as were all of CADA’s art actions. The families of the *población* were asked to return the emptied milk bags, which were to be given to local artists to be used as supports for artworks. CADA combined the art action with a gallery exhibition in which sixty milk bags were enclosed in an acrylic case and displayed in the art gallery Centro Imagen.

The art action, *Para no morir de hambre en el arte*, was accompanied by an advertisement page published in the liberal magazine *Hoy* [Today] (fig. 3). The magazine page was entirely white except for a text that asked readers to “Imagine this page completely blank/ Imagine this blank page / accessing all the corners of Chile / like the milk to be consumed daily / Imagine every corner of Chile / deprived of the daily consumption of milk / like blank pages to be filled.”³ With these words readers were invited to consider the effect of the page of a magazine devoid of words: the concrete manifestation of the absence or withholding of information. Censorship of the press was used by the Pinochet regime as a primary strategy of limiting the citizens’ access to information on the dealings of the government. CADA critiqued this censorship and rigid control of the media, which occasionally resulted in magazines going to press with entire pages blank (fig. 4). In other instances, the regime participated in the literal “whitewashing” of Santiago, as in the case of the removal by white-washing of the *Río Mapocho* mural, created by the Communist mural collective, the Brigadas Ramona Parra.⁴ *Hoy* was able to publish



Fig. 3. CADA, *Para no morir de hambre en el arte* [So as Not to Die of Hunger in Art], page published in the magazine *Hoy*, 1979.
© CADA / Lotty Rosenfeld, 2013

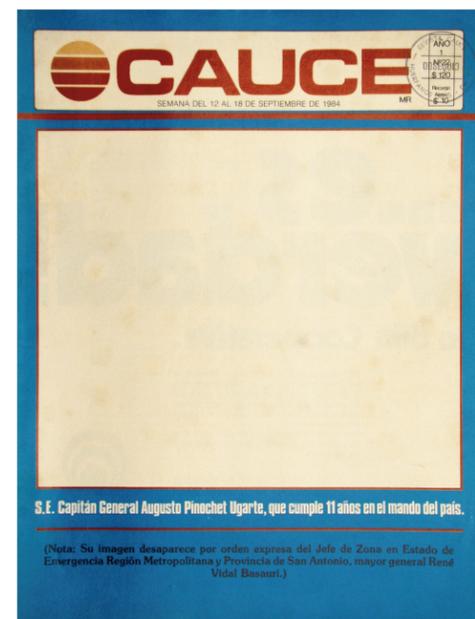


Fig. 4. Censored page printed in *Cauce* magazine, [S.E. Captain General Augusto Pinochet Ugarte, who celebrates 11 years as head of the country; (note: his image removed by express order of the head of the zone in State of Emergency in the Metropolitan Region and the San Antonio Province, Major General René Vidal Basauri)], 1984.
© Cauce / *Memoria Chilena*, 2013

CADA's text without being censored due to the subtlety of CADA's language. However, the magazine was not impervious to censorship: in 1979 *Hoy* was temporarily suspended for publishing extensive interviews with Carlos Altamirano and Clodomiro Almeyda, ex-officials of the Unidad Popular. By planting in the minds of Chilean citizens the image of the blank page as the representation of censorship, CADA reproduced the censorial gesture of the dictatorship in order to open this gesture for critique and contemplation. With a single art action, CADA addressed the past (Allende's legacy), the present (censorship, malnutrition, and marginalization), and the potential future by relating the necessity of milk with the necessity of communication.

CADA's artistic practice, in which art was defined as the alteration of life itself, was based on the collective's perception that life in Latin America, and specifically in Chile under the military regime, resembled art or artifice in its scripted nature and in the codification of the discourse utilized by the military regime. In her article "Las dos caras de la Moneda" [The Two Faces of the Coin], written in 1997, Diamela Eltit describes the coup d'état and the resulting military regime as employing a "performance" constructed of signs and intended to obscure the aim of the government, to crush dissidence, and promote a free market economy at any cost. According to Eltit, the coup d'état was:

a set design that was ornamented, tarnished, and cross-dressed with patriotic values that, in reality, only sought the implantation of radical capitalism, camouflaged behind stereotyped discourses that named without cease the homeland, order, and the integrity of the Chilean family while, clandestinely, the places of imprisonment were extended and there was a massive lay-off of workers that were not addicts of the system.⁵

Eltit explains that reading the "signs" propagated by the military regime became a means of survival as well as a "lucid internalization of the events that were happening."⁶ Eltit and the other members of CADA utilized the medium of collective art actions that, through the questioning of the boundaries of art and life and the involvement of an active public, extended their social and political critique.

In the art action *Inversión de escena* [Inversion of the Scene] (1979), Lotty Rosenfeld and Diamela Eltit convinced the directors of the dairy distributor, Soprole, to lend them seven dairy trucks that were later driven with the members of CADA inside in a single-file line to Santiago's Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes. Outside the museum CADA strung up a large white sheet covering the facade of the neoclassical building (fig. 5). In *Inversión de escena*, as in *Para no morir de hambre en el arte*, milk and its white color served as metaphors for the censorship of the military regime.⁷ On one hand, the white cloth used to cover the entrance impugned the Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, a symbol of high culture in Chile, as having been "whitewashed" or compromised by its collaboration with the regime. On the other hand, the action of blocking the entry to the museum also served as a challenge to the relevancy of the museum as a cultural institution in a period during which, according to the collective, the only viable art was art that circumvented the museum and gallery spaces in favor of intervention in the urban reality. According to Juan Castillo, the "inversion" referred to in the title of the art action was the act



Fig. 5. CADA, *Inversión de escena* [Inversion of the Scene], Intervention on the facade of the Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, Chile, 1979. © CADA / Lotty Rosenfeld, 2013



Fig. 6. CADA, *Inversión de escena* [Inversion of the Scene], Soprole milk trucks driven to the Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, Chile, 1979. © CADA / Lotty Rosenfeld, 2013

of directing attention away from the museum space and toward the street.⁸ CADA's art action subverted the authority of the museum by censoring its facade, hence the title of the work.

Inversión de escena also ventured a subtle critique of capitalism and materialism. For the action, Rosenfeld and Eltit managed to persuade the directors of Soprole that the art action would provide good advertisement for the company (fig. 6).⁹ Rather than serving as a promotion of Soprole, *Inversión de escena* subverted the marketing power of the Soprole logo, creating a critical commentary on the materialism of Chilean culture under the Pinochet dictatorship. Gaspar Galáz and Milan Ivelic, authors of *Chile Arte Actual* [Contemporary Art Chile] and prominent Chilean art critics, assert that the art actions of CADA should be read as a commentary on the economic situation in Chile during the period called the *milagro económico* [economic miracle] between 1978 and 1981.¹⁰ This time, during which CADA was at the height of its production, was marked by increased privatization of businesses, increased foreign invest-

ments, a temporarily higher standard of living, and an increased importation of goods, which led to an atmosphere permeated with local and international marketing and consumerism. This "economic miracle" was created by the neo-liberal economic policies of the military regime, formulated by the "Chicago Boys," a group of Chilean economists educated at the University of Chicago at the expense of the United States government. Chilean economic growth was short lived, however, as Chile succumbed to a severe recession in 1982 and was required to pay back steep interest rates on its loans.¹¹ According to Gaspar Galáz, the increase of consumerism "completely upset individual and social behavior regarding the acquisition of goods...like never before, publicity in the media hit the eyes and ears of every Chilean...The transformational upset that the economic imperative of consumption brought with it profoundly affected the reflexive and critical capacity of society as a whole."¹² In their work, CADA critiqued the dulling of critical capacity that resulted from excessive consumerism and exposure to marketing. CADA's use of the Soprole trucks resembling, in their single-file line, the tanks used by the military junta to attack La Moneda, formed a symbolic connection between the military regime and the advent of modern marketing and consumerism.

CADA perceived in the choices of the military regime a discourse constructed through symbolic actions as well as through official rhetoric. CADA's fourth art action, *¡Ay Sudamérica!* [Oh South America!] (1981), symbolically inverted this official discourse. In *¡Ay Sudamérica!*, the members of CADA hired retired military pilots to fly them in six planes over the city of Santiago as they threw 400,000 flyers over the city (fig. 7).¹³ In order to carry out the art action, CADA was obliged to obtain the permission of the air force. In a letter to the Director of Aeronautics, Rosenfeld asked permission to carry out the art action, describing the work as "within so-called ecological [art]" and explaining that "land art or ecological art, practiced primarily in Europe, USA, and Japan, works with landscape."¹⁴ By describing *¡Ay Sudamérica!* in her letter as ecological art, Rosenfeld played down the political nature of the art action. In order to complete many of their art actions, including *Inversión de escena* and *¡Ay Sudamérica!*, the members of CADA were required to extract permission from the very organizations targeted in their political subversion. Eltit



Fig. 7. CADA, *¡Ay Sudamérica!* [Oh South America!], Planes flying over Santiago, 1981. © CADA / Lotty Rosenfeld, 2013

explained that "they did not know or understand and what we did was to speak to them as though they did understand. But they did not know and they did not dare to say that they did not know."¹⁵ The deception required to gain permission from the authorities was itself a component of the art action, emphasizing the political nature assumed by acts that would, in other circumstances, seem benign. Rosenfeld recalled that "it seemed impossible that the Air Force of Chile would give us permission to take out six planes that were going to throw pamphlets over the city of Santiago with an anti-dictatorial proclamation...this was too subversive, but really subversive and crazy, because the permits had been given by [the generals] themselves."¹⁶

The flyers launched from the planes in *¡Ay Sudamérica!* (fig. 8) were printed with a message encouraging readers to re-examine their quotidian interactions with the urban landscape of Santiago, analyzing their surroundings and approaching life as "a creative act."¹⁷ The flyers read:

We are artists, but every man that works for the expansion, even mental, of the spaces of life is an artist. This signifies that we declare work on life as the only creative form...We declare, therefore, that the work of expansion of the normal standards of living is the only valid mounting of art and the only exposition. The only work of art that lives."¹⁸

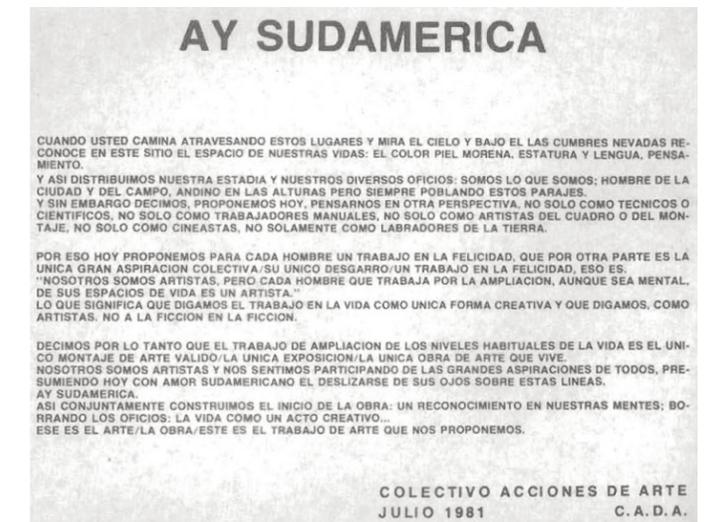


Fig. 8. CADA, *¡Ay Sudamérica!* [Oh South America!], Flyers launched from planes over Santiago, 1981. © CADA / Lotty Rosenfeld, 2013

The flyers launched from the planes in *¡Ay Sudamérica!* declared that "expansion of the normal standards of living" through a political and social act was a work of art, and that every person who worked toward these goals was an artist. In the context of the dictatorship's repression of all dissent and conflicting opinion, to claim as a work of art the expansion of living standards of the common person neglected by the military regime's economic and social policies, was to give value to leftist aspirations that were in conflict with the interests of the dictatorship.

The flight of seven planes in military formation in *¡Ay Sudamérica!* recalled the low-level flight of military planes on the day of the coup

d'état, which to Eltit, gave the impression that “from one moment to the next they would come downhill to fall upon the roof of a house (of my house, that of my neighbor—how to explain it—of all the houses).”¹⁹ CADA's *¡Ay Sudamérica!* appropriated and subverted the “sign” of the planes’ flight over the city by transforming it from a dictatorially established indicator of violence and repression to a carrier of subversive information in the form of flyers. In *Para no morir de hambre en el arte* the gesture of the dissemination of milk within a población was expanded by the blank page in *Hoy* to serve as a metaphor for the dissemination of information throughout Chile. Similarly, in *¡Ay Sudamérica!*, CADA made use of an existing sign, the flight of planes in military formation, subverting its original meaning by employing the planes as a means of communication to drop flyers.

CADA's statement, distributed in the manner of a political manifesto, directly linked art and life by claiming that the only valid works of art were those that aimed to change Chile's social and political reality. *¡Ay Sudamérica!* exemplified CADA's statement that “the art action and the political action are distinguished more as a consequence of their field of accentuation than by participating dualistically in distinct orders.”²⁰ *¡Ay Sudamérica!* can be understood in relation to a historic culture of protest in Chile that utilized symbolic actions to express dissent. CADA appropriated from the existent protest culture the use of nonviolent techniques that drew attention to the crushing repression of the military dictatorship. Even before the coup d'état, graffiti, murals, and pamphlets had often been used as mediums for the expression of political ideas. Additionally, *cacerolazos*, protests involving the beating of pots and pans in the street, were held in 1971 to protest food shortages during the Unidad Popular period and were revived as a strategy of protest during the economic depression of 1982.

CADA claimed that their antecedents in the politicization of public space were the Brigadas Ramona Parra [The Ramona Parra Brigades], collective mural brigades made up of artists, workers, students, and residents of the poblaciones who painted political murals on the walls of Santiago to publicize the campaign of Salvador Allende's Unidad Popular in 1970.²¹ The Brigadas Ramona Parra continued their mural project after Allende's election. They began by painting slogans and text with household paint on unprimed exterior walls and later supplemented the text with symbols.²² The murals of the Brigadas Ramona Parra were created to communicate political messages through the use of commonly recognizable symbols such as the star of the flag of Chile, the dove of peace, the hammer and sickle, and faces with flowing hair.²³ The Brigadas Ramona Parra's largest mural *El Río Mapocho* [The Mapocho River Mural] (1972) stretched a fourth of a mile between two bridges on the Mapocho River. It featured socialist and leftist imagery including “images of marchers, flags, ...heroic workers, a mining village...[and] scenes celebrating Chile's copper industry,” along with a quotation of the Chilean Communist poet Pablo Neruda, “You have given me the fatherland as a birth.”²⁴ *El Río Mapocho* was later whitewashed by the military regime, which sought to eliminate all traces of the Unidad Popular from public spaces. CADA's self-identification with the Brigadas Ramona Parra placed their work in an explicitly political activist lineage.

By 1983, only Rosenfeld, Eltit, and Zurita were still participating members of CADA, as Balcells and Castillo had left the group.²⁵ Nevertheless, *No +*, executed in 1983, exemplified CADA's principle of creating collective artworks and was, undeniably, the farthest-reaching of CADA's art actions. It involved at least five other artists, including Luz Donoso, Pedro Millar, Hernán Parada, and José Ignacio León, as well as a videographer, Gloria Camiruaga; a photographer, Jorge Brantmayer; and the citizens of Santiago.²⁶ In addition to spray



Fig. 9A and 9B. *No +*, Art Action (Mapocho River), Santiago, 1983. CADA video still © CADA / Lotty Rosenfeld, 2013

painting “No +” on the walls of the Santiago, the artists also unfurled a banner over the side of a bridge over the Río Mapocho, the main waterway of the city, that featured the sign “No +” and an image of the barrel of a revolver (fig. 9A and 9B). This banner inhabited the artistic gap left by the removal of the mural, *El Río Mapocho*. The distinction between CADA's banner, a critical statement, and *El Río Mapocho* by the Brigadas Ramona Parra, a celebratory mural, manifests the shift in political context in which the two collectives worked. Rather than the optimism and collective spirit of the Unidad Popular period, CADA worked under the repression of the military dictatorship.

No + was expanded to become an international art action, as foreign artists were invited by an “artist call” to institute the art action in

their own countries. In the artist call, which CADA referred to as a gesture of “solidarity” with international artists, the members of the collective explained that “the dictatorship is extreme, its crackdown bloody and inhumane, so we call for art to respond massively against death and barbarism.”²⁷ CADA also made clear that “this work of art was initiated in the tenth year of the military dictatorship and we will maintain it until ‘this ceases.’”²⁸ *No +* was inextricably tied to its Chilean context, a context in which rising frustration with the military regime resulted in the need for a symbol or a slogan that could represent the complaints and protests of a broad sector of Chilean society.

In 1983, ten years after the coup d'état, frustrations were mounting due to the economic depression in Chile and citizens increasingly confronted issues of repression and human rights violations. The National Copper Workers' Association organized the first large-scale protest against the dictatorship on May 11, 1983. According to Gerardo Arraigada, author of *Pinochet: The Politics of Power*:

the first few protests consisted of nonviolent activities, such as banging on pots and pans at a specified hour, honking car horns, boycotting all stores and markets, and keeping children home from school. Political and social leaders held unauthorized meetings in public plaza as symbolic acts of dissent, and industrial workers staged work slowdowns. Subsequent protests included more confrontational activities, such as tire bonfires, sit-ins, and barricades placed to disrupt traffic.²⁹

By the fourth opposition protest of the year, on August 11, Pinochet ordered 18,000 soldiers into the streets to control the protesters, leading to skirmishes resulting in many injuries and deaths.³⁰ Although the protest movement did not succeed in immediately removing Pinochet from office, it did achieve changes in government policy. As a result of the economic crisis there was a rise in the number of protesters, which pressured the Pinochet regime to allow more freedom of speech and freedom of the press to its adversaries as an outlet for the tensions mounting in the country.³¹ The protest movement's gains helped establish increased liberties for Chileans that facilitated the victory of the opposition campaign for the 1988 plebiscite, which finally defeated Pinochet after fifteen years as dictator.

In this context of protest and dissent, the remaining members of CADA searched for a new slogan or symbol that could represent the frustrations of the Chilean population after ten years of dictatorship. “No +” was just such a symbol. As an incomplete phrase, it symbolized any and all of the protests against the military regime's abuses. The art action was, from the beginning, intended to be both collective and anonymous. Unlike previous actions in which CADA published accompanying articles in magazines to aid with the viewers' comprehension of the work, in the case of *No +* CADA relinquished control of the after-life of the sign they originated. As Diamela Eltit explains:

it was the moment of the protests in the *poblaciones*, and so the *No +* explode[d] everywhere, simply because other slogans were very spent. You could not say ‘the people united will never be divided,’ you could not, it did not make sense. In this sense, the *No +* revitalize[d] the field and install[ed] a new slogan in a

period in which the popular subject was marching, in a period in which the población was laid-off. The people [we]re very tired and *No +* had the advantage of being very synthetic. It was an inclusive graffiti that was available for the protests of citizens.³²

The symbol “No +” tapped into a need of those in resistance to the dictatorship for a symbol that could represent their protests and be, at the same time, flexible and open to recontextualization and appropriation. “No +” was appropriated multiple times (fig. 10). “All of Chile made that slogan theirs,” says Rosenfeld, “it could be seen for years in protests, in graffiti, in pamphlets, in posters, on walls.”³³ *No +* began as a nominal gesture, unlike the large-scale murals of the Brigadas Ramona Parra. Nevertheless, as Eltit explains, “CADA ha[d] in front of it a small piece of the city but, at the same time, an ample zone of symbolic projection. We ma[d]e a hole, a small hole, similar to that of a rat, but a conscientious rat, prepared and political.”³⁴ With *No +* CADA had made its hole and, according to Eltit, “after that, we were left without words.”³⁵



Fig. 10. *No +*, Protest in Santiago, 1985. © CADA / Lotty Rosenfeld, 2013

NOTE:
Figures 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, and 10 were taken from the book *Neustadt, Robert Alan. Cada día: la creación de un arte social*. Ed. Cuarto Propio, 2001.
© 2012. Reproduced with permission of Prof. Robert Neustadt, Arizona, U.S.

The sign “No +” acquired significant force during the 1988 plebiscite that decided whether or not Pinochet would continue in power. As the plebiscite that had been written into the Chilean constitution approached, Pinochet, overly confident, continued to claim that voters would approve a continuation of his dictatorship. The options on the ballot were the “yes” vote and the “no” vote, which had, in the minds of many Chileans, become the “No +” vote. “No +” encapsulated anti-Pinochet sentiment. Due to rising discontent and a well-organized opposition campaign, Pinochet lost the plebiscite and a year later, Chile held its first democratic election in nineteen years.

CADA's “No +” is currently utilized in protests and graffiti in Santiago and throughout Chile, suggesting its continuing flexibility and endurance as a sign of resistance. Although the student resistance movement appropriated CADA's art actions as a symbol of defiance, the political in CADA's art must be distinguished from the political

nature of the art of the traditional left. Rather than creating a didactic discourse with a singular meaning to be read, CADA worked through deconstruction of dominant discourses and by creating a space for an alternate dialogue. CADA developed a unique form of conceptual and performance art, distinct in its politicization from European and North American models, relying on the involvement and participation of the Chilean passerby, and based on the assertion that art was to be found in the streets, not in the museum. This new model of art actions, alternately referred to as “social sculptures” or “urban interventions,” responded to Chile’s political situation by encouraging and enabling critical analysis by Chilean citizens. CADA sought to break down the barrier between art and life by interpreting the actions of the Pinochet regime as though they were works of art or literature, deconstructing each sign and each action as a representation of the regime’s official discourse. These art actions not only addressed contemporary political and social issues in Chile as their subject matter, but also intervened in these problems, engaging with issues of poverty, marginalization, censorship, repression, and excessive consumerism through art actions aimed to increase awareness and the capacity for critical analysis in the viewer.

By combining the practices of conceptual art with a political motivation, CADA’s work differentiated itself from the majority of happenings and performance art pieces originated in the United States and Europe. In *Ruptura* [Rupture], the magazine or “art document” published by CADA in 1982, the members of CADA declared:

the practices that were in vogue 10 years ago, such as body art or land art or performances, that imply, in international art, a degree of opening toward the medium of life, constitute—in our landscape, absolutely close realities, previous to their standardization as art, precisely due to the drama entailed in our every day in dealing with these mediums: starving bodies, immense unproductive plains, wastelands.³⁶

The art action as utilized by CADA was intended not merely to approach the meaning of art or even social and political issues with a critical eye, but to affect change related to these issues: “to work in this reality ... implies a work with its change, with the change in condition, in two words: it implies a revolutionary practice.³⁷

In *Ruptura*, the members of CADA described their art actions as “art of history.” In this case, “art of history” did not refer to art that documented the past, but art that actually intervened in the creation of history:

The proposition that art actions are a kind of “history as art” should be comprehended in all its implications. In the end, the success or failure of these actions cannot be separated from the success or failure of the movements, which endeavor to make a radical transformation of their environment through the realization of a classless society. The works seek to complete history and this effort brings each action back to the here and now in which this struggle plays out.³⁸

CADA stated that the “success” or “failure” of their art actions did not rely solely on their provocation of critical thought and dialogue: the significance of CADA’s art actions was directly linked to that of the political issues they addressed, which included malnutrition, social stratification, repression, and censorship, among others.

CADA’s conception of life and art as intrinsically interconnected may have been influenced by the 1977 exhibition in Chile of the work of German conceptual artist Wolf Vostell, who insisted that “every form of life is an artistic form.”³⁹ This exhibition, organized by Ronald Kay, a professor of aesthetics at the University of Chile, featured videos of Vostell’s Fluxus Happenings, which were based on the concept that art actions represented “vida corregida,” or a corrected version of life.⁴⁰ In their emphasis on the importance of the amplification of the “spaces of life” as the only valid creative act, CADA’s art actions share an analytical framework with Wolf Vostell’s Fluxus Happenings although they utilize a uniquely Chilean vocabulary of actions and symbols.⁴¹

CADA’s ambition to dissolve the boundary between art and political activism linked the outcome of their art actions to the failure or success of their goal to create an open space for dialogue and discourse addressing Chile’s past, present, and future. More than twenty years after the end of the Pinochet regime, CADA’s “No +” slogan still generates critical discussion around the lasting effects of the regime. As Eltit explains in her essay “CADA 20 años,” “fear of critical discussion would seem to be one of the sustained focuses that cross through all dominant systems.”⁴² A critical discussion spanning more than twenty years is precisely what is generated by CADA’s *No +*. According to Fernando Balcells:

CADA represents a political alternative and the ethical emphasis in art, not because of any statement of principles, or because it introduce[d] into art, from the exterior, specific values of the good or the beautiful. Art is ethical when it is necessary, when it focuses its critical attentions on the darkness of that which is hidden, in the evidence of forgetfulness that arises, when it dismantles and redistributes the signs of already established evidence, when it becomes a body and its gesture remains.⁴³

In Chile, where the legacy of the Pinochet regime still is being confronted, CADA’s art actions present a continuing means of understanding and engaging with the country’s dictatorial past: an essential process in the country’s collective struggle to move forward.

NOTES

¹ Diamela Eltit, interview by Federico Galende, *Filtraciones I: Conversaciones sobre arte en Chile (de los 60’s a los 80’s)* (Santiago, Chile: Editorial Cuarto Propio, 2007) 219. “...nosotros teníamos... un deseo de salida, de calle, de ciudad, de politización consciente del espacio público.”

² Salvador Allende, *Discurso medio litro de leche para los niños chilenos*, Santiago, Chile, n.d. Archivo Chile, Centro de Estudios Miguel Enríquez, http://www.archivo-chile.com/S_Allende_UP/Audio_S_Allende/12_Discurso_Medio_litro.wav [accessed February 10, 2012] “Desde hoy, desde Arica a Magallanes...en cada hogar, en cada población, en cada sector de trabajadores o campesinos, modestos empleados, habrá la posibilidad del medio litro de leche [para] los niños de Chile...”

³ CADA, “Insertion in the magazine *Hoy*,” in *CADA Día: La Creación de un Arte Social*. Ed. Robert Neustadt (Santiago, Chile: Editorial Cuarto Propio, 2001), 137. [ICAA Record ID: 732047](#)

“Imaginar esta página completamente blanca./ Imaginar esta página blanca/ accediendo a todos los rincones de Chile/ como la leche diaria a consumir./ Imaginar cada rincón de Chile/ privado del consumo diario de leche/ como páginas blancas por llenar.”

⁴ Luis Hernán Errázuriz, “La Dictadura Militar en Chile: Antecedentes del golpe estético-cultural,” *Latin American Research Review* 44 (2009): 145.

⁵ Diamela Eltit, “Las dos caras de la Moneda,” *Nueva Sociedad* (July–August, 1997): 5, Nueva Sociedad, www.nuso.org/upload/articulos/2607_1.pdf [Accessed February 10, 2012]

“El escenario del 11 de Septiembre fue, especialmente, una escenografía ornamentada, tiznada, travestida de valores patrióticos que, en realidad, sólo buscaba la implantación de un capitalismo radical, camuflado detrás de discursos estereotipados que nombraban sin cesar la patria, el orden y a la integridad de la familia chilena mientras se extendían, clandestinos, los espacios de la reclusión y el despido masivo de trabajadores no adictos al sistema.”

⁶ Eltit, “Las dos caras de la Moneda,” 6. “La lectura de los nuevos signos implicaba la internalización lúcida de los sucesos que estaban aconteciendo.”

⁷ In Spanish the word “blanco” can mean alternately “white” or “blank,” hence the word has a double meaning in CADA’s works, representing both milk and its symbolic associations in Chile as well as blankness resulting from censorship.

⁸ Juan Castillo, interview by Robert Neustadt, ed. *CADA Día: La Creación de un Arte Social* (Santiago, Chile: Editorial Cuarto Propio, 2001), 59. [ICAA Record ID: 732411](#)

⁹ Lotty Rosenfeld, interview by Robert Neustadt, ed. *CADA Día: La Creación de un Arte Social* (Santiago, Chile: Editorial Cuarto Propio, 2001), 50. [ICAA Record ID: 732411](#)

¹⁰ Gaspar Galáz and Milan Ivelic, *Chile Arte Actual* (Valparaíso, Chile: Ediciones Universitarias de Valparaíso, 1988), 205. [ICAA Record ID: 734883](#)

¹¹ Naomi Klein, *The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism* (New York: Picador, 2007), 104.

¹² Galáz and Ivelic, 205. [ICAA Record ID: 734883](#) “...económico que trastocó por completo el comportamiento individual y social frente a la adquisición de bienes. ... Como nunca antes, la publicidad en los medios de comunicación golpeó los ojos y oídos de cada chileno...El vuelco transformador que trajo consigo el imperativo económico consumista afectó, profundamente, la capacidad reflexiva y crítica de la sociedad en su conjunto.”

¹³ Robert Neustadt, ed., *CADA Día: La Creación de un Arte Social* (Santiago, Chile: Editorial Cuarto Propio, 2001), 34. [ICAA Record ID: 732411](#)

¹⁴ Lotty Rosenfeld, “Letter to the Director of Aeronautics of Santiago,” June 18, 1981, *CADA Día: La Creación de un Arte Social*, ed. Robert Neustadt (Santiago, Chile: Editorial Cuarto Propio, 2001), 147. [ICAA Record ID: 732411](#) “Dicha obra se sitúa dentro de las denominadas ecológicas. El land-art o arte-ecológico, practicada fundamentalmente en Europa, USA, o Japón, trabaja con el paisaje.”

¹⁵ Eltit, interview by Galende, Galende 225. “Lo que pasa es que ellos no sabían ni entendían, y lo que nosotros hacíamos era hablarles como si supieran. Pero no sabían, y no se atrevían a decir que no sabían.”

¹⁶ Diamela Eltit, interview by Robert Neustadt, ed., *CADA Día: La Creación de un Arte Social* (Santiago, Chile: Editorial Cuarto Propio, 2001), 96. [ICAA Record ID: 732411](#) “parecía imposible que la Fuerza Aérea de Chile nos diera permiso para sacar seis avionetas que iban a tirar panfletos sobre la ciudad de Santiago con una proclama antidictatorial... eso era demasiado subversivo, pero realmente subversivo y loco, porque el permiso lo habían dado ellos mismos.”

¹⁷ CADA, “¡Ay Sudamérica!: 400,000 Textos sobre Santiago,” *Creación AP* (1981): 5. [ICAA Record ID: 730004](#) “La vida como un acto creativo...”

¹⁸ CADA, “¡Ay Sudamérica!” 7. [ICAA Record ID: 730004](#) “nosotros somos artistas, pero cada hombre que trabaja por la ampliación, aunque sea mental, de sus espacios de vida es un artista. Lo que significa que digamos el trabajo en la vida como única forma creativa y que digamos, como artistas, no a la ficción en la ficción. Decimos por lo tanto que el trabajo de ampliación de los niveles habituales de la vida es el único montaje de arte válido/la única exposición. La única obra de arte que vive.”

¹⁹ Eltit, “Las dos caras de la Moneda,” 3. “un número indeterminado de aviones establecía un vuelo rasante sobre la ciudad, el enloquecedor sonido del vuelo rasante de esos aviones que parecía que de un momento a otro se iban a venir cuesta abajo para despeñarse sobre el techo de una casa (de mi casa, de la de mi vecino —cómo explicarlo— de todas las casas).”

²⁰ CADA, “Una Ponencia del C.A.D.A.” *Ruptura: Documento de Arte*. Santiago, Chile: Editorial Universitaria (1982): 2. [ICAA Record ID: 732133](#) “la acción de arte y el acto político se distinguen más por una consecuencia de su terreno de acentuación, que por participar dualísticamente de órdenes distintos”

²¹ CADA, “Una Ponencia del C.A.D.A.,” 2. [ICAA Record ID: 732133](#)

²² Galáz and Ivelic, 90. [ICAA Record ID: 734883](#) “difundieron consignas partidistas, empleando textos primero y símbolos más adelante.”

²³ Jacqueline Barnitz, *Twentieth-Century Art of Latin America* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001), 288.

²⁴ Barnitz, 288. “Me has dado la patria como un nacimiento.”

²⁵ Eltit, interview by Galende, Galende 227.

²⁶ Rosenfeld, interview with Neustadt, Neustadt 54. [ICAA Record ID: 732411](#)

²⁷ CADA, “No +: Llamado a Artistas del Colectivo Acciones de Arte (C.A.D.A.),” *CADA Día: La Creación de un Arte Social*, ed. Robert Neustadt (Santiago, Chile: Editorial Cuarto Propio, 2001), 156. [ICAA Record ID: 732069](#) “La Dictadura es extrema, su caída sangrienta e inhumana, llamamos entonces a que el arte responda masivamente contra la muerte y la barbarie.”

²⁸ CADA, “No +: Llamado a Artistas,” 156. [ICAA Record ID: 732069](#) “Este trabajo de arte se inició a partir del décimo año de la Dictadura Militar y lo mantendremos hasta que ‘esta cese.’”

²⁹ Gerardo Arraigada, *Pinochet: The Politics of Power* (Boston: Unwin Hyman Inc., 1988), 56.

³⁰ Manuel Antonio Garretón, “Popular Mobilization and the Military Regime in Chile: The Complexities of the Invisible Transition,” *Power and Popular Protest*, ed. Susan Eckstein (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 259-277.

³¹ Carlos Huneeus, *The Pinochet Regime* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2007), 59.

³² Eltit, interview by Galende, Galende 227. “Era el momento de las protestas poblacionales. Y entonces el *No +* estalla en todas partes, simplemente porque las demás consignas estaban ya muy gastadas. Tú no podías decir ‘el pueblo unido jamás será vencido,’ no podías, no tenía sentido. De manera que el *No +* revitalizó el campo e instaló una nueva consigna en un período en el que el sujeto popular se estaba desafilando, en un período en el que la población estaba cesante. La gente está muy cansada, y el *No +* tenía la ventaja de ser muy sintético, de responder a muchas demandas a la vez de manera muy sintética. Era un rayado inclusivo que estaba disponible para las protestas ciudadanas.”

³³ Rosenfeld, interview by Neustadt, Neustadt 55. [ICAA Record ID: 732411](#) “Chile entero hizo suya esa consigna y se le podía ver durante años por todas partes, en protestas, en rayados, en panfletos, en afiches, en muros.”

³⁴ Eltit, interview by Galende, Galende 222. “CADA tiene al frente un trozo muy pequeño de la ciudad pero, a la vez, una zona muy amplia de proyección simbólica. Nosotros hacemos un hoyo, un pequeño hoyo, parecido al de un ratón, pero un ratón consciente, preparado y político.”

³⁵ Eltit, interview by Galende, Galende 227. “Después nos quedamos sin palabras.”

³⁶ CADA, “Una Ponencia del C.A.D.A.,” 1. [ICAA Record ID: 732133](#)
 “...las prácticas que estuvieron en boga hace 10 años como el body art, el land art o las performances y que implicaron en el arte internacional todo un grado de abertura hacia soportes de vida, constituyen en nuestro paisaje realidades absolutamente cercanas, previas a su estandarización como arte, precisamente por el grado de dramatismo que conlleva nuestra cotidianeidad en el trato con estos soportes: cuerpos hambrientos, inmensas llanuras improductivas, eriazos.”

³⁷ CADA, “Una Ponencia del C.A.D.A.,” 1. [ICAA Record ID: 732133](#)
 “Entonces, trabajar en esta realidad, sea cual sea el campo formal de desenvolvimiento de ese trabajo, implica un trabajo con su cambio, con el mudar de condición, en dos palabras: implica una práctica revolucionaria.”

³⁸ CADA, “Una Ponencia del C.A.D.A.,” 2. [ICAA Record ID: 732133](#)
 “La postulación entonces de las acciones de arte como un ‘Arte de la historia’ debe ser aprendido en todas sus consecuencias, su éxito o fracaso no es ajeno al éxito o fracaso de las perspectivas de alteración total del entorno y en última instancia, de la producción de una sociedad sin clases. La obra completa la historia y ello retrae cualquier acción al aquí y ahora en que esa producción se juega.”

³⁹ Neustadt, *CADA Día*, 27. [ICAA Record ID: 732411](#)

⁴⁰ Neustadt, *CADA Día*, 172. [ICAA Record ID: 732411](#)

⁴¹ CADA, “¡Ay Sudamérica!,” 150. [ICAA Record ID: 730004](#)
 “Ampliación... de sus espacios de la vida”

⁴² Diamela Eltit, “CADA 20 años,” *Revista de Crítica Cultural: Ciudad, Arte, y Política* (1999): 3. [ICAA Record ID: 740299](#)
 “...el temor a la discusión crítica pareciera ser unos de los sostenidos focos que atraviesan a los sistemas dominantes.”

⁴³ Fernando Balcells, “Hoy como ayer,” *Revista de Crítica Cultural: Ciudad, Arte, y Política* (1999): 5. [ICAA Record ID: 740288](#)
 “Finalmente señalar que el CADA es una opción política y un énfasis ético en el arte, no lo es por una petición de principios, o porque introduzca en el arte, desde algún afuera, determinados valores del bien o de lo bello. El arte es ético cuando es necesario, cuando fija su atención crítica en la oscuridad de lo escondido, en la obviedad que se levanta para el olvido, cuando desarma y redistribuye los signos de la evidencia establecida, cuando se hace cuerpo y su gesto permanece.”

CONTRIBUTORS

Sean Nesselrode is a Ph.D. candidate at the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University. He is studying Modern and contemporary Latin American art under the advisement of Professor Edward J. Sullivan, with a focus on twentieth-century Venezuela. His dissertation project will examine the interactions between the petroleum industry and the development of Venezuelan Modernism(s). Other areas of interest include abstract art in the Americas, kinetic and optical art, and imagery related to Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe in Mexico and Texas. Prior to receiving an M.A. from the Institute of Fine Arts, for which he wrote a thesis on the 1962 Caracas exhibition *Homeaje a la necrofilia* [Homage to Necrophilia], he completed a B.A. in art history and English literature from Swarthmore College. He has presented his work at symposia in New York, including the College Art Association 2013 Annual Conference and the 2013 IFA-Frick Symposium on the History of Art. Nesselrode has also served as graduate intern at the Grey Art Gallery, New York University, and publications intern at The Menil Collection, Houston.

Molly Moog is a recent graduate of Washington University in St. Louis, where she studied art history and Spanish, later combining these two majors in her research on Latin American and Latino art. During her junior year she studied abroad in Santiago, Chile, where she began research on activist art during the repressive Pinochet regime. Her undergraduate honors thesis, “Art Actions and Airmail Paintings: Art during the Pinochet Regime in Chile, 1973–1989,” focuses on diverse strategies in the conceptual art of Eugenio Dittborn and the artist collective CADA [El Colectivo de Acciones de Arte]. This thesis, which reexamines previous scholarship on avant-garde artists practicing during the Pinochet regime, received Washington University’s Murphy Family Prize for an Outstanding Honors Thesis in Art History. She was also one of two students selected to present her thesis research to the Washington University Undergraduate Research Symposium. Moog has a special interest in the intersection of politics, literature, and art. Her article, “Requiem for a Republic: Poetic Symbolism and Remembrance in Robert Motherwell’s *Elegies to the Spanish Republic*,” published in the fall 2012 issue of *WUURD* (*Washington University in St. Louis Undergraduate Research Review*), explores connections between the series *Elegies to the Spanish Republic*, poetic Symbolism, and the work of Spanish poet Federico García Lorca.

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