A Very American Epidemic: Memory Politics and Identity Politics in the AIDS Memorial Quilt, 1985-1993

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During a gay protest march in San Francisco in November 1985, local activist Cleve Jones asked participants to carry placards bearing the names of people they knew who had died of AIDS. Protesters then posted the names on a wall of the San Francisco Federal Building, and in surveying them, Jones says he was reminded of a quilt. Soon thereafter, in grief over the death of a friend, Jones made the first panel of what was to become the AIDS Memorial Quilt, whose 44,000 panels now bear witness to the memories of some of the 448,000 people in the United States who have already died of AIDS.[1]

But in 1988, just three years after the AIDS Memorial Quilt was born at a political demonstration, Cleve Jones, then acting as the Executive Director of the Names Project Foundation, told reporters that "we're completely non-political; we have no political message at all." Jones's attempt to distance the Names Project from politics reveals the complexities of political culture and political activism in the 1980s, and it encourages us to examine memory politics, cultural politics, and identity politics together with the issue-oriented, interest-group activism that is often assumed to encompass the full definition of politics. What kind of politics did the AIDS Quilt envision in its design, and what kind of politics did it embody in its practices?[2]

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In its first decade, the AIDS epidemic disproportionately affected particular social groups that often found existing cultural forms for mourning unable—or unwilling—to represent the emerging crisis. In turn, communities responded to AIDS by developing new cultural products that could accommodate the urge to memorialize and mourn those who had died. These were particularly visible among urban gay men, then just emerging from the hotly contested battles of "personal politics" in the late 1960s and 1970s. Mourning that might have been private and cultural took place in the midst of an activism that had made personal issues into the stuff of politics. These categories worked as opposites at the same time that the boundaries between them were consistently blurred. Creations of cultural meaning, like the AIDS Memorial Quilt, intended as acts of personal memory and collective mourning, were drafted into political battles and affirmed as instances of militancy. Long before Cleve Jones stood in front of the San Francisco Federal Building, culture and memory were already bound up with the political in the public response to the AIDS epidemic.[3]

From its outset, the constituency of the AIDS Memorial Quilt was always an issue of controversy. The Names Project made extensive use of what its founders called "traditional American" symbolism in an effort to reach out to "mainstream" America's hearts and pocketbooks. Names Project founders sought to demonstrate that the disease was, indeed, as Jones claimed, "a very American epidemic," or to prove, as another Names Project document put it, that "America has AIDS."[4] The attempt to nationalize a global epidemic that had disproportionately struck segments of a national population embodied some obvious tensions, but it can best be understood within the overlapping contexts of nationalism and identity politics in the 1980s.

The Names Project voiced its claim to national inclusion at a moment in American political culture when the power to define Americanism rested primarily with conservatives who were hostile to all people with AIDS and gay men in particular. The Names Project was one of many efforts to challenge that cultural power in the language of Americanism itself, insisting that active and caring national responses to AIDS and people who had the disease were not fundamental departures from American traditions in the political and memorial realms.[5]

This reworking of American national identity had a radical edge at a particular moment in history, but its limits quickly became apparent. Although Jones repeatedly acknowledged the Quilt's origin as a memorial and political tool "by gay men and for gay men," he and his supporters recognized early on that the demographics of the AIDS epidemic were more encompassing. Responding to activism by women with AIDS and in communities of color that were also hit hard by AIDS, the Names Project worked throughout the late 1980s to make the Quilt more inclusive of race, gender, class, and sexuality.[6]

But the AIDS Quilt was never just about culture and memory. It was also

intended as a tool of political mobilization and as a weapon in the battle for access to economic resources that could be used in the fight against AIDS. Its use of the language of Americanism and its claim on inclusion was most closely connected to activism in the early years of the epidemic, particularly around its first major public display at the 1987 National March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights. But from the very beginning, radical activists from groups such as Queer Nation and the AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power (ACT-UP) raised questions about the Quilt's inclusiveness and the political limits of its focus on grief and memory.

There were many tensions: between the Quilt's private power and public voice; between its gay and its American identities; between cultural politics and the politics of economic distribution. Despite all its weaknesses, despite all its limits, during the years from 1985 to the mid-1990s, the Quilt managed to resolve those tensions in positive ways. The form of the memorial mattered a great deal: its creation, display, and ultimate meaning were radically inclusive, and its framework of memory was consistently democratic in ways that could encompass its multiple constituencies and their varying definitions of politics.[7]

AIDS and the Politics of Memory

In 1981, there were just over three hundred cases of AIDS reported worldwide. United Nations officials estimated in December 2000 that 21.8 million people have died of AIDS since that time, and over 34 million people are currently infected with HIV. While AIDS had clearly reached global epidemic proportions by the mid-1980s, the initial pattern of its devastation in the United States and Western Europe seemed limited, most notably to gay men and people who used intravenous drugs. Existing social stigmatization of these groups combined with and was intensified by a lack of knowledge of the disease's causes and methods of transmission, creating a nationwide epidemic of fear in the early 1980s.[8]

In a culture of stigma, fear, and discrimination, people with AIDS often chose to be silent about their illness, contributing to difficulties in both personal and collective commemoration. Many early victims of AIDS refused to be identified as such in their obituaries, and gay friends and lovers were often excluded by the deceased's families from funeral services and burials. Even when conventional methods of mourning were available, they often remained insufficient to cope with the epidemic nature of the disease. As one person put it, "Who the hell would think that you'd go to 15 funerals in 19 months?"[9]

The dispersal of recently urbanized gay men—in the return of many to spend their dying days with family and in the literal dispersal of ashes rather than interment in cemeteries—acted to obscure the collective nature of the epidemic even further. For Cleve Jones, this retreat into silence was dangerous. "I felt that we lived in this little ghetto on the West Coast which would be destroyed without anyone in the rest of the world even noticing. I knew we needed a memorial."[10] Jones

was motivated to overcome the silence and willful forgetting of AIDS that characterized conventional frameworks of memory in the early years of the epidemic. "I was obsessed by the idea of evidence. . . . I felt that if there were a field of a thousand corpses, people would be compelled to act. . . . I wanted to create evidence [of AIDS deaths] and by extension create evidence of government failure."[11]

The origins story of the AIDS Memorial Quilt raises complex questions about the practice of cultural politics and the political nature of memory in the early years of the AIDS epidemic. Recent scholarship in history, anthropology, and cultural studies argues that the creation of memory as a social practice helps to shape the collective identities of groups. Nowhere is this process easier to examine than in the construction of monuments and memorials, deliberately conceived as public acts of memory.[12]

The process of memory formation in social contexts has two distinct yet interrelated elements: that of the commemorative and that of the monumental. The archetype of the commemorative in modern Western culture is the gravestone: it is directed primarily at the past and seeks to testify to, record, and document the loss of a person or the passing of an event. Its enactment is primarily but never fully private and individual. The monumental function of memory, whose analogous archetype is the monument, is aimed primarily at the future, and seeks to interpret loss or passing and to put it to contemporary or future political uses so that, in the words of Abraham Lincoln's Gettysburg Address, "these dead shall not have died in vain." While it speaks to individual and private concerns, this function is self-consciously public. All cultural memory work embodies both aspects, even when some attempt to deny or play down the presence of one of the two forms. Like the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, to which it has often been compared, the AIDS Memorial Quilt represents a relatively unique memorializing tactic in which the commemorative and political functions of monuments are densely intertwined. This linkage holds the key to the Quilt's pluralist politics.

The AIDS Quilt performs the commemorative function of memorials through its creative design. Each cloth panel measures three feet by six feet. Eight panels, chosen for aesthetic considerations, theme, or common geographical origin, are then sewn together to make a larger panel that is attached to other groups of eight to fit the capacity requirements of a display space. There are currently over 84,000 names recorded in the 44,000 panels of the Quilt, representing about 19 percent of AIDS deaths in the United States, albeit just a fraction of the estimated 21.8 million AIDS deaths worldwide. The creation of panels is highly egalitarian in nature. Anyone—family, friends, strangers, or even people with AIDS themselves—can make a panel; in fact, individuals can be memorialized in more than one panel. No panel that meets the necessary size specifications is rejected, emphasizing the AIDS Quilt's refusal to place limits on either the expressive content of the memorial or its eventual interpretation.[13]

The AIDS Quilt creates an alternative site of memory for many who have been excluded from traditional means of mourning. Understandably, then, it frequently resembles those forms, in particular the cemetery: formal names and the record of birth and death dates often accompany religious symbols such as crosses, doves, Stars of David, and figures of Our Lady of Guadalupe. Elaborate rituals accompany its display, which begins with an intricately choreographed unfolding conducted by white-clad Quilt volunteers while others publicly read the names of those memorialized on the Quilt. The intonation of names is central to the AIDS Quilt's aim of breaking through the silences that surround people who have died of the disease. As one Quilt viewer has written, "Think of the personal engagement that such a rigorous, simultaneous structure evokes from all who participate [in the reading of names]. . . . At its end, I finally comprehend what the Names Project means, why names must be spoken."[14]

The AIDS Quilt gives a voice to the dead, but it also records the lives and emotions of the panelmakers as well. The Quilt's interactive atmosphere is furthered through the inclusion of blank "signature panels" and markers and pens, which allow viewers to write messages and responses to the Quilt. Here, the audience literally inscribes its interpretations onto the monument itself, and these inscriptions become part of the symbolic material that others ultimately use in interpreting the memorial. The blank panels contribute to the communal participation in the formation of meaning, especially when debates are triggered by condemnations of homosexuality or by provocative statements about the Quilt's relation to political activism.[15]

The AIDS Quilt's emphasis on the people who are commemorated in it—their lives and their deaths depicted in the Quilt itself—has made it difficult for the 14.5 million people who have viewed the Quilt to ignore it or make it into a nebulous abstraction. As one viewer has written, "There is no viewing distance from which viewers confront the monument in its entirety; the Quilt's relentless emphasis on the dead necessitates our interaction with individuals."[16] Instead of offering its viewers a symbolically empty screen upon which they project their individual interpretations and recollections, the AIDS Quilt provides a proliferation of symbolic material that onlookers themselves must make sense of by participating in the memorial. "No one tells the viewer where to start, finish, or pay particular attention. Nor does it require of the viewer anything like an 'appropriate' response. For despite the enormous grief that inspired and attends it, tackiness and camp also play their irrepressible roles—the carnival always interrupts the wake."[17]

What is missing is not interpretive material, but interpretive hierarchy. Rather than a monument providing viewers with an answer to political problems, the AIDS Quilt simply poses the age-old question of politics—what is to be done? The inescapability of commemoration is used to make the AIDS Quilt's political function equally inescapable. Through the monument's cultural memory work, we become part of the memorial, and our enclosure within the AIDS Quilt implicates us in the events—both private and public—that it commemorates.

Here we must consider the relationship between individual and collective memory, for it is the formation of collective identity that is at the heart of the AIDS Quilt's radically inclusive and democratic take on the complexities of identity politics in the 1980s. While some individual panels make explicit reference to religious, racial, or ethnic identity or employ traditional American symbols (such as the eagle or the flag), and others are explicit in their references to gay-rights activism and sexual liberation, most of the panels in the Quilt resist reduction into social or political categories. More typically, they record each individual through unique representations of hobbies, family, and love relationships. Through this process, the people memorialized in the Quilt are commemorated as unforgettable individuals embedded in social relationships rather than statistical representations of forgettable risk groups. As Quilt volunteer Jack Bier put it, "The quilt helps [viewers] to start putting a story together. People do not generally get a story when they are taught about AIDS; they just get the statistics. But the quilt brings out the stories."[18]

But this process, while highly individualized, also creates a collectivity, one which is then mobilized as a political body in a complex and contingent manner as the community created by the AIDS Quilt is called upon to confront the political structures that have made its formation necessary in the first place. The Quilt embodies a consciousness not just of the political *nature* of commemoration, but of the political *potential* of these acts as well. Individual memory itself is a political act in the cultural work of the AIDS Quilt, but in gathering a collectivity, the Quilt also creates political responsibilities.

Becoming American

Cleve Jones often tells of how he learned to quilt from his grandmother, evoking a heartwarming image of cross-generational bonding that could grace a Norman Rockwell cover of *The Saturday Evening Post.* Quilting in America has always been a cultural practice filled with divergent social meanings, from the calico quilts of travelers on the Oregon Trail to the freedom quilts that marked the way stations of the Underground Railroad. Quilts have played a role in American collective memory and in the nostalgia and romance of American national mythology. But Jones's vision is largely an invented tradition. For most of American history, quilting has been ignored as just one among the many chores of the nation's women. By the mid-twentieth century, with mass-produced household items like bedspreads cheaply available to all Americans, participation in quilting, particularly in group settings such as quilting bees, had drastically declined.[19]

The 1970s and 1980s saw a revival of quilting from two very different points of origin. Feminists and women's historians recovered the history of women's quilting work, while Reagan-era cultural nostalgia brought a new interest in American traditions of domesticity. In a culture with rapidly shifting attitudes toward death, these developments were linked to changes in the use of cultural creativity in ther-

apeutic and grieving situations. The odd convergence of these trends, and not solely the accidental arrangement of placards on a wall, ensured that the most famous memorial to AIDS took the form of a patchwork quilt. Jones and his colleagues have always acknowledged this, and have often spoken of the Quilt's dialogue with American symbolism.[20]

In the original design of the AIDS Quilt and its accompanying literature, the Names Project deliberately attempted to cast the Quilt in specifically American terms in order to argue for the inclusion of AIDS into an arena of national concern. Cleve Jones explained that he fervently wished to "recapture traditional American values and apply them to [AIDS] too."[21] But what were those values? In a recent interview, Jones's reflections revealed both his hopes and his assumptions: "This is such a warm, comforting, middle-class, middle-American symbol. Every family has a quilt; it makes them think of their grandmothers. That's what we need: We need all these American grandmothers to want us to live, to be willing to say that our lives are worth defending."[22]

Jones's own frustration at many Americans' avoidance of the AIDS crisis motivated these claims for inclusion, but they were also based on his belief that the gay community was not capable of responding to AIDS on its own. In the political competition for the allocation of economic and cultural resources to battle AIDS, the relationships between Jones's grandmothers, their grandsons, and their political representatives would play a key role.

The attempt to describe AIDS activism and people with AIDS with an American cultural vocabulary at the historical moment of the mid-1980s may seem somewhat peculiar, given the ways that gay identity spanned national boundaries and the global nature of the AIDS epidemic, visible even then. Many criticized the Quilt for precisely these reasons, as well as for the "middle-class, middle-American" assumptions of its inventor. But we should think about these claims to nationhood not as rejections of gay identity politics or as evasions of the global implications of AIDS, but—with a sensitivity to the historical contexts out of which they arose—as challenges to a discourse of nation and family that was particularly prevalent in the 1980s.

Claims for national inclusion had radical implications given the seemingly "un-American" nature of the disease in the cultural contexts of the early 1980s. The post-1960s counterculture and the sexual revolution had many opponents, but in the 1970s, members of "family values" groups seemed to pose little threat to the gay liberationists of San Francisco's Castro District or New York's Greenwich Village; political initiatives by conservative figures like Anita Bryant had gone to defeat. By 1981, conservatives were now in control, and they had a friend in the White House. It was against this cultural backdrop that the Quilt's most public displays were set, and to great effect. Confrontations with national symbols were drawn in the clearest strokes in AIDS Quilt displays on the Mall in Washington in October of 1987,

1988, and 1992. Laid out in the symbolic heart of American political culture and cultural memory, within view of the White House, the United States Capitol, and the Lincoln Memorial, the Quilt confronted the exclusions of American political authority and argued for the inclusion of people with AIDS into not just memorial, but political structures from which they had been left out. The connections between viewing the Quilt and participating in political protest were also most direct at these moments, as activist Betty Berzon made clear: "In the afternoon the sadness of the quilt experience gave way to exhilaration as, under gray and overcast skies, the marchers stepped off in an explosion of energy, shouting, singing, and chanting the rallying cries of gay pride."[23]

The silence of the Reagan and Bush administrations about these public displays only solidified the community the Quilt created and the political stance it engendered. Whether or not the cultural history of the 1980s will be described as the Reagan Era, the role of President Ronald Reagan in the political, medical, and cultural history of the AIDS epidemic will always loom large. During the 1980s, many AIDS activists condemned the Reagan administration for its silence on the issue of AIDS; the President did not even mention the word *AIDS* publicly until over 21,000 Americans had already died of the disease.[24]

In fact, the power of Reagan and national conservatism as mobilizing symbols may very well have been more central to AIDS and gay activism than participants realized at the time. Certainly greater funding, tolerance, and compassion might have come out of a presidential administration led by Jimmy Carter, but in all likelihood not much more, and the anger that catalyzed around the Reagan administration is palpable in a wide range of historical and cultural artifacts produced by people with AIDS in the early 1980s.[25]

It was not merely Reagan the president but Reagan the cultural symbol to which AIDS activists responded. Following Reagan's lead, conservatives of the 1980s asserted cultural power through their claim on the definition of family. This struck particularly at gay men, who were often excluded from family structures they had rejected as oppressive in the wake of the sexual revolution, but that conservatives identified as normal. Furthermore, conservatives often described the nation in terms of the family, a connection that excluded those who were, for whatever reasons, not part of conventional families.

Understandably wary of this discourse of family and nation, many critics called into question the Names Project's attempt to include people with AIDS in the American national imaginary. Marita Sturken feared that this form of accommodation would allow for the continued marginalization of people with AIDS: "Notions of 'patriotism' and 'family heritage' implicit in the Quilt may simply backfire and act to rescript those memorialized into a discourse of Americana in a country that continues to view their deaths as less than tragic."[26] Yet this view underestimated the rad-

ical nature of Jones's project at a time when a claim to membership in the American nation seemed all but off-limits to people with AIDS. The makers and viewers of the Quilt challenged the hegemony of cultural meaning over the discourse of the family, insisting that people with AIDS were part of the national family and pointing out the contradictions of exclusion. As Elinor Fuchs noted: "The Quilt, without an ounce of apparent confrontation in its soft and comforting body, is a hugely visual riposte to official culture's fervent wish that AIDS would just disappear. . . . Its association of gay sexuality with Reaganite cultural mythology—the celebration of the rural American, family American, homemade American, nostalgic American—in effect forcing its spectators to embrace in a single image what to many is an impossible contradiction—this is no doubt the Quilt's most brilliant and far-reaching element of ironic masquerade."[27] The symbolic discourse surrounding the nation and the family was reshaped by the memorial work of the nation's actual families, who created meaningful panels and wrote touching letters showing that the connections of family could—and did—continue to include gay men, people who used intravenous drugs, and other people with AIDS whose lives and identities were stigmatized.[28]

Debates about the constituency of the AIDS Quilt and of AIDS activism also took place in a struggle over the relationship between the Quilt and the gay community. By the late 1980s and early 1990s, the changing demographics of AIDS were impossible to ignore: the disease was disproportionately ravaging poor communities of color at the same time that it continued to spread in overwhelmingly white, middle-class, urban, gay neighborhoods. Some white gay AIDS activists felt that their organizations needed to expand their services and their political mobilization efforts; others worried that attempting to reach everyone in the category of "people with AIDS" would strain organizational resources and efface both the special catastrophe that gay men lived with and the responses that they had developed. These tensions were aired nationwide in community papers, city council hearings, political meetings, and at protest rallies. They also appeared in the Names Project and raised challenges to the assumptions of many of the Quilt's founders.[29]

At times, in its search for national inclusion, Names Project staff consciously played down the fundamentally gay nature of the organization. In 1988, Cleve Jones stated publicly that "the Names Project is not a gay organization. . . . To say we are would be a disservice to the thousands of AIDS patients who are not gay, and it ignores the fact that during the past two years, the majority of new cases are from the heterosexual population."[30] Jones's disavowals of the Quilt's close relationship to the gay community were part of his larger aim of bringing the AIDS crisis to national attention through a symbolic language adapted to the mainstream. "We very deliberately adopted a symbol and a vocabulary that would not be threatening to nongay people," said Jones. This rhetoric made the Quilt's inclusion in the American cultural landscape easier for some people to digest, a goal that Jones pursued at least in part

for programmatic political reasons. "[We] needed a strategy that would affect the outside world, which clearly is going to decide whether we're going to survive."[31]

But there were dissenting voices. Many critics claimed that the Names Project's efforts at cultural inclusion "de-gayed" the AIDS Quilt, effectively erasing the contributions of the community out of which the Quilt had grown. Robin Hardy was angered that "the Names Project . . . has siphoned hundreds of thousands of dollars out of gay pockets, but omits the word 'gay' in its literature and puts a photograph of a mother and children on the cover of its commemorative booklet."[32] Activist Eric Rofes thought that "de-gaying AIDS might bring more funding, but isn't the cost too high?" And *Bay Windows,* a lesbian and gay newspaper in Boston, editorialized that "although . . . Cleve Jones is correct when he says that nobody could walk around the Quilt and not be struck by the gay community's losses, that doesn't mean that the current trend among AIDS organizations to put gay men at the bottom of the outreach heap is right."[33]

Jones and the leadership of the Names Project tried to balance several goals: to challenge political and cultural exclusion, to make inclusion possible, and to accommodate racial and sexual diversity. The use of the language of Americanism, broad enough to contain many different viewpoints, usually served Jones well. At other times, however, it did not, particularly in the Names Project's early encounters with African American and Latino communities dealing with epidemic use of intravenous drugs as well as high rates of HIV-infection among gay men of color. Arguments for the application of "American values" to the AIDS crisis rang hollow in inner-city neighborhoods long ignored by white America and its government. The AIDS Quilt itself often appeared jarringly out of place, as the $3,000 cost of displaying the Quilt strained communities and activist organizations that could barely mobilize funds for AIDS education or health care. As one critic asked, "Is it a privilege to be able to mourn in the middle of an epidemic?"[34]

Ongoing arguments by Jones and his colleagues for inclusion into American cultural mythology consistently ran up against the assumptions embedded in how Names Project organizers had defined American identity and its possibilities. These difficulties were exacerbated as the Names Project extended its work beyond its founding and core constituency of white middle-class gay men to include the numerous other Americans affected by AIDS, Americans whose understanding of and relationship to myths of national identity were dramatically different from those of Cleve Jones. So long as that project was conducted through rhetorical manipulations by Names Project staff and other middle-class white activists, it was bound to get stuck on its multiple and contradictory assumptions. It succeeded in the democratic project of the Quilt itself, when people with AIDS, panelmakers, and their families spoke out for a broad definition of American identity, thereby articulating their place in, and their vision of, American nationalism.[35]

What Kind of Identity Politics?

Through its radically inclusive and democratic structure, the AIDS Quilt accommodated multiple identities at the same time that it created a collective one. In its earliest years, when AIDS was widely seen as a foreign phenomenon visited upon people beyond the pale of the imagined national community the Quilt and its makers presented an argument for inclusion within that community and created an identity not just as people affected by AIDS, but more specifically as Americans affected by AIDS. This form of identity politics—which was pursued not just in the cultural work of the Quilt but in many other arenas as well—had significant consequences for the political activism surrounding the AIDS epidemic.

Criticism of the Names Project extended to the tone of its political message. Viewers such as Douglas Crimp thought the AIDS Quilt didn't go far enough and that it could create political passivity rather than consciousness. "Public mourning rituals may of course have their own political force, but often they seem, from an activist perspective, indulgent, sentimental, defeatist."[36] Activists accused the Names Project of failing to follow through on the more focused and didactic political potential of the AIDS Quilt. "Does the quilt itself educate those in need of information on how not to contract or spread HIV disease?" asked Rick Rose, who argued in 1992 that the AIDS Quilt was a poor allocation of already insufficient resources. "More than ten years into the epidemic," he says, "the Quilt has taken on a life of its own . . . weighing 30.7 tons. That's a lot of quilt and a lot of time, money, and resources, all of which could be spent in other ways. . . . To justify its tremendous costs, the quilt must be used in a more proactive role if it is to continue."[37] Rose would likely have preferred the approach of the radical AIDS activist group ACT-UP, which petitioned the Names Project in 1992 to use Quilt panels for an act of civil disobedience: protesters had hoped to wrap George Bush's vacation home with the Quilt to draw attention to the AIDS crisis.[38]

Activist critics demanded that the memorial confront and speak to the American public. But those who criticized the Quilt's political program were criticizing something that did not really exist. As Jones said in response to his critics, "No one ever said the Quilt was the answer." Instead of providing a political answer, as traditional monuments often do, the AIDS Quilt provided a political tool, enabling a politics that reflected its vision of pluralism and its accommodation not merely of demographic difference, but of political diversity as well.[39]

Coming to terms with issues of activism and diversity in the Names Project sheds light on broader trends of political culture after the 1960s. The pursuit of identity politics in the United States in the 1980s must be seen within long-term shifts in the modern West toward the expression of political activism through what sociologists have called new social movements. These social forces, as defined by Jürgen Habermas, are thought to reflect new political conflicts which "no longer arise in areas of material reproduction. Rather, the new conflicts arise in areas of cultural

reproduction, social integration, and socialization. . . . In short, the new conflicts are not sparked by problems of distribution, but concern the grammar of forms of life."[40] Often involving cultural creativity, theater, and performance, these movements' contests and struggles have concerned symbols and meanings more than issues of institutional access and economic resources. The gay liberation movement of the 1970s, which saw changes in lifestyle as fundamental challenges to the structure of power in society, clearly fits this model.

The movements formed by gay men in the 1980s in response to the AIDS crisis at once confirm and challenge our understanding of new social movements. For many in the Names Project, the ties to earlier movements were genealogical. Before turning to AIDS issues, Cleve Jones was himself a member of the Gay Liberation Front and also active in San Francisco electoral politics in the 1970s. "I got involved in 1980–81. . . . I had been an activist in the gay liberation movement and had worked with Harvey Milk. To me my activism was a natural outgrowth of my work in gay liberation, and the early days were very much grassroots, ad hoc. . . . We were just gay activists who were trying to alert our brothers."[41] Jones's story mirrors those of many other activists—particularly in New York and San Francisco—whose AIDS activism was of a piece with their ongoing commitment to a gay and lesbian identity politics that matches Habermas's definition.[42]

Cultural politics was never the point of AIDS activism in the early years of the epidemic. Funding, research, health care, and other questions about the allocation of scarce social resources headed the agenda. But the circumstances of history created a unique intersection of interest-group politics and identity politics, of old and new social movements.

In the 1980s, most commentators, particularly gay men in the hardest hit communities, felt that the marginality and stigmatization of sexual minorities allowed structures of government, health care, and media to ignore the devastation of the disease without voicing any meaningful public response. But perhaps, in retrospect, another pattern comes into view. The relatively sophisticated political organization of segments of the gay community made it possible for AIDS to receive a great deal of funding and a quick response from the public sector. Dennis Altman noted that "among the groups most affected by AIDS, only the homosexuals have been able to mobilize and articulate political demands." Furthermore, suggests Altman, the disease also mobilized more gay men into activism—whether for narrowly tailored issues related to AIDS or to gay and lesbian rights more generally—than had ever been involved in such movements before.[43]

If we consider AIDS next to other major health crises of the modern era, the significance of already existing networks of gay politics are put into sharp relief. Arriving in the middle of an era of identity-based politics, the AIDS epidemic taught that diseases create identities, even when those identities overlap in the imagination of the so-called general public with existing social categories such as gay men or drug

users. People with AIDS did not exist as a social category that could act in the arenas of interest-group politics before the disease. Gay people did. That there was a close correlation between the categories of gay men and people with AIDS in the early years of the disease in the United States meant that disease activism could take place at a much more rapid and better-organized pace than any other disease activism in American (or world) history. Had gay men not already been organized as a political and cultural body around their identities, they would not have been able to mobilize politically and culturally specific responses to a crisis that disproportionately affected them as a group.[44]

Critics of identity politics often suggest that its practice led to narrow, fragmented, and selfishly oriented communities. Those who make this suggestion should look seriously at the alliances formed in the 1980s in the realms of AIDS volunteer service, AIDS education, and AIDS activism. In the early days of the AIDS crisis, identity politics saved and prolonged lives, not merely of the gay men whose identity politics facilitated a quick response to the emerging epidemic, but of all those affected by AIDS who gained access to the institutions of medicine, politics, and culture established by gay men and their allies in the early 1980s.[45]

The AIDS Memorial Quilt was one of those institutions. Even as it disavowed its gay identity, it created a cultural space for gay men who were dealing with AIDS. Even as it spoke the language of power and nationalism, it drew from and mobilized large numbers of gay men, their families, and friends. But it was never "only" a gay organization, so long as its panels gave voice to the diverse constituencies of AIDS. On the eve of the first Quilt display in New York City in 1988, Clarke Taylor, director of New York's Names Project chapter, expressed his hope that the Quilt could bring unity in the response to the AIDS crisis. "For the first time in eight years, the city is going to be together on AIDS. It will be physically together, representationally together and, in the long run, politically together." It was a utopian claim, more fantasy than reality. But it had an element of truth to it.[46]

The Quilt put its cultural space to work for the purpose of political mobilization. AIDS activism, particularly in the 1980s when research funds were not forthcoming, differed from the new social movements Jürgen Habermas describes in that debates did in fact concern problems of resource allocation. That these problems could at times be addressed by cultural products such as the AIDS Quilt, which has raised more than $3 million for local AIDS service organizations at the same time that it has addressed issues of cultural meaning and personal life, only shows that identity politics was always related to areas of struggle more traditionally defined as political in the case of AIDS activism.[47]

Thomas Yingling has suggested that AIDS "is the disease that announces the end of identity."[48] By this he referred primarily to the universal experience of death even under highly differentiated experiences of life. But the AIDS Memorial Quilt also demonstrates a reworking of identity politics and resource politics. For a

moment, the pursuit of a politics of respectability, inclusion, and nationalism achieved a great deal for people with AIDS, their families, and their friends. Created in an era in which notions of nationality and the family were tinged in reactionary ways by the cultural conservatives who dominated politics and the media, the Quilt ultimately claimed some aspects of those very notions that supposedly excluded it. Did panelmakers do this out of acceptance of nationalist beliefs, as a self-conscious strategy of political activism and fundraising, or out of some postmodern quest for ironic subterfuge? The Quilt panels, of course, in all the wild contradictions to which they give voice, prevent us from choosing any one of those conclusions but force us to reckon with a politics that might conceivably allow us to do all three.

Postscript

If memory politics, identity politics, and resource politics were useful tools in the early response to AIDS, they were a mixed blessing. AIDS activism—dominated in the 1980s by white gay men raised in the Americanism of the 1950s, schooled in the politics of the 1960s, and liberated by the sexual cultures of the 1970s—was predetermined by earlier patterns of political organization. Through its articulation of the AIDS crisis in a "nonthreatening" manner, the Names Project succeeded in bringing the disease before a wide range of Americans who might have avoided the issue in the 1980s. But now that Newt Gingrich and Miss America have appeared at Quilt displays and the Names Project has received a grant from the National Endowment for the Arts, it is perhaps time to rethink the relationship between nationalism and activism. In the year 2002, the Names Project is an actively international organization dedicated to incorporating worldwide cultural traditions of memory and quilting. With U.S. political and cultural institutions responding in at least a partial way to the concerns of American people with AIDS, a continued focus on American national identity is now quite simply not that radical. Furthermore, as the disease's global impact rears its ever uglier head, it is the formation of transnational cultural and political responses that is desperately necessary now.[49]

The history of the formation and structure of the AIDS Memorial Quilt tells a complex story of public and private, personal and political, protest and acquiescence, inclusion and resistance. It also provides some lessons for those who seek to extend the cultural and political response to AIDS in the future. Any attempt to use the AIDS Quilt—and its communities—to form an identity and craft a political program has been made transparent by the panels themselves and the lives they remember. That is not a bad thing. On the contrary, that transparency is a fundamental precondition of a democratic political program. Only a recognition of the pluralism the Quilt embodies can allow its viewers a critical appropriation of multiple and ambiguous traditions, one that allows for and encourages collective identities that serve political ends, but that is incompatible with predetermined and exclusionary boundaries of politicized identities.[50]

The men and women who confronted the AIDS epidemic in its early years recognized these ambiguities. Sometimes they demanded inclusion of the disease within one or another tradition. Sometimes they resisted the assumptions of these traditions, or challenged their failures. And at moments, they carried out acts of critical appropriation—by making panels for the Quilt, by visiting it, and by opening their hearts, wallets, and political imaginations to the lessons its panels taught. The AIDS Memorial Quilt offers a valuable example of the reconciliation of memory and politics in a pluralist society. Memorials must never abandon their duties in either the commemorative and political realms, but they can never substitute for our own participation in commemoration and political action. In an era in which memory and identity are part and parcel of the practice of every kind of politics, we cannot let politicians—radical or conservative—decide what our memories mean. Nor can we let our memories do our politicking for us.

Notes

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1. Cleve Jones, interview by the author, Cambridge, MA, December 5, 1993; Jones with Jeff Dawson, *Stitching a Revolution: The Making of an Activist* (San Francisco: Harper, 2000), 103–9. Figures are current as of December 2000 or October 2001 and can be found in Names Project Foundation, "Quilt Facts," at http://www.aidsquilt.org, and United States Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), "Basic Statistics," at www.cdc.gov/hiv/pubs/facts.htm.
2. Cleve Jones, quoted in William Goldstein, "The Quilt: Stories from the Names Project," *Publishers Weekly*, February 19, 1988, 43.
3. Sara Evans, *Personal Politics: The Roots of Women's Liberation in the Civil Rights Movement and the New Left* (New York: Knopf, 1979); David Allyn, *Make Love, Not War: The Sexual Revolution: An Unfettered History* (Boston: Little, Brown, 2000). For surveys of gay activism in the 1970s, see Dudley Clendinen and Adam Nagourney, *Out for Good: The Struggle to Build a Gay Rights Movement in America* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1999); and Eric Marcus, *Making History: The Struggle for Gay and Lesbian Equal Rights, 1945–1990: An Oral History* (New York: HarperCollins, 1992).
4. Jones, interview; also see Names Project Foundation, *The Names Project AIDS Memorial Quilt*, 1993.
5. Jones, interview.
6. Jones, interview.
7. In this essay, I confine my discussion to the years between 1981—when AIDS was first identified in the United States—through the early 1990s, with the inauguration of Bill Clinton. I choose the latter date not because it ushered in a new era in AIDS treatment, research, or funding (it certainly did not), but because the notable public silences of the Reagan and Bush administrations in the early years of the epidemic were significant organizational prompts for AIDS activists in general and the Names Project in particular. The terrain has shifted again after 1995–96 as multiple-drug therapies have halted disease progress among many of the middle-class gay men in the United States who can afford

treatment, while the disease's long noted global dimensions have become almost inconceivable in their devastation. The social history of AIDS has mutated as quickly as the virus. The Names Project, which is now much more self-consciously multicultural and internationalist, is only beginning to catch up. What I have to say applies largely to a cultural and political moment that has already passed into history.

8. Figures are from CDC, "Basic Statistics," and Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS, "HIV Information and Data," at http://www.unaids.org/hivaidsinfo/index.html, and are current as of June or December 2000. The standard work on the early years of the AIDS epidemic is Randy Shilts, *And the Band Played On: Politics, People, and the AIDS Epidemic* (New York: Penguin, 1988), recently supplemented by John-Manuel Andriote, *Victory Deferred: How AIDS Changed Gay Life in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), esp. 47–82.
9. Judy Spiersch, quoted in Cindy Ruskin, *The Quilt: Stories from the Names Project* (New York: Pocket, 1988), 11. A chilling catalog of restrictions on the mourning of people with AIDS can be found in Miriam Horn, "Grief Re-examined," *US News and World Report,* June 14, 1993, 81–84.
10. Cleve Jones, quoted in Dan Bellm, "And Sew It Goes," *Mother Jones* 14 (1989): 35.
11. Jones, interview.
12. The discussion here is condensed from Christopher Capozzola, "The Monumental Moment: Recent Monument Design and the Search for Pluralist Frameworks of Memory" (A.B. honors thesis, Harvard College, 1994), on deposit at the Harvard University Archives and Pusey Library. Key works in the study of memory include Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Maurice Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory,* trans. Francis J. Ditter Jr. and Vida Yazdi Ditter (New York: Harper and Row, 1980); Michael G. Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture* (New York: Knopf, 1991); David Lowenthal, *The Past Is a Foreign Country* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985); Pierre Nora, *Realms of Memory: The Construction of the French Past,* ed. Lawrence D. Kritzman, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996); and the journal *History and Memory.*
13. Figures about the AIDS Memorial Quilt are from the Names Project Foundation, "Quilt Facts," and United Nations, "HIV Information and Data," and are current as of October and December 2000, respectively. See also Jeff Weinstein, "Names Carried into the Future: An AIDS Quilt Unfolds," in *Art in the Public Interest,* ed. Arlene Raven (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Research Press, 1989), 48. For an illuminating study of people who have made panels to commemorate themselves, see Shoshana D. Kerewsky, "HIV + Gay Men's Processes of Making Their Own AIDS Memorial Quilt Panels" (Ph.D. diss., Antioch New England Graduate School, 1997).
14. Weinstein, "Names," 50. See also Peter Hawkins, "Naming Names: The Art of Memory and the NAMES Project AIDS Quilt," *Critical Inquiry* 19 (Summer 1993): 752–79. A wide variety of Quilt panels can be seen in Ruskin, *Quilt;* The NAMES Project AIDS Memorial Quilt, *Always Remember: A Selection of Panels Created by and for International Fashion Designers* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996); and Names Project Foundation, "The Quilt Archive Project," and "Online Display," at http://www.aidsquilt.org.
15. Jim Carr, Names Project-Boston, interview by the author, Boston, March 22, 1994. Marita Sturken, however, notes that there is very little discussion of public issues in the signature panels. See Sturken, *Tangled Memories: The Vietnam War, the AIDS Epidemic, and the Politics of Remembering* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 199. At the first

national display of the Quilt, viewers used the signature panels to inscribe the names of those they knew who were not yet memorialized in its panels. See "Topics of the Times: The AIDS Memorial," *New York Times,* October 14, 1987.

16. Jonathan Weinberg, "The Quilt: Activism and Remembrance," *Art in America*, December, 1992, 37.
17. Hawkins, "Naming Names," 764. See also Paul Treichler, "AIDS, Homophobia, and Biomedical Discourse: An Epidemic of Signification," in *AIDS: Cultural Analysis/Cultural Activism,* ed. Douglas Crimp (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1988), 31–70.
18. The research of Shoshana Kerewsky confirms that "responses [of panelmakers] primarily centered on relational activities (individual, interpersonal, and community)" and that "the meanings that they attributed to making their own panels were more local and personal than the available literature on the Quilt in general might suggest." See Kerewsky, "HIV," 1. Jack Bier, quoted in Sandra Friedland, "Displaying the AIDS Quilt in the State," *New York Times,* May 27, 1990.
19. Elaine Hedges, *Hearts and Hands: Women, Quilts, and American Society* (Nashville, TN: Rutledge Hill, 1996); Flavia Rando, "The Person with AIDS: The Body, the Feminine, and the NAMES Project Memorial Quilt," in *Gendered Epidemic: Representations of Women in the Age of AIDS,* ed. Nancy L. Roth and Katie Hogan (New York: Routledge, 1998), 196; David F. Shaw, "Women and the AIDS Memorial Quilt," in *Women and AIDS: Negotiating Safer Practices, Care, and Representation,* ed. Nancy L. Roth and Linda K. Fuller (New York: Haworth, 1998), 213–16.
20. Hedges, *Hearts and Hands.* For a literary instance of the feminist revival of quilting, see Alice Walker's 1973 story "Everyday Use," in *The Norton Anthology of African American Literature,* ed. Henry Louis Gates Jr. and Nellie Y. McKay (New York: Norton, 1997), 2387–94. Shaw's "Women and the AIDS Memorial Quilt" suggests that the appropriation of quilting as therapy could not have occurred without the transformations of religion and spirituality in the 1960s and 1970s often subsumed under the rubric of "New Age." I would add to this the changes in the culture of grief and death following the publication of Elizabeth Kübler-Ross's *On Death and Dying* (New York: Macmillan, 1969). Another significant combination of these trends can be seen in the work of the Berkeley-based Shanti Project, which was one of the first organizations to respond to the outbreak of AIDS in the cultural realm. See Charles Garfield, *Sometimes My Heart Goes Numb: Love and Caregiving in a Time of AIDS* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1995). Shilts demonstrates Cleve Jones's connections to the Shanti Project as early as 1982 (*And the Band*, 123).
21. Jones, interview.
22. Cleve Jones, quoted in Andriote, *Victory Deferred,* 366.
23. For a record of the 1987 Washington displays, see Ruskin, *Quilt;* Katherine Bishop, "Denying AIDS Its Sting: A Quilt of Life," *New York Times,* October 5, 1987; "Memorial Quilt Rolled Out," *New York Times,* October 12, 1987; Lena Williams, "200,000 March in Capital to Seek Gay Rights and Money for AIDS," *New York Times,* October 12, 1987; Betty Berzon, "Acting Up," in *Long Road to Freedom: The Advocate History of the Gay and Lesbian Movement,* ed. Mark Thompson (New York: St. Martin's, 1994), 308.
24. M. Murray Mayo, "A Cultural Analysis of the Meanings in the NAMES Project AIDS Memorial Quilt" (Ph.D. diss., Kent State University, 1995), 4. Ronald Reagan did not establish the Presidential Commission on the Human Immunodeficiency Virus Epidemic until 1987, but even then he chose to ignore the commission's 1988 report, as did President George Bush with the report of the National Commission on AIDS in 1991. Pierre André, *People, Sex, HIV, and AIDS: Social, Political, Philosophical and Moral Implications*

(Huntington, WV: University Editions, 1995), 30. A great deal of work remains to be done in analyzing the cultural politics of the Reagan era. It has begun in Kenneth MacKinnon, *The Politics of Popular Representation: Reagan, Thatcher, AIDS, and the Movies* (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 1992); Alan Nadel, *Flatlining on the Field of Dreams: Cultural Narratives in the Films of President Reagan's America* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1997); and Michael Paul Rogin, *Ronald Reagan, the Movie, and Other Episodes in Political Demonology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987).

25. See Laurie Udesky, "Randy Shilts: 'For Me, Coming Out Was Very Political,' " *Progressive*, May, 1991, 30–34.
26. Marita Sturken, "Conversations with the Dead: Bearing Witness in the AIDS Memorial Quilt," *Socialist Review* 22 (1992): 92. See also Sturken, *Tangled Memories*, 215–17. For a similar argument about developments in Margaret Thatcher's Britain, see Simon Watney, "The Spectacle of AIDS," in *AIDS*, ed. Crimp, 82.
27. Elinor Fuchs, "The Performance of Mourning," *American Theatre* 9 (1993): 17.
28. Joe Brown, ed., *A Promise to Remember: The Names Project Book of Letters* (New York: Avon, 1992). See also Kath Weston, *Families We Choose: Lesbians, Gays, Kinship* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991).
29. For just one example, in early 1989, a series of activists debated the relationship between gay groups and AIDS activism in response to a controversial article in *The Nation.* The original article and many of the responses are reprinted in Darrell Yates Rist, "AIDS as Apocalypse," *Christopher Street*, February, 1989, 11–20. See also Eric E. Rofes, "Gay Groups vs. AIDS Groups: Averting Civil War in the 1990s," *Out/Look* 2 (1990): 8–17.
30. Cleve Jones, quoted in Marita Sturken, "Cultural Memory and Identity Politics: The Vietnam War, AIDS, and the Technologies of Memory" (Ph.D. diss., University of California at Santa Cruz, 1992), 267.
31. Cleve Jones, quoted in Sturken, "Conversations," 85; Jones, quoted in Bellm, "And Sew It Goes," 35.
32. Robin Hardy, quoted in Sturken, *Tangled Memories*, 208.
33. Both in Rofes, "Gay Groups vs. AIDS Groups," 12–13.
34. Sturken, "Conversations," 88.
35. Sturken emphasizes the role of the AIDS Quilt in the formation of what she calls "counternational" discourses, but I believe they are less self-consciously resistant than Sturken describes them, and so I prefer the term "national" (*Tangled Memories*, 255–59).
36. Douglas Crimp, "Mourning and Militancy," *October* 51 (1989): 5.
37. Rick Rose, "Has AIDS Outgrown the Quilt?" *Advocate*, December 1, 1992, 6. The Quilt now weighs approximately 53 tons. See Names Project Foundation, "Quilt Facts." Tom Schiller suggests the Quilt's possibilities for mobilizing family members of people with AIDS in a personal account in Garfield, *Sometimes My Heart*, 186, but Shaw suggests that there were limits to the Quilt's political mobilization in that most survivors were inspired by their Quilt experiences to continue political work they were already doing, rather than being politically mobilized in the classic sense ("Women," 224–29).
38. Jones, interview.
39. Jones, interview.
40. Jürgen Habermas, "New Social Movements," *Telos* 49 (1981): 33. See also Mayo, "A Cultural Analysis," 9–15, and Josh Gamson, "Silence, Death, and the Invisible Enemy: AIDS Activism and Social Movement 'Newness,' " *Social Problems* 36 (1989): 351–67.

41. Cleve Jones, quoted in Nancy E. Stoller, *Lessons from the Damned: Queers, Whores, and Junkies Respond to AIDS* (New York: Routledge, 1998), 34–35. For more on Jones's 1970s activism, see Andriote, *Victory Deferred,* 75–76; Frank A. Conway, "People to Watch: Cleve Jones," *Christopher Street*, May, 1988, 36–39; Jones, *Stitching a Revolution,* 23–87; and Shilts, *And the Band,* 16–17.
42. Gamson, "Silence"; Stoller, *Lessons*, 113–33; and Andriote, *Victory Deferred,* 83–122.
43. André, *People, Sex, HIV, and AIDS,* 33; Dennis Altman, "Legitimation through Disaster: AIDS and the Gay Movement," in *AIDS: The Burdens of History,* ed. Elizabeth Fee and Daniel M. Fox (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 309. The contrasting interpretation emphasizes the ways in which powerful institutions of public health, government, and media narrowed and shaped the range of possible responses to the AIDS crisis, often acting against the interests of people with AIDS even while claiming to serve them. See Elinor Burkett, *The Gravest Show on Earth: America in the Age of AIDS* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1995), and Michael A. Hallett, ed., *Activism and Marginalization in the AIDS Crisis* (New York: Haworth, 1997), esp. 1–16.
44. The deployment of the cultural symbols of Americana was certainly easier for middle-class white gay men who were often raised in that cultural surround, moved easily in and out of it, and were able to subvert it from within in ways that other AIDS activists may not have been able to do. Gamson makes a similar point about activists from ACT-UP in "Silence," 362.
45. Perhaps nothing demonstrates this better than the commitment of HIV-negative gay men to AIDS activism ever since the earliest days of the crisis. For some personal accounts, see Andrew Sullivan, "Gay Life, Gay Death," *New Republic,* December 17, 1990, 19–25, and Lon G. Nungesser, *Epidemic of Courage: Facing AIDS in America* (New York: St. Martin's, 1986). Of course not all persons with AIDS have had full access to the kinds of social networks that relatively powerful urban white gay men constructed, yet the work of these institutions and their ongoing if uneven commitment to servicing a global AIDS crisis demonstrates a remarkable level of cross-identity commitment. Consider also Dennis Altman's point that "the American irony is that groups such as [Gay Men's Health Crisis] or AIDS Project-Los Angeles are almost perfect examples of Reaganite volunteerism, but right-wing moralists have prevented the White House from acknowledging their roles." Altman, "Legitimation through Disaster," 312. Sturken disagrees, arguing that women and people of color have been consistently underserved by AIDS organizations dominated by gay men (*Tangled Memories*, 156–59).
46. David W. Dunlap, "Quilt Unfolds Painful Story of AIDS," *New York Times,* June 20, 1988. The Quilt also brought people together in the volunteer organizations that helped people make panels. See coverage of Metro New York Quilters in Elaine Louie, "Making a Panel for the AIDS Memorial Quilt," *New York Times,* October 1, 1992.
47. Figure from Names Project Foundation, "Quilt Facts."
48. Thomas E. Yingling, *AIDS and the National Body,* ed. Robyn Wiegman (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997), 15.
49. This is all the more true as contributions to AIDS organizations in the United States have tumbled, including to the Names Project, which cut its budget by 30 percent in 1997. See Andriote, *Victory Deferred,* 381. Sam Whiting, "AIDS Quilt Has Become Her Banner," *San Francisco Chronicle,* December 12, 1997; Sturken, *Tangled Memories,* 181–82.
50. Jürgen Habermas, "A Kind of Settlement of Damages," trans. Jeremy Leaman, *Economy and Society* 17 (1988): 541. For a very different perspective, but with a remarkably similar conclusion, see Herbert Muschamp, "Labyrinth," *Artforum*, December, 1987, 12.