

“IN THE BEST INTERESTS OF THE COUNTRY”:  
THE AMERICAN FILM INSTITUTE AND PHILANTHROPIC SUPPORT FOR  
AMERICAN EXPERIMENTAL AND INDEPENDENT CINEMA IN THE 1960s.

BY  
GRACIA RAMÍREZ

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE  
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF DOCTOR IN PHILOSOPHY

AT  
EDINBURGH NAPIER UNIVERSITY

APRIL 2013



## Contents

Tables .....	vi
Figures.....	vi
Acknowledgements .....	vii
Abbreviations .....	viii
Abstract .....	ix
INTRODUCTION .....	1
Defining Experimental and Independent Cinema .....	2
Personal Films and the Medium-Specific Evolution of Avant-Garde Cinema.....	6
Philanthropic Support and Avant-Garde Arts .....	12
Experimental Cinema in Academic Institutions .....	18
Early Philanthropic Support for Non-Theatrical Cineíma and Film Culture.....	20
The Crossover of Experimental and Independent Cinema during the 1960s.....	21
Methodology .....	24
Chapter 1 .....	30
EXPERIMENTAL AND INDEPENDENT CINEMA AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF NON-THEATRICAL CINEMA IN THE 1930s	
1.1 Early Film Regulation .....	30
1.1.1 Expansion of the U.S. Film Industry.....	32
1.2 Avant-Garde Cinema in the 1920s.....	34
1.3 The 1930s: Politics, Films and Propaganda .....	36
1.3.1 U.S. Documentary Film in the 1930s.....	37
1.3.2 Independent Documentary Filmmaking.....	38
1.4 Film Education Policies .....	40
1.4.1 Another American Film Institute .....	42
1.4.2 Standards in Film Education Policies .....	44
1.4.3 Film Production and Educational Purposes .....	48
1.4.4 Resources for Audiovisual Education.....	50
1.5 Independent Sponsored Documentaries .....	51
1.5.1 The American Film Center .....	52
1.5.2 Sponsored Films and the War Effort.....	54
Summary .....	55
Chapter 2 .....	57
PERSONAL CINEMA AFTER WORLD WAR II	
2.1 Early Approaches to American Experimental Cinema .....	57
2.1.1 The Post-war Revival.....	58
2.1.2 European Art Cinema after the War.....	61
2.2 Films and Post-war Foreign Policy .....	62
2.2.1 The International Film Industry .....	64
2.2.2 Changes in Demographics, Industry Practices and Censorship .....	66
2.3 Rising Film Culture in the 1950s .....	69
2.3.1 American Film Criticism .....	71
2.3.2 Expanding Experimental Cinema .....	72
2.3.3 The Needs of Independent Filmmakers .....	74
2.4 Cultural Reactions in the 1960s .....	76
2.4.1 Personal Expression and the Liberation of Consciousness.....	77

2.5 The 1961 Proposal for an American Film Institute.....	79
2.5.1 Obstacles for American Experimental and Independent Cinema .....	80
2.6 Changing Theatrical Cinema and Film Education .....	81
2.6.1 Defending Personal Expression .....	83
Summary .....	85
 Chapter 3 .....	 86
THE DIRECTIVES OF THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION’S AND THE U.S. FEDERAL GOVERNMENT’S FILM POLICIES	
3.1 The 1964 Ford Foundation Grants .....	86
3.2 Passing Education Legislation: Science and Equality .....	88
3.2.1 The Implications of the NDEA .....	89
3.2.2 The Foundations’ Prospects .....	90
3.2.3 The Rockefeller Arts Program and Experimental Arts .....	92
3.3 Balancing Act: The Arts and Humanities Discussions .....	94
3.3.1 The Technological Utopia.....	97
3.2.2 A Medium-Specific Approach to Education.....	98
3.2.3 Experimental Film Production and Film Education.....	99
3.2.4 The Policy Priorities.....	102
3.4 The Stanford Report and the Objectives of the AFI .....	104
3.4.1 Film Education in the SRI Report.....	105
3.4.2 The Theatrical Film Sector.....	107
3.4.3 Development of the Non-Theatrical Sector .....	109
3.5 Changes in Standards of Content and the Film Industry’s Model in the late 1960s .....	114
3.5.1 The Future of Film Training and Film Studies .....	117
Summary .....	118
 Chapter 4 .....	 120
DIFFERENTIATING EXPERIMENTAL AND INDEPENDENT CINEMA	
4.1 The Late 1960s: Experimental Films, Arts and Academia .....	120
4.1.1 MoMA’s 1965 Independent Film Series.....	122
4.1.2 The Underground at MoMA .....	124
4.1.3 Discussing Personal Expression.....	125
4.1.4 The Greater Expectations of Expanded Cinema .....	127
4.2. The Rockefeller Grants and National Development .....	128
4.2.1 Criteria on Individual Grants .....	129
4.2.2 Dissemination of the Underground Canon.....	131
4.3 Personal Films in Cultural Diplomacy .....	134
4.3.1 American Experimental Films and Australian Censorship.....	135
4.4 Medium-Specificity and Audiovisual Education .....	137
4.4.1 Experimental Television and Video.....	138
4.4.2 Avant-Garde Film and Film Theory .....	140
Summary .....	144
 Chapter 5 .....	 145
THE AFI PRODUCTION GRANTS: EXPANSION OF THE NON-THEATRICAL FILM SECTOR AND HOLLYWOOD’S AUTHOR-ORIENTED CINEMA	
5.1 The AFI’s Aesthetic Criteria.....	145
5.1.1 The USIA’s Soft-Policy Films .....	146
5.1.2 Stevens’ Approach to the USIA Productions.....	149
5.2 The IFP Production Grants .....	151

5.2.1 The IFP’s Terms and Conditions .....	152
5.3. MoMA and Experimental Film Exhibition .....	155
5.3.1 The Horizons of Independence .....	156
5.3.2 Cineprobe Series .....	158
5.4 The AFI’s Approach to Film Education.....	160
5.4.1 Further Criticism .....	162
5.4.2 The Public Media Panel Report .....	164
5.4.3 Changes in the IFP Distribution Policy.....	166
5.5 Differentiation of the Audiovisual Sector .....	169
5.5.1 The American Art Film and Author-Oriented Hollywood after the 1960s	171
Summary .....	176
Conclusion .....	177
The Importance of the 1930s for Later Years .....	<a href="#">175</a>
Regulation of Experimental and Independent Cinema in the 1960s.....	179
Some Implications and Further Research .....	180
Appendices.....	183
Appendix 1: Major Exhibitions.....	183
Appendix 2: IFP Grantees and Films .....	186
Bibliography.....	202
Libraries and Archives .....	231

## **Tables**

1. Characterisation of the U.S. Film Industry. Theatrical Motion Pictures.....	108
2. Annual Expenditure in Non-Theatrical Production According to Investment by Market Sector.....	111
3. Annual Expenditure in Non-Theatrical Production According to Products and Services.....	111
4. Non-Theatrical Productions According to Use.....	112
5. Non-Theatrical Productions According to Themes/Sponsors.....	113
6. Non-Theatrical Film Repositories.....	114

## **Figures**

1. Distribution of Graduates According to Job Market.....	111
---	-----

## Acknowledgements

This finished dissertation could not have been possible without the help of many people throughout the different stages of this project. I am especially grateful to my supervisors, Paul Sellors and Roberta McGrath, for their trust and guidance, as well as to Linda Dryden, for her encouragement during the earlier part of this project. The groundwork of this dissertation is indebted the aid of librarians, archivists and fellow researchers. I am particularly grateful to the staff at the Rockefeller Archive Center, especially to Erwin Levold and Camilla Harris, for their support and kindness, and Robert Haller for the time he found to answer my questions during my research at Anthology Film Archives. Also I am thankful to the assistance of the staff at MoMA's Library, National Archives at College Park, and Library of Congress. My gratitude goes too to the staff at the National Endowment for the Arts Library and the Texas Women University who provided me with key materials for my research.

Similarly, there are individuals who offered immeasurable help at crucial moments of the investigation. I am particularly grateful to Konrad Linke, at Jena University, and Rebecca Elliott at Australian National University. In the UK, I am very thankful to the skilful aid of José Esteban at the British Film Institute Library, and all the staff at the National Library of Scotland, where I have spent many hours through the time that this project has spanned. Day to day work in Edinburgh has proved an important learning experience. I am immensely grateful to the great people I have met at Napier, and elsewhere, very specially to Ariadne Xenou for her constant help and bright insight. I can only begin to express my gratefulness to friends and family, here and there, for their love, advice, inspiration and enduring support.

## Abbreviations

This dissertation deals with numerous organisations and programmes. I use acronyms to refer to them after giving their full names the first time I mention them in the main text. The following list can be used as a reminder while reading the dissertation.

ACE	American Council on Education
AFA	Anthology Film Archives
AFC	American Film Center
AFI	American Film Institute
BFI	British Film Institute
CAFS	Center for Advanced Film Studies
FCA	Film Council of America
FF	Ford Foundation
GEB	General Education Board, Rockefeller Foundation
HD	Humanities Division, Rockefeller Foundation
IFP	Independent Filmmaker Program
MoMA	Museum of Modern Art
MPAA	Motion Picture Association of America
MPPC	Motion Picture Producers Company
MPPDA	Motion Picture Producers and Distributors Association
NCA	National Council on the Arts
NDEA	National Development Education Act
NEA	National Endowment for the Arts
NEH	National Endowment for the Humanities
NFAH	National Foundation for the Arts and Humanities
PCA	Production Code Administration
RBF	Rockefeller Brothers Fund
RF	Rockefeller Foundation
SRI	Stanford Research Institute
UCLA	University of California in Los Angeles
USIA	United States Information Agency
WPA	Works Progress Administration/ Works Projects Administration



## **Abstract**

In the mid-1960s and early 1970s, experimental and independent cinema received a considerable amount of support from the U.S. federal government through the American Film Institute (AFI), and from private philanthropies and arts institutions such as the Rockefeller Foundation (RF) and the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA). These measures appeared at a moment when the theatrical film industry was reorganising its industrial model and its main trade organisation, the Motion Picture Association of America (MPAA), was revising its moral standards. Only recently scholars have started historiographical research on experimental cinema's connection with arts and academic infrastructures, yet they have not paid similar attention to the AFI's support for experimental and independent cinema production. Thus, they have failed to explain experimental and independent cinema's complex relationship with both the theatrical film industry and philanthropic enterprises during that period.

In this project I address these connections through archival research on the AFI's experimental and independent film production fund, the Independent Filmmaker Program (IFP), relating this measure to other distribution and exhibition policies. I locate the origins of these policies in pre-WWII federal government's and RF's film education and propaganda programmes. Then I further contextualise the measures within the wider international state of the film industry between 1945 and 1974. Thus I argue that the policies advanced in the 1960s engaged with some of the demands of experimental and independent filmmakers and critics for freer personal expression and more flexible modes of film production. At the same time, these policies contributed to expand non-theatrical film production and update film education in line with the interests of the main theatrical film industry. This study contributes to understand a key moment in American film history considering both the relationship between the U.S. federal government, private philanthropies and the MPAA, and between institutions and filmmakers.

## INTRODUCTION

In the 1960s a number of American experimental and independent filmmakers achieved considerable exposure with films that employed innovative aesthetics and methods of production. This emergence was partly favoured by the breakdown of Hollywood's vertical integration throughout the 1950s, which allowed independent production and exhibition to grow. The change in the film industry was also accompanied by transformations in demographics and moral standards, which altered the demands of audiences. Some of these audiences were drawn to experimental, independent and foreign cinemas. These forms of filmmaking were championed in specialised film magazines and at independent venues and film societies that grew from the 1930s onwards. The mid-1960s marked a significant turning point for experimental and independent cinema production. The U.S. federal government and private philanthropies such as the Ford Foundation and the Rockefeller Foundation launched a variety of programmes to support these cinematic practices. Despite the significance of these measures to promote and regulate experimental and independent cinema, scholars have not examined them in sufficient detail. Typically, experimental and independent cinema scholarship has concentrated on aesthetic and authorship studies, favouring the image of the individual filmmaker struggling to accomplish personal projects. Yet this approach does not go deep into examining the links that experimental and independent cinema retained with Hollywood cinema and more crucially, with funding programmes during that time. It is only recently that scholars have begun to address the connections between experimental cinema and financial and organisational support from academic and arts institutions. My study engages with this approach seeking the causes and effects of the federal government support for experimental and independent film production. Specifically, I examine how this support defined a moment in experimental and independent cinema history that culminated in the creation of the Independent Filmmaker Program (IFP). The IFP was administered by the American Film Institute (AFI), an independent agency established in 1967 with matching funds from the U.S. federal government, the Ford Foundation, and the Motion Picture Association of America (MPAA), Hollywood's association of major theatrical film companies. The IFP and the AFI provide focal points to understand the exchanges between experimental and independent cinema and the

newer aesthetics and modes of production emerging in Hollywood cinema at that point.

In order to establish the foundations of this study I begin by providing a historical background of experimental and independent cinema and explain how they were defined in the 1960s when the major measures of support appeared. Then I focus on how existing scholarship raises questions about the ideological and economic premises of philanthropic support for experimental and independent production in America.

### **Defining Experimental and Independent Cinema**

The terms *experimental* and *independent* are used to qualify forms of cinema that stand out in contrast with what is known as *mainstream*, *commercial* or *theatrical* cinema—Hollywood in the U.S. context. The latter is exhibited at theatrical venues for large paying audiences, and its business model integrates production and distribution companies which are able to buy or produce films that will compete to reach large shares of the market. Aesthetically, theatrical cinema is identified with genres such as comedies, thrillers and melodramas. Additionally, theatrical films represent sets of ideological and moral standards which are assumed before production through pressure from the MPAA, and their exhibition faces sanctions from state censorship boards and obscenity laws.

In contrast, *experimental* and *independent*, when applied to film, invoke different modes of production and exhibition, as well as a different set of aesthetics and morals. Experimental cinema suggests aesthetic and thematic innovation. These films are often produced with small funds, exhibited at non-theatrical venues such as museums and universities, and expect limited returns.<sup>1</sup> These differing institutional conditions also allow the expression of moral or political views that do not operate in theatrical cinema because of the latter's target audiences or censorship constraints. Experimental cinema's emphasis on aesthetic innovation is common with the *avant-garde*. This is a military term reapplied in the arts to identify movements rebelling against traditional Western culture and defending new aesthetic forms and politics in

---

<sup>1</sup> Sometimes the terms *commercial* and *theatrical* cinema and their corresponding opposites are used indistinctively. Here I will mostly use *theatrical* and *non-theatrical* to emphasise the difference on place and mode of exhibition. I thus bring to the fore that, despite different from theatrical films, non-theatrical films also have economic determinations.

the early twentieth century.<sup>2</sup> Some avant-garde artists engaged with film in the 1920s. Their films were self-funded or made with private patronage, and exhibited at small cinema venues and cine clubs. These films often had overlapping concerns and aesthetics, although some emphases can be made to introduce them. The futurists used abstraction to explore the sensorial characteristics of the medium.<sup>3</sup> Dadaists infused films with irony and absurdity to express disenchantment with the post-WWI world.<sup>4</sup> Surrealists subverted Hollywood cinema's conventions like narrative continuity and character identification to release the unconscious' irrational forces hypothesised by psychoanalysis.<sup>5</sup> These movements were very influential for experimental and independent cinema in the 1960s as I explain in more detail later.

Michael Zryd observes that the terms *avant-garde* and *experimental* are used interchangeably and rarely applied rigorously.<sup>6</sup> This inconsistent use, as much as that of other overlapping terms such as *independent*, *underground* and *art cinema* that I elucidate next, reveals a fluid “alterity” or “otherness” which appears at historical junctures and is defined in relation to the mainstream of theatrical cinema. Understanding these practices both conceptually and historically presents several difficulties because of the multiple overlaps between their aesthetics and modes of production. However, there are some aspects that need to be distinguished for the purpose of this study. The term *experimental* emphasises aesthetic innovation, while *independent* highlights production and distribution conditions. For pragmatic reasons I follow the terms as they were more frequently used by the policymakers, critics and filmmakers. Their inconsistent uses, overlaps and attempts to delineate these practices reflect an ongoing struggle to define them.

The present study is primarily concerned with the 1960s, which canonical histories identified with the rise of experimental, underground and independent cinema

---

<sup>2</sup> Linda Nochlin, “The Invention of the Avant-Garde: France: 1830-1870,” in *Avant-Garde Art: 150 Years of Rebellion, Experiment and Audacity*, ed. Thomas. B. Hess and John Ashbery, 1-24 (New York: Collier Books, 1968); Renato Poggioli, *The Theory of the Avant-Garde* (London: Belknap Press, 1968).

<sup>3</sup> F.T. Marinetti, et al., “The Futurist Cinema 1916,” in *Futurist Manifestos*, ed. Bruno Apollonio, afterword by Richard Humphreys (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts Publications, 2001), 207-219.

<sup>4</sup> Rudolf E. Kuenzli, ed., *Dada and Surrealist Film* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1996).

<sup>5</sup> Sigmund Freud articulated psychoanalysis by explaining human behaviour through the unconscious operation of sexual and violent drives. Sigmund Freud, *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, 24 vols, ed. Anna Freud and James Strachey (London: Vintage, 2001).

<sup>6</sup> Michael Zryd, “Experimental Film and the Development of Film Study in America,” in *Inventing Film Studies*, ed. Lee Grieveson and Haidee Wasson (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008), 183.

in America.<sup>7</sup> Accounts of the post-war years highlight the leading figure of Maya Deren whose films explored symbolism and ritual.<sup>8</sup> Other notable filmmakers such as the Whitney Brothers and Jordan Belson developed animation of geometric forms, while Stan Brakhage used camera-work to abstract forms from the immediate surroundings. These forms of cinema flourished after 1945 due to the wider availability of 16mm film technology and the increased number of non-theatrical film exhibition spaces. However, the release of Hollywood's stronghold over theatrical exhibition after the 1948 *Paramount Decision*, was a key event for the forceful appearance of art cinema and American independent filmmaking in the following decades and their overlap with experimental cinema in the 1960s.

The *Paramount Decision* provoked a period of change and instability in the American theatrical film industry. It deemed obsolete the MPAA's customary way of managing investment, controlling competition and regulating film content through pre-production censorship. Furthermore, the post-war diversification of audience groups and changes in educational and moral values proved the MPAA's approach to marketing films inefficient, and its censorship standards increasingly outdated. The theatrical industry's wider transformations released the American market to independent distributors and exhibitors. During this time, international trade agreements also opened the way to some European directors such as Ingmar Bergman and Federico Fellini. They became integral to the *art cinema* category, which conflated films made with different degrees of economic independence, aesthetic experimentation, and moral transgression, yet primarily aimed at theatrical exhibition.<sup>9</sup>

Sometimes, independent film venues screened art films along with American independent films. Typically, these independent films were what Emanuel Levy

---

<sup>7</sup> Michael O'Pray, *Avant-Garde Films: Forms, Themes and Passions* (London: Wallflower Press, 2003), 5; Gregory Battock, ed., *The New American Cinema: A Critical Anthology* (New York: Dutton, 1967); Sheldon Renan, *The Underground Film. An Introduction to its Development in America* (London: Studio Vista, 1968); Parker Tyler, *The Underground Film: A Critical History* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1969); David Curtis, *Experimental Film: A Fifty Years Evolution* (London: Studio Vista, 1971).

<sup>8</sup> See for example Roger Manvell *Experiment in the Film* (London: The Grey Walls Press, 1949), and Lewis Jacobs "Experimental Film in America. Part Two: 1921-1941." *Hollywood Quarterly* 3, no.3 (Spring 1948): 278-292.

<sup>9</sup> In contrast, the term "artist's films", mostly used in the UK from the 1960s onwards, emphasises the idea of a professional artist working with film as a medium of expression. For these, production, distribution and exhibition are often enabled by public and private patronage. It highlights the modes of production and aesthetic values of arts such as sculpture, painting and architecture. See David Curtis, *A History of Artist's Film and Video in Britain* (London: BFI, 2006). There are cases, however, where artists like Steve McQueen cross back and forth between the traditional art environment to commercial film production and exhibition methods.

describes as “low budget movies, distributed by a maverick company that played for a week at the local art house.”<sup>10</sup> This case is epitomised by John Cassavetes’ self-financed *Shadows* (1959). The film’s low-budget roughness contrasted with the sleek finish of Hollywood films and its uncompromised portrayal of an inter-racial love story was praised by film critics. Its aesthetic innovation and independent mode of production signalled potential new forms of filmmaking for the theatrical market.

Still, during that time *independent* did not always imply small budgets, limited returns or being apart from Hollywood. B-Movies were also independently produced. These films were made with limited funds at lesser quality studios to fill the main theatrical film programme. Other independent productions were made by Hollywood filmmakers such as Frank Capra, George Stevens and William Wyler. These renowned directors set up the short-lived independent production company Liberty Films to make *It’s a Wonderful Life* (Frank Capra, 1946). The film, which was sold to a major company for distribution, reduced investment risks for the major, while it accrued the benefits of being distributed to a large market.<sup>11</sup> Other Hollywood independent filmmakers like Otto Preminger made *The Man with the Golden Arm* (1955), a film which bypassed censorship and circulated within the Hollywood’s exhibition networks. These cases signal that independent filmmakers working in liaison with Hollywood distributing companies endured different circumstances from those who did not. The characteristics of the theatrical market and the tight control of the MPAA on it limited the number of non-Hollywood independents having their works theatrically distributed. Subsequently, being profitable outside Hollywood proved difficult. To overcome these obstacles, independents filmmakers resorted to non-theatrical venues to show their films and avoid Hollywood’s censorship.

These conditions drew some independents closer to experimental filmmakers and loosely aligned them with another group which faced difficulties bypassing censorship: the *underground* filmmakers of the end of the 1950s and early 1960s. The term *underground*, which invoked sub-cultural connotations, referred to some films mixing independent production and experimental innovation.<sup>12</sup> Some were feature

---

<sup>10</sup> Emanuel Levy, *Cinema of Outsiders: The Rise of American Independent Film* (New York: New York University Press, 1999), 3.

<sup>11</sup> Thomas Schatz, *Boom and Bust: American Cinema in the 1940s* (Berkeley: California University Press, 1999).

<sup>12</sup> The term *underground* was first used by the critic Manny Farber in the 1950s to refer to B-Movies. Stan Vanderbeek used the term in relation to experimental and independent films but he did not define it in his essay “The Cinema Delimita: Films from the Underground,” *Film Quarterly* 14, no. 4

films such as *Pull My Daisy* (Robert Frank, 1959), whose improvised style engaged with American beat culture. Likewise, *The Connection* (Shirley Clarke, 1961) subverted documentary film conventions and represented drug use in more open ways than most of Hollywood films during that time. Yet, in contrast to the films of Hollywood independents like Preminger, these films experienced more difficulties with distribution and censorship. As I explain below, to bypass these difficulties, filmmakers and critics defended experimental and independent cinema's legitimate status as an art form.

### **Personal Films and the Medium-Specific Evolution of Avant-Garde Cinema**

Some American experimental, underground and independent filmmakers grouped under the banner of the New American Cinema Group in the early 1960s. The group included experimental filmmakers such as Brakhage and Stan Vanderbeek. It also incorporated independent filmmakers such as Clarke and Cassavetes, and Direct Cinema filmmakers such as Richard Leacock and Robert Drew, who introduced innovative techniques to documentary filmmaking. The group became very vocal when discussing the challenges they faced in producing and exhibiting their films, and demanded the recognition of the filmmaker as an artist. One of New American Cinema's main advocates was Jonas Mekas, filmmaker and critic in *Village Voice* and *Film Culture*. Mekas was key in disseminating a view of experimental and independent filmmakers as artists. Mekas argued that these filmmakers rejected the monolithic authority and corrupted values of Western culture and searched for freedom. Drawing on American transcendentalism, a philosophical tradition that aims to rise above the individual's experience, Mekas valued self-expression in order to advance such liberation.<sup>13</sup> He aimed to

inquire into the motivations behind [these filmmakers' works]; to attempt to describe what the new artist feels, how his mind works, why he creates

---

(Summer 1961): 5-15. Soon the term became more widespread as evidenced by the texts listed in note 7.

<sup>13</sup> David E. James, ed., *To Free the Cinema: Jonas Mekas and the New York Avant-Garde* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992).

the way he does; why he chooses his particular style to express the physical and psychological realities behind it.<sup>14</sup>

Mekas' emphasis on personal expression, one that mixes self-disclosure, individual vision, originality and the liberation of consciousness, rehearses the romantic view of the artist.<sup>15</sup> Romantics such as Friedrich Schiller believed that artistic activity originated from the unique individual genius, and thus the successful art work was a projection of this individuality.<sup>16</sup> Mekas portrayed experimental filmmakers as enacting the romantic notion of freedom and non-conformism, whose end was self-expressive action. These features evidenced the primacy of the individual subject and his or her unrestrained view of the world.

Mekas also engaged with a tradition of pre-WWII writers on experimental and independent cinema who endorsed the romantic view of art to distinguish these cinemas from mainstream filmmaking. According to Pam Cook and Mieke Bernink, for these experimental and independent filmmakers "cinema only achieved the status of art when a film or body of films could be seen as the expression of certain intentions carried out by an individual person."<sup>17</sup> Scholar of early film Richard Abel points out that influential film writer Louis Delluc conceived the filmmaker's autonomy in terms of the creative control that he would have when writing his own treatments, and not just adapting scenarios.<sup>18</sup> This stance underscored the individual's control over the technological mediation of the camera. As an approach to production and reception, it underlined the exercise of personal decisions when preparing the film materials, stressing creative integrity and personal expression during production. At the same time, it paid less attention to the surrounding conditions of pre-production, distribution and exhibition of the work.

The focus on the individual author suited experimental and independent production methods where an individual could be ascribed the role of creative source, as opposed to Hollywood's division of labour and frequent identification of films with the name of studios or production companies. Nevertheless, Stephen Crofts sees this

---

<sup>14</sup> Jonas Mekas, "Notes on the New American Cinema." in *Experimental Cinema: The Film Reader*, ed. Wheeler Winston Dixon and Gwendolyn Audrey Foster, 55-70 (London: Routledge, 2002), 53.

<sup>15</sup> Meyer Howard Abrams, *The Mirror and the Lamp: Romantic Theory and the Critical Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971).

<sup>16</sup> Friedrich Schiller, *On the Aesthetic Education of Man*, trans. Reginald Snell (Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 1994).

<sup>17</sup> Pam Cook and Mieke Bernink, ed. "Authorship and Cinema" in *The Cinema Book*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition, 232-315 (London: BFI, 1999), 233.

<sup>18</sup> Richard Abel, *French Cinema: The First Wave, 1915-1929* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 284.



approach to film authorship in other European and American silent cinema directors such as Victor Sjöström, who enjoyed a significant degree of creative control over his projects, and David W. Griffith, who also credited himself with discovering key filmic devices such as editing.<sup>19</sup> Crofts also notes that later, in the 1930s, this focus on the director was used by independent documentary filmmakers such as John Grierson and Paul Rotha, and it was applied to post-war European art cinema filmmakers too. Mekas followed this romantic view when he presented American experimental and independent films as personal triumphs over the subjugating social and industrial imperatives dominating mainstream American cinema. Yet, Mekas' notion of individual artists struggling against these conforming forces did not render appropriately all of these films' diverse aesthetics, themes, production modes and aims. For instance, Clarke made commissioned documentaries as much as more personal projects. Mekas' emphasis on "personal vision" aimed to render the uniqueness of each filmmaker's work and defend freedom of expression when these films faced criticism from censors. Nevertheless, this limited focus on styles and themes did not explain the wider conditions of production of these films.

In 1974 P. Adams Sitney, another *Film Culture* critic, published *Visionary Film*, a seminal historical overview of American avant-garde film.<sup>20</sup> In his book, Sitney dismissed the term "experimental film" for its implied incompleteness and subservience to commercial cinema. Instead, he used the term "avant-garde film" to link these films to historical avant-garde movements. He saw that both the pre-war and post-war avant-garde films called attention to questions of production and reception through aesthetics that foreground processes or materials involved in manufacturing and conceptualising films, the medium-specific aesthetics that I explain below. Sitney claimed an ideal autonomy for avant-garde cinema by stating that its relationship "to American commercial film is one of radical otherness. They operate in different realms with next to no significant influence on each other."<sup>21</sup> This ideal view of the avant-garde cinema working in radical separation from theatrical cinema enacted the romantic image of the isolated genius and aligned the avant-garde cinema with other arts such as poetry and painting.

---

<sup>19</sup> Stephen Crofts, "Authorship and Hollywood," in *Oxford Guide to Film Studies*, ed. John Hill and Pamela Church Gibson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 310-324.

<sup>20</sup> P. Adams Sitney, *Visionary Film: The American Avant-Garde, 1943-2000*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), xii.

<sup>21</sup> Sitney, *Visionary Film*, xii.

Sitney closely analysed the films of Deren, Brakhage and Kenneth Anger amongst others, explaining them through myths and symbols and providing filmmakers' accounts on their making. As Mekas had done before, Sitney invoked American transcendentalism, this time to emphasise these films' aesthetics of self-disclosure and subjectivism. He explained that they expressed the overarching theme of "the triumph of the imagination."<sup>22</sup> Sitney differentiated historical categories; from trance, mythopoeitic and underground films to the more recent structural films of people like Michael Snow and Paul Sharits, whose defining characteristic was a self-reflexive insistence on their own form or shape. He saw in these historical categories a linear, teleological development of cinema's medium-specific concerns.

Sitney's interpretation of the evolution of American avant-garde cinema connected with the use of the medium-specificity argument in film theory and criticism. This argument followed the ideas of the Enlightenment thinker Gotthold E. Lessing, who argued that each artistic medium gave an internal logic to the artwork and determined its perception.<sup>23</sup> From then on, this medium-specificity argument has provided terms on which to concentrate the analysis of artistic forms beyond function.<sup>24</sup> Late nineteenth century art movements such as Symbolism and Aestheticism, whose content and/or means of production were considered illegitimate by the current moral and academic standards, used formalist terms to breach these barriers.<sup>25</sup> Later avant-garde artists such as impressionists, cubist and abstract painters highlighted the primacy of form to defend their innovative methods and subject matter.<sup>26</sup> For many of these artists, medium-specific explorations implied a phenomenological reduction or *epoché*: bracketing phenomena towards a reduction in

---

<sup>22</sup> Sitney, *Visionary Film*, 102.

<sup>23</sup> Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, *Laocoon: An Essay upon the Limits of Painting and Poetry*, trans. Ellen Frothingham (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low and Searle, 1874).

<sup>24</sup> This focus also broke the barrier between high and low arts established with the spread of industrialisation, which valued singular and purposeless arts over those with reproducible or serving instrumental purposes. Paul Oskar Kristeller, "The Modern System of the Arts: A Study in the History of Aesthetics Part I," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 12, no. 4 (October 1951): 496-527. Immanuel Kant, *Critique of Judgement*, trans. James Meredith (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978). Kant's notion of autonomy through purposive purposelessness is already problematic, because the recognition of purposelessness becomes instrumental when it leads to a judgement.

<sup>25</sup> See Benjamin Binstock, "Alois Riegl, Monumental Ruin: Why We Still Need to Read Historical Grammar of the Visual Arts" foreword to Alois Riegl, *Historical Grammar of the Visual Art*, trans. by Jacqueline E. Jung (New York: Zone Books, 2004), 11-35; Gene H. Bell-Villada, *Art for Art's Sake and Literary Life: How Politics and Market Helped Shape the Ideology and Culture of Aestheticism, 1790-1990* (Nebraska: Nebraska University Press, 1996).

<sup>26</sup> Wassily Kandinsky, "Concerning the Spiritual in Art and Painting in Particular," in *Kandinsky: Complete Writings on Art*, ed. Kenneth C. Lindsay and Peter Vergo (New York: Da Capo Press, 1994), 114-219. Norbert Lynton, "The New Age: Primal Work and Mystic Nights," in *Towards a New Art: Essays on the Background to Abstract Art 1910-20*, ed. Michael Compton (London: Tate Gallery, 1980), 9-21.

order to ascertain the essential components of perception.<sup>27</sup> Sitney engaged with this last tradition when he noted that avant-garde films enquiry into medium-specific aesthetics gradually enabled the representation of the processes of consciousness and that these operations established avant-garde films' autonomy as an art form.

Noël Carroll notes, however, that medium specificity theses are based on simplistic and misleading assumptions.<sup>28</sup> First, most art forms correlate to more than one medium and these correlations change historically. Second, to think that the development of a style is marked by the material characteristics of the medium imposes a limit of the stylistic changes possible in the arts. This assumption also contradicts one of the more common occurrences in art history: a medium's style changing to adapt to influences from other media. Yet, Carroll also demonstrates that early writers on cinema concentrated on the formal elements unique to the medium to claim its status as a new art form and overcome prejudices over its mechanical base.<sup>29</sup> Much of this early theorising ascribed a transformative or revelatory aspect that emerged from the medium's unique technological characteristics. This is what Carroll terms "the *creationist* ethos" which highlights film's capacity to bring about something new or different from what the other media could do.<sup>30</sup> Carroll notes that the "creationist ethos" can be appreciated in the writings of psychologists such as Hugo Münsterberg and Rudolf Arnheim, who were interested in the educational possibilities of the new medium.<sup>31</sup> The writer and critic Béla Balázs dealt more precisely with the possibilities for emotional catharsis of drama in film.<sup>32</sup> The focus on medium-specificity can be also be found in Soviet constructivist filmmakers such as Sergei Eisenstein and Lev Kuleshov, whose writings emphasised how film editing and graphic matches between images could call attention to bourgeois and

---

<sup>27</sup> The theoretical basis of this method is laid out in Edmund Husserl, *Logical Investigations*, ed. Dermot Moran (London: Routledge, 2001). The phenomenologists' approach played a major role in subsequent twentieth century philosophical trends such as existentialism, and in the analysis of film aesthetics.

<sup>28</sup> Noël Carroll, "Defining the Moving Image," in *Theorising the Moving Image*, 49-74 (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1996), 53.

<sup>29</sup> Noël Carroll, "Medium Specificity Arguments and the Self-Consciously Invented Arts: Film, Video and Photography," in *Theorising the Moving Image*, 3-24 (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1996).

<sup>30</sup> Noël Carroll, *Philosophical Problems of Classical Film Theory* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988): 27.

<sup>31</sup> Hugo Münsterberg, *The Photoplay: A Psychological Study* (New York: Appleton, 1916); Rudolf Arnheim, "A New Laocoon: Artistic Composites and the Talking Film" in *Film as Art* (London: Faber and Faber, 1958), 164-189.

<sup>32</sup> Béla Balázs, *Theory of Film: Character and Growth of a New Art* (London: Denis Dobson, 1952).

revolutionary ideology.<sup>33</sup> Moreover, film historian Ian Christie includes the writings of pre-WWII French filmmakers and critics like Germaine Dulac and Delluc because they dealt intensively with questions of “film as film.”<sup>34</sup> Delluc, who elaborated the idea of *photogénie* to explain the quality that emerged from the camera’s capacity to defamiliarise the depicted object and engage with social reality, influenced key avant-garde filmmakers like Jean Epstein.<sup>35</sup> As illustrated by Sitney, these ideas had a significant impact on subsequent avant-garde cinema aesthetics, the writing of its history, and criticism. Yet, David Rodowick argues that the debate on the revelatory or political potential of these forms needs to be reframed.<sup>36</sup> For Rodowick, the potential of these forms is not solely a question of the formal properties of the works, that is, their configurations of signs, but also a question of the forms of spectatorship enabled in specific contexts or *reading formations*.<sup>37</sup> Tony Bennett’s notion of *reading formations* is useful to foreground the particular reading of a text brought by the inter-relation between reader and text and a set of inter-textual relations.<sup>38</sup> The concept does not assume that reading formations are ideologically coherent or limited to text-based or verbal communication. Instead, the notion calls attention to the shifting spaces and times where readings and interpretations take place. This can help to understand the effects that particular emphasis and reading formation had on the interpretation of art works and the transmission of a certain canon.

In the late 1970s film scholars challenged Mekas’ and Sitney’s approach to experimental cinema. Feminist scholars Constance Penley and Janet Bergstrom criticised Sitney’s text-based criticism and pointed to the institutional and methodological matrix enabling this approach.<sup>39</sup> These considerations started to shift the focus of studies of experimental cinema to critiques of their romantic and formalist

---

<sup>33</sup> Lev Kuleshov, “Americanism” in *The Film Factory. Russian and Soviet Cinema in Documents, 1896-1939*, ed. Richard Taylor and Ian Christie (London: Routledge, 1994), 73; Sergei Eisenstein, “The Dramaturgy of Film Form (The Dialectical Approach to Film Form),” in *An Eisenstein Reader*, ed. Richard Taylor (London: BFI, 1998), 93-110.

<sup>34</sup> Ian Christie, “French Avant-Garde Film in the Twenties” in *Film As Form: Formal Experiment in Film, 1910-1970* (London: Arts Council of Britain, 1979), 37.

<sup>35</sup> See Jean Epstein, “On Certain Characteristic of *Photogénie*,” in *French Film Theory and Criticism: A History/Anthology, 1907-1929*, vol. 1 of *French Film Theory and Criticism: A History/Anthology, 1907-1939*, ed. Richard Abel (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 314-318.

<sup>36</sup> David N. Rodowick, *The Crisis of Political Modernism: Criticism and Ideology in Contemporary Film Theory* (Berkeley: California University Press, 1994).

<sup>37</sup> Rodowick, *The Crisis of Political Modernism*, xi.

<sup>38</sup> Tony Bennett, “Text, Readers, Reading Formations,” *Publication of the Midwestern Modern Language Association* 16, no.1 (Spring 1983): 9-10.

<sup>39</sup> Constance Penley and Janet Bergstrom “The Avant-Garde: History and Theories” in *Movies and Methods, vol.II*. Ed.by Bill Nichols, 287-300 (Berkeley: California University Press, 1985): 287. The institutional matrix they identified included *Film Culture*, Anthology Film Archives, its Committee of selection of the Canon of Essential films, New York University, and the journal *Artforum*.

assumptions.<sup>40</sup> Yet, the understanding of experimental and independent cinema's relationship with private philanthropic and government film policies remained largely unexplored through historiographical methods. As noted by Robert Sklar this lack of empirical foundation was characteristic of a period in the discipline of film studies where "new and potentially radical academic discourses deriving from feminist, psychoanalytic and even Marxist theory moved swiftly to the center of the discipline, rather than remaining marginal or oppositional."<sup>41</sup> These discourses brought Louis Althusser's insights about the relationship between the film industry as part of the state apparatus and dominant ideology.<sup>42</sup> They raised questions about how films represent ideology, but lacked solid historical enquiry. They left aside key questions such as historical agency, conflict and transformation. These are questions that, as Stuart Hall argues, need to be nailed down to make a productive analysis.<sup>43</sup> What emerged in the early 1980s due to lack of archival evidence, was an account that idealised experimental cinema prior to institutional support and linked its demise to the latter, as exemplified by Fred Camper's writings during this time.<sup>44</sup> This view was also marked by the issues raised by contemporary scholarship on the U.S. federal government's and philanthropic foundations' use of avant-garde arts and culture during the Cold War, which provide a context to explore the experimental cinema policies and critical discourses of the 1960s.

## **Philanthropic Support and Avant-Garde Arts**

When American experimental and independent filmmakers actively defended the need to stabilise the production and distribution of their films, and overcome censorship obstacles, they also started to gain wider public recognition. In 1963, the Ford Foundation awarded production grants to some experimental and independent filmmakers. These were followed by Rockefeller Foundation grants which also

---

<sup>40</sup> Dana Polan, *The Political Language of Film and the Avant-Garde* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1985).

<sup>41</sup> Robert Sklar, "Oh! Althusser!: Historiography and the Rise of Cinema Studies," in *Resisting Images: Essays on Cinema and History*, ed. Robert Sklar and Charles Musser (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990), 15.

<sup>42</sup> Louis Althusser, "Ideology and the Ideological State Apparatus," in *Essays on Ideology* (London: Verso, 1984), 1-60.

<sup>43</sup> Stuart Hall, "Signification, Representation, Ideology: Althusser and the Post-Structuralist Debates," in *Critical Studies in Mass Communication 2*, vol.2 (June 1985): 91-114.

<sup>44</sup> Fred Camper, "The End of Avant-Garde Film," *Millennium Film Journal* no.16/17/18 (Fall/Winter 1986-1987): 99-124.

supported selected filmmakers, and New York's Museum of Modern Art's (MoMA) film exhibition programmes, such as the *Independent Film Series* in 1965 and *The Personal Film* in 1966. Eventually, the U.S. federal government launched the IFP in 1967, a production scheme administered by the newly created AFI. The programme awarded federal funds to close to 240 individual experimental and independent film projects up until 1980.<sup>45</sup> During this time other forms of support consolidated. MoMA exhibited experimental and independent cinema at the long-running *Cineprobe Series*, while academic institutions appointed experimental filmmakers as tutors and lecturers in a period which saw the expansion of university film courses. This coincided with an episode of emergence of a new generation of Hollywood directors and update of the MPAA content standards.<sup>46</sup> Yet the rationale for the emergence of these forms of support requires further elaboration.

From the early twentieth century the U.S. federal government and private corporations gradually set up mediating agencies and philanthropic foundations to support health and education programmes and provide infrastructures for civil society.<sup>47</sup> These were attempts to counter the negative effects of industrialisation, unplanned urban growth and ethnic tension in the U.S. In this context, the establishment of federal government and foundations' philanthropic support for arts, culture, and education, or what I will sometimes generically call *philanthropic support*, did not aim to reap economic benefits at first.<sup>48</sup> Sometimes, these were punctual measures to respond to pressing events or crisis. Other times these measures implied more medium-term planning and could indirectly help to regulate education and cultural production by sanctioning or protecting some cultural forms over others.<sup>49</sup>

---

<sup>45</sup> See Appendix 2 "IFP Grantees and Films"

<sup>46</sup> Thomas Schatz, "The New Hollywood," in *Film Theory Goes to the Movies*, ed. Jim Collins, Hilary Radner and Ava Preacher Collins, 8-36 (London: Routledge, 1993).

<sup>47</sup> Barry D. Karl and Stanley N. Katz, "American Private Philanthropic Foundation and the Public Sphere, 1890-1930," *Minerva* 19 (Summer 1981): 236-270.

<sup>48</sup> Lacking a better term, I use *philanthropic support* or *philanthropic measures* to refer to programmes and policies backed by government', foundations', and corporations' funds that do not directly seek economic profits but are first justified by the aim to benefit culture and society. I understand that the origins and distribution of philanthropic funds may respond to different principles and models, as government addresses public money from taxes, while private foundations and corporations direct money from private revenue, and these are often not as directly accountable as governments are. Nevertheless, the organisations that I deal often had hybrid character, such as the AFI, or MoMA, which received funding not just from the RF but from private enterprise sources. For the purpose of this study, I identify the individual organisations whenever is relevant. Otherwise, I use *philanthropic support* and its variants as shortcuts, aware that they are problematic terms.

<sup>49</sup> Here it is relevant to make a distinction between education and propaganda. While both are forms of communication that involve persuasion and they may overlap, education can be distinguished for being a process that entails the transference of skills. In relation to public opinion, education involves the ability to critically reflect on diverse attitudes with fairness. This appears in contrast to

The mid-1960s arts and humanities legislation that created the AFI and other arts and cultural institutions such as the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) and the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) were addressed to meet the equality aims of the Civil Rights Act and dealt with the generational gap manifest in increasing youth unrest.<sup>50</sup> Domestic issues were important in approving the cultural policies of the 1960s. Nevertheless, such legislation was built on top of the U.S. philanthropies' and government's efforts to use American arts and culture to propagate U.S. liberalism in the Cold War.<sup>51</sup> These programmes often focused on the meaning of avant-garde art in relation to liberal ideology.<sup>52</sup> But to understand this first we need to examine the late 1930s because this moment signals a turning point for the theorisation and history of avant-garde movements, and for U.S federal government's and RF's engagement with them.

During the 1930s, the avant-garde movement of Soviet constructivism, which leaned towards abstraction, seemed too intellectual for Stalin's cultural plans, which were more focused in engaging the peasantry with propaganda on the agrarian reform.<sup>53</sup> The relative freedom of Soviet artistic organisations ended in 1932 with the creation of a single literary-artistic entity that enforced the adoption of socialist realism.<sup>54</sup> This policy implied an abandonment of constructivism and a return to the realist aesthetics. This shift in Soviet cultural policy coincided with another turn in American arts: the emergence around the mid-1930s of the avant-garde movement of abstract expressionist painting influenced by abstraction and surrealism. After WWII

---

propaganda, which is mostly addressed to gain support for one cause. Therefore, propaganda is often one sided and exaggerated.

<sup>50</sup> Toby Miller and George Yúdice, "The United States, Cultural Policy and the National Endowment for the Arts," in *Cultural Policy*, ed. Toby Miller and George Yúdice (London: Sage, 2002), 35-71.

<sup>51</sup> Frances Stonor Saunders, *Who Paid the Piper? The CIA and the Cultural Cold War* (London: Granta, 1999); Donna Binkiewicz, *Federalizing the Muse: United States Arts Policy and the National Endowment for the Arts, 1965-1980* (Chapel Hill: North Carolina University Press, 2004).

<sup>52</sup> Liberalism appeared at the end of the eighteenth century as a philosophical, political and legal theory that defends human freedom in every sphere of life and sees society as a contractual association of individuals. Politically, liberalism defends the separation of powers. Economically, it proposes a non-interventionist attitude of the state. Although its main sources are in the Renaissance and Protestantism, its growth paralleled the development of capitalism. Allan Bullock and Stephen Trombley, eds., "Liberalism," in *The New Fontana Dictionary of Modern Thought* (London: Harper Collins, 1999), 478-479.

<sup>53</sup> Here it is relevant to make a distinction between education and propaganda. While both are forms of communication that involve persuasion and they may overlap, education can be distinguished for being a process that entails the transference of skills. In relation to public opinion, education involves the ability to critically reflect on diverse attitudes with fairness. This appears in contrast to propaganda, which is mostly addressed to gain support for one cause. Therefore, propaganda is often one sided and exaggerated.

<sup>54</sup> C. Vaughan James, *Soviet Socialist Realism: Origins and Theory* (London: MacMillan Press, 1973)

abstract expressionism reached international recognition and was greatly promoted by the U.S. federal government and the RF philanthropy.

In the post-war years social deterioration and economic instability loomed in Europe. Cold War tension was increasing between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. To counteract Soviet expansion and increase American influence, U.S. federal government and the RF channelled funds to undertake tasks of cultural diplomacy.<sup>55</sup> Partly due to the lack of government apparatus in the U.S, partly due to political opposition to these propaganda measures, federal government and the RF channelled funds to organisations such as the Congress for Cultural Freedom, the arts and literature publication *Encounter*, and MoMA. These organisations gave prominent places to American jazz music, theatrical performances and art exhibitions in their activities. In particular, the RF and MoMA actively promoted exhibitions of and discussions about the work of abstract expressionists.<sup>56</sup> These exhibitions and discussions established a stark contrast with the current Soviet socialist realism. Significantly, it was the critics' notions of this avant-garde art's autonomy and personal expressiveness that were associated with the values of progress and freedom of U.S. liberal capitalism.

The influential American critic Clement Greenberg was crucial in shaping this particular reading formation. In 1939, a key year for positioning of American culture, he published the landmark article "Avant-Garde and Kitsch", which offered a reading of abstraction in opposition to realist aesthetics.<sup>57</sup> Greenberg placed a higher value on the former for its presupposed distance from representation in consumer cultural products. Greenberg engaged with the medium-specificity argument when he noted that abstract paintings' enquiry into medium-specific aesthetics could establish painting's ontological identity and give it autonomy.<sup>58</sup> Furthermore, for Greenberg, abstraction did not lessen meaning. He defended the view that the value of art was in

---

<sup>55</sup> Literature on the use of art in cultural diplomacy during the Cold War is extensive, for a recent account, see Michael L Krenn, *Fall-Out Shelters for the Human Spirit: American Art and the Cold War* (Chapel Hill: North Carolina University Press, 2005). A concise summary of the main trends in scholarship can be found in John Brown, "Should the Piper be Paid? Three Schools of Thought on Culture and Foreign Policy during the Cold War," *Place Branding* 1, no.4 (November 2005): 420-423.

<sup>56</sup> For a compilation of landmark texts and debates on the sponsorship of abstract expressionism, see the collection of essays in Francis Francina. ed., *Pollock and After: The Critical Debate*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (London: Routledge, 2000).

<sup>57</sup> Clement Greenberg, "Avant-Garde and Kitsch," in *Pollock and After. The Critical Debate*. 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition, 48-70, ed. Francis Francina (London: Routledge, 2000).

<sup>58</sup> Clement Greenberg, "Abstract, Representational and So Forth," in *Art and Culture*, 133-138, (London: Thames and Hudson, 1973):134.



the intensity and depth of the aesthetic experience.<sup>59</sup> Despite the flaws in this reasoning, Greenberg used the argument about painting's medium-specificity to appraise abstract expressionism in the 1940s. He presented it as independent from the corruption of consumer culture, and parallel to American progress in economic and political leadership.<sup>60</sup> Thus, U.S. federal government and private philanthropies endorsement of this approach to abstract expressionism favoured a reading formation where the American avant-garde historically superseded the pre-war movements. At the same time, abstract expressionist and the later colour-field paintings were sealed off from the threat of cultural homogenisation of consumerism, and the political biases of socialist realist aesthetics.

Cultural progress and autonomy were not the only ideas associated with abstract expressionism. Critic Harold Rosenberg linked abstract expressionism's idiosyncratic gesture-like brushstrokes with the artists' freedom and individuality.<sup>61</sup> Rosenberg portrayed American avant-garde artists as non-conformists.<sup>62</sup> From this perspective, the abstract expressionists' "free gestures" and abstracted forms contrasted with the Soviet's socialist realism's stereotyped figures, landscape and folkloric genres which were enforced through strict policy. This line of interpretation was also followed by MoMA, which received funds from the RF to promote abstract expressionist art at home and abroad. According to Frances Stonor Saunders, Alfred J. Barr, MoMA's head, was another key figure in associating modern art with a non-communist view of dissidence.<sup>63</sup> Barr persuasively aligned the values of modern abstract art with those of free societies. Fred Orton observes that this reading gained currency in public discourse by engaging with current existentialist-humanist thought.<sup>64</sup> The sanitised view of dissidence echoed the liberal value of freedom of

---

<sup>59</sup> Stewart Buettner *American Art Theory, 1945-1970* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1981). Since Kant, the value of aesthetic experience has been present in writings on arts, and more particularly implied in the American pragmatic tradition. Greenberg proposal implied that abstract forms and values could provoke a pure experience, and the purer these forms are, the better. However, there are some fundamental misunderstandings in this position, for it assumes that form can be separated from content and the contextual conditions upon which aesthetic experiences takes place and are integrated.

<sup>60</sup> Clement Greenberg, "Art Chronicle: The Decline of Cubism," *Partisan Review*, XV, no.3 (March 1948): 369.

<sup>61</sup> Harold Rosenberg, "American Action Painters," in *The Tradition of the New* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1962), 23-39.

<sup>62</sup> Harold Rosenberg, "Revolution and the Idea of Beauty," *Encounter* 1, no.3 (December 1953): 65-68. The CIA International Organisations Division funded the publication of this cultural magazine.

<sup>63</sup> Frances Stonor Saunders, *Who Paid the Piper? The CIA and the Cultural Cold War* (London: Granta, 1999).

<sup>64</sup> Fred Orton, "Action Revolution Painting," in *Pollock and After: The Critical Debate*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., ed. Francis Frascina, 261-287 (London: Routledge, 2000).

expression, and allowed artists to defuse the iron grip of ideological consensus in American culture during the Cold War years.

The critics' ideas about autonomy and personal expression worked together with the federal government's, the RF's and MoMA's promotion of abstract expressionism. While this art was not purposefully produced for propaganda, its sponsorship helped to interpret it through the values of self-regulation and individual freedom of U.S. liberalism. The engagement of U.S. government and private philanthropies with abstract expressionism also evidences the gradual expansion of these institutions' powers to establish cultural policy. It sets a precedent for the U.S. federal government's and the RF's particular engagement with avant-garde art and the advancement of a canonical view of avant-garde art history during this time. Mekas' focus on personal expression and Sitney's focus on the self-regulation of medium-specific avant-garde cinema were similar to the focuses of Rosenberg and Greenberg, semblances that need to be discerned in relation to the contexts of U.S. federal government's and philanthropies' broad support for experimental and independent cinema.

Nevertheless, scholarship on the area of philanthropic support for the arts has not always considered the complex interplay between specific programmes and contexts of reception. A totalising view of the Cold War policies rose when the U.S. government's and the philanthropies' diplomatic and covert charitable actions became more widely known in the mid and late 1970s. Robert Arnove and Edward Breman wrote general studies on the programmes of major philanthropies including the RF, Ford Foundation, and Carnegie Foundation.<sup>65</sup> These authors presented over-generalised views of these philanthropies' power and the effects of their measures. Eva Cockcroft and Serge Guibault assessed the use of abstract expressionism for propaganda manifesting an acute sense of distrust towards American institutions that were meant to stand for the ideals of freedom and egalitarianism after WWII.<sup>66</sup>

Current scholarship on philanthropic programmes brings to light more detailed historiographies, looking at the power of the U.S. government and private philanthropies more as a process than as an end result, following Antonio Gramsci's

---

<sup>65</sup> Robert Arnove, ed., *Philanthropy and Cultural Imperialism: The Foundations at Home and Abroad* (Boston: G.K. Hall, 1980), and Edward Berman, *The Influence of Carnegie, Ford and Rockefeller Foundation on American Foreign Policy: The Ideology of Philanthropy* (Albany: New York State University Press, 1983).

<sup>66</sup> Eva Cockcroft, "Abstract Expressionism, Weapon of the Cold War," in *Art in Modern Culture*, ed. Francis Frascina and Jonathan Harris (London: Open University Press, 1992), 82-90; Serge Guibault, *How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art: Abstract Expressionism, Freedom and the Cold War*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1983).

understanding of hegemonic power.<sup>67</sup> William Buxton sums up that these revisionist approaches consider the assumptions and specificities of each programme.<sup>68</sup> Furthermore, this scholarship puts forth an understanding of the agency of the people involved in them, as well as their inner contradictions and unintended consequences. This is particularly relevant to raise questions regarding the protection and regulation of critical and minority forms of expression, such as the ones typically associated with experimental and independent cinema. Additionally, it allows scrutiny of the interplay between economic and political questions through cultural policy. This perspective has started to go beyond the predominant formalist and romantic approach to experimental cinema and taken advantage of historiographical methods.

### **Experimental Cinema in Academic Institutions**

Recent scholarship on the history of experimental cinema has benefitted from an increased availability of archival materials and application of ethnographic techniques. These have rendered visible the complexity of this practice. Some authors have concentrated on the relationship between universities supporting experimental filmmakers and the furtherance of a scientific and humanistic ethos. For instance, Todd Bayma demonstrates that the affiliation of experimental filmmakers with academic institutions during the 1970s was the result of the values of neutrality, innovation and interactive participation shared by experimental cinema and academic institutions.<sup>69</sup> According to Bayma, such common concerns enabled experimental filmmakers to incorporate an academic ethos as part of their cultural identity “while de-emphasizing the roles of gatekeepers and critics as arbiters of legitimacy and meaning.”<sup>70</sup> Bayma’s study brings to the fore the values of objectivity and academic independence adopted by experimental filmmakers during the institutionalisation of experimental cinema.

---

<sup>67</sup> Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, trans. Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1971), 258.

<sup>68</sup> William J. Buxton, “Civil Society and its Discontents,” in *Patronizing the Public: American Philanthropy’s Transformation of Culture, Communication, and the Humanities*, ed. William J. Buxton, (Lanham: Lexington, 2009), 1-21.

<sup>69</sup> Todd Bayma, “Art World Culture and Institutional Choice: The Case of Experimental Film,” *The Sociological Quarterly* 36, no. 1 (1995): 79-95.

<sup>70</sup> Bayma, “Art World Culture and Institutional Choice,” 79.

Michael Zryd expands Bayma's enquiry and argues that the academic affiliation had a threefold effect.<sup>71</sup> First, it provided paid employment and public recognition for experimental filmmakers as teachers. Second, it permitted a nationwide decentralisation and sustainability for a variety of practices related to experimental cinema. Third, such decentralisation took filmmaking beyond elite film schools and permeated into secondary schools and other types of formal education. Zryd further argues that academic film studies emerged from such associations as a distinctive object of enquiry. It connected with the 1960s youth culture and minority groups, and aimed to achieve a more personal and egalitarian engagement with film production and academic enquiry. Zryd notes that the main subject of these studies was alternative cinema, where the focus included different genres, aesthetics, and modes of production such as avant-garde films, underground films, documentary films, and B-movies. This delineation attracted youth and academics to the emergent discipline. Furthermore, Zryd has recently argued that teaching experimental films at university also created a space for pedagogical practice to grapple "with the paradox of seeking radically to transform consciousness while refraining from dictating, didactically, the parameters of that transformed consciousness."<sup>72</sup> This underscores the relative ideological autonomy resulting from the confluence of avant-garde practices and educational aims taking place in academic settings.

To understand the reasons and effects of philanthropic funding for experimental and independent cinema production in the 1960s, and assess how the IFP in particular contributed to delineate these areas of practice, we also need to establish the historical links between the U.S. government and philanthropies and the main theatrical film industry. The IFP was resourced with federal government money, yet it was overseen by the AFI, which was itself created with funds from major film corporations, the Ford philanthropy and the federal government.

---

<sup>71</sup> Michael Zryd, "The Academy and the Avant-Garde: A Relationship of Dependence and Resistance," *Cinema Journal* 45, no. 2 (Winter 2006): 17-45. Michael Zryd, "Experimental Film and the Development of Film Study in America," in *Inventing Film Studies*, ed. Lee Grieveson and Haidee Wasson (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008), 182-216.

<sup>72</sup> Michael Zryd "Experimental Cinema as Useless Cinema," in *Useful Cinema*, ed. Charles R. Acland and Haidee Wasson, 315-336 (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011), 332.

## Early Philanthropic Support for Non-Theatrical Cinema and Film Culture

William Buxton provides a complex view of the relationship between commercial, political and cultural interests implied in the RF's film education policies in the 1930s. Buxton highlights two important points. First, despite the failed attempt to advance an integrated American film institute in 1935, the ensuing policies helped to regulate the non-theatrical film sector in a way that did not compete with the interests of the main theatrical film companies.<sup>73</sup> Second, the ideas underpinning foundation-funded research on communications theory legitimised and guided these measures.<sup>74</sup> One of the main beneficiaries of the 1930s RF film education policies was MoMA's Film Library. Haidee Wasson examines the formation of this leading institution and foregrounds the negotiations involved between MoMA's officers and the theatrical film industry to use film for non-theatrical ends.<sup>75</sup> According to Wasson, these efforts succeeded in offering an enlightened view of both cinema as a medium of mass education, and of the producers who lent their films for preservation and edification. Furthermore, MoMA situated film appreciation as a middlebrow interdisciplinary activity, a fundamental part of modern democratic mass culture.<sup>76</sup> Wasson underscores the importance of these standards for the growth of non-theatrical cinema in the 1930s, which set the ground for post-war non-theatrical cinema and film culture.

Focusing on the post-WWII context, Charles Acland examines the use of films in the Ford Foundation's general education programmes and the educational film infrastructures articulated by the philanthropically-supported organisations like the

---

<sup>73</sup> William J. Buxton, "The Political Economy of Communications Research," in *Information and Communication in Economics*, ed. Robert E. Babe (Boston: Kluwer, 1994), 147-175; "The Emergence of the Humanities Division's Program in Communications, 1930-1936," *Rockefeller Archive Center Research Reports* (Spring 1996): 3-5; "Rockefeller Support for Projects on the Use of Motion Pictures for Educational and Public Purposes, 1935-1954" Rockefeller Archive Center Research Reports, 2001. <<http://www.rockarch.org/publications/resrep/buxton.pdf>> accessed 09 January 2011.

<sup>74</sup> Buxton develops the links between communication policies and research in: "John Marshall and the Humanities in Europe," *Minerva* 41, no. 2 (2003): 133-153; "Reaching Human Minds: Rockefeller Philanthropy and Communications, 1935-1939," in *The Development of Social Science in the United States and Canada: The Role of Philanthropic Foundations*, ed. Theresa Richardson and Donald Fisher (Stamford: Ablex, 1999), 177-192; "From Radio Research to Communications Intelligence: Rockefeller Philanthropy, Communications Specialists, and the American Policy Community," in *Communication Researchers and Policy-Making*, ed. Sara Braman (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT, 2003), 295-346. This concern also underpins some of the chapters of Gary Brett, *The Nervous Liberals: Propaganda Anxieties for World War I to the Cold War* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999).

<sup>75</sup> Haidee Wasson, *Museum Movies: The Museum of Modern Art and the Birth of Art Cinema* (Berkeley: California University Press, 2004).

<sup>76</sup> Haidee Wasson, "Studying Movies at the Museum: The Museum of Modern Art and Cinema's Changing Object," in *Inventing Film Studies*, ed. Charles Acland and Haidee Wasson, 121-148 (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008).

Film Council of America.<sup>77</sup> Acland contends that these educational film programmes used communications theory to invoke efficiency, neutrality and democratic participation through a technology-mediated education. Such encouragement pushed the businesses' economic interests and affected the development of educational technology as a modern commodity.<sup>78</sup> These studies identify the ideas about the educational potential of film technology that were applied to legitimise these policies. Furthermore, they raise questions about economic and political benefits of film education policies, and the impact that the early institutionalisation of film in the educational and artistic settings had for independent and experimental cinema in later years. To frame these concerns I take into consideration the industrial conditions that favoured the prominence of experimental and independent cinema in the 1960s.

### **The Crossover of Experimental and Independent Cinema during the 1960s**

James Kreul addresses the intersection between experimental and independent cinema in the early and mid-1960s in the New American Cinema group.<sup>79</sup> Kreul concentrates on the role of non-theatrical exhibition and educational and arts' institutions growing after WWII. He thus charts the differentiation of experimental and independent cinema according to professional, educational and artistic values. His study highlights the filmmakers' and critics' pragmatic decisions, and the sometimes professional, sometimes amateur, values they adopted in order to stabilise production, distribution and exhibition.<sup>80</sup> This mutability is epitomised in Clarke's career as well as in Mekas' focus on individual cases emphasised with the notion of personal cinema.

Personal cinema was popular as a notion not only to appraise experimental and independent cinema and defend freedom of expression for these filmmakers. As noted earlier, it was also applied to some Hollywood and European filmmakers. It converged

---

<sup>77</sup> Charles R. Acland, "Screen Technology, Mobilization and Adult Education in the 1950s," in *Patronizing the Public: American Philanthropy's Transformation of Culture, Communication, and the Humanities*, ed. William J. Buxton (Lanham: Lexington, 2009), 261-280.

<sup>78</sup> Charles R. Acland, "Curtains, Carts and the Mobile Screen," *Screen* 50, no. 1 (Spring 2009): 148-166.

<sup>79</sup> James Kreul, "New York, New Cinema: The Independent Film Community and the Underground Crossover, 1950-1970," (PhD diss., University of Wisconsin, 2004).

<sup>80</sup> See also Paul Arthur, "Routines of Emancipation: Alternative Cinema in the Ideology and Politics of the Sixties," in *To Free the Cinema: Jonas Mekas and the New York Underground*, ed. David James (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 17-48.

with contemporary discussions in film criticism about the notion of the *auteur*, or author; discussions that were key for film studies when this was established as an academic discipline. Generally, scholars draw the origins of *auteur* in film to the 1950s debates by the *Cahiers du Cinema* critics on *les politique des auteurs*. *Cahiers'* writer François Truffaut criticised the “tradition of quality” prevalent in French cinema, and defended filmmakers that were able to write and direct their own scenarios.<sup>81</sup> Frederic Gimello-Mesplomb explains that this defence of a more personal approach to filmmaking, attempted to break through the French state system of funding that favoured popular genres rapidly returning investments.<sup>82</sup>

The *Cahiers'* writings impacted beyond pushing for change in film policy and opening the way for the French New Wave films. These writings were translated, somewhat inaccurately, and published by another *Film Culture* critic, Andrew Sarris. Haden Guest argues that *Film Culture* pioneered a personal and intellectually-informed approach to film writing which directed the attention of film scholarship towards experimental and self-reflexive practices, as well as to re-evaluate Hollywood films.<sup>83</sup> In contrast to Mekas' focus on independent and experimental films, Sarris was concerned with studying Hollywood films, not for their economic and macrosocial aspects, but to provide a framework to interpret their codes and subversions.<sup>84</sup> Sarris engaged with current critics' discussions that sought signs of Hollywood's maturity and attempted to theorise its past.<sup>85</sup> For Sarris, the notion of the *auteur* making a personal imprint on the film helped to explain the relationship between the individual filmmaker and the infrastructural conditions in which he or she worked.<sup>86</sup> Thus, Sarris retained some romantic aspects of the cult of personality and provided an institutional

---

<sup>81</sup> François Truffaut, “A Certain Tendency of the French Cinema,” in *Movies and Methods*, ed. Bill Nichols (London: University California Press, 1976), 224-237.

<sup>82</sup> Frederic Gimello-Mesplomb, “The Economy of 1950s Popular French Cinema,” *Studies in French Cinema Journal* 6, no. 2, 2006 <http://fgimello.free.fr/publications/1950-US.htm>, accessed 10/11/2010. See also Michel Marie, *The French New Wave: An Artistic School* (New York: Blackwell Publishing, 2003).

<sup>83</sup> Haden Guest, “Experimentation and Innovation in Three American Film Journals of the 1950s,” in *Inventing Film Studies*, ed. Lee Grieveson and Haidee Wasson (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2008), 235-263.

<sup>84</sup> Tom Gunning, “Loved Him, Hated It: An Interview with Andrew Sarris,” in *To Free the Cinema: Jonas Mekas and the New York Avant-Garde*, ed. David E. James, 62-82 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992).

<sup>85</sup> Peter Kramer, “Post-classical Hollywood,” in *The Oxford Guide to Film Studies*, ed. John Hill and Pamela Church Gibson (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 289-309.

<sup>86</sup> Andrew Sarris, “Notes on the Auteur Theory in 1962,” in *Film Theory and Criticism: Introductory Readings*, ed. Leo Braudy and Marshall Cohen, 6<sup>th</sup> ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 561-564.

framework to understand how this could be expressed.<sup>87</sup> As opposed to Sitney's romantic ideal of the avant-garde filmmaker working in radical autonomy, Sarris' notion of the *auteur* entailed working with a certain degree of autonomy within Hollywood's system. Cook and Bernink observe that Sarris' emphasis "on the role of the director as a criterion of value was linked with the decline of the studio system and the growth of small scale production facilities which allowed greater access to facilities for production."<sup>88</sup> What is more important than the intellectual trajectory of the notion of personal expression in cinema is that this notion was pervasive at a moment of change and re-examination of American cinema.

The transformation of Hollywood's industrial model, aesthetics and moral contents in the late 1960s and early 1970s was not a radical change or demise but a crossover. Thomas Elsaesser identifies a crossover between studios and independents, between mainstream and avant-garde film practices, between Europe and America, and between generations.<sup>89</sup> These crossovers occurred along with larger changes that led to the post-industrial organisation of the film business, the emergence of the Blockbuster era and the widespread use of video technology. This moment also marks the appearance of the "New Hollywood" *auteurs*: filmmakers such as Arthur Penn, Peter Bogdanovich, Martin Scorsese and Paul Schrader. They are now recognised as the New Hollywood *auteurs* or independents, equivalents to European art cinema and New Wave directors such as Bergman and Truffaut. They have recognisable personal themes and styles, connecting in different ways with American and European, old and new cinemas. Other directors with *auteur* status, such as David Lynch and Terrence Malick, also emerged during this time. Significantly, they were closely linked to the AFI in their formative years. They enjoy a degree of creative autonomy or independence within Hollywood's current industrial organisation. Yet these independents stand in contrast to the independent and experimental filmmakers established in academic and artistic institutions after the 1960s.

To grasp this difference we need to focus again on the overall film policies. Where Kreul stresses the experimental filmmakers' crossover with the art world in the 1960s, Peter Decherney highlights the special relationship between the U.S. federal

---

<sup>87</sup> Andrew Sarris, *The American Cinema: Directors and Directions, 1929-1968* (New York: Da Capo Press 1996), 37.

<sup>88</sup> Pam Cook and Mieke Bernink, ed. "Authorship and Cinema," 256.

<sup>89</sup> Thomas Elsaesser, "Auteur Cinema and the New Economy Hollywood," in *The Persistence of Hollywood*, 237-255 (London: Routledge, 2012).



government and the theatrical film industry embodied in the AFI.<sup>90</sup> Decherney argues that the AFI was more concerned with nurturing talent for a transitional Hollywood in the period between 1965 and 1974. Decherney also grounds the possibility of the post-war avant-garde in the pre-war combination of private patronage and RF's and MoMA's support from the mid-1930s onwards. Nonetheless, he concludes that in the post-war period "these institutions continually frustrated avant-garde filmmakers by excluding them from avenues of funding."<sup>91</sup> Such an assertion about avant-garde filmmaking and U.S. federal government and philanthropies involves all the outcomes of different funding programmes, such as production, distribution and exhibition schemes, without detailed empirical substantiation. Evidence on the conditions of the different programmes needs to be brought to light and discussed in relation to the overall state of the theatrical and non-theatrical film industries. Furthermore, I need to clarify how the IFP production support related, on the one hand, to Hollywood independents and emergent *auteurs*, and on the other, to the non-theatrical film sector established in academic and artistic institutions in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

The IFP production fund was concomitant to other philanthropic measures, and to industrial and demographic changes that differentiated between the theatrical and non-theatrical possibilities of experimental and independent production. I argue that the IFP engaged with current appeals to recognise personal expression in film. It privileged artistic freedom during production and paid less attention to distribution and exhibition. Thus this mode of production helped to regulate these practices while other changes in theatrical and non-theatrical film production and content standards were taking place.

## **Methodology**

In this study I combine literature-based and archival research. My focus is the support provided for experimental and independent cinema production through the IFP grant. This can only be understood alongside other policies of support for exhibition, distribution and criticism, and together with other categories of filmmaking such as educational, documentary and theatrical cinema. My main research concentrates on the years between 1963 and 1974 because this was the period when significant

---

<sup>90</sup> Peter Decherney, *Hollywood and the Cultural Elite: How the Movies Became American* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005).

<sup>91</sup> Decherney, *Hollywood and the Cultural Elite*, 162.

experimental and independent film policies emerged, a period coinciding with the main changes in the film industry. These policies, however, did not originate in the 1960s. Instead, they have their roots in film culture and the RF's non-theatrical film policies of the 1930s. Therefore, I also re-examine this earlier period from the perspective of the 1960s and early 1970s.

For my primary research I used on-line catalogues and corresponded with librarians to identify archival collections, most of them located in the U.S. I singled out the collections at Rockefeller Archive Center, MoMA's Library, and Anthology Film Archives in New York, and the National Archives and Records Administration in Maryland. All of these hold a substantial amount of records relevant to my thesis. I was granted access to these places in a month-long research trip to the U.S., which was funded by a Rockefeller Archive Centre Grant-In-Aid and Edinburgh Napier University's School of Arts and Creative Industries.

I identified some relevant but isolated documents that were kept at other libraries throughout the U.S. Their archivists and librarians generously posted these materials to me. Unfortunately, many of the records of the AFI pertaining to the administration of the IFP grants are missing from this dissertation because the AFI's own records are not publicly available for research.<sup>92</sup> When looking at the AFI files at the National Archives, I found audits indicating that the AFI's record keeping of the IFP was rather irregular up until 1974.<sup>93</sup> AFI's information about the award process and individual project proposals would have narrowed this research to the specifics of the AFI's administration, and would not have explained the preconditions for the establishment of the AFI, for which information is available at other archives. These other records contain reports, audits, and internal and external correspondence regarding proposals and progress of the programmes. They provide valuable insights into how these organisations' officers elaborated their programmes as well as how they saw the AFI's administration of the grants. But these latter views are restricted to one perspective that would benefit from verification with the AFI's internal records.

My focus on overall and specific policies directives allowed me to explore these in relation to other arts, humanities and general education programmes. I

---

<sup>92</sup> The AFI keeps an extensive collection of books, periodicals and special collections at its film training school. I contacted the AFI librarians by e-mail and phone. They said that they had some of the IFP reports at hand, but directed me to carry out my research at the National Archives. Telephone Interview, Caroline Sisneros, AFI Librarian, June 5, 2008.

<sup>93</sup> Audit Info, American Film Institute, Subject Files of Deputy Chairman Michael Straight, 1969-1979, National Council for the Arts-National Foundation for the Arts and Humanities. RG288, National Archives at College Park, Maryland (NACP).

analysed and compared the conditions of each project in view of general social and cultural trends. I also considered the transformations of the film industry and growth of television and video production after the 1960s. This enabled me to, first, identify the notions that justified the support and, second, discern the consequences for the production, distribution, and exhibition of independent and experimental films at theatrical and non-theatrical venues.

Most of the existing scholarship on experimental cinema exhibitors and distributors, such as Film-Makers' Cinemateque, Canyon Cinema and Cinema 16, relies on interviews with filmmakers and information about the internal running of the institutions provided by organisers.<sup>94</sup> I was interested in contemporary cultural policies and the transformation of the theatrical film industry. As a result, my research into the philanthropies' archives explores how the experimental film programmes fitted within the overall policies, and puts the experimental filmmakers' and organisers' accounts into a wider perspective.

I also include brief analyses and references to experimental films, including some the films produced with IFP grants. For a general characterisation of the IFP films, I rely on the descriptions found in the AFI reports. I have included these in Appendix 2 as an indication of genres, themes, plots and visual styles. This approximation differs from the typical approach to the history of experimental cinema that focuses on textual analysis. This is justified by the fact that the films themselves are not enough to answer my questions about the rationale that underscored these policies; we need to understand first the culture and society that created and valued them. While I risk flattening out the differences amongst films, I consider that understanding the production context is a necessary first step before undertaking close textual analysis. Finally, I do not provide detailed evidence of the reception of these films. An analysis of reception could bring insight onto the films cultural impact, and open up questions about how the institutional filter marked the direction of these practices. To answer this question requires going beyond the scope of this research by looking in depth at specific trends in production, audiences and contexts of reception. Such concerns constitute the foundation of an entirely different project.

---

<sup>94</sup> See the collection of essays edited by David James in *To Free the Cinema*, and the work of Scott MacDonald in gathering archival materials on experimental film institutions such as *Cinema 16: Documents Towards a History of the Film Society* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2002); *Art in Cinema: Documents Towards the History of the Film Society* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2006); *Canyon Cinema: The Life and Times of an Independent Film Distributor* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008).

This study expands on American cinema history by bringing more specific insight into the relationship between theatrical and non-theatrical cinema history through the U.S. federal government's, RF's and MoMA's policies. It follows another route to the late 1960s and early 1970s author-oriented Hollywood and the growth of non-theatrical film practices through the examination of the notion of the experimental filmmaker as an artist. I provide new archival evidence on the RF, MoMA and the AFI to elaborate an understanding of experimental and independent cinema beyond aesthetics and styles, and include the systemic aspects of production, distribution and exhibition.

In chapter one of this dissertation I examine early film education policies and the establishment of experimental and independent cinema within non-theatrical film infrastructures. I argue that the RF film education policies in the 1930s marked the direction of later experimental and independent cinema and shaped the potential and limitations of later film institute projects. I also draw attention to the ideas about film as an art form and medium of education that legitimised government, philanthropic and corporate sponsorship engagement with avant-garde and documentary film practices during this period.

In chapter two I account for the growth of experimental and independent cinema by the 1960s under the conditions marked by philanthropic support, international film policies and changing demographics of the 1940s and 1950s. I demonstrate that filmmakers and critics appealed to artistic freedom to defend experimental and independent films from censorship. They also heralded films' educational potential to demand academic reform and an industrial model in which American independent films could be more commercially viable. Nevertheless, I argue that the likelihood of this model was limited because of the not-for-profit character and ties to philanthropic support of many of the non-theatrical film institutions involved.

In chapter three I analyse the interconnected arguments about education, politics and the economy used by the RF and the U.S. federal government to advance arts and humanities legislation in the 1960s. In particular, I begin by explaining the place of avant-garde art practices within the RF's view of cultural management. Then I demonstrate how the AFI project advanced with the MPAA's supervision and thus the theatrical film association was directly involved in the administration of the AFI's policies.

In chapter four I detail the support for experimental cinema that the RF and MoMA put in place simultaneously with the planning of the AFI. I argue that these

policies complemented the overall regulation of experimental and independent cinema. These measures helped the wider recognition of experimental cinema as a medium for art practice and education. At the same time, these policies further differentiated experimental cinema from independent cinema, and solidified the former's position within non-theatrical venues such as arts and educational settings.

In chapter five I analyse the IFP production fund during its first years of operation. I argue that, while the scheme focused on the autonomy of personal expression during production, the wider distribution and exhibition conditions implied a logic that limited the earnings of independents. I also explore the AFI's aesthetic focus and production approach in relation to the emergent New Hollywood *auteurs*. I conclude this dissertation by identifying some implications that result from this study of American experimental and independent cinema history and point to future areas of research.

This study brings to light the detailed evidence and the complexity of contexts that shape film policy. By researching U.S. federal government and foundations archives, I have embarked on a method that brings to the fore questions of public accountability, recordkeeping, and the crucial role of the researcher in bringing these to light. The public character of the records and archives in a democratic system of government is a fundamental condition for the accountability of the government and philanthropic foundations that assume a public function. The public availability of records is a necessary step for assessing the administration and effects of the laws and policies in communities. Antoinette Burton argues that archives are liminal places, between the public and the private, having a public function but a private order.<sup>95</sup> Such liminality is manifest in the work of officers and record keepers, who decide what to preserve, according to the in-house rules. The officers' selection of records, their organisation and public availability, are aspects already imbued with values and priorities, a genre in itself that, as an archival researcher, I had to learn to read. These fragments of the past, in turn, come to stand for the whole, and thus they enter into a complex process of cultural resignification through the researcher's selections and reactions.

Additionally, my immersion in various bodies of literature has made me more aware of the complexity of the contexts in which specific historical narratives emerge. These various realisations appear to me as what Michael Ann Holley calls "ghosts

---

<sup>95</sup> Antoinette Burton, *Dwelling in the Archive: Women Writing House, Home and History in Late Colonial India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 6.

from our own historiographical past”: what we face when we realise the ideological rationale of our own scholarship, and our need to come to terms with issues of the past.<sup>96</sup> If this research is challenged or furthered, my aim is satisfied if I rethink the relationship between the U.S. government, private philanthropies, film industry and filmmakers from a position that does not yield to wholesale determinism.

This project thus engages with the challenges posed by Ian Christie, who points to the need to open two areas of debate on avant-garde cinema and historiography.<sup>97</sup> The first area is concerned with the use of the notion of nation-state as a category of analysis. In this study I consider the legitimacy and active role of national film policies in sponsoring experimental and independent cinema at a particular point in history. The second area requires that we question the currency of the term avant-garde cinema to refer to cinematic practices that differ from the mainstream. It entails examining how the predominant idea of cinema has been attacked, elaborated, or questioned by different film artists. While the subject of this research project is primarily involved with the first area, I hope its results prompt readers to think about the second.

---

<sup>96</sup> Michael Ann Holly, “Spirits and Ghosts in the Historiography of Art,” in *The Subjects of Art History: Historical Objects in Contemporary Perspective*, ed. Mark A. Cheetham, Michael Ann Holly and Keith Moxey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 67.

<sup>97</sup> Ian Christie, “Histories of the Future: Mapping the Avant-Garde,” *Film History* 20, no.1 (January 2008): 6-23.

## Chapter 1

### EXPERIMENTAL AND INDEPENDENT CINEMA AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF NON-THEATRICAL CINEMA IN THE 1930s

In this chapter I argue that the Rockefeller Foundation (RF) film education policies of the 1930s regulated non-theatrical cinema and partly grounded post-war American experimental and independent cinema in philanthropic support. In the first part of this chapter, I explain the international growth of non-theatrical cinema and film culture in the context of expansion and self-regulation of Hollywood during the 1920s. In the second part I demonstrate that the RF film education policies of the 1930s engaged with film as an artistic and educational medium to advance the functions of a proto-American film institute. These policies articulated film societies, production at academic settings, and the professionalization of sponsored documentary filmmaking, which prompted the post-war expansion of experimental and independent cinema.

#### 1.1 Early Film Regulation

Film scholar Robert Sklar notes that the idea of *personal cinema* of the New American Cinema Group in the 1960s is an oddity within cinema history. According to Sklar, these “[were] movies made for goals other than profit, as expressions of individual creativity. But the creative act in motion pictures has never been clearly defined.”<sup>1</sup> The notion of personal cinema used by Jonas Mekas was not exclusive to experimental and independent film production and criticism. Other critics used in relation to Hollywood directors like Otto Preminger, who safeguarded final decisions on production and exhibition matters, and others like Alfred Hitchcock whose recurrent themes and style they identified as his personal creative vision. Still, when discussing the notion of the personal, experimental and independent filmmakers and critics, such as Mekas and Stan Brakhage, highlighted the distinction between their films and Hollywood productions. Their defence of personal cinema had the

---

<sup>1</sup> Robert Sklar, *Movie Made America: A Social History of the American Movies* (New York: Random House, 1975), 305.

peculiarity of aiming to launch new and different forms of expression and social participation. They would engage with the more varied values of the ethnic, sexual and political minorities that characterised the generation coming of age in the 1960s.

Despite its popularity in the 1960s, Sklar further notes that the limitations of such notion of *personal cinema* were already established in the early days of the medium. In the U.S. cinema rapidly developed as a large capital investment entertainment industry during the peak of the Progressive era.<sup>2</sup> In 1908, the main film businesses based on the east coast set up a trust to control the market: the Motion Picture Patents Company (MPPC).<sup>3</sup> The MPPC agreed prices and acquired patents over film manufacturing technology. Nancy Rosenbloom explains that these practices helped to establish professional filmmaking standards, and curbed the growth of national and international competitors outside the trust.<sup>4</sup> Charles Musser points out that, in order to maintain this position, the MPPC built a special relationship with federal authorities to avert accusations of monopoly.<sup>5</sup> Additionally, the MPPC appeased pressure groups that denounced the negative impact of cinema on the lower classes and children.<sup>6</sup>

The MPPC created the National Board of Censorship in March 1909, which defined the future approach of the U.S. theatrical film industry to regulate the market by controlling content.<sup>7</sup> The Board examined films at the MPPC facilities and suggested cuts or refused entire films that, according to their standards, were controversial.<sup>8</sup> The Board was a seemingly independent body in a liberal country resistant to federal censorship law. Thus, the Board mitigated social and political pressure on cinema's public function and social impact. This kind of organisation helped to structure the U.S. film industry as a self-regulated trust and continued

---

<sup>2</sup> The Progressive Era is historically delimited by the economic difficulties and social unrest of 1890s Depression, and the end of World War I. During this time, a variety of reform movements tried to counter the negative effects of industrialisation, business and political corruption, unplanned urban growth and ethnic tension in the U.S. Lewis L. Gould, *The Progressive Era* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1974).

<sup>3</sup> Charles Musser, *Before the Nickelodeon* (Berkeley: California University Press, 1991), 445.

<sup>4</sup> Nancy J. Rosenbloom, "Between Reform and Regulation: The Struggle Over Film Censorship in Progressive America, 1909-1922," *Film History* 4, no. 1 (1987), 310.

<sup>5</sup> Musser, *Before the Nickelodeon*, 445.

<sup>6</sup> Francis G. Couvares, "Hollywood, Main Street, and the Church: Trying to Censor the Movies before the Production Code," *American Quarterly* 44, no. 4 (December 1992): 584-616.

<sup>7</sup> Rosenbloom, "Between Reform and Regulation" 310. The name of the board later changed to the National Board of Review.

<sup>8</sup> Early discourse on the use of film for general education became associated with the National Board of Review values, mostly Protestant and middle-class progressive groups. Garth S. Jowett, "A Capacity for Evil. The 1915 Supreme Court Mutual Decision," in *Controlling Hollywood: Censorship and Regulation in the Studio Era*, ed. Matthew Bernstein (London: The Athlone Press, 2000), 16-40.



through successive entities such as the MPAA, as I demonstrate below.<sup>9</sup> This form of self-regulation influenced the growth of independent and experimental cinema.

Self-regulation was further asserted in the 1915 legal case of *Mutual Film Corporation v. Ohio State Censorship Ordinance*, which ruled on the constitutional legitimacy of forming state censorship boards.<sup>10</sup> U.S. Supreme Court Justice Mackenna acknowledged films' potential for social and cultural influence, but stated the primacy of theatrical cinema as an entertainment and private enterprise industry over other functions.<sup>11</sup> The *Mutual* case thus separated theatrical from non-theatrical cinema, and benchmarked the compromise of the U.S. federal authority to not interfere in the private interests of the film trade. Equally important, the ruling asserted the public responsibility of producers and state censors to provide wholesome films, and of exhibitors and educators to offer safe exhibition locations and educational programmes. Accordingly, theatrical cinema did not enjoy the status of other arts or communication media where freedom of expression was protected. Eventually, films not fitting within the entertainment industries' competitive trade and content standards had to find their outlets in non-theatrical venues. Following Sklar's argument, personal films not aiming to make money could only be possible along with the amateur, artisanal, documentary, instructional and scientific films that appeared in diverse non-theatrical venues such as libraries, schools, private clubs and churches. The personal cinema envisioned in the 1960s flourished thanks to the not-for-profit settings which philanthropies, such as the RF, significantly nurtured from the 1930s onwards.

### **1.1.1 Expansion of the U.S. Film Industry**

For the philanthropic film education policies to advance, they had to accord with the theatrical film business' control of competition and regulation of content. By 1915 there was a shift of power in the U.S. motion picture industry, but the basic mechanism of self-regulation remained. The MPPC trust was challenged by a set of independent companies producing longer and more expensive films, relying on the

---

<sup>9</sup> Another way to control competition was to raise the standards of the buildings housing cinema screenings, leaving out of competition production companies and smaller theatres not able to cater for these standards.

<sup>10</sup> United States Supreme Court, "Mutual Film Corp. V. Industrial Commission of Ohio," in *The Movies in Our Midst. Documents in the Cultural History of Film in America*, ed. Gerald Mast (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1982), 136-143.

<sup>11</sup> Lee Grieveson, *Policing Cinema: Movies and Censorship in Early Twentieth Century America* (Berkeley: California University Press, 2004).

status of literary adaptations and the appeal of movie stars. These independents eventually consolidated their business in companies such as Paramount, Fox, Universal, Warner Brothers and MGM. They went to set up their production facilities in Hollywood, and spread their influence by buying distribution companies and large exhibition spaces or “movie theatres” throughout the country.<sup>12</sup> They limited competition and contributed to the vertical integration of the industry by controlling the steps of production, distribution and exhibition involved in the film business. These advances gradually established which is often called Hollywood’s industrial model of *the studio system*.<sup>13</sup> The strength of these companies became more poignant after World War I, with the spread of the practice of block-booking. Block-booking required domestic exhibitors to buy the main feature film, along with the lesser quality movies produced in the studios’ B-units. The practice minimised risks by assuring exhibition in U.S. theatres, which returned the profits to be invested back into productions.

These companies expanded internationally when European film production was reduced by the war. The confrontation prompted a change in the operation of film sales to foreign countries, and these operations were further aided by the logistics and information provided by U.S. Department of State and Commerce. These advances made film the greatest export of the United States, its economic and political importance at home and abroad reflected in the creation of the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors Association of America (MPPDA) in 1922. The head of this new trust was William Hays, who had been the government’s Postmaster General. This institution followed the MPPC as a lobbyist, public relations and content regulator for the theatrical film industry.<sup>14</sup> Hays delineated a set of moral guidelines to be followed by production companies, which had to present their films to the MPPDA to be distributed. In 1934 the MPPDA outlined more conservative moral standards in response to pressure from pro-censorship groups. These were the Catholic Legion of Decency and the Payne Fund, which between 1929 and 1932 had backed a large scale research project into the deleterious effects of films on children. The MPPDA established tougher enforcement mechanisms with the Production Code Administration (PCA), insisting films had to be given a PCA seal of approval if

---

<sup>12</sup> Thomas Schatz, *The Genius of the System: Hollywood Filmmaking in the Studio Era* (London: Simon and Schuster, 1989), 8.

<sup>13</sup> Guilds and trade unions were another way of curbing competition, their power being more effective within the division of labour established in the studios and within Hollywood-located productions.

<sup>14</sup> Sklar, *Movie-Made America*.

producers wanted to have them distributed and exhibited. This system endured until the mid-1960s when the MPAA, the association that followed the MPDDA after WWII, updated the PCA's moral standards.

This context of regulated commercial film industry shaped the growth of experimental and independent cinema in the 1920s and 1930s, and built the basis for the post-war developments. In the 1920s and 1930s some film writers and experimental and independent filmmakers were challenging the predominant industrial model of cinema. They defended cinema's artistic and educational qualities, thus stimulating film education policies.

## 1.2 Avant-Garde Cinema in the 1920s

Personal expression and film's medium specificity were two key arguments in a strand of film criticism which, engaging with progressive ideas about social change, aimed to establish film as an art form and educational medium.<sup>15</sup> Importantly, these ideas spread internationally during the 1920s, linking French, Soviet, British and American avant-garde film culture. The 1920s avant-garde filmmakers were a mixed group, featuring diverse concerns with personal expression, politics, mainstream cinema, and the academic and arts world. To address this diversity, Richard Abel focuses on the distinctive yet heterogeneous cinema culture that grew in small film venues and cine-clubs in France in the late 1910s and early 1920s.<sup>16</sup> These venues' non-theatrical status permitted organisers to pay low fees to rent older films. Soon, they became spaces for introducing audiences to independent and experimental films, and for screening films outside the reach of censorship. Filmmakers often presented the screenings and followed them with discussions. They also wrote in specialised journals and disseminated their ideas. This practice travelled across Europe and the U.S., spawning influential institutions such as the London Film Society in 1925. Two London Film Society members, Iris Barry and John Grierson, became leading figures in the history of film culture and film education that I address in this chapter.

---

<sup>15</sup> See the introduction for a discussion of these ideas.

<sup>16</sup> Richard Abel, *French Cinema: The First Wave, 1915-1929* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984).

Interestingly, the French cine-clubs also served to introduce French audiences to German films after they had been banned from theatrical screens during WWI.<sup>17</sup> It was significant the case of *The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari* (Robert Wiene, 1920), a film that drew influences from the extreme subjectivism and hopelessness of pre-war expressionist painting and theatre. The film had contrasted plays of light and shadows, distorted angles and exaggerated performances, although it was diluted from the more radical notes of the pre-war avant-garde movement. Nevertheless, the film's success opened the way to other productions of the Weimar Republic, the so-called expressionist films, which used recognisable features from various arts and traditions, and succeeded amongst larger international theatrical film audiences. These films' different aesthetics and marketing methods started then to delineate the unstable category of *art cinema*. This cinema, which came into full form after WWII, offered an alternative to dominant Hollywood or national film industries.

Film societies and film clubs also configured a network for dissemination of more radical political ideas. For instance, they circulated Soviet films that were banned from European and American theatrical screens. The Soviet films were not the only thing that proved challenging but the Soviets' writings too. Through non-theatrical networks both film and writings reached to a mixed audience of artists and writers, progressives and left-wing activists.<sup>18</sup> To them, Soviet cinema represented the possibility of, as Ian Christie explains, "a new mode of vision, a new means of social representation, a new definition of popular art, embodying new relations of production and consumption."<sup>19</sup> Overall, the 1920s avant-garde film culture engaged in different ways with question of representation, form, and politics. These practices' resistance to fit to conventional categories calls attention to the circumstances of those who produce them and receive them, that is, the historical contexts in which they are relevant. In the 1930s, the pressure of the international political context affected avant-garde arts and motivated the spread of U.S. government and philanthropic non-theatrical film policies.

---

<sup>17</sup> Thomas Elsaesser, *Weimar Cinema and After: Germany's Historical Imaginary* (London: Routledge, 2000).

<sup>18</sup> Richard Taylor, "Eisenstein: A Soviet Artist," in *The Eisenstein Reader* (London: BFI Publishing, 1998), 1-28.

<sup>19</sup> Ian Christie, introduction to *The Film Factory: Russian and Soviet Cinema in Documents, 1896-1939* (London: Routledge, 1994), 4.

### 1.3 The 1930s: Politics, Films and Propaganda

Government, corporate and philanthropic funding for film production, distribution and exhibition in countries such as the Great Britain and the U.S. marked the historical development of experimental and independent cinema during the 1930s. Given the economic, political and social tension rising in Europe and the U.S. after the 1929 economic crash, filmmakers involved in avant-garde groups adopted more politicised positions in the 1930s. These years saw the rise of popular front politics in countries such as Spain and France, which joined centre to left-wing ideologies. These groups predominantly endorsed socially progressive values, with varying views on economic and political organisation. Simultaneously, right-wing governments strengthened in Italy and Germany, and there were growing suspicions about the methods and ends of Stalin's regime in Russia.

During that time Soviet constructivism fell out of grace. The shift in Soviet policy coincided with the birth of abstract expressionist painting in the U.S. In the 1940s, Greenberg used a formalist argument to appraise abstract expressionism's historical continuity with the avant-gardes of the earlier decades. Yet he did not gauge those artists' relation with the previous generation of American artists known as Regionalists and American Scene painters.<sup>20</sup> The latter artists painted landscapes, portraits and everyday scenes that linked American identity to nature and folklore.<sup>21</sup> These were the aesthetics endorsed by Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal, the federal programme designed to tackle the Great Depression. The "Works Progress Administration" (WPA) started in 1935 to provide employment to artists and reinvigorate the nation's morale through images that extolled resilience during hard times.<sup>22</sup> Jonathan Harris argues that the Regionalist style fit well within the New Deal's propagandistic aims.<sup>23</sup> The style stressed the notion of inclusive citizenship and appeased the racial and class conflicts stirred by the plight of Depression-era America. The later rise of abstract expressionism and its recognition as America's modern art

---

<sup>20</sup> Erika L. Doss, *Benton, Pollock and the Politics of Modernism: From Regionalism to Abstract Expressionism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).

<sup>21</sup> "Art: U.S. Scene," *Time*, December 24, 1934. Painters such as Grant Wood, Thomas Hart Benton and Charles Burchfield are identified with these aesthetics. <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,711633,00.html> accessed 12/05/2008.

<sup>22</sup> The WPA included several arts programme, amongst them, the Federal Art Project, the Federal Theatre Project, the Federal Music Project, Federal Writers Project and the Historical Records Survey.

<sup>23</sup> Jonathan Harris, *Federal Art and National Culture: The Politics of Identity in New Deal America*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

suggests that the U.S. federal government's image expanded its focus beyond localism as the country engaged more actively in international politics.

Other New Deal programmes such as the Resettlement Administration sponsored photography and documentary filmmaking during the 1930s.<sup>24</sup> In particular, the appearance of government sponsorship, as well as private philanthropies and corporate funding for film at this point, contributed to the professionalisation of documentary filmmaking. This delineation, as Bill Nichols argues, put this form of filmmaking "to serve the political and ideological agenda of the existing nation-state."<sup>25</sup> Next I explain the case of the U.S., where these forms of sponsorship marked the direction of film practices where experimental aesthetics and independent modes of production, film propaganda and film education aims, often intersected.

### 1.3.1 U.S. Documentary Film in the 1930s

During the 1930s in the U.S., left-wing groups used filmmaking to raise awareness of social justice and working-class issues.<sup>26</sup> The New York Workers' Film and Photo League was set up in 1930 by critics, writers, photographers and filmmakers including Lewis Jacobs, Ralph Steiner, Leo Hurtwitz and Elia Kazan. They produced and exhibited leftist newsreels on workers' strikes, demonstrations, life in impoverished communities and images from the Spanish Civil War. They programmed these along with Soviet films, experimental animation and burlesque films. They kept in contact with other national and international Workers' Leagues, and wrote in specialised magazines such as *Hound and Horn* and *Experimental Cinema*.<sup>27</sup> Within this vibrant film culture, the Film and Photo League member and film critic Harry Alan Potamkin elaborated a comprehensive film education project independent from the film industry

---

<sup>24</sup> The Resettlement Administration's photographic division commissioned work from Walker Evans and Dorothea Lange, whose photographs of Oklahoma migrants in California toured around the country. These images, now iconic representations of the Depression years, fitted within the New Deal's praise of endurance by emphasising everyday drama and human dignity in the gestures of their protagonists. William Stott, *Documentary Expression and the Thirties America* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1986). The Resettlement Administration's photographic division commissioned work from Walker Evans and Dorothea Lange, whose photographs of Oklahoma migrants in California toured around the country. These images, now iconic representations of the Depression years, fitted within the New Deal's praise of endurance by emphasising everyday drama and human dignity in the gestures of their protagonists.

<sup>25</sup> Bill Nichols, "Documentary Film and the Modernist Avant-Garde," *Critical Enquiry* 27, no.4 (June 2001): 580-610.

<sup>26</sup> William Alexander, *Films on the Left: American Documentary Film from 1931 to 1942* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981).

<sup>27</sup> Thomas Brandon, "The Advance-Guard of a New Motion Picture Art: Experimental Cinema 1930-1933," *Journal of University Film Association* 30, no. 1 (Winter 1978): 27-35.

in the winter of 1932-3.<sup>28</sup> Dana Polan argues that Potamkin's attempt to join film education and preservation entailed a philosophy of national creativity which can be considered the earliest public proposal for an American film institute.<sup>29</sup> Potamkin conceived a progressive higher education college whose curriculum integrated the teaching of critical and technical aspects of cinema. As I show through this dissertation, the American Film Institute (AFI) as an educational project grew from this and other early proposals but its shape was marked by the presence of main film industry association.

### 1.3.2 Independent Documentary Filmmaking

Political and social events in the 1930s affected the internal dynamics of the Film and Photo League, which courted a dispute by accepting a project for a New Deal propaganda film. This was *Hands* (1934), a short film introducing a series of idle hands becoming active after the exchange of a government treasury check. The film engaged with avant-garde aesthetics by emphasising abstract geometric forms through framing and contrast, and dynamism through editing. Scott MacDonald explains *Hands'* propaganda success in presenting the government as “imaginative and inventive, open to new possibilities, supportive of forms of free expression that respect both the laboring person's efforts and the artist's imagination.”<sup>30</sup> *Hands* thus skilfully combined the avant-garde focus on form and the New Deal's message of economic relief. The film was made collaboratively by Paul Steiner and photographer Willard Van Dyke, the latter a crucial agent in the history of the institutionalisation of independent and experimental filmmaking in the U.S.<sup>31</sup> After the dispute for accepting the film, Steiner and Hurtwitz left the Film and Photo League to form the independent production company Nykino in 1935, but accepted external commissions such as the New Deal film.

---

<sup>28</sup> The article “A Proposal for a School of the Motion Picture” was published posthumously in the arts journal *Hound and Horn* in October 1933. It can be found in Potamkin's *The Compound Cinema*, ed. Lewis Jacobs (New York: Teachers College Press, 1977), 587-592. He also suggested creating “A Library of the Motion Picture” which would include foreign and domestic films of different categories, film stills, scenarios and books. Potamkin included Iris Barry, the London Film Society member and then resident in the U.S., amongst the possible faculty staff.

<sup>29</sup> Dana Polan, *Scenes of Instruction: The Beginnings of U.S. Study of Film* (Los Angeles: California University Press, 2007).

<sup>30</sup> Scott MacDonald, “Ralph Steiner,” in *Lovers of Cinema: The First American Film Avant-Garde. 1919-1945*, ed. Jan-Christopher Horak (Madison: Wisconsin University Press, 1991), 223.

<sup>31</sup> Willard Van Dyke had been part of the California group *f/64*, where photographers like Edward Weston, Ansel Adams and Imogen Cunningham claimed photography's art status by pursuing medium-specific aesthetics. Motivated to pursue a career in social documentary, he moved to New York, where he met Ralph Steiner and Iris Barry.

Nykino's sponsored documentary filmmaking followed the practice instituted by the British John Grierson. Grierson studied philosophy and communication, and was a member of the London Film Society. He was inspired by the Soviets' intellectual approach to montage and Robert Flaherty's poetic style of representing the relationship between man and nature. Grierson gained prominence producing films and as film officer for various public and private British institutions.<sup>32</sup> His approach to sponsored film production centred on two points. The first was to encourage corporate and state funding in order not to depend on box-office revenue. The second was to reach out to non-theatrical audiences by organising 16mm projections at civic clubs, film societies and schools.<sup>33</sup> Grierson's writings on documentary film influenced much of the rhetoric on creativity and objectivity later accompanying sponsored documentary films. Grierson stated that "you photograph the natural life, but you also, by your juxtaposition of detail, create an interpretation of it."<sup>34</sup> Grierson's theoretical view that film captures reality, and through their selection of events and details, filmmakers apply their creativity echoes Delluc's statements and influenced film theoreticians such as Andre Bazin after WWII. Significantly, Grierson's approach to professional non-theatrical filmmaking through government and corporate backing was followed by Steiner and Hurtwitz in Nykino, and later expanded by the RF's film policies.<sup>35</sup>

The New Deal's Resettlement Administration backed a film project on soil conservation by independent journalist Pare Lorentz. In need of a film crew, Lorentz contacted Nykino to make *The Plow that Broke the Plains* (1935). But the government connection caused internal division at Nykino and some of its members like Ivens left in order to stay independent.<sup>36</sup> Lorentz's next film for the Resettlement Administration was *The River* (1937), about the need for dam construction in the Mississippi region.

---

<sup>32</sup> Grierson became first film officer for the Empire Marketing Board. The Board was a government public relations agency devoted to strengthen Britain's international trade relations in place of previous military and political ties. It produced films like Grierson's own *Drifters* (1929), on herring fishing, and Robert Flaherty's *Industrial Britain* (1931) on craftsmanship and modernisation. Grierson attracted various individuals to his working ethos like Basil Wright and Paul Rotha. In 1933, Grierson moved to the General Post Office film unit, where experimental animators such as Len Lye and Malcolm McLaren produced influential films. In 1937 Grierson set up the London Film Centre, joining filmmakers with government and corporate sponsors.

<sup>33</sup> Jack C. Ellis and Betsy A. McLane, *A New History of Documentary Film* (New York: Continuum, 2008).

<sup>34</sup> John Grierson, "First Principles of Documentary," in *Grierson on Documentary*, ed. Forsyth Hardy (London: Faber, 1979), 38.

<sup>35</sup> Nykino's initial formation attracted avant-garde photographers and filmmakers such as Van Dyke, Joris Ivens, Henwar Rodakiewicz and Paul Strand.

<sup>36</sup> Richard Meram Barsam, *Non-Fiction Film: A Critical History*, rev. ed (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992).



Lorentz hired Van Dyke for the camera work. *The River* was a critical and commercial success. Inspired by the success of Grierson in making government and corporate films, Roosevelt supported Lorentz's idea of establishing the United States Film Service in 1938. The United States Film Service was to provide a central distribution service for government films but lacked solid distribution resources and did not fulfil its mission.<sup>37</sup> Like other New Deal projects, the films Lorentz produced for the United States Film Service were viewed with suspicion by Republicans in Congress.<sup>38</sup> As MacCann observes, the success of films like *The Plow* and *The River* relied on the popularity of New Deal ideology in the mid-1930s.<sup>39</sup> By the end of the decade the U.S. shifted its attention to foreign affairs.

The New Deal and United States Film Service films broadened the conventions of government propaganda by introducing artistic standards. Hiring filmmakers for commissions preserved an aura of independence focused on the creativity and personal vision of the filmmakers during production. This approach continued with the expansion of sponsored film production, which furthered the use of film for education and propaganda in the following years.

## 1.4 Film Education Policies

When Lewis Jacobs examined to the growth of American experimental cinema after WWII, the so-called "post-war revival", he acknowledged that it was significantly driven by screenings and distribution of avant-garde, documentary, and old European and American films by the Museum of Modern Art's (MoMA) Film Library and San Francisco's Art in Cinema.<sup>40</sup> Jacobs also recognised that propaganda filmmaking had trained filmmakers and "developed a taste for experimental and non-

---

<sup>37</sup> Richard Dyer MacCann, *The People's Films: A Political History of U.S. Government Motion Pictures* (New York: Hastings House, 1973), 93.

<sup>38</sup> The WPA dissolved in 1939 after the House of Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), which was in charge of identifying and neutralising Nazi and Communist influences, investigated some of the people associated with the projects.

<sup>39</sup> MacCann, *The People's Films*.

<sup>40</sup> Lewis Jacobs, "Experimental Film in America. Part Two: 1921-1941," *Hollywood Quarterly* 3, no. 3 (Spring 1948): 278-292. Art in Cinema was a film society associated to San Francisco's Museum of Modern Art and active between 1946 and 1955, see Scott MacDonald, *Art in Cinema: Documents Towards the History of the Film Society* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2006). New York's Cinema 16 was established in October 1947. It started as a commercial exhibitor, but financial and censorship problems lead the organisers to incorporate it as a film society, see Amos Vogel, "Cinema 16: A Showcase for the Nonfiction Film," *Hollywood Quarterly* 4, no. 4 (Summer 1950): 421; and Scott MacDonald, *Cinema 16: Documents Towards a History of the Film Society* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2002).

commercial techniques.”<sup>41</sup> He hinted at the infrastructural and aesthetic relationship between propaganda productions and experimental filmmaking during the war. Such development, however, would not have been possible without the advance of the RF’s film education policies in the 1930s, which set off from another educational proposal for an American film institute.

During the 1930s, an emphasis on the educational advantages of film technology appeared in several contexts, signalling the growing importance of non-theatrical film in public life. Apart from film societies and workers’ clubs, in the U.S. non-theatrical films were linked to the progressive reformers’ promotion of education at schools, colleges and other civic associations.<sup>42</sup> These organisations dealt mostly with sponsored and educational films but, with the increase of non-theatrical exhibition spaces, the demand of films for educational purposes also augmented. The use of Hollywood films in these venues was something that theatrical film companies were reluctant to concede because they considered it unfair competition which devalued their films.<sup>43</sup>

By the 1930s, several institutions had formed across different countries in order to exploit non-theatrical film. These formations gathered a mix of educational, political and economic interests. The British Film Institute (BFI), for instance, had been established in 1933 to respond to educators’ demand to use films in formal instruction.<sup>44</sup> These organisations gathered in the International Educational Cinematograph Institute under the overarching rhetoric of using films for education and international understanding.<sup>45</sup> This appears clearly in the comments by Laura Dreyfus-Barney, head of the International Council of Women, who states that

---

<sup>41</sup> Jacobs, “Experimental Film in America. Part Two: 1921-1941,” 278.

<sup>42</sup> Dan Streibe, Martina Roepke and Anke Mebold, “Non-Theatrical Film,” *Film History* 19, no.4 (2007): 339-343. Organisations such as the Bureau of Commercial Economics sent films all over the country and provided projection facilities. By 1914 the Bureau started international distribution and exhibition of sponsored films. Sean Savage, “The Eye Beholds: Silent Ear Industrial Film and the Bureau of Commercial Economics” (master’s thesis, New York University, 2006).

<sup>43</sup> Grievson, *Policing Cinema*, 102.

<sup>44</sup> Christophe Dupin, “The Post-war Transformation of the British Film Institute and its Impact on the Development of a National Film Culture in Britain,” *Screen* 47, no. 4 (Winter 2006): 443-451. Other examples include the Italian L’Unione Cinematografica Educativa, taken over by the fascists in 1926 to control commercial film production, as well as increase the number of propaganda documentaries and newsreels. Peter Bondanella, *A History of Italian Cinema* (London: Continuum, 2009).

<sup>45</sup> The International Educational Cinematograph Institute was active from 1928 to 1938 under the auspices of the League of Nations’ International Institute for Intellectual Cooperation.

an entirely free and unencumbered circulation of the largest possible scale, of educational films from one country to another, remains one of the best means to reach the goal of international amity and understanding.<sup>46</sup>

However, a closer examination of the International Educational Cinematograph Institute exposes the important weight of economic priorities in the realisation of these educational ventures. Richard Maltby examines the Cinematograph Institute's projects that aimed to open American distribution and exhibition to European films. Maltby argues that this aim entailed a conception of cinema as a "public utility" that did not work for two main reasons. One reason was political, implying a centralised view of cinema under government direction which was not welcome in the U.S. The other was economic, noting that Europe would never have the buying power to make their entrance into the American market effective.<sup>47</sup> Maltby contends that the U.S. presence at these gatherings amounted to no more than a public relation strategy and an occasion to lobby international partners to abide by the educational standards of the MPPDA.

Zoë Druick develops this argument to explain the Cinematograph Institute's conceptualisation of documentary film as an educative genre.<sup>48</sup> Druick argues that the purposes of documentary film were located by the League of Nations within a depoliticised international humanist project, one where "national culture and humanism alike were used as framing discourses for policies that were fundamentally about the trade of cultural products."<sup>49</sup> The Cinematograph Institute rhetoric on universalism and education eventually justified the economic priorities of these gatherings. These accents were used by the RF too to further the first comprehensive non-theatrical film policies in the U.S.

#### **1.4.1 Another American Film Institute**

William Buxton's research demonstrates that the RF's mid-1930s Communications Program, which had an important radio component, originated from an attempt to convince commercial broadcasters of the economic potential of

---

<sup>46</sup> Quoted in Zoë Druick, "Reaching the Multi-Millions: Liberal Internationalism and the Establishment of Documentary Film," in *Inventing Film Studies*, ed. Lee Grieveson and Haidee Wasson (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008), 75.

<sup>47</sup> Richard Maltby, "The Cinema and the League of Nations," in *Film Europe and Film America: Cinema, Commerce and Cultural Exchange, 1920-1939*, ed. Andrew Higson and Richard Maltby (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1999), 82-116.

<sup>48</sup> Druick, "Reaching the Multi-Millions," 79.

<sup>49</sup> Druick, "Reaching the Multi-Millions," 79.

educational and artistic content.<sup>50</sup> This was a response to the legislation on broadcasting in the 1934 Communications Act, which sided with commercial as opposed to educational groups. The RF and the Carnegie Corporation then directed their philanthropic efforts to reconcile the less extreme positions of the educational groups with the interests of commercial broadcasters. Meanwhile, the Payne Fund sided with the demands of the more extreme groups. Under these conditions, the ensuing philanthropic promotion of film as a form of art and education tried to bring together educational aims and commercial interests. This is key to understand the potential and limitations of projects such as the later AFI.

Paul Saettler states that the Cinematograph Institute's Rome conference in March 1934 was the place where U.S. authorities first seriously considered systematising non-theatrical film resources within a film institute.<sup>51</sup> Following this conference one of the U.S. representatives, George F. Zook, president of the progressive American Council on Education (ACE), taught himself how European countries approached film education.<sup>52</sup> Zook took the opportunity to travel to London and visit the BFI. On his return he formed the ACE Motion Picture Committee. The Committee gathered different organisations interested in educational uses of film, and together they sketched a plan for an American film institute as a centralised organisation. Zook presented the proposal to the Payne Fund, but they rejected it. He then took it to the RF's General Education Board (GEB).

The RF's GEB had a focus on progressive education. The Board was established in 1903 as one of the first Rockefeller philanthropies concerned with improving public schools and vocational studies of African-Americans in the Southern states. Nonetheless, as William Buxton indicates, by the 1930s the GEB converged in many ways with the RF Humanities Division (HD), which originally was more concerned with higher education pursuits.<sup>53</sup> In the 1930s both the GEB and HD had David H. Stevens as Director and John Marshall as Assistant Director. Buxton also notes that through his European trips and relations with the RF's fellows Marshall

---

<sup>50</sup> William J. Buxton, "The Political Economy of Communications Research," in *Information and Communication in Economics*, ed. Robert E. Babe (Boston: Kluwer, 1994), 147-175.

<sup>51</sup> See also the article by a member of the American Council on Education, Lorraine Noble, "Modernization by Way of Educational Film" *Journal of Educational Sociology* 10, no.3 (November 1936): 151-157.

<sup>52</sup> Zook had previously worked for the Creel Committee on Public Information during WWI and served as Commissioner on Education for F.D. Roosevelt. Paul Saettler, *The Evolution of American Educational Technology* (Charlotte: Information Age Publishing, 2004).

<sup>53</sup> William J. Buxton, "John Marshall and the Humanities in Europe," *Minerva* 41, no.2 (2003): 133-153.

drove the philanthropy's attention towards the use of modern information systems in libraries, and modern communications technology, such as radio and film.

With this set of priorities, the RF's trustees received Zook's proposal and met in April 1935 to discuss the place of a film institute within the emerging Communications Program. The officers' discussion presupposed the ample definition of film as both a commodity and tool for education and propaganda. They asserted that "unquestionably the film is among the most powerful influences in the cultural life of the world today and it is therefore subject to careful evaluation of the services it renders."<sup>54</sup> They identified two inter-related areas of action: (1) to influence public appreciation of films, by promoting specific models of production and reception, and (2) to improve and expand the material resources involving educational uses of film by promoting investment in film technology and the systematisation of non-theatrical film assets. These were the key guidelines to develop an authoritative discourse on film and further a non-theatrical film sector serving multiple purposes.

#### **1.4.2 Standards in Film Education Policies**

In its deliberations, the RF's Board referred to the Better Films Council and the National Board of Review, which had brought respectability to the theatrical film industry and appeased pressure groups.<sup>55</sup> Additionally, as I pointed out earlier, these organisations helped to keep competition at bay by favouring films abiding to their standards. With this referent, the trustees sketched the idea of a semi-independent body that could mediate between different interests and set up parameters for non-theatrical cinema networks. Zook informed the RF's GEB of the type of structure and functions adopted by the BFI, which had an advisory council representing the industry, educational organisations and opinion leaders. At this point, the RF's Board hoped to draw further support from the federal government, as well as from "the Department of Interior and other governmental agencies and educational groups that have used films for special purposes for a period of years."<sup>56</sup> If successful, they could increase the

---

<sup>54</sup> Board of Trustees Meeting, April 10, 1935, p. 15, folder 50, box 5, series 911, Record Group (RG) 3.1, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, Rockefeller Archive Center, Sleepy Hollow, New York (hereafter designated RAC).

<sup>55</sup> Board of Trustees Meeting, April 10, 1935, p. 15, folder 50, box 5, series 911, RG 3.1, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC. The Better Films Council was an offshoot of the National Board of Review lead by its president, John Collier.

<sup>56</sup> Board of Trustees Meeting, April 10, 1935, p. 17, folder 50, box 5, series 911, RG 3.1, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

availability and circulation of non-theatrical films, such as propaganda and instructional productions.

The Board highlighted that the BFI's activities "range[d] from the preparation of scripts to the distribution of finished product at a low rental charge."<sup>57</sup> The Board also referred to discussion groups using the London Film Society as example.<sup>58</sup> By replicating the Society's approach, they could reach specific audiences such as students and opinion-makers. The Board acknowledged that

every college and university community has its nucleus of persons that could be interested in a plan for rental and exhibition of a series displaying the artistic and technical abilities of actors and producers in various countries.<sup>59</sup>

This was a form of engaging with the international film culture grown from the film society networks which circulated experimental, independent and older films.

Such an organisation would also establish standards for future film production and reception. As the Board observed, many of the present leaders of the British industry had been nurtured in these places, so these screening places could be considered "laboratories for the development of critical judgement."<sup>60</sup> They mentioned that, despite film societies already existing in the U.S., these were isolated initiatives, "not real examples of what is possible through a national organisation."<sup>61</sup> A central organisation could set parameters on films seen at non-theatrical venues and be a reference for filmmakers and audiences. Additionally, it could put limits to those films that did not comply with its standards, thus contributing to regulate competition and content in the non-theatrical film sector.

These ideas fitted in the plan to promote specialised non-theatrical exhibition through MoMA's Library, a plan that Iris Barry and John Abbott had already presented to the Board. Barry and Abbott proposed that "the methods used by the [London Film] Society for securing foreign films would be adopted, and through assured co-operation from representatives of the industry in the United States, the Museum would be able to obtain a sufficient supply of films of American

---

<sup>57</sup> Board of Trustees Meeting, April 10, 1935, p. 17, folder 50, box 5, series 911, RG 3.1, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

<sup>58</sup> Board of Trustees Meeting, April 10, 1935, p. 18, folder 50, box 5, series 911, RG 3.1, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

<sup>59</sup> Board of Trustees Meeting, April 10, 1935, p. 18, folder 50, box 5, series 911, RG 3.1, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

<sup>60</sup> Board of Trustees Meeting, April 10, 1935, p. 18, folder 50, box 5, series 911, RG 3.1, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

<sup>61</sup> Board of Trustees Meeting, April 10, 1935, p. 18, folder 50, box 5, series 911, RG 3.1, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

manufacture.”<sup>62</sup> Thus, a selection of both American and foreign films would reach a large number of museums and colleges.<sup>63</sup> The establishment of such an organisation as main representative of the U.S. in the field of non-theatrical film also placed the U.S. as a defined actor in the framework of international institutions dealing with film education and film culture.

The RF’s officers felt the objectives of film education of the Communications Program were clear. However, they noted that the implementation was complex, given the novelty of the field and the different educational and commercial interest groups they had to deal with.<sup>64</sup> The establishment of a central agency for educational film resources followed the lines of the GEB’s progressive promotion of science and technology at schools. The plan for the film society required a direct collaboration with the film companies and foreign diplomats, more in line with the objectives and international orientation of the HD, MoMA’s main supporter.

The ACE plan for an American film institute did not fully materialise.<sup>65</sup> While the ACE Motion Pictures Committee was waiting to hear from the Board, they presented on June 3 1935 another document entitled “Proposed Studies Relating to the Use of Motion Pictures in Education,” from which four interim projects were approved. The following October, Zook submitted “A Proposal for the Establishment of an American Film Institute,” but in the minutes of the next Board of Trustees meeting in December 1935 it is not mentioned. Instead, the Board stated that the

use of the motion picture as a medium of improving public appreciation must develop, as in the case of radio, through cooperative relations with the industry. Production of films or of broadcasting programs is beyond the reach of philanthropic and educational organizations, but with the aid of the industry both radio and motion picture are open to non-profit use for cultural purposes.<sup>66</sup>

---

<sup>62</sup> Board of Trustees Meeting, April 10, 1935, p. 18-19, folder 50, box 5, series 911, RG 3.1, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC. See below for more details on MoMA’s Film Library organisation. The way to acquire foreign films consisted in making arrangements with foreign offices and national film institutes to secure non-theatrical deals with producers.

<sup>63</sup> Board of Trustees Meeting, April 10, 1935, p.19, folder 50, box 5, series 911, RG 3.1, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

<sup>64</sup> Board of Trustees Meeting, April 10, 1935, p. 19, folder 50, box 5, series 911, RG 3.1, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

<sup>65</sup> Board of Trustees Meeting, December 11, 1935, p. 32-3, folder 50, box 5, series 911, RG 3.1, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

<sup>66</sup> Board of Trustees Meeting, December 11, 1935, p. 32-3, folder 50, box 5, series 911, RG 3.1, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

This statement indicates that the RF, as a philanthropic organisation, would not promote film education in any way which could potentially interfere with the theatrical film industry.<sup>67</sup>

This explains why the plans for the institute were not completely enacted. Instead, some of the plans were developed in different projects, and others were rapidly assumed by MoMA's Library. The Museum's Board then included industry-minded members such as the Rockefeller Brothers and John Hay Whitney, who had investments in film production and film technology manufacturing companies. This move reflects a shift from a project controlled by educators to one that could be monitored by the motion picture industry members.

By December 1935 the organisation of MoMA's Film Library was well underway, now with assured collaboration from the major American production companies and foreign offices.<sup>68</sup> Haidee Wasson reports that Abbott and Barry were appointed RF fellows to attend an international film conference in England in the summer of 1936.<sup>69</sup> They used the occasion to travel through Europe in order to examine foreign film practices and archives in places like London, Paris, Berlin, Stockholm, Warsaw, Moscow and Leningrad. Wasson's account of MoMA's Film Library focuses on Barry's struggle with Hollywood studio executives to persuade them of the value of a non-profit film culture. Barry appealed to cultural history and nostalgia, and referred to film as a form of artistic expression and mass education, echoing some of the notions spread through film societies. Eventually, the Film Library became one of the most important resources for film scholarship in the U.S. This conception of film, as both an art and educational form, expanded through arts and academic institutions. Particularly, the focus on film technology as an advanced form of mass education legitimised the RF's film policies that articulated non-theatrical distribution and exhibition resources.

---

<sup>67</sup> A similar view on this matter is stated by Saettler and Buxton corresponding works. See Saettler, *The Evolution of American Educational Technology*, 233, William J. Buxton, "Rockefeller Support for Projects on the Use of Motion Pictures for Educational and Public Purposes," *Rockefeller Archive Center Research Reports*, 2001.

<sup>68</sup> Board of Trustees Meeting, December 11, 1935, p. 33, folder 50, box 5, series 911, RG 3.1, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

<sup>69</sup> Haidee Wasson, *Museum Movies. The Museum of Modern Art and the Birth of Art Cinema* (Los Angeles: California University Press, 2005), 115.



### 1.4.3 Film Production and Educational Purposes

The RF's officers referred to social and scientific advancement to provide direction and legitimacy to the philanthropy's diverse measures. In January 1936, David H. Stevens defined the programme's aim of exploring the possibilities of the film medium as something beyond entertainment and propaganda. He posited: "it is, indeed, almost as if the language had been used only for purposes of advertising: little by little its possibilities for other purposes would be recognised."<sup>70</sup> He identified the need "to work out new techniques appropriate to purposes other than entertainment."<sup>71</sup> Stevens identified "education" and the "general diffusion of culture" as film's unexplored purposes, but he acknowledged that the effects of entertainment and educational films could respond to the same psychological principles.<sup>72</sup> Thus, he pointed out the need to explore this area from a rather tentative, empirical approach without making radical distinctions, since the separation "might impose an artificial – and unnecessary– limitation on experimentation."<sup>73</sup>

The aim to develop a scientific-based approach to communication linked with the foundation's fellowship programme, which covered research in natural sciences and humanities.<sup>74</sup> To achieve that objective, one basic area of research focused on the psychological effects of instructional films, for which the GEB contributed almost \$200,000 to the ACE in 1935.<sup>75</sup> William Buxton demonstrates that the attempt to understand persuasion scientifically widened and deepened by the end of the 1930s through the RF-funded Communications Research Group projects.<sup>76</sup> These projects, mostly focused on radio and public opinion, enacted a comprehensive policy that integrated the RF's communications policies with current research paradigms on persuasion and influence.

---

<sup>70</sup> David H. Stevens, Inter-Office Correspondence, January 22, 1936, p. 1, folder 50, box 5, series 911, RG 3.1, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

<sup>71</sup> David H. Stevens, Inter-Office Correspondence, January 22, 1936, p. 1, folder 50, box 5, series 911, RG 3.1, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

<sup>72</sup> David H. Stevens, Inter-Office Correspondence, January 22, 1936, p. 2, folder 50, box 5, series 911, RG 3.1, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

<sup>73</sup> David H. Stevens, Inter-Office Correspondence, January 22, 1936, p. 2, folder 50, box 5, series 911, RG 3.1, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

<sup>74</sup> David H. Stevens, Inter-Office Correspondence, January 22, 1936, p. 2, folder 50, box 5, series 911, RG 3.1, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

<sup>75</sup> Joan Ogden, "The Rockefeller Foundation and the Film" 1964, p. 18, folder 52, box 5, series 911, RG 3, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

<sup>76</sup> William J. Buxton, "From Radio Research to Communications Intelligence: Rockefeller Philanthropy, Communications Specialists, and the American Policy Community," in *Communication Researchers and Policy-Making*, ed. Sara Braman (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT, 2003), 295-346. For more information on the Communications Program and Research Group and the U.S. policy, see also Brett Gary, *The Nervous Liberals: Propaganda Anxieties for World War I to the Cold War* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999).

Another project carried out by the GEB in collaboration with the MPPDA consisted of excerpting entertainment films to illustrate personal and social relationships to school children.<sup>77</sup> But entertainment films were pedagogically limited, and the results satisfied neither producers nor educators. As reported years later by one of the RF officers, “producers would not spend money to make good films if the films were not going to reach an audience large enough to pay for the operation.”<sup>78</sup> John Marshall recognised that the film industry “did not give opportunities for film experimentation beyond commercial and entertainment motion pictures.”<sup>79</sup> But the Foundation was clear it would not directly finance films, “unless the production had specifically experimental or educational value.”<sup>80</sup> These precepts guided the foundation’s support for film production at educational institutions.

The RF plan allowed a degree of independence for the institutions administering the funded projects. Such was the case for the experimental production unit located at the University of Minnesota, where Robert A. Kissack, from the ACE Committee on Motion Pictures, was already in charge of the Visual Education Unit.<sup>81</sup> This enterprise was granted the exception of producing films because it was placed within a non-profit educational institution and therefore separated from theatrical production and distribution. Such a pioneering attempt to link education, research and film production was followed by other higher education institutions. It established the material and intellectual parameters for future educational and experimental film production at universities. The academic settings gave these productions some grounds for independence, and the intellectual standards of the institutions raised the quality of educational film production and appreciation. Furthermore, it favoured the convergence of these productions with the criteria governing research and teaching in

---

<sup>77</sup> Joan Ogden, “The Rockefeller Foundation and the Film” 1964, p. 18, folder 52, box 5, series 911, RG 3, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC. Led by the Progressive Education Association, this project was granted \$75,000 and lasted from 1936 until 1939. It aimed to distribute excerpted 35 mm films, but it failed due to opposition from the industry, limited projection equipment and chaotic distribution.

<sup>78</sup> Joan Ogden, “The Rockefeller Foundation and the Film,” 1964, p. 18, folder 52, box 5, series 911, RG 3, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

<sup>79</sup> John Marshall, Inter-Office Correspondence, “Next Jobs in Film and Radio” September 13, 1938, p. 1, folder 50, box 5, series 911, RG 3.1, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

<sup>80</sup> John Marshall, Inter-Office Correspondence, “Next Jobs in Film and Radio” September 13, 1938, p. 1, folder 50, box 5, series 911, RG 3.1, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC. For an analysis of the early attempts to introduce experimental approaches in Hollywood see Kristin Thompson, “The Limits of Experimentation in Hollywood,” in *Lovers of Cinema: The First American Film Avant-Garde, 1919-1945*, ed. Jan-Christopher Horak (Madison: Wisconsin University Press, 1995), 67-93.

<sup>81</sup> The project was established in 1937 and received up to \$134,000 until 1941, the date from which it continued operating autonomously, as a result of its success. Joan Ogden, “The Rockefeller Foundation and the Film,” 1964, p. 19, folder 52, box 5, series 911, RG 3, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

academic institutions, such as technology development and social engagement. These advances set the ground for the growth of non-theatrical film culture and film appreciation of the 1960s.

#### 1.4.4 Resources for Audiovisual Education

The GEB also promoted the use of film as an educational resource through various publications.<sup>82</sup> These followed the impulse of Edgar Dale, member of the ACE Motion Pictures Committee since 1934.<sup>83</sup> According to John Nichols, Dale applied a formalist approach to film criticism in order to identify how social stances were communicated through film construction.<sup>84</sup> Nichols states that Dale's influential work refined the view asserted in the Payne Studies that film spectators were passive receivers. Dale stood by the belief that appreciative, informed audiences could demand better quality and socially conscious films, as well as be empowered by making their own amateur film productions. This view also inspired non-theatrical film culture in the post-war years.

Another GEB project surveyed audiovisual equipment available at U.S. schools and identified the problems they faced purchasing film materials such as projectors and films.<sup>85</sup> After the publication of this survey film manufacturers and school representatives gathered to agree to a price decrease for projection equipment. As a result, many schools acquired 16mm film projectors, expanding and upgrading the number of non-theatrical exhibition sites in the late part of the 1930s. This project extended and systematised audiovisual resources, favouring the interests of film manufacturers. Moreover, this project facilitated educational and propaganda film production and exhibition when the war called for the mobilisation of civil resources. Experimental and independent cinema continued to benefit from this practice when they went back to civil purposes after the war.<sup>86</sup> But before the war, this expansion of

---

<sup>82</sup> From the GEB projects resulted publications such as *Catalog of Instructional Film* (1936), *Teaching with Motion Pictures: Handbook of Administrative Practice* (1937), and a bibliography of literature on instructional film, *Motion Pictures in Education* (1938).

<sup>83</sup> Dale had collaborated with the Payne Fund Studies, and published the influential guide *How to Appreciate Motion Pictures: A Manual of Motion Picture Criticism Prepared for High-School Students* (New York: MacMillan, 1933).

<sup>84</sup> John Nichols, "Countering Censorship: Edgar Dale and the Film Appreciation Movement," *Cinema Journal* 46, no.1 (Fall 2006): 3-22.

<sup>85</sup> Saettler, *The Evolution of American Educational Technology*, 234.

<sup>86</sup> Peter Decherney, *Hollywood and the Cultural Elite: How the Movies Became American* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005).

facilities and equipment was accompanied by further steps to professionalise documentary filmmaking which followed the advances of the New Deal films.

## 1.5 Independent Sponsored Documentaries

The RF efforts to press forwards comprehensive non-theatrical film policies proved timely for the war effort. In 1938, RF's officers felt impelled to define clear ideological guidelines for film production. The federal government had difficulties attempting to do this directly because such a policy could raise questions regarding freedom of speech. The RF's Communications Program also had to safeguard an appearance of independence and non-partisanship. To these ends, they followed Grierson's example of creating semi-independent agencies coordinating production with individual filmmakers, as well as focusing on the educational aims of these films.

The solution was expressed in March 1938 by the RF's trustee Ernest M. Hopkins, who responded to a letter from Raymond B. Fosdick, president of the Foundation.<sup>87</sup> Noting the spread of partisan propaganda Hopkins wished "to establish an organisation whose non-partisanship and disinterestedness will be so generally recognized that its imprimatur will be the hallmark of integrity."<sup>88</sup> To achieve this aim, the films also had to be accompanied by appropriate style and technical skills, something for which an engagement with documentary and avant-garde aesthetics was useful. Hopkins noted the persuasiveness of the Russian and Spanish propaganda films he had seen on a recent visit to Europe. He further emphasised the power of cinema's aesthetics when he acknowledged that Benito Mussolini appeared "much more convincing in the darkened auditoriums than he was in the public squares."<sup>89</sup> After reflecting on the terms on which democracies and dictatorships had come to compete, he concluded pessimistically:

unless somebody assumes the responsibility in a big way for occupying this field of the educational movie and developing it, it is going to be occupied by somebody else with motives quite different and with the possibilities of injury greater than I believe is commonly considered.<sup>90</sup>

---

<sup>87</sup> Hopkins to Fosdick, March 18, 1938, p.1, folder 50, box 5, series 911, RG 3.1, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

<sup>88</sup> Hopkins to Fosdick, March 18, 1938, p. 2, folder 50, box 5, series 911, RG 3.1, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

<sup>89</sup> Hopkins to Fosdick, March 18, 1938, p. 2, folder 50, box 5, series 911, RG 3.1, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

<sup>90</sup> Hopkins to Fosdick, March 18, 1938, p. 2, folder 50, box 5, series 911, RG 3.1, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

Making this extreme case, Hopkins justified the RF's aim to mobilise people and film resources in order to establish the U.S. position in international propaganda.

To accomplish this objective, the RF fostered connections with British filmmakers and the non-theatrical film sector. British documentary filmmaker Paul Rotha had attended a U.S. conference on educational film in 1937, supported by a Rockefeller fellowship.<sup>91</sup> At that point, he lamented the lack of systematisation of the U.S. non-theatrical distribution network and advocated the production of sponsored documentaries by establishing a working guild.<sup>92</sup> After that, other of the RF's British fellows such as Grierson and Thomas Baird were appointed to visit various U.S. film facilities in order to develop plans for cooperation between the U.S and Britain, and later Canada, in regards to distribution of documentary films.<sup>93</sup>

The RF responded to these needs with the creation of the Association of School Film Libraries (ASFL). The ASFL project was carried out by ACE, following the survey of audiovisual resources in schools of 1936. Between 1938 and 1941, the RF directed over \$47,000 to this central agency that would work as a hub for non-theatrical distributors and “inform schools about what films were available and would also evaluate them.”<sup>94</sup> The ASFL, therefore, covered some of the tasks initially devised for the educational objectives of the ACE American film institute proposal and the United States Film Service by setting standards and helping to disseminate educational films.

### 1.5.1 The American Film Center

In August 1938 the RF's officers approved Donald Slesinger's proposal to set up the American Film Center (AFC) as a consulting body for non-theatrical film.<sup>95</sup>

---

<sup>91</sup> Rockefeller Foundation, *Directory of Fellowship Awards for the Years 1917-1950*, introduced by Chester I. Barnard (New York: Rockefeller Foundation, 1951).

<sup>92</sup> During his RF fellowship in the U.S. Rotha researched and lectured at MoMA's Film Library and Columbia University. John Marshall, Inter-Office Correspondence, January 19, 1939, p. 1-2, folder 50, box 5, series 911, RG 3.1, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

<sup>93</sup> Copies of Grierson and Baird's reports can be found at Grierson's Archive at University of Stirling, Scotland. Under Grierson's advice, the Canadian government formed the National Film Board in 1939.

<sup>94</sup> Joan Ogden, “The Rockefeller Foundation and the Film,” 1964, p. 19, folder 52, box 5, series 911, RG 3, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC. The Association of School Film Libraries failed to become independent and the Board discontinued its support in 1941.

<sup>95</sup> Donald Slesinger was acquainted with the research of the Communications Group on media and public opinion. He was head of Education at New York's World Fair in 1939, where sponsored and educational documentaries were used extensively. He also acted as a consultant for the New York Board of Health and belonged to the American Documentary Film's board of directors, which was not a

The AFC fulfilled Hopkins' plan "to provide advisory and supervisory service in the production and distribution of educational films to agencies wishing to produce and distribute such films."<sup>96</sup> Slesinger received two initial grants from the HD during 1938. The first grant was for general expenses, and the second "for a study of the present and potential distribution and use of films for better Pan American relations."<sup>97</sup> In 1939, the AFC was running with Slesinger as director and John Devine, who had been a RF fellow at the Film Centre in London, as assistant director.<sup>98</sup> Amongst the AFC's duties were sketching budgets, advising on content, reviewing or writing scripts and editing footage. Mary Losey, AFC staff since August 1938, connected filmmakers and producers. She became one of the founding members of the Association of Documentary Film Producers (ADFP) in 1939 which, following from the debates stirred by Rotha's visit, started as a mechanism to join together filmmakers and commissioners.<sup>99</sup> Losey's task at the AFC was selecting filmmakers from the ADFP's membership and matching them with the appropriate producers. The sponsors were mainly government and federal agencies, who commissioned projects on health and education issues like syphilis, nutrition and citizenship. The AFC fulfilled Rotha's recommendation to establish a working guild in the U.S., and preserved independence by placing a mediating agency between individual filmmakers and commissioners.<sup>100</sup>

---

producing unit but a central planning agency. This agency had been set up by Van Dyke and Steiner when they accepted the sponsorship of the American Institute of Planners to make *The City* (1939).

<sup>96</sup> Joan Ogden, "The Rockefeller Foundation and the Film," 1964, p. 22, folder 52, box 5, series 911, RG 3, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

<sup>97</sup> John Marshall, Inter-Office Correspondence, January 19, 1939, p. 1, folder 50, box 5, series 911, RG 3.1, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC. This attention to Latin America pre-empted the work of Nelson A. Rockefeller at the Office of Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, which I introduce below.

<sup>98</sup> John Marshall, Inter-Office Correspondence, January 19, 1939, p. 2, folder 50, box 5, series 911, RG 3.1, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

<sup>99</sup> Charles Wolfe, "The Poetics of Non-Fiction Film," in *Grand Design: Hollywood as Modern Enterprise, 1930-1939*, ed. Tino Balio (Berkeley: California University Press, 1993), 374. The ADFP board was composed by filmmakers previously associated with the NYFPL, Nykino and Frontier Films. It also included representatives of the government, foundations and private interests.

<sup>100</sup> The relationship between the AFC and the ADFP became tense due to the AFC's accusation that one of the ADFP filmmakers was a communist. They ended their collaboration in 1940. Joan Ogden, "The Rockefeller Foundation and the Film," 1964, p. 23, folder 52, box 5, series 911, RG 3, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

<sup>100</sup> John Marshall, Inter-Office Correspondence, January 19, 1939, p. 1, folder 50, box 5, series 911, RG 3.1, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC. See also William J. Buxton "Rockefeller Support for Projects on the Use of Motion Pictures for Educational and Public Purposes," *Rockefeller Archive Center Research Reports*, 2001.

### 1.5.2 Sponsored Films and the War Effort

Prior to the U.S. entrance in WWII, the AFC worked with Hollywood producers to determine how to align film production with foreign policy. In April 1939, Marshall and Slesinger showed a selection of British documentaries provided by MoMA's Film Library to Hollywood producers. They pointed out the influence of these films on the British film industry and public.<sup>101</sup> The AFC staff foresaw changes in the attitudes of audiences and a decline in box-office profits, so they pondered how the industry could adapt to wartime policies. Given the success of the thriller *Confessions of a Nazi Spy* (Anatole Litvak, 1939), the AFC anticipated that this "will move production into a new cycle and anti-Nazi films will become as general as screwball comedies a year or two back", and possibly "a cycle of patriotic films; or a series on South America."<sup>102</sup>

During this visit some "informal commissions" were delivered to the AFC, pre-empting the collaboration of government and film industry during the war, which I examine below.<sup>103</sup> The AFC seemed competent to consult prior to production, yet the officers wondered "will the American Film Centre lose its independence if [it] accepts compensation from the industry for any service rendered?" The question, posed in terms of finance, was easily resolved: "at least, until confidence is fully established, the Center must give without taking."<sup>104</sup> Such a statement demonstrates that the AFC built its image of independence by conveying itself as unrelated to direct economic or political reward, but effectively instituting the content guidelines for filmmaking.

The approach to production established in the 1930s blurred the lines of independence considerably. Some of the films resulting from the AFC's work appeared as educational when they advertised commercial products, as in the case of the film instigating meat consumption, *Hidden Hunger* (n.d), sponsored by a meat packing company and distributed by a government agency.<sup>105</sup> Charles Wolfe comments on the complex relationship between politics and documentary film in the

---

<sup>101</sup> Marshall, Slesinger, Untitled Document, Hollywood, April, 1939, p. 9-10, folder 50, box 5, series 911, RG 3.1, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

<sup>102</sup> Marshall, Slesinger, Untitled Document, Hollywood, April, 1939, p. 1, folder 50, box 6, series 911, RG 3.1, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

<sup>103</sup> Marshall, Slesinger, Untitled Document, Hollywood, April, 1939, p. 8, folder 50, box 5, series 911, RG 3.1, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

<sup>104</sup> Marshall, Slesinger, Untitled Document, Hollywood, April, 1939, p. 8, folder 50, box 5, series 911, RG 3.1, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

<sup>105</sup> Joan Ogden "The Rockefeller Foundation and the Film," 1964, p. 24, folder 52, box 5, series 911, RG 3, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

<sup>105</sup> John Marshall, Inter-Office Correspondence, January 19, 1939, p. 1, folder 50, box 5, series 911, RG 3.1, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

1930s, observing that “sponsored filmmaking resituated questions of compromise within a gray zone that had emerged between committed documentary film work, on the one hand, and labor for hire, on the other.”<sup>106</sup> As I demonstrate in the next chapters, sponsored film producers underscored the creative integrity and personal vision of the filmmakers, while playing down the requirements of commissioners and contexts of reception.

As the pre-war tension became more pressing, the Hollywood’s film industry collaborated with the government but also set boundaries on their relationship, thereby demonstrating the strength of the film industry’s self-regulation. This is clear in the case of the Office of Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, and the Office of War Information.<sup>107</sup> Both these offices produced newsreels by people linked to avant-garde, documentary and theatrical filmmaking such as Van Dyke, Henwar Rodakiewicz, Alexander Hammid, and Josef Von Stenberg. However, the Office of Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, and the Office of War Information also established the Motion Picture Society for the Americas and the Motion Picture Bureau correspondingly. These agencies implemented government directives after approval by industry members. As with the National Board of Review and the PCA before, the industry defended its self-interest through self-appointed mediating organisations, a practice that continued after the war. By 1945 many of the war propaganda production, distribution and exhibition organisations returned to civilian activities, leaving a place for further non-theatrical filmmaking.

## Summary

In this chapter I show the implications of the U.S. federal government’s and the RF’s film policies in the 1930s, indicating the policies’ potential and limitations

---

<sup>106</sup> Wolfe, “The Poetics of Nonfiction: Documentary Film.”

<sup>107</sup> The Office of Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs was the model for U.S. cultural diplomacy during the post-war years. Officially established in 1940 and led by Nelson Rockefeller, the Office was responsible for treating Latin America as a special area of financial and cultural relationships. Seth Fein, “Myths of Cultural Imperialism and Nationalism in Golden Age Mexican Cinema,” in *Fragments of a Golden Age: The Politics of Culture in Mexico since 1940*, ed. Gilbert Joseph, Anne Rubenstein and Eric Zolov (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001), 159-158. The remains of the United States Film Service eventually became the Office of War Information after the U.S. entrance in the war in 1941. The Office of War Information informed Americans on the progress of the war by means of newsreels and films by Hollywood directors who were involved in the U.S. forces, such as John Ford and Frank Capra. For a comprehensive account, see James Myers, *The Bureau of Motion Pictures and Its Influence on Film Content during the World War II: The Reasons for its Failure* (New York: Edwin Mellen, 1998).



for the development of the non-theatrical film sector in the U.S. The growing consideration of film as an art form and educational medium legitimised the RF's support for non-theatrical cinema in the 1930s. Whilst the first attempts to establish an American film institute failed, the RF's film policies encouraged the growth of non-theatrical film in arts and educational environments under conditions that did not interfere with the theatrical film industry's own interests. Additionally, the federal government's and RF's interest in the communicative power of film aesthetics promoted the professionalization of sponsored documentary filmmaking. These advances contributed the expansion of experimental and independent cinema in later decades.

## Chapter 2

### PERSONAL CINEMA AFTER WORLD WAR II

In this chapter I account for the growth of experimental and independent cinemas in the 1940s and 1950s and argue how this led to their greater visibility in the 1960s. I also show the points of convergence and divergence between experimental, independent, European art, and Hollywood cinemas during this time. In the first part of the chapter, I describe the expansion of experimental and independent cinema in light of the effects of the non-theatrical film policies in the 1930s. I further explain how the relationship between experimental and independent cinemas shifted in the context of changes in the theatrical film industry after WWII. In the second part of the chapter, I explain how filmmakers and critics raised concerns that censorship and problems with distribution were curbing experimental and independent filmmaking. These concerns fronted their demands for change in the American film industry and film education in the early 1960s.

#### 2.1 Early Approaches to American Experimental Cinema

American experimental film production and culture grew significantly in the 1940s and 1950s. This was facilitated by the wider availability of non-professional film technology such as 16mm cameras and projectors. More importantly, this growth was prompted and guided by the non-theatrical production, distribution and exhibition infrastructures that the pre-WWII RF's Communications Program helped to establish. In 1948, filmmaker and critic Lewis Jacobs made one of the first attempts to assess this development from a historical perspective.<sup>1</sup> Jacobs aimed to present experimental film beyond the film society audience and reach out to the readership of *Hollywood Quarterly*. To achieve this he sought to identify originality and uniqueness in American pre-war experimental filmmaking. He praised films such as the city symphony *Manhatta* (Ralph Steiner, 1921) and criticised films showing German

---

<sup>1</sup> Lewis Jacobs, "Experimental Film in America, Part One: 1921-1941," *Hollywood Quarterly* 3, no. 2 (Winter 1947-1948): 111-124; Lewis Jacobs, "Experimental Film in America. Part Two: 1921-1941," *Hollywood Quarterly* 3, no. 3 (Spring 1948): 278-292.

expressionist influences, like the satirical *The Life and Death of 9413– A Hollywood Extra* (Robert Florey and Slavko Vorkapich, 1928). Jacobs portrayed pre-war American experimental film as mostly imitative of European trends, incomplete, unprofessional or unintelligible. Yet, as Jan-Christophe Horak notes, Jacobs downplayed the achievements of his own generation by failing to understand the institutions and practices that distinguished American avant-garde film before WWII.<sup>2</sup>

### 2.1.1 The Post-war Revival

When Jacobs assessed the post-war context, he distinguished three main groups in terms of themes and style. The first were the so-called personal filmmakers, taking their lead from the earlier symbolist and surrealist films screened by film societies. This group included Maya Deren, who made *Meshes in the Afternoon* (1943) with Alexander Hammid. The film evoked both surrealism and the gothic melodrama by following a woman around the house while she drowns in mystery, dreams and longing. Jacobs also lauded Kenneth Anger's film *Fireworks* (1947), which enacted a young man's homoerotic fantasy with sailors, and used editing to match images and symbols referring to male virility. From these and other filmmakers such as Sidney Peterson and James Broughton, Jacobs contended that "in portraying psychological disturbances the filmmakers are striving for an extension of imaginative as well as objective reality that promises a rich, new filmic development."<sup>3</sup> In this comment Jacobs implicitly alluded to Hollywood's constrictions when dealing explicitly with controversial subjects such as female desire, gay eroticism, or madness. Hollywood filmmakers could only treat these subjects if accounted for or redeemed according to the PCA's standards.

The second group was formed by the "non objective school of film design" that grew out of the formal concerns of the pre-war abstract avant-garde films. It included Oskar Fischinger and the Whitney Brothers. These filmmakers used geometrical shapes and pulsating lights, often drawing parallelisms between the temporal arrangement of forms in both music and film. Jacobs referred to these filmmakers' use of medium-specific aesthetics pointing out that for them "the medium is not an instrument but an end itself."<sup>4</sup> For Jacobs, their explorations gave "way to

---

<sup>2</sup> Jan-Christopher Horak, *Lovers of Cinema: The First American Film Avant-Garde, 1919-1945* (Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995).

<sup>3</sup> Jacobs, "Experimental Film in America. Part Two: 1921-1941," 283.

<sup>4</sup> Jacobs, "Experimental Film in America. Part Two: 1921-1941," 283.

deeper aspects of film form.”<sup>5</sup> Thus he hinted at how these films could be used to explore phenomenological perception in a similar way to formalist critics, just as Greenberg explained medium-specific aesthetics in abstract painting.

In the third and last group Jacobs included those filmmakers that “attempt to deal not with subjective experiments but with objective reality (...) but unlike documentary filmmakers they seek to make personal observations and comments on people, nature or the world around them.”<sup>6</sup> This group included the post-war work of Slavko Vorkapich and Jacobs’ own films, which manifested anthropological and educational concerns. Jacobs stated that these “realists” were rather formalist, just like the previous group of non-objective filmmakers, since “they are striving for a convincing reality in which the means are not the end, but the process by which human values are projected.”<sup>7</sup> Thus, Jacobs identified a personal and poetic approach to filmmaking that highlighted the filmmaker’s personal take on representation.

Jacobs’ account identified two components in American experimental filmmaking. The first component engaged with mainstream cinema and art cinema through psychological drama. Nevertheless, its development was restrained by the moral conventions affecting the production and exhibition of theatrical cinema. The second component engaged with areas of intellectual and educational interest. At this point, some filmmakers started to receive support from philanthropies for projects with a greater emphasis on the second component.<sup>8</sup> Maya Deren received a grant from the John Simon Memorial Foundation in 1946 to undertake an ethnographic film project in Haiti. The same year the Whitney Brothers received a grant from the Solomon Guggenheim Foundation, and another the next year from the John Simon Memorial Foundation. This indicates that experimental cinema was already delineated within the areas of attention of philanthropic funding during the post-war years.

Lauren Rabinovitz analyses Maya Deren’s work over the 1940s and 1950s, accounting for her films’ aesthetics, as well as her lecturing, writing and organisation of independent and experimental filmmakers.<sup>9</sup> In Deren’s films, Rabinovitz identifies an ambivalent relationship with mainstream filmmaking. As in Jacobs’ earlier appraisal, Deren’s *Meshes in the Afternoon* was first introduced to contemporary audiences through surrealist and psychoanalytical notions, despite Deren’s explicit

---

<sup>5</sup> Jacobs, “Experimental Film in America. Part Two: 1921-1941,” 286.

<sup>6</sup> Jacobs, “Experimental Film in America. Part Two: 1921-1941,” 246.

<sup>7</sup> Jacobs, “Experimental Film in America. Part Two: 1921-1941,” 246.

<sup>8</sup> Jacobs, “Experimental Film in America. Part Two: 1921-1941,” 291.

<sup>9</sup> Lauren Rabinovitz, *Points of Resistance: Women, Power, Politics in the New York Avant-Garde Cinema, 1943-71* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991).

rejection of a reductionist Freudian approach.<sup>10</sup> Rabinovitz highlights that this film also establishes a direct dialogue with contemporary Hollywood genres and styles in its use of archetypal figures of women's melodrama and the ambiguities of film noir.<sup>11</sup> These aesthetic exchanges stand in contrast with Deren's advocacy of autonomous experimental cinema infrastructures, because Deren placed them closer to the artistic and academic establishment. Deren's position can be better understood along with the contemporary growth of non-theatrical film venues and film culture.

According to Rabinovitz, Deren became a reference for American experimental filmmakers. Her stance was fully articulated towards 1953 when she formulated "the specific concrete actions the group should implement so that it would have support structure for artistic practice."<sup>12</sup> From this followed the formation of the Independent Filmmakers Association with the documentary filmmaker Hilary Harris, experimental filmmaker Stan Brakhage, animator Rudy Burckhardt, Lewis Jacobs, and the illustrator Douglas Crockwell, amongst others. The association also kept in contact with the Film Council of America. The Film Council of America had evolved from the Office of War Information's distribution of 16mm films and had staff in common with the Educational Film Library Association, such as the influential film critic Cecile Starr.<sup>13</sup> The Independent Filmmakers Association's link with organisations directly involved with educational films and supported by film manufacturers and philanthropies firmly placed their area of influence and development within the non-theatrical realm.

---

<sup>10</sup> P. Adams Sitney, *Visionary Film: The American Avant-Garde, 1943-2000*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 11.

<sup>11</sup> Rabinovitz, *Points of Resistance*.

<sup>12</sup> Rabinovitz, *Points of Resistance*, 81.

<sup>13</sup> James Kreul, "New York, New Cinema: The Independent Film Community and the Underground Crossover, 1950-1970," (PhD diss., University of Wisconsin, 2004), 26. The Film Council of America was supported by non-theatrical film traders, such as Encyclopaedia Britannica Films and the National Audio Visual Association, private philanthropies, such as Carnegie Corporation, which supplied a two-year grant in 1948, and the Ford Foundation's Fund for Adult Education. The Council was linked to educational associations such as the National Educational Association, and the Educational Film Libraries Association. The Educational Film Libraries Association formed under the auspices of the RF's American Film Center (AFC) in 1943 as a resource for public film libraries offering information services on available films. The Educational Film Library Association organised the American Film Festival, which awarded the Blue Ribbon to outstanding non-theatrical films, many of them experimental.

### 2.1.2 European Art Cinema after the War

Discussions on experimental cinema's relation with Hollywood were also affected by the return of debates on representation and aesthetics in the 1950s.<sup>14</sup> These debates also concerned art cinema, as it came into form after the international success of neorealist films. Films such as *Rome Open City* (Roberto Rosellini, 1945) used realist conventions such as location shooting and de-dramatisation to deal critically with Italy's social and political conditions after its liberation by the Allies. In America these films found critical appraisal and popularity amongst audiences. This success was followed by other European films, signaling a revival of European art film after the war. Such films included *Summer with Monika* (Ingmar Bergman, 1953), which portrayed adolescence's loss of innocence and pre-marital sex, and *La Strada* (Federico Fellini, 1954), on a relationship between two itinerant artists marked by abuse and marginality. Some authors such as David Bordwell characterise these and other European films released over the next decade in terms of how their formal features stood out against Hollywood's studio films.<sup>15</sup> Apart from often having exteriors shot on real locations, the European films were plagued with psychological ambiguity, loose narrative structures, and more open treatments of sex and violence. These characteristics earned them the value of being closer to life or more realistic. In addition, critics interpreted their themes and styles in terms of the director's recurrent concerns and their national backgrounds. These films thus came across as results from distinctively personal visions, in line with the high status of other traditional art forms and in contrast with how most Hollywood large-scale productions were perceived so far.

In general terms, the prevalence of self-reflexive ambiguity and existential concerns in post-war modernism can account for these films' treatments, which appealed to urban, and increasingly educated, audiences. Still, this rendition risks reducing individual differences amongst individual films and filmmakers. To complicate things, there are more aspects to consider when examining European art films in the 1950s and 1960s. Steve Neale points out that the formal characteristics identified by Bordwell, and these films' cultural status, need to be understood within the production and exhibition conditions defining the international film industry

---

<sup>14</sup> See for instance Amos Vogel's notes on realism in commercial cinema as opposed to the different forms of representation found in experimental film in the discussion reported by Gideon Bachmann "On the Nature and Function of the Experimental (Poetic) Film," *Film Culture*, no. 14 (1957): 12-15.

<sup>15</sup> David Bordwell, "The Art Cinema as a Mode of Film Practice," in *The European Film Reader*, ed. Catherine Fowler (London: Routledge, 2002), 94-102.

during the 1950s.<sup>16</sup> As I detail next, these circumstances led to: (1) the increased number of selected European films on American screens, (2) a push for innovative filmmaking and film culture that engaged with younger and specialised audiences, and (3) a relaxation of censorship. These circumstances also provide a context to understand the points of convergence and divergence between art cinema and American experimental and independent films, which I explain after.

## 2.2 Films and Post-war Foreign Policy

In the post-war years Western Europe and the U.S. were politically aligned and Europe's economic recovery depended greatly on the U.S. In this context, cinema played a multifaceted and interchangeable role as an economic commodity, a form of political propaganda, and a means for education and entertainment.<sup>17</sup> By 1947 the U.S. reacted to the European post-war crisis by developing the Marshall Plan.<sup>18</sup> David Ellwood notes that the Plan aimed to build a common European framework based on free trade and liberalism.<sup>19</sup> This strategy intended to promote and control Europe's strength as a competitor within an international trade system. This aim concerned film policy too, as I show in a later section. Regarding propaganda, the Marshall Plan had its own film apparatus, built on by previous Office of War Information staff and their experience. Propaganda producer Albert Hemsing noted that the exhibition of Marshall Plan films followed the screening-debate format advocated by Grierson.<sup>20</sup> This was an application of the paradigm explored by the Communications Research group lead by Paul Lazarsfeld initially advanced by the RF. The presence of a figure of authority during the screenings had a regulatory function that directed the

---

<sup>16</sup> Steve Neale, "Art Cinema as Institution," in *The European Film Reader*, ed. Catherine Fowler (London: Routledge, 2002), 103-120.

<sup>17</sup> Ian Jarvie, "The Post-war Economic Foreign Policy," in *Hollywood in Europe: Experiences of a Cultural Hegemony*, ed. David Ellwood and Rob Kroes (Amsterdam: VU University Press, 1994). Detailed case examinations, such as the role of the OWI films in the early days after Germany's liberation, can be found in David Culbert, "American Film Policy in the Re-Education of Germany after 1945," in *The Political Re-Education of Germany and Her Allies*, ed. Nicholas Pronay and Keith Wilson (London: Croom Helm, 1985), 173-202.

<sup>18</sup> David W. Ellwood, *Rebuilding Europe. Western Europe, America and Post-war Reconstruction* (London: Longman, 1992). The Marshall Plan was a long term programme that administered \$12.5 billion in grants and loans to Western Europe, having 18 regions falling into its different degrees of priority. These arrangements established an economic hegemony that, as the Cold War increased in tension, evolved to include mutual military assistance between the countries signing into the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation.

<sup>19</sup> Ellwood, *Rebuilding Europe*, 161.

<sup>20</sup> Albert Hemsing, "The Marshall Plan European Film Unit, 1948-1955," *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television* 14, no. 3 (1994): 274.

interpretation of these films, applying the principles of interpersonal influence that were examined at that time in academic studies of persuasion.<sup>21</sup> Additionally, Hemsing extolled the creative independence of filmmakers during production, noting that government officials only made suggestions at the final cutting stage. Yet, he admitted there was significant reference to American aid, as well as a certain subtlety and slow pace, film aesthetics that were considered more persuasive for European audiences.<sup>22</sup>

This expertise passed onto the United State Information Agency (USIA), established by President Eisenhower in 1953 as a large-scale peacetime information service.<sup>23</sup> It is worth introducing the USIA now to (1) link it with the 1930s policies' engagement with non-theatrical film, and (2) understand better the relationship between foreign policy and the U.S. film industry. As in other diplomatic missions of the U.S. during that time, USIA propaganda extolled the values of freedom, objectivity and universality.<sup>24</sup> The intent to spread these values was presented as a technologically advanced approach to meet universal goals, which helped to orient people's hearts to the liberal cause. The USIA Motion Picture Service benefitted from the structures and approach of the non-theatrical film policies of the 1930s. It circulated educational and scientific films, mostly produced in academic institutions, and documentaries and newsreels commissioned to independent producers by the USIA and other government agencies.<sup>25</sup>

In chapter five I explain in more detail the USIA independent mode of film production, and its engagement with experimental aesthetics to transmit the message of freedom and progress during the 1960s. The USIA, however, did not send theatrical

---

<sup>21</sup> Charles R. Acland, "Screen Technology, Mobilization and Adult Education in the 1950s," in *Patronizing the Public: American Philanthropy's Transformation of Culture, Communication, and the Humanities*, ed. William J. Buxton (Lanham: Lexington, 2009), 261-280.

<sup>22</sup> Hemsing, "The Marshall Plan European Film Unit, 1948-1955," 273. Propaganda films produced for other countries were banned to be shown in the U.S. according to the 1948 U.S. Informational and Educational Exchange Act, also known as the Smith-Mundt Act, although there were exceptions to this.

<sup>23</sup> Nicholas J. Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency: American Propaganda and Public Diplomacy, 1945-1989* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2008). A general introduction to the USIA films can be found in Richard Dyer MacCann, *The People's Film: A Political History of U.S. Government Motion Pictures* (New York: Hastings House, 1973). For an analysis of the USIA portrayal of specific issues such as race relations, see Melinda M. Schwenk-Borrell, "Selling Democracy: The United States Information Agency's Portrayal of American Race Relations 1953-1976" (PhD diss.: University of Pennsylvania, 2004).

<sup>24</sup> President Eisenhower, "White House Press Release, October 28, 1953" in John W. Henderson, *The United States Information Agency* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger Publishers, 1969), 65.

<sup>25</sup> It distributed these films to overseas television networks and sometimes secured theatrical releases through American commercial distributors. These films were also shown at United States Information Services posts, embassies and cultural institutes.



films on cultural diplomacy missions until the late 1960s. One reason for this was the difficulty in securing a satisfactory deal with theatrical film companies.<sup>26</sup> But also importantly, as I demonstrate next, it could duplicate the role assigned to the theatrical film industry within the overall international policy. Such conditions fostered the development of American experimental and independent cinema during these years.

### 2.2.1 The International Film Industry

The strategies devised by the U.S. government and trade organisations for the European economic recovery affected both the international film industry and the internal organisation of the U.S. film industry. Since WWI, the U.S. film trade grew relying on its international appeal. This became more pronounced after WWII, when U.S. film companies sought to increase revenues from foreign markets.<sup>27</sup> Under the leadership of Eric Johnston, in 1945 the Motion Picture Association of America (MPAA, formerly the MPPDA), created the Motion Picture Exporters Association for its international operations. The Motion Picture Exporters Association lobbied for the elimination of trade barriers and secured markets for American films, resulting in what Ian Jarvie describes as “a legally permitted export cartel.”<sup>28</sup> With these prospects in view, the MPAA set up a 40% quota of foreign revenue that would sustain the high-production values upon which Hollywood had erected its success.<sup>29</sup> Nevertheless, the industry exercised self-control and built up trust, so it would not interfere with the recovery of European economies, and the U.S. would not be perceived as a threat to their national identities.

Each country established measures to protect its local film industry. These were quotas, tariffs on imported films, and blocks on the amount of profits that U.S. film companies could make in each country. But the Motion Picture Exporters Association found ways around these limitations. U.S. companies could invest profits back into local productions and distribution, which in turn helped to develop local film

---

<sup>26</sup> Richard Arndt, *The First Resort of the Kings: American Cultural Diplomacy in the Twentieth Century* (Virginia, Potomac, 2005). Although there were some attempts at collaboration between the USIA and MoMA Film Library, difficulties appeared after copies of films lent by MoMA to a European film archive were found in the black market. This incident hindered for a number of years the deals for overseas non-theatrical exhibition between MoMA and commercial film companies. Furthermore, museums and embassies only had 16 mm projection technology, so 35mm films had to be transferred at USIA’s expense.

<sup>27</sup> Thomas H. Guback, *The International Film Industry: Western Europe and America Since 1945* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1969).

<sup>28</sup> Ian Jarvie, “The Post-war Economic Foreign Policy,” in *Hollywood in Europe: Experiences of a Cultural Hegemony*, ed. David Ellwood and Rob Kroes (Amsterdam: VU University Press, 1994), 164.

<sup>29</sup> Guback, *The International Film Industry*, 10.

industries. These conditions also gave birth to “runaway productions”. These were film productions that bypassed the legal conditions of protectionist policies, at the same time that they took advantage of cheaper labour, foreign locations, and stars that appealed to both American and local markets. As Thomas Guback notes, “before the end of the 1950s, producers’ self-interest demanded that foreign films be imported so that their investment in *them* could be amortized.”<sup>30</sup> With such arrangements the U.S. theatrical film industry allowed the development of international film industries and the entrance of selected foreign films into America. In this way, the latter functioned as controlled competitor to the American film industry.

Additionally, Reinhold Wagnleitner argues that, given the interlocking aims of European economic recovery and political adherence between the U.S and Western Europe, the film industry abided by the U.S. government’s aim to create a positive image of America, and avoided what might be perceived as offensive internationally.<sup>31</sup> On the one hand, Wagnleitner notes that films like *Casablanca* (1942) and *Key Largo* (1948) were considered unsuitable for Austrian and German audiences, so they limited their distribution there. On the other hand, these audiences saw American films such as *Red Snow* (1952), which presented communists and their collaborators in a negative fashion.<sup>32</sup> The government rewarded this ideological alignment by compiling information on the characteristics of foreign markets through diplomatic stations. The information, in turn, helped the film industry to tailor their marketing.

To advance policies and trade agreements, Jarvie observes, the U.S. government and the MPAA adopted a flexible rhetorical approach where they emphasised their different implications strategically.<sup>33</sup> When they found political opposition to the policies, they highlighted the economic consequences of films over the cultural and political aspects. Other times, when there were economic concerns regarding the MPAA market oligopoly they stressed the cultural or political side more than the economic gains. The ambivalence of films as both economic and cultural commodity was a key player in the pre-war RF’s Communications policy and continued to be in the film policies in the 1960s, as I explain in chapter three. Nevertheless, the relationship of Hollywood films and filmmakers with official

---

<sup>30</sup> Guback, *The International Film Industry*, 72, emphasis in the original.

<sup>31</sup> Reinhold Wagnleitner, “American Cultural Diplomacy: The Cinema and the Cold War in Central Europe,” in *Hollywood in Europe: Experiences of a Cultural Hegemony*, ed. David E. Ellwood and Rob Kroes (Amsterdam: VU University Press, 1994), 198-210.

<sup>32</sup> Tony Shaw, *Hollywood’s Cold War* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007).

<sup>33</sup> Jarvie, “The Post-war Economic Foreign Policy.”

government policy was not straightforward and contained many nuances worth noting here.

The Western *High Noon* (Fred Zinnemann, 1952), telling the story of a man standing alone against three outlaws, highlighted the commitment of a man to his values in the face of danger and solitude. The film was critically acclaimed, yet some people also read it as a political parable criticising the cowardice of people in the industry surrendering to the anti-communist pressure of Hollywood's with-hunt.<sup>34</sup> At that time, Zinnemann noted that his intention was to make a film on a man's conflict of consciousness, a theme that could be read through the value of American individualism. More recently he admitted that even if he was glad people then interpreted the film as a political allegory, he could not publicly acknowledge it.<sup>35</sup> This demonstrates that films produced under the ideological directives governing the Hollywood film industry could still offer a subversive view of these directives and be meaningful to audiences. The different audience interpretations of *High Noon* also draw attention to social and moral changes during this time. These changes also affected the popularity of experimental, independent and European art films in this period, further interconnecting theatrical and non-theatrical film culture.

### 2.2.2 Changes in Demographics, Industry Practices and Censorship

A decline in theatrical film attendance started in 1946 and reached a lowest point in the mid-1960s. One important reason for this drop was the change in entertainment habits brought by the birth rate, economic affluence and suburban sprawl during the post-war years. Television also entered at this point, competing with cinema as an audiovisual entertainment.<sup>36</sup> While there were other entertainment options outside homes, Lary May argues that television suited the ideology of

---

<sup>34</sup> Larry Ceplair, "The Film Industry's Battle against Left-Wing Influences, from the Russian Revolution to the Black List" *Film History* 20, no. 4 (2008): 399-411. Hollywood's witch-hunt was a series of ongoing accusations to members of the film industry of belonging to the communist party and subversive activities. It was an attempt to deradicalise Hollywood's guilds and trade unions and illustrate the negative consequences of having communist or socialist affiliations in the reigning climate of Cold War paranoia. These campaigns started before WWII in the first "red scares" and investigations of the WPA. Gradually, radicalism was associated with anti-patriotism.

<sup>35</sup> Gabriel Miller, ed., *Fred Zinnemann's Interviews* (Mississippi: Mississippi University Press, 1999).

<sup>36</sup> Fredric Stuart, "The Effect of Television on the Motion Picture Industry: 1948-1960," in *The American Movie Industry*, ed. Gorham Kindem (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University, 1982), 257-307.

domesticity, family life and consumerism of the 1950s.<sup>37</sup> Eventually, motion picture companies adapted to television by establishing a collaborative relationship with it, making deals such as sales of old movies and rentals of studios. Furthermore, they developed strategies to reach out to suburban theatrical audiences such as building drive-in theatres. Film companies kept up with the decrease in audiences by producing fewer films but investing in high-production values, such as technology and star casts. This strategy made their product stand out against television and smaller foreign competitors by offering the experience of going-out and spectacle. However, this approach eventually brought investment to crisis in the mid-1960s, when films failed to recoup production costs and to engage with diverse audiences.<sup>38</sup>

As well as the changes in demographics and production trends, the internal organisation of the U.S. film industry was affected by the European recovery after WWII. These conditions contributed to transform the vertically-integrated studio system consolidated after WWI. In 1948 the U.S. Supreme Court concluded a long-run anti-trust case against the Hollywood companies, in what is known as the *Paramount Decision*.<sup>39</sup> This ruling led to the breakdown of the film industry's vertical integration by obliging the major companies to disinvest themselves of theatre ownership and stop block-booking practices. Over this period some Hollywood directors and actors gained independence from their exclusive contracts with production companies. This was achieved through the successful mediation of individual producers such as David O. Selznick and agents that were able to negotiate the terms of contracts, often on a project-basis, as was the case of Alfred Hitchcock.

From the *Decision* there followed a period of instability in Hollywood where independent, foreign, and to a lesser extent experimental films, garnered attention. Nevertheless, the major companies maintained their oligopolistic control of the industry through the MPAA's stronghold over distribution. Distribution curbed the growth of independent producers, at the same time that it commanded the movement of films in international markets. The demographic changes and breakdown of the studio system also had an effect on censorship standards, setting up the conditions that lead the MPAA to update its permissiveness in the late 1960s.

---

<sup>37</sup> Lary May, *The Big Tomorrow: Hollywood and the Politics of the American Way* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2000); Lary May, introduction to *Recasting America: Culture and Politics in the Age of Cold War* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1989).

<sup>38</sup> Richard Maltby, *Hollywood Cinema* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), 160.

<sup>39</sup> The U.S. government had started a campaign against the Hollywood's trust in the 1920s, but this action was continuously delayed due to exceptional circumstances, such as boosting the population's morale during Depression, and later for their production of propaganda during the war.

During the 1950s, the PCA relaxed the enforcement of the 1934 Production Code for various reasons. Generally, audience demographics had changed and the Production Code was out of step with the tastes and values of the post-war years. Moreover, because of international agreements, the MPAA was not that interested in being too strict with some foreign films. The MPAA wanted to secure the benefits of importing them to offset the costs of their runaway productions. This concurred with the increased weakening of local censorship boards and other forms of informal pressure that curbed the screening of independents and foreign films. The situation reached breaking point in 1952 when the New York State Board of Censors' accused *The Miracle* (Roberto Rossellini, 1948) of blasphemy, and the U.S. Supreme Court sided with the film exhibitors. Richard Randall states that the Court's decision overturned the 1915 *Mutual Ruling* by defending freedom of speech in films.<sup>40</sup> From then onwards, only obscenity was considered reportable. This judicial decision had economic implications for the film trade, especially for exhibitors, but it also affected the morals accepted in U.S. productions.

The *Decision* fostered the growth of independent exhibitors, mainly in metropolitan areas. These were the art cinemas which, Barbara Willinsky argues, promoted the film education and values of middle class urban audiences.<sup>41</sup> Independent theatres screened European art films rented cheaply under the Motion Pictures Exporters Association's agreements, such as *Mr. Hulot's Holidays* (Jacques Tati, 1954) and *The Seventh Seal* (Ingmar Bergman, 1957). Independent cinemas, however, also catered for younger tastes. They screened B-Movies independently produced that exploited sexual and violent content within the margins widened by the lessening of censorship. These B-Movies were more famously represented by Roger Corman's productions for American International Pictures. These films were made on very limited budgets, relying on generic formulas such as horror, science-fiction and crime.<sup>42</sup> Hoberman and Rosenbaum explain that these productions targeted American post-war youth culture before the demise of the Production Code; an audience fascinated with horror comics and rock 'n roll music.<sup>43</sup> These films' reputation was

---

<sup>40</sup> Richard R. Randall, "Censorship: From *The Miracle* to *Deep Throat*," in *The American Film Industry*, ed. Tino Balio (Madison: Wisconsin University Press, 1985), 432-457.

<sup>41</sup> Barbara Wilinsky, *Sure Seaters: The Emergence of Art House Cinema* (Minneapolis: Minnesota University Press, 2001).

<sup>42</sup> See Roger Corman with Jim Jerome, *How I Made a Hundred Movies in Hollywood and Never Lost a Dime* (London: Muller, 1990); Alan Frank, *The Films of Roger Corman: "Shooting My Way Out of Trouble"* (London: BT Batsford, 1998).

<sup>43</sup> Jim Hoberman and Jonathan Rosenbaum, *Midnight Movies* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1991).

reflected in the nickname of “Exploitation” or “Z” movies because, as Hoberman and Rosenbaum put it, they were “deliberately courting the ridiculous or tawdry.”<sup>44</sup>

Independent theatres screened these films along with imported films, which often depicted a more relaxed view about sexuality than contemporary Hollywood productions. This generated good publicity, as proved by the success of Brigitte Bardot’s vehicle *And God Created Woman* (Roger Vadim, 1956).<sup>45</sup> Meanwhile, some independent Hollywood producers, influenced by European filmmakers’ attitudes to adult audiences, purposely challenged the authority of the PCA. Notably, the film *The Man with the Golden Arm* (Otto Preminger, 1955) told the story of an unredeemable heroin addict. The film was released without the PCA seal of approval. By the early 1960s, the obsolescence of the Code standards for both foreign and domestically-produced film was evident. Nevertheless, the relaxation of censorship boards and independent exhibition did not affect European films and B-Movies in the same way it did to other American experimental and independent films. The defence of these later films gradually became an important campaign for two emerging film magazines, *Film Culture* and *Film Quarterly*, which I introduce next.

### 2.3 Rising Film Culture in the 1950s

The increased presence of foreign and independent films on U.S. screens was accompanied by critical writings dealing with these new and different cinemas. Many of these writings were inspired by French film magazines such as *Cahiers du Cinema*. Yet, when the ideas of the French critics passed onto American film criticism, a different social and industrial framework prevailed. Jim Hillier observes that *Cahiers’* variety of theoretical positions and contradictions need to be considered within two contexts: (1) the return of modernist debates on the nature of representation and the political role of art, and (2) larger discussions on the state of the French film industry.<sup>46</sup> The first context surfaces in the writings of André Bazin. Bazin attempted to come to terms with the aesthetics and purposes of neorealist films such as *Rome Open City*. Inspired by Delluc’s notion of *photogénie*, Bazin thought that these

---

<sup>44</sup> Hoberman and Rosenbaum., *Midnight Movies*, 116.

<sup>45</sup> John E. Twomey, “Some Considerations on the Rise of the Art-Film Theater,” *The Quarterly of Film Radio and Television* 10, no.3 (Spring, 1956): 239-247. See also Amos Vogel, *Film as Subversive Art* (New York: Distributed Art Publishers, 2005).

<sup>46</sup> Jim Hillier, introduction to *The 1950s: Neo-realism, Hollywood, New Wave*, vol.1 of *Cahiers du Cinéma: The 1950s* (London: Routledge, 1985): 1-17.

aesthetics afforded a more intuitive, phenomenological understanding of reality.<sup>47</sup>

Bazin asserted that the capacity of the film's emulsion to react to light and capture duration of time allowed the medium "an element of credibility absent from all other picture making techniques."<sup>48</sup> His idea of using film technology to engage with reality permeated international discussions that sought to promote more socially committed forms of filmmaking and film appreciation in the early 1960s.

Bazin's arguments on personal choice were part of the *Cahiers du Cinema* debates on the creative source on film which open the way for *auteurism* as a critical perspective on film. Importantly, these debates also attempted to address the state of French film industry in the 1950s.<sup>49</sup> Opposed to the dominant French "tradition of quality", Truffaut defended an eclectic mix of directors that wrote their own scripts, such as Alfred Hitchcock, and those who engaged with contemporary issues, such as emerging French filmmakers like Robert Bresson.<sup>50</sup> To advance this argument, Truffaut appealed to the notion of the filmic author or *auteur* sketched by Alexander Astruc, which emphasised the command and personal imprint of the film director over the film project.<sup>51</sup> With their arguments on the individual approaches of Hollywood directors such as Alfred Hitchcock and Howard Hawks, and rising French filmmakers, the *Cahiers* critics set an approach to study film that drew from literary and art history, identifying movements, periods and representative figures. But more importantly, they used these arguments to demand that the French state supported riskier approaches to cinema instead of only safer commercially-driven productions. In 1953 this pressure resulted in the creation of a *soft-culture* fund oriented towards young and emerging filmmakers and audiences. Angus Finney observes that the funds granted through this system of support were not expected to return direct profit.<sup>52</sup> Still, these funds were an effective system for (1) discovering and orienting writing and directing talent for the theatrical market, and (2) compensating inadequacies and difficulties created by the

---

<sup>47</sup> See introduction, page 9-11, for a brief explanation of Delluc's notion of *photogénie* and phenomenology.

<sup>48</sup> André Bazin, "The Ontology of the Photographic Image," *Film Quarterly* 13, no. 4 (Summer, 1960): 7.

<sup>49</sup> Frederic Gimello-Mesplomb, "The Economy of 1950s Popular French Cinema," *Studies in French Cinema Journal* 6, no. 2, 2006 <http://fgimello.free.fr/publications/1950-US.htm>, accessed 10/11/2010. See also Michel Marie, *The French New Wave: An Artistic School* (New York: Blackwell Publishing, 2003).

<sup>50</sup> James Nanemore, "Authorship and the Cultural Politics of Film Criticism," *Film Quarterly* 44, no. 1 (Autumn 1990): 14-23.

<sup>51</sup> Alexander Astruc, "The Birth of the New Avant-Garde: La Camera-Stylo," in *The New Wave*, ed. Peter Graham (New York: Double Day, 1968), 17-23.

<sup>52</sup> Angus Finney, "Support Mechanism across Europe," in *The European Cinema Reader*, ed. Catherine Fowler (London: Routledge, 2002), 212-222.

competitiveness of the theatrical market. In France the soft-grant system allowed fresher approaches to emerge, and thus it nurtured the success of the 1960s French New Wave, where some of the *Cahiers* critics such as François Truffaut and Jean-Luc Godard became prominent filmmakers.

### 2.3.1 American Film Criticism

European art films and French film criticism influenced American experimental and independent film culture more significantly from the second half of the 1950s. This influence disseminated through specialised magazines such as *Film Culture* and *Film Quarterly*. *Film Culture*, founded in 1955, had an eclectic editorial board. Despite initially being oriented towards European films, one of its members, Andrew Sarris translated some of the French writings and provided *auteurist*-inspired reviews of American cinema.<sup>53</sup> At first, *Film Culture* writer Jonas Mekas did not endorse American experimental film, seeing in it “the conspiracy of homosexuality.”<sup>54</sup> For Mekas this content appeared in the work of filmmakers such as Kenneth Anger and Gregory Markopoulos, who attended to ritual and myth as sources of power, and included homoerotic content. Nevertheless, Mekas gradually changed his view and used his writings at *Film Culture* and at the *Village Voice* to praise the work of a number of experimental and independent filmmakers that later constituted the New American Cinema.<sup>55</sup>

*Film Quarterly* was also crucial in advancing a theoretically-informed view of film mixing European and American influences. As explained by its long-time editor Ernest Callenbach, originally the publication did not have a defined editorial line but aimed to be an arena to debate several social and theoretical issues.<sup>56</sup> The magazine was established in 1958 in association with the University of California in Los Angeles (UCLA) film department. It counted with many contributors who, amongst other things, revisited film classics, reviewed the works of new French directors and brought for the first time the writings of Bazin to English-speaking readers. Colin Young, who also edited *Film Quarterly* and taught film at UCLA, praised the forms of

---

<sup>53</sup> P. Adams Sitney, Preface to *Film Culture: An Anthology*, ed. P. Adams Sitney (London: Secker and Warburg, 1971), vii-x.

<sup>54</sup> Jonas Mekas, “The Experimental Film in America,” in *Film Culture: An Anthology*, ed. P. Adams Sitney (London: Secker and Warburg, 1971), 23. The article was published in May-June 1955.

<sup>55</sup> *Village Voice*, where Mekas also wrote, was another platform for *auteurist* reviews by critics and soon-to-be filmmakers such as Paul Schraeder and Peter Bogdanovich, see chapter 5.5.1 for more on these critics and filmmakers.

<sup>56</sup> Ernest Callenbach, “Da Capo,” *Film Quarterly* 62, no. 1 (Autumn 2008).



personal expression found in European art cinema at the same time that he valued the skilful storytelling of American films.<sup>57</sup> These publications gradually engaged with American independent and experimental cinema as they became more prominent in the late 1950s and early 1960s.

### 2.3.2 Expanding Experimental Cinema

James Kreul explains the strength of the late 1950s experimental and independent cinema, particularly in New York, through a crossover between aesthetics, modes of production and exhibition practices. Early in 1955 Deren had spearheaded the Creative Film Foundation that included, at least nominally, relevant New York arts community figures such as Clement Greenberg, art historian Meyer Schapiro and gestalt psychologist Rudolf Arnheim. The Foundation maintained close links with the American Federation of Film Libraries, which had expanded from Film Council of America to support film libraries and film societies. It also awarded fellowships to filmmakers such as Stan Brakhage, Stan Vanderbeek, Robert Breer, Shirley Clarke and Carmen D'Avino.

These filmmakers, often referred to as “personal”, “creative” or “poetic” were significantly heterogeneous. The artistic emphasis of these terms belies the aim to take these filmmakers out of a partial obscurity, differentiate them from mainstream filmmakers, and raise their status to the less censored and better regarded realm of artistic expression. Brakhage became prominent during this time in film societies and universities’ film clubs. Making many of his films with limited budgets and using his immediate surroundings, Brakhage’s films and writings explored the idea of consciousness and unmediated perception.<sup>58</sup> His camera-work often adopted a subjectivist perspective that aimed to reproduce different forms of perception such as closed-eye vision and daydreaming. Brakhage also scratched, painted and attached items to the surface of his films. These techniques created images that, even if referencing domesticity, wilderness and life cycles, verged on the abstract and contrasted with narrative filmmaking.<sup>59</sup> Brakhage’s films resembled the paintings of Jackson Pollock and other abstract expressionist painters, notably, in films such as

---

<sup>57</sup> Duncan Petrie, “British Film Education and the Career of Colin Young,” *Journal of British Cinema and Television* 7, no. 2 (May 2004): 78-92.

<sup>58</sup> Stan Brakhage, “From Metaphors on Vision,” in *The Avant-Garde Film Reader*, ed. P. Adams Sitney (New York: Anthology Film Archives, 1987), 120.

<sup>59</sup> Bruce Elder, *The Films of Stan Brakhage in the American Tradition of Ezra Pound, Gertrude Stein and Charles Olson* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1998). See also Sitney, *Visionary Film*.

*Anticipation of the Night* (1958) and the epic *Dog Star Man* (1961-4).<sup>60</sup> He was prolific at writing and lecturing at colleges and universities, advocating a view of experimental filmmaking that, following Deren's position, was not integrated with theatrical filmmaking.<sup>61</sup>

Other filmmakers dealing with abstract imagery also gained recognition during these years, but their projects required different production and exhibition infrastructures. For instance, Jordan Belson's work linked abstract imagery and music. The project *Vortex* (1959), a collaboration with electronic musician Henry Jacobs, was screened at large spherical venues, such as the American pavilion at the 1958 Brussels World Fair and San Francisco's Planetarium.<sup>62</sup> This kind of work, which in the 1960s became more generally known as *expanded cinema*, required a very specific support structure because it involved precise technology, settings and institutional collaborations.<sup>63</sup>

Other experimental filmmakers crossed-over between the arts world and theatrical film exhibition at this point. Some artists produced films engaging with the neo-dada and pop art movements emerging in the 1950s. They used images and compositions typical of consumer culture for playful and satirical purposes. Breer's animation *Eyewash* (1959) mixed abstraction's interest in geometric forms and visual suggestiveness with dada's ironic take on the art object. Breer was close to the artistic and literary world, yet his short, simple and amiable animated film *A Man and his Dog Put for Air* (1959), was shown along with the art film *Last Year at Marienbad* (Alan Resnais, 1961) in its New York theatrical release.<sup>64</sup> The commercial cross-over of Breer's film contrasts with the censorship barriers faced by other films by pop artists such as *A Movie* (Bruce Conner, 1957). *A Movie* is compilation of found-footage that satirises cinema's structuring of sex and death drives through editing and iconic images, a message that qualified its non-theatrical exhibition. Stan Vanderbeek's collage films of this period, occupied a similar position. These films used cut-out images of popular culture and authority figures to mock the media's objectification of

---

<sup>60</sup> Scott MacDonald, "The Filmmaker as Visionary: Excerpts from an Interview with Stan Brakhage," *Film Quarterly* 56, no. 3 (Spring 2003): 2-11.

<sup>61</sup> Stan Brakhage, "Make Place for the Artist," in *Essential Brakhage: Selected Writings on Filmmaking*, ed. Bruce R. McPherson (Kingston, NY: MacPherson and Company, 2001), 74-76.

<sup>62</sup> Harriet R. Polt, "Outside the Frame: *Vortex*," *Film Quarterly* 14, no.3 (Spring 1961): 35-37. At the Brussels' Fair Brakhage's and Kenneth Anger's films also received special mention.

<sup>63</sup> For an examination of these institutional frameworks and contemporary audiovisual practices, see Haidee Wasson, "The Networked Screen: Moving Images, Materiality, and the Aesthetics of Size," in *Fluid Screens, Expanded Cinema*, ed. Janine Marchessault and Susan Lord (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), 74-95.

<sup>64</sup> Jonathan Rosenbaum, *Film: The Front Line* (Denver: Arden Press, 1983).

bodies in *A la Mode* (1957), and the absurdity of the space race in *Science Fiction* (1959).

### 2.3.3 The Needs of Independent Filmmakers

Meanwhile, despite the breakdown of the main theatrical film companies' vertical integration and the relaxation of the Production Code enforcement, many independent features struggled to find theatrical distribution and to overcome censorship issues, as was the case for *Pull My Daisy* (Robert Frank, 1959). The film was cheaply made and its seemingly improvised style and themes were fresh and appealing to niche audiences interested in the Beat poets that contributed to it. Distributing companies did not buy the film, therefore filmmaker Emile de Antonio set up a company to distribute the film *ad hoc*.<sup>65</sup> Distribution obstacles also affected the work of independent filmmaker Morris Engel, although his work did not have problems with censorship. Engel espoused neorealist aesthetics by shooting on location and attending to everyday details of a boy's life in *Little Fugitive* (1953).<sup>66</sup> Despite critical acclaim, Engel struggled to find a secure base for production because of the limited distribution of his films.

Another prominent case was John Cassavetes, whose work also achieved success during this time for its naturalism and uncompromised form of filmmaking. Cassavetes' earnings as an actor in Hollywood productions helped him to fund personal projects like *Shadows* (1959). The film presents an inter-racial love story by focusing on performances through long takes so that the sense of drama unfolding in time appears unabridged.<sup>67</sup> Cassavetes' interest in complex human emotions did not seek to please audiences, finding as many admirers as detractors. The director was reluctant to re-edit the film and did not find distributors in the U.S. Later, the film won the Critics Award at the Venice Film Festival, and eventually American theatres bought it as an import from a British distributor in 1961.

Someone moving across categories in the late 1950s and early 1960s was Shirley Clarke, her approach informed by experimental aesthetics as well as the independent production methods set up in the 1930s. She started producing amateur

---

<sup>65</sup> Douglas Kellner and Dan Streible, "Emile de Antonio: Documenting the Life of a Radical Filmmaker," introduction to *Emile de Antonio: A Reader* (Minneapolis: Minnesota University Press, 2000), 1-83.

<sup>66</sup> Geoff King, *American Independent Cinema* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2005).

<sup>67</sup> Emmanuel Levy, *Cinema of Outsiders: The Rise of American Independent Film* (London: London University Press, 1999).

dance films, and then made commissioned documentaries such as *Skyscraper* (1959), in collaboration with Willard Van Dyke and Irving Jacoby, and the animated *Bridges-Go-Round* (1959). Clarke's interest in exploring new avenues in storytelling drew her closer to other documentary filmmakers such as Richard Leacock, Albert Maysles, Fred Wiseman and Don Pennebaker.<sup>68</sup> Following the approach of the 1930s documentary groups, they formed Filmmakers Inc. to provide offices, equipment and post-production facilities for independent film projects like Cassavetes' *Shadows*.

Rabinovitz observes that Clarke took on Deren's lead as advocate of experimental and independent cinema. Yet she notes an important discrepancy. For Rabinovitz, Clarke's position stands for "an increasing ambition to consolidate American independent cinema within the mainstream of American moviegoing, rather than at its margins."<sup>69</sup> Clarke aspired to expand the model of experimental and independent filmmaking beyond the artistic and literary niches. She wanted to find a stable place for it within the changing main theatrical film industry. Clarke embarked on independent feature film production, combining self-funding with investment from independent producers. Notably amongst the latter, and close to the underground themes and style too, was *The Connection* (1961), which adapted a theatre play by using documentary film conventions. The film portrayed heroin use in a sympathetic way, and used the word *shit* to refer to the drug. Despite its critical success at the Cannes Film Festival, the film was targeted by the New York Censorship Board, which made difficult its theatrical distribution.

Meanwhile, Leacock and Pennebaker started to assist Robert Drew in Time-Life sponsored documentaries. Drew aimed to reproduce in films the intimate style of some of *Life* magazine's photographic reporting. Accordingly, he encouraged the use of lightweight equipment to capture events unobtrusively and tried to efface the presence of the filmmaker as much as possible. This approach, known as Direct Cinema aesthetics, stood in contrast with the more explicit references to the filmmakers and the act of filmmaking of the French Cinéma Verité style. After the success of *Primary* (1960), Drew Associates became a production unit for ABC network television. Concurring with the liberal shift of the early 1960s, they gained a reputation for dealing with current affairs from a liberal stance, as in, for example, Latin America's opposition to U.S. policies represented in the film *Yanki No!* (1960). Erik Barnouw notes the educational potential of these films, stating that they were

---

<sup>68</sup> Rabinovitz, *Points of Resistance*.

<sup>69</sup> Rabinovitz, *Points of Resistance*, 108.

“above all, destroyers of stereotypes. Issues were always shown to be more complicated –and more fascinating- than dogma was inclined to make them.”<sup>70</sup> Direct Cinema aesthetics transmitted a sense of immediacy later used in the USIA propaganda productions in the 1960s.

In *Film Quarterly*'s pages, Callenbach praised Drew's Direct Cinema claiming that this emerging style could stand for “a tradition of ‘meeting the reality of the country’.”<sup>71</sup> Callenbach argued that these aesthetics connected with the American values of building public opinion democratically. Subsequently, discussions on documentary filmmaking opened up questions on point of view, transparency and authorial presence.<sup>72</sup> Nonetheless, the Time-Life/ABC affiliation curtailed wider distribution of these films to other television networks and theatrical screens.

The increased visibility of these various filmmakers pushed the idea that their films offered a cultural and economic alternative to Hollywood's dominance. The studios' model of production was then faltering, and many Hollywood productions lacked appeal for young and urban audiences, in contrast with European, experimental and independent films. These considerations underpinned the recovery of the idea of an American film institute in the early 1960s. This proposal aimed to promote different modes of film production and distribution, and open the way for innovation in form and content. Before I explain these arguments I need to first introduce the political and intellectual framework of the 1960s in the U.S.

## 2.4 Cultural Reactions in the 1960s

The social and political issues of the early 1960s are key to understanding the priorities taken into account in the later legislation and policies. The young John F. Kennedy became president in 1961 with a programme that seemed to defrost some of the monolithic Cold War positions of the previous decade. Kennedy's programme concentrated more on domestic affairs like implementing equality legislation to appease the Civil Rights movement, the group which sought to end the segregation of blacks in America. Yet the spectre of communism felt close to America. In 1959 revolutionaries in Cuba toppled the incumbent military regime. The new socialist rule

---

<sup>70</sup> Erik Barnouw, *Documentary: A History of the Non-Fiction Film*, 2<sup>nd</sup> rev. ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 247-248.

<sup>71</sup> Ernest Callenbach, “Going Out to the Subject: II,” *Film Quarterly* 14, no. 3 (Spring 1961): 38-40.

<sup>72</sup> Callenbach, “Da Capo,”

aligned itself with Russia, launching wide-reaching health and education campaigns to advance equality.<sup>73</sup> Cold War nuclear tensions then peaked with the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962, while U.S. military action to deal with the Vietnam conflict was mounting. The images of these events were seen in the media, along with the riots and protests resulting from difficulties in ending segregation. This situation informed the concerns with civil action, public opinion and policy in the 1960s. Many people saw that the U.S. defence of freedom and self-determination contradicted the federal government's effective policies. These concerns and contradictions also underpin the discourse on personal expression and liberation popular amongst the 1960s counterculture.<sup>74</sup> The term *counterculture*, coined by Theodore Roszak, refers to a variety of groups, mainly formed by the generation born after WWII, who were coming of age at this point.<sup>75</sup> Inspired by the Civil Rights campaigners' focus on discrimination, equality, and identity, these groups became more politicised by the end of the 1960s and catalysed later campaigns for peace, and women's and gay rights.

Discussions about equality and repression found their way into academic debates of the time. As Howard Brick observes, debates about economic prosperity fostered the growth of critical theory and analyses of the individual's relationship to the state.<sup>76</sup> Such analyses and revisions often concentrated on earlier government policies that, seen in the light of existential pessimism and psychoanalysis, appeared as attempts to control the individual's freedom. These conclusions provoked a reaction against systems of control bearing the mark of scientific advancement and rationality. Some of the 1960s campaigns against censorship and repression engaged with ideas about freedom of expression and liberation that were articulated by Herbert Marcuse, an important figure of the American New Left.

#### **2.4.1 Personal Expression and the Liberation of Consciousness**

The international emergence of the New Left responded to the disenchantment with the direction that Soviets were giving to the socialist project, especially after the

---

<sup>73</sup> To counteract the spread of the Cuban example, Kennedy's administration devised the Alliance for Progress programme which, building upon the previous work of the Office of the Co-ordinator of Inter-American Affairs, aimed to control the economic and political developments in Latin America.

<sup>74</sup> Christopher Gair, *The American Counterculture* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), 10.

<sup>75</sup> Theodore Roszak, *The Making of a Counterculture: Reflections on the Technocratic Society and its Youthful Opposition* (Berkeley: California University Press, 1995).

<sup>76</sup> Howard Brick, *Age of Contradiction: American Thought and Culture in the 1960s* (London: Prentice Hall, 1998), 132.

latter's crushing of the Hungarian Revolution in 1956. It also reflected the will to provide an alternative to the worker-centred Marxist militancy, and to engage with the questions brought up by the 1960s movements on identity and self-determination.

The notion of the liberating potential of personal expression was epitomised in the writings of Marcuse, who followed the Marxist and psychoanalytical methodologies developed by the Frankfurt School. Marcuse sketched his argument about liberation in *Eros and Civilisation*, where he sought to escape from Marxism's material determinism by underscoring the importance of subjectivity for revolutionary practice.<sup>77</sup> Marcuse followed Schiller's, and more specifically, Freud's idea of the repressive function of culture and civilisation over the instincts. He merged these arguments with the existentialist view of free consciousness that sees itself affirmed in something different than itself. Marcuse maintained that aesthetic play reconciles instinctual with rational energy, and that this objectification of consciousness is a way to escape the subject's determinations. In *One Dimensional Man* Marcuse elaborated more on this argument, defending an aesthetic culture where the dimensions of perception and feeling acquired revolutionary potential.<sup>78</sup> Later Marcuse directly addressed the youth and counterculture of the 1960s and suggested that minority and idiosyncratic forms of expression that affirmed self-consciousness meant a "Great Refusal" to submit to the enclosure of the system.<sup>79</sup>

Nevertheless, Marcuse's view of liberation through personal expression has important limitations that can undermine the more inclusive and egalitarian purposes of the New Left. Stephen Bronner and Douglas Kellner observe that in Marcuse's proposal "such emphasis on the emancipatory role of the individual psyche can foster individual rebellion, [but] it can also reproduce the egotistical values of advanced industrial society."<sup>80</sup> Expressive liberation can be neutralised by isolating it from further social and political engagement. This is achieved when emphasising its subjectivism, which is to assert that such a view only has truth value for the individual that speaks it. Subjectivism can be confined as a "mad-man" perspective or fail to ground an inclusive collective identity. Personal expression can be also be redefined along individualist and consumerist values and perpetuate capitalism's economic

---

<sup>77</sup> Herbert Marcuse, *Eros and Civilisation: A Philosophical Enquiry into Freud* (London: Ark, 1987), first published in 1957.

<sup>78</sup> Herbert Marcuse, *One Dimensional Man: The Ideology of Industrial Society* (London: Sphere, 1968), 188.

<sup>79</sup> Herbert Marcuse, *An Essay on Liberation* (London: Allen Lane, Penguin, 1969).

<sup>80</sup> Stephen Eric Bronner and Douglas MacKay Kellner, introduction to *Critical Theory and Society: A Reader* (London: Routledge, 1989), 17.

model, as evidenced in competitive rewards to individual achievement, and in the appeal to instincts to advertise all sort of commodities. To sum up, even if freedom of expression is important, other aspects need to be taken into account to advance more participatory relations of production and reception.

In the next chapters I demonstrate how independent and experimental cinema production and exhibition focused on free personal expression. In some contexts, this emphasis afforded a positive image of philanthropic sponsors as enablers of such freedom. Meanwhile support policies rights limited theatrical distribution and exhibition, having an effect on the economic underpinnings of experimental and independent cinema and its dissemination. These conditions, along with the wider changes affecting the film industry in the late 1960s and 1970s, helped to regulate these practices. Before that I indicate the specific demands for support first advanced by the experimental and independent film community in the early 1960s.

## **2.5 The 1961 Proposal for an American Film Institute**

Independent filmmakers, producers and exhibitors joined in the early 1960s to advance a proposal for an American film institute. This plan was articulated after a gathering, known as the Antioch Symposium, which was sponsored by one of the main art cinema chains, the Art Cinema Guild.<sup>81</sup> Kreul indicates that this proposal envisaged the integration of the non-theatrical film societies into the art cinema circuit, a model that attempted to consolidate art cinema as an independent and competitive theatrical alternative to Hollywood.<sup>82</sup> Kreul notes that these constituencies expected to gain support from the Film Council of America and the Educational Film Library, two key organisations for experimental and independent filmmakers during the 1940s and 1950s.<sup>83</sup> Nonetheless, the combination of the non-theatrical sector receiving philanthropic support and independent theatrical film enterprises, as envisioned in the 1961 proposal for an American film institute, was improbable. Federal government and philanthropies were not likely to support an initiative that, by strengthening independent theatrical filmmaking, could interfere with the interests of the main film industry.

---

<sup>81</sup> Colin Young, "An American Film Institute: A Proposal," *Film Quarterly* 14, no. 4 (Summer 1961): 37-50. See also the discussion edited by Ernest Callenbach, "The Expensive Art: A Discussion of Distribution and Exhibition in the U.S." *Film Quarterly* 13, no. 4 (Summer 1960): 19-34.

<sup>82</sup> Kreul, "New York, New Cinema."

<sup>83</sup> Kreul, "New York, New Cinema," 26.



### 2.5.1 Obstacles for American Experimental and Independent Cinema

The Symposium's discussion addressed the relationship between education and diversity in film production, which provides a framework to understand how subsequent policies engaged with film culture and film education issues. The key problem was independent distribution. American independent production could not be strengthened if it was unable to compete with cheaply imported European productions, that also side-stepped the obstacles of guilds and censors.<sup>84</sup> Furthermore, distributors found they could not choose between films, thus limiting the offer brought to audiences beyond the better organised outfits in metropolitan areas such as New York and San Francisco.

Amos Vogel, Cinema 16's organiser, made clear that, if art cinema distributors wanted to build up their positions in the large and diverse U.S. theatrical sector, they would have to either keep to the limitations and subsidies of the non-theatrical sector, or provide competitive services and bear the same pressures as the theatrical sector, such as transportation nationwide, publicity, and minimising risk by producing films that would return investments. This would have an impact on exhibition policies, hence diminishing the more open character that non-theatrical organisations had when selecting films. Additionally, Vogel contended that the taste of film society renters tended to be conservative, mostly requesting Hollywood classics rather than experimental films.<sup>85</sup> Therefore, if they wanted to change the demand, they had to address opinion leaders and widen the scope of audiences' tastes through education.

Colin Young's 1961 proposal for an American film institute articulated the issues identified at the Symposium, especially the gap between a growing film culture and a limited offer of films, resulting from protectionist U.S. trade.<sup>86</sup> This plan also revived many of the ideas and activities previously suggested for a national institution: an archive, a catalogue, education programmes, publishing, and additionally, a fund to support experimental film production. Young's main argument in the proposal addressed Vogel's contentions. Young argued that strengthening the independent film sector could only be achieved through education, which involved attending to

---

<sup>84</sup> Callenbach, "The Expensive Art," 19.

<sup>85</sup> For an analysis of film libraries' rentals during the 1950s, see Elena Rossi-Snook, "Persistence of Vision: Public Library 16mm Film Collection in America," *The Moving Image* 5, no. 1 (Spring 2005): 1-27. In 1951, reportedly 90 libraries offered film services, with 55,929 films being shown to approximately 2,945,330 people. By 1956, this number had risen to 166 libraries.

<sup>86</sup> Young, "An American Film Institute."

preservation and scholarship, roles mostly neglected by the commercial priorities dominating the theatrical film industry and which the institute could assume.<sup>87</sup>

Shortly after the Symposium, a group of filmmakers including Frank, Lionel Rogosin, Clarke, Markopoulos and Mekas, amongst other independent producers and distributors, came together and signed the “Statement of the New American Cinema Group.”<sup>88</sup> In the statement, the group asserted the cultural legitimacy of independent filmmaking, and compared its splendour to the other booming American arts: painting and poetry. The equation between film and art was maintained by appealing to the idea that “cinema is indivisibly a personal expression.”<sup>89</sup> The group challenged censorship and licensing laws, rejecting “the interference of producers, distributors, and investors.”<sup>90</sup> They decried the current situation whereby low-budget movies paid to the guilds the same fees as films with greater budgets and expecting higher revenues.

The New American Cinema statement gave the group the momentum to start its own distribution centre, the New York Film-Makers’ Cooperative, in January 1962. This group circulated the works of some of the filmmakers mentioned above, as well as others associated to the underground such as Vanderbeek, Breer, Jack Smith, Andy Warhol and Ken Jacobs. Eventually, Mekas set up the Film-Makers’ Cinemateque to provide a more stable screening venue for these films. Next I demonstrate that the increased circulation and publicity of these filmmakers went along with a campaign led by *Film Quarterly*. The campaign underscored the fact that the current organisation of the U.S. film industry fostered only theatrical films from the major film companies and restricted the emergence of different forms of expression and social engagement.

## 2.6 Changing Theatrical Cinema and Film Education

The instability of the theatrical film industry became more apparent as the 1960s progressed: major studio productions failed to succeed, and the Production Code was obsolete. Continuing from the 1961 proposal, Colin Young gradually sketched out a project to address the needed changes. The plan linked together independent production methods and film scholarship. In Winter 1962, *Film Quarterly*

---

<sup>87</sup> Young, “An American Film Institute,” 39.

<sup>88</sup> Jonas Mekas et al., “The First Statement of the New American Cinema Group,” in *Film Culture: An Anthology*, ed. P. Adams Sitney (London: Secker and Warburg, 1971), 79-83. This gathering was also a reaction to Cinema 16’s refusal to exhibit Stan Brakhage’s *Anticipation of the Night*.

<sup>89</sup> Mekas et al., “The First Statement of the New American Cinema Group,” 81.

<sup>90</sup> Mekas et al., “The First Statement of the New American Cinema Group,” 81.

published a report on the major holdings of research materials for film scholarship.<sup>91</sup> In the next edition, Young presented a survey of university departments offering film courses.<sup>92</sup>

In the latter article, Young criticised the film industry for being dominated by powerful cliques of business managers and guilds. Young also noted the growth of university film courses. In many of these, he noted, people were “severely critical of the studio way of making pictures, of a system which gives more authority and creative responsibility to a producer than to either writer and director and which has created technical oligarchies which are difficult to work with.”<sup>93</sup> Young compared these restrictions to the more flexible conditions that independents needed to work. He foresaw that

each year the population of people outside the unions, who are capable of doing all the technical work involved in a motion picture, grows a little more, and threatens to that extent the sanctity of the unions. Eventually we may expect this to make a difference not only in the nontheatrical field.<sup>94</sup>

Thus, Young claimed that Hollywood’s inflexible production methods curbed the development of a richer film culture.

In order to make this case even more relevant for the academic community, Young raised questions about how experimental and independent filmmakers addressed form and representation in a way that permitted them to enquire and engage more directly with reality. This academic focus was evident when Young presented a report entitled “The American Experimental Film in the Last Decade” at UNESCO’s Paris headquarters in 1964.<sup>95</sup> First, Young called attention to the falling international status of American cinema. He argued that the riskier approaches and formal developments of European films were not matched by Hollywood, which was still dominated by the narrative conventions and moral standards of the 1930s. Young pointed out that the industry’s entrenchment was concomitant to other important factors limiting film scholarship. These were lack of interest in animation and documentary forms, lack of systematic thinking about cinema aesthetics, and lack of

---

<sup>91</sup> See the various articles under Jay Leda et al., “Special Features on Film Scholarship,” *Film Quarterly* 16, no. 2 (Winter, 1962-1963): 29-50.

<sup>92</sup> Colin Young, “University Film Teaching in the United States: A Survey,” *Film Quarterly* 16, no.3 (Spring 1963): 37-47.

<sup>93</sup> Young, “University Film Teaching in the United States: A Survey,” 38.

<sup>94</sup> Young, “University Film Teaching in the United States: A Survey,” 40.

<sup>95</sup> Colin Young, “The American Experimental Film in the Last Decade Report,” (UNESCO’s Contribution to the Mannheim Table. Paris, 12 October, 1964). British Film Institute Library, London.

dialogue between critics and filmmakers, which could benefit from concentrating on multi-media experimentations, such as the Whitney Brothers' works on music and images.

Young contended that experimental and independent films raised questions about common assumptions on film form. To exemplify his argument, he examined films such as *The Connection*, and *Georg* (Stanton Kaye, 1964), which adopted the distant and omniscient point of view of some documentary films to subvert that view. Young stated that a strong intertwining of practice and reflection could only be developed by a film institution, which unlike France, Britain and Canada, the U.S. still lacked.<sup>96</sup> Thus, he concluded that the lack of film education in the U.S. caused the country to fall behind in international cultural leadership.

*Film Culture* and *Film Quarterly* writings on film prompted a range of questions regarding reality and representation, and the place of artistic production in advanced industrialized societies. Independent and experimental cinema provided both alternative methods of production and a broad range of films suited to expand scholarship. These issues set the focus for the coming film education policy that I detail in the next chapter. Meanwhile critics such as Mekas and Susan Sontag underscored freedom of expression in film, as present in other art forms, to defend experimental and independent films from censors.

### **2.6.1 Defending Personal Expression**

During the early 1960s the filmmakers associated with the New American Cinema experienced repeated problems with venue licenses. Furthermore, *The Connection* was not the only independent film that had problems with censors; two other underground films encountered problems in the early 1960s. One of them was *Scorpio Rising* (Kenneth Anger, 1963), which portrayed the gay subculture of biker gangs. Furthermore, this film showed the subversive potential of appropriating images of popular culture by intercutting images of the gangs' rituals and symbols with religious and pop icons. Police raided the opening screening in Los Angeles and confiscated the print. Anger's defence challenged this confiscation at California's Supreme Court and the copy was released shortly after. The situation was different for another underground film, *Flaming Creatures* (Jack Smith, 1963), which also found censorship problems. David Ehrenstein notes that, before *Flaming Creatures* opened

---

<sup>96</sup> Young, "The American Experimental Film in the Last Decade Report," 32.

in New York in Spring 1964 and the police intervened to close down the cinema, the film “had been transformed into a weapon in an ongoing, attention getting, anti-censorship crusade.”<sup>97</sup> *Flaming Creatures* portrayed an orgy of transvestites and women, which Smith approached with both seriousness and a self-mocking attitude. The film was programmed at the 1963 Knokke-Le-Zoute Experimental Film Festival, but it was denied public screening on the grounds of pornography. The ensuing attention added publicity, evidenced when the film was to open in New York and the district attorney was ready to seize the copy.

The event provoked a strong response from the arts and intellectual community. In line with the efforts of the anti-censorship campaign of the New American Cinema, Mekas and Sontag publicly condemned the authorities’ reaction. They defended freedom of expression in this and other artworks in terms of inalienable personal expression.<sup>98</sup> Mekas noted that “*Flaming Creatures* is a work of art and as any other works of art, it is above obscenity and pornography.”<sup>99</sup> Similarly, Sontag lamented the immaturity of the arts’ communities and, engaging with Marcuse’s view, argued that the film should be seen not in moralistic terms but as “a triumphant example of an aesthetic vision of the world.”<sup>100</sup> Such defence placed these films in the discursive realm of high-art and stressed the subversive potential of personal expression.

Paul Arthur observes that the *Flaming Creatures* scandal broke out at the same time as the Berkeley Free Speech Movement, which denounced restrictions on the distribution of political materials at universities. Arthur notes that these events mined “a deep vein in American political philosophy, the early New Left discovered in the confrontation with administrative censorship a volatile issue, a set of tactics, a channel for publicity, and the trigger for an analysis of related social injustices.”<sup>101</sup> It is worth noting that gay representations became more common during these years, coinciding with wider changes in moral standards in other media. But unlike *Scorpio Rising*, *Flaming Creatures* was banned from exhibition until 1974. Juan A. Suárez explains that the latter was more fiercely attacked because it represented ambiguous sexual categories. Other experimental films such as *Christmas on Earth* (Barbara Rubin,

---

<sup>97</sup> David Ehrensten, “Jack Smith,” in *Film: The Front Line* (Denver: Arden Press, 1984), 26.

<sup>98</sup> Mekas, “The First Statement of the New American Cinema Group.”

<sup>99</sup> Jonas Mekas, Editorial Statement, *Film Culture*, no. 32 (Spring 1964): 3.

<sup>100</sup> Susan Sontag, “Jack Smith’s *Flaming Creatures*,” in *The New American Cinema: A Critical Anthology*, ed. Gregory Battcock (New York: Dutton, 1967), 210.

<sup>101</sup> Paul Arthur, “Routines of Emancipation: Alternative Cinema in the Ideology and Politics of the Sixties,” in *To Free the Cinema: Jonas Mekas and the New York Underground*, ed. David James (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 29.

1963) and *Fuses* (Carolee Schneeman, 1967) were much more explicit in their nudity and sexual content, but they were not as harshly punished because they remained within normative representations of heterosexual roles.<sup>102</sup> This demarcation of normativity defines the parameters within which explicit sexual representations found legitimacy. The analyses of the events related to *Flaming Creatures* identify two key contextual issues that need to be highlighted to understand the impact of the surrounding reading formation. The first is that, despite their attempts, the critics and filmmakers had limited legal authority to define the legitimacy of a non-normative practice, yet these efforts permeated into public opinion later in time. The second is the potential connection of this case of censorship with other contended issues regarding freedom of expression, something which made it share energies and tensions with other ongoing struggles.

## **Summary**

In this chapter I indicate how post-war international film policies and the breakdown of the Hollywood studio system created the conditions that led to the mid-1960s crossovers. I demonstrate how these conditions, along with the non-theatrical film practices built on pre-WWII policies, prompted the emergence of the heterogeneous New American Cinema group. Additionally, I point out that ideas about film education and creative autonomy were emphasised to claim cinema's worthiness of academic study. These arguments were used to demand more flexible production arrangements for experimental and independent filmmaking, and to argue against censorship.

---

<sup>102</sup> Juan A. Suárez, *Bike Boys, Drag Queens and Superstars: Avant-Garde, Mass Culture and Gay Identities in the 1960s Underground Cinema* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996), 186.

## Chapter 3

### THE DIRECTIVES OF THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION'S AND THE U.S. FEDERAL GOVERNMENT'S FILM POLICIES

In this chapter I argue that the U.S. federal government's and the RF's policies for experimental and independent cinema were set out to regulate the infrastructures of production, distribution and exhibition of these forms of filmmaking. Yet, these policies were framed within an educational perspective in order to find legitimacy. In the first part of this chapter, I identify the intellectual and social directives of the arts and humanities' federal legislation and the RF Arts Program in the mid-1960s. I also account for the formation of the AFI and the importance of having the MPAA at its base. In the second part, I concentrate on the report that validated the establishment of the AFI. I specify the role envisioned for experimental and independent filmmaking within the non-theatrical film sector's development.

#### 3.1 The 1964 Ford Foundation Grants

In 1963, around the time of the *Flaming Creatures* scandal, the Ford Foundation announced twelve awards for "Creative Film Makers" for the next year.<sup>1</sup> The Ford Foundation asserted the artistic and academic status of the 1964 awards by stating that these were "fellowships to enable film makers to produce short creative films or to study the cinematic art."<sup>2</sup> Most of the winners were already well known names in contemporary experimental and independent film culture. They included people such as Kenneth Anger, Ed Emshwiller, Bruce Conner, James Blue, Carmen D'Avino, Jordan Belson, Stan Vanderbeek, and Kent Mackenzie.<sup>3</sup> *Time's* report on the awards highlighted the Foundation's recognition of freedom of expression in some of

---

<sup>1</sup> Ford Foundation, *Annual Report* (New York: Ford Foundation, 1963), 24.

<sup>2</sup> Ford Foundation, *Annual Report* (New York: Ford Foundation, 1964), 78. The total grant amounted to \$118,500 and there were 117 candidates.

<sup>3</sup> Ford Foundation, *Annual Report* 1964, 78. The other winners were Hilary T. Harris, Daniel Drasin and John R. MacDermott.

its choices, and regarded the more subversive cases as idiosyncratic, subjective stances, which restricted their wider impact.<sup>4</sup>

*Time*'s article started by expressing surprise at finding that the foundation had "decided to encourage the art of film as practiced by lone stylists whose pictures are usually brief, almost always 16-mm, and sometimes comprehensible only to themselves."<sup>5</sup> It described the films in this way:

the winning films are a varietal riot. Some are mad, some methodical. Some are suitable for the living room and others for a smoker at the Elks. This one is conventional. That one is wildly experimental. This honest. That phony. How one panel of judges could have agreed on the twelve grantees defeats the unfounded imagination.<sup>6</sup>

Although at some points the article extolled the lyrical and crafted approaches of some of the winners' films, it presented the grants as desultory, not grasping why the foundation had "begun pouring tons of gold on the happy heads of the people who made them."<sup>7</sup> This attitude was more severe regarding films dealing with issues such as politics and sex, as in Stan Vanderbeek's film *Breath Death* (1963), which included cut-out images of Khrushchev sneezing and Hitler saying "Gesundheit". Similarly, Bruce Conner's films were described as containing a puerile, if not dangerous death impulse. Conner's *A Movie* was paralleled with a puritanical apocalyptic sermon, for "his point seems to be that if you start with a beautiful nude, death and violent destruction soon follow."<sup>8</sup> However, the article gave the impression that the Ford Foundation's selections were eventually balanced by giving attention to other works with a less subversive and more artistic appeal, such as Jordan Belson's abstract animations, praised for their formal qualities and mystical aspirations.

*Time*'s highest honour went to films that had already received attention in festivals and on the independent circuit. Amongst these, were Kent MacKenzie's documentary-inspired account of urban-dwelling native American in *The Exiles* (1961), which premiered at the Venice Film Festival but had not found theatrical distribution, and Carmen D'Avino's frame by frame colourful animations of inert objects in *Pianissimo* (1963), which had been nominated for Best Short category at that year's Academy Awards. The most praised entry was by James Blue, who had

---

<sup>4</sup> "In the Year of Our Ford," *Time*, April 3, 1964. <http://www.time.com/time/printout/0,8816939493,00.html> accessed 30/06/2009. Specialised journals also reported on the Ford Foundation winners. See, for example, Lendert Drukker, "Methods and Materials: Ford Foundation Winners," *Popular Photography* 55, no.2 (August 1964): 97.

<sup>5</sup> "In the Year of Our Ford."

<sup>6</sup> "In the Year of Our Ford."

<sup>7</sup> "In the Year of Our Ford."

<sup>8</sup> "In the Year of Our Ford."



made *The Olive Trees of Justice* (1961). This was a feature film telling the story of a family against the backdrop of the Algerian Revolution. Produced for the French Government, the film mixed the Direct Cinema style with dramatic fiction. For *Time* this film, which won an award at the Cannes Festival, “is propaganda, or was once, but it is so well done that it is chiefly propaganda for the human race.”<sup>9</sup> Thus, the article assimilated the culturally-specific concerns of the film to a more depoliticised view by appealing to humanist values.

*Time*'s article characterised for the lay reader the Ford Foundation and its grant scheme as a liberal enterprise. The more subversive of the selected works were placed in line with the liberal view of non-conformism and general humanistic values. The Ford grants appeared at a transitional moment for independent and experimental filmmakers, as well as for the theatrical film industry. They generated anticipation for the impending arts legislation amongst those who wanted to see these forms of filmmaking more firmly grounded.<sup>10</sup> Nevertheless, the potential of these measures was defined by the conditions under which the U.S. federal government and the RF could enact film education policies without interfering with the theatrical film business. Next I demonstrate that the U.S. authorities expanded their policies in the context of Cold War competition and changing demographics, and they protracted them to sustain the 1960s arts and humanities legislation.

### **3.2 Passing Education Legislation: Science and Equality**

The 1960s arts policy was built on the same foundation as the science legislation of the 1950s, which underscored the value of science and technology for education and social progress. In 1958, in the aftermath of the Sputnik launch by the Soviets, Eisenhower signed into law the National Defence Education Act (NDEA). This act directed funding into science and technological development in order to advance America's position in the Cold War. Audiovisual technologies were given a specific place in this law, as reflected in Title III, which encouraged schools to obtain audiovisual technology, and Title VII, which supported “research and experimentation

---

<sup>9</sup> “In the Year of Our Ford.”

<sup>10</sup> The Ford Foundation grants were a one-off event with no continuity, in comparison with the RF's, the AFI's and MoMA's film policies which occupy most of this dissertation. The Ford Foundation media programmes were more relevant in funding innovative educational television.

in more effective utilisation of television, radio, motion pictures and related media for educational purposes.”<sup>11</sup>

The NDEA not only advanced federal funding for schools, but also integrated science into school curricula across the country and improved the quality of academic research and publications.<sup>12</sup> Historian Thomas Bender observes that the law was well received amongst the electorate due to “a new awareness of the value of college degrees and the prosperity to sustain the ambitions of an expanding middle class.”<sup>13</sup> The NDEA pushed academic competitiveness and reinforced the idea of higher education as a means for social mobility. These same values were also used to gain support for the 1963 arts legislation. Significantly, the NDEA carried an affidavit clause, which obliged its beneficiaries to swear loyalty to the U.S. government. Many people in universities denounced this clause as a violation of academic freedom.<sup>14</sup> Eventually, the affidavit was repealed but the controversy highlighted some contradictions in the Cold War policies that impacted on democratic education and freedom of expression.

### 3.2.1 The Implications of the NDEA

John Douglass argues that the NDEA advanced curricular decisions on the use of audiovisual technology that were still debated by educators.<sup>15</sup> Douglass quotes Philip Coombs, director of the Ford Foundation’s Fund for the Advancement of Education in 1960, who spoke of how Congress

took a stand in favor of differential programming for abler students in the schools and colleges; it took a stand on debatable curriculum questions by giving special attention to foreign languages, science, and mathematics... And it also took the stand, with which many educators do not yet agree, that modern communications such as films

---

<sup>11</sup> In Paul Saettler, *The Evolution of American Educational Technology* (Charlotte: Information Age Publishing, 2004), 421.

<sup>12</sup> For a retrospective overview of the NDEA impact, see Flattau et al., *National Education Act of 1958: Selected Outcomes* (Washington DC: Science and Technology Policy Institute, 2007). The NDEA funds were still available in the 1970s. The 1944 G.I. Bill, which paid the tuition fees for male students, was also important for expanding access to U.S. Higher Education in the post-war period.

<sup>13</sup> Thomas Bender, “Politics, Intellect and the American University, 1945-1995,” in *American Academic Culture in Transformation: Fifty Years, Four Disciplines*, ed. Thomas Bender and Carl E. Schorske (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 25.

<sup>14</sup> John L. Jainlich, “Ivy Schools Reject Federal Loan Funds,” *Columbia Daily Spectator* CIV 19, no. 37 (November 1959). < <http://spectatorarchive.library.columbia.edu/cgi-bin/columbia?a=d&d=cs19591119-01.1.1&e=-----en-20--1--txt-IN---->> accessed 15/04/2013.

<sup>15</sup> John A. Douglass, “A Certain Future: Sputnik, American Higher Education and the Survival of the Nation,” in *Reconsidering Sputnik: Forty Years After the Soviet Satellite*, ed. John M. Logsdon, Roger D. Launius and Robert William Smith (London: Routledge, 2000), 327-363.

and television should be given a much larger role in the learning process.<sup>16</sup>

This statement calls attention to the fact that the law was passed before the educational community reached clear conclusions about what should be the main concerns of the federal curriculum. The policies on the use of audiovisual resources did not rely upon agreement over their educational value, suggesting instead that economic and political interests had significant weight. This is what historian Paul Carter considers a triumph of the democrats strategies by which they “could get away with quite a lot of federal aid to education ... as long as you called it defense education.”<sup>17</sup> The NDEA advanced political and economic priorities by way of education policy. Nevertheless, the use of these resources by educators and filmmakers was not completely shaped by the ideology that advanced the support, as the responses to the affidavit clause demonstrate. The legislation was protracted in the 1960s, with mass media again playing a crucial role in the aim to advance the arts and humanities. However, through the 1960s, the weight of questions of defence shifted to issues of general wellbeing and equality.

### 3.2.2 The Foundations' Prospects

The federal government's and large philanthropies' arts and education policies during the 1960s were crucially informed by the directives of a series of reports commissioned by the Rockefeller Brothers Fund (RBF) and compiled in *Prospect for America*.<sup>18</sup> John Dodley argues that these studies proposed consistent and mutually reinforcing policies.<sup>19</sup> Their directives in the areas of politics, education, social and economic affairs materialised in the forthcoming legislation. The policies' focuses continued from and expanded the post-war economic and social measures. The report stated that European democracies had benefitted from what “the United States believed, and rightly, that long-range security and well-being would be enhanced

---

<sup>16</sup> Quoted in Douglass, “A Certain Future,” 342. Phillip H. Coombs became Kennedy's Assistant Secretary of State for Education and Cultural Affairs in 1961.

<sup>17</sup> Paul A. Carter, *Another Part of the Fifties* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), 195.

<sup>18</sup> The Rockefeller Panel Reports, *Prospect for America* (New York: Double Day, 1961). Commercially published in 1961, this volume resulted from a series of studies commissioned by several panels of experts and policymakers in the late 1950s. These reports influenced not only the RF line of action, but also the federal government's and the Ford Foundation's.

<sup>19</sup> John H. Dodley, *The Power of Scale* (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2002).

under the Marshall Plan.”<sup>20</sup> The value of universalism was particularly underscored in the report on education *The Pursuit of Excellence*, commissioned shortly after the passing of the NDEA.<sup>21</sup> Education historian William H. Jeynes observes that this report had a special focus on improving academic and social standards, which resonated with the egalitarian aspirations of the Civil Rights movement.<sup>22</sup> These policy papers made equality and educational quality interdependent.

The directives driving the arts and education policies were further specified in another report that the RBF commissioned in 1963, the *Performing Arts Report*, which attempted to gain support for the arts legislation that Kennedy’s team was preparing.<sup>23</sup> The report stated the aim of developing the arts’ sector by attracting private funding and pushing for the systematisation of arts’ management. Accordingly, it placed great emphasis on integrating business-like practices, such as efficient administration of resources, leadership in the field, and development of audiences.<sup>24</sup> This form of management could regulate arts and cultural production by establishing degrees of professionalism and increased competition. This approach echoed Charles P. Snow’s current statements on the lack of integration between arts and sciences in Western countries.<sup>25</sup> Snow advocated government intervention in cultural matters “not so much as a controlling force but as an impresario.”<sup>26</sup> Snow’s vision counterpoised the idea of the totalitarian state with the “free” regulation of liberal economy. Such a role for the government could allow contradictions such as endorsing critical and subversive practices provided there are audiences and markets for them.

To further this policy, arts’ management was presented as something that would work towards the benefit of society and satisfaction of higher human motivations. This quelled criticism of the superficiality and self-complacency of material progress, a critique that people like Kennedy’s advisor John Kenneth

---

<sup>20</sup> The Rockefeller Panel Reports, *Prospect for America* (New York: Double Day, 1961), 21. See chapter two, note 18, for a brief characterisation of the Marshall Plan

<sup>21</sup> “The Pursuit of Excellence: Education and the Future of America” was later integrated in *Prospect for America*.

<sup>22</sup> William H. Jeynes, *American Educational History: School, Society and the Common Good* (London: Sage, 2007), 265.

<sup>23</sup> Rockefeller Brothers Fund, *The Performing Arts: Problems and Prospects, Rockefeller Panel Report on the Future of Theatre, Dance, Music in America* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1965). This report followed from the Heckscher Report commissioned by Kennedy’s administration to press forward the arts legislation. The Rockefeller Panel was led by Nancy Hanks, who had been the executive secretary for the earlier RBF reports and later became Chairperson of the National Council on the Arts, from 1969 until 1977. See more on Hanks in chapter five.

<sup>24</sup> *The Performing Arts*, 160.

<sup>25</sup> Charles P. Snow, *The Two Cultures*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

<sup>26</sup> Charles P. Snow, *Science and Government* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), 77.

Galbraith pointed out in the seminal work *The Affluent Society*.<sup>27</sup> Additionally, artistic achievement was linked to the Cold War debate on political freedom, which the report stated American institutions safeguarded by means of the universality of the “massive scientific and technological effort that so characterizes our civilisation.”<sup>28</sup> These efforts to spread freedom and advancement were put back into the service of diplomacy and propaganda. The report stated that arts

can make a distinct, if not precisely measurable, contribution to international understanding. Also, the overseas tours of our artists help to counter the widespread view that the United States is interested in little except material values.<sup>29</sup>

Promotion of the arts not only responded to economic interests, but also fulfilled the moral and spiritual aspirations of individuals. The report also underscored the political profit of achieving a better social cohesion and international status, which helped to include the arts as part of the government’s policies. This argument could be reversed at any point to defuse possible accusations of using the arts solely for economic or political interests, and it was given an appearance of disinterest by appealing to scientific and universal human values.

### **3.2.3 The Rockefeller Arts Program and Experimental Arts**

The RF’s support for the arts expanded with the establishment of the Arts Program in 1963. It followed from the federal government’s and RF’s sponsorship of international art exhibitions and cultural events in the 1950s and the directive of regulating cultural production elaborated in *The Performing Arts Report*. Support for producing challenging art, such as experimental and minority arts, became explicitly articulated by Boyd R. Compton, one of the Arts Program’s assistant directors.

Compton noted that because the goal of the programme was

to enhance the aesthetic values of our civilisation; this is done by facilitating the creation of art which is significant enough to disturb and change the lives of Americans who can respond to it.<sup>30</sup>

Compton identified the political and social significance of the programme by locating its impact not only in the lives and values of Americans, but also abroad. He stated that “with our new momentum and focus overseas, it is all more imperative that our

---

<sup>27</sup> John Kenneth Galbraith, *The Affluent Society*, rev. ed. (London: Penguin, 1999), first published in 1961.

<sup>28</sup> *The Performing Arts*, 7.

<sup>29</sup> *The Performing Arts*, 8.

<sup>30</sup> Boyd R. Compton, “The RF and the Arts,” April 10, 1963, p. 1, folder 2, box 1, series 925, RG 3.2, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

arts program here be concerned primarily with creative work of unusual value, and with the conditions that nurture it.”<sup>31</sup> He also noted that the aim to establish mainstream references, as well as to foster unique and original art was crucial to dynamise the art world. He advocated that

when such an establishment exists or can be brought into being – as in American painting and poetry – and presents art of relative merit, we would probably save our own virtue and humor by devoting at least 5 per cent of our art money for its subversion through experimental work.<sup>32</sup>

This illustrates the RF’s stance regarding arts’ management and strengthening competition. By channelling efforts towards experimental art which, is characterised, amongst other things, by exploration, enquiry, and critique, this art would stand as a counterpoint of mainstream trends. It could act as a source of comparison and influence, as well as offer an alternative option for audiences not engaging with mainstream trends.

This vision of arts management had an explicit rationale, which Compton articulated when he enumerated the deficiencies that had formerly curtailed the development of American theatre. These were

the lack of continuously presented dramatic values (traditional and modern) in performance, the consequent lack of form and impact in avant-garde work (which can only do a proper job of stimulating and changing when some type of establishment exists) and the lack of the necessary body of criticism.<sup>33</sup>

In Compton’s statement we can identify the focus of the RF’s support for experimental arts on three distinctive but interrelated elements: (1) *style*, which consists of forms and values that can be readily identified, (2) *infrastructures*, which are the material means used by artists and audiences, and secure some form of continuity, and (3) *critical apparatuses*, understood as discursive means that provide terms for interpretation and assessment, and guide the public reception of artworks.

In the following chapter I explain that these were the three cornerstones used by the RF to materialise its support for experimental cinema and promote a specific reading formation. Before examining the application of this rationale, we need to

---

<sup>31</sup> Boyd R. Compton, “The RF and the Arts,” April 10, 1963, p. 1, folder 2, box 1, series 925, RG 3.2, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

<sup>32</sup> Boyd R. Compton, “The RF and the Arts,” April 10, 1963, p. 2, folder 2, box 1, series 925, RG 3.2, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

<sup>33</sup> Boyd R. Compton, “The RF and the Arts,” April 10, 1963, p. 2, folder 2, box 1, series 925, RG 3.2, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

understand the more immediate political and intellectual context that prompted the inclusion of film within the arts policies.

### 3.3 Balancing Act: The Arts and Humanities Discussions

After Kennedy's assassination in 1963, President Lyndon B. Johnson continued with some of the former's enterprises, but elaborated his own programme, the *Great Society*. This resulted in various Acts of legislations being put into place in the first years of Johnson's administration. According to Toby Miller and George Yúdice, the *Great Society's* cultural policies were part of a package designed to deal with the instability caused by the economic and political polarisation of classes, gender and race.<sup>34</sup> These measures were directed to end segregation, expand the social security system, institute employment programmes, and support public education and the arts.<sup>35</sup>

Johnson signed the Cultural Development Act in September 1964, at the same time as the Civil Rights Act. The former was an extension of the 1958 NDEA, and became the basis of the 1965 National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities Act. It raised the status of arts and humanities to that of the sciences, and created the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) and the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH).<sup>36</sup> The pronouncement affirmed that artists should be given the material possibilities to develop their individual capacities. It legitimised government backing of artistic enterprises on the basis that they defined America's world leadership. It followed the premise that if the state had supported industrial and scientific projects before, now it would facilitate support for cultural matters. The Act attempted to attract private funding to develop the arts' sector, following the directives of *The Performing Arts Report*. Miller and Yúdice observe that this was resolved by using the Ford Foundation's system of matching grants, thus assuring that the government would not be the only and permanent source of funding.<sup>37</sup>

---

<sup>34</sup> Toby Miller and George Yúdice, "The United States, Cultural Policy and the National Endowment for the Arts," in *Cultural Policy*, ed. Toby Miller and George Yúdice (London: Sage, 2002), 35-71.

<sup>35</sup> For a perceptive analysis of the interconnection of aspects of production, inflation, social conditions and public policies in America during the 1960s and 1970s, see Marvin Harris, *America Now: The Anthropology of a Changing Culture* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1981).

<sup>36</sup> Michael Brenson, *Visionaries and Outcasts: The NEA, Congress and the Place of the Visual Artist in America* (New York: The New Press, 2001). See also Michael Brenson, "Where Do We Go from Here? The Place of the Artist and the NEA," in *Acts of Engagement: Writings on Art, Criticism and Institutions, 1993-2002* (Lanham: Rowan and Littlefield, 2004), 75-82.

<sup>37</sup> John Kreidler, "Leverage Lost: The Nonprofit Arts in the Post-Ford Era," *Journal of Arts Management, Law and Society*, 26, no. 2 (Summer, 1996): 79-100. See also Paul DiMaggio, "Support

Congress still had to resolve how to direct federal support while preserving the principle of freedom of expression. In order to achieve this, government officials should not be involved in the direct selection of grantees. Independent review panels were established for each endowment and they would apply the criteria specific to each area. Nevertheless, the selection of review panels and final approval of their choices passed through the National Council on Arts (NCA), which in turn fell under the umbrella of the National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities, whose ultimate authority was the U.S. President.<sup>38</sup> Executive government still maintained control over initial and final decisions, and reviewed entire programmes every five years. This system allowed a degree of internal regulation for each area, but was still monitored by the NCA, a situation that created tensions between the NCA and the AFI, as I show in chapter five.

As much as the NDEA encouraged the use of audiovisual technology in science education, the National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities Act also placed great emphasis on using audiovisual resources for arts and humanities education. *The Performing Arts* report stated that “the importance of the electronic media cannot be overstressed in increasing the availability of the performing arts of high quality and in creating new audiences and even new works for them.”<sup>39</sup> This statement reflected the considerable growth of the non-theatrical film production and audiences since the 1930s. This development was evident in the ever increasing number of screens in educational and other civic settings, many of them updated through NDEA support. Additionally, the non-theatrical film sector now included television and video, the latter having been launched commercially in 1963. Both video and television opened up new possibilities to deliver audiovisual content to non-theatrical screening spaces.

As I explained in the previous chapter, the theatrical film industry was experiencing a period of cross-over, economic instability, and rearrangement of its industrial model and ways of regulating content. Some independent filmmakers were attempting to place their films in theatrical venues. Simultaneously, studios were over-

---

for the Arts from Independent Foundations,” in *Nonprofit Enterprise in the Arts: Studies in Mission and Constraint* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 113-139.

<sup>38</sup> Although in internal administration papers National Endowment for the Arts and National Council on the Arts (NCA) are often used indistinctively, I refer to the NCA and its corresponding sub-panels to point out that the Council members decided the administration of the National Endowment for the Arts.

<sup>39</sup> The report singled out the role to play by educational television in this realm, for it “not being bound by the same requirements as commercial television, has potentially greater flexibility in programming material relating to the performing arts.” *The Performing Arts*, 198.



investing in feature productions which, even if some were successful at the box-office, such as *Lawrence of Arabia* (1962) and *Cleopatra* (1963), did not provide a reliable formula to recoup costs and brought economic uncertainty to investors.<sup>40</sup> In the early 1960s, a gradual takeover of Hollywood studios by large media corporations was underway.<sup>41</sup> Eventually, this takeover provided economic stability to maintain the cash-flow, and implied a larger restructure of the film industry's business model from vertical to horizontal integration, as I explain later in this chapter.

The abandonment of the studio system model to one where independent producers and exhibitors proliferated required updating the means to control competition. The PCA's sanctions on film content could not be enforced anymore and its moral standards were outdated. For a time during the mid-1960s, there was not much certainty about the shape of the new industrial organisation. After the death in 1963 of the MPAA Head, Eric Johnston, the trust lacked leadership for a few years, during which time different ideas for a new regulatory system were sketched out. Uncertainty finished when Jack Valenti, previously a press aide to President Johnson, became the new Head in 1966. Valenti stopped the PCA from conferring seals of approval on films and started to design a new system, eventually launched in October 1967. As I explain later, by this date Valenti was also one of the main figures of the AFI.

Thus, industrial and demographic changes made the American film industry rethink its overall approach. It wanted to maintain the international film market as a source of revenue as well as a source of controlled competition. But it also needed to adapt to the new methods of independent production, diverging demographic trends, as well as incorporate a strategy for the growing non-theatrical audiovisual sector. The members of the NCA prepared a regulatory policy that intertwined these objectives with educational aims. To justify these policies, the NCA officers incorporated some of the influential ideas of Marshall McLuhan, who articulated an argument on democratic participation and education through medium-specific aesthetics.

---

<sup>40</sup> Richard Maltby, *Hollywood Cinema* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), 160.

<sup>41</sup> Universal was taken over by MCA in 1962, Paramount by Gulf-Western in 1966, United Artists by Transamerica Corporation in 1967, Warner Bros. by Kinney National Services in 1969 and MGM by Las Vegas businessman Kirk Kerkorian in 1969. This merging integrated the film business within other media industries.

### 3.3.1 The Technological Utopia

McLuhan's ideas on the educational potential of medium-specific aesthetics gathered insights from structural linguistics, anthropology and literary history, as well as systems theory.<sup>42</sup> McLuhan worked on the premise that technology functions as an extension of the mind, and because different technologies arrange meaning in different ways, different technologies enable different forms of consciousness and social organisation.<sup>43</sup> McLuhan elaborated an account of the evolution of Western civilisation where vision had come to dominate over sound. For him, this evolution had created an aesthetic imbalance in prioritising the values of distance and objectivity, which also had an existential consequence, manifest in the Western sense of individual alienation.<sup>44</sup>

When assessing audiovisual technologies such as film, McLuhan argued that these recovered the oral dimension of communication, enabling a more immediate aesthetic quality that created simultaneously shared experiences. Furthermore, he noted that the physicality of television and video equipment granted a more direct and conscious engagement than film.<sup>45</sup> McLuhan argued for a more comprehensive education that responded to the internal characteristics, or bias, of each medium. This view implied that such an education responded to the self-regulated essence of each medium and was, therefore, guarded from external interests. McLuhan called attention to questions of space, time and the functions of communication, offering a point of departure to analyse the abilities of different communication technologies to organise mental processes. These claims appealed to artists and educators, especially those working with new technologies such as television and video. Eventually McLuhan advocated these groups take part in creating a utopian global community, linked by the means of mass communication and respecting diversity among citizens.<sup>46</sup>

---

<sup>42</sup> Edmund Carpenter and Marshall McLuhan, eds., *Explorations in Communication: An Anthology* (London: Beacon Press, 1960). Systems and signal theory evolved in the 1950s, prompting the development of computers as information processing machines, and influencing the use of the computer metaphor in other areas of sciences and humanities.

<sup>43</sup> Marshall McLuhan, *The Mechanical Bride: Folklore of Industrial Man* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1951). McLuhan drew heavily on literature scholar Walter Ong's work on literacy and orality, and sociologist Harold Innis on the impact of communication technologies in social organisation. In 1959 McLuhan became director of the Media Project of the National Association of Educational Broadcasters and the U.S. Office of Education, an experience out of which resulted in a report that served as the first draft for the forthcoming *Understanding Media* (1964).

<sup>44</sup> Marshall McLuhan, *The Gutenberg Galaxy: The Making of the Typographic Man* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1980).

<sup>45</sup> Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964), 65.

<sup>46</sup> Marshall McLuhan, Quentin Fiore and Jerome Agel, *War and Peace in the Global Village* (New York: Bantam Press, 1968).

McLuhan engaged with the medium-specificity tradition in arts history, but he is now criticised by many, mainly due to his historical and sociological inaccuracies. Regarding his egalitarian project, for instance, cultural theorist Stuart Hall points out the pitfalls of McLuhan's call to use modern technologies in education.<sup>47</sup> Hall notes that McLuhan's analysis does not consider that the transnational development of communication technologies can be tied into the fostering of capitalist patterns of economic organisation, political control and consumerist lifestyle. These implications may curtail the democratic aspirations he envisioned. However, McLuhan's argument about medium-specificity valued the spread of audiovisual technology as a means to establish better education and equality. It offered a humanistic foundation to justify the audiovisual education policies of the mid-1960s.

### 3.3.2 A Medium-Specific Approach to Education

After its constitution in 1965, the NCA echoed the egalitarian and educational directives of the *Great Society* plan by emphasising the need to engage with minorities and to establish standards in film education. Significantly, these NCA discussions were led by Kathryn Bloom. She was special advisor for Arts and Humanities at the U.S. Office of Education and the person at the front of the Arts in Education movement that aimed to bring the arts to mainstream America.<sup>48</sup> In her position at the Office of Education, Bloom sketched an arts education project in line with the *Performing Arts Report*, advocating rationalised professionalization and technological efficiency. She held a medium-specific view of art, contending that each area was intrinsically different, citing this as a reason why every professional and teacher should be specifically trained to do their job and use specific tools to be more efficient.<sup>49</sup> She also argued for bringing the arts into comprehensive education as a forerunner to professional careers by pushing for the inclusion of art-related questions

---

<sup>47</sup> Stuart Hall, "Old and New Identities, Old and New Ethnicities," in *Culture, Globalization and the World System*, ed. Anthony D. King (London: MacMillan Education, 1991), 41-68.

<sup>48</sup> Stanley S. Madeja, "Kathryn Bloom and the Genesis of the Arts in Education Movement," *Art Education* 45, no.4 (July 1992): 45-51. In 1964 Bloom had been appointed Special Advisor to the Commissioner of the Arts and Humanities Program of the Office's of Education, working for Francis Keppel, who implemented the Civil Rights act in schools. Between 1964 and 1966, she organised 17 conferences involving close to 710 participants, amongst them social scientists, educators and policy makers. These conferences brought together a specific mindset to the arts and education policy of the mid-1960s. In 1967, Bloom joined the Aesthetic Education Program of John D. Rockefeller III Fund.

<sup>49</sup> "Study and Position Paper: The Arts and Access to America Higher Education," *Current Programs in Public Media and Education*, page 2. Seventh Meeting of the National Council on the Arts, December 14-15, 1966. National Endowment for the Arts-National Council of the Arts Records of Meetings, 1965-1992, RG288, National Archives at College Park, Maryland, (NACP).

at College Entrance Boards. These measures intended to balance the teaching of sciences that had dominated since the application of the NDEA and shaped the subsequent academic reform. Next I explain how the NCA discussions addressed the ideas of personal expression and the educational advantages of film technology in relation to experimental and independent film production.

### **3.3.3 Experimental Film Production and Film Education**

During a Special Meeting of the NCA in June 1965, arguments about education were used to interconnect the economic, political and cultural objectives of the film policies. This discussion privileged experimental and independent production methods, thus engaging with the proposal and demands for reform of the experimental and independent film community outlined in chapter two. To uphold the idea of disinterested engagement, the NCA members concentrated on the notion of creative autonomy in independent production, as the federal government and the RF had applied since the 1930s to advance sponsored and propaganda filmmaking.

At this meeting, USIA producer George Stevens, Jr., and Hollywood actor Gregory Peck represented the NCA Public Media Panel.<sup>50</sup> The NCA Chairman, Roger Stevens, questioned the Public Media Panel's authority to use film for educational purposes. In particular, the Chairman enquired whether producing films on arts and artists might have some preservation value, such as the recording of dance performances. While the NCA members agreed on using films for such purposes, as representative of the Office of Education, Bloom first reminded the Council of the possibilities and constrictions of the legislation, referring specifically to Title VII of the NDEA, which authorised the Office to undertake research and experimentation in the effective use of educational media such as film, television and radio.<sup>51</sup> Accordingly, Bloom insisted that this title "included a provision for using all kinds of educational media and this includes

---

<sup>50</sup> George Stevens Jr., was son of George Stevens, Hollywood director and producer of films such as *Giant* (1956) and member the Office of War Information film crews during WWII. Before joining the Public Media Panel of the NCA, George Stevens Jr., had been working as Head of Motion Picture Production at the USIA during the Kennedy years. I analyse Stevens' approach as producer in detail in chapter five in connection to the methods instituted in the management of the AFI production fund. In order to differentiate George Stevens Jr., from the NCA Chairman, Roger Stevens, a Broadway producer and real estate impresario, I refer to the latter as the Chairman.

<sup>51</sup> Saettler, *The Evolution of American Educational Technology*, 412.

films, tape and programmed learning.”<sup>52</sup> While the first provision authorised the Office of Education to commission films with educational purposes, the second authorised the Office of Education to promote and disseminate research on these technologies. In other words, it enabled the distribution of any content as long as the NCA could argue that it had educational value.<sup>53</sup> Another NCA member, Paul Engle, cited this as the NCA’s authority to send films “out to the schools and colleges as just instructive films, and inspirational films.”<sup>54</sup>

Yet, the NCA members remarked that they should be cautious. First, they noted the recurring concern that if producing films they would be competing with professional film producers and distributors. Second, they recognised their direct involvement in film production could be seen as an overt attempt at propaganda. To answer this, Bloom responded that they would proceed with care and reiterated the premise of working within the enabling legislation that defined the educational objectives of the programmes. Film production, in association with non-theatrical exhibition venues, such as universities and museums, provided a solution.

Bloom illustrated the preferred procedure with an example: a film project on the anthropology of African dance that the black female dancer Pearl Premus was preparing as a part of her doctoral dissertation at New York University. This film was “made specifically for grade school children to help them to understand African culture through dance and through sculpture [...] this is Pearl Premus on film, but it is not Pearl Premus on film just because she is Pearl Premus, you see.”<sup>55</sup> This film was produced by an individual artist and scholar supported by an educational institution, and only shown in non-theatrical networks. This educational application of audiovisual technology in non-theatrical film environments offered a way to engage with minorities through role models.

---

<sup>52</sup> Special Meeting, National Council on the Arts, Tarrytown, June 25, 1965, p.46. NEA- NCA Records of Meetings, 1965-1992, RG288, NACP.

<sup>53</sup> Significantly, during the first meeting of the Council of the Arts the members had discussed the implementation of the Florence Agreement. (First Meeting of the NCA, April 9-10, 1965. NEA- NCA Records of Meetings, 1965-1992. RG288, NACP). The Florence Agreement was a 1950 UNESCO treaty that excised taxes on the international circulation of educational materials for non-commercial purposes. Even though the U.S. signed it in 1950, the U.S. authorities did not ratify it fearing that an overflow of products imported from other English-speaking countries would threaten their industry. The U.S. finally joined the Agreement in 1966 and early in 1967 Congress eliminated duties on all imported educational materials.

<sup>54</sup> Special Meeting of the National Council on the Arts, Tarrytown, June 25, 1965, p. 47. NEA- NCA Records of Meetings, 1965-1992. RG288, NACP.

<sup>55</sup> Special Meeting of the NCA, Tarrytown, June 25, 1965, p. 48. NEA-NCA Records of Meetings, 1965-1992. RG288, NACP. This approach mixed scholarship and general education aim production and it was later utilised by the AFI Student Program, although more general education films were produced by the Public Media Panel and the NEH, especially after 1974. See chapter 6 for discussion on these matters.

Increasing the number of independently produced educational films raised the need to incorporate new aesthetics and experimental practices. The Chairman noted the problem of the availability and standards of the films that would feed educational television programming and engage with young audiences. He highlighted the collection of Encyclopaedia Britannica Films as an example of educational films, but Stevens argued that these were insufficient, noting also that the educational standards of the theatrical companies were not the most adequate. Stevens then insisted that the NCA needed not only to preserve dance in film but also train people “to learn the methods to film those dances.”<sup>56</sup> Such methods were already manifest in various experimental films that explored immediacy and rhythm in dance, as in *Choreography for the Camera* (Maya Deren, 1945), *Dance in the Sun* (Shirley Clarke, 1953), and *Thanatopsis* (Ed Emshwiller, 1962).<sup>57</sup> Stevens’ statement seems to imply an interest to bring more innovative aesthetics to educational films. From this point, he led the discussion towards film training.

Stevens noted the concern that the mainstream U.S. theatrical film industry and film training were both disconnected from what was happening in the rest of the world. Thus he conjured the vision of making more innovative films in order to increase America’s cultural status. He explained this with an anecdote: “I met a man the other day that came from Iran. He was studying at University. He came here to learn films, because America is the place to learn films.”<sup>58</sup> But Stevens continued that this reputation was fading, lagging behind the younger European cinemas because when

the young people would come to this country to learn about films, [they] are coming because of something that was passed on from the past, not from the present. They certainly can learn more about having to do with the cinematic art [sic] of Czecho-Slovakia than they can in America, and certainly in France, and in England.<sup>59</sup>

The case for promoting film education became stronger with this comparison between U.S. and European film culture. The U.S. risked losing its cultural influence, now that youth culture and film criticism were very attentive to European cinemas.

---

<sup>56</sup> Special Meeting of the NCA, Tarrytown, June 25, 1965, p. 49. NEA-NCA Records of Meetings, 1965-1992. RG288, NACP.

<sup>57</sup> At this point dance films were also crossing-over with contemporary art practices such as Carolee Schneeman and Yvonne Rainier’s filmed dance and body performances at the Judson Church Theater in New York.

<sup>58</sup> Special Meeting of the NCA, Tarrytown, June 25, 1965, p. 49. NEA-NCA Records of Meetings, 1965-1992. RG288, NACP.

<sup>59</sup> Special Meeting of the NCA, Tarrytown, June 25, 1965, p. 51. NEA-NCA Records of Meetings, 1965-1992. RG288, NACP.

Significantly, Stevens singled out Czechoslovakia, a country under Soviet influence that had government-related film production units and a renowned national film school. During a short period in the early 1960s, Czechoslovakia was going through a process of de-Stalinization and abandoning socialist realist aesthetics.<sup>60</sup> Film schools and production units allowed wider margins for formal experimentation and social commentary, giving way of what is known as the Czech New Wave.<sup>61</sup> With this comparison, Stevens invoked in the NCA meeting the fear of losing cultural appeal to Cold War adversaries.

Stevens' argument moved from the production of better educational films to the revitalisation of theatrical cinema as a way to maintain the U.S. cultural influence and with it, its political status. This led him to explain the advantages of a single independent agency such as a film institute. It could resolve the needs of the educational and theatrical film sectors by setting up standards for both and thus taking part in the current process of transformation affecting the film industry. Stevens included a film school in the plan, to act as a landmark reference for other university film courses. The Council discussed other important issues that day: first, the lack of integration of film education with other liberal arts, and second, the need for curricular reform to balance the teaching of sciences and arts, both important aspects linking the film institute project with wider academic reform.

### **3.3.4 The Policy Priorities**

At the end of the Special Meeting in June, Peck and Stevens suggested commissioning a study from the Stanford Research Institute (SRI). The study was to examine possible arrangements and locations for the film institute. It had to consider the optimal administration of the NCA's money and decide where the Office of Education would fit in the institute's plan. In September 1965, Lyndon B. Johnson signed into law the National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities Act, and publicly announced that "we will create an American Film Institute, bringing together leading artists of the film industry, outstanding educators, and young men and women who

---

<sup>60</sup> Marek Hendrykowski, "Changing States in East Central Europe," in *The Oxford History of World Cinema*, ed. Geoffrey Nowell-Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 632-640.

<sup>61</sup> Many of the filmmakers associated with the Czech New Wave during the 1960s, such as Vera Chytilová, Milos Forman and Jiri Menzel, had studied at the Czech national film school.

wish to pursue the 20th century art form as their life's work."<sup>62</sup> Johnson also announced the establishment of national institutions to support American ballet, opera and theatre. Nevertheless, only the film institute eventually saw the light two years after the announcement. Johnson's statement implied that the idea of an integrated single film institution was more advanced than the just commissioned SRI study could have concluded by that time.

The priority of launching the institute had to do with adapting to changes in film production and film culture initiated in the post-war years. To meet this objective, the establishment of the AFI as a project controlled by the major companies of the theatrical film industry was crucial. The weight of this presence was evident in the resolution of the fifth meeting of the NCA in May 1966.<sup>63</sup> The NCA members convened to decide the projects that would receive unrestricted funds, having to choose between the National Educational Television, the preservation of MoMA's nitrate film collection, the AFI, a photographic slide project for showing artworks at schools, and a project for "audience development."<sup>64</sup>

The National Educational Television project was given precedence above all. But there was a contention between the AFI and MoMA regarding the coordination of the national film preservation project. Peck claimed that rather than a question of priorities, it was one of practicalities, because at that point the NCA was considering matching grants for the AFI from the MPAA, the Lincoln Center and UCLA.<sup>65</sup> Peck

---

<sup>62</sup> Lyndon B. Johnson, "Remarks at the Signing of the Arts and Humanities Bill, September 29, 1965" in *The American Presidency Project*, ed. John T. Woolley and Gerhard Peters. <<http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=27279>> accessed 05/03/2010

<sup>63</sup> Fifth Meeting of the NCA, May 15, 1966. NEA-NCA Records of Meetings, 1965-1992, RG288, NACP. Present at this discussion was Livingston Biddle, AFI's Charles Rutenberg, Rene D'Hanoncourt, MoMA's director, Henry Geldhazer of the Metropolitan Museum, and David Stewart, for the National Educational Television project. Stewart had been media consultant to the American Council on Education and numerous philanthropies. In 1952, Stewart worked with the Ford Foundation in order to start the National Educational Television project. He also surveyed the availability of film related courses at universities and colleges in the U.S., a key document to push for university film study reform. See David C. Stewart, *Film Study in Higher Education* (Washington DC: American Council on Education, 1966). In 1967, National Educational Television was superseded by the Corporation of Public Broadcasting (CPB) that undertook distribution of educational programmes and production funds to affiliated stations. See also Daniel Marcus, "Public Television and Public Access in the U.S." in *The Television History Book*, ed. Michele Hilmes (London: BFI, 2003), 55-59, and more on Stewart in chapter five.

<sup>64</sup> Fifth Meeting of the NCA, May 15 1966. NCA-NEA Records of Meetings, 1965-1992, RG288, NACP.

<sup>65</sup> Fifth Meeting of the NCA, May 15, 1966, p. 3-18. NEA-NCA Records of Meetings, 1965-1992, RG288, NACP. At that time, William Schuman, the director of the New York Lincoln Center projected to create a New York Film Institute, under the direction of Cinema 16's Amos Vogel and Richard Roud, both of whom were organising the New York Film Festival at the Center since 1963. This project was more closely aligned to the resources and institutions existing in New York. For more on this proposal, see Amos Vogel "The Unfulfilled Promise of Film at Lincoln Center" *The Sticking*



implied that the AFI project had the most likely support from the MPAA, and such presence was crucial in advancing preservation, as well as in other matters such as funding criteria and content standards. Eventually, the NCA decided that the AFI would oversee the preservation project, coordinating the archival resources of MoMA, Library of Congress, and George Eastman House. The participation of the MPAA also established the theatrical film industry's priority to determine the AFI's film production and education policies. The SRI data shows the way that different production and educational aims were interconnected.

### 3.4 The Stanford Report and the Objectives of the AFI

When the SRI presented its report, *Organization and Location of the American Film Institute*, to the NCA in February 1967, it had no conclusions as to what would be the permanent sources of funding for the organisation.<sup>66</sup> Yet, the AFI was incorporated one month later, in March 1967.<sup>67</sup> The SRI report stated that the AFI project stemmed from the Congressional Acts of 1963 and 1964 that established “the case for the federal government to *supplement* private initiative.”<sup>68</sup> It acknowledged that the institute could help the industry become stronger and more comprehensive, but it would not interfere with the industry's self-regulation. Thus, the AFI was established to perform an additional role in the management of film production and film education.

The SRI Report endorsed the idea of the AFI as a project partly funded by the government. To meet this objective, it was important to focus on how film could contribute to general education. Yet, throughout the document there was a mixed, interchangeable, conception of the political and economic importance of film, its national and international significance, and the meaning of film education. These various concerns were considered in the AFI's statement of purpose:

---

Place <[http:// www.thestickingplace.com/film/films/film](http://www.thestickingplace.com/film/films/film) -as-subversive art/the-unfulfilled-promised...> accessed 15/04/2013, and Kreul, *New York, New Cinemas*.

<sup>66</sup> Stanford Research Institute, *Organisation and Location of the American Film Institute*, February 1967. National Endowment for the Arts Library, Washington DC. Thereafter, SRI Report. Through the last part of 1966 the Council was waiting on the Report. In December 1966 the Council members stated that the report was not finished but that the Council “will not be financially obligated for this extension.” Seventh Meeting of the NCA, December 14-15, 1966, p. 8- 9. NEA-NCA Records of Meetings, 1965-1992. RG288, NACP.

<sup>67</sup> Correspondence Internal Revenue Service, U.S. Treasury Department to the American Film Institute, c/o Charles B. Ruttenberg, May 19, 1967, p. 1, folder 2, box R1497, sub-series R, series 200, RG 200, Rockefeller Foundations Archives, RAC.

<sup>68</sup> SRI Report, 5. My emphasis.

To foster and promote national policy to develop leadership of the United States in artistic and cultural film endeavors and the use of film, both nationally and internationally, in the best interests of the country.<sup>69</sup>

The above assertion identified films with the entrepreneurial spirit and political status of the country. From this followed the duty to promote education by encouraging “film artists to achieve, demonstrate and maintain high standards of professional excellence.”<sup>70</sup> These statements closely intertwined political, economic and cultural power. The federal administration applied the policy to promote a set of cultural values. Such promotion implied definite economic conditions which, in turn, could define the political position of the promoted values. Yet this is better understood not in a mechanistic way, but as a regulatory process with different components amongst which contradictions may appear. I illustrate one of these contradictions more clearly in chapter five when I explain how the AFI production policy promoted the value of personal expression, allowing critical views of the political status quo. Yet, at the same time, this policy circumscribed the material conditions of experimental and independent practices through a set of economic relations. Before explaining that, we need to attend to how the SRI report identified different notions of film education to articulate such circumscription.

### **3.4.1 Film Education in the SRI Report**

The SRI report, initially referred to ‘film education’ as the production of artistic, scientific and pilot films. Yet, as the report unfolded, it also implied professional training in filmmaking, education in film history, and use of audiovisual technology in general education.<sup>71</sup> These different notions came together when the report stated the need to advance film policy by underscoring that the educative potential of film was not fully exploited:

despite studies during the 1930s which indicated the great potential impact of film on youth, and experiments to increase appreciation of film, film as a major art form has not achieved a position of major significance in school curricula.<sup>72</sup>

Such reference loosely related two different aspects: research on influence and persuasion, such as the studies undertaken in the 1930s by the Payne Studies and later by the Rockefeller Communications Group, and the need to expand the use of films at

---

<sup>69</sup> SRI Report, 7.

<sup>70</sup> SRI Report, 7.

<sup>71</sup> SRI Report, 57.

<sup>72</sup> SRI Report, 58.

schools, such as the NDEA promoted. This last aspect, however, put an additional emphasis on using films to study academic subjects, including film itself.

Even though the SRI analysis of the potential of film for education was vague, the authors linked film education with the need to engage with youth culture, for they saw that “continuing emphasis on books and other literary forms of communication, to the general exclusion of film, seriously impairs rapport between students and the educational system.”<sup>73</sup> This echoes the contemporary proposal for education reform by the influential academic and critic Daniel Bell.<sup>74</sup> Bell pointed to the generational gap and social unrest currently witnessed by American society, and advocated transforming education from its elementary level by engaging more with popular and minority cultures. Bell thus argued for reducing the widening schism between society and university, researchers and undergraduates, and first and second-class universities. Like other reform advocates such as C.P. Snow, Bell placed this interest in the pressing context of international relations, which “has made us sharply aware of non-Western societies and cultures.”<sup>75</sup> Bell made the international success of the U.S. dependent on its home governance, a perspective that helped to gain support amongst those reluctant to state intervention in education. The SRI report used the same rhetorical operation as Snow and Bell to propose expanding film education into primary and secondary education, and beyond the main academic centres for film study. To achieve this, the film institute was envisioned as an “overall source for stimulating and coordinating film study in general education.”<sup>76</sup> This was an attempt to instigate an early, comprehensive education through the purportedly more engaging and efficient means of audiovisual communication. This aim of “audience development” engaged with other NCA programmes on media literacy based on medium-specific directives that I explain in the next chapter.

The definition of film education became clearer when the report distinguished between theatrical, television and non-theatrical production. Theatrical film exhibition was the realm of feature length films. The television sector admitted anything that was primarily produced for broadcast. Everything else was defined as the non-theatrical sector, which included “the production of films for business-industrial, educational,

---

<sup>73</sup> SRI Report, 58.

<sup>74</sup> Daniel Bell, “The Reforming of General Education,” in *American Higher Education Transformed, 1940-2005: Documenting the National Discourse*, ed. Wilson Smith and Thomas Bender (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2008), 169-172.

<sup>75</sup> Bell, “The Reforming of General Education,” 170.

<sup>76</sup> SRI Report, 61.

governmental and other purposes.”<sup>77</sup> Below I argue that the report delineated the way in which film education would function differently in each sector, eventually having an impact on the regulation of experimental and independent film practices.

### 3.4.2 The Theatrical Film Sector

The figures included in the SRI report painted the current state of the film industry under the light of growing employment outside Hollywood’s film industry.<sup>78</sup> Domestic employment in the industry had decreased from 273,000 people in 1948 to 160,000 in 1965, a significant amount that could reflect the overall tendency to recruit fewer people in productions located in the U.S., and the growth of independent productions outside the industry’s guilds. In parallel, the number of people involved in U.S. productions but working overseas was 13,500 people in 1965. Further, the report indicated that the overall payroll in production was \$390 million inside Hollywood, versus \$100 million outside Hollywood for that year.

These figures brought to the fore two issues, the delocalisation of the work force outside Hollywood and outside the U.S., and the growth in revenue generated outside Hollywood’s motion picture industry. These independent employees were increasingly less affiliated with guilds and unions, threatening the MPAA’s control of the business. The report also considered the changes in exhibition modes, which was a key factor in the industry’s revenues. The report pointed out that indoor theatrical exhibition spaces had decreased from 17,811 in 1948 to 9,600 in 1965, possibly as a result of the competition with television and other forms of entertainment.<sup>79</sup> This was compensated by the growth of drive-ins, from 820 in 1948 to 3,600 in 1965. The avid movie-goers who frequented drive-ins, mostly young people, were the focus of

---

<sup>77</sup> SRI Report, 69.

<sup>78</sup> SRI Report, Appendix B-3, Characteristics of the U.S. Motion Picture Industry. Source: *Film Daily Yearbook*, 1965, 1966. Motion Picture Association of America (MPAA); International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees. This and the following data are only an indicative of what the report presented to validate the establishment of the AFI. The report’s data is often incomplete. Clear comparisons are difficult to establish because of lacking terms of comparison or the source of data not being clearly identified. More information on economics changes in Hollywood during the period can be found in John Sedgwick, "Product Differentiation at the Movies: Hollywood, 1946-65," in *An Economic History of Film*, ed. John Sedgwick and Mike Pokorny, (London: Routledge, 2004), 286-217. However, Sedgwick also notes the general unreliability of Hollywood’s industry data.

<sup>79</sup> SRI Report, Appendix B-3, Characteristics of the U.S. Motion Picture Industry, Theatrical Motion Pictures. Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Census of Business, 1948, 1963.

attention of the film industry in order to recover attendance figures in theatrical exhibition.

The U.S. share of the world box-office in 1966 amounted to \$1,675 million. This revenue was split between 47% accrued in the domestic market, and 53% in the foreign market. These figures reflect Hollywood's dependence on foreign revenues to maintain its system of checks and balances, now over the 40% foreign quota set by the MPAA after the war. Table 1 contains a breakdown of the SRI Report figures, which called attention to two important features: (1) the U.S. domestic market was dominated by foreign independent films, and (2) regardless of their provenance, less than half of the released films were approved by the Production Code.

*Table 1.* Characteristics of the U.S. Film Industry: Theatrical Motion Pictures.

Feature Film Production and Releases (1965)	U.S. Produced	Imported
By Major Companies	98	69
By Independent Companies	55	230
Subtotal	153	299
Total	452	
Number of Features Approved by Production Code Administration	191	

*Source:* SRI Report. Characteristics of the U.S. Motion Picture Industry, Theatrical Motion Pictures, *Film Daily Yearbook*, 1966.

This chart made the U.S. theatrical features appeared threatened by the number of foreign independents, but in reality these numbers could hide many U.S. runaway productions and not pose an economic challenge. The challenge that this data highlighted was to shift to the new trends in industrial organisation, which were marked by multinational conglomeration, and productions removed from Hollywood, either geographically or through non-guild affiliation. Given these prospects, from then onwards, it did not matter so much where the films were produced. Instead, the theatrical industry needed to set limits on those movies that did not carry Hollywood's production or distribution investment.

However, there was a possibility that the decentralised model of production diluted the distinctive quality of American culture for national and international audiences. The SRI report appealed to the need to protect U.S. culture when it

mentioned that other film institutions established in foreign countries aim “to provide training for their artists, cultivation of their film heritage, and other forms of support to bolster their smaller film industries against the early world-dominance established by the United States.”<sup>80</sup> Just as European countries had protected their cultural identity and industries by encouraging the production of art cinema, the SRI report argued for protecting American film production. Thus, it also asserted the need for a mechanism like a film institute to establish the criteria that secured the preservation of the past and future of American cinema.

At first, this protectionist policy was justified by a cultural agenda, but it also had economic consequences. In contrast to the European subsidies, such a protectionist advance would mostly benefit the U.S. theatrical film industry, given the latter’s international economic dominance. Ultimately, the policy could be argued to benefit only the film industry, unless it brought some form of political profit, such as promoting an image of the U.S. that could also benefit citizens. The SRI report anticipated this understanding by suggesting the political implications of a film institute. It noted that “Russia and other Eastern European countries have employed their national film institutions and film art itself as instruments of national policy for internal and external propaganda.”<sup>81</sup> As a result, the AFI was given political purpose, and the focus on film education encompassed protectionist and political objectives. Next, I explain the report’s plans to regulate film education, and the role of independent and experimental cinema within this plan.

### **3.4.3 Development of the Non-Theatrical Sector**

The specific place of independent production methods in this policy was clarified in relation to the expansion of film training and film studies. The report indicated that between 1952 and 1965, the number of film courses had grown from 575 to 825, a significant 43% increase that included training in filmmaking techniques as well as appreciation of film art and history.<sup>82</sup> The report further listed the placement of graduates in each of the industry’s sectors. By 1965 close to a half of graduates at U.S. film schools were placed in the non-theatrical motion picture sector (150-200 out

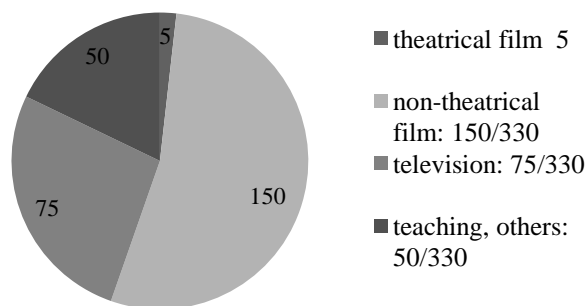
---

<sup>80</sup> SRI Report, 21.

<sup>81</sup> SRI Report, 21.

<sup>82</sup> SRI Report, 61. The report considered the 100 largest U.S. colleges and universities using the data of David C. Stewart, “The Study of Motion Pictures in Colleges and Universities,” *Educational Record* (Winter 1965), 49.

of 330-460).<sup>83</sup> The second largest amount of graduates went into television (75-100 out of 330-460). This was followed by other film-related occupations in teaching, administration and others (50-75 out of 330-460), whilst only 5-10 went into the theatrical motion picture sector. Figure 1 gives an impression of the distribution of film graduates according to their finding a position in the different segments of the film job market.



Source: SRI Report

*Figure 1.* Distribution of Graduates According to Job Market

The report thus identified the importance of promoting film training as a way to cater for the growing non-theatrical and television sectors. The report also acknowledged that the larger scales of production of the typical feature film for theatrical exhibition implied a clear division of professional activities. This contrasted with smaller productions, where many functions such as producer, writer, director, cameraman, and editor, tended to fall to the same person, “the typical independent ‘filmmaker’ (or ‘cineaste’).”<sup>84</sup> Film training thus welcomed the incorporation of independent production methods in order to develop the television and non-theatrical sectors.

Table 2 represents the SRI report figures on the main sources of demand for non-theatrical films where the private sector dominates, closely followed by public services.

<sup>83</sup> SRI Report, 70. Source: SRI Report. The report provided an estimated of total graduates ranging between 330 and 460. For the graphic I have used the lower values of the range.

<sup>84</sup> SRI Report, 73.

*Table 2. Annual Expenditure in Non-Theatrical Production According to Investment by Market Sector*

Business and Industry	\$319,000,000
Education	\$282,000,000
Government	\$90,000,000
Religion	\$20,000,000
Community Services Agencies	\$19,000,000
Medicine and Health	\$ 9,000,000
Total	\$739,000,000

*Source:* SRI Report: Characteristics of the U.S. Motion Picture Industry, Non-Theatrical Motion Pictures, Society of Motion Picture and Television Engineers (SMPTE).

These numbers point out specific areas of demand, such as business and education. The report further specified the importance of services adjacent to non-theatrical film production. Amongst these services, technological development featured prominently. Table 3 represents the breakdown of the overall figures.

*Table 3. Annual Expenditure in Nontheatrical Production According to Products and Services.*

Production	\$153,000,000
Distribution	\$126,000,000
Release Prints	\$96,000,000
Motion Picture Equipment	\$42,000,000
Other Audio-Visual Production	\$96,000,000
Administration	\$226,000,000
Total	\$739,000,000

*Source:* SRI Report: Characteristics of the U.S. Motion Picture Industry, Non-Theatrical Motion Pictures, SMPTE.

These figures point to the economic relevance of the diversification of services and products of the non-theatrical audiovisual sector, where independent production methods were to be mostly developed.



In relation to the areas of investment, the report also differentiated between types of non-theatrical films according to use. Table 4 indicates the distribution of types of non-theatrical films in 1965.

*Table 4. Non-Theatrical Productions According to Use.*

<b>Sales:</b> selling and promotion, sales training; company personnel, dealer and (or) jobber personnel.	55%
<b>Advertising:</b> Product (product of service shown in action), corporate image (sometimes a public relations function)	14%
<b>Public Relations:</b> Education (business sponsored educational films), public service group relations (stockholders, community)	13%
<b>Industrial Relations:</b> Employee and labor relations, supervisory training, safety, job training, work simplification (time and motion studies)	6%
<b>Research and Development:</b> analytical (high-speed, time-lapse) Instrumentation, reporting, other uses.	12%

*Source:* SRI Report. Characteristics of the U.S. Motion Picture Industry, Non-Theatrical Motion Pictures, SMPTE.

A detailed look at these non-theatrical film production figures reveals the importance of sponsored filmmaking, where the lines between educational and propaganda films are often blurred.

Table 5 shows the number of non-theatrical productions according to theme, an analysis that segments the sector according to main sponsors and demonstrates the relative importance of avant-garde cinema within this sector.

Table 5. Non-Theatrical Productions According to Themes/Sponsors.

Business and Industry	6,500
Government	1,900
Education	1,370
Medicine	390
Religion	210
Community Services Agency	210
Avant-Garde	190
<b>Total</b>	<b>10,670</b>

*Source:* SRI Report: Characteristics of the U.S. Motion Picture Industry, Non-Theatrical Motion Pictures, SMPTE.

The largest numbers of sponsored films were required for advertising and industrial communication. These were to fulfil functions such as sales, training and internal communication. Following in importance were government and education films, which sponsored films on specific issues such as health, history, sex education, social and cultural issues, usually from a liberal, non-radical perspective. Avant-garde productions represented the smallest number in the non-theatrical sector.

The timely relevance of this policy for the articulation of non-theatrical audiovisual communications within the services sector and its effects upon the public sphere cannot be underestimated. At the time of the report, there were 862,000 16mm projectors across the U.S.<sup>85</sup> The prognosis for growth of the non-theatrical film sector was augmented by the wider availability of television sets, video cassette players, and projectors.<sup>86</sup> Table 6 details the institutional affiliation of non-theatrical film repositories and other dissemination mechanism in the U.S., such as film libraries and film societies, which would be affected by the implementation of the national policy.

---

<sup>85</sup> SRI Report, B-6, Appendix B: Characteristics of the U.S. Motion Picture Industry, Non-Theatrical Motion Pictures. Source: SMPTE.

<sup>86</sup> The number of television receivers in the U.S. was 67,100,000 in 1965. This number expanded the horizon of potential exhibition screens much further than the 862,000 16mm projectors, and the 13,200 theatrical screens available the same year. SRI Report, Characteristics of the U.S. Motion Picture Industry, Television. Source: Motion Picture Almanac, 1965.

Table 6. Non-Theatrical Film Repositories.

Educational Institutions	1,400
Governmental Bodies	560
Medical Associations	400
Religious Groups	400
Other Film Libraries (approximate)	2,240
Total	5,000

Source: SRI Report, Characteristics of the U.S. Motion Picture Industry, Nontheatrical Motion Pictures. UNESCO, *World Communications*, New York, 1966.

The full impact of this growth in audiovisual production needs be assessed in relation to the diversification of civic, entertainment and educational activities associated with such non-theatrical screenings.

In summary, the data identified by the SRI report framed the establishment of the AFI as an educational project whose aims were to coordinate the developments in the non-theatrical sector and the expansion of film courses. The AFI could also pay special attention to the meeting points between theatrical and non-theatrical cinema. Having the MPAA's committed to the project also meant that the institute could help to regulate the experimental and independent cinemas in a way that did not interfere with the trust's own interests.

### **3.5 Changes in Standards of Content and the Film Industry's Model in the late 1960s**

At the time that the SRI report was being redacted, the then head of the MPAA, Valenti, was sketching out the new ratings system to supersede the PCA. The new system would respond to the theatrical market's changing audience demographics, and the growth of independent producers and exhibitors favoured by the breakdown of the studio system's vertical integration. The increasing importance of international and independent productions, as well as the diversification of media and entertainment options entailed that a way to control competition and secure

revenues was to target distinctive audience groups with specific products.<sup>87</sup> The new MPAA ratings system defined content according to age categories such as children, teenagers and adults. It divided the market in view of these rough types and thus oriented production. The system converged with the methods of classification used in other countries such as Britain, which also facilitated international standardisation. Nevertheless, the theatrical film industry still had to find formulae to engage with the youth, something that since the 1950s had been covered by B-Movies, independent and experimental productions shown at film societies and independent theatres.

By the end of the 1960s, Hollywood studios started recruiting a younger generation of film graduates, in hope that this new talent would bring fresh ideas to theatrical filmmaking. Film historian David Cook notes that the appeal to the youth market was “correctly understood to be the driving resurgence in film attendance.”<sup>88</sup> This came to the fore with the box-office success of *Easy Rider* (Dennis Hopper, 1969), a film revisiting the American dream of the Frontier and freedom from the perspective of a disheartened and confused counterculture. Many people involved in the production of *Easy Rider* had had their first filmmaking opportunities with Roger Corman’s B-Movies in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Noticeably, the cast and script of *The Trip* (Roger Corman, 1967) are *Easy Rider*’s most direct antecedents. Both films engaged with the current underground and countercultural interest in drugs. They enacted psychedelic experiences through lens flare, abstract imagery and montage techniques. In the case of *The Trip*, Corman did not want either to condemn or to endorse LSD, but being released at a moment of public debate around the drug, American International Pictures’ final edit of the film pushed a more disapproving stance. Shortly after, part of the team involved in *The Trip* embarked on to independently produce *Easy Rider*, which portrayed the 1960s young generation journeying into insanity.<sup>89</sup> The film was sold to a major for distribution, and its box-office success earned the latter substantial revenues. This arrangement hinted at what could be an avenue for the theatrical industry’s recovery and revamp, which meant

---

<sup>87</sup> Like the previous MPAA code, the new ratings system had at its base a mechanism of pre-production censorship. Production companies submitted the scripts and then received a list of suggested changes to include the film under one of the rated categories. Its enforcement depends on a combination of formal and informal pressure such access to distribution channels and public criticism.

<sup>88</sup> David Cook, “Auteur Cinema and the ‘Film Generation’ in the 1970s,” in *The New American Cinema*, ed. Jon Lewis (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998), 34.

<sup>89</sup> Peter Biskin, *Easy Riders, Raging Bulls: How the Sex 'n' Drugs 'n' Rock 'n' Roll Generation Saved Hollywood* (London: Bloomsbury, 1998).

taking into account current cultural trends, and buying independently produced films for distribution.

Significantly, Corman gave their first opportunities to other young filmmakers, such as Francis Ford Coppola, Martin Scorsese, James Cameron, Peter Bogdanovich and Joe Dante, who also started their Hollywood careers at this point. Thomas Elsaesser argues that Corman's productions advanced a model of "autonomy within the system" where

the more nimble, small-is-beautiful, artisanal mode of American independent film production, for which the producer-writer-director, negotiating with the studios on a film-by-film basis, or a production company dedicated to its creative talent seemed to be a pragmatic mode of organisation.<sup>90</sup>

This flexible production model enables a degree of creative autonomy during production that recalls that of the *auteur*. However, distribution and exhibition conditions significantly affect what are often considered important creative decisions like final cuts. This model fitted the new conditions of the theatrical film industry by offering the possibility to tailor individual projects to changing market demands and distribution possibilities.

Despite this new talent's promise to regenerate Hollywood, recession hit the industry during the early 1970s. It took time until it recovered its strength in the mid-1970s. Stability came about with the blockbuster formula of highly-invested productions expecting large revenues. This became the main and more stable mode of production, while smaller or independent projects offered alternatives.<sup>91</sup> Meanwhile, the MPAA maintained its stronghold over distribution channels. It outdid competitors by "saturating" or buying out most of the screens to exhibit a film for a period of time in a determinate area. Thus it kept under control the entrance and revenue of non-MPAA invested foreign and independent films. The inclusion of film companies within multi-media conglomerates after the 1960s transformed the business from vertical to horizontal integration. In this model, film production is related to other types of consumer products and services such as book publishing, merchandising and entertainment parks. This interconnection provides companies with stability and limits competition. Companies are able to sustain themselves from other sources of income, even if film production is halted by a crisis. Companies also minimise risk through

---

<sup>90</sup> Thomas Elsaesser "Auteur Cinema and the New Economy Hollywood," in *The Persistence of Hollywood*, 237-255 (London: Routledge, 2012), 246.

<sup>91</sup> Cook, "Auteur Cinema and the 'Film Generation' in the 1970s," 13.

pre-sales and distribution packages that secure revenue.<sup>92</sup> The SRI report's data on film education had also envisaged the relevance of engaging with the youth as both producers and audiences.

### 3.5.1 The Future of Film Training and Film Studies

The SRI report pointed to the future of film training and its integration with academic and liberal studies. Film studies continued growing in the late 1960s and early 1970s.<sup>93</sup> Michael Zryd notes that the increased demand for university film courses at this point responded to the development of film culture on campuses, notably through film societies, the availability of simple and cheaper modes of artisanal production, and the growth of a youth culture brought up in the television era.<sup>94</sup> Zryd points out that the participatory and personal expressive appeal of experimental and independent filmmaking captured the mood of the moment and attracted students and teaching staff to universities.<sup>95</sup> Haden Guest explains this key moment in the specialisation and professionalization of film training and film studies as an active negotiation between old and new methods of American film scholarship and criticism.<sup>96</sup> This is apparent in the work of the critic Andrew Sarris in *Film Culture*, who brought to the fore a re-evaluation of American cinema's past, as well as a concern with more personal modes of expression and theoretical reflections. However, this critical discourse needs to be examined along with the wider ideological context and the conditions of distribution and exhibition established in the emergent production policies.

In their examination of academic reform, Sara Turner and William Bowen argue that vocational courses shifted to a more academic focus in order to gain respectability and appeal to the coming generation of students. According to these authors

favourable labor market conditions and the general mood of optimism that characterized much of the 1960s facilitated these curricular

---

<sup>92</sup> Janet Wasco, *How Hollywood Works* (London: Sage, 2003).

<sup>93</sup> Dennis R. Bohnenkamp and Sam L. Grogg, ed., *The American Film Institute Guide to College Courses in Film and Television* (New York: Prentice Hall, 1978).

<sup>94</sup> Michael Zryd, "Experimental Film and the Development of Film Study in America," in *Inventing Film Studies*, ed. Lee Grieveson and Haidee Wasson (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008), 182-216.

<sup>95</sup> Zryd, "Experimental Film and the Development of Film Study in America."

<sup>96</sup> Haden Guest, "Experimentation and Innovation in Three American Film Journals of the 1950s," in *Inventing Film Studies*, ed. Lee Grieveson and Haidee Wasson (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2008), 235-263.

changes by encouraging students to assume that they could study whatever they liked, without having to worry about whether they would be able to find a job after graduation.<sup>97</sup>

From their perspective, it could be argued that the incorporation of experimental and independent methods in film training promoted the specialisation of courses and increased competitiveness amongst them.

The hopes of the 1960s found a different result in the economic recession and political polarisation of the 1970s. The repression of the student and race revolts in 1968 enhanced academics' self-awareness. Film studies then incorporated more radical concerns and aims for emancipation animated by New Left and feminist movements. As noted by Zryd, professional film training and academic film studies attempted to advance a coherent critical programme for liberating film practice and reception. While educational institutions could enjoy a relative degree of autonomy and more participatory production and reception were amongst their aims, the prospects of employment for film trainees were also marked by the conditions imposed by the theatrical and non-theatrical film market demands.

It is worthwhile examining in more detail elsewhere how lecturers and students articulated their practices and studies in relation with these demands through these years. In chapter five I start to build up towards such an examination by analysing the effects of distribution and exhibition conditions for filmmakers producing through the AFI's Independent Filmmaker Program, demonstrating how the programme applied an economic rationale that controlled the competition of independents. Before this, I explain that simultaneously with the elaboration of the AFI project, other NCA, RF and MoMA policies promoted the wider recognition of experimental film as an art form while they helped to differentiate further experimental from independent cinema production and exhibition.

## **Summary**

In this chapter I demonstrate the way in which the U.S government and private philanthropies' policies were justified by interconnected economic, political and cultural interests. Significantly, these policies attempted to engage with the youth and minority groups at the heart of early 1960s culture, whose heterogeneity the New

---

<sup>97</sup> Sara H. Turner and William G. Bowen, "The Flight from the Arts and Sciences," in *American Higher Education Transformed, 1940-2005: Documenting the National Discourse*, ed. Frances Wilson Smith and Thomas Bender (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2008), 200.

American Cinema group came to represent for film. The data of the SRI report demonstrates that the main goal that pushed the AFI project forward was to coordinate film education and the growth of the non-theatrical film sector. From its position at the AFI, the MPAA could monitor these advances. The AFI then was to promote the incorporation of experimental aesthetics and independent modes of production to suit the needs of the growing non-theatrical film and television sector. Meanwhile, the theatrical film sector sought financial stability and new formulae to adapt to the changing industrial models and audiences.



## Chapter 4

### DIFFERENTIATING EXPERIMENTAL AND INDEPENDENT CINEMA

In this chapter I examine the policies of support for experimental and independent cinema between 1965 and 1967 while the AFI project was in preparation. I concentrate on the work of the RF and MoMA's Film Library during these years. I argue that these policies further aligned experimental film practices with non-theatrical film institutions and differentiated specific sub-groups from independent feature filmmaking. I also indicate how MoMA's non-theatrical presentations of controversial experimental and independent films aimed to widen these films' public acceptance, provoking debates that eventually eased the way to the changes in moral standards in theatrical cinema.

#### 4.1 The Late 1960s: Experimental Films, Arts and Academia

Between 1965 and 1968 the level of the U.S.' involvement in the Vietnam War increased. Civil Rights, anti-war, women's and gay liberation activism also intensified. The agitated political situation was also reflected in more people engaging with art and film production to address issues of gender, race and inequality.<sup>1</sup> By the mid-1960s the post-war trends in experimental and independent cinema that had formed the heterogeneous New American Cinema Group expanded their aesthetics practices and exhibition sites. Some experimental filmmakers continued working in the personal, lyrical style inspired by romanticism and transcendentalism, like Stan Brakhage and Bruce Baillie. Others, such as Stan Vanderbeek, experimented with the use of film in performances, video technology and computer graphics. At this point, *Film Culture* critic P. Adams Sitney identified the emergence of another distinctive strand: structural filmmaking.<sup>2</sup> These were films where the focus on film's medium-specific properties called attention to the relationship between form and content. According to Sitney, this style evolved from underground films and was inaugurated with *Empire* (Andy Warhol, 1964), an 8-hour film of the Empire State Building. Shot from a

---

<sup>1</sup> Lucy Lippard, *Six Years: The Dematerialisation of the Art Object from 1966 to 1972* (Berkeley: California University Press, 1973).

<sup>2</sup> P. Adams Sitney, *Visionary Film: The American Avant-Garde 1943-2000*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 361.

stationary position, the film's duration and fixed framing called the audience's attention to their expectations when watching a film.

Sitney identified similar concerns in *The Flicker* (Tony Conrad, 1966), a 5 minute film consisting of alternating black and white frames, where a flashing light produces the illusion that the white light is coloured. Where *The Flicker* seems to reduce filmmaking to its bare essentials, the connection between film form and content appeared more openly in *Wavelength* (Michael Snow, 1967). In this film the camera's slow forward zoom elicits as well as exhausts intrigue about the actions and objects in a room. These films marked the start of a significant trend of experimental film practice in the early 1970s with the works of Ken Jacobs, Hollis Frampton, Joyce Wieland and Paul Sharits in the U.S., and the work of people like Peter Gidal and Malcolm Le Grice in the U.K.<sup>3</sup> These explorations in film run parallel to the appearance of minimalist artists like Robert Morris and Donald Judd. Their works were characterised by the use of basic geometric forms and industrial materials that emphasised the spatial and temporal arrangement of the aesthetic experience.<sup>4</sup>

In his analysis of structural film, David James argues for the common "historical determination" of structural film, minimal art and the structuralist mode of analysis of semiotics, linguistic, anthropology.<sup>5</sup> While James acknowledges that not all structural films present these features to the same degree, for him, the common ground can be found in their shared "insistence on the work's own materiality, its search for a clarified, rational shape for the whole work and for its relation to its parts."<sup>6</sup> Tom Gunning notes that structural films may appear more concerned with phenomenological issues such as duration and continuity, in contrast to those that use structural analysis to directly address the politics of representation such as Abigail Child's films in the 1970s.<sup>7</sup> Yet, structural films' meditative orientation should not be deceiving. James explains that the structural mode of analysis attempts to reconstruct an object in such a reflexive way that it manifests the rules of its functioning.

---

<sup>3</sup> Robin Blaetz, "Avant-garde Cinema of the Seventies," in *Lost Illusions: American Cinema in the Shadow of Watergate and Vietnam 1970-1979*, ed. David Cook (Berkeley: California University Press, 2000), 453-487; Peter Gidal, *Structural Film Anthology* (London: BFI, 1978). The structural trend in Britain was often called *material film*.

<sup>4</sup> Brian O'Doherty, "Minus Plato," in *Minimal Art: A Critical Anthology*, ed. Gregory Battcock. (Berkeley: California University Press), 252.

<sup>5</sup> David James, *Allegories of Cinema: American Film in the Sixties* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), 237.

<sup>6</sup> James, *Allegories of Cinema*, 240.

<sup>7</sup> Tom Gunning, "Poetry in Motion: Make Movies, Not Just Meaning," foreword to Abigail Child, *This is Called Moving: A Critical Poetics of Film* (Tuscaloosa: Alabama University Press, 2005), i-xi.

According to this author, some structural films have in common with structural analyses the enumeration of the film's conditions of existence and a description of the place it occupies, whether physically or institutionally.<sup>8</sup>

From James' perspective, structural films need to be understood within the historical specificity of: (1) the modernist idea of the autonomy of abstract aesthetics and (2) their link with the support structure of the art world from which they emerged. This last point is explored in more depth in the following analyses of various forms of support for experimental cinema in the late 1960s. Initially, the reading formations favoured by MoMA and the RF sought the wider public's acknowledgement and understanding of experimental cinema. However, this attempt to permeate public culture was confined within the non-theatrical structures of support for production and exhibition advanced by the private philanthropies and the U.S federal government. These structures reaffirmed the place of experimental filmmaking in art and academic environments, where critics such as P. Adams Sitney appraised experimental film as essentially different from contemporary independent filmmaking. Meanwhile, theatrical films, such as *Easy Rider* and *The Graduate* (Mike Nichols, 1967), included experimental film aesthetics and updated moral standards, which drew young audiences back to movie theatres.

#### **4.1.1 MoMA's 1965 Independent Film Series**

MoMA's Film Library continued promoting film culture in non-theatrical settings through the 1950s, although some filmmakers like Maya Deren commented that MoMA's attention to experimental film was restricted.<sup>9</sup> In the mid-1960s, however, MoMA endeavoured to bring experimental cinema to a general audience. In November 1965, MoMA's Film Library organised a series of screenings and a debate on the work of the group associated with the New American Cinema. *The Independent Film Series: Selections from the New York Film-Makers' Co-operative* ran for a week at the museum's auditorium, and it included works from Vernon Zimmerman, Bruce

---

<sup>8</sup> James, *Allegories of Cinema*, 240. James argues this with an analysis of *Film in Which There Appear Edge Lettering, Sprocket Holes, Dirt Particles, Etc* (George Landow, 1966).

<sup>9</sup> Peter Decherney, *Hollywood and the Cultural Elite: How the Movies Became American* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 170. Through the 1950s MoMA organised programmes devoted to experimental film such the 1952 *Why Experimental Film?*, which explored the realm of abstract design in motion, and the more recent one in 1961, *The Art of Assemblage*, devoted to collage film.

Conner, Mike Kuchar, Stan Vanderbeek, Stan Brakhage, Ed Emshwiller, Gregory Markopoulos, Bruce Baillie, Stanton Kaye, Ron Rice, Jonas Mekas and Harry Smith.<sup>10</sup>

*The Independent Film Series* developed from a joint effort by MoMA's Junior Council, which had recently organised a New Cinema Committee, and the Film Library, now under the leadership of Willard Van Dyke and Adrienne Mancina, Van Dyke's secretary.<sup>11</sup> In May 1965, MoMA staff started to organise the programme for the series in conjunction with the Film-Makers' Co-operative. MoMA wanted to make it coincide with the November *New American Cinema Festival*, also known as Expanded Cinema Festival, which was organised by Jacob Brockman, then also working at the Film-Makers' Cinemateque. One of the objectives of the series was to inform public opinion, and to highlight professional artistic values. In a memo, Adrienne Mancina outlined the need to present a selection of these films and the difficulty of doing so. She observed that

second-hand knowledge, lurid publicity and judgement by association are a disservice to the serious and talented filmmaker (...) Exposure of these films to an examination by the general public is, I believe, healthy – healthy for the community, the filmmaker and the art and craft of film.<sup>12</sup>

With these words she stated MoMA's duty to eliminate the pornography controversies, myths and misinformation. Furthermore, she asserted the suitability of MoMA's criteria to make specific filmmakers stand out. To achieve this, MoMA had both to reflect the diversity of films represented by the Film-Makers' Cooperative, and maintain certain standards. Subsequently, MoMA would "raise again the familiar question, what is cinema, how does a film mean."<sup>13</sup> The symposium thus engaged with the current debates on film culture in the specialised press.

MoMA's officers were aware of the sub-cultural connotations of the term *underground* with which the Film-Makers' Cooperative films were mostly associated.<sup>14</sup> Margareta Ackerman, from the Junior Council, warned Mancina about this, stating that "underground filmmakers have certain social and sexual mores (the

---

<sup>10</sup> Department of Film Exhibition Files, 176. The Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York. See the full list of films in Appendix 1: Major Exhibitions.

<sup>11</sup> Adrienne Mancina Memorandum. Film, 176. MoMA Archives, NY. Van Dyke had just occupied the position while Adrienne Mancina had started working at MoMA before as assistant to the previous director Richard Griffith. Earlier, she had worked for Leo Dratfield's Contemporary Films, a distributor of non-theatrical film that handled many short films by American experimental and independent filmmakers, as well as European art cinema features.

<sup>12</sup>Memorandum. Adrienne Mancina. Film, 177. MoMA Archives, NY.

<sup>13</sup>Memorandum. Adrienne Mancina. Film, 177. MoMA Archives, NY.

<sup>14</sup> Margareta Akerman to Adrienne Mancina, May 7, 1965. Film, 177. MoMA Archives, NY.

whole gestalt thing) which they believe differentiate them from the rest of us.”<sup>15</sup> If MoMA avoided the term *underground*, it could be more inclusive in its selection and skirt the associations that repelled the more conservative audiences and purchasers of 16mm films. Subsequently, MoMA’s director Rene D’Hanoncourt also recommended the institution drop the word. The institution thus opted to present a variety of these films from a middle, more socially-acceptable, ground.<sup>16</sup>

#### 4.1.2 The Underground at MoMA

Throughout the summer of 1965, the New Cinema Committee gathered more support for the series with the collaboration of Sheldon Renan. Renan was then a projectionist at the Pacific Film Society. He had written on Andy Warhol and, at that time, was preparing a book on underground cinema. According to Michael Zimmer, chairman of the Committee, Renan suggested “abbreviated screenings of certain films”, which could be a way to avoid the more controversial content.<sup>17</sup> Renan also informed Zimmer that *The New York Times* was interested in the underground phenomenon, and that he wanted to write a piece coinciding with the show. Such writing would pitch these films as art, noted Zimmer, to make this type of cinema accessible to different audiences, because “ladies are too scared to go down to the Village, but this will no longer be a social event but an art event.”<sup>18</sup> The programme lasted for a week to give it the air of a festival, following the aims of giving “publicity for the movement and public education.”<sup>19</sup>

Before the *Series* opened on 18 November it received publicity in *Variety*.<sup>20</sup> The magazine stuck to the term that the organisers had hoped to avoid, “underground cinema”, and emphasised the more controversial aspects of the films. *Variety* reported that this cinema was formed by young filmmakers “whose works range from the purely abstract to the unabashed purely pornographic (at least, that’s what the New York courts said about one of their features, *Flaming Creatures*).”<sup>21</sup> The reporter anticipated that the event meant that underground cinema “is now about to be

---

<sup>15</sup> Margareta Akerman to Adrienne Mancina, May 7, 1965. Film, 177. MoMA Archives, NY.

<sup>16</sup> New Cinema Meeting, August 26, 1965. Film, 177. MoMA Archives, NY. D’Hanoncourt was director of the MoMA from 1949 until 1967. In 1965 he was called to be part of the Visual Arts Sub-Committee of the NCA.

<sup>17</sup> Michael Zimmer to Adrienne Mancina, July 12, 1965. Film, 177. MoMA Archives, NY.

<sup>18</sup> Michael Zimmer to Adrienne Mancina July 12, 1965. Film, 177. MoMA Archives, NY.

<sup>19</sup> New Cinema Meeting, August 3, 1965. Film, 177. MoMA Archives, NY.

<sup>20</sup> *Variety* “Underground Cinema Has Foot Inside Museum Door,” November 3, 1965.

<sup>21</sup> *Variety* “Underground Cinema.”

recognized, though not necessarily accepted.”<sup>22</sup> Such statements presented these films in dialectical tension with the stances of the general public and commercial film. The challenge was punctuated by Van Dyke’s comments about the need for the general public to form an opinion on, “perhaps the single most significant fact of the cinema scene in the past ten years.”<sup>23</sup> Van Dyke thus emphasised the serious purpose and much needed assessment of experimental films that MoMA’s Film Library led.

#### 4.1.3 Discussing Personal Expression

The opening of the series was followed by a symposium entitled “Whither the Underground: A Discussion on the Independent Film.”<sup>24</sup> The discussion was held in the Museum’s auditorium. Among the panellists were filmmaker Robert Breer, cartoonist and painter Robert Osborne and critics Susan Sontag, and Judith Christ, the later a film critic for the *New York Herald Tribune*. The event’s significance resonated in various discursive contexts when a transcription of the symposium notes was made available at the request of ladies magazines such as *Glamour* and *Mademoiselle*, and the arts magazine *Artforum*.<sup>25</sup> These requests manifest the success of the series in drawing attention from middle class audiences.

Van Dyke framed the discussion in terms of the possibilities opened up by the availability of 16mm equipment. Van Dyke stated that this had “led to an interest in probing the behaviour of human beings with a minimum of interference by the filmmaker. It has also led to the idea that a single individual can make an effective film.”<sup>26</sup> Hence, he asserted the objective nature of the camera technology, and the individual filmmaker’s creative control as the basic components of “the personal film”, whose forms were “almost as varied as the number of films produced.”<sup>27</sup> These emphases positioned these films firmly within the parameters of modern art and science.

Moreover, Van Dyke resolved the accusations of pornography that had previously caused uproar, pointing out that sex was just one amongst the variety of themes in these films. Accounting for MoMA’s selection processes, he said that

We found that, naturally enough, sexual behavior was one of the elements found in many of the films. But there was more than this. There was a concern with how man made his living, as in MR.

---

<sup>22</sup> *Variety* “Underground Cinema.”

<sup>23</sup> *Variety* “Underground Cinema.”

<sup>24</sup> The Independent Film Symposium. November 18, 1965. Film, 176. MoMA Archives, NY.

<sup>25</sup> Elizabeth Shaw to Willard Van Dyke. Film, 176. MoMA Archives, NY.

<sup>26</sup> The Independent Film Symposium. November 18, 1965. Film, 176. MoMA Archives, NY.

<sup>27</sup> The Independent Film Symposium. November 18, 1965, p. 2. Film, 176. MoMA Archives,

HAYASHI. There was a return to childhood fantasy as in *SIN OF THE FLESHAPOIDS*. There were artists who used symbology in the most contemporary terms, as in *SCORPIO RISING* and in Ed Emshwiller's unfinished work entitled *RELATIVITY*. And there were the delightful clarifying films of Stan Vanderbeek and Bob Breer.

Without endorsing or condemning the drugs and homoerotic content of *Scorpio Rising*, Van Dyke offered a different perspective on what others had considered blasphemous. Additionally, through the list he stressed the diversity of artistic expression which could be read as signs of their freedom to explore matters such as human labour, imagination, popular culture, and society. Van Dyke finalised his introduction by defending MoMA's commitment to present new work, engaging with the idea that modern art needs challenges in order to keep itself alive.

After the screening, Van Dyke directed the debate towards questions of innovation in terms of form and content, and discussed the presumed lower status of these films in relation to theatrical cinema and other arts.<sup>28</sup> Breer underscored these films' subversive stances "in terms of a revolutionary attitude toward society and more specifically towards conventional cinema itself."<sup>29</sup> He also acknowledged that the label underground was as misused by journalists as the tag *pop art* had been before. Eventually, they all agreed that there were no clear-cut themes and concepts which could encompass the New Cinema's experimentations, noting the disparity between Breer's and Anger's work as an example. This conclusion contrasted with the cinema of the New Waves coming from France, Poland and Czechoslovakia where the participants of the symposium saw more readily identifiable aesthetic directions.

Trying to answer for lack of definition and popularity of the New American Cinema beyond the main avant-garde film circles, Sontag noted that "I don't just believe that it is because there aren't talented people in this country (...) But perhaps it is ultimately an economic thing."<sup>30</sup> This comment led to one last observation by Christ regarding Hollywood's sophisticated production and distribution infrastructures. Christ thought that Hollywood's infrastructures and economic scale would have curtailed filmmakers' creativity if artists were more original the less they are subjected to external forces. Sontag noted such a romantic idea was erroneous and, at some point, attempted to examine the wider industrial conditions affecting experimental and

---

<sup>28</sup> The Independent Film Symposium. November 18, 1965, p. 4. Film, 176. MoMA Archives, NY.

<sup>29</sup> The Independent Film Symposium. November 18, 1965, p. 5. Film, 176. MoMA Archives, NY.

<sup>30</sup> The Independent Film Symposium. November 18, 1965. Questions, p. 5. Film, 176. MoMA Archives, NY.

independent filmmakers in the U.S. The discussion, however, diverted and paid little attention to American experimental and independent cinemas' infrastructural relation with theatrical cinema. The debate thus reached a dead end.

The programme received wide coverage in the general press. The series allowed the Film Library to update its film collection and rental service. The rhetoric of the presentation emphasised academic rigour and artistic freedom. MoMA's bid for wider visibility for experimental cinema concurred with other developments in audiovisual arts practices. These advances raised further expectations of philanthropic and corporate support.

#### **4.1.4 The Greater Expectations of Expanded Cinema**

Howard Junker reviewed the MoMA's *Series* and the month-long *New Cinema Festival* (Expanded Cinema Festival) in an article in *The Nation*.<sup>31</sup> Junker praised the technical competence of some of the individuals included in MoMA's *Series*, but regretted the material limitations within which they worked. He thought these limitations were curbing the substantial development of underground cinema, something he saw reflected in the inconclusiveness of MoMA's symposium. Instead he praised the "business sense" of John Brockman in organising the Expanded Cinema Festival.<sup>32</sup>

The festival featured many multimedia works, such as experiments using projections, music and dance performances. It highlighted an element of the American underground which linked more with contemporary art practices than with European art and young cinemas. The festival included artists such as USCO, Nam June Paik, Don Snyder, Standish Lawder, Vanderbeek, Warhol and Robert Rauschenberg. After praising the works of these artists, Junker stated

single screen movies are well and good, but the art form of the age is something else. (...) We need something bigger, more complex, more satisfying to the total sensorium. And whatever stimulation the Expanded Cinema Festival may have given the Underground, it also pointed the way to the spectacle of the future.<sup>33</sup>

---

<sup>31</sup> Howard Junker, "The Underground Renaissance," *The Nation*, December 27, 1965. <<http://www.edge.org/btlj/Nation.html>> accessed 30/06/2009.

<sup>32</sup> Junker, "The Underground Renaissance." For an analysis of Brockman position in relation to the underground, see James Kreul, "New York, New Cinema: The Independent Film Community and the Underground Crossover, 1950-1970," (PhD diss., University of Wisconsin, 2004).

<sup>33</sup> Junker, "The Underground Renaissance," page 3 of 3.



Junker's underscoring of the value of the intense aesthetic experience enabled by expanded cinema was permeated by Marshall McLuhan's ideas on technology and communication. For Junker, expanded cinema offered a more promising avenue of aesthetic and infrastructural development.

Junker illustrated his notion of expanded cinema with the example of Buckminster Fuller's geodesic dome presented at the 1964 New York World Fair.<sup>34</sup> For Junker, the dome represented a fruitful collaboration between manufacturers, sponsors, broadcasters, artists and researchers. The emphasis on these values opened up new possibilities for financing, technological development and public outreach. It differentiated these practices from amateur and underground productions, and brought them closer to artistic and academic enterprises. In the following section, I demonstrate that such considerations were taken into account by the RF's officers that attended these events while the RF and federal government film policies were sketched out.

#### **4.2. The Rockefeller Grants and National Development**

After the New American Cinema Festival and the *Independent Film Series*, RF's officers decided to give some tentative grants to experimental filmmakers. Following the precepts set out in the 1963 Rockefeller Arts Program, their aim was to define style, infrastructures and critical apparatuses, singling out individuals, institutions and critical approaches through fellowships and flagship projects. To do this, the officers asked for recommendations from people like Van Dyke, Colin Young, Amos Vogel, and the New York gallerist Howard Wise, who specialised in exhibiting light and kinetic art works.

However, the RF's officers did not want to clash with the wider development of non-theatrical film infrastructures, a task to be assumed by the imminent AFI. The Film-Makers' Cooperative and Cinemateque appeared as firm candidates for the RF's support, but Ernest Callenbach indicated that any support granted should be aimed at "stabilization and expansion on a truly national basis."<sup>35</sup> This aim entailed that the Cooperative established a business-like governing structure representative of the

---

<sup>34</sup> The dome was later installed as the U.S. pavilion for the Montreal Expo in 1967 sponsored by the USIA. Nicholas J. Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 280-281.

<sup>35</sup> Ernest Callenbach to Boyd R. Compton, February 1, 1966, p. 2, folder 2792, box 299, series 200, RG 1.2, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

nation. Otherwise, Callenbach pointed out, the RF's officers risked finding themselves "with a New York organisation that in fact has nothing to do with anything going on elsewhere."<sup>36</sup> Although the RF received a proposal from *Film Culture* in December 1965 to fund the Film-Makers' Cinemateque screenings, the foundation decided to allocate money only to the individual salaries of Jacob Brockman and Leslie Trumbull.<sup>37</sup> At this juncture, the decision to fund individuals through fellowships proved less difficult than supporting specific institutions.

#### 4.2.1 Criteria on Individual Grants

The RF funded Stan Vanderbeek on the basis of values such as technical skills, research and the educational applications of his work. Vanderbeek had been contacted by the officers regarding his movie-drome project, a spherical building inspired by Buckminster Fuller's domes. Vanderbeek wanted to create an involving experience by having audiences lie on their backs while watching films projected on the interior of a dome. He submitted a proposal that emphasised the need to carry out research into existing audiovisual devices, and to develop techniques for the presentation of experimental cinema.<sup>38</sup> Additionally, he manifested his interest in applying McLuhan's ideas, using audiovisual techniques to induce repulsion to violence, thus implying a psychological application of his work. He noted the feasibility of setting up movie-dromes outside the U.S. His application was endorsed by Rudolf Arnheim and Lutrelle Wassman, who suggested the potential of his work for education and technological development.<sup>39</sup> Between 1966 and 1968, Vanderbeek received a \$14,500 grant from the RF Cultural Development fund which helped him to construct the movie-drome in Stoney Brook, New York.

Another RF's grant to Tony Conrad suggests a similar convergence of educative, artistic and technological interests in this philanthropy's support. Conrad was a musician with a background in mathematics. In 1965 he was working on his first film, *The Flicker*, where the flickering images were accompanied by a soundtrack, also created by Conrad with a synthesiser he built for the occasion. RF's officers responded

---

<sup>36</sup> Ernest Callenbach to Boyd R. Compton, February 1, 1966, p. 2, folder 2792, box 299, series 200, RG 1.2, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

<sup>37</sup> Kreul, "New York, New Cinema," 328, see also David Curtis "A Tale of Two Co-ops," in *To Free the Cinema: Jonas Mekas and the New York Underground*, ed. David James (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 259.

<sup>38</sup> Letter, Stan Vanderbeek, November 2, 1965, folder 3983, box 466, series 200R, RG 1.2, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

<sup>39</sup> Stan Vanderbeek, folder 3983, box 466, series 200R, RG 1.2, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC. Lutrelle Wassman worked at the Illinois Institute of Technology.

sympathetically to Conrad's spontaneous address to the foundation after MoMA's *Series*. Conrad explained his interest in filmmaking techniques that could explore the conscious and unconscious aspects of perception. Henry Romney saw the potential of his work in "the systematic development of a non-verbal system of aesthetics based on the most direct neuron path between retina, occiput, and cortical motor and sensory areas—in other words, the bypassing of the reasoning process in reacting to visual perceptions."<sup>40</sup> This manifests the RF's continuing interest in funding experiments in the psychology of conscious and unconscious persuasion, recalling the work of the Communications Group before WWII.

The decision to award a grant to Conrad proved complicated in terms of defining the length of the grant and its expected outcomes.<sup>41</sup> Through 1966 Conrad had several interviews with the foundations' representatives.<sup>42</sup> The officers sought external opinion and approached critic and curator Henry Geldzahler.<sup>43</sup> Eventually, Conrad was awarded \$14,400 for a period of 36 months, but a note on the grant, written by James Kellum Smith, the Foundation's Vice-President, objected that "a very young worker on such a volatile medium might better be given a grant for a shorter period."<sup>44</sup> Nevertheless, given the strong trust invested by the other officers, Smith signed the letter of notification.

This difficult decision was in contrast to the other two awards that were made for 36 months to Stan Brakhage and Bruce Baillie, who were working in the lyrical and low-budget tradition more readily associated with "personal films". With regards to them, Smith acknowledged that they were "mature, thoroughly established filmmakers."<sup>45</sup> These grants were recommended by Van Dyke after the *Series* and

---

<sup>40</sup> Inter-Office Correspondence, November 22, 1965, folder 2965, box 321, series 200R, RG 1.2, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC

<sup>41</sup> Inter-Office Correspondence, November 22, 1965, folder 2965, box 321, series 200R, RG 1.2, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC. Henry Romney was already acquainted with the New York underground world, from his office at the Rockefeller Center Andy Warhol, assisted by Jonas Mekas, had shot *Empire*.

<sup>42</sup> Interview Tony Conrad, August 3, 1966, folder 2965, box 321, series 200R, RG 1.2, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

<sup>43</sup> Henry Geldzahler to Boyd Compton, August 4, 1966, folder 2965, box 321, series 200R, RG 1.2, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC. Geldzahler was then working at the Metropolitan Museum and sat at the NCA discussions. The same year he was appointed United States Commissioner for Art at the Venice Biennale, a position that he left in order to become the first director of the Visual Art Program of the National Endowment for the Arts in 1967.

<sup>44</sup> Note on GA Arts 6634, September 27, 1966, folder, 2965, box 321, series 200R, RG 1.2, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

<sup>45</sup> Note on GA Arts 6634, September 27, 1966, folder 2965, box 321, series 200R, RG 1.2, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

approved in March and July 1966 respectively.<sup>46</sup> They provided both filmmakers with living stipends for several years, which allowed them to produce film such as *Scenes From Under Childhood* (Stan Brakhage, 1967-1970), and *Valentín de Las Sierras* (Bruce Baillie, 1967).<sup>47</sup> The decisions to award these two grants were more straightforward than Conrad's because Brakhage and Baillie were renowned filmmakers with an already defined style and audience. The RF's selection favoured styles and practices concerned with different forms of perception and consciousness as in Vanderbeek's and Conrad's projects, whose interests could yield results for technology development and innovative approaches to film spectatorship. Additionally, the RF backed significant figures whose interest in subjectivism fell on the more lyrical and transcendental tradition such as Baillie and Brakhage. These experimental filmmakers' sub-groups became more distinctive as studies of American experimental cinema, advanced by the RF and MoMA's support, started to appear at this point.

#### 4.2.2 Dissemination of the Underground Canon

The RF's support for the publication of Sheldon Renan's *The Underground Film* facilitated the dissemination of studies of experimental cinema, setting parameters of learning for future audiences, filmmakers and scholars.<sup>48</sup> In 1966, Renan, who had already collaborated in the organisation of MoMA's *Series*, applied to the RF for support to finish his book.<sup>49</sup> Romney referred to the usefulness of Renan's project, not as a critical study, but as an accurate inventory of underground filmmakers directed at undergraduates and film society programmers. Hence, the book would enable the latter "to program from a position of real knowledge instead of present day hearsay and guesswork."<sup>50</sup>

Renan's application was favourably referred to the RF by Eileen Bowser from MoMA's Film Library and filmmaker Standish Lawder, who at that time was finishing

---

<sup>46</sup> Interview Willard Van Dyke, November 19, 1965, folder 3983, box 466, series 200R, RG 1.2, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

<sup>47</sup> Bruce Baillie, folder 2763, box 295, series 200R, R.G. 1.2, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC. Stan Brakhage, folder 2792, box 299, series 200, RG 1.2, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

<sup>48</sup> Sheldon Renan, *The Underground Film: An Introduction to its Development in America*. (London: Studio Vista, 1968), first published in the U.S. in 1967 by E.P. Dutton, at the same time that Gregory Battcock, *The New American Cinema: A Critical Anthology* (New York: Dutton, 1967).

<sup>49</sup> Sheldon Renan's application 1966, folder 3532, Series 200R, RG 1.2, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

<sup>50</sup> Henry Romney, Inter-Office Correspondence, folder 3532, box 409, series 200R, RG 1.2, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

his thesis on the relationship between experimental cinema, modern art and vision.<sup>51</sup> Romney recommended that Renan send a copy of the book to George Stevens Jr., then the AFI head, who was “very interested in the college aspects of film-making and viewing, among other things.”<sup>52</sup> Thus, the officer indicated his awareness of the relationship between the RF’s initiative and the wider policy.

The choice of the term *underground* for this book is significant, since MoMA tried to distance itself from the term earlier when organising the *Series*. Yet in this case the book’s author could choose by his own accord. Today, the book has acquired historical significance as one of the earlier books dealing with this period’s underground films. In this book the underground is located and specified within a set of notions and canons of film culture and film history that highlight the free character of personal expression, or as Renan put it “the artist’s unmitigated vision.”<sup>53</sup> Renan explained that “the term ‘underground film’ belongs to the sixties but the personal film is not a new phenomenon. It goes back almost to the beginning of film.”<sup>54</sup> This loose historicization passed from art films and amateur films to early trick films such as those made by George Méliès. It also included the work of American innovators such as D.W. Griffith, Edwin S. Porter and Mack Sennett. These antecedents set a long tradition of “personal films” where directorial figures crafted the film materials according to their creative visions.

Renan’s historical sketch followed Lewis Jacobs’ earlier exposition on the pre-war European avant-garde and its legacy on post-war American experimental cinema. Renan updated the account to the 1960s, loosely following Jonas Mekas’ discussion of the New American Cinema.<sup>55</sup> He identified groups and styles, as in “Dance and Pattern Films”, “The West Coast Abstract School” and “New American Cinema”. In the section “A Gallery of Film-makers” Renan examined the 1960s boom in filmmaking and included an extensive biographical and thematic outline of the best known filmmakers of the time, such as Bruce Conner, Ken Jacobs, Larry Jordan, Warhol, Breer, and Carmen D’Avino. This brief overview served as a comprehensive reference guide for film societies’ programmers.

---

<sup>51</sup> Sheldon Renan’s application 1966, folder 3532, box 409, series 200R, RG 1.2, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC. See Standish Lawder “Structuralism and Movement in Experimental Film and Modern Art, 1896-1925” (PhD Diss.: Yale University, 1967).

<sup>52</sup> Henry Romney to Sheldon Renan, September 25, 1967, folder 3532, box 409, series 200R, RG 1.2, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

<sup>53</sup> Renan, *The Underground Film*, 51.

<sup>54</sup> Renan, *The Underground Film*, 17-18.

<sup>55</sup> Jonas Mekas, “Notes on the New American Cinema,” in *Experimental Cinema. The Film Reader*, ed. Wheeler Winston Dixon and Gwendolyn Audrey Foster (London: Routledge, 2002), 55-70.

Renan described how the underground production, distribution and exhibition infrastructures appeared in contrast to the conditions governing Hollywood's film industry. The latter, he noted, worked on the premise "that every film should make immediate sense, economically, visually, morally and politically."<sup>56</sup> While he did not identify the whole of the underground as having a specific political position, he pointed out that non-Hollywood productions enjoyed a form of self-determination that enabled them more freedom of expression. His example was a

homosexual in Hollywood will make, however perverse, heterosexual films. An underground film-maker is more likely to follow his own inclinations (...) Whatever happens in the real life or in the imagination of an individual can be shown in underground film. This is a freedom that personal film-makers have and that they occasionally exercise.<sup>57</sup>

Non-theatrical film infrastructures then allowed experimental and independent filmmakers greater freedom of expression than those of the theatrical realm, especially in regards to representing gay and female eroticism openly. Yet this freedom was relative, because critics and programmers such as Mekas and Sitney, also acted as gatekeepers favouring certain aesthetics, forms of self-expression and quality standards.<sup>58</sup>

During that time, the Film-Makers' Distributors Center, the initiative launched by Mekas and Clarke to reach theatrical exhibition, was enjoying substantial success.<sup>59</sup> It had adopted more professional values than the Film-Makers' Co-operative and had a greater margin to negotiate rental fees and promotion with filmmakers and exhibitors. Nonetheless, in 1967 the Center closed when it failed to meet the increasing demands presented by the theatrical film market. In the following section, I explain how MoMA and the USIA took advantage of the degree of freedom of arts' infrastructures to present a liberal image of the U.S. through experimental films, and in turn facilitated the change to the updated theatrical film content standards.

---

<sup>56</sup> Renan, *The Underground Film*, 210.

<sup>57</sup> Renan, *The Underground Film*, 31.

<sup>58</sup> This was frequently pointed out in discussions on the New American Cinema. See Amos Vogel, "Thirteen Confusions," in *The New American Cinema: A Critical Introduction*, ed. Gregory Battcock (New York, Dutton, 1967), 124-138; Parker Tyler, "No Establishment at All?" in *Underground Film: A Critical History* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1969), 33-34.

<sup>59</sup> Kreul, "New York, New Cinema."

### 4.3 Personal Films in Cultural Diplomacy

The formalist and romantic focus that accompanied exhibitions of abstract expressionism during the post-war years was also used to present experimental films to foreign audiences. In 1966 and 1967 MoMA coordinated with the USIA the exhibition *Two Decades of American Painting*, which travelled to London, Delhi, Tokyo and Sydney.<sup>60</sup> It showed works from American abstract expressionists, colour-field painters and pop artists, along with a series of experimental films. This exhibition followed from MoMA's previous touring shows in Europe, but this time it was addressed to the Asia/Pacific regions, focusing on countries such as India, who were then under both Soviet and U.S. influence, and Australia, which was going through a process of social reform and liberalisation.

To accompany the paintings, Van Dyke and Mancina arranged a film programme entitled *The Personal Film: 20 Years of Short Film in the United States*, a heading clearly underscoring the self-expressive stances of the films.<sup>61</sup> The programme consisted of five extensive film sessions, including works by John Whitney, Larry Jordan, Vanderbeek, Bruce Conner, Emshwiller, Paul Sharits, Kenneth Anger, Robert Nelson, Brakhage and Deren. MoMA's staff prepared the circulation schedules and programme notes to make sure that the films were screened and introduced according to their stated guidelines.<sup>62</sup>

Van Dyke, in his curatorial statement, underlined MoMA's authority and entrepreneurial spirit when he stressed the institution's longstanding work in regarding

---

<sup>60</sup> Rebecca Elliott, "Two Decades of American Painting" (PhD Diss.: National University of Australia, 2008). I am especially thankful to Rebecca Elliott for providing me with the documents on this exhibition. The exhibition was a joint collaboration between the USIA Visual Arts Program, MoMA's International Program, the U.S. Embassy and the museum or national gallery of each host country. For more information on the USIA visual arts program, see Michael L. Krenn, *Fall-Out Shelters for the Human Spirit: American Art and the Cold War* (Chapel Hill: North Carolina University Press, 2005).

<sup>61</sup> Willard Van Dyke, *The Personal Film: 20 Years of Short Film in the United States. Two Decades of American Painting Exhibition*, Art Gallery New South Wales Archive Library (AGNSW), Sydney. See Appendix 1: Major Exhibitions, which details the full list of films shown in the exhibition and illustrates the continuity of this selection with other major exhibitions on American experimental film.

<sup>62</sup> The strict control over schedules was due to their concern with over-handling the copies or lending the films to other institutions that would exhibit the films under different conditions. MoMA had acquired the films directly from the filmmakers or their representatives at low prices, on the condition that no charge would be made for admission by the hosting institutions and that the screenings were for adult audiences only. This organisation allowed MoMA's Film Library to keep copies of the films for their own archival collection, and to protect the intellectual property of the filmmakers by restricting the possibilities of having the films copied.

film as an art form.<sup>63</sup> He differentiated experimental from commercial cinema, and linked the former with the achievements of high art and academic practices. He asserted this by declaring that no period of American film history had “seen so many artists and intellectuals allied to the power of kinetic imagery as the present.”<sup>64</sup> This comment pointed to America’s cultural maturity and leadership.

Even if Van Dyke avoided a strict stylistic categorisation of the films, he underlined the liberating aspects of romantic and abstract aesthetics when he described them as “fused dreams, documents, abstract forms and fantasies with light and shadow, movement and sometimes colour, to release emotions and ideas.”<sup>65</sup> By emphasising subjective and formalist aesthetics, he introduced the films as counterparts to the paintings presented in the exhibition. This interpretation linked with the formalist view of the evolution of avant-garde movements defended by Alfred H. Barr and Clement Greenberg.

#### **4.3.1 American Experimental Films and Australian Censorship**

After the well-known controversy provoked by *Scorpio Rising* and *Flaming Creatures* in 1964, the organisers could not have been oblivious to the consequences of sending abroad *Scorpio Rising* and *O Dem Watermelons* (Robert Nelson, 1965), another film whose satirical look at the treatment of blacks had created debates in the U.S.<sup>66</sup> These films found problems with censorship in countries such as Japan and Australia. The seizure of *Scorpio Rising* and *O Dem Watermelons* in Australia illustrates how sending these films abroad under the authority of the arts institutions was also a way to promote a liberal image of the U.S. institutions. But also importantly, the ensuing debate helped to end censorship of American theatrical films as experimental films explored new moral standards.

The confiscation of these films allowed the media to voice different opinions about Australian censorship.<sup>67</sup> Some reported on the bad image that censors created for Australians: “every second week, our official censors make Australians look

---

<sup>63</sup> Van Dyke, “The Personal Film: 20 Years of Short Film in the United States,” AGNSW Archive Library, Sidney.

<sup>64</sup> Van Dyke, “The Personal Film: 20 Years of Short Film in the United States,” AGNSW Archive Library, Sidney.

<sup>65</sup> Van Dyke, “The Personal Film: 20 Years of Short Film in the United States,” AGNSW Archive Library, Sidney.

<sup>66</sup> *O Dem Watermelons* was produced as part of “The Minstrel Show – or Civil Rights in a Cracker Barrel”, a sardonic entertainment programme funded by student and left groups, which was cancelled when touring around U.S. campuses in 1965-6.

<sup>67</sup> “Exhibition Films Ban by Censor,” *Sun Herald*, July 23, 1967.



foolish in the eyes of the world.”<sup>68</sup> This injured their own self-image, for it was “an insult to the intelligence and maturity of Australians.”<sup>69</sup> By comparison, the films made American culture and institutions such as MoMA and the USIA appear liberal. The views of distributors were also heard, sarcastically commenting that the censoring body “is doing a magnificent job in carrying out these antiquated laws and it should not be subjected to unfair criticism and ridicule.”<sup>70</sup> Gradually, these groups exerted pressure on the Australian censorship authorities. In 1971 the latter reviewed the laws and relaxed the previous standards.<sup>71</sup>

This change concurred with the establishment of various structures of support by the Australian government to protect the national film industry, leading to what Stephen Crofts has called the rise of Australian cinema as national cinema.<sup>72</sup> The measures included a film fund modelled on the BFI Production Board.<sup>73</sup> The fund backed Australian experimental filmmakers, as well as discovered talents that later found international success, such as Peter Weir, Phillip Noyce and Scott Hicks. Richard Barnden and Ken Kerryman point out that despite the government’s efforts, Australian commercial film distributors have been largely controlled by multinational companies and have remained unsympathetic to Australian films.<sup>74</sup> This has resulted in the enduring predominance of the U.S. share at the Australian box-office, an average of 80% from the 1970s to present.<sup>75</sup>

The effect of the seizure and the debate in Australia exemplifies the importance of presenting films in non-theatrical film settings at a moment of wider social and industrial transformations. In a more general level, we can perceive that cultural measures with no immediate economic objectives contributed to raise cultural

---

<sup>68</sup> “Censors again,” *Daily Telegraph*, July 25, 1967.

<sup>69</sup> “Censors again,” *Daily Telegraph*, July 25, 1967.

<sup>70</sup> Errol S. Heath, “Censoring Films,” *Daily Telegraph*, July 29, 1967.

<sup>71</sup> Ina Bertrand, *Film Censorship in Australia* (Santa Lucia: Queensland University Press, 1978).

<sup>72</sup> Stephen Crofts, *Australian Cinema as National Cinema* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993).

<sup>73</sup> Alex Gervaz, *The Legacy of the Experimental Film and Television Fund, 1970-8*. Paper presented at the National Archives of Australia in Canberra, October 13 2009. <<http://www.naa.gov.au/whats-on/audio/gervaz-efitf.aspx>> accessed 07/12/2009. For an analysis of the BFI Production Fund see, Christophe Dupin, “The British Film Institute as a Sponsor and Producer of Noncommercial Film: A Contextualized Analysis of the Origins, Administration, Policy and Achievements of the BFI Experimental Film Fund (1952–1965), and Production Board (1966–1979)” (PhD diss., University of London: 2005).

<sup>74</sup> Richard Barnden and Ken Berryman, “A Symphony for Busy Clapperboards 1957-1975,” in *Cinema in Australia: A Documentary History*, ed. Ina Bertrand (Kensington: New South Wales University Press, 1989), 241-323.

<sup>75</sup> Richard Barnden and Ken Berryman, “A Symphony for Busy Clapperboards 1957-1975.”

awareness and change moral standards for theatrical film in Australia, at least in the medium term. Yet this form of *soft power* needs to be seen along other enabling conditions, such as the international force of U.S. distributors.<sup>76</sup> Despite the establishment of an Australian production fund to protect the national culture and nurture individual talent, the chances of strengthening Australian theatrical cinema depended on controlling distribution and projecting talent into international markets. In the next chapter, I explain in detail the case of the AFI production fund and its role in nurturing a new generation of American filmmakers for international theatrical cinema. Before that, I explain some of the programmes that the NCA advanced following the SRI report on the expansion of film education and the non-theatrical film sector.

#### **4.4 Medium-Specificity and Audiovisual Education**

The mid-1960s film education policies followed the guidelines produced by John Culkin. Culkin, through the influence of McLuhan, integrated in these programmes the idea of the educational potential of medium-specific aesthetics which had an enduring impact on media literacy institutions.<sup>77</sup> In the introduction of his 1964 doctoral dissertation, Culkin argued that to understand any message fully “necessarily involves a study of both the content and the form of the communication, or rather the content-in-form of the communication.”<sup>78</sup> Working at New York’s Fordham University, Culkin recommended bringing McLuhan to the faculty.<sup>79</sup> At Fordham, they started developing educational programmes using McLuhan’s *Understanding Media* as the basis for their work. To pursue this project, they received in 1967 an NEA matching grant of \$71,780 “to design curricular programs (including guidelines for teacher training) which will eventually become a regular part of every student’s

---

<sup>76</sup> Joseph Nye defines “soft power” as “the ability of a nation to structure a situation so that other nations develop preferences or define their interest in ways consistent with one’s own nation.” Joseph S. Nye, *Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power* (New York: Basic Books, 1990), 191.

<sup>77</sup> Culkin studied with McLuhan in Toronto. See chapter 3 for an introduction to McLuhan’s ideas.

<sup>78</sup> John S. Culkin, Introduction to *Film Study in the High School: An Analysis and Rationale* (PhD diss.: Harvard University, 1964) < [http://www.medialit.org/reading\\_room/article430.html](http://www.medialit.org/reading_room/article430.html) > accessed 11/04/2010.

<sup>79</sup> Richard Kostelanetz, “Understanding McLuhan (In Part),” *New York Times*, January 29, 1967. At Fordham, McLuhan occupied the Albert Schweitzer Chair in Humanities in September 1967. This position was underwritten by the New York State.

education.”<sup>80</sup> They established media literacy courses for elementary and secondary schools, and demonstration materials for teachers to integrate examples from films into literature and history lessons.

This project addressed the equality aspirations of contemporary America, since its purpose was “to stimulate effective communication among the students, particularly those from culturally and economically disadvantaged backgrounds.”<sup>81</sup> The critical approach involved questioning the sources and values implied in media messages, thus offering the possibility to address discriminatory stereotypes, and to promote more socially desirable alternatives. It applied the model of enlightened discussion used in film education programmes since the 1930s. Culkin’s method set standards for media literacy projects in the late 1960s.<sup>82</sup> The progressive aspirations of the medium-specific explorations were also part of other educational television projects. These projects further aligned experimental film practices with the non-theatrical film sector, and established parameters for the expansion of experimental audiovisual production.

#### **4.4.1 Experimental Television and Video**

In the early days of video, artists and educators used arguments about medium-specificity to claim video’s legitimate art status, as well as McLuhan’s ideas on video and television’s potential for more participatory communication.<sup>83</sup> The NCA members referred to these ideas when they approved the matching grant of \$70,000 to KQED.<sup>84</sup> KQED was an established San Francisco educational television station that had proposed “a program of exploration into the nature of television as an art.”<sup>85</sup> KQED used the money to employ five artists as mentors. Each was from a different discipline, such as poetry, choreography, music composition, sculpture and playwrighting, and

---

<sup>80</sup> National Endowment for the Arts, *Annual Report* (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1967), 29. Culkin was also one of the members of the Public Media Panel of the NCA.

<sup>81</sup> National Endowment for the Arts, *Annual Report*, 1967, 29.

<sup>82</sup> Culkin was one of the founding members of the Centre for Understanding Media at Greenwich Village in 1969. In 1970 the Centre received a grant from the Ford Foundation for an experimental programme to develop the use of new media in schools. He also led the Film and Video Artists-in-Schools Program, funded by the NEA, the American Short Story on Film, funded by CPB, the Association of Independent Video and Filmmakers (AIVF), and various media education programmes in schools. Culkin later developed a Masters programme in Media Studies at the New School for Social Research in New York.

<sup>83</sup> Chris Meigh-Andrews, *History of Video Art: The Development of Form and Function* (Oxford: Berg, 2006).

<sup>84</sup> KQED Experimental Television Project. Project in Public Media for FY 1968, p. 1. NEA-NCA Records of Meetings, 1965-1992. RG288, NACP. The NEA funds were matched by the RF.

<sup>85</sup> KQED Experimental Television Project. Project in Public Media for FY 1968, p. 1-2. NEA-NCA Records of Meetings, 1965-1992. RG288, NACP.

they were monitored by two KQED full-time production and direction staff. The idea of experimentation, almost in a scientific sense, was enacted by way of keeping track of “all discussions, self-criticisms and analyses, hypotheses and conclusions.”<sup>86</sup> These notes were eventually edited by Brice Howard in 1972 as the *Videospace Electronic Notebooks*.

The project assumed the educational value of studying medium-specific aesthetics in that its productions should “emphasize the unique characteristics of the television medium— its illusion of intimacy, imposed point-of-view, immediacy, ability to manipulate the electronic image and electronic colors, and powers of magnification.”<sup>87</sup> The NCA recognised this project’s ability to set a benchmark in innovative media production and to further develop the audiovisual sector. It offered “an opportunity to experiment with the television medium by artists in more established media, an opportunity largely neglected by commercial and non-commercial television.”<sup>88</sup> These hopes were fulfilled when the project grew from its initial workshops to the National Center for Experiments in Television in 1969, which received further funds for day-to-day operations and individual fellowships from the NCA.<sup>89</sup>

The National Center for Experiments in Television emerged contemporaneously with other experimental television workshops, such as the Artist-in-Residence project at Boston’s WGBH under Fred Barzyk and WNET in New York under David Loxton. These programmes received substantial support from RF and the recently created State Councils for the Arts.<sup>90</sup> These projects aimed to create stable infrastructures for electronic image experimentation, linking arts and technology development more than focusing on traditional broadcasting.<sup>91</sup> In these latter cases, McLuhan’s ideas about social engagement and participation through technology were manifest. Stan Vanderbeek, while artist-in-residence at WGBH, performed *Violence*

---

<sup>86</sup> KQED Experimental Television Project. Project in Public Media for FY 1968, p. 1-2. NEA-NCA Records of Meetings, 1965-1992. RG288, NACP.

<sup>87</sup> KQED Experimental Television Project. Project in Public Media for FY 1968, p. 1-2. NEA-NCA Records of Meetings, 1965-1992. RG288, NACP.

<sup>88</sup> KQED Experimental Television Project. Project in Public Media for FY 1968, p. 2. NEA-NCA Records of Meetings, 1965-1992. RG288, NACP.

<sup>89</sup> National Endowment for the Arts, *Annual Report* (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1970), 41.

<sup>90</sup> Kathy Rae Huffman, “Video Art: What’s TV Got to Do with It,” in *Illuminating Video: An Essential Guide to Video Art*, ed. Doug Hall and Sally Jo Finner (New York: Aperture, 1990), 81-90.

<sup>91</sup> Some of these projects concentrated in exploring and designing tools for audiovisual processing, such as the electronic image synthesiser designed by Nam June Paik and Shuya Abe at WGBH labs. Some programmes produced at these labs were broadcast, but their abstract imagery did not appeal to many viewers. See Huffman, “Video Art: What’s TV Got to Do with It”, 81-90.

*Sonata*, a live telephone feedback experiment that attempted to relieve social tension during student revolts and bomb scares across Boston.<sup>92</sup>

These experimental TV and video centres, soon to be called media art centres, set up standards of collaboration for foundations, technology manufacturers and artists. They fulfilled the aesthetic and technological expansion hoped for by people like Howard Junker. These centres mixed corporate, academic and artistic interests. They also served as national and international references for the development of new media practices. Developing a history of philanthropic and public support for these centres would be a different project. From this history, though, it is important to note that the policies' focus on experimenting with new technologies in the non-theatrical sector was concomitant with the selective distribution and exhibition for experimental and independent films that I explain in the next chapter. Before I elaborate this concern, I detail how a particular strand of experimental cinema was addressed through the structural mode of analysis in art and academic debates in the early 1970s.

#### **4.4.2 Avant-Garde Film and Film Theory**

By the early 1970s, some of the experimental filmmakers of the New American Cinema Group were identified with a precise critical and institutional apparatus.<sup>93</sup> Through the spring of 1971, P. Adams Sitney gave a series of lectures at MoMA that were later published in the magazine *Film Culture*.<sup>94</sup> During these lectures, Sitney presented the idea of a morphological change in avant-garde film, where the latest forms of structural film overcame the emotional subjectivism of previous trance and mythopoietic aesthetics.

In contrast, for Sitney, films such as the independent mock documentaries *David Holzman's Diary* (Jim McBride, 1967) and *Georg* (Stanton Kaye, 1964) stood apart from the avant-garde tradition, since these were "Hollywood modern films, getting funded by Hollywood and the government (...) talented, but committed to a

---

<sup>92</sup> Stan Vanderbeek, "Social Imagistics," in *The New Television: A Public/Private Art*, ed. Douglas Davis and Allison Simmons (Cambridge, Mass.,: MIT Press, 1977), 58-62.

<sup>93</sup> In December 1970, Anthology Film Archives (AFA) officially opened as an institution devoted to the preservation and exhibition of experimental cinema. Its organisation and board included filmmakers and critics such as James Broughton, Peter Kubelka, Jonas Mekas and P. Adams Sitney, all of them earlier associated with *Film Culture*, the New American Cinema Group, the Film-Makers' Cooperative and Cinemateque.

<sup>94</sup> P. Adams Sitney, *Avant-Garde Film Theory Lectures*. Film, 71.18, 71.19, 71.20, 71.21, MoMA Archives, NY.

kind of realism.”<sup>95</sup> For him, such differentiation was not primarily due to the infrastructural underpinnings of these films, but to some inner necessity existing in the forms that, as Sitney maintains, were reflected in the “essential definition of the two genres; avant-garde stresses the primacy of the imagination against the other, committed to a certain vision of reality that permits certain epistemological paradoxes.”<sup>96</sup> Sitney then hinted at infrastructural conditions and audience demands that differentiated these films, but ultimately he subsumed them into a formal imperative, assuming a normative view of aesthetics and reception for both avant-garde and Hollywood films. The emphasis on formal and subjectivist elements of American experimental cinema and its distinctiveness from independent cinema was the foundational narrative of *Visionary Film*.

Sitney’s view of Hollywood cinema was shared by influential critic and scholar Annette Michelson.<sup>97</sup> Like Sitney, Michelson portrayed the history of avant-garde cinema as a formalist movement whose motivating force revealed the ideological principles built into Hollywood narratives.<sup>98</sup> Analysing *Wavelength*, Michelson argued that such principles and expectations could be perceived if

one understands the continuity of the zoom action to stand as a kind of quintessential instance of that spatio-temporal continuity subtending the narrative integrity of those comedies, westerns, gangsters films that form the substance of the Hollywood tradition.<sup>99</sup>

Michelson argued that Brakhage insisted on the “I” of the camera, the one he stressed in “Metaphors on Vision”, to try to do away with the constructed perception of a realistic and narrative mode of representation that constricted

---

<sup>95</sup> P. Adams Sitney, “The Myth of the Filmmaker,” April 14, 1971, *Avant-Garde Film Theory Lectures*. Film 71.21, MoMA Archives, NY. My transcription is from the audiotapes. When mentioning McBride and Kaye’s films, Sitney was referring to the AFI, which at that moment had embarked into feature production with support from the major production companies and theatrical exhibitors. The AFI backed Kaye for the feature *In Pursuit of Treasure* (1972). The production ran into problems and it was cancelled. After the success of the self-reflective mock documentary *David Holzmann’s Diary* (1967), McBride received screenwriting and pre-production support from the AFI for *Glen and Randa* (1971). See Ben Kauffman, “Feature Cos., Film Institute Teams for Pics,” *Hollywood Reporter*, March 19 1968, and The American Film Institute, *Report 1967-1971* (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1971), 41.

<sup>96</sup> P. Adams Sitney, “The Myth of the Filmmaker,” April 14, 1971, *Avant-Garde Film Theory Lectures*. Film 71.21, MoMA Archives, NY.

<sup>97</sup> Malcolm Turvey, introduction to *Camera Obscura, Camera Lucida: Essays in Honour of Annette Michelson*, ed. Richard Allen and Malcolm Turvey (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2003), 13-34.

<sup>98</sup> Annette Michelson, “Film and the Radical Aspiration,” in *Film Culture: An Anthology*, ed. P. Adams Sitney (London: Secker and Warburg, 1971), 421. The article was originally published in *Artforum* in June 1971.

<sup>99</sup> Annette Michelson, “Towards Snow,” in *The Avant-Garde Film: A Reader of Theory and Criticism*, ed. P. Adams Sitney (New York: Anthology Film Archives, 1987), 175.

“pure” vision. Yet, for Michelson, Brakhage’s extreme subjectivism was superseded by Snow, whose zoom in *Wavelength* she saw reproducing the more basic operations of consciousness.<sup>100</sup> Michelson argued that Snow restored “the space of ‘action’ through a sustained, firm and relentless investigation of the modes of filmic representation.”<sup>101</sup> These filmic devices, also explored by other filmmakers such as Frampton and Ernie Gehr, called attention to the films’ spatial and material characteristics. The formal devices pointed back to the receiving subject, who could become aware of the conditions of perception and the expectations brought to the film viewing experience. Michelson approached this experience from the standpoint of structuralism and phenomenology, thus grounding these films in these areas of academic enquiry.

Michelson’s defence of structural filmmaking as a visual rationale of direct cognitive apprehension, one which escaped the instrumentalisation of capitalist culture, paralleled Greenberg’s notion of the purity and intensity of the aesthetic experience.<sup>102</sup> She also engaged with current New Left notions of political and aesthetic emancipation. Michelson stated this position in the conclusion of her 1966 article “Film and the Radical Aspiration” where she argued that formal autonomy was a form of political subversion.

In a country whose power and affluence are maintained by a dialectic of a war economy, in a country whose dream of revolution has been sublimated in reformism and frustrated by an equivocal prosperity, cinematic radicalism is condemned to a politics and strategy of social and aesthetic subversion.<sup>103</sup>

The force of Michelson’s discourse had prescriptive effects on structural film practice, as in the case of Paul Sharits’ work and writings. Sharits often used rapidly alternating frames and film loops to create intense viewing experiences. These experiences attempted to reconcile opposite concepts, such as violence and sex in *Piece Mandala/End War* (1966). His aim to explore phenomenology was implied when Sharits referred to the evolution of his career as an attempt to remove levels of emotion and let “more sophisticated levels of ‘feeling’” appear.<sup>104</sup>

---

<sup>100</sup> Michelson, “Towards Snow,” 175.

<sup>101</sup> Michelson, “Towards Snow,” 177.

<sup>102</sup> See introduction, note 59.

<sup>103</sup> Michelson, “Film and the Radical Aspiration,” 421.

<sup>104</sup> Paul Sharits, “Hearing: Seeing,” in *The Avant-Garde Film Reader*, ed. P. Adams Sitney (New York: Anthology Film Archives, 1987), 258. This article was first published in 1970.

David James notes the irony and detachment of structural films. James states that these methods are romantic strategies, where the structural film aesthetic enacts the need to “distinguish itself from science while simultaneously incorporating it.”<sup>105</sup> This acknowledges the intricate relationship between art and science in modernist art, and the ultimate resistance of these aesthetics to be fully assimilated into the frameworks within which they have been institutionalised. The ironic and self-reflective stances of these films, similar to post-structuralist’s analyses that extended after 1968, undertake a recurrent self-critique to avoid the imposition of a conclusive meaning by emphasising their own relativity. Yet, this standpoint invokes more poignantly ontological questions such as the nature of science and art.

The view of experimental film history as a progressive exploration into the nature of the mind, as emphasised by Sitney and Michelson reached its zenith in the mid-1970s. In 1976 the American Federation of Arts, with support from the NEA, organised the major retrospective *History of American Avant-Garde Cinema*.<sup>106</sup> In his curatorial statement, John Handhardt endorsed the modernist view of formal autonomy by presenting the historical development of the American avant-garde as a self-reflexive movement which explored the material basis of film. This assumption led him to assert that “it is filmmaking that creates itself out of its own experience.”<sup>107</sup> The emphasis on consciousness, self-reflection and an ontological reduction of cinema’s properties was the common thread with which writers such as Stuart Liebman, Fred Camper and Gene Youngblood used to appraise the works of various filmmakers throughout the essays in the exhibition’s catalogue.

This view on the history and theoretical stances of the American avant-garde started to be challenged from various positions at that time. Andrew Sarris reviewed the exhibition and noted the teleological pitfalls of the formalist approach endorsed by Sitney and Michelson. Sarris pointed out that these authors “reduce the bulk of film history to a sketchy overture for the presumed grand operas of Michael Snow (...) and Hollis Frampton.”<sup>108</sup> Sarris underscored the closed system of practice, criticism and theory that accompanied the philanthropically-supported avant-garde.

---

<sup>105</sup> David James, *Allegories of Cinema*, 244.

<sup>106</sup> Marilyn Singer, ed., *A History of Avant-Garde Cinema* (New York: The American Federation of Arts, 1976)

<sup>107</sup> John G. Handhardt, “The Medium Viewed: American Avant-Garde Film,” in *A History of Avant-Garde Cinema*, ed. Marilyn Singer (New York: The American Federation of Arts, 1976), 22.

<sup>108</sup> Andrew Sarris, “Avant-Garde Films Are More Boring than Ever,” in *Politics and Cinema* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978), 197.



In the late 1970s critics Constance Penley and Janet Bergstrom argued for the need to distinguish between advocacy of these films, and avant-garde film theory and history.<sup>109</sup> They pointed to the common institutional and methodological matrix underpinning these avant-garde films. Penley and Bergstrom noted that this approach assumed that “challenges to the formal conventions of cinema will simultaneously be challenges to the reception of cinema.”<sup>110</sup> Approaching film from feminism and psychoanalysis, they questioned the radical potential of certain filmic forms, especially those that mimicked the processes of the mind. They noted that most of the formalist impetus driving avant-garde film theory and criticism did not address questions of identification, fetishism, voyeurism, the cinematic apparatus, the image of women on film, and the political effect of these films. Thus they shifted the focus attention of studies of experimental film from formalist and authorship studies to questions of power and reception.

The RF’s and MoMA’s institutional support strengthened the place of these films within the non-theatrical realms of arts and academic infrastructures. However, we still need to see how AFI’s production support contributed to differentiate between the incoming production of experimental and independent cinema to fit the requirements of the audiovisual industry after the 1960s.

## Summary

In this chapter I provide evidence of the criteria implied in the RF’s and MoMA’s support in mid-1960 for experimental cinema production, exhibition and criticism. These measures further aligned experimental cinema with educational and artistic pursuits. They prioritised values such as technological expertise and educative commitment, which prompted the further use and development of audiovisual experimentation in non-theatrical settings. At the same time, the AFI’s policy to deal with the economic rationale of independent and experimental film production methods was elaborated.

---

<sup>109</sup> Constance Penley and Janet Bergstrom, “The Avant-Garde: History and Theories,” in *Movies and Methods*, vol.2 of *Movies and Methods: An Anthology*, ed. Bill Nichols (Berkeley: California University Press, 1985), 287. This essay was originally published in *Screen*, in Autumn 1978. The matrix was formed by *Film Culture*, Anthology Film Archives, New York University and *Artforum*, where Sitney and Michelson wrote and taught.

<sup>110</sup> Penley and Bergstrom, “The Avant-Garde: History and Theories,” 287.

## Chapter 5

### **THE AFI PRODUCTION GRANTS: EXPANSION OF THE NON-THEATRICAL FILM SECTOR AND HOLLYWOOD'S AUTHOR-ORIENTED CINEMA**

In this chapter I focus on the AFI's Independent Filmmaker Program (IFP) production, distribution and exhibition conditions. I argue that the IFP promoted the production of experimental and independent cinema to nurture the non-theatrical film sector. At the same time, the AFI selectively directed new talent towards theatrical filmmaking. In the first part, I examine how the IFP encouraged aesthetic innovation while its economic rationale kept under control competition between independent filmmakers and the major companies. In the second part, I account for the change in the IFP distribution policy in 1973. Finally, I illustrate how, from the AFI's focus and network of Hollywood contacts, emerged some significant filmmakers in Hollywood's author-oriented cinema.

#### **5.1 The AFI's Aesthetic Criteria**

The AFI was incorporated in March 1967.<sup>1</sup> Despite the NEA, the Ford Foundation and the MPAA funding the AFI with grants of \$1,300,000 each, Hollywood's incidence on the AFI's board was privileged through the presence of the MPAA Head, Jack Valenti. The AFI's Head was George Stevens Jr., and other members of the board included actors Gregory Peck and Sidney Poitier, United Artist executive Arnold Picker, intellectual and presidential advisor Arthur Schlesinger Jr., and experimental filmmaker and Ford grantee Ed Emswiler, amongst others. The main tasks of the institute were to organise the archival project, to start off the production fund, and to lead film education programmes. The Ford Foundation's grant, although not renewable, was mostly directed to the last aspect. It materialised in

---

<sup>1</sup> Vincent Canby, "AFI Plans Several Offices in Major Cities," *New York Times*, March 28, 1967.

the opening of the Center for Advanced Film Studies (CAFS) in Autumn 1969, which focused on training professional filmmakers.

Shortly after the public announcement of the establishment of the AFI, Martin Quigley, Jr., veteran film writer at the *Motion Picture Herald*, devoted an editorial to the AFI that underscored the industry's self-regulation. Quigley remarked that the AFI's independence from box-office pressure or criticism could help the industry to find direction during a moment of crisis. At the same time, he anticipated difficulty if the "government's wishes [were to] take priority over what is good for the arts."<sup>2</sup> Quigley thus invoked fears of state control and defended the idea of art's self-regulation. Effectively, such self-regulation was marked by the MPAA's presence in the AFI's management, which administered the federal funds of the IFP. The IFP focused on personal expression, which encouraged aesthetic innovation. At the same time, it kept control over the dissemination of the productions it funded. Before we can understand how this helped to regulate the IFP's experimental and independent film production without conflicting with the interests of the MPAA, we need to examine in more detail Stevens' approach to production at the USIA during the early 1960s.

### 5.1.1 The USIA's Soft-Policy Films

The more liberal attitudes of the Kennedy's administration were represented at the USIA when Ed Murrow, a former broadcaster, became its director. According to Richard Dyer MacCann, Murrow saw that USIA propaganda was too ideologically charged and old-fashioned, while Hollywood productions were too sensationalist and escapist. In November 1961, Murrow brought this message to a group of Hollywood filmmakers, exhorting them to exercise more self-restraint.<sup>3</sup> *Variety* set off the alarm when it reported Murrow saying that Hollywood films were "doing a lot of harm to America. They convey the notion that America is a country of millionaires and crooks."<sup>4</sup> Present at this Hollywood meeting was Stevens, who became the USIA

---

<sup>2</sup> Martin Quigley Jr., "AFI," *Motion Picture Herald*, June 21, 1967.

<sup>3</sup> Edward R. Murrow, *Speech to Representatives of Film Industry in Hollywood*, November 5, 1961. Quoted in Richard Dyer MacCann *The People's Films: A Political History of U.S. Government Motion Pictures* (New York: Hastings House, 1973), 183.

<sup>4</sup> *Variety* "Murrow Furrows H'wood Brow –Criticizes Image of U.S. Abroad Created by Films...," November 6, 1961; *Variety* "H'wood Asks Murrow Provide Consultant to Mirror 'Image'" November 7, 1961.

Chief Motion Picture Production Officer after suggesting that Murrow produce a documentary on Jackie Kennedy's visit to Pakistan.<sup>5</sup>

Nicholas Cull indicates that, under Stevens' direction, USIA filmmakers "created a genre of propaganda film dubbed by the magazine *Newsweek* the 'soft policy' film."<sup>6</sup> Longer and subtler than previous USIA productions, these films walked away from the hard propagandistic line of the 1950s, focusing instead on the human side of foreign policy issues. Carol Schawlbe explains this soft approach in her analysis of Stevens' films on Jackie Kennedy: *Invitation to Pakistan* and *Invitation to India* (Leo Seltzer, 1962).<sup>7</sup> Schawlbe notes that the films conveyed the First Lady's personality, style, and education, with the appeal of a star persona. Further, these films not only presented the President's wife sympathetically, but also emphasised the reciprocity of relations between the American guest and her hosts. These were signs of mutual regard, openness and good will, fundamental tenets for building trust and further agreements.

Notably, these films signalled diversity in ideology and aesthetics, something that could be read as the USIA's enabling of freedom of expression. Nicholas Cull compares the differing ideological stances of two other USIA films produced during Stevens' years: *Five Cities of June* (Bruce Herschenson, 1963), and *The March* (James Blue, 1964). The first portrayed simultaneous world events, such as the Vietnam War, the death of Pope John XXIII, and the end of racial segregation in American universities.<sup>8</sup> The second film documented the Civil Rights march to Washington DC, and included Martin Luther King's famous speech "I Have a Dream". Cull observes in Herschenson's films an epic scale and ideological

---

<sup>5</sup> Nicholas J. Cull, "Projecting Jackie: Kennedy Administration Film Propaganda Overseas in Leo Seltzer's *Invitation to India*, *Invitation to Pakistan* and Jacqueline Kennedy's *Asian Journey*," in *Propaganda: Political Rhetoric and Identity 1300-2000*, ed. Bertrand Taithe and Tim Thornton (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1999), 307-326. More general accounts of the USIA films during Kennedy's Years include John Wetenhall, "Camelot's Legacy to Public Art: Aesthetic Ideology in the New Frontier," *Art Journal* 48, no. 4 (Winter 1989): 303-308.

<sup>6</sup> Nicholas J. Cull, *The United States Information Agency and the Cold War: American Propaganda and Public Diplomacy, 1954-1989* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 209.

<sup>7</sup> Carol B. Schwalbe, "Jacqueline Kennedy and Cold War Propaganda," *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media* 49, no. 1 (March 2005): 111-127. Jackie Kennedy's trip films followed from the success of the CBS documentary *A Tour of the White House with Mrs. John F. Kennedy* (1962) which presented the newly refurbished public areas of the presidential house. This film was distributed overseas by the USIA, offering an intimate portrait of the Kennedys, and helping to build their public profile as modern art connoisseurs, something that created public awareness of the forthcoming arts legislation.

<sup>8</sup> Nicholas J. Cull, "Auteurs of Ideology: USIA Documentary Film Propaganda in the Kennedy Era as Seen in Bruce Herschenson's *The Five Cities of June* (1963) and James Blue's *The March* (1964)," *Film History* 10, no. 3 (1998): 295-310. Blue met Stevens after he won the Special Regard prize at Cannes with *The Olive Trees of Justice*. Blue went on to teach filmmaking to Rice University, Buffalo in 1969, and also taught at the AFI's CAFS.

conservatism, while he identifies in Blue's films an approach inspired by Direct Cinema and enthusiasm for liberal values.<sup>9</sup> These differing political stances and styles underscored the liberal principle of freedom of expression. Cull asserts that such diversity could only happen during Kennedy's liberal upturn.

Blue's films are good examples of how liberal attitudes were aesthetically manifest in the agency's 1960s productions. Blue made two short documentaries on the Alliance for Progress' works in Latin America: *Letter From Colombia*, which dealt with agricultural training programmes, and *The School at Rincón Santo* (1963), on the construction of a school in a Colombian village. Both followed the Direct Cinema approach, showing a balanced handling of emotion and restraint. These films highlighted the aims of the projects as much as their participants' individual perspectives, including those of the filmmaker himself. Jennifer Horne highlights this last concern, observing that the ironic self-reflective note from the filmmaker in *The School at Rincón Santo*, when he mocks the film's message of progress, might have been permitted because it could be interpreted as an authorial comment.<sup>10</sup> This comment could be seen as a form of free personal expression enabled by the liberal politics. Thus, these films had a doubly persuasive effect. They illustrated the policies and evidenced the health of the U.S. democratic system, which enabled individuals to speak freely, even within official communications.

While these documentaries transmitted the idea of free personal engagement with politics, Stevens also invited more experimental styles to cover subjects such as America's social and cultural diversity, its dynamism, and its technological advancement. Experimental filmmaker Ed Emshwiller made *Faces of America* (1965), a kaleidoscopic montage of people in different locations undertaking various activities, and *Art Scene USA* (1966). Emshwiller, who was also renowned for his science-fiction illustrations, later undertook another USIA project for the space programme: *Project Apollo* (1968). Another film using experimental technique was *Grand Central Market* (n.d), directed by William Hale and edited by Haskell Wexler. This film conjured up the idea of the U.S. as a melting pot of cultures and economic exchange by placing a camera in an urban market, and cutting and mixing the sound of cash machines and paper bags.

---

<sup>9</sup> Cull, *The United States Information Agency and the Cold War*, 296.

<sup>10</sup> Jennifer Horne, "Experiments in Propaganda: Reintroducing James Blue's Colombia Trilogy," *The Moving Image* no. 1 (Spring 2009): 184-200.

MacCann notes that those in diplomatic and consular posts did not always understand the ambivalence and soft-approach of the experimental series.<sup>11</sup> The persuasive potential of Stevens' soft-policy films lay in their subtle capacity to create general awareness and positive attitudes towards diversity. This potential, in the medium to long term, could open the door for further liberal policies, just as Hollywood cinema and travelling exhibitions did in the decades after WWII. However, success depended on supplementing the films with an appropriate critical apparatus to guide interpretation and other measures that aided clear communication of the sponsors' interests.

### 5.1.2 Stevens' Approach to the USIA Productions

Stevens' management of the USIA film productions applied some strategies that he later instituted in the AFI production programmes. At the USIA, Stevens would first select a filmmaker, usually by recommendation or after seeing a sample of his previous work.<sup>12</sup> Then, he gave him freedom to choose a subject, bearing in mind the agency's emphasis on "racial and ethnic progress, economic strength and reliability, free choice, the rule of law and support to the United Nations."<sup>13</sup> By allowing the individual filmmaker to choose a subject within these parameters, the individual's responsibility to deal with the topic as he saw fit was brought to the fore. As Stevens put it:

It is not the primary purpose of the film-makers, or any artist for that matter, to create an image of their country; it is their job to express their perception to the best of their ability.<sup>14</sup>

Personal input was emphasised as a personal interpretation of a particular issue. Production followed from the USIA's authorisation of the preliminary script treatment, and it finished with its approval of the edited film.<sup>15</sup> This method left the early stages of production relatively open to the filmmaker's own ideas about the USIA's themes. It allowed variety and originality to flourish in the scripts, but retained control over all domestically produced and internationally exhibited USIA films.

---

<sup>11</sup> MacCann, *The People's Films*, 197.

<sup>12</sup> Here I am following MacCann's account based on interviews with Stevens.

<sup>13</sup> MacCann, *The People's Films*, 186.

<sup>14</sup> MacCann, *The People's Films*, 196.

<sup>15</sup> MacCann, *The People's Films*, 187.

Cull refers to Stevens' administrative independence, noting that "the policy sections of the USIA had minimal input into these films."<sup>16</sup> Films were shown to the USIA area directors when they were almost complete. Cull asserts that even if Stevens expected reservations towards some of the treatments, he was backed by Murrow, and thus Stevens "became a master of defending the artistic integrity of his filmmakers' work."<sup>17</sup> The *auteristic* notion of artistic integrity as creative vision, a wholeness that accorded to the filmmaker's individual perception, allowed Stevens to place the stress on the individual's perspective, a strategic move when it came to interpreting these films' diverse views.

Stevens' focus on personal expression attracted old and new talent to the USIA productions. Stevens hired people well trained in sponsored documentary production like Herschensohn, Seltzer and Charles Guggenheim.<sup>18</sup> Other individuals were directly invited to present a project. This was the case of Denis Sanders, who had made the acclaimed *A Time Out of War* (1954), and directed *Czechoslovakia 1968* (1969) for the USIA. This documentary concentrated in the Soviet handling of the liberal movement of the Prague Spring and won an Academy Award in 1969. Similarly, Kent MacKenzie, another Ford grantee, undertook a project on vocational training for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, *A Skill for Molina* (1964). Stevens encouraged collaborations between young and older filmmakers through mentoring systems. He recruited young filmmakers that had few films behind them or were fresh from university film courses. He was willing to kick-start their careers, as well as to engage with younger audiences. Stevens instilled USIA films with youthfulness and originality, taking advantage of their restricted economic and technical means by giving young filmmakers the opportunity to produce a first film.

Stevens also started a film project in collaboration with universities. In this project six graduates each received \$5,000 to produce a short film on a subject of their choice and had available to them the technical facilities of the universities.<sup>19</sup> MacCann

---

<sup>16</sup> Cull, *The United States Information Agency and the Cold War*, 209.

<sup>17</sup> Cull, *The United States Information Agency and the Cold War*, 210.

<sup>18</sup> Seltzer had been affiliated with the Workers' Film and Photo League and the WPA in the 1930s. Later he made films for the United Nations and the National Film Board of Canada. Herschensohn had worked in corporate documentary during the 1940s and later made for the USIA *John F. Kennedy: Years of Lighting, Day of Drums* (1964) to commemorate the President's death. Herschensohn succeeded Stevens as Head of the USIA Motion Picture Division. Charles Guggenheim had worked in television production. At the USIA, he made *Nine from Little Rock* (1964), which dealt with desegregation at schools in Arkansas and suggested that non-violent dissent was a basic tenet of American democracy.

<sup>19</sup> MacCann, *The People's Films*, 192-3. Richard Kahlenberg, who followed Stevens as member of the AFI staff, managed this project.

notes that this project had logistic difficulties and the USIA wanted to secure the completion of projects by choosing graduates only. To bypass these difficulties, Stevens “developed a more cautious open-door policy, letting the major film schools know that he was receptive to applications but handling everything on an individual basis.”<sup>20</sup> The USIA reviewed applications and, if they were successful, the USIA would offer the filmmakers a project for the *Young America* series. At this intermediate stage, USIA staff would consider offering these young filmmakers an internship at the agency, and from then on, they could progress onto bigger projects.

Remarkably, the inexpensiveness of students’ productions proved useful to Stevens when he had to defend the films before the USIA’s Head of Divisions and the appropriations committee. Since the USIA was also in charge of distribution, many of the guidelines on how to interpret and target audiences for the films were written by Stevens too, thus setting the critical apparatus to appraise these films. With these means, the USIA attracted filmmaking talent, minimised its expenses and controlled the dissemination of the films. These were similar to the methods used to advance the professionalization of sponsored documentary filmmaking as a non-theatrical form in the 1930s. Despite the differences between the propaganda and educational aims of the USIA and the AFI, it is significant that Stevens took these methods and conditions to the management of AFI’s experimental and independent production fund.

## 5.2 The IFP Production Grants

Soon after its establishment, the AFI put in operation two production programmes: the IFP, offering production grants of up to \$10,000, and a student grant scheme with funds ranging from \$250 to \$2,500 directed “to support projects as part of the student curricula in filmmaking.”<sup>21</sup> The process was competitive, with hundreds of applicants for each cycle selected by the AFI review panels. The fund’s focus signals an interest in arts and media hybridisation, and targets both established and emerging filmmakers and artists. Grantees should fall into any of the following categories:

- 1) Recognised artists who, because of the artistic, experimental or non-commercial nature of their work cannot find funding elsewhere.

---

<sup>20</sup> MacCann, *The People’s Films*, 193.

<sup>21</sup> *Hollywood Reporter* “Film Institute Student Grants,” April 18, 1968.



- 2) Filmmakers who want to expand their accomplishments into new areas of cinema: for instance, from documentary to drama, or from drama into experimental.
- 3) Artists who have established themselves in another discipline and now want to expand their creative efforts in the field of cinema.
- 4) Students enrolled in universities whose skill warrant support beyond what university funding can afford.<sup>22</sup>

Like the grants put into place in France in the late 1950s, these were soft-culture grants, aimed at discovering talent and protecting minority practices from the strictures of the market.<sup>23</sup> The profile of the IFP beneficiaries was wide-ranged. In the first years many experimental filmmakers and animators such as Richard Myers, Paul Sharits, Tom Palazzolo, Robert Russett, Bruce Baillie and Jordan Belson received IFP grants.<sup>24</sup> Many others, such as Istvan Ventilla and James Mannas, were awarded grants to produce documentary films, while others like David Schickele and Steve Wax produced dramatic films. Below I explain how the conditions and administration of these grants helped to differentiate between IFP's independent and experimental productions.

### **5.2.1 The IFP's Terms and Conditions**

Stevens instituted the USIA's approach to creative integrity in the IFP in order to encourage personal expression and promote innovation. This system gave filmmakers free reign to elaborate their projects from loose scripts and to decide over production matters. Help from the AFI staff was also available, if the filmmakers required it. In the IFP films, the individual's creative integrity was asserted by a card attached to the credits. 1970 IFP film title cards appeared as follows:

---

<sup>22</sup> The American Film Institute, *Independent Filmmaker Program Annual Report, May 1977*, p. 3, Jan Haag Materials at the Library of The Woman's Collection at Texas Woman's University, Denton, Texas, (hereafter, IFP Report 1977).

<sup>23</sup> Angus Finney, "Support Mechanism across Europe," in *The European Cinema Reader*, ed. Catherine Fowler (London: Routledge, 2002), 212-222.

<sup>24</sup> See Appendix 2 for a full listing of filmmakers and films awarded.

The filmmaker  
(NAME)  
received a Production Grant from  
THE AMERICAN FILM INSTITUTE  
(AFI logo)  
the filmmaker retained complete control over the design and content of the  
film  
©1970 by (NAME), All Rights Reserved.<sup>25</sup>

The card asserted the creative integrity of the filmmaker, and allayed suspicions over state interference in the design of the project. It highlighted the liberal aims of the sponsoring institution in producing these films. First and foremost, it allowed freedom of expression. Even if the films never saw the light of a projector, the government could boast about the existence of the programme and its defence of creative integrity.

Yet this focus on individual rights during production was concomitant to strict control over the circulation of these films. At its incorporation on 2 March 1967, the AFI notified the Internal Revenue Service that it was an organisation “for exclusively charitable and educational purposes.”<sup>26</sup> Special mention went to the plan for distribution services, pointing out that this would be mostly through the non-theatrical sector, and therefore “distribution of such films for commercial exploitation will be a very infrequent activity.”<sup>27</sup> It entailed that the AFI itself would not distribute these films commercially or earn revenue from them. This curtailed the hopes of independent filmmakers of finding direct support for theatrical distribution through the institute.

Still, the AFI retained the right to decide over matters of distribution. In the IFP contract, the applicant was identified as an “independent contractor” who should “have artistic control over all aspects of the production of the Film” and

---

<sup>25</sup> The previous is an example as shown on David Lynch’s IFP short *The Grandmother* (1970). According to the NCA records, prior to 1973 the AFI was not very consistent in enforcing the card title, but from then onwards the IFP contract stipulated that each film must signal both the AFI and the NEA as sponsors. The contract also specified the font size to do so. The 1973 card read: “The filmmaker (50%) Received a Production Grant from (50%) THE AMERICAN FILM INSTITUTE (100%) In association with (50%) THE NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE ARTS (100%),” and the AFI symbol needed to be incorporated within the title card. *Report on the American Film Institute Independent Filmmaker Program*, May 1973, p. 79, folder 5, box R1497, series 200R, RG A79, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

<sup>26</sup> Correspondence Internal Revenue Service, U.S. Treasury Department to the American Film Institute, c/o Charles B. Ruttenberg, May 19 1967, p. 1, folder 2, box R1497, series 200R, RG 200, Rockefeller Foundations Archives, RAC.

<sup>27</sup> Correspondence Internal Revenue Service, U.S. Treasury Department to the American Film Institute, c/o Charles B. Ruttenberg, May 19, 1967, p. 2, folder 2, box R1497, series 200R, RG 200, Rockefeller Foundations Archives, RAC.

“retain and own the copyright.”<sup>28</sup> It also specified that s/he should leave the negative in the laboratory in the name of the AFI. Nevertheless, the AFI insisted that after consultation with the filmmaker on “a general plan under which the film may be distributed”, final decisions “on all matters pertaining to distribution and exhibition of the film shall be exclusively ours.”<sup>29</sup> Thus, the AFI asserted its power to determine the circulation of the film.

Through this last stipulation, the filmmaker would “grant us [the AFI] exclusive worldwide distribution and exhibition rights of the Film for a period of fifteen years.”<sup>30</sup> Non-theatrical exhibition rights were reiterated in the next clause of the section, which affirmed that

whether or not distribution rights to the Film are exercised by us or by you, we shall have the right in perpetuity to utilize the Film for non-commercial purposes as, for example, in connection with educational or research activities, or in connection with the American Film Institute theatres.<sup>31</sup>

These clauses asserted the AFI’s authority to decide first on the prospects of the films while the notions of educational and research activities allowed it a wide margin to utilise them.

In case the AFI did not distribute the particular film, the filmmaker could arrange his/her own deal with an interested party, as long as such a deal did not affect the AFI’s “right for receipts”, which gave 75% to the AFI, and 25% to the filmmaker until the production funds were recouped. But the sharing of the profits would not stop there. After, the profits made by the film were to be divided on a 50/50 basis. Many production funds established clauses about recouping costs to keep active the fund or other educational projects. Nevertheless, the AFI’s priority over decisions regarding the film’s circulation and split of benefits controlled the amount of profits that filmmakers could make from the films. Consequently, the fund offered different possibilities for those films with theatrical possibilities and those without them.

---

<sup>28</sup> Independent Filmmaker Program Contract, March 1972. *Report on the American Film Institute Independent Filmmaker Program*, May 1973, p.74, folder 5, box R1497, series 200R, RG A79, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

<sup>29</sup> Independent Filmmaker Program Contract, March 1972. *Report on the American Film Institute Independent Filmmaker Program*, May 1973, p.74, folder 5, box R1497, series 200R, RG A79, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

<sup>30</sup> Independent Filmmaker Program Contract, March 1972. *Report on the American Film Institute Independent Filmmaker Program*, May 1973, folder 5, box R1497, series 200R, RG A79, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

<sup>31</sup> Independent Filmmaker Program Contract, March 1972. *Report on the American Film Institute Independent Filmmaker Program*, May 1973, p. 77, folder 5, box R1497, series 200R, RG A79, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

For those films with theatrical possibilities, the AFI could select them and even further them through the network of contacts and opportunities associated with the AFI, such as the MPAA and the CAFS. Meanwhile, control over profits implied that films without large commercial prospects, such as those by established experimental filmmakers or those who opted for independent distribution, could hardly generate income to be invested back into production or to set up independent distribution mechanisms. The latter films still had to make their way within the set boundaries of the non-theatrical sector, and this sector's social and cultural values. The difficulty of becoming completely autonomous placed the latter filmmakers in a situation where they competed amongst themselves. This prompted them to diversify their funding sources.

In summary, the establishment of the AFI production fund sought to materialise the priorities identified by the SRI report to provide educational opportunities for the expansion of the non-theatrical film sector. Yet, as a mediating institution, the AFI also filtered the production of experimental and independent cinema by selecting projects and establishing the economic conditions that controlled the growth of independents. The way in which these educational opportunities materialised becomes clearer as I explain the criticism of the AFI's management in its early years of operation.

### **5.3. MoMA and Experimental Film Exhibition**

In June 1968, MoMA organised a two-part screening of films by recipients of the AFI grants, including both the student and the IFP grantees.<sup>32</sup> At this event, MoMA emphasised free personal expression and the serious purposes of these experimental and independent films, as it did in the *Independent Film Series* and *The Personal Film* presentations before. Importantly, the event was the occasion for the filmmakers to voice their opinions on the possibilities offered to independent filmmakers by the production grants.

MoMA introduced the screenings of the students' films emphasising the filmmakers' intellectual and social engagement.<sup>33</sup> It established authoritative

---

<sup>32</sup> Films by Recipients of the American Film Institute Student Film Grants. Department of Film Exhibition Files 247, MoMA Archives, NY.

<sup>33</sup> For the first student grant cycle in April 1968 there were 34 applicants, and 5 students received grants. The review panel was composed by James Blue, Stanley Kauffman and Richard

references by comparing them with pioneering figures in filmmaking. Such was the case of Thom Andersen, who was compared with Edward Muybridge for his “solid scholarship, professional attitude and high-reaching experimental attitude.”<sup>34</sup> Similarly, MoMA emphasised the anthropological concerns of Howard Smith’s *Still/Slice of Gold* (1968), James Bryan’s *Camden, Texas* (1968) and Edwyn Lynch’s *A Question to Mr. Humphrey* (1968), all commenting on personal, social, and political relationships in contemporary America.<sup>35</sup>

MoMA also stressed that the grants gave minorities opportunities for self-expression. This was evident in the selection of James Mannas’ comments. Mannas, a black filmmaker who made *The Folks* (1969) on people’s reactions to the death of Martin Luther King, said that

I want to make as many meaningful films as I can. I want to deal with Black People, our loves, laughter, hates, personalities, and above all our aspirations. I’ll do it here in America, with the help of people who understand.<sup>36</sup>

This provided evidence to demonstrate the filmmakers’ positive views of the grants, which enabled personal expression. The second day of the screenings was devoted to recipients of the IFP’s grants. MoMA highlighted the comments of Tom McDonough, who noted that since the Ford grants “there is a feeling that it might be possible to make personal films for a wide audience.”<sup>37</sup> This statement represented the perception of a change in American audiences’ and institutions’ attitudes towards experimental and independent cinema since the 1964 Ford grants.

### 5.3.1 The Horizons of Independence

The organisation of the screenings gave MoMA’s Adrienne Mancia the opportunity to discuss the work that the AFI was doing so far. MacDonough expressed his gratitude to the AFI, yet he noted that its promotion of short and independent films “ties in with the AFI distribution ambitions.”<sup>38</sup> MacDonough’s expectations were that

---

Leacock. Report on the Independent Filmmaker Program. Statistical Report, April 1973, p. 1, folder 5, box R1497, series 200R, RG A79, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

<sup>34</sup> Films by Recipients of the American Film Institute Student Film Grants, June 28, 1968, p. 2. Film, 247, MoMA Archives, NY.

<sup>35</sup> Films by Recipients of the American Film Institute Student Film Grants, June 28, 1968, p. 3. Film, 247, MoMA Archives, NY.

<sup>36</sup> Films by Recipients of the American Film Institute Student Film Grants, June 28, 1968, p. 2. Film, 247, MoMA Archives, NY.

<sup>37</sup> Films by Recipients of the American Film Institute’s First Independent Film Grants, June 27, 1968. Film, 247, MoMA Archives, NY.

<sup>38</sup> Tom MacDonough to Adrienne Mancia, May 21, 1968. Film, 247. MoMA Archives, NY.

the AFI could substantially affect “what people expect when they go to the movies.”<sup>39</sup> He expressed the belief that independent production was a viable solution for the rearrangement of American movie industry, and that the AFI could promote such change.

Adrienne Mancía also discussed with Paul Sharits the grant he had for the completion of *Razor Blades* (1965-8).<sup>40</sup> Sharits stated that, initially, he was apprehensive about the government grants: “I had bad dreams about supporting a downright mean social system, a decadent ‘Selective Service System’, the Vietnam mistake and so on.”<sup>41</sup> However, he thought that this cultural policy was compensating for the others, because “after dealing with sincere and co-operative people at the AFI it seemed to me that the more money the government spends on encouraging social and aesthetic beauty, the less they will be able to spend on primitive ‘projects’.”<sup>42</sup> This comment underscores the tension inherent in receiving funds from the U.S. government, whose international policies were not approved by the filmmaker. Moreover, Sharits appreciated the support he received but acknowledged that the acceptance of the grant was controversial because it restricted the filmmakers’ rights over the films.<sup>43</sup>

Mancía’s responded to Sharits that she was not aware that the “AFI was also handling the distribution of the films made by the grantees although a 50-50 contract is good.”<sup>44</sup> While for this event MoMA screened some of these filmmakers’ previous work, Mancía’s main concern was whether they held exclusive rights over the newly produced films. As I explain next, the AFI’s distribution of newly produced experimental and independent films and its coordination of the national archive project, diminished MoMA’s circulation and acquisition of films for its collection.<sup>45</sup> This encouraged MoMA to arrange regular screenings of experimental and independent films.

---

<sup>39</sup> Tom MacDonough to Adrienne Mancía, May 21 1968. Film 247. MoMA Archives, NY.

<sup>40</sup> Paul Sharits, Statement for MoMA Regarding Grant from the AFI. Film, 247. MoMA Archives, NY.

<sup>41</sup> Paul Sharits, Statement for MoMA Regarding Grant from the AFI. Film, 247. MoMA Archives, NY.

<sup>42</sup> Paul Sharits, Statement for MoMA Regarding Grant from the AFI. Film, 247. MoMA Archives, NY.

<sup>43</sup> Paul Sharits, Statement for MoMA Regarding Grant from the AFI. Film, 247. MoMA Archives, NY.

<sup>44</sup> Adrienne Mancía to Paul Sharits, June 24, 1968. Film, 247. MoMA Archives, NY.

<sup>45</sup> See chapter 3 for the NCA discussion on the conservation programme.

### 5.3.2 Cineprobe Series

Shortly after the screening of the AFI's films, MoMA started to organise the successful *Cineprobe Series*.<sup>46</sup> These long-running series allowed MoMA to maintain a strong place in the field of experimental and independent cinema exhibition and collection in the context of a changing theatrical film industry and the appearance of the AFI. From the beginning, this was clear in a correspondence between Van Dyke and Iris Barry. Van Dyke pointed out to Barry that conservation was mainly an economic matter, and "evaluation had been largely done by you, because your film notes are still the most perceptive notes for students we can offer."<sup>47</sup> Van Dyke also noted that for the future they should take advantage of the privileged position the institution enjoyed, because "we are considered acceptable by the most esoteric underground filmmaker and respectable by all but the most conservative old lady members."<sup>48</sup> This reflected the special regard that MoMA had acquired in prompting the aesthetic education of a generation of filmmakers, as well as being a reference for middlebrow arts establishments.

Yet, the present was challenging. Van Dyke observed that since the entrance of television, motion picture companies "have no interest in letting us have any film that can bring them revenue from television so we have to woo them in ways that were unnecessary years ago."<sup>49</sup> MoMA needed to update their collection, but the museum competed with the AFI for films and public funding for conservation. Having more direct connections with the motion picture industry, the AFI presented a threat to MoMA's Film Collection.<sup>50</sup> Van Dyke stated he did not object to the AFI's work

providing we [MoMA] maintain a position that allows us maximum freedom for acquisition, exhibition and circulation. We have a pre-eminent position which I intend to fight to preserve. Let the AFI collect the films, but let us be sure we can make copies for our study center. Let us be sure we continue to be the only archive that circulates in the educational field.<sup>51</sup>

---

<sup>46</sup> MoMA's *Cineprobe* ran from 1968 to 1994, consisting of screenings and discussions of experimental and independent films accompanied by programme notes. It became a model for other museums throughout the country.

<sup>47</sup> Correspondence Willard Van Dyke to Iris Barry, December 10, 1968, p. 2. Records of Bates Lowry I.116. MoMA Archives, NY.

<sup>48</sup> Correspondence Willard Van Dyke to Iris Barry, December 10, 1968, p. 2. Records of Bates Lowry I.116. MoMA Archives, NY.

<sup>49</sup> Correspondence Willard Van Dyke to Iris Barry, December 10 1968, p. 2. Records of Bates Lowry I.116. MoMA Archives, NY.

<sup>50</sup> The collaboration of the MPAA with MoMA was discarded after a meeting with Jack Valenti and Ralph Hetzel, where Valenti asserted their exclusive commitment to the AFI. Willard Van Dyke to Bates Lowry, November 13, 1968. Records of Bates Lowry I.116. MoMA Archives, NY.

<sup>51</sup> Correspondence Willard Van Dyke to Iris Barry, December 10, 1968, p. 3. Records of Bates Lowry I.116. MoMA Archives, NY

This objective did not fit well with the AFI's priority of distribution and non-theatrical exhibition of films produced with IFP funds. Nevertheless, MoMA could acquire non-IFP films as well as foreign films for its catalogue because the AFI was only interested in American productions.

To expand its experimental and independent film collection with non-IFP films, MoMA could also take advantage of its good relationships with New York filmmakers and artists. Occasionally, *Cineprobe* could help to pay the finishing costs of film prints, and the films could be added to the Library's collection. This was the case when Hollis Frampton sold the print of *Surface Tension* (1968) at laboratory costs to MoMA, and complimented the institution for "giving a discretionary fund to Joyce [Weiland] for *Rat Life*."<sup>52</sup> MoMA's *Cineprobe* was thus able to help "at the same time to renew the artistic community through fees and much needed exposure for filmmakers."<sup>53</sup> This entailed dealing with filmmakers on a one to one basis and favouring those closer to the institution's criteria.

As in the previous series organised by MoMA the institution's non-theatrical status and arts orientation gave the organisers some freedom to select films. Van Dyke had stated that the word *Cineprobe* was "a combination of cinema and probe, it represents the camera's objective ability to probe in the world, and at the same time invites the audience to probe into the filmmaker's subjective attitudes."<sup>54</sup> Nonetheless, the institution's criteria also set limits on the type of attitudes they presented. The second *Cineprobe* session in November 1968 was devoted to the Kuchar Brothers, known for their irreverent take on serious themes. After the screening, MoMA received a letter complaining about their rampant obscenity. To this complaint, Van Dyke expressed satisfaction, as he wrote in pencil on the letter: "it would appear that *Cineprobe* is a success."<sup>55</sup> In contrast, Mancía's proposal to exhibit Carolee Schneeman's *Fuses* (1967), with more confrontational sexual content and less humour than the Kuchar's work, was deemed as "too much for a General Public Screening" and *Fuses* was not shown.<sup>56</sup>

---

<sup>52</sup> Hollis Frampton to Adrienne Mancía, December 18, 1968. Records of Bates Lowry I.116. MoMA Archives, NY. A *Cineprobe* session was devoted to Joyce Weiland in January 1970 and another to Hollis Frampton in April 1970.

<sup>53</sup> *Cineprobe* Fact Sheet, p. 1. Film, C2. MoMA Archives, NY.

<sup>54</sup> Museum release from Willard Van Dyke and Adrienne Mancía, December 13, 1968, p. 2. Film, C1. Sub-Series, 1968-1977, Organisation, General. MoMA Archives, NY.

<sup>55</sup> Correspondence Jesse Levine to MoMA, November 8, 1968. Records of Bates Lowry I.116. MoMA Archives, NY.

<sup>56</sup> Correspondence Adrienne Mancía to Bates Lowry, November 20, 1968. Records of Bates Lowry I.116. MoMA Archives, NY.



As the series progressed, MoMA also received funding from corporations and commercial film companies. In January 1971, Standard Oil provided funding for *Cineprobe* at a time that MoMA's trustees' links with the armament industry and war policies were criticised by activist artists.<sup>57</sup> Standard Oil's name appeared in the programme advertisement in the *Village Voice*. The company used the sponsorship as a public relations decoy for the youth culture, since MoMA programmed what the museum named "revolutionary and porn films."<sup>58</sup> *Cineprobe* was also sponsored by the motion picture clients of the Chelsea National Bank, although, in contrast to Standard Oil, only the Bank and not its clients were to be publicly credited for this support.<sup>59</sup> Hence the motion picture industry gave funds to sustain experimental cinema at non-theatrical settings in a way that did not conflict with its own interests.

These and other actions such as experimental television and video production at media art centres helped to align experimental cinema culture closer to the non-theatrical film circuit, especially through the RF's and the NCA's Public Media Panel philanthropy, as I explain later in more detail. Meanwhile, the AFI started to receive criticism about its policies. This criticism addressed the conditions of the production programmes, calling attention to the limited idea of independence that had been instituted for educational purposes.

#### 5.4 The AFI's Approach to Film Education

Issues about the conditions of the AFI's student film grants were raised in March 1969.<sup>60</sup> This programme attracted a large number of applications complying with the condition that applicants should be enrolled at a university or college. The application form focused on the individual's project, and although it noted that "grants will be made to universities on behalf of the students and the

---

<sup>57</sup> Grant from Standard Oil, September 1971. Film, C1. Sub-Series, 1968-1977, Organisation, General. MoMA Archives, NY. During late 1969 and 1970, the Guerrilla Art Action Group staged performances at the entrance of MoMA to protest against Standard Oil's loan of production facilities for the fabrication of napalm for use in Vietnam. The group asked for the resignation of the Rockefeller Brothers from the museum's board and carried out further protests in relation to the My Lai napalm massacre. See Francis Frascina, *Arts, Politics and Dissent: Aspects of the Art Left in the Sixties America* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 175-186, and Lucy Lippard, *Six Years: The Dematerialisation of the Art Object from 1966 to 1972* (Berkeley: California University Press, 1973).

<sup>58</sup> Adrienne Mancina to John Hightower, August 19, 1971. Film, C1. Sub-Series, 1968-1977, Organisation, General, MoMA Archives, NY.

<sup>59</sup> Peter Schwartz to Willard Van Dyke, January 20, 1971. Film, C1. Sub-Series, 1968-1977, Organisation, General. MoMA Archives, NY.

<sup>60</sup> The American Film Institute. *Report 1967-1971* (Washington DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971)

university film departments will administer the grants”, it did not specified how the rights over the films once finished would be managed.<sup>61</sup> The conditions of this grant were released when the grantee was notified, and these conditions stated that the AFI kept the distribution rights, while the university kept the copyright. This attracted the attention of Howard Wanon, a professor at Yale University, who addressed the AFI’s general counsel regarding two proposed contracts.<sup>62</sup>

Wanon observed that these contracts “are not grants as we understand the term but are advances against purchase of certain rights to artistic materials or products.”<sup>63</sup> Although the contract eventually enabled the student to make the film, it was misleading because, unknowingly “his personal application for a grant results in a contract in which the university retains copyrights to his work and assigns distribution rights to the AFI, both for all time.”<sup>64</sup> Wanon stated that this hindered the AFI’s supposed educative aims. Moreover, it interfered with the university’s autonomy, because it implied a tight control over the films’ content and their exploitation. In his own words:

If decisions about students’ promise or need are made not by faculty but by a benefactor adjudging his specific project, with a view to eventual possession of certain rights to it, thus the process is akin to saying that blackboards will be provided contingent upon an accepted prediction of what will be written upon them.<sup>65</sup>

Wanon thus pointed out that this was an attempt by the AFI to be in command of productions and accruals under the appearance of an open system. He then suggested changes in the contract whereby the AFI would still have priority, but not exclusivity, over the films, and the university could also apply its own criteria. This case illustrates how the AFI funding policy was devised to minimise risks before production

---

<sup>61</sup> Application for Student Filmmaker Program. Film, 247. MoMA Archives, NY. The grant application demanded a narrative letter with a short biography, a description of previous work, objectives, treatment of the project, budget, an example of other films that would be representative of the filmmaker’s work or aspirations, and a cover letter from a faculty member.

<sup>62</sup> Correspondence Howard S. Wanon to Arthur Kananack, March 17, 1969. AFI Correspondence 1971. Subject Files of Deputy Chairman Michael Straight, 1969-1978. NCA- NFAH, RG 288, NACP. A copy of this letter was in the NCA records and I did not find AFI’s response to it there, which is necessary to complete the account of this event.

<sup>63</sup> Correspondence Wanon to Kananack, March 17, 1969, p. 2. AFI Correspondence 1971. Subject Files of Deputy Chairman Michael Straight, 1969-1978. NCA- NFAH, RG 288, NACP.

<sup>64</sup> Correspondence, Wanon to Kananack, March 17, 1969, p. 2. AFI Correspondence 1971. Subject Files of Deputy Chairman Michael Straight, 1969-1978. NCA- NFAH, RG 288, NACP.

<sup>65</sup> Correspondence, Wanon to Kananack, March 17, 1969, p. 4. AFI Correspondence 1971. Subject Files of Deputy Chairman Michael Straight, 1969-1978. NCA-NFAH, RG 288, NACP.

according to its own criteria, but that it also limited the educational potential of the policy. The student program was terminated later that year.

Next I explain how the unfulfilled expectations that gathered the experimental, independent and educational film community in the early 1960s started to become more obvious in subsequent years and put further pressure in the AFI.

#### 5.4.1 Further Criticism

Early in 1971 the AFI was running into internal difficulties. That March, Stevens notified the NCA Chairman, Nancy Hanks, that they had cut personnel and services, mostly from the research and education divisions, as well as from the distribution office that “seek[s] dissemination of the AFI films.”<sup>66</sup> At the same time, the public received the IFP films well. As Stevens pointed out to Hanks “chickens are now beginning to come home to roost”, noting the positive reviews in the general press of *Momentum* (Jordan Belson, 1968) and *Imogen Cunningham* (John Korty, 1972).<sup>67</sup> Nevertheless, as the news of the redundancies spread, the specialised press became a forum for discussion about the AFI’s lack of achievement, which was often compared unfavourably with the BFI.<sup>68</sup>

The insufficient support for educational and independent film distribution was lamented by Ernest Callenbach, whose observations are particularly relevant to an evaluation of the achievements of the AFI in relation to the educational proposal delineated in 1961.<sup>69</sup> While Callenbach praised the IFP as one of the projects most efficiently administered, he also observed that “funds spent on filmmaking help bolster supply; they do nothing to increase demand.”<sup>70</sup> Callenbach stated that the AFI could have organised a national plan to deal with independent and non-theatrical distribution, but effectively did nothing.<sup>71</sup> Callenbach ironically noted that if the AFI had not given serious consideration to these needs, it was “not,

---

<sup>66</sup> George Stevens to Nancy Hanks, March 29, 1971, p. 2-3. AFI Correspondence, Subject Files of Deputy Chairman Michael Straight, 1969-1978. NCA-NFAH, RG 288, NACP. Nancy Hanks was appointed Chairman of the NCA by President Nixon in 1969. She had previously worked in the RBF *Report of the Performing Arts*, and held the NCA post until 1977.

<sup>67</sup> Stevens to Hanks March 29, 1971, p. 2-3. AFI Correspondence. Subject Files of Deputy Chairman Michael Straight, 1969-1978. NCA-NFAH, RG 288, NACP.

<sup>68</sup> See for example Austin Lammer, “Showdown at the Greystone Corral: An Editorial,” *Film Comment* 7, no. 2 (Summer 1971): 2. George Stevens Jr., “A Response from the American Film Institute,” *Film Comment* 7, no. 2 (Summer 1971): 4. For a comparison with the BFI, see Richard Thomson, “The American Film Institute,” in *Screen* 12, no. 3 (Autumn 1971): 57-95.

<sup>69</sup> Ernest Callenbach, “The Unloved One: Crisis at the American Film Institute,” *Film Quarterly* 24, no. 4 (Summer 1971): 42-55.

<sup>70</sup> Callenbach, “The Unloved One,” *Film Quarterly* 24, no. 4 (Summer 1971): 45.

<sup>71</sup> Callenbach, “The Unloved One,” 45.

apparently, because of obstructionism by industry representatives on the Board of Trustees, as has been rumoured.”<sup>72</sup> The industry’s interference echoes the outcomes of the 1935 proposal to the RF for an American film institute. It would have been counterproductive to the MPAA, whose representatives were present in AFI’s Board, if the AFI encouraged the strengthening of non-theatrical and independent distribution. Such actions would have increased the latter’s chances of becoming a strong commercial alternative to Hollywood.

But the difficulties for the independents did not end there. Large corporations were buying out old independent distributors that previously supplied the art cinema circuit, such as Tom Brandon and Leo Dratfield. While the new management made large profits by distributing old collections of experimental, independent and art films, they eliminated staff with expertise in these forms of filmmaking, and they rarely ventured into acquiring new films. As a result, an increased number of experimental and independent filmmakers that were aided by IFP grants had to turn to established “self-help” non-theatrical distributors like the Filmmakers’ Co-operative and Canyon Cinema, or create new distribution networks.<sup>73</sup> However, the self-help option was a risky alternative, which needed investment to start off and a stable market to secure some returns.<sup>74</sup> Callenbach depicted the problem of creating demand within the larger context of the U.S. industry. Its protectionism stopped imports from entering into the country, leading Americans to a kind of “cinematic illiteracy.”<sup>75</sup> In addition, distributors had increased the price of colleges’ film rentals, which caused outrage around the educational community, but the AFI did nothing to mediate in this conflict.

The AFI received further criticism with regards to film scholarship. Jim Kitses, who had been the AFI’s Education Officer for eighteen months, published a critical letter in *Film Comment*.<sup>76</sup> Kitses recognised that “no one is very clear about the relationship of media study and film study, or the connections between filmmaking as an education tool and film as critical discipline.”<sup>77</sup> Yet to overcome

---

<sup>72</sup> Callenbach, “The Unloved One,” 45.

<sup>73</sup> Scott MacDonald, *Canyon Cinema: The Life and Times of an Independent Film Distributor* (Berkeley: California University Press, 2008). San Francisco’s Canyon Cinema was lead by Bruce Baillie. It started as a showcase space and set out a distributing branch in 1967.

<sup>74</sup> Other independent distributors were created at this time such as Serious Business, run by Freunde Bartlett in the west coast, and New Day by Amalie Rothschild, an IFP grantee, in the east coast.

<sup>75</sup> Callenbach, “The Unloved One,” 46.

<sup>76</sup> Jim Kitses, “Letters to the Editor,” *Film Comment* 7, no.3 (Fall 1971): 78. Kitses had been working as Deputy Education Officer at the BFI for five years before Stevens hired him.

<sup>77</sup> Kitses, “Letters to the Editor,” 78.

this, more scholarship and testing out of ideas in a variety of areas was needed, especially in documentary film, experimental film and television. Instead, he observed, the AFI's understanding of film education was "the know-how of feature filmmaking", disguised under the conveniently vague motto of encouraging the art of film and audience development. This lead Kitses to conclude that at the heart of the AFI's policy there was "a vulgar *auteurism* at work: individualism carried to its logical extreme in an elitist 'great men' theory of art and education."<sup>78</sup> These critiques hit the core of the AFI's priorities, which clashed with the idea of film education that the independent and educational film community had hoped to fulfil in the earlier part of the 1960s.

The AFI was at the heart of a public storm. Next I explain how, simultaneously, the Public Media Panel commissioned a report on independent film distribution. Although this report is not available, the Public Media Panel's commission suggests that the report was directed to exert pressure for policy change.

#### **5.4.2 The Public Media Panel Report**

Despite the AFI being officially placed under the Public Media Panel in the NCA structure, up until 1974 the Panel could not direct large sums to other institutions dealing with film. Furthermore, the AFI retained its exclusivity to award grants to individual filmmakers and to prioritise distribution of their IFP films. These settings signal that the AFI was an exception within the administration of public funding. Also, the NCA had simultaneously increased the AFI and the Panel's budgets during the organisations' first years of operation, but the latter's power to endow to other institutions and filmmakers was restricted by the AFI's exceptional status.<sup>79</sup> In 1971 the relationship between the NCA and the AFI tensed, especially after the cuts earlier that year. According to Michael Straight, the NCA Deputy Chairman, the changes culminating in 1974 which I explain next were the end result of the shift envisioned since the Panel appointed Chloe Aaron in 1970.<sup>80</sup>

---

<sup>78</sup> Kitses, "Letters to the Editor," 78.

<sup>79</sup> Michael Straight, *Twigs for an Eagle's Nest: Government and the Arts, 1965-1978* (New York: Devon Press, 1979), 89.

<sup>80</sup> Straight, *Twigs for an Eagle's Nest*. See also Michael Straight's records on the AFI's Audits during those years. Subject Files of Deputy Chairman Michael Straight, 1969-1978, NCA-NFAH, RG288, NACP.

In April 1971, Aaron heard complaints from David C. Stewart about the AFI failing to deliver on a co-production project for the Corporation for Public Broadcasting programmes.<sup>81</sup> Stewart knew of the discontent of the educational and independent film sector, and along with Gerald O'Grady, commissioned a survey of the patterns of distribution of 16mm films.<sup>82</sup> O'Grady states that this "Study of the Distribution of Short Films by Independent Filmmakers" was lead by Van Dyke and John Handhardt, who sent a 36-question form to over a thousand filmmakers.<sup>83</sup> The study was undertaken by Sheldon Renan, and while it was in preparation, the NCA members were cautious in releasing information to the AFI. After the 1971 cuts, the AFI stopped seeking distributors for the films. However, in April 1972, it signed a contract for non-theatrical distribution with Time-Life.<sup>84</sup> The company, which in the 1960s produced Direct Cinema documentaries for television broadcast, attempted to expand by distributing content for cable television in the 1970s.<sup>85</sup> Yet, the non-theatrical and mainly educational orientation of the Time-Life contract did not suit all the films. It could be particularly disadvantageous to independent filmmakers who wanted to reach theatrical audiences first. Although to a lesser degree, it could also affect experimental films provided the content of these films did not fit into the categories normally distributed by Time-Life, or if the company did not market them to programmers adequately.

In December 1972, Michael Straight told Nancy Hanks in an internal correspondence that he had received a call from Stevens, who

had been told that the public media panel had received an unfavorable report on the AFI filmmaker award (a reference presumably to Sheldon Renan's report which dealt with the largest context and recommended an

---

<sup>81</sup> Chloe Aaron to Nancy Hanks, Memorandum Regarding David Stewart Visit, April 9, 1971. AFI Correspondence/Report 1971, Subject Files of Deputy Chairman Michael Straight, 1969-1978. NCA-NFAH, RG 288, NACP. Stewart became Director of the Panel in 1966. There, he supervised the television, radio and film plans which included the creation of the AFI and the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, becoming the latter's Director of Special Projects in 1969. From his position at Corporation's Special Project and Office of International Activities, Stewart negotiated the sales of American public broadcasting programmes with its international counterparts.

<sup>82</sup> National Endowment for the Arts. *Annual Report* (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1971), 61. O'Grady was an English scholar and early instigator of academic programmes of electronic image experimentation at the Center of Media Study in Buffalo.

<sup>83</sup> Gerald O'Grady, "Introduction to the Frontier, 1979-1980," in *Video History Project*. Resources: People, <http://www.experimentalvcenter.org/history/people/ptext.php?id=61&page=1> accessed 16/02/2010.

<sup>84</sup> The American Film Institute, Narrative Report to the National Endowment for the Arts. Fiscal Year 1972, p. 5. AFI Correspondence/Reports 1973. Subject Files of Deputy Chairman Michael Straight, 1971-1974. NCA-NFAH, RG 288, NACP.

<sup>85</sup> Scott W. Fitzgerald, *Corporations and Creative Industries: Time Warner, Bertelsmann and News Corporation* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2012).

alternative film fellowship program). I assured him that Sheldon had not been asked to make it and had not made a direct report on the AFI.<sup>86</sup>

Subsequent communications suggest that, by April 1973, the Panel must have shown a draft of the report to the AFI's staff, which led to a change in policy. Nancy Raine, who was Nancy Hanks' assistant, informed the latter that a first draft had been submitted to the Panel in December 1972, and between then and April 1973 "minor editing was undertaken and the report was retyped."<sup>87</sup> Such revision concerned the section dealing with the distribution of IFP films.

The report's final version was submitted to the Panel early in July 1973.<sup>88</sup> The 1977 *Report on the Status of Independent Film in the U.S.*, in which Renan also participated, mentions some results of the 1973 survey.<sup>89</sup> The survey indicated that the average income from film for an individual avant-garde filmmaker in that year was \$845, which included all film rentals, grants, institutional support, and other income available. The survey indicated that "89% of the filmmakers did not recoup production costs from film income, and 96% of the respondents indicated that they could not support themselves on the income generated by their films."<sup>90</sup> The 1973 Public Media Panel report provided substantial data to put pressure on a change in policy, focusing not only on the IFP distribution practices, but also other areas where the Public Media Panel and other philanthropic programmes could financially support the non-theatrical sector.

### 5.4.3 Changes in the IFP Distribution Policy

In May 1973, presumably after seeing the first draft of the Public Media Panel report, the AFI announced modifications to the IFP policy, concurring with a change to the members of the Board of Trustees.<sup>91</sup> One amendment stated that, from then

---

<sup>86</sup> Michael Straight to Nancy Hanks. December 22, 1972. AFI Correspondence/Reports 1973. Subject Files of Deputy Chairman Michael Straight, 1971-1974. NCA-NFAH, RG 288, NACP.

<sup>87</sup> Nancy Raine to Nancy Hanks. July 27, 1973. AFI-NEA Conference. Files of Deputy Chairman Michael Straight, 1971-1974. NCA-NFAH, RG 288, NACP.

<sup>88</sup> Raine to Hanks, July 27, 1973. AFI Correspondence/Report 1973. Subject Files of Deputy Chairman Michael Straight, 1969-1978. NCA-NFAH, RG 288, NACP.

<sup>89</sup> Peter Feinstein, ed., *The Independent Film Community: A Report on the Status of the Independent Film in the United States*, folder 26, box 4, series 3, RG 1, Markle Foundation Collection, RAC.

<sup>90</sup> Sheldon Renan, *The Economics of Independent Filmmaking: A Report Prepared for the Public Media Panel Program of the National Endowment for the Arts*, February 1973. Quoted in Feinstein, *The Independent Film Community*, page 20, folder 26, box 4, series 3, RG 1, Markle Foundation Collection, RAC.

<sup>91</sup> "Four New Trustees Elected to AFI Board. Board Approves Changes in the Policy for Independent Filmmakers Awards," AFI Press Release, Washington DC, May 23, 1973, folder 5, box R1497, series 200R, RG A79, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

onwards, “the filmmakers will be entitled to all revenues resulting from the distribution of their films.”<sup>92</sup> It also cancelled the contract with Time-Life, which was distributing 31 films by that date.<sup>93</sup> Another change in the policy permitted “filmmakers to apply for living stipends as part of their grants.”<sup>94</sup> The announcement stated that the decision had been reached by a special Trustee committee including independent filmmakers John Korty and Ed Emshwiller, and film executives Gordon Stulberg and Frank Yablans, on 21 May 1973. The press release did not mention that the changes in the policy reflected the lack of satisfaction with the distribution deals. Instead, it reiterated the sustained assistance that American filmmakers had received from the programme for the past six years: “more than \$850,000 for film productions to 114 filmmakers, including \$200,000 for 14 projects under a special Corporation for Public Broadcasting-AFI Program.”<sup>95</sup>

The IFP Report released in May 1973, at the same time of the announcement, contained updated data on the IFP, and further explanation of the change to the distribution policy.<sup>96</sup> The announcement was retroactive and therefore affected earlier distribution deals. The AFI stopped accruing earnings from distribution deals but retained the rights to show the IFP films at the CAFS or any AFI Theater.<sup>97</sup> The IFP report also summarised some of the results of a survey in which 69 out of the 86 IFP recipients so far participated.<sup>98</sup> The survey asked for the filmmakers’ opinions on the Time-Life non-theatrical distribution contract, and if they thought that they could handle the distribution better by themselves. The answers were varied, with 54% agreeing with the arrangement, 22% not agreeing, and 24% unsure.<sup>99</sup> Significantly, the

---

<sup>92</sup> “Four New Trustees Elected to AFI Board. Board Approves Changes in the Policy for Independent Filmmakers Awards,” AFI Press Release, Washington DC, May 23, 1973, p. 3, folder 5, box R1497, series 200R, RG A79, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

<sup>93</sup> “Four New Trustees Elected to AFI Board. Board Approves Changes in the Policy for Independent Filmmakers Awards,” AFI Press Release, Washington DC, May 23, 1973, p. 3, folder 5, box R1497, series 200R, RG A79, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

<sup>94</sup> “Four New Trustees Elected to AFI Board. Board Approves Changes in the Policy for Independent Filmmakers Awards,” AFI Press Release, p. 2, folder 5, box R1497, series 200R, RG A79, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

<sup>95</sup> “Four New Trustees Elected to AFI Board. Board Approves Changes in the Policy for Independent Filmmakers Awards,” AFI Press Release, p. 3, folder 5, box R1497, series 200R, RG A79, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

<sup>96</sup> Distribution Summary. *Report on the American Film Institute Independent Filmmaker Program*, May 1973, p. 8, folder 5, box, R1497, series 200R, RG A79, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

<sup>97</sup> Independent Filmmaker Program Agreement, Appendix B. September 19, 1973, p. 15, folder 18, box 13, series 3, RG Area 1, Markle Collection, RAC.

<sup>98</sup> Report on the American Film Institute Independent Filmmaker Program, May 1973, p. 17, folder 5, box R1497, series 200 R, RG A79, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC.

<sup>99</sup> Report on the American Film Institute Independent Filmmaker Program, May 1973, p. 17, folder 18, box 13, series 3, RG Area 1, Markle Collection, RAC.



qualifying comments reflected that, regardless of their positive, negative or mixed views on the arrangement, filmmakers felt that it was too soon to tell whether Time-Life could be an effective distributor.<sup>100</sup> Additionally, in all groups many observed that the contract was rather inflexible regarding exclusivity with the company and its non-theatrical orientation. The Time-Life contract mostly affected those filmmakers who wanted to reach theatrical distribution, a difficulty that was not aided by the lack of support for independent theatrical distribution.

With regards to their preference for handling distribution themselves, 25% answered affirmatively, while 72% said that they preferred not to distribute their own films.<sup>101</sup> If filmmakers were to arrange their own distribution deals, they could choose where to go, thus encouraging self-help, do-it-yourself distribution initiatives and promotions. Experimental filmmakers such as Storm de Hirsch and Bruce Baillie, who, with the IFP grants made *The Tattooed Man* (1969) and *Quick Billy* (1970) respectively, could arrange their own deals with suitable non-theatrical distributors of experimental films such as Film-Makers' Cooperative and Canyon Cinema. But these distributors' resources were limited. To expand non-theatrical and independent distribution as sustainable practices, they needed further public support. Moreover, self-promotion increased the filmmakers' workloads, since they needed to have access to networks of distribution, promotion and exhibition, such as festivals.<sup>102</sup>

The largest unease with the IFP policy concerned the split of benefits. To this, 58% considered the arrangement fair, 26 of them unqualified, and 14 with qualifications, 41% said it was unfair. 1% did not respond.<sup>103</sup> For those that agreed with the arrangement with qualifications, their main observation was the rigidity of the non-theatrical orientation of the Time-Life deal. It did not suit those filmmakers that wanted to produce films for the theatrical market. By curtailing access to a profitable market, these grants limited the growth of the independent film market.

Although the distribution policy changed in 1973, it is noteworthy that the measure was applied over six crucial years, characterised by crisis and transition in the film industry, an increased number of productions, and the wider visibility and critical

---

<sup>100</sup> Report on the American Film Institute Independent Filmmaker Program, May 1973, p. 17-18, folder 18, box 13, series 3, RG Area 1, Markle Collection, RAC.

<sup>101</sup> Report on the American Film Institute Independent Filmmaker Program, May 1973, p. 19, folder 18, box 13, series 3, RG Area 1, Markle Collection, RAC.

<sup>102</sup> Festivals often run under the conditions of large companies and do not deal with films on individual basis because of packages and exclusive contracts with distributors. For an analysis of the limitations of the do-it-yourself option during that period, see Lee Beaupré, "How to Distribute a Film," in *The Hollywood Film Industry*, ed. Paul Kerr (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1986), 185-203.

<sup>103</sup> Report on the American Film Institute Independent Filmmaker Program, May 1973, p. 21, folder 18, box 13, series 3, RG Area 1, Markle Collection, RAC.

acclaim of independent filmmakers. The submission to the AFI's criteria during these years allowed the interests of the theatrical film industry to predominate by channelling production in a way that did not compete with theatrical markets. Next I explain this in more detail through subsequent policies constructed to strengthen the non-theatrical film sector.

## 5.5 Differentiation of the Audiovisual Sector

After the 1973 change, the NCA's Public Media Panel, the RF and the Markle Foundation became the main supporters of non-theatrical film. Michael Straight reports that in 1974, after a series of audits and debates, the NCA "concluded that support of the AFI did not exhaust the government's interest in film as an art."<sup>104</sup> This change affected the exclusive rights that the AFI had held so far over support for film. From then onwards the Panel was also able to: (1) fund individuals directly, (2) grant up to \$50,000 in matching funds to other non-profit institutions, (3) sponsor the placement of independents as interns in cable television companies, and (4) support public television stations which were willing to have independents as artists in residence. In 1974 the AFI tried to sever its links with the NCA and secure a stable source of funding by receiving two-third of its budget directly from Congress, but this move did not succeed.<sup>105</sup>

The Public Media Panel's, RF's and Markle Foundation's subsequent focus on the non-theatrical sector affected the regional development of media art centres. They funded the coordination of the Committee on Film and Television Resources, which brought together media arts and educational organisations to develop a strategy to foster distribution of independent film and video.<sup>106</sup> During this time, these philanthropies focused on the use of video technology in arts and education. Notably,

---

<sup>104</sup> Straight, *Twigs for an Eagle's Nest*, 89. See also Audit Info, American Film Institute, Subject Files of Deputy Chairman Michael Straight, 1969-1979, NCA-NFAH, RG288, NACP.

<sup>105</sup> House Subcommittee on Education of the Committee on Education and Labour, *To Create the American Film Institute as an Independent Agency: Hearings on H.R. 17021*, 93<sup>rd</sup> Cong., 1<sup>st</sup> sess., 1974.

<sup>106</sup> Committee on Film and Television Resources and Services, "A Proposal to Support Regional Seminars and Continued Study Submitted by Anthology Film Archives," July 25, 1974, folder 25, box 4, series 3, sub-series 4, RG R1, Markle Foundation Archives, RAC. The Committee was represented by Anthology Film Archives, which assumed the surrogate name of Film Art Fund. See also Peter Feinstein, ed., *The Independent Film Community: A Report on the Status of Independent Film in the United States*, folder 26, box 4, series 3, RG 1, Markle Foundation Archives, RAC.

this was encouraged by the RF, which continued to apply McLuhan's arguments on the educational and egalitarian advantages of video technology.<sup>107</sup>

Some experimental films reached theatrical exhibition through the Public Media Panel programme "Short Film Showcase", which intended to introduce these films, especially animation, to general audiences.<sup>108</sup> The filmmakers received a one-time honorary award and the Panel paid to blow up prints from 16 to 35mm, publish promotional materials, and distribute the films. Nonetheless, the conditions of this programme established limits to the exploitation of experimental films in theatrical exhibition. One condition was that the Panel and filmmakers would not receive any benefit from the theatrical distribution. Another condition was that the rights over the materials would remain within the Panel, although filmmakers could strike copies of the 35mm prints at their own cost. Finally, the films needed to be less than 10 minutes in length and to have an MPAA G certification, meaning that they had been approved by the association to be screened to the general public. The Short Film Showcase's first round included films by established filmmakers and animators, such as Robert Breer, James Whitney and Bruce Baillie.<sup>109</sup> Yet the MPAA's supervision of content restricted the character of experimental films that reached theatrical audiences through this programme.

In summary, the outcomes of the 1960s policies parallel those from the RF's initiatives in the 1930s in the way that they promoted the growth of the non-theatrical sector without interfering with the main theatrical film industry. The conditions of the IFP grant worked in conjunction with the other policies in order to channel numerous independent and experimental films to the non-theatrical sector, whereas the Short Film Showcase programme put limits to the kind of experimental films reaching theatrical audiences. Below I explain that other filmmakers affiliated with the AFI had another fate within the post-1960s author-oriented Hollywood.

---

<sup>107</sup> Howard Klein, "Whither the Arts," December 1972, p. 2, folder 1, box 1, series 925, RG 925, Rockefeller Foundation Archives, RAC; Howard Klein, "The Rise of Televisualists," in *The New Television: A Public/Private Art*, ed. Douglas Davis and Allison Simpson (Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1977), 158-169; Howard Klein, introduction to *Video: The State of the Art* (New York: The Rockefeller Foundation, 1976). See also Marita Sturken, "Private Money and Personal Influence: Howard Klein and the Rockefeller Foundation Funding on the Media Arts," *Afterimage* 14, no. 6. (January 1987) <http://www.vasulka.org/archive/Publications/FormattedPublications/KleinRockAll.pdf> accessed 13/09/2011. In 1974 MoMA started collecting video work from artists.

<sup>108</sup> Short Film Showcase (SFS). Subject Files of Brian O'Doherty, Director of Media Arts, 1974-1981, NCA-NFAH, RG288, NACP.

<sup>109</sup> Letter to Gene Youngblood, April 1, 1974. SFS, General 1974. Subject Files of Brian O'Doherty, Director of Media Arts, 1974-1981, NCA-NFAH, RG288, NACP.

### 5.5.1 The American Art Film and Author-Oriented Hollywood after the 1960s

In *Allegories of Cinema*, David James includes some independent filmmakers that were once affiliated with the AFI, such as Jim McBride, Stanton Kaye and Robert Kramer, in what he calls “the tradition of anormality of American Art Film.”<sup>110</sup> According to James, this tradition attempts “to reconcile commercial and personally expressive functions.”<sup>111</sup> In terms of content, James points out that these films deal with sexual, political and philosophical issues differently to Hollywood’s customary treatments. In terms of form, they are characterised by their attenuated narrative continuity, unstable synthesis of realism and subjectivism, and distinctive use of authorial signature. These films proved to be economically viable in the art cinemas of the post-war years, and their aesthetics appealed to the young and urban audiences that grew accustomed to the self-reflexivity and meta-textual references abounding in art films, underground films, and Direct Cinema. For instance, Robert Kramer, who was initially involved with radical left filmmaking through the Newsreel Group, produced *Ice* (1969) with an IFP grant. This was a drama about the internal tensions of a guerrilla movement set in an apocalyptic scenario. The fiction incorporated the low-quality aesthetics of guerrilla filmmaking, and dealt in a self-reflexive manner with the effects of alternative media on political activism.

However, the work of Kramer and other of these independent filmmakers has remained less widely distributed and renowned in comparison with other names emerging from a closer affiliation with the AFI. Through the film school CAFS, the AFI pushed forward some of the younger talent appearing in Hollywood through these years. Located in Beverly Hills, CAFS offered graduate training for filmmakers, seminars with renowned filmmakers, and internship programmes.<sup>112</sup> Its key staff included Frank Daniel, from the Czeck national film school, Hollywood producer Antonio Vellani, and James Blue, previous Ford Grantee and USIA filmmaker. The curricula benefitted from collaborations with Hollywood organisations, such as Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences, the American Society of Cinematographers, and the Screen Actors Guild.<sup>113</sup> Notably, CAFS alumni David

---

<sup>110</sup> David James, *Allegories of Cinema: American Film in the Sixties* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), 282. See chapter 4, note 95, for the connection of Jim McBride and Stanton Kaye with the AFI.

<sup>111</sup> James, *Allegories of Cinema*, 282.

<sup>112</sup> American Film Institute, *Report: The First Ten Years: 1967-1977* (Washington: American Film Institute, 1977).

<sup>113</sup> American Film Institute, *Report: The First Ten Years: 1967-1977* (Washington: American Film Institute, 1977), 35.

Lynch and Terrence Malick now occupy an established position as Hollywood's independents, enjoying significant creative autonomy within contemporary U.S. theatrical film productions.

In particular, David Lynch's career presents a success story in the AFI's attempt to bridge art house and experimental aesthetics with the conditions of independent production after the 1960s. Lynch's filmmaking got started when he received an IFP grant after presenting his portfolio of inter-media experimental films. It consisted of *Six Figures Getting Sick* (1966), an animation of six figures repeatedly bursting in visceral effluvia which was projected over a sculptured screen; and *The Alphabet* (1968), a short piece mixing animation and live action that represents the nightmarish side of formal education.<sup>114</sup> In these films, Lynch, who had been trained as a painter, used abstract and surrealist motifs, such as those employed by Francis Bacon, to convey existential alienation.

With the IFP grant Lynch produced *The Grandmother* (1970), a story of an anxiety-ridden boy who is abused by his parents. The boy cultivates a loving grandmother in soil and she grows to comfort him. The film recalls surrealism in its use of symbols and metaphor to convey the family's undercurrent of sexuality and violence. Also, it uses expressionist aesthetics, such as high-contrast photography and atmospheric sound design, to signal the alienation and extreme emotions of the character. The brooding 34 minutes of its duration demonstrated its potential to be a feature-length film. *The Grandmother* received several prizes and critical acclaim. Subsequently, Lynch went on to study at the AFI's CAFS. *Eraserhead* (1977) was his graduation project. The film narrates the story of a young man, trapped in society's norms, who has to look after an unwelcomed baby-monster. Hoberman and Rosenbaum explain that the film was distributed by an independent company specialising in underground, experimental and exploitation movies.<sup>115</sup> In the long-run, it acquired cult status on the midnight movie circuit. Importantly, this circuit had been pushed forth in the late 1970s when Roger Corman formed *New World Pictures*, a small production and distribution company for the specialised market of low budget and foreign films. It helped to revive urban independent theatres where European art films such as those by Federico Fellini, Alain Resnais and Francois Truffaut, were seen along with exploitation and horror movies. Hoberman and Rosenbaum argue that

---

<sup>114</sup> Paul A. Woods, *Weirdsville USA: The Obsessive Universe of David Lynch* (London: Plexus, 2000).

<sup>115</sup> Jim Hoberman and Jonathan Rosenbaum., *Midnight Movies* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1991).

these spaces bred the phenomenon of the “cult movie”, where films such as *Eraserhead* ran for a long time in night sessions and progressively gained their following through word of mouth.

*Eraserhead*'s reputation called producers' attentions to Lynch. Subsequently, he was offered the opportunity to direct the art cinema horror story *The Elephant Man* (1980). Mel Brooks acted as independent producer, securing funds by pre-selling U.S. distribution rights and attracting an important international crew.<sup>116</sup> Following this film's accomplishment, producer Dino de Laurentis offered Lynch *Dune* (1984), a large-scale science-fiction adaptation that had been germinating for a long time. The film's production was complicated and Lynch did not approve the final edit. *Dune* was a box-office failure. It hinted at Lynch's films unsuitability for the blockbuster formula of the 1980s where other New Hollywood directors such as Steven Spielberg and George Lucas found success. Lynch again met his art cinema niche with *Blue Velvet* (1986), backed again by de Laurentis after agreeing that the director would retain creative control over the film.

By the early 1990s Lynch's *auteur* status and the marketing value of his name was firmly established. According to Timothy Corrigan, New Hollywood established a “commerce of auteurism”, where the name of directors like Lynch, Francis Ford Coppola and Raúl Ruiz are cued to marketing and interpretative strategies.<sup>117</sup> These names set expectations for the styles and themes of the films, in a similar way to genres and stars in the studio system. In particular, Lynch's themes and treatments focus on the underside of society and popular culture. They have increasingly leaned towards exploring Hollywood's representations in a self-reflective way, as in *Mulholland Drive* (2001) and *Inland Empire* (2006). Lynch's personal style has strengthened through long standing creative collaborations with two other CAFS students: sound designer Alan Splet, and cinematographer Fred Elmes.<sup>118</sup> Nevertheless, these and other contributions are not always given that much importance, and publicity tends to hold to the romantic idea of the individual *auteur*. This was patent throughout the production of the late night TV series *Twin Peaks* (1990-1991), which proved a success in mixing murder mystery and soap-opera

---

<sup>116</sup> David Hughes, *The Complete Lynch* (London: Virgin, 2003).

<sup>117</sup> Timothy Corrigan, “Auteurs and the New Hollywood,” in *The New American Cinema*, ed. Jon Lewis (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998), 40. For an analysis of the independents' methods to generate audience awareness and finding distribution in the wake of the multi-media conglomerates, see also John Berra, *Declarations of Independence: American Cinema and the Partiality of Independent Production* (Bristol: Intellect, 2008).

<sup>118</sup> Martha P. Nochimson, *The Passion of David Lynch: Wild at Heart in Hollywood* (Austin: Texas University Press, 1997).

television formulae. Lynch wrote the pilot idea with Robert Frost and directed some of the episodes of the first season. When he began to work on *Wild at Heart* (1992) he spent significant time away from the series. Eventually, other individuals wrote and directed many episodes, and Lynch only went back to direct an important episode of the second season. In an interview, Frost acknowledged that Lynch was credited for the whole series, but stated “everybody wants to believe in the *auteur* theory, that it all somehow springs from one person, and David had a much higher profile.”<sup>119</sup> For most audiences, the series are still associated with Lynch’s style and themes. This case makes patent the separation between the author as producer and the author as perceived by audiences.

Another CAFS graduate, Terrence Malick, also enjoys an *auteur* position within Hollywood. After making the satirical bank robbery film *Lanton Mills* (1969) as his CAFS graduation film, Malick debuted with *Badlands* (1973). *Badlands* exemplifies the period’s vogue of reworking American cinematic types and genres with the sensibility of European art cinema. *Badlands* is a story about two teenage runaways that evoked *Gun Crazy* (Joseph H. Lewis, 1950). Also, importantly, *Badlands* resembles the more contemporary runaway story *Bonnie and Clyde* (Arthur Penn, 1967), which signalled Hollywood’s renaissance with its nostalgic look at America’s Prohibition Era and explicit references to the French New Wave.<sup>120</sup> As *Bonnie and Clyde* before, *Badlands* was bought for distribution by Warner Brothers.<sup>121</sup> Yet, *Badlands*’ reworking of the myth of the outsiders has a pervasive philosophical sensibility, punctuated by a stream of consciousness commentary from the female character. *Badlands* has highly crafted cinematography and sound score; its slow tempo made it stand out against its antecedents more accelerated paces. *Badlands* thus engaged with contemporary youth culture in a serious manner by representing the teenagers’ violence and romantic relationship with some detachment. At the same time, it conveyed a sense of nostalgia for a bygone innocence. This film, as well as Malick’s later works, such as *Days of Heaven* (1978) and *The Tree of Life* (2011),

---

<sup>119</sup> Robert Frost, quoted in Hughes, *The Complete Lynch*, 107.

<sup>120</sup> Peter Kramer, *The New Hollywood: From Bonnie and Clyde to Star Wars* (London: Wallflower Press, 2005).

<sup>121</sup> Alexander Horwath, “A Walking Contradiction (Partly Truth and Partly Fiction),” in *The Last Great American Picture Show: New Hollywood Cinema in the 1970s*, ed. Thomas Elsaesser, Alex Horwath and Noel King, 83-105 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2004).

deals with the themes of life, love and death from a perspective that evokes American transcendentalism, and revisits American identity topics such as the Frontier.<sup>122</sup>

Like Lynch, Malick has often found difficulties gathering production funds and in adapting the final cut of his long and often contemplative movies to more “saleable” versions. Both Lynch and Malick have a peripheral yet reputed place within the production modes and marketing strategies of post-1960s Hollywood. These filmmakers play up their independence and creative control. Their films appear as a recognisable part of contemporary American culture and sensibility. They engage with the aesthetics and production methods of international art cinema, which is an adaptable counterpart to blockbuster cinema.

Other filmmakers known as New Hollywood *auteurs*, who also reworked Hollywood’s past and incorporated European and avant-garde film influences, had a connection with the AFI’s CAFS at this point. Peter Bogdanovich, for instance, worked first as an actor and film critic. His writings, very much like those of *Cahiers du Cinema*’s critics and Andrew Sarris, drew attention to American filmmakers such as Alfred Hitchcock, Orson Welles, Joseph H. Lewis and Howard Hawks. After directing his first film *Targets* (1968) backed by Roger Corman, Bogdanovich made *The Last Picture Show* (1971). This is a melancholic story about small town youngsters coming of age, which garnered critical acclaim. Simultaneously, Bogdanovich carried out interviews with Hollywood directors Allan Dwan, Leo McCarey and Raoul Walsh for the AFI/Louis B. Mayer Foundation Oral History Projects.<sup>123</sup> Another significant outcome of Bogdanovich’s collaboration with the AFI was the television documentary *Directed by John Ford* (1971). In this documentary, also backed by the California Arts Commission, Bogdanovich examined the work of the director through interviews and analysis of the films.<sup>124</sup> Paul Schrader, who later became a screenwriter and filmmaker, also took part in the AFI’s scholarship at this point. While finishing his studies at UCLA and writing film criticism, Schrader was appointed CAFS fellow to make a survey on film noir and existential philosophy.<sup>125</sup>

---

<sup>122</sup> Hannah Patterson, ed., *Terrence Malick: Poetic Visions of America* (London: Wallflower Press, 2003).

<sup>123</sup> American Film Institute, *Report 1967-1971* (Washington: American Film Institute, 1971), 54.

<sup>124</sup> Martin Flanagan, “Peter Bogdanovich.” in *Contemporary North American Directors: A Wallflower Critical Guide*, ed. Yoram Allon, Del Cullen and Iannah Patterson (London: Wallflower Press, 2002), 55-57.

<sup>125</sup> George Kouvaros, *Paul Schrader* (Urbana: Illinois University Press, 2008).



The eventual publication of *Transcendental Style in Film: Ozu, Bresson, Dreyer*, evolved from this study.<sup>126</sup>

Most of the scholarship on these filmmakers concentrates on analysing themes, aesthetics and cultural references. Nevertheless, their historical emergence as Hollywood's independents and *auteurs* is better understood in light of the wider context of the film industry and film culture that gave birth to the AFI's policies in the 1960s.

## Summary

In this chapter I demonstrate how the AFI supported independent and experimental cinema production while it controlled distribution and exhibition of these films. Simultaneously, other philanthropic enterprises such as those advanced by the RF, MoMA and the NCA's Public Media Panel, directed their efforts towards bolstering non-theatrical distribution and exhibition, and compensated, to some degree, for the AFI's focus on production. This contrasted with the hope of strengthening independent filmmaking as a commercial alternative to Hollywood that the experimental and independent film community proposed in the early 1960s. As a result, the non-theatrical film sector, which included film, media art centres, television and video, developed, while a new generation of filmmakers oriented towards theatrical feature production rose to occupy the place of Hollywood's *auteurs* and independent filmmakers.

---

<sup>126</sup> Paul Schrader, *Transcendental Style in Film: Ozu, Bresson, Dreyer* (Berkeley: California University Press, 1972).

## **Conclusion**

The AFI was a result of the gradual expansion of the U.S. federal government's cultural policies. In particular, the AFI's support for experimental and independent film production emerged at a key moment of change in the film industry that affected both the theatrical and the non-theatrical sectors. This support aimed to update film education to engage with independent production modes, revise moral standards, and expand audiovisual production into other areas such as video and television. To meet these objectives without challenging the power established by the main companies of the theatrical film industry, the AFI's Board included important members of the MPAA. The AFI administered the IFP, which concentrated on production but did not reinforce independent theatrical exhibition. Although not without tensions, the AFI policy worked alongside other philanthropic measures such as those advanced by the RF, MoMA and the Public Media Panel, which concentrated mostly on non-theatrical distribution and exhibition. To some extent, this way of regulating non-theatrical film production, distribution and exhibition followed the lead of the RF's film education policies of the 1930s. These earlier policies established a distinctive realm for non-theatrical cinema and shaped the not-for-profit character of the infrastructures that supported experimental and independent cinema in the following years. These policies endorsed flexible forms of production that suited the theatrical and non-theatrical film industry after the 1960s. In the following summary I explain these conclusions in more detail and identify areas that need further examination.

### **The Importance of the 1930s for Later Years**

American experimental and independent cinemas in the 1960s encompassed heterogeneous practices. Their diversity and aspirations emerged from the non-theatrical film culture and infrastructures developed from the 1930s onwards thanks to philanthropic support, on the one hand, and international film policies and the breakdown of the studio system after WWII, on the other. The RF's film policies of the 1930s effectively organised the non-theatrical sector in a way that did not conflict with Hollywood's theatrical interests. These policies established standards that regulated competition and content in the main networks of non-theatrical cinema.

Non-theatrical cinema subsequently enjoyed a relative autonomy from the theatrical market. It found its niche within artistic and educational institutions such as MoMA's Film Library and the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, production units at academic centres such as colleges and universities, and civic discussion groups, schools and other film societies.

Pre-war ideas about the educational potential of film and the creative autonomy of sponsored documentary filmmakers legitimised these policies and furthered experimental, documentary and educational forms of filmmaking. This finding substantiates Decherney's arguments on the importance of pre-WWII policies that allowed post-war experimental and independent cinema to flourish. In line with Buxton's research on the RF's Communications Program, I argue that the main objective of the RF policies was to nurture the non-theatrical sector. Yet, these policies also had cultural consequences for experimental and independent cinema because the establishment of production, distribution and exhibition infrastructures helped to regulate content. Also, importantly, given the reciprocity between the film industry, the government and philanthropies during this time, some of the infrastructures set up with philanthropic aims helped the political objectives of film propaganda when the war approached.

My study of the importance of the policies in the 1930s expands on Kreul's examination of the cross-over between educational, artistic and commercial film practices on the post-war years. It further explains the lack of viability of the proposal for a film institute in the early 1960s. The policies of the federal government and private philanthropies in the 1960s focused on two main sub-groups. One was the group of independent filmmakers who wanted stability to work within theatrical cinema, but without censorship and having distribution limited by the main companies. Another was the group of experimental filmmakers who could work within the relative autonomy of arts and academic institutions. The possibility that film societies and film libraries might join forces with independent commercial distributors and exhibitors was limited, given those institutions' orientation towards the educational, not-for-profit, film sector that had strong philanthropic underpinnings since the 1930s.

## **Regulation of Experimental and Independent Cinema in the 1960s**

The arts and humanities legislation of the 1960s had two interlocked aims. The first aim was to expand more efficient arts and education administration. The second was to update and regulate educational standards, especially in the arts and humanities. Building on the RF's policies of the 1930s, the federal government in the 1960s was looking for ways to increase competitiveness and regulate content in film production. The RF's and MoMA's support in particular helped to disseminate and define experimental film practices in non-theatrical film settings. It also strengthened the connection of these films with film theory and notions of artistic freedom of expression. This support widened the public recognition of these non-theatrical film practices, diminished censorship and helped to liberalise moral standards. Their combined efforts facilitated the exposure of diverse mores and aesthetics to general audiences, which also helped audiences to adapt to the values later adopted by the film industry when the new MPAA's standards for theatrical films came into effect.

The IFP's and MoMA's focus on free, diverse, personal expression and films' educational potential reinforced a reading formation that underscored freedom of expression and self-regulation. This association engaged with liberal ideology and with the filmmakers' and educators' demands. It also curtailed claims of co-option by the sponsors because of the latter's respect for the individual's creative autonomy. Additionally, as in the case of MoMA's travelling exhibition of experimental and independent films, *The Personal Film*, these films became examples in a debate about freedom of expression and the politics of cultural identity in Australia. Nonetheless, a better characterisation of the Australian context of reception would bring a deeper understanding of the specific effects of these policies, because these were the conditions that enabled or resisted the policies' impact.

The MPAA enjoyed a privileged position within the AFI. This allowed the trust to oversee the protection of its own interests when the AFI applied policies. If the AFI made experimental and independent cinema the focus of its production fund, it was because of the suitability of flexible independent production methods for the current conditions of the film industry, which included prospects for development for the non-theatrical audiovisual sector. As the AFI decided the area of distribution and exhibition of the films produced with the IFP grant, it limited the financial accruals filmmakers could expect from their films. Given a concomitant lack of support for independent theatrical distribution, these conditions narrowed the independents'

possible financial returns, thus helping to control competition during a transitional moment in the history of the American film industry.

The AFI's power was reinforced by the prerogatives of the Public Media Panel, which had restricted the capacity to give significant grants to individuals and other institutions during the first seven years of the AFI and the IFP fund. The IFP nurtured independent, experimental, documentary and animation filmmaking. These forms of filmmaking could act as controlled alternatives to make theatrical and non-theatrical production more dynamic and competitive. For example, theatrical film productions used some experimental film aesthetics, independent production methods, and updated their moral standards. These productions appealed to younger audiences and offered more flexible working methods for the arrangements of the theatrical film industry after the breakdown of the studio system and the appearance of television and video technology.

Finally, the focus on creative autonomy instituted in the IFP had been employed in sponsored independent documentary filmmaking since the 1930s. This production model entails that producers take many important decisions before approving the project, and when arranging its specific distribution and exhibition. Despite the differences between sponsored documentaries, the films produced under the AFI's film fund, and theatrical feature filmmaking, this arrangement resembled the "autonomy within the system" model that, Elsaesser argues, enables the viability of Hollywood's *auteurs*. These *auteurs'* producers negotiate production and distribution of projects on an individual basis. In these negotiations, producers take into consideration how the particular film elaborates the *auteur's* personal themes and styles, so the recognition of such personal *vision* provides an anchor point for marketing strategies to match the film with audiences.

### **Some Implications and Further Research**

This research addresses under-examined records relating to such institutions as the NCA and the RF, highlighting the relationship between theatrical and non-theatrical cinema in the 1960s. The examination of these policies invokes more questions about the specificity of each case and opens avenues for further research. The RF policies in the 1930s were justified by academic ideas about progress through the use of film technology in education. In line with Acland's research on the use of film in philanthropic education programmes after WWII, the information available on SRI suggests continuity between these policies and the post-1960s expansion of the

audiovisual sector. Philanthropic support for the use of audiovisual technology in non-theatrical settings reinforces the economic interests of manufacturers. More data on the social and economic impact of these policies needs to be sought. Additionally, the historical relation between these policies and the academic discourse on the educational value of technology needs to be questioned. These studies may query issues such as the quality of learning through audiovisual means and the independence of these notions from economic interests.

The U.S. federal government and private philanthropies prioritised private interests when applying their national educational policies. Despite the IFP being resourced with federal government funds, the AFI mediation favoured the MPAA's maintenance of control over the industry by limiting the possibilities of independent producers and exhibitors to compete with Hollywood companies on the same terms. While the policies protected experimental cinema within the non-theatrical film sector, they also subsumed these practices under the criteria regulating the latter. The decision to protect and fund minority practices such as experimental and independent cinema responds to the regulation of cultural production in capitalist societies where mainstream and minority cultural practices are interdependent. This does not mean that such relationships have no tensions or contradictions. Cook and Bernink discuss minority and less normative expression as they appear in experimental and avant-garde practices. They explain that subsidies

can be seen to perform a double function: to guarantee critical approval for those who control it (the subsidising agencies), and to provide a safe, licensed space for artistic activity, necessarily marginalised. This marginalisation effectively neutralises the potentially critical voice of the artist in society.<sup>1</sup>

This note points to the relative creative autonomy enjoyed by funded experimental and independent cinema practitioners, without losing sight of the fact that it is also a way to control these cinemas. Sanctioning the production of something that would have been more difficult to produce is a way to keep the diversity of the market alive and respond to specific constituencies' demands. At the same time, it reinforces the dominance of mainstream cultural production. Furthermore, it immerses minority film practices into a network of economic and cultural regulations which define their potentials and limitations. Seeing theatrical cinema and non-theatrical cinema as fixed categories reinforces these divisions and their practical consequences.

---

<sup>1</sup> Pam Cook and Mieke Bernink, eds. "Authorship and Cinema" in *The Cinema Book*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition, 232-315 (London: BFI, 1999), 233.

This revisionist project explains the formation of a particular canon of experimental and independent films at the same time that it brings to light materials where different canons could emerge if other criteria apply. The implications of this study suggest that the sponsors' criteria lead filmmakers to shape projects according to presumed values, and other expectations, like finding further success in specific areas of distribution and exhibition. A further avenue of enquiry could examine trends in production before and after the establishment of the IFP. For instance, researchers could consider the different expectations and wider trends affecting general education, academia, arts' institutions, and theatrical exhibition. Furthermore, analyses of production trends and infrastructures could outline the policies of positive discrimination instituted during this time, which are more significant alongside the radicalisation of politics in the early 1970s and the rise of feminist, guerrilla, blaxploitation, and third cinemas. Such analyses need to take into account changes in economics and audiences because particular forms of reception make categories shift, collapse and transcend notions bound to national and historical borders.

The IFP focused on creative autonomy during production. What may appear as a concession to the demands of free personal expression and more engaged cultural participation of the 1960s youth was reconciled with the enduring control of the major film companies. Yet, this outcome was only possible given the AFI's lack of material support for distribution that filmmakers demanded, and parallel changes in the moral standards and aesthetics offered by New Hollywood films. It is important to keep in mind that philanthropic support for experimental and independent cinema during this time materialised from the actions of multiple agents, such as the federal government, trade associations, philanthropies, and artistic and educational institutions. Their particular policies moved forward with different focuses and into varying directions such as support for individual film production, exhibition and the establishment of media art centres. This case draws attention to the value of analysing the interconnection between the power of U.S federal government and the MPAA that shaped the character and focus of the AFI and its policies at that moment in time. In order to challenge what we understand as cinema today, we need to examine further the changing relations between structures of production, distribution and reception that enable diverse cinematic practices.

## Appendices

### Appendix 1: Major Exhibitions

Filmmakers	Independent Film Series (MoMA, 1965)	USIA /MoMA Two Decades American Painting-The Personal Film (Overseas 1965-1967)	A History of the American Avant-Garde Cinema Exhibition (U.S., 1976)
Vernon Zimmerman	<i>Scarface and Aphrodita</i> (1963)		
Bruce Conner	<i>Report</i> (1964) <i>A Movie</i> (1962)	<i>A Movie</i> (c.1961-1962) <i>Vivian</i> (1965)	<i>A Movie</i> (1957)
Mike Kuchar	<i>Sin of the Fleshapoids</i> (1965)		
Stan Vanderbeek	<i>Breath Death</i> (1964)	<i>Breath Death</i> (1964)	<i>Science Friction</i> (1959)
Stan Brakhage	<i>Prelude: Dog Star Man</i> (1961)	<i>Prelude: Dog Star Man</i> (1961)	<i>The Wonder Ring</i> (1955), <i>Anticipation of the Night</i> (1958), <i>Prelude: Dog Star Man</i> (1961), <i>The Riddle of Lumen</i> (1972)
Bruce Baillie	<i>Mr. Hayashi</i> (1961) <i>Mass</i> (1963-65)	<i>Castro Street</i> (1966)	<i>Mass</i> (1963-1964) <i>Castro Street</i> (1966)
Stanton Kaye	<i>Georg</i> (1964)		
Ron Rice	<i>Senseless</i> (1962)		
Jonas Mekas	<i>The Brig</i> (1964)		<i>Notes on the Circus</i> (1966)
Harry Smith		<i>Early Abstractions</i> (#1,2,3,4,5,7,10) (1939-1957)	<i>Early Abstractions</i> (1939-1957)



<b>Filmmakers</b>	<b>Independent Film Series (MoMA, 1965)</b>	<b>USIA /MoMA Two Decades American Painting (Overseas 1965-1967)</b>	<b>A History of the American Avant-Garde Cinema Exhibition (1976)</b>
James Whitney	<i>Permutations</i> (1957-1965)	<i>Catalog</i> (1962)	<i>Lapis</i> (1963-1966)
Robert Breer	<i>Eyewash</i> (1965)	<i>Horse Over Teakettle</i> (1962)	<i>Recreation I</i> (1956), <i>69</i> (1968)
Ed Emshwiller	<i>Relativity</i> (1966)	<i>Thanatopsis</i> (1962)	
Paul Sharits		<i>Ray Gun Virus</i> (1966)	T,O,U,C,H,I,N,G (1968)
Maya Deren		<i>Meshes in the Afternoon</i> (1943) <i>At Land</i> (1944), <i>A Study in Coreography for the Camera</i> (1945)	<i>Meshes in the Afternoon</i> (1943), <i>A Study in Choreography for the Camera</i> (1945)
Robert Nelson		<i>O Dem Watermelons</i> (1965) Not shown	<i>Bleu Shut</i> (1970)
Kenneth Anger	<i>Scorpio Rising</i> (1963)	<i>Scorpio Rising</i> (1963) Not shown in Australia	<i>Fireworks</i> (1947), <i>Scorpio Rising</i> (1963)
Ian Hugo		<i>Bells of Atlantis</i> (1952)	<i>Bells of Atlantis</i> (1952)
Willard Mass			<i>Geography of the Body</i> (1943)
Standish Lawder			<i>Runaway</i>
Shirley Clarke		<i>A Moment in Love</i> (1957)	<i>Bridges-Go-Round</i> (1959)
Gregory Markopoulos	<i>The Illiac Passion</i> (1967)		
Carmen D'Avino		<i>Pianissimo</i> (1964)	
Robert Vickery		<i>Textures of Decay</i> (1957)	
Alexander Hammid		<i>The Private Life of a Cat</i> (1947)	
Len Lye		<i>Rhythm</i> (1957) <i>Free Radicals</i> (1958)	
D.A. Pennebaker		<i>Daybreak Express</i> (1953)	

<b>Filmmakers</b>	<b>Independent Film Series (MoMA, 1965)</b>	<b>USIA /MoMA Two Decades American Painting (Overseas 1965-1967)</b>	<b>A History of the American Avant-Garde Cinema Exhibition (1976)</b>
Francis Thomson		<i>N.Y., N.Y. (1957)</i>	
Fred Mogubgub		<i>The Pop Show (1965)</i>	
Hilary Harris		<i>Three Variations on a Dance Theme (1966)</i>	
James Broughton			<i>Mother's Day (1948)</i>
Marie Menken			<i>Notebook(1963)</i>
Ken Jacobs			<i>Little Stabs at Happiness (1959-1963), Window (1964)</i>
Tony Conrad			<i>The Flicker (1966)</i>
Jordan Belson			<i>Samadhi (1967)</i>
George Landow			<i>Film in Which There Appears Sprocket Holes, Edge Lettering, Dirt Particles, Etc (1965-1966), Diptoleratology (1967)</i>
Michael Snow			<i>Wavelength (1967)</i>
Ernie Gehr			<i>Serene Velocity (1970)</i>
Barry Gerson			<i>Endurance/ Remembrance/Metamorphosis (1970)</i>
Hollis Frampton			<i>Nostalgia (1971)</i>

**Appendix 2: IFP Grantees and Films** (Sources: IFP Reports 1973, 1977, 1980).

<b>Filmmaker</b>	<b>Film</b>	<b>Year Completed</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Plot Summary</b>
Edwyn Lynch*	<i>A Question to Mr. Humphrey</i>	1968	Documentary	Documentary of life in New York city
James Bryan*	<i>Camden, Texas</i>	1968	Documentary	A company town in East Texas
Mark Fine*	<i>The Father</i>	1969	Dramatic	An up-dated version of a Chekhov short story
Danny Lyon	<i>Soc. Sci. 127</i>	1969	Documentary	Explores the life of a college guest lecturer -a tattoo artist
James Mannas*	<i>The Folks</i>	1969	Documentary	Opinion study of people on the Bedford-Stuyvesant community in Brooklyn, N.Y.
Howard Smith*	<i>Still/Slice of Gold</i>	1970	Experimental	Two films of a trilogy. Inspired by Roethke's poem The Lost Son
Paul Sharits	<i>Razor Blades</i>	1968	Exp/Dual Image	Cyclical presentation of themes and images
Tom MacDonough	<i>The National Flower of Brooklyn</i>	1969	Documentary	The myth of Brooklyn dramatized by the story of the building of the Brooklyn Bridge
Nell Cox	<i>A to B</i>	1969	Dram/Documentary	Identity crisis of a girl growing up in Kentucky
Storm de Hirsch	<i>The Tattooed Man</i>	1969	Dramatic	A man's inner self as he confronts the world around him
Jimmy Murakami	<i>Good Friend</i>	1969	Animated	Commentaries on making friends
David Abramson	<i>Crash</i>	1970	Documentary	Study of a conservative Midwestern girl who has an abortion
Robert Russett	<i>Under the Juggernaut</i>	1970	Exp/Animated	Political assassination

<b>Filmmaker</b>	<b>Film</b>	<b>Comp'd</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Plot Summary</b>
MacGregor Douglas*	<i>Whiskey Flats</i>	1968	Dramatic	A film student who is as much in love with the idea of being a director as he is with himself
Robert Kramer	<i>Ice</i>	1969	Dramatic	The attitudes, activities, and life style of urban guerrillas
Will Hindle	<i>Watersmith</i>	1969	Experimental	Merges man and water into an indivisible unit
John Evans	<i>Speeding Up Time</i>	1969	Dramatic	The experiences of a modern black poet reflect the black artist in the newly emerging culture
Istvan Ventilla	<i>Arena</i>	1969	Documentary	Celebrates the beauty of football
Steve Wax	<i>Rubber Uncle</i>	1969	Dramatic	An allegorical account of an encounter on an American desert during a traffic jam
Christopher Parker*	<i>Whitey</i>	1969	Dramatic	American college student in the 60s
Bruce Lane	<i>Albion</i>	Not	Dramatic	
Robert Frank	<i>About Me - A Musical</i>	1970	Dramatic	A freewheeling musical journey through cinematic conventions
David Schickele	<i>Bushman</i>	1970	Dramatic	An educated young man living in the African bush
Richard Stanton	<i>Requiem</i>	1969	Dramatic	A woman renting a room to a school teacher, triggers her memory of a past love
Jordan Belson	<i>Momentum</i>	1969	Experimental	A journey to the edge of man's consciousness
Lawrence Salzman & Peter Barton	<i>Alfred</i>	1969	Documentary	Study of a 64 year old black man living in a New York welfare hotel
Robert Kurtz	<i>My Son, the King</i>	1969	Animated	A satire of King Solomon and his Jewish mother
Steve Henschel	<i>Sisters</i>	1969	Dramatic	Two spinsters caught between reality and fantasy in the old family house they refuse to leave

<b>Filmmaker</b>	<b>Film</b>	<b>Comp'd</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Plot Summary</b>
David Lynch	<i>The Grandmother</i>	1970	Anim/Live action	A boy escapes the hostility of his father by planting a seed on his bed which becomes a loving comforting grandmother
Erik J. Shiozaki	<i>The Moving Image</i>	1970	Educational	Film on the aspects of filmmaking, subjects size, light, angle, camera motion, editing, devices
John Korty	<i>Imogen Cunningham, Photographer</i>	1970	Documentary	Imogen Cunningham talks about her 70 year career
Lewis Kit Carson	<i>The Future is Ours</i>	Not	Dramatic	
Ron Raley	<i>Liberating the Ritz</i>	1970	Dramatic	A young middle class couple meet a writer who uses them to write a story
Ron Mix	<i>Playground</i>	1970	Dramatic	A young dissatisfied girl runs away
John Klein	<i>Juggernaut</i>	1970	Dramatic	The story of a young, politically conscious, married New York cab driver
Eduard Bergman & Alan Soffin	<i>Confessor</i>	1973	Dramatic	The world ingested through the media in an attempt to understand it
Gerard Malanga	<i>The Children</i>	1970	Dramatic	Comparing the lives of Vietnamese and American children
Fred Padula & Glen Denny	<i>El Capitan</i>	Not	Dramatic	Mountain-climbing exhibition
Ahmad Akbar	<i>Black Man</i>	Not	Documentary	
James Herbert	<i>Porch Glider</i>	1970	Experimental	Childhood play to adolescent lovemaking as seen from a porch glider
John Hancock	<i>Sticky My Fingers, Fleet My Feet</i>	1970	Dramatic	The middle-aged man who clings to a youthful standard of physical prowess until he meets a teenager

<b>Filmmaker</b>	<b>Film</b>	<b>Comp'd</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Plot Summary</b>
Khroshow Haritash	<i>Sound Mind, Sound Body</i>	1969	Dramatic	Two survivors of an earthquake, alone on a desert, find an abandoned oil well
Frederick Chandler	<i>The Black Mass</i>	1969	Dramatic	A phantasmagorical procession of bleak Christianity
Tom Berman	<i>College Daze</i>	1969	Dramatic	Student's vulnerability to the computerized mechanized world
William Bayer	<i>Mississippi Summer</i>	1970	Dramatic	An integrates company of actors on tour in Mississippi in 1964-65
Tom Palazzolo	<i>Theorist Room</i>	1970	Experimental	A view of the city from the eyes of an invalid
Bruce Baillie	<i>Quick Billie</i>	1971	Experimental	Mythological description of entry and return to the eternal Universe
Richard Myers	<i>Deathstyles</i>	1971	Experimental	Life in 1971 is not unlike death
Robert Grant	<i>The Magnificent Brothers</i>	1975	Documentary	A "typical" Saturday at the ghetto barber shop
Lawrence Booth	<i>The Stagecoach Doesn't Stop Here Anymore</i>	1974	Documentary	How a small farming community is affected by growing urban expansion
Constance Beeson	<i>Ann, A Portrait</i>	1971	Documentary	Portrait of Ann Halorin, founder of Dancer Workshop
Bruce Davidson	<i>Living Off the Land</i>	1970	Documentary	A scavenger and his family surviving in a hostile environment through many hardships
Andrew Sarris	<i>Confrontational Catharsis</i>	Not	Dramatic	
Scott Bartlett	<i>1970</i>	1972	Experimental	An autobiographical film of the year 1970
Andy Burke	<i>Brown Rice</i>	1971	Dramatic	A light-hearted look at today's teenagers and their changing attitudes

<b>Filmmaker</b>	<b>Film</b>	<b>Comp'd</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Plot Summary</b>
Richard Bay	<i>Implosion</i>	1971	Dramatic	The disintegration of a marriage
Caroline Leaf	<i>The Metamorphosis of Mr. Samsa</i>	1977	Animated	Adaptation of Kafka's Metamorphosis
Patricia Amlin	<i>Autopsy of a Queen</i>	1973	Documentary	History of Virginia City and its annual celebration
David Brain	<i>Mr. Businessman</i>	1973	Animated	A slapstick chase film between a businessman and his conscience
John Knoop	<i>Dune</i>	1973	Experimental	Several portraits underscoring the metaphor of aloneness
Richard Preston	<i>Cycle</i>	Not	Animated	
Barbara Donohue	<i>Fly Bites</i>	1974	Animated	People in time/space defined by the film
Phyllis Tanaka	<i>Generation</i>	Not	Documentary	
Stan Vanderbeek	<i>Declaration of Independence</i>	1975	Documentary	The Declaration of Independence choreographed in the faces of American people
Jonathan Bainbridge	<i>Nevermore</i>	1979	Experimental	A young mother's ambivalent feelings towards her family
Chick Strand	<i>Elasticity</i>	1975	Experimental	Autobiography of three parts: The White Night, the Dream of Meditation, Memories of the Future
Robert Brown	<i>Orchid Heritage</i>	1972	Animated	Battle of the vegetables
Dwight Williams	<i>The Black Policeman</i>	Not	Documentary	
Robert Thurber	<i>Bethlehem</i>	1973	Documentary	The lives of institutionalized children examined
Milena Jelinek	<i>Collusion: Chapter 8</i>	1973	Dramatic	Through a dream the heroine sees herself under the siege by others and by herself
Richard Rogers	<i>Elephants</i>	1973	Experimental	Family's contribution to author's anxiety explored

<b>Filmmaker</b>	<b>Film</b>	<b>Comp'd</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Plot Summary</b>
Dennis Jakob	<i>The Invaders</i>	1975	Dramatic	A man seeks the sniper that killed his partner
Donna Deitch	<i>Woman to Woman</i>	1975	Documentary	Whores, housewives and other mothers
Linda Jassin	<i>Susan: April to June</i>	1974	Documentary	A prostitute in Venice, CA.
Kris Keiser	<i>The Portrait</i>	1974	Dramatic	An heroin addict and some of the people of his life
Ian Conner	<i>Davie MacFarlane</i>	1974	Dramatic	Life and death in a New Bedford community
Amalie Rothschild	<i>Nana, Mom and Me</i>	1974	Dramatic	A study of three generations of mothers and daughters
Ron Bourke	<i>Element</i>	1973	Experimental	The Northwest, the land, the water, the sky
Mario Castillo	<i>Animated Soundtrack Experiment #1</i>	1974	Animated	Soundtrack produced and generated by original artwork
Richard Wechsler	<i>The Mosquito that Bites the Iron Bull</i>	Not	Doc/Video	
Johanna Demetrakas	<i>Womanhouse</i>	1973	Documentary	The creation of "Womanhouse" a seventeen room art piece
Hubert Smith	<i>Single Parent</i>	1975	Documentary	Direct observational cinema treatment of a divorced woman and her young three children
Timothy Huntley	<i>Artificial Intelligence</i>	1975	Documentary	
Ken Greenwald	<i>The Date</i>	1973	Dramatic	A couple on first date try to "make it" in bed, but fail through comic mishaps
Abigail Child	<i>Tar Garden</i>	1975	Dramatic	A New York woman wakes to find a man has arrived with tent and campfire on her roof
Jeff Jackson	<i>Good Country People</i>	1975	Dramatic	A 36 year old woman experiences her first love affair with a bible salesman
Patricia L. Jaffe	<i>Who Does She Think She Is?</i>	1975	Dram/Documentary	Fiction, fantasy, and cinema verite on the life of writer, artist, mother, Rosalyn Drexler



<b>Filmmaker</b>	<b>Film</b>	<b>Comp'd</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Plot Summary</b>
Elliott Erwitt	<i>Red, White and Bluegrass</i>	1973	Documentary	Amateur Bluegrass performers in North Carolina
Claudia Weill	<i>An American Jew</i>	Not ?	Dramatic	
Mark Obenhaus	<i>Merc</i>	1974	Dramatic	The filmmaker's involvement with an almost motionless man in and around Grand Central
Vincent Collins	<i>Euphoria</i>	1974	Animated	Images in motion
Linda Feferman	<i>Menstruation Film</i>	1974	Documentary	A light-hearted look at menstruation
James Johnson	<i>Transman</i>	1974	Experimental	The journey of a young man through nature, life and history
Stephen Beck	<i>Cycles</i>	1974	Experimental	The cyclic nature of reality in experiments, and cycles are an element of reality
Henry Cheharbakhshi	<i>Janice</i>	1974	Documentary	The life of the black actress Janice Kingslow
Roberta Cantow	<i>Rites of Passage</i>	1974	Dramatic	A stage in the development of a woman
Deborah Dickson	<i>Country Days</i>	1975	Documentary	A woman by herself in the country after her marriage breaks up
Paul Cerny	<i>Long Journey Home</i>	1975	Dramatic	A wounded soldier returns to his wife, who does not recognize him
Frank Mouris	<i>Screen Test</i>	1975	Animated	Having made many 8mm films, this is a 16mm screen test for future projects
Tony Conrad	<i>Articulation of Boolean Algebra for Film Opticals</i>	1975	Experimental	Meter, rhythm, pitch, flicker, and graphic design bound together by the number two

<b>Filmmaker</b>	<b>Film</b>	<b>Comp'd</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Plot Summary</b>
Standish Lawder	<i>Negative Space</i>	1975	Experimental	Experimental stereoscopic cinematography... A visionary experience
Nicholas Frangakis	<i>The Gym Period</i>	1974	Dramatic	A young boy goaded into a rope climbing contest
Thomas A. Roberdeau	<i>Windows</i>		Dramatic	
Victoria Hochberg	<i>Metroliner</i>	1975	Documentary	Visual story of a train's high speed run from New York to Washington
Juleen Compton & Francine Baker	<i>Women in Action</i>	Not	Documentary	
John Preble	<i>Southern Products</i>	1976	Anim/Experimental	Negro postcards and an old Negro film spliced together with a blues piano track
Donald P. Fox	<i>Echoes of Eternity</i>	Not	Dramatic	
Barbara Kopple	<i>Harlan County, USA</i>	1977	Documentary	Kentucky coal miners strike in 1973-74
Paul Ronder	<i>Second Thoughts</i>	1977	Dramatic	A young man contemplates suicide at a ski lodge during a singles weekend
Ian Hugo	<i>Transcending</i>	1974	Experimental	A man is transformed from physical to spiritual being
Anne S. Belle	<i>Bayman</i>	Not	Documentary	
Eliot Noyes, Jr.	<i>The Dot</i>	1975	Animated	In mystical land the dot has powers to make pictures
Richard Protovin	<i>Flamingo Boogy</i>	1975	Animated	Energy is within us as is the light which makes change and growth
Mark Griffiths	<i>The Perpetual Motion Machine</i>	1976	Dramatic	Two sisters in rural America in 1936 find adventure when the carnival comes to town

<b>Filmmaker</b>	<b>Film</b>	<b>Comp'd</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Plot Summary</b>
Larry Clark	<i>Passing Through</i>	1977	Dramatic	The life and struggles of a saxophone player
Gene Searchinger	<i>Motel</i>	1976	Dramatic	A morality play about a motel keeper and a couple dressed up as giant dolls
Steven Konstant	<i>White Noise</i>	1977	Dramatic	A young man who reflects the responsibility of growing up
Thomas Reichman	<i>The New Kid</i>	Not	Dramatic	
Saul Landau	<i>The Lawmakers who Shot Alexander Hamilton</i>	1974	Documentary	The 93rd Congress, its members in Washington palying baseball and talking politics
Karen Arthur	<i>Legacy</i>	1975	Dramatic	A modern woman: Struggles and rage
Philip Makanna	<i>With Enough Bananas</i>	1975	Experimental	Story of two gorillas forced into an acting career by a heartless producer
Jeff Bleckner	<i>Sunday Dinner</i>	1976	Dramatic	Two of New York's street people share an afternoon dinner
Kathleen Laughlin	<i>Madsong</i>	1976	Experimental	A woman goes through seeing, hurting, needing, wishing, going, growing and changing
David Gottlieb	<i>The Seventh Dwarf</i>	1976	Documentary	A young writers adventure and misadventures in a Hollywood PR firm
Jacqueline Cambas	<i>Reverend Mary</i>	1976	Dramatic	A young rock singer tries for success
Patrick O'Neill	<i>Sidewinders' Delta</i>	1976	Experimental	A musical and pictorial journey through the American West
Joan Barkhausen	<i>Caravan</i>	1975	Documentary	A playwright/director's struggle as an artist
Barry Gerson	<i>Color Frame Film</i>		Doc/Experimental	Two silent compositional films of structures and form
Bruce Conner	<i>Crossroads</i>	1976	Doc/Experimental	25 angles of the atomic bomb explosion at Bikini Atoll

<b>Filmmaker</b>	<b>Film</b>	<b>Comp'd</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Plot Summary</b>
Len Lye	<i>Art, Myth and the Genes</i>	Not	Documentary	
Lenny Lipton	<i>Revelation of the Foundation</i>	1976	Documentary	Story of an Indian guru called Father living in San Francisco
Gregory Nava	<i>The Confessions of Ammans</i>	1976	Dramatic	Medieval scholar who tutors a knight's lady
Daina Kruminis	<i>Fever Dream</i>	Not?	Anim/Experimental	
Suzan Pitt	<i>Asparagus</i>	1979	Anim/Experimental	Woman views and performs passages of sensual and artistic discovery
Adam Beckett	<i>Knotte Grosse</i>	Not?	Anim/Experimental	
Hart Perry	<i>The Rest is Silence, Chirino</i>	1976	Holography	Film is art and death. Chirino is holographic movie printed on the film
Martha Coolidge	<i>Not a Pretty Picture</i>	1976	Documentary	A film within a film about the director's rape and its subsequent effects
Paul Brekke	<i>Portrait</i>	1974	Experimental	A glimpse from one point on the rim of the unconscious
Rex Victor Goff	<i>A Mother's Tale</i>	1976	Experimental	A parable of life and death as seen from through the eyes of cattle
Ken Harrison	<i>Mr. Horse</i>	1976	Dramatic	A lonely widower on a remote farm commits suicide
Bruce Schwartz	<i>In Macarthur Park</i>	1976	Dramatic	A man commits a murder and must deal with the responsibility of his act
Lois Anne Polan	<i>Hollywood Boulevard</i>	1976	Dramatic	A musical about a star polisher who meets his Fairy godmother, she grants him his wish to be a star
Lee Grant	<i>The Stronger</i>	1977	Dramatic	An adaptation of Strindberg play
Paul Goldsmith	<i>Home to Vermont</i>	1977	Experimental	Return to the filmmaker's home in Vermont

<b>Filmmaker</b>	<b>Film</b>	<b>Comp'd</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Plot Summary</b>
Thomas deWitt	<i>Zierot</i>	1978	Animated	A janitor is accidentally deposited on a spaceship
Erik J. Durst	<i>Transfer</i>	1978	Animated	A man enters a subway, after unfortunate experiences he escapes by dissolving into an advertisement
Mark Alder	<i>The Phone Booth and the Maternity Dress</i>	1975	Experimental	An adolescent fantasy in San Francisco
Timothy Huntley	<i>Are Computers Intelligent?</i>	1975	Documentary	Computer intelligence examined
Daniel G. McLaughlin	<i>Harry</i>		Animated	
Richard R. Schmidt	<i>Showboat</i>	1978	Documentary	A middle-aged librarian attempts to remake the Showboat using a contemporary format
Joel Sucher & Steven Fischler	<i>The Fraunces Tavern Block</i>		Documentary	
Bruce Cronin	<i>Henry Phipps Goes Skiing</i>	1977	Dramatic	A factory worker wins a ski weekend to a "swinging" ski resort
Phillip Parnet	<i>Leroy the Magician</i>	1975	Dram/Documentary	A dramatic-documentary of a Black hustler
Annita Thacher	<i>Sea Travels</i>	1978	Experimental	A journey in time and spacial directions
Michael Wiese	<i>I Move</i>	1976	Documentary	Explores the synthesis between Western sports, dance and Eastern martial arts
Danny De Vito	<i>Minestrone</i>	1976	Dramatic	Ludovico Muchello makes minestrone
John T. Gray	<i>The Weekend</i>	1976	Dramatic	A weekend trip to the country
Frank Christopher, Andres Markovits & Richard Trubo	<i>Children of the State</i>	1976	Documentary	Society's attempt to rehabilitate emotionally disturbed teenage girls

<b>Filmmaker</b>	<b>Film</b>	<b>Comp'd</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Plot Summary</b>
Jody Silver	<i>A Penny Suite</i>	1977	Animated	A dream of animals
Dennis E. Pies	<i>Sonoma</i>	1977	Animated	Based on 12 moving images derived from the I-Ching
Michael O'Callahan	<i>The Lesson</i>	1977	Dramatic	A 16th century youth learning the art of fencing is brought by an aging fencing master to a duel
George Bowers	<i>Helen</i>	1977	Dramatic	True story of young Jewish woman in Nazi occupied France
Jeff Carpenter	<i>Rapid Eye Movements</i>	1977	Animated	Jungian love dream cycles
James Benning	<i>11x14</i>	1977	Experimental	A trip that studies American life
Philip Mallory Jones	<i>The Trouble I've Seen</i>	1977	Animated	A lyrical portrait of a Black community in rural Georgia
Jamaa Fanaka	<i>Emma Mae</i>	1977	Dramatic	The trials and joys of a young black woman
Allan Winkler	<i>Loveland</i>	1977	Doc-Experimental	Account about living in a deserted hog barn in Loveland, Iowa, in the summer of 1976
Susan Seidelman	<i>Deficit</i>	1977	Dramatic	A young man seeks revenge for a crime committed against his father
Frank Gladstone	<i>Froggie Went a Courtin'</i>	1977	Animated	Froggie and his true love, Miz House
Jack Moore	<i>A Look at Plate Tectonics</i>	1978	Animated	A brief overview of the mechanics of continental movement
Dennis G. Pohl	<i>Whirling Ecstasy</i>	1977	Animated	A traditional 12th century Sufi tale
Kathy L. Rose	<i>Pencil Bookings</i>	1978	Animated	Confrontations between the filmmaker and her creations
Mirra Bank	<i>The Rag Trade</i>		Documentary	
Sally Barrett-Page	<i>Ain't Nobody's Business</i>	1977	Documentary	Legalizing prostitution shot by all-women crew

<b>Filmmaker</b>	<b>Film</b>	<b>Comp'd</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Plot Summary</b>
Joel Demott	<i>We're Going to Make this Movie</i>		Documentary	
Duane Kubo	<i>Japanese Americans</i>		Documentary	
Stephen Mack & Barbara Moss	<i>Salt of Earth</i>		Documentary	
Will F. Roberts	<i>Masculinity and Military</i>		Documentary	Film about masculinity and the military
John Bonnano	<i>Cinema Verite</i>		Doc/Experimental	
Mary Ellen Bute	<i>Out of the Cradle</i>		Doc/Experimental	
Howard Friedman	<i>Passage</i>	1977	Doc/Experimental	Fantasy journey through time and space
Eric Thierman	<i>Prison Art</i>	1978	Doc/Experimental	Concerns the arts and crafts programs in Californian prisons
Jill Godmilow	<i>The Popovich Brothers of South Chicago</i>	1978	Doc/Social/Musical	A musical portrait of the Serbian-American community of South Chicago
Theresa Brown	<i>Companions in Murder</i>		Dramatic	A young woman's TV set turns into a human male
William Doukas	<i>Feed-Back</i>		Dramatic	A man accused of a crime he hasn't committed finds his life disrupted
John Cannemaker	<i>Remembering Winsor McCay</i>	1976	Anim/Documentary	The life and career of Wiindsor McCay, the animator
William Haugse	<i>Breakfast in Bed</i>		Dramatic	A couple in the process of dissolving their marriage
Stephen Karp	<i>The Jogger</i>	1977	Dramatic	Jogging as a contemporary vehicle for survival and spiritual awareness
Marvin McLinn	<i>Cypress</i>		Dramatic	
Robert Roth	<i>Independence Day</i>	1977	Dramatic	A black couple's relationship set against the struggle at a L.A. Factory

<b>Filmmaker</b>	<b>Film</b>	<b>Comp'd</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Plot Summary</b>
Michael Whitney	<i>Chinese Martial Arts</i>		Educational	
Jan Oxenberg	<i>Spilt Milk</i>		Experimental	
Ariel Z. Rubio	<i>Yo Me Recuerdo</i>	1977	Experimental	The story of a Chicano adolescent
Albert Wong	<i>Twin Peaks</i>	1977	Experimental	From a dream about the world around us
Robert Breer	<i>LMNO</i>	1978	Animated	Animated portraits of modern society
Andrea J. Gomez	<i>Isaac</i>	1978	Animated	Four Sections covering the life and ultimate liberation of Isaac
Steven M. Lisberger	<i>Animal Olympics</i>	1978	Animated	The Olympiad of animals shown by Zoo TV
Gregory P. Vines	<i>Movement, Confrontation</i>	Not	Animated	
Lorraine Kirsten	<i>Hypnosis</i>	1978	Animated	A microscopic view of humanity attempting to appeal to the audience's voyeurism
Mitchell Block	<i>Speeding</i>		Documentary	
William Bollinger	<i>Andean Tempest</i>		Documentary	
August Cinquegrana	<i>Good Night Miss Ann</i>	1978	Documentary	Boxers and boxing at the Olympic Auditorium
Richard B. Cohen	<i>Runaway</i>		Documentary	
John Dubberstein & Kent L. Hodgetts	<i>Healing Encounter</i>		Documentary	
Lorraine W. Gray	<i>With Babies and Banners</i>	1978	Documentary	The key role of women in the great General Motors sitdown strike of 1937
Ann M. Hershey	<i>Uncle Earl</i>		Documentary	Eccentric, aging Uncle Earl of Clyde, Ks., discusses his experiences during the Depression
Mortimer Jordan	<i>Famous Men Revisited</i>		Documentary	



<b>Filmmaker</b>	<b>Film</b>	<b>Comp'd</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Plot Summary</b>
Manfred Kirchheimer	<i>Stations of the Elevated</i>		Documentary	
Ben Maddow	<i>A Sunday Between Wars</i>		Documentary	A dialogue between Walt Whitman and a contemporary woman about America between 1865-1917
George Nierenberg	<i>Tap: The Personality Dance</i>		Documentary	
Alan Joseph Ohashi	<i>Looking from the East</i>		Documentary	
Miriam Wenstein	<i>Last Summer</i>	1978	Dramatic	Three pregnant women make the change to motherhood
Orlando Bagwell	<i>The Art of Stoytelling</i>		Dramatic	
Dana Balibrera	<i>Art in Taos</i>	1978	Documentary	A history of the artists in Taos
Richard M. Brick	<i>Life After Life</i>		Dramatic	
Yakov Bronstein	<i>Someone, Somewhere</i>	1977	Dramatic	A story of a married couple and a stray cockatoo that cries
Peggy E. Chute	<i>A Matter of Choice</i>	1978	Dramatic	Two women face abortions
Ron H. Ellis	<i>Forever Young</i>		Dramatic	
Seth Hill	<i>The Ghost</i>		Dramatic	
Woodie King Jr.	<i>The Black Theatre Movement</i>		Dramatic	History of the Black Theatre Movement
Ladd McPartland	<i>Kali Yuga</i>		Dramatic	
Barry J. Spinello	<i>Rushes</i>	1978	Dramatic	Neal, the director asks the cameraman to run the camera for 24 hours at the end of that time will commit suicide
Walter Ungerer	<i>The House Without Steps</i>		Dramatic	

<b>Filmmaker</b>	<b>Film</b>	<b>Comp'd</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Plot Summary</b>
John Casey	<i>Ground Green</i>		Experimental	
Fu Ding Cheng	<i>Headlong Thru Buddhas</i>		Experimental	An account of thought patterns seen during meditation
Tom S. Chomont	<i>Space Time Studies</i>	1978	Experimental	A play between time and space
Hollis Frampton	<i>First Voyage (Magellan Project)</i>		Experimental	A metaphor of the conception and birth of an imaginary protagonist
Michael Guccione	<i>Kinema</i>	1977	Experimental	Visual linkages synonymous with thought (i.e. transitions, changes of topic)
Barbara Linkevitch	<i>Night Limits</i>		Experimental	
Gunvor E. Nelson	<i>Surreal Dream Project</i>		Experimental	
Andrew Noren	<i>Adventures of the Exquisite Corpse</i>		Experimental	
Walter Gutman	<i>The Erotic Signal</i>	1978	Doc/Dramatic	A number of erotic turn-ons are discussed
Carl Jones	<i>Savage</i>	1978	Documentary	Pro wrestlers and their fans at the Portland Sports Arena
Barbara Karp	<i>La Voix Humaine</i>		Dramatic	
Allie Woods	<i>Steal Away</i>	1979	Dramatic	A Romantic allegory, reflecting the shifting tension of a black-on-black relationships in the 1970s
Stephen LaRocque	<i>One Way</i>	1978	Dramatic	A satire dramatizing the effects of spiritualistic mind expansion movements can have on vulnerable people
Lourdes Portillo & Nina Serrano	<i>Despues del Terremoto</i>	1979	Dramatic	Latin American sweethearts remeet in U.S. and find their lives have taken different paths
Carter Burrell				
Rocky Schenck	<i>The Egyptian Princess</i>		Dramatic	

## Bibliography

- Abel, Richard. *French Cinema: The First Wave, 1915-1929*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984.
- . *French Film Theory and Criticism: A History/Anthology, 1907-1929*. Vol.1 of *French Film Theory and Criticism: A History/Anthology 1907-1939*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993.
- Abrams, Meyer Howard. *The Mirror and the Lamp: Romantic Theory and the Critical Tradition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971.
- Acland, Charles R. "Screen Technology, Mobilization and Adult Education in the 1950s." In *Patronizing the Public: American Philanthropy's Transformation of Culture, Communication, and the Humanities*. Edited by William J. Buxton, 261-280. Lanham: Lexington, 2009.
- . "Curtains, Carts and the Mobile Screen." *Screen* 50, no.1 (Spring 2009): 148-166.
- Adorno, Theodor W. *The Culture Industry: Selected Essays on Mass Culture*. Edited by J. M. Bernstein. London: Routledge, 1991.
- Adorno, Theodor W. and Max Horkheimer. *Dialectic of Enlightenment*. London: Verso, 1997.
- Aitken, Ian. *European Film Theory and Cinema: A Critical Introduction*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002.
- Alexander, Thomas. *John Dewey's Theory of Art, Experience and Nature*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1987.
- Alexander, William. *Film on the Left: American Documentary Film from 1931 to 1942*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981.
- Althusser, Louis. "Ideology and the Ideological State Apparatus." In *Essays on Ideology*, 1-60. London: Verso, 1984.
- American Film Institute. *Report:1967-1971*. Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1971.
- American Film Institute. *Ten Year Report: 1967-1997*. Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1977.
- Appadurai, Arjun. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Minnesota: Minnesota University Press, 1996.

- Arndt, Richard. *The First Resort of the Kings: American Cultural Diplomacy in the Twentieth Century*. Virginia: Potomac Books, 2005.
- Arnheim, Rudolf. "A New Laocoon: Artistic Composites and the Talking Film." In *Film as Art*, 164-189. London: Faber and Faber, 1958.
- Arnove, Robert. ed. *Philanthropy and Cultural Imperialism: The Foundations at Home and Abroad*. Boston: G.K. Hall, 1980.
- Arthur, Paul. "Routines of Emancipation: Alternative Cinema in the Ideology and Politics of the Sixties." In *To Free the Cinema: Jonas Mekas and the New York Underground*. Edited by David James, 17-48. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992.
- Astruc, Alexander. "The Birth of the New Avant-Garde: La Camera-Stylo." In *The New Wave*. Edited by Peter Graham, 17-23. New York: Double Day, 1968.
- Bachmann, Gideon. "On the Nature and Function of the Experimental (Poetic) Film." *Film Culture*, no. 14 (1957): 12-15.
- Balázs, Béla. *Theory of Film: Character and Growth of a New Art*. London: Denis Dobson, 1952.
- Balfe, Judith H. "Artworks as Symbols in International Politics." *The International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society* 1, no. 2 (Winter 1987):195-217.
- Balio, Tino. ed. *The American Film Industry*. Rev. ed. Madison: Wisconsin University Press, 1985.
- Barnden, Richard and Ken Berryman. "A Symphony for Busy Clapperboards 1957-1975." In *Cinema in Australia: A Documentary History*. Edited by Ina Bertrand, 241-323. Kensington: New South Wales University Press, 1989.
- Barnouw, Erik. *The Image Empire: A History of Broadcasting in the United States from 1953*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970.
- Barnouw, Erik. *Documentary: A History of the Non-Fiction Film*. 2<sup>nd</sup> Rev. ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993.
- Barsam, Richard Meram. *American Non-Fiction Film: A Critical History*. Rev. ed. Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1992.
- Battock, Gregory, ed. *The New American Cinema: A Critical Anthology*. New York: Dutton, 1967.
- Bayma, Todd. "Art World Culture and Institutional Choice: The Case of Experimental Film." *The Sociological Quarterly* 36, no.1 (1995): 79-95.
- Bazin, André. "The Ontology of the Photographic Image." *Film Quarterly* 13, no. 4 (Summer, 1960): 4-9.

- Beaupré, Lee. "How to Distribute a Film." In *The Hollywood Film Industry*. Edited by Paul Kerr, 185-203. London: Routledge, 1986.
- Beekman, Klaus, ed. *Institution and Innovation*. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1994.
- Bell, Daniel. *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society*. New York: Harper, 1974.
- Bell, Daniel. "The Reforming of General Education." In *American Higher Education Transformed, 1940-2005: Documenting the National Discourse*. Edited by Wilson Smith and Thomas Bender, 169-172. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2008.
- Bell-Villada, Gene H. *Art for Art's Sake and Literary Life: How Politics and Market Helped Shape the Ideology and Culture of Aestheticism, 1790-1990*. Nebraska: Nebraska University Press, 1996.
- Bennett, Andrew. *The Author*. London: Routledge, 2005.
- Bennett, Tony. "Text, Readers, Reading Formations." *Publication of the Midwestern Modern Language Association* 16, no.1 (Spring 1983): 9-10.
- Bender, Thomas. "Politics, Intellect and the American University, 1945-1995." In *American Academic Culture in Transformation: Fifty Years, Four Disciplines*. Edited by Thomas Bender and Carl E. Schorske, 17-54. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997.
- Berra, John. *Declarations of Independence: American Cinema and the Partiality of Independent Production*. Bristol: Intellect, 2008.
- Bertrand, Ina. *Film Censorship in Australia*. Santa Lucia: Queensland University Press, 1978.
- Berman, Edward. *The Influence of Carnegie, Ford and Rockefeller Foundation on American Foreign Policy: The Ideology of Philanthropy*. Albany: New York State University Press, 1983.
- Binkiewicz, Donna. *Federalizing the Muse: United States Arts Policy and the National Endowment for the Arts, 1965-1980*. Chapel Hill: North Carolina University Press, 2004.
- Binstock, Benjamin. "Aloïs Riegl, Monumental Ruin: Why We Still Need to Read Historical Grammar of the Visual Arts." Foreword to Aloïs Riegl *Historical Grammar of the Visual Art*. Translated by Jacqueline E. Jung, 11-35. New York: Zone Books, 2004.
- Biskin, Peter. *Easy Riders, Raging Bulls: How the Sex 'n' Drugs 'n' Rock 'n' Roll Generation Saved Hollywood*. London: Bloomsbury, 1998

- Blaetz, Robin. "Avant-garde Cinema of the Seventies." In *Lost Illusions: American Cinema in the Shadow of Watergate and Vietnam 1970-1979*. Edited by David Cook, 453-487. Berkeley: California University Press, 2000.
- Bohnenkamp, Dennis R. and Sam L. Grogg, eds. *The American Film Institute Guide to College Courses in Film and Television*. New York: Prentice Hall, 1978.
- Bondanella, Peter. *A History of Italian Cinema*. London: Continuum, 2009.
- Bordwell, David. "The Art Cinema as a Mode of Film Practice." In *The European Film Reader*. Edited by Catherine Fowler, 94-102. London: Routledge, 2002.
- Bordwell, David, Janet Staiger and Kristin Thompson. *The Classical Hollywood Cinema: Film Style and Mode of Production to 1960*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1985.
- Boyle, Deidre. "Guerrilla Television." In *Transmission: Toward a Post-Television Culture*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Edited by Peter D'Agostino and David Tafler, 151-163. London: Sage, 1995.
- Brakhage, Stan. "From Metaphors on Vision." In *The Avant-Garde Film Reader*. Edited by P.Adams Sitney, 120-128. New York: Anthology Film Archives, 1987.
- . *Film at Wit's End: Essays on Independent Filmmakers*. Edinburgh: Polygon, 1989.
- . "Make Place for the Artist." In *Essential Brakhage: Selected Writings on Filmmaking*. Edited with a foreword by Bruce R. McPherson, 74-76. Kingston, NY: MacPherson and Company, 2001.
- Brandon, Thomas. "The Advance-Guard of a New Motion Picture Art: Experimental Cinema 1930-1933." *Journal of University Film Association* 30, no.1 (Winter 1978): 27-35.
- Brenson, Michael. *Visionaries and Outcasts. The NEA, Congress and the Place of the Visual Artist in America*. New York: The New Press, 2001.
- . "Where Do We Go from Here? The Place of the Artist and the NEA." In *Acts of Engagement: Writings on Art, Criticism and Institutions, 1993-2002*, 75-82. Lanham: Rowan and Littlefield, 2004.
- Brett, Gary. *The Nervous Liberals: Propaganda Anxieties for World War I to the Cold War*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1999.
- Brick, Howard. *Age of Contradiction: American Thought and Culture in the 1960s*. London: Prentice Hall, 1998.

- Bronner, Eric Stephen and Douglas MacKay Kellner, eds. *Introduction to Critical Theory and Society: A Reader*, 1-21. London: Routledge, 1989.
- Brown, John. "Should the Piper be Paid? Three Schools of Thought on Culture and Foreign Policy during the Cold War." *Place Branding* 1, no.4 (November 2005): 420-423.
- Buettner, Stewart. *American Art Theory, 1945-1970*. Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1981.
- Bullock, Allan and Stephen Trombley, ed. *The New Fontana Dictionary of Modern Thought*. London: Harper Collins, 1999.
- Burch, Glen. "The FCA and the Film Council Movement." *Hollywood Quarterly* 5, no.2 (Winter 1950): 138-9.
- Burton, Antoinette. *Dwelling in the Archive: Women Writing House, Home and History in Late Colonial India*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- Burwick, Frederick. "Lessing's 'Laokoon' and the Rise of Visual Hermeneutics." *Poetics Today* 20, no. 2 (Summer, 1999): 219-272.
- Buxton, William J. "The Political Economy of Communications Research." In *Information and Communication in Economics*. Edited by Robert E. Babe, 147-175. Boston: Kluwer, 1994.
- . "The Emergence of the Humanities Division's Program in Communications, 1930-1936." *Rockefeller Archive Center Research Report* (Spring 1996): 3-5.
- . "Reaching Human Minds: Rockefeller Philanthropy and Communications, 1935-1939." In *The Development of Social Science in the United States and Canada: The Role of Philanthropic Foundations*. Edited by Theresa Richardson and Donald Fisher, 177-192. Stamford: Ablex, 1999.
- . "Rockefeller Support for Projects on the Use of Motion Pictures for Educational and Public Purposes". *Rockefeller Archive Center Research Reports*, 2001. <http://www.rockarch.org/publications/resrep/buxton.pdf> accessed 02/01/2011
- . "John Marshall and the Humanities in Europe: Shifting Patterns of Rockefeller Foundation Support." *Minerva* 41, no. 2 (2003): 133-153.
- . "From Radio Research to Communications Intelligence: Rockefeller Philanthropy, Communications Specialists, and the American Policy Community." In *Communication Researchers and Policy-Making*. Edited by Sara Braman, 295-346. Cambridge, Mass.,: MIT, 2003.

- Buxton, William J., ed. *Patronising the Public: American Philanthropy's Transformation of Culture, Communication and the Humanities*. Lanham: Lexington, 2009.
- Calinescu, Matei. *Five Faces of Modernity: Modernism, Avant-Garde, Decadence, Kitsch, Postmodernism*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1987.
- Callenbach, Ernest. "The Expensive Art: A Discussion of Distribution and Exhibition in the U.S." *Film Quarterly* 13, no. 4 (Summer 1960): 19-34.
- . "Going Out to the Subject II." *Film Quarterly* 14, no. 3 (Spring 1961): 38-40.
- . "The Unloved One: Crisis at the American Film Institute." *Film Quarterly* 24, no. 4 (Summer 1971): 42-55.
- . "Da Capo." *Film Quarterly* 62, no. 1 (Autumn 2008).
- Campaine, Benjamin M., and Douglas Gomery. *Who Owns the Media? Competition and Concentration in the Mass Media Industry*. London: Routledge, 2000.
- Camper, Fred. "The End of Avant-Garde Film." *Millenium Film Journal* no. 16/17/18 (Fall/Winter 1986-1987): 99-124.
- Canby, Vincent. "AFI Plans Several Offices in Major Cities." *New York Times*, March 28, 1967.
- Carnegie, Andrew. *The Gospel of Wealth and Other Timely Essays*. Edited by Edward C. Kirkland. Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1962.
- Carpenter, Edmund and Marshall McLuhan, eds. *Explorations in Communication: An Anthology*. London: Beacon Press, 1960.
- Carroll, Noël. *Philosophical Problems of Classical Film Theory*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988.
- . "Defining the Moving Image." In *Theorising the Moving Image*, 49-74. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- . "Medium Specificity Arguments and the Self-Consciously Invented Arts: Film, Video and Photography." In *Theorising the Moving Image*, 3-24. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Carter, Paul A. *Another Part of the Fifties*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1983.
- Caughie, John. ed. *Theories of Authorship*. London: Routledge, 1988.



- Ceplair, Larry. "The Film Industry's Battle Against Left-Wing Influences, from the Russian Revolution to the Black List." *Film History* 20, no. 4 (2008): 399-411.
- Cheetham, Mark A. *The Rhetoric of Purity: Essentialist Theory and the Advent of Abstract Painting*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Chilvers, Ian, ed. *The Oxford Dictionary of Art. New Edition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Christie, Ian. "French Avant-Garde Film in the Twenties: From Specificity to Surrealism." In *Film As Form: Formal Experiment in Film, 1910-1970*, 37-45. London: Arts Council of Britain, 1979.
- . Introduction to *The Film Factory: Russian and Soviet Cinema in Documents, 1896-1939*. Edited by Ian Christie and Richard Taylor, 1-17. London: Routledge, 1994.
- . "Histories of the Future: Mapping the Avant-Garde." *Film History* 20, no.1 (January 2008): 6-23.
- Clark, Toby. *Art and Propaganda: The Political Image in the Age of Mass Culture*. London: Everyman Art Library, 1997.
- Cockcroft, Eva. "Abstract Expressionism, Weapon of the Cold War" in *Art in Modern Culture*. Edited by Francis Frascina and Jonathan Harris, 82-90. London: Open University Press, 1992.
- Cook, David. "Auteur Cinema and the 'Film Generation' in the 1970s." In *The New American Cinema*. Edited by Jon Lewis, 11-37. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1998.
- Cook, Pam, Mieke Bernink. "Authorship and Cinema." In *The Cinema Book*. 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition. Edited by Pam Cook and Mieke Bernink, 232-315. London: BFI, 1999.
- Corman, Roger with Jim Jerome. *How I Made a Hundred Movies in Hollywood and Never Lost a Dime*. London: Muller, 1990.
- Corrigan, Timothy. "Auteurs and the New Hollywood." In *The New American Cinema*. Edited by Jon Lewis, 38-63. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1998.
- Cotkin, George. "William James and the Strenuous Response of the Liberal Intellectual." In *The Liberal Persuasion: Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. and the Challenge of the American Past*. Edited by John Higgins, 263-276. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997.
- . *Existential America*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2003.

- Couvares, Francis G. "Hollywood, Main Street, and the Church: Trying to Censor the Movies before the Production Code." *American Quarterly* 44, no.4 (December 1992): 584-616.
- Cremin, Lawrence. *The Transformation of the School: Progressivism in American Education, 1876-1957*. New York: Knopf, 1961.
- Critchlow, Donald T. and Emile Raymond, eds. *Hollywood and Politics: A Sourcebook*. London: Routledge, 2009.
- Crofts, Stephen. *Australian Cinema as National Cinema*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1993.
- Crofts, Stephen. "Authorship and Hollywood." In *Oxford Guide to Film Studies*. Edited by John Hill and Pamela Church Gibson, 310-324. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Culbert, David. "American Film Policy in the Re-Education of Germany after 1945." In *The Political Re-Education of Germany and Her Allies*. Edited by Nicholas Pronay and Keith Wilson, 173-202. London: Croom Helm, 1985.
- Culkin, John S. Introduction to *Film Study in the High School: An Analysis and Rationale*. PhD diss.: Harvard University, 1964.  
< [http://www.medialit.org/reading\\_room/article430.html](http://www.medialit.org/reading_room/article430.html) > accessed 11/04/2010.
- Cull, Nicholas J. "Auteurs of Ideology: USIA Documentary Film Propaganda in the Kennedy Era as Seen in Bruce Herschensohn's 'The Five Cities of June' (1963) and James Blue's 'The March' (1964)." *Film History* 10, no. 3 (1998): 295-310.
- . "Projecting Jackie: Kennedy Administration Film Propaganda Overseas in Leo Seltzer's *Invitation to India, Invitation to Pakistan and Jackeline Kennedy's Asian Journey*." In *Propaganda: Political Rhetoric and Identity 1300-2000*. Edited by Bertrand Taithe and Tim Thornton, 307-326. Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1999.
- . *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency: American Propaganda and Public Diplomacy, 1954-1989*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Culler, Jonathan, ed. *Structuralism: Critical Concepts in Literary and Cultural Studies*. London: Routledge, 2006.
- Curtis, David. *Experimental Film: A Fifty Years Evolution*. London: Studio Vista, 1971.
- . "A Tale of Two Co-ops." In *To Free the Cinema: Jonas Mekas and the New York Underground*. Edited by David James, 255-265. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992.

- . *A History of Artist's Film and Video in Britain*. London: BFI, 2006.
- Daily Telegraph*. "Censors again" July 25, 1967.
- Dale, Edgar. *How to Appreciate Motion Pictures: A Manual of Motion Picture Criticism Prepared for High-School Students*. New York: MacMillan, 1933.
- Davies, Stephen. *Definitions of Art*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991.
- Decherney, Peter. *Hollywood and the Cultural Elite: How the Movies Became American*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2004.
- Dewey, John. *Art as Experience*. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1934.
- DiMaggio, Paul. "Support for the Arts from Independent Foundations." In *Nonprofit Enterprise in the Arts: Studies in Mission and Constraint*. Edited by Paul DiMaggio, 113-139. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986.
- Dodley, John H. *The Power of Scale*. New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2002.
- Doss, Erika L. *Benton, Pollock and the Politics of Modernism: From Regionalism to Abstract Expressionism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.
- Douglass, John A. "A Certain Future: Sputnik, American Higher Education and the Survival of the Nation." In *Reconsidering Sputnik: Forty Years Since the Soviet Satellite*. Edited by Roder D. Launius, John M. Logsdon and Robert W. Smith, 327-363. London: Routledge, 2000.
- Druick, Zoë. "Reaching the Multi-Millions: Liberal Internationalism and the Establishment of Documentary Film." In *Inventing Film Studies*. Edited by Lee Grieveson and Haidee Wasson, 66-92. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008.
- Drukker, Lendert. "Methods and Materials: Ford Foundation Winners." *Popular Photography* 55, no. 2 (August 1964): 97.
- Dulac, Germaine. "The Avant-Garde Cinema." In *The Avant-Garde Film: A Reader of Theory and Criticism*. Edited by P. Adams Sitney, 43-48. New York: Anthology Film Archives, 1987.
- Dupin, Christophe. "The British Film Institute as a Sponsor and Producer of Noncommercial Film: A Contextualized Analysis of the Origins, Administration, Policy and Achievements of the BFI Experimental Film Fund (1952–1965), and Production Board (1966–1979)." PhD diss., University of London, 2005.
- . "The Postwar Transformation of the British Film Institute and its Impact on the Development of a National Film Culture in Britain." *Screen* 47, no. 4 (Winter 2006): 443-451.

- Dyer MacCann, Richard. *The People's Films: A Political History of U.S. Government Motion Pictures*. New York: Hastings House, 1973.
- Eagle, Herbert. *Russian Formalist Film Theory*. Ann Arbor: Michigan Slavic Publications, 1981.
- Ehrensten, David. "Jack Smith." In *Film: The Front Line*, 20-31. Denver: Arden Press, 1984.
- Eisenstein, Sergei. "The Montage of Attractions." In *The Film Factory. Russian and Soviet Cinema in Documents, 1896-1939*. Edited by Richard Taylor and Ian Christie, 87-89. London: Routledge, 1994.
- . "The Dramaturgy of Film Form (The Dialectical Approach to Film Form)" In *An Eisenstein Reader*. Edited by Richard Taylor, 93-110. London: BFI, 1998.
- Elder, Bruce. *The Films of Stan Brakhage in the American Tradition of Ezra Pound, Gertrude Stein and Charles Olson*. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1998.
- Elliott, Rebecca. "Two Decades of American Painting." PhD Diss., National University of Australia, 2008.
- Ellis, Jack C., and Betsy A. McLane. *A New History of Documentary Film*. New York: Continuum, 2008.
- Ellwood, David W. *Rebuilding Europe: Western Europe, America and Postwar Reconstruction*. London: Longman, 1992.
- Ellwood, David W. and Rob Kroes, eds. *Hollywood in Europe: Experiences of a Cultural Hegemony*. Amsterdam: VU University Press, 1994.
- Elsaesser, Thomas, ed. *Early Cinema: Space, Frame, Narrative*. London: BFI, 1990.
- . *Weimar Cinema and After: Germany's Historical Imaginary*. London: Routledge, 2000.
- . "Auteur Cinema and the New Economy Hollywood." In *The Persistence of Hollywood*, 237-255. London: Routledge, 2012.
- Epstein, Jean. "On Certain Characteristics of *Photogénie*." In *French Film Theory and Criticism. A History/Anthology, 1907-1939, volume 1: 1907-1929*. Edited by Richard Abel, 314-318. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993.

- Erlich, Victor. *Russian Formalism: History-Doctrine*. 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981.
- Fein, Seth. "Myths of Cultural Imperialism and Nationalism in Golden Age Mexican Cinema." In *Fragments of a Golden Age: The Politics of Culture in Mexico since 1940*. Edited by Gilbert Joseph, Anne Rubenstein and Eric Zolov, 159-198. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001.
- Finney, Angus. "Support Mechanism Across Europe." In *The European Cinema Reader*. Edited by Catherine Fowler, 212-222. London: Routledge, 2002.
- Flanagan, Martin. "Peter Bogdanovich." In *Contemporary North American Directors: A Wallflower Critical Guide*. Edited by Yoram Allon, Del Cullen and Iannah Patterson, 55-57. London: Wallflower Press, 2002.
- Flattau et al. *National Education Act of 1958: Selected Outcomes*. Washington DC: Science and Technology Policy Institute, 2007.
- Ford Foundation. *Annual Report*. New York: Ford Foundation, 1963.
- . *Annual Report*. New York: Ford Foundation, 1964.
- Foster, Hal, Rosalind Krauss, Yve-Alain Bois and Benjamin H.D Buchloh. *Art Since 1900: Modernism, Antimodernism, Postmodernism*. London: Thames and Hudson, 2004.
- Frank, Alan. *The Films of Roger Corman: "Shooting My Way Out of Trouble."* London: BT Batsford, 1998.
- Frascina, Francis. *Arts, Politics and Dissent: Aspects of the Art Left in the Sixties America*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999.
- Frascina, Francis., ed. *Pollock and After. The Critical Debate*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. London: Routledge, 2000.
- Freud, Sigmund. *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, 24 vols. Edited and Translated by Anna Freud and James Strachey. London: Vintage, 2001.
- Fried, Richard M. *The Russians are Coming, The Russians are Coming: Pageantry and Patriotism in Cold War America*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Gair, Christopher. *The American Counterculture*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007.
- Galbraith, John Kenneth. *The Affluent Society*. Rev. ed. London: Penguin, 1999.
- Gallup, George E. *The Gallup Poll: Public Opinion, 1935-1948*, vol.1 of *The Gallup Poll: Public Opinion, 1935-1971*. New York: Random House, 1972.

- Gervaz, Alex. *The Legacy of the Experimental Film and Television Fund, 1970-8*. Paper presented at the National Archives of Australia in Canberra, October 13 2009. <<http://www.naa.gov.au/whats-on/audio/gervaz-efth.aspx>> accessed 07/12/2009.
- Gimello-Mesplomb, Frederic "The Economy of 1950s Popular French Cinema." *Studies in French Cinema Journal* 6, no. 2 (2006)  
<http://fgimello.free.fr/publications/1950-US.htm> accessed 24/03/2010.
- Gledhill, Christine and Linda Williams, eds. *Reinventing Film Studies*. London: Arnold, 2000.
- Gould, Lewis L. *The Progressive Era*. New York: Syracuse University Press, 1974.
- Gramsci, Antonio. *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*. Edited and Translated by Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1971.
- Greenberg, Clement. "Art Chronicle: The Decline of Cubism." *Partisan Review*, XV, no.3 (March 1948): 369.
- . "Abstract, Representational and So Forth" In *Art and Culture*, 133-138, London: Thames and Hudson, 1973.
- . "Modernist Painting" In *Modernism with a Vengeance, 1957-1969*, vol.4 of *Clement Greenberg: The Collected Essays and Criticism*. Edited by John O'Brian, 85-93. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1993.
- . "Avant-Garde and Kitsch." In *Pollock and After: The Critical Debate*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Edited by Francis Frascina, 48-70. London: Routledge, 2000.
- Grierson, John. "First Principles of Documentary." In *Grierson on Documentary*. Edited by Forsyth Hardy, 35-46. London: Faber, 1979.
- Grieverson, Lee. *Policing Cinema: Movies and Censorship in Early Twentieth Century America*. Berkeley: California University Press, 2004.
- Grieverson, Lee and Haidee Wasson, eds. *Inventing Film Studies*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008.
- Gromaire, Marcel. "A Painter's Ideas about the Cinema." In *French Film Theory and Criticism: A History/Anthology, 1907-1939, volume 1: 1907-1929*. Edited by Richard Abel, 174-182. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993.
- Guback, Thomas H. *The International Film Industry: Western Europe and America Since 1945*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1969.

- Geller, Robert and Sam Kula. "Toward Filmic Literacy: The Role of the American Film Institute." *Journal of Aesthetic Education* 3, no.3 (July 1969): 97-111.
- Guest, Haden. "Experimentation and Innovation in Three American Film Journals of the 1950s." In *Inventing Film Studies*. Edited by Lee Grieveson and Haidee Wasson, 235-263. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008.
- Gidal, Peter. *Structural Film Anthology*. London: BFI Publishing, 1978.
- Guibault, Serge. *How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art: Abstract Expressionism, Freedom and the Cold War*. Translated by Arthur Goldhammer. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1983.
- . "The New Adventures of the Avant-Garde in America." In *Pollock and After. The Critical Debate*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Edited by Francis Frascina, 197-210 London: Routledge, 2000.
- Gunning, Tom. "The Participatory Film." *American Film. Journal of the Film and Television Arts* 1, no.1 (October 1975): 81-83.
- Gunning, Tom. "Loved Him, Hated It: An Interview with Andrew Sarris." In *To Free the Cinema: Jonas Mekas and the New York Avant-Garde*. Edited by David E. James, 62-82. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992.
- Gunning, Tom. "Poetry in Motion: Make Movies, Not Just Meaning." Foreword to Abigail Child, *This is Called Moving: A Critical Poetics of Film*, i-xi. Tuscaloosa: Alabama University Press, 2005.
- Hall, Stuart. "Signification, Representation, Ideology: Althusser and the Post-Structuralist Debates." *Critical Studies in Mass Communications* 2, no. 2 (June 1985): 91-114.
- . "Old and New Identities, Old and New Ethnicities." In *Culture, Globalization and the World System*. Edited by Anthony D. King, 41-68. London: MacMillan Education, 1991.
- Handhardt, John G. "The Medium Viewed: American Avant-Garde Film." In *A History of Avant-Garde Cinema*. Edited by Marilyn Singer. New York: The American Federation of Arts, 1976.
- Harris, Jonathan. *Federal Art and National Culture: The Politics of Identity in New Deal America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Harris, Marvin. *America Now: The Anthropology of a Changing Culture*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1981.
- Harrison, Charles. "Abstraction." In *Primitivism, Cubism, Abstraction: The Early Twentieth Century*. Edited by Charles Harrison, Francis Frascina and Gillian Perry, 185-264. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993.

- Harvey, David. *A Brief History of Neo-Liberalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Heath, Errol S. "Censoring Films." *Daily Telegraph*, July 29, 1967.
- Hegel, George W. *Philosophy of History*. Translated by John Sibree. New York: P.F. Collier, 1900.
- Hemsing, Albert. "The Marshall Plan European Film Unit, 1948-1955." *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television* 14, no. 3 (1994): 269-297.
- Henderson, Jerry. *State and the Politics of Culture: A Critical Analysis of the National Endowment for the Arts*. Lanham: University Press of America, 2005.
- Henderson, John W. *The United States Information Agency*. New York: Frederick A. Praeger Publishers, 1969.
- Hendrykowski, Marek. "Changing States in East Central Europe." In *The Oxford History of World Cinema*. Edited by Geoffrey Nowell-Smith, 632-640. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Hillier, Jim. Introduction to *The 1950s: Neo-Realism, Hollywood, New Wave*. Vol. 1 of *Cahiers du Cinéma*, 1-17. London: Routledge, 1985.
- Hirsch, Ed D. *Validity in Interpretation*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1967.
- Hixson, Walter L. *Parting the Curtain: Propaganda Culture and the Cold War, 1945-1961*. New York: Saint Martin Press, 1997.
- Hoberman, Jim and Jonathan Rosenbaum. *Midnight Movies*. New York: Da Capo Press, 1991.
- Holly, Michael Ann. "Spirits and Ghosts in the Historiography of Art." In *The Subjects of Art History: Historical Objects in Contemporary Perspective*. Edited by Mark A. Cheetham, Michael Ann Holly and Keith Moxey, 52-71. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Hollywood Reporter*. "Film Institute Student Grants." April 18, 1968.
- Horak, Jan-Christopher, ed. *Lovers of Cinema: The First American Film Avant-Garde, 1919-1945*. Madison: Wisconsin University Press, 1995.
- Horne, Jennifer. "Experiments in Propaganda: Reintroducing James Blue's Colombia Trilogy." *The Moving Image* 9, no. 1 (Spring 2009): 184-200.
- Horwath, Alexander. "A Walking Contradiction (Partly Truth and Partly Fiction)." In *The Last Great American Picture Show: New Hollywood Cinema in the*



- 1970s. Edited by Thomas Elsaesser, Alexander Horwath and Noel King, 83-105. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2004.
- Howe, Barbara. "The Emergence of Scientific Philanthropy, 1900-1920: Origins, Issues, and Outcomes." In *Philanthropy and Cultural Imperialism: The Foundations at Home and Abroad*. Edited by Robert Arno, 25-54. Boston: G.K. Hall, 1980.
- Hughes, David. *The Complete Lynch*. London: Virgin, 2003.
- Husserl, Edmund. *Logical Investigations*. Edited by Dermot Moran. London: Routledge, 2001.
- Huyssen, Andreas. *After the Great Divide: Modernism, Mass Culture, Postmodernism*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986.
- Jacobs, Lewis. "Experimental Film in America. Part One: 1921-1941." *Hollywood Quarterly* 3, no. 2 (Winter 1947-1948): 111-124.
- Jacobs, Lewis. "Experimental Film in America. Part Two: 1921-1941." *Hollywood Quarterly* 3, no. 3 (Spring 1948): 278-292.
- James, David. *Allegories of Cinema: American Film in the Sixties*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989.
- James, David. ed. *To Free the Cinema: Jonas Mekas and the New York Underground*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992.
- James, C. Vaughan. *Soviet Socialist Realism: Origins and Theory*. London: MacMillan, 1973.
- Jainlich, John L. "Ivy Schools Reject Federal Loan Funds," *Columbia Daily Spectator* CIV 19, no. 37 (November 1959).  
<[http://spectatorarchive.library.columbia.edu/cgi-bin/columbia?a=d&d=cs19591119-01.1.1&e=-----en-20--1--txt-IN----](http://spectatorarchive.library.columbia.edu/cgi-bin/columbia?a=d&d=cs19591119-01.1.1&e=-----en-20--1--txt-IN---->)>  
accessed 15/04/2013.
- Jarvie, Ian. "The Post-war Economic Foreign Policy." In *Hollywood in Europe: Experiences of a Cultural Hegemony*. Edited by David W. Ellwood and Rob Kroes, 155-175. Amsterdam: VU University Press, 1994.
- Jeynes, William H. *American Educational History: School, Society and the Common Good*. London: Sage, 2007.
- Johnson, Lyndon B. "Remarks at the Signing of the Arts and Humanities Bill, September 29, 1965," in *The American Presidency Project*. Edited by John T. Woolley and Gerhard Peters.  
<<http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=27279>> accessed 05/03/2010.

- Jowett, Garth S. "A Capacity for Evil: The 1915 Supreme Court Mutual Decision" In *Controlling Hollywood: Censorship and Regulation in the Studio Era*. Edited by Matthew Bernstein. 16-40. London: The Athlone Press, 2000.
- Jowett, Garth S. and Victoria O'Donnell. *Propaganda and Persuasion*. 4<sup>th</sup> ed. London: Sage, 2006.
- Junker, Howard. "The Underground Renaissance." *The Nation*, December 27, 1965. <http://www.edge.org/btljb/Nation.html> accessed 30/06/2009.
- Kandinsky, Wassily. "Concerning the Spiritual in Art and Painting in Particular." In *Kandinsky: Complete Writings on Art*. Edited by Kenneth C. Lindsay and Peter Vergo, 114-219. New York: Da Capo Press, 1994.
- Kant, Immanuel *Critique of Judgement*. Translated by James Meredith. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978.
- Kantor, Sybil Gordon. *Alfred H. Barr Jr., and the Intellectual Origins of the MoMA*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2002.
- Karl, Barry D., and Stanley N. Katz. "The American Private Philanthropic Foundation and the Public Sphere, 1890-1930." *Minerva* 19 (Summer 1981): 236-270.
- Kauffman, Ben. "Feature Cos., Film Institute Teams for Pics." *Hollywood Reporter*, March 19, 1968.
- Kellner, Douglas and Dan Streible. "Emile de Antonio: Documenting the Life of a Radical Filmmaker." introduction to *Emile de Antonio: A Reader*, 1-83 Minneapolis: Minnesota University Press, 2000.
- Killick, John. *The United States and European Reconstruction, 1945-1960*. Edinburgh: Keele University Press, 1997.
- Kindhem, Gorham. "Postwar Motion Picture Industry SAG, HUAC and Postwar Hollywood." In *American Cinema in the 1940s*. Edited by Thomas Schatz, 285-328. Berkeley: California University Press, 1997.
- King, Geoff. *American Independent Cinema*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2005.
- Kitses, Jim. "Letters to the Editor." *Film Comment* 7, no.3 (Fall 1971): 78.
- Klein, Howard. Introduction to *Video: The State of the Art* by Johanna Gill. New York: The Rockefeller Foundation, 1976.
- Kostelanetz, Richard. "Understanding McLuhan (In Part)," *New York Times*, January 29, 1967.

- Kramer, Peter. "Post-classical Hollywood." In *The Oxford Guide to Film Studies*. Edited by John Hill and Pamela Church Gibson, 289-309. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- . *The New Hollywood: From Bonnie and Clyde to Star Wars*. London: Wallflower Press, 2005.
- Kreidler, John. 1996. "Leverage Lost: The Nonprofit Arts in the Post-Ford Era." *Journal of Arts Management, Law and Society* 26, no. 2 (Summer 1996): 79-100.
- Krenn, Michael L. *Fall-Out Shelters for the Human Spirit: American Art and the Cold War*. Chapel Hill: North Carolina University Press, 2005.
- Kreul, James. "New York, New Cinema: The Independent Film Community and the Underground Crossover, 1950-1970." PhD diss., University of Wisconsin, 2004.
- Kristeller, Paul Oskar. "The Modern System of the Arts: A Study in the History of Aesthetics." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 12, no. 4 (October 1951): 496-527.
- Kouvaros, George. *Paul Schrader*. Urbana: Illinois University Press, 2008.
- Kroes, Rob. "American Empire and Cultural Imperialism: A View from the Receiving End." In *Rethinking America History in a Global Age*. Edited by Thomas Bender, 295-313. Berkeley: California University Press, 2002.
- Kuenzli, Rudolf E., ed. *Dada and Surrealist Film*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1996.
- Kuleshov, Lev. "Americanism." In *The Film Factory: Russian and Soviet Cinema in Documents, 1896-1939*. Edited by Richard Taylor and Ian Christie, 72-73. London: Routledge, 1994.
- Lammer, Austin. "Showdown at the Greystone Corral: An Editorial." *Film Comment* 7, no. 2 (Summer 1971): 2.
- Lawder, Standish. "Structuralism and Movement in Experimental Film and Modern Art, 1896-1925." PhD Diss., Yale University, 1967.
- Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim. *Laocoon: An Essay upon the Limits of Painting and Poetry*. Translated by Ellen Frothingham. London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low and Searle, 1874.
- Levy, Emmanuel. *Cinema of Outsiders: The Rise of American Independent Film*. New York: New York University Press, 1999.

- Leyda, Jay et al. "Special Features on Film Scholarship." *Film Quarterly* 16, no. 2 (Winter, 1962-1963): 29-50.
- Link, Arthur S. and Richard L. McCormick. *Progressivism*. Arlington Heights: Harlan Davidson, 1983.
- Littleton, Taylor, Maltby Sykes. *Advancing American Art: Painting, Politics, and Cultural Confrontation at Mid-Century*. Alabama: Alabama University Press, 1989.
- Lippard, Lucy. *Six Years: The Dematerialisation of the Art Object from 1966 to 1972*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973.
- Lodder, Christina. *Russian Constructivism*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983.
- Lynton, Norbert. "The New Age: Primal Work and Mystic Nights" in *Towards a New Art: Essays on the Background to Abstract Art 1910-20*. Edited by Michael Compton, 9-21. London: Tate Gallery, 1980.
- MacDonald, Scott. "Ralph Steiner." In *Lovers of Cinema: The First American Film Avant-Garde 1919-1945*. Edited by Jan-Christopher Horak, 205-233. Madison: Wisconsin University Press, 1995.
- . *Cinema 16: Documents Towards a History of the Film Society*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2002.
- . "The Filmmaker as Visionary: Excerpts from an Interview with Stan Brakhage." *Film Quarterly* 56, no. 3 (Spring 2003): 2-11.
- . *Art in Cinema: Documents Towards the History of the Film Society*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2006.
- . *Canyon Cinema: The Life and Times of an Independent Film Distributor*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008.
- Madeja, Stanley S. "Kathryn Bloom and the Genesis of the Arts in Education Movement." *Art Education* 45, no. 4 (July 1992): 45-51.
- Maltby, Richard. "The Cinema and the League of Nations." In *Film Europe and Film America: Cinema, Commerce and Cultural Exchange, 1920-1939*. Edited by Andrew Higson and Richard Maltby, 82-116. Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1999.
- . *Hollywood Cinema*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2003.
- Manvell, Roger. *Experiment in the Film*. London: The Grey Walls Press, 1949.
- Marcus, Daniel. "Public Television and Public Access in the U.S." In *The Television History Book*. Edited by Michele Hilmes, 55-59. London: BFI, 2003.

- Marcuse, Herbert. *One Dimensional Man: The Ideology of Industrial Society*. London: Sphere, 1968.
- . *An Essay on Liberation*. London: Allen Lane, Penguin, 1969.
- . *Eros and Civilisation: A Philosophical Enquiry into Freud*. London: Ark, 1987.
- Marie, Michel. *The French New Wave: An Artistic School*. New York: Blackwell Publishing, 2003.
- Marinetti, F.T. et al., “The Futurist Cinema 1916.” In *Futurist Manifestos*. Edited by Bruno Apollonio, afterword by Richard Humphreys, 207-219. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts Publications, 2001.
- Marquis, Alice Goldfarb. *Art Lessons: Learning from the Rise and Fall of Public Arts Funding*. New York: Basic Books, 1996.
- Marx, Karl and Frederick Engels. *The German Ideology: Part one*. Edited and Translated by C. J. Arthur. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1970.
- May, Lary, ed. *Recasting America: Culture and Politics in the Age of Cold War*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1989.
- May, Lary. *The Big Tomorrow: Hollywood and the Politics of the American Way*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2000.
- McCorkel, Christine. “Sense and Sensibility: An Epistemological Approach to the Epistemology of Art Criticism.” *Journal of Arts and Aesthetic Criticism* 34, no. 1 (Autumm, 1975): 35-50.
- McGann, Jerome J. *The Romantic Ideology*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1983.
- McLuhan, Marshall. *The Mechanical Bride: Folklore of Industrial Man*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1951.
- . *Understanding Media*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964.
- . *The Gutenberg Galaxy: The Making of the Typographic Man*. Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1980.
- McLuhan, Marshall, Quentin Fiore and Jerome Agel. *War and Peace in the Global Village*. New York: Bantam Press, 1968.
- Meigh-Andrews, Chris. *History of Video Art: The Development of Form and Function*. Oxford: Berg, 2006.
- Mekas, Jonas. “Editorial Statement.” *Film Culture*, no. 32 (Spring 1964): 3.

- . “Notes on the New American Cinema.” In *Experimental Cinema: The Film Reader*. Edited by Wheeler Winston Dixon and Gwendolyn Audrey Foster, 55-70. London: Routledge, 2002.
- . “The Experimental Film in America.” in *Film Culture: An Anthology*. Edited by P. Adams Sitney, 21-26. London: Secker and Warburg, 1971.
- Mekas, Jonas et al. “The First Statement of the New American Cinema Group.” In *Film Culture: An Anthology*. Edited by P. Adams Sitney, 79-83. London: Secker and Warburg, 1971.
- Michelson, Annette. “Film and the Radical Aspiration.” In *Film Culture: An Anthology*. Edited by P. Adams Sitney, 404-421. London: Secker and Warburg, 1971.
- . “Towards Snow.” In *The Avant-Garde Film: A Reader of Theory and Criticism*. Edited by P. Adams Sitney, 172-183. New York: Anthology Film Archives, 1987.
- Miller, Gabriel, ed., *Fred Zinnemann’s Interviews*. Mississippi: Mississippi University Press, 1999.
- Miller, Toby and George Yúdice. “The United States, Cultural Policy and the National Endowment for the Arts.” In *Cultural Policy*. Edited by Toby Miller and George Yúdice, 35-71. London: Sage, 2002.
- Moore, Laurence, R. “Directions of Thought.” In *The Progressive Era*. Edited by Lewis L. Gould, 35-43. New York: Syracuse University Press, 1974.
- Münsterberg, Hugo. *The Photoplay: A Psychological Study*. London and New York, Appleton, 1916.
- Musser, Charles. *Before the Nickelodeon. Edwin S. Porter and the Edison Manufacturing Company*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991.
- Myers, James. *The Bureau of Motion Pictures and Its Influence on Film Content during the World War II: The Reasons for its Failure*. New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 1998.
- Nanemore, James. “Authorship and the Cultural Politics of Film Criticism.” *Film Quarterly* 44, no. 1 (Autumm 1990): 14-23.
- National Endowment for the Arts. *Annual Report* Washington DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1964-1965.
- . *Annual Report*. Washington DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966.
- . *Annual Report*. Washington DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967.

- . *Annual Report*. Washington DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1968.
- . *Annual Report*. Washington DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971.
- . *Annual Report*. Washington DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1976.
- Neale, Steve. "Art Cinema as Institution." In *The European Film Reader*. Edited by Catherine Fowler, 103-120. London: Routledge, 2002.
- Negt, Oskar and Alexander Kluge. "'The Public Sphere and Experience': Selections." *October* 46 (Autumn 1988): 60-82.
- Nichols, Bill. "Documentary Film and the Modernist Avant-Garde." *Critical Enquiry* 27, no.4 (June 2001): 580-610.
- Nichols, John. "Countering Censorship: Edgar Dale and the Film Appreciation Movement." *Cinema Journal* 46, no.1 (Fall 2006): 3-22.
- Noble, Lorraine. "Modernization by Way of Educational Film." *Journal of Educational Sociology* 10, no.3 (November 1936): 151-157.
- Nochimson, Martha P. *The Passion of David Lynch: Wild at Heart in Hollywood*. Austin: Texas University Press, 1997.
- Nochlin, Linda. "The Invention of the Avant-Garde: France: 1830-1870." In *Avant-Garde Art. 150 Years of Rebellion, Experiment and Audacity*. Edited by Thomas. B. Hess and John Ashbery, 1-24. New York: Collier Books, 1968.
- Nowell-Smith, Geoffrey, ed. *The Oxford History of World Cinema*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Nye, Joseph S. *Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power*. New York: Basic Books, 1990.
- O'Doherty, Brian. "Minus Plato." In *Minimal Art: A Critical Anthology*. Edited by Gregory Battock, 251-255. Berkeley: California University Press.
- O'Grady, Gerald. "Introduction to the Frontier, 1979-1980" in *Video History Project*.  
<http://www.experimentalvcenter.org/history/people/ptext.php3?id=61&page=1> accessed 16/02/2010.
- O'Pray, Michael. *Avant-Garde Film: Forms, Themes and Passions*. London: Wallflower Press, 2003.
- Orton, Fred. "Action, Revolution, Painting." In *Pollock and After: The Critical Debate*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Edited by Francis Frascina, 261-287. London: Routledge, 2000.

- Patterson, Hannah, ed. *Terrence Malick: Poetic Visions of America*. London: Wallflower Press, 2003.
- Petrić, Vlada. *Constructivism in Film. The Man with the Movie Camera: A Cinematic Analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- Petrie, Duncan. "British Film Education and the Career of Colin Young." *Journal of British Cinema and Television* 7, no. 2 (May 2004): 78-92.
- Penley, Constance and Janet Bergstrom. "The Avant-Garde: History and Theories." In *Movies and Methods*, vol. 2 of *Movies and Methods: An Anthology*. Edited by Bill Nichols, 287-300. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985.
- Penley, Constance. *Feminism and Film Theory*. London: Routledge, 1988.
- Peterson, James. *Dreams of Chaos, Visions of Order: Understanding the American Avant-Garde Cinema*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1994.
- Pierson, Michele. "Amateurism and Experiment: The British Film Institute's Experimental Film Fund (1952-1966)." *The Moving Image* 5, no.1 (Spring 2005): 68-94.
- Poggioli, Renato. *The Theory of the Avant-Garde*. London: Belknap Press, 1968.
- Polan, Dana. *The Political Language of Film and the Avant-Garde*. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Research Press, 1985.
- . *Scenes of Instruction: The Beginning of U.S. Study of Film*. Berkeley: California University Press, 2007.
- Polt, Harriet R. "Outside the Frame: Vortex." *Film Quarterly* 14, no.3 (Spring 1961): 35-37.
- Potamkin, Harry A. "A Proposal for a School of the Motion Picture." In *The Compound Cinema*. Edited by Lewis Jacobs, 587-592. New York: Teachers College Press, 1977.
- Pronay, Nicholas, Keith Wilson, ed. *The Political Re-Education of Germany and Her Allies*. London: Croom Helm, 1985.
- Quigley, Jr., Martin. "AFI." *Motion Picture Herald*, 21 June, 1967.
- Rabinovitz, Lauren. *Points of Resistance: Women, Power, Politics in the New York Avant-Garde Cinema, 1943-71*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991.
- Rae Huffman, Kathy. "Video Art: What's TV Got to Do with It." In *Illuminating Video: An Essential Guide to Video Art*. Edited by Doug Hall and Sally Jo Finder, 81-90. New York: Aperture, 1990.



- Randall, Richard R. "Censorship: From the *Miracle* to *Deep Throat*." In *The American Film Industry*. Edited by Tino Balio, 432-457. Madison: Wisconsin University Press, 1976.
- Renan, Sheldon. *The Underground Film: An Introduction to its Development in America*. London: Studio Vista, 1968.
- Rees, Alan R. *A History of Experimental Film and Video*. London: BFI Publishing, 1999.
- Riegl, Alois. *Historical Grammar of the Visual Art*. Translated by Jacqueline E. Jung, foreword by Benjamin Binstock. New York: Zone Books, 2004.
- Rockefeller Foundation. *Directory of Fellowship Awards for the Years 1917-1950*. Introduced by Chester I. Barnard. New York: Rockefeller Foundation, 1951.
- Rockefeller Brothers Fund. *The Performing Arts: Problems and Prospect, Rockefeller Panel Report on the Future of Theatre, Dance, Music in America*. New York, McGraw-Hill, 1965.
- Rockefeller Panel Reports. *Prospect for America*. New York: Double Day, 1961.
- Rodowick, David N. *The Crisis of Political Modernism: Criticism and Ideology in Contemporary Film Theory*. Berkeley: California University Press, 1994.
- Rose, Barbara. *American Painting. The Twentieth Century*. London: MacMillan, 1980.
- Rosenberg, Harold. "Revolution and the Idea of Beauty" *Encounter* 1, no. 3 (December 1953): 65-68.
- . "American Action Painters." In *The Tradition of the New*, 23-39. London: Thames and Hudson, 1962.
- Rosenbloom, Nancy J. "Between Reform and Regulation: The Struggle Over Film Censorship in Progressive America, 1909-1922." *Film History* 4, no. 1 (1987): 307-325.
- Rossi-Snook, Elena. "Persistence of Vision: Public Library 16mm Film Collection in America." *The Moving Image* 5, no. 1 (Spring 2005): 1-27.
- Roszak, Theodore. *The Making of a Counterculture: Reflections on the Technocratic Society and its Youthful Opposition*. Berkeley: California University Press, 1995.
- Saettler, Paul. *The Evolution of American Education Technology*. Charlotte: Information Age Publishing, 2004.

- Sandler, Irving. *Abstract Expressionism: The Triumph of American Painting*. London: Pall Mall Press, 1970.
- Sarris, Andrew. "Avant-Garde Films Are More Boring than Ever." In *Politics and Cinema, 196-206*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1978.
- . *The American Cinema: Directors and Directions, 1929-1968*. New York: Da Capo, 1996.
- . "Notes on the Auteur Theory in 1962." In *Film Theory and Criticism: Introductory Readings*. Edited by Leo Braudy and Marshall Cohen, 561-564. 6<sup>th</sup> ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Sartre, Jean-Paul. *Being and Nothingness: An Essay on Phenomenological Ontology*. Edited by Mary Warnock, translated by Hazel Barnes. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969.
- Saunders, Frances Stonor. *Who Paid the Piper? The CIA and the Cultural Cold War*. London: Granta, 1999.
- Saussure, Ferdinand de. *Course in General Linguistics*. Edited by Charles Bally and Albert Sechehaye. London: Fontana, 1974.
- Savage, Sean. "The Eye Beholds: Silent Ear Industrial Film and the Bureau of Commercial Economics" Master's thesis, New York University, 2006.
- Sealander, Judith. *Private Wealth and Public Life: Foundation Philanthropy and the Reshaping of American Social Policy from the Progressive Era to the New Deal*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1997.
- Schiller, Friedrich. *On the Aesthetic Education of Man*. Translated and introduced by Reginald Snell. Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 1994.
- Scharf, Aaron. *Art and Photography*. London: Allen Lane, 1968.
- Schatz, Thomas. *The Genius of the System: Hollywood Filmmaking in the Studio Era*. London: Simon and Schuster, 1989.
- . "The New Hollywood." In *Film Theory Goes to the Movies*. Edited by Jim Collins, Hilary Radner and Ava Preacher Collins, 8-36. London: Routledge, 1993.
- . *Boom and Bust: American Cinema in the 1940s*. Berkeley: California University Press, 1999).
- Schlesinger Jr., Arthur. *The Vital Center: The Politics of Freedom*. London: Andre Deutsch, 1970.
- Schobert, Walter, ed. *The German Avant-Garde Film of the 1920s*. Munich: Goethe Institute, 1989.

- Schrader, Paul. *Transcendental Style in Film: Ozu, Bresson, Dreyer*. Berkeley: California University Press, 1972.
- Schwalbe, Carol B. "Jacqueline Kennedy and Cold War Propaganda." *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media* 49, no. 1 (March 2005): 111-127.
- Schwenk-Borrell, Melinda M. "Selling Democracy: The United States Information Agency's Portrayal of American Race Relations 1953-1976." PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2004.
- Sharits, Paul. "Hearing: Seeing." In *The Avant-Garde Film Reader*. Edited by P. Adams Sitney, 255-260. New York: Anthology Film Archives, 1987.
- Shaw, Tony. *Hollywood's Cold War*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007.
- Shklovsky, Victor. "Art as Technique." In *Russian Formalist Criticism: Four Essays*. Edited by Lee T. Lemon and Marion J. Reis, 3-24. Lincoln: Nebraska University Press, 1965.
- Singer, Marilyn, ed. *A History of Avant-Garde Cinema*. New York: The American Federation of Arts, 1976.
- Sitney, P. Adams. *Visionary Film: The American Avant-Garde 1943-2000*. 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Sklar, Robert "Oh! Althusser!: Historiography and the Rise of Cinema Studies" in *Resisting Images. Essays on Cinema and History*. Edited by Robert Sklar and Charles Musser, 12-35. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990.
- . *Movie-Made America: A Cultural History of American Movies*. London: Random House, 1994.
- Smith, Melvyn. "The American Film Institute: Interview and Profile of George Stevens Jr." *American Cinematographer* 49, no.5 (May 1968): 348.
- Smith, Murray. "Modernism and the Avant-Gardes" in *The Oxford Guide to Film Studies*. Edited by John Hill and Pamela Church Gibson, 395-412. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Snow, Charles P. *Science and Government*. London: Oxford University Press, 1961.
- . *The Two Cultures*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Sontag, Susan. "Jack Smith's Flaming Creatures." In *The New American Cinema: A Critical Anthology*. Edited by Gregory Battcock, 204-210. New York: Dutton, 1967.

- Spencer, Herbert. *Essays on Education: Intellectual, Moral and Physical*. London: Dent, 1928.
- Steele, Robert. "AFI, Cinema, Egg Salad and Omelets." *Cineaste* 1, no.3 (Winter 1967-8): 5-8, 28.
- Steiner, Ralph. *Ralph Steiner: A Point of View*. Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1978.
- Stevens Jr., George. "A Response from the American Film Institute." *Film Comment* 7, no.2 (Summer 1971): 4.
- Stewart, David C. *Film Study in Higher Education*. Washington DC: American Council on Education, 1966.
- Stott, William. *Documentary Expression and the Thirties America*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1986.
- Straight, Michael. *Twigs for an Eagle's Nest: Government and the Arts, 1965-1978*. New York: Devon Press, 1979.
- Streibe, Dan, Martina Roepke and Anke Mebold. "Non-Theatrical Film." *Film History* 19, no.4 (2007): 339-343.
- Stuart, Fredric. "The Effect of Television on the Motion Picture Industry: 1948-1960." In *The American Movie Industry*. Edited by Gorham Kindem, 257-307. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University, 1982.
- Sturken, Marika. "Private Money and Personal Influence. Howard Klein and the Rockefeller Foundation funding on the Media Arts." *Afterimage* 14, no.6. (January 1987)  
<http://www.vasulka.org/archive/Publications/FormattedPublications/KleinRockAll.pdf>  
 accessed 13/09/2011.
- Sun Herald*. "Exhibition Films Ban by Censor." July 23, 1967.
- Suárez, Juan A. *Bike Boys, Drag Queens and Superstars: Avant-Garde, Mass Culture and Gay Identities in the 1960s Underground Cinema*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996.
- Taylor, Richard and Ian Christie, eds. Preface to *The Film Factory: Russian and Soviet Cinema in Documents, 1896-1939*, xvi-xix. London: Routledge, 1994.
- Taylor, Richard. "Eisenstein: A Soviet Artist." In *The Eisenstein Reader*. Edited by Richard Taylor, 1-28. London: BFI, 1998.
- Thompson, Kristin. "The Limits of Experimentation in Hollywood." In *Lovers of Cinema. The First American Film Avant-Garde, 1919-1945*. Edited by Jan-Christopher Horak, 67-93. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995.

- Thompson, Kristin, and David Bordwell. *Film History: An Introduction*. Boston: McGraw-Hill, 2003.
- Thomson, Richard. "The American Film Institute." *Screen* 12, no.3 (Autumn 1971): 57-96.
- Time*. "Art: U.S. Scene." December 24, 1934.  
<http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,711633,00.html>  
 accessed 12/05/2008.
- Time*. "In the Year of Our Ford." April 3, 1964.  
<http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,939493,00.html>  
 accessed 30/06/2009.
- Tocqueville, Alexis de. *Democracy in America*. Translated by Arthur Goldhammer. New York: The Library of America, 2004.
- Truffaut, François. "A Certain Tendency of the French Cinema." In *Movies and Methods*. Edited by Bill Nichols, 224-237. Berkeley: California University Press, 1976.
- Turim, Maureen. "The Retraction of State Funding of Film and Video Arts and Its Effects on Future Practice." In *Cinema Histories, Cinema Practices*. Edited by Patricia Mellencap and Philip Rosen, 132-141. Los Angeles: University Publications of America, 1984.
- Turner, Sara H. and William G. Bowen, eds. "The Flight from the Arts and Sciences." In *American Higher Education Transformed: Documenting the National Discourse, 1940-2005*. Edited by Frances Wilson Smith and Thomas Bender, 199-202. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2008.
- Turvey, Malcolm. Introduction to *Camera Obscura, Camera Lucida: Essays in Honour of Annette Michelson*. Edited by Richard Allen and Malcolm Turvey, 13-34. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2003.
- Tyler, Parker. *The Underground Film: A Critical History*. London: Secker and Warburg, 1969.
- Twomey, John E. "Some Considerations on the Rise of the Art-Film Theater." *The Quarterly of Film Radio and Television* 10, no.3 (Spring, 1956): 239-247.
- United States Supreme Court. 1915. "Mutual Film Corp. V. Industrial Commission of Ohio" in *The Movies in Our Midst. Documents in the Cultural History of Film in America*. Edited by Gerald Mast, 136-143. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1982.
- U.S. Congress. House. Subcommittee on Education of the Committee on Education and Labour. *To Create the American Film Institute As an Independent Agency: Hearings on H.R. 17021, 93<sup>rd</sup> Cong., 1<sup>st</sup> sess., October 7, 1974.*

- Vanderbeek, Stan. "The Cinema Delimina: Films from the Underground." *Film Quarterly* 14, no. 4 (Summer 1961): 5-15.
- . "Social Imagistics." In *The New Television: A Public/Private Art*. Edited by Douglas Davis and Allison Simmons, 58-62. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1977.
- Van Dyke, Willard. "The Interpretative Camera in Documentary Films." *Hollywood Quarterly* 1, no.4 (July, 1946): 405-409.
- Variety*. "Murrow Furrows H'wood Brow –Criticizes Image of U.S. Abroad Created by Films." November 6, 1961.
- Variety*. "H'wood Asks Murrow Provide Consultant to Mirror 'Image'." November 7, 1961.
- Variety*. "Underground Cinema Has Foot Inside Museum Door." November 3, 1965.
- Vogel, Amos. "Cinema 16: A Showcase for the Nonfiction Film." *Hollywood Quarterly* 4, no. 4 (Summer 1950): 421.
- . "Thirteen Confusions." In *The New American Cinema: A Critical Introduction*. Edited by Gregory Battock, 124-138. New York, Dutton, 1967.
- . *Film as Subversive Art*. New York: Distributed Art Publishers, 2005.
- . "The Unfulfilled Promise of Film at Lincoln Center." The Sticking Place <[http:// www.thestickingplace.com/film/films/film](http://www.thestickingplace.com/film/films/film) -as-subversive art/the-unfulfilled-promised...> accessed 15/04/2013.
- Wagnleitner, Reinhold. "American Cultural Diplomacy: The Cinema and the Cold War in Central Europe." In *Hollywood in Europe: Experiences of a Cultural Hegemony*. Edited by David E. Ellwood and Rob Kroes, 198-210. Amsterdam: VU University Press, 1994.
- Wanger, Walter. "OWI and Motion Pictures." *The Public Opinion Quarterly* 7, no. 1 (Spring, 1943): 100-11.
- Warnke, Martin. *The Court Artist: On the Ancestry of the Modern Artist*. Translated by David McLintock. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Wasco, Janet. *How Hollywood Works*. London: Sage, 2003.
- Wasson, Haidee. *Museum Movies: The Museum of Modern Art and the Birth of Art Cinema*. Berkeley: California University Press, 2005.

- Wasson, Haidee. "The Networked Screen: Moving Images, Materiality, and the Aesthetics of Size." In *Fluid Screens, Expanded Cinema*. Edited by Janine Marchessault and Susan Lord, 74-95. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007.
- Wasson, Haidee. "Studying Movies at the Museum: The Museum of Modern Art and Cinema's Changing Object." In *Inventing Film Studies*. Edited by Charles Acland and Haidee Wasson, 121-148. Durham: Duke University Press, 2008.
- Wayne, Mike. *Theorising Video Practice*. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1997.
- Weber, Max. *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. Translated and introduced by Stephen Kalberg. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Wees, William. *Light Moving in Time: Studies in the Visual Aesthetics of Avant-Garde Films*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992.
- Weisberger, Edward, ed. *The Spiritual in Abstract Painting, 1890-1985*. New York: Abbeville Press, 1986.
- Wetenhall, John. "Camelot's Legacy to Public Art: Aesthetic Ideology in the New Frontier." *Art Journal* 484, no. 4 (Winter 1989): 303-308.
- Williams, Raymond. *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society*. Glasgow: Fontana, 1988.
- Wilinsky, Barbara. *Sure Seaters: The Emergence of Art House Cinema*. Minneapolis: Minnesota University Press, 2001.
- Winston Dixon, Wheeler. *The Exploding Eye: A Revisionary History of 1960s American Experimental Cinema*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997.
- Wolfe, Charles. "The Poetics and Politics of Nonfiction Documentary Film." In *Grand Design: Hollywood as Modern Enterprise, 1930-1939*. Edited by Tino Balio, 351-356. Los Angeles: University California Press, 1993.
- Wolff, Janet. *Aesthetics and the Sociology of Art*. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1983.
- Wolfflin, Heinrich. *Principles of Art History: The Problem of Development of Style in Later Art*. Translated by M.D. Hottinger. London: G. Bell and Sons, 1932.
- Wollen, Peter. *Readings and Writings: Semiotic Counter-Strategies*. London: Verso, 1982.
- Woods, Paul A. *Weirdsville USA: The Obsessive Universe of David Lynch*. London: Plexus, 2000.

- Young, Colin. "An American Film Institute: A Proposal." *Film Quarterly* 14, no. 4 (Summer 1961): 37-50.
- . "University Film Teaching in the United States: A Survey." *Film Quarterly* 16, no. 3 (Spring 1963): 37-47.
- Youngblood, Gene. *Expanded Cinema*. London: StudioVista, 1970.
- Zryd, Michael. "The Academy and the Avant-Garde: A Relationship of Dependence and Resistance." *Cinema Journal* 45, no. 2 (Winter 2006): 17-45.
- . "Experimental Cinema and the Development of Film Study in America." In *Inventing Film Studies*. Edited by Lee Grieveson and Haidee Wasson, 182-216. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008.
- . "Experimental Cinema as Useless Cinema." In *Useful Cinema*. Edited by Charles R. Acland and Haidee Wasson, 315-336. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011.

### **Libraries and Archives**

Unpublished primary archival materials are available from the following locations:

Anthology Film Archives (New York, U.S.)

Art Gallery of New South Wales Archive Library (Sidney, Australia)

British Film Institute Library (London, U.K.)

Library of the Woman's Collection at Texas Woman's University, Denton (Texas, U.S.)

Library of Congress (Washington DC, U.S.)

Museum of Modern Art Archives (New York, U.S.)

National Archives and Records Administration at College Park (Maryland, U.S.)

National Endowment for the Arts Library (Washington DC, U.S.)

Rockefeller Archive Center (New York, U.S.)