

Kookie Thoughts: Imagining the United States Pavilion at Expo 67 (or How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bubble)

DANIELA SHEININ

Introduction

In 1967, at the International and Universal Exposition (Expo 67 in Montreal), American government planners and their collaborators in the private sector changed how the United States participated at world's fairs. They transformed the ways in which architecture, design, and exhibits could come together in a stunning visual endpoint. The choice of 1960s social visionary and design guru R. Buckminster Fuller's geodesic dome ("Bucky's Bubble") for the US Pavilion structure proved a coup,¹ as did the Marshall McLuhan-inspired Cambridge Seven design team (all under thirty)² that created the pavilion interior of platforms joined by crisscrossing bridges and escalators.³ For the first time, planners allowed a modern artistic aesthetic to drive how they presented the United States at a world's fair. Modern art, design, and architecture had long featured in US world's fair displays, but never until then as the central mechanism by which an international public would understand American society. There were four linked elements in how modern aesthetics, art, and design helped determine the US Expo 67 design project. The US Pavilion defined a presence at the edge of US empire. Planners found success in the mix of earlier world's fair grand designs with a new minimalist modernity. Pavilion design and content reflected the influence of Andy Warhol and other artists whose work was transforming gay camp into mass camp in American popular culture. Finally, the project drew on a secret World War II US army collaboration among three key Expo 67 planners, whose wartime specialty had been in military deception, to complete a visual revolution at the US Pavilion.⁴

Jack Masey and the Upending of How the United States Went to a World's Fair

“A kookie thought,” ventured Jack Masey, Acting Chief of Design and Operations for the US Pavilion at Expo 67, in March 1965. Masey was first among American Expo 67 planners. Still in early planning, the US government-sponsored pavilion (see Figure 1) was two years away from opening on Île Sainte-Hélène, when Masey wrote to his United States Information Agency (USIA) colleague, George Stevens, Jr. (Director of the Agency’s Motion Picture and Television Service). “What do you think of the idea of getting Stanley Kubrick to do the Great American Documentary for the U.S. Pavilion at Montreal in 1967?”⁵ A dynamic, creative force behind the pavilion, Masey exploded with kookie thoughts. He also toyed with inviting five foreign film directors “of international reputation” each to produce a twenty-minute documentary. The hundred minutes of film would offer a “kaleidoscopic view” of the United States. There would be no specifications and no censorship. Not all footage would be complimentary to the United States. “But this does not mean the net result would be negative”; it would prove the strength of American democracy.⁶



Figure 1. Stephen F. Rosenthal, “The United States Pavilion,” Box 155, 71A2101, Records of the United States Information Agency, Record Group 306, National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD.

Films potentially critical of the United States at a US government pavilion, at an international world's fair? What was he thinking? At the same time that Masey was imagining Kubrick representing the government at Expo 67, an increasingly tense Cold War domestic climate in the United States came across in the 1965 release of P. F. Sloan's antiwar classic "Eve of Destruction," sung by Barry McGuire. The song's popular, apocalyptic tone ripped into a society reeling from the war in Vietnam and civil rights-era violence. In light of the cultural turmoil, as well as a decade of hostile domestic scrutiny of American world fair cultural offerings from some on the political right, Masey knew he would face strong criticism from many worried about moral decay.⁷

In January 1965, unhappy with Masey's cheek, USIA Deputy Director Sanford S. Marlowe proposed a more stolid alternative US Pavilion model that would stress economic, industrial, and scientific progress. Contributions in the arts would be commensurate with US international leadership and more typical of the conservative cultural history of US world's fair pavilions; this meant classical ballet not Kubrick.⁸ Six years earlier, in their preoccupation with presenting American society through American art alongside American economic and technological triumphs, US planners for the American National Exhibition in Moscow showed that cultural exchange was in fact "the commodity that closely pursued the quintessential Cold War commodities, oil and uranium, along with many others critical to America's seductive abundance."⁹ But in Moscow, American planners had not only been far more cautious than Masey about presenting modern art and design as a standard bearer for "American culture," they had explicitly balanced what they viewed as modern and risky with what they understood as recognizable and traditional.

For Expo 67, all but one work of art shown at the US Pavilion was truly new, specifically commissioned for the fair. The modern art in Moscow was more cautiously chosen. Each was a few years old and had already been reviewed as pathbreaking by the arts community. More important, US Pavilion planners in Moscow showed Willem de Kooning's *Asheville II* (1949), Robert Motherwell's *Wall Painting #4* (1953), and Jackson Pollock's *Cathedral* (1947) by gingerly juxtaposing them with what they called "older," "pre-World War I," recognizable classics celebrating long-standing nation-building myths of frontier and pioneers. These included George Caleb Bingham's *The Jolly Flatboatmen* (1846) and Frederic Remington's *Fired On* (1907).¹⁰

Kubrick was a far cry from Remington. Much more than for his brilliant film technique, Americans knew Stanley Kubrick in 1965 for his sexually subversive film *Lolita* (1962) and for his comedic dismantling of the menace of atomic warfare in *Dr. Strangelove or: How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb* (1964).¹¹ If that weren't enough, two of the short documentary directors Masey recommended had famously offended sexual and moral sensibilities as well—Satyajit Ray in *Charulata* (1964) and Federico Fellini in *La dolce vita* (1960). There was something else, though, that each of these filmmakers shared. Masey recognized that part of what made each

brilliant was their distinct creative approach to the visual. Like those with whom he worked most closely on Expo 67, Masey wanted to do away with the ordered formality of Cold War-era US government participation in international fairs.¹² He planned to break free the cautious placement of Motherwell alongside Remington in Moscow, and of past tendencies to catalog American achievements by cramming as many new gadgets as possible under one roof.¹³ With a greater emphasis on the aesthetic, US planners also decided to deemphasize a past public focus on the role of private funding of the US Pavilion. For the 1959 Moscow Exhibition, the US government had announced that American women would “take their sewing talents” to the Soviet Union to show (on McCall’s patterns and Singer sewing machines) how they “make their own dresses and clothes for the family.”¹⁴ There were no dowdy McCall’s patterns and Singer sewing machines featured in Montreal.

Masey never followed through with his five international directors or with Kubrick but not because he lost his battles with Sanford Marlowe and other superiors. As he did on several occasions between late 1964 and the fair opening in 1967, Masey simply changed his mind. Three years later, writing about the US Pavilion at the Osaka World’s Fair (1970), the journalist Peter Blake dramatically underestimated Masey’s work as design leader in Osaka (and ignored his transformative role at Expo 67). He described the Osaka design team as “Lew Davis and Sam Brody, the architects; Ivan Chermayeff, Tom Geismar, and Rudy deHarak, the designers; and Jack Masey, a bureaucrat.”¹⁵ In fact, Masey was a bureaucratic rarity. Among high-ranking USIA officers, he had a unique sensitivity to, interest in, and vision for the significance of American modern art, architecture, and design trends and their likely impact on American society over the medium term. Moreover, unlike others in government who saw a role for modern art in how the United States presented itself as culturally modern but held their noses over what they privately disliked in Andy Warhol and Claes Oldenburg, Masey delighted in the rakish, subversive qualities of pop art and modern architecture. On January 25, 1963, a press release noted that the Ford Motor Company Pavilion at the 1964–1965 World’s Fair “would be held in place by steel columns, aluminum extrusions and newly developed neoprene glazing gaskets.” On his copy, Masey underlined the word “extrusions” and wrote “Whee!!” underneath. Under “neoprene glazing gaskets,” he wrote “whee whee!” Masey could do without the steel columns at Expo 67—and he did.¹⁶ What he duplicated in Montreal was the structurally subversive in the Ford Pavilion in New York.

In that planning process, Masey convinced his superiors to reorder their priorities in presenting the United States to the world. Modern art and architecture were nothing new at US world’s fair pavilions. What Masey helped change was the building of the first US world’s fair pavilion where art, architecture, and design were more than simply three of many priorities. At Expo 67, for the first time, all aspects of the US Pavilion—America’s presentation of itself—depended on and were framed by brilliant artistic and architectural design.¹⁷

Were Masey and other American planners (see Figure 2) able to imagine and build a visually revolutionary pavilion where modern design would herald and help define American cultural and technological leadership, they believed they could create something greater than the potential resistance from the political and cultural right. In some ways, Masey and other American planners were behind the cultural curve and reflected something of staid Washington bureaucratic cultures. They were delighted, for example, that the highlight of a guitar exhibit was an instrument approved personally by Colonel Tom Parker, belonging to Elvis Presley. Masey missed entirely that Elvis was past his musical prime and already an iconic Andy Warhol image.¹⁸ Masey would have been jarringly out of place in Warhol's social circle. He called folk singer Joan Baez "very anti-American" and described her as "living in Big Sur" (as though the two might be synonymous). "A strange girl," he went on, "and might cooperate" in providing a guitar for the exhibit.¹⁹ Neither cool nor hip, Masey and his colleagues recognized all the same how modern architecture, design, and art could be more than just background or a sideshow. They would be the show itself.²⁰ In February 1966, the Cambridge Seven design team, responsible for the interior design of the US Pavilion, tried to explain what was new about their contribution to Expo 67: "[Marshall] McLuhan somewhere cites the mother who, on hearing her beautiful infant daughter praised, replied, 'Ah, but you should see her pictures.'" Like Masey, they had no time for the tourist who "stands in the designated spot, points his camera as instructed, and is certain to come home with an approved picture, just like everyone else's." The Cambridge Seven would "cut through this kind of thing." At the US Pavilion, the visitor would be "confronted with the raw material of experience; all that is demanded of him is participation. Not understanding. Not agreement. Participation." Their design would be the medium as stunning message.²¹

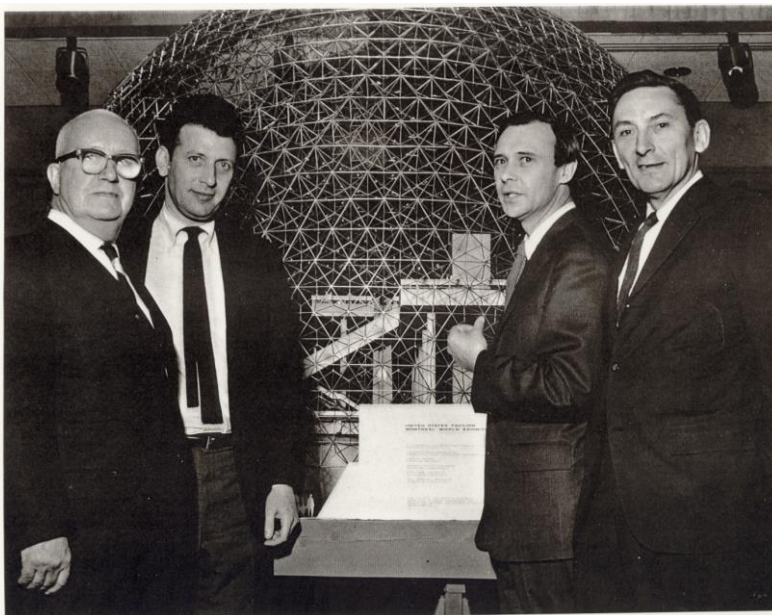


Figure 2.
"The Men Who Created the United States Pavilion at Expo 67" (Left to right: R. Buckminster Fuller, Jack Masey, Terry Rankine [Cambridge Seven], and Peter Floyd [Geometrics]), Box 155, 71A2101, Records of the United States Information Agency, Record Group 306, National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD.

Masey not only won his clash of visions with Sanford Marlowe in early 1965. That victory of the risqué over the staid in early pavilion planning underlines the remarkable independence Masey achieved in 1965 to pursue a vision that could veer in and out of Kubrick and dozens of other “kookie” possibilities for a US Pavilion. It also points to what changed at Expo 67. At least as early as the 1893 World’s Columbian Exposition in Chicago, American planning and participation at world’s fairs stressed a mixed celebration and cultural construction of commercial, industrial, and business advances; empire and international triumphs; democratic ideals; life on “Main Street” and in rural America; and the balance of traditional values with new, modern aesthetics.²² But while in 1958, at the Brussels World’s Fair, the US Pavilion featured a display of cheap, ready-to-wear women’s clothing as quintessentially American, at Expo 67 Bill Blass wowed visitors with his chic guide-uniform designs.²³ While at the 1959 American National Exhibition in Moscow a modern American kitchen exhibit stressed functionality and a constructed middle-class, gendered ideal of modernity, the US Pavilion at Expo 67 downplayed middle-class functionality and domesticity as a visitor draw (see Figure 3). While the 1964–1965 New York World’s Fair’s “emphasis on capitalism and commercialization downplayed art as an element [to be] elevated above other exhibits,”²⁴ the US Pavilion at Expo 67 did the reverse; it made art, design, and architecture the focal point across which visitors would understand the United States.²⁵

Masey and his team were unimpressed by the New York World’s Fair. In August 1964, John Slocum (Coordinator, USIA Planning for Expo 67) visited the US (“Federal”) Pavilion in New York. He called it a “monstrous green box on stilts.” He found “The Challenge to Greatness” exhibit “everything that it should not be.” There were too many explanatory texts and no “eye catching visualization.” The public wandered through “apathetically or indifferently much faster than was intended with the result that there is often a waiting line for [the next exhibit,] the ‘Ride through American History.’” The focal point of the US Pavilion, the historical “Ride” took visitors past some 120 films, film-strips, and slide projectors. More than fifteen percent of the projectors were broken, though, which “destroyed the continuity and drama of the trip.”²⁶

Unlike the uninspired, sports arena-like US Pavilion at Expo 58 (see Figure 4), Bucky’s Bubble was a revolutionary structure.²⁷ Fuller had been designing geodesic structures for almost two decades. He envisioned the US Pavilion at Expo 67 as an affirmation of simplicity and high efficiency in architectural design; as an illustration of how urban decay in the United States might be challenged; and as an urgent metaphor for a new environmental approach to design. New York World’s Fair president Robert Moses had vetoed a proposal for a 646-acre Fuller dome—an opportunity missed, according to Arthur Drexler, Director of Architecture and Design at the Museum of Modern Art.²⁸ In an October 1964 interview, Fuller told Masey, Robert Sivard (Chief, USIA Exhibits Division), and John Slocum that the New York World’s Fair was uninteresting to the public and that Robert Moses was

unimaginative. At Montreal, Fuller would be guided by the question, “how does the world work?”²⁹



Figure 3. A demonstration of home baking USA-style, from the American National Exhibition, Moscow, 1959 (Collection of Dr. Shelly Weinig). Reproduced from David Crowley, “Design as Weapon of the Cold War,” *CR Blog, Creative Review*, October 2008, <http://www.creativereview.co.uk/cr-blog/2008/october/design-as-weapon-of-the-cold-war>.



Figure 4. “United States Pavilion at Expo 1958 in Brussels, Belgium.” Reproduced from *Electro’s Spark* (blog), November 21, 2009, <http://electrospark.blogspot.ca/2009/11/united-states-pavilion-at-expo-1958-in.html>.

Edge of Empire

Guided in part by a 1960s cultural irreverence, Jack Masey, designers Bill Blass and R. Buckminster Fuller, USIA Public Relations Director Nicholas Ruggieri, “American Painting Now” Exhibit Director Alan R. Solomon, “American Cinema” Exhibit Consultant James R. Silke, and members of the Cambridge Seven believed they were breaking with a stodgy, heavy-handed past in US propaganda. For the first time at a major international fair, the USIA had free reign.³⁰ It was not obliged to work with (or answer to) the State and Commerce Departments.³¹ At the same time, USIA planners and their private-sector partners had no interest in undermining a range of commercial, ideological, and political opportunities presented by the fair. On the contrary, like Masey on critical films as promoting the ideal of US democracy, they believed that their sophisticated, modern approach at Expo 67 would lead to a more beneficial and effective advancement of national interests.³²

In planning for Expo 67, Masey and company went to an edge of empire where “edge” might be thought of as distinct from the severity of a border or borderlands in empire construction and destruction processes,³³ as fluid (versus the

formality of a core–periphery binary), and as having the potential to transform the nature of empire.³⁴ Three keys define the US Pavilion at empire’s edge. First, Montreal was on a unique spatial edge. On the border, Canadians saw themselves subject to US dominance (and Americans understood this as a potential political problem in Expo 67 planning). That American subsidiary corporations in Canada were recalcitrant about funding the fair, for example, became a thorn in the side of US planners deeply aware of a popular anti-Americanism among Canadians.³⁵

At the same time, there is no evidence that Masey or other American planners understood or had any interest in the significance of Expo 67 in the Canadian imagination. They also knew little about Canada. Asked to identify Canadians successful in American show business, *Variety* magazine reported that it “had no records.” *Variety* writer Robert B. Frederick wrote that “the only Canadians who come to mind immediately are Mary Pickford and [comedy duo] [Johnny] Wayne & [Frank] Shuster” (he subsequently expanded the list to include silent film director Mack Sennett and 1930s actress Norma Shearer, along with a few others).³⁶ Canadians had in fact begun planning the fair a decade earlier under the watchful eye of Montreal Mayor Jean Drapeau, who had hoped to make it and Montreal centerpieces of Canada’s centennial celebrations in 1967.³⁷ The Canada Pavilion consisted of a \$24 million network of tent-like buildings. Drawing on the fair’s “Man and His World” theme, architect Moshe Safdie’s “Habitat” apartment building offered an “energetic commitment to transnational urban modernism that reverberated throughout Expo 67 and that was quintessentially Sixties and eminently McLuhanesque.”³⁸ Not only did Expo 67 surpass any “previous exhibition’s imaginativechutzpah,” it undertook a forceful revision of Canadian history “that understated the [regional, class, ethnic, and other] conflicts and tensions that had, over centuries, been central to the making of Canada.”³⁹ Even as tensions between French and English Canadians rose through the 1960s, the fair “mentioned conflict between the British and French only in pre-Confederation days. After 1867, those two groups vanished into a united Canada.”⁴⁰ For the Canadian government, Expo 67 was a spectacle designed to present the nation idyllically as modern, peaceful, unified, and exciting.⁴¹

That Canadian version of consensus history dovetailed with what mattered most to US Pavilion planners about Canada. It was far from the harshness of US imperial power in the Philippines or Vietnam.⁴² From language to popular culture, Canada reflected unusual parallels with US society. American planners considered the unique proximities of Expo 67 in anticipating that more than half the fair visitors might be Americans visualizing how their government projected their national identity to the world.⁴³

A second parameter of “edge” was chronological and anticipatory. As songwriter P. F. Sloan had imagined, the United States was on the eve of national tragedy in the assassinations of Martin Luther King, Jr., and Robert F. Kennedy (and what those killings would mean to many Americans), and disastrous military

escalation in Vietnam and Cambodia. While they could not have anticipated those developments, US Pavilion planners were explicitly forward-looking in a manner that deceptively and successfully marginalized critics of the US government on race and on Vietnam. Looking forward was hardly new in world's fair planning. As much as anything, for a century world's fairs had focused on putting a bright future on display that combined exciting technology with sleight of hand that erased social unrest in the present.⁴⁴ At Montreal, US planners went still further in bringing together the promise of scientific wonder, an implicit military backdrop, a projection of US power, and a concrete goal at the boundaries of technological and human possibility. Framed by US–Soviet tensions, the space race, and quickly evolving weapons technologies that made nuclear war a looming possibility, American planners of the US Pavilion Space Exhibit foretold the first moonwalk with scientific precision and drama.⁴⁵

A third key—built on the first and second—went to edge transforming empire. Masey and company were determined to repackage the United States at home and abroad as a leader in how culture, design, and modernity could come together in a prosperous future. They accomplished that goal through their novel approach to the visual. They integrated exhibits focused on themes as varied as space exploration, guitars, and American folk art into a larger, dazzling pavilion design to present something global and greater than the United States alone, but that imposed ongoing US leadership and suggested a nation free of the ills US President Lyndon B. Johnson's Great Society program was meant to cure.

Less Is More (More or Less)

USIA Expo 67 planners were always careful to distinguish between expansive private and more cautious public narratives about US goals for Montreal. Jack Masey thought big. It took him time to get there, but working with the Cambridge Seven design team, Masey eventually came to a minimalist plan that featured sunlit, cavernous open spaces, no separate rooms, and impressive, large exhibit items—all in contrast to past pavilion designs that he found closed and cluttered with Americana and commercial samples. In late 1964, he wrote privately to USIA colleagues that the US Pavilion should reflect imagination, daring, and verve. It should do what the Eiffel Tower did for the Paris Exposition (1889) and the Crystal Palace for the Great Exhibition (1851)—“influence the course of technology and architecture for decades.” At the same time, “less is more,” Masey wrote. In contrast to the frenzy and the tendency to exhaust the public in New York and at other fairs, the United States would say “few things in Montreal, but say them brilliantly.”⁴⁶

Long before final choices on design and contributions to the pavilion, Masey had a strong sense of what he wanted. He had worked previously with R. Buckminster Fuller, who had built light and transitory structures for the US government at international fairs in New Delhi, Kabul, and Moscow.⁴⁷ Perhaps

influenced by those precedents, and long before Fuller was chosen for Expo 67, Masey advised, “we should not erect an opulent reinforced concrete monument but rather an immaculately engineered light-weight shelter, easily erectable and demountable and designed to enclose space in the most efficient manner.” Early on, still partly stuck in a more-is-more mode, Masey imagined multiple US pavilions bursting with samples. The central gem was always the coming lunar landing. Pavilions would also include displays in Industrial Arts (where objects would each feature a combination of the technical and the aesthetic) and American Heritage, showing the United States from its beginnings to the present as represented by a cotton gin, a Model T Ford, John Glenn’s capsule, and much more. At the same time, Masey already had a clear idea of some defining features of the US Pavilion(s). A Fine Arts Pavilion would focus for the first time on new talents—“figurists, abstract expressionists, new realists (pop), optical illusionists, hallucinationists,” and others. He wanted Roy Lichtenstein and Ellsworth Kelly, not George Caleb Bingham.⁴⁸

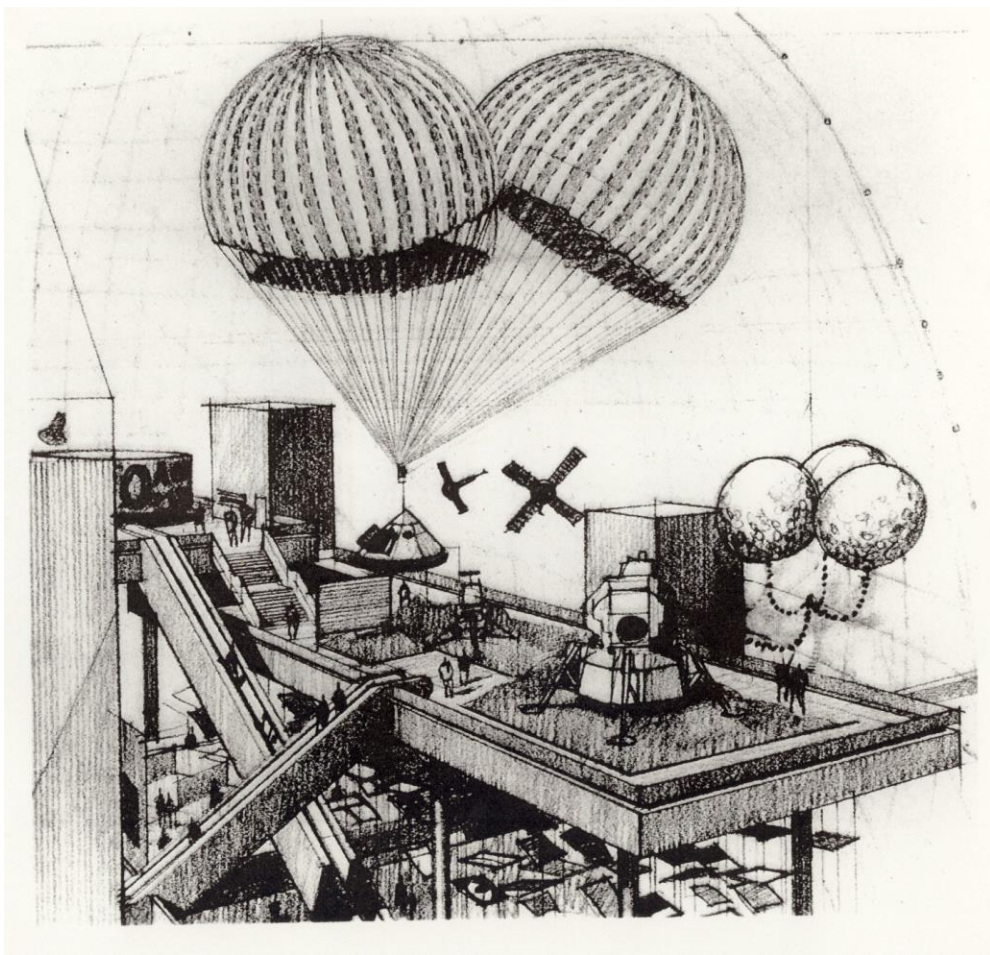


Figure 5. “Destination Moon,” Box 155, 71A2101, Records of the United States Information Agency, Record Group 306, National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD.

All the same, when Expo 67 opened in April 1967, Masey faced the press with a public narrative of the US Pavilion that tended toward a traditional, flag-waving celebration and that made no mention of Kubrick, Lichtenstein, or the Great Society: The Pavilion building was a geodesic sky-break bubble, a three-quarter sphere, twenty stories high. Twenty-seven miles of steel pipe weighing six hundred tons and covered by an acrylic skin made up the building frame. Connected platforms under the dome mounted five exhibits. “Destination: Moon” featured actual Mercury, Gemini, and Apollo components suspended from the dome frame. A platform housed a simulated lunar landscape complete with a Lunar Excursion Module and Surveyor (see Figure 5). Elvis’s guitar formed part of a second exhibit, the “American Spirit,” which also boasted a classic US Pavilion hodgepodge of “Indian” ornaments, dolls, quilts, and a hat collection.⁴⁹ Without naming artists, Masey presented “American Painting Now” as a triumph of size and scale. There would be enormous works, some seven to fifty-three feet high hanging from the dome!⁵⁰

The contrast between “American Painting Now” and “The American Cinema” exhibits reflects the compromises and contradictions that the US Pavilion embodied. In its insistence on the avant-garde, the former marked the sharpest challenge to earlier US world’s fair exhibits, while the latter gave a largely celebratory and predictable display of exactly what US planners knew that visitors would expect of “Hollywood.” Unlike other components of the pavilion narrative, “The American Cinema” varied little over almost three years of planning. The USIA was looking for and believed it had found Hollywood magic in the giant photographs of Clark Gable, Betty Grable, and other stars. There was a section on the heroes who could “do anything: head the enemy off at the pass, lead a charging light brigade, fix tires, dance, fly,” and more. The “heroines” (including Alice Faye and Audrey Hepburn) “were always in trouble. Their delightful female challenge was too much for any man to resist.”⁵¹

“American Painting Now” was a different story. Masey chose Alan R. Solomon, the US Commissioner at the 32nd Venice Biennale (1964), to curate “American Painting Now.” For the first time in 1964, the USIA had organized the US contribution to the Biennale and, for the first time in the sixty-year history of the show, an American artist, Robert Rauschenberg, had shocked the international art community by winning the International Prize. For Solomon, the message was clear. The work of Rauschenberg, Andy Warhol, and others had generated a seismic shift by moving leadership in the art world from Paris to New York. Masey and Solomon planned to showcase that leadership in Montreal. As in the case of Kubrick, Masey believed Warhol and the others were brilliant artists, genuinely American, and evidence of US cultural superiority on their own and without pre-World War classics.⁵²

The twenty-two featured at the US Pavilion included James Rosenquist, Frank Stella, and Robert Motherwell.⁵³ There were critics and doubters. A. Johnston wrote a letter to the editor of the *Chicago Tribune* in February 1967 asking why the United

States must “always be portrayed [overseas] as a land of kooks.”⁵⁴ Harry and Blanche Marsh of Pioneer, Ohio, wrote their member of Congress to ask how many paintings would be in a “modernistic vein” and how many of the “traditional type.”⁵⁵ Representative Delbert L. Latta (R-OH) forwarded the concern to US Commissioner General for Expo 67 Stanley R. Tupper, who assured Latta that “a good 35% of the exhibited paintings will contain recognizable objects.”⁵⁶ It’s unlikely that Claes Oldenburg’s contribution, *Giant Soft Fan* (1967), which some might see as an electric table fan melting in the heat, is what Blanche Marsh thought of as traditional art.⁵⁷

Mass Camp

There was trouble in June 1967. With the fair underway, Alan Solomon wrote Milton Fredman, Deputy US Commissioner for Expo 67, that Fuller’s dome was leaking. Solomon warned that the giant paintings were at risk; staining, cracking, and mildew were imminent. Water was running down Friedel Dzubas’s *Sunspoke* (1967) and Larry Zox’s *Single File* (1966). Andy Warhol’s *Self-Portrait* (1967) and Jasper Johns’s *Map* (1967) were probably getting wet. Yet while Solomon alerted severity, his language was fun: “Rosenquist and Avedisian,” he wrote, “are both getting wet and there appears to be a stain down middle of Avedisian.” There were bird droppings on the panels. Some might find this funny, Solomon wrote, underlining the absurd; birds were nesting in a NASA satellite hanging from the dome. If that weren’t enough, there were not always US Marine guards present to protect the art. Solomon had solved that one: “Reinforcements have arrived,” he announced. From now on, a Marine guard would be present at all times!⁵⁸

Part of the 1967 camp quality to bird droppings falling from a NASA satellite on Andy Warhol was that it was and was not an in-joke. As early as 1964, Masey, Solomon, and a handful of other planners imagined Expo 67 as camp, building new links between what Christopher Sieving and Sasha Torres have described as “gay camp” and “mass camp.”⁵⁹ Ivan Chermayeff of the Cambridge Seven was also fascinated by camp culture. He made it central to Expo 67 design and exhibits. Masey’s ideas on the importance of camp took shape at the time he saw Kubrick’s *Lolita*. For a year beginning in March 1965, with advice from Willard Van Dyke, Director of the Film Library at the Museum of Modern Art, Masey and Chermayeff viewed more than a hundred films as they decided how to best represent American culture at Expo 67.⁶⁰ Many were shorts and experimental, highlighting artistic trends also reflected in the American artists chosen to exhibit in Montreal. They were impressed by Warhol’s *Harlot* (1964), for example, as well as his “cockteaser”⁶¹ *Sleep* (1963), where the filmmaker contrasts the subject’s unconscious state with his nudity.⁶²

Warhol’s influence was enormous on Masey’s sense of the absurd, the erotic and the sexual, and women—all of which featured prominently in the choice of pavilion exhibits and how they were displayed. Moreover, those who planned and

built the US Pavilion were mostly men who, like Warhol and some in his circle, approached feminism with the camaraderie of amused disdain.⁶³

That came across in Masey's view of US State Department Deputy Assistant Secretary for Community Advisory Services Katie Louchheim. In December 1964, Louchheim approached US Commerce Secretary Luther Hodges to propose an exhibit at Expo 67 on the accomplishments of women. Ten years earlier, on the stump for the Democratic Party, she had urged collective action on delegates at the National Conference of Jewish Women: "The isolated homemaker, like the untouched atom, remains insignificant. But like the explosive atom, you can expand your energies and change the world."⁶⁴ In May 1965—and on her own—the former Vice-Chair of the Democratic National Committee (1956–1960) and future US Ambassador to UNESCO (1968–1969) was still knocking on doors in Washington. John Slocum, USIA Coordinator of Planning for Expo 67, wrote Masey that she had now tried her pitch out on First Lady Lady Bird Johnson and Sidney Dillon Ripley (Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution), among others: "They've all passed the buck." Masey had written to Slocum a week earlier to say that Louchheim had "visited [USIA Director Carl T.] Rowan last week and apparently put the bite on him which resulted in my summons into her presence yesterday." "We could peddle to the Canadians this sort of thing," Masey continued, on "a kind of joint pioneer women basis to be underwritten" by an American firm with a subsidiary in Canada. As the USIA had "many women" covered under the umbrella of the "Creative America" theme, Masey was hoping for a separate structure for Louchheim at "some distance from our Pavilion." Slocum volunteered that they might win corporate sponsorship from a company whose products were "associated with women through their domestic or other interests." Women were the primary household buyers of magazines, food, and milk, so any of *Reader's Digest*, Colgate Palmolive, Singer Sewing, Lever Brothers, or General Foods might come up with the needed half-million dollars. Slocum also suggested they try to sell the project to "*Ladies' Home Journal*, *Woman's Home Companion*, *Redbook* or whatever else is left in the field of women's journalism." In the end, the USIA settled on inviting "Mrs. John F. Kennedy" among others to Montreal for International Women's Day.⁶⁵

In addition to Tom Wesselmann's *Expo Mouth #10* (1967), James Rosenquist's *Firepole* (1967), and other paintings, many exhibit items reflected even more playfully how Expo 67 planners had integrated mass camp and what Homa King refers to as "queer temporality" into the US Pavilion as a defining path in American popular culture. In stark contrast to how previous US world's fair pavilion planners had worked, design became fleeting and contingent, as opposed to a mainstream American reification of industrial time, family time, and leisure time.⁶⁶ An undated USIA memorandum described a film prop exhibited as "the high camp religious statue of all time, a male virility god with horn, eyes that light up red, muscle bound, sitting cross legged holding a writhing snake that winds up through is legs like a giant phallus." There were two couches couching sexuality: Greta Garbo had seduced

moviegoers on one in *Camille* (1936), Marilyn Monroe on the other in *Let's Make Love* (1960). There was a painting of Marlon Brando as Napoleon from *Désirée* (1954), and the memorandum described the bathtub from *Can-Can* (1960) as “quite vulgar and marvellous.”⁶⁷ Masey had considered the organ Orson Welles plays in *Casino Royale* (1967) for the pavilion but wondered, “Does the organ transmit messages, send death rays, light up, etc.?” As for the three monsters from *Dr. Faustus* (1967), Masey suggested, “we vote for the monster . . . who looks like the Jolly Green Cadaver.” His November 1966 list of possible exhibit props ended with “a statue, a canon, King Kong’s navel, anything!” In addition to the giant photos of Gable and Grable, and the heroes and the heroines always in “trouble,” visitors to the US Pavilion saw film clips that were mainstream but that also veered toward the culturally or sexually subversive. They included *From Here to Eternity* (1953), *Gilda* (1946), *Psycho* (1960), *Frankenstein* (1931), and *Cat on a Hot Tin Roof* (1958).⁶⁸

The Cold War with France

Jack Masey had a secret. During preparations for Expo 67, he never told anybody where and when he had met Bill Blass. Until the 1990s, the World War II US “Ghost Army” remained classified information. Masey and Blass had been members of the 23rd Headquarters Special Troops charged in 1944 with battlefield tactical deceptions close to front lines.⁶⁹ Recruited from among artists and advertisers, among others, and based in Luxembourg, the Ghost Army had used inflatable aircraft, tanks, and other materials to deceive the enemy at over twenty battle sites. In the closing months of the war, Masey and Blass had sometimes acted in, sketched, and built the pantomimes of wartime deception. Masey asked Blass to design uniforms for pavilion guides and to make them part of his transformative visual project in Montreal.

Masey imagined that Expo 67 would do for American fashion what the 1964 Venice Biennale had done for American art. Moreover, he viewed fashion as both commercially and artistically important but saw the possibility of a link between the sexy and chic in Warhol, Marilyn’s couch, and Bill Blass’s designs. In mid-1965, Masey and John Slocum spoke with Leonard Hankin, Executive Vice President of Bergdorf Goodman. Hankin noted that “the confrontation at Montreal would not be between the United States and the Soviet Union, as hoped for by the Canadians, but between the United States and France.” Hankin pointed to a struggle between French *haute couture* and off-the-rack, ready-to-wear designers in the United States. France had an edge that was fading. American manufacturers had begun to identify and publicize the names of ready-to-wear designers as cachet. This had never been done before. As fewer wealthy women were willing to spend on Dior and Givenchy, Hankin argued, the French were exploring the ready-to-wear field just as the Americans were leaning increasingly toward custom design: “If France makes a bid at Montreal for the ready-to-wear market, the fashion industry will be interested in exhibiting.”⁷⁰

Hankin spoke as though at war. Possible commercial sponsors included “the fabric people”—DuPont, Chemstrand (Monsanto), and Kodel (Eastman Kodak). “The success of our selling the idea of fashion shows at Montreal to the industry,” Hankin urged, “would depend entirely on how much ammunition we could get about the French plans. The more details we have on France, the more we can emphasize the drama of the confrontation and its economic overtones, the more likely would be the support of the fashion industry.”⁷¹



Figure 6.
Bill Blass US Guide
Uniforms, Box 148,
71A2101, Records of the
United States
Information Agency,
Record Group 306,
National Archives and
Records
Administration,
College Park, MD.

Masey chose his army friend Bill Blass to go to war with the French by designing the guide uniforms (see Figure 6). The young women chosen to represent the United States caused an international sensation. In a media presentation that stressed their Twiggy-like bodies, the guides offered a nonfeminist alternative to the McCall pattern image in Moscow. They were a mid-1960s extension of what Fiona Handyside characterizes as the international projection of Marilyn Monroe's whiteness that incorporated "her good/bad girl sexiness, her glamour and her modernity" in contrast to qualities of women's domesticity.⁷² Blass was an American original, anticipating Calvin Klein in designing new American clothing that competed for attention with European designs. The women's guide design featured a slim top, modified tent in a "white twilled knit." Made of Burlington's textured Dacron yarn, "navy piping trims the collar, short sleeves, hemline, and two slit pockets placed at hip tip." There was a second navy version piped with white. They were an immediate popular and fashion-world success, receiving favorable reviews in the Montreal media, on Canadian Broadcasting Corporation television, in *Women's Wear Daily*, and beyond.⁷³

Burlington Industries and Clairol provided corporate sponsorship. The latter gave \$15,000 in funding for the guides (one of the larger amounts from a corporate sponsor in support of the US Pavilion) in addition to beauty products. Clairol's press statement that US guides were likely to be "the most beautiful girls at Expo 67" drew on the company's wildly successful media association of its at-home hair coloring "Nice 'n Easy" with sexuality and happiness, and enhanced the projection of American women as young, independent, and stylish.⁷⁴

Conclusion

The literary scholar Ann Douglas wrote in 1998 that she saw the half-century since 1945 broken chronologically in two by the mid-1960s: "The first generation of post-World War II artists . . . , faced with the psychotic behavior and elaborately systemic deceit of the cold war era, were nerved to fresh acts of resistance and self-expression." In the "post-optimism" period of the mid-1960s onward, she charts the devastating shift in the underdeveloping world from colonialism, "not to independence, but to neocolonialism" and the attendant deaths of Malcolm X, Robert Lumumba, and Robert Kennedy, among many charismatic leaders.⁷⁵ Is Douglas correct in suggesting that there may have been an accompanying decline in the dynamism of artistic expression after the mid-1960s? If so, Expo 67 may well mark a high point of modern American art displayed as Robert Rauschenberg imagined it—as a reflection of the best Cold War America intersections of technology, work, and progress.

Staged the following year in San Antonio, Texas, the "HemisFair" World's Fair lacked the creative dynamism of the US Pavilion in Montreal. The US Commerce Department, not the USIA, oversaw the design of an unremarkable US Pavilion (see

Figure 7). In the promotion of San Antonio as a world-class city, ambiguous notions of hemispheric cooperation, and the products of the fair's private sponsors like Frito-Lay, General Motors, and General Electric, there wasn't a Rauschenberg or a Warhol to be found. The fair failed to capture the imagination of the national media and underperformed at the ticket booth. Two years later, the Osaka World Expo was a different story.⁷⁶



Figure 7. "The US Pavilion at HemisFair '68." Reproduced from The Portal to Texas History, University of North Texas Libraries, <http://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph65885/m1/1/>.

After Expo 67, the USIA quickly placed Jack Masey in charge of design and planning for the US Pavilion at Osaka. That pavilion became a showplace for Expo 67 triumphs, as the USIA saw them, rather than a new, original, modernist design triumph. The most visited attraction at the Osaka Expo was a moon rock in the US Pavilion brought back to earth in 1969 by Apollo 12. Both the French and Japanese pavilions included a lightweight geodesic dome as part of their designs, as did the West German Pavilion, which housed the first spherical musical auditorium in the world. The US Pavilion evoked Fuller in a vast, translucent roof. The structure, featuring an air pressure-supported roof, was striking, though far less sensational

than Bucky's Bubble. Like the Expo 67 pavilion, there were no separate rooms. As in 1967, exhibits flowed into one another and featured space exploration, an array of American folk art, and modern artists (including Claes Oldenburg).⁷⁷ The path set in 1967 for the primacy of modern design was evident in a new form of privately sponsored pavilion at Osaka. Pepsi-Cola hired the firm Experiments in Art and Technology, founded in 1967 by the engineer Billy Klüver and the artists Robert Rauschenberg and Robert Whitman, to turn "the experience of visiting the pavilion into one of sensory overload." Colored lasers and electronic music composed by Lowell Cross produced "visual sounds" (see Figure 8). That sensory overload was what David Crowley called "a classic cocktail of 60s thinking, combining Marshall McLuhan's ideas about the media with enthusiasm for the 'liberating' effects of play." It helped shape what has become a common mix of digital projections and interactive art projects at museum and gallery exhibits around the globe.⁷⁸

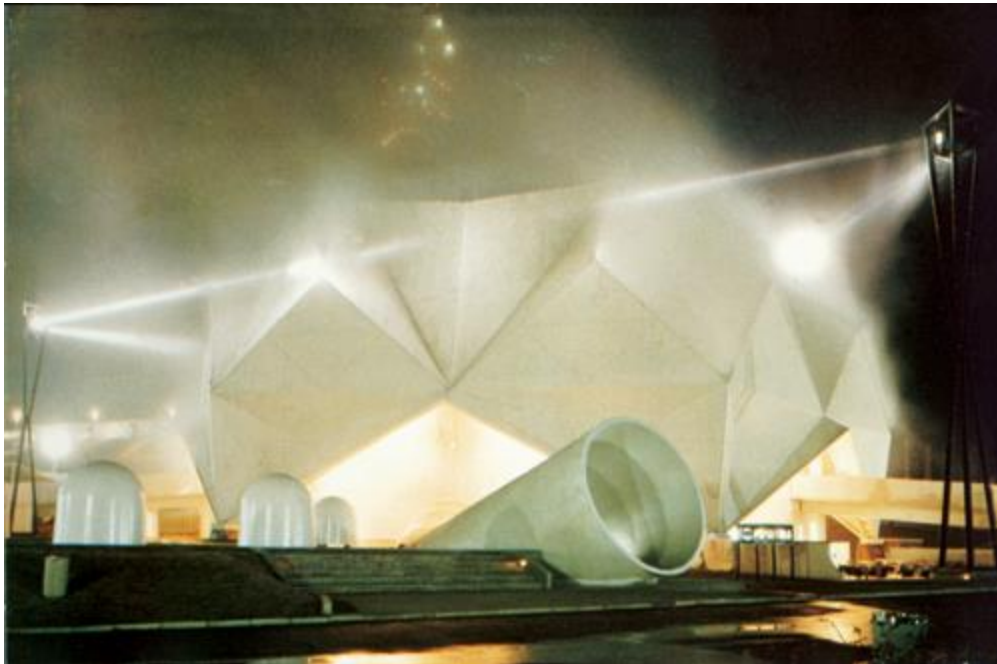


Figure 8. Experiments in Architecture and Technology's Pepsi Pavilion, Expo '70, Osaka, at night. Reproduced from David Crowley, "Design as Weapon of the Cold War," *CR Blog*, *Creative Review*, October 2008, <http://www.creativereview.co.uk/cr-blog/2008/october/design-as-weapon-of-the-cold-war>.

In the aftermath of Expo 67, American responses to the fair were mixed. Positive comment often came from newspapers from large northeastern cities in the United States and from overseas, while criticisms were more likely to appear in the American heartland. For the *Washington Star*, the huge photos of film stars were a

reaffirmation of “the shopworn cliché once cherished by all foreigners—that American culture is composed of movies and chewing gum.”⁷⁹ The *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* called the US Pavilion a “masterpiece of intelligent wit and . . . self-irony.” “Alas, the exhibit inside the dome is . . . scandalous,” reported the *Birmingham Sun-Bulletin*; “It is vulgar, ostentatious and somehow suggests the false but blatant victory of the homosexual.” The *Montreal Star* called the US Pavilion “possibly the most brilliant manifestation of [the fair theme,] man and his world at Expo 67.”⁸⁰ The *Philadelphia Inquirer* summed up Bill Blass’s designs as “minidresses in keeping with the pavilion’s ‘camp’ theme.”⁸¹

There were celebrity endorsements and criticisms. New York Mayor John Lindsay called the US Pavilion “superb,” Michigan Governor George Romney thought it trivial, while Harvard economist John Kenneth Galbraith found the “great glass dome” a triumph. The sculptor Clark B. Fitz-Gerald described the US guides as “pretty young things” who “stumbled over” their French, part of a “vapid” presentation of US culture. Hundreds of Americans wrote their government with a wide range of denigration, praise, and questions. Barbara Sherwood of New York City wondered which “Monkey played the guitar on display attributed to The Monkeys—Mickey, Peter, Mike, or Davy?” (It was Michael Nesmith.)⁸² In the end, the *Charleston Gazette* likely got it as right as anybody as far as American visitors were concerned when it noted that at issue was “not the inspired steel-and-plastic transparent bubble that towers above every other pavilion . . . but rather the weird and weak ‘American Spirit’ inside. If you’re hip, or think that Hollywood and pop art graphics . . . properly represent the major creative forces in U.S. life today, you will be very satisfied. Otherwise, your angry reaction will probably be: ‘What the hell does all this mean?’”⁸³ Then again, US Army Major W. J. Sullivan wrote the USIA simply, “I have visited the U.S. pavilion at Expo. I like it.”⁸⁴

Notes

¹ See “R. Buckminster Fuller: From High Brow Theory, Low Cost Structures,” *Business Week*, May 10, 1958; R. Buckminster Fuller, “How Little I Know,” *Saturday Review*, November 12, 1966; “Profiles: In the Outlaw Area,” *New Yorker*, January 8, 1966; and “Bucky’s Biggest Bubble,” *Architectural Digest*, June 1966.

² The Cambridge Seven were Louis J. Bakanowsky, Ivan Chermayeff, Peter Chermayeff, Alden B. Christie, Paul E. Dietrich, Thomas Geismar, and Terry Rankine. Ivan Chermayeff and Geismar also had their own consulting firm.

³ CVII, “Phase IV, Contract 1A-10987, Exhibit Outline, United States Pavilion, Montreal World Exhibition (Revision #1),” 28 February 1966, Box 9; Phyllis Montgomery, Exhibit Coordinator, Cambridge Seven Associates, to Jack Masey, 28 February 1966, Box 9; and

Chermayeff & Galemar Associates, "Expo '67 Platform D," March 1966, E-4, Box 7, 72A4904, Records of the USIA, RG 306, NARA. See also Dunn, "Postmodernism," 118.

⁴ See Greg Barnhisel, "Perspectives USA and the Cultural Cold War: Modernism in Service of the State," *Modernism/Modernity* 14, no. 4 (2007): 729–54; and Jonathan Massey, "Buckminster Fuller's Cybernetic Pastoral: The United States Pavilion at Expo 67," *Journal of Architecture* 11, no. 4 (2006): 472–75.

⁵ Jack Masey to George Stevens, Jr., 25 March 1965, Box 5, 72A4904, Records of the United States Information Agency (USIA), Record Group (RG) 306, National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), College Park, MD.

⁶ Jack Masey, memorandum, 15 March 1965, Box 5, 72A4904, Records of the USIA, RG 306, NARA.

⁷ See Marilyn S. Kushner, "Exhibiting Art at the American National Exhibition in Moscow, 1959: Domestic Politics and Cultural Diplomacy," *Journal of Cold War Studies* 4, no. 1 (2002): 6–26; Jane de Hart Mathews, "Art and Politics in Cold War America," *American Historical Review* 81, no. 4 (1976): 762–87; "The Nation, On U.S. Show," *New York Times*, July 5, 1959. In late 1964, John Slocum, the USIA Coordinator of Planning for Expo 67, and a Masey supporter, expressed concerns over Masey's choice of the Cambridge Seven to design the pavilion interior. They proposed, wrote Slocum, to show art "harshly critical of our society." "I am in sympathy with this but unfortunately on the basis of observation it doesn't always work. Visitors show a tendency to seize on the 'harshly critical elements' as symptomatic of the society as a whole and Congress justifiably blows its stack. We had this trouble at Brussels [1958] and it was repeated at Moscow in 1959." John Slocum to Jack Masey, "The Cambridge Seven—Second and Third Thoughts," 6 November 1964, Box 159, 71A2101, Records of the USIA, RG 306, NARA.

⁸ See "Statement of Donald M. Wilson," Deputy Director, USIA, n. d. [January 1965]; and Sanford S. Marlowe, Deputy US Commissioner General (Acting), Expo 67, to John J. Slocum, Coordinator for Planning for the US Exhibit at the Montreal World's Fair, USIA, "Congressional Reaction to U.S. Abstract Expressionism," 11 January 1965, A1, Box 1, 72A4904, Records of the USIA, RG 306, NARA.

⁹ Penny M. Von Eschen, "'Satchmo Blows Up the World': Jazz, Race, and Empire during the Cold War," in *"Here, There and Everywhere": The Foreign Politics of American Popular Culture*, ed. Reinhold Wagnleitner and Elaine Tyler May (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 2000), 164.

¹⁰ No. 48, Office of the American National Exhibition in Moscow, "Fine Arts Selected for Moscow Exhibit," 31 May 1959; USIA, "Facts about the American National Exhibition in Moscow, July 25–Sept. 4, 1959," n.d.; and No. 60, Office of the American National Exhibition in Moscow, "26 Older Paintings Chosen for Exhibition in Moscow," 22 July 1959, Box 2, 72A4904, Records of the USIA, RG 306, NARA.

¹¹ In June 1965, when R. Buckminster Fuller was chosen to design a spectacular geodesic dome in which to house the US Pavilion, a delighted Masey riffed on Kubrick's *Dr. Strangelove* subtitle when he sent to the US Interior Department Commissioner of Fine Arts, William Walton, "some photos of Bucky's dome or how I learned to stop worrying and love the bubble." Jack Masey to William Walton, 17 June 1965, 72A4904, Box 1, A2, Records of the USIA, RG 306, NARA. See also Grant B. Stillman, "Two of the MADdest Scientists: Where *Strangelove* Meets *Dr. No*; or, Unexpected Roots for Kubrick's Cold War Classic," *Film History* 20, no. 4 (2008): 487–500; Philip Kuberski, "Kubrick's Caretakers: Allegories of Homeland Security," *Arizona Quarterly* 63, no. 1 (2007): 142–44; Thomas Allen Nelson, *Kubrick: Inside a Film Artist's Maze* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000), 67; and Charles Maland, "Dr. *Strangelove* (1964): Nightmare Comedy and the Ideology of Liberal Consensus," in *Hollywood as Historian: American Film in a Cultural Context*, ed. Peter C. Rollins (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1983), 190–92.

¹² Masey had designed US exhibits in many countries, including the model kitchen in which the Richard Nixon–Nikita Khrushchev "kitchen debate" took place in 1959. "Jack Masey," *The Ghost Army*, July 18, 2006, [http://www.ghostarmy.org/index.php?category=Ghost_Army_Artists&display=57&page=](http://www.ghostarmy.org/index.php?category=Ghost_Army_Artists&display=57&page=bio)bio.

¹³ See William Clark, Deputy US Commissioner General, Expo 67, to Robert K. Newman, Manager, Information Services, American Chemical Society, 18 June 1965; Robert K. Newman to William Clark, 12 July 1965; and Ezell to Witt, 9 June 1965, Box 2, 72A4904, Records of the USIA, RG 306, NARA.

¹⁴ No. 56, "Home-Sewn U.S. Fashions for Moscow Exhibition," 29 June 1959, Box 2, 72A4904, Records of the USIA, RG 306, NARA.

¹⁵ Peter Blake, "Raising the Roof at Osaka," *New York Magazine*, April 13, 1970.

¹⁶ "Report for the Secretary of Commerce by the Citizen's Advisory Committee for the Federal Participation in the 1964–65 New York World's Fair," 31 January 1962; and New York World's Fair 1964–1965 Corporation, Press Release, 25 January 1963, Box 2, 72A4904, Records of the USIA, RG 306, NARA.

¹⁷ See Jack Masey and Conway Lloyd Morgan, *Cold War Confrontations: US Exhibitions and Their Role in the Cultural Cold War* (Zurich: Lars Müller, 2008).

¹⁸ Sharon Cowan, "The Elvis We Deserve: The Social Regulation of Sex/Gender and Sexuality through Cultural Representations of 'The King,'" *Law, Culture and the Humanities* 6, no. 2 (2010): 224. See also Penny M. Von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows Up the World: Jazz Ambassadors Play the Cold War* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), 5, 11.

¹⁹ Judy Flynn, Baez's secretary, declined the USIA's request because Joan had only one guitar. See Jack Masey, "Form Letter List," n.d. [1966]; Judy Flynn to Jack Masey, n.d. [1966]; Sherwin Bash, NRB Associates, Beverly Hills to Ezell, 4 August 1966; Ezell to Sherwin Bash, 28 July 1966; and Jack Masey to Alpert, A. M. Records, Hollywood, 1 July 1966, E-1, Box 6, 72A4904, Records of the USIA, RG 306, NARA.

²⁰ See Robert W. Rydell, John E. Findling, and Kimberly D. Pelle, *Fair America: World's Fairs in the United States* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2000), 100–30.

²¹ CVII, "Phase IV, Contract 1A-10987, Exhibit Outline, United States Pavilion, Montreal World Exhibition (Revision #1)," 28 February 1966, Box 9; Phyllis Montgomery, Exhibit Coordinator, Cambridge Seven Associates, to Jack Masey, 28 February 1966, Box 9; and Chermayeff & Galemar Associates, "Expo '67 Platform D," March 1966, E-4, Box 7, 72A4904, Records of the USIA, RG 306, NARA. See also Robert Dunn, "Postmodernism: Populism, Mass Culture, and Avant-Garde," *Theory, Culture & Society* 8, no. 1 (1991): 118.

²² Robert W. Rydell, "Rediscovering the 1893 Chicago World's Columbian Exposition," in *Revisiting the White City: American Art at the 1893 World's Fair*, ed. Robert W. Rydell, Carolyn Kinder Carr, Brandon Brame Fortune, and Michelle Mead (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1993), 25.

²³ US Department of State, Office of the US Commissioner General to the Brussels World's Fair, Press Release, "U.S. Pavilion Fashion Show Emphasizes Women's Attire in Low-Price Category," 31 May 1958, 72A4904, Records of the USIA, RG 306, NARA. On race and US Cold War foreign policy at the Brussels World's Fair, see Michael L. Krenn, "'Unfinished Business': Segregation and U.S. Diplomacy at the 1958 World's Fair," *Diplomatic History* 20, no. 4 (1996): 591–612.

²⁴ Julie Nicoletta, "Art Out of Place: International Art Exhibits at the New York World's Fair of 1964–1965," *Journal of Social History* 44, no. 2 (2010): 499.

²⁵ See Andrew J. Falk, *Upstaging the Cold War: American Dissent and Cultural Diplomacy, 1940–1960* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2010), 3; and Robert H. Haddow, *Pavilions of Plenty: Exhibiting American Culture Abroad in the 1950s* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997), 31.

²⁶ John Slocum, "Visit to the Federal Pavilion at the New York World's Fair on August 28, 1964, and Extended Interview with Sam Kingsley, Assistant Commissioner General and General Manager [of the Pavilion]," 4 September 1964, Box 159, 71A2101, Records of the USIA, RG 306, NARA.

²⁷ See Timothy W. Luke, "Ephemerization as Environmentalism: Rereading R. Buckminster Fuller's *Operating Manual for Spaceship Earth*," *Organization & Environment* 23, no. 3 (2010): 354–62; Felicity D. Scott, *Architecture or Techno-utopia: Politics after Modernism* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2007), 89–116; R. S. Deese, "The Artifact of

Nature: 'Spaceship Earth' and the Dawn of Global Environmentalism," *Endeavour* 33, no. 2 (2009): 71–73; and Massey, "Buckminster Fuller's Cybernetic Pastoral."

²⁸ "Design: The Dymaxion American," *Time*, January 10, 1964; and Fuller, "How Little I Know."

²⁹ "Interview with Architects: R. Buckminster Fuller," 7 October 1964, Box 159, 71A2101, Records of the USIA, RG 306, NARA.

³⁰ See Nicholas J. Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency: American Propaganda and Public Diplomacy, 1945–1989* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008); and Laura A. Belmonte, *Selling the American Way: U.S. Propaganda and the Cold War* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008).

³¹ Jack Masey to Stanley R. Tupper, US Commissioner General, Expo 67, "A Few Comparisons between the Federal Pavilion at the New York World's Fair, 1964/65 and the United States Pavilion at EXPO '67, Montreal," 18 April 1966, A5, Box 1, 72A4904, Records of the USIA, RG 306, NARA.

³² Perhaps not on the minds of Masey and his USIA colleagues, in 1966 Robert Rauschenberg presented his multimedia *Open Score* in Manhattan for an audience of fifteen hundred that included Senator Jacob Javits: "On a huge tennis court . . . painter Frank Stella and tennis pro Mimi Kanarek, each dressed in proper whites, batted a tennis ball back and forth. Each time the ball hit a racket, a sound somewhere between a 'bong' and a 'thwack' echoed through the hall." More than a dozen engineers from Bell Laboratories ran the sound system in Rauschenberg's tribute to and observation on the intersections of modernity, art, technologies, and a new American economy. Fred Turner, "Romantic Automatism: Art, Technology, and Collaborative Labor in Cold War America," *Journal of Visual Culture* 7, no. 1 (2008): 16. See also Anne Collins Goodyear, "From Technophilia to Technophobia: The Impact of the Vietnam War on the Reception of 'Art and Technology,'" *Leonardo* 41, no. 2 (2008): 169–70; and Von Eschen, "'Satchmo Blows Up the World,'" 164–65.

³³ See, for example, Walter D. Mignolo and Madina V. Tlostanova, "Theorizing from the Borders: Shifting to Geo- and Body-Politics of Knowledge," *European Journal of Social Theory* 9, no. 2 (2006): 205–21.

³⁴ See Nicholas B. Breyfogle, *Heretics and Colonizers: Forging Russia's Empire in the South Caucasus* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005), 122–24; and Tillman W. Nechtman, "Nabobinas: Luxury, Gender, and the Sexual Politics of British Imperialism in India in the Late Eighteenth Century," *Journal of Women's History* 18, no. 4 (2006): 8–30.

³⁵ John Slocum to William Clark, "Controversial Questions That You May Expect during the Course of the Press Conference," 9 June 1965, Box 155, 71A2101, Records of the USIA, RG 306, NARA.

³⁶ Robert B. Frederick, *Variety*, to Fred W. Noble, Executive Assistant to the US Commissioner General, Expo 67, 12 September 1966, Box 1, 72A4904, Records of the USIA, RG 306, NARA.

³⁷ See André Jansson, “Encapsulations: The Production of a Future Gaze at Montreal’s Expo 67,” *Space and Culture* 10, no. 4 (2007): 418–36; and Yves Jasmin, *La petite histoire d’Expo 67: L’Exposition universelle et internationale de Montréal comme vous ne l’avez jamais vue* (Montreal: Éditions Québec/Amérique, 1997).

³⁸ Bryan D. Palmer, *Canada’s 1960s: The Ironies of Identity in a Rebellious Era* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 427. See also L. B. Kuffert, *A Great Duty: Canadian Responses to Modern Life and Mass Culture, 1939–1967* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2003), 217–34.

³⁹ Palmer, *Canada’s 1960s*, 426, 427. By contrast, but in a way that did not necessarily contradict the national unifying vision of federal government planners, the historian Erin Hurley argues that the Québécois vision of Expo 67 (expressed primarily through the Quebec provincial pavilion) was one that expanded the Québécois identity from cultural to national. Erin Hurley, *National Performance: Representing Quebec from Expo 67 to Céline Dion* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011), 32. See also Denis Monière, “Expo 67, 40 ans plus tard,” in “L’Expo 67, 40 ans plus tard,” special edition, *Bulletin d’histoire politique* 17, no. 1 (2008): 13–14.

⁴⁰ Gary Miedema, *For Canada’s Sake: Public Religion, Centennial Celebrations, and the Re-making of Canada in the 1960s* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2005), 121.

⁴¹ See Gretta Chambers, “The Sixties in Print: Remembering Quebec’s Quiet Revolution,” in *The Sixties: Passion, Politics, and Style*, ed. Dimitry Anastakis (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2008), 18–24; Lara Campbell and Dominique Clément, “Introduction: Time, Age, Myth: Towards a History of the Sixties,” in *Debating Dissent: Canada and the 1960s*, ed. Lara Campbell, Dominique Clément, and Greg Kealey (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), 18–20; John Lownsbrough, *The Best Place to Be: Expo 67 and Its Time* (Toronto: Penguin Canada, 2012); Peter C. Newman, “It Could Change the Whole Direction of Canada’s History,” *Toronto Star*, April 28, 1967; and Jansson, “Encapsulations.”

⁴² See Saskia Sassen, “Global Cities and Survival Circuits,” in *Global Woman: Nannies, Maids, and Sex Workers in the New Economy*, ed. Barbara Ehrenreich and Arlie Russell Hochschild (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2002), 254; Vernadette V. Gonzalez, “Military Bases, ‘Royalty Trips,’ and Imperial Modernities: Gendered and Racialized Labor in the Postcolonial Philippines,” *Frontiers* 28, no. 3 (2007): 30–32; and George Nelson, George Nelson & Company, to John Slocum, 8 September 1964, A1, Box 1, 72A4904, Records of the USIA, RG 306, NARA.

⁴³ During the fair, an average of forty-five thousand visitors a day went through the US Pavilion, some nine million in all. Graham Quinn, Researcher, USIA, to Milton Fredman, Deputy US Commissioner, Expo 67, "Technical Operation of the United States Pavilion," 18 October 1967, Box 151, 71A2101, Records of the USIA, RG 306, NARA.

⁴⁴ See Rosemarie K. Bank, "Representing History: Performing the Columbian Exposition," *Theatre Journal* 54, no. 4 (2002): 591–92; Christina Cogdell, "The Futurama Recontextualized: Norman Bel Geddes's Eugenic 'World of Tomorrow,'" *American Quarterly* 52, no. 2 (2000): 193–245; and Paul Mason Fotsch, "The Building of a Superhighway Future at the New York World's Fair," *Cultural Critique* 48, no. 1 (2001): 65–97.

⁴⁵ USIA, M-142-66, "Soviet Propaganda about the U.S. Space Program 1965–1966," 23 March 1966, E-3, Box 7, 72A4904, Records of the USIA, RG 306, NARA. See also Joy Sleeman, "Land Art and the Moon Landing," *Journal of Visual Culture* 8, no. 3 (2009): 299–328.

⁴⁶ Jack Masey, "United States Government Participation, Montreal World's Fair, 1967," 27 November 1964, A1, Box 1; and Jack Masey to John Peter, Modern Living Editor, *Look Magazine*, 12 May 1966, A5, Box 1, 72A4904, Records of the USIA, RG 306, NARA. See also Nicoletta, "Art Out of Place," 506–9; and Bill Cotter and Bill Young, *The 1964–1965 New York World's Fair: Creation and Legacy* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia, 2008), 92. In 1967, the Spanish Pavilion was rebuilt in St. Louis as a convention center, became a Marriott hotel, and is now the lobby of a Hilton hotel.

⁴⁷ USIA, "Facts about the American National Exhibition in Moscow, July 25–Sept. 4, 1959," n.d.; and No. 58, Office of the American National Exhibition in Moscow, "New Circarama Dome Completed at Moscow's Sokolniki Park," 10 July 1959, Box 2, 72A4904, Records of the USIA, RG 306, NARA.

⁴⁸ Jack Masey, "United States Government Participation, Montreal World's Fair, 1967," 27 November 1964, A1, Box 1, 72A4904, Records of the USIA, RG 306, NARA.

⁴⁹ Ezell to Jack Masey and Nicholas Ruggieri, "Press Conference: American Spirit/Folk Art," 9 January 1967; and "A Sampling from the Hat Exhibit," n.d., Box 151, 71A2101, Records of the USIA, RG 306, NARA.

⁵⁰ Jack Masey, Press Conference, 11 April 1967, A7, Box 1, 72A4904, Records of the USIA, RG 306, NARA.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*; and Jack Masey, "Special Preview: April 23," 13 March 1967, A7, Box 1, 72A4904, Records of the USIA, RG 306, NARA. On the avant-garde in film at Expo 67, see Janine Marchessault, "Multi-Screens and Future Cinema: The Labyrinth Project at Expo 67," in *Fluid Screens, Expanded Cinema*, ed. Janine Marchessault and Susan Lord (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 29–51.

⁵² Alan Solomon, "Report on the American Participation in the XXXII Venice Biennale 1964," n.d. [1964], A1, Box 1, 72A4904; and William L. Clark, Deputy US Commissioner General, to Jack Masey, 18 March 1966, Box 146, 71A2101, Records of the USIA, RG 306, NARA. See also Pamela Kachurin, "The ROCI Road to Peace: Robert Rauschenberg, Perestroika, and the End of the Cold War," *Journal of Cold War Studies* 4, no. 1 (2002): 29–33; Mary Caroline Simpson, "American Artists Paint the City: Katherine Kuh, the 1956 Venice Biennale, and New York's Place in the Cold War Art World," *American Studies* 48, no. 4 (2007): 31–57; and Gavin Butt, *Between You and Me: Queer Disclosures in the New York Art World, 1948–1963* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005), 126–27.

⁵³ Milton Fredman to Alan Solomon, 9 December 1966, Box 146, 71A2101, Records of the USIA, RG 306, NARA.

⁵⁴ A. Johnston, "Kooky Art?" *Chicago Tribute*, February 7, 1967.

⁵⁵ Harry Marsh and Blanche Marsh to Delbert L. Latta, 8 February 1967, Box 146, 71A2101, Records of the USIA, RG 306, NARA.

⁵⁶ Delbert L. Latta to Stanley R. Tupper, 15 February 1967; and Stanley R. Tupper to Delbert L. Latta, 20 February 1967, Box 146, 71A2101, RG 306, NARA.

⁵⁷ See Jack Masey to Milton Fredman, 15 March 1967; and Milton Fredman to Alan Solomon, 9 December 1966, Box 146, 71A2101, Records of the USIA, RG 306, NARA.

⁵⁸ Alan Solomon to Milton Fredman, 23 June 1967, Box 146, 71A2101, Records of the USIA, RG 306, NARA.

⁵⁹ Sasha Torres, "The Caped Crusader of Camp: Pop, Camp, and the *Batman* Television Series," in *Pop Out: Queer Warhol*, ed. Jennifer Doyle, Jonathan Flatley, and José Esteban Muñoz (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1996), 246.

⁶⁰ Francis Frascina, "Revision, Revisionism and Rehabilitation, 1959/1999: *The American Century, ModernStarts* and Cultural Memory," *Journal of Contemporary History* 39, no. 1 (2004): 97.

⁶¹ Thomas Waugh, "Cockteaser," in Doyle, Flatley, and Muñoz, *Pop Out*, 59.

⁶² See Jack Masey, "Some Underground Film Makers (referred to in the April, 1965 issue of *Harper's Bazaar*)," 30 March 1965, Box 5; Jack Masey, "Film for United States Pavilion at EXPO '67," 21 April 1966, D-11, Box 5, 72A4904, Records of the USIA, RG 306, NARA; and Jean-François Côté, "Andy Warhol at Expo 67: Pop In and Pop Out," in *Expo 67: Not Just a Souvenir*, ed. Rhona Richman Kenneally and Johanne Sloan (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), 170–71.

⁶³ See Warhol's satiric 1971 film *Women in Revolt*.

⁶⁴ Katie Louchheim, "Standard Stump Speech (September 20, 1954)," in *From Megaphones to Microphones: Speeches of American Women, 1920–1960* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2003), 291. See also Katie Louchheim, oral history interview by Jerry N. Hess, September 27, 1972, transcript, Harry S. Truman Library and Museum, Independence, MO, <http://www.trumanlibrary.org/oralhist/louchheimk.htm>.

⁶⁵ See Katie Louchheim to Luther Hodges, 16 December 1964; John Slocum to Jack Masey, "Meeting with Katie Louchheim Concerning Her Proposed Exhibit on the Historic Contributions of Women," 5 May 1965; Jack Masey to John Slocum, "Attached Memo from Katie Louchheim," 10 May 1965; and John Slocum, "Memorandum," 17 May 1965, Box 146, 71A2101, Records of the USIA, RG 306, NARA.

⁶⁶ See Homay King, "Girl Interrupted: The Queer Time of Warhol's Cinema," *Discourse* 28, no. 1 (2006): 104; and Judith Halberstam, *In a Queer Time and Place: Transgender Bodies, Subcultural Lives* (New York: New York University Press, 2005), 6–8.

⁶⁷ USIA, "The American Cinema: Prop List," n.d., Box 146, 71A2101, Records of the USIA, RG 306, NARA. See also Esther Newton, *Mother Camp: Female Impersonators in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979), 108; Helene A. Shugart and Catherine Egly Waggoner, *Making Camp: Rhetorics of Transgression in U.S. Popular Culture* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2008), 136; and Rachel Moseley, *Growing Up with Audrey Hepburn* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2002), 76.

⁶⁸ Jack Masey to James Silke, 14 November 1966; and Jack Masey to Milton Fredman, "Film Clips to Be Shown in the American Cinema Exhibit," 15 March 1967, Box 146, 71A2101, Records of the USIA, RG 306, NARA. See also Mun-Hou Lo, "Alfred Hitchcock and the Phobic Maternal Body," in *Motherhood Misconceived: Representing the Maternal in U.S. Films*, ed. Heather Addison, Mary Kate Goodwin-Kelly, and Elaine Roth (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2009), 139–47; and Mary Beth Haralovich, "Marlene Dietrich in *Blonde Venus*: Advertising Dietrich in Seven Markets," in *Dietrich Icon*, ed. Gerd Gemünden and Mary R. Desjardins (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007), 162–85.

⁶⁹ Art Kane, director of the film *A Time to Play*, also featured at the US Pavilion in Montreal, had also been a Ghost Army member.

⁷⁰ John Slocum, "The Possibilities of Using a Fashion Show as Part of the Special Events Program for the U.S. Pavilion at Montreal," 12 July 1965, A5, Box 1, 72A4904, Records of the USIA, RG 306, NARA.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² Fiona Handyside, "Let's Make Love: Whiteness, Cleanliness and Sexuality in the French Reception of Marilyn Monroe," *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 13, no. 3 (2010): 303–4. See also Lois W. Banner, "The Creature from the Black Lagoon: Marilyn Monroe and Whiteness," *Cinema Journal* 47, no. 4 (2008): 4–29; and Eva-Marie Kröller, "Une terre

humaine': Expo 67, Canadian Women, and *Chatelaine/Châtelaine*," in Kenneally and Sloan, *Expo 67*, 61–78.

⁷³ Jack Masey to Ted V. Shumeyko, Assistant Director, Public Relations, Burlington Industries, 20 March 1967, Box 148, 71A2101, Records of the USIA, RG 306, NARA.

⁷⁴ Richard Weiner, Ruder & Finn Inc., Press Release for Clairol, "Clairol to Provide Beauty Consultation to U.S. Pavilion Guides at Expo 67," 7 April 1967; Richard Weiner to Nicholas Ruggieri, 9 March 1967; and Nicholas Ruggieri to Richard Weiner, 14 March 1967, Box 155, Entry 71A2101, Records of the USIA, RG 306, NARA. See also Juliann Sivulka, *Ad Women: How They Impact What We Need, Want, and Buy* (Amherst, NY: Prometheus, 2009), 235–72; and Lawrence R. Samuel, *The End of the Innocence: The 1964–1965 New York World's Fair* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2007), 116–17.

⁷⁵ Ann Douglas, "Periodizing the American Century: Modernism, Postmodernism, and Postcolonialism in the Cold War Context," *Modernism/Modernity* 5, no. 3 (1998): 84.

⁷⁶ See "A Blunt and Honest Look at Us," *Life*, June 28, 1968; and Robert Alexander González, *Designing Pan-America: U.S. Architectural Visions for the Western Hemisphere* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011), 187–97.

⁷⁷ See Takehiko Oda, "Expo '70: Fairest of the Fairs," *The Rotarian*, January 1970; David Anderson and Hiroyuki Shimizu, "Recollections of Expo 70: Visitors' Experiences and the Retention of Vivid Long-Term Memories," *Curator* 50, no. 4 (2007): 450–51; and Midori Yoshimoto, "Expo '70 and Japanese Art: Dissonant Voices; An Introduction and Commentary," *Review of Japanese Culture and Society* 23 (2011): 1–12.

⁷⁸ David Crowley, "Design as Weapon of the Cold War," *CR Blog, Creative Review*, October 2008, <http://www.creativereview.co.uk/cr-blog/2008/october/design-as-weapon-of-the-cold-war>. See also Felicity D. Scott, "How Can I Be Successful in Japan?" *Billboard*, December 19, 1970; Jane Pavitt, "Design and the Democratic Ideal," in *Cold War Modern: Design 1945–1970*, ed. David Crowley and Jane Pavitt (London: V&A, 2008), 73–93; David Crowley and Jane Pavitt, introduction to Crowley and Pavitt, *Cold War Modern*, 10–25; and Randall Packer, "The Pepsi Pavilion: Laboratory for Social Experimentation," in *Future Cinema: The Cinematic Imaginary after Film*, ed. Jeffrey Shaw and Peter Weibel (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2003), 145.

⁷⁹ Polaroid Corporation, Press Release, "Comments by Press on 'A Time to Play,'" n.d. [1967], Box 1, 72A4904, Records of the USIA, RG 306, NARA.

⁸⁰ "The United States Pavilion at Expo '67 Reactions: Pro and Con," n.d. [1967], A7, Box 1, 72A4904, Records of the USIA, RG 306, NARA.

⁸¹ "Fashion at Expo? Yes, But . . .," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, May 31, 1967; and Aurora Wallace, "Girl Watching at Expo 67," in Kenneally and Sloan, *Expo 67*, 118.

⁸² Barbara Sherwood to American Pavilion c/o Expo 67, Montreal, Canada; and Ezell to Barbara Sherwood, 12 July 1967, D-5, Box 4, 72A4904, Records of the USIA, RG 306, NARA.

⁸³ “Statement of Dr. Eugene S. Callender, Executive Director, New York Urban League,” 27 March 1967, Box 156, 71A2101, Records of the USIA, RG 306, NARA.

⁸⁴ W. J. Sullivan to USIA, 9 July 1967, Box 156, 71A2101, Records of the USIA, RG 306, NARA.

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