Nam June Paik: The Photograph as Active Circuit

By Alison Weaver

After working secretly in his studio for several weeks, Nam June Paik (1932–2006) opened his first solo exhibition, titled *Exposition of Music–Electronic Television*, at the Galerie Parnass in Wuppertal, Germany, on March 11, 1963. The exhibition covered sixteen rooms throughout the house of art dealer Rolf Jährling, owner of Galerie Parnass. Exploring the dual themes of music and television, the exhibition featured Fluxus-inspired objects such as prepared pianos, sound objects, and tiered record players, as well as room-sized installations inviting visitor interaction. In a work titled *Random Access*, for example, a visitor "plays" unspooled audiotape through a handheld sound device. An installation photo taken by Jährling of the television room is perhaps the most well known. It features three black-and-white television sets scattered at various angles around the floor of a large room. The sets are individually manipulated so their screens display distorted, abstract images. Paik is seen leaving the dimly lit room, walking toward a glowing hallway, hands casually in his pockets. Visitors such as the woman standing in the doorway at the left are then able to interact with the televisions at will. The artist, off-center with his back turned, is secondary to the main focus of the image, the televisions themselves. The emphasis is on visitor participation and the fleeting nature of chance operations. The photo itself, a blurry snapshot taken by the dealer to record the proceedings, represents the residue of a one-time event. Forever looking backward, it turns the viewer's attention to a past moment, an evening that has already transpired. The exhibition itself focuses on participation and indeterminacy, but the still photograph retains no such sense of open play. The artist's work is complete; he moves on to the next project, unaware that a photo is being taken and seemingly unconcerned about the future impact of this particular image.

The following year in New York City, at the first Cinematheque festival, Paik stood in front of an audience of avant-garde artists, musicians, and filmmakers to present *Zen for Film* (1964). In this hour-long performance, a blank film was projected onto a screen. Dust particles accumulated on the transparent tape as it fed through the moving projector and were enlarged onto a blank white wall. The work was a direct reference to *4'33"*, created twelve years earlier by the composer John Cage, who, at Paik's invitation, sat in the audience that evening. Rather than allowing audience members to directly contemplate the blank wall, as would be the case in Zen Buddhist practice, in this photograph, *Nam June Paik, Zen for Film* (1964), Paik stands between the projector and the screen. His body is like a transformer, providing a conduit between the audience and the image. The twin figures of body and shadow, rather than the blank screen itself, provide the focal point of the work. Rather than the trace of a past action documented by an art dealer, this photo, by professional photographer Peter Moore, is taken from the perspective of a seated audience member. By extension, the viewer of the still photograph is implicated in an ongoing sequence, a circuit of communication that links the audience, artist, and performance space back to the audience. The role of chance has been eliminated and time, rather than being indeterminate, is now restricted to a continuous, but controlled, feedback loop. In contrast to the Galerie Parnass photograph that foregrounds the televisions and their glowing screens as the creative output of a past action, the New York photograph focuses on the ongoing conversation between artist, space, and audience. It implicates the viewer, past and present, in an active chain of communication.

These two images highlight an important shift in Paik's work that transpired concurrently with his move to New York in 1964. The earlier photograph, complementing Paik's Fluxus-based activities in Europe, presents an artist whose invisible hands set chance operations in motion. These chance operations, casually captured through the camera lens of the dealer, are isolated events; they do not require the participation of the viewer for completion. In fact, without physical access to the manipulated televisions or bands of unspooled audiotape, the viewer of the photograph is aware of but cannot participate in the *Exposition of Music–Electronic Television*. The later photograph, however, demonstrates Paik's awareness of the image in relationship to its current and future audience. He stands deliberately in front of the projector, channeling the sightlines of the audience, to contemplate a shadowed duplicate of his own body. This creates a visual relay through both the event and the photograph, in which the viewer becomes, like the artist, both creator and participant. It is the viewer's participation that completes the work.

In the following pages I will argue that Paik's understanding of and attitude toward photographs changed in 1964 from a Fluxus-inspired indifference to the medium as the documentary residue of live performance, to a positivist stance influenced by communications theorist Marshall McLuhan and artist Joseph Beuys that allows photographs to become active circuits for social change. Paik sees the photograph neither through Roland Barthes as a trace of the past, nor as a proactive extension of performance as argued more recently by David Green and Joanna Lowry, but as a continuous feedback loop, a two-way system of communication with the utopian potential to transform society.[1]

The year 1964 was formative for Paik. Having spent his first thirty-two years in Seoul, Hong Kong, Tokyo, and Düsseldorf, he moved to New York City and met the cellist Charlotte Moorman, with whom he established a long-term creative partnership beginning with that year's performance at the Second Annual Avant-Garde Festival of New York at Judson Hall. Three key events took place that year: Fluxus founder George Maciunas

The Exposition of Music—Electronic Television, Galerie Parnass, Wuppertal (Nam June Paik leaving the television room) (1963) by Rolf Jährling; courtesy the Museum of Modern Art, New York; The Gilbert and Lila Silverman Fluxus Collection Gift, 2008; Zentralarchiv des internationalen Kunsthandels e.V. (ZADIK), Cologne

began to aggressively promote the activities of individual artists through images and publications such as the newspaper *FLuxus cc fiVe ThReE*; McLuhan published his influential *Understanding Media: the Extensions of Man*; and Paik's friend and fellow artist Beuys was thrust into the German media spotlight when a violent audience member punched him in the nose during a live performance. These three factors helped transform the role of photographs in Paik's practice from that of a Fluxus-influenced objective recording of events, to one combining a McLuhan-inspired vehicle for the expression of ideas with a Beuysian social awareness.

Paik's association with Fluxus began in 1961 when he met its chief organizer, Maciunas, in Europe, and continued until Maciunas's death in 1978. In early performances such as *Festum Fluxorum, Fluxus, Musik und Antimusik das Instrumentale Theater* in Düsseldorf in 1963, Paik participated in collective events designed to question and challenge established artistic conventions. Photographs from this time express the collaborative nature of group actions, as well as the fluid dynamic of the performance space, placing the emphasis on notions of temporality and impermanence. Far from being consciously staged for a future audience, as were the photographs documenting Valie Export's *Action Pants: Genital Panic* (1969) and Vito Acconci's *Trademarks* (1970), for example, the Fluxus photographs document a specific moment in time with an emphasis on the principle of indeterminism.

In the early years of the movement, Fluxus artists were generally indifferent toward photography in favor of the spontaneity of live performance. Fluxus did not hire professional photographers to record events, and early posters, fliers, and invitations were largely text based. This attitude, however, shifted in 1964. As Fluxus scholar Owen Smith notes, during the autumn of 1963 and the winter of 1964, "the emphasis of Fluxus shifted to the development and production of works by individual artists, the development of a Fluxus newspaper, *ccV TRE*, and the attempt to develop a Fluxus distribution network, or what came to be called the Fluxus Mailorder Warehouse."[2] Far from being media adverse, Maciunas focused his limited resources during this time on actively promoting Fluxus in the United States. He came to embrace public promotion through text, image, and direct mail marketing. Maciunas also shifted from promoting collective actions to focusing on individual artists such as Paik. For example, Maciunas circulated a photographic portrait of Paik among artistic circles; performed Paik's *One for Violin Solo* at a Fluxus Concert in New York on

April 11, 1964; and published Paik's essay "Afterlude to the Exposition of Experimental Television" on the front page of the June edition of *FLuxus cc fiVe ThReE*. Thus Paik's image, performance work, and ideas were disseminated among the artistic avant-garde in New York prior to his physical arrival.

Once Paik relocated, photographs of the artist and his work shifted from documents of collective actions to posed promotions for future live performances. Two weeks prior to his first appearance with Moorman at the Second Annual New York Avant-Garde Festival in August 1964, for example, a portrait was arranged for publicity purposes. Dressed in the formal attire associated with classical music concerts, Paik self-consciously operates his Robot K-456 while Moorman plays the cello. The portrait was staged inside Paik's Lispenard Street Studio and taken by Moore, a well-known photographer of dance and performance art in the 1960s in New York. Rather than a record of past events as had been the case in Germany, the photograph is now a forward-looking advertisement for a future performance against the larger backdrop of mass media and commercial advertising. It carries the powerful potential to draw a future audience, a necessary component of the success of *Robot Opera* (1964) as a performance, and of Paik as a foreign artist seeking to launch a career in the US.

Paik posed for at least two more promotional portraits over the coming three years. The first, set in his Canal Street studio, presents the artist as technician, smiling amid surfaces strewn with tools, televisions, antennae, gears, and gadgets. He holds a drill-like device in both hands, the wire of which forms a loop from the handle to the base, echoing the continuous loop of electricity required for the active circuits powering the equipment before him. No conventional artists' materials crowd the frame, only electronics, indicating that the appropriate methodology for a twentieth-century artist is to apply one's imagination to hardware, rather than to paper, canvas, or plywood boxes. In the second portrait, Paik stands next to Moorman. The two are again dressed in the formal attire associated with classical concerts, but Moorman is further outfitted with a breastplate and helmet, as if to protect herself from the nuclear fallout of an atomic age. Paik stands at the edge of the frame, tilting his head inward toward a televised picture of McLuhan, whose electronic presence forms the third member of the performing trio. McLuhan, an image within the image, fills the space between Paik and Moorman, symbolically completing an intellectual, creative circuit between them and indicating his centrality to the group's thinking. Taken as a posed, promotional photograph later used for posters, the composition communicates Paik's understanding of the impact of three formats—television, live performance, and photography—and their potential to operate synergistically to enhance communication. The self-conscious arrangement of the elements makes a statement about the medium as marketing tool, proactively promoting both the artist and his ideas.[3]

Fluxus's shift in attitude toward media was concurrent with a heightened awareness of its role in American culture. McLuhan's *Understanding Media* was published in 1964 to substantial public attention. Two of McLuhan's theories were specifically of interest to Paik: first, McLuhan's focus on the social impact of media, the idea of a collective identity based on electronic interdependence, a condition he terms the "global village"; and, second, McLuhan's interest in audience participation, specifically his description of a spectrum of involvement based on the terms "hot" and "cold" media. Influenced by Fluxus, Paik was increasingly attuned to the way art operates in the public sphere and the potential for audience engagement to fundamentally contribute to his works' reception. Also like McLuhan, Paik was forward-looking; instead of analyzing past events, Paik sought to understand and employ the latest technology as a harbinger of the future.

Although several commentators emphasize the influence of McLuhan's theories on Paik's work, few authors note Paik's critical stance toward the controversial theorist referenced in his artwork and writing. *McLuhan Caged* (1967), for example, a work featured in the Museum of Modern Art's 1968 exhibition *The Machine as Seen at the End of the Mechanical Age*, distorts a televised image of McLuhan with a magnet. The result both brings attention to and satirizes McLuhan's role as a visionary of the television age who expresses himself through the written word. In 1965 Paik wrote, "McLuhan is surely great, but his biggest inconsistency is that he still writes books. He is excluded from the media for which he evangelizes."[4] In the same essay, Paik attempts to diminish McLuhan's outsized reputation by attributing key aspects of his media theory to Massachusetts Institute of Technology mathematician Norbert Wiener. Paik writes, for example, "Marshall McLuhan's famous phrase, 'Media is message' was formulated by Norbert Wiener in 1948 as 'The signal, where the message is sent, plays equally important role as the signal, where message is not sent.'"[5] Paik's interest here is not the content, but the channel of communication, *how* information is transmitted. When considering the medium of photography, the idea of the image as a signal, a proactive element in a system of communication that indicates to the viewer the moment of action, just as a traffic light indicates when to stop or go, is key to understanding Paik's relationship to photography after 1964. He sought both a physical and a psychological means of evoking the concept of an active circuit, a working signal relevant to the modern age.

Paik shared with Wiener an interest in cybernetics, the study of the regulatory mechanisms of feedback loops. The goal of cybernetics is to understand how systems with defined goals and circular causal chains function. These chains move from action, to comparison with desired goal, and back to action. The relationship between the still or moving image and the viewer can be viewed as one such feedback loop. In a 1965 photograph of *Participation TV*, for example, Paik illustrates how an individual can manipulate a televised image through the use of a magnetic ring. The artist's body is tilted toward the viewer, inviting audience engagement. His arms form a continuous loop echoed by the loop of the circular ring, creating a circuit between audience, artist, and apparatus. The goal is to empower the individual to transform the media of television through creative action. As the art historian David Joselit points out in *Feedback: Television Against Democracy* (2007), American television embodies a paradox: it is a public communications network owned and operated by a handful of privatized companies who control

Nam June Paik, Zen for Film (1964) by Peter Moore; © Barbara Moore/ Licensed by VAGA, New York

the content. Joselit explains, "Paik's goal . . . is to 'open circuits' by demonstrating how the proliferation and diversification of images can benefit an entire interrelated ecology."[6] The necessary condition for success is that each link in the circuit functions equally and effectively in a continuous causal chain. What is presented in this photograph is the image of a circuit that operates both literally, to entice viewers to action by drawing them into the system, and metaphorically, demonstrating the conditions of a linked causal system necessary to activate communication.

As *Participation TV* demonstrates and as film historian Patricia Mellencamp has previously pointed out, Paik's attention to and respect for the audience resembles French philosopher Gilles Deleuze's model of the simulacrum. As Mellencamp notes, "For Deleuze the simulacrum circumvents mastery because it already includes the angle of the observer. Thus, the viewer/auditor is in tandem with the maker and can transform and deform the images."[7] Paik's goal is similarly one of empowerment, and his perspective is fundamentally democratic. Any individual can manipulate the images projected into his or her home through positive interaction with the television. Deleuze maintains that, "the simulacrum is not degraded copy, rather it contains a positive power that negates *both original and copy, both model and reproduction.*"[8] Once these Platonic dichotomies are undermined, the resulting work is without hierarchy and becomes "a condensation of coexistences, a simultaneity of events."[9] Following this democratic leveling, conditions are created for a generative, proactive state, a state that encourages individuals to act. The photograph for Paik is a process that requires the viewer to complete the feedback loop, thereby creating a cohesive, productive circuit.

Paik retained an awareness of the social and political backdrop against which his works operated. In 1969, at the height of the Vietnam War, the first American war to be televised, Paik wrote in an exhibition brochure about *TV Bra for Living Sculpture* (1969), "The real issue is not to make another scientific toy, but how to humanize the technology and electronic medium . . . we will demonstrate the human use of technology, and also stimulate viewers NOT for something mean but stimulate their phantasy to look for the new, imaginative and humanistic ways of using our technology."[10] To underscore this point, Paik inserts himself into the lower left-hand corner of the brochure photograph's frame, his shoulder angled toward the viewer, catching his or her line of sight as his eyes connect with the two monitors attached to Moorman's chest. Moorman completes the virtual circuit from Paik to the viewer to the monitors by looking back at Paik. The monitors intentionally display a newscaster reporting on the war, a human being communicating with a mass audience through technology. Paik's main interest after 1964 was neither the Fluxus version of performance as ephemeral event, nor the technological advancements behind television and video, but broader issues of communication—specifically how art and technology can operate as tools to influence social change at a time when civil rights and the Vietnam War dominated the headlines. His focus, like McLuhan's, was at the intersection of technology and humanity, specifically the points where productive cooperation has the potential to open positive channels of communication.

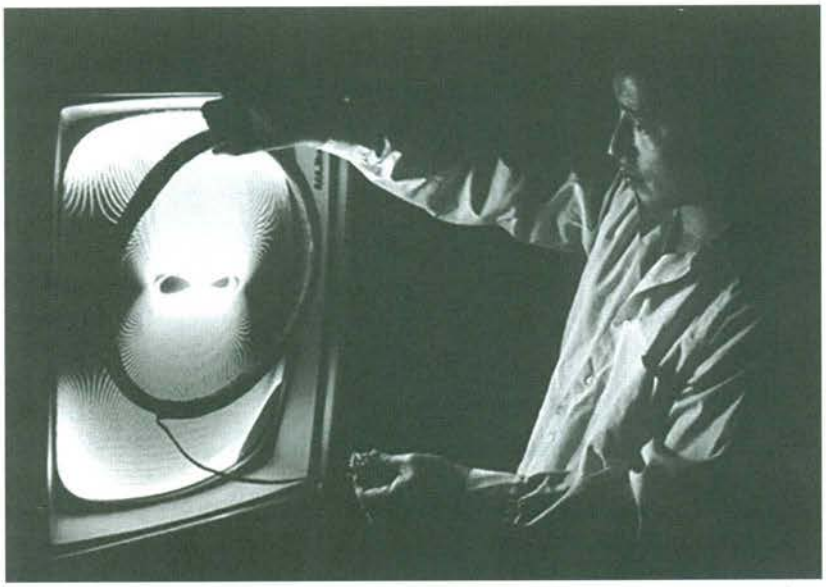
Paik's vision celebrates not dialectical argument, but open conversation, "open circuits" that allow for a multi-party dialogue.[11] In an unpublished 1969 essay he states, "Needless to say, communication always means two-way communication. One-way communication is a dictate, Bekanntmachung and Verboten."[12] To create systems that do not allow for open dialogue is not merely inadequate, it is potentially dangerous—a condition that may result in the triumph of dictatorship over democracy. In Paik's utopian vision, the artist functions as a social conduit, enabling bilateral lines of communication between individuals and institutions through the most up-to-date medium possible.

Paik's understanding of the power of media was further informed on July 20, 1964, by the experience of his fellow Fluxus artist and friend Beuys. During a performance in Aachen, Germany, on the twentieth anniversary of the assassination attempt on Adolph Hitler, an angry audience member punched Beuys in the face. The photograph of the outcome—a bloodied Beuys raising one hand to the audience in a Hitler salute while holding a cross in the other as a self-styled artistic martyr—circulated in the German media. The resulting publicity rendered Beuys, up until this point a relatively unknown professor, an overnight sensation. German scholar Verena Kuni argues that Beuys's dictum "*Medien durch Monumente [zu] ersetzen*" ("media to replace monuments") gains new meaning in this context: the picture of the artist becomes the monument.[13] The medium of photography carries with it the power to transform its subject into an icon, and to itself solicit a form of tribute.

This event may have been particularly resonant for Paik, as July 20 coincides with his birthday. He acknowledged both the date and the image when he forwarded an invitation to his German friend addressed to "Martyr von 20 Juli 1964."[14] It was at this moment that Beuys, according to art historian Benjamin H.D. Buchloh, became aware of the culture of the spectacle and committed to "strategies of cultic visibility" in both his persona and his work.[15] The power of the photograph to communicate such powerful iconicity could not have been lost on Paik. Three

months earlier in New York, Andy Warhol's mural *Thirteen Most Wanted Men* (1964), a multi-paneled portrait of infamous criminals taken from a police brochure, was removed amid public controversy from the New York State Pavilion at the World's Fair. On both sides of the Atlantic, then, the role of the artist as celebrity and the function of the iconic image in the popular imagination played out in the popular press as Paik developed his artistic practice and experimented with circuits of communication.

When Paik posed for a photograph with *Participation TV* and performed *Zen for Film*, then, it was with a heightened awareness of the power of the image and the role of the artist in communicating that power. It is worth noting that in late 1964 and 1965, photographs of Paik's work frequently included the artist himself in the frame, even when his physical presence was not central to the work—such as in *TV Bra for Living Sculpture*. Unlike Beuys, however, who sought structural and iconic links to historical memory and fundamentally distrusted new media, Paik, like McLuhan, consistently looked to the future and to technology as a critical means of cultural commentary. In these photographs his body functions, not as celebrity or icon, but as a human link in an active circuit intended to empower the viewer to participate in a larger cultural and political dialogue.



Paik with his original Life Ring, a circular electromagnet that alters wave patterns on the television screen, New York (1965) by Peter Moore; © Barbara Moore/Licensed by VAGA, New York

Beuys's sudden transformation by the media spotlight foreshadowed Paik's own catapult to fame three years later, in 1967, when he and Moorman were arrested during their New York performance of *Opera Sextronique*. Images of the arrest circulated in the New York press, making the duo notorious overnight. "This happenstance gave me the glimpse of mass media from the inside, which became very useful later," Paik wrote.[16] Paik began at this point to experiment with the larger circuit of mass media and went on to create several programs for WGBH public television in Boston (1970) and WNET-TV in New York (1971). It is the still photographs rather than the videos, however, that most often represent his work today. For Paik, the image, whether still or moving, is not fixed, but is an interactive vehicle, a link in the circuit of energy required to engage in productive dialogue.

While Beuys and Warhol explored the cult of the celebrity artist, Paik was critical of pop art and its open relationship with commercial consumerism. As John Hanhardt notes, "at the center of Paik's conceptual thinking, there was a link to Maciunas's belief in a pure art that was conceived by the artist and visible to those who engaged it, but ignored and invisible to the onrushing, co-opting, and consuming forces of the marketplace."[17] In 1964, the year Warhol exhibited his *Brillo Boxes* (1964) at the Stable Gallery and his *Campbell's Soup Cans* (1962) in the exhibition *The American Supermarket* at the Bianchini Gallery, Paik wrote across the top of a program sheet announcing the premier of *Robot Opera*, in thick black marker, "KILL POP ART!!" This reaction can be read as a rebellion against a celebratory commodity culture embodied by pop.[18] In its place, Paik put forth a physical alternative, a robot whose productivity is touted in the program: she can walk, speak, dance, and even excrete beans. She is not for sale as part of a restaged supermarket, but performs in front of a live audience on stage and on the streets of New York. Repeating well-known phrases such as John F. Kennedy's "Ask not what your country can do for you—ask what you can do for your country," she is ideally intended to engage the audience in a two-way conversation about politics and the powerful potential of technology to impact public discourse. While pop celebrates the commercial consumer, Paik celebrates the politically engaged, participatory viewer.

In conclusion, I'd like to comment briefly on the impact of Paik's mid-twentieth-century idealism in today's postmodern world. Evaluating the legacy of his work, Hanhardt optimistically reflects, "Nam June Paik has negotiated an aesthetic that relies on a humanist belief in the playful enlightenment of technology, and expresses the hope that artists, embodying the creative spirit, can use technology as a constructive tool for reshaping culture."[19] Has Paik's idealistic vision become an influential model, or has it entered art history as an optimistic, but naïve and ultimately ineffective, aspiration?

The creative destruction of Platonic dichotomies described by Deleuze has presumably been accomplished, thereby clearing the way for nonhierarchical art forms such as video. As Fredric Jameson argues in *Postmodernism: or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (1991), "the most likely candidate for cultural hegemony today . . . is clearly video, in its twin manifestations as commercial television and experimental video, or 'video art.'"[20] Yet the broader social evidence does not unequivocally support Hanhardt's optimistic interpretation. The commercial art market drives, to a substantial extent, the production and sale of new artwork,

effectively subverting the idea that "pure" art can operate in a realm free of consumer culture. Occupy Wall Street was a physical rather than digital intervention, and less impactful than the civil rights marches of the 1960s, which were organized without the aid of social networking tools. Despite widespread access to technology and the proliferation of media through handheld devices, individuals rarely control or create content, but primarily receive and respond to it. We live in an age of *YouTube*, but self-made videos fall more often into the realm of entertainment than political activism and social change. In light of these conditions, one could argue that Paik's vision is a fascinating reflection of mid-1960s idealism, but does not, as Joselit posits, ultimately critique or abolish commodification or reroute the trajectory of public media to empower individuals for social change. Still, the potential is there. The nonconformist model for open dialogue that Paik created is valid, but is ultimately not acted upon. This is evidenced by the paucity of artists who claim Paik as a conceptual influence (as opposed to a technical one). His art historical reputation to date casts him as the founder of video art rather than as a groundbreaking communicator. For now, Paik's active circuits remain frozen in photographic time.

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NOTES **1**. See Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Hill and Wang, 1981) and David Green and Joanna Lowry, "From Presence to the Performative: Rethinking Photographic Indexicality," in *Where is the Photograph?*, ed. David Green (Brighton, England: Photoforum, 2003), 47–60. **2**. Owen Smith, "Developing a Fluxable Forum: Early Performance and Publishing," in *The Fluxus Reader*, ed. Ken Friedman (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 1998), 16–17. **3**. Paik later reflected on his shift in attitude from Germany to the US in a 1991 interview with David Ross: "My first friends were Fluxus people, who were always anti-something—antimusic, antiart, and anti-Stockhausen, et cetera. But the new video generation was pro-something, 'constructing' a new society with the new tool of video." The complete conversation is transcribed in David Ross, "A Conversation with Nam June Paik," in *Nam June Paik: Video Time–Video Space*, ed. Toni Stooss and Thomas Kellein (New York: H.N. Abrams, Inc., 1993), 57. **4**. From an essay written by Paik in 1965 and published by Something Else Press in Spring 1966. Reprinted in *Nam June Paik: Video 'n' Videology 1959–1973*, exh. cat., ed. Judson Rosebush (Syracuse, NY: Everson Museum of Art, 1974), unpaginated. **5**. Ibid. **6**. See David Joselit, *Feedback Television Against Democracy* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2007), 46. **7**. Patricia Mellencamp, "The Old and the New: Nam June Paik," *Art Journal* (Winter 1995): 43. **8**. Gilles Deleuze, "Plato and the Simulacrum," trans. Rosalind Krauss, *October* 27 (Winter 1983): 53. **9**. Ibid. **10**. *Nam June Paik, TV as a Creative Medium*, exh. leaflet, Howard Wise Gallery (New York, 1969), not paginated. **11**. Paik concluded his 1965 essay published by Something Else Press with the line, "We are in open circuits." An open circuit is technically one with a gap in the causal chain, rendering it incapable of transmitting a current. A circuit must be closed to effectively conduct a signal. Perhaps a more accurate phrase, given Paik's interest in the success of his circuits, would be: "We are in active (or working) circuits." **12**. Essay reproduced in Rosebush, *Nam June Paik: Video 'n' Videology*, unpaginated. **13**. Verena Kuni, "Vom Standbild zum Starschnitt. Überlegungen zur Performanz eines Mediensprungs" in Christian Janecke, *Performance im Bild; Performance als Bild* (Berlin: Philo & Philo Fine Arts, 2004), 237. **14**. This announcement is preserved in the Joseph Beuys Archive at the Stiftung Museum Schloss Moyland and reproduced in *Nam June Paik*, exh. cat., ed. Sook-Kyung Lee and Susanne Rennert (London: Tate Publications, 2010), 126. **15**. Benjamin H.D. Buchloh, "1964a," in *Art Since 1900: Modernism, Antimodernism, Postmodernism*, ed. Hal Foster, et al. (London and New York: Thames & Hudson, 2004), 482. **16**. Rosebush, *Nam June Paik: Video 'n' Videology*, unpaginated. **17**. John G. Hanhardt, *The Worlds of Nam June Paik*, exh. cat. (New York: Guggenheim Museum Publications, 2003), 108. **18**. It is interesting to note that Guy Debord's *La Société du spectacle* is not published for the first time until three years later, in 1967 in France. **19**. John G. Hanhardt, "Non-fatal Strategies: The Art of Nam June Paik in the Age of Postmodernism," in *Nam June Paik: Video Time/Video Space*, 82. **20**. Frederic Jameson, *Postmodernism: or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (London and New York, 1991), 69.