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# **On the Pre-History of *Les Immatériaux* at the Centre de Création Industrielle, 1979-1981**

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# Pre-History

## On the Pre-History of *Les Immatériaux* at the Centre de Création Industrielle, 1979-1981

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### Introduction (backtracking)

The exhibition that opened to the public on 28 March 1985 at the Centre Georges Pompidou in Paris, under the title *Les Immatériaux*, was the outcome of over three years of research across an extended network of artistic and scientific contacts initiated by the Centre de Création Industrielle. More immediately, the show resulted from multiple decisions on the selection, design and presentation of specific exhibits, taken in the twelve months before the opening by the curatorial team around Jean-François Lyotard and Thierry Chapat. A third trajectory which led to the day of the opening is that of the political contexts, the discussions and preparations which gave rise to the plan for such an exhibition in the first place, and of the political interventions that accompanied the research and realisation process. This text presents some of the entanglements that resulted, in the summer of 1981, in the formulation of a first concept for the “manifestation” that would eventually become *Les Immatériaux*.<sup>1</sup>

In the summer of 1983, the philosopher Jean-François Lyotard was invited to become the chief curator of an exhibition project about “new materials” and “creativity” by the Centre Georges Pompidou’s (CGP) design department, the Centre de Création Industrielle (CCI). At that time, a team of researchers around the design curator and theoretician Thierry Chapat had already been working on this project for ca. 18 months. When Lyotard was first contacted in May 1983 by the director of the CCI at the time, Paul Blanquart, there existed a rather detailed exhibition concept that Thierry Chapat had prepared, together with his team, in the previous months.<sup>2</sup> It is entitled “La matière dans tous ses états” (“matter in all its different states”), it was dated on 14 April 1983 and contains multiple suggestions for more or less concrete exhibits, organised in a series of thematic chapters.<sup>3</sup> In the context of the initial discussions between Lyotard and the working group at the CCI, and with the CGP leadership, Lyotard wrote a concept sketch, “Esquisse,” dated on 10 August 1983, where the neologism of “les immatériaux,” the immaterials, was first proposed as a title for the planned exhibition. This document was later updated by Lyotard and Chapat for conceptual summaries of the project. The first of these was completed for the president of the CGP in October 1983, and then developed further in a “second” and a “third state of the *Immatériaux*,” which was prepared in April 1984, in French and English and in a specially type-set form, as a preliminary concept for circulation among potential cooperation partners.<sup>4</sup>

**1** — This paper is mainly based on documents from the Public Archives of the Centre Georges Pompidou (CGP-AP); the document titles in the footnotes include references to the respective archive boxes (e.g. “1977001-130” and “94033-669”). I’d like to acknowledge the help and critical comments by Marc Girard, Martine Moinot, Sabine Vigoureux, and Antony Hudek, as well as the support of Jean-Philippe Bonilli and Jean Charlier in the *Archives publiques*.

**2** — This team included Martine Moinot, Sabine Vigoureux, Nicole Toutcheff, Catherine Testanière, and Chantal Noël.

**3** — In the archive, next to the original (23 pages, size A3 in horizontal orientation) there is also a slightly earlier version of this concept on regular A4, vertical orientation (1983-03\_Chapat\_Concept\_Matiere-Etats\_CGP-AP\_1977001-130 and 94033-669), as well as a handwritten list of the ca. 20 recipients of either of these two versions (1983-04-14\_TC-concept-recipients\_CGP-AP\_94033-666).

**4** — Important elements of this “third state” concept were first developed by Lyotard in an oral discourse, known by the initial phrase in the typescript, “Après six mois de travail,” which was recorded in private in March 1984 and which was published only posthumously (Lyotard 1984/2015).

Even though a number of artistic and other projects, slated for inclusion in the exhibition, had already been commissioned earlier and were well under way, it is around this time, in the spring of 1984, that the concrete curatorial work of shaping and selecting exhibits for *Les Immatériaux* began. While the process ensuing from here, and its final, manifest result, are relatively well-known, and while the research leading up to Chaput's concept of April 1983 has recently become better understood through the publication of the "Chronology of *Les Immatériaux*,"<sup>5</sup> little was known until now about the initiation of Chaput's research in the autumn of 1981, besides the fact that it was preceded by a concept written by the cci's design curator, Raymond Guidot, drafted in the summer of 1981 under a generic title that translates as "Reflections on the project of an interdisciplinary manifestation at the Centre Georges Pompidou."<sup>6</sup> The theme envisaged for this project was "creation and new materials" ("*Création et matériaux nouveaux*"), with a definitive title yet "to be determined." The written concept scheduled the event rather vaguely for "1983 or 1984." Copies of the eight-page, typed document were circulated internally within the Centre Georges Pompidou, by the predecessor of Blanquart as the cci's director, Jacques Mullender, with a cover letter dated on 31 August 1981.

The present paper sketches the pre-history of this document drafted by Raymond Guidot in July and August 1981. Although the typescript itself bears no author name, it will here be referred to as "Guidot's;" nevertheless, we must keep in mind that it was the result of a collaborative effort and discussion, digested into the form of this text by Guidot.

### "Création et matériaux nouveaux"

The text starts with an affirmation that the very concept of materiality has to be interrogated and that it should be extended beyond physical objects and bodies, to encompass also conceptual and processual aspects of the physical world. It calls this an "immaterialist perspective" ("*perspective 'immatérialiste'*") (p. 1), and uses as an analogy the distinction between computer hardware and software, a distinction which, as it claims, no longer holds: "The material [in the sense of support] is no longer material (Hard). The immaterial (Soft) becomes the privileged material [support]." (p. 2)<sup>7</sup> The text suggests that the screen-based electronic image is a primary example of a representation that is neither a symbolical object, nor an individual or collective mental construct, but a technically produced given ("*donnée*") that is as tangible and as immediately legible as reality itself. (p. 2)

The text lists four types of such "new materials," as examples that the proposed exhibition might deal with: "materials that effectively did not exist in any form before their recent discovery (synthetic materials, electronic sounds, laser rays, holograms, etc.)" (p. 4), traditional materials which are now technically transformed, like cellulose or wood (referencing examples of such materials used in architecture), and traditional materials either used in new contexts (referencing examples from the arts, literature

5 – See Broeckmann/Vicet 2020.

6 – All of the following quotations are taken from a copy of the document, CGP-AP, box 1977001/049, dossier 1. – The period covered here is more or less skipped in Guidot's own account of the history of the cci (interviewed in B. Dufrêne 2007, p. 248-250), and is absent from

the otherwise excellent, elucidating treatment of the history of the CGP and the cci in Mackay 2015, esp. p. 222-227. A rare reference to Guidot's text can be found in Gallo 2008, p. 40, fn. 4, while Wunderlich 2008, p. 29, refers to it only indirectly.

7 – "*Le matériau n'est plus du matériel (Hard). L'immatériel (Soft) devient le matériau privilégié.*"

and music, and ecological technologies), or “composited” (examples from musical research incl. mixes of the human voice with recorded noises, and of instrumental and electronic sounds) (p. 5). Technical components like transistors, integrated circuits and computers, “these contemporary stones or bricks, at the end of the day, appear as mere avatars of intentions, programs, services, whose materialization has only practical meaning, the final concept always being situated beyond the present realisation” (p. 5).<sup>8</sup>

The exhibition ought to reflect the social and ideological implications of such research on new materialities, implications which are most obvious in the domain of military research on high-performance materials, but also in the field of consumer markets and cheap mass production (p. 7). However, the main subject of the proposed project is to investigate the impact that this transformed materiality has on “creators” of various disciplines (p. 1). These creators – artists, designers, architects, engineers, etc. – are identified as a hinge in the transformative encounter of industrial production and creativity (p. 2). The exhibition is thus expected to be dedicated not only to the new materials themselves, but also to the tools through which they are researched, developed and manipulated (p. 3, 7). Creativity, the text claims, is no longer a matter of an individual’s inspiration and genius, but becomes the result of purposeful, systematic and collaborative research in dedicated institutions (p. 6).

Rather programmatically, the text concludes that,

“... the present exhibition, focusing on all the implications of new materials in today’s creation, while basing itself in a relevant way on a few historical examples, will have the opportunity to propose to a certain number of creators, in the fields for which we are responsible, to imagine and present in the form of projects, models, prototypes, works, certain applications for tomorrow of materials whose recent discovery has not yet resulted in everyday applications.” (p. 8)<sup>9</sup>

### The institutional context of the cci

Through the cover letter that accompanied this text, we get introduced to the cast of individuals chiefly involved at this moment: the letter was written by the cci’s director Jacques Mullender, it is addressed to the President of the Centre Georges Pompidou (Jean-Claude Greshens at that time), and it describes a working process in which, after a meeting of the CGP’s directors’ council on 25 June 1981, Raymond Guidot drafted this text on the basis of additional conversations with Mullender, with Dominique Bozo (leading curator, and designated director, of the Musée nationale d’art moderne, MNAM), Pierre Boulez (director of IRCAM), and “some other collaborators of the cci.”<sup>10</sup>

<sup>8</sup> – “Ces pierres ou briques d’aujourd’hui, au bout du compte, apparaissent comme de simples avatars d’intentions, de programmes, de services, dont la matérialisation n’a de sens que pratique, le concept final se situant toujours au-delà de la réalisation présente.”

<sup>9</sup> – “... la présente exposition, axée sur toutes les implications des matériaux nouveaux dans la création d’aujourd’hui, de la même façon qu’elle devra d’une manière pertinente s’appuyer sur quelques exemples historiques, aura la possibilité de proposer à un certain nombre de créateurs, dans les domaines qui nous incombent, d’imaginer et de présenter sous forme

de projets, maquettes, prototypes, oeuvres, certaines applications pour demain de matériaux dont la découverte récente n’a pas encore permis d’utilisation courante.” – With reference to the example of architectural elements, the text claims that the introduction of new materials results in a renewed awareness of, and return to, now obsolete functions (p. 3) – an argument that seems to gesture towards discourses on postmodernism.

<sup>10</sup> – See 1981-08-31\_Mullender\_cover-letter-to-Greshens\_1981\_concept-Creation-et-matériaux-nouveaux\_CGP-AP\_1977001-049-d-1.

The engineer and historian of design, Raymond Guidot, was a teacher at ENSAD, the École Nationale Supérieure des Arts Décoratifs in Paris, and had worked for the cci as an advisor and curator since 1969. Guidot had previously worked with the French industrial designer Roger Tallon at the Technès industrial design agency, from 1961 to 1969. During more than three decades, Guidot contributed to many projects of the cci and the cgp, even after his official departure in 2001, including the cci's exhibition *Matériau, technologie, forme* (1974), which was in some ways a conceptual predecessor to the project that would later become *Les Immatériaux*,<sup>11</sup> and *Paris - Paris, Créations en France, 1937-1957* (May to November 1981), one of the major interdisciplinary exhibition projects initiated at the cgp by Pontus Hultén as MNAM director, an exhibition that was on display in the Grand Galerie of the fifth floor of the Centre Pompidou during the summer of 1981 when, four floors down, there were conversations taking place about a project on "creation and new materials"...

The Centre de Création Industrielle had been founded in 1969 and became part of the "Centre National d'Art et de Culture Georges Pompidou" (CNAC) in 1972, five years before the actual opening of the Centre.<sup>12</sup> At the end of 1976, after the sudden departure of the first "general secretary" and institutional architect of the cci, François Barré, and a short interregnum during which the cci was directed by cgp president Robert Bordaz, Mullender became the cci's new director.

Jacques Mullender (1925-2009) was a former colonial administrator who had worked in sub-saharan Africa in the early 1960s, and then as the head of the public facilities department of the Paris Region district from 1966 until 1974. There Mullender had worked with a team of other "colos," former colonial officers who knew each other since the end of the Second World War. In an interview recorded in 2004, Mullender speaks about this experience, which sheds an interesting light on the character of this person working at the head of the cci during the inception period of what would become *Les Immatériaux*.<sup>13</sup> From 1962 to 1966, Mullender recounts, "I was in charge of shuttling between four countries, Madagascar, Rwanda, Burundi, and Zaire, and I was at that time at the Ministry of Cooperation." It is here that "the principle of integrated equipment" was developed which Mullender's group later also applied in the banlieues. But what was perhaps an even more important lesson to learn for his future assignments,

**11** – See the catalogue: Huguette Briand-Le Bot, Yvonne Brunhammer, Chantal Béret, Anne Castebert, Danielle Ceria, Philippe Galland, Raymond Guidot: *Matériau, technologie, forme*. Centre de création industrielle, établissement public du Centre Beaubourg, Musée des arts décoratifs, Pavillon de Marsan (exposition, 7 June - 2 September 1974). Paris: Éditions du Centre de création industrielle, 1974. Judging by the catalogue and the photo documentation, this exhibition appears like a modernist elder sibling of *Les Immatériaux*; it was a study of materials, objects, tools, apparatuses, all in an historical and modernist perspective, and was thus what *Les Immatériaux* would try very hard not to be. – Guidot also authored the first book on the MNAM/cci design collection, *Histoire du design de 1940 à nos jours*. Paris: Hazan, 1994 (repr. 2000, 2004), and *Histoire des objets, Chroniques du design industriel: 1*. Paris: Hazan, 2013.

**12** – For the work and history of the cci, see B. Dufrière 2007, esp. "Le cci, du Musée des arts décoratifs à Beaubourg," interview with François Barré by Bernadette Dufrière, p. 86-91, and "Exposer le design au Centre Pompidou," interview with Raymond Guidot by Bernadette Dufrière, p. 248-250. The cci was fused with the Musée national d'art moderne in 1992 under the cgp presidency of Dominique Bozo who, two years earlier, in September 1990, had been made the director of both MNAM and cci, following François Burkhardt at the cci (see JORF no. 240, 16 October 1990).

**13** – See Mullender interviewed by Alexis Korganow, October 2004, <http://www.cdu.urbanisme.developpement-durable.gouv.fr/IMG/pdf/annexes2et3.pdf> [accessed 22 April 2020].

"It was learning how to get by. All we did in Africa was that. We made roads under incredible conditions in the Ivory Coast. That taught you not to ask all the time. First you do and then you say, is this what you wanted? It still exists."<sup>14</sup>

We can only speculate whether it was this attitude that got Mullender the job of director of the cci in November 1976. Mullender took a topical interest in the program of the cci with regard to architecture, urban development, and equipment, and it may well have been his carefree and enterprising attitude which fostered the pioneering spirit for which the early cci is famed until today.<sup>15</sup>

### **Interaction with the Delegation of Innovation and Technology at the Ministry of Industry**

A person who was not mentioned in the August 1981 document, yet who had been seminal for arriving at this point, was Thierry Gaudin (\*1940), an engineer and expert in industrial development, research and innovation, who worked for the French Ministry of Industry from 1971-1981, in the "Délégation à l'Innovation et la Technologie," where he was responsible for implementing a "politics of innovation." Gaudin's portfolio included the knowledge and technology transfer between research and industry, the fostering of what we would today call a start-up culture, and the development of the design sector, among others through support for exchange platforms like the INOVA industrial fair, and the improvement of design education in art and engineering schools.<sup>16</sup>

The following narrative follows a series of archival materials which document the exchange and collaboration between Thierry Gaudin and Jacques Mullender in the years from 1979 to 1981.

In April 1979 Mullender wrote to the Minister for Industry, André Giraud, thanking him for his visit to the stand of the cci at the INOVA 79 fair, and for the support of an exhibition, organised by the cci, about the measurement of time (*La mesure du temps*, 1979), financed through the Délégation à l'Innovation et la Technologie. Mullender also announced a proposal, forthcoming from the Délégation in May and concerning the integration of design education into schools of engineering and of the senior leadership ("cadres supérieurs"), a plan that, as Mullender suggests, could be added to a broader "programme national de design."<sup>17</sup>

Especially this latter hint indicates that there was a close working contact between Mullender and Gaudin, probably even dating back before 1979. Due to the cci's commitment to industrial design, the Délégation had a keen interest in the cci which

**14** – Ibid. – Mullender refers to an 800-page publication he was involved in and that gives an impression of the "spirit": Jean Clauzel (ed.): *La France d'Outremer, 1930-1960 témoignages d'administrateurs et de magistrats*. Paris: Éditions Karthala, 2003.

**15** – Mullender presented a project on the transformation of the human habitat and of society, studied through the case of African cities, at the CGP's interdepartmental Comité de Recherche in January 1979 (see 1979-01-30\_CGP\_Comite-de-recherche\_cr\_CGP-AP\_1977001-020), and contributed to a publication of the cci, *L'objet industriel, empreinte ou reflet de la société?* (1980).

It is as yet unclear whether there were political reasons both for Mullender's appointment and for his deposition, in February 1982, eight months after François Mitterand took office as President of the French Republic. From 1983-1985, Mullender was director of the Louvre in Paris. – See also the retrospective homage paid to Mullender by Guidot (in B. Dufrêne 2007, p. 248).

**16** – See Gaudin's cv at <https://2100.org/gaudin/> [accessed 22 April 2020]. See also Zeting Liu: *Politiques d'innovation et PME en France. Une histoire de liens faibles*. Paris: L'Harmattan, 2013.

**17** – 1979-04-13\_Mullender-Min-Industrie\_CGP-AP\_1977001-049-d-1

the Ministry of Industry had supported from its inception and which Thierry Gaudin identified as an important instrument for accomplishing the mission of the Delegation of Innovation and Technology. At the same time, Jacques Mullender was looking for additional funding sources for the activities of the cci. During an internal meeting at the cci in March 1980, Mullender talked about the financial limitations of the cci for 1981, and about the necessity, and difficulties, of finding external funding.<sup>18</sup> It can probably be seen in this light that, in the same meeting, Mullender reported about various appointments that he had at the Ministries of the Environment, of Culture, and of Economy, to foster the visibility and political relations of the cci, its work and objectives. In this context Mullender also mentioned a meeting at the Ministry of Industry which among others Gaudin's superior, Claude Pierre, delegate for innovation and technology, participated in.

During the same meeting with his colleagues of the cci at the beginning of March 1980, Mullender reported on his first official encounter with the newly arrived president of the Centre Georges Pompidou, Jean-Claude Groshens (1926-2010), a high-level academic functionary of the political right.<sup>19</sup> With the various ministerial encounters in mind, Mullender suggested to Groshens that a series of public events for people from culture and from industry should be organised by the cci in its "Salle de Documentation," preferably already starting in October of the same year. Marc Girard, who was the cci's "chef de service de design de produits" with a penchant for new technologies, was asked by Mullender to propose a series of topics that would make it possible to attract people from industry to the cci.<sup>20</sup>

In a parallel development that was apparently not related to the Ministry of Industry, there was a discussion process between the different departments of the Centre Georges Pompidou, including the Bibliothèque publique d'information (BPI), IRCAM, MNAM, and the cci, to formulate an interdepartmental project. During several meetings in 1978 and 1979, the CGP's "Comité de Recherche" debated the possibility of such a joint research project.<sup>21</sup> At the meeting on 30 May 1979, Eliséo Veron (EHESS) and Eric Fouquier (SORGEM/EHESS) were presented as "chargés de l'orientation du projet

**18** – 1980-03-11\_CCI-dir\_CGP-AP\_1977001-015

**19** – Ibid. (1980-03-11\_CCI-dir\_CGP-AP\_1977001-015) Groshens's regular three-year term at the head of the CGP (1980-1983) was not extended by the Mitterrand/Lang government and he was followed by Jean Maheu (\*1931) who served two terms (1983-1989).

**20** – See 1980-03-20-26\_CCI-programmation\_CGP-AP\_1977001-015, p. 6. – Documents archived in Mullender's files at the CGP-AP testify that Mullender and Gaudin had also crossed paths, if not cooperated, in February 1980, when Gaudin spoke about "Design and Industry" at a conference at the Technical University of Compiègne, under the patronage of the Ministry for Industry and dedicated to the relations between design, industry and technological innovation; Mullender participated in the same event, speaking on another panel together with Gaudin's colleague from the Délégation, C. Elbaz. (1980-02-27\_conf-Compiègne\_Gaudin-Mullender\_CGP-AP\_1977001-061-d-6) A few weeks later, in March 1980, at the conference

"Innover ou disparaître" of the ISF (Société des Ingénieurs et Scientifiques en France), on a panel introduced by Claude Pierre, Délégué à l'Innovation et la Technologie in the Ministry of Industry, Thierry Gaudin (listed as "Adjoint au Délégué") spoke about "Mutations scientifiques, techniques, technologiques." (1980-02-27\_conf-Compiègne\_Gaudin-Mullender\_CGP-AP\_1977001-061-d-6)

**21** – The various minutes suggest such consecutive conversations about a "projet commun de recherche" during the committee meetings on 27.10.1978, 30.1.1979, 30.5.1979, and 6.11.1979. The project is addressed in the meeting minutes of 30.1.1979 as something that everybody seems to be aware of, but that has no clear shape yet, which is why at this point only a modest sum of 50.000 Francs was allocated to its preparation. – Mullender was a member of this committee, Marc Girard was represented by Barbier-Bouvet at the meeting on 30.1.1979; see 1979-01-30\_CGP\_Comite-de-recherche\_cr\_CGP-AP\_1977001-020.



commun de recherche." They would conduct a sociological and discourse-analytical research project about current "discourses of the creators" (painters, musicians, writers, "créateurs oeuvrant sur des volumes"), about their professional self-conceptions, and their understanding of their works and their audiences.<sup>22</sup> It is interesting in our current context to highlight this focus that was put on the practitioners working in the arts and in what we would today call the "creative industries," rather than on the audience or on society in general, and that this interest in the artists' reflection on their working conditions was shared by the different departments of the cgp.

For the overall chronology of the preparations for what will become *Les Immatériaux* it is also noteworthy that when Mullender, in March 1980, talked to his colleagues at the cci and sketched the plans for exhibitions in the Grande Galerie on the fifth floor, for the period from 1983 until 1985/86, there was no mention of a project on materiality and new technologies; Mullender did, however, talk about the cci's participation in an interdepartmental exhibition project that, we can surmise, was expected to result from the aforementioned joint research project which the cci was co-financing, under the working title *La Création contemporaine* and envisaged for summer 1982.<sup>23</sup> While such an exhibition was never realised, there are reasons to believe that its conceptual basis was in part appropriated for a project which was initiated by Gaudin and Mullender in following months of the spring and the summer of 1980, and that would lead to the exhibition concept sketched out in Guidot's text of summer 1981.

### **The decision of the Council of Ministers on 23 July 1980, on a program for the promotion of industrial creation**

In July 1980, the French Council of Ministers, under the presidency of Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, discussed and decided upon a package of activities that had been prepared by the Delegation of Innovation and Technology and that seems to carry the signature of Thierry Gaudin who referred to it as "a comprehensive policy for the promotion and design of industrial products."<sup>24</sup> According to a preliminary financial overview dated 24 June 1980, the various activities would be funded, in different constellations, by the Ministries of Industry, of Culture, of Education, and of the Economy.<sup>25</sup> The four sections of the proposal included the establishment and improvement of design education in engineering and in art and architecture schools (10 million Francs),<sup>26</sup> the fostering of the commercial market for design products (15 million Francs), and support for making use of measures created to encourage cooperations between designers and industry.

**22** – See 1979-05-30\_CGP\_Comite-de-recherche\_cr\_CGP-AP\_1977001-020, and the reports by Veron and Fouquier from May 1979 and April 1980 in CGP-AP 1977001/021, dossier 1.

**23** – ("*La Création contemporaine, en été 1982. Le cci a participé dès cette année au financement, pour la recherche.*") See the minutes of a program meeting of the cci on 20 March 1980, 1980-03-20-26\_CCI-programmation\_CGP-AP\_1977001-015, esp. p. 3.

**24** – ("*une politique d'ensemble de promotion et de la conception des produits industriels*"); see 1981-02-17\_Min-Industrie-CCI\_CGP-AP\_1977001-049-d-1.

**25** – See 1980-06-24\_Conseil-Mins\_budget\_manifestation\_CGP-AP\_1977001-049-d-1, also for the following description.

**26** – In this section on education, special emphasis was placed on the Technical University of Compiègne where, in February 1980, Gaudin and Mullender had participated in a conference; see above fn. 20.

The first of these four sections was dedicated to “promotion and technical culture.” It stated:

- “1. Promotion and technical culture – additional cost about 10 MF/year  
– Emphasize the role of the cci Beaubourg in design promotion, particularly with regard to the interaction of design and society, and to public awareness, in liaison with the Ministry of Industry. A letter will be sent by the two Ministers [Industry, Culture] to the President of the Centre Georges Pompidou.  
- Organise a series of events for the [professional] industrial public presenting the work and proposals of designers. An international prize for product design, to be awarded at an event of global scale, to be held in 1983.  
- Study the feasibility of a French “design centre,” along the lines of those existing abroad (cost of the study: 0,3 MF, estimated cost of the Design Centre: 5 MF/year).”<sup>27</sup>

The aspects of the ministerial decision that directly concerned the cci were excerpted again by Gaudin, a few weeks later:

“an international event [“manifestation”] on industrial design will be organized in 1983, where a product design prize will be awarded. From 1980 onwards, research grants, managed by the cci - Georges Pompidou, will be awarded to teams of young designers to develop proposals for new products to be presented at this event.”<sup>28</sup>

It is not exactly clear how and over which period this proposal to the Council of Ministers was prepared, but we can presume that Gaudin developed this plan in close collaboration with Mullender, at least with regard to the aspects that directly concerned the cci. When Gaudin sent Mullender the text of the interministerial decision, two weeks after they had been discussed by the Council on 21 July and finalised on 23 July 1980, Gaudin wrote in the covering letter: “I would like to take this opportunity to thank you for the contribution you have kindly made to the constitution of this dossier, whose implementation, which has only just begun, has now been officially approved.”<sup>29</sup> And in a handwritten note to Raymond Guidot, Gaudin told Guidot that Groshens, Mullender and Gaudin himself thought that he, Guidot, should be the

**27** – “1. L’animation et la culture technique – coût supplémentaire environ 10 MF/an  
- Accentuer le rôle du cci Beaubourg en matière de promotion du design notamment en ce qui concerne l’interaction design-société et la sensibilisation du public en liaison avec le Ministère de l’Industrie. Une lettre sera adressée par les 2 Ministres [Industrie, Culture] au Président du Centre Georges Pompidou.  
- Organiser une série de manifestations destinées au public industriel présentant les travaux et propositions des créateurs. Décerner un prix international de la conception de produits dans une manifestation d’ampleur mondial qui aura lieu en 1983.  
- Mise à l’étude de la faisabilité d’un “design centre” français à l’image de ceux existant à l’étranger. (coût de l’étude: 0,3 MF, estimation du coût du Design centre: 5 MF/an).”

See 1980-06-24\_Conseil-Mins\_budget\_manifestation\_CGP-AP\_1977001-049-d-1.

**28** – (“une manifestation de dimension internationale sur la création industrielle sera organisée en 1983; il y sera décerné un prix de la conception de produits. Dès 1980, des Bourses de recherches, gérées par le cci – Georges Pompidou, seront attribuées à des équipes de jeunes créateurs, pour mettre au point des propositions de produits nouveaux susceptibles d’être présentées à cette manifestations.”) 1980-07-21\_Conseil-des-Ministres\_Gaudin\_manif-bourses\_CGP-AP\_1977001-049-d-1.

**29** – (“Je profite de cette occasion pour vous remercier de la contribution que vous avez bien voulu apporter à la constitution de ce dossier dont la mise en oeuvre, qui ne fait que commencer, est désormais officiellement approuvée.”) 1980-08-06\_Gaudin-Mullender\_CGP-AP\_1977001-049-d-1.

coordinator of the said project – implying that the three men, Groshens, Mullender and Gaudin, had concretely discussed the implementation of the activities at the cci.<sup>30</sup> On 9 July 1980, prior to the final decision of the Council of Ministers, Mullender had commented critically on a draft proposal of 30 June. He emphasised that the cci was already fulfilling the assigned role of design promotion and that some of the propositions issued here by the Délégation were in fact adopting suggestions that had been formulated a year earlier by the cci in documents addressed to the Ministries of Industry and of Culture (“on 3 May and 27 July 1979”). Mullender urged that the notion of design should be understood in a broader perspective, not limiting it to industrial and product design, and he cautioned against the issuing of an international award and of research grants (anticipating the administrative complications that these projects would in fact provoke in the following months).

As regards the conceptualisation of a “manifestation,” Mullender wrote that instead of a general exhibition on industrial design products,

“it seems preferable to show in an event aimed at the general public how closely industrial design must be linked to other aspects of the living environment, such as town planning, exterior and interior architecture, visual communication (graphic design). Any object is situated in a relational context and participates in a way of life of which it is only one aspect, albeit an important one, but which it does not seem advisable to isolate when one wants to go beyond the framework of an assembly of specialists.”<sup>31</sup>

We have, in these remarks by Mullender, a first trace of concrete conceptual considerations originating from the cci about the project that will, almost five years later, take shape as *Les Immatériaux*. It is unlikely that these ideas from 1980 directly informed the exhibition of 1985. But if we try to understand what led to Guidot’s concept of 1981 and to Chaput’s research in 1982/1983, from which the curatorial process conducted by Lyotard and Chaput in 1983/1984 then departed, this constellation between Mullender and Gaudin is an important, early point of reference.<sup>32</sup>

**30** – 1980-07-16\_Gaudin-Guidot\_CGP-AP\_1977001-049-d-1, receipt stamped at the cci on 16.07.1980. It is not clear whether, and if, how, Gaudin and Guidot knew each other, though it is conceivable that they had crossed paths numerable times, given their respective interest in industrial and product design.

**31** – (“Il semble enfin préférable de montrer dans une manifestation destinée au grand public combien le design industriel doit être étroitement lié aux autres aspects du cadre de vie, tels que l’urbanisme, l’architecture extérieure et intérieure, la communication visuelle (le design graphique). L’objet se situe dans un contexte relationnel et participe à un mode de vivre dont il ne constitue qu’une donnée, certes importante, mais qu’il ne paraît pas souhaitable d’isoler aussitôt que l’on veut dépasser le cadre d’une assemblée de spécialistes.”)

1980-07-09\_Mullender-re-concept-Min-Industrie\_CGP-AP\_1977001-049-d-1, p. 2. Taking up some of the arguments from Mullender’s note of 9 July, though in a more

conciliatory tone, CGP president Groshens responded to the ministerial decisions on 3 September, offering some precisions e.g. with regard to the purpose of the grants, commenting positively on the idea of setting up a French Design Centre, applauding the planned educational activities, not least with the cci’s cooperation partner, the university in Compiègne; in comparison with these various precisions, Groshens’ letter is obtrusively vague on the question of an “international manifestation” (p. 2, section 2, 1980-09-03\_Groshens-Gaudin\_CGP-AP\_1977001-049-d-1).

**32** – It is also necessary to acknowledge the fact that the term “manifestation” which Lyotard later used so insistently in order to distinguish *Les Immatériaux* from a regular “exhibition,” was already used by Guidot in 1981, and even earlier by Gaudin in July 1980 in the concept that secured the initial funding for what would become Lyotard’s project.

## Towards implementation

In the autumn of 1980, the attempts to implement the activities described in the policy program for design promotion were on to a slow start. On 30 Sept 1980, Gaudin sent a draft contract for the program of research grants to the CGP; he urged that, in order for the money (3 million Francs) to become available from the Ministry of Industry's 1980 budget, and for the program to start in 1981, the contract would have to be signed "before November."<sup>33</sup> Yet, apparently an agreement between the Ministry and the CGP was still under discussion half a year later. In a letter dated 5 November 1980, Gaudin invited Mullender to join a new committee for education in the field of product design, "Comité National de l'Enseignement de la Conception des Produits." Gaudin wrote that the first, preliminary meeting of this committee was due to take place at the cci on 17 November, which suggests that the letter itself was a formality since the venue for the committee meeting would have had to be agreed upon with Mullender beforehand.<sup>34</sup> However, a month later, Mullender reported to his colleagues at the cci that

[regarding the] exhibition on industrial design (discussed for 1983 in the Council of Ministers) [...] no discussion has yet taken place with the Ministry of Industry on this subject. Th. Gaudin would prepare a scenario for this exhibition, which he would like to curate and present on the 5th floor of the Centre. F. Jollant reported that Roger Tallon is proposing a counter-project for presentation at the Palais des Congrès, and possibly in other venues throughout Paris."<sup>35</sup>

And even another four months later, the situation appears unchanged: in a correspondence with Gaudin, Groshens affirms that Mullender will represent Groshens at a meeting at the Ministry of Industry, planned for 8 April 1981, "about the organisation in 1983 of a manifestation of international dimension about industrial creation." Gaudin had arranged that this meeting would be joined by a delegation from the

**33** – See 1980-09-30\_Min-Industrie-CGP\_Bourses-de-creation-industrielle\_CGP-AP\_1977001-049-d-1. It is not clear yet [April 2020] whether these grants were used in 1982/1983 for commissioning projects towards the exhibition in preparation by Chapat and his team.

**34** – See 1980-11-05\_Gaudin-Mullender\_CGP-AP\_1977001-049-d-1.

**35** – ("*Exposition sur la création industrielle (évoquée pour 1983 en Conseil des Ministres). Aucune discussion n'a encore eu lieu avec le Ministère de l'Industrie à ce sujet. Th. Gaudin préparerait un scénario pour cette exposition, dont il souhaiterait être le commissaire et qu'il désirerait présenter au 5<sup>e</sup> étage du Centre. F. Jollant*

*signale que Roger Tallon propose un contre-projet pour présentation au Palais des Congrès, et éventuellement dans d'autres lieux à travers Paris.*") Minutes of a meeting on 10 December, 1980-12-10\_CP-dir-3-dec\_CGP-AP\_1977001-015, p. 2. Françoise Jollant was the head of the cci's documentation service. – This remark by Mullender contains the only known suggestion that Gaudin might in fact have wished to curate the proposed exhibition himself. Considering the efforts that Gaudin had made to secure the funding, this seems a possibility – and might, in combination with Mullender's scepticism about the first idea for the exhibition voiced in his note of 9 July, also explain the delay during these months of inactivity.

Comité Colbert, an association of French luxury brand producers, envisaged here as potential sponsors of the 1983 event. But Groshens cautioned against holding such a discussion before there was an agreement between the ministries involved (i.e. those of Industry and of Culture) “about the general orientation of this exhibition” – suggesting continuing complications, indecision, and possibly background wrangling.<sup>36</sup> After all, the end of the project’s blockage coincided with the change to the socialist government of François Mitterand in May 1981. It is a matter of interpretation whether there are causal relations between the two events, but the minutes of the meeting of the Centre Georges Pompidou’s directors’ council of 25 June 1981 document the beginning of a new dynamic which would lead to Guidot’s concept and to the initiation of Chaput’s research.<sup>37</sup>

The meeting was chaired by CGP president Groshens, and among the 15 attendants from the different departments were Mullender, Boulez, and Dominique Bozo.<sup>38</sup> Also participating, as government representative, was André Larquié who had just joined the staff of the new Minister of Culture and Communication, Jack Lang, for whom Larquié worked as a project manager and foreign affairs advisor from May 1981 to September 1983.<sup>39</sup>

After having been introduced and welcomed by Groshens, Larquié made a programmatic statement that can perhaps be seen as reflecting the current thinking at the Ministry under Lang’s new leadership. Larquié asked the CGP to strengthen the collaboration between the departments, to strengthen its efforts in the field of artistic production, to develop a more intercultural perspective with a special view to the “North-South axis” and the Latin cultures, and to “mobilise contemporary artists around the Centre which is conceived as a forum of political and cultural ideas.”<sup>40</sup>

**36** – 1981-04-03\_Groshens-Gaudin-Mullender\_CGP-AP\_1977001-049-d-1. – The report by Marc Girard, who finally represented the CGP instead of Mullender, about this meeting on 8 April is full of suggestive hints, and extremely cautious as regards any results. The assembly which comprised several people from the Ministry of Industry, including Gaudin, as well as representatives of the Comité Colbert, the designer Roger Tallon, and André Hatola and Marc Girard from the CCI, discussed various possible formats but, according to Girard’s report, in the end arrived at no more than a general affirmation that the “manifestation” should aim at “the sensibilisation of the public towards the promotion of industrial creation.” (1981-04-08\_Girard-Min-Industrie\_cr\_CGP-AP\_1977001-049-d-1)

**37** – For the following description, see 1981-08-04\_CP-dir-25-juin\_CGP-AP\_1977001-015.

**38** – Bozo was there as a guest because he was designated to follow Pontus Hultén as director of the MNAM at the beginning of September.

**39** – Larquié had worked at the Ministry of Culture, as an assistant to the director of music, opera and dance, since 1975. In the liaison role between the Ministry and the CGP, Larquié replaced Michel Delaborde who had worked at the Ministry of Culture with Jean-Philippe Lecat, an advisor to Mitterand’s right-wing predecessor, Valérie Giscard d’Estaing, against whom Mitterand had won in the second round of the presidential elections on 10 May 1981, taking over power from Giscard on 21 May.

**40** – 1981-08-04\_CP-dir-25-juin\_CGP-AP\_1977001-015, p. 2.

The question of interdepartmental cooperation had been a point of concern at the CGP for years. In his response to Larquié, Groshens mentioned, as three possible joint focus themes for the program in 1983 and 1984, a major exhibition about Viennese culture,<sup>41</sup> the cultural exchange with Africa,<sup>42</sup> and an exhibition on the rapport between art and science. – Remarkably, Groshens here did not mention the “manifestation on industrial design” under discussion with the Ministry of Industry, possibly because it was at that point yet conceived as a project which only concerned the CCI, and not all the departments of the CGP.

In the ensuing discussion, Mullender signaled that the CCI held an interest in all three topics. For the context of the present paper it is noteworthy that the minutes of the meeting record the first instance of the “manifestation on industrial design” being connected to the notion of materiality:

“With regard to the project on the relationship between art and science, Mr Mullender reported on research currently being carried out by the CCI on the prospects for industrial design. The aim this time would be to examine the future of new industrial materials and to confront the public directly with them.”<sup>43</sup>

Pierre Boulez, speaking for IRCAM, affirmed that he was “in favour of the project on art and science from the point of view of the evolution of the artist in relation to the material,”<sup>44</sup> reiterating an interest in the focus on artistic practice that had already been prominent, two years earlier, in the discussions on the research about the “discourses of the creators” conducted by Veron and Fouquier.

Two months after this meeting, Mullender presented the concept drafted by Raymond Guidot for an “interdisciplinary manifestation” about “creation and new materials,” delivered to Groshens for distribution to the other department directors, and offered for further discussion in the directors’ council towards the end of September.<sup>45</sup> With this concept, Mullender made a proposition that served several purposes at the same time, namely it finally substantiated a project for the funds, secured by Gaudin a year before, from the Ministries of Industry and of Culture for the CCI; and it simultaneously proposed an interdepartmental project for the CGP of the type that the Ministry of Culture and Communication had urgently requested, and this one even headed by the CCI.

In the available archival materials, the name of Thierry Gaudin, who left the Ministry of Industry in 1981, disappears from the project’s horizon altogether. He is also not mentioned anywhere in the later documentation of *Les Immatériaux*. The exhibition’s catalogue acknowledges “the help of the Department of Cultural Development, Ministry of Culture,”<sup>46</sup> but the original initiative of the Ministry of Industry and its

**41** – Eventually presented as *Vienne, Naissance d’un siècle, 1880 – 1938*, in 1986.

**42** – Is this an early mentioning of the project that will eventually become the exhibition *Magiciens de la Terre*, in 1989?

**43** – (“Quant au projet sur les rapports de l’art et de la science, M. MULLENDER fait état d’une recherche menée actuellement par le CCI sur la prospective de la création industrielle. Il s’agirait, cette fois, de s’interroger sur l’avenir des nouveaux matériaux industriels et d’y confronter directement le public.”) 1981-08-04\_CP-dir-25-juin\_CGP-AP\_1977001-015, p. 3. – See also Hudek’s reference to an article

from *Le Monde* (“Les verres métalliques matériaux d’avenir,” 29 April 1981), found in one of the archive boxes associated with *Les Immatériaux*, as an early sign of the thematic focus on materials (Hudek 2009/2015, p. 72, fn 6).

**44** – (“... se montre favorable au projet sur l’art et la science vu sous l’aspect de l’évolution de l’artiste par rapport au matériau.”) Ibid.

**45** – 1981-08-31\_Mullender\_cover-letter-to-Groshens\_1981\_concept-Creation-et-matériaux-nouveaux\_CGP-AP\_1977001-049-d-1.

**46** – *Les Immatériaux – Épreuves d’écriture*, Paris 1985, p. 3.



Délégation à l'Innovation et la Technologie appears to have been forgotten in the intervening years. Instead, it may well have been during this meeting on 25 June 1981 that the foundation of the vital interest of the Ministry of Culture and Communication was laid for the project that would eventually become *Les Immatériaux*.<sup>47</sup>

### An assignment for Thierry Chaput

The ensuing discussions on Guidot's concept must have been sufficiently positive for the cci to start up a research process about "creation and new materials," or, as the project will be dubbed in a summary preview for 1983/1984, "*matériaux et création*."<sup>48</sup> We can, at this point, only speculate why it was not Guidot himself who conducted this research. Martine Moinot, who had been at the cci since 1977 and who became one of the key members of the team that worked with Chaput on the realisation of the project from January 1982 onwards, has pointed out that Guidot had two major exhibition projects coming up for 1983 (*Eureka*, opening in July, and *Architecture et industrie*, starting in October 1983) which may have prevented him from taking on additional tasks. Moreover, Guidot was generally more interested in "material" design objects, rather than in the electronic media and digital technologies that had now been brought into the focus of the proposed project.<sup>49</sup>

This was rather the field of expertise of Guidot's younger colleague, Thierry Chaput (1949 – 1990) who had studied with Guidot at ENSAD, the École Nationale Supérieure des Arts Décoratifs, where Chaput had received a diploma in Product Design in 1973. The contact with another ENSAD professor, also associated with the cci, Michel Millot, had gained Chaput his first commission from the cci, namely to develop a system of automation for the documentation of products, called *sip* (Système d'information sur les produits), which Chaput worked on from 1975 to 1978. After this, Chaput stayed at the cci working with Marc Girard in the cci's "service de design de produits."<sup>50</sup> Chaput realised a variety of exhibitions, including, in the year of particular interest here, 1981,

**47** – According to Lyotard's personal calendar for 1984, there were two meetings on 14.12.1984, first, at 12:45 hrs, with Laurent Fabius who had at that point been Prime Minister since July 1984, and previously, since 1983, "ministre de l'Industrie et de la Recherche", and then, at 13:00 hrs, with Jack Lang, Minister for Culture and Communication, and the French film-maker Gérald Calderon (see *Les Immatériaux Research, Working Paper*, No. 1, v. 2, 2020, and Bibl. Doucet, JFL 538). There are indications that Lyotard had been in touch with Lang in the preceding weeks about organisational problems of the exhibition. It is not clear whether the meeting with Fabius was also related to *Les Immatériaux*, or even to the old attachment of the Ministry of Industry to the project. – There is an entry in Lyotard's calendar on 26.06.1985 for a meeting with somebody called "Thierry Gaudin" (or "Gandis"?). It is currently not clear whether this is the same Gaudin, and what this meeting might have been about.

**48** – 1982-10\_CCI-concept\_CGP-AP\_1977001-130.

**49** – E-Mail correspondence with the author, Martine Moinot, 8.10.2018. – These and the following exhibition titles and dates are taken from Philippe Biteaud e.a. (eds.): *20 ans: bibliographie sélective*. Paris: Bibliothèque publique d'information, 1997.

**50** – Marc Girard had studied humanities at the Sciences Po and joined the cci in 1973 (like Sabine Vigoureux), when it was still housed at the Musée des Arts Décoratifs. He was in charge of product design until a reorganisation of the cci in 1983, through which he became head of the "service d'études et recherches design technologies nouvelles, innovation sociale" (see B. Dufrière 2007, p. 644). Girard was not directly involved with the project for *Les Immatériaux* and would, in 1987, leave the cci for the Cité des sciences et de l'industrie which had opened in the Parc de la Villette in Paris in 1986.

*Langage papier crayon* (March till May), and *Différence indifférence. Handicaps et vie quotidienne* (March till June 1981).<sup>51</sup> In the autumn of 1981, Chaput was preparing an exhibition about pin-ball machines (*Billes en tête: l'imagerie du Flipper*, 21 October till 14 December) and would therefore have been free for new projects by the end of October.<sup>52</sup>

It is not clear whether Chaput was among the "other collaborators of the cci," who, according to Mullender's cover letter, had contributed to Guidot's consultations in the summer of 1981. In retrospect, Marc Girard has confirmed that Chaput and Guidot had a friendly and respectful relationship, despite the difference in age: "Guidot would have gone directly to Chaput to speak about the project; the contact between them was very friendly at the time, and Chaput was the obvious person to work on this particular project."<sup>53</sup>

Thus, even without knowing the exact circumstances we can presume that some time in September or October 1981, Chaput was asked by Mullender and Guidot to start research on the project outlined in Guidot's text.

### Afterword

The phase that followed after Chaput received this assignment in autumn 1981 lies beyond the scope of the present paper. It comprises the research that Chaput and his team did, leading up to the concept proposal with the working title, "La matière dans tous ses états," presented in April 1983, and the call on Jean-François Lyotard, only a few weeks later, in May 1983, by the cci's director Paul Blanquart to talk to about a project of the Centre Georges Pompidou on "Matériaux nouveaux et création."<sup>54</sup> At present, not much is known yet about the intervening 18 months, both about the details of the research process and about the exact reasons for contacting the philosopher of the "postmodern condition," whereas we enter more known territory again with the first meeting by Lyotard and Chaput at the beginning of June 1983.

**51** – Remarkably, the proposal of this latter exhibition on design for the handicapped had been mentioned in the cci program meeting on 20 March 1980, though at that point, less than a year before the opening, there was no responsible curator and team designated yet for this project which would eventually be realised by Chaput and two colleagues – suggesting a practice at the cci where Chaput was assigned projects "on call." (See 1980-03-20-26\_CCI-programmation\_CGP-AP\_1977001-015, p. 2, see also p. 5.)

**52** – Martine Moinot remembers that she was asked by Chaput to work with him on the "matériaux nouveaux" project after their collaboration on *Différence indifférence*. (Personal conversation with the author, Martine Moinot, Paris, 3.10.2018.)

**53** – Personal conversation with the author, Marc Girard, Paris, 26.9.2019.

**54** – 1983-05-25\_LI\_Blanquart-to-JFL\_CGP-AP\_1977001-130. – It is not clear whether Mullender's departure in February 1982, and the arrival of Paul Blanquart as the new

director of the cci, directly impacted Chaput's research, or whether the re-orientation away from a professional perspective on design that was championed by Gaudin and that was still present in Guidot's concept, towards a perspective that was more audience-oriented and that looked more at the societal impact of new technologies, took place more gradually. As Marc Girard comments: "From the inside of cci and through their political network, some colleagues promoted clearly the choice of Blanquart as the cci's director: their aim was a cci more dedicated to the 'social studies' field and less to design and industry promotion." (E-Mail correspondence with the author, Marc Girard, 6.3.2020) For indications of such a political conflict between Mullender and Vicent Grimaud, who worked for the cci's "service de recherche," see documents drafted by Grimaud in April and June 1980 (1980-04-15\_CCI\_recherche-materiaux-de-construction\_Grimaud\_CGP-AP\_1977001-020-d-5, 1980-06-20\_Grimaud-to-Mullender\_CGP-AP\_1977001-020-d-5).



Curiously, Lyotard's own initial conceptual sketch ("Esquisse"), which is dated 10 August 1983, comes across – in its style, topics, and structure – as a recension to the text drafted by Guidot in August 1981, and not as a response to Chaput's concept of April 1983. It therefore seems justified to speculate that Lyotard's conceptual thinking about the exhibition project (he calls this thinking "philosophical" in the "Esquisse") was first triggered by reading Guidot's text while, at the same time, Lyotard took into view the research framework, the projects which Chaput and his team had collected in the proposal for "La matière dans tous ses états" and which they, no doubt, presented to Lyotard in their first joint working sessions at the cci, in June through August 1983. Perhaps Guidot's text even laid the foundations for what would become the *mât*-system by means of which, starting in the "Esquisse," Lyotard heuristically structured the exhibition. Guidot had written about the differences between *matériau*, *matériel*, and *matière*,<sup>55</sup> to which Lyotard would add the terms *matrice* and *maternité* – an associative thread that was absent from Chaput's more pragmatic proposal, yet that a spirited mind in search of "im-materials" could spin off from Guidot's text.

Soon, Lyotard's conceptual framing of the exhibition project would repeatedly depart from a critique of the key concepts of "the material," of "newness," and of "creation," terms that were mentioned in Blanquart's original invitation in May 1983, and that Lyotard professedly wanted to question through the entire make-up of *Les Immatériaux*.<sup>56</sup> Whereas Chaput's concept of April 1983 had only gestured towards these terms in the subtitle ("Manifestation [...] sur le thème des matériaux nouveaux et de la création"), it was Guidot's 1981 text which prominently and critically discussed the transformation of materiality, the factor of newness, and the role of creation and authorship. Guidot's text may therefore have constituted an important starting point for Lyotard's own approach to the challenge offered to him.

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<sup>55</sup> – 1981-08-31\_concept-Creation-et-matériaux-nouveaux\_Guidot-CCI\_CGP-AP\_1977001-049-d-1, p. 1, 3.

<sup>56</sup> – This threefold critique recurs from the "third state" and press release document of April 1984, to Lyotard's conversation with Bernard Blistène for *Flash Art*, early in 1985.

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