

Mark Lombardi Global Networks

INDEPENDENT CURATORS INTERNATIONAL, NEW YORK

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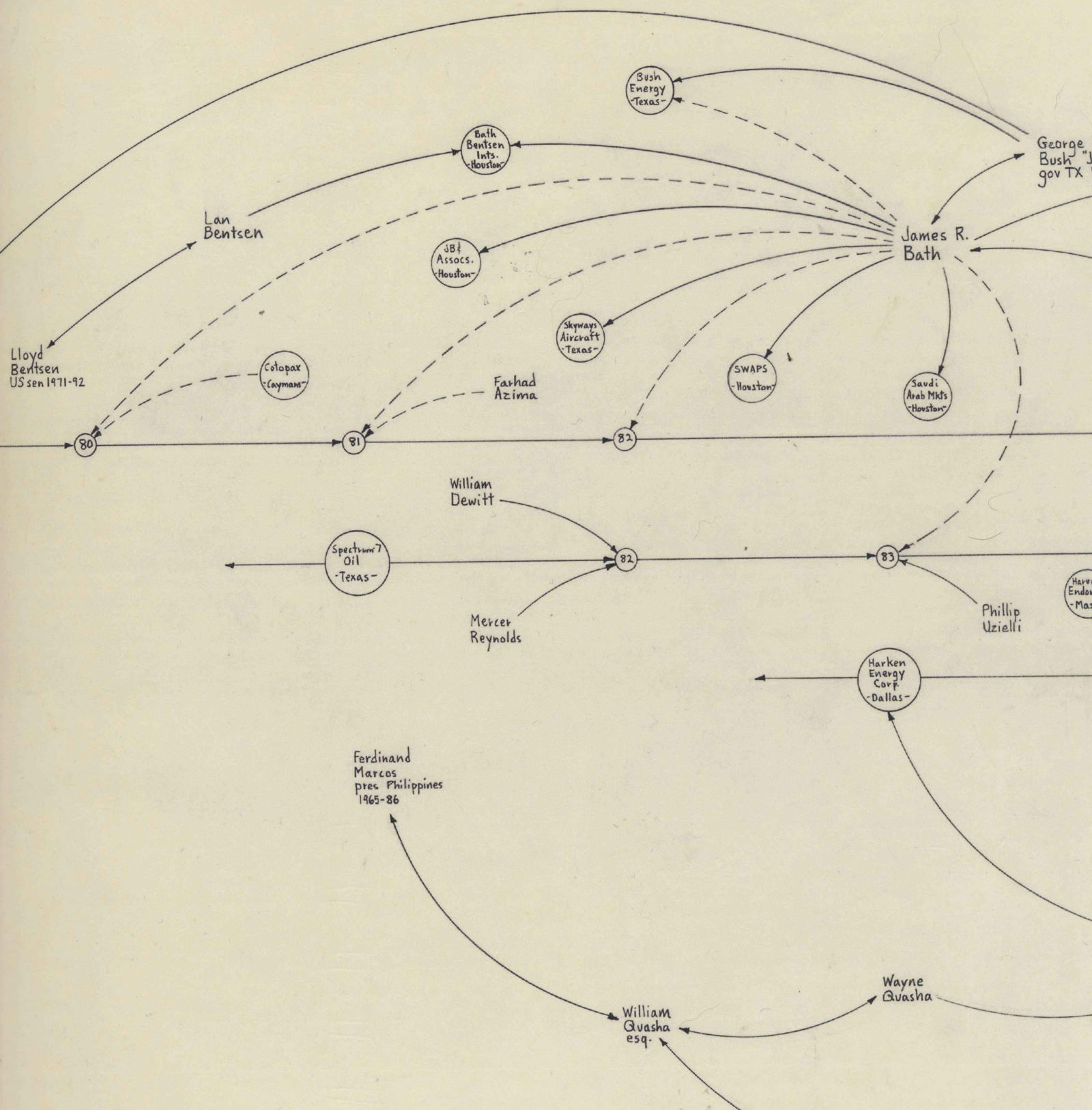
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George W. Bush, Harken Energy and
Jackson Stephens c. 1979-90
5th Version
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Mark Lombardi Global Networks

ROBERT HOBBS

INDEPENDENT CURATORS INTERNATIONAL, NEW YORK

Published to accompany the traveling exhibition

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by Independent Curators International (ICI), New York

Exhibition curated by Robert Hobbs, the Rhoda Thalheimer
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Exhibition Itinerary

Herbert F. Johnson Museum of Art
Cornell University
Ithaca, New York
January 25–March 16, 2003

Museum of Contemporary Art Cleveland
Cleveland, Ohio
May 30–August 17, 2003

Jean Paul Slusser Gallery
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan
September 5–October 22, 2003

The Drawing Center
New York, New York
November 1–December 18, 2003

Yerba Buena Center for the Arts
San Francisco, California
January 17–April 4, 2004

Joe and Emily Lowe Art Gallery
College of Visual and Performing Arts
Syracuse University
Syracuse, New York
April–June 2004

Faulconer Gallery
Grinnell College
Grinnell, Iowa
June 18–August 1, 2004

Art Gallery of Ontario
Toronto, Ontario
September 10–December 5, 2004

Milwaukee Art Museum
Milwaukee, Wisconsin
January–March 2005

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FOREWORD AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The exhibition *Mark Lombardi: Global Networks* and the accompanying catalogue focus on twenty-five remarkable works on paper, the oeuvre on which Lombardi (1951–2000) was working up until his death, and which represents his most significant artistic accomplishment. Together, these delicate and beautiful pencil drawings form an important and timely project for ICI and a gratifying means to enhance the understanding and appreciation of contemporary art internationally for a wide public, ICI's mission.

The importance of this project is three-fold. First, this exhibition is the first retrospective of Lombardi's compelling and influential work and will, through ICI's tour, be seen by museum visitors across the country, while the catalogue offers the first in-depth research and critical discussion of Lombardi's unique undertaking, enabling the work to travel far beyond the venues where it is shown and to take its place in an international discourse. Second, this project allows us to present Lombardi's work in the context of its influential role, both visually and conceptually, in the current surge of renewed interest in, and critical attention to, the medium of drawing. And finally, curator Robert Hobbs's essay and the exhibition affirm the significance of Lombardi's work as "contemporary morality tales." Looking at the works, we are drawn into a dense but ethereal web of straight lines and curves that plot the network of transactions, spheres of influence, and chief players in true-crime stories on a global scale. He invented a new method for creating a visual narrative, and his work can help us understand the clandestine world of corporate and business connections behind the scandals now eroding public confidence in financial and government institutions, and offers clues for untangling the complex economic underpinnings of current political developments.

This book and traveling retrospective exhibition have been made possible with the encouragement, dedication, and generosity of a great many people. First and foremost, we extend warmest thanks and appreciation to guest curator Robert Hobbs. Throughout this project, from his initial proposal to ICI to the last, intense phase of research and writing, he has brought a passionate commitment, intelligence, perseverance, and good humor to developing his curatorial work so that together we could bring Mark Lombardi's work to art audiences and a wider public.

Robert Hobbs joins ICI's Board of Trustees and staff in our thanks to all the other individuals and institutions that contributed to this project. We express our appreciation to Frances Richard for her composite portrait of Lombardi by his friends and colleagues, excerpted from a much longer piece she wrote for the winter 2001/02 issue of *wburg.com*.

All of us at ICI wish to thank the sponsors of this exhibition and catalogue, without whose support this project could not have been realized. We are grateful to the Judith Rothschild Foundation for their generous grant to the project; and to the members of the ICI International Associates and the ICI•Independents, both of whom designated this project for their support in 2003. The publication of this catalogue is partially underwritten by the Virginia Commonwealth University School of the Arts with private gifts, and we express special thanks to Dr. Richard Toscan, Dean, School of the Arts, for his encouragement of this project.

ICI owes a tremendous debt of gratitude to all the lenders who generously allowed their works to travel throughout the two-year tour and to the many galleries for their assistance. For their special efforts and support, I would like to especially acknowledge lenders Amy and Joseph Morel.

On behalf of Robert Hobbs and ICI, I want to express our profound thanks to the artist's parents, Shirley and Donald Lombardi, who have helped in numerous ways to make this project a reality. Their friendship, hospitality, and trust are greatly appreciated.

We would also like to acknowledge the crucial assistance and support of Joe Amrhein and Susan Swenson of Pierogi, Brooklyn. Their deep understanding of and commitment to Lombardi's work has been invaluable throughout the many phases of producing this exhibition and catalogue, and it has indeed been a pleasure for all of us to work with them. We also appreciate the ready help offered on many occasions by their assistant, Ada Chisholm.

We are indebted to several individuals who were well acquainted with the artist during different phases of his life and have generously shared information and reminiscences about him. They include Lombardi's former wife, Day Barlow; his sister, Lisa LaRue; fellow artist and librarian Andy Feehan; his close personal friend Kathy Heard; his confidant Greg Stone; former gallerist Deven Golden; and his mentor, museum director James Harithas.

ICI would like to acknowledge staff members at the first venue in the tour of the exhibition, the Herbert F. Johnson Museum of Art at Cornell University, for their exceptional assistance. Our thanks go to Andrea Inselmann, curator; Matthew Conway, registrar; Jane Terrell, curatorial assistant; and Matthew Ferrari, photographer.

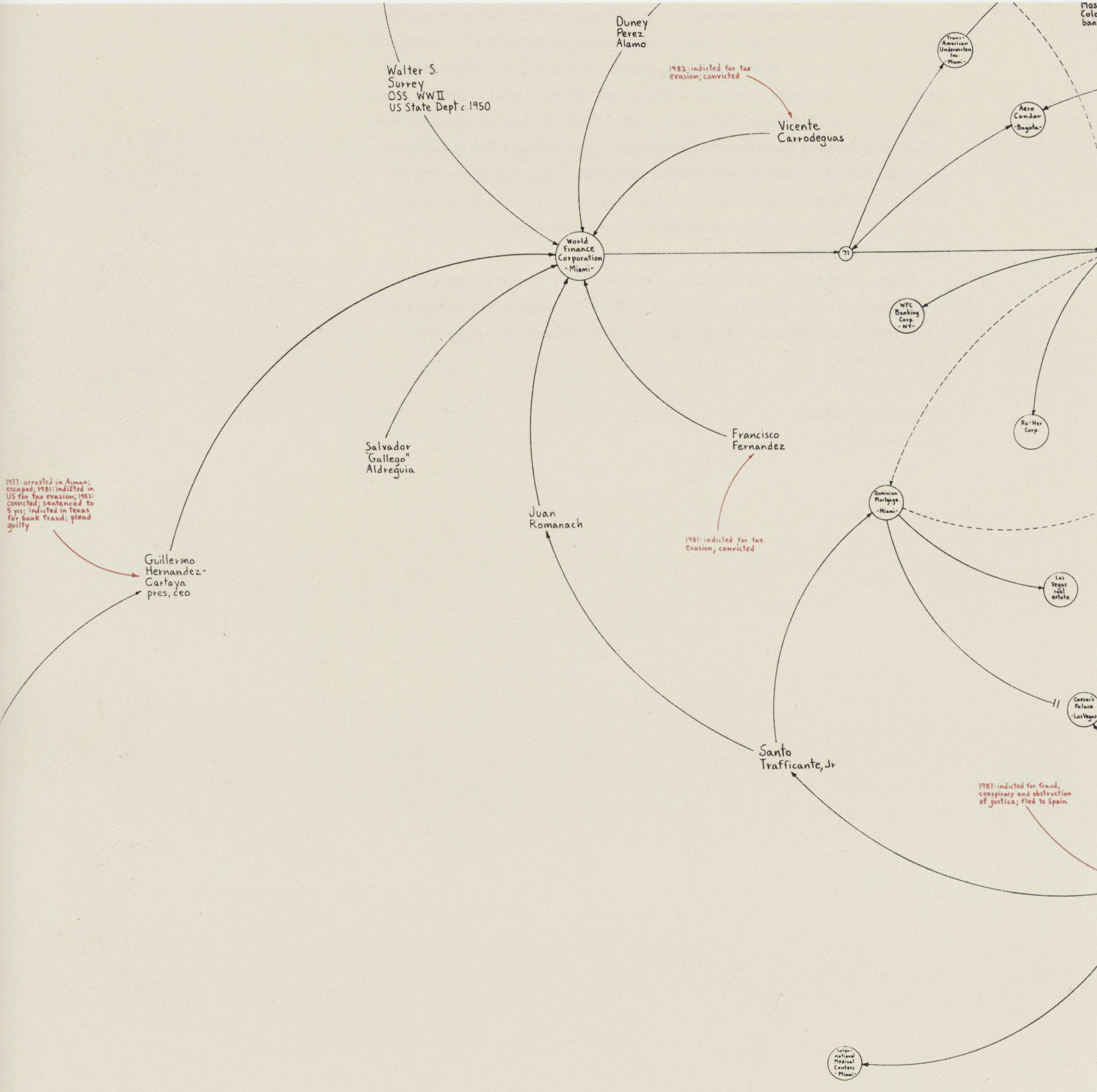
Robert Hobbs thanks Vittorio Colaizzi, who has been an able and assiduous research assistant throughout this project, and whose thoroughness and fascination with the topic were greatly valued. Robert also wishes to express his deep appreciation to Jean Crutchfield, for her steadfast support of his research and thinking about Lombardi's work through ongoing conversations about its importance, and for her commitment to the project as a whole.

Sincere appreciation is also due to Bethany Johns for her work on this catalogue; to Stephen Robert Frankel, the catalogue's editor; and to indexer Mary Mortensen. It was a great pleasure to work with all of these superb professionals.

ICI's dedicated, knowledgeable, and enthusiastic staff deserves recognition for their work on every aspect of this project. Thanks go especially to Carin Kuoni, director of exhibitions, whose discerning efforts were crucial to the successful development of this exhibition, tour, and publication, and to staff members Amy Owen, exhibitions associate, and Carolyn Padwa Temlock, former registrar, who both provided expert assistance to Carin. Thanks also to Nika Elder, exhibitions assistant; Judi Caron, special assistant for exhibitions; Hedy Roma, director of development; Eileen Choi, development associate; Meghann McKale, development assistant; Sue Scott, executive assistant and press coordinator; Dolf Jablonski, bookkeeper; and exhibitions intern Daria Joubert.

Finally, I extend my warmest appreciation to ICI's Board of Trustees for their continuing support and commitment to all of ICI's activities. They join me in expressing our gratitude to everyone who has contributed to making this project possible.

Judith Olch Richards
Executive Director



World Finance Corporation,
Miami, ca. 1971-79 (5th
 Version), 1999 (cat. no. 13, detail)



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On September 16, 1985, when the Commerce Department announced that the United States had become a debtor nation, the American Empire died. The empire was seventy-one years old and had been in ill health since 1968. Like most modern empires, ours rested not so much on military prowess as on economic primacy. . . . in 1914, New York [had] replaced London as the world's financial capital. . . . what had been a debtor nation became a creditor nation.

— Gore Vidal, "Requiem for the American Empire," 1986

On October 17, 2001, five weeks after the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center that tragically demonstrated the permeability of the United States' borders, an F.B.I. agent contacted the Whitney Museum of American Art. She wanted to obtain a reproduction of Mark Lombardi's large drawing *BCCI-ICIC & FAB, 1972-91* (4th Version) or, if that were not possible, to see the actual work at the museum. At about the same time, Lombardi's gallery, Pierogi, also received a telephone inquiry from a "lead investigator into the September 11 attacks."¹ Federal investigators, as part of their preliminary inquiry into the attacks, wanted to obtain information pertaining to wealthy Saudi Arabian terrorist Osama bin Laden and his Al Qaeda network by tracing his many financial connections, including his dealings with his brother-in-law, Khalid bin Mahfouz, a Saudi banker and former BCCI director. Since the drawing was then on display as part of the Whitney's permanent collection show *Pollock to Today*, and no reproduction of it was available, museum officials suggested that the agent come look at the work during the hours the museum was open to the public. Carefully studying the spidery web that Lombardi had delineated, she undoubtedly tried to decipher the connections linking international crime figures, arms dealers, money launderers, corrupt officials, intelligence agents, as well as drug smugglers who profited from the services of the infamous Bank of Credit and Commerce International, whose principals stole an estimated \$12 billion from their depositors. Time magazine called BCCI "the largest criminal enterprise in history."²

If government investigators had merely decided to include select members of the art world in their investigation into the 9/11 attacks, that fact alone would have been newsworthy. But when an F.B.I. agent consulted a work of art for clues pertaining to terrorist financing, she unwittingly made history.

1. Dean Yuliano, "The Gallery: An Artist with a Taste for Scandal," **Wall Street Journal**, May 1, 2002, p. D-7. Yuliano spoke to Whitney Museum personnel as well as to Ada Chisholm, assistant to Pierogi's director.
2. Jonathan Beaty and S. C. Gwynne, "Too Many Questions," **Time**, November 11, 1991, p. 43.

Fig. 1. Benjamin West, *The Death of General Wolfe*, 1770



HISTORY PAINTING AND CORPORATE CRIME

History painting in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was the pinnacle of achievement for academically trained European and American artists well versed in the classics, but its accepted purview was the distant past rather than current events. However, a few particularly adventurous painters, such as Benjamin West, made brief forays in this area (see fig. 1). Known in France as *grands machines*, these frequently enormous pageants, representing a wealth of accumulated learning, safeguarded tradition at the same time that they upheld decorous and enlightened views of commonly accepted heroic events. Even though West prided himself on the veracity of the accouterments he incorporated into his battle scene and secular pietà, he, like his fellow academicians, aimed to make definitive pictures capable of inspiring awe and respect. Such artists intended to eradicate debate rather than encourage it.

One might say that, beginning in the 1960s, some Conceptual artists picked up where the history painters left off. Wanting art to represent important historical and political acts, German-expatriate artist Hans Haacke assumed the role of investigative reporter in 1971 when he created his *Shapolsky et al. Manhattan Real Estate Holdings, a Real-Time System, as of May 1, 1971* (fig. 2). The work consists of 142 photographs of New York apartment buildings, two maps of New York's Lower East Side and Harlem (with properties marked), and six charts outlining the business relationships from 1951 to 1971 of this real-estate group of slum landlords who were renowned for their graft and, in general, shady dealings. Two years later, New York artist Gordon Matta-Clark assembled *Reality Position—Fake Estates: Block 3398, Lot 116, 1973*, consisting of a photocollage, certificate, and map all pertaining to one of fifteen micro-parcels of land in Queens that Matta-Clark purchased at auction, unusable, irregularly shaped slivers of land that

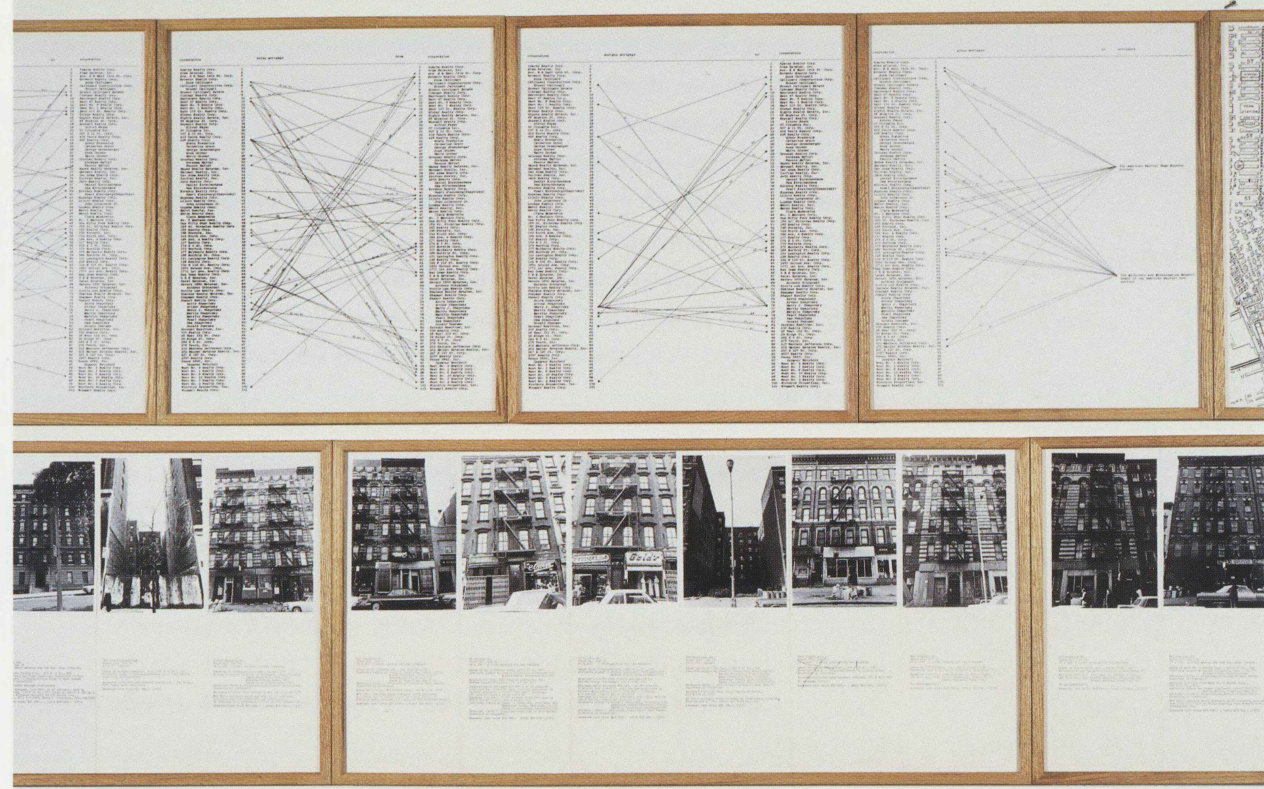


Fig. 2. Hans Haacke, *Harry Shapolsky et al. Manhattan Real Estate Holdings, a Real-Time Social System, as of May 1, 1971*, 1971 (detail)

were considered inappropriate for development. Matta-Clark said, "What I basically wanted to do was to designate spaces that wouldn't be seen and certainly not occupied. Buying them was my own take on the strangeness of existing property demarcation lines. Property is so all-pervasive. Everyone's notion of ownership is determined by the use factor."³ While Haacke and Matta-Clark both viewed art as a logical repository for substantiated data, neither one considered his art as an extension of history painting. Instead of focusing on august historic personages or literary models, these two artists hunted down representative examples of current real-estate deals. The works they created were far more concerned with ongoing practices than with unique situations, and their concept of history was more related to studies of popular culture than traditional history, with its emphasis on great individuals who rise above the din of the common crowd.

Although Mark Lombardi (1951–2000) held the conceptually based art of Haacke and Matta-Clark in high esteem, his mature work—a series of drawings begun in 1994 and continuing until his death, which he called *Narrative Structures*—is both more conservative and more advanced than theirs, since he intended to update history painting in terms of theories of globalism and rhizomic schematizations of power. In these works, he replaces the taproot theory crucial to history painting—that great individuals are the initiators of important events—with a new model based on less centralized, more serendipitous channels of power.

3. Liza Bear, "Gordon Matta-Clark: Interview with Liza Bear," *Avalanche* (December 1974), p. 34.

He presents this new type of power as arising from ongoing and seemingly fortuitous constellations of often high-profile individuals, some of whom are perpetrators of crimes while others are simply contacts who may or may not be guilty of wrongdoing. Lombardi's works reveal this global community as consisting of small enclaves of individuals that circulate either knowingly or unknowingly around some of the most corrupt supranational financial transactions of the twentieth century.

Lombardi accepted many of the basic rules governing history painting, but his own work was diametrically opposed to the closure to which such *grand peintres* as West aspired. In a self-interview dealing with his long-term interest in history, he wrote:

Reading history has always been one of my main pursuits. History as navigation, reportage, journalism. I also see this work as an offshoot of a lineage that goes back first to history painting. It has all the sweep and expanse, the drama and monumentality one might ordinarily associate with battle paintings or depictions of other significant historical events. But it goes back much further than that. The first story tellers no doubt augmented their tales with diagrams and pictographs drawn in the sand.⁴

Although Lombardi envisioned his drawings as corollaries of the vast screen of history painting, they diverge from the genre in significant ways. In these works, he reduced history painting's figurative element to written names, its interactions to connections that are not entirely clear, its exemplary acts to suspect ones, and its overwhelming reliance on painting to the *act* of drawing. Forgoing the absoluteness created by painting such illustrious subjects on canvas, his drawings are deliberately more open-ended than these traditional works, although they assume their own form of grandeur. Taking full advantage of the long-accepted theory that drawings represent an artist's initial thoughts about a subject, Lombardi's works pose tentative yet compelling portraits of twentieth-century corruption. Implicit in these drawings is the concept of extension, so that ideas are literally drawn out in space by the artist who recommends them as one of a number of possible ways to configure a given topic.

He therefore viewed his work as both more contemporary and ancient than this essentially Euro-American genre, since its ultimate source is early storytellers' reliance on drawing to communicate their narratives. His analogy helps us to understand the abbreviated and at times oblique views of history represented by his graphs, which often confounded his critics.⁵ Instead of enumerating tightly woven conspiracies, he opted for a structuralist paradigm: dramatizing information in terms of sets of imbricated networks so that individual players would be defined by the overall governing structures in which their names appear. Then he made this clear-cut rationality deliberately ambiguous by overlapping these structures so that networks impinge on each other. Rather than looking for distinct

4. Mark Lombardi, "Self-Interview," unpublished notes, ca. 1995, in the Mark Lombardi archives at Pierogi, Brooklyn, New York.

5. Shaila Dewan, "Making Connections: Mark Lombardi finds art in the ties that bind,"

Houston Press, December 12–18, 1996, p. 48, acknowledges, "I began to feel put off. Because of the way in which the huge amount of data is presented, it's ultimately impenetrable to all but the most knowledgeable. The drawings represent only the bare bones of an intricate narrative, indicating 'some type of influence or control' but not *what* type of influence or control."

origins, his view of beginnings is consistent with Michel Foucault's theory of genealogy as a series of accidents, oppositions, fragments, and dispersals rather than unified beginnings,⁶ and with Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari's concept of rhizomes as models for human interactions. In their book *A Thousand Plateaus* (vol. 2 of *Capitalism and Schizophrenia*), these two authors characterize the way rhizomes develop in terms of relays moving at different velocities and in many directions—similar to the way crabgrass branches out—obviating any traditional notions of boundaries that might isolate these networks as integral systems.⁷ According to Deleuze and Guattari, rhizomic flows demonstrate that “there is no universal capitalism, there is no capitalism in itself; capitalism is at the crossroads of all kinds of formations; it is neocapitalism by nature.”⁸ Their view of capitalism proved crucial for Lombardi's *Narrative Structures*.

LOMBARDI'S FORMATIVE YEARS

A native of the upstate New York town of Manlius, just outside Syracuse, Lombardi was introduced to the topic that became the ultimate subject of his art while still an undergraduate majoring in art history at Syracuse University, where he received a B.A. in 1974. In addition to studying art history, he had the great fortune to work with James Harithas, the adventurous director of the Everson Museum in Syracuse, and to serve as chief researcher for a timely exhibition in 1973, *Teapot Dome to Watergate*, a multimedia presentation of slides, videos, and images pertaining to infamous governmental scandals. Catalyzed by the Watergate hearings being held at the time, the team that organized the exhibition featured live television coverage of the Senate investigation under the chairmanship of Senator Sam Ervin as an integral part of it. Because Lombardi proved to be such a gifted researcher, he played an important role on the museum exhibition's team and was hired by Harithas two years later as one of his curators at the Contemporary Arts Museum (CAM) in Houston, shortly after Harithas was appointed director of that institution.⁹ During his approximately two years at CAM in 1975–76, Lombardi curated several exhibitions, including *Photograph: Shot in Texas*, *Ira Schneider Video*, and *Juan Downey: Video TransAmerica*. The first of these was a comprehensive survey of photography across the state, while the other two focused on noted video artists. The emphasis on video art may have been Harithas's choice, since he had put together one of the first important video collections in a U.S. museum during his time at the Everson and, while there, had hired David Ross as one of the country's first video curators.

From about 1977 to about 1981, Lombardi worked as a general reference librarian in the Fine Arts Department of the main branch of the Houston Public Library, where he became known for starting an archive on local and regional artists. This introduction to archives as a way to frame the very conditions of knowledge and thus participate in its formation—a timely Foucaultian concept—later proved essential to the development of Lombardi's art, which can be construed as sets

6. **The Foucault Reader**, ed. Paul Rabinow (New York: Pantheon Books, Random House, 1984), pp. 79–82.

7. Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, **A Thousand Plateaus**, vol. 2 of **Capitalism and Schizophrenia**, trans. Brian Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987), pp. 10–11.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 20.

9. James Harithas, telephone interview with the author, February, 28, 2003.

of visual archives. For Lombardi, part of the attraction of working there was the freedom it permitted him to pursue his own research and to read while on the job.¹⁰ He found several different kinds of employment after that, including a stint as a framer and art handler for Meredith Long Gallery, one of the most prominent in Houston.

Lombardi met Day Barlow in the late 1970s and married her in 1980. They agreed that she would continue with her job at Time Warner, and he would be free to pursue his interests in writing and curating. A few years after they wed, he opened Square One, an art gallery devoted to regional art, on Old Market Square in downtown Houston, and helped curate an exhibition on book art for the nonprofit arts organization Diverse Works (see cat. no. 1, p. 119). Although the gallery only remained open for about a year, it solidified Lombardi's interest in being an artist. In fact, he held a show of his own works there.¹¹ He pursued his interest in research by working on manuscripts for two books—one on panoramas and the other on the drug wars—and made art intermittently while working occasionally as an art handler.

LOMBARDI'S ARCHIVES

Lombardi's fascination with archives continued, and he began compiling a formidable reservoir of information during the early 1990s, and continued to do so until his death. It took the form of thousands of three-by-five-inch index cards covered with handwritten notations about various financial scandals, their perpetrators, and the people associated with them (see fig. 16, p. 49). These criminal activities exerted an enormous fascination for him as ongoing conspiracies, and he initially wanted to write articles and books about them. According to his friends, Lombardi experienced periods of incredibly intense energy when he would be consumed with a particular project. He soon found himself overwhelmed with the information he had collected.¹² To make this initial archive of handwritten notations clearer, he developed the idea in late 1993 of selecting discrete portions of his data and assembling them into related groups on pieces of drawing paper, in order to chart the interrelationships among specific individuals through rudimentary schematic drawings, which then became a second-level archive. At first he thought of them as study aids to his writings, but he realized in early 1994 that they constituted the synthesis of his research and his art that he had hoped to achieve:

I originally intended to use the sketches solely as a guide to my writing and research but soon decided that this method of combining text and image in a single field (called a drawing, diagram or flow chart, whichever you prefer) really worked for me in other ways as well. It provided a new focus to my work; tended to support the same goals as the writing—to convey socially—and politically use [sic] information; and confirmed 100% to my aesthetic inclinations—minimal, understated and somewhat iconoclastic.¹³

10. Andy Feehan, telephone interview with the author, February 25, 2003.

11. Harithas, telephone interview, February, 28, 2003.

12. Feehan, telephone interview, February 25, 2003.

13. Mark Lombardi, "Proposal for **Over the Line**," unpublished exhibition proposal (Brooklyn: Pierogi, 2000). The exhibition **Over the Line** was held at Lawndale Art and Performance Center; it opened on November 23, 1996. A version of this show with a different Lombardi text in the exhibition catalogue was **Crossing the Line: Drawings 1994–98**, which was held at the Museum of Contemporary Art, Washington, D.C.; it opened on February 20, 1998.

Foucault's classic statement on the creative role that archives assume in the creation of knowledge can help us understand the paramount importance of this second and predominantly visual archive for Lombardi:

The archive . . . determines that all these things said do not accumulate endlessly in an amorphous mass, nor are they inscribed in an unbroken linearity, nor do they disappear at the mercy of chance external accidents; but they are grouped together in distinct figures, composed together in accordance with multiple relations, maintained or blurred in accordance with specific regularities.¹⁴

Helping to clarify both interactions and ongoing dynamics that were hard to visualize in other ways, the drawings became independent entities. Different versions of the same scandal constituted different archives for Lombardi. Although the ostensible subject of these works appears to be the unveiling of conspiracies—and certainly the criminal component of the work continued to be an important factor for this politically motivated artist—his work began to transform his major goals from those of a sleuth to those of an architect of knowledge. In the process of developing this art, he became fully aware that information never constitutes an enumeration of mere facts, because the act of cataloguing is itself a means of redirecting, constraining, and reshaping such data. It is this flow of information, particularly its changing dynamics as revealed through different compositional strategies, that shows how relative mere facts are and how important comparison with supervening constellations can be.

Before discovering his major subject to be visually archiving information, Lombardi was initially alarmed by the spectacular nature of the crimes that he uncovered, but then decided that since all of the material had been taken from the public domain, it could be used without fear of reprisal. Still, he experienced a nagging sense of concern for his own safety whenever he thought about the husband of one of his classmates from Syracuse, Karen Wallbridge, who had also moved to Houston.¹⁵ This man had become mixed up in one of the scandals Lombardi was investigating and had mysteriously and tragically disappeared; only his jawbone was discovered. After making art for a while, Lombardi became less concerned with the egregious nature of his subject matter and more intrigued with ways of couching it. In the end, he decided—as he would laughingly tell his Houston friend Andy Feehan—that you could tell people the truth and few would really care. So he really did not think he should be concerned about his personal safety.¹⁶

LOMBARDI IN NEW YORK

Lombardi moved to New York City in the spring of 1997. Several factors contributed to this relocation. First, he and his wife had separated, and their divorce was finalized in October 1996. Second, his work was the subject of a solo exhibition at

14. Michel Foucault, **The Archaeology of Knowledge** (London: Tavistock, and New York: Pantheon, 1972), p. 128.

15. Day Barlow, telephone interview with the author, February 24, 2003.

16. Feehan, telephone interview, February 25, 2003. Feehan, one of Lombardi's close friends, remarked on his great sense of humor, a trait that many of the artist's other family members and associates recalled, even though they felt that the words "consumed," "intense," and "frenetic" also characterized him. Although some viewers wonder if this artist was embittered about life and therefore chose to show the negative side of globalism, it appears that he was impassioned about his work but also capable at times of viewing the world with ironic and humorous distance.

Lawndale Art and Performance Center in Houston. The invitation to exhibit at Lawndale was part of a prize awarded to Lombardi by this institution on the recommendation of juror Paul Schimmel, a former fellow curator at CAM and subsequently chief curator at Los Angeles's Museum of Contemporary Art, who recalled that Lombardi had not wanted to take advantage of their past association and decided to have his submission presented anonymously.¹⁷ Third, Lombardi was invited to participate in *Selections: Winter 1997*, a group show at New York's Drawing Center, where in January 1997 he witnessed people queue up to study his work—a heady experience for any artist, and certainly a consideration for someone planning to move to New York. And finally, in Houston he had befriended New York artist Fred Tomaselli, who persuaded him to move to Williamsburg, Brooklyn, and later introduced him to Joe Amrhein, director of Pierogi 2000, located in that neighborhood. Soon after moving to New York, Lombardi had a business card printed with his name and the words "Death-defying acts of Art and Conspiracy" directly beneath it. He regarded the card as "a serious joke," according to Amrhein, and used it as an icebreaker when meeting new people.¹⁸

During his three years in New York City, which were the last three years of his life, Lombardi participated in two solo New York gallery shows: *Silent Partners*, which opened at Pierogi 2000 on November 20, 1998; and *Vicious Circles* (named after Jonathan Kwitny's book *Vicious Circles: The Mafia in the Marketplace*), which opened at the Deven Golden Gallery in Manhattan on October 14, 1999.¹⁹

The final public showing of his work was in the exhibition *Greater New York: New Art in New York Now*, which opened at P.S. 1 on February 27, 2000, and was the first collaboration between P.S. 1 Contemporary Art Center and the Museum of Modern Art. Included in this show was his large drawing *BCCI-ICIC & FAB, 1972-91* (4th Version), 1996-2000 (the work that was examined by an F.B.I. agent a year and a half later at the Whitney), together with related sketches and thousands of his notecards, constituting a remarkable series of verbal and visual archives as an installation. Ten days before the opening, the sprinkler system in Lombardi's studio had damaged the third version of this drawing—the one that was supposed to be in the exhibition—and he was forced to re-create it. Since it was one of the most elaborate works in his entire series of *Narrative Structures*, he went without sleep for four days to finish it in time for the opening and, in the process, chose to refine and elaborate on it.

Despite his critical success in the P.S. 1/MoMA show, Lombardi seemed to be deeply affected by the stress of several events around that time: in addition to the studio damage and his round-the-clock labors before the opening, he suffered the breakup of an intimate relationship and the total destruction of his car, which had been sideswiped by a taxi in Manhattan. Less than a month after the opening of the P. S. 1 show, he was found dead in his studio.²⁰

17. Paul Schimmel, conversation with the author, Los Angeles, May 15, 2001.

18. Joe Amrhein, telephone conversation with author, March 29, 2003.

19. Jonathan Kwitny, **Vicious Circles: The Mafia in the Marketplace** (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1979).

20. The police report cited suicide by hanging as the reason for Mark Lombardi's death. The door to his studio was locked from the inside.

THE GENESIS OF THE Narrative Structures

Soon after his move to New York, Lombardi had developed a reputation for being an artists' artist—that is, an artist known and respected among his peers before the public became familiar with his work. In its ability to provide a radically new form of art consonant with the aspirations and limitations of his times, Lombardi's mature work, which spans the years 1994–2000, can be compared to Robert Smithson's and Matta-Clark's art of the 1960s and 1970s, which is similarly represented by only a few years of very intense and significant activity. Lombardi's delicate graphite drawings elaborately detail the myriad interconnections of financial corruption that extend beyond national boundaries and form the basis of a new supranational political force, thus frustrating any nation's aspirations for world hegemony, even the United States'. Often assuming grand proportions, his drawings are particularly timely now, since he usually created visual narratives that expose the worldwide interconnections among corporations, political structures, and ad hoc hierarchies that continue to be serious problems today. They delineate the free flow of money characteristic of a post-imperial world when multinational or consumer capitalism supplanted the monopoly stage, which in turn replaced an initial market form of capitalism.²¹ To convey this, Lombardi created subtle tracers of information pertaining to global financial deals and offshore banking that often resemble spider webs or portions of them.

Although banking per se was not a subject of immediate interest to Lombardi, he recognized in the early 1990s that it could reveal a society's dysfunction when he read in the *Houston Post* the results of Pete Brewton's thorough investigation of foreclosed savings and loan associations, which are also referred to as S&Ls or thrifts.²² Apropos of Brewton's research, Lombardi noted, "Bank failures provide a rare and invaluable opportunity to examine how business is all too frequently conducted, behind closed doors, by people with power or access to political elites."²³ On another occasion he wrote:

There is a sociological aspect to the work. I am interested in the structure, mechanisms, uses and abuses of power in the global political economy.

Banks are an excellent place to study this phenomenon. They occupy a unique niche in the business world because they are regulated to a greater degree than any other type of private commercial enterprise. We know more about what goes on inside Citibank than we do about, say, Dow Chemical or Philip Morris.

In addition to that, banks, whether in Hong Kong or Geneva or Cincinnati, provide a unique forum for the interplay of financial, corporate and political forces within the society at large. The basic social and economic priorities of life are debated and established here, in the financial sector; policy is then molded and sustained by financial means—loans, credits and so on. Government is only a tool for executing corporate policy.²⁴

21. Frederic Jameson, **Postmodernism, or, the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism** (Durham: Duke University Press, 1991). Jameson's concept of the three-stage formation of capitalism is indebted to the ideas of Ernest Mandel; see Mandel's **Late Capitalism**, trans. Joris De Bres (London and Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press, 1975).

22. For a summary of Brewton's thoughts on failed S&Ls, see Pete Brewton, **The Mafia, CIA & George Bush** (New York: S.P.I Books, a division of Shapolsky Publishers, 1992).

23. Mark Lombardi, unpublished notes, 1990s, in the Mark Lombardi archives at Pierogi, Brooklyn, New York.

24. Ibid.

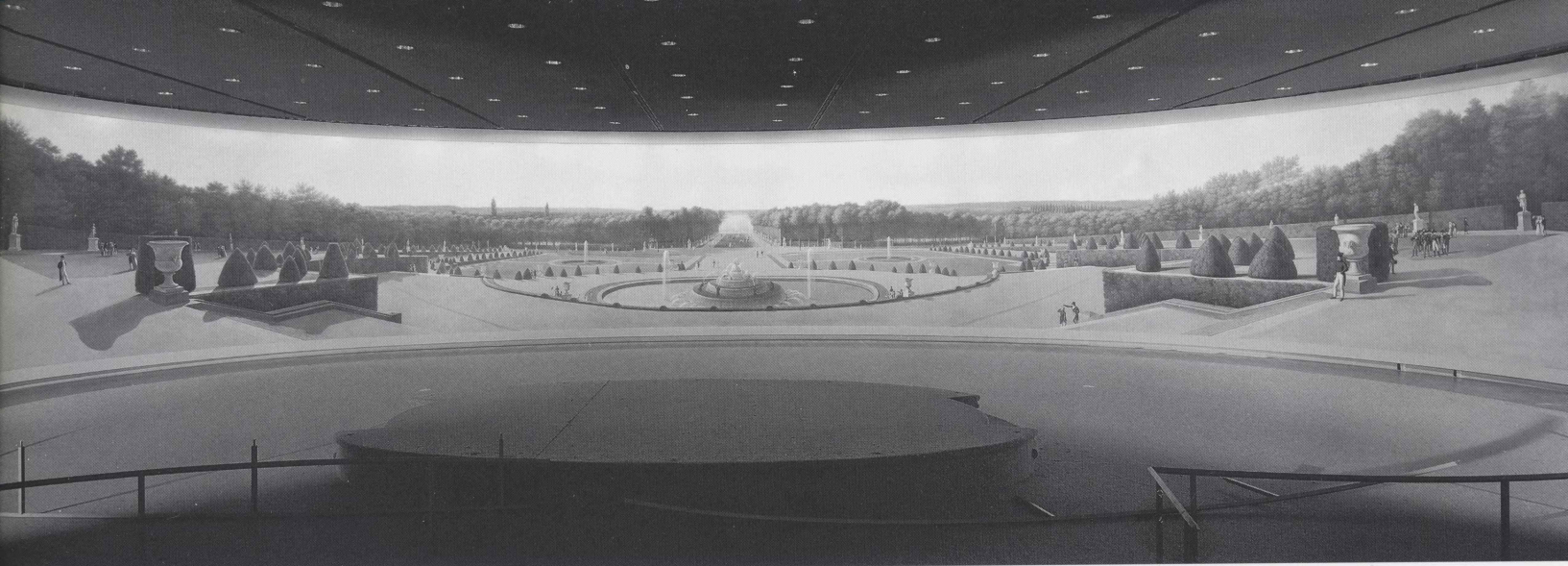


Fig. 3. John Vanderlyn, *Panorama of the Palace and Gardens of Versailles, 1814–19* (detail)

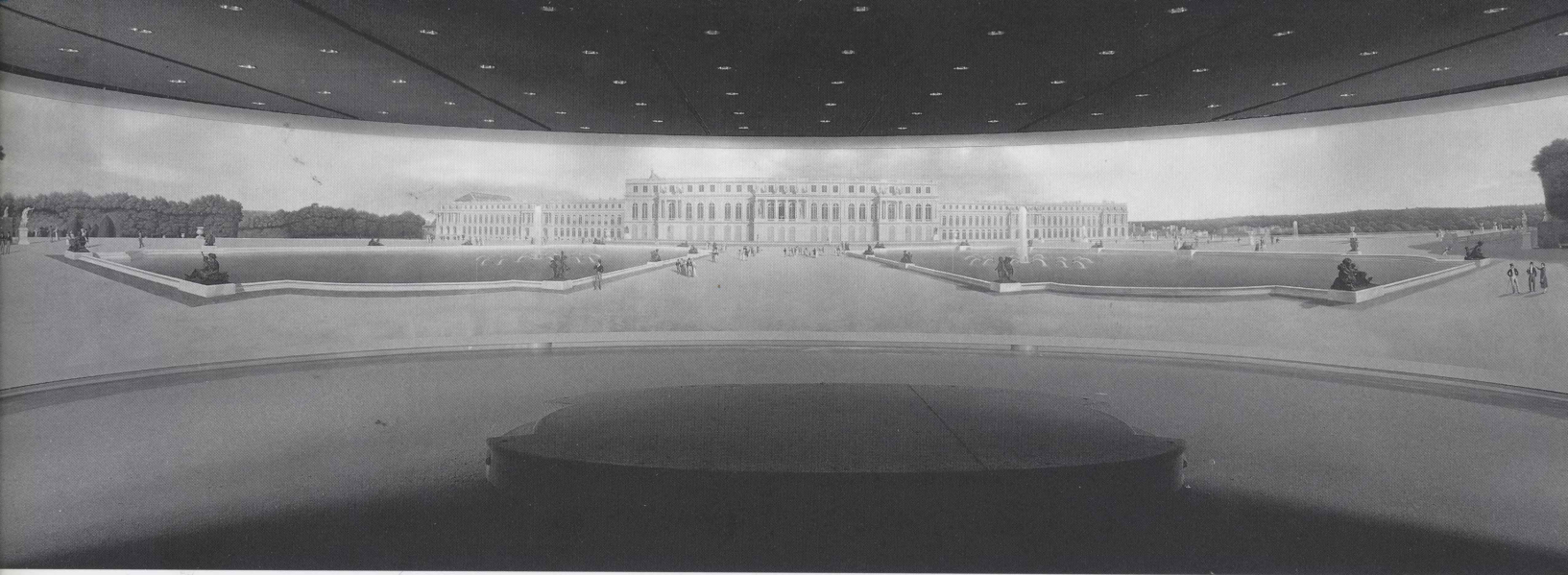
As this statement suggests, Lombardi used art as a means to visualize the patterns of new global networks that, prior to his analyses of corrupt financial institutions, had been only summarily delineated. Reviewing Lombardi's work in 1998, *New York Times* critic Roberta Smith described him as "an investigative reporter after the fact" and said that his drawings exhibit "tremendous visual verve, delicately tracing the convoluted unfoldings of contemporary morality tales."²⁵ In effect, he has created a new type of history painting that maps late twentieth-century corruption in abstract terms particularly germane to it.

Although Lombardi's work might at times seem unnecessarily elliptical and abstruse to the uninitiated, and even impregnable at times to those fully indoctrinated in the history of a given financial scandal, his drawings had the great appeal of being practically the first art to visualize the new global order that has seemed to be one of the key sources of power in the late twentieth century and thereafter. They also demonstrated that even though nationalism was being superseded by globalism, this new set of ad hoc international alliances was actually made up of a small community of players. Although many of these individuals were leaders of rogue nations, known government officials, intelligence specialists, members of organized crime, or infamous white-collar criminals, viewers have often experienced a strange sense of comfort in finding out that this motley group comprised a relatively small confederation. With the notion that the activities of global alliances might be analogous to the intrigues of local scoundrels, the world appeared once again to assume a recognizable form. Such an inference was in fact illusory, since the effects of globalism had become terrifyingly unmanageable, and the ultimate ramifications of this new, pervasive reign of money—beyond the control of any nation's government or laws—were still only dimly perceived.

PANORAMA: THE ATLAS OF ROMANTIC ART

Although he did not undertake a study of history painting per se, Lombardi did make a concerted effort in the 1980s to understand panoramic painting, a degraded genre of popular culture. One can only wonder how the former museum curator,

25. Roberta Smith, "Mark Lombardi: 'Silent Partners,'" *New York Times*, December 25, 1998, p. E-42.



fledging artist, and still nascent art historian became intrigued with this once popular art form that had languished for almost 125 years before he undertook an extensive study of it. According to his wife, he chose to work in this area because it was at that time so little known, had at one time been almost ubiquitous, and now needed an interpreter in order to be recognized again as the important popular cultural tradition it once was.²⁶ In 1989, after more than two years of research and writing, he had a manuscript of more than 540 typewritten pages that he entitled "Panorama: The Atlas of Romantic Art (1787–1862)."²⁷ Akin to Duchamp's discursus on rare endgame solutions to chess, this extensive, unpublished study focuses on a rarefied genre which now consists of only two extant works from the years Lombardi identified as the principal period of activity for painters of the genre: Alpine landscapist Marquard Wocher's *Panorama of Thun, Switzerland*, ca. 1808–14, and American history painter John Vanderlyn's *Panorama of the Palace and Gardens at Versailles*, 1814–19 (fig. 3). His exploration surveyed many of the two hundred panoramas, ranging in size from 20 to 70 feet in height and 50 to 150 feet in diameter, that were known to have been produced as general public entertainment during this seventy-five-year period. To understand the contemporary appeal of these enormous paintings, whose measure of success was keyed to ticket sales and which were often taken on tour from city to city, one might conceptualize them as precursors to wide-angle film projections, even though showings of them were often enlivened by the impassioned rhetoric of the artist or his chosen representatives rather than by stereoscopic sound.

Although the exact circumstances in which panoramas first began to appeal to Lombardi may never be known, hindsight does allow us an opportunity to consider relationships between his fascination in the 1980s with this genre's once-hyped inclusiveness and his own drive a decade later to create both in-depth and wide-ranging pictures of corporate crime networks.

Several essential points in Lombardi's manuscript reveal attitudes that foreshadow the course of his later drawings. For example, his description that "the historian is reduced to random glimmerings obtained via shards, scraps and bits

26. Day Barlow, telephone interview, February 24, 2003.

27. Mark Lombardi, "Panorama: The Atlas of Romantic Art (1787–1862)," unpublished manuscript, 1987–89, in the Mark Lombardi archives at Pierogi, Brooklyn, New York.

of ephemera to begin the reconstruction"²⁸ aptly characterizes the proto-archaeological investigations that absorbed his attention in the 1990s. During that time, he painstakingly sifted through the public record to document and collate individuals' activities while cross-referencing them with others involved in either the same or related scandals. Lombardi's reliance on the Greek definition of the word "panorama," meaning whole or total view,²⁹ indicates his fascination with an inclusive form, an interest that re-emerged in his own artistic search for comprehensiveness in his *Narrative Structures* chronicling global networks from the 1930s to the 1990s. Prefiguring this term by which he chose to refer to his mature work, he noted that "though [the panorama is] an environment, the experience [of seeing it] resembled a narrative event."³⁰ At one point in his analysis of this genre, he invokes Joseph Addison to legitimate the vast prospect that panoramas create—a function also invoked by his own diagrammatic drawings, albeit in a radically different manner—when he quotes the British essayist's observation, "By greatness [of panoramic vista] I do not mean the bulk of any single object but the largeness of the whole view considered as an entire piece."³¹

These parallels between Lombardi's art-historical studies and his later work indicate a close connection between the two, but there are also notable differences, the most obvious being the emphasis on empiricism that the large paintings presume as opposed to the rationalism necessary for compiling and assessing his *Narrative Structures*. In his exegesis of panoramas, Lombardi was extraordinarily articulate about the epistemological shift these extensive early views necessitate. In language characteristic of Foucault's proposal that a different dominant episteme characterizes each age in the West, Lombardi wrote:

By 1700 the empirical revolution, a total upheaval of culture, custom and consciousness, had established a firm hold in north Europe. The elimination of fearful, symbolic connotations from nature and mathematics, the revision of standards of proof and measure, the embrace of immensity—all gave impetus to those societies at the time most inclined to commercial development, mechanization and physical expansion. . . . Here, the social implications of empiricism were also carefully reviewed, deliberated with care and whenever possible, converted to the level of moral philosophy. For instance, the concept of a free, subjective and autonomous mind appeared in some quarters to legitimize very radical social aspirations like quality and political liberty, and the assertion of individual and at times quite unprecedented values in all spheres of art and thought.³²

In case his readers might not apply this new orientation to the topic at hand, he repeatedly affirms in his manuscript how momentous this change is to painting in general and panoramic views in particular. A particularly apposite example of

28. *Ibid.*, p. A-7.

29. *Ibid.*, p. A-8.

30. *Ibid.*, p. G-8.

31. *Ibid.*, p. D-10.

32. *Ibid.*, p. E-1.

grounding theory in art so that it does not just illustrate philosophy but contributes to it—i.e., that a factual account of the contemporary world would constitute a shift to empiricism—is this observation:

But nowhere was the overall shock to tradition represented by empiricism more keenly felt or dramatically expressed than in the art of painting, with the emergence of Historical Landscape in the early to mid 1600s in Holland and, to a lesser extent, Italy. Historical landscape in its most basic form, simple view-taking, violated every principle established through centuries of classical pedagogy. Plain factual resemblance, manifested in optically correct views of actual locales and events became, for the first time, a goal in itself. . . . bourgeois Baroque: frank, candid assessments of the material conditions of contemporary experience, as in Vermeer.³³

Although panoramas signify a distinctly different worldview from the one articulated by Lombardi's art, their connections with the overall episteme of their age parallel his own quest to be contemporary. Among his papers are several copies of Harold Rosenberg's statement "Nothing is more difficult than to discover the present" written in large letters, which Lombardi probably kept visible in his studio as a reminder of this essential goal. In light of this quest for uncompromising contemporary relevance, he no doubt took great delight in learning that twentieth-century graphic designers, faced with the daunting task of giving clear and readily intelligible visual form to complex data, have used the landscape terminology originally applied to painted views and the aesthetic principles of the Sublime and Picturesque. The chief example of this is the frequency with which designers who create charts and other graphics employ the word "panorama" to emphasize ways of differentiating macro-elements, or what they call "overviews," "vistas," and "prospects," from the necessary micro-pieces of information, or "texture," they are required to communicate.

WORLD SYSTEM THEORY

Sometimes, artists and art historians approach topics that seem at the time extraordinarily esoteric and totally unrelated to current events but which, on reflection, appear strangely in sync with their times. Such a correspondence is found in the vastly enlarged vision analogous to Lombardi's early examination of panoramas and his study of global networks in his *Narrative Structures* that accord with the world system theory outlined in Immanuel Wallerstein's *The Modern World System*.³⁴ In this landmark structuralist overview published in 1974, Wallerstein theorizes capitalism as a five-hundred-year-old system predicated on primarily Euro-American dynamics, which resists being organized into an empire while holding in tension different national groups. This sociologist looks at capitalism from a

33. *Ibid.*, p. A-2.

34. Immanuel Wallerstein, **The Modern World System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century** (New York: Academic Press, 1974).

globalist view, as both a social and economic discourse and a spatio-temporal supranational entity developing over time.

Contemporaneous with the publication of his theory, Wallerstein's ideas were being tested in ways that he had not anticipated. Coming of age concurrently with the production and widespread dissemination of personal computers in the 1970s, Wallerstein's concept of a world economy as a function of the current state of technology was being extended to global proportions in an innovative way by this new data-processing system. While computers have only lately contributed to the free flow of capital beyond national boundaries, they have made it extraordinarily easy to do so. They have also helped to stimulate the tide of money laundering by making it relatively simple to move funds internationally from one shell account to another in order to disguise their illegal origin, thus making them appear legitimate.

In the United States, the development of a liquid global economy on a par with Wallerstein's world system became an argument for deregulation during the early years of the Reagan era, when it was assumed that American entrepreneurs working in the international arena required a level playing field facilitated by the fewest possible government regulations in order to be competitive. Thus, Wallerstein's idea, which attempted to characterize retrospectively the history of capitalism as a world system, actually describes a far more free-ranging contemporary complex, the global economy, which was beginning to assert both its positive and its destructive character at about the same time his work was being distributed and discussed.

ON HIGHER GROUNDS: DRUGS, POLITICS AND THE REAGAN AGENDA

While the study of panoramas seemed to satisfy Lombardi's need for intensive art-historical research, he was also delving into current political affairs and, in the late 1980s, began a comprehensive study of the Reagan administration's high-profile "war on drugs." His investigation culminated in the early 1990s in an unfinished, several-hundred-page manuscript that he titled "On Higher Grounds: Drugs, Politics and the Reagan Agenda."³⁵

Lombardi's professed model for political activism was the radical libertarian Noam Chomsky.³⁶ As an activist, Chomsky has been wary of the established political parties in the U.S. and of intellectuals' professed liberalism. He has expressed disdain for the Democrats, whom he believes to be largely indistinguishable from the Republicans, since he is convinced that the beliefs of both parties have been co-opted at the outset by supranational corporations and financial institutions dominating the world economy. An academic himself—a professor at M.I.T.—Chomsky has frequently expressed contempt for intellectuals as mere ideological gatekeepers unable to confront the real power of the media and its control of information. In place of these clerics, he envisions intellectuals capable of moving beyond ideological barriers to reveal the fictions perpetrated by the government and perpetuated by the media. According to Lombardi, Chomsky is "basically an optimist": his idea

35. Mark Lombardi, "On Higher Grounds: Drugs, Politics and the Reagan Agenda," unpublished manuscript, 1980s–early 1990s, in the Mark Lombardi archives at Pierogi, Brooklyn, New York.

36. Mark Lombardi, unpublished notes, 1980s or 1990s, in the Mark Lombardi archives at Pierogi, Brooklyn, New York.

is “give people info and they’ll make [the] right decision.”³⁷ Achieving Chomsky’s ideal became one of Lombardi’s goals, although his work has tended to appear more critical of the Republicans than the Democrats, since several Republican officials were implicated in far-reaching scandals during the Reagan and Bush years, when he was becoming politicized.

Drafted over several years from the late 1980s to the early 1990s, Lombardi’s manuscript “On Higher Grounds” documents his growing understanding of the Reagan and Bush administrations’ “war on drugs” as primarily an ideological battle. According to Lombardi, it was initiated as an intensive public-relations effort focusing on reducing demand and ended up as a battle against drug terrorists, thus supplanting the Cold War as our leaders’ new mission and fulfilling the United States’ apparent need for an external enemy to combat. Lombardi’s study parallels a decade of popular T.V. series and films that dramatized the dynamics of the drug trade, such as *Miami Vice* (1984–89), *Beverly Hills Cop* (1984), *Lethal Weapon* (1987), *Die Hard* (1988), *Licensed to Kill* (1989), and *Die Hard 2* (1990).

When describing the strategy of “demand reduction” at the beginning of his manuscript, Lombardi cynically points to the cost-effectiveness of waging the war against drugs primarily in the press without any substantive programs to back up the rhetoric. The “war on drugs” began with a highly visible television spot featuring First Lady Nancy Reagan (fig. 4) as a stern authority figure scolding the nation’s parents for their laxness, urging them to take tough measures, and proposing a simplistic catch phrase (“Just say no”). From this declaration of intolerance, it moved to advertising strategies (“This is your brain. This is your brain on drugs”), then to exerting pressure on the judiciary to put drug sellers and offenders in jail, and finally to redirecting funds allocated for domestic programs to pay for increased research into drug abuse, in hopes that these programs might be financed through public-private initiatives. Noting that “the Reagan decade will long be remembered as the golden age of media-charged political symbolism,”³⁸ Lombardi takes it to task for loudly broadcasting its message without providing adequate funding for instituting any real changes. He also criticizes the excessiveness of this propaganda campaign, which led to unprecedented jail terms—as much as forty years for possession and distribution of nine ounces of marijuana (worth about two hundred dollars on the open market)—and to proposals for legislation that would subject offenders to public ridicule by putting them in cages, or punish them by amputating for a first offense “the terminal joint of the end of the third finger of the defendant.”³⁹ (Known as the Texas Finger Bill, this last piece of legislation actually passed the Texas House of Representatives.) Lombardi also wondered at the lack of proportion that the media-driven “war on drugs” created when Mayor Marion Berry was widely vilified for lying about substance abuse, while former Marine Lieutenant Colonel Oliver North was cheered by many as a hero when he lied to Congress about the Iran-Contra affair.⁴⁰



Fig. 4. First Lady Nancy Reagan speaking at a “Just Say No” anti-drug rally on the Mall in Washington, D.C., 1988

37. Ibid.

38. Lombardi, “On Higher Grounds,” chapter 1, p. 4.

39. Ibid., chapter 3, p. 6.

40. Ibid., chapter 5, p. 38.

In addition to pointing out that the Reagan administration's propaganda against drugs endowed it with the aura of public-spiritedness for what amounted to essentially a lot of empty talk, Lombardi recognized the administration's adeptness at transforming almost overnight the defunct war on Communism into an urgent crusade against drug terrorists so that it might serve as an instrument of ideological warfare:

It doesn't matter if the cure really works, if more people will be killed this year (by drugs). Nor does it matter that we're spending more and more on the program and getting little in return . . . in a time of alleged fiscal restraint because the Drug War was from the very outset tailored to achieve goals, certain[ly] both social and political, that go far beyond mere public health concerns. The most obvious [and] widely discussed of these, especially in leftists circles, is the shift in foreign policy (and quite a rapid one) from one based on any form of anti-communism to one emphasizing the threat represented [by] drugs and drug trafficking.⁴¹

He notes with dry irony how selectively this international "war on drugs" was being fought. Although "the Nationalist Chinese Kuomintang, the South Vietnamese general staff, the Afghan rebels and Nicaraguan contras" have all been active in the international drug trade, only "the PLO, Islamic radicals based in Lebanon, the Iranian Revolutionary guard, the Irish Republican Army, the Nicaraguan Sandinistas, leftist M-19 guerillas in Colombia and Peru's staunchly Maoist Sendero Luminoso" are pinpointed as drug terrorists.⁴² In addition, he points out how conveniently the "war on drugs" enabled the United States to turn on its former ally, Manuel Noriega, at the time of the Panama invasion in 1990, by branding him a drug lord even though "this was a man whom the government had played footsy with for many years, had shown himself to be useful in collecting intelligence on the Cubans, Nicaraguans and of assisting the Contras by laundering money and providing armaments through his contacts with the National Security staff, notably Lt. Col. Oliver North."⁴³

THE S&L CRISIS

Although it is only a short step from investigating the drug debacle to looking at the concomitant problem of money laundering, Lombardi was too caught up with the ironies of the Reagan and Bush administrations' widely vaunted "war on drugs," which provided them with the political advantage of a clearly targeted, indisputable enemy, to take the next step. In retrospect, it appears that Lombardi's subsequent move from analyzing the campaign against drugs to investigating the money laundering of drug funds was a circuitous one, first catalyzed by Pete Brewton's sensational *Houston Post* articles on failed savings and loan associations, which implicated President Bush's Houston friends and sons, C.I.A. operatives, and known business associates of the Mafia.

41. *Ibid.*, chapter 6, p. 3.

42. *Ibid.*

43. *Ibid.*, chapter 6, p. 2.

Lombardi followed the story as it developed step by step, beginning with the January 1, 1990 article provocatively tagged, "Evidence suggests a possible link between CIA and organized crime, in the failure of at least 22 Thrifts, including 16 in Texas." This piece briefly summarized Brewton's eight-month investigation of S&L foreclosures, in which he discovered links between organized crime, money laundering, and covert aid to the Nicaraguan Contras. He arrived at this conclusion by researching public records in courthouses and surveying stories in local newspapers where thrifts had closed. The revelations in the first article were followed on March 11, 1990 by the equally volatile declaration, "A failed Colorado Savings and Loan whose board of directors included a son of President Bush was part of an intricate web of federally insured financial institutions that had business links to organized crime figures and CIA operatives, the *Houston Post* has learned." Lombardi collected these articles and follow-up pieces such as the interview between Brewton and David Armstrong in the special April 5, 1991 issue of *Texas Observer*, focusing on finances. A group of articles connecting the S&L scandal to President Bush appeared in the October 20, 1992 issue of the *Village Voice*, a newspaper that Lombardi subscribed to, and he preserved them in his archives. This issue of the *Voice* is particularly important for him, because it contained a summary of Brewton's forthcoming book in an article by Jonathan Kwitny, a former *Wall Street Journal* reporter who lauded the *Houston Post* reporter's assiduous work on the S&L scandal, beginning with his 1987 research on Mainland Savings, as "maybe the best job of reporting I had ever seen."⁴⁴

On February 20, 1993, the year before Lombardi initiated his *Narrative Structures*, he acquired a copy of Brewton's *The Mafia, CIA & George Bush: Corruption, Greed and Abuse of Power in the Nation's Highest Office* (fig. 5), which the author personally inscribed to "a fellow truth seeker." In his introduction, Brewton describes the S&L scandals as "the greatest financial disaster since the Great Depression." He qualifies the crisis as a "bipartisan scandal" involving "the two most prominent, powerful politicians from Texas, President George Bush and Senator Lloyd Bentsen."⁴⁵ To understand the enormity of this wholesale robbery, which most estimates calculate as costing taxpayers the spectacular sum of \$500 billion dollars over the next thirty years, one only needs to realize that the combined profits of all companies on the Fortune 500 list in 1988 were \$115 billion.

Because S&L failures in the 1980s provided Lombardi with repeated instances of complicity between government officials, covert intelligence operatives, business people, and members of organized crime, they comprised the factor that most contributed to the development of his mature work. To place the S&L scandal in proper historical perspective, one must understand the long-term community ideals that thrifts embodied. The best way to begin explaining the societal dream this financial entity represented is with Frank Capra's 1947 movie *It's a Wonderful Life*, since this film celebrated, and cemented in the public's mind, the glorified image of the unselfish neighborhood thrift that the 1980s S&L crisis completely undermined. Lombardi may have been particularly susceptible to the savings-and-

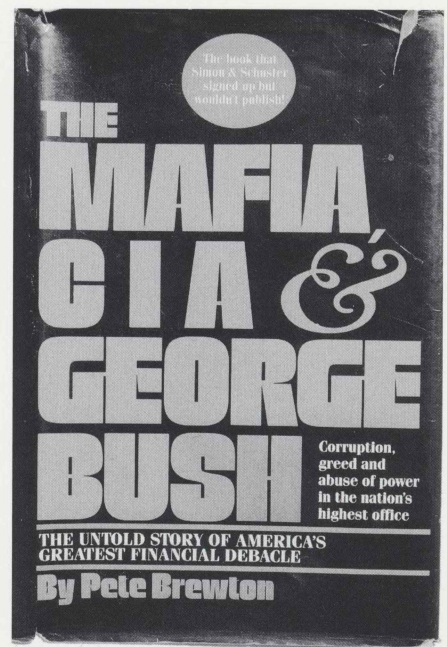


Fig. 5. Cover of Pete Brewton's book *The Mafia, CIA & George Bush: The Untold Story of America's Greatest Financial Debacle*

44. Jonathan Kwitny, "The Real S&L Scandal: All the President's Friends," *Village Voice*, October 20, 1992, p. 39.

45. Brewton, *The Mafia, CIA & George Bush*, Introduction, n. p. The book's cover is reproduced here courtesy of the publisher, SPI Books.

loan ideal, since he grew up in the halcyon village of Manlius, which at that time closely resembled the set for the village of Bedford Falls in Capra's film. In this drama, George Bailey (played by James Stewart) sacrifices his own quest for world adventure to save his family's business and hometown from the unscrupulous dealings of the town's banker, Henry Potter (Lionel Barrymore). Over the years, George chooses to build community solidarity through the inspired management of his father's savings and loan, an institution that in the film is known by its original name, "building and loan," probably to reinforce the plot's message of growth through cooperation. The Bailey Building and Loan is fully in sync with the original tenets of nineteenth-century savings and loan associations—descendants of English building societies—that helped to create both communities and good will by pooling private investors' savings to finance home purchases.

The film's references to savings and loan associations reprises Depression-era efforts by the federal government to support home ownership and remedy the situation of nearly two thousand failed S&Ls by establishing in 1932 an oversight agency, the Federal Home Loan Bank System, and then federal loan guarantees for depositors through the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation (FSLIC). In addition, Capra's "building and loan" theme anticipates the high hopes Americans had after World War II of entering a brighter and more optimistic era brought about by massive cross-country migrations and an equally impressive exodus from large metropolises to small towns and suburban districts. The underlying banking metaphor of *It's a Wonderful Life* updates both the New Testament injunction about wisely investing one's talents and Emerson's advice that "he who has put forth his total strength in fit actions has the richest return of wisdom."⁴⁶

For all the optimism of Capra's *Wonderful Life*, savings and loan associations have traditionally been the less-advantaged step-siblings of banks, since they could only accept deposits and grant home mortgage loans, most of which were set at fixed rates. Beginning in the late 1960s and continuing throughout the 1970s, the viability of these institutions was at the mercy of fluctuating interest rates, which wreaked havoc with the regular flow of deposits that constituted their life's blood. Whenever interest rates would rise—and the prime rate reached an astounding 21.5 percent during this period—S&Ls were prevented from competing with banks because of established ceilings on the amount of interest they could pay. In addition, when investors found they could earn much greater returns with money market funds, they often transferred their deposits from thrifts to institutions offering these higher fees.

In the early 1980s, when two-thirds of the nation's S&Ls were losing money and many were already broke, Reagan's policy of deregulation seemed to provide welcome relief. In 1980, the Depository Institutions Deregulation and Monetary Control Act (DIDMCA) initiated a wide range of expanded services for S&Ls, including loans for commercial property, non-mortgage consumer lending, and trust services. To support this enhanced purview, DIDMCA also raised the ceiling

46. Ralph Waldo Emerson, "The American Scholar" (1837), **Selected Essays** (New York: Penguin, 1985), p. 93.

of deposit insurance for these institutions from \$40,000 to \$100,000. Deregulation became even more extensive in 1982 when S&Ls were given the right to make secured as well as unsecured loans (that is, 100 percent financing and no down payments), calculate a prospective customer's "goodwill" and loyalty as part of the institution's capital, permit developers to own thrifts, and even extend loans to their owners.

As might be expected, such lax rules were invitations to owners of S&Ls to plunder their financial institutions and to engage in money laundering to shelter the stolen funds. Within a decade, 500 S&Ls failed as their owners, protected by federal loan guarantees, could issue with impunity unsecured and risky loans to friends, associates, family members, and even themselves. Some unprincipled lenders borrowed millions and either stashed money in trusts where it was protected from creditors or placed it in offshore accounts where it could not be traced. Then they sometimes completed this scenario by declaring bankruptcy to protect their homes. Since offshore accounts pay competitive interest on these funds, permit ease of transfer internationally, and supply lenders with debit cards, S&L defrauders placing their moneys in institutions offering these benefits were assured comfortable lifestyles with few hassles.

Brewton's research into corporate crime and the wholesale sheltering of stolen S&L funds—which was a major concomitant of the scandal—encouraged Lombardi to take an intensive look at how the global financial network was equipped to cleanse tainted funds and put them back into circulation in foreign countries where they would not be subject to either taxes or national restrictions. No longer serving any country's national priorities, such funds are potentially volatile: they represent globalism's seamier aspect. Because laundered funds can be circulated with great rapidity, moving from one country to another depending on the money to be made from them, they have the potential to substantially weaken national economies and create almost overnight global instability. Rather than focusing entirely on this new and not yet coalesced power structure, Lombardi assumed a historian's perspective by focusing on thrifts, banks, banking conglomerates, and the accounting side of organized crime and undercover intelligence to chronicle the widespread serious violations that such institutions and groups have committed.

His decision to consider human fallibility in these terms came closely on the heels of the relatively new literary genre of financial-crime fiction that came of age in the 1980s; it includes best-selling novels by Tom Clancy, Ken Follett, Mitch McDeere, and Tom Wolfe, which have often been made into films. These and other authors have explored the realm of criminal activity associated with the expansion of modern capitalism. Lombardi's art parallels a number of their strategies, including their documentation of the types of intrigue that can develop when governments, transnational corporations, and organized-crime groups collude with one another.

MONEY LAUNDERING

The term “money laundering” was probably first developed in the heyday of Al Capone’s crime syndicate, when coin-operated laundries were used to hide illegal gambling profits. Over time, money laundering developed into an international business involving offshore financial institutions, including shell banks, which were estimated in 2002 to house deposits of \$5 trillion worldwide, whereas in 1983 they held only \$200 million. Their advantages lie in the secrecy, freedom from taxes, and ready access to cross-border currency that they offer. Offshore accounts can be opened in a few hours, and offshore businesses can be registered overnight. First used during the 1930s by individuals intending to hide funds from the Nazis and by French people wishing to avoid income taxes, then later by mobster Meyer Lansky during the 1950s, these accounts have in recent decades also become tax havens for international corporations and wealthy individuals throughout the world. The world’s most successful offshore tax haven is the Cayman Islands, which has been rated as the fifth-largest banking region in the world after the United States, Japan, Great Britain, and France. In 1997, the United Nations estimated that the annual moneys accruing from all criminal activities globally amount to \$1,310 billion, roughly 15 percent of the world’s production, and that at least half of this money must be laundered before it can be used legally. Joining this figure in impressiveness is the yearly sum of revenues amassed in the Western world through white-collar crime: \$818 billion, according to U.N. figures.

In the brochure for his exhibition “Crossing the Line: Drawings 1994–98” at the Museum of Contemporary Art in Washington, D.C. in 1998, Lombardi described four types of money laundering that he delineated in his *Narrative Structures*:

The first drawings focused on the recurring American savings and loan crises of the late 1970s and 80s, including works on Lincoln Savings, Home State of Ohio, Silverado of Denver and Sharpstown State Bank (Houston). In this group, one finds numerous instances of campaign finance–inspired political intervention in the regulatory process that ultimately proved very costly to taxpayers and depositors.

The drawings on Lockheed International and International Systems and Controls depict the efforts of a pair of U.S.-based exporters to “grease the wheels” overseas by paying multi-million dollar bribes, kickbacks and commissions to foreign officials and heads-of-state. Every year billions of dollars are channeled into the personal bank accounts of an assortment of despots, dictators and persons of “noble blood” through a process known as “grand corruption.” In some cases, graft and larceny are pervasive enough to all but cripple the development prospects of the nation that was afflicted; Indonesia is the most egregious example.

47. Mark Lombardi, **Crossing the Line: Drawings 1994–8**, exh. cat. (Washington, D.C.: Museum of Contemporary Art, 1998), n.p.

48. In addition to the syndicated news items that he collected as source material, Lombardi culled information from various Web sites and acquired books on such subjects as the Mob, the F.B.I., the C.I.A., the S&L scandals, the Vatican bank, money laundering, influence peddling, late-twentieth-century political intrigues, and corporate corruption.

According to a note dated May 27, 1996, he considered the following organizations particularly important, and frequently searched for data on their Web sites: Fund for Investigative Journalism, Index on Censorship, Pen Center for Civic Journalism, International Freedom of Expression Exchange, Internet Progressive Gateway, Pan American Center, Propaganda Analysis, Human Rights Watch, Armed in Anger, Campaign against the Arms Trade, One World, and Human Rights Watch.

Lombardi put together an impressive library of books dealing with corporate and political malfeasance, most of which provided detailed reports on recent cases. Whenever he decided to pursue a particular subject, he tried to obtain as many books about it as he could. Here, for example, are the books in his library that he used as sources of information on the Middle East arms trade (listed in alphabetical order by author’s name): James Adams, **Bull’s Eye: The Assassination and Life of Supergun Inventor Gerald Bull** (New York: Times Books, Random House, 1992); Patrick Brogan and Albert Zarca, **Deadly Business: Sam Cummings’ Interarms and the Arms Trade** (New York and London: W.W. Norton, 1983); Andrew and Leslie Cockburn, **Dangerous Liaison: The Inside Story of the U.S.-Israeli Covert Relationship** (New York: Harper Collins, 1991); William S. Cohen and George J. Mitchell, **Men of Zeal: A Candid Inside Story of the Iran-Contra Hearings** (New York: Penguin Books, 1989); Grant Dale,

Western governments play a vital role in the scheme by condoning theft and pay-offs and encouraging the formation of businesses designed to collect, launder and reinvest. In drawings on IOS of Geneva, World Finance of Miami and Nugan Hand Limited of Sydney, Australia, the activities of a number of notorious (and well-connected) flight capital specialists are reviewed. At one time each of these controlled an elaborate network of ghost companies, secret trusts, offshore accounts and other opaque financial instruments that were used by “friendly” political elites throughout the world to transfer plundered assets from one country to another, usually without a trace.

Some large international banks occasionally combine flight capital services like those mentioned above with a broader political agenda. BCCI, the shadowy Arab bank that plotted with American powerbroker Clark Clifford (and others) to illegally acquire First American Bank of Washington, D.C., also provided credit facilities for “black operations” like arms smuggling, espionage, guerrilla warfare and political bribery. Banca Nazionale del Lavoro, a large state-owned Italian bank, connived with U.S. and British officials in a plan to lend \$5 billion to finance the Iraqi arms build-up of the mid 1980s. The Vatican Bank helped scores of wealthy Italians evade taxes (for a fee) while at the same time extending succor and loans to armed right-wing extremists in Brazil, Uruguay and Argentina.⁴⁷

Although “greasing the wheels” of overseas powers is listed second in the above account, it proved to be far less important for Lombardi’s overall work than the other three, perhaps because it was more difficult to document.

Lombardi’s list indicates the extent to which he was willing to pursue his research. At a time when artists were beginning to feel the need to create programmatic work that combined a distinctly new iconography with a basic rationale for making the images—Jenny Holzer’s aphorisms, Barbara Kruger’s reworking of mid-century ads, and Louise Lawler’s emphasis on defining art in terms of its immediate circumstances are all exemplary in this regard—Lombardi is remarkable for his perspicuity in uncovering detailed information about such a far-ranging and complex iconography as money laundering. He was very concerned about substantiating the accuracy of his research, and noted its basis in the syndicated news and other published sources.⁴⁸ This role of an assiduous researcher of financial records which he had assumed, akin to that of an attorney in a D.A.’s office who builds incriminating cases, was a new one for an artist. Although isolated infractions might seem to be merely inconsequential missteps, or perhaps even unjustifiable accusations in some instances, files of information connecting the dots among such offenses—similar to the ones Lombardi constructed—can be used to build compelling cases against persons or groups, and therefore might be

Wilderness of Mirror: The Life of Gerald Bull (Scarborough, Ont.: Prentice-Hall Canada, 1991); Theodore Draper, **A Very Thin Line: The Iran Contra Affair** (New York, London, Toronto: Touchstone, Simon and Schuster, 1991); Alan Friedman, **Spider’s Web: The Secret History of How the White House Illegally Armed Iraq** (New York, Toronto, London: Bantam Books, 1993); Daniel K. Inouge and Lee K. Hamilton, **Report of the Congressional Committee Investigating the Iran-Contra Affair with the Minority View**, eds. Joe Brently and Stephen Engelber, abridged edition (New York: Times Books, Random House, 1988); Ronald Kessler, **The Richest Man in the World: The Story of Adnan Khashoggi** (New York: Warner Books, 1986); Herbert Kronsey, **Deadly Business: Legal Deals and Outlaw Weapons, The Arming of Iran and Iraq, 1975 to the Present** (New York and London: Four Walls Eight Windows, 1993); William Lawther, **Arms and the Man: Dr. Gerald Bull, Iraq, and the Supergun** (Norato, Calif.: Presidio Press, 1991); Peter Mantus, **Shell Game: A True Story of Banking, Spies, Lies, Politics—and the Arming of Saddam Hussein** (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1995); Anthony Sampson, **The Arms Bazaar; From Lebanon to Lockheed** (New York: Viking Press, 1977); Samuel Segev, **The Iranian Triangle: The Untold Story of Israel’s Role in the Iran-Contra Affair**, trans. Haim Waltzman (New York: The Free Press, Macmillan, 1988); Kenneth R. Timmerman, **The Death Lobby: How the West Armed Iraq** (Boston, New York, London: Houghton Mifflin, 1991); John Tower, Edmund Muskie, and Brent Scowcroft, **The Tower Commission Report** (New York: Bantam Books and Time Books, 1987); Lawrence E. Walsh, **Iran-Contra: The Final Report** (New York: Times Books, Random House, 1994). I have compiled a bibliography of the artist’s library at the time of his death; it can be found on the Web site www.Pierogi2000.com.

considered threatening. If a dossier contains evidence of a network of individuals and companies engaging in such questionable activities as well as a distinct money trail, as Lombardi often assembled, the information becomes even more incriminating.

His diagrammatic drawings, depicting business deals via such modes of representation as graphs and charts that businesses normally use to convey information about themselves, introduced a new type of realism consistent with that employed by Conceptual art. Instead of creating the kind of iconic images that Andy Warhol and Douglas Huebler did in their wanted posters—which can be construed as artistic signs isolated from their ontological references, and thus disrupted icons relevant to a secular age—Lombardi employed the reverse strategy, representing the identities of criminals in only the most summary way through references to their names and nefarious connections. Here, the presence of signs, reduced to names without the traditional iconic sanction of portraiture, assumes a new dynamic. The art object thus performs a deliberately limited representational role at the same time that it reveals the identities of its subjects through the relationships it uncovers. In addition, these drawings treat viewers as prospective detectives. Instead of simply solving crimes, Lombardi's work often intensifies their mystery. It does so by avoiding any central hierarchy in favor of clearly and often only marginally connected networks, which resemble the rhizomes described by Deleuze and Guattari.

IRAN-CONTRA AND LT. COL. OLIVER NORTH'S DRAWING

While Lombardi's intense response to the information he discovered about widespread S&L fraud and the alarming role of money laundering in world affairs was the catalyst for the subject matter of his drawings, the basic form that he used in them may have originated with his seeing a sketch found in Oliver North's safe and published in February 1987 in the Congressional Tower Commission Report, a document to which Lombardi had ready access. This crude drawing, an elaborate flowchart graphically depicting the network of twenty-three offshore shell corporations and nonprofit organizations that North had organized under the code name "Project Democracy," was a crucial document in the Iran-Contra hearings (see figs. 6–8). Lombardi kept several photocopies of it in his files, and the conciseness and effectiveness with which even North's clumsy diagram conveyed the intricacy of his crimes may well have been in the back of Lombardi's mind when he made the first sketch for what eventually became his *Narrative Structures*. Moreover, his initial drawing in the series focused on the intrigues of Saudi Arabian arms broker Adnan Khashoggi, whose financial manipulations were vital for the success of North's far-fetched and elaborate Iran-Contra scheme. North's complex plot necessitated selling weapons to so-called "moderate" Iranians engaged in the Iran–Iraq war who were struggling to equip their troops during a United States arms embargo. It was hoped that in return for weapons,

these Iranians would agree to persuade the Lebanon-based Iranian terrorist group Hezbollah to free the American and British hostages they were holding in Lebanon. Then, profits stemming from the sale of arms would be used to support Samozan Contras in their guerilla war against the leftist Sandinista government in Nicaragua.

Although Lombardi did not mention the role played by North's diagram in the origination of his *Narrative Structures*, his breakthrough piece does focus on one aspect of the colonel's complicated scheme, which came up in a telephone conversation Lombardi had in 1993 and led indirectly to the diagrammatic form he began using:

I was talking on the phone one day with Leonard Gumpert, an attorney in Los Angeles, about the outcome of the bankruptcy of Adnan Khashoggi, the Saudi commercial agent and playboy arms dealer who had figured prominently in the Iran-Contra affair and had made large investments in the U.S., including in Houston. As Gumpert spoke, I began taking notes, then started sketching out a simple tree chart, showing the breakdown of Khashoggi's American holdings. Within days, I began making more of these charts, depicting other corporate networks I had researched. I was writing several pieces at the time and found the charts a useful, quick reference to the material at hand.⁴⁹

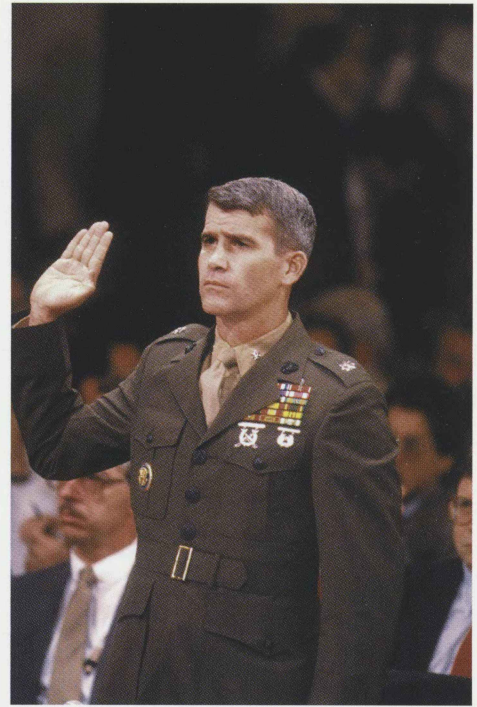
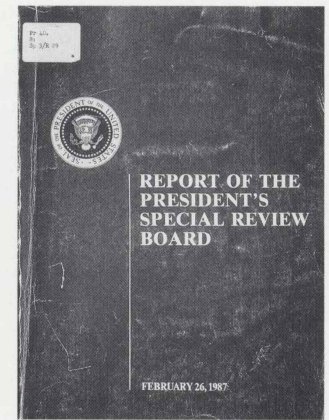
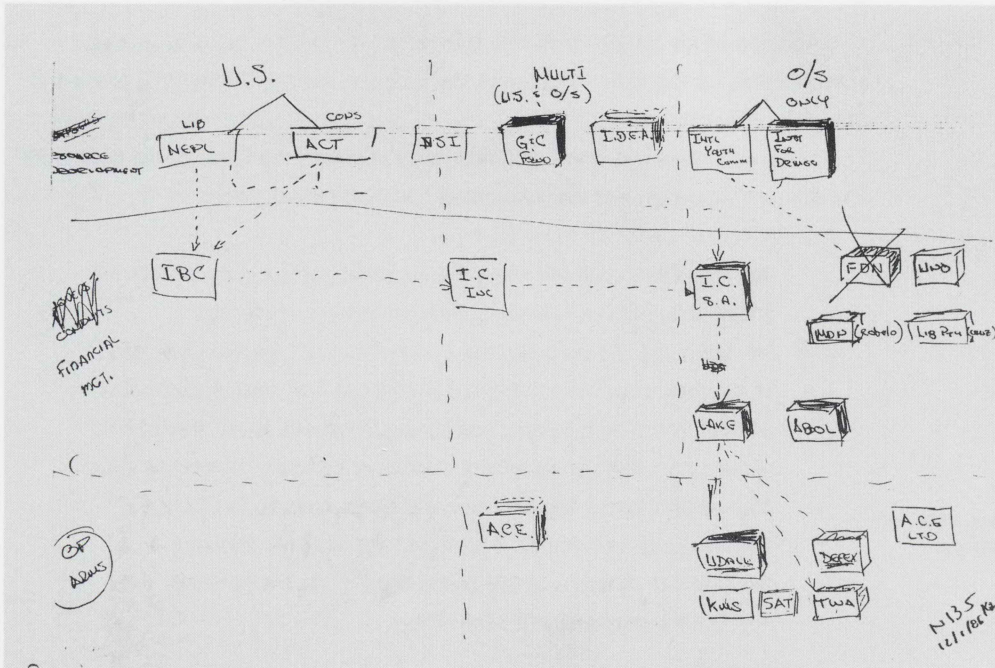


Fig. 6. Former N.S.C. staffer Lieutenant Colonel Oliver North being sworn in before testifying at the Senate's Iran-Contra hearings, 1987

49. Lombardi, "Self-Interview."



left:
Fig. 7. The financial flowchart drawn by Oliver North, reproduced on page C-17 of *Report of the President's Special Review Board, February 26, 1987*, commonly known as the *Tower Commission Report*

above:
Fig. 8. Cover of the *Tower Commission Report*

LOMBARDI'S WORK IN TERMS OF ART-HISTORICAL PRECEDENTS

In addition to the curatorial and gallery jobs he held in Houston and his periods of focused research on the topics of panoramas and the ideology of Reagan's and Bush's "war on drugs," Lombardi had also regarded himself as an artist since the 1970s. In random notes found among his papers, he listed some of his sources and modes of working. For example, he wrote that he had originated "project ideas" since 1972 and that during that decade he had been "interested in film, Xeroxes, video, Duchamp, bombs, drugs, Nuke[, and] top 40." This reference to "project ideas" indicates a strong grounding in Conceptual art and its antecedents, a premise that is supported by the great number of books in his library focusing on this topic. In another note under the rubric "Forms of Appropriation," he listed "Ashley Bickerton, Warhol, Duchamp, and Apollinaire." Next to the name Apollinaire, he wrote "recovery of commercial signage." And on the same page, he jotted down a note about "subverted or twisted situationist" art and erroneously characterized Haacke as a prime example.⁵⁰ At another time he composed the following inventory:

Duchamp: hermetic, process

Beuys: drawing and originating intricate narrative structures in work

Haacke: analysis of corporate activities

Aycock: narrative and graphic vision; also Arte povera

Zakanitch: the flower paintings; unrestrained delectability

Yoko: sense of strength, determination; drive to be positive

Arakawa: mapping of inner terrain and the invisible⁵¹

Apropos of his art, he made the following list: "history painting, resists appropriation, cartography—Ren[aissance] science, Tantra, Duchamp 3 Standar[d Stoppages], Ad Reinhardt."⁵²

In his self-interview, Lombardi discussed at length the basis of his new work and the past development that antedated his chart-based pieces:

You sound as though this was some kind of important breakthrough for you, that it resolved a number of dilemmas you were facing?

ML: Well it did in a really big way. Previous to that I felt like some kind of schizophrenic. The painting and writing had little relationship to one another, and I felt something was lacking from both. I kept thinking I needed something, some type of medium or vehicle of my own devising that would unite the two, and now, with this schematic form, I had it. This was quite a revelation. If anything I had originally intended to use the charts to illustrate certain points being made in a particular text; now the drawings demanded top billing.

50. Mark Lombardi, unpublished notes, 1980s or 1990s, in the Mark Lombardi archives at Pierogi, Brooklyn, New York.

51. Ibid.

52. Ibid.

I felt this was in a way the culmination of a process that had begun many years before and was a logical outgrowth of that process. It was all about me, incorporated everything I wanted to say in a manner I felt totally confident about: how this is the culmination of the writing.

And on the other side:

ML: On that side the drawings were in retrospect a medium as well. I started the development with images suggestive of social chaos and political disorders. Then it was strategies for manipulating corporate logos and trademarks: first reproducing them in simple patterns à la Ashley Bickerton, then affixing them to repulsive or embarrassing images somewhat like Hans Haacke; after that I began to distort and revise them in ways that subverted their meaning, which has reappeared in a big way [in my recent work]; and finally naïve, primitivist versions of well-known corporate logos. At one point I was also painting abstraction, based on fragments of decomposed text and reminiscent of decrepit billboards or something which ironically, were on certain levels perhaps the most satisfying of the lot.

Why did you want to work with logos and trademarks in so many ways? Were you doing this as a critique of mass culture or consumption?

ML: I suppose it's because I see the proliferation of logos and trademarks across the landscape as not merely a part of the visual environment, but as the visage of a potent force; a kind of disembodied power. . . .

I was very early on drawn to and felt a part of vanguard strategies. Anything that might potentially show or threaten the tradition got my immediate attention: site-specific and transitory pieces, artist ideas, video, Beuys, Haacke, Merz, Buren, Manzoni, Nouvelle Réalité, Fluxus, Situationism, concrete poetry, conceptual art, and so on. However I am working in a most conventional fabric with pencil and paper, making sketches, maquettes with which to proceed to the final picture, a very traditional method that no doubt goes back to the Renaissance, if not before.⁵³

This self-interview reveals the frustration that Lombardi experienced in attempting to pull together what he at first viewed as two diametrically opposed interests: research and making art. Although his references to Bickerton's logos (see fig. 9, p. 36) did not result in the synthesis of these two modes, it did enable him later to focus on the subject matter of corporate malfeasance, which he was able to advance in a new and distinctly non-Pop direction when he took the model of diagrammed information as a template for his new work. As important as the

53. Lombardi, "Self-Interview."

Fig. 9. Ashley Bickerton, *Tormented Self-Portrait (Susies at Arles) #2*, 1988



logos obviously were to his thinking, Lombardi has left few works from this early period, before he began making his *Narrative Structures*: the extant pieces consist of about a dozen black-and-white abstract paintings based on disconnected letters and pieces of text.

While Lombardi readily acknowledged the importance of history painting as precedence for his art, he also pointed to the more recent model offered by French modernist poet Guillaume Apollinaire's visual/verbal *Calligrammes* (1913–16). Lombardi was well acquainted with Apollinaire's work,⁵⁴ which he undoubtedly appreciated for the way this Cubist-inspired poetry attempted to represent both the complexity and the instantaneity of modern consciousness by forsaking discursiveness for simultaneity, cutting across both time and space. In Apollinaire's poems, shards of experience are reassembled into striking graphic patterns of words on the page, becoming poetic equivalents to collages (see fig. 10).⁵⁵ Linear time is abandoned, and random aspects of the world are experienced simultaneously as an intensified awareness whose force is assured by the overall

54. Lombardi's library includes several volumes of Apollinaire's poetry and art criticism. 55. The poem "Cotton in Your Ears" by Guillaume Apollinaire, reproduced on page 37 of this catalogue, is from **Calligrammes: Poems of Peace and War (1913–1916)**, trans. Anne Hyde Greet (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), p. 289.

designs governing each Calligramme. The assumed intelligibility of Apollinaire's networks of rearranged words aligns the notion of simultaneous communication with the speed achieved by new technological innovations in transportation during that period, and gives a machinist and Cubist twist to the intuitive and personal synthesist approach of an earlier generation.

Important as this approach is, it is not paralleled by the wary absurdity of Duchamp's *Network of Stoppages*, which Lombardi highlighted in notes pertaining to his art. A look at the genealogy of these *Stoppages* in Duchamp's work indicates the type of reasoned folly that Lombardi considers his own art to be documenting. In order to heighten the role that chance played in his work and emphasize the foolhardiness of developing rational systems for art, Duchamp dropped three pieces of string, each one meter in length, from the height of one meter onto a sheet of paper, on which he recorded the random line each of them formed. Then he glued each section of string to a template, being careful to record exactly its accidental configuration, and assembled the three in a wooden box. Next, he celebrated *Three Standard Stoppages* in the painting *Network of Stoppages*, in which each of the three lines of measure was multiplied by a factor of three and delineated on the surface of a painting he'd made and discarded, which he had reoriented from a vertical to a horizontal position. Another incarnation of it appears in Duchamp's *The Bride Stripped Bare by Her Bachelors, Even (The Large Glass)*, 1915–23, which extends this dry nonsense to yet another realm by using the *Network* as a basis for the orientation of the Capillary Tubes that conduct the Illuminating Gas circulating among the Nine Malic Molds to the rest of *The Large Glass* (see fig. 11). Emulating the profiles of dressmakers' dummies, the Molds are "hollow liveries" that parody such stock social types as the Busboy, Cavalryman, Delivery Boy, Gendarme, Flunky (or liveried servant), Policeman, Priest, Stationmaster, and Undertaker. In his art, Lombardi reoriented his network

of lines—his equivalent of the Capillary Tubes—so that they underscored the foolhardiness of the questionable and often criminal connections that he was researching. Although he substituted actual names for the liveried molds in *The Large Glass*, he had a similarly jaundiced view of the hollowness of the characters populating his work. Moreover, the connections between Duchamp's "characters" in *The Large Glass* are just as opaque as those in Lombardi's *Narrative Structures*, which delineate networks that remain for the most part impenetrable.

Lombardi's work thus differs from the utopian social sculpture that Joseph Beuys' diagrammed during his lectures—and regarded as works of art after their completion—and is closer to Haacke's carefully researched 1971 piece detailing the activities of slum landlord Harry Shapolsky (see fig. 2, p. 13). The overarching principle of Haacke's work is to unmask covert dealings

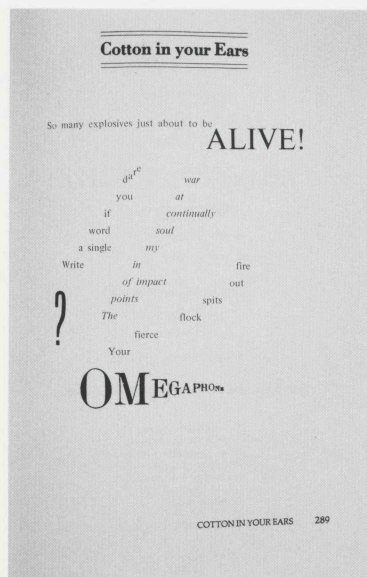
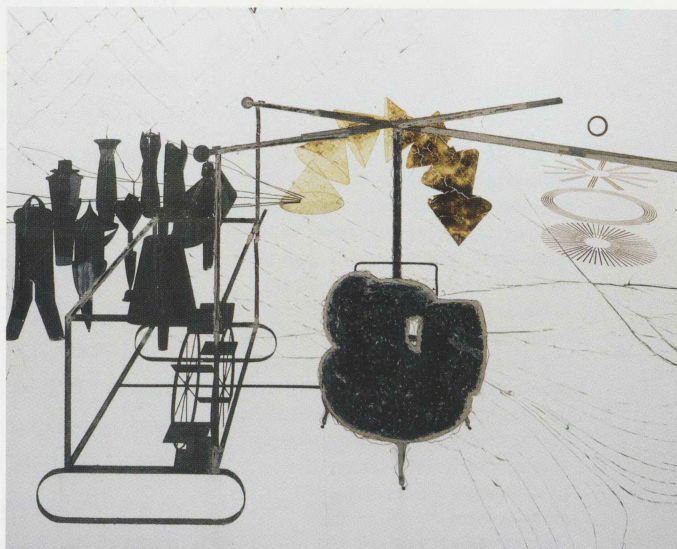


Fig. 10. "Cotton in Your Ears," one of Guillaume Apollinaire's Calligrammes (1913–16)

Fig. 11. Marcel Duchamp, *The Bride Stripped Bare by Her Bachelors, Even (The Large Glass)*, 1915–23 (detail). Philadelphia Museum of Art; Bequest of Katherine S. Dreier



before re-presenting them with clarity and unity, which is a modus operandi for Lombardi's art. Lombardi considered this principle of disintegration and reintegration in cosmic terms when he mentioned in his notes the impact that Tantric theory had for his work.

From this brief look at the artistic strategies of Apollinaire, Duchamp, Beuys, and Haacke, it is clear that in formulating his own work Lombardi availed himself of a wide range of rigorous twentieth-century approaches. These tactics suggested a direction his investigations could take, without those earlier works determining the outcome of his own efforts. However, a summary consideration of Duchamp's and Haacke's contributions barely conveys the enormous impact that Conceptual art later had on the cutting-edge work of Lombardi and other artists. Constituting as radical a paradigm shift as Cubism did earlier, Conceptual art is predicated on differences between ontology and epistemology, as was the work of Duchamp, whose reputation was being revived at the time Conceptual art was emerging in the 1960s. Rather than regarding art as a surrogate being, as Apollinaire and Beuys did, some prescient Conceptual artists including Robert Berry, Joseph Kosuth, and Lawrence Weiner have explored the inability of art to manifest any essence, including thought, and have focused instead on the kinds of meanings it can and cannot communicate. Their researches are akin to Duchamp's readymades, which are directed more to art practices and modes of ratifying meaning than they are to fetishizing objects. Lombardi, an heir to this type of approach, was clearly aware of art's limited purview and the need to employ information as a catalyst or vector directing viewers to draw their own conclusions from the material before them. However, in taking the approach he did in his drawings, his understanding of Herbert Marcuse's aesthetics enabled him to fulfill a major goal of the Conceptualists while invoking formal and even transcendent issues by presenting the content of his art in terms of differences between form and subject matter.

HERBERT MARCUSE'S AESTHETICS

Even though Lombardi is a self-aware neo-conceptualist,⁵⁶ he felt no need to repeat a course already delineated. Instead of closely adhering to Conceptual art, which provided him with a distinct starting point for his work, he turned to the New Left aesthetic theory of Herbert Marcuse, who in the late 1920s had studied philosophy with Martin Heidegger and who later combined aspects of existentialism, phenomenology, and Marxism into his own cogent theory.

Lombardi once responded to an acquaintance at a party with the revealing advice, "And, yes. Herbert Marcuse—read [him]. All [you can] and more. For my work is based on Marcuse's writing."⁵⁷ Although known primarily for his leadership of the New Left and embodying the radical idealism of the student movement in the 1960s, Marcuse also advanced an aesthetic theory in which formalism is viewed, surprisingly, as a trenchant mode of political critique. This theory is evident

56. An important component of Lombardi's extensive library focuses on classic studies of Conceptual art, its antecedents, and its descendants. They include catalogues and books on such artists as Alice Aycock, Arakawa, Art&Language, Robert Barry, Joseph Beuys, Marcel Duchamp, Terry Fox, Davi Det Hompson, Joseph Kosuth, George Maciunas, Tom Marioni, and Yoko Ono. He also lists in his notes the importance of Hans Haacke's "analysis of corporate activities."

57. Norma Markley, "Statement," in **In Memoriam Mark Lombardi (1951- 2000)**, Pierogi, Brooklyn, New York, April 9, 2000.

in a number of his writings, and received its definitive stamp in *The Aesthetic Dimension: Toward a Critique of Marxist Aesthetics*.⁵⁸ In this slender volume, Marcuse reflects on the revolutionary power of formalism—so often denigrated by Marxists as a necessary impediment to content or, more generally, an expendable attitude—by declaring art’s truth to lie in the subtle, yet crucial difference between aesthetic form and the ideological content it is supposed to convey. Although Marcuse does not spell out the reasons for this disparity, one might assume it to occur when artists focus on their means, sometimes at the expense of their subjects. Because art’s form—which is always an idealization, according to Marcuse—is at odds with the subject matter it encompasses, it is able “to break the monopoly of established reality. . . . In this rupture, which is the achievement of the aesthetic form, the fictitious world of art appears as true reality.”⁵⁹ By “fictitious,” Marcuse most likely refers to the fact that art’s form—equated elsewhere in his book with utopian transcendence—comprises a different ideology from the ensconced one and thereby has the capacity to alienate viewers from their dominant worldview by interpolating them as subjects of an idealized or fictive one. While form and content might work more in tandem than differentially, as Marcuse indicates, this potential incongruity can become a decisive means for critiquing a given reality if the necessary idealization of forms is understood as being at odds with it.

This distinction between a light and lyrical form and an indicting or at least interrogative content is the fulcrum on which Lombardi’s work is poised. He recognized this disparity when he wrote, “There is a slightly paradoxical element to the world that appeals to me as well; drawings which at first glance appear to be rather graceful maps or charts turn out, upon closer examination, to represent a vast and sometimes disturbing web of international political business associations.”⁶⁰

He pits the dry lyricism of his graphite tracteries against the grand corruption of the subjects fascinating him. The result achieves a remarkable incongruity, on a par with Baudelaire’s elegant poems about Parisian slums. The ideal realm of beauty to which Lombardi’s drawings aspire is so out of kilter with his investigation of a Tom Clancy-type subject matter that his drawings function, according to Marcuse’s theory, as a utopian vantage point from which to survey the labyrinthine international financial abuses that are so frequently the central focus of his art. Well aware that these topics could easily overwhelm the formal elements of his work, Lombardi cautioned his friends not to forsake too quickly the delicacy of his art for the corruption it reveals, since it is predicated on the dialectic between the two.⁶¹ Viewers of his work might also detect the tension caused by such other polarities as the poetic and the analytical, or, aesthetic restraint and unbridled greed. While they might conflate these dialectics so that corruption is perceived as beautiful, the differential between the two can be considered a basis for perceiving disparities between these pairs, or, at the very least, oxymoronic and contingent units.

58. Herbert Marcuse, **The Aesthetic Dimension: Toward a Critique of Marxist Aesthetics** (Boston: Beacon Press, 1977).

59. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

60. Lombardi, “Proposal for **Over the Line**.”

61. Deven Golden, conversation with the author, Brooklyn, New York, August 25, 2001.

Perceptive critics often experience surprise when they recall that these diagrams, which bring to light a shadowy realm of corruption, are beautiful. *Art in America* critic Raphael Rubinstein wrote:

For all their density of information, Lombardi's drawings are also visually engaging: dense clusters of circles and lines give way to wide spaces and sweeping arcs; other clusters break away from the central structure to form independent units; the entire web is as delicately balanced and interpenetrated as an Arshile Gorky drawing. These are objects that one can contemplate rewardingly as abstractions, taking no heed of their detailed references. But even as we look at them abstractly, Lombardi's drawings still offer a fascinating structural portrait of the hidden reality that surrounds us.⁶²

New York Times critic Ken Johnson similarly noted this disparity:

But they are also compelling as works of art. The airy, precise webs expanding up to four or five feet across suggest a vile order underlying apparent chaos; like the novels of Thomas Pynchon or John Le Carré, they exude a resonant poetry of paranoia. It's thrilling to contemplate the hidden, labyrinthine structures of real-world power that Mr. Lombardi so elegantly traces.⁶³

However, the temptation to overlook the delicacy and restraint of Lombardi's masterful drawings in favor of the startling connections they reveal is great when one realizes the pervasive extent of the malfeasance committed by a relatively small community of big-time financial players across the globe.

A NEW LEFT ARTIST IN A NEW RIGHT WORLD

Lombardi's affinity for Marcuse was tied to this New Left philosopher's ideas about the value of the alienating effect of some art, which pries people away from the chimeras of dominant ideologies and enables them to see the world dialectically, individually, and passionately. This was a theme articulated in his landmark book *One-Dimensional Man: Studies in the Ideology of Advanced Industrial Society*,⁶⁴ which took issue with the hegemony of mid-twentieth-century corporate capitalism. Taking an approach similar to that of his fellow Frankfurt School associate Theodor Adorno, he bemoaned promoting great works as "classics" because their critical voice would be lost; that is, instead of being viewed as critical statements, they would be read as masterpieces and would be discussed in these limiting terms. Rather than inciting resistance, the shock that these works of art initially provoked would not even register among the medley of voices constituting a new corporate-based totalitarianism.⁶⁵ Marcuse wished to

62. Raphael Rubinstein, "Mark Lombardi at Pierogi 2000," *Art in America* 87, no. 6 (June 1999), p. 115.

63. Ken Johnson, "Mark Lombardi: 'Vicious circles,'" *New York Times*, November 5, 1999, p. E-41.

64. Herbert Marcuse, *One-Dimensional Man: Studies in the Ideology of Advanced Industrial Society* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1964).

65. *Ibid.*, p. 61.

lobby for the freedom that could only come from a recognition of the pernicious effects of dominant twentieth-century ideologies that commodified both people and their desires. In sync with Marcuse, Lombardi wanted art to maintain a critical edge and to pry people loose from habitual ways of thinking, so that they would look anew at their world and find far-ranging connections where none were thought to exist.

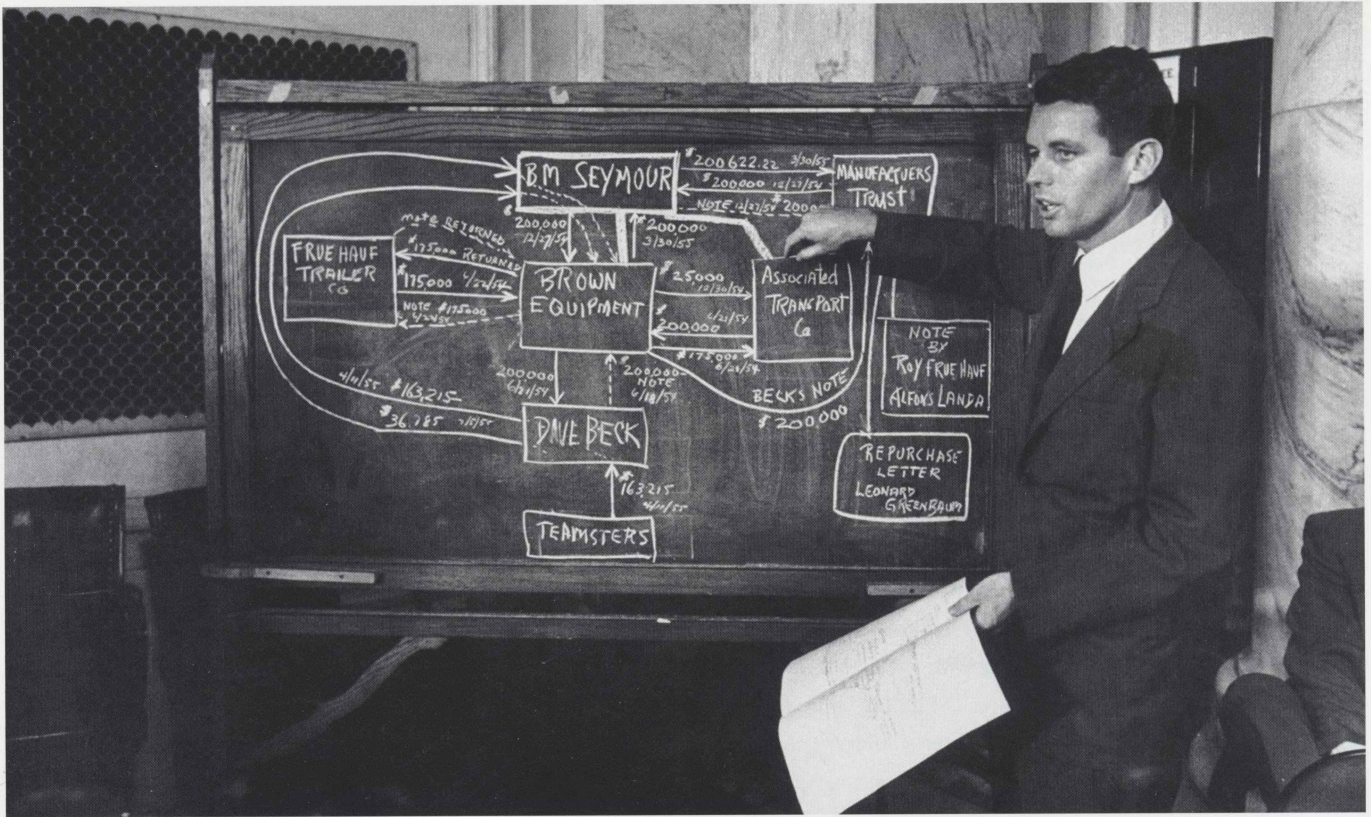
Marcuse's program of individuality through informed dissent was subsequently countered in the 1980s and 1990s by Reagan's New Right agenda and his policies of deregulation, privatization, and globalization. This had the net effect of demonizing "liberals" and their advocacy of social welfare, making Lombardi's continued subscription to Marcuse's ideas even more important. Although Reagan seemed to be offering a viable option for individualism, his concept was predicated on a revitalization of the frontier myth and its ideal of dominant patriarchies and subservient families. This ideal found favor with the Christian Right, which in the late 1980s began to align itself with the New Right—a development that is a subtext of Lombardi's drawing dealing with Pat Robertson and his network of business and political associates (cat. no. 24, p. 95). For Lombardi, the researcher of the drug wars, one of the many problems with this New Right was its promotion of supply-side economics, dubbed "Reaganomics," in which the troika of low taxes, reduced social-service expenditures, and increased military spending resulted in diminished interest rates, rising inflation, and extended budget deficits. For Lombardi, the artist, the failing of the New Right was its naïve belief in trickle-down economics, perpetrating the illusion that everyone would benefit. As his art so clearly demonstrates, the problem is that greed and its handmaidens cronyism and fraud consumed most of the offered tax relief, so that the rich became even richer. In light of these differences, we might characterize Lombardi's art as a concerted New Left critique of New Right practices.

ENVISIONING INFORMATION

Soon after Lombardi started in earnest to make fine-art diagrams of financial malfeasance, he began collecting examples of different types of graphs and flow-charts. They range from a U.P.I. press photograph of Robert Kennedy using a blackboard to demonstrate Teamster corruption (see fig. 12, p. 42), to a *Spy* magazine article outlining relationships among Hollywood actors and directors, to graphs detailing corporate alliances, money laundering, and drug trafficking, including *Time* magazine's diagram elucidating the BCCI scandal (fig. 13, p. 42).⁶⁶ "I'm not 'borrowing the visual vocabulary of the organizational diagram,'" he wrote in a statement reminiscent of Marcuse's approach, "because 'corporations . . . are our most familiar heirarchies' (though it's true) but because the corporate power is the predominant force in both the political process and society at large."⁶⁷ His collection of charts also includes a group of advertisements for Toyota cars and Hennessy cognac. Although this assortment reinforced the direction he was taking, it did not provide

66. The diagram, reproduced on page 40 of this catalogue, is from "The Dirtiest Bank of All," *Time*, July 29, 1991, pp. 42–43, © 1991 *Time* Inc. reprinted by permission.

67. Lombardi, unpublished notes, ca. 1995, in the Mark Lombardi archives at Pierogi, Brooklyn, New York.



Business

COVER STORY

The Dirtiest Bank of All

How B.C.C.I. and its "black network" became a financial supermarket for crooks and spies—and how the U.S. is trying to cover up its role

By JONATHAN BEATY and S.C. GWYNNE
NEW YORK

"I could tell you what you want to know, but I must worry about my wife and family—they could be killed."
—a former top B.C.C.I. officer

"We better not talk about this over the phone. We've found some bugs in offices that haven't been put there by law enforcement."
—a Manhattan investigator probing B.C.C.I.

Bank-fraud cases are usually dry, tedious affairs. Not this one. Nothing in the history of modern financial scandals rivals the unfolding saga of the Bank of Credit & Commerce International, the \$20 billion rogue empire that regulators in 62 countries shut down early this month in a stunning global sweep. Never has a single scandal involved so much money, so many nations or so many prominent people.

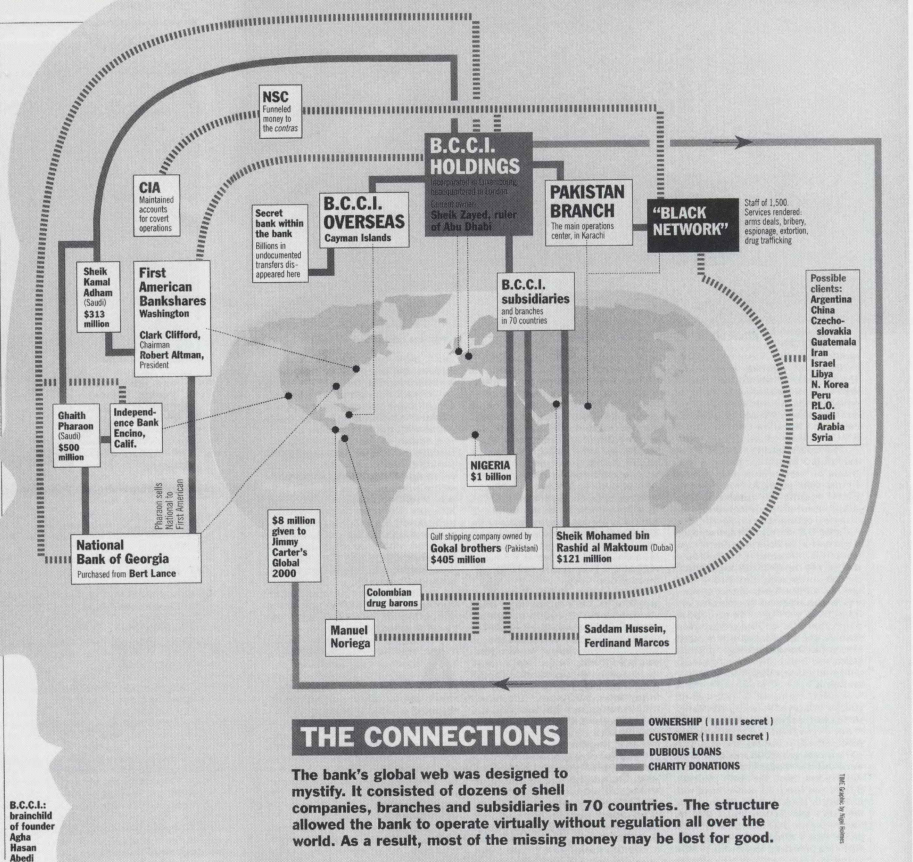
Superlatives are quickly exhausted: it is the largest corporate criminal enterprise ever, the biggest Ponzi scheme, the most pervasive money-laundering operation and financial supermarket ever created for the likes of Manuel Noriega, Ferdinand Marcos, Saddam Hussein and the Colombian drug barons. B.C.C.I. even accomplished a Stealth-like invasion of the U.S. banking industry by secretly buying First American Bankshares, a Washington-based holding company with offices stretching from Florida to New York, whose chairman is former U.S. Defense Secretary Clark Clifford.

But B.C.C.I. is more than just a criminal bank. From interviews with sources close to B.C.C.I., TIME has pieced together a portrait of a clandestine division of the bank called the "black network," which

functions as a global intelligence operation and a Mafia-like enforcement squad. Operating primarily out of the bank's offices in Karachi, Pakistan, the 1,500-employee black network has used sophisticated spy equipment and techniques, along with bribery, extortion, kidnapping and even, by some accounts, murder. The black network—so named by its own members—stops at almost nothing to further the bank's aims the world over.

The more conventional departments of B.C.C.I. handled such services as laundering money for the drug trade and helping dictators loot their national treasuries. The black network, which is still functioning, operates a lucrative arms-trade business and transports drugs and gold. According to investigators and participants in those operations, it often works with Western and Middle Eastern intelligence agencies. The strange and still murky ties between B.C.C.I. and the CIA have become entangled. As TIME reported earlier this month, the National Security Council used B.C.C.I. to funnel money for the Iran-contra deals, and the CIA maintained accounts in B.C.C.I. for covert operations. Moreover, investigators have told TIME that the Defense Intelligence Agency has maintained a slush-fund account with B.C.C.I., apparently to pay for clandestine activities.

But the CIA may have used B.C.C.I. as more than an undercover banker: U.S. agents collaborated with the black network in several operations, according to a B.C.C.I. black-network "officer" who is now a secret U.S. government witness. Sources have told investigators that B.C.C.I. worked closely with Israel's spy



B.C.C.I.: branch chief of founder Agha Hasan Abedi

him with either a rationale for thinking about diagrams or a means of differentiating them. For an overall understanding of exactly how graphic designers contemplate data, he turned to Edward R. Tufte's book *Envisioning Information*. It provides several discrete examples that were to prove helpful to Lombardi's development of a cogent program, and he made photocopies of them to add to his file on graphs. Among the most pertinent are a 1933 dual-purpose map and schedule for Czechoslovakia Air Transport Company, showing important transportation hubs with connecting transportation routes and their names (fig. 14, p. 44), and a 1985 multipurpose route map and index for China Railway (fig. 15, p. 45).⁶⁸

In addition to these specific models, Tufte discusses some of the problems that graphic designers confront when working with this material, particularly the need to differentiate between the specifics of local data and the overarching system for organizing them that he designates in terms of "micro/macro readings of detail and panorama."⁶⁹ He points out that, unlike posters, which are meant to be understood immediately from a distance and therefore can be both abstract and graphic, the presentation of statistical information necessitates viewers' concentrated and extended scrutiny.⁷⁰ Therefore, designers needing to incorporate large amounts of data in their work have developed a way of representing information to take advantage of its multiple functions. Charts must often be read both horizontally and vertically and from both directions so that the "control of the information," as Tufte counsels his readers, "is given over to viewers, not to editors, designer, or decorators."⁷¹ In accordance with this general precept, he recommends removing as much visible weight as possible from the display and playing up the eloquence of empty space.⁷² To dramatize this point, he quotes a paragraph from Gyorgy Kepes' *The Language of Art* to demonstrate that an Eastern respect for the materiality of space is essential to eloquent information design. Lombardi appears to have heeded this advice, enabling him to move from the relative immediacy of the poster that he designed for the show he helped curate for Houston's nonprofit alternative space *Diverse Works* in 1984 (cat. no. 1, p. 111) to his later, more subtle *Narrative Structures*, which demand greater viewer participation. Kepes stated:

In every clear concept of the nature of vision and in every healthy approach to the spatial world, this dynamic unity of figure and background has been clearly understood. Lao Tse showed such grasp when he said: "A vessel is useful only through its emptiness. It is the space opened in a wall that serves as a window. Thus it is the nonexistent in things which makes them serviceable." Eastern visual culture has a deep understanding of the role of empty space in the image. Chinese and Japanese painters have the admirable courage to leave empty large paths of their picture-surface so that the surface is divided into unequal intervals which, through their spacing, force the eye of the spectator to movements of varying velocity in following up relationships, and thus

Facing page, above:

Fig. 12. Committee counsel Robert F. Kennedy speaking at a Senate hearing investigating the practices of the Teamsters union, 1957

below:

Fig. 13. A diagram showing the relationships among the principal players in the BCCI scandal, from the *Time* magazine article "The Dirtiest Bank of All," July 29, 1991

68. These two maps, reproduced on pages 44 and 45 of this catalogue, are from Edward R. Tufte, **Envisioning Information** (Cheshire, Conn.: Graphics Press, 1990), pp. 102–3.

69. *Ibid.*, p. 33.

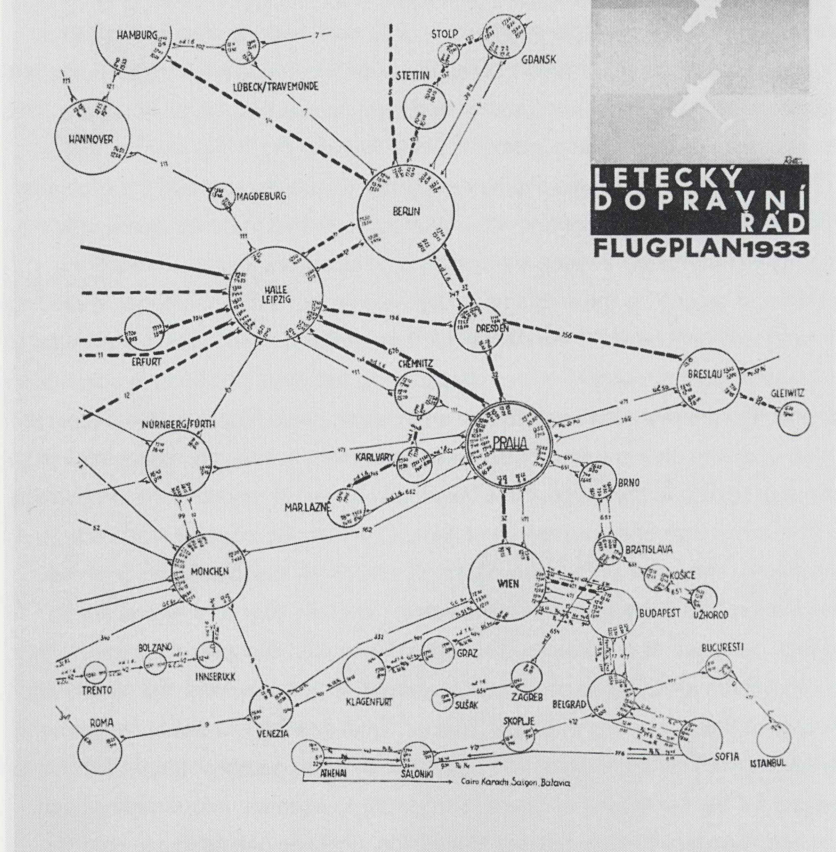
70. *Ibid.*, p. 35.

71. *Ibid.*, p. 47.

72. *Ibid.*, pp. 3–4 and 65.

Fig. 14. A dual-purpose map and flight schedule issued by the Czechoslovakia Air Transport Company, 1933, from Edward R. Tufte's book *Envisioning Information*

A comprehensive narrative description of a transport system requires a record of both time and spatial experiences. Here a complex network of routes is brought together with flight times and identification numbers in a brilliant map/schedule for the Czechoslovakia Air Transport Company in 1933. A playful and polished cover makes the brochure an exceptional union of graphic and information design.



create the unity by the greatest possible variation of surface. Chinese and Japanese calligraphy also have a sound respect for the white interval. Characters are written in imaginary squares, the blank areas of which are given as much consideration as the graphic units, the strokes. Written or printed communications are living or dead depending upon the organization of their blank spaces. A single character gains clarity and meaning by an orderly relationship of the space background which surrounds it. The greater the variety and distinction among respective background units, the clearer becomes the comprehension of a character as an individual expression or sign.⁷³

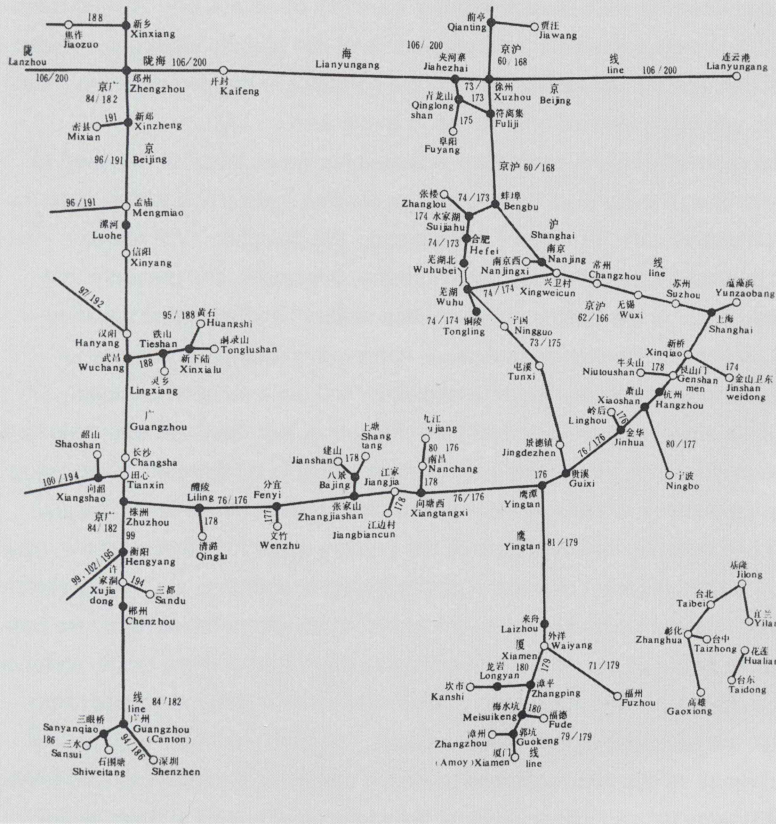
While the entire passage no doubt constituted an important catalyst for Lombardi's art, the reference to "varying velocity" helps us to understand the range of dynamics that he wanted different parts of an individual work to communicate.

73. *Ibid.*, p. 65.

A similar multifunctioning pattern presides over this diagram, a fine combination of flatland and data table. Route map and index, an unusual pairing, are merged in this 200-page timetable for the railroads of China. Although the line-work and typography are faltering, the overall layout has a directness and clarity of organization—maintaining the full spatial relationships of towns, patterns usually reduced to a witless alphabetical ordering in a conventional typographical index.

China Railway Timetable, Railway Ministry of the People's Republic of China (Beijing, April 1985), index 4. The numbers along the route lines are page numbers, showing where to look up the detailed schedule for that route.

Fig. 15. A timetable for China Railway, issued by the Railway Ministry of the People's Republic of China, Beijing, April 1985, from Edward R. Tufte's book *Envisioning Information*



When Lombardi first began to create these diagrams, "they were," in his words, "simple stick charts, they seemed static, frozen in time."⁷⁴ It appears in retrospect that he wanted not only to record information but to dramatize it in terms of varying energies, almost like a piece of music, so that different actions would seem to move at varying speeds and rhythms: long arching lines would glide; short ones would dictate a more staccato rhythm; nodes with several radiating arcs would vibrate; and dense areas would appear frenetic.

Soon after starting the series, he decided to add an additional layer of information in red, which he designated as signifying "the restraint of the [illegal] activity, any lawsuits, bankruptcy,"⁷⁵ plus "criminal indictments or other legal actions" taken against named participants,⁷⁶ Lombardi's use of red in this way may have been influenced by an illustration in Tufte's book, showing Japanese calligrapher Uboku Nishitani's strategy for increasing the lucidity and dramatic impact of his work through additions made with red ink.⁷⁷

74. Mark Lombardi, "Self-Interview."

75. *Ibid.*

76. Mark Lombardi, "The Recent Drawings: An Overview," unpublished manuscript, 2000, in the Mark Lombardi archives at Pierogi, Brooklyn, New York.

77. Tufte, *Envisioning Information*, p. 53.

To explain the intended meaning of the color red and the various graphic elements he employed in his drawings, Lombardi devised a simple legend conveying the different functions he assigned to them (see page 52). These visual cues delimit and schematize the types of relationships they denote, even as they dramatize them. Although Lombardi used them to indicate directions of influence or control, mutual relationships, transfers of assets, and aborted transactions, they do not describe the exact nature of the specific violations, which he kept deliberately ambiguous. In fact, the notations in red comprise the most concrete and easily verified information in these works.

The legend Lombardi composed indicates his appreciation of the need to see rather than merely read information, an act that Tufte characterizes in terms of the pro-active verb “envision.” According to this designer, “We envision information in order to reason about, communicate, document, and preserve that knowledge. . . . all the history of information displays and statistical graphics—indeed of any communication device—is entirely a progress of methods for enhancing density, complexity, dimensionality, and even sometimes beauty.”⁷⁸

Tufte’s advice is more practical than theoretical, but there are also connotative aspects to diagrams, which play an important role in Lombardi’s art. Even though he restricts himself to drawing—a medium often thought to be spontaneous, since it has been viewed over time as the primary stage for generating the initial ideas for sculptures and paintings—Lombardi’s highly energetic preliminary sketches and more finished drawn charts do not appear to be spontaneous. They are both intimate, in terms of the viewers’ need to see them from a close range, and more formal, in terms of their adherence to an overall rational scheme whose clarity and logic are essential to the work’s success. Although we might feel that we have a handle on the information contained in these visual-spatial representations, reading graphs for information while at the same time looking at them as art creates an unbridgeable gap; and these two activities interpolate different modes of apprehension, so that the initial feeling of control that one might have had over them is undermined. Moreover, Lombardi’s artistic strategy of translating narratives into distinct visual fragments, with some sort of implied association indicated by arrows, necessarily condenses information so that relationships are easily discerned even though their exact nature is difficult to comprehend.

NARRATIVE STRUCTURES

Even after Lombardi had concluded that he was an artist and definitely not an art historian or a political commentator, he had trouble finding an adequate name for his work. He considered calling himself a “conceptual artist with an attitude” and categorizing his work as info art, journalism for the T.V. generation, political architecture, power networks, angry graphics, or narrative structures. Some of his recommendations such as angry graphics, grids of logos, and crushed logos appear to have evolved from former work, and their appearance in his notes

78. Tufte, *Envisioning Information*, p. 33.

together with titles more appropriate for his mature work indicates the overlapping concerns that inform both these series. He explained his final choice in the following statement:

I call them “narrative structures” because each consists of a network of lines and notations which are meant to convey a story, typically about a recent event of interest to me like the collapse of a large international bank, trading company or investment house. One of my goals is to map the interaction of political, social and economic forces in contemporary affairs.⁷⁹

When he noted elsewhere that “in theory a narrative structure . . . could be used to say about anything; it could be used to point out significant moments in the evolution of the tennis racket or history of the Romanov dynasty,”⁸⁰ he indicated a familiarity with the enhanced role accorded the study of narratives in the past few decades among semiologists. A leader in this area, A. J. Greimas, has advanced the idea that narrativity is the basic principle of organization of all discourse, narrative and non-narrative alike.⁸¹ We might hypothesize that Lombardi’s narratives correlate well with the enlarged scope of narrative studies and in fact expand them in a new abstract direction, since his drawn arcs replace the core element of stories, i.e., their action. According to the structural definition of stories proposed by Russian formalist Vladimir Propp, these narratives are constituted by beginning and ending static situations delimiting between them a series of events. Considered in these terms, Lombardi’s narratives can be regarded as both realistic as well as abstract. Their realism is to be found in the names that demarcate the static poles separating the sweeping arcs in his drawings, which are abstract synecdoches for the missing events they signify but cannot adequately represent. These lacunae explain the frustration that viewers often experience when trying to figure out the exact nature of the relationships that are schematically rendered but not characterized in the work. An example of this inability to come to terms with the information alluded to in these drawings is the basis of critic Robin Utterbach’s acknowledgment, “In spite of the individuality of the drawings and the appearance that they convey masses of information, it would be difficult to make a coherent and revealing written narrative using nothing more than one of these drawings as a source.”⁸²

In this respect, Lombardi’s drawing are predicated on both sight and blindness. In addition, they reprise essential aspects of the intriguing study on this theme by French deconstructionist Jacques Derrida, who was invited in 1990 to curate an exhibition for the Louvre’s *Parti Pris* series initiated by its Department of Graphic Arts that year. His exhibition catalogue, published in English under the title *Memoirs of the Blind: The Self-Portrait and Other Ruins*, appeared in 1993, the year before Lombardi began to focus on drawing. Here, Derrida proposed the

79. Lombardi, “The Recent Drawings.”

80. Lombardi, unpublished notes, in the Mark Lombardi archives at Pierogi, Brooklyn, New York.

81. A.J. Greimas and J. Courtés, **Semiotics and Language: An Analytical Dictionary**, trans. L. Crist and D. Patte (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982).

82. Robin Utterbach, “Mark Lombardi,” **Artiles** 13 (Winter 1996–197), pp. 31–32.

dialectic that if drawing has formerly been regarded as the traditional first record of an artist's insight or foresight, it can also be envisaged either as an occasion for nonseeing or an act of blind faith, since artists can rarely predict with success the outcome of their work. Toward the end of his study, Derrida reveals one of his main sources to be Maurice Merleau-Ponty's text *The Visible and the Invisible*, in which the unseen or unseeable is considered vision's necessary supplement. Derrida quotes the following passage from Merleau-Ponty's treatise:

When I say that every visible is invisible, that perception is imperception, that consciousness has a "punctum caecum," that to see is always to see more than one sees—this must not be understood in the sense of a contradiction— it must not be imagined that I add to the visible . . . a nonvisible . . . — One has to understand that it is visibility itself that involves a nonvisibility."⁸³

Merleau-Ponty is suggesting in this statement that since visibility is always a translation into perceptual terms of that which exists, it is also an abstraction and thus must abbreviate that which it intends to reveal—an impossible task. Although Derrida does not make overt connections between drawing and writing, to readers familiar with his definition of writing as the element of undecidedness in any expression, whether written or spoken, his description of drawing as both sight and non-sight as well as presence and absence extends his theories into the visual arts. Seen in terms of Lombardi's art, Derrida's reassessment of drawing removes the traditional onus placed on this medium, which has been considered the best possible means for fathoming the unknown and making it visible, and allows it to be a highly schematized view of the world it intends to depict. In addition, this study gives him permission to abbreviate and graph essential relationships that may remain mysteries, except for certain quantifiable results such as the dollar amounts he frequently appends to his work. Thus, it allows him to represent with some degree of accuracy those elements that he can see, and to allude to those that will continue to elude vision. From this, we might conclude that Lombardi presents known facts but that he abstracts those connections which are too complex to be given adequate visual representation.

CONCLUSION

This investigation of Lombardi's art began with a citation from Vidal's "Requiem for the American Empire." According to Vidal, this country's sovereignty is directly connected to its economic supremacy, and its preeminence substantially declined in the mid-1980s when it became a debtor nation. Denying truisms regarding the country's widely vaunted democracy, he noted with dry cynicism: "For 200 years we have had an oligarchical system in which men of property can do well and the others are on their own. Or, as Brooks Adams put it, the sole problem of our ruling class is whether to coerce or to bribe the powerless majority."⁸⁴

83. Merleau-Ponty, quoted in Jacques Derrida, *Memoirs of the Blind: The Self-Portrait and Other Ruins*, trans. Pascale-Anne Brault and Michael Naas (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1993), p. 52.

84. Gore Vidal, "Requiem for the American Empire," *The Nation*, January 11, 1986, p. 16.

Although Vidal did not describe the next power to enter the world's stage, it had already been anticipated in the 1970s in terms of Wallerstein's world system theory and became a full-fledged reality in the 1980s and 1990s. That is the period when the vast laundering of illegal funds worldwide created a new supranational economy whose immediate liquidity has been acknowledged, even though its full destabilizing force remains to be tested. In his art, Lombardi has delineated the overlapping networks of criminal activity giving rise to this new world order. In concert with this globalism, many of his last works delineate swarms of networks comprising the "vicious circles" that he highlighted by using that phrase as the title of his 1999 New York gallery exhibition. In choosing art in general and drawing in particular as his platform for registering the transformation from a nationalist to a supranationalist power base, which has been presaged in positive terms by the United Nations and negatively by BCCI, he has taken into consideration the pre-eminent role that the leader of the New Left, Marcuse, assigned to art's formal properties. Using Marcuse's ideas to plumb this "new world order" might at first appear reactionary, because of its reliance on formalism and all the attendant associations with modernism this artistic creed continues to suggest. But, in fact, this action is advanced, since it accords art the power to move beyond the status quo of ensconced ideologies by presenting glimmers of an idealized world intuited through its formal harmonies. Lombardi's art thus indicts ongoing financial practices contributing to globalism's dark side at the same time that it holds out the possibility of a better world. A 1960s New Left liberal in a late-twentieth-century New Right world, Lombardi retained his idealism even as he directed his readings of the public record to documenting in detail multiple networks of collusion among big governments, their intelligence operations, and organized crime.

Robert Hobbs holds the Rhoda Thalheimer Endowed Chair of Art History at Virginia Commonwealth University. Author of twenty books and numerous museum catalogues and essays, Hobbs has curated more than forty major exhibitions presented in eleven countries, among them *Robert Smithson: Sculpture* (the U.S. entry to the 1982 Venice Biennale) and *Kara Walker: Slavery! Slavery!* (the U.S. entry to the 2002 São Paulo Bienal).

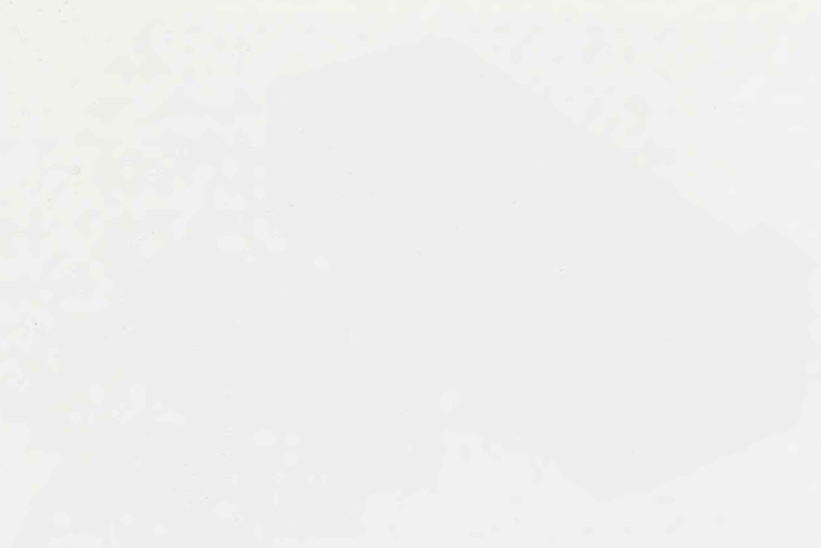


Fig. 16. Index cards on which Lombardi kept handwritten notes from his research on the activities and associations of individuals or groups implicated in the financial scandals he was investigating, 1998–2001

Catalogue

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE ON THE CATALOGUE ENTRIES

Since many of the scandals delineated by Lombardi may be only marginally known, the catalogue entries are intended as supplementary background information on specific pieces. Their aim is to set the basic stage on which Lombardi's scenarios are played out rather than to provide detailed descriptions of the drawings per se.

Although Mark Lombardi often attested that the information he incorporated into his art was true, it would have been as impossible for him to verify the accuracy of all the events, people, and financial numbers cited in his drawings at the time he made them as it is for us now. Research on primary sources detailing the scandals he referred to in his art is still in its beginning stages, involving the collating and reassessment of numerous news stories, personal reminiscences, and pertinent court proceedings. Lombardi tried to follow one basic rule he set for himself: that all of his source material must come from published sources. However, even when he deviated from this rule, he did his best to incorporate only information that he believed to be true. As a visual narrative of high-level criminal activity during the 1980s and '90s, his art represents a historical picture of the time in which it was made; and, since he relied on the news media as his primary source, these drawings reflect its strengths, excesses, myopia, and even blindness.

In making his drawings, the stages of generating the art and executing it were clearly more separate for Lombardi than for most artists. The first stage was a seemingly never-ending process of accumulating daunting amounts of information from the public record and making frequent revisions to this data by detecting discrepancies of information or patterns of interactions not noticed by others. Lombardi often returned to a topic he had already given form to in an earlier drawing, reconfiguring it in yet a different way as he found yet more new material; his many versions of the World Finance Corporation's financial manipulations offer a sterling example of this process (see cat. nos. 2, 6, 7, 13, 14, and 15, pp. 68–71).

In addition to clipping items from daily newspapers and weekly magazines, Lombardi made extensive lists of government publications and books on particular scandals and individuals, which he then made every attempt to track down (see note 48 in the essay "Mark Lombardi: Global Networks," above). Because many of these publications were out of print, he often asked secondhand book dealers to help him obtain them. While building up these archives of printed matter, he kept a handwritten tally of the activities and associations of individuals implicated in particular financial scandals on three-by-five-inch colored index cards (see fig. 16), which at his death numbered over fourteen thousand. Although the information he gathered came mostly from the syndicated press and from recognized publishers, it was generously augmented with material he took from the Internet. When asked why he had not put this information into computer files, Lombardi repeatedly affirmed the need to write these facts in his own hand. The reasons for this are

many (but ultimately speculative in nature), ranging from his desire to gain a better grasp of the data to his suspicion that he might lose this irretrievable information if his computer crashed. Psychologically, of course, the transition from handwriting notes to drawing was smoother this way than if he had printed out the notes from computer files.

Once Lombardi had assembled enough data on a subject to create a drawing, he began the process of sketching, which in fact constituted a new archive on the subject. He would first place the relevant index cards detailing specific connections adjacent to the paper on which he was working. Then he organized these into larger networks, being conscious of the need to make these webs cohere into greater constellations that would give each drawing an overall compositional unity. In his early works, he relied on time lines; and as he grew more familiar with both his subject matter and his means, he sometimes dispensed with this linear system. After making his highly energetic, loose sketches, which he believed to be a crucial aspect of his work, he moved on to more fluid and finished drawings on a much-enlarged, often monumental scale. To create these larger works, he employed compasses, French curves, and straightedges so that sweeping lines would appear more rhythmic and straight ones more defined.

He would often focus on different subjects at the same time; and as pieces of information surfaced, he would add them to his extensive archives. This ongoing, accumulative approach to the *Narrative Structures* was coupled with two major compositional changes in the drawings: the use of red as a graphic device soon after the series was initiated, and the development of circular formats in 1999 (for the "Vicious Circles" that he showed at Deven Golden Gallery). After that exhibition, he structured his pieces primarily in large horizontal or circular configurations.

Over the six years that he made these *Narrative Structures*, he devised a legend explaining the various graphic elements that he employed in each drawing as shorthand notations to represent different kinds of data and the connections between the entities named in the work (see fig. 17). Among his unpublished notes is the following description of the legend:

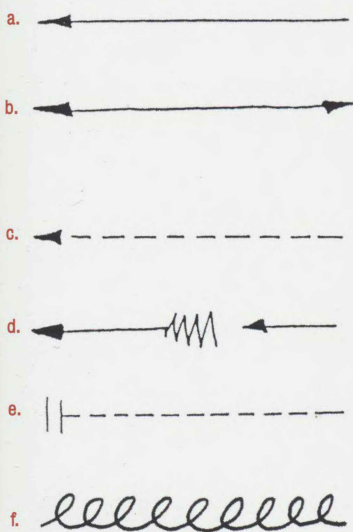


Fig. 17. The legend that Lombardi devised to explain the graphic elements he used to represent different types of data and the connections between people or organizations in the drawings:

- a. Some type of influence or control
- b. Some type of mutual relationship or association
- c. Flow of money, loans or credits
- d. Sale or transfer of an asset
- e. Blocked or incomplete transaction
- f. The sale or spin-off of a property

In some cases I use a set of stacked, parallel lines to establish a time frame. Hierarchical relationships, the flow of money and other key details are then indicated by a system of radiating arrows, broken lines and so forth. Some of the drawings consist of two different layers of information—one denoted in black, the other, red. Black represents the essential elements of the story while major lawsuits, criminal indictments or other legal actions taken against the parties are shown in red. Every statement of fact and connections depicted in the work is true and based on information culled entirely from the public record.

In practice, a circle would be labeled with the name of an individual or company; a solid line came to indicate some type of influence or control between

businesses or individuals; a double arrow, mutual relationships or associations; a dotted line, the flow of money, loans, or credits; a squiggle, the sale or transfer of an asset; a double hyphen, a blocked or incomplete transaction; and the use of red, a court judgment, bankruptcy, criminal conviction, or death.

Lombardi's *Narrative Structures*, created over the brief period 1994–2000, comprise a distinct body of work. Even though he thought about varying the medium he employed for the series (and he briefly experimented with a light-box format), he regarded this series primarily in terms of drawings. Toward the end of his life, he told his gallerist Joe Amrhein of Pierogi that the *Narrative Structures* were essentially complete, and that he wished to move in a new direction by using primary, secondary, and tertiary colors in overlapping circles to represent hierarchies of wealth. He used the term “Neo Geo” as an interim label to refer to these preliminary ideas, with the intention of changing it later (but died before doing so).

Because of the overall cohesiveness of this series, the following catalogue entries are arranged, with few exceptions, according to the beginning date of the subjects investigated (as indicated in Lombardi's titles), thus providing a chronological history of some of the most egregious instances of twentieth-century financial malfeasance. The series begins with the money-laundering activities of Al Capone's Chicago Outfit, followed by those of Meyer Lansky—the Mob's accountant—and his associates, and then moves on to delineate corrupt and unlawful practices over the years by key individuals controlling the Vatican bank, various international banking conglomerates, U.S. savings and loans associations, and an increasingly entrenched global network of political leaders, organized-crime figures, intelligence operatives, and financiers.

—R.H.

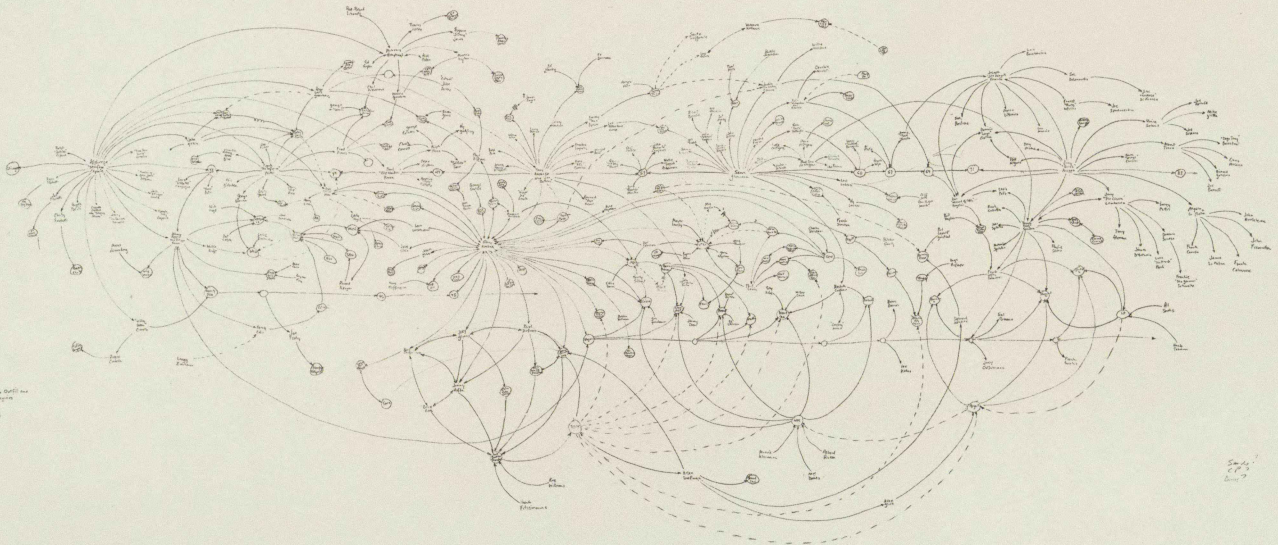
This preliminary drawing, one of the larger compositions in the *Narrative Structures* series, spans five decades in the development, apogee, and eclipse of the Chicago crime syndicate's far-flung intrigues, which extended to neighboring midwestern cities as well as to Hollywood and Las Vegas. Its forthrightness seems to capture the blunt force of this group. The drawing is organized around a basic time line that moves from left to right, and its narrative begins at the left with Alphonse "Scarface" Capone. His arrest initiates Lombardi's excursus on the Chicago Outfit's nefarious rule and serves as a stirring reminder of the role that accounting practices have assumed for criminal justice departments as well as for organized crime syndicates wishing to hide undercover activities.

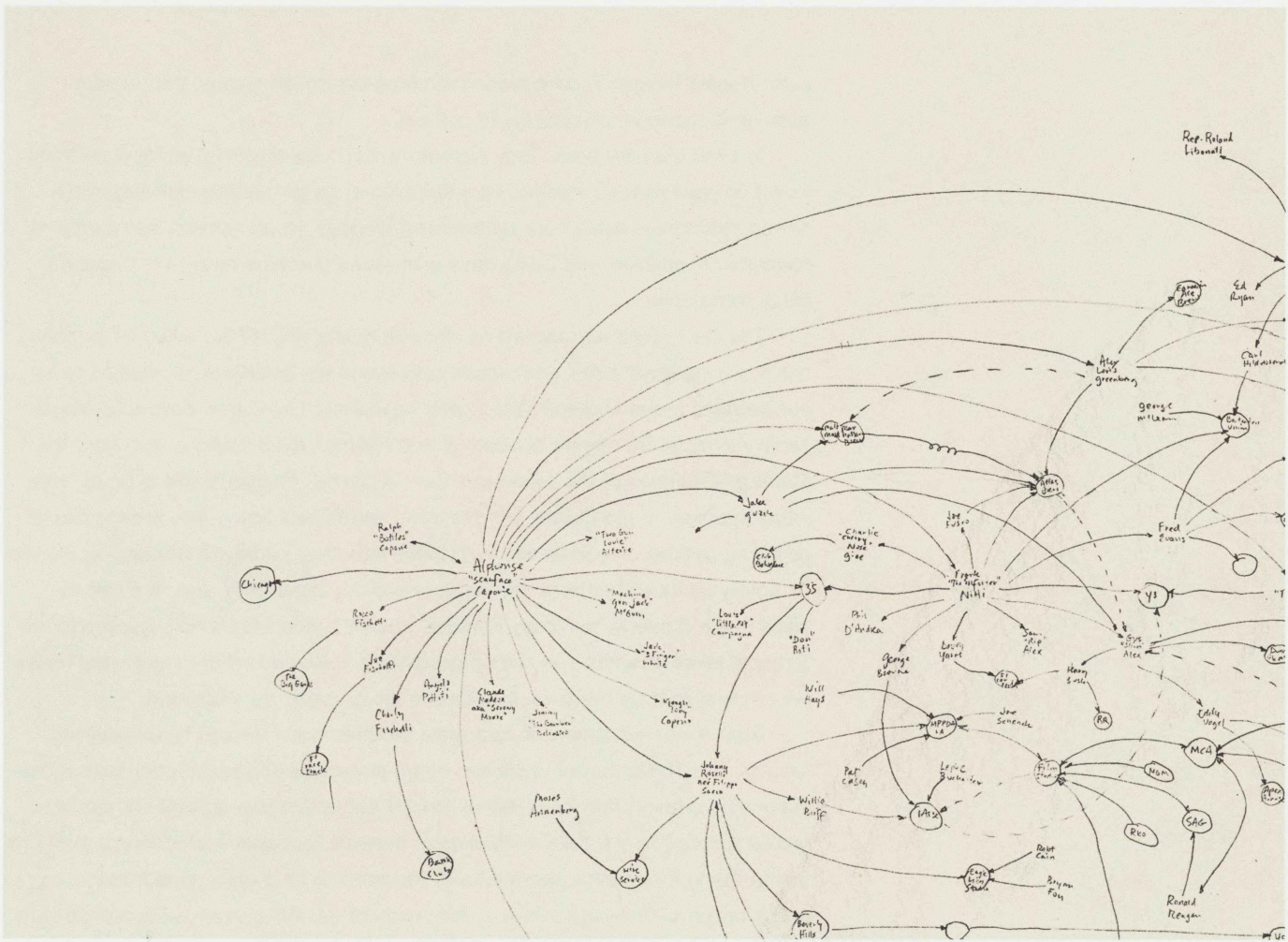
Although Eliot Ness, chief of the Treasury Department's Bureau of Prohibition investigators (known as the "Untouchables"), has been honored in the popular media for originating the idea of prosecuting Capone as an income-tax evader rather than as a big-time gangster, the real credit for this stratagem goes to I.R.S. officials who recognized how the Supreme Court's 1927 ruling on Manny Sullivan might be applied to a number of Chicago crime figures. A bootlegger arrested for income-tax evasion, Sullivan argued that reporting his actual income would have been self-incriminating and therefore a violation of his constitutional rights. However, the Supreme Court did not agree with this defense and thus opened the possibility for law-enforcement officers to try criminals for income-tax evasion when other charges might not have been effective in apprehending them.

**Chicago Outfit and Satellite
Regimes, ca. 1931-83, 1998,**

48 1/8 x 96 5/8 in. (cat. no. 11)

(see also detail, p. 55)





Although Capone's brother Ralph and other members of the Chicago syndicate were convicted of tax fraud, Capone believed himself to be invulnerable. In June 1931, this leader of the group that became known as the Chicago Outfit was indicted for failing to pay taxes on more than \$165,000. Convicted of the charge, he was fined \$80,000 and sentenced to eleven years in a federal penitentiary.

Even though Prohibition had defined the primary sphere of Capone's criminal actions, bootlegging soon ceased to be a viable source of income after the making and selling of liquor became legal again in 1933. Because of this reversal, Capone's successor, Frank "The Enforcer" Nitti (referred to on Lombardi's time line), was obliged to move the Chicago Outfit into labor racketeering and gambling as well as taking unfair advantage of gamblers and unfortunate businessmen by making "juice" loans to them (i.e., loans they knew could not be repaid). The Outfit also extended its territory to such cities as Milwaukee and Madison in Wisconsin, Rockford and Springfield in Illinois, and Kansas City in Missouri, and even made inroads into California, extorting major Hollywood film studios by threatening strikes of projectionist unions. In the drawing, Lombardi includes a reference to

Chicago Outfit and Satellite Regimes, ca. 1931-83, 1998
(cat no. 11, detail)

actor Ronald Reagan in connection with Mob-controlled unions, but without specifying the exact chronology or context.

In 1946 the new boss, Tony Accardo (a.k.a. "Joe Batters," as he is referred to in Lombardi's work), headed up a strict hierarchy of criminal activities when he extorted street taxes from professional burglars, jewel thieves, and gambling concerns. In addition, the Outfit ran a successful numbers racket for Chicago's black community.

The Outfit's power reached its pinnacle during the 1950s, when its gambling casinos, striptease joints, and prostitutes reaped big dividends. In addition to its concessions in the Midwest, the Outfit moved into Las Vegas. Following Meyer Lansky's model for money laundering, and at times even working with him, the Outfit availed itself of the Teamsters Central States' Pension Fund to underwrite major interests in the Desert Inn, Fremont, and Riviera hotels and their in-house gambling casinos. In connection with these activities, Lombardi included references to Jimmy Hoffa and to both the Stardust and the Desert Inn, and, in a nearby place in the drawing, to Sidney Korshak, known as the Mob's Hollywood attorney. To avoid taxes, members of the Chicago Mafia skimmed off particularly big house winnings at each of these casinos before the grosses were counted.

After these successes, subsequent decades were marked by diminishing returns. The 1960s sexual revolution made strip clubs and prostitution less appealing and necessary. Attorney General Robert Kennedy's war against corrupt labor unions resulted in the 1964 conviction of national Teamster leader Jimmy Hoffa for manipulating the union's pension fund. Responding to changing neighborhoods, police became more aggressive in their raids of gambling casinos. To compensate for these reverses, the Mob went into the business of stealing cars and disassembling them into untraceable parts. The 1970s were also difficult for the Chicago Mafia: off-track betting made inroads into their bookmaking activities, politicians became more concerned with developing positive television images for new constituencies than pleasing the Mob in return for large payoffs, and Las Vegas corporations were discovering crime to be far less cost-effective than legitimate businesses. In an effort to shore up these losses, a severely chastened Chicago Outfit turned more and more to staging bets on such professional sports as football and basketball. As the open-ended arrow at the right suggests, the Chicago Outfit continued to operate beyond the 1983 date in Lombardi's drawing.

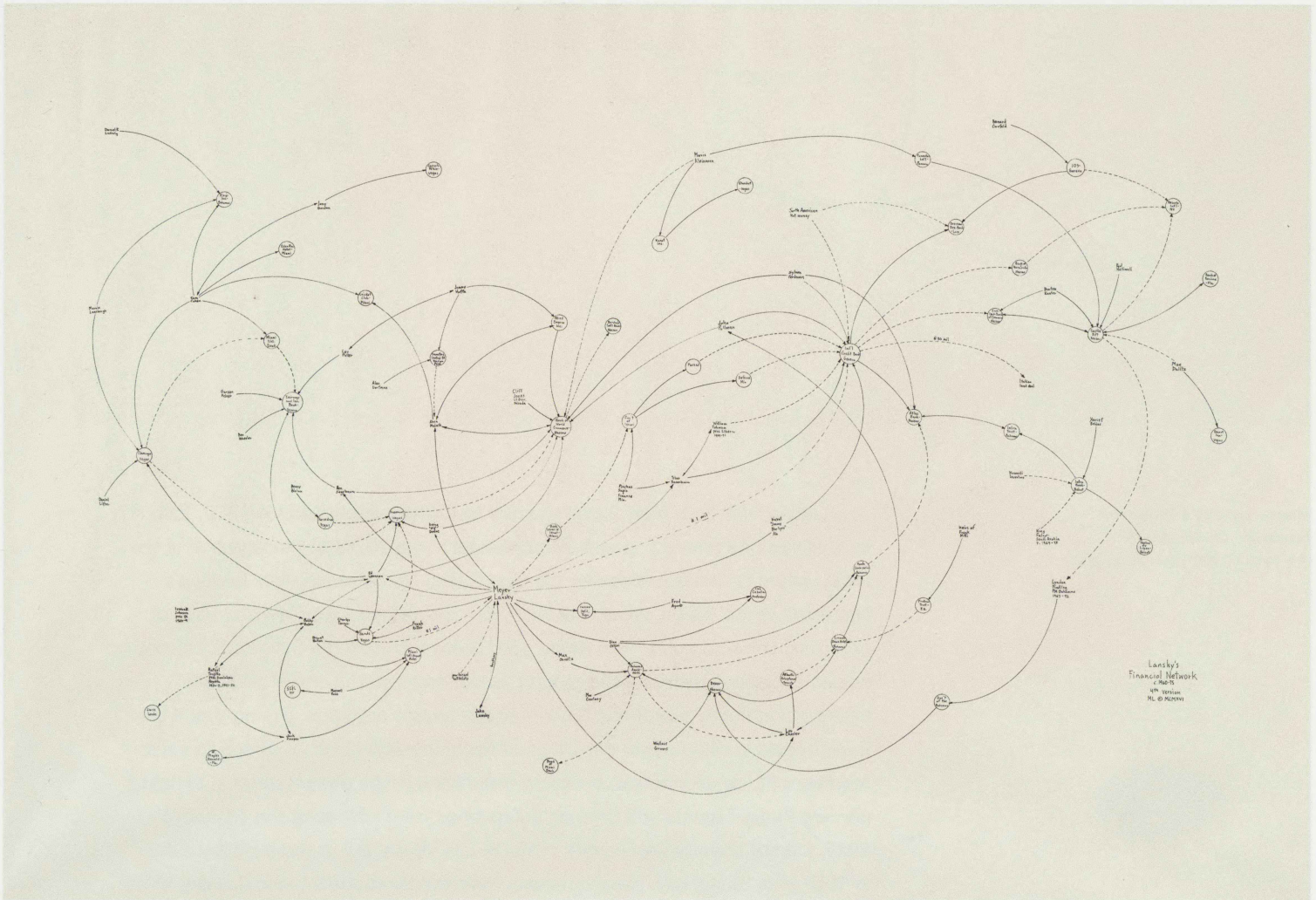
Meyer Lansky's Financial Network, ca. 1960-78 (4th Version), 1996

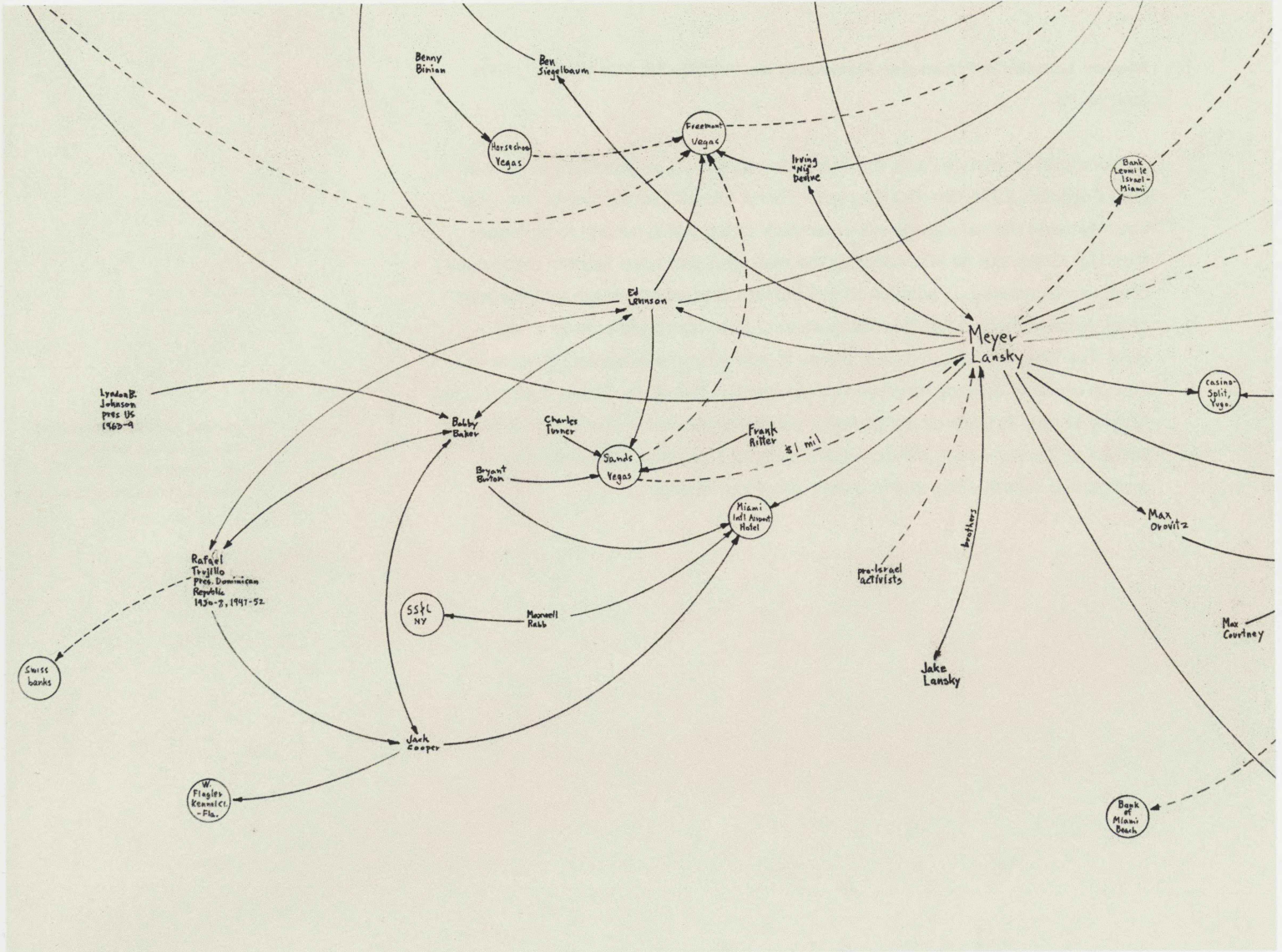
[cat. no. 5]

Immortalized as Hyman Roth, the character played by Lee Strasberg in Francis Ford Coppola's 1974 film *The Godfather Part 2*, Meyer Lansky may or may not have declared the nationwide crime network called the Syndicate to be bigger than U.S. Steel, but he was certainly the man who perfected modern techniques of money laundering. In addition to this dubious distinction, he brought the arts of tax evasion, bank fraud, and falsification of financial statements to a new level. The precision of Lansky's activities is echoed in the extremely delicate and precise mode of drawing employed by Lombardi in this work. Rather than featuring Lansky's name in a prominent position, Lombardi placed it in the lower-central portion of the work as if to indicate this mobster's carefully calculated way of maintaining control while trying to stay out of the limelight.

Meyer Lansky's Financial Network, ca. 1960-78

(4th Version), 1996, 30 3/4 x 40 3/4 in.
(cat. no. 5) (see also detail, p. 58)





Meyer Lansky's Financial Network, ca. 1960-78
 (4th Version), 1996 (cat. no. 5, detail)

Lansky was born Mair Suchowijansky to Russian immigrants in 1902. Early in his career, he teamed up with Bugsy Siegel in the 1920s to manage one of the most violent Prohibition mobs on the East Coast. He became Lucky Luciano's lieutenant in the 1930s, when that New York mobster brought Jewish heads of organized crime together with Italian Mob bosses to form the Syndicate. Lansky helped Luciano consolidate the group's power and became one of its major bankers, frequently laundering funds through foreign accounts. During World War II, he helped Luciano assist the Office of Naval Intelligence in its efforts to enlist members of the underworld, including waterfront pimps and prostitutes, to help prevent foreign agents and German submarines from infiltrating the country. In 1945, Lansky underwrote Siegel's move to Las Vegas, but ordered his execution in 1947 after Siegel was caught stealing from the Syndicate's funds. Lansky later

opened gambling palaces in Havana and provided Cuba's dictator-president, Fulgencio Batista, with part of the take. After Castro's takeover of Cuba in 1959, Lansky focused on the Bahamas and created a gambling empire in the Caribbean.

Although Lansky managed to avoid the violent end that his movie counterpart Roth received, his many intrigues began to catch up with him when he was indicted in the 1970s for a number of highly questionable financial practices. These included skimming unreported profits from hotels and casinos in Las Vegas (Lombardi's drawing includes a reference to the Flamingo); using Teamster pension funds to fund Caesar's Palace in Vegas and laundering millions of dollars from this concern in the form of "loans" to the Mafia, which would never be repaid; and forcing businesses into foreclosure through loan-sharking. He financed both illegitimate and legitimate businesses, creating a fortune estimated at \$300 million in 1970. In the drawing, Lombardi refers to Lansky's offshore activities in Nassau and Geneva as well as his work with the Teamsters' Pension Fund, and notes his and the Mafia's indirect access to political authority through connections to Lyndon B. Johnson, Bobby Baker, and Rafael Trujillo (president of the Dominican Republic 1930–38 and 1942–52 and dictator until his death in 1961).

Alarmed in 1970 when he received a summons to testify before a grand jury and was about to be indicted for income-tax evasion, Lansky moved to Israel, but was expelled from that country two years later and ended up back in the United States, where he was placed under arrest. He was convicted in 1973 of grand jury contempt and income-tax evasion, but remained out of jail on various appeals and because of ill health. In 1979 the House of Representatives Select Committee on Assassinations connected Lansky with Jack Ruby, who killed presidential assassin Lee Harvey Oswald. Lansky died in January 1983.

In the press release for *Silent Partners*, his first exhibition at Pierogi, in 1998, Lombardi noted that Italian filmmaker Federico Fellini had described the downfall of the Vatican bank as "a thriller . . . an old-fashioned bloodthirsty story." Among the protagonists of this international scandal were Pope Paul VI, Sicilian financier Michele Sindona, a rogue banker named Roberto Calvi, a double-agent (and leader of a secret Masonic lodge) named Licio Gelli, members of the Gambino crime family, and Richard Nixon. To understand how these extraordinary events could have occurred, it is necessary to go back to the unification of Italy in the nineteenth century, the last step of which was achieved when the Italian national revolution took control of Rome in 1870 and dispossessed the Catholic Church of its sovereignty in the Papal States, leaving the pope the Vatican's titular head and also its virtual prisoner. However, Pius IX (pope 1846-78) had convened the First Vatican Council at the end of the preceding year to promulgate the doctrine of papal infallibility, which was ratified before the entrance of Italian troops into Rome forced the council to disband. Thus, the temporality of a Vatican reign was replaced with the absolutism of a spiritual one.

In 1929, Pius XI (pope 1922-39) was able to win back some papal jurisdiction from Benito Mussolini. The terms of the Lateran Treaty negotiated and signed that year restored the papacy's temporal sovereignty in the Vatican by confirming it as the seat of government of the Roman Catholic Church and establishing the fully independent state of Vatican City with the pope as its absolute ruler. It also provided the church with the equivalent in today's money of \$80 million or more in return for cooperation with Mussolini, as nominal financial compensation for claims arising from the confiscation of papal lands. Moreover, the treaty downgraded the sin of usury (defined as "all gains from money lending," which until 1830 had been subject to an official ban) by redefining it as "lending money at exorbitant rates," thus leaving the Church free to pursue aggressive financial investment. To handle this considerable windfall, the pope established a bank for the Vatican, which was called the Istituto per le Opere di Religione (Institute for Religious Works, or I.O.R.) and was ensured of independence from any spiritual or secular form of authority save that of the pope and his personally chosen representatives.

In a 1996 statement on this piece, Lombardi pointed out:

Over the years the [Vatican] bank invested well over \$10 billion in major Italian, European and American companies. Any profits realized were theoretically to be used to finance special church projects the world over. But besides its official, charitable face, the [Vatican] bank had another, subterranean aspect as well. Many well-placed friends of the

Church, including some of Italy's top financiers and industrialists, used the bank (for a fee of around 5%) to evade taxes and illegally export tens of millions of dollars from Italy to Switzerland and beyond. The Pope's bank was also used to secretly finance the activities of a variety of Italian and western European political figures and causes, including, according to British intelligence, armed factions of the Irish Republican Army. Other beneficiaries were Lech Walesa's Solidarity trade union in Poland, which received \$50 million in the early 1980s; and Opus Dei, an officially sanctioned, right-wing Catholic group active in politics in Spain and Latin America.

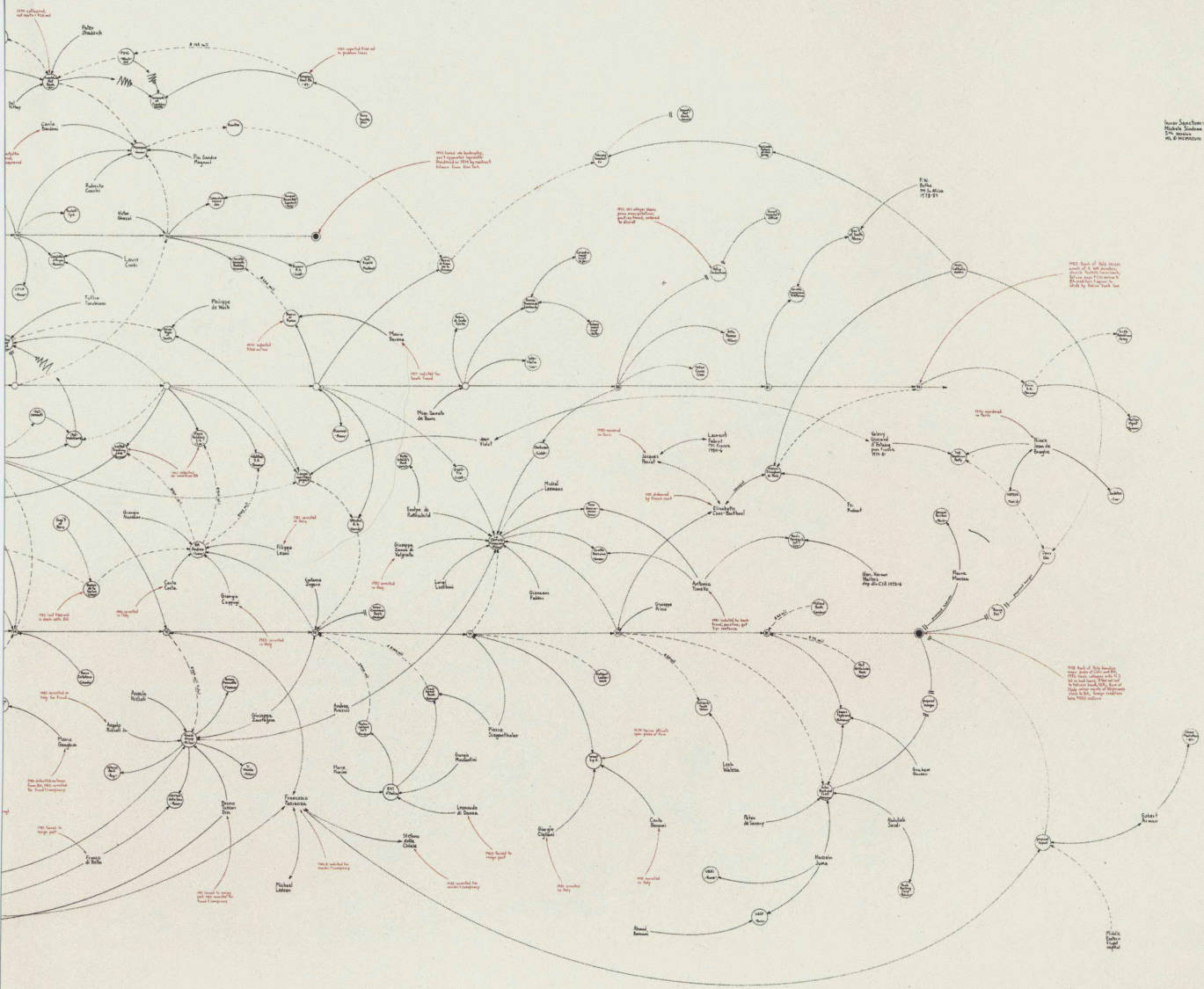
In 1968 the Italian government abolished the Vatican's tax-exempt status for income from Italian investments. Concerned that the next filing of tax returns would reveal the size of its financial portfolio and cause a public uproar, Paul VI (pope 1963–78) asked Sicilian financier Michele Sindona to help the Vatican divest most of its domestic assets as advantageously and expeditiously as possible. In Lombardi's drawing, Sindona is the major player whose name appears at the upper left, connected to a tag in red that reads, "1979–82: convicted in Italy & US of murder, fraud & conspiracy; 1984: found dead in Italian prison: cyanide poisoning." Lombardi has also connected Sindona's name here to those of Richard Nixon and David M. Kennedy, Nixon's secretary of the treasury (1969–71) and U.S. ambassador to NATO (1971–72). Not specified in the drawing is the fact that Nixon's law firm acted as Sindona's legal representative in the U.S., and Kennedy's Continental Illinois Bank was a partner in some of Sindona's American investments.

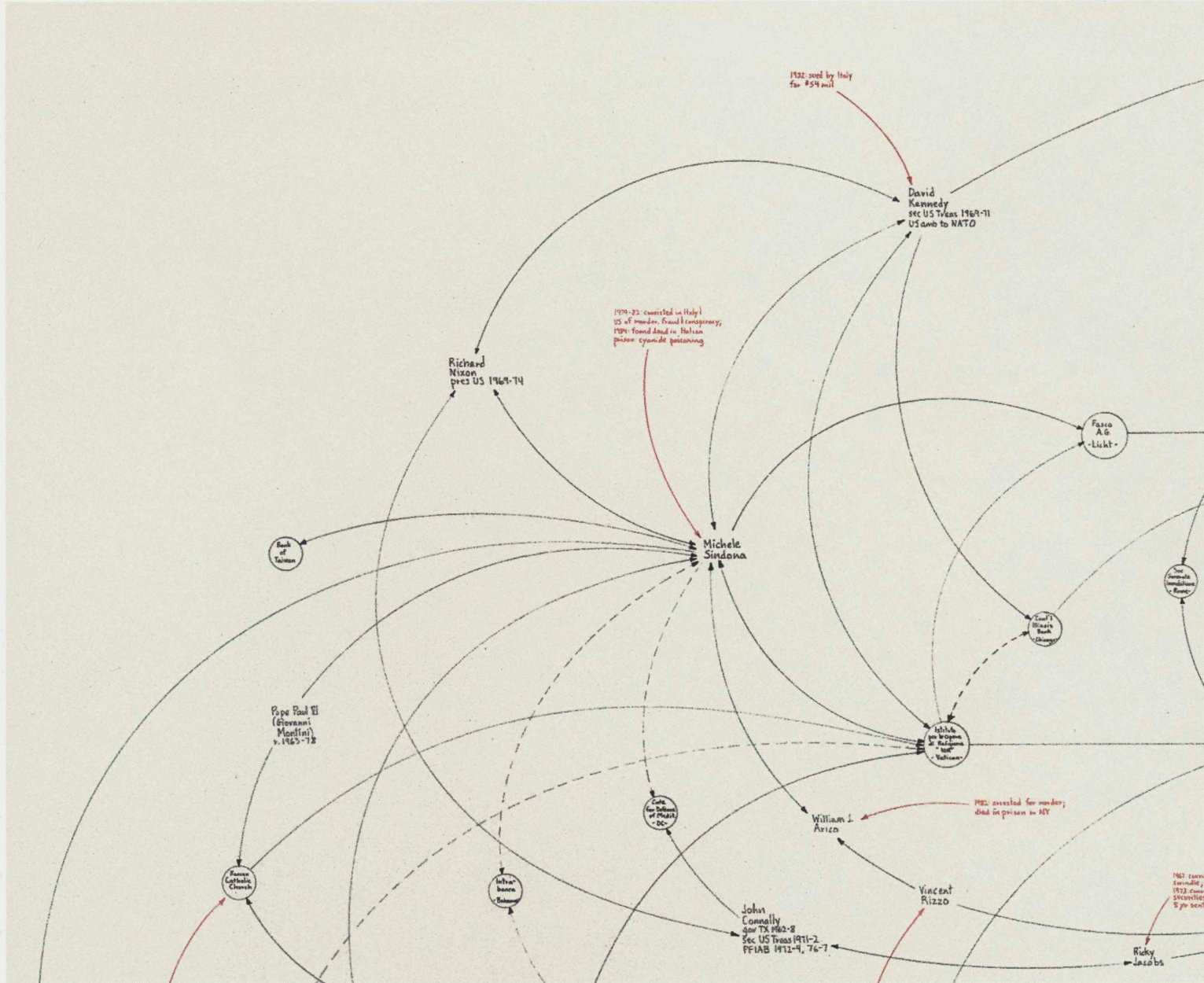
Nicknamed "the Shark," Sindona was able to double the value of the Vatican bank's domestic holdings by relying on his prior eleven years of experience laundering heroin profits for members of the Gambino family, who readily agreed to exchange at a two-to-one rate their crime-tainted revenues for "clean" ones. To prevent the Church from being directly implicated in dealings with the Mafia, Sindona set up a shell corporation named Mabusì, an acronym concocted from the first two letters of his son Marco's first, middle, and last names.

In his capacity as papal financial advisor, Sindona relied on the cooperation of a fellow criminal banker who had also acquired banks to launder Mafia money, Roberto Calvi, another important player in Lombardi's drawing. Calvi's primary job was managing the Banco Ambrosiano in Milan, which was aligned with the Vatican bank, thus permitting both him and Sindona many opportunities to engineer illegal joint operations, many of which extended far beyond Italy's national borders.

Both Sindona and Calvi belonged to a group called P2 (Propaganda Due), a secret, far-right Masonic lodge consecrated in 1895, which was headed in the 1960s and '70s by double-agent Licio Gelli. Although Gelli—a minor figure in Lombardi's drawing—was, like Sindona and Calvi, fiercely anti-Communist, he regularly spied for the Communists while providing information to Vatican officials

Source: Spearman, The Rise and Fall of Business
Machine Systems and Public Color, 1903-23.
5th edition.
p. 111 (partly)





Inner Sanctum: The Pope and His Bankers Michele Sindona and Roberto Calvi, ca. 1959-82 (5th Version), 1998 (cat. no. 12, detail)

and members of U.S. intelligence. Actively supported by the C.I.A. for its determination to stage a coup if Communists were to be elected to power in Italy, P2 was most likely one of the major beneficiaries of Sindona's and Calvi's embezzled millions.

The extraordinarily liberal Pope John Paul I discovered the corrupt dealings of the Vatican bank soon after being installed as pope on August 27, 1978, and immediately asked Cardinal Jean Villot, papal secretary of state and the head of the papal Curia, to begin an investigation into the Vatican's financial operations. John Paul died a month later, the morning after informing Villot of the proposed far-reaching changes he would be announcing the next day, including the

“resignations” of Villot and other members of the Curia implicated in the scandal, as well as the head of the Vatican bank. In flagrant disregard of Italian law, which does not permit embalming less than twenty-four hours after death, John Paul I’s body was prepared for burial less than twelve hours after he died, and none of his blood or organs were removed, as is customary in Italy, an act which over the years has helped to feed rumors about the possibility of his being poisoned. As the next residing pope, John Paul II (1978–) might have instigated the thorough review of the Vatican bank that his predecessor intended, but he chose instead to disregard rumors of foul play, thus leaving Sindona to continue his operations for several more years.

Lombardi wrote the following summary of the Vatican bank’s downfall:

Between 1979 and 1982 Sindona, who had strong ties to the Mafia, the Milan corporate establishment, the Christian Democratic party and altogether rightist elements in Italy, was indicted and convicted in both Italy and the United States on a multitude of charges including murder, fraud, conspiracy and possession of illegal firearms. Sentenced to life in prison in Italy, he was found dead in his prison cell in 1984, the victim of cyanide poisoning.

Sindona’s role was then assumed by Roberto Calvi, chairman of Banco Ambrosiano of Milan. Calvi and his Vatican partners mounted speculative raids on the Milan stock exchange, gained secret control of a leading Italian newspaper (*Corriere della Sera*) and made large unreported payments to friendly politicians on both sides of the Iron Curtain. Alarmed by the bank’s growing influence in Italian politics, banking authorities demanded to see Calvi’s books, which, they later discovered, contained over \$1.2 billion in bad loans, mostly to the Vatican. When first confronted with the problem, the Church responded by attempting to disavow the loans, causing Calvi’s Ambrosiano, the largest private bank in Italy, to collapse in early June 1982. A few weeks later Calvi was found hung under a bridge in London, an apparent suicide.

In the ensuing scandal the government of Italy fell, and several hundred people on at least three continents came under investigation or indictment. Meanwhile, in the United States a number of civil suits were filed against people close to Calvi, Sindona and the IOR, including a former U.S. Treasury secretary.

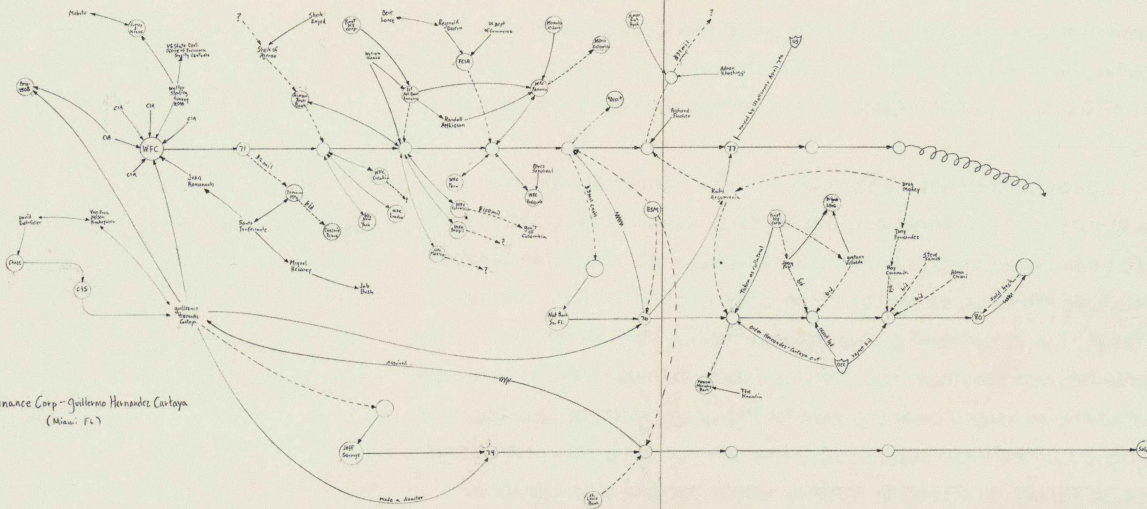
The global conglomerate World Finance Corporation (later renamed WFC Corp., and herein referred to as WFC)—the subject of a *60 Minutes* segment on February 26, 1978—intrigued Lombardi more than any other bank scandal except BCCI. It became a cornerstone for his work undoubtedly because of the central role that WFC reputedly played in the trafficking of Colombian drugs and the subsequent laundering of the profits derived from those activities. An important subtext of this work and other Lombardi pieces such as *Frank Nugan, Michael Hand, and Nugan Hand Ltd. of Sydney, Australia* (cat. no. 8, pp. 72–73) and *BCCI–ICIC & FAB* (cat. no. 25, pp. 96) is the wide-ranging collusion involved in global crimes.

In the early versions of this drawing, Lombardi cast as his chief protagonist Guillermo Hernández-Cartaya, who was the head of WFC and a double agent working with the C.I.A., the Mafia, Fidel Castro, and Colombian drug cartels. Hernández-Cartaya's name is situated on the left in the first five versions, and in the earliest ones is seen in conjunction with his conglomerate, which is surrounded by several spokes, each connected to the C.I.A. (see cat. no. 2, above). In the third, fourth, and fifth versions (cat. nos. 6, 7, 13, pp. 62–63), the three horizontal time lines of the first two studies are reduced to one, which is dominated on the left by Hernández-Cartaya. The fifth version is among the most minimal of Lombardi's works, and its empty spaces are particularly ominous, since it has been occasioned by the virtual disappearance of Colombian drug revenues that WFC was channeling into offshore accounts. Beginning with the sixth and continuing in the seventh version of WFC (cat. nos. 14, 15, pp. 64–65), Hernández-Cartaya loses his position of primacy. In these later drawings, the logical horizontal time line of the earlier drawings is forsaken for an overall circular and quasi three-dimensional configuration where the dispersal of power appears to result from the almost autonomous force of liquid capital's global flows. In these last works, there is greater emphasis on the interconnecting and turgid constellations of global corruption.

Throughout his career, Hernández-Cartaya was adept at juggling diametrically opposed positions. While secretly misappropriating and improperly diverting more than \$50 million from banks on three continents, he played golf with Nelson Rockefeller and also worked with Mafioso boss Santo Trafficante, Jr., whose drug syndicate had taken hold in Cuba before the revolution led by Castro in the late 1950s and who was later commissioned by the C.I.A. to assassinate Castro. Hernández-Cartaya assisted the C.I.A. in laundering drug money while maintaining a relationship with Narodny Bank, the Soviet institution responsible for funding Russian undercover agents, which advanced his corporation a \$2 million loan.

In addition, Cartaya maintained affiliations with Cuban counter-revolutionaries while cooperating with Castro's guerrillas. In 1975 he served as Castro's intermediary to Colombia when he arranged for the Communist-ruled island to extend that nation a \$100 million loan, which helped cement political relations between the two countries.

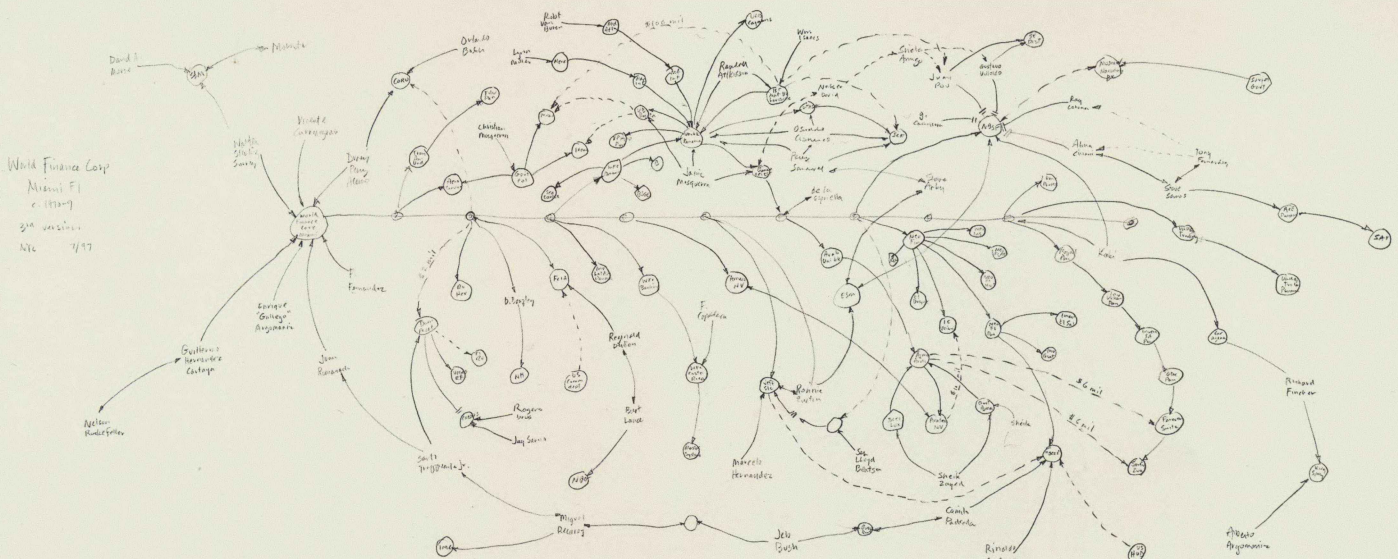
A banker in Cuba before Castro's takeover in 1959, Cartaya started WFC in Coral Gables, Florida in 1971. Within only a few years, his corporation had branch offices in eight Latin-American countries, the Cayman Islands, the Dutch Antilles, and the United Arab Emirates, as well as in the cities of London and Miami and the state of Texas. The corporation profited greatly from a 1966 amendment to the Federal Reserve Act that permitted U.S. national banks to invest directly in foreign banks. The amendment helped clear the way for the unprecedented laundering of drug money. No doubt the initial success of these operations encouraged Cartaya to open Union de Bancos (UniBank) in Panama, which became a key factor in the massive laundering of hot money: once it arrived in Panama, the money disappeared and was impossible to trace. In addition, UniBank was known to be involved in international arms smuggling, and discovered ways to circumvent the embargo that the United States had imposed on trading with Cuba.



**World Finance Corp.-
Guillermo Hernandez
Cartaya (Miami FL)**

(1st Version), 1994, 17 3/4 x 35 3/8 in.

(cat. no. 2)

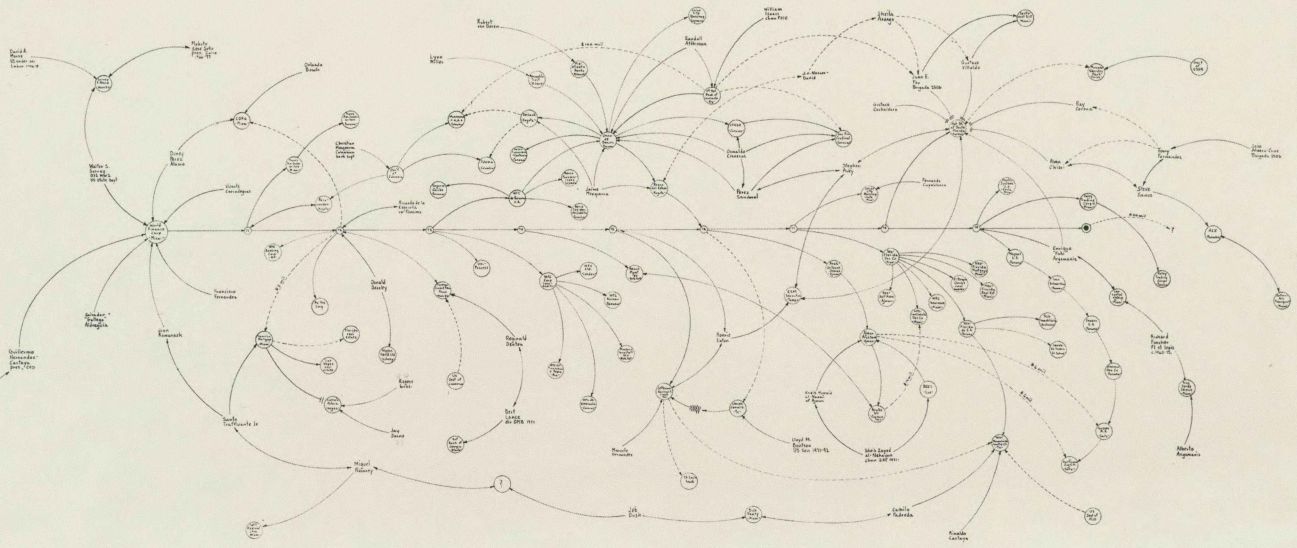


World Finance Corp., Miami

FL, ca. 1970-79 (3rd Version),

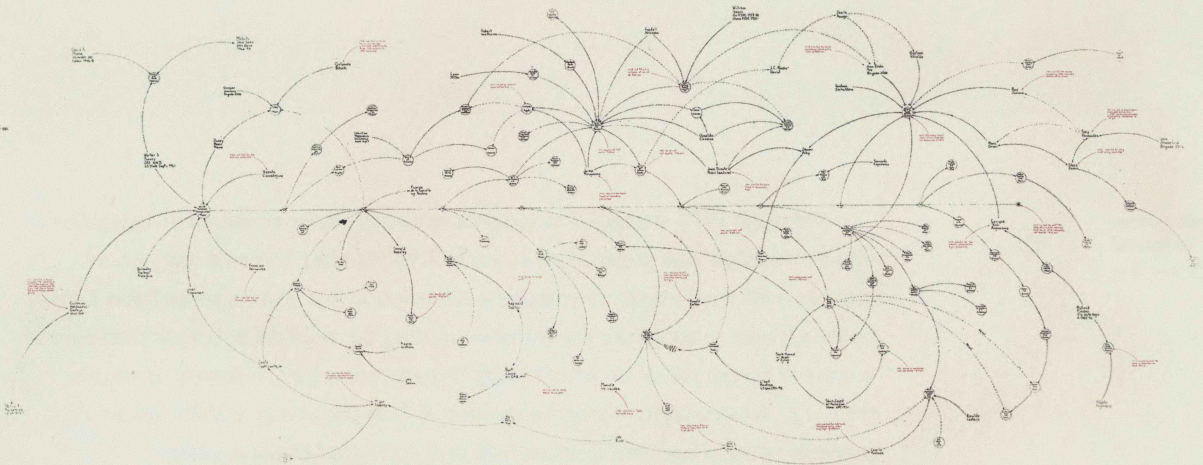
1997, 25 3/4 x 52 3/8 in. (cat. no. 6)

World Finance Corporation,
Miami, c.1970-71
4th version
in progress
in progress

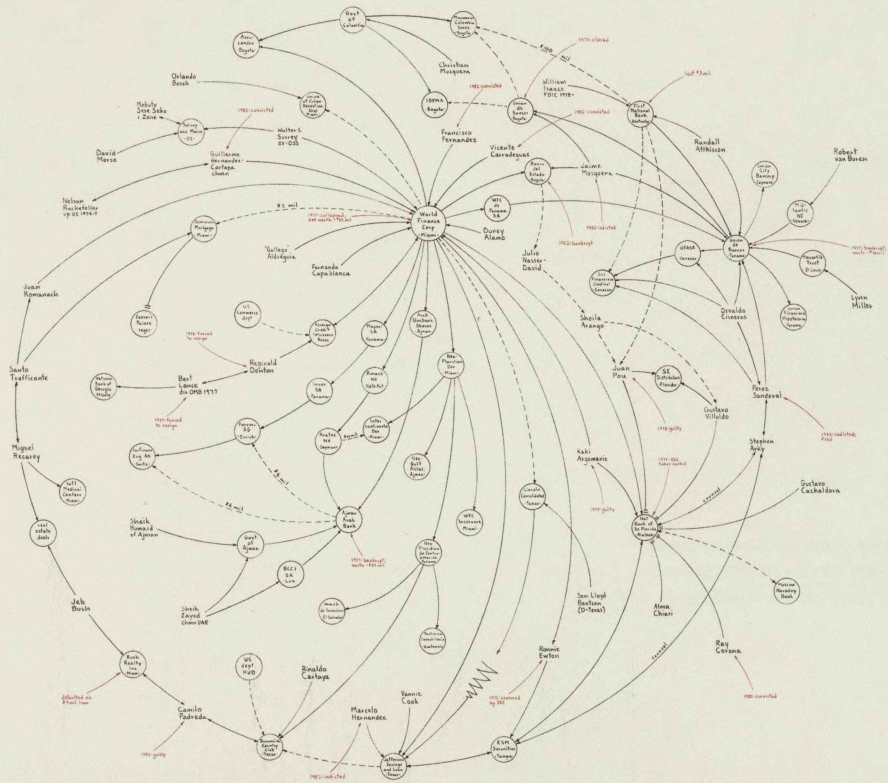


**World Finance Corporation,
Miami, 1970-79** (4th Version),
1997, 29 5/8 x 59 1/8 in. (cat. no. 7)

World Finance Corporation,
Miami, ca. 1971-79
5th version
in progress



**World Finance Corporation,
Miami, ca. 1971-79**
(5th Version), 1999, 54 1/2 x 114 1/4 in.
(cat. no. 13)

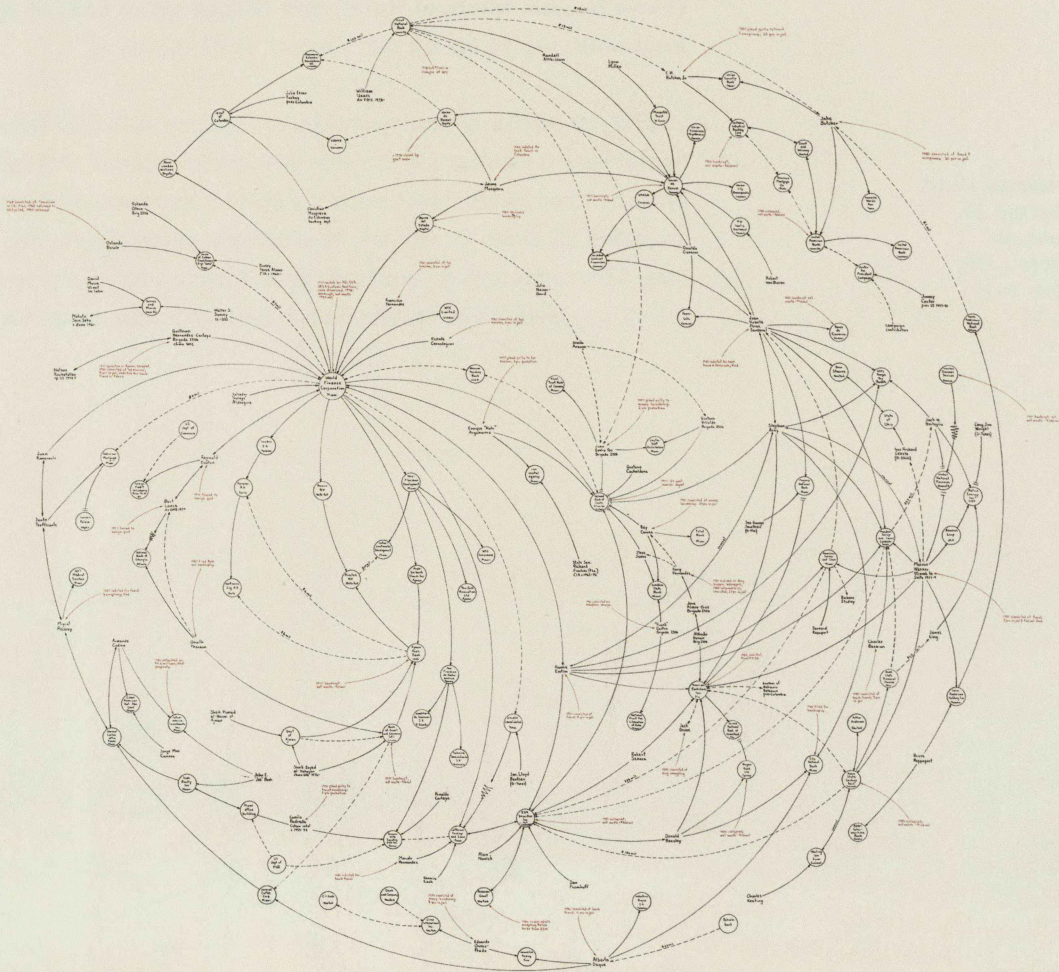


World Finance Corporation of Miami, Florida, ca. 1970-79
(6th version), 1999, 35 1/2 x 46 1/4 in.
(cat. no. 14)

**World Finance Corporation,
Miami, Florida, ca. 1970-79**
(6th Version), 1999, 35 1/2 x 46 1/4 in.
(cat. no. 14)

Although WFC managed to keep its activities under cover, an investigation into its dealings was undertaken in the late 1970s after some of its financial records with small traces of marijuana were found in a dumpster by Dade County police officers looking into the activities of King Spray Service, a local pest-control company suspected of drug trafficking. A two-year inquiry followed. Because the C.I.A. was convinced that the release of files pertaining to WFC would compromise national security, Cartaya was only convicted of tax evasion.

As in other Lombardi narrative structures, each of his drawings presents several overlapping or tangential major and minor plots. One of the minor plots that his research into Cartaya's financial dealings revealed is the default by Jeb Bush and his partner, Cuban-American developer Armando Codino, on a \$4.5 million loan from Broward Federal Savings in Sunrise, Florida in 1978. Rather than



World Finance Corporation and Associates, ca. 1970-84
 Miami, Ajman, Bogota, Caracas
 Cuban Anti-Castro Bay of Pigs Veteran
 (7th Version), 1999

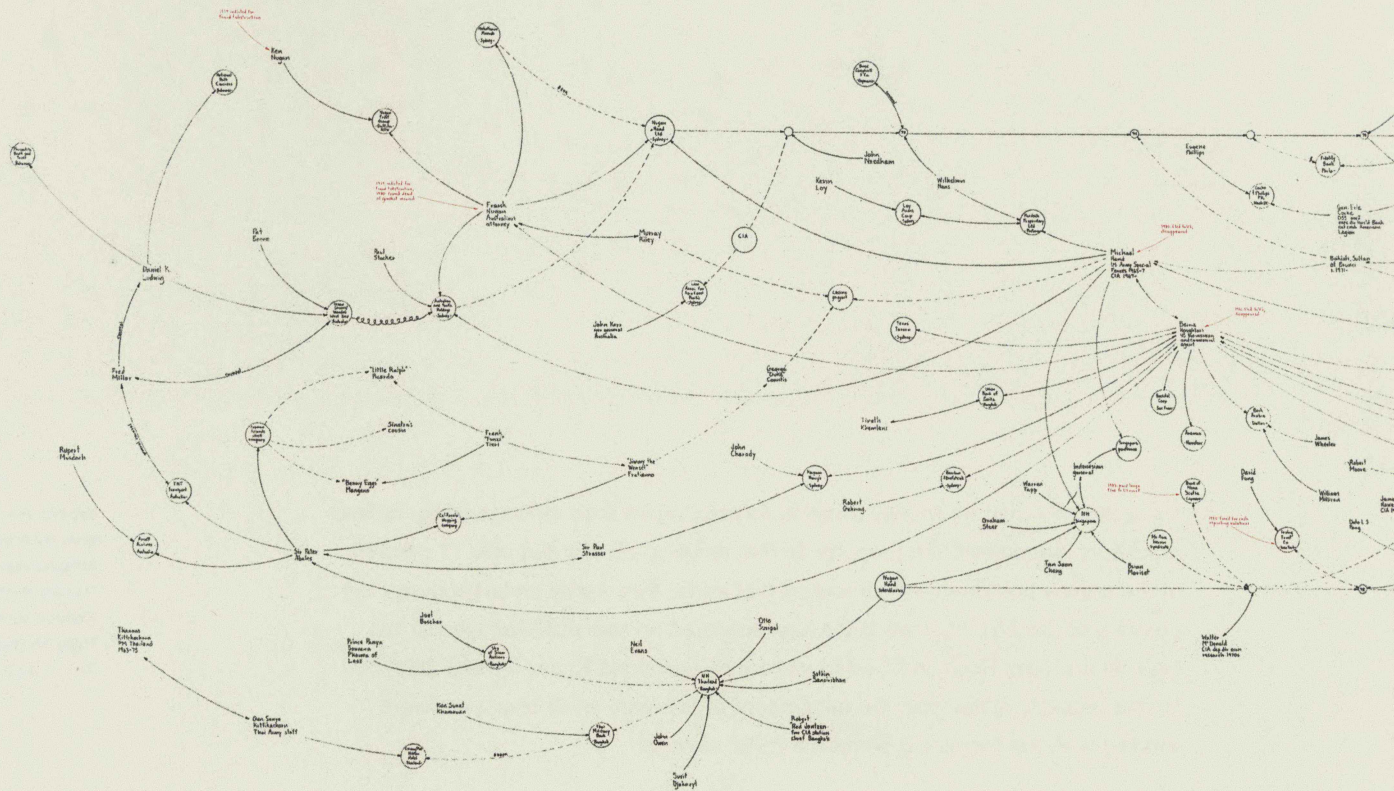
using the two men for money owed or foreclosing on their office building, federal regulators reappraised the property so that its value constituted only 11 percent of the money borrowed, which means that either they vastly underappraised the property or the S&L originating the loan accepted an appraisal that was far too high. At any rate, Bush and Codino were then permitted to pay a mere \$500,000 for the property rather than the full amount of the loan, while taxpayers were saddled with the remaining \$4 million-dollar balance.

World Finance Corporation and Associates, ca. 1970-84: Miami, Ajman, and Bogota-Caracas (Brigada 2506: Cuban Anti-Castro Bay of Pigs Veteran) (7th Version), 1999, 69 1/8 x 84 in. (cat. no. 15)

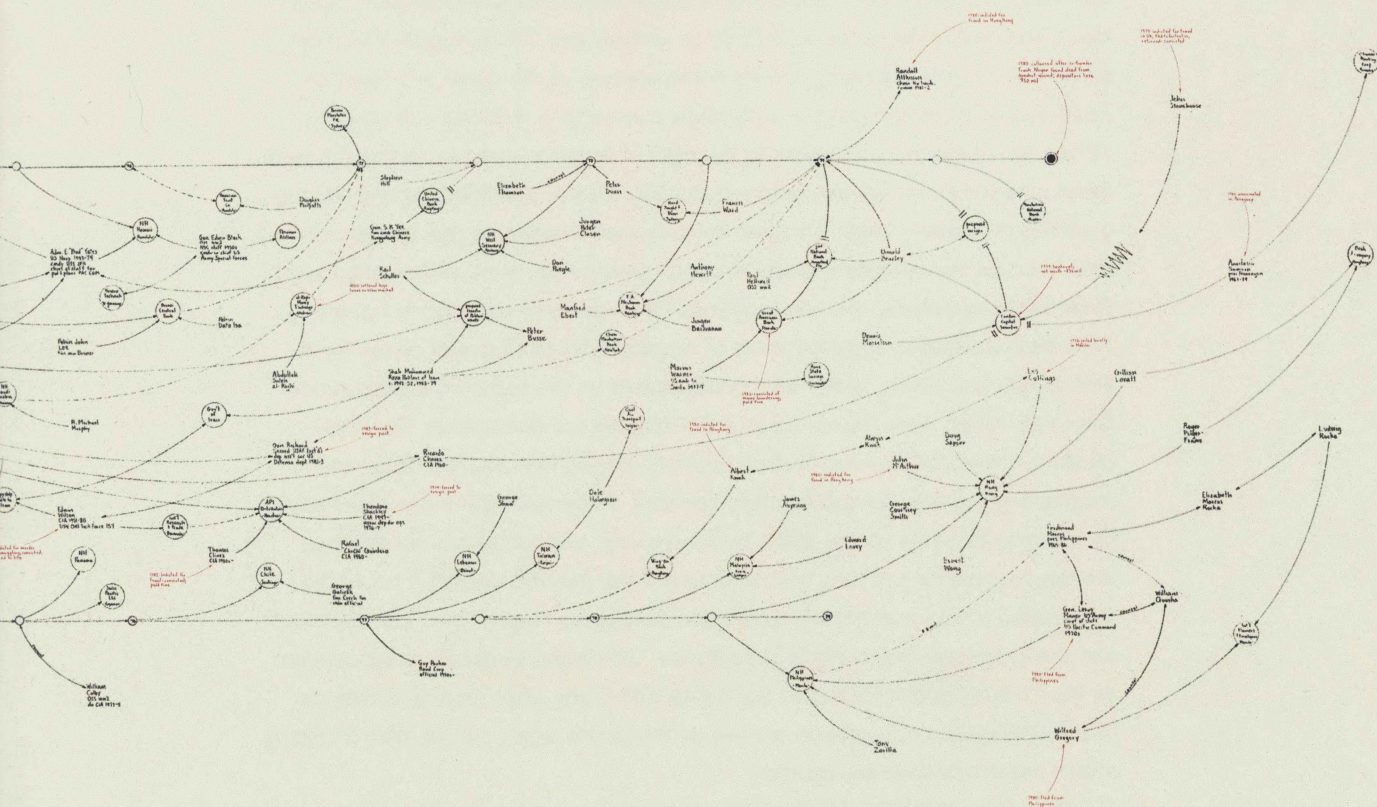
Frank Nugan, Michael Hand, and Nugan Hand Ltd. of Sydney, Australia, ca. 1972-80 (8th Version), 1998 [cat. no. 8]

In 1972, for the first time in twenty-three years, an Australian Labor Party candidate became that nation's prime minister. Within a brief period, this leader, Gough Whitlam, dramatically transformed the political landscape of the country—by instituting equal pay for women, legal aid as a universal right, free national health care, free contraceptives, and land-rights legislation for Aborigines; eliminating the military draft, university and college fees, and racial quotas for immigration;

Frank Nugan, Michael Hand, and Nugan Hand Ltd. of Sydney, Australia, ca. 1972-80 (8th Version), 1998, 55 1/4 x 128 1/4 in. (cat. no. 8)
(see also detail, p. 75)



withdrawing all Australian troops from Vietnam; and replacing the colonial moniker "Commonwealth Government" with "Australian Government," and the British anthem "God Save the Queen" with an Australian national anthem. In his zeal to right outstanding wrongs, Whitlam recognized the People's Republic of China, spoke on behalf of Palestinian rights to the United Nations Assembly, and supported an Indian Ocean Zone of Peace. He also advocated the nationalization of Australia's oil and gas industries and seriously questioned the C.I.A.'s long-standing presence in Australia, where it controlled several military installations, including Pine Gap, a top-secret base for monitoring Soviet spy satellites and missile tests, relaying



Frank Hogan Michael Hand and Hogan Hand Ltd
of Sydney Australia c.1911-80 (2nd version)
NS & PUBLISHED

C.I.A. communiqués throughout the world, and preparing for nuclear warfare. So strategic was Pine Gap to the agency's overall effective operation that C.I.A. director William Colby later described the Whitlam government's attempt to limit U.S. activities there as one of the three world crises of his career.

In order to keep Whitlam from exposing the C.I.A.'s assets, Colby and other agency officials helped mastermind the opposition party's constitutional coup ousting this labor leader from office in December 1975, the same month that the Pine Gap Treaty between the United States and Australian governments was up for renewal. One of the ways the C.I.A. is reputed to have effected this shift in power was through a series of payoffs by their de facto subsidiary, the Sydney-based Nugan Hand Bank. Even though Lombardi's drawing dealing with Nugan Hand Bank begins with developments that occurred the same year Whitlam became prime minister, and Whitlam's tragic downfall is an important preamble to the events that unfolded, Lombardi chose not to include a reference to Whitlam in the drawing.

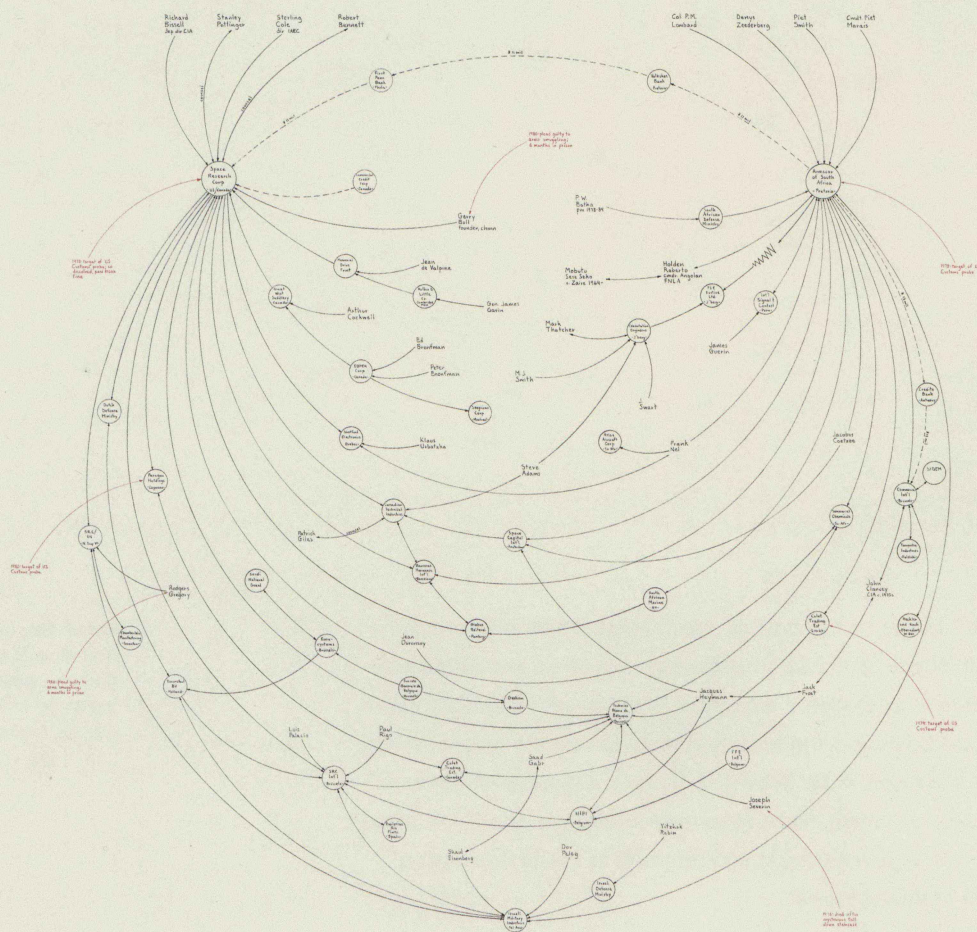
More a vehicle for serving the C.I.A. and laundering revenue from heroin operations in the Golden Triangle than a conventional financial institution, Nugan Hand Bank was established in 1973 by an unlikely pair. Frank Nugan—the major player in Lombardi's drawing, whose name appears at the upper left—was an Australian attorney and playboy with Mafia connections. Michael Jon Hand—whose name appears somewhat to the right of Nugan's—was a seasoned Green Beret who fought in Vietnam before becoming a C.I.A. operative training Hmong guerrillas in northern Laos. Together, the two men heading up this business concern oversaw the intricate financial dealings arising from arms shipments, covert paramilitary operations, and moving funds for a variety of underworld figures. They each developed separate areas of expertise: Nugan focused on tax fraud and money laundering, while Hand concentrated on the company's international branches, which were registered as a Cayman Islands corporation. The bank became known for allowing tax-free deposits, paying high interest rates, and maintaining secrecy. Among its many services, it specialized in money laundering by charging 22 cents on the dollar. In the drawing, the company's transactions are represented by two long horizontal time lines, between which most of the information is diagrammed: the upper one designates Nugan Hand Ltd., Sydney, and the lower one Nugan Hand Subsidiaries. Ultimately, Nugan Hand functioned as the C.I.A.'s conduit for covert payments, and Colby, after retiring as director of this intelligence organization, served as the bank's legal counsel, thus providing it with legitimacy and new contacts.

When the delicate balance of maintaining an international conglomerate with relatively few real assets visibly faltered, Nugan was found with a bullet hole in his head, seated in a Mercedes on a country road 100 miles west of Sydney. Lombardi notes ominously and cryptically at the end of his time line, "1980: collapsed after co-founder Frank Nugan found dead from gunshot wound;

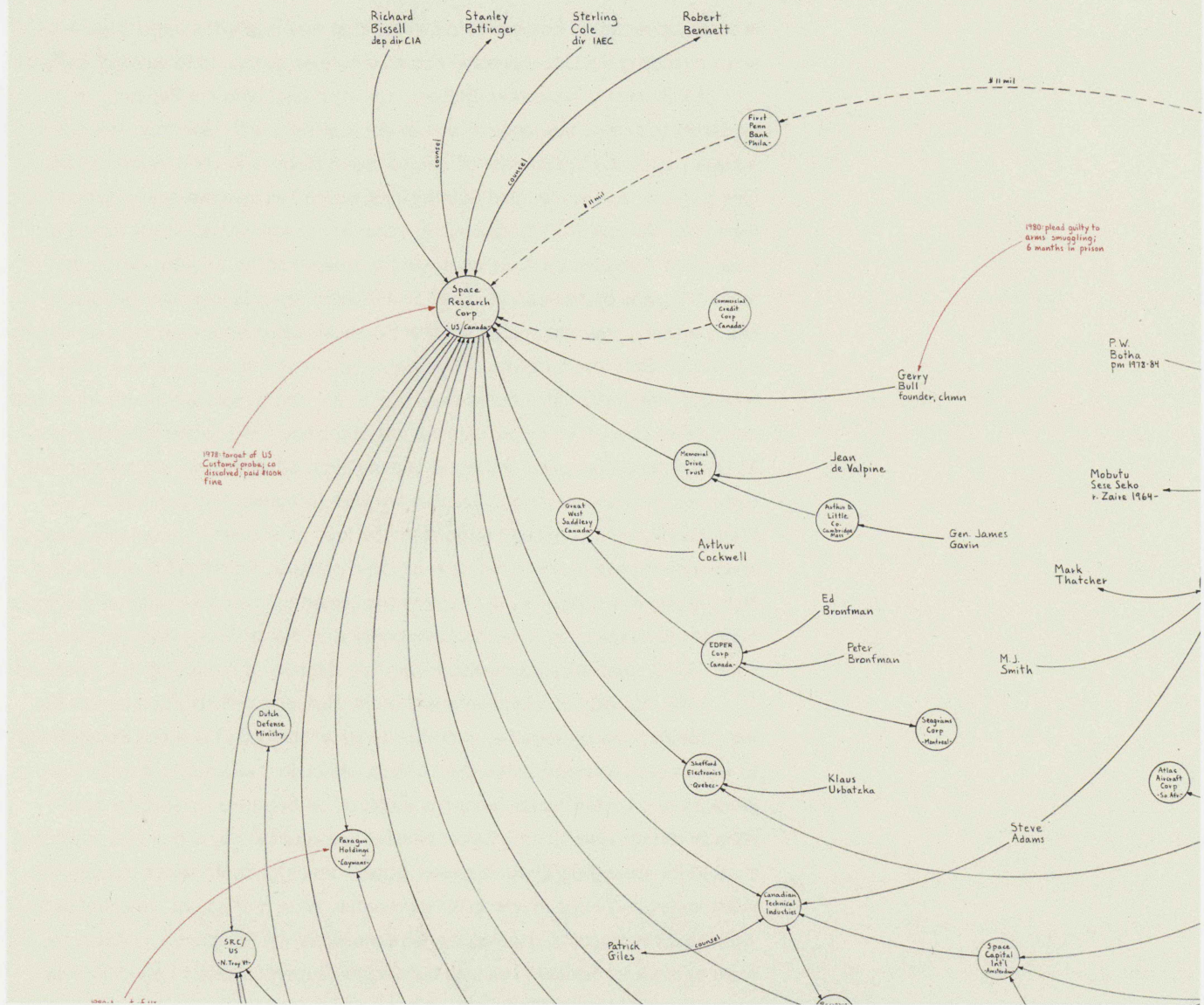
Gerry Bull, Space Research Corporation and Armscor of Pretoria, South Africa, ca. 1972-80 (5th Version), 1999 [cat. no. 20]

Often referred to as the twentieth-century's leading ballistics expert, Ontario-born aerodynamic specialist Dr. Gerald V. (Gerry) Bull became involved in the highly dubious activity of designing weaponry for rogue nations and arranging for illegal arms sales to them. He began his career by working for the Canadian Armament and Research Development Establishment (CARDE), a remarkable facility that had been able to take full advantage of the technology that Britain had exported to Canada during World War II when it wished to keep this information from the

Gerry Bull, Space Research Corporation, and Armscor of Pretoria, South Africa, ca. 1972-80 (5th Version), 1999, 58 1/2 x 71 1/2 in. (cat. no. 20)



Gerry Bull, Space Research Corporation and Armscor of Pretoria, South Africa ©1999-2000
 H.S. Bull
 H.S. Bull



Gerry Bull, Space Research Corporation, and Armscor of Pretoria, South Africa, ca. 1972-80 (5th Version), 1999 (cat. no. 20, detail)

Germans. Although he was notably uninterested in the military and not particularly political—oversights that proved to be his ultimate undoing—his breakthroughs in aerodynamics initiated a lifelong investigation of advanced artillery technology, which led to the creation of new long-range cannons.

In 1961, Bull was able to convince the U.S. Army in the midst of the Cold War race for preeminence in outer-space exploration to consider large guns as a means for launching spacecraft and ensuring their accurate re-entry from outer space. With the support of both the Pentagon and the Canadian Defense Department, he embarked on Project HARP (High Altitude Research Program). After Canada stopped funding this program in 1967, Bull managed to have the facilities turned over to his own company, Space Research Corporation—its name

is at the upper left in Lombardi's drawing—that was located on eight thousand acres straddling the U.S.–Canadian border, where he continued to research ballistics.

At this point in his career, Bull was still in contact with the Pentagon, but his ability to extend the range of conventional artillery with relatively little loss in accuracy attracted the interest of various rogue states and Third World nations. One of these was white-ruled South Africa, which had invaded newly independent black-ruled Angola in 1975, anxious to crush South African nationalist forces in exile there. Because C.I.A. officials were alarmed that the Angolan war in the mid-1970s was being supported by Cuban forces using Soviet-manufactured heavy artillery, they recommended that South African government representatives contact Dr. Bull. The outcome of this meeting was the design of a new 155mm howitzer with more than double the range of the one it replaced. South Africa had been developing an intensive defense industry since 1968, when it transformed its government-controlled munitions factories into a full-fledged, state-supported commercial enterprise, which it called Armscor (Armaments Development and Production); and it continued to do so in the face of a series of international sanctions and embargoes, culminating in an arms embargo mandated by the United Nations Security Council in 1977. Lombardi placed the name Armscor at the upper right of this drawing, in a counterpoint position to that of Space Research Corporation. Highly sophisticated, Armscor was fully capable of producing Bull's designs.

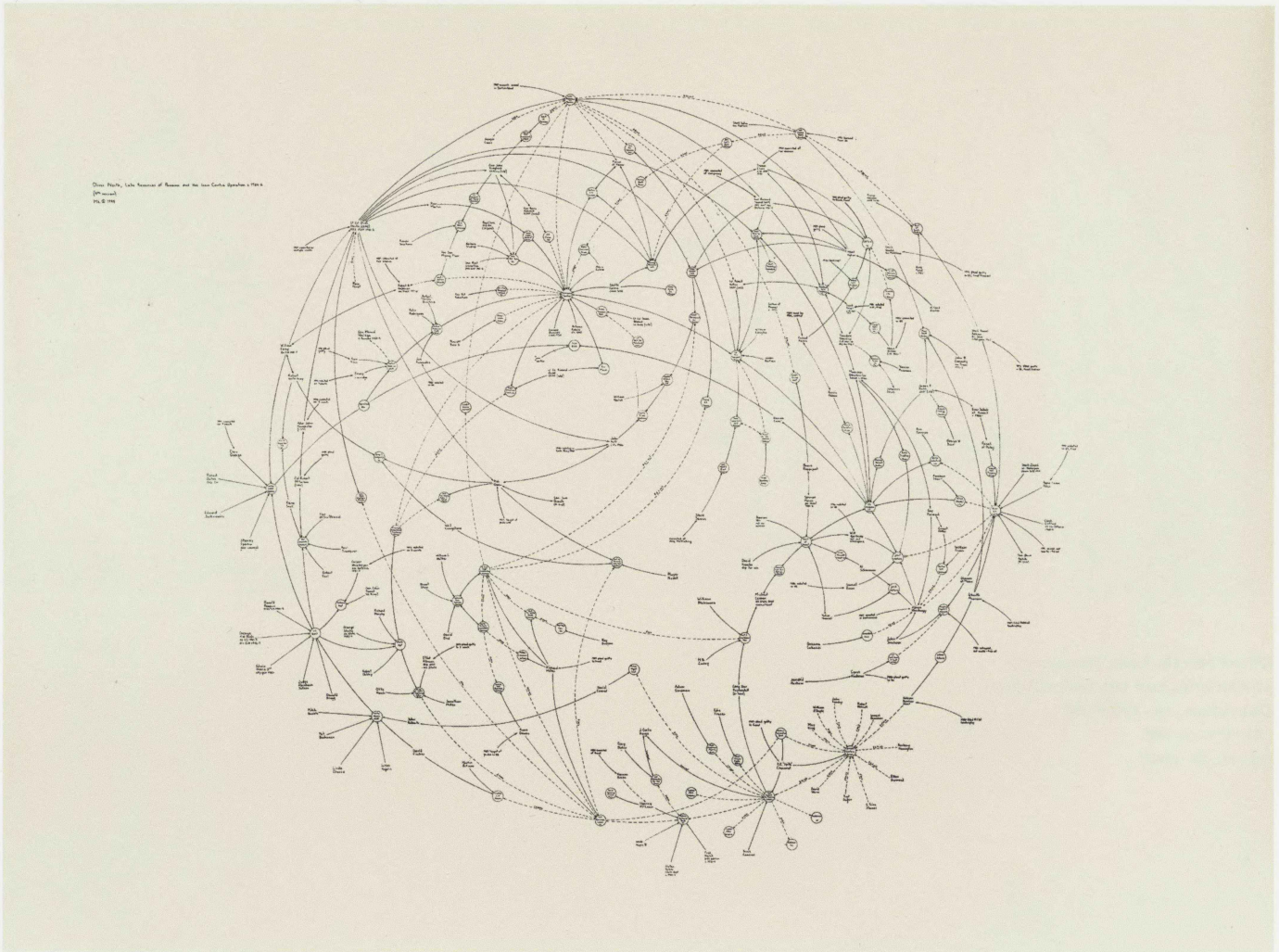
In the interests of expediency and profit, Bull sent Armscor gun barrels for the 155mm howitzer together with thousands of shells that enabled South Africa to win an early strategic battle over Angola, although it eventually lost the war. Because of a United States weapons embargo on South Africa and the new political climate after Jimmy Carter became president in 1977, Bull was convicted in 1980 for smuggling thirty thousand artillery shells to South Africa through the West Indies and went to prison for six months. After getting out, he continued working for Armscor to develop the G5 cannon. When this contract ended, he went to work for Saddam Hussein building the supergun called Project Babylon, which could launch satellites into orbit; he also helped Iraqis design a multi-stage missile constructed from SCUD parts.

To characterize the destructive orientation of Space Research Corporation and Armscor, Lombardi structured his drawing as the blade of a scythe carefully poised between these two weapons producers. Next to both these names, he noted that in 1978 each of them was the target of a U.S. Customs probe. At that time, Space Research Corporation was dissolved, and it was forced to pay a \$100,000 fine to the U.S. government. The wide swathe that it cuts is the space between them. The only balance between these two points is the perilous position at the bottom of the largest arc occupied by Israeli Military Industries, a state-owned armaments company in Tel Aviv.

Oliver North, Lake Resources of Panama, and the Iran-Contra Operation, ca. 1984-86 (4th Version), 1999 [cat. no. 23]

The Iran-Contra scandal of the mid-1980s—which involved collusion with terrorists, laundering money earned from illegal arms sales in the Middle East, facilitating cross-national shipments of drugs, and attempting to overthrow a legitimate leftist regime in Central America—is far less convincing than a Tom Clancy novel, because it did not require the clear grounding in reality that credible fiction demands. The Iran-Contra investigations unraveled an implausible network of subterfuges and lies that seemed more like badly plotted fiction than actual strategies. Its principal theaters of operation included the Middle Eastern countries of Lebanon, Israel, and Iran; the Central American nation of Nicaragua; and the United States. Less central, yet still important, were the discrete transatlantic locales chosen as sites for shell corporations, such as Lake Resources, Inc. (inscribed at the top of

Oliver North, Lake Resources of Panama, and the Iran-Contra Operation, ca. 1984-86 (4th Version), 1999, 63 x 82⁷/₈ in. (cat. no. 23) (see also detail, p. 80)

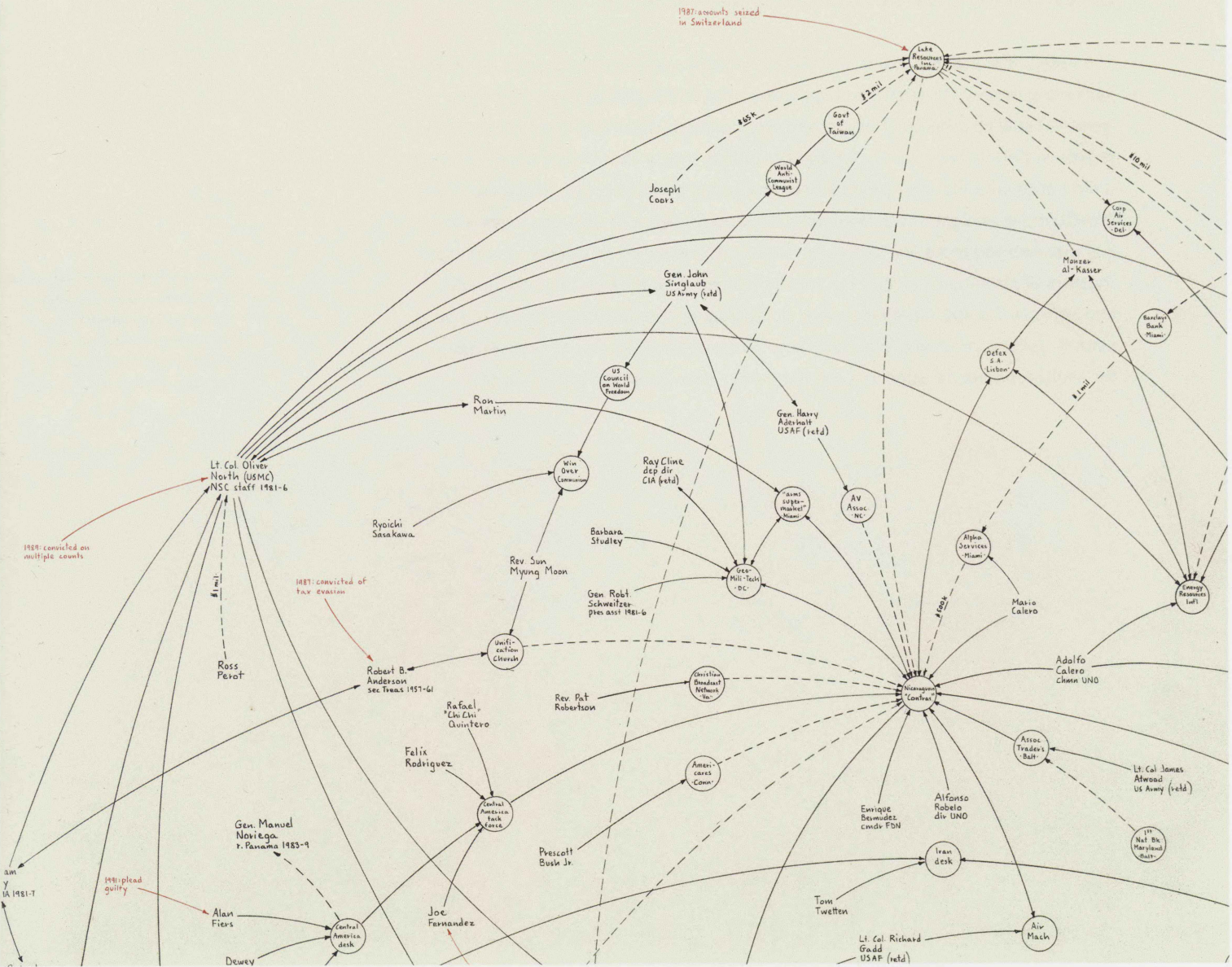


1987 accounts seized
in Switzerland

1981: convicted on
multiple counts

1987: convicted of
tax evasion

1991: plead
guilty



**Oliver North, Lake Resources
of Panama, and the Iran-Contra
Operation, ca. 1984-86**
(4th Version), 1999

(cat. no. 23, detail)

Lombardi's vicious circle), established by the chief conductor of this chicanery, Marine Lieutenant Colonel Oliver North (whose name is at the upper left). These were set up to launder money illegally accrued from arms trading, with the goal of advancing causes that he and other members of President Reagan's National Security Council deemed crucially important. The N.S.C.—located at the left of the drawing—consisted of Vice President George Bush, Secretary of State George Shultz, Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger, C.I.A. Director William Casey, National Security Adviser Robert McFarlane, and North, who was Reagan's deputy director of political-military affairs.

Several unconnected catalysts initiated this far-flung affair. The first was the Boland amendment to the 1983 defense appropriations bill, passed by the U.S. Congress in 1982 in order to halt the C.I.A.'s attempts to help overthrow a leftist Nicaraguan government (which was followed up by two related Boland amendments in 1983 and 1984). Next was the U.S.'s continued aid to insurrectionists in Nicaragua, in violation of those amendments. In 1979, the Sandinista National Liberation Front had ousted rightist dictator Anastasio Somoza and nationalized his property there, which amounted to 40 percent of the small country's land. Believing that the socialist Sandinista government was far more damaging to the people of Nicaragua than the brutal Samozan Contras, C.I.A. officials, together with a number of strategically placed political leaders and their advisors, decided to continue providing covert aid to these counterrevolutionary forces. In order to sustain their fight, the Contras needed new sources of funding, which resulted in the plan to smuggle cocaine to the United States and sell it there (even though Reagan and his wife were then waging a highly visible public-relations battle against the use of drugs in the U.S.). Panama's leader Manuel Noriega, who was already on the C.I.A. payroll for helping to transport arms to the Contras, provided the means for sending drugs to the U.S. According to three of his pilots, the following strategy was carried out under the C.I.A.'s auspices: guns for Contra initiatives were regularly dropped off in Costa Rica, where Noriega's planes were refueled and loaded with cocaine, which was then delivered to military bases in South Florida to be sold on the street.

Another opportunity to earn income for the Contras initially presented itself as a major threat to American overseas security. In 1984, members of the Lebanon-based radical Islamic group Hezbollah abducted and murdered William Buckley, chief of the C.I.A. for the entire Middle East, and then kidnapped and held hostage several American and British citizens, including Terry Waite, assistant to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who had come to negotiate with the Hezbollah terrorists. The following year, N.S.C. members McFarlane and North were given permission to deal with Iran in hopes that moderate Iranians might be able to pressure Hezbollah to release the hostages. In Lombardi's drawing, the National Security Council is surrounded by the C.I.A., the U.S. Government, and the White House.

Going far beyond conventional diplomacy, North conceived the idea of sidestepping a U.S. arms embargo against Iran and selling arms to so-called moderates in that country, which was then fighting a protracted war with Iraq. North then proposed using the profits from these sales to equip the Contras with arms. In order to enact this preposterous scheme—which Lombardi presents as a continuous circle—and to keep his illegal dealings secret, North needed to set up several offshore corporations to launder profits from arms sales and prevent the money and arms sent to the Contras from being easily traced. One of the many fronts in “The Enterprise,” which is what North called this network of shell companies that he and his associates incorporated around the world, was Lake Resources, Inc., which Panama attorney Julio Quijano set up in May 1985 with Credit Suisse in Geneva. Working with North on channeling funds through Lake Resources were General Richard Secord and Albert Hakim, a U.S. naturalized Iranian.

Although North fancied himself a fiercely resourceful individualist—descriptions of him in the press often included comparisons to John Wayne’s film persona—the Iran-Contra Affair was actually an extensive Anglo-U.S. covert operation that necessitated global intrigue. Enlisted in this initiative were Saudi arms dealer Adnan Khashoggi (a top advisor to the Saudi royal family), Israeli officials, Portuguese shippers, American military personnel, Iranian officials, and C.I.A. spooks.

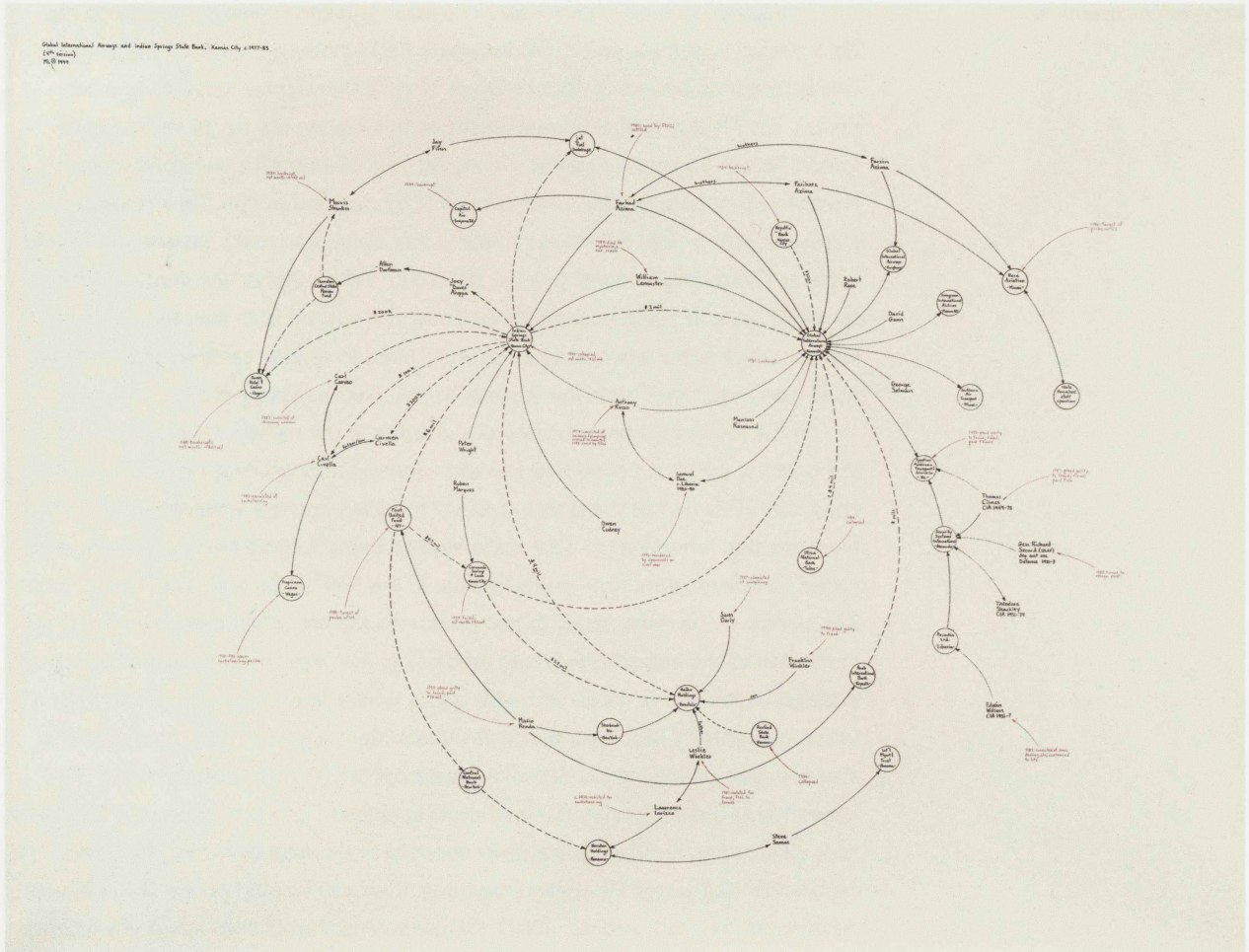
In November 1986, after a Lebanese newspaper broke the story of the U.S.–Iranian arms-for-hostages trade, Attorney General Edwin Meese admitted to the press that illegal funds from this deal had been channeled to the Contras. Following his announcement, a full-scale congressional investigation into Iran-Contra was undertaken, with Oliver North—after being granted immunity—proudly playing the role of star witness in July 1987.

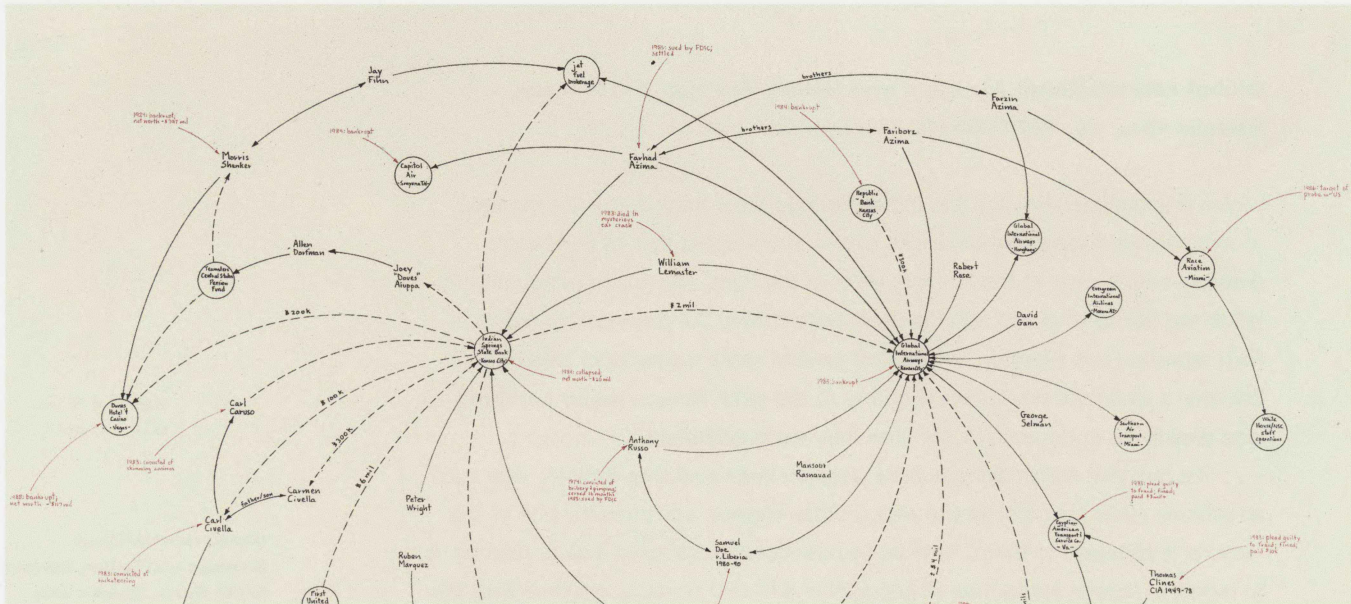
Global International Airways and Indian Springs State Bank, Kansas City, ca. 1977-83 (4th Version), 1999 [cat. no. 21]

Global International Airways and Indian Springs State Bank are at the centers of two partially formed pinwheel-like circles in the upper part of Lombardi's drawing—the former at the left, the latter at the right. The sordid intrigues that led to the failure of Indian Springs Bank were mainly the discovery of *Houston Post* reporter Pete Brewton, who spent several years researching failed S&Ls. Brewton's landmark articles were crucial to the work being done by Lombardi, who was living in Houston at the time they were published.

The fact that Indian Springs Bank, located in Kansas City, Kansas, was such an unlikely place for mobsters to deposit their money was probably one of the reasons it appealed to them. Both its inconsequential standing and its reluctance to report to federal authorities all deposits of \$10,000 or more, coupled with the convincing salesmanship of disbarred lawyer and Mob associate Anthony Russo—who was responsible for bringing new accounts to this financial institution—are

Global International Airways and Indian Springs State Bank, Kansas City, ca. 1977-83 (4th Version), 1999, 32 x 43 in. (cat. no. 21) (see also detail, p. 84)





Global International Airways and Indian Springs State Bank, Kansas City, ca. 1977-83 (4th Version), 1999 (detail)

reasons why so many members of organized crime made Indian Springs their bank of choice.

In addition to seeking out these potential depositors, Russo brought to the bank Iranian expatriate and C.I.A. associate Farhad Azima, owner of the charter airline Global International. Part of Oliver North’s Iran-Contra network (see cat. no. 23, pp. 79–80), Global International was involved in the illegal shipment of United States government arms. Moreover, one of Azima’s other companies, Race Aviation, flew twenty-three tons of TOW missiles to Iran. As a favored customer, Azima was able to persuade Indian Springs to make several unsecured loans to Global International totaling \$600,000. When Global was forced to file for bankruptcy in 1983, Indian Springs could not sustain both this and its other losses, which were incurred by its overall failure to review carefully the feasibility of all loan requests. The following year it, too, filed for bankruptcy.

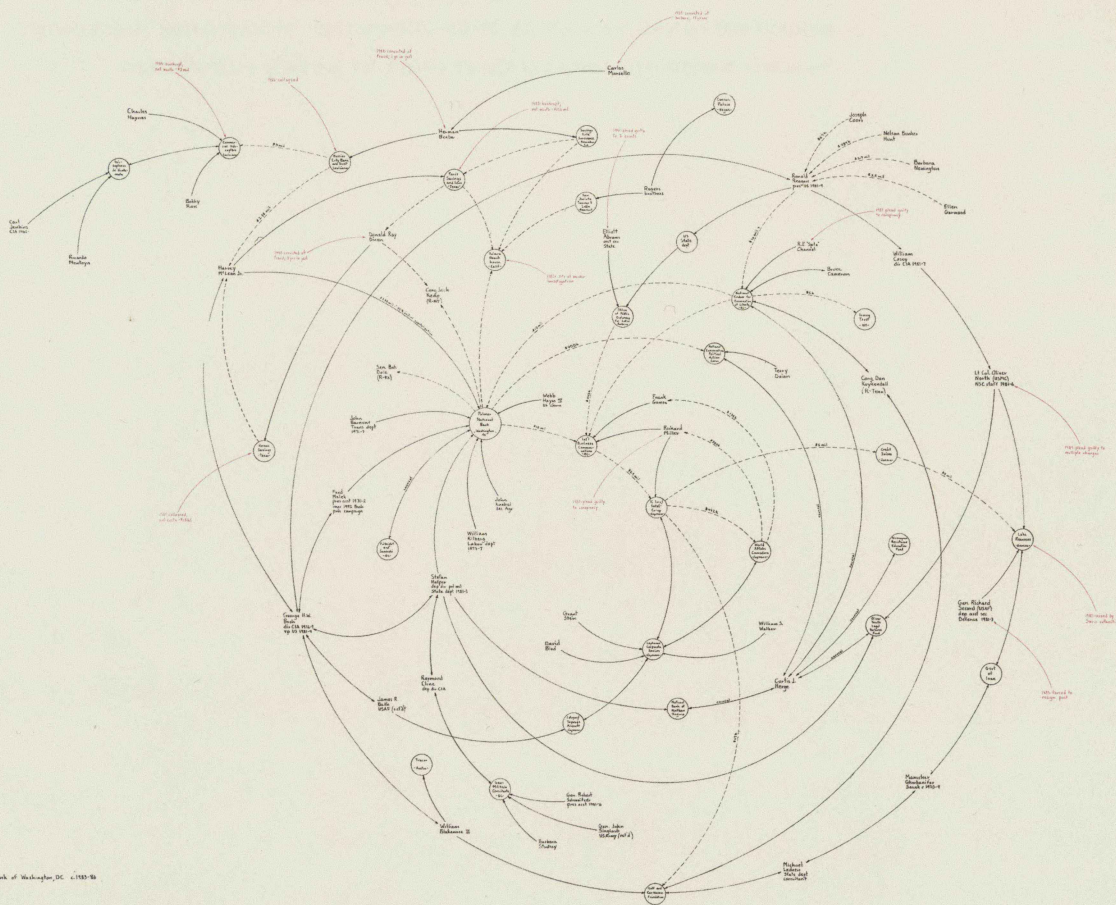
In the lower section of Lombardi’s drawing is the name of Haiku Holdings in Honolulu, which is connected to Indian Springs through First United Fund in New York. This part of the drawing refers to Indian Springs’ involvement in linked financing that amounted to \$3.7 million in bad loans. Linked financing deals—also called tie-in arrangements—were feasible in the late 1970s and early 1980s, when S&Ls were trying desperately to compete with regular banks that could more readily afford the high interest rates then being charged. These tie-in arrangements enabled depositors to make demands about where their money might be lent, which prevented S&Ls from acting as independent agents. These arrangements also provided unscrupulous depositors with opportunities to defraud S&Ls. This happened to Indian Springs Bank when First United Fund Ltd. of Garden City, New York, directed its federally guaranteed deposits to be used to finance the sale of its associates’ depressed Hawaiian properties at greatly inflated prices. If the buyers discovered the scam and defaulted, the government would still cover any of First United Fund’s losses, thus making the scam foolproof for them.

George Bush and Palmer National Bank of Washington, D.C., ca. 1983-86

[cat. no. 18]

Palmer National Bank, located in Washington, D.C., was founded in 1983 by Shreveport, Louisiana businessman Harvey McLean, Jr. and his partner Stefan Halper, with a \$2.8 million loan advanced to McLean by Herman K. Beebe. Often linked with New Orleans crime figures Vincent and Carlos Marcello, Beebe has since become infamous for both this association and the role he played in the failure of twelve S&Ls. Palmer's questionable beginning with Mafia-linked funds was tarnished even more by the discovery during congressional investigations that Lieutenant Colonel Oliver North, while serving as an aide on President

**George Bush and Palmer
National Bank of Washington,
D.C., ca. 1983-86**
(5th Version), 1999, 51 x 70 in.
(cat. no. 18)



George Bush and Palmer National Bank of Washington, DC ca. 1983-86
(5th version)
1999, 51 x 70 in.

Reagan's National Security Council, had used this bank as a base for sending money and weapons to the Contras—the anti-Sandinista guerrillas in Nicaragua—through a shell organization, the National Endowment for the Preservation of Liberty. These highly questionable connections cast aspersions on the character of Halper, who had served as George Bush's foreign-policy director during Bush's unsuccessful 1980 presidential campaign, and on McLean, who also worked on that campaign. Halper's name was later linked to several alleged Republican "dirty tricks" campaign tactics to help the Reagan/Bush ticket win the 1980 election, including the assignment of former C.I.A. agents to obstruct Jimmy Carter's attempts to free the Americans who had been taken hostage in Iran in 1979, with an aim to delay their release until after the election, and the stealing of Carter's notes before a debate with Reagan.

Palmer National Bank provided Lombardi with a microcosm of the connections between high federal government officials, organized crime, United States intelligence operations, and financial institutions on which his art is predicated. In this drawing of a bank and its entangled web of corruption and intrigue, tensions abound between the insipiently three-dimensional "vicious circle" represented here and the perfect circle Lombardi chose for partially embodying it.

BNL, Reagan, Bush, & Thatcher and the Arming of Iraq, ca. 1983-91

(1st Version), 1995 [cat. no. 4] and **Banca Nazionale del Lavoro, Reagan,**

Bush, Thatcher, and the Arming of Iraq, 1979-90 (4th Version), 1998

[cat. no. 10]

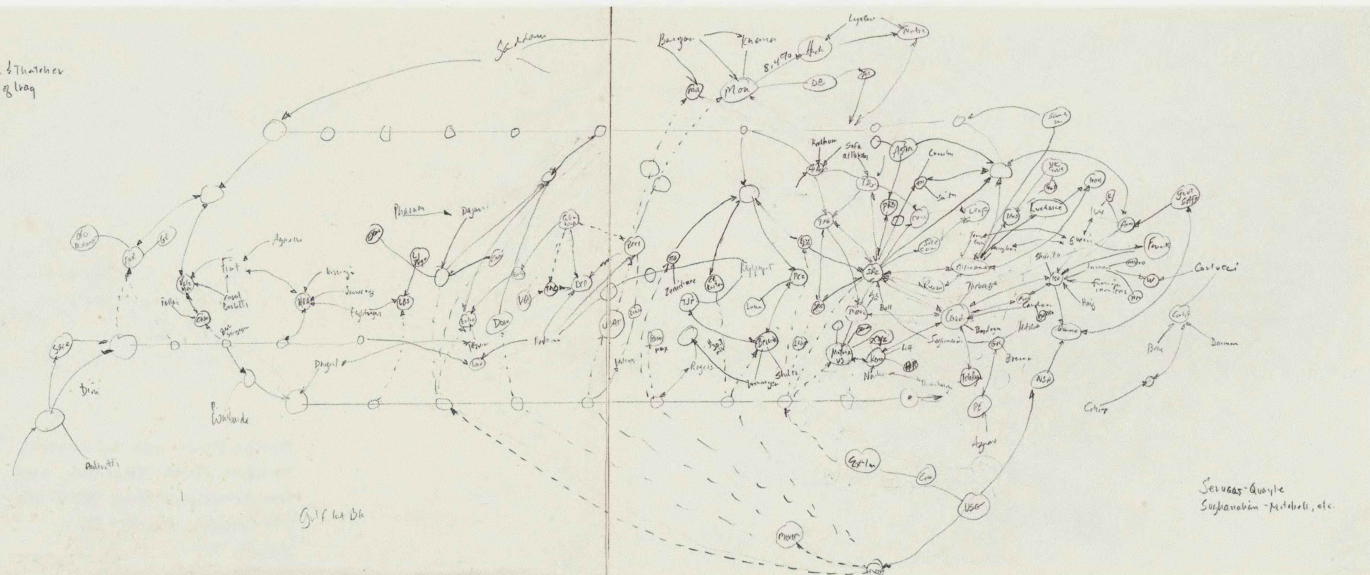
During the Iran-Iraq War fought from 1980 to 1988, which was instigated by Iraq, Ronald Reagan, George Bush, and other top-level members of their administration took the Iraqis' side because of the humiliation the United States had suffered when Iranians held American citizens hostage for more than a year and a half. In addition, they looked for tangible ways to demonstrate their support for Saddam Hussein and his rogue state and ensure its victory over Iranian fundamentalists, while at the same time working with so-called moderate Iranians to free U.S. and British hostages in Lebanon. Thus, throughout this period, the Reagan administration tried to keep secret their own efforts to supply Hussein with arms, bombs, chemical weapons, and detailed instructions on how to develop nuclear capability. Although Lieutenant Colonel Oliver North, an aide on Reagan's National Security Council, covertly directed sales of arms to Iranian fundamentalists in the mid-1980s to win the release of a different set of hostages held in Lebanon (and to obtain funds to help the Nicaraguan Contras), the Reagan/Bush administration appeared to be unconcerned about their conflicting alliances with both Iran and Iraq. They were playing both sides of the street, but didn't want either side to know. Former C.I.A. officer Ted Shackley, in his 1981 primer on counterinsurgency, *The Third Option*, may have tempered any ethical compunctions that members of the administration might have felt when he cynically pointed to the balance of power that would be achieved if the two armed enemies were to kill one another.

BNL, Reagan, Bush, & Thatcher and the Arming of Iraq, ca. 1983-91

(1st Version), 1995, 17 3/4 x 35 3/8 in.

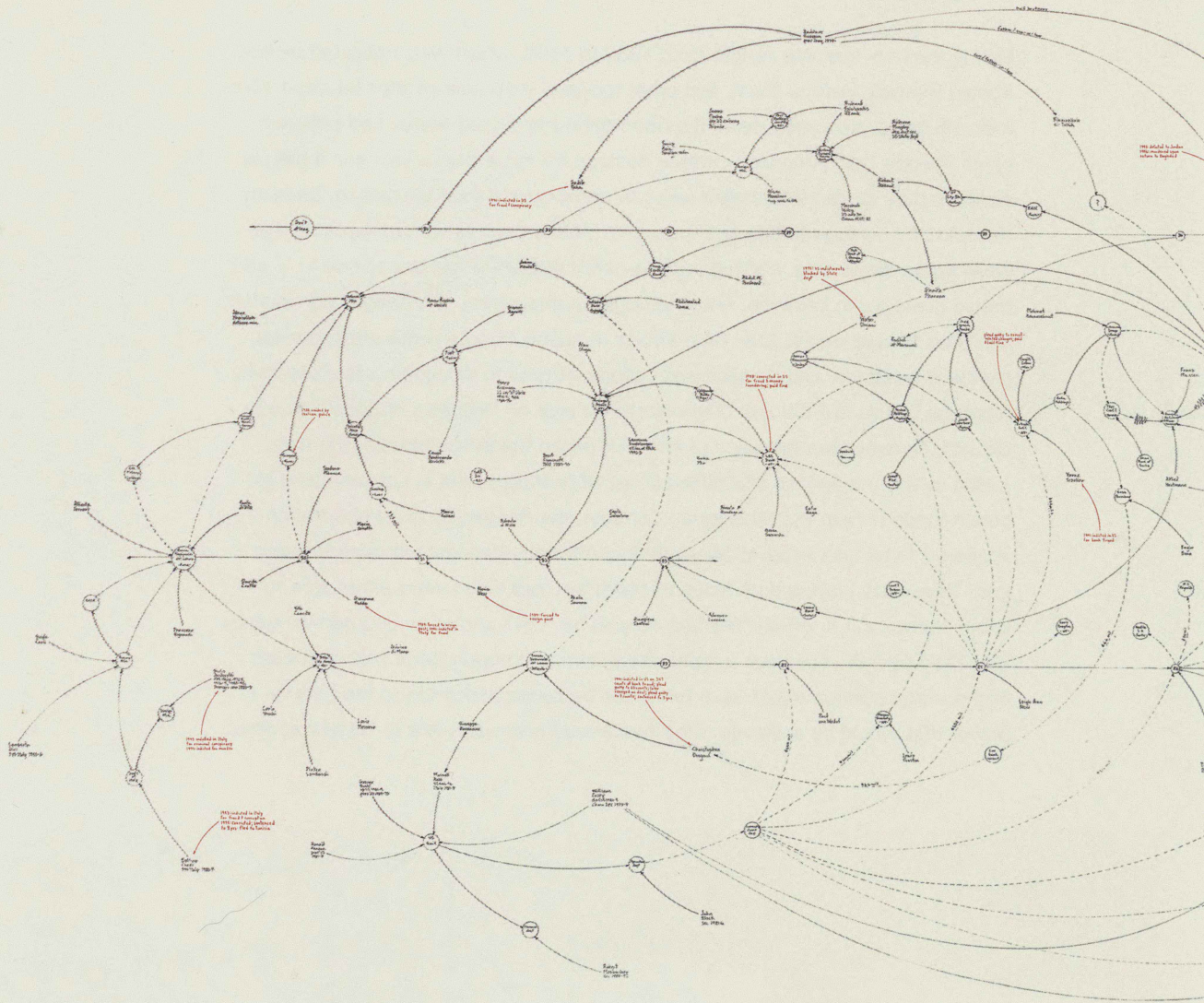
(cat. no. 4)

BNL, Reagan, Bush, & Thatcher
and the Arming of Iraq
c. 1983-91
first version
8/95



Ses 0645-0646
Suzanne-Mariotti, etc.

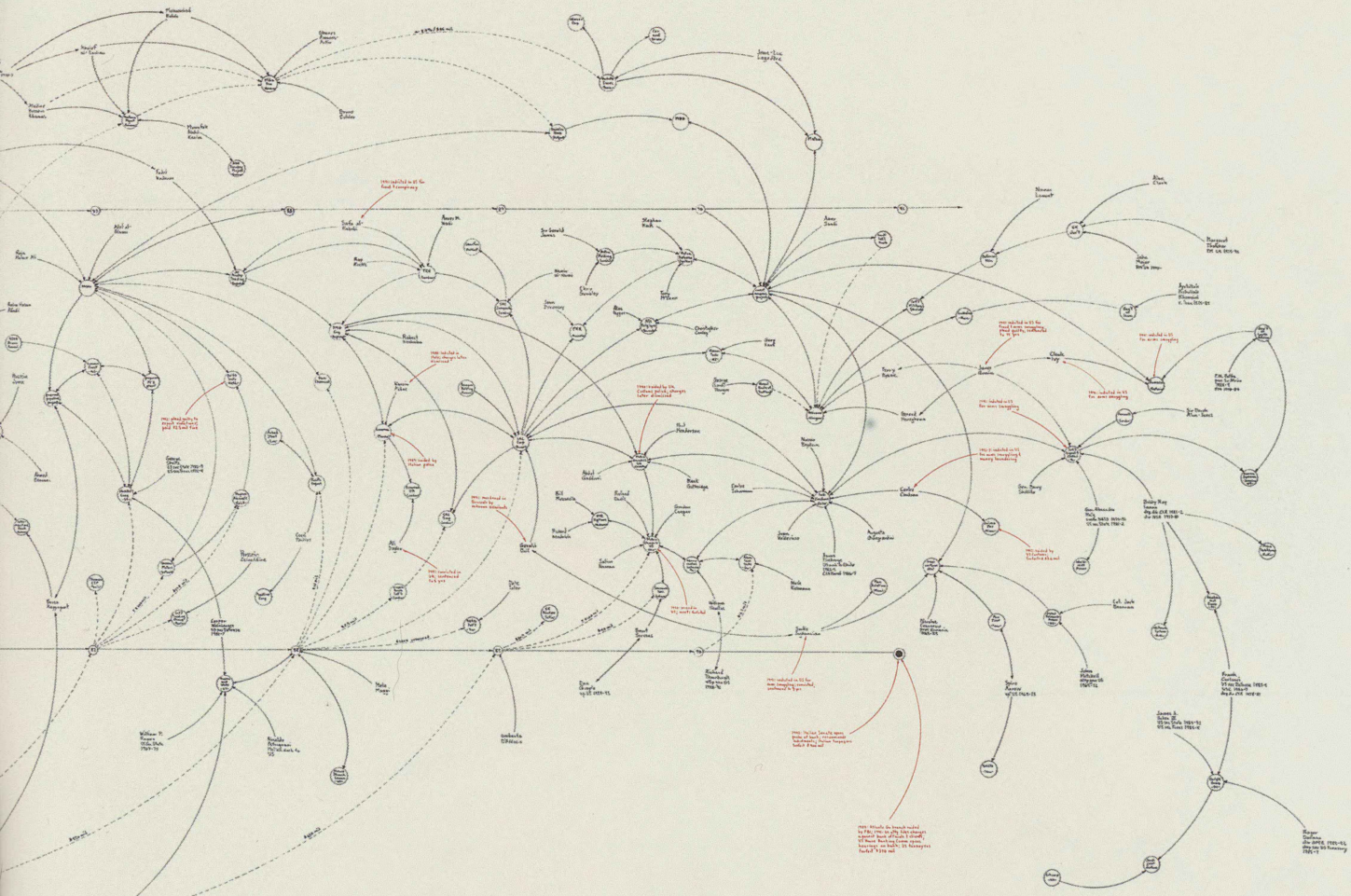
Steve Haskins: All Lines,
Reagan, Bush, Thatcher and the
Arming of Iraq, a network
diagram.

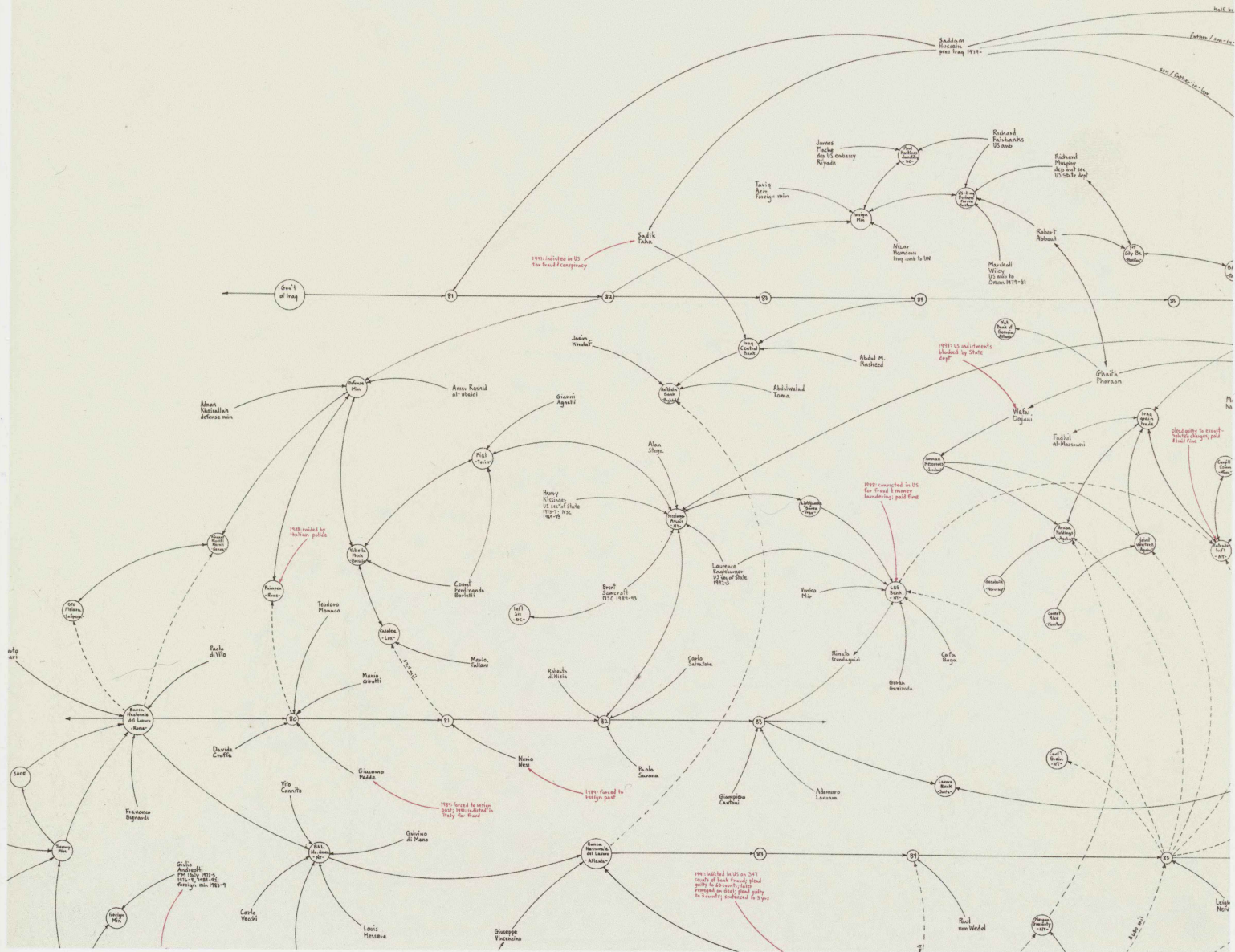


**Banca Nazionale del Lavoro,
Reagan, Bush, Thatcher, and
the Arming of Iraq, 1979-90**

(4th Version), 1998, 50 x 120 in.
(cat. no. 10)

The Museum of Modern Art,
New York. Gift of Shirley and Donald
Lombardi. Digital image © 2003
The Museum of Modern Art,
New York (see also detail, p. 90)





Banca Nazionale del Lavoro, Reagan, Bush, Thatcher, and the Arming of Iraq, 1979-90 (4th Version),
 1998 (cat. no. 10, detail)

His view paralleled the callous approach of British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, who overrode her country's official policy of neutrality by knowingly sending artillery shells to Iran and, at the same time, missile components to Iraq. The British also supplied Dr. Gerry Bull with the parts he needed for the super cannon he was building for Hussein.

The governments of both Britain and the United States provided sustained contributions to the Iraqi leader's arsenal, but the U.S. administration's support was partially hidden from public view through the tactic of using loan-guarantee programs set up by the Department of Agriculture and the U.S. Export-Import

Bank. In particular, the Commodity Credit Corporation was a favored way to channel funds to Hussein's cause. However, all attempts to keep this massive support away from public scrutiny were thwarted in 1989 when F.B.I. and U.S. Customs agents broke into the Atlanta branch of Italy's largest bank, the government-owned Banca Nazionale del Lavoro (BNL), and found two different sets of books. One omitted any references to loans to Iraq, while the other revealed that \$4 billion in U.S.-authorized loans had been made to that country, and \$900 million of this money consisted of American loan guarantees. Although BNL authorities in Italy attempted to separate themselves from the scandal, they were unable to do so. The Italian government itself was fully implicated in the arming of Hussein. Several Italian arms sales were handled by BNL, which financed the export of \$225 million worth of land mines to Iraq, as well as missile components manufactured by a Fiat subsidiary.

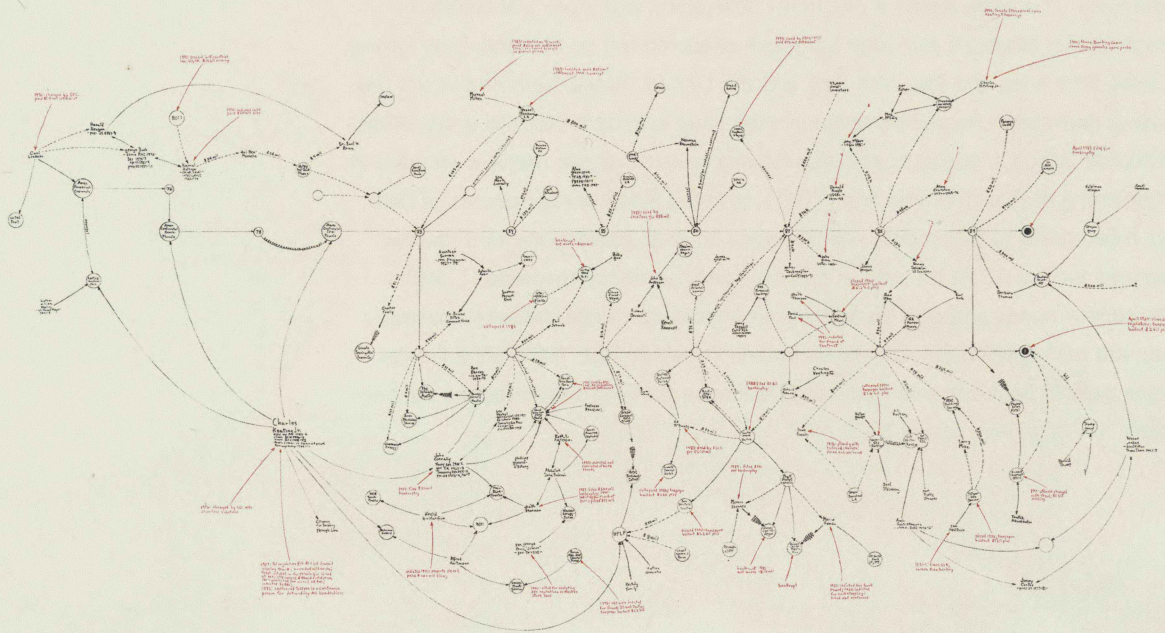
In light of this massive buildup of Hussein's arsenal, it is surprising in retrospect that the West expected Iraq to restrict use of these weapons of mass destruction to a war on Iran. After Hussein invaded Kuwait in July 1990, the Bush administration turned tables on its former ally by initiating at the beginning of 1991 Operation Desert Storm, a full-scale military attack on Iraq, which overwhelmed Hussein's forces in just over four weeks.

Lombardi's drawing chronicling aspects of this intrigue features three horizontal time lines: the top one focuses on the government of Iraq, the second on BNL in Rome, and the third on BNL in Atlanta. Below the third time line lies the U.S. government. The work is less a picture of conspiracy and more a snapshot of interconnecting alliances. Although Lombardi concentrated on the affiliations linking the three time lines and Iraq with Italy and the United States, he noted in red the following dates and charges pertaining to the chief scapegoat for the entire affair, Christopher Drogoul, manager of BNL's Atlanta branch, whose name is situated at the beginning of the third time line: "1991; indicted in US on 347 counts of bank fraud; plead guilty to 60 counts; later reneged on deal; plead guilty to 3 counts; sentenced for 3 yrs." At the end of this time line, Lombardi recorded, "1990: Italian senate opens probe of bank; recommends indictments; Italian taxpayers forfeit 400 mil" and "1989: Atlanta Ga branch raided by FBI; 1991: US atty files charges against bank officials & clients; US House Banking Comm opens hearings on bank; US taxpayers forfeit \$370 mil."

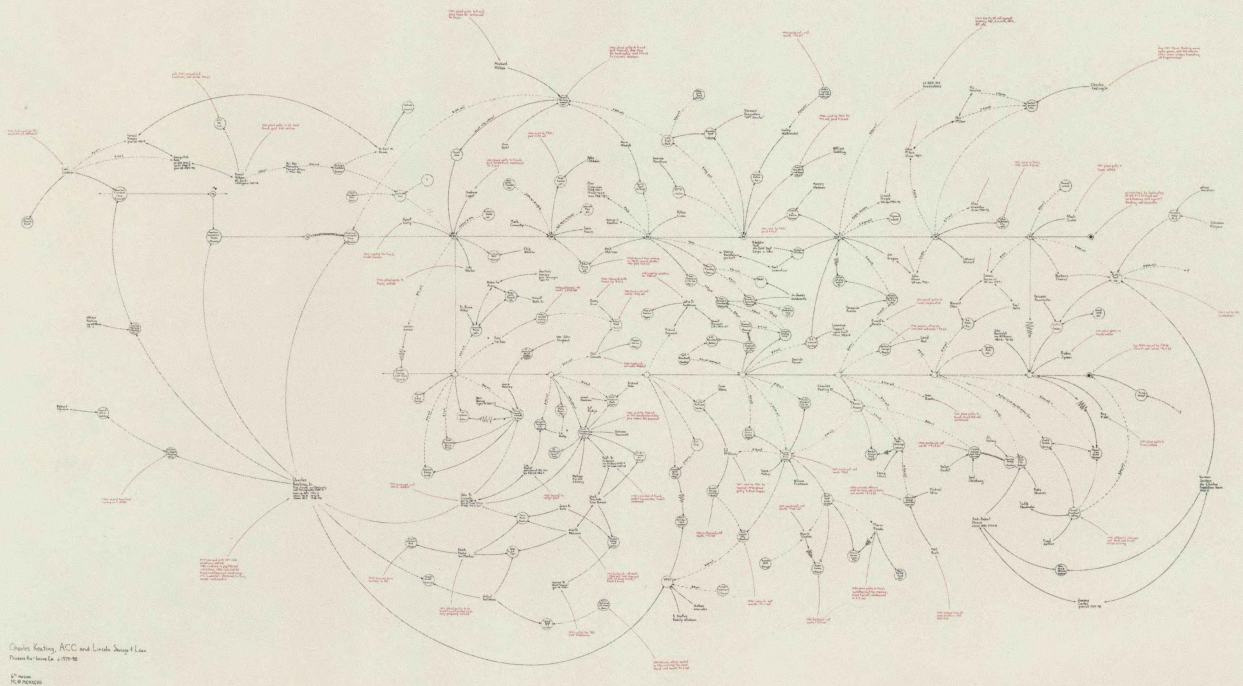
Charles Keating, ACC, and Lincoln Savings, ca. 1978-90 (5th Version), 1995 [cat. no. 3] and **Charles Keating, ACC, and Lincoln Savings & Loan, Phoenix AZ-Irvine CA, ca. 1979-90** (6th Version), 1998 [cat. no. 9]

The single most costly savings-and-loan failure in U.S. history was Lincoln Savings and Loan in Irvine, California, a subsidiary of American Continental Corporation (ACC), which was based in Phoenix, Arizona. The instigator of this particular S&L fraud was ACC's head, Charles H. Keating, Jr., who purchased the Irvine thrift in 1984, helped it grow from a \$1 billion thrift that year to a \$5 billion company in 1988, and ultimately cost the federal government an estimated \$2 billion. During the four-year period it was under Keating's control, Lincoln Savings almost completely stopped issuing home-mortgage loans—the chief activity of savings and loan associations—and instead invested in stocks and junk bonds, transferred \$91 million to ACC to cover its new parent company's nonexistent income-tax liability and other manufactured expenses, and paid Keating's relatives \$34 million in vastly overinflated salaries.

Charles Keating, ACC, and Lincoln Savings, ca. 1978-90
(5th Version), 1995,
31 3/4 x 46 1/4 in. (cat. no. 3)



Charles Keating - ACC - Lincoln Savings
ca. 1978-90
31 3/4 x 46 1/4 in.
cat. no. 3

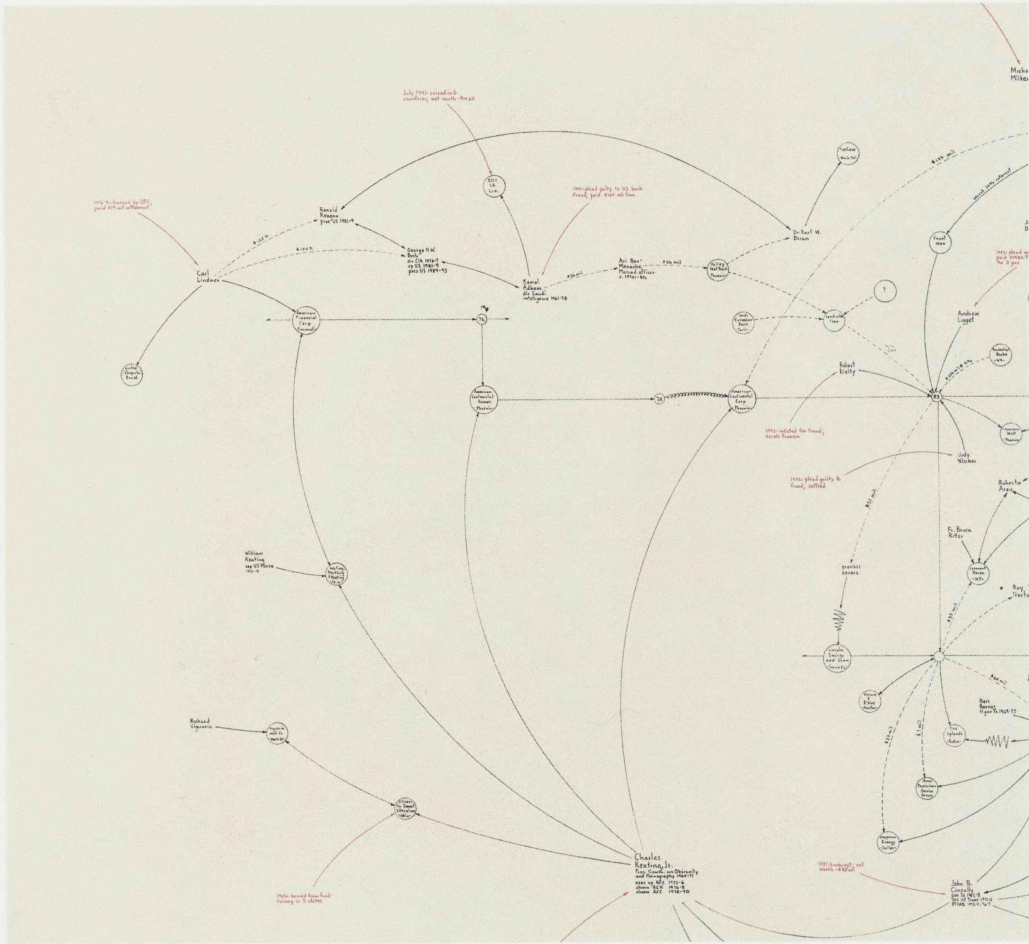


Charles Keating, ACC and Lincoln Savings & Loan
 Prepared for release by the author
 © 1998
 R. Lombardi

Both versions of this work begin with the campaign contributions made by Keating, including his support of Ronald Reagan and George Bush. Information is distributed in two horizontal time lines: the upper one contains data on American Continental Homes in Phoenix (which became American Continental Corporation), while the lower one concerns Lincoln Savings and Loan; Lombardi connected the two to form a rectangle, thus giving a cohesive and closed shape to the collusion that bound these institutions.

Even with the lax oversight that resulted from Reagan's deregulation policies, it is difficult to understand why Federal Home Loan Bank Board regulators would have permitted such flagrant misuse of Lincoln Savings, a federally chartered institution. In fact, the Board was deeply concerned, as Edwin J. Gray, its former head, reminded federal and state investigators. But, as noted in the drawing, Keating—a prominent Republican contributor and a long-time Christian activist who had founded the non-profit, pro-censorship organization Citizens for Decency through Law in 1957—was able to rely on five senators to put pressure on Gray to stop his investigation: Alan Cranston (D-California), Dennis DeConcini (D-Arizona), John Glenn (D-Ohio), John McCain (R-Arizona), and Donald Riegle (D-Maryland).

**Charles Keating, ACC, and
 Lincoln Savings & Loan,
 Phoenix AZ-Irvine CA,
 ca. 1979-90 (6th Version), 1998,
 59 7/8 x 93 5/8 in. (cat. no. 9)**



Charles Keating, ACC, and Lincoln Savings & Loan, Phoenix AZ-Irvine CA, ca. 1979-90 (6th Version), 1998 (cat. no. 9, detail)

This group, which became known as the Keating Five, is represented at the upper right in both of Lombardi's drawings. Although a Senate Ethics Committee inquiry established that all five senators had acted improperly and that Cranston, who had received \$850,000 in campaign finance contributions, had behaved most improperly, Senators Glenn and McCain were largely exonerated.

Lombardi recorded Keating's problems as follows, inscribed in red:

- “1979: charged with SEC rules violations; settled”
- “1989: ordered to pay \$40 mil restitution”
- “1990: indicted for fraud, racketeering & conspiracy”
- “1991: convicted; sentenced to 12 yrs; assets confiscated”

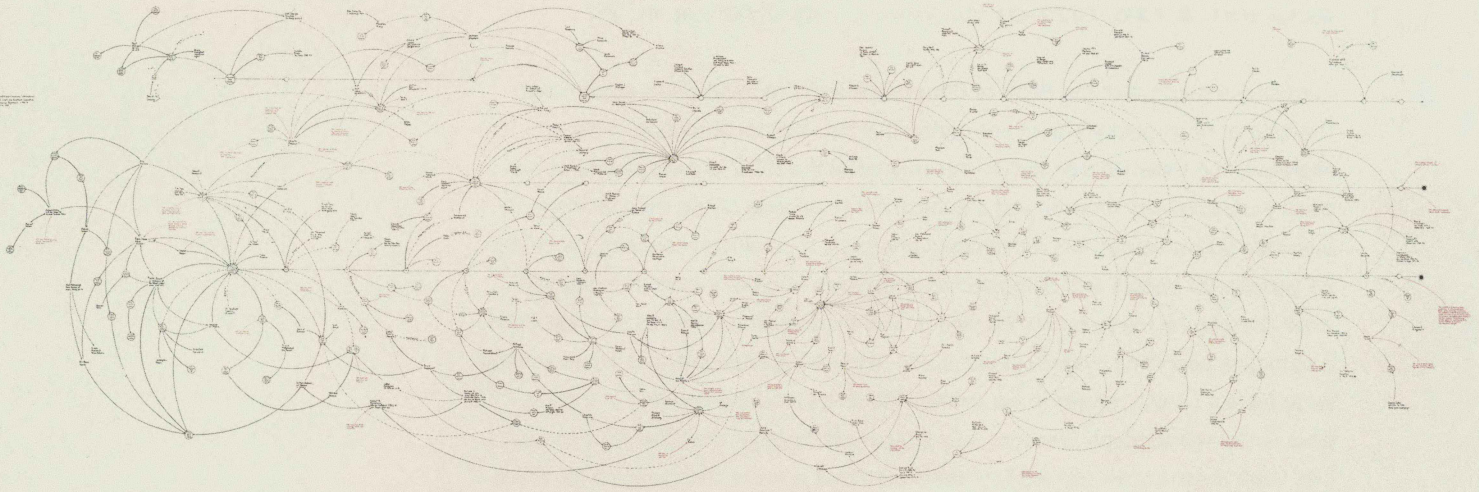
The troubles of his company, American Continental, also appear in red: “Apr 1989: filed for bankruptcy; US files \$1.2 bil fraud and racketeering suit against Keating and associates.” Keating was convicted of widespread fraud by a Los Angeles federal jury in January 1993, and was subsequently sentenced to twelve years and seven months in prison. However, because of technical errors of law during his trial, he served only a fraction of this term.

Lombardi thought that the Bank of Commerce and Credit scandals epitomized the type of entangled webs of corruption that he was documenting in his art. Moreover, he believed that this fourth version of the BCCI drawing—one of his most extensive indictments, and a substantial reworking of the third version—summed up his career, since this conglomerate’s multifarious connections could be linked with people and corporations referred to in other works. It is the last large drawing he made before his death. The third version suffered damage from a defective sprinkling system in his studio, and he subsequently cut it into several large pieces (which remain in his estate). He re-created the drawing in a short time under tremendous pressure, in a style much harsher than the third version’s. The work is structured around four time lines that provide chronologies for (from top to bottom) the International Bank in Washington, D.C., Financial General Bankshares, also in Washington, D.C., the International Credit and Investment Corporation (ICIC) in the Cayman Islands (the latter’s nefarious counterpart), and the Bank of Credit and Commerce International (BCCI), which has offices in Karachi, Luxembourg, and London. The work starts with Richard Helms, C.I.A. director 1966-73 and U.S. ambassador to Iran 1973-77. In red, Lombardi has written: “1977: indicted for perjury; plead ‘no contest’: paid fine.”

Comprising a nadir of corporate malfeasance, BCCI has been called the banking swindle of the century, the largest single drug-money operation ever recorded, and the most pervasive money-laundering operation ever undertaken. Bank officers of this global operation, particularly those associated with ICIC, were so attuned to the smooth orchestration of crime that they would regularly offer up-to-date information on the intricacies of money laundering to undercover agents, including C.I.A. operatives. BCCI managers recognized that intelligence specialists might not be aware of the sophisticated means regularly used by its employees and its affiliates for effectively laundering drug money and might wish in the future to avail themselves of its services to convert hot money into undetectable legal tender that could then be freely used for their own covert operations.

Lombardi wrote the following about the second version of this far-ranging conglomerate:

Read from left to right, this chart represents the evolution of BCCI, the Bank of Credit and Commerce International, otherwise known as the “bank of crooks and criminals”; a mainly Arab-owned concern founded in 1972 with financial backing from Bank of America; the brainchild of Pakistani banker Agha Hasan Abedi; based in Karachi, controlled from Abu Dhabi, incorporated in Luxembourg and operated from London, Geneva and the Cayman Islands; involved in joint ventures with local banks in Iran, Oman, France and Switzerland; assets grew from \$5



BCCI-ICIC & FAB, 1972-91

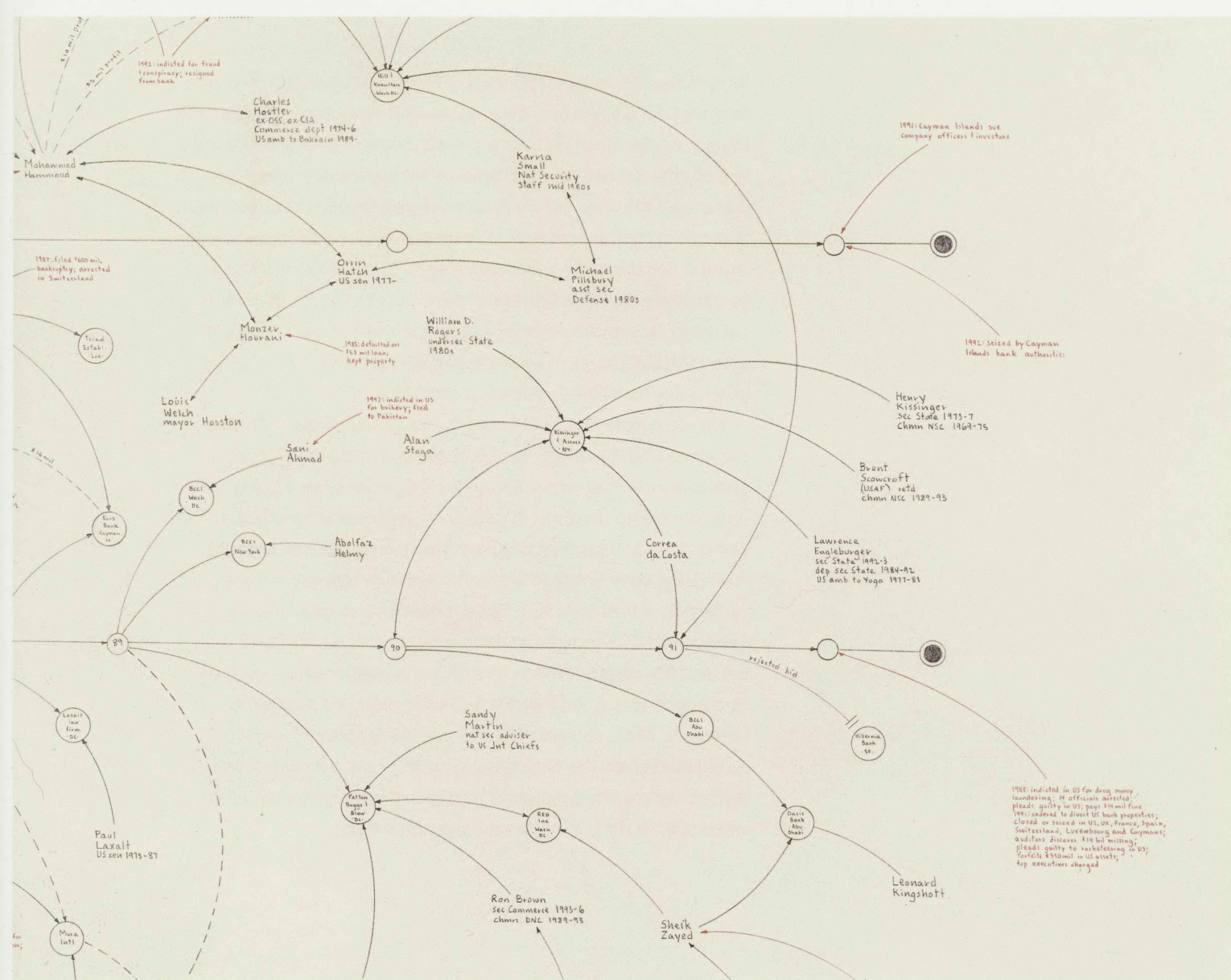
(4th Version), 1996-2000, 52 x 138 in.
(cat. no. 25)

Whitney Museum of American Art,
New York; purchase, with funds
from the Drawing Committee and
the Contemporary Committee

million in 1973 to \$23 billion by 1991; by mid 1980s had opened offices in 78 countries to serve the needs of nearly one million depositors and borrowers, 40,000 of which were in Britain, the bank's largest market in the West; by all appearances BCCI was a stable and profitable enterprise managed with integrity.

But beneath the veneer of legitimacy BCCI, in conjunction with ICIC, its shadowy "black" banking unit founded in the Caymans in 1976, plied quite another trade—handling "hot," "black" and "dirty" money for a panoply of international gangsters, arms dealers, bagmen, corrupt foreign officials, drug smugglers, tax evaders, money launderers and agents of influence, not to mention elements of the intelligence services of the U.S., U.K., Pakistan, U.A.E. and Saudi Arabia which among other things, used the bank in the early 1980s to provide support to the Afghan mujahedeen fighters, finance parts of the Iran-Contra operation and funnel bribes to "retired" Palestinian terrorist Abu Nidal; BCCI also helped launder money for erstwhile allies of the U.S. like Iraq's Saddam Hussein and Gen Manuel Noriega of Panama, and was involved in suspicious multi-million dollar deals with various other heads of state such as Babangida of Nigeria, Cerezo of Guatemala, Rajiv Gandhi of India and Ershad of Bangla Desh.

The bank's downfall began in 1988 when U.S. Drug Enforcement officers arrested seven mid-level BCCI executives suspected of laundering cash for the Medellin drug cartel through a branch office in Tampa, Florida; the U.S. Justice department's lack of enthusiasm for the case and lenient treatment of BCCI upon conviction served to arouse even more interest



in the bank; it was then discovered that BCCI secretly controlled Clark Clifford and Robert Altman's First American Bank (FAB), the largest bank in Washington, D.C., through a complex chain of ownership ultimately vested in [Credit and Commerce American Holdings N.V.] (CCA), a Netherlands Antilles shell company; by mid-1982 state and federal indictments had been handed down against the bank, its satellites ICIC and CCAH, Abedi, Clifford, Altman, Kamal Adham, Ghaith Pharaon, Khalid bin Mahfouz, Faisal Fulaj, and numerous others; meanwhile in the U.K., Bank of England officials who had long questioned BCCI's financial viability but failed to act because of intimidation by the Thatcher government and concerns about the scale of the problem, finally decided to move against

BCCI-ICIC & FAB, 1972-91
 (4th Version), 1996-2000, 52 x 138 in.
 (cat. no. 25, detail); Whitney Museum
 of American Art, New York; purchase,
 with funds from the Drawing
 Committee and the Contemporary
 Committee

BCCI; in July 1991 an ad hoc "College of Regulators" consisting of officials from the U.S., U.K., France, Spain, Switzerland, Luxembourg and the Cayman Islands seized the bank in a simultaneous multinational raid, the first of its kind in history; within weeks of the seizure examiners found that at least \$14 billion had disappeared or was unrecoverable; thousands of defrauded British depositors then sued to recover their money; Sheik Zayed of Abu Dhabi, the bank's main powerbroker and majority shareholder, offered to settle depositors' claims out of court for 30 cents on the dollar; the deal was rejected as insufficient and remains in litigation; in early 1992 BCCI's surviving Middle East operations were reorganized under a new name, the Oasis Bank of Abu Dhabi.

It is no coincidence that BCCI was founded in September 1972, only two weeks after Palestinian extremists massacred the Israeli Olympic team in Munich, West Germany, and that ICIC, which opened in July 1976, came into being in the midst of a massive congressional investigation of over 100 U.S.-based multinational corporations suspected of paying multi-million dollar bribes to win contracts and do business overseas, particularly in the Middle East. Nor is it merely coincidental that the directors of BCCI, who operated above and beyond the law for almost two decades without interference from any governmental agency, were for the most part drawn from the diplomatic corps and intelligence community. This is because BCCI was specifically created to serve geopolitical rather than commercial ends: to further the regional political and national security ambitions of a handful of conservative Gulf Arab states allied to the U.S. and Britain, regardless of cost.

George W. Bush, Harken Energy, and Jackson Stephens,

ca. 1979-90 (5th Version), 1999 [cat. no. 19]

This work focuses on the roles that cronyism and insider trading played in the fortunes of George W. Bush in the 1980s, before he became governor of Texas. The series of events that Lombardi charted here began about 1979, two years after Bush, with the backing of \$4.7 million provided by fifty Bush family members and friends, set up his own oil and gas company, which he named Arbusto Energy Inc. (*arbusto* is the Spanish word for "bush"). A few years later, after his father became vice-president, he renamed the faltering company Bush Exploration, and continued to operate it until 1984, when one of Bush's former Yale classmates, William DeWitt, Jr., and his partner, Mercer Reynolds, owners of Ohio-based oil-exploration company Spectrum 7 Energy Corporation, agreed to purchase it. The two of them appointed Bush C.E.O. and gave him 1.1 million shares of stock in their company.

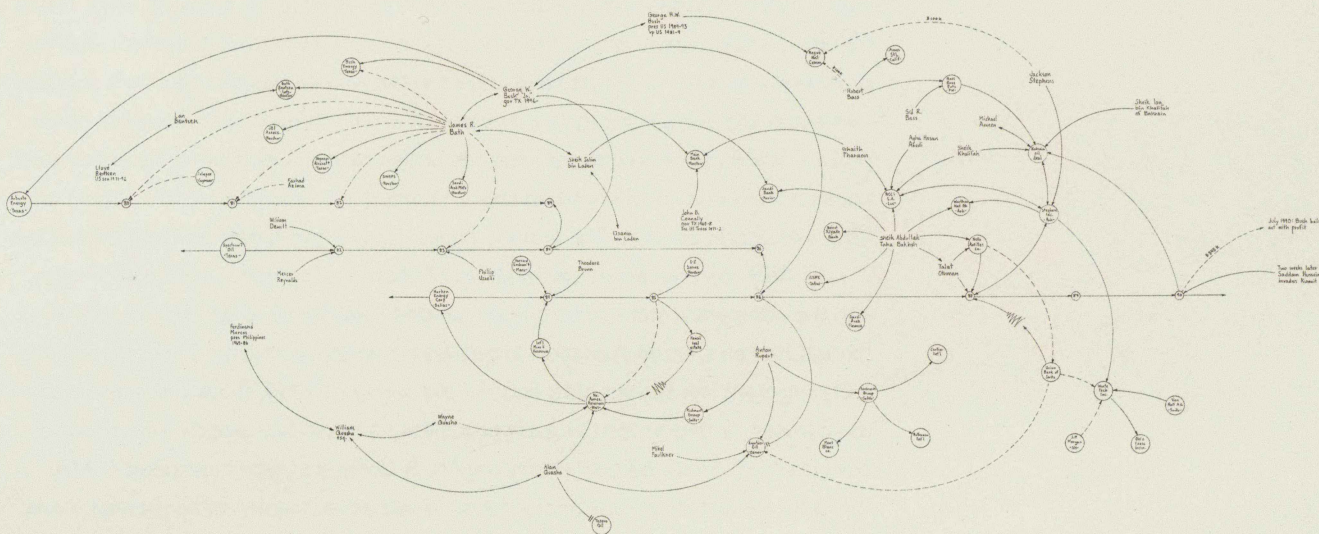
Although Spectrum 7 suffered substantial losses—\$400,000 in its last six months alone—it was acquired in 1986 by the Dallas-based oil-and-gas-drilling company Harken Energy Corporation. As part of the deal, Bush received \$2.25 million worth of stock and later an additional \$600,000, together with membership on the board and a consultancy paying \$120,000 annually. Soon after Bush joined Harken, the Harvard Management Fund, an investment firm that oversees Harvard University's endowment portfolio, invested \$30 million—a one-third stake—in the company; this infusion of funds has often been linked to Bush being a graduate of the Harvard Business School. At the time, Michael Eisensohn, who headed up the fund, was given a position on Harken's board. Even with this tremendous financial

George W. Bush, Harken Energy, and Jackson Stephens, ca. 1979-90

(5th Version), 1999, 24 1/8 x 48 1/4 in.

(cat. no. 19)

(see also detail, p. 100)



wells in Bahrain. On June 11, Bush participated in discussions about how restructuring the company might affect its outstanding shares, and on June 22 he sold 212,140 shares of Harken Energy stock (two-thirds of his holdings) at \$4 a share for a total of \$848,560, making a 200 percent profit. In August, Iraqi troops invaded Kuwait; and after Harken restated its earnings downward on August 20, declaring a second-quarter loss of \$23.2 million, Harken shares plummeted 40 percent and then went as low as \$1 per share. Although Securities and Exchange Commission regulations dictate that Bush should have reported the sale of Harken stocks by July 10, the sale was not recorded by the S.E.C. until the first week of March 1991, after the Gulf War was over. Despite Bush's later claims that he reported the sale in a timely manner, the S.E.C. never found documents corroborating his statement. Because of this discrepancy and Bush's strategic role on Harken Energy's audit committee prior to the sale of his stocks, he has been suspected of insider trading.

Lombardi's delineation of Bush's activities is articulated in three horizontal time lines: (from top to bottom) Arbusto Energy, Spectrum 7 Oil, and Harken Energy. It concludes with the year 1990 and the figure "\$848 K," together with the notation "July 1990 Bush bails out w/ profit. Two weeks later Saddam Hussein invades Kuwait."

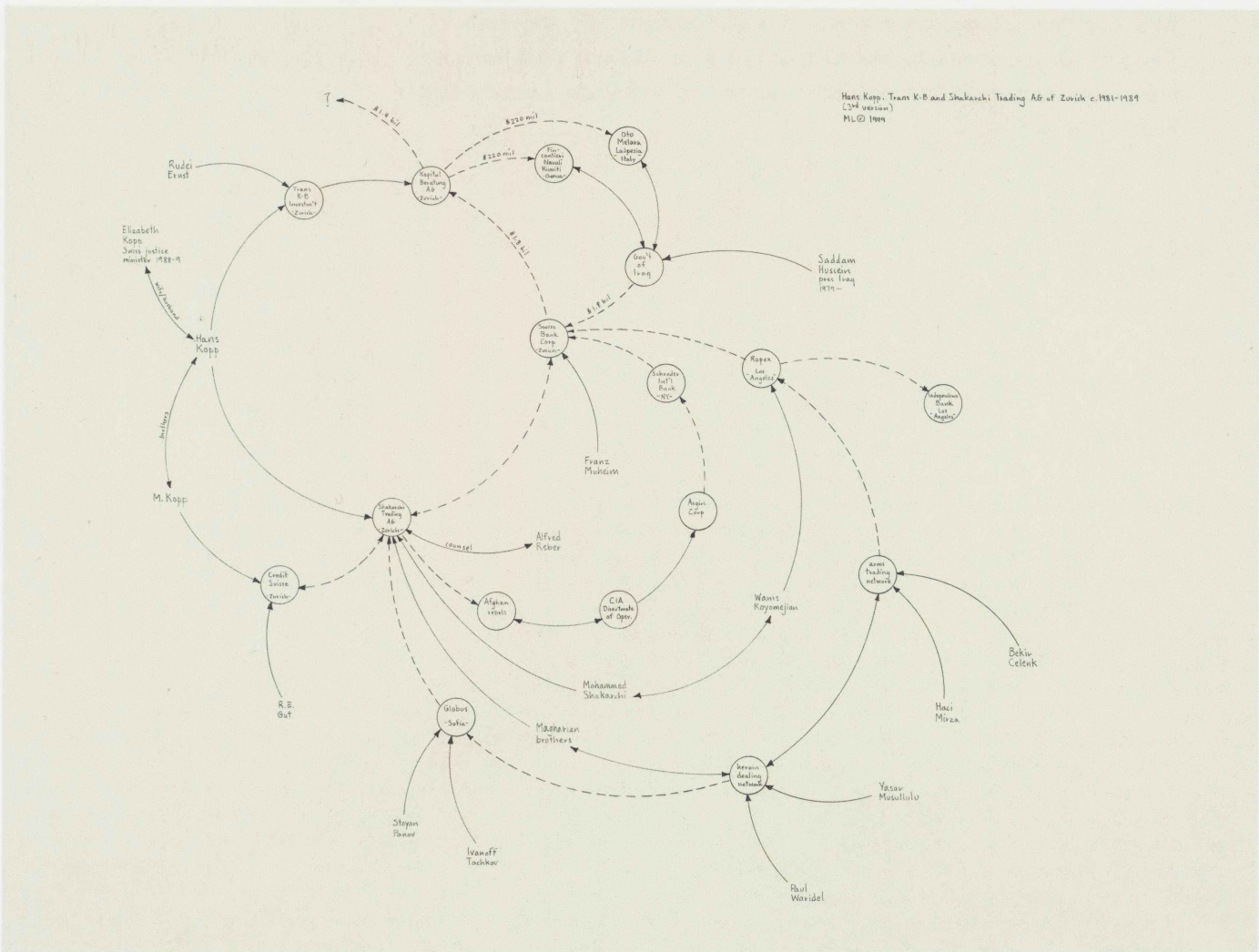
Hans Kopp, Trans K-B, and Shakarchi Trading AG of Zurich,
ca. 1981-89 (3rd Version), 1999 [cat. no. 22]

**Hans Kopp, Trans K-B
and Shakarchi Trading
AG of Zurich, ca. 1981-89**
(3rd Version), 1999,
25 1/4 x 30 3/4 in. (cat. no. 22)

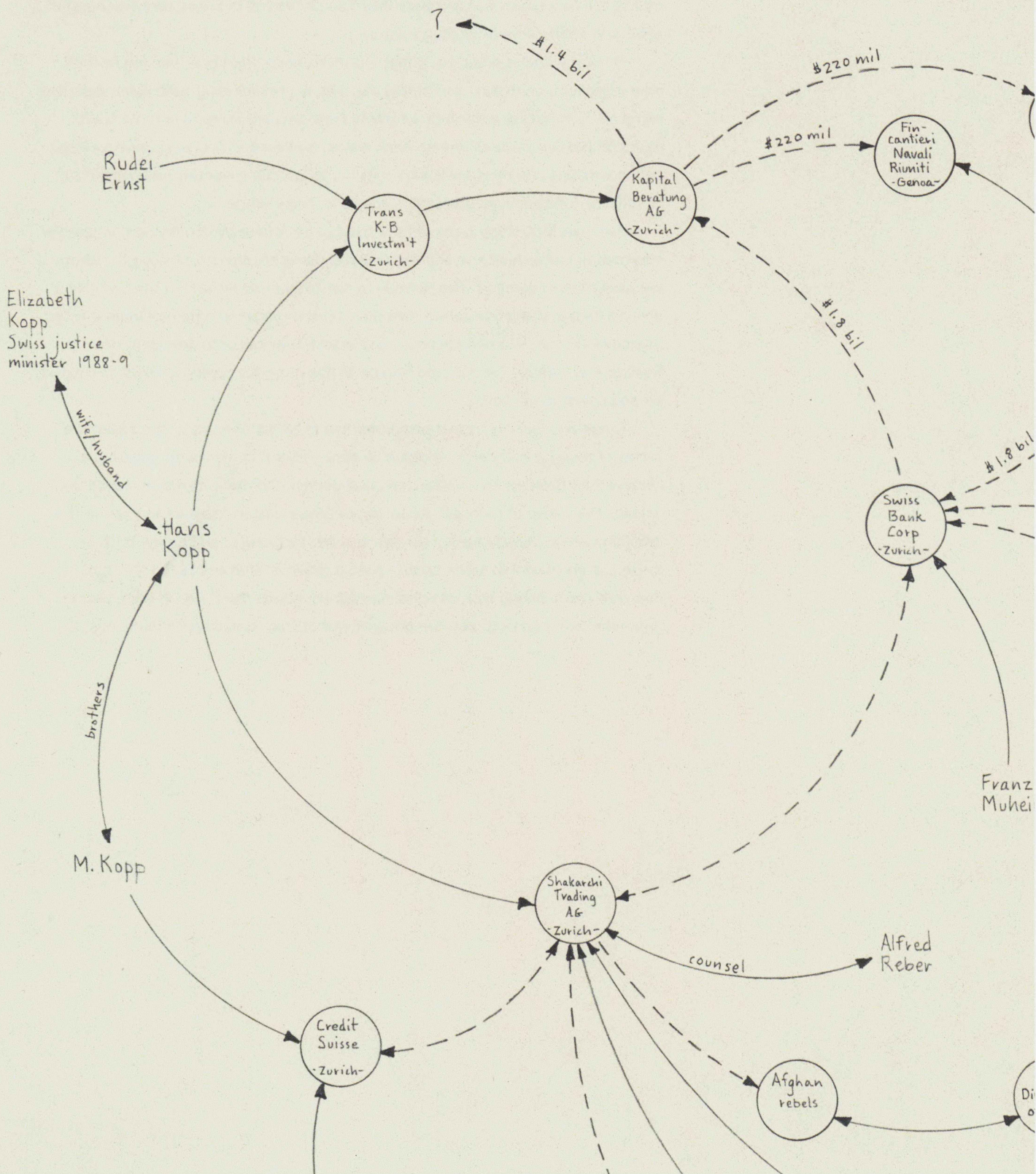
Facing page:

**Hans Kopp, Trans K-B
and Shakarchi Trading
AG of Zurich, ca. 1981-89**
(3rd Version), 1999 (cat. no. 22,
detail)

Although this drawing spans the entire 1980s, the controversy unfolded at the end of 1988 and the beginning of 1989. Attorney Hans W. Kopp was vice president of the Zurich-based holding company Trans K-B and board member of Shakarchi Trading, a Lebanese gold and foreign currency trading company headquartered in the same city. In the fall of 1988, his wife, Elisabeth Kopp, Switzerland's justice minister, advised him to resign from Shakarchi. Through her political appointment, Mrs. Kopp had learned that Shakarchi Trading was under investigation for laundering drug money and that a public scandal was certain to ensue. Teams of Swiss and U.S. investigators had traced the activities of Jean and Barkey Magharian, Lebanese/Armenian brothers associated with Shakarchi, who acknowledged that



Hans Kopp, Trans K-B and Shakarchi Trading AG of Zurich c.1981-1989
(3rd version)
M.L. © 1999



part of the two billion Swiss francs they had deposited in Swiss banks between 1985 and 1988 came from drug revenues.

The irony of this situation is that Elisabeth Kopp had been working to draft new legislation on money laundering that would prevent drug traffickers and other criminals from taking advantage of Swiss bank-secrecy laws. Due to its lawful multibillion-dollar trade in foreign bank notes, Switzerland had long been an international magnet for drug traffickers wishing to launder revenues. In Switzerland, laundering funds is legal unless it is linked to illegal drugs.

Because Mrs. Kopp betrayed the trust of her office by conveying confidential information to her husband and then denied doing so, she was forced to resign her government position. The tragedy of her misstep is evident in the promising political career she relinquished: five days before resigning, she had been elected Switzerland's first woman councilor and would have become president of Switzerland, making her the first female in this honorific position, which is rotated among seven councilors.

These overlapping events are presented in terms of a circle that spawns a series of reverberating arcs. The overall configuration is off-center, creating a dynamic yet deliberately unbalanced composition. On the left side of the central circle is the name of Elizabeth Kopp, undoubtedly placed there as the key to the unfolding story. Slightly below her name is her husband's, and below both of these but situated this same central configuration is Shakarchi's. To the right of this core are radiating arcs designating Afghan rebels, the C.I.A., heroin-dealing networks, arms dealing, and the government of Iraq, including Saddam Hussein.

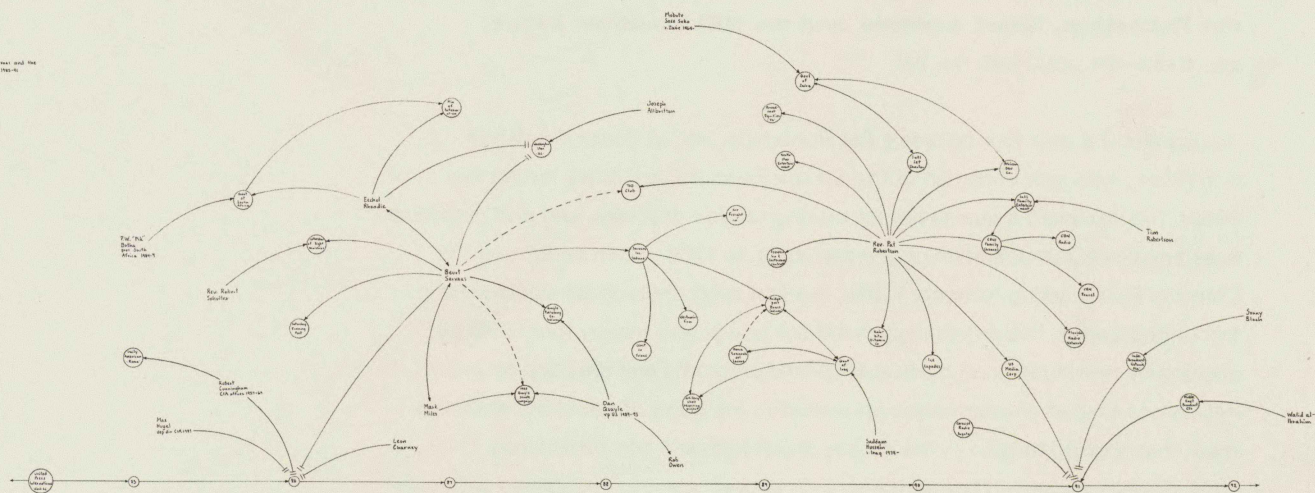
Pat Robertson, Beurt Servaas, and the UPI Takeover Battle,

ca. 1985-91, 2000 [cat. no. 24]

Throughout the past four decades, Pat Robertson, son of Senator A. Willis Robertson, who was chairman of the Senate Finance Committee during the 1960s, has exhibited a dual talent for making religion profitable and public-spiritedness personally remunerative on a grand scale. In 1960, when he formed the Christian Broadcasting Network (CBN), the first such entity to be established in the United States, Robertson recognized the power and money that could be accrued by moving beyond mere evangelistic programs and devoting an entire network to fundamentalist values presented in the guise of talk-show entertainment that cloaked religion in the idioms of self-help and pop psychology. Over time, Robertson created one of the world's largest television ministries with international distribution. In 1977, he gained more airtime when he established the Family Channel, which combined his 700 Club program with old T.V. sitcoms. In 1990, presumably to protect CBN's tax-exempt status, he joined forces with Tele-Communication, Inc., one of the largest cable-television providers in the United States, while arranging for CBN to sell the Family Channel to himself and his son Tim for a relatively modest sum. That same year, he founded International Family Entertainment Inc. (IFE) to produce and distribute family entertainment and information worldwide.

Robertson's ambitions were not limited to religion. In 1988, he ran for president of the United States as an independent; and in 1992, perhaps because of his political ambitions, he investigated the possibility of acquiring the by-then bankrupt eighty-five-year-old news service United Press International (U.P.I.) through his for-profit subsidiary, U.S. Media Corporation. U.P.I., one of the world's premier news agencies, had been founded as United Press by E. W. Scripps and became United Press International in 1958 when it merged with William Randolph Hearst's International News Service. When asked about his interest in this organization, Robertson stated that he was primarily interested in U.P.I.'s overseas operations in Latin America and Asia as well as its radio network. He emphasized that he would not attempt to make it a religious news service.

In Lombardi's drawing, United Press International forms a baseline in the lower portion of the drawing, with the name "Beurt Servaas" [*sic*] at the center of a large pinwheel of radiating arcs at the left, above the year 1987, and Rev. Pat Robertson at the center of a similar pinwheel at the right, above the year 1990. Buert SerVaas, who had been a former C.I.A. officer and had become owner and publisher of the *Saturday Evening Post*, was one of the competitors for U.P.I. He accepted some of the perks offered in the late 1980s by Pretoria officials, who were plying a scheme masterminded by Dr. Eschel Rhoodie, South Africa's minister of information, in order to garner favorable views from Western journals. Lombardi diagrammed this constellation of associations as follows: Reverend



Pat Robertson, Beurt Servaas, and the UPI Takeover Battle, ca.

1985-91, 2000, 27 3/4 x 57 5/8 in.
 (cat. no. 24)

Robert Schuller and Cathedral of Light Ministries (i.e., Crystal Cathedral Ministries); Rhodie; Washington Star; the 700 Club; SerVaas; Quayle Publishing Company in Indiana (which connects SerVaas with Dan Quayle); and *Saturday Evening Post*. Further along the time line are Robertson's alliances: North Star Entertainment, Broadcast Equities in Virginia (a for-profit arm of CBN), the government of Zaire, International Jet Charter, International Family Entertainment, CBN/ Family Channel, Florida Radio Network, U.S. Media Corporation, Ice Capades, Kalo-Vita Vitamin Company, Founders Inn and Conference Center, and the 700 Club.

Robertson's secular approach is fully in accord with the goals of the Christian Coalition, which he founded in 1989 in the wake of his failed presidential campaign. The new tone of the Religious Right, part of the so-called New Right, was moderation—less sanctimonious citation of scripture and more appeal to common sense, representing a more palatable and less visible brand of Christianity that could permeate the wall of agnostic resistance while affirming family values rather than feminism, abstinence rather than sexual freedom, and a belief system that was pro-life rather than pro-choice. As part of this overall plan, Robertson's followers and other members of the Religious Right became specialists at carefully crafting language so that their coded response to the campaign for Affirmative Action and equal rights for gays and lesbians became "special rights for none . . . equal rights for all." This new moderation—which included encouraging religious conservatives to infiltrate the Republican Party—became public in a memo written by Robertson during his presidential campaign, cautioning his followers to shield their strength and not flaunt their Christianity so that they might "be wise as serpents and innocent as doves." In keeping with this injunction, Robertson carried his new secularized message to the independent Family Channel and International Family Entertainment Inc., and no doubt subscribed to it when contemplating taking over United Press International.

Bill Clinton, the Lippo Group, and Jackson Stephens of Little Rock, Arkansas (5th Version), 1999 [cat. no. 16]

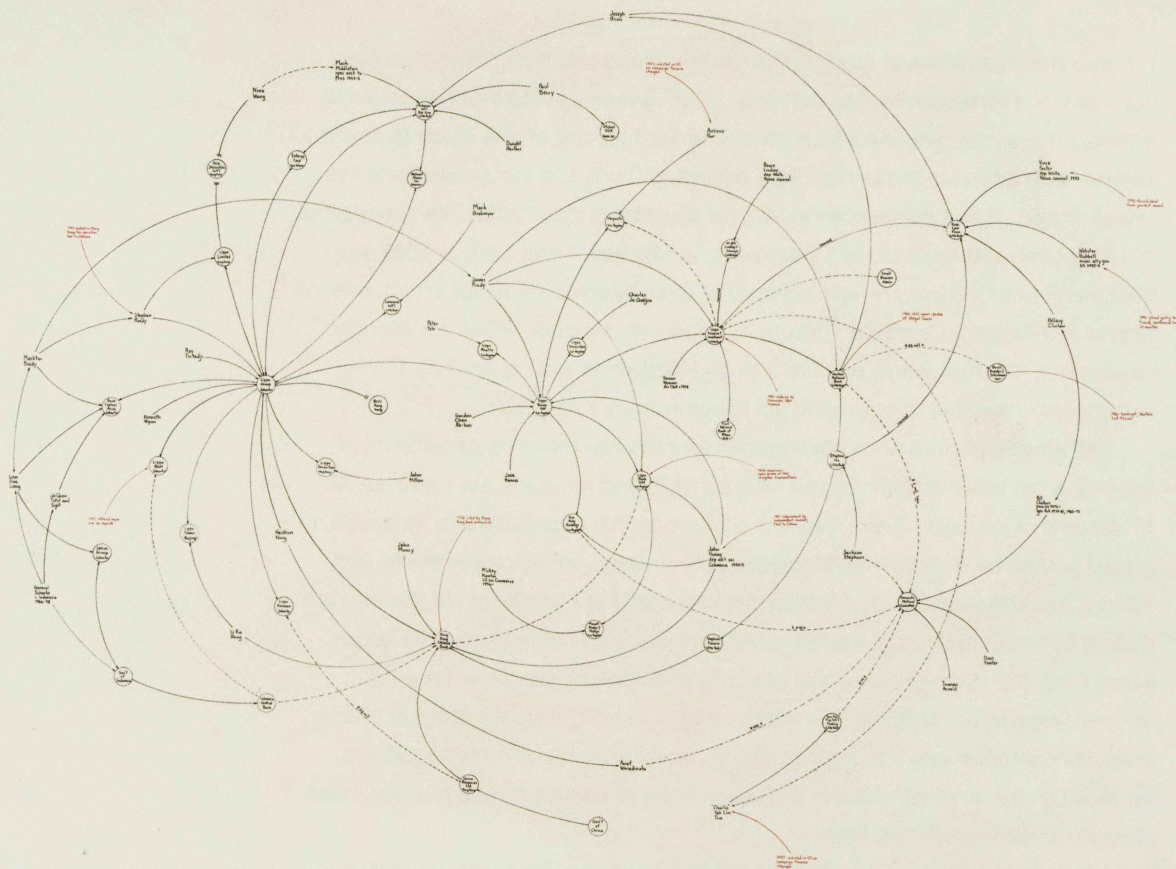
The overarching subject of this work is the combined effect of global accounts, cronyism, and foreign influence pedaling. Lippo Group is a \$12-billion Indonesian banking, real-estate, and insurance conglomerate founded by the Riady family of Jakarta, with interests throughout Asia (including China and Hong Kong) and the United States. It first achieved international standing in the 1980s. The patriarch of the Riady clan and head of the Lippo Group is Mochtar Riady, born in 1929 as Li Wenzheng to a Chinese immigrant family in East Java and thus part of Indonesia's largest non-indigenous minority (about 1 percent of the population). He changed his name to Mochtar Riady, married into an established Jakarta banking family, and assumed the role of managing his father-in-law's small bank.

His notable performance soon earned him the extraordinary opportunity of becoming the head of Bank Central Asia by 1975 and receiving the incentive of 17 percent of its stock. Riady quickly transformed this enterprise into Indonesia's largest private bank, but when his oldest son, Andrew, an employee there, lost millions on foreign-exchange markets, he liquidated the majority of his shares even though he continued to run the bank. With profits from these shares, he began assembling the string of banks that make up the Lippo Group. Over time, he became known for "ramping" his stock—that is, buying large numbers of shares in his companies in order to support prices. In addition, he gained a reputation for moving cash internationally in elaborate webs of transactions, a practice often associated with laundering funds.

After establishing a Lippo Group bank in Hong Kong, Riady moved with his family to the United States. Rather than choosing a large metropolis, he selected Little Rock, Arkansas, which proved to be a brilliant strategic decision, since it is the home of Stephens Inc., the nation's largest investment bank outside Wall Street. Riady met Jackson Stephens and arranged for his son James to intern with Stephens, Inc. In 1984 James Riady and Jackson Stephens became co-owners of Worthen Bank, Arkansas's largest. They agreed that James would be the institution's C.E.O. As part of his administration, James Riady hired a number of Indonesians, including John Huang, a Chinese-born Indonesian businessman, who became his vice president.

The Little Rock connection not only gained Mochtar Riady secure standing with Stephens, Inc., but also provided him and his family ready access to Arkansas's young governor, Bill Clinton, whose tremendous potential they and Stephens recognized. When Worthen Bank, during the first year of Riady/Stephens ownership, lost \$32 million in Arkansas State pension funds through an investment scheme—a failure that might well have cost Governor Clinton his political career—Stephens wrote a personal check covering the entire loss. In 1992, when the Clinton-Gore bid for the White House was foundering due

Bill Clinton, the Lippo Group, and Jackson Stephens of Little Rock, Arkansas (5th version) © G. H. W. H. H. H.



Bill Clinton, the Lippo Group, and Jackson Stephens of Little Rock, Arkansas
(5th Version), 1999, 61 1/4 x 80 1/2 in.
(cat. no. 16)

Facing page:
Bill Clinton, the Lippo Group, and Jackson Stephens of Little Rock, Arkansas
(5th Version), 1999
(cat. no. 16, detail)

to Gennifer Flowers's allegations, James Riady saved the campaign by requesting his bank to issue the Democratic challengers letters of credit totaling \$3.5 million. That same year, James Riady, his family, and their business affiliates gave the Democratic party a combined gift of \$1 million, the largest overall contribution it had received. Although James Riady was a permanent resident of the United States and therefore eligible to make legal campaign contributions, during the re-election campaign in 1996 some of the other donated moneys were suspected of coming from overseas contributors, thus posing the possibility of illegal influence peddling.

Concern about the impact that foreign contributions might have on United States federal elections was exacerbated in 1996 when knowledge of the Riady family's connections to China became public. Over the years, they had invested

billions of dollars in their ancestral province of Fujian and had also poured massive amounts of money into a large Beijing shopping center. The C.I.A. contended that the Lippo Group had made "concessionary-rate loans to finance many . . . projects in key Communist Party members' home areas" in China, thus acquiring a far-ranging network of good will there. In addition, Lippo in 1992 and 1993 sold a total of 50 percent of its Hong Kong Chinese Bank to China Resources Limited, the commercial bank operated under China's Ministry of Foreign Trade and Economic Cooperation. Because of the Riady family's dealings and its continued close contacts with President Clinton, there was widespread fear in the United States that the White House was making itself unnecessarily vulnerable to foreign influence and possibly even to Chinese intelligence operations. In March 2001, after a thorough investigation was conducted, James Riady pleaded guilty to charges of violating the rules governing campaign-finance contributions. He agreed to pay the U.S. government \$8.6 million in fines for using foreign corporate money to support Clinton's 1992 presidential campaign.

The far-flung connections making up this chronicle of Bill Clinton, the Lippo Group, and Jackson Stephens are presented in Lombardi's drawing as a series of loosely connected and widely sweeping arcs. This configuration encourages viewers to look at the drawing in several different ways depending on where they begin, with the potential of reaching slightly different conclusions about the roles played by the participants. If one begins at the left, the Lippo Group is key, but then starting at the center makes John Huang appear to be the lead; looking first at the upper right gives prominence to Clinton associates Vince Foster and Webster Hubbell, while beginning at the lower right highlights Jackson Stephens's importance; and Clinton's own name is partially hidden at the lower right. This situation of multiple players and a roster of competing entrances parallels the different orientations to be found among the many news stories written about this campaign-finance scandal that afflicted the Clinton administration.

Bill Clinton, the Lippo Group, and China Ocean Shipping Co.

a.k.a. COSCO-Little Rock-Jakarta-Hong Kong, ca. 1990s

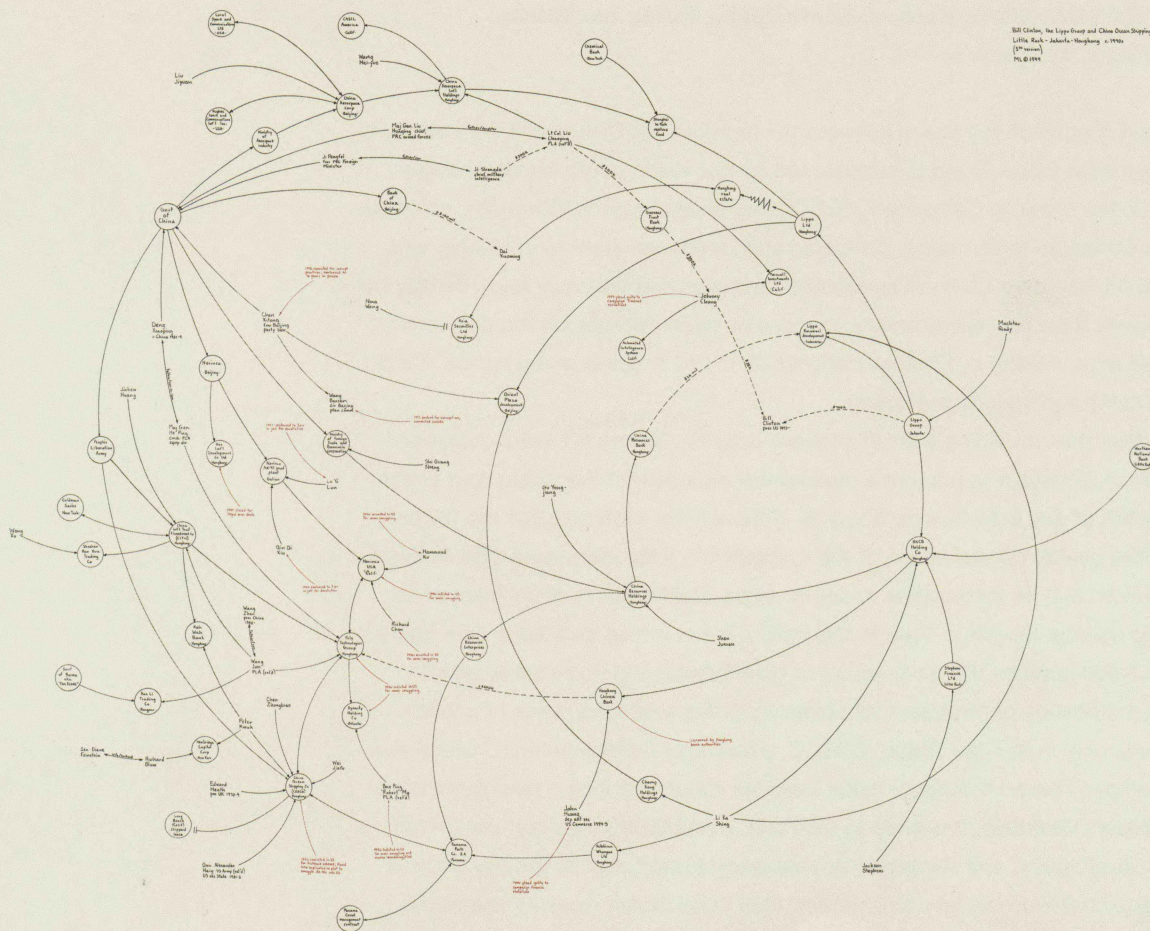
(5th Version), 1999 [cat. no. 17]

A second chapter of the tale of connections between Bill Clinton and the Indonesia-headquartered Lippo Group is represented by this work, which brings onstage China Ocean Shipping Company (COSCO); one of its shippers, Wang Jun, chairman of Poly Group, an arms-trading company; and Lippo executive John Huang, who worked on President Clinton's re-election campaign and was duly rewarded for his efforts with a political appointment. Lombardi's piece focuses on the conjunction of illegal arms dealing by Chinese nationalists in Los Angeles and possible White House campaign-finance corruption.

Rather than providing a list of possible culprits, Lombardi's work draws on theories of globalism to present a structuralist overview of the forces that direct the actions of any individual participants. Although the work focuses mostly on China, the overall circular shape of the composition subsumes even that nation's government and its subsidiaries under its aegis, making them all captives of its ongoing rigorous turgidity. Seen in this light, Clinton is less an actor than a figure who is acted upon by the giant wheel of both fortune and misfortune, which guides the destiny of all players participating in this extended game of chance.

Beginning in the late 1990s, COSCO, a successful state-owned Chinese shipping company based in Beijing, made inquiries about acquiring a new terminal in Long Beach, California. It wished to take over a retired fifty-five-year-old United States naval station and shipyard that was being turned over to the city under a decade-old base-closing law. Recognizing that Long Beach receives about one-quarter of all Chinese goods shipped to the United States, its city leaders firmly supported the idea, as did California Senators Barbara Boxer and Dianne Feinstein, since it would create between 900 and 1,600 jobs and provide an estimated \$116 million in local wages. COSCO proposed paying \$14.5 million in annual rent for the 145-acre site under a twenty-year lease, and the city was willing to put up \$200 million to transform the base into a working cargo port. Feinstein requested a national-security review of the Chinese company's proposal to acquire the closed Long Beach Naval Station, both because her husband, investment banker Richard C. Blum, was a consultant to COSCO and because one of COSCO's ships, the *Empress Phoenix*, was found in March 1996 to be transporting two thousand Chinese-made, selective-fire AK-47 assault weapons that were intended to be sold to California street gangs.

A month before the discovery of these weapons, President Clinton was hosting one of the many intimate coffees he held at the White House, and among the guests was Wang Jun, an arms dealer whose corporation's subsidiary, Poly Technologies, is the state-owned Chinese weapons-manufacturing company that produced the AK-47's found on the *Empress Phoenix*. Mr. Wang, who had no prior



**Bill Clinton, the Lippo Group,
and China Ocean Shipping
Co. a.k.a. COSCO, Little
Rock-Jakarta-Hong Kong,
ca. 1990s** (5th Version), 1999,
60 5/8 x 75 in. (cat. no. 17)

Facing page:

**Bill Clinton, the Lippo Group,
and China Ocean Shipping
Co. a.k.a. COSCO, Little
Rock-Jakarta-Hong Kong,
ca. 1990s** (5th Version), 1999
(cat. no. 17, detail)

association with the president, had been brought to the coffee by someone Clinton knew in Little Rock. This seemingly innocent connection created notable discomfort among a number of constituencies, and an investigation of Clinton's Far East associations ensued, including an examination of his dealings with the Riady family and their conglomerate, the Lippo Group. Because Huang, a former Lippo Group executive and a successful campaign fund-raiser for Clinton, had in 1994 begun working at the Commerce Department, where he received regular intelligence briefings, Clinton opponents demanded a thorough investigation of his activities. Despite the anxiety about the possibility of Chinese tampering in United States political campaigns, no investigators were able to prove that Huang had acted as either a conduit for the Chinese government or an industrial spy for the Lippo Group.



Fig. 17. Mark Lombardi, 2000

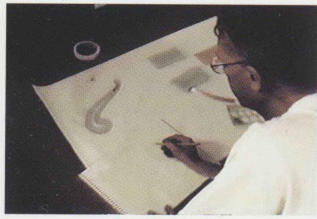
"I am pillaging the corporate vocabulary of diagrams and charts. . . rearranging information in a visual format that's interesting to me and mapping the political and social terrain in which I live," Mark Lombardi told videographer Andy Mann in 1997. But if he asserted—as bard and whistleblower—tacit occupation in realms of international intrigue, Lombardi's immediate milieu was the Williamsburg artists' community and the New York art world to which he had relocated from Houston in 1997. His art was history painting, social portraiture, a post-Pop, post-Conceptual citizen's diary. Thus, when considering an artist who deals so profoundly with time-sensitive and complicated connections, the artists, gallerists, and curators who knew him remain a vital resource for contextualizing the work within the life. What follows is a brief, composite portrait of Mark Lombardi and his project, assembled from interviews conducted in the autumn of 2001.

He was funny and manic with a racing mind that was always trying to connect the dots. He seemed to be a perpetual student of interdisciplinary information—which is so much more interesting than people who talk about art all the time.

—Fred Tomaselli, painter

I was immediately struck by Mark's enthusiasm and authenticity. Here was a guy who knew his way around the art world. He knew what it took to make a career, the right people to hang around with, how to draw attention to himself, which buttons to push, but these were not the things that mattered to him. He was more interested in fact-finding and record-keeping, in how to convey information and document the underground business world. His project was unique, and his dedication to it astounded me. . . . I loved talking with Mark about his work. His eyes would come alive, almost as if they were pushing his glasses away from his face. . . . He worked alone on a solitary project, a massive inventory of facts and the challenge of configuring them in a legible fashion, in a small, lonely room; an internal process. But when he had a listener, he came alive. If you were willing

* This text is adapted from a longer essay titled "Obsessive—Generous: Toward a Diagram of Mark Lombardi," which first appeared in the online magazine *Wburg.com* in the winter of 2002.



to listen, and I was eager, he could go on for hours . . . I believe that what really drove the work was the lust for information and the informed artistic sense that could translate it into a visually attractive whole.

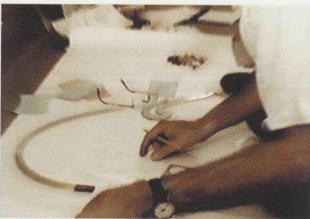
—Mickey Cartin, collector



He came in basically off the street . . . he had slides with him, which were difficult to read, but when I talk to artists I look for enthusiasm and confidence, and he had that—he was very compelling about the corporate vernacular that he was using. So later he brought in some drawings, and I was amazed by them. It took a few meetings, but I took a piece and hung it in the office, and then I did a studio visit, and we decided to do a show ["Silent Partners" December, 1998].

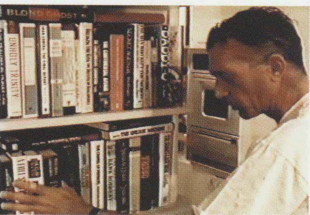
—Joe Amrhein, gallerist

The story goes that Lombardi arrived at the idea for his drawings doodling on a napkin while talking on the phone.



[He was] talking to a friend of his, a lawyer, in California. Mark was telling him about a couple of banks that had closed in Texas, and the lawyer said, "Yeah, and because of that, these Savings and Loans closed in California." And his friend proceeded to tell him how a series of byzantine corporate connections tied the various financial institutions together. It was very convoluted, and so Mark made some notes—he obviously was predisposed to thinking about this sort of thing. As Mark told it to me, it was kind of like how some artists, for instance, do the *New York Times* crossword puzzle in their studios to help them clear their minds. Anyway, every couple of days, after going over his notes and diagrams, he would call his friend back and ask him more questions, which would lead him to make more diagrams. Then, one day, after what I understood to be a couple of months of working on these diagrams to "relax," Mark had his "aha!" moment . . . The diagrams were more visually interesting than his paintings. And, perhaps just as importantly, they pulled together everything Mark was interested in—drawing, social/commercial interactions and their hierarchies, and politics—into a single pursuit.

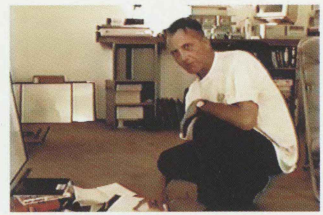
—Deven Golden, gallerist



Knowing his mind, I'm sure he looked at that napkin and saw possibilities for the next twenty years of work. He thought in branching structures. He would have seen the whole instantly. . . It's a human being mapping human activity, and it's beautiful, even if the facts are hideous. People respond to that. Seeing the work, they feel connected to it. They realize, "This is part of the world—this is not divorced from normal, worldly experience."

—Greg Stone, painter

Significantly, these “real-world” responses often involved the very professionals whose information vocabularies Lombardi “pillaged.” Greg Stone, for example, brought a friend who wrote for the Wall Street Journal to see a drawing titled George W. Bush, Harken Energy, and Jackson Stephens ca. 1979–90 (5th Version).



He was riveted—he knew every character. He stood there poring over it for forty minutes murmuring “Oh, my God . . . ” Then he went back to his office and looked it up—the *Journal* had reported on the link between Bush and Osama bin Laden, and Mark probably got his information from that article. But my friend said he hadn’t fully understood the implications until he saw it all laid out that way.

A similar scene unfolded at Pierogi.

They [curators of an unnamed corporate art collection] were very excited about acquiring the work until their legal department had a look at it. Then they had to back off, because some of the names that appeared in the piece were sitting on their board of directors.

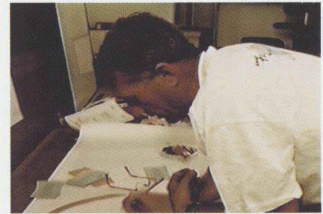
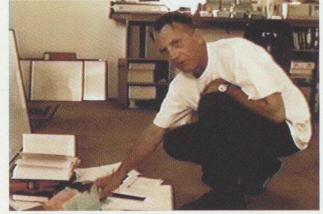
—Joe Amrhein

I asked Mark, “How would you feel if some shady character bought your work just to hide it from the public and shield himself from nasty revelations?” And he said, “I could only hope I’m that important. . . . ” He was ambitious. Mark wanted to be a famous artist. No doubt about it. . . . [But] he got caught. He was fascinated by the evil of the people he was drawing, and he had bargained with the devil, in a way.

—Greg Stone

It is interesting that Lombardi developed such a tight, formalist way of picturing things that are ultimately moral. If heaven and hell exist, Lombardi’s drawings are like power-point representations that St. Peter might create to determine accountability. Of course the work relates to Conceptual precedents, but it also really reminds me of crime writers like Robert Ludlum or John Le Carré—complex plots with innumerable characters that are hard to keep track of.

—Richard Klein, curator



Opposite and above:
Stills from the documentary film
Mark Lombardi, 2003.

Mark was part of a group of artists that was reclaiming Conceptualism from the academy that had hijacked it in the mid-eighties. His work was warm, messy, wacky, funny, subjective, but also serious and smart. It wasn't necessary to totally understand or agree with the complex power relationships depicted. Being overwhelmed by the information seemed to be part of its appeal, and as his work progressed, he gave equal importance to both form and content. I've always thought that the sensibilities of "outsider artists" and Conceptualists were more similar than the art establishment is willing to admit—at their best, they both manifest a compelling and visceral visualization of inner cosmology. Mark and I were both interested in this and we talked about it often. We were both interested in seductive visual strategies that contained the pathology of the "real" world.

—Fred Tomaselli

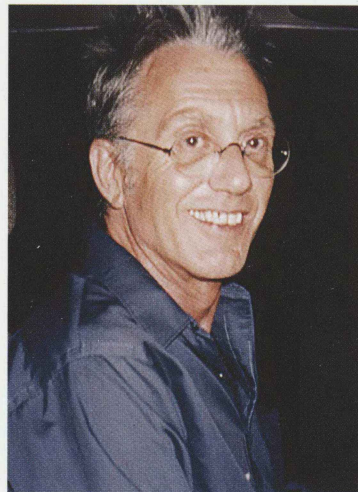
Think about it. Goya gives you topical, political commentary in the simplest graphic terms, demotic terms, with captions you don't have to read, but that transform the work if you do read them . . . [and] Pollock was also making webs. Pollock was mapping the internal, the psychological; Mark was doing the same thing with the existing economic structure. The world he rendered already existed and we were it. The same kind of layered, deliberate, but chance-determined structure that you would see in a Pollock, Mark was making in his webs of connections, and the effect is similarly revelatory. We didn't know what we were looking at when we read about it—it had to be articulated visually.

—Greg Stone

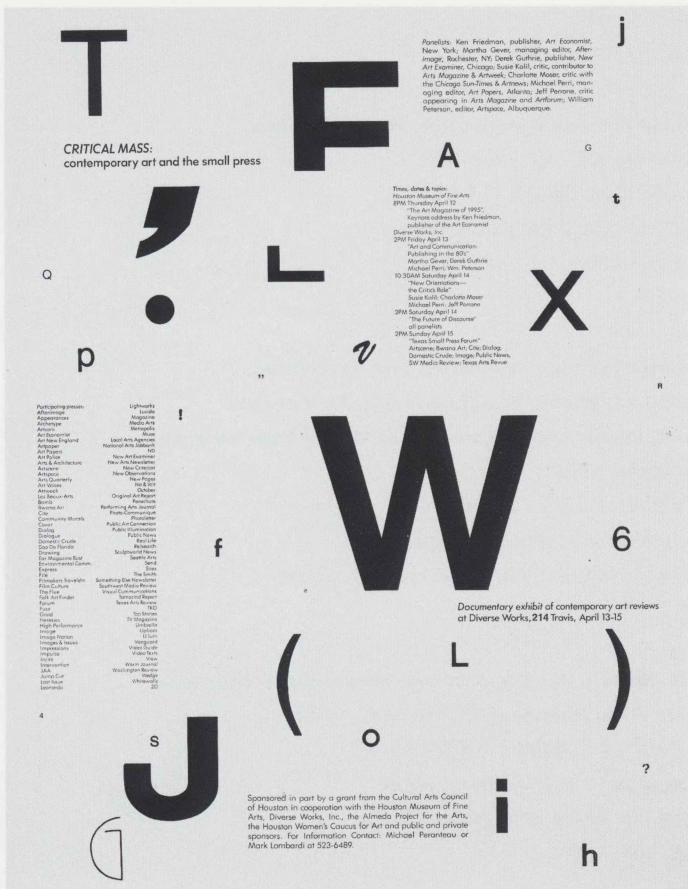
I wish that he were here now, to give us his overview of the world stage, which I know would be delivered with a puff of his cigarette through a Cheshire smile.

—Deven Golden

Frances Richard writes poetry and criticism, and is non-fiction editor of the literary journal *Fence* and a member of the editorial group at *Cabinet* magazine. She teaches at Barnard. Her first book of poems, *See Through*, will be published in October 2003 by Four Way Books.



Mark Lombardi, 2000



Poster for Diverse Works, Houston, 1984, 29 1/8 x 24 1/8 in. (cat. no. 1)

Note: height precedes width precedes depth.
The dimensions given are the frame dimensions.

1. **Poster for Diverse Works, Houston, 1984**
29 1/8 x 24 1/8 in. (74.2 x 61.5 cm)

Offset lithography on paper
Estate of the artist
(see p. 119)

2. **World Finance Corp.-Guillermo Hernandez Cartaya (Miami FL) (1st Version), 1994**
17 3/4 x 35 3/8 in. (45.1 x 89.9 cm)
Colored pencil and graphite on paper
Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Michael Scott
(see p. 68, top)

3. **Charles Keating, ACC, and Lincoln Savings, ca. 1978-90 (5th Version), 1995**
31 3/4 x 46 1/4 in. (80.7 x 117.6 cm)
Colored pencil and graphite on paper
Collection of Sarah-Ann and Werner H. Kramarsky
(see p. 92)

4. **BNL, Reagan, Bush, & Thatcher and the Arming of Iraq, ca. 1983-91 (1st Version), 1995**
17 3/4 x 35 3/8 in. (45.1 x 89.5 cm)
Graphite on paper
Estate of the artist
(see p. 87)

5. **Meyer Lansky's Financial Network, ca. 1960-78 (4th Version), 1996**
30 3/4 x 40 3/4 in. (78.1 x 103.5 cm)
Graphite on paper
Collection of Jonathan and Holly Lipton
(see pp. 57, 58)

6. **World Finance Corp., Miami FL, ca. 1970-79 (3rd Version), 1997**
25 3/4 x 52 3/8 in. (65.4 x 132.7 cm)
Graphite on paper
Collection of Sheila Duignan and Mike Wilkins
(see p. 68, bottom)

7. **World Finance Corporation, Miami, 1970-79**

(4th Version), 1997

29 ⁵/₈ x 59 ¹/₈ in. (75.2 x 150.4 cm)

Graphite on paper

Estate of the artist

(see p. 69, top)

8. **Frank Nugan, Michael Hand, and Nugan Hand Ltd. of Sydney, Australia, ca. 1972-80** (8th Version), 1998

55 ¹/₄ x 128 ¹/₄ in. (140.3 x 325.8 cm)

Colored pencil and graphite on paper

Estate of the artist

(see p. pp. 72-73, 75)

9. **Charles Keating, ACC, and Lincoln Savings & Loan, Phoenix AZ-Irvine CA, ca. 1979-90** (6th Version), 1998

59 ⁷/₈ x 93 ⁵/₈ in. (151.9 x 237.7 cm)

Colored pencil and graphite on paper

The West Collection at SEI

(see p. 93, 94)

10. **Banca Nazionale del Lavoro, Reagan, Bush, Thatcher, and the Arming of Iraq, 1979-90** (4th Version), 1998

50 x 120 in. (127 x 304.8 cm)

Colored pencil and graphite on paper

The Museum of Modern Art, New York, Gift of Shirley and Donald Lombardi

(see pp. 88-89, 90)

11. **Chicago Outfit and Satellite Regimes, ca. 1931-83,** 1998

48 ¹/₈ x 96 ⁵/₈ in. (122.4 x 245.4 cm)

Graphite on paper

Estate of the artist

(see pp. 54, 55)

12. **Inner Sanctum: The Pope and His Bankers Michele Sindona and Roberto Calvi, ca. 1959-82** (5th Version), 1998

56 ¹/₂ x 126 ¹/₄ in. (143.5 x 320.7 cm)

Colored pencil and graphite on paper

Collection of Janice and Mickey Cartin

(see pp. 62-63, 64)

13. **World Finance Corporation, Miami, ca. 1971-79**

(5th Version), 1999

54 ¹/₂ x 114 ¹/₄ in. (138.4 x 290.2 cm)

Colored pencil and graphite on paper

Private collection

(see pp. 10, 69 bottom)

14. **World Finance Corporation, Miami, Florida, ca. 1970-79** (6th Version), 1999

35 ¹/₂ x 46 ¹/₄ in. (90.2 x 117.5 cm)

Colored pencil and graphite on paper

Private collection

(see p. 70)

15. **World Finance Corporation and Associates, ca. 1970-84: Miami, Ajman, and Bogota-Caracas (Brigada 2506: Cuban Anti-Castro Bay of Pigs Veteran)**

(7th Version), 1999

69 ¹/₈ x 84 in. (175.8 x 213.4 cm)

Colored pencil and graphite on paper

Collection of Susan Swenson and Joe Amrhein

(see p. 71)

16. **Bill Clinton, the Lippo Group, and Jackson Stephens of Little Rock, Arkansas** (5th Version), 1999

61 ¹/₄ x 80 ¹/₂ in. (155.6 x 204.5 cm)

Colored pencil and graphite on paper

Collection of Janice and Mickey Cartin

(see pp. 108, 109)

17. **Bill Clinton, the Lippo Group, and China Ocean Shipping Co. a.k.a. COSCO, Little Rock-Jakarta-Hong Kong, ca. 1990s** (5th Version), 1999

60 ⁵/₈ x 75 in. (153.9 x 190.5 cm)

Colored pencil and graphite on paper

Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Michael Scott

(see pp. 112, 113)

18. **George Bush and Palmer National Bank of Washington, D.C., ca. 1983-86**

(5th Version), 1999

51 x 70 in. (129.5 x 177.8 cm)

Colored pencil and graphite on paper

Collection of Amy and Joseph Morel

(see p. 85)

19. **George W. Bush, Harken Energy, and Jackson Stephens, ca. 1979-90** (5th Version), 1999
24 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 48 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (61.5 x 122.6 cm)
Graphite on paper
Private Collection
(see pp. 99, 100)
20. **Gerry Bull, Space Research Corporation, and Armscor of Pretoria, South Africa, ca. 1972-80** (5th Version), 1999
58 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 71 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (148.6 x 181.6 cm)
Colored pencil and graphite on paper
Judith Rothschild Foundation
(see pp. 76, 77)
21. **Global International Airways and Indian Springs State Bank, Kansas City, ca. 1977-83** (4th Version), 1999
32 x 43 in. (81.3 x 109.2 cm)
Graphite on paper
Collection of Deven Golden and Beth Reisman
(see pp. 83, 84)
22. **Hans Kopp, Trans K-B** (as on p. 00) **and Shakarchi Trading AG of Zurich, ca. 1981-89** (3rd Version), 1999
25 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 30 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (64.1 x 78.1 cm)
Graphite on paper
Collection of David Krepfle
(see pp. 102, 103)
23. **Oliver North, Lake Resources of Panama, and the Iran-Contra Operation, ca. 1984-86** (4th Version), 1999
63 x 82 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (160 x 210.3 cm)
Colored pencil and graphite on paper
Collection of Daniel Silverstein
(see pp. 79, 80)
24. **Pat Robertson, Beurt Servaas, and the UPI Takeover Battle, ca. 1985-91**, 2000
27 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 57 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (70.5 x 146.3 cm)
Colored pencil and graphite on paper
Estate of the artist
(see p. 106)
25. **BCCI-ICIC & FAB, 1972-91** (4th Version), 1996-2000
52 x 138 in. (132.1 x 350.5 cm)
Colored pencil and graphite on paper
Whitney Museum of American Art, New York. Purchase, with funds from the Drawing Committee and the Contemporary Committee
(see pp. 96, 97)
26. Index Cards documenting Lombardi's research, 1998-2001
A selection of 1,300 cards (out of a total of approximately 14,500)
Pen and pencil on card stock, dimensions 3 x 5 in. (7.6 x 12.7 cm), and one metal card-file drawer
Estate of the artist
(see p. 49)
27. Film: **Mark Lombardi**, 2003
15 minutes
Documentary film produced by Independent Curators International (ICI)
Based on a 53-minute videotape by Andy Mann of an interview with the artist in his studio in Houston, 1997

SELECTED EXHIBITIONS

SOLO EXHIBITIONS

2003–05

Mark Lombardi: Global Networks (ICI traveling exhibition)
organized by Independent Curators International (ICI),
New York, curated by Robert Hobbs*

2003

Preparatory Drawings: 1994–2000, Pierogi, Brooklyn,
New York*

2000

Mark Lombardi: in memory, Gallery Joe, Philadelphia

1999

Vicious Circles: Drawings, Deven Golden Fine Art, New York

1998–2000

Silent Partners, Pierogi, Brooklyn, New York;
traveling exhibition

1998

Mark Lombardi, Crossing the Line: 1994–98, Museum
of Contemporary Art, Washington, D.C.

1996

Over The Line: Drawings 1994–96, Lawndale Art and
Performance Center, Houston, Texas

GROUP EXHIBITIONS

2003

GNS Global Navigation System, Palais de Tokyo,
Paris, France

Global Priority, Herter Art Gallery at the University of
Massachusetts, Amherst

Somewhere Better Than This Place, Contemporary Arts
Center, Cincinnati, Ohio

High and Inside, Marlborough Gallery, New York

American Dream, Ronald Feldman Gallery, New York

Living Inside the Grid, New Museum of Contemporary Art,
New York*

The Incredible Lightness of Being, Black & White Gallery,
Brooklyn, New York

2002

Center of Attraction, 8th Baltic Triennial of International Art,
Contemporary Art Centre, Vilnius, Lithuania

Libres Echanges / Material World, Centre d'Art
Contemporain, Geneva, Switzerland

**Terra Incognita: Contemporary Artist's Maps and Other
Visual Organizing Systems**, Contemporary Art Museum,
St. Louis

Empire / State: Artists Engaging Globalization, Whitney
Museum of American Art Independent Study Program at
The Graduate Center of the City University of New York*

2001

Brooklyn!, Palm Beach Institute of Contemporary Art,
Palm Beach, Florida

The Communications Department, curated by Alex
Farquharson, Anthony Wilkinson Gallery, London

Let's Get to Work, Susquehanna Art Museum, Harrisburg,
Pennsylvania

Art at the Edge of the Law, Aldrich Museum of Contemporary
Art, Ridgefield, Connecticut*

All Systems Go, Contemporary Arts Museum, Houston, Texas

**Fresh: The Altoids Curiously Strong Collection
1998–2000**, New Museum of Contemporary Art,
New York

Work, University Art Museum, University at Albany, New York

Blurry Lines, John Michael Kohler Arts Center, Sheboygan,
Wisconsin

2000

Errant Gestures: Visual and Verbal Correspondences,
Apex Art, New York*

Out of Order: Mapping Social Space, CU Art Galleries,
University of Colorado, Boulder; traveling exhibition

Multiple Sensations: Series, Collections, Obsessions,
Yerba Buena Center for the Arts, San Francisco

A Selective Survey of Political Art, John Weber Gallery,
New York

Greater New York, P.S. 1/Contemporary Art Center, Queens,
New York*

World Trade, Roebling Hall, Brooklyn, New York

Circles, Bonafide Gallery, Chicago

Newsroom, Roger Smith Gallery, New York

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Monumental Drawings, Exit Art, New York

Brooklyn: New Work, Contemporary Arts Center, Cincinnati, Ohio

Altoids Collection, Clementine Gallery, New York; traveling exhibition

The Other Side of New York, Galleria Maze, Turin, Italy

Drawing Rules, Gallery Joe, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania*

Rage for Art, Pierogi, Brooklyn, New York

1998

Seeing Money, Rotunda Gallery, Brooklyn, New York; traveling exhibition

Why Can't We All Just Get Along?, Deven Golden Fine Art, New York

Laissez-Faire, Printed Matter, New York

Versus IV, Ex-Lanificio Bono di Carignano, Turin, Italy*

Apocalypse Now, Here Art, New York

1997

Heaven, P.S.1/Contemporary Art Center, Queens, New York

Selections: Winter 1997, Drawing Center, New York*

1996

Art Mall, Printed Matter, New York

Inner Sanctum, Robert McClain and Company, Houston

Critic's Choice, Dallas Visual Art Center, Dallas, Texas*

Houston Area Exhibition, Blaffer Gallery, University of Houston, Texas*

1995

The Big Show, Lawndale Art and Performance Center, Houston, Texas

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