By the 1980s, the prevalence of antibiotics and a soaring faith in biomedicine had assured the American public the last of the great diseases would be eradicated. Then, the outbreak of the HIV/AIDS epidemic provided a dramatic challenge to notions of security in health and biomedicine previously taken for granted. Because information concerning AIDS was at first unavailable and later poorly circulated to the public, a wave of paranoia and fear gripped Americans, guiding discussions of AIDS in all spheres of life. From governmental policy to the visual arts, AIDS deeply impacted American culture in a way that no other disease has. First the government ignored the epidemic. Then, as the government and citizens alike struggled to make sense of it, a number of visual artists and activists produced work which spoke to the experiences of those affected by AIDS, portrayed the social attitudes of Americans at the height of the outbreak, and attempted to address both highly individualized concerns as well as those shared by large activist groups. Certainly, the spread of AIDS was not simply limited to the United States, and the visual cultures of each nation would in many cases change to reflect their experience with the disease. However, because of the political and artistic climate of the day, the case of the United States provides several unique facets to be analyzed. This analysis of the American visual culture during the AIDS epidemic shall consider contexts of alienation, paranoia, and government inaction as well as discussing how the artists producing work in this moment dealt with themes of invisibility and silence.

Situated in this moment, the works of artists such as Felix Gonzalez-Torres were produced and displayed, quickly catapulting artwork that dealt with AIDS to the most prestigious museums and artistic institutions. Earlier collective memorial projects such as the NAMES Project Memorial Quilt had courted controversy both as a tremendous artistic statement and its failure to acknowledge the grisly truth of the epidemic. Finally, the activist group known as the AIDS Coalition To Unleash Power (ACT UP) utilized a diverse array of visual strategies ranging from highly symbolic methods of protest to unique iconography to bring attention to social issues related to AIDS and pressure for political action. At times, these visual artistic forces were in harmony with each other, and in others they were in direct conflict. The moment’s breadth of visual culture allowed for a wide range of perspectives and approaches to making a statement about AIDS.

During the 1980s and ‘90s, a number of gay artists attempted to portray their personal perspectives on the epidemic while addressing social and political attitudes toward AIDS. Felix Gonzalez-Torres, Robert Gober, and David Wojnarowicz were among several established artists whose work dealt with themes of paranoia and loss. Through the analysis of their works, there can be a better understanding of the visual culture of AIDS, particularly in how themes of invisibility, silence, and fear present in the artwork reflected and interpreted the lived realities at the height of the epidemic. It is important to consider that AIDS continues to be represented in contemporary art. However, analysis of the art produced specifically during the ‘80s and early ‘90s gives particular insight into how the early stage of the epidemic manifested itself in highly variable and provocative mediums. There were certainly many artists whose work dealt with AIDS outside of the privileged, white, and male example. However, this analysis is primarily concerned with Gonzalez-Torres, Gober, and Wojnarowicz precisely because of their position at the fore of visual cultural production in this moment. In addition, their formal innovations addressed the AIDS crisis in ways which more traditional mediums could not. Ultimately, these works of art would come to embody both a reconsideration of AIDS as well as a necessary recognition of the misconceptions and prejudices of the moment.

Felix Gonzalez-Torres utilized conceptual pieces to challenge contemporary prejudices and biases related to the disease, while portraying the deeply personal loss of his partner Ross. Born in Cuba in 1957, Gonzalez-Torres was a conceptual artist whose pieces emphasize viewer participation, often making them aware of larger truths and injustices. The best examples of Gonzalez-Torres’ use of audience performance are his candy pieces such as Un-
titled (Placebo) (Figure 1). This 1991 piece was added to the MoMA’s collection, and consisted of a display of wrapped candies arranged on the ground in the gallery. Visitors were encouraged to take pieces of the candy, thus involving the viewer in the art itself. Over time, the piece would shrink and slowly decrease into a smaller and smaller pile until it was completely depleted. In creating this piece, Gonzalez-Torres was addressing two separate components of the epidemic and the stigma surrounding it. Gonzalez-Torres would always include the weight (in candy) of his late partner Ross in his pieces. The combined weight of Gonzalez-Torres and Ross was 355 pounds, so 355 pounds of candy would be added to the arrangement of each piece. In this way, the slowly shrinking arrangement of sweets was no longer simply candy, but the component pieces of a man and of a relationship. Gonzalez-Torres simulates Ross’s death by slowly, deliberately drawing attention to the way in which patients and victims of AIDS died.

That these types of pieces were recurrent in Gonzalez-Torres’s oeuvre is no accident. By creating pieces which used the same underlying premise of candy, the artist was able to make a statement larger than the scope of his individual loss. Robert Storr, senior curator of painting and sculpture at the MoMA from 1992-2002, described the effect of Gonzalez-Torres’s candy pieces, saying, “instead of being reconfigured and brought back to life, from the outset the body has been abstractly atomized in order that it may die again, and again, ad infinitum, thus slowly, ceaselessly rehearsing not one death or two, not just Ross’s death or Gonzalez-Torres’s own, but many, many more.”

By stubbornly creating permutations of the same piece over and over, Gonzalez-Torres was able to speak to the larger loss of life occurring in the epidemic, not only his personal loss. Works such as Untitled (USA Today) (1990) (Figure 2) and Untitled (Rosmore II) continued the theme of candy supplies. The inclusion of red, white, and blue wrappers in pieces such as Untitled (USA Today) offer a subtle criticism of the US government’s inaction on AIDS policy.

The candy itself, while seemingly secondary to the concept of the piece, actually provides even more insight into the artist’s message as well as the pervasive social attitudes concerning AIDS. After being encouraged to take a piece of candy by gallery attendants, visitors had to suck at the candy to release its flavor. In cases where the artist provided lollipops, this act of sucking was meant to imitate oral sex or fellatio. The center of the candy was thick and sweet, with a viscosity that was meant to simulate that of blood. Images of blood and fellatio were meant to constantly remind viewers of AIDS and society’s association of AIDS with gay men: “‘ordinary people’... Take a new democratic form of communion by metaphorically ingesting the ‘other’.”

In addition to the artworks’ simulation of sex acts, the same acts of ingestion and simulation of blood were tied to religious Christian acts, specifically the sacrament of communion in which the consumption of the host and wine is believed to be a literal consumption of the blood and body of Christ. This element of Gonzalez-Torres’s work was especially relevant to the church’s unique relationship to the AIDS epidemic, one which would be problematized and confronted more directly by groups such as ACT UP. The candy pieces reveal that much of the artistic visual culture of AIDS in this moment was inextricably tied to the actions and “performances” of gay men. Because of this, Gonzalez-Torres attempted to bridge any gaps between the viewer and the art. By encouraging the candy’s consumption, ithering became hypocritical and impossible, as each visitor to the piece would have taken part in the performance of consumption and thus found themselves “infected” by the clotted, bittersweet candy.

Gonzalez-Torres addressed American prejudice against gay men during the AIDS epidemic more directly in pieces such as Untitled (Blood) (1992) (Figure 3). An expansive sheet of red beads, Untitled (Blood) formed a crimson barrier in the gallery space. The contradiction of Untitled (Blood) is its attractive beads and the paranoid attitudes of the American public circa 1992. Despite the piece’s simple and benign construction, the pervasive fear of blood and bodily fluids caused the piece to take on a larger meaning. In part, this is achieved by the inclusion of the parenthetical “(Blood)”, which takes what would otherwise be a festive display into a more morbid direction. Untitled (Blood) was meant to taunt viewers by appealing to their desire to touch the beads, but also reminding them of the fear that circulated around images of blood, especially the blood of a gay man. While not all of Gonzalez-Torres’ work addressed themes of AIDS, pieces such as Untitled (1991) (Figure 4) and Untitled (1988) show the fine

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2 Storr, 8.
3 Storr, 8.
art world engaging directly with activism which occurred outside prestigious art institutions. Comprised of 161 pages, the pieces reference important historical moments such as the People with AIDS Coalition in 1985 and the march on Washington in 1987. The inclusion of this text was a slight alteration from Gonzalez-Torres’s recurring motif of plain stacks of paper. By presenting the textual events in non-chronological order Gonzalez-Torres places the timeline of AIDS up for debate, situating these events in a history which (in 1991) was still unfolding.5

While pieces such as Untitled (1991) represent a degree of activism on the part of Gonzalez-Torres, this work and many others remained confined to the bastions of high society that were the major museums and gallery shows. By analyzing his public works which made use of billboards, the intersection between private art and public activism can be better explored and understood. Perhaps the most notable example of Gonzalez-Torres’s billboard installations is Untitled (1991) (Figure 5), which initially saw the placement of a photograph of an unmade, vacant bed onto six different billboards around New York City. Visually, the image aims to raise questions concerning absence. Clearly, two people once occupied the bed, but now it is vacant. The image conveys feelings of loss and of absence, which ostensibly relate to Ross’s death. However, the true statement of the work lies in its interjection into the public, commercial space of the billboard. The piece is both highly visible because of its public locale and also highly invisible due to its quotidian, understated image. In this way, Gonzalez-Torres played with the invisibility and neglect found in the discourse surrounding the AIDS epidemic. The elevation of a simple yet highly intimate moment represents Gonzalez-Torres’s desire to raise awareness concerning a prevalent issue but also champion the beauty of simplicity.6 By remaining highly conceptual and eschewing blatant iconographic references to the epidemic, Felix Gonzalez-Torres’s treatment of AIDS was highly informed by the ideas of invisibility and silence. Ultimately, his treatment of the epidemic emphasized the revealing of social biases, the implication of the entire public (not just “at-risk groups”), and efforts to shine a light on these issues in both the high cultural setting of the museum and the comparatively low brow New York City billboard.

Robert Gober is another artist whose work addressed AIDS in the 1980s and early ‘90s, using meticulous sculpture to create subtle, but powerful statements related to the social constructions of AIDS and AIDS-related prejudices. Perhaps the most apt example of Gober’s commentary on these issues are the sinks he meticulously sculpted and constructed, beginning in the early ‘80s. Mounted on the gallery walls, Gober’s sinks were simple to the point where viewers might not know that the sinks were handmade had the exhibition not announced it. Pieces such as Untitled (1985) (Figure 6) present a sink without a faucet. While household appliances were no stranger to the gallery scene by the ‘80s and ‘90s, the impact of Gober’s sinks lay in their reckoning with metaphors of illness, hygiene, and paranoia. Gober’s sinks represented a glimmering shrine to hygiene, a device meant to wash away dirt, blood, and all uncleanness. In choosing to recreate sinks, Gober confronts the societal conceptions of the uncleanness of AIDS and associations between uncleanness and the ability to wash it away. The sinks address semen, saliva, and blood as the “gay” fluids of AIDS. Sinks such as Untitled (1994) are caught in the crossroads of these societal conceptions of AIDS. On the one hand, the sinks are a temple to societal “cleanliness”, once described as giving off a sense of cold, clinical hygiene.7 However, the sinks’ lack of a faucet or parts of any utility renders them useless. Just as the sinks are unable to function as intended, society’s paranoia towards AIDS is shown to be similarly useless. The desire to “wash away” the perceived stain of at-risk groups remains, however, only in the husk of Gober’s unmoving and unhelpful sinks.

Gober was not content to limit his contribution to the issue of AIDS simply to the museum setting. Along with numerous other art activists, Gober coordinated the Auction for Action which benefited ACT UP.8 Gober auctioned off works such as Untitled Leg alongside other artists’ work, including that of the recently passed Keith Haring. The art sold exceptionally well, showing the potential impact of art on social activism. The Auction for Action was not the sole example of the overlap between financial, artistic, and political activism. Earlier exam-

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4 Storr, 15.
6 bell hooks in Felix Gonzalez-Torres, ed. Julie Ault (Göttingen: Steidl Verlag, 2007), 177.
ples such as the Art Against AIDS event organized by the American Foundation for AIDS Research were met with great enthusiasm and success. This 1987 event raised over two million dollars in sold artwork which had been donated from a myriad of New York galleries at the behest of art historian Robert Rosenblum, gallerist Leo Castelli, and arts promoter Anne Livet. Other high profile figures involved in AIDS fundraising through visual mediums included famed British painter David Hockney and photographer Annie Leibovitz, who both worked closely with ACT UP in their efforts to generate funds. Art sales were particularly critical in generating funds for groups such as ACT UP, as their bold and perceived brash messaging was often intended to alienate more assimilated members of the gay community, thus exacerbating the difficulty of fundraising through traditional means. In channeling the power of art as a commodity, Gober and others applied their artistic influence across multiple spheres, showing the varying mechanisms through which the visual culture of AIDS united and even funded activist movements.

New York artist David Wojnarowicz perfectly encapsulated the paranoia circulating around AIDS in the 1980s and ’90s when he said: “I was told that I’d contracted this virus, it didn’t take me long to realize that I’d contracted a diseased society as well.” Much of Wojnarowicz’s artwork dealt with the feelings of anger and betrayal contained in this statement. An active member of the ACT UP movement, Wojnarowicz addressed themes of blindness and betrayal in Untitled (Buffalo) (Figure 7). This photograph, which was actually taken at a diorama at the Smithsonian Museum, expresses the feelings of anger and betrayal toward the United States Government held by Wojnarowicz and AIDS activists in general. The falling buffalo certainly called to mind declarations that the government had led citizens “off a cliff” with its inaction and policies towards AIDS. Additionally, the image has been discussed as drawing parallels between the nineteenth-century mass slaughter of buffalo in the United States and the large number of HIV/AIDS related deaths in the 1980s. Many activists felt that just as the buffalo had been systematically eliminated by the government in the 1800s, so too were HIV/AIDS positive persons being isolated and left to die. Wojnarowicz was one of the most personally active and outspoken artists in AIDS activism. In one particularly famous instance he was photographed wearing a leather jacket which read, “IF I DIE OF AIDS- FORGET BURIAL, THROW MY BODY ON THE STEPS OF THE FDA” (Figure 8). Wojnarowicz’s statement conveyed frustration at government inaction on AIDS policy.

Dying of AIDS in 1992, Wojnarowicz became a martyr for AIDS activism while the image of his jacket became iconic. While ACT UP was based in provocative activism, another manifestation of the AIDS epidemic took more individualized narratives to a monumental scale.

The NAMES project memorial quilt was a public project composed of hundreds of individual quilts that was especially critical to the visual culture of AIDS in the 1980s and ’90s. The quilt was important both because of how it rendered AIDS visible and diverse in the early years of the epidemic, and because of the controversy that it began. The discussions and critiques surrounding the quilt are themselves caught up in the themes which guided the discourse of AIDS in this time. The first and perhaps most significant impact of the quilt is its visibility. Specifically, the way in which the quilt’s design and breadth of narratives interacted with its display on the National Mall in 1987. The NAMES project was initiated to commemorate the lives of those lost to AIDS. The premise of the quilt is that each panel represents the story of one individual, making the quilt a testimony both to the significant number of AIDS related deaths and also to the individual identities of the departed. The concept of the quilt is particularly important. The ideas that each death should be represented equally and individually and that the significance of the sum total lies in the diversity of its component pieces are directly tied to themes of stigma, silence, and invisibility. In one sense, the stories of those affected by AIDS are made visible by the quilt; however, the sheer number of quilts may encourage for some a mere impression devoid of any engagement with the individuality of each quilt. “The moral point of the NAMES Project,” said scholar Richard D. Mohr, “is the valorizing of the individual life, not necessarily because such a life issues in the honorable, but just because it is unique—the working out, even if stumblingly, of a self-conceived plan of life.” The individual significance of each quilt within

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10 Arning, 46.
11 Katz, Art AIDS America, 62.
12 Katz.
13 Richard D Mohr quoted in Carole Blair and Neil Michel, “The AIDS Memorial Quilt and the Contemporary Culture of Public
the larger NAMES project is made particularly clear when one examines its naming. Some quilts featured first and last names, while others were simply titled “Daddy,” or “My Brother.” Other quilt-makers made a statement by refusing to add a name in protest of the stigma and oppression faced by those with HIV/AIDS. While the quilt has seen numerous additions and displays over the years, its display on the National Mall in 1987 was particularly significant for a variety of reasons. For an issue such as AIDS to be featured on the most prominent national stage was a statement, especially when considering the relatively hushed and lethargic response of the government during the early years of the epidemic. The quilt’s first display, featuring more than 1,920 panels, came two years after the sitting president’s first public acknowledgement of the epidemic. Delivered four years after the outbreak and after 21,000 Americans had already died, the tardiness of President Reagan’s remarks was a massive source of outrage for activists and those affected by the disease. For many of these people, especially those active in the group ACT UP, AIDS activism necessitated an aggressive condemnation of the politics of apathy exercised by the Reagan administration.

Interestingly, many of these same activists took issue with the quilt. In an ACT UP protest, one member spoke out against the quilt saying, “They [the government] have turned people we love into ashes and bone chips and corpses. That should not be hidden.” At the same event another activist said of the quilt, “This is an angry funeral, not a sad one. The quilt makes our dying look beautiful, but it’s not beautiful, it’s ugly and we have to fight for our lives.” While it is simple to extol the virtue of the quilt in its contemporary, memorializing state, it is critical to consider its reception during the height of the epidemic. Before its contemporary cultural acceptance and enthusiasm, the AIDS quilt proved divisive. The scholars Carol Blair and Neil Michel best characterized the polarizing perspectives on the quilt: “the language of therapy, when the metaphor reaches too far, depoliticizes the AIDS Memorial Quilt, rendering it as comforting and curative rather than as angry and confrontational.” Despite outspo-

ken criticism, the scale and statement of the quilt remain a significant moment in the early visual culture of AIDS. By attempting to place AIDS at the doorstep of the American people, the NAMES project tied together issues of prejudice, loss, and individuality in a dynamic and critical way.

While it was not involved solely or even primarily in the visual arts, ACT UP used visual images to advance its agenda, calling for political action and addressing themes of silence and marginalization. There were many other activist groups fighting to raise awareness about AIDS in the 1980s and ’90s. However, this analysis mainly considers ACT UP because of the breadth of images produced in its protests as well as its close ties to the visual culture and fine arts. ACT UP was notable because of its loud campaigning and willingness to court controversy, if it would mean raising awareness or potentially saving lives. ACT UP contributed to the visual culture of AIDS in several ways, the most common of which were posters. Images held by members of ACT UP at rallies and demonstrations were often contributed to be members who were active in the art world or other visual fields. Through their varied use of images in posters, ACT UP addressed numerous political, social, and discursive issues.

Some posters dealt with highly localized issues, while others spoke to the movement as a whole. A particularly localized issue dealt with in ACT UP posters was that of New York City mayor Ed Koch (in office 1978-1989). Posters carried by members of ACT UP addressed the mayor’s failure to allocate significant funding to the epidemic and speculated that the mayor was gay. Because Ed Koch’s sexuality was commonly scrutinized, the mayor’s subsequent silence was found to be particularly outraging. Members of ACT UP voiced concerns that the mayor had failed to reach out to other at-risk groups such as intravenous drug users and that his inaction on the issue of AIDS deserved more attention divorced from any discussion of the mayor’s sexuality.

Another famous example of an ACT UP poster is the poster reading: “Silence = Death” (Figure 9). This image, notable for its black field and pink triangle, was the opposite of the posters of Ed Koch. Instead of addressing
the localized issue of New York City policy, “Silence = Death” addressed pervasive silence and discomfort with the discussion of AIDS. By rejecting AIDS’ presentation as an invisible and silent disease, ACT UP represented the concerns of marginalized groups such as gay men and drug users who were being grossly undereducated and underserved by the government and public health. The theme of silence was particularly meaningful, as members of ACT UP would continually mention the suffocating lack of discourse surrounding the disease. In one particular instance, an activist described being a gay man during the AIDS epidemic as, “Fighting in a war where only you could hear the bombs.”

Another group of posters dealt with the marginalization of those with AIDS by the Catholic Church and in most cases depicted the Pope. Many of the posters were made in response to the church’s statements in the 1980s that the gay population was responsible for the proliferation of AIDS as well as the church’s refusal to condone condom usage. ACT UP addressed the church’s actions with other demonstrations as well. In one particularly notable instance, demonstrators entered St. Patrick’s Cathedral in Manhattan in the middle of mass. Remaining in step with the ACT UP policy of boldness and visibility, demonstrators laid in the aisles and chained themselves to the pews. In doing this, ACT UP showed its willingness to create discomfort and disorder to further their cause of visibility and awareness. Other posters created by members of ACT UP attempted to address the loss of mainstream figures, bringing the issue of AIDS closer to home for those who had been previously unaware. One poster read: “Not Appearing: Larry Kent” in reference to the late West Side Story star’s 1991 death of AIDS. In doing this, ACT UP showed that AIDS, having led to the death of members of the American pop culture, was no longer a fringe issue. Many other posters made reference to David Wojnarowicz, presented in a number of banners wearing his famous “IF I DIE…” jacket. Wojnarowicz was a consistently outspoken member of the ACT UP movement.

Despite the success of its posters, ACT UP also engaged in performances and demonstrations which added to the visual culture because of the way in which the protest made visible the invisible pain and loss felt by those affected by the disease. One particularly provocative demonstration saw members of ACT UP scaling the gate of the White House and tossing ashes onto the lawn. The tossing of ashes was done in an effort to generate a tangible consequence for the US government. While the loss and threat of AIDS hadn’t gained enough recognition and visibility in the minds of members of ACT UP, the throwing of ashes functioned as a way to manifest the loss caused by a disease which was perceived to be invisible.

The other more well-known instance of ACT UP’s visual performance were the group’s mass “die-ins”. Die-ins, where members of ACT UP lay on the ground simulating death, were a common tool for dealing with themes of invisibility which were so prevalent in the visual culture. In some cases, die-ins such as the one held in 1988 in front of the Food and Drug Administration (Figure 10) included tombstones with messages such as “Killed by the FDA” or “Dead from Lack of Drugs”. These visual performances addressed the specific failure of the FDA to urgently and effectively test drugs which could be used to treat HIV/AIDS, leaving patients feeling neglected and marginalized. Performances such as the “die-ins” and the St. Patrick’s cathedral protest blurred the lines between political protest and performance art. While these acts were performed outside of an artistic exhibition setting and were enacted with political ends in mind, the symbolic and visual imagination that ACT UP incorporated into their protests were central to the group’s perception and to their deep cultural impact. Other images from the FDA die-in include the classic “Silence = Death,” as well as a number of highly edited images of Ronald Reagan and George H. W. Bush. In this way, ACT UP was able to contextualize their highly localized criticisms of the FDA by presenting this visual material alongside more expansive declarations of visibility and awareness.

In 1996 the NAMES project memorial quilt was placed on display again on the National Mall. Unlike the display in 1987, the current president and first lady of the United States made a formal visit to the display, indicating (if only symbolically) that the work of activists and artists in raising awareness and visibility had made an impact. The biomedical battle with AIDS had not been won and the disease had certainly not been eradicated. Felix Gonzalez-Torres, one of the most outspoken and thoughtful artists of the 1980s and ’90s, died due to AIDS

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19 Fight Back, Fight AIDS: 15 Years of ACT UP, 09:00.
21 Fight Back, Fight AIDS: 15 Years of ACT UP, 56:00.
related illness the same year, five years after the death of his partner Ross. If anything, 1996 showed that despite artistic and activist impact on the visual culture of AIDS and the culture of the United States in general, there was much progress to be made before AIDS could no longer be considered a public health concern. Despite this, the work of artists such as González-Torres, Robert Gober, and David Wojnarowicz approached AIDS from a myriad of perspectives, addressing its invisibility, silence, and even policymaking. The NAMES project memorial quilt followed in the tradition of portraying the experience of AIDS, taking an extreme interest in both collective and individual grief and memorial. Finally, ACT UP operated outside of institutional confines, using a variety of posters and visual performative acts to address highly localized as well as more broad concerns relating to the portrayal of AIDS and subsequent actions. The combined action and intersection of these influencing forces on the visual culture of AIDS produced a great degree of material which dealt with themes of invisibility and silence, rendering the invisible visible and the silent audible.

Figure 2: Felix Gonzalez Torres, Untitled (USA Today), 1990, wrapped candy, Hammer Museum, Los Angeles, https://hammer.ucla.edu/take-it-or-leave-it/art/untitled-usa-today/
Figure 3: Felix Gonzalez Torres, Untitled (Blood), 1992, beads, Punta della Dogana, Venice, photographed by Adriano D’Angelo, https://www.flickr.com/photos/data_files/43712175492
Figure 4: Felix Gonzalez Torres, Untitled, 1991, stacked sheets of paper, Guggenheim Museum, New York https://www.guggenheim.org/artwork/24264
Figure 5: Felix Gonzalez Torres, Untitled, 1991, billboard photograph, Museum of Modern Art, New York: https://www.moma.org/collection/works/79063
Figure 7: David Wojnarowicz, Untitled (Buffalo), 1988, photograph, Whitney Museum of American Art, New York, https://www.wnyc.org/story/review-david-wojnarowicz-season-in-hell/
Figure 9: Silence = Death Project, Silence = Death, poster, http://www.actupny.org/reports/silence-death.html
Figure 10: J Scott Applewhite, ACT UP demonstrators…. 1988, photograph, Associated Press: https://www.kpbs.org/news/2017/apr/17/act-up-at-30-reinvigorated-for-trump-fight/