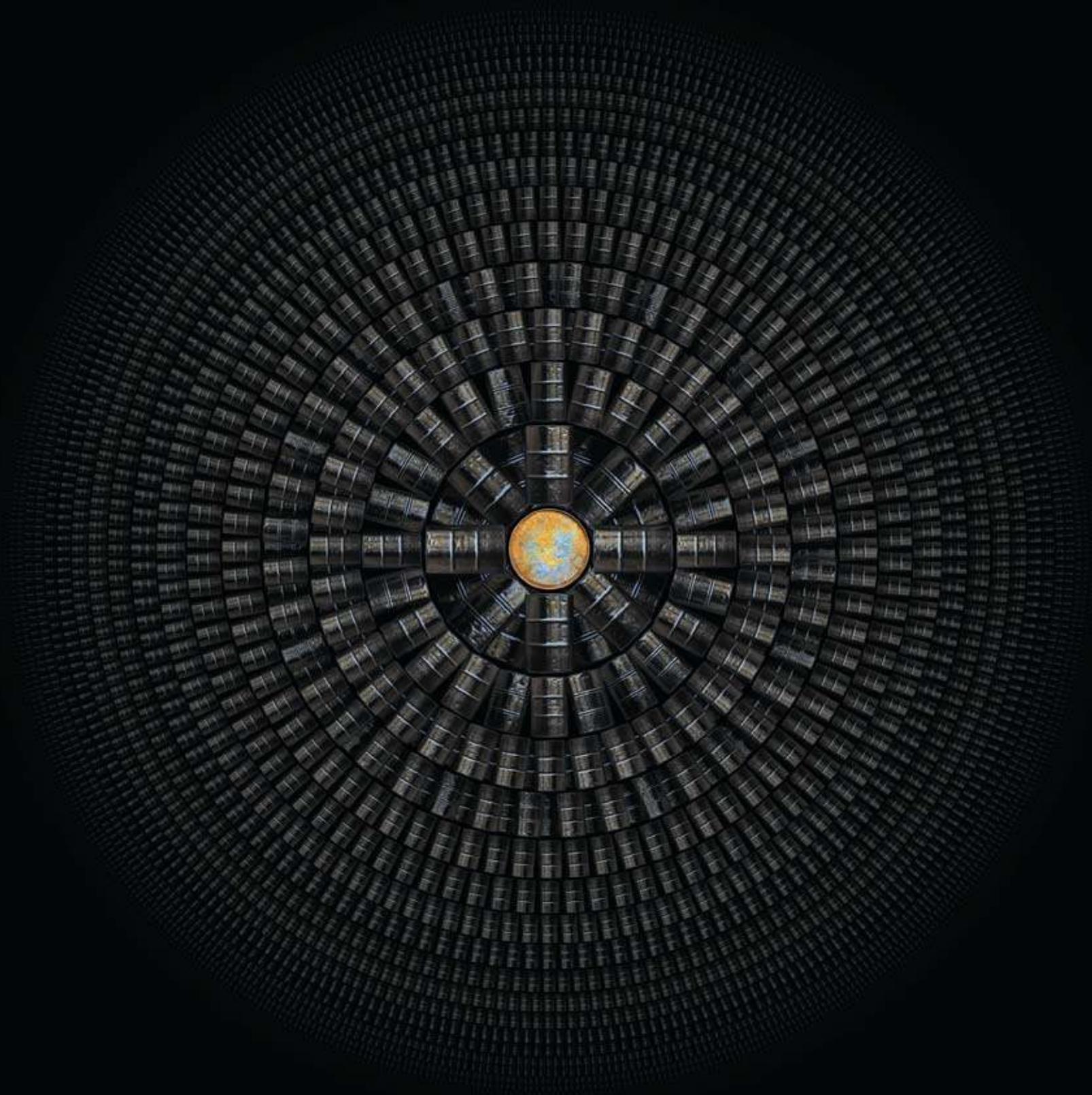


Not *if* but *when*

CULTURE BEYOND OIL

ARTS CUT TO THE HEART OF SOCIETY // BP & SHELL UNDER
THE LENS // ETHICAL FUNDING: THE COMING CHANGE //
ANYTHING BUT CRUDE ARTISTS SPEAK OUT //





Not if but when
**CULTURE
BEYOND OIL**

EDITORIAL GROUP

Jo Clarke, Mel Evans, Hayley Newman,
Kevin Smith, Glen Tarman

DESIGN

Sara Nilsson
mail@saranilsson.co.uk

**A BIG THANK YOU TO ALL
CONTRIBUTORS**

Anthony Burrill, He He Helen Evans
and Heiko Hansen, Richard Houguez,
Pedro Inoue, Lisa Isfits, Ben Jones, Chris
Jordan, Ruppe Koselleck, Reverend Billy
and the Church of Earthalujah, Banksy,
Conrad Atkinson, Dave Beech, Salette
Gressett, John Hartley, Wallace Heim,
Matthew Herbert, The Institute for the
Art and Practice of Dissent at Home,
Raoul Martinez, Bridget McKenzie, Sai
MuRai, Bob and Roberta Smith, Julian
Stallabrass, Charles Thomson, Cecilia
Wee, Richard Wilson, Kenny Young,
Tim Etchells, Phillip Goff, John Jordan,
Antonia Juhasz, Melina Laboucan-
Massimo, James Marriott, Omar Robert
Hamilton, Mike Roberts, Jane Trowell,
Immo Klink, Amy Scaife, Jeffrey
Blackler, Sophie Molins, Ben Amunwa,
Gareth Evans, Mika Minio-Paluello,
Daniel Beltrá, Matt Vis, Tony Campbell,
Hannah Fair, Frederika Whitehead,
Hannah Davey, Martin LeSanto-Smith,
Sokari Douglas Camp, Tar Sands Art,
Jiri Rezac, Bryan Parras, Joshua Gilbert,
Ali Ferzat, the Bassiouny family, the
Jonathan Ferrara Gallery and the Free
Word Centre.

COVER IMAGE

Liberate Tate, *Human
Cost*, 2011. Performance,
Tate Britain, a
durational performance
marking the anniversary
of the Gulf of Mexico
catastrophe. (see p. 90
for video link)
Photo: Immo Klink

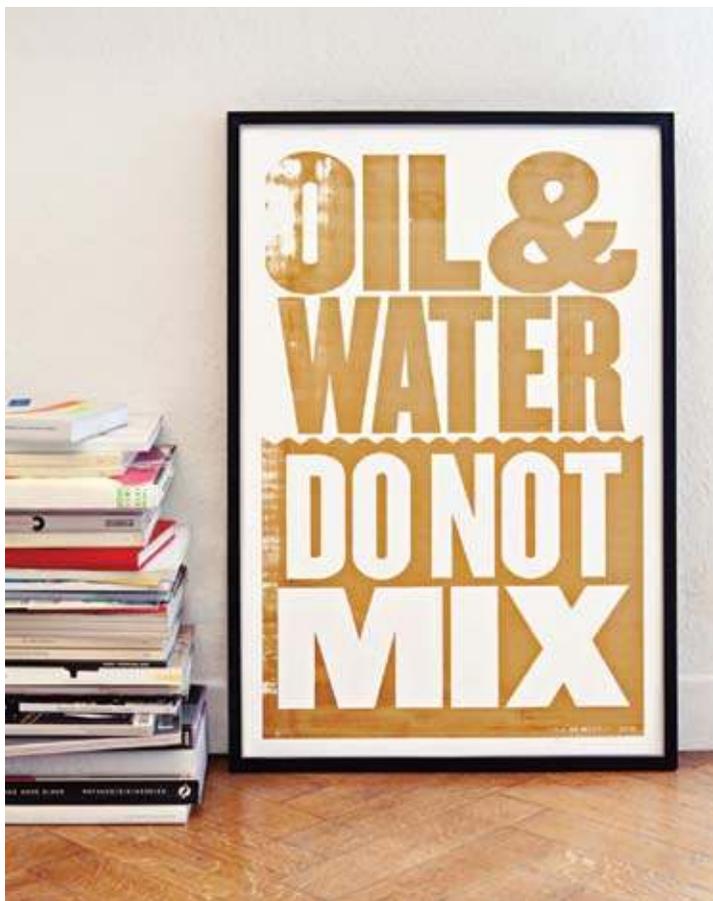


OPENING SPREAD

Chris Jordan, *Oil Barrels*, 2008 (part
of *Running the Numbers: An American
Self-Portrait*). Black and white digital
print *Oil Barrels* depicts 28,000 42-gallon
barrels; the amount of oil consumed in
the United States every two minutes.

CLOSING SPREAD

Pedro Inoue, *Seven Sisters*, 2007.
Lambada print. *Seven Sisters* is a
decorated hell, creating a nirvana made
of nightmares, a visual betrayal that
blurs the line between beauty and terror.



BACK COVER

Tate à Tate audio tour advert art by
Richard Houguez.

**KEEP IN TOUCH WITH THE
ONGOING STORY**

Mailing list
info@platformlondon.org
(subject heading: Mailing List)

Twitter

@LiberateTate
@PlatformLondon

Facebook

'End oil-sponsorship of the arts'
Facebook page

PRINT

Printed using vegetable based
inks on recycled paper.
ISBN: 978-0-9567365-3-6

Published in the UK December 2011 by
Art Not Oil, Liberate Tate and Platform.

This publication has been made
possible through the generous support
of the Lipman-Miliband Trust and
Artists Project Earth.

ABOVE

Anthony Burrill, *Oil
& Water Do Not Mix*,
October 2010. Screen
print made with oil
from the Gulf of
Mexico. (see p. 90 for
video link)



Photo

Happiness Brussels

Oil & Water Do Not Mix is a project
by Happiness Brussels designed by
Anthony Burrill. The group collected
sandy oil off the beaches of Grand
Isle, Louisiana, which Burrill used to
screenprint 200 limited edition posters
in the wake of the BP Gulf of Mexico
spill. The €150 prints sold out rapidly
and all proceeds were donated to the
Coalition to Restore Coastal Louisiana.

CONTENTS

8-13

**A Social Licence
To Operate**

*James Marriott from
Platform on why BP needs
Tate much more than Tate
needs BP.*

14-19

**What's Wrong With Oil
Sponsorship Anyway?**

*Members of art collective
Liberate Tate respond to
criticisms of the argument
that lies within their
performance interventions.*

23

The Magic Number

*Platform calls for full
public disclosure on how
much BP sponsorship of the
Tate is worth.*

26-31

**Ethical Funding And
A Timeline Of Change**

*Jane Trowell from Platform
looks at how the zeitgeist
on ethics, the arts and oil
money has changed over
recent decades.*

32-37

**Arts Cut To The
Heart Of Society**

*Philip Goff from Art Uncut
argues that government
funding is needed to protect
the integrity of public arts
institutions.*

38-43

Profiling BP & Shell

*Platform on the oil
companies everyone loves
to hate, both sponsors of
London's cultural scene.*

44-53

**Voices From Outside
The Gallery**

*A fisherman, a writer,
a film-maker and
an indigenous rights
campaigner, on how BP
has affected their lives.*

54-59

**A Question Of 21st
Century Leadership And
Governance**

*An analysis of decision-
making responsibility at
Tate by Glen Tarman from
Liberate Tate. Tate Board
member Bob and Roberta
Smith also speaks on the
issues of oil sponsorship and
activism.*

60-65

**Ai Weiwei, Ali Ferzat
& Ahmed Bassiouny**

*Mel Evans from Platform
considers the political plight
of three artists from China,
Syria and Egypt.*

66-85

**Visions Of Culture
Beyond Oil**

*Artists and writers on all that
is possible without oil.*

86-87

About Us

*Platform, Art Not Oil
and Liberate Tate.*

88-89

What Next

*Act to end Tate oil
sponsorship.*

Art At The Service Of Life

Change happens when what we know and what we feel becomes inseparable, when it becomes impossible to know something in the abstract: our emotions begin to boil over into action.

Many of us know that civilization cannot continue to burn fossil fuels indefinitely, and we sense that the future is not what it used to be: it has become a frightening prospect rather than the promise our parents made to us. Yet what do we do about it? Where can we make the changes so urgently needed? *Culture Beyond Oil* is the result of a unique collaboration between artists and activists, researchers and critics, thinkers and feelers, theorists and doers. It reveals how we can transform our perception of a society where oil addiction is inevitable into a new way of imagining our world beyond this deathly lifeblood. It shows us that within the worlds of arts and culture, the realm which is at the root of so many of our perceptions of the world, small acts can have extensive effects.

Cultural institutions provide the social approval which companies like Shell and BP need to cover up the harmful impacts of their practices. In fact the best way to look at it is not that the oil companies are supporting the arts, but that the arts are supporting their lie – that they care about anything other than pumping

as much oil out of the ground as quickly as possible. In fact oil sponsorship of the arts is an act of anaesthesia, something that numbs us, stops us perceiving the reality of fossil fuel extraction. It is the opposite of an aesthetic act, since aesthetics should enable us to feel the world, to sense what it truly happening deep within our guts.

The call to end oil sponsorship of the arts is not without precedent. Sponsorship shifts have occurred on numerous occasions according to changing social norms and contexts. A few decades ago, many of the same cultural institutions were receiving tobacco money – the creativity of art provided a great decoy to the devastating consequences of cancer – yet now tobacco logos are absent from the cultural sphere. Smoking is simply not “cool” enough anymore. The major cultural shift over tobacco sponsorship is now widely accepted as an appropriate response, and was in part due to the push given by anti-smoking campaign groups. Yet despite widespread public concern about the dramatic threat of climate change, oil money is still found greasing the wheels of so many of our cultural institutions. The idea that it is

The best way to look at it is not that the oil companies are supporting the arts, but that the arts are supporting their lie



therefore normal to continue to burn fossil fuels subtly seeps into our imaginations, fixing the image of a certain kind of culture, a certain kind of destructive behaviour.

There is a growing sense of unease within the cultural sector about the omnipresent oil company logos with the nation’s most high profile galleries, and this publication brings together some of the responses of artists and activists to the debate. It asks not *if* but *when* will oil be perceived as a substance as dirty and deadly to the health of our society and ecosystems as cigarettes are now seen to be for the health of our bodies. It challenges us to have the collective courage to flush oil from our cultural institutions and thence from our culture.

Culture Beyond Oil has been co-published by art collective *Liberate Tate*, arts and research organisation *Platform* and activist group *Art Not Oil*. Together with the many others who have contributed to this publication, we are beginning to imagine a culture beyond oil, one where art is put back into the service of life. ●

Liberate Tate, Licence To Spill, June 2010. Performance, Tate Britain, London. Molasses, rubble sacks, strap-on harnesses, floral dresses. Performance artists Toni [Hayward] and Bobbi [Dudley] of *Liberate Tate* spilled oil in the Duveen Galleries during the 2010 Tate Summer Party “celebrating” 20 years of BP sponsorship. Photo: Immo Klink

A SOCIAL LICENCE TO OPERATE

JAMES MARRIOTT FROM PLATFORM CONSIDERS THE BENEFITS OF ARTS SPONSORSHIP FROM A PR PERSPECTIVE. HOW OIL COMPANIES USE SPONSORSHIP TO CONSTRUCT 'A SOCIAL LICENSE TO OPERATE', WHO THESE PR STRATEGIES ARE REALLY TRYING TO INFLUENCE AND WHY BP NEEDS TATE MUCH MORE THAN TATE NEEDS BP.



An oil corporation such as BP combines the mindsets of an engineering company and a bank. It constantly faces the practical challenges of extracting, transporting and processing oil and gas, shifting the geology of distant lands to the cars and turbines of its customers.

Like all engineering problems, these challenges are approached in the belief that ultimately they can be solved. The point of solving them is to make money, profit on invested capital.

The construction of an offshore platform is one of the most expensive projects on earth in the 21st century. Usually, it can only offer a high return on capital if oil production is maintained over two or three decades. The maintenance of this production is usually threatened by social and political shifts in the countries of extraction. Any such threat to production – or the perception that that threat might exist – can immediately undermine the profitability of a corporation. In May 2010 BP's share value was almost halved by the Deepwater Horizon disaster in the Gulf of Mexico, not because of the potential costs of the oil spill clean up, but because investors were concerned that the company's future prospects in the US were being undermined by the collapse of support in Washington and in the media.

To guard against any such threat to the company's value, BP works constantly to engineer its 'social licence to operate'. This is a term widely used in business and government circles and usually applies to the process of engendering support for a company's activities in the communities who live close to their factories, oil wells, etc. However it can help us understand how corporations construct public support in states far from those places of extraction or manufacture – for example how BP builds support in London.

The financial drive for international oil companies to continually increase the amount of oil and gas they extract often leads them to places of extraction that are high risk, either technically, as in deepwater offshore, or politically, as in Libya. The UK government can be of great assistance to the likes of BP in guarding against these risks. The Labour government assisted BP in gaining access to oilfields in Gaddafi's Libya, the Conservative/Liberal Democrat coalition government will no doubt be assisting BP in gaining access to oilfields in post-Gaddafi Libya. In the summer of 2010, a large swathe of the British political establishment called on the White House to 'stop bashing BP' – support

Previous spread:

HeHe, *Is There A Horizon On The Deepwater?*, March 2011.

A miniature BP Macondo oil spill in a swimming pool. Performance, Jesus Green Lido, Cambridge.

HeHe are Helen Evans and Heiko Hansen. (See page 90 for video link) Photo: HeHe



Right and on p. 13:

Liberate Tate, *Licence To Spill*, June 2010. Performance, Tate Britain, London. Two oil spills were beautifully created by Liberate Tate during their uninvited performance at the 2010 Tate Summer Party "celebrating" 20 years of BP's sponsorship during the Deepwater Horizon disaster. (See page 90 for video link) Photo: Immo Klink



that assisted the company in persuading President Obama to say on TV: "BP is a strong and viable company and it is in all our interests that it stays that way".¹

To construct and maintain this support, BP focuses on building a positive image in the eyes of politicians, diplomats, civil servants, journalists, academics, NGOs and cultural commentators. These groups are known as the 'special publics' or 'clients' in the public relations industry. The corporations often contract external PR companies to carry out this work, such as Fishburn Hedges, who won an industry award for the *Special Publics Engagement Programme* that it created for Shell in 2009:

*"Our Special Publics Engagement Programme is a key element of our corporate communications mix and is fundamental to sustaining a positive view of Shell among key decision makers and influencers around the world. And we know it works – almost three quarters of those that come into contact with Shell through our partnerships around the world go away with an improved view of our company. Fishburn Hedges has been central to that work for a long time – and this award is well-deserved recognition for the excellent job that they do."*²

"BP is a strong and viable company and it is in all our interests that it stays that way"

President Obama



"You don't abandon your friends because they have what we consider to be a temporary difficulty"

Nicholas Serota

Building a supportive attitude within the 'special publics' can be done through direct engagement and dialogue, through advertising, and through financial support – funding academic posts at universities, creating programmes in schools, financing sports such as the 2012 Olympics, or sponsoring culture.

Each of these actions is helpful in assisting the construction of the social license to operate, as well as boosting employee morale and polishing the company's brand, as pointed out by Rena De Sisto, global arts and culture executive at Bank of America Merrill Lynch (that contributes \$40m a year to the arts worldwide):

"There are plenty of big corporations that do not support the arts, because they labour under the misapprehension that they are something extra, instead of a key marketing tool. If more [of them] knew how effective the arts can be in terms of employee morale, client outreach and burnishing your brand, they would be surprised and delighted."³

This support is not provided as a form of philanthropy, but as an integral part of engineering the social and political circumstances that will best ensure the long-term security of those investments in oil and gas projects. Approached as an engineering challenge, the corporation tends to see all opposition to its activities as solvable with the appropriate time, capital and techniques. The sponsorship of institutions such as Tate can be understood as just one of these tactics to ensure the security of assets and the return on investments.

The success of this strategy is illustrated by the remark of Nicholas Serota, Director of Tate, in the Summer of 2010, that: *"You don't abandon your friends because they have what we consider to be a temporary difficulty"*.⁴ BP had just created one of the worst spills in the history of the oil industry, and desperately need the support of allies to shore up its position. The public endorsement of arguably the most senior figure in the British cultural sector was of immense value in building support in the political establishment. ●



WHAT'S WRONG WITH OIL SPONSORSHIP ANYWAY?



Performance interventions by Liberate Tate have received both applaud and criticism from the media and cultural commentators. Members of the art collective respond to comments of critique to clarify the murky debate over oil sponsorship and dispel the myths that surround it.

“THERE’S NO MONEY THAT IS COMPLETELY PURE.”

Nicholas Serota, Tate director⁵

Serota is right, no money is completely pure, but some funding is dirtier than others. Tate knows this and filters sponsors through ethical guidelines that keep check on those benefiting from association with Tate.

It can be argued that because tax is collected from all businesses across all ethical practices, taxation itself is not a clean form of money and the arts already benefit from those taxes. Once taken from the taxpayer, however they may have earned it, this money belongs to society and pays for schools, healthcare, housing, galleries and social welfare. Taking money directly from a specific corporation associates those in receipt of the funds with the

activities through which that company makes profit. Accepting sponsorship from a corporation that is causing irreversible environmental damage on a global scale is a choice.

To counter Serota’s assertion, it seems that the oil industry is using our cultural institutions to clean their dirty money.

“BP IS A PERFECTLY LEGITIMATE COMPANY AND WE ALL USE OIL EVERYDAY.”

Tiffany Jenkins, director of Arts and Society at the Institute of Ideas⁶

There are a number of fundamental differences in the levels of responsibility and accountability between ‘us’ as individual consumers of petrol and related products, and the corporate institutions that extract, process, transport and sell it. The health of oil companies depends on expanding their operations, taking more oil out of the ground, and selling more of it to consumers. While climate-conscious individuals may try to reduce their consumption, corporations spend billions to ensure that on the whole, their markets expand increasingly.

Apart from its massive marketing budgets, BP also wields enormous amounts of influence through the number of its executives that have enjoyed positions in government departments, the number of political lobbyists that it employs in London, Brussels and in other parts of the world, and through its affiliation with at least seven different industry lobby associations. The combination of the vast sums of money involved, combined with the political influence and access to policy makers means that oil companies are not just selling their product, they are actively shaping the parameters of the market place and defining the range of permissible choices.

Furthermore, one cannot conflate the culpability of an individual with that of an oil company. Individuals can do what they can to address oil consumption and carbon footprints of

their own lives, but they have almost no control over the political and technological infrastructure perpetuating the oil economy. Many people do not have the financial resources that are sometimes required to make the most ethical or environmentally friendly consumer choices. You don’t have to give up every drop of petrol, plastic and oil in your life to be justified in asking for less of it in the world. This is not what hypocrisy is. Hypocrisy is pretending everything’s fine when it blatantly isn’t.

“I DON’T THINK THAT WHEN PEOPLE COME OUT OF AN EXHIBITION, THEY THINK: ‘OH, WOW, I’M GOING TO BUY BP PETROL NOW’.”

Grayson Perry, artist⁷

It’s subliminal repetition that makes BP’s presence in the gallery an effective public relations strategy. Branding works by creating good associations. A curved, machine-embroidered tick on the clothing of several people you walk past in the street, a green mermaid on a paper coffee cup in the hands of every second commuter – these symbols create resonance and power by short, sharp, regular appearances in contexts which give them value. BP’s sponsorship money is not philanthropy at all – it is the BP marketing department outsourcing a bargain PR campaign from Tate.

In any case, the marketing involved in arts sponsorship is not aimed at selling petrol on the forecourts – its intention is to garner influence with the ‘special publics’ (government, non-governmental organisations, academics, media, financial community and business peers) to improve its image. BP doesn’t promote its sponsorship on high street billboards, it promotes it on the back cover of the Financial Times magazine, whose readership is tiny but wealthy and influential.

“IF YOU HAVE SPENT ANY TIME IN AN ART GALLERY RECENTLY, YOU ARE LIKELY TO HAVE BP TO THANK FOR THE EXPERIENCE.”

Tiffany Jenkins, director of arts and society at the Institute of Ideas⁸

Some have associated free entry to galleries and museums with the existence of oil money, but there is no relationship between the two. These arts institutions are required by government to remain open to the public as a pre-requisite of the public money that they receive.

Cultural institutions would require some innovative planning in order to wean themselves off oil money, but it cannot be argued that it would be impossible. Advocates for tobacco companies used the same argument in the 1980s and 1990s, that international sporting events would be adversely impacted by the withdrawal of tobacco money, but since then those events have found different revenue streams and continued functioning as normal.

Ending oil sponsorship of the arts would not spell the end of the arts. No arts institution depends solely on one particular sponsor and there are significant corporate sponsors outside of the oil industry that would welcome the opportunity to be associated with such brands.

If you spend time in an art gallery, why not thank the artists and curators, thank the cleaning and gallery staff, or thank the campaigners for free access to national art museums (and the progressive politicians that have kept it that way for over a decade).



“IF THEY [TATE AND OTHER MUSEUMS] CAN GET MONEY FROM SATAN HIMSELF, THEY SHOULD TAKE IT.”

Jonathan Jones, arts writer, The Guardian⁹

Some argue that public galleries should take money from anyone (even the devil!). Such an amoral view completely dismisses widespread public concern and is not in keeping with good ethical practices. For example, the Tate Ethical Policy (due for review in May 2013) states that Tate will not accept donations when the donor “has acted, or is believed to have acted, illegally in the acquisition of funds, for example when funds are tainted through being the proceeds of criminal conduct.”

Arts & Business (a commerce and culture partnerships organisation) and others argue that sponsorship should be taken from any legally registered company. The promotion of this kind of relativism sidesteps any ethical considerations and also ignores the views of the very citizens that public institutions need to be accountable to. Arms manufacturers and tobacco companies, once proud sponsors of many a sporting and cultural event, lost this marketing opportunity due to public outcry. Both remain legal businesses but are no longer considered acceptable sponsorship partners. As we transition towards a low carbon economy it is inevitable that oil companies will find themselves increasingly marginalised in terms of partnership and sponsorship.

There has to be some sort of consideration about the ethics of particular sponsors – and that discussion needs to keep happening according to the changing context of the world we live in. One of the biggest recent contextual changes we have experienced is our awareness of climate change being the greatest threat we face as a planet, and the role that oil companies play in peddling the product that is taking us all to the edge of disaster. It is no longer appropriate for BP to sponsor Tate, albeit understandable that this relationship started when it did in different times 20 years ago.



“I’D MUCH RATHER THE MONEY BE IN THE HANDS OF THE ARTS THAN A PETROLEUM COMPANY. SO ANYTHING THEY WANT TO GIVE, LET’S TAKE IT.”

Nick Rhodes, Duran Duran keyboardist¹⁰

Is it better that BP spends money on Tate than spend it on drilling for more oil? This is a complete misunderstanding of the reasons BP give money. The company is not doing it because it is an art loving corporation, although the undoubted passion for the arts of individuals like ex-BP CEO John Browne help to create that illusion. It is doing it to buy the company a perception of social legitimacy through association with arts institutions. This surreptitious rebranding is achieved through a tiny amount of sponsorship money, detracting from the reality of their appalling record on human rights, safety and environmental disasters. By accepting money from BP, Tate is compliant in greenwash and aiding BP in their work exploiting and selling oil. The money that BP spends on Tate and others is, in a very real sense, money that they are spending on drilling for more oil.



“AT TATE’S SUMMER PARTY, I GOT INTO AN ANIMATED CONVERSATION WITH ONE OR TWO DEMONSTRATORS. SINCE THE PARTY WAS CELEBRATING 20 YEARS OF BP SPONSORSHIP, WHY, I ASKED, HAD IT TAKEN THEM 19 YEARS AND 364 DAYS TO START COMPLAINING?”

Christopher Frayling, former chair, Arts Council England¹¹

Protests against oil companies sponsoring cultural events go back to at least June 2003, when Art Not Oil first protested outside a private view of the BP-sponsored National Portrait Awards. The first performance by the group that went on to become Liberate Tate took place in January 2010, before the Deepwater Horizon disaster happened. This is not a flash-in-the-pan controversy in response to the Gulf of Mexico catastrophe. The issue is the role of oil companies in exacerbating the climate crisis, the ongoing social and environmental havoc that Shell has wreaked in the Niger Delta, and the involvement of both BP and Shell in tar sands exploitation and its devastating impacts on the Boreal forest and Indigenous Peoples in Canada. The groups involved may have morphed, and the styles of protest may have varied, but artists and environmentalists alike are increasing in their commitment to make sure that oil money in the arts becomes socially unacceptable.

“BP AS A COMPANY IS LOOKING AT RENEWABLE ENERGY AS WELL AS USING UP FOSSIL FUELS AND USING OIL.”

Nicholas Serota, Tate director¹²

In the words of Greenpeace director John Sauven, “BP’s alternative energy business is a plaything of former boss Lord Browne that has been consigned to the corporate rubbish tip.” From the point of Tony Hayward’s succession of Lord John Browne, BP steadily sold off renewable assets. Hayward described the company he took over in 2007 derisively as having “too many people that were working to save the world.” Investment in renewables has continued to diminish under current CEO Bob Dudley.

Serota’s turn of phrase “using up fossil fuels” is an accurate description of the company’s extraction projects, into ever more risky and remote regions of the planet, the details of which are covered in *Profiling BP & Shell* (p. 38-43). The true value of Tate to BP is displayed in Serota’s comment; despite having no references or minimal grasp of BP operations, Serota is acting as a prominent cog in the company’s PR machine, propping up its false projection of itself as ‘Beyond Petroleum.’

“ART AND ETHICS DO NOT HAVE A STRAIGHTFORWARD RELATIONSHIP, THEY HAVE A GRUBBILY CONVOLUTED ONE: THE GREAT ART OF THE RENAISSANCE WAS PAID FOR BY USURY, VICE AND CORRUPTION... THE BORGIIAS CREATED THE CULTURE IN WHICH BRAMANTE AND MICHELANGELO FLOURISHED.”

Stephen Bayley, *The Telegraph*¹³

This may have been how it was in the Renaissance, but is it something we want to emulate now? Contemporary artists and arts organisations have the choice of a plethora of patronage options and ethics or constraints that go with each of them, and are able to make informed choices about the best way preserve the integrity of their practice.

Art does not exist in a vacuum; it is borne out of a particular political, economic and social situation and has to be seen in that context. Past dissonance between art and ethics does not resolve present day problems and it is clear that we should assume that arts institutions, indeed all institutions, intend to move away from usury, vice and corruption. Public galleries have a role to enable a space where people can engage in culture that is not riddled with ethical dilemmas, which cannot simply be brushed under the foyer doormat.

“I DON’T THINK THERE’S ANY WAY WE CAN SAY THE ARTS SCENE HAS BEEN DISTORTED BY CORPORATE MONEY”

Colin Tweedy, chief executive, *Arts and Business*¹⁴

Contemporary art cannot be judged without also judging the circumstances surrounding the production of art, just as historical art is viewed with context in mind. Most credible players in the art world acknowledge that corporate sponsorship does distort the arts.

Chin-tao Wu, in her book *Privatising Culture*, demonstrates how corporations exert a quiet control when sponsoring as well as buying art. To argue that corporate sponsorship does not interfere in the arts, is naive in the face of explicit or implicit business needs and power dynamics. Playwright Mark Ravenhill has outlined how this takes place in the theatre:

“Making art is presenting a gift to the world. Business is the act of making a profit from the world: the two things are in direct contradiction... Relationships with sponsors distort the arts in two ways. Corporate business is keen on community projects, and theatres have often undertaken work they do not have a commitment to – because sponsors want to be seen working with the homeless or another group. They want to be associated with the biggest openings. It makes arts organisations contradictory: one evening they are putting on corporate events, the next it’s a play with refugees.”¹⁵

There have been a number of incidents involving censorship at major cultural institutions. In 2010 a Tate Modern workshop on art and activism, *Disobedience Makes History*, saw participants being told not to explore any interventions against Tate sponsors. Although no actions against Tate or BP had been planned, participants felt that it was unacceptable, especially in mind of the workshop title, for Tate to attempt to censor them. The workshop group decided to collectively disobey this missive and Liberate Tate was born.

More recently, Platform were told not to display leaflets critical of Shell whilst participating in an event at the Shell sponsored South Bank Centre. If high-profile cultural institutions such as Tate and South Bank Centre are jittery about offending sponsors, imagine what kind of censorship might lie ahead for others? This is not straightforward ideological censorship, but marketised censorship that ultimately maintains the link between sponsorship and advertising at the expense of freedom of speech.

CONFIDENTIAL

MINUTES OF THE ETHICS COMMITTEE MEETING HELD ON 6 MAY 2010

PRESENT

Helen Alexander	Chair, Senior Trustee
Jeremy Deller	Artist Trustee
Patricia Lankester	Trustee
Monisha Shah	Trustee
Jules Sher QC	Co-Opted Member
Alex Beard	Deputy Director
Masina Frost	Head of Director's Office
Eleanor Pinfield	Corporate Governance Manager (notes)
Sarah Robinson	Head of Corporate Sponsorship

1. APOLOGIES

Nicholas Serota (Director) and Rebecca Williams (Director of Development) sent apologies due to commitments aboard.

2. BP'S SPONSORSHIP OF TATE

During the meeting, Helen Alexander noted that she sat on the Board of utility company Centrica; whilst there was no overlap in operations with BP or other oil companies, she noted that there may be the perception of this to the public. Jeremy Deller noted that he knew individuals from *Art Not Oil*, through his participation in the Art & Ecology project at the RSA.

[REDACTED]

Alex Beard therefore concluded it was sensible to ask the Committee to reflect on the relationship between Tate and BP, with reference to Tate's Ethical Fundraising Policy. He emphasised that the executive's position remained comfortable in accepting sponsorship funds from BP, considering that the relationship fits within our guidelines, however non-executive scrutiny appeared advisable.

Helen Alexander requested that the Committee consider whether the relationship harmed Tate, as set out in section 4.1 (c) of Tate's Ethical Fundraising Policy, namely;

- 4.1 (c). When acceptance of the funds would, in the judgment of the Board of Trustees, having taken the advice of the Ethics Committee where appropriate, significantly damage the effective operation of Tate in delivering its mission, whether because such acceptance would:
- Harm Tate's relationship with other benefactors, partners, visitors or stakeholders;
 - Create unacceptable conflicts of interest;
 - Materially damage the reputation of Tate; or,

- Detrimentially affect the ability of Tate to fulfill its mission in any other way than is mentioned above.

The Committee considered that currently there was no evidence based on the report to suggest that the acceptance of funds from BP would significantly damage the effective operation of Tate. The Committee however recognised that this could change in the future, and should be kept under review.

[REDACTED]

Jules Sher drew the Committee's attention to the legal requirement for a charity to be predisposed to accept funds, where their origin was known to be legal, as was the case with BP, with reference to *Harries v The Church Commissioners for England* [1992]. Jules Sher recommended that Tate ask its legal advisers for an opinion on the matter.

The Committee considered the acceptance of funds alongside Tate's sustainability strategy, noting that fundraising was not explicitly referenced in the strategy. The Committee proposed that the executive prepare a draft Q&A document linked to Tate's Sustainability Strategy which sought to explain Tate's position to the public. If, as a result of that draft, it was felt that the Strategy should be revisited, then that should be the next step.

The Committee agreed that the consideration of the relationship by this group was an important step; it allowed Tate to explain why it continues to accept funds from BP, and demonstrated that Tate would keep this issue under review.

In conclusion, the Committee:

- Recommended the continuation of the current relationship with BP, given that there was no evidence to suggest that the acceptance of funds from BP would significantly damage the effective operation of Tate.
- Requested that a further meeting should be considered [REDACTED]. At this meeting, an overview of all corporate sponsorship should be provided.
- Requested that the executive prepare a Q&A document on Tate's Sustainability Strategy, considering what questions we might be asked, and how to respond to them.

Jules Sher offered to assist in the wording of this Q&A document, if considered helpful.

[REDACTED]

3. ANY OTHER BUSINESS

None.

Extract from the papers pertaining to the May 2010 Board Meeting

Appendix to Report 10

10 Key Points from Minutes of Councils and Committee

Ethics Committee, held on Thursday 6 May 2010

The Ethics Committee met to discuss BP's ongoing sponsorship of Tate Britain [REDACTED]

- The Committee considered BP's activity alongside Tate's Ethical Fundraising Policy (part of Tate's Ethics Policy) and considered that currently there was no evidence to suggest that the acceptance of funds from BP would significantly damage the effective operation of Tate. [REDACTED]
- The Committee considered that it was not Tate's role to make moral decisions of another companies' activities where they stood outside Tate's charitable objectives, but rather to consider the acceptance of funds against our own ethical fundraising policy.
- The Committee noted the legal requirement for a charity to be predisposed to accept funds, where the origin of funds was known to be legal. [REDACTED]
- In conclusion, the Committee:
 - Recommended the continuation of the current relationship with BP.
 - Requested that a further meeting [REDACTED] to review the situation alongside an overview of all corporate sponsorship.
 - Requested that the executive prepare a Q&A document on Tate's Sustainability Strategy, considering what questions we might be asked, and how to respond to them. [REDACTED]

Tate
Board
Number

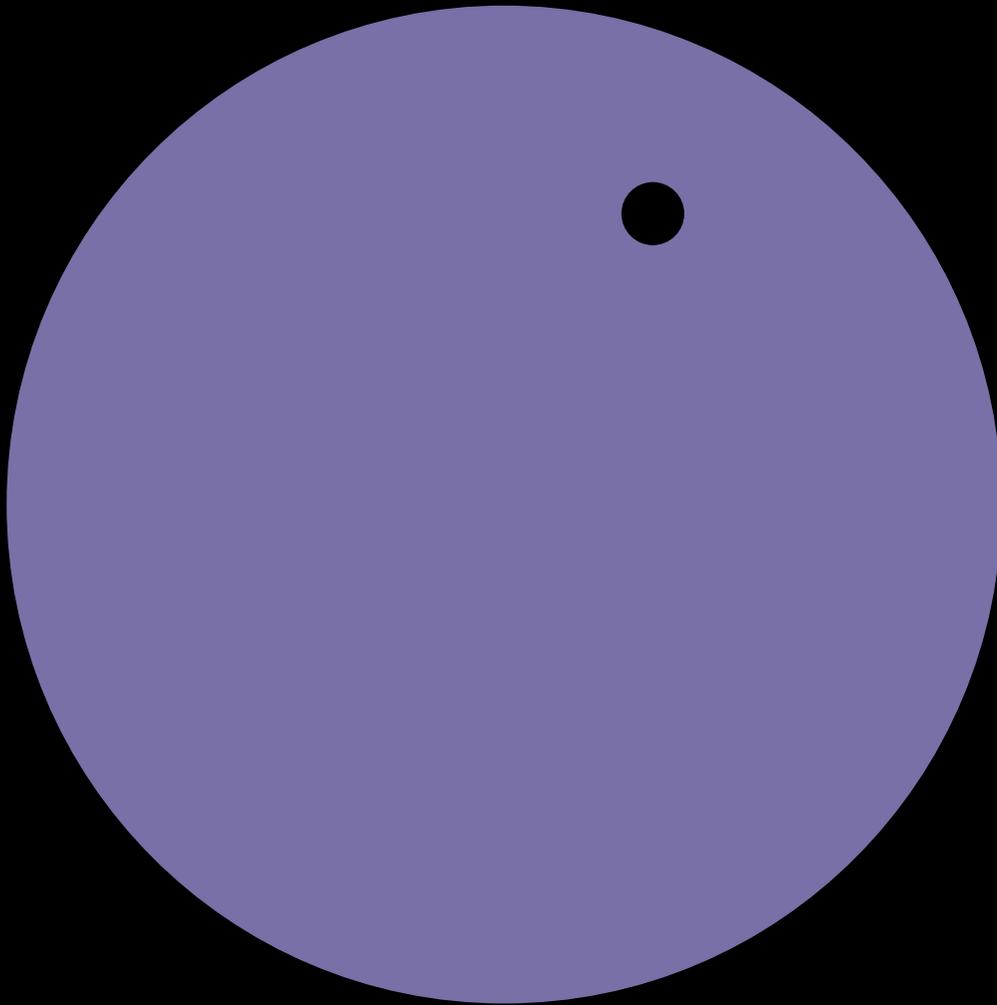
Platform calls for full public disclosure on how much BP sponsorship of the Tate is worth.

In the *Evening Standard* in June 2010, painter Anthony Fry asserted that "It would be a disaster for the arts if BP withdrew its support."¹⁶ Fry's claim was made without the benefit of any financial accounts to support this judgement. For all sides of the debate around oil sponsorship of the arts, this figure would provide a solid point of reference to discuss the value of BP sponsorship, and the practical steps in a move away from it.

Tate refuses to disclose the actual amount BP provides annually. Numerous requests have been made over the past ten years via Freedom of Information Act requests or letters addressed to the Tate Board. The request has been refused on the grounds that disclosure would be "harmful to business interests", without specifying how it would be harmful, and how it has been decided that those business interests outweigh public interest.

The figure used in the data used in the images on p. 24-25 is a very loose estimation' based on Tate annual reports and comments made by BP employees such as Arts & Culture Director Des Volaris. The estimated BP sponsorship is £385,000, founded on BP references to it in the press.¹⁷ These figures are wholly inaccurate and the data visualisations are imagined on the basis of this unverified information to serve as illustrative emphasis only, on the need for this information to be revealed. The figure is expressed as a percentage of Tate sponsorship income 2010-11 (£3.191m¹⁸), 12%, and as a percentage of Tate annual spending 2010-11 (£98.589m¹⁹), 0.4%. We would welcome a correction by Tate disclosing how much it actually receives annually from BP.

One data visualisation gives the same title to BP's estimated sponsorship of Tate as ex-BP CEO Tony Hayward's damaging description of the Deepwater Horizon spill – "relatively tiny" compared with the "very big ocean."²⁰ ●



»Like a Grain of Sand«

This image depicts the total of TATE annual spending, a dot illustrating 0,4% – the guesstimated sponsorship income from BP.



»Like a Drop in the Ocean«

This image depicts the total of TATE sponsorship income, excluding the guesstimated 12% from BP.

Ethical Funding And A Timeline Of Change

Jane Trowell from Platform looks at how the zeitgeist on ethics, the arts and oil money has shifted since the mid-90s, when Platform first focused on this issue. Her timeline tracks how artists, non-governmental organisations and activists have raised this issue, how arts institutions have responded and how BP seeks to capitalise on the 2012 London Olympics.

1995

In 1995, Platform recognised the need to move culture as well as society away from a fossil-fuel-based economy. Oil company sponsorship has formed an important strand of Platform's campaigning work ever since.

Shell was squirming under the spotlight during the high profile controversy over the disposal of their North Sea oil storage buoy Brent Spar, and the shocking execution of Nigerian writer and anti-Shell campaigner Ken Saro-Wiwa. Meanwhile their charitable wing *Shell Better Britain Campaign* was offering financial support to worthy environmental projects in the UK.

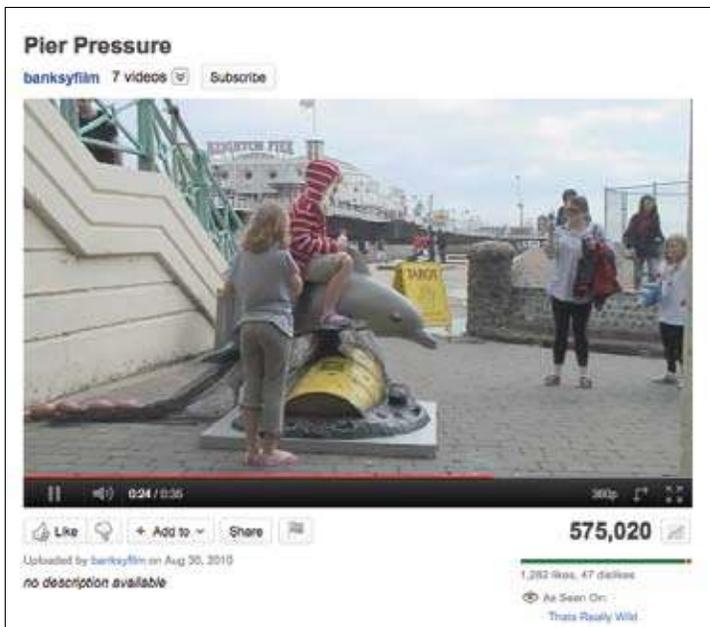
1996

In response to the *Shell Better Britain Campaign*, Platform initiated *Funding for a Change*, a network project in partnership with Artists Newsletter, Artists Agency and Projects Environment, funded by the Arts Council. Over two years, *Funding for a Change* put on five national events which brought together over 150 campaigners, activists, artists and others from organisations as diverse as Baby Milk Action, Chelsea College of Art, National Pensioners Alliance, Imperial College, Countryside Council for Wales, Ethical Consumer Research Association, Black Environment Network, International Institute of Environmental Development, the Art of Change and Tate. Through this process support



Still Life in Oil. Photo: © Daniel Beltrá / Greenpeace. Winning photo of the 2011 Wildlife Photography of the Year Exhibition. Beltrá travelled in Louisiana after the Deepwater Horizon catastrophe. He writes: "Crude oil trickles off the feathers of the rescued brown pelicans, turning the white lining sheets into a sticky, stinking mess. The pelicans are going through the first stage of cleaning at a temporary bird-rescue facility in Fort Jackson, Louisiana. They've already been sprayed with a light oil to break up the heavy crude trapped in their feathers, which has turned their normally pale heads orange and their brown and grey feathers mahogany."

The annual exhibition which was previously sponsored by Shell, is now sponsored by Veolia, a company whose engineering work in Occupied Palestine have made it a target of the Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions campaign. Several protests over this sponsorship took place at the Natural History Museum in 2010.



Banksy Pier Pressure
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4hjuMx-N7c>

networks were strengthened; groups shared alternative economic models; and Platform developed trainings on ethics and funding – to which organisations such as the Institute of Charitable Fundraising Managers booked sessions.

2002

Chin-tao Wu concluded her influential book *Privatising Culture: Corporate Art Intervention since the 1980s* with the words: "The current privileged position of corporations in the art world is not a permanent fixture... it may well be that one day sites of resistance will form to question and challenge what for the present remains the dominant order."

2003

Emerging from direct action group London Rising Tide, Art Not Oil started mobilising "for creativity, climate justice, and an end to oil industry sponsorship of the arts". Art Not Oil organised open exhibitions of art and photography, and built a movement of artists concerned about this issue that achieved substantial press and media coverage. Art Not Oil has challenged artists

entering work in oil-company sponsored exhibitions such as the BP National Portrait Award and staff in oil-sponsored arts institutions – by letter, email, and in person. This work has put names to responsibilities, and disrupted arts administrators' notions that climate justice, oil dependency and ethics are none of their business. Art Not Oil also has used the UK's Freedom of Information Act to squeeze information out of oil-sponsored arts institutions, the results of which are made fascinating by what is redacted as much as by what is left visible.

2005

Pierre Bourdieu and Hans Haacke's book *Free Exchange* was republished. This is a key text which pulls to pieces corporate interests in the arts, and the role of the artist in challenging this. The book, a transcript of conversations between Bourdieu and Haacke, asks, "How can we affirm the independence of critical artists and intellectuals when confronted by the new crusaders of Western culture, the neoconservative champions of morality and

good taste, the sponsorship of multinationals and the patronage theorists who have lost all touch with reality? How can we safeguard the world of free exchange which is and must remain the world of artists, writers and scholars?"

2008

Buckled under the weight of its own contradictions, after sustained pressure from groups such as Art Not Oil, the Natural History Museum drops Shell as sponsor for the *Wildlife Photographer of the Year* Award.

2009

The year of the mass mobilisations for the UN Conference of the Parties on Climate Change in Copenhagen (COP 15). In the cultural sphere every other gallery, arts centre and theatre, from the Royal Academy to the Barbican, seemed to be programming work on climate change on the back of this groundswell. On 1 September, Tate Modern hosted a high-profile event marking their sign-up to 10:10, a pledge to reduce

their carbon footprints by 10% in 2010. Despite the fanfare surrounding their 10:10 pledge Tate continues to endorse BP, and therefore the oil industry, through its sponsorship.

2010

Out of a Tate workshop *Disobedience Makes History*, art collective Liberate Tate was born, "taking creative disobedience against Tate until it drops its oil company funding." After the news broke of the catastrophic BP Deepwater Horizon blow-out and subsequent oil spill in the Gulf of Mexico, Liberate Tate's well-crafted and media savvy interventions took the issue to a whole new level. On 28 June, whilst oil continued to gush into the ocean, Tate Britain held its annual Summer Party also celebrating 20 years of BP sponsorship. Liberate Tate performed its iconic *Licence to Spill* piece at the entrance to and inside the party. This action alone provoked international media attention, spectacularly blasting the controversy out into the mainstream.

Meanwhile Platform had organised a sign-on letter to the Guardian with signatures from over 150 artists protesting BP's sponsorship of Tate in light of Deepwater Horizon.

2011

On the anniversary of the Deepwater Horizon disaster, another letter signed by over 170 artists was published in the Guardian.

Guests attending the BP National Portrait Award were forced to file past an open air 'Salon des Refuses'. An exhibition of portraits rejected by the National Portrait Gallery's Award was exhibited on the pavement outside. These are paintings from *Facing the Gulf*, made up of portraits by residents of the Gulf Coast of Louisiana. These portraits show the realities of life after the spill and call into question the legitimacy of BP as a responsible company and as an appropriate sponsor of culture. Organiser Nancy Boulicault said, "We think the National Portrait Gallery needs to start asking themselves some questions about this relationship, in the same way as the people of the Gulf have had to ask themselves very serious questions."

On 1 July BP launched their first TV advert since the Gulf of Mexico disaster a year earlier.

The 30-second ad promoted their investment in the 2012 London Olympics, which they are sponsoring to the tune of £50 million. The campaign was backed up by a slew of billboard ads around the UK showing paralympic runners on pristine beaches, that soon provoked some ironic comparisons to Gulf Coast beaches in the mainstream media.

This PR campaign also promoted BP's use of biofuels as clean renewable energy. Scores of campaign groups and non governmental organisations argue that bio-fuels are unsustainable, being yet another highly destructive fuel source, necessitating large scale planting of monoculture crops that wipe out biodiversity, deplete soil and create world hunger.

After much speculation about who would get the contract to develop "the brand recovery process" for the "embattled energy firm", Ogilvy and Mather had been awarded the challenge to "establish consumer trust" through a "low-key marketing strategy." Duncan Blake, BP's Director of Brand insisted, "we are trying to be humble."

The re-seduction of public opinion begins as our televisions, high streets and

roadsides are being filled with the BP brand as never before, in the run up to the 2012 Olympics. The clean-up of BP has to take place in two dimensions: the seabed, fragile coastal ecology, habitats and livelihood of the Gulf; and that of its shamed image, justly sullied by a catastrophe caused by its own negligent, cost-cutting behaviour. The opportunity to be seen as a good corporate citizen through its sponsorship of the Olympics is magnificent timing from BP's perspective.

London's cultural scene is still awash with oil company sponsorship, as if an international discourse and alarm on climate change simply has not taken place. Yet the contradictions are showing and the myriad strategies for creative resistance by artists, activists and concerned citizens are beginning to mesh together.

In the current context of an ideological siege on state funding of the arts, and Arts Council England's new 'strategic philanthropy fund', dedicated to encourage corporate and individual giving, now more than ever before it is critical to put ethics, aesthetics and corporate sponsorship under the spotlight. ●



Oil smearing in Wildlife Photography of the Year exhibition

During the 2008 Award exhibition a group of Rising Tide UK activists entered the Natural History Museum gallery and released an oil like substance over a number of framed and glass fronted photo exhibits. The group were drawing attention visually to the mismatch between wildlife photography and oil company Shell, then sponsor. No exhibits were damaged in any way in this intervention.

ARTS CUT TO THE HEART OF SOCIETY



Philip Goff from Art Uncut on why art needs to be publicly funded to protect its integrity. Cuts to government funding of the arts make our exposure to culture vulnerable to market forces, and we should be clamouring to get government support back.

The cuts are doing great harm to our society. Some of the damage will be plain to see: fewer police on the streets, greater waiting times for operations, rising unemployment. But some of the damage will be more subtle: universities becoming driven by market values rather than the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake, the commercialisation of public institutions, the closing of local theatres in communities. In the long term these less obvious forms of loss will do great harm to our communities, to our economy, and to our happiness. Of course we must fight to keep hospitals open, but we must also fight to keep public art supported by public funds.

Left and on page 35 and 36/37: Ruppe Koselleck, *Takeover BP*, ongoing since October 2001. Oil painting. Since October 2001 German artist Ruppe Koselleck has made artworks from oil spill residues, including from Louisiana in 2010. With the proceeds from each artwork sale, Koselleck buys shares in BP, with the ultimate plan to takeover and dismantle the company. (See p. 90 for video link)

The day that the government's austerity measures hit the arts, a debate about the issue was hosted by Channel 4 News. Dr Steve Davies of the Institute of Economic Affairs, speaking in support of cuts to the arts had a simple argument, grounded not in evidence but in principle: it's not right to take people's money off them against their volition (ie through taxation) in order to spend it on the arts. Such opinions are not uncommon these days: 'it's our money, so it's wrong to take it off us.'

Belief in such property rights is primitive. This is not to say that people don't have property rights. But whatever rights people have to 'their property' are grounded in legal choices, which reflect the kind of society we choose to have. Property rights should be shaped by, rather than shape, the kind of society we want to live in.

Putting things this way round changes everything. If there are no sacrosanct rights of property that we are duty bound to respect in our law, then we should really be focusing on what kind of society we want. Is it better

Is it better to have a society in which our cultural diet is entirely determined by market forces?

to have a society in which our cultural diet is entirely determined by market forces, in which the only art that is supported is art that has commercial value, or that happens to be favoured by the whims of the wealthy? Or is it preferable to have a society in which a fractional reduction in individuals' spending power protects the arts we collectively value and enjoy? When the choice is put so starkly, it is difficult to deny that publicly funding the arts leads to a net gain in human flourishing. This isn't the state stealing from the people; this is the people choosing through legitimate democratic channels how they want society to be.

That's not to say that private money has no part to play in funding the arts. But there are at least three good reasons to be cautious. Firstly, it would be plainly naive to suppose that corporations donating to the arts have wholly selfless motives. It is a valuable badge of credibility to be 'proud sponsors of the Tate'. We need to ask, as a society, whether we want our public institutions to award such an honour to any corporation willing to donate.

Secondly, we should be extremely wary of making the cultural arena beholden to what big business feels inclined to support. Corporations craving respectability will tend to want to sign cheques for the 'high brow' art of galleries, opera and ballet, rather than fringe theatre and community based art

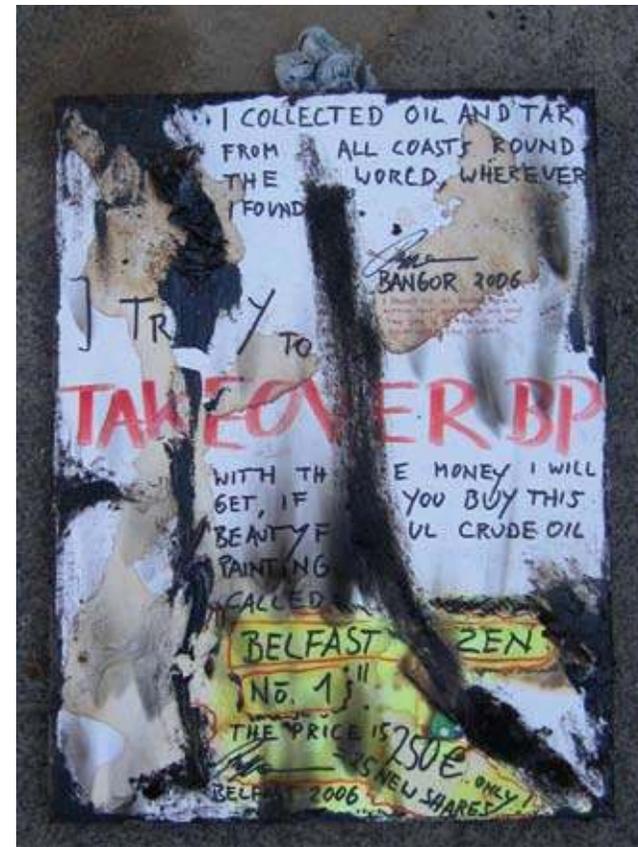
projects. Assuming we don't want to let art which isn't good for impressing clients wither and die, we must be cautious about how much influence private benefactors are gaining over the cultural life of our country.

Thirdly, we must ground this debate in a respect for the value of the arts to society, and the importance of

access. State support commits arts institutions to remaining open to all, ensuring that everyone has the possibility to connect with a vivid and changing cultural history, and valuing what the arts can bring to people's lives and experience.

These are complex ethical questions, which no one should oversimplify. But they are questions that need to be asked. Protecting our public institutions involves protecting their integrity, and thinking carefully about the values they promote. This is incompatible with the unquestioning acceptance of money from whoever is willing to give. ●

Protecting our public institutions involves protecting their integrity, and thinking carefully about the values they promote



Cuts to the arts are cuts to the imagination

"We believe that the arts are important because they change lives.

Art is one of the key ways we have as a culture of seeing ourselves, and of seeing our relations to the world. Encounters with art - as school students, in further education, as adults - whether they take place in museums and galleries, theatres, concert halls, village halls, street corners, websites or in any of the many, many other places that art has made its own - have the possibility to awaken us to new experiences, pleasures and questions.

Art is often talked of in terms of affirmation and celebration and just for the record, we have nothing at all against these things. But we're also proud of the role art has to challenge, to provoke and to question. Those experiences are the ones that stay with us - and for us make the most powerful

argument for supporting the arts. A healthy society is one that has doubts and disputes, uncertainties and divisions - how we cope with those things, how we give space to discussing and dealing with them is the mark of our success.

Art has a double centre - it asks that we look closely at the world we are living in - that we see it, for what it is, with all of its joys, complexities and all of its problems. At the same time art asks us to dream of another space - to imagine things as otherwise, to step outside the limits of our day to day.

Art and tolerance go together.

Cuts to the arts are cuts to the imagination."

Tim Etchells of Forced Entertainment in response to the government arts spending cuts.



LITTLE BLACK
TAR SQUARE I

CRUDE OIL PAINTING
WITH EDDING AND
BANGOR BEACH RUBBISH.

100 € = 10 SHARES

WILL TAKEOVER BP BY SELLING ITS
OWN WASTE *2008*



2008

BLACK TAR SQUARE III

CRUDE OIL PAINTING WITH
EDDING AND BANGOR BEACH
OIL POLLUTION I FOUND 2006.

170 € = 17 SHARES
MORE TO

T
A
KEOVER BRITISH PETROLEUM

PROFILING BP & SHELL

Platform on everything you need to know about the oil companies everyone loves to hate, BP and Shell. Both are sponsors of the major cultural institutions across London, have appalling records on human rights and safety, are investing in frontier oil extraction and are instrumental in the causes of climate change.

BP - FACTS AND FIGURES //

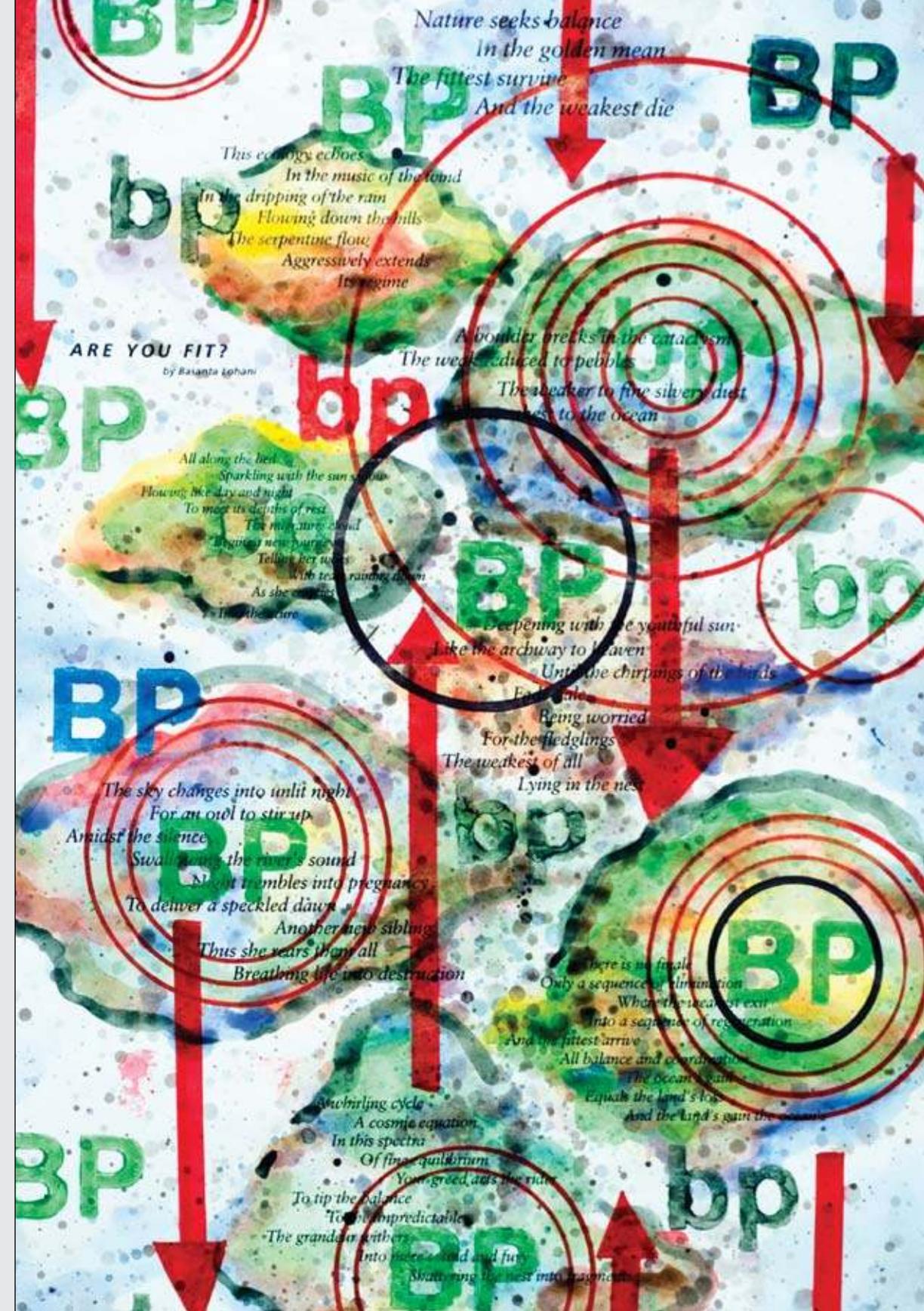
BP ranks in the top three in terms of reserves (the stored fossil fuels that it plans to extract) of private oil and gas companies. More than 70% of profits are generated in Europe and the United States. It has operations in Europe, the Americas, Asia, Australasia and Africa. The company is also pressing ahead with new drilling and extraction operations in Africa, South America, Asia and the Caspian Sea. Many of these operations are taking place under dangerous conditions, in particularly environmentally sensitive areas, or in conflict zones.

BP has developed a sophisticated PR strategy to promote its association with renewable energies despite the fact that its investment in the sector peaked in 2006 and was only ever a small fraction of the money it was spending on fossil fuel extraction. A recent example of this is an advertis-

ing campaign in which BP claimed it would supply 'advanced biofuel' to the London 2012 Olympics, but an analysis showed that over 99% of the fleet would be using conventional fuel.²¹ For more information on this on BP's involvement with the renewables sector, see the interview with Antonia Juhasz in the following section.

In 2011, BP reported emitting almost 750 million tonnes of carbon into the atmosphere through the extraction, transportation and consumption of its fossil fuel products. In contrast, this was more than the total UK carbon emissions in 2008 which was 522 million tonnes.

Ben Jones, *Thank You BP*, January 2011.
Mixed media on paper. *Thank You BP* appears as a pseudo-corporate poster interspersed with marine life in deep-sea blues and greens. It was displayed as part of Jones' exhibition *Evolution-Revolution* at Rich Mix in London in January 2011.



SOCIAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL CONTROVERSIES //

 The catastrophic oil spill in the Gulf of Mexico was the result of negligence, cost-cutting and carelessness on the part of BP. After 11 people lost their lives in the explosion on the rig, almost five million barrels of oil gushed out into the Gulf of Mexico ocean basin, the biggest accidental marine oil spill in history. This one event should not detract attention from BP's many other recent controversies:

- ▶ Between 1990 and 2010, BP caused more than 8,000 spills of oil and dangerous chemicals and gases in the US alone.²²
- ▶ In 1999, the company agreed to pay compensation for charges of illegal dumping of hazardous waste on Endicott Island in Arctic Alaska.²³
- ▶ In 2006, the company was responsible for spilling over a million litres of oil over Alaska's North Slope²⁴, with a toxic spill of 2,000 litres occurring in Prudhoe Bay the following year.²⁵

 BP's operations in Colombia exacerbated and caused human rights abuses and conflicts. In particular, the company shared information and resources, with notorious repressive military and paramilitary groups and police units.²⁶ The extent of the allegations were such that it prompted Tess Kingham, then MP and member of the UK House of Commons Select Committee on International Development, to ask the company in a 1998 inquiry into economic development and conflict:

“Do you [BP] feel that by having any kind of contact with a brigade that has been implicated in human rights abuses and massacres of innocent civilians those are the kinds of bedfellows that BP should have? Do you not feel that it would be in order for a reputable company to have no contact with these people at all? . . . Would you then consider it to be pertinent not to put your profits above human rights abuses and people's lives and actually withdraw from that situation?”²⁷

 In December 2010, BP announced it was making a major move into Canada's controversial 'tar sands' with a £1.6 billion investment in the 'Sunrise Project', that could be producing 200,000 barrels a day in the space of a few years. The entire tar sands infrastructure in Canada has been the subject of extensive criticism for clear cutting boreal forests, massively polluting waterways and for soaring rates of rare cancers that have occurred in nearby indigenous communities. Extracting tar sands is far more polluting and destructive on the climate than 'normal' oil.²⁸

 The 'Arab Spring' of 2011 has brought with it a new awareness of how UK oil companies have actively supported repressive regimes throughout the Middle East and North Africa.

- ▶ In May 2007, the then newly-appointed BP CEO Tony Hayward and Libya National Oil Company Chairman Shokri Ghanem signed documents in

Libya's coastal town of Sirt for what BP described as, “the single largest exploration commitment in BP's 100-year history and the single biggest award of exploration acreage by Libya to an international energy company in modern times.” Barely a year before BP signed its deal, many protestors were murdered during February 2006 demonstrations in Benghazi.

- ▶ In February 2011, as newspaper reports were filled with stories of tanks crushing unarmed protestors in Benghazi and details emerged of air strikes targeting demonstrations across the country, BP CEO Bob Dudley declared that “we remain committed to doing business” in Libya.²⁹

INVOLVEMENT WITH THE CULTURAL SECTOR //

 BP and Tate have had a particularly long relationship, with the 2010 Tate Summer Party celebrating 20 years of BP sponsorship.

- ▶ The sponsorship started in 1990, two years after Nicholas Serota was appointed director of Tate. Ex-BP CEO Lord John Browne became a Tate Trustee in 2007.
- ▶ In May 2007, when John Browne, then still BP CEO, was embroiled

in a scandal involving perjury in court, Nicholas Serota was involved in a very public campaign of support for Browne. This included spearheading a letter signed by high-profile supporters in the Guardian, and a comment piece in the news paper, in which he wrote that, “we should all be grateful for the support that he has given to culture in Britain by his demonstration that corporate sponsorship for the arts and education is a public good.”³⁰

 A Freedom of Information request that was made by Greenpeace has also illustrated how BP uses cultural sponsorship as a means of providing lobbying opportunities, this time in the context of their sponsorship of the Royal Opera House. In attempting to arrange a meeting with an EU official with responsibility for biofuels, senior BP manager Simon Worthington writes to Peter Vis, the Head of Cabinet to the European Commissioner for Climate Action: “I don't want to put any pressure on him – I know some like meeting with stakeholders and others don't, so please let him know that it's more the connection rather than lobbying; maybe we can help with the learning curve – I have a lot of material here on biofuels I can share with him... Let me know if you have an urge for the opera.”³¹

SHELL - FACTS AND FIGURES //

According to a study by Forbes magazine, Shell is the fifth biggest company in the world, and the second biggest energy company. It's an Anglo-Dutch company with headquarters in The Hague and a registered office in London, by the South Bank Centre. Operating in over 90 different countries, it produces around 3.1 million barrels of oil equivalent per day.

In the 2011 Carbon Disclosure Project, Shell reported annual emissions of 850 million tonnes of carbon, compared with the total UK carbon emissions in 2008 which was 522 million tonnes. The 2010 Shell Sustainability report showed that Shell's emissions were up by 9% from the previous year, and that the practice of flaring natural gas, a hugely wasteful practice with enormous health consequences for local communities, was up by 32%.³²

SOCIAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL CONTROVERSIES //

By far Shell's biggest source of social and environmental controversy has come from its operations in the Niger Delta, where it has been producing oil for over 50 years.

Shell is the largest operator in Nigeria, with more than 80 fields and over 6,000 km of pipelines and flowlines. When decades of environmental devastation sparked peaceful protests in the minority region of Ogoni in the 1990s, Shell collaborated with the Nigerian military, providing assistance to soldiers who committed human rights abuses and crimes against

humanity. On 10 November 1995, writer and activist Ken Saro-Wiwa and eight other Ogonis were executed by the Nigerian military regime, despite an international outcry.

- ▶ The landmark lawsuit *Wiwa v Shell* accused the company of complicity in human rights abuses in Ogoni, including the executions of Saro-Wiwa and eight others. After a 13 year legal battle, in 2009, Shell settled out of court with the relatives of Ken Saro-Wiwa and other Ogonis who were killed or injured in the 1990s.³³
- ▶ Shell's pollution and human rights abuses are ongoing in the Niger Delta. A report released in October 2011 by Platform showed that the company has played an active role in fuelling violent conflict during the bloodiest years of the Delta crisis. Shell paid contracts worth hundreds of thousands of dollars to armed militants, and company management admits that Shell's system of "community development" is seriously flawed.³⁴ Daily oil spills from corroded pipelines have plagued Shell's operations. According to the UN Environment Programme, crude oil has seeped five metres deep into the soil and contaminated the water table in many locations.³⁵

Shell is one of the largest players in the Canadian tar sands, producing approximately 276,000 barrels per day or roughly 20% of total exports from Alberta. Shell has made applications to expand its capacity through new mines and *in situ* projects, to a projected 770,000 barrel per day capacity. However, strong community



Sokari Douglas Camp CBE, *The Living Memorial to Ken Saro-Wiwa*, 2006. Steel sculpture. Commissioned by Platform in 2005, *The Living Memorial* has toured the UK occupying sites and galleries in Liverpool, Glastonbury, Nottingham, Bristol and London. Photo: Martin LeSanto-Smith

resistance to Shell has damaged their reputation with both shareholders and the public. Indeed, Shell has been named in five lawsuits related to tar sands developments and has faced shareholder resolutions demanding greater clarity over the risk of tar sands investments.³⁶

Shell's operations in Syria have provided enormous financial support for the brutal Assad regime. (Covered in more detail in *Ai Weiwei, Ali Ferzat and Ahmed Bassiouny* on p. 60-65)

INVOLVEMENT WITH THE CULTURAL SECTOR //

Shell is currently sponsoring the Science Museum, the Natural History Museum, the National Gallery, the National Theatre, the South Bank Centre and the National Maritime Museum.

Shell was the sponsor of the Natural History Museum's Wildlife Photographer of the Year Award until it was dropped in 2008 following protests from groups such as Rising Tide and Friends of the Earth.



Photo: Jiri Rezac

VOICES FROM OUTSIDE THE GALLERY

In these interview transcripts a fisherman, a writer, a film-maker and an indigenous rights campaigner give their very personal experiences of oil extraction, the Gulf of Mexico catastrophe and subsequent clean-up operation, and BP's role in supporting Mubarak's repressive regime in Egypt. Each interview is available to listen to in full online (see link on page 90).

Melina Laboucan-Massimo (pictured) of the Lubicon Cree comes from a community impacted by tar sands extraction. She has been campaigning on indigenous rights for the last 10 years.

Melina Laboucan-Massimo:
"I come from the Lubicon-Cree First Nation in the North-Western part of Canada, in Alberta."

"The tar sands extraction process is extremely water intensive, energy intensive and produces a lot more carbon than other sources of unconventional fossil fuels do. So what we are seeing is complete fragmentation or destruction of the boreal forest, from mining through to in situ developments, which pushes out the wildlife that a lot of local people are dependent on.

"My family has been there for thousands of years as an indigenous group and is now dealing with a complete change of the landscape. And now they're either being pushed out of certain areas or they're not being able to practice their traditional, sustainable way of life, which is also supposed to be a protected way of life under Section 35 of the Canadian Constitution.

"We see land impacts, we see water impacts, we see air pollution. We see the complete change of the landscape from pristine Boreal forest, which is one of the last remaining intact Boreal forests in the North, to an industrial wasteland.

"BP is at the beginning of their construction phase for a joint venture with Husky called the Sunrise Project in the Athabasca region. It's an in-situ based project where they use more natural gas to develop it as opposed to strip mining. They use more water to develop it as they need to use steam, and therefore there's more carbon emissions associated with in-situ mining that BP will be utilizing to develop the tar sands.

"In a carbon re-strained world BP is developing a high-carbon resource. At the same time, BP is not respecting the rights of the indigenous peoples there. It has not done the duty to consult, it has not done the proper consultations in the tar sands that they should be doing.

"The government is giving out leases and permits on traditional territories of Indigenous Peoples without consent or the duty to consult, which is a Supreme Court ruling in Canada. These things are being overlooked just to develop the tar sands.

We are seeing complete fragmentation or destruction of the Boreal forest, from mining through to in situ developments, which pushes out the wildlife that a lot of local people are dependent on

"It's a sad state of affairs when companies are trying to clean up their image by giving funds to something like art, which is an amazing human expression."

"But when it's tainted with something like BP giving money when, in some areas, its developments are hurting and killing or destroying wildlife or destroying ecosystems, and yet they're taking this money, our resource. Then they're putting it back into an art form in other places that do not see those impacts happening from their projects."

"They're giving to other people who wouldn't think twice about where that money is coming from or why. By doing that it tries to help them better their image but at the same time it covers up what they're actually doing, with the tar sands or with what they've done with the Gulf of Mexico disaster."

Vancouver Community Activists, Tar Sands Art, June 2010. Painted mural. The painting tells the story of "the most environmentally destructive project on earth." All of the images, facts and poetry in the painting are the collaborative creation of people from communities in Vancouver. The painting travelled from Vancouver to the Toronto G20 summit and back.



"There are ramifications that are being felt worldwide from BP's projects and yet people might not know about that in London, and see beautiful art which is great but not know where that money has come from."

"I would say look deeper into why BP is sponsoring the arts, what is their motivation and also where do they get their money from, where is this revenue stream coming from?"

"Is it coming from the Gulf where there has been a disaster and it has wreaked havoc on people's lives and they're not being accountable to those people who are still struggling day in and day out with the disaster."

"Is it going to be coming from the tar sands where people have already said "enough is enough, we want a moratorium on tar sand projects" and yet BP is going ahead?"

"It's about asking where this money is coming from and how is it affecting people in other places."

Antonia Juhasz (pictured) is an oil industry analyst, activist and author of *Black Tide: the Devastating Impact of the Gulf Oil Spill* (Wiley 2011).

Antonia Juhasz:
"210 million gallons of oil were released into the Gulf of Mexico."

"If it wasn't for Saddam Hussein intentionally using oil as a weapon in 1991, it was absolutely, without comparison, the largest oil spill in human history."

"The impacts are devastating, interrelated and ongoing. Oil remains on the bottom of the ocean. Corexit—the chemical dispersant—remains at the bottom of the ocean and both regularly wash up on beaches."

"If you push a stick into the sand on the beach you'll see oil underneath. What you don't see at the bottom of the ocean is life – the life that is supposed to be down there – that's everything from worms, to sea grass to sea horses. All the life on which the larger mammals and sea life depends."

"For the people who live next to the Gulf there are numerous ongoing health impacts. These include impacts from the oil being burnt on the surface of the ocean mixed with corexit. The combination of the two created a deadly aerosol that the oil industry has no clue what the impacts of these two toxins together create."



Photo: Joshua Gilbert

"There is the harm caused by direct human contact with the oil and the corexit. There's also the consumption of seafood and sealife that has itself consumed the oil and corexit."

People have turned to activism and are tirelessly fighting to make sure that the gulf is restored, that BP and the rest of the industry are held to account

"There's the impacts on the sealife and the sea food that is now gone. We hear regularly from fishers even one year after the disaster that baby oysters aren't being grown that are supposed to be birthed. Shrimp aren't there that are supposed to be and the sea life that is living is suffering immense consequences."

"So we've had this horrible occurrence. This is the first birthing season after the disaster for dolphins. There are dead dolphin fetuses washing up on the beach, dolphins being born dead. There are small and medium dolphins that are dying and washing up on the beach. We are seeing the first birthing impacts on the sealife."

"Over eight months I spent significant time embedded with the communities most impacted by the disaster. There are many, many amazing stories."

“One of the most poignant for me has been my ongoing relationship with Keith Jones whose son Gordon died aboard the Deepwater Horizon. He was 28 years old, had a young son at home and a wife just two weeks away from giving birth to his second son.

“Gordon died like many of the men on the rig: sacrificing to try and protect the rig and his fellow crew-mates. He could have saved himself and could have gotten away but chose not to.

“His father, Keith, is now a tireless advocate for reigning in the oil industry and making sure that families impacted by these types of disasters have their long term needs taken care of.

“He has most poignantly been an advocate on behalf of the families who lost loved ones on the Deepwater Horizon. He is trying to create lasting change as a result of this disaster through new legislation.

“But, he still goes back and forth between being a lion and a broken man in the space of a breath when discussing the disaster.

“Throughout the gulf there are heroes and heroines who, in the face of lost life and lost livelihoods, of deteriorating health, and more, continue to fight every single day. That is one of the most lasting impacts of this disaster, the activism, and that people have turned to activism and are tirelessly fighting to make sure that the gulf is restored, that BP and the rest of the industry are held to account, and that government ‘regulators’ are held to account for their crimes in their gulf.

“BP has done a tremendous job over the years of greenwashing its image – remaking itself as a company for which ‘BP’ equals ‘Beyond Petroleum’.

“I have done extensive research into BP’s actual alternative energy expenditures. At best, on its best year, BP spent a mere 4% of its total capital and exploratory budget on a very broadly defined category of ‘alternative energy.’

“This amount has been declining every single year since then which was 2006. BP is hardly ‘Beyond Petroleum.’ The name change was merely an attempt to make the public believe that what is a dirty energy company is a humane company or a concerned company with its investments in socially palatable institutions.

“It’s just a form of greenwash – it’s a form of making a company that is involved in horrendous human rights, environmental, social, and political devastation look nice to the public.

“However, no one, not even BP, thinks that by funding Tate, people will think: Oh, BP is a ‘nice company’. Nobody likes oil companies.

“What BP does think is that people will think twice: ‘if I’m an activist or a concerned citizen where should my energy go? Maybe it doesn’t need to go against BP. Maybe I can focus somewhere else because BP funds Tate. There must be something good about BP if it makes that choice.’

“It’s a way to try to deflect our energy. What’s really powerful is to look at that funding and look at that greenwashing right in the eye and say: ‘it does not shield your crime - our attention needs to focus on you. We’re gonna push past this money and turn to you.’



Photo: Bryan Parras

Mike Roberts (pictured) has been a fisherman in Louisiana for over 35 years. In 2011 he attempted to legitimately enter the BP AGM with a proxy share to address the board about the impacts of the Gulf of Mexico catastrophe, but he was refused entry.

Mike Roberts:

“I’m a multi-generational commercial fisherman. I have 5 children and 17 grandchildren and I live and work in Barataria Bay.”

“We live inland, but we have this vast estuary between where I live and the Gulf [of Mexico], and that’s mostly where we do all our work. Being commercial fishermen, we’re kinda territorial, and that’s where I work.

“A friend of mine called the morning that the oil started to come in – actually to come inside the waters, and said that I had to hurry up and come see this, that I wouldn’t believe it.

“I had grown up with oil and gas all my life – I’ve probably seen a hundred oil spills in my lifetime, and so I wasn’t expecting it to be that severe, because I thought I’d seen it all.

“I got in the boat, with my wife, one of my grandsons and a friend, and I took off down the Barataria Bay. What I saw when I got there absolutely floored me. It was like a tonne of bricks just fell on me. It was immense.

“I couldn’t get out of the oil all day. I just rode and rode and rode in oil. Being a fisherman, we think we’re tough. It made me weep. I didn’t want my grandson to see that.

“It was a really tough day for me, not unlike a death in the family. I had not wept for thirty years before that. The last time I felt that kind of emotion was when I lost my father.

“So that was the personal impact that it had on me, not including the environmental impact that was occurring. It was pretty intense.

“I’ve probably never been to an art museum in my life. But the way I feel is that where I get to live and work and spend my days, I see art every day, the art I see is painted by the hand of God.

“It’s absolutely beautiful out there. Where we live and work, all the fishermen call that God’s country, because it’s phenomenal. So to have BP pour oil all over our God’s country and decimate it, is overwhelming. And then to support man-made art. It’s just wrong.

“We’re used to dealing with hurricanes and all that stuff, natural disasters – a hurricane comes and floods, it destroys stuff, we know it’s going to rebound because it’s nature. We pick up the pieces and go back to work, we put our lives back together. Usually it’s over with.

“But with the BP oil spill, that’s man-made. We don’t know what the future holds with the toxins and the chemicals.

“I’ve heard that in Alaska 20 years later there’s still oil in Prince William Sound and they flip over rocks, they still have oil there. So it’s a completely different scenario with oil compared to natural disasters.

“So we’re scared, we’re worried, we’re anxious. We don’t know what’s going to happen to our fisheries. We’re being told that everything’s fine. But a lot of us think that we’re being sold a bill of goods.

“This shrimp season will tell the story of what the impact is going to be on our community because our community revolves around seafood. That’s what we do. That’s our way of life.

“If it decimates the seafood industry, which we’re being told it hasn’t harmed in the least but a lot of us don’t believe, then that will determine the severity of the impacts on us.

“In the short-term and the long-term we think that there’s

going to be health problems. We can already see health problems starting in town. Weird things that just don’t happen all the time. People have a lot of coughs now, respiratory problems. They’re getting sores on them – stuff that’s just not natural.

“We don’t know what the future holds for us in coastal Louisiana. I guess time will tell.”

I couldn’t get out of the oil all day. I just rode and rode and rode in oil. Being a fisherman, we think we’re tough. It made me weep. I didn’t want my grandson to see that

To have BP pour oil all over our God’s country and decimate it is overwhelming. And then to support man-made art. It’s just wrong

We know that BP is up there with the worst of the worst, they clearly have no moral qualms about anything they do



Omar Robert Hamilton (pictured, Tahrir Square, January 2011) is an Egyptian/English film-maker living in Cairo, and the producer of the annual Palestine Festival of Literature.

Omar Robert Hamilton: “For the last 30 years, Egypt has been living in a state of emergency.”

“We’ve been ruled by Emergency Law, and really nearly every aspect of Egyptian life has deteriorated as a result.

“Employment got worse, job opportunities, the state of the environment, the state of pollution, the state of education... every single institution in the country, every single facet of life was really being slowly ground down by the regime and its cronies.

“Obviously you had a very strong level of political oppression. There’s been no significant, alternative political voice in Egypt for the last 30 years, apart from the Muslim Brotherhood.

“Opposition leaders were thrown into jail, opposition movements were attacked. It used to be that if you wanted to have a political demonstration you could mobilise maybe two or three hundred people and you would literally be surrounded by two thousand riot police.

“Often they were violently broken up – protesters were beaten in broad daylight in the middle of the streets. Campaigners would be thrown in jail.

“My cousin is a prominent blogger and an early proponent of how to use the internet to push forward free speech. He was thrown in jail for 45 days – and was harassed so much over the next months that afterwards he left the country.

“Yet, it wasn’t always immediately clear you were living in a really heavy-handed police state until you would actually try and do anything, try and start a business, try and open a shop. Then the corruption would kick in, the bureaucracy, the malaise.

“In Egypt 40% of the country is now living under the poverty line. For a country that is really bountiful in terms of land and natural resources, and has always been able to feed itself, Egypt has been stripped of that ability.

“I remember when we were in Tahrir on the night that Mubarak stepped down, and the first chant, and

the chant that always got me, was “lift your head up high, you’re an Egyptian.”

"But there was another as you walked around, there were groups of young guys signing, "We can get married, we can get married." There's a whole generation of people that have been unable to get together the very basics that you need to construct a home that you can get married in. Meanwhile of course the rich are getting very, very rich.

"There are nightclubs now where you to spend 250 Egyptian pounds just to walk in the door, and that's more than half what a conscripted soldier earns in a month. People have houses across the country. Drive imported BMWs. The disparities are disgusting. That is very clear and very evident and a real source of anger.

"But the revolution wasn't a class revolt. It was much more like everyone vs the State. Or Egypt vs the State.

"No one that I personally knew was killed, but as the revolution has carried on, one of the causes that people are really coalescing around now is the families of the martyrs and their push for justice.

"And I've got to know the father of one young man – he'd been out with his son on 25 January, having a look and seeing what was happening. They had gone home. They lived in Shubra.

"But his son wanted to do some work but he didn't have a computer so he went to his friend's house to go and finish some project he was working on. The next thing his father knows, he's got a phone call - his son was shot

twice in the neck, for standing with some people who were milling around on the street.

"There's a lot of stories like that, of people just catching bullets. And the families of the martyrs now have really become central.

"None of the officers accused of the killing have been brought to trial, and not only that, now they're actually being harassed by police officers, being offered money to keep quiet. They're having their children's reputations attacked – so this

is becoming a central issue now, and of course that's what Mubarak is on trial for.

"It's hugely disappointing that the Tate, which is one of the things I really look forward to when I come back to London - the art scene and particularly the Tate Modern - that they feel able to accept money that is clearly so dirty.

"It's completely unacceptable - we know that BP is up there with the worst of the worst, they clearly have no moral qualms about anything they do. How can institutions that are supposed to be leading the country, that are supposed to be thought leaders, that are supposed to be an expression of our freedom - be built on oil money. It is so disheartening.

"Our revolution was, in a large part, about autonomy. About creating a country that acts in the best interests of its citizens, a country that isn't beholden to the will of foreign

BP, as the largest foreign investor in the country, played a major role in keeping Mubarak and his gang in power



Generic Art Solutions, *The Raft*, 2010. 82lb wet strength billboard paper. This G.A.S. adaptation of Theodore Gericault's *Raft of the Medusa* (1818-19), which depicts lives needlessly lost at sea under the restored French Monarchy, is fused with the modern day tragedy of the eleven men who died during the BP Deepwater Horizon oil rig explosion on April 20, 2010. Parallel stories of anguish, waste and mismanagement are blended into a timeless panorama on human fallibility. G.A.S. use self-reflexive images in all of their photography. The eleven men on the raft are repeated portraits of Matt Vis and Tony Campell, posed in different positions. Image courtesy of the artists and Jonathan Ferrara Gallery, New Orleans.

governments and multinational corporations, a country that feeds its people before polluting its waters.

"BP, as the largest foreign investor in the country, played a major role in keeping Mubarak and his gang in power. It has lots to answer for.

"But it has a chance now to recalibrate its relationship with Egypt, to invest in clean energy, to strike equitable deals, to place justice at the centre of its policies, rather than profit. It can, if it chooses, be a partner in building a new world rather than enemy. Let's hope." ●

A Question Of 21st Century Leadership And Governance

Glen Tarman from *Liberate Tate* examines the role of those with decision-making power at Tate, and their responsibility to act in the interest of the public good as a public body with regards to oil sponsorship. Following this are comments made by Tate Board member **Bob and Roberta Smith** on BP's reputation and the importance of both grassroots and board level activism.

The body that should be taking leadership to end BP's involvement with Tate is the Tate Board of Trustees, the legal entity responsible for running Tate. Tate Trustees are required by law to act as guardians of the public interest.

Tate, like other national museums and galleries, is a charity. Its full charitable status in the UK allows Tate to raise funds from sponsorship. Through the Museums & Galleries Act 1992, and as set out in the Charities Act, Tate is an 'exempt charity' regulated by statute and by the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS), a department of the UK government, not the Charity Commission.

Tate is a Non-Departmental Public Body (NDPB), funded in part by DCMS. A NDPB is a body which, as Tate states: "carries out functions on behalf of the government department that sponsors it, but is administered independently. It is therefore able to focus entirely on its own objectives and make unbiased recommendations and decisions".

As such, Tate makes decisions free from government. The funding agreement from government may set out broad expectations (such as "Tate will pursue ways to increase its self-generated income, including through private giving" and that "free entry to the permanent collections of the national museums will continue")³⁷ but it makes no prescriptions on how Tate should supplement the grant it receives from the DCMS through other sources such as sponsorship. The Coalition Government has told Tate it wants to see more private giving and a broad range of business support but it does not tell Tate which companies it should or should not accept support from.

BP was introduced as a sponsor by Tate in 1990. The last decision to extend BP's sponsorship (to 2012) was taken in 2006.

Tate should end its relationship with BP

In the year since its catastrophic oil spill in the Gulf of Mexico, BP has massively ramped up its investment in controversial tar sands extraction in Canada, has been shown to have been a key backer of the Mubarak regime in Egypt, and has attempted to commence drilling for oil in the Arctic Ocean. While BP continues to jeopardise ecosystems communities and the climate by the reckless pursuit of "frontier" oil, cultural institutions like Tate damage their reputation by continuing to be associated with such a destructive corporation.

The massive cuts to public arts funding in the UK have left hundreds of culturally important arts organisations in a position of great financial vulnerability, which means that the debate about the appropriateness of particular potential corporate sponsors like BP and Shell is more relevant than ever. As people working in the arts, we believe that corporate sponsorship does not exist in an ethical vacuum. In light of the negative social and ecological impacts of BP around the world, we urge Tate to demonstrate its commitment to a sustainable future by ending its sponsorship relationship with BP.

Naomi Klein Writer, **John Keane** Artist, **Lucy R Lippard** Writer, **Charles Thomson** Artist, co-founder, *The Stuckists*, **Billy Childish** Artist, **Matthew Herbert** Sound artist, composer, **Rebecca Solnit** Writer, activist and **162 others**
(for full list see gu.com/letters)

"Tate should end its relationship with BP", *The Guardian Letters*, 20.04.11. This letter was signed by over 170 artists and cultural workers.

A Freedom of Information Act request reveals the decision was "taken by members of the senior management team". It is not known why what had become such a contentious relationship was continued without a decision at board level at that time.



In August 2007, decision-making on sponsorship matters became more complicated by the appointment of BP's former CEO and Chair Lord Browne to the Tate Board. In January 2009 Lord Browne became Chair of Tate Board of Trustees. While no-one questions Lord Browne's passion for the arts and that he has chaired Tate through a period of notable successes, questions do remain about Tate decision-making in relation to BP. Not least because any policy relating to BP is a reflection in part on decisions made whilst Browne was still at the helm of the oil company. Related Tate minutes do not refer to any standing aside for related items.

On 18 May 2010, as BP oil was spilling across the Gulf of Mexico, the Tate Board accepted, on the recommendation of the Tate Ethics Committee (as of 6 May 2010) that its current relationship with BP be continued "given that there was no evidence to suggest that the acceptance of funds from BP would significantly damage the effective operation of Tate." It was recognised that "this could change in the future and should be kept under review."

On 18 May 2010, as BP oil was spilling across the Gulf of Mexico, the Tate Board accepted, on the recommendation of the Tate Ethics Committee (as of 6 May 2010) that its current relationship with BP be continued

Tate maintained that in "scrutinising its corporate sponsors during a period of constrained public spending, Tate is fulfilling its duty as a responsible public body". Importantly, the Board agreed to a "review of all corporate sponsorships" and acknowledged that its own Sustainability Strategy did not include funding relationships and this should be rectified.



Within only weeks of the re-endorsement of the BP relationship by the Board it became totally apparent that a wide cross-section of people with various relationships to the arts believed that, in the words of a letter to the national press, "the BP logo represents a stain on Tate's international reputation", that "many artists are angry that Tate and other national cultural institutions continue to sidestep the issue of oil sponsorship", and "the public is rapidly coming to recognise that the sponsorship programmes of BP

and Shell are means by which attention can be distracted from their impacts on human rights, the environment and the global climate".

In short, Tate's relationship with stakeholders was being harmed ahead of and in 2010 as it still is today. The Tate Board has not taken into account the full extent of damage to its reputation and other relationships (there are reasons in Tate's own Ethical Policy for not accepting sponsorship funds from BP). Given increasing awareness about the climate and BP, being associated with a company that continues to be one of the biggest polluters in the world, that is lobbying against clean energy and to weaken climate legislation, will only further damage Tate's relationships.



If earlier decisions have become even more questionable, this is also extended to the fact that Tate Trustees had unfortunately allowed that the sponsorship contract with BP to contain a confidentiality clause prohibiting either party from releasing details of the agreement. Tate will not even release information such as contract start and end dates. How did Tate's governing body allow it to be liable for breach of confidence through such an obligation so invidious to values of public transparency?

The public (and potential sponsors) deserve to know more about the deal that is supposedly worth being implicated in environmental degradation, climate change, human rights abuses and the backing of repressive regimes such as those the Arab Spring has confronted.

While Tate trustees do have a duty to maximise resources for the institution,

Tate's relationship with stakeholders was being harmed ahead of and in 2010 as it still is today

in certain circumstances, they have the space to choose to refuse money. Papers to the Tate Board have stated a legal requirement to be predisposed to accept funds from legal sources. Yet the law clearly allows ethical factors to be taken into account. Trustees need only to be able to demonstrate that they have acted in line with their objects.

The position of Tate towards a contentious donor is determined by whether its objects are affected by association with that donor. The refusal of a donation can be made on various different grounds. There are strong grounds to see BP working in ways opposed to those of Tate, such as its position on sustainability. There is also now demonstrable evidence that receipt of BP money is affecting support for Tate whether in the hundreds of artists that have voiced their protests or from Tate members, visitors and amongst the wider public. Sound legal, regulatory and governance mechanisms exist to not renew a further contract with BP.



Tate's interpretation of its Ethical Fundraising Policy with regard to BP to date should be revisited and a different position taken by Tate at the earliest opportunity.

Tate has a sponsor in BP that is engaged in socially and ecologically destruc-

Tate has a sponsor in BP that is engaged in socially and ecologically destructive activities. This is incompatible with Tate's ethical guidelines

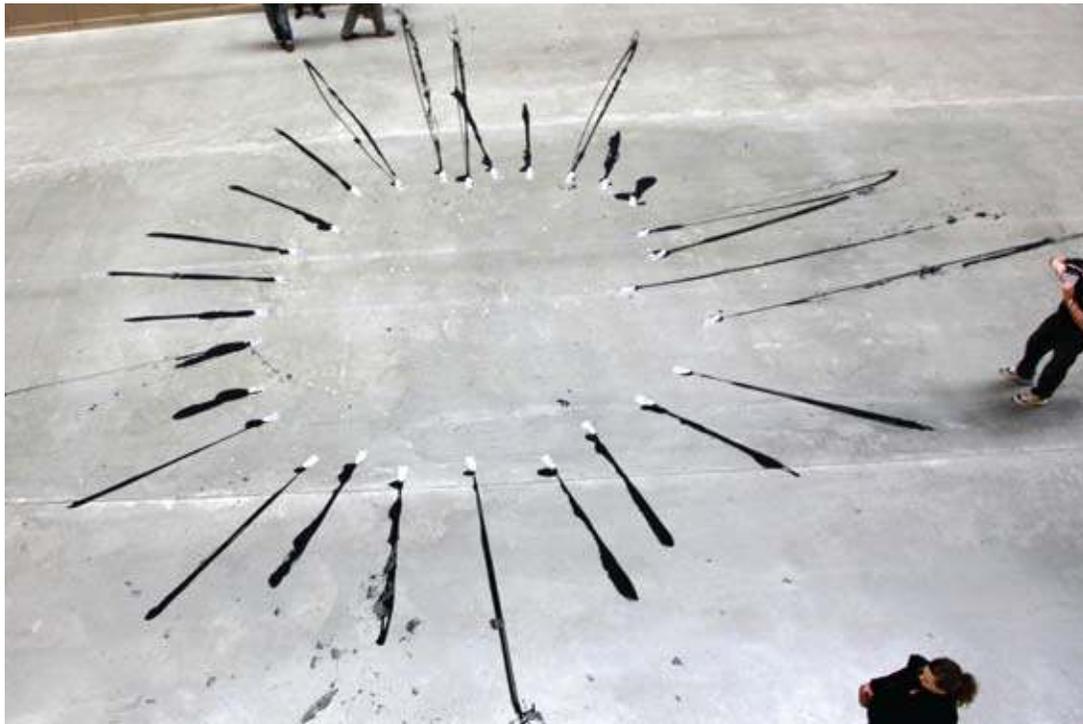
live activities. This is incompatible with Tate's ethical guidelines, its stated vision in regard to sustainability and climate change, and for maintaining Tate's reputation.

In addition, Tate's mission is undermined if visitors to its galleries cannot enjoy great art without the museum making them complicit in creating climate chaos. A significant and growing number of Tate members and visitors are saying that this is the case.

Tate Board of Trustees, as a governing body, should recognise this, listen and act on public concern and take leadership by ending Tate's relationship with BP. In do-

ing so the Board will be acting in the best interests of Tate and the arts as well as affected communities, future generations and the world we live in. ●

Liberate Tate, *Sunflower*, September 2010. Performance, Tate Modern. Forty figures dressed in black entered the Turbine Hall in single file. Forming a circle, the performers placed paint tubes bearing BP logos and in sequence expelled the oil. This formed the imprint below, echoing the BP 'helios' logo and anticipating Ai Weiwei's *Sunflower Seeds* installation that was to follow in the Turbine Hall. Photo: Jeffrey Blackler



Bob and Roberta Smith on Tate and BP (2011)

British artist and member of the Board of Trustees of Tate (appointed July 2009). Speaking at the Art, Activism and the Avant-garde public event (Somerset House 6 June 2011) in response to questions from the audience. The event was held in response to the imprisonment of the artist Ai Weiwei.

"I am a trustee of Tate, which takes money from BP. BP is beginning to stand for 'Beyond the Pale'. It's going to dig up the Arctic, it's sucking up oil from tar sands. We should have a moratorium on the seas and stop deep drilling. What Platform are saying [about BP, its support for regimes of human rights abuses and how arts institutions are implicated] is right and it needs to be said. People are demanding human rights across the world. When activists and all the groups protest, at for example events like Tate Summer Party, that is a thoroughly good thing. It allows me to say: BP are a disgrace.

"The relationship of BP and Tate is nuanced and complex and full of contradictions. I am critical of BP and yet I sit on the Tate Board. I'm on that Board

because I believe in the power of art. Art is important, yet art is under threat. That is why I sit on that Board. I will not leave the Board because of protests about BP but these protests are important.

"Green politics has two broad groups, those that go out and do very powerful and political actions, things that I would never do, like Greenpeace getting on boats in front of a whale. And then there are those that engage politicians and the people who have power and create a situation where a dialogue can take place. I fit more in that latter camp than the activists although I respect what the activists are doing and saying and they are right to highlight what they are.

"Art, unfortunately, is not a clean a space. If Michelangelo had said to the Pope, 'I don't like what you are doing in France', there would be no Sistine Chapel ceiling. Art is filthy. It is as filthy as I am buying petrol from BP to drive to B&Q to get materials to make my art. The whole of Western society is based on digging up the planet and burning it. So many of us all are horrified about the Gulf,

the Arctic and the environment elsewhere. That public concern about BP includes Tate members and visitors - that is why [artist and Tate trustee] Wolfgang Tillmans raised this issue at a Tate Board meeting. My ability to talk to those I have access to is generated by protest. Protest does puts pressure on Tate. That's a good thing. And via that protests also put pressure on BP."

I am critical of BP and yet I sit on the Tate Board

Protest does put pressure on Tate. That's a good thing. And via that protests also put pressure on BP

Ai Weiwei, Ali Ferzat & Ahmed Bassiouny

Mel Evans from *Platform* considers the political plight of three artists who in the practice of their work have experienced state-led persecution, looking at the role of an international arts community in speaking up for the human rights of artists.

Ai Weiwei

Ai Weiwei is a Chinese contemporary artist whose politically engaged work, ranging from sculpture to photography, has been exhibited in modern art galleries around the globe. Famed for *Birds Nest*, the stadium of the Olympic Games in Beijing, other notable works include: *Remembering*, exhibited in *So Sorry* at Haus der Kunst in Munich 2009-10; and *Sunflower Seeds*, exhibited in the Tate Modern Turbine Hall in 2011. *Remembering*, constructed from 9,000 children's rucksacks, was

made in response to the Chinese earthquake of 2008. Shocked by the loss of children's lives caused by badly built government buildings and schools, *So Sorry* was a direct attack on the rhetoric of governments and corporations whose empty apologies mask their own negligence.

During the exhibition of *Sunflower Seeds* Ai Weiwei was arrested at Beijing airport on 3 April 2011. By 4 April, both Weiwei and his friend Wen Tao were missing, and their homes searched; freeaiweiwei.org chronicles the ensuing struggles and intimidation of their families and colleagues. The week following Ai

Weiwei's incarceration, Tate inscribed 'Release Ai Weiwei' at the top of the Turbine Hall that contained his exhibit. Tate also started a online campaign for his release and led a petition alongside the Guggenheim and numerous modern art galleries around the world that was signed by over 140,000 people.³⁸ Ai Weiwei was released on 22 June 2011, under continued threat of imprisonment for alleged subversion. Citing restrictions on speaking to journalists, Weiwei released a commentary to the press, which included this description of his situation:

"My ordeal made me understand that on this fabric, there are many

Ahmed Bassiouny,
30 Days of Running in Place,
June 2011. Video still.
Image courtesy of the
Bassiouny family.

Tate assumed a position on human rights by speaking up for an artist

hidden spots where they put people without identity. Only your family is crying out that you're missing. But you can't get answers from the street communities or officials, or even at the highest levels, the court or the police or the head of the nation."

Role Of The Gallery

In the case of Ai Weiwei, Tate assumed a position on human rights by speaking up for an artist. It demonstrated an effective capacity to mobilise global backing and give space for an international art community to take action in support of a member of its own network. Tate's action does nonetheless beg the question of how would it respond if its principle sponsor had been a financial backer of the repressive government? There are two other recent cases in which artists were persecuted by their homeland state, who did not receive the same level of attention as Ai Weiwei: Ali Ferzat and Ahmed Bassiouny. The governing regimes in their respective countries, Syria and Egypt had close ties with Shell (Syria) and BP

(Egypt). The readiness of Tate and other galleries to criticise the Chinese government's treatment of Ai Weiwei, although to be applauded, is undermined by their complicity, through sponsorship, with the oil companies that hold close ties with oppressive regimes persecuting artists in other countries.

Ali Ferzat



Cartoon, Ali Ferzat
www.ali-ferzat.com

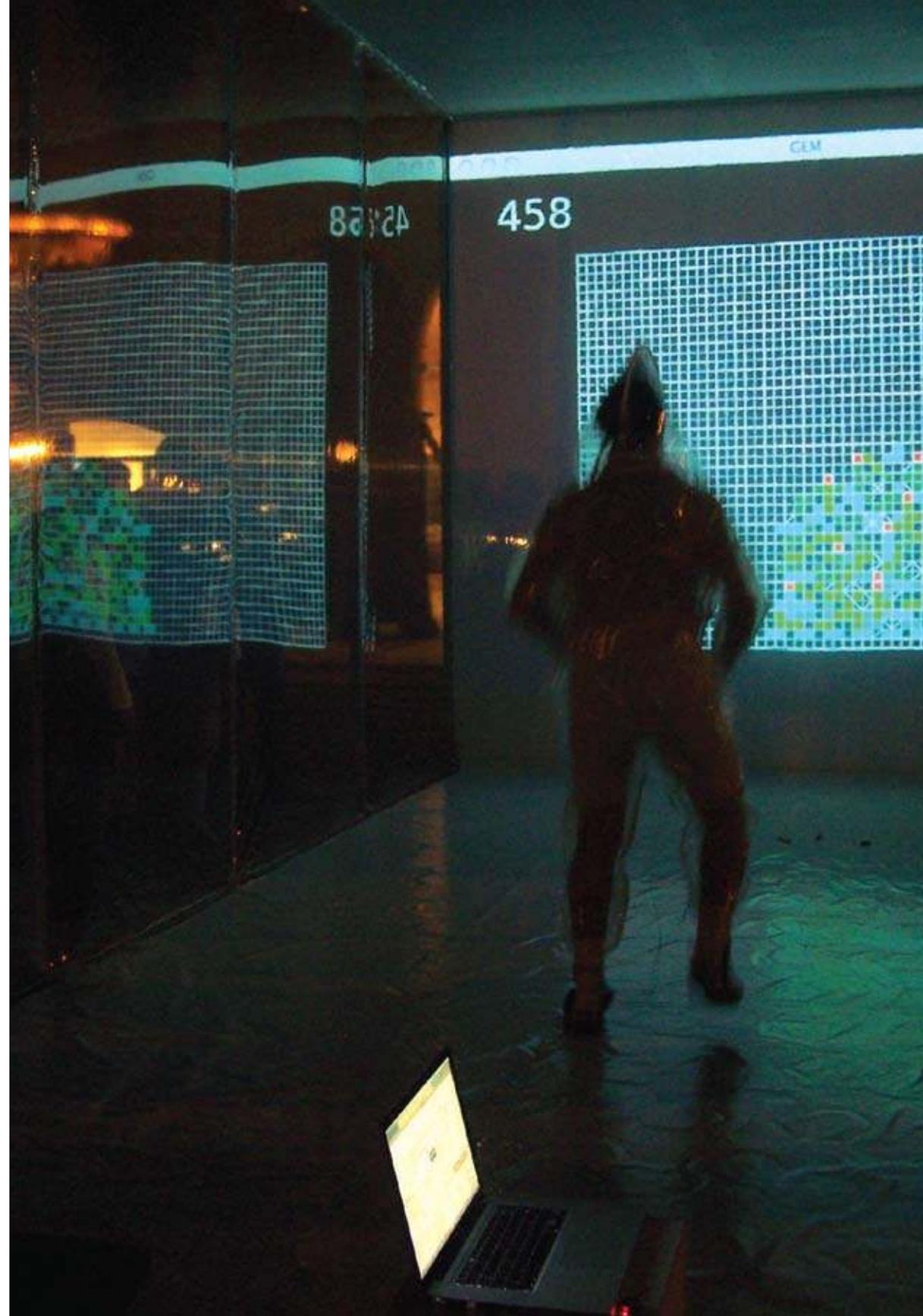
Ali Ferzat is a prominent political cartoonist whose political cartoons and caricatures had targeted dictators across the Middle East. Appearing in Syrian daily newspapers for decades his work won him first prize in the Intergraphic

Ahmed Bassiouny, 30 Days of Running in Place, June 2011. Video still.

Aida Eltorie, one of the curators of the Egyptian Pavilion at the Venice Biennale, states that *30 Days of Running in a Place*: "marks a specific time when the artist ran in place in anticipation of countering [and recording] a digital reaction; the aim was to observe how through the act of running in place - with sensors installed in the soles of his shoes and on his body [to read levels of body heat] - a visual diagram of codes could be extracted, and to visually witness the movement of energy and physical consumption be born in an image." Image courtesy of the Bassiouny family.

International Festival in Germany, 1980, as well as death threats from Saddam Hussein. He was featured regularly in the French newspaper *Le Monde* whilst being banned in Iraq, Jordan and Libya. Initially encouraged by Syrian President-to-be Bashar Assad, Ferzat established the first independent periodical *al-Domari* ("The Lamplighter") in the wave of reforms opened by Assad as he took control of Syria in 2000; by 2003 *al-Domari* was forced to close due to repeated government censorship.

Following that, Ferzat became a vehement critic of the Assad regime. When the Syrian uprising began in March 2011, Ferzat's satire fiercely condemned the military's brutal crackdown on the Syrian protest movement. In August 2011 Ali Ferzat was beaten



and had his hands broken by masked gunmen. The attack on the artist was described on the Facebook page of the US Embassy in Damascus as a “government-sponsored, targeted, brutal attack.”³⁹

Shell’s relationship with Assad’s regime has remained strong throughout 2011. In May 2011, when over a thousand people had been killed and more than ten thousand imprisoned in Syria during the popular uprising, Shell was sending a tanker to collect 600,000 barrels of crude oil worth \$55 million from the state company. 17% of Syrian tanks – instrumental in the repression of the uprising – run on fuel derived from Shell crude.⁴⁰ Shell has also promoted its political support of the regime on a number of occasions. Shell’s Deputy

General Manager in Syria has repeatedly praised the Syrian regime in terms that equate Assad’s regime with the Syrian people: “This success could not have been achieved without the strong partnerships that have been developed over the years between Shell and the Government of Syria. We believe that the relationship Shell has with the Government and the Syrian people is mutually beneficial.”⁴¹

Currently the Southbank Centre, the National Theatre the Science Museum and the National Gallery accept sponsorship from Shell, amongst several other cultural institutions in London.

(see p. 90 for video link)



Ahmed Bassiouny

Ahmed Bassiouny was a young arts professor, sound and visual artist and musician whose work was considered significant in a new generation of Egyptian artists. Bassiouny was killed during street protests on 28 January 2011, just days into the mobilisations that sparked the Egyptian revolution. Bassiouny had won a painting prize in 2001, and proceeded to explore more experimental forms, looking at digital interactive media, and participating in ‘Egypt Lab’ with Medrar Contemporary Art Foundation in Egypt and the Hangar Foundation in Barcelona. His music was to feature at SONAR Festival in Barcelona 2011. Ahmed

Bassiouny’s multimedia work *30 Days of Running in Place* was profiled in the Egyptian pavilion at the Venice Biennale, 2011; the work was presented alongside footage shot by Bassiouny of the events on the streets of Cairo from 25 – 28 January 2011.

While on the streets in Cairo, Ahmed Bassiouny was killed by armed police. He was one of the 846 people to be killed during the 18 days of protests that led to President Hosni Mubarak’s resignation on 11 February 2011. The millions that took to the streets of Cairo, Alexandria and Suez were furious at Mubarak for upholding his own interests and those of Western powers and foreign companies at the expense of the Egyptian people.

For decades, British and American oil companies worked hand in glove with the Egyptian dictatorship, enjoying its ‘stability’ (lack of democratic change), ‘security’ (repression of dissent) and ‘favourable business environment’ (neoliberal policies and restrictions on trade unions). BP was always particularly proud of its “strong relationships with the Egyptian government”, boasting that it was the single largest foreign

investor in the country and responsible for almost half of Egypt’s entire oil production, easily overshadowing all competitors. BP continued to extract crude and underwrite repression throughout more than four decades of Emergency Law, investing over \$17 billion in oil rigs and pipelines. Billions of dollars in revenue payments enabled Mubarak to build up and arm both his civil and paramilitary police forces and the army.

During the uprising, BP’s website carried no comment on the democratic protests or the regime’s attempts at repression, referring only to “the ongoing unrest in Egypt” and evacuation plans. Meanwhile, drilling and extraction operations continue unabated, with most oil facilities located out of reach of normal street protests. BP assumed that Egypt’s strong army would guarantee the security integrity of its assets, and continued to pay revenues to and underwrite a regime widely accepted as illegitimate. (see p. 90 for video link)



Coincidental Complicity
The British Museum’s BP Special Exhibition *The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead* opened just 3 months before the protests that sparked the Egyptian revolution that began on 25 January 2011.

The correlation of the popular uprising with the BP special exhibition at the British Museum, albeit a coincidence, makes a striking example of the dissonance created by the presence of international oil companies in cultural institutions. It is moments like the Egyptian uprising, when the world’s attention was turned to the Mubarak dictatorship and all who supported it, that BP needs this positive advertising the most.

The tacit support of BP by these institutions is, to some artists, cultural workers, Tate members and visitors, utterly unacceptable. The position on this issue by the three featured artists who have faced persecution is unknown, but nonetheless these cases serve to emphasise the problematic proximity between art galleries who continue to accept sponsorship from BP or Shell, and the human rights violations they themselves would condemn. The sun will set on oil sponsorship of the arts; but for now the galleries remain seriously compromised by the morally bankrupt practices of oil companies. ●

Tate Modern building in May 2011 with ‘Release Ai Weiwei’ above Turbine Hall and visible from the north bank of the River Thames.

Photo: Steve Bottoms





VISIONS OF CULTURE BEYOND OIL

Artists and arts writers were asked to consider the landscape of a culture beyond oil. What could culture look like without oil sponsorship? What are the current issues around culture and sponsorship? What values would inform artistic processes? Where do art and ecology meet? What does a cultural shift away from oil look like? Here the plethora of responses in words, image, song and video are gathered together to paint that picture.

ANTI BP SONG (BY NEAL, GABRIEL AND SID)

One of the ways big oil seeks to legitimise its social licence to operate is through our children. Children are a special public for big oil. We've got three boys who all know of BP.

Near us, off a road in Liverpool called New Islington, a road that connects the city centre with North Liverpool and beyond, there's a busy BP petrol station. You can see it from the top of the hill that houses the local university we work at. Our kids know the shop is franchised out to a family whose first language isn't English. We've been there a hundred times to re-fuel our VW Polo.

The children usually comment during fuel-ups that this company has the name 'British' in it, has a green and yellow flower logo made up of triangles and was on the telly for three months straight recently trying to plug a leak. The engineering elements of stopping things happening underwater have fascinated our eldest since the five million barrel spill. Neal and Gabriel are often heard saying to each other that it was the worst oil spill in the sea in the history of the world, EVER!



Watch Neal, Gabriel and Sid sing the Anti BP song at <http://andersonsamazingamericanadventures.wordpress.com/anti-bp-song-by-neal-gabriel-and-sid/>



Without really noticing that there were connections, and for other reasons, the Institute decided to drive from Chicago to the Gulf of Mexico this summer; bewitched by the idea of the Great River Road and the promise of experiencing the belly of the empire from within. As we drew towards the end of the trip, that part that crosses the swamps of New Orleans into the Gulf of Mexico, we heard, from the back of the car, a new song. Neal, Gabriel and Sid were singing it.

Previous spread and on p. 71, 72-73: Reverend Billy and the Church of Earthalujah, *The Exorcism of BP*, 2011. Performance. As part of their European Earthalujah Tour, performance troupe Reverend Billy and the Church of Earthalujah performed an exorcism of BP inside the Tate Modern Turbine Hall, with a congregation of over a hundred present. (see p. 90 for video link)
Photo: Sophie Molins



HAYLEY NEWMAN

They must have heard Mum and Dad talking in the car earlier about what to do for Mel, from Platform, who invited us to contribute something to a publication on 'Visions for Culture Beyond Oil'. They must have heard us struggling to come up with something clever or dashing, hard-hitting or interesting. We do feel a little self-conscious sometimes for pressing our children to speak the lingo of social and ecological justice. It's a complicated one. Sometimes we feel sorry for having dragged them on demonstrations, performance events, solidarity meetings or planning sessions; other times we feel proud of ourselves for having put in the effort. But this time it was them, not us.

When kids sing like this in cars it's usually, in our experience, because they're either bored by the journey or trying to annoy us, or both. This is no exception, but here, as far as we can tell, in the back of a 4x4 Mitsubishi Endeavour, Neal, Gabriel and Sid are vocally rejecting BP's social licence to operate.

The Institute for the Art and Practice of Dissent at Home is run out of a council property bedroom in Everton, Liverpool. Originally been set up to coincide with the Liverpool 08 European Capital of Culture, or what the Institute calls Culture of Capitalism, C@apital of Culture or even Capital(ism) for Vultures, the Institute for the Art and Practice of Dissent at Home is a space for dissenting the Capitalism of Culture.
www.twoaddthree.org



The Ghost of Greenwash, 2011. Drawing.

Since 1994 Hayley Newman has performed and directed numerous live events working with performance, experimental sound, video, photography and text. She is one third of eco-feminist girl band *The Gluts*.

JULIAN STALLABRASS – ART POLLUTES OIL

'BP is a great company!' This was the closing line of a speech to a crowd of invited art world folk at a Tate event. The baldness of the statement was unusual, but the sentiment, repeated again and again, louder and softer, is what BP's sponsorship money buys.

The Deepwater Horizon disaster spurred the campaign to free the arts from oil company funding, and it met with a swift and blunt response: the Royal Opera House, Tate, the British Museum and the National Portrait Gallery would keep taking the money. Serota's justification: 'You don't abandon friends because they have a temporary difficulty.' While corporations acquired the legal status of persons to exploit freedom of speech laws for their propaganda and to freely purchase political influence, the idea that one can be your 'friend' is plainly absurd; and should loyalty always trump other ethical impulses? You may choose to reflect on your choice of friends when they bring about their own difficulties by criminality and greed.

The motives for both sides are obvious: arts bodies lean heavily on corporate money since the state has increasingly shrank from its role in subsidising the arts, and as they relish the freedom from popular opinion that comes with the use of tax money (the furore over the purchase of Carl André's 'bricks' is merely the most famous example, and it led Tate to set up

a private fund for buying art). It probably helps a bit that BP carries the word 'British' in its title, the relic of an long-extinct attachment to nation. 'Friendships' are warmed with a comfortingly patriotic tinge in the seemingly natural alliance of great British institutions, though in fact all the parties involved are global brands.

BP hopes that the subliminal association of its brand with the transcendent values still commonly linked to art will act as a counterweight to the torrent of filth—pollution, environmental devastation, political corruption and violence—which its business continually produces. That against the images of oil-laden waves and wildlife, dead workers, illegal dumping and support for the genocidal Colombian military, we will set the subterranean memory of BP's logo gracing an exhibition that we have enjoyed.

The obvious contradiction—and this is why overt corporate propaganda is played down in art venues—is that the alliance of art and oil pollute the very ideals which it hopes to exploit. Unlike the life of a turtle or a gull, though, the cleanliness of art's ideals is an ideological fabrication, produced by the various powers that have built elite culture and its institutions. Protests usefully highlight the contradiction; but more positively, we should be making a public culture that has no need of such powers and such money.

Julian Stallabrass lectures in modern and contemporary art at the Courtauld Institute of Art. He is author of several books including 'Art Incorporated' (2004) and is an editorial board member of New Left Review and Third Text. His photography has been exhibited and published internationally. He curated the 2008 Brighton Photo Biennial, 'Memory of Fire: The War of Images' and 'Images of War'.

SALETTE GRESSETT

Despite the enviable public support for the arts of our European counterparts, we [in the UK] are in a much better position than the United States. What is worrying about the possible future here is it could be what the States have gone through over the last 20 or so years. In the early 1990's in the States, there were huge agonising debates when arts organisations were offered generous support from Philip Morris during a time when the National Endowment for the Arts (the equivalent of ACE) was under attack.

Why is private finance of the arts a disaster in the States? Aside from the major ethical implications, the financial crisis has blown big holes in the majority of the corporate, private and individual giving sources which has significantly impacted and even closed down arts organisations. Seriously, if you ask any arts professional in the States, they will think we are crazy to adopt their philanthropic models.

Salette Gresset was an Arts Council Officer at Arts Council England from 1999 to 2010. She is now a trans-atlantic Live Art Cultural Manager with expertise in interdisciplinary and socially-engaged practices, based in Brooklyn, NY. She was an Arts Officer at Arts Council England from 1999 until 2010.





RAOUL MARTINEZ

Who should be allowed to fund our national institutions? Unless we're willing to accept the sponsorship of fascist groups and foreign dictators, we clearly believe a line must be drawn somewhere. So the issue is not whether we draw a line, but where we draw it. In the case of BP, I believe there is a strong case for placing them on the wrong side of that line.

In the past it was acceptable for tobacco companies to openly sponsor national institutions - today there is a taboo against it (the BP Portrait Award was initially sponsored by a tobacco company). Our addiction to fossil fuels, however, is far more dangerous than our addiction to tobacco - there is no reason, therefore, the taboo surrounding tobacco sponsorship should not be extended to oil companies too. If society decides it genuinely values institutions like the National Portrait Gallery and Tate Modern, it can provide money to support them.

Though there are good reasons to challenge specifically the sponsorship of companies like BP (and Shell which sponsors institutions such as the Southbank Centre), I think it's crucial to situate this debate about sponsorship and funding in a wider context. As I see it, the problem with arts sponsorship is a symptom of a far greater problem of funding that stems from a system that concentrates vast amounts of wealth in the hands of a few. There are problems of funding and sponsorship in every area of society, from education and health, to the media and the arts. In the US, for instance, almost all forms of media are owned by one of just five or six corporations.

In the realm of politics we see corporations in the US, especially energy companies, giving hundreds of millions of dollars to both parties in election campaigns and many millions more year on year to lobbyists and politicians, thereby exerting their influence in proportion to their wealth - a blatant subversion of the democratic process. The problem of arts sponsorship has to be situated in this wider context - a context

that sees the logic of the market (one-dollar-one-vote) and its history of wealth-concentration, supplanting the logic of democracy (one-person-one-vote). And so if we advocate democracy, we must challenge the unaccountable power of corporations taking over every aspect of our cultural and political life. For me at least, challenging forms of corporate sponsorship of the arts is one, perhaps mainly symbolic, way of challenging the wider 'corporatisation' of society.

Like any artist I want my work to be seen, and having my work selected to hang in the National Portrait Gallery was a real honour. I did not face a dilemma in submitting a portrait to the BP Portrait Award, as a private boycott on my part, I knew, would achieve nothing. If, en masse, artists decided to boycott BP-sponsored institutions perhaps it could be a worthwhile tactic. However, right now, no such movement exists. The next best thing is for artists associated with these institutions to speak out.

As an artist I certainly don't want my work to be part of a PR campaign for corporations that are a threat to our democracy and environment. What's most important, it seems to me, is preventing such companies from benefiting from the good PR associated with arts sponsorship. The acquiescence of artists to corporate interests is a far more significant statement than anything that might be conveyed by their art. Our world is our biggest canvas, and our choices our most important brushstrokes.

The 'corporatisation' of society puts everyone, not just artists, in a difficult position. The journalist who must pander to media owners who make and break careers. The politician who must please the powerful corporations they depend on for funding. Professionals in all fields are in a difficult position. To earn a living many of us have to serve interests we strongly disagree with. Progressive change depends, however, on finding ways to challenge the forces that subvert our democracies and trash our environment.

Raoul Martinez is a portrait painter and documentary film-maker. His work has been exhibited as part of the BP Portrait Award at The National Portrait Gallery for the past two years' running: 'Howard Zinn – A Peoples' Historian' (2011), and 'Alan Rickman' (2010).

CONRAD ATKINSON

Interview transcript

I don't think there's any subject that artists can't tackle. At the Power Lecture in '83 I said "You never know when you're gonna need art, and you never know where art is gonna come from, and you never know what art is gonna look like, and you never know what art is gonna do and you never know what art is for."

If you can cast your mind back to my generation, Liverpool in the 1960's, and the Royal Academy Schools, the subjects for art and the media were very limited in England.

I remember my first solo show, it was a mixture of videotapes and photographs, and the ICA in London applied for funding for my show *STRIKE*. And we got a letter from Peter Bird of the Arts Council saying "we don't consider video an art form". So that's a background to my generation, not only were we not supposed to do anything that wasn't a painting or a bronze sculpture, we weren't supposed to tackle

subjects like strikes and mercury or thalidomide and landmines. So we've come a long way.

A corporate mentality is a culture, and they all have basically the same culture. The profit motive is embedded in their culture and they're not going to change.

You have to think of Diego Rivera saying "If it isn't propaganda it isn't art". It's a confusing quote if you're in late capitalist system, it's not confusing if you think that current artistic practices are in the main propaganda for the status quo. The best definition of art at this moment in time is by the seminal punk rock group in the madness of New York in the seventies, the Ramones. They said "Art is what separates the truly desperate from those merely seeking entertainment" and I would add "merely decoration". I'm conflicted right now I can't decide whether the art of our times is the scar tissue of western civilization or the cosmetic surgery changing its real face.

Conrad Atkinson is an internationally renowned fine artist, whose work often focuses on subjects of social and political concern. Eleven of his works are held in the Tate Collection, including 'Asbestos, The Lungs of Capitalism.' He is Emeritus Professor of Art at University of California at Davis.

CHARLES THOMSON – STUCKISTS

The arguments for BP sponsorship of art are not that BP is an outstanding example of doing good in the world, but that art needs the money. The stance is pragmatism over ethics, and undermines the essence of art, which derives its strength from integrity. That is why the opposition to such sponsorship comes from artists, whose primary concern is for art, and the support for it is from bureaucrats, whose primary concern is institutional.

The fact is that art does not need the money. Most of the innovations of Modernism have taken place in impoverished circumstances, funded only by an artist's vision. Monet, Van Gogh, Picasso and their successors succeeded in creating new means of art, despite (or perhaps because of) an absence of Arts Council or business funding. Ideas are free.

Sponsorship of visual arts institutions is often superfluous and benefits curatorial indulgence at the expense of public interest. A classic example

is the BP rehanging of Tate Britain, the net result of which is a collective groan, when the public's favourite paintings end up being rehung in the storeroom. The Tate managed quite happily for years without such disruptions.

Public institutions need to be run on ethical principles and should be responsive to public dissatisfaction with their policies. The viewing of art with a constant reminder of abusive business practices is no longer acceptable. If it means less funding, then so be it.

Necessity has been the mother of invention for artists – and still is for most artists. It can produce marvellous results and forces a clarification of priorities. Maybe the Tate does not need 50 or so curators after all. Or maybe they could do some rehanging themselves – in moderation.

Charles Thomson,
Co-founder, The Stuckists

The Stuckists are artists who are pro-contemporary figurative painting with ideas, and anti-conceptual art. Stuckists have regularly demonstrated dressed as clowns against the Turner Prize and against BP sponsorship of the Tate. Stuckism, founded in 1999, has grown to an international art movement with over 220 groups in 50 countries.



SAI MURAI – OIL-SMEARED VISION

It is difficult for anyone who is absorbed in, and absorbed by, our dominating Euro-American culture to imagine a culture beyond oil. Oil smears everything around us – our food, clothes, housing, transport, entertainment, and our vision.

As we speed blindly along plugged into sat-nav on our air conditioned oh-so-important day-to-day business, we miss the visions and alternative ways of being that lie beyond our windscreens, widescreens, mobile screens... We rarely have the time to ponder where we have come from and where we are actually heading... If we pause to look in the rear view mirror, we would see that these last few metres of our human journey – powered by the super fuel of oil – have sped badly off-course.

The era of cheap energy and industrial growth is behind us. Undercarriage splattered with road-kill and crushed fauna, we now find ourselves atop the great peak of a mountain. With the stubbornness and ego of the car driver lost on route, the drivers of our machine insist we must plough forward: no turning back, ignore the warning signs, the approaching cliff, press harder on the accelerator... There is only one way for this road-rage ecocidal juggernaut consumer culture to go.

A growing number of passengers are now choosing to leap from the windows of this crashing vehicle. Outside the confines of the capitalist machine, creative imagination – the

rocket fuel of social change – can ease our painful transition to sustainable, low energy, locally-based and decentralised cultures based on community not competition. Artists and culture creators the world over thus have a duty to enable this transition by engaging with art not for profit or solely for arts sake but rather – in the words of Ken Saro-Wiwa – so that this art does something “to transform the lives of a community, of a nation” and ultimately our world. By encouraging wary passengers to trust the drunk driver, to marvel at and be grateful for their increasingly threadbare seats, Tate et al prove themselves complicit as co-pilots on our ecocidal journey: fogging the windows and preventing the many sustainable holistic routes down the mountain from being seen. In terms of culture and, in the cultural long-term, it is therefore not important that the Tate, the British Museum, the Guardian, the BBC and other established culture-capturers survive. What is important is the survival of a diverse human species and alternative cultures.

For all who have benefited from the brief historical bubble of complex energy-rich industrial society it is our grave responsibility to future generations to manage the inevitable crash, navigate our escape from peak oil/ climate chaos and to make reparations for the ecological destruction wrought by our colonial fossil fuel folly.

Sai MuRai is a poet, writer, publisher, graphic designer of Bajan/Afrikan/Pomfretian heritage. In a former life he worked in advertising. He is creative director of artist/activist organisation Liquorice Fish, editor of four poetry anthologies, a member of Virtual Migrants, a facilitator on Shake! and a poet coach with Leeds Young Authors.

DAVE BEECH

Dear Policymaker,
We the undersigned demand you do everything in your power to Abolish Advertising (which is nothing but the monopolisation of public opinion formation by the wealthy minority who control commerce). We have the best technologies of publishing and the dissemination of information that the world has ever seen but it is stunted and distorted by the narrow interests of commercial companies and the business interests of those who sell advertising space. The public sphere needs to be preserved for the public. This is the responsibility of any government that calls itself democratic. Advertising puts the public sphere in the hands of those who can pay. We demand that advertising is wiped off the face of the earth to put the precious activity of opinion formation in the hands of all!

We the undersigned demand you do everything in your power to Abolish Corporate Sponsorship of the Arts (which is nothing but the utilization of independent, critical and innovative culture for the marketing of firms

who gain a competitive advantage by being associated with something that they are not). We have the largest and most diverse global culture of contemporary art, performing arts and literature that the world has ever seen, but it is stunted and distorted by the narrow interests of commercial companies and the financial interests of those leaders in the cultural field who get into bed with the corporate sector. Art and culture needs to be protected from the market, not ushered into it. This is the responsibility of any government that has a cultural policy! Corporate Sponsorship of the Arts steers the institutions of art towards the interests of big business. We demand that Corporate Sponsorship is wiped off the face of the earth to put the precious activity of cultural production and distribution in the hands of all!

Sign here:

Dave Beech is an artist in the collective Freee, teaches at Chelsea College of Art and writes for Art Monthly. He exhibited at the Liverpool Biennial and BAL Utrecht in 2010, Pratt Institute Manhattan in 2011, and edited the book 'Beauty' (2009) for MIT/Whitechapel.

MATTHEW HERBERT

Of all the areas of human endeavour, art should be the first place we turn for self-reflection. It is even more absurd therefore that Tate should be sponsored by a company that is as irresponsible and polluting as BP. Day one of any critical art theory course would dissect the logo of BP and show it to be the most cynical and barefaced piece of modern visual corporate propaganda. Why is Tate therefore so keen to have it attached to its proud collection of modern art? Work, in part, based on the assumption that art should challenge complacency, disguise, orthodoxy and authority.

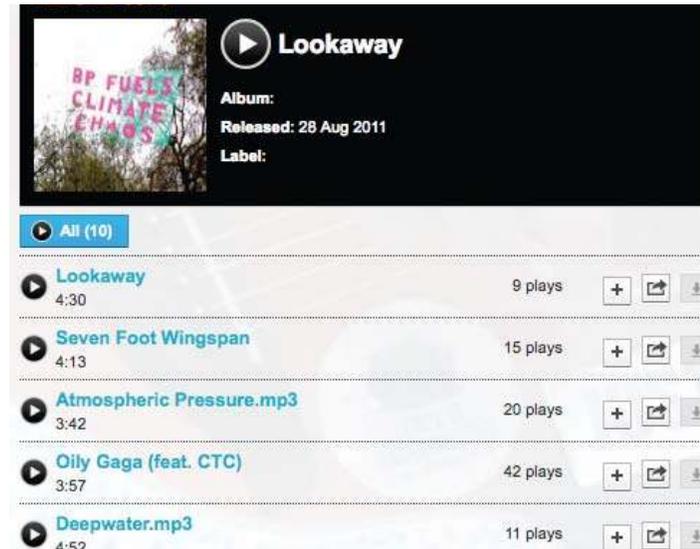
It is not just one company or one institution though, the oily tentacles of both BP and Shell have wrapped themselves around our most prestigious cultural institutions and at a

time when urgent action is required to slow consumption of fossil fuels. Oil companies should not be allowed to advertise or sponsor anything in the first place. After all, it's not like our society needs any extra encouragement to consume more oil.

Meanwhile, we must insist that these institutions, so comfortable in political harmony with today's polluters, answer us: what is their official position on the oil spill in the Gulf of Mexico? Or of problems in the Niger Delta? Or of BP's safety record? Or of tar sands extraction in Canada? Or the Iraq war for that matter? In trading our cultural legacies so nakedly for such tainted cash, some of Britain's most powerful stages for creative expression have knowingly undermined the very integrity of that expression.

Matthew Herbert is an electronic artist and composer who pioneered found sound in modern electronic music, and has made over 20 albums including most recently one out of the lifecycle of a pig. He has worked with numerous artists and contributed music to several films, most recently 'Life in a Day' (2011).

THE CARBON TOWN CRYER



Track Name	Duration	Plays
Lookaway	4:30	9 plays
Seven Foot Wingspan	4:13	15 plays
Atmospheric Pressure.mp3	3:42	20 plays
Oily Gaga (feat. CTC)	3:57	42 plays
Deepwater.mp3	4:59	11 plays

www.myspace.com/carbontowncryer

Songs:
Celebrate This!, Atmospheric Pressure, Shell Sells Suicide, Deepwater.



The Carbon Town Cryer thinks it's time for some crazy, heartfelt, radical music to help inspire us and to propel us into the most positive future possible.

CECILIA WEE

20 April 2020

Dear fellow citizens,

This is a momentous occasion – we would never have got here without you.

It's 10 years since the Deepwater Horizon oil spill and much has changed.

Whilst the problem of oil scarcity has jeopardised safe access to fairly-priced housing, food, education, healthcare and other human rights, it has also spurred us on to work together across disciplines, beliefs and countries, to find solutions to the crisis in energy, material resources and perspective.

We are increasingly enlivened by a positive and abundant culture – connected, collaborative and conscious of other humans, as well as other living beings. By rejecting a model of business that is driven by the success of the 'lone wolf', an economic culture dominated by fear, mistrust and competition⁴², we are now proving that money is not the only measure of value.

Innovation and creativity are at the heart of tackling this enormous challenge, which is the first industrial revolution that we have been able to predict.⁴³ And in this way, art and artists have been playing an important role in defining the future. Moreover, by involving everyone – not just scientists or industry experts – we are able to appreciate the benefits of seeing a situation from the edges of the system to be more open-minded, open-hearted and open-willed.⁴⁴

We still have a long way to go but the amazing renewable energy installations, inventive use of materials, our changing attitude towards consumption and the esteem we are growing for human labour, are all testimony to the strength of new societal and economic models that we are building together.

Thank you,
Your fellow citizens

Cecilia Wee is a London-based independent curator/writer/broadcaster concerned with sustainability. She attended a course on alternative financial models at Schumacher College in July 2011. This piece is indebted to the tutors and colleagues she met there.

KENNY YOUNG



<http://vimeo.com/lozzy/kenito>
'Tate Necessarily So' by Rhythms del Mundo featuring Kenito is a light-hearted look at the Tar Sands situation and BP's collusion.



Rhythms del Mundo was set up by Artists Project Earth (APE) founder Kenny Young. APE aims to create a better world by bringing the power of music and the arts to 21st century challenges. It supports effective projects and awareness raising initiatives to combat climate change, and raises funds for natural disaster relief. APE has collaborated with international musicians such as Coldplay, U2, Bob Dylan, Gorillaz, Arctic Monkeys, Dizzee Rascal, Green Day, Amy Winehouse, The Killers, Rolling Stones and many others to produce three fundraising albums to date: Rhythms Del Mundo: Cuba; RDM: Classics; and RDM: Revival. Their new album RDM AFRICA is due out shortly.

JOHN HARTLEY

What influence might funders have on ethical philanthropy?

While ethics are lived by individuals, they are also encouraged or challenged by collective positions such as those of organisations, funders and governments. It is often said that Arts Council England (ACE) exists at arm's length from government, a figurative description that presumably positions arts practice somewhere in the hand. But which end of this arm really starts the moves? Dave Beech once categorised Arts Council England as, at best, bridging government and insurrection, suggesting a more lively push and pull between the ends of this limb. However recognisable such an 'arms length' metaphor is in practice, it is nonetheless true that ACE has interdependencies with a range of publics resulting in what Buckminster Fuller would recognise as 'tensegrity'.

Given the constituencies served by an organisation like ACE, with what authority and to what end might it influence oil sponsorship? ACE has no stated policy with regard to other ethical funding issues. For instance (unlike the Wellcome Trust) it does not proscribe mixed project funding from tobacco companies. Rather, this behaviour is led by practitioners and audiences. If a national funder were to specify particular types of business relationships (even if, by law it could), which end of the arm would be the stronger then? When both the arts and government feel the same way about desired change we call that 'best practice', something funders are in a good place to develop and spread as with ACE's support for the reduction of carbon emissions within arts practice. But, it is not clear that comparable concord could be found regarding the economic interests of extraction industries. Using public funding of the arts as the tool for change would locate the

battleground of opinions within state-funded 'bureaucracy' (a word built from the French for desk and Greek for power). The desk does have power in many ways (both good and bad), but it is not as radical a site for change as is practice. Arts Councils do not produce ideas. They help others have and share them.

Artists and arts organisations should consider their resilience. Resilience is the capacity to manage or accommodate shock, for instance to revenue, building fabric, staff or audience perception. In light of this, weighing the benefits of associating an arts organisation with industries implicated in social destabilisation, militarisation and pollution on a vast scale becomes a very practical responsibility. Accepting sponsorship funding from oil companies will enable projects, but it will also shift an organisation's relationship with artists, audiences and other collaborators. This is an equation that every arts organisation must understand for itself. The finance upon which a project is built exerts a gravitational pull and can influence what does or doesn't get said, who does or doesn't come and ultimately the location the project occupies in the arts ecology. As the public purse tightens, ethical choices could have sharper short-term costs.

Emergent practices can seed change in powerful ways and responsible arts managers must develop their economic dependencies with care, but there is a further more essential issue to consider when the arts come to understand the implications of their working practices. Because ultimately, on a very human scale, art without conscience risks hollowness. It is only artists that can approach the very heart of this question and ask if their ethical behaviour nourishes their work or weakens it.

John Hartley is an artist, PhD researcher at University College Falmouth and Co-Director of Difference Exchange. He was Arts and Ecology Strategy Officer at Arts Council England from 2007 to 2010."

PLATFORM

A cultural shift away from oil is not only necessary, but inevitable. From this vantage point, we can look around our homes, cities, galleries and beyond to visualise the coming culture. An era in which oil is no longer the central product constructing the spaces we occupy, no longer the fundamental fuel of the economies that sustain our lives.

In 2009 during Platform's two-month residency *C Words: Capital, Carbon, Culture, Climate* at Arnolfini in Bristol, a futuristic auction of contemporary artefacts was performed by public interest investigators Spinwatch and art auctioneers Hollington & Kyprianou with Tamasin Cave. Objects ranging from bottled water and a golf ball to a mobile phone and an double-buggy pushchair were among those selected to represent the current age. During the residency we held a one day conference called *Embedded!*, which included a tour from the electricity meter in the basement to the loft of Arnolfini's building. The walking tour discussion examined arts institutions' hidden investment in climate change such as sponsorship and pension funds, and also considered low carbon best organisational practice regarding the transportation of artists, curators and artefacts.

The shift away from oil takes place in many municipal sites as well as in our personal daily experience. From the infrastructure of transport, to the shareholdings of pension funds, from where the food we eat is grown, to the democratisation of energy resources. For a fair and just transition to a post-oil era, we see the creativity and collaborative practices of artists as essential to this process. Cultural institutions are a key space to nurture that evolution.

Our society teems with individuals and organisations who use their energy and imagination to find ways that we might live that are not built on the destruction of the atmosphere, fragile ecologies and the livelihoods of others. The arts are a crucible of social imagination and they should support these endeavours, or at the very least not undermine them. But today the visitor to the gallery, museum, theatre or opera house is surrounded by the names of BP, Shell and other oil companies, and every logo announces that these corporations are powerful, inevitable and benign. The choice for Tate, and all the other arts institutions that continue to accept BP sponsorship, is how soon they will choose to get ahead of the game and commence the separation of oil from culture.

Platform has published several books and numerous reports on oil issues, exhibited in art galleries across the UK and Europe, and participated in a wide range of academic and activist conferences and gatherings.

DR. WALLACE HEIM

Sponsorship is a catalysing word. It allows profit to change from the excess of money garnered from one activity into the buoyant support of another. Like bequest, inheritance, grant, it implies benevolence. It is also a cleansing word, allowing the spills, slops, residues of the excesses of one activity to become the naturalised, smooth bankrolling of another, maybe less incontinent, activity.

This accountancy of purification has a classical necessity about it. It was necessary for ancient Greeks to render slavery invisible to maintain their way of life. It could not be admitted, that is, until it had to be, when that way of life had to change in order for life to continue. In the transfer of profits from oil companies to the incomes of cultural institutions, many layers of necessity have been operating. To receive the benefit of those profits requires not admitting that these excesses were made through the externalisation of the full costs of oil exploration, mining and refining, in the language of economics. And, they were made through the intended negligence of the harm done to people,

cultures, environments which, at a distance, are less visible, and for whom there has been no recompense, in the language of ethics. From both the externalisation and the negligence there are legacies, not such a benevolent word, against which there has not been sufficient provision, as profit has moved to softer places.

Like to sponsorships, which are necessary for cultural institutions. But to perpetuate the valorisation of oil profiteering is to not admit the scale of the imperative to move to other forms of energy production. Any view that cultural activity absolves institutions from this imperative is a phoney justification for inertia. The changes needed will have to be more than those done by proxy, by emblematic display, by trading. The citizens and artists provoking the Tate and others over their sponsorship by BP and Shell are asking those institutions to do more than change their portfolios. They are asking them, I think, to act as cultural and political entities capable of responding to that imperative materially, imaginatively, financially.

Dr. Wallace Heim is a writer and researcher on performance and nature. She is Chair of the Platform Board of Trustees.



Pages 76, 83 and 85: Liberate Tate, Collapse, July 2010. Molasses, papier mache. Three figures dressed in black entered the north room of the British Museum and ritualistically poured oil from large eggs bearing BP logos in front of an Easter Island statue, an emblem of a lost civilisation. No artefacts were harmed in the making of this performance. Photos: Amy Scaife

BRIDGET MCKENZIE

Since the Deepwater Horizon accident BP has been working hard. Working hard to fix its image and its bank balance. Supposedly it has a renewed focus on sustainability, but you don't even have to read between the lines to see that this is pure greenwash. The headline of BP's new sustainability strategy is this: "We are determined that BP will be a safer, more risk-aware business. We will deliver on our commitments from the Gulf Coast incident and work hard to earn back the trust in our operations. We will rebuild value for our shareholders by re-establishing our competitive position within the sector by playing our part in meeting the world's growing demand for energy, as well as participating in the transition to a low-carbon economy."

This says, quite overtly, that BP can only be sustainable by sustaining its own wealth, which depends on increased extraction, which depends on safer methods so they don't lose share value. It is true that BP is also investing something towards renewable power. But how much? Over the next five years, it will spend only 25% of what it costs them to clean up after the Gulf incident. At the same time, it will spend vastly more on new techniques for tar sands extraction and fracking. The Albertan tar sands is the most destructive project on the planet. If it continues, it alone will contribute to a 2°C temperature rise. BP's Sunrise project is helping to expand the operation by enabling more and more extraction. Our actions look set to raise the temperature by 4°C to 5°C before the century is out, unless we outlaw fracking, deepwater drilling, tar sands, deforestation and other ecocidal tactics, and replace them with alternatives already proven or within our grasp.

I have to say, BP is not alone in its perversion of the concept of sustainability. There are 3,000 large companies causing \$2.5 trillion environmental damage a year. Many organisations twist the triad of economic, social and environmental sustainability by isolating and

diminishing the importance of the environment. This is the 'sustainability conundrum': that it is possible to call yourself sustainable while actively destroying the planet or being implicated in its destruction. I argue that very few cultural organisations have really addressed this conundrum in order to put environmental sustainability at the heart of their mission. Tate has over 70 green champions across the organisation. Are they ever invited to address the ethics of sponsorship, as they work towards raising over £200 million in sponsorship for expansions to Tate's London sites?

Knowing what we know now, cultural organisations can no longer continue to be consciously complicit with this ecocidal industrial system. Humans are the only known animal species to destroy their habitat. How can we live with that indicator for humanity without seeking to change it? The only really sound function of a cultural organisation is to ensure the evolution of humanity to build its capacity to sustain life on the planet. This means working towards overcoming: infantilism, addiction to money, the lack of empathy and the hubristic competitive thrust that destroys life in its path to success. More positively, it gives cultural organisations opportunities to help us imagine non-destructive ways of living, using new materials and smart technologies. To do this they can form partnerships with companies for mutual benefits, not just a simple transaction of money.

I feel anxious about being seen to take a radical position, especially given that my family's income depends on bodies like Tate trusting me. However, longer-term reasoning overrides this. We need to think differently now about what it means to be radical. Bill McKibben said in his speech to 10,000 young people at Power Shift: "you are not the radicals in this fight. The radicals are the people who are fundamentally altering the composition of the atmosphere. That is the most radical thing people have ever done."

Bridget McKenzie is director of cultural consultancy Flow Associates. She has previously managed education programmes at Tate and the British Library.

RICHARD CAMERON WILSON

In October 2009, the oil company Trafigura hit the headlines after obtaining a "super-injunction" gagging the media from reporting a leaked document relating to the 2006 Probo Koala toxic dumping incident on the Ivory Coast. The move backfired spectacularly, and Trafigura were quickly engulfed in just the kind of bad publicity they had been seeking to avoid.

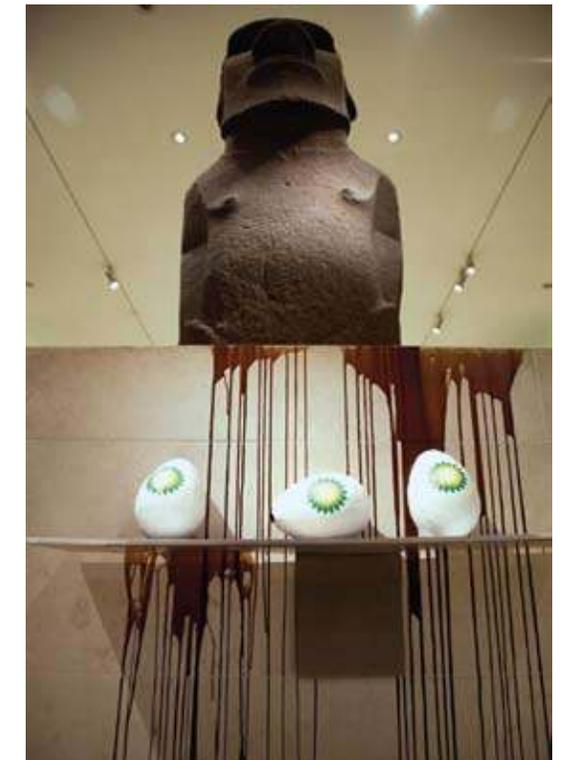
At this point, questions began to be asked about Trafigura's charitable activities. A small London art gallery faced heavy criticism through social media for its role in organising the Trafigura Art Prize. The Cynthia Corbett Gallery eventually decided to dump their corporate sponsor after several nominees withdrew from the competition.

"We feel that the recent events involving Trafigura are detracting from the main purpose of the prize, which is to celebrate emerging and newly established artists", the gallery's director told the press

The Trafigura case highlights some of the dangers of accepting corporate sponsorship from a large oil company. On the one hand, the money on offer can make a big difference to a struggling arts organisation. On the other, corporate sponsorship is seldom anything other than a hard-nosed financial transaction, through which a company is seeking to further its own business objectives.

For a business with a poor human rights record, public philanthropy can be a relatively cheap way of staving off political pressure to clean up its act and compensate its victims. Charities that accept corporate patronage in such cases risk making themselves appear complicit in a company's efforts to deflect criticism. Amid a succession of oil-related scandals in recent years, charities are having to think hard about whether the short-term financial gains of oil sponsorship are worth the long-term risks to their reputations.

Richard Cameron Wilson is an author, most recently of 'Don't Get Fooled Again' (2008), who was involved in setting up the 'Alternative Trafigura Arts Prize.'



ABOUT US PLATFORM, ART NOT OIL & LIBERATE TATE

PLATFORM



Platform brings together environmentalists, artists, human rights campaigners, educationalists and community activists. This vital mix enables us to create innovative projects driven by a need for social and ecological justice.

Our methods have developed over 25 years. We blend the power of art to transform with the clear goals of campaigning; rigorous in-depth research with the visions of alternative futures.

Since 1995, a substantial proportion of our work has focused on the operations of UK oil and gas companies and their impacts on communities and ecosystems around the world. Projects looking at wider issues around social and ecological justice have been established in parallel.

ART NOT OIL



Art Not Oil is a project of activist group Rising Tide UK. It aims to encourage artists - and would-be artists - to create work that explores the damage that companies like BP and Shell are doing to the planet, and the role art can play in counteracting that damage.

Since 2004 it has collected the work of hundreds of artists to form the Art Not Oil and Shell's Wild Lie collections, exhibited in galleries all around the UK. It also produced the 2010 Art Not Oil Diary.

LIBERATE TATE



Liberate Tate is an art collective exploring the role of creative intervention in social change. We aim to free art from the grips of the oil industry, primarily focusing on Tate - a public institution owned by, and existing for, the public - and its sponsorship deal with BP. We believe Tate is supporting BP, rather than the other way around by cleaning the corporations tarnished public image with the culture of the UK's leading art museum.

We formed in January 2010 when Tate tried to censor a workshop on art and activism because of its sponsorship programme. They failed and we formed in direct resistance to this attempt to limit freedom of expression. Working creatively together, we are dedicated to taking creative disobedience against Tate until it drops its oil company funding.

Our chosen form is performance, our artworks site-specific and self-curated, necessarily situated in the honourable tradition of institutional critique.

Our medium includes many substances that look

like oil, which we have squeezed, spilled, squashed, released and poured. Our intervention *Dead in the Water* (May 2010) took place during Tate Modern's 10th anniversary celebration *No Soul for Sale*. As BP was creating the world's largest oil painting in the Gulf of Mexico, dead fish and birds attached to black helium balloons were released into the rafters of Tate Modern's Turbine Hall.

Deliberately abject and sometimes foul, our work is the shadow of an industry the reality of which arts organisations do not want

Liberate Tate's performance *Human Cost* features on the front page of the *Financial Times*, 22.4.11.
Photo: Amy Scaife



Protesters pour oil on BP's troubles
Activists angry over BP arts sponsorship staged a demonstration at London's Tate Britain gallery, a day after the first anniversary of the group's Gulf disaster
After the April Page 9, Lombard Page 23, BP's future seen from www.energyjournal

to see on their doorstep. Take our performance at the Tate Summer Party when Tate celebrated 20 years of their partnership with BP (against the ongoing backdrop of the Deepwater Horizon spill!). *Licence to Spill* (June 2010) was a symbolic act designed to create maximum disruption to the 'celebrations' and draw attention back from the canapés and champagne to the horrors of the Gulf of Mexico. As Liberate Tate spilled hundreds of gallons of molasses at the entrance to Tate Britain, two elegantly dressed ladies inside the gallery (going by the names of Toni [Hayward] and Bobbi [Dudley]) released another oil spill from beneath their

buoyant dresses, a "relatively tiny one, compared to the size of the gallery".

Our work as Liberate Tate brings together the languages of art and activism. We speak directly to Tate, communities of artists, activists and to the wider public and media.

Sunflower (September 2010), an oil painting squeezed from tubes of black paint, commented on the green-wash behind BP's green and yellow sunflower logo and anti-

pated Ai Wei Wei's *Sunflower Seeds* installation that was to follow in the same location of Tate Modern's Turbine Hall.

Other performances have included *Human Cost* (April 2011, on the anniversary of The Gulf of Mexico spill), a durational intervention within the figurative sculpture exhibition *Single Form* at Tate Britain. In the performance a naked figure lay on the ground covered with another oil-like substance (an image of which appeared on the front page of the *Financial Times* the next day).

Our alternative audio tour of Tate, with sound works by commissioned artists, allows anyone visiting Tate to be part of a Liberate Tate durational performance in an unsanctioned installation inside the galleries providing a new experience of the presence of BP within these spaces.

The future for Liberate Tate? There are more artworks and commissions in the pipeline (sic). Don't just watch this space. Use your creativity and voice. Our invitation for artists, art lovers and other concerned members of the public to act to ensure that Tate ends its oil sponsorship remains open. Imagine culture without oil. Free art from oil!

Liberate Tate often has open meetings or performances where wider participation is encouraged. See www.liberatetate.org for previous actions and how to get in touch.

No artworks are harmed in the making of any of our performances.

WHAT NEXT ACT TO END TATE OIL SPONSORSHIP

Whatever your views are on art and oil sponsorship, express yourself!

If you want to see an end to art's relationship with the oil industry, here we set out some of the ways in which you can act towards that aim. We focus here largely on Tate although many of these actions can be directed at other cultural institutions with links to BP and Shell in particular.

Cultural institutions should not and do not need to continue taking money from polluters like BP. But, they will continue to do so if not enough people take action.

USE YOUR VOICE

Let cultural institutions know how you feel about their acceptance of climate-changing funding. Don't forget to keep it polite. Feel free to use the evidence elsewhere in this publication to back up your points.

- Write to Nicholas Serota Director of Tate and copy in Deputy Director Alex Beard.

You will find them listed on the Tate website (click 'About Tate' and Senior Staff are listed under Organisation. Present directors include Dr Penelope Curtis, Director of Tate Britain, the gallery most associated with BP, Rebecca Williams, Director of Development (responsible for sponsorship) and Marc Sands (responsible for Tate's brand and relationships with 'audiences').

**Tate Modern
Bankside
London SE1 9TG**

If you meet any senior manager in person or when they are at a public event, do make your views known.

- Let Tate Trustees know your views.

Tate Trustees are from 'different backgrounds, areas of expertise and perspectives'. You can find them listed in the 'Governance' section of the Tate website. Write to one or more.

Lobby Tate Trustees with your views: Bob and Roberta Smith, Wolfgang Tillmans and Tomma Abts are presently the artists on Tate's Board.

If you are a Tate member, do underline this. Tate does not allow much space for member voice in decision-making and channels are limited. There is Tate Members, a 'connected' charity that also has a Board, the chair of which is broadcaster Jon Snow, and an annual Tate Members AGM.

KEEP INFORMED AND CONNECTED

- Follow 'End oil-sponsorship of the arts' on Facebook and @liberatetate and @PlatformLondon on Twitter for further updates and opportunities to get involved with performances.
- Email Liberate Tate: liberatetate@gmail.com and join the Platform mailing list: info@platformlondon.org (subject heading: Mailing List)

VISITING A TATE GALLERY?

Fill in a comment card or questionnaire with your views - look out for these print items with 'WHAT DO YOU THINK?' on them and place in the boxes provided.

GOT A TATE MEMBERSHIP?

Join together with other Tate members to press Tate on these issues - together we are stronger. For more information email info@platformlondon.org (subject heading: Tate Members).

WORK AT TATE?

It is widely known that many Tate staff are against their employer supporting BP or at least feel very uncomfortable with the relationship. Find each other and keep raising these issues internally. You are far from alone!

WORK IN AN ARTS INSTITUTION?

Platform has developed a workshop to support organisations in critically discussing issues around ethical funding. Contact info@platformlondon.org.

ARE YOU PART OF AN ARTS ORGANISATION OR GROUP?

Do the *Tate à Tate Audio Tour*, and follow it up with a workshop with Platform exploring the artworks and the issues further. Contact info@platformlondon.org to make arrangements.

CREATE

Make art not climate change! Creative activism in Britain is in the ascendance, with many groups merging art and climate action. As well as Liberate Tate and Art Not Oil, check out groups like Rising Tide UK and Climate Rush, both of which have targeted Tate and its links with oil.





P. 6
Liberate Tate
Human Cost
 April 2011
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=f4-vGbsBLKM>



P. 6
Anthony Burrill
Oil & Water Do Not Mix
 October 2010
<http://vimeo.com/15770806>



P. 10
HeHe
Is there a horizon on the deepwater?
 March 2011
<http://vimeo.com/21848081>



P. 10
Liberate Tate
Licence to Spill
 June 2010
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vPpWPbEPspY>



P. 33
Ruppe Koselleck, *Takeover BP*
 Ongoing since October 2001. Since October 2001 German artist Ruppe Koselleck has made artworks from oil spill residues, including from Louisiana in 2011. With the proceeds from each artwork sale, Koselleck buys shares in BP, with the ultimate plan to takeover and dismantle the company. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?NR=1&v=FITLbPf3jAY>



P. 44
Voices From Outside The Gallery. In these interview transcripts a fisherman, a writer, a film-maker and an indigenous rights campaigner give their very personal experiences of oil extraction, the Gulf of Mexico catastrophe and subsequent clean-up operation, and BP's role in supporting Mubarak's repressive regime in Egypt. Each interview is available to listen to in full online. <http://blog.platformlondon.org/2011/10/10/testimony-audio/>

P. 64
Ali Ferzat
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=i5Mko4Yzmls>



P. 65
Ahmed Bassiouny
30 Days of Running in Place
 June 2011
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fF7eDNvNL8E>



P. 68
The Institute for the Art and Practice of Dissent at Home
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DUuWz_6Dyb8&feature=player_embedded



P. 69
Reverend Billy and the Church of Earthalujah
The Exorcism of BP, 2011
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1Lz7ECeOCWQ>



P. 79
Mark Brown
Carbon Town Cryer
www.myspace.com/carbontowncryer



P. 80
Kenny Young
<http://vimeo.com/lozzy/kenito>



REFERENCES

A Social Licence To Operate, p. 8-13

- 1) 'Why the U.S. Can't Turn Its Back on BP,' Bloomberg Businessweek, 23/06/10. http://www.businessweek.com/magazine/content/10_27/b4185013837191.htm
- 2) 'IPRA Golden World Award win for Fishburn Hedges and Shell', 2/11/09 <http://www.fishburn-hedges.co.uk/news/articles/ipra-golden-world-award-win-fishburn-hedges-and-shell>
- 3) 'Arts Leaders fear cuts in the regions', Financial Times, 30.7.2010, <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/7323c7b2-9c03-11d1-a7a4-00144feab49a.html#axzz1WWmGZ0GM>
- 4) 'Interview: Sir Nicholas Serota', The Jewish Chronicle, 8/7/10 <http://www.thejc.com/arts/arts-interviews/34470/interview-sir-nicholas-serota>

What's Wrong With Oil Sponsorship Anyway? p. 14-19

- 5) 'Anti-BP Activists Disrupt Tate Party, Protest Oil Sponsorship', Bloomberg 29/6/10. <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2010-06-29/anti-bp-activists-disrupt-tate-party-protest-oil-sponsorship.html>
- 6) 'It's oil money that fuels our museums', The Independent, 25/04/11. <http://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/art/features/its-oil-money-that-fuels-our-museums-2274362.html>
- 7) 'Crude awakening: BP and the Tate', Guardian, 30/06/10. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/artanddesign/2010/jun/30/bp-tate-protests>
- 8) 'It's oil money that fuels our museums', The Independent, 25/04/11. <http://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/art/features/its-oil-money-that-fuels-our-museums-2274362.html>
- 9) 'Tate is Right to take BP's money', Guardian blog, 29/6/10. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/culture/jonathanjonesblog/2010/jun/29/tate-bp-sponsorship>
- 10) 'Anti-BP Activists Disrupt Tate Party, Protest Oil Sponsorship', Bloomberg 29/6/10. <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2010-06-29/anti-bp-activists-disrupt-tate-party-protest-oil-sponsorship.html>
- 11) 'Crude awakening: BP and the Tate', Guardian, 30/06/10. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/artanddesign/2010/jun/30/bp-tate-protests>
- 12) <http://www.guardian.co.uk/artanddesign/2010/apr/25/serota-tate-modern-tenth-birthday?showallcomments=true#comment-51>
- 13) 'Ignore the protests against BP at the Tate. Oil and art get along fine', Telegraph, 2/7/10. <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/art/7867302/Ignore-the-protests-against-BP-at-the-Tate.-Oil-and-art-get-along-fine.html>
- 14) 'Crude awakening: BP and the Tate', Guardian, 30/06/10. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/artanddesign/2010/jun/30/bp-tate-protests>
- 15) 'Crude awakening: BP and the Tate', Guardian, 30/06/10. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/artanddesign/2010/jun/30/bp-tate-protests>

The Magic Number, p. 23

- 16) <http://www.thisislondon.co.uk/standard/article-23850487-art-attack-at-tate-party-over-galleries-links-to-bp.do>
- 17) <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2010-06-17/bp-keeps-arts-sponsorship-as-pressure-grows-for-spill-damages.html>
- 18) Tate Annual Accounts 2010-11 p. 38 http://www.tate.org.uk/about/governancefunding/funding/accounts_20102011.pdf
- 19) Tate Annual Accounts 2010-11 p.11, http://www.tate.org.uk/about/governancefunding/funding/accounts_20102011.pdf
- 20) <http://www.guardian.co.uk/business/2010/may/13/bp-boss-admits-mistakes-gulf-oil-spill>

Profiling BP & Shell, p.38-43

- 21) 'Queries over BP biofuels adverts', All Business website. <http://www.allbusiness.com/energy-utilities/renewable-energy-biofuels-ethanol/16654701-1.html>
- 22) 'A Look at BP's 8,000 OTHER Spills Since 1990,' Capitol News Connection, 27/5/2010. <http://www.capitolnewsconnection.org/news/look-bps-8000-other-spills-1990>

- 23) 'BP Exploration [Alaska] Pleads Guilty To Hazardous Substance Crime Will Pay \$22 Million, Establish Nationwide Environmental Management System,' USA Environmental Protection Agency, 09/23/99. <http://yosemite.epa.gov/opa/admpress.nsf/016bcfb1deb9fec85256aca005d74d0/5d61856989631e2085256706004bbbff?OpenDocument>
- 24) 'Alaska Oil Spill Fuels Concerns Over Arctic Wildlife, Future Drilling,' National Geographic news, 20/03/06. http://news.nationalgeographic.com/news/2006/03/0320_060320_alaska_oil.html
- 25) 'Methanol and crude spill from Prudhoe Bay pipeline', Associated Press, 16/10/2007. <http://web.archive.org/web/20071113155521/http://www.ktuu.com/Global/story.asp?S=7221594>
- 26) For more info on these, see "Line of fire BP and human rights abuses in Colombia" from Platform. www.platformlondon.org/carbonweb/documents/chapter11.pdf
- 27) Select Committee on International Development, 6th Report, 1998-99 session.
- 28) For more information on the destructive nature of tar sands extraction, see the WWF report, 'Unconventional Oil - Scraping the bottom of the barrel', http://assets.wwf.org.uk/downloads/scraping_barrell.pdf
- 29) 'Oil Industry Braces for Fallout From Libya,' Associated Press, 21/2/11. <http://abcnews.go.com/International/wireStory?id=12964922&page=2>
- 30) 'Renaissance Man', Guardian, 2/5/07. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2007/may/02/johnbrownehasbeenseen>
- 31) Hugh Muir's Political Diary, Guardian, 0/7/10. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2010/jul/02/hugh-muir-diary>
- 32) 'Shell Emissions Up by 9% Last Year; Natural Gas Flaring Up 32%'. Treehugger, 18/4/11. <http://www.treehugger.com/files/2011/04/shell-emissions-up-last-year-natural-gas-flaring.php>
- 33) 'Shell pays out \$15.5m over Saro-Wiwa killing,' Guardian, 9/6/09. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2009/jun/08/nigeria-usa>
- 34) Counting the Cost: corporations and human rights abuses in the Niger Delta, Platform, <http://blog.platformlondon.org/2011/10/03/counting-the-cost-corporations-and-human-rights-abuses-in-the-niger-delta/>, October 2011.
- 35) 'Environmental Assessment of Ogoniland,' UNEP, 4/8/11. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/environment/interactive/2011/aug/04/un-environmental-impact-ogoniland>
- 36) Indigenous Environmental Network/UK Tar Sands Network Shell Fact Sheet. http://www.no-tar-sands.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/06/IEEN_Shell_Factsheet-webNTSN.pdf

A Question Of 21st Century Leadership And Governance, p.54-59

- 37) Letter to Tate Chair Lord Browne from Jeremy Hunt, UK Secretary of State for Culture, Olympics, Media and Sport 20 October 2010.

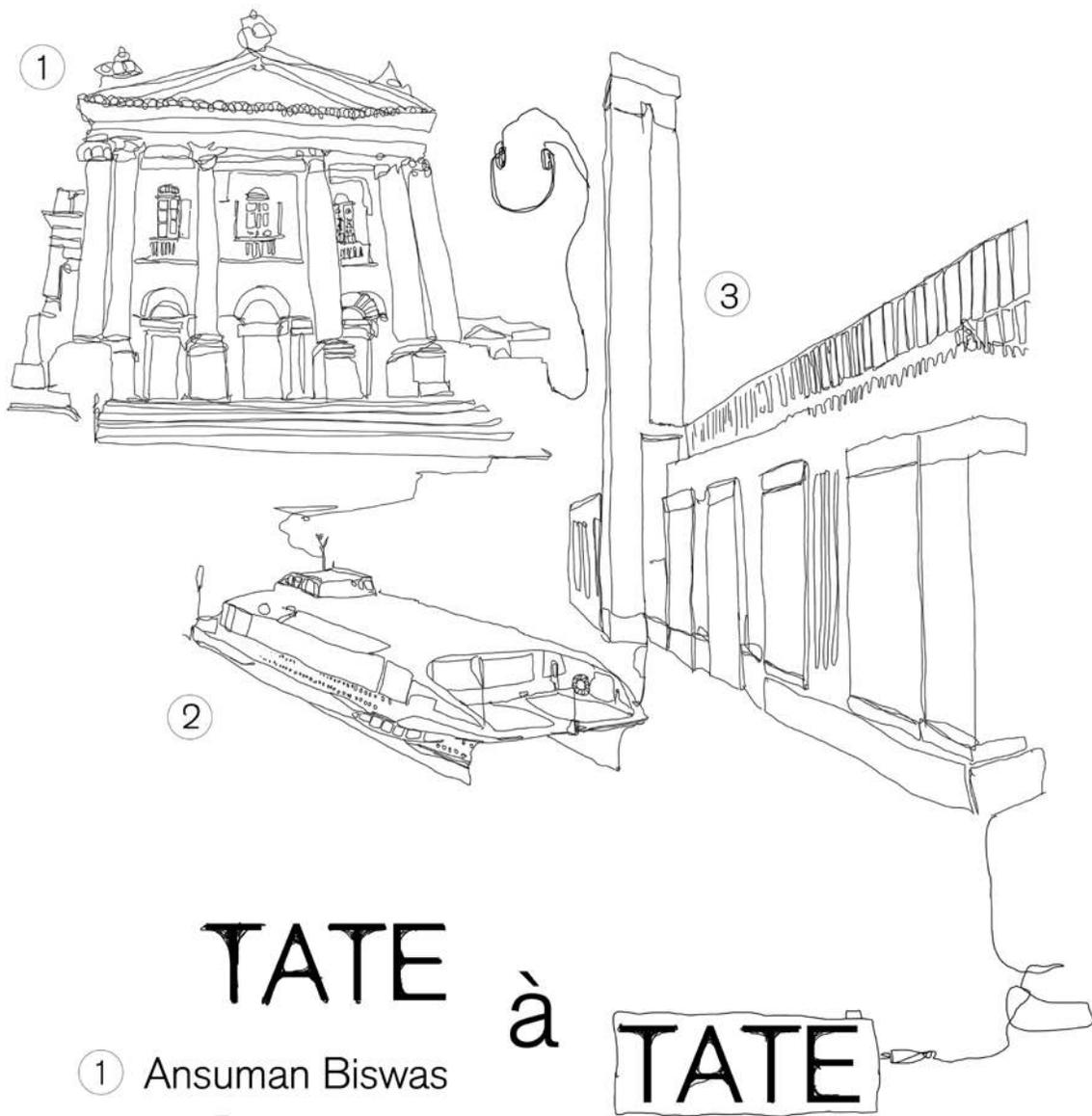
Ai Weiwei, Ali Ferzat & Ahmed Bassiouny, p.60-65

- 38) http://www.change.org/petitions/call-for-the-release-of-ai-weiwei/#?opt_new=t&opt_fb=t
- 39) 'Syrian cartoonist has hands broken' Telegraph, 26/8/11. <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/middleeast/syria/8723897/Syrian-cartoonist-has-hands-broken.html>
- 40) 'Shell supports Syrian regime with \$55 million during crackdown; one out of six Syrian tanks runs on Shell oil,' Platform blog, 29/5/11. <http://blog.platformlondon.org/2011/05/29/shell-supports-syrian-regime-with-55-million-during-crackdown-one-out-of-six-syrian-tanks-runs-on-shell-oil/>
- 41) 'Building on a Deep Commitment to Syrian society', Shell Promotional Material. <http://www.barrowandshuck.com/pdf/48-55%20syria.pdf>

Visions Of Culture Beyond Oil, p. 66-85

- 42) Nathalie Buschor
- 43) Tessa Tennant
- 44) Otto Scharmer





TATE

à

TATE

① Ansuman Biswas

② Isa Suarez

② Mark McGowan

② Mae Martin

③ Phil England

③ Jim Welton

This winter, LIBERATE
TATE and PLATFORM
present a site-specific
sound artwork themed
around the issue of BP
sponsorship of Tate.

www.tateatate.org



978-0-9567365-3-6

UK £10 EUR €12 US \$15

LIBERATE
TATE

