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The Use of Newspaper in Pablo Picasso's Papiers - Collés of 1912-1913

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Introduction

One of the most astounding developments of Cubism was the introduction of the papier-collé. By gluing pieces of paper, such as wallpaper, newspaper, sheet music and labels, onto the surface of the painting, artists discovered many new stylistic possibilities. During the years 1912-1913 Pablo Picasso spent most of his time exploring the papier-collé. Newspaper was one of the most frequently used elements in his work. He produced eighty collages during autumn 1912 through winter 1913, of which fifty-two contained newspaper clippings. Art historians have traditionally thought that Picasso's use of newspaper was simply a result of formal experimentation; however, through recent studies of the actual text it becomes clear that Picasso was well aware of the various associations that the clippings evoked. Picasso carefully selected his articles and, therefore, they accurately reflect the artist's political beliefs as well as reveal aspects of his playful personality.

Authors such as Patricia Leighten and David Cottington analyze Picasso's political affiliations extensively and illustrate the strong correlation between the clippings and Picasso's anarchist beliefs. Other authors such as William Rubin and Robert Rosenblum show how the selection and placement of the newspaper exemplifies the artist's witty sense of humor and his fascination with manipulating letters.
to create puns. By reading recent writings by such authors, one achieves a greater understanding of Picasso's intentions in introducing actual newspaper into his art. Picasso used the papier-collé as a means of commenting on the socio-political atmosphere of the pre-World War I Europe, and expressing elements of his private life. This technique was revolutionary in both its form and its messages.
Political Significance

Newspaper, by its nature, encompasses various political, economic, and social issues. By incorporating it into his work, Picasso combats the conventions of strictly decorative art. Newspaper "was more than just a new material for artistic expression, a scrap of black and white. It carried the connotations of a cultural and artistic history." (1)

Many of the clippings refer to contemporary political events, and by careful selection of these articles Picasso expresses his own opinions and social commentary. In order to appreciate the political significance found in Picasso's use of newspaper one must investigate his overtly political background.

Patricia Leighten, in her recent book Re-Ordering the Universe, traces Picasso's political affiliations and illustrates their effects on his artwork. Living in Barcelona from 1885-1904 marks the artist's immersion into specifically anarchist circles. Leighten states, "Barcelona was the most politically agitated city in Spain, and the witness of increasing violence around the turn of the century." (2) People started seeing the corruption of the government and their lack of concern for the suffering urban poor. Under such conditions of political turmoil, anarchism flourished and Picasso quickly became involved in this movement.
As a youth Picasso was known to frequent El Quatre Gats, a cafe that served as a meeting place for the avant-garde artists and the anarchist sympathizers of Barcelona. It was among these people that Picasso developed his political ideals. Anti-militarism, anti-industrialism, and anti-nationalism were among the most important anarchist principles. If uncorrupted by the government, the anarchists believed that men and women would act for the general well-being of everyone. They supported individual liberty and rejected the implanted social system.

The artist's role in this anarchist revolution was crucial to its success. Kropotkin, one of the major theorists of Picasso's time, called out to the members of the artistic bohemia:

You poets, painters, sculptors, musicians, if you understand your true mission and the very interest of art itself, come with us. Place your pen, your pencil, your chisel, your ideas at the service of the revolution.... Show the people how hideous is their actual life, and place your hands on the causes of its ugliness. Tell us what a rational life would be, if it did not encounter at every step the follies and the ignominies of our present social order. (3)

Picasso responded actively to such writings. He co-founded an avant-garde magazine called Arte Joven in 1901, including a statement that defined the anarchist motives of the founders. (4) Picasso also joined a group of painters known as the Colla S. Marti that explored the poor areas of Barcelona and depicted the terrible living conditions in
their paintings. Another example of Picasso's strong affiliation to anarchism was the publication of his first drawings in an anarchist magazine.

Having matured as an artist in Barcelona during these years, it would have been impossible for Picasso to avoid becoming deeply involved in the anarchist movement surrounding him. It was under these revolutionary circumstances that Picasso set the foundations for his political ideals. His artistic activity represented his own social commentary. Here he began the marriage of politics and art that appeared consistently throughout his career. He emerged from Barcelona as an anarchist-artist.

When Picasso moved to Paris in 1905 the political atmosphere was quite similar to that of Barcelona. He quickly associated himself with the avant-garde artists and became friends with several anarchists sympathizers such as Guillaume Apollinaire, Alfred Jarry and Andre Salmon. The left-wing was growing rapidly as the threat of war became evident. In 1905, The First Moroccan Crisis made the French aware of the possibility of a war with Germany. Although this crisis was settled in 1906, there was constant tension between France and Germany for the next seven years. The First Balkan War also posed a threat of war for the French. In 1912, Raymond Poincare, Premier and Foreign Minister, supported the Russians in the Balkans and enthusiastically "geared up" for a "short and glorious war."(5)
opposed to the government's attitude towards the impending war. While the stage was being set for a general European war, the members of the left-wing tried to combat the government by convincing workers of all nations to refuse to fight when called upon. They supported violence and strikes in the working class revolution. To the anarchists war was a horrible injustice of the social system. Those in power exploited the labor force to gain an economic profit. (6) It was the responsibility of the left-wing to portray French politics as a serious threat to civilization.

With an understanding of the political atmosphere leading up to 1912, one must also follow the artistic developments of Cubism from 1905 until 1912, when Picasso first began to use newspaper in his work. Upon arriving in Paris Picasso started the long-lasting friendship with the artist Georges Braque. They worked closely together and through constant dialogue they made drastic advancements in Cubism. During this intense period of study Braque and Picasso pursued formal abstraction. (7) The subjects became more difficult to define as the artists' forms became increasingly fragmented. They treated space ambiguously with complex series of overlapping planes. As their experimentation progressed they used less and less color.

Art historians most commonly view Analytic Cubism as a
strictly formal movement; however, Leighten suggests that this extremely active period in the history of Cubism was not driven by style alone.

Leighten explains how the rapid developments in Picasso's Cubism from 1905-1912 show a conscious political act. The suppression of color implies a certain ugliness of the Twentieth Century industrial world. (8) The Cubists intentionally attacked the social system by stylistically violating artistic traditions and, by doing so, initiated the idea of the "revolutionary in art." (9) In response to this political art The Chamber of Deputies on December 3, 1912, discussed whether or not to censor Cubism as a result of its anti-national tones. Leighten argues that this instance manifests the political tensions created by High Analytic Cubism. (10)

An understanding of Picasso's artistic and political development up to early December of 1912, leads us to a greater appreciation of the artist's use of newspaper clippings during the following months. His anarchist ideals played a crucial role in the selection and placement of newsprint. The articles he chose were "reports and accounts meticulously cut to preserve legibility, of the events that heralded the approach of World War I and the anarchist and socialist response to them." (11) Picasso did not, however, use radical newspapers. Instead most of his clippings came from Le Journal. This was a mass-circulation Republican
daily that was a perfect way to incorporate the war news because of its tendency to focus on the gory. Picasso specifically selected articles that illustrated anarchist themes such as war, war-profiteering, and pacifist demonstrations. This was not simply a reflection of the front-page news, as is proven by the fact that Picasso used all sections of the paper. It is also important to note that Braque, although using precisely the same newspapers, rarely chose clippings with such political association. Braque, being a patriot, did not desire to send anarchist messages through his work. Leighten argues that the actual initiation of newsprint by Picasso one year prior to Braque, suggests that the primary motivation for his innovation was to make social commentary more prominent in his work.

The placement of the newsprint into cafe settings reflects the penetration of the war in the daily lives of the members of the avant-garde. It was in the cafes that heated political discussion took place. Picasso and his contemporaries questioned their role in the upcoming war and the newsprint suggests the contents of the many intense arguments that would have been taking place across Paris. Of his papiers-collés of 1912-1913, more than half of them make reference to the occurring Balkan Wars. By "quoting" the newspapers, Picasso made extremely clear his strong anti-war stance.
Glass and Bottle of Suze (Nov. 1912) was one of Picasso's first attempts in papier-collé. His placement of the newsprint is quite complex. Portions of articles containing gruesome descriptions of battle are placed in the central area. The print tells of the famine and the endless suffering of the victims. Several of these fragments are situated upside down to emphasize the chaos of fighting. In contrast to the horror dominating the central portion of the work, Picasso places a long vertical strip of print on the left border that describes a mass gathering of forty to fifty thousand socialists, anarchists, and pacifists. Picasso is voicing his anti-war beliefs through Glass and Bottle of Suze. The artist displays his disgust in the government's blind entry into war without considering the helpless people involved. There is a sense of anxiety in the juxtaposition of the disturbing articles and the tranquility of a still-life. Picasso suggests a threat to the "fragile pleasure of a civilized peace: wine and music in a wallpapered room." 

In addition to the human and personal effects of battle, Picasso shows the corruption of other aspects of society due to war. In Bottle on a Table (Dec. 1912) the artist uses as background a single sheet from the financial section of Le Journal, December 3. Picasso turns this page upside down, once again to emphasize the negative impacts of war on the European economy. As a result of the unstable armistice of the First Balkan War the stock markets plunged, thus some
people reaped a profit whereas some people suffered tremendously. The bottle itself sits on a table formed by the newspaper and, therefore, "suggests that the economic structure making cafe life possible rests on the uncertainty of uncontrollable world events."(14)

In another early papier-collé Man with a Violin (Dec. 1912) Picasso combines several political issues in the same work. Miners are the subject of the clipping in the upper left and the selected clipping shows their discontent. In the center the print discusses the minister of the navy assuring Parliament that the navy was well prepared if called upon to fight. Another article contemplates the Balkan situation and the possibility of the intervention of a third party. The anti-militarist campaign is the subject of the pieces of print at the bottom.(21) In the artist's own words, "Painting is not done to decorate apartments. It is an instrument of war for attack and defense against the enemy."(22) Picasso attacks the current social system by illustrating the complex political problems that it causes.

In addition to specifically political references concerning the current Balkan Wars Picasso illustrates a different type of disgust in his papiers-collés. In approximately one fourth of his papiers-collés of 1912-1913, the artist clips articles that describe violence, murder and vandalism. He shows how the world has literally gone mad as a result of the corrupt social system. In Newspaper and
Violin (Dec. 1912) the headline reads "Chauffeur Kills Wife."
In Bottle and Wineglass (Dec. 12) a vagabond accuses himself of a murder and tells of how he stabbed a man with his knife. Picasso probably found a twisted humor in such bizarre anecdotes. It is likely, however, that he was troubled by such stories and believed in the anarchist utopia where people could live peacefully with each other without the influence of a corrupt political system.

In a recent article, "What the Papers Say: Politics and Ideology In Picasso's Collages of 1912," David Cottington suggests that Picasso's use of newsprint was not merely a way to express political ideas. He describes "the cultural force field"(15) surrounding Picasso and acknowledges the importance of political events on his works, but finds more subtle messages in his use of newsprint. Unlike Leighten, he implies that "reading the references to war and pacifist demonstrations as indicative of Picasso's anti-militarism is attractive but ultimately unsatisfactory."(16) Cottington explains an intimate relationship between the clippings and the works as a whole. An excellent example of this relationship is the pair of works Bottle on a Table (Dec. 1912). He proposes that Picasso in many ways distances the war in his art "much as war is distanced by the media through which we learn about it."(17) In one case the clipping shows economic effects of the war. The newspaper forms the background, thus implying that the war was a background event
for the public. In the other version of Bottle on a Table the clipping is in the foreground and thus confronts a more personal issue as the text reveals "La Guerre contre l'Avarie (the war against syphilis)." He searched for contrasts between public and private life and placed them in his works accordingly. This example illustrates that Picasso's selection of articles was greatly influenced by politics, but that his desire to voice anti-militarist opinions was not his sole purpose in incorporating newsprint. Cottington's conclusion is that further study is necessary to understand the full impact of the political atmosphere on art.

The influence of political events on Picasso's work is evident in his papiers-collés, and one might ask why the subject, until recently, has been neglected by art historians. Picasso was known to be anti-military, as proven by his refusal to fight in the war even when most of the members of the avant-garde, including Apollinaire, went to fight in the last panicked moment. He later painted works with pacifist messages such as Guernica (1937) and The War and Peace murals (1952). Why were these anarchist associations previously overlooked in his papiers-collés? Today, if a painting contained a newspaper article with headlines such as "Democracy in Eastern Europe," or "Mandela is Free," one would automatically draw conclusions about the artist's political beliefs with regard to the issues of our time. The
threat of a European war being the major political issue of Picasso's time, leads one to conclude that he too was trying to express his opinions on the subject.

Leighten explains that since 1945 Picasso has been "made in the formalist's own image." (23) She characterizes the University culture of the 1950's as being a-political. American scholars imagined a place without politics and history and, therefore, tended to focus strictly on formal developments. It was not until the 1960's that Americans became re-politicized and became interested in the social context of early twentieth century art.
Insights into Personal Life

Although during 1912-1913 Picasso's selection of articles for his papiers-collés focused on political issues, he also explored other possibilities. Still obsessed with the issues of the war, his papiers-collés treated a variety of subjects. More of the newspaper clippings dealt with lighter issues. He chose health remedies, theater listings, advertisements for alcohols and wines, and other articles that alluded to the cafe world. These papiers-collés reveal different elements of Picasso's personal life. He makes reference to certain relationships, illustrates his fascination with puns of all kinds, and displays his playful personality in his deliberate attempt to connect the print to the drawn composition. The pieces of newspaper are thus transformed from items of the impersonal mass media to "entries into the artist's private diary." (24)

An example of a papier-collé that directly reflects Picasso's personal life is Man with a Hat (Dec. 1912). One of the articles is a fictional story about two lovers which parallels Picasso's relationship with Eva Gouel at the time. The other article is a medical piece focusing on tuberculosis which was slowly killing Eva. (25) Picasso obviously did not simply select these two articles randomly. He troubled to cut the articles from different pages of the newspaper (27) so that they would relate closely to his personal life.
Continuing this theme in his later works, he employs Vieux Marc, the brand of a tonic used for its healing abilities. Picasso would have been disturbed by watching Eva suffer knowing that their relationship would come to an end, and incorporated his emotions into this papier-collé.

In the papier-collé Guitar, Sheet Music, and Glass (Nov.1912), Picasso makes another reference to one of his personal relationships. The newsprint reads, "La Bataille est Engage" (the battle is joined) and, as William Rubin explains, hints at his friendship with Georges Braque. The background to this work is crucial to the understanding of the specific headline. Braque had been the first of the two artists to attempt working in this new medium but strategically waited for Picasso to leave Sorgues before starting. Braque worked at a slower pace and wanted to make sure he had enough time to complete his work before allowing Picasso to run away with his technique. Guitar, Sheet Music, and Glass was one of Picasso's first attempts at a papier-collé and the headline fits appropriately. Although this headline literally refers to the Balkan War, it suggest their friendly "game of one-upmanship"(26) that served to accelerate the development of Cubism. By working in close contact the two artists could keep an eye on each other's progress. "Le Jou" (from jouer-to play) indicates that Picasso was amused by the challenge of integrating news
clippings onto the surface of his work and accepted it with pleasure.

The fact that Picasso derived pleasure from creating puns of all sorts is also apparent in his papiers-collés. Picasso had a reputation for being obsessed with word play. His correspondence with Jaime Sabartés was a prime example of this fascination.

One never referred directly to an event or a situation; one spoke of it only by allusion to something else. Pablo and Sabartes wrote to each other almost every day to impart information of no value and even less interest, but to import it in the most artfully recondite fashion imaginable. It would have taken an outsider days, weeks, to fathom one of their arcane notes...playing on words, splitting them up, recombining them into unlikely and suspicious-looking neologisms...He worked so hard at being hermetic that sometimes even Sabartes didn't understand and they would have to exchange several more letters to untangle the mystery. (28)

By cutting and manipulating the fragments of newspaper, Picasso poses similar mysteries to the viewer. Often the solution renders a humorous message. "Au Bon Marché" (Jan. 1913), as deciphered by Robert Rosenblum in his article "Picasso and the Typography of Cubism," is an extremely witty example. In the center is an advertisement for lingerie at the Parisian department store Au Bon Marché. In the upper portion is another department store advertisement including an industrial drawing of a woman. Picasso cuts off this figure at the waist. At the bottom there is a void filled with the words "L'un B TROU ICI," thus the entire work...
reading as, "One makes a hole here inexpensively." (29) Once the viewer comprehends the sexual connotation the wittiness of this work is evident.

Guitar (spring 1913) offers a similar reflection of Picasso's witty personality. William Rubin reads this papier-collé as a manipulation of the female and male forms. The front of the guitar, with its smooth curves represents the female anatomy. This shape is placed so that it slightly overlaps the rectangular male form. The clipping to the left advertises Dr. Casasa, a specialist in the treatment of venereal disease. Directly below this ad is another, in smaller print, for Dr. Dolcet, an oculist - playfully suggested by Picasso for the viewers who did not "see" the meaning of his work. (30)

Picasso constantly played with the relationship between the text and the composition itself. From studio photographs of his papiers-collés, it is clear that Picasso first drew the composition and then pasted the papers onto the surface, redrawing any covered lines. This procedure implies that Picasso searched for a match of some sort. In Siphon, Glass, Newspaper, and Violin (Dec. 1912) there is a clever relationship between the clippings and the charcoal drawing. On the left side the siphon is made up entirely of newspaper. Picasso places the text on its side so that the bold lines run horizontally to suggest liquid. The central clipping also matches the drawn composition and adds a new element to
the entire work. The drawing in the square illustrates a man fishing and the caption below reads, "Comment on pose une ligne a 1000 metres de fond" (how to lay a line at a depth of one thousand meters).(31) The fisherman's line drops down and joins the circle of the wine glass' lip, which is connected to the parallelogram of the glass' bowl. This strong succession of shapes "anchors with its verticality, the swaying teetering rhythms of the Cubist objects set afloat around it."(32) The choice and placement of the piece of newspaper in this work is crucial for it cleverly ties together all the elements.

In Bottle and Wineglass (Dec. 1912) the placement of the newspaper adds an amusing element to the otherwise serious still-life. The trapezoid clipping contains an advertisement for a lightbulb that "is the only one which gives light on all sides...the only one which can be placed in any position."(33) This text explains why Picasso chose to paste it upside down. In addition to a bottle, this clipping suddenly becomes a lamp, perhaps illuminating the other article on the paper.

Through his papiers-collés, Picasso manages to express aspects of his personality to the viewer. One gains a better understanding of his wit and playful spirit, as well as several insights to specific events of his personal life.
Formal Innovations

The actual reading of the newspaper clippings is essential to the complete understanding of Picasso's intentions of expressing his political beliefs and certain elements of his personality. However, it is not necessary to decipher the text to appreciate the papier-collé stylistically as a revolutionary art form. Cubism underwent great changes in style from the highly analytic works preceding 1912 to the more simplified papiers-collés and collages. For the first time, the artist placed materials other than paint onto the surface of a work. Although the sight of foreign materials is no longer shocking because of their familiarity, it is important to remember that during Picasso's time this was viewed as revolutionary. Collage refers to the incorporation of objects or materials on the picture surface, whereas papier-collé refers specifically to paper fragments. The collages and papiers-collés treated the same traditional subjects, such as the still-life, portraits, and café scenes; however, the treatment of these subjects was drastically different. The use of pasted paper (newspaper being one of the most common types) produced works that ignored the preceding formal conventions.

The newspaper as an object in art had been a common subject for many artists before Picasso: Degas, Cézanne, and Renoir all painted newspaper in their works.(34) Picasso,
however, did not paint newspapers as did these artists - he pasted actual pieces to his surface. This technique redefined the role of the artist. No longer did the artist have to mimic reality, instead he literally put reality on the canvas. Picasso was subtly mocking artists who struggled to achieve illusionistic images: Why trouble to paint a newspaper when you could simply use the actual newspaper itself. The role of the artist was to transform seemingly worthless scraps of paper into art. Picasso described himself as "trying to express reality with materials [he] did not know how to manage." (35) Braque and Picasso had no secrets in their works and presented themselves as being "stripped of all magic" as their craftsmanship and materials were simultaneously exposed. (36)

In 1912 the structure of Cubism changed as a result of the use of these new materials. During his analytic period Picasso broke the objects in his painting down to extremely small individual facets. The size of the clippings in his collages and papiers-collés were larger than these units, resulting in "simpler patterns of fewer, bolder shapes." (37) A comparison of The Aficionado (summer 1912) and Guitar, Sheet Music, and Glass (Nov. 1912) makes this difference evident. The sheer number of pictoral elements is drastically reduced, and thus a more rational composition is created. The analytic work retains a sense of space and depth.
with diagonals and by modeling with light and dark tones. The pasting technique and the lack of shading of the later work emphasize the flat surface of the picture. Traditionally the picture surface is viewed as a window or a transparency through which one sees an allusion. *The Aficionado*, although by no means painted in a conventional manner, still gives the viewer the idea of looking into the painting. The papier-collé, on the other hand, destroys this notion by placing opaque forms over the surface.

These pasted opaque forms function as visual signifiers in the pictures. This is to say that a piece of paper represents a complete object. In *Bottle of Vieux Marc, Glass and Newspaper* (March 1913) the piece of wallpaper symbolizes a tablecloth that sits on a table whose rim is suggested by the fake molding on the lower right. The newspaper fragment signifies an entire newspaper lying on top of the table next to the bottle and glass. Instead of reducing real objects to their abstract components, as he does in his analytic period, Picasso here combines real components to invent objects on the surface. He is constructing an image with the pasted papers - thus the term Synthetic Cubism.

In several cases the pasted papers signify more than one object. The clipping in *Bottle, Cup, and Newspaper* (Dec, 1912) is placed so that it symbolizes the presence of a newspaper as well as a label on the bottle. In *Violin* (Nov. 1912) the newspaper represents the bottom part of the violin,
the table on which it sits, as well as a newspaper lying on the table. In *Table with Bottle and Violin* (Dec. 1912) the form of the bottle is made up entirely of a newspaper clipping. Picasso himself wrote, "if a piece of newspaper can become a bottle, this leads us to reflect on the activity of both newspapers and bottles."(38) The viewer is challenged to draw conclusions as to what Picasso is representing by means of the various signifiers he presents.

Art historians have argued that although the emphasis is placed in the flat surface of a papier-collé, the juxtaposition of different paper fragments indicates distinctly different planes. William Rubin gives his analysis of *Man with a Hat* (Dec. 1912) and explains how the three pieces of pasted paper indicate three planes of the man's face. The blue paper represents the portion of the face that is in shadow, the newspaper signifies the side of the face catching the light, and the black paper is the shaping of the face's outer edge.(39)

Rosalind Krauss also sees Picasso's use of newspaper as a means of signifying light and atmosphere. She describes the newspaper in *Bowl with Fruit, Violin, and Wineglass* (Dec. 1912) as forming a "fine black and white screen" that gives the work a tone of "luminosity and transparency."(40) The use of newsprint to achieve this effect replaces the traditional techniques of sfumato or pointillism. Picasso,
however, does not attempt to simulate light, rather he uses newspaper as a means to symbolize the atmosphere in his work. Newspaper was by no means the only type of paper used in the papiers-collés. Wallpaper, labels, sheet music, and various other painted papers were used to achieve similar stylistic results. Picasso's papiers-collés exemplify the remarkable formal innovations and the drastic change in style due to the introduction of foreign material onto the picture surface.
Conclusion

Through his papiers-collés of 1912-1913 Picasso "discovered a type of painting that allied intellectual communication with visual pleasure."(41) He used this medium as a vehicle to express his political beliefs that were expressly anarchist. With an understanding of Picasso's background, it is clear that Picasso's selection of articles was deliberate. He was responding to the political chaos of pre-World War I Europe.

Picasso also revealed elements of his personal life and personality through his use of newspaper. His witty sense of humor is evident by his constant search for puns and visual jokes. As all art is a reflection of the artist, it is logical that the events in Picasso's life at the time would be illustrated through pieces of newspaper he chose to place in his work.

The introduction new material in the papiers-collés and collages proved to be a turning point in Cubism and the history of modern art. This extraordinary innovation was a result of not only formal experimentation, but of Picasso's motives to express himself as a revolutionary.
Notes


4 Ibid., p. 15.

5 Ibid., p. 122.

6 Leighten (cited n. 2), p. 654.

7 Ibid., p. 661.


9 Leighten (cited n. 2), p. 662.

10 Ibid.,

11 Ibid., p. 653.

12 Ibid., p. 669.

13 Ibid., p. 665.

14 Ibid., p. 667.


16 Ibid., pp. 356-7.

17 Ibid., p. 356.

18 Ibid.,

21 Leighten (cited n. 3), p. 127.

22 Leighten (cited n. 2), p. 662.
23 Haley (cited n. 8), p. 27.

24 McCullagh (cited n. 1), p. 82.

25 Leighten (cited n. 3), p. 142.


30 Rubin (cited n. 27), p. 82.

31 Rosenblum (cited n. 29), p. 60.

32 Ibid.

33 Ibid.

34 McCullagh (cited n. 1), p. 82.


36 Ibid.


38 Gilot and Lake (cited n. 28), p. 71.

39 Rubin (cited n. 27), p. 79.


41 McCullagh (cited n. 1), p. 81.
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