

# CULTURAL DEMOCRACY™

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## FREE SPEECH?

*Well, the price of  
everything is going up!*



## CIRCULAR A-122: OMB Writes Cultural Policy

The Office of Management and Budget (OMB) is the ultimate in Washington bureaucracies. Operating at the core of federal government, OMB writes budgets, evaluates programs, and thereby exerts a powerful impact on federal policies and programs in all the agencies. Not surprising, then, that the most dramatic threat to cultural democracy yet posed by the Reagan administration should come from OMB.

On January 24, OMB published proposed amendments to "Circular A-122" in the Federal Register, the daily catalogue of proposed rules and regulations governing federal pro-  
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grams. Circular A-122, entitled "Cost Principles for Nonprofit Organizations," specifies the rules and standards applying to nonprofit groups receiving grants, contracts, or other support from the federal government. OMB's changes would strictly prohibit political activities by all federally-funded groups--and at the same time it proposes extending the definition of what constitutes "political activity."

If adopted, the new regulations could mean that the actors who appeared in a theater company's anti-nuclear play could not be paid with National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) grant funds for their separate work leading acting workshops for pre-schoolers. Likewise a silkscreen collective "caught" using federally-subsidized squeegees to ink posters protesting budget cuts could be barred from receiving future federal funds altogether.

#### UNCLE SAM DOESN'T WANT YOU!

A more controversial federal policy would be hard to imagine. That the framers of these new regulations understood their controversiality is conveyed by the six legal case citations in the two pages which introduce the proposed rules. Apparently, OMB anticipated that litigation would follow their adoption.

Hidden away with the regulations themselves on pages 3348-3351 of the Register are the following "facts" penned by an OMB bureaucrat eager for the ideological roots of the new rules to be understood: "*Although government in a democracy necessarily involves some degree of political advocacy because of the need to communicate with citizens, ...the freedom of First Amendment political advocacy is jeopardized when the views of particular groups are financed by the government....In the marketplace of ideas, where differing political opinions compete for public acceptance, the government should not be in the position of subsidizing the expression of views of particular organizations or corporations, as to defense or domestic policy.*"

The writer paints a picture of a country where "*Thousands of contractors and grantees, administering hundreds of billions of federal dollars (estimates of the actual figures say that \$8-20 billion are administered annually by nonprofits), have had wide latitude to engage in political activities,*

*often using the same facilities and personnel paid for in part by the taxpayers.*" OMB's writer calls this "*unfair,*" and says it is not "*an efficient or economical use of public resources to allow funds to be diverted from statutory purposes to political advocacy.*" New rules are needed to "*ensure that federal funds are not used to hire political armies or to generate political membership support.*"

One senses the bitter frustration of the beleaguered staff of Reagan's OMB in the following:

"*As an example..., take an organization that receives a federal grant to promote better health services for low-income individuals, which decides to organize a political rally to promote more federal funding for medical programs. (Under the new rules the) organization could not be reimbursed for any portion of the salaries of individuals engaged in organizing the political rally or for any portion of overhead costs (office machines, printing facilities, etc.) if the same overhead items were used for the rally.*" (emphasis ours)

The writer articulates a final fear: "...*the commingling of federal grant or contract activity with private political advocacy creates the appearance of federal support for particular positions in public debate. This appearance can interfere with the neutral, non-ideological administration of federally-funded programs.*"

#### THOU SHALT NOT SPEAK

A main feature of the revisions proposed on January 24 is sweeping change in the definition of political activity:

"*Political advocacy is any activity that includes: (1) Attempting to influence the outcome of any Federal, State or local election ...through contributions, endorsements, publicity, or similar activity; (2)...contributing to...a political action committee, either directly or indirectly; (3) Attempting to influence government decisions through an attempt to affect the opinions of the general public or any segment thereof; (or) (4)...through communications with any member or employee of a legislative body, or with any government official or employee who may participate in the decision-making process; (5) participating in or contributing to...litigation other than litigation in which the organization is a party with standing to sue or defend on its own behalf; or (6) Contributing money, services, or anything of value, as dues or otherwise, to an organization that has political advocacy*

as a substantial organizational purpose..." (emphasis ours)

What is to happen to these "political advocacy" activities? *"The costs of activities constituting political advocacy are unallowable."* That is, federal funds may not be used to pay for them:

*"(1) Salary costs of individuals are unallowable if: (a) The work of such individuals includes activities constituting political advocacy...; or (b) The organization has required or induced such individuals to join or pay dues to an organization...that has political advocacy as a substantial organizational purpose, or to engage in political advocacy during non-working hours.*

*"(2) The following costs are unallowable: (a) Building or office space in which more than 5% of the usable space occupied by the organization or an affiliated organization is devoted to activities constituting political advocacy; (b) Items of equipment...used in part for political advocacy; (c) Meetings and conferences devoted in any part to political advocacy; (d) Publication and printing allocable in part to political advocacy; and (e) Membership in an organization that has political advocacy as a substantial organizational purpose..."*

Small groups would be especially hard-hit by OMB's new rules. As Washington's Center for Community Change noted in its February 4 "Information Update," *"These requirements would obviously place an undue burden on organizations, especially neighborhood and grassroots groups, with limited budgets--often organizations whose political views clash with those of the current administration. Larger and more financially secure nonprofits, by contrast, would find it easier to comply with such requirements."*

#### REGULATING CULTURE

Now remember that *"affect(ing) the opinions of the general public"* is classed as political advocacy in the new OMB view. Hard to think of an example of socially-conscious theater or media production, a mural project or panel discussion that could pass muster, isn't it?

We find in the proposed amendments to "Circular A-122" the most definitive attempt yet made by the Reagan administration to enforce the freeze on public discourse that the right wing finds so hospitable to its aims. Groups that strive to encourage public dialogue while delivering public service would be barred

from receiving federal funds.

In disposing of federal social programs over the past two years, Reagan has trumpeted the need to return federal tax funds to the community from which they came and to eliminate wasteful red tape. The administration has claimed that private sector agencies are more efficient, more in tune with local needs, and laudably self-governing. The hollowness of this rhetoric is exposed by OMB's effort: the administration is stooping to Big Brother tactics to destroy the autonomy of the nonprofit sector.

#### THE BOTTOM LINE: ENFORCEMENT

How could the government enforce these new rules? Would this mean stepped-up federal surveillance of groups working for social change? Would it call for a whole new federal enforcement bureaucracy?

The Comptroller General of the U.S., Charles A. Bowsher, cited these issues in testifying before a specially-convened House Government Operations subcommittee hearing on March 1: *"In essence, grantees and contractors will be penalized for having individuals engaged in political advocacy doing any work otherwise properly chargeable to a grant or contract. We have serious reservations concerning the legal enforceability of these penalty provisions as well as their desirability from a policy standpoint."*

It may well be impossible for the federal government to develop monitoring mechanisms sensitive enough to track theater lights once used for a social-issue play. But the changed rules that OMB has proposed are typical of the American version of censorship -- one area in which our government has achieved a good measure of decentralization. Many of those subject to the regulations would censor themselves, striving to avoid the taint of controversiality; most of what was once greeted as idealistic thinking about social change would be condemned as "un-American."

The provisions of "Circular A-122" also would provide a useful new piece of apparatus for witchhunts. Anyone unhappy with a cultural group's slant on some social issue would have a new weapon: a basis for pressing the government to prevent the group from receiving future federal support --or from collecting on grants or contracts already committed. (The provisions would not apply to grants or contracts entered into



from the 1943 War Department film, "Jap Zero"). All were produced by Canada's National Film Board.

Because the Film Board is an agency of the Canadian government, it must register as a "foreign agent" in order to carry out work in the U.S. Last July, the Board submitted a list of its 13 new films and 49 video cassettes to Justice for routine review. In September, the Internal Security section of the Criminal Division asked that 5 of the titles be submitted for viewing. In January, they informed the Canadian government that 3 of the films were "political propaganda," and therefore subject to the Department's supervision under the Foreign Agents Registration Act.

This means that a leader must be spliced onto each print stating that the film was produced by a foreign agent and that its distribution in the U.S. "does not indicate approval of the content of this material by the U.S. Government." Moreover, the Film Board must see that regular "dissemination reports" are filed with the Department of Justice, listing those interested in viewing the films.

Canadian Environment Minister John Roberts, whose agency produced the acid rain documentaries, told the Washington Post: "It sounds like something you would expect from the Soviet Union, not the United States" and called the action "an extraordinary interference with freedom of speech." Senator Edward Kennedy, whose Judiciary Committee arranged one of many impromptu Washington screenings of the past few weeks, said "It is one thing for the right wing to say 'Let Reagan be Reagan.' But it is a very different thing for them to say, 'Let Reagan be Orwell.'"

So what does it take to be labelled "political propaganda" in the halls of Justice? A Justice spokesperson read us a statement saying, "Political propaganda' includes any oral, visual, graphic, written, pictorial or other communication or expression by any person: (1) which...will, or which he intends to, prevail upon, indoctrinate, convert, induce or in any other way influence...any section of the public within the United States with reference to the foreign policies of the (U.S.), or promote in the (U.S.) racial, religious or social dissensions; or (2) which advocates, advises, instigates, or promotes any racial, social, political or religious disorder, civil riots, or other conflicts involving the use of force or violence..."

Explaining how this little-known definition is interpreted, the Justice spokesperson said:

"Our decision as to whether printed material or films are within the definition is based primarily on common sense. We review material to determine the purpose of the dissemination and what audience is being sought. Any attempt to influence a segment of the American public with reference to foreign policy, whether pro or con, on behalf of a foreign principal is considered political propaganda."

John Shattuck of the American Civil Liberties Union told the Baltimore Sun that Justice's action is "outrageous and unconstitutional." As we went to press, an ACLU spokesperson in Washington said a legal action is being planned.

AG/DA

## Do As I Say...

On February 24, the day before fur began to fly over the Canadian film censorship (see above), Secretary of State George Schultz made his way to Capitol Hill to unveil the first detailed plans for "Project Democracy," a new propaganda initiative first hinted at by Ronald Reagan when he addressed the British Parliament last June.

"Project Democracy" aims to "spread the idea of democracy on the battlefield of ideas, not at the end of a bayonet," in the words of Schultz' undersecretary Lawrence Eagleburger. Eagleburger used these words to introduce the program to some 75 participants in the "Conference on Democratization of Communist Countries" held last October with assistance from the right-wing American Enterprise Institute.

Project Democracy, budgeted at \$85 million for its first 1½ years, accounts for just a fraction of the U.S. Information Agency's budget--proposed for Fiscal Year 1984 at \$634 million, up 26% from the current year's \$502 million. The USIA has been criticized for its propagandistic bent ever since Reagan pal Charles Z. Wick (producer of "Snow White & The 3 Stooges") took the helm.

Here's what Secretary Schultz announced in his February appearance before the House Foreign Affairs Committee:

--Over \$16 million would go to the AFL-CIO for overseas programs: \$4.8 million for "foreign policy and defense information," \$8.5 million to assist "democratic trade unions...in priority regions," and \$3 million for educational exchanges;

(Do As I Say, continued)

--Some \$15 million to the Asia Foundation to expand current activities, including publications, exchanges and special grants;

--\$1.8 million to improve English teaching in Africa;

--\$1.7 million to underwrite a large-scale campaign for a new constitution, voter education and a national referendum to assist Liberia's military rulers' return to civilian rule -- and another \$1.7 million for "symposia on the nature of democratic societies" for other military governments;

--\$3.2 million to create an organization to promote democracy in Central America and the Andes;

--\$1 million each to: establish a "Center for Free Enterprise" to study "the role of business in democratic systems"; and establish academic programs at two as yet unidentified foreign universities;

--\$450,000 for exchanging religious leaders between the U.S. and other countries; and

--\$500,000 for providing stipends and "organizational links and initial orientation" for new Soviet emigres, as well as maintaining a library and hosting an annual conference for them.

The lynchpin of Project Democracy will be a glossy newsmagazine called Communications Impact, published in English, Spanish and French with an \$850,000 budget; and a worldwide book publishing project costing \$5.4 million to provide a "core collection" of books about U.S. democratic institutions for subsidized sale abroad.

In his Parliament speech, Reagan outlined the objective of this crusade: "...to foster the infrastructure of democracy--the system of a free press, unions, political parties, universities--which allows a people to choose their own culture, to reconcile their own differences through peaceful means..."

We have tried repeatedly to write a fitting conclusion to this article, but keep coming up empty. The contrast between President Reagan's avowed love of democracy and his administration's practice have left us completely free speech-less.

DA/AG



# HANDS

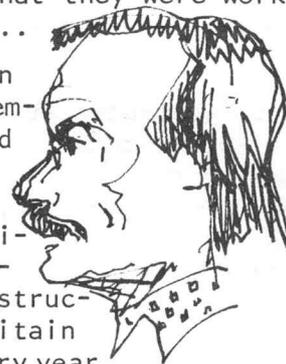
We had a special guest at NAPNOC's national conference in Omaha last October: Andrew Duncan, a British community artist who's a member of Free Form Arts Trust, Ltd. The London-Omaha culture shock must have been a little daunting -- the waitress at Kenny's called Andrew a "limey" and he responded by ordering scotch and ginger ale -- but Andrew didn't show it. His presentation on Free Form and the British community arts movement added a lot to the meeting, and as he said, there is no reason to make too much of the distance: "The world is shrinking; people all over the world are concerned with the same sort of things...Except for the fact that the Atlantic is there, I probably haven't come any farther than some of the other people in this room."

Andrew began his presentation with a brief history of the community arts movement, and continued with a lengthy slideshow of Free Form's recent work. We can't show you his slides but some of his commentary will be of special interest, even without the illustrations.

## British Community Arts

"The community arts movement came from artists. It came out of the '60s, the public art movement, the happenings and things. Artists were beginning to look for other ways of working than the traditional gallery system, artists began to get together and collaborate. The more interaction that occurred through art, the more people realized that they were working along the same lines...."

"The artists who'd been working that way formed themselves into what was called the Association for Community Artists, and started to wage a campaign,...initially against the Arts Council of Great Britain. The structure of arts funding in Britain is that the government every year allocates a sum of money to the Arts Council, a nonpolitical body, its purpose, in brief, to administer arts funds...The Arts Council has a series of panels -- music, drama, film, for all the arts disciplines they can think of-- and allocates money. The sort of things that community artists were saying then are still true today--like 98% of the money was going to 2% of the population.



"Eventually, about 1975, all this pressure established within the Arts Council what is

# ACROSS THE WATER

known as the Community Arts Panel,...assembled initially to look at community arts and say 'Is this a thing that public money should be going into, or is it not?' They decided, 'Let's experiment; let's give it seed money and see what happens.' And from that moment on, what we've been doing as artists is saying 'Hey, we've proved our case; we're doing amazing work, excellent work. It's no longer experimental, no longer seed money.'

"The Arts Council has effectively side-stepped that by 'devolution,' dividing the British Isles up into a series of Regional Art Associations (RAAs). What the central Arts Council does now is parcel out money to all the RAAs and then says, 'Okay, you decide how that money is going to be split up.' So they have just shifted the problem to the RAAs.

"Just to give you an example: In the last financial year, the Council had about 72 million pounds to distribute. Twenty-one went to the 'national clients' (there are very few of those but they might be the Royal Shakespeare Company, the National Theatre, and so on); 7 million went to the RAAs; and so on...Now, of all that money, something less than a million pounds finally found its way through to community artists....The vast majority of the Arts Council's money goes into bricks and mortar; it doesn't actually go to people, and the community arts movement is full of people. It's not capital; it is people.

"In the last Arts Council bulletin they mention something in the region of 306 community arts projects and say that not all of these are actually funded with public money through the Council. So that's quite a number of projects working within the British Isles with quite a small amount of money.

"The community arts movement is strong. It is pretty well organized. We have no paid staff doing the sort of job that NAPNOC does; we have what's called the Shelton Trust, the product of a battle the Association of Community Artists waged with the Arts Council. It's an educational charity--not allowed to take political stances--basically to disseminate information about community arts, and to help organize conferences and so on." (More about the Shelton Trust at the end of this article.)

## Free Form

"Free Form has been very much part of that campaign, part of the establishment of the

community arts movement. Free Form was started in about 1969 by two artists...They were interested, as were a number of other artists at that time, in looking at ways of relating their art to society. They weren't interested in the gallery system. They did a number of small projects....One thing they organized was called the Harrowgate Festival, which was entitled 'Artism and Lifeism,' seen by about 10,000 people who participated in this event, which was really just a gathering together of artists of many, many different disciplines, working with people, just seeing what happened....

"So they moved on from doing these odd bits and pieces and by 1974 got revenue funding from the Arts Council. From then on we have expanded. That is, I suppose, what we are about as artists: we are about expansion.

"Free Form itself has grown to a stage where it's now 20 people strong; 15 of those are professional artists like myself and 5 are administrators. We're based in Hackney, which is the east end of London, and have a couple of dilapidated shops which we've knocked together and that is our base. We work throughout the country and occasionally abroad. We are a multi-discipline company--we call ourselves multi-media--and come predominantly from two backgrounds. My background is fine art college; other people come from a drama background. We've always tried to combine those 2 skills when we're working. We do not split ourselves off and say 'I'm a fine artist; I can only work in that way' or 'I'm a drama person.' We're interested in the fusion of the two....

"The first area I'm going to talk about is what we call 'environmental projects.' When I talk about projects I'm not really talking about something that's contained within a specific bit of time, like 'a 4-day project.' ...A lot of our work is about development, with people and their community, and it takes years of work. The actual project--the visual bit of it--might take 3 days to execute, but the setting up and the follow-up work could be quite extensive...."

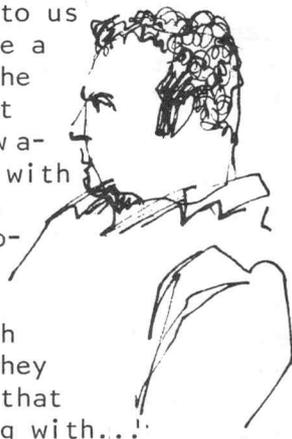


## (HANDS ACROSS THE WATER, continued)

Free Form frequently uses other media to make plans for mural projects; Andrew talked about a mural which covers the outside of a building called Caribbean House, run by a group called West Indian Concern:

"We worked with them using video to work out the ideas. We didn't know anything about them and they didn't know anything about us, so we ran a few sessions with them using video, getting them to interview each other, to find out what the building was about, what their activities were about, and to come to some understanding of what sort of image they wanted to present to the outside world.

"That project really made substantial inroads to the local planners. London is broken into boroughs...each having its own local authority responsible for housing, leisure, recreation, arts activities--a whole range....So we made inroads with the planners and they came back to us and said 'Okay, there are a number of sites around the borough (of Hackney) that are sort of derelict; how about you doing something with them?'. We said we were not interested in just doing sites. We're interested in actually developing a relationship with people, then seeing if they want to identify a site that they want to do something with...!"



### Creating Community

"Let me talk about some of the processes we go through doing environmental projects with people...We are about developing partnerships with people....We will go through a series of meetings actually establishing a community to work with. There may not be a community, there may not even be an established residents' association or tenants' association. So the initial work is actually beginning to establish a sense of community--identifying a group of people, bringing them together, and with them, identifying their concerns and what they actually want to try and achieve. Then, in the case of environmental projects, working out with them the design for the project."

Andrew explained that they use techniques that will not be discouraging to people without experience as art-makers: "We do quite a bit of what's called indirect mosaic:

you work out a design on a piece of paper,... and then with a flour-and-water glue you just stick your mosaics on the pattern the wrong way 'round,...and then put the section onto the wall in one go...A lot of our time is spent thinking of ways of allowing people access to creative processes, because we believe very firmly that through those processes people can achieve the confidence to make real decisions about their own circumstances and their own future....Stencilling is another technique that we use, because it gets over people's inhibitions about not being able to paint. But anyone can get a leaf and trace around it, or do a tracing from a book...and in a very simple way, create an effective result."

Free Form also works in social institutions such as Leytonstone House, a mentally-handicapped hospital: We do quite a bit of work with an organization called One to One... creating a one-to-one relationship between residents in mental institutions and volunteers...It's largely through using drama games, a series of arts activities so people can meet and develop a friendship....We did a project of that nature in Leytonstone House and this in turn generated the interest of the staff to say 'Why don't we have an area within the hospital that is effectively the residents'?' It wasn't a therapy room, but really the residents' own room to do whatever they wanted in...So that's what we did: an old laundry, converted with residents, staff and volunteers into an activity room.

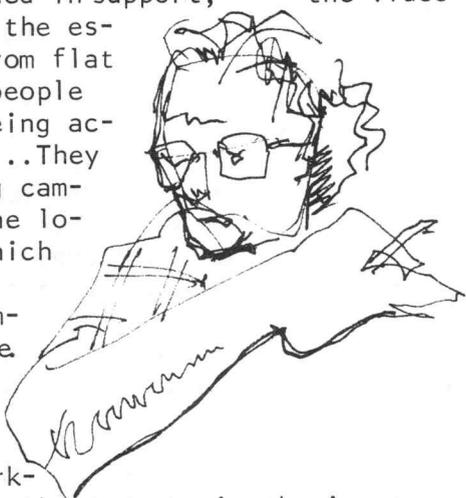
"The Action Space is a group similar to Free Form; they do much more work in mental institutions, and organized the Action Space Season, a season of workshops, films, all about the mentally handicapped. We made a tape/slide show with some mentally handicapped residents and volunteers. We used Polaroid cameras because of the immediate results: they'd take photos which would then be rephotographed onto slide film. They went out--it was like a trail--into a particular part of London for about two hours and collected things. They could collect through either taking photographs or recording the sound."

### Artists Help Organize

"Media is an area of our work--using film, video, photography as the means of expression. Leaview is a rundown housing estate in the east end of London where we worked for a number of years with tenants. Initially about 5 tenants came to us and said 'Look, we want to try and generate a sense of community on our estate; there's nothing going on here, all

people want to do is move off the estate. It's really in a terrible state of repair, ...no maintenance money, very little interest in the tenants' association.' So we went along and worked with these 5 people and put on an estate festival.

"The festival was about what is going on on the estate...and that in turn led to making a film, then a video which was very much again looking at the estate, at what it could potentially be, what resources were there already--like a disused community center...This all built up to a major campaign. The tenants' association gained in support, the video was used around the estate; it went from flat to flat to get people interested in being actively involved...They waged an amazing campaign against the local authority which resulted in a 5 million pound improvement package. It established a group of architects in one of the flats, working closely with the tenants in the improvements, how the houses should be redesigned, and also working out how people were going to move off the estate and then move back on again after the renovations...



"What we did is help them have the confidence--they achieved it, we didn't achieve it. We helped them achieve the confidence to actually go on marches to the Town Hall, disrupt chamber sessions...The first day the builders moved in the tenants arranged a breakfast party and all the Councillors were there--they got wind that all the media was going to be there--saying 'What a great day this is.' Yet a year ago, they had been the ones blocking their earholes, not listening to the tenants' demands."

Andrew described a media project with a group of 'young West Indians who were taken on for a research project funded through the MSC scheme (similar to CETA)...one of a number of schemes employing young people on a temporary basis for about a year. This was a project to do research into problems that young West Indians had in the east end of London. We worked with them using a variety of media--live presentation, video, tape/slide--to look at the issues and concerns they had

and to find other ways of presenting them. They developed a stereotyped West Indian daughter that they created (a lifesize doll), took around and placed in lots of different situations and confronted people with this stereotype...They were looking for either confirmation or rejection of that stereotype. Actually, they started out with a stereotype family, developed characteristics for the whole family. One of the first things we did--we worked with them for a period of about 12 weeks--was role-play a family situation, videotape it, and draw 3 different issues from it. Then 3 different groups each took an issue and produced a slide/tape program about that issue," and finally each was reduced to a single image, one of which Andrew presented in his slide-show at Omaha.

### Facilities and Fireshows

A good deal of Free Form's work is focused on community facilities. "In Crewe (in northwest England), we developed a strong relationship with the community development officer in the local authority. He told us about a factory which an amateur athletics association had got urban aid money to purchase and develop. The top part was for a gym, but the application included developing the bottom part as a community center. So that's how we got involved.

"We started with a 2-day thing, using video with about a dozen people, talking about the building--'How do you see the building in 1984, what are your dreams, your fantasies?' Out of that we built toward a second project, two weeks long. It was amazing the response that was generated. We were working toward an evening--the first activity in the building--to bring people in and say 'Hey, look, this is your building, it's full of potential, there are some of the ideas we saw, what are other ideas you've got?' By the end of the two weeks we were running workshops with 40 people...creating environmental things, the dramatic content of the evening.

"About 200 people came to the evening itself...They went through a kind of maze, first a tape/slide history of the building, then booths of activities that could be going on in the future, then out into the main area for the evening's program. They dreamed up a theater piece about a family bemoaning its boring daily life, then cut to fantasies of a dance hall or whatever. The family became the link for the whole evening, get-

(HANDS ACROSS THE WATER, continued)

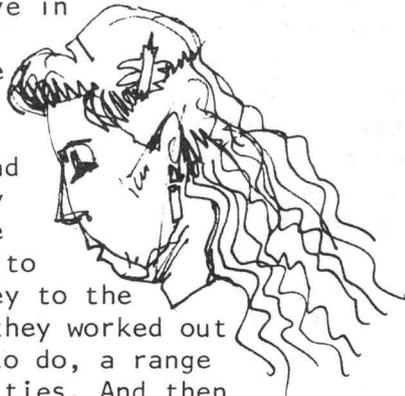
ting across in an entertaining and amusing way the different ideas people had."

Andrew explained that fireshows--spectacles that involve the creation and burning of large symbolic structures--are also a big part of Free Form's work. Fireshows began as part of the Guy Fawkes' Day celebration on November 5, with the burning of a mock-up of the Houses of Parliament, but they are now part of many festivals and other large-scale events. Andrew described a recent fireshow:

"Fireshows...they can be very special occasions....The community arts movement is very much allied with the working class movement. Labour came back to power, took control of the Greater London Council (GLC) quite recently. One of the first things they did was say 'We're going to put money into May Day celebrations.' May Day's a traditional sort of labor day celebration, and they were going to put money into activities in parks around London, one of them Victoria Park in the east end.

"Free Form, together with a number of other community activists, got together and called a public meeting. The outcome was to say to the GLC, 'Fantastic idea that you should put all this money into May Day celebrations. But instead of you deciding what we're going to have in the way of entertainment, you give us the money and we'll work it out for ourselves.' And that's effectively what happened--the GLC was persuaded to hand over the money to the local people and they worked out what they wanted to do, a range of festival activities. And then Free Form did a fireshow.

"We worked with a number of groups from all over the east end over a period of about 5 weeks producing processional pieces. It was quite a spectacular evenings' entertainment--more than an evenings' entertainment, it was a very moving experience, probably witnessed by something in the region of 10,000-12,000 people. The whole thing was about oppression and idea of the central structure was that it would represent the oppressive nature of inner urban areas. Each group that took part in the performance was



encouraged to make a presentation about what they felt oppressed by; they had their image of oppression which they'd processed, paraded with, then attached to the central structure. There were various other aspects of the performance that took place, and symbolic of riding themselves of oppression was the burning of the structure."

### A Sense of Movement

In the discussion period, someone asked Andrew whether the British Arts Council's concept of "quality" put pressure on community arts groups as its counterpart does in the U.S. "Well, the Arts Council, for example, have criticized us for making things like slide/tape shows. They say, 'Why don't you just concentrate on the things you're really excellent at, like environmental projects and these big fireshows...and forget about all these little things that you do?'...We would maintain that the video at Leaview Tenants' is just as relevant as doing the big MayDay fireshow and that we will always maintain that sort of balance within our work. Most of that does come from established art bodies like the Arts Council, they are always very much into product."

Free Form is also concerned with helping to establish local community arts programs where none exist. Andrew told a story about Free Form's work in the northwest of England, around Liverpool and Manchester; when it seemed they were doing quite a bit of work in the region, people said "'Well, it's great, but why do you have to keep coming up from London? Why can't we have a local group of artists who can work with us in this way?'" So they helped to set up a training program in conjunction with the Manchester Polytechnic and "through that program (and with money that was committed from the RAA) we set up what is now a sister company called Community Arts Workshop, a much smaller company than Free Form, but they work solely within that region."

From what Andrew showed us of Free Form's work, there are great similarities with our situation in the U.S., and equally great differences as well. Money is one of the latter. Andrew explained that Free Form receives "Something in the region of 40-45% of our running costs for the year from the Arts Council of Great Britain. We are the largest community arts client. We are not devolved (to an RAA) because we do not work within a single region; we work all over the place. At the moment, the Arts Council is trying to decide what to do with us. They want to shove us somewhere..."

He explained that the rest of Free Form's money comes from a variety of sources--project grants ("We've got a grant from the Gulbenkian Foundation to do media work"); and "if we're doing a specific project project, we'd work with whoever we're working with--tenants' association, community group--to achieve the money for the project. It may be a case of applying to local authorities, RAAs, maybe local industry, a number of different sources..." Listening to Andrew's presentation we couldn't help but remark on the difficulty we would expect to encounter in the U.S. trying to raise money to build processional pieces to be burned in a Labor Day parade or to buy Polaroid cameras and tape recorders for work with institutionalized people, let alone to pay the artists involved in these projects for their work.

A related difference is the apparent willingness of local government in Britain--and various social institutions-- to support community arts work. Few housing departments in this country currently support community development officers who in turn are able to hire community artists for local projects; few community colleges would currently open their doors to a training program for community artists.

These differences have made it more difficult for community artists in the U.S. to carry out what Andrew called "developmental work": "It's actually the business of creating the confidence within a group of people to have some kind of communal identity, to actually start making decisions that can radically affect their circumstances and their lives, and that is where it's a developing thing. It's pointless just going on doing one environmental project in Leicester and then that's it. It's got to be a developing thing."

### Shelton Trust

Despite these practical differences, our movements in Britain and the U.S. have a strong commonality of values and vision. On both sides of the Atlantic, our work is predicated on a commitment to cultural democracy.

To further international cooperation NAPNOC has begun to exchange correspondence and publications with the Shelton Trust--NAPNOC's British equivalent--which publishes a quarterly called Another Standard (subtitled "Community, Art, Culture and Politics"). The Summer '82 issue focused on Manpower Services Commission (MSC) funding--the equivalent of CETA in its fatter days--and its impact on the movement; the Autumn '82 issue was concerned with

"The Politics of Celebration"--festivals, spectacles and their role in the movement; Winter '82, the most recent issue, covers "The Way We Were" -- it features a number of articles on the historical development of Britain's movement, including a piece on Free Form's history that adds to the account Andrew offered in Omaha.

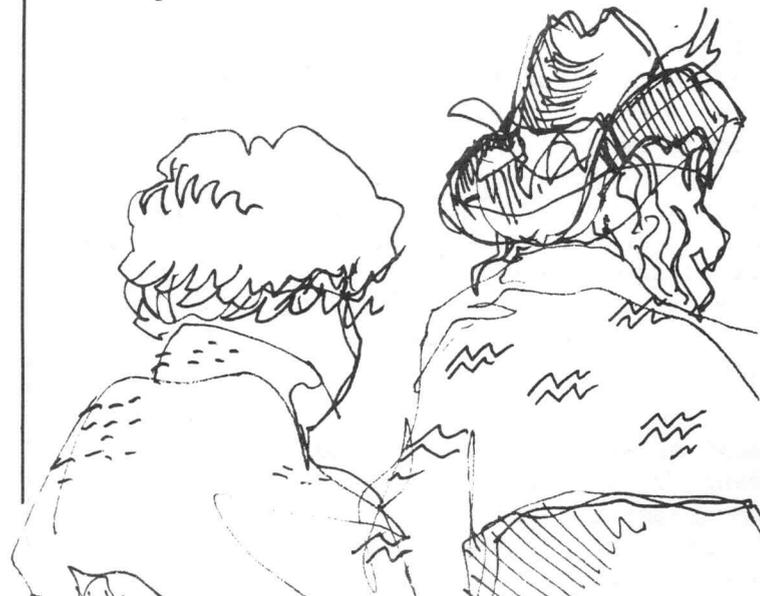
Another Standard will be publishing material from Cultural Democracy from time to time, and vice versa. NAPNOC is also collaborating with the Shelton Trust and the British-American Arts Association to develop an exchange program for community artists in our two countries. If you want to subscribe to AS, we advise you to write for overseas rates; the British subscription price is £3.50 per year.

The Shelton Trust also publishes a "Community Arts Information Pack" and several other special publications. The "Information Pack" is a folder-full of project descriptions and other background information on the British movement, intended especially for people who are not already involved. It describes nearly 30 projects encompassing a wide range of work with an equally wide variety of constituencies.

For more information write to The Shelton Trust, The Old Tin School, Collyhurst Road, Manchester M10 7RQ, England. To reach Andrew Duncan write to Free Form Arts Trust, 38 Dalston Lane, London E8 3AZ, England.

DA/AG

Many thanks to NAPNOC member Mike Mosher of San Francisco for the line drawings that accompany this article. Mike made the drawings during odd moments at the Omaha conference.



# Sweden: Notes on a "Provisional

A few weeks ago we found ourselves in conversation with some acquaintances at the National Endowment for the Arts concerning the inadequacy of the idea of "quality" as the basis for public cultural policy. One NEA program director admitted that quality was indeed relative -- a matter of taste and opinion -- but allowed as how he couldn't see any alternative basis for policy. "What would you have us do," he asked, "support mediocrity?"

As observers of the NEA know, a really airtight orthodoxy blinds its believers to the existence of alternatives. In reality, there are as many alternative approaches to public cultural policy as there are nations on the globe. One that's especially enlightening for us in the U.S. is the policy of the Swedish government.

Thanks to a recent series of seminars jointly sponsored by the Swedish Information Service, the District 1199 Cultural Center "Bread and Roses" program in New York and several other groups, people in the U.S. have had an excellent chance to learn about Swedish cultural policy and practice. Thanks to Tony Gillotte of the Bread and Roses staff, we are publishing the following excerpts from three of the talks given by Swedish representatives at the first seminar session, attended by over 200 people in New York on November 17, 1982.

As a small nation (roughly the size of Washington and Oregon combined, but with a population of some 8 million), and one relatively isolated by language and cultural traditions, Sweden has a cultural policy that doesn't translate neatly to so large and multicultural a country as ours. But even when discussing the cultural problems rooted in small size and isolation, these Swedish representatives have much to say to Americans who live and work in rural regions, in minority cultures relatively isolated from "mainstream" culture, and to most of us outside the traditional cultural production centers like New York or Los Angeles.

The Swedish Consulate General's announcement of the seminar contained a useful one-sentence summary of Swedish policy: "When the present Swedish cultural policy was defined in the 1960's, three important concepts were established; State support of

the arts, distribution of culture throughout the country, and participation by all in cultural life." These three basic goals have since been expanded and articulated into a policy which demonstrates that there are serious, practical alternatives to building public cultural support on the model of private patronage and upper-crust taste.

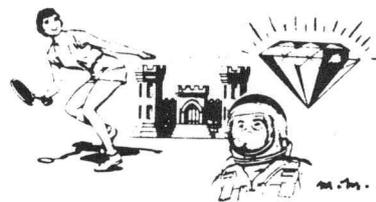
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For general background information on Swedish cultural policy and government apparatus, write for "Swedish Cultural Policy," part of the "Fact Sheets on Sweden" series published by the Swedish Institute. Contact the Swedish Information Service, 825 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10022.

Bread and Roses has changed "umbrellas." It's now under the National Union of Hospital and Healthcare Employees instead of local District 1199. Contact Tony Gillotte at Bread and Roses, 330 W. 42nd St., Room 1905, New York, NY 10036; 212/947-1944.

## SWEDISH CULTURAL POLICY

Editors' note: Excerpted from remarks by Gunnar Svensson, Undersecretary at the Ministry of Culture since October, 1982, under the new Social Democratic government. Svensson was formerly head of the cultural affairs department of the Ministry of Education and Cultural Affairs and of Swedish Travelling Exhibitions.



...I'll begin by treating those areas in which our cultural policy is clearly different from yours here in the United States.

First of all, ...the public sector bears a very great responsibility for cultural activities in Sweden. Contributions from private funds are relatively low. Naturally, people who attend theaters and concerts or buy books and phonograph records account for a sizeable proportion of the costs. Nevertheless, it is the public sector which pays the extra amount needed by programs that don't break even economically. The national government, the 279 municipalities and the 24 county councils

# Utopia"

administer these funds and thereby insure a great diversity of cultural interests and activities.

Cultural policy efforts encompass a broad range of activities, but can be generally divided into four major areas:

The first area includes our cultural institutions. These include libraries, museums, archives, theaters and musical institutions....

In recent decades, one aim has been to improve existing cultural institutions and to create new ones in areas where none formerly existed. A second aim has been to create state-supported organizations which would provide touring theater performances, concerts and art exhibits to areas that have been traditionally poor in cultural resources....

The second area is that of funding or aid to independent creative artists, such as authors, composers, painters and sculptors.

One of the first cultural reform efforts was the establishment of a system of stipends and subsidies for artists, enabling them to work and experiment for a period of time without being plagued by economic worries. In the mid-'60s, a separate guaranteed income system was introduced. The government guarantees a minimum wage under certain conditions to more than 100 well-known artists.

During the 1970's, the main area of growth in public sector support to artists was national government compensation to them as a group for the public use or display of their works. For example, writers collect an "author's allowance" which increases in proportion to the number of times their books are borrowed at public libraries. These government payments are channeled into a fund which the writers themselves have access to. There are similar funds for painters, sculptors and musicians.

## Supporting People's Culture

A third area has to do with cultural activities in independent and voluntary organizations....Perhaps the most important role these organizations play is to provide cultural activities and programs for amateurs. In Sweden, we have a broad network of "study circles"--small, informal groups of people who meet regularly in their free time to learn about a subject of mutual interest. These study circles are sponsored by the adult education associations, which are affiliated with various

popular movements. They are subsidized by State, municipal and county council funds. Each year, study circles offering cultural subjects ranging from literature to handicrafts attract more than 1,000,000 participants.

In recent years, the adult education associations have begun to initiate more active and participatory forms of cultural activity. Amateur theater is thriving, and so is choir singing. A great variety of musical activities in different parts of the country have developed on the basis of work done in the popular movements.

Other recipients of subsidies for cultural activities are institutions run by popular movement organizations. For example,



Sweden has more than 100 folk high schools -- a kind of residential college -- which play a very important part as study and cultural centers. The National Society for Art Promotion, the Foundation for the Promotion of Literature, Skådebanan (...which promotes theater on a wide basis), the People's Halls Association, the People's Parks...receive permanent state funding for their activities.

...It has taken a long time to establish the principle that independent organizations can function as suitable instruments for carrying out the cultural policies of the national or local governments. Traditionally, the authorities would themselves set up some form of organization to carry out what they wanted done. But since the mid-1970's, the motto has been that the public sector has no reason to operate programs which could be run better or equally well by private organizations. Since this decision was made, actual public funding for the cultural programs run by the various popular movement organizations has increased sharply. But naturally, the leaders of these organizations are not so easily satisfied!

## Public Media

The fourth area we will be looking at is the mass media. This includes radio, television, the press, films, books, and phono-

(SWEDEN, continued)

grams -- that is, records and cassette tapes.

Most of the funds budgeted for cultural purposes are channeled into the mass media. These funds include the yearly television and radio fees which we pay in addition to our income taxes.

Sweden maintains a radio and television monopoly. There is only one company licensed to transmit broadcasts, and the majority of stockholders in that company happen to be popular movement organizations. There is no commercial advertising...Broadcasting is thus entirely financed by the fees paid by the watching and listening public.

This public service system -- with the public sector bearing a large responsibility for radio and television -- has a long history in Sweden...since the very beginnings of radio. However, state support for newspapers, magazines and other publications, film productions, books and phonograms is a more recent development, and evolved mainly in the 1970's.

Sweden is very small as a language area, and has a small population as well. The availability of cultural products would decrease drastically if they were evaluated on a purely commercial basis...The only way to maintain an acceptable range and quality of cultural products in our country has been to increase national government subsidies.

Sweden is not the only country to have gone through this development. The problem is similar in all small countries....It is considered important to support offbeat or unusual efforts, which cannot expect a large audience at first, in order to help maintain a national cultural identity in a time when the pressure from the international culture industry is becoming stronger and stronger.

### The Danger of State Control

The willingness to accept responsibility for all kinds of cultural activities -- is that entirely a good thing? Or is there a negative side as well? Is there a tendency on the part of the public sector to try... to exert an influence on the content or form of a product? In other words: Can the creative arts be free and independent in Sweden when they are so dependent on the taxpayers' money?

My answer to that question is YES: Subsidies do not diminish an artist's freedom of expression, but rather increase it.

An important principle of our cultural policy is that those bodies which grant funds to cultural activities must never have any say in the actual content of the product. That is exclusively the domain of the individual artist, the cultural or artistic directors of the particular organization...receiving the money...

In certain areas, there are specific rules and regulations...intended to guarantee this freedom and independence. With regard to radio and television, there are agreements with the State which includes guidelines for programming. This agreement is renewed every 10 years and during that time, all decisions are made by the broadcasting company. The politicians have no say at all about programs.

Naturally enough, conflicts do arise. The board of directors of a theater which is having financial difficulties might demand the production of more "commercial" plays...Or perhaps a politically conservative group will confront the directors of a theater for not having refused plays deemed to contain left-wing propaganda...But once the flames have died down,...it is remarkable how often the principle has held its own: the policies of the artists, not of the politicians, set the tone for cultural activities.



### The Goals of Sweden's Policy

These cultural policy programs...are all the result of policies established during the 1960's and 1970's....The 1970's was an expansive decade, and the ideas which developed in that period have strongly influenced our cultural policy. The reforms aimed at reinforcing the resources available for cultural activities all over the country, involving new groups of people in cultural activities, stimulating individual creativity, and counteracting the effects of commercialism.

In 1974, Parliament enacted an 8-point program which specifies the direction and aim of our cultural policy. Cultural policy shall:

--help protect freedom of expression and create genuine opportunities to utilize this freedom;

--provide people with the chance to carry out their own creative activities and encourage contacts between people;

--counteract the negative effects of commercialism in the cultural sphere;

--further a decentralization of activities and decision-making functions in the cultural sphere;

--be designed with regard to the experiences and needs of disadvantaged groups;

--facilitate artistic and cultural innovation;

--guarantee that the cultural heritages of earlier periods are preserved and kept alive; and

--further the exchange of experience and ideas in the cultural sphere over linguistic and national boundaries.

To borrow a phrase from contemporary Swedish political debate, this is a "provisional utopia." Utopias don't expect to become immediate realities -- not even during the current five-year period. But they do assume a constant movement toward the goals which have been staked out.

...The Swedish economy has suffered severe setbacks since the 1970's, and we are talking about cutbacks, not expansion, at this time. To be accurate, this presentation of Swedish cultural policy should end with a big question mark. In order for us to begin approaching these goals, we need a period of expansion ahead of us. Many of us believe that this is possible, even in these times of very tight money....

## **SWEDEN'S POPULAR MOVEMENTS: Working for Cultural Democracy**

*Editors' note: Excerpted from remarks by Göran Holmberg, Director of the Swedish National Society of Art Promotion in Stockholm.*

These seminars should...enable all of us to call attention to the role of the popular movements as creators of culture through their own work; as cultural intermediaries and employers; and as cultural catalysts and pressure groups in dealing with the political establishment...The "popular movements"... have a democratic structure, an open membership and democratic controls, but do not primarily specialize in cultural matters. These organizations include labor unions, cooperative organizations for consumers and farmers, religious denominations, tenant associations

and so on. Their individual members come mainly from working-class and middle-class backgrounds.

## **Criticism of Present-Day Cultural Patterns**

To begin with,...the cultural activities of these popular movements are, of course, severely critical of the forces that have created the cultural pattern...of the industrialized countries. The members of the traditional popular organizations have been in a position to observe that access to cultural experiences is unfairly distributed; that people's situation can hurt their chances of experiencing a rich cultural life; and that certain geographical areas and certain categories of people are favored in



this respect. (I am talking now mainly about the situation in Sweden, but having visited this country before, I know that the pattern here is similar.)...

The Swedish popular movements call attention to such injustices -- want to change this pattern and want their members to be represented in...the cultural field. I prefer to see us refer to this as a struggle for cultural democracy, and compare it with the earlier struggle for political democracy, and in Sweden, a struggle for economic democracy.

All our experience indicates that strong, dominant forces in society feel challenged and in some cases threatened...we should not assume that the present-day establishment accepts this criticism without reacting to it...they fight back and defend their own privileges...my experience is thus that the task of promoting cultural democracy is a controversial and traumatic task. The popular organizations thus have to carry out their cultural work according to a well-planned strategy...to make a large number of people more free and to question present-day society.

## **New Cultural Ideals are Created**

Given this point of view, we do not accept the traditional ways of increasing

(SWEDEN, continued)

people's access to cultural events or opportunities. In this respect, the starting point is the same for an American or a Swedish public....

The large popular movements in Sweden do not share any single approach to cultural issues....new cultural ideals have been created by completely new popular organizations during the 1970's, and the more conventional organizations have regarded these ideals as a challenge to themselves....

A couple of main tendencies may be observed. Let me summarize them...:

--Artistic forms are not being questioned. This applies to the visual arts, literature, music, theater and so on. The aim of the organizations is to enable more people to participate in the present-day cultural life of the nation. The organizations do accept the existing culture.

--The organizations recruit artists to carry out commissions related to the main tasks of the organizations themselves. It may be a labor union that commissions a so-called "working-class play" from a theater group, or asks visual artists to create an art exhibition related to the union's field of activity. The organizations become patrons of the arts, or customers in a system of "commissioned culture."

--Within the organizations, or as part of their adult education programs, there is also lively amateur activity in the cultural field: painting, theater, film, singing, music and so on. These amateur activities are deliberately encouraged by the organizations in order to give their members further opportunities to express themselves and to create their own culture....

--Special groups are being formed by young artists or amateurs to produce pure "agitational culture." This is an old political form of cultural creativity which underwent a revival in Sweden during the '70s. They also received generous subsidies for activities that were often very critical of the government.

...Obviously there is a rich cultural heritage that exists among working-class and middle-class groups that sharply contrasts with the upper-class cultural traditions that characterize industrial society. I think there has been a consistent tendency within the (popular) organizations to adopt a generous and undogmatic approach

to the theory and practice of culture....All indications are that their increased involvement means a greater choice of culture, the preservation of artistic integrity, and increased cultural diversity. This...is rarely pointed out in the general cultural debate, especially not in the general mass media....

The most essential thing, I feel, is... that the popular movements regard cultural issues as very important to their members, and that they are willing to take responsibility for cultural matters. The Swedish Cooperative Union and Wholesale Society, for example, adopted a special cultural program a few years ago. In 1981 and 1982 the main blue-collar and white-collar union confederations in Sweden both presented detailed cultural reports to their national congresses. These reports were unanimously adopted.



The major (popular movement) organizations are also constantly trying to influence the national government, county councils and municipal governments to increase their cultural commitments, and even the small, specialized organizations such as the Society for Art Promotion are trying to influence public sector cultural policy through statements and actions ...In other words,...a sense of cultural responsibility also implies that working methods must constantly be reassessed and the people must be willing to question the work of their own organizations.

Our studies of certain American literature have indicated that we Swedes have important lessons to learn here in the United States. We are perhaps entering a period of broadened international cultural exchange...we are eager to find more ways of showing the Swedish public various kinds of cultural activities originating in American popular organizations.

Let's make the '80s into a decade when public debate about cultural democracy is granted a larger international role. International cross-stimulation is essential, and these seminars should serve as one of several good ways of achieving this aim.



## WORKER CULTURE IN SWEDEN

*Editors' note: Excerpted from remarks by Rune Blomqvist, Head of Administration for Riksskådebanan, an organization promoting the performing arts, president of the Foundation for the Promotion of Literature and former president of the Society of Art Promotion.*

Swedish workers participate only to a limited degree in cultural life--if you define cultural life as spectator activities, such as professional theater and concerts, libraries and museums. But in recent years, we have noticed a growing interest among workers and their organizations in participant amateur cultural activities--displaying a new desire to develop their own culture, often based on labor's own traditions.

The first fact is perhaps unexpected, since we have had a long debate about how to bring new groups of people in contact with professional culture: Indeed, this is one of the aims of our society.

The second fact can be...explained by the political and economic crisis which hit our country. The labor movement has been pushed back, at least temporarily; and in the wake of the economic crisis, we have experienced serious unemployment and social set-backs. To create one's own culture has become a way of surviving, a way to renewal and a way of charting a better future.

Swedish culture--in the form of artistic activity in the traditional sense--has been and still is a matter of class. The hope of the pioneers that increased material welfare among the broad masses of people would lead to an increased interest in the fine arts has not been fulfilled.

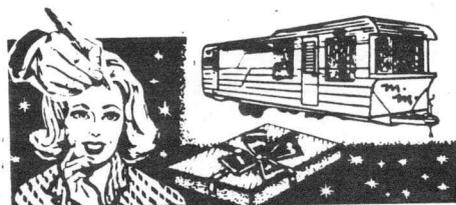
Very early, the labor movement began to develop its own cultural traditions. Even if it may sound like a paradox, it is possible that this labor culture would have grown stronger if labor had not gained political power and government responsibilities some 50 years ago: Instead of further developing its own culture (e.g., in the form of professional or amateur theater), labor in government decided to "conquer" the traditional cultural institutions, in the hope that such a strategy would lead to better results. But this strategy instead led to the conservation of the cultural class structures: Those who were already used to consuming cultural products were now in an even better situation to satisfy their interests; the passive workers remained passive.

Swedish unions have long felt it to be

their duty to look after their members' interests in the cultural field....The Swedish attitude is that cultural policy--as well as social policy, education, etc.--is truly a trade union task.

Swedish national and local governments are accustomed to taking responsibilities for cultural policies. Since culture is financed by taxes, both blue- and white-collar workers contribute the bulk of the budgets of cultural institutions. It is therefore very unsatisfactory that they do not seek to benefit from the opportunities offered by the tax-subsidized cultural life.

Moreover, isn't it reasonable that the government should assume financial responsibility also for cultural expressions in the form of amateur artistic activities? This is the principal position of the trade union movement; however, it does not mean that the unions thus shy away from all financial responsibility for cultural activities in the unions, other voluntary organizations and in the work-places. In addition to the national and local governments, both employers and unions have a responsibility for these activities and have accepted this burden, at least to some degree.



During the past two years, both LO and TCO (the federations of blue- and white-collar unions) have presented their policies for the cultural field. These two programs are more or less the same, both philosophically and in many concrete areas...the LO program...is the one I know best.

The LO program states that work itself must have a value. It must be experienced as meaningful and give satisfaction to the individual worker. Additionally, work has a cultural dimension which runs the risk of getting lost in modern worklife. Part of this cultural dimension...consists of job content, work organization and technology...the working environment in its widest sense. But it also consists of the idea of camaraderie at work....

This community of language, traditions, and pride of craftsmanship is central to

(SWEDEN, continued)

the idea of workplace culture. Labor is a movement where important goals include brotherhood, solidarity and equality. These ideals must also be the basis when we strive to develop cultural activities in the labor movement.

Such cultural activities must start from the labor movement traditions. One way is to try to revive the idealism, enthusiasm and voluntarism which were the hallmarks of the early labor movement. We must approach our cultural mission without prejudice and preconceived ideas of the job of the unions. If we consider fellowship and solidarity...the bonding force in our activities, we can start from there and find a number of areas where the union can support and encourage its members.

For instance, trade union education and training--an area where the Swedish labor movement has strong traditions--can be widened to include other than traditional trade union subjects: individual creative activities, music, song and amateur theater belong there. Activities involving the whole family should be encouraged. We have positive experiences from special courses at the union schools, vacation and travel arrangements, physical exercises and sports.

From some of these activities has grown the interest in labor history and in the history of crafts and industry. Many groups and study circles are now active in researching the history of their community, their workplace or their union. They do this by studying documents, archives, interviewing veterans, etc. The research results in essays, dramas, books, and often in amateur plays.

Amateur groups give voice and color to the dreams and struggles of the pioneers and to classical labor conflicts. There is not just nostalgia in these small town festivals, which often attract crowds of thousands of spectators; there are also a pride in one's history and a search for identity, which constitute a necessary foundation for the community to survive possible plant closures and structural change....

I have on occasion come across members who have felt that these amateur activities are enough,...that professional culture is nothing for workers...

There is reason to warn against such a one-dimensional attitude...Amateurism and

professionalism: one does not exclude the other. Rather, they are dependent upon each other. Our members should be stimulated to participate in and enjoy both--and this is a challenging job for the union.

There is a growing understanding in Swedish unions that culture concerns us as union members. It is part of our daily lives and of our working environments. It may take time for this view to be commonly accepted, but we are moving forward. And we must understand that there are no short cuts: Only through our own efforts can we imbue our members with a greater cultural consciousness, and make culture and cultural means of expression an integrated part of our work.

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*Many thanks to NAPNOC member Mike Mosher of San Francisco for the small illustrations that accompany this article.*

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## African Theater Update

*NAPNOC member Ross Kidd recently returned from Africa, where he attended an international workshop on mass education campaigns in Swaziland. Returning via Zimbabwe, Ross brought us an update on popular theater there, and on the work of Ngugi wa Mirii, mentioned in CD #24 in connection with the Kenyan government's destruction of the theater at Kamiriithu and the suppression of popular theater work:*

*"Ngugi wa Mirii is not only safe, but now actively employed by the government of Zimbabwe. He and Kimani Gecau, the director of Ngaahika Ndeenda and Maitu Njugira, are both in Zimbabwe working with peasants, students, and teachers at a new educational and production centre about 100 miles from Harare. Chindunduma is a resettlement project on the side of an abandoned, formerly white-owned tobacco estate, which is now run as a co-op.*

*"Ngugi and Kimani are working with co-op members, villagers, and students and teachers from the elementary school to produce Ngugi wa Thiong'o's The Trial of Dedan Kimathi--a play about the Kenyan liberation struggle which is being produced in English and in Shona, the language of the area. They will tour the play to different areas of Zimbabwe and at the same time run local workshops. The community has just finished building a huge, open-air theater--this time using lots of concrete and huge boulders, so that their*

theater cannot be easily destroyed, as happened at Kamiriithu.

"While they've started with a scripted play based on Kenya's experience, they plan in the second stage to start developing plays on the Zimbabwean context, working through the process of community analysis..."

*Ngugi wa Mirii has asked Ross to establish a Toronto-based Committee for the Release of Political Prisoners in Kenya, to encourage American support for those cultural and political leaders who have suffered repression under the leadership of President Daniel Moi. Information about the situation in Kenya is available in a brochure published by the London-based Committee (76 Stroud Green Road, London N4 3EN, England). For information about the newly-formed Toronto group, contact Ross Kidd, Participatory Research Group, 29 Prince Arthur Avenue, Toronto, Ontario M5R 1B2 Canada.*

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## The Readers' League

Editors' note: Stephen Sikora is a new NAPNOC member with a rather unusual pet project. We can testify to the fact that he is an interesting and indefatigable correspondent. Below is his account of the origins of The Readers' League:

When my wife's grandmother mentioned how much she enjoyed reading Fritjof Capra's books on religion and science and how difficult it was to find anybody with whom to talk about that reading, I got mad. Published writers who raise questions in our minds should be available to answer them. Readers should have a way to talk back to their writers.

But published writers, unfortunately, do not often have the time or inclination for such responsiveness. I knew this from my own experience of dozens of unanswered letters to writers whose ideas I needed to talk about in order for them to make sense to me. And I realized in subsequent exchanges with Dr. Capra that there is simply not time enough in the day for best-selling authors to attend decently to their correspondence from readers. He himself, for example, as his form-letter reply to readers states, receives "about five letters a day and three to four articles, books, or manuscripts each week."

So whom can readers talk to? Who has the time and desire to answer our questions and,

through a series of exchanges, to work out what we actually think about the things we read? The answer, of course, is other amateur readers who share one's own literary interests.

On the heels of this answer comes one further question of how many readers can find like-minded others, solitary and spread out as we are across miles and continents. The Readers' League exists because of this literary isolation. Its one piece of work is to provide a way for readers to connect with one another.

Okay. So far so good. Call it an intellectual pen-pal service, if you will, for it may indeed be nothing more.

I like to think, however, that rather a bit more is actually at stake here. This matter of the reader's need to do more than just read--the reader's necessity, if you will, to take part in writing as well as reading--raises a bunch of pressing questions about the decline of general literacy in our time, about the contemporary relationship between readers and writers and the division of "cultural labor" which now prevails in our society, and about cultural democracy in general.

It is still unclear to me just how much of an argument can or should be based on this particular division of labor. Specialization of tasks seems to be essential to the workings of any complex society, whether the tasks be literary, medical, legal, or matters of economic production in the traditional sense. We readers, lord knows, need the services of a few devoted writers who are able to make better sense than we can of many areas of our experience. Yet at some point and regarding certain other areas of experience, this specialization becomes unworkable and even self-defeating. If thinking and writing are closely connected, for example--as I believe they are in many ways--then it becomes absolutely essential that we readers also do some of the writing ourselves. We shall otherwise lose the very capacity for thought.

Further, the "act of thinking" --whatever that may generally involve without us all having to wade in the waters of professional philosophy--the act of thinking, I say, seems to require at least two parties in some kind of mutual interaction. Solitary thought is no thought at all. Some kind of connection must be made between speaker and listener, writer and reader.

(THE READERS' LEAGUE, continued)

I personally have a very hard time finding or making such connections through reading public literature of any kind, whether it be newspapers, periodicals, or books, essays, poems, or novels. And I have an even harder, much harder time of trying to write in any of these conventional forms. On this present occasion, for example, I can only gesture vaguely at the issues I sense to be at hand because I lack any sense of whom I'm talking to. Only private letters work for me.

I suspect that many other readers and would-be writers share in these difficulties. Hence The Readers' League as a means through which we may find others to talk to and listen to. Through this talking and listening, (and especially the latter), we may find ways to think for ourselves.

What do you think? Please drop me a line at P.O. Box 6218, Albany, CA 94706. I'd love to hear from you.

Send a dollar for issue #1 of the Catalogue of Correspondence with listings of other readers who want to correspond.

## D.C. UPDATE

### The 1984 Budget

In January, Ronald Reagan announced his administration's spending plans for Fiscal Year 1984, which begins on October 1. Once again--despite all his rhetoric about reducing the size and expense of federal government--Reagan has proposed a dramatic increase in federal spending. And far from achieving his pre-election goal of a balanced budget by 1984, the estimated deficit in that year will be a whopping \$208 billion--three times the amount of any federal deficit prior to Reagan's inauguration.

The 1984 budget proposal weighs in at \$848.5 billion, up \$43.3 billion from the current year's spending level. Some \$30 billion of this increase would go to the Pentagon. A good deal of the remainder would be spent servicing the yawning deficit.

This year, federal spending will account for an estimated 25.2% of the USA's Gross National Product (GNP)--the highest percentage since World War II. It represented 23% of the GNP when Reagan took office, and averaged 21.3% in the decade preceding his election.

### Fueling the Military Machine

How is it possible that the administration's deep domestic spending cuts of the past two years have left us with a larger federal budget than ever before? The answer lies across the Potomac from Washington, in the Pentagon.

Reagan's 1984 budget proposal calls for \$1.8 trillion in military spending authorizations for 1984-88. Military spending represented 5.6% of the GNP in 1981, when Reagan arrived in Washington; if Congress approves his proposal, an estimated

7.8% of the GNP will go into the nation's war-making machinery by 1988. This would mean an increase of nearly 40% in the military's proportion of our economic resources.

Where will the money come from to finance this continued growth at the Pentagon? The biggest cut proposed in Reagan's domestic budget is \$9 billion from public health programs; Medicare patients would have to pay more of their medical costs, for example. Public housing cuts would account for much of the \$1 billion sliced from the Department of Housing and Urban Development. The Education Department would drop \$1.9 billion, to \$13.2 billion for Fiscal 1984; additionally, the administration is asking that \$1.2 billion of Education's \$15.1 billion budget for 1983 be rescinded.

In his State of the Union message, Reagan announced that he was calling for an across-the-board "freeze" on federal non-military spending, but his has hardly been the case: The U.S. Information Agency, for example, would grow 26% to \$634 million. Meanwhile, Reagan wants to reduce Bilingual Education, a "New Right" target, by another 31%, to \$95 million. Increases are scheduled for the National Science Foundation and a new math and science block grant is being prepared. (These are the "tools of growth" needed for the economy, according to the State of the Union address.) At the same time, such programs as economic development assistance, legal services for the poor, the historic preservation fund and the Appalachian Regional Commission are slated for total elimination from the federal budget in '84.

With unemployment at a post-Depression high estimated at 10.4%, Congressional interest in passing a new jobs bill grew throughout January and February. Though he had insisted as late as December that any new jobs

initiative would worsen the deficit and thereby slow "recovery," Reagan submitted a jobs bill early in February, offering assurances at his February news conference that "*This (measure) has no make-work jobs. Instead, it is speeding up programs that are already needed.*" In other words, Reagan's scheme is to push up the starting dates of federal construction projects in order to "create jobs."

Democrats in Congress began to move around the same time to introduce their own "emergency" jobs bill. By the end of February, Congressional leaders and the White House agreed on a compromise bill of around \$4.5-\$4.9 billion. The bill would provide for an estimated 300,000-900,000 jobs, along with provisions of food, shelter and "other humanitarian aid" for the unemployed. Final action is planned for March.

At the same time these measures were being discussed, the AFL-CIO was calling for a \$68.5 billion program to provide 880,000 jobs between now and September and 1.8 million jobs in 1984. This plan calls for a public service employment program, in contrast to Congress' concentration on public works construction projects.

With an estimated 12.5 million people out of work in the U.S., Congress' present proposals will hardly make a dent in the unemployment situation. In January, fewer than half of these were receiving unemployment benefits and 80,000-90,000 of those were exhausting their benefit period each week.

Reagan has also promised to propose a second "jobs package" later on, to include a summer youth program and a retraining program for workers in declining industries. Responding to accusations that his administration is overlooking the needs of lower- and middle-class people, Reagan assured his February news conference: "*I was well aware of the hard realities. I had to live through them at a time in my life.*"

### Federal Cultural Budgets

Late in December the President signed the 1983 appropriations bill for the federal arts and humanities agencies. As we reported in CD #24, action on these budgets was delayed by a Congress preoccupied with November's mid-term elections. The bill was finally approved in lame duck session.

As predicted, the budgets for the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) and National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) were not cut back as Reagan had proposed; 1983 budgets remain at the same level as for 1982--\$143.9

million for NEA and \$130.1 million for NEH.

For 1984 Reagan again proposes cutbacks, but nothing approaching the 50% he wanted in previous years: Reagan is asking for \$125 million for NEA in 1984 (down 13% from this year's budget) and \$112.1 million for NEH (down 14%). Again, it is expected that heavy arts organization lobbying will prevent Congress from making these cuts.

### LOCAL ARTS AGENCIES

Some state and local arts agencies around the country are hurrying to complete letters of intent by March 16 to apply for NEA funding through the new "Test Program of Support for Local Arts Agencies" described in CD #25. Late in January, the NEA invited Washington press and national arts organization representatives to a brown bag lunch to hear how the program would work. Pains were taken to assure us that the major cultural institutions would not be overlooked when Local Arts Agency (LAA) grant funds start to flow.

Fraser Barron, an arts journalist who smilingly identified himself as "*speaking for an alliance of elitist national institutions,*" suggested that the Test Program to allocate federal funds to LAAs for sub-granting could be seen as "*\$2 million drawn away from other NEA programs at a time of extreme financial exigency.*"

Barron's remark touched off a flurry of assurances from the panel of presenters: Bob Canon, then director of the San Antonio Arts Council and president of NALAA (National Assembly of Local Arts Agencies)--now, staff director of NEA's new LAA Test Program--protested that it was "*going to have the opposite effect,*" that the funds will be "*used as venture capital to plant seeds for future support of these agencies.*"

Wayne Lawson jumped in to assure Barron that there is "*an elaborate system of peer review out there in state and local areas.*" As director of the Ohio Arts Council and president of NASAA (National Assembly of State Arts Agencies), Lawson said that in planning the new LAA program, "*the concern of the states was quality--and that stayed the course.*"

When Barron said, "*My very elitist constituency encourages me to pin you populists to the wall...*" we began to hear statistics:

Nick Van Hevelingen, director of the St. Louis Arts Commission and a member of the Municipal Arts Federation (an alliance of the 40 largest LAAs), pointed out that his agency's budget last year was \$600,000, of which

(D.C. UPDATE, continued)

\$375,000 was regranted to major cultural institutions--almost four times as much as all other city groups received from the Commission.

Canon agreed, saying, "These agencies could not exist without support of these institutions," and scoffed at the "notion that there's a prospect the major institutions won't be involved."

This moved an American Symphony Orchestra League (ASOL) staffer to ask, "Should we infer that X percentage will go to the major institutions?"

Anthony Turney, NEA Deputy for Public Partnership, hastened to correct him: "We're not attempting to make judgements about what's being supported at the local level..."

"Will they get the lion's share?" the man from ASOL queried.

"In San Antonio, that has been the case," Canon replied, noting that local funding patterns had shifted in recent years, since funds from Expansion Arts' CityArts program had been used to increase municipal allocations.

Arlene Goldbard suggested that for community artists the problem was just the opposite: Major institutions would have the clout to skew LAA's grant-making in their favor. In the discussions that preceded the adoption of this Test Program, the NEA had emphasized using LAA funds to support those not already receiving direct grants from the Endowment. Why do the guidelines for the Test Program contain no prohibition against using the funds to support institutions already receiving direct NEA funds?

"You can't have local decision-making and dictate," Anthony Turney replied. He suggested that if the local political process didn't assure access to smaller groups, those groups should "organize locally and lobby."

Don Adams reported hearing that state and local arts agencies in rural areas were unhappy with the Test Program: they felt they would be unable to meet the Program's stringent requirements for public matching funds. Presenters disagreed, asserting that they hadn't heard such complaints--despite the fact that Bernard Blas Lopez, director of New Mexico's state agency, had lodged them at a recent National Council meeting. Anthony Turney said that there would be

time for these rural agencies to apply in later years, assuring us that "the spirit of this program will be flexibility," but maintaining that the requirement for public matching funds must be met.

### New Council Members

President Reagan has appointed eight new members to three-year terms on the National Council on the Arts. Serving on the NEA's advisory board through 1988 will be:

C. Douglas Dillon: former Treasury Secretary from 1961-65; Dillon sits on the boards of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harvard University, the Rockefeller Foundation and the Brookings Institution.

Allen Drury: Pulitzer Prize-winning novelist; journalist prior to the publication of his first novel, Advise and Consent, in 1960.

Celeste Holm: Academy Award-winner for her performance in Gentlemen's Agreement (1947) and nominee for Come to the Stable and All About Eve (1950), Holm is Vice President of the Arts and Business Council and active in Actors' Equity.

Raymond J. Learsey: President of Agricultural & Industrial Corporation, an international trading, shipping and investment company, and trustee for the Whitney Museum.

Samuel Lipman: Pianist, music critic for Commentary and publisher of The New Criterion, a new magazine edited by former NY Times arts writer Hilton Kramer "to identify and uphold a standard of quality..."

George Schaefer: Producer and director of such TV productions as Hallmark Hall of Fame (1955-68) and Broadway shows as "G.I. Hamlet" (1945) and "Teahouse of the August Moor" (1953).

Robert Stack: Actor and co-producer of The Untouchables (1959-63) and Oscar nominee for his supporting role in Written on the Wind (1956).

William L. Van Alen: Philadelphia architect with Carroll, Grisdal and Van Alen and secretary of the Philadelphia Cultural Affairs Council.

Samuel Lipman was notable for his gadfly role at the new members' first Council meeting in February at Washington's posh Four Seasons Hotel. He asked some questions never uttered at the Council table before, such as: How much of these opera companies' funds go into paying superstars? Of course, no one would speculate.

(D.C. UPDATE, continued)

### FAIR'S FAIR: Reagan's FCC

Reagan's appointee to chair the Federal Communications Commission, Mark S. Fowler, has had a lot to say to broadcasting industry officials lately. As reported in the February 6 Washington Post, Fowler recently told a group of broadcasting executives that there is a great potential for government to manipulate rules and restrain free speech, so long as the "fairness doctrine" requires stations to broadcast all sides of controversial issues and give equal time to competing political candidates:

*"In the same way, (Nazi Minister of Propaganda) Goebbels took over the reins in Germany and the military took over in Poland, some bad guy in the White House could be*

*manipulating the media here."*

Fowler, who's on a crusade to deregulate broadcasting, contends, "I don't think that anyone who reads the First Amendment--that 'Congress shall make no law abridging the freedom of speech and press'--and then looks at the whole gamut of content regulation that we have on the books right now can avoid the conclusion that what we (at the FCC) do is unconstitutional and, I think, dangerous."

Fowler, who served as Reagan's communications adviser in the '76 and '80 campaigns, has said that television "is just another appliance--it's a toaster with pictures."

DA/AG

## **WORKING UP A STORM: National Brainstorm on Jobs**

NAPNOC is kicking off a new "national brainstorm." Our aim: to develop and propose a framework for a new national public service employment program to support community cultural work.

We first tried the brainstorm idea last year as a way of encouraging dialogue on the problem of financial support for progressive artwork; contributions were compiled and published in Cultural Democracy #23. The results of this new brainstorm will be gathered by June 15 and published later in the year.

NAPNOC members arrived at the new brainstorm topic at our 6th Annual Meeting in Omaha last October, and NAPNOC's Board of Directors developed the idea in subsequent discussions. Board members expressed concern that participants think freshly about these questions -- that we avoid being seduced by the nostalgia for an idealized past that seems to have taken on epidemic proportions lately. We need to put forward ideas that are rooted in the present.

AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland recently said, "Given the mass suffering in America today, none of us knows how long trust and confidence can be maintained in a democracy if the principal forum of that democracy--the federal government--can't or won't respond to severe hardship." Many now believe that government will be forced to respond to unemployment. This brainstorm can provide

ammunition to ensure that cultural democracy helps to shape our government's plans.

NAPNOC's Board has also decided to produce a special "white paper" on this issue. This tool is needed to educate labor leaders, policymakers and others pressing for new employment programs; contributions to the brainstorm will help us lay out the unique needs of community cultural work--the long-term commitment needed to develop productive, lasting relationships between artists and the communities they serve, for instance--and to suggest how programs can be designed to accommodate those needs.

We have identified three main questions for people to take up during the three months of the brainstorm:

--WHAT SHAPE SHOULD THE NEXT PUBLIC CULTURAL WORK PROGRAM TAKE? What should its goals be? What kind of cultural work should receive support? How should decisions be made and programs be administered?

--WHAT CAN WE LEARN FROM EARLIER PUBLIC CULTURAL PROGRAMS IN THE U.S.? Some have called this idea "a new WPA": would we want a rerun of this '30s program? What can we learn, pro and con, from the WPA and CETA experiences?

--WHAT CAN WE LEARN FROM OTHER COUNTRIES' EXPERIENCES? Cultural workers are

(WORKING UP A STORM, continued)

supported with public money all over the earth--can their programs help us to shape our own?

#### WHAT YOU CAN DO

Send us your thoughts on these questions in the form of letters, papers, or whatever you like. Arrange special forums and group discussions and send us the results. Send copies of relevant and interesting articles. And be sure to pass these question on to people you think should be brought into the discussion.

Start thinking about your contribution now and make plans to mail your materials no later than June 15--and the sooner the better.

\* \* \* \*

Member Fred Whitehead--poet, small press publisher and distributor from Kansas City --was moved by the discussions in Omaha to make the first contribution to this round-robin. Here, to get the ball rolling, are Fred's ideas:

#### Principles/Guidelines for a New Cultural W.P.A.

1. A cultural WPA must work closely with the entire movement, which would employ workers in building housing, schools, parks, roads and indeed, badly needed cultural facilities such as libraries, film centers, etc. Culture is not separate from the fundamental needs of the entire population.

2. "The right to work shall be guaranteed to every able-bodied citizen." That is, we postulate this in order to defeat the barbaric competition for fewer and fewer (and always inadequate) jobs, grants, etc. If necessary, this should take the form of an amendment to the U.S. Constitution itself. Furthermore, it shall be sufficient that one demonstrate one's trade (be it painting, music, writing, etc.) and/or the talent for it, in order to receive a living wage and including the necessary materials, facilities and equipment in order to do the job.

3. The necessary funding for such vast projects would come from the transfer of funds from the military budget, to peaceful domestic purposes. We propose this not only as an economic measure, but in order to insure the very survival of humanity in a time of unprecedented nuclear danger.

Furthermore, if necessary, this funding should coincide with the restoration of a truly progressive tax system which would tax the rich instead of the poor.

4. Reflecting the great diversity of racial and ethnic backgrounds and cultures in the United States, we insist that each of these cultures be allowed the means by which they can attain the fullest and most satisfying expression. In this way, such diversity enriches the lives of all.

5. At the same time, we recognize and salute the diversity of schools, theories and types of art which must arise in an advanced industrial civilization. The objective of a new WPA would be to facilitate a flowering of art and culture, including themes of controversial ideas and thoughts.

6. All cultural workers shall have the right to organize unions for the betterment of their working conditions, benefits, wages, etc. Furthermore, these unions should be allowed sufficient time and facilities for their fullest expression to occur.

7. A new WPA should cooperate closely with the existing educational systems, including schools and colleges at all levels, both to bring advanced cultural expressions to these settings, and to learn from students. New talent and creativity should be constantly sought out, nurtured and encouraged in all fields. In addition, there should be new types of schools developed, in order that workers in industry, shops and offices can obtain advanced education and develop their own culture.

8. Adequate resources for widespread international exchange of cultural workers must be provided, in order to strengthen ties among people and their cultures, thus deepening the trend toward peaceful cooperation which is our ideal.

Fred Whitehead  
Box 5224  
Kansas City, KS 66119

#### TAKE PART IN THE NEW BRAINSTORM!

*Share your ideas about public service employment for people doing cultural work.*

Send letters, papers, reports, articles, charts and graphics by June 15 to:

CULTURAL DEMOCRACY, P.O. Box 11440,  
Baltimore, MD 21239 -- U.S.A.



(RESOURCES, continued)

Search Committee  
Director of Finance and Development  
Appalshop, Inc.  
Box 743  
Whitesburg, KY 41858  
606/633-0108

NAPNOC member group Appalshop is an Appalachian cultural and media arts center which includes Appalshop Films, June Appal Recordings, Roadside Theater, Headwaters Television, and Mountain Photography Workshop. Appalshop is looking for a Director of Finance and Development to work with the administrative staff, primarily in the areas of budgeting and planning, development and marketing. According to the press release, "The general background of the director of finance and development may look something like this: BBA (accounting or management); Two years experience with work in grant administration, budgeting, financial management, marketing strategies, and organizational development; Knowledge of computer capabilities in fiscal operations would be helpful." Salary: \$15,600-16,900 plus fringe benefits. Send resume and inquiries to above address.

CONVERGENCE

International Council for Adult Education  
29 Prince Arthur Avenue  
Toronto, Ontario M5R 1B2  
CANADA  
416/924-6607

This quarterly is "the main information network program" of ICAE, an organization comprising over 65 regional and national adult education associations. Each 94-page edition contains articles on issues, practices and trends in the broad fields of adult and non-formal education, including many of the popular education projects mentioned in CD. Abstracts are available in French and Spanish. Sample issues available on request; subscriptions are \$13/yr.

DIRECTORY OF MINORITY ARTS ORGANIZATIONS

Division of Civil Rights  
National Endowment for the Arts (NEA)  
2401 E St. NW  
Washington, DC 20506  
202/634-1640

This Directory results from 3 years of

information-gathering by this NEA Division on groups that have "leadership and constituency that is predominantly Asian-American/Pacific Islander, Black, Hispanic, Native American, or multi-racial." It is admittedly incomplete; excluded groups are encouraged to write the Division to be included in the next edition. Single copies are available while the supply lasts.

INSTITUTO DE ARTE Y LETRAS DE EL SALVADOR EN EXILIO (INALSE)

(Institute of Arts and Letters of El Salvador in Exile)  
249 West 18th St.  
New York, NY 10011

INALSE was recently formed to plan a campaign and a series of exhibitions of Salvadoran culture, to help Salvadoran artists and intellectuals in exile in this country and to broaden understanding of the Salvadoran people. Suggestions, contributions and requests for information should be addressed to the director, Daniel Flores Ascencio; coordinators are now working in the fields of music, theater and letters.

MIRARTE

Mi Raza Arts Consortium  
567 West 18th St.  
Chicago, IL 60616  
312/829-1620

MIRARTE is a quarterly bilingual newsletter focusing on cultural work in the Latino arts community, mainly centering on the Chicago area. Edited by Jose Gonzales, the publication contains articles about projects, funding and policy issues, and a variety of technical assistance information. Subscriptions are \$5/year.

ALTERNATIVE SOLUTIONS, INC.

P.O. Box 2904  
Reston, VA 22090  
703/860-2835

Alternative Solutions is a new nonprofit organization formed to continue the work of the now-defunct IRCEL, the liberating education resource center described in CD #22. Alternative Solutions publishes a monthly newsletter, ALTERNATIVAS, maintains the former IRCEL archive of information about the practices of groups working from the theories of Paulo Freire in the U.S., and generally

provides networking support and technical assistance. Contact Blanca Facundo.

SEZ

P.O. Box 8803  
Minneapolis, MN 55408

SEZ is "A Multi-Racial Journal of Poetry & People's Culture" edited by Jim Dochniak, featuring poetry, short prose, occasional interviews, reviews, articles on cultural issues, and visual artwork. Subscriptions are \$7/4 issues for individuals, \$8.50 for institutions. Send \$3.50 for a sample issue.

PARTICIPATORY RESEARCH

Participatory Research Group (PRG)  
29 Prince Arthur Avenue  
Toronto, Ontario M5R 1B2  
416/923-6641, ext. 306

Participatory Research is a newsletter started in November by PRG, a collective of adult educators and research workers begun in 1976. PRG, one of six regional groups affiliated with ICAE (see listings above), maintains a resource center on participatory research and popular education for social change. There is no formal charge for the newsletter, which plans twice-yearly publication, though contributions are welcome.

NATIONAL FESTIVAL OF WOMEN'S THEATRE

P.O. Box 1222  
Santa Cruz, CA 95061  
408/458-3195

The National Festival of Women's Theatre

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" " under \$200,000 (\$60/yr)

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Your name, & Organizational name, if any

Daytime Phone

Mailing address

City, State, & ZIP Code

Detach and mail to: NAPNOC, PO Box 11440, Baltimore, MD 21239...Phone 301/323-5006

NAPNOC IS A TAX-EXEMPT ORGANIZATION — All contributions are tax-deductible

is scheduled to take place during the week of May 16 through 23. Besides performances it will include lectures, classes, workshops, audio-visual presentations and more.

ART AND CULTURE FOR THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT

Neue Gesellschaft für bildende Kunst (NGBK)  
Hardenbergstrasse 9  
D-1000 Berlin 12 (West),  
GERMANY

This exhibition of over 1,100 pieces of visual artwork, pamphlets, books, photos, stickers, buttons, tools and the like has been assembled over the past two years and opens in Berlin on March 13 prior to going on tour. It is being accompanied in Berlin by slideshows and labor films, including a number by NAPNOC members; a 520-page catalogue which includes 500 illustration and a number of essays by NAPNOC members is being published to accompany the exhibit. Although some objects must return to their lenders at the end of 1983, the remainder of the exhibit is available for U.S. touring in 1984. If you are interested in sponsoring the exhibit or have suggestions, contact Reinhard Schultz at NGBK. (After 5 P.M. his time, call 011-4930-332-1000; he'll return the call.)

ART PEACE

The Popular Arts Workshop  
P.O. Box 15052  
Lansing, MI 48901-5052

ART PEACE is an "all media exhibition

(RESOURCES, continued)

of artworks based on the theme of a nuclear free planet." The planned outdoor exhibition will be held August 6-9, 1983, on the State Capitol Complex Plaza in Lansing; audio-visual presentations will take place indoors. The Popular Arts Workshop has invited people to submit an entry form for up to three artworks, and says "a panel of humanitarian people advising the sponsors will consider all official entries... Prizes, if any, will be announced at a later date." Entry deadline is June 1, 1983. For information and an entry form, send a self-addressed stamped envelope to "ART PEACE...ENTRY FORM" at the above address.

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THIRD WORLD POPULAR  
THEATRE NEWSLETTER (TWPTN)

Issue #3 of the TWPTN has just been published by the Caribbean editorial group, and it contains articles on popular theatre work in Bangladesh, the Phillipines, Kenya, Swaziland, Dominica, Jamaica, Grenada, and the Dominican Republic. Contact NAPNOC or Theaterwork (c/o Cherry Creek, 406 South 3rd Street, St. Peter, MN 56082) for further information.

The editorial group for TWPTN Issue #4 can be contacted care of: Philippines Educational Theatre Association, ATTN: Remmy Rikken, PO Box 463, Manila, PHILIPPINES.

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NAPNOC welcomes letters, comments, articles and suggestions for articles. Please make sure that NAPNOC is on your organization's mailing list.

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