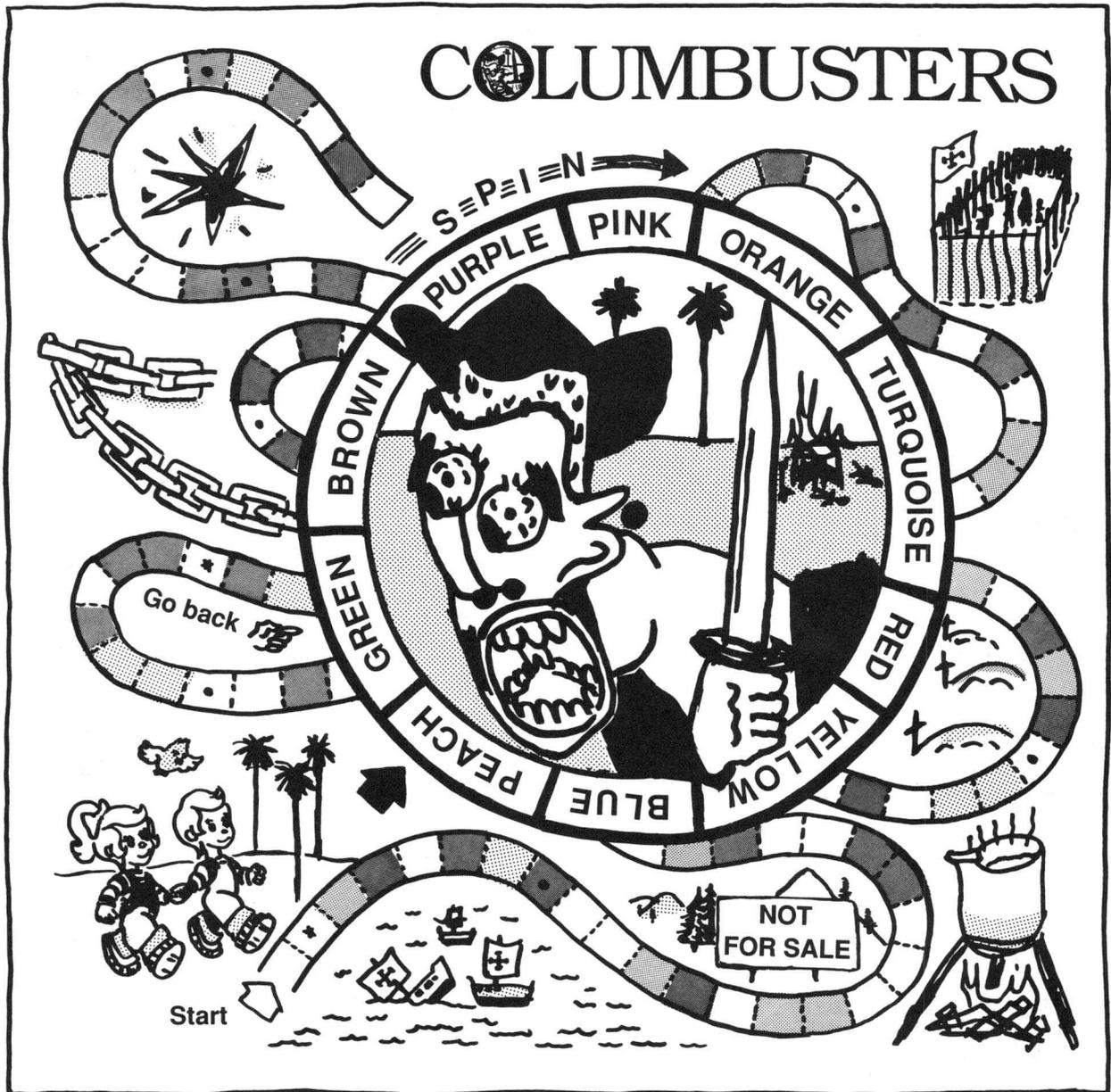


CULTURAL DEMOCRACY



COLUMBUSTERS

RULES: Spin Columbus, move to designated color.

-  Give back all native land.
-  Lose all slaves.
-  Receive molten gold throat treatment to relieve treasure lust.
-  Busted for incompetence. Go back to Spain.

 Cholera Infected blankets meant for native people kills all your soldiers.

 Alcohol meant to stupefy native peoples intoxicates crew, your ship sinks.

 Forced on white reservation for own good.

GOAL: Try to get from 1492 to 1992 keeping the mythical vision of brave Columbus the discoverer locked in your mind. The winner receives an American flag, and a Support the Troops bumper sticker.

CULTURAL DEMOCRACY

means that culture is an essential human need and that each person and community has the right to a culture or cultures of their choice; that all communities should have equitable access to the material resources of the commonwealth for their cultural expression; that cultural values and policies should be decided in public debate with the guaranteed participation of all communities; that the government does not have the right to favor one culture over another.

THE ALLIANCE FOR CULTURAL DEMOCRACY

supports community cultural participation. We believe in cultural pluralism, and understand the necessity to integrate the struggles for cultural, political and economic democracy in the United States. The most important initiatives for cultural democracy take place on a grassroots level in the communities, neighborhoods, and among activist artists and other progressive cultural workers.

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Well, folks, here it is! The long-awaited and much-delayed issue of CD. Yes, it's been a long time coming, but it is finally here, and quickly on its heels (we hope!), the next issue, already in production.

We hope that in the meantime you've been able to make use of ACD's other publications, including our special Quincentennial publication *huracan*, and the recently published "How to 92", devoted to counter-Quincentennial organizing. You should have also received a couple of regional bulletins, as well as a recent issue of **COLORS** from Minneapolis, courtesy of ACD.

So why the delay?

As a network, ACD has the difficult task of trying to develop a national function and scope, while relying on the dispersed and often overtaxed energies of our membership. Even in this age of instantaneous fax and telecommunication, without staff and with little budget, even simple tasks may be difficult to complete. As the economic recession has driven many of our efforts out of existence, or marginalized our fund-raising efforts further, energies are increasingly taken up with SURVIVAL.

Our personal energies are stretched thin with demands of work, whether the decreasing opportunities to work full time in our arts or community organizing, or the not-pleasing alternative of taking an alienated mainstream job which may barely make ends meet. (A t-shirt I saw yesterday. "Resist taking a regular job.") Coupled with that is our growing understanding that our communities, families and friends must be part of our priorities if the futures we seek to create are to be worth living. As a result, in this past year we've added several new children to ACD's extended

family, and participated in cementing more than a few on-going relationships.

We've also had our share of separations, as well as deaths and disease amongst our friends and loved ones, and all of these events have taken time, energy, and lots of love.

But even with these kind of subjective factors effecting our work, we've also made many positive strides through our on-going organizing efforts, especially around the Quincentennial. ACD was one of the first organizations to take a public and activist position opposing the official Quincentennial line of "encounter" and



"celebration", and as a direct result of ACD member efforts, counter-Quincentennial organizations have sprung-up in Los Angeles, Minneapolis, New York, Atlanta, Boston, San Francisco, Florida, New Mexico, and Berkeley, to name just a few. And ACD efforts have even been felt in the mainstream media, where publications like TIME and NEWSWEEK have devoted cover stories and overtime energies to attacking and trying to belittle and co-opt counter-Q efforts.

photo- Drake Namil (see pg. 16)

And lest we forget too soon, even in the face of the one of the most obscene and massive military assaults in history, the Gulf War, ACD's presence was felt in several areas of the country, its efforts were seen and felt in several areas of the country through member's efforts to mobilize the cultural community, as you'll read about inside.

Through our counter-Quincentennial organizing efforts and other projects like the Cultural Bill of Rights, ACD has strengthened its contacts internationally, particularly with friends in Latin America and the Caribbean, especially Cuba, and has also developed organizational ties with the cultural movement in the Philippines and other parts of Asia. We've also increased our contact with Australia, New Zealand and Europe, as you'll read about in future issues of CD.

As we approach our 1992 Conference in Atlanta, we are looking ahead at difficult times. But ACD's strength has always been in its individual members energy and commitment, and those are on the increase, not the decline. This Quincentennial year gives the cultural movement an opportunity to give creative expression to its ideas and beliefs like never before. As our efforts continue to increase leading up into October, let's remember the Iroquois proverb that tells us not to look at today or even tomorrow for the effects or results of our actions, but rather to the 7th generation from today. To the children of the next 500 years.

In Solidarity,

Tripp Mikich and
Mark O'Brien
Editorial Coordinators

AFTER COLUMBUS: CULTURAL DIVERSITY IN THE SOUTHWEST. A Report on the 14th Annual ACD National Gathering in Albuquerque, New Mexico, November 2-4, 1990

Over 300 people attended the conference "After Columbus: Cultural Diversity in the Southwest" held at the University of New Mexico (UNM) from November 2 to 4, 1990. A large number of conference attendees were cultural workers and organizers from communities throughout the state, while other performers, educators and activists travelled from other parts of the country, giving the gathering both a regional and a national character. The first two days opened with panel discussions on the Quincentennial and multiculturalism in the arts from a variety of perspectives. Muskogee (Creek) poet Joy Harjo was the keynote speaker. The conference also included several reports from the hemispheric gathering of indigenous peoples held in Quito, Ecuador in July, 1990.

Quincentennial Panel

The opening day of the conference focused on the meaning of the 500th anniversary of Columbus' arrival in the "New World", to be officially celebrated throughout Europe and the Americas in 1992. Eight speakers — five academics and three activists — gave their perspectives on the Quincentennial in a two-hour panel sponsored by the New Mexico Humanities Commission.

The panel presentation took place under what conference coordinator John Crawford called "challenging circumstances." The celebration of the Quincentennial has already been questioned by the indigenous peoples most affected by Columbus' invasion. The Quito gathering decided its members will neither celebrate nor merely mark this anniversary, but rather use it as an occasion for carrying on the struggle of indigenous people against colonialism and political oppression. In the light of such reactions, U.S. funding agencies such as the National Endowment for the Humanities have treated the Quincentennial nervously.

Crawford called for the speakers to use both their "talents and passions," to conduct objective analysis and bear witness at the same time. As might be expected, the academics responded with more carefully weighed presentations while the activists called for political involvement.



Ted Jojola, director of the Native American Studies Center at UNM, pointed out that indigenous peoples rejected the idea that Columbus "discovered" the "New World," and they did not wish to celebrate his arrival. Jojola said that he thought any indigenous viewpoint about Columbus would have to come from the grassroots level — "We need to make our own statements" — and that it should involve the question "what alternative image are we going to propose to deal with the persistence of negative stereotypes?"

Tomas Atencio, a UNM lecturer in sociology, spoke about "the mestizo syndrome" and the ambivalence that many Chicanos experience as both colonizers and colonized. However, with the advent of the Chicano movement in the 1960s and 70s, a new tendency emerged for Hispanics to recognize **and reclaim** their Indian roots. He pointed out that in some cases this had proved an embarrassment, "because we lived right next to Pueblos with whom we had not been talking for some time." He called for translating this consciousness into action in the educational system "diversifying the curriculum across the board" in order to "begin to reflect a knowledge that rises out of our experience."

The other three scholars portrayed post-Conquest racial and political situations in the southwest. Historian Richard Melzer saw a repeating pattern in which the conquerors who came to New Mexico were disappointed in their search for wealth and took out their anger on the Native population, which fought back, hoping to save its culture. Spanish professor Diana Rebolledo reported on how Hispanic women reveal themselves before they are noted in formal literature, through "folklore, ritual, religious ceremony, and even food preparation." Former state historian Stanley Hordes noted it was in 1492 that the Spanish expelled the Jews from their country. Some Sephardic Jews wound up in Mexico, embracing Catholicism under threat of punishment while still secretly practicing Judaism in ceremonies conducted at home. Many descendants of these "crypto Jews" live in the southwest today, sometimes carrying out private rituals the origins of which they don't entirely understand.

The activists finally seized the day at the close of the Quincentennial panel. Atlanta's Reverend Emory Searcy, Executive Director of Clergy and Laity Concerned, spoke eloquently on why he

felt it necessary to support the alternative activities around the Quincentennial. He said that "1992 provides us with the opportunity to reopen the history books and find the truth about all our cultures." He called this anniversary "the teachable moment" in which "our efforts can really make a difference," and he called for an effort of reform which could also lead to spiritual renewal.

Cindy Alvitre, a descendant of one of the tribes around Los Angeles which was virtually destroyed following the Spanish occupation, spoke of trying to get federal recognition for the remnants of her people. "We have nothing but ourselves," she said, "and the innateness, the spirituality, of our own culture." She saw the plight of her people linked to the Quincentennial event: "We have to stand up for who we are, and correct these things." She was one of those who attended the meeting of indigenous peoples at Quito, Ecuador in July, 1990.

Carlotta "Penny" Bird, a Pueblo Indian educational consultant, had also attended the Quito gathering. She read from a long report written by her friend Vicky Downey of Tesuque Pueblo. The meeting, she read, "was an historic event, a renewing of relationships between people from the South and people from the North. It was the meeting of the eagle and the condor." Vicky Downey wrote proudly of how "the women especially brought a spark" to the Quito conference. "But together," she added, "men and women will bring about the change and the healing that is needed in the world . . . Women and men must participate equally in accord with the traditional values of our indigenous nations."

Lingering behind the words of the last speakers were the images of two movements: the American civil rights movement, as recalled by Reverend Searcy, and the Quito, Ecuador movement of indigenous peoples only now beginning to be talked of in this country. The real passion of this first day's presentation was a result of the fuel these two events provided it.

Keynote Speech

Muskogee (Creek) poet, teacher, filmmaker and musician Joy Harjo talked about Christopher Columbus directly and



indirectly, telling stories about his life and voyages, the historic Indian resistance, and those who follow him even today, and reading from her own poems. To the "linear space" of Columbus she contrasted "sacred space," which she defined as "a place where we're most human" but also "most connected" with the natural world.

Harjo's speech brought history and personal knowledge together, collapsing time in the process. It also sought to bring healing through understanding. She asked, "What happened to move people away from their hearts?" The burden of her talk was to provide not a single answer, but perspectives on such questions.

At the heart of Harjo's message was the need for respect, especially respect for the land as the bringer of all blessings to humanity. Harjo set an agenda for the rest of the conference by naming the themes that would become calls to further contemplation and action: the crimes of Columbus, the necessity for atonement, and the need to make a new beginning.

Multicultural Arts Panel

Members of the panel on Multicultural Voices in the Arts, meeting Saturday morning, focussed on "attaining a genuine condition of cultural pluralism in the arts."

African American performance artist Linda Piper, who is based in Albuquerque, reflected on her relationship to her audience. "Because of technology," she said, "we disconnect ourselves. She noted that people often

criticized her work as being "too angry" but responded that, as an artist, she had to explore her anger and pain in order to get beyond it.

Keynote speaker Harjo also mentioned the problem of presenting herself to her audience, saying "For me it keeps coming down to respect — respect for each other, respect for that sacred place within ourselves, and that place within everybody else." For the rest of her time, she read from the Affirmation of the 1990 Quito, Ecuador gathering, "Five Hundred Years of Indian Resistance," saying that for her, it had "everything to do with cultural pluralism in the arts."

Lucy Lippard, author of a recent book entitled Mixed Blessings: New Art in Multicultural America, spoke of the growing challenge that artists who have been made "invisible" begin to represent themselves, "which means that white people have got to let go of the privilege of representing everybody." In her view, we need to address both white consciousness without lapsing into self-indulgence and racism without guilt-tripping, although she pointedly commented, "I'm a white woman and I've chosen to spend all these years on work by artists of color, which for all my protesting puts me in that colonial position again, which is in control of the overview." She sympathized with the distrust artists of color have for white audiences looking for the "authentic," "typical" or "exotic" in other cultures. She spoke of the danger of creating a kind of "cultural apartheid" for artists of color, to "keep 'them' in their place ... and we'll know where to find 'them' and how to categorize 'them.'" She argued for a more pluralistic understanding of art

and artists, in which “nobody is the Other but everybody is Another.”



David Bradley, currently Artist in Residence at the Institute for American Indian Arts in Santa Fe, called Santa Fe “the focal point in the country for the wholesale economic exploitation of the American Indian through the arts.” (Earlier in 1990, a group of artists including Bradley approached the New Mexico Museum of Fine Arts to protest the pattern of exclusion of women, Chicanos and American Indians in their shows.) Bradley noted with approval the activity around the Quincentennial, but warned the audience to “respect the American Indian, and please be careful not to superimpose your political agenda on us.”

Alicia Gaspar de Alba, a Chicana lesbian writer, suggested that cultural intolerance could be overcome if people would do three things: (1) recognize their prejudices; (2) raise their consciousness about “the cultural other”; and (3) help others understand the value of cultural multiplicity. She conceded that people don’t really think about “the cultural other.” Instead, she said, they “are caught in the trap of their own lives, which implies caught in the trap of whatever cultural biases their lives are made up of.” With warmth and humor, she described how those cultural biases played themselves out in her own family: “I happen to be one of my family’s worst nightmares. In a group of people that considers itself ‘purebred Mexican’ (don’t you dare tell them that really means ‘mestizo’) and orthodox Catholic, the outspoken Chicana lesbian isn’t going to have a homecoming like the Prodigal Son. Your mother is late picking you up at the airport. Grandmother hasn’t cooked anything for dinner — and isn’t planning to. Your aunt tells everybody that you’re going

through a rebellious stage which you’ll outgrow as soon as you cut your wisdom teeth. It doesn’t matter that you’re 32 years old ..”

Chicano poet Jimmy Santiago Baca spoke of having “a shitload of rage and a shitload of happiness.” He said that the people where he comes from were noted for their hospitality, but they were also “the last ones in line to get a goddamn thing.” He added, “And as I speak now, in the South Valley, you have people who are starving. I’m sitting here thinking, I don’t know what the hell to tell these people. Because my struggle is back in the South Valley down near my

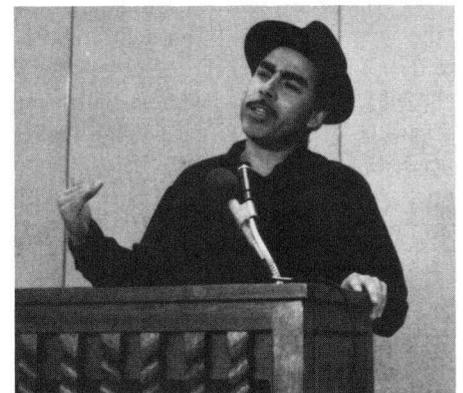


house . . . What the Quincentennial means to me is ... un vaso de agua. When I was a boy, and my grandfather was in the fields, I would see children who were ten years old popping blisters on their hands, and I would see men and women fall to the ground from sun stroke, and the first thing they would give them was un vaso de agua. A glass of water. And if we can learn to give each other a glass of water today, then those maniacal people who run the corporations ain’t got a god damn chance!”

Alice Lovelace, director of the Arts Exchange in Atlanta, said, “We must break the power that the local, state and federal agencies hold over our communities, where a state director of the arts can sit and say to me that a 1,000 year old ethnocentric dance is folk art, but something dead and dying, drug over here from Europe, is ‘classical.’” Activism in the arts, she said, means getting control of how things and people are named. “We must never accept or settle for the way they define us.” She compared the struggle against the official glorification of the Quincentennial to the civil rights movement: “For us, Columbus represents not an individual,

but an age in the world — an age of colonialism and exploitation and oppression that was not limited to this hemisphere, that swiped across Australia, across Africa, and decimated many, many people. If we as a progressive people are willing to take our country to task, to deal with the mythology that has evolved around Columbus and bring some reality, then I think we will spawn a worldwide movement, just as the civil rights movement in America gave a lot of people the strength to struggle around the world. I think we can do it again, as a nation, and I charge you.”

Chicano writer and historian Tony Mares reflected on how fragile and misleading academic history is. He suggested that “the more stories we share, the more we can broaden our human understanding and the more we can begin to enter into a process of healing.” What we need to find out, he said, is “what the bad part of the European heritage is that we want to get off our backs.” And he cautioned, “We must keep up a gentle but remorseless pressure on all of our institutions, to nudge them, eventually, into the better and more equitable world that we all want.” Woody Guthrie, he said, had put it better: “Take it easy, but take it.”



Some audience members defended their Spanish heritage from the idea that it was to blame for the Indian holocaust. One speaker pointed out that his community in the Mora Valley in New Mexico had sided with the Pueblo Indians of Taos to fight off Comanche and Apache raids. He said, “there’s something that we want to find pride in.” Conference coordinator Natasha Bonilla Martinez suggested that the exposure of Christopher Columbus should not invalidate anyone’s ethnic heritage.

Other speakers discussed what to do with Columbus Day. Jaune Quick-To-See Smith, a Flathead artist, compared Columbus to Hitler and argued that Columbus Day should be abolished. Ricardo Levins Morales, a Minneapolis poster-maker and ACD Board member, said that honoring Columbus "disgraces the memory" of his own ancestors of Spanish descent, but suggesting that instead of abolishing Columbus Day we should "take these symbols that are so powerful and turn them around for a true honoring of our ancestors, our elders, and at the same time to promote a memory of what really took place."

The Plenary Session

The final plenary session was designed to be a hybrid event, partly a political platform for discussing a plan of work around the Quincentennial, and partly a free space for networking and goodbyes. Previously unexpressed feelings and agendas spilled over into this last time for everyone to speak. Some speakers tried to follow the agenda and outline priorities for the next year and a half until ACD meets again in 1992.

Ricardo Levins Morales called attention to the "key importance" of the next two years, remarking that "how we forge alliances will mean a great deal in the years to come." Alice Lovelace from the Arts Exchange in Atlanta called for a "signature event" that would help to "tie people together." Keith Antar Mason of Highways in Los Angeles, noting the absence of ghetto youth, and young people of color in general, at the gathering, cautioned, "Don't ignore the voices that are not here." Larry Abrams, a writer and teacher from Los Angeles, suggested that since "indigenous people around the world are threatened with extinction," ACD should "undertake the process of renaming the earth according to their names for it." Natasha Bonilla Martinez called attention to two key words, "responsibility" and "healing."

More concretely, Patricio Chavez of San Diego's Centro Cultural de la Raza noted the cultural mainstream practices informal censorship of grass roots organizations by ignoring them,

ghettoization of programs by assigning them special funding categories, and the cooptation of progressive ideas by the big institutions. Lucy Lippard suggesting the creation of a handbook of model counter-Quincentennial projects.

The most extended presentation at the plenary was by American Indian activist Rick Hill, who reported "what the Indians who have been here have to tell you." He noted that the Quito, Ecuador declarations are only now getting around to the North American tribal councils. In the meantime, he reported on the ideas of the council of elders of North American tribes which have already been formulated.



The elders are declaring 1992 as the Year of the Indigenous Peoples, Hill said, and are calling for everyone to remember the victims of colonial conquest on October 12 of that year. The date should be a day of atonement for those who were killed and one of thanksgiving for those who survived. He called upon governments, churches and schools to stop oppressing native peoples and "atone for their past actions in symbolic and concrete ways." He called particularly on the news and entertainment industries to "forego the use of humanizing, stereotyping, cartoon images and to recognize the emotional violence they commit against our children."

Concretely, Hill said, the Indians vow to "perform in 1992 the same ceremonies we did in 1491, before the white man came," to protect and defend the religious freedom of Indians, to safeguard not only the education of Indian children but also that of white children about the Indians,

to build new partnerships with concerned people outside the Indian community, and to establish a speakers' bureau of Indian representatives to spread the word about Indians across the country. He noted also the plan to "put Columbus on trial — winner take all!" — during the Quincentenary.

The meeting did not end in a series of resolutions for adoption, or even a well-organized plan for networking. It probably raised passions in the participants as much as it raised consciousness. But it did contribute to the growing movement for recognition of the racism and genocide in U.S. history and the problems these things raise for

performers, writers and others in the arts. The conference was truly multicultural, with many Native, Hispanic, and African American participants and a few Asian Americans and others as well.

Finally, it broke ground in the southwestern city of Albuquerque, where nothing quite like this had taken place before. Cutting through single-issue politics, the insularity of the artists, academic alienation, and the claims of competing ethnicities, it produced a "conversation," one participant noted, "such as I have never heard here before — more out on the table, the genie out of the bottle." Ultimately this may be its most important result — a step in a long journey, perhaps, but a step nonetheless toward better understanding and the construction of a context for future actions. ■

Conference Report prepared by John Crawford and Lisa Knauer.

Photo: Judy Branfman

SACRED SPACE AND THE INVASION BY COLUMBUS. *Excerpted from Muskogee poet and teacher Joy Harjo's Keynote Address to the ACD National Conference.*

Columbus has deeply affected all our lives. His arrival is part of the way we think, move, and feel. It has everything to do with who we are as human beings at this moment. I'll start with a poem. Poetry is how I learned to speak.

"Promise"

The guardians of dusk blow fire from the Rincons as clouds confer over the Catalinas in the fading tracks of humans. I interpret the blur of red as female rain tomorrow, or the child born with the blessings of animals who will always protect her. I am always amazed at the skill of rainclouds who outline the weave of human diversity. Crickets memorize the chance event with rainsongs they have practiced for centuries. I am recreated by that language. Their predictions are always true. And as beautiful as saguaro flowers drinking rain. I see the moon as I have never seen the moon, a half-shell, just large enough for a cradleboard and the child who takes part in the dance of evolution as seen in the procession of tadpoles to humans painting the walls with wishes. From the moon we all look the same.

In two days the girls will be born and nothing will ever look the same. I knew the monsoon clouds were talking about ti as they softened the speed of light. Cedar smoke in a prayer house constructed in the last century pervades my memory. Prayer lingers in the ancestral chain. You can manipulate words to turn departure into aperture, but you cannot figure the velocity of love and how it enters every equation. It's related to the calculation of the speed of light, and how light prevails.

And then the evening star nods her head, nearby a lone jet ascending. I understand how light prevails. And when she was born it rained. Everything came true the way it was promised.

In thinking about colonization and Columbus, De Soto, George Bush, and

all the others who are looking for gold, I come up with more questions than answers. Once while walking on a beach in Jacksonville, Florida, I imagined a huge white ship float up over the horizon. I understood how people must have felt to see something like that for the first time. What hopes they must have had when they saw their long-lost brothers, people whose arrival had been prophesied. I saw what that looked like, and what it must have felt like — a gift of relatives.

My questions then, and recently as I prepared this talk, were: why did it happen? What set this event in motion? At root we're all tribal people (for Europe was made up of tribal nations) so what happened to move people away from their hearts? How did gold become the dominant commodity in the world, and how did things that were not commodities become commodities? I had questions, and wanted to come up with some answers.

As a child in elementary school, I was told Columbus risked his life on his journey west to find India, because he believed the world was flat. He was a brave adventurer because he risked his life for riches in a world with borders of sea monsters in the deep of consciousness, and he might fall off the edge. I think he did fall off, because he didn't get what he was really looking for — gold — and in the end he was a very sad human being because he replaced his heart with gold. He was a monster in the deep.

Columbus once wrote: "Gold is the most precious of all commodities. Gold constitutes treasure, and he who possesses it has all he needs in this world; it is also the means of rescuing souls from Purgatory and restoring them to the enjoyment of Paradise."

Columbus and his men touched down on an island in the Bahamas. The Arawak people came out to greet and care for them. They fed them, and

probably sang to them. They must have been surprised when Columbus and crew didn't sing back, or return the greeting with respect. Looking at these two cultures, what Columbus valued was gold and property — acquisition of wealth — and what the Arawaks valued were songs and stories — the praising of life. I can imagine them all meeting together for the first time, a very historic meeting for both the Arawaks and the Europeans. What stories and songs did Columbus offer? (And the Arawaks must have thought it strange that the Europeans came without their wives and children. I would have been suspicious immediately. What kind of humans are these?) What an exchange this could have been.

On this historic first voyage, Columbus built the first military base in the Western hemisphere, using the timbers of the Santa Maria, which had run aground. He called it Navidad, and left 39 crew members with instructions to find gold. He took more Indian prisoners, and returned to Spain.

He came here to find gold, but he found a society unlike any he had ever encountered. He was, after all, financed by a king and a queen in a country where 2% of the people owned 97% of the land. He wrote of the Arawaks in one of his Journals, "They brought us parrots, and balls of cotton, and spears, and many other things which they exchanged for the glass beads and hawk's bells. They willingly traded everything they owned. They were well built with good bodies and handsome features. They do not bear arms, and do not know them, for I showed them a sword and they took it by the edge and cut themselves out of ignorance. They have no iron; their spears are made of cane. They would make fine servants. With fifty men we could subjugate them and make them do whatever we want."

Columbus was looking for Paradise. He found Paradise, but he couldn't even recognize it.

Later, in Hispaniola (now Haiti and the Dominican Republic), the Europeans took more slaves and worked people to death in the mines, destroying the entire population. According to the Spanish priest Bartolomeo de las Casas, one of the chroniclers of the Conquest, half of the 250,000 Indians on Haiti died within two years of European "contact" — from hunger, mutilation, suicide and infanticide. By 1515 there were about 50,000 Indians left; by 1550, only 500. By 1650, none of the original Arawaks or their descendants remained.

300 years ago, Indians comprised 100% of the population of what is now the United States. In 1990, we're 0.5%. The same story is being repeated now throughout the world, in Brazil, Nicaragua, Muskogee, Wounded Knee, Soweto, Vietnam.

And Columbus is still around. I once did a reading at Princeton, and that place was scary. I saw Columbus on that campus. I've seen him in New Orleans. I saw him in Quito, Ecuador, and I've seen him in Nicaragua.

But how do we shift the balance? We are at the close of the 20th century, and the beginning of the 21st. And there's a power in that apex, in that balance. It's the turning point, not only of a century, but of a millennium — and 1492 is just around the halfway mark.

I need to explain what I mean by "sacred space," which is what I called this talk. It's a place of grace and a place where we are most human. It's a place of unity between humanness and wolfness, and hummingbirdness, and Sandiamountainness, and raincloudness. It's the place in which we understand that there's no separation between those worlds.

It's said that one of the reasons Columbus wrought so much damage was that he acted without thinking, which means that he didn't listen to his heart. If he had, he could never have mutilated and destroyed, nor valued gold over the land and what the land means. The land is not a commodity, but is the basis for the clothes you are wearing, for my saxophone, for the paper on which I

write these things, for our bodies. It is responsible for everything. The gold is of it, but it is not the land.

Columbus brought a certain consciousness — call it linear time. It establishes a hierarchy in which an elementary school teacher is paid less than a college professor. It distinguishes past, present and future, and emphasizes progress, so that you're always moving



toward a goal. In contrast, mythic or tribal time, which is also human time, is non-hierarchical, and is based on process, not progress. It is in a resonant Ever Present, in which past, present and future are intertwined.

Columbus and the consciousness he brought created the diseases from which we all suffer. The Arawaks are not the only tribe that was destroyed. There are numerous tribes in this country that no longer exist. There's a psychic wound in this country, because we have never really mourned for those people. And it's not just an Indian problem.

We need a healing that involves all people. There are many tribes who are not here, but there are survivors. We're

all here, and we can take part in this healing.

So, for the last years of this millennium, I have a challenge for you: What does your life mean to you, and can you imagine a world in which Columbus is not possible?

I want to close with another poem. It deals with transformation, which is what we're all involved in. My friend's husband died just before their daughter was to dance the Butterfly Dance at Hopi. The family decided to allow his daughter to go through with it, because he had so anticipated it, and they knew he would be present. It is this same faith in the persistence of life and that which is life-giving that has sustained us long before the arrival of Columbus on the shores of the Americas.

"The Dawn Appears With Butterflies"

You leave before daybreak to prepare your husband's body for burial at dawn. It is one of the countless dawns since the first crack of consciousness, each buried in molecular memory, each as distinct as your face in the stew of human faces, your eyes blinking back force in the vortex of loss and heartbreak. I put on another pot of coffee, watch out the kitchen window at the beginning of the world, follow your difficult journey to Flagstaff, through rocks that recall the scarlet promises of gods, their interminable journeys, and pine. Until I can no longer see, but continue to believe in the sun's promise to return. And it will this morning. And tomorrow. And the day after tomorrow, building the spiral called eternity out of each sun, the dance of butterflies evoking the emerging.

Two nights ago you drove north from the hospital at Flagstaff, after his abandonment to the grace we pursue as wild horses the wind. Your grief was the dark outlining the stars. One star in particular waved to you as you maneuvered in the nightmare of the myth of death. It broke loose, stammered, then

flew marking the place between the star house of the gods and Third Mesa. You laughed with the spirit of your husband who would toss stars! And your tears made a pale butterfly, the color of dawn which is the color of the sky of the next world, which isn't that far away. There is no tear in the pattern. It is perfect, as our gradual return to the maker of butterflies, or our laughter as we considered the joke of burying him in the shirt you always wanted him to hear, a shirt he hated.

Someone is singing in the village. And the sacredness of all previous dawns resonates. That is the power of the singer who respects the power of the place without words, which is as butterflies, returning to the sun, our star in the scheme of stars, of revolving worlds. And within that the power of the dying is to know when to make that perfect leap into everything. We are all dying together, though there is nothing like that loneliness of being the first or

the last, and we all take that place with each other.

In the west at every twilight since the beginning, the oldest spirits camp out with their dogs. It is always in the season just before winter. It is always shooting star weather and they wash dishes by dipping them in river water warmed in a bucket. Coffee heats over the fire. Crows take their sacred place. The sun always returns and butterflies are a memory of one loved like no other. All events in the universe are ordinary. Even miracles occur ordinarily as spirits travel to the moon, visit distant relatives, as always.

Then at dusk they share the fire that warms the world, and sit together remembering everything, recounting the matrix of allies and enemies, of sons and daughters, of lovers and lovers, each molecule of the sky and earth an explosion of memory within us. In this fierce drama of everything we are at this juncture of our linked journey to the

Milky Way, as your babies stir in bittersweet dreams while you travel to your most difficult good-bye, as Grandma lies down with them to comfort them, as your father's truck starts down the road in the village, as a dog barks, everything is a prayer for this journey, as you shut the door behind you in the dark:

Wings of dusk
Wings of night sky
Wings of dawn
Wings of morning light.

It is sunrise now.

("Promise" and "The Dawn Appears With Butterflies" both © Joy Harjo. "Promise" first appeared in *Crossroads* magazine.) ■

Joy Harjo is a member of the Creek Nation, and is the author of *She Had Some Horses* and *In Mad Love and War*. She also plays tenor sax in a band called *Poetic Justice* and is an Associate Professor of English at the University of Arizona.

COLUMBUS AND THE TEACHABLE MOMENT

An Excerpt from the Address by Rev. Emory Searcy, Jr.

Why should African Americans be concerned about the Quincentennial? First, it gives us a chance to deal with the negative images. Second, it gives us a chance to reopen the history books from which African Americans, Native Americans and Asian Americans have obviously been omitted. Third, we can produce generations of whole people, instead of the half-people produced by our educational system. And finally, it provides us an opportunity to promote a critical, constructive rethinking of contemporary society, including its social relations, its ecology, economic and political formations, and its history books.

Well-developed civilizations were already centuries old when Europeans began to appear in West Africa. And we find that before there was any lasting contact between the Near East, the Far

East and Europe, substantial African states had arisen and fallen. Why don't we know about those civilizations? Simply because they were not in our history books.

This history exists, and much of it has already been written, but the people who control what gets taught in our schools are blinded by narrow political interests and racism, so the history that's on the bookshelves doesn't make it into the classroom. 1992 gives us an opportunity to reopen the books and experience the truth about all our cultures, and all are rich!

I contend, too, that this is the teachable moment. This is a moment which will not reappear in our lifetime.

As organizers, we have to overcome a couple of obstacles. We need to find a forum, and we need to be able to articulate our ideas. But in 1992, the government is going to create the forum for us. All we need to do is to take advantage of it.

In a little while, America will come to a crossroads, where it must make some fundamental choices. Our current world order is expressing the pain and conflict inherent in a system based on separation and competition, and dominated by various exploitative social systems

(feudalism, colonialism, imperialism) and ideologies (racism, industrialism, super-power rivalries). Each of these is founded on the belief one group is better than, is more valuable than, is entitled to more than, and deserves to control the resources of, others. That why African-Americans must be concerned: We know that this moment will not come again.

I believe that our country's strength lies in our cultural diversity, and that we must work toward a world in which each person is respected, valued and nurtured. In 1992, we can get rid of our old selves and begin to think anew. Our struggle for justice must be based on new attitudes, new understandings, and new relationships, which must be reflected in the educational system, laws, policies, political structures and practices of both church and state. I believe that, and I believe that you believe it too. Amandla: power to the people.

Rev. Emory Searcy, Jr. is Executive Director of *Clergy and Laity Concerned*.

CONFRONTING THE MULTICULTURE

Some Thoughts by Art Critic Lucy Lippard on Working in a Multicultural Environment

So where we are now is that a whole country of people believe I'm a "nigger", and I don't, and the battle's on! ...Because if I am not what I've been told I am, then it means that you're not what you thought you were either! And that is the crisis.

These lines, written by James Baldwin in 1963, get more profound every time I read them. We have known about the battle for many years, but the reciprocity of racism and self identification on both sides of the barricades has not yet been internalized by most white people. I've spent much of the last decade trying to understand how people of color are seen and see themselves and the world in their art, looking for a more "relational" theory of multiplicity. But it was Baldwin's statement (found in Scott Walker's and Rick Simonson's wonderful anthology Multicultural Literacy: The Graywolf Annual Five, 1988) that brought home to me the complexity of the task ahead of us. If we are not who we thought we were, who are we?

If those who have been made invisible by social forces are to represent themselves, white people at the same time must let go of the privilege of representing everybody. As Baldwin wrote, this is a reciprocal process. Every time someone with whom we live — in the personal and public senses — redefines themselves, we have to respond by our own re-evaluations. It seems virtually impossible for a white person working in this field to be totally free of cultural racism. Having spent the last five years or so trying to represent everybody, I now find myself in a peculiarly "liminal" area in regard to that process, realizing just how little about everything I thought I was an "expert" on, balancing on another threshold when I'd expected to be in or out the door by now.

One reason for this is that in the last two years the national dialogue, or discourse, about racism, ethnocentrism and intercultural/ crosscultural/ multicultural art has intensified to a point few of us would have predicted five years ago. And

we are finally hearing the "real stories" from an increasingly diverse group of intellectuals who are challenging the whole left-to-right spectrum of white crosscultural conceptions.

I've been embarrassed to hear white folks (myself included) running on about the pain of racism, although it's true that we, and the dominant culture, suffer from it far more profoundly than we realize. Yet guilt cannot determine our approaches to the subject of racism. Responsibility is a better way of looking at it. There are obvious reasons why white people find themselves/ ourselves put in the colonial position of being in control of the overview in a dominantly white society. If we weren't representing everybody there might be no overview. Would that be a disaster or a blessing or a mixed blessing? We say that we are making our texts porous and interrupted in order to give voice to others. But is it ours to give? Here we go again.

Another colonial gambit that can heighten the walls of the ghetto is the white enforcement of cultural apartheid by encouraging artists of color to stick to their cultural backgrounds, as though we did not share a dominant culture that affects all of us, while representing few of us. For example, if white writers are going to subject everyone else to a naming process, identifying them as African American, Native American, from this or that place, with this or that life behind them, then it has to be reciprocal. It feels awkward at first to say "Jenny Holzer, a white artist, Jame Clifford, a white ethnographer," because it is taken for granted that all artists and scholars are white, right? And only the exceptions need to be named.

Paralleling such eurocentrism is another assumption that has not been sufficiently scrutinized: the feeling of many white people in this society that we've lost our roots or we have no culture or our culture is just a lot less interesting than other peoples'. A kind of ethnocentric reversal has placed African American, Latino, Native American and Asian cultures in such a spotlight that there are white people envying — with some condescension —

those whose lives are often socially and economically unenviable. Rayna Green, a Cherokee writer who directs the American Indian program at the Smithsonian, looked out at the white people in a panel audience last June and said ironically, "You don't think you have a culture? Did you belong to a country club? Go to Boy Scouts? To Church?" and so forth.

In addition, artists of color working however innocently from their cultural heritages or everyday lives (lived experience) are often perceived by the white mainstream as "political", as though anything with another flavor is by definition in opposition to the mainstream. And "political" isn't good news in art schools, galleries and museums, unless it's the kind of (also valuable) generalized issue-oriented art that is not too angry and never names names or specifically locates corporate, governmental, institutional guilt.

Why must one lose one's background in order to attain a foreground? Yet the artworld being what it is, there can only be ambivalence about a background — or a foreground — no matter how culturally rich and supportive, that is ignored or disdained in the dominant culture. I understand a lot better now the annoyance of some artists of color with those of us who have made too much of their cultural backgrounds and too little of our common foregrounds. And at the same time, overemphasis on the common foreground and under emphasis on the differences also clouds the issues.

The goal, of course, must be a "multiculture" in which the artist is the one who chooses whether or not to deal with her or his cultural material, and in which all good artists are recognized as such no matter what subject matter they choose, according to multifaceted criteria. In a multiculture, people would know how to look at an artwork, or an issue, not just from their own vantage point; they would know how to see in the round. However, in these touchy times, as we teeter on the brink between growing racism and growing understanding, a prime concern remains the relationship between the two.

CONFERENCE COMMENTS

John Crawford

The 1990 conference was an interesting hybrid. Originally proposed by ACD, it was locally organized to include arts programmers, grassroots activists and artistic performers, the majority from the Southwest. What was missing in program coherence was perhaps regained in audience diversity, though it appears that more consensus building at the outset would have been a good idea.

The interests of ACD, as we conference organizers understood them, were fairly clear. We were charged with presenting an alternative viewpoint about the forthcoming 1992 Quincentennial celebrations. Multiculturalism was also a key issue, particularly since ACD itself was trying to broaden the cultural base of its membership. ACD also needed to set aside time for organization meetings that would, at the same time, be open to non-ACD member attendees.

Next, the two local coordinators, Natasha Bonilla Martinez and I, John Crawford, began to establish our own criteria for the event. We decided to seek funding from the state arts and humanities boards (ultimately the NEA and NEH respectively). We would hold the event in a university setting. Thus we would encourage the participation of members of the academic community as well as political activists, and we would emphasize the public aspect of the event—in part, in order to fulfill our obligations to the granting agencies.

The local focus of our activities reflected our interests and those of the small, rather disorganized, but occasionally vocal board of directors we assembled. Our primary attention went to local arts programmers and administrators, many of whom are multicultural and politically progressive. Secondary attention went to grassroots activists with cultural organizations, as well as artistic performers. Controversies, some of which erupted at the event itself, focused on alleged under-representation of classes of participants—Asian Americans and

gays, for instance. This was true even though individuals in both these groups were active on our board of directors.

The conference appeared to be a success from several perspectives—as long as you looked at the results and not the process we took to get there. For ACD, it was one of the liveliest events in its history, at time quite stirring. It introduced many members, especially those traveling from both coasts, to a vital region full of unsuspected challenges, contradictions and controversies. For the local contingent, the conference provided an opportunity to come together as an arts community to begin to address certain regional problems, especially with regard to cultural policy and state and local funding of the arts.

Weaknesses, however, were also apparent. Much of the conference organization was “top down,” looking to established cultural organizations for its basic input.

Grassroots organizers, on the other hand, we’re not satisfied that they had some ownership of the actual event. Perhaps more telling, the two conference coordinators and the conference organizer have gone their separate ways since November, with no indication that they will work together again.

The major problem of this event was a structural one. There was no local organization in place to run this event, so one had to be created ad hoc. It was basically tailored to fit two agendas, the ACD national agenda and the local arts programmers’ needs. It was hard to

recruit members for this board because they weren’t sure what was in it for them. Then too, because of the dependency of the whole event on outside funding, there was a certain reluctance to address political questions within the board.

Because the audience didn’t see a lot of this, their spirits weren’t necessarily dampened by it. The chance to be present in a forum of open debate and discussion was a wonderful opportunity for many people to share concerns and in some cases confront their difficulties. Some local observers pointed out to me that they had “never heard people talk to each other this way”—Native Americans and Hispanics about their historic differences, activists and educators about their respective challenges, “political” and “spiritual” people about how close they were or how far apart, and so on.

This conference may have demonstrated again that one never thoroughly enjoys one’s own party. But it also needs to be said, I think, that such parties are worthwhile. We don’t have the electronic monopoly on people’s lives that the establishment possesses; the only way we can create a common cultural knowledge is to meet, and meet, and meet; to forge a bond that cannot be broken by hype, or bribed by grants, or cast down a Memory Hole. We need to recreate ourselves (in both senses) and sharpen our practices. So there should be many such conferences, warts and all, and they should be criticized thoroughly by everyone concerned. ■



Photo: Judy Branfman

RECORDEMOS/TO REMEMBER: **The ACD National Gathering in Atlanta, Georgia,** **May 22-25, 1992**

In the mid-1800's, Karl Marx observed that "people make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past." In a similar way, people create their own culture, but not in isolation from political and economic forces and the influence of other distinct cultural groups. Cultural work is done under "circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past."

For this reason, the 1992 ACD Conference/Gathering has been named **RECORDEMOS**. That is the Spanish imperative collective form of the English verb "to remember". Literally translated to English it simply is: (WE) **REMEMBER**. Non-relexive, it is an active process by which our histories are re-researched, re-told and re-activated in the creation of diverse historical expressions.

The weekend of the observance of Memorial Day, May 22-25, 1992, has been chosen as the gathering time. Traditionally a holiday given over to the mourning of military dead, we seek to broaden the commemoration to include those disappeared by militaries and to bring forward those persons, ideas, groups and cultures which direct contemporary cultural work.

The Alliance has for the past four years kept the Counter-Quincentennial of the Columbus Voyages at the center of our programs, community and coalition building on a national level. ACD has fostered discussion amongst its membership on issues raised by the Quincentenary through its publications, support of artistic endeavor and through the three last conferences.

As an organization, we invite participation in the 1992 conference by individuals and representatives of other organizations who share our belief that the Quincentennial is too important an event to ignore or to trivialize in celebration. As such, 1992 represents an unparalleled opportunity to deepen and

extend the national debate on a number of related issues of social and cultural concern.

Education is a key issue this conference seeks to address. As the starting point in the propagation of historical myth and cultural stereotypes, teaching is also the means by which misconceptions can be dispelled and knowledge may empower. How we instruct our children, how we ourselves learn, particularly with respect to the "teachable moment" of the Quincentennial will be examined. Friday, May 22nd, the opening day of the conference will feature a series of workshops and panel discussions co-sponsored by the Atlanta Schools Social Studies Department. Participating workshop leaders include Bill Bigelow, editor and high school teacher from Portland, Oregon; Jan Elliott, activist and publisher with the Committee on American Indian History in Gainesville, Florida; George Sanchez, playwright and theater instructor in New York City Schools; and Larry Abrams, writer and educator from Venice, California.

The 1992 Conference will focus on artists' response to the Quincentennial. Cultural works in progress will inform workshop discussion and activities. Facilitators, chosen from the ACD membership will direct a variety of workshops which include Communicating by Drum; Cross-cultural Dance and Rhythm; Contemporary Indian Arts; Native American Land and Treaty Struggles; Cultural Aspects of Voter Registration; Agriculture; Empowerment Through Geography; Community Building Through Puppetry; Discovering Cultural Roots; Researching Personal and Family History; Multi-cultural Arts and Education; Multi-culturalism in the Schools: What Do the Students Say?; State Politics and the "Q" Thang; Publications: How To/Who To; The Caribbean: Crossroads of the Americas; Retelling Mythologies; The Music of Labor; Immigration and Cultural Politics; Teaching Cultural Tolerance; Cultural Work in Guerrilla Movements; Historical Scholarship and the Counter-

Quincentennial; and Post-1992: End and Beginning.

The setting for **RECORDEMOS/(WE) REMEMBER** will be an area in and around Little Five Points, a culturally diverse community in the heart of Atlanta's east side. Presentations will take place at Seven Stages Performance Center with a 300+ seat main theater and a smaller Back Door Theater. The facility also includes a gallery in its foyer and ample exhibition space on lobby walls and halls. A mural will be created on the outer wall of the building and is to be unveiled during the conference. Media arts caucuses, workshops and screenings will take place at Image Film and Video Center.

Conference fees include breakfasts, lunches and some other meals. Times has been allotted for caucuses among conferees and ACD business, including board nominations and elections, as well as a general membership gathering and new board meeting will take place on May 25th.

This is more than an opportunity to visit Atlanta in the Spring! It is an opportunity to engage in inspiring dialogue and share the inspiring and creative visions of a national network of progressive and community-based artists, activists and educational workers in a relaxed and stimulating environment. In addition, ACD's Conference Organizing Committee is taking particular care in developing the children's component. More than hanging out in childcare, our future cultural workers will participate in fun and informative activities and presentations themselves, tailored to kid's energy and curiosity.

We hope you'll join us for this very special weekend in Atlanta.

See you there!

For Conference Registration, see the membership form on the back cover.

For more conference information, contact Bill Fleming or Genie Barringer at 404-377-4670 or 377-9748. Or Conference Coordinator Brenda Porter at 404-622-9970.

THE SALVADORAN ASSOCIATION OF ARTS AND CULTURAL WORKERS (ASTAC) and Popular Culture

Go to a demonstration or a meeting of one of the unions or popular organizations in El Salvador and you're likely to find not only the "business" at hand, but also music, puppet shows, poetry, theater, or art exhibits. More often than not, these cultural presentations are organized by ASTAC, or the Salvadoran Association of Art and Cultural Workers, the main cultural emissary of El Salvador's popular movement.

ASTAC, organized in 1983, is a grouping of artists from various disciplines who are united by a broad conception of culture - "culture" meaning all those constructs, traditions and ways of surviving that have been created by the Salvadoran people, including what we usually call "art" - and the necessity of carrying out cultural work as an integral part of the struggle for peace and democracy in El Salvador.

ASTAC works on several fronts.

ASTAC's musical group is Teosinte, in high demand to perform at demonstrations, meetings, concerts and festivals. Their music is very Salvadoran in sound and form, a continuation of Latin America's "nueva cancion" movement. Because of the domination of Salvadoran airwaves by U.S. rock (perhaps 50% or more), ASTAC and Teosinte see their work as not only maintaining a distinctly Salvadoran popular culture, but also rescuing the culture from complete annihilation by foreign influence and power. It's not easy. Their latest cassette release, "Canta el Pueblo," was recorded in Guatemala (the nearest 16 track studio) and duplicated for distribution in Mexico. One of the songs on the tape is from a repopulation in Chalatenango, while another is sung in Nahuatl, a rapidly disappearing indigenous language spoken by fewer than 80, most elderly, Salvadorans. Some of the songs on the tape are a result of ASTAC's continuing investigations into the cultures and traditions of El Salvador, and from workshops and guitar lessons done in poor and marginal communities.

El Salvador has a long tradition of political puppet theater, and ASTAC currently boasts two: Chichicaste, a satirical, highly politicized group; and Chanchavalancha, a group that performs mostly for children.

In literature and print, ASTAC produces Semilla or "seed", a page in the weekly literary supplement of *Diario Latino*, as well as a page about music "Guanacanto"; a literary and theoretical journal *Vereda* or "path"; and the magazine *Utual* or "right now", about work and culture in the communities. They also sponsor a yearly literary competition "Alfonso Hernandez", named after a poet-combatant of the FMLN killed in 1988. An anthology of winners as just been published as a first offering from the ASTAC publishing company Editorial Sombrero Azul. ASTAC also played an important role in the October '90 "First Salvadoran Writer's Conference for Peace," where in addition to participating inside, ASTAC also organized a performance festival outside to bring the conference into the streets. (See *Z Magazine* Dec. '90)

In graphic arts, ASTAC produces posters of their own and in conjunction with other organizations. An art exhibit was organized for the Writer's Conference, and last November they held a competition for posters commemorating the first anniversary of the murder of the Jesuits. ASTAC artists also give on-going workshops in the communities, and special short-term workshops for popular organizations.

In a recent publicity workshop for members of a campesino organization, some 16 campesinos participated from throughout the country. One of them, from a conflict zone, had to get up at 3 a.m. to start walking the 2 1/2 hours through the mountains to catch the bus to the city. There were 13 men and 3 women, ranging in age from 17 to 45. ASTAC performances, workshops, concerts, etc. are videotaped, as are demonstrations, festivals, Saint's Days and other

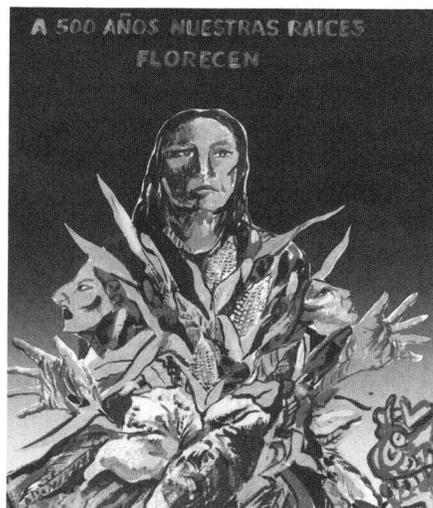
community cultural events. They're currently working on a tape documenting the past 8 years' work.

ASTAC had a theatre group, "Mazorca", but when two of its members were killed in the wake of the November '89 offensive, it disbanded, and some of its dancers have been forced to leave the country. Artists, writers and performers who publically take strong political stands against the military and government and in support of peace and the creation of a truly popular culture in El Salvador do so a great personal risk.

Although ASTAC was driven more or less "underground" following the November '89 offensive, in February '90 it resurfaced more committed and active than ever. In February of this year they were able to open a large cultural center which contains a gallery, offices, and art-making and performance spaces. The Center is friendly and busy with a contagious courage and enthusiasm.

To find out more about the work of ASTAC, and about the planned U.S. tour by Teosinte, contact New England/El Salvador Art Exchange, 174 Pleasant St., Cambridge MA 02139. NE/ESAE also has the "Canta el Pueblo" tape for sale, as well as the magazine "Vereda", and will be organizing artist's delegations to El Salvador in the future.

-Todd Jailer-



Black Liberation Radio Update

Last year, Cultural Democracy published an article about **Black Liberation Radio**, a low-watt community radio station in Springfield, Illinois, operated out of an apartment in the Hay Homes federal housing project. The tiny one-watt station and its director were in business, despite having been threatened by local police for violating Federal Communications Commission rules. It seems that in 1978 an FCC regulation passed requiring FM radio stations to have a minimum operating power of 100 watts. And so the station, begun in 1985 as part of a tenant's rights movement, was hit with a variety of summons, warnings, and police visits, all intended to shut it down. The latest news from Black Liberation Radio is even more chilling. One recent night during the broadcast of a live telephone interview on the topic of white supremacy, **a bullet from a .357 Magnum smashed through a window, missing station director Mbanna Kantako's head by inches.** After brushing off shards of glass, Kantako resumed broadcasting within minutes, replaying his tape of the attack frequently and challenging the attackers. Amazingly, the Springfield Police, who monitor and tape the station daily, never came to investigate, nor did the Springfield Housing Authority, whose agents periodically try to evict Kantako and his family. Furthermore, not one of the city's media outlets reported the story. Despite the struggles, the stations continues to broadcast, 24 hours a day, 7 days a week, airing everything from interviews with activists and scholars, to alternative music, and views about the Columbus Quincentennial. It's true community radio: although the station has a broadcast radius of less than two miles, because of segregated housing patterns, it reaches about three-fourths of the African American residents of the city.

To help Black Liberation Radio survive, you can send letters of support and contributions for tapes, postage and equipment to **Black Liberation Radio, 333 N. 12th Street, Springfield IL 62702 or Tel: 217-527-1298.** (adapted from the Minnesota Library Assoc. Social Responsibilities Round Table Newsletter)

Global Exchange Reality Tours to CUBA

is one way to fight the continuing U.S. Cold War and economic blockade of that island nation. As the materials point out, Cuba is more isolated than ever and is suffering economically. Trade agreements with Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union have been broken and Cuba is facing its 32 year of the U.S. trade embargo. Shortages include everything from gasoline to food and medicine, while the Bush administration steps up its propaganda war and openly ponders intervention/invasion.

Tours, which will be going monthly throughout most of '92, are organized by interest areas, including Religion (May 15-24), Public Health (June 19-28) and Cuba at the Crossroads (Sept. 11-20).

Some partial scholarships are available for low-income applicants.

For information on the tour, and good background materials on the Cold War against Cuba, contact **GLOBAL EXCHANGE, 2141 Mission St. Suite 202, San Francisco CA 94110 or Tel: 415-255-7296.**

SUPPORT THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION!

Be one of the first 25 people to donate \$50 to ACD and the upcoming May '92 National Gathering and Conference in Atlanta Georgia, and receive a special limited edition "500 Years of Resistance" poster/print by Salvadoran artist Isaias Mata.

The beautiful four-color silk-screened poster is a celebration of 500 years of resistance to colonialism in the Americas and a critique of the "official" Quincentennial celebrations in the context of El Salvador's continuing struggle to free itself politically, economically and culturally from foreign domination. The bulk of the posters, produced with financial support by ACD, are being sent to ASTAC to benefit its work. ACD will receive 25 for support of its continuing Counter-Quincentennial organizing, in particular the May '92 National Gathering and Conference in Atlanta.

Poster artist Isaias Mata is a former painting instructor at the University in San Salvador, and a member of the Salvadoran Association of Art and Cultural Workers - ASTAC, the artists' union in El Salvador. He was forced into exile by the U.S.-supported ARENA government, and is currently working at the Mission Cultural Center in San Francisco.

You can support ACD and ASTAC by contributing \$50 to ACD and you'll receive the Mata/ASTAC poster, and have the satisfaction of knowing you're supporting the creation of a true people's cultural movement in El Salvador while also helping make ACD's May '92 Atlanta Conference a strong alternative voice to official Quincentennialmania!

See the ACD Membership form on the inside back cover for more.



Columbus Day, October 13th, 1991, coincided with the City of San Francisco' and the U.S. Navy's costly and noisy annual celebration of "Fleet Week", officially welcoming the "victorious" 6th Fleet, back from its recent sojourn into the Gulf.

On the same day, across town in the heart of San Francisco's largely latino "Mission District", an entirely different kind of celebration was taking place. The Second Continental Chasky of Self-Discovery, -"chasky" being a Quechua word meaning "messengers".-, was slowly winding its way through the streets, stopping at every corner where performances of theatre, dance, music, art, and poetry greeted hundreds of Chasky participants carrying mural banners, huge puppets, musical instruments, traditional drums, and sacred incense in celebration of 500 Years of Resistance, and mourning the many lives and cultures lost in that struggle. Many participants wore traditional native dress from their various cultures, while others pushed strollers, or joined along from the crowds of spectators that lined the streets.

Between Fleet Week celebrations , punctuated by the roar of the Navy's Blue Angels overhead, and the Chasky, winding its way to the beat of traditional drums, there could be no greater indicator of the difference that marks the "official" understanding (and propaganda!) of this moment in history, and the rising consciousness of those who have resisted the imposition of that "other's" history and culture throughout these long five hundred years. Key to the concept of the Chasky is CULTURE and PARTICIPATION, as well as SELF-DISCOVERY. It allows all of our communities to find their own voice, whether we be children, political or community organizations, women, men, gay, African American, Euro-American, Central American, or Native American By honoring those that were here first, and celebrating our many struggles to find justice and peace in the world, we embark together on a Chasky of Self-Discovery.

These photographs share with you a few moments of that "self-discovery".



Upper photo- Wise Fool Puppet Intervention used four enormous puppets, carried by stilt-walkers, to create a theatrical tableau entitled "The People Respond". Each puppet represented either grief, horror, rage, or silence while additional stilt-walkers portrayed the peoples of the world, chanting "500 years, the people respond, it's been too long."

Bottom photo- Roots Against War, a largely African American multicultural performance group created during the Gulf War, used rap, poetry, theatre, and Afro-Caribbean dance and drum to portray the genocide of drugs, violence, and AIDS amongst the youth in our communities.



The American Indian Movement drum led the Chasky procession through the streets, offering songs and prayers of healing and strength at the beginning and end of the 6 hour procession/performance.



Many solidarity organizations participated, especially groups from Central America, like the Comité de Unidad Guatemalteca/Guatemalan News and Information Bureau, which used traditional folkloric dance and music to portray indigenous people's struggle against conquest, and the continuing liberation struggle in Guatemala today.



Prairie Fire Organizing Committee performed a street theatre skit on political prisoners in the U.S., including Leonard Peltier and the Puerto Rican Prisoners of War. Also along the way, Women Against Imperialism hung a beautiful quilt portraying the central role of women in all movements of resistance and liberation.

Photographs and text
by Drake Namlah

Chasky Graphic by Michael Roman

Reading Desert Storm/

AWOL

AWOL (Artists and Writer Out Loud) was created when ACD Board members Joe Lambert, Betty Kano and Mat Schwarzman organized a meeting the night after the U.S. declared war against Iraq. The original idea was to create a working group to start a peace encampment in San Francisco's busy Civic Center, but the energy that was generated grew into something much more.¹

During the next six weeks, AWOL members demonstrated on national television (at the 49-ers/Giants play-off game); organized a series of actions at local media outlets where Pentagon Commendations for Replacing Accuracy with Propaganda (or Crappies) were awarded; painted at least a thousand signs and banners for other organizations' demonstrations; and, oh yes, actually got around to building a peace monument.

As with many such ad hoc groups, it was at first shared energy, rather than ideology, which most visibly defined AWOL. However, we were fortunate to have members who were thinkers as well as doers, and within the first month we were able to articulate some guiding principles which spoke to the increasingly irrational, symbolic nature of public discourse, and the responsibility that we, as artists and writers, felt toward trying to remedy that trend.

Our first actions were attempts to create counter images, such as the peace encampment and the huge peace symbol during the playoff game. But with the Crappies, we changed to a critical stance, and focused on identifying and exposing publicly the incredible excesses of the war-mongering media. We paraded outside each of the network affiliates (including PBS and Fox), chanting first, and then daring someone from the staff to come out and accept their Crappy.

With the announcement of the war's

alleged end, we took on two new projects: the building of a beautiful, interactive peace monument on the site of our encampment; and the organizing of "Collateral Damage/Human Response: Who's Afraid of the New World Order?" which included an interactive exhibit replete with an Anger Booth, Peace Booth, Gulf War Reliquary Wall and a huge world map. In addition, there was performance art, dance, poetry, video screenings, music and panel discussions, one of which is excerpted below.

AWOL is now publishing a series of large mail art pieces entitled "Faces of the Enemy," which juxtapose sacred images of Americana (such as soldiers, families, homes, etc.), against facts concerning the toll the war has taken on U.S. & Iraqi people. Watch for them pasted over your local billboards, or write: AWOL, c/o New College, 766 Valencia, SF, CA 94110; for copies.

¹ Franchises even sprang up in New York and Boulder, CO, thanks to ACD members Lisa Knauer, Lucy Lippard and Mark O'Brien.

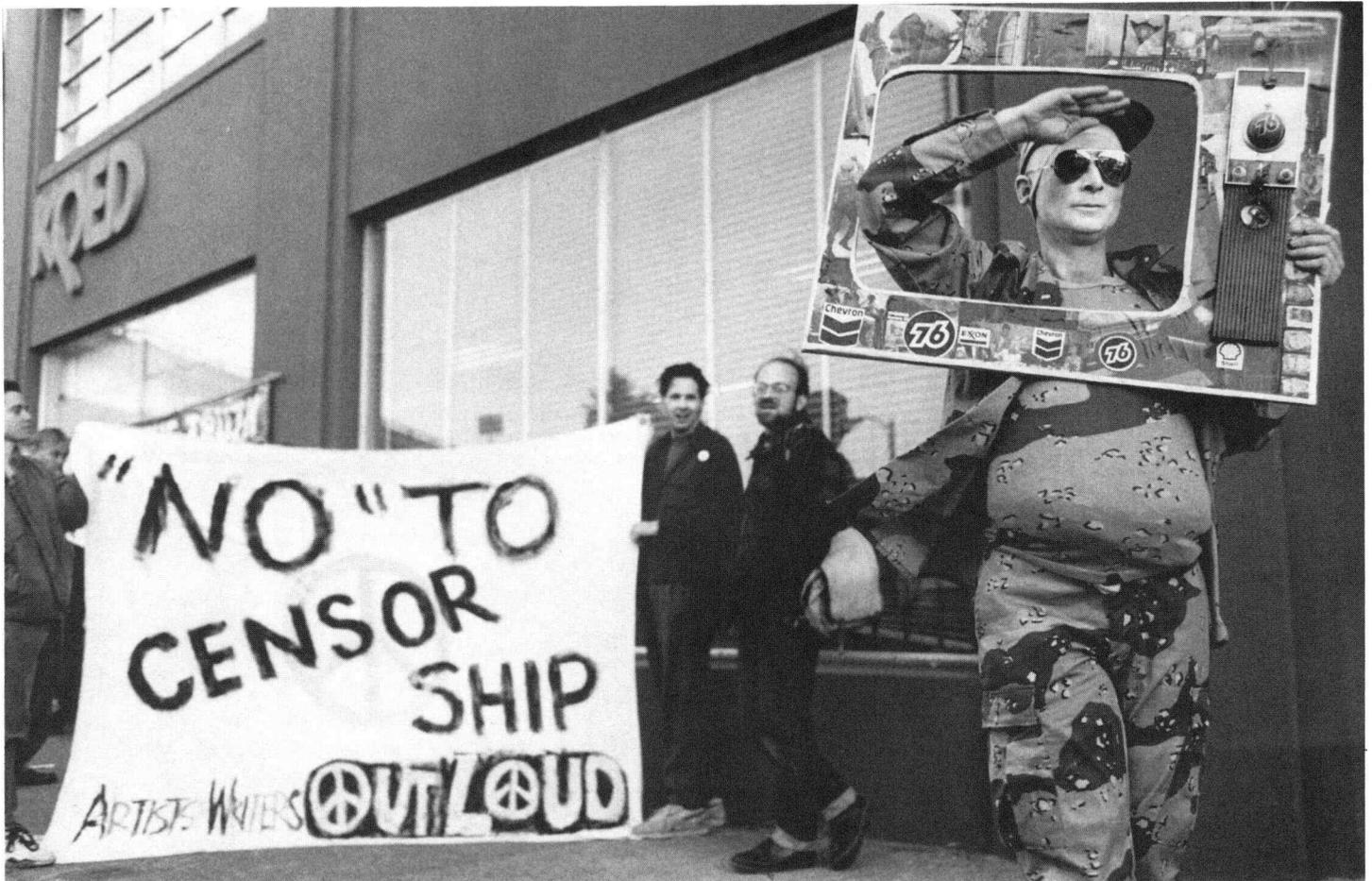


Photo: Pamela Gentile

Rethinking Resistance

Reading Desert Storm/Rethinking Resistance was organized by AWOL and held at the Ubik Gallery in San Francisco over two days in May. Panelists included visual artists Betty Kano, John Muse (panel organizer) and Andres Cisnero; Middle East analyst Sami Mshasha; playwright Nabil Al-Hadithy and media analyst/art historian Doug Kahn; Avital Ronell and Thyrsa Goodeve of the San Francisco Art Institute; Dora Ruechev of Pledge of Resistance; and social historian Donal Wong. The following comments are excerpted from the first day's panel.

THYRSA GOODEVE:

The empty debate on the spectacle is thus organized by the spectacle itself; everything is said about the extensive means at its disposal to ensure that nothing is said about their extensive deployment.

- Guy Debord, *Notes on the Society of the Spectacle*, (1988)

I do and don't want to talk about "the spectacle" and *Desert Storm*. I don't because it seems so self-evident and literal as to be banal (the problem with much critical theory in relation to "the war.") It's not too difficult to sum up the problem as one of simulation, data shock, our first "cyberwar" and so on. Yet, at the same time I do need and want to talk about all that has "happened" from January to March in relation to spectacle because *it is* exactly what got me in the end.

I offer quickly three quotes from Guy Debord which sum up for me the central issues/problems of *Desert Storm* and its windless, disembodied, atomizing principle. In his 1967 book, *Society of the Spectacle*, Debord differentiated between concentrated and diffuse forms of spectacular power. *Concentrated* spectacular power is organized around a dictatorial personality and is manifested in both totalitarian counter-revolutionary as well as fascist ideologies. *Diffuse* spectacular power is more directly related to capitalism as a global phenomenon, but utterly linked to what he calls the "Americanization of the world," which drives "wage-earners to apply their

freedom of choice to the vast new commodities now on offer." In his 1988 comments on the society of the spectacle, Debord adds to these two, a third formation of spectacular power, the *integrated spectacle*. He says about the latter:

The society whose modernization has reached the stage of integrated spectacle is characterized by the combined effect of five principal factors: incessant technological renewal, integration of state and economy, generalized secrecy, unanswerable lies, and eternal present. (11-12)

Much of this seems too familiar and easily sums up *Desert Storm*. In relation to the eternal present Debord says,

The manufacture of the present ... which wants to forget the past and no longer seems to believe in the future, is achieved by the ceaseless circularity of information, always returning to the same short list of trivialities, passionately proclaimed as major discoveries. Meanwhile, news of what is generally important, of what is actually changing, comes rarely, and then in fits and starts. It always concerns the world's apparent condemnation of its own existence, the stages in its programmed self-destruction.



This too seems to tell me *what happened* in *Desert Storm*, not in terms of damage incurred in Iraq, or in relation to catastrophic environmental consequences, or in relation to government policy, but in relation to a horrifying condition of the eternal present which jammed many a critical

power and which, in connection with America's ravenous talent for transforming conflict and contradiction into easily consumable glittering heroic myths, produced the predicament.

The spectator is simply supposed to know nothing and deserves nothing. *Those who are watching to see what happens next will never act* and such must be the spectator's condition. (emphasis added)

A sordid truism of arguable proportions, but one which resonates profoundly - literally - after *Desert Storm*.

But there are other issues as well. The logic of "what happened?" might also be the problem; the problem of knowing "it" - a discrete, easily identifiable storm and what it meant as an isolated, fully resolved narrative crescendoing into \$12 million victory parades. The "what-happened?" represents the easy summing up of a history - a historical knowledge - written as a history of Great Wars. Isn't this the history the government imposes as policy? Narrative resolution is the policy of the New World Order - the easy production of conflict/resolution/victory. The spectacular

powers that be wanted the attachment to the narrative desire, as a way to distract, atomize, produce this condition of spectatorship.

Part of me therefore resists and thinks it's problematic to engage with *Desert Storm* - the war - as THE issue of the present. I wonder about the production

and organization of this extended war, experienced in extreme close-up with no establishing shot, as a source of a centralized and all too potent preoccupation. Indeed, forcing connections between *Desert Storm* and an array of economic, political, technological shifts occurring abroad and at home _ rather than cutting off and separating the war out for analysis on its own - seems a critical survival strategy.

American demonology seems to be at a critical juncture at home. Its borders are a seething array of potentially destructive "others" warring it out: the "war on drugs," homelessness, the alarming statistics of the decline in life expectancy of black males. And connected to all of this, the most literal war of all: WAR _ White Aryan Resistance - born and rising in the 1980's as demographics change and race "wars" become blood chillingly literalized in the acronym of this counter-revolutionary movement. During *Desert Storm* I saw *Blood In The Face*, a film about the white supremacist movement in America, and wondered about the connections between these men rattling on about World War III and the threats to the white race and the fact that "we" - America on the left and the right - were all preoccupied with "the" war out there.

Maybe all I am saying is *Desert Storm* may not be the issue, except in relation to a quote by von Clausewitz:

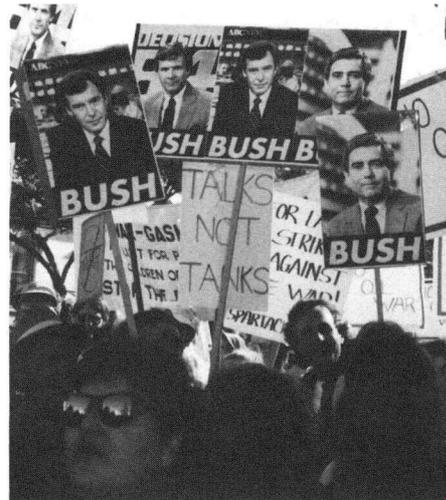
War is an instrument of policy; it must necessarily bear its character, it must measure with its scale: the conduct of War, in its great features is therefore policy itself...

The policy of this war -a war on the American people as well as Iraq -was one of distraction, spectacular disconnection, atomization, and the shocking disarmament of the very fabric of political understanding, and therefore, action itself.

NABIL AL-HADITHY:

I was driving up to Redding on August 2nd, when Iraq invaded Kuwait, and practically all the way there I had the company of Daniel Schorr on National Public Radio. NPR had suspended its normal programming to put on a five-hour extravaganza arguing that Iraq was

going to destroy the American way of life. I thought it was amusing — this little Third World nation of 18 million people, twenty nationalities and about six or seven different religions, could threaten the existence of the most powerful nation on earth. But I was also scared by the vilification and total demonization of Iraq that was presented to us.



Later, I got through to Daniel Schorr and asked him if it was reasonable that, out of five so-called experts on his show, three were Jewish and two were Christian white Americans. Why couldn't he get an Arab to share an opinion? After much ado, Bill Busenberg, head of news, replied, "We tried to find an Arab, but we couldn't." I pointed out that NPR shares the same building with the National Headquarters of the National Association of Arab Americans. Schorr's response was, "Listen, this is *my* show, I'm going to do exactly as I want."

I learned very quickly to stop talking to the press unless I could be completely in control. Newspapers and TV stations would do half-hour interviews with me and then use only the parts where I say, "Saddam Hussein is a monster," or "There are no human rights in Iraq." Everything else would be filtered out.

In an article in *Public Opinion*, a Washington, DC magazine, there was an analysis of the TV media. 96% of the executives were white. 92% are men. 59% are Jewish. These statistics go through the movie industry and also through the elite print media. Is it an accident that Walt Disney Productions would depict Kermit the Frog machine gunning a bunch of Arabs to save Miss Piggy, who is abducted by terrorists? Of

course it's not. Who is the Arab in Walt Disney to object to that position? The book, *The Black Stallion*, didn't have an Arab terrorist in it, but when Hollywood got through with it, the Arab was there with his syringe, trying to inject the boy hero and steal the horse. This type of racism is so extensive that I challenge anyone to produce a single positive image of an Arab in any film.

The peace movement is equally unrepresentative of the Arab community. I was approached by a left-wing group to speak in bookstores throughout the Bay Area, and the first place I talked, I said, "There isn't going to be a war. There's going to be a rout. The Iraqi army is totally demoralized after the situation in Iran, and it's unlikely that Iraq, with its technological inferiority, is going to create much of an opposition." And I met this sort of wall of objection from the left, saying, "No, you don't understand. There's going to be a Vietnam-style war, and a lot of Americans are going to get killed." The favorite cliché was *body bags*. It really angered me.

People I spoke to in leadership positions in the peace movement understood that there was something wrong with the Vietnam analogy too, but they were too attached to this image of American kids dying. They thought it was the only way to scare the American public away from supporting Bush's war. Even now, when I speak to these people, they insist that it was the only solution. But this solution was used against all advice of Iraqis in this country. I don't think any of you ever heard any Iraqis, because their position was, a) opposition to Saddam Hussein, and b) there would be no war. But the peace movement didn't want to criticize Saddam Hussein, and they certainly didn't want to think of a rout. That would not be a popular rallying cry.

BETTY NOBUE KANO:

The real war has just begun: the war at home. While the lights in the streets of New York City are being turned off, the lights in the minds of our children are being extinguished one by one as school districts fall to the axe of budget cuts, poor business and low priorities.

Unfortunately, it isn't just education that's suffering. Wherever we look, we

see disaster. The homeless are becoming a part of the landscape of every city. More and more people look like characters from Pieter Bruegel's paintings of the blind and afflicted on the streets of the European Middle Ages. Safety is a concept reserved for fewer and fewer and only the wealthy. Tomorrow's "victory" parade will welcome those who left disaster behind them to face disaster in their own cities here at home.

I don't believe for a minute that George Bush or this government will treat people at home any better than they treat people in other countries. So we better get ready. We need to influence popular sentiments and turn these sentiments into positive forces, that could potentially radicalize the situation. For example, racism is on the rise domestically and in our foreign wars. We need to address issues of racism more vigorously where they occur, and learn among ourselves to give space to the "other," the unheard from, and to respect differences.

We also need to maintain vigilance regarding this nation's foreign policies. Recently, Gen. Colin Powell commented that there aren't any villains left, except Castro and Kim Il Sung, the leader of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea or North Korea. There are "suspicions" that North Korea is capable of building nuclear weapons. Meanwhile, the United States has between 600 to 1,000 nuclear warheads in the demilitarized zone pointing at North Korea. There are 43,000 US troops in South Korea, and the South Korean army is the only army in the world headed by a foreign commander: the US army commander in Korea.

We need to be extremely vigilant to see that we are able to maintain contacts and exchanges with North Korea and Cuba on a person to person level, so that access to the truth about those countries does not get blocked or cut off. We then need to publicize the truth as much as we can and attempt to educate others in spite of our lack of control over our media.

As a painter, I feel a brush and canvas are primitive means of expression, struggling for relevance in a society that rushes past increasingly more swiftly. Seemingly archaic, these kinds of expressive modes are actually vital to certain basic human activities and social groups. The Gulf Massacre saw a

resurgence of the more primitive forms of expression: poster making, poetry, music, sculpture and painting, as well as video and technologically developed forms. At U.C. Berkeley, students handwrote news scanned from international sources on large pieces of card stock. The placards were placed on the ground and daily added on to. People would stand there reading this news written by hand to find out what was missing from their daily dose of technological communications.

Expression is a tool in the struggle for survival. It is the testimony and witness of as many of us as possible, of all of us. The urgency that each of us brings to this expression is crucial: the more those who are disenfranchised speak, write and paint, the closer we get to the core of this struggle for survival.

public sphere - the polis - is where we once located politics; and what we have to come to terms with is the vanishing of politics. One of the things that the Gulf War has shown us is our own mutism.

John Muse has titled this panel "Reading *Desert Storm...*," which implies, against the classical grain, that war is an unnatural phenomenon. This is why war has always involved ceremonies, peace treaties, events of signing, the founding of a new law instituting a new order. War teaches us that the violence it unleashes is not natural or physical in the first place, but that the concept of violence belongs to the symbolic order of law, politics and morals. This is the good news, because, to the extent that war is not natural but waged in the name of transcendental values/inscriptions - justice, God, truth,



NOT SO REMOTE CONTROL

AVITAL RONELL:

When, in the hour of its primal triumph, the United States of America first constituted itself as a nation, the first country from the Old World to recognize the emergent republic in the New World and to lend it legitimacy was a Muslim, Arab country, Morocco. On some level of consciousness there is a matter of national debt to be settled here, one which has sought refuge in the regions of a national unconscious.

In my allotted time, I can only produce a kind of discursive sampler and make little more than scratch noises on the public record. However, it may be the case that one can only make scratch noises, as there are no clear transmission systems that allow us to be heard. The disappearance of the public sphere is a catastrophe of historical dimension. The

country, freedom, the white metaphysical subject's autonomy - it is susceptible to a critique. You cannot criticize nature, but you can and must criticize - read - *Desert Storm*. But there's the catch: *Desert Storm* masks itself as a natural catastrophe; it conceals itself in the language of natural eruption. The move to a natural idiom of calamity tries to efface the symbolic order in which modern warfare is waged. But it also points to another covert linguistic action: the storm and the lightning are not natural borrowings but an account that America has opened with the past, referring us to the *storm troopers* and lightning war, the *blitzkrieg*. This rehabilitation of Nazi signifiers shows that Bush's relation to the phantom of WWII is more complicated, haunted and difficult than one might have supposed.

My title for this paper is "Support the Tropes." Tropes are figures of speech, metaphors and metonymies, that dominate our thinking fields. What does it mean to "support the troops?" Why has it become the major indictment against anyone who has shown concern, resistance, horror? What kind of figure does "support the troops" cut? Where to locate the tropes we are supporting? And who is "we"?

Submitted to a rhetorical analysis, "support the troops" would constitute a catachresis, that is, an abuse of language. Strictly speaking, the troops are supposed to support *us*. Turning around the rapport of troops to the populace once again rehabilitates the ideological maneuvers of fascist Europe. The utterance "support the troops" is a sign of the involvement of the entire populace in a "total" war, one where the theater of warfare is not limited, and military strategy is deflected from the mobilization of troops toward the psychologistic or propagandistic control of the home-front.

As you all know, America is involved in many wars, including the war against drugs, the homeless, the sick, the poor, the educated. There are more fronts than are simply included by the theater of operation. The need for such a theater and extremist localization is something that ought to be reviewed, for the community has been divided, cut and evacuated from a number of atypical zones that require an altogether new mapping of the world, neighborhood, proximity. But America's wars not only involve a matter of spatial discontinuity: there is also a distortion of time, a kind of warped temporality which does not make the Gulf War easy to focus in traditional historical terms. For war in a gulf has come to mean a phantomic blast, a blast from the past. When did this war take place?

We know that Bush was reading — once again *reading* — The History of World War II when he decided to go to war. The signifier of gas went into recirculation, evoking that war, and given the gas masks, the threat of chemical warfare, etc., it resurrected World War I as well. In addition, we mobilized the technology that had been aimed for years at the Soviet Union. Suddenly we had no enemy, no specular other. So far the phantoms of two world

wars have been mobilized, plus the war we did not have with the Russians but had planned. Of course, in these haunted regions of the American unconscious we were also fighting the ghosts of the so-called Vietnam Syndrome.

Now, the war in the Gulf was supposed to be a healing war, if such a monstrous misuse of language can be admitted. We were to be cured of Vietnam. The problem is that the Vietnam Syndrome is not about the grief we might feel about the dead, or the guilt we might acknowledge for having destroyed a culture. The Vietnam Syndrome is about losing a war and returning home without heroization, mythologization, or total mobilization. This is why the Vietnam Syndrome cannot be cured — because it is not an illness. Rather, the illness resides in the drive to cure our natural resistance to war.

DAVID LEVI STRAUSS:

Our charge here tonight is to be *diagnostic*, to try to talk about "what happened" in *Desert Storm*. I like the word *diagnostic* because it accurately puts the analysis in medical pathological terms and religious terms at the same time. In trying to figure out "what happened," I found myself going back to previous diagnoses (and prognoses) of war and looking, finally, for prophets. This is the prophet Walter Benjamin writing in 1937:

... traffic speeds, like the capacity to duplicate both the written and the spoken word, have outstripped human needs. The energies that technologies develop beyond the threshold of those needs are destructive. They serve primarily to foster the technology of warfare, and of the means used to prepare public opinion for war.

Faces of the Enemy



Among life's delightful experiences — Your first home... how memorable the day you took possession! Here is a milestone of happiness—a proud moment enjoyed but once.

U.S. aerial assaults, with the combined explosive power seven times that of the bomb dropped on Hiroshima, destroyed 20,000 Iraqi homes.

In other words, surplus technological development always eventually becomes army/navy surplus, war surplus. Excess speed leads to war. Almost fifty years later, this idea was picked up and extended by Paul Virilio:

The development of technology is Pure War. Logistical necessities, confrontation of blocs result in a conflict on the technological level. Weapons and armor constantly need to be strengthened. Technological development thus leads to economic depletion. The war-machine tends toward societal nondevelopment.... not developing civilian society because it hinders the development of military society, the means of waging war.

- Paul Virilio & Sylvère Lotringer, *Pure War* (1983), p. 54.

New satellite communications technologies were supposed to make war obsolete. The deterrence of advanced nuclear weapons was supposed to make war obsolete. Instead it turns out that these technologies just make a new kind of war and a new kind of propaganda possible.

Advanced information technologies were supposed to lead to a more informed, more active democratic citizenry, not a nation of jingoistic sheep, free people clamoring for chains. What happened?

Could it be that the increase in available information (and the speed of its transmission and storage) has caused a concomitant decline in our ability to deal with symbolic systems, making us vulnerable to the kind of pure propaganda we saw during *Desert Storm*?

And how did the war-machine get control over *all* channels of transmission? What we still euphemistically (nostalgically?) call "The News" has become the principal tool in the management of consent. Dissent, when it arises, accidentally, from within, is quickly erased. When Walter Cronkite began to question the motives of military censorship of the war on CBS News, CBS promptly got rid of him. He convinced *Newsweek* to print his thoughts on the subject in a bylined piece entitled "What Is There to Hide?, Military Arrogance Keeps the Public in the Dark," where he drew a parallel with Germany after World War II, when most Germans protested that they didn't know

about the concentration camps. *Newsweek* was promptly deluged with letters attacking this wild-eyed old radical.

How strange it was to be sitting there in front of the screen during the war and suddenly realize that this "coverage" was carrying no information. There was no "news," since all information had to come from one source, the military, and they weren't releasing any. So what we were watching was actors "being The News" from Saudi Arabia. We saw the structure itself: pure news... pure television.

It should be noted that Bush's phrase "New World Order" is a cynical appropriation of two U.N. initiatives that the U.S. torpedoed some time ago: the New International Economic Order of 1974 and the New International



Information Order of 1976. These were attempts by UNESCO to initiate an international reordering of access to resources and information and break the media monopoly of the Western powers. The U.S. lobbied hard against the New World Information Order in international forums, and when that was not successful, they threatened to withhold financial support from the U.N. Finally, in 1981, they withdrew from UNESCO entirely.

In "rethinking resistance," it is necessary to recognize what we're up against. Forms of resistance that once worked are no longer effective. About the same number of people marched against the war in San Francisco in one day as died in the saturation bombing of Iraq, and both of these groups were

effectively erased from the public record. It is still important to act and to demonstrate, but it is also important to analyze and conceptualize, and to try to understand and articulate, because if people don't know what you are demonstrating *for*, it will have no effect.

The bottom line is: We don't need more information, we need better information, and the capability to process it and *act* on it.

SAMI MSHASHA:

When John approached me to speak, I said, "Oh, fine, this is another one of those speeches; he's calling upon a Palestinian to speak." Regardless of what a leftist feels about the Palestinian issue, he feels that he has to play it safe by bringing a Palestinian aboard. One needs to reflect upon why the left plays the same game as the government. Both say the central the ills of the Middle East is the Palestinian problem. Solve it and you'll have a Middle East that is easy to control.

It's hard to accept that I'm invited to these functions just to play into the hands, into the frame of mind of an American person who feels for my cause. I always have a hard time giving *you* a name, an identity. It could be part of my own ignorance, my inability to reach out to you. It could be also the difficulty you have in reaching out to the Arab person, to a person from a Third World country. I have a hard time trying to find common denominators between us. You do not have the methodological equipment to understand me. And, it pains me to say, I also don't have the equipment to understand you. I am as ignorant as they come on the issues that affect the common person in this country when I stand and say "Freedom for my People," and "Stop Aid to Israel," and "Sanctions Against Israel," and "Justice at Home."

When John sent me an outline of the panel topics I told the guys at the Palestine Arab Center, "This is different! I'm called upon to reflect!" I really feel at ease addressing the political aspects. It's very easy. And sometimes when I'm pushed, I flip and start talking naturally from an emotional perspective. Sometimes I feel that I'm part of the problem, so I can't really debate it from the outside. I need to debate it from the inside. But then I say, "No, you are

trying to find common denominators with the people, working with issues pertaining to you as much as pertaining to them, as Americans..."

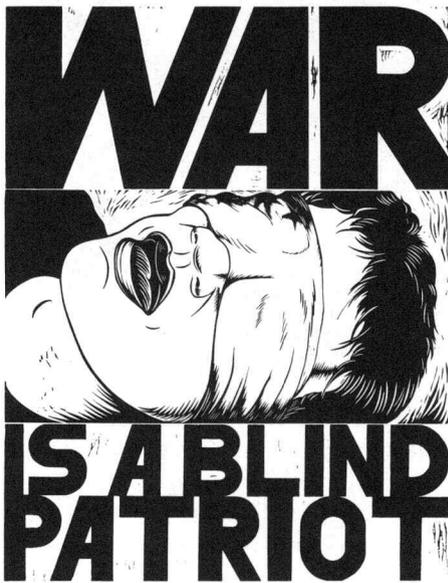
With all respect to the panelists, the talks were almost pessimistic. My heart was heavy. I understand that this is analysis, looking at the whole bag, yet I detected some sort of resignation, some sort of undue sadness. I just finished writing an Amnesty International report comparing what the Kuwaiti government is doing to Palestinians in Kuwait, with what the Israelis are doing to Palestinians in the occupied territories. Later, I put some of this information into a newsletter for the community. And it dawned on me that I was typing an Arabic newsletter to my community, who do not comprehend fully what is being visited upon them in the United States _ the hate crimes, etc. _ or what is happening to their relatives and their brothers and sisters. That itself led me to thinking, "How can I also get that particular information to the American public who know these issues better than I do?"

These conflicting feelings lead me to think that I need to be pessimistic. Because if I look at it as a Palestinian, I could draw up a very pessimistic scenario: there's no place to go in the occupied territories; there's no place to go in the Arab Middle East; you can't stay here; you have to go back home; your papers are not in order; you're hunted down. Yet if one needs to come up with something that is *positive* about the Gulf Crisis, it is that this has demarcated things. For the first time in the Middle East, governments cannot rationalize their crimes, bigotries, and racist tendencies against their people and against the world in general. They cannot hide it under the guise of supporting the Palestinians and their right to self-determination and independence.

Now, as Arab persons, we know where we stand. You, as Americans who take on the issue of justice at home, have already achieved that. You know in general what you need to do. It wasn't the same for us. But the Gulf War shook that particular concept. Before, if you weren't educated, you wouldn't have been able to decipher the positions of the Arab governments. Now they were forced to expose themselves for a

change. And that's positive. That gives me more incentive - as a Palestinian, first, as an Arab, second, and finally as a human being, and that's more important than the first two - to look at things differently.

I agree with most of what was said tonight, but I will add one thing: it's not as bad as it seems. Of course it's bad. But let's, if you will, whitewash it with some sort of an optimistic view on things. Because if you don't take this into mind, you will put yourself in a trap. You will say, "Well, since it's bad and I can't change it by myself, and since this small group in this room can't change it, then I might as well give up the fight." And I venture to say, "No, I'm willing to fight." And that's the message that I'm trying to send, at least to our community here, which is really demoralized! They are forced into a position that doesn't give them a chance to think, to reflect. And they are just a very small sample as to what is going on back home, where we are involved in a struggle of survival.



graphic- Emmanuel Montoya

SPEAKERS IN ORDER OF APPEARANCE:

Thyrza Goodeve: Currently teaching Film at the S.F. Art Institute, S.F. State, and U.C. Santa Cruz. Working on her dissertation, Resisting Lobotomy / Mobilizing Memory for the History of Consciousness program at U.C. Santa Cruz.

Nabil Al-Hadithy: With the Committee for Fair Representation, a media watch concerned with Arab and Islamic affairs. Co-wrote the S.F. Mime Troupe's recent production "Seeing Double." Born near Basra in Southern Iraq and grew up in Baghdad.

Avital Ronell: Associate Professor of Comparative Literature at U.C. Berkeley and author of the Telephone Book: Technology, Schizophrenia, Electronic Speech.

Betty Kano: Berkeley based painter and community activist. National Coordinator for the Alliance for Cultural Democracy, commissioner on Alameda County Art Commission, and instructor at Laney College in Oakland.

David Levi Strauss: Writer, editor and freelance critic working in San Francisco. His writings on art, propaganda, and the politics of representation have appeared in numerous publications. Also editor and publisher of a literary journal called *Acts*.

Sami Mshasha: is working on his Phd. in International Relations at S.F. State. He is currently coordinator of the Palestine Arab center. Born in Jerusalem/Palestine, he has taught at Bir Zeit University, Palestine, which has been closed down since 1987.

Special thanks to John Muse for his assistance in preparing this article.

I CAN'T HEAR YOU. WHERE ARE YOU FROM?

For years, arts groups have been complaining about how hard the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) makes it to bring foreign performers to the US to tour. In 1990, Congress finally passed a new Immigration Act — making it harder still, many people say. It is scheduled to take effect October 1st, 1991.

Under existing law, to bring entertainers in, American organizers have to either try to get them an H1 visa, which involves proving that their “distinguished” merit; or, rarely, an H2B visa, which involves advertising the job to demonstrate that no Americans want it.

Many performers have been denied H1 visas because the INS didn't deem them meritorious. Among musicians just a few examples are women's musicians Judy Small (Australia), Ferron, and Lucie Blue Tremblay (Canada); folk-rockers June Tabor (Britain), Gabriel Yacoub (France), and Limpopo (USSR); and rockers The Sugarcubes (Iceland) and The Legendary Pink Dots (Holland). Dancers, actors, skaters, and other athletes encounter problems too.

These performers appealed and eventually got visas. Others were less lucky. Ritmia, a Southern Italian folk-jazz quartet, was denied a visa two weeks before their tour. Promoter Dan Behrman decided he didn't have time to re-apply. Ritmia has never performed in the US. They had no problem touring Canada. “It's cultural fascism,” says Behrman. “It's not fair to American audience-goers.”

(Another issue is the State Department, which often denies visas to people from countries like Cuba or Nicaragua, or to people associated with certain political movements.)

Under the new Immigration Act, H1 visas are no longer available to performers. Instead, they must get O or P visas. O visas are for performers of “extraordinary” merit. This may turn out to involve the old H1 criteria — with an important exception. No more than 25,000 such visas may be issued a year. To prevent a “run on visas at the beginning of the time period,” according to INS spokesman Rick

Kenney, visas can be applied for no more than 90 days ahead of time.

Is 25,000 visas enough? The INS thinks so, but they can't be sure, because they haven't been counting how many H1 visas have gone to entertainers. Leticia Montalvo, of the Third World Agency in New York, which handles World Beat groups, fears the cap “is going to be met within 3 weeks, probably.”

P visas are for groups. P1s are for “internationally” recognized groups. P2s are for exchange programs. And P3s are for “culturally unique” performers, which is intended to embrace ethnic performers who are not internationally famous — Breton bombard players, African dance troupes. But the 25,000 cap also includes P1s and P3s. Also, performers must have been associated with groups for at least a year. As many people point out, this means that if you replace a bass player, a dancer in a corps de ballet, or a chorister in an opera company — no visa. Even the INS admits it's unrealistic.

The new rules, scheduled to go into effect October 1, are so restrictive that they have not only American arts groups complaining, but also the international community. The European Community announced in July that it would file a formal diplomatic protest. Canada and Australia have also complained. As French Culture Minister Jack Lang told the New York Times last year, “Today Moscow is more accessible than Washington. We want artists to be at home wherever they go.”

According to Jerry Tinker, aide to Senator Edward Kennedy on the Judiciary Subcommittee on Immigration and Refugee Affairs, a technical corrections bill, S1620, will probably be passed before October 1st. Among other things, it will delay implementation of the O and P visa process until April 1st, 1992. “The second step is remedial legislation,” says Tinker. This legislation, still unwritten, would probably change such provisions as the 25,000 cap and the one-year association rule. It is not guaranteed to pass.

This bill may be the last chance for years to do something about these

restrictive laws. Send your comments, complaints, and suggestions to your congressional representative, or to Senators Edward Kennedy or Alan Simpson, (chair and ranking member of the Subcommittee), at the US Senate, Washington DC 20510.

—Susan McCarthy

LATE BREAKING NEWS!!!

As of October 3rd, the Technical Corrections Bill had been passed and signed by the President, delaying the implementation for six months. Kennedy introduced a second bill which suspended the 25,000 visa limit for 2 years in order to study whether foreign performing artists harm American performers. The bill was co-sponsored by Simpson. At the end of two years remedial laws may be proposed which would rescind or modify the most restrictive provisions of the 1990 law. This is a chance for the arts community to help change immigration law.

For more information, contact Artist Against Visa Denials (AVID)c/o 1326 Shotwell St., San Francisco CA 94110 or Tel: 415-821-9652. ■

Responding to a 1990 move by the Wichita State University to eliminate a 19 year old alternative rock & roll program on public station KMUW 89.1 FM, students and community members have formed the **WICHITA ALTERNATIVE MUSIC COALITION**. Besides promoting regular alternative R&R concerts, they've also released their own compilation tape of alternative sounds “Unheard Of!” and are producing a newsletter, Rituals & Dogma. Word has it they've also been doing street theatre and other “cultural actions” during the KMUW fund drives aimed at returning the “After Midnight” show to the airwaves. If you'd like more information, contact **Teri Mott/WAMC, 1725 North Fairmount #7, Wichita KS 67208-1929 or call 316-684-4227.**

Book Review

Crossroads:

Reflections on the Politics of Culture
by Don Adams and Arlene Goldbard,
DNA Press, 1990

While not a new metaphor, the image of the crossroads is a compelling one for the time in which we live, when coexistent are the most fascistic aspects of American culture and a burgeoning cultural democracy movement. In their introduction to this long-awaited volume, Don Adams and Arlene Goldbard delineate the terrain of their metaphorical junction, "At the beginning of the Nineties, we stand at a new crossroads. One road leads to more of the same: an alienated electorate, an impoverished culture of politics, a passive, deracinated, and easily manipulated televisionland. The other road presents the challenge of making democracy real, tangible, workable...Standing at the crossroads, the summons is clear: to create an authentic culture of democracy as the 21st century is born."

Cultural activism has been the life's work of Adams and Goldbard, whether as co-directors of Neighborhood Arts Programs National Organizing Committee (NAPNOC, later ACD) from 1979-1983 or in their present role as cultural development consultants. Many members of the Alliance will no doubt recognize some of the collected articles as having appeared in NAPNOC Notes or Cultural Democracy. Others are public speeches or essays written by Don and Arlene during the 1980's, culled from a wide variety of publications, ranging from *Art in America* to *The Progressive*.

As people who often describe themselves as radical democrats, for Don and Arlene, the concept of cultural democracy has a very positive resonance in that it raises the key theoretical issues of cultural pluralism, participation and equity in the context of cultural action. Drawing on sources as varied as the writings of Paulo Freire and UNESCO documents of the New World Information Order, they argue that cultural rights are the principal themes of our time, in a struggle which ranges geographically from the Detroit community of Poletown, USA to the Regional Cultural Action Center in

Lome, Togo, West Africa, and substantively from the issues of community self-determination to cultural imperialism.

They have focused much of their attention on the arena of cultural policy-making, believing that the placing of these issues on the public agenda is an important step in building a movement for cultural democracy. Since the U.S. officially has no cultural policy, this has often meant uncovering, demystifying and conceptualizing what, in effect, has constituted cultural policy in this country—from the melting pot to more recently institutionalized versions of multiculturalism. While cultural policy is perhaps most often conceived in terms of arts policy, this is only part of the broader cultural sphere that their work addresses.

"Under a cultural democracy, the right to culture should take precedence over the 'right' of business to use the 'free marketplace' to gain complete control of the public airwaves."

As someone involved in the micro-radio movement which is presently challenging government regulations and seeking to democratize control of the airwaves, I find it useful to understand the role of the FCC as that of cultural policy makers. "Under a policy of cultural democracy," Adams and Goldbard write, "the right to culture should take precedence over the 'right' of business to use the 'free marketplace' to gain complete control of the public airwaves." They also promote the idea of a "media literacy" campaign in order to criticize the "self-ratifying" nature of existing media, as well as its role in what Noam Chomsky and Ed Herman refer to as "manufacturing consent." Certainly the mediated reality of the recent Gulf War brings this call for media literacy into sharp focus.

While arts policy does not encompass cultural policy, it is emblematic of it, and censorship of the arts has a chilling effect not only on the art world but throughout the body politic. Strategically-speaking, to address Jessie Helms' attacks exclusively on the turf of the art world is inadequate since racism and homophobia are social diseases. If this is understood, we must then ask ourselves how we can create a culture in which the rights of communities

of identity (be they based on ethnic or sexual identity) to public expression are respected and celebrated as part of a diversity that enriches us all.

Succeeding in this endeavor, however, might require questioning the primacy of the art world itself as an arena of struggle even for artists. While many of the activist within the cultural democracy movement are artists, they typically have not been the recipients of NEA grants because of the community based nature of their work, and their questioning of the elitism of both the missionary approach of democratizing access to high culture and the "let's shock the bourgeoisie" attitude of the avant garde. Instead they have often sought to place the means of cultural production and distribution in the hands of those people presently excluded by the dominant culture in both its red carpet and mass consumerism dimensions.

Adams and Goldbard use the term "grass roots vanguard" to describe this culture from the bottom up approach, going so far as to identify these grass roots artists as the new avant garde. Personally, I question whether the notion of a vanguard is not antithetical to that of democracy, preferring their use of the concept of marginalization to describe the "insurgent forces at the margins of the art world." Similarly, I'm not sure that I want to organize around their recommendation for the creation of a cabinet-level Department of Cultural Development to formulate a coherent cultural policy. The bureaucratic cure might be worse than the disease. Yet, while those of us in the cultural democracy movement might have different approaches to conceiving of and realizing our visions, we are all indebted to Don and Arlene for their ideas and actions in this regard. As they have put it in an inconclusive way, "History is calling cultural democracy into being. Our job is to find ways to help it along."

This book is an essential resource in that endeavor.

CROSSROADS: Reflections on the Politics of Culture is available from DNA Press, P.O. Box 414, Talmage CA 95481 or Tel: 707-462-0169. \$13.95, discounts available on orders of 5 or more. ■

Ron Sakolsky is co-author of the soon-to-be released *Gone To Croatoan: Origins of America's Drop-Out Culture*. He teaches Cultural Policy Studies at Sangamon State University and is an ACD Board Member.

BOOKS AND PUBLICATIONS

SAN FRANCISCO MURALS: Community Creates Its Muse, 1914-1990 is the long awaited history of the S.F. mural movement by **Tim Drescher**, mural activist, ACD member, and former editor of *Community Murals Magazine*. The book contains over 60 color and 50 b&w photographs, and provides a unique history and insight into one of the key centers of mural activism in this country. Four maps are included which give exact locations of each mural, as well as information on the artists, medium, funding, etc.

Because many of the murals depicted no longer exist due to destruction of buildings, vandalism or new restoration, Tim's book provides a valuable historical document to their legacy, providing background on artists and movements that created and inspired many of these works. This is definitely one show that won't be coming to your town, so check out Tim's book instead. Available for \$19.95 from **POGO Press, 4 Cardinal Lane, St. Paul MN 55127 or Tel: 612-483-4692.**

Reimagining America: The Arts of Social Change (New Society Publishers, 1990), edited by Mark O'Brien and Craig Little, includes reflections by more than 50 artists and cultural activists around the country on how and why they do their work. Contributors include ACD members Ricardo Levins Morales, Lucy Lippard, Margaret Randall, Tim Drescher, Linda Burnham, Eva Cockcroft, Don Adams and Arlene Goldbard, Doug Paterson, Reebee Garfalo, John Crawford and Mat Schwarzman. Ask for it in bookstores near you, or call NSP at 1-800-303-9093.

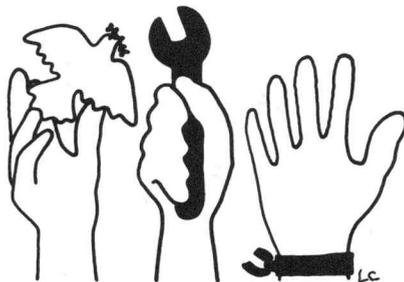
Also from the the bookshelf is the new edition of ACD Board member Salvatore (Sal) Salerno's **RED NOVEMBER BLACK NOVEMBER: Culture & Community in the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW)**, an historical look at the role of culture in IWW propaganda and organizing, including a critique of existing historical scholarship on the IWW. Included are sometimes rare examples of Wobbly songs, poems and cartoons, used as a means of educating and unifying workers, and "as weapons in the struggle against repressive social conditions of industrial development". The new edition has an appropriately red and black cover (the first edition was green & black, much

to Sal's consternation), and is available from **State University of New York (SUNY), State University Plaza, Albany NY 12246 as part of the SUNY Series in American Labor History.**

Also out is **AFTER ALINSKY: Community Organizing in Illinois**, edited by Peg Knoepfle. The book examines some of the forgotten stories about legendary organizer Saul Alinsky and the organizing model he invented in Back in the Yard in 1939. Where it failed and where it worked. It also examines, through articles on various organizing drives in different Illinois' communities, models and experiences that have helped shaped the last 50 years of community organizing. It also looks forward to organizing in the 90s.

Copies are \$11.95 each, from **ILLINOIS ISSUES, Sangamon State University, Springfield IL 62794-9243 or Tel: 217-786-6084.**

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BEFORE YOU PRINT, the "people's guide" to the basics of layout, printing, writing & editing, typesetting, and design is now out in a new and updated edition. The small, softcover book which also contains a movement directory of primarily Bay Area artists, printers and graphic designers, was produced by

Progressive Artists in Print in conjunction with Inkworks Press, a Berkeley-based progressive and union print shop that's been doing "movement" printing for over 20 years.

The book covers in simple language, with definitions and glossary provided, the basics of getting from the idea stage to the printed page, whether as a pamphlet, poster, newsletter or silkscreen, explaining along the way "halftones", "gripper margins", "PMS" and other "foreign" terms to the non-press literate.

A must for every media, community and cultural activist, copies are \$4 and can be ordered from **Progressive Artists in Print c/o Inkworks, 2827 Seventh St., Berkeley CA 94710 or Tel: Inkworks (Susan or Lincoln) 510-845-7111.**

PEOPLE'S CULTURE is the continuation of the bi-monthly newsletter begun by former ACD board member John Crawford. Under the editorship of Fred Whitehead, "First of the New Series #1 (NS1)" contains a cover story by Meridel LeSueur, "Our American Heritage" on the early days of the Socialist Party and her own family's experience, and lots of notes on new "left" and labor history oriented publications, recordings, meetings, etc. Future issues will include "reviews of new books on the history and theory of the American Labor Movement...an essay on the Nazi "pink triangle" campaign against gays...Censorship: The Real Issues..." and editor Whitehead promises..."We will concentrate not only on events, but on strategy for the cultural movement; we won't have all the answers, but we'd like to be part of finding them." Sounds good to us! Subscriptions are \$15/year. **PEOPLE'S CULTURE, Box 5224, Kansas City KS 66119.**

THE MISSOULA PAPER is a bi-weekly publication of Wild Rockies News Service, a desktop pub packed with juicy local and regional news. Everything from KINKO's Copy workers organizing in their copy shop to exposes of secret Forest Service memos on the Gulf War detailing ways to speed up gas and oil exploration on public lands. A great local effort providing a closer look at a part of the country we don't hear from often enough. Write **TMP, 837A St., Missoula MT 59802.**

MEDIA AND ARTS

DEEP DISH T.V. NETWORK is currently celebrating the twentieth anniversary of public access and community tv with its 1991 season of video works produced to "educate, inspire and entertain". Deep Dish describes its own efforts as "a national satellite network linking access producers and programmers, independent videomakers/activists and people who support the idea and reality of a progressive television network."

Using existing satellite technologies and local video producers around the U.S. and the world, Deep Dish is programmed into more than 300 cable systems around the country, as well as selected public television stations. Most major cities have stations carrying Deep Dish programs, as well as being accessible to rural and small town areas through home satellite dishes. So call your local cable programmer and ask when the new season will be playing in your town.

Thinking ahead, Deep Dish notes that it will be returning in 1992 with a season that will "provide alternative perspectives on what has happened in the last 500 years since Christopher Columbus bumped into the Americas en route to India". So stay tuned, and keep those camcorders running. These shows will not be seen on America's Funniest...and yes, the revolution will be televised!

For a complete listing of Deep Dish's programs, and more specific information as to transmission dates and times and transponder numbers, write **DEEP DISH T.V. NETWORK, 339 Lafayette St., New York NY 10012. Tel: 212-473-8933 or Fax: 212-420-8223.**

NEW AMERICAN MAKERS is an ambitious video exhibition and distribution organization offering screenings of independent videos to the public through theatrical screenings and cable access channels in San Francisco.

Twice a month new works are screened from throughout the country. Long, short, video documentary, or video art. Tapes are screened thematically, and a small honorarium is payed to artists for the tape. Screening is done in a downtown movie theatre, with excellent

sound and video projection. Sometimes the press comes. Occasionally selections are aired on the PBS channel in S.F..

If you have a tape you'd like to submit, contact **NEW AMERICAN MAKERS, P.O. Box 460490, San Francisco CA 94146 or Tel: 415-695-2904.**



The **NATIONAL CAMPUS & COMMUNITY RADIO CONFERENCE** was held last July in **Montreal**, one of its central focuses being "The Truth Behind Columbus, a project which will culminate in a nationwide (Canada) radio campaign to expose the realities behind the European conquest of the Americas". Other topics at the conference included "Demarginalizing the Communities" and "AIDS: The Role of the Media". Look for a fuller report in an upcoming CD. In the meantime, you can write **Ian Pringle/NCRC '91 c/o CKUT FM, 3480 McTavish, Suite B-15, Montreal QC H3A IX9**

PAPER TIGER WEST has available for purchase a number of their best videos, including:

SAN FRANCISCO SAYS NO...TO THE NEW WORLD ORDER, documenting the massive anti-war movement in the San Francisco Bay Area during the Gulf War, including excerpts from the weekly Paper Tiger West program, "Gulf Crisis Update".

WORLD WAR III ILLUSTRATED, a look at the New York-based radical comic book collective.

ZERO TOLERANCE, famed civil rights lawyer Tony Serra critiques Bush's "War on Drugs".

THE CANARY FIGHTS BACK, a compilation program produced for Deep Dish consisting of segment from throughout the U.S. about how labor and environmental movements are working together.

BITING THE HAND THAT LEADS US, a compilation of performers and artists' work that uses humor in a political context.

Tapes run \$25 to \$35 and are available from **Paper Tiger West c/o BACAT, 1095 Market St. Suite 209, San Francisco CA 94103. Tel: 415-695-0931 or Fax: 415-626-2685.**



S.F. Bay Area Peace Navy on patrol during Fleet Week, October 1991

photo Lincoln Cushing

COUNTER-QUINCENTENNIAL RESOURCES

COLUMBUS IN THE BAY OF PIGS is a book-length prose poem on the arrival of Columbus by ACD member John Curl. This excellent depiction of conditions and the results of the "invasion", complete with reproductions of woodblock prints and other pictorial representations of the events produced at that time, has just been reprinted by INKWORKS PRESS in a new, high-quality, perfect bound edition. Small Press Review named it "Pick of the Month" and Malcolm Margolin, author of *The Ohlone Way* and editor of *Native California* says "It reminds me of Galleano, which is the highest praise I can give anything." Nilo Cayuquero of the South and Meso-American Indian Information Center has explained "This book can help us understand our past, so we can rebuild our communities and project our future, respecting the the diversity of people living on this planet." And "A must reading in the step beyond 1992" from Antonio Gonzales of the International Indian Treaty Council. Available from **HOMEWARD PRESS, P.O. Box 2307, Berkeley CA 94702. 80 pages, 36 illustrations. \$4.95, available October 1991.**

RETHINKING COLUMBUS is a curriculum and resource guide on the Quincentennial prepared by **RETHINKING SCHOOLS**. Broken down into Elementary School Issues, Secondary School Issues, and Contemporary Struggles, plus sections on Background/Context, Historical

Documents, and Resources/References, this is the publication schools and activists have been waiting for on the Quincentennial, presenting the views of those groups and people outside the "official" celebrations in a comprehensive manner designed for teacher and classroom use. Much material is devoted to reassessing historical treatment and views of Native Americans, as well as such juicy pieces



as "Scalping: A Practice Dating Back to Ancient Greece". There are overviews of children's literature on Columbus, an alphabet on things the New World gave the Old, first person stories and poems from Native American youth, Native American women, and alot more.

This 96-page publication is \$4 each, but the price rapidly drops if you order 10 or more. To order, contact **RETHINKING SCHOOLS, 1001 E. Keefe Ave., Milwaukee WI 53212 or Tel: 414-964-9646.**

(We're happy to report that the first edition is entirely sold out, but the new printing is already on its way!)

The **ATLANTA QUINCENTENNIAL ALLIANCE (AQUA)** is a group of

artists, educators, performers and professionals based in the Atlanta area who will present alternatives for marking the 1992 Columbus Quincentennial.

Some of the projects planned by AQUA members include: a video journey by Columbus into the next millennia; creation of a ceremonial space for storytelling and performances; a display of handmade replicas of everyday items of Native American culture used before Columbus and accompanying lectures dispelling the stereotypes about those cultures; legend, proverb, dance, song and drumming performances illustrating the linkages between African and Native Americans; a bilingual multimedia production about the life of Pedro de Bohorquez, a Spanish con man who passed as an Inca in the 1650s in northwest Argentina; an outdoor parade of cultures, including large-scale (10-15 feet) puppet theatre and installments by 10-15 theatre groups and cultural communities; a multi-disciplinary memorial to the peoples displaced by the Spanish explorers; two performance works for children about deSoto's impact on the indigenous peoples of Georgia; a photo installation depicting immigrants to the Atlanta area; and much, much more.

For more information, contact **ATLANTA QUINCENTENNIAL ALLIANCE (AQUA) c/o Bill Fleming/Genie Barringer, 521 Harold Ave. NE, Atlanta GA 30307.**



SUPERCOLON: Admiral of the Ocean Sea is a bilingual comic book looking into the shady and dubious history and mythology surrounding "Euro-Hero" SuperColon and his infamous 1492 voyage. The book is being illustrated with cartoon and collage art created by Kristine Smock and written by Jennifer Heath. They intend to distribute the comic book to school children, teachers, workshops and performances during the Quincentennary, with additional copies, fully translated in Spanish, to be distributed to groups in Latin America. **SUPERCOLON** is due out in the Spring of 1992,. You can contact them for orders via **SUPERCOLON, 1838 Pine St., Boulder CO 80302 or Tel: 303-444-1886 or 303-494-3853.**

ENVIRONMENTAL RESOURCES

STUDENT ARTISTS' CALL: The Land, The People, 500 Years Later

Exciting news! A new national student arts activist group was formed at the **1991 Student Environmental Action Coalition (SEAC) Conference** in Boulder this October.

ARTISTS' CALL will be coordinating and participating in National Days of Creative Action, scheduled so far for April 22nd Earth Day Projects, May 23-25 ACD Conference in Atlanta, GA, July 4th Debunking the Myth, and during October '92 month of events in schools and communities.

These events will include performances, art shows, lectures, multimedia events, puppet shows, etc. They will be meeting at the ACD Conference to strategize for the summer and fall. The primary focus of the national events will revolve around the theme of *The Land, The People, 500 Years Later*. Each local group will develop their own events. There will be a newsletter, comic books and slide show to help facilitate communication and exchange of ideas and resources.

The group hopes to help student arts activists promote alternatives to traditional school curricula and shatter the myth that artists are limited to the gallery and studio. They promise to provide much needed support to individuals in arts programs across the nation that are repeatedly told that "art and politics don't mix" and other popular notions perpetuated by those who would jail the spirit of young artists.

ARTISTS' CALL believes that artists have the ability to transform society and that artists' skills can be used to assist those most in need.

For newsletter and information, contact **STUDENT ARTISTS' CALL**, P.O. Box 1484, Tucson AZ 85702-1484 or Tel: Michael Schwartz 602-882-8477.

SHADES OF GREEN: A NATIONAL RESOURCE GUIDE OF MULTI-CULTURAL ENVIRONMENTAL MEDIA is a 60-page guide designed to facilitate and encourage networking among media

professionals and environmental groups interested in advancing media coverage of environmental issues which are of particular concern to communities of color throughout the U.S..

The guide lists over 50 media producers, television networks, media funding sources and resource organizations, video and film distributors, and environmental groups.

SHADES OF GREEN is produced and distributed by The Video Project, a non-profit distributor of social issue documentaries with a major focus on the environment.

Copies are \$5 each. To order and for more information, contact **Diane Saunders/The Video Project, 5332 Colledge Ave., Suite 101, Oakland CA 94618** or Tel: 415-655-9050.

THE ABSURDITY OF WHITE TOILET PAPER is the title of a proposal being floated by **Artists'/Environment Forum** out of Toronto Canada which aims to mobilize the arts and environmental communities to a series of art exhibitions on the theme of "white". "White" here represents the contrast to "the ecological reality/calamity of chlorine bleach...Our society has taken a little piece of truth, the need for sanitation, and manipulated it into absurd and tragic proportions".

The organizers see it as a way to "poke fun at cultural hang-ups", "ridicule the advertisers, masters of the lie", and "expose the terrible harm we are doing to other life forms". Green Peace has pledged to help arrange support for the project in those cities where the art community is involved. Initial support has been received from galleries and artists in New York, Montreal and Toronto.

For more information, contact **Phil Sarazen** at the **Artists'/Environment Forum, 610 Woodbine Ave., Toronto, Ontario, Canada, M4E 2J1** or Tel: 416-738-6258 or Fax: 416-738-6392.

THEATRE IN AN ECOLOGICAL AGE: Rediscovering the Dramas of the Earth was a conference held at the New Orleans Performance Hall in Seattle Washington November 22-24. Sponsored by ACT GREEN, a coalition

of northwest area theatres including The Intiman Theatre, Seattle Group Theatre, Earth Drama Lab/Life on the Water (S.F.), Northwest Asian American Theatre and others, the conference was designed to "enhance knowledge of environmental issues, resources, Northwest concerns and contemporary expressions of 'Eco-Theatre'", and to "discover connections between environmental issues and the particular work you do in the theatre."

"Interspecies Theatre", "Human Ecology in Theatre Organizations", and "The Environmental Impact of Theatre's Products and Procedures" were some of the areas covered.

For information, contact: **ACT GREEN/Theatre in the Wild, 9758 Arrowsmith Ave. S., Seattle WA 98118** or Tel: 206-722-7026.

Forest and ecosystem decline and destruction, unsustainable agricultural and industrial practices, climate stress, soil demineralization, pollution, animal and plant extinction. "Our children grow up assimilating patterns of decay, destruction and distortion as the ordinary state of things." These were some of the issues and topics called to attention in a number of decentralized networking conferences called by the **FOREST ECOSYSTEM RESCUE NETWORK (FERN)** this September. For information on FERN and background articles on deforestation and related topics, and to find out how to setup or participate in regional networking conferences, write **Dan Hemenway c/o Yankee Permaculture, 7781 Lennox Ave., Jacksonville FL 32221**, or call him at 904-781-9249.



JOIN THE Alliance for Cultural Democracy. HELP BUILD THE CULTURAL MOVEMENT!

THE ALLIANCE FOR CULTURAL DEMOCRACY is the only national, non-profit network for cultural activists—artists, critics, teachers, performers, activists, and organizers—who work for grassroots empowerment and democratic participation through cultural activity. We are committed to celebrating and defending free cultural expression for our many diverse communities in addition to encouraging respect for differences and the links between cultural work and the struggles for political, economic and social justice.

The Alliance is a participant in the international response to the upcoming five hundredth anniversary of Columbus' "discovery" of the Americas. The goal of this effort is to challenge the official celebrations of the European conquest, to provide alternative perspectives and a link among other groups in the campaign. We work in cooperation with many other organizations, especially those representing the Native American leadership.

Our role in the Counter-Quincentennial complements our ongoing work of helping to tell the untold truths and suppressed stories of all peoples. We believe that the truthful telling of our past will help us to better support each other in the struggles of today, and to put an end to the age of colonialism—to stop the wounding so that the healing can begin.

Some of our special 1992 Quincentennial Projects are:

huracan, our national networking publication, with feature articles on counter-Quincentennial events and issues, newsbriefs and quotes, art, media, and resources from throughout the Americas and beyond. "huracan", which is the name given by the Taino people to the storms that periodically batter the Caribbean, denotes the five hundred years of resistance by all peoples—native, transplanted and transformed—to the injustices of colonialism.

How To 92, an illustrated handbook which lays out in practical terms cultural activist strategies for repossessing the silenced histories of the last five hundred years. The comicbook format guide, soon to be published, is designed as a resource for grassroots resistance, and focuses on Native American leadership. The guide will contain a pull-out map and calendar with planned national activities.

ACD 1992 Conference, which will be held in Atlanta, Georgia, May 22 thru the 25th. This national/international conference will feature participatory performance workshops engaging the "teachable moment" of the Counter-Quincentennial; workshops and discussions on actions and networking strategies for 1992 and beyond. ACD members receive a discount on registration.

The Alliance also publishes:

CULTURAL DEMOCRACY, the national/international quarterly of the Alliance with cultural notes from throughout the U.S. and the World, featuring articles and ideas on cultural organizing and cultural work; profiles on artists, activists and organizations; reviews on publications, videos and other resources of help to cultural workers; updates on international cultural work; and notices of upcoming events.

REGIONAL BULLETINS, also published periodically in different regions throughout the U.S., giving a local focus and perspective to ACD activities and cultural organizing in each of our 6 regions.

ACD MEMBERSHIP DIRECTORY, a national "yellow pages" of cultural activism, giving you instant access to ACD members and their work and interests throughout the U.S. and other countries. Listings include addresses and phone numbers, as well as descriptions of work or interests, coded by subject area for easy reference.

ACD also sponsors regional activities, and operates as a volunteer, member-funded organization.

JOIN ACD NOW and stay informed on the Counter-Quincentennial and a broad range of cultural activism around the globe!

ALLIANCE FOR CULTURAL DEMOCRACY

Membership Application/Conference Registration (Tax Deductible)

Membership Benefits: free subscription to *huracan*, *Cultural Democracy*, *Regional Bulletins*, *How to/92 Handbook*, and the *92 Membership Directory*, Discount on Atlanta Conference May 22-25, 1992. Pre-Register before May 1 and save \$15!

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

TELEPHONE _____ EVE _____

____ I am joining ACD as ____ an individual (\$25) ____ household (\$40) ____ organization (\$50)

____ I am joining ACD and Pre-registering for the Conference. Enclosed: ____ \$65 (\$80 for household, \$90 organization.)

(Please add additional \$40 for each additional registrant.)

____ I am registering ____ children at \$15 each.

____ Subscription to *huracan* only (\$15)

____ I want it all! Here's an additional \$50 donation to the Conference. Send me the limited edition Counter-Quincentennial Poster by Salvadoran artist Isaias Mata.

Please send check or money order to: Alliance for Cultural Democracy P.O. Box 7591 Minneapolis MN 55407

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**A Salute To Those Who Dream
And Those Who Dare**

AIR FORCE RESERVE

Celebrates the Quincentenary

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Actual billboard (Not retouched!) spotted by ACD Board Member Judy Branfman in the Boston Area. If you see some exceptionally fine examples of propaganda art in your neighborhood, send them in to CD.

Alliance for Cultural Democracy
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