

# CULTURAL DEMOCRACY

A journal  
devoted to  
cultural  
activism

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ILLUSTRATION BY RICARDO LEVINS-MORALES

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**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; and 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 and neighborhoods, and amongst community members, activist artists, and other progressive cultural workers.

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## Letter from the Editor

This issue represents a variety of writing styles and topics revolving around the themes of performance and music. Many of the graphics, including the cover, by Ricardo Levins Morales, first appeared in *Sounding Off!: Music as Subversion/Resistance/Revolution* (see page 22). You might say this issue of CD is a companion to the book.

CD is published by a volunteer staff with virtually no funding other than the dues of the membership. As all of you know, it's a lot of hard work to keep a small alternative press going. But for 16 years the torch has been passed on. Yes, we were not disappeared, and there is light at the end of the tunnel. I would like to extend a special thanks to Tripp Mikich and Connie Kleppinger for getting this issue out, and keeping the torch lit!

The Alliance for Cultural Democracy, which publishes CD, will be celebrating its 20th anniversary in San Francisco this coming Labor Day Weekend, August 30th through September 2nd, 1996. We hope that many of you will be able to join us as we chart a new course for ACD's next 20 years.

I want to make a special plea for young activists to join us. I know there are hundreds of young and dedicated people involved in cultural activism and organizing. ACD will be looking for new board members and regional organizers who are committed to cultural rights and community and cultural activism. There is now, perhaps more than ever before, the need for a truly progressive cultural organization comprised of activists, artists, cultural and community organizers, educators,

citizens, environmentalists, and women and men of all colors, all ages, all genders. A need which remains as vital today as in 1976. That's why I'm personally looking forward to newer and younger members to come on board! Your energy, ideas, perspective and creativity are vital in this coming period.

ACD has persevered, proving that there is power in our common efforts, and proving that as a society and community, we still have a long ways to go in creating an environment which considers the cultural identity and

expression, creativity, and critical thinking to be more vital than fear. We will continue the 1995 national gathering theme of "Countering the Right", but will be looking forward through this period to expand our organizing around more "pro-active" and positive themes embodied in documents like ACD's *Cultural Bill of Rights* (write us if you don't have a



copy), charting new directions in our community and cultural organizing on local, regional and national—even international, levels.

This conference promises to be a dynamic and exciting event with all the trimmings. Your input, whether presently a member or not, is vital for the success and future organizing efforts of ACD.

I hope you all enjoy this issue. We look forward to your comments, letters, suggestions, submissions, and to meeting you in San Francisco!

**MICHAEL SCHWARTZ**  
EDITOR  
TUCSON, AZ

DARRELL JOHNSON

# Letter from the ACD Board

Cultural workers and community activists face some tough times ahead. No matter which of the two ruling parties takes the next election, artists and arts organizations, poor and working class communities, and even the so-called "working middle class", all face increasing economic and social attacks.

These attacks, ranging from cuts in basic life support programs like welfare, Medicare, social security, and unemployment insurance, to severe cuts in childhood health and education programs, skyrocketing tuition costs, and the dismemberment and eventual dissolution of the NEA and other public arts funding and support mechanisms, leave us all (except perhaps for a handful of corporate CEO's) feeling a bit shaky right now.

Faced with increasing social neglect, as well as decreased funding and heightened polarization in our communities, cultural workers and community activists face the difficult challenge of finding new ways to work as well as new forms to work in, and finding new alliances and new partnerships capable of bridging the gaps that separate us and our communities.

As cultural workers, we wield tools of empowerment, capable of empowering ourselves and our communities to take action. We can be—if we choose—powerful mirrors, reflecting the faces of individual and collective strength, and pointing ultimately towards understanding, mutual respect, and unified action.

On Labor Day Weekend, August 30–September 2nd, 1996, ACD is

inviting cultural and community activists throughout the country to gather together in San Francisco to celebrate ACD's 20th Anniversary in the struggle for cultural, social, and human rights, and to take a hard look around us at the doubts, the fears, the racism, the despair—

in order to begin to look forward with a new vision, created out of our own and our communities' enduring strengths.

We will share new and old cultural and organizing strategies (successes and failures), even as we begin to lay

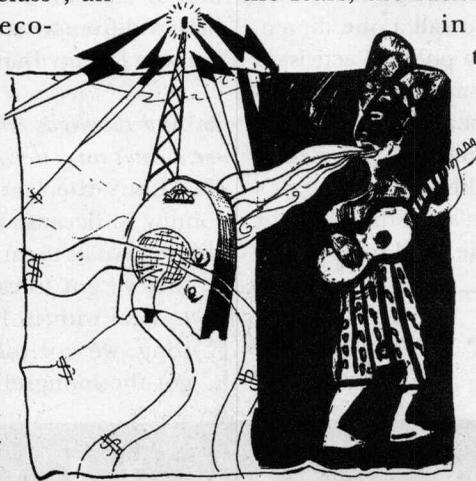
the groundwork for reclaiming our communities, as well as personal and collective lives. And we will look at those strategies on local, as well as regional, national, and even international, levels.

We are asking you to bring your best and sharpest tools: your stories, your art, your culture, your music, your optimism, your hope, your determination, your solidarity, and your wisdom.

Out of this gathering, we hope to create a National Action Framework, not unlike ACD's efforts during the "Counter-Quincennial Campaign of 88-92", that will help focus, inspire, and activate the efforts of cultural workers throughout the nation, and begin to move us forward with a new spirit of shared hope and optimism, as well as shared struggle, into our next millennium.

We hope you'll join us.

EXECUTIVE BOARD  
ALLIANCE FOR CULTURAL DEMOCRACY



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**JOEL SEGEL:** *Some may know you best from your appearance in Incident at Oglala, a moving documentary about the shootout that led to the conviction of Leonard Peltier for killing two FBI agents. Did the film's portrayal of Pine Ridge represent what you saw around you growing up?*

**JOHN TRUDELL:** On our reservation we were poor, like they were poor in Pine Ridge. We were isolated, like they were isolated in Pine Ridge. We were at the mercy of laws that were interpreted in and administered along racial and cultural lines, and not necessarily along legal lines.

**JS:** *You've released two albums since the movie, gone from being hunted and sought after.*

**JT:** What's the distinction between being hunted and sought after, other than the reasons people want you? They seek you out, or they

It comes up a lot, that people want to put a definition upon me that they're familiar with, rather than to maybe look at the whole picture. So I do have to be careful of that. Because it's important to me that I remain who I am, and that people understand that; that I can't be the image that other people want me to be, any more than they can be it for me.

It was intriguing for me to go from what I would call a one dimensional identity as a political activist, a militant, to find myself where I no longer could wear that identity because something had changed. I understood that this was limiting. It's a part of me but it's not the whole of me, the total of me. And to continue

*track of your new album, Johnny Damas and Me. It's not clear from the song, but I would guess that Johnny is another side of you, yourself.*

**JT:** You got it. The mongrel dog is, too, and so is the man who is a ghost. See, in some ways, that is really a story about the way people deal with situations in their lives. Everyone knows a Johnny Damas, I would bet money on that. Their Johnny might have a different name, but everyone knows a Johnny Damas.

**JS:** *And the words "this can't happen to me, I don't carry it well"?*

**JT:** That's the last clue as to who Johnny is. Because most people have shit thrown at them in their lives and they've got to call on something to deal with it. In that particular song, we got Johnny Damas, we got the mongrel dog, we got me,

## interview:

# john trudell

*hunt you, you know? I mean, I'm just curious as to what the difference is—is it the reason they want you? (Laughs)*

It is an interesting situation for me, though, just the whole fact that I'm making music or even this film exposure and stuff.

**JS:** *Has this changed the way you think about yourself?*

**JT:** My life's just been one series of experiences, one experience after another. Some of them I got right and some of them I didn't. And after all these experiences, I don't really think I have a different opinion of myself; I just have maybe learned from some of the experiences. I don't know if that means I have a different opinion of me, because I'm still the same person I always was. It's just that at different times people may perceive me differently.

## by joel segel

on what it is I started doing at the time, which was writing and things, and then I started going into the music, and the performance, and things like that. But to me, it was all one continual trip I was on. But to people who don't know me, they may see it as a series of different things, they may see it in a different way.

**JS:** *You're saying that the political mantle can be a prison, a limitation?*

**JT:** Yes, it is, it's a limited perspective on reality. So a romantic perspective is a limited perspective too. A workaholic perspective is a limited perspective, too. We are more than those things.

**JS:** *You seem to take on different personae in your songs, particularly in the title*

and we got the man who was a ghost, so I think that between the four of us we can get through this. (Laughs)

I mean, you think about this: have you ever done something in your life, and then you look back at it and you think "I did that? That couldn't have been me!" So, are they personalities, are they attitudes, what are they, right? But they're there to help us. It's a way of using our thoughts.

**JS:** *Your first CD on Rykodisc was a compilation of a number of cassettes you'd issued. Both the CD and your first cassette album used the same name: AKA Graffiti Man. It's a very apt alias—your more explicitly political songs, especially, remind me of graffiti, almost like sprayed phrases. But graffiti is a message written by an unseen hand; the person who wrote this is no longer here. Why did you choose that name?*

**JT:** Because it's the message and not the messenger that needs to be realized and understood. Pay attention to anything that is coherently said. We live in a society where people have a tendency to put most of their focus on who is saying it, rather than what is said. And I think that's a little bit turned around.

To me, the cave drawings—the petroglyphs and all of that—that's the message on the wall that's the graffiti. See, we're human beings, human physical beings, spirits. And I think that how the being talks to the human is through feelings, and that the way the human shuts out the language of the being is through emotions. As humans we create the emotional walls to suppress feelings that we cannot afford to feel, for whatever reasons.

And so to me, this whole concept of graffiti that I'm into, these are the messages on the walls of emotion that people build in their minds. That's what this graffiti man's really all about.

**JS:** *I'm not sure I understand the distinction you're drawing between feeling and emotion.*

**JT:** To me, feelings are the language of being. The spirit talks to the human through our feelings. But the human is battered and beat up so much, and knocked around, and shaped, and remolded, and formed, that it reaches a point where the human is afraid to communicate with the being. As humans we have been conditioned to suppress our feelings, and to say what we think we should say. Very few people express their feelings. More than likely people will let their feelings be suppressed behind these emotional blockages, and at some point they'll have an emotional outburst where they say all this shit, but it wasn't really what they felt, it was just blurted out. So the emotions are the walls—the prisons—that we built around our feelings. They're not supposed to be that way, but that's how they're used. I mean, that's my interpretation.

“...the planetary minority that is the industrial ruling class—their whole

concept and system of “equal” means that we all just get abused and mistreated equally.”

**JS:** *Is that what you meant by the song Rant and Roll? I think of ranting as unfocused, uncontrolled oratory.*

**JT:** But I'm changing the definition (laughs). Maybe, it is a focused oratory, or it should be. I summed that one up the best I could. *Rant and Roll*, heartspeak from the spirit, say what you mean, mean what you say,” and the whole notion behind that is, let's just speak our feelings, let's say what we feel. Because if we do that, then we'll think it.

**JS:** *To me, the material on your second album does deal more directly with feelings. It seemed more personal, less political.*

**JT:** Well, from my view of it, I don't consider any of it to be political or any other thing. I just consider it all to be parts of my consciousness that I'm expressing. So obviously, because we are in this world that we're in, some things I'm going to express will have a political nature to them, and then some things are going to have what will be defined as a personal nature, or a romantic nature, or a spiritual nature, or environmental or whatever, but to me it's really difficult to categorize them.

If we're going to deal in terms of definition and terminology, I think that this is probably the most political album, because I'm trying to address the issue of gender conflict. And I think that the basic distrust that has been programmed into the genders, between the male and the female—I think that's the most political thing that's ever been done, to turn male and female against each other so that they don't trust one another.

**JS:** *How do you think this happened?*

**JT:** I think it happened with the emergence of the idea of a male dominator god. Prior to that all of the people were worshipping the earth as the mother, and they weren't exploiting her, they were

attempting to live in harmony with her. Then along appeared the notion of a male dominator god, and the notion of the male dominator god was that the earth was to be exploited, not to be lived in harmony with. But when the people were all praying and worshipping the earth, that meant they respected the woman because she was the physical manifestation of the female earth. So to attack the earth with the male dominator god concept they also had to attack the woman because they were so intertwined. To me, sexism is deeply rooted in that attitude change about how one lives with the earth.

**JS:** *So many of the old cultures, as mythologist Joseph Campbell points out, believed that man is a vehicle of the society, and woman is the vehicle of nature. These folks really seemed to know what they were about in an way that we, fundamentally, do not. How can we reconcile this basic tenet of their knowledge and belief systems with today's demand for total equality between the sexes?*

**JT:** I think it's about responsibility. Because when we look under the definition of this society, what “equal” translates into is basically that the planetary minority of ethnic rich, the planetary minority that is the industrial ruling class—their whole concept and system of “equal” means that we all just get abused and mistreated equally. It has nothing to do with responsibility. We have to get back to taking responsibility for ourselves as individuals, and when we take responsibility for ourselves as individuals, we will just automatically start to take collective responsibility as a community, group, gender or society. Under technologic civilization the whole concept of equality is like heroin. The whole concept of justice is like heroin. Something to shoot up into our thought patterns while we wait for the misery to go away.

**JS:** *And the notion of responsibility means that...*

**JT:** I am responsible for what I do. And

if I accent that and understand that, then it should have an influence on what I do. That's what equality is. We are all equal in that we should take responsibility. And every gender is responsible for its actions, because every individual within the gender is responsible for its actions. According to the tribes in the way I know, we had separate but equal roles. The male has a role to play and the female has a role to play and one isn't subservient to the other; they're just different. If you look at the real world, everything in it is different, no two things are exactly alike, and its how all those differences fit together that makes the balance. I think that's the lesson we as humans need to learn. To me, yes, there are separate but equal roles. And those roles are not for me to define. Those definitions are by the community.

**JS:** *Are the Sioux more patriarchal, and does that affect your way of seeing the whole problem?*

**JT:** Well, my way of seeing the whole problem is affected by every experience I ever had. I know the Lakota and Dakota are supposed to be patriarchal societies. That does not mean they were necessarily discriminatory against women. The system was devised a little bit differently. Some of the tribes were matriarchal societies, but that doesn't mean they were oppressive against males. It was just a way to make the system run. Both systems revered the earth as the mother entity. And within both systems—because of that reverence of the earth—the whole concept of earth, the whole concept of life, was to keep a harmony. So at that point in history, I don't think it really made a major difference whether it was under the male or female guise, because it was still in the hands, mind, will, and consciousness of the tribe itself, and it wasn't like Europeans did it.

To me, we have a spiritual responsibility to life. It's like we're guided by two different principles. One is a religious definition, which is not based

upon responsibility, it's based upon blame. Guilt, sin and blame: the trinity of the chain. Religion is basically defined by subservience. You're subservient to a male dominator god, and as part of that subservience to the male dominator god, you're guilty. Therefore either you take the blame or you give the blame, but it's got nothing to do with responsibility. The reality is, we are all spiritual beings, and the whole nature of our spiritual reality is responsibility. Our responsibility toward appreciating, perpetuating, and participating in life.

**JS:** *In Johnny Damas and Me you wrote that "The dead carry the living on their backs." It's an interesting flip: I usually feel the opposite, that in some way we each carry the memory of our dead—our own dead, our nation's dead—around with us always.*

**JT:** But the dead do carry the living on their backs. Because of all the destruction and exploitation and brutality and aggressive behavior that has happened against this planet, to further progress and technology is the dead carrying the living on their backs. I mean old dinosaurs run the gasoline machines we drive, right? The dead carry the living on their backs. All of our ancestors, right? 'Cause we live in a society that's based upon the concept of death. And death is the fuel that makes technological civilization run. It kills in order for it to live.

See, there are two parallel realities going on here—probably more than that—but let's just say there are two. One is about the reality of life and one is the reality of death. And the tribal earth perspective is the continuation of life: we enter and leave this reality. In the technological concept, it's a perspective of death: we are born and then we die, and it's not about continuation. It's in that sense that I mean the dead carry the living on their backs.

**JS:** *You make a strong distinction between the two societies in See the Woman. "In some tribes she is free...in some there is a delicate strength"—there the images of the*

*woman are good. Whereas "In some religions she is under man, in some societies she's worth what she consumes...in some states she is told she is weak, in some classes she is property owned" here the images of woman...*

**JT:** They're not good. All we have to do is look at the historical evidence. Actually I got the title from a police call. I don't know if they still use it, but "see the woman" used to be a domestic violence call. Say a woman called the police—her husband's beating her up—then the call goes out, whatever their code is, but it's "See the woman". And that's where I took that from.

And in *Shadow Over Sisterland* I'm talking about domestic violence. I'm talking about psychological violence, I'm talking about religious violence and business violence. I'm just talking about violence now, at every level. It extends to everywhere the shadow is. It's really about the religious and business violence that takes place and its roots in the creation and perpetuation of sexism.

On that particular song, the opening line is "there's a shadow over sisterland with a Smith and Thomas pointed at her head." That came from Clarence Thomas and William Kennedy Smith, it's just a little word play on the Smith & Wesson, right? I threw it in there as my own abstraction just to see if anyone would catch on, just like we spelled Grafitti Man wrong so that people would pay attention to it. And it worked too!

**JS:** *What about "the alter of democracy"?*

**JT:** Yeah, well that's a word-play, right? Spelling it that way was the way we could get the usage both ways.

**JS:** *"We went to the emperor's ball/ The emperor sang a song about sacrifice/ Sacrifice who/Sacrifice what?/Sacrifice you. Sacrifice me/the alter of democracy." So you have the alter of sacrifice, and the alterations we make in our democratic system—which never add up to any significant change.*

**JT:** That's right.

# generation chaos

PARIS' POLITICAL TRAJECTORIANS by marianne dissard

**W**INTER 1994. Stacked behind large banners the width of Paris avenue, university students. Waiting. Behind tall lace curtains on the second floor of the apartments overlooking these fresh thousands, the faces of our fathers. The dense crowd edges onward slowly.

**RESISTANCE!** Like a lightning rod this single word-scream punctures the self-regulated, imagination-deficient march

Sticks beat on iron poles. "**RESISTANCE!**" *CHAOS Enterprises* in action. A small group of young writers, musicians, unemployed and students. They dissolve back into the march only to come together again at the next intersection. "**RESISTANCE!**", an enigma to the students/marchers who have taken to the streets with precise demands against tuition hikes.

"We request that education gives itself the goal to initiate the student to action through learning. The university would therefore become the key place where to exercise autonomy. To know how to evolve with one's occupation or to invent one's occupation, to be able to change...becomes more important than to be qualified within soon-to-be obsolete specializations", Cristina Bertelli, in *Les Peripheriques Vous Parlent* #0, April 1993.

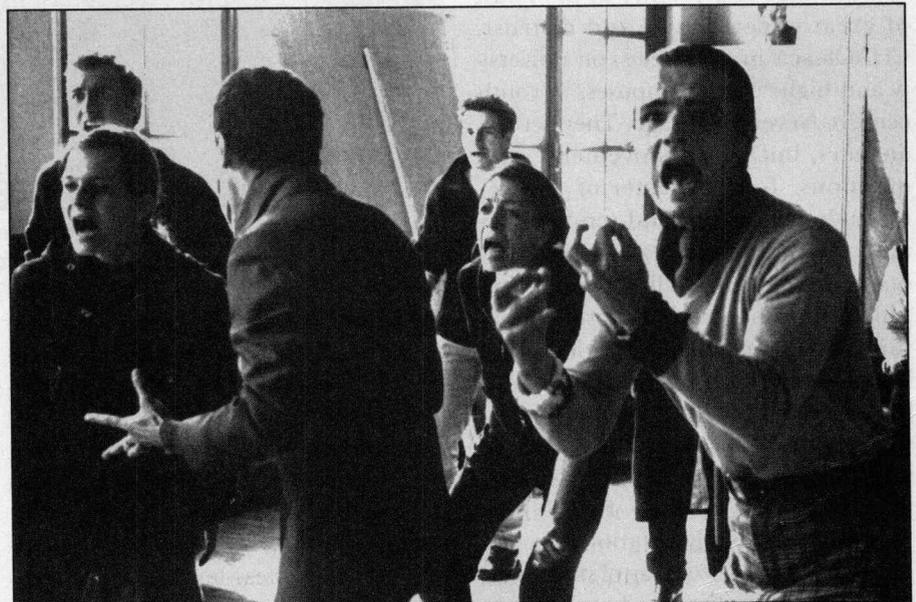
Ville-Evrard, in the farthest eastern suburbs of the French capital. Past the gates of the Public Hospital, beyond the farm building, inside the derelict pavilion, an antique marble examina-

tion table cradles photocopies of newspaper articles, issues of a black and white magazine, a few thin books, a set of plastic glasses. Around the table, half a dozen red wine bottles change hands. Today, *CHAOS Enterprises* is hosting a performance/demonstration of *Generation Chaos II* in their temporary headquarters. Photos and large quotes of Antonin Artaud serpentine up the staircase. The grand priest of performance was interned in this very building during WWII. A man stands on the stairs half way to the second floor, ushering up a small group of journalists, professors, artists and intellectuals who have been invited to meet

CHAOS. The man is MARC O'.

Situationist in the 50's, film and theater director, and figure of the Paris Left Bank Intelligentsia in the 60's, political activist in the social struggles that shook France and Italy in the 70's, researcher and international consultant on new technologies and images during the 80's, MARC O' edges on "*The Uprising of Youth*", the magazine he published in the 50's under the aegis of Jean Cocteau and André Breton, and where Guy Debord first appeared in print. In the early 90's, Marc O's books prompt three young Parisian students to ask him back into directing. For them, he creates *Generation Chaos I*. Today, CHAOS presents its new spectacle/intervention at Ville-Evrard.

The words are a wall of murmur. "Un enfant sur trois, un enfant sur trois". Heads come together, break apart, whispering the terrible quote, spreading the chilled sound across the room. "En Grande Bretagne...En Grande Bretagne, un enfant sur trois vit au dessous du seuil de la pauvreté...vit au dessous du seuil...au dessous..." ("In the UK, one in three children lives below poverty level"). "Et en France?". No music, only the expressive embodiment



Guerrilla intervention by Chaos Enterprise at Paris Trianon Theater, September 1995.

## generation chaos

(reclaiming) of a minuscule quote read in a July 94 *Libération*, a major daily French paper. The voices inform the room. Louder. Bodies come together, lines form against lines, the tension

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**"information is not a given, it is a practice" —serge daney**

---

coagulates when the chorus group reaches out to the performers. We, the readers, are caught gasping and grasping for clues, called into the dynamics of the performance. "Un enfant sur trois..." Visceral.

The next pieces—still of few words—are set to the beat of four musicians, a seated chorus and the performers/movers. After over two years of daily research and production at Ville Evrard, the group is tight. None were performers, although a few musicians have joined the group. In this revisited agit-prop, bodies are the tuned tool for expressing and navigating, in reaction against the swollen apathy, the fears of a country in the midst of great uncertainties and distrust. CHAOS acts in the streets, on university and high school campuses, in youth centers. Never on a stage. They act not answers, but incite movement. And questions. To the theater of (street) revolution, to staged and scripted theater, CHAOS opposes "the field of operation of theatricality". Combining reflection with action and production, this new theater produces the active human being, responsible for its own formation and training. Young.

The trajectorian against the consumer as the anti activator of its own trajectory. CHAOS calls for a new "activism", act-of-civism rooted in the human body, the interplay of music and performance in the nexus of the body. This is power at its rawest. "Generation Chaos has invented a spectacle that is

not one", comments Bruxelles philosopher Isabelle Stengers. A spectacle that "must be prolonged through real work, real political work in the sense that politic is first of all the invention of ways to love together".

CHAOS Enterprises (the musical/theater group) and *Les Peripheriques Vous Parlent* (the magazine) are emanations of *Le Laboratoire d'etudes Pratiques sur le Changement* (Laboratory for Practical Research on Change) led by Marc O' and Christina Bertelli, as is *L'Universite D'Urgence*, a loose think-tank network of university professors and high school teachers in France, Bruxelles, and Leipzig. Since

tion/research/training, with production "without compensation" as a "way of living that closely resembles the economic and sociocultural functioning of the artist", and fundamental research of a high scientific level, and training of the individual through active production. "Only the one who acts understands" said Nietzsche. "But how to act to understand?" asks Marc O'.

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In this revisited agit-prop, bodies are the tuned tool for expressing and navigating the fears of a country in the midst of great uncertainties and mistrust.

December, 1994 they have offered 94 settings, free to all, in close relationship to, but independent of, existing institutions of learning, in which to discuss and practice matters of urgency (new technologies applied to social change, instability research in group dynamics, the future of agricultural and fishing practices and lifestyles, social and cultural expressions). *Le Laboratoire's* various productions stem from the belief in the necessary interplay of produc-

From information gathered at Ville Evrard in *Les Peripheriques Vous Parlent* issues #1,2,3 and *Libération*, February 6, 1995. CHAOS Enterprise will be touring the U.S. and Mexico early 1997. For booking information, contact Marianne Dissard, tel. (520) 770-0900. P.O. Box 984 Tucson, AZ 85702.

**MARIANNE DISSARD**, a documentary filmmaker and performance artist lives in Tucson, AZ and France.

# THE death OF hilberto JIMENEZ- Lopez

BY ANTHONY GUY LOPEZ

LA GRANDESA, CHIAPAS, MEXICO

Shot and killed by the Mexican Armed Forces amidst his family and community

the children saw them first...

they ran home and told their parents

one half of the village population fled into the jungle

as the army surrounded the village and came storming in, shooting their machineguns kicking in doors breaking things, stealing money confiscating documents pointing their guns at the people's heads threatening lives chasing people into the jungle

hunting them down tying peoples arms and legs behind the back and kicking them

took 12 away in the two helicopters and 300 soldiers interrogating everyone occupying the village for four days

leaving debris scattered everywhere

As the people fled in all directions into the jungle the army pursued a large group. When they caught up to them they shot and killed a 32 year-old father of 11, Tzeltal

while he carried his baby girl strapped to his back and his 2-3 year old daughter by his side. The witness say that "it was a long time" before the killer soldiers would allow the people to go and pick up the living baby daughter still strapped to her dead father's back.

II.

As they pursued and came closer and closer the people dropped the supplies they were carrying and pushed on running, eventually coming to a long and steep descent as the army pursued there was one especially steep dropoff of which the people told us that one of their relatives was thrown off by the soldiers and injured

"like basketballs we came down this mountain carrying our children"

we witnessed 5-6 places in the jungle where the army had burned the supplies, mostly clothing and keepsakes, as we viewed the remnants, a military helicopter circled above as we hid under the trees

We climbed down the hill we viewed the site of the killing the place where he died we found a bloody cloth

we prayed...the priest led mass as we knelt and prayed for our brother who was shot in the head as he carried his baby on his back, daughter at his side

We saw the sequence of events and reconstructed the scene of the crime where the soldier stood, where the children stood next to their father, the path of the bullet where the people were held....

III.

A cross was erected in the jungle east of La Grandesa for Hilberto Jimenez-Lopez, Mayan Corn Farmer living with his 11 children, wife and Mother

IV.

The soldiers broke into the Church There was no Mass until the priest came, the church bells were rung and 150 people gathered for mass they held a meeting and spoke together and it was decided that we, the Tucson Indigenous Peace Delegation had to go to the site where the killing took place so we did, taking photographs and gathering evidence

it rained the afternoon of our arrival...

We visited Casa de Jimenez-Lopez the Mexican Army invaded hundreds of villages following the February 1995 announcement that they were serving arrest warrants on the EZLN leadership...they proceeded to pillage and kill and rape and steal in the

peaceful Tzeltal villages as white flags flew in their yards The peoples were visibly traumatized as compared to Emiliano Zapata especially evident among the children A paralysis of terror strategy for the Zapatistas by the Mexican Army To brutalize the villagers execute examples

V.

The People said that " where the soldiers could hear babies crying in the jungle, that's where they would shoot" there were three, eight to 9 minute streams of machine gun fire.

VI.

There lay strewn all about the center of the village were the hundreds of green aluminum U.S. made army rations, cocoa powder chocolate nut cake chicken a la king applesauce cherry nut cake ? with ham

VII.

An Elder Woman fled into the jungle amidst the shooting, screaming and crying of the children, she could hear in the distance spending a cold and dark night not knowing of what she would return to in the villages

The soldiers threatened to kill an Elder Woman telling the villagers that they didn't need her anymore...

The violent terror tactical strategy with their U.S. food and equipment humvees, tanks, helicopters the Mexican Army made war on civilians.

*Anthony Guy Lopez is from the Dakota Nation, and is an International Indian Treaty Council Field Representative. He went to Chiapas as part of the Tucson Indigenous Peace Delegation in March of 1995.*

# efforts of grace

by carol bebelle

## NEW ORLEANS' SPIRIT HOUSE

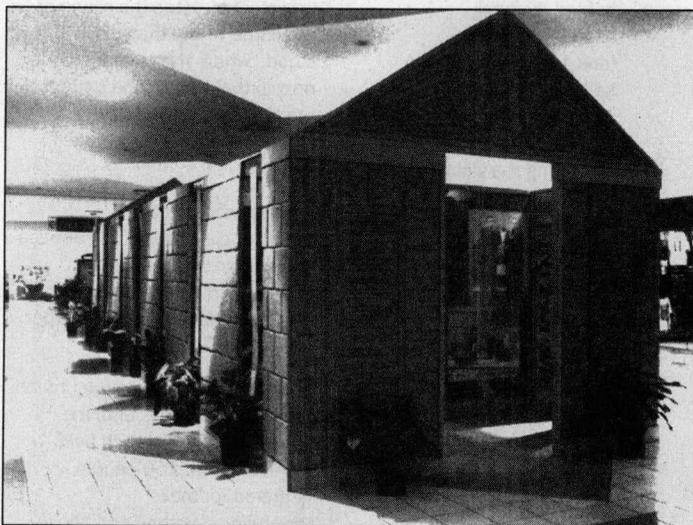
Efforts of Grace, a community art project by New Orleans artist Douglas Redd, received a 1995 Regional Designation Award in the Arts by the Atlanta Olympic Committee for the Olympic Games (ACOG) in Atlanta. The award honors excellence and innovation in artistic and cultural programs throughout the Southeast. The purpose of the awards, which are administered by the Southern Arts Federation, is to provide the broadest possible opportunity for artists, arts organizations, libraries, educational and historic organizations to participate in the Cultural Olympiad.

Efforts of Grace is a community project that has been exhibited frequently at various locations in New Orleans over the past two years. The New Orleans Shopping Center Mall, The Jazz Heritage Festival, Delgado Community College's Art Gallery have all exhibited Efforts of Grace to an audience of over 7,000.

The exhibition can be described as an architectural installation built in the shape of an Egyptian Temple that resembles a New Orleans shot-gun house. The seven rooms of the temple/house are full of rich cultural spirits shown by pastel treated photo murals that feature community organizations dedicated to youth development work here in New Orleans. The images offer sensitive and inspiring views of heroes and sheros at work encouraging, protecting, teaching and enriching the lives of young people in New Orleans. The

rooms have themes which are taken from the "Nguzo Saba", the seven principles that form the foundations for the celebration of Kwanzaa.

Efforts of Grace New Orleans' cultural spirit house seems to exert a kind of spiritual magic on those who visit it. It creates a view that spotlights the positive essence of African Americans. These views are welcomed, authentic and inspiring to all who view it. Messages from viewers tell their story



The seven rooms of the temple/house feature pastel treated photo murals of youth development work in New Orleans.

of people starving for spotlight and attention that shows African Americans doing good, being good and contributing good to our community. This inspiring reality contradicts the usual view that gives "big headlines" and "big pictures" to things and people gone wrong in the African American community.

Douglas Redd is a visual artist accomplished in fine arts, graphics, sculpture, wood cuts, and painting. He considers himself a community artist, working to meet the visual art needs of

community based cultural, arts, social and religious organizations. His work has a decided ethnic influence and has helped to establish his work as the pivotal visual arts influence for much of the African, African American and Caribbean activity in New Orleans. Logos, banners, displays, flyers, brochures, posters, cards, plaques, sets, installations and woodcarvings all help to constitute the portfolio of Douglas Redd's work. His artistic style is unique, capturing clever utility, beauty, elegance, spirituality and ethnic character.

Efforts of Grace adds an important ingredient to the strategies at work in New Orleans. The long term vision is of communities around the country initiating similar efforts in the name of Efforts of Grace. In New Orleans, the Greater New Orleans Foundation has established a fund for Efforts of Grace. Donations are welcomed, and in kind contributions such as art supplies, printing, storage space, work space, exhibition opportunities, etc.. are sought as well.

Ifama Arsan, folk artist and board member, sums it up by saying "Efforts of Grace gives us the opportunity to clear our vision and change our minds about who we are and who we want to be. We know well enough the negative about us. Let's make acquaintance with the good work in ourselves and our community. Believe me, it really does exist."

**CONTACT:** Efforts of Grace, 1029 Hillary Street, New Orleans, LA 70118. Phone

"diverse" isn't the first word most people use to describe the music of the indigenous people of the Americas. But, in fact, diversity is the only appropriate category to start to describe contemporary Native American music.

From the reggae rock of the Wailing Coyotes up in Tuba City in Northern Arizona, to the opening performance at Woodstock '94 of Joanne Shenandoah's song for peace entitled "America"; from the traditional Tohono O'odham sounds of the Redhouse Dancers out in the Southwestern Desert, to the militant rap of WithOut Reservation based in Oakland, California—and all points in between—the diverse distinct and multifaceted musical genres, styles and techniques that spring from indigenous communities in America are fascinating in their breadth.

And though "honor diversity" is a politically correct phrase that expresses a reasonable sentiment, it is not one that is easily interpreted and applied. Personal beliefs and individual acts produce a constant conflict between the preservation of one's cultural heritage, conformance with the predominant commodity culture, and the expression of one's own creative impulses.

Compromise in each area can be liberating or destructive, depending on how it is structured, perceived and enforced. The degree to which compromise is demanded by the norm affects each artist differently. Some artists can combine diverse conflicting ideas in one personality to dramatic positive effect. Others seem to be held

# indigenous peoples DANCE TO THE BEAT OF different drummers

BY NEAL ULLSTEAD



back by contradiction and conflict, and excel through the preservation and reproduction of previous creations. The struggle of tradition against innovation as a creative process is nowhere more vividly expressed than in the various musical pursuits and associations of the indigenous people of North America.

The fact is that Americans with

indigenous roots cannot be stereotyped in their musical preferences any more than anyone else, especially when we see suburban Anglo boys and girls who are "down" with "gangsta" rap, and African, Mexican and Asian-Americans who pursue everything from Bach & Mozart to New Age jazz.

Native American Indian music is diverse on many levels—form, content, musical genre, and political orientation, to name a few. Some trends favor traditional chants and sounds, while others embrace modern sounds. Divergence within each of these is every bit as extreme as it is in the dominant commodity culture.

One musical trend with indigenous roots—expanding from Carlos Nakai's original experiments with Native flutes to the modern explorations of Jackalope—fuses traditional flute and drums with a New Age jazz sensibility. Others have taken their roots into the realm of folk rock. Another trend finds its inspiration in "traditional" country & western music, as well as country rock. Jamaican Reggae is the favorite of still others, especially in Kykotsmovi up on Second Mesa in Hopiland. Waila "chicken scratch" polkas predominate at many reservation locations throughout the Southwest, while the traditional drums and chants of the Powwow and Potlatch are sometimes drowned out now by Muzak in new Casinos.

The various, and often incompatible tendencies and trends of indigenous communities are not any closer to universal agreement than the



## different drummers (continued)

diverse segments of society as a whole. In a pluralist culture, different interests, allegiances and desires take individuals and groups in many directions. A general cooperative spirit in the search for meaning and survival is not spontaneous. For indigenous people, not all ideals can be made explicit; there are many forms of discrimination & censorship, not the least being intimidation and lack of economic reward. Closed-mindedness on the part of the dominant public culture can push beliefs under the surface, making them implicit or latent, insinuated or held in reserve, not necessarily abandoned. Similar to the divergent musical and lyrical approaches we've seen, indigenous political ideals range from economic conservatism to liberal and radical views.

There is no lack of explicit political and social commentary accompanying the music on several albums recently released by Native American artists. From last year's *Johnny Damas and Me* by John Trudell (produced by Jackson Browne), and WithOut Reservation's *Are You Ready for WOR?*, to the work of Robbie Bee and the Boyz from the Rez, and Russel Means' *Electric Warrior*, Native American traditions have been combined with pop, rock & rap music in exciting ways.

Two years ago Robbie Bee released *Reservation of Education* (Warrior/Soar 604, 1993) with the Boyz from the Rez, on the same label as Russel Means' *Electric Warrior* (Warrior/Soar 603). Both of these albums have been influenced by rap and hard rock, as well as techno, acid jazz, dance music of various stripes, and industrial grunge.

Robbie Bee's disc is the most light-hearted of all these releases, with more rocking, even disco dance beats, driving what he calls *pow wow hip hop*

and *red house swing*, which sometimes even sounds like balladdeers such as Babyface or Boyz II Men. With biting sarcasm in *Looney Rooney*, Bee targets specific racist commentary from CBS television's "60 Minutes" Andy Rooney, speed rapping to the beat of a throbbing bass groove.

With an emphasis on education for "true democracy" Robbie Bee makes sophisticated references to, and samples from much of modern popular culture, particularly all types of western movie theme music. Unfortunately, his attitudes toward women do not appear to be as enlightened as those of John Trudell, with Bee repeatedly using the term "girl" as a form of address to young women (though in all fairness, it's wrong to too harshly judge phrases so thoroughly laced with irony, insinuation and sarcasm, without other evidence).

Russel Means' work is more "serious" than Robbie Bee's, and some might call it "preachy" at times; but the strength that comes from surviving years of rage-producing history isn't always expressed as entertainment. *Electric Warrior* contains intriguing musical excursions; and *Indian Cars Go Far* is a fun cruise through the REZ; but Means provides strong advocacy for specific political positions in the context of spoken word poetry, accompanied by popular rock & rap music. Means' recent emergence in film and television (as Sitting Bull in *Buffalo Gals*, and as the voice of the heroine's father in Disney's *Pocohantas*, provide more exposure for a deserving talent.

One theme that recurs in Native contemporary music is the struggle to free Leonard Peltier, who remains a political "prisoner of war" in Leavenworth, Kansas. We are reminded of the very real similarities between Peltier's years of imprisonment and that of Nelson Mandela in South Africa, with the reservations no less violent and desolate at times than the bantustans and homelands of South Africa, or the concentration camps of the past.

John Trudell's Johnny *Damas and Me* CD (RYKODISC RCD10286 1994) is exhilarating in its fusion of traditional sounds, values and sensibilities with thoughtful poetry and urgent rock & roll. The blend is not like anything you've heard—and may take some getting used to—but the effort is well worth it. Here we have genuinely innovative rock & roll expressed in various musical styles and lyrical perspectives.

Musically, the Southern California sound of Jackson Browne, John Hiatt and Don Henley predominates; but the chiming 12 string guitars of the Byrds are also reprised. The title cut is a rocking, full-throttle indictment of *Nazi Babylon*, the same system targeted by Bob Marley, and unleashes energy reminiscent of the Dils' punk agit-prop. Influences from The Last Poets, Gil-Scott Heron, and "old" and "new school" rap, emerge with repeated listening. (Please note that if you want the lyric sheet for this album, you must buy the CD; the tape comes without a lyrics page.)

Though *That Love* at times feels stiff and formal in its vocal delivery, the incredible emotional insights this song delivers drive home how open and honest Trudell is able to be with his feelings. I have never listened to any other male singer express such heartfelt empathy toward female struggles for survival. In *See the Woman* he declares that "she survives all that man has done," metaphorically linking Mother Earth to a specific individual and to all women:

*See the woman spirit  
Daily serving courage with laughter.  
Her breath a dream and a Prayer.*

In *Baby Dolls Blues* the "golden chalice" turns into a "teflon cup". And, Trudell's call and response duet with Mark Shark's mournful slide guitar on *After All These Years* evokes his deep sadness over lost love with elegant clarity and compassion.

The sense of loss—of land and love

and innocence—that seems ever present, is both poignant and passionate. Perhaps some of Trudell's sensitivity to women's issues stems from the incredible loss he experienced when his wife and children were murdered in an arsonist's attack on their home several years ago. Certainly he is consciously working to help the more women-centered traditions of indigenous cultures to break free from the straight-jacket of commodity culture.

**W**ithOut Reservation (WOR) carves out a radical, urban approach to Native American issues that stands side by side with the boldest of conscious rappers such as Paris, Spearhead, KRS1, Consolidated and Ice-T. And, unlike media-grabbing misogynists Too Short and 2 Live Crew, the anger articulated by these three young men—Paiute, Navajo and O'odham, is directed at social structures that, among other things, leave many Native Americans filled with self-hate and alcohol. W.O.R. also effectively targets racist cops and the trivialization of humanity embodied in sports team mascots such as the Redskins and the Braves.

Christopher Columbus is rightfully singled out as a symbol for the conquering "dominator" mentality that has led to the slaughter and enslavement of so many non-European people over the past "502 Years". Themes of survival and self-respect predominate on *Are You Ready for WOR?* (Canyon Records/CR7035 1994).

The laid-back "Cali" style of hip-hop mixes easily with traditional chanting and drumming on much of this album. With the militant anger of W.O.R. mixed up front, and a deep "scarface" groove throbbing below the surface, the sound avoids the harsh "gangsta" stance, as well as the more

frantic and boisterous styles, that can keep people from hearing the words. This band has something important to say, and they want the world to hear it.

John Trudell's mature rock poetics and WithOut Reservation's militant rap approach express only two of the many possibilities at the intersection of Native American traditions and pop rock & rap in the 1990s. With Robbie Robertson of The Band exploring his Mohawk roots on the soundtrack to Turner Broadcast System (TBS)'s mini-series *The Native Americans*, who knows what exciting developments the future will bring.

## a general cooperative SPIRIT IN THE SEARCH for meaning and survival IS NOT SPONTANEOUS

**SOAR CORP/WARRIOR**, P.O. BOX 8606, Albuquerque, NM 87198 (505) 268-6110. **CANYON RECORDS**, 4143 North 16th Street, Phoenix, AZ 85016 (602) 266-4659. **RYKODISC USA**, Shetland Park, 27 Congress Street, Salem, MA 01970 (508) 744-7678.

**NEAL ULLESTAD** lives in Tucson, Arizona. His work has appeared in *In These Times*, the *Newsreal*, the *International Reggae Beat*, and other journals and papers over the past fifteen years. His *Diverse Rock Rebellions Subvert Mass Media Hegemony* can be found in Reebee Garofalo's *Rockin' the Boat: Mass Music & Mass Movements* (Boston /SouthEnd Press/1992): nullestad@pimacc.pima.EDU.

A shorter version of this article appeared in Entertainment Magazine On Line (May 1995): <http://www.rtd.com/emol/>.

PROTEST AGAINST

# the atrocities of war

In January 1995, I traveled to San Antonio, TX for the College Art Association's 83rd Annual Conference. Expecting to meet artists, art professors and individuals interested in art history—but not particularly active in helping shape the history of art within communities—I was refreshed to meet Duston Spear. Duston is an artist turned activist who founded Three Women in Black—an activist group in New York City created to protest war, rape as a tool of war,

ethnic cleansing and human rights abuses in the former Yugoslavia.

Three Women in Black is affiliated with the Women in Black of Belgrade. The concept of specifically designing three black dresses to signify the protest was derived from a series of paintings in Duston's New York studio. She designed three black dresses and headpieces similar to the life-size figures illustrated in her large-scale, collage paintings. Duston enables the animation of her paintings by anyone

willing to wear the costume. The black dresses foster participation by individuals united in the belief that war crimes and cruel, inhumane acts are wrong and need to be stopped. Three Women in Black of New York mourn these injustices by standing silently in protest. They make their presence known every first Wednesday of the month by hosting a silent vigil outside of the United Nations. Duston's dresses are not about "fashionable" protest, they are about using a garment—such as a black dress—to symbolize the grief and pain of human beings who have suffered from injustice as the result of war.



San Antonio, 1995: Duston's dresses are not about "fashionable" protest—they are about using a garment to symbolize the grief and pain of war.

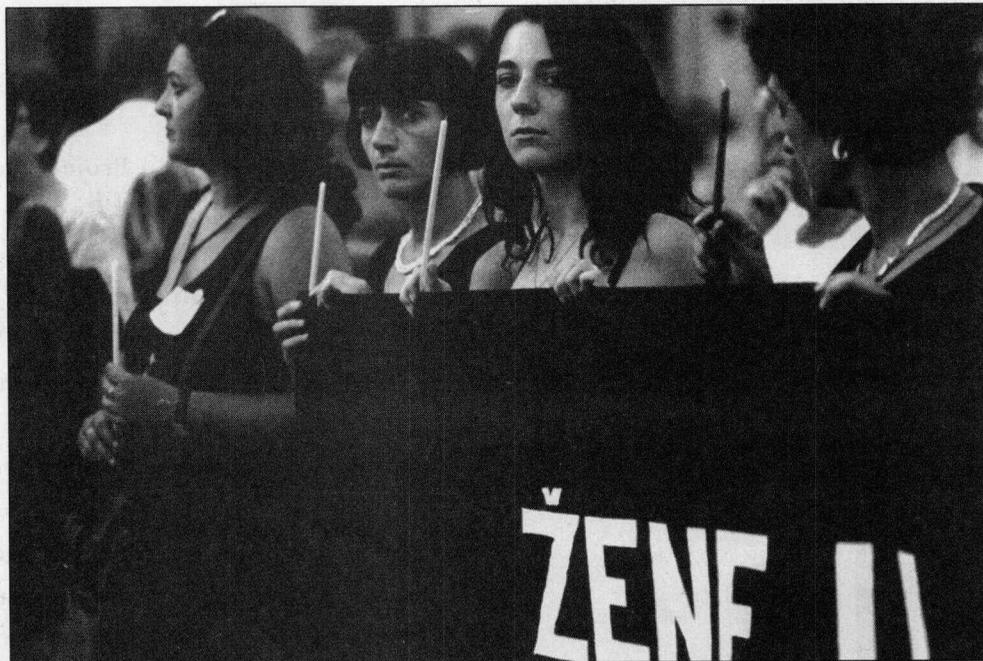
Duston and other Three Women in Black members went to an eighth grade humanities class in Manhattan to discuss the group's art activism and communication with the people of Bosnia. They talked about their partnership with the Women in Black group of Belgrade and how they coordinate silent vigils. In addition to the vigils held monthly in front of the United Nations, Three Women in Black hold weekly vigils in front of the New York Public Library. The group stands in solidarity with the Women in Black of Belgrade whose vigil is in its third consecutive year. The common thread tying all of the Women in Black organizations together is their mission to protest inhumanity and injustice caused by war. All of the organizations advocate wearing black clothing to symbolize their protest and holding

DUSTON SPEAR/HOPE HERMAN

candlelight vigils each week. There are numerous Women in Black organizations all over the world. One of the earliest known organizations originated in Israel in 1988 shortly after the outbreak of the Intifada. Other organizations have since been created in Europe and parts of South Africa.

Duston shared her travel experiences in Bosnia with the class and described her visit to a containment camp located one hour outside of Belgrade. Families live in cramped conditions in the containment camps. Food and water are scarce resources in the war-torn country. Yet, throughout all the hardship and strife the people remain hopeful. Before traveling to the camps, Duston packed several bags of candy to give to the children. While two Women in Black members were distributing the candies to the children, one little five year old boy with gigantic brown eyes handed a piece of candy to Duston. The cute boy, not knowing where the candies had come from, was surprised when Duston tried to return the candy to him. He insisted that she accept his gift. His act of generosity is something that remains a vivid memory in Duston's mind. The existence of kindness in an environment plagued with dampness, decay, and hunger is precious.

During her visit, Duston met Igor, Goran, and Vlada—three young boys who are currently living in the containment camp. Despite being caught in the midst of a war, the boys are very happy that they are together and with their parents. They feel fortunate to be able to rely upon each other for support and emotional strength. The three boys are making the most of a bad situation by using the woods near the containment camp as a place to explore



Novi Sad, Serbia: Facing the camera, left to right, is Stasha, a founding member of The Women in Black of Belgrade, and Lilyana, age 23, from a refugee camp.

and imagine. Imagination is a key to survival. Imagining a peaceful future keeps them hopeful. Since her visit, Duston has remained in contact with Igor, Goran, and Vlada and exchanges letters with them on a regular basis.

After learning about her visits and correspondence with the people of Belgrade, the eighth grade class asked Duston, "Can we write to them too?" They wanted to find out what these children in the containment camps were feeling. They wanted to hear about their thoughts, feelings, and fears, and learn about their lives first hand. As a result, Three Women in Black started a project "Translating the War, One Letter at a Time" The project enables students to write to the children living in refugee camps outside of Belgrade. The project is possible thanks to the Women in Black of Belgrade who provide addresses and translating assistance. The Women in Black of Belgrade works with four of the refugee camps providing aid, food, and a listening ear. The group also assists the refugees economically by purchasing the embroideries made by the women living in the camps.

What impressed me the most about Duston is that at the heart of her activism is a community vision—one of collaboration and communication in working toward positive non-violent interaction. Recently, Three Women in Black became a sponsored project of the New York Foundation for the Arts. This sponsorship has allowed Duston to increase the visibility of the group through the production of videos and photographs. Three Women in Black and the Women in Black of Belgrade seek an end to the war in Bosnia by spreading the simple message: "The inhumanity and atrocities of war must stop!" Education and sensitivity are crucial steps toward ending this war. Both activist groups realize the need to exercise their power as peoples of a global community and to work together to sustain peace and humanity. Only then can world progress truly be made.

**DEANN GOULD** is an artist and educator from Pittsburgh, PA. Currently, she is completing her master's degree in Community Arts Management from the University of Illinois-Springfield.



# The Villa Sin Miedo Project

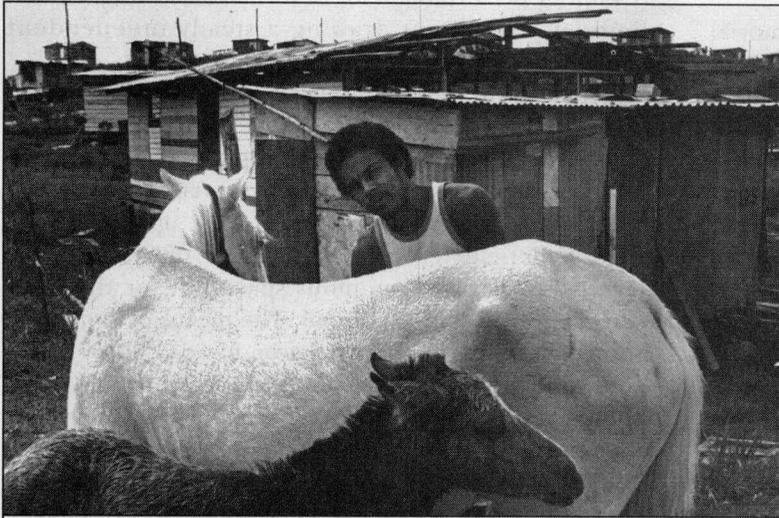
BY MEL  
ROSENTHAL

The Villa Sin Miedo Project started when writer John Brentlinger and I, Mel Rosenthal, a photographer and member of ACD, went to Puerto Rico in May of 1982 to interview people from the South Bronx who had migrated back there. We went to Villa Sin Miedo thinking we would spend a few hours there, but became involved with the people and their struggle against the Romero Barcelo government. A few days after we got there the place was destroyed by the Fuerza de Choque, a paramilitary swat police unit. John and I, and the others mentioned in the catalog and book, organized ourselves as a support group to tell the story of the Villa and help raise money. We went to the camp at Hogar Crea where many people of the villa took shelter after the attack. We also lived with them at their new site in the mountains overlooking El Yunque.

The book was published in Mexico by PRISA, a liberation theology oriented religious group based in Puerto Rico. It is now available in many bookstores in Puerto Rico. The exhibition, Villa Sin Miedo, PRESENTE! was displayed last year at the Museo Fuerte Conde de Mirasol in Vieques, Puerto Rico. I spend part of the year in Puerto Rico and have given a number of talks there about the



The government attacked the community so violently because it *could not* permit poor families to resolve their own problems, as they had done here.



**Once island residents produced their own food. Now they must import 85% of their food from the U.S. at prices averaging 125% of what is charged in the U.S.**

Villa. People from the Villa have come to many of the events at the Museo to tell their stories about the Villa.

The Director of the Museo, Robert Rabin, has used the exhibition in innovative ways to teach about issues having to do with land use in Puerto Rico (including the issue of the United States Navy's ownership of two thirds of the island and their use of the island for war maneuvers and bombing practice.) Another important use of the exhibition is by Ruel Bernard, the Director of Building Community, Inc. Mr. Bernard brings high school and college students from all over Puerto Rico and the United States to Villa Sin Miedo to work in construction brigades, building houses and community centers. In 1994, they worked building a school and library. Mr. Bernard gives talks all over the United States using slides made from the pictures of the exhibition.

John Bretlinger, Roberto Van (who is a leader of the Villa), Reul

Bernard, Robert Rabin and I consult and decide where the exhibition will go and how it will be used. The next place it will be traveling will be to the University of Puerto Rico at Humacao where it will be sponsored by and used by the Federation of Puerto Rican Students who are having conferences on Land Use and Land Rescue communities.

The exhibition has also been shown in the United States. Wherever it goes, the Puerto Rican flag and fresh cut flowers are hung on the wall to commemorate the valor of the people of the Villa.

To order the Villa Sin Miedo Catalog or the Book *Villa Sin Miedo Presente!*, por John Brentlinger, y fotografias de Mel Rosenthal (Claves Latinoamericanas, 161pp. ISBN 968-843-093-5) contact: Mel Rosenthal 740 West End Ave. New York, NY 10025 212-666-8521.



**"Everyone takes care of everyone else's kids just like their own. So we let them go loose. It's good for the kids—they love it!"**

**PART 1: The cultural cold war comes home.**

The story of Big Western Art since time immemorial has usually been one of the rich selling to the rich. Ribald exceptions start somewhere around the time of William Blake gardening naked at midnight, or Gustave Courbet putting on the heavy Pose as Rugged Artist/Individualist "bohemian." I suggest that it was at that period of the Enlightenment that it finally became possible to survive in the visual arts without certification and official pedigree from a bourgeois and moribund Academy. To do one's art outside the official hierarchy, occasionally drinking and/or drugging yourself into oblivion, often meant carefully cultivating the seeds of success with the fertile compost of a cult of personality.

This is still the ideal dream for those of us NOT born

art without performing a lot of formal ass-kissing, ladder-climbing, or without drawing a steady independent income.

Nowadays, the pendulum seems to be swinging back to a re-institution of a stricter track to achieving professional recognition in Big Art, as higher aspirations in this curious career choice are usually best served if you do the grad-school/academia thang and work it up from there. In the hyper-jaded Western Spectacle of Simulations, there is no more autonomous space left for the True Poets and Painters of life's road. The means of communication are falling into ever-fewer hands. There is no opportunity or sensitivity amongst the bovine consuming public for real criticism or opposing views. All forms of communication and expression are processed by culture-

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# notes from an illegal 21st century guerrilla art encampment

BY SCOTT MARSHALL

with that *je ne sais quoi* necessary for easy success, yet who still yearn for a steady career in the arts. That magical/astrological thing, usually called "luck" or "good fortune" or "great ass" that eludes us, but endows fortunate others not so much with Knowing, but with wonderful Connections there for the Blowing. (Will someone please enlighten me about the Big Fucking Deal about the brothers Starn? I mean, it's like, WHO CARES! Maybe they perform live sex acts on each other for the gratification of their wealthy patrons and gallery/ museum people, or something...)

For meaningful painters like the Postman Rousseau, Gully Jimson/Stanley Spencer, Leonora Carrington, Howard Finster, or Lee Godie—these are people who survived in the visual arts on their own terms. They were among the precious few successful artists in the last 200 years who insisted on living it as they saw it. They came from the un-moneyed classes and created essential salable

consumers with equal amounts of historical ignorance, black/white good/bad simplistic interpretations, and inarticulate anti-intellectual apathetic indifference. For those with enough spark to pursue intellectual, creative, or cultural careers, our late-20th century zeitgeist has you bribing, scheming, fucking, and/or sucking your way onto MTV's heavy rotation list, or tenured appointment in academia.

As Big Art slouches towards the Bethlehem of the Digital Paradigm, the sky is darkening and the stockade doors are closing around the high-security compound of the Fine Art subsidiary of the U.S. Entertainment industry. Perhaps we are seeing the opening salvos in a new conservative 21st century Cultural Revolution that will make the fag-baiting, union-busting, Negro-lynching, and left-wing intellectual-deporting of the 1920's look like a Barney & Friends episode. The Demo-Republicanazi's elite thought-police are in training even now at Clinton's

old Nicaraguan Contra camp in Mena, Arkansas; while Jean-Marie Le Pen scores double-digit election respectability in France once again with campaign promises to eliminate the Ministry of Culture.

So take To The Hills Insurrectionists! You will not be able to flee to Paris as you did a 100 years ago. This time, there will be no hiding...

**PART 2: Pounding bombs into paint brushes with the skulls of the military-industrial complex.**

**THE SET-UP:** *There is a tradition of anti-intellectualism in mainstream American thinking. Among the general populace, a prejudice is fueled by sloganeering conservative politicians that views the art world as elitist and decadent, and therefore should not be supported with tax dollars. The argument is that in a time of painful belt-tightening (a legacy, it should be noted, of 12 years of parasitic Republican economics), why should the arts continue to be federally funded at all. Yet, as Paul Goldberger (chief cultural correspondent for the New York Times) recently pointed out on NPR's Fresh Air show, the total amount of fiscal NEA funding in a year is about equivalent to what the Department of Defense spends in five minutes. He went on to say, "...it's a paradox. They say the art establishment is elitist—yet the NEA has spread out money into far reaching areas of the country that otherwise would not have access to this cash. So if government funding is abolished, [Big Art, large civic companies, and corporate-sponsored museums] will not go out of business. It will be the people on the fringes that disappear, so art will become more elitist... There is an unspoken agenda of the Right-wing to get rid of art it doesn't like."*

*The future is fun! The future is Fare! We've already won! We already BE there! Hello, hello! We're glad you made it! Welcome! To! The FUTURE!!"—Firesign Theater, from We're All Bozo's on This Bus, 1971*

Yknow, it wasn't so very long ago in America when some artists, intellectuals, writers, and union organizers

were branded as subversive by an ultra-conservative U.S. Congress, Supreme Court, and Presidency; and were forcibly deported, harassed, or outright lynched and murdered. Few people remember that the great "liberal" President of this century, Franklin Roosevelt, gave a speech in 1920 in Washington State at the location of the castration/lynching of an I.W.W. organizer one year earlier. He praised the American Legionnaire murderers and hailed them as patriots and heroes. Then again in the

'50's, Joe McCarthy and Roy Cohn took aim at the entertainment industry. In the '60's, a covert domestic spying initiative known as COINTELPRO infiltrated and disrupted civil rights, feminist, and anti-war groups. Given the present state of representation in Congress and the looming election in '96, these recent events don't seem too far-fetched.

Though the U.S.'s cultural memory and attention span rivals that of certain species of insects, you may remember those recent years when the U.S. went from being the world's largest creditor nation to the world's largest debtor nation, accompanied by an obscene explosion of every social malaise from homelessness to infant mortality. And now our

single-party government plans to spend the 1990's paying Reagan's overdue bills on the backs of everybody except the military—they get a \$25 billion increase over the next few years.

So now we have a new crisis on our hands. And as emasculated, insular, and disenfranchised artists, there's nuthin' we can do 'bout it. Wrong! Another era of mobilized organized opposition may just be rising again. To begin with, think about what it means to be 'an artist' in America these days: cult of personality, commodification of fear and desire, the marketing thereof, and the willful negation of those seemingly archaic and moribund concerns: skill, craft, and intellectual integrity. When the



# guerrilla art

MTV creeps, scum-encrusted A & R rock-group scouts, and snobbish gallery fashion-mavens offer you future stars fat advances and contracts, remember the price you'll have to pay for that corporate viability.

We need to take the profitability OUT of art-making. We could begin by changing the appearance of artwork as just another elitist subgroup of the slimy entertainment industry. By reducing the profit margin, perhaps we can begin taking greater control of our own Image, and therefore, our own destinies. And as Baudrillard says, Image is Everything in today's shifting post-modern digital paradigm. There could be a mandatory 1% tariff on all commercial art transactions for funding less commercially viable art forms, such as community-based projects! Getting in touch with communities through art projects is considered outré these days by aristocratic snobs. Not so, great art has always engaged the society-at-large, either in discourse, or active participation. Resources have to be made available to more people outside the urban cauldrons, rather than less, to empower the culturally disadvantaged to express their own ideas. The new assaults on educational funding is one strategy being used to limit and control just how much communicative power and dexterity tomorrow's students will wield.

We can reclaim our rightful artistic legacy as society's cultural visionaries, shamans, and aesthetic terrorists. We have a far greater place in the evolution of human consciousness than to be at the beck and call of ad agency corporate lickspittle, or to be relegated to the airless death-wards of museums and galleries.

I am just cynical enough to look forward to the cultural brutality that lay ahead. Maybe we, as millennial artists, will be polarized and mobilized to use our higher aesthetic training for education and agitation once again. Already,

the opening salvos are being loaded for firing. Movements are afoot to abolish the Corporation For Public Broadcasting, with far-reaching ramifications. The National Endowment for the Arts has already announced the elimination of seven re-grant programs in the areas of Media Arts, Music, and Presenting and Commissioning. This large chunk of money has been used in the past to help fund a wide variety of alternative and non-Caucasian media groups from coast to coast. Progressive, liberal, and community-based art groups would do well to take a lesson from our cultural adversaries—like the Kooky Kristian Koalition. More intensive lobbying and organizing on a state-wide, grassroots, direct action, and Internet level could aid in future communications and money-crunches. Random, clever acts of cultural terrorism is also a great ice-breaker!



Image is everything  
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in today's shifting  
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post-modern  
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digital paradigm.  
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— BAUDRILLARD

thy will be singed off students and professionals everywhere in the hellish fire-storms that lay ahead. Valerie Solanis, call your office! See you on the front lines! Don't forget to bring your moistened tear-gas handkerchief.

**SCOTT MARSHALL** is a Chicago-based visual artist, writer, graphic designer, audio collagist, performer, cassette-networker and former radio broadcaster.

# Cultural Connections

## blips and clips

The newly formed **National Arts Advocacy Group** is an umbrella organization of arts organizations who have united to fight the right! For more information of how you or your group can join this quickly growing progressive arts movement, contact: NAAG 918 F. St NW, 610 Washington, D.C. 20004 (202) 347-7376, e-mail: ncfenwlink.com.

## 'zines

**Peoples Culture** Devoted to the cause of preserving developing and spreading the word about working class art, music and literature. Box 5224 Kansas City, Kansas 66119 \$15 a year

**Critical Angels** The Newsletter of the Center for Arts Criticism 2402 University Ave. West, Saint Paul, MN 55114 612-644-5501. \$15 a year

**ADBUSTERS:** Journal of the Mental Environment, published by the Media Foundation, 1243 West 7th Ave., Vancouver, B.C., V6H 1B7 1-800-663-1243, \$18 a year published quarterly

**Turning the Tide**, a journal of anti-racist activism, research and education, produced by People Against Racist Terror. PO Box 1990 Burbank, CA 91507 310-288-5003 mnovickttt@igc.apc.org. Published quarterly, \$15 a year



**The RESIST Newsletter** is published 10 times a year by RESIST, an organization that has been funding social change activities since 1967. 8 of articles, and updates from grant recipients. For grant guidelines or more information contact: RESIST One Somerville, MA 02143 (617) 623-5110

**SOA Watch Update** monitors the U.S. Army School of the Americas, its history and role in U.S. foreign military policy. For decades, nations in Latin America with the worst human rights records have consistently been primary clients of the School. Bolivia under BANzer; Nicaragua under Somozas; El Salvador throughout its brutal civil war—all were primary clients of the S.O.A. in their heydays of military abuse.

Contact: SOA Watch  
PO Box 3330,  
Columbus(ter), GA 31903  
(706) 682-5369

**MSRRT Newsletter's** alternative news, views, and resource listings are sent ten times a year to members of the Minnesota Library Association Social Responsibilities Round Table (MSRRT). Others can subscribe by making a donation (\$15 suggested) payable to MLA/MSRRT). Direct review copies and editorial mail to: Chris Dodge/Jan DeSirey, 4645 Columbus Ave. S., Minneapolis, MN 55407 USA; 612-541-8572

**Treaty Council News (TCN)** is the official bulletin of the International Indian Treaty Council (IITC). The IITC is an organization of Indigenous Peoples from North, Central, and South America and the Pacific, working for the sovereignty self-determination of Indigenous Peoples and the recognition and protection of indigenous rights, treaties, traditional cultures and sacred lands. TCN invites submissions of works by Indigenous journalists, photographers and organizations. Subscriptions are \$15 U.S.; \$35 Int'l; \$25 Orgs. IITC 54 Mint St. # 400, San Francisco, CA 94103 415-512-1501; fax 415-512-1507

**Common Courage Press** publishes books for an informed democracy with titles by Margaret Randall, Michael Novick, Judi Bari and others. To receive their catalogue call 1-800-497-3207, Common Courage Press, Box 702, Monroe, ME 04951

**"With Respect to Peskeomskut"** A collection of poetry and prose by Don Ogden honoring the land and its inhabitants. Inspired by an ancient Native dwelling site in the Mid-Connecticut River Valley of Western Massachusetts. Available from Dafreedomda Press, 350 N. Leverett Rd., Leverett, MA for \$5.76 Proceeds will go towards the creation of an interpretive trail at Peskeomsku. 31pp, soft cover.

## announcements

We are looking for the following back issues of *CD* and *Cultural Correspondence* for our Archives: *Cultural Correspondence* 1-4, 7-12 Any *CD* Bulletins before 1989, *CD*: 27 - 33, 38 If you have extra copies, or can zerox please send them to: *CD/ Archives*, POB 545, Tucson, AZ 85702

Whoops, we forgot to give you the address for ART FBI it is: (address, fax, email) 410-563-1903

## members' news

**Sol y Canto** (formally Flor de Cana) members Brian Amador, Rosi Amador, Renato Thoms, Jon M. Weeks, Edilio Bermudez and Eduardo Tancredi. Bilingual and multicultural, *Soy y Canto's* music features a wide variety of Latin American and Caribbean dance and folkloric rhythms with a positive spirit. *Sol y Canto*, 99 Pemberton St. Cambridge, MA 02140 (617) 492-1515.



**Sol y Canto**

**Arts Genesis (AGI)** believes every person has the right to be educated to develop imagination, creativity and a sense of wonder. Artists, teachers, learners, parents and families join hands, hearts and minds to form a community circle with creative power at its center. AGI partnerships reflect the cultures of the communities we partner, embracing our vision of multicultural arts education for everyone. Workshops are offered in music, creative movement, creative writing, puppetry, poetry, drama and a variety of visual arts including traditional cascarron and paper flower making. Projects include murals, sculptures, publishing and performance events. *Arts Genesis* 1311 East Duke drive, Tucson, AZ 85719 (520) 323-0185 ARTSGEN@aol.com

# Cultural Connections

## book reviews

**Sounding Off! Music as Subversion/Resistance/Revolution** Edited by Ron Sakolsky and Fred Wei-han Ho.



"Come all you guerrilla musicians: Native Warriors and Tricksters; Kreoles and Majority-World revolutionaries; womynist sisterhoods and riot girlz; chaos magicians and spiritual monkeywrenchers; punks, hippoppers, and ravers;

surrealists, noisicians and plunderphiles; socialists, anarchists, utopians and all the vibrant and complex radical hybrids therein. We are gathered here together in all out subversite beauty and marvelous diversity; our cacophonous disagreements and our glorious contradictions. You the reader can judge our ideas for yourself as you see fit, and construct your own musiopolitical identity accordingly.

We represent collectively the critical voices/sounds of subversion and resistance and the musical visions of the revolution; though we are not all here. Some of us are missing in action. Others are available elsewhere, or should be. We are not all-inclusive, but our very existence on the following pages is a start in this direction. We are primarily musicians and cultural activists. Hear our voices. Hear the connection between our music and our struggles. Hear it surge up from inside the belly of the beast or erupt from within the planetary cracks and faultlines of the New World Order. This volume is only the count-off of things to come.

Though we may sound "off" when heard through the tired and insular ears of the dominant culture, in our own terms, we hearby "sound off" in an oppression-detonating explosion of pain, anger, love, and joy. Music is our bomb!"

**Ron Sakolsky and Fred Wei-han Ho** are the editors of *Sounding Off! Music as Subversion/Resistance/Revolution* (Autonomedia, 1995) Available from Autonomedia Box 568, Williamsburgh Station, Brooklyn, NY 11211-0568. The book includes textural and visual contributions from the following ACD'ers: Michael Schwartz, Fred Ho, Ricardo Levins Morales, Tripp Mikich, Darrell Johnson and Ron Sakolsky.

352 pp. 42 illustrations. ISBN 1-57027-058-9. A companion *Sounding Off!* musical CD, with 77+ minutes of soundtracks by book contributors is available for \$10 postpaid.

**Everything You Always Wanted to Know About Sandy Berman But Were Afraid to Ask** Edited by Chris Dodge and Jan DeSirey. Forward by Bill Katz.

"Long before e-mail, Internet, talking computers and jolly jargon, Sandy Berman was out there doing his best to link the world with old fashioned letters to more the friends than the Library of Congress has headings. His hard hitting polemics, whether they be for political, racial, sexual or ethnic causes, have enforced the idea of librarian as activist. It all adds up to an exhilarating intellectual who has profoundly shaken our ideas of what libraries are all about"—from Bill Katz's foreword.

For nearly four decades Sandy Berman has been the embodiment of the activist librarian, championing the causes of intellectual and personal freedom with a seemingly boundless supply of energy. His work to rid the Library of Congress subject headings of bias is legendary, but it is perhaps his encouragement and prodding of fellow librarians to broaden their vision of the profession that most counts. Here many of his friends and associates reflect on what Sandy has meant to them and their profession.

**Chris Dodge and Jan DeSirey** are catalogers at the Hennepin County (Minnesota) Library. Sandy Berman's *Prejudices and Antipathies* won the Casey McWilliams award for 1994.

176 pp. photographs, illustrations, appendices, index. 0-7864-0081-1 \$25 library binding 1995 McFarland and Company, Inc., Box 611, Jefferson, NC 28640

**Songs From the Native Lands** by Victoria Lena Manyarrows

This is Victoria Lena Manyarrows first full length book of poetry. In this book she gives voice to her experience as an indigenous woman in the native lands north and south of the Rio Grande. From North Dakota to Nicaragua, Canada to California, these poems unravel oppression, rejoice in love, confront injustice, and sing praise to the strength and beauty of Native Peoples, women, the young and old. 81pp, ISBN 0-9645234-1-8, \$9.95 Nopal Press, 2440-16th Street #146, San Francisco, CA 94103

today

we will not be invisible nor silent  
as the pilgrims of yesterday  
continue their war of attrition  
forever trying, but never succeeding

in the battle to rid the americas of us  
convincing others and ourselves  
that we have been assimilated and  
eliminated

but we remember who we are

we are the spirit of endurance that lives  
in the cities and reservations of north america  
and in the barrios and countryside of Nicaragua,  
Chile  
Guatemala, El Salvador

all in all the earth and rivers of the americas

—VICTORIA LENA MANYARROWS 1984

## new web pages

**ACD Web and Electronic Mailing List** ACD is in the process of building a web site at <http://www.f8.com/ACD>. The site will include excerpts from past and present CDs, reviews, updates, events listings, touring calendars, conference info, as well as membership information, a complete version of the Draft for a Cultural Bill of Rights, and eventually a forum and discussion/postings section.

We also plan to have a directory of groups and organizations presently in ACD, and a gallery section for member groups and artists to share some of their work. We are presently in need of volunteer artists willing to create special art for the site, or previously developed graphics and artwork, especially work already scanned.

Contact Tripp Mikich at [trippdm@f8.com](mailto:trippdm@f8.com) or tel: 415-821-9652 to help or for more information. Artwork may be emailed or sent on disk to ACD, PO Box 192244, San Francisco CA 94119-2244.

If you would like to be on ACD's electronic mailing list, drop an email to either Tripp or [CDemocracy@aol.com](mailto:CDemocracy@aol.com). The email list is to update members on ACD related actions and activities, or actions and activities of related interest.

**MSRRT Newsletter**, for over eight years a source of alternative reviews, commentary, and networking info for library workers, is now on the Web. Issued

in print under the auspices of the Minnesota Library Association, the newsletter's scope includes alternative periodicals and zines covering such topics as economic justice, ethnic concerns, queer culture, feminism, sexuality and body image, environmentalism, human rights, peace, arts and labor. MSRRT's URL Web page: <http://www.cs.unca.edu/~davidson/msrrt/>

### Webster's World of Cultural Democracy

The Institute for Cultural Democracy announces **Webster's World of Cultural Democracy** which is now accessible on the World Wide Web. Just point your Web browser to <http://www.wvcd.org> and let our Home Page introduce you to Webster's World. The "Table of Contents" can be reached from a link at the bottom of the page, if you prefer seeing an overall outline of WWCD. Or you can navigate by simply following links to each of the four major sections—Cultural Policy, Cultural Action, Cultural Issues, and the Guide to the Cultural Landscape.

This is a first-stage installation of our "virtual think tank" on cultural policy and activist practice, created on a voluntary basis while the Institute for Cultural Democracy seeks philanthropic support for the project. We are eager to hear your response to Webster's World as it takes shape.

As the second-stage installation proceeds, we will add more information and networking resources. If we are able to obtain funding for the project, Webster's World will expand to include interactive elements and facilitated discussions, giving you more ways to take part in shaping cultural politics.

## DEADLINE FOR NEXT ISSUE IS MAY 1

**MARK YOUR CALENDARS:** Its official! The **ACD 20th ANNIVERSARY GATHERING** August 30–September 2, in San Francisco. Join ACD in celebrating 20 years of cultural activism and organizing. For more information contact Amy Kirk at [Anekula@aol.com](mailto:Anekula@aol.com) or Tripp Mikich at 415/821-9652, or the ACD Board Member closest to you.

# JOIN ACD

**The Alliance for Cultural Democracy** is the only national network of progressive and community-based artists, activists and cultural workers. Members of ACD share the understanding that culture is an inalienable right, and that political and economic justice cannot exist without cultural democracy—the right of all peoples to create and preserve their own culture.

Visions of ecological sustainability, peace and social justice begin at the core of our personal and communal lives, and they cannot be achieved without the sustenance of art, community, and culture. Through work in diverse forms and communities, members of ACD have committed themselves to a more humane, beautiful, and just society.

Since 1976, when it began as the Neighborhood Arts Programs' National Organizing Committee (NAPNOC), ACD has enabled cultural activists to share new ideas, arrange tours, organize study groups, receive feedback on projects and work, meet new collaborators, and overcome our sense of isolation. At the regional and national levels, ACD works to forge closer ties with other activist organizations and to build an effective public voice on issues of cultural policy.

As a member of the Alliance, you will:

- Receive a subscription to *Cultural Democracy*, an invaluable resource for cultural networking and cultural ideas outside the mainstream.
- Have the opportunity to take part in the governance of ACD. ACD is a membership run national organization. Through your ideas, efforts, dues and labor, we will continue to grow and thrive.
- Receive discounts to regional and national conferences, a source of inspiration and collaboration for hundreds of cultural activists throughout the country and globe.
- Participate in creation of ACD projects and agendas on local, regional, and national levels.
- Contribute editorial, art, graphics, photography and ideas to CD magazine, and to the ACD web site.
- Be part of the broadening of this unique organization devoted to defense of cultural rights, and the survival of our communities and collective lives into the next millennium.

**There's never been a better time to join!** You'll immediately receive information on the upcoming Labor Day weekend Conference in San Francisco, and if you act now, you'll receive a copy of *Sounding Off! Music as Subversion, Revolution, and Rebellion* with a regular membership of \$25.

## ALLIANCE FOR CULTURAL DEMOCRACY MEMBERSHIP APPLICATION

**Special Limited Offer—Join now and receive a copy of *Sounding Off!* with a regular \$25 individual membership, or \$40 organizational.**

- \_\_\_\_\_ \$25 Individual Membership (includes *Sounding Off!*\*)
- \_\_\_\_\_ \$40 Organizational Membership (includes *Sounding Off!*\*)
- \_\_\_\_\_ \$15 Low income (does not include *Sounding Off!* Sorry.)
- \_\_\_\_\_ \$10 Here's an extra ten. Send the special *Sounding Off!* CD recording, too.\*
- \_\_\_\_\_ \$?? Here's a little/a lot extra. Extreme times call for extreme measures!

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ORGANIZATION \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

CITY, STATE, ZIP \_\_\_\_\_

HOME PHONE \_\_\_\_\_

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\* PLEASE ADD \$3 FOR POSTAGE AND HANDLING. SEND CHECK OR MONEY ORDER PAYABLE TO THE ALLIANCE FOR CULTURAL DEMOCRACY, P.O. BOX 192244, SAN FRANCISCO, CA 94119-2244.

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**ACD 20th Anniversary Gathering!**  
August 30–September 2 in San Francisco. Details inside...