

A Publication of Political Art Documentation/Distribution

UP FRONT

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Organizing with Cultural Work

INSIDE

FROM THE GROUND UP: Cultural Democracy As a National Movement 3

By Arlene Goldbard and Don Adams

UNION-MADE: Artists Working With Labor 7

NOVEMBER 12th ANTI-INTERVENTION MARCH: The Making of a Political Document 13

By Charles Frederick

PADD ARCHIVE: Seneca Women's Peace Encampment 18

END OF THE RAINBOW: Sisters of Survival's European Tour 20

INDIVIDUAL WORKS: Janet Koenig, Dona McAdams and Elizabeth Kulas 24

ARTISTS CALL Against Intervention in Central America 27

NOT FOR SALE 29

INTERNATIONAL NEWS 30



PADD Office, 339 Lafayette

UPFRONT provides models for political and social art in New York and hopefully in other communities across the country. The articles evolve out of the public forums held at 7:30, the second Sunday of each month, at 112 Franklin St. (925-4671). Everyone is welcome... and to the monthly work meetings on the third Sunday of the month at 5:00, PADD office, 339 Lafayette Street at Bleecker (420-8196).

UPFRONT

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We welcome letters in response to the issues raised in UPFRONT and documentation of your actions and exhibitions. Please type double-spaced (with stamped self-addressed envelope if return is necessary) and send to PADD, 339 Lafayette St., NYC 10012; 212-420-8196. Indicate if you want submissions to be kept for the PADD Archive.

EDITORIAL: PADD in Process

As PADD celebrates its fourth birthday, we are increasingly aware of the necessity to align personal and collective needs and goals. Collectivity is the bedrock of a cultural activist community. But a collective is a complex political and emotional entity. A group has to place the needs of its own membership on a par with its outreach commitments, to try and understand everybody's reasons for being there. We're always surprised by the diversity of expectations. Early mistakes can discourage members. A big failure (or even a big success) can burn people out.

A group can't just write a statement and magically materialize. PADD has made large claims like "we want to support with our talents and political energies the liberation and self-determination of all disenfranchised people." New members may come in and expect instant results. If they find mistakes, moral is dampened and disillusionment can set in. We have to understand that a group is only part of the process, that both individuals and organizations reflect the society in which they exist, even when they oppose it. A group may simply not have the energy or degree of development to practice everything it preaches, but it offers a place for it to happen.

We've found it's probably best to build on several modest successes—perhaps a series of smaller interrelated events leading to a larger one. We've found thematic campaigns showing different aspects of the issue in a variety of formats over a period of time to be particularly effective. Right now we seem to be in some transitional stage that allows for independent groups and projects to operate autonomously while maintaining their ties to the core of the organization.

We try to be flexible in the ways we organize, to reshape the structure according to the work we want to be doing, instead of the other way around. We try to rotate leadership functions frequently, depending on where our various lives are at the time. PADD has a Coordinating Committee through which most plans, finances, problems are filtered, so there's an overview of some kind. (A term in the CC often turns a dissident into a loyalist—such is the seduction of responsibility.)

PADD is not a single-issue collective, like Artists for Nuclear Disarmament or Artists Call Against U.S. Intervention in Central America. We address a multiplicity of cultural and social issues. We're a left cultural organization trying to figure out what that means by doing it. Our theory is grounded in our practice—to the point where it's sometimes hard to dig it out. Each year we turn over approximately 20% of our membership. We are structured in a combination of semi-permanent and ad-hoc subgroups ranging from the Archive (more or less permanent, and distant from the day-to-day workings of PADD) to UPFRONT and *Red Letter Days* (co-edited by more and less "full-time members") to NOT FOR SALE, an ongoing membership project, and the Second Sunday forums—selected and organized out of the monthly work meetings.

We often receive requests about starting "PADD-like groups" in other areas, so we'll end with a (sadly oversimplified) list of the multiple purposes and functions you might consider: 1) Networking: always involve other organizations and benefit from each other's experience and constituencies. 2) Recruiting: use your people and your events to involve others. 3) Fund-raising: Plan it into each event and shoot for self-sustenance. Build your own economic base; plan budgets; stick to them; be realistic. 4) Provide members with distribution, education and recognition. Artists want to show their work, talk about it with other people, and have it written about.

A dialogue is beginning to surface nationally about the strategies and theory of cultural organizing. It crosses disciplinary boundaries—and often political ones. PADD's Second Sundays and UPFRONT's record of them are intended to expand and distribute this dialogue. We welcome letters. As they come in, we'll make room for them in our pages.

CULTURAL DEMOCRACY

From the Ground Up: Cultural Democracy as a National Movement

Don Adams and Arlene Goldbard



OR CHARLES DREW

DAVID GONZALEZ
PACIFICA, CA.

photo: Linda Ebor

The Great Wall of Los Angeles (the 1940s), directed by Judy Baca, SPARC (Social and Public Art Resource Center), Venice, CA.

Culture mirrors social values. Its structure and preoccupations tell us a great deal about the organizing principles and informing metaphors of society. The movement for cultural democracy hopes to radically alter the images our mirror reflects, and thus help to alter the society itself.

The picture reflected in our country's mirror today shows us two organized, dom-

inant systems of cultural production and distribution: the consumer culture industries, and the tax-exempt establishment arts institutions.

The consumer culture industries produce and disseminate the culture of technology. By definition, these industries are concerned only with end products, with commodities that can be endlessly replicated, easily distributed, and profitably marketed. They are obsessed with technological innovation and perfection, often to the exclusion of any other content or message. The highest compliment is to be "extremely well done." The effect striven after is a partial suspension of disbelief.

The establishment arts institutions—the big museums, symphonies, ballets, and operas—produce and disseminate a parallel culture of status. They too are product- and technology-oriented. But these institutions glorify the technical achievements of the individual artist, reinforcing the mask of meritocracy and rugged individualism that obscures the real process of gaining and holding power in our society. The myth of the establishment arts is that with sufficient concentrating of capital and correctly developed taste, it is possible for the best judges to spot the best artists.

Both systems tell us the obvious: that our society is obsessed with technological perfection, that its interest is in finished pro-

Writers, organizers, and cultural policy specialists Don Adams and Arlene Goldbard from San Francisco, spoke extemporaneously from notes at the June Second Sunday. They were, for four years, the staff of the Alliance for Cultural Democracy (formerly NAPNOC), and are still an integral part of the now needy and staffless but broadening and unbowed organization. Before they spoke we saw and discussed Windward Video's *The Last Train from Washington* and the film *The Gathering: Thoughts of Harvest, Acts of Planning*, both of which include Adams and Goldbard, and both of which indicate the breadth of the movement, especially in the performing arts. The text that follows is excerpted from the first half of a long essay the two wrote for the forthcoming book *Culture in Contention* (Real Comet Press, Seattle, 1984, edited by Doug Kahn and PADD member Diane Neumaier). The current address for the Alliance is PO Box 50137, Washington, DC 20004. Individual membership is \$25 and a subscription to four issues of *Cultural Democracy* (included in membership) is \$15. ACD constitutes the major existing network between progressive culture groups in the U.S.; PADD encourages everyone to join.

CULTURAL

ducts and not in the process of creation. They tell us that the crudest sort of competitiveness holds sway. They tell us that the accumulation of wealth is the highest cultural goal, since all this cultural enterprise is directed at achieving the biggest share of the TV audience, the most hit records, the biggest box-office, the longest lines. But they also communicate some social facts that may not be so obvious: These cultural systems are prescriptive: they tell us how those in power think we ought to behave. They tell us that only a few people should be empowered to choose which big stories and which story-tellers will be heard, and to dictate which forms will be used in the telling.

"THE ARTIST SHOULD NOT FORGET that in these times he is called on to play the part both of a person and of an artist. Of the two, that of person is more immediately important. As an artist he will do best to flee the infection of our times, to stand for decentralization in the arts, to resist with every atom of his strength the false gospels of art as a luxury which can be sold in discreet shrines. But he cannot wage this fight by remaining on his perch as an artist. He must be a person first of all, even though for the time being he may become less of an artist. He must enter the common arena and become a citizen."

—Donald Davidson*

When we enter the realm of content, examining the more explicit messages these systems carry, we find the old familiar lessons: White men make the world; things just happen, and most of us can't control them; politics is a dirty business—and the more we pretend to purity, the dirtier our hands are bound to be; poor people need the protection and guidance of their betters; no matter how we suffer, someone is always worse off—and someone else always gaining on us; Western civilization represents the highest in human achievement, and demands our devotion; the weapons of war make peace, so the quest for peace demands ever-larger weapons; and so on.

These are the messages oppositional artwork has traditionally confronted: it has been anti-racist, pro-working class, pro-feminist, internationalist, anti-militarist. While much oppositional artwork can be seen as part of the movement for cultural democracy, the movement's identity and historical significance—its promise for remaking the world—do not lie in its alignment with particular political causes, but in the fact that it stands in opposition to the whole organization of culture in our society.

"The movement's identity lies in the fact that it stands in opposition to the whole organization of culture in our society."

The Great Wall of Los Angeles.

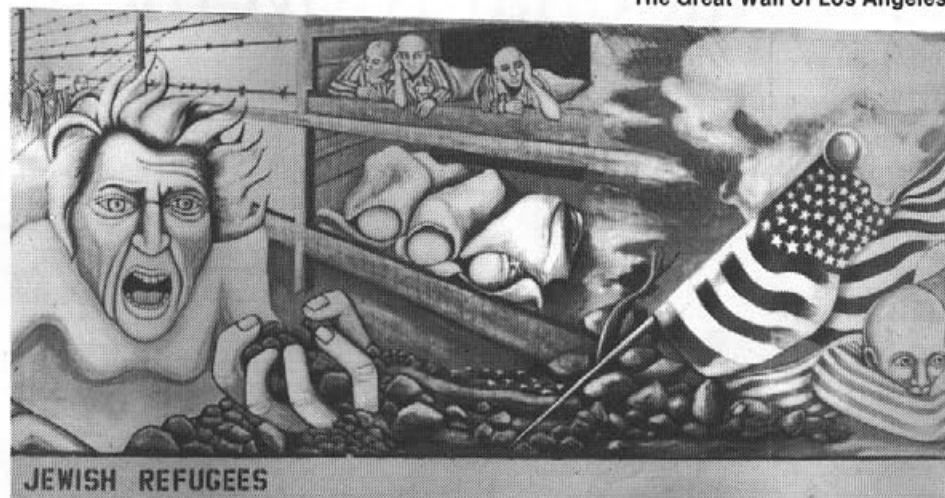
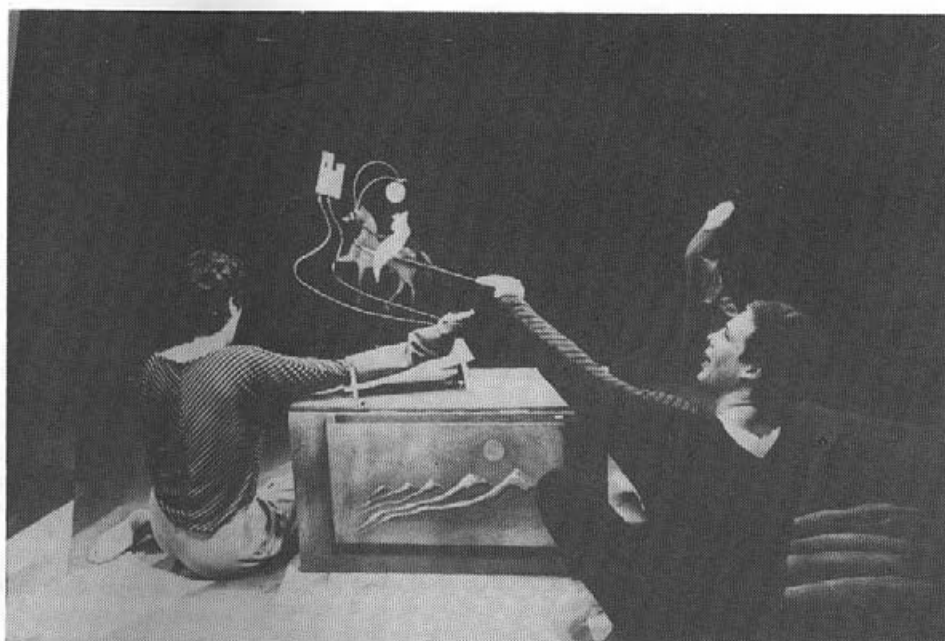


photo: Linda Eber



Elizabeth Pringle and Jack Sherman in *Peer Gynt*.

photo: Tom Stanley

The movement believes that culture itself is the arena in which social transformation can now begin. So our main work is to expose the false consciousness the dominant cultural systems promulgate, and to offer in its place the vision of a society founded on cultural democracy. It's important to remember that this is the work of the movement as a whole, in the aggregate. The lines of battle are drawn on many

*This is a pre-feminist quote which we wanted to include. UPFRONT recognizes the importance of including women in our language.

mocracy movement is aware, as John Berger has written, that "history always constitutes the relationship between a present and its past. . . The past is not for living in; it is a well of conclusions from which we draw in order to act." We want to improve the record of history to enable action in the present.

Where the dominant cultural systems are highly specialized in all respects, the cultural democracy movement takes in a great many kinds of cultural practice, crossing lines that constitute more substantial barriers within both the establishment structures and some oppositional arts traditions. It comprises the community arts movement, the politicized avant-garde, and alternative media activists. And it is closely associated with the liberating education movement, whose primary theoretician, Paulo Freire, has put forward an analysis of "conscientization" which has been tremendously influential throughout the movement for cultural democracy.

The movement's coalescence can be traced through the history of rapprochement between traditionally belligerent elements among artists. Each important stage in the movement's development has been highlighted by a meeting or conference that has brought these once disparate elements closer together: The Gathering of August, 1981, in Saint Peter, Minnesota; the February 26th Movement sponsored by PADD in New York in 1982; the Activist Artist Advance arranged by the Social and Public Arts Resource Center in Venice, California, in June, 1982; and the 6th Annual Conference of the Neighborhood Arts Programs National Organizing Committee held in Omaha, Nebraska, in October, 1982.

Where democracy is a purely formal idea in the dominant systems, the movement is radically committed to democracy in both theory and practice. Organizational forms range from collective experiments to more conventional arrangements in which open discussion precedes decision-making by majority vote. Most of these institutions are worker-managed, and interactive with the larger community. The U.S. movement's consciousness is keenly international, aware of the political threat facing progressive culture existing under oppressive regimes.

Oppositional artists have generally taken gadfly roles. They stand outside and attack with barbed wit or cautionary wisdom. But the movement for cultural democracy says that artists, as with anyone else, must look deeper, to the forces that fuel their work and account for its interaction with the world. This also bespeaks a different relationship between artist and artwork. Katharine Pearson, president of Appalshop in Whitesburg, Kentucky, has cautioned against "the failure to recognize that distribution is an integral part of the creative process." She warns against the notion that



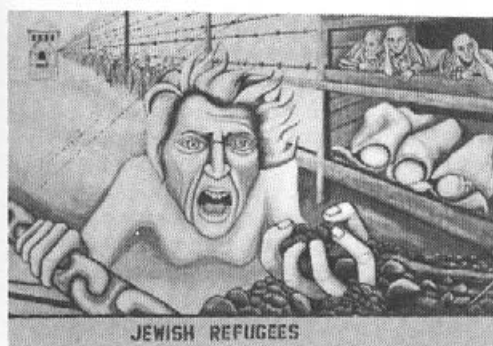
photo: Karen McCall

Greg Granlund and Marsha Kimble-Hawkins in Cherry Creek Theatre's production of *Vazlav*.

"Distribution is an integral part of the creative process."

fronts at once, so that no single artist or work of art, standing alone, can make a significant advance. But as a movement, every person's work—no matter how local, modest, or short-lived—makes a contribution towards transforming culture.

Democratic cultural work retrieves the buried aspects of history, as in Judy Baca's *Great Wall of Los Angeles*, the half-mile-long mural depicting a decade-by-decade history of California with special attention to the stories of Third World people; in the Voices Company's theatrical productions based on the oral histories of Baltimore millworkers; and in Fred Whitehead's slide/tape production on "Labor in Kansas History." In researching the latter, Whitehead "felt like I was doing research on King Tut, 5,000 years ago, and here I was researching something that happened 98 years ago. In that short space of time, it had passed from memory." The cultural de-



an artist finishes his/her work "and then expects some drone to pick it up and get it out."

Similarly, people in the movement take very seriously their responsibility to monitor the development of public cultural policy—to criticize, offer alternatives, and help to stimulate dialogue—even when the government is not likely to be receptive to a democratic critique. NAPNOC (and now the Alliance for Cultural Democracy) plays a watchdog role vis-a-vis cultural authorities in Washington, and has also represented the movement's concerns to international bodies, such as UNESCO. [Ed. note: See Adams' and Goldbard's invaluable writings in *Art in America*, *Fuse*, *The New York Times*, etc., and especially in back issues of *Cultural Democracy*.]

As the artist's role is enlarged, so is the scope of society from which art emerges. Where the dominant systems require storytellers with a certain type of technical expertise and willingness to see the world through a familiar lens, the movement for cultural democracy tells a different story compounded of many tales, and many tellers' points of view. Much of modern history can be seen as a movement in this direction, especially the struggles of the formerly-subject peoples of the Third World for self-determination. John Pitman Weber of the Chicago Mural Group has said that, in the last forty years, "who is telling the story has changed a lot. For instance, the Black Liberation struggle stands at the beginning of our movement, and then all kinds of other groups began moving for their democratic rights, a recovery of their identity and a validation of their history." Many within the movement are concerned with cultural work that gives a voice to those previously denied: Theatre Unlimited in San Francisco creates with mentally handicapped people; Liz Lerman's Dancers of the Third Age in Washington, D.C., allows people in their 70's and 80's to employ a medium for expression that has been denied all but the youngest and most "perfectly" shaped.

Where the dominant systems cherish centralization of decision-making, replication of products, the cultural democracy movement is radically decentralized. Especially in regions with strong traditional cultures, like the South, in minority communities throughout the country, and in rural regions with low populations, *place* is an essential consideration. The Dakota Theatre Caravan is one of the numerous groups whose work centers on place. It travels a circuit of small towns in South Dakota, presenting plays based on the stories and lives of the people who live in this sparsely-populated state.

The cultural democracy movement shares

a great many ideas with the democratic left; it takes similar positions in favor of civil rights and against militarism and imperialism; it is egalitarian and pluralist. But while it shares with the left a critique of capitalism's distribution of resources, it rejects the left's economism, asserting that less tangible cultural considerations should play a significant role in shaping society. The standard described by Amadou Mahtar M'Bow in discussing the challenge confronting Africans:

The only pertinent question facing us today is not only of choosing between an outdated past and imitation of the foreign but of making original selections between cultural values which it is vital to safeguard and develop—because they contain the deep-lying secrets of our collective dynamism—and the elements which it is henceforth necessary to abandon—because they put a brake on our facility for critical reflection and innovation. In the same way we must sort out the progressive elements offered by industrial societies, so as only to use those which are adapted to the society of our choice which we are capable of taking over and developing gradually by ourselves and for ourselves.

The dialectical relationship between culture and the economic and political realms of society ought to be recognized by the left. Charles Frederick asserts that "culture provides for a symbolic arena... allows for contradictions to be playful," suggesting that within the cultural realm, the left in the U.S. will at last be able to create a critique of society that rings true to people, and to find a vision of the future which can galvanize support. Finally, where the dominant systems are product- and commodity-oriented, the movement for cultural democracy is interested in the creative process, in culture-building as opposed to culture-consuming, and in cultural transformation above all else.

To some people, the rubric "movement" is a misnomer here; they see no manifestoes, demonstrations, sloganeering—and in many cases, no self-conscious identification with the idea of cultural democracy, no consciousness of being part of a larger force. Partly, this is a function of the movement's youth: we are clearly at the stage of consciousness-raising and organizing, by no means able to constitute a mass movement with an agreed-upon program and strategy for achieving it. "The movement for cultural democracy" is a shorthand phrase for a developing, shared consciousness whose impact we can't predict. For the present, the movement seems able to contain its many diversities and disagreements and unresolved ambiguities. Despite the lack of clarity they imply, and despite a social climate which can provide the most formidable obstacles, there is a kind of consensus in practice. The movement's practice prefigures its hopes; we are rehearsing today for the time when our vision of democracy will be realized.

ARTISTS WORKING WITH UNIONS

UNION MADE

The following (much synopsisized) transcript of the October Second Sunday panel on artists working with and within unions was based on an exhibition of the same name organized by PADD members Jerry Kearns and Lucy Lippard at the Gallery 1199 (Sept. 29-Nov. 11, 1983), for the Bread and Roses Project—the sixth show they have done there. The work was from England, Canada, Australia and five cities in the U.S.. The artists were: Conrad Atkinson, Steve Cagan, Carole Conde and Karl Beveridge, Earl Dotter, Geoff Hogg, Carla Katz, Fred Lonidier, Howard Saunders, Mierle Laderman Ukeles, and Union Media Services. In the panel that follows, the British and Australian experiences were unrepresented; they will be covered in an article elsewhere.

—JK/LL

Tony Gillotte (moderator): I'm glad to see so many people here tonight to talk about labor and art. You're all aware of the enormous impact the economic crisis has had on certain unions. The situation is changing all the time. It's different in every union and in different parts of the country. So I'd like to begin by asking each of you how you relate to your labor union? What responsibilities do you have as an outsider—if you consider yourself an outsider coming in and beginning to establish a relationship with a union? Or, what is the artist's responsibility once one is working on a project inside a labor union? Is there a kind of accountability that you perceive as different from working on your own projects?

Howard Saunders: I wore a piece of indigenous workers' culture here tonight. This t-shirt is made by the Communications Union Local in New Jersey. These women were working in a phone center and Bell decided to take away their seats and make them work standing up because they thought it would increase productivity. One of the women decided this is bullshit. She designed this t-shirt and all the women working in the phone company came in one day wearing it and the chairs came back within a week.

Historically, I was the Creative Director of an ad agency until 1969. I was brought to you by the Anti-War Movement and it took me four years to hook up with the farm workers. That was in California. I was a propagandist for the UFW for about four years. We founded the Public Media Center in San Francisco. We saw ourselves as the first American left ad agency. My specialty was propaganda for the farm workers and textile workers and the oil and atomic workers of which I am a member—of Local 8149, working without a contract. I work for the Institute for Labor Education and

Steve Cagan, John Hughes on the day Hughes was laid off after 40 years of work at the Clark Equipment factory in Lima, Ohio.



Research now as a cartoonist and a writer. I do slide shows and comic strips.

The two things which are most interesting to me tonight are: 1) Why am I here and doing this, and 2) What are you doing here and interested in it? Why I'm here is because when it became important for me to do political work in 1969, the only large organized movement around was the trade union movement. It still remains the largest, although it's dwindling rapidly. As an insider I'm sometimes very cynical about it but on the outside I'll try not to be that way.

Carla Katz: I taught photography at Rutgers for three years, and I started working for the Communications Workers of America on a state workers campaign in New Jersey. While I was at Rutgers I worked for a long time on a project with the women in all the different service occupations—custodial workers, secretaries, security guards. We interviewed and photographed women talking about the kind of work they did. (See *Upfront* No. 4.) The end result was, in a very real way, an expression of the ideas of the women that were involved. It's called

"Service Workers," about 100 pieces of photographs and text. At the big gallery opening, all the women and their families came. Throughout the next couple of weeks people wearing their green uniforms were flooding into the gallery to see their friends' pictures and to read the texts. It was wonderful and exciting and I still keep in contact.

The work I do now, for the Communications Workers of America in Columbus,

Fred Lonidier: I've been in the labor movement since 1972 when I joined the American Federation of Teachers on my campus—the University of California at San Diego. The things I'm doing don't often have that kind of intensity or involvement that Carla mentioned. Usually I conceive of something and go do it. There's almost no way that people can look at what I'm doing until it's done. The necessity of working that way relates to an art world labor str-



photo: the artists

Ohio, is very different. Half my job is being an organizer. The other half of the time I'm doing, like Howard, everything—photographs, graphic arts; I write the literature and pretty much do the propaganda. A campaign started in April to organize all the state workers and generally public workers in Ohio. That process of being directly involved in being an organizer and knowing the people you're working with is very different than the process at Rutgers, where I was sort of an outsider.

Carole Conde and Karl Beveridge, *Work in Progress*, 1945 (1980-81) (No. 1 in a series of 8), color photo, 16" x 20".

tegy. I exhibit the same art works within the art world and within labor. The same "object" goes into both places but it does something different in each one. The art world strategy has to do with challenging the most prestigious communications system. Within labor, the art issues aren't the big issues. It's not a fight about ideology in the straightforward sense, or about formal issues. It's about *the* issues. I'm trying to find where there is a shortage of things dealing with what issues. Like in 1976 when

I did *The Health and Safety Game*.

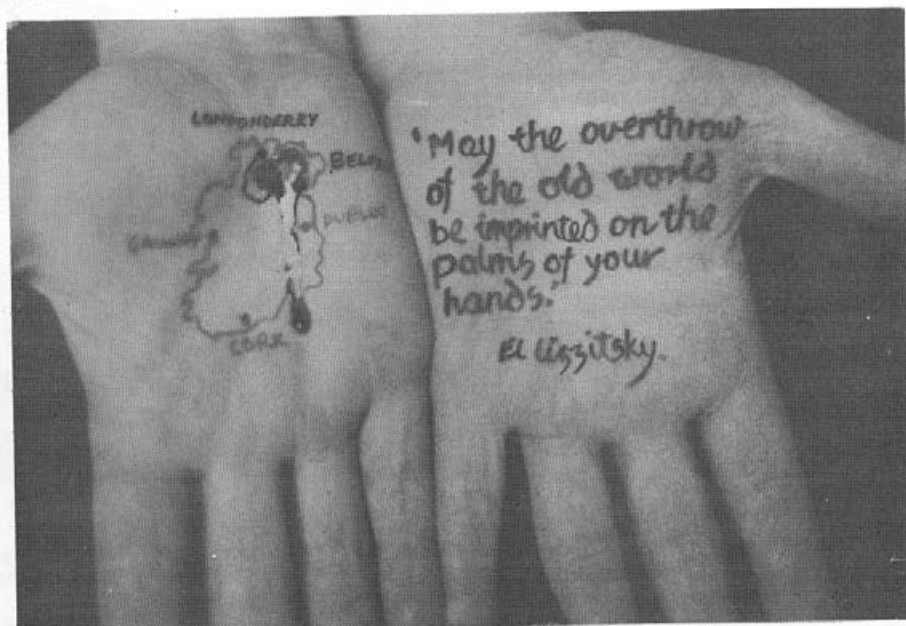
The second artwork I did for the unions was with the L.A. Public Workers in Los Angeles County. You may know about Proposition 13, which is a public budget-cutting property tax. I did a series of photographs and interviews with public workers who had very little visibility in the public because the people who actually were suffering or were about to suffer more because of the cuts were voiceless and imageless within Los Angeles. The show went up in an art space, on the one hand, and then copies of it went up simultaneously in the various unions the workers belonged to.

I just finished installing a work in my Central Labor Council—the first time I was asked by labor to do something. This piece is most explicitly about the labor movement itself, although in a lot of ways all my pieces are about the labor movement more than they're about health and safety or about the public workers. In a lot of ways the labor movement in the U.S. is not even able to defend the working class the way it should. Why not? So this piece is about problems in the labor movement from a pro-union vantage point.

The other thing—this may sound very pretentious—I see myself doing revolutionary work in non-revolutionary conditions. That is, I don't think that workers can resolve the issues we're concerned with in the capitalist system we live in. But one can't, at least in the unions that I work with, raise the issue of capitalism *per se*. So it's that debate about reform eventually advocating much deeper change down the road at some point. That's the overall context of the work I do.

Carole Conde: Karl Beveridge and I started off in Toronto and then moved to New York in search of Soho fame. In about 1975 we decided to stop competing against each other and began to get involved with politics from the point of working together and realizing that we had locked into what American politics were. We went back home to Toronto about six years ago. We did a fictional photo-booklet on working-class families, but afterwards we realized that we really didn't have any real base in working life experience with people, so we started off doing "English as a second language" projects in the workplace, which gave us some credibility in the labor movement. There's a skepticism in Canada, as there is here, about people who aren't actually members working for the labor movements, which are somewhat conservative.

We used that booklet and started doing posters and buttons and banners and Labor Day parades. Then we wanted to do research on the women's struggle, and we



Conrad Atkinson, *Eire*, postcard, 1980.

contacted the United Steelworkers. There had been a number of strikes in which the women had been out trying to get a contract, get a union. We interviewed them for about three months. We then took that material and digested it and thought about it and came up with a fictionalized photo-story called *Standing Up*. The reason it's fictionalized is that the company is a very large, multi-national American company that had spent a million dollars to break the union. It was an outrageous figure, considering only 200 people were trying to get the union in.

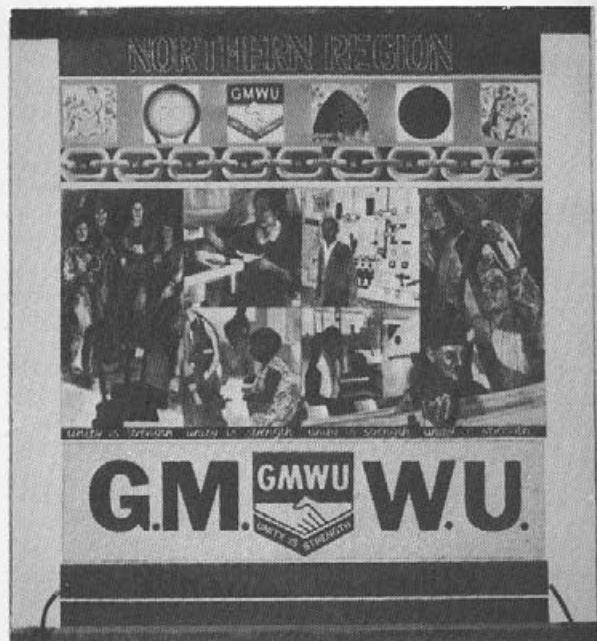
After that one we went and contacted the United Auto Workers. A woman in the national office knew what I had done with women's groups. So she sent us out for interviews in the Local in Ottawa, which has 17,000 members. It was a General Motors plant. In a sense this was a one-union town, organized and very involved in city politics. This was very different from the Steelworkers, which was very intimate, where we actually had some feedback from the women and came back and got involved with their family life and that sort of thing.

Karl Beveridge: A couple of things I'd like to say about this. First of all, even though a large percentage of the unions in Canada are affiliates of American unions—particularly in the industrial sector such as Ottawa—in Canada there is much more political openness. There is also more accessibility to trade unions and people in the trade unions which creates a kind of different climate to work in. The other thing I want to mention is the funding for our work. The Canada Council and the various provincial councils fund up to 80 or 90% of the cultural production in Canada, unlike the NEA here

Geoff Hogg, mural for Turana Education Center, Melbourne, Australia, 1980.



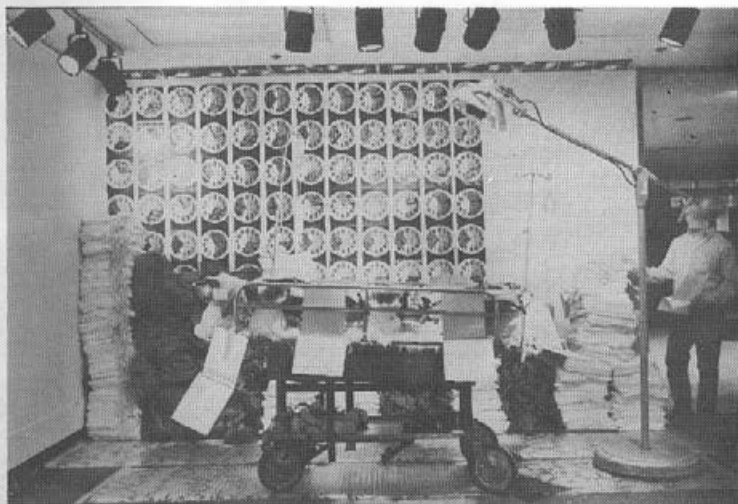
Conrad Atkinson, banner for the General and Municipal Workers Union (England) as the union's Christmas card (black and white GMWU logo added).



which accounts for maybe 5%. Also, like Fred, we have had to work under a dual strategy, working both in the labor movement and in the art world. We don't see our work as exclusively one or the other. It somehow kind of blends itself.

The last thing I want to mention is that in Canada we have been putting pressure on the government to start funding labor arts projects through the various agencies as well as to promote interest in the art community in working communities and labor, and to promote specific projects for the particular locals. For instance, in November there will be a big provincial labor conference and we'll have a display there.

Mierle Laderman Ukeles, Installation on hospital workers for "Working Artists/Working Women/Working Together" show at District 1199, 1982.



Gillotte: I worked as administrator of the Bread and Roses Project at District 1199—the national hospital workers union—for the past three years. 1199 began in the '30s as a group of pharmacists and pharmacy clerks working 60-66 hours a week for \$25. Today the union has about 150,000 members; 80% of the workforce is women; 75% are Black and Hispanic. We are in 45 major hospitals in the metropolitan area and 13 or 14 states. The history of developing cultural programs in the union is unique. The most important point I could make tonight is that from this '30s radical tradition there was an awareness on the part of the leadership that unions shouldn't be just places for bargaining for contracts and for higher wages and better working conditions and so on. As unions grew and became stronger and bigger, there developed a perception that unions had less and less connection with the interests of the individual member,



Within the last five years, this has grown into a formalized, diversified cultural program called the Bread and Roses Project, named after the textile workers' strike in Lawrence, Massachusetts in 1912. We have the Labor Day street fair every year on 42nd Street; we have a musical based on members' oral history that goes around to the hospitals—"Take Care, Take Care!"; we have stages at the Martin Luther King Jr. Labor Center where we invite people like the Wallflower Order Dance Collective and musical groups covering the whole ethnic panoply to perform; we make available filmscripts, records, books, posters by mail order; we produce television shows; and we have exhibits that start in our gallery, like "Union-Made," some of which have gone on international tour, like "Images of Labor," where we commissioned 32 artists to do original artwork on labor themes.

Discussion

Question: What percentage of the work force is organized?

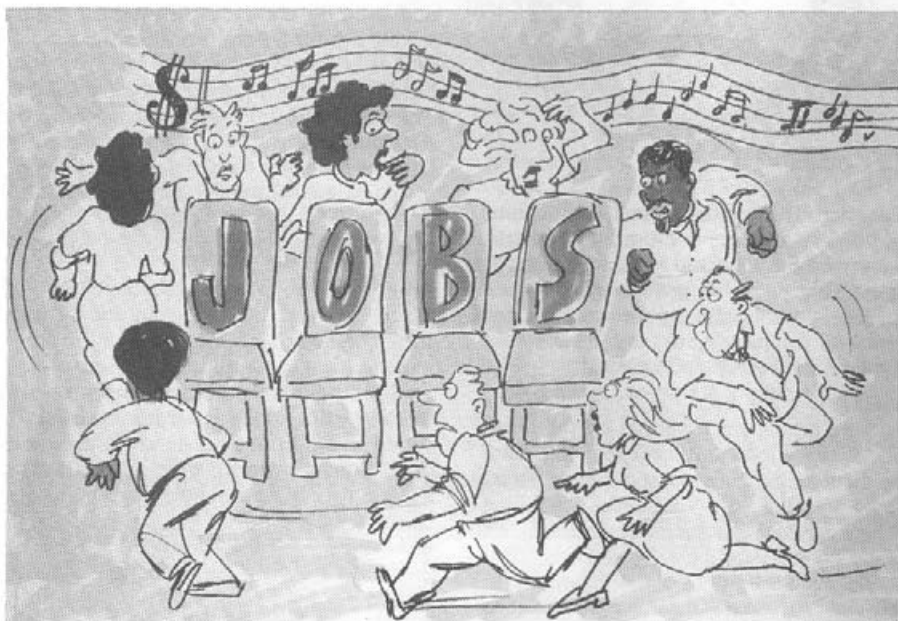
Collective answer: Here it runs about 21%. In Australia it's 49%. And in most of Europe it's in the 60s and 70s. In Israel it's over 80%.

Saunders: The term "labor movement" keeps coming up. I would not want to say that everything that's done in the name of American labor is the labor movement. More often than not the bureaucracy, or leadership, and the rank and file are very different. If you have to deal with the bureaucracy you have one set of politics, and if you're dealing with the rank and file you have an entirely different one.

Beveridge: One thing has to be remembered. When talking about the labor movement, you're not talking about some kind of left wing movement, you're talking about an institution that has political impact. For instance, when you're approaching auto workers union people, they're very conscious of what is going to appear about them in public. Are you going to print something bad about them when they already get tons of bad publicity? They may support your politics but they're continually conscious of the larger political arena.

Conde: And when you're putting forward women's positions that you consider to be progressive, then you're obviously supporting one side against another side within the labor movement. When we did that piece called *Standing Up* about women organizing for a union, we didn't see it as a political piece until it actually went back into the union.

Question (Irving Wexler): If you are an artist working within a trade union, you are juggling many kinds of consciousness. The



with the *humanity* of each worker. The unions were no longer concerned about individual members and the overall diversity of their lives. So the 1199 leadership began in the mid-to-late '50s to incorporate culture into a variety of different meetings—by recruiting out-of-work actors, singers, poets, and so on, to do special issue-related programs at the end or beginning of meetings—a skit, a song, a poem, whatever. Through the development of ties with the artistic and performing community throughout the city, a kind of foundation was laid for a continual relationship with artists such as Ossie Davis, Ruby Dee, Jack Gilford, and, in the early days when they were unemployed actors—Sidney Poitier and Harry Belafonte.

Howard Saunders, drawings for slide show, "Is Affirmative Action Dead or Alive?"

trade union itself is a socialist esthetic which is a transformatory vision. It not only encompasses a labor consciousness, but a consciousness of structural possibilities for change in society. The internal esthetic of the artist is then intertwined. How does the artist juggle all these aspects?

Saunders: As a cartoonist, my training is to come up with the simplest image. And in doing slide shows, I found out the leadership wants scripts that are not provocative, but educational. They don't pay attention on a very conscious level to the individual images. That's where you can really bust out. I have about 100 images running across the screen in a short time; they look and make sure the lesson plan is there, then you start loading the images and it works every time. It gets by the censors and the workers love it; they scream and yell and laugh and talk about it later. It's amazing how much gets through.

Question: What about your audience's esthetic and perception? To what extent do you consider their ability to understand the art that you're making? For example, in Fred's work, I'm curious to know how many of the dental assistants will look at it and read what's on there?

Lonidier: The optimal situation for the kinds of things I'm doing, which are intentionally dense, is that they'll be installed in a place where workers go anyway. My obsession is that it's read. If it's in a district hall for six months—like 37—here, where I'm told half the membership goes every two weeks on union business—then here's this thing and it's available. A lot of it has to do with the assumptions you make about who you're trying to reach and what context it will be in. Of course the art world's context is the contextlessness of the art work—the white walls, each object floating outside of history, outside of place.

From audience: I did a portable mural for the machinists and aerospace workers locals in Hartford, Connecticut for their contract conference last December. It was a banner 18x9' on the side of a big trailer truck. They drove it through the city for people to see. Here was a sea of faces, of workers with hard hats, people with welding torches, secretaries... people tried to identify the faces. They'd say, "That's so and so," or "That's me." And these were paintings out of my head! When it's possible to do stuff like this, the workers take tremendous pride in it.

Beveridge: We're all socialized to understand through TV. One of the reasons Carole and I pay incredible attention to detail is because the media does. The content is an absolute lie, but the visual detail is right. And then they tell you some bullshit about how these people live. You begin to use the conventions so people can identify with them, but you subvert or turn them

over so people become interested in the questions of the *convention* as well, so they can look critically at everything.

From audience (Jerry Kearns): Most of the people in our show come from a kind of process/conceptual/political fine arts tradition, and cultural funding for the unions primarily goes to educational programs. So union art also takes on this sort of dematerialized form—photos, texts. There is a kind of esthetic tyranny imposed by the level of political development of a union that results in esthetic limitations. How much room is there for a broader definition of culture and amplification beyond this media form?



Lonidier: The question of culture in unions didn't use to be a question. I think the watershed was the Cold War, with a qualitative change in the growth of the mass media. Working-class culture hasn't been replaced completely, by any means—but it's been broken up and changed.

Conde: It's not only the Cold War, the purging of the International by the local. Social conditions have changed. But management is changing too and that's coming from the U.S. On the Left, sometimes things are very simple and clear: there's management and there's workers. But things got very muddled during the '50s. The working class took on middle-class values, so management can present themselves as workers, the good guys. And often they get to the worker before the union gets there. Also workers see an incredible amount of TV and it affects how they begin to see themselves, because it seems to be the only representation around.

Gillotte: I thought I heard you say "How do you know what workers are thinking about?" When I did oral history projects, I found an enormous discrepancy between what people were willing to talk about in an intimate setting and what they thought they *should* talk about in public.

Katz: I'm working from a different perspective than everybody here. For me there's less "juggling" because the primary com-

mitment is to building the movement and organizing campaigns. My skills as an artist and my co-workers' skills with the popular culture—and some of them are also artists—get intermeshed. The reason I know people look at the literature I work on is because we develop it together. They also tell me when they throw it out, which is most of the time. No matter how long something is around or how simple it is, people just don't want to look.

We spend a lot of time talking about how the workers want to be represented visually. The images they choose of themselves are much more flattering. In the New Jersey project, a woman would be standing at one of those things you fry french fries in—with burns up and down her arms, smiling happily at the camera. But I think that needs to happen. We can't, as artists, project onto working people how they should be represented. We need to provide the channels to let people speak for themselves and to raise consciousness among themselves. I think we have to learn the lessons of *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men*—the bitter experience in the long run of things. The one time in history these people from Alabama are seen it's in rags. Then 30 years later they're not in rags and they feel ripped off. How come nobody comes around and lets the world know we've changed? They've been frozen by that white knight concept.

From audience (Mierle Laderman Ukeles): I came to work with the Sanitation Department because I'm interested in maintenance, from a feminist perspective—the ancient traditional notion of women's work in the world, which is largely invisible. I found myself in an all-male work force that does women's work, with added taboo against people who handle waste. Ancient cultures, modern cultures, nobody quite knows how to deal with people who handle waste, decay, and death. As a performance artist I wanted to create a vision in a real world situation.

I spent two years learning about the sanitation world before I did anything. I was determined not to do anything frivolous or superficial because there was a fiscal crisis in New York City and inside the Department. The San Men were in the middle of the greatest communications center in the universe and nobody heard them, nobody wanted to look at them. They were very willing to talk to anybody. I went to a 6 AM roll call and asked them to say something, and they asked me to say something, and started making this unplanned speech—something I kept on doing through the project. I said "You have other rights to expect from society and that is to be seen as yourself, what you need, that you have a right to have satisfaction from your work." . . . These are cultural things I'm talking about—opening things up, and that's what I think artists can do.

THIS IS A POLITICAL DOCUMENT: A Description of the Making of a Work of Art

Charles Frederick

I. Slogans

The public intention of the work taken on by the AD/HOC/ARTISTS in the November 12 demonstration was conventionally political: to join with other groups and forces of a coalition to stage a militant protest in Washington against the policies of the Reagan Administration and in support of the besieged peoples in Central America

The PADD September Second Sunday was an informal discussion of Artists Call Against U.S. Intervention in Central America and the November 12 March; the November 13 Second Sunday was an enthusiastic evaluation with slides of the March. Charles Frederick, who participated in both Sundays, worked with AD/HOC/ARTISTS from its beginnings. He is a poet, playwright, and critic who publishes regularly in *Theaterwork*. The full-length version of this article will be published there. This short version was edited by *Upfront* with the author's permission while he was in Nicaragua.

and the Caribbean. Likewise, it is possible to view the esthetic intention of AD/HOC/ARTISTS as conventionally artistic: to find new ways, forms, and spaces for creating (new) art.

However, in the pivotal intersection of these intentions, where cultural workers and traditional political organizers were using their skills and talents to help shape and compose the event itself, a theoretical threshold in art-making was crossed. This result is one radical solution to the problematic of art and politics. Our slogan articulates this new comprehension of a possible art work: **a political protest is a cultural demonstration. Or, among artists: demonstrations are a medium.**

II. I Am an Artist: My Subject Is an Object

Throughout this essay, I shall be using two words interchangeably, if uneasily: artist and cultural worker. Both can be used

to describe the same person in the same occupation in the present era. But one, artist, shows the tug (drag) towards the past, and the other, cultural worker, shows the tug (hopefully, attraction) towards the future. The title, artist, describes a certain privileged status in our society, but at the price of social immaturity, where a person is most often relegated (apotheosized) to the pure realm of irrationalism, irresponsibility and unconsciousness. The title "cultural worker" expresses judgment against the contemporary superstitions surrounding the social occupation of making art. While describing exactly the occupation of an "artist," it names an artist as a worker, stating that there is a democracy among all functions and occupations of a society, that there can be no hierarchy in things human.

Finally, regardless of how often I must replace one word with the other, the work of AD/HOC/ARTISTS was the work of

Installation of the *People's Monument*, November 12th, 1983.

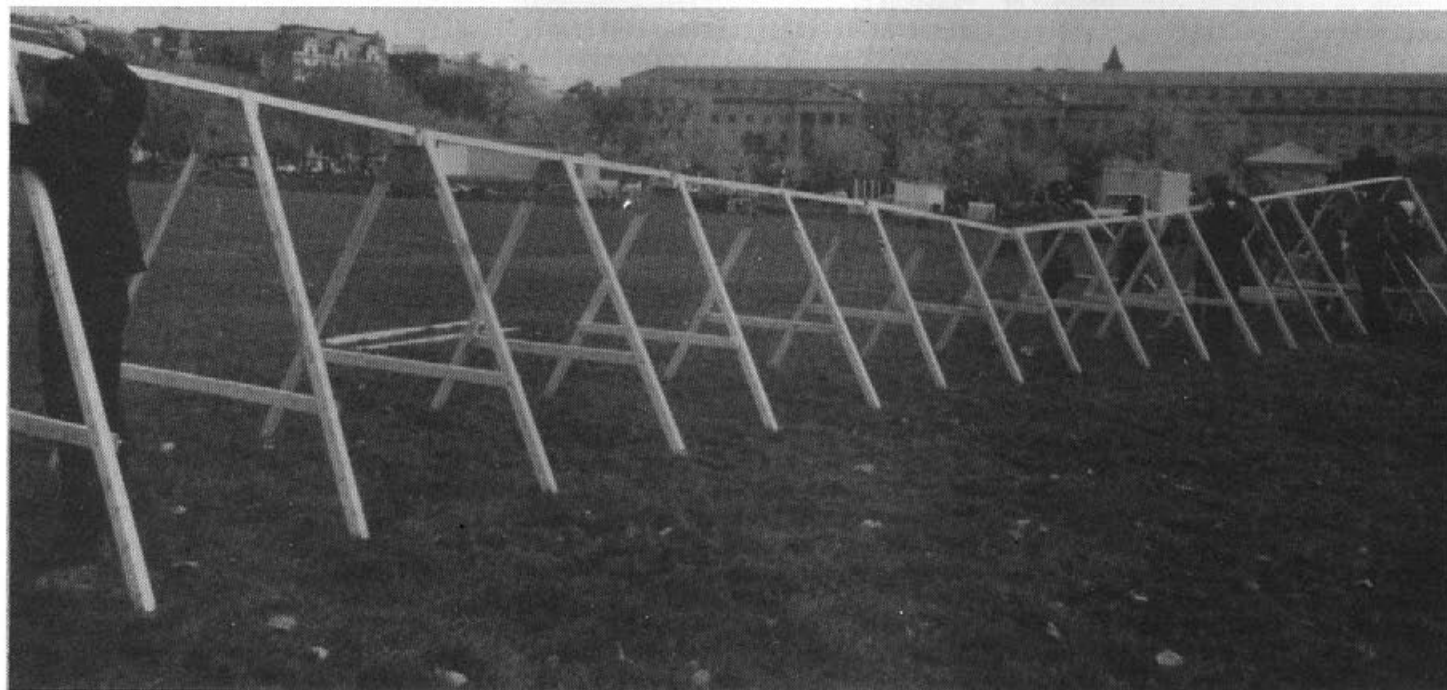


photo: Clarissa Sligh



Section of the completed *People's Monument*, November 12th, 1983.

photo: Janet Koenig

cultural workers. We took on the task of revealing the cultural and esthetic primacies in political work. We attempted to articulate the expressive intensities of the diverse voices of the coalition of groups participating in and composing the political "text" of the overall event. We attempted, with our intervention in the *design* of the demonstration, to *score* a collage performance of issues and representations in Washington on November 12. This is what it means to state that a political protest is a cultural demonstration. The action in all of its parts is composed into an expression; the parts—in juxtaposition—are each themselves cogent articulations.

In recent tradition, when artists have wished to use their talents in political work, they most often have been expected to make images, write poems, that merely emblazon the surface of the event. This is not to say that the production of images and texts is not important. But there is a contradiction of principles when cultural production in political activity is *reduced* to this function. It was the general political position of AD/HOC/ARTISTS that as long as cultural production does not penetrate the interior process of a political event, if it remains only a secondary activity of progressive activism (accidental rather than essential), then it has not escaped the category of decoration. But, how to bring art into politics, how to have art be the inher-

ent form of political activity without "estheticizing" politics? How not to make Leni Riefenstahl's Nazi masterpiece *Triumph of the Will*?

- By shattering the opaque surface of the art object with participation. By replacing art work with cultural work. By ripping the installation out of the reflective splendid solitude of the privatized (and commercial) space of the gallery and museum and replacing it on the tumultuous terrain of a political event.

- By releasing a swarm of color, dance, words, music, images, all forms, all media, all genres, all styles—anger made more challenging by its articulation in art—from their frames of acceptable art and performance contexts, by releasing the power of expression from the specialized occupation of art into the free form of culture.

- By inviting people to be active subjects, participating vociferously and diversely, from all their different political identities, in their own political culture.

- By never imagining people only to be representative objects, with their presence more important than their self-expression; by never denigrating the masses of people at a demonstration to a number count, reduced to the political function (humiliation) where finally their performance is nothing more than passively to fill the rigid container of the demonstration.

- By understanding that the most impor-

tant image created in a demonstration is the collective performance of all of the participants, who have taken the effort of art to heighten their presence with cogent signifiers—signs, banners, costumes, performances—displaying their investment in the progressive political culture.

- By knowing that the most important statement is the unending proliferation of meaning, actually performed by the activated presence of the demonstration participants, who animate the demands and slogans of the protest with human presence and commitment.

III. Reality Subverts the Idea: This Is the Argument for Practice

AD/HOC/ARTISTS was formed last summer (1983). When CISPES (Committee In Solidarity with the People of El Salvador) had begun the work of persuading activist groups in various constituencies—religious, labor, anti-war, anti-nuke, progressive student groups, other solidarity groups, progressive organizations—to form a coalition for an anti-intervention demonstration in the Fall, they contacted a number of activist artists in New York. Clearly, the success of the cultural component of June 12 (1982) was on their minds. The artists who came to the meeting were asked to suggest some open-form involvement in the organizing effort. They were from various media and formal groupings—visual,



photo: Herb Parr

Art from November 12th.

performance, literary—and were, for the most part, from progressive cultural organizations: PADD, PAND, Dancers for Disarmament, and the Alliance for Cultural Democracy. The artists made it very clear from the beginning: we were to be *political organizers* in the ongoing effort, not decorators. From the first meeting we began a discussion (with the other organizers) of the *form* of the demonstration.

The first idea was an organizing model that might *inform* the entire demonstration: a literacy campaign for the U.S., analogous to the campaigns carried on in the liberated areas of Latin America, but addressing the *political* illiteracy of the U.S. Conceptually, this was too far in advance of what the coalition would be able to cooperate to understand or to accomplish. Organizationally, it was not possible to trust the availability of the resources and communication networks to plan, direct, and execute such a large and detailed performance score. Politically there was not the commitment of a large enough mass of people, with enough consciousness or receptivity.

However, the discussion of this idea did articulate some governing principles of cultural work that remained concerns of AD/HOC/ARTISTS throughout the organizing effort for Nov. 12: the achievements of the revolutionary cultures of Latin America present a challenge of social maturity for the U.S. to meet (and learn from), and when people meet in a demonstration, under the aegis of an organizing political intention, there needs to be a diverse, participatory celebration of the achievements of these different cultures by a mutual learn-

ing and teaching, according to the pedagogic principles of Paulo Freire (*Pedagogy of the Oppressed*).

In early meetings, AD/HOC/ARTISTS carried on two political discussions simultaneously: what is the meaning of the politics of anti-intervention? How can we communicate to the majority of people in the U.S. that Reagan's policies, in addition to their moral repugnance, are also specifically against their own interest? How can we specifically make this demonstration not boring but involving?

This is exactly the general process of a collective performance group: get a sense of the community and principles of a group by articulating ideas immediately in images, understanding affect to understand effect. After brainstorming for a couple of sessions, we brought our suggestions to the Coordinating Committee. They were greeted with such enthusiasm that the AD/HOC/ARTISTS were invited to convene a Conception of the Day Committee, which would be attended by artists and organizers alike, but under the leadership of the artists.

We brought back to the Coalition a plan with several major principles: the demonstration should be performed at several sites. Each site should address a specific issue and plan a program emphasizing cultural events, both symbolic activities and the performance of music, poetry, etc. The symbolic events should as much as possible be participatory. The program should be planned by a series of committees, one for each site: the State Department (foreign policy); Health and Human Services (human needs versus military spending); Immigration (undocumented workers and politi-

cal refugees). Our idea was that each site could gather as an expressive unit a particular constituency. Then people could march from these sites, past the White House, and finally gather for a mass rally at the Ellipse.

The demonstration would then be read and understood through the development of its parts. The politics would be the text, the performance would be the score. At the final rally, the emphasis again would be on culture, and the concrete metaphor would be the participatory creation of the People's Monument—a giant sculpture/armature for the entire community's visual expressions.

This score was, in the main, adopted. There was a committee for each site to develop a program; there was a program committee responsible for the final rally. AD/HOC/ARTISTS maintained membership on the program committee and organized to complete the specific art projects.

With the People's Monument, we faced a common problem in collaborative art work. How to synthesize different esthetic imaginations? How to arrive at a consensus of the image, form, style, figure? How to eliminate the control of one individual's imagination? How to avoid compromise (as opposed to consensus) creation? We

Art from November 12th.



photo: José Pelaez



Art from November 12th.

"The action of the participatory community. . . the activity of the artmaking itself, is the greatest meaning of the work."

realized that the action of the participatory community, the process of the work, *the activity of the artmaking itself, is the greatest meaning of the work.* This is equally a political and an esthetic principle.

IV. Art in the Modern Era Is Conscious of the History of Forms

The formulations of AD/HOC/ARTISTS were not accidents, but attempts to develop further the formal accomplishments of the cultural work of political demonstrations of the past several years, particularly June 12, the Women's Pentagon Action, the Seneca demonstrations, and the extraordinary creativity associated with the disarmament movements in Europe, particularly the Greenham Common activities. Additionally, some of the artists in the group were very familiar with the manifestation forms of the Latin American progressive movements.

There was the influence of PADD's ongoing discussions of demo art, and of the political/cultural philosophy of the Alliance for Cultural Democracy, as it is cur-

rently developing, which insists on the equality, authenticity, and necessity of equal opportunity of expression of the cultures of all peoples. Equally significant, most of the artists in AD/HOC/ARTISTS have been working with the esthetic innovations and experiments which have continued to exfoliate in the New York art worlds in all media. These experiences had encouraged confidence in compositional principles of the collectively created idea and improvisation, and the prevalence of collage forms added to our resources of imagination for working with a political event.

If a political protest is a cultural demonstration, the experience of the event is one condition of people's future interest in such political activism. One reason for attending demonstrations can be to share political culture. Thus the cultural planning of political demonstrations assists the development of a general, progressive political movement among the plurality of cultures in the U.S. The sense of self-worth, the assertion of self-identity, the belief in our power to change reality, can be performed

symbolically, as a rehearsal for history, by a mass of people within a specifically gathered support system.

Unlike June 12, AD/HOC/ARTISTS developed November 12 from an articulated theoretical awareness, from our training and experience as cultural workers, which we were able to bring into the political planning and organizing of the event. We were working with great heterogeneity and our political principle was that only in the democratic political *culture* of the demonstration would it be possible for there to be no *contradictions* in the *differences* among the groups. Outreach and networking were also very important and form the base of our continuing practice.

V. The Proof Is In (the Eating of)

The projects people took on were: 1) a participatory dance to be performed at one of the rallying sites and throughout the march, 2) preparing and publishing a November 12 songsheet to be used by everyone, 3) the building of a participatory People's Monument at the final rally site, and 4) a visual and audio documentation project.

The songsheet suffered from the weakness of the Coalition's general organizing effort and was distributed poorly, which was a great disappointment. The songs on the sheet included contemporary protest songs, older progressive labor and folk

Leslie Kuter, Weinberger and Kirkpatrick figures and graveyard.



photo: Jerry Kearns

songs, and parody songs developed at other demonstrations. A good number were from Latin America—a signal way of expressing solidarity.

The dance project was a great success. The choreography was a simple, easily learned, Latin form, given regular rhythm by accompanying drummers. All who wished to participate were taught the dance, given a large piece of red cloth, and joined the dancers who had prepared in New York. The criticism was only that cultural workers will need to develop more confidence, to get better at encouraging broad participation.

We never fully resolved the differences in the collective design and execution of the People's Monument, but we learned a lot about integrating differences. And it was one of the memorable episodes of the demonstration. Brought from New York in pieces, and assembled the morning of the march, its construction was made particularly difficult in 40-mile-an-hour winds which tattered the canvas murals. Completed, it was an 80-foot wood structure of A-forms—two graceful trapezoidal prisms joined at their smaller ends. The whole was strung with rope and finally bedecked with the signs, banners, and art objects of all the demonstration's participants. It was a beautiful image of the great and joyous cacophony of people who had traveled to Washington to express their solidarity with the people in Central America and the Caribbean. At the end of the afternoon, it was dismantled, and is now in storage, awaiting its next assignment.

VI. Hegemony Still Says, However: It's Art vs. Politics

The programs developed for the different sites, once under the specific jurisdiction of the committees created democratically by interested groups and people, were not, in the end, the scores for participatory performances we projected. Falling somewhere between such scores and the traditional program for passive consumption, the site rallies achieved what could be achieved at this point of consciousness, at this level of development. The understanding of the empowering possibilities of participatory politics (culture) cannot be expected to be advanced beyond the level of progressive politics generally in this country. As artists working directly in a political event we had to learn—and appreciate—this political reality. We will have to continue to struggle about the form and activity of demonstrations until, in the future, the performance of political participation becomes the performance of political leadership.

Over the whole organizing period, the resources of the Coalition became so over-extended that the cultural component slipped from prominence. Older forms reasserted their claim on the imagination of the organizers. For example, the program

Art from November 12th.



photo: Jerry Kearns

committee began to concentrate increasingly on the necessity of the "representation of the forces of the demonstration" on the speakers' platform as the most cogent political expression. AD/HOC/ARTISTS always imagined the people unaffiliated, in the free form of the demonstration. The traditional organizers always saw them within particular political identities. Someone has to do the actual work of getting the forces out, getting people on the buses and down to Washington. And most of that is done through previously constituted groups. Our idea—that the experience of participation increases political involvement—lost its appeal with the general frustrations and the failure of resources.

I am not backing down from any of the radical principles of culture that have organized this essay. I agree with the woman at the PADD evaluation meeting on November 13 who said, "Why should there be any podium, why aren't there just many people in many performances?" I believe it is necessary for cultural workers to continue to enter organizing coalitions, to recreate these political events as culture. But it is also clear that if the idea of cultural participation as an essential radical component of politics is to gain greater currency, our work must become continuous through all levels of political organizing.

Artists are cultural workers with specific experiences and analyses as well as specific talents. Our understanding of culture has been radicalized by direct work with the forms and images of perception, the sensual means of consciousness. If we are to make that understanding an essential part of progressive political practice in this country, our alliances with other political workers must begin in the basic unit of political organizing: our communities, each particularly stricken with the injustices of this country, each attempting to articulate itself through a description of its immediate issues.

Art begins in what is most urgent in people's lives. AD/HOC/ARTISTS advanced the cause of the democratic participation in culture on a national level with the November 12 Coalition. But the cause of cultural democracy cannot advance throughout the culture if at the same time artists have not made the necessary *continuing* alliances to understand better the other two components of progressive social change: economic democracy and political democracy. We must learn true respect for—by working with—all the other talents that make up a society. There is no greater collective effort, no greater participatory performance, no more significant art work, than the project of freedom.

The Archive is the oldest continuous activity of PADD, having been one of PADD's stated goals when the organization was formed. To date we have collected and catalogued thousands of items from all over the world documenting socially conscious art and art-related activities on many issues in a variety of media.

Organization of the Archive

Material in our files is entered alphabetically by artist or organization name and is cross-referenced by subject and country. Our categories include everything from Abortion...through Black Issues...the Family...Kent State University...Museum Reform...Penal Systems...and many more...to Yugoslavia.

Use of the Archive

The Archive is housed in the PADD office at 339 Lafayette Street, New York 10012. We welcome use of the files for research—for lec-

tures, dissertations, exhibitions, you name it, though no material can leave the office. Consider the Archive as a valuable reference source and a starting point for making contact with the individual artists and organizations themselves.

How You Can Help Us

Put us on your mailing list for exhibition announcements; address clearly marked "attention, Archive," c/o the PADD office. More extensive documentation—in the form of slides, posters, Xeroxes, clippings and other informational material, but *not* original artworks, is greatly appreciated. Work gets catalogued, and therefore ready to use, fastest when it comes to us presorted in a letter-size file folder marked with your name. And cataloguing goes faster still if you join us as a volunteer. For more information contact Barbara Moore at (212) 564-5989 or Mimi Smith at (212) 228-3017.

NIGHT AND DAY

Womens' Encampment for a Future of Peace and Justice, Seneca Army Depot, New York, July 4-Sept. 5, 1983

Edited by Laura Levin and Holly Zox

"Just as those in power have put us under the threat of nuclear war, night and day, we women will become a counter-presence of life on the borders of Seneca Army Depot... Our immediate goal is to stop the Cruise and Pershing II Missile deployment in Europe this fall..."

(From an Encampment flyer)

I am motivated in my politics by a creative vision, working with women to conceptualize alternatives to our death-obsessed culture. I believe it is by envisioning the future that we create it, or at least create the consciousness which can see the positive in our day-to-day work.

Setting off on a feminist march from Seneca Falls to the Peace Camp, I expected no worse than laughter, curiosity or jeering indulgence from the townspeople along the 15-mile walk. I hoped to communicate to the townspeople that we aren't modern crazed women, but follow a tradition of resistance far older than this country. The people who met us on the bridge to Waterloo, however, considered us to be far more powerful and threatening than I'd ever imagined. Shouting, "Go home, Commies," "Kill the Jews," and "Nuke the Lezzies," they blocked our path, stabbing at us with flagpoles and warning us they'd throw us off the bridge. "Let's see some blood!"

Before it was over, 54 of us were arrested and 45 spent 5 days in jail, talking, healing, winning over the guards. It was here, actually, that we communicated best. By talking, singing, showing our love for one another, we were able to break down the barriers between the guards and ourselves. By the end of our "time," many of them were singing with us and hugging us goodbye.

We did a die-in rebirth ceremony on Nagasaki Day that was at the same time a blockade of the Depot's main gate. Dressed in mourning garb, our faces painted ashen, we made our way slowly across the "yellow line" separating Army property from county property, crawling, dragging, as women chanted, "No more wars." Sobbing, shouting quotes from survivors of Nagasaki and Hiro-

shima, we died. A woman dressed as death crawled among us, making awful noises. Other women sang, "Four minutes to midnight. Why didn't we shout, why didn't we cry, why didn't we call deterrence a lie? Why didn't we listen to the people who tried to save us from dying?... Two minutes to Armageddon, two minutes before we die, two minutes to say goodbye..."

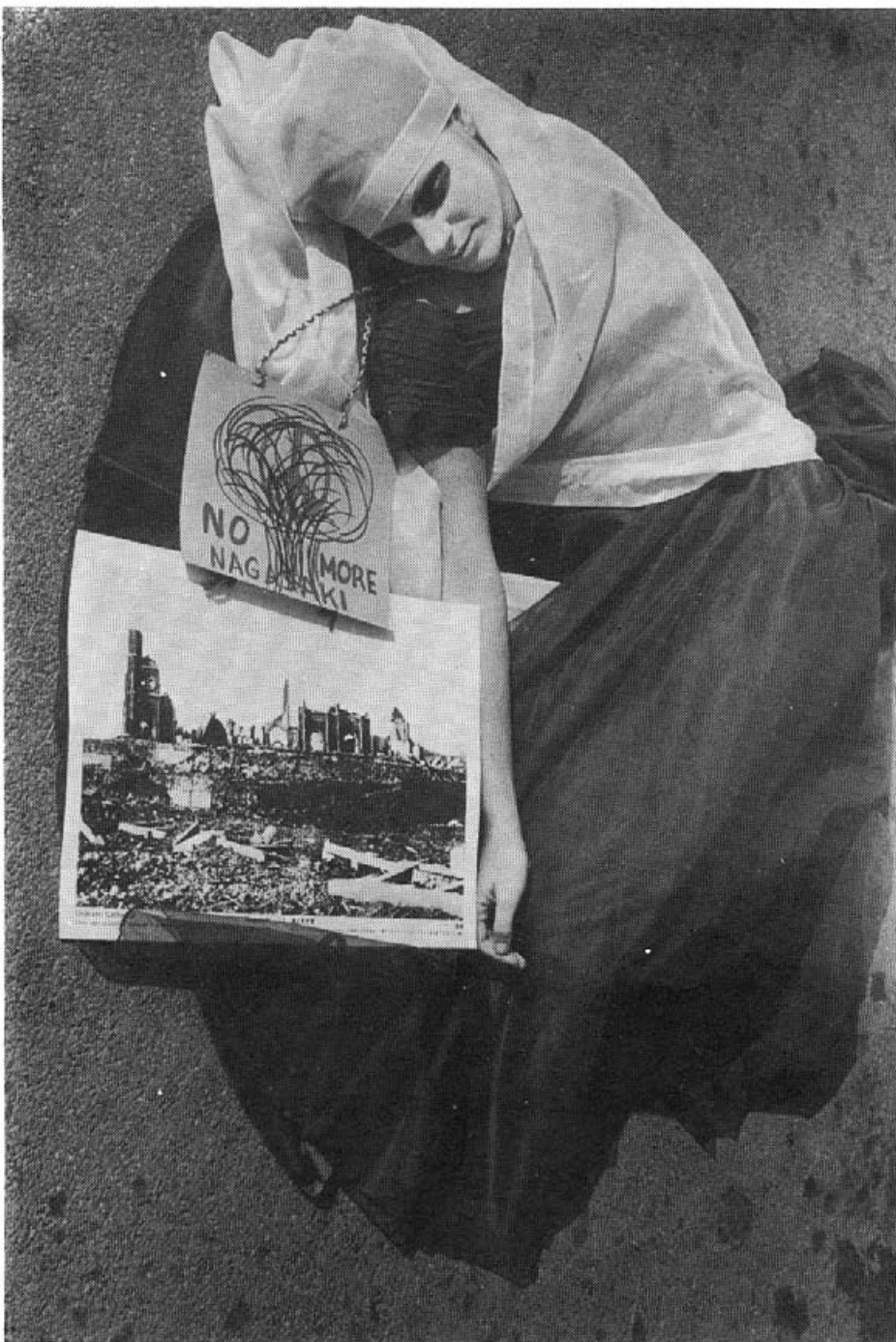
Then a woman stepped into the center of our "graveyard" and unfolded into a beautiful, multicolored bird. She embraced death, the women sang, "Love, love, love, sisters, we are made for love," she kissed each of us dead back to life, we sang and danced, continued our blockade and eventually were arrested.

Labor Day: Women are climbing over the depot fence. The M.P.'s are new and nervous around the women they have to handcuff and carry. The singing turns into a tense chant: "The whole world is watching." Several women kneel by the fence, and with spoons, dig into the earth. As the hole deepens, toys symbolizing food and work are shoved under the fence.

"We dig for peace, reclaiming this land from the verge of nuclear destruction... This Labor Day, we dig to change the work of this base from a producer of radioactive death to constructive work... We leave within the womb of this earth not the fence around the tools of war, but the toys of children, the toys of life. We dig to affirm the right to a future of us all."

Remembering the bibs we wore at Waterloo, especially "Our Nameless," and "Unknown Jewish Lesbians who died in the Holocaust," I made a bib to wear on the diggers' action. My bib said: "Some people want to see me dead. On the bridge at Waterloo, they cried out for my blood. Blood is sacred to me. My blood tells me that unless I put my body in the way of all oppression... I will be condemning all present and future generations to an unnatural and murderous death."

As I stood spread-eagled in the jail, I asked the two women who were searching me to please read my bib. First one woman read, then nodded, and the other women read and nodded. Later, the Army confiscated the bib as propaganda.



Artwork made at Seneca, broken by opposition, reconstructed.



Nagasaki Day, Main Gate.



Die-In at SEAD Gate.



Billboard across the road from the Seneca Army Depot, August 1983.

SISTERS OF SURVIVAL

The European Tour

End of the RAINBOW

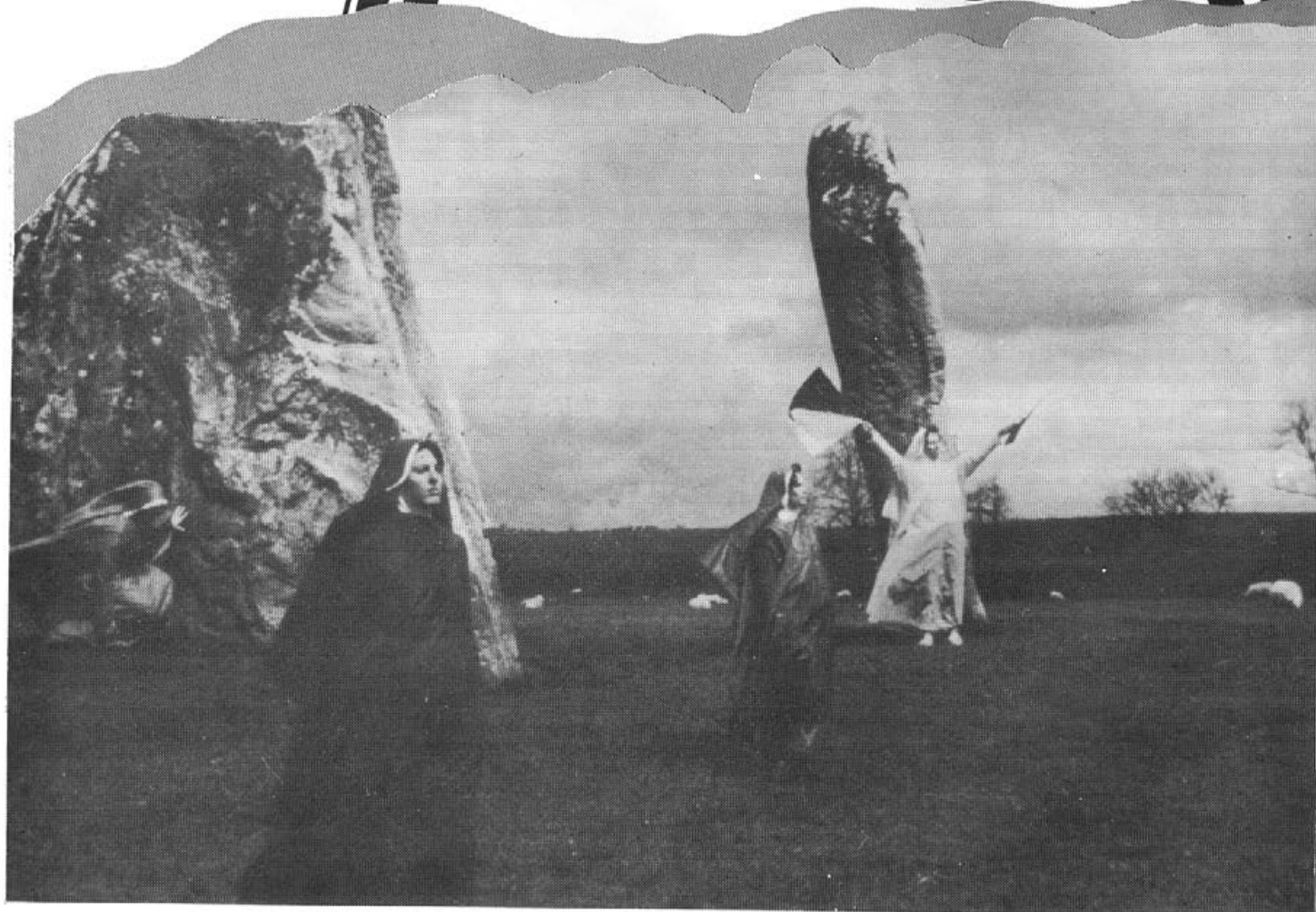
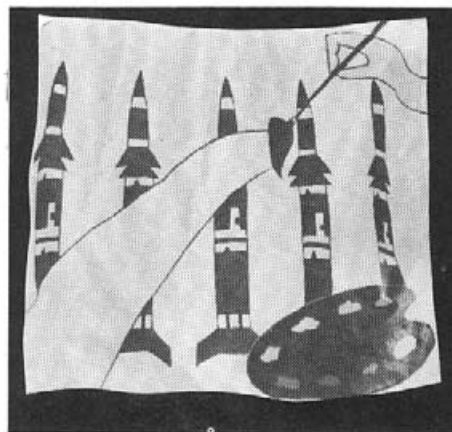


photo: Sue Maberry

Sisters of Survival at Prehistoric Stone Circles, Avebury, England.

Sisters of Survival is an anti-nuclear performance group founded in 1981 by Jerri Allyn, Anne Gauldin, Cheri Gaulke, Sue Maberry and Nancy Angelo. S.O.S. is not an order of Catholic nuns. Rather, we are a group of feminist artists who use the nun image symbolically. We are indeed a sisterhood, ordered around nuclear disarmament and world peace. Clothing ourselves in the colors of the rainbow, our imagery is intended to evoke hope, humor and celebration of diversity. In-

20 UPFRONT Winter 1983-84



spired by the visibility of anti-nuclear war demonstrations in Europe, S.O.S. traveled to Europe—touring England, Amsterdam, West Germany and Malta—in the spring of 1983. Our purpose was to generate dialogue between the people of North America and Western Europe about the nuclear threat. For us it was as well an expression of support and solidarity with the proliferating anti-nuclear movement. Following are excerpts from the slide presentation and talk given by Jerri Allyn at Franklin Furnace on Sunday, December 10, as part of PADD's Second Sunday series:



S.

In planning our Western European tour, it was our original intention to network with artists and activists involved in the anti-nuclear movement. The public action we decided to present dealt with our concept of creating a global dialogue about nuclear disarmament. We met with local artists and activists in each city to create an S.O.S. "message" of distress for the future survival of our planet that was carried to successive cities in our journey through Western Europe. Each message was translated into a series of visual symbols on flags—a metaphor for an international language about peace. The flags were then presented publicly in front of significant landmarks, and flyers which decoded the symbol language into English, Dutch and German were distributed to passersby.

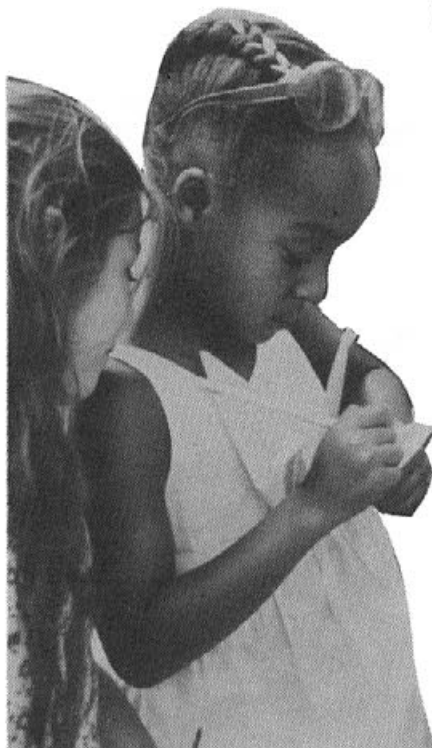
Here are a few examples of the flag messages: "Women for peace, link arms together. Women all over the world stand up and say NO!" (Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp.) "Stop or die." (Amazon, Amsterdam.) "Explode! Especially artists can change things." (Galerie Polit-Art, Nijmegen.) "Against NATO stepping up armament. Disarmament in West and East." (Kunstler fur den Frieden, Berlin.) "No more Hiroshima! No more Nagasaki! No more Hibakusha!" (Asian-Americans for Nuclear Disarmament.) PADD's flag message read: "Think global, act local."

We also presented slides of artwork by hundreds of North American artists dealing with the nuclear issues. Lively discussions resulted. At the lectures, S.O.S. invited artists to participate in this exhibition by sending work to the U.S. (These artworks were exhibited by S.O.S. during December in Franklin Furnace.) In addition, S.O.S. produced a broadcast-quality half-hour radio program in collaboration with award-winning independent radio producer Helene Rosenbluth. The program, entitled "You Can't Kill the Spirit," is a passionate and inspiring audio portrait of North American women in the anti-nuclear movement. The radio program was aired in different cities and an interview with S.O.S. was translated into many different languages by Radio Mediterranean.

Our first stop on the tour was at Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp in Newbury—a U.S. military base in England. We were very excited about meeting these women here who were taking such a strong action. When we arrived, we were shocked at the conditions under which they were living. It was freezing cold and rainy. They had been evicted three times, and each time they were given just 15 minutes to clear out before the grass was bulldozed from under them. Yet some of them—women and children from different countries—had stuck it out for more than two years. We presented the message flags we'd brought from North America and chatted informally with them about our project, and about the work they



O.



Folding Cranes

were doing. When we asked them for a message that we could take with us on the rest of our tour, they all chimed in with, "What about the song?" and they sang the touching song that became their message. We made a symbol message for the song.

Our next stop after gray England was bright and cheerful Amsterdam. There, we presented a lecture at Amazone Gallery—a women's art gallery. Marion Van Der Mey, the woman who had organized our lecture, also arranged for us to use Dam—the public war memorial in Amsterdam—as the site

for our public action. On our performance day, we signalled S.O.S. with the flags continually while we draped the monument and passed out the flyers which translated the message flags. Unfortunately, the police arrived, furious at our draping their monument, which was considered a sacred place commemorating the dead in World War II. We tried to explain that we too were honoring the same goals for peace, but they warned us we'd be thrown into jail if we didn't leave right away.

Before we left, a woman completely dis-



S.



PADD Flag for Public Action at Plein - 44, Nijmegen, Holland.

traught about the possibility of nuclear war broke down in tears, insisting that things were the same as they had been before World War II and that she didn't want another war to break out. And this was the first of many stories we heard from people—whether or not they had politics—who remembered the war and had lost friends or loved ones in it. Everywhere there were war memorials in sections of town which had been bombed out of existence. As a result, Europeans have a special urgency in their peace movement from their direct experience of war that we in North America do not have.

From here we went on to Nijmegen. Within one day, we installed a small exhibition in the Galerie Polit-Art in a bookstore, performed our public action and presented a slide lecture in the evening. Later we performed a public action at a war memorial—an area that had been destroyed and was now rebuilt into a shopping center and plaza. A number of representatives from different peace groups who were present engaged us in conversations—sometimes using sign language—and handed out our flyers translated into Dutch.

From Nijmegen we went on to Berlin, to the *Kunstler für den Frieden*—a large-scale Artists for Peace festival (attended by more than 100,000 people) which included music, poetry, theatre, a children's session, etc. There was a lot of discussion about U.S. intervention in Central America. In fact, it was as hot an issue as the idea of U.S. intervention with missiles in Europe. S.O.S. was assigned a time slot on the international stage. For the performance, we combined



Student Sculpture in Berlin.

elements of our action by hanging the message flags ahead of time, showing slides from "We Want to Live"—the PADD-Cultural Correspondence slide show on the giant June 12 anti-war demonstration in New York, and explaining our purpose for being there through a German interpreter. The following week we attended a European conference of politicians, activists, scientists and feminists on nuclear disarmament and were given a place on the panel with other women working within the peace movement. It was truly an astounding experience to witness this week-long conference at a huge convention center on such a scale—like a mini-UN. There were ten sessions that went on every hour, as well as a continuous showing of cultural work.

Then we went on to beautiful Malta. Here, Joseph Attard—the Minister of Cul-



Shovel Defense by S.O.S. and Marguerite Elliot dramatized the absurdity of the Reagan administration's civil defense plan for nuclear war.



Cheri Gaulke in the S.O.S. Public Action at Covent Garden Piazza, London.

ture—had arranged for us to give three performances during our six-day stay on the island. Our main performance was held in an ex-British Protestant Church. As part of our performance, we invited those present to fold cranes upon which they wrote their names and a peace message. We then placed the cranes on a special altar which we made within the church. It was one of the most responsive audiences in our entire tour.

Poster for Target L.A.'s "Fallout Fashion Show."

Later, we performed at a school for boys and made a big hit teaching the young men how to fold cranes. We also had a chance to meet a rock group called The Subverts, who write songs about anti-nuclear issues. They made a flag for us themselves. An interesting thing about Malta—which recently separated itself from the British Empire—is that it is strategically located in a place which the powerful nations would like to

occupy. For this reason the flag message of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Culture is particularly significant: "Give back freedom to the cradle of civilization. Free the Mediterranean from all armaments."

Returning to London, we gave our slide show at the ICA, a lively contemporary art space. The next day we did a public action with a different format in the Covent Garden Piazza, where a series of performances on world peace were taking place. This time we hung our flags beforehand rather than as a performing action. As we taught people to fold the cranes, we invited them to send us artworks for future exhibition in the U.S. We had a good deal of engagement with the audience, and the one-to-one contact left us feeling pretty satisfied. The day we left London was International Women's Day of Disarmament, but photos of the event were sent to us by the British women photographers.

During our European tour, we collected a wide variety of artworks, including buttons, posters, postcards, photographs, etc. These works are part of an exhibition which is the culmination of "End of the Rainbow." The exhibition includes entries from artists and activists in North America and Western Europe, as well as documentation of S.O.S.'s performances and graphic artworks. As this exhibition—which was designed to echo the flag theme—travels, so too the dialogue between the people of North America and Western Europe about the threat of nuclear war continues.





INDIVIDUAL WORKS

In this issue of UPFRONT we initiate a series featuring a broad spectrum of socially concerned artworks by individual members and others affiliated or working with the PADD community. The artists are also invited to comment briefly on any aspect of their work which they feel is relevant. Future issues will include examples of collaborative art.

"Commemorative stamps El Salvador, C.A."

"To question what is shown on postage stamps is to imagine the history that has been omitted. As a political artist, one of my aims is to make visible officially forgotten or erased history."

Janet Koenig

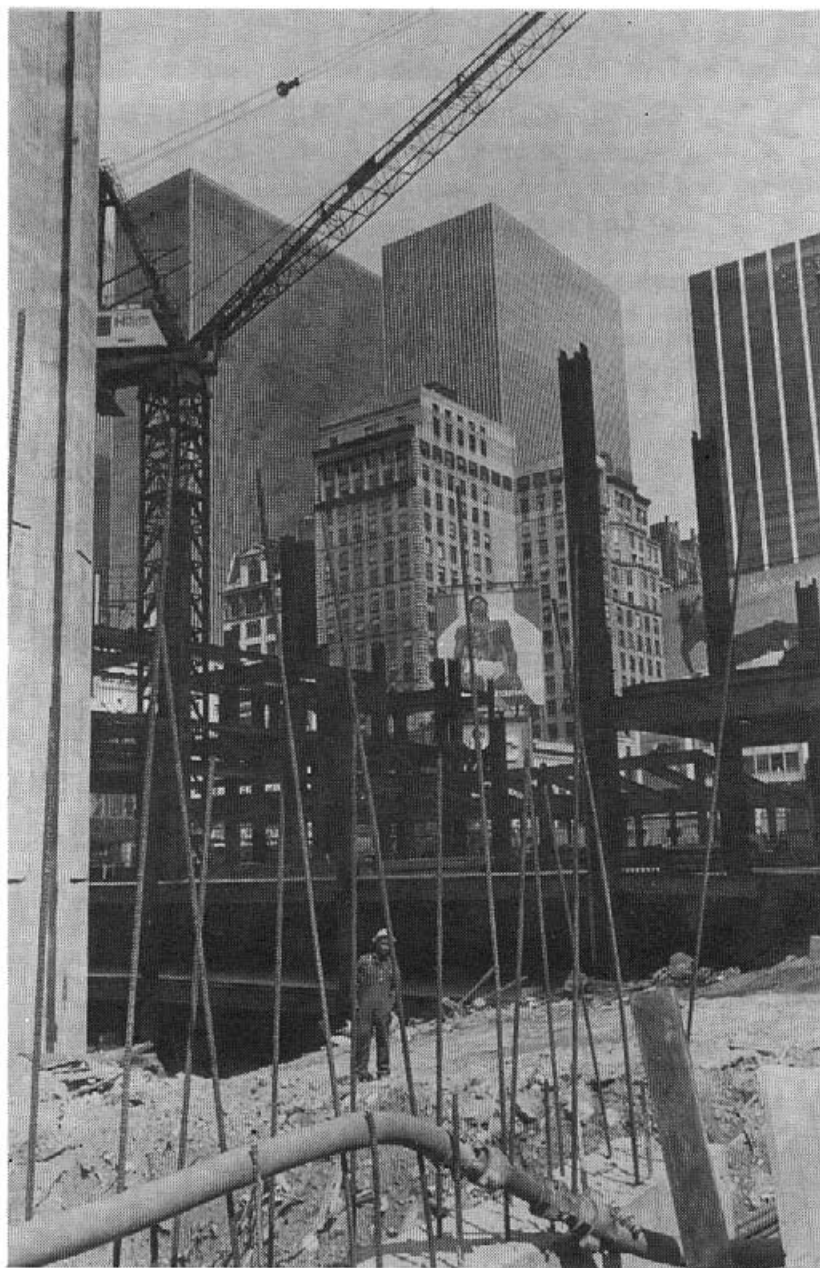


photo © 1983 Dona Ann McAdams

Broadway and 46th Street, NYC.

Under Construction

"My photography takes a look at the developers, trucks, hardhats and machines. But more importantly, questions the changes in the communities involved."

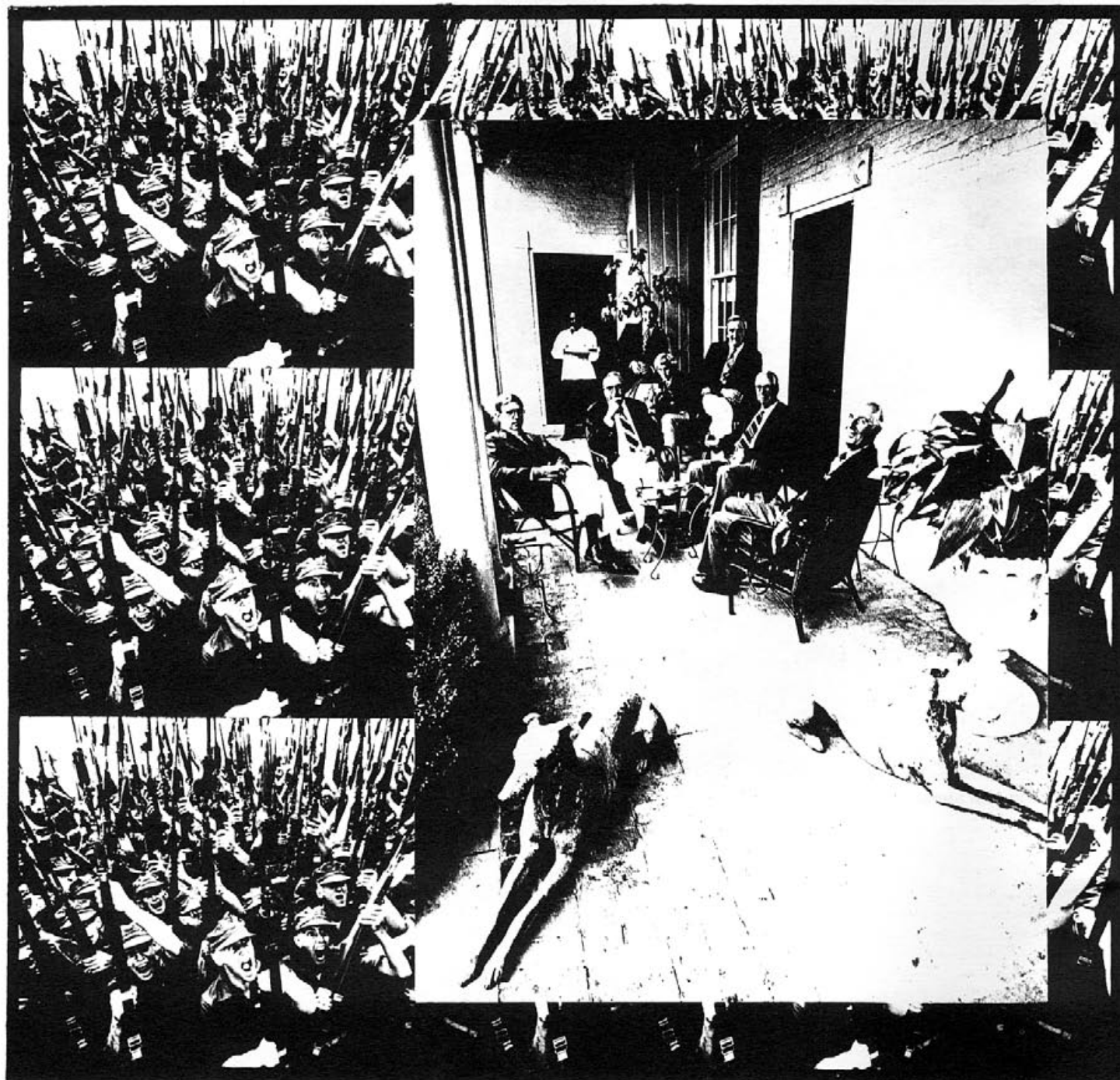
South corner of E. 5th Street and Avenue C, NYC



Dona Ann McAdams

Whose War?

"So many of us have been denied the use of our lives. So I use the hand I would have used differently to address the reasons that are denied every day in our La Prensas."



Elizabeth Kulas

I think it's time we examine class. Is class status really a privilege or is it an uncivilized means of distribution?

I mention one class and everybody thinks it means that we'll all be reduced to poverty rather than that all our living standards will be raised while a few are lowered.

STOP U.S. INTERVENTION

It's time to put aside our naivete, or what we've been told and examine for ourselves whether class status is a natural right or a structure that serves a few and not the many. Only then can our actions assume proportion to our needs.

ARTISTS CALL

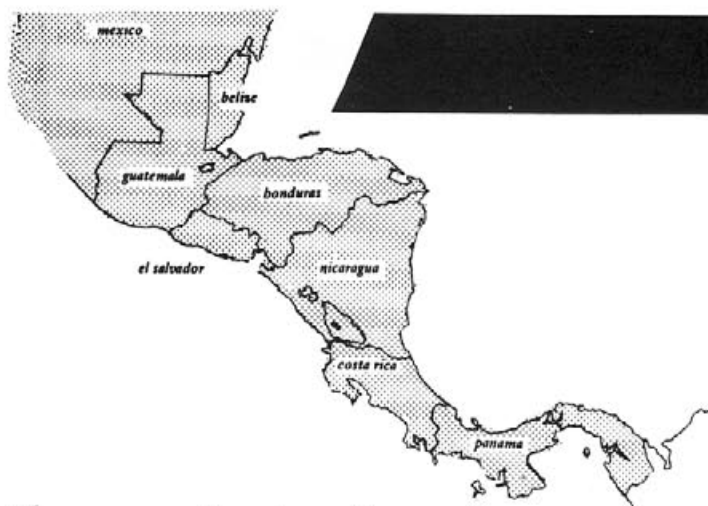
ARTISTS CALL *Against U.S. Intervention in Central America* is a nationwide mobilization of artists and intellectuals organizing out of New York City in collaboration with the Institute for the Arts and Letters of El Salvador in Exile. A major series of exhibitions and events will take place around January 22, 1984—the International Day of Solidarity with El Salvador. The date marks the 52nd anniversary of the 1932 massacre which began the systematic destruction of Salvadorean indigenous culture. Today, such destruction is actively underway in Guatemala, undermining the resurrection of Nicaraguan culture, and threatening the Caribbean.

ARTISTS CALL will bring together art from Central America, art about Central America, and art in support of Central America. It is taking place in over 20 cities across the U.S. and Canada, including Philadelphia, Atlanta, Washington D.C., Boston, Houston, Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Vancouver, Toronto, and Halifax. The idea is not only to oppose the Reagan administration's disastrous military policies, but to raise money to send to Central America, to raise consciousness among the cultural communities, and to make visible artists' outrage.

An additional aspect of ARTISTS CALL is to increase contact and understanding between artists in exile here and their North American colleagues, to encourage an international solidarity among artists, and to extend political comprehension of Central American issues through cultural channels. North Americans fail to understand how vital mutual respect is to those artists severed from their native contexts and forced to co-exist in the wilds of the art market. (See UPFRONT No. 5.) When ARTISTS CALL began, we found many artists eager to feel part of the anti-intervention movement, but the momentum has been significantly increased by recent events. And growing numbers of people in cultural fields are visiting Nicaragua, seeing at first hand the cultural brigades at work in the war zones and sensing the courage and conviction of these embattled people. The wars in Central America are also bringing more Latinos to the US and the constantly growing Hispanic population is both a cause and a result of the increased interest in Latin culture. ARTISTS CALL is working with the Puerto Rican community in New York as well as with exiles and expatriates, and El Museo del Barrio is an important participant.

In New York alone, ARTISTS CALL will exhibit in 31 galleries, small museums, and alternate spaces, including the work of some 1,000 artists plus a huge list of events by performance artists, film- and video-makers, poets, musicians and theater people. There are special exhibitions of Mail Art from Latin America, of Nicaraguan and exiled Salvadoran art, of Guatemalan and Salvadoran refugee children's drawings, as well as special theme installations by Group Material and others. The January issue of *Art & Artists* will be devoted to ARTISTS CALL and we encourage all UPFRONT readers to see it. In the next issue of UPFRONT, we hope to have reports from the other participating cities.

Because culture is integrally involved with the information, disinformation, misinformation, and downright lies that are responsible for the lack of understanding of the Central American situation in the rest of the world, it is our responsibility to speak out as cultural workers. José Domínguez, exiled professor of philosophy from the closed-down University of El Salvador, has attributed the intense repression of cultural and intellectual people there to the fact that "they are able to explain to the other people what is really happening in our country." That goes for us too.



If we can simply witness the destruction of another culture, we are sacrificing our own right to make culture.

Anyone who has protested repression anywhere should consider our responsibility to defend the culture and the rights of the Central American people.



CULTURAL CORRESPONDENCE

Directory of Arts Activism

This directory is not simply a resume of the movement at rest, but a catalog and reflection of the diverse methods and aspirations of people creating new forms of art. It will include listings of groups and of individuals by medium and region. Working individually shouldn't mean working alone. We must work together to make multi-cultural work easily accessible to our communities, to each other. This directory will be updated and republished as the movement for cultural democracy grows and changes.

Available in February for \$3.00 from

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ART & ARTISTS

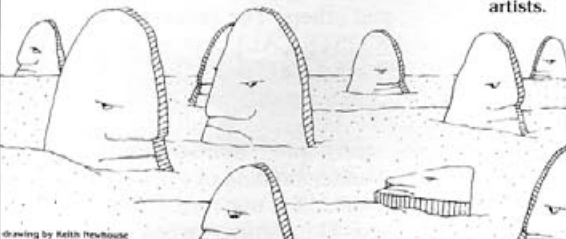
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economics of art and art education, South African artists and
the anti-apartheid struggle, Russian art and artists, and older
artists.



drawing by Keith Newhouse

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The Lower East Side Is Still NOT FOR SALE



UPFRONT Winter 1983-84 29

EVERYTHING HAPPENS ALL OVER THE WORLD, INTERNATIONAL NEWS

● The idea of the women's peace encampment has spread all over the world from Greenham Common. A similar action took place in Pine Gap, central Australia; on Dec. 7, an encampment outside the Sperry Univac Corp. in St. Paul, Minn., was broken up after two months. Cultural workers were involved in this action as they were in the ongoing Honeywell Project in Minneapolis, formed in 1968 to protest weapons production at the Honeywell Corp.; over 500 were arrested there on Oct. 24 and the next morning, when the U.S. invaded Grenada, almost 1000 activists reconvened for a downtown demo. This and other information on the many Twin Cities activities (including WARM women's art gallery and two important political theatres—Heart of the Beast and At the Foot of the Mountain) comes from the brand new quarterly newspaper—*Twin Cities Cultural Worker* (PO Box 8848, Minneapolis, MN 55408).

● Group Material's "Subculture" show was held in the ad spaces of NYC subway trains last fall, and at the Taller Latinoamericano where the collective now has an office; over 100 artists were represented.

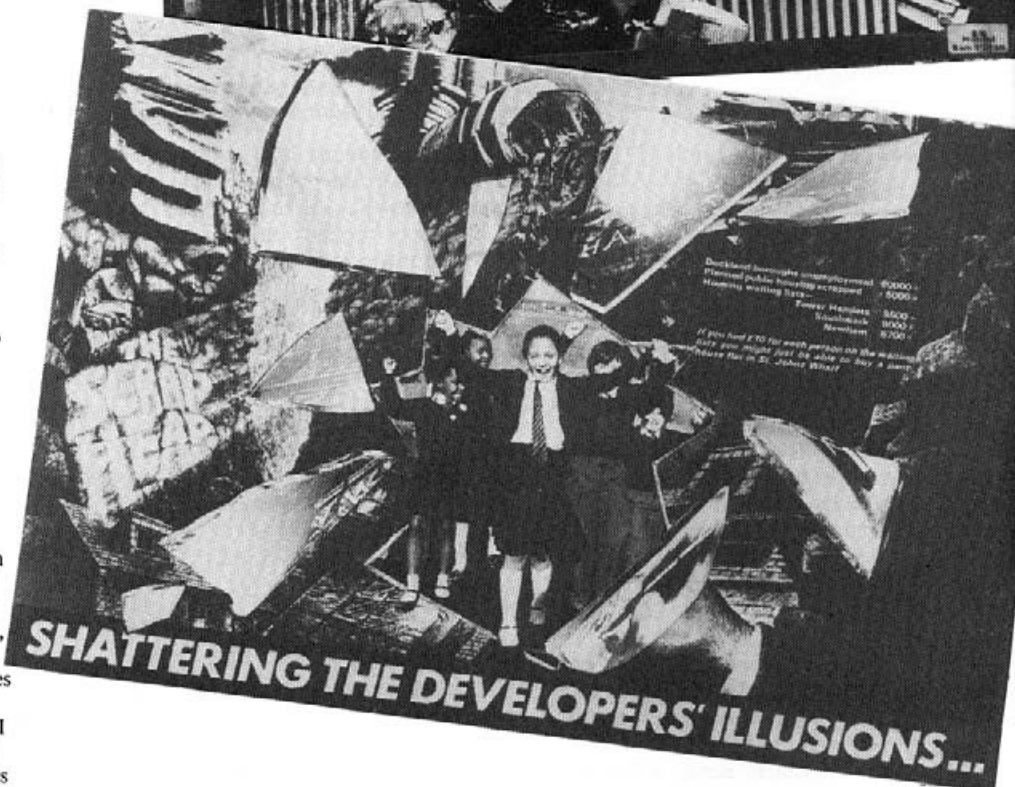
● The Alliance for Cultural Democracy held another of its inspiring annual conferences at the Martin Luther King Jr. Center in Atlanta in Oct. The theme was "Inheriting Our Past; Creating Our Future" (and survival; the organization has been financially forced to become staffless and is now being run by the board, from Missoula, Mont., Mendocino, Cal., to Minneapolis and Whitesburg, KY... no small feat). Among the panel discussions transcribed in the upcoming issue of *Cultural Democracy* is a debate on cultural policy between the NEA's Hugh Southern and ACD's Don Adams, with much excitement from the floor. As an existing national network with some 200 members, ACD seems the perfect umbrella for progressive and community groups to organize under.

● On Feb. 13, 1983, 3 weeks before the German national elections in which missile deployment was a major issue, Canadian artist Krzysztof Wodiczko projected a color slide of a missile along the entire length of the "Victory Column" in Stuttgart.

● Social commentaries in lights by Howardena Pindell, Jenny Holzer, Barbara Kruger, Jane Dickson and others have been appearing on the Spectacolor computer billboard over Times Square, through the Public Art Fund.

● Susanna Dakin, a Los Angeles performance artist, is running as "An Artist for President" in a serious national campaign based on the fact that "artists' vision is the missing survival skill in our political life." Long involved with SANE, community race relations, feminism, and other issues, the candidate's agenda is "to build bridges and to create understanding respect between unlike people." Her deterrent strategy: "When I become president, I will ask all heads of state of the nuclear nations to join me in wiring ourselves so as to detonate simultaneously a few minutes before the nuclear war begins." (The Dakin Machine, 228 Main St., Venice, CA 90291.)

● In Public: Loraine Leeson and Peter Dunn of the Docklands Community Poster Project in London, England, have been awarded a huge grant by the Greater London Council to expand their extraordinary poster/billboard work. Their latest is a photo-mural—*The Changing Picture of Docklands*, which is transformed in eight stages by removing portable panels and gradually revealing the "real picture." The subject is housing and its images are collectively evolved with the community and local tenants' groups. The image moves from a neglected neighborhood to a vision of big money and highrises... but it doesn't stop there; the last full image is a community triumph, "Shattering the Developers' Illusions."



Peter Dunn and Loraine Leeson, three stages of *The Changing Picture of Docklands*, Docklands Community poster project in Wapping Lane (and other sites), 18' x 12', photo-montage with applied color, 1983.

● In January, a one-woman show by longtime feminist/activist May Stevens will be shown at the Boston University Art Gallery, curated by Pat Hills, and followed in February by a show of New England political art. "All's Fair: Love and War in New Feminist Art" was organized by PADD member Lucy Lippard for the Ohio State University gallery in Columbus in June; a smaller version will be shown at the Women's Interart Center in NYC in March.

On special occasions, we are encouraged to honor our friends and family with purchased gifts. But times are critical. We now live in a world with weapons that can destroy everything. No longer can we rely on traditions that promote consumerism as a token of love. Herewith let us begin a new tradition. Let our expressions of love and care be actions for peace—a gift that lasts . . . and lasts . . . and lasts . . . and lasts . . . and . . .



"A Gift that Lasts" by Donna Grund-Slepack © 1982 (Portland, Oregon)

● **In Print:** A new political/visual arts magazine from Toronto: The Jan. 1984 issue of *Incite* is on reclaiming sexuality, and features a photoromance, "The Adventures of Super Secretary." Soon to be an artist's book (maybe) is PADD members Herb Perr's and Irving Wexler's (and Robert Landy's) political performance about sex and gender, *Men Are Circles, Men Are Spears*. A special issue of *Obscura*, published by the L.A. Center for Photographic Studies, is on "Political Photography," guest-edited by Marshall Mayer and including articles by Lonidier, Conde & Beveridge, Kay Torees, Connie Hatch, Alan Wallach, and PADD member Diane Neumaier. Artist Jay Johnson has put out a series of 12 double-sided postcards, each jam-packed with images and information about Nicaragua today. Send for a pack and disperse them as part of a "literacy campaign." (Stop the War, PO Box 238, Prince Station, NYC 10012.) In June, the Heresies Collective did a collaborative exhibition at the New Museum called "Mothers, Mags and Movie Stars," a visual preview of an upcoming issue on feminism and class. The latest issue of the financially imperiled publication is "Film, Video and Media," and includes a photo-script of Lizzie Borden's new feminist/revolutionary classic *Born in Flames*; this issue came out with a women's film festival. (PO Box 766, Canal St. Sta., NYC 10013.) Erika Rothenberg's hilarious artist's book—*Morally Superior Products: A New Idea for Advertising*—offers scenarios for TV commercials for Born-Again Chicken, Equal Opportunity Spaghetti Sauce (Progresso), Feminist Underwear, Anti-Ballistic Bubbles Gum, and Aspirin for Amnesty (available from Printed Matter, 7 Lispenard, NYC 10013).

*(This phrase is a graffiti from the Prince Street Post Office, NYC.)



A Nuclear Family . . . for a nuclear freeze by Donna Grund-Slepack © 1983

● During the summer, PADD member Eva Cockcroft, with friends, amended an L.A. computer firm's billboard from "Your Company's at War, Fighting for Your Business" to "Your Country's at War, Fighting for Murderers in El Salvador." In San Francisco, an informal group called Urban Rats did, among others, a grand-scale work, correcting 2 billboards and adding graffiti at the site of a burned-out residential hotel to read "Get Whatever You Want for Less. Exploit Tenants . . . 12 Dead, Landlord Arson, Gartland Apartments." A graveyard sculpture below was augmented by another group; TV sets and burned bodies appeared in what is known as The Gartland Pit. The group notes, "This is not vandalism, this is public service."

● A mysterious group in Westchester, N.Y., calling itself Upfront Theater (no relation to us) has been leaving headless and/or bloodstained dummies in public places to commemorate the Central American dead. One action marked the anniversary of the Maryknoll murders at the Westchester airport. The group works anonymously and is being investigated by police and FBI—just in case it has "terrorist" intentions. Shades of the '60s when redbaiting, *agents provocateurs*, and harassment made art and solidarity groups suspect, paranoid, and isolated.

From Morally Superior Products: A New Idea for Advertising, "Feminist Underwear—Magazine Ad," Erika Rothenberg © 1983



● **Indoors:** "Target L.A.: The Art of Survival" was an anti-nuclear music and arts festival in September; an anti-nuke exhibition will be circulated nationally by the national hospital workers' union's Bread and Roses project, curated by Moe Foner and Nina Felshin; "Preparing for War" was the most focused part of the giant Terminal Art Show in Brooklyn this fall; AND (Artists for Nuclear Disarmament) continues to have shows in New York City and State. The PAND Band is Atlanta's favorite dance party band. In Boston The Underground Railway Theater does funny/scary anti-nuke performances. . . . This section could go on and on, but there isn't room, which is good news.

● SPARC (Social and Public Art Resource Center) has completed yet another portion of *The Great Wall of Los Angeles*. The history of California, concentrating on that of Third-World people, now goes into the 1950s—a heavy decade, made no easier by a flash flood that swept away scaffoldings and one worker (she was saved miles downstream) and damaged the painting.



message from 1/12/1979 (Holland) albert van de weide

● The Foundation for the Community of Artists is sponsoring an Open Invitational Exhibition of ART AGAINST APARTHEID in NYC in fall 1984, endorsed by the African National Congress and the UN Center Against Apartheid. A similar, more formal show has been organized by artists in Paris.

● **In Process:** An informal network has evolved between groups in solidarity with Central American culture, many of them the results of trips to Nicaragua. There is Ventana in N.Y., CANTO in Seattle, and others in Boston, San Francisco, and Los Angeles.

● And, finally, a Happy Ending of sorts. PADD has at last broken through the grants barriers (after being personally vetoed by NEA's Frank Hodsoll last year) and got grants for UPFRONT and the Second Sundays from the New York State Council on the Arts. Not enough \$ to make us dishonest, but a well-deserved morale booster and 4th-birthday present.

P A D D A C T I V I T I E S

PADD WORK MEETINGS ending with slide discussions on progressive art are the third Sunday of every month at 339 Lafayette St. There are various levels where you can get involved—as a full voting member, working on **UPFRONT**, on **RED LETTER DAYS**, with **NOT FOR SALE**, on special projects, or by becoming a supporting affiliate member. Come and see what good clean fun all the dirty work can be.

PADD's SECOND SUNDAY FORUMS at Franklin Furnace (112 Franklin St.), the second Sunday of every month at 7:30 P.M. continues in full swing with the PADD anniversary party on February 12. Special entertainment, food, drinks, dancing, surprises, make this a gala event.

RED LETTER DAYS: A Monthly Listing of Left and Socially Concerned Cultural Events in New York City—an attempt to build a cohesive audience for all of us (especially those who can't afford to advertise). It includes films, performances, plays, conferences, musical events, rallies, art exhibitions, workshops, and notices of upcoming national exhibitions and projects. \$5 for a 10-month subscription. Send \$5 and info to PADD.

PADD is a proud member of the Alliance for Cultural Democracy (formerly NAPNOC) and recommends that everyone else become one too. Send \$25 to Katherine Pearson, c/o Appalshop, P.O. Box 743, Whitesburg, KY 41858, (606) 633-0108 to become a member and receive the publication Cultural Democracy.

PADD is a progressive artists' resource and networking organization coming out of and into New York City. Our goal is to provide artists with an organized relationship to society, to demonstrate the political effectiveness of image making. One way we are trying to do this is by building a collection of documentation of international socially concerned art. The PADD Archive defines social concern in the broadest sense: any work that deals with issues ranging from sexism and racism to ecological damage and other forms of human oppression. The PADD Archive documents artwork from movement posters to the most individual of statements.

PADD is also involved with the production, distribution and impact of progressive art in the culture at large. We sponsor public events, actions and exhibitions. These are all means of facilitating relationships between (1) artists in or peripherally in, or not at all in the art world, (2) the local communities in which we live and work, (3) Left culture, and (4) the broader political struggles.

We hope eventually to build an international grass-roots network of artist activists who will support with their talents and their political energies the liberation and self-determination of all disenfranchised peoples.

PADD Statement

UPFRONT: BACK ISSUES AVAILABLE: No. 1 (50¢) PADD's beginnings and statement of purpose; No. 3 (\$1.50) "Against Inner Exile"; "Art Politik" in Seattle; "Anti-WW3" in NY; NAM in Milwaukee; No. 4 (\$1.50) "February 26th Movement" illustrated directory to progressive art groups in the US; includes Art Squad, SPARC, LAPAD, NAPNOC, X Change, ABC No Rio, Cityarts Workshop, National Black United Front, Co-Lab, Fashion Moda, Group Material, and Basement Workshop; No. 5 (\$2) "Hispanic Art from Outrage" and "Who's Teaching What to Whom and Why?"—accounts and transcripts of 3 Second Sunday forums, plus national news. Add 50¢ for postage. Nos. 6-7 (\$2) **NOT FOR SALE**—A Project Against Displacement; Street—An Image Brawl; Out of the Darkroom—Cuban Photography Now; Out of Sight, Out of Mind (1); Native American, Black and White Artists in Search of Democracy; Turning Points in the Lives of Art Activists—images and text transcripts of 4 Second Sunday Forums—plus international art news, etc.

WE WANT TO LIVE! A 15-minute slide/tape show produced by PADD and Cultural Correspondence, on the visual imagery of the June 12th march for disarmament. Accompanied by a stirring text and music by Serious Bizness, others. Rent for \$35 or buy for \$100. "When we say FREEZE! we do not mean to keep things the way they are." RECOMMENDED FOR CLASSROOMS, RALLIES, CONFERENCES, AND FOR SHEER PLEASURE AND REVOLUTIONARY UPLIFT.

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