By Daniel Flores y Ascencio and Lucy R. Lippard

Why is the originality so readily granted us in literature so mistrustfully denied us in our different attempts at social change?—Gabriel Garcia Marquez, Nobel Prize acceptance speech.

A nation that closes its ears to the cry of the immense majority of humanity is not a civilized nation. It is a blind and uncultivated nation which cannot understand that without solidarity with other nations, it will be walking into the abyss.—Costa Rican poet Joaquin Gutierrez.

ARTISTS CALL Against U.S. Intervention in Central America began when we found many artists eager to be part of the anti-intervention movement. It was not (like the usual benefit or auction) simply a reaction to an untenable political situation, but part of a growing alliance around the issue of self-determination in Central America.

It originated with the Institute for the Arts and Letters of El Salvador in Exile (INALSE) as part of a considered strategy to call attention to a number of ideological circumstances from which the arts cannot be separated. We were talking about the need to increase contact and understanding between
EDITORIAL

ART & ARTISTS

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The Foundation for the Community of Artists considers the ARTISTS CALL Against U.S. Intervention in Central America to be an important step forward in the re-mobilization of the artists community. With millions of others during the civil rights and anti-war movements of the 60's and 70's, artists mobilized—marched, painted, and performed for peace and social justice. This newspaper and the FAC came out of that earlier awakening. Now, in order to avoid another Vietnam, we must once again stand up in protest.

ARTISTS CALL's cultural events are part of a continuum of awareness which includes the 1980 South Bronx people's "counter-convention," the June 12, 1982 anti-nuclear rally, the August 27 and November 12, 1983 marches on Washington, D.C., and the upcoming Anti-Apartheid Exhibition. However, the Reagan administration has sharpened political focus and provoked dissent not so much by a change in U.S. foreign policy as by dispelling with liberal justifications and rhetoric. For example, open discussion within the administration of "winnable nuclear war" has brought new scrutiny to U.S. nuclear policy. In South and Central America and the Caribbean, U.S. interventionism dates from the Monroe Doctrine, with Grenada, Chile and the Dominican Republic as only recent examples. But, the Reagan administration continues to exacerbate tensions and threatens to plunge us into a regional conflict on the pretext of "drawing the line" militarily and politically.

In the massive demonstrations on June 12, 1982, both visual and performing artists played an important organizing role. This involvement carried over into the November 12, 1983 Demonstration Against U.S. Intervention in Central America and the Caribbean in Washington, D.C., where artists worked directly with the political organizers in coordinating the entire event. In New York, in addition to organizing the rally, the Ad Hoc Artists for November 12 built a people's monument, compiled a songbook, organized performances for the different sites, and documented the event.

Those from Latin America and the Caribbean working in ARTISTS CALL bring great energy and determination. They are only too aware of the paradox faced in their homelands where in movements for government with popular support, poets and artists often become leaders. On the other hand, as objects of right-wing government's terrorism and paranoia, writers and artists are often jailed, tortured, and even killed for their artistic statements.

On the part of the North American artists participating in the CALL, some of the initial organizers are veterans of the anti-war movement and bring to this cause the experience and contacts gained in that earlier struggle. The younger artists, especially those who have come of age in an artworld in which "political art" is an acceptable genre, bring a fresh viewpoint, energy and the intensity of conviction and enthusiasm needed to power a dynamic movement.

The "artists statements" included in this issue provide a sampling of the contributing artists and art professionals and their motivations for participation in this event.

It is to this spirit, and in spite of our pressing financial problems, that the FAC has felt it necessary to donate this issue of ART & ARTISTS to the ARTISTS CALL to provide a documentation of this historic art event.

INSTITUTE FOR THE ARTS AND LETTERS OF EL SALVADOR IN EXILE

"The Republic of El Salvador, one of the smallest countries in the world in its territorial aspect, has been forever pressured by the stage of a drama of gigantic proportions. However, the Salvadoran drama is still one that is partly unknown and ignored. The economic forces that exploit and bleed the Salvadoran people have placed a thick veil over the real face of our country, to hide from the world the conditions of backwardness where almost five million dispossessed and exploited people live without the most elemental human rights and without the modern achievements of civilization and culture."

The artist, just as the rest of El Salvador's intellectuals, has not escaped from the check and restraints imposed upon the cultural developments of the country. The political, social and economic situation has made any serious technical or artistic development almost impossible in El Salvador. 60% of the population does not know how to read or write; elementary education is required but there are not sufficient schools. Teachers and university professors are persecuted and repressed; the national university, the country's most important cultural center, has been the object of brutal repression and remains closed since 1980. Consequently, our poets, painters, writers, etc. are condemned to leave the country or to die of stagnation or brutal repression. Therefore, in an effort to recover the cultural heritage of the Salvadoran people, make it ours, develop it, the Institute for the Arts and Letters of El Salvador in Exile works to help our artists outside our country and to broaden the understanding of our history as people and as a nation.

Any suggestions, contributions, or donations can be sent to INALSE. 249 W. 15th Street. New York, N.Y. 10011.

Our apologies to Mr. Gopnik and our readers. The printer cut the last line of Adam Gopnik's article, Dancing on the Ceiling (A Distant Mirror, Newly Discovered) on page 6 when inserting the illustration. The last paragraph should read:

The ceiling, rumoured to have cost over 30 million scudi and the centerpiece in Della Rovere's ambitious Roman renewal project, is said to include a pictorial allegory of the ascent of the human spirit towards God.
ARTISTS CALL: for Solidarity and Culture

continued from front page
Salvadoran artists in exile here and their North American colleagues, as a means of extending political comprehension of Central American issues through cultural channels. An invitation was sent to a number of New York artists and writers for a meeting about the possibilities of a joint exhibition and action, centered around a space at the United Nations. At that meeting held in Herb Perr’s loft on May 27, 1983, and attended by some 25 people, among them Noel Corea, the New York Consult for Nicaragua—soon to be expelled by Reagan, the general consensus was that while the UN was an important symbolic body, it was not alone an even there. By the time the afternoon was out, a far more ambitious program had been suggested and it was clear from the enthusiastic response from artists hitherto uninvolved with Central America that the time was ripe for concerted action. Later that week some of us met to draft the first “call,” which went out to some 1,000 New York artists, and the rest is history...in the making.

While the general goals of ARTISTS CALL are to raise consciousness, change public opinion (and, almost incidentally, to raise money) in order to support culture and self-determination in Central America, perhaps the combination of so many diverse sectors of the art world is one of its most significant aspects, along with international solidarity among artists. ARTISTS CALL itself is a rather large community of Latin and North American artists working together. This situation, unfortunately, is rare in the art world and rarer still for Latin artists who suffer from New York’s often patronizing and condescending attitudes towards unfamiliar cultures and races. Latin artists are often either intimidated or infuriated by the notion that to be perceived as a “good artist” they have to imitate New York. North Americans fail to understand how vital such mutual respect is to those artists severed from their native contexts and forced to exist (if not co-exist) in the wilds of the marketplace. The cooperation and potentially mutual enrichment of projects like ARTISTS CALL may well sow the seeds of new cultural and esthetic principles, and clarify what culture means in North America.

If we could have organized an ARTISTS CALL in Paris, where the level of political commitment among intellectuals is higher than in the U.S., but it seemed politically crucial to make the Central American issue a North American issue. INALSE’s agenda, since it began in 1982, has been to create conditions for a common ground between Latin and North American intellectuals. To this end, the Central American presence (works by Nicaraguan and Salvadoran exiled artists) in January is particularly important.

The beginnings of a dialogue in the cultural sector here came in May 1982, with a show at the Cafe Cornelia of Salvadoran artists with support from U.S. intellectuals, then with a PADT Second Sunday that brought artists from the Nuyorican and exiled Chilean and Salvadoran communities together to discuss the relationships between art and revolution, and, most concretely, with the “Luchadora!” show organized by Doug Ashford with Group Material at the Taller Latinoamericano in June. Luchadora’s success on a small scale paved the way for ARTISTS CALL’s grander scale.

It could not have happened before. The very existence of ARTISTS CALL reflects changing historical conditions. The last time such expansive artists’ actions took place was during the Vietnam war, but due to the disunity of the anti-war movement (socialist and reformist) and the ultimate (racist) “foreignness” of Indochina, there was virtually no direct contempt between North American and Vietnamese artists. Both a support and political was aimed straight (if naively) at the political situation, though not much of the art actually addressed it. Many Americans learned from that experience the significance of Vietnam: intervention is bad. And they learned something about colonialism and its results.

Among the ARTISTS CALL organizers are veterans of the ’60s—of Artists and Writers Protest (whose Angry Arts Week was a major precursor)—and the Artworkers Coalition; while others are in their twenties and their collective experience comes from Colab, Group Material, PADT/D or Fashion Moda. Today the level of cross-cultural understanding and political sophistication is much higher. To begin with, for all the misunderstandings, Central America is in every sense closer to us than Vietnam was. Latin America is no longer a continent isolated from and unknown to North Americans. Political crisis, liberation movements and revolutions have drastically familiarized the U.S. with events and countries hitherto unconceived.

After we began ARTISTS CALL during the summer of ’83, the momentum significantly increased due to the intensification of the not-so-secret war against Nicaragua, open admission of U.S./CIA involvement, exposure of continued human rights violations in El Salvador and Guatemala, rebel victories—moral and military—in El Salvador, and finally the Grenada invasion. Growing numbers of people in the 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. They come back, spread the word, sharpen public awareness. The wars in Central America are bringing more Latinos to the U.S. and the constantly growing Hispanic population is a cause for concern. The increased interest in Latin culture. ARTISTS CALL works with the Puerto Rican community in New York as well as with exiles and refugees.

Culture has played a major part in this new awareness. The wave of brilliant Latin literature and its distribution here has been important; the poetry of Pablo Neruda and Ernesto Cardenal, the fiction of Garcia Marquez—heirs of Jose Marti—and the songs of Victor Jara and Violeta Parra, the Cuban chasms, the Cuban posters, the nueva canción movement, the fact that almost every member of the Nicaraguan reconstruction government junta is a poet, writer or priest, the intellectual background of so many revolutionary leaders from Che Guevara to Maurice Bishop. What is known about the “other Americas” is known here through the eyes and ears and imaginations of artists, whose task is to picture the present and envisage a changed future. Culture is both the soft and the strong spot of any liberation movement. ARTISTS CALL in solidarity cultural support in Central America—for artists, workers, a university—because when a culture is destroyed, the soul of a people dies, along with its history. The January 21-22 focus of ARTISTS CALL marks the 52nd anniversary of the massacre of 30,000 supposedly “communist” peasants in El Salvador in 1932—the point at which Indians began to be afraid to continue their ancient local customs, to wear their costumes—in short, the beginning of the destruction of an indigenous culture which today is being repeated in Guatemala.

The organizers of ARTISTS CALL are constantly being told by the Central American with whom we work, how important such cultural resistance is to them. In the European tradition, the arts are far more respected in these countries than they are in North America; and culture is much more broadly interpreted to include communication, education, etc. (“We’ve been waiting for the artists,” a member of the FDR told us, “because to us anti-intervention is not a popular movement until the artists are involved.”) This can also be the basis of yet another misunderstanding because the role of intellectuals as a political force is not accepted in the U.S. The significance of the cultural brigades of the ASTC (Sandinista Association of Cultural Workers), with whom ARTISTS CALL is cooperating, which work in the fields and perform, paint, read, in the war zones of Nicaragua’s northern provinces is difficult for us to understand. It may also be difficult for us to understand why cultural workers are the focus of torture and repression in the unliberated Central American countries. Guatemalan feminist art critic Alaida Foppa was disappeared two years ago; INALSE member Armando Martinez, a rock musician, was tortured and imprisoned for growing the political consciousness of his music; Brazilian and Uruguayan artists have been jailed.

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 where we can. Jose Dominguez, of INALSE, an exiled philosophy professor from the University of El Salvador, said recently, “In my country, the newspapers with some spirit that disagreed with the government were bombed and destroyed. And the people were killed. The persecution of cultural people is very intense, because they are able to explain to the other people what is really happening in our country... One concept is used to stop the popular movement—the concept of ‘communism.’ It is applicable to anyone—mothers, workers, professionals, students, campesinos. You require just one quality to be a ‘communist’—social sensibility. If you are able to talk about what is happening, you are labeled. It is a word that means nothing and at the same time means everything.”

We know the mass media presents a distort—continued on page 4
ARTISTS CALL: for Solidarity and Culture... continued from page 3

ed picture of Central America, resulting in confusion, even among some participants in ARTISTS CALL, about who is rebelling against whom; there are people who support the struggle in El Salvador but not in Nicaragua—suggesting that when the Salvadoran rebels win, they too will become unsupportable. Liberals are caught in the contradictions around Central America and due to not-so-sizable redhanting tend to prefer the more apparently “abstract” and “apolitical” issues of the anti-nuke movement. (There is, of course, no choice between the two; they are integrally connected.)

ARTISTS CALL itself has no “political line” except for its basic and decidedly political premise: No U.S. Intervention. The group is, in any case, an organizing committee and not an organization. Its organizing principle is all nations’ right to self-determination, to decide for themselves what is the best political path to desperately needed social change. ARTISTS CALL represents a coalition of interests that is reflected in the diversity of age, esthetics, politics, and nationality of those doing the work. And one of our major goals is to expand this on a broad base, to bring into the cultural community to participate in, or at least to consider, the events in Central America and their ramifications for the rest of the world. More than 20 cities in the U.S. are participating in ARTISTS CALL in January and later. Some 20 art magazines in the U.S. and Canada will have covers and/or coverage in January. A total of 30 commercial and alternative spaces (which we perhaps unreasonably expected to join us), will participate. This is unprecedented, though Paula Cooper and a few others have a history of support since the late 60s. (Ivan Karp, for instance, gave his space for a benefit show just after the coup in 1973, despite a bomb threat to a sponsoring organization.)

ON BEHALF OF A DISAPPEARED

I am the mother of Manuel. You know which one. Yes, the Manuel who you claim is neither dead nor alive.

I am the mother of Manuel. For ten years, every year I come to tell you my Manuel’s spirit thrives.

I am the mother of Manuel. You who judge, who abide by lies, know he survives here and his sisters and son live.

I am the mother of Manuel. Hear me, you seated to undo and undo, our will never disappears and all are within its womb.

I am the mother of Manuel. Return now to your thoughts. I am leaving and it is more than tortillas I tend.

Zoe Anglesey 1976

The mutual respect and empowerment that arises from collective work is a primary part of ARTISTS CALL’s organizing, both locally and nationally. The isolation and competition—or the alienation—that props up the art market and makes the arts in this country so easily controlled is an unrecognized form of cultural repression. ARTISTS CALL is trying to break down the divisive distinctions between what is and what is not “intellectual” or “cultural” or “political.” Grass roots organizing has always been based on the principle that “we do all that we can and it all adds up,” but these days we are often told this doesn’t count, forget it, change is beyond us.

ARTISTS CALL is trying to “use” art to a different end than in previous protest movements. We are calling upon artists’ guilt but on their convictions. It’s not a matter of just going along with the crowd, but of knowing the reasons for participation. We aren’t concerned to prove that art should or shouldn’t be political, but to encourage artists to acknowledge the power of their own originality. The art at ARTISTS CALL events will amplify and vitify the political information made available through the Center for Constitutional Rights, Amnesty International, NACLA, and the Central American solidarity groups. As Rudolf Baranik has said, “I do not think that art generally is the best carrier for the didactic political statement. But art can be a very powerful partner to the didactic statement, speaking in its own language.” It is a hopeful sign of North American political maturity that more people now understand that no art is without ideology and that “using” our own art to communicate ideals of freedom inherent in the very process of artmaking is different from letting it be “used” by those who oppose such freedoms under the guise of pseudo-democracy.

Who, then, is the audience for ARTISTS CALL? First, the participating artists themselves, especially those who are making works specifically for these shows, who are thinking out their visual politics in their accustomed medium. Artists contributing work not specifically linked to Central America will also see their art in an unfamiliar context and may see it take on a new power to communicate simply by being in this context. Artists who have not contributed will also presumably learn something from seeing the various shows and thinking about the way art acts on art. Then we hope that the non-artist-making audience will consider the issues—esthetic as well as political—and contribute to the ongoing development of ideas about the relationship between art and where the artist stands in the world. For the general public, for all of us, we hope ARTISTS CALL suggests both ways to bridge and to respect cultural differences.

*The proceeds of the benefit elements of ARTISTS CALL will support culture and workers, from the circus to the fine arts, from education to labor—which together comprise the endangered culture of Central America: the ASTC of Nicaragua, the closed-down University of El Salvador, operating ad hoc to continue to educate some 16,000 students, and to CUS (Comite Unitario Sindical) the unified labor committee of El Salvador. We are considering the addition of other Central American cultural groups.

ART AGAINST APARTHEID

A citywide multi-cultural event in October 1984 organized by the Foundation for the Community of Artists with the support of the United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid.

As the eyes of the world focus on Central America, the situation in South Africa continues to grow more critical. The racist apartheid regime continues to deny democratic and human rights to its 26 million Blacks who make up 90% of its population. Without U.S. support, the regime would not survive. ART AGAINST APARTEID will express artists’ commitment to the international campaign for the political, economic and cultural isolation of South Africa.

We encourage your participation.

Please fill in the attached coupon and send with your contribution. Make checks or money order to Art Against Apartheid/PCA and send to 280 Broadway: Suite 412, NYC 10007.

☐ I wish to participate in Art Against Apartheid in the following field:
☐ I am willing to work on a committee.
☐ Enclosed is a contribution to help bring South African artists to the U.S. and to help defray the costs of planning the events.
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Mae Stevens, Carmen Teixidor, Cecilia Vicuna,
Talking to Guadalupe Gonzalez

Culture and Consciousness in El Salvador

By Victoria Redel

A member of ARTISTS CALL, Victoria Redel, poet and printmaker, met with Guadalupe Gonzalez, one of five Salvadoran representatives of the FMLN/FDR in the U.S. This is a portion of that interview.

Victoria: Guadalupe, can you talk about artists in El Salvador? Is there any opportunity for the artist and her/his production at this time?

Guadalupe: It is very difficult right now. There is the old generation—which was divided between those who worked for the government, those in exile and the many killed. In the new generation, I think, the artists have become very conscious of the situation. There are many artists—poets, writers, painters and performers—who have been involved in the high levels of the FMLN/FDR. Some of them are inside the country and some are outside fighting. There is a movement for the return of the exiled artists. For instance, in Paris, there is Roberto Arjilio who is the representative of the FMLN/FDR; he is a painter.

Victoria: That fascinates me; American artists, as a group, are generally very apolitical.

Guadalupe: I think that has to do with the fact that in the U.S. there is not the same kind of crisis as in El Salvador. The crisis in El Salvador has touched every sector of the population. Of course, it touched the intellectuals. I think that also the split reflected in Salvadoran society is reflected in the artist's work. You have to take a position in El Salvador—you can't just stay in the middle—you are going to be killed or be on the side of the killers. You could be very neutral and try hard to stay in the middle, but you have a situation that is so polarized, the crisis is so strong that the people have to take sides.

Victoria: Are there still artists whose sympathies are with the government?

Guadalupe: Yes. But I think most are with the opposition, or at least in favor with the political proposals of the opposition, such as dialogue and political settlements.

Victoria: What kind of art is emerging?

Guadalupe: In the cities right now it is almost impossible. The government has repressed artists along with academic people in the past years. Outside the country, new art has been expressed and especially inside the control areas.

Victoria: What kind of art in the control areas?

Guadalupe: For example, inside the country people have to enjoy themselves, they have to have fun. You can't just have people marching and that's it! The FMLN doesn't believe society should be like this and that people should have the opportunity to have education, to develop and also to have fun. In the control areas for the last two years, the FMLN has been organizing Casa de Culturas, culture houses, places and events where people can express their art. For example, films are shown.

Victoria: Made by whom?

Guadalupe: By Salvadoran filmmakers—recent films produced by the Radio Venceremos System. There are performing arts; of course, the situation is very difficult, but poetry has grown a lot in that system. And of course, outside the country, we have some artists who are producing. Much of the art is political, but it expresses an expression of what people think and feel.

Victoria: Guadalupe, can you talk about the situation right now in El Salvador. What is important for people to be noticing in the current situation?

Guadalupe: It is important for people to realize they can't separate—you can't say the problem in Central America is in Nicaragua or in El Salvador. There is a reality, that for the U.S., there are two priorities in Central America: Nicaragua and El Salvador—and in that sense Honduras is very important. So, we have to see that aside from the fact and the future of happenings inside each country, there is the U.S. that has been taking more and more part in the overall conflict, going from political intervention to participating on the military side. But, for example, in El Salvador, I think the U.S. public believes that what we have been saying for years is true—that there is a dictatorship that is very inhuman, that it has killed more than 40,000 people in the last three years and there is a crisis that does not look like it will be resolved very soon.

But I think that there are some elements that have changed. For example, even with all the efforts of the U.S. trying to realize elections in El Salvador, the elections were a farce. The Congress was manipulating and elections would result in neither peaceful stability nor change. But in the meantime, they [the U.S.] couldn't even organize it. The Central American Peace Negotiations is a clear symptom that the U.S. policies on the Salvadoran government are not working. The Salvadoran government is not really, as we say, causing problems. There are no ministers which are really functioning.

Victoria: They're shut down?

Guadalupe: No, not effective. Well, we know anyone you have someone resign or leave the country because of contradictions made by the government it is a sign. The Constituent Assembly was supposed to write the constitution. They didn't finish discussing all the issues, didn't get agreement on the agrarian reforms, and they were six months doing it and supposed to be ended before Christmas. This army is coming to a real deterioration—and it is not only in the last few weeks. Lydia Chavez was saying the other day the army was in very bad shape. Well, the army has been in very bad shape for many years. Many officers have left the country in the last four, five years. Some of them have even joined the FMLN. How successful have military operations been that the government has organized against the control zones? It's incredible because they have around 15,000 to 20,000 troops and they couldn't do any thing. In the good sense, it is a better situation for the FMLN and the opposition forces. But the problem with all this is that in any case we do not believe that to have a military solution is the best. We have tried to push for dialogue with the administration and the government and other political forces in El Salvador for the last three years, and the first time we met with the Salvadoran government representatives was this year. That dialogue and the possibilities of a serious settlement have been frozen in the past period. We believe it is very important to continue the talks in order to get a real political arrangement, because if not, we leave open the possibility of having a major military intervention of the U.S. in El Salvador, which leads to the possibility of a regional war in Central America.

Victoria: Guadalupe, would the Salvadoran army be asked to participate in a major invasion of Nicaragua?

Guadalupe: You have to see both sides of the story—one is El Salvador and the other is Honduras. The Salvadoran army would have much difficulty in an invasion of Nicaragua; the army has many internal problems. But it can happen in a formal way—say, like it happened in Granada. But a country might say, we need help—then they send in 10 police men, then 100—then they say its the Salvadoran army against Nicaragua. Or they say Honduras and Guatemala saving El Salvador. But what the U.S. is trying to do is push Honduras to abandon neutrality. On the other hand, the U.S. is trying to push Guatemala to abandon neutrality in Nicaragua or El Salvador. None of this intervening to invade Nicaragua can be successful without the participation of U.S. backed forces—in every kind of way: logistics, providing the sources, ammunition, transporta tion, and finally the troops. The problem is not to get in, but to get out.

It is important to see that in every case, a major step is coming in terms of intervention or invasion in the region. The territories of all allied countries of the U.S. will be used against the target. For example, the Gulf of Fonseca is almost looking to the southwest of Nicaragua. Everything is going to be used.

Victoria: Are you saying that we can't separate concerns and that we always need to look at the situation regionally?

Guadalupe: Yes, but also to analyze the problems in the particularities. Otherwise you can get mixed. For example, we see there are about 200,000 refugees in El Salvador and in Nicaragua, but most people and newspapers are only talking about Nicaragua. That helps in really isolating the Salvadoran situation and that is how the U.S. is trying to lead it towards intervention. So, it is regional and at the same time depends on very concrete circumstances. It is like nuclear war. You can't talk about nuclear war without first starting with conventional war. You can't just start out with the bomb, unless it is an accident.

You have to go step by step with an escalation. It is the same in El Salvador. The danger is increasing because of very particular reasons. On the one hand, the U.S. does not really want to fight, but on the other hand, the U.S. knows it has managed very badly the situation in Salvador. They are supporting a totally ineffective government that violates human rights, that is killing its people. I think that needs to be said and said again.

Victoria: But the interests of the U.S. government in supporting the government in El Salvador are not simply a reaction to the government in Nicaragua?

Guadalupe: Right. And I think you have to see that the U.S. started to escalate the intervention in Central America after El Salvador and not with Nicaragua. It was after with Nicaragua. The U.S. tries to make it seem that there is a threat coming out from Nicaragua, but they know it's not true. The political situation in El Salvador has been in trouble for years.

Victoria: Yes, a reader of the media could believe that the crisis in El Salvador is generated by Nicaragua, instead of seeing the oppression rooted in the government, the social and economic structures of El Salvador.

Guadalupe: Don't forget in every question you have to analyze every aspect. One is the humanitarian side which most people forget about. We are not joking when we say we have almost 50,000 killed—which if you want to make a parallel with Vietnam, it is the amount of Americans killed in the Vietnam War. It is important for people to realize we are suffering—as much as the American people during Vietnam. I am not even beginning to talk about the hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese deaths.

The other thing is the economic situation. The economic life has been greatly deteriorating. El Salvador is a country that is not producing, that is not in the process of development. It is going to take years for that to happen. It is impossible to think that a military intervention is going to solve the real problems.
of the Salvadoran society.

On the political level, there is the question of rights. It is very important to say—that the Salvadoran people are an independent country with the right to self-determination. And the relations with the government and people of the U.S. should be on that basis—friendship, cooperation, etc., but not military domination. I think we are talking about one of the more difficult points to understand for the United States people. We need to remind people that we come from different cultures and different societies. Our European and Native American ancestors are different, and that makes a difference. We are poorer and less developed as a nation, but that doesn’t mean we don’t have dignity.

Victoria: Yes. That is something for people who do solidarity work in North America to continue to remember and stay in touch with,

so that it is clearly a friendship and not its own kind of intervention.

Guadalupe: Absolutely. That is why anti-intervention needs to be based in the right of self-determination. Intervention for Americans means the threat of war, people killed. Intervention for us means the loss of our sovereignty, integrity, and right of self-determination. This is why the work of artists is so important to American solidarity: the population always looks, in a beautiful way, to the artist as a representative of their own feelings. There can’t be a real social movement without the artists. Art is a fuel to keep things going. And so in this country it is necessary that an art emerge that reflects and expresses non-intervention. I think that would be very important to have as a testimony and as an expression of hope.

Josely Carvalho

Recent U.S. policy in Central America is cruel and stupid. There is no reason to block the attempts of Central Americans to obtain adequate food, housing, education and medical care. There’s no reason why Central Americans shouldn’t work for their own future and not for a multi-national corporation. There is no excuse for attacking socialism so that the only alternatives are the extreme right and left, the only “friends” the U.S. or the U.S.S.R. military. There certainly is no advantage in having everyone but rightwing dictators hate the United States.

I participate in ARTISTS CALL because I know that the exhibition will draw attention to what’s wrong with U.S. policy, and hopefully will offer ideas about what could be made right. Money raised by the benefit might ease the suffering that continues.

Jenny Holzer

Living for a while recently in Guatemala and traveling to Guatemalan refugee camps in Chiapas, Mexico, confronted me with the relative triviality of the personal and career problems with which I had been preoccupied. Involving my painting and organizing activity in Central American issues, was frankly a self-interested attempt to bring my work into a more charged social context. But, I’ve discovered that most North Americans are completely ignorant of the history of the Central American conflicts and U.S. interventions, and there is real work to be done if blatantly misleading Reaganisms are to be seen through and rejected.

Paul C. Smith

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New York City Premiere

**WHEN THE MOUNTAINS TREMBLE**

one woman’s story...a nation’s destiny

The first feature film on Guatemala

PLUS

**NICARAGUA**: Report from the Front

First footage of the CIA-backed “Contras” inside Nicaragua

**JANUARY 19-31**

**FILM FORUM**

57 Watts St., NYC

Box Office: (212) 431-0599

2 blocks north of Canal

just west of 6th Ave.

A program from Skylight Pictures & Artists Call

Show times: 5:30, 7:45, 10:00

Saturday & Sunday: 1:00, 3:15, 5:30, 7:45, 10:00

**MAIL ART** by Pedro Alcántara of Colombia.
A Progress Report on the Exhibitions

By Coogie van Bruggen

When we began organizing ARTISTS CALL Against U.S. Intervention in Central America, we did not imagine there would be such tremendous support from artists and especially from so many galleries, museums, and alternative spaces—about 35 spaces up to now. Even more encouraging to us has been the willingness of many artists to think carefully about making a specific work concerning the present state of affairs in Central America, and of others to contribute a significant recent work. Furthermore, numerous artists have worked together on special projects which will enliven and bring variety to the different shows. All artists donated their work in the knowledge that the proceeds would be used for humanitarian purposes in Central America.

Galleries not only made their space available, but were active in asking their artists to participate. Some opened up their spaces to unaffiliated artists, others let us use their facilities for fund-raising. Marjan Goodman gallery initiated a print project, enabling Louise Bourgeois, Leon Golub, Sol LeWitt, Claes Oldenburg and Mark di Suvero to make editions of prints for the benefit of ARTISTS CALL.

At the time this is being written, the organization of exhibits is in full swing. Slides have been received by the exhibition committee from most of the nearly 750 artists who have let us know that they want to participate. As stated in our letters, artists not yet recognized as well as known, whose works have a political content and whose whose works have not, will show jointly in a variety of exhibits all over the city, all having in common the desire to speak out against the United States' aggressive policy of intervention in Central America.

The Judson Memorial Church will be a focal point in the exhibition program of ARTISTS CALL. The institution has long been in the vanguard of social concerns and the arts—it sponsored the first Happenings of Dine, Kaprow and Oldenburg in 1959 and 1960, and introduced post-modern dance; screenings of banned films have been held there, as well as the radical "People's Flag Show," which challenged existing flag laws in order to protest violations of the constitutional right of freedom of speech. It has been associated with civil rights protest marches and has been in the forefront of the abortion-rights movement for women. For ARTISTS CALL, both well known and lesser known artists will exhibit at the Judson Church with Nicaraguan and Salvadoran artists in the sanctuary and gymnasium, while the garden room will house a show of Latin American solidarity art by mail, Jan. 21-Feb. 4.

The Exhibitions Committee of ARTISTS CALL Against U.S. Intervention in Central America consists of Doug Ashford, Julie Ault, Fatima Berchi, Coogie van Bruggen, Josely Carvalho, Eva Cockcroft, Stefan Eins, Daniel Flores y Ascencio, Jon Hendricks, Jenny Holzer, Thomas Lawson, Lucy R. Lippard, Christy Rupp, and Juan Sanchez.

The next four pages is a centerfold pullout which includes a calendar listing of special projects, group exhibits, and artists participating in the ARTISTS CALL, as well as a reproduction of the CALL's poster. While not complete and subject to change, the calendar listings are current as of the end of 1983.

Pockets of Resistance: Poets and Writers Call

By Kimiko Hahn

Before the triumph in Nicaragua, cultural activity as a part of Somoza's mandates existed in forms of resistance. Today, culture, and poetry in particular, exists in persistence against U.S. Intervention (most evident in the reading by Ernesto Cardenal in NYC). In this spirit, many diverse voices will join together in "pockets of resistance" throughout the five boroughs.

Up and downtown "fronts" will be covered by two large readings. On January 14th at the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, the hemispheric will be brought together with North American poets such as Audre Lorde, Miguel Algarin, Susan Sherman, and taped poetry and statements by Central and South American poets and writers. On January 18th, the Poetry Project at St. Mark's Church in the Bowery, will present over 50 poets in a marathon reading against U.S. intervention in Central America; this includes Pedro Pietri, June Jordan, Bob Rosenblat, Patricia Jones, Suzanne Zavrian, Tuli Kupferberg, Maurice Kenny, Jessica Hagedorn, Harris Schiff, and others!!

"Brigades" of poets will present Artist's Call in poetry hot spots such as Ken Keleha House (Carolyn Forche and Linda Gregg), The Basement Workshop, Galeria Moviivi, American Indian Community House Gallery and so on into churches, synagogues, and community centers. The "strategy" is to reach out to audiences who do not usually attend larger readings or to those who may not know (as recent polls indicate) which "rebels" the Reagan Administration supports in Central America. While "tracities" will vary, each brigade will be armed with translations of Central American poetry as well as our own. They will also bring leaflets ("What You Can Do") with addresses of public officials, addresses for donations, bibliographies, etc. And like the other Artists Call events, the poets and writers hope to raise donations (or office supplies) to send to progressive arts organizations in Central America. While most of these poetry "actions" will take place in February, there are plans to continue in the Spring with a van and new materials. (Poets, writers and translators interested in these brigades should contact the Artist's Call—Poets and Writers Committee.)

The writers in Artist's Call also encourage and will help prepare bilingual readings and publications as part of the whole project in and after January. Literary journals can contact the Poets and Writers Committee for translations of Central American poets and the Press Committee for art work by Central and North American artists.

As with the culture brigades that go out into the fields, hills, and city streets of Nicaragua, our aim is to take a stand, and to move people—move them into action—and to be moved by these people also.

There are some people left who still believe the United States need not be just a superpower paranoiaically pursuing selfish interests. We think America's might should be on the side of life not death; for the benefit of majorities struggling to shape their destiny, not hereditary elites who play upon our weaknesses. For me, non-intervention now is a preliminary step to future prosperity based on mutual respect between large and small. No more backyard confederation, no more neighborhood watch, no more white fleets, big sticks, or banana republics. The time has come, and the United States needs some real friends nearby, honestly acquired.

Claes Oldenburg

Artists, Claes Oldenburg designing the ARTISTS CALL poster, our centerpiece for the month.

Photo: Mel Rosenthal
Calendar of Events

ARTISTS CALL Against U.S. Intervention in Central America

JANUARY 1-31

Positif Matter, Inc.
7 Liepmead Street
Window Installation
Robert Morgan

JANUARY 3-FEBRUARY 1

Barbara Gladstone Gallery
152 Wooster Street
Benefit Exhibition and Sale

JANUARY 3-27

L.E.S.S. at P.S. 122
405 East 9th Street (at 1st Avenue)
Benefit Exhibition and Sale

JANUARY 10-30

Peter Fend Space
507 Broadway 2nd Floor
Benefit Exhibition and Sale

JANUARY 10-31

(Opening Reception January 20, 6-8 p.m.)
El Museo del Barrio
1230 5th Avenue
Special Exhibit

"Re:Viewing Picasso," an exhibition of drawings by refugee children from Guatemala and El Salvador living in exile camps in Mexico and Nicaragua, coordinated by Eva Cockcroft.

JANUARY 10-26

(Opening Reception January 10, 5-8 p.m.)
Yvonne Segui Gallery
61 West 82nd Street
Benefit Exhibition and Sale

"Rape/Intervention," a collaborative exhibition by the artists Jody Carvalho (Brazil), Pauline Neper (U.S.A.), Catalina Parra (Chile) and Nancy Spero (U.S.A.), drawing comparisons between the rape of a woman and the mass murder of an entire culture by another.

JANUARY 10, 7:30 p.m

Millennium Film Work Shop Inc.
66 East 4th Street
Tel. 673-0090
Admission by contribution
Film

JANUARY 12-22

Bruce Alexander Gallery
20 West 57th Street
Benefit Exhibition and Sale
Cohab artists

JANUARY 13, 8:30 p.m

Taller Latinoamericano
19 West 2nd Street, 2nd floor
Tel. 255-7155
Admission $5.00
Performance Festival
Bona Grater, Paul Zalemen, Steve West, Charles Dennis, Larry Miller, Bob Ostertag, David Alai Harris, Carol Rosenman, Tom Cora, Donna Henes.

JANUARY 14-28

Paula Cooper Gallery
155 Wooster Street
Benefit Exhibition and Sale

JANUARY 14-21

Metro Pictures
150 Greene Street
Benefit Exhibition and Sale

JANUARY 14-31

Westbeth Gallery
155 Bank St.
Benefit Exhibition and Sale

JANUARY 14, 8:30 p.m

Franklin Furnace
112 Franklin Street
Tel. 925-4671
Admission $5.00
Performance Festival

JANUARY 17-28

The Kitchen
99 Wooster St.
Tel. 925-3615
Screenings daily 1-6 p.m., Tuesday-Saturday

Recent documentaries shot in Nicaragua, Guatemala, and El Salvador. Plus-off-air footage of Sandinista Broadcast Television and Agrarian Reform TV, covering Guerrilla Theater.

Producers: Jon Alpert, Skip Blumberg, Jean Brademan, Rachel Field, John Geryson, Dee Dee Hallac, Carl & Kathy Hersch, Joel Kovel, Marty Lucas, Karen Ranucci Sandinista TV includes news, variety show and theater (9:00 p.m.)

Noon to Run (Ranucci, Alpert, 25 min.)
Letter from Mozaraz (RADIO VENCEREMOS SYSTEM, 5 min.)
Sete de Janio (RADIO VENCEREMOS SYSTEM, 27 min.)
Camino Triest: The Hard Road of Guatemalan Refugees (Lucas, 30 min.)
Guatemala Personal Testimonies (20 min.)
Abelino de Omtillo (Rider, Field, 30 min.)
Agrarian Reform TV (90 min.)
Americans in Nicaragua: The Other Intervention (Kovel, Hallac, Brademan, Blumberg) and a tape produced by John Geryson about the reconstruction in Nicaragua

The New Underground Railroad (Carl & Kathy Hersch) There may be more additions

JANUARY 17, 7:30 p.m

Millennium Film Work Shop Inc.
66 East 4th Street
Tel. 673-0900
Admission by contribution

Film Exhibition
Focus On: El Salvador
Selection of films on El Salvador

JANUARY 17, 7:30 p.m

The Poetry Project at St. Mark's Church
2nd Avenue at 10th Street
Tel. 747-3838
Admission by contribution

Group Reading

JANUARY 18, 8:30 p.m.

Paper Tiger TV
Manhattan Cable TV/Channel C
"Arts Call for Central America: It's the Next Best Thing to Being There"

JANUARY 18, 10:00 p.m

Film Forum

JANUARY 18-20

Franklin Furnace
112 Franklin Street
Tel. 925-4671
Admission $5.00
Performance Festival
Organized by Kaye Hirsch and Stanley Wise. A benefit for the Artists Call.

JANUARY 19, 8:30 p.m

Franklin Furnace
112 Franklin Street
Tel. 925-4671
Admission $5.00
Performance Festival
Organized by Carnival Knowledge. Sarah Safford, Jane Goldberg, Cecilia Vicuna, Jody Carvalho

JANUARY 20

ABC No Rio
156 Rivington Street
Benefit Exhibition and Sale

"Thank You Father," ABC No Rio, Jan. 20, 8:30 p.m., will present the historical roots and current effects of the conflict in Central America, and then provide an oppor- tunity for artists to create works addressing the sub- ject. The result will form part of No Rio's envi- ronmental college exhibition "Interven-ons," opening with performances January 21, 4-7 p.m., continuing through February 11.

JANUARY 28-29

CUNY Graduate Center Mall
35 West 42nd Street
Benefit Exhibition and Sale

Sculpature, coordinated by Thomas Lawson

JANUARY 30

Jamie Toys
184 Spring Street
(3 windows on the 2nd floor)
Window Installation

JANUARY 30, 8:30 p.m

Damaso, St. Mark's Church
2nd Avenue and 10th Street
Tel. 674-8112
Admission $5.00
Performance Festival
Organized by Cynthia Hestrom and Wendy Perron.

Mabou Mines, Trisha Brown, Harvey Shepard, Pooh Kaye, and others.

JANUARY 31, afternoon

West Broadway in Soho
"La Verdadera Avenida de las Americas" (The True Avenue of the Americas) will be a street action by artists in solidarity with the struggling people of Latin America. Organized by Maria Teresa Alves, Doro Aronson, Rudolf Baranak, Leslie Benda, Connie Van Bruggen, Eva Cockcroft, Carmen Diaz-Baltos, Howard Kline, Noel Kunz, Avia Lang, Kate Linke, Amy Mann, Raquel Rabinoch, Aaron Rowseman, Carmen Sancher, May Stevens, Carmen Teixidor, Cecilia Vicuna.

JANUARY 21-28

Art Gallery
254 Bond Street
Benefit Exhibition and Sale
Works on paper

JANUARY 21-28

135 Broome Street
Benefit Exhibition and Sale

Twenty North and South American women artists' reconstruction of one of the few Mayan codices surviving

ARTISTS CALL
AGAINST U.S. INTERVENTION IN CENTRAL AMERICA

NEEDS YOUR HELP
IN A HUNDRED DIFFERENT WAYS TO HELP INSURE THE EXHIBITIONS AND AUXILIARY PROGRAMS ARE A SUCCESS.

CONTACT US TODAY TO FIND OUT WHAT YOU CAN DO—FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTIONS ARE ESPECIALLY NEEDED AT THIS TIME.

ENCLOSED IS A CONTRIBUTION TO DEFRAY THE COSTS OF ARTISTS CALL:

□ $10
□ $25
□ $50
□ $75
□ $100
□ OTHER

NAME

TELEPHONE

STREET

CITY

STATE

ZIP

MAKE CHECKS OR MONEY ORDERS OUT TO ARTISTS CALL AND MAIL TO 329 LAFAYETTE ST., NYC 10012; (212) 242-3900
ARTISTS CALL AGAINST U.S. INTERVENTION IN CENTRAL AMERICA

IF WE CAN SIMPLY WITNESS THE DESTRUCTION OF ANOTHER CULTURE, WE ARE SACRIFICING OUR OWN RIGHT TO MAKE CULTURE. ANYONE WHO HAS EVER PROTESTED REPRESSION ANYWHERE SHOULD CONSIDER THE RESPONSIBILITY TO DEFEND THE CULTURE AND RIGHTS OF THE CENTRAL AMERICAN PEOPLE.

THE ARTS ARE USED BY OUR GOVERNMENT AS EVIDENCE OF CREATIVE FREEDOM, AND THE LACK OF CENSORSHIP IN A DEMOCRACY. AT THE SAME TIME, THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION DENIES THE PEOPLE OF CENTRAL AMERICA THE RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION AND TO INDEPENDENCE.

IT IS OF THE UTMOST IMPORTANCE THAT THE PEOPLE OF NORTH AMERICA EXPRESS NOW OUR DEEP CONCERN FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM IN CENTRAL AMERICA, WHERE THE SITUATION BECOMES MORE CRITICAL EACH DAY.

THE U.S. GOVERNMENT CONTINUES TO AMPLIFY ITS MILITARY PRESENCE IN THE REGION, AND IN THE CASE OF NICARAGUA, TO IMPOSE UNJUST ECONOMIC SANCTIONS THAT MAKE LIFE EVEN HARDER FOR ITS INHABITANTS. HONDURAS HAS BEEN TRANSFORMED INTO A GIGANTIC MILITARY BASE, THE ONGOING GENOCIDE OF GUATEMALAN INDIANS IS IGNORED, AND AN UNDECLARED OVERT WAR IS BEING WAGED AGAINST NICARAGUA. EXTENSIVE MILITARY ASSISTANCE IS GIVEN TO A GOVERNMENT IN EL SALVADOR THAT VIOLATES INTERNATIONALLY RECOGNIZED HUMAN RIGHTS BY SUBJECTING PRISONERS TO INHUMANE PUNISHMENT, BY CLOSING THE NATIONAL UNIVERSITY AND BY TOLERATING POLITICAL ASSASSINATIONS BY RIGHT-WING DEATH SQUADS.

ACCORDING TO A REPORT SUBMITTED BY AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL TO THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE U.S. CONGRESS ON JULY 26, 1983, TEACHERS AND ACADEMICS IN PARTICULAR HAVE BEEN TARGETED FOR REPRESSION BECAUSE, AS POTENTIAL COMMUNITY LEADERS, THEY FOCUS OPPOSITION TO THE AUTHORITIES. ARTISTS, WRITERS, POETS, MUSICIANS, JOURNALISTS, WORKERS, UNION MEMBERS AND MEDICAL PERSONNEL ARE ALSO AMONG THE 35,000 VICTIMS OF MURDER AND TORTURE BY THE U.S.-BACKED FORCES IN EL
SALVADOR IN THE LAST THREE YEARS, OVER 1000 PEOPLE, MANY OF THEM INNOCENT CIVILIANS, HAVE BEEN KILLED BY THE U.S.-BACKED COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARIES IN NICARAGUA IN THE LAST YEAR.

THE U.S. GOVERNMENT RECOGNIZES HUMAN RIGHTS LAWS AS BINDING ON THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AND AT THE SAME TIME GIVES MILITARY AND ECONOMIC SUPPORT TO A GOVERNMENT IN EL SALVADOR THAT OPENLY VIOLATES THESE LAWS. THE U.S. GOVERNMENT RECOGNIZES THE RIGHT TO NATIONAL SELF-DETERMINATION, AND AT THE SAME TIME, SUPPORTS DAILY INCursions INTO NICARAGUA.

WE CALL UPON THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION TO HALT MILITARY AND ECONOMIC SUPPORT TO THE GOVERNMENTS OF EL SALVADOR AND GUATEMALA, TO STOP THE MILITARY BUILDUP IN HONDURAS AND TO CEASE SUPPORT OF THE CONTRAS IN NICARAGUA.

INTERVENTION BY THE U.S. GOVERNMENT INEVITABLY REINFORCES COLONIALIST AND OLIGARCHICAL ELEMENTS HOSTILE TO THE PEOPLE, AS THE INVASION OF GRENADE DEMONSTRATES. THEREFORE, WE CALL UPON THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION AND THE U.S. CONGRESS TO RESPECT THE RIGHT OF THE CENTRAL AMERICAN PEOPLES TO SELF-DETERMINATION AND TO STOP INTERFERING IN THEIR INTERNAL AFFAIRS. WE MUST SPEAK OUT AGAINST THESE BURNING INJUSTICES NOW AND WE WILL CONTINUE TO DO SO AS LONG AS IT IS NECESSARY.

ARTISTS CALL AGAINST U.S. INTERVENTION IN CENTRAL AMERICA IS A NATIONWIDE MOBILIZATION OF ARTISTS ORGANIZING OUT OF NEW YORK CITY. A HUGE SERIES OF EXHIBITIONS AND EVENTS WILL BE CENTERED AROUND JANUARY 22Nd — THE 52ND ANNIVERSARY OF THE 1932 MASSACRE IN EL SALVADOR WHICH MARKED THE BEGINNING OF THE SYSTEMATIC DESTRUCTION OF THE SALVADORAN CULTURE. IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE INALSE (THE INSTITUTE FOR THE ARTS AND LETTERS OF EL SALVADOR IN EXILE) AND IN COOPERATION WITH THE ASTC (THE SANDINISTA ASSOCIATION OF CULTURAL WORKERS)— ARTISTS CALL WILL JOINTLY EXHIBIT ART FROM CENTRAL AMERICA, ART ABOUT CENTRAL AMERICA AND ART IN SUPPORT OF CENTRAL AMERICA, AS A POLITICAL AND ESTHETIC STRATEGY TO CALL ATTENTION TO CENTRAL AMERICAN ISSUES. ARTISTS CALL REPRESENTS THE OUTRAGE OF THOUSANDS OF ARTISTS AND INTELLECTUALS CONCERNED WITH THE REPRESSION OF THE CRUCIAL CULTURAL RIGHTS OF ALL PEOPLE.

ARTISTS CALL GENERAL STATEMENT, JANUARY 1984
Acting Out for ARTISTS CALL

By Sue Heinemann


That, for me, is the power of performance art. Can that power be used as a force for political change? A two-week festival of events, organized by performance artists Bill Gordan and Jerri Alyn for Artists Call, promises a diversity of art/political viewpoints and visions.

Almost every Friday night, January 13 through Sunday, January 22, you're invited to a series of performances designed to focus attention on the situation in Central America and to protest U.S. intervention there. Dance, poetry, anecdotes, puppets, humor, slides and text—the visual and the verbal—there's something for everyone. Each evening offers multiple modes of seeing and hearing—different ways of learning, rethinking, moving toward change. Some fifty performers will be contributing short pieces, with many creating works specifically for the Artists Call festival.

"For two weeks the majority of performance art happening in Manhattan will be related to Artists Call," explains Bill Gordan. "The performance art community is responding in force. There's a whole slew of people involved—not just one or two big names. It's really about the whole community of performance artists responding to this situation.

As of this writing, the schedule of performances isn't totally firm, so be sure to check the listings as January 13 approaches. In addition to the performances, each evening will include a special presentation on political/performance work in Central America, with contributions from Victoria Larue and Toni Gillotti (both currently working with a theater group in Nicaragua). For starters, here's a taste of the anticipated events:

Friday, January 13 is the kick-off at Taller Latino Americano (19 West 21st St.), with Ilona Granet, Steve West, Paul Zalom, and others. Saturday, January 14 at El Museo del Barrio (1230 Fifth Ave. at 106th St.) features Eric Bogosian, Lenora Champagne, Beth Lapides, and Stephanie Skura, among others. On Sunday, January 15, again at Taller Latino Americano, you can see Jeffrey Greenburg, Layne Redmond, Margo Lee Sherman, Kaye Lynn Sullivan, Martha Wilson, et al. For a large, multifaceted performance viewing, try Monday, January 16 at P.S. 122 (150 First Ave. at 9th St.)—with Elena Alexander, Esther Avrila, Fred Holland, Jill Kroesen, Theodora Skiptares, Sylvia Spencer, Nancy Zandora, plus more.

Skipping to Thursday, January 19 there's a night of wide-ranging events organized by Carnivale Knowledge, a woman's art/activist group concerned with sexuality, in conjunction with their show at Franklin Furnace (112 Franklin St.). Regina Vater, Cecilia Vicuna, Lois Elaine Griffith, and Sarah Stafford and Jane Goldberg promise a mix of film, performance, poetry, and tap dance. The next evening, Friday, January 20, at DanceSpace (St. Mark's Church, Second Ave. and 10th St.), brings a variety of dance performances, organized by Cynthia Hedstrom and Wendy Perron. Then, on Saturday, January 21, back at Taller Latino Americano, Jo Lewis, Herb Perr and Irving Wester, Paul Zelavansky with Anthony and the Ascetics, plus others, offer a potpourri of meaningful entertainment.

Finally, for Sunday, January 21, again at Taller Latino Americano, Hali Wanamaker and Suchi Branfman, from Dancers for Disarmament, are putting together a closing bang.

Among the many other performers scheduled to appear (although dates aren't confirmed yet) are: Charles Dennis, Jana Haimson, David Hammond, David Alan Harris, Maz, Alyson Pou, Mark Slone, Earline Smith, and Michael Smith. And beyond the festival itself, there are numerous individual performance events, now through January, in support of Artists Call.

For the festival, all the performances will begin at 8:30 p.m. Tickets are $5 ($10 for the DanceSpace night), with most of the proceeds to go to Artists Call. It's not often that you have the chance to experience so many different visions at once. And you, too, can add your voice, by coming in support of Artists Call.

Maurice Bishop

CULTURE AND SOVEREIGNTY IN THE CARIBBEAN

The U.S. invasion and occupation of the nation of Grenada demonstrated President Reagan's disregard of the principles of non-intervention and the right to self-determination. During the four-and-a-half years of the Grenadian Revolution under the leadership of Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, great advances in the cultural development of its people were made. Following are excerpts from a speech given by Bishop at the opening of the Caribbean Conference of Intellectual Workers held in Grenada in November 1982. Bishop spoke of the role of culture and the responsibility of cultural workers in building a new society. What he says about the Caribbean easily applies to all of Central America.

Susan Ortega

The Intellectual Mercenary

There is a man who will fight in any army, anywhere, at any time. He demands a certain price for his skills, and asks no further questions. He is called a mercenary. The Intellectual may also be a mercenary; that is a man whose relation to his work is determined entirely by his personal interests in the promotion of a career. In this respect, the historian, the economist, the writer may be no different from the type of soldier we have just mentioned. A revolutionary struggle has the duty to help rescue men and women from this fate. All of you here are intellectual workers who have had to wrestle with this problem, since capitalism surrounds you with markets which are always ready to buy and hire your skills, and at a price poor nations cannot pay. It is to your credit that you have remained where you belong.

In our context you have to ask yourselves, in whose interests, on behalf of which class do you carry out your social function as teacher, researcher, actor, writer?

In our view, there are at least two armies, the military army and the cultural army. The revolution must be defended; but we cannot train young comrades in the use of weapons to create and defend a revolutionary struggle unless we can also make it clear to them what is the meaning, the true nature of that struggle. This task of defending and clarifying the meaning and context of a revolutionary struggle must be the task of our cultural army. And it is indispensable. Without it every military victory remains a sterile victory, where the "freedom of the press" allows the transnationals to shape the tastes of the people.

The Challenge Which Confronts Us

Where lies the way forward?... There is an important document, prepared for President Reagan which outlines a strategy for dealing with your category of workers in the Caribbean.

I quote: "The war is for the minds of mankind. Ideological politics will prevail... Education is the medium by which culture retains, passes on and even pioneering its past. Thus, whoever controls the educational system determines the past... how it is viewed... as well as the future. A campaign to capture the intellectual elite through the media or radio, television, books, articles and pamphlets, fellowships and prizes must be initiated, for consideration and recognition are what most intellectuals crave, and such a programme would attract me."

This is the way intellectuals of the region are perceived by the American Administration and the agencies they employ.

Two postcards, visual poems by Guillermo Deicer of Bulgaria.
Ernesto Cardenal: The Politics of Poetry

By Roland Leguizamón-Laura

Entering the cavernous Great Hall one is struck by the majesty of the vast stone arches that support the base of the Cooper Union. The scale and placement of the large pillars which hold up the arches make one out of every ten seats useless. The architect, however, is somehow redeemed by the fact that one is made to feel safe and intimate in this immense undulating belly of a room. I have gotten there early to find a good seat for myself and my tape recorder. I sit back and watch the audience file in. The event is a free poetry reading by Father Ernesto Cardenal, poet, priest, revolutionary, and minister of culture of Nicaragua. It is the end of a long day for me and I am relieved to be sitting. I have spent the day trailing Father Cardenal; his pace is exhausting.

Before the reading there was a reception for him at St. Mark’s Church, where he was met and welcomed by the Reverend David Garcia and members of the poetry project. The reception was historical in that it marked the first time the Nicaraguans had made official contact with the community of poets. Before the reception there was a press conference at the Nicaraguan mission to the U.N. At the conference, Cardenal fielded questions for about an hour. With the aid of a translator, he spoke on a wide range of subjects: from the work of the artists’ union in his country to his three hour detention and interrogation the night before upon his arrival in the U.S. He was grilled by customs officials, his baggage and clothes searched even though he carried a diplomatic passport.

Cardenal’s official reason for his visit to the U.S. was to attend an opening of a show of Nicaraguan primitivist painters in Washington, D.C. His ex officio role as roving ambassador becomes sensitive and one can perhaps see the reason behind our government’s harassment in the light of the almost simultaneous denial of an entry visa to Tomas Borge, Nicaraguan Minister of the Interior.

The hall has filled to its capacity, 900 seats. With those in the back and those sitting in the aisles there are close to 1000 people present (apparently people were also turned away).

Poetry readings don’t often draw more than a crowd of 150, even if you’re well known, even if it’s New York. One could see grins appearing on the tired faces of the event organizers as the last seats were filled. They have reason to be pleased: with about three weeks notice, they put together an amazingly successful event. Two nights before, a much better planned poetry reading, part of the prestigious YMHA series brought in only about 130 people. The reading was given by Pablo Antonio Cuadra, editor of La Prensa, the opposition paper in Nicaragua. Cuadra is Cardenal’s first cousin. The game of numbers, though, can be quite deceiving. Looking around at the audience, I have the feeling that I have seen most of these people before. Indeed, I have seen many of them. On picket lines, marches and rallies. These are my brothers and sisters, my comrades in the struggle—Central American exiles, Native Americans, black cultural workers and organizers and the permanent floating cadre of the white middle class activist/artist/post-sixties vegetarian intellectual community. We’ve been together before. Even though I’m glad that so many of us are here tonight for this reading, it makes me a bit uneasy. It is almost too simple to come to an event like this one and participate in the proper way—Expressing support and solidarity with the people of Nicaragua. I fear it has become formulaic for many of us. I fear we are getting too comfortable with one another. Like lovers who have grown complacent and out of guilt they feign passion and out of fear they become either uncritical or shrill and cynical.

Cardenal is introduced by Dore Ashton, Joselito Carvalho and Thulani Davis. He is greeted with a standing ovation and thunderous cries of Non Paseru (“They Shall Not Pass”). Cardenal has become a true hero of mythic proportions to the American Left, with the fall from grace of Eden Pastora (Commandante Zero). He has become the most well known of the Sandinistas to us Yankees up north. Permanently enshrined in our memory is last year’s picture of Father Cardenal kneeling in front of the Pope. Cardenal gazes blissfully as the Pope shakes a finger at him, refusing a blessing and telling him, “Get your affairs in order.”

In Cardenal we feel an embodiment of the grace and courage of a people who have struggled almost 130 years against us. If we revered Pastora, it was because he represented to us the macho good guy cowboy in a beret who used his wits and bravado to outsmart the bad guys. Cardenal remains for us a saintly genio—a white beard with a generous smile and a holy glaze; a man of pure heart and principal. Not many of our heroes have survived their own ascent to fame and power. Nicaragua has thus far held its own and Cardenal remains for us the emblem of that triumph, serenely confident in the face of Yankee Imperialism and Papal meddling.

The reading begins. Cardenal, a short man with a full white beard and longish white hair tucked under his beret, steps up to the podium. He will speak only in Spanish and is with his translator, Roberto Vargas, also a poet and the First Secretary of Cultural Affairs at the Nicaraguan Embassy. It is a difficult task to give a bilingual reading. The monolingual audience can get very fidgety. Cardenal has wisely chosen to let Vargas read the English translation first. In this way the listener gets the sense of the poems and can better follow the spirit and rhythms of Cardenal’s words as he recites. Vargas reads clearly, but too quickly. Perhaps it is out of deference to Cardenal that he speeds up his own pace. At the base of the auditorium stage, standing in ‘at ease’ position are young Nicaraguan men and women acting as security for the event. That a poetry reading in New York should warrant bodyguards and walkie talkies is a wondrous thing. There are no untoward incidents during the reading—the sign of effective security as someone points out.

The first poem is read, Lucero (Lights), it was written shortly before the fall of the Somoza dictatorship on July 19th, 1979. Cardenal’s voice is resonant, his speech deliberate and his style, one of dramatic oratory. In the poem we find Cardenal flying in a small plane, low, and hugging the coast to avoid detection by the Somoza air force. It is a dark, clear night, the flight is dangerous, and as Cardenal looks out he sees the lights of the liberated towns and cities of Nicaragua. He sees the lights where the battles are still being fought and he sees moonlight and starlight reflected in the water. Light for Cardenal becomes at once the symbol of the revolution’s triumph and the dangerous, delicate, ephemeral quality of any victory. Perhaps that is what one finds encouraging about the Nicaraguan revolutionary model—that it is informed by a very human sensibility. We Randians find the gauche tactics to be frivolous and can both make and admit to mistakes. Dogma and rhetoric do not seem so much a force in this man as the strength of the human spirit.

Cardenal’s imagery at its best is simple and direct—unadorned facts and words that build a sense of activity and historical presence. At its worst, his imagery becomes too remote for Yankee ears. It just doesn’t ring true. His line of poetic influence runs from Neruda to Pound and Merton—using Pound’s non-subjective point of view and his disregard for purely poetic sources. Cardenal, along with Jose Conrel Urielco, developed what they called “exteriorism.” To that formal consideration, Cardenal brought his own sense of social commitment and developed his style of documentary poetry. (For a more in-depth essay on Cardenal’s poetry, see Robert Pring-Mills’ introduction to Apocalypye and Other Poems by Ernesto Cardenal, N.DP, 1977.)

The reading proceeds from poem to poem and one begins less and less aware of the words and their meaning and more conscious of Cardenal’s voice and sensibility—ultimately he is a poet of the breath—his thought and his rhythm are all connected to the breath and each line, each thought, is concluded as the last bit of air rasp from his throat.

New Generations will come
But you will always be as you are
18 years of age
behind a small wall
courageous tense, still eternal
aiming at the enemy

Cardenal ends his reading with this last image. It is an image that for those of us who experienced the Nicaraguan revolution through the media can only see as supremely romantic. The reading over, Cardenal answers questions. More of the same as in his press conference and reception. When asked the last question of the evening: “Why have the Nicaraguans not yet had free, democratic elections?” He responds, “It was eight years of struggle from the end of your revolution to the time when Washington took office.” The audience satisfied, applauds, and files out, generously pouched money into collection plates in hopes to help finance Cardenal’s tour. Standing at the doorway, digging for change, I see the Dominican cabbie who drove me downtown earlier in the day so that I could keep pace with the Father. He said he would come on his dinner break to hear Cardenal read. We smile, he drops in his quarters and says, “Pretty good stuff, eh?”
MY FRIENDS, THE LOUD ONES OF THE STREET

I have new, impossible to-put-off friends.
A zenzonite* that sings in the morning, a banner
that floats above the front door, a woman
quickening the pace. Those eyes of man-to-be
remind me of the brilliant rainbow over
the lake's mirror. The feet in immaculate mud.
The market open to the morning, to life.
A satchel that tires the shoulder, a slogan
on the wall. I feel faultless syllables deep
inside. They are friends now. Undertaking
training at daybreak.

Rosario Murillo
From A DUTY TO SING

*A zenzonite is a slender black bird whose male is a soprano.

FROM "SAN FRANCISCO LIBRE"

When the wind blows with all its force
the lake also rages.
Cicada and frogs chirrup
and then soon enough the water ducks.
Miles of lights sparkle from Managua.
Suddenly I think
of infants born at this moment,
in this moment these infants are born within the Revolution.

Isidro Fuentes Castillo
Poetry Workshop, Battalion of Military Engineers, Nicaragua

SACHAJ LA NUMAC

Quinkajıxtaj jun rato
ri uxlab la y xukje'wa'kajuuyubul.

Pardon my sin God Earth
I am borrowing for a moment
your breath and also your body.

Divining prayer
Maya Quiche.

And Tiox Mundo came
to forgive our sins, our
squared breath,
the ruined word
at the bottom of the sea
where everyone weeps
and no one,
no one
hears their tears.

Bodies abandoned
by their motion,
smiles abandoned
by their light,
eyes abandoned
by their sight—
against their will!

With violence,
for neither light
nor movement wished
to go.

The mouth still
wished to smile,
the eyes to see,
but one came who
didn't hear or heed
the eye's desire
or the will of sight.

One came who
slashing, silencing
broke the strength
tore the threads
that held the corners
of the mouth,
one came who
with raised fist
closed in
on breath.

By Cecilia Vicuna
Translation by Magda Bogan

FREEDOM

For you
we have so many blows
on our skin
that even standing on end
there's no room
for us in death.

In my country
freedom is something more
than a delicate breeze of the soul,
it is also a courage of skin.

In every inch of its infinite cry
your name is written:
freedom.

In the tortured hands.
In the eyes, open in shock
of mourning.

On the brow in its dignity.
In the breast, where strength
grows up in us.

On our back, in our feet that suffer.
In all of our parts
proud of themselves.

There your name, your soft and tender name
sings courage, sings hope.

We have suffered assassins' blows
in so many parts
and written your name
on so little skin
that death is no longer our end,
freedom has no place in death.

They can hit us again
and again, believe me, they can.

And when we fire the last round
you'll be the first to sing
in the throats of my people.

For there's nothing more beautiful
on the width of the earth
than a free people
putting finish to a system that dies.

Then watch and dream with us
when we enter the night
or arrive at the day,
in love with your beautiful name:
freedom.

Otto Rene Castillo
Guatemala

ENIGMATIC SALTS

The Generals buy, interpret and dispense
silence and the word.

They are rigid and unyielding
as dark grisly cliffs. Their mansions
occupy
two parts blood and one of solitude,
and from there, without making a move, they govern
the strings
attached to the hypothalamus of highstrung mastiffs
with sets of gold teeth and a human likeness,
and they combine the enigmatic salts
of the Superior Order, no one ignores it,
meanwhile their inaudible circles of power
get more fat-headed, or should we say, ambitious.

The Generals are landowners and masters
of laws, lives and estates, they are respected members
of the Catholic Church, Apostolate and Roman.

Roberto Sosa
Tegucigalpa, Honduras

Poetry translated by Zoe Anglesey unless otherwise indicated.
3 Sandinistas

Through song we learned how to load and unload a rifle, how to put it together, how to take it apart. And we began to organize ourselves through theater. And we learned how to fight and dance in the trenches. And the poems we said were now written on the walls by anonymous hands as an expression of the last part of our struggle against Somoza.

Last June at the invitation of the Association of Cultural Workers (ASTIC), I joined a group of 17 artists, poets, journalists, film and video makers from around the U.S. for a nine-day tour. We thought we were going to meet our colleagues in the arts and media. Little did we realize what that meant. Indeed, we met with them, but we also met with the leaders of the mass organizations and government agencies, went to a town meeting where the residents were discussing prominent political and economic issues with members of the National Directorate; spoke with incarcerated National Guardsmen in a minimum security prison, and compassions at a large farm cooperative. The war was brought home to us in the northern border town of Teosistacinta, which was under constant attack by the Contras. We experienced a little of that gunfire as we walked by the tobacco barns, sheltered three days before. None of us were personally injured, but one of the accompanying Nicaraguan journalists received minor bullet wounds.

The trip has profoundly affected us. Most of us did not know one another before hand. Since then, some of us in New York, meet every two or three weeks. Our current project is to set up a long term active organization of cultural workers in solidarity with Nicaragua and other Latin American and Caribbean countries.

The following text by Rosario Murillo and Miguel D'Escoto were farewell addresses given to us the weekend before our departure for home. The speech by Sergio Ramirez was shared with us by Kimiko Hahn, one of our group, who returned in July for the Conference of American Intellectuals. The three speeches together reflect the vision of their popular revolution.

Mary Jane Sullivan

Rosario Murillo

Edited text from a speech given by Sergio Ramirez, Mercado, one of the three members of the executive junta of the National Directorate of Nicaragua, to intellectuals from the Americas, July 14, 1983.

The revolution which gave rise to the United States has been the most exported revolution in modern history, and the one which employed the greatest number of imported ideological elements as the basis for its thinking, its war of liberation and its innovative laws.

The new United States' constitution and the explosive ideas which inspired it, traveled by muleback through Central America as clandestine literature and the nascent republic represented a threat to the internal security and strategic interests of Spain in the new world, whose great colonial empire was ready to crack. By 1821, when independence had been won in Central America, the first federal constitution was adopted as an attempt to concrete the dream of a united Morazán like Central America, beginning with the same introduction written by Madison in 1787. Thus the United States was exporting a model—the defeat of the British Empire in America.

Morazán, as the ideologue of the great dreams of the Central American federal republic never thought in provincial terms not to believe that his liberalism would stop at Honduran borders. On the contrary, his political and military movement, the largest in the nineteenth century in Central America, led to the emergence of a large revolutionary party which surveyed the region, which opposed ideas against ideas, and advanced ideas of change by the force of federalist weapons. Then the struggle was not between Hondurans and Salvadorans, nor between Guatemalans and Nicaraguans, but between liberals and reactionaries, between the armed revolutionaries of that period and the reactionary clerics and feudal landlords and the gloomy Central America of the friars of the Inquisition and the lords of the gallows and knives. And Morazán, like Washington and Bolívar, was a great exporter of revolution, of subversion and of extremism, because he wanted to change reality.

The Sandinistas are repeating the revolution of Morazán in the twentieth century. We export ideas that provide a foundation for a new world being born. We export the proven possibility of a people, when they set about to do so, can overthrow tyranny. We export the news that in Nicaragua the revolution has brought with it literacy, freedom from the end to polio, and the right to life and hope.

How can one prevent a peasant from another Central American country from hearing, from finding out, from realizing that in Nicaragua, land is given to other poor and barefoot peasants. How can you avoid that here children are being vaccinated, while his children die from gastroenteritis and polio?

We are no longer a satellite of the United States. We are a free, sovereign and independent country, something that was always deceptively written into all the Somozas constitutions and only now is true, even though we still have not written our constitution.

It is from Praxis that our writers, poets, and intellectuals moved forward. Many died, some of them are still alive and among our best artists, some of them are at the directorate level of our revolutionary movement.

In 1974, the situation had changed, so we founded Gradas to totally synthesize the development of the intellectual within the revolution. It was through poetry readings, theater, and song that we were able to unite and exchange ideas with thousands of people in the cities and in the countryside. At any given moment many thousands of people were involved. We did not work under the assumption that we would go to the people to bring them art or poetry, but rather we worked with the idea that the people were already the greatest artists. So, rather than coming in to a small city, to a church, to a barrio, to a neighborhood to get together with people to read them poetry, we would invite them to be with us to express themselves through poetry and music. It was beautiful to get together with factory workers and with peasants who would reach into their back pockets and pull out poems.

Through song we learned how to load and unload a rifle, how to put it together, how to take it apart. And we began to organize ourselves through theater. And we learned how to fight and dance in the trenches. And the poems we said were now written on the walls by anonymous hands as an expression of the last part of our struggle against Somoza. We knew we could defeat such a powerful enemy because of the ability of the FSLN to combine all forms of struggle. Despite all the backing that Somozas had, we were able to defeat him because we combined the ideological, the political, the economic, the cultural and the military. Every Nicaraguan had a task. And of course there was always a place for the artist.
The following is an excerpt from a speech given by Miguel D’Escoto, Foreign Minister of Nicaragua, three days after the discovery of an assassination attempt by the CIA on his life.

Well, pressures, especially the type of pressures we are undergoing at the present time, obviously mean that you cannot dedicate all of your time and energy to the pursuit of things that constitute the fundamental objective or purpose of the revolution.

You cannot allocate all the resources that you would allocate to education, health, to housing. And defense becomes necessarily the number one objective, especially when you find yourselves not only threatened, but in fact, undergoing an invasion from the most powerful nation in the world.

It is true that those pressures do imply an effective distraction from those objectives to which we would like to dedicate the totality of our energy and time. But, I think... the good thing to be gained is the deepening of the awareness of our people to the reality of the world in which we live, and to what constitutes the main dangers and who really is the enemy.

Immediately after the overthrow of the Somoza regime, we almost fell in a trap and maybe we committed a mistake. Many mistakes. But the one I’m talking about now has to do with the fact that after such a long ordeal, such a long struggle for liberation, we wanted to move quickly towards the normalization of life... To put all of the aggression and all of the things behind us. We perhaps naively fell into wishful thinking... into the temptation of thinking that maybe now there were contradictions which our country has experienced over the decades with the United States are going to go away. Maybe they are going to finally accept that the fact that the Nicaraguan people have been able to regain their sovereignty and let us be.

I think that this whole experience has been very helpful... [The people realize that there is an essential, an intrinsic, an inevitable contradiction between the ethos of capitalism, the value system of capitalism and the aspirations of the people... and that the U.S.] would never rest, they would never desist from their intent of trying to undo the games and trying to subject us again.

I think that as a result of all this, we are less likely to be naive or gullible. We are not an untrustworthy type... we have traditionally suffered very seriously the consequences of our gullibility, our openness, of our natural hospitable attitude... We have tended perhaps to be moved by people, because we like people. But in this world of ours, it is not only people, it is systems—value systems—and it is in-terests, and philosophies and ideologies which are of consequence... I think therefore, that while it is true that our people have been exposed and subjected to... this suffering, you can be sure that we will not go without... certain benefits that will be derived from this experience, not only by our own people, but by the Latin American people.

Obviously, we are not going to stop short of our objective. We are not going to desist in the pursuit of the integral liberation of our country and our people. I am at this moment remembering something that Lopez Portillo, the former president of Mexico told me that he said to the President of your country: "Mr. Reagan, you should not make a mistake with regard to Nicaragua. You should realize that those Nicaraguans are crazy enough to mean it when they say, Patria Libre o Muerte (A Free Country or Death)." We are certainly crazy enough to mean it. And therein lies the strength and the strength of this process. We are not the type to be intimidated. And in this situation, we don’t bank on being defended by others.

Our revolution triumphed over the despotic Somoza regime, and it is progressing because of the effort of our entire population, especially the poorest amongst us. And it is being defended by us and it will continue to be defended by us. I don’t know what is going to happen. But you can certainly be sure of our determination to be free or if need be, die in the process of defending, consolidating our freedom.

Does the United States have the ability to wipe us out all? They certainly have. If they opt to go that way, I can only say that whatever may remain of their national honor will be drowned forever in our blood. It is a harsh thing to say, but I think that it is the reality. We will struggle. We are not aggressors towards any country. But we will not bend our knees and betray the hope and aspirations of the thousands of Nicaraguans who have died in the hope of a new brotherly, sisterly, truly independent, truly free, truly democratic, non-aligned Nicaragua.

As a Puerto Rican, I feel an extreme solidarity with all oppressed nations. Because of our intense and, at times, painful but similar historical experiences, I feel close to the peoples' struggles in Latin America and the Caribbean against United States imperialism. Our language, culture and history is a regenerating force despite oppressive efforts to the contrary. Our history also produces thousands of Augusto Sandinos, Farabundo Martis, Lolita Lebrons and Che Guevaras who always generated a cause to fight for freedom by whatever means necessary. I am hoping that the efforts of ARTISTS CALL Against U.S. Intervention in Central America will bring a humane awareness, consciousness and understanding of peoples' rights to self-determination. This nationwide mobilization of artists and intellectuals should make an impact and hopefully influence public opinion to speak out against the United States' disastrous military policies. Nicaragua, El Salvador, Guatemala, Cuba, Puerto Rico, Granada, Surinam, and all other oppressed nations of the world: LIBERTAD AHORA!

Juan Sanchez
Zoning: A Tale of Two Museums

By Daniel Grant

A zoning variance to permit museums and nonprofit art galleries to exist in the SoHo district of Manhattan will be brought before the neighborhood's community board in January, according to the New York City Planning Commission.

If approved, and later passed by the City’s Board of Estimate, the now vacant R&K Bakery building at Prince and Wooster streets may be turned into a contemporary art museum within two years. In addition, the proposed variance would legalize the uncertain status of the New Museum of Contemporary Art, which moved from 14th Street and Fifth Avenue to SoHo in September. The New Museum has been challenged by the City for violating zoning ordinances restricting museums to residential neighborhoods.

Edward R. Broida, a California architect, real estate developer and art collector, has purchased the R&K Bakery building and stated his desire to found a museum of contemporary art there—to be called the Broida Museum—which he will endow. His own collection of post-World War II art, considered one of the best in the country, would form a considerable part of the proposed museum's permanent collection. He has asked for a change in the zoning laws which the Planning Commission has approved and will put before Community Board No. 3.

“I think it will be a pretty lively meeting,” Paul Bartlett, the Commission’s SoHo planner, said. “There are a lot of people on both sides of the issue. Some think museums in SoHo would be a great idea, others see it as another sign of gentrification. Companies fear that there will be too many people on the streets which will hurt the operation of their businesses. It will be pretty lively, alright.”

Approval, however, is expected without much difficulty, and Joan Simon, director of the Broida Museum, stated that October 1985 is the target date for the opening.

A little West and to the North, at 583 Broadway, the New Museum of Contemporary Art has been battling the New York City Loft Board which has called the museum’s move illegal. Charles Schwetel, assistant director of the New Museum, claimed that “the issue is really whether we are a museum or an art gallery. Art galleries are perfectly alright in SoHo, but museums aren’t. We think we are closer to being an art gallery, but everybody else has been focusing in on our name and saying, “Aha, you’re not allowed to be here.”

Schwetel noted that the New Museum seeks to act, not as a broker, but as an intermediary between artists and potential buyers, giving collectors the names, addresses and telephone numbers of the artists whose works they might wish to purchase. He felt that this made the institution more a nonprofit art gallery than a museum in the customary sense of the word.

“We are a new kind of museum,” he said. “There’s a reason our director, Marcia Tucker, called it the New Museum. The name itself really means a lot.”

Suzanne O’Keefe, executive director of the Loft Board, however, considers this a question of semantics. Someone told them that, if they call themselves an art gallery, they would be OK. I don’t go in for this sort of hair-splitting. To my mind, there’s no question it is a museum, and they were told back in January that they would be in violation. They just chose to ignore my letter.”

She added that the correct procedure, as is being done by the Broida Museum, is to “first get a special permit. New usages should be established first, then people should move in, not the other way around.”

The New Museum is fortunate, however, that its zoning dispute coincides with the Broida Museum request for a variance. “It’s a back door way to get its status legalized,” Ralph DiBart, director of loft development for the Planning Commission, pointed out. “But, if Broida goes through, the New Museum should be covered.”

Artists Housing, One More Time

On Tuesday, December 20, 1983, Mayor Koch announced, with his usual fanfare, that “artists have sought the creative stimulation of New York City,” and thereby has set aside 180 housing units for artists scattered throughout Manhattan, Brooklyn, Queens, and the Bronx.

While this proclamation makes for front page New York Times cover and might possibly house, in the near future, 180 artists and their families, the proposal speaks not at all for the tens of thousands of artists whose needs are for a comprehensive city-wide plan not only for today but for the next 20 years and beyond.

It may be that an infusion of artists here and there throughout the boroughs might trigger a SoHo effect, i.e., gentrification, cum boutiques, cum restaurants, galleries, tourism, $500; the problem of how these units will affect the poor neighborhoods is not addressed.

Could it be, someday, that an artist housing plan can be offered to the city's artists after input from artists and artists groups and without the gimmicks and catchphrases like, “...special housing needs...capital of the art world...asset for our tourism...” etc., etc.

In any event this project may be a start of something new. For more information contact, after January 9, 1984, RFP, Department of Housing Preservation and Development, Special Housing, Room 8043, 100 Gold St., Manhattan, or call 566-6516. Proposals will be due March 19, 1984.

The following is a list of proposed sites:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Address</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Manhattan</th>
<th>Lower East Side</th>
<th>517 E. 11th St.</th>
<th>Old Law tenement</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>56 Ludlow St.</td>
<td>Old Law tenement</td>
<td>5-story</td>
<td>East Harlem</td>
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<td>2038 Second Ave.</td>
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<td>Old Law tenement</td>
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<td>Washington Heights</td>
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<td>4-story</td>
<td>Bronx</td>
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<td>Bedford-Stuyvesant</td>
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<td>378-86 Throop Ave.</td>
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<td>Red Hook Section</td>
<td>259 Van Brunt St.</td>
<td>Old Law tenement</td>
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<td>307 &amp; 309 Van Brunt St.</td>
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<td>and vacant land</td>
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<td>and vacant land</td>
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This foundry course offers a unique opportunity for sculptors interested in casting their work.

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NEW DIRECTIONS

Thinking 1984

By Jimmie Durham

Did you ever think that it would actually get to be 1984 sometime? I never did. If you had asked me in the forties I would have said that the sixties were the limit. Then, as you may have noticed, the fifties lasted for at least four decades, the way some days last almost the entire week before it becomes five p.m. That may be why the sixties were only five years long. But since the sixties we have all been waiting for 1984 (and I’ve never even finished Orwell’s novel), and now here it is. How can the decade of 1984 possibly measure up? What a responsibility for one twelve month.

We begin the new year with an amazing phenomenon of an ARTISTS CALL Against U.S. Intervention in Central America, as though we as artists, and even galleries, dealers, and buyers, had been organized by Neruda’s words about poets and poetry making a full attack against Nixon. A promising beginning for a year already full of grief and bad reputation.

Later this year, in the Fall, many fools will try to out-Reagan Reagan in the election campaign and FCA will take part in another major art phenomenon, Art Against Apartheid.

I’m glad ’83 is over, it was a very hard year for the FCA. Our entire staff is three people and there is never enough money. Early in the year we asked one of our most active board members, Anne Romanco, to step off the board into the LBA Tar Pits of Staff. She did, and despite our problems, she has stayed on and does, among other things, the monthly Artists Update.

The FCA runs an Artists Hotline, which is an information and referral service and which until recently, had a regular staff person to answer questions. Due to lack of money, we now have no staff for the Artists Hotline, nor a separate telephone line, which means that our two-person staff must answer Hotline calls on our regular telephone. Even though that makes for a very hectic day, I like it because it is a way of being in touch with members. The majority of the calls these days are about housing or jobs, and it gets depressing that we have so little advice on those most urgent problems.

But, it is nice to have a friendly conversation with someone that you will probably meet sooner or later, and to be able to answer a question in an immediately helpful way. Very often people send us back thank you notes, which is nice getting surprise presents. Here is a sampling of some of the recent questions (but we leave the answers to your imagination).

"I just bought an acrylic sculpture and it is making a strange smell throughout the house, is that normal?"

"I’m moving to Chicago, do you have the names of any dealers, galleries, or art organizations there?" (This got us an enthusiastic thank you note.)

"I just returned from a trip and find my landlord has put all my stuff in storage and has evicted me, what can I do?"

"How do I get to be certified by the City as an artist?"

"Is there any place where I can get together with other artists?"

"A friend of mine has just stolen all of my artwork and I can’t afford a lawyer; what can I do?"

"My partner just took all of the money in our account and bought a new car, what can I do?"

"I had a fire and all my stuff got burned up."

"Do you know where I can buy Artworkers News?"

"Where can I show my work?"

"I’m taking a welding class at school and the fumes make me sick, is that dangerous?"

"Are there any cheap therapy programs for artists?"

"Do you know anything about that art show in Paris?"

We get fifteen to twenty calls a day like that, and can usually offer something concrete. That means that we help about six thousand callers a year, free of charge, whether or not they are members. That is only one of the services we offer. Where else can you find an art organization that does so much for so little?

Most membership organizations now have staggering annual dues to keep afloat, and many, are offering fewer and fewer services to boot. We, on the other hand, sacrifice salaries and personnel so that we may continue to offer services to those most in need of them. What a nice bunch of folks, huh?

In the past few issues of the paper we have pleaded for money from our constituents, and as you may have guessed, this column constitutes one more plea. Send us a (tax deductable) donation. Renew your membership. Volunteer some time. The FCA is vital to your interests, and our members and supporters are vital to us.

To begin the New Year right, we are offering a series of three tax preparation assistance seminars for New York City area FCA members. The seminars will be given by an experienced CPA at the FCA offices in February and March, at fees well below commercial rates. For details on dates and registration, check out the box below on this page.

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Thursday, February 23; Wednesday, March 7; Tuesday, March 20

All three sessions will be held at the FCA offices and will run from 4-8 p.m. For more information and registration, call the FCA at 237-3770. Fees are $60 for FCA members making $17,000 or less; for members making over $17,000 the rate will be based on a sliding scale. Fees include a pre-registration packet.