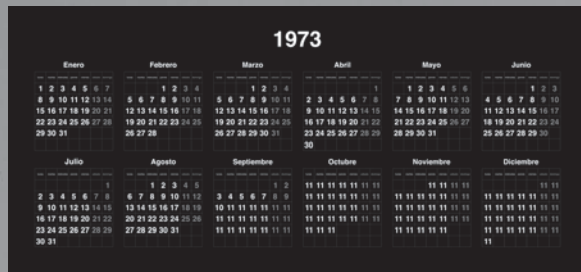


LIBRO DE LOS ARCHIVOS

After La vida nueva
Book of Archives / Libro de los archivos



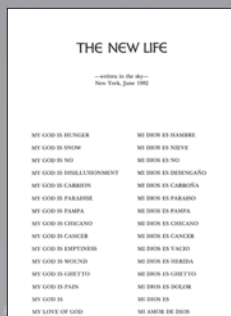
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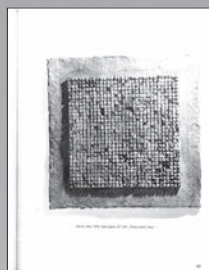
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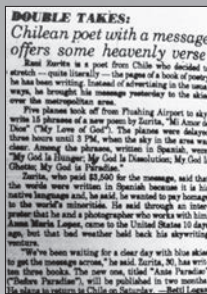
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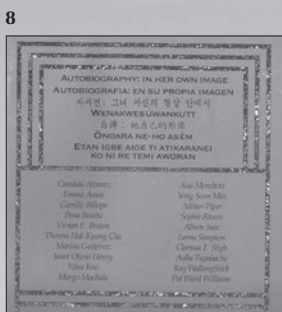
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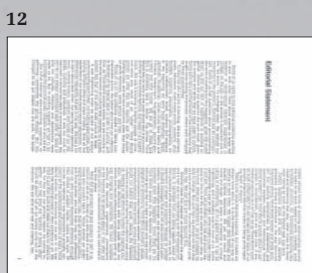
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12

Preface

Prefacio

After La vida nueva

Book of Archives

This booklet is the second in a series of three publications produced in tandem with the exhibition, *After La vida nueva*. The materials collected here trace the collective and transnational alliances which inform *After La vida nueva*—the flights, crossings, and reparative motions. Included are archival materials, photographs, and ephemera that have been central to our research, as well as reproductions of newsletters, pamphlets, and magazines published by revolutionary collectives, such as the Young Lords, Third World Gay Revolution, and the HERESIES Collective. Together these materials reflect the cultural and political internationalism that coalesced in New York in the 1970s and 1980s, as well as the divisions and tensions that gave texture to its public manifestations. Through such

After La vida nueva

Libro de los archivos

Este cuadernillo es el segundo de una serie de tres publicaciones producidas en tándem con la muestra *After La vida nueva*. Los materiales recogidos aquí rastrean las alianzas colectivas y transnacionales de las que se ocupa *After La vida nueva*: los vuelos, los cruces y los movimientos de reparación. Se incluyen materiales de archivo, fotografías y recuerdos que desempeñaron un papel fundamental en nuestra investigación, así como reproducciones de boletines, panfletos y revistas publicados por grupos revolucionarios, como los Young Lords, Third World Gay Revolution y el colectivo HERESIES. En su conjunto, estos materiales reflejan el internacionalismo cultural y político que se consolidó en Nueva York durante las décadas de 1970 y 1980, así como las divisiones y tensiones que le dieron textu-

independent publications, alternative subjectivities and communities were articulated outside of the regime of official media.

Print media has been integral to the practices of many artists in *After La vida nueva*. Visual poems by Raúl Zurita and Theresa Hak Kyung Cha are reprinted here, sourced from magazines and books that situated their work alongside the radical politics of experimental art and film. Other materials included in this book were originally produced cheaply and intended for wide distribution and reproduction. Posters and signs by Colectivo Acciones de Arte (CADA), the Sahmat Collective, and Electronic Disturbance Theater 2.0/b.a.n.g. lab demonstrate the intersection of art and activism that informed the work of many of the artists in this exhibition. Early actions by CADA in Chile often appropriated forms of popular media and advertising. Traces of these interventions are echoed by EDT's billboard advertising the *Transborder Immigrant Tool*. Posters by the

ra a sus manifestaciones públicas. Por medio de esas publicaciones, se articulaban subjetividades y comunidades alternativas fuera del régimen oficial de los medios.

Los medios impresos fueron centrales en la práctica de muchxs artistas de *After La vida nueva*. Se reproducen poemas visuales de Raúl Zurita y Theresa Hak Kyung Cha, tomados de revistas y libros que situaban sus obras en las políticas radicales del arte y el cine experimental. Otros materiales incluidos en este cuadernillo se produjeron a bajo costo, con la intención de que circularan y fueran reproducidos masivamente. Los posters y letreros de Colectivo Acciones de Arte (CADA), del Sahmat Collective y del Electronic Disturbance Theater 2.0/b.a.n.g. lab muestran los cruces entre arte y activismo que caracterizan las intervenciones de muchxs de lxs artistas de esta muestra. Las acciones de CADA en Chile con frecuencia se apropiaban formalmente de los medios masivos de comunicación y de la

Sahmat Collective against communalism were used to conceptually link groups performing across India and as a statement of solidarity with the ideas of Safdar Hashmi.

The materials in this booklet have been passed from hand to hand, some bearing the impressions of their multiple readers. It is our hope that movement continues.

publicidad. Pueden observarse huellas de esas intervenciones en las vallas con que el EDT publicitó su *Transborder Immigrant Tool*. Los posters del Sahmat Collective contra el comunalismo se usaron para vincular grupos que actuaban en toda la India y como declaración de solidaridad con las ideas de Safdar Hashmi.

Los materiales de este cuadernillo han pasado de mano en mano, y algunos conservan las huellas de sus muchxs lectorxs. Tenemos la esperanza de que ese movimiento continúe.

DOUBLE TAKES:

Chilean poet with a message offers some heavenly verse

Raul Zurita is a poet from Chile who decided to stretch — quite literally — the pages of a book of poetry he has been writing. Instead of advertising in the usual ways, he brought his message yesterday to the skies over the metropolitan area.

Five planes took off from Flushing Airport to sky-write 15 phrases of a new poem by Zurita, "Mi Amor de Dios" ("My Love of God"). The planes were delayed three hours until 3 PM, when the sky in the area was clear. Among the phrases, written in Spanish, were: "My God Is Hunger; My God Is Dissolution; My God Is Ghetto; My God is Paradise."

Zurita, who paid \$3,500 for the message, said that the words were written in Spanish because it is his native language and, he said, he wanted to pay homage to the world's minorities. He said through an interpreter that he and a photographer who works with him, Anna Maria Lopez, came to the United States 10 days ago, but that bad weather held back his skywriting venture.

"We've been waiting for a clear day with blue skies to get the message across," he said. Zurita, 30, has written three books. The new one, titled "Ante Paradiso" ("Before Paradise"), will be published in two months. He plans to return to Chile on Saturday. —Betti Logan

2

los muertos (LOS MUERTOS)
ENTERARON VEINTE DIAS
DE HEROICA HUELGA

Afirmar: Absurdo **PROYECTO DE ESTABILIZACION DE LA Vida**

SENOR Asesino
gane dinero

Antropólogos

Compran
muertos o Heridos EN FRASCOS

TAMPOCO TRABAJAN HOY
CON INCONFESABLES FINES
CESANTES Rindieron Emocionante Homenaje
 En honor
de Joyen Heredero

Por orden de la senora Sara **TENGO ORDEN DE liquidar**
 Una cama sumamente rara

CONDENADO A 15 AÑOS DE PRESIDIO
VENDO
TRAJE
1.ª COMUNION
 Con \$ 130. 000 en los bolsillos, un revólver
 y siete tiros.

AYER SE DIO POR ACCIDENTADO UN PIE
 por Falta de Apoyo

EL FONDO DE LA BAHIA DE VALPARAISO ESTA
LLENO DE RESTOS DE
 Una Mente Prodigiosa

Santo
Cast Impenetrable
QUE COMERCIA CON DINERO MANCHADO DE SANGRE

gangster
ADHESIVO
CAYO POR SOSPECHOSO
 Recogia Flores Junto al Canal

no vender
PIÑAL VAYADO
ES MUY FACIL

A los Dueños de
CAMIONES
TENGO ORDEN DE LIQUIDAR

EL ASESINO
¡PUM!
DETENIDO POR ESPECULADOR

CALCETINES
A PRESION

HOY
VENDO
 La Pila de Leseras

yanquis
 Quieren Imponer Nuevo Tipo de
CAMION BASURERO

lando

VENDO GRAN HOTEL CERCA DE
 Viviendas para Familias Jóvenes

SE OFRECEN
ORQUESTAS

SENOR Asesino
gane dinero

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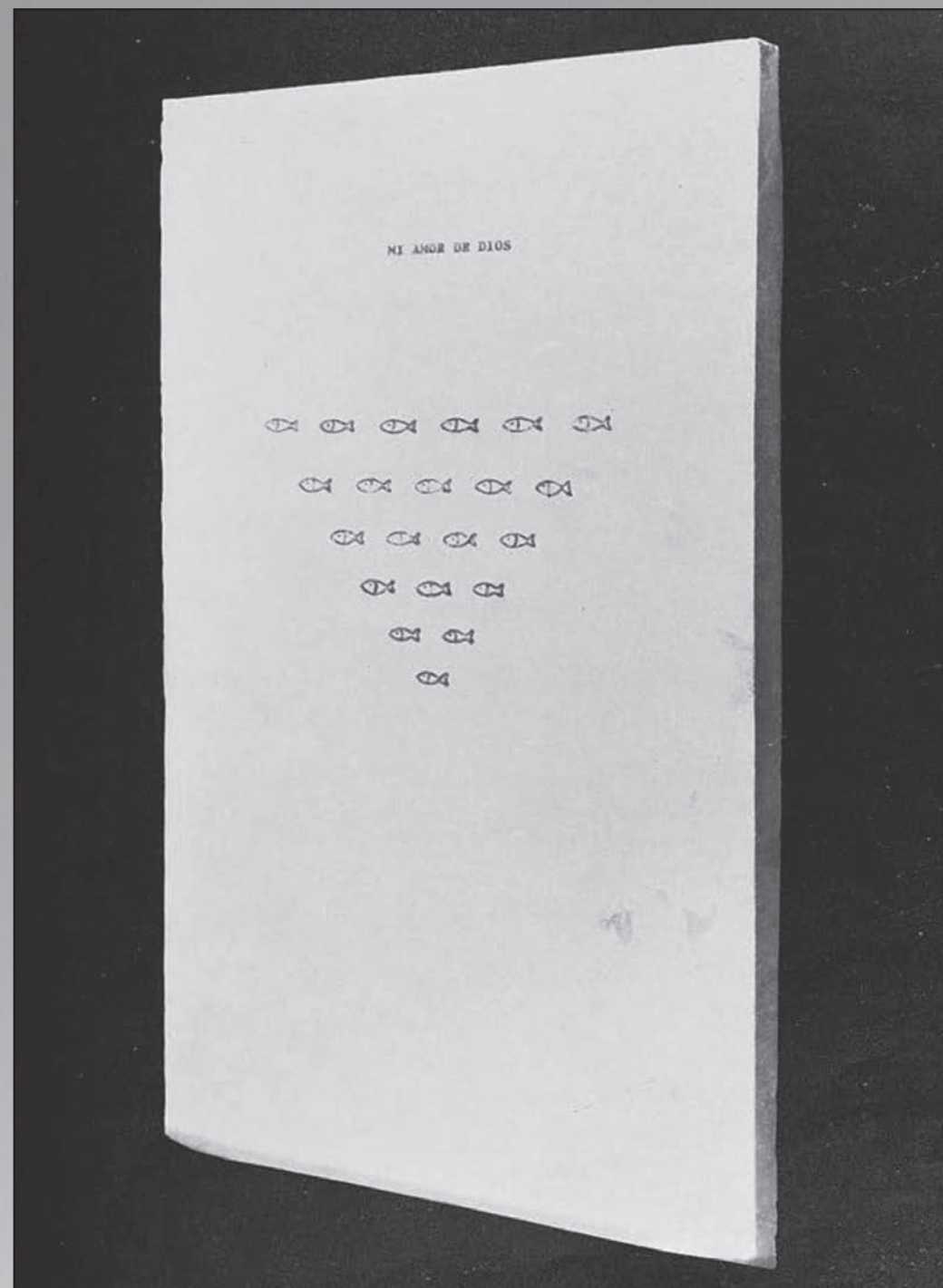
yanquis
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CAMION BASURERO

lando

VENDO GRAN HOTEL CERCA DE
 Viviendas para Familias Jóvenes

SE OFRECEN
ORQUESTAS

3



4

THE NEW LIFE

—written in the sky—
New York, June 1982

MY GOD IS HUNGER

MY GOD IS SNOW

MY GOD IS NO

MY GOD IS DISILLUSIONMENT

MY GOD IS CARRION

MY GOD IS PARADISE

MY GOD IS PAMPA

MY GOD IS CHICANO

MY GOD IS CANCER

MY GOD IS EMPTINESS

MY GOD IS WOUND

MY GOD IS GHETTO

MY GOD IS PAIN

MY GOD IS

MY LOVE OF GOD

MI DIOS ES HAMBRE

MI DIOS ES NIEVE

MI DIOS ES NO

MI DIOS ES DESENGAÑO

MI DIOS ES CARROÑA

MI DIOS ES PARAISO

MI DIOS ES PAMPA

MI DIOS ES CHICANO

MI DIOS ES CANCER

MI DIOS ES VACIO

MI DIOS ES HERIDA

MI DIOS ES GHETTO

MI DIOS ES DOLOR

MI DIOS ES

MI AMOR DE DIOS

5



6



7



TRANSBORDER
IMMIGRANT
TOOL

bang.calit2.net

AUTOBIOGRAPHY: IN HER OWN IMAGE
 AUTOBIOGRAFIA: EN SU PROPIA IMAGEN

자서전: 그녀 자신의 형상 안에서

WENAKWESÚWANKUTT

自傳: 她自己的形像

ÖNOARA NE-HO ASĚM

ETAN IGBE AIGE TI ATIKARANEI
 KO NI RE TEMI AWORAN

Candida Alvarez
 Emma Amos
 Camille Billops
 Pena Bonita
 Vivian E. Brown
 Theresa Hak Kyung Cha
 Marina Gutierrez
 Janet Olivia Henry
 Nina Kuo
 Margo Machida

Ana Mendieta
 Yong Soon Min
 Adrian Piper
 Sophie Rivera
 Alison Saar
 Lorna Simpson
 Clarissa T. Sligh
 Asiba Tupahache
 Kay WalkingStick
 Pat Ward Williams

introduction

The idea for the exhibition grew out of a series of paintings I have been developing since late 1986 in an attempt to probe some of the issues more deeply that I touched upon in my video tape of 1980, *Free, White and 21*. As a result of this ongoing work, I decided to organize an exhibition of work by women artists of color and invited 18 artists to create a private view of themselves through visual statement.

Being a woman of color, I have experienced directly the omission and underrepresentation of works by women of color. I have also noted how people of color, their history and culture are being appropriated, distorted and used as images and points of focus by white artists while artists of color are excluded from "speaking" visually, interpreting themselves on the same platform. "Women's" exhibitions organized by white feminists or "concerned" curators are often 95-100% white. Most white women sensitive to their own plight are curiously silent and insensitive to the omission.

The artists in the exhibition are from multiracial and in some cases overlapping and interwoven heritages. Their vision and tools of visual expression are not always bound to paint on canvas nor do they reflect autobiographical themes punched from the euroethnic male template of the "academy".

The initial selection of artists for the exhibition was difficult as there were too many who would be excluded. I did not wish to focus on a particular medium such as photography or sculpture although patterns and synchronicity of expression emerged. I also did not wish to focus on artists whose work would reassure the "artworld" that we want to emulate them, mirror or reinforce their stereotypes. *Autobiography*, therefore presents a view of the artist of color interpreting herself in the context of her choice which may not be particularly

pleasing to the "dominant" culture. The work is neither neutered nor devoid of personal references to gender, race, class or paradox, conflict and celebration.

The artists met in my studio to share ideas about the exhibition and decided as a group to present the title on the cover of the catalog in the languages of our various ancestors. Some felt strongly about "political" issues while others did not. It was my hope that the discussions would generate further contact between the artists to counteract some of the isolation and competition that the "art establishment" has fostered. During the first meeting, I shared excerpts from my journal notes which reflected my thought process while grappling with my own autobiographical series. Excerpts from my notes included some of the following thoughts:

1. Definition of self in a siege euroethnically-biased culture.
2. Miscegenation: hidden United States history.
3. The legacy of my mixed heritage: African, Native American, European: enslaver and enslaved.
4. Which women of color do I identify with for my standard of appearance: women of color from the United States; European identified women of color; women of color from other cultures?
- 4a. As I grew up, what were the pressures concerning hair, skin, eye color, texture of hair, body type and conformity?
5. Hierarchy and the use of images of people of color in the media and their placement on the page.
- 5a. What kind of social interaction are they portrayed as having with other people of color and people of European descent?
- 5b. Are they placed at the top of the page, behind a crowd, in the center (but alone), near the edges, at the bottom?

- 5c. Are they portrayed as exceedingly small or large. What role is being played? Is it a stereotype?
6. The brutality of omission and appropriation.
7. Use of omission as a form of censorship; First Amendment rights for whom?
8. Critique of criticism: when and if our work is written about, what type of words are selected to describe our work?
- 8a. Psychological assault and stereotyping through language and visual juxtapositions in the news.

Additionally, although I did not directly share this with the group, I made up a booklist for myself which helped to clarify some of my thinking about the ideas each work I finished seemed to stimulate. (1. Rasheed Araeen, *Making Myself Visible* [London, Kala Press, 1984]; 2. Angela Y. Davis, *Women, Race and Class* [New York, Vintage Books, 1983]; Bell Hooks, *Ain't I a Woman. Black Women and Feminism* [Boston, South End Press, 1981]; 4. Gloria I. Joseph and Jill Lewis, *Common Differences. Conflicts in Black and White Feminist Perspectives*

[Boston, South End Press, 1981]; 5. Asiba Tupahache, *Taking Another Look* [Great Neck, New York, Spirit of January, 1986]).

I wish to thank each artist in the exhibition for participating.* We wish to pay tribute to Ana Mendieta and Theresa Hak Kyung Cha. Their lives were tragically ended while they were at the peak of their most productive years. They are not forgotten. We wish to thank the executors of their estates, their families, for generously agreeing to lend their work.

I would also like to thank Inverna Lockpez, Director of INTAR Gallery and Sharon Jaddis, her assistant, for enthusiastically embracing the idea for the exhibition and providing help and encouragement. Many thanks to Bonnie Clearwater and the Lannan Foundation as well as the New York State Council on the Arts for their generous support.

—Howardena Pindell ©1988

HOWARDENA PINDELL teaches at S.U.N.Y. Stony Brook and is a 1987-88 Guggenheim Fellow in Painting.

*Unfortunately because of illness, Grace Williams was unable to participate.

19

COMMENT TAIRE

TEAR

COMPARING THE CONTEMPORARY EXPERIENCES OF ASIAN AMERICAN, SOUTH KOREAN AND CUBAN ARTISTS

by Yong Soon Min

We live in the era of the Coca Colony. Dynasty, Dallas, Rambo, McDonalds, Madonna and Michael Jackson all head the list as our foremost cultural ambassadors to the world. Their fame and popularity in many countries supplant that of native pop products and stars. In the more rarefied heights of High Culture, it's hard to imagine contemporary artists anywhere in the world unfamiliar with the likes of Henri Matisse, Picasso, Andy Warhol and Frank Stella. How many of us have been jolted by the all too familiar sights and sounds lifted from U.S. media and transplanted to some remote reaches of this planet making us feel as if we've never left home even if we'd rather go native? It's difficult to escape from the all pervasiveness of the "Voice of America" sort of cultural dominance, the handmaiden of multinational capitalism.

How Western cultural hegemony impacts on non-Western cultures both here among Asian Americans and beyond our shores is the focus of this presentation. I have singled out Cuba and south Korea to be the foreign components of this examination. This selection for a comparative study must seem quite arbitrary or farfetched considering all the many factors that set them apart. And yet, these enormous differences do not undermine some critical historical connections, and upon closer scrutiny, an unexpected congruence of issues and concerns can be discerned in the contemporary art fields of both countries. Furthermore, the questions and issues raised by the experiences of Cuban and south Korean contemporary artists are essentially identical to those discussed widely here. A crosscultural analysis of these two dynamic art centers offers significant perspectives relevant to a greater understanding of the relationship of Asian American artists and other artists of color to the mainstream here in the U.S.

A further focus is Cuban and south Korean contemporary art since 1980 as this recent period offers the most fertile field for our comparative observations. For both Cuba and south Korea, the eighties have signaled a revitalization, or a renaissance by some assessments, of a contemporary art scene which by Western standards is exceptionally sophisticated and developed relative to other third world countries. (1) In both countries, a young generation of artists have emerged whose works reflect a significant departure from the status quo of the previous generation. This new artistic "wave" in Cuba represents a liberalization from the stagnant and reductionist orientation of revolutionary culture which prevailed during the 70s. The Korean counterpart is identified under the rubric of "Min Joong Art" which roughly translates as "people's art." Min Joong Proponents consider this new spirit broadly as a new multidisciplinary cultural movement. Highly politicized, Min Joong cultural movement is engaged in efforts to invent and promote a new cultural identity.

Those who adhere to stereotypical assumptions about what art from a socialist country should look like in contrast to that from a rapidly industrialized capitalist country would understandably wonder whether the Cuban and Korean artists had exchanged roles. Ironically, Cuban



Marta Maria Perez, "La Cacerola" 1987

artists are faulted for not being socialist enough by many Western observers even though it is precisely this socio-political system that the Cubans have been fighting against. Western world. From just the appearance of the work, the currently touted Cuban art which has official government sanction and support has no easily recognizable political form and could easily blend in with much of the art found in mainstream solo galleries. In comparison, much of the current Min Joong work conveys with emotional directness all the earmarks of a social-commentary descriptive realism. While most of the younger Cuban artists have abandoned the more populist oriented formats such as mural art or poster art which was the stellar achievement of Cuban art in the 60's, these and other more populist oriented strategies aimed at getting the work out of the galleries and into the streets form a strong component of the Min Joong cultural activity. Unlike the Cuban situation, it must be understood that this Min Joong cultural movement is linked, directly or indirectly, to a growing socio-political opposition movement in south Korea which is pressing for the withdrawal of US troops as a concrete step towards realizing aspirations for reunification between north and south Korea and greater self reliance and democracy in government. In a political climate in which opposition to the government's staunch anti-communist ideology and its quest for modernization is deemed subversive, draconian measures have been imposed to censor and suppress the more militant manifestations of this movement.



John Seelin, "Self-Reflection" 1989 on paper

An instance of the earliest government crackdown on the Min Joong movement was the founding exhibition in 1980 of a group exhibit entitled, "Reality & Uterance." This exhibition which gained initial public attention for the artists, some of whom began to identify themselves as part of an organized art movement, was shut down by the authorities right after its opening at a government sponsored gallery. Later, in 1985, the government intervened in another exhibition "Power" by confiscating works and detaining some of the exhibiting artists. A 1987 National Security Law has convicted artists whose works display anti-US or reunification of north and south Korea sentiment or themes. Much of the overtly political Min Joong artworks are blacklisted from mainstream commercial galleries which are for the most part purveyors of the more commercially viable and academically accepted range of abstract art.

Coincidentally, in 1981, a year after the aforementioned pioneering "Reality and Uterance" show in Korea, a Cuban exhibition entitled "Volume One", showcasing works by recent art school graduates marked a watershed moment of public recognition for a new generation of artists. This show drew an incredible audience numbering 9000 in the first ten days and generated intense debate. What was evident in that exhibition and in others which followed was the absence of any unifying theme. A great pluralistic syncretism became predominant in which Western influences of conceptualism and neofunctionalism and postmodernist eclecticism were experimented with and reexamined with playful irony and confidence. For the generation of Cuban artists educated within the revolution, there is a surprising prevalence of individualism. Cuban artists have never expressed a wish to break radically with the Western history of art. There is rather a move to expand rather than contradict this history.

Beneath this veneer of internationalism and openness to Western influences lies a strong dialectical presence of nationalistic concerns and localized idioms. Some of the most interesting recent works synthesize an international aesthetic formal vocabulary with elements of or alluding to popular culture and kitsch as well as the diverse indigenous Indian, African and Spanish cultural heritage. The current liberalized official cultural policy reinforced by Fidel Castro's recent pronouncement amending his earlier infamous dictum of 1961, "Within the revolution, everything outside the revolution, nothing," to include the exploration of both form and content within the revolution has tolerated works which contain pointed social critique. Many of these younger artists are keenly sensitive to criticisms that their desired participation in an international dialogue may place them in a neo-colonized dependent position; likewise, they are equally mindful of the pitfalls of a defensive and isolationist form of cultural nationalism. This dilemma is clearly expressed by Armando Hart, Cuba's Minister of Culture: "The world marches toward a deeper connection of the many countries and cultures. Such interrelationships pose serious identity problems for each of our cultures. But it shall not be through isolation and chauvinism that we will maintain our own identity. We are obligated to live in an interrelationship with the rest of the world; we cannot flee this dilemma." (2)

A way of bringing-it-all-back-home, so to speak, is perhaps found in this statement of Vietnamese filmmaker Trinh T. Minh-ha: "...there is a Third World in every First World and vice versa." Asian Americans constitute along with other people of color, the Third World within the belly of the beast first World. As such, Asian American artists encounter and struggle with the same issues stemming from a Western cultural hegemony which marginalizes artists of color here by virtue of their racial difference and "otherness." Works by artists of color here suffer the same patronizing acceptance or critical dismissal as those from non Western countries in being considered derivative and/or provincial or too specifically political and lacking "universality."

Any attempt to examine or evaluate cultural production of non Western sources raises issues which are currently at the heart of the crisis experienced by several interrelated disciplines dealing with cultural studies such as art history/criticism, anthropology and ethnology. In all these fields, there are voices expressing the urgently felt sense that a fundamental reassessment and departure from the Western European and North American hegemonic and monocentric cultural perspectives is long overdue. Global socio-economic shifts and the growing emergence and assertions of third world liberation and independence

movements alongside the struggle waged by people of color on the homefront for socio-economic and cultural parity have pushed the more progressive sectors within Western institutions to question its basic assumptions and privileges in relation to the rest of the world. Nevertheless, the forces operating to assert North American interests in the world are an everyday reality for all of us to confront.

The experience of Cuban and Korean contemporary artists offers some complementary insights to our situation here about crossing over or hanging tight in relation to the mainstream. In plain talk, it's OK either way just so you don't forget who you are and who you're doing it for and why. In reality, there are few instances of "all-or-nothing conversions or resistance", rather, a lot of in-between cultural "ad hoc engagements." (3) Asian Americans are put in a particularly ambiguous relationship with mainstream American culture. Regardless of the generations of Asians who have made this country their home, Asians are still considered the eternal aliens at the same time that we're designated the honorary whites or the more recent appellation, "model minority". No matter what they call us, it's all derogatory and condescending and serves to keep us in our marginalized place.

Considering the notion of crossover first, it's interesting to take a closer look at the Cuban artistic new wave. In spite of the fact that these artists are seeking more eclectic and individualistic directions which question many of the strongly held notions about what revolutionary culture should be and look like, they still uphold an underlying consciousness that art is fundamentally linked to their society and is meant for their society. This was expressed by one of the artist in this way: "The artist always has a social function. As mythmaker, the artist has always created the personality of each culture. I am interested in the social repercussions of my work. But not in a simple, schematic way as in the case of the pamphleteer. I want to make people conscious of things, make them think. I'm not interested in elitism; rather, the artist should cultivate the minds of the people, enrich their cultural development. This does not mean giving them goods, entertaining them or making them happy... I do not believe in art as a palliative." (4) An art for art's sake attitude, which prevails in mainstream context here is virtually nonexistent in the Cuban context. Rather, there is an underlying assumption that art should be for the common good. "The common good is not defined; what is defined, implicitly, is the notion that the artist has an organic responsibility to think out for himself or herself, what connections with the common good are possible interesting and individually satisfying. There is, in other words, a palpable moral dimension to the intellectual life of the Cuban artist, a dimension that arrests the attention of an outsider stumbling upon this discourse." (5)

The situation of the Korean Min Joong artist shares much in common with Asian Americans involved in cultural work. First and foremost, both of these entities are striving for empowerment within a capitalist society. Min Joong artists' effort to critique their socio-political system parallels some of our but also differs from and surpasses ours in terms of the depth of its commitment to collective cultural practices, its militancy and its effect in its respective contexts. Numerous associations large and small have been organized by Min Joong artists to promote collective support and strength as there are few outside sources of support. For some sectors of the movement, these kinds of collective cultural production represent a means to challenge the commodification tendency and personal profit motivation of individualism. Another model for socially engaged cultural practice lies in the close working alliances formed by some of these artists with other sectors of society such as the farmers, the blue collar workers and the students who are also striving for the same socio-political empowerment. Likewise, community based Asian American



Jung Ku Lee, Painting on rice bag

arts and cultural organization function in a similar manner with deeper ties to the fuller dimension of community life. However, there is less urgency and less at stake within the Asian American context as there is for the Min Joong movement because of its ties with a national political struggle.

For Asian American and Min Joong artists, another areas of common concern and emphasis is history. How is it



Jung Ku Lee, Painting on rice bag

told or suppressed, and by whom? Like other histories of non-Western people, Asian American and Min Joong artists insist on telling their own history in an effort to set the record straight. This stems from a shared sense that much of their history has been distorted, when not suppressed, to serve the interests of various foreign powers or its own ruling class or power. In contrast to the split between the political and the poetic inherent in Western cultural canon, much of the current literature and artwork by both Asian American and Min Joong artists assert their interrelatedness and interdependence. Historical analysis is a prerequisite in almost all art historical and critical discourse relating to the Min Joong movement. One of the foremost Korean critics, Wankyung Sung began his essay contribution to a catalogue of a recent exhibition of Min Joong art in Manhattan by expressing skepticism about the North American response to the artwork due to their ignorance of the full Korean history and in particular, it's complex history of problematic encounters with the U.S. This strong nationalistic sentiment and rhetoric is tempered by the recognition that, "it is dangerous for Koreans to dismiss Western culture altogether." (6) On a similar note, a prominent Cuban art historian posits that "the most effective Cuban practice in relation to "international currents" has been, in my opinion, critical and independent assimilation, except for the mercantile and alienating mechanism typical of the distribution channels operating in the capitalist world." (7)

This presentation highlights only a few of the many interesting relationships which can be drawn from the observations of these three groups of contemporary artists in their complex relationships to the dominant Western cultural influence. Clearly, artists and the arts alone cannot substantially decenter or counter the unidirectional flow of information from the centralized Western mainstream. But I hope that this discussion challenges to a degree this monopolistic flow of information by looking and listening elsewhere and in our own communities of color. Great potential for meaningful and empowering dialogue exists when we begin to talk and listen to each other - our multitude of diverse non-western voices. Imagine that over the relentless drone of "Voice of America" muzak, could be heard a lively discussion by Korean Min Joong, Cuban and Asian American artists who have never before had the opportunity to meet all together. Other voices, Native American, Namibian and Palestinian to name just a few, join the conversation. Can you hear them?

Editorial Statement

Some of us came to this editorial collective wanting to work with other Third World women to break the isolation of racial/sexual tokenism experienced in college, on the job, in the women's movement and in the "art world." To exchange ideas. We realized our invisibility in the women's, feminist and art communities. Some of us had questions about accomplishing the work of putting out this magazine, given the myths about us and our lack of experience in working together. Others did not question the work itself, given the energies and skills that we have used to survive. Some were leery and frightened of the interactions that might occur during the process; others were intrigued by these possibilities.

To describe who we are is exciting. We are painters, poets, educators, multi-media artists, students, shipbuilders, sculptors, playwrights, photographers, socialists, craftswomen, wives, mothers and lesbians. In the beginning we were Asian-American, Black, Jamaican, Ecuadorian, Indian (from New Delhi) and Chicana; foreign-born, first-generation, second-generation and here forever. We are all of these and this is extremely hard to define. The phrase Third World has its roots in the post-World War II economic policies of the United Nations, but today it is a euphemism. We use it knowing it implies people of color, non-white and, most of all, "other." Third World women are *other* than the majority and the power-holding class, and we have concerns *other* than those of white feminists, white artists and men.

Those of us on the collective spoke of being non-marketable artists. We talked about how our creativity is drained off by menial labor in order to survive, and how, as Third World women artists, we are invisible in the white feminist art culture that operates on a buddy system like that of the white male culture at large.

It was frightening when we spoke of not always understanding each other, not trusting each other, and valuing different ideas and ways of being. With all the sameness of our double racial/sexual oppression, our differences frequently did get in the way. We had a lot to learn about each other, our varying class identifications, cultural history, symbols and tones of our lifestyles, customs and prejudices. It was too much to learn even in almost two years of working together. We still do not always understand each other in terms of who our cultures, lifestyles and oppressions have made us be. But in working together we had to acknowledge the personal power inherent in who we are.

Our initial meetings were exploring, supportive, reaffirming—sometimes like group therapy. But this changed as we got deeper into the work. We estab-

lished various kinds of working relationships around the tasks to be done, based on skills, interests, work schedules, proximity, etc. Sometimes becoming very close and remaining that way; other times the closeness fading as soon as the shared task was done.

Certain questions arose and were only partially answered. Is there a difference in the way feminism functions among Third World women and white women? Can working relationships be established and maintained between lesbian and heterosexual Third World women? Can Third World women afford to participate in volunteerism, since we have little, if any, financial security as it is? Can we as Third World women work collectively? Do we recognize that many of us actually practice feminist modes of being while rejecting them in theory?

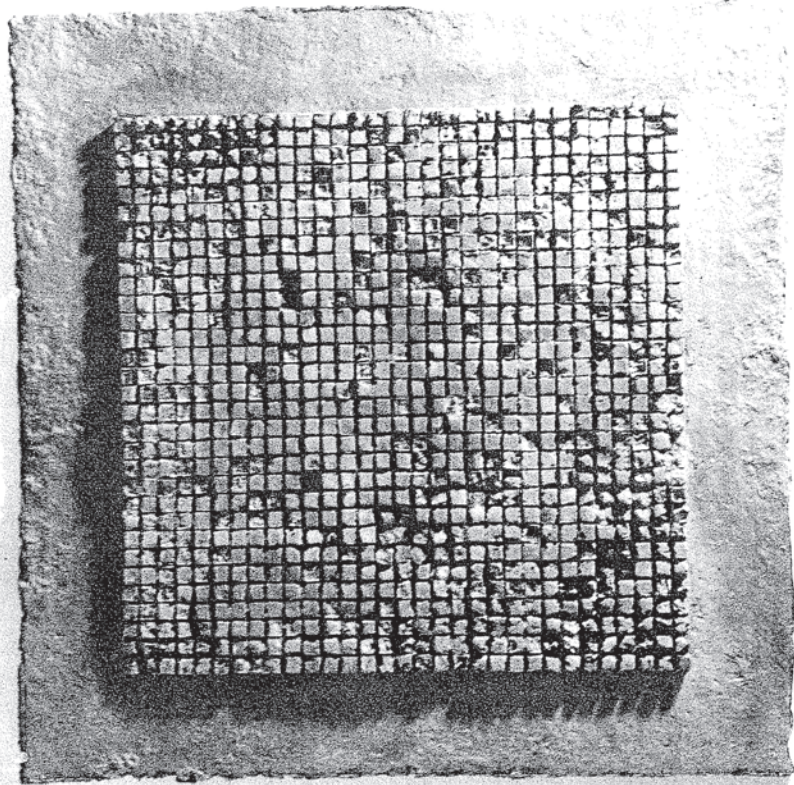
There is one issue that was a surprise, but maybe we always knew about it. It is the intensity of our way of relating to each other. We trigger deep feelings and equally intense responses. We yell and shout and curse and laugh, get angry or protective or critical, caring or domineering, all on a grand scale. It can be frightening, and it probably was for most of us. Some realized that it was all right, while others couldn't take it and left. There are probably very real and sound reasons for this to be the way we relate to each other. In the future, when we understand it, we will probably be able to change. But until then we should not let it stop us from working together. Too often in the past it probably has. We *can* and *will* move beyond this.

Another issue that plagued us throughout the year and a half was our relationship with the Heresies collective. It vacillated from our being vaguely aware of their presence while we were engrossed in our work, to reactions of anger and suspicion because of unclear or double messages that we felt were racist and paternalistic. Interestingly enough, we all recognized these incidents when they happened. Since there are no Third World women on the Heresies collective, our editorial group did not have a liaison who was knowledgeable or sensitive to Third World women's issues. Communications were frequently awkward, confusing and presumptuous. Some writers, artists and activists would not submit their work, viewing the Heresies collective as racist and feeling the collective was using us, making no real efforts to correct the ongoing situation. When decisions were being made about our efforts and issues without any consultation with us, it was enraging and exploitative. We found ourselves without the resources, organizations, connections or the finances to do anything about it. Too often we had to come to a reassessment of why we were here in the first place.

What did we envision the end product to be? A reflection of all of us—those of us who stuck it out and those who couldn't take it. Those women we understand in terms of their lives, their art and their politics, and those women who live their lives very differently from us, who express themselves differently through their choice of subject matter, media and style. Of course, we realized it was impossible to actually represent all the experiences and concerns of every Third World woman, but omissions on our part in no way deny the meaningfulness of their existence or art. We tried to put their work and ideas out there for others to see, for *that* was our primary reason for coming together. Isn't that what the "politics of being other" should be about? Let all our sisters come out of the shadows. We are alive and real and creating, too.



Ana Mendieta. *Siluetas Series*. 1978. Gunpowder and burnt images on earth and grass.

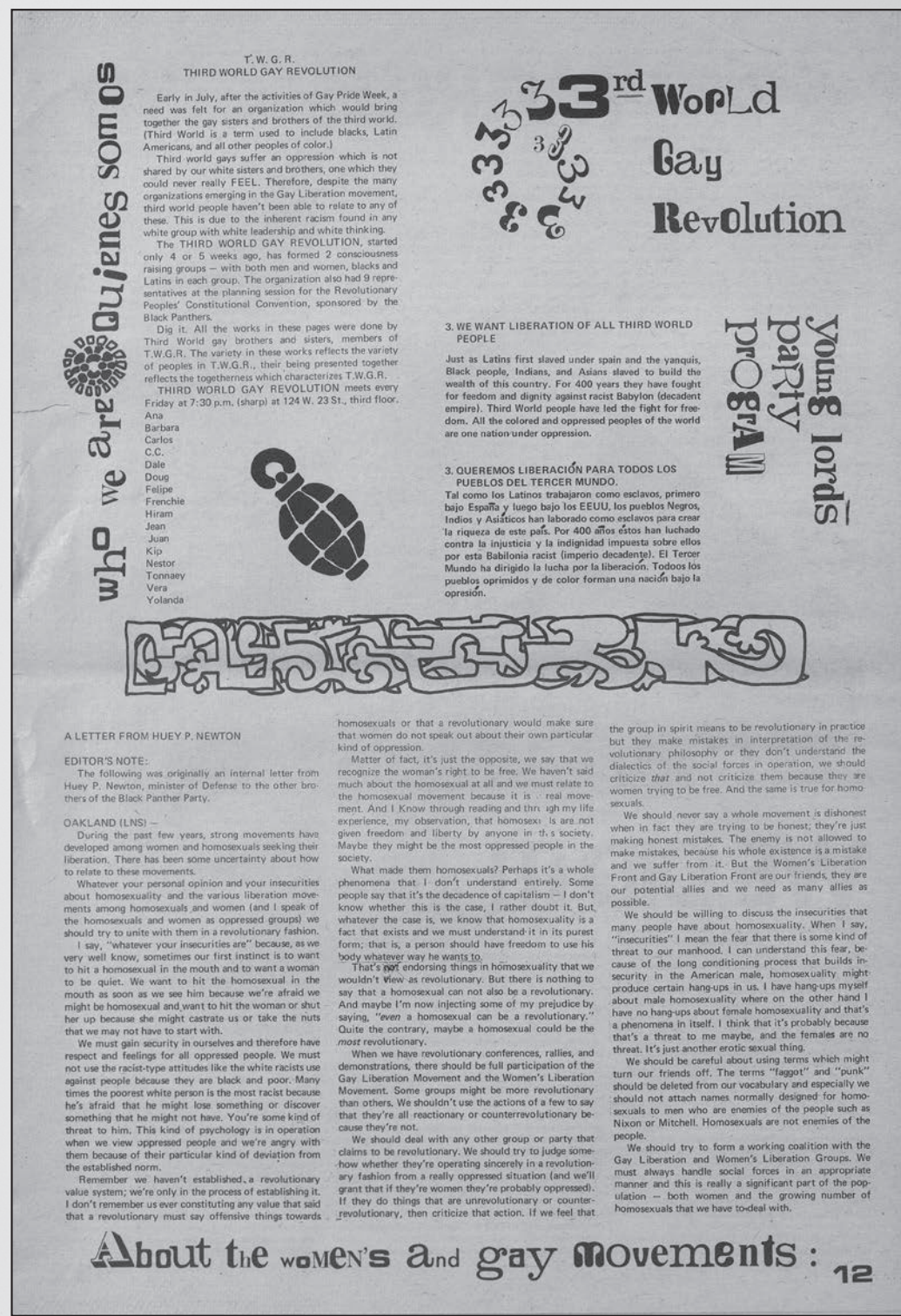
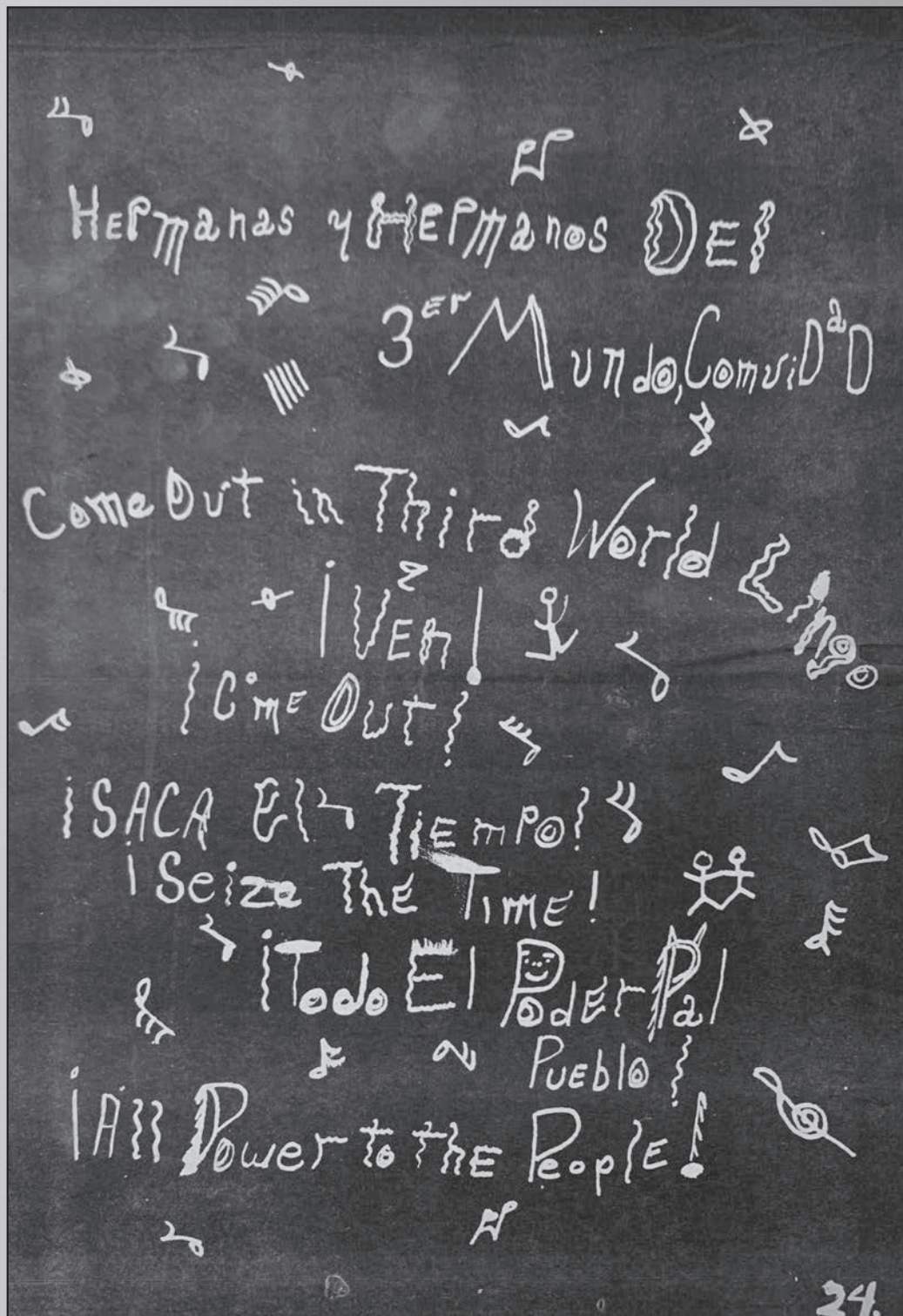


Zarina. *Wall*. 1979. Cast paper, 24" x 24". Photo credit: Ram.

In defence of our secular tradition



जैसी अगन उदर मै तैसी बाहर माया



STOP ALL OPRESSION!!

THE OPPRESSED SHALL NOT BECOME THE OPPRESSOR

"Sisters and Brothers of the Third World, you who call yourselves 'revolutionaries' have failed to deal with your sexist attitudes. Instead you cling to male-supremacy and therefore to the conditioned role of oppressors. Brothers still fight for the privileged position of man-on-the-top. Sisters quickly fall in line behind-the-men. By your counterrevolutionary struggle to maintain and to force heterosexuality and the nuclear family, you perpetuate outmoded remnants of Capitalism. By your anti-homosexual stance you have used the weapons of the oppressor thereby becoming the agent of the oppressor.

It is up to Third World males to realistically define masculinity because it is you, who, throughout your lives have struggled to gain the unrealistic roles of "men". Third World men have always tried to reach this precarious position by climbing on the backs of women and homosexuals. "Masculinity" has been defined by white society as the amount of possessions (including women) a man collects, and the amount of physical power gained over other men. Third World men have been denied even these false standards of "masculinity". Therefore stop perpetuating in yourselves and your community the white-supremacist notions which are basic to your own oppression.

We, as Third World gay people suffer a triple oppression:

1) We are oppressed as people because our humanity is routinely devoured by the carnivorous system of Capitalism.

2) We are oppressed as Third World people by the economically inherent racism of white American society.

3) We are oppressed by the sexism of the white society and the verbal and physical abuse of masculinity-deprived Third World males.

The right of self-determination over dominion of one's own body is a human right and this right must be defended with one's body being put on the line.

By the actions you have taken against your gay brothers and sisters of the Third World you who throughout your lives have suffered the torments of social oppression and sexual repression, have now placed yourselves in the role of oppressor.

Anti-homosexuality fosters sexual repression, male-supremacy, weakness in revolutionary drive, and results in an inaccurate non-objective political perspective.



HERMANAS UNIDAS

GAY LIBERATION HEADS SOUTH

El 51% de la población de este país y del mundo son mujeres. Si nos uniéramos, podríamos evitar todo lo que está mal en el mundo. Hay muchas cosas malas que están ocurriendo y no puede ser que sigan así. Porque si continúa de esta manera pronto no existirá siquiera el mundo en que vivimos.

Hay hombres que disparan armas de guerra, que tiran bombas sobre niños, que ensucian el aire y la tierra. Hay también los que construyen edificios fríos para llenarlos de máquinas, y más máquinas, siempre más máquinas. Y en estos edificios, junto con las máquinas, están ustedes... o sea — nosotras. Igualdad sí, solamente para las máquinas. Somos máquinas, máquinas. Somos máquinas. Comemos, trabajamos y formamos como máquinas.

DIME: Como están las cosas? Por cuánto tiempo más seguirán así las cosas en este mundo? Pero los hombres no nos oyen, o sea no nos quieren oír. Ellos hablan mucho pero raramente escuchan. Ellos discuten y nosotras jeringamos. Nosotras tenemos miedo hasta de hablar. Y más tenemos decimos una a la otra lo que sentimos.

Algunas veces, cuando tenemos un minuto libre, nos preguntamos — "soy yo la única que se siente como yo me siento? Acaso estoy loca?"; NO!! Nunca estuvimos locas, y ahora tampoco estamos solas. Ahora padecemos comunico lo que sentimos unas a otras. Hermanas, ya es hora de que nos salvemos. Solamente dándonos cuenta de las porquerías que tenemos que aguantar, solamente en esto hay esperanza. Esperanza, para nosotras, para los hombres, para el mundo. Pero lo que hacemos no lo podemos hacer SOLAS. Tenemos que descubrir JUNTAS que cosas podemos hacer. Si tu quisieras comunicarnos lo que sientes, puedes escribirnos (o VENIR) a la dirección de este periódico. Recuérdelo — Juntas podemos cambiar lo que está mal.

Ana Sanchez
Lydia French

lesbianas, únanse

LOS OPRIMIDOS NO SE CONVERTIRAN EN OPRESORES

Hermanas y hermanos del 3er Mundo: Uds., que se llaman revolucionarios, no se han enfrentado a sus actitudes sexistas. En cambio, se han aferrado al machismo y en consecuencia al papel de opresor. Adn Uds. luchan por la posición privilegiada del machismo, y cada una de Uds., hermanas, sigue detrás de los "hombres".

Por vuestra lucha contrarrevolucionaria para mantener (y forzar) la heterosexualidad y el núcleo familiar, Uds. perpetúan las viejas ideas remanentes del capitalismo.

Por vuestra posición anti-homosexual han usado las armas del opresor, en consecuencia convirtiéndose en agente del mismo.

Está en Uds., hombres del 3er mundo, — definir la masculinidad de un modo más realista. Porque son Uds. quienes a través de sus vidas han luchado para alcanzar esta posición precaria poniéndose por encima de las mujeres y los homosexuales, en consecuencia perpetuando en Uds. mismos y en la comunidad las nociones capitalistas blancas del machismo, las cuáles se encuentran básicamente en vuestra propia opresión.

Nosotros, gente homosexual del 3er Mundo, sufrimos una triple opresión:

1) Estamos oprimidos como personas, pues nuestra humanidad está sistemáticamente devorada por el sistema carnívoro capitalista.

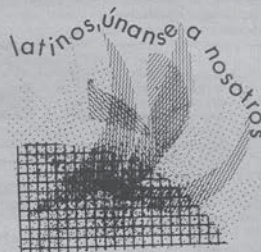
2) Estamos oprimidos como gente del 3er Mundo por el racismo derivado del sistema económico de la sociedad americana-blanca.

3) Estamos oprimidos por el sexismo de — esta misma sociedad blanca y a menudo más nosexista verbal y físicamente por el machismo de los hombres del 3er mundo. El derecho de autodeterminación sobre el propio cuerpo es un derecho humano y este derecho será defendido con la vida.

A consecuencia de las acciones que Uds. han tomado contra sus hermanas y hermanos homosexuales del 3er mundo, Uds., que a través de sus vidas sufrieron los tormentos de la opresión social y la represión sexual, se han puesto ahora en el papel de opresor.

Antihomosexualidad alienta y promueve represión sexual, machismo, debilidad en el empuje revolucionario, y una inexacta no-objetiva perspectiva política.

BASTA DE OPRESION!!



The term ended, many people left for home, and things cooled in Tallahassee. But G.L.F. continued. Meetings have averaged over 30 all summer (many of these new people). G.L.F.ers have opened a liberated Gay bar, Tallahassee's first and only gay bar! There have been G.L.F. picnics and surf-ins... in general, it's been a relaxed summer of getting it together.

A lot of work is being done to insure that G.L.F.s will soon form in other areas of the South, especially Atlanta. We're planning a workshop in Fall to bring Gay people from all over the South to Tallahassee to find out more about the Gay Liberation movement.

Much will be happening at F.S.U. when the next term starts. Gay orientation will be held during registration; a non-credit course on Gay Liberation will be offered at FSU — led by G.L.F.; a community center will be opened, hopefully.

We will also be spending time exploring the nature of our oppression and what we need to do to end it. We need to learn to deal with sexism, both in others and in ourselves. But primarily, we'll be striving to maintain the unity and love we feel for each other as people, and as sisters and brothers in the Gay Liberation Front, which has given us the strength we need to survive in this last stronghold of the Confederacy.

OVARIO UNO

porque estuve con vos en el territorio rojo de tu vagina con vos y con tu cicatriz de besos en los senos con vos y conmigo mientras las cucarachas fornicaban y no las veíamos pero escuchábamos sus gritos por las cuevas

porque estuve con vos y con mi menstruación mojándote las piernas con vos y tus ojos DE CIGARRILLO APAGADO con vos tirada de espaldas a un muelle adivinando un caballo por las nubes

porque soñé una noche que CHAPLIN y hitler eran mis invitados y los condenaba a afeitarse los bigotes y vos desnuda nos cocinabas papas fritas porque toco tus piernas y odio tus

BOM BA CHAS en los colectivos

porque tus manos tienen cara de jazz porque me entenece oler tu mierda y tus erectos son bocinas de ángeles porque a veces estoy sola y corro y soy capaz de mandar mis manos

a una tintorería porque quiero revolcarme en el barro y hacerte el amor rodeada de lombrices porque entramos a los hoteles y se creen que somos primas y cabalgamos nuestro amor en sábanas para primas porque paso mis dedos por la casa de tus intestinos porque tengo hemorroides pero igual te deseo porque me gusta golpearle y morder to pelambre con ruido a clarinete

porque me lavo las manos antes de entrar a tus ovarios para no infectarte

porque tu jefe es estúpido y mi madre es estúpida porque sola vos sola vos sola vos

sola yo con vos solamente mis manos con vos valen la pena porque sos una muchacha porque yo soy una muchacha porque quiero desnudarte y hacerte morir cerca del infierno cerca de tu vagina volcán de tu vagina otoño de tu vagina black de tu vagina Moisés dialéctico de tu vagina china arroz de tu vagina luna con astronautas de tu vagina papá no me quiere de tu vagina basta de tu vagina siempre.

Marta Ferro



pœry

nunca voy a dejar de ser idiota nunca voy a decir la palabra justa, siempre la pienso después entre lágrimas caminando o tirado en algún lado pero que hago con decirte que te amo te lo dije tantas veces te amo y no puedo hacerte el amor, y esto no lo puedo entender me siento miserable tengo la voz débil de niño estoy paralizado quisiera matarme pienso y no a qué estoy jugando pero allí me quedo, no puedo mirar pero que hago con decirte que te amo me d' cuenta de que lo esperabas a él para reñirte lo esperabas serio, y yo me quede allí al borde de la ventana mirando para abajo otras ventanas oscuras, luces azules, el cielo cortado de techos y vos seguís riendo entonces me bañé y cuando me fui estaba abrazando a él, acurrucado, esperando que la puerta se cerrara.

Y ahora estoy aquí en esta casa muerta estoy aquí temblando estoy yo y deberé ser bastante llega el viento con tus quejidos de amor llegan vahos de semen y crujidos quiero mojarme y oler tierra pronto quiero gritar para mí solo en la mitad del trueno quiero agotarme, dar puntetazos a la tierra y sangrar un poema no basta tiene que ser sangre con tierra abierto en dos tierra con sangre.

Néstor Latronico 1970

to love
WE MUST LIVE
to live
WE MUST SURVIVE
to survive
WE MUST FIGHT

and if I fight
I contribute to the dawn
and so — victory is born
even in the darkest hours.

that no dogmatism is acceptable about who can be
come revolutionary and who cannot.

Frantz Fanon

BEAT IS GETTIN'

The whole world is fighting the u.s. enemy. All over the planet, people are kicking u.s. capitalism out of their countries and setting up societies that they control. In fact, people are kicking capitalism apart inside the u.s. too, where it was disintegrating slowly by itself.

We are made to believe that we are isolated. Well, Puerto Ricans are not alone. We have many friends. In the schools of Ponce, Puerto Rico and Bridgeport, Connecticut, we are not told about our friends around the world. But how much is the stuff we are learning worth if we do not know the history of the people of China, who make up 1/4 of the world's people? Or India? Or Brazil? Or Hawaii?

Right now, the first front, or the location of the most advanced struggle against amerikkka, is in Vietnam. This front is rapidly expanding to include all of Indo-China (Cambodia, Thailand, Laos). The second front has been the Middle East, where our Arab sisters and brothers are struggling for survival against the u.s.-backed government of Israel and against traitor-kings among their own people.

One of the ways we measure where the struggle is greatest is by the intensity of the armed struggle, since this indicates a high level of development. In Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, Santo Domingo, and Guatemala, armed revolutionaries are beating the puppets of amerikkka who set up shop in their countries. Latin America is the third front.

Puerto Rico, out of all these countries, is owned directly by amerikkka. Here the u.s. doesn't even try to lie. Our island is a colony, a nation in chains. One-third of our people are even in chains inside the monster itself. The Young Lords Party Party is opening a branch in Ponce, March 21. Two-thirds of our people are in chains in Puerto Rico.

Puerto Rico must become our focus, the world's focus, for an intense, important struggle. Puerto Rico is the 4th largest consumer—by force, not by choice—of u.s. goods. It is an important market for the u.s. to lose.

Amerikkka must lose it if we are to live. There are 5 million of us. But we are not alone. As a people of color, we are part of the Third World.

So that we make up 2/3 of the world. And out of that 1/3 that's left, guess how big the army is when white people are fighting inside the u.s. and europe?

This issue of Palante is devoted to checking out various struggles around the world. Dig these fights, and when you demonstrate with the Young Lords Party, March 21, in Bridgeport, Ponce, Philadelphia, and New York, remember:

WE ARE NOT ALONE!

**INTENSIFY THE STRUGGLE!
LIBERATE PUERTO RICO NOW!
POWER TO ALL OPPRESSED
PEOPLE!**

Editor

(United Nations, Oct. 28) The Albanian representative to the UN condemned the u.s. for its systematic oppression of Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, and Native Americans, calling the u.s. the most racist country in the world.

(Mexico, Jan. 26) Massive public protests forced the Mexican government to release 17 people who had been imprisoned for criticizing president Luis L. Acheverria's regime. They had been in jail since 1968 when the government answered protesting students and workers with massacres and mass arrests.

(Milan, Italy, Dec. 17) A 23 year old student, Saverio Saltarelli, was killed by a tear gas shell in the throat fired at close range by cops who were trying to break up a protest march that tried to link up repression in Spain with repression in Italy. 30 people were wounded in the police attack.



(Argentina, Jan. 16) 2500 workers occupied the plant that produces Fiat cars. They closed down the huge factory and held 100 foremen, bosses and administrators as hostages. They threatened to burn the place down if police intervened and if seven union people were not rehired. Meanwhile, other workers dynamited two banks.

(San Luis Obispo, Cal., Feb. 4) A bomb damaged the apartment of the deputy county sheriff. No injuries.

(San Francisco, Cal., Feb. 8) A cop on patrol started firing at several Black brothers whom he claims were carrying guns on the street. They returned the fire, seriously wounding the cop. Police sealed off the neighborhood and harassed the community for several hours. No arrests made.

(Washington, Jan. 21) The Survival of Native Indians Association announced that Native Americans would have to defend themselves after a Puyallup Indian was murdered by white vigilantes.

(Panama, Jan. 22) Esso and Caltex oil companies bombed. This followed an 8-day strike against an oil price increase. The strike forced the companies to return to the original price.

(Wilmington, North Carolina, Feb. 8) A 19 year old Black brother was killed by police and the shit was on. White night riders attacked Blacks and threatened to bomb a community center in a church. ARMED HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS OCCUPIED THE CHURCH. When the police and national guard attacked the next morning, the church was empty, 2 cops wounded.

STRONGER...

(Laos, February) After Nixon claims that there are no u.s. troops in Laos, CBS reports on Feb. 11 that u.s. special forces units dressed in saigon uniforms were being flown into Laos in u.s. helicopters. On February 10, a United Press International dispatch from Khesanh reported that at least 100 amerikkkan ground troops were known to have been fighting in Laos. Besides this, we know that the invasion would be impossible without the 9,000 u.s. troops involved in the operations, providing nearly all the air cover, mechanics and rescue teams and maintaining the supply lines.

(St. Petersburg, Florida) Albert Courtney, a member of the Junta of Militant Organizations (JOMO) has been sentenced to one year in jail for "resisting arrest without violence." The brother was arrested in retaliation for the boycott of the St. Petersburg shopping center led by JOMO. To help, contact: Al Courtney Defense Fund, PO Box 12792, St. Petersburg, Florida 33733.



(NYC, Feb. 11) A Manhattan grand jury cleared four Tombs guards accused of beating Raymond Lavon Moore to death. The grand jury ignored the testimony of another guard who said he had seen the four beat Lavon with blackjacks. They also ignored the second autopsy report which proved Lavon's skull had been fractured before his death. The city medical examiner had claimed that the fracture happened when they were cutting Lavon's already-dead body down. Bullshit.

(San Juan, Puerto Rico, Feb. 16) Bombs exploded at the Americana and El San Juan Hotels tonight, causing extensive damage but no injuries, police said. Earlier in the day, police found an unexploded bomb under a Coast Guard navigational beacon and three unexploded molotov cocktails in a building in the old part of the city. Police gave no explanation for the incidents.

(Bufala, Oklahoma, Feb. 17) 2 state policemen were shot to death. A third cop was critically wounded.

(Bronx, NY, Feb. 15) A detective in the Simpson Street police station was shot and killed by a 34 year old Puerto Rican brother, Antonio C. Alemany. After Alemany grabbed the cop's gun and shot him, he was gunned down by other detectives in the precinct.



(Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Feb. 20) Two cops found shot to death in their patrol cars. About five hours later, another cop was also shot to death in his car. Hundreds of young Blacks and Puerto Ricans were arrested in a massive round-up ordered by former police commissioner Frank Bozozko who is now running for mayor of Philly. Earlier in the week, two Philly cops shot a retarded young man to death. They claimed he was going to attack them.

(Jaipur, India, Feb. 24) 6 workers on a picket line were killed and several others injured when police fired into a crowd demonstrating for higher pay at a factory in Kota.

(NYC, Feb. 23) To the Young Lords Party: "We fully support this next step in the liberation of the Puerto Rican people and of liberating your homeland by opening an office in Ponce. We denounce the racist and repressive actions of the police and of the united states government, both here and in Puerto Rico. The defeat of the oppressors of the Puerto Rican people is a victory for all oppressed people." Signed: Belgian Liberation Front & Guerrilla Art Action Group.

(Laos, Feb. 26) Viet Cong and North Vietnamese troops destroyed a large group of South Vietnamese paratroopers and seized control of Hills 31 and 30 in Laos. One u.s. phantom jet was downed in the attack, and one helicopter was badly damaged.

Washington, Monday, March 1 (News Bureau)—An explosion, caused by a bomb, ripped through the north end of the Senate wing of the U.S. Capitol Building this morning causing extensive damage.

1973

[illegible]

20

SEPTIEMBRE

LU HA HI JU VI SA DO

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solo once después del once!



medr

1973

un once para sempre sempre
sempre

A. VAAR
74

Image Credits

1. Betti Logan, “Double Takes: Chilean poet with a message offers some heavenly verse,” *Queens Tribune*, June 3, 1982, n.p.
2. Nicanor Parra et al., “El quebrantahuesos,” *Manuscritos* no. 1 (1975): 17.
3. Raúl Zurita, “La vida nueva,” *Manuscritos*, no. 1 (1975): 87.
4. Raúl Zurita, “La vida nueva,” in *Anteparadise: A Bilingual Edition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 1.
5. Colectivo Acciones de Arte (CADA), *No+*, 1983–1989. Digital print on paper, 12 × 16 in. (30.5 × 40.5 cm). Collection of Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía, Madrid. Photo by Lotty Rosenfeld and Diamela Eltit.
6. Electronic Disturbance Theater 2.0/b.a.n.g. lab, image of a protest from the Spanish Revolution (2011) featuring a poster that reads “ERROR 404 Democracia Not Found,” 2011, published in Ricardo Dominguez, “Error 404 A Hemifest,” *emisférica* 8, no. 1 (2011): <https://hemisphericinstitute.org/en/emisferica-81/8-1-dossier/e81-dossier-error-404-2011.html>. Courtesy the artist.
7. Electronic Disturbance Theater 2.0/b.a.n.g. lab, image from “Digital Mural Project,” Galería de la Raza, San Francisco, September 3–23, 2010. Courtesy the artist.
8. Front cover of *Autobiography: In Her Own Image*, ed. by Howardena Pindell (New York: INTAR Gallery, 1988).
9. Howardena Pindell, “Introduction,” in *Autobiography: In Her Own Image* (New York: INTAR Gallery, 1988), 8–9.

10. Theresa Hak Kyung Cha, “The Commentaire,” in *Apparatus, Cinematographic Apparatus: Selected Writings*, ed. Theresa Hak Kyung Cha (New York: Tanam Press, 1980), 270–271.
11. Yong Soon Min, “Comparing the Contemporary Experiences of Asian American, South Korean, and Cuban Artists,” *Artspiral*, no. 2 (1989), n.p.
12. Lula Mae Blocton et al., “Editorial Statement,” in “Third World Women: The Politics of Being Other,” a special issue of *HERESIES: A Feminist Publication on Art and Politics* 2, no. 4, (1979): 1.
13. Ana Mendieta, image from *Siluetas Series*, in “Third World Women: The Politics of Being Other,” a special issue of *HERESIES: A Feminist Publication on Art and Politics* 2, no. 4, (1979): 89.
14. Zarina, image of *Wall* (1979) published in “The Other Portfolio,” in “Third World Women: The Politics of Being Other,” a special issue of *HERESIES: A Feminist Publication on Art and Politics* 2, no. 4, (1979): 69.
15. Sahmat Collective, poster reading “In defense of our secular tradition,” 1993, published in *The Sahmat Collective: Art and Activism in India since 1989*, eds. Jessica Moss and Ram Rahman (Chicago: Smart Museum of Art, 2013) n.p.
16. “Come Out In Third World Lingo,” back cover of *Come Out!: A Liberation Forum for the Gay Community* 1, no. 7, (December/January 1970–71): 24. Courtesy Archivo Moléculas Malucas.
17. “Third World Gay Revolution,” *Come Out!: A Liberation Forum for the Gay Community* 1, no. 5 (September/October 1970): 12–14. Courtesy Archivo Moléculas Malucas.

18. “Beat is gettin’ stronger...” *Pa’lante* 3, no. 4 (March 5–19, 1971): 2–3. Courtesy of Tamiment Library and Robert F. Wagner Labor Archives, NYU Special Collections.

19. Alfredo Jaar, *September 11, 1973 (Black)*, 1974/2017. Pigment print. Courtesy the artist, New York.

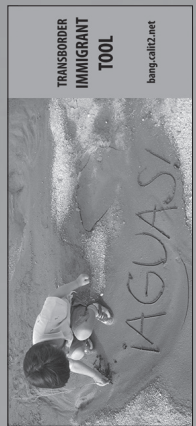
20. Alfredo Jaar, *September 11, 1973*, 1974. Drawing. Courtesy the artist, New York.



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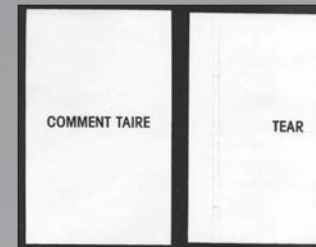


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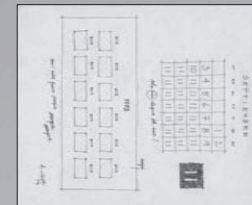
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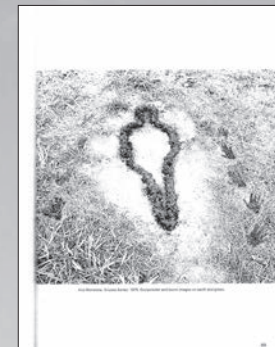
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