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I M A G E R Y O F

# DISSENT





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**IMAGERY OF DISSENT:**  
*Protest Art from the 1930s and 1960s*

*Mary Lee Muller, Curator*

March 4 - April 16, 1989

Elvehjem Museum of Art  
University of Wisconsin-Madison



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## FOREWORD

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2 Many of the graphic works which are included in *Imagery of Dissent* will be familiar to those who were involved in the political activities of the 1930s or the 1960s. These images, which were printed in large quantities and widely distributed through popular publications, were well known visual icons of their times and are important historical documents today. However, because of their specific focus and contextual nature, they are little known. Since they were never intended as unique works of fine art, the original drawings are, for the most part, lost. Also lost are the names of many of the artists from the 1960s. Their primary purpose was a selfless but effective political message, never aesthetics or personal acclaim. The published versions are also disappearing: as the issues ceased to be poignant, the newspapers and magazines in which they appeared were consigned to the attic (or the rubbish heap) where the materials they were made of inevitably decay. Happily, however, some of these graphic images have been preserved.

The Library of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin has the largest collection of alternative or "underground" newspapers in the world. The original collection was developed by Charles Shetler, the Librarian, and Gerald R. Eggleston, the Acquisitions Librarian, beginning in 1967. The collection includes titles from every state plus most of Canada and continues to grow through donations of older materials and subscriptions to the few currently published titles. James Danky's *Undergrounds: a union list of alternative periodicals in libraries of the United States and Canada* was published by the

Society in 1974. All of the original issues in this exhibition are drawn from materials saved after microfilming and selected for retention by Paul Hass, George Talbot and James Danky.

On behalf of the Elvehjem, I wish to especially acknowledge the exhibition's guest curator Mary Lee Muller. It was Ms. Muller's imagination which first conceived of this project and her scholarship which saw it through to successful completion. Thanks also to James Dennis, Professor of Art History at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, who brought Ms. Muller's project to my attention.

Several members of the Elvehjem staff also contributed significantly to the project. Thank you to Drew Stevens, Associate Curator, for attention to curatorial detail and Kathy Parks, Assistant to the Director, for her organizational skills; thank you to Lisa Calden, the Elvehjem Registrar, who handled the detailed paper work associated with her office and Dale Malner, the Museum Preparator, for a handsome installation. Thank you also to Andy Kraushaar and Kalleen Mortensen for catalogue photography.

The final place of honor is reserved for the lenders to the exhibition, the Wisconsin State Historical Society and Rare Book Room of the Memorial Library at the University of Wisconsin-Madison who shared their collections and their expertise with the Elvehjem. Without their generous cooperation this exhibition would have never come into being.

Russell Panczenko  
Director



## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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In the working on and finally completing the work for the exhibit and catalogue essay, I relied on the assistance and support of many wonderful friends and colleagues.

My thanks to James Dennis, Professor of Art History at the University of Wisconsin–Madison, who supported the idea of this exhibit and suggested it to Russell Panczenko, Director of the Elvehjem. I would also like to acknowledge the work of Elvehjem staff members—Drew Stevens and Kathy Parks. Kathy's ability to get things done was especially appreciated.

The staff of the Rare Book Room of the Memorial Library at the University of Wisconsin–Madison, especially Barbara Richards, and the staff of the Iconography Department of the Wisconsin State Historical Society, especially Myrna Williamson, were most helpful in facilitating my research. Thanks also to Ed Duesterhoeft of the Microform Center at Memorial Library for granting me easy access to necessary research material. I also want to thank Wilma Thompson, Librarian at the Wiscon-

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Thank you to David Pearson whose cooking provided me with nutritional sustenance during my work. A grateful thank you to Elaine Rosenblatt, Barbara Lockwood and Rebecca Williams—friends who gave much appreciated encouragement and support.

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And a loving thank you to Jessica, my daughter, who gives so much happiness and joy.

Mary Lee Muller

# THE ICONOLOGY OF DISSENT

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## *Radical Imagery in the Pictorial Expression Of the 1930s and 1960s*

The 1930s and 1960s were decades of upheaval and radical ferment for American society. During these two eras many artists, intellectuals and social critics focused on perceived injustices and imbalances existing within their social realities and offered radical and revolutionary alternatives in the interest of a better society. From this critical perspective emerged a protest art which mirrored a revolutionary vision informed by the radical ideologies and attitudes of the periods. Artists who became involved with the social struggles of their times postulated a dialectic to the established reality. Their visual vocabulary of dissent commented on the human condition in an unjust and alienating social order in need of revolution and transformation.

An iconological analysis of these protest graphics is a study of the intrinsic meaning and content of the drawing within the historical context. Looking at the historical nature of art involves a sociology of art, for as Arnold Hauser has stated: ". . . the social history of art merely asserts that art forms are . . . also expressions of a socially conditioned world view."<sup>1</sup> Specifically, socially conscious art confronts and engages the viewer in critical awareness and thought, and protest artists create worlds where oppression and victimization are fought against.

In the Depression decade of the 1930s, a revolutionary Marxist approach to art emerged in the graphic works of social realist artists who were affiliated with the journal *New Masses*. In portraying a Marxian perspective, social realist artists such as William Gropper demonstrated how political considerations affected the nature of art, especially in thematic content.<sup>2</sup> With clear reference to traditional Marxist argument, social realists conceived of art as grounded in the objective historical reality reflecting the class structure of the capitalist social system. They practiced an aesthetic intended to create a sense of solidarity with and among the working class, to inspire hope and confidence in the "revolutionary elan" of the proletariat, and to impel their viewers to militant action on behalf of the workers. True to their socialist sensibilities, these artists viewed themselves as creating revolutionary cultural values from the perspective of a distinctly Marxian class struggle analysis. They insisted that art had a class basis inseparable from economic, social and political life and felt it imperative that artists enlist art as a weapon in the class struggle. The Marxist aesthetic as expressed in the social realist genre directed that art should function as a transmitter of revolutionary values; it should be

agitational and help create a revolutionary consciousness among the people.

*New Masses* appeared as a monthly in 1926 and was a major disseminator of graphic works representing the social realist genre. By 1930 it had become the mouthpiece for the American Communist Party and thus advanced a Marxian political philosophy. In February, 1931 the editors of the magazine touted it as ". . . the cultural weapon of the class-conscious workers and revolutionary intellectuals of this country."<sup>3</sup> Revolutionary artists working for *New Masses* outlined the role for artists in the revolutionary process and rallied other artists to be revolutionary in their social viewpoint. According to Jacob Burck:

"It is up to the revolutionary artists to help pave the way for a complete break with bourgeois culture by developing new plastic revolutionary expressions which are an outgrowth of the class struggle and which embody the aspirations of the working class for the desired classless state."<sup>4</sup>

By the 1960s, however, the radical vision had changed significantly enough to focus attention on the predicament of the individual within an overwhelmingly technocratic society. Issues of class and economics became subsumed within a paradigm of social oppression which broadened the critical analysis to encompass the entire cultural environment. The 1960s radicals rejected the positivist and materialist world view essential to the Marxist dogma of dialectical materialism. Instead, they adopted a perspective existential and transcendental in tone and philosophically romantic in its interpretation. Radical thinkers and artists eschewed the scientific, rationalist world view adopting a critical attitude toward the technological world. They became concerned with the human condition within a dehumanized environment. The oppressor was no longer exclusively the economic structure of the capitalist system, but, rather, the overarching technocracy which dominated and controlled all aspects of existence.

Socially concerned artists who created within the 1960s oppositional environment practiced an "art of negativity" which flourished in the graphics of the decade's underground journals. The underground press first began on a sustained basis in May, 1964 with the publication of the Los Angeles *Free Press*, and between the years 1964-1973 a network of under-



ground journals existed reaching an estimated circulation of five million by 1970.<sup>5</sup> This underground press—or “alternative communications network”<sup>6</sup>—reported on and participated in the radical youth culture and radical politics of the period. Unlike *New Masses*, the underground press did not advance a coherent political philosophy, but, rather, was a variegated, non-sectarian medium which reflected the dissident viewpoints expressed by myriad social groups labeled “The Movement.”

The aesthetics of social criticism delineated by the underground artists coincided with the theoretical writings of the radical thinkers of the era. Carl Oglesby, a spokesperson and activist of the New Left, argued that artists must engage politically and offer alternatives to the injustices and banal evil of the capitalist world.<sup>7</sup> Herbert Marcuse, the intellectual who influenced much New Left thought, spoke of uniting the aesthetic and the political and asserted that “. . . art could guide the construction of the new society.”<sup>8</sup>

Social realists developed an aesthetic language consonant with Marxist ideas. The pictorial language of class conflict between labor and capital predominates *New Masses* radical art and portrays a belief that revolutionary change would occur through institutional rearrangements and altered social relations. In rendering the revolutionary struggle, artists whose graphics appeared in *New Masses* between 1930–35 focused on the bourgeois/capitalist as the arch villain of the economic crisis facing America.

Influencing and reflecting the visual imagery was the political polemic. Earl Browder, leader of the Communist Party, described the monopoly or finance capitalists as that class which held “. . . mastery over 80 to 90 percent of all the means of production.”<sup>9</sup> Social realists depicted the bourgeois/capitalist as responsible for an exploitative and oppressive economic system. In the graphic entitled *Henry Ford foresees the coming of ‘real prosperity,’* Hugo Gellert conveys the dialectical nature of capitalist society. The monumental figure of Henry Ford extends a possessive embrace around the buildings of industry indicating his ownership of the means of production. In the lower foreground an archetypal worker confronts the Ford figure. Gellert renders the worker in the social realist style as a sturdy, muscular and heroic figure. While his position within the image emphasizes his economic status, his confrontational stance indicates a potential for action suggesting the nature of the class struggle. The social realists William Gropper and Jacob Burck paint a more biting and caustic description of monopoly capitalists as stuffed, grotesque figures bloated with riches already gained and gluttonous for more. This imagery reflects a contemporary labor leader’s description of America’s capitalists as “parasites and leeches” who sucked the blood of workers in order to increase and maintain their economic position and profits.<sup>10</sup> In the social realist iconology bourgeois/capitalists dine on hearty meals in palatial mansions while the working class goes hungry in tenement slums.

The iconology of the 1960s underground journals does not evidence the classical Marxist critique of America as a capitalist society oppressing its working class in a system of economic wage slavery. Rather, the imagery demonstrates a corre-

lation with certain New Left political ideas. While it would be incorrect to view the New Left as a political movement organized around a coherent philosophy or a preconceived theory, it is appropriate to look at certain “intellectual attitudes” as distinguishing features of New Left political positions.<sup>11</sup> One of these “intellectual attitudes” was an anticapitalism which abstracted the nature of evil within the concept of money. New Left political manifestos denounced the powerful position money held in American society. In the Port Huron Statement, Tom Hayden argued that “. . . work should involve incentives worthier than money.”<sup>12</sup> John Sinclair, founder of the White Panther Party—which attempted to infuse the counterculture with some form of revolutionary political struggle—stated in the Party’s platform: “We want a free world economy based on free exchange of any energy and materials and the end of money.”<sup>13</sup>

The images of the underground artists illustrate a critique of the nature and power of money. The aesthetic vocabulary is not about economic exploitation of one class by another; rather, it conveys a concern with a devaluing of humanistic values by an overwhelming identification with commercial values. The dollar sign and the dollar bill denote a society corrupted by materialist values and perverted allegiances. One artist in *Quicksilver Times* identified money as “the root of all evil” while another used the image of the one dollar bill as a symbolic replacement for the American flag, satirizing the belief that money had assumed a revered place. The anticapitalist iconology of the undergrounds lampooned the flatulence of those who “pledge allegiance” to money while gently commending those who attempt to “cut down” money from its dominant position in American culture.

The underground iconology linked the critique of a monetary culture with a debunking of materialism. New Left spokespersons denounced a society which equated the possession of material things with fulfillment and happiness. Influencing the New Left critique was the neo-Marxian philosophy of Herbert Marcuse who argued that the new technological reality created an “administered life” which imposed a culture of “false needs.” Such a culture pacified individuals into accepting a system of “repressive satisfaction” and a life of “one-dimensional” thought and behavior. The Marcusean idea that slavery in developed industrialized society was defined by the reduction of the individual to the state of a thing,<sup>14</sup> corresponded with Tom Hayden’s contention that loneliness and isolation in contemporary society derived from “the idolatrous worship of things by man.”<sup>15</sup>

The graphics of both decades also characterized the prevailing ideology of liberalism as fascist. Between 1928–1935 the Communist Party’s political line held that fascism was a stage in modern economic development—a stage when capitalism suffers a crisis and the ruling class can no longer govern by the old methods of bourgeois liberal democracy. It resorts to fascist forms of socio-political organization, i.e., the outright dictatorship of finance capitalists enforced by “terrorist methods of administration.”<sup>16</sup>



Artists for *New Masses* expressed an unremitting hostility to Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal, and their imagery coincided with the journal's editorial line which labeled the New Deal a fascist policy of "maintaining the profits of finance capitalism." Theodore Scheel depicts the NRA (National Recovery Act) as an instrument of the capitalist fascist state by associating the NRA eagle with the swastika. Scheel's graphic communicates the Communist argument that the paramount concern of New Deal governmental policy was the health of the capitalist economy rather than the health of the workers. In *The Spirit of NRA* the artist brands Roosevelt and his New Deal policies as fascist for fostering a militarism which threatened to engulf the world in an imperialist war for world markets.

Underground artists also employed the swastika in their graphics, but during the struggle of the 1960s fascist insignia signified a repressive system rather than a Marxian stage in the economic process. They often connected the idea of fascism with the concept of technocratic totalitarianism. In this totalitarian universe a Millsian "power elite" of the government, industry, and the military structured and controlled the social order, and the powers of ordinary people were circumscribed by forces beyond their control.<sup>17</sup> In the graphic captioned "Techno-Fascism" the artist criticizes the totalitarian nature of modern society and represents it as basically repressive of freedom and individual autonomy. Specifically, the TV is used to symbolize technocratic oppression. One underground writer described TV as an instrument used by the corporate elite ". . . to put lies into our heads and convince us to buy, buy, buy . . . and then offers only work helping to produce goods that bring slow death at home or genocide abroad. This way of 'life' is a way of death."<sup>18</sup> The most trenchant use of fascist imagery, however, is found in the *Black Panther*, journal of the Black Panther Party. There is virulent depiction of the police as "fascist pig forces" and a denunciation of "Amerika" as "this filthy government [which] is rapidly approaching open, blatant fascism."<sup>19</sup>

The radical movements concerned themselves with the issues of race and race relations, and the socio-political context of each era influenced the radical perspective. From 1928–1935 the Communist Party developed the idea of "self-determination" for Negroes in the Black Belt states of the South.<sup>20</sup> This policy defined the American "Negro question" as a "national question" and "characterized the Negro people as an oppressed nation" endowed with "all the objective attributes of nationhood."<sup>21</sup> The iconology of *New Masses*, however, does not mirror the Communist Party's policy of "self-determination;" rather, it reveals a concern for equal rights for all Negroes and denounces the murderous crime of lynching. Between 1882 and 1934, 3,513 Negroes were lynched, and the years 1933–35 witnessed 63 lynchings of Negroes. Congressional efforts to pass an anti-lynching bill during the 1930s were unsuccessful, but the Communist Party supported such legislation.<sup>22</sup> The artist Hyman Warsager paints the brutalizing nature of this crime and associates the horrific prevalence of racial lynchings with the fascist nature of the U.S. justice system. Social realist artists such as Hugo Gellert made strong pic-

torial statements for racial solidarity because defeat of the capitalist forces of oppression depended on a united working class. As Michael Gold, chief editor of *New Masses*, asserted: ". . . it is not race prejudice alone that keeps the Negro in southern slavery today. It is still the need of capitalists for the cheapest possible labor. . . . the black and white workers of the south are now uniting under the red flag of Marx and Lenin."<sup>23</sup>

Within the changed social context of the 1960s the race issue revolved around concepts of black power and black nationalism. By the mid-1960s radical blacks began rejecting the integrationist tactic of the liberal, mainstream civil rights movement and began defining their own ideas of freedom and equal rights. Stokely Carmichael and Charles Hamilton asserted that the white power structure had suppressed and degraded the black community by subordinating blacks politically, economically, socially and psychologically. In their book *Black Power*, they argued that "Black people in the United States have a colonial relationship to the larger society, a relationship characterized by institutional racism."<sup>24</sup> To achieve black independence from the white power structure "Black Power" advocates urged American blacks to unite and establish a sense of community. Before attempting integration with the larger white society black people needed to separate and build a power base drawing strength from their black identity and African heritage. They should ". . . define their own goals, . . . lead their own organizations, . . . and reject the racist institutions and values of this society."<sup>25</sup> Only after this achievement could blacks join society as truly equal partners, for as Carmichael and Hamilton argued: "Before a group can enter the open society, it must first close ranks. . . . Black Power therefore calls for black people to consolidate behind their own, so that they can bargain from a position of strength."<sup>26</sup>

Another faction of the black liberation movement was the Black Panther Party formed in October, 1966 by Huey Newton and Bobby Seale. The Black Panthers offered a black nationalist perspective arguing that blacks comprised a "black colony" within the "white mother country." To liberate themselves from their colonial status blacks needed to confront both racism and capitalism in the white community. Black Panthers also maintained that the "Black colony of Afro-America" had an international mission to free the Third World from the yoke of colonialism. Emory Douglas, the black revolutionary artist who also served as Minister of Culture of the Black Panther Party, communicates this idea in his protest graphics which denounce the U.S. as an imperialist power. To accomplish their liberation goals the Black Panthers readily accepted revolutionary violence. Racism, capitalism and colonialism were systems based on violence, they argued, and therefore violent means were needed to destroy them. The powerful and truculent graphics from *Black Panther* convey the role guerrilla warfare should play in the liberation movement and illustrate Huey Newton's dictum: "They [black people] must have the basic tool of liberation: the gun."<sup>27</sup>

Radical factions of both eras accepted revolutionary violence because they believed they faced a world where violence



and wars plagued humankind. Thus, the issue of war and peace became a cause for both decades. As early as the late 1920s writers for *New Masses* argued that imperialist powers were preparing for war against the Soviet Union. By July, 1933 intellectuals and artists associated with *New Masses* were calling for an antiwar congress with the stated aim of struggling against the forces of "a new imperialist war."<sup>28</sup> The Communist Party and *New Masses* endorsed the congress and mobilized working class organizations for a united front against imperialist war. Michael Gold editorialized on the workers' need to fight against capitalist war and fascism:

"The acuteness of the economic crises is driving the imperialist powers toward a new redivision of the world. The end of capitalist stabilization is leading the world to a new cycle of imperialist wars and proletarian revolutions. . . . the capitalist world will seek to destroy the socialist world by force of arms. . . ."<sup>29</sup>

Jacob Burck depicted *War, Fascism, Hunger* as "the holy trinity of capitalism" which workers must valiantly fight against. Other artists condemned the greed of the capitalists who are at "the helm of the industrial war machine."<sup>30</sup> In *The Dough Boy* the artist denounces capitalist wars as exploitative of the working class by associating the death of American infantrymen in World War I with the profits realized by American businessmen.

A student antiwar movement also emerged in the 1930s. One of its main organizational supports was the National Student League (NSL) formed by Communist students and associated with the Communist Party. As members of the NSL, radical students took positions opposing U.S. militarism and military training on university campuses. Specifically, the NSL branded ROTC " . . . the manifestation of the war machine on the campus."<sup>31</sup> In *Good Fodder* Gus Uhlmann gives good evidence of the anti-ROTC sentiment. This anti-militarism, however, did not translate into pacifism, for radical students associated with the Communist Party felt it was their obligation to stand in solidarity with the international working class in their war against the capitalist class.<sup>32</sup>

In the 1960s the student peace movement also attacked American foreign policy as imperialist and criticized the Cold War view of the world. After a quiescent period in the late 1940s through the mid-1950s, a reborn peace movement emerged in the late 1950s focusing on the banning of nuclear testing and the campaign for nuclear disarmament. By the mid-1960s, the peace movement coalesced around America's role in the Vietnam War, and antiwar protesters argued that America had become " . . . the world's major counterrevolutionary power."<sup>33</sup> In the historical context of the post-World War II world, America had become a power with vast foreign investments and troops deployed around the globe. Radicals regarded Cold War rhetoric about defending the "Free World" as a hypocritical sham and viewed America as " . . . the expansionist power to be most feared."<sup>34</sup>

The overall critique of American foreign policy as imperialist and counterrevolutionary provided the framework for the Vietnam antiwar movement. New Left activists argued that America's corporate capitalism profited from both the war in Vietnam and imperialism in the Third World. War protesters demonstrated and resisted by marching and fighting the draft in an effort to "Stop the War Machine" and "Bring the War Home."<sup>35</sup> In "Vietnam" the artist paints the war as an unjust and immoral crime—a shame on the American ideals of liberty and freedom. A cover graphic from *Quicksilver Times*, "Kill Rate/Profits," critiqued the Vietnam war as institutionalized violence sanctioned and promoted by the liberal capitalist technocratic order. Another *Quicksilver Times* graphic entitled "Rural Pacification, KENT, OHIO" appeared four days after National Guardsmen killed four students at Kent State University on May 4, 1970 during a protest against the U.S. troop invasion of Cambodia. The artist renders the ruthless and callous nature of America's "war machine" and depicts the horrific and tragic consequences of America's "war at home." While Vietnam imagery predominates the antiwar iconology of the decade's undergrounds, radical artists also deplored America's militarism and hoped for a world free of nuclear weapons. In "ABM a hard rain" and "Their ABM" the artists critique U.S. expenditures on a nuclear arsenal as an inhumane use of resources by a world power obsessed with a chauvinistic sense of macho power.

The issue of war and peace was not the only issue which concerned students in the 1930s and 1960s. In both decades "politically organized student activism" emerged.<sup>36</sup> Students questioned the nature and role of the university in society and analyzed the nature of power relations within the larger social context. Unlike the 1960s, however, student activism in the 1930s was linked to adult political parties, and "in the 1930s, proportionately more students participated in left-wing activism than during the New Left of the 1960s . . ."<sup>37</sup> The group most politically active was the National Student League (NSL), the Communist-affiliated youth group. Members of the NSL analyzed their social predicament as analogous to that of the proletariat and saw their problems as " . . . indissolubly bound up with those of the working-class."<sup>38</sup> Spokespersons for the group complained of the meaninglessness of education within capitalist educational institutions and argued that students were becoming a "gray horde of robot minors . . . waiting to become stockbrokers and advertising men, parasites and salesmen. They are money-minded; they are the future hired men of Big Business."<sup>39</sup> Students needed to overcome their apathy and develop a viable relationship between their academic community and the outside social world. Most of all, they needed to develop revolutionary zeal.

The editors of *New Masses* also critiqued American universities as capitalist centers of learning governed by " . . . the coercive influences of the powerful capitalist interests that finance . . . universities in the U.S . . ."<sup>40</sup> In *The Absent-Minded Professor* William Siegel creates a montage image critical of the role of the university in American society. The drawing depicts an academician, oblivious to the evils of capitalist



society occurring all around him, ranting about a Soviet menace.

The notion of revolutionary zeal for the 1960s activists emerged from different perceptions. Their critique was more broadly cultural, transcending the economic analysis of the 1930s. They asserted that education within America's corporate culture imposed a "moral and spiritual servitude" and argued against the concept of the "multiversity." In their world view the multiversity worked as "a highly efficient industry" for the training of technicians and managers for the technological business world.<sup>41</sup> Student activists maintained that university administrators denied students any decision-making power in the "authoritarian" multiversity. Rather than encouraging youth to be critical and imaginative, the faculty trained students to be operatives in an automated work place. As tenders of computers and data processing equipment, students faced the bleak future of an "intellectual and moral wasteland."<sup>42</sup> Students complained of a depersonalized world dominated by a bureaucratic mentality unresponsive to human needs. In "Do not bend" the artist indicts the bureaucratic ethos by identifying the use of computer cards as a means of avoiding personal contact. In "Oink University" and "Welcome Back to School" artists communicate the idea of resistance to the "assembly line" university which produced for the "military-industrial complex." In an attempt to transform the American power structure New Left activists proposed the concept of "participatory democracy" as a governing principal to replace "... the whole fabric of a dehumanized society."<sup>43</sup> To fight the alienation and general malaise experienced by youth in the corporate and conformist society, leaders of the student movement argued for a decentralized, humane and non-machine society.<sup>44</sup>

Connected with but not identical to the 1960s student movement was a youth dominated counterculture which dissented from the mainstream, established culture. One historian maintains that counterculture youth—or hippies—were rebelling against the "technocratic totalitarianism" of the prevailing social context. These hippie youth went beyond political ideology to a "politics of consciousness."<sup>45</sup> In dissenting from the established order hippies rejected the scientific and rational world view of Western culture for the mystical and non-rational world view of Eastern culture. They revolted against the notion of the "organization man" and sought personal meaning and happiness in alternative lifestyles and other forms of consciousness. The drug culture and psychedelic experience of the counterculture implicitly condemned the scientific positivism of the technological world order.<sup>46</sup> The iconology of the underground journals depicts a concern for breaking through the limitations of the objective reality and journeying to an altered consciousness which gains awareness through non-rational means. The mystical and psychedelic imagery is informed by a transcendental outlook, and the artistic use of mandalas evinces the counterculture's preoccupation with Eastern mysticism and Oriental philosophies.

The radical aesthetic of the two decades also treats the nature of freedom and revolutionary change. The artists of

*New Masses* visually represent the Marxian dictum of class conflict between the bourgeois capitalists and the proletariat led by the vanguard of the Communist Party. A cover graphic by William Gropper dramatically renders the notion of class struggle. It shows archetypal worker figures breaking the chains of wage slavery and forcefully confronting their capitalist oppressors. Gropper evokes the sense of working class victory. The position and size of the capitalist figures indicate their growing loss of power when confronted by an emboldened proletariat awakened to revolutionary consciousness. The artistic vocabulary of 1930s protest art also reveals an unequivocal acceptance of revolutionary violence. The pictorial language of class conflict—strikes, hunger marches, struggles with the police—predominates the social realist aesthetic of *New Masses*, and artists depicted violence as a necessary part of the revolutionary process. In *The New Model—1932* Jacob Burck creates images of workers fighting against capitalist oppression with the strike weapon. In *National Guard Attacking Workers* Limbach conveys the violent nature of class conflict with workers confronting the fire power of the state as it attempts to resist the workers' revolution.

The notion of revolution conveyed in underground graphics is less clearly defined, and the visual vocabulary contains no references to a historical dialectical struggle between economic classes. 1960s radicals involved in the movement had an abstracted enemy visually rendered as a corrupted society—a Babylon—ruled by an oppressive corporate power structure which denied the people power over their own lives. Activists spoke out against an institutional system they labeled "corporate liberalism" which exploited the Third World and deformed the democratic system at home. The radical activist Carl Oglesby described "corporate liberalism" as "an awesome organism" which ignored the basic values of humanism.<sup>47</sup> In the underground iconology protest artists depict the concept of America's democratic system as existing more in national myth than in political reality. In "By the People, For the People," the artist mocks the idea of America's democratic ideals as a false notion.

In the radical world view, the "death-directed Amerika" had to be attacked and destroyed, but the causal agents of revolution were not always clearly identified. Often artists depict the idea of a youth-directed revolution as illustrated in a *Quicksilver Times* cover which shows a wave of joyous youth about to engulf the governmental structures of the power elite. In another *Quicksilver Times* cover the artist represents the cosmic forces of nature as the instrument of destruction.

Underground artists also display an ambivalent attitude toward violence as is seen in the graphic "Resist Lovingly." While the text reads, "Resist Lovingly in the loyalty of underground Sisterhood & Brotherhood," the image conveys a contradictory message with a group of hippie-looking figures holding weapons of destruction. This image is a good illustration of the late 1960s movement slogan: "Flower power becomes Gun powder."

Since a radical aesthetic implies a dialectical position to the prevailing order, artists of revolt counterpointed their social



reality with a projected ideal of a revolutionary future. In the 1930s the nature of freedom, as revealed in the social realist aesthetic, presupposed the creation of a new economic order in which class oppression would be abolished. *New Masses* iconology portrays a concrete objective evidenced by the reality of the Soviet Union. Artists represent the USSR as "a beacon light to the oppressed of other countries." In *Two Civilizations*, Fred Ellis depicts capitalism as heading rapidly for the historical abyss, while the image of the Soviet Union signals the establishment of a classless society where Soviet workers owned and ran the industries and were, therefore, "the proudest and freest workers in the world."<sup>48</sup>

Considering the differing perspective of the two decades, the 1960s image of a revolutionary future does not have the same specificity as does the new world idea found in *New Masses*. There is no visual reference to an explicit model (such as the Soviet Union) to be emulated, and the iconology conveys a more abstracted notion of a utopian world renewed through both a revolution in consciousness and a revolution in social polity. 1960s radicals wanted to destroy the corporate liberal state but "... in the name of simple human decency and democracy, ... not in the name of this or that blueprint or ism ..."<sup>49</sup> This new world idea had a mythic quality. It would establish a form of human community which would be non-artificial and affirm the richness of human life.<sup>50</sup> Once freed of the technological/materialist culture, 1960s radicals envisioned a revitalized culture "in touch" with the natural world, a world

where "... fascism, communism, capitalist war economy and socialist levelling, ... and the necessity to earn a living by drudgery [would] become entirely unnecessary."<sup>51</sup>

The image, "A New Sun Rising" communicates the idea that revolutionary forces have defeated the "death-directed Amerika" replacing it with a life of freedom and individual independence. A thunderbolt strikes and "babylon crumbles"—a rainbow arches over, a radiant sun blazes in the background, and an armed revolutionary stands in triumph. "Earth Rebirth" gently suggests the utopian notion of a new world ennobled by peace, justice, and a oneness with nature, and guided by a new ethic of togetherness and love.

The iconology of dissent produced an aesthetic of social criticism, a visual expression of the revolutionary tempers of two discrete but analogous eras of turmoil in American social history. Both the 1930s and 1960s produced artists whose aesthetic concerns emerged out of a revolt against perceived oppression, whose critical perspective informed their visual imagery. By going beyond "the physical evidences of the art impulse," it becomes evident how the aesthetic language signified an underlying political vision and how protest artists reified oppositional ideology and "attitudes" in their artistic language. The sources of artistic rebellion differed in the two decades, but in practicing an "art of negativity" socially conscious artists offered, through their aesthetic medium, a vision of their hopes and dreams for a new and better world.

Mary Lee Muller

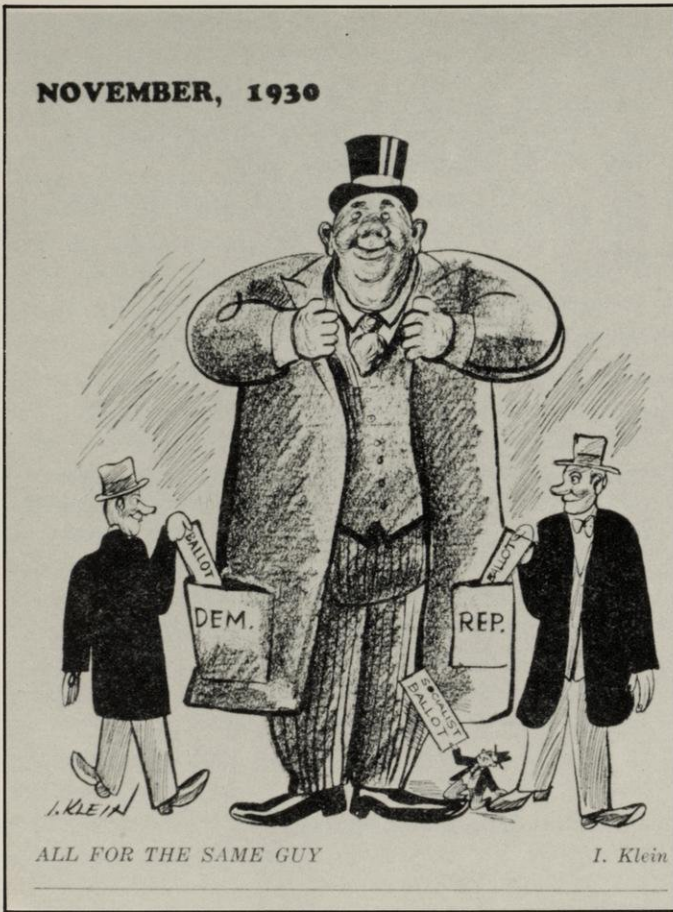
## NOTES

1. Arnold Hauser, quoted in Ernst Fischer, *The Necessity of Art: A Marxist Approach*, (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1963), p. 149.
2. David Shapiro (ed.), *Social Realism: Art as a Weapon* (New York: Ungar, 1973), pp.3-28.
3. "A Statement," *New Masses*, February 1931, p. 2.
4. Jacob Burck, "Sectarianism in Art," *New Masses*, April 1933, pp. 26-27.
5. Abe Peck, *Uncovering the Sixties: The Life and Times of the Underground Press* (New York: Pantheon Books), Preface & Chapter 2; Laurence Leamer, *The Paper Revolutionaries: The Rise of the Underground Press*, (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1972), p. 27; and Robert J. Glessing, *The Underground Press in America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1970), p. 10.
6. Laurence Leamer, *ibid.*, p. 181.
7. Carl Oglesby, "The Deserters: The Contemporary Defeat of Fiction," in Lee Baxandall (ed.), *Radical Perspectives in the Arts* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1972).
8. Herbert Marcuse, "Art in the One-Dimensional Society," in Lee Baxandall (ed.), *Radical Perspectives in the Arts*.
9. Earl Browder, "What is Communism? Who Will Lead the Revolution?" *New Masses*, May 21, 1935, pp. 18-19.
10. Tom Mooney, "Greeting USSR!," *New Masses*, November 1932, p. 11.
11. Staughton Lynd, "Towards a History of the New Left," in Priscilla Long (ed.), *The New Left* (Boston: Porter Sargent, 1969), pp. 1-13.
12. Tom Hayden, "The Port Huron Statement," in Paul Jacobs and Saul Landau (eds.) *The New Radicals: A Report with Documents* (New York: Vintage Books, 1966), pp. 149-162.
13. "White Panther Manifesto," *San Francisco Express Times*, November 13, 1968, pp. 5, 13. Also in *The Seed*, Vol. 5, No. 6, p. 5.
14. Herbert Marcuse, *One-Dimensional Man* (Boston: Beacon, 1964).
15. Hayden, "The Port Huron Statement," in Jacobs and Landau (eds.) *The New Radicals*, p. 154-155.
16. *New Masses*, January 29, 1935, p. 3, and Irving Howe and Lewis Coster, *The American Communist Party: A Critical History (1919-1957)* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1957), pp. 175-235.
17. The radical sociologist C. Wright Mills postulated the argument that American society was governed and controlled by three major institutions—the government, industry and the military. These three institutions made decisions which reflected their own interests and ignored the opinions of the ordinary people in society. See C. Wright Mills, *The Power Elite* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965).

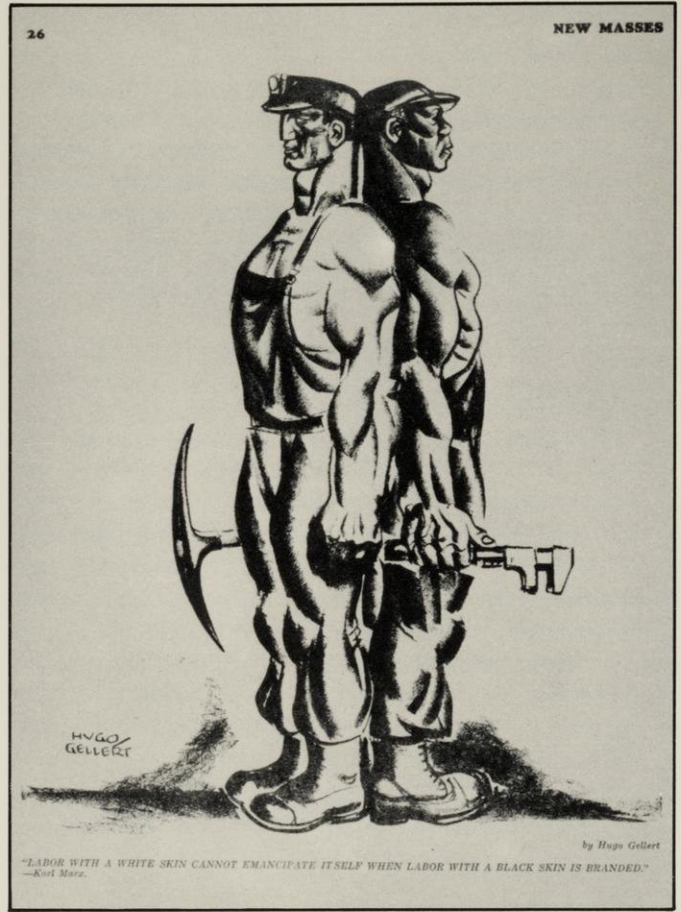


18. *Quicksilver Times*, March 24–April 3, 1970.
19. *Blank Panther*, August 23, 1969, p. 18.
20. The term "Black Belt" as used by Communist Party officials in the 1930s referred to ". . . a continuous area [of the South] in which the Negroes constituted the majority of the population." This area included 189 counties where blacks were more than half the population. These counties were in Texas (northeastern), Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Florida (northwestern), South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia and Maryland. See: James S. Allen, *The Negro Question in the United States* (New York: International Publishers, 1936).
21. William Z. Foster, *History of the Communist Party of the United States*, (New York: International Publishers, 1952), pp. 266–267; Howe and Coster, *The American Communist Party*, p. 206; Theodore Draper, *American Communism and Soviet Russia: The Formation Period* (New York: Viking Press, 1960), pp. 315–356.
22. Robert L. Zangrando, "The NAACP and a Federal Anti-Lynching Bill, 1934–1940," in Bernard Sternsher (ed.), *The Negro in Depression and War* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1969), pp. 181–192.
23. Michael Gold, "Forced Labor in America," *New Masses*, November 1921, pp. 23–24.
24. Stokley Carmichael and Charles Hamilton, *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America* (New York: Vintage Books, 1967), p. 6.
25. *ibid.*, p. 44.
26. *ibid.*, pp. 44–47.
27. Theodore Draper, *The Rediscovery of Black Nationalism* (New York: Viking Press, 1969). Ch. 7.
28. *New Masses*, July 1933, p. 26.
29. *ibid.*, November 1932, pp. 3–4.
30. *ibid.*, August 1933, pp. 3–5.
31. Theodore Draper, "City College's Rebel Generation," *New Masses*, November 27, 1934, pp. 13–15.
32. Hal Draper, "The Student Movement of the Thirties," in Rita J. Simon (ed.), *As We Saw the Thirties* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1967) and Ralph S. Brax, *The First Student Movement: Student Activism in the U.S. During the 1930s* (New York: Kennikat Press, 1981).
33. Jerome Skolnick, *The Politics of Protest* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1969), p. 56.
34. *ibid.*
35. Howard Zinn, *Vietnam: The Logic of Withdrawal* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1967); Jerome Skolnick, *The Politics of Protest*, pp. 27–78; Michael Ferber and Staughton Lynd, *The Resistance* (Boston: Beacon press, 1971); Nancy Zaroulis and Gerald Sullivan, *Who Spoke Up? American Protest Against the the War in Vietnam 1963–1975* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1984).
36. Philip G. Altback, *Student Politics in America: A Historical Analysis* (New York: McGraw Hill Co., 1974). Ch. I.
37. *ibid.*, p. 57.
38. *New Masses*, January 16, 1934, p. 21.
39. *ibid.*, October 1930, p. 5.
40. *ibid.*, May 1931, p. 14.
41. Brad Cleaveland, "A Letter to Undergraduates," in Jacobs and Landau, *The New Radicals*, pp. 216–230.
42. Steve Weissman, "Freedom and the University," in Jacobs and Landau, *The New Radicals*, pp. 234–237; Mario Savio, "An End to History," in Jacobs and Landau, pp. 230–234; Robert Lewis, *Outlaws of America, The Underground Press and its Context: Notes on a Cultural Revolution* (London: Penguin Books, 1972) pp. 115–122.
43. Staughton Lynd, "The New Radicals and 'Participating Democracy,'" *Dissent*, summer 1965, pp. 324–333.
44. Arthur Waskow, "The New Student Movement," *Dissent*, autumn 1965, pp. 486–493.
45. Theodore Roszak, *The Making of a Counter Culture* (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1969), p. 49.
46. *ibid.*, pp. 124–177; Michael Lerner, "Introduction," in David Horowitz, Michael Lerner and Craig Pyes (eds.) *Counterculture and Revolution* (New York: Random House, 1972), p. ix-xii, and Michael Lerner, "Youth Culture and Social Revolution," in Horowitz, Lerner and Pyes (eds.) pp. 178–190.
47. Carl Oglesby, "Liberalism & the Corporate State," in Jacobs and Landau (eds.) *The New Radicals*, pp. 257–266.
48. Michael Gold, "Forced Labor in America," *New Masses*, November 1932, pp. 23–25.
49. Carl Oglesby, "Liberalism and the Corporate State," in Jacobs and Landau, *The New Radicals*, pp. 257–266.
50. Charles A. Reich, *The Greening of America* (New York: Bantam Books, 1970).
51. Alan Watts, "Manifesto to Cut the Big Hang-Up," *The Paper*, March 27, 1968, p. 7.

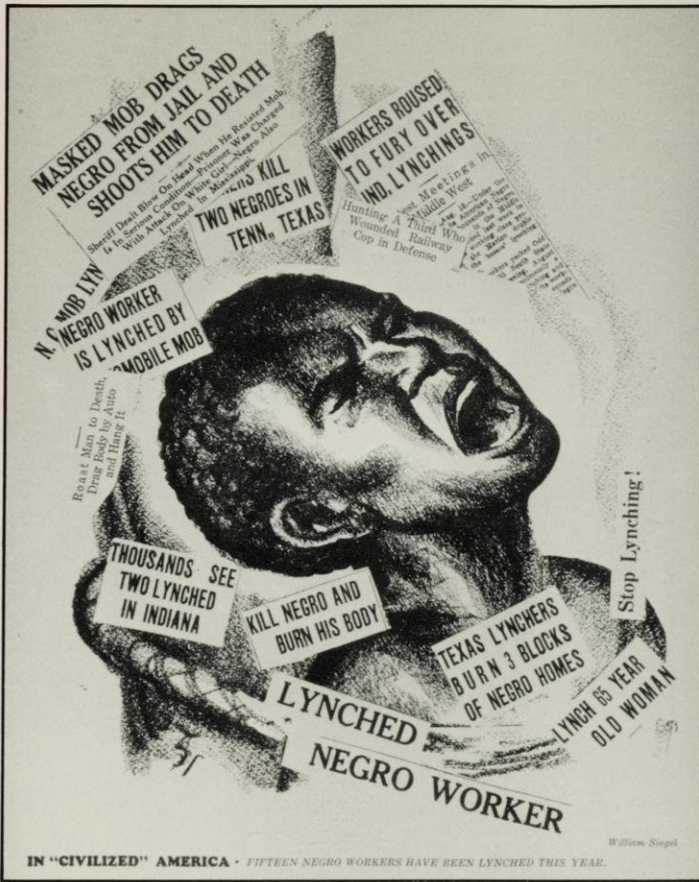




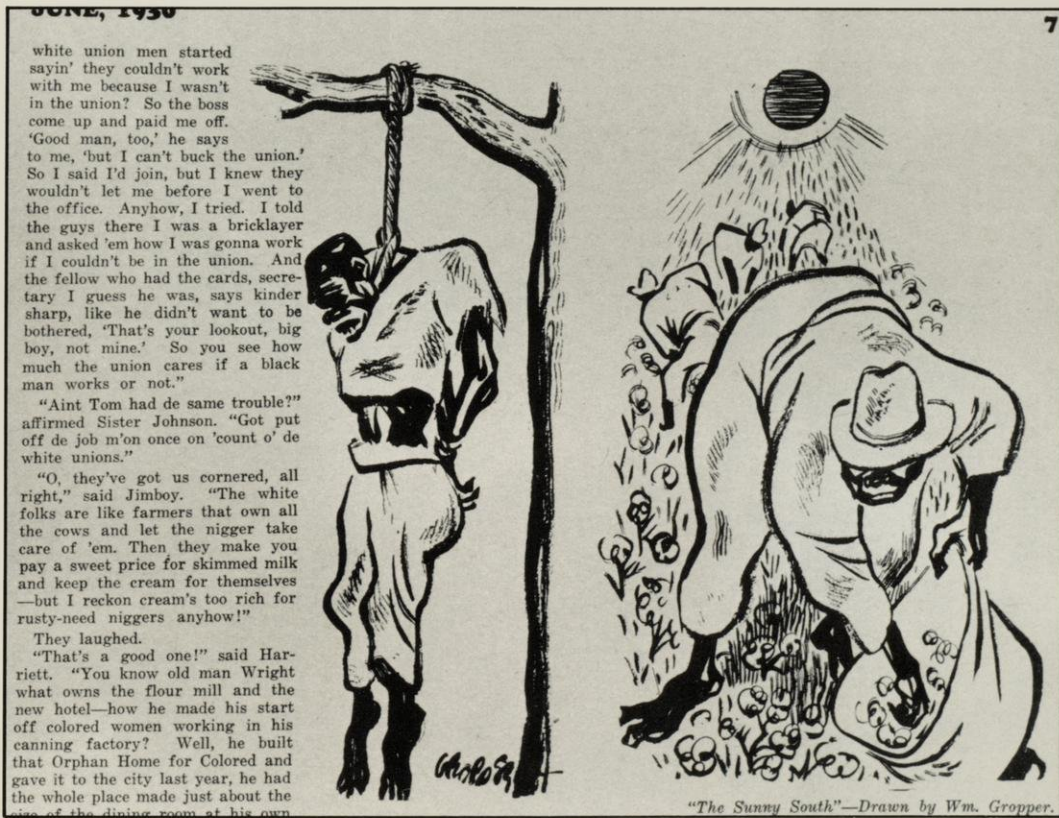
1.  
I. Klein  
*All for the Same Guy*  
From *New Masses*  
November, 1930, p. 5  
4 1/4 x 3 3/4 in.



2.  
Hugo Gellert  
*Labor with a white skin cannot emancipate itself  
when labor with a black skin is branded*  
From *New Masses*  
November, 1932, p. 26.  
9 1/2 x 8 in.



3.  
Hyman Warsager  
In "Civilized" America  
From *New Masses*  
September, 1930, p. 8  
10 x 7<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in.



4.  
William Gropper (1897-1978)  
*The Sunny South*  
From *New Masses*  
June, 1930, p. 7  
5<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> x 6<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in.





A. Refregier

5.  
Anton Refregier (1905-1979)  
Untitled  
From *New Masses*  
December, 1932, p. 12  
4 $\frac{3}{4}$  x 7 $\frac{3}{4}$  in.

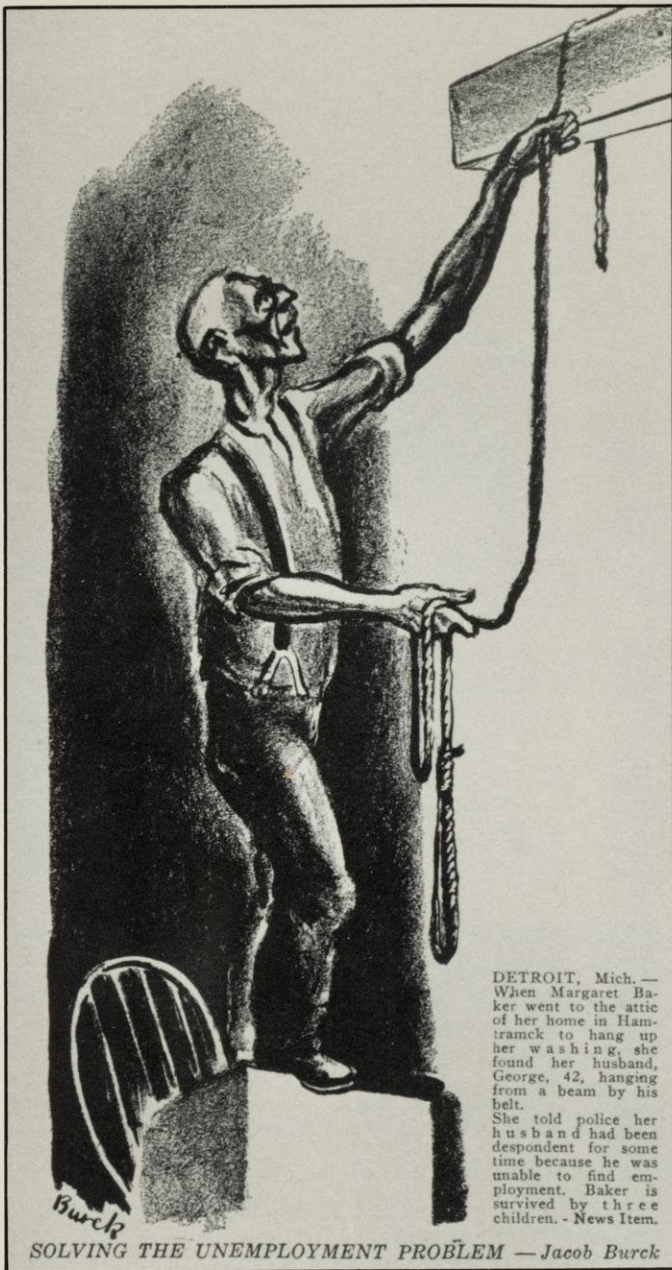


CHRISTMAS DINNER, 1930

William Gropper

6.  
William Gropper (1897-1978)  
*Christmas Dinner*  
From *New Masses*  
December, 1930, p. 15  
7 x 4 $\frac{7}{8}$  in.





DETROIT, Mich. — When Margaret Baker went to the attic of her home in Hamtramck to hang up her washing, she found her husband, George, 42, hanging from a beam by his belt. She told police her husband had been despondent for some time because he was unable to find employment. Baker is survived by three children. — News Item.

SOLVING THE UNEMPLOYMENT PROBLEM — Jacob Burck



"THERE YOU ARE, COLONEL!"

William Siegel

8.  
William Siegel  
*There you are, Colonel!*  
From *New Masses*  
May, 1933, p. 7  
10 x 7 1/4 in.

7.  
Jacob Burck  
*Solving the Unemployment Problem*  
From *New Masses*  
October, 1930, p. 4  
7 3/4 x 4 in.



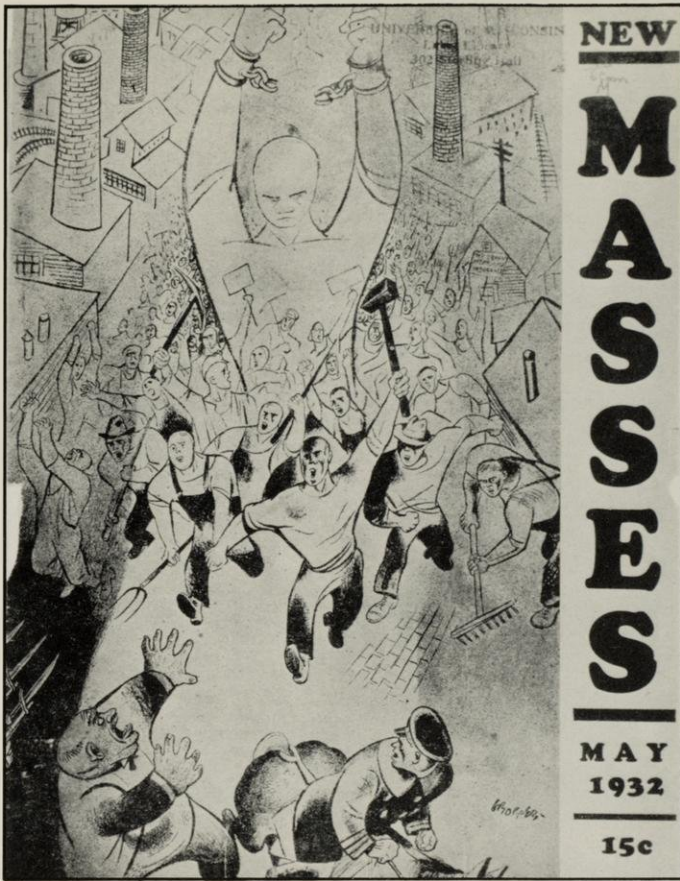


9.  
*The Spirit of NRA*  
 From *New Masses*  
 July 3, 1934, p. 2  
 5 1/2 x 4 1/2 in.

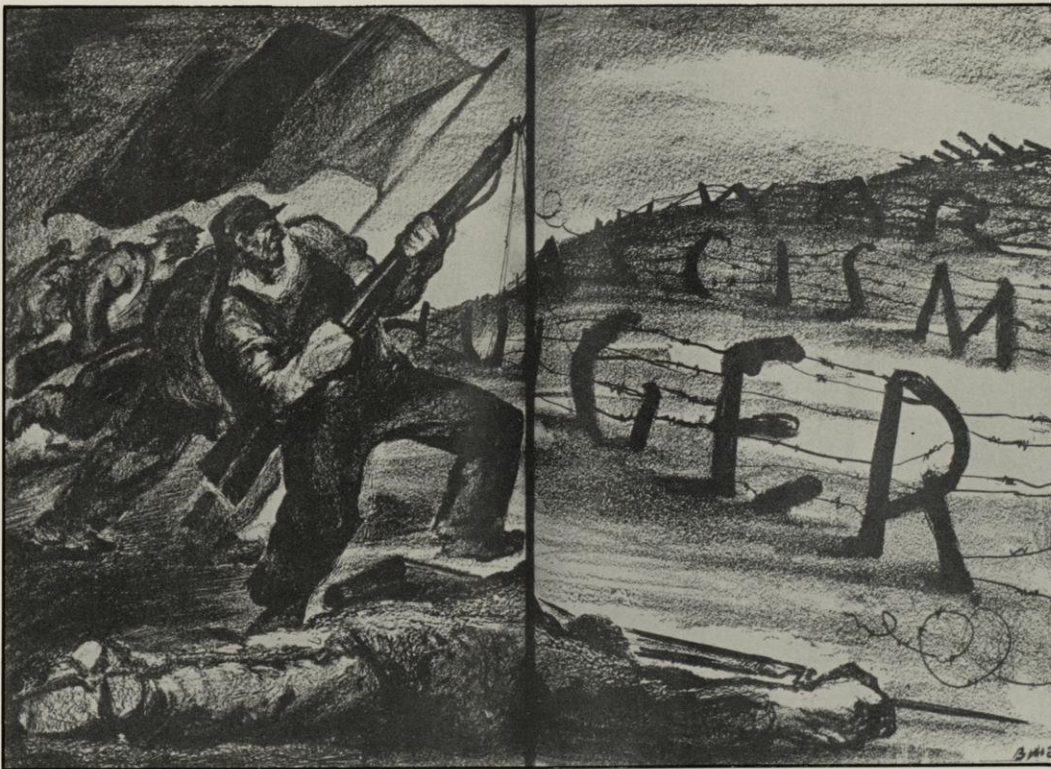


10.  
 Theodore Scheel  
 Untitled  
 From *New Masses*  
 September, 1933, p. 19  
 10 x 3 1/2 in.





11.  
 William Gropper (1897–1978)  
 Untitled  
 From *New Masses*  
 May, 1932, cover  
 11 $\frac{5}{8}$  x 7 $\frac{1}{8}$  in.



12.  
 Jacob Burck  
*War, Fascism, Hunger*  
 From *New Masses*  
 February 20, 1934, pp. 16–17  
 10 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 14 $\frac{1}{4}$  in.





Drawn by A. L. Refregier

**REVOLT**

13.  
Anton Refregier (1905–1979)  
*Revolt*  
From *New Masses*  
July, 1929, p. 13  
5¼ x 3¾ in.

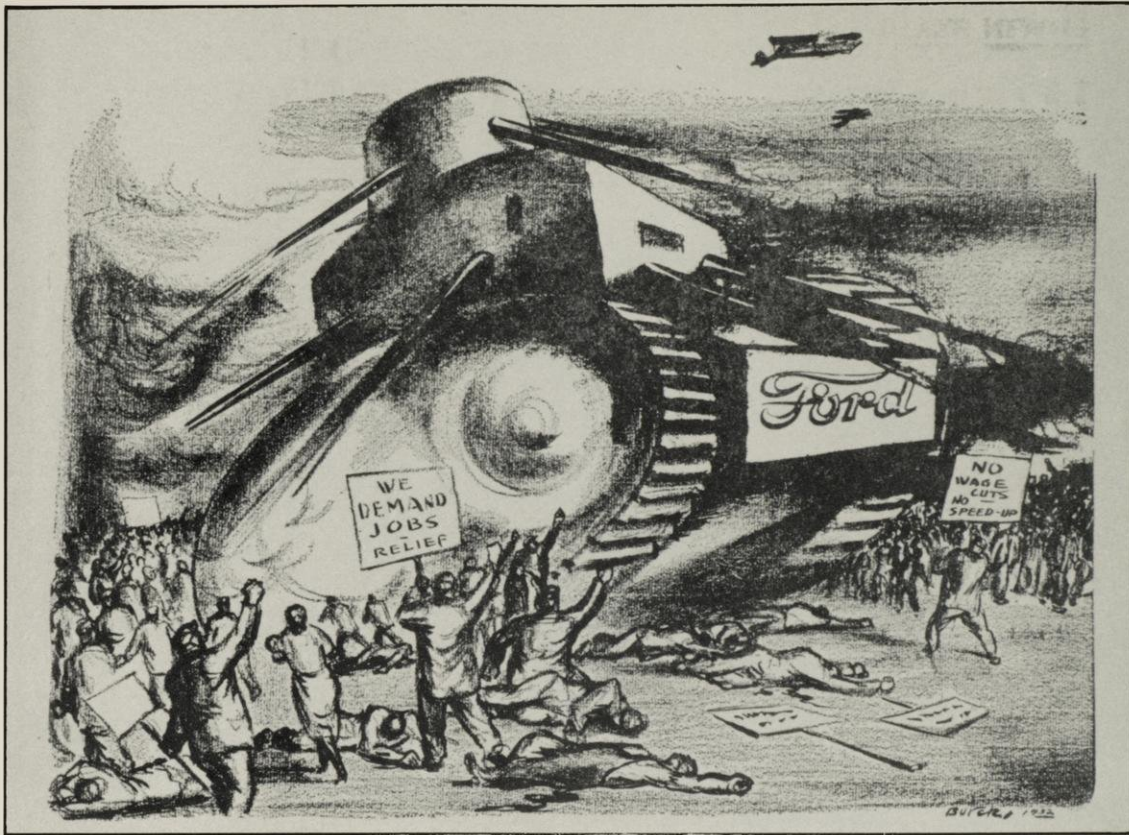


**Hunger March**

William Gropper

14.  
William Gropper (1897–1978)  
*Hunger March*  
From *New Masses*  
January, 1932, pp. 16–17  
10 x 12½ in.





15.  
Jacob Burck  
*The New Model-1932*  
From *New Masses*  
April, 1932, p. 11  
5 5/8 x 8 in.



16.  
Walter Steinhilber  
Untitled  
From *New Masses*  
January, 1931, cover  
11 x 8 1/4 in.





17.  
Jacob Burck  
*What Price Glory - Now?*  
From *New Masses*  
March, 1931, cover  
11 $\frac{3}{4}$  x 8 $\frac{3}{4}$  in.



18.  
Hugo Gellert  
*Fight Against Imperialistic War*  
From *New Masses*  
August, 1933, p. 23  
6 x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$  in.





19.  
Gus Uhlmann  
*Good Fodder*  
From *New Masses*  
April, 1929, p. 6  
5¼ x 7 in.

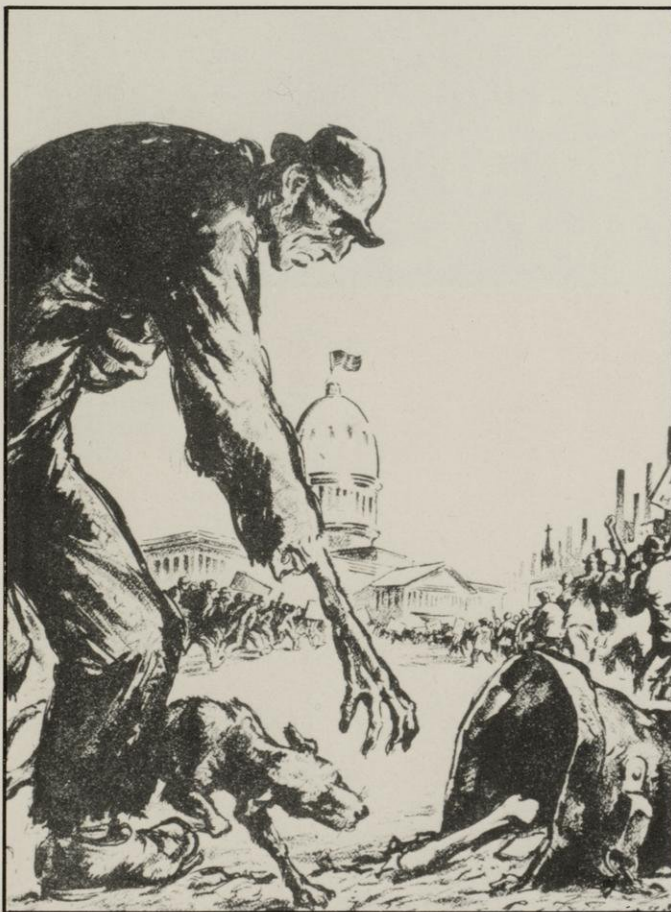


20.  
*The Dough Boy*  
From *New Masses*  
January, 1929, p. 23  
4¾ x 27/8 in.

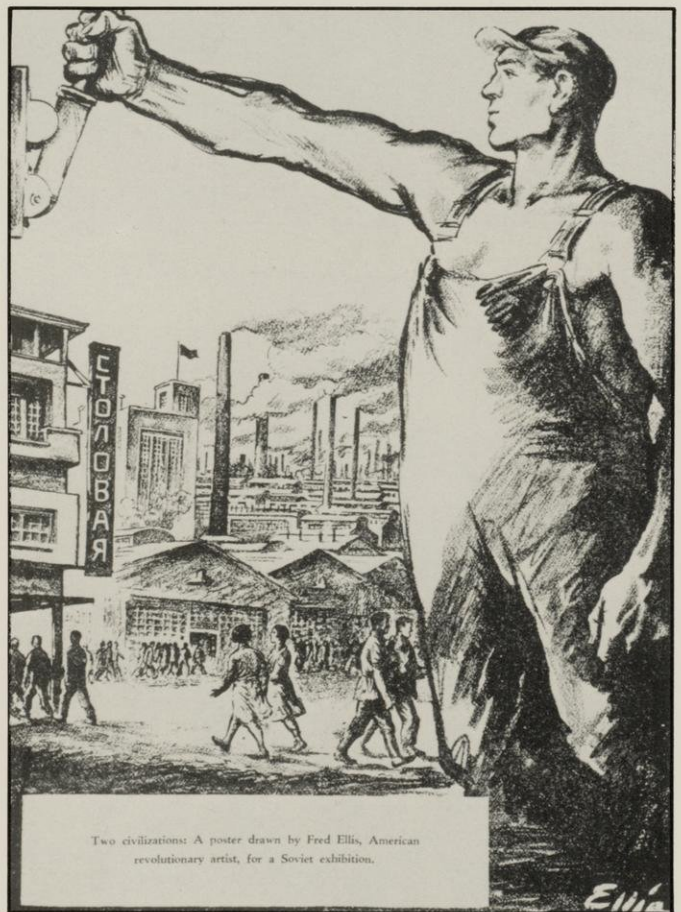




21.  
Jacob Burck  
\$439,000,000 for  
the War Department  
From *New Masses*  
July, 1933, p. 24  
4 1/8 x 7 1/2 in.



22.  
Fred Ellis  
*Two Civilizations*  
From *New Masses*  
June, 1933, pp. 6-7  
10 1/4 x 7 1/2 in. each



Two civilizations: A poster drawn by Fred Ellis, American  
revolutionary artist, for a Soviet exhibition.



I'll Tell the Cockeyed World — by William Gropper



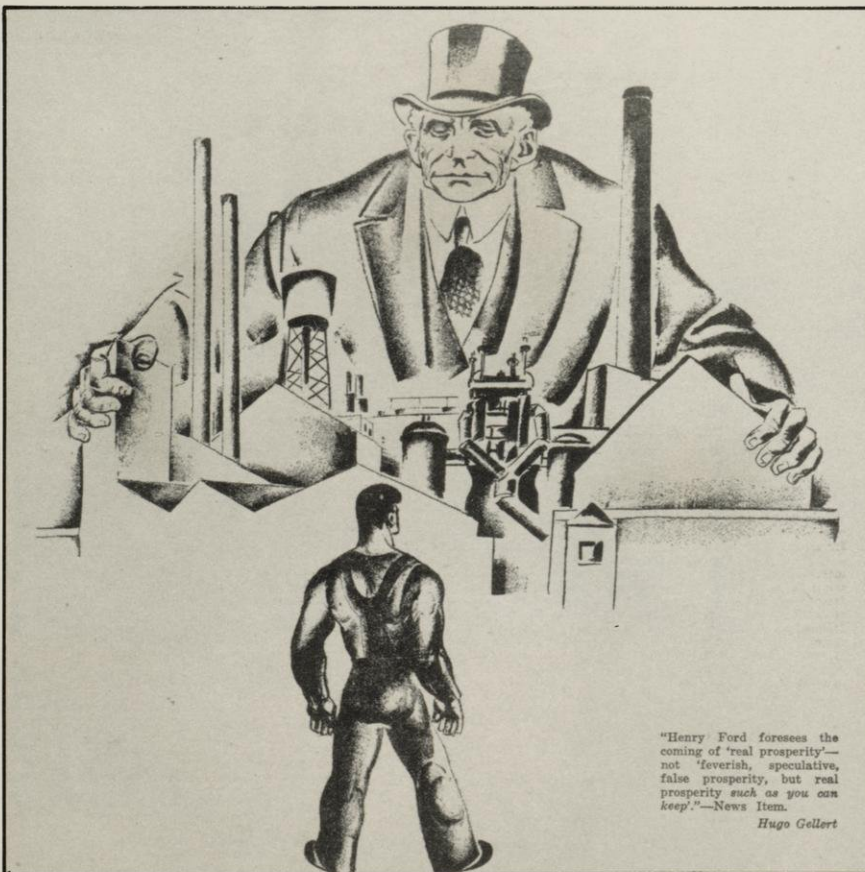
23.  
*I'll Tell the Cockeyed World*  
 From *New Masses*  
 July, 1930, p. 7  
 10½ x 7¾ in.

24.  
*The Spending is Over*  
 From *New Masses*  
 December 10, 1935, p. 17  
 11 x 8¼ in.





25.  
*Somebody is going to get an awful smack for pushing*  
 From *New Masses*  
 October, 1931, p. 7  
 6 × 7¾ in.

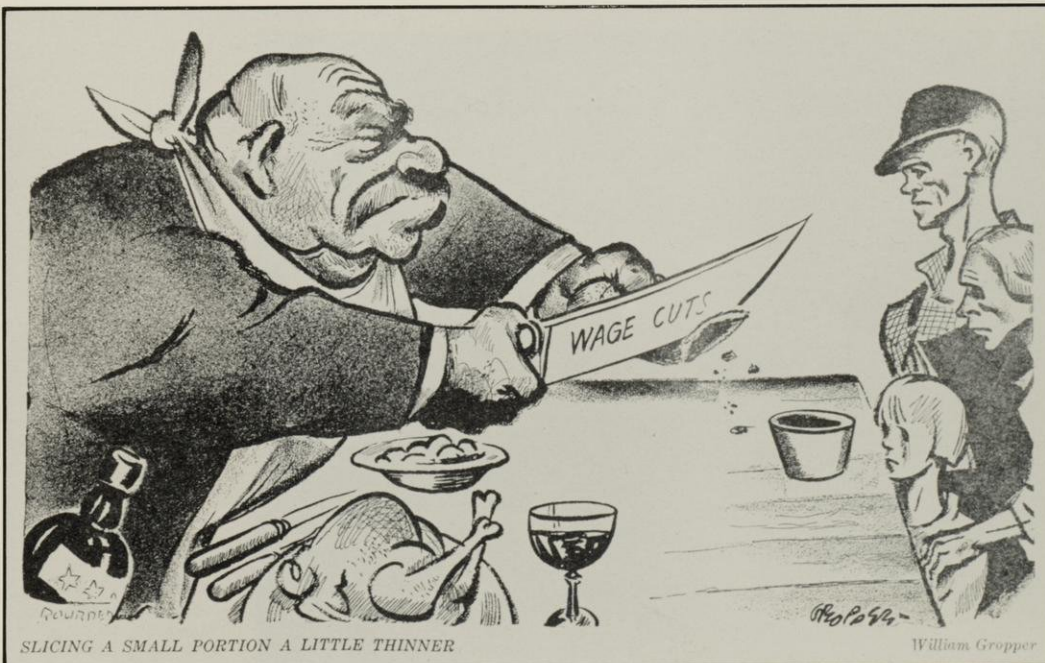


26.  
 Hugo Gellert  
*Henry Ford foresees the coming of 'real prosperity'*  
 From *New Masses*  
 December, 1931, p. 11  
 8¼ × 7¾ in.





27.  
 William Gropper (1897-1978)  
*Invading Grafters' Paradise*  
 From *New Masses*  
 February, 1932, p. 15  
 10½ x 7⅞ in.



28.  
 William Gropper (1897-1978)  
*Slicing a small portion a little thinner*  
 From *New Masses*  
 July, 1931, p. 15  
 4½ x 7¾ in.



# NEW MASSES

SEPTEMBER, 1932

15 CENTS

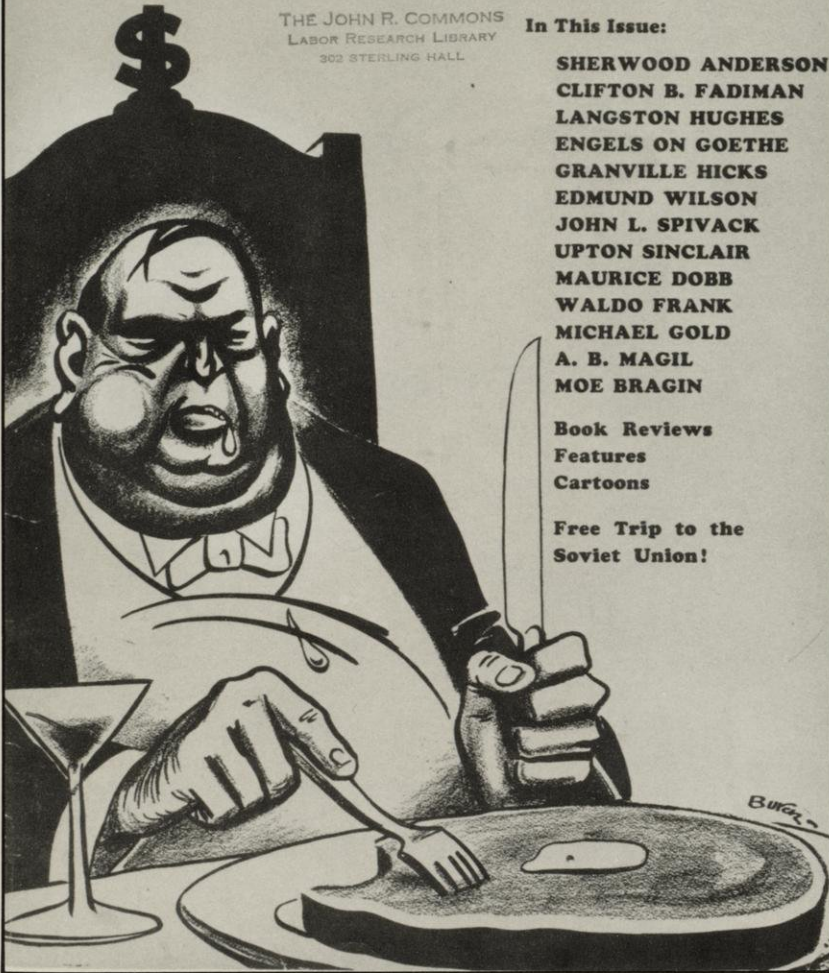
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EDMUND WILSON  
JOHN L. SPIVACK  
UPTON SINCLAIR  
MAURICE DOBB  
WALDO FRANK  
MICHAEL GOLD  
A. B. MAGIL  
MOE BRAGIN

Book Reviews  
Features  
Cartoons

Free Trip to the  
Soviet Union!



29.  
Jacob Burck  
Untitled  
From *New Masses*  
September, 1932, cover  
10 × 8¾ in.



30.  
Limbach  
Untitled  
From *New Masses*  
March 12, 1935, p. 11  
4 × 7½ in.



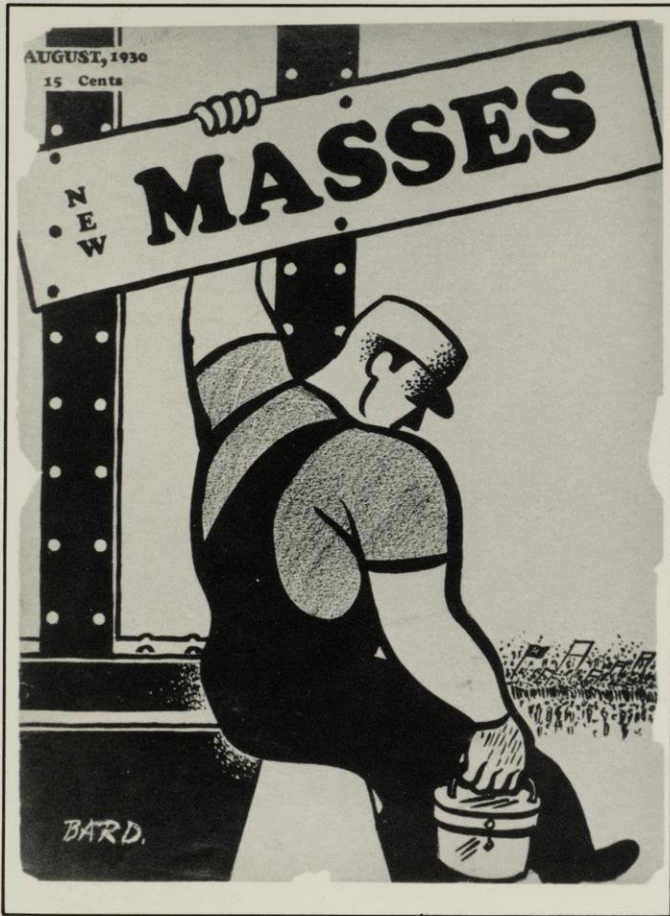


31.  
 Jacob Burck  
*You will eat bye and bye  
 in that glorious land above the sky*  
 From *New Masses*  
 March, 1930, p. 4  
 6 1/4 x 5 in.

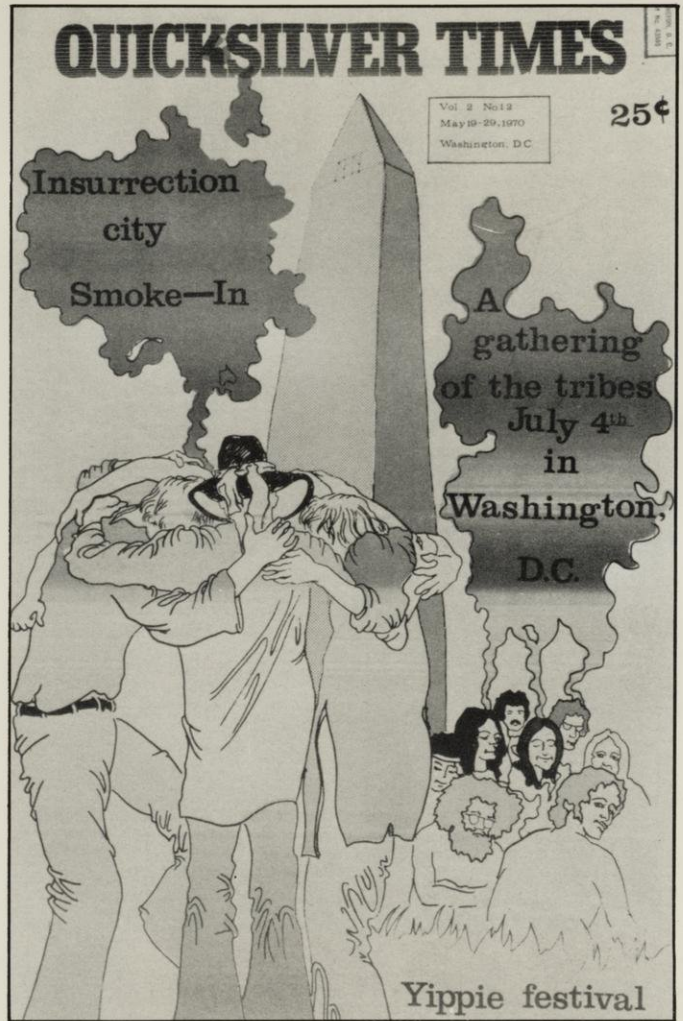


32.  
 William Siegel  
*The Absent-Minded Professor*  
 From *New Masses*  
 May, 1931, p. 16  
 6 1/2 x 5 in.



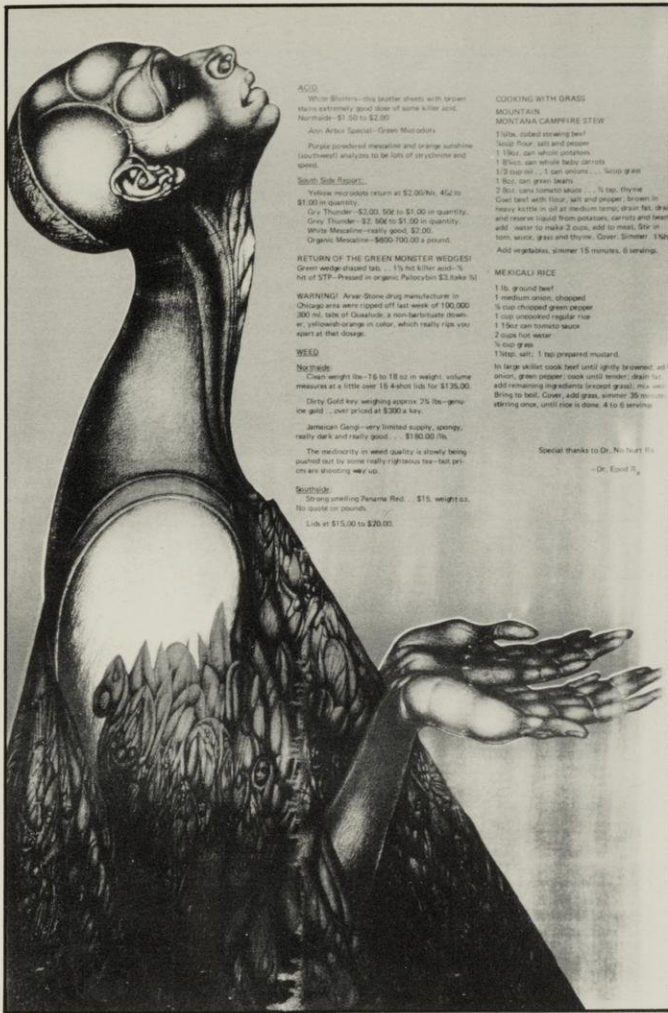


33.  
 Phil Bard  
*New Masses*  
 From *New Masses*  
 August, 1930, cover  
 11<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> × 8<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in.



34.  
 Untitled  
 (Smoke-in)  
 From *Quicksilver Times*  
 May 19-29, 1970  
 16<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> × 11<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> in.





**ACID**  
 100 cc Bluetritt—this better sheets with brown stains extremely good dose of some killer acid.  
 Nicotinic—\$1.00 to \$2.00  
 Amyl Alcohol—Tactical—Green Mountain  
 Purple powdered methylene and orange sunshine (scentless) analyzed to be lots of pyrene and spind.

**Spook Side Effect:**  
 Yellow microdots return at \$2.00/oz. 4oz to \$1.00 in quantity.  
 Gray Thunder—\$2.00, 5oz to \$1.00 in quantity.  
 Gray Thunder—\$1.00 to \$1.00 in quantity.  
 White Methane—really good, \$2.00.  
 Organic Marijuana—\$600/100.00 a pound.  
 Add vegetables, simmer 15 minutes, 6 servings.

**RETURN OF THE GREEN MONSTER WEDGES!**  
 Green wedge-shaped tabs—1 1/2 lbs killer acid—75 hit of STP—Peeled in organic Polycybin \$3. (take 3)

**WARNING!** Aral Stone drug manufacture in Chicago area were ripped off last week of 100,000 300 ml. tabs of Glaxide, a non-barbiturate downer, yellowish orange in color, which really rips you apart at that dosage.

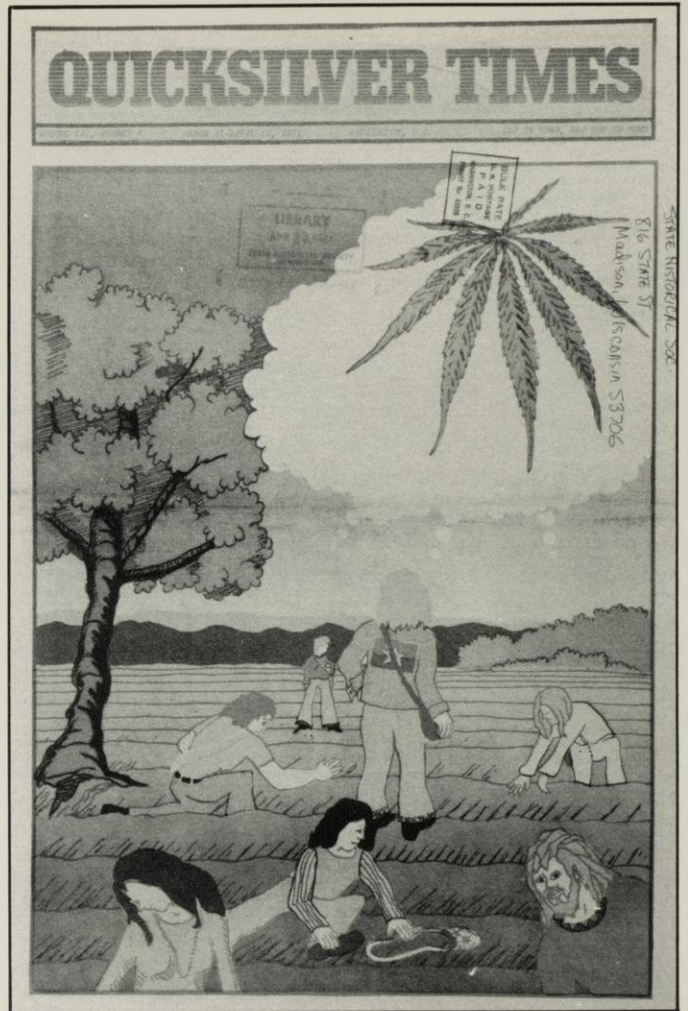
**WEED**  
 No trade.  
 Clean weight low—16 to 18 oz in weight, volume measured in a little over 18 4oz tabs for \$135.00.  
 Dirty Gold key, weighing approx 7 1/2 lbs—genuine gold—over priced at \$300 a key.  
 Jamaican Gang—very limited supply, stumpy, really dark and really good—\$130.00/oz.  
 The majority of weed quality is slowly being poured out by some really righteous tea-bag pricks are shooting way up.

**Southside!**  
 Strong smelling Thelma Red—\$15, weight is. No quote on pounds.  
 Lids at \$15.00 to \$20.00.

**COOKING WITH GRASS**  
**MOUNTAIN MONTANA CAMPFIRE STEW**  
 1 lb. cubed stewing beef  
 1/2 cup flour, salt and pepper  
 1 1/2 qt. can whole potatoes  
 1 1/2 qt. can whole baby carrots  
 1/2 cup oil, 1 can onions, 1 soup can  
 1 1/2 qt. can green beans  
 2 1/2 qt. cans tomato sauce, 1/2 tsp. thyme  
 Cook beef with flour, salt and pepper; brown in heavy butter in oil at medium temp; drain fat, fat and reserve liquid from potatoes, carrots and bean; add water to make 2 cups, add to meat, 300 ml. onion, sauce, grass and thyme. Cover; Simmer 1 hr.  
 Add vegetables, simmer 15 minutes, 6 servings.

**MEXICALI RICE**  
 1 lb. ground beef  
 1 medium onion, chopped  
 3/4 cup chopped green pepper  
 1 cup uncooked regular rice  
 1 1/2 qt. can tomato sauce  
 2 soup hot water  
 1/2 cup grass  
 1 1/2 tsp. salt, 1 tsp prepared mustard  
 In large skillet cook beef until lightly browned; add onion, green pepper; cook until tender; drain fat; add remaining ingredients (except grass); mix well; Bring to boil, Cover, add grass, simmer 35 minutes; stirring once, until rice is done, 4 to 6 servings.

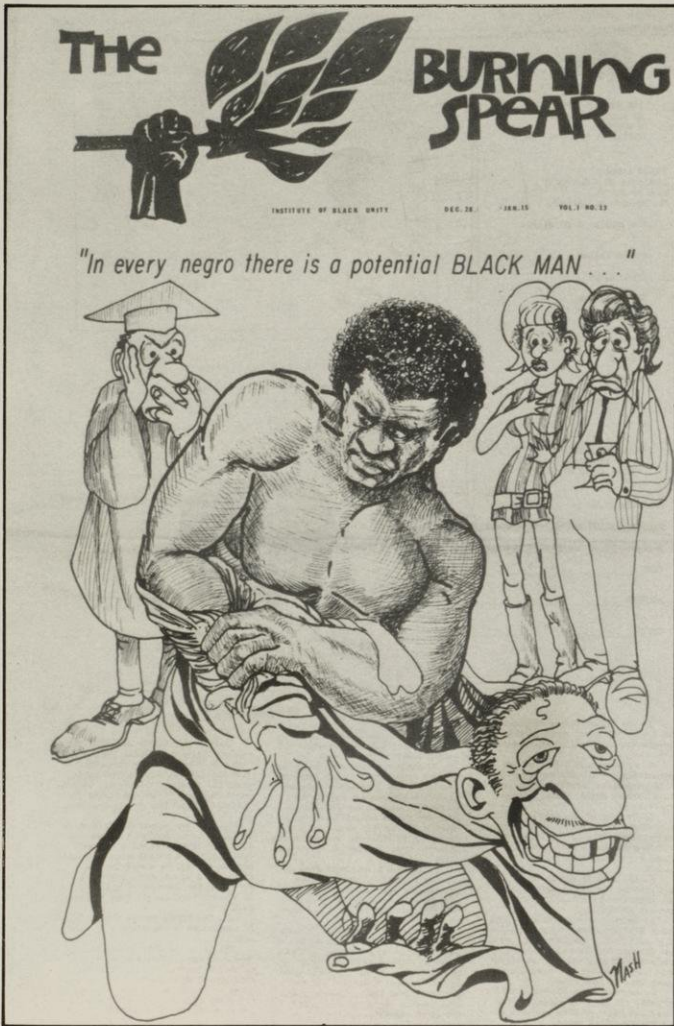
Special thanks to Dr. No heart fls.  
 —Dr. Emond 2.



35.  
 Untitled  
 (Dope Page)  
 From *Seed*  
 April 15, 1971  
 16 1/2 x 11 1/2 in.

36.  
 Untitled  
 (Marijuana Planting)  
 From *Quicksilver Times*  
 March 31 - April 13, 1971  
 16 1/2 x 11 1/2 in.



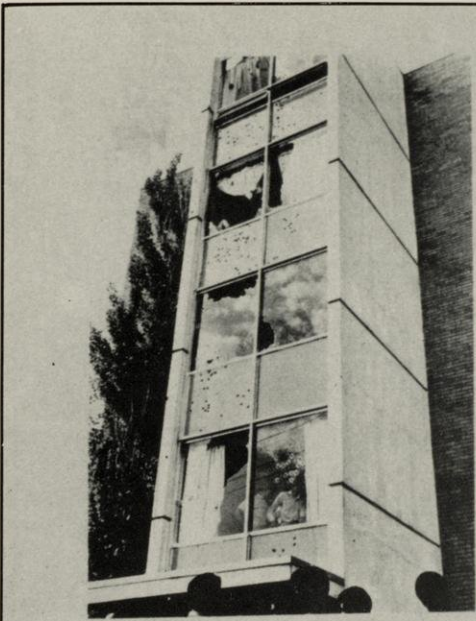


37.  
 Untitled  
 (In every Negro there is a potential BLACK MAN)  
 From *The Burning Spear*  
 Date unknown  
 vol. 1, no. 13  
 17½ x 11¼ in.



38.  
 Untitled  
 (Death to the Fascist Pigs)  
 From *Black Panther*  
 October 17, 1970  
 17½ x 11½ in.

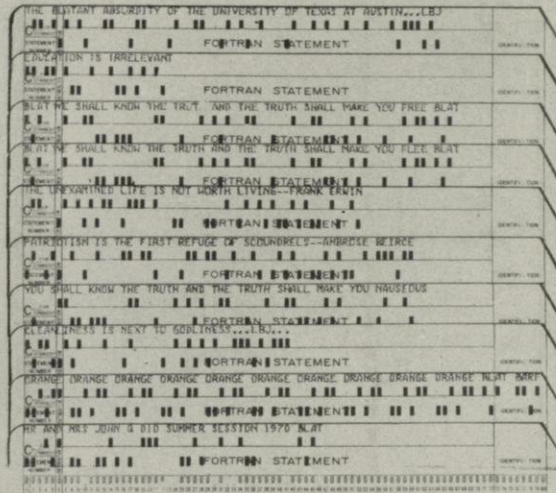




JACKSON STATE COLLEGE, JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI, AD 1970  
 ..."LEST YOU FORGET..THE STRUGGLE GOES ON"....

# THE RAG

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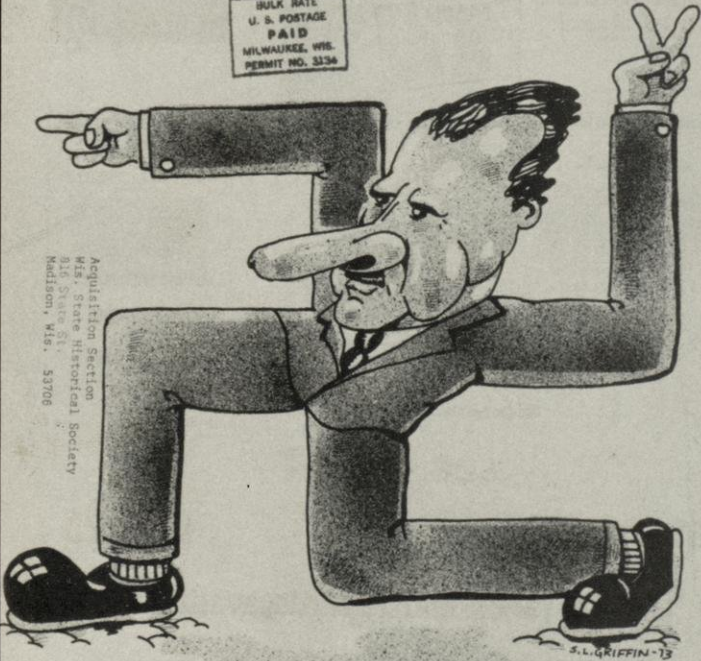
39.  
 Untitled  
 From *The Rag*  
 June 1-8, 1970  
 11 1/2 x 15 1/2 in.

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# Bugle American

Vol. 4, No. 6 (No. 104) Read me -- recycle me -- or throw up on your bible! February 14-21, 1973

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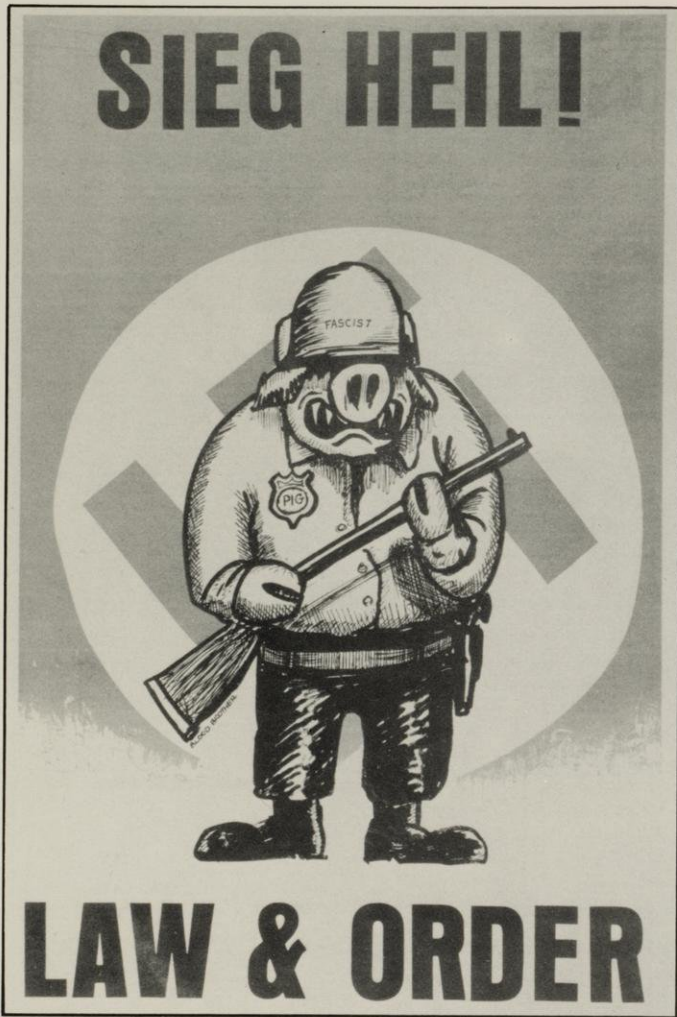


Acquisition Section  
 Wis. State Historical Society  
 615 STATE ST.  
 MADISON, WIS. 53706

Keep on truckin'

40.  
 Untitled  
 (Keep on Truckin')  
 From *Bugle America*  
 February 14-21, 1973  
 11 1/2 x 8 1/2 in.





41.  
 Untitled  
 (Sieg Heil!)  
 From *Black Panther*  
 July 5, 1969  
 17½ × 11½ in.



42.  
 Untitled  
 (To break the bonds of  
 fascism we must develop  
 a united front)  
 From *Black Panther*  
 June 7, 1969  
 17½ × 11½ in.



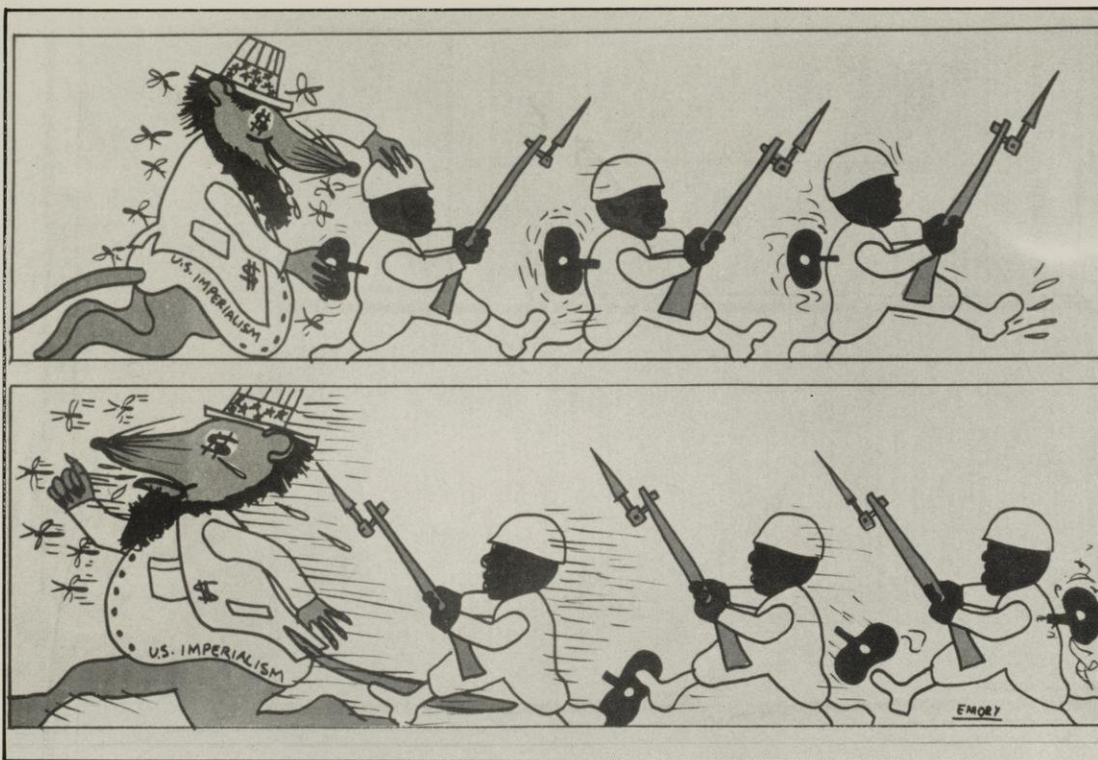


43.  
 Untitled  
 (Techno Fascism)  
 From *Quicksilver Times*  
 March 24-April 3, 1970  
 17 x 22<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in.



44.  
 Untitled  
 (ABM A Hard Rain)  
 From *Georgia Straight*  
 April 11-17, 1969  
 17 x 11<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in.





45.  
 Untitled  
 From *Black Panther*  
 November 1, 1969  
 17 1/2 x 11 1/2 in.



46.  
 Untitled  
 (Kill Rate/Profits)  
 From *Quicksilver Times*  
 March 24-April 3, 1970  
 17 1/2 x 11 1/2 in.



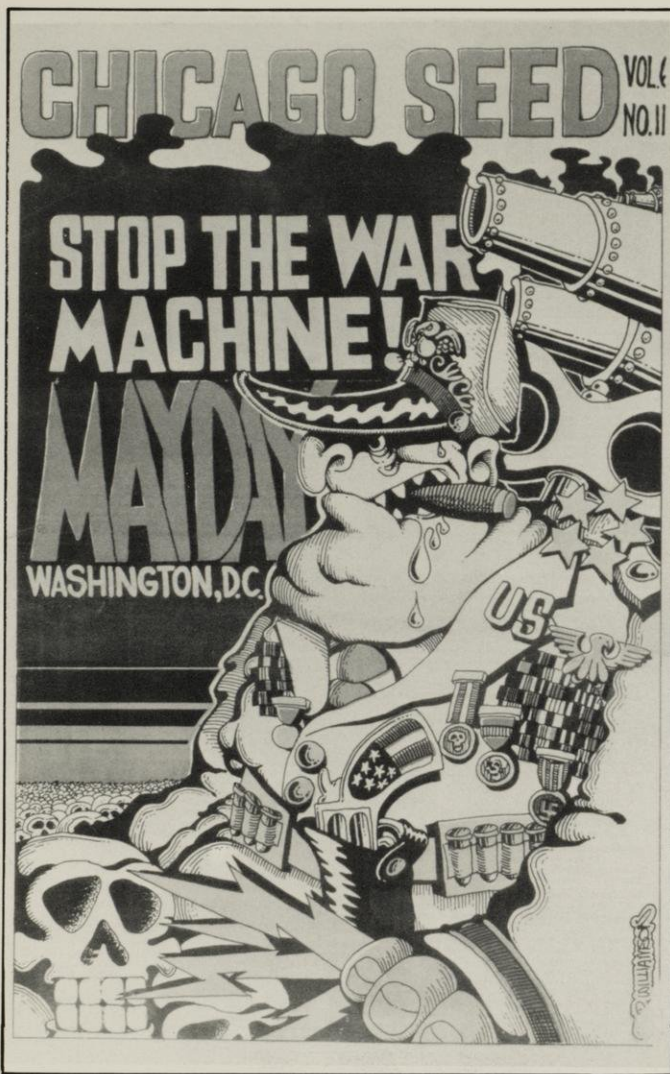


47.  
Untitled  
(Babylon)  
From *Black Panther*  
May 31, 1970  
17½ x 11½ in.



48.  
Untitled  
(Imperialists)  
From *Black Panther*  
March 21, 1970  
17½ x 11½ in.





49.  
 Untitled  
 From *Berkeley Barb*  
 December 20–26, 1968  
 17½ × 11¼ in.



50.  
 Untitled  
 (Stop the War Machine)  
 From *Seed*  
 vol. 6, no. 3  
 17¼ × 11½ in.



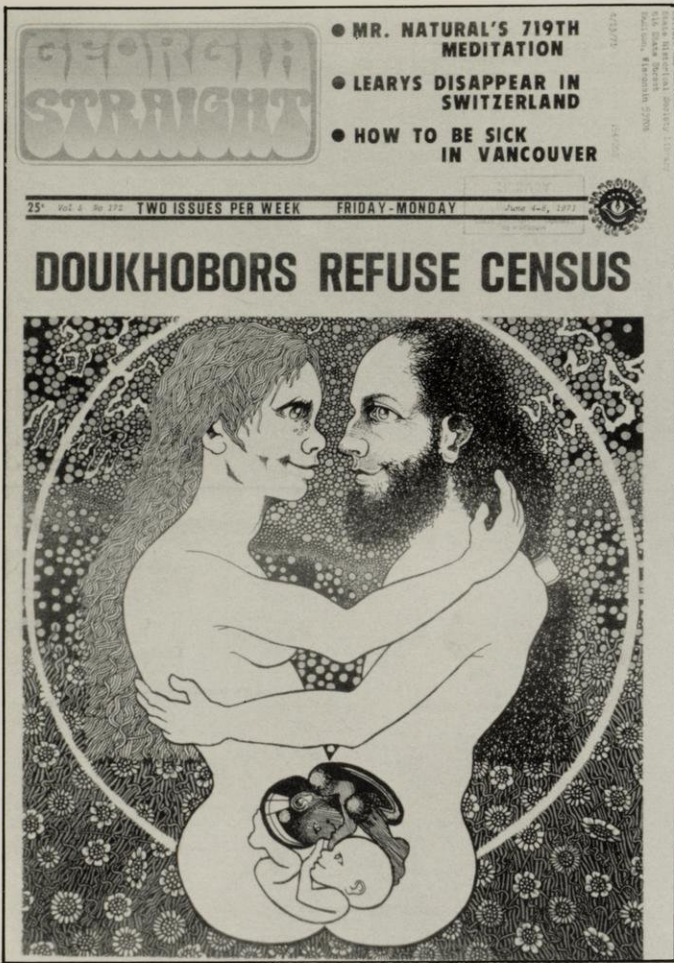


51.  
 Untitled  
 (A Mandala for those in Psychic Agony)  
 Publication unknown  
 Date unknown  
 22<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> × 17<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in.



52.  
 Untitled  
 Publication unknown  
 Date unknown  
 22<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> × 15 in.



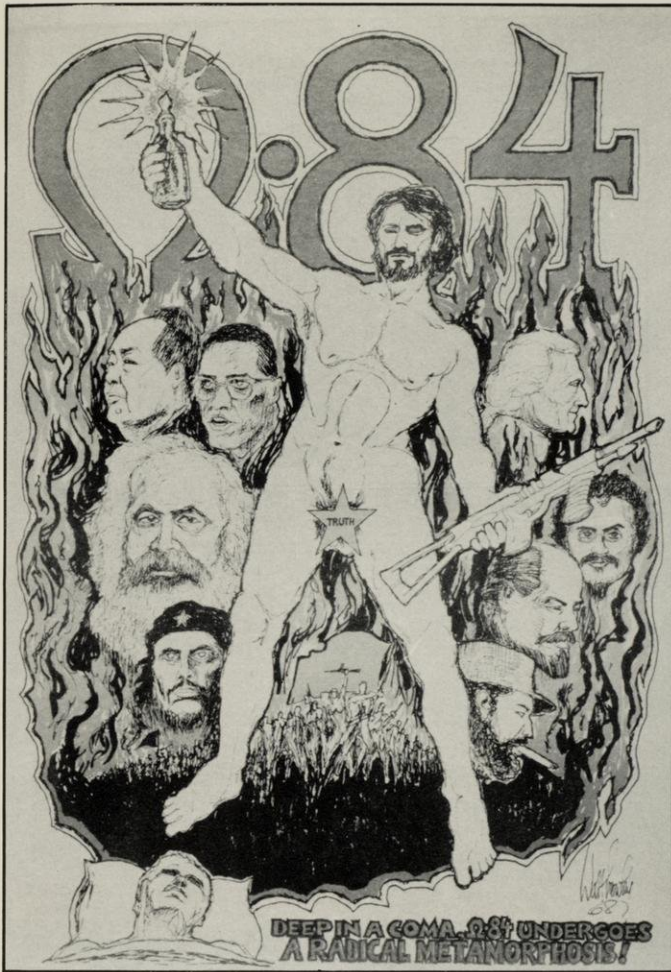


53.  
 Untitled  
 From *Georgia Straight*  
 June 4-8, 1971  
 17½ × 11¼ in.

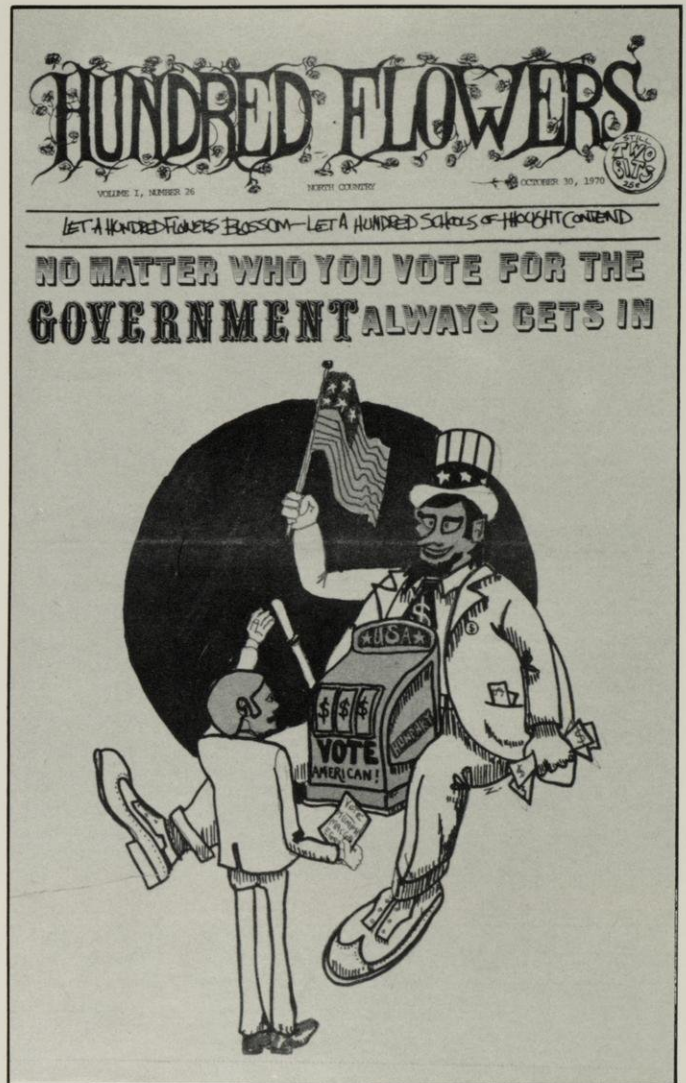


54.  
 Untitled  
 (What is Alchemy)  
 From *Counterpoint*  
 July, 1968  
 17¾ × 22½ in.



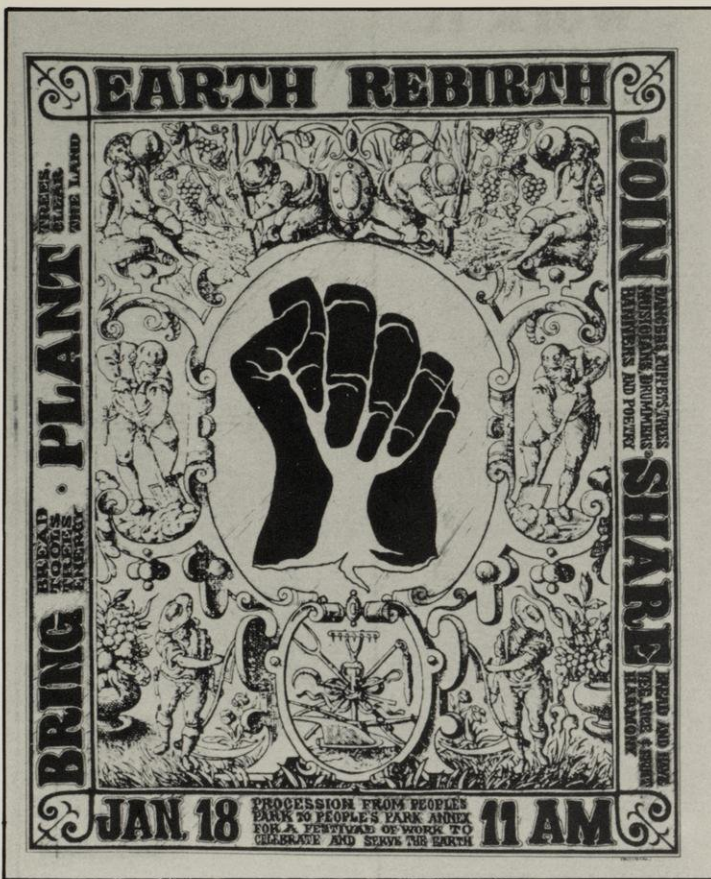


55.  
 Untitled  
 (Omega 84)  
 From *Helix*  
 Date unknown  
 16 × 11½ in.



56.  
 Untitled  
 (No matter who you vote for,  
 the government always gets in)  
 From *Hundred Flowers*  
 October 30, 1970  
 18 × 11¼ in.





57.  
 Untitled  
 (Earth Rebirth)  
 From *Good Times*  
 January 15, 1970  
 16 x 11¼ in.

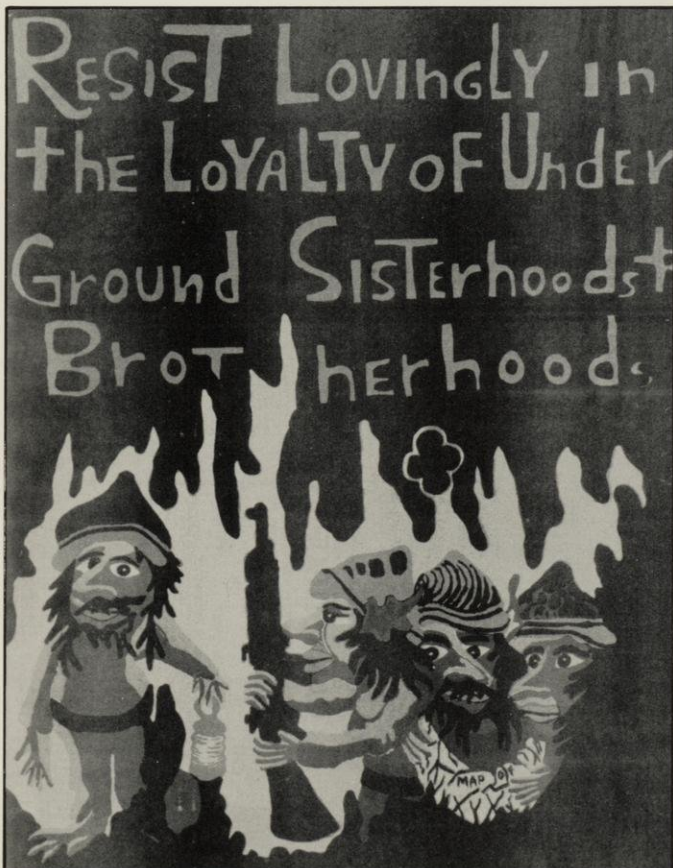


58.  
 Untitled  
 (A History of America)  
 From *Planet*  
 Date unknown  
 16½ x 22¾ in.





59.  
 Untitled  
 Publication unknown  
 Date unknown  
 17¾ × 22¾ in.

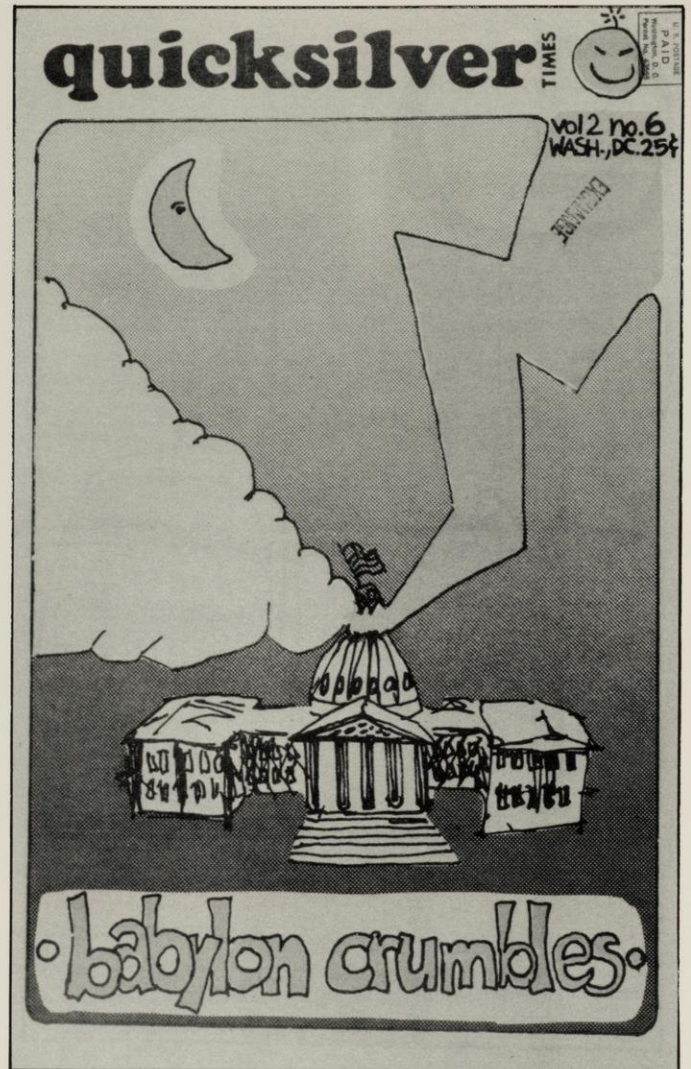


60.  
 Untitled  
 (Resist Lovingly)  
 From *Quicksilver Times*  
 December 8-18, 1970  
 22¾ × 16½ in.





61.  
Untitled  
(We are America's Children)  
From *San Francisco Express Times*  
October 2, 1968  
7<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> × 10<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in.



62.  
Untitled  
(Babylon Crumbles)  
From *Quicksilver Times*  
March 3-13, 1970  
17 × 11<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> in.



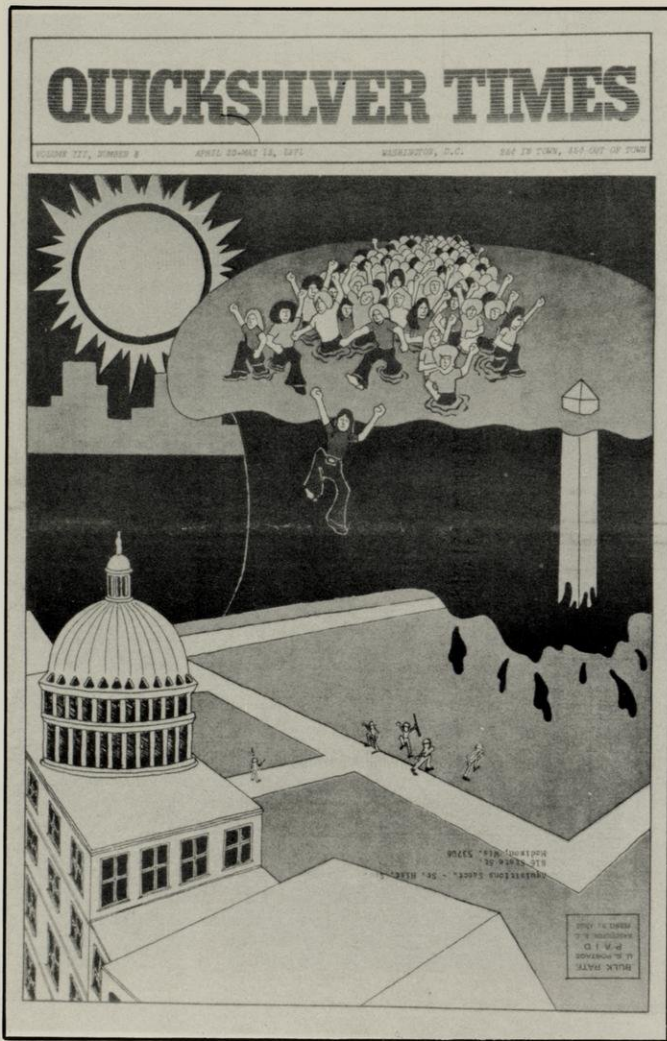


63.  
 Untitled  
 (Don't Tread on Me)  
 From *Willamette Bridge*, vol. 3, no. 36  
 Date unknown  
 17 1/2 x 11 1/2 in.



64.  
 Untitled  
 (We shall celebrate with such Fierce Dancing  
 the Death of your institutions)  
 From *Seed*, vol. 5, no. 8  
 Date unknown  
 17 x 11 1/4 in.



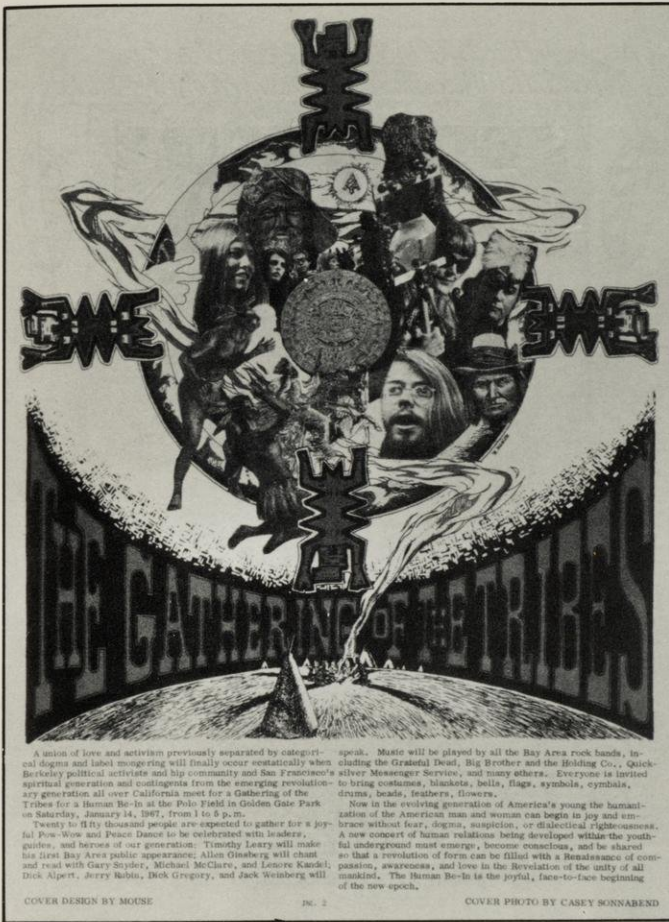


65.  
 Untitled  
 From *Quicksilver Times*  
 April 30-May 13, 1971  
 16½ x 11½ in.



66.  
 Untitled  
 (A New Sun Rising)  
 From *Quicksilver Times*  
 March 17-30, 1971  
 16½ x 11½ in.



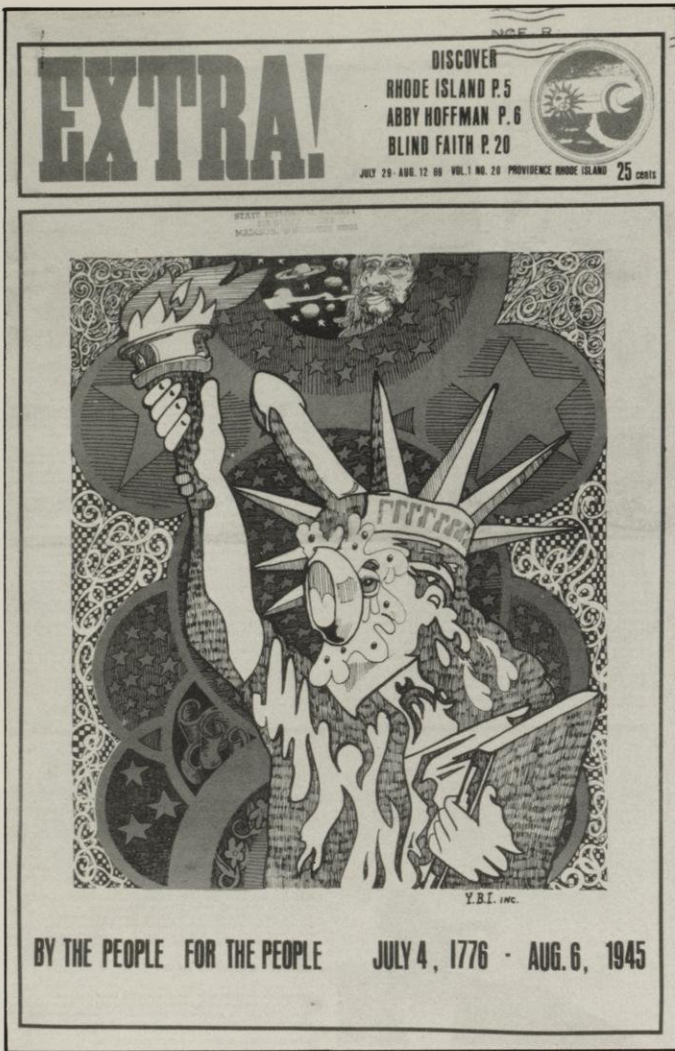


67.  
 Untitled  
 (The Gathering of the Tribes)  
 From *San Francisco Oracle*  
 January, 1967  
 16 x 11 1/4 in.



68.  
 Untitled  
 (Woodstock)  
 From *Seed*  
 Date unknown  
 21 1/2 x 15 in.





69.  
Untitled  
(By the People For the People)  
From *Extra*  
July 29–August 12, 1969  
17½ × 11¼ in.

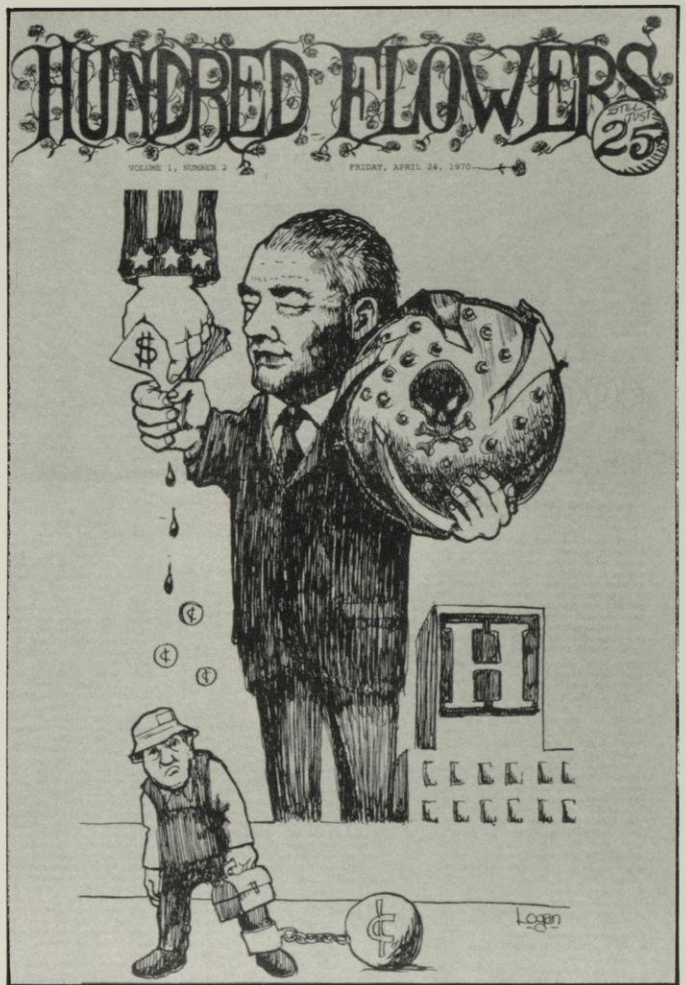


70.  
Untitled  
(Old Gory)  
From *Berkeley Barb*  
vol. 9, no. 10  
Date unknown  
17½ × 11¼ in.



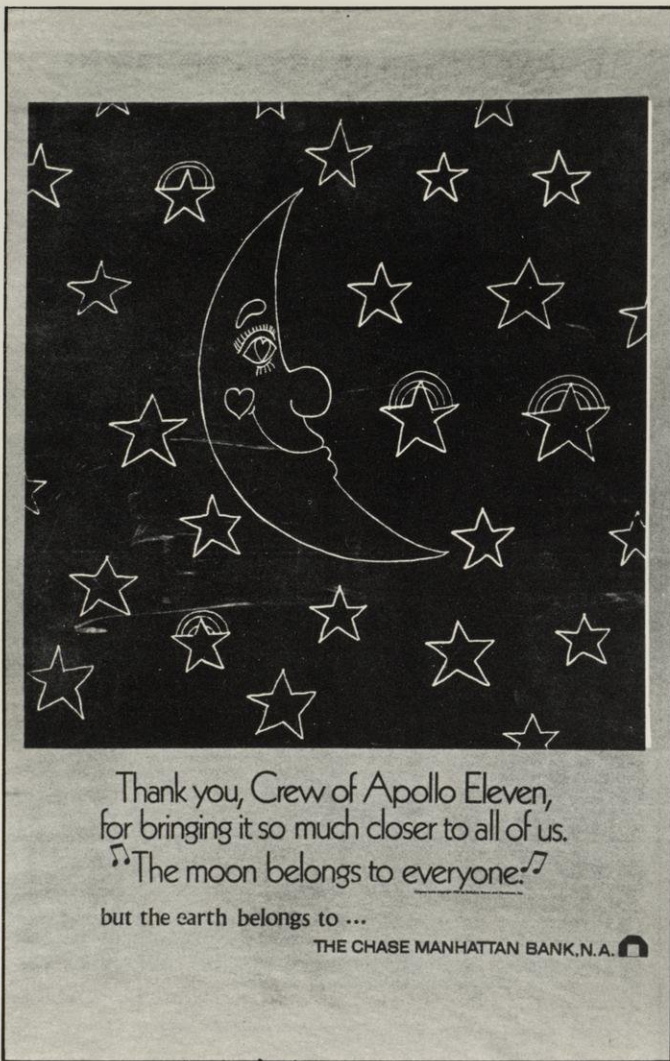


71.  
 Untitled  
 (I Pledge Allegiance)  
 From *Vision*  
 January–February, 1970  
 16½ x 11½ in.

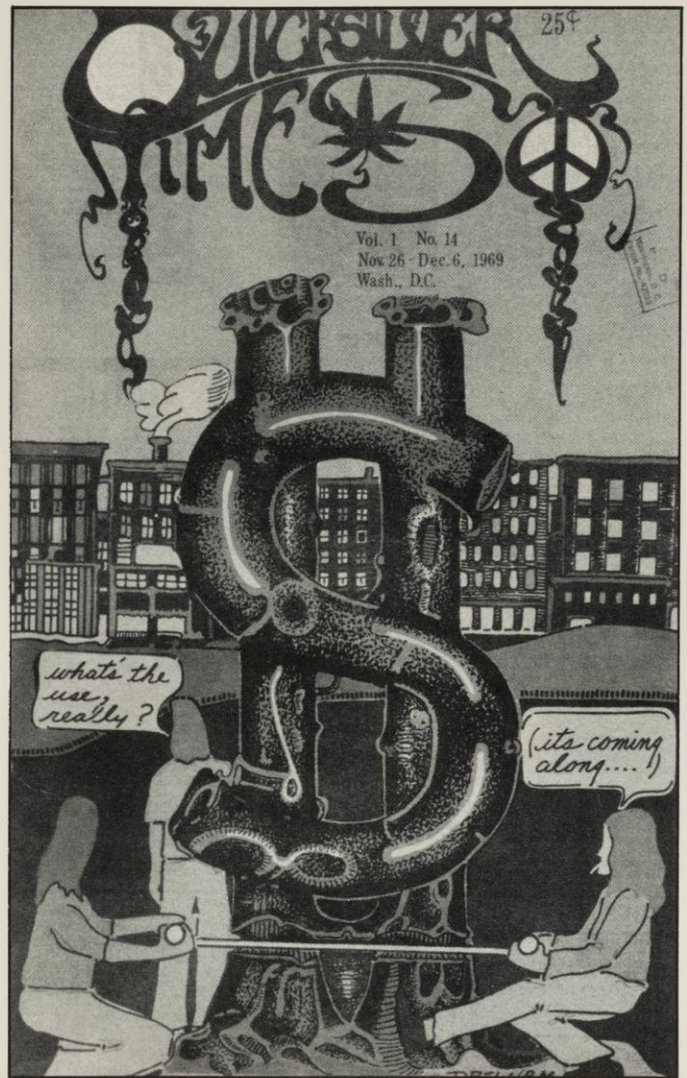


72.  
 Untitled  
 (Trickle-Down)  
 From *Hundred Flowers*  
 April 24, 1970  
 17 x 11¼ in.



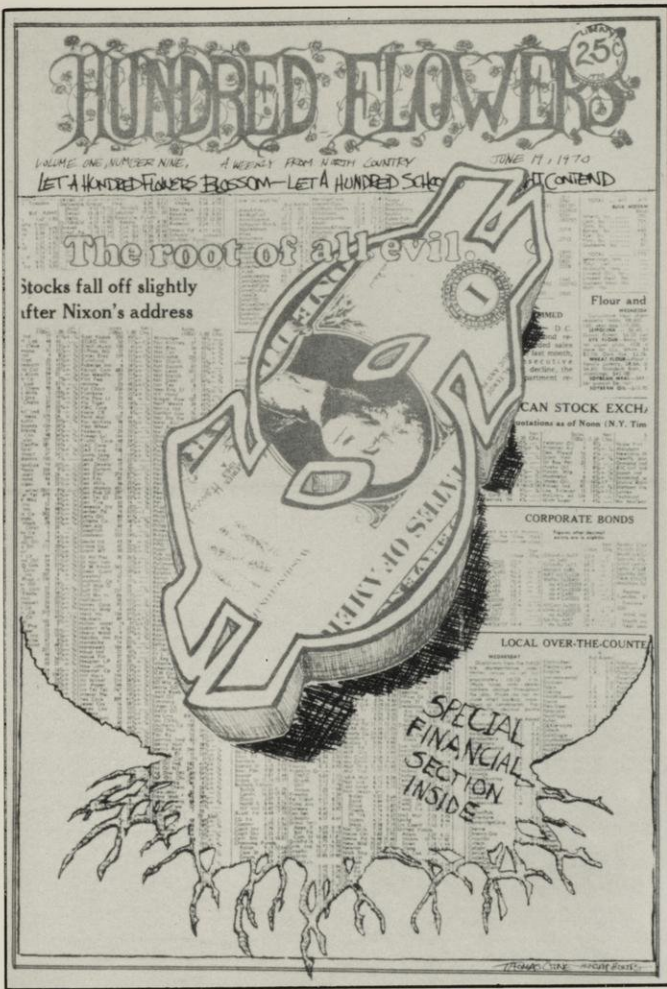


73.  
Untitled  
From *Quicksilver Times*  
August 12-22, 1969  
16½ x 11½ in.

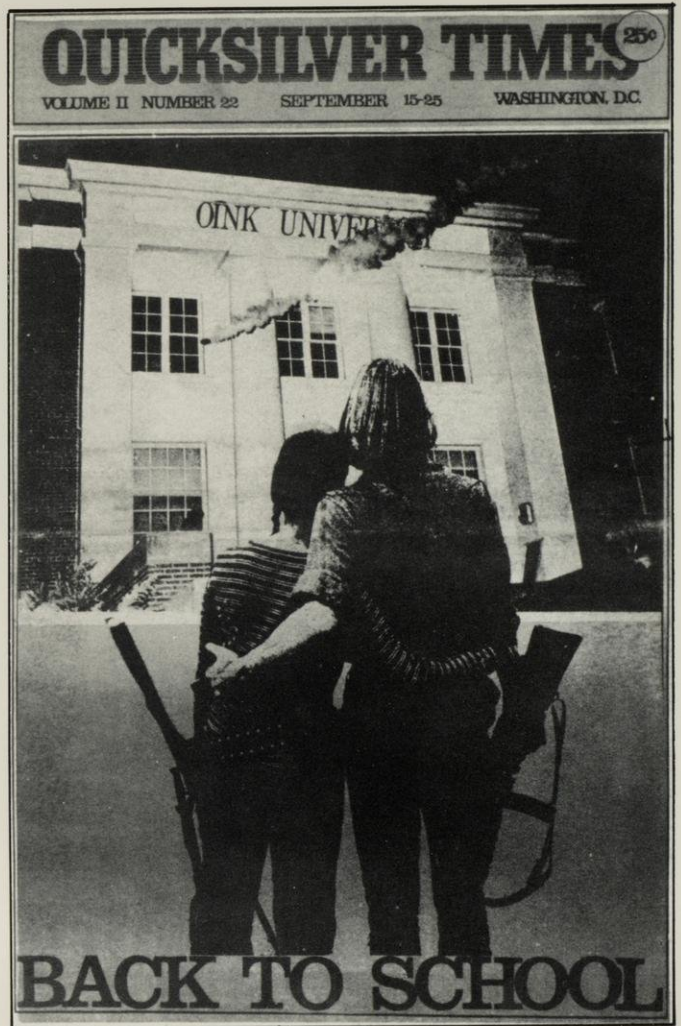


74.  
Untitled  
(What's the use, really? It's coming along)  
From *Quicksilver Times*  
November 26-December 6, 1969  
17 x 11½ in.





75.  
 Untitled  
 (The Root of all Evil)  
 From *Hundred Flowers*  
 June 19, 1970  
 16 x 11 1/4 in.

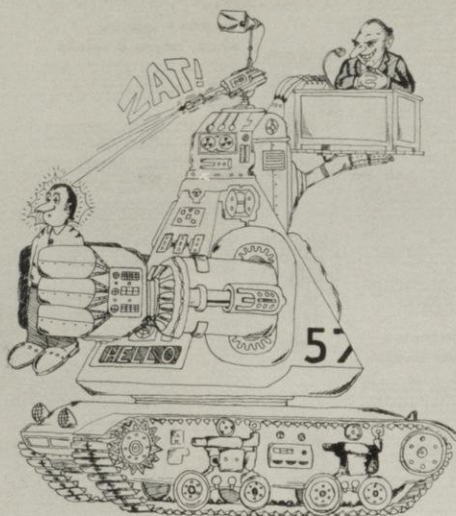


76.  
 Untitled  
 (Back to School)  
 From *Quicksilver Times*  
 September 15-25, 1970  
 16 1/2 x 11 1/2 in.

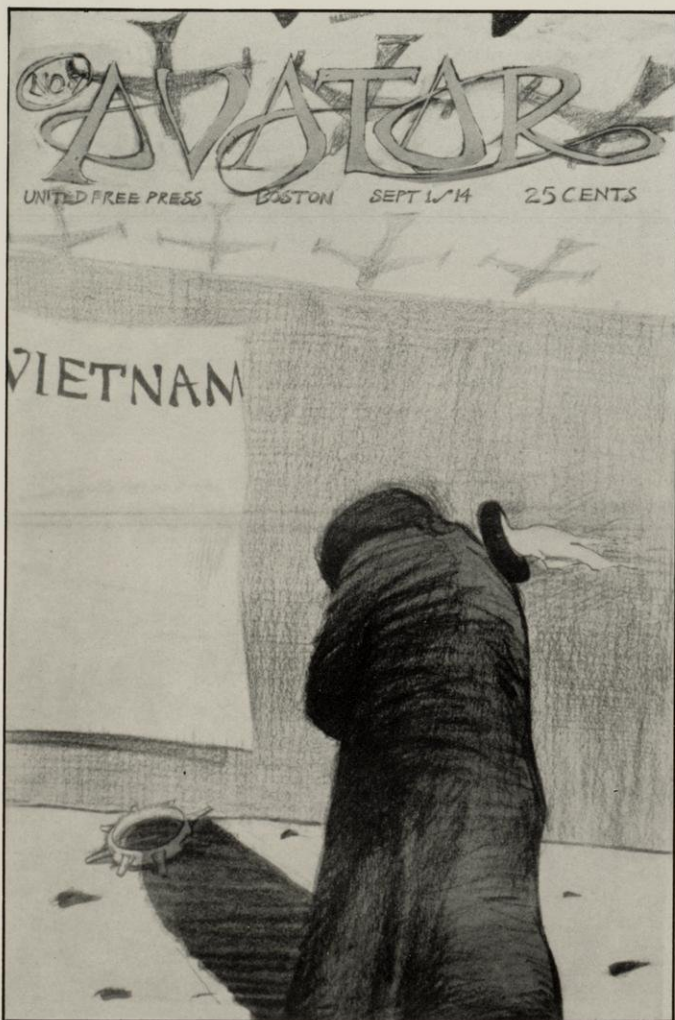


# WELCOME BACK TO SCHOOL

# KIDS !



77.  
Untitled  
(Welcome Back to School Kids)  
From Indianapolis High  
School *Free Press*  
Date unknown  
17 x 22<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in.



78.  
Untitled  
(Vietnam)  
From *Avatar*  
Date unknown  
17<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> x 11<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in.



# QUICKSILVER TIMES

Vol. 2 No. 11

Washington, D.C.

May 8-18, 1970

25¢



79.  
Untitled  
(Rural Pacification, Kent, Ohio)  
From *Quicksilver Times*  
May 8-18, 1970  
16 x 10 1/4 in.

# QUICKSILVER TIMES

VOLUME 1 NUMBER 6

WASHINGTON, D.C.

AUGUST 12-22, 1969

25¢



80.  
Untitled  
(Bring the War Home)  
From *Quicksilver Times*  
August 12-22, 1969  
16 1/2 x 11 1/4 in.





81.  
Untitled  
(Their ABM)  
From *Walrus*  
vol. 3, no. 2  
17½ × 11¼ in.



82.  
Untitled  
From *Black Panther*  
December 12, 1969  
17½ × 11½ in.





83.  
 Untitled  
 (America: Conspiracy)  
 From *Willamette Bridge*  
 Date unknown  
 16 x 22 3/4 in.



84.  
 Untitled  
 (Back to Skool Week)  
 From *Leviathan*  
 April, 1969  
 10 x 7 1/2 in.



JUST WAIT TILL THAT LANDLORD COMES AROUND  
WITH HIS HANDS ALL STUCK OUT - SMILING TALKIN BOUT,  
"WHY MRS. MAE WHAT A LOVELY DAY."



KILL THE GREEDY SLUMLORDS!

85.  
Untitled  
(Kill the Greedy Slumlords)  
From *Black Panther*  
September 12, 1970  
17½ x 11½ in.



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Corinne Magnoni, *Assistant Director for Administration*

Kathy Parks, *Assistant to the Director*

Carlton Overland, *Curator of Collections*

Andrew Stevens, *Assistant Curator of Prints and Drawings*

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Rebecca Hunke, *Coordinator of Membership and Development*

Dale Malner, *Gallery Preparator*

Cary Albright, *Program Assistant II*

Ann Fenner, *Program Assistant II*

Barbara Sebranek, *Word Processor II*

Sandy Schweiger, *Museum Shop Manager*

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