



DAVID WINTON BELL GALLERY, BROWN UNIVERSITY

**VIEWS and
RE-VIEWS**

SOVIET

POLITICAL

POSTERS AND CARTOONS



„Нынешние кулаки и подкулачники, нынешние антисоветские элементы в деревне — это большей частью люди „тихие“, „сладенькие“, почти „святые“, их не нужно искать далеко от колхоза, они сидят в самом колхозе и занимают там должности кладовщиков, завхозов, счетоводов, секретарей и т. д.“
И. Сталин

КАЛИЧ-33

VIEWS and RE-VIEWS

SOVIET

POLITICAL POSTERS AND CARTOONS

On view at the David Winton Bell Gallery and the John Hay Library Gallery
September 6 — October 19, 2008

Auxiliary selections from the collection are on view at the Cogut Center for the Humanities and the John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library through 2008

Sponsored by the David Winton Bell Gallery, Brown University Library, Cogut Center for the Humanities, and Office of the Vice President for International Affairs

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8 through 16 ESSAY
17 through 20 WORKS

LEFT
BORIS KLİČ
“Fire hard at the class enemy!” 1933

COVER
MIKHAIL BALJASNIJ
“Communism means soviets [popular councils], plus the electrification of the whole country. Let us transform the USSR through socialist industrialization” (detail), 1930

BACK COVER
ALEXANDER ZHITOMIRSKY
Hysterical War Drummer, 1948

WELCOME TO VIEWS and RE-VIEWS

a powerful sampling of more than 160 images from a private collection of 20th century propaganda art.

In their presentation of posters and political cartoons from the Soviet period, curators Jo-Ann Conklin, Director of the Bell Gallery and Abbott (Tom) Gleason, Keeney Professor of History Emeritus, invite us to think about these images in new ways. The stunning images in this exhibition evoke an imagined world of enemies and heroes, set against an historical backdrop of brutality and intense human yearning. How can propaganda open a window into what was actually happening, whether in the world for which they were created or in the world about which they expressed criticism, hostility or humor? Might we imagine now how these images were then received—or rethink our own reactions to them now? How does propaganda communicate? Is it direct, popular, vernacular art, or something made and understood then and now more indirectly?

These images remind us that the music, art, and literature of the mid-to-late Soviet period have often been scorned as politically coerced, their creators to be pitied, and only occasionally admired for their bold aesthetics. **VIEWS and RE-VIEWS** invites us to reconsider that tradition, perhaps in light of our own era's rigidities of politics and taste.

Perhaps if we imagine the difficulty of untangling the flurry of media images, communication, and miscommunication surrounding our national election, we may glimpse something of the tortuous labyrinth required to appreciate the real and unreal in these posters and cartoons.

Propaganda art can be as much about art as propaganda. Revisiting these images, many of them famous or iconic, may also spur us to reconsider the relationship between the art of the high Soviet Union and that of the West, and perhaps to re-assimilate the art of the twentieth-century Soviet world into the mainstream of European and Western modernism.

Wanting neither to chill the power of each image nor dampen the flourish of our own individual reactions, Conklin and Gleason's presentation artfully and intelligently engages us in a process of historical revelation intertwined with our effort to discern some element of personal truth and understanding.

On behalf of Brown University, let me welcome you to view—and to review!

Harriette Hemmasi
Joukowsky Family University Librarian





INTRODUCTION

Seventeen years after the demise of the Soviet Union, **VIWS** and **RE-VIEWS** invites a post-Cold War assessment of Soviet graphic arts. The exhibition suggests that artistic merit may be found in the service of political belief and subject to state regulation, and demonstrates stylistic diversity within works that are often simply and dismissively characterized as Socialist Realism. It also exposes uncomfortable truths in Soviet views of the U.S. that can be evaluated anew, thanks to calmer political relations and an historical perspective.

Selected around the concept of “friends and enemies,” the exhibition investigates the tendency within Soviet society to posit a pantheon of enemies of the state and heroes of the revolution. Enemies were identified both within Russia and outside of its borders, in the West. Some were perennial—priests, kulaks (peasant landowners), Mensheviks, Tsar Nicholas, Capitalists, the Entente (Britain, France, and the U.S.). Others moved from enemy to friend or friend to enemy with changing political or economic situations. Peasant farmers, distrusted during the revolution, were incorporated into the communist system via collectivization and industrialization. Thereafter, hard-working and happy collective farm workers were pictured in posters. Heroes included Lenin and other Bolshevik leaders, Stalin, the Red Army, shock workers (individuals who worked tirelessly for the collective, versus enemy slackers), and emancipated women. But even heroes could fall. Gregory Zinoviev, represented on a poster in this exhibition, was purged by Stalin, to say nothing of Trotsky, here represented by the Kukryniksy (a Soviet caricaturist collaborative) as a Fascist lapdog.

The exhibition is drawn from an extensive private collection of Soviet propaganda and includes posters, cartoons, and photomontages. The works span more than six decades, from the time of the Russian Civil War (1918–21)—during which the Bolsheviks and their western-backed opponents struggled for control of the new state—into the late Soviet period. The earliest works in the exhibition, some by Viktor Deni, Dmitri Moor, and the artists of the ROSTA Windows, demonstrate stylistic links to nineteenth-century European



ABOVE, TOP

ARTIST UNKNOWN

Original watercolor for ROSTA Window series #188: “1. It is, you know, they [industrial workers] who represent countries and peoples,” c. 1920

ABOVE

VALENTINA KULAGINA

“1905: The Road to October,” 1929

LEFT

NIKOLAI DOLGORUKOV

“Long live the great, unconquerable banner of Marx, Engels and Lenin!” (detail), 1934



ABOVE

THE KUKRYNIKSY

"This evil enemy won't get out of the knot we've got him in! Treaty of solidarity between the Soviet Union, England, and the United States," 1942

RIGHT

VALENTINA KULAGINA

"International Working Women's Day is the day of judging of socialist competition," 1930

FAR RIGHT

VIKTOR KORETSKY

"We demand peace!" 1950

VIEWS and RE-VIEWS is accompanied by a scholarly symposium, curator's lecture, brochure, and website, and is a collaborative endeavor of Brown University's Library, David Winton Bell Gallery, Cogut Center for the Humanities, and Office of International Affairs. As such, many individuals played a part in the organization and implementation of the project. The steering committee for the project included Vice President for International Affairs David Kennedy, who brought this phenomenal private collection to our attention; Harriette Hemmasi, Joukowsky Family University Librarian, who spearheaded the effort to bring the collection to Brown for research and display; Emeritus Professor Abbott Gleason and Bell Gallery Director Jo-Ann Conklin, who curated the exhibition; Cogut Center Director Michael Steinberg, who organized the symposium; Director of Special Collections Samuel Streit; and Assistant Professor of History Ethan Pollock. We would like to thank the talented members of our staffs who accomplished the task: at the libraries, Joseph Mancino, Ann Caldwell, Jane Cabral, Patrick Yott, and Benjamin Tyler; at the Bell Gallery, Cameron Shaw, Terry Abbott, and Divya Heffley; at the Cogut Center, Kit Salisbury and Leslie Uhnak. Finally, our sincere and heartfelt thanks is extended to the generous collector who chose to share his collection with the Brown community.

Jo-Ann Conklin

Director, David Winton Bell Gallery

Abbott Gleason

Keeney Professor of History Emeritus



art and Russian folk art. Created between 1919 and 1921, the ROSTA Window posters combined rhyming text with images to communicate with the semi-literate population about new decrees and to comment on current events and aspects of daily life in the new communist state. Deni and Moor's biting political satire, published in cartoons and posters, was a counterpoint to the earnest utopian imagery of the 30s. Posters by Gustav Klutsis, Valentina Kulagina, and Nikolai Dolgorukov from the 1930s and later celebrated the socialist system, its leaders—Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin—its heroic industrial and agricultural workers, and collectivization. Their works encompass many of the stylistic tropes that have come to be associated with Soviet posters: discrepancies of scale that articulate hierarchies (leaders tower over and dwarf the proletarian throngs); prevalence of geometric shapes and diagonals and a limited color palette of red, white, black, and yellow; and the incorporation of photomontage.

During World War II and the Cold War, the Kukryniksy satirized politics in clever and highly entertaining cartoons and caricatures, demonstrating great skill with pen, ink, and watercolor. Alexander Zhitomirsky—like his better-known German counterpart John Heartfield—created political photomontages.¹ During World War II his work ridiculing Nazi leadership and forecasting its defeat was published in leaflets dropped on enemy troops, causing Joseph Goebbels (Hitler's minister of propaganda) to add him to the "most wanted" enemies list. By the 1950s the Soviet Union had shifted its focus outward. Internal enemies gave way to Western powers: the U.S. and NATO countries. Works by Viktor Koretsky—one of the most prolific poster artists of period—the Kukryniksy, Zhitomirsky, and others called for world peace while decrying America's imperialism in Vietnam and the Middle East and racism at home.

¹ In literature regarding Soviet graphics, the term "photomontage" describes two distinct processes. Klutsis, like his colleagues Alexander Rodchenko and El Lissitzky, incorporated photographs into graphic designs that were issued as lithographic posters. Zhitomirsky worked exclusively with photographs. His photomontages exist in original photo collages and in rephotographed versions that were also issued as photographs.

SOVIET POLITICAL POSTERS AND CARTOONS, THEN AND NOW

VIEWS and RE-VIEWS:

Russian culture has long been a polarizing one, both in its upper class incarnation and more fundamentally in the ancient peasant version which lies at its base. Those functioning in the Russian cultural orbit have tended to assume difference rather than commonality of interest, to divide people decisively into those who were on our side and those who weren't: "ours" and "not ours," as the Russians say. If you were not one of us, you were seen as likely to be one of them, someone from a different place with different needs or (in modern times) opinions. "They" were always a threat in the old Russian world of straitened circumstances, social isolation, and struggle over resources. Real neutrality was hard to imagine. The world, in other words, was divided into FRIENDS and ENEMIES.

This attitude survived Russia's fleeting experience of modernity to become characteristic of the more-or-less closed society that embraced Russia's elites. The great critic Iurii Lotman discerned in Russia what he called "an underlying binary logic of opposition [in which] individuals and groups conceptualize social life in terms of sets of absolute alternatives that admit of no compromise... either one or the other must be chosen."¹

Russians are also famous for their lack of moderation. "Sin greatly, that grace may abound," describes a point of view that is an extravagant version of what St. Paul wrote long ago in his Epistle to the Romans (5:20) about the relationship between God's mercy and men's depravity; there

is something very Russian about its suggestion of the powerful linkage of sin and grace. The idea that you should sin as little as possible so that there may be just enough grace for your needs sounds like some moderate, almost smug culture, far away from Russia. Something in the English-speaking world, perhaps.

A recent critic has echoed traditional voices in Russian cultural studies, proclaiming that Russia's entire culture lacks "middle ground between the ideal of Sodom and the ideal of the Madonna."² What is needed, he goes on to suggest, is a concept of purgatory, something between the ideas of Heaven and Hell, with which the Russian story is so richly endowed.



ESSAY

D.MOOR, 34.

DMITRI MOOR The Red Army keeps the capitalist pigs penned up, 1934

But both major and minor figures in Russian culture confront Heaven and Hell in rapid succession without even bothering to hypothesize about Purgatory, let alone thinking to stop off there.

Soviet Marxism was famously described as “dialectical,” and no doubt Marxist dialectics intensified the apparent clarity of the polarized contrasts.³ The precise meaning of this embattled term is not so clear, however. Does it not suggest that in Soviet or even Russian culture, distinctive and often extreme points of view bear within them to some unusual degree their semantic opposites? Are not dualisms and antinomies more common than in tamer cultures further West? To some, for example, it has seemed that the powerful self-assertion so often found in Russian culture coexists with its opposite: deep anxieties and fears of inadequacy, being wrong or not up to whatever the challenge might be. Impulses to desecrate and blaspheme coexist with the joy of self-lacerating repentance. The impulse to innovate radically coexists with a deep, if episodic desire to return to the “good old ways.” The coming of a radically secular regime to Russia in 1917 deprived God and Virtue of official representation for awhile, but it scarcely made Russia more moderate. In a broad sense, it was just as important—perhaps more so—to be in tune with History—meaning the Party—as it had been to be in tune with God and the Church. And the Party’s policies powerfully reinforced the strong polarity between friends and enemies.

Many of these extreme, contradictory and paradoxical impulses can be seen in the exhibition of Soviet Russian posters, caricatures, and cartoons here assembled.⁴ The posters were directed first of all at a pre-literate or at least imperfectly literate audience, assumed to have been educated, if at all, by the village priest. The beautiful ROSTA Windows in this exhibition (pg. 5) represent the news-plus-propaganda impulse of the Communist Party in the

early days of the Russian Revolution. Stenciled onto paper or plywood by teams of artists, they were sequenced like a comic book and issued abundantly in the very early 1920s.⁵ Generally hortatory and idealistic, they resorted only occasionally to satire, and of a kind that peasants could comprehend. But most of the cartoons and satirical drawings also on exhibit here were directed at a later and more sophisticated and urban audience, more caught up in the complexities of Russian culture, especially in attitudes toward the outsider enemy.

The posters and the various forms of visual/verbal assaults demonstrate a keen sense of hostile forces, often disguised or masquerading as friendly. The idea of secret enemies needing to be unmasked (pg. 11) was pervasive throughout the Soviet period but came to an unholy climax during Stalin’s cataclysmic purges. It should be said immediately, however, that the very real hostility of the outside world toward Bolshevism did little to allay the fears of the new Soviet elite and move them toward moderation. In the first days of the Soviet Union and even earlier, while the Civil War still raged, the targeted enemies were most often persons: the White generals (pg. 11) who struggled with the Red Army and the Bolsheviks over the political future, or foreign “bourgeois” nations that intervened from outside (pg. 13, top). But rich peasants (“kulaks”), international finance capitalists, or non-socialist “speculators” might also be fearsomely depicted (pg. 13, bottom). This was a more abstract and sociological enemies list than those of Imperial Russia.

The new Soviet regime was initially sympathetic to artists who were disposed to employ their talents anonymously and/or collectively. Like the artists who brilliantly but formulaically turned out the ROSTA prints, the three artists who called themselves the Kukryniksy developed a composite satirical vocabulary (pgs. 6, 12). Meeting at the state-sponsored Higher Artistic-Technical Studio



DMITRI MOOR *The Bloody Path of Struggle is Over, 1921*



VIKTOR DENI

TOP TO BOTTOM

“International Red Day—The day to mobilize the proletariat of the world against the armies of imperialism,” 1929
 “The dogs of the Entente: Denikin, Kolchak, Yudenich,” c. 1919



Кукрыниксы -93

(VKhUTEMAS) in Moscow in 1924, they were soon publishing their caricatures “under a joint signature.” The Grove Dictionary of Art has well characterized their style:

... an acute vision, a peculiarly grotesque three-dimensionality, a certain theatricality... social awareness and... a sympathy with the traditions of nineteenth-century critical realism...⁶

But many satirical artists maintained an individual identity, or sought to. Dmitri Moor, whose real name was Orlov (1883–1946) was one of the most notable (pgs. 8, 10, 15). Born into a Cossack family, he had enjoyed a successful career as a satirist before 1917, but was of a left-wing point of view and readily cast his lot with the new regime; he taught at VKhUTEMAS between 1922 and 1930. Bonnell describes him as the “unofficial ‘commissar of propagandistic revolutionary art.’”⁷ Viktor Deni (1893–1946), whose last name was shortened from Denisov, was a decade younger than Moor and from an impoverished gentry background; he was not initially as receptive to the Revolution. More of a satirical caricaturist than Moor, his posters were most popular and successful in the early days of the Revolution and experienced a reprise during the Second World War (pgs. 11, 14).⁸

The posters of the thirties were strikingly different from the more anarchic images that preceded them. The promulgation of socialist realism (1934) and the development of the full blown Stalin cult added to the monumentality and uniformity of the images. The principal contribution of Gustav Klutsis (1895–1944) was the introduction of photomontage into posters (pg. 14), an important innovation in the poster making of the thirties. The work of Ukrainian Viktor Koretsky (who was a full generation younger than Moor) had its principal impact during the Second World War and the Soviet “peace offensives” of the postwar period (pg. 7). The savage caricatures of Alexander Zhitomirsky (1907–1993), with their surrealist and pop-art imagery, both demonized and glamorized the Soviet Union’s Western enemies (pg. 18 and back cover).⁹

It is certainly paradoxical that the great opponent of Russia during the Cold War should have been a culture with a few dramatic similarities to that of Russia but many more contrasts. If Russians hate compromise, Americans may seem to fetishize it, at least publicly. The culture of the United States of America, which has come to emblemize capitalism, must of course embrace deal-making, splitting the difference and making things work—quite unlike the Russians, whose culture is so uneasy about compromise, in olden times associated it with the devil.¹⁰

For Russians, the acquisitive individualism of the United States was the opposite of what was considered sacred under the old regime, or what was representative of good citizenship under the new. Publicly reviled as loathsome



ABOVE, TOP
ARTIST UNKNOWN
“The Constituent Assembly,” 1921

ABOVE
ADOLF HOFFMEISTER
John D. Rockefeller on Friday, October 24, 1929
(Black Friday), 1952

LEFT
THE KUKRYNIKSY
Adolf Hitler, 1943



ABOVE, TOP
VIKTOR DENI
 "Death to capital—or death under the heel of capital!" 1919

ABOVE
GUSTAV KLUTSIS
 "We will repay the country's coal debt," 1930

RIGHT
DMITRI MOOR
 "Freedom to the prisoners of Scottsboro!" 1932

and hypocritical, it was often secretly envied by Russians, whose love of "stuff" had to be concealed, unlike the Americans, whose materialism was proof of God's bounty and special concern for them. If the Americans built their "city on a hill," it gradually became clear that it would not be an austere or uncomfortable place.

Some of the attacks on American racism or militarism—as seen in the caricatures and cartoons on display here—were largely intended by their creator to make successful careers in a world dominated by the Soviet version of Russian values. Many, however, may well have picked up a little steam along the way from Russian awe at the shamelessness of the Americans: building their "city on the hill," while lynching "the Scottsboro boys" (pg. 15). (And those Americans don't even know what hypocrites they are!)

The Americans, during the Cold War, were not disposed to take Soviet criticisms of American life very seriously. Few Americans wanted to risk being seen as pro-Communist or "fellow travelers." If the Soviet critics charged Americans with racism, the accusation was less serious, because the source was so flawed: everybody knew that Soviet criticism was orchestrated by the Center and ebbed and flowed according to political needs and circumstances. So the nature of the critic actually mitigated the accusation; the Americans could focus on the Soviet critic's lack of independence, rather than on the truth of what he was saying. Similarly, responding to Soviet criticisms of American "materialism" wasn't too difficult for us. They're just jealous of our success at creating affluence, it was commonly (and not entirely incorrectly) said by the Americans.

The rapidity with which friends and enemies could trade places also enhanced Western, particularly American, skepticism about Soviet criticism. Even the most bitter enemies could quickly become friends if circumstances seemed to dictate. In the aftermath of World War I, the British and Americans were portrayed as the most desperate and inevitable opponents of the Revolution, along with the White generals. But after the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union in 1939, the British and Americans became Soviet allies, and the Soviet division of the world into friends and enemies altered dramatically and rapidly (pg. 6). After the defeat of Hitler and the onset of the Cold War, however, the older friend-enemy dichotomy returned, but this time with an especially powerful focus on the United States, now the capital of all that was regressive and reactionary in the world. Both the Soviet Union and the United States expended a great deal of time and effort in describing the other as Hitlerian (back cover).

Racism presented a particular challenge to Americans defending their country against the accusations of Soviet



critics. American racism couldn't be straightforwardly denied; one response was to deny Soviet good faith or moral seriousness in making the charge, another was to claim that the Russian accusation was too sweeping or otherwise exaggerated. But one was constrained to admit there was something in it. Now that both the American society of the middle of the last century and the Soviet Union have slipped into the past, it may be easier to confront the Soviet charge more candidly (pg. 16).

Official America rallied against racism partly because oppression of blacks by whites made the U.S. look bad in the Cold War. Had African-Americans not actively protested the inaction of the American government, President Eisenhower might or might not have forced the integration of Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas, in September, 1957. But when Louis Armstrong—an unpolitical icon of American pop culture—denounced him as “gutless” and “heartless” it certainly helped propel him into action. The great trumpet player was about to take his band on a tour of the Soviet Union, but threatened to cancel if Eisenhower didn't counter Governor Orval Faubus. The Russians also indicated smilingly that they would be very interested in Mr. Armstrong's opinions on American racism.¹¹ And Eisenhower federalized the Arkansas National Guard.

Inequality was a somewhat less difficult issue. If it was true that Soviet society had somewhat less economic inequality than the U.S. (and this was not always admitted), it was indubitably true that the political equality proclaimed by the Soviet leaders and those who spoke (and drew) for them was less than that of the bourgeois world. So the two sides engaged in a dialogue of the deaf: each trying to link the other with different kinds of inequality. Each side wanted to win a Cold War debate; there was little interest in the possibility that their opponents might be to some degree correct about them. The Cold War, in sum, was an inauspicious arena for honest self-criticism.

It certainly cannot be proclaimed that the various visions of the enemies of the Soviet world—these posters and especially the cartoons and satirical drawings—“hold a mirror up” to Western or American society in any straightforward way. Soviet and American cultural differences were enormous and no doubt propaganda was a good deal more focused and purposeful on the Soviet side. But especially in an age in which the worldwide image of the United States is at an all time low, it is interesting to confront these critical images from an earlier time, now emptied of any serious, practical challenge. Do we want to simply write them off as Communist propaganda? Or ought we to ask ourselves whether we can learn anything from contemplating such criticisms soberly?

Abbott Gleason Keeney Professor of History Emeritus



VIKTOR KORETSKY "The shame of America," 1968

- ¹ See Tim McDaniel's meditation on Lotman in *The Agony of the Russian Idea*, Princeton University Press, 1996, p.17.
- ² Mikhail Epstein, "The Demise of First Secularization: the Church of Gogol and the Church of Belinsky," *East European Thought*, Vol. 58, p.102. See also Iu. M. Lotman and B. A. Uspensky, "The Role of Dual Models in the Dynamics of Russian Culture," in *The Semiotics of Russian Culture*, Michigan Slavic Contributions, Ann Arbor, 1984, pp. 3–35.
- ³ Victoria Bonnell, *Iconography of Power: Soviet Political Posters Under Lenin and Stalin*, California University Press, Berkeley, 1999, p.187.
- ⁴ See the authoritative statement by Bonnell, "Bolshevik Demonology in Visual Propaganda," *Iconography of Power*, pp. 187–224.
- ⁵ "ROSTA" stands for "Russian Telegraph Agency," an agency later more or less replaced by TASS. For a good sample of the ROSTA posters, see Alex Ross, ed., *Power to the People: Early Soviet Propaganda Posters in the Israel Museum, Jerusalem*, Lund Humphries, (n.p.) Ashgate, n.d. (2008), pp. 18–21 and *passim*.
- ⁶ Art Encyclopedia, *The Concise Grove Dictionary of Art*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2002.
- ⁷ Bonnell, *Iconography of Power*, p. 11.
- ⁸ There are excellent biographical summaries of Moor and Den's careers in Stephen White, *The Bolshevik Poster*, Yale University Press, 1988, pp. 39–64.
- ⁹ *Alexander Zhitomirsky*, Robert Koch Gallery, San Francisco, CA, 1994.
- ¹⁰ In the West, Iurii Lotman claims, negotiated agreement has lost its nefarious character, while in Russia it has not. Adhering to one's agreed word can, even in the West, be a matter of the highest honor, but in Russia "service based on contract is bad service." The unreserved "self-giving" is the model, in Russian culture, for personal relations of the highest type. Iu. M. Lotman, "Agreement' and 'Self-Giving' as Archetypal Models of Culture," in Lotman and Uspensky, *Semiotics of Russian Culture*, pp. 125–140, esp. p. 130.
- ¹¹ See "Louis Armstrong, Barring Soviet Tour, Denounces Eisenhower and Governor Faubus," (AP); David Margolick, "The Day Louis Armstrong Made Some Noise," *New York Times*, September 23, 1957.

WORKS IN THE EXHIBITION

ARTIST UNKNOWN

"Retribution," 1918–1920
Lithograph, 34 3/4 x 24 1/2

"All-Russian Central Alliance of Cooperatives.
Women, enter the cooperatives!" c. 1919
Lithograph, 20 3/4 x 28 1/4

The bourgeoisie of the Entente succumbs to the
new alliance of workers and peasants, c. 1920
Lithograph, 19 3/4 x 35 1/2

"The Constituent Assembly," 1921
Lithograph, 29 x 21

The Bedfellows of Capitalism, 1927
Lithograph, 37 1/2 x 27 1/2

"Stalinists! Broaden the front of shock workers"
c. 1930
Lithograph, 39 1/2 x 28

"Give your raw materials to socialist industry"
1931
Lithograph, 37 x 26 1/4

"Protect the harvest from fire and you will
secure bread for the nation," c. 1940
Lithograph, 38 3/4 x 26

"Parrot talk," (silly nonsense), 1942
Lithograph, 19 1/2 x 27 1/2

The allied forces destroy the swastika, 1945
Lithograph, 20 x 23 3/4

"Vote list 1 for the communists," 1948
Lithograph, 41 x 32

"The nations of the world do not want to repeat
the horror of war again," c. 1950
Lithograph, 23 1/2 x 33

"V. I. Lenin died on 21 January 1924," 1950s
Lithograph, 33 x 23 1/4

MIKHAIL BALJASNIJ

1892–1970

"Communism means soviets [popular councils],
plus the electrification of the whole country.
Let us transform the USSR through socialist
industrialization," 1930
Lithograph, 39 1/4 x 27 3/4

BRIGADE K6K3

(VIKTOR KORETSKY, VERA GITSEVICH
and BORIS KNOBLOK)

Ukrainian 1909–1998, Russian 1897–1976
and Unknown, respectively

"Long live International Women's Day," c. 1930
Lithograph, 36 3/4 x 23

NIKOLAI CHOMOV and IURII MERKULOV

Ukrainian 1903–1974, and Unknown, respectively

"Fulfill the five-year plan not in five years,
but in four," 1930
Lithograph, 21 3/4 x 13 1/2

VIKTOR DENI

Russian, 1893–1946

"Death to capital—or death under the heel
of capital!" 1919
Lithograph, 28 1/4 x 42

"The dogs of the Entente: Denikin, Kolchak,
Yudenich," c. 1919
Offset lithograph, 3 1/2 x 5 1/2

"In Denikin's Kingdom," after a poster dated 1919
Offset lithograph, 3 1/2 x 5 1/2

"Kolchak: The hangman of workers
and peasants," after a poster dated 1919
Offset lithograph, 3 1/2 x 5 1/2

"The Denikin Gang: Beat the workers
and peasants," after a poster dated 1919
Offset lithograph, 5 1/2 x 3 1/2

"The League of Nations: Capitalists of all
counties, unite!" after a poster dated 1919
Offset lithograph, 5 1/2 x 3 1/2

"The Village 'Virgin,'" after a poster dated 1919
Offset lithograph, 5 3/4 x 4

"The final hour," 1920
Lithograph, 28 x 21 1/4

"Bread power. Kulak-bloodsucker: What do I care
about the hungry?!" after a poster dated 1921
Offset lithograph, 5 3/4 x 4 1/4

Kulak and Priest, 1922
Offset lithograph, 5 3/4 x 4

"International Red Day—The day to mobilize
the proletariat of the world against the armies
of imperialism," 1929
Lithograph, 20 1/2 x 26 3/4

"Murderers of the five-year plan," after a poster
dated 1929
Offset lithograph, 4 x 5 3/4



VSTRACHOV "Fulfill the five-year
plan for coal in three years," 1931

The Democracy of Mr. Lynch, 1930s
Offset lithograph, 5 3/4 x 4

Culture and Civilization in the Colonies, n.d.
Offset lithograph, 5 3/4 x 4 1/4

NIKOLAI DOLGORUKOV
Russian, 1902–1980

“Workers of the world, unite! For a worldwide October!” 1932
Lithograph, 56 1/2 x 39

“Long live the great, unconquerable banner of Marx, Engels, and Lenin!” 1934
Lithograph, 68 3/4 x 20 1/4

NIKOLAI DOLGORUKOV and BORIS EFIMOV
Russian: 1902–1980 and 1900–, respectively

“Death to the Nazi occupiers!” 1942
Lithograph, 33 1/2 x 23 1/4

BORIS EFIMOV
Russian, 1900–

“A True Aryan Should Be: Tall (Goebbels), Muscular and Slim (Goering), Blonde (Hitler)” 1941
Ink, watercolor, and pencil on cardboard
19 x 14 1/4

Untitled, 1941
Ink, white paint, and watercolor on cardboard
12 1/2 x 9 1/2

“Forces of peace with Soviet Union at their head are invincible!” 1949
Lithograph, 25 x 33

VLADIMIR GALB

“The Lion’s Share,” c. 1923
Lithograph, 19 x 26 1/2

JULII GANF
Ukrainian, 1898–1973

The Ship of Capitalism, 1932
Lithograph, 39 3/4 x 23 1/2

FRANTIŠEK GROSS and KAREL LUDWIG
Czech, 1909–1985 and Czech, respectively

“Greetings to the Red Army,” 1945
Lithograph, 37 1/2 x 24 3/4

LEV HAAS
Czech, 1901–1983

“Do not trust him! The kulak is the most hardened enemy of socialism,” 1953
Lithograph, 33 x 21 1/4

“There: elections are directed by monopolistic American agents; Here: free elections such as never before during the bourgeois regime,” 1954
Lithograph, 20 x 32 3/4

ADOLF HOFFMEISTER
Czech, 1902–1973

J.P. Morgan, 1952
Ink, pencil, and watercolor on cardboard
25 3/4 x 17 3/4

John D. Rockefeller on Friday, October 24, 1929 (Black Friday), 1952
Ink, sprayed ink, pencil, and watercolor on cardboard, 17 3/4 x 26

N. JURESKU

Tito joins the West, 1950
Lithograph, 21 1/4 x 16 3/4

NAUM KARPOVSKY
1907–1978

“Glory to the great October leaders!” 1952
Lithograph, 21 1/4 x 29 3/4

J. KERŠIN

“The Rights of Man; American style,” 1978
Lithograph, 17 1/4 x 26 1/2

BORIS KLINČ
1892–1946

“Fire hard at the class enemy!” 1933
Lithograph, 30 3/4 x 20 1/2

GUSTAV KLUTSIS
Latvian, 1895–1938

“A system of Party Enlightenment—without revolutionary theory—cannot exist,” 1927
Lithograph, 42 1/4 x 28 1/2

“Under the banner of Lenin for socialist construction,” 1930
Lithograph, 37 x 27

“We will repay the country’s coal debt,” 1930
Lithograph, 41 x 28 3/4

“The USSR is the Stakhanovite brigade of the world’s proletariat,” 1931
Lithograph, 57 1/4 x 41

“Passionate greetings from the inventor of proletarian literature,” 1932
Lithograph, 36 1/2 x 23 1/2

“The victory of socialism in our country is guaranteed,” 1932
Lithograph, 81 1/2 x 56 3/4

“Long live the world October,” 1933
Lithograph, 63 1/4 x 40 3/4

“Raise Higher the Banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin!” 1933
Lithograph, 20 x 37 1/4

“The goal of the alliance is to destroy bourgeois domination of the proletariat and to create the new,” 1933
Lithograph, 59 1/4 x 40 1/2

“Long live the USSR, model of brotherhood among the workers of world nationalities,” 1935
Lithograph, 24 3/4 x 35 1/4

“Cadres decide everything,” 1936
Lithograph, 77 1/2 x 28 3/4

BORIS KNOBLOK

“We’ll engage hundreds of thousands of working women in socialist production in collective farms, state farms, and machine tractor stations,” 1932
Lithograph, 39 1/4 x 27 3/4

ALEXEI KOKOREKIN
Russian, 1906–1959

“Thus it will be with the Fascist monster!” 1944
Lithograph, 30 1/2 x 20

VIKTOR KORETSKY
Ukrainian, 1909–1998

“Be a Hero!” 1941
Lithograph, 34 1/2 x 23 1/2

“Red Army soldier, save us!” 1942
Lithograph, 14 x 9 1/4

“The motherland will never forget the heroic deeds of its sons!” 1947
Lithograph, 34 x 24

“In socialism, there is no place for unemployment! In capitalism, there are millions of unemployed!” 1950
Lithograph, 23 1/4 x 33 1/2

“We demand peace!” 1950
Lithograph, 46 1/2 x 31 1/2

“You will not strangle the freedom of the Arab peoples!” 1958
Lithograph, 22 x 33 3/4

Collective farm workers urge competition, 1960
Lithograph, 26 1/4 x 40 1/2

“Lenin, always with us!” 1962
Lithograph, 41 1/2 x 80 1/4

“If this is freedom, then what is prison?” 1968
Lithograph, 46 x 23

“The shame of America,” 1968
Lithograph, 39 3/4 x 27 1/4

American politics at home and abroad, 1970
Lithograph, 22 3/4 x 33

“Their ‘democracy,’” 1971
Lithograph, 36 1/4 x 24 1/2

“On the Leninist course towards communism!” 1976
Lithograph, 41 x 81

THE KUKRYNIKSY (MIKHAIL KUPRIANOV, PORFIRY KRYLOV and NIKOLAI SOKOLOV)

Russian: 1903–1991, 1902–1990, and 1903–, respectively

Hitler and Mussolini reviewing the Fascist leadership, 1936
Ink and watercolor on cardboard, 16 3/4 x 16

Goebbels lading out propaganda to the Russian émigré (non-Communist) press, 1937
Ink, pencil, crayon, and watercolor on paper and cardboard, 15 1/4 x 12 1/4

Stalin’s enemies supporting the Nazis, 1937
Ink, sprayed ink, and watercolor on cardboard
16 x 13 1/4

“In Moscow, searchlights reveal the fascist snakes...” 1941
Lithograph, 35 1/4 x 22 1/2

The Red Army routs the murderous Nazi beasts, 1942
Ink and gouache on paper, 31 1/2 x 19 3/4

“This evil enemy won’t get out of the knot we’ve got him in! Treaty of solidarity between the Soviet Union, England, and the United States” 1942
Lithograph, 23 x 32 1/2

Adolf Hilter, 1943
Ink, pencil, and watercolor on paper, 17 3/4 x 12 3/4

Heinrich Himmler, 1943
Ink and watercolor on paper, 17 1/4 x 12 3/4

Hermann Goering, 1943
Ink and watercolor on paper, 15 3/4 x 12 1/2

Untitled, 1944
Ink, pencil, crayon, and watercolor on paper
17 1/4 x 12 1/2

The U.S., Britain, and France violating the Yalta and Potsdam agreements, 1947
Ink, crayon, and watercolor on paper, 12 x 17 1/4

Platform for Nuclear Hysteria, 1966
Ink and collage on cardboard, 15 1/2 x 12 3/4

Vultures, 1966
Ink on cardboard, 14 1/2 x 12 1/2



ARTIST UNKNOWN The Bedfellows of Capitalism, 1927

The “respectable” CDU/CSU (Strauss) is no better than the neo-Nazi NDP, 1970
Ink, gouache, and watercolor on cardboard
15 x 17 1/4

The Agent of the Pentagon Arrives, 1971
Ink on cardboard, 13 1/2 x 17 1/2

VALENTINA KULAGINA
Russian, 1902–1987

“1905: The Road to October,” 1929
Lithograph, 41 1/4 x 29 1/4

“International Working Women’s Day is the day of judging of socialist competition,” 1930
Lithograph, 43 1/4 x 28 1/2

“For socialist industry we will produce 8 million tons of alloy in 1931,” 1931
Lithograph, 28 1/2 x 20 1/2

“Women shock workers! Strengthen shock brigades, master the machinery, join the proletarian specialists’ personnel,” 1931
Lithograph, 39 1/2 x 28 1/4

FRANTIŠEK KUPKA
Czech, 1871–1957

“The master of the world is capital, the golden idol,” 1919
Lithograph, 20 3/4 x 13 3/4

LĚTKAR
Russian/Ukrainian

“Prepare to resist the growing reaction! Long live the international solidarity of the proletariat!” c. 1930
Lithograph, 27 3/4 x 21

EL LISSITZKY
Russian, 1890–1941

“Everything for the front! Everything for victory!” 1942
Lithograph, 35 1/4 x 23 1/4

VLADIMIR LUPPIAN

“The Third [Communist] International,” c. 1920
Lithograph, 21 3/4 x 13 1/2

DMITRI MOOR
Russian, 1883–1946

“People’s Court,” 1919
Lithograph, 12 1/2 x 19 1/4

“Death to world imperialism,” after a poster dated 1919
Offset lithograph, 5 1/2 x 3 1/2

“The Enemy is at the Gates!” after a poster dated 1919
Offset lithograph, 3 1/2 x 5 1/2

“Before: One with the plough, seven with a spoon. Now: He who does not work shall not eat,” 1920
Lithograph, 18 x 13

“October 1917– October 1920. Long Live the Worldwide Red October!” 1920
Lithograph, 27 1/2 x 42

Capitalism devours everything, c. 1920
Ink and pencil on cardboard, 40 x 28

“Cossack! They forced you into a terrible deed against working people. Cossack! Turn your horse and confront the real enemy—the parasite,” c. 1920
Lithograph, 27 x 19 1/2

The capitalists will take your work back to their place, where labor is cheap and unemployment high, c. 1920
Ink and pencil on cardboard, 13 3/4 x 12

Untitled, c. 1920
Ink on cardboard, 10 x 12

Capitalism and German militarism are great pals, early 1920s
Ink, pencil, and crayon on cardboard, 9 3/4 x 14

“A red day is dawning,” 1920s
Ink, pencil, and watercolor on paper, 11 1/2 x 8 1/4

Vicious capitalist stopped at the gates of the USSR, 1920s
Ink, watercolor, and crayon on cardboard
10 1/2 x 9 1/4

The Bloody Path of Struggle is Over, 1921
Lithograph, 13 1/2 x 41

“Freedom to the prisoners of Scottsboro!” 1932
Lithograph, 40 1/2 x 28 3/4

The Red Army keeps the capitalist pigs penned up, 1934
Ink on cardboard, 8 1/2 x 13 3/4

“Comrade! [We want] YOU! Have you signed on to strengthen our motherland?” 1937
Lithograph, 40 3/4 x 26 3/4

Nazi hogs stopped at the gates of the Kremlin by the Red Army, early 1940s
Ink, pencil, and watercolor on cardboard
10 1/2 x 9 1/4



ALEXANDER ZHITOMIRSKY “Voice of America,” 1950



EL LISSITZKY "Everything for the front! Everything for victory!" 1942

VADIM NEVSKY
1884—around 1938

"Peasant! Look who you're paying under the Tsar and Kolchak. Peasant! Know that with your tax you are feeding hungry workers and peasants," c. 1920
Lithograph, 13 3/4 x 22 1/2

ANTONÍN PELC
Czech, 1895—1967

"Peace! Away with the shameful Paris Agreements! Away with the remilitarization of Western Germany!" 1954
Lithograph, 16 3/4 x 11 3/4

NATALJA PINUS
Czech, 1901—1986

"Women in the collective farms are a great force," 1933
Lithograph, 31 1/2 x 63 1/2

Original watercolors for ROSTA Window series #188, c. 1920

ARTIST UNKNOWN

- "1. It is, you know, they [industrial workers] who represent countries and peoples,"
 - "2. The Western Proletariat—France, England, Romania—hard as reinforced concrete,"
 - "3. Persians, Turks, Japanese, Chinese, and Koreans range themselves under the banner of the East."
 - "4. America, Africa, Australia are with us—colonies broke the links of their chains,"
 - "5. Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Sweden, and Norway rise above snowy peaks,"
 - "6. In all, eighty nations or peoples under the red banner of the international."
- Watercolor pigment and India ink
approx. 22 1/4 x 17 each

ROSTA Window series #160, c. 1920

ARTIST UNKNOWN

- "1. and a plow,"
 - "2. and a locomotive,"
 - "3. and a steamship,"
 - "4. and our [collective] home,"
 - "5. the worker creates collective labor,"
 - "6. and if there is neither a 'you' nor a 'me' it means we have achieved collective production."
- Hand-cut stencils with watercolor pigment
approx. 22 1/4 x 17 each

ROSTA Window series #42, February 1921

VLADIMIR MAYAKOVSKY
Russian, 1893—1930

Sowing Campaign: Let's fulfill the decree!

- "1. Everyone fulfilled the Soviet plan,"
 - "2. I wasted no time and worked with dedication,"
 - "3. For this I was immediately rewarded,"
 - "4. With a prize and a decoration!"
- Hand-cut stencils with watercolor pigment
15 3/4 x 16 1/4 to 17 x 16 3/4 each

ROSTA Window series #81, March 1921

VLADIMIR MAYAKOVSKY
and **MIKHAIL CHEREMNYKH**

Russian: 1893—1930 and 1890—1962,
respectively

All for Farming Equipment Repair Week!

- "1. Those are the weapons our factories used to produce,"
 - "2. Now we have a new kind of weapon to use,"
 - "3. For Spring's arrival we must prepare—"
 - "4. Get the plough and harrow in full repair,"
 - "5. Worker! A new front has opened,"
 - "6. Quickly, go fix the farming equipment!"
- Hand-cut stencils with watercolor pigment
20 1/2 x 13 1/2 to 21 1/4 x 14 1/4 each

N. Š.

"The power of the bourgeoisie is the power of violence and death," c. 1919
Lithograph, 21 1/2 x 31

WOLFGANG SCHLOSSER
Czech, 1913—1984

"Firm Foundation: Fy Adenauer, formerly Adolf Hitler & Co." 1953
Lithograph, 23 1/4 x 16 1/2

SERGEI SENKIN
Russian, 1894—1963

"Under the banner of Lenin for the second five-year plan!" 1931
Lithograph, 55 x 39 1/2

BOHUMIL ŠTĚPÁN

Czech, 1913—1985

"Yesterday a collaborator/Today an alarmist"
c. 1945
Lithograph, 49 1/4 x 36 1/4

IRAKLII TOIDZE

Russian, 1902—1985

"Under the banner of Lenin, with the leadership of Stalin, forward to the victory of Communism"
1940
Lithograph, 47 1/4 x 33

V. VLASOV, T. POVZNEĚ, T. ŠIŠMAREVA

"Death to fascism," 1941
Lithograph, 24 1/2 x 36 1/4

VSTRACHOV

"Fulfill the five-year plan for coal in three years"
1931
Lithograph, 41 1/4 x 27 1/4

ALEXANDER ZHITOMIRSKY

Russian, 1907—1993

Hysterical War Drummer, 1948
Photomontage, 15 3/4 x 11 3/4

The New Napoleons—Truman and Churchill
1950
Photomontage (original photo), 19 x 13 1/2

The Stock Exchange watered with the blood of U.S. soldiers, 1950
Photomontage, 16 3/4 x 12

"Voice of America," 1950
Photomontage, 12 3/4 x 16

"Anglo-Iraqi Pact," 1951
Photomontage, 10 1/2 x 10 1/4

"Candidate of the Democratic Party/Candidate of the Republican Party," 1952
Photomontage, 17 1/4 x 12

Capitalism with its friendly Dean Acheson mask, 1952
Photomontage, 17 1/4 x 13 1/2

"Lockheed Aircraft Corporation," 1961
Photomontage (original photo), 10 1/2 x 9 1/2

Untitled, 1963
Photomontage (original photo), 12 1/4 x 9 3/4

Big Business. Siemens and Galske, 1965
Photomontage, 15 3/4 x 10 1/2

"John Kennedy, Martin Luther King, Robert Kennedy...Who will be the next one?" 1968
Photomontage (original photo), 20 1/2 x 15 1/4

"Get him out of Vietnam!" 1971
Lithograph, 34 1/4 x 23

"The Headless Rider," 1981
Photomontage, 15 3/4 x 21 3/4

American Little Red Riding Hood, n.d.
Photomontage (original photo), 13 x 10

"Slander," n.d.
Photomontage (original photo), 12 x 9 3/4

The Pentagon, n.d.
Photomontage (original photo), 13 x 7 3/4



NIKOLAI CHOMOV and IURII MERKULOV "Fulfill the five-year plan not in five years, but in four," 1930



JO-ANN CONKLIN AND ABBOTT GLEASON, CURATORS

