



**СМЕРТЬ МИРОВОМУ  
ИМПЕРИАЛИЗМУ**

**EARLY SOVIET POSTERS  
OF THE REVOLUTIONARY ERA, 1917-1927**

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Cover image: Dmitrii Moor. *Smert' mirovomu imperializmu* (Death to World Imperialism!), 1919. Lithograph, 42 x 28 1/8" (106 x 71.4 cm). Merrill C. Berman Collection

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**Note on transliteration:**

For this catalogue we have generally adopted the system of transliteration employed by the Library of Congress. However, for the names of artists, we have combined two methods. For artists who were active chiefly in Russia, we have transliterated their names according to the Library of Congress system even when more conventional English versions exist: e.g., Aleksandr Rodchenko, not Alexander Rodchenko. Surnames with an "-ii" ending are rendered with an ending of "-y." But in the case of artists who emigrated to the West, we have used the spelling that the artist adopted or that has gained common usage. Soft signs are not used in artists' names but are retained elsewhere.

For the purpose of brevity in the text of the essay we have used only first and last names of the artists, and omitted patronymic names. The full names of each artist were used in the plates section.

For the purpose of brevity in the text of the essay we used only translated titles for the figures, however both transliterated and translated titles are used in the List of Illustrations and plates section.

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## Persuasive Power: Early Soviet Posters of the Revolutionary Era, 1917-1927

by Alla Rosenfeld, P.h.D.

The Merrill C. Berman Collection includes printed posters as well as original poster designs by a wide range of Russian artists, from the famous to the unknown. The collection showcases the range of poster genres—including political, cultural,<sup>1</sup> and commercial—and techniques, from lithography to linocut and stencil-produced. It focuses on the contributions to the field of graphic design by prominent Constructivist artists of the 1920s and early 1930s, such as Gustav Klutssis, Valentina Kulagina, El Lissitzky, Aleksandr Rodchenko, and Sergei Senkin.<sup>2</sup> In addition to posters by these and other major avant-garde figures, the Berman collection also features an extraordinary variety of—and in many cases, very rare—posters created just prior to and immediately following the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. These early Bolshevik posters reflect concerns related to the revolutionary struggle: world capitalism, exploiters and exploited, calls to arms for the revolutionary cause, and appeals to the proletarians of the world to unite. At the same time, the posters were created by talented artists and should be regarded not only as propaganda images but as important artworks in their own right. Some of the early Soviet posters featured in the Berman Collection were designed by leading artists of the day, among them Aleksandr Apsit, Mikhail Cheremnykh, Viktor Deni, Nikolai Kochergin, Nikolai Kogout, Vladimir Kozlinsky, Vladimir Lebedev, Dmitrii Moor, and Aleksei Rudakov.

Placing their talents at the service of the Bolsheviks, early Soviet graphic artists developed an effective poster style informed by commercial arts and a wide array of prerevolutionary artistic influences. These included religious and folk art, classical mythology, Russian painting, and the imagery embraced by Western European



FIG. 1. Vladimir Kozlinsky. *The Dead of the Paris Commune have Risen Again under the Red Banner of the Soviets!*, 1921. Merrill C. Berman Collection



FIG. 2. Artist unknown. *Pure Soul and Sinful Soul*, circa 1820s-30s.

revolutionary movements, extending to European cartoons and caricatures of the 1848 upheavals and the Paris Commune. French revolutionary history served as a major source of symbols and images for the expression of new political ideas. Soviet political cartoons and propaganda posters were often inspired by European satirical journals and socialist journals and newspapers. For example, the prominent Soviet poster artist Dmitrii Moor (1883–1946) was particularly influenced by the Norwegian artist Olaf Leonhard Gulbransson (1873–1958), whose work regularly



FIG. 3. Ivan Terebenev. *Russian Scaevola*, 1813.

appeared in the satirical German weekly magazine *Simplicissimus*, published in Munich from 1896 on.

Soviet poster designers of the revolutionary era also looked to earlier Russian political caricature, which flourished under Tsar Alexander I. In Moscow, Fedor Rastopchin (1763–1826), the governor of Moscow, commissioned satirical broadsheets featuring images of resistance to Napoleon and his army during Napoleon’s Russian campaign of 1812 (known in Russia as the Patriotic War of 1812). In St. Petersburg, two noted Russian prerevolutionary artists — Ivan Terebenev (1789–1815) and Aleksei Venetsianov (1780–1847) — also found an outlet for their



FIG. 4. Ivan Terebenev. *The World Monarchy Collapse*, 1813.

social-political views in the form of caricature. In 1812 they began producing satirical prints that lampooned the Gallomania of the upper classes and reflected the rise of nationalism in the aftermath of Napoleon’s invasion. These works launched a rich tradition of visual satire in postrevolutionary Russian art<sup>3</sup> (Figs. 3, 4, 5).

Between 1812 and 1815, Terebenev produced forty-eight lubki. These images represented one of the first attempts by a Russian artist to redefine Russian national identity in the wake of the invasion. Terebenev’s anti-Napoleon etching *Russian Scaevola* (Fig. 3) recounts the legend of a Russian peasant captured by the French and branded with the letter N (for Napoleon)



FIG. 5. Ivan Terebenev. *Napoleon Meeting Satan Following the 1812 Fire of Moscow*, 1813.



FIG. 6. Victor Vinster. Trade symbol for a food shop, 1870-80.



FIG. 7. *Cossack Petrucha*, 1904-1905.

on his forearm. The work depicts the peasant in the process of cleaving his branded arm in half with an axe.<sup>4</sup> Venetsianov's caricatures appeared around the same time as Terebenev's and often drew on the same legends.<sup>5</sup> Ivan Ivanov (1779–1848), a graphic artist and librarian at the Imperial Public Library, was also influenced by the work of Terebenev, and produced satirical patriotic prints during this period. By mocking the French emperor and emphasizing the strength of Russian peasants and Cossacks, Terebenev, Venetsianov, and Ivanov established themes that would recur in Russian posters in the future. The peasants, the Cossack, the tsar, and the Russian Orthodox Church conveyed the “Russian spirit” in their works.

During the Russo-Turkish and Russo-Japanese Wars (1904-05), Russia's military opponents were portrayed as culturally and racially inferior people (Fig. 7), a message expressed by dehumanizing imagery (for example, the Japanese were often depicted as monkeys or dogs).

Russian commercial (Fig. 11) and cultural posters helped develop an expanding market for various goods or advertised different forms

of entertainment. Many Russian commercial posters of the 1860s and 1870s grew out of the tradition of the shop sign (Fig. 6). Placed on shop windows, on walls, or in newspapers, these posters were meant to seduce the customer into buying items such as biscuits or cognac. Exotic landscapes, wild animals, and beautiful women in traditional Russian folk costumes were standard elements in such advertisements.

Close relations between Russia and Western Europe played a decisive role in the birth of Russian Art Nouveau. Numerous young Russian artists worked in private ateliers in Paris and Munich. Many artists had an opportunity to see works by the French Nabis and the Viennese Secessionists, while Western periodicals such as *Studio*, *Pan*, *Jugend*, and *Art et décoration*, along with exhibitions of contemporary Western European art in St. Petersburg, enabled the Russian public to witness the latest developments in European art. In the 1880s, Russian artists developed the *Style Moderne*, the local variant of Art Nouveau. Despite its relatively short lifespan (1895–1905), *Style Moderne* had a profound and widespread influence on Russian art during the 1900s, including in the realm of poster design<sup>6</sup> (Figs. 8, 9). It involved the use of floral motifs and the primacy of line, which is especially evident in many poster designs of this time. Russians developed their own distinctive approach to international Art Nouveau in the form of the Neo-Russian style, a modernized, highly subjective response to native cultural traditions<sup>7</sup> (Fig. 10).

Held in St. Petersburg in 1897, the *First International Exhibition of Posters* was a momentous event for the development of Russian poster design, since it was here that Russian artists became familiar with the most recent achievements of European graphic arts. France was represented by over 200 works,



FIG. 8. Nikolai Remizov (Re-mi). Poster for the Theatre of One-Act Plays, 1911.



FIG. 9. Elena Kiseleva. Poster for the *Ball of Flowers* (February 13, 1903), 1903.



FIG. 10. Ivan Bilbin. Poster advertising publication of a series of *Tales* with drawings by Ivan Bilbin (St. Petersburg), 1903.



FIG. 11. Pavel Shcherbov. *Cream is not tobacco but cream*, circa 1900.

while Germany, the United States, and Great Britain were each represented by about 100 posters. Out of 727 works on display, only 28 were from Russia. Some critics at the time thought the reason for Russia's poor showing was the low regard for art in the service of industry.<sup>8</sup>

Following the outbreak of World War I in 1914, the commercial and cultural poster was replaced by the patriotic poster. Seeking to kindle love for the motherland and incite hate and hostility toward the enemies (Fig. 13), the governments of the nations involved in the war began using color lithography as an important means of mass propaganda. During these years, Russians in all cultural spheres, including writers and artists, were engaged in a quest for the definition of Russianness—a quest well embodied in the area of poster design. In their wartime posters, many prominent Russian artists appealed to the patriotism of their fellow countrymen and women, associating it with Russia's historical past. Viacheslav Polonsky, an eminent literary scholar and historian and the author of the important 1925 book *Russkii revoliutsionnyi plakat* (The Russian Revolutionary Poster),<sup>9</sup> noted that in terms of style,



FIG. 12. Kazimir Malevich. *At Vistla the Germans Cursed Their Luck, and then, by God, They Run Amok!*, 1914.



FIG. 13. Nicholas Roerich. *Enemy of the Humankind*, 1914.

many of the first Russian political posters were a direct continuation of the bourgeois advertising poster. He remarked, “Only the subject matter has been changed. Instead of a boot, shoe polish, cigarettes, or chocolate one can now see a patriot . . . approaching his fellow citizens to enroll in the army or to donate money for a war loan.”<sup>10</sup>

Many poster artists of the time sought to appeal to the wider public by linking current political events to folk culture. Russian Orthodox icon painting was one of the traditional Russian art forms that poster artists adapted to transmit their ideas to the larger population. Many poster artists used the *lubok* (popular print)<sup>11</sup> as the starting point for designs that depicted important political and social developments. Starting in 1891, many exhibitions of *lubki*, including examples of “new *lubki*,”<sup>12</sup> were held in St. Petersburg, Moscow, and Kiev. The traditional *lubok*'s fusion of text and image, along with its directness and intensity of vision, was of particular importance for the Moscow-based print publisher *Segodniashnii lubok* (Today's Lubok), which produced a series of over fifty patriotic posters between August and November 1914.<sup>13</sup>



FIG. 14. Vladimir Mayakovsky. *Ach, You German . . . No Matter How Hard You Try, You Won't Invade Paris, but if You Do Try, We'll Take Berlin*, 1914. Merrill C. Berman Collection.



This series, which was intended to stir the populace against the Germans, the Austrians, and the Turks, had a considerable impact on the future development of Russian poster art. The posters presented the Central Powers as savage, barbaric, and inhumane. Kazimir Malevich (1879–1935) was chosen as the chief designer for the project (**Fig. 12**); the Futurist poet Vladimir Mayakovsky (1893–1930) was the caption writer as well as designer of some of these posters.<sup>14</sup> Malevich's modernist treatment of the traditional narrative images was well received at the exhibition of war prints held in Petrograd in late 1914. However, the devastation of the war was often absent from these cartoon-like stories, accompanied by various anti-Turkish and anti-German verses, as exemplified by Mayakovsky's 1914 poster (**Fig. 14**).

Russian society was widely divided between those who opposed and those who supported the war effort. In 1914 the Russian Army was among the largest militaries in the world. However, Russia's poor roads and railways hampered the effective deployment of its soldiers. Untrained

troops were ordered into battle without adequate arms or ammunition. In 1915 Russia suffered over 2 million casualties and lost Courland (Latvia), Lithuania, and much of Belorussia. Agricultural production declined, and civilians had to endure severe food shortages. The fighting took a huge toll on Russia. Wartime posters sought to enlist the help of the Russian citizenry in various ways, including raising money for army needs and other military costs. Mikhail Tereshchenko (1886–1956),<sup>15</sup> finance minister in the Provisional Government that came to power in March 1917 after the fall of the tsarist regime, was a supporter of the war "to the victorious end." It was Tereshchenko who initiated the *Freedom Loan* policy. Boris Kustodiev's poster *Freedom Loan* (1917) depicts a soldier with a rifle and urges Russians to donate money to the war effort (**Fig. 15**). Kustodiev's poster was the winner of a competition for posters of this kind sponsored by the Provisional Government.<sup>16</sup>

The early postrevolutionary years were ones of extraordinary ferment in the arts. Propaganda became a central component of Soviet life immediately after the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution. In the words of Anatoly Lunacharsky, Commissar of Education in the newly emergent Bolshevik government, "Art is a powerful weapon of agitation, and the Revolution aspired to adapt art to its agitational objectives."<sup>17</sup> Vladimir Lenin stated: "All educational work in the Soviet Republic of workers and peasants, in the field of political education in general and in the field of art in particular, should be imbued with the spirit of the class struggle being waged by the proletariat for the successful achievement of the aims of its dictatorship, i.e., the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the abolition of classes, and the elimination of all forms of exploitation of man by man."<sup>18</sup>

There was a pressing need to develop a pictorial



FIG. 15. Boris Kustodiev. *Freedom Loan*, 1917



FIG. 16. Aleksei Radakov. *Autocratic Regime*, 1917. Merrill C. Berman Collection.

means of expression through which Bolshevik ideology could be conveyed to the masses on a large scale. The poster fit the bill. The new Soviet regime prized the poster's ability to present content in a manner that was visually legible and could be widely disseminated to a largely illiterate population.<sup>19</sup> The poster's potential as a mass art medium—its lucidity and simplicity of form, vivid imagery, and large print runs—was fully realized at this time. The anti-monarchist poster *Autocratic Regime* (1917), by Aleksei Radakov (1877–1942), shows the tsar with his ermine robe flowing down on either side to cloak the people. (Fig. 16) The inscription, from top to bottom, reads: “We reign. We pray for you. We judge you. We protect you. We feed you. And you work.” Clearly a caricature, Radakov's work appropriates an earlier postcard, *Social Pyramid*, based on a drawing by N. N. Lokhov<sup>20</sup> (Fig. 17). In the mid-1910s, Radakov worked as a stage designer and collaborated with leading satirical journals, including *Smekhach* and *Begemot*. He was an artist and editor of the journals *Satirikon* (1908–14) and *Novyi Satirikon* (1914–17). He trained in the Paris studio of the noted Swiss artist Théophile-Alexandre Steinlen



FIG. 17. Nikolai Lokhov. *Social Pyramid*, 1901-05.

(1859–1923), whose socially oriented subject matter had great influence on the Russian artist.

While agitational art would take various forms (Fig. 18), from cheap postcards to imposing monuments and mass festivals, the wall poster would play a role of central importance from the early days of the Bolshevik state. In postrevolutionary Russia, political posters could be seen everywhere: in the streets of big cities, in village Soviets, in remote railway stations, and on trains; they were also displayed on special



FIG. 18. Nikolai Kollī. *Study for a Tribune*, 1918. Merrill C. Berman Collection.



FIGS. 19, 20. Photographs of the "October Revolution"agit-train, 1919.

propaganda trains and on boats. A vast country with a widely scattered population and a rapidly changing military front required, first and foremost, a mobile and reliable medium of communication between the center and the regions. The trains were to act as the vanguard of revolutionary agitation<sup>21</sup> (Figs. 19, 20). The idea of *agit-trains* (agitational trains) originated in the military department of the publishing house attached to VTsIK (All-Russian Central Executive Committee). This department regularly dispatched passenger trains filled with political literature to various parts of the country, accompanied by couriers.<sup>22</sup> Soon, the train car exteriors were decorated with political posters depicting revolutionary images. But as these posters were often torn off by the wind or washed away by rain, it was decided to decorate

the sides of the carriages with propaganda images and slogans. This led to the creation of special *agit-trains* to disseminate Bolshevik propagandistic literature to far-flung areas, including Siberia, Turkestan, and the Caucasus. The first *agit-train* was an experimental extension of the propaganda compartment to the size of a full-length train. Polonsky described this type of train as a "mobile poster." The first *agit-train*, the *Mobile Military Front-line Literary Train Named after V. I. Lenin*, departed Moscow for Kazan on August 13, 1918.<sup>23</sup> The train was composed of seven to nine coaches and comprised a bookshop, library, office, and living quarters.<sup>24</sup>

The Berman Collection includes a rare poster on the subject from 1918, depicting the first *Literary-Instructional Train* (Fig. 21). The



FIG. 21. Designer unknown. *Trains intended for Literary Instructions*, 1918. Merrill C. Berman Collection.



FIG. 22. Nikolai Kupreyanov. *Citizens, Protect Cultural Monuments!*, 1919. Merrill C. Berman Collection.

inscription explains in great detail the purpose of the *agit-trains*, stating that the Soviet government employed various specialists in these trains whose task was to educate the locals in remote corners of the country on specific issues related to education, agriculture, and medicine. The poster's text reads, in part: "The living, spoken word, books, pictures, theater—everything that can bring some light into the countryside and the dark corners of Russia—that is what the literary-instructional train brings."

Because of its vast agitational potential, the Soviet political poster became a closely monitored aesthetic expression of communist ideology; it served as an important aspect of a state-sponsored campaign promoting Bolshevik ideology alongside positive images of the bright communist future, the nation's political leadership, and the new socialist citizenry, in counterpoint to negative portrayals of the nation's internal and external enemies. The first Soviet political posters appeared in August 1918, around the start of the Russian Civil War. Over the next three years, more than 450 military and civic institutions in Soviet Russia would go on to produce posters.<sup>25</sup> The Civil War years (1918-1921) were a time when

the political poster achieved its greatest artistic heights and political effectiveness.

All early Soviet political posters were commissioned by official cultural, political, and military institutions that also determined the topic of every poster. In 1919 the recently established Narkompros (People's Commissariat for Education) commissioned Nikolai Kupreyanov's (1894–1933) poster *Citizens, Protect Cultural Monuments!* The poster depicts the famous equestrian statue from the sculptural group *The Horse Tamers* by Pyotr Klodt, which crowns the four corners of the Anichkov Bridge over the Fontanka River in St. Petersburg; the poster also depicts rare books and manuscripts, paintings and antiques, and a historical building. During and after the Revolution, many prerevolutionary cultural monuments were destroyed by workers and soldiers who associated them with the hated tsarist regime. Stylistically, Kupreyanov's poster evokes the *World of Art* and reflects his art training in 1915–16 under two artists associated with the movement, Anna Ostroumova-Lebedeva and Kuzma Petrov-Vodkin.

Posters often centered on slogans, frequently taken from the speeches of leaders and the writings of Lenin (**Fig. 23**) and other Bolshevik or Marxist theorists. In some cases, it was the publishing house that would suggest a particular slogan. The text featured in a poster often influenced the theme, composition, and nature of the design. At the bottom of many posters there appeared in large type the ominous sentence "Those who take down this poster commit counterrevolution."

A strict system of control over the production of Soviet political posters was established immediately after the Bolshevik Revolution. In 1917 the All-Russian Publishing House of the Central Executive Committee (VTsIK) was



FIG. 23.

Designer unknown, *Vse delo teper' v tom, chtoby umet' soedinit' tot revoliutsionnyi razmakh, tot revoliutsionnyi entuziazm kotoryi my uzhe proiavili i proiavili v dostatochnom kolichestve i uvenchali polnym uspekhom, umet' soedinit' ego (tut ia pochti gotov skazat') s umen'em byt' tolkovym i gramotnym torgashem kaeo vpolne dostatochno dlia khoroshego kooperatora* (V.I. Lenin, "O kooperatsii") circa 1923. Merrill C. Berman Collection.

**Text:** ("The thing now is to learn to combine the wide revolutionary range of action, the revolutionary enthusiasm which we have displayed, and displayed abundantly, and crowned with complete success--to learn to combine this with (I'm almost inclined to say) the ability to be an efficient and capable trader, which is quite enough to be a good cooperator. " (V.I. Lenin. "On Cooperation," first published in Pravda, No. 115-116, May 26-27, 1923.))

founded. In March of 1919, it became a wing of the State Publishing House (Gosizdat).<sup>26</sup> Initially, annual thematic plans for poster production were developed by the publishing houses on the basis of “recommendations” (which in reality were demands) of the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party.<sup>27</sup>

All political events found resonance in early Soviet posters. The Communist Party’s leading newspaper, *Pravda*, announced the issuing of each poster, thus promoting this type of artistic production among the broadest sectors of the population. *Pravda* published information on a new poster’s release as well as a review. Posters were also reproduced as postcards, printed as leaflets, and published in magazines. All of this attests to the important political role the poster had already assumed during the early Soviet period.

Labor and the class struggle were the dominant themes of political posters from 1918–19 (A Great Battle Is Coming, 1919). The first postrevolutionary posters were published by VTsIK in 1918. Stylistically they resembled the prerevolutionary *lubki* published by Ivan Sytin, although they treated revolutionary themes and depicted the new heroes of the Revolution. The earliest portrayals of the new Bolshevik male heroes—the worker, the peasant, and the Red Army soldier—were rendered in a realistic style. For the Bolsheviks, whose claim to power was based on an ideology that accorded world-historical importance to the proletariat, it was critically important to establish in public discourse the heroic position and collective identity of the working class (*Workers! The October Revolution Gave you Factories and Free Labor!*, 1919). Labor was seen as an ethical and moral category, capable of molding the society of the future and forging the new socialist person.

Soon after the Revolution, the male worker

(usually a blacksmith, coal miner, or construction worker) became the new positive exemplar of Soviet society and the leading subject of its poster artists. Muscular and absorbed in his work, the Soviet laborer often appears in early Soviet posters as a symbol of productivity (*Young Proletarians of the World, Unite!*; *Universal Military Training Is Half the battle!*, 1919; *Miner, Remember! The Great October Revolution Gave you the Best in the World Labor Protection Legislation*, 1920; *Miner, Remember That It Was the October Revolution That Gave You All the Treasures of the Earth!*, 1920). The worker is usually represented as youthful and cheerful, gigantic in scale, holding his tools—the drill of the miner or the hammer of the construction worker—in the manner of weapons in the struggle for communism (V. Kostyanitsyn, *Metalworker, Remember That You Are the One Who Can Give the Most Important Help to the War Front*, 1920).

While the enemies in the West were often personalized, caricatured in grotesque portrayals of specific political Western leaders, Soviet



FIG. 24. Sergei Ivanov. *Railroad Worker, Guard the Red Track!*, 1920. Merrill C. Berman Collection.



FIG. 25. Vasilii Spassky. *For Socialism: A Great Battle is Coming...*, 1919. Merrill C. Berman Collection.



FIG. 26. Designer unknown, *Worker! The October Revolution Gave you Factories and Free Labor*, 1919. Merrill C. Berman Collection.



FIG. 27. Designer unknown. *Miner, Remember that it Was the October Revolution that Gave You All the Treasures of the Earth!*, 1920. Merrill C. Berman Collection.



FIG. 28. Vasilii Kostyanitsyn. *Metalworker, Remember That You Are the One Who Can Give the Most Important Help to the War Front*, 1920. Merrill C. Berman Collection.

**Хай живе жовтнівська революція!**



**ПАМ'ЯТАЮЧИ ПРО ЧЕРВОНІЙ ЖОВТЕНЬ,**

Червоноармію, міцніше стискай рушницю! Робітнику, жвавіше бий молотом! Селянине, дужче наляж на плуга!

ВСЕУКРАЇНСЬКЕ ДЕРЖАВНЕ ВИДРІВНИСТВО ПОЛТАВА 1920 Р.

FIG. 29. Fedor Rozhankovsky. *Long Live the Bolshevik Revolution!*, 1920. Merrill C. Berman Collection.





## МЩЕНЬЕ ЦАРЯМЪ (ВАРШАВЯНКА).

Внуки враждебны злобу царь клан,  
Темно само царь злобу глету,  
Во бой ровной мы вступим съ врагам,  
Наш еще судьбы безвѣстная нуга,  
Но мы шапачемъ грой и саломъ  
Знамъ борьбы за рабоче дѣло,  
Знамъ великой борьбы въѣчь народовъ  
За лучшю жизнь, за светлю свободу.

На бой кровавый,  
Светой и правый,  
Маршъ, маршъ впередъ,  
Рабочей народъ!

Муреть за насъ дни съ голодомъ рабочей,  
Составляю, бурля, мы дошамъ мѣтеть.  
Наша съ оповѣщенемъ, само дѣло,  
Можеть ли еще шафота нуга?  
Во бой кровавой не смуть боязливо  
Пашимъ съ често во ома царь,  
Нужъ имѣти съ насой злобой побѣдой  
Славу съ оповѣщенемъ мѣтеть.

На бой кровавый,  
Светой и правый,  
Маршъ, маршъ впередъ,  
Рабочей народъ!

Нашъ инстинкты перваго народа,  
Цѣлю народъ-страшныи мы стѣны,  
Кроваво народомъ завоеванъ тронъ,  
Кроваво мы шапачъ кровью обгаримъ,  
Муть безпощадно истребимъ,  
Вѣкъ парадимъ гнетущей царь,  
Машине и смуть едемъ шурь-шурь впередъ,  
Битвою побѣды терристойной частъ!

На бой кровавый,  
Светой и правый,  
Маршъ, маршъ впередъ,  
Рабочей народъ!

FIG. 30. Aleksandr Apsit. *Vengeance for the Tsars*, 1918.  
Merrill C. Berman Collection.



FIG. 31. Boris Zvorykin (Zvorykine). *Struggle of the Red Knight Against the Dark Force*, 1919. Merrill C. Berman Collection.

workers were often presented much more generically. A worker's image was typically contextualized against a backdrop of an industrial plant or a construction site, looking forward and outward into the future (unknown designer, *Vzduvaite gorn i kuite smelo poka zhelezo goriacho!*; Sergei Ivanov, *Railroad Worker, Guard the Red Track!*, 1920).

In the first few years following the revolution, posters were highly narrative or allegorical (*Long Live the October Revolution!*, 1920). The posters of Aleksandr Apsit (1880–1944), one of the pioneering designers of the Soviet military propaganda poster, are typical in this respect. Apsit's *Vengeance for Tsars* (1918) (Fig. 30) included "Varshavianka," a Polish working-class song that became popular in the socialist movement.<sup>28</sup> The same poster was also issued with a different title—*The Tsar, the Priest, and the Rich Man on the Shoulders of the Laboring People*. Representing the autocracy, the church, and the capitalists as the main enemies of the working class, it pictures a group of workers being whipped forward by the social forces oppressing them.

Apsit, who hailed from Riga (now Latvia), studied art in St. Petersburg in the studio of the painter L. Dmitriev-Kavkazsky (1898–1899). He had previously worked in the field of book and journal illustration, and became involved in poster production immediately after the Revolution. He created an entire cycle of posters that appear much like enlarged illustrations; they illustrate the long text that accompanies them as well as tell their own story about the historical event with a maximum of substance and elaborate detail.

Other artists of the period shared Apsit's use of allegory. They include Boris Zvorykin (Zvorykine; 1872–1942), a noted book illustrator who in 1894–1921 designed for such publishing houses as I. D. Sytin and I. N. Knebel' in Moscow and A. F. Marks in St. Petersburg, often using motifs of medieval Russian ornament in his works. Zvorykin's *Struggle of the Red Knight Against the Dark Force* (1919) (Fig. 31) suggests an enlarged illustration for a fairy tale. It shows a worker armed with a hammer defeating two more traditionally attired representatives of the old regime.

In 1919 Apsit created the poster *Defend Petrograd with Your Own Life!* (Fig. 32) in which he turned his attention away from symbolic and allegorical imagery, toward a more concrete depiction of specific social types, such as worker,



FIG. 32. Aleksandr Apsit. *Defend Petrograd with Your Own Life!*, 1919. Merrill C. Berman Collection,



FIG. 33. Dmitri Moor. *Soviet Turnip*, 1920. Merrill C. Berman Collection.

Red Army soldier, and peasant, and employed a more realistic manner of representation. The poster evokes the period when General Nikolai Yudenich (1862–1933), commander of the White forces in the northwest during the Russian Civil War, organized the dispersed White forces in the Baltic region into an army of 12,000 men and renewed his offensive on Petrograd in October 1919. The Red Army stopped him at Pulkovo, on the outskirts of Petrograd, and forced his army to retreat to Estonia and to disband.<sup>29</sup>

Dmitri Moor (1883–1943),<sup>30</sup> a master of the medium whose posters were highly influential, disparaged Apsit's posters as a "conglomerate of cinema-poster pseudo-dramatics, cheap vulgar symbolism, and the external elements of old-fashioned romanticism, reflecting a petty-bourgeois understanding of the Revolution that was reactionary in its passivity." The struggle against "Apsiticism," Moor stated, was essentially a struggle for the "politicized proletarian poster."<sup>31</sup> Moor—the "commissar of propagandistic revolutionary art," as fellow artist Alexander Deineka put it—was born to a Cossack family in southern Russia and then moved to Moscow with his family in early childhood. During the



FIG. 34. Aleksandr Apsit. *To Our Deceived Brothers*, 1918. Merrill C. Berman Collection.

1905 Russian Revolution, Moor studied law at Moscow University. He played an active role in the revolutionary movement and later described his impressions of this period as essential for his later work and the themes he would depict.<sup>32</sup> He began his creative career as an illustrator for satirical journals before the 1905 Revolution, and by late 1919 he was already an established Soviet poster designer. In addition to his work in poster design, Moor contributed numerous caricatures to the newspaper *Izvestiia* starting in 1919, and created political caricatures for *Pravda* beginning the following year. In 1922 he became one of the founders of the satirical journal *Krokodil*.

Artists often used Russian songs and proverbs as the titles of their posters. But the most widely used genre of folk literature that employed allegorical imagery to treat the class struggle and political events was the fairy tale. In Moor's *Soviet Turnip* (1920), the artist adjusted the plot of the popular Russian folktale "The Giant Turnip" to meet the political demands of the period. In the tale, a grandfather plants a turnip that grows so large he cannot pull it himself. He asks the grandmother for help, and together

they still cannot extract it. More people are recruited to help, until they finally manage to pull the turnip together. The humor of the story derives from the fact that only with the help of the weakest and smallest creature (the mouse) can the giant turnip be uprooted. Moor replaced the fairy-tale characters with allegorical figures and images embodying revolutionary concepts. He preserved the traditional development of the plot but increased the number of characters. In Moor's rendering, the Red Army soldier is the gigantic turnip. The text of the poster reads: "Monsieur Capital looks at the turnip and thinks: 'I will pull it up without anyone noticing.' But the red turnip is challenging. Capital tugs it this way and that; he pulls and pulls, but cannot pull it out." Then "Grandma-Counterrevolution" comes, and all three—grandfather, grandmother, and granddaughter (who has the features of Karl Kautsky)<sup>33</sup>—together with "the dog-saboteur" are destroyed by the Soviet red turnip signifying the Red Army. *Soviet Turnip* was created in the lubok style, employing bold colors, rough contours, and flattened perspective. Embracing traditional styles and color symbolism drawn from religious and folk art helped the artist make the unfamiliar familiar for urban and rural viewers alike.

When images of women appeared in early Soviet posters, they were often pictured as allegorical figures symbolizing abstract concepts such as "freedom," "liberty," and "knowledge."<sup>34</sup> Allegorical images also often provided a major source of inspiration for the depiction of enemies. It was commonplace for Soviet propaganda posters to represent the enemy as a serpent/hydra, a symbol of evil in Christianity, in which Satan is often portrayed with dragon-like features. One of the earliest posters from 1918, *To Our Deceived Brothers* (Fig. 34), was created by Apsit, who was trained in religious painting. The poster presents a peasant hero fighting the hydra-headed monster of tsardom, whose multiple heads resemble

Nicholas II and other tsarist-era figures.

The serpent was also linked to the legend of Saint George, whose cult dates back to the fourth century A.D.<sup>35</sup> At various points in Soviet history, from the Civil War through the Cold War, poster artists and cartoonists used images of a serpent or snake to represent capitalism or imperialism, the most famous being Moor's *Death to World Imperialism!* (1919) (Fig. 36). The poster portrays a black rock covered with factories, encircled by the "snake of the counterrevolution," which is attacked by soldiers, workers, and sailors. Industry, squeezed by the reactionary dragon, is on the verge of being rescued by these armed forces of revolution. The influence of lubki and Russian Orthodox icons is evident in this image.

In his 1925 book on the Soviet poster, Viacheslav Polonsky critiques the type of allegorical representations that were popular during the Civil War. He argues that the prevalence of allegories and symbols was a result of the "bourgeois consciousness of those artists who came from



FIG. 35. Dmitrii Moor. *Have you Enrolled as a Volunteer?*, 1920. Merrill C. Berman Collection.



FIG. 36. Dmitri Moor. *Death to World Imperialism!*, 1919. Merrill C. Berman Collection.



FIG. 37. *Nice, Strong, and Brave Knight Eruslan Lazarevich and a Dragon*, 1871.

the bourgeois class, bringing with them, together with technical skills, an alien approach to the interpretation of agitational lithography.” In his analysis, the artists were able to free themselves from bourgeois influence, from allegory and symbolism, and to “adopt [poster] themes that are simple, close, and comprehensible to the viewer.”<sup>36</sup>

Figures in Moor’s posters gradually became signs, symbolizing particular social forces and classes. His most famous poster (**Fig. 35**), reproduced in numerous books, borrows from two non-Russian precedents: James Montgomery Flagg’s famous portrait of Uncle Sam, first appearing in 1916 with the title *What Are You Doing for Preparedness?*, and Alfred Leete’s 1914 portrayal of Lord Kitchener declaring, “Your country needs YOU.”

As in Soviet art as a whole, posters set forth an idealized vision of Soviet society—its leaders, the new socialist citizenry, and the bright communist future—or the opposite: the nation’s perceived internal and external enemies. Throughout Soviet history, ideologues identified enemies as a means of mobilizing the population. To render these themes, Soviet political artists early on sought a visual language that viewers could comprehend. A new iconography thus arose, and a standardized repertoire of motifs was developed. The rising sun signified the bright future; chimneys belching smoke connoted developed industry; a smith by an anvil—the efficient realization of labor; and a locomotive evoked social and technological progress. However, if a crow sat atop a locomotive, the image symbolized devastation, the paralysis of the economy during and immediately after the Civil War.

Soviet political discourse defined political conflict in terms of absolute good and evil. During the Civil War, posters and caricatures featured enemies and included elements of the old regime (tsar, tsarist general, member of the Russian nobility,

factory owner, *kulak*) and political opponents (Menshevik, White Guard general).<sup>37</sup> Soviet posters and cartoons often recycled the same motifs and imagery; the recurrence of imagery across media helped reinforce propaganda messages. Satirical imagery based on exposure and ridicule often employed clichéd figures. As early as November 1918, the stereotypical image of the capitalist had become firmly entrenched in the Bolshevik visual lexicon. Typically, his face resembled that of a pig, and he was shown surrounded by money bags, gold coins, or other visible signs of wealth.

Posters’ texts rendered enemies as less than human, calling them “predatory beasts,” “reptiles,” “spiders,” “traitors and deserters,” “scoundrels,” and “refuse.” The Bolsheviks considered *kulaks*, or wealthy peasants, a class enemy because they saw these figures as oppressors of the poor, landless peasants. *Kulaks* were often depicted as spiders, as exemplified in Viktor Deni’s poster *Bread-Spider* (1919). The text on the bottom reads: “(*Kulak-Parasite*): ‘Why Should I Care for Those Who Are Hungry?’” (**Fig. 38**).

Poster designers often embraced a dichotomous vision of good and evil, and the premise that an ultimate battle between the two worlds—capitalist and socialist—would yield a perfect society. Soviet artists frequently employed metaphors of social hygiene, demanding a cleansing to rid society of its enemies and thus avoid contamination. Poster captions often carried the text “Wipe Them from the Face of the Earth!” Some posters called for “sweeping the enemies away with a broom,” while others used more graphic, violent phrasing: “piercing the enemy with a sword,” or “beating the enemy with a hammer.”<sup>38</sup> Deni’s poster *Mow Down on Time!* (1920) depicts a peasant who is using a scythe to decapitate Baron Wrangel and the Polish *pan* (**Fig. 39**), while in Moor’s poster *People’s Court*



FIG. 38. Viktor Deni. *Bread Spider*, 1919. Merrill C. Berman Collection.



FIG. 39. Viktor Deni. *Mow Down on Time!*, 1920. Merrill C. Berman Collection.



FIG. 40. Vasilii Kostianitsyn. *Parasites and Idlers Don't Work and Hinder the Work of Others*, 1920. Merrill C. Berman Collection.



FIG. 42. Dmitrii Moor. *Wrangel is Still Alive! Finish Him Off without Mercy!*, 1920. Merrill C. Berman Collection.

(1919) a worker and a peasant used a broom and shovel to help Red Army soldiers armed with bayonets overturn the old regime—the tsar and his entourage.

The propaganda was aimed not only at the external enemies but also at domestic enemies, who were seen as interfering with building a new life and doing all they could to harm the Soviet state and society. A number of posters depicted these internal enemies at the workplace, figures identified as “sponger” (*tuneiadets*), “loafer” (*lodyr*), “shirker” (*progul'shchik*), and “parasite,” as exemplified by Vasilii Kostianitsyn's (1881–1940) poster in the Berman Collection (Fig. 40). Those



FIG. 41. Nikolai Kochergin. *Wrangel is Coming! To Arms, Proletarians!*, 1920. Merrill C. Berman Collection.

accused of black-market profiteering were also depicted in a highly negative way, as exemplified by *Frol the Speculator* (unknown designer, 1920), which denigrates all speculators as “the shame of the working class.” Another poster in the collection states that “A peddler is an enemy of transport and of the republic” (1920).

The vast majority of early Soviet military posters were devoted to the Red Army: to its formation and strengthening, in 1918; its struggle against Wrangel and White Poles, in 1919; and the army's transition from its role during wartime to a time of peace, in 1921. The year 1920 witnessed violent struggle on the western and southern fronts as well as relentless class conflict in the villages amid the launching of the New Economic Policy.

Baron Petr N. Wrangel (Wrangel; 1878–1928), the White Army general and commanding officer of the anti-Bolshevik White Guards during the Civil War years, became a major “anti-hero” of many Soviet posters. Wrangel was portrayed in many posters of Moor, Deni, and Nikolai Kochergin in a manner that had very little to do with his actual appearance. His image in early Soviet posters became akin to an archetype of the White Army leader rather than a portrait of a specific individual.





FIG. 43. Dmitrii Moor. *Where Does Wrangel Leave the Bread?*, 1920. Merrill C. Berman Collection.

Although in his poster (Fig. 41) depicts the general in the traditional Cossack cavalry uniform, he looks more like a monster from Russian folktales than an army officer, and his body is reminiscent of carved wooden sculpture that Kochergin explored during his prerevolutionary studies at the Stroganov Art School.<sup>39</sup> The poster was issued in a print run of 75,000 in Moscow and widely distributed. Moor's *Wrangel Is Still Alive! Finish Him Off without Mercy!* also appeared in 1920, when Wrangel was advancing with the White forces on the Don Basin, Russia's productive industrial center. In 1920 *Vestnik agitatsii i propagandy* (Herald of Propaganda), a new journal of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party, published political slogans of the Central Committee, some of which were later included in the posters of the time without modification. In *Wrangel Is Still Alive!* Moor quotes Lenin's description of Wrangel and

the Polish nobility as the two arms of foreign capitalism. In Moor's poster, Wrangel reaches his outstretched arm from the Crimea to the Don Basin. Above Wrangel's arm is a Red Army soldier with a raised sword. Wrangel is shown next to the other White Russian military leaders—Generals Anton Denikin (1872–1947), Nikolai Yudenich (1862–1933), and Admiral Aleksandr Kolchak (1874–1920). In another poster from 1920, *Where Does Wrangel Leave his Bread?*, Moor portrays the general giving away the Russian bread to the Triple Entente, Western counterrevolutionary intervention.<sup>40</sup>

Moor's poster *Where Three Failed, Two Won't Do* (1921) is also dedicated to the Entente and features a satirical depiction of the Bolshevik adversaries. General Wrangel and Polish Marshal Józef Piłsudski are pictured struggling to pull a cart loaded with symbolic figures of the bourgeoisie, the landlords, the tsar, and the Entente. Meanwhile, the three defeated White Army leaders (Denikin, Kolchak, and Yudenich) lie impaled on the ground. The title of the poster refers to the *troika*, a cart drawn by three horses, but Moor uses it mockingly as the three generals/horses have already fallen and the remaining two are not enough to keep things moving forward.

Viktor Deni (Denisov) (1893–1946),<sup>41</sup> Moor's younger contemporary by ten years, began to work for the satirical journal *Budilnik* at the end of 1910, and his sketches soon started



FIG. 44. Dmitrii Moor. *Where Three Failed, Two Won't Do*, 1921. Merrill C. Berman Collection.



FIG. 45. Viktor Deni. *The Entente under the Mask of Peace*, 1920. Merrill C. Berman Collection.



FIG. 46. Viktor Deni. *The Third International*, 1921. Merrill C. Berman Collection.



FIG. 47. Detail of: Viktor Deni. *Capital*, 1919.

appearing regularly in other satirical newspapers and journals. He was appointed artistic director of the satirical weekly journal *Bich*. He contributed drawings to *Pravda* starting in 1921.

After the Revolution, Deni offered his artistic services to the Bolsheviks, faithfully and actively supporting the new regime through the production of political posters. In his 1920 poster *The Entente under the Mask of Peace* (Fig. 45), Deni evoked the Entente through the motif of a mask with a peaceful facial expression being removed by a capitalist and revealing his bestial features. In the poster, Deni's objective was to demonstrate the enemy's hypocrisy and show that the pacific façade concealed aggressive intentions. In his poster *The Third International* (Fig. 46), created the following year, Deni depicted a hand writing the inscription "III International," signifying the revolutionary forces, from which a horrified capitalist retreats.

Deni's prerevolutionary experience as a cartoonist for satirical newspapers and journals strongly influenced his work in poster design. As a case in point, the artist used an image of a priest depicted as a spider in the satirical journal *Bich* in 1917; in 1919 he presented a similar image in the

newspaper *Krasnaia zvezda*. That same year he designed a satirical poster with a spider-priest; the composition is identical to his earlier drawing in the journal, but the spider's web replicates his caricature in the newspaper. This recycling of imagery indicates how Deni's journal caricatures were closely connected to his poster designs. In fact, Polonsky described Deni as a "brilliant caricaturist" to whom the spirit of the poster was absolutely "alien." He characterized Deni's posters as "large satirical drawings," which "could be reproduced without detriment or even to their advantage on the pages of an illustrated journal or newspaper."<sup>42</sup> However, Anatoly Lunacharsky regarded Deni's work in poster design very highly. Writing to Lenin in March 1920, Lunacharsky called Deni "one of the most sincere and talented of our friends," who created "our best posters."<sup>43</sup>

Deni's posters, many of which are large satirical portraits (including caricatures of the enemy as barbarian or ravenous beast), focus on the evils of capitalism. He devised figures symbolizing particular social classes, such as capitalist, priest, and kulak, including these generalized social types in his posters alongside portraits of specific individuals. (Deni's *Capitalists of the World, Unite!*, 1919; Deni's *Denikin's Gang*,



FIG. 48. Viktor Deni. *Constituent Assembly*, 1921. Merrill C. Berman Collection.

1919; *At the Grave of the Counterrevolution*, 1920; *League of Nations*, 1920; *The Last Hour!* *Denikin's Gang* depicts the general who led the White forces on the southern front during the Civil War, together with a priest, a *kulak*, a right-wing politician with a picture of the tsar, a policeman, and two casks of spirits, under a banner reading, "Beat the Workers and Peasants." In the other poster, Deni viciously attacks the newly formed League of Nations, representing it as a group of Western powers under the heading "Capitalists of the World, Unite!" The League of Nations, which emerged in January 1920, was widely seen in Soviet Russia at this time as a capitalist conspiracy.

The emotional expressiveness and humor of Deni's posters derive from on the juxtaposition of the real and the imaginary. His 1921 poster *Constituent Assembly* (Fig. 48) depicts anti-Bolshevik forces who, despite their different

agendas, are forced to share one snow boot, which is represented in the form of a boat with a flag of tsarist Russia, sailing in the sea.<sup>44</sup> The Constituent Assembly was a popularly elected body that convened on January 5 (18), 1918, to draft a constitution and form a postrevolutionary government. The Assembly rejected the Bolsheviks' demand that it recognize the authority of the Soviet regime, prompting the Bolshevik delegates to leave the meeting hall. The following day, troops loyal to the Bolshevik government dispersed representatives of the non-Bolshevik parties and dissolved the Assembly. In Deni's poster, an allegorical image representing "France" has the features of Ferdinand Foch (1851–1929), Marshal of France and Commander of Allied forces during the final months of World War I; another recognizable figure is Viktor Chernov (1873–1952), a leader of the Socialist-Revolutionary Party and elected Chairman of the Constituent Assembly.

The period September 1919 to January 1922 saw the emergence and development of an important vehicle for revolutionary art—the window poster, in the form of the ROSTA Windows.<sup>45</sup> Intended to maintain support for the Red Army in the Civil War (1918–21), the ROSTA Windows played a vital role in the creation of an agitational visual street language. Produced by the Russian Telegraph Agency, the ROSTA posters were issued daily, often with several titles in a single day, by a collaborative team of artists responding to the major events of political and social life during the Civil War period and its immediate aftermath. Generally created the morning after a news report was transmitted via telegraph, and sometimes even in less than an hour, before the news reached the print media, the ROSTA posters were pasted to empty windows (hence the name) of shops, as well as stations, kiosks, and near markets. The first ROSTA Window poster appeared in Moscow

in September 1919, and by the middle of 1920 there were already more than thirty ROSTA offices outside Moscow, the most important of which were in Petrograd, Vitebsk, and Odessa.

Mikhail Cheremnykh (1890–1962), a seasoned cartoonist, invented the ROSTA Windows, but Mayakovsky provided most of the poetic captions and designed approximately one-third of all known examples of these posters. Mayakovsky described them thus: “These are not just verses. The illustrations are not intended as graphic ornamentation. This is a continuous record of the most difficult three-year period in the revolutionary struggle, conveyed in dabs of paint and the sound of slogans.”<sup>46</sup> Stephen White estimates that the Moscow ROSTA collective alone produced about 2 million posters during the Civil War.<sup>47</sup> ROSTA Windows compositions ranged from a single image to a consecutive series of cartoon-like frames linked by a running text.<sup>48</sup> Seeking to engage the nation’s largely illiterate populace, the ROSTA artists used a simplified iconography to devise easy-to-read images of the enemies of communism: capitalists are shown as fat men with top hats and black suits, White Army soldiers are typically depicted in opulent uniforms

and mustachioed. Various symbols were also employed; for example, a robot with guns instead of eyes signified war. With their stylized approach and immediate legibility, informed by political cartoons and lubki, the ROSTA Windows played a central role in enriching the formal language of Russian poster design.

In his posters, Cheremnykh responded to the needs of the moment, attempting to address proletarian audiences in a familiar way via text and image. From 1911 to 1917, Cheremnykh studied at the Moscow School of Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture under Konstantin Korovin and Sergei Maliutin. In the 1920s, he created drawings for various satirical newspapers and journals, including *Krokodil* and *Bezbozhnik u stanka*. In Polonsky’s words, Cheremnykh managed to combine the “original acuity of the Futurist manner” with a visual form easily understandable among the masses.<sup>49</sup>

*To the Polish Front!* (Fig. 49), a 1920 poster by another ROSTA artist, Ivan Maliutin (1891–1932), features a generalized silhouette of a Red Army soldier with a rifle. The poster addresses the Polish-Soviet War of 1919–21, which involved Soviet Russian and Ukrainian soldiers fighting against the Second Polish Republic and the Ukrainian People’s Republic.



FIG. 49. Ivan Maliutin (Malyutin). *To the Polish Front*, 1920. Merrill C. Berman Collection.

The ROSTA Windows had branches in more than fifty cities. Besides those created in Moscow, the most important ROSTA Window posters were produced in Petrograd from April 1920 to 1922.<sup>50</sup> Following Wrangel’s defeat, political and economic posters partly regained their foothold at the expense of the military poster. The main military enemies of the Bolsheviks having been defeated in late 1920, the military poster virtually disappeared by the following year.

The Petrograd poster department was organized

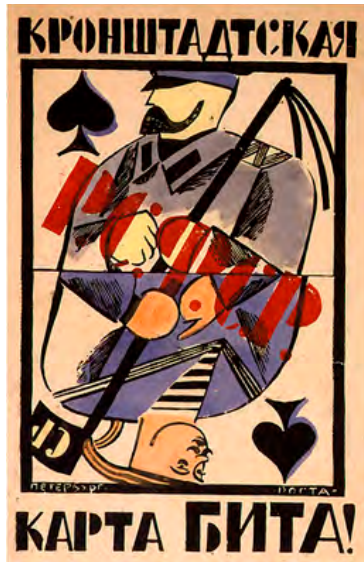


FIG. 50. Vladimir Kozlinsky. *The Kronstadt Card is Beaten!*, 1921. Merrill C. Berman Collection.

by Vladimir Kozlinsky (1891–1967). He ran the graphics workshop at the Academy of Fine Arts in Petrograd, on the basis of which the ROSTA office was founded. Kozlinsky brought in Vladimir Lebedev (1891–1967) and Lev Brodaty (1889–1954).<sup>51</sup> Petrograd ROSTA Window posters were also distributed in the city's suburbs and sent to thirty-seven other cities. Along with large-scale, hand-painted posters, produced in watercolor and gouache, the Petrograd artists issued linocuts in large print runs, often two thousand copies. The latter were hand colored by apprentices with watercolor or aniline dyes. Similar to their Moscow counterparts, ROSTA poster artists in Petrograd, including Kozlinsky, used *lubok*-style sequences with rhyming captions to set forth dramatic narratives. Kozlinsky's *Kronstadt Card Is Beaten!* (1925) (Fig. 50) is dedicated to one of the major uprisings against Soviet rule in Russia after the Civil War, led by sailors from the Kronstadt naval base. Although sailors had supported the Bolsheviks in 1917, they became disenchanted with the Bolshevik government during the Civil War. In addition to economic reform, the sailors at the Kronstadt fortress in the Gulf of Finland demanded the release of non-Bolshevik socialists from prison, the end of the Communist Party's dictatorship, and the establishment of political



FIG. 51. Vladimir Kozlinsky. *Despite the Efforts of the Enemies Throughout the World over the Past Three Years, the Revolution Makes Great Strides!*, 1920–21. Merrill C. Berman Collection.

freedoms. Leon Trotsky and Mikhail Tukhachevsky led forces that crushed the rebels, shooting or imprisoning them. Kozlinsky's poster *The Dead of the Paris Commune Have Risen again under the Red Banner of the Soviets!* (1920–21) (Fig. 1) refers to the seventy-two-day Paris Commune (1870–71). Because it was led by members of the working class, the Paris Commune was lauded in Soviet Russia as the major example of the dictatorship of the proletariat and was thus often invoked in Soviet propaganda. *Despite the Efforts of the Enemies Throughout the World over the Past Three Years, the Revolution Makes*



FIG. 52. El Lissitzky. *Beat the Whites with the Red Wedge*, 1920.

*Great Strides!* (1920–21) (**Fig. 51**) was created to commemorate the third anniversary of the Bolshevik uprising. A gigantic worker symbolizes the consolidation of Soviet power.

Subverting the realist tradition of the graphic arts, Petrograd poster designers often used elements of the most avant-garde artistic developments in their work for the ROSTA Windows. The radical visual language employed by the modernist artists was clearly provocative, and part of their intention was to break with outmoded academic traditions and subvert aesthetic clichés and stereotypes. Lebedev introduced Suprematist and Constructivist concepts into his poster designs, reflecting the embrace of linear and planar abstraction in some tendencies of the 1910s and 1920s. Among the most famous examples of this embrace is seen in El Lissitzky's famous poster *Beat the Whites with the Red Wedge* (1920). Lissitzky's intent was to extend the meaning inherent in Suprematist paintings to a new political context. In *Beat the Whites with the Red Wedge*, he created a purely geometric design that aptly complemented a Bolshevik message.

Lebedev also manifested a combination of political commitment and graphic wit, developing numerous stylistic innovations in various graphic media. In 1914–16 he frequented Lev Bruni's apartment in St. Petersburg, where many young artists, poets, and critics met to discuss the latest artistic developments. After the Revolution, Lebedev became a central figure of the Petrograd avant-garde. Before turning to book and poster design, Lebedev worked as an illustrator for *Novyi Satirikon*.<sup>52</sup> In the 1920s, he headed the artistic section of the editorial board of Detgiz (State Publishing House of Editions for Children), formulating its artistic direction and immensely influencing the development of graphic design in the years to come. Many Soviet scholars identified Lebedev as one of the leading Soviet artists of the

twentieth century, pioneer of a new approach to Soviet book and poster design.<sup>53</sup> According to the art critic Vsevolod Petrov, Lebedev claimed that he and his fellow artists were combatting narrative tendencies in art.<sup>54</sup> Lebedev noted: "In our country, realism is often confused with naturalism. Naturalism is a passive copying of an image from three-dimensional space to the two-dimensional space of paper." In contrast, realism is "lively, energetic, and the contemporary artist's active response to the surrounding world."<sup>55</sup> While practicing Cubist and other modernist styles, Lebedev never abandoned representation. No matter how schematic, abstracted, and stylized, the objects in his drawings are always clearly recognizable.

Lebedev's early works were often created in the Cubist mode. An event of great importance for the development of his future style was the 1912 exhibition *100 Years of French Art*, organized by the journal *Apollon* and the French Institute in St. Petersburg. Although Lebedev experimented with Cubism, he stressed that he was a loner who was always outside of any movements, trends, or groupings.<sup>56</sup> His favorite saying was that an artist should be a disciple of every artist and of none.<sup>57</sup>

The ROSTA Windows signaled a turning point in Lebedev's artistic career. His poster designs are closely related to the Russian folk tradition, including lubki and painted shop signs, as exemplified by some posters in the Berman Collection (*Humorous Ditties; Peasant, if You Don't Want to Feed the Landlord Feed the Front, Which Is Defending your Land and Your Liberty; Peasant, if You Take Your Bread to the Government; Who will Win?* all 1920). In all of his designs for the ROSTA Windows, Lebedev avoids the illusion of depth, placing the figures' silhouettes directly on the white background. Opposed to excessive ornamentation, Lebedev shows no trace of the decorativeness of



FIG. 53. Vladimir Lebedev. *Peasant, if You Are Taking Bread...*, 1920. Merrill C. Berman Collection.



FIG. 54. Vladimir Lebedev. *Peasant, if You Don't Want to Feed...*, 1920. Merrill C. Berman Collection.



FIG. 55. Vladimir Lebedev. *Humorous Ditties*, 1920. Merrill C. Berman Collection.



FIG. 56. Vladimir Lebedev. *Who will Win?*, 1920. Merrill C. Berman Collection.



FIG. 57. Vladimir Lebedev. *The Red Army and Navy Defending Russia's Borders*, 1922. Merrill C. Berman Collection.

posters created by such artists as Apsit. The people depicted in Lebedev's posters are never individuals but rather particular social types.

In September 1920, the ROSTA Windows produced a series of posters targeting peasants' sale of bread on the black market and explaining the need for the forced requisition of surplus grain and other food products during the period of War Communism (1918–21).<sup>58</sup> Lebedev dedicated several posters to this topic. The artistic expressiveness of Lebedev's posters *Peasant, if You Don't Want to Feed the Landowner* and *Peasant, if you Take Your Bread to the*

*Government* . . .<sup>59</sup> (Figs. 53, 54) is based on the contrast between extremely generalized forms and well-elaborated details. His dynamic arrangement of geometric forms and letters, and their interaction with each other and with the background of the page, also relate to contemporaneous experiments in typography and book design.

*Who Will Win?* (1920–21) (Fig. 56) addresses the Soviet alliance with foreign businessmen, which temporarily allowed foreigners to engage in business dealings in Soviet Russia. The grotesque figure of the fat man signifies a

capitalist. He is confronted by a figure of the worker bearing the inscription “World Revolution” on his back. While creating his poster, Lebedev may have been inspired by Viktor Deni’s famous poster *Capital* (1919) (Fig. 47).

Lebedev’s poster *Humorous Ditties* thematizes the struggle against deserters from the front and depicts two former lovers in conversation.<sup>60</sup> The figures are highly schematized and geometricized, and their expressive silhouettes lack any extraneous detail. The woman says to the man that since he has deserted the battlefield, she no longer loves him and does not wish to see him; rather than her, the deserted will now have a date with the *Cheka* (the former name of the KGB). As the text suggests, the poster’s goal was to convince the population that they should not shelter any deserters, but should inform the secret police of deserters’ whereabouts.

In 1922 Nikolai Punin, art critic and head of IZO Narkompros, published an album featuring twenty-three high-quality chromolithographs of ROSTA posters by Lebedev.<sup>61</sup> The Berman Collection includes a lithograph from this album, *The Red Army and Navy Defending Russia’s Borders*. Although figurative, Lebedev’s poster is highly abstracted and influenced by Suprematism.<sup>62</sup>

In Punin’s view, Lebedev’s visual language was too complex for its intended audience. Similarly, discussing Lebedev’s work in his 1925 book on revolutionary posters, Polonsky writes: “While many of our artists, lacking an understanding of the real nature of poster art, create a picture that is laden with unnecessary details and particularities . . . Lebedev’s work goes to the other extreme—he schematizes form to such a degree that it loses its meaning and becomes a cold, although colorful, abstraction.”<sup>63</sup>

Themes of proletarian internationalism and proletarian revolution abound in early Soviet political posters (*Three Years of the Proletarian Revolution*, 1919; *Long Live the October Revolution!*, 1920; *Workers of the World, Unite!*, 1921). Moor’s *October 1917–October 1920: Long Live the Worldwide Red October!* (1920) reinforces the message of the spreading international revolution by showing a Red Army cavalry soldier crushing enemy forces with the assistance of English, Italian, and French workers.

A major focus of propaganda both during and after the Civil War was the brotherhood of working people in the armed struggle for Soviet rule. At this time, numerous posters were directed toward Muslims inhabiting the vast



FIG. 58. Dmitrii Moor. *October 1917–October 1920: Long Live the Worldwide Red October!*, 1920. Merrill C. Berman Collection.



FIG. 59. Dmitrii Moor. *To the Peoples of the Caucasus*, 1920. Merrill C. Berman Collection.





FIG. 60. Dmitri Moor. *Comrade Muslims*, 1919. Merrill C. Berman Collection.

territories in the east and south of the former Russian Empire—the Volga region, the Crimea, the Urals, the Caucasus, and Central Asia. Moor designed several posters connected to the Red Army’s southern campaigns of 1919 and 1920. Attempting to mobilize Muslims to enroll in the cavalry courses of VSEOBUCH (Universal Military Training),<sup>64</sup> Moor created *Comrade Muslims!* (1919) (Fig. 60). It depicts the horseman in a *papakha* (high fur hat) riding a white horse with a lance tilted forward and an unsheathed dagger. The star inside a crescent moon on the horseman’s attire replaces the hammer and sickle, and the text, written in both Arabic-script Tatar and in Russian,<sup>65</sup> evokes the Prophet Muhammed’s green banner while pledging allegiance to the red banner of the Red Army. The inscription reads: “Comrade Muslims, under the green banner of the Prophet you fought for your steppe and villages. But the enemies of the people took away your land. Now, under the red banner of the workers’ and peasants’ revolution, under the star of the army of all of the oppressed and working people, come together from east and west, from north and south. Saddle up, comrades! Everyone, join the VSEOBUCH regiments.”<sup>66</sup> The poster reflects the strong influence of images of Muslim exotica

in the vein of nineteenth-century Orientalism. As described by the scholar Vladimir Bobrovnikov, “Everything in it is . . . far removed from reality. Red Army cavalrymen did not wear papakhas. They would have simply fallen off when the horseman galloped. The harness and abundance of melee weapons that the rider has look quite odd. He is holding the dagger like a theatrical hero, running the risk of stabbing himself in the event of impact.”<sup>67</sup>

Another poster by Moor in the Berman Collection appeals to different ethnic groups of the Caucasus. *To the People of the Caucasus* (1920) (Fig. 59) depicts a Russian soldier with a flag on a white horse and highlanders in felt cloaks, who extend their hands to their Red Army “brother.” He points to the oath to the communist summits, above the snows of Elbrus. The poster was intended to help troops prepare for a march into Georgia, which was carried out in March 1921. The translation of the Russian text into five different languages<sup>68</sup> was attributable to the Red Army’s successes in the northern Caucasus, Azerbaijan, and Armenia.<sup>69</sup>

Many propaganda artists of the time adopted a binary approach through a series of dichotomous symbols—freedom versus exploitation, wealth versus poverty, religion versus atheism. By way of example, Moor’s 1920 poster *Before: One with a Plough, Seven with a Spoon; Now: He Who Does Not Work Shall Not Eat* consists of two drawings that compare and contrast the prerevolutionary and postrevolutionary eras. The top drawing depicts a peasant hard at work with a group of bourgeois onlookers holding spoons, while the bottom image shows the peasant eating and appearing healthy as the bourgeois group looks tattered and shriveled.

Moor’s *Christmas* (1921) is also divided into two parts. In the lower part, a procession of workers



FIG. 61. Dmitrii Moor. *Help!*, 1921. Merrill C. Berman Collection.

and Red Army soldiers are following the red star into the “bright Soviet future.” They are juxtaposed with a procession of biblical figures, religious leaders of various denominations, a White Army general, capitalists, and *kulaks*—all enemies of the Soviet regime, presented in a caricatural manner, in sharp contrast to the heroic figures in the lower portion of the poster.

A number of posters of the 1920s were dedicated to various revolutionary holidays, such as the anniversaries of the Bolshevik Revolution or May Day celebrations. These posters often demonstrate the achievements in socialist construction and the results of the postrevolutionary developments, as exemplified by Dmitrii Melnikov’s poster *October 25, 1917–November 7 (October 25), 1920*. Moor’s poster in celebration of May Day 1920 urges workers to donate their unpaid labor on Saturdays in the volunteer *subbotniki* movement prompted by the government’s need to overcome labor shortages caused by war and revolution. The poster depicts a man and woman working at an anvil. The woman holds a piece of hot iron with a pair of tongs, while the man’s hammer is raised to strike it. In the background, Moor includes other workers, a train, and a factory. As Bonnell observes, except for the woman’s skirt and

hairstyle, she is identical in appearance to the man. At the same time, the two figures “exude physical prowess, but the roles are unmistakably gender-marked, indicating male domination.”<sup>70</sup>

The years of war and revolution gave rise to a series of epidemics that ravaged soldiers and civilians alike. Posters devoted to public health issues, nearly absent from earlier posters, now took priority. Posters were created to encourage hygiene and urge inoculations against typhoid. Also emerging around this time was the “daily life” poster, addressing issues such as education and physical culture. The cultural and educational poster was no less diverse than the political poster in terms of subject matter; themes included childrearing and education, job training, and the overcoming of religious superstition.

A catastrophic drought in 1921 decimated agricultural production in Ukraine and southern Russia, especially the Volga region. The consensus is that at least 5 million Russians died of starvation and disease during the Great Famine of 1921–22, although the figure could be as high as 8 million. Many posters were devoted to the famine, among them Moor’s *Help!* (1921) (Fig. 61). A white silhouette of an elderly and emaciated peasant, without shoes and with his



FIG. 62. Dmitrii Melnikov. *Take the Gold from the Churches and Save Us!*, 1922. Merrill C. Berman Collection.

hands raised high in the air, makes an anguished plea for aid. His flattened figure, depicted against a simple black background, is marked by distorted proportions and highly exaggerated feet and hands, which lend an expressive quality to the poster. A single broken ear alludes to hunger, while the trembling letters of the inscription "Help" heighten the mood of urgency. Unlike Apsit, Moor in his best poster designs such as *Help!* does not include any elaborate details. The poster is no longer a simple illustration with a narrative story, but is now a single graphic idea, an ideogram. Moor regarded this image as the most successful of all his posters.<sup>71</sup>

The widespread starvation became so desperate that in 1921 the Bolsheviks accepted relief from foreign charities, whose involvement helped ease the crisis. However, Viktor Deni's *French Loaf to the Hungry* (1921), a poster in the form of a caricature, mocks the capitalist nations' humanitarian aid to Russia in the satirical poem below.

Amid the Volga famine, Tikhon, the eleventh Patriarch of Moscow of 1917–25, authorized the Russian Orthodox Church to send aid to the hungry, and appealed to foreign Christian leaders for help. But the Bolsheviks saw in the tragedy an opportunity to oppress the Church, and letters began appearing in the press accusing the Church of greed and demanding that all Church wealth be used to feed the hungry. Patriarch Tikhon then issued a statement authorizing that all church valuables be donated, but only voluntarily and excluding those consecrated for use in the Divine Liturgy. In February 1922, the Bolsheviks decreed that the local Soviets seize all valuables from churches, a move that led to bloody clashes between the Soviets and believers. Many Orthodox Christians were persecuted in their efforts to defend the Church from sacrilege, and others were brought to trial. The Bolsheviks

regarded Patriarch Tikhon's public protest against the nationalization of church property as a criminal act, and he was placed under house arrest. This episode is addressed in by Dmitrii Melnikov's poster *Take the Gold from the Churches and Save Us!* (1922) (**Fig. 62**).

Soon after the Bolshevik Revolution, the new regime made serious efforts to promote education and combat illiteracy. In December 1919, the Soviet of People's Commissars issued the decree "On the Liquidation of Illiteracy among the Population of the Russian Federation," mandating that all citizens between the ages of eight and fifty learn how to read and write. Many posters were produced in conjunction with the literary campaign. Aleksei Radakov's poster *An Illiterate Is Like a Blind Man* (1920) asserts that "failure and misfortune on all sides lie in wait" for the illiterate. A similar slogan appears in Kogout's 1921 poster *From Darkness to Light, from Battle to Books, from Sadness to Joy* (**Fig. 63**), while Sergei Ivanov's poster on the subject claims that *Reading Is One of a Person's Responsibilities* (1920).

In 1920, the poster *Literacy Is the Path to Communism* (unknown designer) was issued in Russian in Moscow in a print run of fifty thousand copies. The image depicts a half-naked youth in Roman sandals astride a fiery-red winged horse. He holds an open book in one hand and a torch in the other. Exactly the same poster, with the slogan written in Russian but with the title in Azerbaijani in Arabic script, appeared the same year in Baku. Similar posters were published in Arabic script for Turkestan and in Hebrew script for Jewish settlements in Ukraine and Belorussia. The Berman Collection includes the same poster with the title in Polish (**Fig. 64**).

Another important theme of Soviet propaganda was the struggle against religious prejudice.



FIG. 63. Nikolai Kogout. *From Darkness to Light, from Battle to Books, from Sadness to Joy*, 1921. Merrill C. Berman Collection.



FIG. 64. Designer unknown. *Literacy is the Path to Communism*, 1920. Merrill C. Berman Collection.



FIG. 65. Dmitrii Moor. Cover for *The Godless*, No.1, 1922. Merrill C. Berman Collection.

Issues pertaining to church and state could not be isolated from one another other in Soviet society. The Bolshevik regime made clear from the outset its intention to rid Russia of religion. In a series of decrees, the regime nationalized all church property; closed theological seminaries; secularized the registration of birth, marriage, and death; and ended financial support for the clergy. The first Congress of Soviets, in 1917, adopted the *Declaration of Rights of the Peoples of Russia*, which proclaimed the abolition of all national and religious rights and limitations; the following year there appeared the decree "The Separation of the Church from the State and of the School from the Church." During the Russian Civil War and thereafter, atheist zealots closed many local churches, confiscated monasteries and church property, and defiled sacred objects.

The Soviet regime depended heavily on propaganda to achieve its antireligious goals.<sup>72</sup> One of the major methods for disseminating antireligious propaganda was through periodicals. The first antireligious monthly magazine, *Revoliutsiia i tserkov'* (Revolution and the Church), was published in 1919, followed in 1922 by

*Nauka i religija* (Science and Religion), which was replaced that same year by the weekly anti-religious newspaper *Bezbozhnik* (The Godless), issued until 1934.<sup>73</sup> *Bezbozhnik* (Fig. 65) was produced and distributed by the Society of the Friends of the Godless, founded in 1923, which became the Godless League in 1925 and the League of the Militant Godless in 1929. The organization sought to demonstrate that religion in all its forms had always been an enemy of workers, to prove that natural science can explain any religious phenomenon, and to convince citizens that socialism and religion are incompatible. A competing publication, the heavily illustrated mass magazine *Bezbozhnik u stanka* (Atheist at the Workbench), was published by the Moscow branch of the Communist Party between 1923 and 1931. *Bezbozhnik u stanka* featured caricatures portraying the clergy as corrupt. From 1923 to 1928, Moor was the artistic director of both *Bezbozhnik* and



FIG. 66. Vasili Masiutin (Wasył Masjutyn). *The Cooperation Open to All*, 1918. Merrill C. Berman Collection.

*Bezbozhnik u stanka*, which often used the same compositions.

After the end of the Civil War and the halting of foreign intervention, the Soviet government turned to the urgent task of rebuilding the economy. Years of war had left the country in ruin. In an effort to save the country from further disaster, Lenin launched measures known collectively as the NEP (New Economic Policy), in which market elements were introduced into the economy and cultural restrictions were eased. The NEP represented a reversal of fundamental Bolshevik beliefs, and engendered feelings of hostility toward those figures seen as closely associated with and benefiting from the new policy—the so-called NEPmen.

Starting in 1921, the agricultural co-operatives played the leading role in the revival and development of the Soviet economy. Indeed, various forms of cooperative-type societies had been present long before the Bolshevik Revolution. By 1917 there were already more than 63,000 primary co-operatives in Russia, with a total of 24 million members. During the NEP period, the co-operative movement became more independent from the controlling government institutions such as Narkomprod (People's Commissariat for Food Industry) and were given the opportunity to develop, as reflected in posters from this time.<sup>74</sup> The flowering of the Russian co-operative movement ended in 1928–29, and the co-ops were replaced by the *kolkhozes* (collective farms), centered on compulsory collective labor and distribution.

During the NEP, Russian Constructivist artists created some of their most experimental work in graphic design. In November 1921, Aleksandr Rodchenko and other Constructivists dedicated themselves to reshaping the conditions of daily existence by creating objects based on



FIG. 67. Aleksandr Rodchenko. *He Who Is Not a Stockholder in Dobrolet Is Not a Citizen of the USSR*, 1923. Merrill C. Berman Collection.

Constructivist principles of formal and material integrity, and expediency of function.<sup>75</sup> In his famous treatise “Constructivism” of 1922, Aleksei Gan argued that all “art” was filled with the most reactionary idealism tied to theology, metaphysics, and mysticism, and was a product of the highest individualism. In response to the question of what should replace art, Gan replied, “labor and technology.”<sup>76</sup> The notion of *Production Art* came to the fore and gathered momentum in vanguard circles during the years 1921–23.<sup>77</sup> The Productivists asserted the centrality of engineering in creative work and opposed the rational design of everyday objects to the “useless” beauty of easel painting. In the “Productivist Manifesto,” written by Rodchenko and Varvara Stepanova in 1920, the artists stressed the need “to attain a synthesis of ideological and formal aspects” so that the artist’s work can have a practical application to social life.<sup>78</sup>

Conflicts between the Productivists and the defenders of traditional artistic forms characterized 1923–24. In 1923 the writer, literary critic, and theoretician of *Production Art* Nikolai



FIG. 68. Anton Lavinsky. *Treasure cigarettes and the Prize*, 1924. Merrill C. Berman Collection.

Chuzhak noted that as early as 1921 the avant-garde artists (whom he referred to as “Futurists”) called for the creation of a new art that, rather than “being an individualistic form of decorating life,” would become “a form of production.”<sup>79</sup> That same year, Nikolai Tarabukin, a theoretician of *Production Art*,<sup>80</sup> described the poster as “the most expressive form of inventiveness and artistry.” He believed that “the role of the poster artist is fully the equivalent of the role of the engineer-designer.”<sup>81</sup>

Constructivist poster designs are infused with simplicity and functionality. Promoting the concepts of function and communication, Rodchenko, Gustav Klutssis (1895–1938), and other Constructivists designed all forms of printed matter, including posters. They introduced radical new ideas and forms into graphic design— notably, the value of the diagonal as a dynamic device, the effect of layering letters over one another, and the use of interpenetrating planes of color. The Constructivists also embraced only one style of type: massive block letters with sharply cut corners and sans serif. It was this type—simple, geometric, and angular—which they used in their

posters.

The Soviet advertising poster endeavored to attract customers to state-run stores and to strengthen consumers’ confidence in goods manufactured by Soviet industry. In remarks on advertising, Mayakovsky stated that “under NEP, it is necessary to employ all the weapons used by (our) enemies, including the advertisement, for the popularization of state and organizations, offices, and products.”<sup>82</sup> He called propaganda the “advertisement of ideas” and advertising “the propaganda of things.”<sup>83</sup>

Rodchenko designed numerous posters for movies, books, and commercial products. In 1923 he designed several posters for *Dobrolet* (Fig. 67), a shareholding company for the development of a Soviet civilian air fleet.<sup>84</sup> In his designs, Rodchenko employed bold, contrasting colors; sans serif lettering; and depicted the Junkers airplane, the converted military plane that comprised the majority of the *Dobrolet* fleet.<sup>85</sup> The entire surface of the poster, combining image and text with organizing, bold lines, was structured as a single constructive unit and addressed a collective, proletarian audience (*He Who Is Not a Stockholder in Dobrolet Is Not a Citizen of the USSR*). In the artist’s designs, compass and ruler—the Constructivists’ two favorite tools—substituted for brush and pen. This approach reflected Rodchenko’s artistic ideas expressed in his 1921 statement “The Line”: “The brush, which was so essential in the kind of painting that conveyed an illusion of the subject with all its subtleties, has become an inadequate and imprecise tool and has given way to new instruments that provide a convenient, simple, and more appropriate way of working the surface. It is being replaced by the press, the roller, the drafting pen, the ruler, and the compass.”<sup>86</sup>

In 1923 Rodchenko and Mayakovsky began



collaborating on advertising work, developing a socialist mode of advertising. They used a joint name that became their trademark—“Mayakovsky-Rodchenko Advertising-Constructor.” Leah Dickerman has noted that the pair’s work in advertising attempted “to answer both a pragmatic and an ideological imperative.”<sup>87</sup> In 1923 *Mossel’prom* commissioned Rodchenko and Mayakovsky to produce posters, newspaper ads, and packaging. Rodchenko later bragged that “All of Moscow was covered with our work . . . We made about fifty posters, about one hundred signboards, wrappers, containers, illuminated advertisements . . . illustrations in magazines and newspapers.”<sup>88</sup> To establish a relationship between the various *Mossel’prom* brands, Rodchenko used repeating visual frames; various posters are united by the bold stripes and the central circle.

The following year, *Mossel’prom* launched *Klad* (Treasure) cigarettes, accompanied by a specially designed advertising campaign. The cigarette

boxes contained tickets for a lottery organized jointly by *Mossel’prom* and the government’s Commission for Improving the Lives of Children. The prizes were big—a tractor, a cow, a horse—all considered “luxuries” in those days. Fittingly, the lottery proceeds went to children—homeless orphans of World War I and the Russian Civil War. The Berman Collection includes a poster by Anton Lavinsky (1893–1968) advertising *Klad* cigarettes and the lottery prizes (Fig. 68).

In their quest to address social concerns without resorting to figurative painting as well as circumvent the limitations of abstraction, many Russian Constructivist artists began to experiment with photographic material. The Constructivists’ involvement with photography in the 1920s paralleled the unfolding of European photographic modernism.<sup>89</sup> Incorporating the photograph into the domain of the printed text, the Constructivists continued the use of photomontage by such Dada artists as Hannah Höch (1889–1978), Raoul Hausmann (1886–



FIG. 69. N.N. Ol'shansky. *Lenin is Always with Us*, 1924. Merrill C. Berman Collection.



FIG. 70. Dmitrii Bulanov. *Our Goal: To Make a World Revolution Reality by Raising the Cultural Level of a Worker*, 1927. Merrill C. Berman Collection.

Повесь на видном месте.

# СИНЯЯ БЛУЗА

РЕДАКЦИЯ Москва, Дни Советов, Сапожн. ул., 5.

Телефоны: днем — 3-03-49, вечером — 1-20-40 (Москва), 1-20-48 (Варшава).

**Что пишут о „СИНЕЙ БЛУЗЕ“.**

**С. М. БЕРДИЯЕВ**  
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1. Труппа работает бесплатно, все расходы несет Министерство культуры.  
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Редакция: Москва, Дни Советов, Сапожн. ул., 5. Телефон: днем — 3-03-49, вечером — 1-20-40 (Москва), 1-20-48 (Варшава).

FIG. 71. Designer unknown. The Blue Blouse Theater, circa 1927. Merrill C. Berman Collection.

1971), and George Grosz (1893-1959), as well as the experiments of László Moholy-Nagy (1895–1946) and other designers at the Bauhaus. By 1924 photomontage was established in the Soviet Union as a prized Constructivist medium that spread rapidly into the fields of advertising and political propaganda, including posters. Many experimental Soviet artists, including Klutsis, Lissitzky, and Rodchenko, used photomontage in such a propagandistic or promotional capacity during the 1920s and early 1930s.

Photomontage was accorded much attention by the artists grouped around the journal *Lef*, founded by Mayakovsky in 1923. *Lef* vigorously promoted the aesthetics of Productivism, giving priority to advertisements, posters, and book design. In 1923 Boris Arvatov, one of the theoreticians of the Left Front of Art, wrote: “Resolutely rejecting room-museum easel painting, the contributors of *Lef* are fighting for the poster, for the illustration, for advertisements, photos and film-montage, i.e., for those forms of utilitarian graphic art meant for the masses, executed by means of machine technology, and closely connected with the material daily life of industrial workers.”<sup>90</sup> In 1925 the art historian and theoretician of *Production Art* Nikolai Tarabukin observed that photomontage only appeared on the Left Front of Art when abstraction had run its course.<sup>91</sup> In his words: “Photomontage is the most characteristic sign of modernity. In it we may observe the application of many principles of modern ‘left-wing’ art. Here we see the use of the planar construction of the composition that is such a characteristic method for the majority of ‘left-wing’ tendencies in art.”<sup>92</sup>

Photography became especially useful for posters describing real people and events. In the wake of Lenin’s death in 1924, his image in the form of countless posters served as a visual commemoration of the Communist Party leader

**(Fig. 69).** Regarding photography as the most appropriate form for memorializing a leader in all of his contradictory manifestations, Rodchenko later argued: “We refuse to let Lenin be falsified by art. Art has failed miserably in its struggle against photography for Lenin.”<sup>93</sup> He pointed out that there is a synthesis of Lenin that is “a representation based on photographs, books, and notes.”<sup>94</sup>

In 1925 Rodchenko designed a series of twenty-five posters for the Museum of the Revolution and the Communist Academy in Moscow. In the series, known as *The History of the VKP (b) (All Russian Communist Party) in Posters*, he included various photomechanically reproduced primary documents, including pages from newspapers and journals, photographs, and pamphlets, occasionally combined with quotations from speeches. This important cycle presents history in a nonlinear way, often juxtaposing opposing political positions, such as Bolsheviks versus Mensheviks and Stalin versus Trotsky.

The Berman Collection also features several important photomontage posters by El Lissitzky, who actively supported Constructivism’s expansion into an international movement and sought to rationalize and streamline its principles by emphasizing technological progress and the visual elements of typography.

Many posters of the later 1920s that use photomontage reflect a concern with social and economic development. The poster *By Raising Workers’ Cultural Levels, We Will Get Closer to the World Revolution* (1927) **(Fig. 70)**, by Dmitrii Bulanov (1898–1942), consists of concentric rings that together resemble a target. Inside each ring, the artist included photomontages depicting various types of after-work activities, such as reading, playing chess, and sports. Bulanov

employs red, black, and white, a palette typical of Constructivist designs.

Another important cultural development in the 1920s was the experimental agitational theater troupe known as *Blue Blouse*. Its founder, Boris Iuzhanin (1896–1962), was a journalist interested in the new genre of the “living newspaper.” The name of the group, founded in 1923 at the Moscow School of Journalism, derived from the work attire, blue blouses, which the actors wore during the performances, focused on topics ranging from international affairs to complaints about factory management. Always reflecting on current political events with humor and satire, and with an element of folk theater, the cells of *Blue Blouse* multiplied, eventually operating all throughout Russia. Exaggerated props identified the roles the actors were performing, such as a top hat for a capitalist or a large pencil for a bureaucrat, in a manner similar to the ROSTA Windows. To publicize and expand *Blue Blouse*, a periodical was published irregularly in 1924–28, containing librettos for current skits, proposals for sets, and costume designs. Regular contributors included the best leftist writers of the day, among them Mayakovsky. Osip Brik wrote about *Blue Blouse* in his articles in *Lef*, and the Constructivist artist Elena Semanova created striking cover designs for *Blue Blouse* publications. The theater also produced some posters advertising its productions (**Fig. 71**).

By 1928 Joseph Stalin consolidated his hold on power, purged the government of his opponents, and replaced Lenin’s NEP with the Five-Year Plan system. That year he launched a program of intense industrialization alongside a repressive campaign in the countryside to collectivize the peasantry within the framework of the first Five-Year-Plan. With this the market-based economy was all but abolished, and the relative cultural freedom of the NEP gave way to a policy of

ideological restrictions.

Many Soviet posters from the period 1917–27 emerged out of the struggles and tragedies as well as hopes and dreams of a society forced to reinvent itself in the aftermath of revolution and civil war. These posters reveal how artists combined various artistic traditions such as *Iubki*, Russian Orthodox icons, *Style Moderne*, and avant-garde developments in contemporary visual art, including Cubism, Expressionism, and Suprematism. It was the combination of popular mythology and political ideology that gave these early Soviet propaganda posters their persuasive power.

## Endnotes

**1** The “cultural” poster is subdivided into the exhibition poster, the theater poster, the book-trade poster, and the film poster.

**2** The term “Constructivism” began to be used in Russia in early 1921 and refers to a group of artists who sought to extend the language of abstract art into productive and practical design work, in which the distinction between artist and engineer would be eliminated. See Christina Lodder, *Russian Constructivism* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1983); Lodder, “Constructivism and Productivism in the 1920s,” in *Art into Life: Russian Constructivism, 1914–1932*, exh. cat. (Seattle: Henry Art Gallery, University of Washington; New York: Rizzoli, 1990), 100–101.

**3** For a detailed discussion, see Stephen M. Norris, *A War of Images: Russian Popular Prints, Wartime Culture, and National Identity, 1812–1945* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2006).

**4** Terebenev’s caricature Russian Scaevola was based on the story published in the weekly magazine *Syn otechestva* in 1812. The title of the work is inspired by the legendary Roman hero Caius Micius Scaevola, who is said to have saved Rome (ca. 509 B.C.) from conquest by the Etruscan king Lars Porsena.

**5** Norris, *A War of Images*, 14.

**6** On the Russian prerevolutionary poster, see Elena Barkhatova and Nikolai Shkolny, *Le premier âge d’or de l’affiche russe, 1890–1917*, exh. cat. (Paris: Bibliothèque Forney, 1997); N. I. Baburina, *Russkii plakat* (Leningrad: Khudozhnik RSFSR, 1988); and Mikhail Anikst and Elena Cherevich, *Russian Graphic Design, 1880–1917* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1990).

**7** From the 1870s on, many Russian artists pursued a “national” style based on the revival of the traditions of Russian folk art and medieval culture. Though based exclusively on Russian historical material, this style offered no preferred hierarchy of artistic sources or periods of history to convey what was deemed most essentially “Russian.” Elements and motifs from a variety of folk sources were combined to create complex, sometimes highly eclectic works.

**8** Baburina, *Russkii plakat*, 1.

**9** Viacheslav Polonsky also had valuable practical experience, having directed the editorial and publishing work of the Red Army during the Russian Civil War.

**10** Quoted in A. Bogachev, *Poster* (Leningrad: Blago, 1926), 8.

**11** Popular folk prints known as *lubki* were produced in Russia from the sixteenth through the early twentieth century. The earliest surviving *lubki* were printed near Kiev in 1625. They were commissioned by the Russian Orthodox clergy of the Monastery of the Caves. The handmade *lubki* portrayed religious scenes and included illustrations to Apocrypha on biblical and evangelical subjects. They originated and circulated most often among Old Believers monasteries, northern villages, and settlements of the Moscow region. From the sixteenth century, *lubki* were sold in Russian cities and villages by traveling peddlers, *ofeni*, who hawked *lubki* from place to place. *Lubki* could be purchased in marketplaces, at the entrance of churches, and in front of monastery gates. By the eighteenth century, secular scenes and political and historical events became popular subjects of depiction. Russian folk songs and folktales were also represented. In 1839, following a period of political insurrection, Tsar Nicholas I (r. 1825–55) established strict censorship over the subjects depicted in *lubki*. Those deemed offensive to the tsar and his family or the Russian Orthodox Church were to be destroyed. Until 1727 many *lubki* were woodcuts, which were soon supplemented by copper engravings. In the nineteenth century, both media were replaced by lithography.

**12** The “new *lubok*” was a popular print created in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century using the technique of color lithography. It was called “new” in comparison to the “old” *lubok*, produced in metal engraving in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century or in lithography in the mid-nineteenth century. The old *lubok* was colored by hand, while the cheaper method of color lithography was used to produce large editions, thus making *lubki* more accessible to the general

population.

**13** Run by G. B. Gorodetsky, *Segodniashnii lubok* published *lubki* and postcards.

**14** In addition to Malevich and Mayakovsky, important Russian modernist artists such as David Burluk, Vasiliĭ Chekrygin, Aristarkh Lentulov, and Ilya Mashkov created posters for *Segodniashnii lubok*.

**15** Tereshchenko was arrested in the Winter Palace with other ministers of the Provisional Government and placed into the Peter and Paul Fortress. In the spring of 1918, he escaped from detention to Western Europe, first to Norway and then to France, where he became one of the organizers of the counterrevolutionary movement and military intervention against Soviet Russia.

**16** See Yevgenia Petrova, Vladimir Kruglov, and Galina Pavlova, *Pervaia mirovaia volna, 1914–1918* (St. Petersburg: State Russian Museum and Palace Editions, 2014); N. I. Baburina, *Russkii plakat pervoi mirovoi voiny* (Moscow: Iskusstvo i kul'tura, 1992).

**17** See Anatolii Lunacharsky, "Revolution and Art" (1920–22), in John E. Bowlit, ed., *Russian Art of the Avant-Garde: Theory and Criticism, 1902–1934* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1988), 194.

**18** V. I. Lenin, "On Proletarian Culture" (October 8, 1920), in Lenin, *Collected Works*, 4th English ed., trans. Julius Katzer (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1965), 31:316–17.

**19** According to the 1897 census, only 28 percent of the population of the Russian Empire between ages nine and forty-nine could read and write. Victoria E. Bonnell noted that about 83 percent of the rural population and about 55 percent of the urban population was illiterate when the Bolsheviks seized power. Victoria E. Bonnell, *Iconography of Power* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1997), 4.

**20** *Social Pyramid* was first published in 1901 in Geneva by the Union of Russian Social Democrats.

**21** For a detailed discussion, see Richard Taylor, "A Medium for the Masses: Agitation in the Soviet Civil War," *Soviet Studies* 22, no. 4 (April 1971): 562–74.

**22** Viacheslav Polonsky, *Russkii revoliutsionnyi plakat* (Moscow: Gosizdat, 1925), 50.

**23** *Ibid.*, 53–55. For an overview of the agit-trains, see the primary documents and photographs of agit-trains in V. P. Tolstoy, ed. *Agitatsionno-massovoe iskusstvo Sovetskoi Rossii: Materialy i dokumenty* (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 2002).

**24** The *Lenin* and its crew spent two weeks distributing pamphlets and newspapers to units of the Red Army stationed along the tracks and returned to the capital in early September. The *Lenin* train was also sent through the parts of the northwest province recently liberated from the Germans, on a six-week journey ending in mid-March 1919. The experiment was so successful that Trotsky ordered five literary-instructional trains from the Moscow regional railway. Stopping in each city for ten to twelve hours or sometimes up to two days, these agit-trains did not only distribute literature along their route. They also produced their own newspapers, and some even had traveling cinemas. There was also a skilled team of political agitators on each train who delivered lectures for local population.

**25** See B. S. Butnik-Siverskii, *Sovetskii plakat epokhi grazhdanskoi voiny, 1918–1921* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo vsesoiuznoi knizhnoi palaty, 1960), 19, 23.

Because there were so many different publishing houses that produced posters in the 1920s, centralized control over the production of posters by the Department of Agitation and Propaganda of the TsK VKP(b) (Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bolsheviks) was not yet possible.

**26** There were three major publishers of posters during the early Soviet period: Gosizdat, Litzdat (Literary-Publishing Department), and ROSTA (Russian Telegraph Agency) Windows. Gosizdat and the ROSTA Windows were subordinate to the People's Commissariat of Education, while Litzdat was under the aegis of the Soviet military.

**27** These topics had to be approved by the head editor, senior artistic director, and director of the publishing house. Thereafter, all required topics for posters had to be submitted for final approval to the Central Committee. Designs had to undergo a process similar to that of poster themes; they were initially reviewed by the *Khudsovet* (Artistic Advisory Board), followed by their evaluation by Glavlit (Central Administration for Literature and the Press). Glavlit was the main censorship body in Soviet Russia, and all printed material had to bear its authorization number.

**28** *Varshavianka* had been translated from Polish into Russian by G. M. Krzhizhanovsky in 1897.

**29** Nikolai Yudenich (1862–1933) fled to France and died in exile.

**30** Dmitrii Orlov adopted his pseudonym “Moor” in honor of Karl Moor, the irreverent son and rebel and hero of Schiller's *The Robbers*.

**31** Quoted in Stephen White, *The Bolshevik Poster* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988), 28–29.

**32** See Yurii Khalaminsky, *D. Moor* (Moscow: Sovetskii khudozhnik, 1961), 5.

**33** Karl Kautsky (1854–1938) was the leader of the German Social Democratic Party. After Friedrich Engels's death in 1895, Kautsky inherited the role of the political conscience of German Marxism. The Bolshevik Revolution was not the revolution Kautsky sought, and he was the target of one of Lenin's most vicious polemics.

**34** For a detailed discussion of imagery of women, see Victoria Bonnell, “The Representation of Women in Early Soviet Political Art,” *Russian Review* 50 (1991): 267–88.

**35** The cult of Saint George is ancient: a tomb and sanctuary devoted to him dating back to the fourth century are documented at Lydda, Palestine. Churches and monasteries named after him began to appear in the East soon thereafter. The pagan image of the hero-horseman, adopted by early Byzantine culture, spread to the Russian principalities of Novgorod and Pskov. In Russia, the most beloved image of Saint George presented him not as martyr, but as prince and Christian knight, symbol of grace and beauty triumphing over evil.

**36** Polonsky, *Russkii revoliutsionnyi plakat*, 29, 30, 75.

**37** For a detailed discussion, see Bonnell, *Iconography of Power*, 190–91.

The Bolsheviks faced opposition from numerous groups that included monarchists, militarists, and foreign nations. Collectively, they were known as the Whites, while the Bolsheviks were called the Reds.

**38** This is extensively discussed in Bonnell, *Iconography of Power*, 204–24.

**39** Nikolai Kochergin's posters were published in Moscow, Kiev (Ukraine), and Tiflis (Georgia). Kochergin was appointed assistant to the head of the woodcarving workshops at the Stroganov Art School. He was also influenced by the work of Sergei Konenkov (1874–1971), a famous Russian sculptor who excelled in woodcarving, whose Moscow studio Kochergin often visited.

**40** After the end of World War I, Russia soon became engulfed in a Civil War between the Bolshevik Red Army and an amalgamation of anti-Bolshevik forces known as the White Army, which received support from the Allied forces known collectively as the Entente.



- 41** On Viktor Deni, see I. A. Sviridova, *Viktor Nikolaevich Deni* (Moscow: Izobrazitel'noe iskusstvo, 1978).
- 42** Polonsky, *Russkii revoliutsionnyi plakat*, 69.
- 43** V. I. Lenin and A. V. Lunacharsky, *Perepiska, doklady, dokumenty* (Moscow: Nauka, 1971), 164, 166, 167, 170.
- 44** There are two versions of Viktor Deni's poster *Constituent Assembly*. The 1919 version pictures three satirical personages, while the 1921 version has four.
- 45** ROSTA is an abbreviation for Russian Telegraph Agency. On this subject, see Leah Dickerman, *ROSTA Bolshevik Placards, 1919–1921: Handmade Political Posters from the Russian Telegraph Agency*, exh. cat. (New York: Sander Gallery, 1994); Aleksei Morozov, *Mayakovsky: Okna ROSTA i GlavPolitProsveta, 1919–1921* (Moscow: Kontakt-Kul'tura, 2010).
- 46** Vladimir Mayakovsky, "Proshu slova," *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii* (Moscow: Khudozhestvennaia literatura, 1955–61), 12:205.
- 47** See Stephen White's discussion of ROSTA in *The Bolshevik Poster*, chap. 4.
- 48** See Dickerman, *ROSTA Bolshevik Placards*, 7–8. Dickerman notes that over one hundred people were employed to perform various functions within the poster-making collective. Different teams of workers photographed the posters, cut stencils from the original, and made copies from the stencils. Although the identity of the artists has been well documented, all the posters were unsigned. Regional ROSTA agencies in Rostov-on-Don, Kharkov, and Kiev also produced their own posters with a distinctive local flavor.
- 49** Polonsky, *Russkii revoliutsionnyi plakat*, 100.
- 50** See Irina Zolotinkina, "Oktiabr'skaia revoliutsiia i iskusstvo plakata," in *Plakat epokhi revoliutsii: Iz sobraniia Russkogo muzaia* (St. Petersburg: State Russian Museum and Palace Editions, 2017).
- 51** See A. V. Chistiakova, *Petrogradskie okna ROSTA*, exh. cat. (Leningrad: State Russian Museum and M. E. Saltykov-Shchedrin National Library of Russia, 1968).
- In addition to Kozlinsky and Lebedev, such artists as N .E. Radlov, S. A. Pavlov, and Aleksei Radakov also created posters for Petrograd ROSTA. All the texts for the Petrograd ROSTA Windows were written by V. V. Voinov and A. M. Flit.
- 52** On this subject, see Nicoletta Mislér, "A Public Art: Caricatures and Posters of Vladimir Lebedev," *Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts*, no. 5 (1987): 60–75.
- 53** These scholars included Nikolai Punin, V. Sushanskaia, E. Z.Gankina, Yurii Gerchuk, M. Flekel, and Vsevolod Petrov. See N. Punin, *Vladimir Vasilievich Lebedev* (Leningrad: Komitet popularizatsii khudozhestvennykh izdanií pri Gosudarstvennoi Akademii istorii material'noi kul'tury, 1928); V. Sushanskaia, "V. V. Lebedev kak khudozhnik detskoi knigi," in *O literature dlia detei* (Leningrad: Detgiz, 1958), 3:139–62; E. Z. Gankina, *Russkie khudozhniki detskoi knigi* (Moscow: Sovetskii khudozhnik, 1963), 99–106; Yurii Gerchuk, "Mir veshchei v risunkakh V. Lebedeva," *Dekorativnoe iskusstvo SSSR*, no. 5 (1965); M. Flekel, "Vtoroe rozhdenie," *Khudozhnik*, no. 8 (1967); and V. Petrov, *Vladimir Vasilievich Lebedev* (Leningrad: Khudozhnik RSFSR, 1972).
- 54** V. N. Petrov, "Pamiati V. V. Lebedeva," Rech' na zasedanii Soveta Russkogo Muzeia vesnoi 1973 goda, State Russian Museum, Manuscript Department, f. 165, d. 165, l. 8.
- 55** S. Ya. Marshak, "O risunkakh dlia detei (Beseda s Lebedevym)," *Literaturnyi sovremennik*, no. 12 (1933): 205.
- 56** Petrov, "Pamiati V. V. Lebedeva," l. 9.

57 Ibid., l. 8.

58 War Communism was the economic policy implemented by the Bolsheviks during the Russian Civil War. Lasting from June 1918 to March 1921, it brought the national economy to the verge of collapse. The policy was marked by the expropriation of private business and the nationalization of industry throughout Soviet Russia, as well as the forced requisition of food items.

59 A. M. Flit (1891–1954) was the author of the text of Lebedev's poster *Peasant, if You Don't Want to Feed the Landowner*. A writer of many texts for Petrograd ROSTA Windows, prior to the Revolution, Flit contributed to the journals *Satirikon* and *Novyi satirikon*.

60 The author of the text was the satirical poet V. V. Voinov (1882–1938).

61 Nikolai Punin, *Russkii plakat*, 1917–1922, Vol. 1, V. V. Lebedev (Petrograd, 1922).

62 Lebedev came under increasing attack for his “formalist” tendencies in 1936. The article “O khudozhnikakh-pachkunakh,” (On Artists-Daubers), published in *Pravda*, referred to “Lebedev’s macabre and ugly fantasy,” stating, “even things, ordinary things such as tables, chairs, suitcases, and lamps—are all distorted, soiled, and deliberately turned into disgusting objects that no one would have any desire to use. The grimy artist puts his dirty stamp on everything. And after he finishes his horrible deed, he puts his signature: ‘Drawings by V. Lebedev’. . . His is the art that aims to have as few connections as possible to the world of the Soviet people.” See “O khudozhnikakh-pachkunakh,” *Pravda*, March 1, 1936; reprinted in *Detskaia literatura*, nos. 3–4 (1936): 40. A special committee of the State Publishing House of Literature for Children discussed this article and informed Lebedev that he would continue to receive commissions only on the condition that he start working in the Socialist Realist mode, creating images easily understandable for the general masses.

63 Polonsky, *Russkii revoliutsionnyi plakat*, 104.

64 VSEOBUCH (Universal Military Training) was in charge of training volunteers to serve in the Red Army until the universal military obligation was introduced in 1923.

65 Up until the mid-1920s, posters for the Soviet East were bi-or multilingual. They were composed in Russian and translated into one (or several) national languages of the former Eastern minorities of the Russian Empire. In the Volga Region, the Crimea, the Urals, the Caucasus, Turkestan, Western Siberia, and the Kazakh steppe, Arabic script was used, adopted for the specific characteristics of the local Turkic, Persian, and Caucasian dialects. See Vladimir Bobrovnikov, “The Islamic Discourse of Visual Propaganda in the Soviet East between the Two World Wars (1918–1940),” in *Russian Perspectives on Islam*; <http://islamperspectives.org/rpi/exhibits/show/one/introduction>.

66 Ibid.

67 Ibid.

68 On the left of the poster *To the People of the Caucasus* is the Russian text of the appeal, and on the right is its translation into Georgian, Armenian, Azerbaidzhani and Kumyk (the last two in Arabic script).

69 Between January and April 1920, the Red Army units established Bolshevik rule in the northern Caucasus; by May they occupied Azerbaijan and by December, Armenia.

70 Bonnell, “The Representation of Women in Early Soviet Political Art,” 278.

71 Moor, “Avtobiograficheskii ochherk,” in D. S. Moor, *la-bol'shevik*, ed. Yu. Khalaminsky (Moscow: Sovetskii khudozhnik, 1967).

- 72** See William B. Husband, *“Godless Communists”: Atheism and Society in Soviet Russia, 1917–1932*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2000).
- 73** The weekly newspaper *Bezbozhnik* resumed its publication in 1938.
- 74** See Z. P. Kochkarova, “Istoricheskii opyt razvitiia kooperatsii v 20–40-e gg. XX veka,” *Vestnik VGU (Istoriia. Politologiya. Sotsiologiya)*, no. 1 (2008): 13–15.
- 75** Lodder, “Constructivism and Productivism in the 1920s,” 100–101.
- 76** A. Gan, *Konstruktivizm* (Tver’, 1922), 18–19, 48. Extracts from Gan’s *Konstruktivizm* were reprinted in English translation in Bowlt, ed., *Russian Art of the Avant-Garde*, 214–25.
- 77** Natalia Adaskina, “The Place of Vkhutemas in the Russian Avant-Garde,” in *The Great Utopia*, exh. cat. (New York: Guggenheim Museum, 1992), 289.
- 78** Aleksandr Rodchenko and Varvara Stepanova, “Productivist Manifesto,” in David Elliott, ed., *Alexander Rodchenko and the Arts of Revolutionary Russia* (New York: Pantheon, 1980), 130.
- 79** N. F. Chuzhak, “Pod znakom zhiznestroeniia (opyt osoznaniia iskusstva dnia),” *Lef*, no. 1 (March 1923): 22.
- 80** The Productivists sought to extend their experiments in purely abstract art into the everyday environment by involving themselves in the production of utilitarian objects.
- 81** N. Tarabukin, “Inventivness in the Poster,” *Gorn*, no. 9 (1923): 10.
- 82** Vladimir Mayakovsky, “Agitatsiia i reklama” (1923), in V. V. Mayakovsky, *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii* (Moscow: Khudozhestvennaia literatura, 1959), 12:57.
- 83** Mayakovsky, “V izdatel’stvo ‘Mospoligraf’ (December 29, 1923), in Mayakovsky, *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, 13:64.
- 84** In addition to posters, Rodchenko produced letterheads, stock-prospectus covers, lapel pins, and cuff links for the company, thus creating its graphic identity.
- 85** Leah Dickerman, “The Propagandizing of Things,” in *Aleksandr Rodchenko*, ed. Magdalena Dabrowski, Leah Dickerman, and Peter Galassi (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1998), 69.
- 86** A. Rodchenko, “The Line” (1921), quoted in *Art into Life*, 72.
- 87** Dickerman, “The Propagandizing of Things,” 68.
- 88** Rodchenko, “Rabota s Mayakovskim,” in Varvara Rodchenko, ed., *A. M. Rodchenko: Stat’i, vospominaniia, avtobiograficheskie zapiski, pis’ma* (Moscow: Sovetskii khudozhnik, 1982), 67.
- 89** Peter Galassi, “Rodchenko and Photography’s Revolution,” in Dabrowski, Dickerman, and Galassi, eds., *Aleksandr Rodchenko*, 101–37.
- 90** B. Arvatov, “Utopia ili nauka?,” *Lef*, no. 4 (1923): 18.
- 91** Nikolai Tarabukin, “The Art of the Day,” trans. Rosamund Bartlett, with an introd. by Maria Gough, October 93 (Summer 2000): 69. Originally published in 1925 as “Iskusstvo dnia.”

**92** Ibid., 68.

**93** Aleksandr Rodchenko, "Protiv summirovannogo portreta za momental'nyi," *Novyi lef*, no. 4 (1928): 14–16.

**94** Ibid.

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**WORKS FROM THE  
MERRILL C. BERMAN COLLECTION**

**Mikhail Mikhailovich  
Cheremnykh  
(1890-1962)**



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• **Plate 8.** *Pokupaite vyigryshnyi 6 % zaem* (Buy State 6 % Bonds... I Won, the Industry Won, the Government Won), circa 1922.  
Lithograph, 42 x 27 3/8" (106.7 x 69.5 cm)



• **Plate 9.** *Gde est' rabochii—tam dolzhna byt' Rabochaia gazeta* (Wherever there's a Worker, there should be "Workers' Newspaper"), 1923. Lithograph, 27 3/8 x 20 1/4" (69.5 x 51.4 cm)

**Viktor Nikolaevich Deni  
(Denisov)  
(1893-1946)**



• **Plate 10.** *Khlebnyi pauk* (Bread Spider), 1919.  
Lithograph, 20 1/8 x 13 3/4" (51.1 x 34.9 cm)

• **Plate 11.** *Liga natsii* (The League of Nations), 1919.  
Lithograph, 29 3/4 x 38 5/8" (75.6 x 98.1 cm)

**Inscription on the banner:** *Kapitalisty vseh stran, soediniaytes'* (The Capitalists of All Countries, Unite!)



• **Plate 12.** *Denikinskaia banda* (Denikin's Gang), 1919.  
Lithograph, 42 5/16 x 27 13/16" (107.5 x 70.6 cm)

• **Plate 13.** *Na mogile kontrevoliutsii* (At the Grave of the Counterrevolution), 1920.  
Lithograph, 36 15/16 x 27 1/2" (93.8 x 69.8 cm)



• **Plate 14.** *Osvoboditeli* (Liberators), 1919.  
Lithograph, 42 5/16 x 27 13/16" (107.5 x 70.6 cm)

• **Plate 15.** *Kosi vovremia!* (Mow Down on Time!), 1920.  
Lithograph, 27 1/2 x 34 1/4" (69.8 x 87 cm)



- **Plate 16.** *Antanta pod maskoi mira* (The Entente under the Mask of Peace), 1920. Lithograph, 18 7/8 x 14 1/8" (47.9 x 35.9 cm)
- **Plate 17.** *Poslednij chas!* (The Last Hour!), 1920. Lithograph, 21 1/8 x 19 1/8" (53.6 x 48.6 cm)





• **Plate 18.** *Krest'ianin! Pol'skii pomeshchik khochet sdelat' tebia rabom. Ne byvat' etomu!* (Peasant! Polish Landowner want to enslave you! This should never happen!), 1920. Lithograph, 20 5/8 x 13 7/8" (52.4 x 35.2 cm)

• **Plate 19.** *Na pomoshch' panam! Poslednie rezervy Marshala Fosha* (To the Aid of Polish Gentry! The Last Reserves of Marshal Foch), 1920. Lithograph, 22 1/8 x 18 3/8" (56.2 x 46.7 cm)



• **Plate 20.** *Palachi terzaiut Ukrainu, Smert' palacham!* (Executioners torture Ukraine. Death to the Executioners!), 1920. Lithograph.

**Note:** This poster shows a Polish Pan (Gentry) putting nails in a young woman (symbolizing "Ukraine") to the stake. He is aided by Symon Petlyura (1879-1926), commander-in-chief of the Ukrainian Army and counter-revolutionary in the Russian Civil War (1918-1921).



• **Plate 21.** *Frantsuzskaia bulka golodnomu* (French Loaf to the Hungry), 1921. Lithograph, 21 x 27 3/4" (53.4 x 70.5 cm)

• **Plate 22.** *Speshi pana pokrepche! Barona tozhe ne zabud'* (Hurry up to Beat up the Polish Gentry, but don't forget about the Baron Wrangel as well), 1920s. Lithograph, 20 3/4 x 27 1/4" (52.7 x 69.2 cm)



• **Plate 23** *Uchreditel'noe sobranie* (Constituent Assembly), 1921.  
Lithograph, 28 3/4 x 21" (73 x 53.3 cm)



• **Plate 24.** *Tretii Internatsional* (The Third International), 1921.  
Lithograph, 17 3/16 x 14 1/8" (43.6 x 35.9 cm)

# **Sergei Ivanovich Ivanov**

**(1885-1942)**



• **Plate 25.** *Chтение—odna iz obiazonnostei cheloveka* (Reading is One of a Person's Responsibilities), 1920. Lithograph, 18 3/4 x 25 5/8" (47.6 x 65.1 cm)



• **Plate 26.** *Tovarishchi vodniki, v Vashikh rukakh sud'ba nashei promyshlennosti* (Comrades, the Fate of our Industry is in Your Hands), 1920. Lithograph, 42 x 28" (106.7 x 71.1 cm)

• **Plate 27.** *Vse za rabotu. Kazhdyyi udar molota umen'shit razrukhu* (Everyone Should Work. Each Hammer Blow will Reduce Devastation), 1920. Lithograph, 36 1/4 x 25 1/2" (92.1 x 64.8 cm)





• **Plate 28.** *Zheleznodorozhnik, stoi na strazhe krasnogo puti!*  
(Railroad Worker, Guard the Red Track!), 1920.  
Lithograph, 39 3/8 x 26 3/8" (100 x 67 cm)

• **Plate 29.** *Kniga nichto inoe, kak chelovek, govoriashchii publichno*  
(A Book Is Nothing but a Person Speaking Publicly), 1920.  
Lithograph, 25 1/4 x 18 1/2" (64.1 x 47 cm)

# **Nikolai Mikhailovich Kochergin**

**(1897-1974)**



• Plate 30. *Kapital i Ko* (Capital and Co.), 1920.  
Lithograph, 17 5/8 x 10 5/16" (44.8 x 26.2 cm)



• **Plate 31.** *Militsionnaia armiia—armii truda* (Army of Labor), 1920.  
Lithograph, 30 5/16 x 21 5/16" (77 x 54.1 cm)



• **Plate 32.** *Wrangel idet! K oruzhiu, proletariat!*  
(Wrangel is Coming—to Arms, Proletariat!), 1920.  
Lithograph, 21 x 28" (53.3 x 71.1 cm)

# **Nikolai Nikolaevich Kogout**

**(1891-1915)**



- **Plate 33.** *Tebia tvoi vragi putem obmana i zapugivaniia posylaiut na voinu protiv menia, tvoego brata* (Your Enemies Send You to War against me, your Brother, Using Deception and Intimidation), 1920. Lithograph, 28 x 21" (71.1 x 53.3 cm)

**Note:** The upper panel shows a Red Cavalryman facing a Crimean Tatar soldier, behind whom lurks Baron Wrangel with his acolytes—the bourgeoisie, the French General Joffre and the Entente. (Text in Russian and Tartar)



• **Plate 34** *Ot mira k svetu. Ot bitve k knige. Ot gorja k schast'iu* (Book with slogan: "From Darkness to Light; from Battle to Books; from Sadness to Joy"), 1921. Lithograph, 20 1/2 x 27 1/2" (52.1 x 69.9 cm)





• Plate 35. *S Novym godom* (Happy New Year), 1922.  
Lithograph, 31 1/8 x 23 1/16" (79.1 x 58.6 cm)

# **Vladimir Ivanovich Kozlinsky**

**(1891-1967)**

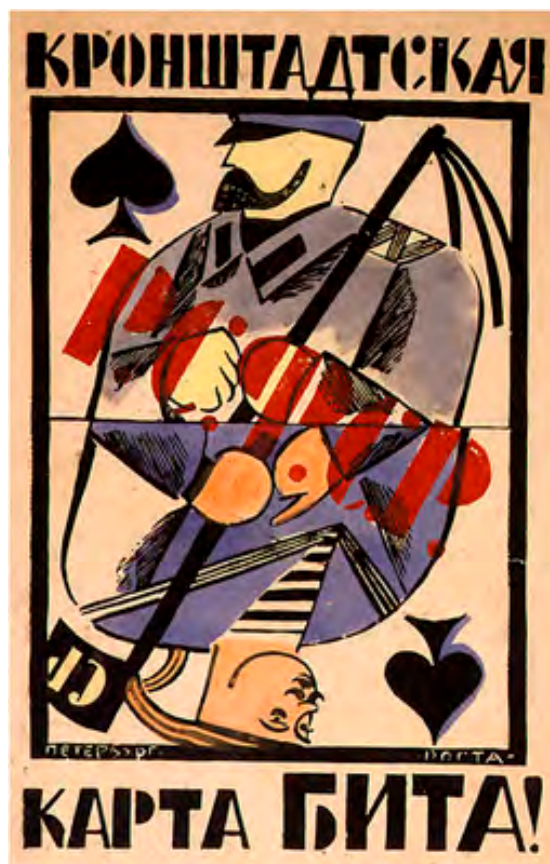


• **Plate 36.** *Deviatym ianvaria klianemsia zavoevat' kommunizm vo vsem mire* ( We swear by all people who lost their lives on January 9, 1905 [on the Bloody Sunday] that we are taking an oath to spread Communism all over the world!) Petrograd ROSTA Windows, 1920. Hand-colored linocut.



• **Plate 37.** *Mertvetsy Parizhskoi kommuny voskresli pod krasnym znamenem Sovetov!* (The Dead of the Paris Commune have Risen Again under the Red Banner of the Soviets!). Petrograd ROSTA Windows, 1921. Hand-colored linocut, 30 5/8 x 18 3/16" (77.8 x 46.2 cm)

• **Plate 38.** *Porabotaesh'--budet muka, posidish' slozha ruki--budet ne muká, a múka* (Work and there will be flour. Sit with crossed arms and there will not be flour (muká) but suffering (múka)). Petrograd ROSTA Windows, 1921. Linocut, 26 1/16 x 16 1/2" (66.2 x 41.9 cm)



- **Plate 39.** *Nesmotria na trekhletnie usilia vragov vesego mira, revoliutsiia idet gigantskimi shagami* (Despite the Efforts of the Enemies Throughout the World over the Past Three Years, the Revolution Makes Great Strides!). Petrograd ROSTA Windows, 1920.  
Linocut, 28 1/8 x 19 5/8" (71.4 x 49.8 cm)

Acquired by MoMA (March 2018).

- **Plate 40.** *The Kronstadt card is beaten!*. Petrograd ROSTA Windows, 1921.  
Linocut, 24 1/2 x 13 1/2" (62.2 x 34.3 cm)

Acquired by MoMA (March 2018).

# **Nikolai Nikolaevich Kupreyanov**

**(1894-1933)**



• **Plate 41.** *Grazhdane, khranite pamiatniki iskusstva* (Citizens, Protect Cultural Monuments), 1919. Lithograph, 29 1/4 x 19 7/8" (74.3 x 50.5 cm)



• **Plate 42.** *Tret'ia godovshchina (25 oktiabria)* (The Third Anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution, October 25), 1920. Lithograph, 27 7/8 x 19 1/4" (70.8 x 48.9 cm)





- **Plate 43.** *My versty rel's nedavno rzhavykh sotrem millionami koles, chtob vikhrem v krasnuiu Varshavu vletel sovetskii paravoz* (A poem about the Soviet Locomotive in Warsaw). Kostroma ROSTA Windows, 1920. Lithograph, 16 1/2 x 21 7/8" (41.9 x 55.6 cm)

# **Anton Mikhailovich Lavinsky**

**(1893-1968)**



• Plate 44. Papirosy "Klad" i Premiia (Poster advertising Treasure cigarettes and the prize), 1924. Lithograph, 42 x 28" (106.7 x 71.1 cm)



- **Plate 45.** *Otkryta podpiska na Kommunisticheskii International na 1926 god* (Subscription is open for the Communist International journal for the year 1926), 1926. Lithograph, 28 1/4 x 21" (71.7 x 53.3 cm)

**Vladimir Vasil'evich  
Lebedev  
(1891-1967)**



• Plate 46. *Chastushki* (Humorous Ditties). Petrograd ROSTA Windows, 1920.  
Hand-colored linocut, 27 9/16 x 22 3/8" (70 x 56.8 cm)

• Plate 47. *Prodoval'stvennyi nalog* (The Food Tax). Petrograd ROSTA Windows, 1920.  
Hand-colored linocut, 25 3/16 x 21 3/4" (64 x 55.2 cm)



• **Plate 48.** *Krest'ianin, esli ty ne khochesh' kormit' pomeshchika, nakormi front, zashchishchaiushchii tvoiu zemliu i tvoiu svobodu* (Peasant, if You Don't Want to Feed the Landowner, Feed the Front which is Defending Your Land and Your Freedom). Petrograd ROSTA Windows, 1920. Hand-colored linocut, 28 1/16 x 16 5/16" (71.3 x 41.4 cm)



• **Plate 49.** *Krest'ianin, esli ty vez khleb gosudarstvu , i u tebia slomas' cheka, beda nevelika. Esli zhe ty zakhochesh' im spekul'nut', to popadesh' v Cheka, i vot togda—beda* (Peasant, if You Are Taking Bread to the Government, and Your Wagon Hitch Breaks Down, You Are Not in Much Trouble. But if You Try to Sell the Bread for Profit, You'll Be Taken to the Cheka [former name for KGB], and Then You Are in Trouble). Petrograd ROSTA Windows, 1920. Hand-colored linocut, 27 5/8 x 16 11/16" (70.2 x 42.4 cm)

• **Plate 50.** *The Red Army and Navy Defending Russia's Borders*, 1922. Lithograph, 8 3/8 x 7 1/4" (21.3 x 18.4 cm)





• **Plate 51.** *Ch'ia voz'met?* (Who will Win?), 1920.  
Hand-colored linocut, 21 1/8 x 24 1/4" (53.6 x 61.6 cm)

# **El Lissitzky**

**(1890-1941)**



• Plate 52. *Istoriia VKP (b). XIV Vsesoiuznaia konferentsiia RKP (b), 1925. Industrializatsiia SSSR. (1925: XIV All-Union Conference of the Communist Party. Industrialization of the USSR. Poster No. 26 from "The Bolsheviks History in Posters" series), 1927. Lithograph, 28 1/8 x 21 1/8" (71.4 x 53.6 cm)*



• Plate 53. 1926. Bor'ba opozitsionnogo bloka protiv Partii (1926. Fight of the Opposition Block Against the Communist Party. Poster No. 27 from "The Bolsheviks History in Posters" series), 1927. Lithograph, 28 1/8 x 21 1/8" (71.4 x 53.6 cm)

**Ivan Andreevich Maliutin**  
**(Malyutin)**  
**(1891 - 1932)**



• **Plate 54.** *My voiuem s panskim rodom, a ne s pol'skim trudovym narodom!* (We are Fighting against the Polish Gentry not against the Polish Working Class!) ROSTA Windows, 1920. Lithograph, 25 3/8 x 17 1/2" (66.4 x 44.4 cm)



• **Plate 55.** *Na pol'skii front* (To the Polish Front). ROSTA Windows, 1920. Lithograph, 22 7/16 x 19 1/8" (57 x 48.6 cm)

• **Plate 56.** *Gde rabota, idite tuda: Pervoe maia—prazdnik truda* (Go Where the Work is: First of May is a Holiday of Labor), 1920. Lithograph, 25 3/8 x 17 5/8" (64.4 x 44.8 cm)



- **Plate 57.** *Esli ne khotite vozvrashchat'sa k proshlomu — vintovku v ruki! Na pol'skii front!* (If you don't Want to Return to the Past — To the Arms! To the Polish Front!). ROSTA Windows, 1920. Lithograph, 19 7/8 x 26 15/16" (50.5 x 68.4 cm)

- **Plate 58.** *Svobodu zasluzhivaet tol'ko tot, kto ee s vintovkoi otstaivat' idet* (Only He Who Fights for Freedom Deserves It), 1920. Lithograph, 17 3/4 x 19 1/4" (45.1 x 48.9 cm)





- **Plate 59.** *Esli ne khotite voevat' bol'she, idite voinei protiv panskoi Pol'shi* (If you no longer want to fight in the war, start the war against Poland ruled by the Gentry) ROSTA Windows, 1920. Lithograph, 19 1/4 x 14 1/2" (48.9 x 36.8 cm)

Acquired by MoMA (March 2018).



• **Plate 60.** *K Rossii s mirom tianetsia rukoi— a poliakam vintovki podaet drugoi* (One Hand Offers Russia Peace but the Other One Arms the Polish People). ROSTA Windows, 1920. Lithograph, 21 1/16 x 23 3/16" (53.5 x 58.9 cm)

Acquired by MoMA (March 2018).

**Vladimir Vladimirovich  
Mayakovsky  
(1893-1930)**



• **Plate 61.** *Pomogai dobrovol'no!* (Volunteer to Help!). ROSTA Windows No.535, 1920. Lithograph.



- **Plate 62.** *Ukraintsev i russkikh klich odin—da ne budet pan nad rabochim gospodin!* (Ukrainians and Russians Have a Common War Cry—Polish Gentrys will not be Master of the Worker!) ROSTA Windows, 1920. Lithograph.

**Note:** This poster satirizes the Polish Gentry at the time of the Russo-Polish War of 1919-20.



• **Plate 63.** *Na pol'skii front* (To the Polish Front) ROSTA Windows, 1920. Lithograph, 20 7/8 x 27 7/8" (53 x 70.8 cm)

Acquired by MoMA (March 2018).

**Dmitrii Stakhievich Moor**  
**(Orlov)**  
**(1883-1946)**



• **Plate 64.** *Ptashki tsarskie* (The Birds of the Tsar), 1917-1922.  
Lithograph, 27 3/16 x 20 3/16" (69 x 51.3 cm)

**Note:** The black on red headlines reads: "It is too early for the bird to sing—the cat might get it." The two fat White Army generals, Denikin and Yudenich, are depicted in the upper panel of the poster, while their friends look on in horror as a Capitalist (shown in the lower panel) suffers a meltdown under his top hat.

• **Plate 65.** *Chertova kukla* (The Devil's Puppet), 1920.  
Lithograph, 27 1/4 x 17 3/4" (69.2 x 45.1 cm)

**Note:** Moor's Red Cavalryman uncloaks Baron Wrangel exposing his clandestine support from foreign powers—British Prime Minister Lloyd-George, French military commander Foch and others.





• **Plate 66.** *Sovetskaia Rossiia—osazhdennyi lager'. Vse na oboronu!* (Soviet Russia is like a Besieged Camp. All on Defense!), 1919. Lithograph, 35 5/8 x 26 5/8" (90.5 x 67.6 cm)



• **Plate 67.** *Ukhodiashchaia shliakhta... Proklat'e i smert' naemnym ubiitsam!*  
 (The Departing Gentry...Damnation and Death to the Assassins!), 1919.  
 Lithograph, 40 1/2 x 26 1/2" (102.9 x 67.3 cm)

# Moor



• **Plate 68.** *Tovarishchi musul'mane* (Comrades Muslims), 1919.  
Lithograph, 39 1/4 x 27" (99.7 x 68.6 cm)

• **Plate 69.** *Poslednii, reshitel'nyi boi* (The Last Decisive Battle), 1920.  
Lithograph, 42 x 26 1/2" (106.7 x 67.3 cm)



• **Plate 70.** *Narodam Kavkaza* (To the People of the Caucasus), 1920.  
Lithograph, 27 11/16 x 31 1/4" (70.3 x 79.4 cm)

• **Plate 71.** *Oktiabr' 1917-oktiabr' 1920. Da zdravstvuet vsemirnyi Krasnyi Oktiabr'!*  
(October 1917-October 1920. Long Live the Worldwide Red October!), 1920.  
Lithograph, 27 1/4 x 41 5/8" (69.2 x 105.7 cm)



• **Plate 72.** *1 oe Maia- Vserossiiski stubbotnik* (First of May- an All Russian Voluntary Work Day), 1920.  
Lithograph, 31 1/2 x 27 7/8" (80 x 70.8 cm)

• **Plate 73.** *Krasnyi podarok belomu panu. Dvin' ka etim chemodanchikom pana v lob* (A Red Present to the White Pan), 1920.  
Lithograph, 32 1/4 x 23 1/2" (81.9 x 59.7 cm)



• **Plate 74.** *Prezhde: Odin s soshkoi, semero s lozhkoi; Teper': Kto ne rabotaet, tot ne est* (Before: One with the Plough; Seven with a Spoon; Now: He who does not Work Shall not Eat), 1920. Lithograph, 18 x 13" (45.7 x 33 cm)

• **Plate 75.** *Petrograd ne otdadim!* (We will not Surrender Petrograd!), 1919. Lithograph, 41 15/16 x 27 11/16" (106.5 x 70.3 cm)



• **Plate 76.** *Vrangel' eshche zhiv, dobei ego bez poshchady* (Wrangel is still Alive! Finish him off without Mercy!), 1920. Lithograph, 27 x 19 5/8" (68.6 x 49.8 cm)



• **Plate 77.** *Da zdravstvuet III International* (Long Live the Third International), 1920. Lithograph, 42 1/2 x 27" (108 x 68.6 cm)





• **Plate 82.** *Pomogi* (Help!), 1921.  
Lithograph, 41 x 26 1/2" (104.1 x 67.3 cm)



• **Plate 83.** *Nakanune vseмирной revoliutsii* (On the Eve of the World Revolution), 1920.  
Lithograph, 43 x 28 3/4" (109.2 x 73 cm)

• **Plate 84.** *Krasnyi strazh ne khochet krovi, no stoit on nagotove* (The Red Guard does not Want Blood, but Stands Always Ready), 1921.  
Lithograph, 42 x 27 7/8" (106.7 x 70.8 cm)



• **Plate 85.** *Rozhdestvo* (Christmas), 1921.  
Lithograph, 28 x 42 1/8" (71.1 x 107 cm)

• **Plate 86.** *Bezbozhnik u stanka* (Atheist at the Workbench), 1923-1931.  
Lithograph, 14 x 21 1/8" (35.6 x 53.6 cm)



• **Plate 87.** Advertising poster for *Bezbozhnik* (The Godless), 1922.  
Lithograph, 38 3/4 x 26 1/4" (98.4 x 66.7 cm)

• **Plate 88.** Cover for *Bezbozhnik* (The Godless), no. 01, 1922.  
Letterpress, 14 x 10 1/2" (35.6 x 26.7 cm)



• **Plate 89.** Cover for *Bezbozhnik u stanka* (Atheist at the Workbench), no. 11, 1924. Letterpress, 14 x 10 1/2" (35.6 x 26.7 cm)

• **Plate 90.** *Piatyi god izdaniia. Podpisyvaites' na Bezbozhnik u stanka* (5th Year of Publication. Subscribe for the *Atheist at the Workbench*), 1927. Lithograph, 27 3/4 x 21 3/16" (70.5 x 53.8 cm)

# **Aleksei Aleksandrovich Radakov**

**(1879- 1942)**



• **Plate 91.** *Samoderzhavnyi stori* (Autocratic Structure), 1917.  
Lithograph, 21 3/8 x 21 9/16" (54.3 x 54.8 cm)



• **Plate 92.** *Bezgramotnyi tot zhe slepoi. Vsiudu ego zhdut neudachi i neschast'ia* (The Illiterate Person is Like a Blind Man), 1920. Lithograph, 37 13/16 x 26" (96 x 66 cm)





• Plate 93. *Vernyi drug* (Faithful Friend), 1920. Lithograph, 27 1/2 x 19 3/4" (69.8 x 50.2 cm)

# **Aleksandr Mikhailovich Rodchenko**

**(1891-1956)**



- **Plates 94 and 95.** Advertising posters for the state airline Dobrolet, 1923. Each: Lithograph, 13 ¼ x 17 ¾ (33.7 x 45.1 cm)

**Inscription:** Everyone...Everyone...Everyone...He who is not a stockholder in Dobrolet is not a citizen of the USSR. /One gold ruble makes anyone a stockholder in Dobrolet.



• Plate 96. Advertising poster for the state airline Dobrolet, 1923.  
Lithograph, 27 3/4 x 20 3/4" (70.5 x 52.7 cm)



• Plates 97 and 98. Advertising posters for the state airline Dobrolet, 1923.

**Left:** Lithograph, 27 3/4 x 20 1/8" (70.5 x 51.1 cm)

**Right:** Lithograph, 42 1/8 x 27 1/8" (107 x 68.9 cm)

**Inscription (left):** Buy Stocks/Dobrolet creates commercial airline—the basis for the USSR economic development

**Inscription (right):** Shame on you, your name is not yet on the list of Dobrolet stockholders./The whole country follows this list

Both acquired by MoMA (March 2018).



• Plate 99. Poster advertising subscription for *LEF* magazine, 1924. Lithograph, 26 7/8 x 20 7/8" (68.3 x 53 cm)

• Plate 100. *Izdatel'stvo Molodaia gvardia*. Poster advertising *The Young Guard* publishing house, 1924. Lithograph, 32 7/8 x 23 13/16" (83.5 x 60.5 cm)



- **Plates 101 and 102.** Advertisements for Rezinotrest (Rubber Trust), 1923. Text by Vladimir Mayakovsky.  
 Left: Lithograph, 28 3/16 x 19 13/16" (71.6 x 50.3 cm)  
 Right: Lithograph, 27 5/8 x 19 7/8" (70.2 x 50.5 cm)

**Inscription (left):** *Raskupai vostochny liud! Luchshie galoshi privez verbliud. Rezinotrest* (Buy! People of the East! The best galoshes brought on camel/Rezinotrest)

**Inscription (right):** *Galoshi rezinotresta. Prosto vostorg! Nosiat sever, zapad, iug i vostok* (Galoshes of the Rubber Trust. Simply a Delight! Worn North, West, South and East)



- **Plates 103 and 104.** Advertisements for *Stolovoe maslo* (Cooking Oil), circa 1923.

**Inscription:** Cooking oil/Attention working masses/Three times cheaper than butter/More nutritious than other oils/Nowhere else as at Mossel'prom.

**Left:** Collage with gouache, ink, pencil and cut paper (maquette for poster), 33 x 23" (83.8 x 58.4 cm)

**Right:** Lithograph, 26 11/16 x 19 1/2" (67.8 x 49.3 cm)

Both acquired by MoMA (March 2018).





• Plates 105 to 126. *Istoriia VKP (b) v plakatakh* (The History of the VKP(b) [All-Russian Communist Party] in Posters), 1925-26.  
A series of twenty-five lithographic posters. Each: 27 x 20 ½ (68.6 x 52 cm)

Note: Contains all posters with the exception of No. 8-9.





# Posters by various artists



- **Plate 127.** Designer unknown. *Vseobshchee voennoe obucheniye — zalog pobedy!* *Sil'na rabochego ruka s vintovkoi vernoi u stanka* (Universal Military Training is Half the Battle/A Strong Worker Keeps His Rifle by His Machine), 1919. Lithograph, 41 3/4 x 28" (106 x 71.1 cm)



• **Plate 128.** Designer unknown. *Unichtozhenie progula/Uvelichenie transporta/Usilenie snabzheniia* (Eliminating Unauthorized Days off/ Increasing the Number of Vehicles/Increasing the Supplies), 1920. Lithograph, 27 3/4 x 41 3/4" (70.5 x 106 cm)

• **Plate 129.** Designer unknown. *Proletarii vseh stran, soediniates'!* (Workers of the World, Unite!), 1921. Lithograph, 13 3/4 x 20 7/8" (34.9 x 53 cm)

**Text:** *Kazhdyi udar trudovogo molota ne tol'ko kuet osnovy khoziaistvennogo vozrozhdeniia sovetskoj respubliki, no takzhe ukrepliaet soiuz proletariev vseh stran i b'et po mednomu lbu mezhdunarodnoi burzhuazii* (Each strike of your hammer not only helps the Soviet Republic's economic revival, but it also strengthens the worldwide proletarian union and simultaneously strikes the worldwide bourgeoisie in their foreheads)



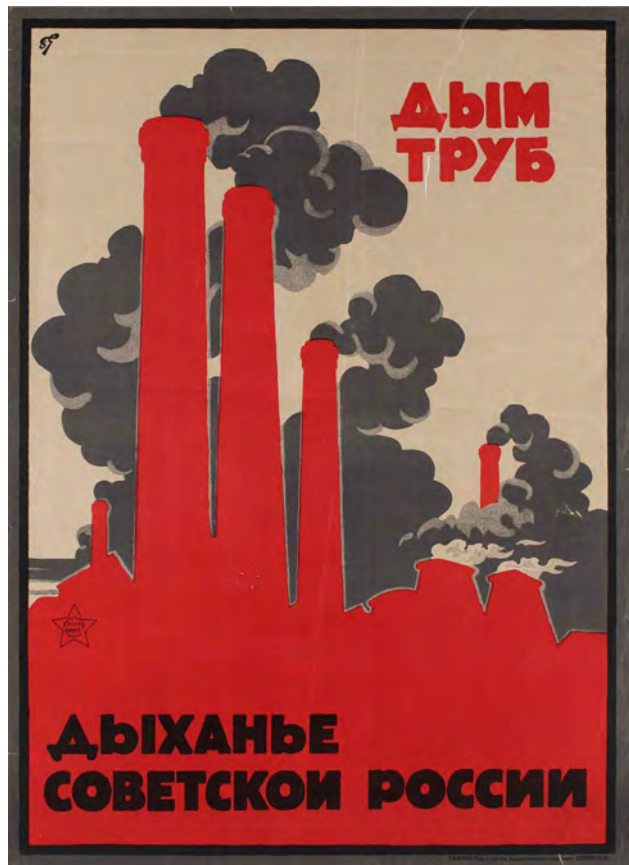
• **Plate 130.** Designer unknown. *Proletarii derevni i goroda, soediniaytes'!* (Village Proletarians and City Proletarians, Unite!), 1919. Lithograph, 23 3/8 x 17" (59.3 x 42.3 cm)



• **Plate 131.** Designer unknown. *Oni dadut Sovetskoi Rossii ugol'—velichaihuu dvigatel'snuu silu. Dai im mashiny, odezhdu, podvezi prodovol'stvie* (They will Give Coal to the Soviet Russia. Give Them Cars, Clothing, and Food), 1921. Lithograph, 28 x 21" (71.1 x 53.3 cm)



• **Plate 132.** Designer unknown. *Gornorabochii, pomni! Oktiabr'skaia revoliutsiia dala tebe luchshee v mire zakonodatel'stvo po okhrane truda!* (Coal Miner, remember! The Bolshevik Revolution Gave You the World's Best Labor Protection Legislation), 1920. Lithograph, 36 1/8 x 25 1/4" (91.7 x 64.1 cm)



• **Plate 133.** Designer unknown. *Dym trub Dykhan'ie Sovetskoi Rossii* (Chimney Smoke is the Lifeblood of Soviet Russia), circa 1917-1921. Lithograph, 37 x 27 1/4" (94 x 69.2 cm)





- **Plate 134.** Designer unknown. *Gornorabochii! Kazhdyi pud uglia ili rudy , dobytyi toboiu, est' toplivo dlia kostra revoliutsii, pered plamenem kotorogo obratiatsia v begstvo vse tvoi vragi!* (Coal Miner! Each Pood of Coal or Ore Extracted by You is Fuel for the Fire of the Revolution. All Your Enemies will Take Flight from its Flame), 1920. Lithograph, 38 x 26 1/8" (96.5 x 66.3 cm)



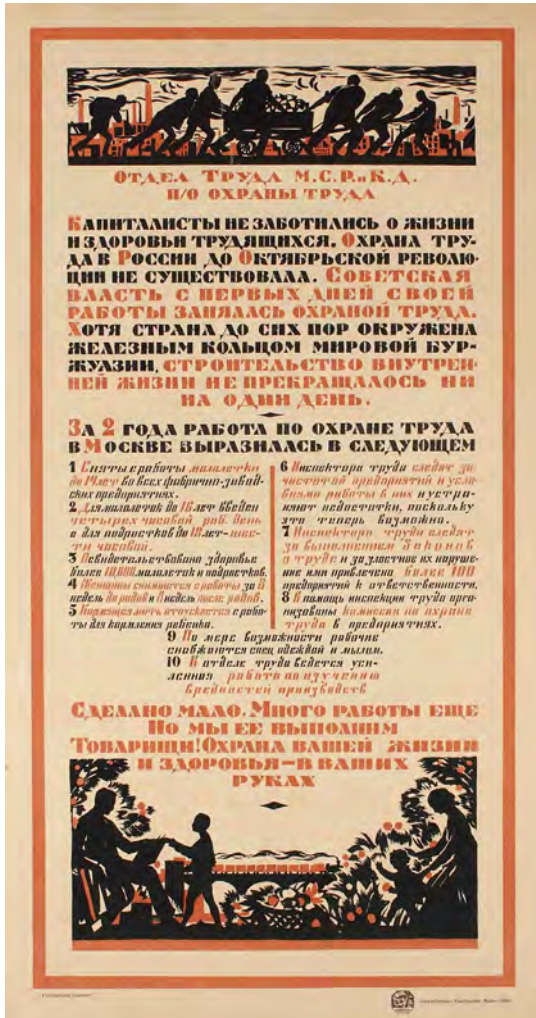
• **Plate 135.** Designer unknown. *Tri roku sotsial'noi revoliutsii* (Three Years of the Socialist Revolution), 1920. Lithograph, 30 1/4 x 22 3/4" (76.8 x 57.8 cm)



• **Plate 136.** Designer unknown. *Idite v Kommunisticheskuiu partiiu!* (Join the Communist Party), 1920.  
Lithograph. 26 1/4 x 33 7/8" (66.7 x 86 cm)



• **Plate 137.** Designer unknown. *Gibel' burzhuaznoi Pompei; 1917 -Krasnyi Oktiabr'-1920* (Downfall of the Bourgeois Pompeii; 1917 Red October 1920), 1920. Lithograph, 28 1/8 x 20 3/8" (71.4 x 51.8 cm)



• **Plate 138.** Designer unknown. *Kapitalisty ne zabolilis' o zhizni i zdorov'e trudiashchikhsia* (Capitalists did not Take Care of Workers' Lives and Health), 1920. Lithograph, 41 1/2 x 22" (105.4 x 55.8 cm)

• **Plate 139.** Mikhail Il'ich Evstaf'ev. *My nesem miru svobodu* (We are Bringing Freedom to the World), 1921. Lithograph, 42 x 23 1/2" (106.7 x 59.7 cm)



УКРАИНСКАЯ СОЦИАЛИСТИЧЕСКАЯ СОВЕТСКАЯ РЕСПУБЛИКА.

Пролетарии всех стран, соединитесь!

# ФРОЛ В СПЕКУЛЯНТАХ



На танки сегодня мода,  
Осмена рабочий путь.  
Хитрый Фрол ушел с завода,  
На свободе „спекулянуть“.



Посова в раздумьи лелею,  
Усмехнулся на лету.  
— Мол, солидный капиталец,  
Ни за грош приобретаю.



Грызю «абричню» по-честу,  
Фрол недаром головаст.  
Купит что-нибудь за тысячу,  
За три тысячи продаст.



Словом, вышло б много толку,  
Да судьбина подвела.  
Рассудительного Фролу  
Тем, что Фролом нет числа!



Все не прочь пробраться в барю  
И теперь в конце концов.  
Нет народу на базаре,  
Не считая продавцов!



И н' тому-ж, от этой моды  
(Удивительная бланка!)  
Стали в городе заводы,  
Не сработал — не продашь!



Зубы стало бить на полну?  
Благовещенский не мал.  
Разбирает злора Фролу,  
Сам себя перехитрил!



Этот тип вредней, чем гриб нам,  
Что обсел древесный ствол.  
Признавайтесь, на Рыбном,  
Вам не раз встречался Фрол?

ИЗДАТЕЛЬСТВО УКРАИНСКОГО ГОСУДАРСТВЕННОГО УЧЕБНО-МЕТОДИЧЕСКОГО ЦЕНТРА 1920 г.

## ФРОЛЫ СПЕКУЛЯНТЫ — ПОЗОР РАБОЧЕГО КЛАССА!



ИЗДАТЕЛЬСТВО УКРАИНСКОГО ГОСУДАРСТВЕННОГО УЧЕБНО-МЕТОДИЧЕСКОГО ЦЕНТРА 1920 г.

• Plate 140. Designer unknown. *Frol v spekuliantakh* (Frol the Speculator — Those like Frol the Speculator are the Working Class' Embarrassment), 1920. Lithograph, 26 x 29 1/8" (66 x 74 cm)

### ЧТО ДАСТ СИБИРЬ СОВЕТСКОЙ РОССИИ.



• **Plate 141.** Konstantin Vasilievich Spassky. *Chto dast Sibir' Sovetskoi Rossii? Krasnaia Sibir' podderzhivaet Krasnuiu Armiiu v bor'be s vragami trudiaschikhhsia. Da zdravstvuet Sovetskaia raboche-krestianskaia Sibir'!* (What Can Siberia Offer to Soviet Russia? Red Siberia Supports the Red Army in Her Struggle Against Enemies of the Working Class. Long Live the Soviet Siberia of Workers and Peasants!), 1919. Lithograph, 28 1/4 x 20 1/2" (71.7 x 52.1 cm)



• Plate 142. Vasilii Vasilievich Spassky. *Dubinushka (Pesnia)* (Song "Dubinushka"), 1919. Lithograph, 25 1/4 x 18 3/4" (64.1 x 47.6 cm)





• **Plate 143.** Designer unknown. *Dorogu, transport my naladim...* (We'll improve the roads and other means of transportation), circa 1920s. Lithograph, 18 x 22 5/8" (45.7 x 57.5 cm)



• **Plate 144.** Designer unknown. *1 maia* (May 1), 1920.  
Lithograph, 19 1/2 x 25 1/4" (49.5 x 64 cm)

• **Plate 145.** Attributed to Vladimir Vladimirovich Mayakovsky. *Rak pyatitsia nazad, a shchuka tashchit v vodu* (The Crab and the Pike Pull in Opposite Directions) ROSTA Windows, 1920s.  
Lithograph, 19 x 23 3/8" (48.5 x 59.4 cm)

**Inscription under the image of the worker:** Angliia (England)

**Inscription under the image of the Capitalist:** Frantsiia (France)



• **Plate 146.** Designer unknown. *Gotov'sia k zime!* (Get Ready for Winter!), 1920. Lithograph, 42 3/4 x 28" (108.6 x 71.1 cm)

• **Plate 147.** Designer unknown. *Meshochnik—vrag transporta, vrag respublik* (A Hoarder is an Enemy of Transportation and the Republic), 1920. Lithograph, 29 3/4 x 42" (75.6 x 106.7 cm)

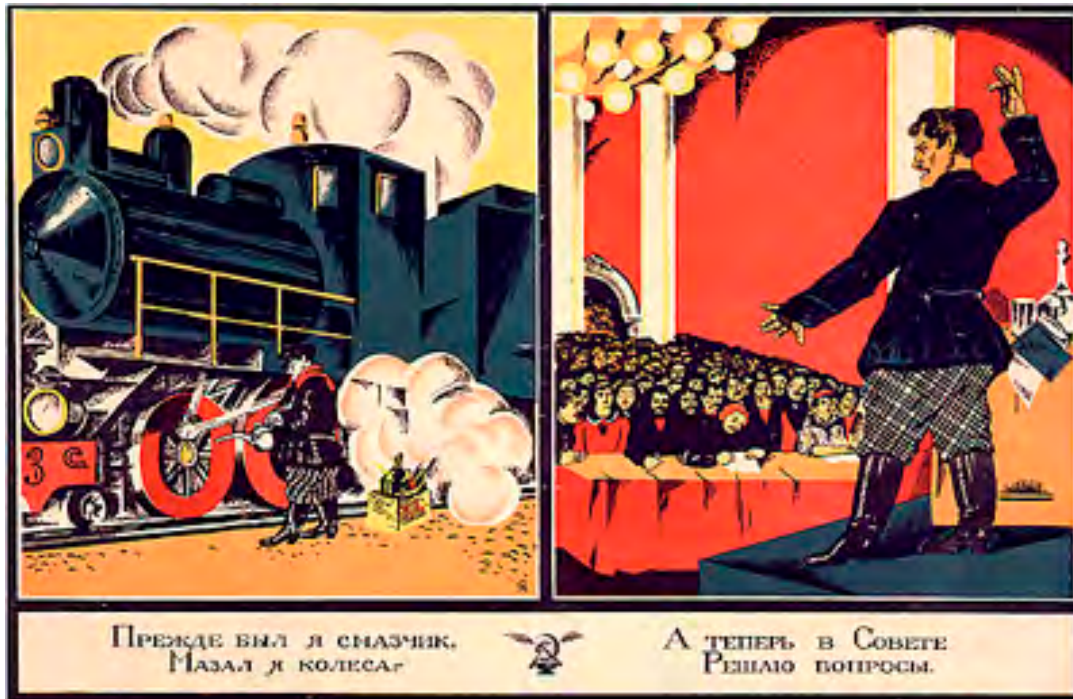
• **Plate 148.** Vasilii Vasilievich Spassky. *Tovarishch, okhraniai mosty!* (Guard the Bridges, Comrade!), circa 1920. Lithograph, 20 7/8 x 27" (53 x 68.6 cm)



• **Plate 149.** Władysław Strzemiński. *Krasnaja Armija geroiski srazhaetsia na fronte/ Krasnyi tyl dolzhen pomoch' krasnomu frontu* (The Red Army is heroically fighting at the front/ The Red Households should help the Red Army's front). Smolensk ROSTA, 1920. Lithograph 28 5/8 x 17 11/16" (72.7 x 44.9 cm)



• **Plate 150.** Nikolai Nikolaevich Pomansky. *Net topliva. Vse mertvo. Vezite toplivo—vse ozhivet. V gorode rabochii merznet, sem'ia ego dragnet. Bolezni' k nam podkradyvaetsia, robotat' nemyslimo* (If there is no Fuel, Everything is Dead. Provide Fuel—Everything will become Alive...), 1920. Lithograph, 28 x 41 3/4" (71.1 x 106 cm)



• **Plate 151.** Designer unknown. *Prezhde byl ia smazchik, mazal ia koleasa. A teper' v Sovete reshau voprosy.* (I used to maintain train wheels, but now I solve problems for the Soviets)., 1920s. Lithograph, 13 7/8 x 20 7/8" (35.2 x 53 cm)





• **Plate 153.** Attributed to Veniamin Pavlovich Belkin. *V kooperatsii—zalog uspekha stroitel'stva sotsializma* (Cooperation is the Recipe for Successfully Building Socialism)  
Lithograph, 31 1/8 x 21 3/4" (79 x 55.2 cm)

• **Plate 154.** Grigorii Solomonovich Bershadsky. *Rabotnitsy i krest'ianki! Idite v kooperatsiiu!* (Female workers and female peasants! Join the Cooperative Movement), circa 1920s.  
Lithograph, 28 7/8 x 18" (73.3 x 45.7 cm)





• **Plate 155.** Ilya Pavlovich Makarychev and Semen Borisovich Raev. *Kazhdaia kukharka dolzhna nauchit'sia upravliat' gosudarstvom (Lenin)* (V.I. Lenin: "Every Female Cook Should Learn How to Govern the State"), 1925. Lithograph, 42 1/4 x 28 1/2" (107.3 x 72.4 cm)

Acquired by MoMA (March 2018)



• **Plate 156.** Designer unknown. *Pokupaite obligatsii 2go khlebnogo zaima* (Buy the 2nd Bread State Bonds), circa 1923. Lithograph, 27 7/8 x 42" (70.8 x 106.7 cm)



• **Plate 157.** Mechislav Vasilievich Dobrokovsky. *Stroi promyslovuiu kooperatsiiu...* (Build Workers' Cooperatives), circa 1925. Lithograph, 28 3/8 x 21 3/16" (72.1 x 54 cm)



• **Plate 158.** Sergei Chekhonin. *Chitajte izdaniia gazety Pravda* (Read the Publications of the Newspaper *Pravda*), 1927.  
Lithograph. 21 5/8 x 28 7/8" (54.9 x 73.3 cm)

• **Plate 159.** Designer unknown. *Podpisyvaites' na ezhednevnuuiu gazetuu Izvestiia, ezhenedel'nyi zhurnal Krasnaia Niva, ezhemesiachnyi zhurnal Novyi mir* (Subscribe to the daily newspaper *Izvestiia*, weekly journal *Krasnaia Niva*, monthly journal *Novyi mir*), circa 1920s.  
Lithograph, 13 7/8 x 20 3/4" (35.2 x 52.7 cm)





• **Plate 161.** Designer unknown. *Dopomozhy pratsivnykovi cherez prodpodatok khlibom. Robitnyk rozdmukhaie hornyla, pechi, zadymliat fabryky i zavody - i mu vyidemo iz zlydnyv* ((Help a worker by paying a provision tax by bread. A worker will blow kilns and furnaces, factories and plants will emit smoke - and we will leave poverty behind), 1921. Lithograph, 28 x 17 3/8" (71.1 x 44.1 cm)



• **Plate 162.** Designer unknown. *Zbe remo uspishno prodovolchyi podatok Zmitsnymo vladu robitnyka i selianyina* (Let's collect the provision tax successfully. Make the power of a worker and a peasant stronger), 1921. Lithograph, 25 5/8 x 14 5/8" (65.1 x 37 cm)



• **Plate 163.** Designer unknown. *Prodpodatok ne zberem. Usi z holody pomrem Propade usia bidnota- tozh panam odna okhota.* (If we will not collect provision tax, we will all die of hunger. All the poor will die - hence the rich will rejoice), 1921. Lithograph, 14 x 22 3/4" (35.6 x 57.8 cm)

• **Plate 164.** Designer unknown. Poem by Demian Bedny, 1921. Lithograph, 18 7/8 x 24 1/2" (47.9 x 62.2 cm)



• **Plate 165.** Designer unknown. *Tovaryshchi seliane! Zdavaite khlিবnyi podatok Robitnyky y Chervona Armiiia Zhdut khliba! Podatok peremozhe holod: - otzhe Na dopomohu vsim trudiashchym!* (Comrades peasants! Deliver bread tax. Workers and Red Army are waiting for bread! Tax will overcome famine; hence to the rescue of all toiling masses!), 1921. Lithograph, 28 x 20 3/4" (71.1 x 52.7 cm)



• **Plate 166.** Designer unknown. *Try roky proletarskoi revolyutsii. Ruinu zalyshyly tsari i Kerensky robochomu liudu. V tiazhkiy triokhlyitny borotbi proletariat vidbudovuiе zhyttia.* (Three years of proletarian revolution. Ruin was left behind by tsars and Kerensky for working people to deal with. In difficult three-year struggle proletariat rebuilds life), 1919. Lithograph, 29 7/8 x 22 3/4" (75.8 x 57.8 cm)





• **Plate 167.** Dmitrii Ivanovich Mel'nikov. *Po kopeechke s krest'ianina sobralos' tserkvei ubranstvo--srebro i zoloto. Chto zh vy stali chernym stanom? Vse dolzhny otdat' krest'ianam, umiraiushchim ot goloda.* (The silver and gold church decorations were obtained with peasants' hard earned money. Why are you-- monks and other religious figures-- are protecting the church's wealth? You should give all church's wealth to the peasants dying of hunger), 1922. Lithograph, 42 1/8 x 28" (107 x 71.1 cm)

**УГОЛОВНЫЙ КОДЕКС**, утвержденный ВЦИК 24-V 1922 г.  
 гл. VII—ВОЙНСКИЕ ПРЕСТУПЛЕНИЯ.  
**Г Л А С И Т:**

Ст. 201. Оскорбление подчиненным командиром своего начальника при исполнении служебных обязанностей наказуемо, если оскорбление нанесено публично.

Если же оскорбление было нанесено только на службе или на общественном собрании...  
 Командир, оскорбивший на службе или на общественном собрании своего подчиненного, — не подлежит уголовной ответственности.

То же деяние, совершенное при тех же условиях, но не на службе или на общественном собрании, — не подлежит уголовной ответственности.

Тяжесть наказания зависит от степени виновности.

Если же оскорбление было нанесено только на службе или на общественном собрании...  
 Командир, оскорбивший на службе или на общественном собрании своего подчиненного, — не подлежит уголовной ответственности.

То же деяние, совершенное при тех же условиях, но не на службе или на общественном собрании, — не подлежит уголовной ответственности.

Тяжесть наказания зависит от степени виновности.

**За оскорбление подчиненным своего начальника  
 равно как за оскорбление начальником своего подчиненного  
 революционный суд карает тюрьмою**

**КОМАНДИР ОСКОРБЛЯЕТ  
 КРАСПОАРМЕЙЦА во время учения**    **КРАСПОАРМЕЕЦ ОСКОРБЛЯЕТ  
 КОМАНДИРА во время учения**    **ОБА ВИНОВНЫХ  
 НАКАЗАНЫ ТЮРЬМОЮ**

Литография выполнена в Петрограде. Коп. № 10000.

• **Plate 168.** Designer unknown. *Ugolovnyi kodeks, utverzhdennyi VTSIK 24-V 1922 g. gl. VII—voinskie prestupleniia, glisit: Za oskorblenie podchinennym svoego nachal'nika, rovno kak za oskorblenie nachal'nikom svoego podchinennogo, revoliutsionnyi sud karaet tiur'moi* (Criminal Code, Approved by VTSIK (All-Union Central Executive Committee) on May 24, 1922, Chapter VII—War Crimes, says: The Revolutionary Court sentences any soldier for insulting his commander and any commander for insulting his subordinate), 1922. Lithograph, 20 7/8 x 27 7/8" (53 x 70.8 cm)



• **Plate 169.** Designer unknown. *Dorogu nashemu krest'ianskomu khlebu v obmen na germanskije sel'sko-khoziaistvennye mashiny i orudija* (Let's exchange our peasants' bread for German agricultural machines and equipment), 1923. Lithograph, 27 3/4 x 41 1/2" (70.5 x 105.4 cm)

• **Plate 170.** Designer unknown. *Beresh' mashinu! Mashina daet urozhai* (Acquire a Machine! Machines Help with the Harvest), 1924. Lithograph, 27 7/8 x 42 1/8" (53 x 107 cm)



- **Plate 171.** Designer unknown. *Profsoiuzy—krepost' proletarskoi revoliutsii . 10 let edinogo profdvizheniia* (Trade Unions are the Bastion of the Proletarian Revolution. 10 Years of Trade Unions Movement), 1927. Lithograph, 43 x 28 1/4" (109.2 x 71.8 cm)

**Inscriptions:** Down with the War  
 Down with the Ministers-Capitalists  
 We demand an eight hour work day  
 We demand worker's control over the means of production  
 All power to the Soviets.



• **Plate 172.** Vasilii Sergeevich Pshenichnikov. SSSR—*soiuz trudiashchikhsia vsekh natsional'nostei* (The USSR is a Union of Workers of All Nationalities), 1927. Lithograph, 28 3/8 x 21 1/4" (59.4 x 54 cm)



• **Plate 173.** Yuri Pimenov. *Trudiashchiisia vostoka, ne zabyvai o stradaniakh tvoikh zarubezhnykh brat'ev! Vstupai v MOPR!* (Worker from the East, do not forget about the suffering of your brothers in other countries. Join the International Red Aid!), 1927. Lithograph, 28 3/8 x 21 5/8" (72.1 x 54.9 cm)

**Inscriptions:** (left to right) Landowners and capitalists severely torture revolutionary fighters; Imperialists conduct a dirty trial against revolutionaries from the East; Workers and peasants, fighting for the liberation of the East, languish behind iron bars; We will respond to the execution of revolutionary fighters by strengthening the International Red Aid!



• **Plate 174.** Designer unknown. *Os khto vynen u bezprytulnosti. Viina. Ruina. Poshesty. Bandytyzm. Holod. Bilohvardiyshchyna. Radianska vlada peremohla ikh. Vona peremozhe i bezprytulnist* (These are the culprits of youth homelessness: War. Ruin. Pestilence. Brigandage. Famine. White Army. Soviet power overcame them. It will overcome the youth homelessness), 1925. Lithograph, 41 1/8 x 27" (104.5 x 68.6 cm)



• **Plate 175.** Designer unknown. *Obov'iazky druha ditei na seli* (Duties of the Children's Friend in the Village), circa 1925. Lithograph, 42 x 27 1/2" (106.7 x 69.9 cm)

• **Plate 176.** Designer unknown. *Vid bazariv ta vokzaliv cherez nochlizhky ta yidalni druzi detei - povertajte bezprytulnogo do lav trudiashchykh* (From Markets and Railway Stations through Overnight Shelters and Eating Houses - Make Homeless Return to the Flank of Toiling Masses), circa 1925. Lithograph, 40 5/8 x 27 1/4" (103.2 x 69.2 cm)





• Plate 177. Designer unknown. *Lenin naibilshchyi v sviti Provodyr. Trudiashchyykh Lenin klyche do zhovtnia* (Lenin is World's Inspiration for Toiling Masses. Lenin Calls for October), 1925. Lithograph, 28 3/8 x 38 5/8" (72 x 98.1 cm)



• **Plate 178.** Gennadii Nikolaevich Komarov. *Rabotnitsa i krest'ianka/ Ukrepliai khoziaistvo goroda i derevni/vstupai v partiiu Lenina* (A female worker and a female peasant/Strengthen the union of the city and the country/Enroll in the Lenin's Party (Communist Party), circa late 1920s- early 1930s. Lithograph, 40 1/2 x 27 3/4" (102.9 x 70.5 cm)

• **Plate 179.** V. I. Kurdov and V. Nekrasov. *Pomni velichaishchii zavet Il'icha—krepi goroda smychku s derevnei* (Remember the Greatest Testament of Lenin—Strengthen the City's Bond with the Countryside), 1925. Lithograph, 17 7/8 x 12 3/8" (45.4 x 31.4 cm)



• **Plate 180.** Sergei Yakovlevich Senkin. *100 % negramotnykh v staroi derevne. SSSR ni odnogo negramotnogo v 1927 godu. 7.000.000 obuchenykh gramote* (The old countryside had 100% illiteracy. By 1927 the USSR will not have a single illiterate person. 7 000 000 people have already become literate), 1925. Lithograph, 17 3/4 x 12 1/4" (45.1 x 31.1 cm)



• **Plate 181.** Lydia Ivanovna Naumova. *Istoriia mezhdunarodnogo profdvizheniia* (History of the International Trade Union Movement), 1927. Lithograph, 28 1/8 x 20 3/8" (71.4 x 51.7 cm)



• **Plate 182.** Designer unknown. *Leninism zhiv* (Leninism is Alive), 1927. Lithograph, 41 1/4 x 25 3/4" (104.8 x 65.4 cm). Artistic design by Leningrad Proletkult

**Inscriptions:** V. I. Lenin, the leader of all oppressed people, died on January 21, 1924 at 6:50 pm  
 Lenin is with us everywhere  
 Lenin is remembered by three generations: The Party, the Komsomol, and the Young Pioneers  
 An increase in productivity is the best monument to Lenin

