

**FLASHPOINT! PROTEST  
PHOTOGRAPHY  
IN PRINT, 1950-PRESENT**



**FLASHPOINT!**

**PROTEST  
PHOTOGRAPHY  
IN PRINT**

**1950–PRESENT**

Edited by Russet Lederman and Olga Yatskevich  
10x10 Photobooks

# **CLASS 1**

## **Tool or Document?**

# **The Aesthetics of Urgency in Protest Photography**

**CLASS 1 / PART I**  
**Reading the Object**  
**Before the Image**

# ANTI

ESSAY BY MARC FEUSTEL  
DESCRIPTIONS BY CASEY MONROE (CM)



**ANTI-ANPO**

**27**

**ANTI-GOVERNMENT**

**44**

**ANTI-GLOBALIZATION**

**74**

**ANTI-CENSORSHIP**

**78**

**ANTI-ANPO**



HIROSHI HAMAYA, *Ikari to kanashimi no kiroku* (1960)

# 銃剣も圧殺できない沖縄県民の叫び

15



120時間の沖縄全軍労第2波ストライキ。ピケ隊に対して銃剣をつきつける米兵。



写真集

# 怒りと悲し

濱谷浩

## 怒りと悲しみの記録

安保闘争の記録写真集

一市民の眼がとらえた事実の迫力

300円 河出書房新社

Unknown Photographer, [Second Strike by All Okinawa Base Employees Union], c. 1970

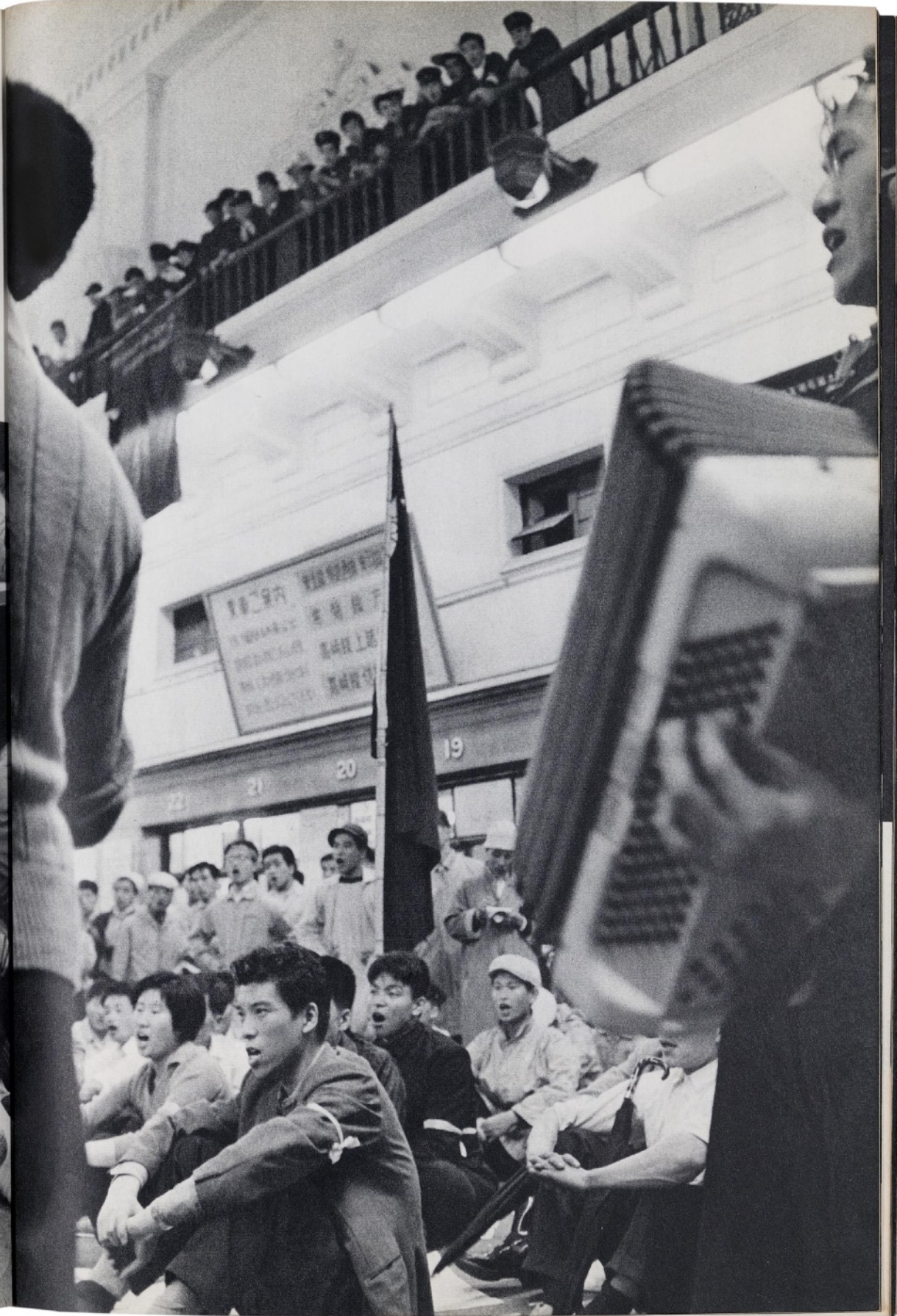
Hiroshi Hamaya, *Ikari to kanashimi no kiroku* (Record of Anger and Sadness, 1960)

# 6.21

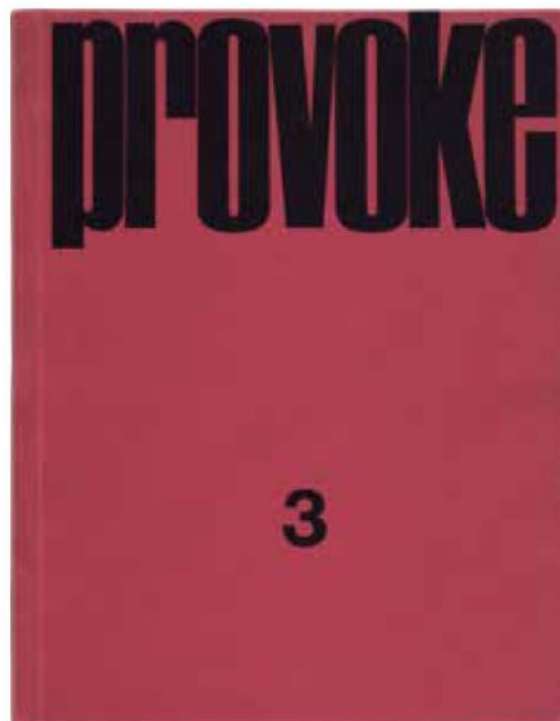
六・二二統一行動を控えた二十一日、夜更けて、支援労組、学生が大塚国鉄主要点に詰めかけた。列車千本、百二十万人の足が止まるといわれるストライキとなった。

上野駅に徹夜入り込みする全学連反主流の学生たち。

上野駅の国鉄労組員に合唄声援する民間労組。



Hiroshi Hamaya , *Ikari to kanashimi no kiroku* Record of Anger and Sadness, 1960)



DAIDO MORIYAMA (Japanese, born 1938)  
 TAKUMA NAKAHIRA (Japanese, 1938-2015)  
 TAKAHIKO OKADA (Japanese, 1939-1997)  
 YUTAKA TAKANASHI (Japanese, born 1935)  
 KOJI TAKI (Japanese, 1928-2011)

*Provoke* (volumes 1-3)  
 ZINES / JOURNALS  
 Tokyo: Provoke-sha, 1968-1969  
 Volume 1 (November 1968): 21 x 21 cm, 68 pp  
 Volume 2 (March 1969): 24 x 18.5 cm, 110 pp  
 Volume 3 (August 1969): 24 x 18.5 cm, 110 pp  
 softcovers, text in Japanese

Widely considered a significant contribution to the photographic world, the short-lived Japanese magazine *Provoke* brought together contemporary poetry, critical theory and avant-garde postwar photography in an experimental and innovative journal that released only three issues. Printed in November 1968, March and August 1969, *Provoke* was founded by photographers Takuma Nakahira and Yutaka Takanashi, with Daido Moriyama joining later, and writers Takahiko Okada and Koji Taki, in part to scrutinize forms of subjective reality through the eyes of the photographer and the lens of the camera. As stated in the opening pages of the first issue, the creators argue that "We now live in a world in which words have lost their material foundations, have become detached from reality and wander in space. Faced with this, what we photographers can do ... is capture with our own eyes those fragments of reality which are utterly impossible to capture with existing words, and actively keep creating materials to confront those words and thought." Indeed, building on earlier Japanese photobooks that took daring approaches to document Anpo protests, like *Ikari to kanashimi no kiroku* by Hiroshi Hamaya and *Teikoh* by Kazuo Kitai, *Provoke* challenges traditional photographic conventions with its many high-contrast images that are cropped, blurred, grained or over- / under-exposed nearly to the point of abstraction. Despite the somewhat varied perspectives of the three contributing photographers, the groundbreaking publications' images collectively present an engrossing openness to serendipity and chance and a fluid, immediate and ultimately highly poetic perspective on their subject matter.

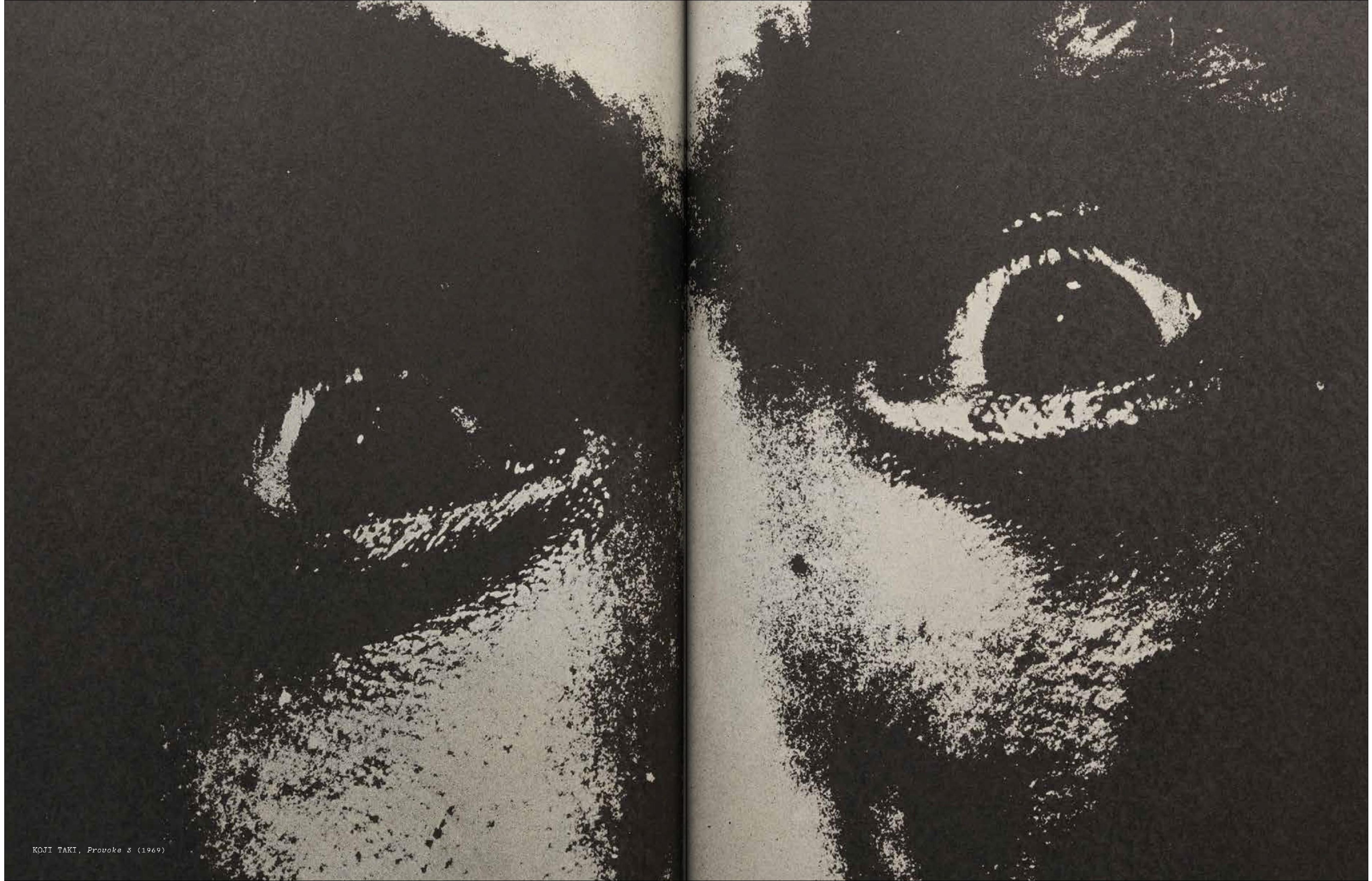
Uncommonly innovative for its time, *Provoke* proved immensely influential outside of Japan. In the years after *Provoke* published its three issues, exhibitions of Japanese photography began cropping up worldwide—most notably, New York's Museum of Modern Art's *New Japanese Photography* exhibition in 1974 and International Center of Photography's *Japan: A Self-Portrait* in 1979. Although they did not include much work derived directly from *Provoke*, these exhibitions helped publicize and popularize postwar Japanese photography throughout the West. Furthermore, many of the groundbreaking approaches adopted by Moriyama, Nakahira and Takanashi (*Provoke*'s contributing photographers) proved seminal to the world of photography. While the exact politics of its makers varied—Moriyama, for instance, claimed that he was apolitical while others like Nakahira participated in student protests against U.S. occupation—the journals act as a potent reaction to and criticism of longstanding foreign intervention in Japan's politics and built landscape. To this day, *Provoke* remains an arresting and affecting visual synthesis of the postwar Japanese national and cultural psyche that revolutionized photography inside and outside Japan for decades following its final issue. (CM)



YUTAKA TAKANASHI, *Provoke 1* (1968)

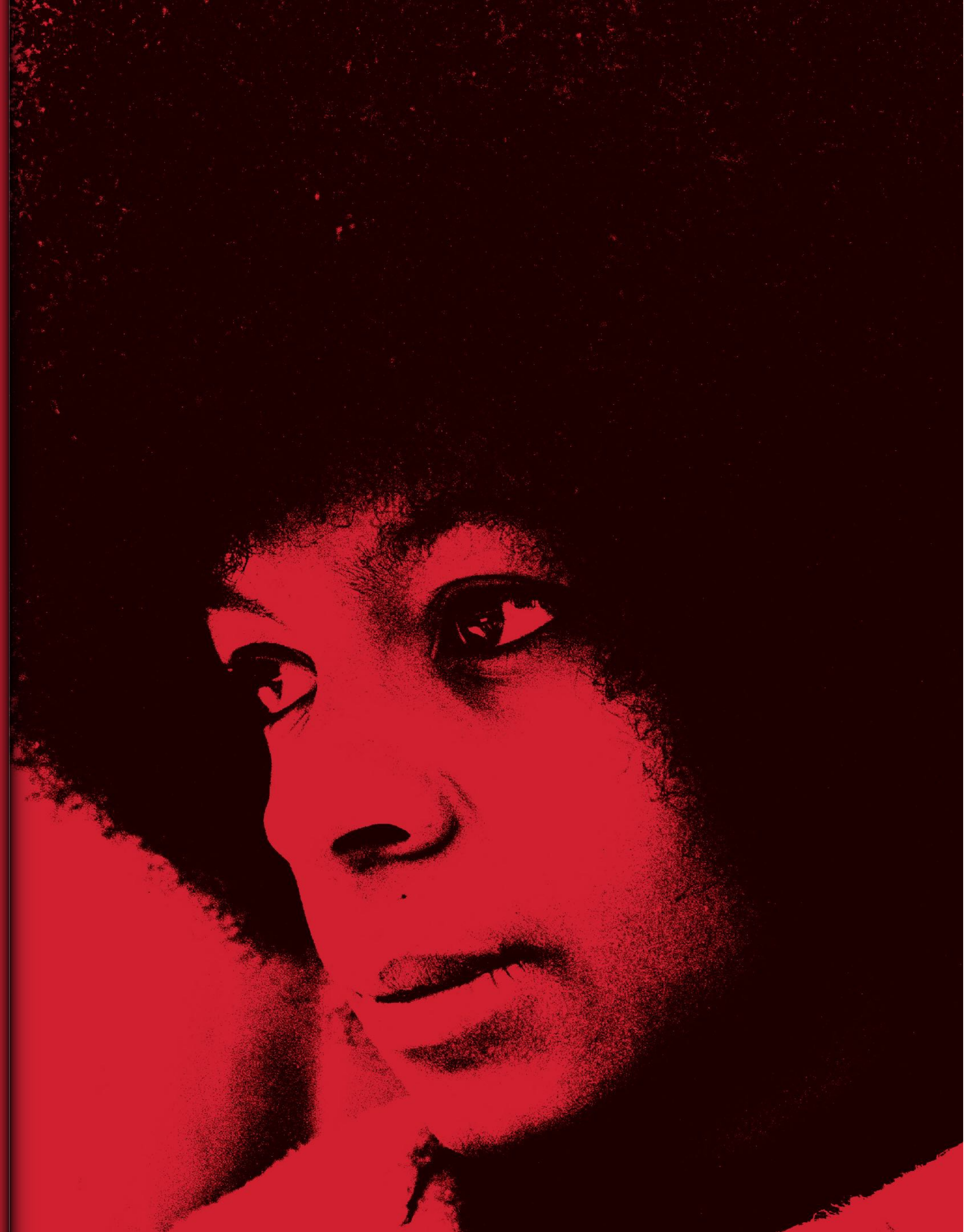
TAKUMA NAKAHIRA, *Provoke 2* (1969)





# RACE & CLASS

ESSAY BY MARK SEALY  
DESCRIPTIONS BY KEAVY HANDLEY-BYRNE (KHB),  
FRANKIE MOUTAFIS (FM), MARJORIE ORNSTON (MO)  
AND THE EDITORS (TE)



**ANTI-APARTHEID**

**251**

**CIVIL RIGHTS  
& BLACK IDENTITY**

**263**

**BLACK LIVES MATTER**

**299**

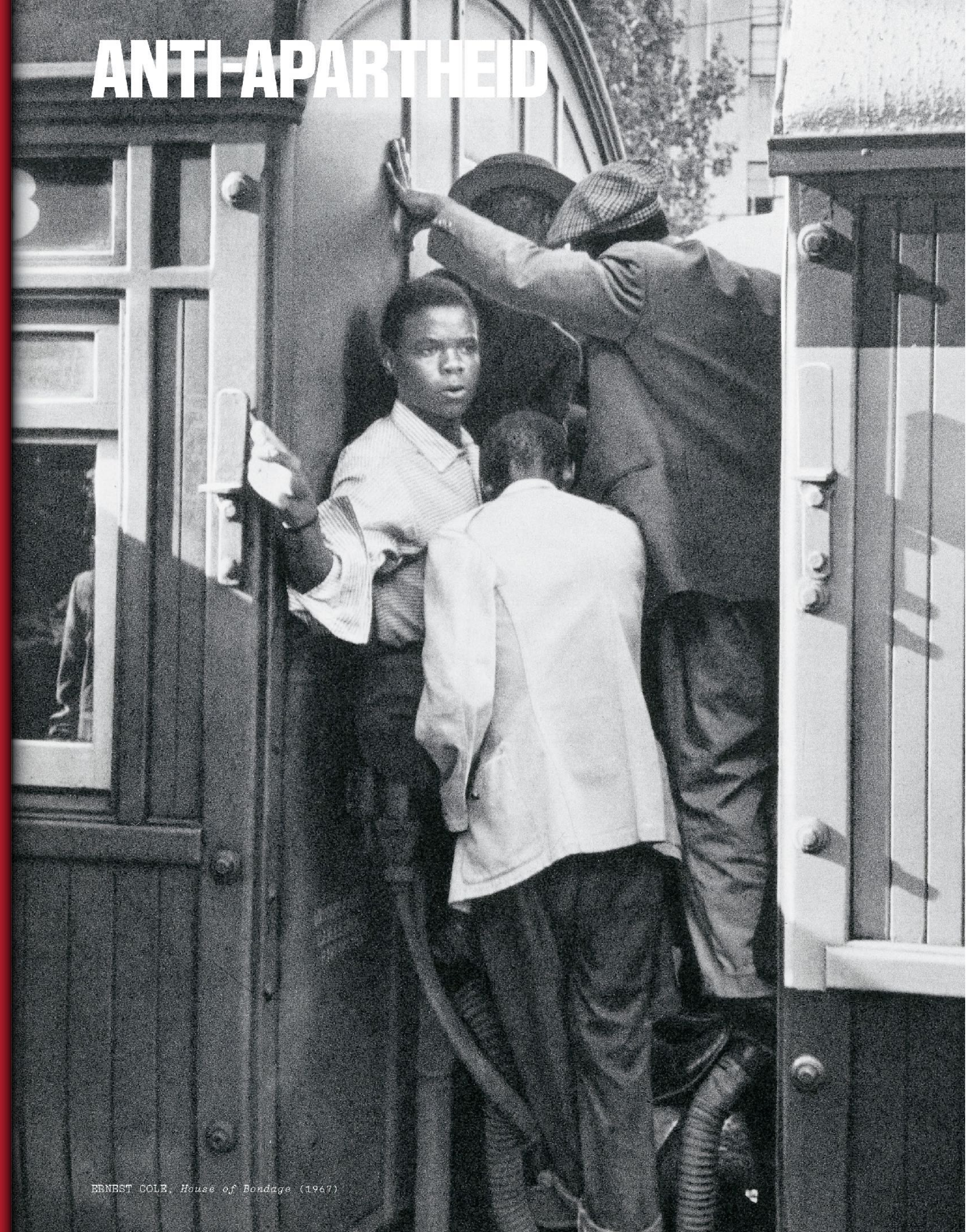
**ANTI-IMPERIALISM**

**319**

**WORKERS' RIGHTS**

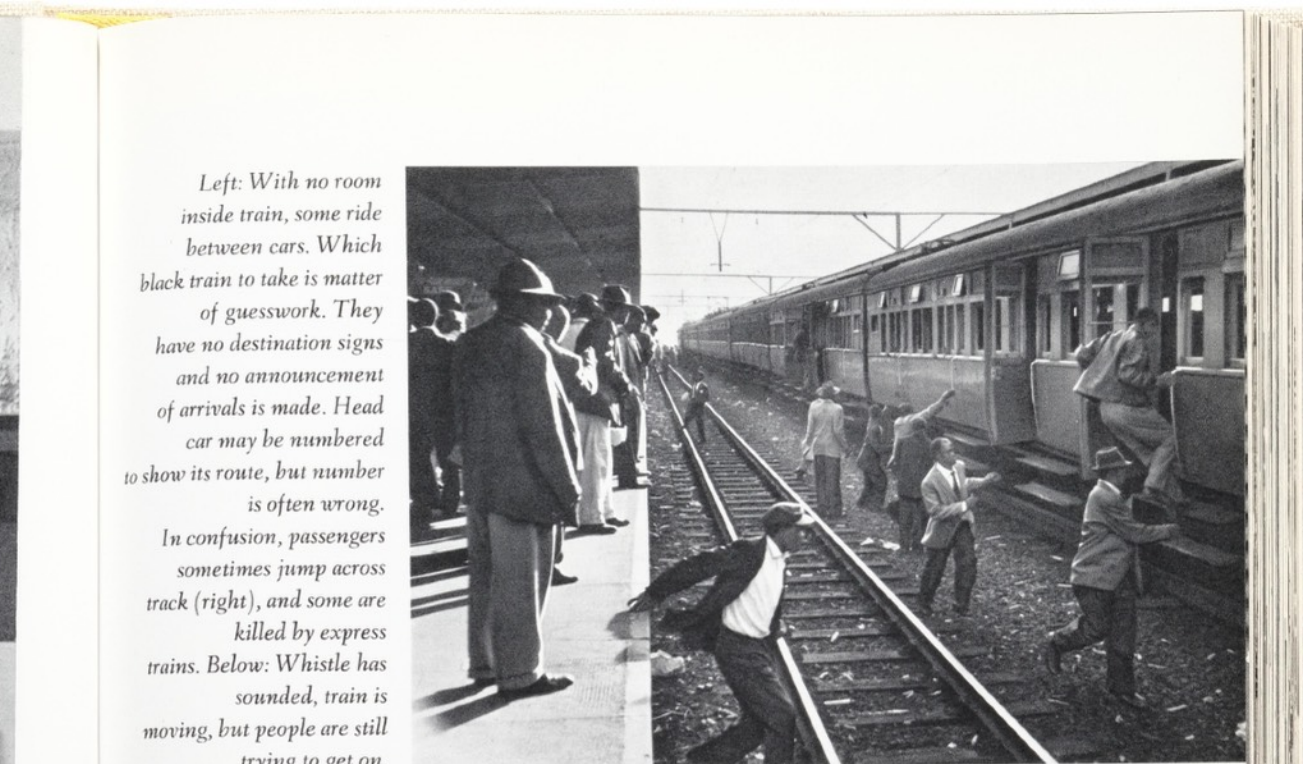
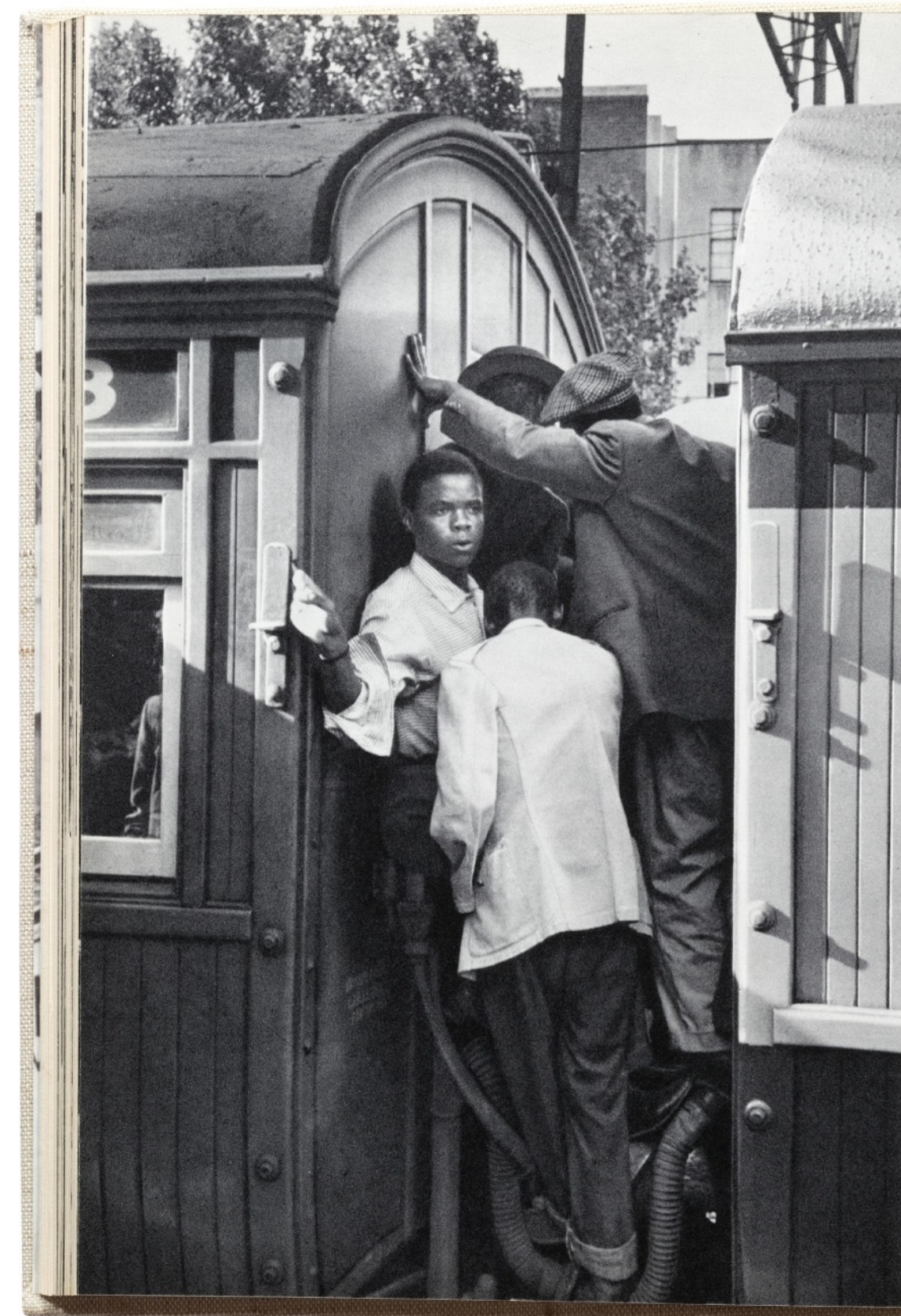
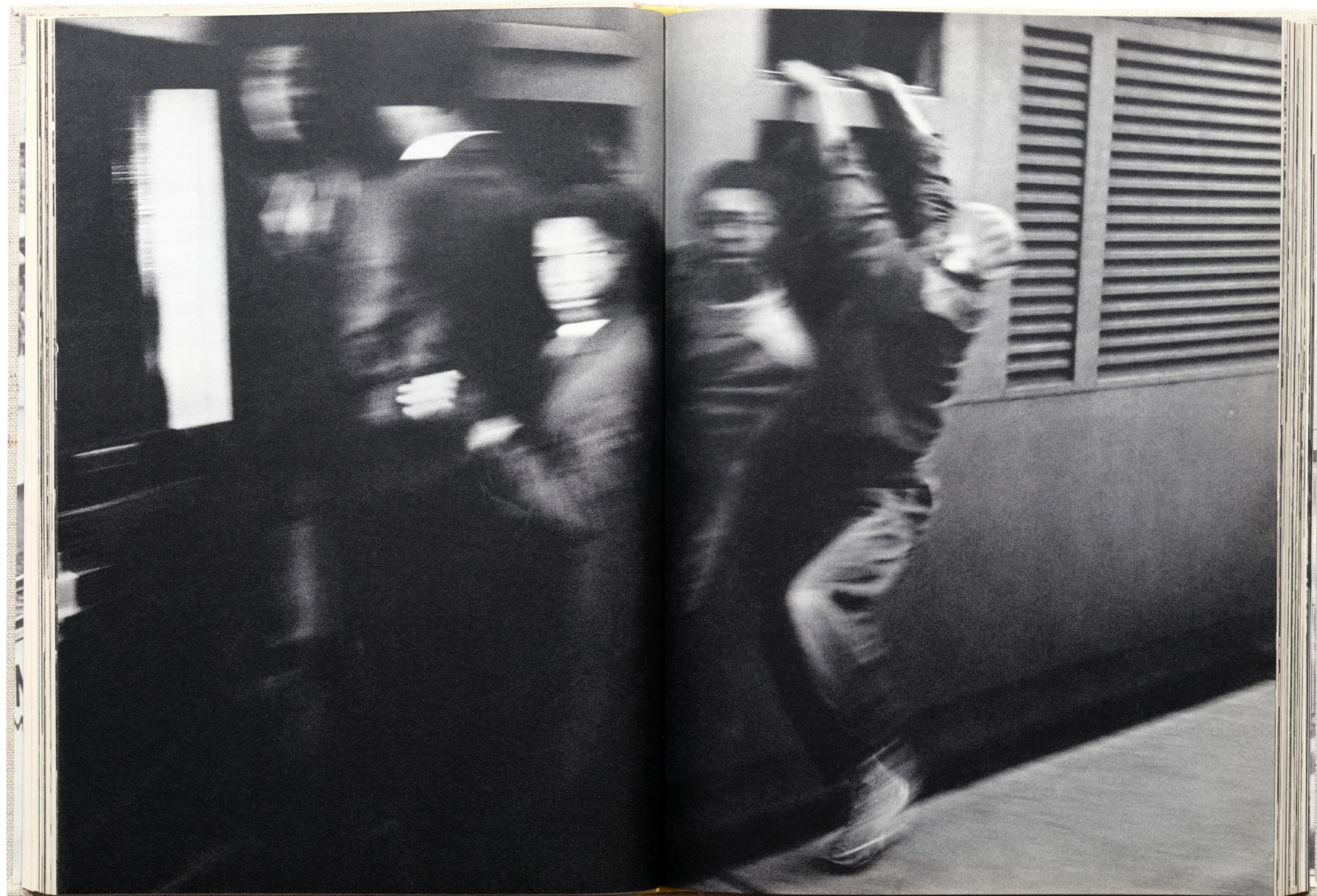
**333**

**ANTI-APARTHEID**



BENJAMIN COLE, *House of Bondage* (1967)

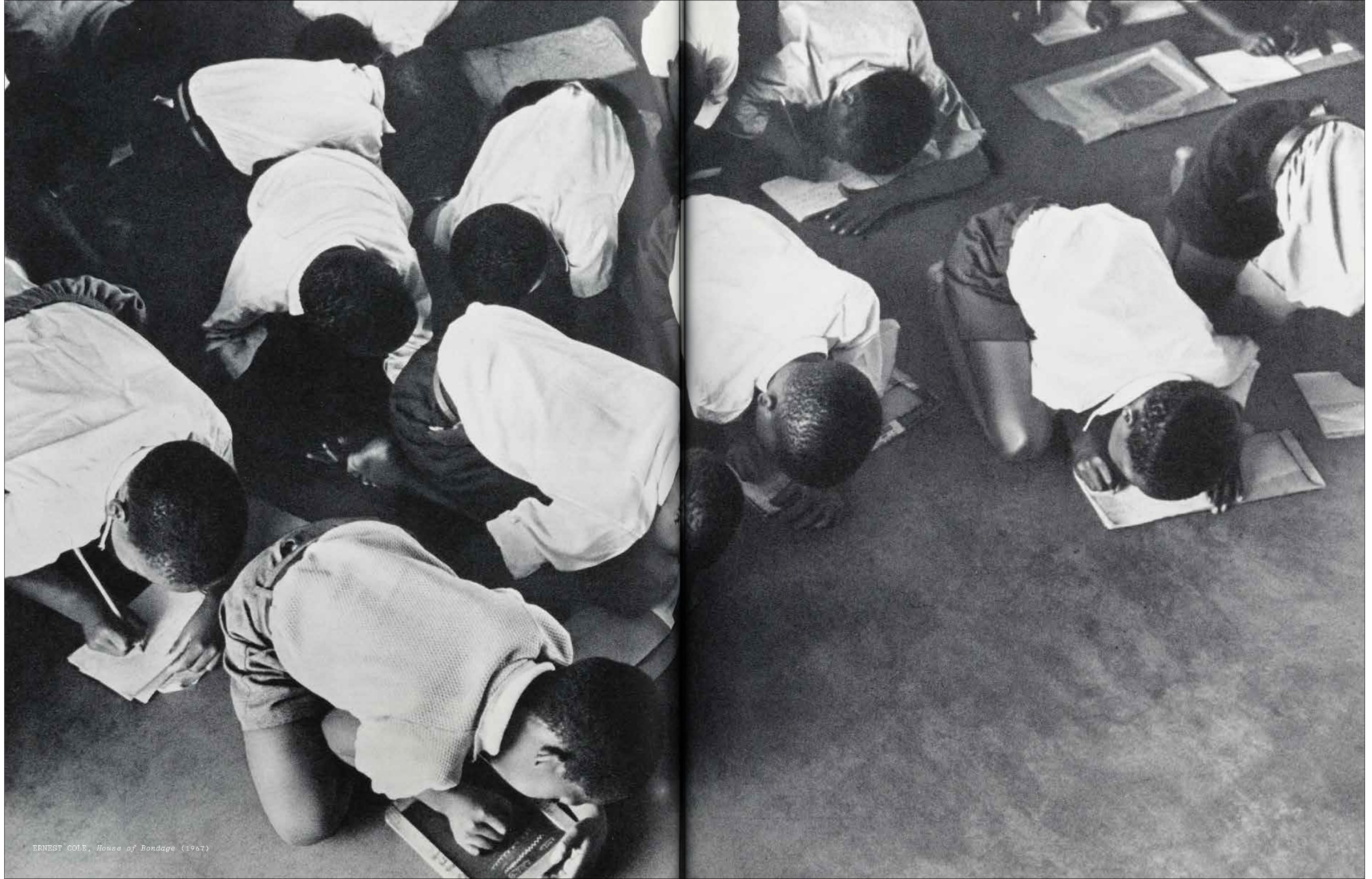




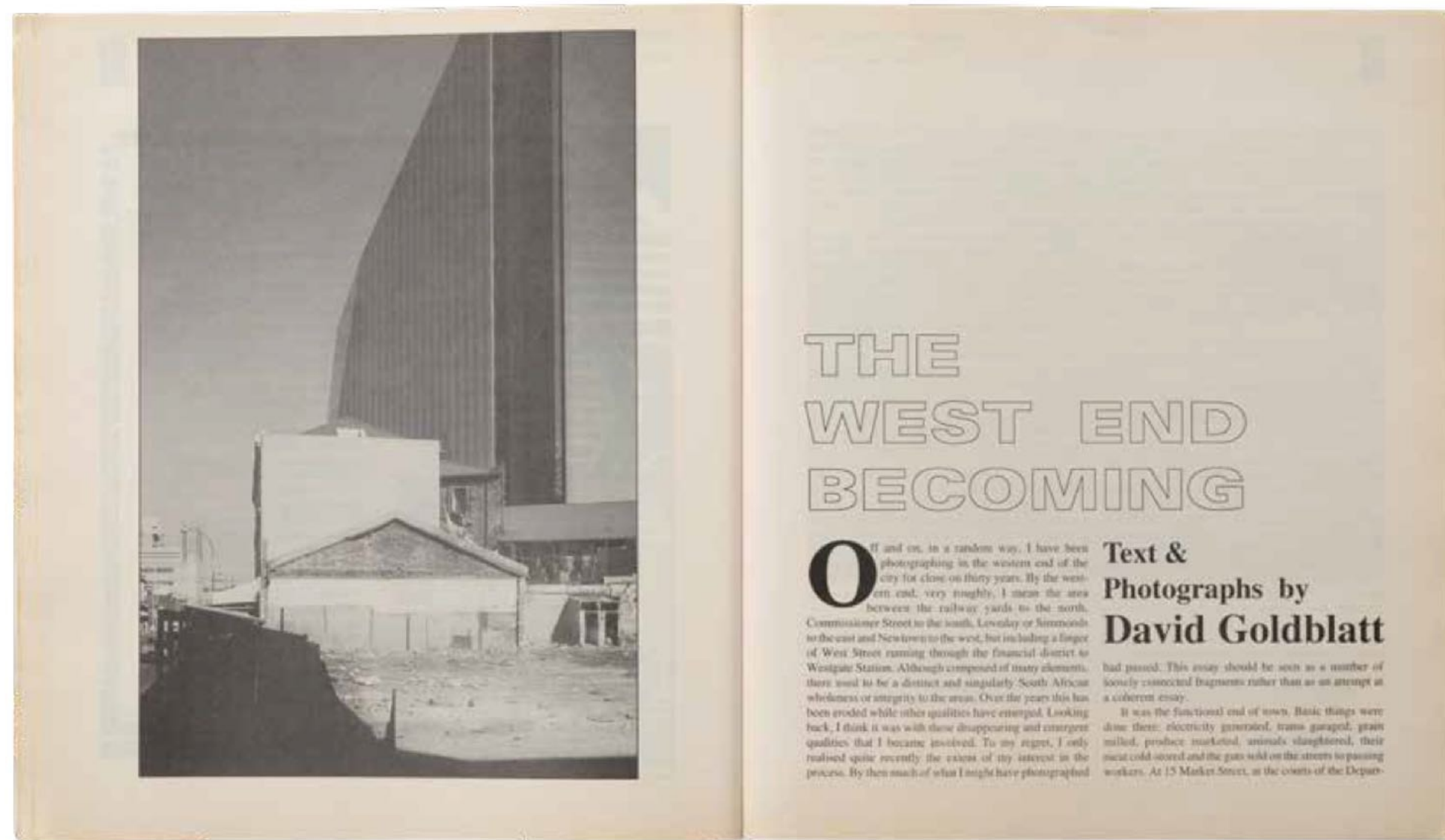
Left: With no room inside train, some ride between cars. Which black train to take is matter of guesswork. They have no destination signs and no announcement of arrivals is made. Head car may be numbered to show its route, but number is often wrong. In confusion, passengers sometimes jump across track (right), and some are killed by express trains. Below: Whistle has sounded, train is moving, but people are still trying to get on.



Ernest Cole, *House of Bondage*, 1967



ERNEST COLE, *House of Bondage* (1967)



## THE WEST END BECOMING

**O**f and on, in a random way, I have been photographing in the western end of the city for close on thirty years. By the western end, very roughly, I mean the area between the railway yards to the north, Commissioner Street to the south, Lewaday or Somerset to the east and Newburg to the west, but including a finger of West Street running through the financial district to Westgate Station. Although composed of many elements, there used to be a distinct and singularly South African wholeness or integrity to the area. Over the years this has been eroded while urban qualities have emerged. Looking back, I think it was with these disappearing and emerging qualities that I became involved. To my regret, I only realised quite recently the extent of my interest in the process. By then much of what I might have photographed had passed. This essay should be seen as a number of loosely connected fragments rather than as an attempt at a coherent essay.

It was the functional end of town. Basic things were done there: electricity generated, trains garaged, grain milled, produce marketed, animals slaughtered, their meat cold stored and the gas sold on the streets to passing workers. At 15 Market Street, in the courts of the Depar-

**Text & Photographs by David Goldblatt**



**KAY HASSAN** (South African, born 1956)  
**MIKE KIRKWOOD** (Vincentian, born 1943)  
**MOTHOBI MUTLOATSE** (South African, born 1952)  
 editors

*Staffrider* (various volumes)

JOURNALS

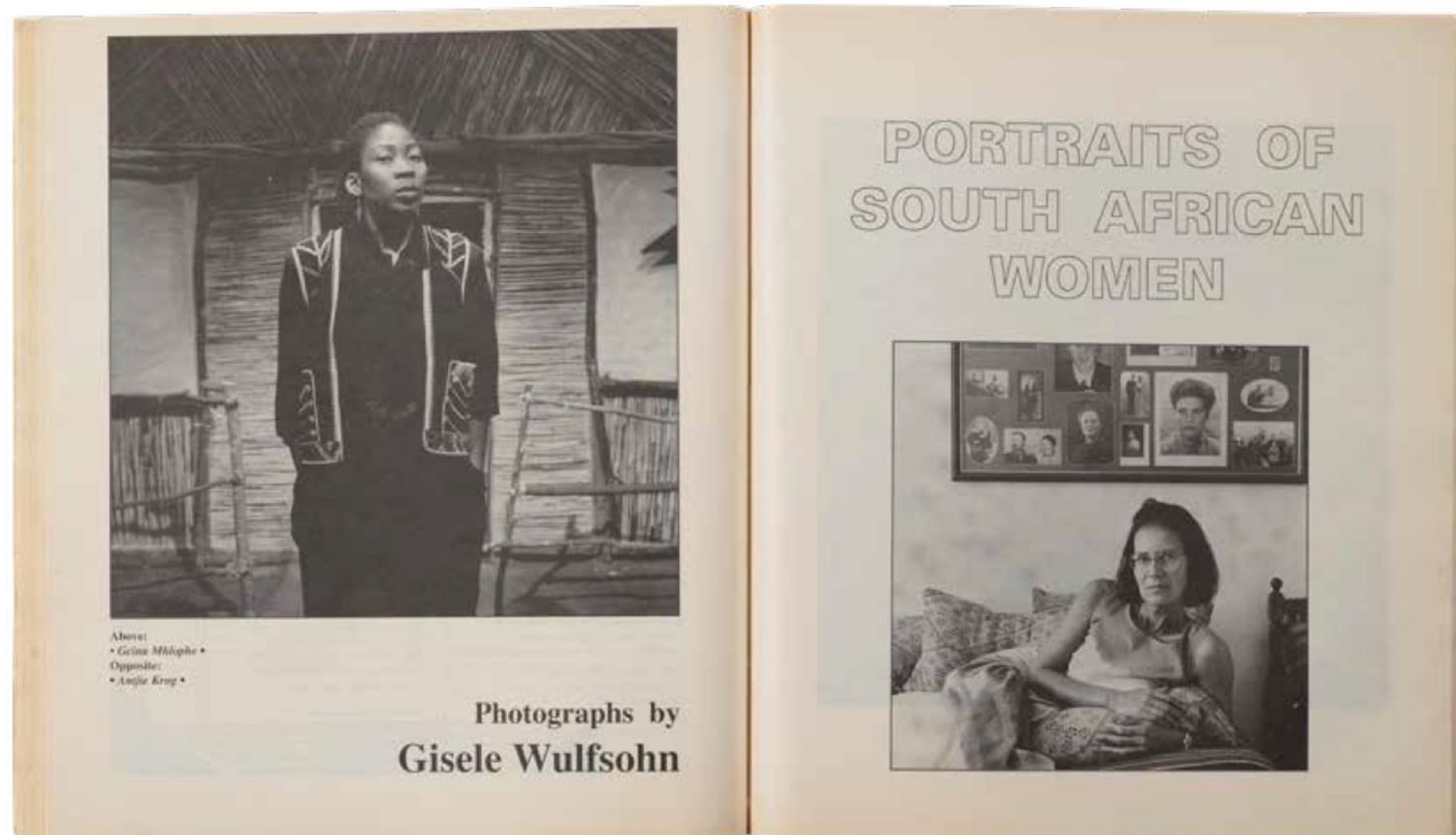
Johannesburg: Congress of South African Writers, 1978-1996

24 x 21 cm, various page counts, softcovers, text in English, vol. 9 no. 4 (1991) shown

Taking its name from the township slang for ticketless Black youth who would ride on the sides or the roofs of overcrowded, racially segregated commuter trains, *Staffrider* is a radical voice in grassroots anti-apartheid journalism. Published between 1978 and 1996 to facilitate the expression of text and art from South African artists and writers—from the well-known to the aspiring—*Staffrider* comprises poetry, song, fiction and non-fiction writing alongside photographic essays and graphic illustrations.

Founded by Mike Kirkwood and distributed by Johannesburg-based Raven Press, *Staffrider* was community-driven with limited publisher intervention. A small group of four or five editors selected the content for each issue. Known writers, poets and photographers such as David Goldblatt, Mafika Pascal Gwala, Douglas Livingstone, Peter Magubane and Rose Zwi rub shoulders with emerging artists within the pages in a show of creative, racial and regional solidarity.

An antidote to apartheid propaganda, *Staffrider* presents a staunch anti-apartheid approach, partisan and political in message. As circulation increased, readership grew, and the magazine became inundated with submissions as South Africans wanted to tell their narrative of oppression and struggle. Published during and after the end of apartheid in South Africa, *Staffrider* was one of the first South African publications to place photography alongside literature and is archetypal in its use of arts publishing as a form of activism. (FM)



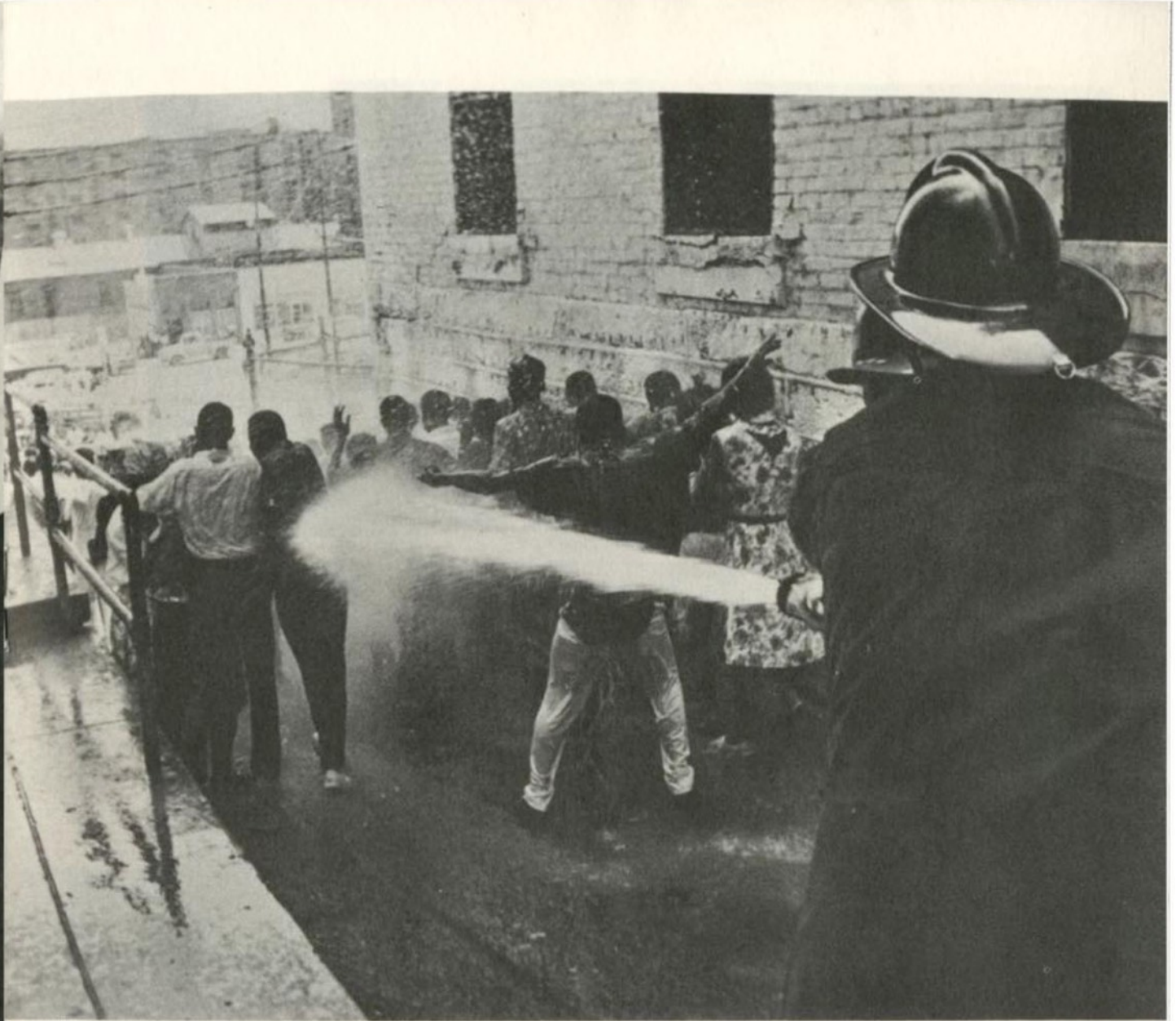
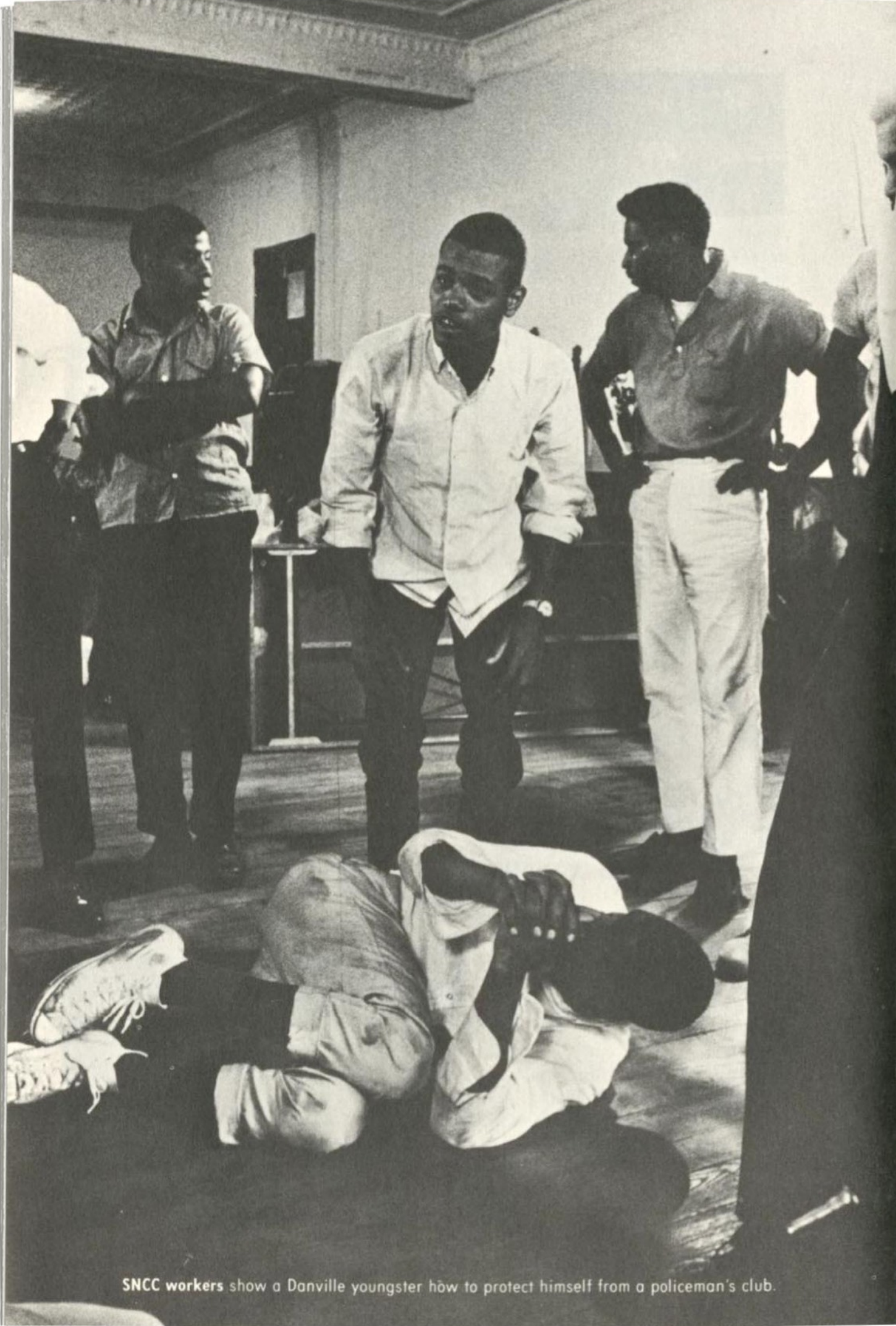
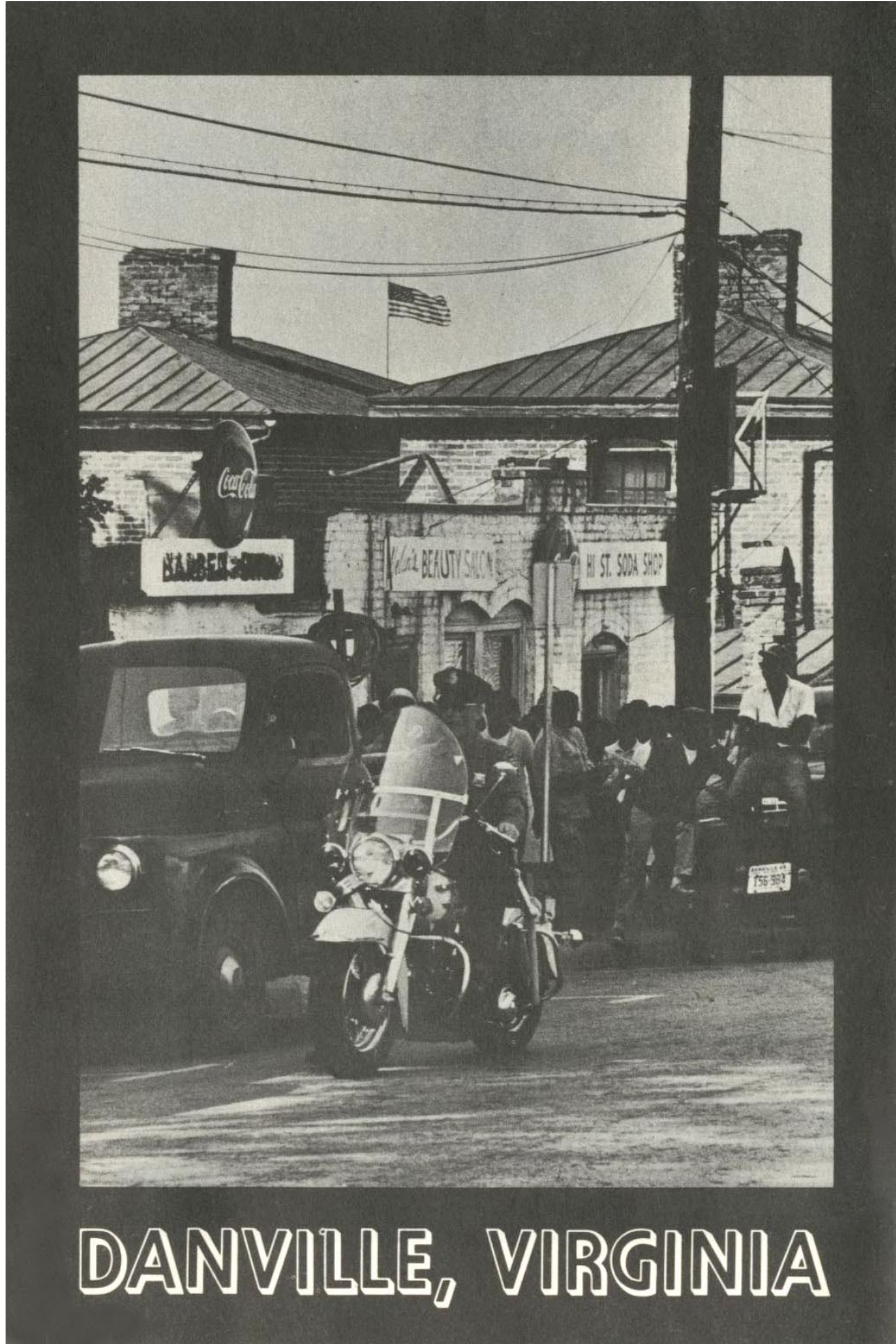
## PORTRAITS OF SOUTH AFRICAN WOMEN



Above:  
 • Gisele Wulfsohn •  
 Opposite:  
 • Angie Errey •

**Photographs by Gisele Wulfsohn**

**CLASS 1 / PART II**  
**Aesthetics of Urgency**

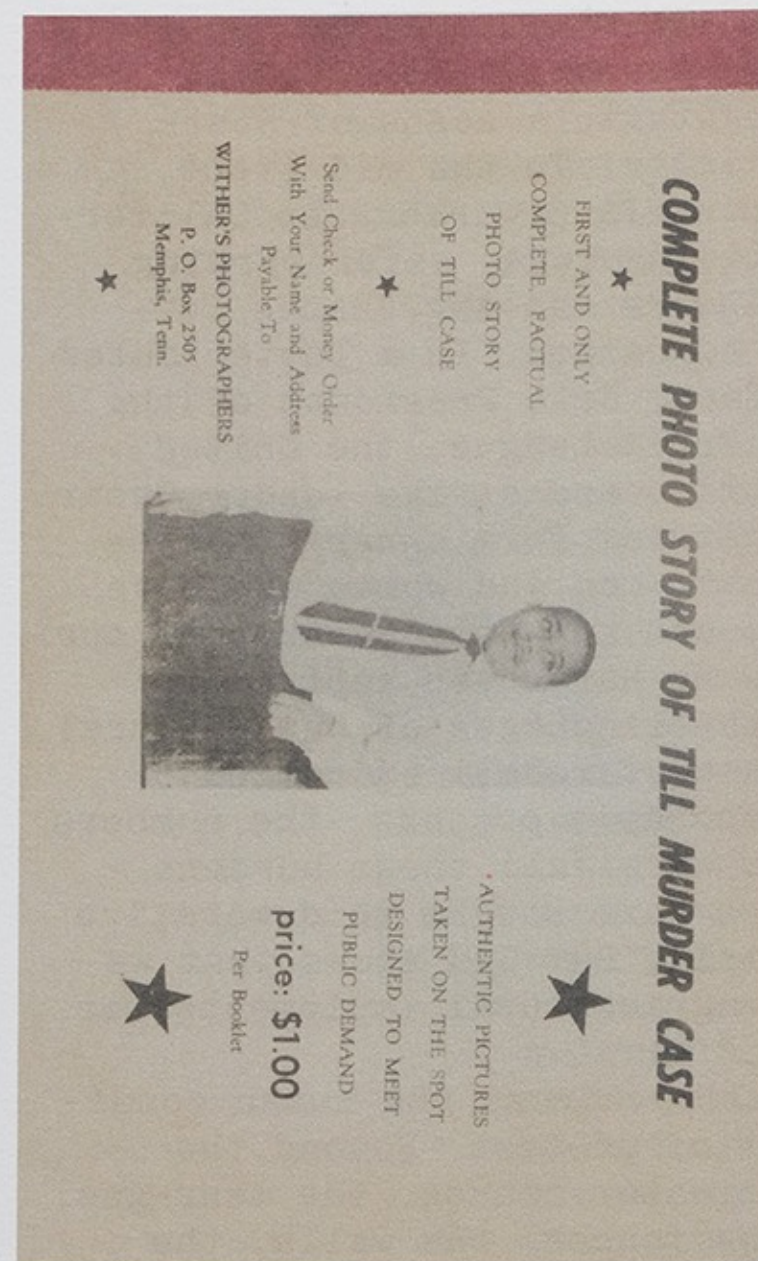


AP photo

Monday afternoon, June 10: a prelude to what came later that evening.



Danny Lyon and Dorothy Miller, *Danville, Virginia*, 1963



ERNEST WITHERS (American, 1922-2007)

*Complete Photo Story of Till Murder Case*  
PAMPHLET  
Memphis: Self-published (Withers Photographers), 1955  
13 x 22 cm, 20 pp, softcover, text in English

A crux in the advancing civil rights movement, the *Complete Photo Story of Till Murder Case*—a harrowing account of teenager Emmett Till's brutal murder in 1955 at the hands of two white racists—stirred up a nation, exposing the plight of Black Americans and demanding the basic recognition of their humanity. Having released images of his maimed body to the press, "Let the world see what I've seen" were the words of Mamie Elizabeth Till-Mobley, the mother of Emmett Till, the fourteen-year-old Black boy murdered by two white brothers in Mississippi for supposedly wolf-whistling at a white woman in a grocery store. On the eve of the incident, the two brothers hunted the young Till down, severely mutilated his face, and dropped his body into the Tallahatchie River.

A self-published pamphlet, compiled and released by Ernest Withers—the notable civil rights photographer who documented over sixty years of African-American history—this small twenty-page publication recalls the events leading up to the infamous courtroom acquittal, which perturbed the Deep South enough to result in protest. Withers sold the pamphlet for one dollar and distributed it "in the hope that this booklet might serve to help our nation dedicate itself to seeing that such incidents need not occur again." (FM)

LOUIS LO MONACO (American)

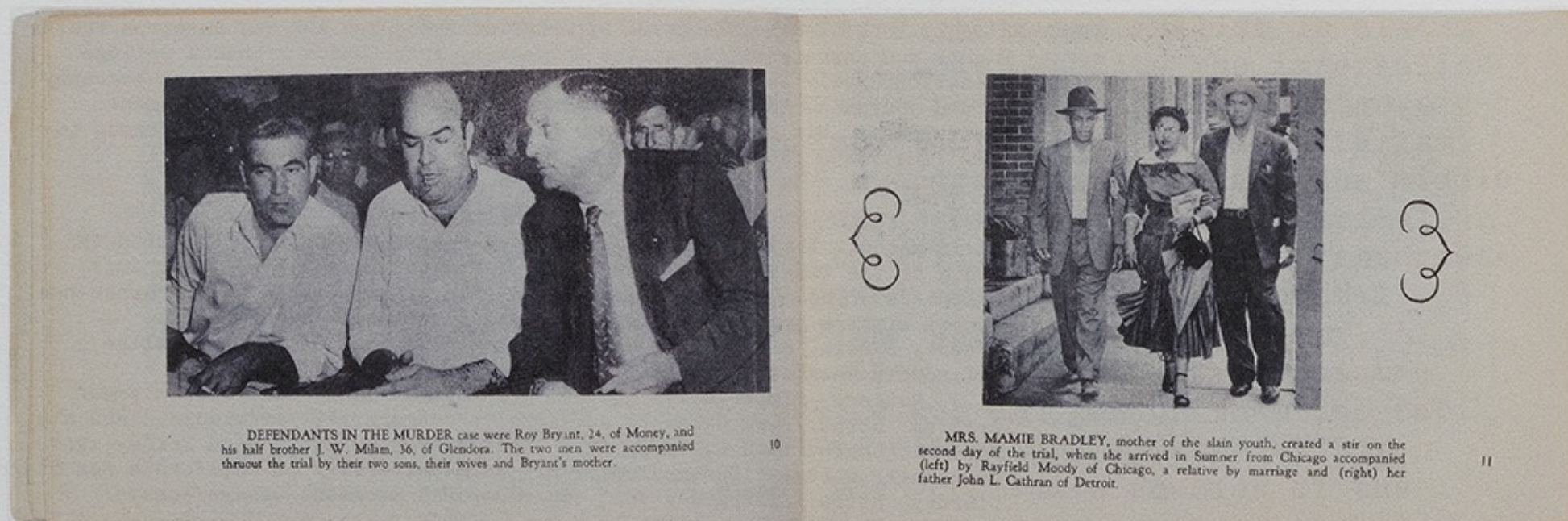
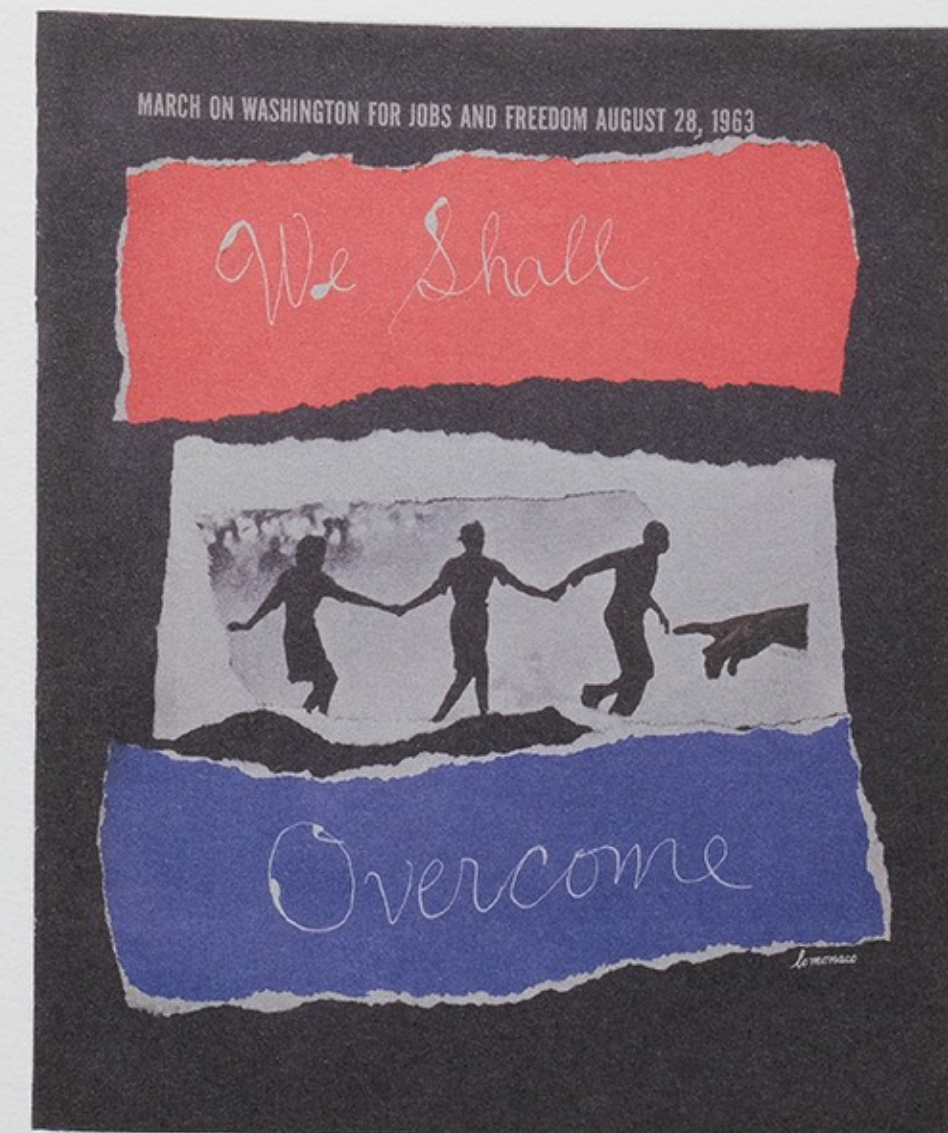
*We Shall Overcome: March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, August 28, 1963*  
ZINE / PORTFOLIO  
New York: National Urban League, 1963  
28 x 23.5 cm, folder with 5 loose sheets, text in English

A significant day in the history of American democracy, the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom remains one of the largest civil rights rallies in United States history. On 28 August 1963, over a quarter of a million people gathered at the National Mall in Washington, D.C. in a peaceful call to arms for desegregation, economic equality and civil rights for African Americans. It was a day of impassioned speeches, songs and prayers, where Martin Luther King Jr. delivered his prophetic "I Have a Dream" speech at the base of the Lincoln Memorial, his words of conviction galvanizing a nation.

A cohort of grassroots groups, including trade unionists, civil rights activists and religious bodies, organized the day of protest. Central to the mobilization was the National Urban League, one of the oldest and largest civil rights bodies in the United States. Published to memorialize the historic day, the organization released and distributed a portfolio of collages by Louis Lo Monaco, a graphic artist who also produced printed ephemera for the Black Panthers and taught at the Parsons School of Design in New York. The five collages, presented as loose pages, are accompanied by a table of contents and an introduction that concludes with facsimile signatures from King, among other prominent figures in the movement.

Lo Monaco's collages, halftone color assemblages set upon black paper, depict the people's struggle through striking and affecting design. Laced with iconography and religious and cultural symbolism—a swastika, the Stars and Stripes and a cross—the works evoke the enduring plight while the presence of cut and pasted Black figures, accompanied by illustrations and word fragments, remind the viewer of the people's defiance. In one collage, a small Black figure stands at the mouth of a beast whose eyes, nose and ears are imprinted with images of anti-civil rights figures. The snarling beast represents much of what held the movement back: white resistance and the Southern bloc.

The poignant cover draws on Michelangelo's painting *The Creation of Adam*, in which God breathes life into the first living soul. In Lo Monaco's reinterpretation, the searching hand of God extends to Black Americans; his finger meets the hand of a marcher, who walks hand-in-hand with two others—a symbol of the renewed Black America to come. The works hold ferocity and a sense of promise, reinforced in the opening text, "It is more than an expression of one event. It is rather a reminder of generations of hope, of sacrifice, and of faith." (FM)



DEFENDANTS IN THE MURDER case were Roy Bryant, 24, of Money, and his half brother J. W. Milam, 36, of Glendora. The two men were accompanied throughout the trial by their two sons, their wives and Bryant's mother.

MRS. MAMIE BRADLEY, mother of the slain youth, created a stir on the second day of the trial, when she arrived in Sumner from Chicago accompanied (left) by Rayfield Moody of Chicago, a relative by marriage and (right) her father John L. Cathran of Detroit.



# THE BLACK PANTHER

25 cents

Black Community News Service



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SAN FRANCISCO, CA 94126

## HUNTER'S POINT 1967



## HUNTER'S POINT 1970

Editorial

The pigs in heightening the repressive actions against the people have used an unfortunate incident in Hunter's Point as an excuse to run amuck in the Black community. Years ago the last place pigs went to investigate was Black people killing Black people...It was very minor, as are the killings of oppressed people considered, by the troops of the ruling class. Now due to the raised level of resistance that the people have reached, the pigs look for, actively search for, reasons to come into the community with guns drawn.

The pigs ran through the community of Hunter's Point on February 23rd with rifles and drawn weapons, not being concerned with the lives and safety of the children playing in the community or respecting the people. This is not an isolated incident

and cannot be passed off as such since there is a history of similar incidents in this same community.

On the 23rd of February, the pigs went into the Hunter's Point area to arrest Butch Mabrey, one man, but they came as if preparing for a major confrontation. The pigs disrespected the whole community... Only in the Black community are over-kill tactics used. Only when dealing with oppressed people are the pigs' tails shaking in glee and their eyes lit up with the anticipation of killing another one of the "misfits of this society". Only oppressed people are accorded the 'fist of repression' in place of the 'hand of protection'. There are too many examples--perfect examples--that have occurred all over this country to be able to mention in any one

CONT. ON PAGE 2

INSIDE: PRESS RELEASE FROM ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

## IN DEFENSE OF SELF DEFENSE

by Huey P. Newton

July 3, 1967

Historically, the power structure has demanded that Black leaders cater to their desires and to the ends of the imperialistic racism of the oppressor. The power structure has endorsed those Black leaders who have reduced themselves to nothing more than apologizing parrots. They have divided the so-called Black leaders within the political arena. The oppressors sponsor radio programs, give space in their racist newspapers, and have shown them the luxury enjoyed only by the oppressor. The Black leaders serve the oppressor by purposely keeping the people submissive and passive - non-violent.

Historically, there have been a few Black men who have rejected the handouts of the oppressor and who have refused to spread the oppressor's treacherous principles of deceit, gradual indoctrination and brainwashing, and who have refused to indulge in the criminal activity of teaching submission, fear, and love for an enemy who hates the very color Black and is determined to commit genocide on an international scale.

There has always existed in the Black colony of Afro-America a fundamental difference over which tactics from the broad spectrum of alternatives Black people should employ in their struggle for national liberation.

One side of this difference contends that Black people are in the peculiar position where, in order to gain acceptance into the "mainstream" of American life, they must employ no tactic that will anger the oppressor Whites. This view holds the Black people constitute a hopeless minority and that salvation for Black people lies in developing brotherly relations. There are certain tactics that are taboo. Violence against the oppressor must be avoided at all costs, because the oppressor will retaliate with superior violence. So Black people may protest, but no protect. They can complain, but not cut and shoot. In short, Black people must at all costs remain non-violent.

On the other side of the difference, we find that the point of departure is the principle that the oppressor has no rights that the oppressed is bound to respect. Kill the slavemaster, destroy him utterly, move against him with implacable fortitude, break his oppressive power by any means necessary. Men who have stood before the Black masses and recommended this response to the oppression have been held in fear by the oppressor. The Blacks in the colony who were wed to the non-violent alternative could not relate to the advocated of implacable opposition to the oppressor. Because the oppressor always prefers to deal with the less radical, i.e., less dangerous, spokesmen for his subjects. He would prefer that his subjects had no spokesmen at all, or better yet, he wishes to speak for them himself. Unable to do this practically, he does the next best thing, and endorses spokesmen who will allow him to speak through them to the masses. Paramount amongst his imperatives is to see to it that implacable spokesmen are never allowed to communicate their message to the masses. They are never allowed to communicate their message to the masses. Their oppressor will resort to any means necessary to silence the implacables.

The oppressor, the endorsed spokesmen, and the implacables form the three points of a triangle of death. The oppressor looks upon the endorsed spokesmen as a tool to use against the implacables to keep the masses passive while the acceptable limits of the tactics he is capable of containing. The endorsed spokesmen look upon the oppressor as a guardian angel who can always be depended upon to protect them from the wrath of the implacables, while he looks upon the implacables as dangerous and irresponsible madmen who, by angering the oppressor, will certainly provoke a blood bath in which they themselves might get washed away. The implacables view both the oppressors and the endorsed leaders as his deadly enemies. If anything, he has a more profound hatred for the endorsed leaders than he has for the oppressor himself, because the implacables know that they can deal with the oppressor only after they have driven the endorsed spokesmen off the scene.

Historically, the endorsed spokesmen have always held the upper hand on the implacables. In Afro-American history, there are shining brief moments when the implacables have outmaneuvered the oppressor and the endorsed spokesmen and gained the attention of the Black masses. The Black masses, recognizing the implacables in the depths of their despair, respond magnetically to the implacables and bestow a devotion and loyalty to them that frightens the oppressor and endorsed spokesmen into a panic-stricken frenzy, and they leap into a rash act -- murder, imprisonment, or exile.



HUEY P. NEWTON  
MINISTER OF DEFENSE B.P.P.

The Black leaders have led the community to believe that brutality and force could be ended by subjecting the people to this very force of self-sacrificing demonstrations. The Black people realize brutality and force can only be inflicted if there is submission. The community has not responded in the past or in the present, to the absurd and erroneous, deceitful tactics of so-called legitimate Black leaders. The community realizes that force and brutality can only be eliminated by counter force through self defense. Leaders who have recommended these tactics have never had the support and following of the downtrodden Black masses who comprise the bulk of the community. Grassroots -- the downtrodden organ of the Black Panther Party serving as their (the people's) eyes by "bouncing out" the contradictions of this decadent racist society.

Marcus Garvey and Malcolm X were the two Black men of the twentieth century who posed an implacable challenge to both the oppressor and the endorsed spokesmen that could be dealt with in any other way than precisely the foul manner recorded by history. Malcolm, in our time, stood on the threshold with the oppressor and the endorsed spokesmen in a bag that they couldn't get out of. Malcolm, implacable to the ultimate degree, held out to the Black masses the historical, stupendous victory of Black collective salvation and liberation from the chains of the oppressor and the treacherous embrace of the endorsed spokesmen. Only with the gun were the Black masses denied this victory. But they learned from Malcolm that with the gun, they can recapture their dreams and bring them into reality.

The heirs of Malcolm now stand millions strong on their corner of the triangle, facing the racist dog oppressor and the soulless endorsed spokesmen. The hires of Malcolm have picked up the gun and, taking first things first, are moving to expose the endorsed spokesmen for the Black masses to see them for what they are and always have been. The choice offered by the hires of Malcolm to the endorsed spokesmen is to repudiate the oppressor and to crawl back to their people and earn a speedy reprieve or face a merciless, speedy and most timely execution for treason and being too wrong for too long.

The Black Panther Party for self defense believes that the time has come for Black people to arm themselves against this terror before it is too late. A people who have suffered so much for so long at the hands of a racist society, must draw the line somewhere. We believe that the Black communities of America must rise up as one man to halt the progression of a trend that leads inevitably to their total destruction.

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF DEFENSE BELIEVES THAT THE TIME HAS COME FOR BLACK PEOPLE TO ARM THEMSELVES AGAINST THIS TERROR BEFORE IT IS TOO LATE. A PEOPLE WHO HAVE SUFFERED SO MUCH FOR SO LONG AT THE HANDS OF A RACIST SOCIETY, MUST DRAW THE LINE SOMEWHERE. WE BELIEVE THAT THE BLACK COMMUNITIES OF AMERICA MUST RISE UP AS ONE MAN TO HALT THE PROGRESSION OF A TREND THAT LEADS INEVITABLY TO THEIR TOTAL DESTRUCTION.

HUEY P. NEWTON  
MINISTER OF DEFENSE  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY



## PIG HARASSMENT OF RICHMOND PANTHERS

When a person wants you to believe his or her lies, the best thing for them to do is to keep tricking you. Right On? Well, that's exactly what the pigs of the power structure are doing. The pigs viciously attacked with intent to destroy the Black Panther Chapters in Los Angeles and Chicago and many other places where the people have a functional organ of the Black Panther Party serving as their (the people's) eyes by "bouncing out" the contradictions of this decadent racist society.

So when the people started embracing at their own (and they have) the many socialistic programs such as the free breakfast, free clothing, and free health clinics the pigs have no choice other than to disguise themselves as "victims of an unprovoked attack." The pigs have quit overtly trying to kick down our doors but they have started ripping off the brothers and sisters in the streets and in the fascist court rooms. They kidnapped the Chairman, Bobby Seale, off the streets and dealt with him in the halls of injustice. You can also see what happens when you, the people, become indignant to this insane madness -- you get ripped off.

The pigs constantly oink about the My Lai Massacre, and we know it is wrong, but we also know that the overall aggression by the U.S. cut-throat bandits in Viet Nam is wrong. We can objectively separate the My Lai Massacre in particular with the attempted genocide of the Black Panther Party in particular and the overall attempt of genocide of the Vietnamese people with the Black Panther Party in particular.

So the news media, as apologists for the ruling class, comes forth to try to divert the American Peoples' attention elsewhere while war is being waged here.

With in the past few weeks the pigs of Richmond have stepped up their harassment tactics again. For a short period after the courageous battle in L.A. where 11 Panthers defended the peoples office against at least 350 gestapo storm troopers, the Richmond Pigs seemed to be leary of messing with Panthers. However the "hall" didn't last for long, and so on January 7, 1970, they started their harassment program of the Panthers in Richmond.

Ray Edmerson was downtown selling papers when two pigs came by. One pig said out of the clear blue sky "what did you say?" Ray did not reply to this and kept on conducting propaganda. The pigs then proceeded to go down the block looked around, and then came back down the block where he was selling papers. One pig asked, "What's your name?" and Ray told him his name. He then said "let's go", Ray asked him was he under arrest and the pig said "yes"; then Ray asked "what for" and was told for fail-

ing to produce proper identification, smoking in the streets and littering. He began looking for his comrades, Gloria and Eugene, but they were nowhere in sight. As they were going around the corner onto 6th St., another brother, Joe, who was coming from the cleaners saw Ray being taken off by these pigs; he asked the pigs what the charges were and the Pigs said "littering". When they got to the pig station and were going through the first jail door, one of the pigs grabbed Ray by the arm and threw him to the floor, while the other pig said, "what's the matter, boy, can't you walk?" They also asked him was his nick name Daoud or Joe Cuba. He kept on saying his name was Ray Edmerson and that he lived at 520 Bissell St. They then said "You punks think you're smart and if you keep on repeating yourself, we'll have to put you in a cell and throw the key away." After they told him this, they took him into another room where they took his fingerprints for the Richmond F.B.I. When they finally let him go they said, "You can go back and tell all your other friends now".

So Ray Edmerson, a member of the Black Panther Party was downtown selling the Peoples News Service when "out of the gutters" two slimy pigs slinked onto the set and busted Ray for illegal possession of tobacco, a cigarette. Within a week the same slimy ilk arrested the brother for smoking a pipe downtown and placed Eugene under arrest. I asked them why Eugene was under arrest and they said, "It's none of your business, you're not under arrest yet." I then asked the pigs why they did they stop us and one pig said, "We were going to give you a citation for going 40 m.p.h. in a 25 m.p.h. zone, but you're so smart, we'll make it 60!" The pig then began to question me about my job, phone no., what I do, etc. I gave them my name, address, and place of birth and was then placed under arrest. At the time the pig was writing out the citation for speeding. He then told me to sign the ticket and I refused to do so. The pig told me to get against the wall, I complied and was then searched, handcuffed (tightly), and put in the pig mobile with Eugene. I told the pigs that we had some food in the back seat that was for the purpose of serving hungry children and asked if I could roll the windows up and lock the doors until I could notify someone to pick the food up. He said that he would do that. They had already searched the car and when I told him that he had no right to do that, he just looked at me, and laughed and said "I just love potatoes" there were potatoes in the car.

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CONT. ON PAGE 16

**BLACK PANTHER PARTY**

"Our Minister of Defense, Huey P. Newton, teaches us that in order to have security from the unceasing aggressions of the enemy, we must always be in a position to inflict a political consequence upon the aggressor for each act of aggression."

Eldridge Cleaver  
Minister of Information  
Black Panther Party

"A BLACK MAN HAS NO RIGHTS BUT A WHITE MAN IS GOING TO RESPECT."



"The fascists have already decided in advance to murder Chairman Bobby Seale in the electric chair."

INTERNATIONAL SECTION, B.P.P.  
Alger, Algeria  
SUBJECT: Press Release  
DATE: March 2, 1970  
CONCERNING: The pre-planned political murder of Bobby Seale, Chairman of the Black Panther Party, in the electric chair in the state of Connecticut.

The Primary Task of the American Revolution, at this point in our history, is to defeat the Number One maneuver of the fascist power structure, which is to make an example of Bobby Seale by putting him to death in the Electric Chair in the state of Connecticut.

The fascists have already decided in advance to murder Chairman Bobby Seale in their all-out effort to destroy the leadership of the Black Panther Party and to intimidate our membership in particular and all other progressive people and organizations. This should be crystal clear even to a blind man. The vicious political persecution of Chairman Bobby Seale ranges in time over a four year period--from the very beginning of the Black Panther Party--and, geographically, it follows a twisted trail of trumped-up charges from Oakland, Sacramento, Berkeley, San Francisco, Chicago, and now to Connecticut. The plot against Bobby Seale in particular is so outrageously obvious that even these shameless pigs should not have the gall to try to pull it off.

But the fact that they are going full speed ahead with their disgraceful conspiracy should make it clear to the American people, once and for all, that a desperate hour is upon us and we have no time to lose if we are to salvage the situation. Because one thing must be made absolutely clear to America: no matter what the White people of America are prepared to accept, Black people do not accept this ultimate attempt to bind and gag Bobby Seale with

death because of the fearless leadership that he has given to our people.

Black people will never accept this premeditated decision of the fascist power structure to murder Chairman Bobby Seale in the Electric Chair. So that the question is now posed, pure and simple: Is America going to have a Class War or a Race War? The fascists have already declared war upon the people. Will the people as a whole rise up to meet this challenge with a righteous People's War against these fascist pigs, or will Black people have to go it alone, thus transforming a dream of interracial solidarity into the nightmare of a Race War?

Our brothers are being murdered in their sleep by the shock troopers of the power structure; our offices are being subjected to all-out military attack; our lawyers are being sentenced to prison along with us; and the fascist Nixon Administration has unleashed the political police of the F.B.I. and thrown away all pretenses of justice and equality under the law. Lip-service to the Constitution of the United States of America has been replaced by outright fascist terror and naked repression. Hundreds of our Party members have been jacked-up on highly political charges. Scores of our Party members languish in jails and prisons, subjected to scandalously high bails that are tantamount to RANSOM. Throughout the length and breath of this depraved land, the situation is the same. It is nothing but an attempt to sabotage the 400 year struggle of our people for freedom and liberation.

Our Minister of Defense, Huey P. Newton, teaches us that in order to have security from the unceasing aggressions of the enemy, we must always be in a position to inflict a political consequence upon the aggressor for each

act of aggression. This attempt to murder Chairman Bobby Seale cold-bloodedly in the Electric Chair is an open provocation and the ultimate aggression against Black people. It is a calculated step taken by fascist pigs in the unfolding of their vicious blueprint of genocide against Black people. We, Black people, if we are forced to go it alone, must be prepared to unleash the ultimate political consequence upon this racist nation. The ultimate political consequence which Black people live in their power to unleash is RACE WAR. Indeed, we have been and at this very moment are the victims of a systematic racist repression. The Black Panther Party, as everybody knows, has taken a leading role in trying to avoid precisely this disastrous RACE WAR which the fascist oppressors have been working night and day to bring about. But we cannot and will not continue this policy to the point of racial suicide. We will not sacrifice Chairman Bobby Seale on the altar of interracial harmony if White people continue to sit back and allow this ghastly plot to go forward. So if the so-called freedom loving White people of America do not stand up now, while there are still a few moments of time left, and put an end to the persecution of Chairman Bobby Seale, then Black people will have to go it alone and step forward alone. This will mean the end of our dreams for the Class War which America needs and the beginning of the Race War which America cannot endure. This is the political consequence which America faces because of this unspeakably evil attempt to murder Chairman Bobby Seale in the Electric Chair.

BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
Min. of Information Eldridge Cleaver

EMORY DOUGLAS, ed., The Black Panther, vol. IV no. 14 (7 March 1970)

RUTH-MARION BARUCH (German-American, 1922-1997)  
PIRKLE JONES (American, 1914-2009)

*The Vanguard: A Photographic Essay on the Black Panthers*

BOCK  
Boston: Beacon Press, 1970  
25 x 20.5 cm, 127 pp, softcover, text and introduction by William Worthly in English

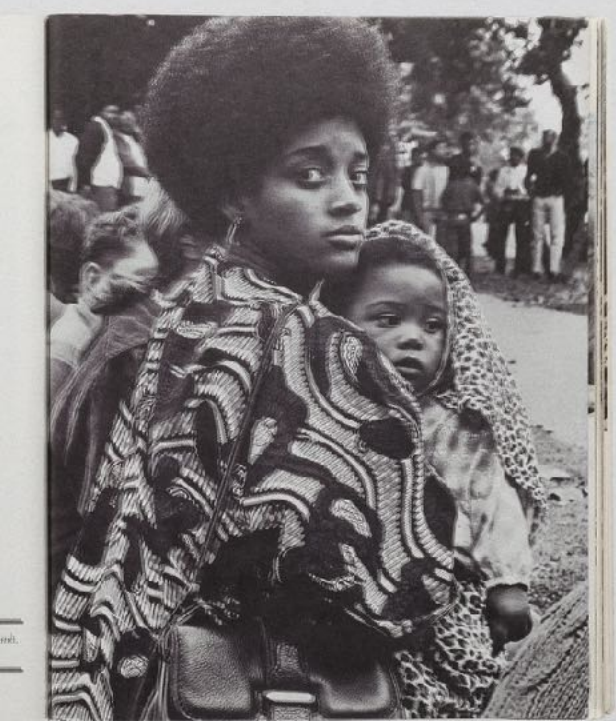
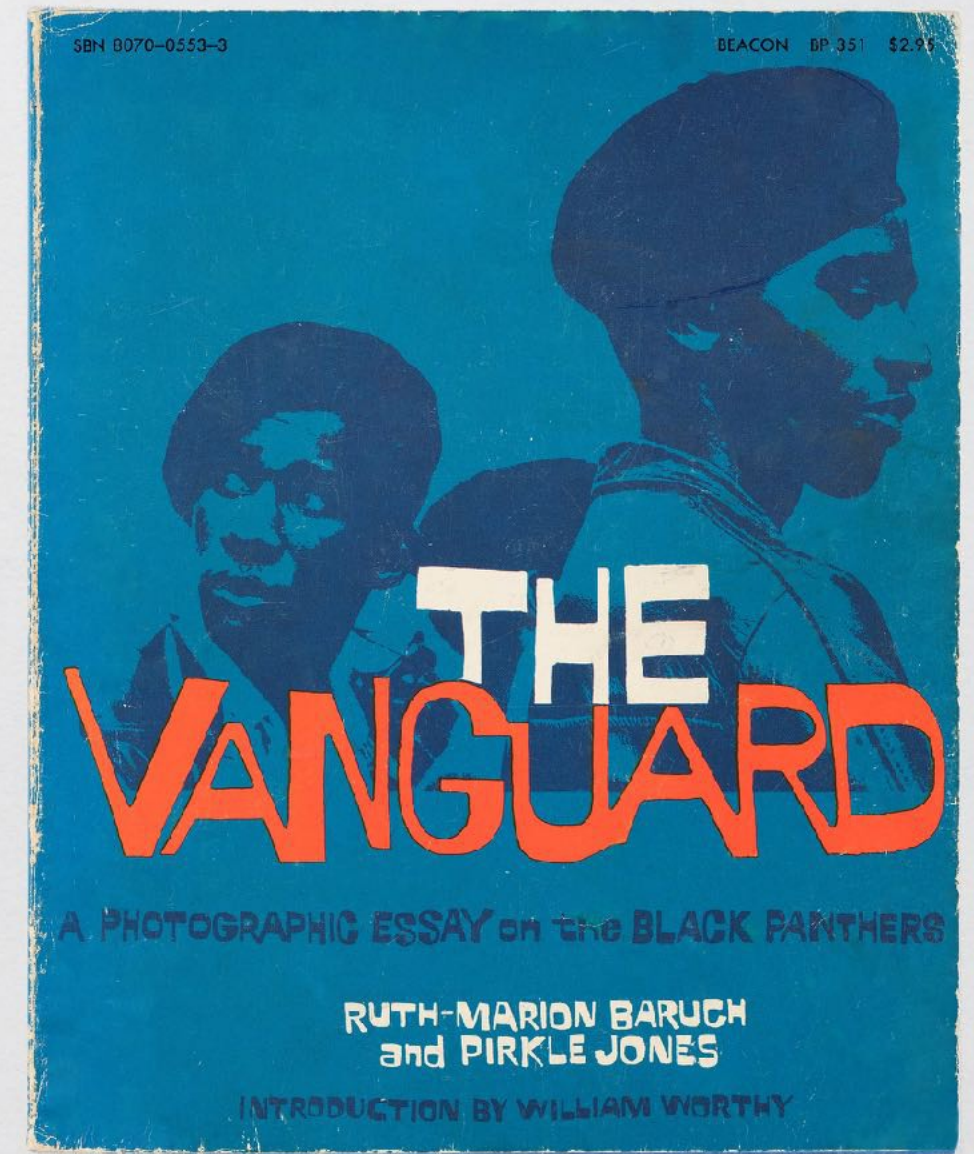
Founded in Oakland, California, in 1966 by college student activists Huey Newton and Bobby Seale, the Black Panther Party emerged in the latter years of the civil rights movement. Despite the outlawing of segregation in the United States in 1964 with the Civil Rights Act, the Black population still grappled with a steady tide of police brutality, white supremacy and daily discrimination. By 1968, the Black Panther Party had grown into a powerful political and militant organization, with membership rising to 2,000. Conceived as a paramilitary force to protect Black neighborhoods by "policing the police," the Black Panthers evolved into a Marxist revolutionary group, advocating economic empowerment and establishing grassroots community advancement programs across America.

Around this time, photographer Ruth-Marion Baruch became aware of the media's unjust portrayal of the party. Biased and demonizing, it depicted the organization as a dangerous force established to threaten the lives of white people. Working alongside her husband Pirkle Jones to dispel these myths, Baruch met with Kathleen Cleaver, the party's then-communications secretary, who granted them access to the inner workings of the organization.

*The Vanguard: A Photographic Essay on the Black Panthers* unites historical essays, timelines of party member harassment and rules of the organization with Baruch and Jones' assured portraits, tender moments and snapshots of daily Black Panther Party mobilization. "We can only tell you: This is what we saw. This is what we felt. These are the people," says Baruch of the project. In a testament to their accuracy, these "as they were" depictions of the Black Panthers would later be used by the party in their printed political ephemera.

The book opens with the promise of a new beginning: a young father and party member tenderly holding his newborn baby. It signals a desire for a world fit for this child. The next page reveals the bullet hole-riddled windows of the Black Panther Party National Headquarters, shattered by two Oakland police officers, a hard-hitting reminder of the party's continued fight. The book proceeds to fixate on protest actions via rallies, book sales and member discussions. The party's visionaries, such as Eldridge Cleaver and Emory Douglas, fervently address watchful crowds in visceral and charged scenes—every action rises to meet the struggle.

The book closes with another image of a young baby, this time in the arms of its mother, bringing the viewer full circle. The photograph reiterates the core tenets of the Black Panther Party, a Black Power organization focused on class struggle and community support, whose services included free meals for children, healthcare and educational programs. The book's message runs counter to the Federal Bureau of Investigation's vilified depiction of the party as militant criminals, "a threat to the internal security of the country [United States]." (FM)



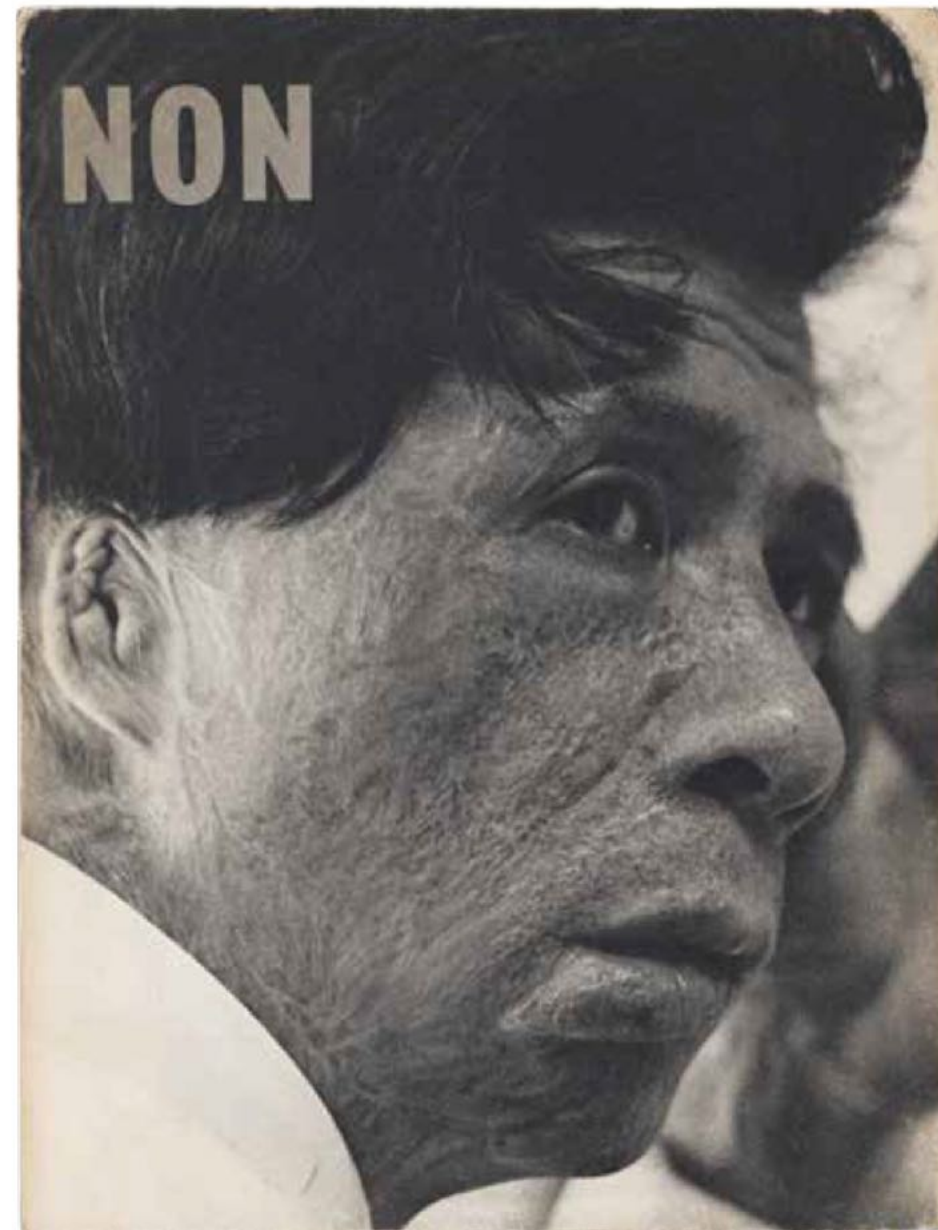
Four Black Kids by Dr. Freeman Park, Oakland, California, July 28, 1966

**CLASS 1 / PART III**  
**From Anpo to Apartheid:**  
**Protest Photography**  
**Across Borders**

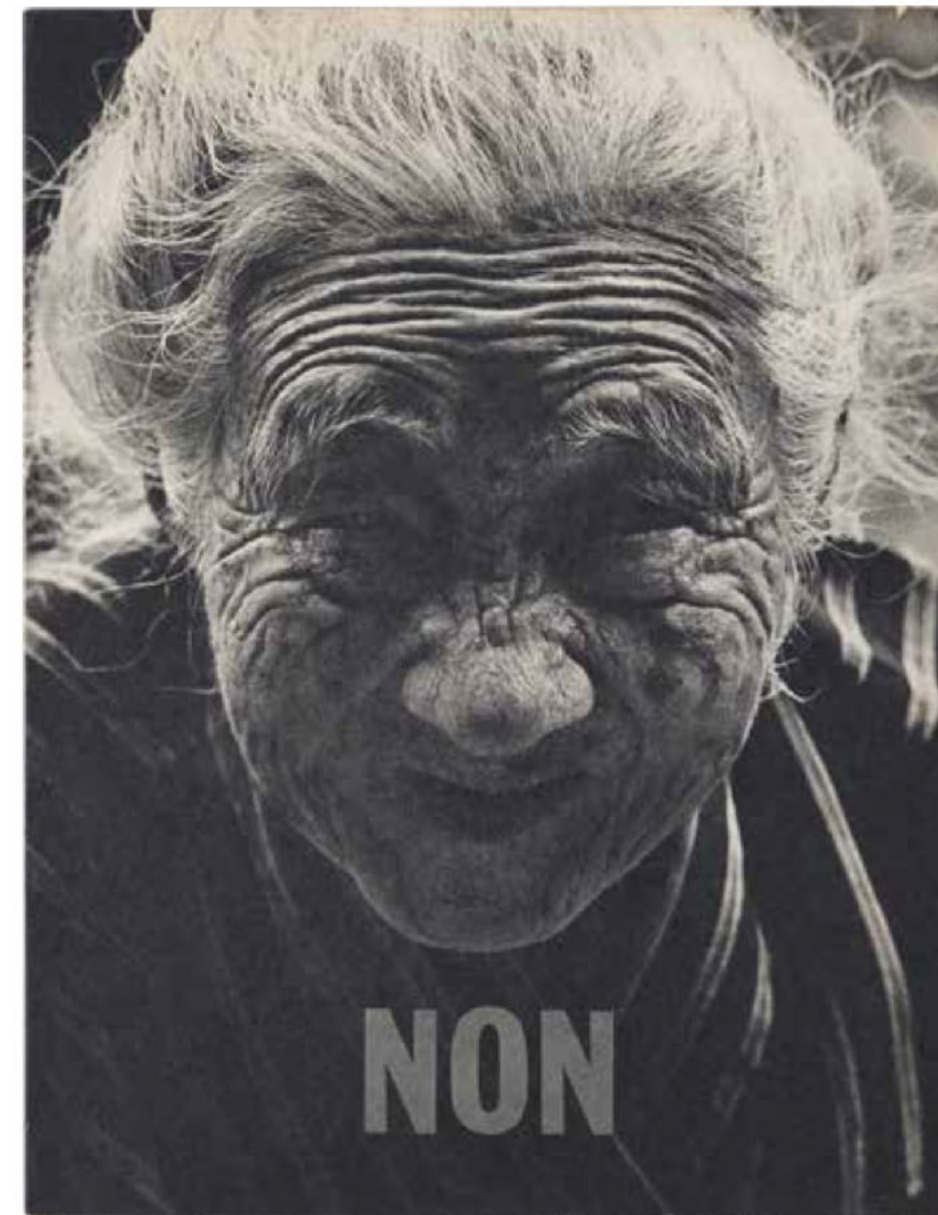
KENJI ASANO (Japanese)  
 TAKAO IIDA (Japanese)  
 AKIO TAMURA (Japanese)  
 editors

*NON* (volumes 1-2)  
 ZINES / JOURNALS  
 Tokyo: Non Editorial Department, 1969-1970  
 Volume 1: *Han-sen eno shisaku* (November 1969)  
 Volume 2: *Yo Okinawa wa kugayo* (November 1970)  
 30 x 22.5 cm, first editions, unpaginated  
 [74 pp], softcovers, text in Japanese

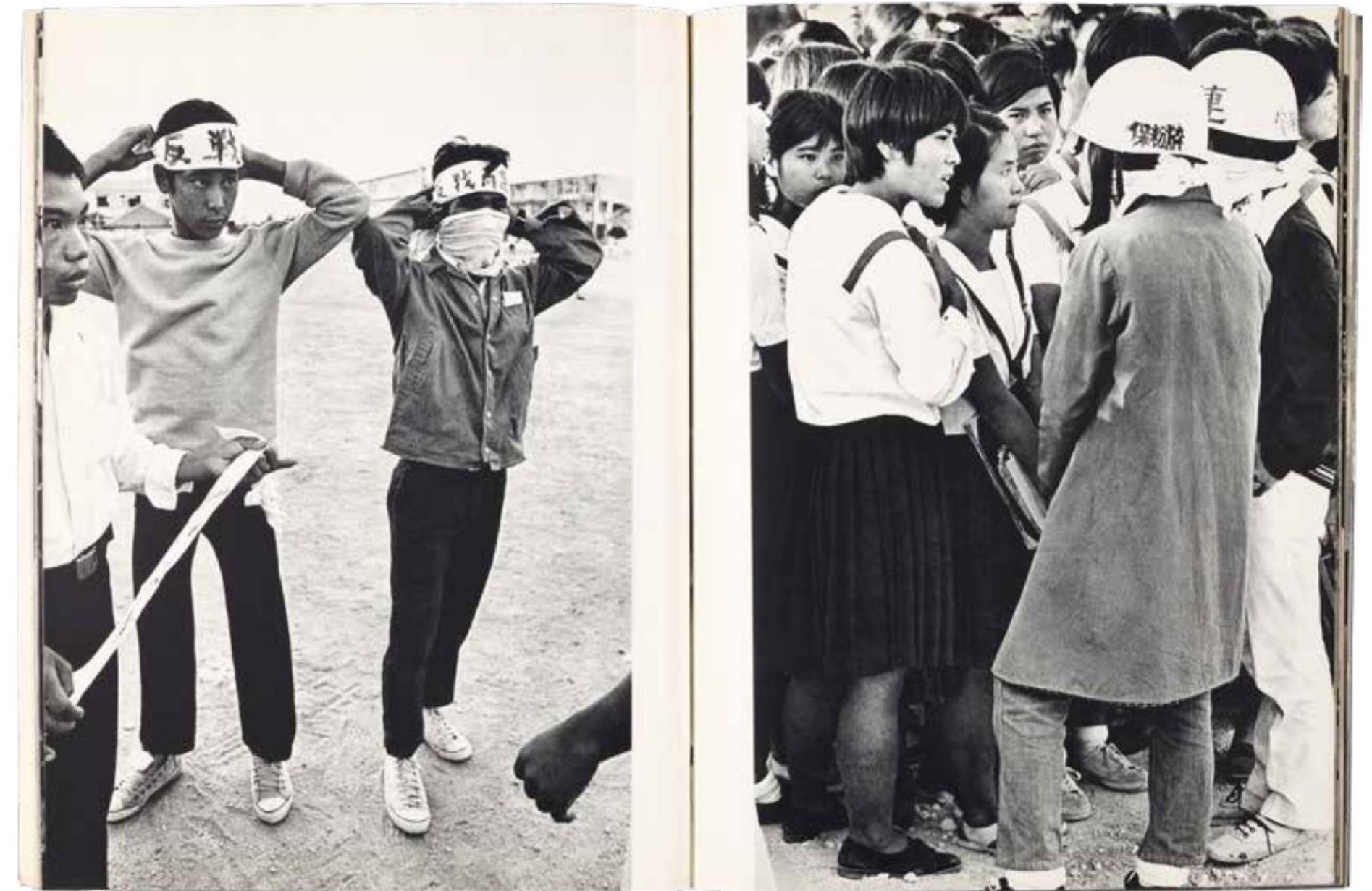
Founded in Japan in 1969, *NON* magazine only issued two volumes: *Han-sen eno shisaku* (*Thoughts on Antiwar*) in November 1969 and *Yo Okinawa wa kugayo* (*Okinawa is a Bitter World*) in November 1970. The magazine's photographs, printed in an inky, rich photogravure, are visual reminders of the Second World War's lasting impact and turbulent postwar politics. The first issue, which shares on its cover the scarred profile of a hibakusha, a survivor of the atomic bombs that fell on Japan at the end of the Second World War, addresses the contentious government policies surrounding the tenth anniversary and impending renewal of the revised 1960 Anpo treaty. Showing both the literal and figurative scars of the war and the subsequent American military occupation of Japan, the magazine features images of war casualties and bomb craters, wounds, burn scars and birth defects suffered by the Japanese people, as well as military processions and coeval Anpo protests. The second issue focuses on Okinawa's geographic role as a cornerstone in implementing the Anpo security treaty. It presents high-contrast black-and-white photographs of Okinawan daily life and its landscape punctuated by ominous and closely cropped views of military planes overhead. A publication supporting anti-Anpo sentiment, *NON* was initially conceived to have at least twelve issues, with the final page of the second issue displaying a near-empty grid awaiting the insertion of thumbnail images of subsequent issues that never materialized. (CM)



*NON*: *Han-sen eno shisaku*, volume 1 (1969)



*NON*: *Yo Okinawa wa kugayo*, volume 2 (1970)



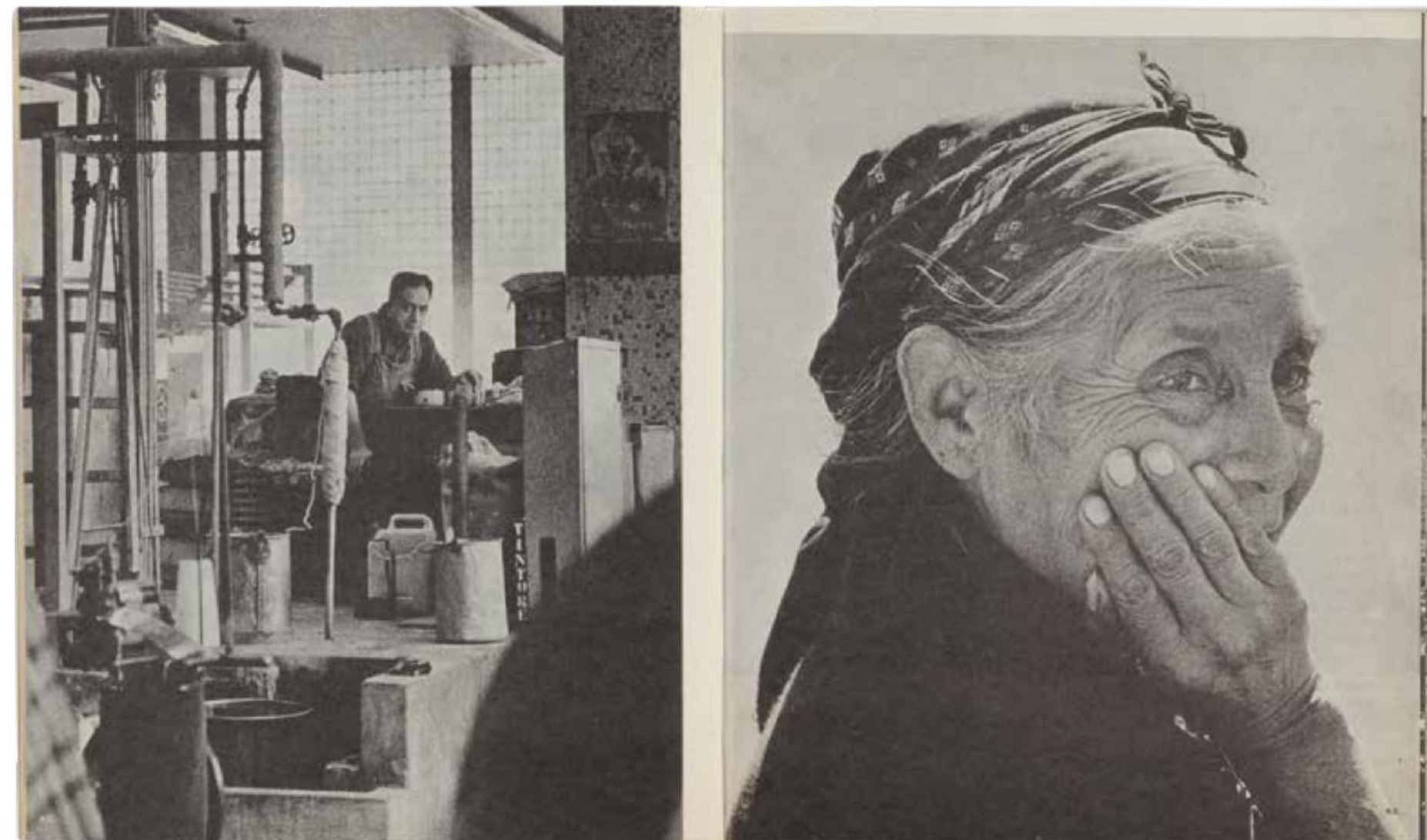
CHILI  
SEPTEMBER  
1973  
KOEN WESSING

KOEN WESSING (Dutch, 1942-2011)

*Chili September 1973*  
ZINE / BOOK  
Amsterdam: De Bezige Bij, 1973  
25 x 20 cm, unpaginated [48 pp], softcover,  
without text

Documenting the days in the immediate aftermath of the September 1973 overthrow of Chile's democratically-elected President Salvador Allende by Augusto Pinochet, Dutch photographer Koen Wessing's *Chili September 1973* presents a firsthand account of the shock, confusion and horror experienced by the Chilean people in the face of state oppression. Present in Santiago during the first tumultuous days of Pinochet's authoritarian reign, Wessing captures the ubiquity of Chilean armed forces throughout the city and their efforts to herd dissenters into the infamous National Stadium, where many were tortured and murdered. Released only months after the coup, *Chili September 1973*, comprised of twenty-four black-and-white photographs, candidly features one of these shocking executions as the zine-like book's climax, bearing witness to the inhuman brutality of Pinochet's burgeoning fascist regime. An excellent example of the "aesthetics of urgency," the absence of text and elaborate flourishes in this slim volume forcefully disseminates Wessing's harrowing images. The publication, printed on an inexpensive matte paper wrapped with a kraft-paper-type cover imprinted with a rubber stamp-like type, is masterfully sequenced. Opening with shots of book burnings that progress to crowds of anguished faces and lined-up prisoners corralled onto buses and into the stadium by armed guards, the pacing is impactful as images of civilians in the streets and behind chained link fences in the book's latter half are assaulted and threatened at gunpoint by Pinochet's military police. (CM)





ARMINDO CARDOSO (Portuguese, born 1943)

*Chile o muerte*  
BOOK

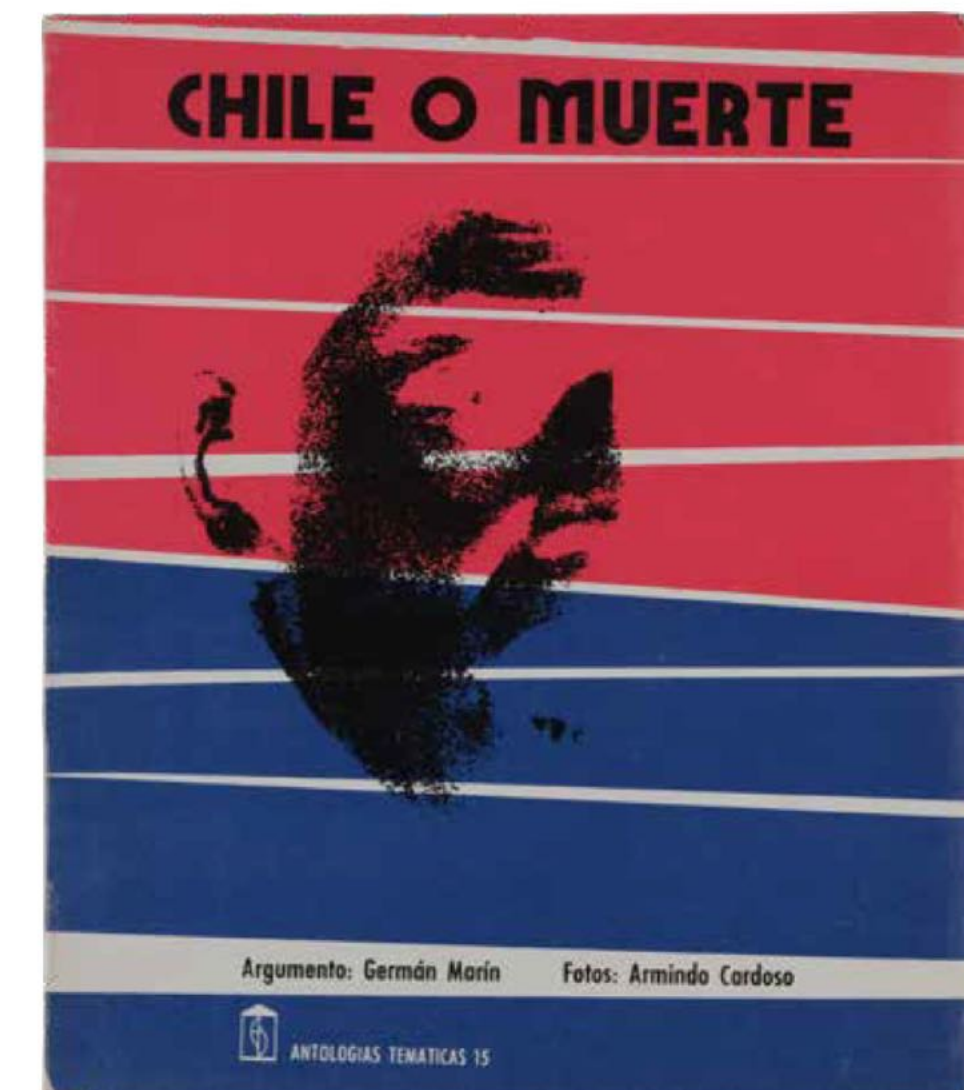
Mexico City: Editorial Diógenes, 1974  
22 x 19 cm, unpaginated [348 pp], softcover,  
text by Germán Marín in Spanish

Sweeping in its content and scope, *Chile o muerte* (*Chile or Death*) takes a unique approach to exploring, discussing and celebrating Chile's historical struggle with forms of colonialist authoritarianism. The photobook comprises photographs by Armino Cardoso and text by Germán Marín with other mixed media to visualize a constellation of the history, culture and indomitable spirit of the Chilean people during a period of fascist oppression following the 1973 coup d'état.

Despite years of election interference by the American CIA, Chileans elected Marxist candidate Salvador Allende to the office of president on 4 September 1970. Allende's socialist administration, which initiated significant investment in public programs, was popular among Chileans, who embraced the president's charisma. However, on 11 September 1973, with assistance from the CIA, a group of military officers led by General Augusto Pinochet seized power from Allende, who supposedly died by suicide, though many believe he was assassinated. The fascist coup d'état instigated a brutal authoritarian regime led by Pinochet that was characterized by political suppression, torture, extrajudicial murder and forced disappearances until its fall in 1988.

Cardoso's photographs featured in *Chile o muerte*, taken between 1970 and 1973, traveled an arduous trail before being included in the publication. Predominantly focused on the people's reaction to an infatuation with President Allende's charm, these pictures threatened Cardoso's safety under Pinochet's repressive regime. After two months of the dictator's chaotic administration, Cardoso fled to Paris with help from the French embassy—but not before burying his negatives, which he was forced to abandon. However, thanks to his tenacity and French diplomatic assistance, Cardoso recovered his photographs in January 1974.

Starting with a series of images that recount the colonization of Chile, *Chile o muerte* consists of a wide diversity of visual and textual content, including illustrations, advertisements, historical photographs relating to communism and capitalism, periodical pages, government documents, works of art, political statements akin to protest signs and numerous photographs captured by Cardoso. Drawing parallels between Chile's colonial past and its modern struggle with fascism, Cardoso's work evocatively visualizes a long history of battling authoritarianism. Utilizing various stylistic and printing techniques, *Chile o muerte* documents Chile's foreign oppression while making a poignant case for its enduring autonomy. (CM)





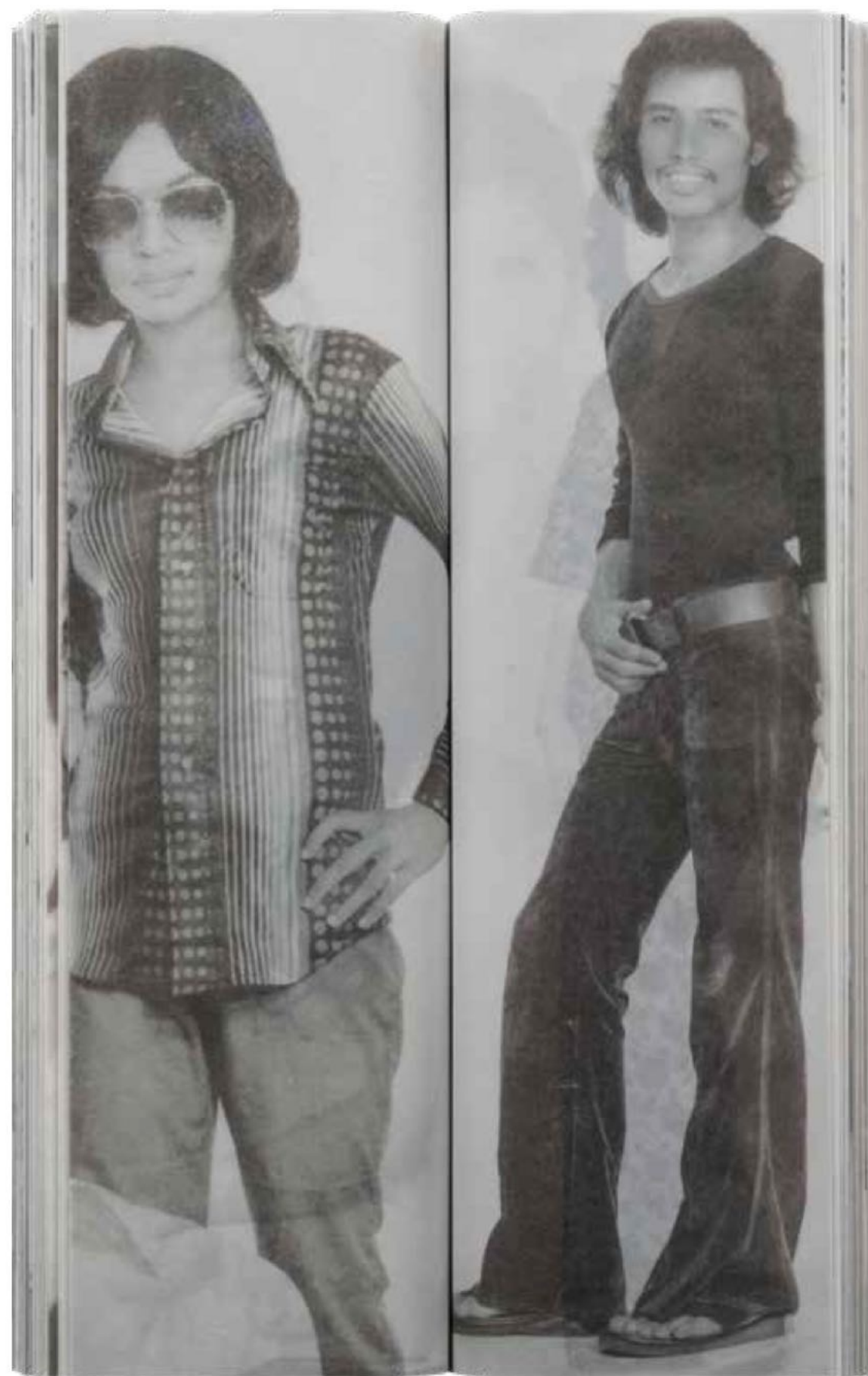
LUKAS BIRK (Austrian, born 1982), editor

*Yangon Fashion 1979—Fashion=Resistance*  
BOOK  
Yangon: Franglich Publishing, 2020  
30 x 10.5 cm, edition of 300, unpaginated,  
softcover in slipcase, text in Burmese  
and English

Immediately recognizable by its slim vertical format, photographer and researcher Lukas Birk's *Yangon Fashion 1979—Fashion=Resistance* insistently calls attention to the forms of self-representation used by residents of Myanmar to assert their unique identity and agency during government-imposed cultural and social isolation. Compiled and published by Birk in 2020, *Yangon Fashion 1979* comprises photographs taken by Har Si Yone at his Bellay Photo Studio and in multiple unknown studios that show full-scale and sometimes intimate portraits of young men and women outfitted in typically Western clothing.

Having researched photography in Southeast Asia, China and the Indian subcontinent, as well as having worked on a box camera project in the streets of Afghanistan, Birk sought to investigate the public photographic archive of Myanmar when the country opened its borders in 2013—only to find that it did not exist. Since then, Birk has founded the Myanmar Photo Archive, which has amassed over 20,000 objects over nine years, including “studio portraiture, private photo albums, official photography, company records, scientific research photography, documentary images, as well as studio accessories, slides and negatives” dating from 1890 to the present day. Emerging from this archive, *Yangon Fashion 1979* resurrects the powerful work of historical photographers in Myanmar who used their cameras to resist a period of government-imposed cultural repression and international isolationism.

Characterized by inflation, food shortages and abuses of dictatorial power, Myanmar in the 1970s was controlled by an authoritarian regime that instilled a one-party “socialist state” to isolate the country from the rest of the world. During this time, the Burmese government heavily dissuaded its citizens from engaging with international fashion trends, instead encouraging the widespread use of traditional garb such as the longyi for both men and women. Amidst these restrictions on personal freedom, Yangon's youth found sanctuary in the city's many photo studios, where they could dress how they pleased. Friends exchanged small, expensive photographs of themselves in Western dress to challenge the regime's oppressive control. Intermittently broken up by more intimate, close-up portraits and detailed views of the sitters' clothing, *Yangon Fashion 1979* stands as a testament to the power of Yangon's youth to assert their agency in identifying and presenting themselves according to their own tastes and values. Birk's recuperative book meets the urgent necessity to shed light on a country's photographic history that has been greatly overlooked in the canon of international photography. (CM)



HTET NAING (Burmese)

*Arr Zar Ni Tway Nay Tel Tine Pyi*  
POSTER  
Myanmar: Yangon.design, c. 2021  
unknown dimensions, ink on paper, text in  
Burmese and English, photographs by  
Har Si Yone, et al.

Emblazoned with a red star and text referencing lyrics from the first verse in *Kabar ma kyay bu* (*Not Until the End of the World*), the protest anthem of the Burmese uprising—a tongue-in-cheek twist on Myanmar's national anthem—Htet Naing's poster *Arr Zar Ni Tway Nay Tel Tine Pyi* (*The Martyrs of the Country Live*) consists of two vertically-stitched photographs showing young dissidents amid clashes with state authorities, outfitted in makeshift protective gear such as gloves, bandanas, goggles and hardhats. In February 2021, leaders of Myanmar's armed forces led a coup d'état, deposing the democratically-elected members of the National League for Democracy—the country's ruling party—and reinstalling an authoritarian military junta in their place. Armed insurgencies immediately broke out across the country, and since then, more than 3,000 people have been killed, 17,000 detained, and over 1.5 million displaced. Entreating the viewer to “Respect Our Frontline Heroes,” *Arr Zar Ni Tway Nay Tel Tine Pyi* by graphic artist Htet Naing—who is currently unreachable—is a stark and invigorating commemoration of the victims of Burmese authoritarianism. Initially available through Yangon.design, a no longer active website and Instagram account of Myanmar creatives, individuals could download this poster (and many others) for use in protests. (CM)





**KALLE LASN** (Estonian-Canadian, born 1942)

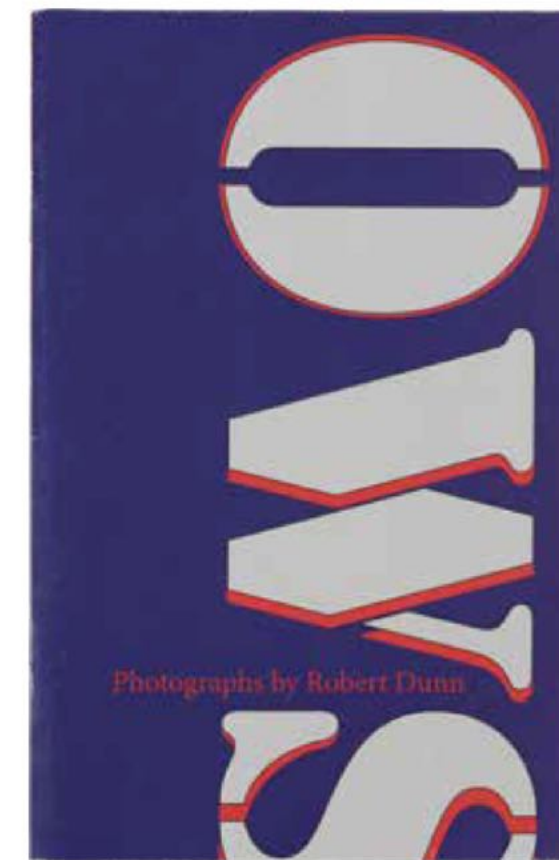
*What Is Our One Demand?*  
POSTER

New York: Adbusters Media Foundation, 2011  
variable dimensions, offset on paper, text in English, art direction by Pedro Inoue and Will Brown

Showing a ballerina posed delicately atop Wall Street's iconic *Charging Bull* sculpture, Estonian-Canadian filmmaker, author, magazine editor and Adbusters co-founder Kalle Lasn's poster, *What is Our One Demand?*, helped spark the fall 2011 Occupy Wall Street Movement. Suggesting the power of peaceful protest in the face of aggression, the dancer's thoughtful grace and serene disposition are a foil to the bull—ostensibly symbolic of economic optimism and prosperity.

Conceived by the anti-consumerist Canadian nonprofit foundation Adbusters, the occupation of Lower Manhattan, New York City, near Wall Street, protested the absence of legal consequences for those responsible for the financial crisis, money's corrupting impact on politics and rapidly increasing wealth disparity. For nearly two months, starting in mid-September, thousands marched under the banner "We are the 99%," while hundreds of activists continuously occupied Zuccotti Park in Lower Manhattan. Following their eviction on 15 November, the Occupy Wall Street movement lost momentum. By that point, however, it had already given rise to wider Occupy protests around the United States and other Western nations. The movement, suffering from an ambitious and somewhat bifurcated set of goals, ultimately achieved very little in the way of legislation yet left a deep and lasting mark on the American psyche.

While thoughtfully and poetically designed—reading "What is Our One Demand?" in red lettering that contrasts starkly against black-and-white imagery—this poster made its most significant impact by popularizing the #OccupyWallStreet hashtag. Well-known today, the moniker gathered support for the movement and disseminated its ideology through its widespread use on social media. The poster's design and messaging, which subversively harnesses mainstream consumer advertising language, are representative of Adbuster's anti-advertising ethos that seeks to de-colonize public discourse. (CM)



**ROBERT DUNN** (American, born 1950)

*OWS*  
ZINE

New York: Coral Press, 2012  
22 x 14 cm, first edition, unpaginated [52 pp], softcover, without text

Robert Dunn's 2012 zine *OWS*, an abbreviation for Occupy Wall Street, elegantly captures a perspective on the movement that eschews images of overt outrage or mass demonstrations, offering a more delicate, thoughtful and artistic approach. Taken in Zuccotti Park in Lower Manhattan throughout the fall of 2011, Dunn's photographs chronicle the spaces, ephemera and people at the epicenter of a movement that challenged the status quo. From 17 September to 15 November 2011, Occupy Wall Street consisted of thousands of activists who overran the park to express outrage over economic inequality and the corrosive influences of money in politics.

Dunn has been prolific in creating zines and photobooks, publishing some forty-nine since his first with *OWS* in 2012. Candidly and artfully addressing subjects from human emotion to the sites and scenes of New York City, Dunn uses photography as an exploration of color and form, even when covering such historically significant events as Occupy Wall Street. In the zine, he approaches his subjects with both levity and reverence. From scenes showing activists' makeshift homes to an evocative shot of a sign in the zine's last image that reads, "TRUE FREE DOM!" resting upside-down as if it were a reversed American flag, to a shouting man with cupped hands silhouetted by a red balloon, Dunn's *OWS* captures a tangible sense of the excitement, defiance and camaraderie felt for two months in Zuccotti Park, while showing respect for the gravitas of the movement and its ever-relevant ideologies. (CM)



DANNY LYON (American, born 1942)

*Now*

POSTER

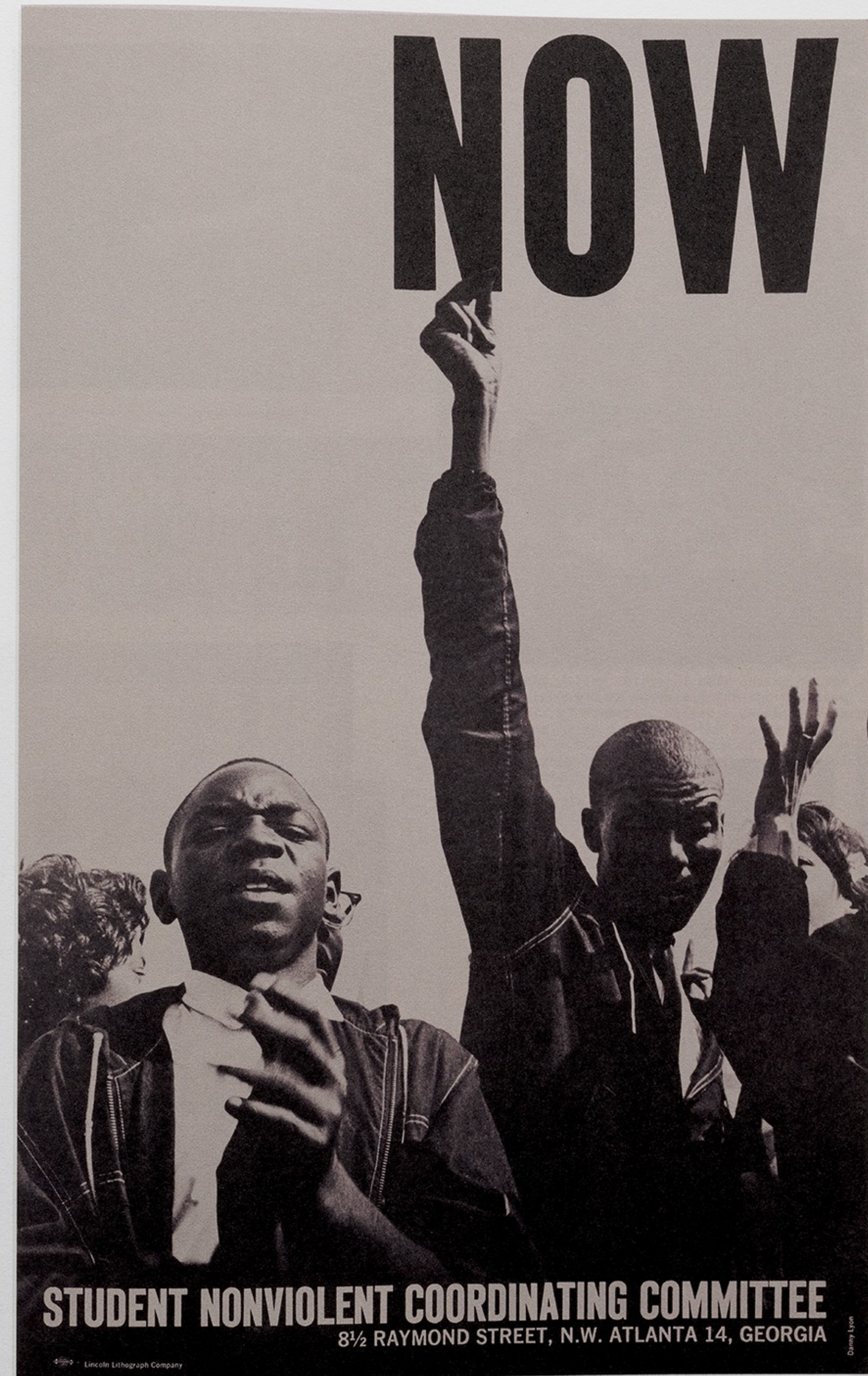
Atlanta: Student Nonviolent Coordinating  
Committee, 1963

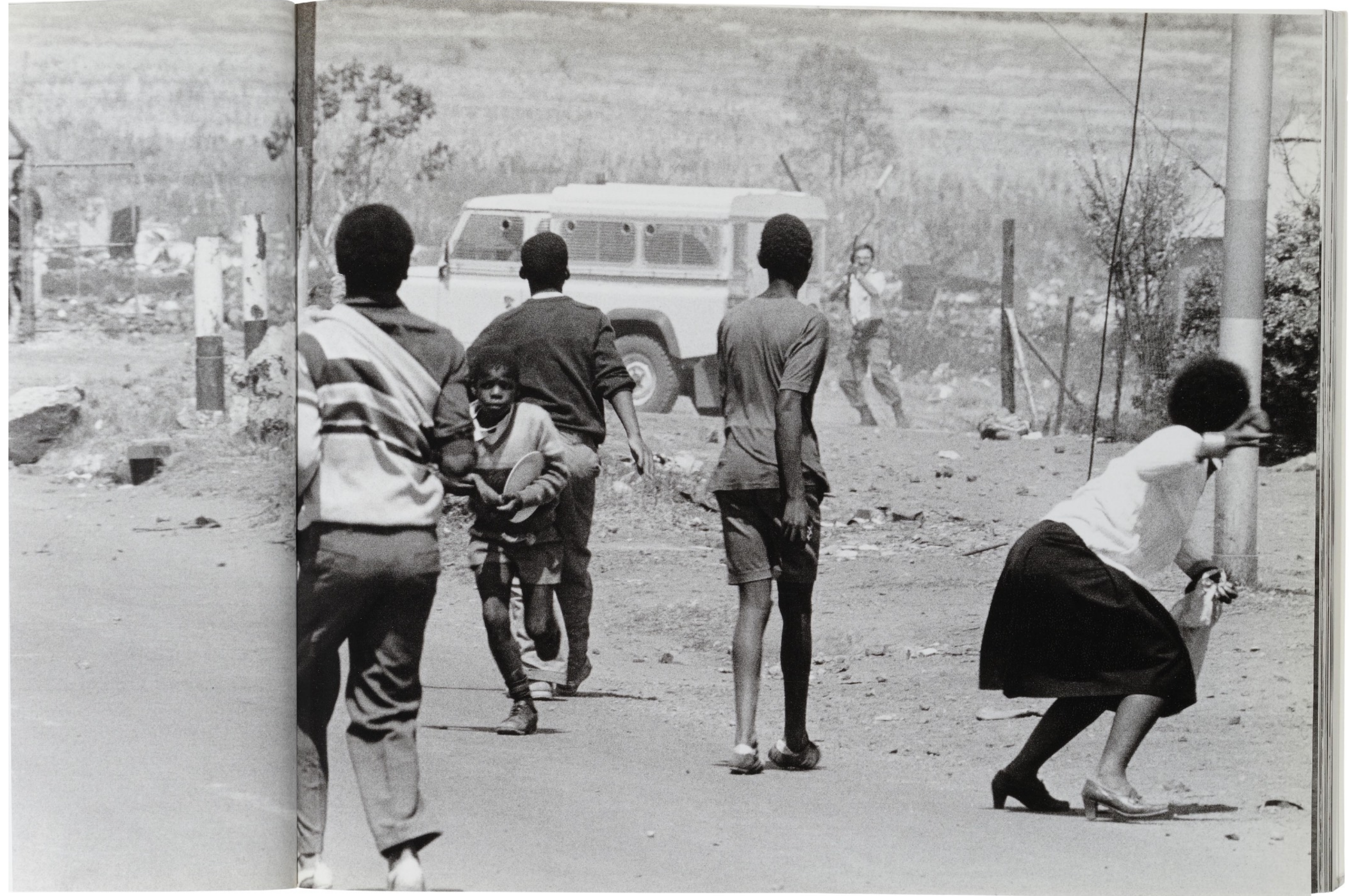
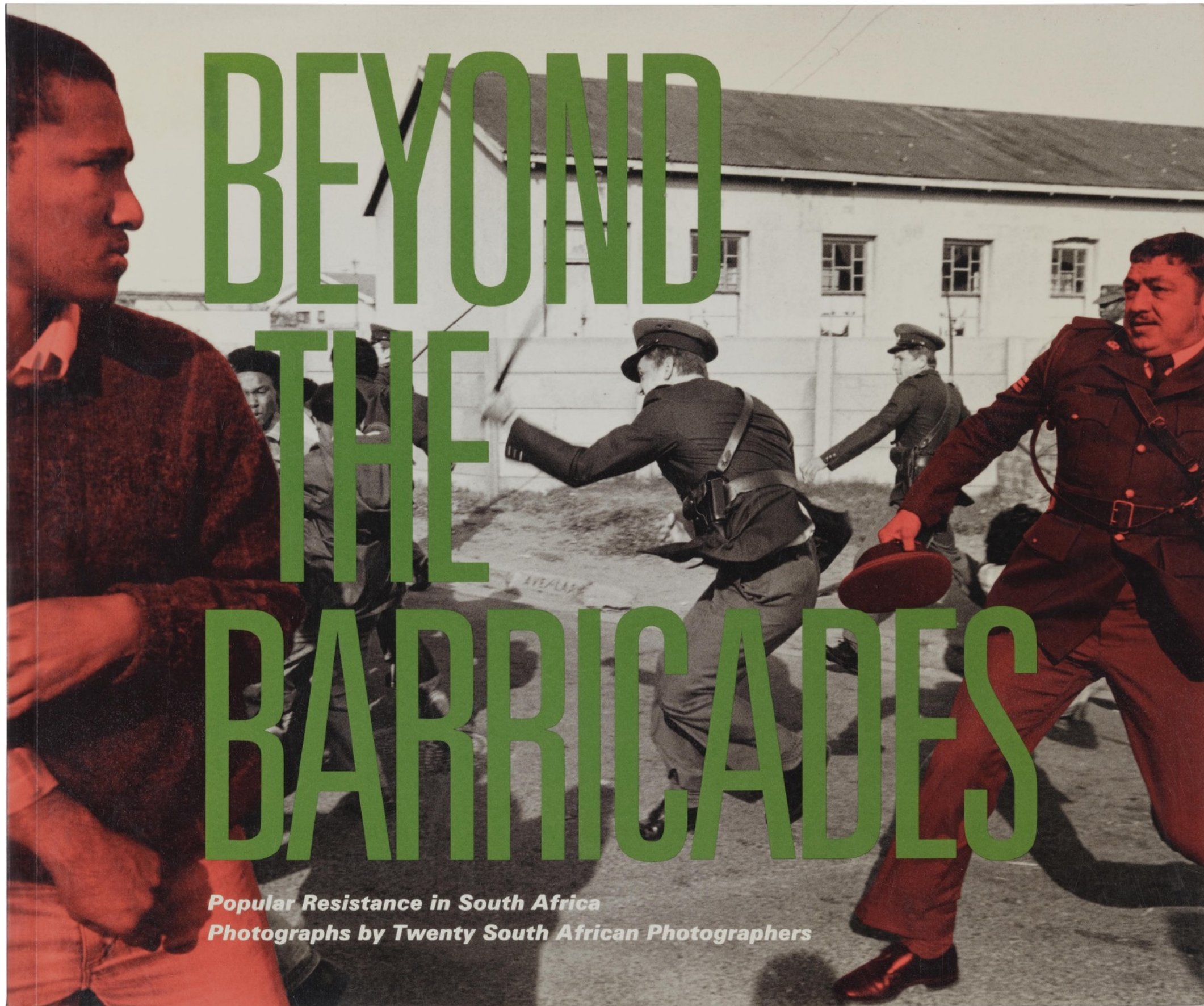
55 x 35 cm, offset on paper, text in English

A self-professed "documentarian," Danny Lyon's photographs remain iconic emblems of America's most fraught and progressive historical moments. His work helped define a photojournalistic approach in which photographers place themselves at the innermost core of their subjects' circumstances. In the words of Lyon, "You put a camera in my hand, I want to get close to people. Not just physically close, emotionally close, all of it."

The first staff photographer for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) from 1962 to 1964, Lyon—driven by his sympathetic eye and indefatigable compulsion—hitchhiked from Chicago to Cairo, Illinois, in the summer of 1962 to give a face to the burgeoning youth wing of the civil rights movement. SNCC, a non-violent grassroots organization formed by Black college students in 1960, quickly gained strongholds across the South and was instrumental in the movement's progression through sit-ins, demonstrations and voter registrations.

*Now*, one of five campaign posters illustrated with Lyon's photographs, utilizes a moment from the August 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom in which defiant and impassioned student members sang freedom songs in pursuit of change. The posters, circulated in the thousands, stirred America's consciousness, garnering sympathy for the movement. Reflecting on his photographs for SNCC in 2020, Lyon remarked, "They're raw material made in the middle of the struggle and they're untouched by time." (FM)





Twenty South African Photographers, *Beyond the Barricades*, 1989

# BLEAK REALITY



01



Kris Graves, *A Bleak Reality*, 2018

# **CLASS 1 / PART IV**

## **Reflection**

## **CLASS 2**

# **Canon, Curation and the Afterlife of Protest Images**

**CLASS 2 / PART I**  
**Student Presentations**  
**and Synthesis**

**CLASS 2 / PART II**

**Bodies, Rights and the**

**Visual Culture of Gender-Based Protest**

# GENDER

ESSAY BY KERRY MANDERS  
DESCRIPTIONS BY DIANA FLATTO (DF),  
ELIZA MCDONOUGH (EM) AND MARJORIE ORNSTON (MO)

DIG ON IT BABY!!!!

the BRATMOBILE D.C. as they affectionately like to be called will soon be playing lots of shows in and around the d.c. metro area. fixed dates thus far are: 7/4 at the smith house-b-q, 7/10 with the VANGUARDS at 5605 33rd st. NW, 7/11 with Tsunami at FT. RENO, and 8/5 at d.c. space. They will also appear on Don Smiths radio show "the TEEN SCENE" at a date T.B.A.. This will be on WMUC fm, college pk.. If you live in that vicinity listen to dons show every

sunday from 6-9, as some girls have been known to take over his show, and play records and talk about cool stuff. so tune in!

P. 4

## ANGRY GRRRL ZINE SCENE...YEAH!

\*here is a list of some angry grrrl zines you can get. I'd send 'em all \$1 and 2 stamps. for info etc. send a S.A.S.E. \*

Bikini Kill Zine\* 1023 S. Adams  
Olympia, WA 98501  
Girl Germs\* P.O. Box 1743 Oly, WA  
98507  
Rutabega\* ★

BLARG!\* P.O. Box 4047  
Berkeley CA 94704

Jigsaw\* P.O. Box 2345, Oly, WA, 98507  
Sister Nobody\* ★

Chainsaw\* ★

Teenage Gang Debs/Action Teen\* 5812  
Midhill St. Bethesda, MD 20817

\*if you have any info on other angry grrrl zines, please let us know so we can pass the word ♡xx

★ Next issue

P.5

From pg. 2.

soaped it. I guess the cancel ink sticks to the soap wax and can be wiped/rinsed off later. Never pay for stamps again, man!  
(Courtesy of L. MAPPEO) ★

fuck the motherfucking  
PRESIDENT!

EXTRA...EXTRA...EXTRA...EXTRA

Clarence Thomas is not your friend.

Recent supreme court nominee Clarence Thomas, also known as the wolfe in black sheeps clothing is not to be trusted.

no explanation was given.

P.7



this is a photo of Kathleen, she is the singer in BIKINI KILL. they are a band from Olympia, WA and are hanging out here in d.c. for a while. Tobi Bill, and Kathi are also in B.K.. They just recorded here at some real studio that looks

like its off of star Trek, and

there is also a cassette available that they recorded in April/may with patrick in olympia. Its totally rad. I think its around \$5. You can contact them here until august at 3217 19th st. NW, WDC 20010. and after that at 1023 S. Adams #1196, OLY, WA 98501. They'll also probably be on Don Smiths radio show. july 7 from 6-9 on WMUC, in college pk, MD 89.1 FM.

THINK OF IT AS A STEEL BIKINI

**WOMEN'S BODIES**

**91**

**WOMEN'S RIGHTS**

**114**

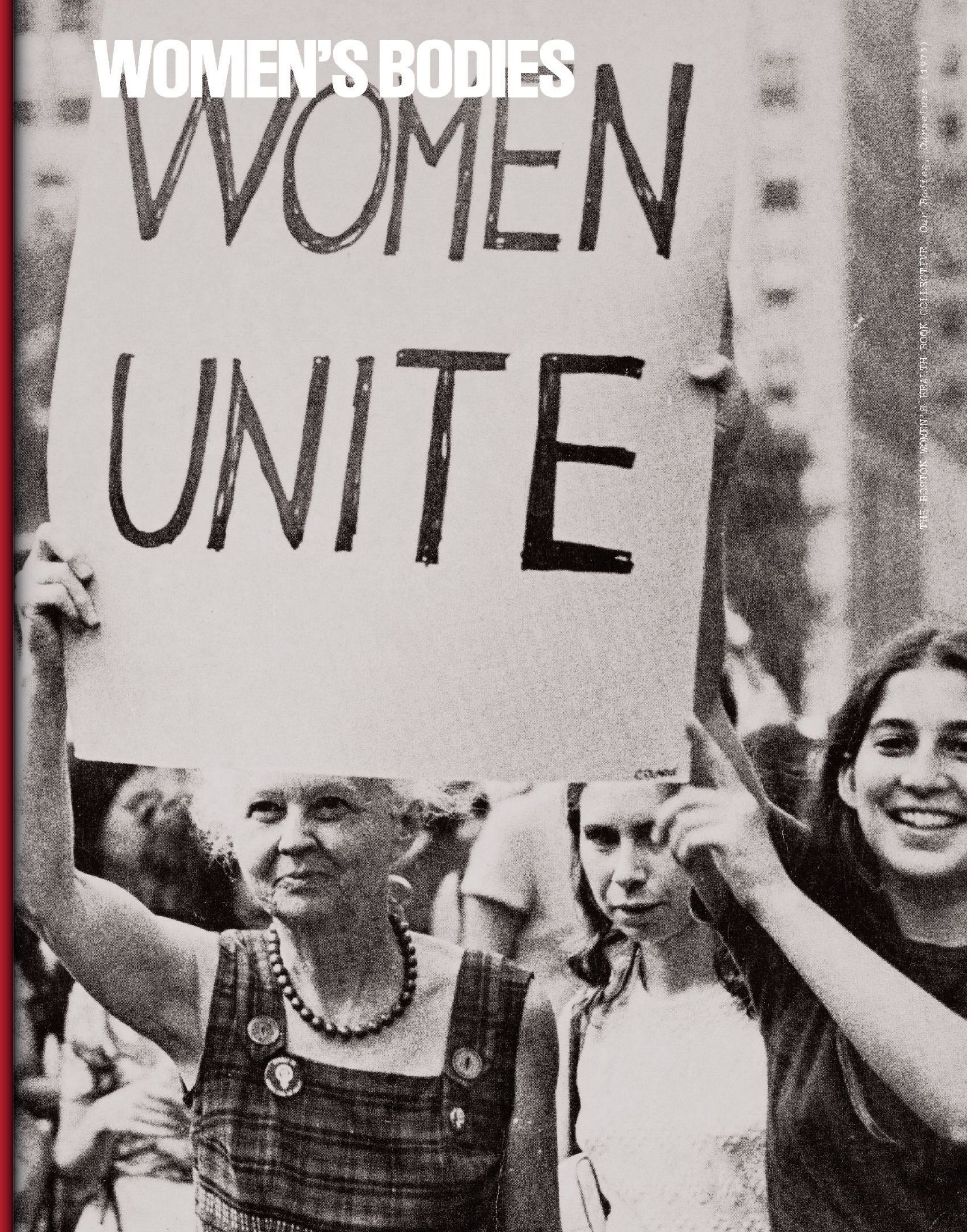
**AIDS**

**150**

**LGBTQ+ RIGHTS**

**165**

**WOMEN'S BODIES**



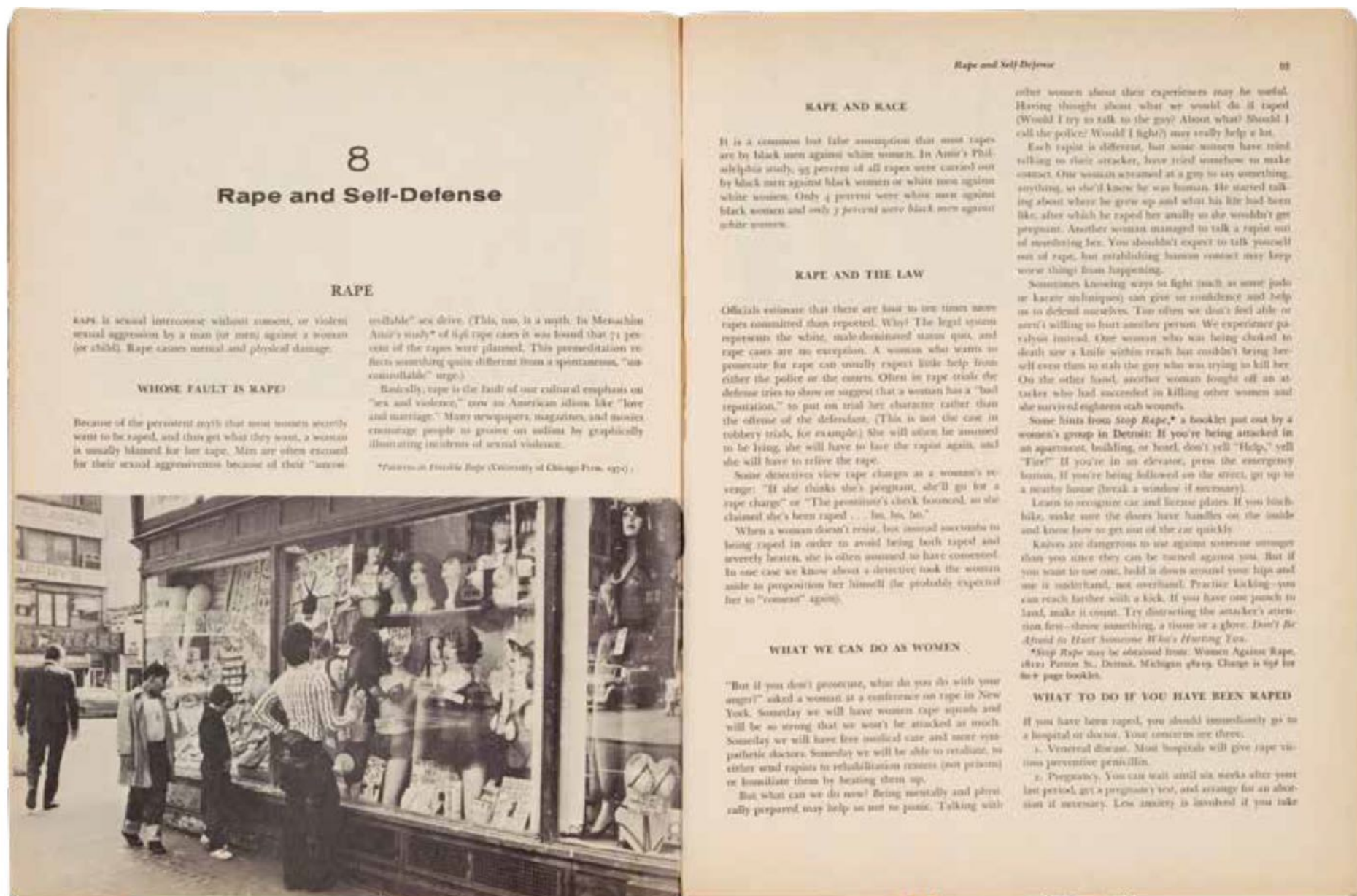
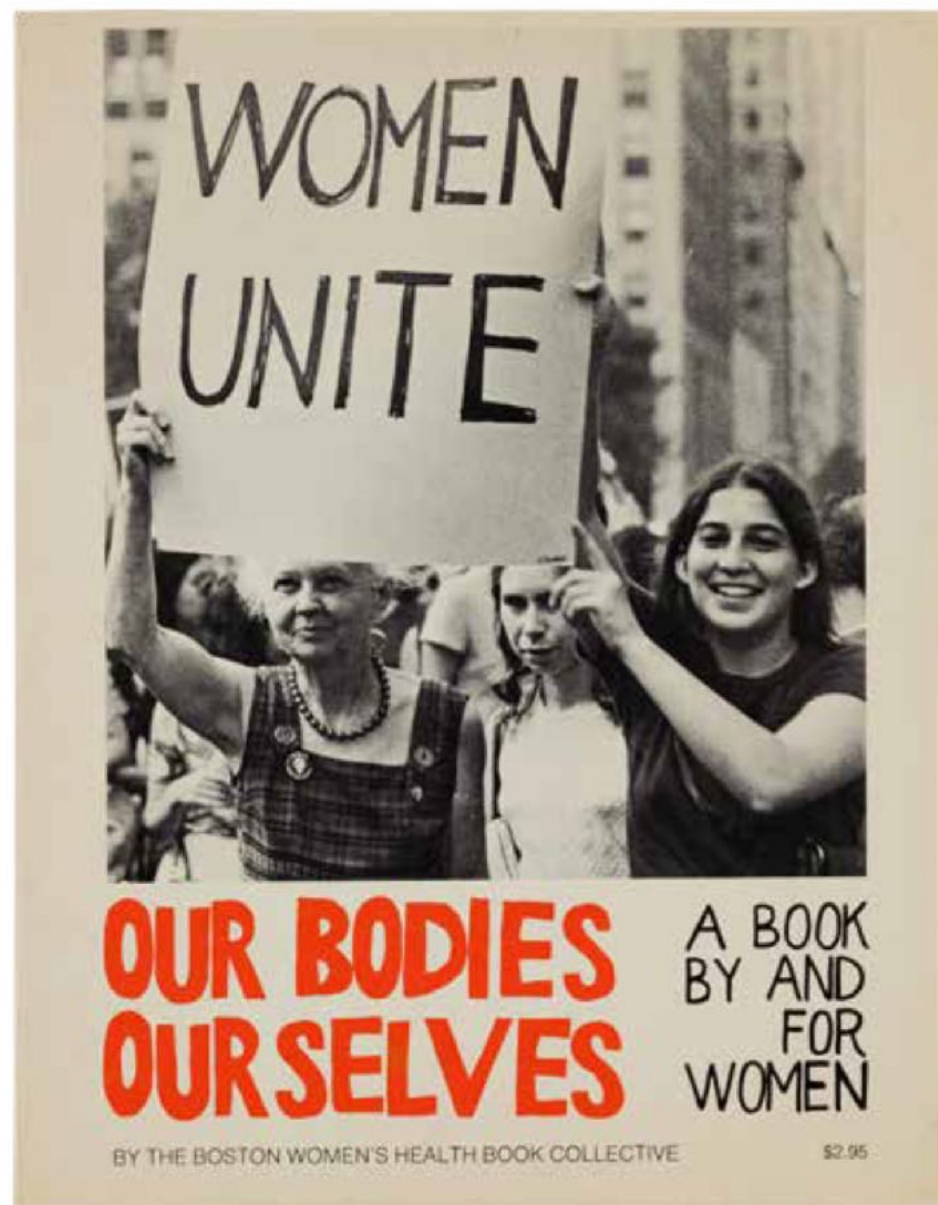
THE BOSTON WOMEN'S HEALTH BOOK COLLECTIVE, Our Bodies, Ourselves (1973)

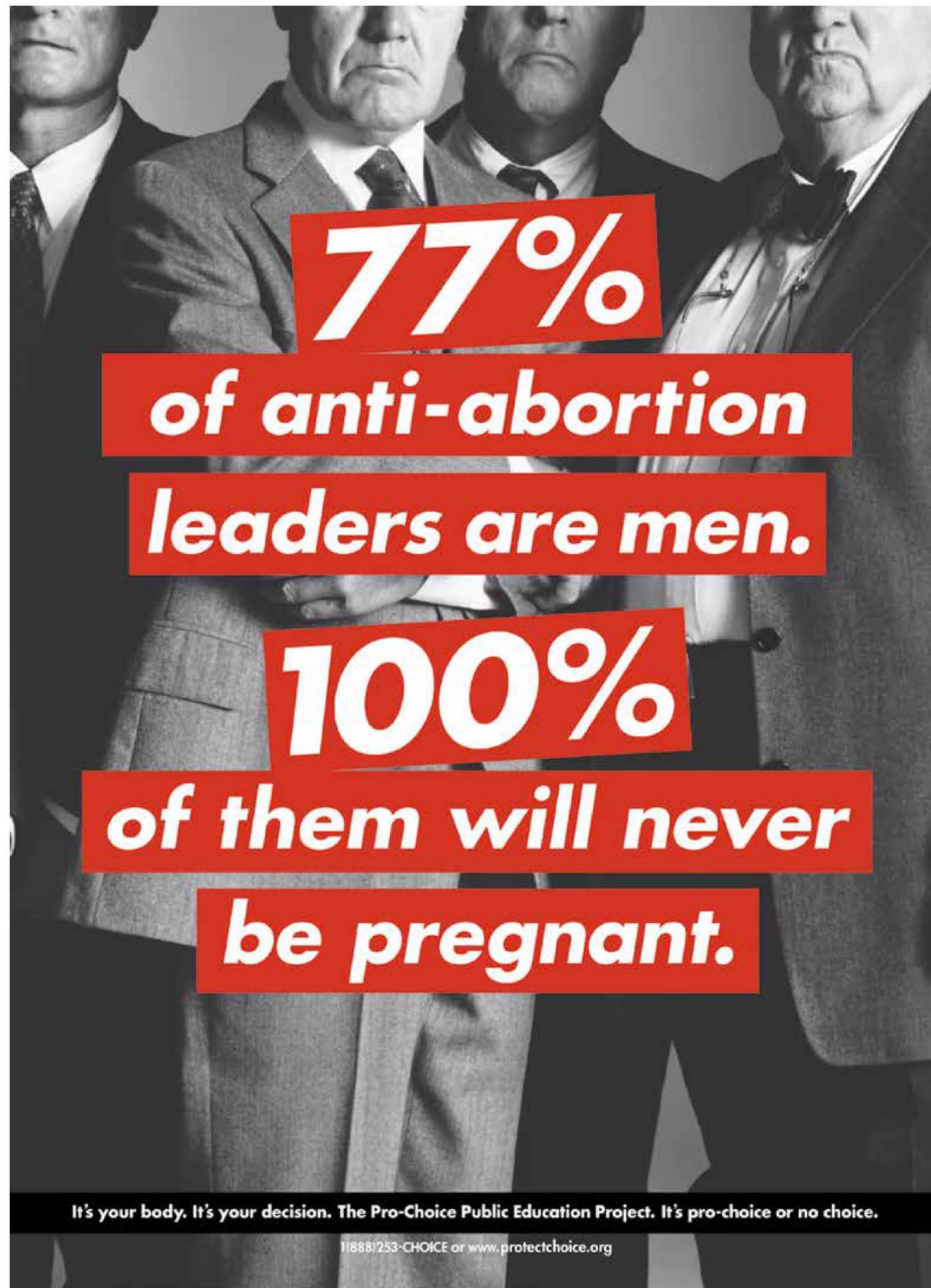
*Our Bodies, Ourselves: A Book by and for Women*  
BOOK  
New York: Simon & Schuster, 1973  
28 x 21 cm, second edition, 276 pp, softcover,  
text in English

*Our Bodies, Ourselves* is a landmark text on women's health and sexuality by the Boston Women's Health Book Collective, a group of feminist activists and academics. The collective, a nonprofit organization formed in 1973 by white middle-class women, emerged from a "Women and Their Bodies" discussion group that was part of a May 1969 women's liberation conference at Emmanuel College in Boston. Realizing the need to better educate themselves and other women on their relationships with their healthcare, sexuality and anatomy, the discussion group evolved into a locally taught course based on the written research prepared by its members. As the course expanded, they mimeographed their teaching materials to share with participants—ultimately partnering in 1970 with the New England Free Press to publish an inexpensive staple-bound edition on newsprint titled *Women and Their Bodies*. The book sold for seventy-five cents and reached over 225,000 Boston area women. In 1973, following their grassroots success and the New England Free Press' inability to keep up with increased orders, the collective commercially released a soft-cover trade edition with Simon & Schuster.

*Our Bodies, Ourselves* was and continues to be a radical tool of second-wave feminist empowerment that encourages women to hold agency over their bodies in every context: medical, sexual, familial and personal. The texts spotlight controversial and often illegal themes within the social and economic structures surrounding them, including abortion, masturbation, queer desires and sexual violence. By examining the interconnected roots of patriarchal institutions, female socialization and women's understanding of their bodies, *Our Bodies, Ourselves* remains a feminist manifesto with a mission to educate. The book's illustrations complement this ethos through photographs of girls and women in daily life combined with detailed diagrams, charts, drawings and pictures of women's anatomy and health experiences that help readers better familiarize themselves with their bodies, sexuality and reproductive health.

Originally conceived with a design that allows for updated information in subsequent editions, the preface in the book's first New England Free Press edition states, "[The book's contents] are not final. They are not static. They are meant to be used." Now in its ninth edition (released in 2011), the book remains the "women's health bible" and has sold over 4 million copies worldwide. To allow greater access to the book's vital information, in 2019, the organization shifted to an online platform, *Our Bodies, Ourselves Today*, in partnership with Suffolk University's Center for Women's Health and Human Rights. As a result of its ever-evolving status, *Our Bodies, Ourselves* is both an artifact of the second-wave feminist movement and an active mechanism for empowerment still in use today. It is an ongoing project to educate women, girls and gender-expansive people, involving experts, volunteers and the founding committee. The collective behind the publication took it upon themselves to fill the gaps created by patriarchal education systems, giving people of wide-ranging identities the tools to best advocate for themselves and understand their bodies. (DF)





PRO-CHOICE PUBLIC EDUCATION PROJECT  
(American, active 1996-)

*77% of anti-abortion leaders are men.  
100% of them will never be pregnant.*

POSTER

New York: Pro-Choice Public  
Education Project, 1998  
variable dimensions, offset on paper,  
text in English

*Operating Room*

POSTER

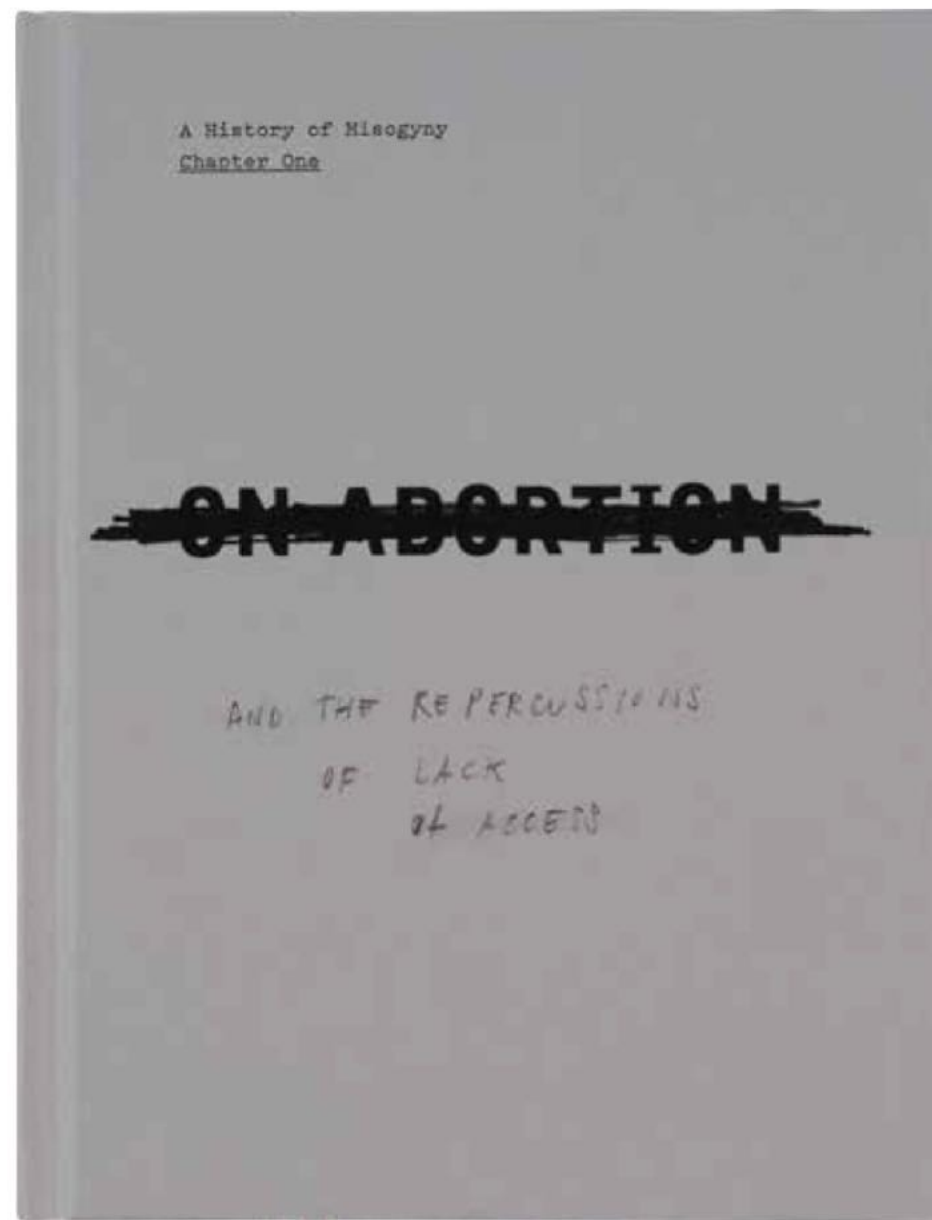
New York: Pro-Choice Public  
Education Project, 1998  
variable dimensions, offset on paper,  
text in English

Part of an abortion rights advertising campaign aimed at young women ages sixteen to twenty-four, these posters, produced by the Pro-Choice Public Education Project (PEP), an ad hoc group of forty-six organizations, appeared on New York City subways and buses in 1998. Targeting "the post-Roe generation," women born after the landmark 1973 *Roe v. Wade* Supreme Court decision that legalized abortion in the United States, the campaign sought to politically mobilize pro-abortion women and make them aware of conservative efforts in the U.S. Congress and red states seeking to overturn and restrict their abortion rights. Foreshadowing the 2022 Supreme Court ruling that ultimately repealed *Roe v. Wade*, the posters were an early wake-up call for activism and voter registration by a generation that took their abortion rights for granted. Designed by Aron Spencer and Aaron Eiseman of the DeVito/Verdi agency, with copy by David Brenner and art direction by Rob Carducci, these forthright posters avoid preaching or condescension.

*77% of anti-abortion leaders are men.  
100% of them will never be pregnant.* Implores viewers to question the motivations and power structures behind the anti-abortion movement in the United States. Evocative of the bold graphic style of artist Barbara Kruger, who sanctioned the adoption of her visual language for this poster, its message, presented in Futura Bold Italic sans serif text framed by black or red bands, is superimposed over a black-and-white image of four anonymous senior cisgender white men in suits. Their bodies and faces, cropped just below their eyes, show the men from a low, confrontational angle, giving the impression that they are judging and regulating their audience, drawing attention to the incongruity between anti-abortion lobbyists and lawmakers and those needing reproductive care. The text at the bottom of the poster cautions, "It's your body. It's your decision ... It's pro-choice or no choice."

*Operating Room*, another poster from the Pro-Choice Public Education Project's 1998 campaign, evokes the dangerous and unhygienic settings abortion seekers endure when denied access to safe, legal abortions. A black-and-white image of a door opening into a mildewed and moldy bathroom with a sign declaring "Operating Room," the message in this poster intends to alarm. By confronting its audience with the decrepit and unsafe conditions of most illegal abortions, the campaign uses a shock technique to motivate action. Just as inflammatory is the text at the bottom, "Take away a woman's right to choose and she's left to take matters into her own hands. Please support keeping abortion safe and legal." Both posters end with contact information for the Pro-Choice Public Education Project's hotline and website, both of which remain active with updated trans-inclusive language. (DF)





LAIA ABRIL (Catalan, born 1986)

*On Abortion*  
BOOK  
Stockport, UK: Dewi Lewis, 2018  
25 x 19 cm, first edition, unpaginated  
[196 pp], hardcover, text in English

*On Abortion* is the first chapter of Laia Abril's ongoing trilogy, *The History of Misogyny*. Abril is a Catalan photographer and researcher whose work interrogates the roots and consequences of gender inequality and discrimination. The book's cover design presents the crossed-out title, *On Abortion*, in bold sans serif capital letters, with a handwritten, penciled-in and smudged subtitle, *And the Repercussions of Lack of Access*, underscoring the fraught sociopolitical history of abortion care. Contained within are stories and portraits of abortion providers and their patients, photographic records of historical and contemporary tools of contraception and abortion, and documents and reports of women who faced legal and physical consequences in seeking to terminate their pregnancies. Inventively designed with numerous half-sized sheets that reveal supplemental texts, the book is part of a larger international touring research project exhibited in more than thirteen countries, including New York City's Museum of Sex in 2020. A critical narrative on the history of abortion, *On Abortion* underscores the foundational misogyny within societies that deny women reproductive care that should be a fundamental human right. (DF)





RAFAL MILACH (Polish, born 1978)

*Strajk / Strike*  
BOOK

Warsaw: Jednostka Gallery, 2021  
20.5 x 16.5 cm, first edition of 2000,  
unpaginated [256 pp], softcover, text by  
Aleksandra Boćkowska, Karolina Gembara and  
Iwona Kurz in English and Polish

Following Poland's Constitutional Tribunal ruling imposing a near-total ban on abortion on 22 October 2020, thousands mobilized nationwide for the Polish Women's Strike, anti-government demonstrations in defense of reproductive rights. Through photographs, graphic design and first-person accounts of actions, *Strajk / Strike* documents Polish activism and protests supporting abortion and LGBTQ+ rights. Rafał Milach, a Polish photographer and educator who uses art as a tool for activism, examines the evolution of repression within the former Soviet bloc, particularly in Poland, and critiques the region's enduring oppressive power structures. A founding member of the Archive of Public Protests (APP) artist collective, he has spent his career recording political and social activism.

*Strajk / Strike* is a collaborative project that includes contributions from researchers and activists Aleksandra Boćkowska, Karolina Gembara and Iwona Kurz. Milach's photographs present the protests from two distinct visual perspectives: those marching in the streets and those watching from the sidelines. Contributions by collaborators provide further theoretical and experiential context for Milach's work. Boćkowska's text gives voice to those who participated in protests across Poland, including perspectives from the cities of Kartuzy, Lubaszów, Warsaw and Kraków. Gembara incisively deconstructs the relationship between photography's gaze and urban demonstrations. Kurz describes the book's images as a call to action, encouraging readers to participate. Together, these essays present a broad view of the movement's pluralism and urgency within Poland and beyond its borders.

*Strajk / Strike* declares itself with a militant red cover and a title that appears in uppercase letters across an imposing, undulating black banner engulfing silhouetted protesters raising a flag, fist and umbrella. The suggested movement within the illustration underscores the activists' ongoing struggles and battles yet to be won. The cover design is by Ola Jasionowska, who originated the Polish Women's Strike's trademark red lightning bolt logo, which appears on the book's back cover and throughout Milach's photographs of protesters' hands, faces, banners and posters. Taken during the COVID-19 pandemic, several images show buildings and activists' face masks decorated with protest symbols and the language of activism. The Polish Women's Strike's visual messaging and demonstrations spill from Poland's Soviet-era buildings and streets onto the pages of *Strajk / Strike*. With this book, Milach and his collaborators create an alternative view that bypasses straight photojournalism in favor of a subtler narrative closer to an artist's book, yet no less powerful. (DF)

UNKNOWN PHOTOGRAPHER

Violência, Não!  
POSTER  
São Paulo: Conselho Estadual Da Condição Feminina, Banespa, Governo Montoro, c. 1983-1987  
63.5 x 45.5 cm, offset on paper, text in Portuguese

Domestic violence resulting from "defense of honor" has a pervasive and problematic history in Brazil, with one of the most high-profile cases being the murder of socialite Angela Diniz by her boyfriend Doca Street in 1976. Invoking a "legitimate defense of honor" claim, Street was initially found innocent by Brazilian courts. Outrage at the ruling catalyzed Brazil's women's movement and their demand for official action under the slogan, "Quem ama não mata" ("Those who love don't kill.") Three years later, Street would finally be convicted, but domestic violence would continue, with other femicides regularly reported, such as the 1981 murder of singer Eliane de Grammont by her husband. In the years that followed, governmental agencies emerged to address domestic violence.

The poster *Violência, Não!* (*No Violence!*) promotes the services of one such agency, Centro de orientação jurídica e encaminhamento à mulher, also known as COJE (Center for Legal Guidance and Referral to Women), a São Paulo governmental office dedicated to supporting victims of domestic violence through legal, social and psychological assistance and referrals. For women unable to pay for private legal counsel, COJE makes referrals to Brazil's Legal Assistance Office (the U.S. equivalent of a public defender's office). The poster, highlighting a photograph of a group of smiling women with their fists raised in protest, acknowledges strides made by Brazilian feminists in the 1980s, in the wake of Diniz's murder, to fight domestic violence in Brazil with governmental support. However, it took until 2006 for President Lula da Silva to finally sign a bill into law making domestic violence a federal crime in Brazil. (EM)



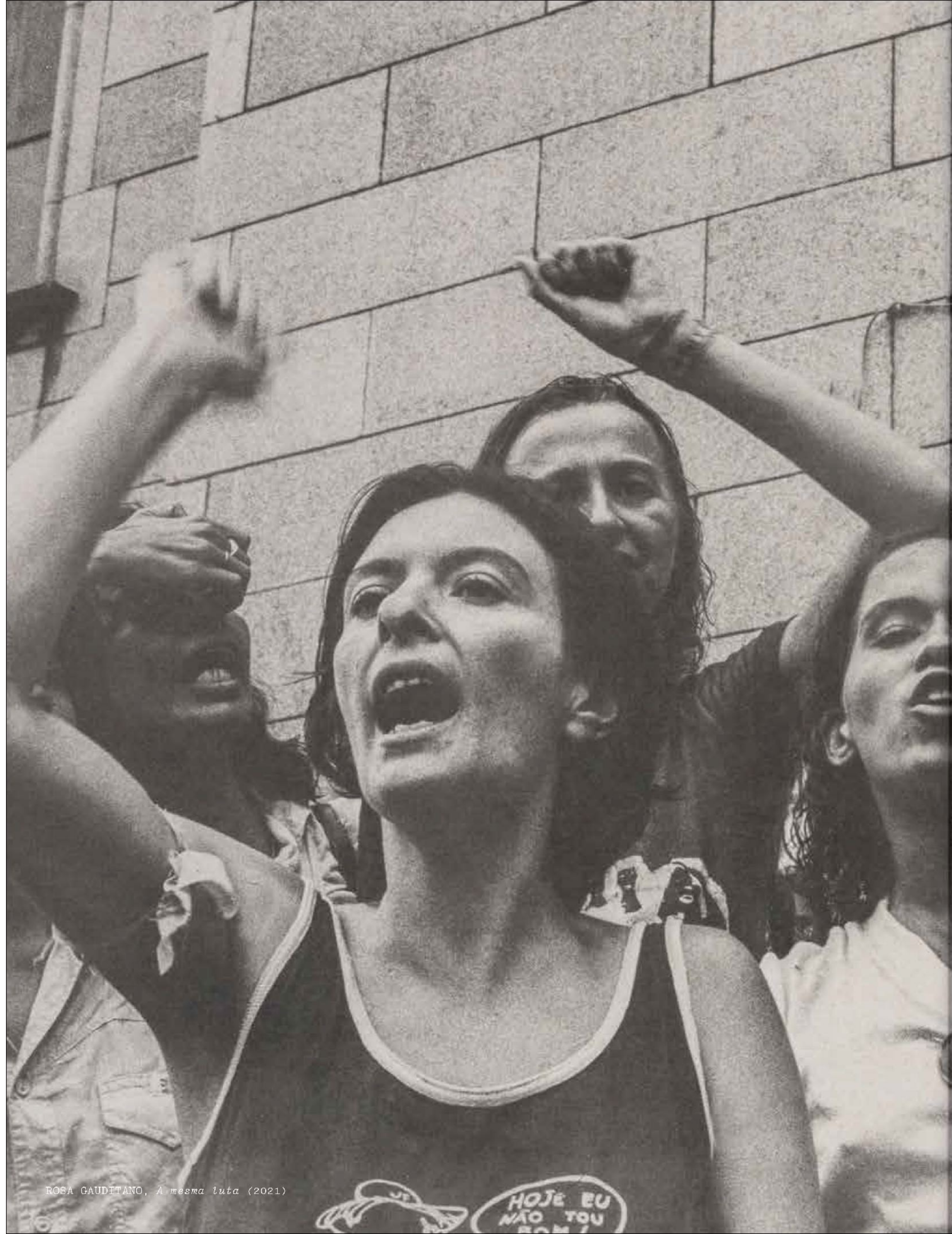
ROSA GAUDITANO (Brazilian, born 1955)

*A mesma luta*  
BOOK  
São Paulo: Studio R, 2021  
28 x 21 cm, edition of 300, unpaginated [44 pp], softcover, text by Christianne Rodrigues, Erika Zerwes et al. in English and Portuguese

Introduced by a black-and-white photograph of a crowd gathered in protest holding a banner that reads "Somos contra a violência a mulher" ("We are against violence against women,") *A mesma luta* (*The Same Struggle*) is a collection of photographs from the archives of Brazilian photojournalist Rosa Gauditano that chronicles feminist social and political protests in São Paulo, Brazil from 1978 to 1984. Gauditano, who began her career in 1977 at the *Versus* newspaper, also photographed for *Folha de São Paulo* newspaper and *Veja* magazine in the 1980s. In the introduction, Paris-based Brazilian curator Christianne Rodrigues defines Gauditano's focus: "On a voluntary basis her gaze naturally turns to women who are victims of domestic violence, to prostitutes, lesbians and abandoned children, at a time marked by the marginalization of minorities and the recurring indifference on the part of the so-called mainstream press."

In *A mesma luta*, Gauditano shares photographs that mark the beginning of her career and affirm her lifelong photographic mission to report on social protests that the mainstream media ignores. In creating a critical record of historical remembrance, the book presents images of São Paulo's labor and women's demonstrations, including Congress of the Paulista Women gatherings, SOS Woman Group protests, a march against the femicide of singer Eliane de Grammont and protests by the Movement Against Hunger. An essay by historian Erika Zerwes provides historical, social and political context for a fuller understanding of the events that shaped Brazil in the late 1970s and early 1980s, before the end of the country's twenty-one-year military dictatorship.

The book's format, printed on loose sheets of matte paper held together by a red elastic string, reinforces Gauditano's roots in newspaper photojournalism and allows readers to rearrange the pages. Full-bleed black-and-white photographs show panoramic views of crowded streets, such as a group marching with a sign that reads "O silêncio é cúmplice da violência" ("Silence is an Accomplice of Violence") and close-ups of individual women protesters. Women's voices and issues are central to the book and are presented in spreads that include views of women speaking at marches, holding up signs and fists, cradling their children and chanting at rallies. There are also men in Gauditano's pictures, but women's issues and resistance are her main subject. A folded index with thumbnail images printed as duotones in black and red share captions that provide details for all the photographs in the book. A testament to Gauditano's historic career as one of the few Brazilian female photojournalists of the later 1970s and 1980s, *A mesma luta* is an essential record of social and feminist protests in the waning days of Brazil's military dictatorship. (EM)



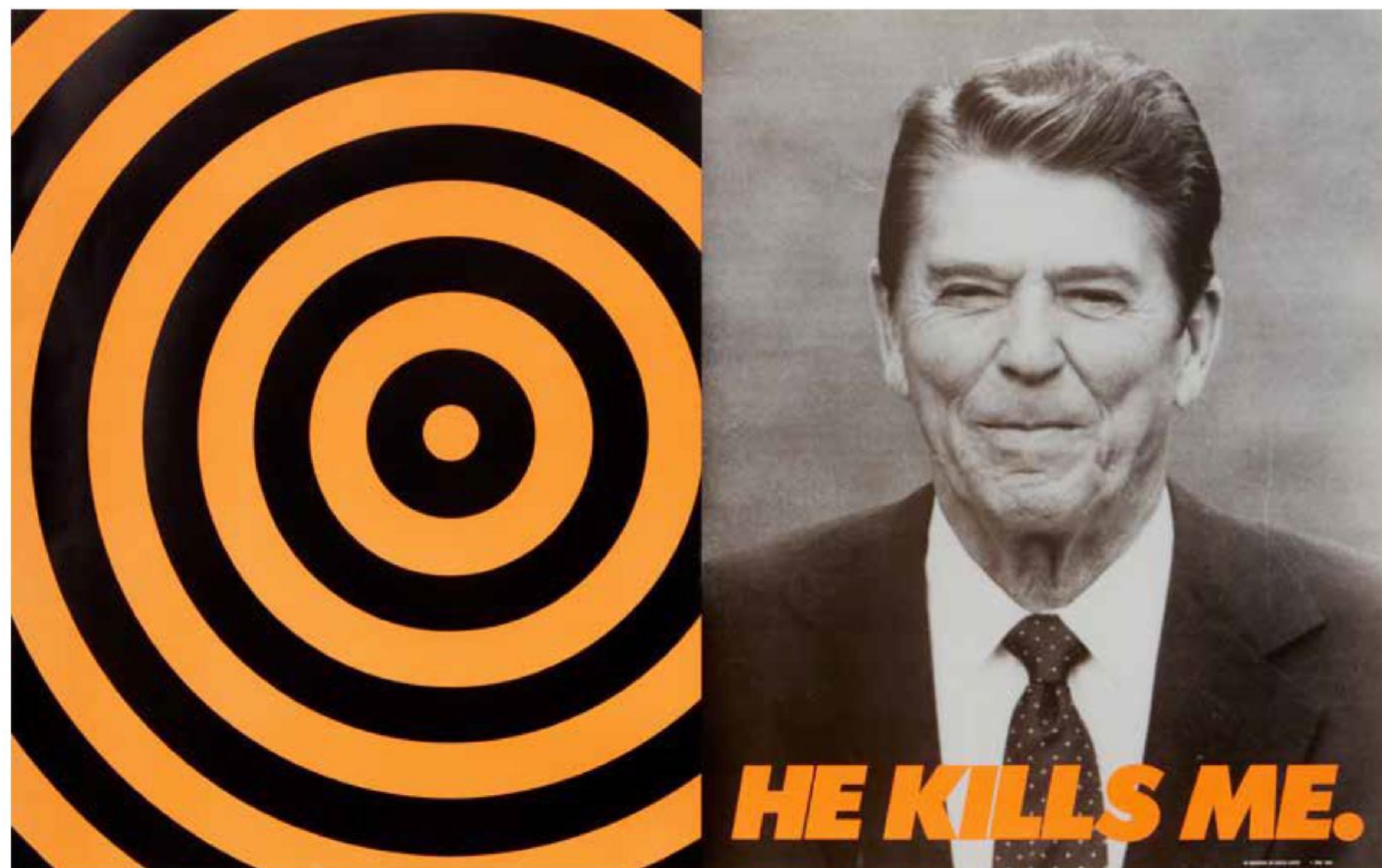
DONALD MOFFETT (American, born 1955)

*HE KILLS ME.*

POSTER

New York: Gran Fury (ACT UP), 1987  
60 x 96 cm, offset lithograph on paper,  
text in English

Donald Moffett's poster *HE KILLS ME.* speaks to the inaction of President Ronald Reagan during the early years of the AIDS crisis. Reagan notoriously did not speak about AIDS until 31 May 1987, after more than 40,000 people died from the disease. Moffett created this poster as a member of Gran Fury, the artistic collective—or "unofficial propaganda ministry"—associated with ACT UP, a grassroots activist group formed to unite individuals in protest, education and awareness about HIV / AIDS. The poster, emblematic of Gran Fury's ethos of harnessing the power of art and mass media, places a circular target in black and orange next to a black-and-white photograph of President Reagan with the bold orange italicized words "HE KILLS ME." emblazoned under his smiling face. Moffett conceived *HE KILLS ME.* as signage for a demonstration that was part of a series of ACT UP protests against a presidential commission that Reagan finally organized to address the HIV epidemic. Concerned that the commission's members lacked the necessary expertise, AIDS activists and scientists took to the streets with the poster in hand. Its message is unmistakable: President Reagan's inaction and inept presidential commission killed people with AIDS. (EM)



BRIAN WEIL (American, 1954-1996)

*Every 17 Seconds: A Global Perspective on the AIDS Crisis*

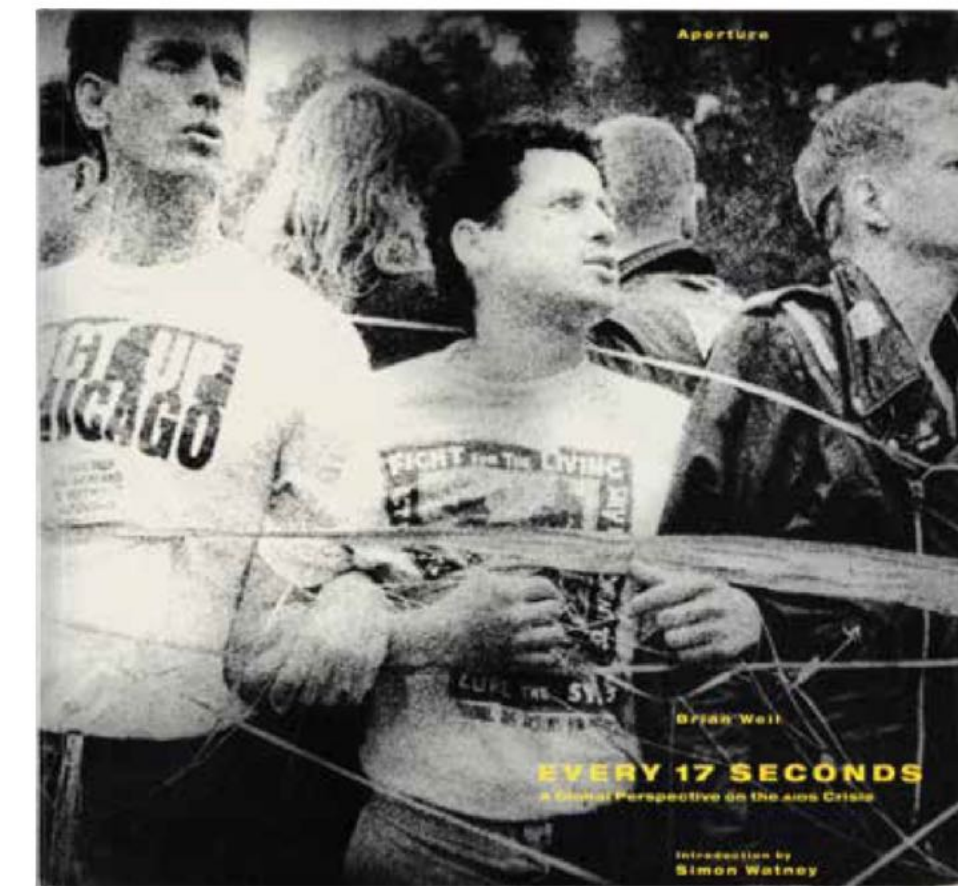
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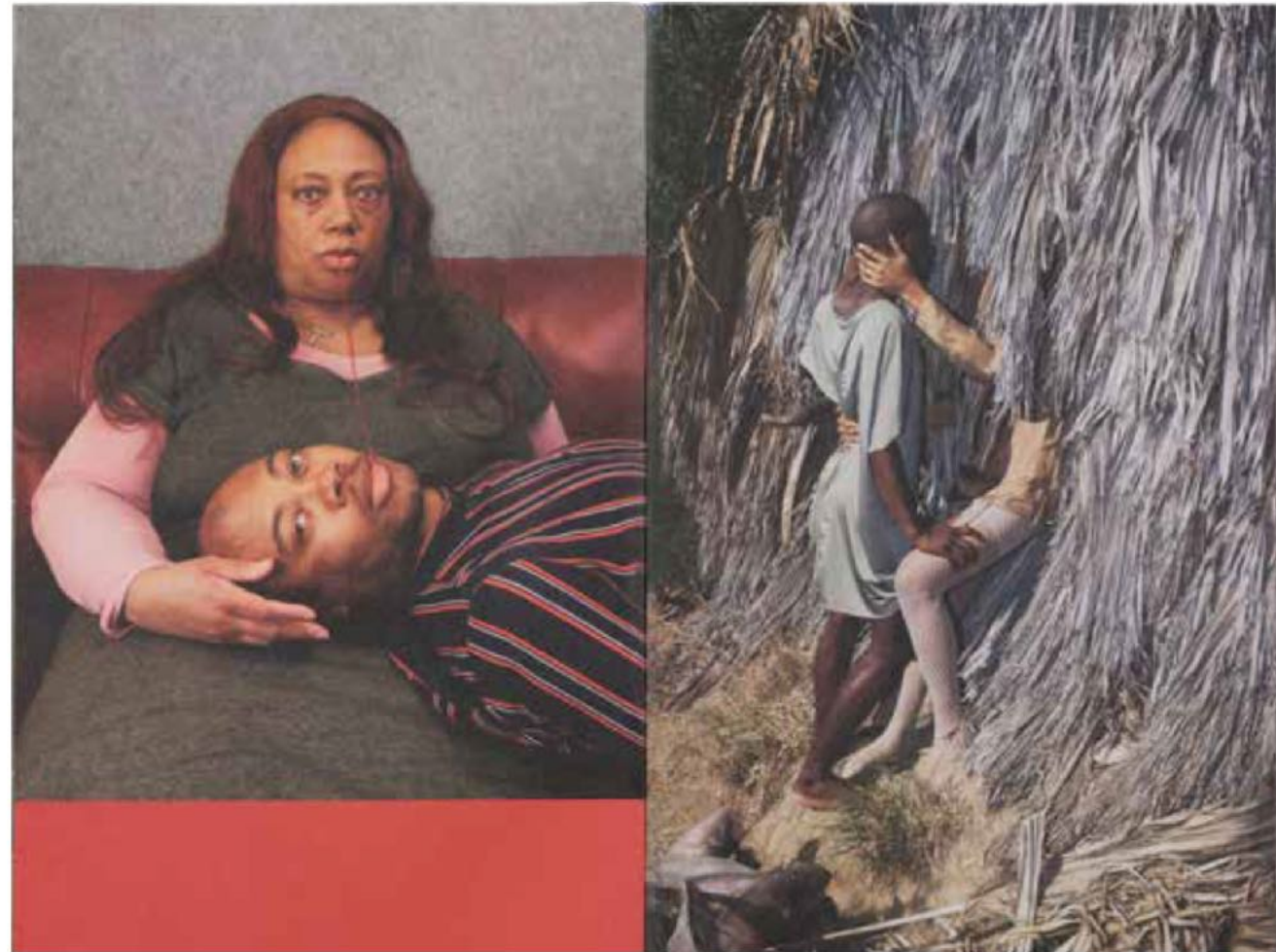
New York: Aperture, 1992  
25.5 x 26.5 cm, first edition, 102 pp,  
softcover, text by Simon Watney and Brian Weil  
in English

Released a year after photographer-activist Brian Weil's *The AIDS Photographs* exhibition in 1991 at the International Center of Photography in New York City, *Every 17 Seconds: A Global Perspective on the AIDS Crisis* is a photographic essay on the AIDS crisis through portraits and stories of people living with HIV worldwide. The title, *Every 17 Seconds*, references the World Health Organization's statistic in 1992 that every seventeen seconds, someone in the world became infected with HIV. In *Every 17 Seconds*, Weil, who joined ACT UP in the late 1980s and helped found New York City's first needle exchange program, presents extensive profiles of AIDS victims, survivors and activists in grainy, close-up black-and-white photographs sequenced into twelve distinct sections.

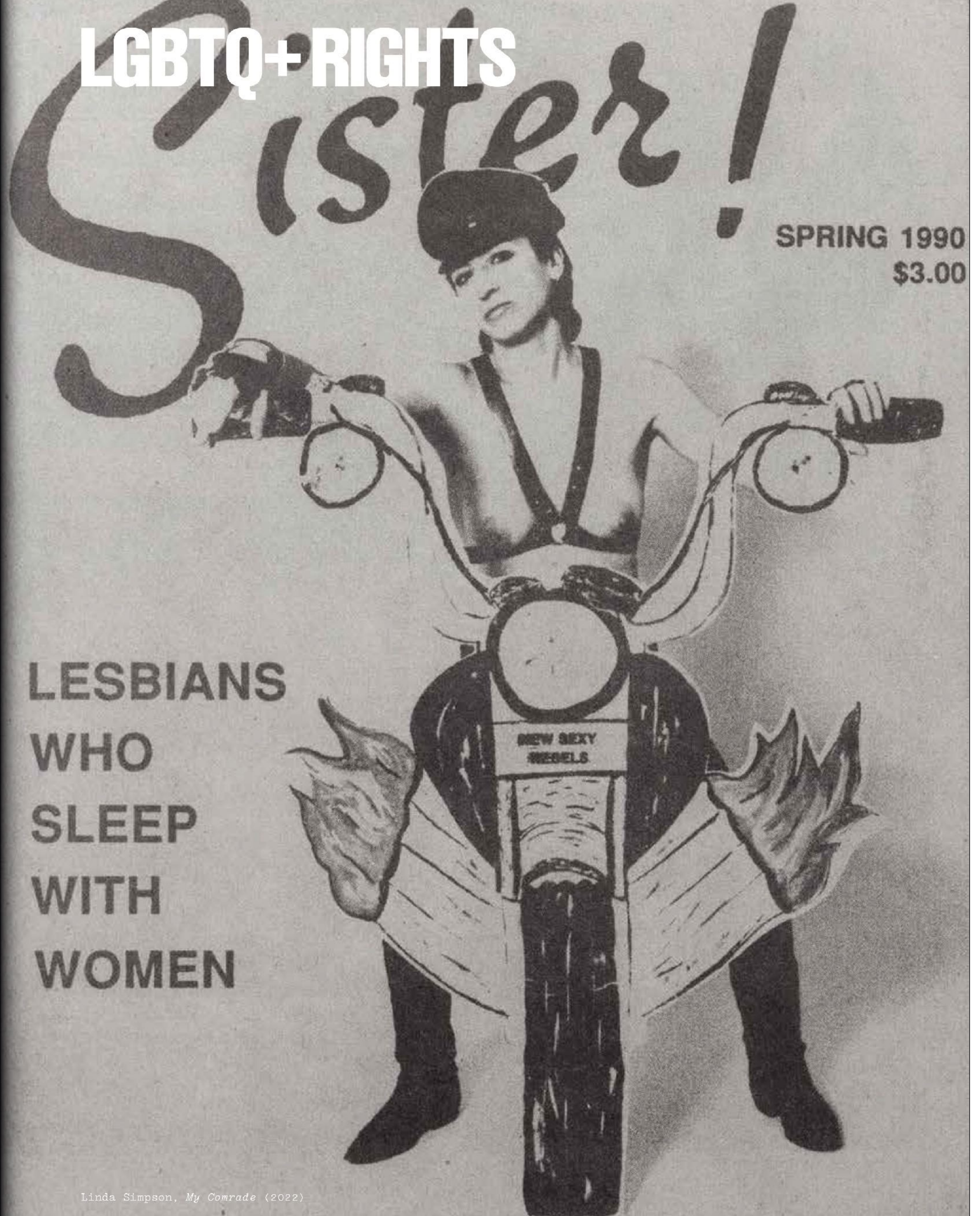
In sharing these images and stories, Weil acknowledges his inability as an artist to address many heart-wrenching nuances of the HIV / AIDS global health crisis through photography and writing alone, asking himself, "How does an artist photograph someone's suffering? / How does photographing suffering impact a photojournalist?" In the book's introductory essay, Simon Watney, a British writer, art historian and AIDS activist, re-emphasizes this difficulty, stating, "No single photographic strategy or technique could possibly reveal the constantly shifting mass of information, patterns of infection, rates of disease progression, governmental action (and inaction), and community response, let alone the 'human face' of a tragedy of such dimensions."

But Weil tries, and in doing so, captures stories and individuals such as Maria, a pregnant Brazilian mother with a one-year-old daughter whose entire family was diagnosed with AIDS in 1985, including her unborn baby girl. Weil met Maria through a Gay Men's Health Crisis (GMHC) program that assigned support partners to women and children with AIDS. He unflinchingly shares photographs and stories as Maria first loses her older child, then her husband, and finally succumbs to AIDS herself, leaving her younger daughter, the only surviving family member, to live with relatives upon her death. These incomprehensible tragedies are made worse by Weil's descriptions of ignorant nurses and doctors treating their patients as lepers in the early days of the pandemic. Other sections focus on activism, such as "Needle Exchange," which highlights a Liverpool needle exchange program providing clean needles for addicts. The final sections document the AIDS epidemic in various countries, including the Dominican Republic, Haiti, South Africa, Thailand and Zimbabwe. *Every 17 Seconds* is a difficult but necessary book to view. A poignant examination of the AIDS crisis at its mid-1980s apex, Weil's agonizing portraits and narratives remind viewers of the humanity and individual stories behind government statistics. (EM)





**LGBTQ+ RIGHTS**



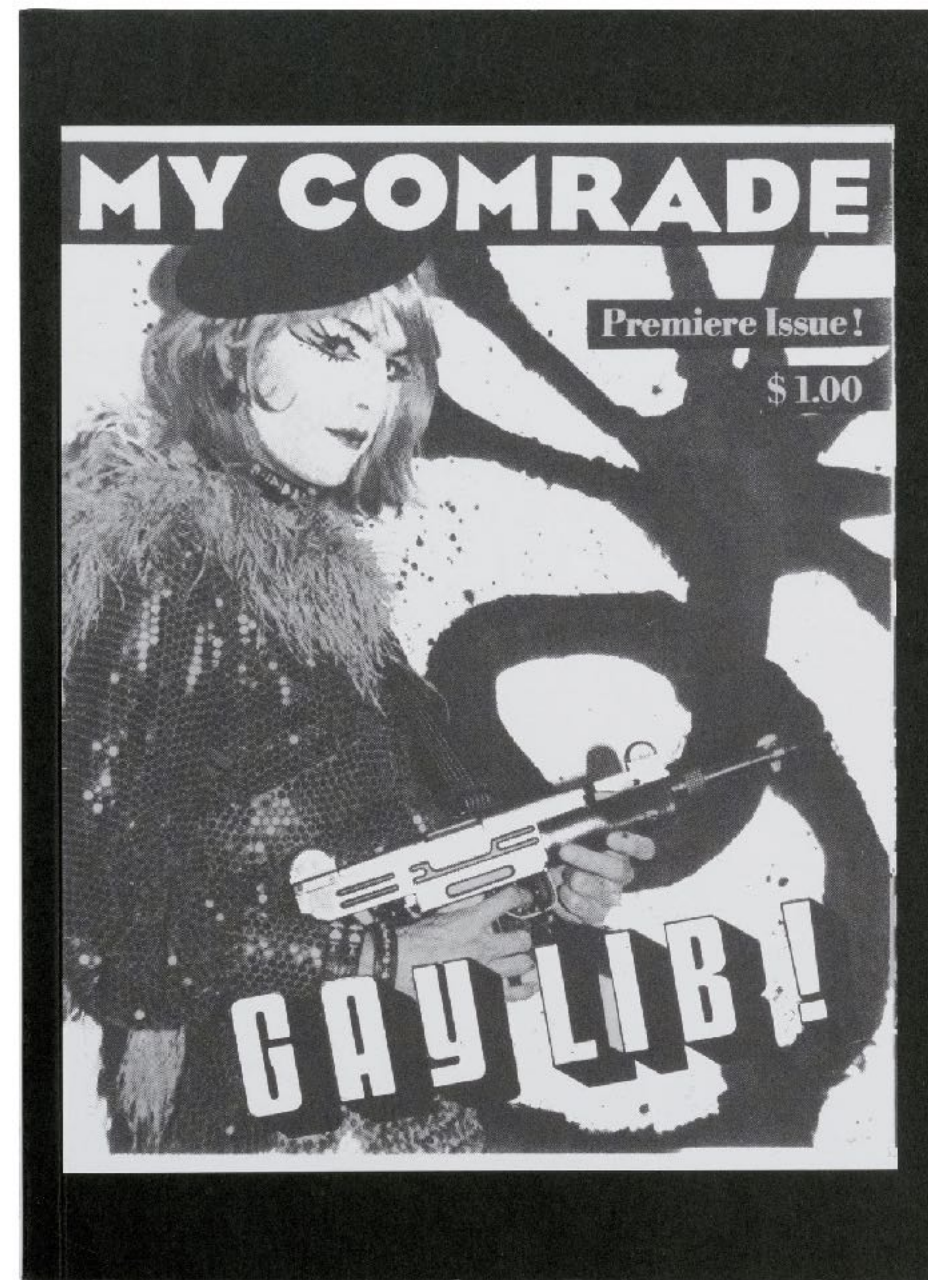
Linda Simpson, *My Comrade* (2022)

LINDA SIMPSON (American), editor

My Comrade  
ZINES

New York: Boo-Hooray, 2022  
25.5 x 18.5 cm, unpaginated [256 pp].  
softcover, text by Linda Simpson et al.  
in English

This anthology collects thirteen issues (eleven from 1987-1994 and two revival issues from 2004 and 2006) of *My Comrade*, an underground DIY queer zine by drag queen performer Linda Simpson. Launched in 1987, at the height of the AIDS crisis, Simpson created *My Comrade* as an inspirational, upbeat zine with a positive message of love, power and unity to reinforce the nascent gay and AIDS activism movements. It also responds to 1980s LBGTQ+ media, such as *The Advocate*, which Simpson observes, "looked like it was designed by a depressed third grader." Originating as a review of gay nightlife, Simpson's zines, printed on newsprint for this anthology, highlight drag performers authoring articles ranging from campy gossip to serious political appeals. A collaborative venture with Simpson as editor-in-chief, it showcases creative talent from within the queer community. Put together on a shoestring budget in the days before digital desktop publishing, *My Comrade* required hours of cutting and gluing before being photocopied, stapled and distributed in the gay downtown scene of New York City. Black-and-white for the first nine issues, the zine's success allowed for color and a more elaborate production as it grew and became part of a long tradition of underground zines that dished up fun and politics equally to voice activist messages. (EM)



**CLASS 2 / PART III**

**Flashpoint! as Canon—The Politics of  
the Anthology**

**CLASS 2 / PART IV**  
**Closing Discussion**