

UC San Diego

UC San Diego Electronic Theses and Dissertations

Title

Vanguardias Transnacionales: The Legacy of the Taller de Gráfica Popular in the Chicano and Black Art Movements of the 1960-70s

Permalink

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/1bk77053>

Author

Fernandez, Julia

Publication Date

2021

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA SAN DIEGO

Vanguardias Transnacionales: The Legacy of the Taller de Gráfica Popular
in the Chicano and Black Art Movements of the 1960-70s

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in

Art History, Theory, and Criticism

by

Julia Fernandez

Committee in charge:

Professor Mariana Razo Wardwell, Chair
Professor William Norman Bryson, Co-Chair
Professor Grant Kester
Professor Jordan Rose
Professor Shelley Streeby
Professor Charlene Villaseñor Black

2021

Copyright

Julia Fernandez, 2021

All Rights Reserved.

The dissertation of Julia Fernandez is approved, and it is acceptable in quality and form for publication on microfilm and electronically.

University of California San Diego

2021

DEDICATION

To my parents, Martha Elba Vargas and Jaime Fernandez Sr., who always encouraged me to pursue whatever makes me happy. For showing me the importance of education. For showing me the importance of hard work. For showing me that family, health, and happiness come first. I did this for you. Los quiero mucho.

To my brother, Jaime Fernandez Jr., who always led by example. For showing me what was possible. For helping me with my college applications. For providing brotherly advice. For always being there. And, my sister-in-law, Yesenia Fernandez, for your unconditional support and laughs. I love you both more than words.

To Emmy Iragorri Rodriguez, who was the first to encourage me to pursue a PhD. I would not be here without you. You have always been by my side, believed in me, and encouraged me. Thank you for always being there for me. Your friendship and support mean so much.

To Dr. Charlene Villaseñor Black, who was the first professor to truly believe in me. You showed me that I could be an art historian who studied Chicana art. Your guidance and mentorship have led me to where I am now. You have become a lifelong mentor and friend. I hope to follow in your legacy.

To my committee Drs. Grant Kester, Jordan Rose, and Shelley Streeby, who have continuously supported my work. Thank you for challenging me to be better. Your own work and our conversations have inspired me, and moved me to create important, critical research.

To my advisors, Drs. Norman Bryson and Mariana Wardwell, who believed in my work from the start. This dissertation is as much yours as it is mine. We have worked tirelessly on this project together for eight years now, producing something I think we could all be proud of. I look forward to our continued critical conversations as I continue this important work.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Dissertation Approval Page.....	iii
Dedication.....	iv
Table of Contents.....	v
Vita.....	vi
Abstract of the Dissertation.....	vii
Chapter 1 Introduction: Towards a Transnational Avant-Garde.....	1
Chapter 2 Mexico’s Taller de Gráfica Popular in the U.S.....	38
Chapter 3 The TGP’s Legacy in the Chicano Art Movement.....	65
Chapter 4 The TGP’s Legacy in the “Third Great Art Movement” for Black Artists.....	82
Chapter 5 Conclusion: A Contemporary Look into the TGP’s Legacy.....	95
Appendix.....	105
Bibliography.....	155

VITA

- 2013 Bachelor of Arts, University of California Los Angeles
- 2018 Master of Arts, University of California San Diego
- 2021 Doctor of Philosophy, University of California San Diego

FIELDS OF STUDY

Major Field: Art History, Theory, and Criticism

Studies in Modern and Contemporary Latin American Art

Professors Mariana Wardwell and William Norman Bryson

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Vanguardias Transnacionales: The Legacy of the Taller de Gráfica Popular in the Chicano and Black Art Movements of the 1960-70s

by

Julia Fernandez

Doctor of Philosophy in Art History, Theory, and Criticism

University of California San Diego, 2021

Professor Mariana Razo Wardwell, Chair
Professor William Norman Bryson, Co-Chair

In this dissertation, I trace the Taller de Gráfica Popular's (TGP) influence on the Chicano and Black art movements of the 1960s and 70s. I argue that the influence of the TGP seen in the 1960s is not a simple reemergence of the TGP's forms and content, but rather a radical transnational activation of the Old Left's avant-garde works and politics to be galvanized

by the New Left's artists and activists. I demonstrate the radicality of the TGP images by tracing its impact on artists who used the message to challenge imperialist, capitalist, and racist structures, which resulted in attempts by dominant institutions to erase its message. It is within this censorship that the TGP images and subsequent Chicano and African American works operate outside the mainstream and instead move into the realm of the avant-garde. Subsequently, alternative publications and networks become sites of resistance for the politically vanguard works. My research methodology combines formal and social analysis with archival research of graphic works, alternative publications, personal correspondence, and written and oral interviews.

Chapter one situates the project within the field of art history, particularly with scholars working with narratives of transnationalism, trans-America, and hemispheric studies, as well as the history of avant-garde printmaking and art networks within Mexican, Chicano, and African American art histories. Chapter two traces the TGP's history in the U.S. and describes the challenges and successes of transnational leftist artists during the first half of the twentieth century. Chapter three analyzes the reemergence of TGP graphics in the Chicano Movement, as well as its subsequent influence on Chicano artists and activists. Chapter four revisits the contributions of African American artist Elizabeth Catlett to the TGP, follows the impact of Catlett's call to African American artists to create a new transnational art movement, and analyzes the solidarity efforts between Chicano and Black artists and activists during the 1960s and 1970s. Chapter five concludes by resituating the TGP and the work of Chicano and Black radical artists into the global avant-garde archive, while tracing contemporary artists who are still influenced by the TGP's legacy.

Chapter 1

Introduction: Towards a Transnational Avant-Garde

This dissertation is rooted in postcolonial theories of erasing the center-periphery model of Western and Non-Western art history, while moving towards narratives of transnational art networks and global art history. It breaks the binaries between high versus low art, individual versus collective work, and fine versus popular art. Contributions within Latinx and Latin American art are informed by histories of the radical left and the working-class. These histories are situated within revolutions in Latin America and social movements in the U.S., as well as their reciprocal relationship with art and visual culture. Ultimately, this dissertation reveals international artistic and political networks producing avant-garde and radical works of art that have previously been withheld from the art history canon due to the binaries listed above.

Why “Transnational”?

A hemispheric approach surpasses the imposed borders of the nation-state of the U.S. to examine the networks within the two American continents, examining the northern and southern hemispheres. The idea is best expressed in Alfredo Jaar’s 1987 electronic billboard in New York city titled *This is Not America*, which displayed these words across the outline of the map of the U.S. However, this methodology is limited to the Americas and often takes on multicultural paradigms. Chon A. Noriega differentiates between a “multicultural paradigm” of a borderless American hemispheric continent and a hemispheric approach of *encuentros* or encounters between U.S. artists and Latin American artists. Noriega argues that the former hemispheric method takes a diversity approach, which does not carry with it “aesthetic, cultural, or social

force.”¹ However, the latter relies on “research-driven scholarship... ‘affinities,’ ‘parallels,’ ‘dialogues,’ ‘participation,’ and ‘contact zones,’” as well as archival evidence in the form of case studies as seen in “artists statements, press discourse, [and] institutional documents.”²

Furthermore, there is a focus on artistic exchanges and social networks, and how artists articulate a sense of place in the local, national, and global scale. It is this second hemispheric approach where my work departs.

Deborah Cullen applies Noriega’s *encuentros* hemispheric model in her case studies of “contact zones” or collaborative workshops established and participated by Latino, Latin American, and Caribbean artists beginning in the 1930s in Los Angeles, New York, and Mexico City. Cullen gives the examples of the Works Project Administration (WPA), as a program that was modeled after the Mexican artists’ union, whose manifesto was drafted by David Alfaro Siqueiros.³ Moreover, Siqueiros’ time in Los Angeles, when he taught at the Chouinard Art Institute and painted three murals, established the mural bloc along with Mexican artist Luis Arenal and various American artists, including Philip Guston and Millard Owen Sheets.⁴ Cullen states that Arenal’s involvement with the WPA and Bloc of Painters influenced his work with the TGP, but does not continue this line of investigation.⁵ My research with the TGP’s transnational work and influence in the U.S. will contribute to filling this gap in scholarship. Cullen also gives the case studies of the Harlem Community Art Center (an art center created specifically for the Harlem community) and Robert Blackburn’s Printmaking Workshop, where the Jamaican American artist would invite various under-represented and international artists to his workshop.

¹ Chon A. Noriega, "Encuentros Rethinking America through Artistic Exchange". *American Art*. 26, no. 2 (2012): 3.

²Chon A. Noriega, "Encuentros Rethinking America through Artistic Exchange," 3, 4.

³ Deborah Cullen, "Contact Zones". *American Art*. 26, no. 2 (2012): 14.

⁴ Deborah Cullen, "Contact Zones," 14.

⁵ Deborah Cullen, "Contact Zones", 16.

However, in these hemispheric case studies, the methodology limits the analysis to countries across the Americas, while my work traces a broader network of artists in the U.S., Latin America, and Europe—and therefore, transnationalism becomes the better term to use with my particular case studies.

Although the term “transnationalism” has become popularized somewhat recently in art history, Shifra M. Goldman pioneered the concept in Latino and Latin American art history. In 1982, Goldman addressed the Mexican muralists role in international political issues, particularly related to the Mexican Communist Party, influences from the Soviet Union, and mural commissions in the U.S. Due to her political and social approach, while Goldman compiled her archive of Latino and Latin American art, she did not historicize the works into local and national narratives, but instead read them within a context of globalized politics.⁶ Goldman, along with Tomás Ybarra-Frausto, laid the foundation for a transnational study of Latino and Latin America art. Both scholars canonized the field of Chicano art history, noting the United Farm Workers’ newspaper *El Malcriado* as an introductory medium for Chicano art influenced from Mexican precedents, but do not trace the specific transnational networks between the U.S. and Mexican artists. Ybarra-Frausto also credits the presence of internationalism in Chicano art’s iconography, but not necessarily in its artist networks.⁷ I rely on the use of transnationalism as a framework to reconceptualize the historic avant-garde and neo-avant-garde. Performance artist, activist, and writer Guillermo Gómez-Peña summarized this intersection in his open letter to the National Arts Community:

To be avant-garde means to be able to cross the border, to go back and forth between art and politically significant territory, be it interracial relations,

⁶ Shifra M. Goldman, “Mexican Muralism: Its Social-Educative Roles in Latin America and the United States,” in *Aztlán: International Journal of Chicano Studies Research* 13, nos. 1 and 2 (Spring/Fall 1982): 111-133.

⁷ Tomás Ybarra-Frausto, “The Chicano movement/the movement of Chicano art,” ed., Gerardo Mosquera, *Beyond the Fantastic: Contemporary Art Criticism from Latin America*. (Cambridge, Mass: The MIT Press, 1996), 165-181.

immigration, ecology, homelessness, AIDS, violence towards women, disenfranchised communities or Third World countries. To be avant-garde means to perform and exhibit in both artistic and non-artistic contexts: to operate in the world, not just the art world.⁸

Due to various instances of migrations, diasporas, and colonization the categorization of cultural or national identity of particular artists has become increasingly difficult, and at times irrelevant or impossible for the artist. The search for an all-encompassing ethnic identity must instead be replaced with, not an identity that is universal, but individually complex due to its unique moments of political and social encounters. For example, Gabriel Pérez-Barreiro from the Blanton Museum of Art discussed in his talk titled "America/Americas: Placing U.S. Art in a Hemispheric Context" for the symposium *American Art in the Global Context* at the Smithsonian American Art Museum in 2006, the examples of this complexity with contemporary artists Fabian Marcaccio, an Argentinian-Italian artist from Rosario, Argentina working in New York, and Arturo Herrera, a Venezuelan artist who worked in New York then Berlin. At the Blanton, Pérez-Barreiro uses a transnational methodology to curate American and Latin American exhibitions, seen both in the placement of the works in relation to each other but also in their museum labels. Instead of categorizing the artists to a single national identity, each artist label contains their origin of birth and location where they worked, so when the works are placed in relation to each other the viewer could analyze their moments of potential contact, and therefore analyze the artworks with a new point of view.⁹ I am proposing that instead of attempting to compare artists of varying national identities, American art versus Latin American art, which

⁸ Guillermo Gómez-Peña, "The Multicultural Paradigm: An Open Letter to the National Arts Community," ed., Gerardo Mosquera, *Beyond the Fantastic: Contemporary Art Criticism from Latin America*. (Cambridge, Mass: The MIT Press, 1996), 188.

⁹ Gabriel Pérez-Barreiro, "America/Americas: Placing U.S. Art in a Hemispheric Context," symposium *American Art in the Global Context* at the Smithsonian American Art Museum, September 28, 2006, <https://americanart.si.edu/videos/american-art-global-context-international-symposium-48817>.

relies on their relation to the nation and imposed borders, it is necessary to view these artists within global networks as they travel, work, exhibit, and collaborate with other artists, which will open up the analysis and give rise to further knowledge of the relation between artists and global solidarity movements. In doing so, however, I do not propose to ignore the existence of the nation state and its borders, especially the violence and histories they have imposed, but rather look towards the connections and self-categorizations that artists and activists created in reaction to the nation state, its borders, and subsequent policies and actions. Therefore, it is within these networks of resistance that avant-garde art against the mainstream will flourish, while also being targets for censorship.

Scholars, such as Deborah Cullen, have acknowledged the importance of the transnational influence between Latin American and U.S. artists and their encounters. In her essay, "Contact Zones: Places, Spaces, and Other Test Cases" in the *American Art* journal in 2012, Cullen traces the influence of collaborative workshops from the 1930s and 40s on organizations from the 1960s and 70s—particularly the influence of Siqueiros's Bloc of Painters and Experimental Workshop and the Taller de Gráfica Popular, as well as the Parisian Atelier 17 on the Works Project Administration/WPA (Graphics Division), Harlem Community Art Center, and Robert Blackburn's Printmaking Workshop—therefore predominantly focusing on New York in the 1960s and 70s.¹⁰ The studies of print workshops created within these new networks highlight the importance of community and political spaces as centers for avant-garde works. Additionally, in relation to the contributions of the Taller de Gráfica Popular in the U.S., Alison McClean has written about the presence of the TGP in the U.S. during the 1940s, as well as their

¹⁰ Deborah Cullen, "Contact Zones."

“Guest Artists Initiative,” which promoted workshops for U.S. printmakers in Mexico.¹¹ The TGP served as a model both formally and politically for U.S. artists. My dissertation will rely on this history but contribute more detail and analysis into collaborations between TGP artists and African American artists, specifically leading up to the 1960s and 70s in the U.S., and then the networks that are created with Chicano artists during this time. Specifically, in tracing the reappearance of the TGP prints beginning in 1965 in the United Farm Workers’ newspaper during the beginning of the Chicano Civil Rights Movement, I highlight the radicality of such an action when in 1951 the U.S. Department of State registered the TGP as a Communist-front organization and barred Mexican TGP members from travelling to the U.S., and in 1963 TGP member and U.S. citizen Elizabeth Catlett was exiled from the U.S. by the House of Un-American Activities Committee.¹²

In scholarship written about the development of Chicano art in the U.S., scholars such as Shifra Goldman and Anna Indych-Lopez have written about the important influence of Mexican artists on Chicano activists and artists. Shifra Goldman, who was one of the first scholars to historicize Chicano art history’s solidarity movements and networks with Latin American artists and activists. Goldman wrote about the influence of the Cuban Revolution and the Mexican muralists and printmakers on Chicano artists. Goldman along with Tomás Ybarra Frausto created the first known archive of Chicano art history for artists of Mexican descent living in the U.S. Both Goldman and Ybarra-Frausto’s texts and archives continue to be foundational for art historians of Chicano art history. Goldman’s archive at the California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives, a division of the Special Research Collections Department of the University of

¹¹ Dawn Ades, Alison McClean-Cameron, Laura Campbell, and Mark P. McDonald. *Revolution on Paper: Mexican Prints 1910-1960* (Austin [Tex.]: University of Texas Press, 2009).

¹² Helga Prignitz-Poda, *El Taller de Gráfica Popular en México, 1937-1977* (México: Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes, 1992), 142.

California, Santa Barbara Library, is an influential archive for scholars studying Chicano art history, as well as Latin American and American art history. Ybarra-Frausto's research materials on Chicano art in the Archives of American Art at the Smithsonian also continues to aid scholars contextualizing the Chicano art movement in the U.S. and Latin America. The scholars' personal work with artists built a precedent for future scholars. Goldman's work in the 1960s with Mexican artist David Alfaro Siqueiros and the rediscovery of his whitewashed mural *América Tropical* during their 1965 interview and later publication "Siqueiros and Three Early Murals" printed in an issue of *Art Journal* in 1974. Goldman's rediscovery of Siqueiros's whitewashed mural in the 1960s had significant implications for Chicano artists and activists at the time. As Rebecca Zamora points out, Goldman connected the oppressive context of the 1930s to the struggles that lead to the Chicano movement in the 1970s, specifically connecting the whitewashing of *América Tropical* with the development of the Chicano Movement.¹³ However, not only that, Goldman led the efforts to conserve the whitewashed mural. Equating the whitewashing of *América Tropical* with the suppression of Chicano culture, especially in Los Angeles, Goldman believed uncovering the mural would equate with exposing hidden histories of Chicano culture in Los Angeles and subsequently led to greater efforts to look into other hidden narratives.

Subsequently, during the 1960s and 70s, there was also a vast network of communication and collaboration between Siqueiros and Chicano artists. This included meetings between Siqueiros and artists Luis C. Garza, Jesús Salvador Treviño, unionist and co-founder of Los Angeles's Plaza de la Raza Frank Lopez, among others. These meetings introduced Siqueiros to Chicano culture and politics and vice versa. Garza, photojournalist for *La Raza* magazine during

¹³ Rebecca Zamora, "Shifra Goldman and David Alfaro Siqueiros's *América Tropical*," *Getty Research Journal*, No. 6 (January 2014): 115-127.

the 1960s and '70s, recounts meeting Siqueiros in 1971 at a World Peace Conference in Budapest, Hungary, where Siqueiros requested from Garza: “*Compañero, cuentame de este movimiento Chicano/Comrade, tell me about this Chicano Movement,*” and the two spoke all night.¹⁴ In return, Siqueiros shared about restoration efforts for his *América Tropical* mural, including being interviewed in Mexico by Chicano filmmaker Jesús Salvador Treviño for his KCET documentary *América Tropical* in 1970, and the building of a new cultural center in Los Angeles: Plaza de la Raza by Frank Lopez and others.¹⁵ In fact, it was Lopez who informed Siqueiros of Los Angeles Times reporter Ruben Salazar’s murder during the National Chicano Moratorium March in 1970, which inspired Siqueiros’s print of Ruben Salazar (figure 1) that he later donated to Plaza de la Raza.¹⁶ During this time, Siqueiros also committed himself to paint *America Tropical II*, which he wanted to dedicate to the Chicano people of Los Angeles and would have been donated to Plaza de la Raza, but unfortunately was never completed due to the death of the artist (figure 2).¹⁷ Even though Siqueiros’s dedication to the Chicano people was never completed, he left an invaluable radical tradition that sparked a generation of Chicano artists. During the unveiling of the conservation results of *América Tropical* mural and the eightieth anniversary of its first unveiling in 2012, Treviño directed three Chicano artists—John Valadez, Barbara Carrasco, and Wayne Healy—to read imagined “Letters to Siqueiros,” describing the personal influence Siqueiros had on the artists.

Building on the scholarship of Shifra Goldman, Anna Indych-Lopez works on Trans-American art, specifically the presence of the Mexican muralists in the U.S. between 1927 and

¹⁴ Luis C. Garza, "Siqueiros in Los Angeles: Censorship Defied," *Convergences*, Fall 2010: 37.

¹⁵ Luis C. Garza, "Siqueiros in Los Angeles: Censorship Defied," 43.

¹⁶ UCLA Chicano Studies Research Center, "Culture Fix: Luis C. Garza on David Alfaro Siqueiros," YouTube, December 7, 2011, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XLXnNe4xeBs>.

¹⁷ UCLA Chicano Studies Research Center, "Culture Fix: Luis C. Garza on David Alfaro Siqueiros"

1940 and Diego Rivera's exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art in New York in 1931. Indych-Lopez looks at the influence other artistic mediums, such as easel painting, drawing, and printmaking had on the work of Mexican muralists in the U.S., as well as how each medium was received differently by audiences and art critics in the U.S., as well as how the art market in the U.S. influenced the Mexican muralists. For example, Indych-Lopez explains that murals on display in the "Mexican Arts" exhibition in New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1930 and Diego Rivera's retrospective at the Museum of Modern Art in 1931 were de-radicalized in comparison to photographs and lithographs on display in the same exhibitions due to audience reception. She argues that the Mexican artists in the U.S. were hyper aware of their reception, as well as what medium would be most profitable in the art market. For example, Indych-Lopez argues that this awareness led José Clemente Orozco to focus on drawings and lithographs over murals for his depictions of the Mexican Revolution in his series titled *Los Horrores de la Revolución (Horrors of the Revolution)* from 1926 through 1928. Most recently, Indych-Lopez's 2018 monograph of Chicana muralist Judy Baca investigates how issues of race, class, and gender impacted Baca's practice. The monograph situates the Chicana artist's work outside the established histories of Chicano art history and into broader histories, such as Baca's "overlap with (and departure from) the Mexican muralist tradition, specifically the work of David Alfaro Siqueiros."¹⁸ Anna Indych-Lopez makes a significant contribution to Mexican and Chicano transnational art history in situating Mexican muralists during the 1930s and 1940s within the U.S. art market, as well as providing an in depth monograph of a Chicana artist and her connection with Mexican artists. Indych-Lopez is among a new generation of scholars taking up the theme of transnational art histories, after the death of art historian Shifra Goldman.

¹⁸ Anna Indych-Lopez, *Judith F. Baca* (Los Angeles: UCLA Chicano Studies Research Center Press, 2018), 3.

The transnational and crosscultural solidarities examined in this dissertation are foregrounded by African American and Mexican scholarship by Melanie Anne Herzog and Alison McClean-Cameron, as well as Lauren Araiza and Tere Romo's scholarship on African American and Chicano histories. As one of the leading scholars on Elizabeth Catlett, Herzog examines Catlett's Mexican identity as it appears in her work, while also analyzing Catlett's contributions to Mexico as an African American artist. Herzog's analyses of Catlett's works lay a foundation for the studies in this dissertation conducted of Catlett's work in the United Farm Workers' newspaper and Black Freedom Movement during the 1960s and 1970s. Although Herzog's work is extremely comprehensive, there is not an analysis of the presence of Catlett's work in *El Malcriado*. McClean-Cameron examines African-American artists such as Margaret Taylor Burroughs, Elizabeth Catlett, Charles White, and John Wilson, who were attracted to the work of the TGP for its technical, social, and political agenda, as well as a model to explore their own issues such as "racial identity and heritage" and "the fight against bigotry and oppression."¹⁹ Although both Herzog and McClean-Cameron's analyses are situated within histories of American and Mexican art, and do not specifically cover histories of Chicano art. As Theresa Avila explains, "The history of interactions and support between the Chicano and African American movements has not yet been adequately assessed and addressed," except for historian Lauren Araiza and art historian Tere Romo.²⁰ Araiza's main study that influences this dissertation includes her book titled *To March for Others The Black Freedom Struggle and the United Farm Workers*, which examines the interaction between the UFW and five major African-American organizations, including the SNCC, National Association for the

¹⁹ Alison Cameron, "Buenos Vecinos: African-American Printmaking and the Taller de Gráfica Popular," *Print Quarterly*, Vol. 16, No. 4 (DECEMBER 1999): 367.

²⁰ Theresa Avila, "Hacer eco del llamado a la Revolución: Emiliano Zapata en el Arte Chican@", *Emiliano. Zapata Despues de Zapata* (Mexico City: Secretaría de Cultura Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes y Literatura, 2019), 256.

Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), National Urban League (NUL), Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), and Black Panther Party (BPP).²¹ Araiza's study focuses on multiracial political coalition building, with a focus on analyzing the diverse group's actions (such as black activist groups coming together to join UFW members' march to Sacramento), rather than the visual analysis of specific visual artistic material, as in the case of my particular study—which builds on Araiza's foundational work by looking at multiracial coalition building through radical art forms. However, Tere Romo has been the predominant scholar on Chicano printmaking, including transracial coalitions.²²

In addition to becoming a member of the Chicano printmaking collective Royal Chicano Air Force, Romo has extensive firsthand and written knowledge on the history of Chicano graphic art, including her monograph on printmaker Malaquias Montoya and iconography of the Chicano poster.²³ In addition to Shifra Goldman's historical study of Chicano graphic art workshops, the only other studies dedicated to Chicano printmaking include the exhibition catalogues for *Just another poster?: Chicano graphic arts in California* and *Estampas de la Raza: contemporary prints from the Romo collection*, as well as the anthologies for *Self Help Graphics & Art*, one which is set to be released in 2023.²⁴ Therefore, this dissertation study

²¹ Lauren Araiza, *To March for Others: The Black Freedom Struggle and the United Farm Workers*, (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania press, 2017).

²² Tere Romo, "Right On! Chicano Prints and Black Power," presentation at IUPLR Latino Art Now! Conference, University of Houston, Texas, April 5, 2019.

²³ Tere Romo, "Points of convergence : the iconography of the Chicano poster = Puntos de convergencia : la iconografía del cartel chicano," *Just another poster?: Chicano graphic arts in California = Sólo un cartel más? : Artes Gráficas Chicanas en California* (Santa Barbara, CA: University Art Museum, University of California, Santa Barbara, 2001).

²⁴ Shifra M. Goldman, "A public voice : fifteen years of Chicano posters," *Dimensions of the Americas : art and social change in Latin America and the United States* (Chicago : University of Chicago Press, 1994).
Chon A. Noriega, *Just another poster?: Chicano graphic arts in California = Sólo un cartel más : artes gráficas chicanas en California* (Santa Barbara, Calif: University Art Museum, 2002).
Lyle W. Williams, *Estampas de la raza: contemporary prints from the Romo collection : [exhibition, San Antonio, McNay art museum, from September 19, 2012 to January 20, 2013]* (San Antonio (Tx.): McNay, 2012).
Colin Gunkel and Kristen Guzmán, *Self Help Graphics & Art: art in the heart of East Los Angeles* (Los Angeles : UCLA Chicano Studies Research Center, 2014).

makes a major contribution to the scholarship on Chicano printmaking by situating the avant-garde and transnational foundations of the Mexican printmaking workshop TGP, in addition to the multiracial coalitions and art networks between Chicano, Mexican, and African-American artists.

This dissertation was comprised of qualitative research of historical case studies from the 1930s through the 1970s in Mexico and the U.S., especially focused on the history and legacy of the TGP in the U.S., its influence on the Chicano art movement (specifically the farmworker movement), and the Black Freedom Movement. Special attention was paid to the TGP's influence on graphic art and artists, printmaking workshops, as well as alternative presses and periodicals. In analyzing the history, legacy, and influence of the TGP, I focused on visual (form and content), technical (medium and experimentation), and socio-political (mission and goals) influence. In the process, I argue that the legacy and influence of the TGP seen in the 1960s is not a simple reemergence or reproduction of the TGP's forms and content, but rather a radical transnational activation of the Old Left's avant-garde works to be galvanized by the New Left's artists. Furthermore, the works by the TGP that continue in the U.S. and impact Chicano and African African printmakers are part of a populist graphic legacy with roots in France, the Soviet Union, Germany, and China. The unique quality of these legacies lies in the reproducibility and powerful yet simple imagery of the prints that rely on allegory that transcend their immediate context.

Historiographic Review of the Avant-Garde

Theories of the Avant-Garde

According to Peter Bürger, the avant-garde merges art and life. However, he opposes the autonomy of art in a bourgeois society that is separated from life.²⁵ He claims that although the avant-garde failed, it did create an important rupture in modern art, in which the social impact or the institutionalization of art could no longer be ignored. Furthermore, in regard to postwar neo-avant-garde movements, Bürger critically argues that they lack the radicality of their avant-garde forebearers because they have been institutionalized. Bürger's concept of the avant-garde contrasts with Clement Greenberg's avant-garde, in which Greenberg argues that avant-garde is comprised solely of abstract art or non-representational artwork that seeks to separate itself from the mass-produced consumer culture within an industrial society, which he calls kitsch.²⁶ So, whereas Bürger views the avant-garde as radical artforms that merge with daily praxis, Greenberg envisions it as a complete removal from life or representation. In fact, anything resembling daily life would closer align with kitsch. Whereas Greenberg defines the avant-garde according to its aesthetics, through formalist qualities, Bürger judges an avant-garde work or gesture through its social significance, one that opposes art as institution or art as autonomous.

In relation to mass production and technical reproduction, which Greenburg alludes to with his concept of kitsch, Bürger uses the Benjaminian concept of loss of aura from his 1936 essay "The work of art in the Age of Technical Reproducibility," to describe the change of social intent of art, from art based on ritual to works based on politics.²⁷ Walter Benjamin states (as interpreted through Bürger) that the presence of an aura in an artwork requires uniqueness or authenticity, which is lost due to industrial methods of image reproduction, such as film,

²⁵ Peter Bürger, *Theory of the Avant-Garde* (Minneapolis, Minn: University of Minnesota Press, 2011).

²⁶ Clement Greenberg, "Avant-Garde and Kitsch," in *Art and Culture: Critical Essays* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2006), 3-21.

²⁷ Bürger, *Theory of the Avant-Garde*, 28.

photography, or even mass-produced print works.²⁸ Benjamin explains that with the loss of aura or originality of an artwork, there is also a shift in the social relation between the work and viewer, placing less significance on the work itself as an autonomous object, but more on the art and audience relationship.²⁹ He gives the example of watching a film, where the audience is not allowed time to contemplate a single frame—like in a painting—but is instead shocked or bombarded with multiple images forcing the viewer to be in a constant state of contemplation.³⁰ Similar through this reproducibility of images out on the streets, as seen in graphic art plastered in urban areas, the public is not allowed respite from contemplation and are forced to reflect on the images outside the museum and gallery setting. In other words, the world of art and daily life merge. However, Bürger argues that the avant-garde still required a specific bourgeois society for it to be implemented and understood, and critiqued a future neo-avant-garde, arguing that it would attempt to capitalize on the earlier historic avant-garde moment. Although Bürger understood the significant social impact of the 1920s and 1930s historical avant-garde, he was limited in his understanding of the politicization of the 1960s and 1970s, especially in regard to various anti-oppression movements that would position themselves in relation to the historic avant-garde of the early 20th century, which responded to its current society through oppositional and radical artworks. Furthermore, Bürger's limitations of the avant-garde under solely a bourgeois society highly disregards the connections between the working-class populist and radical artforms integrated into daily life utilized in marginalized societies, such as those that are studied here.

²⁸ Bürger, *Theory of the Avant-Garde*, 28

²⁹ Walter Benjamin, *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*. (Lexington, KY: Prism Key Press, 2010), 238.

³⁰ Walter Benjamin, *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*, 238.

For example, art historian of Latin American art Mari Carmen Ramirez argues that Bürger would not categorize the first Mexican avant-garde moment of *Estridentismo* as a historic avant-garde because it lacked the proper bourgeois social conditions, such as artistic autonomy (to be in opposition to), it did not have a strong art market, and the lack of rupture in relation to academic traditions.³¹ However, art historian of Mexican art Tatiana Flores argues that *Actual N°1* does fall into Bürger's model of the avant-garde because Maples Arce's manifesto responds to the dullness of bourgeois society (and art as institution, critiquing the various -isms of European modern art) and instead proposes that art should respond to urban society.³² Bürger believes the historic avant-garde was a failure for its inability to combine art and life (praxis).³³

In the essay, "On Populist Reason and Chicano Modernisms" from the exhibition catalog *Mex/L.A.: "Mexican" Modernism(s) in Los Angeles, 1930-1985*, Mariana Botey argues that Chicano art in the 1960s is a neo-avant-garde movement of the historic Mexican avant-garde art of the 1930s, which is "critical of the dominant historiography."³⁴ Botey complicates the canon of Chicano art in conversation with radical, avant-garde art movements from Latin America, Russia, and China, with a direct lineage from Mexico, which uses mass media, pedagogy, text, collective participation, and radical aesthetics. This globalized approach takes into account different political histories within these geographic regions that exist in direct contestation with U.S. and European narratives of modernity and modernization. The uneven development in Latin America and additional social injustices caused by histories of violence from colonization, imperialism, and wars, produces different objectives for Latin American artists, who often create

³¹ Tatiana Flores, "Clamoring for Attention in Mexico City: Manuel Maples Arce's Avant-Garde Manifesto Actual N° 1". *Review: Literature and Arts of the Americas*. 37, no. 2 (2004): 212,213

³² Ibid.

³³ Bürger, 53, 54.

³⁴ Mariana Botey, "On Populist Reason and Chicano Modernisms," *Mex/L.A.: "Mexican" modernism(s) in Los Angeles, 1930-1985* (Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz Verlag, 2011), 77.

new modern and avant-garde movements (e.g., politically influenced happenings, graphic arts collectives, and participatory artworks) in response to contemporary political and social events out of urgent necessity.

In his essay “Modernity after Postmodernity” from *Beyond the Fantastic: Contemporary Art Criticism from Latin America*, Néstor García Canclini provides complex strict temporal notions of modernity set by the European canon by rethinking the relationship between tradition, modernity, and postmodernity.³⁵ The histories of conquest and uneven development in the countries of Latin America have caused large class divisions. As Canclini points out, during the critical moments caused by violent political interventions in the early 20th century and the 1960s in Latin America, various artists found the need to depict the lives of the lower classes in art (e.g., the Mexican graphic artist and muralists of the early 20th century as a response to the Mexican Revolution) or artists in the 1960s (e.g., Los Grupos in Mexico, graphic collectives in Los Angeles and New York, etc.) who created works to engage the public. Prior to these moments, decades of religious, colonial, and elite art dominated, reflecting the hegemonic hierarchies at the time.

In Andrea Giunta’s concept of *simultaneous avant-gardes*, she rejects the historicizing of avant-garde movements that begin with the European avant-garde and radiate out to the international sphere. Instead, Giunta proposes that there exist avant-garde and neo-avant-garde movements in Latin America and throughout the globe that occur simultaneously, in conversation with each other, but not necessarily in direct outcome of the previous vanguard movement. Therefore, proposing a reciprocal relationship, rather than a consequential one within global avant-garde movements—in an attempt to overcome the argument that neo-vanguard

³⁵ Néstor García Canclini, “Modernity after Postmodernity,” *Beyond the Fantastic: Contemporary Art Criticism from Latin America* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1996), 20.

movements derivate from the European avant-garde.³⁶ Furthermore, this type of theorization avoids simply solving the tension between center/periphery through inclusion of the periphery—which especially happens through a multiculturalist perspective in the U.S.—, but instead critically investigates the avant-garde and neo-avant-garde movements in Latin America and U.S. Latino art within their own circuits, as Giunta and George F. Flaherty argue.³⁷

A Radical History of Printmaking

Art historians Mariana Botey, Deborah Caplow, and Renato Gonzalez Mello analyze the avant-garde strategies and techniques of allegory and photomontage used in the Taller de Gráfica Popular, as well as the relationship between the Mexican School and social realism. Botey critically analyzes the history of the Mexican School during the early twentieth century with the rupture between academic painting and modernism, where the production of avant-garde images in the figurative manner by muralists and printmakers result in baroque-like allegorical scenes, and therefore challenging scholars that have previously described such work as social realism.³⁸ Moreover, Caplow explains when the TGP exhibited in Moscow in the Soviet Union, they received negative criticism for not idealizing Mexican people and life, which would have been common for artists that painted in the socialist realist style.³⁹ Gonzalez Mello also complicates

³⁶ Andrea Giunta, *Cuándo empieza el arte contemporáneo? = When does the contemporary art begin?* (Buenos Aires, Argentina : Fundación arteBA, 2014), 105-199, and Andrea Giunta, and George F. Flaherty. "Latin American Art History: An Historiographic Turn". *Art in Translation*. 9, no. sup1 (2017): 121-142.

³⁷ Andrea Giunta, and George F. Flaherty. "Latin American Art History: An Historiographic Turn". *Art in Translation*. 9, no. sup1 (2017): 131-132.

³⁸ Mariana Botey, *Zonas de disturbio : espectros del México indígena en la modernidad*, (México, D.F. : Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México : Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana : Palabra de Clío : Siglo XXI, 2014), 167, 172.

³⁹ Deborah Caplow, *Leopoldo Méndez: Revolutionary Art and the Mexican Print*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2007), 134.

the history of early twentieth century Mexican printmaking by proposing new methodological strategies that adapt techniques from film.⁴⁰

Gonzalez Mello uses the concept of montage in printed works to break apart and reconstruct narrative structures in the work. In the dissertation, when tracing the legacy of the TGP, I adapt Botey, Capolow, and Gonzalez Mello's foundational scholarship in arguing against a historicization of the Mexican School within social realism, and instead follow their lead and trace the history of the TGP as an avant-garde history using technical complex forms, such as allegory and montage, as well as the use of transnational, transhistorical, and transtemporal subject matter. In tracing the legacy of the TGP in the U.S., I outline the radical history of printmaking that inform the subject, technique, and context of TGP works, beginning with avant-garde artists outside of Mexico.

The avant-garde strategies utilized by the TGP stemmed from experimental works of vanguard artists from France, the Soviet Union, Germany, and China. *The Absolute Bourgeois: Artists and Politics in France, 1848-1851* and *Image of the People: Gustave Courbet and the 1848 Revolution* by T. J. Clark examines the artists' use of allegory during the Second French Republic, particularly images that critiqued, mocked, or politically subverted the national regime. Importantly, Clark points out the underground networks that artists were part of, which included the use of popular imagery, images in newspapers, and the production of quickly made prints. That is, Clark explains that state approved art during the Revolution failed because it never really accepted art of the Revolution. Instead, the works that became truly descriptive of this time period became the underground works, works that were concealed from the official

⁴⁰ Renato González Mello, "El Mapa, La Taxonomía y Las Flechas," eds., Mariana Botey and Cuauhtémoc Medina, *Estética y emancipación: Fantasma, fétiche, fantasmagoría* (México, D.F. : Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Dirección de Artes Visuales : Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana : Siglo XXI, 2014), 140-153.

state through allegory, or works made solely for the artist's private use. In order to describe the subversive nature of the works, Clark goes into detail about the social and political lives of the artists. This includes Millet's interest surrounding the economic circumstances of the people living in the countryside. In Daumier's work, Clark also describes his power to use allegory to direct the work's subject toward the masses, as seen in the images of the *saltimbanques*. Clark's two books are particularly influential for my own study since he writes in the preface of *The Absolute Bourgeois* that he was particularly impacted by his current time period of the 1960s when writing his manuscript, and even admits that there are some "analogies" between the 1848 Revolution in France and the 1960s. In the conclusion, Clark questions the first time when political art became official. This dissertation continues to examine the role of art and politics as it spoke for the people and the nation.

In the conclusion of *The Absolute Bourgeois*, Clark explains the challenge radical artists have to combine art and politics, and at the same time transcend the art market and exhibition, moving their works into the public sphere for the masses and beyond their time. In his book, Clark describes that the only successful example he gives is Daumier's sculpture *Ratapoil* made around 1851, which translates to "skinned rat" and loosely represents the Napoleonic propaganda campaign at the time. The success of the *Ratapoil* character was that it did not exactly mimic Napoleon, yet there were enough features like the military clothing and Imperial facial hair that the viewer could liken the figure with Napoleon. Furthermore, the generalization of such features being associated with the powers that be without it being descriptive of a specific person made the image transcend the specific time period, where it not only represented Napoleon but all Napoleonic-type figures. The same could be said with the visual strategies accomplished by Prussian artist Käthe Kollwitz.

Although Kollwitz began her career focusing on etching, she later transitioned to lithography and woodcuts in order to make her content and price more accessible to the masses. For example, in her portfolio *Krieg (War)* that she began in 1919, Kollwitz depicted expressionistic figures representing grief, trauma, and sacrifice during WWI. In the prints, Kollwitz focused on the figures' expressions and gestures to signify the meaning and omitted any hints to a particular time or place, so that the images instead transcend their specified context. For example, in the woodcut published in 1923 titled *Die Freiwilligen (The Volunteers)*, Kollwitz shows her son Peter, who died two months later, next to Death beating a drum and rallying a group of young men who volunteered for war. The men's expressions range from blind hope to fearsome anguish, as seen in the two middle figures—one which closes his eyes in calm prayer and the other which screams in torment. The generalized yet powerful images by Kollwitz, like Daumier's *Ratapoil*, became more than iconography for the current moment, but allegories for war itself.

In the Soviet Union, Latvian Constructivist artist Gustav Klutsis was a revolutionary developer in the new process of photomontage, or the process of cutting, rearranging, and pasting photographs. As a member of the Bolshevik regime and Communist Party under Joseph Stalin, Klutsis used his new process for political agitation. The photomontage method united the technological idea of photography and film to combine unrelated images into one coherent whole image to produce a new message. The new experimental technique was highly regarded by other Soviet avant-gardists. Among Klutsis' most popular works was an election photomontage reprinted as a lithograph, *Let's Fulfill the Plan of Great Works* produced in 1930 (figure 3). The work was part of the Vkhutemas' school of art, a Soviet art and technical school founded in Moscow by Vladimir Lenin and the center for constructivism and suprematism movements.

Photomontage works were characteristically made for the masses and its typical style included repetition of figures to produce a popular corpus. In Klutskis' work, he combined various images and sizes of his own photographed raised palm with images of Soviet workers to come together un masse. The multiple images of raised hands and workers united to form one single raised hand that overtakes the image.

The technique was also widely used among German artists, as seen in a very similar image mentioned earlier by John Heartfield in the left-wing periodical where Heartfield worked, *A.I.Z. (Arbeiter Illustrierte Zeitung/Workers' Illustrated Magazine)* between 1929 and 1934 (figure 4). Heartfield published over 200 anti-Nazi works in the *A.I.Z. (Arbeiter Illustrierte Zeitung/Workers' Illustrated Magazine)*, a magazine published by the New German Press and run by the political activist Willi Münzenberg. The magazine, which was the second highest circulated magazine in Germany and later published in Czechoslovakia, Austria, Switzerland, and Eastern France, vehemently criticized Hitler and the Third Reich. Such public acts of criticism were extremely dangerous in Berlin at the time. Through such overt symbols of criticism against the Hitler and the Third Reich, the images by Heartfield became canonical anti-fascist works. Photomontage artists from the Soviet Union and Germany produced works that spoke to the masses in the specific time period, but also used visual strategies such as repetition and symbols like the raised fist to speak to the masses and call for organization against a powerful oppressor in any time period.

For example, in the 1930s, in Mexico the avant-garde visual and literary group the *Liga de Escritores y Artistas Revolucionarios* (League of Revolutionary Writers and Artists, LEAR) combined popular imagery with the ideals of the antifascist Popular Front of the Communist International to critique the Mexican government (figure 5). In the group's newspaper *Frente a*

Frente from May 1936, they utilized photomontage to combine images of Adolf Hitler, Benito Mussolini, and Plutarco Elías Calles, along with a detail of the graphic photograph by Manuel Alvaro Bravo titled *Obero en Huelga, Asesinado (Striking worker, Assassinated)* from 1934 to criticize Calles, the powerful interior minister under Mexican President under Álvaro Obregón. The juxtaposition of Hitler and Mussolini with Calles, along with the murdered worker, aligned the Mexican government with a fascist regime guilty of killing its own people, especially the working class.

In China, woodcut artists struggled between an integration of so-called “Western” ideals that they equated with modern art and the continuation of a tradition that communicated with a wide populace. Art historian Kuiyi Shen explains that “although the woodcut was invented in China,” left-wing woodcut artist Li Hua “maintained that the ‘creative’ woodcut was not born in China until the 20th century.”⁴¹ In order to create the modern woodcut in China, the 1930s woodcut artists created their own works from start to finish, where the artists carved and printed their own works instead of having highly skilled master printers do it for them. This allowed for more immediacy as well as more individual artistic style in each work. Furthermore, the modern woodcut integrated European oil-based printing inks, instead of the traditional water-based inks.⁴² However, as Shen explains, the most important influence on the modern woodcut movement in China was educator and writer Lu Xun, who believed art and literature were just as important as science and medicine to the modernization of China. Lu Xun had a globalized view of art and literature, where he placed the works from China alongside works from Germany, the Soviet Union, and Japan. In fact, when one of Lu Xun’s students Rou Shi was killed for being a

⁴¹ Shen Kuiyi, “The modernist woodcut movement in 1930s China,” *Shanghai modern, 1919-1945*, eds. Jo-Anne Birnie Danzker, Ken Lum, Sheng Tian Zheng, Museum Villa Stuck, Kunsthalle zu Kiel (Ostfildern-Ruit : Hatje Cantz, 2004), 266.

⁴² Shen Kuiyi, “The modernist woodcut movement in 1930s China.”

Communist sympathizer, Lu Xun reproduced the woodcut *The Sacrifice* by Käthe Kollwitz in the first issue of the literature journal *Beidou* in 1931.⁴³ The first students of the modern woodcut movement began in August of 1931 when Lu Xun brought together 13 art students from left-wing groups and taught them everything from traditional *ukiyo-e* to German Expressionism.⁴⁴ Inspired by German Expressionist prints, the artists applied symbols and gestures that were highly didactic, especially as forms of left-wing activism. An exemplary work from a later period is *China Roars!* produced by Li Hua in 1935 (figure 6). The woodblock, which was reproduced in various newspapers at the time, shows a contorted nude man blindfolded and tied up to a wooden post, letting out a tormented roar, struggling to grab a nearby dagger to break himself loose. The image utilized the new expressive modern forms to create a simple image to communicate the torment that most of the Chinese population were facing at the time.

The Avant-Garde in Mexico

After the revolution, Mexico was tasked to integrate its agrarian and peasant class into its society culturally, politically, and technologically. This moment of modernization in the country was comparable to Europe's pre-World War I "Futurist Moment," where utopian visions for the present moment were visualized.⁴⁵ During this new modernization period the population doubled from the years 1900 to 1920 (from about 300,000 people to about 600,000), automobiles increased from about 800 in 1906 to about 21,000 in the 1920s, and in 1910, a third of the Mexican population only lived on 15% of Mexican land, so after the revolution there was much

⁴³ Shen Kuiyi, "The modernist woodcut movement in 1930s China," 267

⁴⁴ Shen Kuiyi, "The modernist woodcut movement in 1930s China."

⁴⁵ Tatiana Flores, "Clamoring for Attention in Mexico City: Manuel Maples Arce's Avant-Garde Manifesto Actual N° 1". *Review: Literature and Arts of the Americas*. 37, no. 2 (2004): 208-220.

more agricultural expansion.⁴⁶ However, there were harsh class divisions, especially in Mexico City, where the wealthy lived in the West and the poor in the East, separated by the Zócalo. Therefore, although there was an increase of technological progress, there was still a lack of social progress, including “extreme poverty, unsanitary conditions, and lack of education.”⁴⁷ Maples Arce’s manifesto *Actual N°1* addressed these “dystopias” and his vision of an avant-garde utopia. Edmundo O’Gorman explains that this post-revolutionary moment is one that changes into “*como un quehacer, no como un legado*”—“a moment of possibilities, not of legacies”—emphasizing the present, not the past.⁴⁸

Actual N°1, subtitled the *La Hoja de Vanguardia*, the Avant-Garde Sheet, by Manuel Maples Arce introduced an irreverent, iconoclastic point of view of Mexican culture, proposing to cure the ills of Mexican culture, not for the sake of its past or future, but for its present moment. Maples Arce’s manifesto proposed Mexico’s first avant-garde utopian moment. Estridentismo is influenced by European avant-garde movements, especially Italian Futurism and Spanish ultraismo, but also departed from the European avant-garde and presented a specific Mexican avant-garde utopic vision.⁴⁹ Maples Arce attempts to take control of this post-war moment in Mexico by proposing an avant-garde iconoclastic approach. As Tatiana Flores explains, “Maples Arce’s 14 points celebrate the potential of the post-revolutionary moment: freedom of speech, a country in peace, a new society.”⁵⁰

Actual N°1 was a direct response to Siqueiros’ *3 llamamientos de orientación actual a los pintores y escultores de la nueva generación americana /Three Appeals for a Modern Direction*

⁴⁶ Tatiana Flores, , 212,213.

⁴⁷ Tatiana Flores.

⁴⁸ Edmundo O’Gorman, *Seis estudios historicos de tema mexicano*. (Xalapa: Universidad Veracruzana, 1960).

⁴⁹ Tatiana Flores, "Clamoring for Attention in Mexico City: Manuel Maples Arce's Avant-Garde Manifesto Actual N° 1."

⁵⁰ Tatiana Flores, 215.

to the New Generation of American Painters and Sculptors, which was released earlier to a European audience. While Siqueiros' essay was printed in a Spanish newspaper and distributed in Spain, France, and the United States, Maples Arce's manifesto was printed on a broadsheet and plastered on the streets of Mexico City.⁵¹ Maples Arce's title infers that his argument is more current, even designing his broadsheet like a newspaper to represent the latest news, but also perhaps to relate to a mass audience. Maples Arce uses Dadaist rhetorical techniques of assaulting language and inventing words, even the term "Estridentismo" is made-up, to highlight his dissatisfaction with the current state of modernization, and perhaps to showcase his own (as well as others') agency to create new intellectual and artistic material. The made-up language also forces the reader to instantly impose meaning on the new terms that Maples Arce proposes. Additionally, Maples Arce denounces the historical legacies of Mexican independence and colonization, as well as the newly created towns that divide the social classes—stating, "Death to Father Hidalgo, Down with San Rafael and San Lázaro..."⁵² Maples Arce is also against the standardization of schools of art, and instead believes that art should be a part of everyday life, especially urban life—key characteristics of a historic avant-garde, as defined by Bürger—Maples Arce declares, "“Enough now of Creationism, Dadaism, Paroxysm, Expressionism, Syntheticism, Imaginism, Suprematism, Cubism, Orphism, etc., etc., of isms, more or less theoretical and efficient. Let us make a quintessential, purified synthesis of all the flourishing tendencies.”"⁵³ Arce's hope was to "wake people up...shake them up...hit them with sticks, if

⁵¹ Tatiana Flores, 218.

⁵² Maples Arce, Manuel. "Actual No 1: Hoja de Vanguardia. Comprimido Estridentista," December 1921. Museo Nacional de Arte, Mexico City.

⁵³ Maples Arce, Manuel.

required...There was no time to lose.”⁵⁴ Like other avant-garde moments, the manifesto introduces shock, disorder, and irrationality as method to encourage a shift in society.

The *3 llamamientos de orientación actual a los pintores y escultores de la nueva generación americana /Three Appeals for a Modern Direction to the New Generation of American Painters and Sculptors* introduced the short-lived magazine *Vida Americana: revista norte centro y sudamericana de vanguardia*, as well as an early avant-garde moment, to a predominant artistic and intellectual audience in Europe and the United States. Siqueiros’s essay predates Maples Arce’s first Mexican avant-garde manifesto, but is still an avant-garde gesture, which called for equilibrium within the aesthetic—while Maples Arce argued that equilibrium was impossible since our emotions were constantly changing— and constructivist art influenced from the pre-Colombian past but for the modern and industrial present.⁵⁵ The essay is a call for artists to create new paintings and sculpture, emphasizing the visual arts rather than literature, unlike Maples Arce. Siqueiros also calls for a universal art, rather than a national art, but insists that racial and local characteristics will inherently come through in this new avant-garde work without making a deliberate aesthetic effort. Both Siqueiros and Maples Arce called for an avant-garde movement that was founded in the present post-revolutionary moment in Mexico, not from European artistic derivations. These two avant-garde moments contributed to the global art network by introducing the integration of art with everyday life. However, as Bürger suggests, Mexico required certain societal conditions for the avant-garde movements to progress. For example, in the case of Estridentismo, it aligned with a leftist socialist agenda, but when politics

⁵⁴ Manuel Maples Arce, *Soberana juventud* (Madrid: Editorial Plenitud, 1967), 122-123.

⁵⁵ David Alfaro Siqueiros, “3 llamamientos de orientación actual a los pintores y escultores de la nueva generación americana” [En línea], en *Vida Americana: revista norte centro y sudamericana de vanguardia*, núm. 1, Barcelona, España, mayo de 1921, pp. 2-3.

in Mexico began to change with the forced removal or assassination of progressive government officials, the avant-garde Estridentismo also ceased.⁵⁶

In 1928 post-revolutionary president-elect Álvaro Obregón was assassinated, putting Plutarco Elias Calles in power. Calles's new presidency threatened the new agrarian reforms, organizations like the Mexican Community Party, and publications like *El Machete*.⁵⁷ Avant-garde movements were now pushed underground or out into rural areas, instead of existing out in the streets in urban centers. For example, Siqueiros took advantage of this moment to relocate his art out of the city and into the mining town of Taxco, Mexico where he produced various large paintings of the proletariat on reused burlap.⁵⁸ In fact, Taxco became a meeting place for transnational avant-garde artists, writers, and filmmakers including Anita Brenner and Sergei Eisenstein.⁵⁹ Siqueiros's synthesis of the proletariat in a rural environment within an avant-garde work inspired Eisenstein's 1930 film "Que Viva Mexico!"—which in turn, later became a great influence in Mexican film and photography.⁶⁰ While in Taxco, Siqueiros also met with Madame Chouinard, the director of the Chouinard School of Art in Los Angeles, California, where Siqueiros would teach during his stay in the early 1930s. Therefore, although the political changes of the 1920s ended with certain avant-garde movements, it allowed others to flourish.

Additionally, with the increasing opposition against leftist groups from the Mexican government, artists turned to the global political sphere for inspiration for new avant-garde movements. In 1933, the LEAR embodied ideals of the antifascist Popular Front of the

⁵⁶ James Oles, *Art and Architecture in Mexico* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2013) 258.

⁵⁷ James Oles, 265.

⁵⁸ James Oles.

⁵⁹ Raquel Tibol, "David Alfaro Siqueiros En Taxco," *Artes De México*, Nueva Epoca, No. 5, Taxco: Edicion Especial: Segunda edicion (Abril 1995), pp. 76-80.

⁶⁰ Oles, 266.

Communist International, including labeling the Mexican government a social-fascist one, forging close ties with working-class organizations, developing public discourses of proletarian struggles, and making anti-fascism a priority. The LEAR had its own magazine *Frente a Frente*, which included linocuts and woodcuts, photomontages of John Heartfield and other artworks inspired by the Russian Constructivists. *Frente a Frente*, which translated to Face to Face but referred to the Communist International's phrase "*clase contra clase*/class versus class," was directed at the working-class and intelligentsia alike, and was distributed internationally. The group used their artistic platform to propose a manifesto in 1935, which demanded freedom for unionists that had been deported for political reasons, legalization of the Mexican Communist Party and similar organizations, freedom of protest for workers' press, and renewed diplomatic and commercial networks with the USSR.⁶¹ They also promoted a campaign against war and fascism.⁶² In relation to the LEAR's commitment to creating art in service of the masses, they felt the need to be part of the Association of International Revolutionary Writers and Artists, which was created in Poland during the International Congress of Proletarian Culture in 1930. The John Reed Clubs in the U.S. and the Association of International Revolutionary Writers and Artists of France were also part of this global organization.⁶³ As Francisco Reyes Palma explains, the LEAR used the Soviet Union as a model of transferring the revolutionary spirit into art and everyday life, while using their post-revolutionary moment beginning in the 1920s as a source of aesthetic influence.⁶⁴

⁶¹ Francisco Reyes Palma, "La LEAR y su revista de frente cultural," *Frente a Frente, Edición Facsimilar*, (Mexico City: Centro de Estudios del Movimiento Obrero y Socialista, A.C., 1994), 6.

⁶² Francisco Reyes Palma.

⁶³ Francisco Reyes Palma.

⁶⁴ Francisco Reyes Palma, 16.

The Taller de Gráfica Popular (TGP) was created out of the efforts of former LEAR members who wanted to continue printing their present moment. Artists Leopoldo Mendez, Pablo O'Higgins, and Luis Arenal founded the TGP as a printing collective in Mexico in 1937. It was meant to “connect graphic art with the immediate problems of Mexico...but also international affairs, such as the struggles for national liberation in other countries.”⁶⁵ TGP prints were mainly produced for the working-class to be plastered on walls (until 1956 when the practice was banned), but they also spread their message internationally through exhibitions, including their first exhibition in 1938 at the Artists' Union of Chicago. During their early years in the 1930s, the artists responded to a divided country after the Mexican Revolution, one which was at the same time urban and rural, secular and religious, and resulted in the group's harshest and most critical images. In the 1940s, with increasing support of the Soviet Union and the U.S., the TGP artists created images that aligned themselves with international struggles, including anti-racist movements in the U.S. In the 1950s, the TGP artists not only increased their international subject matter, but they increased their exposure in the international art market by exhibiting globally.

Toward a Transnational Legacy of the TGP

In 1965, the image of a black mother and child appeared in the eighteenth issue of a newspaper titled *El Malcriado: The Voice of the Farmworker*, which roughly translates to “the rude one,” printed by the Taller Gráfico Press in Delano, California and edited by Cesar Chavez and Bill Esher (figure 7).⁶⁶ The lithograph print produced soft lines, yet strong and angular forms

⁶⁵ Deborah Caplow, *Leopoldo Méndez: Revolutionary Art and the Mexican Print*, quote by Pablo O'Higgins (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2007), 124.

⁶⁶ Deborah Caplow.

in the adult female figure and male child. The two figures, who are tightly fitted in the foreground of the image, hold an embrace with solemn expressions with a barren tree in the distance. The 1944 print by African American artist Elizabeth Catlett titled *Mother and Child* was reproduced on the cover of the newspaper for the United Farm Workers union just over two decades after it was originally printed and two years after the artist was exiled from the U.S. for political reasons. In the first two volumes of *El Malcriado*, the editors of the newspaper used reproductions of Mexico's TGP. Not only did the editors include reproductions of TGP prints, but they included short blurbs about the artworks and artists in the newspaper, relating the images to their social cause. There was a deliberate attempt to connect the art to the politics of the time. However, although Catlett joined the TGP in 1946, the print reproduced on the cover of the eighteenth issue of *El Malcriado* was originally produced in 1944, two years prior to her involvement with the TGP. It was made when she was living in New York, just before she left for Mexico City. On the second page of the issue, *El Malcriado* editors write: "While the artist, Elizabeth Catlett, paints in the manner of the Mexican Graphic Art we use in *El Malcriado*, she is not a Mexican. She is a negro, born in Washington, D.C., and communicates through her art the dignity of all oppressed people."⁶⁷ Although the description credits this early work's similarity to TGP prints, it excludes Catlett as a member of the TGP beginning in 1946 and her Mexican citizenship, which she gained in 1962 (three years prior to the publication of this issue). The editors, however, credited Catlett's work as important for communicating solidarity among "all oppressed people." A phrase that would mimic the phrasing from the UFW's *Plan de Delano* published the following year in 1966.

⁶⁷ *El Malcriado: The Voice of the Farmworker*, no. 18 (1965): 2.

The *Plan de Delano* was written on March 17, 1966 by Cesar Chavez, Dolores Huerta, and playwright Luis Valdez in an issue of *El Malcriado* and spelled out the UFW's goals for the strike as well as the identity of the union. The plan set out six proposals on how the UFW intended to end injustices for the farmworkers. In their fifth proposal, the UFW urged that although within the union there was a majority of people of Mexican descent, there had to be unity among all oppressed people. In their last and sixth proposal, the UFW declared themselves "sons of the Mexican Revolution, a revolution of the poor seeking bread and justice."⁶⁸ The United Farm Workers' newspaper was founded at a critical time when the union needed to communicate not only essential information to its community, but also build the identity of the union for its members and immediate community, as seen through the Plan of Delano.

The strategy in building the union's identity included both socio-political strategies that spoke to the community's ideologies and cultural strategies that spoke to the community's ethnic and racial histories and traditions. In their visuals, editors of *El Malcriado* combined both strategies to represent a wide, transnational, multiethnic and multiracial audience. In order to reach out to its members and community of Mexican descent, the editors reproduced images of the Mexican avant-garde printmaking workshop the Taller de Gráfica Popular on the covers of their first two volumes. Most prints came from the TGP fine art portfolios titled *Estampas de la Revolución (Prints from the Mexican Revolution)* and *Estampas de Yucatán (Prints from Yucatán)*, including subjects of revolutionary heroes, unequal power dynamics between *hacendados* and *campesinos*, dignified labor, and indigenous cultures. The identity and image formation happening within these reproductions in *El Malcriado* should be situated within a larger context during the 1960s, in which visualization of histories of peoples of Mexican

⁶⁸ Cesar Chavez, "The Plan of Delano," *An Organizer's Tale: Speeches* (New York: Penguin Group, 2008), 14.

descent in the U.S. is uniquely being separated into its own category of “Chicanidad” or “Chicanismo,” which was the ideology behind the Chicano Movement that was part of the Civil Rights Movements during the 1960s and 70s and relied on self-identification, cultural affirmation, and empowerment. However, although the union members were predominantly Mexican American, the UFW’s newspaper needed to reach a broad audience.

The newspaper was created for the United Farm Workers union or UFW, which was co-founded by Mexican American labor organizers Cesar Chavez and Dolores Huerta and Filipino-American labor organizer Larry Itliong in 1965. The UFW was created to organize the farm workers into a union to attain a contract for better working conditions. Farm workers at the time were paid minimum wages, had no health care, and were exposed to toxic pesticides in the fields. Union members included predominantly Mexican Americans, Filipino-Americans, Arab Americans, and African Americans. In 1965, the UFW embarked in a grape boycott, known as the “Delano Grape Strike,” beginning in Delano, California. Concurrently, in 1965, the UFW launched the newspaper *El Malcriado: The Voice of the Farmworker*. The newspaper, along with posters, flyers, and *El Teatro Campesino* or farmworker theater led by Luis Valdez, were the primary mediums to communicate union updates and information for its members and supporters. Also founded in 1965, Valdez’s *El Teatro Campesino* performed *actos* or short skits that dramatized the plight and cause of the farm workers. The *actos* were performed on flatbed trucks in the picket lines and in union halls using farm workers as actors. Therefore, with the start of the boycott in 1965, also came an influx of various forms of art. As mentioned, the arts were being rallied not only for the use of the farm worker boycott but also as symbolic identities for a new social uprising for the rights of Mexican Americans. The creation of a new visual identity for Mexican Americans was not only based on cultural heritage, as evidenced in the

work produced during the farmworker movement, but also inspired by a multifaceted historical and political visual language, such as avant-garde printmaking in the case of *El Malcriado* or *commedia dell'arte* when analyzing *El Teatro Campesino*. Furthermore, the 1960s were a pivotal moment when various radical activist groups in the U.S. were fighting for social and political change. Among them were the militant Brown Berets, who supported the UFW cause, and were part of the Third World Liberation Front, a movement that arose as a multiethnic student coalition against Eurocentric education at San Francisco State College in 1968. The Brown Berets were also part of the Rainbow Coalition, co-founded in 1969 by the Black Panther Party's Fred Hampton, the Young Patriots Organization's William "Preacherman" Fesperman, and the Young Lords' José Cha Cha Jiménez, joined later by the Students for a Democratic Society, the American Indian Movement, and the Red Guard Party. As evidenced in the work by Elizabeth Catlett on the cover of *El Malcriado* in 1965, the farmworker movement, like various movements at the time, required the organization and solidarity of multiethnic and multiracial radical groups.

LeRoy Chatfield, a former UFW organizer, explained that the UFW “inherited much of the activism and the support of the student groups that had previously been associated with the civil rights movement in the South,” including the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS).⁶⁹ A key figure for this influence was activist Marshal Ganz who worked in Mississippi with SNCC and later joined the farm worker movement in California in 1965. Like the farmworker movement in California, SNCC devoted itself to creating organizers or teaching members how to advocate for themselves as autonomous

⁶⁹ LeRoy Chatfield, “Introduction by LeRoy Chatfield,” Farmworker Documentation Project, Presented by the UC San Diego Library, 2008, Accessed March 14, 2020, <https://libraries.ucsd.edu/farmworkermovement/ufwarchives/sncc/00-MOVEMENT%20INTRODUCTION.pdf>.

individuals. Ganz and Terrence Cannon, the editor of the SNCC newspaper *The Movement* published in the San Francisco Bay Area, served as the farmworker movement's press coordinators for the UFW's Pilgrimage March to Sacramento, California in 1966. *The Movement* continued to provide solidarity for the farmworkers as the UFW boycott and actions continued internationally. The newspaper also reprinted stories from *El Malcriado*, pursuing a radical ideology and practice, including blocking shipments of boycotted grapes. Since most activists were young and unaware of the politics and repression of the previous generation from the 1930s through the 1950s, organizers felt a duty to inform the current generation not only of what was happening at the time, but of what had happened in the past. In fact, due to the new political awareness and activism, *Radical America* wrote in 1968: "[*The Movement*] has been the single source of information and commentary from the New Left."⁷⁰ Although the staff of the newspaper was comprised predominantly of members from SNCC and SDS, they also collaborated with and were entrusted by various multiracial radical groups such as the *Alianza Federal de Pueblos Libres*, Black Panther Party, League of Revolutionary Black Workers, Rising Up Angry, and Young Lords.⁷¹ *The Movement*, including Frank Cieciorca's woodcut of a clenched fist that became the symbol for the New Left (figure 8). Like *El Malcriado*'s reproduction of TGP prints from the 1930s through the 1940s, Cieciorca's image established another historical legacy with earlier works of avant-garde art via the visual connection with John Heartfield's photomontage of numerous people with raised clenched fists making up one large, clenched fist as seen in *A.I.Z. (Workers' Illustrated Magazine)* made between 1929 through 1934 (figure 4). In addition to the visual arts of the 1930s and 40s, social movements of

⁷⁰ Terrence Cannon and Joseph A. Blum, "Introduction to the Movement," Farmworker Documentation Project, Presented by the UC San Diego Library, 2008, Accessed March 14, 2020, <https://libraries.ucsd.edu/farmworkermovement/ufwarchives/sncc/movementIntro.pdf>.

⁷¹ Terrence Cannon and Joseph A. Blum.

the 1960s and 70s also found solidarity in leftist activists from the same era, who had been scrutinized and blacklisted by campaigns carried out by Senator Joseph McCarthy between 1950 through 1954. In Northern California, several blacklisted union workers, labor activists, and their descendants during the 1934 General Strike reawakened with the political activism of the farmworkers in the Central Valley of California.⁷² However, though the official era of McCarthyism was over, leftist artists and activists saw themselves in danger in the U.S., as evidenced with U.S.-born artist Elizabeth Catlett's exile from the U.S. in 1963.

During her exile, Catlett became a Mexican citizen. With her Mexican citizenship, Catlett was able to travel to Cuba, where she was particularly impressed by the integration of black and white children in schools, while at the same time being horrified by the verbal and physical violence against black children in the U.S. attempting to attend integrated schools. It was not until 1971 that the U.S. government granted Catlett a visa to visit the U.S. and attend her one-woman exhibition at the Studio Museum in the Harlem neighborhood in New York City. Before her exile in 1961, Catlett gave a keynote address to the Third Annual Meeting of National Conference of Negro Artists in Washington, D.C. The address was reprinted in the first issue of *Freedomways* in the spring of 1961. *Freedomways*, a cultural journal for the Black Freedom Movement, came out of the student movements in the South and the work of SNCC, and became a dominant press for black intellectual thought and racial solidarity. According to her address, Catlett saw the political moment in the 1960s as a key moment for artists to learn from activists from the South. She stated: "The group activity of Negro students in the south has made changes in two years that we have not seen in more than fifty...We need to exchange ideas and experiences and tactics, so that we may be better prepared to make contributions as Negro artists

⁷² Terrence Cannon and Joseph A. Blum.

that our heritage demands of us.”⁷³ Catlett, as an African-American woman from Washington, D.C. living in Mexico, had the unique perspective of having lived through racial injustices in the U.S., radical politics of the Old Left and the New Left, as well as post-revolutionary life and politics in Mexico. Therefore, as an artist invested in the society and politics of two countries, Catlett’s art and experience transgressed national and temporal boundaries. Through her multifaceted experience, Catlett’s address reprinted in *Freedomways* declared that there had been two previous great movements for Black artists—the Harlem Renaissance, which she argued was mainly at the service of white patrons, and “the days of the WPA,” where the government was the patron for the arts.⁷⁴ It was clear that Catlett’s call for artists was influenced from her time in Mexico, especially with the TGP, whose workshop focused on bringing art to the people, whether it was out in the city streets or in rural communities. Catlett’s time in Mexico also gave her a new perspective into racial viewpoints outside of the U.S. In fact, Catlett claimed on several occasions that she was surprised with the lack of discrimination against blacks in Mexico. Catlett’s visionary call to African American artists in the U.S. for a transnational movement that spanned into Latin America was influenced from her time in Mexico and her work with the TGP, which was inherently transnational in its conception.

The TGP has several connections to the U.S. Not only was one of their founding members a U.S. American artist (Pablo O’Higgins), but they held their first exhibition at the Artists’ Union of Chicago in 1938. The TGP’s exhibition in Chicago further inspired curators and administrators from the Art Institute of Chicago to begin following the work of the artists and acquire prints for their permanent collection in 1943. Additionally, during a 1939 trip

⁷³ Elizabeth Catlett Mora, “The Negro Artist and American Art,” *Freedomways*, Volume 1, issue 1 (Spring 1961):

74.

⁷⁴ Elizabeth Catlett Mora.

sponsored by the Guggenheim Foundation, TGP artist and co-founder Leopoldo Mendez witnessed first-hand the racial and class injustices experienced in the U.S., especially by African Americans, which he compared to the pre-revolutionary era in Mexico.⁷⁵

⁷⁵ Deborah Caplow, *Leopoldo Méndez: Revolutionary Art and the Mexican Print*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2007), 153.

Chapter 2

Mexico's Taller de Gráfica Popular in the U.S.

The TGP artists centered indigenous populations, as well as the rural and urban working class. As Marxist theorist and Mexican art critic Alberto Híjar describes in the work of TGP co-founder Pablo O' Higgins: "O'Higgins concretizes in images two fundamental communist theses: humanity is built and deconstructed by work, and workers are the potential bearers of all greatness."⁷⁶ The representation of the working masses are symbolic of more than their labor, but rather their crucial role in society. The entire oeuvre of the TGP focuses on exposing the injustices and oppression faced by the populist masses in the hands of fascist and imperialist forces, as well as strategies and successes of transnational organization for self-determination. The TGP are part of a transnational legacy of political dissent and leftist organizing in Mexico and the U.S. during the twentieth century, which intricately tied their formal and political strategies. Their collective of artists and activists allied themselves with anti-fascist, anti-racist, and working-class networks, which informed their production of avant-garde works of art.

Visualizing Radical Solidarity

Since their foundation, the TGP artists allied themselves with ideas that benefited the masses, such as anti-imperialism and anti-fascism, as seen in their early works in support of the petroleum expropriation directed by President Lázaro Cárdenas in 1938 and their production of drawings and engravings for *El libro negro del terror nazi en Europa* (*The Black Book of Nazi Terror in Europe*) published in 1943. They also followed a historical tradition of revolutionary

⁷⁶ Alberto Híjar, "La humanidad y la urbe," *Humanidad Recuperada: Obra gráfica de Pablo O'Higgins* (Mexico: Fundación Cultural María y Pablo O'Higgins, A.C., 2006), 68.

printmaking in order to reach a broad audience. The workshop produced various posters, brochures, and handouts on a small lithographic press that was inherited from the days of the Paris Commune.⁷⁷ Moreover, to translate populist ideas via a mass medium, the TGP artists worked both autonomously and collectively. Although artists produced individual works, often the final print was a result of a collective effort of ideas, critiques, and even images. For example, as TGP artist Elizabeth Catlett explains, if an artist did not know how to draw something in their print, another artist would draw that particular feature. She states, “It didn’t matter who worked, people worked together on prints. It didn’t matter. The idea was to do the best art possible. Use the best symbolism possible, and not who had done the work. A lot of it wasn’t signed, even. They just put in ‘TGP.’”⁷⁸ Although the workshop allowed for individual creativity, the TGP relied on a collective effort, both from the artists and the community.

As stated in their “Declaration of Principles” published in 1949, the TGP declared, “Considering that the social end of a work of art is inseparable from its artistic quality, the Taller de Gráfica Popular aims to develop the individual technical capabilities of its members.”⁷⁹ In doing so, the TGP artists agreed to pay a membership fee, “to attend weekly meetings, to accept mutual criticism, and to contribute twenty percent of their earnings from the sale of their work to the Taller.”⁸⁰ The TGP also encouraged its members to be inspired by real events and discouraged abstract forms that did not have any significant social meaning. However, although the primary end of the workshop was to produce works for populist social causes and that could

⁷⁷ Arturo García Bustos, “El Taller de Gráfica Popular: A Personal History,” *El Taller de Gráfica Popular: Vida y Arte* (Athens, Georgia: Georgia Museum of Art, University of Georgia, 2015), 13.

⁷⁸ *An Artful Revolution: The Life & Art of the Taller De Gráfica Popular* (Blanco Art Collection, 2008), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RhHjc3c5x6A>.

⁷⁹ Hannes Meyer, *TGP México: El Taller de Gráfica Popular: doce años de obra artística colectiva = TGP Mexico: The Workshop for Popular Graphic Art: a record of twelve years of collective work* (México : La Estampa Mexicana, 1949), 10.

⁸⁰ Caplow, 127.

be easily distributed to the masses out on the street or hung in public spaces, the TGP also created a fine arts branch called *La Estampa Mexicana*. The fine arts branch produced works made with higher quality material to be distributed in portfolios, books, and texts, or as individual prints for galleries and museums. The content of the works, however, remained the same.

The content of the TGP works were influenced by the politics and life of the artists in Mexico, as well as international issues. The politics varied by artists though—while some artists were in the Communist Party, others were in the *Partido Popular* (Popular Party). The ideas for the works were driven by the discussions in the workshop about current events, and often used historical and cultural imagery to speak about the present. The TGP artists were especially inspired by the Mexican Revolution, particularly the struggle of the *campesinos* (peasants) against the *hacendados* (landowners). This theme is encapsulated in the print by Leopoldo Mendez titled *La situación del Campesino* (*The Situation of the Peasant*) from 1947, which was later included in the 1960 portfolio *450 Years of Struggle: Homage to the Mexican People* (figure 9). The image depicts a *campesino* in the foreground, buried in the ground from his arms down, unable to move and reach a bowl of water placed before him. Watching over him, stand two *hacendados*, who presumably buried the man as a form of torture. Behind them, two more *hacendados* pull a naked *campesino* by a rope into a recently dug out trench, to be buried like his comrade. The cruel scene contextualizes the power and social dynamics that spurred the rise of the Mexican Revolution, showing the dehumanizing control *hacendados* had over the *campesinos*. The TGP not only depicted the abuse of power, but also represented the masses organizing themselves, rising up against, and fighting for self-determination.

Among these images of self-determination include Elizabeth Catlett's *Alfabetizacion* from 1953 (figure 10). The print captures a highly detailed and focused moment where two indigenous women listen and watch intently as a third indigenous woman reads from a book. Catlett focuses on the intimacy and action of the moment by only illustrating the three figures with no background. The three women are all seated on the ground, wrapped in traditional rebozos, which are carefully draped. The woman reading casually holds the book with one hand and seems to be caught in a moment of thought, as both her eyes and mouth are closed. Meanwhile, the woman to her right looks pensively at the woman reading with brows furrowed, while the woman to her left looks toward the book as if waiting for the reading to resume. The title, which translates to literacy, refers to the literacy program established by the Mexican government in 1944. The print also appeared on the front cover of the publication for the national campaign against illiteracy in 1953 titled *México Lee (Mexico Reads)*.⁸¹ The print shows how indigenous populations took advantage of the program, while Catlett's faultless attention to detail in representing the three indigenous women enhances their dignified presence in the image. In addition to imagery of the Mexican *campesino* and indigenous populations, the TGP also produced images of revolutionary leaders that the masses could model for their organizing efforts.

Among the leading figures organizing for the masses was Mexican Revolution general Emiliano Zapata. Zapata was born in the state of Morelos from a family of mestizo origin with both Nahua and Spanish ancestry. In 1910, he became the general of the Mexican Revolution, fighting for agrarian reform, which was detailed in his *Plan de Ayala*. Zapata's *Plan de Ayala* was announced on November 25, 1911 in Ayala, Morelos, and accused the recently elected

⁸¹ Melanie Herzog, *Elizabeth Catlett : an American artist in Mexico* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005), 90.

president Francisco Madero of betraying the revolution's agrarian reforms. The plan called for the dismissal of Madero, while demanding new land reforms.⁸² Zapata fought for the rights of the indigenous people to have access to land and water, instead of being taken over by *hacendados*, or the predominantly Spanish or Hispanic owners of the *haciendas* or large estates. Zapata was killed on April 10, 1919, after being ambushed by soldiers of Venustiano Carranza in the hacienda Chinameca.⁸³ Zapata's fight for agrarian reform and for the *campesinos* of Mexico made him more than a general for the revolution, but instead a mythical heroic figure for the masses. This figure was represented by the TGP on various occasions. For example, in the portfolio dedicated to the Mexican Revolution titled *Estampas de la Revolución*, artist Ignacio Aguirre contributes a linocut print titled *Emiliano Zapata Hecho Prisionero En Su Lucha En Favor De Los Campesinos, 1908 (Emiliano Zapata Taken Prisoner In His Fight For The Peasants, 1908)* from 1947 (figure 11). In the print Zapata is shown as the central figure. Although imprisoned by enemy forces in the event depicted, Zapata overshadows the three visually identical soldiers who have managed to capture the legendary figure. Zapata is shown in the center of the image with his hands behind his back, presumably tied by his captors, and wearing a white campesino shirt and large sombrero, which contrasts with the military garb of the other men. Zapata stands fearless in spite of his imprisonment. Zapata's imprisonment and eventual death represents the extent the revolutionary figure was willing to sacrifice for his cause. Therefore, the image not only depicts a historical event, but suggests the sacrifices that future revolutionaries may have to endure to accomplish their goals. Although the TGP works

⁸² John Womack, "El Plan de Ayala," *Zapata and the Mexican Revolution* (New York: Knopf, 1969), pp. 400-404.

⁸³ Samuel Brunk, "Remembering Emiliano Zapata: Three Moments in the Posthumous Career of the Martyr of Chinameca," *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, vol. 78, no. 3 (1998): 458, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2518332> (accessed November 25, 2013)

spoke specifically to their Mexican audience, due to the rising threat of fascism internationally, TGP artists increasingly connected their own struggles to a broader struggle against fascism.

As Caplow states, the TGP were among the first artists to understand and “demonstrate a full comprehension of the evils of the German occupations,” at a time when the impacts of the Holocaust were first being reported.⁸⁴ The TGP artists were also informed by the international immigration of political refugees from Europe, including leftist Germans and Spanish Republicans. Among one of their most impactful contributions during this time was their work in *El libro negro del terror nazi en Europa (The Black Book of Nazi Terror in Europe)* published in 1943. The book was designed by Hannes Meyer, who would direct the TGP’s fine arts branch, and created by a group of German exiles in Mexico. It was among the first texts during the war period to provide written and photographic documentation of Nazi atrocities. The book also included illustrative prints by Mexican, European, and U.S. artists, including German artist Käthe Kollwitz, U.S. artists William Gropper, Edward Duff, Robert Mallery, and Jim Egleson. TGP artists contributed eighteen prints, including Leopoldo Méndez’s *La venganza de los pueblos/Homenaje al heroico ejército de guerrilleros yugoslavo (The Vengeance of the People/Homage to the Heroic Army of the Yugoslavian Guerrillas)* from 1941 (figure 12). This print depicts the resistance of the Yugoslavian guerrillas against the German invasion and occupation in 1941.⁸⁵ The image of retaliation centers around a peasant Yugoslavian man wielding a large ax at Hitler, Mussolini, and General Tojo, who cowardly recoil in the corner and hold the deceased bodies of children. Montaged over the ax-wielding man’s leg are smaller scenes of more atrocities from the invasion, such as a burning church, as well as bodies hanging

⁸⁴ Deborah Caplow, “El Libro Negro Del Terror Nazi En Europa: An International Artistic And Political Collaboration In Mexico City,” *El Taller de Gráfica Popular: Vida y Arte* (Athens, Georgia: Georgia Museum of Art, University of Georgia, 2015), 18.

⁸⁵ *El Libro negro del terror nazi en Europa* (México, D.F.: Editorial "El Libro libre", 1943).

from the gallows and piled on the floor. While the fascist figures appear stunted in fear, the central figure seems to grow with the power of the masses behind him. The Yugoslavian guerillas rush forward in a frantic motion, mimicking the burning movement of the flames. Méndez encapsulates the urgency of the moment.

Due to the subject matter of the TGP's work, they repeatedly exhibited in China and the Soviet Union, in spite of Soviet criticism of the TGP's use of allegory, instead of the idealization of the working class, as is the case in Socialist Realism. The images produced by TGP members focus on the plight of the populist masses and their uprising against fascist, imperialist, and oppressive forces. The TGP's subject matter also appealed to left leaning artists and activists in the U.S., including the Regionalists. However, the work of the TGP differed from the Regionalists, especially since the TGP consistently connected local and international issues while experimenting with complex forms of representation. Nonetheless, the common ground among these various artist groups involved the very deliberate intention to create art for the people.

Transnational Leftist Art Networks and Their Oppositions

Although the TGP had significant connections in the U.S., beginning with their first exhibition in 1938 which was held in Chicago and their Guest Artists program which often included U.S. artists, by 1951 TGP artists were barred from travelling to the U.S. and were deemed a Communist-front organization according to the U.S. Department of State. This action was part of a second wave of U.S. government surveillance against political radicals, which directly impacted artists with any ties to the Communist Party. This included the creation of the Smith Act of 1940, which "made it a criminal offense to advocate the violent overthrow of the government or to organize or be a member of any group or society devoted to such advocacy,"

including the support of the Socialist Workers Party and American Communist Party.⁸⁶ This gave legislative grounds to the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), which was created in 1938 to “investigate alleged disloyalty and rebel activities on the part of private citizens, public employees and organizations suspected of having Communist ties.”⁸⁷ In 1947, HUAC also held a series of hearings investigating Communist affiliation within the film industry, resulting in the blacklisting of film employees in Hollywood who would not answer questions from HUAC and therefore were put on a “do no hire” list and were also sent to serve a one-year prison sentence. The hearings, as well as the new era of “McCarthyism” from 1950 and 1954 that accused Federal Government employees of Communist affiliation, threatened political radicals in the U.S. and their international allies by way of inhibiting their political and creative freedoms of expression. The time period became known as the Second Red Scare. The Second Red Scare, most often known as the era of McCarthyism, was rooted in the first wave of Communist persecution in the U.S. that began in the midst of WWI, the Mexican Revolution, and the Russian Bolshevik Revolution, and which also greatly impacted international political artists and radicals, including the TGP’s predecessors the LEAR.

The creation of anti-Communist fears during the first Red Scare were deeply imbedded in radical transnational collaboration between Mexicans, Mexican Americans, African Americans, and Native-Americans during the Mexican Revolution, as well as the uprising of a new labor movement in the U.S. inspired by the Bolshevik Revolution. In 1915, the “Plan de San Diego” was written in San Diego, Texas, calling for Mexican Americans, African Americans, and

⁸⁶ The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, “Smith Act,” Encyclopædia Britannica (Encyclopædia Britannica, inc., April 12, 2019), <https://www.britannica.com/event/Smith-Act>.

⁸⁷ “House Un-American Activities Committee,” House Un-American Activities Committee | Harry S. Truman, accessed June 17, 2020, <https://www.trumanlibrary.gov/education/presidential-inquiries/house-un-american-activities-committee>.

Native-Americans to rebel in the southwestern United States in support of the Mexican Revolution, as an attempted *reconquista* or reconquest of the states lost during the Mexican American War in 1848 and the return of native lands taken from Native-Americans. The heightened revolutionary presence in the U.S., along with Mexican revolutionary general Francisco “Pancho” Villa’s military forces in Northern Mexico, resulted in an increase of U.S. military occupation and persecution at the border, as well as the arrest of Mexican anarchist brothers Ricardo and Enrique Flores Magón.⁸⁸ As American Studies scholar Christina Heatherton explains, during the Mexican Revolution and as the U.S. entered WWI, Ricardo Flores Magón led a struggle “against U.S. imperialism, racism, and capitalism,” while the U.S. created new legislation that criminalized political dissent, known as the Espionage Act of 1917, which resulted in his and his brother’s imprisonment.⁸⁹ Heatherton describes, “As the United States sharpened its capabilities to control the social and political environments of capital accumulation within an expanding global sphere of influence, the opposition of Flores Magón and other anti-racist, anti-imperialist, and anti-capitalist figures like him presented radical alternatives to capitalist regimes.”⁹⁰ Furthermore, political radicals during this time were viewed as threats to the U.S. and faced imprisonment in Leavenworth Federal Penitentiary in Kansas. Heatherton explains that so many political radicals were sent to Leavenworth Federal Penitentiary during this period that it became a convergence space for radical internationalists who resisted militarism, capitalism, and racism, and as a result, the prison was branded “A University of Radicalism” by a federal surveillance file.⁹¹ Additionally, as the U.S. was building

⁸⁸ “Punitive Expedition in Mexico, 1916-1917,” U.S. Department of State (U.S. Department of State), accessed June 18, 2020, <https://2001-2009.state.gov/r/pa/ho/time/wwi/108653.htm>.

⁸⁹ Christina Heatherton, “University of Radicalism: Ricardo Flores Magón and Leavenworth Penitentiary,” *American Quarterly* 66, no. 3 (2014): pp. 558, <https://doi.org/10.1353/aq.2014.0044>.

⁹⁰ Christina Heatherton, 559.

⁹¹ Christina Heatherton.

their industrial command in the international sphere, and the labor demands reached its peak, the U.S. saw the creation of a radical labor movement supported by the Socialist Party, anarcho-syndicalists, and the Industrial Workers of the World (Wobblies).⁹² The beginning of a labor movement in the U.S. in conjunction with the eradication of the Russian Empire and the creation of the Soviet Union by the working classes during the Bolshevik Revolution, caused increased panic against political radicals, union activists, and anyone associated with the Communist Party. However, as evidenced, in spite of rising anti-Communism in the U.S., political radicals continued to organize and work together across national borders and racial lines.

In Mexico, after the Mexican Revolution, the *Sindicato de Obreros Técnicos, Pintores y Escultores* (Union of Workers, Technicians, Painters, and Sculptors; SOTPE), which included David Alfaro Siqueiros, Jose Clemente Orozco, Diego Rivera, Fermín Revueltas, and Xavier Guerrero, started the political periodical *El Machete* in Mexico. *El Machete* advocated for the ideas of the Mexican Revolution and the SOTPE, which was the first union of artists that saw themselves as workers who deserved good conditions and fair wages. As a vehicle for the revolution and working artists, they saw it as their mission to assert that art and politics were inseparable and that it is their duty to address present-day politics in their art. In their manifesto, they declared to be protectors of all oppressed people, as allegorized in the trinity of the revolutionary soldier, worker, and farmer, while also centering indigenous culture. The members of SOTPE preferred to work with murals and graphic arts, and deliberately rejected easel painting since they saw it as an aristocratic medium.⁹³ Although *El Machete* did not have a specific art section, several of the SOTPE members and international contributors illustrated for

⁹² Christina Heatherton, 562.

⁹³ Alicia Azuela, "El Machete and Frente a Frente: Art Committed to Social Justice in Mexico," *Art Journal* Vol. 52, no. 1 (1993): pp. 82-87, <https://doi.org/DOI: 10.2307/777306> <https://www.jstor.org/stable/777306>.

a majority illiterate public.⁹⁴ The SOTPE and *El Machete* were forerunners to the LEAR and their publication *Frente a Frente*, which was first organized in 1934 as an anti-fascist artistic effort.

The LEAR was founded as a transnational link between Mexico and Soviet diplomatic and cultural relations, and believed that their mission was to advocate for culture in defense of the proletarian masses.⁹⁵ The LEAR also derived from the *Lucha Intelectual Proletaria* (Proletarian Intellectual Struggle; LIP) founded in 1931, who also had common members with the LEAR and experimented with radical works in spite of anti-Communist persecution in the time of the *Maximato*.⁹⁶ The LEAR connected Mexico's history of revolution with global anti-fascist efforts, while believing in the social power of art and collective work. The group was formed by Siqueiros, Arenal, O'Higgins, and Mendez. The founders of the LEAR, along with left-wing artists, writers, musicians, composers, poets, actors, and playwrights that joined the group, were informed by revolutionary and Communist ideals. Their main periodical *Frente a Frente*, which included sections on art theory, current events, literature, music, and science, also published materials from international publication allies, such as *Commune* in France and *New Masses* in the U.S. The group was originally promoted by the *Partido Comunista Mexicano* (Mexican Communist Party; PCM), but in 1936 they broadened their ideologies to include all anti-fascists fronts or Popular Front. From then on, they were also part of the Mexican section of the International Union of Revolutionary Writers (IURW), which was founded during the Second Conference of Proletarian and Revolutionary Writers in 1930 in Charkov, and also included the John Reed Clubs (JRC) in the U.S. and the *Association des Écrivains et Artistes*

⁹⁴ Alicia Azuela.

⁹⁵ Alicia Azuela.

⁹⁶ Francisco Reyes Palma, "La LEAR y su revista de frente cultural," *Frente a Frente, 1934-1938, Edición Facsimilar* (Mexico City: Centro de Estudios del Movimiento Obrero y Socialista, A.C., 1994), 5.

Révolutionnaires (Association of Revolutionary Writers and Artists; AEAR) in France.

According to Francisco Reyes Palma, “Luis Arenal, who had worked with Siqueiros in Los Angeles, was the liaison between the LEAR and the John Reed Clubs, and the latter established AEAR in order to obtain the Soviet Union’s approval to become part of an International dedicated to culture.”⁹⁷ The international organization of radical writers and artists was meant to bring together a collective of revolutionary intellectuals to help defeat fascism. The goal of the group would be equated to that of the Popular Front.

The Popular Front responded to the international crisis of global depression and fascism at the Comintern’s 1935 Seventh World Congress, which called for a replacement of the proletarian-led global revolution with a broader people’s coalition against fascism.⁹⁸ For example, the Popular Front replaced the John Reed Clubs in the U.S., which were associated with the proletarian movement. Their strategy to broaden the appeal of the organization was aimed especially to the middle-class, and therefore, Communist slogans were toned down and the value of culture was reaffirmed. As Serge Guilbaut explains, “The proletariat was thus given the tricky role of saving national culture, which the decadent and dispirited bourgeoisie was incapable of protecting against ‘fascist barbarism.’”⁹⁹ Artistic strategies included resurrecting revolutionary symbols and allegories in the fight against fascism, while simultaneously fighting in support of the working class. In fact, given the open arena of the Popular Front for the goals of the Communist Party, the American Communist Party membership climbed from 12,000 in 1929

⁹⁷ Francisco Reyes Palma, “Utopías del Desencanto = Utopias of Disenchantment,” *Gritos Desde el Archivo: Grabado Político del Taller de Gráfica Popular, Colección Academia de Artes = Shouts from the Archive: Political Prints from the Taller de Gráfica Popular, The Academy de Artes Collection* (México, D.F. : Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México : Difusión Cultural UNAM : Colección Blaisten/Centro Cultural Universitario Tlatelolco, 2008), 30.

⁹⁸ Bill V. Mullen, *Popular fronts: Chicago and African-American cultural politics, 1935-46* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2015), 3.

⁹⁹ Serge Guilbaut, *How New York stole the idea of modern art: abstract expressionism, freedom, and the Cold War* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 18.

to 100,000 in 1939.¹⁰⁰ Being in the Communist Party at this moment meant being on the right side of history, which was fighting against fascism.

Furthermore, although the John Reed Clubs were disbanded in the U.S., they were instrumental in establishing the First American Artists' Congress in 1936 which were aligned with the politics of the Popular Front and addressed the social role of art in the U.S. and abroad. Six reasons for the Congress' formation were listed as follows:

1. to unite artists of all esthetic tendencies to enable them to attain their common cultural objectives;
2. to establish closer relationships between the artist and the people and extend the influence of art as a force of enlightenment;
3. to advocate and uphold permanent Governmental support for the advancement of American art;
4. to support other organized groups on issues of mutual interest in an effort to develop and maintain conditions favorable to art and human existence;
5. to oppose all reactionary attempts to curtail democratic rights and freedom of expression [in the United States] and all tendencies that lead to Fascism;
6. to oppose war and prevent the establishment of conditions that are conducive to the destruction of culture and detrimental to the progress of mankind.¹⁰¹

The congress, which was held at the New School for Social Research, was attended by 360 members across the U.S., as well as twelve delegates from Mexico, which included David Alfaro Siqueiros and José Clemente Orozco. Among the topics of discussion at the congress was censorship, in light of the destruction of Diego Rivera's *Man at the Crossroads* in 1933 in New York City's Rockefeller Center. Orozco also read a general report of the Mexican delegation to the American Artists' Congress. In the report Orozco describes the achievement of a similar congress in Mexico City, which addressed the fight against imperialism, fascism, and war. He explained that the fascist attack includes a war against intellectuals and artists, and thus, artists

¹⁰⁰ Serge Guilbaut.

¹⁰¹ Matthew Baigell and Julia Williams, *Artists Against War and Fascism: Papers of the First American Artists' Congress* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1986), 11-12.

should organize trade unions. The trade unions would help to place the work within the hands of the working masses, instead of allowing the work to be a luxury item or commodity, as would be the case in the art gallery. Orozco explains the concrete proposals, “The immediate establishment of a Cultural Section within trade unions and other syndicate organization, these cultural groups to be under the leadership of members of the Artists’ Union. The object of this Section will be to raise the cultural level of the masses by means of lectures, concerts, exhibitions, theatre performances, etc.”¹⁰² The LEAR were already working toward this plan in Mexico. It is important to note the role of the Artists’ Union in achieving allegiance with trade unions to amplify art for the masses. During the proceedings and discussions of the First American Artists’ Congress, Harry Sternberg reported to the Resolutions Committee a resolution to support the Artists’ Unions and the urging of all artists to join unions.¹⁰³

The endorsement of a Graphic Arts Division of the LEAR by Siqueiros during the American Artists’ Congress of 1936 and the founding of the *Talleres Gráficos de la Nación* (National Print Workshop) in Mexico City by President Lazaro Cardenas in 1936 marked an important period for printmaking in Mexico and the beginnings of the Taller de Gráfica Popular. Although Siqueiros first supported the Graphic Arts Division of the LEAR, he later denounced “graphics expressions which correspond with official demagoguery,” most likely referring to the nationalization of the Graphic Arts Divisions by Cardenas.¹⁰⁴ The tension between Siqueiros and the Graphic Arts Division of the LEAR, which included Méndez, O’Higgins, Arenal, Ángel Bracho, and Alfredo Zalce, caused the graphic artists to resign and form the Taller de Gráfica Popular with the goals of producing graphic art for the populist masses of Mexico and

¹⁰² Matthew Baigell and Julia Williams, 205

¹⁰³ Matthew Baigell and Julia Williams, 213.

¹⁰⁴ Helga Prignitz-Poda, *El Taller de Gráfica Popular en México, 1937-1977* (México: Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes, 1992), 33.

internationally. In Mexico, the TGP produced works for the government of Lazaro Cardenas, the Mexican Communist Party, trade unions supported by Vincente Lombardo Toledano, and anti-fascist organizations. The TGP printmakers were associated with the Mexican Communist Party and the left-wing *Partido Popular* (People's Party). Like their predecessors, the TGP also allied themselves with transnational networks in the U.S. and found solidarity in trade unions and artists organizations abroad. Although founded in Mexico, the TGP held their first exhibition in a gallery of the Artists' Union of Chicago in March of 1938.¹⁰⁵ The exhibition featured works by Raúl Anguiano, Méndez, Gonzalo de la Paz Pérez, Antonio Pujol, and Alfredo Zalce.¹⁰⁶ This was in large part due to the "Good Neighbor" policy put into place during the war years, which granted exchange between the U.S. and Mexico.¹⁰⁷ As evidenced, in 1939, the TGP also donated prints and a monograph to the Chicago photographer Peter Pollack, who was a representative of the Newspaper Guild Strikers, in support of the Chicago strike against papers owned by William Randolph Hearst.¹⁰⁸ After the TGP's first exhibition, Chicago continued to be a significant place for the group to disseminate their work in the U.S. and create important transnational networks.

Chicago: Birthplace of the TGP in the U.S.

The TGP held their first exhibition in 1938 at the Artists' Union of Chicago in the U.S., an organization that operated from 1936 through 1938, originating from the John Reed Clubs, and was an intermediary between artists and the New Deal Federal Art Project.¹⁰⁹ Soon after the

¹⁰⁵ Diane Miliotes, *What May Come: The Taller de Gráfica Popular and the Mexican Political Print* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), 8.

¹⁰⁶ Diane Miliotes.

¹⁰⁷ Alison McClean, "Committed to Print: Printmaking and Politics in Mexico and Beyond, 1934-1960," *Revolution on Paper: Mexican Prints 1910-1960* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2009), 27.

¹⁰⁸ Alison McClean.

¹⁰⁹ Lynne Warren, "Art Centers, Alternative," *The Encyclopedia of Chicago*, Chicago Historical Society, 2005, <http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/74.html>.

TGP's exhibition in Chicago, curators and administrators from the Art Institute of Chicago began following the work of the artists and acquired prints for their permanent collection in 1943. Moreover, U.S. artists connected to Chicago began to travel to Mexico, including Margaret Taylor Burroughs, Elizabeth Catlett, Eleanor Coen, Max Kahn, Misch Kohn, and Mariana Yampolsky. However, even before then, Mexico and Chicago were two transnational centers of artistic and political exchange. One of the first U.S. American artists to travel to Mexico was Chicago-based artist Morris Topchevsky in 1924, a trip which lasted two years. Inspired by the social justice works by Mexican artists, Topchevsky met with Diego Rivera and his circle, while also working on an archeological project, and attending the Academy of San Carlos in Mexico City.¹¹⁰ Back in Chicago, Topchevsky became one of the leading leftist artists, working in the WPA's Illinois Art Project and organizing artists in the Artists' Union of Chicago.¹¹¹ Soon after, Mexico caught the attention of people in the Chicago art world through the writings of Stirling Dickinson, an artist who was born and trained in Chicago and frequently toured Mexico, eventually becoming the art director of the *Instituto Allende* in San Miguel de Allende, Guanajuato.¹¹² Not only was Mexico attracting U.S. migrant artists, but Chicago was also becoming an epicenter for Mexican immigration.

According to Victoria Sancho Lobis, "Mexicans also began immigrating to Chicago in significant numbers at the time."¹¹³ After the forced repatriation of thousands of Mexicans in Chicago after the Great Depression in the 1930s, WWII's labor demands in the U.S. brought back 15,000 Mexicans between 1943 and 1945 in the form of "guest workers" or *braceros*, who

¹¹⁰ Wendy Greenhouse, "Morris Topchevsky (1899-1947)," Accessed May 12, 2020, <https://schwartzcollection.com/artistmorris-topchevsky/>.

¹¹¹ Wendy Greenhouse.

¹¹² Victoria Sancho Lobis, "The Taller de Gráfica Popular," *Art in Chicago: A History from the Fire to Now*, eds. Maggie Taft and Robert Cozzolino (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2018), 122.

¹¹³ Victoria Sancho Lobis.

were contracted by the U.S. and Mexican governments.¹¹⁴ Leopoldo Méndez and Alfredo Zalce's offset lithograph print from 1960 titled *México en la guerra: los braceros se van a Estados Unidos (Mexico in the War: the guest workers go to the U.S.)*, produced for the portfolio "450 Years of Struggle: Homage to the Mexican People," depicts the complex relationship between Mexico and the U.S. during WWII (figure 13). Although braceros were only meant to be used in areas where there was a labor shortage and provide the workers with full benefits, the guest workers were at times used as strikebreakers or paid minimum wages to compete with U.S. workers.¹¹⁵ Méndez and Zalce's image illustrates a line of braceros closely linked together following the orders of their superior, as if chained together under submission. The braceros in the print are portrayed entering the U.S., being overlooked by an authority figure with a baton, ensuring the workers' orderly discipline. The faces of the braceros range from looking anxiously straight ahead, looking off into the distance with exhaustion, and a few looking at the authority figure with suspicion. Although the bracero program offered Mexican citizens a legal and quick entry into the U.S., it came with various misgivings. As Alison McClean wrote, the members of the TGP were wary of "Yankee Imperialism" due to the oil expropriation of 1938, where Cárdenas re-nationalized the oil industry on March 18th, 1938, resulting in the harsh disapproval from the U.S.¹¹⁶ The TGP supported Cárdenas and critiqued the U.S.'s hostility in light of the "Good Neighbor" policy toward Latin America. Although the TGP were critical of the U.S., two of its members—Méndez and Jesús Escobedo—were beneficiaries of the "Good Neighbor" policy and recipients of the Guggenheim Fellowship.

¹¹⁴ Gabriela F. Arredondo and Derek Vaillant, "Mexicans," *The Electronic Encyclopedia of Chicago*, Chicago Historical Society, 2005, <http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/824.html>.

¹¹⁵ "About," Bracero History Archive: a project of the Roy Rosenzweig Center for History and New Media, George Mason University, the Smithsonian National Museum of American History, Brown University, and The Institute of Oral History at the University of Texas at El Paso, 2020, <http://braceroarchive.org/about>.

¹¹⁶ McClean, 30-33.

It was during his Guggenheim Fellowship, awarded to Méndez in 1939, that he was confronted with the realities of racism and discrimination in the U.S., which would inspire his work and politics inside and outside the TGP. As part of his fellowship, Méndez proposed to work on a series of lithographs and woodcuts about the U.S. labor force, to be titled *El Hombre en el desarrollo industrial y científico de los Estados Unidos del Norte (Man in Industrial and Scientific Development in the United States of the North)*. As he traveled from Mexico to New York, Méndez traveled through the South, and was particularly marked by his experience in Texas when coming across black prisoners working and singing, being guarded by police on horseback. Méndez compared this visually resonant experience with the pre-revolutionary Porfirian era in Mexico.¹¹⁷ The police on horseback watching over the black prisoners were no different than the foremen on the haciendas ordering around their hacienda workers. Therefore, although various TGP members were critical of U.S. policy makers, the TGP continued to aim their sights at the U.S. due to their increasing sympathies toward the discriminated populations and subsequent allies in the U.S. Among one of their most important early institutional U.S. allies was the Art Institute of Chicago.

The Art Institute of Chicago was vital in promoting the exchange of transnational ideas and modern art during the 1930s and 1940s, as well as creating a vast Mexican graphic arts archive in the U.S. During this time, the museum's Prints and Drawings Department acquired more than 180 works by the TGP.¹¹⁸ The Art Institute of Chicago's curator Katherine Kuh visited the TGP workshop in 1943 to acquire the first set of prints for its permanent collection, and in 1944 Carl Schniewind, the museum's first curator of prints and drawings, travelled to Mexico City to acquire more than one hundred prints from the group's founding members—

¹¹⁷ Elena Poniatowska, "Los 60 años de Leopoldo Méndez," *Artes de México*, no. 45 (July 1963): 12.

¹¹⁸ Miliotes, *What May Come: The Taller de Gráfica Popular and the Mexican Political Print*, 9.

Mendez, Arenal, and O’Higgins.¹¹⁹ The museum’s collections grew by over three hundred after a series of exhibitions on Mendez and the TGP, as well as one of the first U.S. exhibitions on José Guadalupe Posada. The exhibition titled *José Guadalupe Posada: Printmaker to the Mexican People* which ran from April 13th through May 14th, 1944 and later travelled to Philadelphia and Brooklyn, was organized by director Daniel Catton Rich who traveled in the early 1940s to Mexico to arrange an exhibition exchange between the U.S. and Mexico.¹²⁰ Due to WWII and the extra incentive of the “Good Neighbor” policy, the Art Institute focused on art exchanges in Mexico, Central and South America, instead of Europe. Therefore, the Art Institute loaned a selection of works by Toulouse-Lautrec to the Palacio de Bellas Artes in Mexico City, in exchange for a unique collection of over eight hundred graphic works by José Guadalupe Posada.¹²¹ The Posada exhibition was first organized by Mexico’s Ministry of Publication Education and shown in 1943 at the Palacio de Bellas Artes in Mexico City. The Chicago exhibition was accompanied by a smaller exhibition curated by Katherine Kuh titled *Who is Posada?* that focused on the printmaker himself. Kuh, who owned the Katherine Kuh Gallery in Chicago and exhibited Latin American modern art in the 1930s, was an important figure in advocating for Mexican printmakers at the Art Institute of Chicago. Kuh owned a home in San Miguel de Allende, Guanajuato, where she taught art history courses. While abroad, she also collected over one hundred works of Mexican art.¹²² When she was hired at the Art Institute in

¹¹⁹ Miliotes.

¹²⁰ Douglas Druick, “Forward,” *What May Come: The Taller de Gráfica Popular and the Mexican Political Print*, Diane Miliotes (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), 2.

¹²¹ “The Art of Jose Guadalupe Posada, lent by the Department of Fine Arts of Mexico,” Accessed May 12, 2020, <https://www.artic.edu/exhibitions/8526/the-art-of-jose-guadalupe-posada-lent-by-the-department-of-fine-arts-of-mexico>.

¹²² Diane Miliotes, *José Gudalupe Posada and the Mexican Broadside* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 4-6.

1943, she advocated for the acquisition of Mexican prints into the museum's permanent collection.

After the widely popular Posada exhibition, Carl O' Schniewind, the Art Institute's curator of prints and drawings, traveled to Mexico in 1944 with a special mission to collect more Mexican graphic art. Schniewind's interest in the TGP also included writing the introduction to a limited-edition portfolio titled *Méndez: 25 Prints*. Soon after, the Art Institute presented an exhibition on prints and drawings by Leopoldo Méndez, which ran from January 13th through April 22, 1945 and included the wood engraving previously mentioned *What May Come* from 1945, which included the wood block commissioned and purchased especially for this exhibition. A year later, the museum held an exhibition dedicated to the entire TGP collective, which ran from September 13th through December 15th, 1946. The group exhibition included over two hundred works by the TGP, including several that were available for purchase. The exhibition focused on the TGP's support of Cárdenas, prints addressing the Mexican Revolution, the fight against fascism, as well as depictions of everyday life and portraiture. After the exhibition at the Art Institute of Chicago, the TGP exhibited in the U.S. about seventy times.¹²³ The TGP also published a portfolio titled *Mexican Art: A Portfolio of Mexican People and Places* with New York's Associated American Artists (AAA) in 1946, a year after AAA opened a gallery in Chicago and the same year they formed the department of Latin American Art.¹²⁴ In addition to being a significant benefactor of TGP prints in the U.S., the Art Institute also outsourced the TGP's first "guest artists" from the U.S., including Max Kahn and Eleanor Coen, who took printmaking courses with the TGP in 1940.

¹²³ McClean, 33.

¹²⁴ Elizabeth G Seaton, Jane Myers, Gail Windisch, Ellen Paul Denker, Laura Duke, *Art for every home: Associated American artists, 1934-2000* (New Haven, Conn. : Yale University Press, 2015), 17, 64.

U.S. Guest Artists in the TGP

Beginning in the early 1940s, the TGP invited international guest artists to work alongside them in their Mexico City studio. Due to their rising recognition in the U.S., various U.S. artists were eager to work with the TGP artists and adopt their mission of collectivity and radical printmaking. As Catlett recounts, “It was a time when people were interested in social art, and not just expressing themselves, but doing something like the mural paintings, so they were very interested in what was going on in Mexico.”¹²⁵ Informal members joined the group on occasion, such as Siqueiros, when the TGP first originated, but the guest artist program was later formalized by Swiss architect and former Bauhaus Director Hannes Meyer when he became the TGP’s financial manager and publisher for their fine arts branch *La Estampa Mexicana*. At this time, Meyer monetized the guest artists program by advertising specific workshops and courses at the TGP’s studio.¹²⁶ U.S. artists that attended these courses included Jim Egleson, Robert Mallary, Max Kahn, Conny Kahn, Eleanor Coen, and Marshal Goodman. Mallary had previously worked with the TGP in a government sponsored anti-Nazi publication titled *El libro negro del terror nazi (The little black book of Nazi terror)*, which included works by Mexican, U.S., and European artists. Chicago-born artist Mariana Yampolsky first joined the TGP as a guest artist, eventually becoming the first woman artist to join the group permanently in 1944.¹²⁷ In 1946, Elizabeth Catlett and Charles White visited Mexico to join the TGP, while only Catlett joined permanently. Elizabeth Catlett traveled to Mexico City in 1946 on a Julius Rosenwald Fund Fellowship. Catlett had been living in New York previously working at the George Washington

¹²⁵ *An Artful Revolution: The Life & Art of the Taller De Gráfica Popular* (Blanco Art Collection, 2008), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RhHjc3c5x6A>.

¹²⁶ McClean, 33.

¹²⁷ Caplow, 192.

Carver School in Harlem. As Catlett recounted to her biographer Melanie Herzog in 1991, “I had to leave New York because I was working at the Carver School and couldn’t get any artwork done, so I came to Mexico... I was interested in the public art movement in Mexico, the graphic arts and mural painting. I had lots of contact with reproductions, and then I saw the José Guadalupe Posada exhibition in the modern art museum, the one Jean Charlot did.”¹²⁸ In 1947, Catlett established permanent residency in Mexico and replaced her “guest artist” status to full membership of the TGP, remaining a member until 1966.

When working with the TGP, U.S. artists integrated histories of racial discrimination into their work. For example, even when contributing to the Mexican sponsored anti-Nazi publication, Mallery fused imagery of fascism with lynching in the South, as seen in his lithograph titled *Así es el nuevo orden Nazi (This is the New Nazi Order)* from 1942 (figure 14). The three victims in the image are shown hanging by a noose around their necks. Additionally, Carroll Cloar, a U.S. artist from Arkansas and TGP guest artist, produced a lithograph titled *Blanco y Negro (White and Black, also titled Cleavage)* in 1940, which depicts a scene of segregated society in the South (figure 15). Cloar’s paintings and prints, which focus on Southern U.S. culture, are influenced by U.S. Regionalism and Realism, as seen in the works of Grant Wood and Edward Hopper. In *Blanco y Negro*, Cloar divides the figures in the image by not only race, but age, gender, and occupation. The alternative title of *Cleavage* implies a sharp division or split between these groups. The younger white children on the top half of the image do not seem to be impacted by the race of the Black child or woman. However, as the image scrolls down, a fence appears, which divides the Black and white races. The print appears to be a

¹²⁸ Elizabeth Catlett, audiotaped interview with Melanie Herzog, June 15, 1991, Cuernavaca, Mexico. Herzog notes that Catlett’s reference to the Posada exhibition is unclear, but may refer to the exhibition *Posada, Printmaker to the Mexican People* at the Art Institute of Chicago in 1944.

statement about a segregated area of the South. According to Cloar's image, the older a person is in the scene, the more aware they are of their racial differences. Therefore, perhaps Cloar is commenting on the social factors that arise from birth to adulthood that cause racial prejudice. Cloar was one of the many U.S. artists that joined the TGP as guest artists finding influence from their social and political work.

As a guest artist to the TGP, Catlett also found the perfect arena for socially relevant content, as evidenced in one of her first series as an artist with the TGP that focused on the accomplishments of Black women throughout history, titled *The Negro Woman*. Catlett was influenced by Alain Locke's ideas in *The New Negro* from 1925, which declared that visual art should not be aimed at erasing histories of struggle in an attempt to assimilate into U.S. society, but instead focus on these struggles with pride and strength, and as a result, newfound commonalities and connections would emerge with other racial and ethnic communities in the U.S. and abroad.¹²⁹ This new pride in African American culture and history compared to the rise of the indigenist movement in Mexico, as shown in the works of the TGP and other Mexican School artists at the time. As Catlett's biographer Melanie Herzog describes, Catlett was also influenced by the TGP's portfolio *Estampas de la Revolución Mexicana*, which produced "art for the people," celebrating ordinary people as heroes while making the works accessible to all.¹³⁰ Catlett took on this similar approach with her series *The Negro Woman* from 1946 through 1947. As Herzog points out, Catlett was inspired by the use of photographs of heroic figures from the Mexican Revolution that was used for *Estampas de la Revolución Mexicana*.¹³¹ Likewise, in her series, Catlett utilized historical photographs of African American women. Accompanying the

¹²⁹ Alain Locke, *The New Negro* (New York: Touchstone, 1997).

¹³⁰ Herzog, 57.

¹³¹ Herzog, 58.

portraits of women, Catlett included narrative titles, which were part of a larger text. For example, in the linocut print titled *In Harriet Tubman I helped hundreds to freedom*, the text is handwritten in the bottom of the image, which includes a statuesque figure of Tubman standing before the masses in the foreground, pointing to the right toward freedom (figure 16). The entire text reads:

I am the Negro woman. I have always worked hard in America.... In the fields.... In other folks' homes.... I have given the world my songs. In Sojourner Truth I fought for the rights of women as well as Negroes. In Harriet Tubman I helped hundreds to freedom. In Phyllis Wheatly I proved intellectual equality in the midst of slavery. My role has been important in the struggle to organize the unorganized. I have studied in ever increasing numbers. My reward has been bars between me and the rest of the land. I have special reservations.... Special houses.... And a special fear for my loved ones. My right is a future of equality with other Americans.¹³²

The first person “I” in the titles suggests Catlett’s own identification with the heroic Black female figures, but also invites the viewers to see themselves as the women in the image. Just as the TGP heroicized the *campesinos* and agrarian revolutionary figures in *Estampas de la Revolución Mexicana*, Catlett also represented the grandeur of these ordinary, yet heroic figures—in doing so, the TGP artists and Catlett depicted the dignity and strength of the masses.

After her initial time with the TGP as a guest artist, Catlett returned to the U.S. briefly, but only to immediately move back to Mexico, this time permanently. Catlett found the artistic atmosphere in Mexico much more liberating than the U.S. Catlett was finding that the political climate in the U.S. was quickly changing due to the Cold War, as politically radical artists and intellectuals were being targeted and viewed as threats to the nation. The rise of McCarthyism and anti-Communism in the U.S. also impacted travel for leftist artists, especially for international artists traveling into the U.S. The U.S. government became increasingly suspicious

¹³² Herzog, 59.

of radical networks and became targets of the House Un-American Activities Committee. Soon, the creative exchanges that flourished with the TGP's guest artist program would be inhibited. However, the changing politics during the Cold War era, including threats of deportation and censorship, became new topics for activism and art for the TGP.

U.S. Cold War Politics and the Exile of an American Artist

In 1949, the TGP released a bilingual survey of their work titled *TGP México: El Taller de Gráfica Popular: doce años de obra artistica colectiva (TGP Mexico: The Workshop for Popular Graphic Art: a record of twelve years of collective work)*. It included their “Declaration of Principles” and a special section *Artistas-Huéspedes* or Guest Artists. Importantly, in its introduction, director of fine arts publishing house *La Estampa Mexicana* and the TGP's business manager Hannes Meyer wrote about issues facing the TGP within the group, but also about their “economic and cultural invasion from their ‘good neighbor’ to the north.”¹³³ Meyer described a growing threat by the U.S. on art and politics via their increased antagonism toward the Soviet Union, subsequent anti-Communism, rise of McCarthyism, and attack on the politically left by the House Un-American Activities Committee. The TGP artists directly responded to the U.S. and Soviet Union tensions during the Cold War in a 1949 filmstrip that included bilingual text, titled *¿Quiénes quieren la guerra—quiénes quieren la paz? (Who Wants War, Who wants Peace?)*. The text critiques imperialistic and capitalistic exploitation of Latin America after World War II. Describing the anxieties and threats to the working class, campesinos, and leftists in Mexico during the Cold War period, the film script states: “The

¹³³ Hannes Meyer, *TGP México: El Taller de Gráfica Popular: doce años de obra artistica colectiva = TGP Mexico: The Workshop for Popular Graphic Art: a record of twelve years of collective work* (México : La Estampa Mexicana, 1949), xxii.

imperialists would control unions, democratic political parties, work contracts, and the prices of basic necessities...Our factories, fields, and our own homes would be invaded and occupied by armed forces of the United States...”¹³⁴ Therefore, the film also calls for a liberation of all colonized peoples. It also includes public figures, such as African American activist and singer Paul Robeson, who was in favor of peace. As the relationship between the TGP and the U.S. became further strained, the TGP strengthened their solidarity with the Soviet Union, as evidenced with their series of exhibitions in the 1950s and early 1960s. In 1956, the TGP also sent an exhibition to China with TGP member Ignacio Aguirre, which was very well received. Eventually, Meyer’s fears about the U.S. became a reality in 1951 when the U.S. Department of State listed the TGP as a Communist front organization and prohibited Mexican members of the TGP from traveling to the United States.¹³⁵ TGP members would not return to the U.S. until the 1970s.

While racial and political discrimination continued in the U.S. during the Cold War, the realities of the aftermath of WWII were coming to light. Internationally, nations began to understand the true extent of the genocide of Jews in Europe during the Holocaust. The United Nations were formed with the goal of promoting human rights and preventing discrimination on the bases of race, ethnicity, or religion. Consequently, the U.S. was faced with the contradictions of finding new post-war allies in the fight for equality and democracy, while maintaining its anti-communist and segregationist stance. Due to these international tensions, the U.S. was forced to slowly confront its issues with discrimination, including President Dwight Eisenhower’s 1957 order for federal troops to integrate Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas. However,

¹³⁴ Taller de Gráfica Popular, *¿Quiénes quieren la guerra—quiénes quieren la paz? (Who Wants War, Who wants Peace?)* (Mexico City: Taller de Gráfica Popular, 1949).

¹³⁵ Helga Prignitz-Poda, *El Taller de Gráfica Popular en México, 1937-1977* (México: Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes, 1992), 142

with the rise of the Civil Rights Movement, leaders and activists demanded broader changes. While early civil rights decisions were made in light of the international spotlight, the rise of radical activism caused new fears for conservative politicians in the U.S., who feared that the new movement was being led by Communists and the Soviet Union. It was in this context that Elizabeth Catlett was targeted by the HUAC and labeled an “undesirable alien” in 1962 and denied a visa to reenter the U.S. until 1971.¹³⁶

¹³⁶ Herzog, 79.

Chapter 3

The TGP's Legacy in the Chicano Art Movement

The TGP was meant to “connect graphic art with the immediate problems of Mexico...but also international affairs, such as the struggles for national liberation in other countries.”¹³⁷ The TGP artists are important players in re-contextualizing a global art history, centered around transnational collaborations across Mexican and U.S. artists. The first exhibition by Mexico's Taller de Gráfica Popular in 1938 at the Artists' Union of Chicago was a pivotal moment for this analysis. From then on, the Taller artists would visit and exhibit in the U.S., work with artists in the U.S. and Mexico, and inspire a radical legacy of printmakers. This alliance crossed borders and united populist, emancipatory objectives. Artists that worked together from both countries were active in anti-fascist and anti-racist movements, as well as sharing an affinity for avant-garde and revolutionary aesthetics that lent itself to its subject matter. This chapter will focus on the reappearance of the TGP images in the United Farm Workers movement, introduced on the cover of their newspaper *El Malcriado, The Voice of the Farm Worker* and the influence on Chicana artists thereafter.

The United Farm Workers' Transnational Imaginary

The United Farm Workers (UFW) from Delano, California led by Cesar Chavez, Dolores Huerta, Larry Itliong, among others, gained wide public attention in 1965 with the Delano Grape Strike. The UFW was created from two organizations, the National Farm Workers Association (NFWA), a predominantly Mexican American labor union, and the Agricultural Workers

¹³⁷ Deborah Caplow, *Leopoldo Méndez: Revolutionary Art and the Mexican Print*, quote by Pablo O'Higgins (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2007), 124.

Organizing Committee (AWOC), a mainly Filipino labor union. The Delano Grape Strike began on September 7, 1965, when about 1500 Filipino farmworkers from AWOC went on strike against the grape growers in the fields. When growers began using Mexican and Mexican American workers to break the strike, Larry Itliong from AWOC met with Cesar Chavez from the NFWA, so they could come together and join their strike. Chavez originally resisted, but on September 16, 1965, the NFWA decided to join in the strike. On March 17, 1966, Cesar Chavez, Dolores Huerta, and playwright Luis Valdez spelled out the UFW's goals for the strike as well as the identity of the union in *El Plan de Delano* in an issue of *El Malcriado*, a newspaper for the farmworker community in California's Central Valley—an essential medium to communicate activities, concerns, and union updates for the UFW.

The plan set out six proposals on how the UFW intended to end injustices for the farmworkers. First, they declared their cause a social movement and a nonviolent fight for social justice. Secondly, they sought the support of the government. Thirdly, the UFW proclaimed the support of the Church as they declared *La Virgen de Guadalupe* the “Patroness of the Mexican people.”¹³⁸ In their fourth proposal, they acknowledged their suffering from injustices and stated that they were willing to endure more suffering to win their cause. Fifth, the UFW explained that although the union was composed mainly of people of Mexican descent, there had to be a unity among all oppressed minorities. In their last and sixth proposal, the UFW declared themselves “sons of the Mexican Revolution, a revolution of the poor seeking bread and justice.”¹³⁹ The final two points in *El Plan de Delano* are especially significant to contextualize the UFW's use of TGP prints on the covers of the first volume of *El Malcriado*. The plan asserts that the farm

¹³⁸ Cesar Chavez, “The Plan of Delano,” *An Organizer's Tale: Speeches* (New York: Penguin Group, 2008), p. 13.

¹³⁹ Cesar Chavez, “The Plan of Delano,” *An Organizer's Tale: Speeches*, 14.

worker struggle in the U.S. must be in solidarity with all oppressed people, and they situate themselves as descendants of Mexican revolutionaries, imagining that their struggle is inheritably tied to Mexico's past. The UFW expressed this idea visually by using post-revolutionary Mexican graphic artworks by El Taller de Gráfica Popular on the cover of *El Malcriado* beginning in the third issue with a print of revolutionaries coming together in song (figure 17). In my historical and visual analysis, I compare the goals and visual strategies of the original TGP prints in Mexico to the UFW reproductions, focusing on the use of allegory by the TGP to help the UFW build their movement through four themes—solidarity among oppressed people, indigeneity, labor abuse, and a patriarchal ancestral relationship with the Mexican Revolution. The images in the UFW newspaper continue a transnational legacy of radical printmaking used to represent the present moment.

El Malcriado was founded as a bilingual newspaper for the farm workers by Cesar Chavez in late 1964, and later edited by labor activist Bill Esher from 1965 to 1967.¹⁴⁰ Doug Adair, UFW member and co-editor of *El Malcriado*, explains, “The name ‘El Malcriado’ was reportedly taken from a radical newspaper produced in Mexico in the Revolutionary Period (c. 1910?) (or possibly, a Southern California publication of the 1920s-1930s?).”¹⁴¹ Adair also remembers that the early issues of the newspaper “drew a link between the farm worker’s struggle for justice in the U.S.A. and the peasant struggle for justice in the Mexican Revolution (1910-1920),” and furthermore:

Chavez and Esher were enthusiastic admirers of revolutionary art that came out of the Mexican Revolution, and woodcuts and pen-and-ink art began gracing covers of the paper... There were many folks in Delano in 1965 who had personal experience with the revolution and its aftermath, and with the serfdom and pre-revolutionary hacienda system which they could compare to the system of

¹⁴⁰ Doug Adair, “El Malcriado, ‘The Voice of the Farmworker,’ Origins, 1964-1965,” March 16, 2009, UFW archives, <https://libraries.ucsd.edu/farmworkermovement/ufwarchives/elmalcriado/billEsher.pdf>.

¹⁴¹ Doug Adair.

California agribusiness.¹⁴²

In fact, in an issue from May 5th, 1966, on the second page of *El Malcriado*, the editors asked readers to submit stories about their family members who have fought in the revolution (figure 18).¹⁴³ The UFW were building a narrative that connected the farm workers to a Mexican history during a time of heightened discrimination against and activism by Mexican Americans. The Mexican Revolution was especially significant to the farm workers because it resulted in the immigration of many Mexicans to the U.S. The images that resulted from the revolution in Mexico, especially those by the TGP, reflected the process of revolution, as well as the creation of a new national identity in Mexico around agrarian reforms and deliberate inclusion of indigenous populations into the historical narrative.

The post-revolutionary art of TGP, produced over twenty years after the end of the Mexican Revolution, expressed the significance of agrarian revolution in Mexico's past, present, and future. TGP prints were characterized by their social and political themes, as well as their particular style. The style was graphic, black and white, with an emphasis on lines, as well as the positive and negative space produced by the cuts and the placement of ink on the woodblock, linoleum block, or stone, depending on the process—often lithography or woodcuts. The style was graphic and harsh. The cutting out process added to the energy behind the subject of the artworks. The subjects ranged from avant-garde abstract figures to realistic arrangements, using montage. These images were ideal for a newsprint. The contrast of the black ink on the light surface made the images stand out and meant they could be easily read. The lack of color forces the viewer to focus on the subject matter. The TGP prints reproduced on the covers of *El*

¹⁴² Doug Adair.

¹⁴³ *El Malcriado*, no. 35, (Delano: El Taller Gráfica, May 5, 1966), 2.

Malcriado included scenes of revolution, solidarity, indigeneity, labor, and motherhood, among others.

Several of the reproductions were taken from a series titled *Estampas de la Revolución Mexicana (Prints of the Mexican Revolution)*, which was completed in 1946 and included eighty-five linocuts. This particular series traveled in the U.S., so it is possible that the editors of *El Malcriado* came across these particular prints. The editors of the newspaper showed evidence of a background in the history of this art. The second page of *El Malcriado* usually explained the print on the cover, sometimes describing the artist's background, the subject matter of the artwork, or its connection to the farmworkers in the U.S. The series from *Estampas de la Revolución Mexicana* included images focused on the Mexican Revolution. Another TGP series that was included in *El Malcriado* was *Estampas de Yucatán* from 1945.

The print titled *Mother and Child* originally made by Elizabeth Catlett in 1944 was reproduced in *El Malcriado* in their 18th issue, depicting a black mother and child (figure 7). Catlett was an African American artist who left the U.S. and relocated to Mexico to join the TGP in 1946. The print shown on the 18th issue of *El Malcriado* depicts a Black Madonna and child, a religious description used by Doug Adair.¹⁴⁴ However, the image is not overtly religious, and could in fact be any mother and child—hence the general title. Like the previous print discussed, this print uses the lithographic technique, allowing for an intimacy with the subject matter. The method allows for subtle tonal gradations of color, which creates a sculptural effect. Catlett is known for abstracting images of figures of African American women in wood and stone sculptures. This particular subject matter of an interlaced mother and child was common among her work—a symbol of unity and protection. The second page of *El Malcriado* describes this

¹⁴⁴ Doug Adair, "El Malcriado, 'The Voice of the Farmworker,' Origins, 1964-1965," March 16, 2009, UFW archives, <https://libraries.ucsd.edu/farmworkermovement/ufwarchives/elmalcriado/billEsher.pdf>.

print, stating: “While the artist, Elizabeth Catlett, paints in the manner of the Mexican Graphic Art we use in *El Malcriado*, she is not Mexican. She is a negro, born in Washington, D.C., and communicates through her art the dignity of all oppressed people.” The UFW realized the transnationalism of Catlett’s art, as their description of *Mother and Child* echoed their statements in *El Plan de Delano*: a need for unity among all oppressed minorities. The image of a mother and child depicts a maternal protective figure, through a transnational relationship among all oppressed people.

The print titled *Henequén (Agave) Worker/Cortador de Sisal* made by Alfredo Zalce for a series titled *Estampas de Yucatán* in 1945 was reproduced in *El Malcriado* in their sixth issue in 1965 (figure 19). The print on the cover was accompanied by a short description on the bottom of the second page, informing the reader of the artist’s origin from Patzcuaro, Michoacan and the subject matter of the series, which is dedicated to the Mayan people of the Yucatan Peninsula. Furthermore, the editorial on the second page of the newspaper discusses the value of one’s work—stating, “Work is a sacred thing, just like wages. Each individual is endowed with dignity. The work of this individual deserves a fair salary.”¹⁴⁵ Zalce’s image of a Mayan man stoically, bending down to cut sisal in a vast field of agave with an *hacienda* in the distance, contextualized the dignified labor within agribusiness described in *El Malcriado*. Zalce depicts the worker humble, barefooted, hands in what seems to be wrapped in cloth to protect him from injury, working with a small knife. The lithographic technique allows the artist to draw the image onto the surface, instead of the woodcut or linocut method, which literally cuts the image into the surface. The lithograph method depicts more of an intimate study of the subject matter and an ability to convey more detailed emotion in the subject’s body and facial features. The subject

¹⁴⁵ *El Malcriado*, issue no. 6, 1965, pg. 2.

matter of the indigenous Maya of the Yucatan Peninsula tied to dignified labor reappeared in the 19th issue of *El Malcriado*, in another print by Zalce titled *Weaver of Bécal Hats* made for the same series *Estampas de Yucatan*. Like *Cortador de Sisal*, this print focuses on a single, central figure—barefooted, stoically working. The second page description explains, “Zalce has used the Maya Indians of Yucatan, Mexico, as the subject for his expression of the dignity of work.” This particular depiction of indigenous subject matter represents a romanticized vision of labor (as dignified work), as well as an idealization of the indigenous Maya people (as humble, barefooted, stoic people). The print provides a positive image for the farmworkers—a historical narrative that connects them to a lineage of dignified work represented by indigenous imagery.

Las Acordadas (The Remembered) by Jesus Escobedo, made in 1947 for the series *Estampas de la Revolución Mexicana*, was reproduced by the UFW on the cover of their thirty-eighth issue of *El Malcriado* (figure 20). Unlike the previous two prints discussed that were made using the lithograph method, which creates softer and finer details, this print was produced using the woodcut method. Woodcuts produce harsh lines and contrasting shapes, creating very expressive works. The method enhances the subject matter of harsh labor conditions and abuse of workers by the cruel landowner. The image focuses on two male figures bound by their hands and neck, pulled by the landowner on horseback. The male figures, although we do not see their faces, are of differing ages—the man on the left is larger and older, perhaps the father, and the man or boy on the right is smaller and younger, perhaps the son. The two male figures seem to be father and son since there is a woman, perhaps the mother, and a very young child that attempt to hold on to the male figures as the landowner ruthlessly drags them away. In the distance, there is a scene of more men being dragged away, dehumanized and nothing more than brute labor. Therefore, the foreground image personalizes the narrative somewhat, although the

figures are unidentified. The print allows the UFW to identify with a continual labor struggle, one that existed in their ancestral homeland of Mexico. Once the farmworkers face their own injustices, then they could plan on their liberation and resistance to their current labor situation; thus, the following issue of *El Malcriado* exhibited the image of liberation through revolution.

The cover of *El Malcriado*, published on June 30, 1966, reproduced the print by Fernando Castro Pacheco titled *Carrillo Puerto, simbolo de la revolución del suoreste (Carrillo Puerto, Symbol of the Southeastern Revolution)* originally made in 1947 (figure 21). This woodcut again produces harsh and dramatic lines, which are representative of the subject matter. There is extreme repetition of images and shapes to enhance the vision of the masses coming together in unified protest. The raising of fists and tools or weapons of the workers echoes the raising of the revolutionary flag of Carrillo Puerto, who leads the people. The print depicts a revolution led by Carrillo Puerto, a socialist who fought for land reform for the indigenous Mayan people of Yucatan.¹⁴⁶ This image contrasts with the idealistic image by Alfredo Zalce of the Yucatan Maya, discussed earlier. Pacheco depicts Puerto holding a flag with the words “Tierra y Libertad” (Land and Liberty), a phrase originating from Ricardo Flores Magon and attributed to Emiliano Zapata.¹⁴⁷ The flag and Puerto himself become the revolutionary masses. The groups of Mayan laborers become one solid mass or force. The repeated figures add to the growing

¹⁴⁶ Felipe Carrillo Puerto, https://web.archive.org/web/20120122075046/http://www.redesc.ilce.edu.mx/redescolar/publicaciones/publi_quepas_o/carrillo_puerto.htm, last updated fall of 2000.

¹⁴⁷ The slogan “Tierra y Libertad” is associated with the agrarian revolution of Emiliano Zapata, the ideals of Enrique and Ricardo Flores Magón, and the Partido Liberal Mexicano. However, there is little historical documentation that attributes the slogan to Zapata. There are no documents or writings from Zapata and his army that utilize the phrase “Tierra y Libertad.” The phrase used in the communications of the Ejército Revolucionario del Sur is “Reforma, libertad, justicia y ley.” Ricardo Flores Magón and his party did popularize “Tierra y Libertad” as a revolutionary slogan and it is well documented that his party had significant influence and contact with Zapata’s movement. “Tierra y Libertad” as a political slogan has its origins in the Russian peasant struggle of the 19th century, where it was adopted beginning 1861 to demand reforms on the working conditions of farmers. Likewise, it was the name of an anarchist newspaper in Spain in 1888. Fabian Coelho, “Tierra y Libertad,” <https://www.culturagenial.com/es/tierra-y-libertad/>.

solidarity of the workers. If the previous print showed the injustice of the workers, this print showed the result and reaction of the laborers against the unjust treatment of the workers by the powerful landowners. This print becomes a call to action for the United Farm Workers. The print was produced three months after the declaration in the Plan de Delano and represents a culmination of agrarian imaginary that is finally leading to action and hopes for actual change within the lives of the farmworkers.

The reproduced images by the TGP helped create a transnational imagined community for farmworkers of Mexican descent, and broader Chicano community during the 1960s, who could relate to the images from the Mexican Revolution in the works by the TGP. In fact, in several issues of *El Malcriado*, and even in the UFW's *Plan of Delano*, they described themselves as the descendants of the Mexican Revolution. Several issues of the UFW newspaper *El Malcriado* also exhibited themes from the Mexican Revolution. On an issue from May 5th, 1966, on the second page of the newspaper, *El Malcriado* asked readers to submit stories about their ancestors who fought in the revolution.¹⁴⁸ Furthermore, in a letter by Ramiro Mendez, a United Farm Worker, responded to a controversy over the use of the images of Zapata and Francisco "Pancho" Villa, another Mexican revolutionary general. The UFW were accused in an issue of *La Opinión*, the largest Spanish-language newspaper in the United States, of "mocking" the "authentic Mexican" images of Zapata and Villa by using them in their cause. Mendez responded back by writing to *La Opinión*, explaining that not only were they not mocking their images, but that the UFW had every right to utilize these images because much of the UFW consisted of direct descendants of Zapata and Villa. Again, like in the Plan of Delano, the UFW described themselves as a continuation of the Mexican revolutionary ideals. For the UFW, the

¹⁴⁸ *El Malcriado*, no. 35, (Delano: El Taller Gráfica, May, 5, 1966), 2.

Mexican Revolution was significant for its agrarian reforms and for its empowerment of the poor, working classes of Mexico. Zapata, as their leader, was a mythical, revolutionary, and ancestral figure for the UFW.

In their print shop in Delano, California, *El Taller Gráfico*, the UFW produced their newspaper *El Malcriado*, as well as posters, buttons, stickers, comics, and other memorabilia with the image of Mexican Revolution general Emiliano Zapata (figure 22). Brehme's photograph of Zapata appears on both the button and the poster. Zapata's image first appeared on the cover of *El Malcriado* on February 12, 1966 (figure 23). On the second page, it read: "When men like Emiliano Zapata are born, men who with their courageous lives change history, they give us a vision of what a man may be, we all know the life of this great man, how he began with nothing and how he led the campesinos of Mexico in their fight for social justice. He gives us a vision of how valiant a man may be."¹⁴⁹ The image of Zapata on these works is shown from the waist up, highlighting symbols of militancy with the inclusion of his weapon and military regalia. However, in another issue of the newspaper the same image is stamped on a page with the description "Firm, but Non-Violent" under the image, referring to the UFW's stance on non-violence as stated in the *Plan de Delano* (figure 24). Therefore, the UFW's version of the image serves their goals and not necessarily that of the Mexican Revolution or Zapata himself. The works also carry a performative aspect, as they are meant to be carried, displayed, or mass-produced to the public. That is, they visualize the goals of the movement and carry their own agency, rather than being peripheral objects to the movement.

In later issues, artists for the UFW turned the myth and history of Zapata into comic strips in their newspaper as pedagogical tools and as a medium to reimagine the myth of Zapata

¹⁴⁹ *El Malcriado*, Issue no. 29, February 12, 1966.

using image and text. The comic in the issue of *El Malcriado* from July 13, 1978 narrates the story of a young Zapata and the origins of his radicalization (figure 25). It begins with an image at the top left corner of a colonial-looking man, presumably, the Spanish conquistador Hernan Cortez, about to kill an indigenous man, perhaps Cuauhtémoc, one of the last Aztec leaders. The image accompanied with text states that for ages there has been oppression, misery, and privileges, which could have only one result: the revolution. The comic reveals early class tensions in Zapata's life, which are meant to mimic the struggles of the farmworkers and the power dynamic under the powerful U.S. agribusiness. In the top center of the comic, there is Zapata's iconic mustache, glare and hat, with the head of Porfirio Diaz looming over him. The main storyline consists of *hacendados*, or wealthy Spanish or Hispanic landowners, coming in, armed and on horses, demanding that the *campesinos*, or farmworkers, leave the land. The comic ends with a young Zapata as a boy listening to his father's conversation about the poor farmworkers who were treated unfairly. The very last image shows the young boy riding away with his father, with a thought bubble describing his hope for vengeance. This comic is only one of several, which retell the story of Zapata to educate and inspire the farmworkers and future generations. The UFW's use of text and image became a pedagogical tool to inform the public of Zapata's myth and legacy.

The transnational imaginary activated by the UFW throughout their labor movement, but especially through the pages of *El Malcriado*, was an attempt to galvanize a community through the use of imagery and history—one that was not necessarily tied to the U.S. As farmworkers of predominant Mexican descent, and within a time of a heightened Chicano movement demanding civil rights, the UFW saw their injustices in the U.S. tied to a longer historical struggle for labor and land rights. However, the UFW had no claims to the land that they were toiling over, so it

was not land that they were asking for, but simply a union contract to be able to fight for basic human rights, such as livable wages, adequate rest periods with water and shade, eliminate the spraying of pesticides on farmworkers, and other fundamental requests. The farmworker movement was part of a larger transnational movement utilizing art and allegory for populist and revolutionary purposes. The transnational imaginary activated throughout such movements draws upon the connection to struggle, but especially to the dispossessed and maltreated workers. The *El Malcriado* covers with TGP images, as well as images of the Mexican Revolution, create a narrative that borrow from a larger transnational history of dispossession from indigenous lands, colonization, and brutality, but imagines a utopic future through revolution, subsistence, and solidarity among all people.

The Origins of a Chicano Graphic Art Movement

Andrew “Andy” Zermeño was a young Chicano artist whose family worked as farm workers in Delano and San Jose. Cesar Chavez spoke highly of Zermeño before *El Malcriado*’s origins and was invited to join the newspaper staff as soon as it began in 1965.¹⁵⁰ Following the tradition of popular satirical artists, Zermeño used humor and caricatures to visualize the present moment. His characters from his satirical comic were introduced within the first few issues of *El Malcriado*, and presented the unfair power dynamics within U.S. agribusiness, as well as the goals for the union. The characters included: ‘Don Sotaco,’ who was a short, and initially weak and abused, farm worker; ‘Don Coyote’ the labor contractor and foreman, who was portrayed as tall and thin, and in service to the boss (figure 26); and ‘Patroncito,’ the Big Boss, overweight

¹⁵⁰ Doug Adair and Bill Esher, “Origins of El Malcriado,” March 16, 2009, <https://libraries.ucsd.edu/farmworkermovement/ufwarchives/elmalcriado/billEsher.pdf>

and lazy, often with a big hat, big cigar, boots, and sunglasses.¹⁵¹ The comics depicted the Big Boss as satirically victimized, complaining that the workers do not work hard enough, protest too much, and always blame the boss for their own misfortunes (figure 27). In a later issue of the newspaper, a comic by Zermeño summarizes the relationship of the three characters, depicting the role of each through their labor—or lack thereof (figure 28). In this image, Don Sotaco wears a “bit,” usually meant for horses, and visibly struggles to pull the weight of the foreman and “Big Boss.”

The comics were also meant to spur personal agency within the farmworkers by showing the lack of reliability on governmental figures. In another Zermeño comic, “The Government” is symbolized as a white-collared blindfolded man playing a game of chess with the Big Boss, using Don Sotaco as one of the pawns in the game (figure 29). Doug Adair, *El Malcriado* editor, describes that the government was “often portrayed as blind to the plight of the farm workers, or as willingly manipulated by the growers to serve their purpose and power.”¹⁵² Furthermore, Adair remembers another satirical comic by Zermeño that details the capitalist pursuits of the government. He describes: “‘Don Sotaco’ and his wife visit the University of California at Davis, where government-funded mad scientists are not only developing machines to replace farm workers, but are also genetically modifying humans to produce separate strains of farm workers, extra short ones to cut lettuce, tall ones to pick dates.”¹⁵³ Although Don Sotaco is shown as weak and subservient at first, later he is depicted strong, fighting against the smear monster, growers, and ultra-conservatives—as labeled in the image—, with the help of justice and the National Farm Workers Association (figure 30).

¹⁵¹ Doug Adair, “El Malcriado, 1965-66, Bill Esher, Editor,” July 12, 2009, <https://libraries.ucsd.edu/farmworkermovement/ufwarchives/elmalcriado/elmalcriado2.pdf>.

¹⁵² Doug Adair.

¹⁵³ Doug Adair.

Zermeño also produced the first popular poster for both the labor and Chicano Movement (figure 31). His offset lithograph from 1966 titled *Huelga! (Strike!)* was an urgent call to the movement, depicting a man with the UFW logo on his shirt, *sombrero*, and flag, urgently running to announce the strike. The poster, simply done in black and red, catches the attention of its viewers, while promoting the UFW union. Although Zermeño was among the first artists to be involved with the union, several others followed. The farmworker cause was a breeding ground for various Chicano graphic artists during the 1960s and 70s who wanted to use their art for political activism. This included, but was not limited to, Carlos Almaraz and Barbara Carrasco. Additionally, with the help of the rediscovery of *América Tropical* and reprints of TGP images, in 1967 various Chicano artists started to visit Mexico to study the murals and the Taller de Gráfica Popular, as well as meet and learn from the artists.¹⁵⁴

Beginning in 1969, Chicanos formed their own collectives, including the Rebel Chicano Art Front, later known as the Royal Chicano Air Force (RCAF), founded by José Montoya, Esteban Villa, Ricardo Favela, Juanishi V. Orosco, and Rudy Cuellar. The RCAF also were active artists in the United Farm Workers movement. Like the TGP, Chicano artists during the 1960s worked in collectives or art centers. Beginning 1970, Self Help Graphics (SHG), and three other Chicano art centers opened: the Goetz Gallery, the Mechicano Art Center, and Plaza de la Raza.

In 1983, the Experimental Atelier at SHG was created to allow for more individual creative experimentation in a collective setting while producing serious works of art that would be presented as individual fine art works or as portfolios with the atelier artists. In order to sustain such a project, the community art center relied on collective support in the form of

¹⁵⁴ Alejandro Anreus with Holly Barnet-Sanchez and Bruce Campbell, "Chronology," *Mexican Muralism: A Critical History* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2012), 306.

donated time by artist-instructors, artists, master printers, and other volunteers. Ateliers consisted of about ten artists per atelier. Participating artists agreed to donate a portion of their print editions to SHG's print archive and to be sold to fund the subsequent atelier, while the artists received the other portion of their print editions and proofs. This model of collective autonomy was influenced by SHG's decade of running an art center with community at its heart, as well as a larger history of radical printmaking.

The atelier was influenced by the TGP's model, where the TGP "required the artists to attend weekly meetings, to accept mutual criticism, and to contribute 20 percent of their earnings from their work to the Taller."¹⁵⁵ At SHG, about 12 artists were chosen for a particular atelier at a time, and given the resources, space, and supportive community to work on their individual works. After completing their print, each artist was required to present their work to the group, sharing the different techniques and styles used. In this process, the artists were given the freedom to experiment individually, but the atelier provided the communal setting to share ideas and receive feedback from fellow artists and the master printer. Each work exposed not only a personal style or technique of that particular artist, but also a unique experience or point of view. The atelier allowed artists to experiment with personal narratives, whether they were self-portraits or social critiques. With the help of an international curator, Dolores "Lola" De la Riva, artists were also able to participate in interchange programs between SHG artists and international artists, as well as be included in international exhibitions displaying work from the experimental atelier.

The atelier predominantly produced silkscreens, but also taught other print techniques such as intaglio and relief—therefore, moving beyond the traditional printing methods of

¹⁵⁵ Deborah Caplow, *Leopoldo Mendez: revolutionary art and the Mexican print* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2007), 127.

lithography and linocuts/woodcuts of the *talleres* it was inspired by, such as the TGP. SHG's atelier would also experiment with text, digital, and photo manipulation. After the artist would conceive their vision, they would work with the master printer to figure out the ideal method to print their conception. The master printer is an important figure in pushing the artist towards experimentation—knowing which colors and images to layer, and what needs to be done to achieve a certain look. As SHG master printer Oscar Duardo explains, “a silkscreen can look like any medium.”¹⁵⁶ Through the silkscreen, the artist and master printer can layer various colors to create a flat image, typical of pop art, or collage print and transfer photographs, or even create a painterly effect through the monoprint. Duardo explains that the monoprint may have not originated at SHG, but it was brought to the workshop by an anonymous female artist from San Pedro who shocked the master printer when he saw the work that he did not believe to be a print. As an experienced printer, he had seen all kinds of printing techniques, but not this painterly technique. Soon the workshop was given a demonstration of this new technique, which allowed the artist to directly and quickly paint on the screen and produce a single monoprint with a few “ghost” images. The new technique allowed the artists to create lines and layers that had not been done before—even allowing for the artist to combine painting and drawing on the screenprint, increasing the presence and freedom of the artist's hand over the image. In comparison, to other printmaking methods, such as intaglio, relief, or stencil-based serigraphy, the painterly monoprint allowed the artist more autonomy. In doing so, the artist could more easily reproduce other printing methods with the screen print—and even bring muralism to print.

Through the creation of the Experimental Atelier, SHG continued a printmaking tradition in the U.S. and Mexico, while producing unique avant-garde works. The important relationship

¹⁵⁶ Interview, Oscar Duardo at Self Help Graphics & Art, March 22, 2019.

between master printer and artist shaped new experimental techniques. As a result, the workshop attracted various local and global artists to join the atelier. Due to the early successes of the atelier, Sister Karen Baccalero invited Mexican artists such as (former TGP members) Alfredo Zalce and Adolfo Mexiac to join. There were also interests in creating interchange programs, for example between SHG and the workshop René Portocarrero in Havana, Cuba and the Tornada Galeria de Arte in Guatemala. A relationship would also be created between Chicax and Mexican artists with the help of Dolores “Lola” de la Riva (curator of SHG exhibitions in Mexico).

Chapter 4

The TGP's legacy in the "Third Great Art Movement" for Black Artists

When Elizabeth Catlett's lithograph *Mother and Child* from 1944 was reproduced on the cover of the UFW's newspaper *El Malcriado* in 1965, Catlett had already been exiled from the U.S., her country of origin, for three years. As Melanie Herzog points out, "Catlett's Mexican citizenship made it possible for the U.S. government to deny her permission to visit the United States, but it also meant that she could become politically active in Mexico."¹⁵⁷ As evidenced with Catlett's reproduced artwork for the farmworker movement in the U.S., it did not matter if Catlett was physically present in the U.S., her work and message continued transnationally both in Mexico and the U.S. Catlett's early work in both countries set the foundation for future artists to continue her legacy of socially relevant printmaking. Her work was especially inspiring for African American artists, calling for them to come together in solidarity with other artists across national, racial, and ethnic borders who are working for similar social goals-- anti-racism, anti-imperialism, and for self-determination.

Elizabeth Catlett, "The Negro Artist and American Art," 1961

In Catlett's 1961 address to the Third Annual Meeting of National Conference of Negro Artists in Washington, D.C., she declared that there needed to be a third great art movement for Black artists. The first great art movement being the Harlem Renaissance, and the second, the artwork produced through the Works Progress Administration (WPA; renamed in 1939 as the

¹⁵⁷ Herzog, "Elizabeth Catlett: An American Artist in Mexico," 109.

Work Projects Administration). Elizabeth Catlett personally knew the impact of the first two movements but believed the third movements should have a broader outreach.

Catlett was educated around foundational scholars of the Harlem Renaissance movement, as evidenced by her time at Howard University in the early 1930s. The university included faculty such as Alain Locke, the philosopher and writer who established the key ideas for the Harlem Renaissance, as expressed in his major anthology *The New Negro* published in 1925, which encouraged the Black community to challenge racist norms, realize their essential role in society, and acknowledge the uniqueness in Black culture. However, she also studied directly under James Porter, who not only exposed Catlett to the works of the Mexican muralists, but also disagreed with Locke's "insistence that...African art should be the *sole* source of [African American artists'] artistic inspiration."¹⁵⁸

The WPA movement, which Catlett also associated with via Chicago's Southside Community Art Center, modeled after the Harlem Community Art Center, extended itself beyond solely issues of race, but included class welfare as well. The government-sponsored art centers utilized art as a social tool to help, not only artists in need, but also community members in need of social services. For example, local hospitals would send children to classes to improve their mental health.¹⁵⁹ The faculty consisted of multiethnic individuals who promoted multiethnic arts.

Influenced by these two movements, but separate from them, the proposal for a third great art movement according to Catlett would include both a local and a transnational approach. Catlett was inspired by the activist movements in the South by the Student Nonviolent

¹⁵⁸ Herzog, "Elizabeth Catlett: An American Artist in Mexico," 17.

¹⁵⁹ Gwendolyn Bennett, "The Harlem Community Art Center". *Federal Art Project Documents*. New Deal Network. Retrieved March 28, 2021.

Coordinating Committee to get things done quickly and in their “united activity.”¹⁶⁰ She saw how this movement rallied community members, but also had an international outreach, bringing together diverse groups of people for immediate action.

Catlett also noted the reception and impact of art by Black artists outside of the U.S. She describes the moment Black spirituals were sung in Mexico with much praise. When the Howard University Choir gave its first concert in Mexico City during the summer of 1960, audience members “demanded encore after encore and even called for certain songs.”¹⁶¹ This affinity for the music went beyond a simple admiration, but really into a moment of solidarity with the struggles being sung by the Black choir. People in Mexico were aware of what was going on in the U.S. in relation to struggles faced by the Black community. As Mexican artists noted, when they traveled to the U.S., they faced racial discrimination that they were not used to in Mexico. Likewise, when Black artists traveled to Mexico, they felt a newfound sense of freedom, where they were not restricted by the inhumane laws of segregation. As discussed previously, TGP artist Leopoldo Mendez also observed the experiences especially of Black prisoners in the U.S. Mendez compared the policing of Black men in the South to the Porfiriato era in Mexico.

For the TGP artists, travelling transnationally and inviting guest artists from the U.S. to participate in conversations and produce work in Mexico City was essential to build expanded conversations about injustice that would have otherwise been confined to national borders. The works by guest artist Carroll Cloar from Arkansas from 1940 was one of the earlier works about discrimination in the South to be introduced to the TGP workshop. As discussed, Cloar’s lithograph titled *Blanco y Negro (White and Black, also titled Cleavage)* opened up a

¹⁶⁰ Elizabeth Catlett Mora, “The Negro Artist and American Art,” *Freedomways*, Volume 1, issue 1 (Spring 1961): 74.

¹⁶¹ Catlett Mora, 78.

conversation in Mexico about the realities of segregation in the U.S., which few in Mexico had experienced (figure 15).

Additionally, Catlett's own powerful *Negro Woman* series from 1946, which was accompanied by a narrative delivered in the first person that detailed both the sacrifices and accomplishments Black women have made in the U.S., represents the uncensored realities of Black women everywhere (figures 16 and 32). The series inspired by TGP artists' depictions of Mexican culture and heroic figures in the portfolio *Estampas de la Revolución Mexicana*, takes a personal look at one's own history, rather than letting one's history be the subject of a narrative told by an outsider's perspective. Although the Mexican community might have been aware of what was going on in the U.S. via the newspapers and other media outlets, Catlett's intimate point of view, as a Black woman herself, into the lives of Black women was an important moment for the TGP artists and Mexican community to view the situation in the U.S. through a personal visual representation. Catlett's focus on underrepresented voices and racial discrimination sparked a change in the direction of printmaking for TGP artists. Whereas previously the artists focused their attention on post-revolutionary struggles in Mexico and the anti-fascist fight internationally, now there was a move to connect these issues transnationally. That is, connecting how the struggles against fascist dictators in Europe are connected to the fight against Diaz and the feudal system during the Mexican Revolution, and how the newly known impacts of the Holocaust are connected to larger issues of racial discrimination in the U.S.

For example, the TGP series *Against Discrimination in the U.S.* from 1953-1954 led by Elizabeth Catlett, included works by several members of the workshop and initiated a newfound imperative for the group to address the subject of race and discrimination. Prints included

Mendez's 1954 linocut of the "Renaissance Man," athlete, actor, singer, cultural scholar, author, and political activist, Paul Robeson depicted as a mythical symbol of peace and liberation (figure 33). In addition to permanent TGP members, other guest artists involved in this series included African American artists John Wilson and Margaret Taylor-Burroughs. The series focused on Black heroes, such as Paul Robeson, Crispus Attucks, Frederic Douglass, and Harriet Tubman. During her 1961 address to the Third Annual Meeting of National Conference of Negro Artists in Washington, D.C, Catlett describes the experience when her husband and fellow TGP member Francisco Mora attended the Third International Educators Conference in the Republic of Guinea in West Africa during July of 1960. Catlett describes Mora sharing a print series depicting Black heroes to the local teachers. I can suspect that the series may have been *Against Discrimination in the U.S.* produced during the previous decade, or a very similar series. She describes the excitement of the teachers and students as they observe the images of Black heroes. Catlett explains that in Guinea, French colonialism had destroyed much African culture, so the prints were a reminder of an erased, yet shared history.

I argue that the time spent in Mexico with the TGP was instrumental for Elizabeth Catlett to imagine the transnational opportunities not only for collaboration, but to build solidarity networks among others who have common goals of liberation. The guest artist program in particular was important in bringing together artists outside of Mexico to have diverse conversations and introduce new subject matter and issues to the group. The program was also influential for the guest artists, who took the lessons of the TGP and brought them back to the U.S. For example, Alison McClean details how Charles White was so inspired by his experience working with the group that he "became a pivotal figure in the formation of a similar group in New York-- the Workshop for Graphic Art," which supported the work of other African

American artists such as Robert Blackburn, Jacob Lawrence, and John Biggers.¹⁶² While before this period, many Black artists in the U.S. found it difficult to find artistic opportunities due to the rampant racism and discrimination in the country, graphic workshops like the TGP produced a model of autonomous and collective creative production that could address pressing issues. Moreover, the *taller* was an example of transnational solidarity and challenging dominant narratives of national artmaking, as well as providing an alternative space to the mainstream art spaces which were segregationist in their policies or exclusionary in their ever-increasing fear of art that had any visual representation of leftist politics.

As a result of these exclusionary practices and inspired by the lessons learned in the TGP, Catlett urged Black artists in 1961 to stay true to their identity and to not give in to the art schools, art galleries, art patrons, and art critics. Instead, they should bring their art to the people - "in the churches, in the schools and universities, in the associations and clubs, and trade unions."¹⁶³ Catlett compared the mission of the artist to move away from the constraints of the artworld to the role of communities in the U.S. to break away from the shackles of racism and discrimination. She explains:

It is hard for a New Orleans mother, reared in an atmosphere of white supremacy, to accept a Negro schoolmate for her child. But she has to change! The determination for equality and freedom that is cleansing our world of the filth of discrimination will force her to. It is equally hard for an artist, conditioned to his dependence on art critics and galleries and dealers, to think of the art he produces objectively, to think of it in terms of his contribution to world culture, to think of his individual position in a historic period of time.¹⁶⁴

According to Catlett, the role of the artist is of a true avant-gardist, where art and life are one and artists utilize their medium to engage with the social capacity of art, instead of art being merely a

¹⁶²Alison Cameron, "Buenos Vecinos: African-American Printmaking and the Taller De Gráfica Popular." *Print Quarterly* 16, no. 4 (Dec. 1999): 364.

¹⁶³ Catlett Mora, 77.

¹⁶⁴ Catlett Mora, 79.

commodity. Therefore, art should not be limited to certain venues and audiences but should be available to the masses.

In its accessibility to the public and ability to break the divide between social responsibility and mere commodity, graphic art becomes the medium of choice. The reproducibility of printmaking brings the social art object into the hands of the many instead of the few; therefore, breaking down the binaries between private and public, and high and low art, which have its roots in the colonial art academic institution. Beyond the art object, Catlett explains that these binaries are attempts to segregate artists, where Black artists are asked to exhibit together, rather than be integrated to the mainstream art exhibitions. Catlett argues that the artist need not wait to be integrated into such institutions, but instead bring their art to the people. In doing so, Catlett insists that “If we are to reach our audience on a large scale-- our potential audience in the United States, in Latin America, in Africa, and in other receptive sections of the world, we must develop a public art, that is easily transported, easily exhibited, and easily reproduced. I suggest as a means, intense activity and development in the graphic arts- - linoleum, and wood blocks, silk-screen, lithography, etching and engraving.”¹⁶⁵ Catlett called for a development of the graphic arts for an art movement in the 1960s, continuing the graphic legacy of the 1930s and 1940s, for which the TGP had an instrumental role. This call also resisted mainstream art institutional trends that were guided by postwar anti-Communist fears, which aimed at moving away from the social role of art for the people and instead focused on the relationship between an individual artist and their art object, which included a focus on formalist issues. Catlett’s proposal also was a powerful break away from a Greenbergian focus on taste

¹⁶⁵ Catlett Mora, 80.

and elitism of the insular New York art world, moving towards networks that were less concerned with metropolitan centers and more centered on global connections.

Therefore, in Catlett's proposal for a third great art movement, she is again inspired by her time with the TGP and envisions art with not only the capacity for social expression and melding art with life, but also connecting diverse communities and bringing together networks for a common cause. As discussed, as Catlett saw the reactions of Mexican audience members when listening to a Black choir in Mexico City, she sensed a community who not only comprehended the current lived realities of African Americans in the South but understood the impacts of colonialism and imperialism and the way this paved the way to years of racism and discrimination thereafter. The transnational connection between the Mexican audience members and the Black choir was rooted in something deeper-- a history of violence and colonialism-- as race was a colonial concept introduced to the Americas during the colonial period via the brutality of the Spanish conquest, which brought enslaved Africans to the Americas and began a system of social and racial hierarchies introduced via the *encomienda* and *casta* systems.¹⁶⁶ As Catlett explains:

Mexicans feel closeness to Negroes that they do not have for other Americans, and this feeling is reflected throughout Latin America. We can strengthen this course of outside pressure against barriers of racial discrimination with art that reflects the life, the history, the struggle and the gains of Negro people. This is a large receptive area that is ignorant of our art and our artists. A third great art movement can move beyond the Rio Grande to the rest of the hemisphere; the color of a man's skin does not limit his creative contribution.¹⁶⁷

This push to focus on transnational and crosscultural solidarities aligned with the rise of various social movements in the 1960s, which resisted discriminatory, segregationist and racist policies

¹⁶⁶ Ilona Katzew, *Casta Painting: Images of Race in 18th Century Mexico* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 1-38.

¹⁶⁷ Catlett Mora, 78.

in the U.S. This call also aimed at negotiating how we view art networks and breaking down what we may consider the center and peripheral centers in art. Rather than being centered around networks of modernity (e.g. New York and Paris), which requires a certain level of social and economic development that is exclusive of former or current colonial and imperial subjects that have suffered underdevelopment due to years of economic, social, and cultural exploitation; there is a focus on the peripheral networks that are not limited by colonial concepts, such as national borders or racial constructs.

Transnational and Crosscultural Solidarities in the “Third Great Art Movement”

Elizabeth Catlett’s timely address in 1961 came at a time when not only were various social movements on the rise, but it was also two years before the hundredth-year anniversary of the liberation of slaves in the U.S., and only a year before Catlett was exiled from the U.S. for her radical politics. In her address, Catlett warned “against commercial and political exploitation” during this time, as many people would want work by Black artists during this time and asserts that this is a crucial time where art and liberation must be intertwined. Shifra Goldman has described this moment as the “second wave” of African American artists looking toward Mexico “for inspiration and formal devices.”¹⁶⁸ Goldman argued this movement was a “second wave” to the “first wave” of the Harlem Renaissance in the 1920s and 30s. However, as evidenced, this went beyond a formal resurgence. This movement was one for artists and activists to come together under one cause in resistance to systemic oppression. Thus, in this temporal comparison, it would be more apt to say that this was the second wave not only where

¹⁶⁸ Shifra Goldman, “The Mexican School, Its African Legacy, and the “Second Wave” in the United States,” *In the Spirit of Resistance: African-American Modernists and the Mexican Muralist School* (New York: The American Federation of Arts, 1996), 69.

African American artists looked toward Mexico, but also mirrors the efforts of the Popular Front and leftist artists during the 1930s and 1940s.

Like the previous decades, the 1960s also proved a dangerous time for politically radical artists and activists. The Red Scare of the 1950s, which included investigations by the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), instigated by U.S. Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, ravaged the art and filmmaking industry, looking for anyone who was not sufficiently loyal to the U.S. government. In 1963, American citizen Elizabeth Catlett fell victim to HUAC's investigations and was ordered to leave the U.S. due to her political affiliations. However, during her absence from the U.S., Catlett looked toward her solidarity networks, not limiting herself to the chains of U.S. imperialism. In 1963, Catlett travelled to Havana, Cuba with a delegation of ninety-one international women for the Congress of Women in the Americas.¹⁶⁹ During her time there, Catlett could not help but compare the experiences of Black children in Cuba to those in the U.S. In Cuba, she observed Black children happily playing alongside white children, while in the U.S., she received reports of the violent reactions toward Black children who were being integrated into schools in the South.¹⁷⁰ Catlett's trip to Cuba showed her what was possible in terms of liberation for Black children and others-- it showed her that another world was possible.

Although Catlett in 1963, along with Celia Calderón, became the first women to be elected to directorial positions in the TGP, Catlett decided to officially resign from the *taller* soon after in 1965 due to "political and aesthetic deterioration" of the group.¹⁷¹ After leaving the TGP, Catlett focused her attention on "prints and sculptures that expressed black pride and espoused political solidarity with black liberation struggles in the United States."¹⁷² Catlett's

¹⁶⁹ Herzog, *Elizabeth Catlett: An American Artist in Mexico*, 109.

¹⁷⁰ Herzog, 109.

¹⁷¹ Herzog, 112.

¹⁷² Dalila Scruggs, "Activism in Exile: Elizabeth Catlett's Mask for Whites," *American Art* Vol. 32, No. 3 (2018): 4.

transnational and crosscultural solidarity continued in her work, as evidenced in her 1969 lithograph titled *Negro es Bello II* (figure 34). The print depicted two black and white close-up portraits of a man and a woman, emphasizes the sculptural features of each individual, surrounded by orange button-like logos for the African American revolutionary group the Black Panthers, founded by college students Bobby Seale and Huey P. Newton in 1966, along with the text “Black is Beautiful,” which translated the print’s Spanish title. As Dalila Scruggs explains, although Catlett was exiled from the U.S., it was important for her to be part of the Civil Rights Movement.¹⁷³ However, Catlett’s contributions to the Civil Rights Movement from abroad introduced a transnational angle that not only opened up solidarities outside of the U.S., but it also exposed the harsh realities of how Black Americans were treated. Catlett’s positionality and exile outside of the U.S. emphasized the conditions that Black Americans, especially those with radical politics, faced.

Catlett’s solidarity with the Black Panther Party (BPP) was also an important gesture of solidarity with the Black Power Movement in the U.S., and its accompanying Black Arts Movement. In her article, Scruggs also astutely analyzes Catlett’s multidimensional fiberglass and collage work titled *Masks for Whites*, made around 1970, which depicts an African mask on the front while collaging various newspaper articles, including text and image from the BPP newspaper, on the inside (figure 35).¹⁷⁴ This work again introduces Spanish text, reading “Libertad para Angela Davis!” (“Freedom for Angela Davis!”), who was jailed at the time when guns belonging to Davis were used to take over a courtroom in Marin County, California and four people were killed. Although Catlett was exiled when she made this work, her collaged

¹⁷³ Scruggs, “Activism in Exile: Elizabeth Catlett’s Mask for Whites,” 5.

¹⁷⁴ Scruggs, 3-21.

messages sent a signal to those in the U.S. and the rest of the world that the Black Power Movement extended beyond the U.S. national borders.

The collaged images in *Masks for Whites* also introduced the work of BPP artist and Ministry of Culture Emory Douglas. This included Douglas' caricatured pig, which represented the abuse of power and corruption of government officials, such as a police officer as seen in Catlett's work. Douglas represents the different roles of the pig imagery in his work *On landscape art* from 1967, while also critiquing the history of white supremacy in the U.S. via the imagery of the lynched pigs depicting a 'avaricious businessman,' 'demagogue politicians,' 'pig cops,' and 'U.S. military' (figure 36). The image also recontextualizes the history of landscape painting in art history, known for its awe and beauty. Douglas replaces an image of a sublime scene of nature, which lends itself to escapism and fantasy, to an inescapable, trauma-ridden scene of four pigs hanging from a tree. The imagery is repeated with a transnational lens in Douglas' *Get Out* from 1967 (figure 37). This print represents a 'U.S. Imperialist' pig being wrung out by ethnically diverse hands each labeled 'Get out of the Ghetto,' 'Get out of Africa,' 'Get out of Asia,' and 'Get out of Latin America.' The hands, which seem to be representative of a crosscultural and transnational solidarity movement, squeeze dollar bills from the 'U.S. Imperialist' pig that would have otherwise gone into exploitative efforts in these respective regions. Douglas' work for the Black Panther Party is an important example of what Catlett hoped to see in a "third great movement" for Black art. Not only did Douglas create work for local audiences and make their work available to them with ease, but he also reached out to other movements in solidarity. In addition to the subject of U.S. Imperialism, Douglas and the BPP also collaborated with other artists and activists from the Chicano Movement in solidarity.

While the United Farm Workers had a lot of support from SNCC during their early years of their movement, they also gained crosscultural support from the BPP in the 1970s, especially as the UFW's boycott reached national prominence. The BPP was especially instrumental in the Oakland area in California, as they opposed Proposition 22 and urged community members to boycott Safeway supermarkets in the area, informing the public of the dangers of pesticides to farmworkers and consumers.¹⁷⁵ In their newspaper from Saturday, September 23, 1972, the BPP published a cover with the graphic image of the UFW flag waving in the air with the text "BOYCOTT LETTUCE" (figure 38). The BPP, who in 1969 started their own food program to help feed their community, knew the importance of self-determination in a movement. They also were aware of the connection between food safety and community well-being for the success of the revolutionary movement.

¹⁷⁵ "BOYCOTT LETTUCE," Center for the Study of Political Graphics, <http://collection-politicalgraphics.org/detail.php?module=objects&type=related&kv=2587>.

Conclusion: A Contemporary Look into the TGP's Legacy

Although in the 1950s the TGP were still expanding their repertoire to include works in solidarity with African Americans in the U.S., the time proved difficult for members of the TGP, as they were facing internal conflicts that were beginning to break the group apart. Political differences among younger and older members of the group, dissension between the Communist Party and the Partido Popular, and growing dissatisfaction among younger members with Mendez as director proved to be the breaking points for the TGP. A collective that relied on interpersonal communication and mutual support was suffering over constant disagreement. However, although the 1950s would be the last decade with most of its original members, the TGP survives until this day in the legendary workshop found in Dr. Villada 46, Colonia Doctores, Mexico City (figure 39). The legacy of the TGP also lives on through the works of Chicana and African American artists beginning in the 1960s, the 1968 student movement in Mexico, La Asamblea de Artistas Revolucionarios de Oaxaca (The Assembly of Revolutionary Artists of Oaxaca / ASAR-O) beginning in 2006, and Sergio Sánchez Santamaría, who has most recently applied the classic TGP avant-garde aesthetic and radical solidarity in his works that respond to contemporary events such as I.C.E. detainments or COVID-19.

The Legacy of the TGP for Chicana and African American Artists

As evidenced, the lasting impression of the TGP was marked by its reproducibility, adaptability, and inspiration for other radical social causes. Although artists from the TGP may have produced their work for specific and urgent events during their time, the symbolism and

allegorization of the radical themes utilized by the artists extended beyond their own time. Much like the works of German artist Käthe Kollwitz, whose work inspired future generations of artists for its allegorical themes and broad representations of sacrifice and hope, the works by the TGP had a second life in the 1960s in the Chicano and Black Art Movements.

In the Chicano Movement and accompanying Chicano Art Movement, the TGP works were a springboard for an urgent labor movement and subsequent graphic art movement. The TGP works' first appearance in a labor newspaper for the United Farm Workers set the stage for Chicana artists who would be inspired by a Mexican revolutionary history to visualize their struggles in the U.S. Reproduced works by the TGP included images of Mexican revolutionary heroes, such as Emiliano Zapata and Felipe Carrillo Puerto, who fought for land reform and for the rights of the indigenous people. The themes of the Mexican Revolution, which was often taken up by the TGP, were relatable to Chicana artists and activists because family members may have fought in the revolution or forced to migrate due to the revolution, and the Mexican Revolution also provided a history and framework for Chicana who did not relate to the American Revolution and other U.S. histories.

The reproduction of TGP works for the UFW movement is especially influential for future generations of Chicana artists since various artists got their start in the movement. The influence of the TGP is evident in the rise of graphic art workshops during the 1960s and 70s, as well as the content of the graphic works. For example, during this period several graphic art workshops arose with the mission of creating a community of artists who could have an autonomous space and address urgent issues. Among such workshops were the Centro de Artistas Chicanos created by the Rebel Chicano Art Front (Royal Chicano Air Force/RCAF), San Francisco's La Raza Silkscreen Center (La Raza Graphics), Self Help Graphics & Art (SHG), Mechicano Art Center,

Movimiento Artístico del Río Salado (MARS), Gemini G.E.L., Mission Grafica (MG), and several others. Such workshops still remain today along with more recent printshops such as Taller Arte Del Nuevo Amanecer (TANA), Instituto Gráfico de Chicago (IGC), Coronado printstudio, among others.

Artists in these workshops picked up inspiration from the iconography and allegorization of the works by the TGP and introduced a unique Chicana perspective. For example, in the 1999 screenprint by Yreina D. Cervántez titled *Mujer de Mucha Enagua, PA' TI XICANA*, Cervántez allegorizes the historic Chicana struggle (figure 40). In the print, she montages various revolutionary female figures. According to Rebekah Mejorado,

She honors the seventeenth-century Mexican poet Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz; twentieth-century Mexican author Rosario Castellanos; and Ramona, a Tzotzil Mayan indigenous-rights activist who held the title of Comandanta (female commander) for the Zapatistas, a Mexican indigenous revolutionary group based in the southern state of Chiapas. The figures are surrounded by Mesoamerican symbols, including references to the Aztec earth-mother goddess, Coatlicue in the double-chambered heart-shaped vessel.¹⁷⁶

Like the images of Zapata or Carrillo Puerto, this work memorializes radical figures that challenged the institutional norms. For example, Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, not only a poet but a nun, who entered the Monastery so she could have an education not available to other women at the time. Her education gave her a new sense of enlightenment and allowed her to actively challenge patriarchal norms. Likewise, Rosario Castellanos was an important feminist figure who wrote about the struggles of women and the indigenous Maya. References to the plight of indigenous population is especially central in Cervántez's work, considering only five years prior to the production of this work was the uprising of the Zapatista Army of National Liberation (Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional, EZLN). The Zapatista movement was a

¹⁷⁶ Rebekah Mejorado, "Chicana Graphic Arts in Focus: *Mujer de Mucha Enagua, PA' TI XICANA*," April 21, 2021, <https://americanart.si.edu/blog/chicana-graphic-arts-chicana-identity>.

groundbreaking decolonial moment and fight against globalization, neoliberalism, and imperialism. Cervántez's choice to focus on the efforts of Comandanta Ramona was significant in bringing in a feminist narrative to Mexico's revolutionary struggles. This work therefore is essential in bridging images that focused on the Mexican Revolution and contemporary revolutionary movements.

Additionally, artists during the 1960s continued the TGP legacy of radical solidarities in art. Rupert Garcia was a forerunner among Chicana artists in representing solidarity with Black activists at the time. For example, Garcia's 1971 screenprint titled *¡LIBERTAD PARA LOS PRISONEROS POLITICAS!* depicts solidarity with political prisoners, including Angela Davis, who is depicted in the image (figure 41). Like in Elizabeth Catlett's *Mask for Whites*, Garcia is responding to Davis' wrongful imprisonment in 1970. Garcia's radical subject matter along with the use of bright pop art colors, disrupts the pop art imagery known in the U.S. for its focus on consumerism and mass culture. This disruption of pop art aesthetics is much like that of Jesús Ruiz Durand, as seen in his series from 1968 through 1973 titled *Reforma Agraria*, which reconfigures the aesthetics made popular by Roy Lichtenstein a few years earlier (figure 42). These works, like Emory Douglas' *On landscape art* from 1967, confront issues of racism, discrimination, and neoimperialism, while also situating their works within an avant-garde art historical lineage.

The Legacy of the TGP in the 1968 student movement in Mexico

The student movement in Mexico City in 1968 was organized by students from the National Autonomous University of Mexico, National Polytechnic Institute, El Colegio de México, Chapingo Autonomous University, Ibero-American University, Universidad La Salle

and Meritorious Autonomous University of Puebla, among others, who created the National Strike Council (Consejo Nacional de Huelga, CNH). The CNH directed its demands to Mexican President Gustavo Díaz Ordaz and his government, demanding for a halt on the abuses by the authoritative regime of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI). As Rafael Barajas explains,

The 1968 Student Movement is a direct heir of several historic struggles of the Mexican people: 19th Century Radical Liberalism, Magonism, the agrarian revolts, the Mexican Revolution, the great strikes of the beginning of 20th Century, the cultural ebullience of the Post Revolution, Cardenism, the railworkers strike led by Demetrio Vallejo and Valentín Campa, the revolutionary movement of teachers and Jaramillismo.¹⁷⁷

The protests were part of a lineage that demanded justice against an authoritarian government. As the movement grew, it threatened the 1968 Mexico City Olympics, which led to a violent response by the government, which wanted to dismantle and extinguish the student movement. In September, Díaz Ordaz deployed the army to occupy the UNAM campus, who beat and arrested students without cause. However, Díaz Ordaz was adamant to do away with the movement permanently, and on October 2, 1968 hundreds of men, women, and children were killed, kidnapped, and tortured by the government. Known as the Tlatelolco Massacre, the horrific event was taken up by various artists who represented the movement and subsequent violence as another historical reminder of the brutality of those in power.

Most famously, TGP member Adolfo Mexiac's print from 1954 titled *Libertad de expresión* was taken up in 1968 to express the subjugation and suppression faced by the public (figure 43). As Álvaro Vázquez Mantecón explains,

In the sixties, there was also a militant tradition that would contribute to the experience of '68. Despite the apparently apolitical stance of the aesthetic avant-garde of the times, there is a notably persistent line of political art, for instance the Taller de Gráfica Popular (TGP), which nourished the work of student brigades with works that had already been used in the movements taking on the

¹⁷⁷ Rafael Barajas, "The Spirit of 68 (hojas de sala ingles)," <http://museodelestanquillo.com/Espiritu/introduccion/>.

authoritarianism of the State, such as the railway and teachers' union movements at the end of the fifties and the beginning of the sixties.¹⁷⁸

The image depicts a close up look at a frightened man, who is unable to speak because his mouth is gagged with a tightened locked chain. The subject matter along with the desperation of the man creates a sense of urgency and agitation, which is only heightened by the swirling graphic gashes of the cuts in the print. Although the original work was a response to the U.S. occupation of Guatemala, the reproduction of the image in 1968 recalls the violence the innocent civilians faced on October 2nd, 1968, as they awaited a public demonstration. Soon after the events, artists responded with militant graphics.

Posters that followed, combined the aesthetics of the TGP with influences of pop art and Cuban posters. Artists took up a similar strategy as Emory Douglas, who represented those in power as pigs. Instead of pigs however, artists utilized that image of the gorilla to symbolize the abuse of power by the militants. Adolfo Mexiac and Antonieta Castillo use the symbol of a gorilla in *La policía y el ejército matan a tus mejores hijos* made in 1968 (figure 44). The print depicts an armed gorilla being unmasked by the students and the people, the mask and the gorilla's rifle being supplied by the C.I.A and the government, while messages from the press are being fed into the ear of the animal. Transforming the armed military into a gorilla emphasizes the unhuman-like treatment they enact against the public.

In Francisco Becerril's *Exigimos deslinde de responsabilidades* from 1968, the image of the gorilla as military is now used to criticize Mexican President Gustavo Díaz Ordaz (figure 45). The image's text demands responsibility from the government. The image resembles Honoré Daumier's *Les poires (The Pears)*, published 1834 in *Le Charivari*, which criticized King Louis-

¹⁷⁸ Álvaro Vázquez Mantecón, "The '68 Impact on the Visual Arts," *68 + 50* (Mexico City: MUAC, Museo Universitario Arte Contemporáneo, UNAM, 2018), 52.

Philippe by transforming him into a pear, a common insult in France at the time. In Becerril's image, Díaz Ordaz's features are exaggerated to resemble the gorilla. The melding of Díaz Ordaz with the military figure credits the President for the actions of the army, making them one in the same. The juxtaposition of the President with the gorilla is taken up several times, often including the well-known logo for the 1968 Olympics, referencing Díaz Ordaz's preference for preserving the welfare of the Olympics over the Mexican people.

La Asamblea de Artistas Revolucionarios de Oaxaca (The Assembly of Revolutionary Artists of Oaxaca / ASAR-O)

La Asamblea de Artistas Revolucionarios de Oaxaca (The Assembly of Revolutionary Artists of Oaxaca / ASAR-O) originated from the 2006 teachers' strike in Oaxaca, led by the Asamblea Popular de los Pueblos de Oaxaca (Popular Assembly of the Peoples of Oaxaca / APPO). As Diana Denham details,

Despite its spontaneous formation, the APPO-- and society as a whole-- quickly developed the organizational capacity to address the political violence plaguing Oaxacan society. These problems included the disregard for freedom of expression, the lack of transparency and consultation in the use of public funds, widespread corruption, a history of infiltration of indigenous self-governance structures and the ongoing repression of social movements.¹⁷⁹

This resulted in the movement's autonomous takeover of the capital city of Oaxaca for six months in 2006.

In their art, ASAR-O responded to the violence, corruption, and human rights violations APPO members faced in the hands of the government. The aim of their art was to have "direct

¹⁷⁹ Diana Denham, *Enseñando Rebeldía: Historias Del Movimiento Popular Oaxaqueño* (Oakland, Calif: PM Press, 2011), 26.

contact with people in the streets and in public spaces.”¹⁸⁰ Their work was a melding of the past and the present, as evidenced in print titled *XX-XXI REVOLUCION A TRAVES DOS SIGLOS* from 1968 (figure 46). The group revived woodcut printing, as offset or silkscreen printing was a more popular method since the 1960s. The image depicts Zapata in the center, his signature *sombrero* made up of faces and skulls, symbolizing the dead, injured, or imprisoned APPO members. The revolutionary leader is also surrounded by portraits of the APPO members, including Flavio Sosa on the lower left, who had been imprisoned. According to the exhibition annotation by the Center for the Study of Political Graphics in Los Angeles, “In 1810, Mexico won its independence from Spain. In 1910, they fought the Revolution against the dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz. Many who fought in the 2006 Oaxaca uprising thought that the next revolutionary movement would come in 2010.”¹⁸¹ The graphics by ASAR-O were reflective of this revolutionary legacy. Both in subject matter and in the connection to the public, ASAR-O revived the artforms that accompanied previous revolutions.

TGP’s “Living Legacy”: Sergio Sánchez Santamaría

Following in the woodcut tradition of the TGP and ASAR-O, Sergio Sánchez Santamaría uses the graphic medium to address contemporary, urgent issues. According to Katy Clune, Sánchez Santamaría is the “living legacy” of the TGP.¹⁸² Like ASAR-O, Sánchez Santamaría keeps the legacy of the Mexican Revolution alive, which is intertwined with the lineage of radical printmaking in Mexico. For example, in his print *Zapata No Murio en Chinameca*

¹⁸⁰ A bilingual interview with ASARO was published by the Houston (Texas) Independent Media Center in 2008, <http://houston.indymedia.org/news/2008/06/64061.php>.

¹⁸¹ “XX-XXI REVOLUCION A TRAVES DOS SIGLOS,” <http://collection-politicalgraphics.org/detail.php?module=objects&type=browse&id=1&term=Mexico&page=2&kv=29845&record=92&module=objects>.

¹⁸² Katy Clune, ““Graphic in Transit” Honors Mexico’s Finest Printmaker,” Duke Arts, March 15, 2021, <https://arts.duke.edu/news/graphic-in-transit-honors-mexicos-finest-printmaker/>.

(Zapata did not die in Chinameca) made in 2015, Sánchez Santamaría continues the posthumous mythic legacy of Zapata by claiming that he did not die in Chinameca, but perhaps, he lives on in the revolutions that came after (figure 47).

Sánchez Santamaría also produces several works in solidarity with Chicanxs in the U.S., including works that depict pachucos, as well as children being detained by I.C.E. (U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement) agents. A print produced while in Bill Fick's Durham SuperGraphic print studio depicts three skeletal figures, two oversized I.C.E agents forcibly detaining a child whose feet are off the ground (figure 48). The violent and extreme treatment by the I.C.E. agents mimic the police brutality well known in the U.S. The image recalls scenes of police brutality often depicted by Emory Douglas for the Black Panther Party in the 1970s, and images resurging in 2020.

The legacy of the TGP is brought to the contemporary moment of the 2020 pandemic with Sánchez Santamaría's representation of the COVID-19 pandemic. In his print from 2020 simply titled *Covid-19*, Sánchez Santamaría depicts the ominous figure of death dressed as a youthful male wearing Converse, a side-ways hat, sunglasses, a chain, and holding his signature scythe (figure 49). The figure of death looms over a city, threatening its survival due to the deadly and widespread virus. Stars in the sky mimic the mocking grin of death, as a flying saucer soars through the sky, as if aliens from outer space would be the next thing to befall the people on earth, or perhaps leaving earth is the only escape from the vicious virus.

Conclusion

The TGP's graphic black-and-white medium, often in woodcut or linocut, was groundbreaking as it broke down the barriers between high and low art, fine and popular art, and

past and present. As evidenced, the work was not confined by national borders and welcomed artists that did not find the same opportunities in their own countries. Going back to Peter Bürger's conception of the avant-garde, which should meld art and life, the TGP and artists that followed in their legacy did exactly that. Artists that were influenced by the TGP used their art to resist institutions of power and break the barriers that institutions create, bringing their art directly to the masses.

APPENDIX



Figure 1: David Alfaro Siqueiros, *Heroic Voice (Por la Vida)*, 1970, lithograph on paper



Figure 2: David Alfaro Siqueiros, *America Tropical II*, c. 1970, mural, Archivo Siqueiros



Figure 3: Gustav Klutsis, *Let's Fulfill the Plan of Great Works*, 1930, lithograph, MOMA, Purchase Fund, Jan Tschichold Collection, 357.1937, © 2021 Artists Rights Society (ARS)



Figure 4: John Heartfield, *A.I.Z.* (*Arbeiter Illustrierte Zeitung/Workers' Illustrated Magazine*), 1929–34, Photolithograph Periodicals (Various bound & loose issues), Art Institute of Chicago, Wirt D. Walker Trust, 2009.488.1-xx, © 2018 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York / VG Bild-Kunst, Bonn



Figure 5: Liga de Escritores y Artistas Revolucionarios (League of Revolutionary Writers and Artists, LEAR), *Frente a Frente*, May 1936, Centro de Estudios del Movimiento Obrero y Socialista (CEMOS), Mexico City



Figure 6: Li Hua, *China Roars!*, 1935, black-and-white woodblock, National Art Museum of China

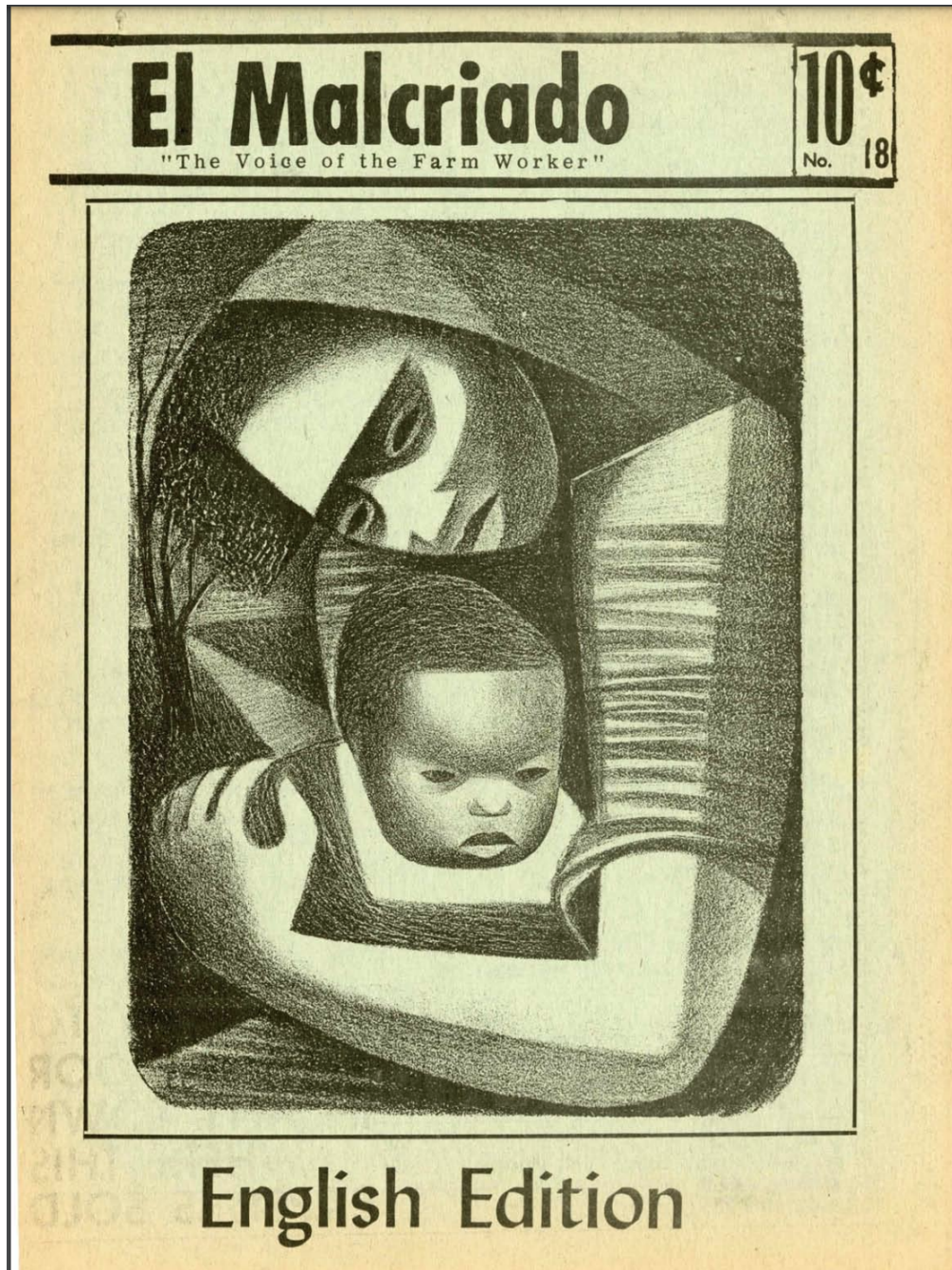


Figure 7: *El Malcriado: The Voice of the Farmworker*, Issue 18, 1965, cover art: Elizabeth Catlett, *Mother and Child*, 1944, Walter P. Reuther Library, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University, United Farm Workers of America (UFW) archives



Figure 8: Frank Cieciorka, Untitled (poster version of 1965 woodcut "Hand"), c. 1966, © 2021 Oakland Museum of California, All Of Us Or None Archive. Gift of the Rossman Family. 2010.54.1254

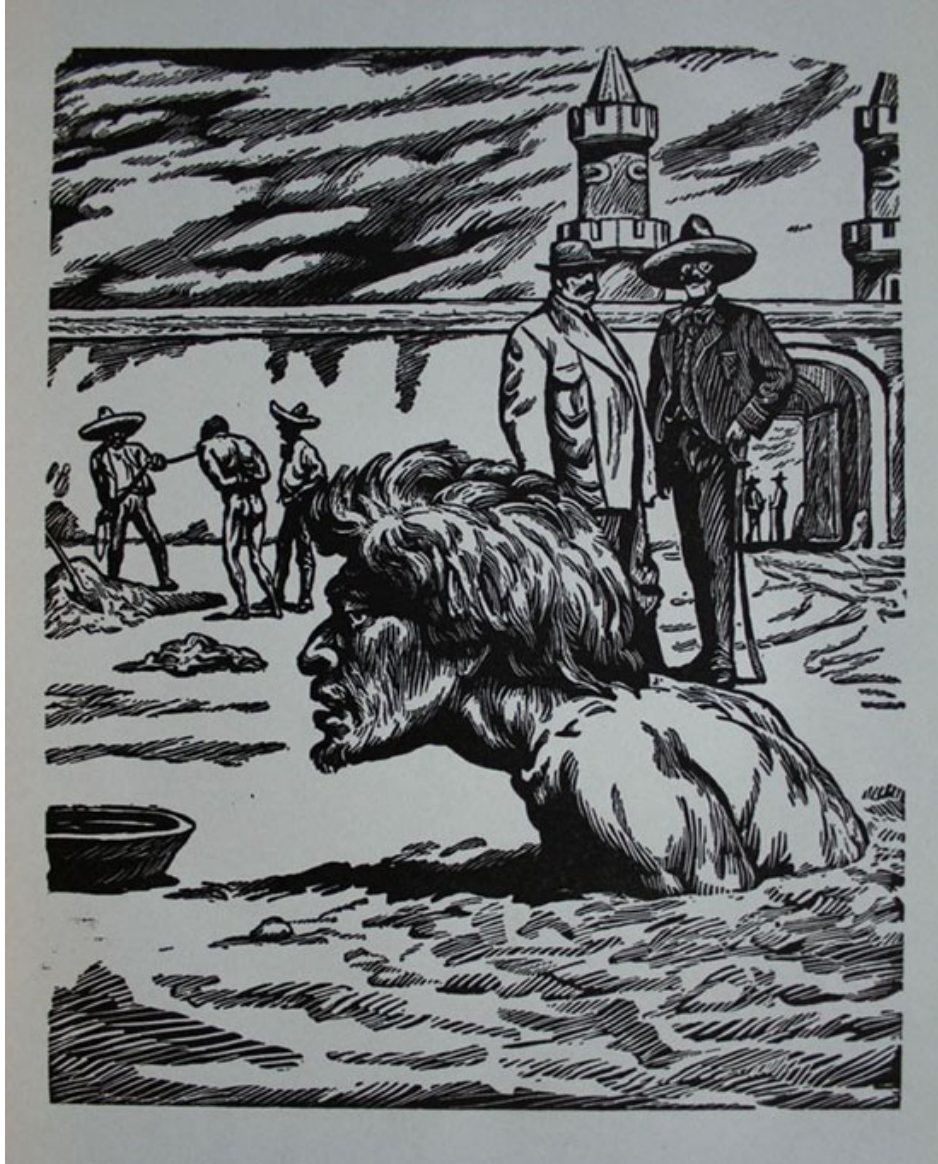


Figure 9: Leopoldo Mendez, *La situación del campesino*, 1947, offset lithograph, © Artist Rights Society (ARS), New York/ SOMAAP, Mexico City



Figure 10: Elizabeth Catlett, *Alfabetización*, 1956, lithograph, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C.

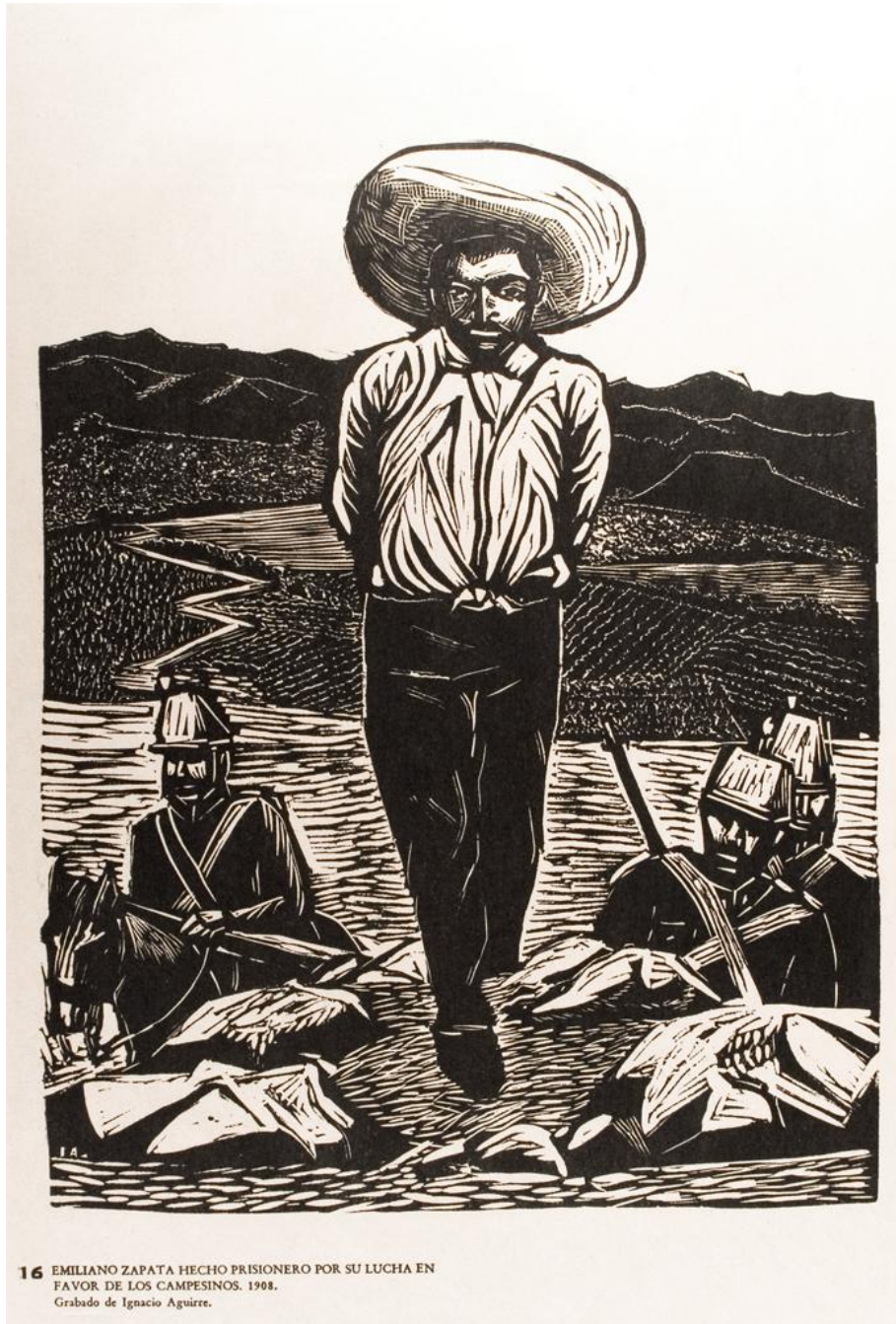


Figure 11: Ignacio Aguirre, *Emiliano Zapata Hecho Prisionero En Su Lucha En Favor De Los Campesinos*, 1908, 1947, linocut, The Met, Gift of Norman S. Rothschild, 1993, 1993.1133.17



Figure 12: Leopoldo Méndez, *La venganza de los pueblos/Homenaje al heroico ejército de guerrilleros yugoslavo*, 1941, linocut, Blanton Museum of Art, The University of Texas at Austin, Gift of Dr. Alexander and Ivria Sackton, 1986, 1986.361.25/25



Figure 13: Leopoldo Méndez and Alfredo Zalce, *México en la guerra: Los braceros se van a Estados Unidos*, 1947, linocut, LACMA, Gift of Jules and Gloria Heller (M.2003.92.56), © Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York / SOMAAP, Mexico City

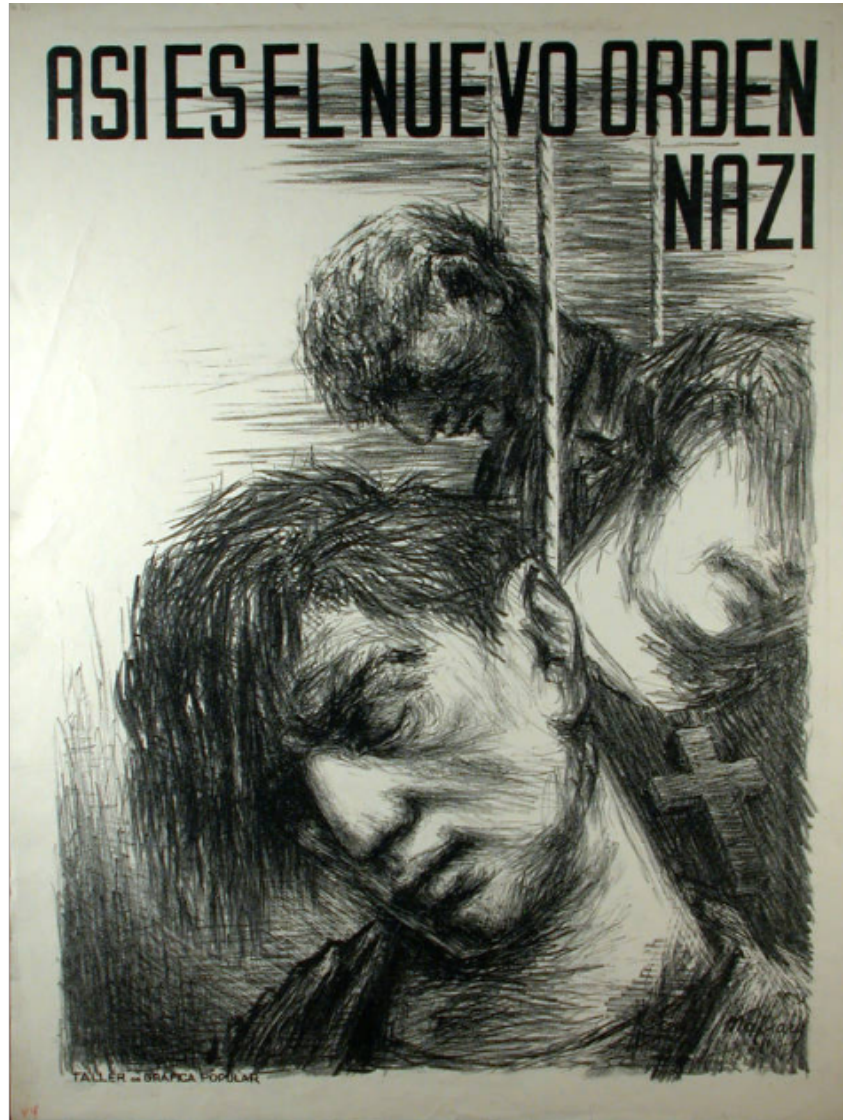


Figure 14: Robert Mallery, *This is the New Nazi Regime (Asi es el nuevo orden Nazi)*, 1942, lithograph, MoMA, Inter-American Fund, 160.1944

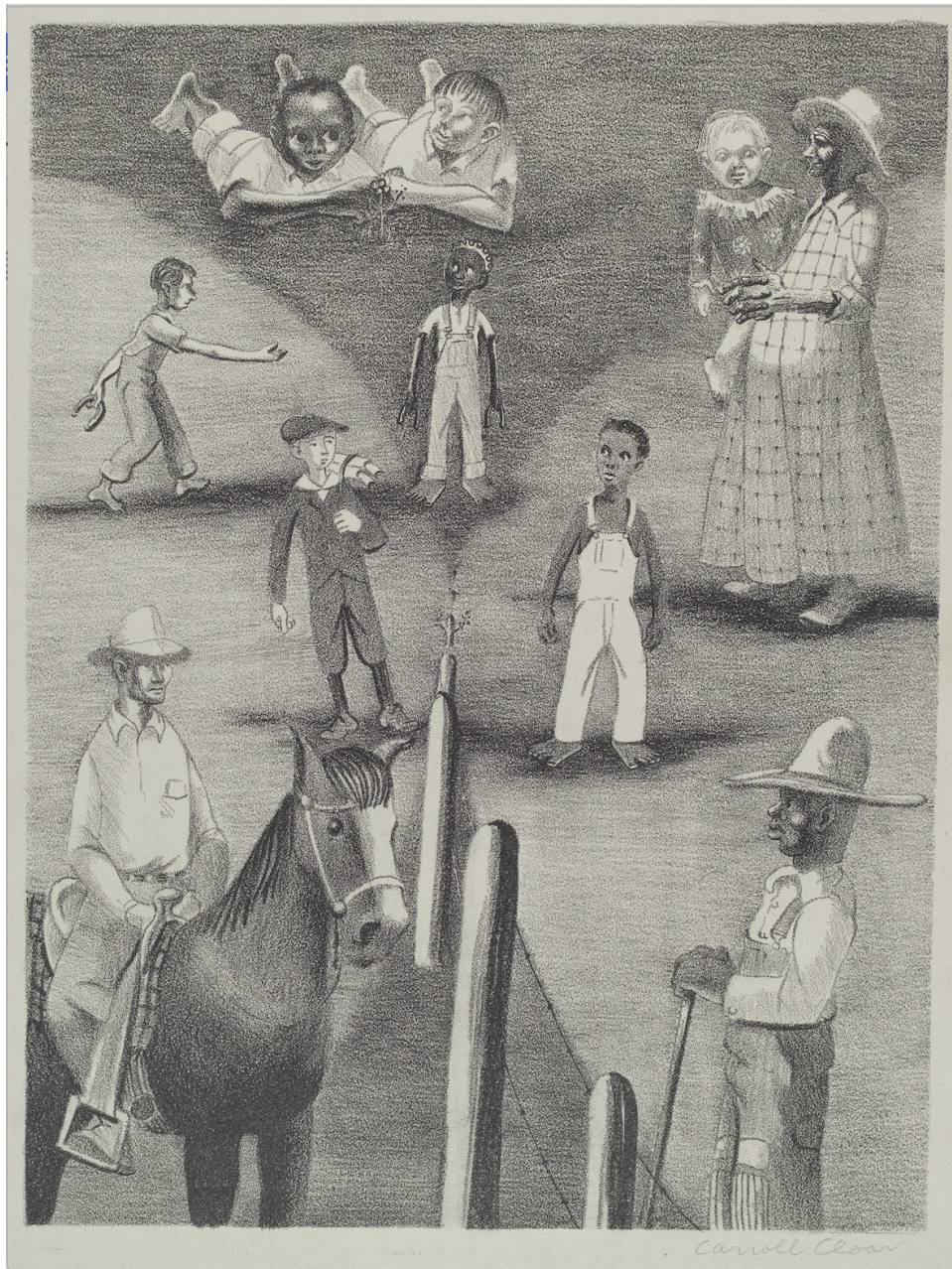


Figure 15: Carroll Cloar, *Blanco y Negro* (*White and Black*, also titled *Cleavage*), 1940, lithograph, Courtesy of National Gallery of Art, Reba and Dave Williams Collection, Gift of Reba and Dave Williams, 2008.115.1260



Figure 16: Elizabeth Catlett, *In Harriet Tubman I helped hundreds to freedom*, 1946-1947, linocut, Collection of the Smithsonian National Museum of African American History and Culture, Gift of Winifred Hervey, © 2020 Catlett Mora Family Trust/Licensed by VAGA at Artists Rights Society (ARS), NY.

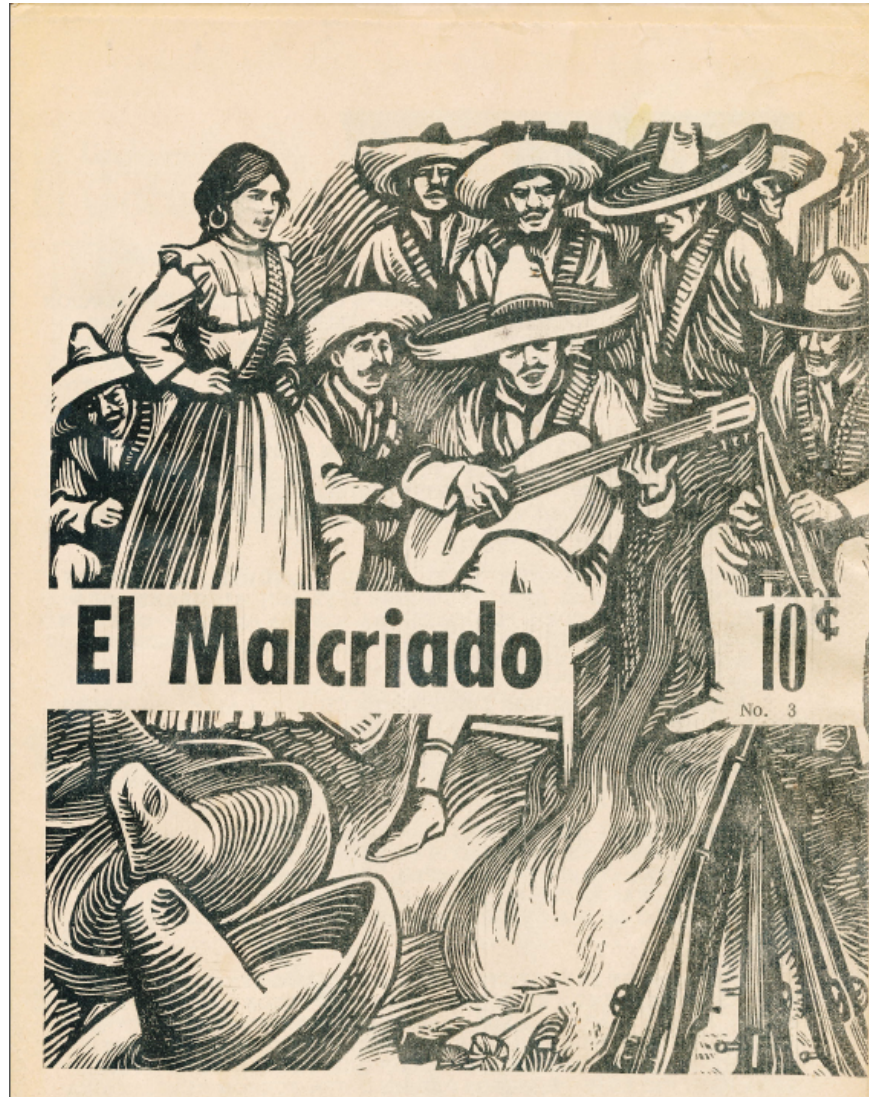


Figure 17: *El Malcriado*, issue no. 3, 1965, (original print artist and title unidentified), Walter P. Reuther Library, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University, United Farm Workers of America (UFW) archives

"We Want To Buy More Slaves"

GROWERS DEMAND BRACEROS AGAIN

The growers have started their yearly screaming for braceros. Asparagus, tomato, and strawberry growers have all started yelling, "Braceros, Si! Better Wages, No!" Like a broken record they chant the same old slogans: "Rotting crops," "No one else will work for us." But Congressional hearings last year and this year have exposed the cynical lying and hypocrisy of this vicious and brutal breed of growers, the worst in the state. Here are the facts:

It was proved that those who yelled for braceros the loudest were paying the worst wages in the state. Most workers were paid \$1.11 or less in asparagus in 1964. In 1965 it was \$1.21--the highest it has ever been. Braceros keep the wages low. Asparagus growers want 2500 braceros as a starter.

Tomato growers made a great noise last year about "not enough braceros." But they actually harvested the biggest crop in history, with the highest yields and biggest profits ever. Les Heringer, President of the California Tomato Growers, has gotten thousands of braceros in the past. When asked if he would pay higher wages this year, or recognize the union, he said, "I would never sit down at the bargain table with Cesar Chavez." "They are not the kind of people we would want to deal with," he said. (When asked about the Catholic Church and others trying to help farm workers, he said that, "They are out to stir up the Mexicans here as they did with the Negroes in the South.")

The Farm Workers Association promises California farm workers that it will use all its strength to prevent Mexican "braceros" from coming here and taking away our jobs. And we will make asparagus growers pay decent wages. Then they will get all the help they need.

El Malcriado Published every two weeks in Spanish and English by Farm Worker Press, Inc., P. O. Box 1666, Delano, Calif. Office of publication--1121 Glenwood, Delano, Calif. Second class postage paid at Delano, Calif. Permit application pending. To subscribe at \$2 a year write Box 1869, Delano, Calif. This issue is number #35 dated 5-5-66.



COVER: PANCHO VILLA

Did you or any of your relatives serve in the Mexican Revolution? Do you remember any of the great generals, Villa or Zapata, coming to your town when you were young? Write to us about it... (See "New Contest", page 23).

Figure 18: *El Malcriado*, issue no. 35, page 2, May 5, 1966, Walter P. Reuther Library, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University, United Farm Workers of America (UFW) archives

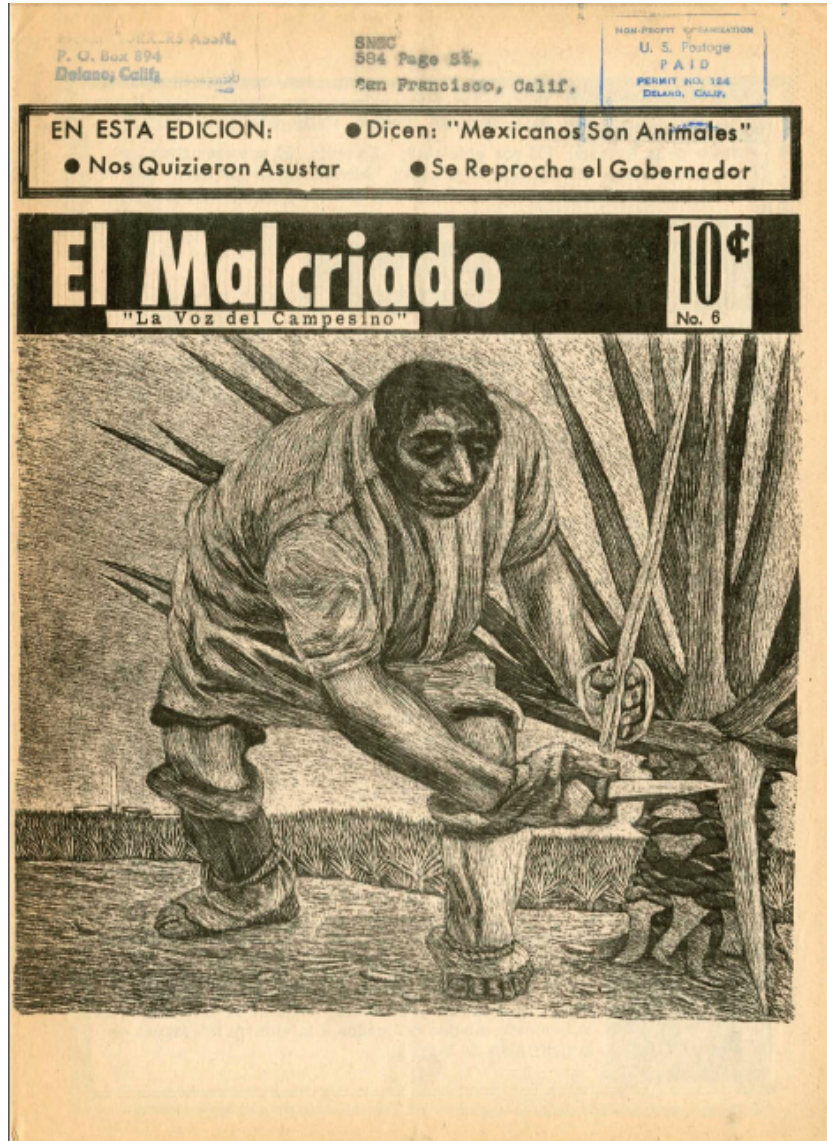


Figure 19: *El Malcriado*, issue no. 6, 1965, cover art: Alfredo Zalce, *Henequén (Agave) Worker/Cortador de Sisal*, 1945, for a series titled *Estampas de Yucatán*, Walter P. Reuther Library, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University, United Farm Workers of America (UFW) archives



Figure 20: *El Malcriado*, issue no. 38, June 16, 1966, cover art: Jesus Escobedo, *Las Acordadas (The Remembered)*, 1947, Walter P. Reuther Library, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University, United Farm Workers of America (UFW) archives



Figure 21: *El Malcriado*, issue no. 39, June 30, 1966, cover art: Fernando Castro Pacheco, *Carrillo Puerto, simbolo de la revolución del suoreste (Carrillo Puerto, Symbol of the Southeastern Revolution)*, 1947, Walter P. Reuther Library, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University, United Farm Workers of America (UFW) archives

Zapata Buttons!

(actual size)

VIVA LA CAUSA 50¢

BOYCOTT GRAPES HUELGA

HUELGA DELANO big, beautiful black on FLUORESCENT RED \$1.00 each

EMILIANO ZAPATA, HERO OF THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION, NOW ON A HUELGA BUTTON!

Viva La Causa Button \$1/ea.; 5/\$3.75 *Viva La Causa*, Zapata button, 50¢
Huelga Delano Button \$1/ea.; 5/\$3.75 *Boycott Grapes*, Zapata button, 50¢

El Taller Gráfico

VIVA LA REVOLUCION #PV

VIVA LA REVOLUCION #EZ

The two heroes of the Mexican Revolution ride together again! Both posters \$2.50

HUELGA RECORDS

Figure 22: *El Malcriado*, advertisements from 1973, El Taller Gráfico, Walter P. Reuther Library, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University, United Farm Workers of America (UFW) archives



Figure 23: *El Malcriado*, Issue no. 29, February 12, 1966, Walter P. Reuther Library, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University, United Farm Workers of America (UFW) archives

October proved to be a bad month for growers and shippers of California table grapes, according to a recent UFWOC research department report.

October shipments of table grapes were 21 percent lower than shipments during the same month last year, and 19 percent below a four-year average for the month, according to Market News Service reports.

Grape cold storage holdings are currently 48 percent higher than a year ago at the same time, according to reports of the California Department of Agriculture.

Prices of Ribier variety grapes were 50 cents per lug lower than they were last year, the Agriculture Department reports indicated.

The UFWOC report said the demand for table grapes has been very low during the last couple of weeks. In Los Angeles, grapes continued to sell below cost, based on FOB prices plus transportation.

Principal cause of the poor market for table grapes this year is thought to be the UFWOC-sponsored consumer boycott of the fruit, which is produced on ranches where workers are denied Union representation.

October proved to be a bad month for growers and shippers of California table grapes, according to a recent UFWOC research department report.

October shipments of table grapes were 21 percent lower than shipments during the same month last year, and 19 percent below a four-year average for the month, according to Market News Service reports.

Grape cold storage holdings are currently 48 percent higher than a year ago at the same time, according to reports of the California Department of Agriculture.

Prices of Ribier variety grapes were 50 cents per lug lower than they were last year, the Agriculture Department reports indicated.

The UFWOC report said the demand for table grapes has been very low during the last couple of weeks. In Los Angeles, grapes continued to sell below cost, based on FOB prices plus transportation.

Principal cause of the poor market for table grapes this year is thought to be the UFWOC-sponsored consumer boycott of the fruit, which is produced on ranches where workers are denied Union representation.

Because grape sales drop immediately after the first of the year, and continue to decline until new crops are available in the spring, growers will jam fruit counters with not-so-fresh cold storage grapes in hopes that they can still squeeze

out a profit this year, despite boycott pressure.

This holiday season, if you see a red-nosed man with a dozen black eagles harnessed to a 1936-model sleigh, you'll know it's another "huelguista" spreading greetings of joy and a little message:

DON'T BUY GRAPES

Growers Hope for Holiday Sales

Grape growers will attempt to unload nearly one fifth of this year's total California grape crop during the Thanksgiving-Christmas season, if past years are any example.

As the holidays approach, cold storage units are stocked to the brim (the aisles runneth over) with grapes remaining unsold because of effective Union boycotting around the nation.

In some areas growers have broken through the boycott line, only to find prices plummet when these markets are flooded. In others, shipments have been cut down, and prices have sky-rocketed as agri-business tries to re-coup some of its losses on the struck produce.

Because grape sales drop immediately after the first of the year, and continue to decline until new crops are available in the spring, growers will jam fruit counters with not-so-fresh cold storage grapes in hopes that they can still squeeze

Stocked to the brim with grapes, these poor lil' cold storage piggy back trucks have no place to go.

Firm, but non-violent.









Figure 24: *El Malcriado*, ca. 1970s, El Taller Gráfico, Walter P. Reuther Library, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University, United Farm Workers of America (UFW) archives

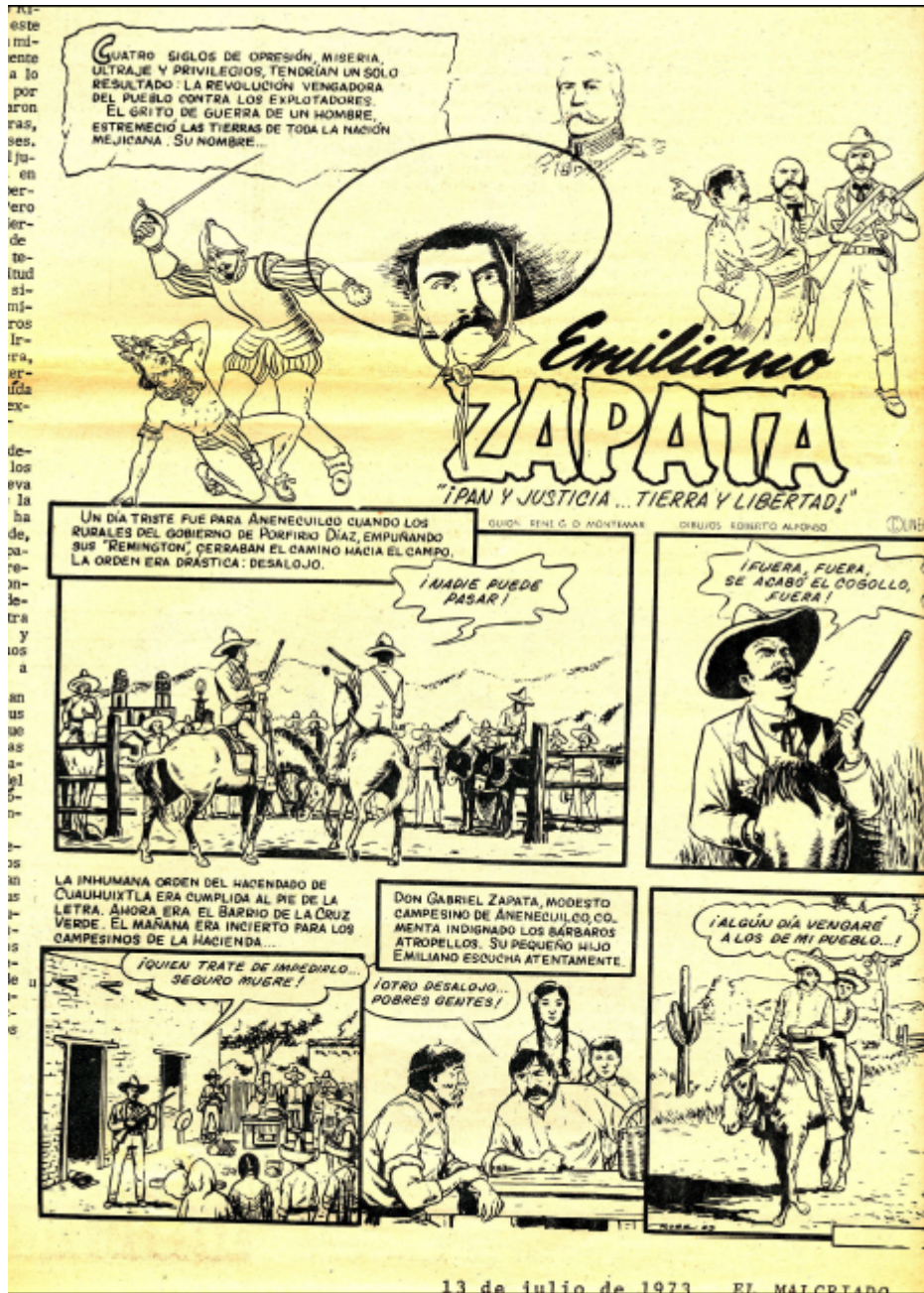


Figure 25: *El Malcriado*, July 13, 1973, El Taller Gráfico, Walter P. Reuther Library, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University, United Farm Workers of America (UFW) archives



Figure 26: *El Malcriado*, issues no. 1 (left) and 2 (right), volume 1, 1965, El Taller Gráfico/Farmworker Press, Walter P. Reuther Library, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University, United Farm Workers of America (UFW) archives

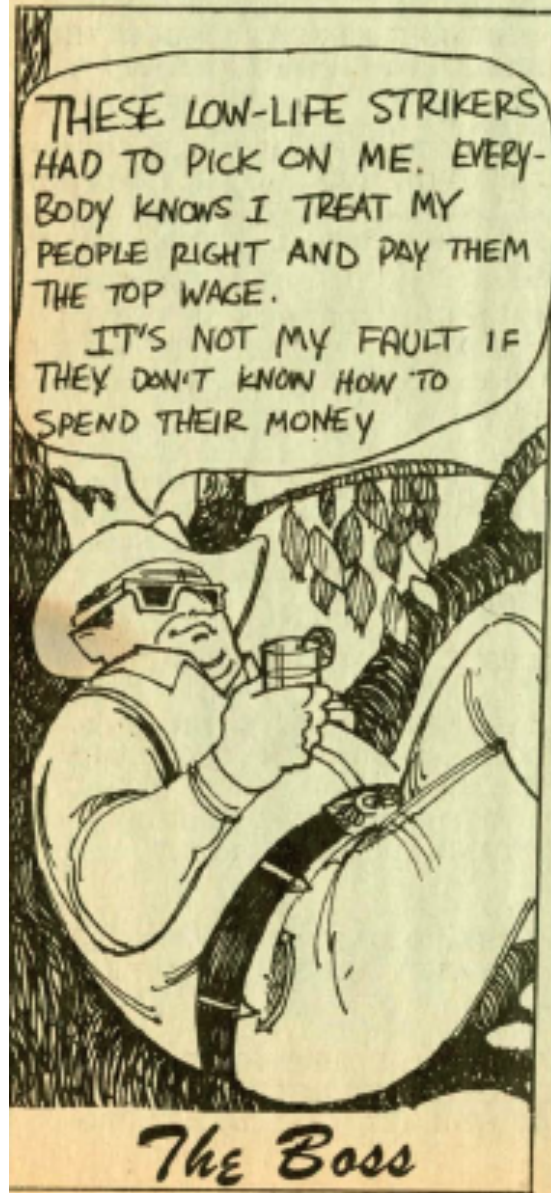


Figure 27: *El Malcriado*, ca. 1960s, El Taller Gráfico/Farmworker Press, Walter P. Reuther Library, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University, United Farm Workers of America (UFW) archives



Figure 28: *El Malcriado*, ca. 1960s, El Taller Gráfico/Farmworker Press, Walter P. Reuther Library, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University, United Farm Workers of America (UFW) archives



Figure 29: *El Malcriado*, ca. 1960s, El Taller Gráfico/Farmworker Press, Walter P. Reuther Library, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University, United Farm Workers of America (UFW) archives



Figure 30: *El Malcriado*, ca. 1960s, El Taller Gráfico/Farmworker Press, Walter P. Reuther Library, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University, United Farm Workers of America (UFW) archives



Figure 31: Andrew Zerneño, *Huelga!*, 1966, offset lithograph on paper, Smithsonian American Art Museum, Gift of the Margaret Terrazas Santos Collection, 2019.52.1, ©1966, Andrew Zerneño



Figure 32: Elizabeth Catlett, *I am the Negro Woman*, part of the *Negro Woman* series, 1946-47, linocut on paper, © 2021 Catlett Mora Family Trust/Licensed by VAGA at Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York.



Figure 33: Leopoldo Mendez, *Paul Robeson*, c. 1954, linocut, Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, [reproduction number, e.g., LC-USZ62-123456]



Figure 34: Elizabeth Catlett, *Negro es bello II*, 1969 (reprinted in 2001), lithograph, Detroit Institute of Arts, Museum Purchase, Octavia W. Bates Fund, © 2021 Catlett Mora Family Trust/Licensed by VAGA at Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York.



Figure 35: Elizabeth Catlett, *Mask for Whites*, c. 1970, fibreglass and collage, Studio Museum in Harlem, Gift of the artist, 1972.9.9 © 2021 Catlett Mora Family Trust/Licensed by VAGA at Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York.

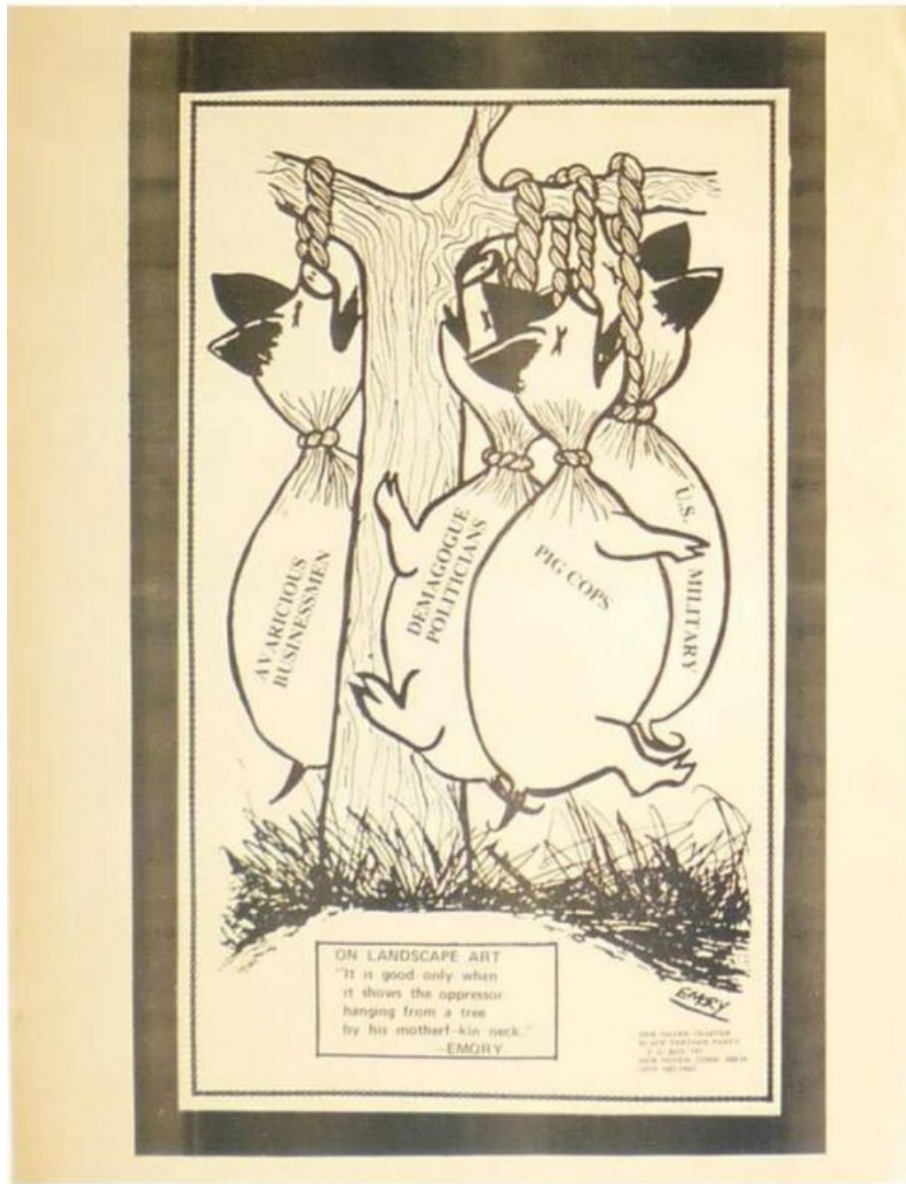


Figure 36: Emory Douglas, *On landscape art*, 1967, Col·lecció MACBA. Centre d'Estudis i Documentació, Emory Douglas/Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York.

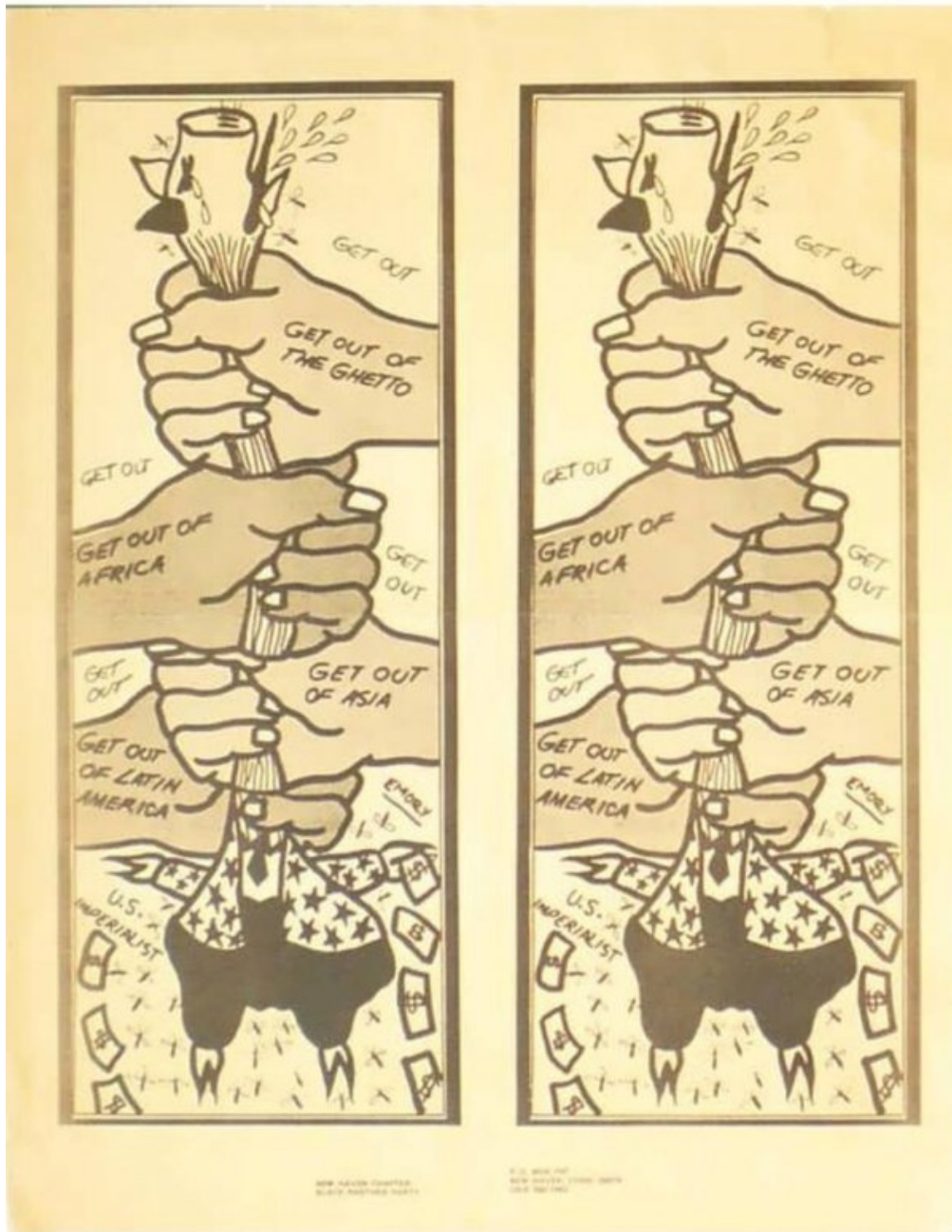


Figure 37: Emory Douglas, *Get out*, 1967, Col·lecció MACBA. Centre d'Estudis i Documentació, Emory Douglas/Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York.



Figure 38: Emory Douglas; Black Panther Party Newspaper, *Boycott Lettuce*, 1972, Copyright © 1972 by Huey P. Newton, Center for the Study of Political Graphics

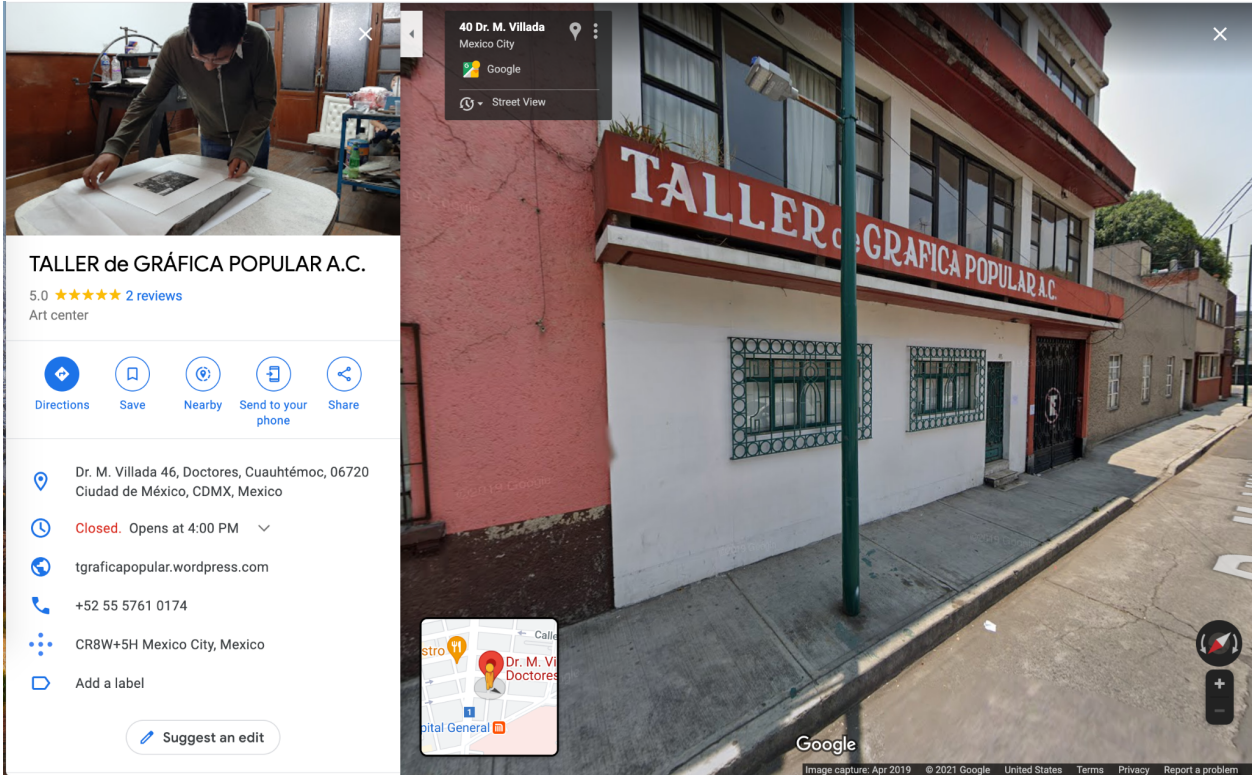


Figure 39: Google Maps, “Taller de Grafica Popular A.C.,” Accessed May 21, 2021.



Figure 40: Yreina D. Cervántez, *Mujer de Mucha Enagua, PA' TI XICANA*, 1999, screenprint on paper, Smithsonian American Art Museum, Museum purchase through the Samuel and Blanche Koffler Acquisition Fund, 2020.40.1, © 1999, Yreina D. Cervántez



Figure 41: Rupert García, *¡LIBERTAD PARA LOS PRISONEROS POLITICAS!*, 1971, screenprint on paper, Smithsonian American Art Museum, Gift of the Margaret Terrazas Santos Collection, 2019.52.2, © 1971, Rupert García

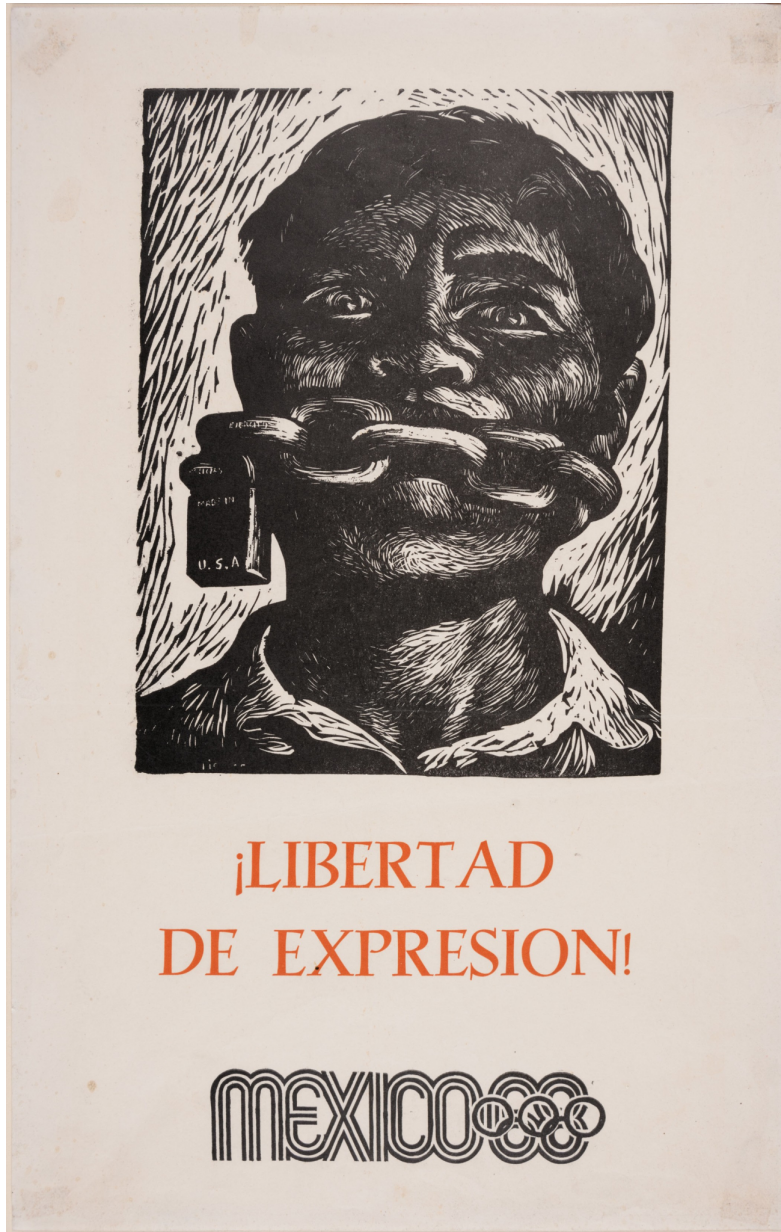


Figure 43: Alfredo Mexiac, *Libertad de Expresión*, 1968, MUAC



Figure 44: Adolfo Mexiac and Antonieta Castillo, *La policía y el ejército matan a tus mejores hijos*, 1968, MUAC

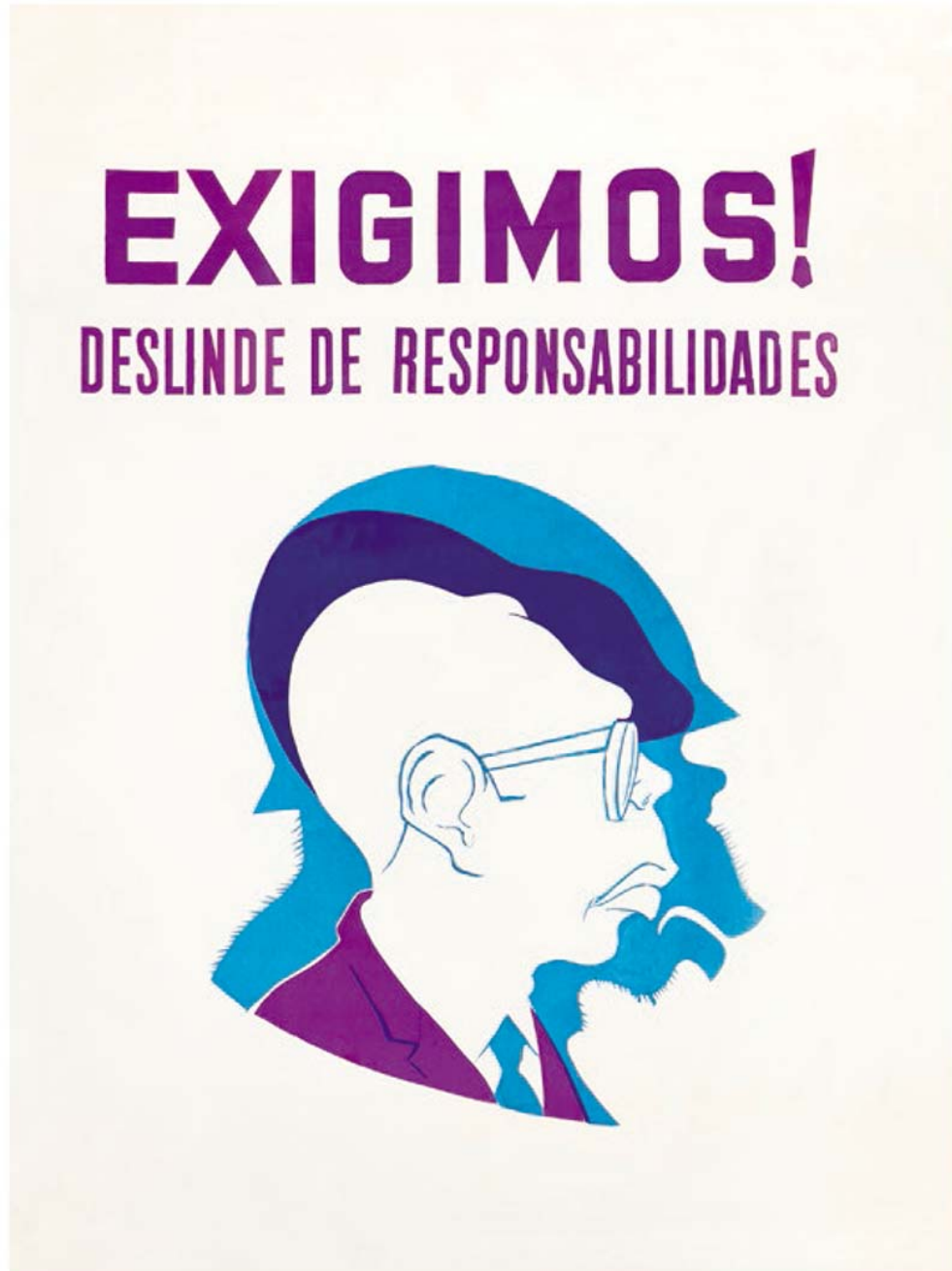


Figure 45: Francisco Becerril, *Exigimos deslinde de responsabilidades*, 1968, MUAC



Figure 46: La Asamblea de Artistas Revolucionarios de Oaxaca (ASAR-O), *XX-XXI REVOLUCIÓN A TRAVÉS DOS SIGLOS*, 2006, woodcut, 2008-298, Center for the Study of Political Graphics

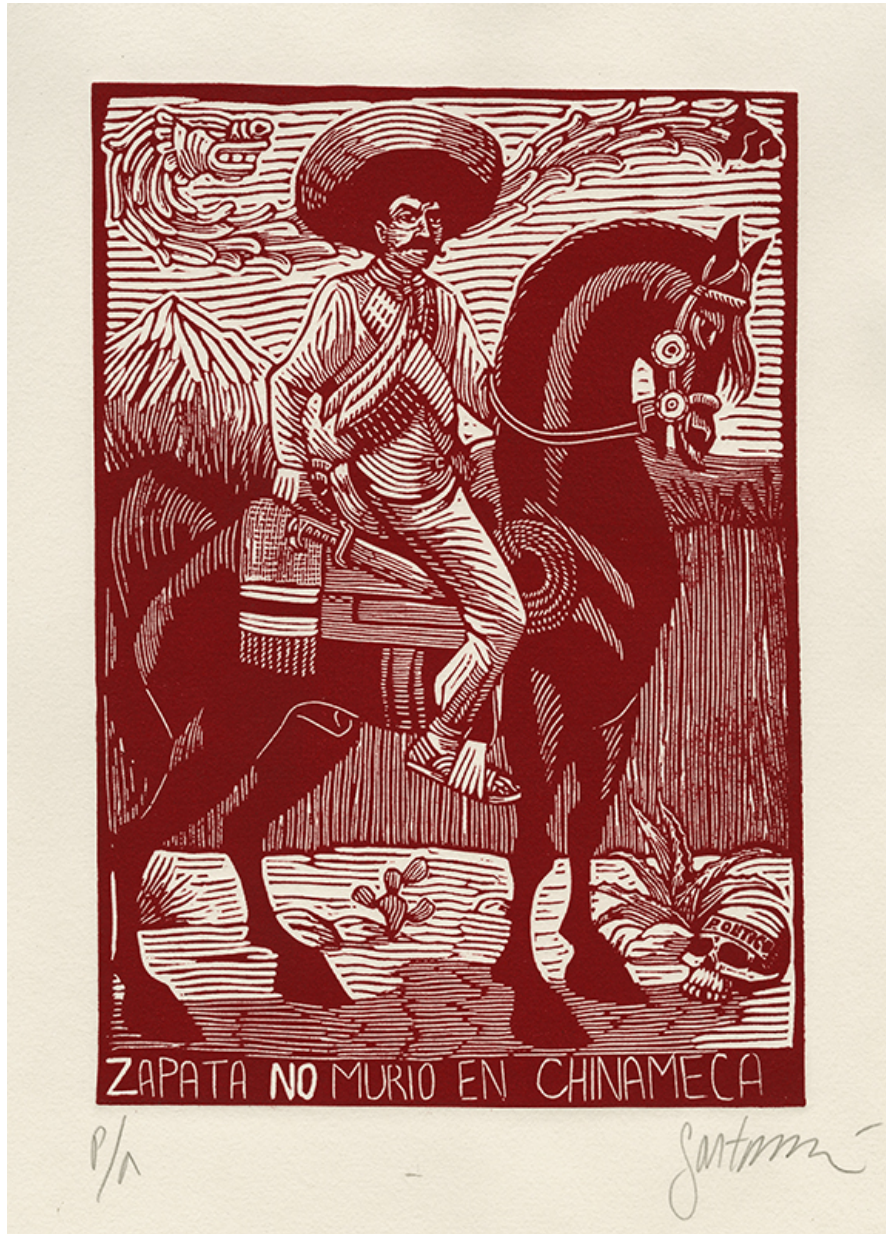


Figure 47: Sergio Sánchez Santamaría, *Zapata No Murio en Chinameca* (*Zapata did not die in Chinameca*), 2015, linocut, printed in red ink, © The Annex Galleries



Figure 48: Sergio Sánchez Santamaría, title unknown, 2017, Source: Katy Clune, ““Graphic in Transit” Honors Mexico’s Finest Printmaker,” Duke Arts, March 15, 2021, <https://arts.duke.edu/news/graphic-in-transit-honors-mexicos-finest-printmaker/>. © Sergio Sánchez Santamaría.



Figure 49: Sergio Sánchez Santamaría, *Covid-19*, 2020, Source: Katy Clune, ““Graphic in Transit” Honors Mexico’s Finest Printmaker,” Duke Arts, March 15, 2021, <https://arts.duke.edu/news/graphic-in-transit-honors-mexicos-finest-printmaker/>. © Sergio Sánchez Santamaría.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary sources:

California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives (CEMA), Special Research Collections Department of the University of California, Santa Barbara Library, Santa Barbara

Center for the Study of Political Graphics, Los Angeles

Centro de Estudios del Movimiento Obrero y Socialista (CEMOS), Mexico City

Centro Nacional de Investigación, Documentación e Información de Artes Plásticas (CENIDIAP), Mexico City

Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

Smithsonian Archives of American Art, Washington D.C.

UCLA Chicano Studies Research Center (CSRC), Los Angeles

Walter P. Reuther Library, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University, United Farm Workers of America (UFW) archives, Detroit

Secondary Sources:

Almaraz, Carlos. 1976. "The artist as a revolutionary." *CHISMEARTE* n1 (Fall 1976): 47-55

Anreus, Alejandro, Leonard Folgarait, and Robin Adèle Greeley, eds. *Mexican Muralism: A Critical History*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2012.

Araiza, Lauren. 2014. *To March for Others: The Black Freedom Struggle and the United Farm Workers*. <https://doi.org/10.9783/9780812208832>.

Art Institute of Chicago, and Diane Helen Miliotes. 2014. *What may come: the Taller de Gráfica Popular and the Mexican political print = Lo que puede venir : El Taller de Gráfica Popular y el grabado político mexicano*.

Avila, Theresa. "Laborious Arts: El Taller de Gráfica Popular & the Meaning of Labor in Las Estampas de La Revolución Mexicana." *Hemisphere. Visual Cultures of The Americas* 1, no. 8 (Spring 2008): 62-82. Accessed April 25, 2014. http://repository.unm.edu/bitstream/handle/1928/7011/Hemisphere_Journal_Avila.pdf?sequence=1.

- Barajas, Rafael. 2005. *El país de "El ahuirote": la caricatura mexicana de oposición durante el gobierno de Sebastián Lerdo de Tejada (1872-1876)*. México, D.F.: Fondo de Cultura Económica.
- Barajas, Rafael. 2009. *Posada: mito y mitote : la caricatura política de José Guadalupe Posada y Manuel Alfonso Manila*. México, D. F.: Fondo de Cultura Económica.
- Barnitz, Jacqueline. *Twentieth-Century Art of Latin America*. Austin, Tex: Univ. of Texas Press, 2002.
- Bernal, Antonio. "Le Campesino." UFW Stories. Last modified March 13, 2012. Accessed July 9, 2015. <http://www.ufwstories.com/story/view/le-campesino>.
- Botey, Mariana. 2014. *Zonas de disturbio: espectros del México indígena en la modernidad*. Translated by Carlos Aranda Márquez. Mexico: Siglo XXI Editores; UNAM, Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas; UNAM, Dirección General de Artes Visuales; Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana; Palabra de Clío.
- Brunk, Samuel. *Emiliano Zapata: Revolution and Betrayal in Mexico*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995.
- . *The Posthumous Career of Emiliano Zapata: Myth, Memory, and Mexico's Twentieth Century*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2008.
- Bürger, Peter. *Theory of the Avant-Garde*. Minneapolis, Minn: University of Minnesota Press, 2011.
- Cameron, Alison. "Buenos Vecinos: African-American Printmaking and the Taller de Gráfica Popular." *Print Quarterly* 16:4 (1999): 353–67.
- Caplow, Deborah. *Leopoldo Méndez: Revolutionary Art and the Mexican Print*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2007.
- Caragol, Taína. "One Life. Dolores Huerta." National Portrait Gallery. Last modified 2015. <http://www.npg.si.edu/exhibit/exhuerta.html>.
- Coffey, Mary K. *How a Revolutionary Art Became Official Culture Murals, Museums, and the Mexican State*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2013.
- Colburn, Bolton T, Margarita Nieto. *Across the Street: Self-Help Graphics and Chicano Art in Los Angeles*. Laguna Beach: Laguna Art Museum, 1995.

- Douglas, Emory, and Sam Durant. 2014. *Black Panther: the revolutionary art of Emory Douglas*.
- Ferriss, Susan, Ricardo Sandoval, and Diana Hembree. *The Fight in the Fields: Cesar Chavez and the Farmworkers Movement*. New York: Harcourt Brace, 1998.
- Fox, Howard N., Rita Gonzalez, and Chon A. Noriega. 2008. *Phantom sightings: art after the Chicano movement* ; [Exhibition Phantom Sightings: Art after the Chicano Movement ... Los Angeles County Museum of Art, April 6 - September 1, 2008]. Berkeley, Calif: University of California Press.
- García, Matt. 2012. *From the jaws of victory: the triumph and tragedy of Cesar Chavez and the farm worker movement*.
- García Canclini, Néstor. *Hybrid Cultures: Strategies for Entering and Leaving Modernity*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989.
- Georgia Museum of Art. 2015. *El Taller de Gráfica Popular: vida y arte : June 13-September 13, 2015*. Georgia Museum of Art, University of Georgia.
- Goldman, Shifra M. 1994. *Dimensions of the Americas: art and social change in Latin America and the United States*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- . 2015. *Tradition and Transformation: Chicana/o Art from the 1970s through the 1990s*. Edited by Charlene Villaseñor Black. Los Angeles, CA: UCLA Chicano Studies Research Center Press.
- . “Chicano Art.” (1974). Reprinted in *Resisting Categories: Latin American And/or Latino?*, edited by Melina Kervandjian and Héctor Olea, 634–637. Houston: Museum Fine Arts Houston, International Center for the Arts of the Americas, 2012.
- Goldman, Shifra M., and Tomás Ybarra-Frausto. 1991. “The Political and Social Contexts of Chicano Art.” In *Chicano Art: Resistance and Affirmation, 1965- 1985*, edited by Richard Griswold del Castillo, Teresa McKenna, and Yvonne Yarbro-Bejarano, 83-108. Los Angeles, CA: Wight Art Gallery, University of California, Los Angeles.
- Gómez, Alan Eladio. 2016. *The revolutionary imaginations of greater Mexico: Chicana/o radicalism, solidarity politics, and Latin American social movements*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- González Mello, Renato. 2002. “El régimen visual y el fin de la Revolución.” In *La fabricación del arte nacional a debate (1920-1950)*, compiled by Esther Acevedo, 275-309. Vol. 3 of *Hacia otra historia del arte en México*. México: CONACULTA, CURARE, A.C.

- , ed. 2003. *Los pinceles de la historia: la arqueología del régimen 1910-1955*. Mexico City: Patronato del Museo Nacional de Arte; Banco Nacional de México; Museo Nacional de Arte; Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México-Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas; Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes.
- González Mello, Renato, and Diane Helen Miliotes, eds. *José Clemente Orozco in the United States, 1927-1934*. Hanover, NH: Hood Museum of Art, Dartmouth College in association with W.W. Norton & Co., New York, 2002.
- Graves, Elaine Flora. 1973. *El Malcriado anthology, 1965-1972*. Thesis (MA - Communication)--Fairfield University.
- Griswold del Castillo, Richard, Teresa McKenna, and Yvonne Yarbro-Bejarano. *Chicano Art: Resistance and Affirmation, 1965-1985*. Los Angeles: Wight Art Gallery, University of California, Los Angeles, 1991.
- Guerrero, Carlos Reyes. 2003. "Silent no More: The Voice of a Farm Worker Press, 1964--1975." Dissertation-- The Claremont Graduate University.
- Gunckel, Colin, 2015. "The Chicano/a Photographic: Art as Social Practice in the Chicano Movement". *American Quarterly*. 67 (2): 377-412.
- Gunckel, Colin, ed. *Self Help Graphics & Art: Art in the Heart of East Los Angeles*. Los Angeles: UCLA Chicano Studies Research Center Press, 2014.
- Herzog, Melanie. 2005. *Elizabeth Catlett: an American artist in Mexico*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Herzog, Melanie, and Elizabeth Catlett. 2005. *Elizabeth Catlett: in the image of the people*. Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago.
- Indych-López, Anna. 2009. *Muralism without walls: Rivera, Orozco, and Siqueiros in the United States, 1927-1940*. Pittsburgh, Pa: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Ittmann, John W., Innis H. Shoemaker, James Wechsler, and Lyle W. Williams. *Mexico and Modern Printmaking: A Revolution in the Graphic Arts, 1920 to 1950*. Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2006.
- Jackson, Carlos Francisco. 2009. *Chicana and Chicano art: ProtestArte*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- . "Serigrafía: Constructing the Chicana/o Imaginary," article originally published in Boom Magazine, April 18, 2014, <http://www.kcet.org/arts/artbound/counties/los-angeles/serigrafia-chicano-boom-pasadena-museum-of-california-art.html>.

- Kapur, Geeta. *When Was Modernism: Essays on Contemporary Cultural Practice in India*. New Delhi: Tulika, 2007.
- Lear, John. "La revolución en blanco, negro y rojo: arte, política, y obreros en los inicios del periódico El Machete." *Signos Históricas*, no. 15 (January 2006): 109-47.
- _____. 2017. *Picturing the proletariat: artists and labor in revolutionary Mexico, 1908/1940*. Austin : University of Texas Press.
- LeFalle-Collins, Lizzetta, and Shifra M. Goldman. *In the Spirit of Resistance: African-American Modernists and the Mexican Muralist School*. New York: American Federation of Arts, 1996.
- Mathur, Saloni. 2014. "Response: Belonging to Modernism". *The Art Bulletin*. 90, no. 4: 558-560.
- Mosquera, Gerardo. 1996. *Beyond the fantastic: contemporary art criticism from Latin America*. London: The Institute of International Visual Arts.
- Mraz, John. 2009. *Looking for Mexico: Modern Visual Culture and National Identity*. Durham [N.C.]: Duke University Press.
- _____. 2006. "Representing the Mexican Revolution: Bending Photographs to the Will of Historia Gráfica." In *Photography and Writing in Latin America: Double Exposures*, edited by Marcy E. Schwartz and Mary Beth Tierney-Tello, 21-39. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Noriega, Chon A. and Holly Barnet-Sánchez. *Just Another Poster?: Chicano Graphic Arts in California = Sólo un cartel más?: Artes Gráficas Chicanas en California*. Santa Barbara: University Art Museum, University of California, Santa Barbara, 2001.
- Oles, James. 2013. *Art and architecture in Mexico*. London : Thames & Hudson.
- Oles, James, and Karen Cordero. 1993. *South of the Border: Mexico in the American Imagination, 1914-1947*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- Ortiz Torres, Rubén. 2011. *MEX/LA: Mexican Modernism(s) in Los Angeles 1930-1985*; [... publ. in conjunction with the exhibition MEX/LA: "Mexican" Modernism(s) in Los angeles, 1930-1985, Museum of Latin American art, Long beach, California, September 18, 2011 - January 29, 2012]. Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz Verlag.
- Prignitz-Poda, Helga. 1992. *El Taller de Gráfica Popular en México, 1937-1977*. México: Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes.
- Quirarte, Jacinto, ed. 1984. *Chicano Art History A Book of Selected Readings*. San Antonio, TX: Research Center for the Arts and Humanities, University of Texas at San Antonio.

- . 1973. *Mexican American Artists*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.
- Street, Richard Steven. “Delano Diary: The Visual Adventure and Social Documentary Work of Jon Lewis, Photographer of the Delano, California Grape Strike, 1966- 1970.” *Southern California Quarterly* , Vol. 91, No. 2 (Summer 2009), pp. 191- 235.
- Vargas-Santiago, Luis. “El mito de la palabra a la pared. Murales zapatistas y el discurso 'chueco' del Subcomandante Marcos.” *Blanco sobre blanco. Miradas y lecturas sobre artes visuales*, no. 2 (March 2012): 19-29.
- . “Emiliano Zapata: Cuerpo, tierra, cautiverio.” In *El éxodo mexicano: Los héroes en la mira del arte*, edited by Jaime Cuadriello, 440-79. Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes, 2010.
- . “Imágenes inequívocas en archivos incuestionables.” *Nierika. Revistas de estudios de arte*, no. 3 (January/February 2013): 61-66. Accessed May 18, 2014. http://www.iberopublicaciones.com/artef/articulo_detalle.php?id_volumen=3&id_articulo=67&id_seccion=10&active=9&pagina=61.
- Womack, John. 1970 [1968]. *Zapata and the Mexican Revolution*. New York, NY: Vintage Books.
- Ybarra-Frausto, Tomás. “CALIFAS. Socio-Aesthetic Chronology of Chicano Art, draft.” 1980. Box 4, Folder 9. Tomás Ybarra-Frausto research material, 1965-2004. Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC.
- . 1978. “The Chicano Movement and the Emergence of a Chicano Poetic Consciousness.” In *New Directions in Chicano Scholarship*, edited by Ricardo Romo and Raymund Paredes, 81-109. La Jolla, CA: Chicano Studies Program, University of California, San Diego.