

# Power to the People

*The Graphic Design of the Radical Press  
and the Rise of the  
Counter-Culture, 1964-1974*



EDITED BY

GEOFF KAPLAN

# Power to the People

*The Graphic Design of the Radical Press and the Rise of the Counter-Culture, 1964–1974*

**GEOFF KAPLAN**

Though we think of the 1960s and the early '70s as a time of radical social, cultural, and political upheaval, we tend to picture the action as happening on campuses and in the streets. Yet the rise of the underground newspaper was equally daring and original. Thanks to advances in cheap offset printing, groups involved in antiwar, civil rights, and other social liberation issues began to spread their messages through provocatively designed newspapers and broadsheets. This vibrant new media was essential to the counterculture revolution as a whole—helping to motivate the masses and proliferate ideas. *Power to the People* presents more than 700 full-color images and excerpts from these astonishing publications, many of which have not been seen since they were first published almost fifty years ago.

From the psychedelic pages of the *Oracle*, Haight-Ashbury's paper of choice, to the fiery editorials of the *Black Panther Party Paper*, these papers were remarkable for their editors' fervent belief in freedom of expression and their DIY philosophy. They were also extraordinary for their graphic innovations. Experimental typography and wildly inventive layouts reflect an alternative media culture as much informed by the

space age, television, and socialism as it was by the great trinity of sex, drugs, and rock 'n' roll. Assembled by renowned graphic designer Geoff Kaplan, *Power to the People* pays homage in its layout to the radical press. Beyond its unparalleled images, *Power to the People* includes essays by Gwen Allen, Bob Ostertag, and Fred Turner, as well as a series of recollections edited by Pamela M. Lee, all of which comment on the critical impact of the alternative press in the social and popular movements of those turbulent years. *Power to the People* treats the design practices of that moment as activism in its own right that offers a vehement challenge to the dominance of official media and a critical form of self-representation.

No other book surveys in such variety the highly innovative graphic design of the underground press, and certainly no other book captures the era with such an unmatched eye toward its aesthetic and look. *Power to the People* is not just a major compendium of art from the '60s and '70s—it showcases how the radical media graphically fashioned the image of a countercultural revolution that still resounds to this day.

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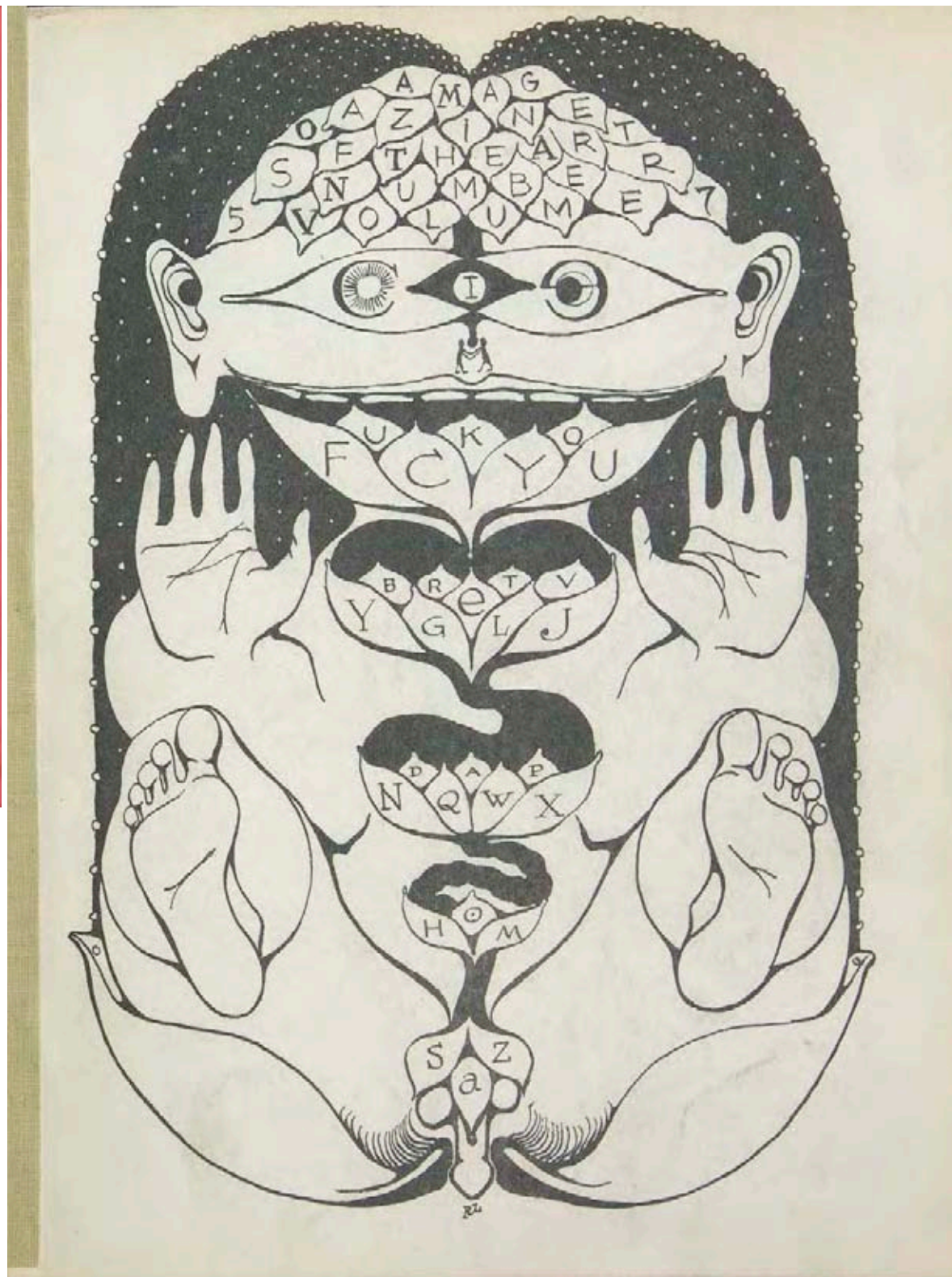


Aroni

FUCK YOU/  
a magazine of the arts



number 5, volume 6







# BIAFRA Newsletter

Vol. 1 No. 3

Ours is a War of Survival

Friday 24th Nov. 1967

HEAD OF STATE ASSURES THE NATION—

## BIAFRA WILL BE MODERN WELFARE STATE

**T**HE Head of State and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, Colonel Odumegwu Ojukwu, has assured Biafrans that post-war Biafra would be a stable, modern, welfare state in which all orphans and women who lost their husbands during the war would benefit from the welfare activities of the Government.

He urged all Biafrans to continue to rally to the support of the fighting forces who did not give up the struggle after the wicked betrayal in Benin.

Colonel Ojukwu gave the assurance while addressing thousands of Owerri people who assembled at Owerri town to welcome him to their Province.

of Biafran soldiers is very high.

He then assured the people that the enemy in all the war fronts would suffer the same crushing defeat as they met in their recent invasion of Onitsha in which more than two thousand Nigerian soldiers were wiped out by Biafran Forces.

### West Niger Iboes

Recounting the atrocities committed by the Nigerian soldiers when they arrived at Asaba, the Head of State appealed to the West Niger Iboes not to be disheartened by their sad experiences, adding, "our future is woven together with yours; if we sink, you will sink, if we float, you will float!"

Earlier in their address of welcome, the Owerri War Committee pledged the unwavering loyalty of the entire Owerri people to the Head of State and his Government.

### Backward North

The Head of State reviewed the contributions and sacrifices made by Biafrans to evolve the greatness that was Nigeria, especially the efforts made by Biafrans to enlighten the backward and indolent Northern Nigerians, but regretted that these ungrateful Northerners, led by the overbearing Emirs, later "turned round to bite the fingers that fed them!"

Commenting on the military situation, Colonel Odumegwu Ojukwu reaffirmed that the morale



His Excellency Lt. Col. Odumegwu Ojukwu inspects a young Biafran militia impatient to contribute to Biafra's war of liberation.

dishing out to the world deliberate falsehood.

### Atheists

This is because, unlike the past, the present breed of authorities of the Corporation are atheists with no regard for uprightiness, and who take delight in intrigues and uncharitable acts.

Dr. Ibiam observed that from all indications, the BBC would like the Republic of Biafra to revert to its old status of Eastern Nigeria, adding that if such is the aspiration of the BBC, then it is asking for the moon.

Dr. Ibiam recalled the Kano riot and last year's incidents in the North during which over thirty thousand Biafrans were brutally killed for no reason, and noted that the strange silence of the BBC to the inhuman crimes gave the impression that the BBC was gloating over and enjoying the wicked drama.

### Conspiracy of Silence

He observed that when these atrocities and unconstitutional acts were being committed, the BBC was strangely silent.

Dr. Ibiam re-affirmed that Nigeria in collusion with Britain and Russia, cannot subdue Biafra. They will have to kill all

## A BASELESS WAR

— DR. IBIAM

**T**HE Adyher to the Biafran Head of State, Dr. Akamu Ibiam, has severely criticised the role of the British Broadcasting Corporation in the present Nigerian-Biafra War.

In a strongly worded letter to the BBC, Dr. Ibiam said the Corporation has lost all sense of proportion in what he called this vexing and baseless Nigeria-Biafra war by

(Continued on page 8)

Letter From Biafra p. 3.



Vol. 5 No. 12 Issue 110 (Pub. Fridays) September 29-October 5, 1967  
2886 Telegraph Ave., Berkeley Calif. 94705, 842-3040

15¢ BAY AREA 20¢ ELSEWHERE



**Biafra Newsletter** (Republic of Biafra), November 24, 1967, vol. 1, no. 3, cover  
**The Berkeley Barb**, September 29-October 5, 1967, vol. 5, no. 12, cover  
**The Chicago Seed**, December 15, 1967, vol. 1, no. 12, cover



# San Francisco Express Times

ROBERT HOLAN  
11, BROADWAY LAB.  
300 WILSON AVE.  
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF. 94107  
Vol 2, No 1 January 7, 1969, 1st Day After, 20¢ Standard

**'69**

**"PLEASED TO MEET YOU - HOPE YOU GUESS MY NAME"**

Year of the Orgy  
Year of Armed Education  
Year of Retreat  
Year of the Cock  
Year of Painful Enlightenment  
Year of the Warm Gun  
Year of the Swiss Franc  
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Year of Lunar Defilement

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## The Miami Free Press

MIAMI MUSIC MAKERS SEEK CITY CONTRACT

COURTY'S Stockpile Will Be Replaced by Duke Fair Exhibits

MIAMI BEACH REPORTS FLOWERS TO BE PLACED IN FRONT OF WOODS SPORTS

INDUSTRY IS PROBLEM FOR MIAMI AREA

WOTERS SLOW TO REGISTER IN PRECINCTS

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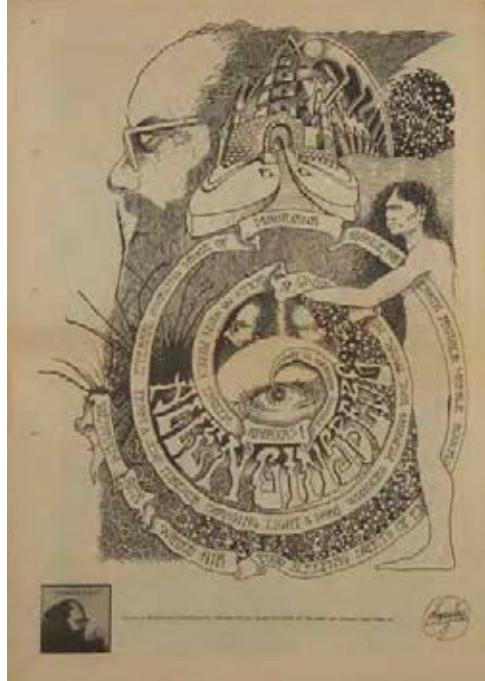
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# THE VOICE OF THE "LUMPEN"

"SPEAKING TO ALL GI'S IN DISREPUTE"

This paper is legal, but the PIGS will probably bust anyone caught reading it. So be cool!! Check out AR 384-135(D) in case they do happen to vamp on you.

The nature of a panther is that he never attacks. But if anyone attacks him or backs him into a corner, the panther comes up to wipe that agressor or that attacker out, absolutely, resolutely, wholly, thoroughly, and completely.



"THE TIME WHEN PEOPLE CAN SIT BACK AND VIEW PROCESSES OF INJUSTICE AND INEQUALITY HAS COME TO AN END"



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### 2,000 IN BELFAST PROTEST INTERNMENT OF SUSPECTS

BELFAST, Northern Ireland, Jan. 2—Two thousand people protesting the internment of suspected Irish Republican Army guerrillas marched, sang and demonstrated in Belfast today without violence.

### NEW HAT IN RING: MRS. CHISHOLM'S

**Representative Is Seeking Presidency as Democrat Mrs. Chisholm Joins Presidential Race**

Jan. 26—Representative Shirley Chisholm announced her candidacy yesterday for the Democratic Presidential nomination—the first black woman to seek a major-party

### BRITISH SOLDIERS KILL 13 AS RIOTING ERUPTS IN ULSTER

Deaths Come as Catholics Defy Ban on Londonderry March

BELFAST, Northern Ireland, Jan. 30—At least 13 persons were shot dead by British troops in Londonderry today when rioting broke out after a civil rights march held in defiance of a Government ban.

### BASKETBALL HALL OF FAME ELECTS ITS FIRST BLACK: DOUGLAS OF RENS

Feb. 6—Six men, including the first black, have been elected to the Naismith Basketball Hall of Fame on the campus of Springfield College in Massachusetts. They were Bob Douglas, Eddie Gottlieb, Cliff Wells, Ed Diddle, Paul Endacott and Max (Marty) Friedman.

### ALL U.S. AIRLINES SET UP A MANDATORY SCREEN TO CATCH HIJACKERS

Feb. 7—Trans World Airlines flight 41 was about to leave for San Francisco yesterday morning when a ticket agent whispered to a security officer, "I've got two."

A young couple—the boy was black, the girl was white—advanced to a T.W.A. boarding gate at Kennedy International Airport, and a uniformed officer of the Bureau of the Customs watched for the flash of a small blue light as the pair walked between two upright steel poles.

### Britain Enforces Wide Power Cuts

**Factories to Work a 3-Day Week as the Coal Strike Reduces Fuel Supplies**

LONDON, Feb. 11—The British Government ordered industry today to reduce its use of electricity drastically because of the national coal strike. The move will mean a three-day week for most factories.

### California Court, In 6-1 Vote, Bars Death Sentences

**Holds Penalty Is Cruel and Unusual—Bases View on the State Constitution**

**107 In Prisons Spared; Sirhan and Manson Among Them—Life Sentences Ordered by Justices**

SAN FRANCISCO, Feb. 18—Capital punishment was declared unconstitutional today in the State of California.

### NIXON IN CHINA—A POLITICAL PILGRIM

Feb. 19—Some incurable optimists would have us see Mr. Nixon in Peking as an American Moses confronting Mao, the Chinese Pharaoh, with a divine mandate to convert at once and return to the "family of nations." Needless to say, this religious analogy, projected and enhanced with moralistic rhetoric, is an impious fraud.

### MISS DAVIS FREED ON \$102,500 BAIL

**Judge in California Releases Her Under Ruling Ending Death Penalty in State**

PALO ALTO, Calif., Feb. 23—Angela Davis, jailed for 16 months while facing murder charges, was released on \$102,500 bail here tonight.

### COMMUNISTS WALK OUT OF PARIS SESSION

PARIS, Feb. 24—The Communist delegations walked out of a session of the Vietnam peace talks today in protest against American bombing of North Vietnam. This is the first time that one side has walked out on the other.

Only a few minutes after the talks had been convened, the North Vietnamese and Vietcong delegations headed for the door, leaving the Americans and the South Vietnamese to register their protest on a tape recorder.

### Equal Rights Amendment is Approved by Congress

WASHINGTON, March 22—The Senate passed the Equal Rights Amendment today, thus completing Congressional action

### 70 States Reject Biological Arms U.S., Soviet Among Those Signing Accord That Also Calls for Destruction

MOSCOW, April 10—More than 70 nations, including the United States, the Soviet Union and Britain, signed a convention today that outlaws biological

weapons and, for the first time under a modern arms-control measure, requires states to destroy their stocks of such weapons.

### HEAVY ATTACKS ENDANGER SAIGON'S DEFENSE OF ANLOC

SAIGON, South Vietnam, Sunday, April 16—The South Vietnamese defenses in the provincial capital of Anloc, 60 miles north of Saigon, appeared to be gravely endangered last night after North Vietnamese troops, with tanks and artillery, pounded the town from all sides and hit hard at reinforcements trying to move up Route 13.

[South Vietnamese officers in Lailke said Sunday that enemy forces on the northern fringes of Anloc had hoisted the Vietcong flag, Reuters reported.]

### OKINAWA ISLANDS RETURNED BY U.S. TO JAPANESE RULE

**Agnew, in Tokyo, Declares 'Last Major Issue' of the Pacific War Is Resolved; U.S. Returns Okinawa to Japanese Rule**

TOKYO, Monday, May 15—The return of Okinawa to Japan after 27 years of American rule was celebrated at colorful ceremonies here this morning and hailed as marking a new phase in the friendly relations between Japan

### CEILINGS ARE SET

**NIXON AND BREZHNEV PLEDGE TO ABIDE BY TREATY AT ONCE**

May 27—President Nixon and the Soviet Communist party leader, Leonid I. Brezhnev, signed two historic agreements last night that for the first time put limits on the growth of American and Soviet strategic nuclear arsenals.

In a brief televised ceremony in the Great Hall of the Kremlin, the two leaders put their signatures to a treaty that establishes a ceiling of 200 launchers for each side's defensive missile systems

### TERRORIST LEADER SEIZED IN GERMANY

BONN, June 16—The state police in Hanover today announced the capture of Ulrike Meinhof, a founding member of a leftist terrorist group known popularly as the Baader-Meinhof gang.

### Last American Ground Combat Unit is Deactivated in South Vietnam

SAIGON, South Vietnam, Aug. 11—The last American ground-combat unit in Vietnam was deactivated today, a day after one of its companies returned from a four-day mission during which two men were wounded by booby traps. The unit, the Third Bat-

talion of the 21st Infantry, with supporting artillery and a medical detachment, guarded the big United States air base at Danang. The battalion has 1,043 men. The United States command said that most would be going home in the next few days.

### DEMOCRATIC RAID TIED TO REALTOR

**ALLEGED LEADER SAID TO HAVE G.O.P. LINKS AND TO HAVE AIDED C.I.A. ON CUBA**

WASHINGTON, June 18—The apparent leader of five men arrested yesterday for breaking into the headquarters of the Democratic National Committee here was identified today as an af-

### INDIANS RIPPED UP FEDERAL BUILDING

**Bureau is Found Littered by Debris After Protest**

WASHINGTON, Nov. 9—Militant American Indians left behind them today a battered Bureau of Indian Affairs Building that may take months to restore to usefulness.

fluent Miami real estate man with important Republican party links in Florida.

### Soviet Underground Urges Strikes to Raise Standards

MOSCOW, June 19—An underground appeal circulating in Moscow calls on Russians to strike and to demonstrate for better living conditions, as the Poles successfully did in 1970.

### 130 Refuse to Join Ship; Most Reassigned by Navy

SAN DIEGO, Nov. 9—One hundred thirty men attached to the aircraft carrier Constellation refused for hours today to obey an order to board their ship in the latest incident of racial conflict involving warships of the Pacific Fleet.

### A 23-Hour Drama

**2 Others are Slain in Their Quarters in Guerrilla Raid**  
**2 Other Athletes Killed in Rooms During Attack**

MUNICH, West Germany, Wednesday, Sept. 6—Eleven members of Israel's Olympic team and four Arab terrorists were killed yesterday in a 23-hour drama that began with an invasion of the

Olympic Village by the Arabs. It ended in a shootout at a military airport some 15 miles away as the Arabs were preparing to fly to Cairo with their Israeli hostages.

### Currency Futures Due; Trading to Start Tuesday In Chicago

May 14—A unit of the Chicago Mercantile Exchange is about to offer futures contracts in what many consider the basic commodity—currency.

### GUNMAN'S ATTACK CLOUDS CAMPAIGN

**Uncertainty Created Both by Wallace's Status and Impact of Shooting**

WASHINGTON, May 15—The bullets that felled George C. Wallace on the eve of his greatest achievements in national politics will also upset both the conduct and the calculations of the 1972 Presidential campaign.

### ANGELA DAVIS ACQUITTED ON ALL CHARGES

**Angela Davis Found Not Guilty By White Jury on All Charges**

SAN JOSE, Calif., June 4—After just 13 hours of deliberations, an all-white jury found Angela Davis not guilty today of murder, kidnapping and criminal conspiracy charges.

### 4 BEING HUNTED IN INQUIRY INTO RAID ON DEMOCRATS

WASHINGTON, June 21—The authorities are searching for four men who rented rooms at Washington's Watergate Hotel with four other men who have been accused of breaking into the headquarters of the Democratic National Committee last Saturday.

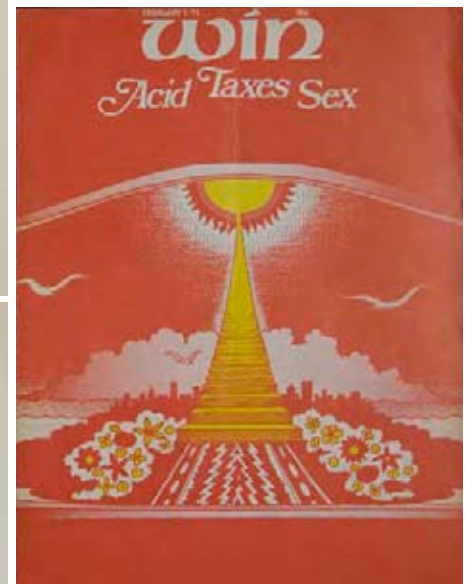
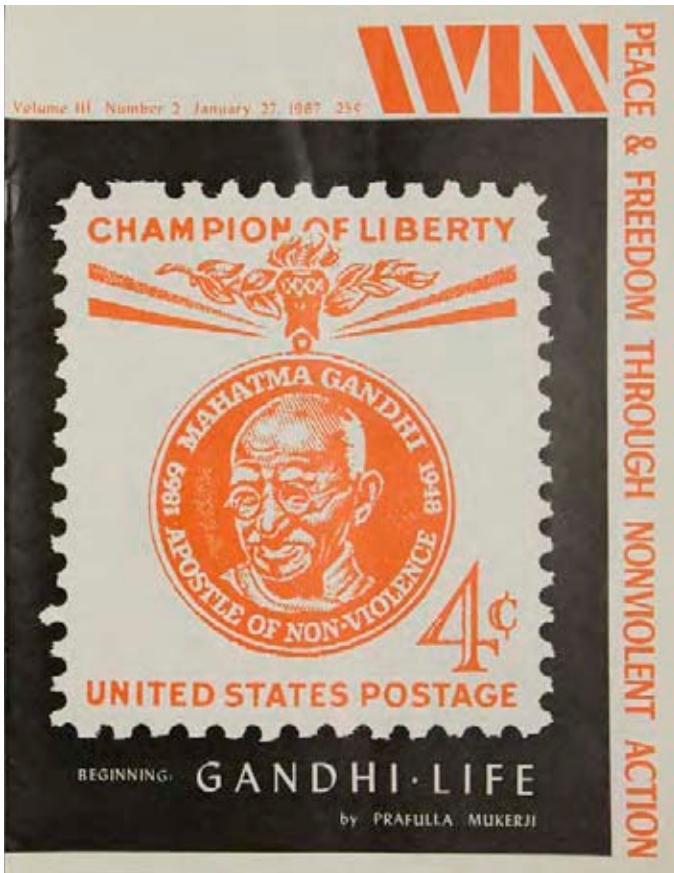
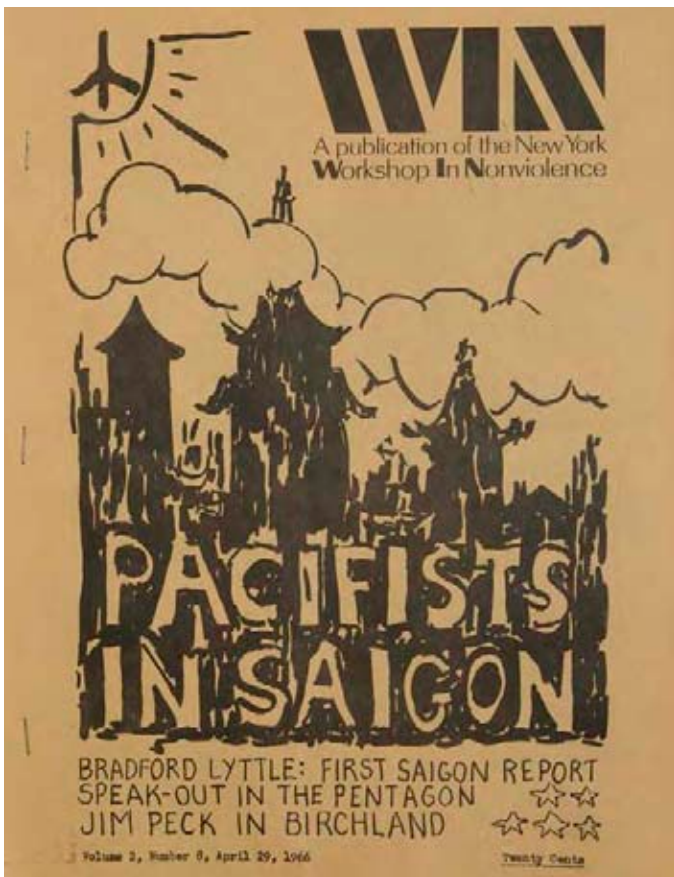
### NIXON ISSUES CALL TO 'GREAT TASKS'

**AT VICTORY CELEBRATION, HE VOWS TO MAKE HIMSELF 'WORTHY' OF VICTORY**

WASHINGTON, Wednesday, Nov. 8—President Nixon summoned the nation last night "to get on with the great tasks that lie be-

fore us" and, in a later statement to a crowd of cheering supporters, pledged to make himself "worthy of this victory."





**Win Peace and Freedom Through Nonviolent Action** (New York), April 29, 1966, vol. 2, no. 8, cover  
**Win Peace and Freedom Through Nonviolent Action** (New York), October 5, 1966, vol. 2, no. 16, cover  
**Win Peace and Freedom Through Nonviolent Action** (New York), February 1, 1971, vol. 7, no. 2, cover  
**Win Peace and Freedom Through Nonviolent Action** (New York), January 27, 1967, vol. 3, no. 2, cover  
**Win Peace and Freedom Through Nonviolent Action** (New York), February 10, 1967, vol. 3, no. 3, cover  
**Win Peace and Freedom Through Nonviolent Action** (New York), April 1, 1970, vol. 6, no. 6, back cover

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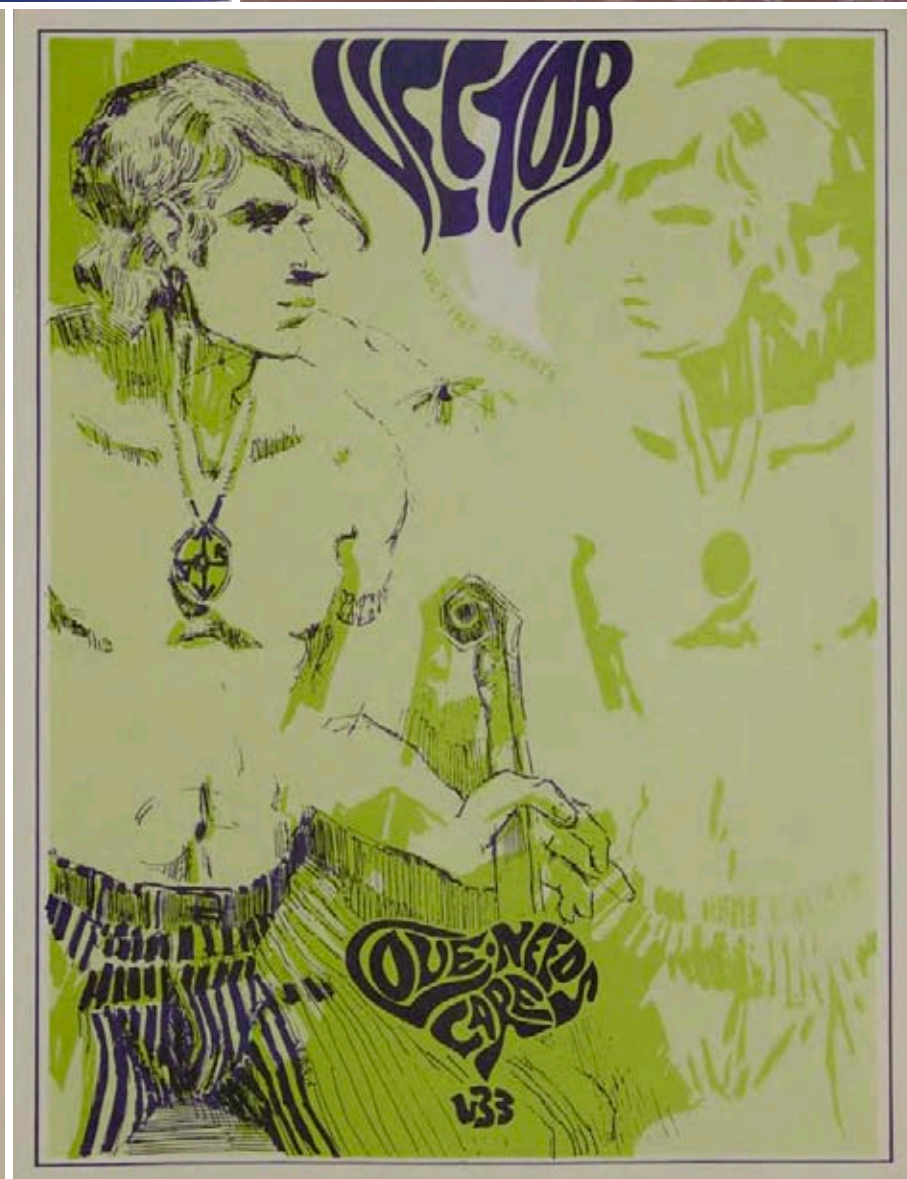
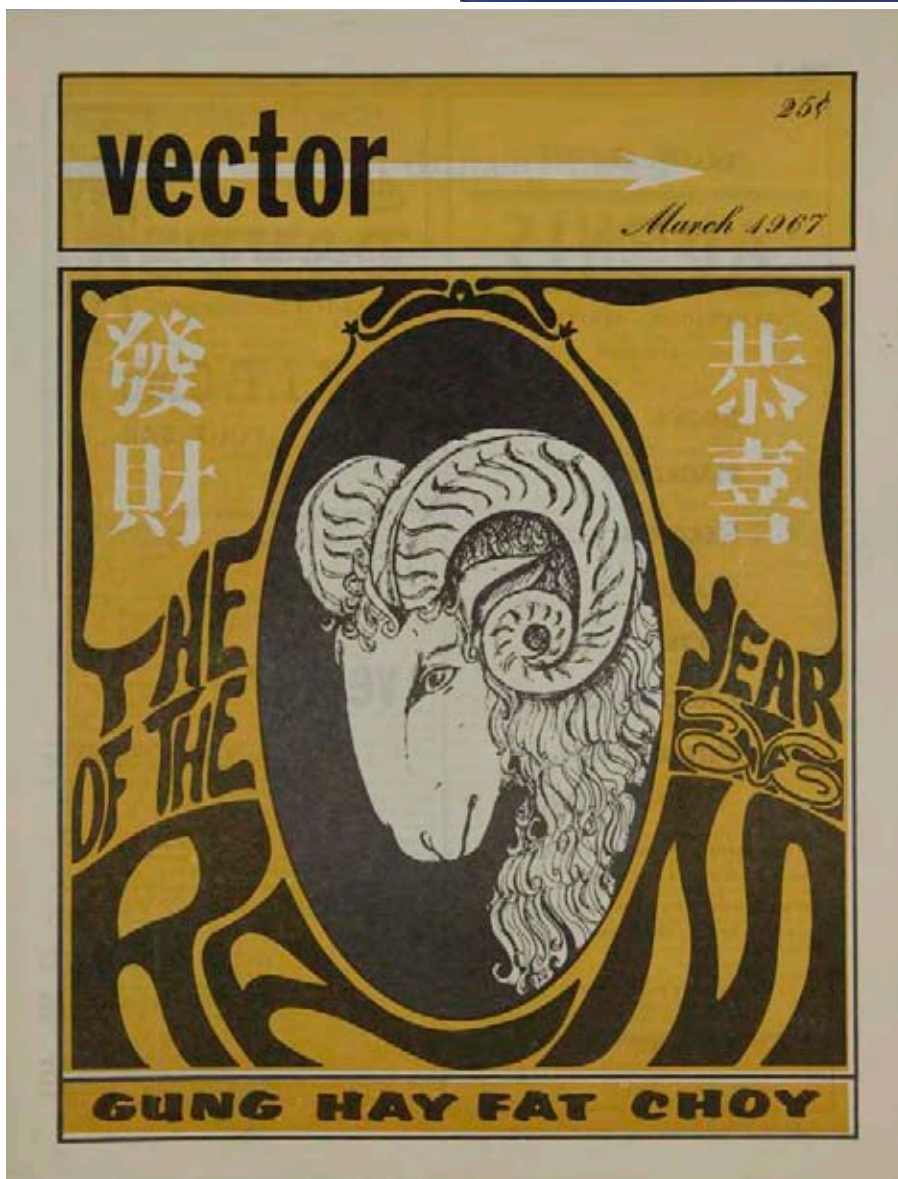
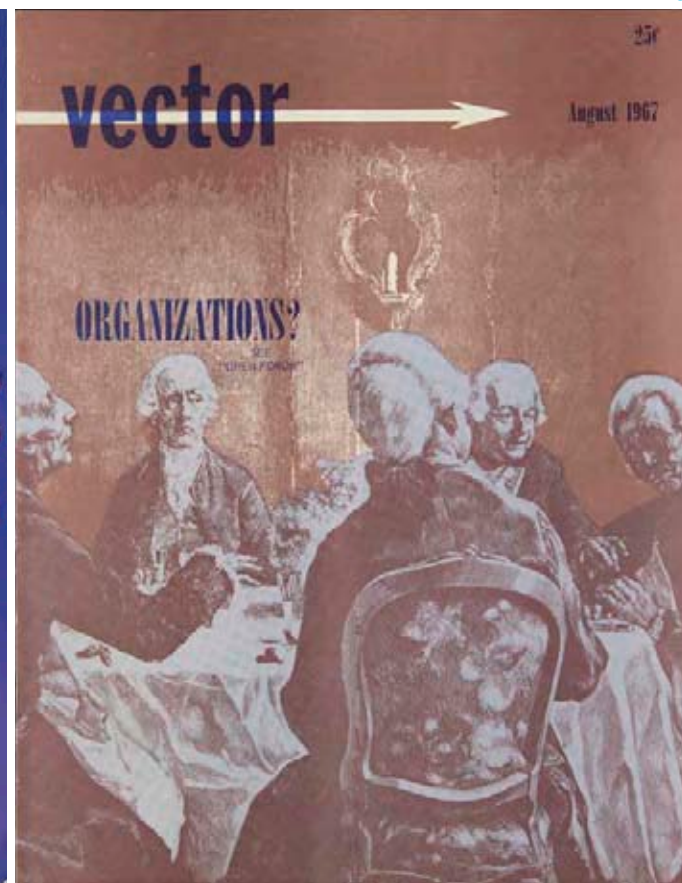
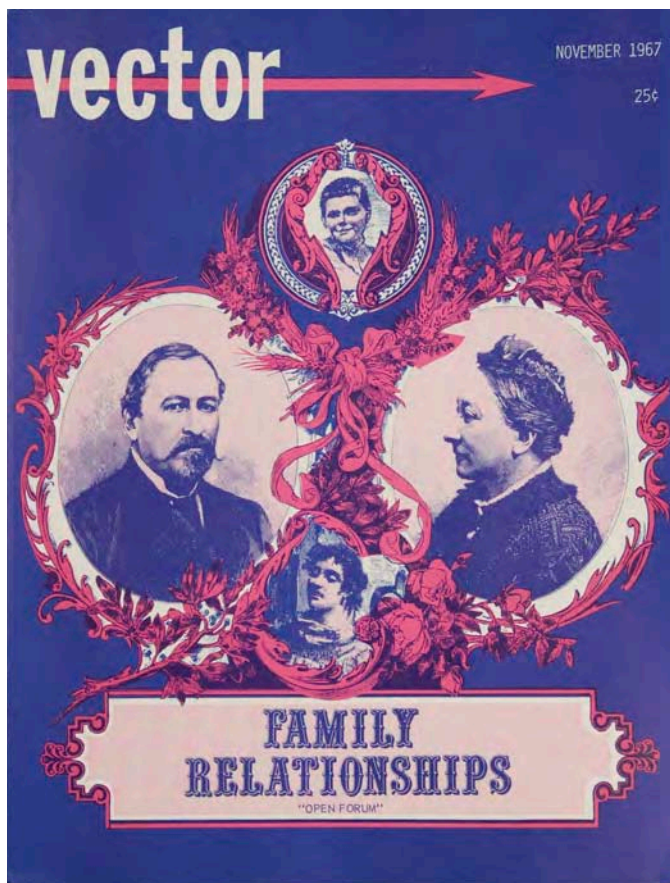
**Win Peace and Freedom Through Nonviolent Action** (New York), September 15, 1967, vol. 3, no. 15, cover  
**Win Peace and Freedom Through Nonviolent Action** (New York), March 31, 1968, vol. 4, no. 6, back cover  
**Win Peace and Freedom Through Nonviolent Action** (New York), March 15, 1970, vol. 6, no. 5, cover  
**Win Peace and Freedom Through Nonviolent Action** (New York), December 15, 1969, vol. 5, no. 22, back cover



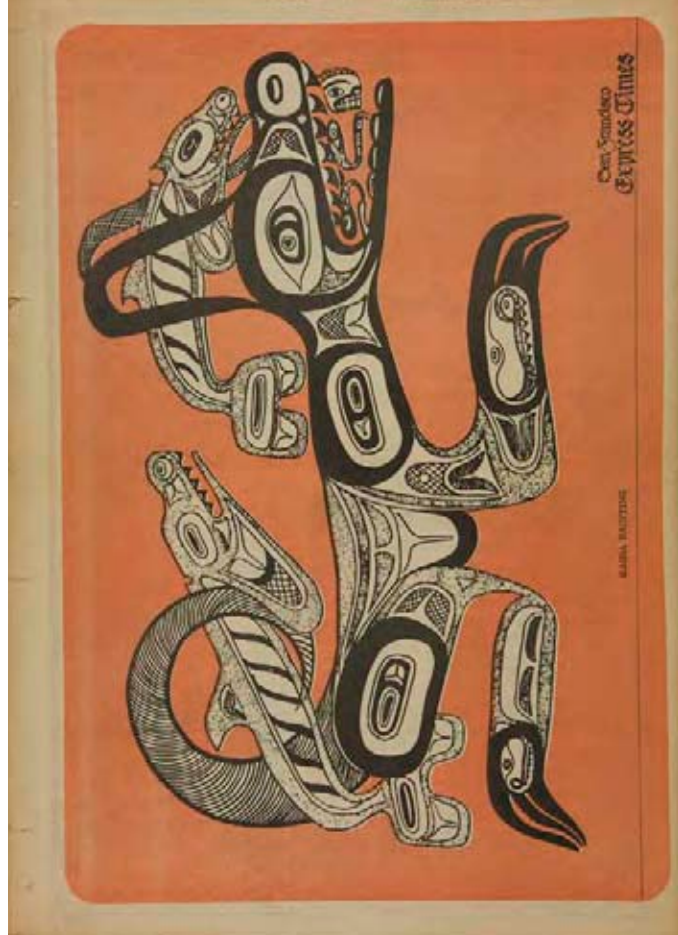
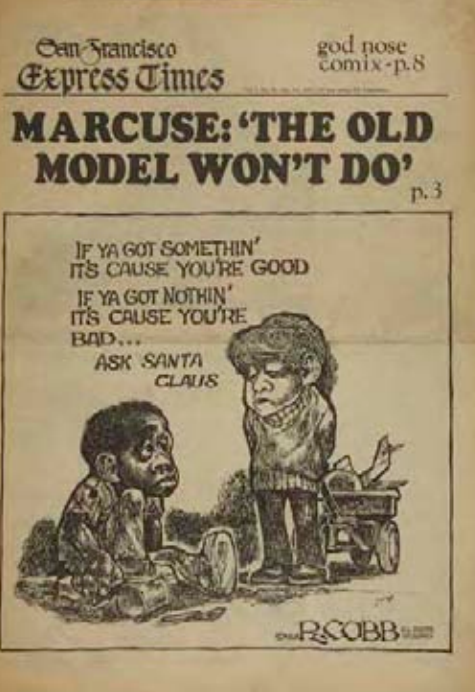


DOCK <sup>OF</sup> THE BAY



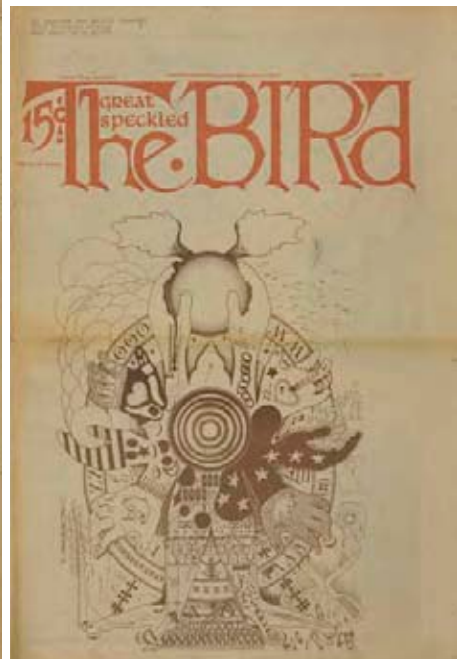
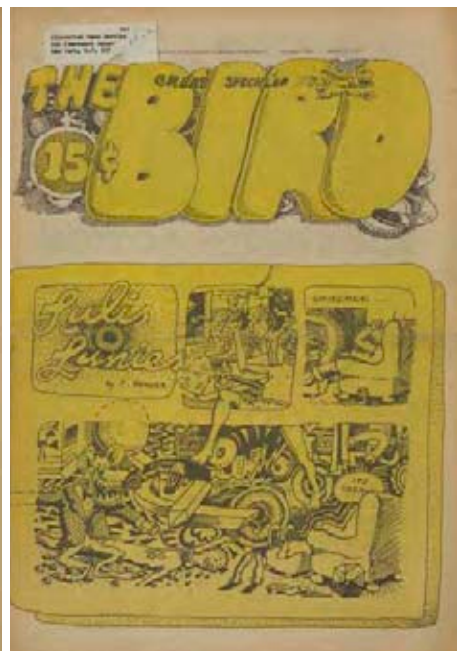
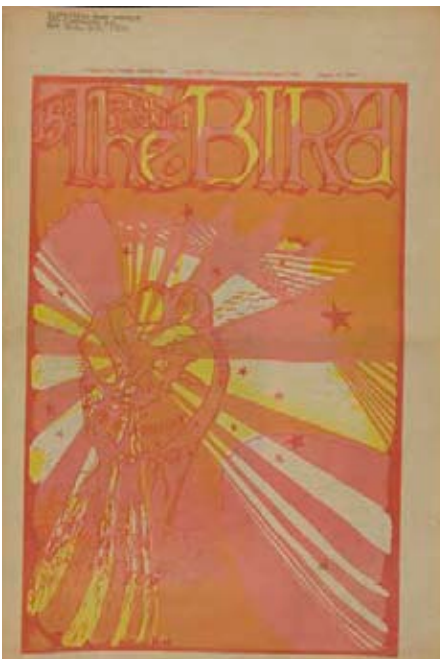
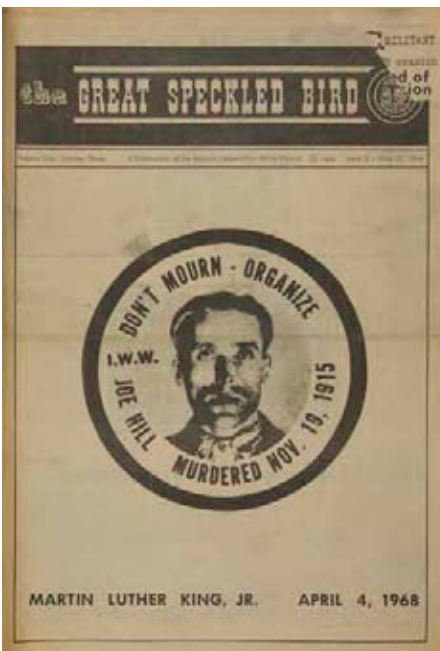






San Francisco Express Times, December 18, 1968, vol. 1, no. 48, cover  
 San Francisco Express Times, August 14, 1968, vol. 1, no. 30, cover  
 San Francisco Express Times, October 2, 1968, vol. 1, no. 37, cover  
 San Francisco Express Times, June 26, 1968, vol. 1, no. 23, back cover  
 San Francisco Express Times, June 19, 1968, vol. 1, no. 22, back cover  
 Good Times (San Francisco), April 30, 1969, vol. 2, no. 15, cover





- The Great Speckled Bird** (Atlanta), April 12-25, 1968, vol. 1, no. 3, cover
- The Great Speckled Bird** (Atlanta), October 7, 1968, vol. 1, no. 17, cover
- The Great Speckled Bird** (Atlanta), March 24, 1969, vol. 2, no. 2, cover
- The Great Speckled Bird** (Atlanta), August 25, 1969, vol. 2, no. 24, cover
- The Great Speckled Bird** (Atlanta), March 2, 1970, vol. 3, no. 9, cover
- The Great Speckled Bird** (Atlanta), March 31, 1969, vol. 2, no. 3, cover
- The Great Speckled Bird** (Atlanta), May 12, 1969, vol. 2, no. 9, cover



# fertility or fertilizer

brand name	estrogen component (mg)
ORVAL	0.05
ORVAL 20	
ORVAL 20+Fe fumarate	
NORLINT-1 1mg.	
NORLESTIN 1mg.	
ORTHO NOVUM 1mg.	
NORLINT-1 21 Day	
NORLESTIN 21 1 mg.	
NORLINT-1 28 Day	
NORLESTIN 28 1 mg.	
ORTHO NOVUM 1 mg. 28 Day	
NORLINT 1x	
NORLESTIN Fe 1 mg.	
ORTHO NOVUM Fe 20 1 mg.	
NORLESTIN 2.5 mg.	
PROVEST	
NORLINT 10 mg.	0.06
ORTHO NOVUM 10 mg.	
ENOVID 5 mg.	0.075
NORLINT 1-30 21 Day	0.08
ORTHO NOVUM 1/60 20 Day	
ORTHO NOVUM 1/60 Fe 20	
OVIKEN	0.10
OVIKEN 21	
OVIKEN 28	
OVIKEN Fe 28	
NORLINT 1mg.	
ORTHO NOVUM 2 mg.	
ENOVID E 2.5	

Dr. Louis Hellman, now Deputy Assistant Secretary for Population Affairs in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, explains why some researchers fear the pill may cause cancer. "Every time you use estrogen [a pill ingredient] in experimental animals, you cause cancer. In all animals, that is, except monkeys. Now you ask yourself: Is there

any reason to suppose that, biologically, human beings are going to react differently? There isn't." Every known cancer-causing agent that triggers cancer in man also causes it in one or more species of animal.

Dr. Ray Hertz, a respected cancer researcher, charged that one ingredient

of birth-control pills—a hormone called estrogen—is "so breast cancer what wheat fertilizer is to a wheat crop."

The above chart shows the estrogen component of brand-name birth control pills. The pills are listed in order of increasing estrogen component in milligrams per tablet.



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November 28/volume 2, number 3  
 oob specials oob regulars

inside: survival - women in danger

work p.2&3



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# MARKIST MYSTICS



AT PLAY IN THE FIELD OF THE MYSTERY MOLECULE.

BY R. LIPPNEY

[Text columns follow]

# How to be a Magician in your Spare Time

by Debra LeMotte




[Text columns follow]

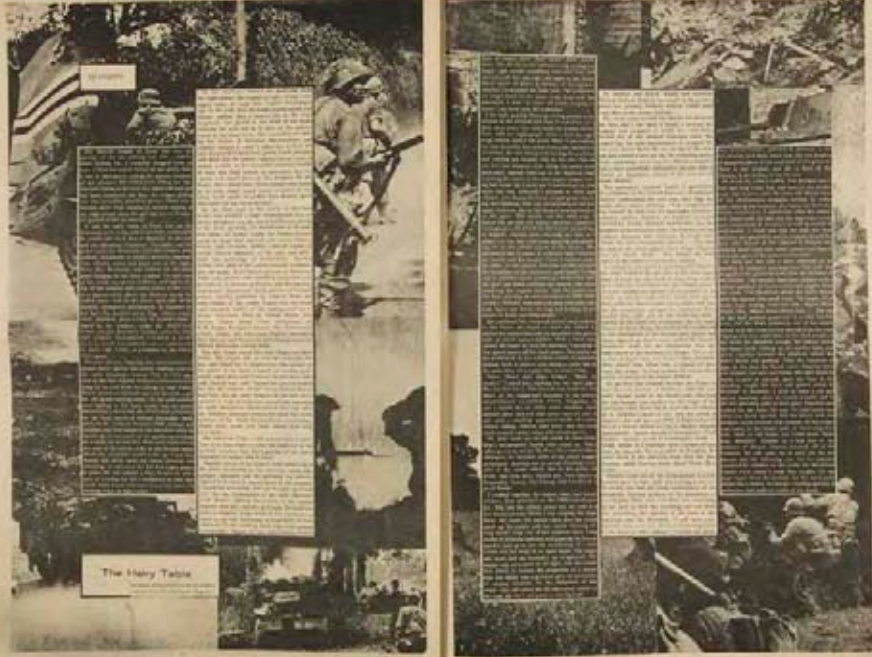
# CANDY BARR

in time and space

by STEPHEN SCHNECK



[Text columns follow]




The Henry Table

[Text columns follow]

# THE ORGAN

December  
Volume 1, Issue 22



WHAT HAS ONE EYE AND GREW UP WITH YOU?

VIDEO

TURN TO PAGE 4

TURN TO PAGE 23

# THE ORGAN

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"My cigarette is the MILD cigarette... that's why Chesterfield is my favorite."

Richard Reagan

THE VOICE OF THE TURTLE

MODES OF MAGIC  
VIDEO REVOLUTION  
B.B. KING ON THE RUN  
KENNETH ANGER



[Text columns follow]



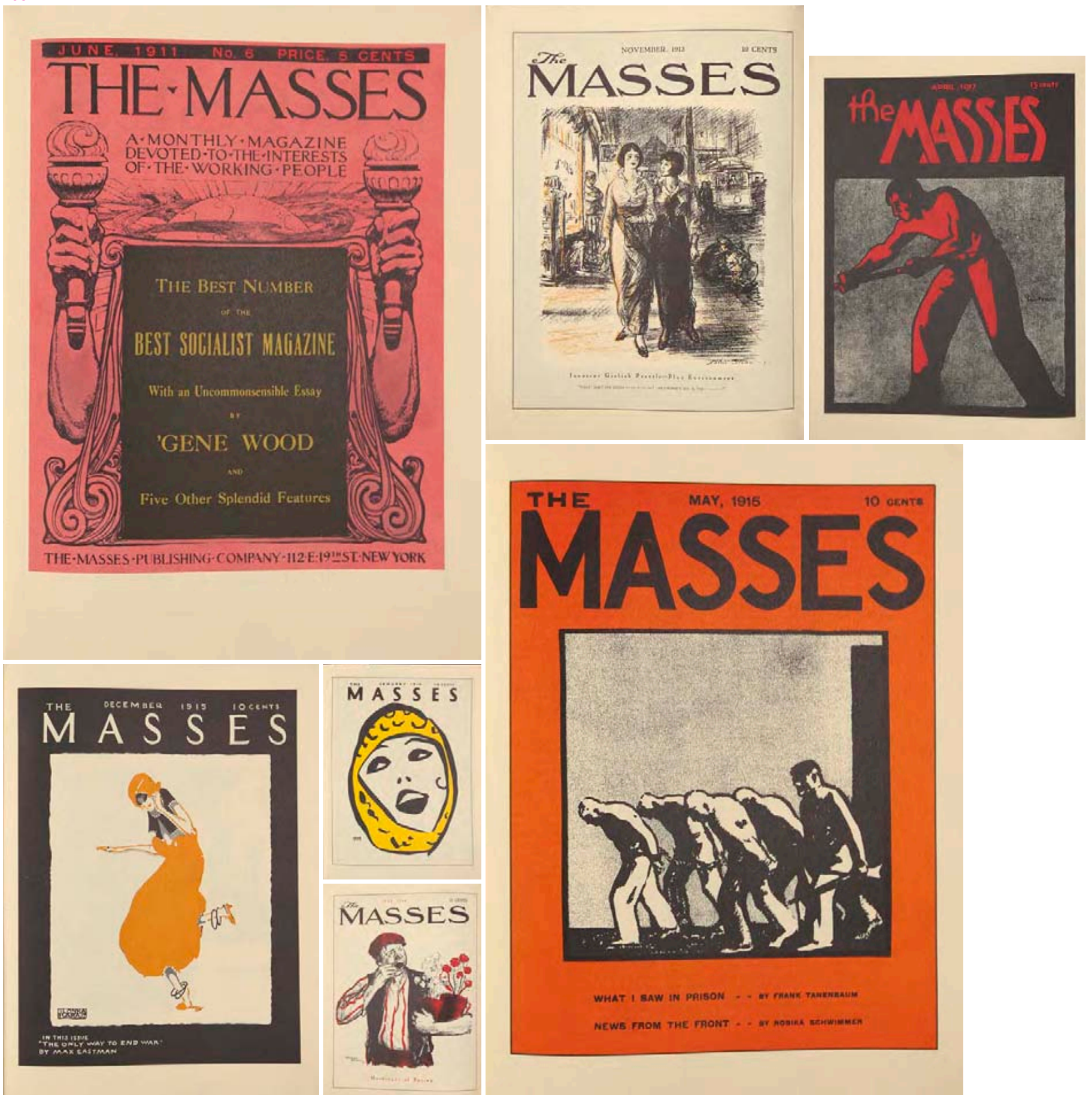


Fig. 5.5. *The Masses*, June 1911, no. 6, cover; November 1913, cover; April 1917, cover; December 1915, cover; January 1916, cover; May 1915, cover; May 1916, cover



