

# *Grosz's Political Position: False Commitment, False Testimony<sup>1</sup>*

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**T**he artistic career of George Grosz (1893-1959) began around 1910 and ended with his death 49 years later. From the age of 23 (1916), Grosz became involved in the political upheavals in his country and in December 1918, he became a member of the Communist Party.<sup>2</sup> From 1933 on, however, a dramatic change may be seen as the artist abandoned the political motifs that had previously characterized his drawings. He also left Germany for the United States, where he eventually settled.

Analysis of Grosz's work reveals that the political message of his drawings does not reflect his Communist militancy at the time; on the contrary, the distance between the two is striking. The following exploration of the ideological aspects of his work is intended to reveal the changes in Grosz's artistic approach from communist militant to promoter of American capitalism.<sup>3</sup> As we shall see, his work reflects a false political conscience: while espousing adherence to communism, Grosz's work reflects at best a bourgeois moralist approach.

An examination of Grosz's artistic development relative to his political position identifies three stages. The first, between 1913 and 1916, included years of study when Grosz's work was devoid of any political or social conflict. The second period, from 1916 to 1932, comprised the years of declarative identification with communism and antimilitarism. Yet one may discern here a lack of authentic commitment to the revolution of the proletariat, as well as a lack of any message emphasizing the unity and strength of the working class. In the third period, from 1933 on, Grosz returned to an apolitical tendency in his art, while in his writings he became an outright defender of capitalism. Scholars of Grosz's work note that the artist's communist identification suffered

an about-face from 1933, when he gave up his political convictions and assimilated into the American way of life.<sup>4</sup> The following analysis of Grosz's works will enable us to appreciate that his political positions changed not from ideological reasons, but rather because his supposed identification with communism was not in fact authentic.

The young Grosz revealed an apolitical spirit, enlisting in the army as a volunteer. This step should be interpreted not as a sign of patriotism, but rather as motivated by considerations of personal convenience, since the volunteers enjoyed various privileges.<sup>5</sup> His service in the German army and his participation in World War I were rather short-lived, beginning November 13 and ending March 11, 1915, when he was released due to ill health and declared unfit for service.<sup>6</sup> Grosz's experience at the front made him an opponent of the army, which he relentlessly criticized in his work. His resentment grew stronger when, on January 4, 1917, he was drafted again. He feigned a state of mental disorder and was sent to a psychiatric clinic, from which he was freed six months later.<sup>7</sup> Alongside his anti-German and antimilitarist position, Grosz was sympathetic to the United States, adopting the English name of George instead of Georg. His friend Helmut Herzfelde also changed his name, becoming known as John Heartfield. Unlike Grosz, Herzfelde continued to retain a solid communist position.<sup>8</sup> The war experience made of Grosz an exponent of peace, and above all a fierce enemy of the military and military interests. His hatred was directed at German society as a whole, as the following comment reveals:

From an aesthetics point of view, I am happy about every German who dies a hero's death on the field of honour. To be German always means to be ill-mannered, ugly, fat and to be the worst sort of reactionary, to be unwashed.<sup>9</sup>

From his youth, Grosz felt a profound disappointment with the German society of his time. This disappointment had its roots in Expressionism and Dadaism, reflecting disgust with life on the one hand and a spirit of rebellion on the other.<sup>10</sup> As is well known, Grosz took part in Dadaist Berlin from its beginnings in 1918, and, like other Dada artists, his works were dominated by aggression and rebellion. He himself stated that his protest was directed against the established rules of a decadent government.<sup>11</sup>

Before discussing Grosz's work in greater depth, it is necessary to relate briefly to the political context that generated his identification with the communists, a context dominated by political violence and the rise of leftist



Fig. 1: *Cheers Noske! The Proletariat has been Disarmed*  
 Drawing for *The Face of the Ruling Class* (Second  
 version) 1921

parties. The leaders of the Socialist Party assumed that with the fall of the Kaiser they had achieved a revolutionary change, while the Spartakist movement was of the opinion that the abdication of Wilhelm II meant no more than the beginning of the revolution.<sup>12</sup> The new political system established in Germany in November 1918 would last until 1933, and was known as the Weimar Republic after the city in which the new constitution was proclaimed. Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg (the leaders of the Spartakist League) viewed this political change as no more than a fraud. They instigated a second revolution, which was brutally repressed. Violence erupted on January 15, 1919, when both these leaders were murdered and hundreds of others killed.<sup>13</sup> In March 1919, the Spartakists declared a general strike, brutally repressed by Minister of Defense Gustav Nolke, who brought in 150 companies of the Free Corps, killing 100 revolutionaries and injuring 400.<sup>14</sup> In several drawings Grosz accused Nolke of genocide, but he did not promote the ideology of the Spartakist movement, nor did he resoundingly denounce the death of its



Fig. 2: Iron Noske (1921) Drawing for *The Face of the Ruling Class*

leaders, despite the fact that he was one of its followers. In *Cheers Noske! The Proletariat has been Disarmed* (1919)<sup>15</sup> (Fig.1), the minister celebrates the extermination of the revolutionaries holding a sword in his right hand, with which he pierces the body of a baby. This motif is a clear reflection of the extreme violence applied in repressing the revolution. The streets of the city are a battlefield, strewn with countless corpses. Grosz again denounced Noske in the drawing *Iron Noske* (Fig. 2) in which the German minister is accused of being a dictator and terrorist. In this drawing, Noske is represented grotesquely, in monster-like form with a skull-like face. He holds a sword between his teeth and grenades in his right hand, while a sheet in his left hand bears the legend 'one more step and you will be shot'. In this drawing, Grosz retreats from realism: rather than maintaining any pretension of depicting the accused minister, he opts for a satirical approach, distancing himself from the actual events and those responsible. The same is true of *Cheers Noske!*, which at the time was considered a highly offensive political pamphlet, but which from a modern perspective has lost its energy and original clarity. Although Grosz's drawings relate to the first four years of the Weimar Republic, the artist failed to express the magnitude of the Revolutionary movement, responsible in 1919 alone for 5000 strikes; neither did he manage to express the ferocious repression



Fig. 3: *In Front of the Factories* (1921) Drawing for *In the Shadows*

that followed those strikes.<sup>16</sup> The lack of conviction in his leftist ideology and in the defense of the proletariat is evident in such drawings as *In Front of the Factories* (1921) (Fig. 3), which depicts the worker as an anti-hero, despicable, rude and primitive. Grosz never represented the workers as revolutionary figures in a manner that, without idealizing them, would transmit a clear message of the struggle of the proletariat. It is surprising that an artist who was identified with the Communist Party was unable to present a more optimistic and dignified image of the workers and their lives. In contrast to Grosz, Käthe Kollwitz's series of engravings *A Weaver's Rebellion* (1897) shows a stronger identification with the workers, as does the series *The War* (1924). Even in the woodcut *Memorial Plate for Karl Liebknecht* (Fig. 4), the workers convey a sense of pain and human warmth that is absent from Grosz's works. Kollwitz understood the predicament of the German proletariat, although she did not identify with Karl Liebknecht. As a friend of the family, she was invited to his funeral in order to prepare portraits of the dead leader. She drew six sketches from different points of view, originating the idea of the print. The print represented the body at the base, with a group of workers, wracked by pain, bowing in homage. The date on the base, 15.1.1919, perpetuates the murder and focuses the work on actual events. Although Grosz represented



Fig. 4: Käthe Kollwitz : *Memorial Plate to Karl Liebknecht* (1919), Woodcut 35 x 55 cm



Fig. 5: *Remember* (1919), Drawing for *Interregnum*



Fig. 6: *Shot While Escaping* (1919), Drawing for *The Face of the Ruling Class*

the Spartakist leaders in several drawings, including one denouncing the murder of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, his approach is ambiguous and negative. In *Remember*, from the *Interregnum* portfolio (1936) (Fig. 5), the ghostly figure of a judge crosses the coffins, his back to the spectators, obscuring identification of those responsible for the crime. The sinister look of the judge, who has several sheets in his hand, is stressed through the fact that his eyes are set in the back of his head, alluding to the capacity of the authorities to be the masters of circumstances. The drawing is simple and schematic, without any reference that might articulate the political identity of the deceased. The coffins are abandoned in an unrecognizable place, isolated, as if having no support from the workers. The drawing does not explain the political personality of the victims, nor the identity of their victimizers, and Grosz makes no reference to the true circumstances of the death of the Communist leaders - circumstances that were not hidden by the military elements responsible. Rosa Luxemburg was fiercely beaten and thrown, almost dead, into the Landwehr Channel; her body was found many months later. This lack of identification of the victims eliminates any element of denouncement, in terms of criticism of the state and rejection of the injustice committed by the authorities.

Grosz made a brief reference to the actual events in the drawing *Shot While Escaping* (Fig. 6), which presents three figures: the victim tied to a pillar,



Fig. 7: Francisco Goya: *For being a Liberal?* (1814-1824), Album C, n.98

and the executioners (a soldier and a guard) on the verge of shooting. The title includes an emphatic denouncement of the crime committed by the establishment - not only can the victim not escape, he cannot even move. The idea of shooting a supposed fugitive and the phrase 'shot while escaping' were current in the public mind, since these were the terms used by the government to justify the murder of Karl Liebknecht. As in the previous drawing, the artist was protesting against lies and injustice. It is remarkable, however, that Grosz, as a member of the Communist Party, was unable to create a work conveying a more audacious political message and emphasizing the violence of the criminals and indignation for the loss of the political leaders.

Much earlier two great artists had left more convincing testimony of their position, expressing a clear political opinion: Francisco Goya (1746-1828) and Honoré Daumier (1808-1878). Their works denounced the excesses of the absolute monarchies in Spain and France. Although Goya lived under an absolute regime that repressed freedom of expression and political protest, his paintings, drawings and engravings manage to denounce the exploitation of the workers and peasants. In his works, he identifies with the anonymous political victim, as in the drawing *For Being a Liberal?* (Fig. 7) in which a young





Fig. 8: Honoré Daumier: *Rue Trasonian, April 15 1834, 1834*

woman prisoner of the Inquisition is bound hand and foot, her face expressing anguish. Through the question mark included in the title, Goya asks whether being a liberal (i.e. an anti-monarchist) is sufficient reason for a person to be tortured, even if he is an opponent of the government.

Daumier also showed a clear identification with the anonymous victims in his lithography *Rue Trasonian, April 15, 1834* (Fig.8). This work is based on an actual incident that occurred in Paris as part of the extension of the rebellion by weavers in Lyon, who demanded an eight hour working day and a wage increase. After the strike was announced, the government passed a law declaring the strike as a criminal plot. At the same time, the death of a National Guard in Paris drove his companions to take vengeance. National Guards entered Trasonian Street killing 11 people and injuring many women, children and old people not involved in the events. Daumier created an accurate testimony of the massacre, reconstructing the dramatic atmosphere of violence faced by the victims of Trasonian Street.<sup>17</sup> In the works of Goya and Daumier we see a compromise with the social victim much more defined than in the drawings of Grosz.

From 1920, the political contradictions of Grosz and the Dada movement began to become evident. This could be seen on the occasion of the First International Dada Fair, between July and August, at which 174 works of art were exhibited. The fair had an overtly political and anti-militaristic character, with placards featuring such slogans as 'Dada struggles alongside the revolutionary proletariat'. A doll representing a German official, created by

Rudolf Schlichter, and Grosz's portfolio *Gott mit uns*, confiscated by the police because of its anti-militarist invective, were the reason for the uproar. Herzfelde and Grosz were convicted on the same charge: insulting the army.<sup>18</sup> Instead of making good use of the event in order to discredit the government, Grosz, Herzfelde, and the other accused artists retracted their criticism. During the trial, the defenders asserted that they did not wish to offend any person or institution, only to criticize the excesses of militarism. The defense insisted that the fair should not be taken seriously. The defense witnesses were Stefan Grossman (editor of the *Tagebuch*) and Dr. Paul F. Schmidt, director of the Dresden City Collection, a critic and collector of Expressionist art. The latter argued that the exhibition should be understood as a satirical manifestation of Dadaist humor, directed against everything and everyone; he referred to Grosz as one of the outstanding artists of the time, not only in Germany but throughout Europe. In the event, the judge imposed a fine of 300 Marks on Grosz, and 600 on Schlichter and Herzfelde.<sup>19</sup> We may deduce from these events that Schmidt's argument, neutralizing the political message and transforming it into a Dadaist joke, reflected the true situation: none of those involved, with the exception of John Heartfield, was an authentic communist.<sup>20</sup>

In order to avoid jail, Grosz deviated from his ideological stand, reflecting an ambivalent and paradoxical attitude: in his writings and actions, Grosz supported the ideology of the Communist Party, while in his works he did not do so. For example, in the context of the conflict between "art for art's sake" and "tendentious art" (*Tendence Kunst*), he supported the concept of art with a political message and political commitment, as an instrument for the class struggles in the service of the proletariat.<sup>21</sup>

On March 15, 1920, during a confrontation with the army, 50 workers died and 150 were injured. Several shots entered the Zwinger Gallery, damaging a Rubens (*Bathsheba*). The artist Oscar Kokoshka, professor at the Academy of Dresden, published an article in over forty newspapers asking for gunfire to be kept away from the gallery. Grosz and Heartfield attacked Kokoshka for defending holy possessions and for his reactionary conception of art.<sup>22</sup>

In another article published in November 1920 and entitled *Concerning My New Pictures*, Grosz urged artists to show political commitment in order to promote art as a weapon for the defense of the workers. In this text, Grosz expresses the opinion that art is secondary compared to the class struggle, and demands that artists express their own personal stance on this question, and define whether they are on the side of the exploiters or of the masses.<sup>23</sup> Curiously, one can not discern in his own work such a strong message in favor of the

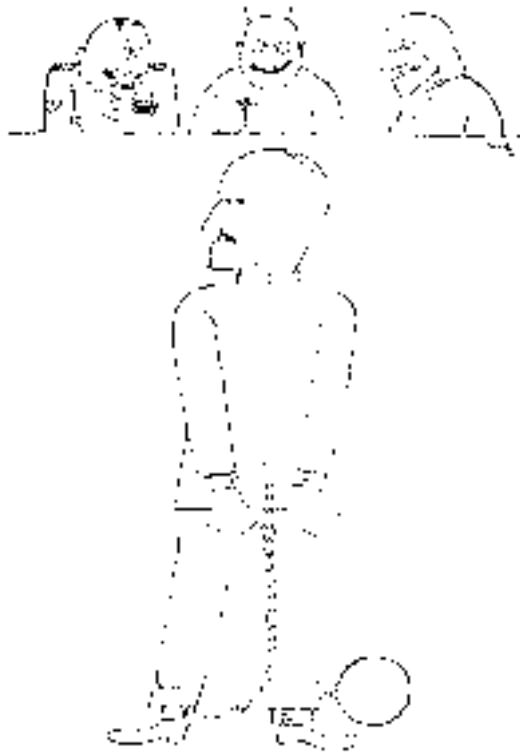


Fig. 9: *Spartacus in Court* (1921), Drawing for *The Face of the Ruling Class*

workers, although he was closely involved in activities on behalf of the Communist Party.<sup>24</sup> In 1921, the political situation in Germany was still characterized by a pre-revolutionary state repressed by the Free Corps that acted independently in 'imposing justice', i.e. killing supposed traitors. Finance Minister Mathias Erzberg and Foreign Office Minister Walther Rathenau, were the most famous victims of 354 political crimes committed by the rightists between 1919 and 1922.<sup>25</sup> Significantly, Grosz did not respond clearly to these crimes. In 1921, Grosz published the portfolio *The Face of the Ruling Class*, curiously considered the first portfolio intended to improved the consciousness of the proletariat.<sup>26</sup> The drawings depicted the injustice and brutality of the police, and portrayed the workers as repressed victims, who work until they die, and are sometimes murdered while defending their interests. However, the drawings represent the workers not as revolutionary heroes, but rather as disagreeable figures from the point of view of the dominant class. Grosz



Fig. 10: *How the State Courts Ought to Look* (1919), Drawing for *Bankruptcy*

portrays the workers in the same manner he portrays the bourgeoisie; thus the worker also becomes a negative stereotype.

The portfolio *The Face of the Ruling Class*, dating to the years of the revolution, represented the responsibility of military elements in repressing the workers rather than promoting their interests as such. Several drawings in the portfolio address Spartakist ideology, but they reveal a lack of ideological definition. *Spartacus in Court* (Fig. 9) is a satirical drawing showing a court of three figures: an officer, a bishop and a bourgeois, all in caricatured form. The three are scrutinizing a revolutionary, who is not clearly identified. The author seems to be referring to an anonymous militant Spartakist revolutionary, but rather than conveying a message that would augur the outbreak of the revolution, Grosz instead offered a pessimistic message, depicting the Spartakist tied hand and foot like a common prisoner. In this drawing, Grosz represents reality with a certain impartiality, and fails to emphasize the serious situation faced by the Spartakists.



Fig. 11: Francisco Goya - *The Forge*, 1812-1816

*How the State Courts Ought to Look* (Fig. 10) seems to reflect Grosz's hopes: a popular tribunal judging six military men with their hands tied behind their backs. Behind the judges, two workers are watching the trial, presided over by the portrait of Karl Liebknecht. As in the previous drawing, however, Grosz does not specify the reason for the trial, a fact that weakens his message.

In 1922, Grosz spent five months visiting the Soviet Union. He returned with a negative impression, according to his autobiography published in 1946.<sup>27</sup> Critics suggest that the trip marked his point of departure from communism and his disillusionment with the Soviet Union.<sup>28</sup> Nevertheless, his ambivalent position remained unchanged throughout the 1920s. On the one hand, Grosz supported the struggles of the proletariat and opposed the exploitation of workers by the alliance of military and capitalist forces through his drawings and writings about the Soviet Union and in publications of communist orientation such as *Der Knuppel* (The Cudgel) and *Die Rote Fahne*, (the Red Flag) the official organ of the Communist Party.<sup>29</sup> On the other hand, while

these drawings were an attack against the dominating class, they do not reflect any possibility of change to put an end to exploitation. By contrast, Goya's work, such as *The Forge* (1812-1816) (Fig. 11) explicitly expresses the artist's identification with the humble workers. He incorporated into the world of art one of the most defamed professions of his time.<sup>30</sup> Although Goya lived under the pressure and limits set by the Inquisition, he managed to create a painting of large dimensions (181 x 125 cm), while Grosz, who enjoyed freedom of expression, did not represent the workers in his paintings.

In 1924, Grosz developed the Red Group, an organization of artists who were members of the Communist Party.<sup>31</sup> The following year, he published declarations in which he condemned artists who did not promote a political message and defined themselves as communists and defenders of the proletariat. The text shows that while Grosz considered himself to be a revolutionary, at the same time he referred to the workers as 'philistines, reactionaries, uncultivated and vulgar'.<sup>32</sup> thereby revealing his true face. He had a 'bourgeois' vision of the proletariat and did not believe in an egalitarian society. Between 1924 and 1932, Grosz was called on repeatedly to justify his work to Communist Party critics.<sup>33</sup> However Grosz and Heartfield continued to collaborate, and in 1925 they published *Art is in Danger*, an article reflecting the Marxist point of view that culture depends on the means of production in society; the artist must support and defend the working class.<sup>34</sup> In Grosz's letters and declarations, we gain an acquaintance with his nature, as one who may have deceived his admirers but could not deceive himself. By the late 1920s, he seemed to be completely conscious of his position, as reflected in his comment in 1927:

I have to be content with my usual role - a traitor... a petty bourgeois anarchist.<sup>35</sup>

Yet his ambivalent attitude persisted. That same year, Grosz sent a telegram to Budapest protesting against the court-martial and persecution of the leaders of the working class. He also denounced the execution of the Italian immigrants Sacco and Vanzetti<sup>36</sup> in the United States. However, he did not create artistic works criticizing state violence or identifying with the unjust fate of the victims.

In April 1932, Grosz accepted an invitation to teach at the Art Student League in New York. The old enemy of capitalism, instead of continuing his satirical tendency, departed from his communist past and claimed to be starting a new life, adapting willingly to American society.<sup>37</sup> During the McCarthy era,

Grosz was the subject of investigation. He admitted having been a member of the Communist Party, explaining that he had abandoned the party in 1923 upon returning from his trip to Russia, when he gave up his communist militancy.<sup>38</sup> He also admitted that his work had been published in the *Die Rote Fahne*, but accused its publishers of manipulating him (a false argument) and of changing titles according to their needs. Grosz declared that his most critical drawings were not party slogans and that he had never been a member of the American Communist Party. He also declared that:

Since coming to the United States, I have not made drawings of any political character, and have rejected all invitations to do so.<sup>39</sup>

By 1933, as the power of the Nazis increased, Grosz was the name most frequently mentioned as an enemy of German culture. On February 19, 1933, he lost his German citizenship. He never became an authentic American, however; despite his effort, he always remained a demoralized German.<sup>40</sup> From 1933, he not only abandoned his communist militancy but even his anti-Nazi position, refusing in 1939 to collaborate with a special publication, *Equality*, bringing together German and American writers.<sup>41</sup>

The most reasonable deduction from the above facts is that Grosz's participation in the events of his time were the result of the turbulence of the period. The playwright Ervin Piscator recalls that at the time it was not necessary to read Marx and Lenin in order to become a revolutionary; artists and intellectuals were driven by the political context.<sup>42</sup> This political context was also the subject of confusion for Grosz. In his autobiography, he repudiated his past work, admitting that he lived in a permanent state of conflict, unable to accept the work he had done in Germany.<sup>43</sup>

Although his declarations contain clear ideological inconsistencies, most art historians have accepted his communist stand as authentic. Even Lewis, who reviewed Grosz's communist militancy and subscribed to the views of Alfred Durus (pseudonym of Alfred Kemeny, a Hungarian communist who was an art and literature critic for *Die Rote Fahne*), who argued that Grosz abandoned being both a Spartakist and a Bolshevik,<sup>44</sup> does not raise any questions regarding the honesty of Grosz's ideological position. Furthermore, despite the artist's declarations, it is difficult for Hess, for example, to accept that Grosz deviated from his political work, while Schneede notes that Grosz did not defend the struggles of the proletariat, nor was he identified with the communist cause.<sup>45</sup> Nevertheless, he does not explain Grosz's ideological position clearly, although he quotes the diary of Count Harry Kesler (a liberal

diplomat and patron of the arts), who presents Grosz as a moralist and not a communist militant:

Berlin, February 5, 1919. Called on the painter George Grosz this morning... He said he would like to become the '**German Hogarth**' - to be deliberately concrete and moralistic in his work. He wants to preach to the world, improve it, reform it...<sup>46</sup>

In conclusion, rather than trying to create an artistic political message that would support the workers and the exploited, according to his declared communist militancy, the true Grosz was a Protestant believer, who could not accept evil or sin<sup>47</sup> and who saw his critical mission as being to fight these ills, which he perceived as the negative factors that dominate the world, driving the desire for wealth and opulence.

## Notes

1. This paper is based on my Ph.D dissertation: *Political Aspects of Spanish Art of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century - The Paradox of Art Engagée*, Jerusalem University, 1998.
2. On December 30 1918 George Grosz, Wieland Herzfelde, John Heartfield and Erwin Piscator joined the Communist Party, see Hess 1974: 260. Grosz met Herzefelde in Meidner's studio in 1915, see McCloskey 1997: 20. The study of McCloskey is fundamental to understand the connection of the artists with the Communist Party. However as she notes, she will 'refrain from entering into debates over whether Grosz was ever really a political artist and genuinely committed to Communism', McCloskey 1997: 9.
3. Hess 1974: 81-118; Schneede 1985: 132-170.
4. Hess 1974: 46.
5. Lewis 1971: 23.
6. Lewis 1971: 51.
7. Hess 1974: 46.
8. Hess 1974: 64.
9. Hess 1974: 51.
10. Hess 1974: 98.
11. Schneede 1985: 31.
12. The Spartakist League (founded in 1916) was named after Roman slave who led an unsuccessful rebellion of slaves in 71 BC. The League was a revolutionary Marxist organization that became part of the Independent Socialist Party (USPD). On December 1918 the Spartakist broke with the USPD and formed the German Communist Party, see Townson 1995: 897.
13. Townson 1995: 904.
14. Lewis 1971: 66-68.



15. Grosz drew two versions of the same motif. The first was for *Die Pleite* (1919) and the second for *The Face of the Ruling Class* (1921).
16. Lewis 1971: 125.
17. Lejeune 1953: 46.
18. Hess 1974: 98-100.
19. Hess 1974: 100.
20. About the Fair, *Die Rote Fahne*, the official daily of the Communist Party published on July 25 1920 wrote: 'pretending that this collection of perverse works represents a cultural or artistic achievements is not a joke but an impertinence', Schneede 1985: 109-110.
21. Lewis 1971: 92.
22. Lewis 1971: 94. In their article, Grosz and Heartfield argued: 'with pleasure bullets flying into galleries and palaces and into Rubens masterworks, instead of into the houses of the poor in workers' districts', McCloskey 1997: 65.
23. Lewis 1971: 97.
24. Schneede 1985: 146.
25. Lewis 1971: 132.
26. Lewis 1971: 132.
27. Grosz 1972: quotes Grosz 1946.
28. Lewis 1971: 103.
29. *Der Knuppel* was a satirical periodical of the Communist Party.
30. *Catalogue, Goya y el espíritu de la Ilustración*, 1995: 30. See the etchings serie: *Los Caprichos*, n. 42 *Thou who cant not*; n.50, *The Chinchillas and the Album C*, n. 120 *You didn't know what you were carrying on your shoulders*.
31. The purpose of the *Red Group*, according to the manifest was: 'to work closely together with local Communist Party organizations...to contribute to an improved effectiveness of Communist Propaganda.' The manifest of the group was reprinted in *Die Rote Fahne*, June 18 1924, see Schneede 1985: 145, 192.
32. Lewis 1971: 192.
33. McCloskey 1997: 105. From 1927 Grosz's work was no longer recognized as an effective weapon in the Party's revolutionary struggle, McCloskey 1997: 128 .
34. The essay's last part was an attack upon Paris' position as the center of reactionary art, which was ignoring the social revolution and connected in aesthetics problems. *Art is in Danger* was translated to Russian and published in Moscow, see Lewis 1971: 116-119.
35. Hess 1974: 154.
36. Lewis 1971: 116.
37. Backett 1976: 15.
38. Hess 1974: 175.
39. Hess 1974: 247.
40. Hess 1974: 247.
41. Lewis 1971: 228.
42. Hess 1974: 215.
43. Richard 1979: 101.
44. Lewis 1971: 195. Durus accused Grosz of a lack of ideological clarity and of selling

- his art comfortably in exhibitions alongside those of the 'decadent bourgeois artist', Paul Klee, McCloskey 1997: 145.
45. Hess 1974: 179-180.
  46. Schneede 1985: 133 (author's emphasis in last quotation).
  47. Lewis 191: 164.

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