NEVER TRUST A HIPPIE:
THE REPRESENTATION OF 'EXTREME'
POLITICS IN PUNK MUSIC GRAPHICS
AND THE INFLUENCES OF PROTEST
AND PROPAGANDA TRADITIONS

ANA RAPOSO

UNIVERSITY OF THE ARTS LONDON

AN.RAPOSO@GMAIL.COM

ABSTRACT

This paper explores the representation of political and ideological issues in music graphics in the United Kingdom from 1978 onwards. The analysis focuses on the music packaging of punk and post-punk bands engaged in the political 'extreme' – particularly the anarcho-punk movement and the neo-fascist scene.

Although for some historians punk represented a cultural rupture, it nonetheless (consciously or not) appropriated and reinterpreted graphic techniques, strategies and conventions from previous counter-cultural and protest movements (particularly, though not exclusively, from the sixties) – as well as political movements. This paper aims to explore how such graphics influenced the visual language of politically engaged punk and post-punk bands. It also addresses connections to art/political movements, such as Dadaism, Constructivism and the Situationist International.

The punk designers were sometimes trained but were more often practitioners of a do-it-yourself approach. By identifying which images they chose to 'cut and paste', it is hoped to demonstrate how

'authenticity' was constructed, and why certain aesthetic looks took hold while others did not.

INTRODUCTION

This paper addresses how previous cultural and artistic movements influenced the graphic language of punk bands involved in 'extreme' politics. In relation to the anarcho-punk movement, it first establishes how the sixties and seventies subcultural and counter-culture permeated into the movement. It then demonstrates how it claimed its position as part of the lineage of protest by evoking dissent movements as far back as 1381. Additionally, it addresses how references from art movements were integrated in the dissemination of the messages and creation of its graphic language. It argues that the use of art references reveals a critical knowledge of this milieu and is by itself part of the construction of the argument. Although scarce, it also addresses how state propaganda is incorporated in the graphics.

The paper also focuses on the neo-Nazi rock scene, and contextualises its emergence within the thriving punk movement. It addresses how

influences were drawn from the original skinheads and other subcultural groups. Additionally, it demonstrates how the music graphics, particularly record sleeves, used predominantly vernacular sources, such as commercial art, and official Nazi propaganda. It also catalogues the few references to the art milieu.

'NEVER TRUST A HIPPIE'

'Never trust a hippie' was a phrase popularised in *The Great Rock 'n' Roll Swindle* – the Sex Pistols movie directed by Julien Temple.[1] Devised by Jamie Reid, who had himself fleetingly passed through the hippie generation (Reid 1987: 18), it was aimed particularly at Richard Branson from Virgin Records (Reid 1987: 95). Nonetheless it summed up a widespread feeling amongst the subculture.

It became a motto for the punk subculture, which aggressively refused all previous subcultures and counter-cultural movements. In fact, punk emerged as a direct confrontation to the remnants of the hippie movement. According to Gee Vaucher from Crass:

> The background of punk coming in, the seventies, was really dire; corrupt pop music, facile words, facile sentiments, facile blokes thrusting their shit on the stage. And everyone was sick and tired of it quite honestly, because it was so manufactured. There was nothing real there, except the reality of the unrealness of what they were trying to say or not say. It was all puppetry. So when you get a situation like that which becomes so extreme you are bound to get a break out and it happened to be punk this time. [2]

However, the outbreak of punk against hippies was not directed at what it had been – or at what it was meant to be – but at what it had become. From a counter-cultural and anti-establishment movement, the hippie scene had lost its political pertinence being reduced by its commoditisation to the hollow and naive sentiment of a yellow smiley. Caroline Coon exposed this duality:

> When they [punks] were slagging off hippies, I suddenly understood that they had grown up reading about hippies in the tabloid press, and what they were doing was spouting the shock and filth of the hippies, the disgusting drop-outs. So I said, 'The gutter press did to the hippies exactly what they're going to do to you'. (Savage 2009: 472)

Nevertheless, despite its apparent refusal of the previous generations, punk incorporated strategies and themes of previous dissent movements, setting itself as an integral part of the lineage of protest.

'ANARCHY AND PEACE'

Within the anarcho-punk movement, Crass were seminal in forging an alliance with the previous generation. Spearheads of the anarcho-punk scene, and with members belonging to an older generation who were politically active in the sixties, its discourse was restructured to the new subculture. Crass' own logo, a fusion between an *amphisbaena* – a mythical snake with heads at both ends – and an *ouroboros* – an ancient symbol representing a snake eating its own tail – is reminiscent of the interest surrounding pagan myths and rites characteristic of the hippie subculture capital.

Figure 1. Crass. Live show. 1980s. Photograph by William White.

Additionally, from the very beginning Crass adopted a cause that had been fulcral to the sixties counter-culture, with a logo that became synonymous with the hippie subculture. Crass used the CND (Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament) symbol, placing it alongside their banners. According to Crass, "at the same time, having discovered that CND did actually still exist, albeit in a downtrodden, self-effacing manner, we decided to promote its cause, something that at

---

[1] Although the movie was only completed in 1980 the project had been developed since the early years of the Sex Pistols and the slogan had been widespread in punk since its emergence.

[2] Vaucher, G. (2011) Interview with the author on 20 May 2011.

the time CND seemed to be incapable of doing for itself. From then on, despite screams of derision in the music press, we also displayed the peace symbol at gigs". (Crass 1986) However dubious that this resurgence could be attributed to Crass alone, numerous accounts of CND history (Minnion & Bolsover 1983, Byrne 1988, Mattausch 1989, Byrne 1997, Hudson 2005) fail to mention any influence of either the band or the wider punk subculture, either in the organisation or in the heavily attended demonstrations in the early 1980s, many of which included a large punk contingent.

Through Crass, the anarcho-punk bands became involved in the withering free festivals.[3] Direct quotations and support to the hippie subculture were not only engaged by Crass but by other members of the anarcho-punk movement as in the two compilation EPs released by Bluurg Records – *Wessex '82*, the first release on the label in 1982, and particularly *Stonehenge*, released in 1987. The sleeve of *Wessex '82* displayed a photograph of the Westbury White Horse, associated to the Dark Ages and pagan rituals. And the *Stonehenge EP* reinforced this connection being released as a benefit to "getting more people to the stones for Solstice/Equinox celebrations".

A design device that would become a leitmotif of Crass Records and the anarcho-punk movement was the foldout sleeve. The use of the foldout poster was not an original device *per se*, as according to Penny Rimbaud from Crass, "the big foldout poster – you could look back to the sixties, where people used a lot of that sort of tactic. No-one had done it on a record before, but the whole idea of broadsheets was very much a sixties thing." (Berger 2008: 140) In fact, in 1967, the Deviants[4] had released the album *Ptooff!*, which folded out into a poster with similar measurements to the poster sleeves released by

---

[3] The free festivals were nomadic music festivals, inspired by the American hippies, which were largely popular in Britain during the seventies. (McKay 1996)

[4] The Deviants were one of the bands of the British counterculture of the sixties and early seventies, which pursued the creation of an alternative society. The most visible outputs of the British counterculture, which focused mainly in the area of Notting Hill and Ladbroke Grove in London, were publications – such as Oz and International Times – and music – including groups such as the Deviants, The Pink Fairies or Hawkind.

Crass Records. However, if the device in itself was not innovative, its use was – either through the strikingly politicised visual contents or through the use of the sleeve as a narrative process.
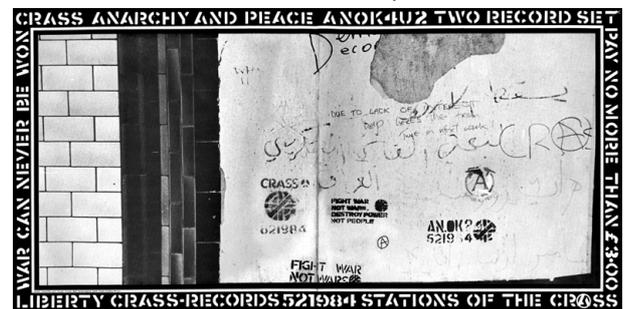

Figure 2. Crass. *Stations of the Cross.* 1979. Crass 521984. Double LP.

The use of graffiti was also reclaimed from counter-cultural movements of the sixties. According to Crass, "since early '77 we had been involved in maintaining a graffiti war throughout Central London. Our stencilled messages, anything from 'Fight War Not Wars' to 'Stuff Your Sexist Shit', were the first of their kind to appear in the UK and inspired a whole movement that, sadly, has now been eclipsed by hip-hop artists who have done little but confirm the insidious nature of American culture." (Crass 1986) A visual record of the graffiti campaign was displayed in the front and back sleeve of the album *Stations of the Crass*, released in 1979. In fact, The Deviants had launched a graffiti campaign in London in the late sixties, but the geographical extent was limited – focusing solely on the Ladbroke Grove area in London – and the political content was dubious and could be considered simply as self-promotion, being based upon the slogan – 'Pink Fairies Fly'. (Deakin 2007: 155) Also, even though the protests of May 1968 in France are renowned for their posters from Atelier Populaire, stencilled slogans such as "Your happiness is being bought: Steal it!" or "Society is a carnivorous flower" could also be found across the city of Paris. (Kugelberg & Vermès 2011) A direct quotation of the posters appears in the album *Never Mind the Ballots... Here's the Rest of Your Life* released by Chumbawamba in 1987. It references the poster of Atelier Populaire – *Le Vote Ne Change Rien, La Lutte Continue*.
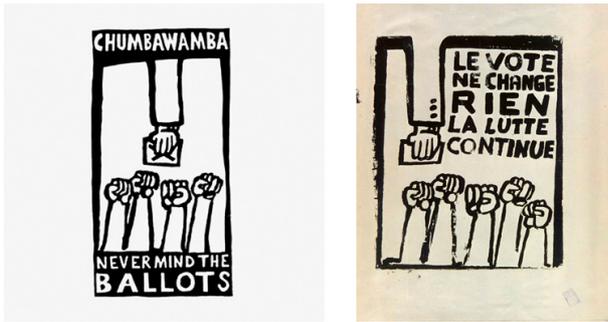
Figure 3. Chumbawamba. *Never Mind the Ballots*. 1987. Agit Prop Prop 2. LP / *Le Vote Ne Change Rien, La Lutte Continue*. France. 1968. Poster

But if the British counter-culture of the sixties and seventies had used some of the techniques later reclaimed by Crass, not all of its members were politically committed. Though it had also pursued the power of music for political purposes by the common person, claiming that revolution could be achieved "with electric guitars and harmonicas rather than bullets and bombs." (Deakin 2007: 98) In the midst of the haze surrounding the constant consumption of psychotropic drugs, the aims were often mundane. According to Mick Farren, "getting stoned, drunk or laid is maybe the aim of the revolution..." (Deakin 2007: 154) The lack of a wider network of support meant that all actions stood as isolated acts with dimmed repercussions.

Despite attempts of the Pink Fairies to engage in the new emerging punk subculture, they were unsuccessful.[5] According to Caroline Coon, of the Melody Maker, "the Fairies, one of the underground's first psychedelic rock groups epitomising the 'peace and love' ideology of the hippy era, will never lose their Flower Child aroma. They represent the antithesis of the punk ethic..." (Deakin 2007: 212)

However, where the Pink Fairies failed, Crass were triumphant. Even though many of the members of Crass had been active during the hippie subculture, this project was new. From the union of new blood with a sense of continuance, a band emerged that was both conscious and fully integrated in the emerging subculture. Thus, Crass were able to take advantage of the potentiality of the new network of a disenfranchised youth looking for change.

---

[5] It is noteworthy to mention that one of its members – Twink – did form a punk band – The Rings. However as a collective the adaptation to the emerging subculture was unsuccessful.

Even though temporal proximity led to the majority of references and strategies being claimed from the sixties, one record arising from the anarcho punk movement rewound over six hundred years in a reinterpretation of a selection of songs of dissent from 1381 to 1914. *English Rebel Songs 1381-1914* was a 10" album released in 1988 by Chumbawamba, including tracks such as: *The Cutty Wren*, referring to Peasant's Revolt of 1381; *The Digger's Song* from 1646, regarding the communal travellers settling on fields; *World Turned Upside Down* from the mid 1870's portraying an inversion of society roles and positions; or *Hanging on the Old Barbed Wire* written by soldiers in the trenches in First World War focusing on inequalities between rich and poor. The cardboard sleeve had a circular die cut in the centre which allowed to switch between two different images printed in the inner sleeve – "The world turned upside down. Title page of a Diggers pamphlet. 1647" and "King George's coach attacked by rioters after the opening of the Parliament. 1795".
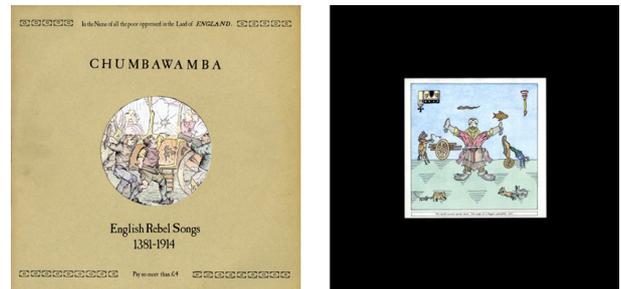
Figure 4. Chumbawamba. *English Rebel Songs 1381-1914*. 1988. Agit Prop Prop 3. 10"

The recognition of groups involved in subversive action throughout history was not exclusive to the anarcho-punk movement, as in the sixties a San Francisco guerrilla theatre group had adopted the name of The Diggers as homage to the English 17th century anarchist group. The sixties Diggers also pursued the liberation of private property by distributing food, medical care and shelter, amongst other necessities. Additionally, according to Ian Bone, from Class War, who intermittently established a connection with the anarcho punk movement, "our real political influence was the English mob and we intended to be the proud inheritors of that mob tradition stretching back to the Peasants' Revolt." (Bone 2006: 250)

However, if previous counter-cultural movements had intended to bring art and their message into the public realm, communicating with all, punk told all of them to communicate. According to Nelson, "indeed, it could be argued that many of those 'in' the counter-culture were there chiefly as consumers, spectators more than participants [...] And ironically for the British counter-culture, which was trying to reject what it saw as straight society's acceptance of the 'American way of life' (...) it became imbued itself to a large extent with what might be termed the 'American way of the alternative future'." (Nelson 1989: 99) Punk ruptured the division between producer and consumer through the dissemination of DIY (or do-it-yourself) aesthetics.

Influences that permeate the anarcho-punk scene are not exclusively drawn from counter-cultural and dissent movements. Art is also used as a reference either from more contemporary and subversive movements or classical pieces. Attitudes towards referencing are diverse, from homage to critique. According to Gee Vaucher, regarding influences to her work: "because we worked with some of the Fluxus people that was an influence. But that was just a follow-on from the Surrealists, who I don't particularly like, but I did like very much the Dadaists and the Bauhaus and all that area. The influences for me have come from many different places." (Vaucher 2011)

The foldout sleeve of the seven-inch single *Rub Me Out* released by the Cravats in 1982 explicitly references the Dadaists. When folded, a hint of the use of the experimental typographical compositions characteristic of the Dadaists appears on the back of the sleeve. Unfolding the sleeve reveals the written information entirely displayed as a typical Dadaist typographic experiment. If the visuals perfectly mimic the compositions of the 1910s and 1920s, the technique – and its explicitness – contextualise the object within the punk subculture and its DIY aesthetics. The use of Letraset transferable lettering is brandished by including in the artwork the rubbed instructions of how to apply the transfer together with the instant lettering label. The sleeve displays confidence in the use of typography and reveals the informed background of the creators.

Figure 5. The Cravats. *Rub Me Out*. 1982. Crass 221984/4. 7" single

Another release on Crass Records, *Weary of the Flesh* released by Andy T in 1982, quotes a later art movement. The inside poster references the performances created by the Viennese Actionists in the sixties, particularly Hermann Nitsch. The poster creates a visual subversion of the food chain, by representing animals bloodily butchering humans. A text framing the illustration urges for the identification with all living animals – "You disguise the truth with pretty names. A living thing is now a joint of beef. You shift the blame, but you can't hide your sickly smile, your blood-stained teeth. You are the butcher, not the man in the shop, but you haven't got the guts to kill your meal. If you saw the pain it would make you sick. Just think how the animals feel..." Arguably it works on two levels. For a global audience it acts as a critique of the meat trade but to an informed audience it also critiques Viennese Actionism by subverting their work, as the dissected become the dissectors. Hermann Nitsch often used slaughtered animals and their blood in his performances. Andrew Thorley (Andy T) was very explicit that in the photo shoot "we utilised a lot of printing ink – not blood!" (Glasper 2006: 352)

Figure 6. Andy T. *Weary of the Flesh.* 1982. Crass 221984/4. 7" EP / Hermann Nitsch. *Orgien Mysterien Theater.* Concept developed in 1957

The foldout sleeve of *Stations of the Crass*, released by Crass in 1979, integrates classical art as an integral part of the argument. On one panel an illustration displays two women with their backs turned on each other. The women are contextualised by the legends – J.A. Ingres and Hiroshima – and with dates on the centre – 1828-1945. The first woman is a bather and the second a victim from a nuclear bomb. At a first glance the illustration contrasts classical beauty with the perverse effects of war. However a pointer to follow the first image is given by providing the author and date. The close crop of the back of the women bathing is extracted from an oil painting by Jean Auguste Dominique Ingres from 1828 – the *Little Bather in the Harem*.[6] The painting belongs to a series portraying an idealised Orient, particularly the harem where no westerners were allowed. The theme had been renowned in the 19th and 20th centuries art discourse. The Surrealists had quoted the same painting though the *Le Violon d'Ingres* by

---

[6] It is noteworthy to mention that Ingres painted two similar bathers – one alone in a bathroom and the other in the harem. Due to the close crop of the image used in the illustration, the two bathers would be almost indistinguishable. However, the painting chosen portrayed the bather in the harem.

Man Ray from 1924. According to David Bate, "the Orient served as a site for the projection of ideas that served to legitimate Western colonial power." (Bate 2004: 113) The portrayal of a Hiroshima victim – a woman from another Orient – also relates to the domination of western power by revealing the consequences inflicted by its military. Thus, despite the apparent contrast of realities, the composition actually depicts two women oppressed by the world of men – both through sexual oppression and patriarchal submission to war.
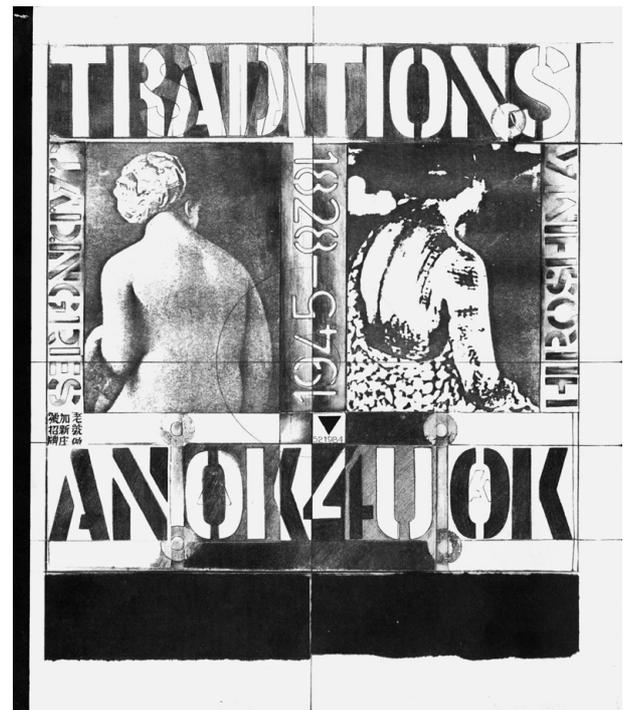
Figure 7. Crass. *Stations of the Crass.* 1979. Crass 521984. Double LP. Detail

Although the use of official propaganda is unusual in the anarcho-punk milieu it is also referenced, either as an act of détournement as critique or as quotation of an admired feat. The recruitment poster of General Kitchener from the First World War, is referenced in the inside poster of *The Feeding of the 5000: The Second Sitting*, released by Crass. The poster displays a rotting hand caught up on barbed wire pointing towards the viewer and beneath it runs the slogan "Your country needs you", clearly placing an act of détournement on the renowned poster. Notwithstanding, the poster works on two oppositional levels. It reveals the perverseness of war and consequences suffered by recruited soldiers, while presenting an additional reading implying that "Your country needs you" to prevent war by siding with Crass.

Figure 8. Crass. *The Feeding of the 5000: The Second Sitting*. 1979. Crass 621984. LP. Inside poster / Alfred Leete. *Your Country Needs You*. 1914

Figure 9. Kronstadt Uprising. *The Unkown Revolution*. 1983. Spiderleg SDL 12. 7" EP / Vladimir Ivanovich Kozlinski. *Long live the vanguard of the revolution, the Red Fleet!.* 1920

A direct quotation of official propaganda is seen in the 7" EP *The Unknown Revolution* released by the Kronstadt Uprising in 1983. The Kronstadt uprising was an unsuccessful rebellion against the Bolsheviks in 1921, described by the band as:

> Well, Kronstadt was a Russian Port. The sailors were fed up with the conditions that they had to live in, so they rose up against the Government and they were immediately murdered by the Red Guard, or some other 'officials', thus proving that the people were just as worse off under the Bolsheviks as under the Tsar: thus proving that all the Governments are the same and not to be trusted in any way... (Hunt 1983: 21)

The Kronstadt uprising is frequently acclaimed within anarchist circles. It is possible to ascertain, by a rant published in The Apostles EP, *Raising from the Ashes* from 1983, – "What do we know about Kropotkin and the first international and the Fuckovsky Uprising of umpteen twenty two?" – that it was also discussed in the anarcho-punk scene, despite the degree of actual knowledge regarding the event and its politics. *Freedom*, the magazine of the anarchist Freedom Press, also included a cartoon entitled *The Kronstadt Kids*. (Freedom Press 1986) The front sleeve is a reference to the poster designed by Vladimir Ivanovich Kozlinski in 1920. Ironically, the original poster is actually an exaltation of the Bolshevik Revolution – 'Long live the vanguard of the revolution, the Red Fleet!' The background to the sailor in the sleeve visually refers to the constructivist structure of layout – with a strong emphasis on diagonals.

'HITLER WAS RIGHT'

While substantial flirtation with Nazi imagery occurred during the early emergence of punk[7], this paper does not cover the use of Nazi references in punk but the committed neo-Nazi scene that emerged in the early eighties. If in 1978, reflecting on the use of the swastika by punks, Dick Hebdige stated that "the symbol [had] lost its 'natural' enemy – fascism." (1979: 116) and it "was worn because it was guaranteed to shock." (1979: 116); in 1982, he claimed that "in 1981, you couldn't pass off wearing a swastika as a sick joke. (...) To wear a swastika in 1981 was to say that something real was on the march again." (1982: 29)

Punk emerged as a reaction to the contemporaneous reality and as a residuary subcultural context of the sixties. The neo-Nazi scene, due to its later entrenchment, set its foundations in the punk movement itself. Attempts to ally far right politics with punk originated in 1978 – through the creation of the Punk Front and Rock Against Communism by the National Front (Morrison 2002) – and were pursued during the following years. However, the scene was only fully established in 1983 with the creation of the White Noise Club – a subsidiary organisation from the National Front created for the dissemination of white power rock. Thus, it has two major distinctions that separate it from the previous politicisation of punk. First, its subcultural emergence occurred in the context of punk, rather than as a reaction to the hippie movement. And second, its foundations were set

---

[7] For more on early punk and racism see Sabin, 1999.

by a political party rather than from counter-culture and spontaneous people's reaction.

By 1983, the neo-Nazi scene had almost entirely discarded the punk subculture and had focused in recruiting its audiences from the burgeoning skinhead revival. Skinheads emerged in the sixties inspired by the Jamaican rude boys and listened to reggae and ska. During its revival skinheads adopted Oi, or street punk, a punk variation trying to reconnect to the working class culture. The increase of fascist audiences within skinhead and Oi, forced audiences and bands to define their political positions, creating a schism in the skinhead subculture. As the traditional skinhead subculture of the sixties was at its core apolitical and its music graphics were from reggae and ska, the neo-Nazi skinhead scene claimed the fashion of the original skinhead but not its graphics.

While not directly involved in the music scene or a subculture per se, parallels can be observed between the Hells Angels, founded in 1948, and the neo-Nazi rock scene. While constantly keeping their club as an autonomous organisation, the Hells Angels were involved in the American and British rock scenes, most notably for their role as security. In the United Kingdom, the Hells Angels had close links to the counter-culture. (Nelson 1989) The Hells Angels displayed fervent patriotism, partly due to most of its original members being veterans of the Second World War and the Korean War. It was – and is – a primarily white organisation and incorporated Nazi imagery, such as the swastika and the sig rune, within coded patches and imagery. However, while both groups use Nazi imagery, the neo-Nazi scene did not adopt specific Hells Angels imagery. This may be due to the fierce defence by the Hells Angels of their own visuals through the use of copyright laws and the sense of opposition felt by the punk subculture to the more traditional rock music scenes, which included the Hells Angels by its association with the hippie underground.

But if a sense of debt to the sixties psychedelic scene can be attributed to the neo-Nazi scene, it is in the use of mythological imagery. According to Edward Macan, regarding the covers of psychedelic rock records, "within this overall umbrella of surrealism, two types of subject matter are used over and over again: science fiction and fantasy/mythological scenes." (Macan 1997: 59) In the sleeves of the neo-Nazi scene illustration acts as the privileged medium to convey mythological sceneries exposing narratives of struggle for an idealised past towards a common enemy, such as the sleeve of *Hail the New Dawn* released in 1984 by Skrewdriver.

Figure 10. Skrewdriver. *Hail the New Dawn*. 1984. Rock-o-Rama RRR 46. LP

Although the referencing of the art milieu is scarce, exceptions do occur through the unexpected use of work from John Heartfield and Karl Geiss. A subversion of Karl Geiss's poster *The Worker in the Reich of the Swastika* designed in 1932 (Pachnicke & Honnef 1992: 39) appears in the back sleeve of the single *Voice of Britain* released by Skrewdriver in 1984. Later the same year it appears as the main motif in the front sleeve of their single *Invasion*. Whereas the original portrays a worker crucified in the swastika, the subversion replaces the swastika with the hammer and sickle. However, despite the simplification of the artwork, the reference is clear, with details such as the rope belt being mimicked faithfully. The symbol had been previously used in *RAC News* – a regular section dedicated to Rock Against Communism in the periodical publication *Bulldog: Paper of the Young National Front*.

Figure 11. Skrewdriver. *Invasion*. 1984. Rock-o-Rama RRR 47. 7"
Single / Karl Geiss. *The Worker in the Reich of the Swastika*. 1932

However, if within *RAC News* the subversion of
the symbol is created to reflect a different
ideology, the back sleeve of the album *A New
Beginning* by Lionheart features an unexpected
appropriation. The artwork of *The Old Slogan in
the 'New' Reich: Blood and Iron* created by John
Heartfield in 1934 (Pachnicke & Honnef 1992:
198) is quoted without any alteration.

While several illustrations and paintings are
appropriated they reveal disinterest of the art
milieu. While aspiring to evoke the glorious past of
white warriors, references and direct
appropriations are claimed from contemporary
sources. As an example the album *Renaissance*
released by Crusade in 2001, appropriates the
Riders of the Sidhe painted by John Duncan in 1911.
Similarly, the *album A Journey through Avalon*
released by Avalon in 2004 appropriates *The Death
of Arthur* painted by John Mulcaster Carrick in
1862, and more examples are to be found amongst
the far right discography. Although aspiring to
expose a report of reality and historicity, the
contemporaneous character of the paintings
establishes them as mythical portraits of an
idealised legend. A parallel can be seen in the
common appropriation of depictions of Norse
warriors from fiction artists such as Frank Frazetta.
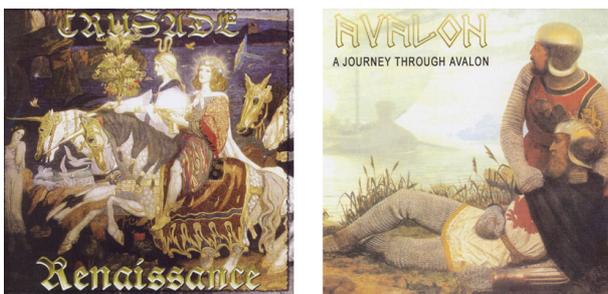
Figure 12. Crusade. *Renaissance*. 2001. Ohrwurm Records. CD /
Avalon. *A Journey through Avalon*. 2004. Rampage Productions. CD

Antithetically to the anarcho-punk scene, official
propaganda, particularly Nazi propaganda, is one
of the most common sources of appropriation of
imagery within the far-right music scene. Paul
Burnley's projects – No Remorse, Public Enemy
and Paul Burnley and the 4th Reich –
predominantly exhibit Nazi imagery, more
frequently than any other authors, either in
frequent use of the swastika or of Nazi
propaganda images. Peculiarly Paul Burnley, and
his brother John, drummer of Skrewdriver, had a
privileged upbringing and were immersed in the
art world. Their father was the Scottish painter
John Bellany, who was awarded a CBE in 1994,
and according to Stewart Home has been quoted
in the national press saying that "I detest racism, I
loathe it" (Home 1995). However the use of Nazi
propaganda is not limited to projects by Paul
Burnley. The album *After the Fire* by Skrewdriver
from 1998, also reinterpreted an illustration by
Georg von Sluyterman, who was a member of the
Nazi SA and whose illustrations were used for
propaganda.
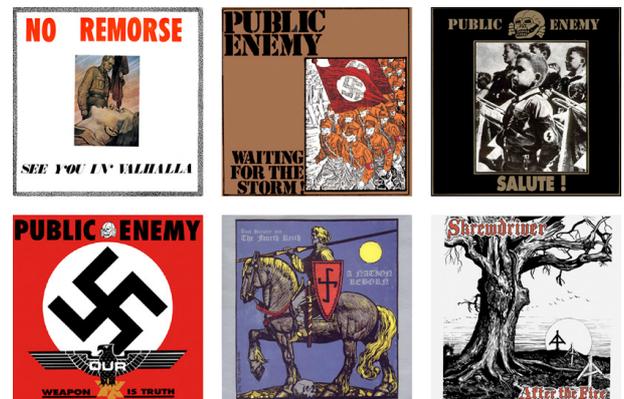
Figure 13. No Remorse. *See You In Valhalla*. 1989. RAC Records
RAC 5. LP / Public Enemy. *Waiting for the Storm*. 1989. Rebelles
Européens RE 45 09 89. 7" Single / Public Enemy. *Salute!*. 1990.
Rebelles Européens RE 45 24 90. 7" single / Public Enemy. *Our
Weapon is Truth*. 1991. Rebelles Européens RE 33 28 91. LP / Paul
Burney and the Fourth Reich. *A Nation Reborn*. 1991. Rebelles
Européens RE 33 30 91. LP / Skrewdriver. *After The Fire*. 1988.
Rock-o-Rama RRR 75. LP

Other sources include vernacular commercial art
such as the sleeve of *Paul Burnley is the Real
Public Enemy* which displays a clear reference to
the idiosyncrasies of comics graphic language,
particularly of superheroes confronting the villain;
or the album *White Rider* by Skrewdriver referring
to the poster of the 1915 movie *The Birth of a
Nation* directed by D.W. Griffiths, glorifying the
American Klansmen.
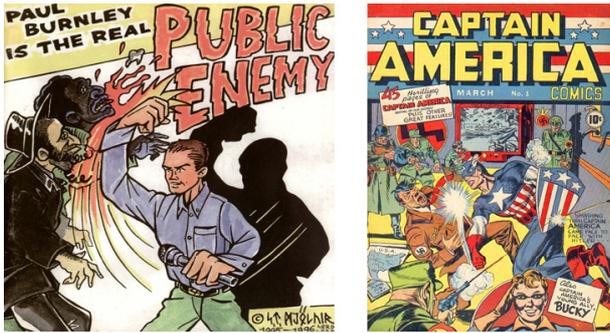
Figure 2. Paul Burnley. *Paul Burnley is the Real Public Enemy*. 1996. Nordland. CD / *Captain America*. No. 1. 1941. Marvel Comics

Figure 15. Skrewdriver. *White Rider*. 1987. Rock-o-Rama RRR 66. LP / DW Griffith. *The Birth of a Nation*. 1915. Poster

CONCLUSIONS

Crass, due to their background, synthesized references and techniques of the movements of protest of the sixties into punk. From the use of mythological references in the Crass logo to the adoption of causes such as the CND, the use of graffiti and fold-out posters, the use of photo-montage and détournement, Crass were able to successfully integrate previous subcultural devices of protest into a new emerging subculture. Their preponderance within the anarcho-punk movement permeated these influences to the wider context of the subculture. Art is used with a critical attitude. Whereas art movements considered to be ideologically correct, such as Dadaism or the Situationist International, are referenced in an unambiguous manner; movements considered to have equivocal credentials, such as Viennese Actionism or Classicism, are questioned and subverted. By using references and strategies of either counter-cultural art movements or subcultures the anarcho-punk movement established its position

as a perpetuation of the lineage of protest and dissent, claiming its legitimacy and authenticity in the radical family tree.

Regarding the far-right punk and skinhead scenes, their emergence was steered by organised politics and so the relevance of a subcultural continuance is neglected. As Hitler had dismissed modern art – and with the far-right musical scene being predominantly Nazi – so did the far-right punk and skinhead scenes. References are usually integrally seized from commercial and vernacular artworks and Nazi propaganda.

Even if we can assume that many of the references made by the anarcho-punk objects would be unnoticed by their audiences, they nonetheless reveal an intention of informing audiences. The aspiration to disclose as much information as possible by the anarcho-punk movement is contrasted with the reliance on strong slogans and direct imagery by the neo-Nazi rock scene. The use of information versus propaganda highlights a leaning towards education over indoctrination.

Some historians argue that punk created a complete rupture with previous subcultural and counter-cultural movements (Colegrave & Sullivan 2001, Lydon 2003). This is a popular view within the subculture itself. This paper argues that references can be found that contradict this position. However, punk did create a unique cultural context which has affected subcultures and the counter-culture ever since. Previous subcultures had appropriated music made by musicians external to the subculture, with politics distinct from their own. Punk rock was – and is – made by punks for punks with punk issues expressed in song lyrics. Music, the subculture and its politics are one and cannot be divided. Thus, if prior to punk, musicians and bands had engaged in political issues, the means of production with which they acted was limited. A virtual barrier was visible between actions, music and subculture. Punk ruptured the division between producer and consumer through the dissemination of it DIY aesthetics.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bate, D. (2004) *Photography and surrealism: sexuality, colonialism and social dissent.* London: I.B. Tauris.

Berger, G. (2008) *The story of Crass*. London: Omnibus Press.

Bone, I. (2006) *Bash the rich: true-life confessions of an anarchist in the UK*. Bath: Tangent Books.

Byrne, P. (1988) *The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament*. London: Croom Helm.

Byrne, P. (1997) *Social movements in Britain: theory and practice in British politics*. London: Routledge.

Colegrave, S. & Sullivan, C. (eds.) (2001) *Punk: a life apart*. London: Cassell.

Deakin, R. (2007) *Keep it together!: cosmic boogie with the Deviants and the Pink Fairies*. London: Headpress.

Freedom Press (1986) *Freedom: A hundred years, October 1886 to October 1986*. London: Freedom Press.

Glasper, I. (2006) *The day the country died: a history of anarcho punk 1980 to 1984.* London: Cherry Red Books.

Hebdige, D. (1979) *Subculture: the meaning of style.* New York: Routledge.

Hebdige, D. (1982) This is England! And they don't live here. In Knight, Nick *Skinhead*. London: Omnibus Press, pp.26-36.

Home, S. (1995) *Cranked up really high: genre theory and punk rock.* Hove: Codex Books.

Hudson, K. (2005) *CND: now more than ever.* London: Vision Paperbacks.

Kugelberg, J. & Vermès, P. (eds.) (2011) *Beauty is in the street: a visual record of the May '68 Paris uprising.* Four Corners Books.

Lydon, J. (2003) Rotten: no Irish, no blacks, no dogs. London: Plexus Publishing Ltd. [1994]

Macan, E. (1997) *Rocking the classics: English progressive rock and the counterculture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Mattausch, J. (1989) *A commitment to campaign: a sociological study of CND*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

McKay, G. (1996*) Senseless acts of beauty: cultures of resistance since the sixties*. London: Verso.

Miles, B. (2003) *Hippie*. London: Essential Works.

Minnion, J. & Bolsover, P. eds. (1983) *The CND story.* London: Allison & Busby.

Morrison, E. (2002) *Memoirs of a street soldier*.

Nelson, E. (1989) *The British counter-culture, 1966-73: a study of the underground press.* London: Macmillan.

Pachnicke, P. & Honnef K. (1992) *John Heartfield*.

New York: Harry N. Abrams.

Ratter, J. (1998) *Shibboleth: my revolting life.* Edinburgh: AK Press.

Reid, J. (1987) *Up they rise: the incomplete works of Jamie Reid.* London: Faber and Faber.

Sabin, R. ed. (1999) *Punk rock, so what?: the cultural legacy of punk.* London: Routledge.

Savage, J. (2009) *The England's Dreaming tapes*. London: Faber and Faber.

PERIODICALS

Hunt, C. (1983) Interview with Kronstadt Uprising. *Prisoner of Charity*, Issue 2, December, pp.20-21.

INTERVIEWS

Vaucher, G. (2011) Interview with the author on 20 May 2011. Epping.
[Recording in possession of author]

DISCOGRAPHY

Andy T (1982) *Weary of the flesh*. Essex: Crass Records.

The Apostles (1983) *Rising from the ashes*. Scum Records.

Crass (1986) *Best before*. Essex: Crass Records.

Skrewdriver (1987) *White rider*. Rock-O-Rama Records.

Various artists (1987) *Stonehenge EP*. Bluurg Records.