Exhibition Newspaper


DRAWING PROTEST

Exhibition Newspaper

EINSTEIN FORUM

Drawing Protest jetzt am Einstein Forum
24.4.-11.7.2014

mit Arbeiten von
Enrique Flores (Madrid)
und Viktoria Lomasko (Moskau)

Ausstellungseröffnung:
Viktoria Lomasko im Gespräch
mit der Kuratorin Olga Vostretsova

am Donnerstag, 24. April, um 19 Uhr
Am Neuen Markt 7, 14467 Potsdam
1525 – 1700

A commented picture spread by Alexander Roob with material from the archive of the Molton Prior Institute, Düsseldorf

**EDITORIAL**

Drawing is an artistic medium that has gained increasing importance in the wake of global protest movements in recent years. One particularly exciting development is the merging of activities on location, which capture a wide variety of opinions and concerns and are subsequently published in printed and online media. There are more and more drawings cropping up on blogs and on art websites that depict the global protests of the past two years with artistic means, and that tell subjective stories.

**DRAWING PROTEST** explores the importance of reportage drawings in the context of European protest movements. What added value is produced by pictures based on the artists’ direct participation, which consequently goes beyond an “objective” documentation of events? Can the personalized representation of political and social protests change public perceptions thereof, or influence decision-making processes? On the other hand, the project explores novel forms and formats as well as the issues targeted by protests in Europe. Which forms of representation are selected and employed for purposes of protest in our day? What exactly is a modern-day protest? What dynamics do the protest movements have? What specificity does the mass movements possess? Artists are achieving immediacy in their reporting by going to protests in person, becoming involved and creating artistic documents on the spot. They record what they see, feel and hear so that they can post reports online by the next day at the latest. This is the time. Enrique Flores worked in Madrid and Valencia. His protest documentation differs both from the official press photos and film footage and from any images taken by the protesters themselves.

The question as to whether artistic images that formulate a subjective perception merit more credibility today than photography – which has already reclaimed the drawn news image since the beginning of the 20th century – was one of the starting points for the exhibition “Tauchfahrten (Diving Trips) – Drawing as Reportage”.

The exhibition newspaper “Drawing Protest” combines drawings representing by Victoria Lumosko and Enrique Flores from Moscow and Madrid with analytical perspectives and interviews. The project explores novel forms and formats as well as the issues targeted by protests in Europe. Which forms of representation are selected and employed for purposes of protest in our day? What exactly is a modern-day protest? What dynamics do the protest movements have? What specificity does the mass movements possess? Artists are achieving immediacy in their reporting by going to protests in person, becoming involved and creating artistic documents on the spot. They record what they see, feel and hear so that they can post reports online by the next day at the latest. This is the time. Enrique Flores worked in Madrid and Valencia. His protest documentation differs both from the official press photos and film footage and from any images taken by the protesters themselves.

**ANON., "L’ATTAGUE A LA RAIN DES SOUCHES" , L’ILLUSTRATION, WOOD ENGRAVING, PARIS 1848**

The picture of an executed citizen is reproduction attaches to a number of conditions of actual historical cruelty. The reversed included woodcut prints lead to a contrast from the rules of repeatedly imposed press censorship.

**ANON., "THE FREEDORN ENGLISHMAN"; IN A BLANK GEIL AND THE BRIDGE STREET GANGER, WOOD ENGRAVING, LONDON 1821**

The subject of the recently popular illustrated papers is the civil and political history of the Englishman. The most significant event in the Liverpool Times was an exposure caused by an editor who is also a political illustrator. The reproduction of a picture of a political newspaper by the illustrator is a realistic illustration based on the plate's name: “A Blank Geil and the Bridge Street Ganger.”

**HONORÉ DAUMIER, "C’ETAIT VRAIMENT BEN LA PEINE DE NOUS CARNER!" GOT IS ALL WE GOT OURSELVES KILLED FOR! LITHOGRAPHIE, LA CARICATURE N° 291, PARIS 1837**

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**WILHELM KLEINENBRUCH, "DER NEUE PROMETHEUS" (THE NEW PROMETHEUS), WOOD ENGRAVING, DÜSSELDORF, 1842**

In the light of the new event revolution we must analyze the role of the new demonstrator. The revolution is the expression of the people’s will, which has been realized in the democratic movement. The artist Barthel Beham from Nuremberg belonged to a group of artists that were revolutionary. The graphic expresses his deep despair in face of the suppression of the revolt. Instead, images that depicted the outrage or the struggle for freedom were realized.

**HONORÉ DAUMIER, "DER WELT LAUF"; COPPER ENGRAVING, PARIS 1848**

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**GUSTAVE COURBET, "VIVE LA REPUBLIQUE"; WOOD ENGRAVING, LE SALUT PUBLIC N°2, PARIS 1848**

The woodcut entitled “Chez le Bourgeois” is also a reproduction of a公民木刻版, which is a woodcut based on the plate’s name: “Vive la Republique.” Prof. Dr. Klaus Schufler, a Art Historian and Professor of the University of Hamburg, speaks about the plate’s name: “Chez le Bourgeois.”

**ANON., "ME INN HOFFEN, DASS DES SIEB GED EKEND" (ONE MUST HOPE THAT THIS GAME WILL END), COLORED ETCHING, PARIS 1790**

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**HONORÉ DAUMIER, "MRS. WOODHULL ASSERTING HER RIGHT TO VOTE"; WOOD ENGRAVING, HARPER’S WEEKLY, NEW YORK, 05/05/1871**

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**THOMAS NAST, "NAY, PATIENCE, OR WE BREAK THE SINES WEEKLY"; WOOD ENGRAVING, HARPERS WEEKLY, NEW YORK, 05/18/1871**

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**GUSTAVE DORE, "COMMUNARD"; LITHOGRAPH, BLOCK, VERSAILLES ET PARIS EN 1871 D’APRES LES DESSINS ORIGINAUX, PARIS 1870**

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**FRANCIS O’SULLIVAN. "GOING TO VOTE"; WOOD ENGRAVING, HARPER’S WEEKLY, NEW YORK, 11/01/1871**

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**VICTOR HUGO, "LES CONTREMASTRES" BLOCK, VERSAILLES ET PARIS EN 1871 D’APRES LES DESSINS ORIGINAUX, PARIS 1870**

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Portraying Protest

Victoria Lomasko

Photographic Evidence of the Winter Insurrection and my Chronicle of Resistance are exceptions

Contemporary artists also rarely work in the “revolutionary landscape” genre, in which the main subject is the city, transformed by the movement of masses of people. One specimen of the genre is the graphic works of Anna Dzidziovska-Lebedeva, whose in 1917 brilliantly captures the altered rhythms of revolutionary Petrograd.

It seems to me that the endless variety of the graphic styles, genres and approaches adopted by artists renders moot the question of why one should draw protest rallies when thousands of photographs and videotapes are available. In terms of its idiom, even the most descriptive reporting differs from a photograph and even more from a video. The idiom of graphic works, especially black and white ones, is quite conventional: viewers see images formed by lines, stippling and hatch lines. The artist freely combines different moments in time, shifts space, adds or alters the lighting, removes minor details, standing in the way of the whole composition and stresses what is important. The minimalism of line drawings is reminiscent of poetry and music, not of photography. And text can be harmoniously incorporated into drawings and prints.

Almost two years have passed since the Moscow protests culminated, but the drawings made at the time were not ephemeral: they continue to arouse our interest. The greater the distance that separates us from the events they portray, the more historical value these works acquire.
Through the Eyes of an Artist

In late 2011, for the first time since the early 1990s, heavily attended protest rallies took place in Moscow. The possibility of an “orange” revolution was discussed in the press. Many artists were involved in the protests. They staged actions and outdoor exhibitions, did the decorations for rallies and put out samizdat publications. But the most powerful action of all was Pussy Riot’s performance at Christ the Savior Cathedral.

Beginning with the elections to the Russian State Duma (December 4, 2011), I kept a “chronicle of resistance” in which I made on-the-spot sketches of all the important protest-related events. I wanted to make a portrait of each rally and show how the protests changed—to underscore the highlights, capture new characters and document the direct speech of the people involved.

On election day, I worked as a sketch artist-reporter in Khimki. At my polling station, journalists and all observers, except those from the ruling United Russia party, were re-moved under various pretexts, but the female artist (me) was allowed to stay as an amusing oddity. I witnessed one bus after another bringing people who voted with absentee ballots. The people were mainly from various enterprises and quite often from other towns. The drivers shouted at them to vote faster because they had to get them to the next polling station. Ordinary residents who had come to vote on their own were unable to get through to the table where ballots were issued. By evening and in the days to come, the Internet was chockablock with photos and videos documenting election fraud. Observers wrote about gross violations. Coupled with Putin’s decision to become president again, this evidence undermined any illusions about civil liberties in Russia and hopes for change.
The Second Year of the Russian Protest Movement

Alexander Bikbov

In December 2011, the international media were double-shocked with exciting news of the first mass rallies in Russia against unfair elections. Comparison were made with the Arab Spring, the protest movement was declared an “awakening of the middle class,” and radical changes in Russian society were predicted. The euphoria and interest were unreserved. By March 2012, however, as the protest movement continued to gain traction, the infatuation with the mass rallies in Russia seemed to be subsiding. The international community continued to generate unprecedented hopes and expectations. True, these expectations did not materialize in the form of overthrowing autocratic regimes and the storming of public buildings. This was not the only cause of international neglect, however. As often happens with world news, a sensational new story had cast what was, usually, the main headline into the shadows. The main headline was a threat of a bloody clampdown and the storming of public buildings. This was not the only cause of international neglect.

The situation in Russia has changed. Demands for social justice still do not resound from the main protest rallies. As one protester explained: “Personally, I have no problems with society. I do not want to be involved in politics because I understand it’s a dirty business. […] It has always been that way, that’s fair elections. As one interviewee said, “I don’t want to be involved in politics, just as rarely, however, are protesters able to propose their own project for a different society. More often than not, the protest movement is discontinuous and largely limited to the episodic upsurge of street protests collectively rejected constitutive civic violence against the regime. After the rallies, most protesters go home and back to work, that is, they return to their “allies,” the mass movement is discontinuous and largely limited to the episodic upsurge of street protests collectively rejected constitutive civic violence against the regime. After the rallies, most protesters go home and back to work, that is, they return to their “allies.”

Third, in contrast to most other movements around the world, the theme of social justice has hardly been broached by the Russian protests. Decent living conditions for the majority has been one of the main demands of the Arab revolution, the European movements, the Occupy movement in the UK and US, and mass protests in Latin America. At protest rallies in Russia, however, one hears almost no criticism of economic inequalities, unemployment, unfair wealth distribution and the disorative fiscal policies of governments and the banks. During the first months of the protests, even members of self-help activists avoided these topics and focused on fear of “losing” affluent protesters. And although in the individual interviews we conducted, some protesters detected just distribution of wealth and the social welfare state, others spontaneously approved the omission of these issues at the rallies like one correspondent explained: “If I have, I am not a hungry peasant who is going to take the batonade. In terms of life’s necessities I have everything I need” As the protests have developed, the situation has only improved. Demonstrators’ social justice still do not resound from the main stage at rallies, but the idea of the free for education and medical care has gradually become a prominent issue in the discourse on protest rallies. Therefore, today, in the absence of a lasting focus on the social justice issues, the protest movement is discontinuous and largely limited to the episodic upsurge of street protests collectively rejected constitutive civic violence against the regime.

The topic of repeat elections was abandoned in March 2012, with the end of the electoral cycle. The protests, however, have continued. The majority of protesters do not see them as a means of revolutionary change implemented through civil violence (the “Arab scenario”) or as a way of merely delegating their voices to the political opposition. Rather, they are seen as an efficient tool to force the authorities to halt an implicit contract. As one interviewee said at a rally, “Our government is a failure to itself, we want it to be the first ones to actually employ others.” An end to political tyranny and corruption remains the principal demand. People in this manner continue to attract thousands of protesters. They are still events where violence and partial attrition are absent, venues for civic self-defense. But this spontaneous self-defense participation on the part of the protesters, an unprecedented majority of whom (sixty to seventy percent) has university diplomas.

Duration and Reaction

The distinguishing features of this entire period is the demonstrative “deadness” of the authorities to the protests. The president and government have systematically ignored the procedural and media appeals of protesters. They have reacted obliquely to the criticism coming from the streets with an official campaign against corruption in government, police reform and liberalization of the law on political parties. While such oblique responses have left some room for hope, the direct response has been maudlin, forceful and designed to intimidate protesters: the introduction of tougher laws on meetings; a crackdown on political movements, especially anti-fascists and LGBT activists, who have been actively involved in the protests, attempts to shut down independent media, the recent political repression on civil society activists, among whom Pussy Riot occupy a significant albeit not the main place. After police dispersed a peaceful rally at Bolotnaya Square in Moscow, on May 6, 2012, twenty-seven protesters were imprisoned or placed under house arrest pending investigation and trial, including the well-known Greenpeace activist and anti-fascist Alexei Gaskarov (the police have taken the chance to take revenge on Gaskarov for his publicly critical stance) and pensioner Elena Khokhlova, who is accused of part of the mass street protests, which over the course of the past nearly two years have gone through several organizational and confrontational stages. The organized Independence Initiative (in Russian, NE miting) has been engaged in a detailed, in-depth study of the comparative movement approaches and participant experiences during protest rallies, marches and actions themselves. We have done over five hundred such interviews.
(01) First May Demonstration. The Socialist Party was running the country. About 15,000 people demanded “Real Democracy Now!”

(02) Some secret police get in front of me to prevent me from being able to see and to stop me from drawing.

(03) The police clear out the square in the early morning. I see them from my terrace.

(04) In the afternoon, the people came back to the square and fill it up. About 30,000 people are at Puerta del Sol. “The revolution has begun” says one sign.

(05) In those first days, Icelandic flags could be seen.

(06) The first blue tarps appear, no one knows from where. The ad from L’Oreal on the front of a building has not yet been taken down.

Translations:
- Madrid
- Freedom of speech
- Like a good anti-system guy, I leave to go shopping at Corte Ingles, where I pay with my credit card.
- 15 May Demonstration. The socialist party was running the country. About 15,000 people demanded “Real Democracy Now!”
- The police clear out the square in the early morning. I see them from my terrace.
- The first blue tarps appear, no one knows from where. The ad from L’Oreal on the front of a building has not yet been taken down.
- Freedom of speech
- The revolution has begun
I have been asked by the newspaper madrid15M, since we are celebrating the second anniversary of the 15 May Movement today, to undertake a critical, and not just complementary, overview of what this movement has accomplished. Before doing so, let me make it clear: despite everything, I have no doubt about the virtues of 15M: it has permitted us to forge an anti-establishment identity that was missing, it provided a healthy space for many people to reencounter each other, it felicitously reopened debates that had seemed shut-down definitively, it gave wings to movements that needed them, and above all, it allowed many people to discover that they can do things that would have seemed unthinkable just a couple of years ago. Given all that, I will confess that I can’t manage to understand what we would gain if 15M disappeared, while I can easily imagine the considerable losses that would arise from its absence.

That being said, I willingly take on the task appointed to me. And the first thing that comes to mind is an argument that in a certain sense comes from the comparison of 15M with the anti-globalization movements that came before it. It was once said that the “movements of the indignant” – I don’t like the term, but I will leave it there – constitute an attempt to adapt the anti-globalization world to the new scene shaped by the crisis since 2007. Although I think that the idea has some ground, I am interested in investigating a fundamental difference between the one reality and the other. Although it has often been judiciously suggested that in the rich north, the anti-globalization movements in essence demand rights for others – for the inhabitants of the countries in the global south and for the members of future generations – it seems that this dimension is weak, in contrast, in the day-to-day reality of 15M, an entity much more attached to things nearby, to the nation-state, and ultimately to what is local. Although this attachment to the nearby is a virtue, it still leads to an obvious problem: while many of us have fought for the movement to fully take on the feminist struggle, the challenges that come from the awareness of what the ecological crisis and the collapse mean, or in summary, the needs that arise from a non-negotiable solidarity with the many people who live in the south of the planet, it seems that 15M has not lived up to this. I will clarify what I have just said: it’s not about, from my point of view, the fact that the activists of the movement are not living out these objectives. It’s about the fact that the biology of 15M is oriented in a direct way to that which is most nearby – to unemployment and to eviction to be specific – and it is not adequately lubricated to confront things far away in time or in space. (Something that we will have to do in order to get out of this jam).

Where did we come from? Where are we going? Attempt to explain what is that thing called 15M.

I will formulate a second idea, that in this case suggests that there are important areas in which 15M has either not convincingly resolved the corresponding issue, or simply has not succeeded in expanding into fields that seem important to many of us. An example of the first are the controversies that the relationship between the movement and the world of labor gives rise to (there will be time to come to grips with this complicated issue); an example of the second is the precarious presence of 15M in the rural world, even though one of the central projects supported by the movement – the construction of autonomous spaces in which, without expecting anything from our rulers, we apply different game rules – relies largely on this world.

I will allow myself to make one last observation: the 15 May Movement has to strengthen itself in order to clarify what exactly it wants to be. Although the presence of distinct perceptions, all legitimate, still has its healthy side, I will limit myself to express in this case a personal conviction: with all that is falling apart, I don’t understand how 15M can be anything other than an entity that in all walks of life raises the issues of assembly, of self-management, and of democratization, in order to confront the cruelty of capitalism from the perspectives of the anti-patriarchal struggle, defense of the rights of the members of future generations, and solidarity with the disinherited of the planet. And which does this in close collaboration with all those entities that are immersed in the same task.

Carlos Taibo Arias is a writer, editor and Professor of Political Science and Administration at the Autonomous University of Madrid (Spanish: Universidad Autónoma de Madrid). A first version of this text was published in the newspaper, “madrid15M Periódico de asambleas del 15M”, N14 – May 2013, www.madrid15m.org
The 15M Movement once again places Spain on the world revolutionary map. Although the triggers are local (Spain, together with Greece and Portugal), it is one of the European countries worst hit by the crisis, with youth unemployment rates in January 2012 of 40.9, 51.1%, and 35.1%, respectively, the antecedents and the effects are global. Thanks to the 15M, the globalization is lived in real time: without the examples of Tahrir or Syntagma no one would have thought of occupying Puerta del Sol, Plaça de Catalunya, or any of the many other squares that were occupied during the third week of May 2011; and without the relay to Wall Street, the 15M movement would have faded away. The Puerta del Sol camp does not exist anymore, but the action has been transferred to the neighbourhoods: it has been decentralized. The 15M of 2012, for the 1st Anniversary of the Indignados Movement, the squares were occupied again, with artistic and popular people and for few days. In Madrid, the conservative party in the government didn’t allow people to occupy Sol Square. In the following months, it was prefigured by the Indignados, several Spanish banks were to be rescued, the whole country was under supervision by the European institutions, and the rates of youth unemployment grew up to 52% and many high educated young people have had to emigrate to other European countries. In cities like London and Berlin, they have created the gamut tide, an expression of the globalization of the indignados movement, defined by Manuel Castells as a rhizomatic revolution: the material production of social change not from programma tic goals but from the mindfulness experiences of the actors.

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Sign at the metro exit: “The revolution will be feminist or it won’t be at all. The name of the exit “SOC” has changed to “Plaza SOLution.”

Tents can be seen all around

They are clearing out a similar encampment at Plaza de Cataluña in Barcelona. In the afternoon there is a demonstration of support in Madrid.

General assembly. They are discussing how and when to clear out the Plaza.

I draw many activists. I ask all of them for “a sentence for history.”

The rain makes the encampment uncomfortable.

The system is the problem.

The commission Legal 15M is going to reformulate the general agreement: raise the camp on Sunday the 12th with a big demonstration.

The media manipulate, walls speak.
The entrances to the parliament are blocked by the police.

In preparation for the Pope's visit, the delegation from the government closes Puerta del Sol to citizens for four days to prevent protests.

"Water can't be sold, fight back" — poster against the privatization of water in Madrid.

Demonstration in favor of Public Health.

"Naked against the capital," says the sign which some activists wrap themselves in, in front of the Bank of Spain.

"No deben de ser pagados", says Alfon, an activist detained during the general strike.

"Enough making pacts already, it's time to fight!" — poster against the privatization of water in Madrid.

The concentration of support for Alfon, an activist detained during the general strike.

"I'm reserve the right to refuse admission."

"Don't, don't, don't privatize!"

"At 8:15 p.m., the parade comes from Huertas. What bad coordination!"

"They should go to play the drums at someone's house!" says a man who is angry about the boys playing batucada. For a while, he starts arguing with a demonstrator.

"Let's drink some vermouth!"

"Cheap, cheap, the union is selling out!"

"With so much red, it looks like an election celebration."

They are coming from Colon.

"We don't owe anything. We won't pay anything."

"For a new bike path to Mayor-Alcalá!"

"In the Hospital de Princesa, they said: How strange, it's not on TV!"

"I told them, Welcome to the world, says Alvaro. Patients not clients!"

"Your health is their business."


"Free Alfon."

"At 8:45 a.m., It's time to retreat," says Alfon's mother.
**FEBRUARY 26, 2012**

The grassroots “White Circle” flash mob looked like an unwilled revival of the 2007 action “White Line,” when artists from the so-called Trade Union of Street Art drew a white chalk line around Moscow’s inner Garden Ring.

During “White Circle,” protesters sporting white symbols—white clothes, white balloons, white flowers, white toys, white dogs—joined hands along the entire length of the Garden Ring. White ribbons waved from passing cars, and the snow was falling; the mood was upbeat. It was spoiled only by Nashi members holding placards that read, “Only 8 days left until Putin’s victory.”

**MARCH 5, 2012**

Pushkin Square was the site of another For Fair Elections rally the following day. There were fewer creative placards and more anger—people shared their impressions of the election. We stood in the cold, knee-deep in snow under a full moon. Leftist leader Sergei Udaltsov urged protesters not to go home until Putin leaves. Police dispersed the several hundred people who heeded his call and stayed. Many of them were sentenced to fifteen days in jail.

**FEBRUARY 28, 2012**

Thick black lines were chalked on roadsides around downtown. Protesters took to the streets, waving white ribbons and white symbols, and the mood was upbeat. It was spoiled only by Nashi members holding placards that read, “Only 8 days left until Putin’s victory.”

**MARCH 5, 2012**

In between the thousands-strong rallies, Pussy Riot Court Festivals were held outside courthouses, where the hearings in the Pussy Riot case took place. Artists were heavily involved in these protests, producing leaflets and placards, and organizing performances. The three accused members of Pussy Riot were brought to their pre-trial custody hearing on April 19 from the pre-trial detention facility where they had been held since their arrest. During the break in the hearing, Nadya Tolokonnikova complained of constant headaches and spoke out harshly against Putin. Katsya Samutsevich refused to give interviews, saying she had to be careful with information about Pussy Riot. Masha Alyokhina comforted her loved ones (I have no problems in prison, I wish the people who have put us here a life in prison like ours)."”

**APRIL 18, 2012**

Many people were glad to see a “Rainbow Column” in the march, who carried placards and banners in support of Pussy Riot. It would be impossible to convey the vivid impression they made without using color. When the marchers came to Bolotnaya Square, the police blocked their way. It was not clear what was happening.

**MARCH 10, 2012**

The last For Fair Elections rally took place on the New Arbat in Moscow. Maxim Katz and other victims in municipal district council elections urged the crowd not to despair and switch to solving social issues. Speakers mentioned the political prisoners from Pussy Riot, and the first placards supporting the group appeared amidst the crowd. The next protest was scheduled for May 6.

**MAY 7, 2012**

Putin once again became president of Russia on this day, but disgruntled citizens began holding round-the-clock folk festivals in downtown Moscow in protest. The downtown subway stations Arbatskaya and Kropotinskaya, past which the newly elected president’s motorcade passed, were closed for security reasons. All the streets and alleys leading to the Kremlin were cordoned off by the police early in the morning and cleared of people. Police dispersed those involved in the folk festivals. People wearing white ribbons, a symbol of the opposition, were immediately arrested.

**MAY 9, 2012**

Despite the start of the summer dacha season, around fifty thousand people gathered for the so-called March of Millions. Many people were glad to see a “Rainbow Column” in the march, who carried placards and banners in support of Pussy Riot. It would be impossible to convey the vivid impression they made without using color. When the marchers came to Bolotnaya Square, the police blocked their way. It was not clear what was happening.

**MAY 12, 2012**

The police suddenly began dispersing people with hilly clubs and tear gas. Right in front of me, police hit a young man over the head, and he fell to the ground bleeding. “They have murdered him! They have murdered him!” women wailed. Several protesters overturned portable toilets, and the shit from them flowed under police officers’ feet. The police divided protesters into groups, drove them through the streets, beat and detained them, but they were unable to force people to leave the area between Bolotnaya Square and the Tretyakov Gallery until nightfall. Later, I learned that the authorities had changed the route of the march without warning and that a plan to protect theTs had led to the attack by the police.

The Russian Federal Investigative Committee launched an investigation of the so-called riots and alleged cases of violence against police officers immediately after the events of May 6. Moscow City Court is currently hearing the trial of twelve rank and file participants of the march; the trial has thus been dubbed the “Trial of the Twelve.” Defendants in the case have already been sentenced to two and a half and four and a half years in prison, respectively. One of the defendants in the Bolotnaya Square case, Mikhail Kosenko, was sentenced on October 8, 2013, to compulsory psychiatric treatment, which can be indefinite.

**APRIL 19, 2012**

Pushkin Square was the site of another For Fair Elections rally the following day. There were fewer creative placards and more anger—people shared their impressions of the election. We stood in the cold, knee-deep in snow under a full moon. Leftist leader Sergei Udaltsov urged protesters not to go home until Putin leaves. Police dispersed the several hundred people who heeded his call and stayed. Many of them were sentenced to fifteen days in jail.

**MARCH 5, 2012**

In between the thousands-strong rallies, Pussy Riot Court Festivals were held outside courthouses, where the hearings in the Pussy Riot case took place. Artists were heavily involved in these protests, producing leaflets and placards, and organizing performances. The three accused members of Pussy Riot were brought to their pre-trial custody hearing on April 19 from the pre-trial detention facility where they had been held since their arrest. During the break in the hearing, Nadya Tolokonnikova complained of constant headaches and spoke out harshly against Putin. Katsya Samutsevich refused to give interviews, saying she had to be careful with information about Pussy Riot. Masha Alyokhina comforted her loved ones (I have no problems in prison, I wish the people who have put us here a life in prison like ours)."”

**APRIL 18, 2012**

Many people were glad to see a “Rainbow Column” in the march, who carried placards and banners in support of Pussy Riot. It would be impossible to convey the vivid impression they made without using color. When the marchers came to Bolotnaya Square, the police blocked their way. It was not clear what was happening.

**MAY 7, 2012**

Putin once again became president of Russia on this day, but disgruntled citizens began holding round-the-clock folk festivals in downtown Moscow in protest. The downtown subway stations Arbatskaya and Kropotinskaya, past which the newly elected president’s motorcade passed, were closed for security reasons. All the streets and alleys leading to the Kremlin were cordoned off by the police early in the morning and cleared of people. Police dispersed those involved in the folk festivals. People wearing white ribbons, a symbol of the opposition, were immediately arrested.

**MAY 9, 2012**

Despite the start of the summer dacha season, around fifty thousand people gathered for the so-called March of Millions. Many people were glad to see a “Rainbow Column” in the march, who carried placards and banners in support of Pussy Riot. It would be impossible to convey the vivid impression they made without using color. When the marchers came to Bolotnaya Square, the police blocked their way. It was not clear what was happening.

**MAY 12, 2012**

The police suddenly began dispersing people with hilly clubs and tear gas. Right in front of me, police hit a young man over the head, and he fell to the ground bleeding. “They have murdered him! They have murdered him!” women wailed. Several protesters overturned portable toilets, and the shit from them flowed under police officers’ feet. The police divided protesters into groups, drove them through the streets, beat and detained them, but they were unable to force people to leave the area between Bolotnaya Square and the Tretyakov Gallery until nightfall. Later, I learned that the authorities had changed the route of the march without warning and that a plan to protect the Ts had led to the attack by the police.

The Russian Federal Investigative Committee launched an investigation of the so-called riots and alleged cases of violence against police officers immediately after the events of May 6. Moscow City Court is currently hearing the trial of twelve rank and file participants of the march; the trial has thus been dubbed the “Trial of the Twelve.” Defendants in the case have already been sentenced to two and a half and four and a half years in prison, respectively. One of the defendants in the Bolotnaya Square case, Mikhail Kosenko, was sentenced on October 8, 2013, to compulsory psychiatric treatment, which can be indefinite.

**APRIL 19, 2012**

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I often ran into acquaintances at Occupy Abay: nearly everyone regarded its existence as a miracle. Even when it was cold and rainy, the camp was crowded. People discussed the future of the protest movement. Occu- payers and members of the protest movement tried to organize a kitchen and sleeping space at the new location and thus live in the camp round the clock. Most activists came only in the evening for the general assemblies, during which further plans were discussed. Everyone could express their opinion, and decisions were made by voting.

The core Occupy Abay activists almost never left the camp while it was running; they slept on the ground in sleeping bags stuffed with sand- wiches to feed the hungry activists. Her sandwich gave me the strength to continue drawing for another couple hours. Another time, it started to rain, and nationals gave me a raincoat. It was the police who poisoned life in the Occupy camp: they detained people and stole food, and once they seized the donations box for the camp. On May 19, the police dispersed Occupy Barrakadnaya. In the following days there were attempts to reestablish the camp, but each time they were stopped by the police. Some protesters relocated to the Old Arbat, where Occupy degenerated into street gatherings involving peaceful songs accompanied by guitar, flirting and idle conversations about various topics.

By midday, the opposition—people from the "folk festivals," mostly—had begun closing ranks at Chistye Prudy. Some in the forming, paddy wagon appeared on both sides of Chistoprudny Boulevard. For some reason the police did not disperse the fifteen hundred activists. Despite the threat of arrest, at least one hundred people spent the night at Chistye Prudy near the monument to Kazakh poet Abay Kunanbayev.

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The Occupy Abay camp took shape at Chistye Prudy the next morning. People enthusiastically converged and sang songs of victory. I moved about the camp and joined the dense crowd, wondering how I could convey in picture the meaning and mood of this ferment on Chistoprudny Boulevard. When it got dark, the free people's kitchen, with a sandwich illuminated by street lamps, was somehow reminiscent of the Last Supper.

I was just fascinated by the chance to sketch this historic event.

The second so-called March of the Millions started on Pushkin Square. Columns of anarchists and antifa. The event was scheduled to last until ten in the evening, but by five o'clock people had already begun to go home. Sergei Udaltsov urged the hundred or so protesters who remained to organize a "maslen" or "wedge" (popular assembly). Udaltsov was arrested at 10:01 p.m.

Popular unity could still be sensed at Occupy Barrakadnaya. I remember a young woman who would come with shopping bags stuffed with sand-
The workers’ revolts in London’s West End were preceded by a number of important preparatory events and discussions among French socialist and anarchist circles.


The chief illustrator of the Berliner Illustrirte Zeitung seeks to refrain from the use of newspaper illustrations in order to keep the “flag” of the期刊 new Masses, April 1932.

After a number of socialist vetoes from the French socialists, the establishment of the British socialist magazine, the year 1905 in Paintings, Drawings and Sculptures.


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