

Museum of Contemporary Art Leipzig, 19.10.2013–19.01.2014

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 - 1970

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

EDITORIAL

Drawing is an artistic medium that has gained new importance in the wake of the global protest movements in recent years. One particularly exciting new development is artistic reportage using drawings executed directly 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 drawn images cropping up on blogs or on artists' Websites that depict the global protests of the past two years with artistic means, and thus 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 personified 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 expression 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 do the mass movements possess?

Artists can achieve immediateness 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 way Enrique Flores works in Madrid and Victoria Lomasko in Moscow. Their protest documentations differ both from the official press photos and film footage and from snapshots 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 successively replaced 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". This exhibition was an important milestone for the genre of reportage drawing in German-speaking countries. As a result, the curators, the artist Alexander Roob and the art historian and curator Clemens Krümmel, founded the Melton Prior Institute, which researches the international history of reportage drawing.

The exhibition newspaper "Drawing Protest" combines drawing reportages by Victoria Lomasko and Enrique Flores from Moscow and Madrid with analytical perspectives and approaches by sociologists Alexander Bikbov, Carles Feixa and Carlos Taibo, and with historical theoretical research on the drawn image focusing on protests, crisis situations, revolutions and wars by Alexander Roob and Victoria Lomasko. The newspaper also includes drawings on the resistance topic 2003–2013 by Dan Perjovschi which links the exhibition newspaper with the mutual space installation by Perjovschi with ARTIST'S PROOF, the interdisciplinary student group that regularly uses drawing as an integrative, interdisciplinary artistic medium. The installation is dedicated to the reflection of artistic work in and beyond contemporary protest and also to the symbolic, protest-related and cognitive powers of the art.

This project could be realized thanks to the constant support of Franciska Zólyom during the conception, preparation and implementation phases. I cordially thank Prof. Oliver Kossack for the intensive exchange and the excellent cooperation. For their support, I extend my thanks to the team of the Museum of Contemporary Art Leipzig, Kulturen des Kuratorischen, Prof. Dr. Beatrice von Bismarck, Thomas Campbell, Prof. Carles Feixa, Enrique Flores, Karl Hoffmann, Dr. Clemens Krümmel, Victoria Lomasko, Dr. Benjamin Meyer-Krahmer, Dan Perjovschi, Mario Pardo, Alexander Roob, Dr. Klaus Schaffner, Ina Weisser and Prof. Thomas Weski.

Olga Vostretsova

BARTHEL BEHAM, "DER WELT LAUF," COPPER ENGRAVING, NUREMBERG 1525



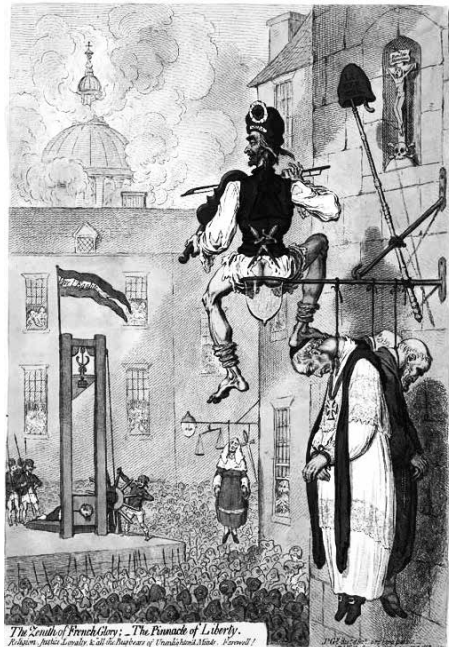
The artist Barthel Beham from Nuremberg belonged to a group of social-revolutionary artists from the circle of Dürer that was influenced by Thomas Müntzer, the theologian of the peasants' liberation. The graphic expresses his deep despair in face of the suppression of the Peasants' Revolts. Beham's political Melancholia depicts Justitia chained and powerless. The fox, which at times was interpreted as the symbol of counter-revolutionary Martin Luther, has wrested the executioner's sword from her and now strikes terror among the defenseless creatures.

ANON., "MAN MUSS HOFFEN, DASS DIES SPIEL BALD ENDET" (ONE MUST HOPE THAT THIS GAME WILL END SOON), COLORED ETCHING, PARIS 1789



During the times of the French Revolution, protest was not expressed frontally in pictures either, but preferably in an allegorical or emblematic form. What was widespread in all kinds of variations was the system-critical image of a social context thrown out of joint, with the third estate threatening to collapse under the weight of the fat nobility and clergy.

JAMES GILLRAY, "THE ZENITH OF FRENCH GLORY: THE PINNACLE OF LIBERTY," AQUATINT ETCHING, LONDON 1793



The insurgents themselves were not interested in spreading pictures of the revolt. Instead, images that depicted the outrage or the overthrow itself belonged to the repertoire of the counter-propaganda. In James Gillray's caricature, the revolutionary events are shown as the spawn of a mad mob.

THOMAS SPENCE, "THE CIVIL CITIZEN," ETCHING, 1796



The English early communist Thomas Spence propagated his plan of an egalitarian social reform with a number of very succinct emblems, which he preferably disseminated in the form of graffiti campaigns or on self-minted coins.

WILLIAM HONE & GEORGE CRUIKSHANK, "THESE ARE THE PEOPLE," THE POLITICAL HOUSE THAT JACK BUILT, WOOD ENGRAVING, LONDON 1819



The subject of the enormously popular illustrated pamphlet is the so-called Peterloo massacre. A large demonstration for freedom of expression and universal suffrage was bloodily suppressed by cavalry troops on St. Peter's Field near Manchester. "Peterloo" (an allusion to Waterloo) became an icon of liberalism and the early workers' movement, distributed in innumerable prints. For the first time, the depiction of a demonstration became the subject of critical illustrated journalism, thus lending protest itself an image.

WILLIAM HONE & GEORGE CRUIKSHANK, "THE FREEBORN ENGLISHMAN" IN: A SLAP AT SLOP AND THE BRIDGE STREET GANG, WOOD ENGRAVING, LONDON 1821



The picture of enslaved freedom of expression alludes to a number of convictions of radical-liberal publicists. The often circulated motif goes back to a caricature from the circle of repeatedly imprisoned Thomas Spence in the 1790s.

HONORÉ DAUMIER, "C'ÉTAIT VRAIMENT BIEN LA PEINE DE NOUS FAIRE TUER!" (SO THIS IS ALL WE GOT OURSELVES KILLED FOR!), LITHOGRAPHY, LA CARICATURE N° 251, PARIS 08/27/1835



In the light of the many suppression mechanisms with which the July Monarchy sought to stabilize its power, the victims of the revolution that it had caused rise in horror from their graves. Together with other draftsmen of the legendary satirical magazine, Daumier created the motif of the defensive, heroic proletarian, which decades later went on to make a career in socialist journalism.

WILHELM KLEINENBROICH, "DER NEUE PROMETHEUS" (THE NEW PROMETHEUS), LITHOGRAPHY, DÜSSELDORF, 1842



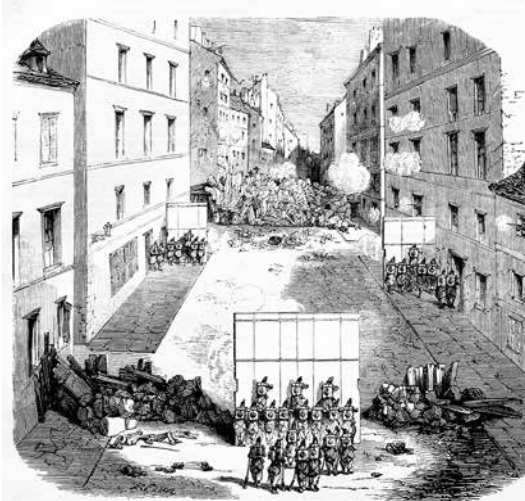
Next to the Hebrew archangel Satan, the Greek Titan Prometheus is the best-known symbol of rebellion and protest. In the bearded depiction on the anonymously published sheet by the artist Kleinenbroich from Cologne, one believed to recognize the editor-in-chief of the Rheinische Zeitung, Karl Marx, who suffered under Prussian press censorship.

GUSTAVE COURBET, "VIVE LA REPUBLIQUE," WOOD ENGRAVING, LE SALUT PUBLIC NO.2., PARIS 1848



The wood engraving for Charles Baudelaire's journal on the revolution of 1848 was made after a drawing by Gustave Courbet. It alludes to Delacroix' iconic depiction of "La Liberté guidant le peuple" from 1830. At the fore is the motif of the barricade as a symbol of resistance.

ANON., "L'ATTAQUE A' L'ABRI DES BOUCHERS," L'ILLUSTRATION, WOOD ENGRAVING, PARIS 1848



The revolution of 1848 was the first uprising that could be documented by the illustrated daily press. The use of photographs can already be established in individual press graphics of the time. This lent the visualization of protest a prosaic, retinal dimension.

ALFRED RETHEL, "AUCH EIN TODTENTANZ, VIERTES BLATT" (ALSO A DANSE MACABRE, FOURTH SHEET), WOOD ENGRAVING, LEIPZIG 1849



The sequence of wood engravings by the Nazarene history painter, which demonizes protest as a destructive force, ranks among the internationally most influential products of counter-revolutionary image propaganda.

GUSTAVE DORÉ, "COMMUNARD," LINE BLOCK, VERSAILLES ET PARIS EN 1871 D'APRES LES DESSINS ORIGINAUX, PARIS 1907



During the tribunals against the Parisian communards in Versailles, the popular illustrator drew a series of vitriolic character studies. The publication, which appeared only decades later, includes portrait studies of both the members of the Versailles administration and combatants of the Commune.

ARTHUR BOYD HOUGHTON, "PARIS UNDER THE COMMUNE – WOMEN'S CLUB AT THE BOULE NOIRE, BOULEVARD ROCHECHOUART," WOOD ENGRAVING, THE GRAPHIC, 04/08/1871



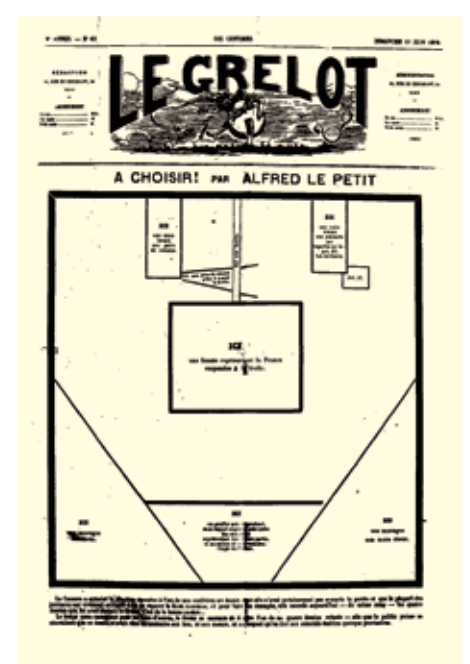
The number of revolutionary minded women during the events of the Parisian Commune was considerable. In the picture of the British magazine "The Graphic", the scenery of one of the famous clubs in which the revolutionaries were organized is presented as a kind of infernal witches' sabbath. The imaginative works by the press illustrator Arthur Boyd Houghton reminded Van Gogh of Goya's graphics.

H. BALLING, "MRS WOODHULL ASSERTING HER RIGHT TO VOTE," WOOD ENGRAVING, HARPER'S WEEKLY, 11/25/1871



In 1871 the well-known suffragette, journalist and stockbroker Victoria Woodhull protested not only against being denied electoral rights, a short while later she also self-confidently stood as the first female presidential candidate.

ALFRED LE PETIT, "A CHOISIR!" GILLOTAGE, LE GRELOT, PARIS, 06/23/1872



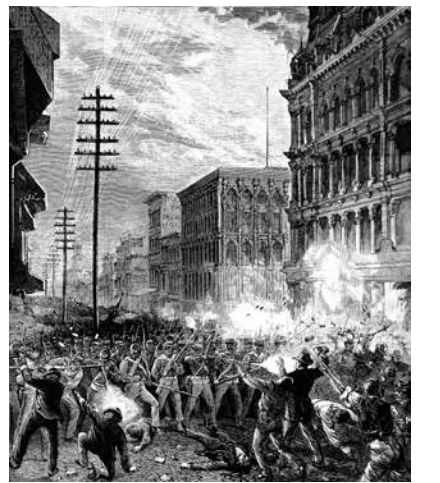
The protest against censorship measures also repeatedly prompted the graphic artists of French caricature magazines to astounding, revolutionary pictorial inventions. Alfred Le Petit, for example, circumvents the pre-censorship's prohibition of images by reducing the sketch to its compositional skeleton and conveying the content as pure text.

THOMAS NAST, "NAY, PATIENCE, OR WE BREAK THE SINEWS (SHAKESPEARE)," WOOD ENGRAVING, HARPER'S WEEKLY, NEW YORK, 05/05/1877



No artist had more political influence than the North American press illustrator Thomas Nast with his cartoon campaigns against the Democratic Party, against anarchy, communism, corruption, excesses of the financial markets, and environmental pollution.

ANON., "THE GREAT STRIKE – THE SIXTH MARYLAND REGIMENT FIGHTING ITS WAY THROUGH BALTIMORE," WOOD ENGRAVING, HARPER'S WEEKLY, NEW YORK, 08/11/1877



The Great Railroad Strike that took place during the peak of the economic depression marked the start of a long series of fierce workers' struggles in North America and Europe.

Victoria Lomasko

Portraying Protest

Beginning with elections to the Russian State Duma, in December 2011, and ending with the third so-called March of the Millions, in September 2012, I kept a graphical Chronicle of Resistance, meaning that I sketched all the major opposition rallies and protest events in Moscow.

I was interested not only in sketching the protests but also in analyzing the work of other artists who were drawing these same rallies, as well as studying Russian graphic art that portrays revolutionary events (strikes, demonstrations, fighting on the barricades, etc.) from the revolutions of 1905 and 1917. I wanted to understand the different ways of treating this subject, and so I divided all depictions into three categories.

1. Reportage style

Specific historic events are depicted, and the drawings are filled with many authentic details. Viewers recognize the time, the place and the people portrayed.

Reportage drawings were popular in the nineteenth and earlier twentieth centuries, until photography became more practical and expeditious. There existed the profession of artist-correspondent, someone who drew armed hostilities, high society events, expeditions and so forth for magazines and newspapers. In tsarist-era Russia, the most famous war artists were Nikolai Samokish and Ivan Vladimirov. In 1905, Vladimirov began sketching everything connected with the revolution (01). In 1917, so as to be at the center of events, he joined the ranks of the militia [i.e., the pro-revolutionary police], thus becoming not only an observer but also an active participant in the revolution. During his time in the militia, Vladimirov always carried sketchpads with him. Here is a passage from a 1917 article about a group show of artists where his works were exhibited:

Were it not for a number of topical pieces by Vladimirov, no one would say this was not a Nicholasian era exhibition. [...] During the first days of the new regime, Vladimirov, a white armband on his sleeve and a rifle slung over his shoulder, performed his civic duties as a militiaman. The whole revolution unfolded and passed before his eyes. That is why all these speeding trucks, bristling with dozens of bayonets, and these attacks on precinct houses and roofs where the [tsarist-era] police had dug in, are so authentic and true.

When photography became a mass phenomenon, reportage drawings lost their practical utility. But it is obvious to me that photography cannot replace them.

2. Signifying protest

The artist's impression of an event or even series of events is generalized and distilled into a laconic visual-artistic expression. Many contemporary artists prefer this approach. For example, when drawing protest rallies, David Ter-Oganyan aims for maximum simplification: I would call his works *logos of protest*. Sveta Shuvaeva works in the same vein. Her graphic works are somehow reminiscent of the experimental trends of the 1920s. (02)

3. Equating actual events with symbols

Specific historic events are depicted with the details necessary for the viewer to identify them. At the same time, though, the degree of generalization is such that the depiction grows into a symbol or archetype.

An example of this is Valentin Serov's brilliant work "Soldiers, Brave Lads, Where Is Your Glory?" (03) It depicts the events of Bloody Sunday (January 22, 1905, when a peaceful march by workers in Petersburg to petition Tsar Nicholas II was fired on by imperial guards, resulting in heavy casualties), which Serov saw from a window at the Academy of Arts. The viewer recognizes what event is being depicted, but at the same time she is referred to all such events—to all massacres of unarmed crowds. Serov described his impressions of Bloody Sunday to Ilya Repin:

I will never forget what I was forced to see from a window of the Academy of Arts on January (22). The restrained, majestic, unarmed crowd moving forwards towards attacking cavalry and rifle sights was a horrible spectacle.

Images of protest differ not only in terms of specificity and generalization. It is also interesting to understand the artist's place vis-à-vis the events she depicts. Does she share the sentiments of protesters? Does she

attend the rallies she depicts? Does she draw from life, from memory or from photos and videos?

As an artist, I need to be wholly embedded, to be drawing at the scene, talking with the people involved and being one of them myself. One of my goals was to make "portraits of rallies." It was not a matter of depicting lots of details but of capturing the total energy of what was happening. I imagined each rally as a huge entity endowed with a collective consciousness: every rally was different. The artist-reporter cannot simply replace the camera, but he does become a conduit for collective emotions. For example,

Stepan Yaremich's reportage drawing

The Cruiser Aurora on the Neva, October 25, 1917, made during the Russian naval cruiser's historic blank shot signaling the start of the October Revolution, is completely devoid of descriptiveness. It is simply a bundle of energy on the paper. (04)

There were artists involved in the Moscow opposition protest rallies who preferred to draw at home from memory, videos and photos. Here is how Sveta Shuvaeva describes her working method:

I do all the pictures from memory, but sometimes I make sketches from videos on YouTube. Artistic form is the main thing for me, not flirting with a leftist political position. I express my civic stance at the rallies themselves by chanting slogans or helping to hold banners. Since there is a temporal distance between events and the moment I began drawing them, unexpected touches and ideas can emerge while I am working on a picture.

An active participant of the rallies, Radik Vildanov made his large, finished drawings at home, using his own photos. (05) Despite similar working methods (drawing from memory, photos and videos), Shuvaeva's works are very different from Vildanov's.

Vildanov is not afraid to indulge in narrative and act as a storyteller: we feel his sympathy and interest in the people he depicts. To my mind, Shuvaeva's works are interesting in the way they teeter on the brink between figurative and abstract art.

Some artists did not share the enthusiasm of the protesters. They pointedly did not go to the rallies and treated both sides—the authorities and the opposition—with a grain of salt. As artist Alexei Yorsh says:

I work under the impression made by the media deluge passing before my eyes: mostly images from the Internet, YouTube videos, reports by independent news agencies, blogs and web sites. I try and find an image that distills the essence of this deluge.

The title of Vladimir Salnikov's series of graphic works, *Photographic Evidence of the Winter Insurrection*, itself tells us that the artist has consciously chosen to remain an observer not involved in the events. The series is based on the notion of "leaders and masses." Putin and Medvedev, opposition leaders and rank-and-file protesters are depicted in an identically aloof manner: it is clear they are all only puppets in a gigantic play. (06)

The degree to which artists can be alienated from the events they depict can be clearly seen in works from the 1940s dealing with the revolutions of 1905 and 1917. The artists of the forties had a good grasp of the history, and their drawings are often impeccably composed. To my mind, though, they lack the "accidents," homeliness and "dirt" we always find in drawings produced by eyewitnesses.

Moreover, during the Stalinist terror, artists were forced into rigid self-censorship: not only did they have to remove unsightly details but they also had to give events a romantic tint. For example, we can compare a 1905 etching by Sergei Ivanov, who spent all his time on the streets observing and drawing during the revolutionary demonstrations in Moscow, and a pastel by the Kukryniksy from the 1940s. Both works depict mass executions. In Ivanov's etching, the people who have been shot collapse like rag dolls, and death is terrifying. (07)

In the pastel by the Kukryniksy, on the contrary, the dying men behave like actors on a stage, forming a flawless composition as they slump to the ground. Another pastel by the Kukryniksy, *Barricades in Moscow*, seems altogether sentimental. A pretty nurse with a Red Cross armband on her sleeve leads a wounded man away from the barricades, while in the background an unhurried skirmish is under way, and a flag is raised. (08)

In drawings produced by witnesses of the Moscow uprisings of 1905, we see that the barricades are constructed from garbage and that there are dead bodies everywhere, including those of women. The stippling and hatching in these works is extremely nervous: even before you take in the story you already sense that a tragedy is being depicted. (09) (10) The contemporary artists who portray the protest movement work in different genres and forms, such as series of graphic works (Vladimir Salnikov and Sveta Shuvaeva), large-scale easel pieces (Radik Vildanov) and "murals" on masking paper (Alexei Yorsh).

I work in the genre of graphic reportage, which combines three elements: documentary drawings, verbatim quotations of people involved in the events and my own commentary, which provides a single viewpoint and often differs from the stances of the people depicted in the reportages. The Krutenko sisters, Lyuba and Tamara, occasionally did sketches at the rallies, but more interesting are the drawings where they combine the grotesque with real impressions of events. There are many elements of caricature in these works. (11) English artist Christopher Rainbow drew at one of the first major rallies in Moscow, on December 10, 2011. Despite the fact that he did the drawings on the spot, his works resemble illustrations rather than graphic reportage. Rainbow immediately stylized what he saw, distilling specific details into symbols. (12)

Portraits are a rare occurrence in contemporary portrayals of protests. The portraits of activists in Vladimir Salnikov's *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 Ostroumova-Lebedeva, who in 1917 brilliantly depicted the altered rhythm of revolutionary Petrograd. (13)

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 peoples photograph and videotape them. In terms of its idiom, even the most descriptive reportage differs from a photograph, and even more from a video. The idiom of graphical works, especially black-and-white ones, is quite conventional: viewers see images formed by lines, stipples and hatch lines. The artists 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 and sharpens 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.



(01)



(02)



(03)



(04)



(05)



(06)



(07)



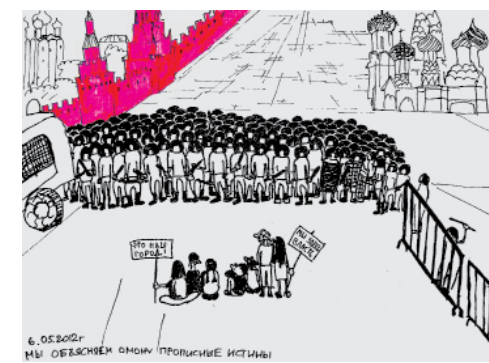
(08)



(09)



(10)



(11)



(12)



(13)

Москва

A Chronicle of Resistance

Victoria Lomasko

<http://soglyadatay.livejournal.com/>

A CHRONICLE OF RESISTANCE

Through the Eyes of an Artist

In late 2011, for the first time since 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.

DECEMBER 4, 2011



United Russia election observer

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.

DECEMBER 6, 2011



Women talking on phone, on left: We’re yelling at an opposition rally. We have to yell for another two hours. Man with megaphone, on right: Russia! Putin! Medvedev!

I missed the December 5 rally at Chistye Prudy. The same evening, protesters created an event on the social networks—a rally on December 6 on Triumphalnaya Square. Protests in defense of the freedom of assembly, launched by Eduard Limonov, had been taking place on Triumphalnaya since 2009. Although the authorities did not allow the December 6 rally, thousands of people gathered for it. At the exit from the subway, people were greeted by people from the pro-Putin youth organization Nashi, who were pounding on drums, and battalions of police in “diving suits.” Police were rough when detaining protesters. Security services officers in plainclothes and Nashi members videotaped the proceedings from the other side of the barriers. I stood next to them: I was taken for a Nashi member and praised for my talent. I drew in the speech bubbles afterwards at home.

DECEMBER 10, 2011



Slogan on placard: We’re fucking tired of them

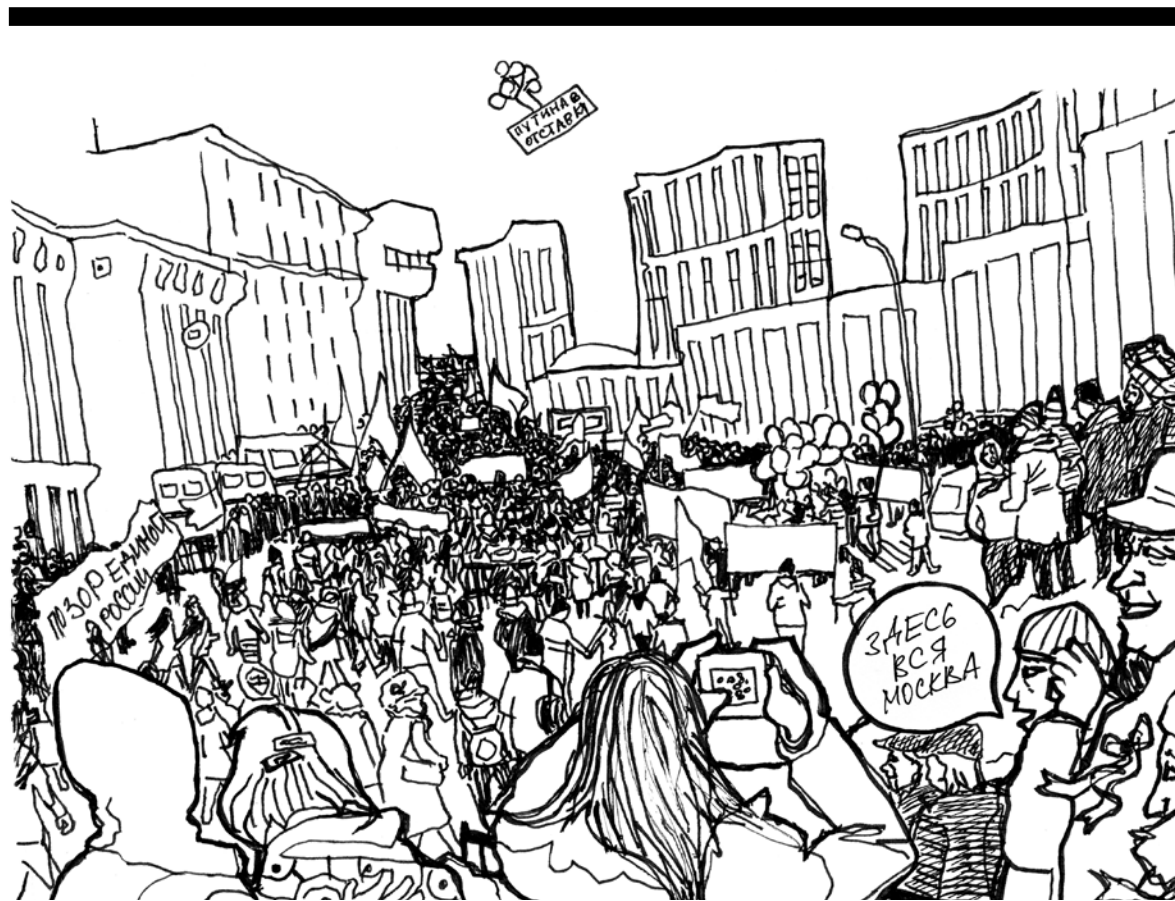
News of the arrests on Triumphalnaya added even more fire to people’s desire to protest. Around forty thousand people signed up for a *Rally for Honest Elections* on Facebook. Revolution Square was the designated meeting place. On the Internet, in kitchens and offices, people discussed the possibility of revolution and the likelihood that the demonstration would be dispersed by force of arms. Liberal leaders (Boris Nemtsov, Sergei Parkhomenko and Vladimir Ryzhkov) made a deal with the authorities that the rally would be allowed if the protesters were moved to Bolotnaya Square and away from the Kremlin.



Woman holding flowers: Are you police on the people’s side?

On December 10, the first opposition rally since the early 1990s involving tens of thousands of people took place, and the police did not detain anyone. I think many people were so excited to be present in the throng of the one-hundred-thousand-strong demonstration and so impressed by the beauty of the march under flags of various colors that they stopped critically evaluating what was happening.

DECEMBER 24, 2011



Banner (upper image space): Putin should be dismissed.

Woman talking on phone: “All of Moscow is here.”

The December 24 rally on Sakharov Avenue was memorable because of the clear presence of the “common people”—folks without iPhones, poorly dressed, with no party allegiances. The “people” took to the streets without creative placards and used foul language when commenting the speeches made by socialite and media celebrity Ksenia Sobchak and Putin’s ex-finance minister Alexei Kudrin.

FEBRUARY 4, 2012



Caption (upper left): We beat Hitler, we’ll beat Putin!

Slogan on banner: Down with presidential autocracy!

On a frosty afternoon, the so-called March for Fair Elections proceeded from Bolshaya Yakimanka to Bolotnaya Square in four columns—a non-aligned “civic” column, liberals, right-wingers and leftists.

FEBRUARY 15, 2012



On February 15, Taisiya Osipova appealed her sentence in the regional court in Smolensk, in western Russia. Osipova, an activist with the un-registered political party *An Other Russia*, had been convicted, in December 2011, of selling

heroin and sentenced to ten years in prison. Matvei Skif Krylov, an artist and *An Other Russia* party activist himself, organized a *Free Taisiya Osipova!* auto rally from Moscow to Smolensk. On the night of February 14, around sixty activists, including me, set out for Smolensk to show our support for Osipova, whose case we believed was a frame-up and whom we thus regarded as a political prisoner. The entire way there a jeep carrying plainclothes officers from Center E, the special “anti-extremism” police, followed us.

Judge: The verdict is overturned, and the case is sent back to the district court for retrial. Osipova will remain in police custody until March 15.



Приговор отменяется. Дело возвращается в районный суд на новое рассмотрение. Осипова освобождается под арестом 50 15 марта.



At the appeals hearing, the prosecutor unexpectedly asked the court to sentence Osipova to four years in prison instead of the original ten, but the judge reversed the verdict altogether and sent the case back to a lower court for a retrial. The activists shared their feelings with each other—their joy was mixed with fears that the reprisal against Osipova had been postponed until Putin’s victory in the up-coming presidential elections. On August 28, 2012, Osipova was sentenced to eight years in prison. In making this decision, the court was unmoved by the fact that Osipova has diabetes (which, given the conditions in Russian prisons, makes it a death sentence) and that she has a young daughter.

Alexander Bikbov

The Second Year of the Russian Protest Movement

In December 2011, the international media were chockablock with exciting news of the first mass rallies in Russia against unfair elections. Comparisons 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 universal. By March 2012, however, as the protest movement was gaining momentum, it occupied a more than modest spot on the international media’s agenda. What had happened? Could the protest movement have so quickly disenchanted journalists and the international audience? It was doubly surprising in that the protest rallies had not stopped occupying a central place in the national press and the social networks in Russia itself, but on the contrary continued to generate unprecedented hopes and expectations. True, these events did not supply the newswires with shocking accounts of bloody clashes 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, arguably, the main Russian news event of the last twenty years into the shadows. The arrest and trial of three members of the punk rock group Pussy Riot was and is the most important news story to come out of Russia recently, the story that defines the country in the eyes of German, French and English observers. However, the Pussy Riot story was itself an integral part of the mass street protests, which over the course of the past nearly two years have gone through several phases and continue to this day. The self-organized Independent Research Initiative (in Russian, NII mitingov) has been engaged in a detailed, in-depth study of the protest movement, involving interviews with participants conducted during protest rallies, marches and actions themselves. We have done over five hundred such interviews.

The Logic of Public Protests in Russia: Neither Revolution nor Opposition

Despite what the hasty analogies suggest, the Russian protest movement has important differences both with the revolutionary movements in the Arab countries and the recent peaceful protests in other parts of the world. First, the Russian street protests collectively rejected constitutive civic violence against the regime. From the outset, the majority of protesters regarded regime change as possible only through repeat elections or a legitimate recount of the vote. On the contrary, violence and revolution were unequivocally condemned. As a comment widely circulated on the social networks in early December 2011 put it, “Certain people are already hiring provocateurs, who will instigate fights, shout ‘Revolution!’ and so on. Nobody wants bloodshed, right? [...] We will show everyone we are polite, cultured people, that we respect each other.” From the first legally authorized rally, protesters have been extremely law-abiding and have evinced a high level of collective self-control, as implied in the above contrast between “polite, cultured” protesters and the coarse, “artless” authorities. Second, in the Russian case we observe a near-total absence of instant tactical coordination in urban space. The city, its internal boundaries and infrastructure, have not been targeted or actively re-imagined by protesters. During the uncertainty of the first spontaneous gatherings in December 2011, certain protesters used Twitter and Facebook as a means of tactical orientation. Twitter was used more massively and consistently for spatial coordination after police dispersed a peaceful march in Moscow on May 6, 2012. Protesters roamed the city, pursued by the police, subsequently organizing a mobile, Occupy-style street camp that held out for two weeks. However, such episodes are few and far between in the story of the Russian protest movement. The social networks have primarily been used to maintain morale, distribute important news and inform rank-and-file protesters about the time, place and slogans of rallies. In other words, they have largely served as a more rapid and far-reaching analogue of the major mass media, which in turn have enjoyed the same heightened attention from protesters. After the rallies, most protesters go home and back to work, that is, they return to the familiar and unchanging rhythm of economic life. Third, in contrast to most other such movements around the world, the theme of social justice has hardly been broached by the Russian protests. Decent living condition for the majority has been one of the main demands of the Arab revolutions, 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 disastrous fiscal policies of governments and the banks. During the first months of the protests, even nominally leftist speakers avoided these topics for fear of “losing” affluent protesters. And although in the individual interviews we conducted, some protesters defended just distribution of wealth and the social welfare state, others spontaneously approved the omission of these issues at the rallies. As one protester explained, “Personally, I have no problems with society. I am not a hungry peasant who is going to take to the barricades. In terms of life’s necessities I have everything I need.” As the protests have developed, the situation has changed. Demands for social justice still do not resound from the main stage at rallies, but the idea of the need for free education and medical care has increasingly become a point of spontaneous agreement on the part of protesters we have interviewed. In the summer of 2012, a specially organized science and education bloc marched at a protest rally for the first time, demanding that education and research be defended from mindless commercialization and endless bureaucratic reforms. 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 regime 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 attempt to force the authorities to fulfill an implicit contract. As one interviewee said at a rally, “Our government considers itself above us, while in fact we are actually their employers.” An end to political tyranny and corruption remains the principal demand. Peaceful mass rallies continue to attract tens of thousands of protesters. They are still events where violence and party affiliation are absent, venues for civic self-definition and stylistic self-representation on the part of the protesters, an unprecedented majority of whom (sixty to seventy percent) has university diplomas.

Duration and Reaction

The distinguishing feature of this entire period is the demonstrative “deafness” 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 reactionary, forceful and designed to intimidate protesters: the introduction of tougher laws on meetings; a crackdown on politicized minorities, especially anti-fascists and LGBT activists, who have been actively involved in the protests; attempts to shut down independent NGOs; and overt political repression of 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 grassroots 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 Kokhtareva, who is accused of assaulting police officers. There is a great deal of evidence that the accused have been subjected to pressure and, in some cases, tortured. The first sentences handed out to defendants—two and a half and four and a half years in prison, respectively—by state-controlled courts have confirmed the extreme and demonstrative nature of the case for the authorities. These and other indicators show that the mass protests have seriously affected the domestic balance of power in Russia without leading to regime change. Police reaction and a concomitant rotation within the state apparatus have been the response to the revolution that wasn’t. After his re-election, President Putin dismissed a number of center-right officials and advisors, putting his trust in extreme right-wingers and the security forces. The legislation passed by the dubiously elected parliament has become increasingly repressive, especially new laws restricting freedom of speech and association. At the same time, laws reducing the state-financed sector, commercializing culture and public health, and making employment more precarious have come into force. The political reaction is consistent in nature and is designed to cover at least the next four years. What has been happening under these conditions in terms of protests? When they have rallied against Putin, protesters have not generally supported the traditional opposition, which wants to gain entry to the world of institutionalized politics, either for the first time (as in the case of extreme nationalists) or again (as in the case of such Yeltsin-era political veterans as Boris Nemtsov and Vladimir Ryzhkov). Distrust of institutions is a crucial trait even among those people who demand fair elections. As one interviewee said, “I don’t want to be involved in politics, because I understand it’s a dirty business. [...] It has always been that way, that’s normal. The only way I can influence things is to push all this dirtiness in the direction I want. This means choosing [representatives], and that is a choice I don’t have.” Just as rarely, however, are protesters able to propose their own project for a different society. More often they give voice to a utopianism centered on the total rectification of everything. As another interviewee told us, “[What I want] is for everyone to be responsible. For the laws to work in an elementary way, for judges to be honest, and for the army to be strong. I mean, so everything works and functions normally.” It is small wonder that the past year and a half has not seen the emergence of long-term mass organizations, whether major parties, autonomous educational and social projects or informal movements advancing alternative institutions or candidates. The prospects for grassroots democracy seem iffy in residential neighborhoods, workplaces and educational institutions. Many protesters are willing to take to the streets from time to time, but are unwilling to do regular “dirty” work. The mass movement is discontinuous and largely limited to the episodic upsurges represented by rallies and marches. For their part, the traditional political groups, whose aim is institutionalization and which lay claim to coordinating the movement, maintain a strategic pact among themselves: for the time being they are united against a common enemy, but when that threat has been dealt with, all bets will be off. And so liberals exist side by side with extreme leftists and right-wingers on the protest scene, and they all block meaningful proposals made by their “allies.” The most powerful organizational and moral motives for taking the initiative thus belong to those protesters who do not “do politics” in the narrow sense of the word and are well organized enough to make an impact. These include the movement of observers at regional elections, groups spearheading philanthropic initiatives, a new generation of municipal district council members (primarily in Moscow and Petersburg) involved in defending the quality of life in their neighborhoods, and campaigners against corruption and abuses of power who have run for the mayor’s office in major cities. In other words, the protest movement has gradually become professionalized, acquiring more confidence in its use of social technology and populism, but it remains aloof from demands for social justice and the fight against inequalities. The story of the protest movement is far from over. Tens of thousands of people have had an extraordinary experience, sensing their own strength and solidarity. But they also have felt the limits of street politics and given up hope for a peaceful and easy resolution of a profound political conflict. Today, in the absence of dialogue within society and effective counter-power organizations, the political situation in Russia remains highly uncertain. New crackdowns by the authorities or the campaign in support of political prisoners are capable of producing an unexpected turn of events, of pushing the grassroots movement to a new stage. And that means Russian society has a chance once again to make the international news and become a focus of hope and admiration. I would like to take this opportunity to thank everyone who has been involved in the work of the Independent Research Initiative.

The details of the Gaskarov case can be found at: <http://en.gaskarov.info/>
For more information about the Bolotnaya Square defendants, see: <http://imay.org/en/>

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MADRID

http://www.4ojos.com/

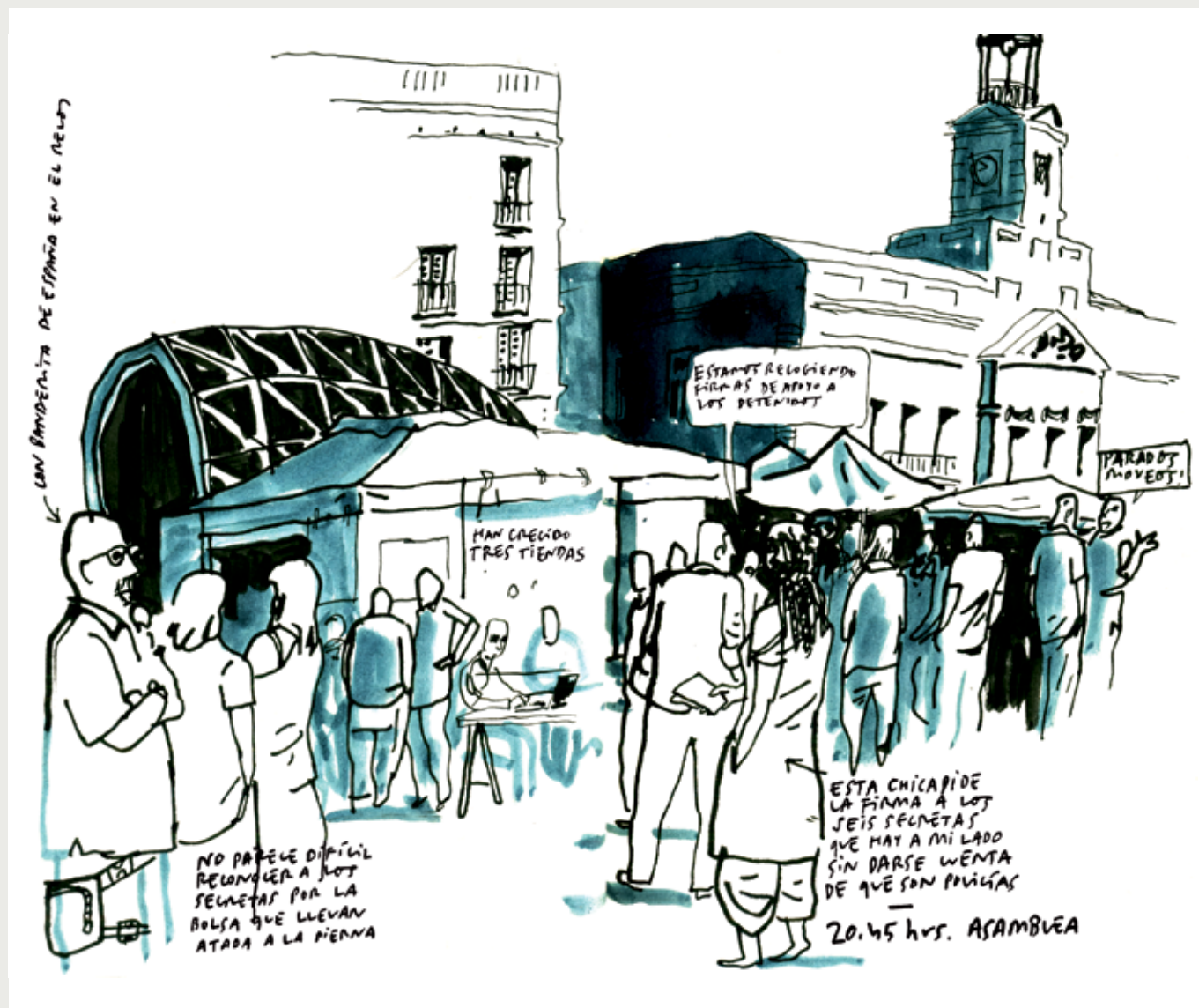
ENRIQUE FLORES

15M

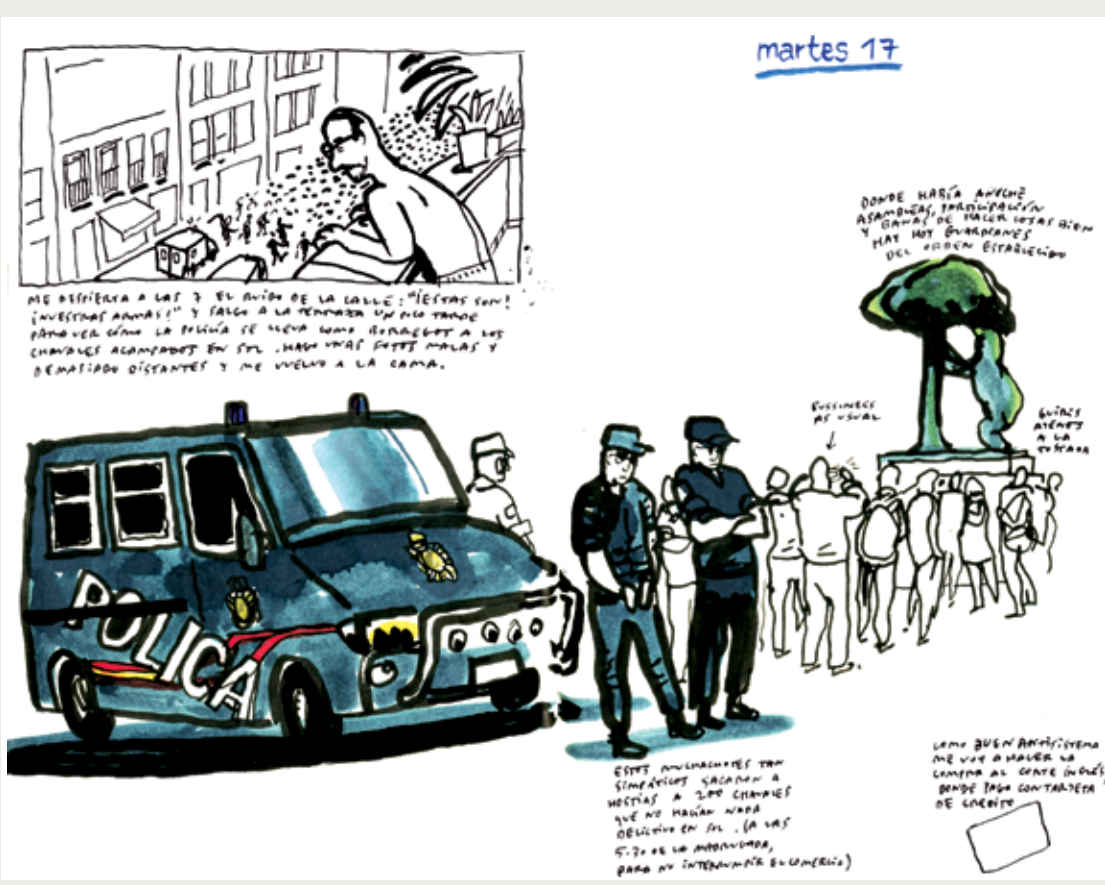
(01)
First 15 May Demonstration. The Socialist Party was running the country. About 15,000 people demanded "Real Democracy Now"



(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 come 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:
(01)
15.05.2011
• We went from the stands to the demonstration.
It's from these announcements on the Internet, which there are now and then...
• Padina and Toño (with bicycle) appear.

(02)
16.05.2011
• With a Spanish flag on his watch
• It doesn't seem difficult to recognize secret police by the bags they carry attached to their thighs.
• Three shops were open.
• We're collecting signatures of support for the prisoners.
• This girl is asking for signatures from six secret agents next to me, without realizing that they are police officers.
• 8:45 pm: mass meeting
• Unemployed, move!

(03)
17.05.2011
• Tuesday the 17th
• I am woken up at 7:00 a.m. by the noise from the street: Those are... our weapons! and I go out on the terrace a bit late to see how the police are taking away the folks camping in Plaza del Sol as if they were sheep. I take some bad photos from too far away and I go back to bed.
• Where last night there were rallies, participation, and the desire to do things well, there are now guardians of the established order.
• Foreign tourists toasted by the sun.
• These nice fellows ... 200 people there were not doing anything criminal in Plaza del Sol (at 5:30 in the morning

in order to not interrupt business).
• Like a good anti-system guy, I leave to go shopping at Corte Ingles, where I pay with my credit card.
(04)
17.05.2011
• PESOE - PEP The same old shit!
• Freedom of speech
• The revolution has begun

(05)
19.05.2011
• Thursday the 19th
• They are giving out free food. Lots of people are coming to have a snack, like when people come to eat bananas at the Plaza Mayor when farmers from the Canary Islands come.
• I like to see Icelandic flags

(06)
19.05.2011
• Paz Vega's dress seems to be the muse of the protest.
• Cameras on the roofs
• She's taking a picture of me.

Carlos Taibo

The challenges or the problems of 15M

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, that 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.

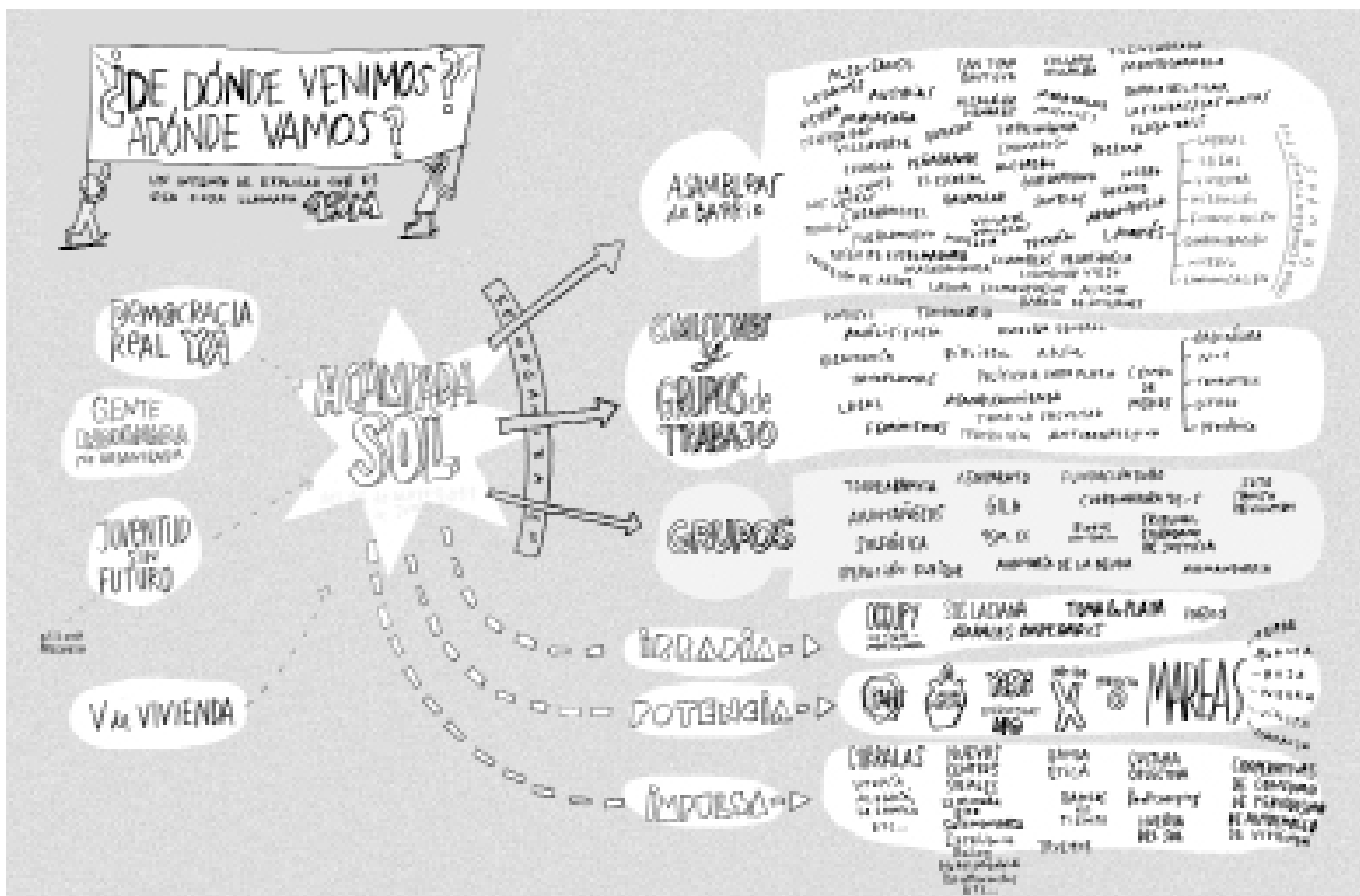
That being said, I willingly take on the task appointed to me. And the first thing that comes to mind is an argument that in a certain sense comes from the comparison of 15M with the anti-globalization movements that came before it. It was once said that the "movements of the indignant" – I don't like 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).

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 demercantilization, 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.

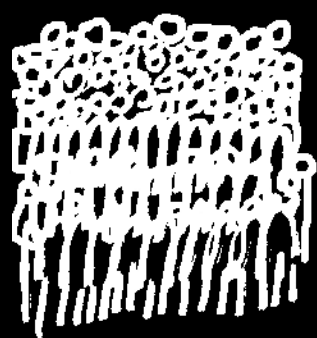
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Where did we come from? Where are we going? Attempt to explain what is that thing called 15M. Poster by Enrique Flores on the 2nd anniversary of the 15 May Movement

DAN PERJOVSCHI



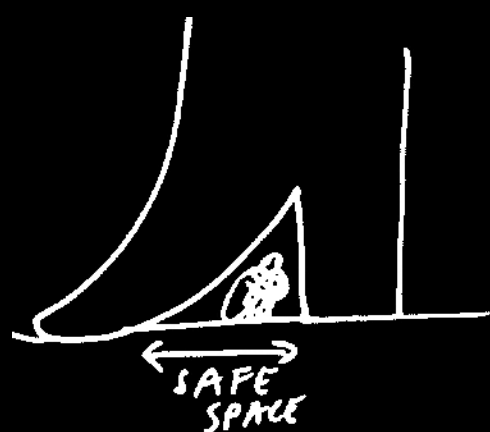
PAY



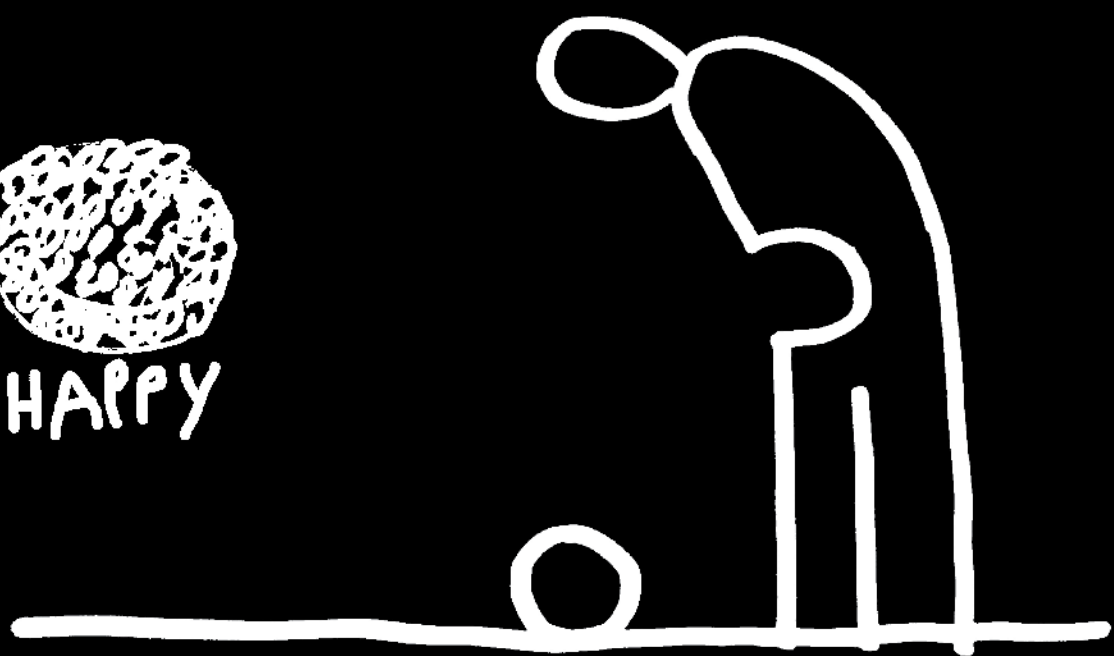
PLAY



LAY



HAPPY

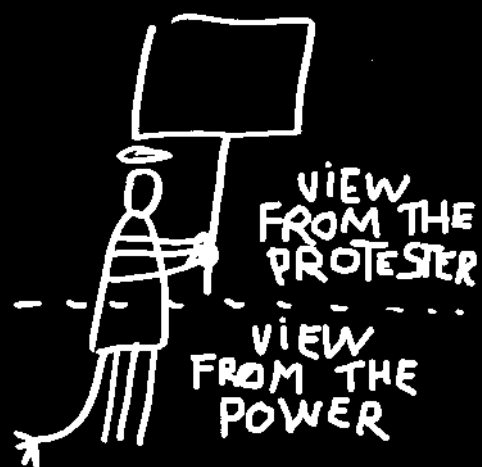
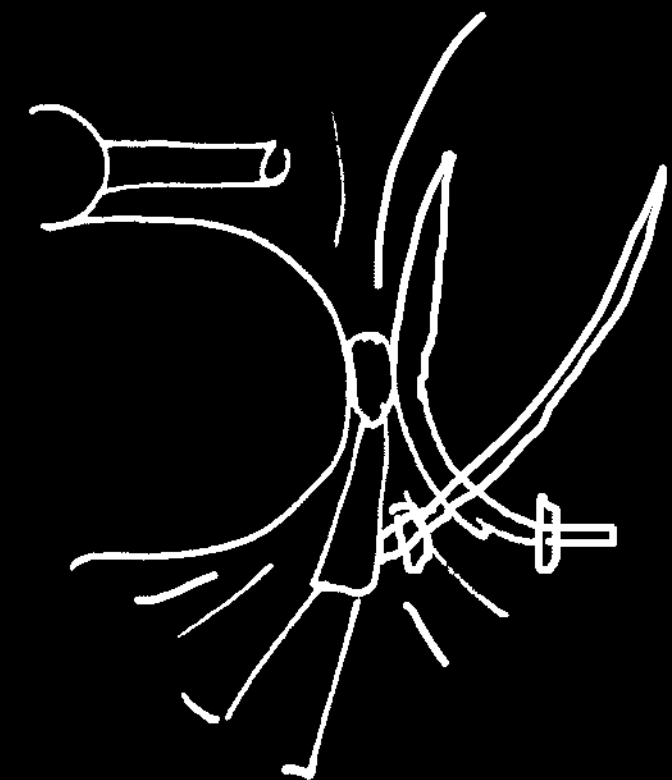


HISTORY
POLITICS
TRADITION



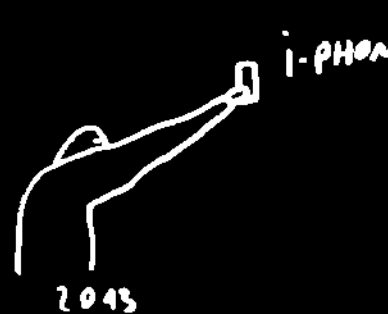
ARTIST

ART



VIEW FROM THE PROTESTER
VIEW FROM THE POWER

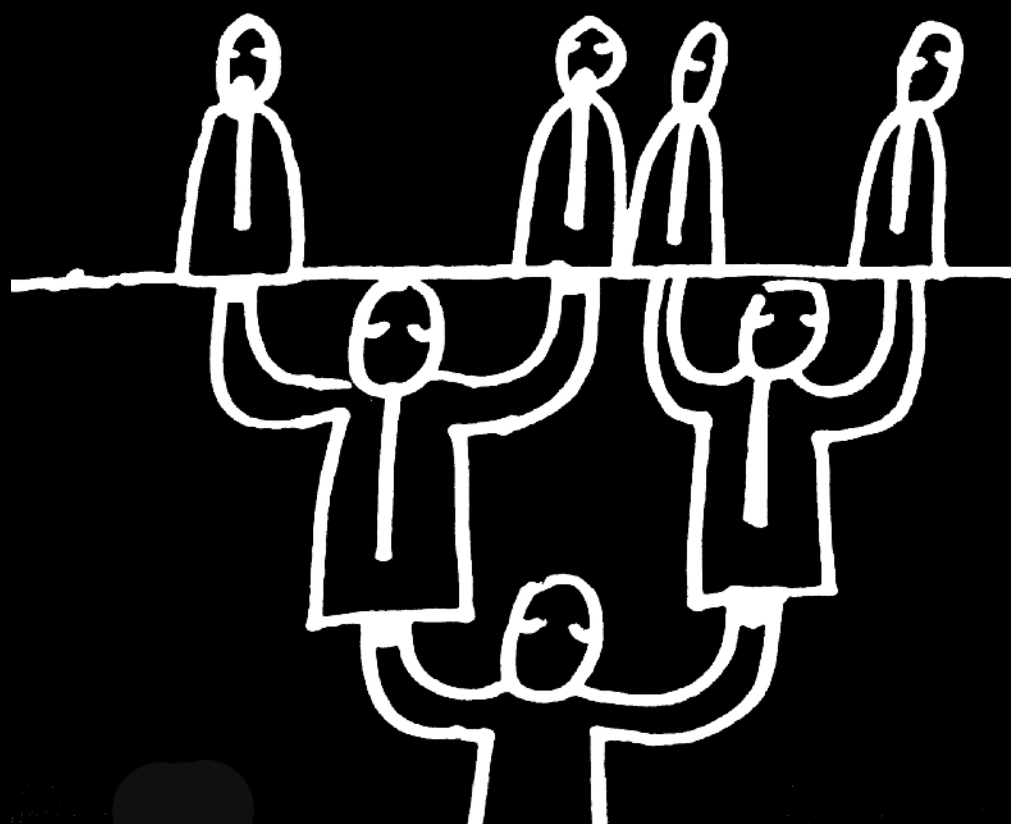
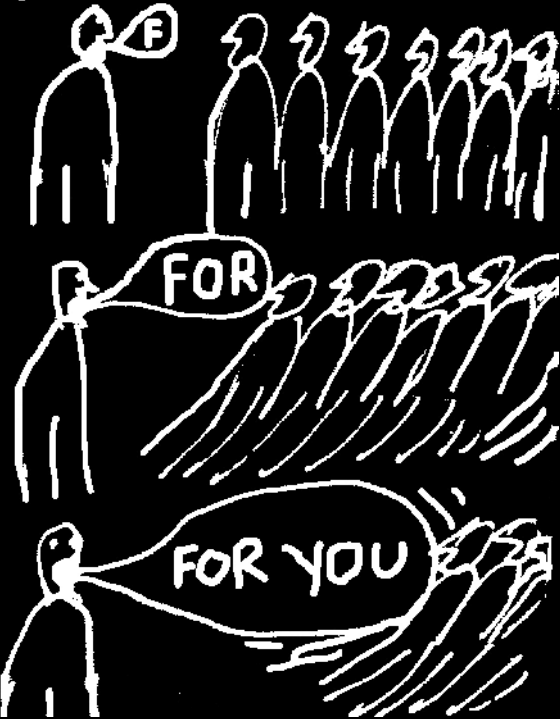
OLIGARCH BULGARIA



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THE POWER SPEECH



Carles Feixa

#OutragedGeneration. Topias and Utopias of the 15M Movement in Spain

With the collaboration of:

Jordi Nofre (UNL, Lisboa, Portugal), José Sánchez (UdL, Lleida), Mauricio Perondi (UFRGS, Porto Alegre, Brazil), Ariadna Fernández (UPF, Barcelona), Mónica Figueras (UPF, Barcelona), Vanesa Toscano (UAM, Madrid) and Teresa López (UdL, Lleida)

The City of Sun

On May 15, 2011, just before the local elections in Spain, during which the effects of the financial crisis were debated for the first time, diverse platforms such as Democracia Real Ya (Real Democracy Now) and Jóvenes sin futuro (Young people with no future) organized a demonstration in Madrid that was much larger than expected thanks to the Twitter viral effect. At the end of the march, a group of about a hundred people decided to occupy the Puerta del Sol, the emblematic center of the Spanish capital, where they spent the night in an improvised camp. The violent eviction attempt by the police the following night had the contrary effect to what had been intended: the hundred campers became a few thousand, and popular support skyrocketed. The movement was called the Los Indignados (The Indignants), a reference to the book of the same name by the French human rights activist Stéphane Hessel (2011). Vanesa and other anthropology students were in the camp from the beginning, actively participating in the creation of this utopian micro-polis. She showed us around the still occupied square a month later, in June 2011, which she described as a small city with everything renaissance utopias (like The City of Sun by Tommaso di Campanella [1623]) suggest an ideal city should have: participatory democracy, equality, communal life, spatial planning, the sharing of labor, and the abolition of private property. This is how she remembered her life at Sol during the occupation:



15M Users Interactions

Different areas were marked by colored tape, including spaces for walking, sleeping, eating, and leisure. Diverse commissions were created to organize the camp. In the corner of love you could chat about metaphorical matters and meditate; there were places where you could get a massage after a tiring day at the camp; and there was even a children's library with a small nursery. Everyone was living for the movement, for their belief that it would all work out. But we were not just a youth movement—the people from the area and the homeless also helped. They undertook logistical tasks, they made tables and chairs for us, and put up canvases when it rained. It was a very heterogeneous movement, you could find anyone: students, precarious workers, regular workers. It was like a small world inside a world, but fantastic. (Vanesa, 30 years-old, student, Madrid)



Camp at Sol

#Acampadabcn

The camp originated on the Net, and from the Net it moved to the square, and from there, it returned to the Net (#acampadasol, #acampadabcn...). The day after the occupation of Puerta del Sol in Madrid, a group of young people in Barcelona did the same in Plaça de Catalunya, which had emerged as an “unresolved” urban space in the project of Ildefons Cerdà, meant to connect the formerly walled city with the modern area of bourgeois urban expansion and recently adopted as the new city agora, as a celebration point for Football Club Barcelona (Barça), New Year's Eve, festival concerts, and as a meeting point for locals, tourists, couples, families... and the Indignants. The mobilization is connected to memories of local resistance, both more recent and historical (Anarchist Barcelona was known at the beginning of the 20th Century as the Rose of Fire). In the past two decades, the Catalan capital has been host to a vigorous anti-globalization movement, entrenched squatter or okupa struggles, and anti-Bologna student mobilizations, university-based protests against the European Higher Education Area. We visited Plaça de Catalunya on May 22, the election day. The atmosphere was relaxed and festive. Most of the campers cannot be classified as “antisistema” (anti-systemic) or perroflautas (flute carrying young dropouts with dogs), adjectives used among certain police sectors and the extreme rightwing press. Rather, they are largely young people from the middle classes allied with actors from other sectors, including retirees. In addition to the anthropology and architecture students (who were perhaps able to put into practice their ideas about minimalist urbanism), as children many of the campers had likely participated in the esplais, leisure education organizations similar to the boy scouts, where they had learned how to build campsites (such as those that were now being constructed in the city).



Camp at Plaça de Catalunya: map

The square is organized in commissions and assemblies, and there is even an information service with an orientation map. Participants have invented a code of gestures to show agreement (holding hands up and twinkling their fingers) and disagreement (crossing their hands). After a few days, on May 27, the police violently evicted the participants under

the pretext of having to clean the plaza before the Champions' League Final (an enormous sign sponsored by Nike with the Barça colors is displayed on a nearby commercial building). The eviction lasted just a couple of hours. The SMS warning about what was going on at the square and the images of police violence published instantly and distributed on the Net from many Facebook and Twitter accounts brought loads of supporters to the plaza. Passersby, family members, friends, and sympathizers of the 15M Movement joined the cause of reoccupying Plaça de Catalunya and repelling the violent police attacks. The police were surrounded and used rubber bullets (forbidden years ago in countries like France, Germany, or Great Britain, but not in countries that suffered fascist dictatorships in the second half of the 20th Century, such as Spain or Greece) to open a path through the crowd. But this only increased support for the movement: the following Saturday, when Barça won the Champions League, the celebration gathered Barça supporters and Indignants—the latter surrounded the square to prevent the police from taking over the square and to separate themselves from the habitual troublemakers at football celebrations. Toni, a twenty-one-year-old student and camper from Barcelona, explains his story:

The Arab uprisings motivated the people here. We thought, let's see if this takes place one day in our country.' And look what happened... On the first day I didn't go to the Plaça de Catalunya because I thought there wouldn't be anyone. On the following day, as I left the university, I walked by the square and I saw there were a few people, about 20, so I decided to stay and get informed. I just talked to them. Then the whole thing started to grow. During the first few days I participated in the assemblies and the caceroladas. ... The day of the eviction a friend who works near the square called me at 8 a.m. I arrived at 9 a.m. After everything finished I stayed overnight.

The Iberian squares and beyond

The 15M Movement once again places Spain on the world revolutionary map. Although the triggers are local (Spain, together with Greece and Portugal, is one of the European countries worst hit by the crisis, with youth unemployment rates in January 2012 of 49.9%, 51.1%, and 35.1% respectively), the antecedents and the effects are global. Thanks to the Net, the 15M 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 activism 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 less people and for few days. In Madrid, the conservative party in the government didn't allow people to reoccupy Sol Square. In the following months, as 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 misemployment grew up to 53,21%. The 15M of 2013, for the 2nd Anniversary, the movement is still active: it has been transformed in many sectorial movements called mareas (tides), protesting against the cuts in the welfare state, divided in colors such as white (health tide), yellow (education tide), orange (social work tide), green (housing tide), red (culture tide), violet (women tide), black (justice tide), among others. The rates of youth misemployment grew up to 57,2% and many high educated young people have had to emigrate to other European countries. In cities like London and Berlin, they have created the garnet tide, an expression of the glocalization of the Indignados movement, defined by Manuel Castells as a rhizomatic revolution: the material production of social change not from programmatic goals but from the networked experiences of the actors.



The columns of the Popular Indignant March

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A first version of this text was published in *Cultural Anthropology Online*, August 1 (*Hot Spots: Occupy, Anthropology, and the 2011 Global Uprisings*). There is also a book in Spanish: Feixa, C., & Nofre, J. (Eds.); Toscano, V.; Fernández-Planells, A.; Perondi, M.; Sánchez García, Soto, J. (2013). *#GeneraciónIndignada: Topias y Utopias del 15M*. Lleida: Milenio. <http://www.edmilenio.com>

Enrique Flores is a book illustrator and artist. He studied visual arts at the Universidad Complutense de Madrid and did his Master in Graphic and Illustration at Central Saint Martins College of Art and Design in London. Several of his books were published by important publishing houses in Spain and he won the Lazarillo Prize for Illustration 2010 of the Spanish Ministry of Culture. He regularly does illustrations for the "La cuarta página", the fourth page of the daily newspaper El País. Flores exhibits nationally and internationally.



(07) Sign at the metro exit: "The revolution will be feminist or it won't be at all." The name of the exit "SOL" has changed to "Plaza SOLution"



(08) Tents can be seen all around



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



(07) 20.05.2011
• A girl asks me, Hey, do you know what this sentence means? And that over there is the symbol for women, right?
• On this walk we were making, I felt fear, embarrassment and illusion, Ignacio tells me. (He works in a bank and is seeing this for the first time).

(08) 21.05.2011
• Ignacio asks: And who is behind all of this?
• A Bangladeshi beer vendor whom I defended last night against four drunks who didn't want to pay him, recognizes me and stops for a while to chat.
• We go for a walk through the rally in order to get rid of the idea that this is a type of WOMAD (World Music Festival).
• I haven't yet seen a single photo/drawing of Che.
• The mobile unit is sleeping here.

(09) 27.05.2011
• Friday the 27th
• Barcelonal Solidarity!
• Alvaro and Yolanda come to express solidarity with the camp from Barcelona.
• They were evicted in Barcelona. At 7:00 there is a demonstration of support.
• The system is the problem.
• Afterwards, they are going to Eva and Sara's party.

(10) The rain makes the encampment uncomfortable



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



(12) I draw many activists. I ask all of them for "a sentence for history"



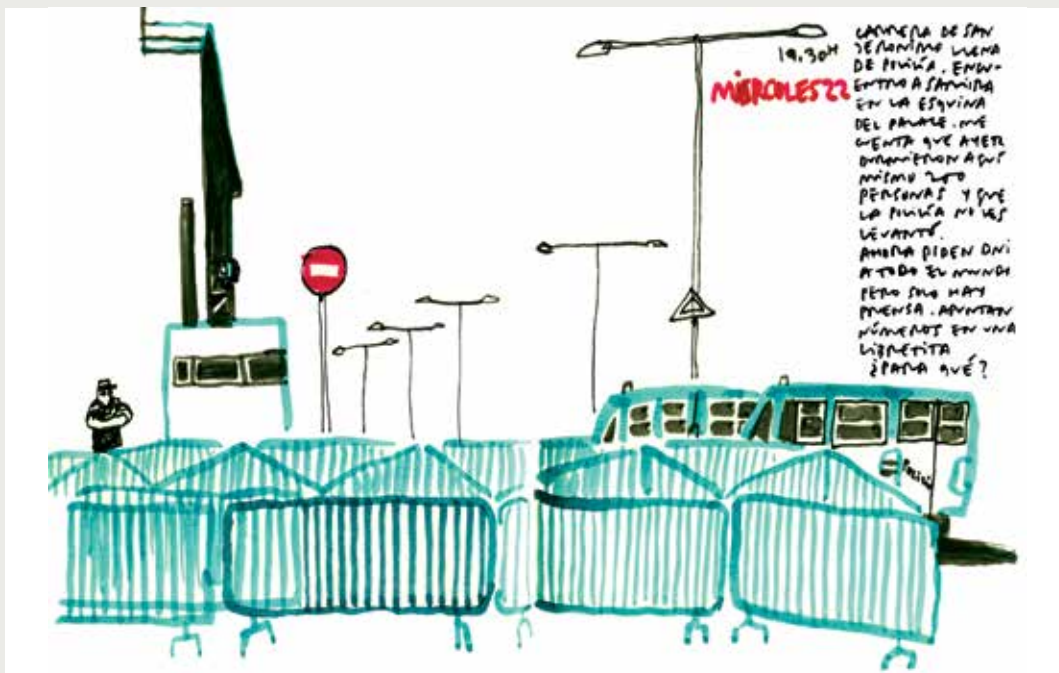
(10) 05.06.2011
• The rain made us cancel today's demonstration (and the next two ones), and we cannot discuss whether the camp will be dismantled or remain.
• The 6th day at 12:05 noon. The firefighters come and as usual the campers applaud them.
• Food stall 3
(11) 07.06.2011
• The commission Legal 15M is going to reformulate the general agreement: raise the camp on Sunday the 12th

with a big demonstration.
• Another rally such as the Exterminating Angel
• Two gestures allow us to speak:
Complete dissent
Limited dissent
I don't see it but I don't block it.
I'm asking you to support those of us who decide to stay when the police come.
• 17 committees express their agreement.
• If you cut the roots off the tree, it won't bear apples.
• Let's appeal to the collective intelligence.

(12) 08.06.2011
• Vicente, the Chinese guy, comes and goes from Aranjuez. His brother is getting married on the 15th.
• A girl comes with a piece of the library; she baptizes it as a relaxation area and throws it to whomever sits there. She doesn't take off the mask of anonymity.
• The media manipulate, walls speak.
• Silvia comes to see Plaza de Sol from Argentina; she's a professor of literature. She has just recovered from cancer, she tells me.
• We are all one.
• She is staying at the rally. Waitress near here.
• Change starts with you. - Friendly Maria

MADRID

(13) The entrances to the parliament are blocked by the police



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



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



(18) Demonstration in favor of Public Health



(15) "Water can't be sold, fight back" -- poster against the privatization of water in Madrid



(16) When the National Confederation of Labor comes through the Paseo del Prado in the direction of Neptuno, the people from the biggest unions UGT and CCOO are already going home



(19) Concentration of support for Alfón, an activist detained during the general strike



(13) 22.06.2011
7:30 p.m., Wednesday the 22nd
San Jeronimo Street full of police. I meet Samira on the corner next to the palace. She tells me that 200 people were sleeping here and that the police didn't take them away. Today they are asking for everyone's ID but there is only the press. They are writing numbers in a notebook. Why?

(14) We reserve the right to refuse admission.
(15) Don't, don't, don't privatize!
At 8:15 p.m., the parade comes from Huertas. What bad coordination!
They could 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.

(16) Enough making pacts already, it's time to fight!
They are screaming at the union people from the Workers' Commissions and General Workers' Union.
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.

(17) We don't owe anything. We won't pay anything

(18) 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.

(19) The Independence Revolt of 1808 in Venezuela started in Lavapiés, says a guy who lives in Mexico.
Christmas lights
Free Alfón.
At 8:45 a.m., It's time to retreat, says Alfón's mother.

Moscow

A Chronicle of Resistance

Victoria Lomasko

<http://soglyadatay.livejournal.com/>

Viktoriya Lomasko is a graphic artist and book illustrator. In 2003 she graduated from Moscow State University of Printing Arts. Lomasko's preferred medium is drawing and her primary focus is graphic reportage. She also collaborates with mass media as an illustrator and drawing reporter.

She volunteers at the Assistance Centre for Criminal Justice Reform, giving drawing lessons and lecturing at Mozhaik Children's Correctional Facility. Lomasko is a regular participant in contemporary art exhibitions and projects focusing on alternative comics.

FEBRUARY 26, 2012



The grassroots "White Circle" flash mob looked like an unwitting reprisal 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 4, 2012



Caption: Election observers observing the vote count

Thousands of activist observers worked during the presidential election. I was part of a mobile group organized by the Citizen Observer project. Shuttling between polling stations, we saw rows of buses from Belgorod, Vladimir, Saratov and other towns. At the polling stations themselves, we saw queues filled with provincial workers and students bearing absentee ballots. In the evening, they were treated to a festive concert on Manezh Square. Despite the fact that all opposition forces were mobilized in the capital, Putin officially mustered 48.25% of the vote in Moscow, and 63.6% nationwide.

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.



Caption: We will begin carrying out peaceful acts of civil disobedience.

MARCH 10, 2012



The last For Fair Elections rally took place on the New Arbat in Moscow. Maxim Katz and other victors 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.

Caption: Valentina, 73 years old
Valentina: Well done, Pussy Riot!
I'd sing "Mother of God, Drive Putin Out!" with them.
Placard: What a talent for treating the people like idiots!

APRIL 19, 2012



Nadezhda Tolokonnikova: I wish the people who have put us here a life in prison like ours.

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 breaks in the hearing, Nadya Tolokonnikova complained of constant headaches and spoke out harshly against Putin. Katya Samutsevich refused to give interviews, saying one had to be careful with information about Pussy Riot. Masha Alyokhina comforted her loved ones (*I have no problems in prison*) and quoted the poet Osip Mandelstam.

MAY 6, 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" at 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.

Placard (in lower left corner): A woman's work is revolution, not making soup.



Woman on left:
I'm trying to dissuade my husband from emigrating—I want to raise the kids here.
Slogan on her placard:
It's important to believe in a happy future.

Woman on right:
I want to live in Russia.
Slogan on her placard:
Our hearts have already changed.

The police suddenly began dispersing people with billy 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 policemen's 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 sit-in to protest this 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." Two 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.

MAY 7, 2012



Woman: Why are there riot police everywhere?
Policeman: Because of the folk festivals.

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



Caption: Pushkin Square (Moscow), May 9
Veteran: We defended the Motherland!
Riot Cop: And we're clearing the square.

On May 9, it seemed like Moscow was celebrating Police Occupation Day, not Victory Day. There were even more police, military vehicles and metal barriers than on May 7.

Moscow

A Chronicle of Resistance

Victoria Lomasko

<http://soglyadatay.livejournal.com/>



By midday, the opposition—people from the “folk festivals,” mainly—had begun closing ranks at Chistye Prudy. In the evening, paddy wagons 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.

MAY 10-16, 2012



Caption: Lecture on civil disobedience

The Occupy Abay camp took shape at Chistye Prudy the next morning. More and more activists kept coming, some with foam pads, sleeping bags, food, guitars and samizdat publications. People enthusiastically conversed and sang lots of Viktor Tsoi songs. I moved about the camp amidst the dense crowd, wondering how I could convey in pictures the meaning and mood of this ferment on Chistoprudny Boulevard. When it got dark, the free people’s kitchen, faintly illuminated by street lamps, was somehow reminiscent of the Last Supper.

The core Occupy Abay activists almost never left the camp while it was running: they slept on the ground in sleeping bags. Left Front activists, anarchists, LGBT people and nationalists took joint responsibility for cleaning the camp, running the people’s kitchen and maintaining order. Rank-and-file members of the protest movement also tried to spend as much time as possible in the camp: many of them blew off classes or took a vacation from work. There were daily free lectures on political and social issues, and people discussed the future of the protest movement. Occupy Abay was crowded even when it was cold and rainy. Everyone regarded its existence as a miracle.

I often ran into acquaintances at Occupy Abay: nearly every-one was interested in how we could incorporate art into the daily life of the camp. Artist Anton Nikolayev staged an action that involved drawing a Pussy Riot icon, poets organized a reading of civic poetry, Theater. Doc performed a play entitled “BerlusPutin,” and I put on a show of drawings, “Everyday Occupy Abay.”



MAY 16, 2012



Man: “I left my business six months ago to take part in the protests with my girlfriend.”

At five o’clock in the morning on May 16, the police dispersed Occupy Abay. The pretext was a complaint filed in the Basmanny District Court by several residents of house no. 9 on Chistoprudny Boulevard, who complained of “noise, filth and trampled lawns.” Occupy moved to Barrikadnaya, but it proved impossible 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.

Popular unity could still be sensed at Occupy Barrikadnaya. I remember a young woman who would come with shopping bags stuffed with sandwiches 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 nationalists 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 Barrikadnaya. 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.



Caption: Kudrinskaya Square, May 18
Policewoman on right: When is this going to end so we can get weekends off?
Policewoman on left: It doesn’t hurt to dream.

JUNE 12, 2012



People on right: Antifa are fags!

The second so-called March of the Millions started on Pushkin Square. Columns of anarchists and nationalists marched on opposite sides of the boulevard ring, with the neo-Nazis shouting insults at the antifa. The “Research and Education” column came out for the first time: its members protested new laws dismantling the education system. The march ended on Sakharov Avenue. Police estimated that 18,000 people attended the event, while organizers put the number at around 100,000.

JULY 31 - AUGUST 17, 2012



Pussy Riot: This trial expresses the will of one person.

The Khamovniki District Court began hearing the trial in the Pussy Riot case on July 31. I was able to attend the fifth and sixth hearings. Hundreds of journalists covered the trial, and the hearings were broadcast live, so my drawings played no special role in the general media flow. I was just fascinated by the chance to sketch this historic trial.



Maria Alyokhina (on left): What politician did I say extremely negative things about?
Prosecution witness Vinogradova (on right): Vladimir Putin.

AUGUST 17, 2012

The verdict in the Pussy Riot trial was read in Moscow’s Khamovniki District Court on August 17. Nadezhda Tolokonnikova, Maria Alyokhina and Yekaterina Samutsevich were each sentenced to two years in prison. Hundreds of the punk group’s supporters surrounded the courthouse, and a spontaneous demonstration began. Police snatched people from the crowd—teenagers in colored balaclavas, old women with placards and prominent opposition figures—and threw them into paddy wagons. At present, Tolokonnikova is in prison in Mordovia, while Alyokhina is serving her sentence near Perm. During an appeals hearing on October 10, Samutsevich was released on probation, allegedly because during the “punk prayer” she had been unable to climb over the railing and dance on the altar with the other women.



Policeman: Citizens, keep the peace!
Crowd: Mother of God, drive Putin out!

SEPTEMBER 15, 2012

Nationalists: Moscow without wogs!



After a summer lull, the third so-called March of the Millions, the least well attended, took place. It repeated the route of the previous march. A fight between nationalists and anti-fascists broke out. People in the communist column blamed liberals for the petering-out of the protests. Liberals expressed their fear of both rightists and leftists. 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 “maidan” or “veche” (popular assembly). Udaltsov was arrested at 10:01 p.m.

DIV., "RIOTS AT THE WEST-END OF LONDON"; LINE BLOCK, THE ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS, 02/13/1886



The workers' revolts in London's West End were preceded by a demonstration of the first British socialist party founded by Henry Hyndman, the "Social Democratic Federation." The contribution of the "The Illustrated London News" deals with unemployment in London's East End.

WALTER CRANE, "THE CAPITALIST VAMPIRE"; LINE BLOCK, CARTOONS FOR THE CAUSE - DESIGNS AND VERSES FOR THE SOCIALIST AND LABOUR MOVEMENT 1886-1896, LONDON 1886



The draftsman Walter Crane was one of the founders of the British Arts and Crafts Movement. Together with William Morris, he joined the "Social Democratic Federation" in 1884, for whose journal "Justice" he drew the "Capitalist Vampire" in 1885. Crane's socialist cartoons were published in a popular anthology in 1886.

ANON., "THE RIOT IN TRAFALGAR SQUARE"; LINE BLOCK, THE GRAPHIC, 11/19/1887



The bloody clashes during the large demonstrations organized by the "Social Democratic Federation" and the "Irish National League" went down in the annals of the European workers' movement as "Bloody Sunday." William Morris and Walter Crane were also among the participants.

PAUL RENOUARD, "FIGHT AT THE BOTTOM OF PARLIAMENT STREET"; HALFTONE, THE GRAPHIC, 11/19/1887



The French draftsman Paul Renouard, who intermittently worked as a "special artist" in London, introduced an impressionistic perception to English press graphics.

THEOPHILE STEINLEN, "L'ATTENTAT DU PAS-DE-CALAIS"; GILLOTAGE, LE CHAMBARD SOCIALISTE NO. 1, 12/16/1893



Theophile Steinlen became one of the most important pioneers of 20th-century socialist graphics with the front pages that he drew for a number of French socialist and anarchist magazines.

ANON., "MANIFESTATIONS DES SUFFRAGETTES A LONDRES"; HALFTONE, LE PETIT JOURNAL, 06/21/1908



A depiction of the British suffragette movement in the French tabloid press.

G.S. AMATO, "THE UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE RIOTS IN BRUSSELS"; HALFTONE, THE ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS, 04/19/1902



From an illustrated report on an uprising organized by the liberal and socialist parties of Belgium, which was preceded by a miners' strike.

KÄTHE KOLLWITZ, "LOSBRUCH (CHARGE AKA REVOLT)"; ETCHING, BERLIN 1902 / 1903



Käthe Kollwitz was the favorite artist of the Chinese poet Lu Xun, who in the 1930s founded the new Chinese xylography movement in Shanghai. With this fifth sheet from her cycle "Der Bauernkrieg (Peasants' Revolt)"; Kollwitz created the model for the tops of the "Flood of rage" in Chinese revolutionary graphic art. Paradoxically, the pacifist artist thus shaped the design of one of the most belligerent icons of the century.

HENRI-GUSTAVE JOSSOT, "LES GARDIENS DE LA PAIX"; HALFTONE, ASSIETTE AU BEURRE, NO. 150, 02/13/1904



In this issue of the legendary anarchist artists' magazine "Assiette au beurre", Henri-Gustave Jossot addresses the theme of police violence, which he seeks to expose with relish as senseless acts of a barbarian authoritarian state.

JULES GRANDJOUAN, "A BAS MONOPOLES"; HALFTONE, ASSIETTE AU BEURRE, NO. 149, 02/06/1904



Alongside Theophile Steinlen, Jules Grandjouan counts as one of the pioneers of 20th-century revolutionary graphic art.

FRITZ KOCH-GOTHA, "BERLIN AM ERSTEN TAG DER REVOLUTION" (BERLIN ON THE FIRST DAY OF THE REVOLUTION), OFFSET, BERLINER ILLUSTRIRTE ZEITUNG, 11/24/1918



The chief illustrator of the Berliner Illustrirte Zeitung seeks to refrain from taking sides in his sketchy documentation of the Berlin November Revolution.

WILLIAM SIEGEL, "THE MOONEY CASE"; HALFTONE, THE NEW MASSES, APRIL 1932



In this strip, the communist graphic artist William Siegel gives an account of the case involving the imprisoned union leader Tom Mooney, who had been sentenced to death in the context of a bomb attack in 1916. In 1918, under the pressure of the world public, the verdict was revised to a prison sentence due to lack of evidence.

LI HUA, "FLOOD OF RAGE"; WOODCUT, GUANGZHOU, 1947



Li Hua ranks among the most important proponents of the new Chinese xylography movement. This graphic inspired by Käthe Kollwitz is the best-known sheet of his popular "Raging Tide" series from 1947.

WILLIAM GROPPER, "THE YANKS ARE NOT COMING"; HALFTONE, THE NEW MASSES, 05/07/1940



This spread from the legendary Marxist illustrated magazine refers to a well-known anti-war slogan of the American communists, which became obsolete a short while later when the Nazis attacked the Soviet Union.

JAMES BARRETURNBULL, "ORGANIZED WORKERS AGAINST THE POLITICS OF APPEASEMENT"; PENCIL WITH OPAQUE WHITE, CA. 1940



Anti-fascist poster design by the American cartoonist and painter James Barre Turnbull.

PAUL HOGARTH, "TONY AMBATIELOS"; OFFSET, DEFIANT PEOPLE. DRAWINGS OF GREECE TODAY, LONDON 1952



In 1952 the British artist Paul Hogarth travelled to Athens to do drawings of the trial by the military dictatorship, supported by American and English interests, against the communist union leader Tony Ambatielos.

PAUL HOGARTH, "THE TRIBUNAL"; OFFSET, DEFIANT PEOPLE. DRAWINGS OF GREECE TODAY, LONDON 1952



Hogarth's Greece cycle marked the start of a number of social-critical travel reportages from the communist and capitalist front states, with which he subsequently proved himself to be one of the most significant graphic documentarians of the Cold War era.

JULES FEIFFER, "I IMPLORE YOU MR. SEALE TO SIT IN YOUR CHAIR"; OFFSET, PICTURES AT A PROSECUTION: DRAWINGS AND TEXTS FROM THE CHICAGO CONSPIRACY TRIAL, NEW YORK 1970



For a period of four months, the American cartoonist Jules Feiffer witnessed the spectacular trial against the "Chicago Eight", political activists who had disrupted the party convention of the Democrats in 1968 in connection with the simultaneous demonstrations against the war in Vietnam. Feiffer's declared goal was to provide a "Cinéma vérité version" of the trial in drawings and texts.

JULES FEIFFER, "BOBBY SEALE"; OFFSET, PICTURES AT A PROSECUTION: DRAWINGS AND TEXTS FROM THE CHICAGO CONSPIRACY TRIAL, NEW YORK 1970



After the indicted Black Panther activist Bobby Seale had called the judge a "pig", he was first brought before the judge chained and gagged and then excluded from the trial. Seale was sentenced to four years in prison for insulting the court.

IMPRINT

"Drawing Protest" is published on the occasion of the exhibition DRAWING PROTEST, 10/19/2013 – 01/19/2014 by the Museum of Contemporary Art Leipzig. The project explores the importance of artistic 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.

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1825-1970: A commented picture spread by Alexander Roob:

- in chronological order:
(01) Adolf Laube, Max Steinmetz, Günter Vogler (eds.), Illustrierte Geschichte der deutschen frühbürgerlichen Revolution, Berlin 1974, p. 309
(02) Klaus Herding and Rolf Reichardt, Die Bildpublizistik der Französischen Revolution, Frankfurt 1989, p. 8
(03) Herwig Guratzsch (ed.), James Gillray, Meisterwerke der Karikatur, Stuttgart 1986, p. 76
(04) Div., Kunst der bürgerlichen Revolution von 1830 bis 1848/49, Berlin 1972, p. 37
(05) Div., Kunst der bürgerlichen Revolution von 1830 bis 1848/49, Berlin 1972, p. 53
(06) Uwe M. Schneede, Käthe Kollwitz. Das zeichnerische Werk, Munich 1987, p. 71
(07) Der Holzschnitt im neuen China, Dresden 1951, p. 22
all others: Collection of the Melton Prior Institute for Reportage Drawing & Printing Culture

Portraying Protest by Victoria Lomasko:

- in order of appearance:
(01) Ivan Vladimirov, Members of the Old Government Are Arrested, 1917. From the series The February Revolution of 1917. Reproduced in A.I. Roshchin, Ivan Alexeevich Vladimirov: Life and Work, 1869–1947 (Leningrad: Khudozhnik RSFSR, 1974)
(02) Sveta Shuvaeva, Moscow, 2012. Markers on paper. Property of the author
(03) Valentin Serov, "Soldiers, Brave Lads, Where Is Your Glory?", 1905. Pastels on cardboard-mounted paper. State Russian Museum, Saint Petersburg
(04) Stepan Yaremich, The Cruiser Aurora on the Neva, October 25, 1917, 1917. Ink on paper. Reproduced in V.P. Lapshin, The Artistic Life of Moscow and Petrograd in 1917 (Moscow: Sovetskii khudozhnik, 1983)
(05) Radik Vildanov, Protest Rally, March 25, 2012, 2012. Acrylics on paper, collage. Property of the author
(06) Vladimir Salnikov, from the series Photographic Evidence of the Winter Insurrection, 2012. Markers on paper. Property of the author
(07) Sergei Ivanov, At the Wall, 1906. Etching. Reproduced in The Year 1905 in Paintings, Drawings and Sculptures (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo izobrazitel'nogo iskusstva, 1955)
(08) Kukryniksy, Barricades in Moscow, 1940. Pastel on paper. Reproduced in The Year 1905 in Paintings, Drawings and Sculptures (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo izobrazitel'nogo iskusstva, 1955)
(09) Ivan Goryushkin-Sorokopudov, A Barricade in 1905, 1905. Gouache. Reproduced in The Year 1905 in Paintings, Drawings and Sculptures (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo izobrazitel'nogo iskusstva, 1955)
(10) Nikolai Shestopalov, The Last Barricade, 1905. Drawing for the anthology Magnificent Moscow. Reproduced in The Year 1905 in Paintings, Drawings and Sculptures (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo izobrazitel'nogo iskusstva, 1955)
(11) Lyuba and Tamara Krutenko, 2012. Gel pen on paper. Photo by Victoria Lomasko taken at the Krutenko sisters' exhibition Will You Go on Your Own, or Should We Carry You?
(12) Bolotnaya ploshad: Christopher Rainbow, from the series Bolotnaya Ploshad, 2011. Ink, watercolour and digital imaging on paper. Property of the author
(13) Anna Ostroumova-Lebedeva, Demonstration, April 18, 1917, 1917. Ink on paper. Reproduced in V.P. Lapshin, The Artistic Life of Moscow and Petrograd in 1917 (Moscow: Sovetskii khudozhnik, 1983)

#Outtageneration.Topias and Utopias of the 15M Movement in Spain by Carles Feixa:

- (01) Photo by Alberto Paredes. <http://albertoparedes.carbonmade.com/projects/3162159#1>
(02) "Comunicación entre usuarios de redes sociales en torno al Movimiento 15M" (video), 21 May 2011. Instituto Universitario de Investigación Biofísica y Sistemas Complejos. Universidad de Zaragoza. [last access: <http://15m.bifi.es>, 16/11/2011]. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=H5w4amBIHj4>
(03) Photos by A. Romání J. Trilla, C. Feixa et al. (2011). Ciudad y espacio público. Barcelona: Bellaterra.
(04) Photo by C. Feixa. 22 May 2011.
(05) Photo by: C. Feixa. 12 June 2011.



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