VERTICAL REACH

Political Protest and the Militant Aesthetic Now
Left: Final Judgement by Zbigniew Libera
Right: Where is your flag dude? by Anastasia Ryabova
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MILITANT REACH: LEFTIST ART AFTER STATE SOCIALISM

Marijeta Bozovic
Assistant Professor of Slavic Languages and Literatures, Yale University

A Culture of Protest
In 2012, during what has been called retrospectively Russia’s summer of idealism, I arrived in Moscow for research in contemporary culture and experimental poetry. Within a few days after my arrival, my plans and academic interests were eclipsed by the protests taking place in the city. Something extraordinary and thrilling was afoot: a hum of vibrant activity; conversations on every corner; a vital if heterogeneous and center-less protest culture.

At theater of witness performances (teatr.doc) and in vigils in front of the courtroom alike, everyone was talking about Pussy Riot. With friends in the Cement translation collective, I translated the closing statements of the trial for n+1. I was swept away by the poetry and political engagement of Kirill Medvedev, Pavel Arseniev, Roman Osminkin and a new generation of poets associated with the St. Petersburg journal Translit, as well as by the theory and art practice of Chto Delat?, one of the first leftist artistic collectives in post-Soviet Russia. Conversations with historian Ilya Budraitskis and philosopher Alexei Penzin challenged me to redefine my own politics and reimagine my writing projects. All of it offered a marked contrast to the sense of permanent triumph of the status quo and the dis-integration of academic, artistic, and activist practices in the United States.

What was palpable and shocking—and simultaneously shocking that it was shocking—was a sense of (quite possibly irrational)
hope. The years 2011–2013 brought an international resurgence in protests from Arab Spring and Occupy Wall Street to Russia’s new Decembrists, as the first protesters in winter of 2011 were called by the press. Against a backdrop that had unlearned how to dream, these surges of energy were all the more remarkable.

One particular moment is engraved in my memory: at a poetry festival in St. Petersburg, amidst sets by Kirill Medvedev’s protest rock group Arkady Kots and Roman Osminkin’s Tekhnopoezia, a young man on stage began singing the labor anthem “Bandiera Rossa,” in Italian and then in Russian translation. The sheer vulnerability of his performance felt like a visceral challenge, exposing a defeatism that had crept in after the bloody breakup of Yugoslavia, the NATO bombing of Belgrade (from where I immigrated as a child). I thought about my parents, student protesters in 1968, and about how far my experience of American humanities academia has been from something radical and emancipatory like the Black Arts Movement. Was it possible to return to and rethink our histories—from a future-oriented position, moving beyond nostalgia?

Such moments and questions reshaped the direction of my research. I began working on my current book project, *Avant-Garde Post–: Radical Poetics After the Soviet Union*. With friends and colleagues in the United States, Russia, Poland, and countries of the former Yugoslavia, I began planning a series of conferences, courses, and research initiatives around what seemed the central question: is leftist, progressive, politically transformative art possible after state socialism? What does or might it look like? For whom, and more importantly, to whom does it try to speak? How might it re-write the histories of the twentieth century?

**Political Violence at Yale University**

My collaboration with Artspace linked the *Vertical Reach* exhibit with the conference “Political Violence and Militant Aesthetics after Socialism” at Yale University’s Whitney Humanities Center on April 17-19, 2015. In the summer of 2013, Jonathan Platt from the University of Pittsburgh and I first spoke of organizing a series of events in Russia and the United States on the topic of
militancy and culture. To bring together scholars across fields and disciplines ranging from political philosophy, intellectual history, anthropology, cultural and literary studies, as well as practicing artists and poets, we turned to political violence as a bridge concept. In societies of spectacle and appropriation, of pessimism and traumatic traces, of terrorism and cults of personality, who dares to dream of radical social transformation? Have we accepted, in the words of poet Kirill Medvedev, that “*No radical art actions are going to help here...*”?

Such was the conceit. However, even academic life does not take place in a vacuum: the global political situation changed quickly and grimly since 2013. *Vertical Reach* curators Sarah Fritchey, Martha Lewis, and I discussed the ethics of exhibiting protest art from one country in another (which has levied sanctions against it), or of de-localizing militant aesthetics with flattening results: all protest begins to look alike, formally speaking.

The conference Jonathan Platt organized in St. Petersburg in October 2014 also took place in charged circumstances, linked with and in response to the Manifa 10 Biennale. After the annexation of Crimea and the passing of a number of restrictive laws in Russia (not least the banning of so-called “homosexual propaganda”), it seemed macabre to many that the avowedly progressive European Biennale should take place in the State Hermitage museum as planned. The collective Chto Delat?, who were slated to participate in the biennale, wrote an open letter to star curator Kasper König, demanding that Manifa 10 issue a public statement against the recent action of the Russian government. When their calls went unmet (aside from prompting critique of direct politicization in contemporary art) Chto Delat? and a number of Russian and Polish artists withdrew from the show.

The political situation continues to change; leftist art continues to be made. In hopes of breaching an academic impasse and theory-machine discussions of the death of the avant-garde, we can bring together artists, poets, and thinkers from here and overseas, whose work continues to inspire us—and perhaps, even pushes us to dream.
USA

- Harry Truman elected President
- Korean War
- Dwight D. Eisenhower becomes President
- The Vietnam War
- Rosa Parks sparks Montgomery Bus Boycott
- Civil Rights Act declares the integration of public schools
- John F. Kennedy becomes President
- Cuban Missile Crisis
- “March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom”
- John F. Kennedy assassinated
- Lyndon B. Johnson becomes President
- The Antiwar Movement
- Draft Card Burning Protests protesting the Vietnam War
- Active years of the Black Panther Party
- Red Square Demonstrations
- Prague Spring Sympathy
- Labor strike opposes harsh working conditions
- “Protests against Arrests” First wave of arrests of intellectuals
- Anti-Russification Protests to institute Ukrainian as official language of the Ukrainian USSR

POLAND

- Poland becomes the Polish People’s Republic
- Remains a satellite state of the Soviet Union until 1989
- Polish United Workers’ Party is dominant
- Country functions as a communist state
- The Warsaw Pact is signed
- Protests against Arrests
- The Warsaw Pact is signed
- Pomeranian June uprising against the influence of the Soviet Union
- Polish October
- Polish October Revolution
- Initiates call for reforms following Stalin’s death
- Anti-Russian Protests
- Protest for Fair Elections
- Independence claimed from the Soviet Union
- The first free parliamentary elections
- The Dissenters’ March begins
- General Strikes and Demonstrations
- 500,000-4,000,000 link arms to symbolize political solidarity
- 43 die, 1,200 are injured, 7,200 arrested
- Labor Strikes
- “The Human Chain”
- 500,000-4,000,000 link arms to symbolize political solidarity
- Chain is over 350 miles long

UKRAINE

- Crimea becomes part of territory of the Soviet Socialist Republic
- “Secret Speech” Khrushchev denounces Stalin
- Grozny Riots
- Start of proxy conflict between Russia & Chechnya – 10,000 people riot
- Novocherkassk Massacre
- Labor strike opposes harsh working conditions
- Nearly 2,000 die, 1,000 wounded
- Cuban Missile Crisis
- African students protest the killing of student Edmond Assare Addo
- First protest in Red Square since 1920s
- Leonid Brezhnev appointed General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union
- The Gliwice Meeting
- Spontaneous reaction to trial of Solidarity activist Jozef Fricki and Jolanta Galek
- Anti-Protest Law
- Parliament outlaws “unauthorized” street activities
- “March for Life” 200,000 protest abortion
- Uprising against arrest of political prisoners
- “The Orange Alternative”
- National March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom
- 75,000-125,000 people attend
- The Human Chain
- Opposition leader, Viktor Yushchenko, is allegedly poisoned by opponents.
- The Orange Revolution
- Independence claimed from the Soviet Union
- The first free parliamentary elections
- Ratification of the new constitution
- Friendship treaty signed with Russia
- Movie, “Manezhka”
- Anti-War Protests
- Protests in Ferguson, MO following the death of teenager Michael Brown. Civil disorder follows the November trial.
- The protest lasts several months and 300+ camp outside “Manezhka”
- Protest for Fair Elections

RUSSIA

- The Thaw Years – Soviet authorities allow greater degree of cultural freedom
- Korean War
- Death of Joseph Stalin
- Nikita Khrushchev elected General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union
- Crimea becomes part of territory of the Soviet Socialist Republic
- “Secret Speech” Khrushchev denounces Stalin
- Grozny Riots
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The Thaw Years – Soviet authorities allow greater degree of cultural freedom

Dwight D. Eisenhower becomes President

The Vietnam War

Poland becomes the Polish People’s Republic.


Nikita Khrushchev elected General Secretary of the Soviet Union

The Warsaw Pact is signed

“Secret Speech” Khrushchev denounces Stalin

John F. Kennedy becomes President

Polish October/Polish October Revolution

Start of long conflict between Russia & Chechnya– 10,000 people riot

“March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom”

John F. Kennedy assassinated

Lyndon B. Johnson becomes President

Anti-Russification Protests to institute

Leonid Brezhnev appointed General Secretary

Ukrainian as official language of the Ukrainian USSR

The Glasnost’ Meeting

“Protests against Arrests”

First wave of arrests of intellectuals

Vietnam War.

Spontaneous reaction to trial of writers Andrei Sinyavsky and Yuli Daniel

Red Square Demonstrations Oppose Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia

Several spend years in prison

Richard Nixon becomes President

The Stonewall Riots

Anti-Vietnam Rallies

Woodstock

“Days of Rage”

First LGBT Pride March

John F. Kennedy assassinated

Lyndon B. Johnson becomes President

Police and civilians confrontations lead to 5 day riot.

“March for Life” 200,000 protest abortion

Jimmy Carter becomes President

“The Longest Walk” Thousands of Native Americans march from San Francisco to DC

National March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights

70,000-125,000 people attend

Ronald Reagan becomes President

One million protest in Central Park against the Cold War Arms Race

Los Angeles hosts the Summer Olympics. The Soviet Union and several other countries boycott the games.

Great Peace March for Global Nuclear Disarmament

George H.W. Bush becomes President

The Gulf War

Bill Clinton becomes President

The first free parliamentary elections

Aleskander Kwasniewski becomes president

Poland becomes a member of the WTO

New constitution finalized

Anti-Glобalization Protest 40,000 demonstrate in response to WTO meeting

George W. Bush becomes President

September 11th Terrorist Attacks

Afghan War Protests

Iraq War Protests

95% of the population oppose the 9/11 invasion through public demonstrations

The First Manifa March organized by the radical feminist movement “Pereznazumienie Kubiet 8 Marca” is arranged

“Warsaw Pride,” Poland’s first pride parade, takes place in Warsaw

Poland joins the EU

Mass Protests following the kidnapping of journalist Georgiy Gongadze. Several claim President Kuchma was involved

Vladimir Putin becomes president

The Dissenters’ March begins the long opposition protest spread beyond major cities

Russia becomes a member of the G-8

Donaty Musvedze begins as President

Delays in democratic exchanges and Western relations in the USSR

Ukrainian Helsinki Group founded for monitoring human rights

Summer Olympic Games in Moscow. Several countries boycott due to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan the year before. The war goes on until 1989

Chernobyl nuclear disaster

Perestroika and Glasnost’ Reforms

Glasnost’ was the policy of political “transparency and openness”

Founding of RUKH

“The Human Chain” 300,000-4 million link arms to symbolize political solidarity. Distance is over 350 miles

Massive pro-democracy demonstrations in Moscow

The Soviet Union ceases to exist

Boris Yeltsin becomes the first directly elected President of the Russian Federation

Constitutional Crisis (state of emergency)

Friendship treaty signed with Russia

(2005-2007)

“Ukraine Without Kuchma” and General Public Protests

Opposition leader, Viktor Yushchenko, is allegedly poisoned by opponents.

The Orange Revolution

Protest against electoral fraud in Yanukovych’s favor

Election winner, Viktor Yushchenko, elected President after re-elections

Yulia Tymoshenko becomes Prime Minister

Viktor Yanukovych becomes President

Amendments strengthen the President’s powers, NATO plans shelved

Yulia Tymoshenko is sentenced to seven years in prison

Protest for Fair Elections

Rape of Iryna Krashkova by Vradiivka police officers

Demonstrators oppose highway construction plan

Medvedev postpones construction

Yulia Tymoshenko is rehabilitated by the Supreme Court of Ukraine

Crimean crisis and war in Donbass

311,000 people advocate public action against global climate

Several occupy Moscow’s boulevards for weeks

100,000 people protest

“Hrushevskoho Street Riots” against anti-protest laws

Anti-Protest Law

Euromaidan protesters advance on the Ukrainian Parliament

Peaceful anti-war demonstration following the Crimean crisis

Protest for Fair Elections

30,000 participate

Protest in Maidan Square. Dispersed by police the following day.
WHO WRITES HISTORY?

These sketched timelines are based on the research of Ingrid Nordgaard, a PhD candidate in Yale University’s Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures. This timeline was installed as a large banner throughout the exhibition. Visitors were encouraged to add events that were missing.
Martha Lewis: These are complex times, politically — does it make sense to put together topical exhibitions on subjects that change so rapidly?

Sarah Fritchey: The fact that it marked an unstable time was one of the defining features of Vertical Reach. For me, the moment when everything is unsettled and in disarray is exactly the right time to be looking at it — anyway, does a stable moment ever exist? When the event is unfolding — that is the space where a viewer and artwork can meet. If you’re constantly waiting for a moment of political upheaval to settle before you attempt to document it, then you’re perpetually curating with a retrospective glance.

We organized the show in the wake of Russia’s annexation of Crimea, an event covered by Western media in part because it was very violent. The show presented strategies for participating in and responding to public protest, like that in Maidan Nezalezhnosti, and some works more easy to identify as “artistic practice” than others.

ML: Are you thinking of any work in particular?

SF: Yes — Artur Żmijewski and Yael Bartana’s film, which is a series of handheld video recordings from a peace protest in Gaza. Nothing overtly artistic is applied to the film; there’s no explicit violence, narrative arc, fancy camera tricks, or literal storytelling. The film ends abruptly with a child blowing out a candle, which is the most climatic moment, but then it’s over. (fig.1) There’s no resolution or summary.

ML: Is what you are getting at is that there is a self-conscious lack of
artistry in that film and that perhaps we should be suspicious of artistry? Speaking of artistry, do you feel like you encounter artistry in the news media frequently? We have all certainly grown to be more mistrustful of it.

**SF:** Right — when you look at *The New York Times* from the comfort of your home, there’s a sense that what you’re seeing is fractured or not the full picture. The writing is polished and the images are beautifully gruesome, almost reminiscent of early Civil War photography where photographers staged the dead soldiers to make the best composition. How about you? Did you feel like the artwork in the show dismantled some of these smoke and mirrors?

**ML:** Zbigniew Libera’s *Final Judgement* literally mimicked this type of theatrical game that you’re describing — elegantly playing with our hopes, fears, and rage over the aftermath of the economic collapse. *(fig.2)* The sly humor extending to the fact that we might want an “economic Nuremberg” but know perfectly well that none is genuinely forthcoming. This work was so immediate — accessible and strong visually. I liked how audiences related to it.

**SF:** Yes, it was frequently the first work I took student groups to when doing tours of the show.

**ML:** It was also a standout
moment for Artspace, as this was the work's US debut, and I think that it really made a lasting impression on our audiences. The ripple effect of the exhibition is in many ways more important than the show itself.

**SF:** This show was such an adventure. Conceptually where we started and what we ended up evolved to be so different, remember?

**ML:** I felt like every day there was something new to consider! The learning curve was steep, and we were combing European and Middle Eastern blogs and websites for unfolding news until the day of the opening, and thereafter, to get the most complete picture. The Museum of Modern Art in Warsaw’s publication *Post-Post-Soviet? Art, Politics & Society in Russia At the Turn of the Decade* helped fill in a lot of the historical context for protest and artistic practice in Eastern Europe. But the spatial and cultural distances were large and anxiety-provoking. Looking back, we weren’t sure all the work would make it through customs.

**SF:** Yes! I was sad to toss the idea of including a work by David Ter-Oganyan from his *This is not a bomb* series early on in the planning phase, but David discouraged us from even attempting to get it through customs.

**ML:** Probably a good thing, given our small budget and staff....

I was surprised that Anastasiya Ryabova’s flagpoles made it through customs. (*fig. 3*) The work criticized the foundation and terms of Russian nationalism, by undermining their national flags. But as objects on a customs list, they’re simple metal hardware.

**SF:** Yes, and in situ, they looked like expensive pieces of modern art. Maybe we could have smuggled in David’s ersatz bombs after all, if we had described the contents as: Coca-Cola, wires, clock, duct tape?

**ML:** That’s funny. Humor and disguise did play a prominent role in the show. Many artists used humor as a strategy for casually evading political censorship.
SF: Humor and entertainment! I kept describing the philosophy of the show as “to educate, sometimes we must first entertain.” I think this is the reason we didn’t include work by some very important Eastern European artists, whom some people might have expected to encounter.

ML: We also made a point of including young artists making work within the past five years, which we referenced in the exhibition title, by adding the adverb “Now!”

SF: Speaking of “Now!”, you visited Poland twice to do research for this show. Did you see a difference in the work coming out of your first trip in 2012, pre-Euromaidan, and second visit in 2014?

ML: On both visits, there was a sort of hot and cold range. On the one hand, artists were busy archiving the past, and thinking about photography and things that at least looked like documentary footage. On the other hand, there was absurd humor and violence. I am grateful to the Poland.us Campus Project and Culture.pl for having this remarkable experience.

SF: What connects these two modes of art making for you?

ML: Maybe that both are responding to speed — things are changing so fast, and there’s a fear of history being erased, which happened under Stalin.

SF: You could sense this fear of erasure in Nikita Kadan’s porcelain plates. (fig. 4)

Mounted on the wall, they threatened to fall at any moment! And if they had shattered, they would have destroyed the illustrations of police torture that the artist printed on their centers — arms handcuffed to a radiator, a plastic bag placed over a man’s head, a cigarette burning a woman’s nipple.
ML: The new map that Zuzanna Janin made to accompany her video also activated a sense of memory loss. She encased it in a heavy frame so that the information behind it felt trapped, cloudy and very distant. You could barely trace out the route she marked, which denoted the path she took on her journey to the borders of the IK-32 Corrective labor colony which is in a very remote point, near the Urals, in Russia...

SF: I'm curious. Do you feel like the US-based artists in the show expressed a fear of history being erased?

ML: For the most part, I think Americans operate with the expectation that they have and will always retain the right to freedom of speech — be it in a conversation or to access to the Internet.

SF: David Livingston’s performance explored this expectation, and maybe found that we presume too much and keep presuming, because the government operates on us by playing mind games. (fig. 5) His mock campaign showed us how Americans, as voters, are guided to project our individual desires onto a candidate’s messages through their use of inspirational speeches, key words, and slogans. His slogan, which looked like a Rorschach blot ink drawing, actually started as a studio drawing attempt to depict “the void.” On the campaign trail, he described the slogan to people as being nebulous, an open space for their desires for him as Alderman. The “anything blob,” the “everyman logo,” the “promise of the universe!” It reminded me a lot of how [President Barack] Obama’s 2008 “HOPE” campaign functioned, in that its meaning was porous and very open.

ML: Yes, and the undercurrent is that every year we vote for people who have polled us, listened to what we want, shake our hands, only to echo our desires back to us in sponsored campaign speeches.
David made the piece when he started questioning why he showed up to vote in the first place. The work questions how much agency we actually have as voters participating in a free election.

**SF:** Also, there’s a sense that our own personal desires for future change outweigh our drive to reflect critically on the past. As a fight or flight response, we look forward to the future for the promise of “greater equality,” or “social mobility,” or even more generally, “progress.”

**ML:** It’s striking, how reminiscent Livingston’s mock campaign is of the psychological and semantic games being played in Russia and Ukraine. Especially his campaign speech, which was void of content, but somehow inspirational.

**SF:** Yes, he pulled from a lot of actual speeches to design that speech. My favorite part is when he dedicates his campaign to “hard-working people,” “businessmen having a time,” “life, love, and liberty,” “my father’s rat farm,” “dancing in the street,” “cardboard boxes and beads.” He delivers the message with such conviction, even in the moment that it dissolves into parody, and then comes back to the colloquial line “we will prevail as one.” Can you describe a point of connection in the show?

**ML:** For me, Livingston’s work strongly relates to Ter-Oganyan’s criminal sketches of [Russian President] Vladimir Putin, which portray the president as a generic white man, suggesting that he could be anyone. (*fig. 6*) Both have a bland interactive element and play off of the aspects of desire and personal wish-fulfillment in politics. What you see is what you want to see, and what you see is being manipulated to other ends.

**SF:** I like this read of Ter-Oganyan, and it reminds of me how the works also explore a shared concern for repetition and mass distri-
bution. Ter-Oganyan chose to reproduce the same stock criminal sketches of Putin four times, as if to say, he was elected into office four times and this could go on ad infinitum. Livingston similarly leveraged his Rorschach blot ink drawing into a campaign slogan, which he reprinted and distributed as campaign buttons, fliers, and lawn signs. The image was all over town—to this day I still see buttons on people’s backpacks.

**ML:** This brings up how many different ideologies were brought together in this show....

**SF:** Right — Pussy Riot’s *Punk Prayer* dealt with Putin and his image very differently. (fig. 7) While Ter-Oganyan’s series could be read partially as a criticism of the Western media’s portrayal of Putin as a perpetual thug, Pussy Riot’s performance is explicitly unsympathetic and pro-emancipation. If you read the translated lyrics of the song, you can hear that it is a direct indictment against Putin. They scream “Mother of God, rid us of Putin. Liberty is dead and gone...!”

**ML:** This multiplicity of view points was important curatorially speaking, given the kaleidoscopic nature of events and characters in the unfolding drama. Looking back, the experience refreshed my ideas about what a political exhibit can look like, and how a curator
might participate in the process. Artistic culture is a fragile ecology under constant pressure, and we supported a display of vying and somewhat unpopular ideas.

**SF:** Yes, I think that the art institution is the one place left where we actively critique the image. As curators, it’s our job to lead this investigation and make it accessible to audiences. Especially at this point in time, where the image frequently replaces language. For me, this show was an opportunity to pause to cross-examine the image. To think about who made it, what it’s made of, and why.

**ML:** I enjoyed our partnership here, I like curating shows where one learns, as opposed to knowing all the answers and projecting them visually in the gallery space.

**SF:** Me too — I hope you’re still racing to follow those blogs.

**ML:** You know I am….

**Image Credits**

Fig. 1

Fig. 2

Fig. 3

Fig. 4
Nikita Kadan, *Procedure Room* (2009-2010) hotprint images on porcelain plates, 6 x 4 x 10 inches each. Image courtesy ofFrançois Ghebaly, Los Angeles.

Fig. 5

Fig. 6

Fig. 7
ARTISTS + ARTWORKS

YEVDENIA BELORUSETS
CHTO DELAT?
ZUZANNA JANIN
NIKITA KADAN
ZBIGNIEW LIBERA
DAVID LIVINGSTON
LAURA MARSH
ANGEL NEVAREZ + VALERIE TEVERE
ANASTASIA OSIPOVA + MATTHEW WHITLEY
PUSSY RIOT
ANASTASIA RYABOVA
GREGORY SHOLETTE
DAVID TER-OGANYAN
MARIYA VLASOVA
ARTUR ŻMIJEWSKI + YAEL BARTANA
Maidan: Occupied Spaces Series
2013
digital prints and original text by artist
dimensions variable
Courtesy of the artist.

Yevgenia Belorusets
This installation is a collection of photographs and fiction texts written by Belorusets, depicting everyday life at the epicenter of a mass protest. In 2013, the artist participated in the Euromaidan protest in Kiev, when news from Ukraine, including the passing of new laws, aimed at crushing any form of protest or freedom of speech.

The work suggests Euromaidan as a unified protest containing multiple, often contradictory beliefs: dreams of a just Europe, formed outside the EU’s borders; Far Right, ultra-nationalist values; hatred of the current system of governance and naming of “enemies;” demands for radical, democratic transformation. Her original texts (presented in Vertical Reach as translations) read like state-authored reports, assuming a humanist tone to downplay and outright deny the violence rising from the conflict. (A excerpt from the transcript can be found on pages 20 and 21.)

The photographs show people spending multiple nights on freezing streets, sleeping in occupied government buildings, and standing shoulder to shoulder to defend their position in the city’s main square. In the darkness of this night, they can come under attack from riot police and must stand in solidarity. Scenes of highly unstable life in Ukraine today, sheltered within an American gallery, remind us of the distance between our safe space and a space in conflict. The series pushes us to constantly define and refresh our political goals.
1. An Honest Place

There’s a place in Ukraine where they only write truthful news. It usually shifts location, but of late, independent observers have witnessed its emergence in the Donetsk region. Within its sphere of influence, fake news items magically assume an authentic slant. All is revealed in its true light — and fabrications are left off-camera, as if smashed out of the way by the windscreen of a speeding car, of which you — armed to the teeth — are the driver.
4. Randomness

In fairness, on occasion, a random flying bullet will hit the odd civilian. It might strike a woman or child, and that will be the end of them.

Why should flying bullets suddenly exhibit such bloodlust? After all, these bullets have repeatedly proven their benevolence and reasonableness.

Be that as it may, in response to such cruelty, both warring parties have formed joint special squads whose purpose is to find the flying bullets that have turned nasty against people and to obliterate them.

Such bullets are usually easy to find, for they hover over their victims like lunatics, unable to get their fill of the sight of an untimely death. These bullets have led to the popular saying in our country: “Bullets are dummies.”
Concert: The Lesson on Dis-Consent
2011
Recorded on October 28, 2011, Staatliche Kunsthalle Baden-Baden
18:16 minutes
Courtesy of the artists.
The collective Chto Delat? (translated from the Russian, What is to be done?) was founded in early 2003 in Petersburg by a work-group of artists, critics, philosophers, and writers from St. Petersburg, Moscow, and Nizhny Novgorod, with the goal of merging political theory, art, and activism. The name derives from a novel by the Russian nineteenth century writer Nikolai Chernyshevsky and calls to mind the first socialist worker’s self-organizations in Russia, which Lenin actualized in his own publication, *What is to be done?* (1902).

Filmed in Staatliche Kunsthalle in Baden-Baden in Germany in 2011, this live performance is one work in their ongoing series of musicals (*Songspiels*). The piece is based on a critical reading of a number of texts produced by the anti-psychiatry movement, which emerged in the late 1960s and early 1970s in Europe and the US, especially those of the well-known Socialist Patients’ Collective in Heidelberg, Germany. In the performance, a “chorus of patients” engage the well-healed audience. Historically, the city of Baden-Baden has deep ties to Russia as a retreat where members of the Russian elite to go for relaxation and medical treatment. The collective writes, “Our work critiques the modern concept of a healthy lifestyle and discusses how we might radicalize this concept and ‘turn illness into a weapon.’”
THE END. Chapter 1. A TRIP TO FEAR
2013
video
25 minutes

A TRIP TO FEAR
(from Warsaw to Moscow, Wiatka, Perm, Bierezniki/Usolie)
2015
collage, paper, tracing paper
50 x 50 centimeters

Courtesy of the artist, lokal _30 Gallery, and Culture.pl.
Zuzanna Janin’s work addresses issues of identity, history, personal journey, and evolution. Janin began her career starring in a Polish TV series Szalenstwo Majki Skowron (Madness of Majka Skowron), in which a teenage runaway travels around searching for answers about her family and looking for herself through encounters and adventures on the road.

Janin continues this early history — which was both fictional and factual, personal and public — by reworking the road trip and journey construct into a feminist questioning of identity, merging existential inquiry with past and present events into videos and installations.

In 2013, the artist began the first part of the project, THE END. Chapter 1. A TRIP TO FEAR, after taking a trip to a prison colony deep in Russia, she describes the trip as “a sort of research expedition, poetic trip and family archeological excavation.” The film series is based on discovery of a family photograph of three orphaned children from the nineteenth century whose father disappeared after being sent to a Romanov work camp. The film unfolds in the realm of modern-day Russia, “linking the binds between personal and universal memory.” Janin investigates her own past and also travels to the gulag where members of Pussy Riot are being imprisoned, and where she protests in solidarity.

Janin’s work offers a new kind of “road movie,” with chilling documentary glimpses into places seldom seen and distances hard to fathom. Her map that accompanies the work charts the path of her expedition.
Procedure Room
2009-2010
6 x 4 x 10 inches each
hotprint images on porcelain plates
Image courtesy of François Ghebaly, Los Angeles.
NIKITA KADAN (B. UKRAINE)

This set of eight porcelain souvenir plates depicts scenes of police torture, a practice that Kadan describes as “widespread in contemporary Ukraine.” Pictured are details of practices aimed at defiling, humiliating, and brutalizing both women and men. The drawings are done in the style of the *Popular Medical Dictionary* of the Soviet era, where one could often find illustrations of patient-characters undergoing extremely painful procedures with serene facial expressions. Similarly, the victims have no expressions as they are suffocated, kicked, and burned, suggesting that this is a pattern they have become accustomed to, and perhaps that acting out against their captors would not produce change. The readability of the illustrations points to the collective responsibility of all those who know about torture to speak up.
Final Judgement
2014
The Guardian, two photographs in wooden frame, archival pigment print on cotton paper, 70 x 52 and 70 x 87 centimeters each
Five photographs from Guardian article, 20.1 x 30.5 centimeters
typescript of Guardian article, displayed on tall table
film HD, 3:11 minutes “newscast“ on loop on flatscreen

Courtesy of RASTER Gallery, and Culture.pl.

Economic Nuremberg #1
2014
archival pigment print on cotton paper
160 x 177.5 centimeters

Economic Nuremberg #2
2014
archival pigment print on cotton paper
160 x 187.5 centimeters

People burning money
2014
archival pigment print on cotton paper
160 x 222.5 centimeters

Danusia
2014
archival pigment print on cotton paper
110 x 195 centimeters
Polish artist Zbigniew Libera’s distinguished career has always included a performative aspect. Casting a critical eye on the media, using photography, political activism, and dry sense of humor, Libera’s oeuvre illuminates the metadiscourse on how we disseminate social control through such networks as the “news” media, the justice system, and even commercial toys for children. *Final Judgement* is a body of work that exemplifies this, showing the economic collapse as a drama unfolding in the courtroom and on the streets this drama is “documented” and disseminated publicly at every turn.

*Final Judgement* centers on an imagined trial in the aftermath of the economic collapse, which echoes the Nuremberg Trials’ very public prosecution in 1945-1946 of Nazi officials for crimes against peace and against humanity. These historic thirteen trials set an important precedent for dealing with later instances of genocide and other crimes against humanity, and constructed The Hague, a permanent international court. The global and historic significance of the trial meant that it was simultaneously translated into multiple languages and the courtroom itself re-constructed for ease of visual documentation. Like the trials at Nuremberg, Libera’s edition of *The Guardian* newspaper, televised news coverage, staged images of protest (*people burning money*), and orgiastic abandonment (*Danusia*), are all presented as artifacts of events meant to be witnessed.

Other iterations of this project have been shown in Europe. This English language version is making its debut as a part of *Vertical Reach*. Artspace would like to thank the artist, RASTER Gallery, Warsaw, and Culture.pl, for making this possible. An excerpt from the artist-authored text that accompanied the installation is on pages 30 and 31.
The Day of Judgement

A court trial that has already been named the “economic Nuremberg” is opening today in London. The long-awaited trial of those accused of economic crimes against humanity began at 9:00 a.m. today in London’s Royal Albert Hall. Officers from special units of the United Nations led the nineteen accused into the specially adapted concert hall among the crowds of journalists and invited guests. Exactly three months after British police, armed with warrants issued by a London court, arrested them at Heathrow airport, they are now finally exposed to the gaze of public opinion. Those arrested had arrived for a meeting of the so-called Bilderberg Group — an exclusive club uniting the most influential people in the world. The Bilderberg Group meeting, held behind closed doors and out of the public eye, was to have taken place in a mansion near London but, for the first time ever, was cancelled. Shocked members of the Bilderberg organisation refrained from issuing an official statement — very much in the style of this mysterious body that is often accused of governing the world in secret.

Following is a list of some of the most important people charged with such crimes:

1. William Jefferson “Bill” Clinton, former US President (1993-2001), is accused of destroying the US social welfare system and replacing it with one that punishes the unemployed with forced labour (workfare).
2. George W. Bush, former US president (2001-2009), is accused of subordinating government to undemocratic corporate power centers, and establishing direct rule of the financial world over the White House.
4. Alan Greenspan, head of the Federal Reserve Bank (1987-2006). He is accused of excessively lowering interest rates, a policy that fueled the development of speculative bubbles.
6. Burton Jablin, owner of the lifestyle channel HGTV, reaching 97 million households. He is accused of airing programs on his television network such as “Designed to Sell”, “House Hunters,” and “My House is Worth What?” that advise consumers on how to squeeze the last penny out of their real estate.
7. Christopher Cox, chief of the Securities and Exchange Commission (2005-2009), the supervisory body of the American stock exchange. He is accused of tolerating lobbying and of gigantic scams by such corporations as Goldman Sachs and AIG.

8. David Lereah, chief economist of the National Association of Realtors, the national estate agents association in the US. He argued in favour of housing as an investment that could never decline significantly in value.

9. Dick Fuld, CEO of Lehman Brothers. He pushed mortgages on the poor, with which he then speculated, ultimately ruining thousands of families. He is alleged to have steered his bank to bankruptcy and to have unleashed a new phase in the financial crisis.

10. Fred Goodwin, CEO of Royal Bank of Scotland, has been accused of gross incompetence for which society has had to pay. He developed his bank through mergers, taking over twenty different funds.

11. Jimmy Cayne, CEO of Bear Stearns. The bank, worth $10 billion in 2007, was sold to JP Morgan in early 2008 for the value of the office building of its headquarters. The total debt of the bank was then estimated at $220 billion.

12. Lewis Ranieri, has been accused of being the godfather of junk mortgage-backed bonds, which he helped to develop over twenty years ago during his time at Salomon Brothers. In 1984 he boasted that his company “made more money than all the rest of Wall Street combined.”

13. Marion Sandler. In the 1980s, together with her husband Herbert, Marion Sandler co-founded the World Savings Bank, which became the first bank to sell high-risk home loans called option ARMs (payment option adjustable-rate mortgage).

14. Herbert (Herb) Sandler, co-owner, together with his wife, of World Savings Bank. Marion and Herb are the creators of mortgages with delayed repayment of capital.

15. Sandy Weil, chief of Citigroup, has been charged with lobbying, debasing the law, forcing bad debts onto people, and obtaining relief and financial assistance from the state.

16. Angelo Mozilo, nicknamed “The Orange One,” due to his love of his permatan. In 1969, he founded Countrywide Financial, building it into a flourishing mortgage lender, the largest in the US. He mislead the company’s shareholders by failing to disclose to them the risks associated with their investments, including financial products based on bad mortgages.

17. Henry Merritt “Hank” Paulson, Jr., chairman and CEO of investment bank Goldman Sachs, Secretary of the Treasury in the Bush administration, (2006-2009). He systematically diverted money from productive to speculative markets, corrupting government through wealthy financiers and favoring Goldman Sachs. He was one of the architects of deregulation.

18. Ian McCarthy used aggressive sales techniques when he was president of Beazer Homes, a property development company. It has been alleged that McCarthy helped customers to obtain mortgages by falsifying information on their creditworthiness.

19. Joseph Cassano, head of insurance giant AIG’s Financial Products unit. His passion for speculation on derivatives (credit default swaps) almost led to the collapse of AIG, which escaped disaster only through the intervention of the FED and the US government.

This is an abbreviated version of the English language text from Zbigniew Libera’s Final Judgement, which appeared in the exhibit as a transcript from a faux article in The Guardian.
The Candidacy
2015
mixed media and performance
Courtesy of the artist.
DAVID LIVINGSTON (B. UNITED STATES)

Livingston initially developed his series of inkblot campaign drawings as a corollary to his ongoing worm sculptures. The blobs evolved from wormhole “voids” into complex rounded forms that resembled Rorschach tests. As this idea matured, the artist sought a way to make people look at them as images containing valuable information.

For *Vertical Reach*, Artspace commissioned Livingston to transform the drawings into campaign signs for a performance where he ran for Alderman of an imaginary ward in New Haven. The project grew to include lawn signs, brochures, buttons, and a district map. On Election Day, November 2, 2014, Livingston pounded the pavement, canvassing popular intersections in downtown New Haven, and delivering a “stump speech” on the town Green.

To preserve the tone of traditional presidential speeches, Livingston adopted persuasive tactics. He said “we” instead of “I” to build a sense of community among voters, packed in language, like “God Bless America,” to inspire and excite, and met voters with a firm handshake. The speech was absurd. It was developed to test out if he could say nothing at all, but effectively inspire confidence in potential undecided voters.

For his installation in the Artspace galleries, Livingston created an environment that was equal parts campaign headquarters and therapist office. He placed his campaign materials and performance stills from Election Day around the office visitors were invited to lie on his couch for a therapy appointment, or watch his *Subliminal Ad Campaign* to extract their unconscious political desires.
Reimagined Flag
2014
nylon flag material, cotton and spandex fabric, upcycled ballet shoes, mannequin parts, and handmade spandex pants and silk ensemble.

Bunting
2013
mixed media collage
20 x 17 inches

Bop & Poke: Body Reassess
2015
Courtesy of the artist.
fabric, plastic bop bags, and silkscreened imagery.
Marsh’s work is a tactile investigation into national and personal identity using queer/feminist and post-modern critique as a model. Her *Reimagined Flag* takes the familiar stars-and-stripes bunting and eagles of American patriotism and tweaks it into a more inclusive version, made colorful and a bit disorderly with the addition of various fabrics, mannequin legs, and sequins. Marsh twists the flat national symbol into a three-dimensional theatrical character, sexualized and celebrated on a small stage, demanding our attention with its antics.

Marsh’s installation continues this sly assault with her interactive *Bop & Poke: Body Reassess*, lined up into a wobbly barricade lining the sides of the gallery ramp. This army of creatures, designed for the release of aggression as a “fun” activity, reference clowns, fashion models, military bombast and the “feminine,” cloaking and revealing changing personas and agendas. Cleverly, they also wink at Russian nesting dolls and the complexities hidden underneath the mask of the surface, distracting and inviting the viewer with a cacophony of references. The works are ambivalent and untrustworthy, offering themselves up as willing victims with hidden motives.
Another Protest Song: Karaoke with a Message
2008-ongoing
multimedia; karaoke system and video monitors
Courtesy of the artist.
ANGEL NEVAREZ (B. MEXICO)  
+ VALERIE TEVERE (B. UNITED STATES)

Nevarez and Tevere debuted this project in the fall of 2008 in Brooklyn's Prospect Park just before the presidential elections. They built a traditional karaoke stage to provide people with a more comfortable space for publicly voicing their political interests and dislikes, with the hope that a participant might choose a familiar song to articulate their sentiments.

Since 2008, they have realized the project for five other art institutions, non-profits and public spaces in the United States and Canada, each represented by a different karaoke songbook, including one made specifically for Vertical Reach. The project looks to karaoke as potential platform for political enunciation through song, and allows anyone to participate.

On March 7, 2015, Artspace realized the sixth performance at Café Nine, a small live music venue in New Haven known for booking emerging and experimental bands. Participants were invited to choose a song and describe its personal significance to the crowd before performing. Nevarez and Tevere introduced and a selection of songs throughout the night, tying the songs’ larger themes to a current political situation.
A Barbarian in the Green Room: Politics + Aesthetics in the Age of Surkov (publication)
February 2015
Risograph prints on paper (edition of 200)
6 x 9 inches each
This publication was commissioned by Artspace for *Vertical Reach* and designed and printed by Osipova and Whitley. The publication is multi-faceted, comprised of a series of prints, a micro-publication, and a culminating lecture that was presented at Artspace, on Sunday, April 19, 2015 as part of the conference, *Political Violence and Militant Aesthetics After Socialism*, organized by Marijeta Bozovic, Assistant Professor of Slavic Languages and Literatures at Yale University. The work introduces a creative lexicon of new terms, intended to help readers discuss the intersection of art, culture, and political trends through the use of poetry, shorthand, and slang.

The commission was inspired by a shorter glossary produced for the artists’ earlier publication, *Circling the Square: Maidan and Cultural Insurgency in Ukraine* (Cicada Press, 2014), in which they defined colloquial and unfamiliar terms, including Maidan, Euromaidan, Eurosodom, Antimaidan, Titushki, Berkut, Provocateur, Stepan Bandera, Benderovcy, and Zapadencec/cy, among others. You can read an excerpt from this glossary of terms produced for *Vertical Reach* on pages 40 and 41.

Unique to this publication is the position of Vladislav Surkov, who is presented as a lens for defining the characteristics of political control and resistance. Surkov is a former Kremlin advisor who has authored several fiction novels and plays, and is frequently credited with turning “politics into a beautiful postmodern theater.” The artists write, “With the field of rhetoric so deeply muddied, and with the near universal acceptance of deceit as the natural mode of politics, symbols become the primary markers of conflict and contestation.”
**Vertical Reach Glossary**

1. **Nonlinear Warfare**
   
   Definition: Non-linear war is the conflict of the traveling salesman, the master of liminal space. Here he is at border control, that familiar scene where you stand under the nervous fluorescence and thumb your passport, trying to recall whether you are or are not a criminal, a saboteur. Non-linear warfare is premised on the blurring of lines between war and peace, between strategy and tactics, between offensive and defensive maneuvers; it is all pervasive conflict. Declarations of war re relegated to the past.

   **History:** The concept entered the public sphere in Russia with an article by General Gerasimov in the 2013 issue of the *Military-Industrial Courier* and it was further popularized by Vladislav Surkov in his short story “Without Sky.” Both Gerasimov and Surkov describe the new generation of conflict as one that relies on information as much as actual weapons. Its adherents seek to mobilize collective memories of past wars as stand-ins for present day battles.

2. **Dazzle Camouflage**

   Definition: Rather than concealing from view, dazzle camouflage aims to distort the enemy’s perception, to inhibit their capacity to distinguish between the real and the imaginary, the figure and the background. The more ostentatious the patterning is the more effective the visual interference.

   **History:** This joint invention of World War I and Cubism is becoming relevant again under the ever tightening noose of surveillance and security. [Image] resolution is the arbiter of assassinations and sex scandals,
criminal case and micro-celebrity. In such conditions strategists in all sectors of power become increasingly preoccupied with both undermining and accentuating explosive visuals.

**Recent History:** [Dissolved in media space], [t]his concept has expanded broadly....With little more than a paradoxical blend of radical right and left symbology, a whole gamut of subcultural street movements have been born in Russia, able to slither from one position to another, to adopt any referent or tactic with the humble goal of always remaining against.

3. **Self Mutilation**

   **History:** On October 20, 2014, St. Petersburg actionist artist Peter Pavlensky cut off his earlobe while sitting on the cold concrete fence separating the Serbsky State Scientific Center for Social and Forensic Psychiatry from the rest of Moscow. The gesture was directed against the revival of forensic psychiatry in modern-day Russia (a practice that in Soviet times was frequently used to imprison and torture members of the political opposition, artists, and dissidents).

   Pain, vulnerability, and bodily mutilation are treated in this and other Pavlensky works without hysteria, or for that reason, spontaneous expressivity. His performances are choreographed and documented in a highly composed manner; they are formal statements about the reality of political suffering, acting as a countermeasure to the blasé sentimentality of the Kremlin conceptualists.
Punk Prayer — Mother of God, Chase Putin Away!
2012
1:03 minutes
video, color, sound
Courtesy of the artists.
This footage documents a political action staged by Pussy Riot, a Russian feminist activist collective and anti-Putin punk rock protest group in the Cathedral of Christ the Savior in Moscow. On February 20, 2012, five members dressed in neon shift dresses and handmade balaclavas, ascended the altar, and belted explicit anti-government lyrics. The chorus translated to “Virgin Mary, Mother of God, banish Putin, banish Putin.” They punched the air and genuflected, incorporating traditional religious gestures as dance moves for their music video. Within seconds, the church’s security guards stopped their actions and removed them from the altar. After the edited footage for a music video went viral, Maria Alyokhina, Yekaterina Samutsevich, and Nadezhda Tolokonnikova were accused of “hooliganism motivated by religious hatred,” and two of the members were sentenced to two years in prison.

Recently, Russian state assemblies have implemented harsh anti-blasphemy laws with strict prison terms and fines for anyone found guilty of offending religion. Regulation of the media has also limited freedom of speech and artistic freedom. Under law, the use of obscene language in movies, books, television, and radio is forbidden and bloggers (private or professional) with more than 3,000 followers must register with a media regulator.
Where is your flag dude?
2011
installation flags, brackets, colors, markers
variable dimensions
Courtesy of the artist.
ANASTASIA RYABOVA (B. RUSSIA)

In 2011, Ryabova combed the streets of Moscow, placing fruit and vegetables in empty flagpoles that she happened upon, and photographing each. The street action confronts the state sponsored position of a Russian flagpole, which is functional and used to display symbols of power and ceremony. In Moscow, it is illegal to display an oppositional banner, as well as any other flag not mentioned in a calendar of official state holidays. Here, fruits and vegetables poetically challenge the allotted territory of this state ideology. Onlookers can read their whimsical position as a naïve gesture of transgression, and an expression of uncensored artistry.

For *Vertical Reach*, Ryabova presents a related series of sculptures constructed from empty steel flagpoles bolted together. In their new configurations, their original identity as found flagpoles is not apparent. Rather, they more closely resemble conceptually driven minimal artworks. Ryabova worked with the Artspace over Skype to place each flagpole in a location and configuration that responded to the larger exhibition. The flagpole at the entrance-way, installed at eye level, resembles a surveillance camera. The large tangle of flagpoles in the center, mounted high on the wall, disintegrates into abstract prettiness.
Our Barricades/Barrier in a Valise
2014/2015
mixed media assemblage
dimensions variable
Courtesy of Station Independent Projects, New York, NY
with special thanks to the artist, Chris Esposito, and Matt Greco.
Sholette is a New York based artist, writer and curator, and a founding member of the Political Art Documentation/Distribution (PAD/D: 1980-1988) and REPOhistory (1989-2000). He created *Our Barricades* as a multi-faceted art intervention for and about the 99%. The work thinks about how people can defend themselves against a state of instability experienced by many union workers, underemployed “creatives,” day laborers, and undocumented immigrants. The work takes a conceptual cue from urban struggles and DIY barriers recently constructed out of tires in the city squares of Istanbul, Oaxaca, New York, and Ukraine. Historically, barricades are made from whatever’s at hand: paving stones, tires, ice, plywood, trash, books, and even artworks, bound together to prevent unwanted incursions by more powerful forces.
Untitled (V. Putin)
2005/2015
from the Portraits of Russian Government series
digital print on paper
50 x 40 centimeters each
This facial composite of Russian President Vladimir Putin was made with police-sketch software that allows users to pick from several mix-and-match categories of facial features to create a fictional portrait. The software is designed to help victims make general portraits of their aggressors, and deliberately does not generate a realistic portrait in order to allow room for identifiers to have faults in their memory.

The artist asked a police officer to make this portrait based off of an existing photograph. The act casts Putin as a criminal and “wanted man,” but the condemnation is part critical and part satire. The artist asked Artspace to translate from Russian the following text for the artwork’s wall label: Warning! This man is armed and extremely dangerous. If you see him, you are asked to destroy (him) right away!

The hyperbolic language and serial presentation references the single-minded portrayal of Putin in US media. The four posters also reference Putin’s four elected terms in office.
Squishy Lenin: Rubber
2015
silicone rubber
dimensions variable

Lenin Balancing: PLA
2015
digital print
dimensions variable
For the past three years, Vlasova has researched what she calls “monument rotations” in post-Soviet cities. Her research started in Central Asia, where she focused on a pedestal in Bishkek, the capital of Kyrgyzstan. Since the collapse of the Soviet regime, the city’s main square has borne three different monuments, each new face marking a shift in state authority.

In late 2014, Vlasova’s research resulted in a film essay. Titled Monuments and Other Things that Change, the film’s point of departure is a single found photograph of a monument to Lenin in Bishkek. The statue that sits atop the pedestal is cropped from the frame, but the puddle catches Lenin in its reflection. Untitled, and without a date or an author, the image foreshadowed the imminent collapse and the dismantling of many other Lenin statues from the post-Soviet milieu.

The turning point in Vlasova’s research came when Lenins started falling all over Ukraine during the Euromaidan protests in late 2013, like they did in the 1990s. At the same time, Russians renovated Lenins that had previously been dismantled or vandalized in the late 1980s, and resurrected them onto the pedestals in their main squares. Recalling the action of Lenin’s simultaneous rise and fall hundreds of miles away, the found Bishkek photograph drove Vlasova to hold the Lenin monument in her hand. She recalls, “I wanted to create an object that retained the original’s monumental qualities, the grandiose pose and chiseled texture, but one that could be dismantled, moved, and erected in a pose that was slightly balanced.” The result is a four inch 3D print version that can be placed anywhere on the gallery floor, with the instructions to mount it upside down.

In commemoration of an emotional period of time, for the larger population of Crimeans living abroad, Vlasova cast this stress-ball in the likeness of Lenin. It is meant to be playful, nostalgic, and tragically useful. Visitors to the show were invited to handle the object and squish as needed.
Demonstration Against War in Gaza (Tel Aviv-Yafo, Israel)
January 17, 2009
single channel video projection, color, sound
4:50 minutes
Courtesy of the artists, Galerie Peter Kilchmann, and Culture.pl.
ARTUR ŻMIJEWSKI (B. POLAND) + YAELE BARTANA (B. ISRAEL)

As socially committed artists, Artur Żmijewski and Yael Bartana have collaborated on several video projects, always combining protest, video and documentary footage. This one, created in response to the Israeli invasion of the Gaza Strip, was originally slated to be presented at the Haifa Museum of Art’s History of Violence exhibition, but was rejected by the curators for being an example of “ordinary documentary-ness,” lacking “artistic values.” Żmijewski and Bartana’s work here begs the question when is it art? by blurring the lines between art and social engagement and presenting protest as meaningful drama, worthy of being presented in a gallery setting with minimal artifice. Żmijewski’s method is exemplified by his large project Democracies (2009–12), composed of 25 short video films documenting footage composed of various public opinions, meant to define a new ideal of socially committed art via documentary means.
Artspace would like to thank all of the artists and organizers who participated in *Vertical Reach*, as well as its concurrent exhibition *Heads Will Roll: Selections from the Artspace Flatfile Collection and Beyond*, and the affiliated Yale conference, “Political Violence and Militant Aesthetics After Socialism.”

This exhibition and catalog would not have been possible without very generous support from The Campus Project at Culture.pl, The Andy Warhol Foundation for the Visual Arts, and Yale University. We are especially grateful to Paweł Potoroczyn, Paulina Shearing, Ewa Bogusz-Moore, Alicja Wieczorkowska, Marta Jazowska, and everyone at the Adam Mickiewicz Institute for their help, guidance, support and friendship.

Sarah Fritchey and Martha Lewis would particularly like to thank Marijeta Bozovic, Assistant Professor of Slavic Languages and Literatures at Yale University, for her tireless enthusiasm and imagination in partnering with us for the exhibition and inclusion in the Yale conference; PhD candidate Ingrid Nordgaard for her thorough and sensitive research presented in the timeline, “A History of Protest: 1945-Present;” Cayla Lockwood for laying out the timeline with an ever-mindful graphic design; and PhD candidates Maria Hristova and Roman Utkin for helping to organize the conference.

We would also like to thank RASTER Gallery for overseeing the loan of Zbigniew Libera’s *Final Judgement* for its US debut, and Galerie Peter Kilchmann, Lokal_30, Galerie Transit, and François Ghebaly Gallery, for helping us to secure international loans. We are grateful to Larissa Babij and Robert Storr for their early guidance.

Thank you to artists Jeanne Criscola and Joan Fitzsimmons for preparing a performative dinner, after the opening reception.
based on their recipe project, and chef Nadine Nelson for preparing a local and global spread at the conference. Thanks also to RJ Julia Booksellers for sponsoring our book club, and to Café Nine for hosting “Another Protest Song: Karaoke with a Message.” Thank you to the visiting Russian poets Pavel Arseniev, Keti Chukhrov, and Aleksandr Skidan, who read their works at Artspace; and to Anastasiya Osipova and Matthew Whitley for performing a version of their publication *Barbarians in the Green Room*.

We could not have installed *Vertical Reach* without the technical expertise of Scott Schuldt and Grey Freeman; the generous loan of audio visual equipment from Lani Asuncion; and support from all of the Artspace staff, interns, volunteers and board members, especially Helen Kauder, Shelli Stevens, Katie Jurkiewicz, Mary Colwell Halley, Jerome Harris, Tyler Cofrancesco, Shawn Larson, Colin McCarthy, Zoe Dobuler, and Olivia D’Amicis. Thank you to John Groo for documenting *Vertical Reach*, and to Alexis Zanghi for editing this text. We extend a special thank you to Anne Bobroff-Hajal for her vibrant contribution to the Crown Street window.

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The Andy Warhol Foundation for the Visual Arts

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artspacenh.org
Top row (left to right): Maria Hristova, Marijeta Bozovic (standing), Anastasiya Osipova, Aleksander Skidan, Keti Chukhrov, John Roberts, Martha Willette Lewis, David Livingston (cardboard replica of the artist).

Bottom row: Matthew Whitley, Dragan Kujundzic, Ingrid Noordgard, Sarah Fritchey.
YEVGENIA BELORUSETS (UKR)

CHTO DELAT? (RUS)

ZUZANNA JANIN (POL)

NIKITA KADAN (UKR)

ZBIGNIEWS LIBERA (POL)

DAVID LIVINGSTON (USA)

LAURA MARSH (USA)

ANGEL NEVAREZ + VALERIE TEVERE (USA)

ANASTASIYA OSIPOVA (UKR)
+ MATTHEW WHITLEY (USA)

PUSSY RIOT (RUS)

ANASTASIA RYABOVA (RUS)

GREGORY SHOLETTE (USA)

DAVID TER-OGANYAN (RUS)

MARIYA VLASOVA (RUS)

ARTUR ŻMIJEWSKI (POL) + YAEL BARTANA (ISR)

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