

**RUSSIAN ART AND CULTURE  
WITHIN AMERICA:  
POLITICISED TOOLS OF POWER.**

**OLIVIA MOODY**

19082495

January 2023

Fine Art and Art History

1G6Z9909

Word Count: 6,597

## INTRODUCTION

Art should be autonomous from political infiltration; this was the stance of renowned conductor Wilhelm Furtwängler. The Vice President of the Reich Chamber of Music and a valued cultural representative of Nazi Germany, yet actively supportive of the continuation of Jewish musicians, Furtwängler was a clear advocate for the separation of art and politics. However, as Furtwängler would find out after the conclusion of World War Two, separating the two is an almost impossible task. What followed was the reprimand and an initial ban of the artist (Allen, 2018; Breitman n.d.) Now, at the commencement of a horrendous war waged against Ukraine at the hands of Putin's Russia, questions pertaining to art and its intertwined relationship to politics and the actualities of the real world are increasingly becoming more relevant (or at least more prevalent in *Western* media.) There has already been an instance of a Russian creative, a pianist, being removed from the Montreal Symphony Orchestra due to his Russian nationality. Alexander Malofeev holds an outspoken, oppositional stance to the war in Ukraine and has no comparable political ties to Putin's politics; this differs from the heavily problematic relationship between Furtwängler and the Nazi party (Gordon, 2022.) Nevertheless, both engage in apolitical, creative expression that is/was subject to politically charged silencing. I bring up Furtwängler and Malofeev at the very beginning of this essay to say: art and culture, especially during a time of war, are extremely tough to separate from politics and can be an excellent tool for countries to utilise in the purposeful representation and condemnation of opposition, or to assist self-interest and influence. This is not a phenomenon limited to the America-Russia conflict; it is intrinsic to cultural warfare. So, isn't it essential to engage in conversations about the treatment of art, artists and culture during times when they become exceedingly weaponised? The war in Ukraine rages on. Tensions continue to rise between Russia and The United States of America to levels that arguably have not been present since the height of the Cold War (Coyle, 2022.) I propose the need for a contemporary and historical analysis of Russian and Soviet art present within America. With relevant examples, we can judge how the artwork has been utilised and its contribution and determined value to cultural warfare, irrespective of whether the artists intended this, and notably the broader comprehension of such work. After all, a key aim of cultural warfare is to influence opinion, political positioning and public policy (Johnston, 2010.) Awareness of culture is important; art being used as a political tool is essential to my concern, and I am intrigued to debate the political power artworks can leverage.

Analysing examples of Russian visual culture based within the U.S.A. during varying moments in 20th and 21st-century history will offer insights into how the fluctuation of conflict and level of foreign threat affects the exhibition, reception, visibility, power and importance of artworks that derive from people deemed as belonging to an antagonistic culture. The chronological exploration will begin with wartime work closely predating the start of the Cold War and end with an inspection of present-day conditions. Chronologically undertaking this essay allows for a clearer contextual understanding of America's relationship with Russia, consequently aiding the comparison of the treatment of art and culture during different time periods due to this relationship. It is important to note that Russian and Soviet-Russian art will not be differentiated; this is not due to them being the same thing but due to Soviet Russia being the fundamental source of power and influence within the Soviet Union as well as *The West's* tendency to see them as equivalents (Rapoport, 1971.) A potential hindrance must be acknowledged. The vast majority of the sources are derived from what we consider to be of *Western* origin. Considering the conscious and unconscious ideas we all internalise of *East* and *West*, *us* and *other*, is important as no matter how impartial a historian or researcher may try to be, this often is not sufficient to avoid bias. Especially if the evidence available to the historian is intrinsically coloured by existing biases or narratives itself (McCullagh, 2000.) Nonetheless, using primarily American or *Western* sources will inevitably aid in understanding the perception of Russianism within the United States of America. Terms such as *West* and *East* have been italicised; they are as much concepts, meta-narratives, as geographical locations. These words do not have absolute, never-changing meanings and are open for debate (Hall, 2018.)

## BEFORE THE SECOND RED-SCARE

In 1918 the American Ambassador to Russia, David Frances, adamantly declared that Bolshevism was a danger, a menace, to not only the United States but the world. His unrelenting stance relayed to the United States government on multiple occasions echoed the fears of many: an ideological threat to Capitalist Democracy (Mohrenschildt, 1943; Rapoport, 1971.) While this opposition ideologically remained firmly in place, the dawn of the more significant threat of Fascist expansion within Europe left the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. with a common interest and enemy. Once the immediate threat was over, and the irreconcilable and stark differences ideologically became a new focus, questioning this alliance was inevitable. Sweeping across America, the so-called Red-Scare permeated North American politics, culture, and day-to-day societal life. A heavy criticism characterised this second instalment of the Red-Scare (much like the first), fear and opposition to

communism and the Soviet Union (Rapoport, 1971.) Of course, this would, in turn, affect the creation, exhibition, perception and treatment of Russian art and artists within America; even if within the immediate years preceding, and at the very start of the Cold War era, Russian art did achieve brief visibility and discourse (Bailey, 2017.)

The National Council of American-Soviet Friendship (N.C.A.S.F.) founded in the March of 1944, aimed to utilise visual art as a tool for cultural exchange and diplomacy by aiding mediation between American art institutions and the State Committee on the Arts, or as it would be later known as the Ministry of Culture of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (Lindey, 1991.) Even with the threatening backdrop of rising tensions between the two global powers, the N.C.A.S.F. launched its first exhibition in 1943 at the prestigious Metropolitan Museum of Art, titled *The Soviet Artist*

*in the War* (Bailey, 2017.) While there is little to no trace of this exhibition available online, interestingly, even within the Metropolitan Museum of Art's online exhibition archive, images documenting singular pieces of exhibited work can be found within 1944's volume of the *Survey Graphic* under the subheading of *Fighting Posters*. Gruber's *Neighbors Across the Atlantic* article does not write about the exhibition. However, it does inform the reader of differing aspects of the Soviet Union with a distinct lack of inflammatory statements or narratives (Gruber, 1944.) The *Survey Graphic* exemplifies the heightened awareness of social issues and the engagement in the plurality of debate during this era (Survey Associates, 1936.) The inclusion of Soviet reporting within such literature speaks to larger sectors of the public responding to foreign affairs, potentially due to their country's involvement in international matters after years of isolationist neutrality. Such representations of Soviet Art would enrich the understanding of allied countries for the interested people. However, little information can be recovered to truly understand the scale or popularity of The *Survey Graphic*, so this may be a limited number of receptive individuals.



Figure.1:  
Instillation view: *The Soviet Artist in the War* (1943)  
Metropolitan Museum of Art.  
New York.





Figure.2:  
 Vatolina, N (1941)  
*More Bread for the Front and Rear, Harvest the Crop in Full!*  
 Lithograph poster  
 Within *Survey Graphic* (1944)

One of the three artworks featured in the magazine is the propaganda poster *More Bread for the Front and Rear, Harvest the Crop in Full!* Produced by Nina Vatolina, one of the leading Soviet poster artists of the time, this artwork is intrinsically political. Soviet posters such as this one were utilised as visual weapons to combat the threat of German forces and to promote the Communist Party's own desired aims (Zegers et al., 2011.) If this artwork cannot be separated from communism, socialism or the U.S.S.R., why was it shown in the Metropolitan Museum of Art? As we have already established, a fraught yet advantageous alliance formed between these two countries under the threat of the Axis powers and productive partnerships between the Soviet government and American institutions did take place. *The Soviet*

*Artist and The War* exhibition within the Metropolitan Museum of Art, mediated and aided by the N.C.A.S.F., exemplifies the willingness of U.S. institutions to engage with Soviet culture. Even the U.S. State Department deemed cultural exchange with the Soviets necessary to shape the American people's perception of this new, objectionable ally (Bailey, 2017.) However, the end of the alliance and the impending Cold War would render cultural exchange directly with the U.S.S.R. obsolete. Tensions would continue to rise and fall periodically. Nevertheless, the seemingly constant threat and paranoia of communism maintained a heavy presence within post-war America, especially with the help of politicians such as the infamous anti-communist politician Joseph McCarthy. These would affect Russian artists living in America -even left-leaning American artists who would be consequently branded as communist spies (Paterson, 1988).

## THE ARTIST AS A COMMUNIST THREAT

1945 spelt the start of the end for the N.C.A.S.F., with the House Un-American Activities Committee condemning the organisation for engaging in what they deemed as un-American propaganda. Inevitably the N.C.A.S.F. closed all thirty-two of the local councils it had established in nineteen U.S. states. In November 1947, it was added to the U.S. Office of the Attorney General's list of subversive organisations (Bailey, 2017.) An artist heavily associated with this organisation was Anton Refregier, a Russian painter and Muralist who had immigrated to the U.S. in 1920. American art in the post-war period was informed heavily by the volatile environment of not only post-war America but the world at large. Racial tensions, fascist regimes and the consequences of an economic depression escalated discontent throughout the larger public and fuelled national interest in social change. The Russian and Mexican revolutions played a part in this optimism for, or at least caused engagement with, a change to the established order. An extensive and diversified collection of artists known as the Social Realists worked within the aforementioned historical framework, publishing magazines, forming unions and creating work in the following decades (Bailey, 2017.)

Anton Refregier's most well-known and simultaneously most controversial work is his series entitled: *History of San Francisco*. Comprised of 27 murals located in the public setting of San Francisco's central post office, the work details what the title suggests: the history of San Francisco. This work was representational of the American masses and included more left-leaning topics, such as the depictions of European and Chinese immigrant workers and union victories (Ott, 2016.) A national debate was sparked due to Refregier's inclusion of controversial events from California's history, including the



Figure.3:  
Refregier, A. (1947)  
*History of San Francisco*  
Photograph of Rincon Annex lobby.  
Horn, J. (2014)  
San Francisco.

1934 West Coast waterfront strike and the 1906 San Francisco earthquake. Interestingly, the work was commissioned by the U.S. federal government, which paid the artist \$26,000 to paint a chronological history of the city, unaware of the prevalence of “realist” subjects that were to be portrayed in the very public work (Karlstrom, 1996.) Refregier was considered to be creating art as a tool for radical culture politics and subsequently pushing working-class people into revolutionary politics, not primarily due to his Russian heritage but something much more condemning: his adherence to the Comintern’s shifting policies, most of which pertained to the international organisation’s aim at achieving the global spread of communism. (Lee, 1999; Rapoport, 1971.)



Figure.4:

Refregier, A. (1947)

*History of San Francisco (The Waterfront.)*

Photograph of Rincon Annex lobby.

Horn, J. (2014)

San Francisco.

Does this necessarily mean that these murals were made for the purpose of an American communist revolution? Not necessarily. Social Realism signalled a focus on, and a visual representation of, the American masses through a socially conscience approach that would address the need for social change (Doss, 2002.) For artists with communist and Marxist ideologies, works were utilised to distribute these ideas to the masses and criticise the failings of capitalism -an unambiguous use of art as a political tool. Yet, it is still hard to conclude if Refregier’s *History of San Francisco* was explicitly devised to call upon a radical revolution or instead to depict the struggles and realities of the American people under a capitalist system. Whether this be the case or not, the murals were



perceived as calling for radical Marxist-communist politics, and the backlash was clear-cut. Refregier experienced strong opposition even before the work's completion in 1947. As vitriol increased over the seven years it took to complete, the artist decided not to work past sundown in fear of violent confrontation (Karlstrom, 1996). Once completed, Conservative Republican senator Hubert Scudder insisted that the work be covered, but the most notable name opposed to Refregier's paintings was future president Richard Nixon. After Republicans won control of the White House and Congress in the 1952 elections, a subcommittee of the House of Representatives met to discuss a congressional resolution that would conceal the murals in the Rincon Annex from the general public. However, Refregier's murals survived the committee (Ott, 2016.) The story of the creation and reception of the *History of San Francisco* underscores the culture-war that had taken hold of America. The artist himself stated in a 1949 interview that "The story of (his) project...is the story of how we moved from a proud and progressive people to one possessed by hysteria and fear." (Refregier, 1949, cited in Ott, 2016: 62.). With artists connected to the N.C.A.S.F. being branded as "soldiers of the revolution-in smocks" by U.S. Representatives, it was inevitable that work such as the *History of San Francisco* would face attacks (Dondero, 1949.) Political figures, such as the aforementioned Richard Nixon, took the opportunity to brand left-leaning artists and their artwork as representational of the communist infiltration happening within the country. Levelling charges of disloyalty and espionage, whether this be heresy or not, was effective in further consolidating the atmosphere of public suspicion, fear and distrust of left-leaning ideas and the blacklisting of suspected radicals -this further aided in reducing their influence. However, the fascinating story of Refregier's murals demonstrates that, in practice, censorship is not always easily attainable within a democratic society such as the U.S.A.

### **FROM THE POST-STALIN PERIOD TO THE COLLAPSE OF THE U.S.S.R.**

In December 1989, the first summit between President George H.W. Bush and Gorbachev took place and unofficially ended the Cold War (McFaul, 2019.) Definitively, can we say that 1989 or the official date of December 1991 brought the end of the Cold War? Ostensibly in the political sense, yes, but culturally the answer is not so clear cut. A willingness to engage in cultural exchange with foreign powers resumed years before 1991 and suggests that (at least for the arts) the death of Stalin may have signalled a more vital calling for cultural exchange and understanding than the official political ending provided. Restricted artistic expression in the U.S.S.R., constrained under the official policy of Socialist Realism and enforced by the constant awareness that many creatives had been executed or sent to the Gulags, essentially concluded following the dictator's death in 1953 and then solidified with Nikita Khrushchev's 1956 speech to the 20th Party Congress (Kishkovsky,

2021.) The period that followed was to be known as the 'Khrushchev Thaw,' this notably included the two-year cultural exchange agreement with the United States, and two national exhibitions were planned consequently (Bailey, 2017; Rapoport, 1971.) Both taking place in the summer of 1959, these exhibitions exemplified the heightened liberation within the U.S.S.R. and the willingness of both countries to begin a process of mutual understanding, even within the enduring context of ideological opposition (Shaffer, 1959.) Why did the United States government want the American public exposed to Soviet culture in such a landmark exhibition? The answer may arise in what would be gained due to the exchange. America stood for democracy and freedom, advancement and prosperity, according to the clear message that the United States wished to send to the people of the Soviet Union- whether this be wholly accurate or not. The U.S.S.R.'s apparent advancements in science and economics during the post-Stalin era resulted in the Soviet model becoming reasonably appealing to parts of the developing world. To maintain its position as the world's preeminent superpower without inciting armed conflict, the U.S. partook in techniques of cultural infiltration (Mickiewicz, 2011; Rapoport, 1971.)



Figure.5:  
Vasily, E. (1959)  
*'Mini-Moscow' within the Soviet Exhibition*  
New York.

Dwight D. Eisenhower must not have been concerned with the potential of the Soviet exhibition (which contained photography, music, theatre, as well as examples of technology and industry) to create an upsurge in communist sentiments on U.S. soil. The feedback from American visitors considerably validated this assurance. Their overwhelmingly adverse reactions to the Soviet Culture on display are documented within comment books, containing remarks such as: “I missed seeing your typical Russian home (dump) and your labor camps (slave camps).” Another comment, more relevant to Soviet creative culture, read: “Russian music is for the birds. If they’ll take it.” (Sandecki, 2011: para.13) These echo the general impression audiences took from the examples of Social-Realist art displayed quite closely; from a *western* perspective, the work was old-fashioned compared to America’s abstract modernism. While there is an abundance of sources detailing the specific works exhibited at the American National Exhibition, including works by Jackson Pollock and Mark Rothko, no accessible sources detail the specific pieces exhibited by the Soviets aside from the fact that Social-Realist art was displayed (Chapple, 2019; Mickiewicz, 2011.) The disproportionate documentation between the two exhibitions clearly illustrates the discrepancy in cultural importance and artistic influence that they respectively achieved in the other country. Whether the artwork was being praised or condemned, American Modernism was heavily documented and debated. Socialist Realism was predominantly deemed outdated and belonging to an inferior country, as demonstrated by the comments written by American visitors at the time and more critical contemporary considerations of the art style (Lindey, 1991; Mickiewicz, 2011.) Eisenhower was correct in anticipating the little impact that largely non-political Soviet culture would have on the public masses. It is important to note that the quote, as mentioned above, regarding not witnessing representations of an impoverished society or atrocious gulags, suggests an animosity and unwillingness for citizens to engage with culture pertaining to an antagonistic nation without the explicit acknowledgement of wrong-doing. We will return to this conclusion later.

While documented exhibitions during the first three or so decades of the Cold War are extremely hard to find, the late nineteen-eighties provides us with another landmark display of Soviet visual art and creative culture. Unlike the exhibition in New York, the 1989 San Diego art festival *Treasures of the Soviet Union* applied a retrospective approach to the curation and representation of the U.S.S.R. Interestingly, the festival included artistic creations from not only the pre-revolutionary Russian Empire but also from formerly sovereign states that were still under Soviet control in 1989 (Snow, 1989.) The act of loaning Faberge imperial eggs to an American museum under the Soviet Union’s name would have been inconceivable a few decades before. This act encapsulated the spirit of many of Gorbachev’s *perestroika* initiatives: to further open up to

foreign diplomacy, relax limits on free expression, and expand trade internationally under a more capitalistic economic system. Gone were the days of absolute condemnation of capitalism and its bourgeois commodities (McFaul, 2019.) It seemed both domestically and internationally, aided by such exhibitions, the core concept of a communist Soviet Union was disintegrating and leaving it not only increasingly susceptible to *western* influence but increasingly open to it. For the United States government, this festival was presumably not as much a cause of concern as it was a beneficial display of *westernisation* taking place in the east. As it would turn out, eighteen days after the *Treasures of the Soviet Union* opened, the fall of the Berlin Wall took place and solidified the former superpower's fate. The only morsel of documentation I can find regarding public opinion was within a New York Times newspaper, also from October 1989. While the singular quotation "Not everyone in this conservative military town approves..." does not give any specifics, it does suggest at least a detectable level of American opposition to the festival without compelling degrees of protest or condemnation (Reinhold, 1989:10.) The informed, yet uncertain presumptions surrounding public reception is open to challenge, granted that there is an unearthing of more detailed documentation in the future.

The 1992 exhibition *The Great Utopia: The Russian and Soviet Avant-Garde, 1915–1932*, displayed in the Guggenheim Museum, examined the diverse and complex avant-garde activities in Russia and the Soviet Union during their climactic years of revolution. The exhibition's title perfectly exemplifies a new age for Russian representation in the United States now that the country was partaking in an unthreatening and, importantly, *western* revolution: a revolution consisting of capitalism and democracy (McFaul, 2019.) The dramatic de-escalation of tensions allowed international curators unprecedented access to Soviet archives and, in turn, accommodated the reevaluation of modernist work -of which many had not yet received praise or received acknowledgement from *the west* (Krens et al., 1992.) The terms "great" and "utopia" could now be connected to the former Soviet Union without much hesitation due to the ideological war being essentially over; objectively, the U.S.A. had won, and communist sentiment domestically did not present any rational threat to the status-quo (McFaul, 2019.) However, Guggenheim's exhibition was not a sympathetic revision of Soviet history or a declaration of appreciation regarding the communist revolution. The intrinsic factor in the exhibition's name was the historical context of the artwork itself. The Soviet Constructivists recognised the potential that art had to be an active agent of social change in service of more significant societal goals- to construct a utopia. The use of the word "Utopia," chosen for the exhibition, may have additionally hinted at the impracticality of the Constructivists' grand aims -especially with the hindsight of where the path of revolution would take Russia and its Avant-guards (Krens et al., 1992; Wadden, 1990.) Without exception, all of the



case studies presented so far help to establish a pattern, a pattern of Russian art or exhibitions being either co-opted or utilised by an example of American institutional power to further a relevant political goal. However, even considering *The Great Utopia's* 'landmark' exhibitory status, arguing its use as a politicised tool of power (for American institutional power) may be an arbitrary task. After drawing from an extensive number of collections, the exhibition represented a virtually comprehensive sample of artists and artistic documents. The commitment to such research resulted in, at the time, the most comprehensive exhibition of Soviet avant-garde ever displayed. Examples were researched and subsequently loaned from Russia, Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan, Ukraine and Latvia by leading scholars from the United States, Germany, Great Britain and Russia. Internationally united by the common aim for the exploration and wider acknowledgement of such a unique movement in art history. It is much more likely that the foundation of this project was rooted in a passion for academic art research. Political climates or intentions seem to be contained within the contextual research of the constructivist's time period (Krens et al., 1992.)



Figure.6:

Installation view: *The Great Utopia: The Russian and Soviet Avant Garde, 1915-1932*. (1992)

The Guggenheim.

New York.

## THE BERLIN WALL AS A CULTURAL ARTEFACT

A defining political moment of the 20th century, President Reagan's call to Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev to tear down the Berlin Wall came to fruition on November 9th, 1989. Due to the monumental consequences that this event would have (and indubitably did have) not only in Germany or the Eastern Blocks but within the realm of global politics too, it is understandable why media coverage was inescapable in many geographical places (McFaul, 2019.) *Western* Hollywood spy dramas, late-night variety shows and pop music frequently featured commentary on, reference to, or appropriated visual imagery of the Berlin Wall. Predominantly, all these references aided the enforcement of the idea that the western side of the wall was free, and the other side was trapped and oppressed by the Soviets (Farber, 2019.) While these interpretations of the circumstances in the divided Germany were grounded in reality and objectively accurate, the roots of cultural warfare remain within them. Behind these constructed pieces of media is the symbolic significance attached to the wall. Accumulative circulation of these *western* representations, ingrained with the very understandable cultural concepts of *good* and *evil*, *us* and *other* (acting as stand-ins for *west* and *east*) became embedded within the cultural, historical and political cannon of the *western* world (Drechsel, 2010.) The iconic language used to discuss the Berlin Wall is also more complex than it may first appear. From Reagan's call to tear it down to the consistently used descriptor of its *fall*, the language heavily refers to a tangible demolition of a structure. Arguably, when we reference the *fall* of the wall, we are instead recounting the downfall of communism, socialism and the Soviet Union as substantial and political forces at play within Europe. While the border between the communist East Berlin and Western-occupied West Berlin formally opened for crossing on the date mentioned above, its actual physical demolition was not undertaken on the ninth but rather over the ensuing weeks and months (Drechsel, 2010.) Without context or understanding, a wall is just a wall. Taking all of this into consideration, we are left with a structural border wall that has been endowed with understanding and purpose, both through its physical use of containment and violent action as well as cultural and political symbolism connected to it.

Arguing that the Berlin Wall is a piece of Soviet art is not the aim here. However, by interpreting the understanding of *the wall* as an amalgamation of architecture, photography, visual media and curation within America (as well as its appropriation within original artworks), it can be consequently understood as a Russian visual and cultural object. Eleven American cities have sections of the wall either in museums, public spaces or private spaces such as cafes and shops (*11 U.S. cities where you can see pieces of the Berlin Wall*, 2019.) While all of these examples are essentially the same thing, there are distinctive differences in their presentation and curation,



subsequently leading to different meanings being bestowed onto them by the curator/owner. In turn, the public's interpretations of the wall sections may vary widely from one example to another.



Figure.7:

Yee, M.K. (2000)

A segment of the Berlin Wall, Urban Plaza at 520 Madison Avenue, New York.

A year after the wall fell, five sections were displayed in a Manhattan plaza. While many sections have been brought to America through gifting or donation, these were bought and financed privately by Jerry I. Speyer- the chairman of a real estate company (Dunlap, 2015.) The five panels were placed against the outside wall of the company's head office, with the west-facing side on display. The eye-catching and somewhat disturbing faces, accredited to the graffiti artists Thierry Noir and Kiddy Citny, make for a much more aesthetically exciting presentation than if the austere and monochromatic east-facing side was visible instead. Undoubtedly, the artwork is fundamental to the value of this section and its purpose within this setting. Painstaking work of reattaching paint flakes with adhesive was undertaken to restore the former glory of the graffiti after years of slow deterioration (Dunlap, 2015.) However, when asked about his purchase, Jerry Speyer did add that he "thought it was historically important," suggesting that the political context is still a major

reason that the section was purchased and brought to New York in the first place (Dunlap, 2015: para.14.) No matter how imperative the aesthetic value is, the context cannot be removed. In truth, the artwork applied to the structure is, to a great extent, interesting because of the context. This is not just graffiti, something ubiquitous to New York: the spray-paint archives a turning point in 20th-century politics. Despite this, large sectors of the passing public are possibly unaware of its origin or context due to its primary aesthetic function.



Figure.8:

Goodnight, V. (1996)

*The Day the Wall Came Down*

Photograph of the sculpture at the George Bush Presidential Library.

Butsky, V. (2003)

Texas.

Former presidents Ronald Reagan and George Bush, each intrinsically linked to the Cold War's conclusion, have sections of the Berlin Wall located at their presidential libraries. However, the presentation at Bush's library expands upon the pre-existing visual imagery of the wall; the politically charged subtext is made clear. Incorporated into an original sculpture, a section of the former concrete barrier has been taken and fragmented into six smaller segments with unrestrained horses, exuding motion and physical power, galloping over the broken pieces. Veryl Goodnight's



monument, titled *The Day the Wall Came Down*, was first conceptualised during a dream the artist had after watching the collapse of the Berlin Wall on television. In this dream, "...clay horses were galloping over the rubble of the Berlin Wall to freedom in the West." (*The day the wall came down – The Art of Veryl Goodnight*, 2019: para.5.) Since horses have traditionally signified freedom in the canon of art history, Veryl utilised the representation of horses to embody any individual seeking political freedom- a core value that the U.S.A.'s political system perpetually reinforces to this day both to the masses domestically and internationally. The use of horses as a visual sign will be particularly relevant and more easily interpretable to an American audience. Historically, horses have been an integral part of the people's lives and culture in the American West and, consequently, have become patriotic symbols (Horton, 2017.) It is hard to deny the blatant American triumphalism that overpowers the supposed representation of people's freedoms. The contentious narrative of America having a huge hand in pulling down the wall, and by extension the Iron Curtain, was immensely popularised and perpetuated by Bush. In fear of losing re-election to Clinton in 1992, attaching Cold War victory to himself was a handy political tool and the narratives mentioned above became embedded within national culture and media (Cohen, 2010; Gulliford, 2019.) Evidently, both of the aforementioned concrete sections, through curation and presentation, have become instruments for very different functions. The first functions on a primarily aesthetic level and the second is utilised for a president's political doctrine.

## PRESENT DAY

Exhibitions featuring contemporary Russian artists are exceptionally hard to find in the present day, chiefly including artists not already based and established within the U.S.A. Rarely when exhibitions do occur, substantial documentation, critical review, and discourse surrounding the art do not accompany them. A caveat to the generalisation that contemporary Russian artists have no visibility in the United States is the (formerly Moscow-based) art collective *AES+F*. Their residency program, now operating in New York, actively funds Russian and Ukrainian artists looking to depart from their country of origin and instead reside and work in America. Relationships and ties to Russian state institutions have been entirely severed, and the group refuses to participate in any projects located within the country. Their stance on the matter is definite and purposely vocalised -like many public Russian figures issuing recent statements (Kishkovsky, 2022.) While the presence of the *AES+F* conveys a level of (and attempts to provide exposure for) Russian artists in the *west*, the current political climate appears to be negatively affecting their initiative. Quoted within *The Art Newspaper*, Anton Svyatskyit (a founder of the collective) explained in 2020: "It feels especially difficult before the U.S. presidential election [scheduled for November]; there is a

‘red threat’ in the air and Russian artists are not always getting a fair chance....” (Svyatskyit, n.d. in Harris, 2020.) With obtaining visas becoming increasingly more challenging and the stigma around Russianism only intensifying, work is harder to secure; consequently, Russian artists are becoming less inspired to relocate to America, feeling more comfortable in their local Russian art scene. Disillusionment is driving many Russian artists out of New York and back to their homeland. It has to be clarified that, according to Svyatskyit, the consequences of disillusionment are not idiosyncratic to the war in Ukraine and have been occurring since the 1990s (Antonov and Marrow, 2021; Harris, 2020.) Understandably so. Fear and suspicion surrounding Russia’s and the former Soviet Union’s threat to America, both in an ideological and practical sense, has been ingrained within the country’s politics for decades.

Even if the art itself remains unpolitical, an artist’s deemed Russianism is entrenched deeply in political understanding, and therefore value judgments are placed upon them as a consequence. After extensive research, what seems apparent is an inadequate void of documentation detailing Russian artwork being exhibited within the U.S. currently and simultaneously no concrete evidence of visual art succumbing to the same boycotting that is affecting other forms of creative expression and culture -particularly pertaining to musical acts. Soprano singer Anna Netrebko, given an ultimatum by the *Metropolitan Opera* in early March, withdrew from her future performances in lieu of renouncing her allegiance to President Vladimir Putin. Nevertheless, Netrebko has, in fact, publicly denounced Putin’s war in Ukraine, voicing: “I am opposed to this senseless war of aggression and I am calling on Russia to end this war right now....” ( Netrebko, n.d. cited within Hernández, 2022: para.14.) While the commendation of the soprano has been widespread across multiple *western* newspaper publications -*The British Guardian*, *The New York Times*, *N.B.C. News* are key examples- they seem to be omitting an essential factor. High-profile figures like Netrebko cannot retain careers in their homeland and simultaneously condemn its dictator. Supportive loyalty, or at the least public-facing reticence, is required for their careers to survive in such an environment. With reports of the regime threatening jail time to oppositional voices, importantly from varying standings in Russian society, high-profile figures with global influence are in a particularly precarious position (Torrance, 2022.) To quote the classical music new site *Slipped Disc*: maybe Anna Netrebko indeed “wants it both ways.” (Lebrecht, 2022: title.) But for Russian creatives and public figures, the decision to declare a stance on the war has to be deeply considered not only for the fate of their careers but the immeasurably higher complications and consequences they may face compared to their *western* counterparts.



Figure.9:

Fedorov, F.F. (2022)

*The Moth and The Bat Flying to The Light.*

Still from video installation.

Ilya Fedotov-Fedorov, sponsored by *AES+F*, is a Russian artist who continues to create work within the United States and simultaneously has a degree of presence online. However, insufficient documentation still surrounds his work. The few articles or websites that do feature him do so with little or no mention of his Russian heritage, it seems that the art has been heavily

isolated from the political context and does not imbue politically charged narratives on work that does not contain any explicit connections to it (Ilya Fedotov-Fedorov – fragment gallery n.d.) In eight Instagram stories posted in the early March of 2021, Fedorov condemned president Putin and offered links to resources that would help the Ukrainian people -during the same two weeks that Anna Netrebko was given her ultimatum. Yet, despite tireless research, there is interestingly no evidence to indicate any strong insistence or demand for the release of a public statement prior to these Instagram posts (Instagram-fedotovfedorov 2022.)

What distinguishes these two Russian creatives, and how does it affect the American public's insistence on them vocalising personal condemnation of Putin's regime? The realistic leverage that a creative can possess may be imperative to the solution of this question. Institutions silencing a public figure can be understood as them reducing this influence (seen to contain and communicate immoral rhetoric) to limit the spread of damaging convictions within public discourse. However, the motivation is often primarily to prevent the institution itself from facing backlash and condemnation for beliefs they do not hold (Norris, 2021.) By cutting ties with Anna Netrebko, an artist who has previously had tenuous but still public affiliations with Putin, the *Metropolitan opera* have openly declared the institution's condemnation of the regime through confirmable action (Torrance, 2022.) Individual contemporary visual artists from Russia simply do not appear to retain enough significance within the American art world at present, or in public life at large, to be called upon as voices of morality or as representatives of the Russian opposition against Putin's war. Further documentation and research are needed to fully comprehend why current Russian visual artists are



neglected, overlooked, or undervalued. However, it is reasonable to suggest that difficulties obtaining visas, alienating political climates and the hesitancy of citizens and institutions to support an adversarial nation's cultural exports all contribute to the matter.

## CONCLUSION

Behind the utilisation of Russian creative culture lays a political motive that is not only applicable to the relationship between the United States and Russia. From the McCarthyist insistence on the infiltration of Bolshevism through espionage to Donald Trump accusing his then-presidential opponent Joe Biden of handing control of America over to socialists and Marxists, there has been an ongoing premise that left-leaning policies are intrinsically *other*, threateningly foreign and fundamentally anti-American (Tankersley, 2020.) This is just one example of the ever-deepening vilification and *othering* taking place within both sides of the American political landscape. Many of the varied examples of visual art we have discussed so far, often utilised by third parties, aid in consolidating these narratives woven into the fabric of American society. So, why does this matter? Genuine democracy depends on free, individual thought and the importance of government authority founded on the consent and approval of the governed. When the utilisation of culture at the hands of institutional powers treads into the murky waters of misinformation or disinformation, this directly threatens the core principles that *western* countries were founded on. Furthermore, the consequential distrust consolidates the *us* and *other* divide that has both domestic and international ramifications. Discourse, understanding and compromise become harder to achieve, and the dangerous antagonistic divides continue to grow -this is especially important to address when international tensions are already high. Not all art deemed as having political ties is manipulated to serve an aim. However, from the research I have undertaken, it can be suggested that the discourse surrounding visual art's capability and susceptibility to be used as effective tools of political power is understood deeply by the powers that be yet is considerably less so by the public. When directed at substantially unethical and antagonistic regimes, such as the one found in Soviet Russia or Putin's current regime, cultural warfare is considerably more palatable -whether fundamentally right or wrong. I have come to the conviction that political art does not have to have political sentiments; it could be manipulated to benefit doctrine even if that was never the artist's original intention, either through its display in government-supported institutions, through its curation or via the vocalised rhetoric of public figures. As an artist myself, this is troubling. An unfortunate limitation to the comprehensive understanding of Russian visual art's role as a politicised tool in the present day is simply the inadequacy of meaningful documentation. More research would need to be

undertaken, possibly through the consultation of Russian artists and American galleries directly, to truly decipher whether this is due to a lack of documentation, low visibility of the art itself, or Russian artists being currently inconsequential to the political climate at large.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Allen, R. (2018) *Wilhelm Furtwängler: Art and the politics of the unpolitical*. Martlesham: The Boydell Press.
- Antonov, D. and Marrow, A. (2021) *Moscow decries 'unfriendly actions' as U.S. ends visa services for most Russians, Reuters*. Thomson Reuters. Available at: <https://www.reuters.com/world/us-embassy-moscow-reduce-consular-services-over-ban-hiring-local-staff-ifax-2021-04-30/> (Accessed: January 18, 2023).
- Asavei, M.A. (2018) *Aesthetics, disinterestedness and effectiveness in political art*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.
- Breitman, R. (no date) *Correspondence between Wilhelm Furtwängler and Joseph Goebbels about Art and the State (April 1933.), German History in Documents and Images*. GHDI. Available at: [https://ghdi.ghi-dc.org/sub\\_document.cfm?document\\_id=1574](https://ghdi.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=1574) (Accessed: December 3, 2022).
- Bailey, J.T. (2017) "The National Council of American-Soviet Friendship and art in the shadow of the Cold War," *Archives of American Art Journal*, 56(1), pp. 42–65. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1086/692635>.
- Brown, A. (2013) *Seven Years that changed the world: Perestroika in perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Chapple, A. (2019) *I'll show you mine... the Soviet and American exhibitions of 1959, RadioFreeEurope/RadioLiberty*. Radio Free Europe / Radio Liberty. Available at: <https://www.rferl.org/a/when-soviets-and-americans-held-exhibitions-in-the-summer-of-1959/29984222.html> (Accessed: December 18, 2023).
- Cohen, S.F. (2010) "U.S -Russian Relations in an Age of American Triumphalism," *Journal of International Affairs*, 63(2), pp. 191–205.
- Coyle, J. (2022) *In Russian invasion of Ukraine, Cold War echoes reverberate, AP NEWS*. Associated Press. Available at: <https://apnews.com/article/cold-war-echoes-russia-us-ukraine-0050dd806e5f8748bf59b5e84d15b959> (Accessed: January 3, 2023).
- Dondero, G.A. (1949) *Communists maneuver to control art in the United States: Speech of hon. George A. Dondero of Michigan in the House of Representatives, March 25, 1949*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. G.P.O.

- Doss, E. (2002) *American Art of the 20th-21st centuries*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Drechsel, B. (2010) "The Berlin Wall from a visual perspective: Comments on the construction of a political media icon," *Visual Communication*, 9(1), pp. 3–24. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1177/1470357209352947>.
- Dunlap, D.W. (2015) "A Section of the Berlin Wall Will Again Stand in Manhattan," *The New York Times*, 8 April. Available at: <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/04/09/nyregion/a-20-foot-section-of-the-berlin-wall-will-return-to-manhattan-this-summer.html> (Accessed: January 6, 2023).
- Farber, P.M. (2019) *How the Berlin Wall became a monument to American Racial Division*, *Al Jazeera*. Al Jazeera. Available at: <https://www.aljazeera.com/opinions/2019/11/8/how-the-berlin-wall-became-a-monument-to-american-racial-division> (Accessed: January 4, 2023).
- Gehrke, L. (2022) *The Culture War: Russian artists under pressure to speak out against putin*, *POLITICO*. Available at: <https://www.politico.eu/article/russia-artists-under-pressure-to-speak-up-against-vladimir-putin/> (Accessed: January 20, 2023).
- Gordon, J. (2022) *Russian pianist Alexander Malofeev is dropped from Montreal Symphony Orchestra Speaking Against War*, *Daily Mail Online*. Associated Newspapers. Available at: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-10600719/Russian-pianist-Alexander-Malofeev-dropped-Montreal-Symphony-Orchestra-speaking-against-war.html> (Accessed: December 3, 2022).
- Gruber, R. (1944) "Neighbours Across the Atlantic," *Survey Graphic*, pp. 83–89. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/surveygraphic34survrich/page/68/mode/2up> (Accessed: December 5, 2022).
- Gulliford, A. (2019) *Tramplng barriers: Mancos artist's bronze sculpture honors fall of Berlin Wall*, *The Journal*. Available at: <https://www.the-journal.com/articles/tramplng-barriers-mancos-artists-bronze-sculpture-honors-fall-of-berlin-wall/> (Accessed: January 12, 2023).
- Hall, S. (2018) *Essential Essays, volume II: Identity and diaspora*. Durham: DUKE University PRESS.
- Harris, G. (2020) "New York-based residency for Russian artists goes ahead as 'East-West divide' intensifies," *The Art Newspaper*, 3 September. Available at: <https://www.theartnewspaper.com/2020/09/03/new-york-based-residency-for-russian-artists-goes-ahead-as-east-west-divide-intensifies> (Accessed: January 18, 2023).
- Hernández, J.C. (2022) "Anna Netrebko, Russian Diva, Is Out at the Metropolitan Opera," *The Guardian*, 3 March. Available at: <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/03/arts/music/anna-netrebko-met-opera-ukraine.html> (Accessed: January 19, 2023).
- Horton, A. (2017) "The Horse as a Symbol of Patriotism in the United States," *The International Journal of Visual Design*, 11(4), pp. 1–16. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.18848/2325-1581/cgp/v11i04/1-16>.
- Ilya Fedotov-Fedorov – fragment gallery (no date) *Fragment Gallery*. Available at: <https://fragment.gallery/artists/ilya-fedotov-fedorov/> (Accessed: January 20, 2023).

- Instagram-fedotovfedorov* (2022) *Instagram*. Available at: <https://www.instagram.com/fedotovfedorov/?hl=en> (Accessed: January 20, 2023).
- Johnston, G. (2010) "Revisiting the Cultural Cold War," *Social History*, 35(3), pp. 290–307. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/03071022.2010.486581>.
- Karlstrom, P.J. (1996) *On the edge of America: California modernist art, 1900-1950*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Kishkovsky, S. (2021) *A Cold Thaw: Soviet Art Post Stalin*, Sotheby's. Available at: <https://www.sothebys.com/en/articles/a-cold-thaw-soviet-art-post-stalin> (Accessed: December 11, 2022).
- Kishkovsky, S. (2022) "A Russian collective brings artists from Ukraine and Russia to a residency in New York," *The Art Newspaper*, 13 May. Available at: <https://www.theartnewspaper.com/2022/05/13/aesplusf-iscp-residency-artists-ukraine-russia-pavlo-grazhdanskij-ilya-fedotov-fedorov> (Accessed: January 16, 2023).
- Krens, T. et al. (1992) *The Great Utopia: The Russian and Soviet avant-garde: 1915-1932*. New York: Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum.
- Lebrecht, N. (2022) *Anna Netrebko still wants it both ways*, *Slippedisc*. Available at: <https://slippedisc.com/2022/03/anna-netrebko-still-wants-it-both-ways/> (Accessed: January 20, 2023).
- Lee, A.W. (1999) *Painting on the left: Diego Rivera, Radical Politics, and San Francisco's public murals*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Lindey, C. (1991) *Art in the Cold War: From Vladivostok to Kalamazoo, 1945-1962*. London: Herbert.
- Mccullagh, C.B. (2000) "Bias in historical description, interpretation, and explanation," *History and Theory*, 39(1), pp. 39–66.
- McFaul, M. (2019) *From Cold War to hot peace: An American ambassador in Putin's Russia*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt.
- Mickiewicz, E. (2011) "Efficacy and evidence: Evaluating U.S. goals at the American National Exhibition in Moscow, 1959," *Journal of Cold War Studies*, 13(4), pp. 138–171. Available at: [https://doi.org/10.1162/jcws\\_a\\_00171](https://doi.org/10.1162/jcws_a_00171).
- Mohrenschildt, D.V. (1943) "The early American observers of the Russian Revolution, 1917-1921," *The Russian Review*, 3(1), pp. 64–74.
- Norris, P. (2021) "Cancel culture: Myth or reality?," *Political Studies* [Preprint]. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1177/003232172111037023>.
- Ockerbloom, J.M. (ed.) (no date) *Survey Graphic archives*, *The online books page*. The online books page. Available at: <https://onlinebooks.library.upenn.edu/webbin/serial?id=surveygraphic> (Accessed: December 5, 2022).
- Ott, J. (2016) "The warp and Woof of the archive: Anton Refregier, from Macy's showroom to Congressional hearing," *Archives of American Art Journal*, 55(1), pp. 50–63. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1086/687313>.

- Paterson, T.G. (1988) *Meeting the Communist Threat*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Rapoport, A. (1971) *The Big Two: Soviet-American Perceptions of Foreign Policy*. New York: Pegasus.
- Refregier, A. (1949) "American Art in the Deep-Freeze Period," *National Guardsman*, 49(1), pp. 12–12.
- Reinhold, R. (1989) "WHAT'S DOING IN: San Diego," *The New York Times*, 1 October.
- Sandecki, C. (2011) "New York, New York with the Russians," *Terrace Standard*, 13 July. Available at: <https://www.terracestandard.com/opinion/new-york-new-york-with-the-russians/> (Accessed: December 15, 2022).
- Shaffer, H.B. (1959) "Cultural Exchanges with Soviet Russia," *Editorial Research Reports*, 2.
- Snow, S. (1989) *San Diego Festival imports a rich collection of Soviet artworks*, *Los Angeles Times*. Los Angeles Times. Available at: <https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1989-10-22-ca-778-story.html> (Accessed: December 22, 2022).
- Survey Associates (1936) *The Survey Graphic*, August.
- Tankersley, J. (2020) "Why Trump's Efforts to Paint Biden as a Socialist Are Not Working," *The New York Times*, 14 October. Available at: <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/14/business/socialist-biden-trump.html> (Accessed: January 20, 2023).
- The Day the Wall Came Down – the Art of Veryl Goodnight* (2019) *Paintings & Sculptures*. The Art of Veryl Goodnight. Available at: <https://verylgoodnight.com/the-day-the-wall-came-down/> (Accessed: January 14, 2023).
- Torrance, K.J. (2022) "Russian musicians don't deserve cancellation for Putin's crimes," *New York Post*, 4 March. Available at: <https://nypost.com/2022/03/04/russian-musicians-dont-deserve-cancellation-for-putins-crimes/> (Accessed: January 20, 2023).
- Wadden, D. (1990) *Art into life: Russian constructivism, 1914-32*. New York: Rizzoli.
- Zegers, P.K., Druick, D.W. and Akinša, K. (2011) *Windows on the war: Soviet TASS posters at home and abroad, 1941-1945*. Chicago: the Art Institute of Chicago.
- 11 US cities where you can see pieces of the Berlin Wall* (2019) *USA Today*. Gannett Satellite Information Network. Available at: <https://eu.usatoday.com/picture-gallery/travel/experience/2019/11/08/berlin-wall-fell-30-years-ago-here-11-us-cities-have-pieces/4165847002/> (Accessed: January 7, 2023).

## EXTENDED BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Aronoff, K. (2019) *America's Red Scare is back. and it's racially tinged*, *The Guardian*. Guardian News and Media. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2019/jul/22/republicans-progressives-red-baiting-socialism> (Accessed: January 15, 2023).

- Blakemore, E. (2022) *What was the Cold War-and are we headed to another one?*, *Culture*. National Geographic. Available at: <https://www.nationalgeographic.com/culture/article/cold-war> (Accessed: December 28, 2022).
- Burns, C. (1999) *What the Berlin Wall still stands for*, *CNN*. Cable News Network. Available at: <http://edition.cnn.com/SPECIALS/views/y/1999/11/burns.wall.nov8/> (Accessed: January 3, 2023).
- de Hart Mathews, J. (1976) "Art and politics in Cold War America," *The American Historical Review*, 81(4), p. 762. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.2307/1864779>.
- Dickstein, M. (1993) "After the Cold War: Culture as Politics, Politics as Culture," *Social Research, What's Left, What's Right?*, 60(3), pp. 531–544.
- Dozier, A. (2022) *Artists and Gallerists in New York respond to the crisis in Ukraine*, *Artsy*. Available at: <https://www.artsy.net/article/artsy-editorial-artists-gallerists-new-york-respond-crisis-ukraine> (Accessed: January 17, 2023).
- Geyer, G.A. (2013) *Predicting the unthinkable, anticipating the impossible: From the fall of the Berlin Wall to America in the New Century*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers.
- Goodrich, L. (1966) *Three Centuries of American art*. New York: Praeger.
- Guroff, G. (1991) "US.-Soviet Exchange Initiative: Fact Sheet," *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, 58(4), pp. 535–542.
- Hauptman, W. (1973) "THE SUPPRESSION OF ART IN THE MCCARTHY DECADE," *Art Forum*, October, pp. 48–52.
- Hyland, W.G. (1999) *Clinton's world: Remaking american foreign policy*. Westport, CT: Praeger.
- Ilya Fedotov-Fedorov (no date) *Ilya Fedotov-Fedorov | International Studio & Curatorial Program*. Available at: <https://iscp-nyc.org/resident/ilya-fedotov-fedorov> (Accessed: January 13, 2023).
- Kumar, K. (1992) "The revolutions of 1989: Socialism, capitalism, and democracy," *Theory and Society*, 21(3), pp. 309–356. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1007/bf00993452>.
- Lucie-Smith, E. and Reviakin, S. (2022) *Russian art in the New Millennium*. London: Unicorn.
- Morton, E. (2018) *Basically every city in the U.S. has a piece of the Berlin Wall*, *Atlas Obscura*. Available at: <https://www.atlasobscura.com/articles/basically-every-city-in-the-u-s-has-a-piece-of-the-berlin-wall> (Accessed: January 6, 2023).
- Richard, P. (1989) *The liberated riches of Russian art*, *The Washington Post*. WP Company. Available at: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/lifestyle/style/1989/02/26/the-liberated-riches-of-russian-art/538e5526-9796-4291-bdcb-08cd9b14d130/> (Accessed: December 28, 2022).
- Richman, A. (1991) "Poll trends: Changing american attitudes toward the Soviet Union," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 55(1), pp. 135–148. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1086/269246>.

Sooke, A. (2016) *Was modern art a weapon of the CIA?*, *BBC Culture*. BBC. Available at: <https://www.bbc.com/culture/article/20161004-was-modern-art-a-weapon-of-the-cia> (Accessed: December 28, 2022).

*Soprano Anna Netrebko withdraws from met performances rather than renounce Putin* (2022) *The Guardian*. Guardian News and Media. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/mar/03/soprano-anna-netrebko-withdraws-from-met-performances-rather-than-renounce-putin> (Accessed: January 17, 2023).

Storrs, L.R. (2015) "McCarthyism and the Second Red Scare," *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of American History*[Preprint]. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780199329175.013.6>.

Velie, E. (2022) *Thousands of Russian artists denounce invasion in Open letter*, *Hyperallergic*. Available at: <https://hyperallergic.com/714636/thousands-of-russian-artists-denounce-invasion-in-open-letter/> (Accessed: January 18, 2023).

Zimmerman, W. (1977) "The American View of Russia," *The Wilson Quarterly*, 1(2), pp. 118–128.

## ILLUSTRATION LIST

Figure.1:

Instillation view: *The Soviet Artist in the War*. (1943)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Image source: <https://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/full/10.1086/692635>  
(Accessed: December 19, 2022).



Figure.2:

Vatolina, N. (1941)

*More Bread for the Front and Rear; Harvest the Crop in Full!*

Lithographic poster.

Within *Survey Graphic*. (1944)

Image source: <https://archive.org/details/surveygraphic34survrich/page/68/mode/2up>  
(Accessed: December 19, 2022).



Figure.3:

Refregier, A. (1947)

*History of San Francisco.*

Photograph of Rincon Annex lobby.

John Horn (2014)

Image source: [https://www.foundsf.org/index.php?title=File:Rincon\\_Lobby-long-shot\\_Horn\\_0123.jpg](https://www.foundsf.org/index.php?title=File:Rincon_Lobby-long-shot_Horn_0123.jpg)

(Accessed: December 22, 2022).

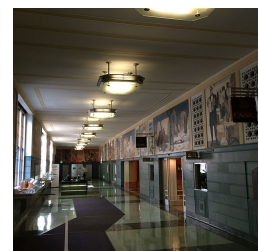


Figure.4:

Refregier, A. (1947)

*History of San Francisco (The Waterfront.)*

Photograph of Rincon Annex lobby.

John Horn (2014)

Image source: [https://www.foundsf.org/index.php?title=File:Rincon\\_General-Strike\\_Horn\\_0075.jpg](https://www.foundsf.org/index.php?title=File:Rincon_General-Strike_Horn_0075.jpg)

(Accessed: December 22, 2022).





Figure.5:  
Vasily, E. (1959)  
'Mini-Moscow' within the *Soviet Exhibition*.  
New York.

Image source: <https://www.rferl.org/a/when-soviets-and-americans-held-exhibitions-in-the-summer-of-1959/29984222.html>  
(Accessed: December 26, 2022).



Figure.6:  
Installation view: *The Great Utopia: The Russian and Soviet Avant Garde, 1915-1932*.  
(1992)

Heald, D. (n.d.)  
Image source: <https://www.guggenheim.org/exhibition/the-great-utopia-the-russian-and-soviet-avant-garde-1915-1932>  
(Accessed: January 5, 2023).



Figure.7:  
Yee, M.K. (2000)  
A segment of the Berlin Wall, Urban Plaza at 520 Madison Avenue,  
New York.  
Image source: <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/04/09/nyregion/a-20-foot-section-of-the-berlin-wall-will-return-to-manhattan-this-summer.html>  
(Accessed: January 10, 2023).



Figure.8:  
Goodnight, V. (1996)  
The Day the Wall Came Down  
Photograph of the sculpture at the George Bush Presidential Library.  
Butsky, V. (2003)  
Texas.  
Image source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/butsky/336338149/in/photostream/>  
(Accessed: January 12, 2023).



Figure.9:  
Fedorov, F.F. (2022)  
The Moth and The Bat Flying to The Light.  
Photograph from video installation.  
Image source: <http://fedotovfedorov.com/works/2722>  
(Accessed: January 19, 2023).

