ARCHITECTURE AND THE STATE: MOSCOW URBAN CONCEPTS AFTER SOCIALISM

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After the collapse of the Soviet Union the search for alternative identities in Russian architecture was projected onto the fundamental reversal and ultimate decline of state structures formerly responsible for design and construction. The development of Russian architecture in recent decades-from excessive neoclassicism of the 1950s, to technologism of the 1960s, to large scale mass industrial construction of the 1970s, to regionalism of the 1980s, to reconstructivism of the 1990s-follows the metamorphoses of socialist and post-socialist political cycles. The transformations in Russian architecture mirror the ongoing socioeconomic changes and aim to reflect new ideals of national unification.

The most recent results of bibliographic research demonstrate that there are no comprehensive academic publications available, directly and exclusively focusing on contemporary Russian architecture and urban planning in connection with economics, politics, and social studies. A considerable account of information is accessible, but the gap is not covered between actual Russian architectural reality and the visual images of Russia known and documented in the United States. An integral reading of post-socialist architecture in Russia is to be created not only on the basis of research on the new core concepts and developments in architecture but also on the basis of combined sociopolitical and economic studies of the restructured society, and of the analysis of the historical dilemma of national versus transnational identity. The compare-contrast principle has to be applied to outline the power dynamics on different levels of bridging areas.

The new Central Bank Headquarters¹ in Moscow's midtown area, the Samsung Offices on the Garden Ring, or the newly renovated church² next to the "Burger Queen" at the Nikitsky Gate in the downtown

Moscow exemplify the notion of architecture visually reflecting sociopolitical transformations, which proves to be a vital factor for understanding the age and place.

The plan for basic insights comprises the following approaches:

- 1) A brief analysis of the so-called "crisis" in Russian architecture emphasizes the dramatic connections between architecture and the society under socialism;
- 2) A narrative of conceptual architecture of the 1980s portrays the new generation of Russian architects and the work they created in opposition to official architectural politics, called *paper architecture*. It also highlights prime references to historical milestones of Russian revolutionary architecture of the 1920s, and to the western architectural experiences of the 1970s, prohibited in the Soviet Union as a part of the "foreign ideology." The theoretical concepts of *utopia* and *fantasy* in architecture are compared and contrasted;
- 3) The transformations in Russian architecture of the 1990s are outlined as the framework for integral reading of architectural development mirroring sociopolitical changes in Russia;
- 4) Review of prime concepts of Moscow urban development focuses on the five most significant dominant trends. Various other approaches represented by a number of institutions and individuals are not introduced due to their limited novelty or inadequate recognition within the architectural milieu.

I. The Crisis in Russian Architecture

In Soviet Russia, the progress of socialist architecture was manifested by the state to be a political task in the process of communist construction. The ideological concept of architecture was introduced during the earliest years of the Soviet Union. Everything that influenced the people's mentality and the behavior of the masses was developed in light of political objectives for the new society. The iconographic political content of architecture, rather than inherent laws of structural genetics was always

the dominant axiom.

In the socialist age new models of living space were developed, which architects optimistically attempted to define as spaces of the collective, understood as belonging to the Soviet people as a whole, that is belonging to "nobody" as a state property where the authorities could control access and monitor behavior.

Since the 1930s, architecture has become a cultural domain, in which conservative tendencies have prevailed. Socialist realism was declared to be the only direction for the development of creative initiatives. Architects were organized in groups in order to fulfill main ideological and political dogmas and to survive. All associations of independent architects were terminated and the Union of Soviet Architects was established. Any kind of free professional interpretation of architectural experiences before the 1917 Revolution, unwanted by the socialist administration, or Western architectural practices that would lead to undesirable independent conclusions were restricted and access to such work was extremely difficult to attain, even though the Soviet architectural community did make use of rare architectural publications from the West in their search for modern architectural images. In the 1980s, modernism, postmodernism, or decontsructivism, officially had to be explained as ideologically foreign definitions, which could not exist within Soviet reality. The orthodox slogan, "Marxist-Leninist teachings are right because they are correct" was modified by the authorities in every professional sphere to oppose open minds and alternative ways of thinking.

The congresses of the Union of Soviet Architects were modeled on the congresses of the Communist Party of the USSR and were closely supervised by the authorities, as were all architectural concepts and initiatives. Soviet architecture embodied Soviet social relations and reflected the insignificant role of an individual. The endless concrete jungles, once pronounced as Le Corbusier's modern legacy, are expanding

along the border of every city because of the growing lack of housing and cheap construction methods used for the erection of these machines for living. That "substance" is spreading deep into the historical centers swallowing and leveling them, is at the same time spanning into the green suburbs and destroying them. Residents can hardly identify themselves with their deteriorating neighborhood. The impact of modernism and the international style upon Soviet architecture proved crucial for Russian culture. The conflicts increased between the creative initiative and the clumsy monopolistic economy, the devastating need for housing and inflexible urban activities fulfilling the ambitions of the government to manifest the path of progress for Russian architecture³. As part of the socialist economy, architecture experienced crises and failures of society. Its leaders declared an ongoing "struggle for a happy future"4 and architects were engaged in an effort to create an infrastructure for an alchemical transformation of the way of life. By the end of the 1970s, major excitement was succeeded by a sobering perception of Soviet architecture as a derivative of collapsing communist practices.

2. The 1980s

As a protest against the tedious standardized design production, a large group of Russian architects united in the paper architecture movement in the 1980s, thus stepping out from under the shadow of the state planning collectives. In their work, which only existed on paper, parallels were apparent with the early days of the Soviet Union, when constructivists and futurists were making cultural and architectural history.⁵ The new conceptual movement emphasized the playful liberty of idealistic projects towards the ironic inclusions of historical architectural styles, while also designing standardized projects in the bureaucratic city-planning environment. A brilliant stylist Mikhail Belov, an artistic craftsman Evgeni Velichkin, an ironical constructivist Yuri Avvakumov, an intellectual dreamer Yuri Kuzin, grotesque humanists Alexander Brodsky and Ilya Utkin, conceptual deconstructivists Andrei Vovk and Igor Khatuntsev, and the others settled down in the niches of architectural schools and academies. In the 1980s, the Russian construction industry was totally controlled and subsided by the state. The only approach for emerging architects to conveying new ideas was international contests.

In Russian society, where culture was always a sociopolitical domain and artists either played the role of prophets and fighters for the truth, or served the authorities, the paper architects succeeded in creating images of intellectual dreams and fulfilled social fantasies in their renderings and models.

The image of the Tower of Perestroika by Yuri Avvakumov for the exhibition Temporary Monuments at the Russian Museum in St.Petersburg was designed as an ironic reminiscence of Tatlin's constructivist Monument to the Third International, developing like a scaffolding around the skeleton of Mukhina's Monument to Worker and Farmer, the popular icon of Socialist Realism. The Red Tower by Igor Khatuntsev also became a semantic lighthouse signal of the new transition, as a realization of a different architectural mentality shaped-both as messengers of the sociopolitical and ideological changes in post-socialist Russia.

That trend merged in time with the postmodern movement in Western architecture. The results of this effort proved exceptional: the new generation of Russian architects has won top awards in professional contests around the world.

The alienation of professional education from architectural practices manipulated by the state authorities was remarkable. At schools, faculty⁶ sought to direct their students toward fantasy and meaningful expressiveness. The revision of certain celebrated periods of Russian national architecture and the world's finest architectural epochs was promoted, especially in connection with enduring modern and postmodern architectural impulses.

The system of architectural education in Moscow and St. Petersburg (Leningrad)

enhanced students' abilities to develop artistic fantasy and escape from the prose of life into the metaphoric distinctive reality of dreams. Under the supervision of Professor Lezhava, students developed idealistic projects for the downtown of Moscow and St. Petersburg. Professor Nekrasov with his students designed conceptual projects for new Business Towers in the White House neighborhood in Moscow, challenging the dilemma of the constructivist-postconstructivist legacy. At the 1992 International Architectural Biennial in Venice, the Russian display created by Professor Nekrasov's studio attracted enormous attention from architectural professionals and the public. The Russian authorities, however, ignored paper architecture or belittled it as nothing more than school exercises, in an attempt to hold onto their power base.

In the 1980s, the new generation of Russian architects confronted official Soviet architecture and the methodology of socialist realism. They represented themselves as messengers of changes in the post-socialist Russian state. In 1987 the architects Vera Chuklov and Sergei Chuklov portrayed *Architecture* in an interpretive work, visualizing connections with Russian revolutionary imagery of 1907. Yuri Avvakumov created architectural collages that recall symbols of the Russian constructivist era, arrange distinct links to the revolutionary socialist legacy⁷ and view it as a part of the integral cultural experience.

The concept of salvation had a deep impact on Russian culture in the 1980s. The new evaluative criteria for works of culture were shaped by the metaphors "the light at the end of the tunnel" and "the path toward the temple," constituted in Tengiz Abuladze's brilliant film *Repentance* (1987), which in meaningful hyperbolas revised the history of Stalinism and created an unforgettable image of the socialist age and people.

In architecture, that concept initially evolved into neo-Futurist disputes on

harmonious urban planning and on salvation by creating new patterns for residential space. Arkadi Sigachev designed 21st Century Space for the 1988 IAA&IFYA Competition and received an Honorable Mention for his distinctive master drawing accompanied by the statement: "The city now is suffering from over-pollution and over-concentration. Spaces for amusement developed on a purely emotional basis, like abstract art, can save the present-day city from the disease of over-saturation" (Paper Architecture, 110).

The specifics of Soviet conceptual architecture of the 1980s were simultaneously rooted in the postmodern rejection of the principles of modernity and in an effort to withdraw from official architecture (compare: Rappaport, 12). This rejection had its origin in the mass fatigue of totalitarian patterns that embodied the principles of modern architecture. The nature of totalitarian architecture bears not only upon the cult of power and its representational functions, but also upon the normative monotony, which evolves with the systematic realization of utopias.

The distinction between the projects of the 1920s and the concepts of the 1980s could be described as the distinction between utopia and fantasy. In the eighties that was an essential, but illusionary way of liberation from dogmatic bureaucratic control. Utopia was perceived as a failure of social reconstruction. Ideologists and political economists generally presented the practices of historical social utopias as a beautiful though unsuccessful search for happiness. Clear understanding of utopia as a delusion, a dead end, was cultivated within Soviet society during socialism. Fantasy, on the contrary, led into a land of dreams, where tales of a better future and a perfectly rewritten past could be projected onto mysteries of the imagined present and transformed into a splendid artwork followed by a conceptual statement. Fantasy was qualified as a gift and was supported as an artistic spiritual ability. The communist dream of the radiant future

had been immortalized as a slogan. Lenin was called a "Kremlin dreamer" after Mikhail Pogodin's play *The Man with the Gun*, until in the late 1970s the idiom was totally transformed into and broadly used as a sarcastic irony.

3. The 1990s

In the 1990s, the political conflict that culminated in the collapse of the socialist empire furthered an intense development on the new social scene. The powerful political excitement spread over to the realm of economy. In architecture, the cooperatives that emerged in the late 1980s, evolved into independent architectural studios. By 1990 they started turning over into new forms of private enterprises, joint ventures and commercial firms.

In the late 1980s-1990s, the modernist origins of paper architecture were revised as part of the belated postmodernist dilemma. The newly born "Luzhkov's style" prompted discussions within intellectual communities both in the East and West: Is this neoeclecticism or kitsch? Are the symptoms of postmodernism a necessary evil, reflections of the market economy, images of new national identities, or simply the result of professional incompetence? The mass return to architectural traditions in copies and historicist imitations-as a concept of salvation, which can be compared to the postmodern revival in Western architecturesignaled the decline in professional culture and the architectural crisis in post-Soviet Russia. In the late 1990s, the municipal reconstruction project of the Manege Square was developed across from the Kremlin in the heart of Moscow. Following an international competition, an underground shopping mall, atriums and galleries, sculptures and fountains, restaurants and metro station were created in the postmodern traditions of American Las Vegas.

The postmodernist *McDonalds Headquarters* in downtown Moscow was constructed in 1993, and the *Nautilus Co*.

Shopping Center on Lubianskaya Square⁸ with the excessive multitude of architectural forms and materials was completed in 1998-99. Both designs were authored by the ABV Group under the guidance of Alexey Vorontsov, the Director of a major power structure – the General Architectural Planning Department of Moscow (Glavapu). The architectural community skeptically criticized his declaration that the building is referring to the historical Nikolskava Tower of the Kremlin, to part of the Kitai-gorod wall demolished during the Stalin's reign, and at the same time, to the monuments of Moscow's art nouveau. "When culture escapes, its place is taken by an extending mediocrity," argued the art historian Mikhail Tumarkin ("Russland," 85).

The collapse of the Soviet Union generated a situation of a constant change, and a heterogeneous society, in which the new wealth, massive poverty, organized crime, and the old and new nomenclature existed side by side. In the 1980s, paper architecture strived to create a modern architectural universe, to visualize links between history and modernity, to define global connections between the processes of the social and architectural evolution. In the 1990s, paper architects became involved in the reconstruction of the country. Paper architects (Alexey Bavykin, Sergei Kiselev, Evgeni Krupin, and Evgeni Velichkin) developed designs for new Russians. Many projects were funded with international investments. A Russian-American joint venture Sergei Kiselev Plus Partners-Sidney Gilbert, exemplifies the transformation. In the early 1990s, the studio designed showrooms for Burda, a popular German Fashion House, in seventeen cities across the former Soviet Union, as well as the Burda Headquarters in the Moscow downtown, and the Headquarters of the UN International Center for the Survival of Humanity on Leninski Prospect, where the deconstructivist patterns were adopted. In the late 1990s, the studio developed and controlled the top-budget

reconstruction project of the *Big Kremlin Palace*⁹.

In 1999, the former paper architects who now moderated the new architectural processes ¹⁰, gathered for numerous roundtables in order to discuss chances to satisfy new clients by inventing facades, developing postmodern figurativeness and imitating historical styles. Function, structure, and technology were underestimated. The perspective of the development of professional culture was idealistically linked to "the growth of the competence of the consumer" The architects prioritized the designs suggested by investors and contractors and completely accepted the dogma of accelerating consumerism.

In spite of economic difficulties, new construction boomed after years of stagnation. Old power institutions¹² were restructured. The expanding market instigated joint ventures and investments from abroad. The client and his preferences played an extensive role. In the 1990s, former Russian paper architects kept their positions while staying in the shadow. Technologies were imported. The directions for the development of Russian architecture were stated "from above" following the familiar patterns. The long crisis in Russian architecture was still a phenomenon to overcome.

By the end of the 1990s, an opposition shaped against the massive attack of historicism, the "Luzhkov' style," which became a general line. The revision of origins and legacy, openness to contemporary and historical international contexts promoted the development of the professional awareness striving for modern authenticity and national identity. Neo-technologist and high-tech projects converged with contemporary western commercial design. At the Moscow architectural show in 1999, following the annual Moscow Architectural Union' conference, neo-modernist, neo-constructivist, and neo-technicist projects prevailed. That trend illuminated a breakthrough in professional thinking. At the beginning of the

new millennium, architecture played a role of a seismograph of underground tremors.

4. Moscow urban planning¹³

Moscow expanded dramatically since in 1918 Lenin's government announced it a state capital. It eventually transformed into the state within the state. Guidelines for the development of the city of Moscow were controlled by the authorities, starting with Lenin's Plan of Monumental Propaganda, to Stalin's ambitious master plan of capital reconstruction of 1935, including a large number of multistage contests¹⁴, to Khrushchev's reform of the standards for residential construction, to Brezhnev's city zoning and housing program of 1970-80.

In 1993, Vladimir Yudintsev Architectural Studio surveyed and documented these keystones of Soviet architectural politics¹⁵. During Stalin's reign, an ambitious capital master plan was implemented and the new city infrastructure was established of ring-road belts, and radiusroads with the main intersection in the city center, with seven high-rise buildings incorporating the concept of national revival, visualizing the so called "stalinsky" neoclassical style, with "strategic objects" inside the towers. The aspect of dominance is essential for understanding the role these edifices played in the life of "city.

Brezhnev's so-called "master plan" of 1971 followed the pattern and applied the idea of city zoning, which eventually generated increasing pressure upon the historical center. To tolerate dramatic urban growth, the city's major development was redirected in rings toward the periphery. However, applied measures by-resulted in transforming the midtown into a growing polluted industrial area. At the same time, the large-scale construction of housing for *Soviet people* altered Moscow's outskirts into gigantic bedroom satellites. Yudintsev's Studio outlined the need for individual stages of improvement for every single city block.

After Perestroika, oversized state planning institutions such as the State Institute of Master Plan (Genplan), or the State Institute of Urban Design (Giprogor), were still in business. In the 1990s, new Schemes for Moscow Development were produced by Oleg Boyevsky's Department of Long-Term City Planning at the State Institute of Master Plan and approved by the new government. Until now, these schemes are confidential. The architectural community positively responded to the task of moderating the future by following the patterns of communist experiences.

The analysis of the major trends in Moscow urban planning stresses five comparatively different concepts, which are focused on diverse criteria of the post-socialist reality-urban planning controlled by the state; national-patriotic approach; concept of the new high-rise identity; theory of evolutionary urban development; approach to local contextual reconstruction-yet some distinctions are spelled out fairly as similarities.

- 1. Urban planning controlled by the state: is represented by the State Institute of Master Planning and the General Architect of the City of Moscow Alexander Kuzmin. The head of the program Oleg Boyevsky declares that Moscow as a growing urban megastructure cannot be aggressively planned or restructured, but regulated and governed by the authorities on the basis of scientific research focused on the following aspects:
 - Internal urban development (increasing density of the inner city fabric),
 - Restructuring the transportation system,
 - Extending the parks and the green areas toward downtown,
 - More attention being paid by the planners to the industrial park inside the midtown,
 - Enhancing social life in the outskirts by creating local public areas and shopping infrastructure,

- Passing over local decision-making in design for public space to local authorities.
- Developing housing programs to replace physically and morally degraded apartment buildings.¹⁶
- 2. National-patriotic approach: represented by the art historians Vladimir Vinogradov, Mikhail Kudriavtsev and Gennadi Mokeev suggests a historical-patriotic counter-model in opposition to the official master plan. The concept of *Historic Moscow as a National Monument* is based on:
 - Targeted restoration and reconstruction of all historical monuments and landmarks, focusing on those of patriotic content cultivating the idea of national unification especially from the 15-17th centuries, such as the recent reconstruction of the Nikolski Chapel in the Red Square neighborhood dismantled during the Soviet reign; or the Cathedral of Christ the Savior on Kropotkinskaya square-the original cathedral, the largest sacred edifice in Moscow with the room for 6 000 people was brutally demolished during Stalin's reign, as an action of the ideological struggle against religion;
 - Landmark preservation and conservation of the Moscow downtown manifested as an integral museum area, where any new construction to be restricted¹⁷;
 - Furthering city planning in three researched most popular directions-north, southwest and southeast, detouring downtown and historical areas;
 - Formation of three new mega-centers outside the City Circle Highway,
 - Preserving the city environment by preserving and extending the parks.
- 3. The concept of a high-rise building as a representation of the new identity, a popular idea in both Western and Eastern cultures, is stressed by the ambitious younger generation of powerful architectural institutions-Boris Tkhor Studio in the structure of the State Institute Mosproject 2; Alexey Vorontsov, the director of the General Architectural Planning Department of Moscow (Glavapu) at the Ministry of Construction of

Russia; and Andrei Bokov, the director of the Moscow Research Institute for Design of the Objects of Culture, Leisure, and Health care. The guidelines are:

- Restoring Moscow's international standing,
- Pumping up the new capitalist economy with aggressive commercial activity by erecting new high-rise office buildings, hotels, trade centers, etc. in the downtown area. Architecture is explored as an engine for economic renewal, with democratic ideals visualized in *super-structures* such as the International Business Center designed by the Boris Tkhor Architectural Studio and constructed in the mid-1990s¹⁸.
- 4. The theory of evolutionary urban development is narrated by Andrei Butusov, Department Head at the State Institute of Urban Design (Giprogor). He is interpreting:
 - The city as a growing organism with its own genetic code, which cannot be altered nor modified by a governmental or other authoritarian intrusion¹⁹;
 - Urban development and city planning as a process of experimental design, which is for instance exemplified by the new City Hall office building constructed next to the historical building of the City Hall in downtown Moscow.

Butusov considers no spontaneous individual actions, but an integral reading of the city as a natural infrastructure, similar to a living being obeying its own inner rules and following the genetic code. He imposes feasible measures to gradually improve the city fabric, but he presumes that challenging the crisis in Russian architecture is a long-term quest.

- 5. Contextual reconstruction of the city is a very popular notion of architectural revival among Moscow architects. The concept emphasizes:
 - Gradual reconstruction of all historical districts, which are currently in a poor condition²⁰,
 - Improvement of the residential bedroom

- areas in the Moscow outskirts by developing diverse vital public centers and fighting the overall standardized anonymous and monotonous urban environment,
- Targeted reconstruction and revitalization of existing local city centers,
- Landmark preservation and urban renewal, augmented with new developments²¹.

This research illuminates the links between architecture and society in Russia in the 1990s and emphasizes the transformations in Moscow architecture as in a state within the state. A virtual narrative of post-socialist architecture and the power dynamics of the new urban concepts in Moscow can only be composed and summarized with the critical applications to the historical and contemporary economic-political and ideological contexts. Essentially, the revision of architectural thought, the appeal to origins and legacy, openness to international inspirations promoted development of the professional awareness striving for modern authenticity and national identity.

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Notes

- ¹ The construction of the Central Bank Headquarters and the Samsung Offices on Tverskoi Bulevard was completed in the mid-1990s in collaboration with international contractors.
- ² The restoration of numerous churches became a recognizable sign of the new social reality in the late 1990s in Russia visualizing the freedom of religious faith. The basic claim of the protectionist principle was implemented in mainly orthodox churches and cathedrals, which tended to depict anew the integrated national identity and the spiritual principles suppressed under socialism.
- ³ Attempting to politically address the enforced East-West dilemma, a controversy that historically preoccupied national thought
- ⁴ A popular political idiom
- ⁵ "Apparently from nowhere, a generation of witty, profound, romantic, and daring architects emerged. What they were trying to convey on paper and in fragile sculptures was an absolute provocation. They dreamed, philosophized, satirized and made associations, dragged history out into the open, and reached for the stars. A fresh wind was blowing after decades of stagnation, and they were testing their strength in anticipation of the changes which would bring all the comfortable concepts and arrangements into a state of turmoil." (New Sustainable Settlements, 1).
- ⁶ for example, professors Ilya Lezhava, Andrei Barkhin, Andrei Nekrasov, and Dmitry Kostrikin at the Moscow Architectural Institute
- ⁷ "aside from failing to identify which revolution" (Castillo, 1).
- ⁸ The authors classified it as a "neo-art-nouveau, romantic-technocratic expressionist" edifice. The

mixture of shapes, colors, and textures overwhelmed the public's expectations. The edifice recalled the scandalous *culinary masterpieces* from the 1980s-the museums in Cologne by Hans Hollein and in Berlin by James Sterling.

⁹-in spite of the economic crisis in the country. The project was funded by a Swiss enterprise and the Russian government. The concept the *love of the past*, of the history and legacy is officially promoted as a basis for consolidation for the Russian people. That was one major reason for the broad public approval of the expensive reconstruction.

the directors of the previously existing architectural studios Evgeni Ass and Alexander Asadov; the director of the *Ostozhenka* architectural studio Alexander Skokan; the president of the *SKiP* company Sergei Kiselev; and the president of the *ABD+SPGA* Boris Levyant

¹¹ the statement is based on the research on materials published and placed on the web by Moscow's architectural magazine "Arkhitekturny Vestnik" (Architectural Messenger), editor-in-chief Sergei Fesenko.

¹² the Department of Construction (Gosstroi of the USSR)

¹³ Classified information of the socialist era included urban planning, location of radioactivecenters in the cities, nuclear research areas, air pollution, and housing for privileged social groups.

¹⁴-the design for the Palace of Soviets or for prestigious high-rise buildings

¹⁵ Schemes of Moscow Urban Developmentinformation received during a life history interview with Vladimir Yudintsev and partly summarized in "From Paper Architecture to Joint Venture." <u>Bauwelt</u> 48, 28 Dec. (1992): 2733-2741. In German.

¹⁶ Housing remains the most important issue for concern. In Moscow, residential communal apartment buildings still exist, where nearly one million people are housed with only one room per family sharing a bathroom with some two to twelve other families living in the same apartment.

¹⁷ Generally, thanks to the concept of love of the past, Lenin's Memorial on Oktiabrsky Square in Moscow is in great condition, as well as many other political memorials. Moscow's Metro is declared a State Museum Zone.

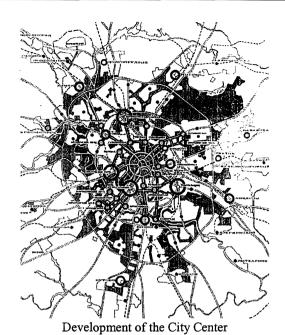
¹⁸ The expanding market attracted international enterprises to collaborate with Russian architects: the

American Ellerbe Becket and Alsop Architects, the Danish VELUX, numerous joint-ventures emerged, among them the American-Russian SPGA+ABD and Sergei Kisselev plus Partners.

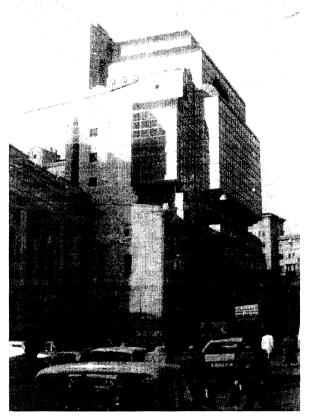
¹⁹ In order to meet the demands of the new moneyed aristocracy for residences outside the prefabricated mass settlements, President Yeltsin decreed in 1992 the construction of a new settlement ring in the Moscow outskirts outside the Moscow circular highway, for country houses and villas. The villas for new Russians designed in 1994 and built 1995-96 by Evgeni Velichkin and Nikolai Golovanov A&A Workshops explicitly illustrate the idea. However, the architects do not reveal the names of private investors, referring to it as secret information common in business in the private sector.

²⁰ landmark preservation is another issue for concern. A new Academy of Restoration was established in the late 1990s, but the pilot project for the restoration and preservation of the historical street Arbat in the downtown Moscow was initiated in the 1980s. In the 1970s, a considerable part of this neighborhood was demolished. Instead, the new axis of Kalininsky Prospect, later ironically called dentures, has been constructed. The first conceptual public area in Moscow was completed in the 1990s, but the lack of funding resulted in cosmetic renovation and temporary repainted front facades.

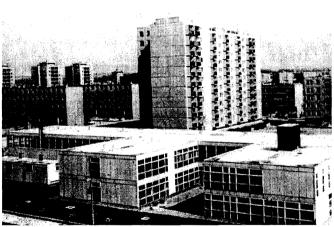
²¹ The reconstruction of the Mayakovsky Theater in Moscow 1990-93 after the design by Andrei Nekrasov Studio offers a comprehensive example that illustrates the concept.



Pollution of the City Environment



McDonalds Headquarters



Moscow Outskirts