

TOTALITARIAN HERITAGE:

**CONTEMPORARY RECONSTRUCTION OF
THE HAUS DER KUNST AND THE SPACE PAVILION AT THE V.D.N.H.**

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**To what extent has the theme of “difficult heritage” informed architects in the Haus der Kunst reconstruction project in Munich and the Space Pavilion of the V.D.N.H. reconstruction project in Moscow?
And what was the role of museums in the process of dispelling the negative past?**

In 2017 the British architect David Chipperfield's plans for an urgently needed renovation of the contemporary art museum Haus der Kunst in Munich provoked heated debate in Germany (Hikley, 2017). This Nazi-era Neo-Classical building was designed by Paul Ludwig Troost (1933-1937) and conceived by Adolf Hitler as a temple to "pure" German art. Nowadays, it raised a question for discussion among the public and the professional community: how legitimate is it to return a building to its original appearance, despite its controversial history?

At the same time, the reconstruction of a permanent general-purpose trade show and amusement park V.D.N.H. in Moscow, which began in 2014, has also attracted various public comments. Architectural critics are concerned with the question of whether the V.D.N.H. complex will be a museum of Soviet history, or whether, reverting to a geographical and sectoral principle, it will show the achievements of modern Russian and international science, culture and industry (Gonsales, 2014). In 2018, the Space Pavilion at V.D.N.H., the largest space exploration museum in Russia, was opened after reconstruction. The appearance of the pavilion has not changed significantly, while the authors of the project outlined a change of programme as one of the main objectives of the building reconstruction.

Both controversial reconstruction projects relate to the theme of "difficult heritage", which often becomes a crucial point of current political and public debate in countries with totalitarian past (Vyazemtseva, 2020). This term refers mainly to architectural and sculptural monuments that were erected during the rule of totalitarian regimes, and it was first used relatively recently, in 2008 (Macdonald, 2008). At that time the question of the protective status of these monuments as cultural heritage arose due to the physical ageing of buildings and structures.

Modern architects are often faced with challenging value dilemmas and the need to take into account the views of many different social groups when reconstructing monuments of "difficult heritage". This value choice is most interesting in the reconstruction projects of museums whose function is directly connected with the theme of historical memory. This research aims to answer the questions: to what extent has the theme of "difficult heritage" informed architects in the Haus der Kunst reconstruction project in Munich and the Space pavilion of the V.D.N.H. reconstruction project in Moscow? And what was the role of museums in the process of dispelling the negative past?

Nowadays, monuments constructed in the 1930s - 1950s under dictatorships are often left out of the historical discourse, and the period of the heritage negation that began in the late 1940s and 1950s on both sides of the Iron Curtain continues. Nevertheless, there is a slow process of critical rethinking of the legacy of this period through the academic literature, exhibitions and conferences. Three remarkable books on Stalinist art and architecture were published in the mid-1990s: *Totalitarian Art* by Igor Golomshtok (1994), *Historicism in Architecture* by Alexander Ikonnikov (1997) and *The Architecture of the*

Soviet Avant-garde by Selim Khan-Magomedov (1996, 2001). In general, nowadays two main interpretive lines of "architecture of power" coexist and interact.

One of these lines interprets totalitarian architecture as a complex interweaving of political interests and art. For instance, the book *Totalitarian Art* by the dissident art critic Igor Golomshtok investigated the origins of totalitarian art (1994). The radical view of the same line is the interpretation of the establishment of totalitarian architecture in the USSR as the personal initiative of Stalin, who directly or indirectly controlled everything that was being built in the country during his reign (Khmelnitsky, 2004, 2007). This interpretation excludes the creative origin of the architect and admits its complete suppression by the dictator.

Another interpretive line of "architecture of power" is the historical approach, according to which a monument is studied as an object, regardless of the conditions, the reasons for its creation and the political reputation of the client. The works of Khan-Magomedov, the author of the majority of biographies of Soviet architects who worked between the World Wars, can be partly included in this line. Khan-Magomedov's conception of the natural replacement of the avant-garde by a return to classical forms became the starting point for Vladimir Papernyi's research, which explained the evolution of style as a change in cultural phases (Papernyi, 1996). Papernyi was the first to draw attention to the architecture of this period as a cultural phenomenon, not only an act of the dictator. The book aroused further academic interest and critical interpretations, which, however, did not become numerous. Only in 2006, at the Research Institute of the Theory and History of Architecture and Urban Planning, the conference *Stalin's Empire* was held (Kosenkova, 2010), where Khan-Magomedov among other historians took part.

Exhibitions which have taken place in Europe, America and Russia since the 1990s, such as *Art and Power* (Ades, 1995), have played a crucial role in the reflection on the heritage of the 1930s and 1950s. In the 2000s, exhibitions on interwar heritage became numerous, their concepts began to move away from the dichotomy "totalitarian - free", and new perspectives for analysis opened up, confirming a growing interest in the phenomenon.

There are also very radical professional statements questioning the value and necessity of preserving totalitarian heritage in general. For example, the American architectural historian Ruth Ben-Ghiat, in the article *Why are so many fascist monuments still standing in Italy* (2017), claims that Italian architecture from the dictatorship period survived because Italians are not aware of the gravity of the political context in which it was created. The article had resonance among the Italian professional community, which did not share the viewpoint of its American colleague and insisted on the priority of the artistic value of the monuments over its "difficult" past (Poggioli, 2023).

The Haus der Kunst and the Space Pavilion reconstruction

projects are covered in the press and described in detail in themed albums (Emelyanov, 2020; Mak, 2018; Nefedov, 2021; TU Munchen, 2016). At the same time, the amount of academic literature analysing examples of the materialised critical reflection of these monuments is scarce. This paper aims to compare architectural approaches to the reconstruction of the “difficult heritage” of the Haus der Kunst and the Space pavilion reconstruction projects. The analysis draws on statements by project authors (Chipperfield, 2017), museum directors (Enwezor, 2017; Pronicheva, 2015), city government officials (Kuznetsov, 2015) and the public (Gershman, 2020; Nefedov, 2021).

Most experts commenting on the Haus der Kunst reconstruction project in Munich and the Space Pavilion of the V.D.N.H. reconstruction project in Moscow speak of the critical role of the museum function in preserving this heritage. It is the value of museum education that has helped the buildings survive to this day and has provided the basis for the renovation projects. Based on an analysis of the two projects, the paper tries to prove this judgement and trace the process of dispelling the negative past in architecture.



Figure 1. The Haus der Kunst, 1937. Source: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Bildarchiv

Chapter I. Historical context

Both the Haus der Kunst and the Space Pavilion have a variegated history, vibrant and troubled. The Haus der Kunst served as a vehicle for National Socialist propaganda, an officers' club for the American military government, and a prominent post-war institution for art exhibitions. Meanwhile, the functional purpose of the Space Pavilion came full circle - from the mechanisation and electrification of agriculture to space and back to agriculture. Today the Haus der Kunst and the Space Pavilion are key global museum centres of contemporary art and science.

Chronical of the Haus der Kunst

(*Chronicle of the Haus Der Kunst*, n.d.)

1931-1933

The history of the Haus der Kunst begins with the Glass Palace in Munich's Old Botanical Garden when in 1853-1854 August von Voigt built the modern glass and steel structure for the first *First German General and Historical Art Exhibition*. At the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, the glass palace became the largest exhibition forum in Munich and an important art trading centre. It hosted the annual exhibitions of the Munich Artists' Associations. On the night of 6 June 1931, there was a fire and the construction of the new exhibition building began. In early 1933, work on a design for a function-oriented structure in reinforced concrete designed by architect Adolf Abel would have started. But the Nazis' rise to power prevented the plans from being realised.

1933-1937

On 30 January 1933, President Paul von Hindenburg appointed Adolf Hitler as Chancellor of Germany. From this year the era of the Nazi dictatorship began, which lasted twelve years and reversed the history of the whole world, leading to the death of millions of people and terrible tragedies (Eidelman, 2022). In the 1930s, the democratic system began to be gradually dismantled and a new totalitarian regime began to be built, reinforcing Hitler's power. It was based on terror and propaganda: political opponents of Hitler were murdered, and the new Ministry of Public Education and Propaganda took over all media outlets. Hitler's figure was glorified, gradually losing his human face and becoming a monument (Eidelman, 2022). It was one of the goals of the mass actions carried out at the time: numerous demonstrations and flame marches, on which Albert Speer, Hitler's favourite architect, among others, worked. In these demonstrations, the individual ceased to exist and merged with the masses, and the cult of death for the greater cause was glorified. State intervention in the economy intensified and social policy actively developed. In the 1930s Hitler's concept of sudden violent action in both domestic and foreign policy was masked by pious speeches about the future welfare of the country (Fest, 2006).

Hitler moved the building site to the southern edge of the English Garden, Munich's large park. It was on his orders that Paul Ludwig Troost was contracted to build the Third Reich's first representative monumental building,

the House of German Art. Until then, Troost had been known mainly for furnishing the luxury liners of the North German Lloyd Line. After his early death in January 1934, he came to be known as "the first master builder to the Führer". It was then that his widow, Gerdy Troost, and his trusted employee, Leonhard Gaul, continued to work on the museum project.

The beginning of the construction of the "House of German Culture" on 15 October 1933 was intended to mark a renewal of artistic life in Germany and to show National Socialist Germany as a peaceful cultural nation in the eyes of the rest of the world. Munich was awarded the status of "Capital of German Art" and a historic parade was held to celebrate. The opening of the "House of German Art" on 18 July 1937 was a pompous spectacle. "Day of German Art" was supposed to be celebrated every year, but because of the war, 1939 became the last year.

1937-1945

After its opening, the House of German Art served as a demonstration of Nazi art policy and became its main institution. The annual *Great German Art Exhibitions* held there were considered the most important exhibition and trade events of German art. Adolf Hitler's voice was decisive in the selection of works. Every year he purchased several hundred objects. Although the exhibition of approved works included only a limited amount of explicit Nazi propaganda, they offered a system of values that reflected the worldview of the National Socialist regime. A large number of the works were landscapes and genre paintings. From 1939 onwards, images of war became prominent.

At the same time, on 19 July 1937, confiscated works of modern art were exhibited in a smear exhibition called *Entartete Kunst* [*Degenerate Art*] in the nearby Hofgarten gallery building. Representatives of the avant-garde during the Weimar Republic were forced to escape or go into internal exile. Their works were removed from their collections, sold abroad or burnt. The exhibition *Degenerate Art* was shown in various cities in Germany and Austria.

1945-1949

On 30 April 1945, the American army marched into Munich and found the city largely destroyed. Although most of the museums and exhibition halls were severely damaged, the House of German Art remained largely untouched. From September 1942, camouflage screens had been used to protect the building from air raids. The American military government used the building to house an officers' club with a restaurant, dance hall and several shops. On the stone floors of the exhibition halls, oil paint was used to draw lines and mark the basketball courts.

After the end of the war, the building was again used as an exhibition space. In January 1946 works from the destroyed Pinakothek were exhibited there. Due to this exhibition, the institution's original name, the House of German Art, was changed to the House of Art. In July 1946 the exhibition *Youth Book* was held, which was

the first international event in post-war Germany. In September 1949, Ludwig Grote organised the exhibition *Der Blaue Reiter* [*The Blue Rider*], which included works by Vasily Kandinsky, Franz Marc, Paul Klee and others that had previously been ostracised. With this remarkable exhibition, which attracted considerable international attention, the former “House of German Art” was denazified - Dieter Sattler, then Secretary of State, formulated this observation in a speech at the opening of the exhibition (*Chronicle of the Haus Der Kunst*, n.d.). *Der Blaue Reiter* was the first in a series of exhibitions through which the Haus der Kunst opened up to modernism. In contrast, during the Third Reich, the Haus der Kunst was used to discredit the avant-garde.

1949-1992

The Haus der Kunst became a significant destination station on the international exhibition route. Major solo exhibitions were dedicated to artists such as Frank Lloyd Wright, Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, Le Corbusier, Oscar Kokoschka, Vincent van Gogh, Vasily Kandinsky and Paul Klee.

1992-2003

In 1992, the Haus der Kunst was transformed into a foundation based on an economical model of public and private support. In the winter of 1993 and 1994, the exhibition *Widerstand - Denkbilder für die Zukunft* [*Resistance - Thinking Pictures for the Future*] was arranged where the contemporary artists expressed their views on the Nazi past of the institution.

2003-today

Chris Dercon, director of the Haus der Kunst from 2003 to 2011, put even more emphasis on a commitment to contemporary positions. His programme idea was that architecture serves as the most favourable environment for contemporary art. He shared this conviction with the artists he invited to exhibit at the Haus der Kunst, including Idessa Hendeles, Bernd and Hilla Becher, Paul McCarthy, Herzog & de Meuron, Christoph Schlingensiefel and Ai Weiwei.

The *Critical Reconstruction* project, which began in 2003, has given a conscious new direction to the study of the building's architecture and history. Transformations to the interior, which after the war were considered to be the “architectural denazification” of the building, were undone mainly to open up a look at the origins of the former National Socialist temple of art and allow the space and its history to be explored. Reflection on the complex development has continued under the leadership of Okwi Enwezor, director of the Haus der Kunst from October 2011 to the present day. Under the motto *Renovation/Innovation*, the Haus der Kunst is currently being prepared for a comprehensive renovation. The forthcoming renovation and restoration have been commissioned to the architect David Chipperfield.

Chronical of the Space Pavilion at V.D.N.H.

(Nefedov, 2021)

The 1930s were a time for Moscow to acquire much of the architectural and spatial features which form its present image. Those years and partly the end of the 1920s were a time of explosive urbanization, connected with the transition from a traditional to an industrial society. In 1923, one and a half million people lived in the city, while in 1939 it was already over four million. Mass migration from the villages was the main reason for this increase. Moscow quickly became the leading city of the USSR, a "life-size model of a socialist city" (Lvovsky, 2018).

V.D.N.H. is the name of the largest exhibition complex based in Moscow. Its history began in the mid-1930s. Over time, the content of the exhibition complex changed, reflecting the evolving economic and social realities of the Soviet Union and then Russia. Each stage had its program, agenda, public attitudes and historical background. At the same time, the architectural appearance of V.D.N.H. has remained almost unchanged since the middle of the twentieth century. This Soviet ensemble combines both the grandeur of classicism and fantastic transformations of the classics into fascinating Art Deco decorations. In the second half of the twentieth century, Soviet modernism was integrated into the complex.

With over twenty thousand square metres, the Space

Pavilion is the largest building at V.D.N.H., which is the same size as the Musée d'Orsay in Paris. The history of the Space Pavilion has its origins in the pavilion of agricultural mechanisation, and it dates back to collectivisation. In 1928 the programme of collectivisation of agriculture began. It was followed by the liquidation of the kulaks - the prosperous peasantry - as a class, aimed at breaking down the mass resistance of the peasantry (Lvovsky, 2018). By the 1930s, collective farms were functioning throughout the USSR and food supplies to cities began to increase. The relative stability of life and material prosperity became the new ideological reference points in the USSR. At the same time, people were leaving the villages - first from collectivisation and then from the famine which began in 1931 as a consequence of it.

In February 1935, at the Congress of Collective Farmers, it was decided to arrange an All-Union Agricultural Exhibition in Moscow in 1937. The exhibition was to demonstrate "the great victory of the collective farm system, which has finally cleaned the Soviet land of exploiters" (Pospelova et al., 1939).

1935-1939

In 1935, Vyacheslav Oltarzhevsky was commissioned as the chief architect of the All-Union Agricultural Exhibition. Over the next three years, he created a master plan for the Exhibition and designed and built several structures, including the Main Entrance and the Mechanisation



Figure 2. The Mechanisation of Agriculture Pavilion, 1939. Source: <https://pastvu.com/p/47558>

Pavilion. However, on 11 July 1938, Oltarzhevsky was arrested. Among the charges were that the entrance to the Exhibition resembled a fence; there were no sculptures of Stalin at the Exhibition; he spoke English with his secretary; the hammer and sickle sculpture on the mechanisation pavilion had the hammer facing the sharp part of the sickle - this was seen as an allusion to the conflict between workers and peasants (Nefiodov, 2021). The first Mechanisation Pavilion was demolished. The new pavilion was entrusted to the young architects Viktor Andreev and Ivan Taranov.

1939-1947

The modern Space Pavilion was built in 1939. It was an open parabolic hangar, a giant canopy to house agricultural machinery, 150 meters long and 50 meters wide. Although by this time constructivism had already been condemned by the authorities, it was decided to use open engineering structures without “architectural frills” to show the flourishing of the collective farm system and its technical equipment. Its prototypes can be considered the Crystal Palace in London in 1851 and the Kyiv railway station in 1899, on the project of which Vyacheslav Oltarzhevsky worked together with Ivan Rerberg and Vladimir Shukhov. At the time, the pavilion was called “Mechanisation of Agriculture”, with two levels of tractors, combines, lorries and other machines, which by that time had begun to be produced in the USSR. On the second level exhibits were placed on the moving transporters, resembling factory conveyors. The fronts of the pavilion were open, the wind was blowing, and the farming equipment standing on the ramps was flooded with rain and gradually rusted.

1947-1967

The decision to re-open the Agricultural Exhibition after the war was taken by the Soviet leadership in 1947-1948. And a couple of years before that, the Main Botanical Garden of the USSR Academy of Sciences had been laid out next to the Exhibition area. An unrealised project has survived, according to which the Botanical Garden was to cover the entire territory of the Agricultural Exhibition, while the Mechanisation Pavilion was to become part of the greenhouse complex.

As a result of the post-war reconstruction, the pavilion, renamed “Mechanical Engineering”, was enlarged. From the side of the square, the same architects Andreev and Taranov glazed the open parts of the pavilion, built a solemn façade with sculptures, and on the opposite side a colossal domed hall. The diameter of the dome (42 metres) approached that of the famous Roman structures, the Pantheon (43.3 metres) and St Peter’s Cathedral (41.7 metres). Such large domes, especially glass ones, had never been built in Russia before. The connection between the parabolic hangar and the classical dome can still be considered unique. The exposition of the pavilion expanded in the late 1950s, from agricultural machinery to mechanical engineering in general.

1967-1991

In the mid-1960s, space exploration exhibits were introduced in the pavilion. And in 1967, it was officially renamed the Space Pavilion. The pavilion exhibited the

first satellites, moon rovers, geophysical rockets, the “Soyuz” spaceship and the “Salyut” orbital station, as well as an authentic “Vostok” descent vehicle. In 1975, after the Soviet-American “Apollo–Soyuz” flight, replicas of both spaceships were installed in the dome hall. The day after Yuri Gagarin flew into space, the director of V.D.N.H. ordered to conduct a public festival on 14 April 1961 to commemorate the arrival of the first astronaut in Moscow. Gagarin himself came to V.D.N.H. for the first time in September 1961 and visited the exhibition several times afterwards.

1991-2014

In the mid-1980s, the idea of reorganising the work of V.D.N.H. started to be discussed. Private businesses began to develop, and the Space Pavilion was transformed into a place of trade. The side halls of the pavilion offered consumer electronics, while the far-right wing housed a furniture shop. In the centre of the dome hall, an automobile showroom appeared. Some of the exhibits from the past were returned to the companies where they were produced, while others were lost.

In 1992, V.D.N.H. was transformed into the state joint-stock company “All-Russian Exhibition Centre”. Many pavilions were rented out. The Space Pavilion was now called “Everything for the Garden and Horticulture” - farming returned to pre-industrial technology. In the 1990s the pavilion housed stalls selling garden equipment, seedlings, and kittens.

At the end of 1991, a group of activists staged a crazy dance marathon at the pavilion called Gagarin Party. The night event, attended by several thousand people, became a legend of early-stage Russian rave culture. Ironically, the hosts of the rave recalled the word “Gagarin” at a time when the name of the first astronaut was not the most popular in the country when the existence of V.D.N.H. was in decline, as was the Soviet Union itself. In 1994, the pavilion hosted an exhibition to mark the 60th anniversary of Gagarin’s birth, entitled “The Flight Continues”. At that time, the pavilion was already selling American cars, and the anniversary exhibition was housed side by side with them. The space era of the pavilion was over.

2014-today

In 2013-2014, V.D.N.H. acquired a new shareholding structure and new management came to the Exhibition. The Space Pavilion, relieved of merchants, hosted several exhibitions, marking a new era in the monument’s history. In March 2014, it was announced that the All-Russian Exhibition Centre would return to its historical name, the Exhibition of Achievements of the National Economy (V.D.N.H.). After some time, the pavilion was closed and reconstruction began. In 2017-2018, the pavilion underwent the most incredible and large-scale transformation in the past 65 years, since the post-war reconstruction. The Pavilion of Mechanisation - Engineering - Space - Horticulture was given back its space function.

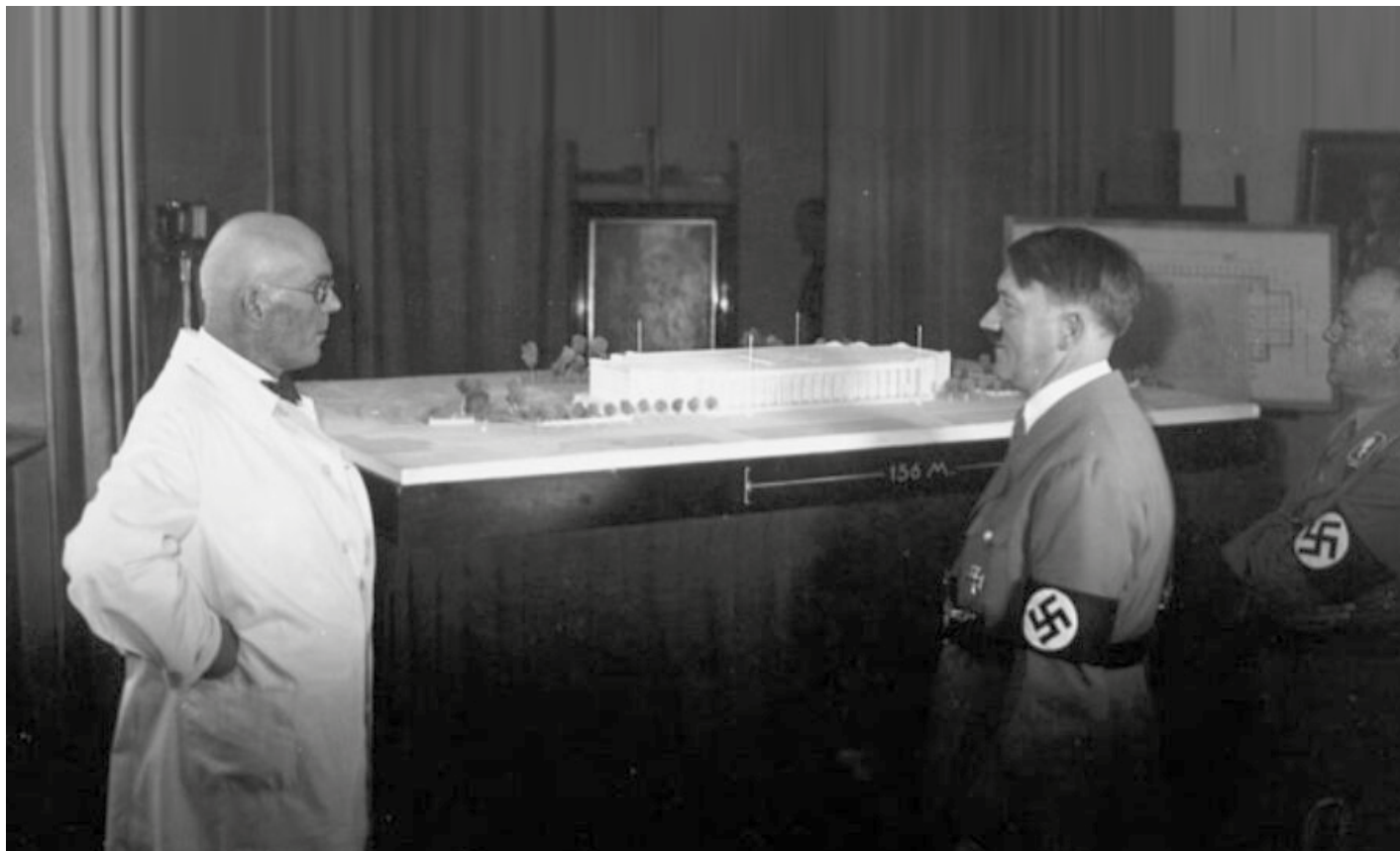


Figure 3. Paul Ludwig Troost and Adolf Hitler in front of the model of the "Haus der Deutschen Kunst", June 1933
Source: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Bildarchiv.

Chapter II. The Haus der Kunst and the Space Pavilion as "difficult heritage". Their architectural and historical value

The widely discussed projects for the reconstruction of the Space Pavilion in Moscow (2014) and the Haus der Kunst in Munich (2017) speak to the relevance of the theme of totalitarian heritage reconstruction today and the belonging of this architecture to a range of monuments of "difficult heritage". "Difficult heritage" is a past that is recognised as significant in the present, but at the same time is contested and uncomfortable for public reconciliation with a positive, self-affirming contemporary identity (Macdonald, 2008). Also "difficult heritage" can be problematic because it threatens to break through into the present, in a destructive way, opening up social divisions.

In both examples, enough time has passed to rethink the heritage and society is ready to decontaminate the areas affected by the ideology. At the same time, modern citizens associate this architecture with totalitarian regimes, so its reconstruction projects are generating strong divisions in society. At the heart of the debate is the dilemma of the legacy effect: whether recognising an architectural monument as significant and its reconstruction would provoke a positive reaction to a reprehensible regime (Macdonald, 2008). At the same time, the Haus der Kunst and the Space Pavilion have become identity markers for several generations over their long history, so their demolition is not on the agenda today. This state of affairs leads to a different kind of interaction between the "difficult heritage" and contemporary culture - their

critical reflection and the neutralisation of negative meaning.

Architecture in the service of dictators

In both the USSR and Germany, a state style - totalitarian classicism - was developed in the 1930s. At the same time, modern architecture, which was the fastest-growing in these countries in the 20s, was banned. The change in a style meant a change in the concept of an ideal society and the space in which that society should develop.

The architecture of the totalitarian period was a spectacular construction, created from a mixture of elements of the architecture of the past. With their scale and often pompous decor, impregnated with ideology, they suppressed space and personality (Pechenkin & Davydov, 2017). The architecture of this period was used as one of the ways to unite the citizens of the country under the flags of a new ideology. To do so, architects used such distinctive details and features as large scale (including in architectural ensembles), classical and newly created orders, axial symmetry, decoration with sculpture and painting, and expensive and rare materials in interior decoration. This architecture is very "talkative"; it is a kind of book for illiterates whose mission is to communicate with the citizens. At the same time, there is a clash of image conventions. Striving for modernity, the modernising

society exploits an old-fashioned mimetic language.

The Haus der Kunst as a means of propaganda and a marker of identity

In the history of the Haus der Kunst, all the features of the architecture of the totalitarian period are fully manifested both in form and in its programme. The exterior of the building is characterised by its enormous inhuman scale, the austere lines of its long colonnade, and a portico reminiscent of Antiquity. The Nazi history of the Haus der Kunst is inseparable from parades, political parades and exhibitions with strict censorship.

Having survived World War II, the first representative monumental building of the Third Reich has become an unpleasant physical reminder of the Nazi regime. David Chipperfield believes that as an architectural statement, Haus der Kunst was more recently seen by public as part of sinister cultural propaganda in the second half of the twentieth century (2017). At different points in its post-war history there were proposals to demolish the building, but these were never implemented (Chipperfield, 2017). Since 1946, it has been programmed successfully in direct and deliberate repudiation of Nazi ideology (*Chronicle of the Haus Der Kunst*, n.d.).

In the second half of the twentieth century and the twenty-first century, it has become particularly evident that having a heritage (a set of selected histories and their material traces) for different social groups is a necessary condition for possessing an identity (Macdonald, 2008). To have a legacy is to confirm the right to exist in the present and to continue to exist in the future. In many countries, visible markers of the past - museums, monuments, and plaques - have begun to emerge. At the same time, museums and heritage sites have become key components of "place marketing". Cultural tourism has become widespread, often bringing visitors from all over the world to places that have heritage worthy of attention. These processes affected Haus der Kunst, and Munich's modern citizens have fallen in love with the Haus der Kunst for its pioneering contemporary art, collected from all over the world. The shame of the building's Nazi past has been replaced by pride in being an active centre of contemporary culture.

The Space Pavilion as a means of propaganda and a marker of identity

Propaganda and the cult of the political party were an integral part of the Soviet period following the Russian Revolution of 1917 (Pogrebnyak, 2023). One of the ideas proclaimed by the state was the construction of a communist system. Tamara Eidelman, in her book *How Propaganda Works*, writes that the calls "Five-Year Plan in Four Years!" or "Forward to the Victory of Communism!" could be seen in the street and all the institutions, including schools. These slogans were heard at meetings and on the radio, and seemed omnipresent, penetrating the subconscious. They were so simple and so repetitive that it was impossible not to remember them. And once

remembered, people gradually began to believe that they had to make every effort to exceed the five-year plan and then a communist paradise would be achieved (Eidelman, 2018).

In 1924 Joseph Stalin became head of state and one of the most traumatic periods in Soviet history began, characterised by the cult of the dictator and political party, collectivisation of peasants with a terrible famine, mass repression and exile in concentration camps of one million citizens (Eidelman, 2022a; *Memorial - Chronology, Statistics and Geography of Repression*, n.d.). In the 1930s there was a growth of the state political machine and the suppression of the will. Propaganda persuaded citizens that the party was a sacred organism, and for the sake of it and the construction of future communism, any sacrifices could be made. In the 1940s, Stalinism expressed itself most vividly and strongly (Dobrenko, 2020). Stalin steadily eradicated the sense of freedom given to people by the post-war period of hope (Eidelman, 2022a). The ideal image of Stalin had continued to exist in the country even after the dictator's death, before 1956, when Nikita Khrushchev gave a speech "On the Cult of Personality and Its Consequences" (Venyavkin, 2018).

The victory in World War II consolidated the cult of Stalin and shaded the violence of his regime. And they, amidst the absolute cruelties of World War II, are often neglected in Western historiography. Robert Conquest wrote in *The Great Terror* that a complete report on the second half of the thirties in the USSR is a revelation to the Soviet citizen as well as to the Western (1968).

Soviet pre-war neoclassicism is a very diverse phenomenon. On the one hand, architects were required to build their own, new classics, but on the other hand, new restrictions and bans were being imposed all the time (Pechenkin & Davydov, 2017). This gave rise to a sense of a continuous search for a language. This search generated fantastic compositional combinations, piling up elements from different historic periods: quotations from Antiquity, Roman Baroque, Florentine Quattrocento, Palladio and so on. And unlike a classical building, which should be "like a harmoniously composed body", in Stalinist architecture there is constant guesswork, arbitrary combinations of elements, and the search for a unique language.

V.D.N.H. exhibition became a large-scale mechanism of Soviet propaganda, representing a staging of a non-existent abundant and harmonious life (Nefedov, 2022). For Soviet audiences, this propaganda and imagery potential was exhausted as early as the 1960s and 1970s. But even after the dissolution of the USSR, the exhibition city survived.

There are generations living in Moscow today who remember the Space Pavilion both as a palace glorifying the achievements of the USSR and as a place of disorderly retail; children are growing up who know the building as an educational centre impressing with space technology. For all of them, V.D.N.H. and the Space Pavilion are an urban phenomenon, a place of pride in their city. "I witnessed the Space Pavilion reach its heyday of an era of space



Figure 4. The Space Pavilion, 1954. The slogan on the arch: "Forward to the Victory of Communism!" Source: <https://pastvu.com/p/959343?share=1>

triumph in the 1970s and how it lost its purpose in the 2000s when the famous exhibition was replaced by retail shops. Now I'm observing how, after 17 years, the Space Pavilion has regained its former glory. The "Cosmonautics and Aviation" centre united the past and the present, and became a place of attraction for thousands of enthusiastic visitors from all over the world," recalls Evgeny Lazarev, the oldest employee of V.D.N.H., former deputy director of the Space/Machine Engineering Pavilion (Nefedov, 2021).

Preservation as the only future for the Haus der Kunst and the Space Pavilion

Faced with the complex controversy over the future of the "difficult heritage", the architect has to take a firm position, which will inevitably generate even more discussion. In the renovation projects of both the Haus der Kunst and the Space Pavilion, the architects have made statements about restoring the original appearance of the buildings, despite their controversial history.

David Chipperfield is an architect known for his striking and always tactful work with architectural heritage as well as his general interest in the heritage of the 1930s. His design for the James Simon Gallery in Berlin, which recalls the Palazzo del Uffizi in the Rome district of the ESD World's Fair, is a testament to him. The artist has no preconceptions about the "difficult" aspect of 1930s

architecture, which he demonstrates by interpreting it in his work and by making bold architectural statements such as the restoration of the Haus der Kunst in Munich. In his comments on the museum project and his responses to criticism, David Chipperfield argues that a contemporary cultural institution such as the Haus der Kunst cannot grow and develop in the uncomfortable physical position it is in now (2017). Indeed, contemporary art is meant to ask provocative questions and deal with sensitive moral and social issues (including questions of history and historiography), and an embarrassingly hidden building is not suitable for this. The architect questions the need to "punish" the building if this inevitably affects the ability of the Haus der Kunst to fully play its role as a world centre for contemporary culture. Museum director Okwui Enwezor supports Chipperfield and believes that making the museum a showcase for bold and strong contemporary art is the task of artists, not architects whose work is vulnerable to rapid obsolescence (2017).

Similar ideas were expressed for the reconstruction of the V.D.N.H complex. The chief architect of Moscow said that architectural competitions will be held for new pavilions of the park, while the old ones will be restored to their original form (Orlova, 2016). Architectural historian and commissioner of the exhibition "V.D.N.H. Urban phenomenon" at the 15th Architecture Biennale in Venice, Semyon Michailowski explained the decision. He said that while witnesses of Stalinist repression are still alive, the architecture of that time is painfully associated with the

dictatorship and no one wants to be its advocate, but this does not give modern architects the right to interfere in the architectural appearance of the pavilions (Martovickaja, 2015).

For the Space Pavilion, the choice of the path of least interference with the building's exterior was forced by the building's preservation legal status. In 2019, it was upgraded to a monument of federal architectural significance. This set the direction for the renovation project. In 2014, the studio "Architects Ass" started working on the architectural project and the museum conception. They presented a draft of the pavilion's exposition, where all the innovations were related to the balance between the historical heritage and new exhibition technology. During the construction phase, however, the authors decided to step back from the project. The MS Architects architectural bureau continued the work. The main task of the new architects was also to preserve the historical appearance of the building while integrating the modern structure into it.

According to the director of Haus der Kunst Okwui Enwezor and the chief architect of Moscow Sergey Kuznetsov, both the Haus der Kunst and the Space Pavilion nowadays are objects of architectural reflection rather than heavy-handed architectural intervention (Enwezor, 2017; Orlova, 2016). And their preservation is a radical architectural statement aimed at leaving the negative past behind. In general, preservation can serve as a strong tool for the architect, as the case studies only prove. According to Rem Koolhaas, to preserve an object is to take it out of the context of the time (2008).

Using preservation as a tool, the architect can work with form, function or idea. In the case of the Haus der Kunst and the Space Pavilion, the trace of guilt from a difficult past was left not on the building as a whole, but on its idea of serving as a propaganda tool. "Although the original idea behind the building overtly expressed a criminal ideology and was abused to that end by the rulers of that ideology, the building as such is not guilty, dangerous or even criminal. Architecture is never guilty and rarely dangerous. Nonetheless, it can be appropriated by ideologies and remain branded by them for generations. It is then feared and revered, hated and admired at once," Rem Koolhaas stated when discussing the future of the Haus der Kunst (2008). The following chapters aim to explore how these ideas from the past were erased in the reconstruction process by working with the other two components – form and function.

Chapter III. Preservation of form

Alley and steps in the Haus der Kunst

After World War II the surroundings were altered to “hide” the building of the Haus der Kunst (Chipperfield, 2017). The grand and symbolic portico became emblematic, so the main entrance was blocked off and the entrance was altered to the side. Trees were planned in front of the building and the steps in front of the building were removed as part of a general traffic modification. The back of the building, which earlier faced the English Garden, has also been hidden by tree planting. Where the landscape used to approach the building, parking and service areas have been built. In this way, the building, which had survived the war through effective camouflage, was again protected by a different kind of cocoon. Overall, the Haus der Kunst became isolated from the urban context of Munich.

The idea of returning to the original appearance of the building was put forward in 2003 with the start of the *Critical Reconstruction* project. Jean Herzog, in a discussion about the future of the Haus der Kunst in 2008,

first suggested the idea of reconnecting the building with the city (Koolhaas & Herzog, 2008). The architect stated that by returning the staircase to its original size, it would be possible to combine two opposing historical moments. The result would be a new urban space; the building would “demand more attention” without the attitude of grandeur that the Nazis had in mind.

David Chipperfield’s 2016 project consisted of three main parts and included repair and renovation, interventions based on the programmatic ambitions of the museum, and modifications to the exterior setting of the building. The most discussed proposal of the project was the restoration of the original urban design of the Haus der Kunst: the return of the wide steps leading to the museum from the city centre and the cutting of the alley along the façade (Hickley, 2017).

The project sparked a debate in parliament, whose



Figure 5. Changes in the façade of the Haus der Kunst

1. 1939, *Schönes Deutschland Das Haus der Deutschen Kunst* in München. Architect: P. L. Troost.
Source: https://ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/Большие_германские_художественные_выставки#/media/File:Bundesarchiv_Bild_146-1090-073-26_München_Haus_der_Deutschen_Kunst.jpg
2. 2005, Paul McCarthy *blumenüberwuchertes* for the Haus der Kunst.
Source: <https://o32c.com/magazine/built-ideology-haus-der-kunst>
3. 2013, Photo of the Haus der Kunst.
Source: [https://ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/Дом_искусства_\(Мюнхен\)#/media/Файл:Haus_der_Kunst_-_Munich_-_2013.jpg](https://ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/Дом_искусства_(Мюнхен)#/media/Файл:Haus_der_Kunst_-_Munich_-_2013.jpg)
- 4, 5. 2016, Students’ projects for the Haus der Kunst renovation. The results of *Süddeutsche*

Zeitung competition.

- Source: <https://www.sueddeutsche.de/muenchen/architektur-radikale-ideen-fuer-das-haus-der-kunst-1.3288065>
6. 2016, David Chipperfield’s proposal for the Haus der Kunst.
Source: <https://www.metalocus.es/en/news/haus-der-kunst-david-chipperfield-architects-first-renderings>

approval was needed to reconstruct the museum. Here are some public criticisms published by *the Tagesspiegel newspaper* (Guyton, 2016). “What is democratic about removing the green curtain and exposing this monumental Nazi architecture to the public?” – said Sepp Dürr, a member of the Bavarian regional parliament from the Green Party. Charlotte Knobloch, president of the Israeli Cultural Community of Munich and Upper Bavaria, told *the Tagesspiegel newspaper*, “How you can even think about renovating Nazi architecture is completely incomprehensible to me” (Guyton, 2016). “The only thing missing is a giant banner with a swastika on the façade,” – added Knobloch. Winfried Nerdinger, an architectural historian, argued that Chipperfield’s plan to restore the steps boils down to “putting the building on a pedestal”. “Such a building cannot be left without comment,” says historian Brechtken. He compares this case with a scholarly edition of Hitler’s *Mein Kampf*, released by his institute a year ago: “Rightly, no one wants to publish this book without commentary. To present the building as it was in 1937 would be like *Mein Kampf* published without comment.”

Responding to criticism of David Chipperfield’s project, museum director Okwui Enwezor stated that the return of details of the past proposed by the architect would not be able to duplicate the situation of 1937-1945 because the urban context had changed (2017). Most of the buildings around the Haus der Kunst were destroyed during the war, followed by the redevelopment of the city. Completely new viewpoints were created. The roads were widened and in 1972 a highway and tunnel were built in front of the museum. The traffic flow changed so much that it created a completely different visual perspective. Okwui Enwezor questions the fact that trees can hide a building from view and calls it a placebo. Furthermore, the museum director is convinced that the removal of the entrance steps was not so much part of a denazification programme as of a more complex redevelopment plan for the city, in which the street front of the building was used for an extended highway.

It is notable that before David Chipperfield’s project was announced, student architects from the Technical University of Munich were given the task of redesigning the Haus der Kunst (TU München, 2016). Most of the projects suggested emphasising the building’s difficult past with contrasting new additions (Charlotte Pfundstein und Alexandra Bauch; Sofia Kholodkova, Christina Amon und Farida Dessouki) or camouflage (Viola Hänsel, Pia Fleischer und Helene Schüler). The museum’s authorities claimed that since the students focused on the task of remodelling the building, their proposals did not meet the requirements of a modern museum, nor did they reflect on the relationship between history and memory (Enwezor, 2017).

Thus, the return to the original form, especially the open façade and the steps along it, became a cornerstone in the debate between architects and the public alike. These details epitomised the two groups of opinion between which the fight was fought. The proponents of restoring the steps won out, and David Chipperfield was among

them. The architect is restoring the original form, and in a changed urban environment it should lose its connection with the ideas of the “difficult past”.

“Altar” in the dome hall in the Space Pavilion and the Mechanisation Square

After the reconstruction was completed in the 1960s, the interior of the Space Pavilion resembled a Catholic church. A long three-nave hall led into the “altar” (dome) part. In different periods of history, this part contained various images, expressing the values of one or another era: sculptures of the builders of communism, an image of the night sky, a portrait of Yuri Gagarin, and the void.

In the 1950s, the pavilion culminated in the sculptural group “The March of Soviet People Towards Communism” by sculptor Nikolai Tomsky, which contained obvious biblical motifs. A large star illuminated a procession of seven men, and pioneers as angels held trumpets. As stated in the explanatory note to the project, the pioneer figures affirmed “the idea of the eternal life of the Soviet people” (Nefedov, 2022). In 1983, in time for the opening of one of the thematic exhibitions, a large round portrait of Gagarin with a dove was hung on the end wall in the dome hall of the Space Pavilion. Thus, Gagarin occupied a symbolic centrepiece on the pavilion’s “altar”. The portrait had stayed in place for twenty years until it was covered with a white sheet in the late 1980s. Today the portrait of Gagarin has been reopened. The images by MS Architects for the Space Pavilion renovation project included the “Angara-5” launch vehicle in the dome space, as well as the “Baikal” booster (2016).

Today, the culmination of the exhibition in the “altar part” of the Space Pavilion is a sphere, a symbol of space energy and light. This solution was first proposed by the

architectural bureau Architects Ass. However, at the stage of the realisation of the project, the architects renounced authorship due to the inconsistency of the completed exposition with the idea.

The square in front of the Space Pavilion has also always been a place reflecting the changing priorities of the times. The image of Stalin, with the change of eras, has been replaced by the achievements of Russian space exploration.

Stalin never visited the V.D.N.H. There is neither reliable evidence of this, nor a single document - only legends. He was presented at the Exhibition only as an image. In 1938, during the reconstruction of Mechanisation Square, it was decided to erect a concrete sculpture of the leader in its centre, thus fixing the “epicentre” of the Exhibition. The square was designed by the same architects as the Mechanisation Pavilion - Viktor Andreyev and Ivan Taranov. The architects chose the optimum ratio between the height of the pedestal and the height of the statue. In one of the draft designs the height of the pedestal was twenty metres with the height of the statue twenty metres. In that case, their total height would have been practically equal to the height of the rocket which stands in front of the pavilion today. The sculpture was made by the sculptor Sergei Merkurov.

Most photographs from the late 1930s show the sculpture and the pavilion together, and the pavilion is inevitably obscured by a grey concrete figure. Illustrative is the image on the cover of the magazine *USSR at the Construction site*, designed by the artists Alexander Rodchenko and

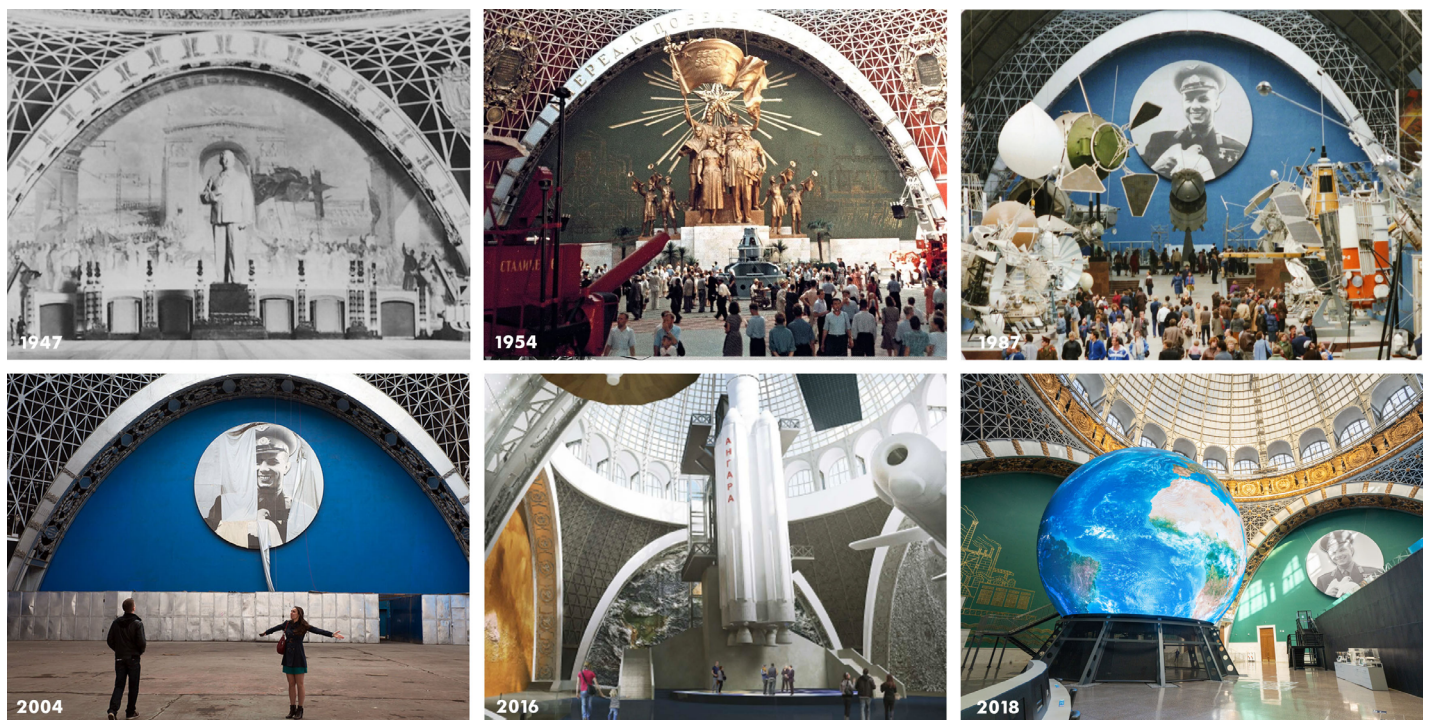


Figure 6. Changes of the “altar” in the dome hall of the Space Pavilion

1947 – Sculpture of Joseph Stalin in the Space Pavilion

Source: <https://pastvu.com/p/1032459?share=1>

1954 – “The March of Soviet People Towards Communism” by Nikolai Tomsky

Source: <https://pastvu.com/p/1032459?share=1>

1987 – Yuri Gagarin portrait in the Space Pavilion

Source: <https://pastvu.com/p/851839>

2004 – Yuri Gagarin portrait covered with a white sheet

Source: <https://dervishv.livejournal.com/456160.html?view=comments>

2016 – “Angara-5” launch vehicle and the “Baikal” booster in the project of MS Architects for the Space Pavilion, 2016

Source: https://msarchitects.ru/catalog/dizayn-intererov/pavilon-kosmos-na-vdnkh/?sphrase_id=3893

2018 – Current state of the Space Pavilion interiors

Source: <https://www.the-village.ru/city/news/309017-kosmos-vdnh>

Varvara Stepanova (1939). It is a photographic collage in which the proportions of two objects have been rearranged to perfectly overlap one another while maintaining the “golden ratio”. And at the end of the same magazine there is another, night-time image of the sculpture. The leader emerges from the shadows, and behind him, there is a light that resembles the rays of anti-aircraft projectors.

Over the years of the war, the concrete sculpture deteriorated under the effects of snow and rain. In 1946 it even had to have its head replaced, as the face had lost its portrait similarity. The sculpture was finally demolished in the spring of 1951. According to the general reconstruction plan of the Exhibition, another sculpture was to be created. A new competition was held and the designs for a new sculpture were presented to a special commission in the Mechanization Pavilion. In total, twenty designs were submitted. When, for the opening of the Exhibition in 1954, the sculptor Nikolai Tomsky created a huge sculptural group “The March of Soviet People to Communism” — without the statue of the deceased leader, Stalin’s shadow left the pavilion forever.

Today, a snow-white rocket stands on a massive metal pedestal on the square in front of the Space Pavilion. This is a copy of the “Vostok” launch vehicle, which launched Yuri Gagarin into space on April 12, 1961. This is not a dummy or a mock-up, but a real factory-made sample, whose height is thirty-eight meters. With the change of epochs, their symbols also evolved – science, technological progress, and education became the focus of attention.



Figure 7. Rodchenko, A., & Stepanova, V. (1939). Cover. “USSR at the Construction Site,” № 9.

Source: <https://electro.nekrasovka.ru/books/3991>

Figure 8. Rodchenko, A., & Stepanova, V. (1939). Last page. “USSR at the Construction Site,” № 9.

Source: <https://electro.nekrasovka.ru/books/3991>



Figure 9. Current state of the Mechanisation Square.

Source: <https://electro.nekrasovka.ru/books/3991>



Chapter IV. Preservation of function



Figure 10. The West Wing of the Haus der Kunst, 2019.
Source: <https://www.hausderkunst.de/en/rent-space/the-west-wing>

Programme and exposition of the Haus der Kunst

For a long time, the museum's exposition maintained the "modest" character of the museum building. The curators invited contemporary artists who interacted with architecture in their works. For example, in 2005, the artist Paul McCarthy was invited to the Haus der Kunst and hid the museum building in huge inflatable flowers.

The reconstruction project proposed by David Chipperfield and rehabilitating the Haus der Kunst building has its origins in 2003. Then discussions began on the relationship between the function and the idea of the museum. The *Critical Reconstruction* project was launched. Architects Rem Koolhaas and Jacques Herzog took part in it as an expert group. They were reflecting on how to make people think in a building that had been designed to prevent them from doing so. With the beginning of the "Critical Reconstruction" project, the middle hall, which the Nazis used as a "Hall of Honour" for a show of force, began to be used for international art projects. In addition, a discussion broke out about the function – commercial or exhibition - for the west wing of the museum, which had been rented by the theatre for some time before. Arguments were made both for renting out the premises and for expanding the exhibition.

In the article on the 2008 debate HAUS DER KUNST: Built Ideology, Jacques Herzog argued for the west wing to be dedicated to art, Chris Derkon, the director of the museum from 2003 to 2011, supported commerce, and Rem Koolhaas took the third position, criticizing the proposed alternative (Koolhaas & Herzog, 2008).

Jacques Herzog claimed that initially the building designed by Ludwig Troost was ideally suited for the exhibition of creativity, and this is where its potential lies. Paradoxically, the Haus der Kunst, as a place of large expositions of contemporary art, does not contrast with the modern works – which was to be expected from the aura machine created for the Nazis. Instead, the architecture of Nazism gives contemporary art an unrecognized impulse. The huge scale of the architecture of the totalitarian period is well combined with both monumental forms and media art, intimate installation formats. Jacques Herzog



Figure 11. The West Wing of the Haus der Kunst. David Chipperfield's proposal.
Source: <https://davidchipperfield.com/news/2017/is-the-building-guilty-a-letter-to-emthe-architects-journalem>

was sure that the Haus der Kunst reconstruction should offer more space, similar in quality to the east wing. Then this space would be interpreted by artists much more than by architects.

In addition, Jacques Herzog called the economic argument. The expansion of the art space of the Haus der Kunst, in his opinion, promised more income than the commercial use of the premises. The House of Art would become a point of attraction for more citizens. In contrast, Chris Derkon was convinced that to preserve the Haus der Kunst with its independence, it was necessary to use the newly vacated wing for commercial purposes. The Nazis, and after the war, the Americans used the premises for pubs, halls for car sales and various events. According to Chris Derkon, these days the building could be used not as a machine for creating an aura, but as a machine for making money.

Rem Koolhaas believed that the function of the west wing was not so important as getting rid of the seriousness of the architecture of the Haus der Kunst. "The question that worries me regarding programming purely for art is whether the full earnestness of so much contemporary art, combined with the full earnestness of the building <...> would produce serious results, or whether it would become a pastiche of earnestness by way of the building's authoritarianism," - Koolhaas opined. He was sure that as long as the position of architects was serious, it was doomed to failure, including in the work on the reconstruction of monuments of the totalitarian period.

The function of the world centre of contemporary art for the Haus der Kunst is relatively new, despite the long history of the museum. And this new feature imposes new requirements on the architecture. David Chipperfield's functional proposal supports the expansion of the museum part and includes the integration of the west wing, thereby increasing the functional space to approximately 8000 square meters. According to the architect, the institution is maturing and developing, and the building in which it is located should now take on a new responsibility, in addition to the one inherited from its dark history, not hiding its "guilt", but living with it, overcoming it, overthrowing it and leading it into an alternative future.

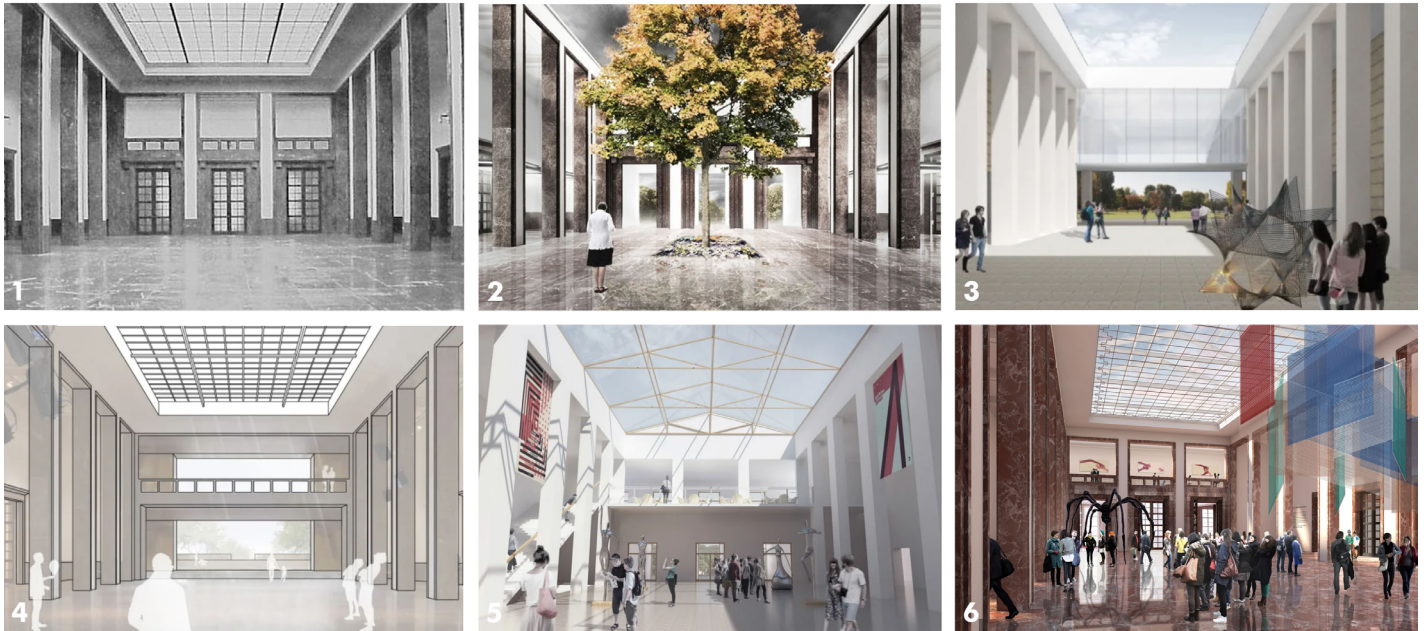


Figure 13 Changes in the interiors of the Haus der Kunst

1. 1937, Interiors of the Haus der Kunst. Architect: P. L. Troost.

Source: <https://www.hausderkunst.de/en/history/chronical>

2, 3, 4, 5. 2016, Students' projects for the Haus der Kunst renovation. The results of Süddeutsche Zeitung competition.

Source: <https://www.sueddeutsche.de/muenchen/architektur-radikale-ideen-fuer-das-haus-der-kunst-1.3288065>

6. 2016, David Chipperfield's proposal for the Haus der Kunst.

Source: <https://www.metalocus.es/en/news/haus-der-kunst-david-chipperfield-architects-first-renderings>

Programme and exposition of the Space Pavilion

The reconstruction of V.D.N.H. began with a discussion of its new functions. Architectural critics were concerned about the question: will the VDNH complex be a “park of the Soviet period”, a museum of the history of the USSR, or, returning to the geographical and sectoral principle, will it become a demonstration of the achievements of modern Russian and international science, culture and industry (Gonsales, 2014)? Experts criticized the fact that during the restoration the pavilions of the Stalinist period became preferable. At the same time, the pavilions in the style of Soviet modernism of the Khrushchev period (1958-1964) suffered. A part of the modernist facade of the 1960s was removed from one of the pavilions, and it became clear that it covered Stalinist architecture. This fact led to doubt about the chosen path of development of V.D.N.H. as a centre of enlightenment, because the exhibition of achievements of V.D.N.H. began to be called in 1959, during the Khrushchev Thaw. In contrast, during the reign of Stalin, the complex had an agrarian character.

In 2014, an open survey was held on the Internet portal of the Moscow government *Active Citizen (The Active Citizen Programme Summarises the Results of the Vote on the Theme: “VDNH: Deciding Together”*, 2014). In the first part of the voting, it was proposed to choose functional zones that residents would like to see on the territory of the complex: exhibition and congress, museum and educational, sports and recreational, scientific and educational, leisure and entertainment or trade fair. In the second part, the citizens could give their suggestions regarding the function of the twenty-one pavilions. The majority - almost twenty-five per cent of respondents voted for the scientific and educational function of the complex. At the same time, the future of the Space Pavilion aroused the greatest interest – over five thousand

offers were received on the site. After the reconstruction was completed, according to the results of voting on the same portal, the Space Pavilion was recognized as the best restoration object in Moscow over the past three years (*Active Citizens Named the Space Pavilion the Best Restoration Site in Moscow*, 2021).

In 2016, V.D.N.H. became the character of the 15th International Architectural Exhibition in Venice. The curator of the 2016 Biennale, Chilean architect Alejandro Aravena, appointed a *Report from the front line* as a central theme of the festival. According to Sergey Kuznetsov, curator of the exhibition of the Pavilion of Russia *V.D.N.H. Urban Phenomenon*, V.D.N.H. is the front on which the battle for education is going on (2016).

In addition to exhibits related to the past of V.D.N.H., *the Laboratory of the Future* was presented at the exhibition. The main object exhibited in the white space of the laboratory was a nine-meter model of the complex territory. Most of the model elements were removable, which allowed visitors to create their scenarios for the development of the exhibition or interpret the functional content of its territory following the thoughts and advice of famous architects, a video interviews with whom were presented in the same hall.

Furthermore, that year in the Russia pavilion the results of a workshop were presented, where students from different countries developed concepts for the development of V.D.N.H. (ArchCouncil of Moscow, 2016). The proposals were very different, bright and sometimes radical: the transformation of the park into a university campus (Irina Shmeleva), the repository-museum of architectural monuments collected from all over Moscow (Eche Tankal), the Art Moscow Park (Ekaterina Goncharova), etc. It is noteworthy that many students focused on the

educational function of the V.D.N.H.

After the reconstruction was completed in 2014, the life of the Space Pavilion was immediately revived. The first events showed what the new priorities for the development will be: thematic exhibitions and museums, educational activities, and art events. In June – July 2014, visitors were able to see the exhibition of Dutch artist Theo Jansen *Kinematic life of sandy beaches*, where unique moving sculptures were presented. During the celebration of the seventy-fifth anniversary of V.D.N.H., the exhibition *Automotive Industry* was held on the territory of the Space Pavilion. Visitors saw a number of unique cars produced in the USSR from 1924 to 1991. Before that, cars were exhibited in the pavilion 30 years ago, in 1961.

A significant event in the history of the pavilion was the *Mechanics of the Miracle* — the 2014 exhibition of decorations created for the opening ceremony of the XXII Winter Olympic Games in Sochi. V.D.N.H. visitors saw huge burning Olympic rings installed on the square in front of the rocket: so in one perspective there was a merger of the most important symbols of different eras — V.D.N.H., space, and the Olympics. Bright red models of agricultural machines were shown, which rolled along the Olympic stadium. Their appearance was reminiscent of agricultural machinery, which was exhibited here in 1939. In 2018, the “Cosmonautics and Aviation” centre, the largest space exploration museum in Russia, opened in the renovated the Space Pavilion.

In the 1930s the USSR formulated a large request for educational projects, which was reflected in the architecture of V.D.N.H. And now this request is still relevant: all the projects that are being proposed for the Space Pavilion are somehow related to education and science. This happens because a person of the twentieth century, having acquired a job, had enough knowledge for life, while a modern person in the constantly changing world has to evolve throughout all his life.

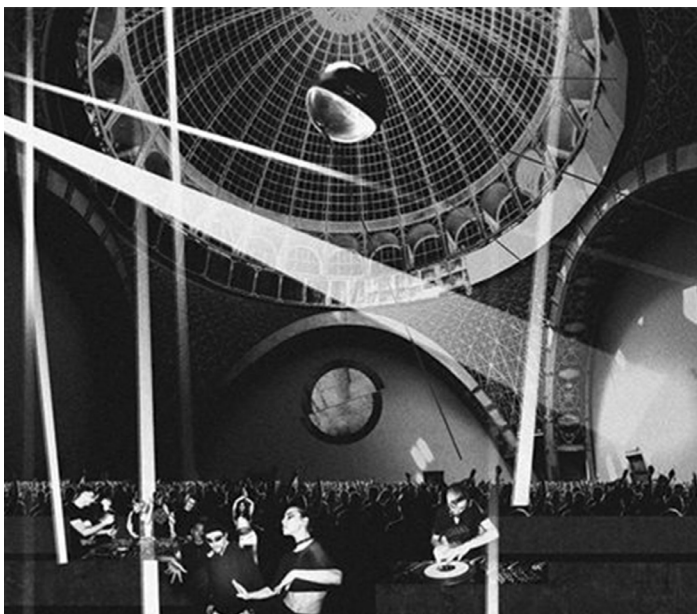


Figure 14. Workshop project by Irina Shmeleva, graduate of the Strelka Institute for Media, Architecture and Design. Source: <https://urban.hse.ru/news/184645771.html>



Figure 15. Workshop project by Katerina Goncharova, graduate of the A.A. Vysokov Higher School of Urban Studies. A.A. Vysokovsky. Source: <https://urban.hse.ru/news/184645771.html>



Figure 16. Changes in the programme of the Space Pavilion
 1939 - All-Union Agricultural Exhibition (VSKHV). Mechanisation pavilion. Author: M. Markov-Greenberg
 Source: https://www.rbth.com/longreads/vdnkh_greek/
 1954 - All-Union Agricultural Exhibition. Pavilion "Mechanisation and Electrification of Agriculture in the USSR".
 Source: State Central Museum of Contemporary History of Russia
 1965 - 12 April. Yuri Gagarin with his daughter Lena at the Space Pavilion at VDNKh. Author: Valentin Cheredintsev.
 Source: TASS/Archive – <https://www.tassphoto.com/ru/asset/search/1965&10121094> OR

[1967&274569_OR_1983&18736412/](https://www.tassphoto.com/ru/asset/search/1965&10121094)
 1987 – the Space Pavilion exhibition. Author: Boris Kavashkin, Valery Khristoforov
 Source: Publication - <http://mosday.ru/news/item.php?1361897&view=full>
 1995 - Market in the Space Pavilion.
 Source: <https://nostalgin-ru.blogspot.com/2010/12/blog-post.html>
 2018 - A modern look at the interior of the Space Pavilion. Authors of the project: MS Architects
 Source: <https://20palms.ru/index.php?link=pavilion-space>



Figure 17. Laboratory of the future at the Russia pavilion. The exhibition *V.D.N.H. Urban Phenomenon*. The 15th International Architectural Exhibition in Venice. 2016. Source: <https://www.archdaily.com/tag/venice-biennale-2016/page/3>

Faced with the complex task of reconstructing monuments from the 1930s, the architects working with the Haus der Kunst and the Space Pavilion were able to meet this challenge with great competence. In each of their projects, they experienced many limitations and obstacles, including criticism from the public, whose memories of the architecture's controversial past are alive in their minds. The architects chose preservation as a key method of work and conducted a detailed analysis to identify elements connected with a "negative" message. It turned out that the idea is to blame for the "difficult" past, while the form and function remain relevant.

It was not only the ideological legacy of the 1930s that proved "difficult", but also the traces of subsequent historical epochs that had left their mark and influenced the reconstruction project. In the case of the Haus der Kunst, this was an era of condemnation and shame, when a generation grew up who remembered the "hidden" building. For the Space Pavilion, the era of propaganda has been replaced by the triumph of consumerism, welcomed by the population after the dissolution of the Soviet Union.

The architects scrupulously dissected the layers of history and their relationship to memory, identifying and preserving moments dear to the population's memory and defining their identity. They have extracted those values that were in demand in the past and are still relevant today, to emphasise them in reconstruction projects. Education, science and art are timeless values that were in demand both during the totalitarian era and today. This is why the function of the buildings did not have to be changed. The only intervention that the architects have brought to the functional content is the invention of new scenarios for cutting-edge exhibitions with new meanings. Since the form of the buildings turned out to be practical and suitable for the modern exposition of art and science, and it was also a form favoured by the citizens, the architects updated the technical equipment, minimally interfering with the appearance of the buildings. The direct manifestations of propaganda have been naturally erased over time (swastikas, sculptures of Stalin).

There is a general tendency to dispel the negative past, the product of which the architecture of the totalitarian period still is. Due to the attentive reconstruction work, these buildings are well cleared of the context of the tragic events of the twentieth century and adapt easily to new scenarios. Especially favourable conditions for this process are in museums, whose function is directly related to memory and historiography.

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Active Citizens named the Space Pavilion the best restoration site in Moscow [«Активные граждане назвали павильон «Космос» лучшим объектом реставрации в Москве] (2021, January 11). ВДНХ. <https://vdnh.ru/news/6043/> Survey results on the best reconstruction project for 2018-2021 in Moscow.

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ArchCouncil of Moscow. (2016, July 4). The future of V.D.N.H. through the eyes of students. *Архсовет Москвы*. <https://archsovet.msk.ru/article/city-design/budushhee-vdnh-glazami-studentov> The results of a workshop in which students from different countries worked out concepts for the development of the V.D.N.H.

Ben-Ghiat, R. (2017, October 5). Why Are So Many Fascist Monuments Still Standing in Italy? *The New Yorker*. <https://www.newyorker.com/culture/culture-desk/why-are-so-many-fascist-monuments-still-standing-in-italy> The reflection of the American architectural historian Ruth Ben-Ghiat on the Italian fascist heritage.

Chipperfield, D. (2017). Is the building guilty? *Architects' Journal*. <https://davidchipperfield.com/bibliography/essays/is-the-building-guilty> In a letter to The Architects' Journal, David Chipperfield defends the practice's proposals for the renovation of the Nazi-era Haus der Kunst.

Chronicle of the Haus der Kunst. (n.d.). Haus Der Kunst. <https://www.hausderkunst.de/en/history/chronical> The history of the museum on its official website.

Conquest, R. (1968). *The Great Terror*. One of the first

books by a Western writer to discuss the Great Purge in the Soviet Union, it was based mainly on information which had been made public, either officially or by individuals, during the Khrushchev Thaw in the period 1956–1964, and on an analysis of official documents such as the Soviet census.

Dobrenko, E. A. (2020). *Late Stalinism : The aesthetics of politics* [Поздний сталинизм. Эстетика политики]. The study focuses on one of the least studied periods of Soviet history, late Stalinism. Examining the relationship between postwar Soviet cultural politics and political culture, the book presents the cultural and intellectual history of the era, told through an analysis of the cultural texts it produced - be they literature, film, theatre, music, painting, architecture or mass culture.

Eidelman, T. (2018). *How propaganda works* [Как работает пропаганда]. Individuum. The book explores the origins and state of propaganda. Using examples from different countries and centuries, she shows how engaged media influence public opinion, how typical propaganda techniques are structured and how news should be read in the post-truth era.

Eidelman, T. (2022a). *Stalin* [Сталин] [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pItGA5Re8IQ> A 5-part series of lectures on the dictator and the country during his rule.

Eidelman, T. (2022b, August 6). *Hitler. The road to disaster* [Гитлер. Дорога к катастрофе] [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qINFWCkBfoc> History Lessons with Tamara Eidelman focuses on the terrifying twelve years when Hitler ruled Germany, attempting to subjugate the entire world and destroy millions. This is the story of how the Third Reich he created crumbled, how he gradually turned from an adored Führer into a cornered rat. It is the story of the collapse of his terrible dream of world domination and the price the world had to pay for it.

- Emelyanov, A. (Ed.). (2020). *Москва, которая есть. ВДНХ [Moscow that is. V.D.N.H.]* (Vol. 7). Media Partner. The book gives examples of scientific restoration of architectural and monumental art monuments of the V.D.N.H. pavilions and describes the process of the work with them.
- Enwezor, O. (2017). *Lasst die Kunstler ran. Süddeutsche Zeitung*. <https://davidchipperfield.com/bibliography/essays/lasst-die-knstler-ran> The director of the Haus der Kunst reflects on the architectural legacy of the Third Reich in Germany and its impact on memory and defines his position in the debate surrounding the Haus der Kunst renovation plans proposed by David Chipperfield.
- Fest, J. (2006). *Hitler. The way up [Гитлер. Путь наверх]* (Vol. 1). Biography of Adolf Hitler, first published in 1973.
- GARAGEMCA. (2018, November 1). Лекция Анны Бронувицкой Альберт Шпеер (Германия, 1905–1981). [Anna Bronowitzka's lecture *Albert Speer (Germany, 1905-1981)*] YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=d7SejaZZTuk> Architectural historian Anna Bronovitskaya talks about the history of the Haus der Kunst.
- Gershman, A. (2020, August 12). *ВДНХ: большая реновация витрины СССР [V.D.N.H.: The big renovation of the USSR showcase]* [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Jnm4mCSbpkg> Critical review of V.D.N.H. park after reconstruction by Moscow urbanist Arkady Gershman.
- Golomshtok, I. (1994). *Тоталитарное искусство. [Totalitarian Art]*. Galart. One of the first fundamental works on the historiography of dictatorships in the twentieth century.
- Gonsales, E. (2014, June 3). *Реконструкция ВДНХ: Сталин против Хрущева [Reconstruction of VDNKh: Stalin vs Khrushchev]* *The Art Newspaper* Russia. <https://www.theartnewspaper.ru/posts/645/> Architectural critic Elena Gonsales is concerned about the fate of the 1960s pavilions at VDNKH and the ideology of the complex's reconstruction project.
- Guyton, P. (2016, December 29). *Chipperfield renovates the Haus der Kunst: All that's missing is the swastika flag [Chipperfield renoviert das Haus der Kunst: Fehlt nur noch die Hakenkreuz-Fahne]*. <https://www.tagesspiegel.de/kultur/fehlt-nur-noch-die-hakenkreuz-fahne-3795763.html> Criticism of the Haus der Kunst renovation project by David Chipperfield.
- Hickley, C. (2017, March 1). *Should Munich contemporary art museum reveal or obscure its Nazi history? The Art Newspaper - International Art News and Events*. <https://www.theartnewspaper.com/2017/03/01/should-munich-contemporary-art-museum-reveal-or-obscure-its-nazi-history> The Art Newspaper reflects on how the British architect David Chipperfield's proposal to restore the Haus der Kunst sparked furore.
- Ikonnikov, A. (1997). *Историзм в архитектуре. [Historicism in Architecture]*. Stroyizdat. A book about how European architecture has used the styles of previous historical eras.
- Khan-Magomedov, S. (1996, 2001). *Архитектура советского авангарда [The Architecture of the Soviet Avant-garde.]* (Vol. 1,2). Stroyizdat. The book talks about the formation and development of Soviet avant-garde architecture in context with other styles and visual arts.
- Khmel'nitsky, D. (2007, October 20). *О книге Тоталитарное искусство Игоря Голумштока [About the book Totalitarian Art by Igor Golomshtok]*. <https://archi.ru/elpub/91267/o-knige-totalitarnoe-iskusstvo-igorya-golomshtoka> Dmitry Khmel'nitsky's critique of *Totalitarian Art* by Igor Golomshtok.

- Khmelnitsky, D. (2004). *Сталин и архитектура* [*Stalin and architecture*]. archi.ru. <https://archi.ru/files/publications/virtual/hmelnitsky.htm> Stalin's architectural historian discusses the direct and indirect influence of the head of state on the development of architecture.
- Koolhaas, R., & Herzog, J. (2008, July 1). *HAUS DER KUNST: Built Ideology*. o32c. <https://o32c.com/magazine/built-ideology-haus-der-kunst> Rem Koolhaas and Jacques Herzog are collaborating as kind of a think tank to think about the Haus der Kunst.
- Kosenkova, J. (Ed.). (2010). *Архитектура сталинской эпохи: Опыт исторического осмысления* [*The architecture of the Stalin era: The experience of historical reflection*]. KomKniga. Collection of articles from the 2007 conference of the Russian Academy of Architecture and Building Sciences, Research Institute of Theory and History of Architecture and Urban Planning.
- Lvovsky, S. (2018). *Stalin's Moscow as a dream of socialism* [*Сталинская Москва как мечта о социализме*]. Arzamas. <https://arzamas.academy/materials/1547> The article explains how the realised and unrealised urban planning ideas of 1930s Moscow arose.
- Macdonald, S. (2009). *Difficult heritage: negotiating the Nazi past in Nuremberg and beyond*. Routledge. The book looks at how Nuremberg has dealt with its Nazi past post-1945. Using original archival, interview and ethnographic sources, it provides general innovative theorizing of the relationship between heritage, identity and material culture. It also engages in comparative reflection on developments underway elsewhere in order to contextualize what was happening in Nuremberg and to show similarities to and differences from the ways in which other "difficult heritages" have been dealt with elsewhere. The author offers an informed perspective on ways of dealing with difficult heritage, today and in the future, discussing innovative museological, educational and artistic practice.
- Mak, I. (2018). *ВДНХ: эпоха реставрации* [*V.D.N.H.: the Age of Restoration*]. *The Art Newspaper Russia*, 65. <https://www.theartnewspaper.ru/posts/5863/> Report on the restoration and reconstruction of V.D.N.H.
- Martovickaja, A. (Editor). (2015). *Русский павильон на XV Архитектурной биеннале в Венеции, экспозиция V.D.N.H. Urban Phenomenon* [*Russian Pavilion at the XV Architecture Biennale in Venice, exhibition. V.D.N.H. Urban Phenomenon.*]. PNB print. Catalogue of the exposition of the Russian pavilion at the Biennale of Architecture, dedicated to the unique phenomenon V.D.N.H. The meaningful part of the catalogue is divided into three sections: opinions on the exhibition, the history of V.D.N.H. and an introduction to its most interesting objects.
- Memorial - Chronology, statistics and geography of repression* [*Мемориал - Хронология, статистика и география репрессий*]. (n.d.). Memorial. <https://www.memo.ru/ru-ru/> Statistics from a non-profit organisation that researches political repression in the USSR and contemporary Russia and promotes the moral and legal rehabilitation of persons who were subjected to political repression.
- Nefedov, P. (Editor). (2021). *ВДНХ. Новая эра* [*V.D.N.H. New Era*]. JSC "V.D.N.H." The book is about the present and future of the exhibition complex. This is a story about the priority directions of V.D.N.H. development, about the reconstruction team, united by common values of preserving the historical heritage and creating new opportunities for the guests of V.D.N.H. On the pages of this book, there are interviews of V.D.N.H. employees and visitors. The book talks about the creation of a modern museum complex in the park, as well as provides a multi-perspective view of the development of the totalitarian legacy.

- Nefedov, P. (2022). *Между небом и землёй. История павильона “Космос” на ВДНХ* [Between Heaven and Earth. History of the Space Pavilion at V.D.N.H.]. Boslen, Moscow. The book presents the pavilion’s history for the first time as a logical sequence of interconnected stages: an agricultural exposition, the demonstration of industrial achievements, the country’s largest display of space technology, market trade open-air, the revival and the creation of a modern space museum. The preparation of the book involved many years of research in the central state archives, museum collections, the V.D.N.H. archives and other departmental archives, and private collections. The data collected in the archives was enriched considerably through personal interviews with the architects’ heirs, former staff members of the pavilion, and professional experts. Many architectural drawings, photographs, posters and documents have been published in the book for the first time.
- Orlova, M. (2016, March 22). *Сергей Кузнецов: “ВДНХ — это фронт, на котором идет битва за просвещение публики”* [Sergey Kuznetsov: “V.D.N.H. is the front line in the battle to educate the public”]. The Art Newspaper Russia. Retrieved February 16, 2023, from <https://www.theartnewspaper.ru/posts/2797/>
- Papernyi V. (2002). *Architecture in the age of Stalin: culture two*. Cambridge University Press. (Original work published 1985) One of the first critical monographs on the culture of the Stalin era, first published as a dissertation by the author in 1985 and reprinted four times.
- Pechenkin, I., & Davydov, V. (2017, August 14). *Architectural style guide* [Определитель архитектурных стилей]. Arzamas. <https://arzamas.academy/mag/446-arch> Definition of Totalitarian period architecture as a style.
- Poggioli, S. (2023, February 25). *Italy has kept its fascist monuments and buildings. The reasons are complex*. NPR. <https://www.npr.org/2023/02/25/1154783024/italy-monuments-fascist-architecture> The reflection on the fascist architectural legacy and on the article Why are so many fascist monuments still standing in Italy? by Ruth Ben-Ghiat.
- Pogrebnyak, A. (2023). *Communism: expectations and reality* [Коммунизм: ожидания и реальность]. Arzamas. <https://arzamas.academy/materials/2419> The article explains how Karl Marx envisioned communism and why the Soviet Union failed.
- Pospelova, P. N., Gritsenko, A. V., & Tsitsina, N. V. (Eds.). (1939). *All-Union Agricultural Exhibition. 1939* [Всесоюзная сельскохозяйственная выставка. 1939]. <http://arx.novosibdom.ru/node/2462> Speech by Soviet political, state and party figure Vyacheslav Molotov at the opening of the All-Union Agricultural Exhibition. 1st August 1939.
- The Active Citizen programme summarises the results of the vote on the theme: VDNH: Deciding Together* [В рамках программы «Активный гражданин» подведены итоги голосования по теме: ВДНХ: решаем вместе]. (2014, July). Vesti-Matushkino. https://vesti-matushkino.ru/active_citizen/187 The results of a survey of citizens about the vision of the future of V.D.N.H.
- The Haus der Kunst. (2017, June 17). *Conversation – Renovate/Innovate. David Chipperfield and Okwui Enwezor*. Youtube; The Haus der Kunst. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=weOnF7SICSw> Commissioned in 2013 for the extensive renovation project, the architect David Chipperfield speaks with the director of the Haus der Kunst Okwui Enwezor under the topic “Renovate/Innovate” about his extensive international experience designing and renovating landmark buildings and museums, about the civic function of museums in the contemporary public sphere, and the role of art institutions as spaces of creativity and production of cultural capital.

The Space Pavilion at V.D.N.H. (2017, February 16).

https://msarchitects.ru/catalog/dizayn-intererov/pavilon-kosmos-na-vdnkh/?sphrase_id=3893 MS Architects' concept for an interactive space museum at the Space Pavilion in cooperation with Axis.

TU München. (2016). *Radikale Ideen für das Haus der Kunst* [*Radical ideas for the Haus der Kunst*]. *Süddeutsche Zeitung*. <https://www.sueddeutsche.de/muenchen/architektur-radikale-ideen-fuer-das-haus-der-kunst-1.3288065> The South German Newspaper asked architecture students from the Technical University of Munich to present their projects of Nazi building redevelopment.

Venyavkin, I. (2018). *The cult of Stalin in the USSR* [*Культ Сталина в СССР*]. Arzamas. <https://arzamas.academy/materials/1367> An article on how the leader of the USSR became a leader, a sage, a prophet and almost an artist.

Vyazemtseva, A. (2020). *The Architecture of the Totalitarian Period and Modern Historical Memory: "Difficult Heritage" in the Era of Capitalist Globalization*. *Philosophical Letters. Russian and European Dialogue*, 3(2), 190–206. <https://doi.org/10.17323/2658-5413-2020-3-2-190-206> Is it legitimate to leave the "difficult heritage" of architecture as a part of the urban environment of a modern city? There are different results of the interaction of modern culture with them: from demolition to critical comprehension, and sometimes to complete neutralization of their negative meaning. Often, the initiators of "requalification" of such objects are state structures or large commercial structures, and the performers are important representatives of modern architecture, offering typical solutions for dealing with historical memory. The report analyzes some examples of the interaction of architects, authorities and mass culture with architectural objects of the dictatorship's heritage in Italy, Germany and Russia.

