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The book describes the artists’ milieu that consolidated around the squat, as well as the role of the place and the transitional era that left a mark on the artists’ worldview. The publication attempts to convey the vibrant atmosphere of the 1990s, associated primarily with active art production and a dynamic exhibition scene as seen in their inalienable connection to the quotidian life dominated by the feeling of frenzied freedom and the affirmation of a different status of an artist.

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PinchukArtCentre has over its 10 years existence tried to engage new generations in believing and building a future in and for Ukraine. But building a future without understanding and mapping one's history is nearly impossible. This is why we started the research platform. With the support of a team of young researchers and a community of artists and art-professionals the PinchukArtCentre takes up this responsibility, creating an archive of the recent Ukrainian art history.

But an archive is not enough. We need to create discourse and discussion. Therefore we have devote several months a year the entire 4th floor of the PinchukArtCentre to projects that build upon our research. The exhibitions, often co-developed with invited curators, aim to challenge certain understandings or propose concepts that re-vitalize and re-value moments from the pasts, movements and equally art-works and artists.

ParCommune. Place. Community. Phenomenon. is the first in a series of exhibitions that investigates a specific geographically limited time-frame in Ukrainian art history. To be more exact, the four years where Kiev became not only relevant as a place of artistic production but a capital for the cultural development of Ukrainian contemporary art. Parcommune was a street, a building, a movement, a friendship and a way of life that lasted only for four years but remained firmly anchored in the work of those involved and the imagination of generations to come.

This publication and the exhibition that coincided with it, attempts to create an understanding of this period and place while mapping it as a moment, strongly defined by the social political context of Ukraine at that time. It is the start of a series of publications that will draw upon the discoveries and archival work of the Research Platform at PinchukArtCentre.

Björn Geldhof
IN EACH NEW STUDIO, SASHA WOULD FIRST HANG UP
A BEIGE FRENCH CURTAIN HE HAD ONCE BORROWED FROM
THE UNION OF ARTISTS, KNOCK TOGETHER A PALETTE FROM
WHATEVER WAS AT HAND, AND NAIL A CANVAS TO A WALL
WITH SIDE LIGHTING. THE CURTAIN KEPT THE REAL
WORLD, WITH ITS TURBULENT 90S, AT BAY. WE FELT LIKE THE
CHARACTERS IN BULGAKOV’S THE WHITE GUARD. IT DIDN’T
MATTER WHO WAS BEHIND THE BEIGE CURTAIN: THE REDS
OR THE WHITES. WE LIVED IN A PARALLEL WORLD OF OUR
OWN, WITH MOZART AND NAPOLEON, MOONLIGHT
HUNTER AND BURATINO, THE INFANTA AND THE FUTURIST
AS ITS HEROES. IT SMELLED OF COSMIC SOUP
AND KILLER FLOWERS.

NATALIA FILONEKO

The Late Soviet Kyiv Bohemians: On the Significance of the Paris Commune Squat

TATIANA KOCHUBINSKA

In his book "Bohemianism: The Experience of a Community", Oleg Aronson noted that “the history of bohemianism is based not so much on documents as on literary works.”

The same can be said about the artists’ squat on Paris Commune Street (today Mykhailivska Street) in Kyiv, known simply as the ParCommune: its history is revealed to us through memoirist experience, where it is described in terms of drive and euphoria, daring experiments, and freedom owing to a state of internal liberation and “baring of the soul.” The works of the ParCommune, too, are analysed primarily from the “mundane-revolutionary” perspective, in which the artistic process is dissolved in the “warmth of cooking borscht.” This article attempts to get to the bottom of the Paris Commune phenomenon and to analyse its activities through the lens of “bohemianism” in the context of late Soviet culture.

1 Oleg Aronson, Bogema: opyt soobshchestva (Moscow: Fond «Pragmatika kultury», 2002), 17.
The ParCommune opens a page in the history of contemporary Ukrainian art (in its Kyiv version) and at the same time embodies the transformative processes typical of the late Soviet period. In its creative practice, the ParCommune is a product of late Soviet culture, marked by ideological liberalization and new conditions of life, which coincidently spelled the twilight of the Soviet era and created space for new modes of existence.

From the late 1980s through the early 1990s, various artistic groups in Ukraine existed in isolation from one another: landmark artistic processes in Kharkiv, Lviv, Odesa, and Uzhhorod seemed to occur in parallel, nonconvergent universes. Each city had its own paradigm shift in worldview and its own starting point for contemporary art. In Kyiv, this paradigm was made manifest by the works of the artists of the Paris Commune squat. Its story has become overgrown with conjecture, hyperbole, and rumor, giving rise to the myth of the Paris Commune as an artistic phenomenon that marks the start of the history of contemporary Ukrainian art. Treating, for example, “The Woes of Cleopatra” by Arsen Savadov and Georgii Senchenko (illustration on page 70) as the starting point of this history holds true primarily for Kyiv and, to a great extent, for the ParCommune circle. Today, however, this assertion would lead to a reductive understanding of contemporary Ukrainian art and would limit it to a local, Kyiv milieu with a focus on painting.

The ParCommune, a social and cultural community preserved in time and space, marked a historical stage. One might say that the ParCommune phenomenon is interesting not so much for the new creative language it introduced as for its innovative social and cultural model of artistic cohabitation: the artists lived side by side in large communal apartments. The very existence of such a squat, which emerged when there were no acceptable codified value systems, marked the beginning of an “interstitial” period of a profound social, ideological, and cultural retreat from ideologized art was in itself an ideological gesture that lay the foundations for the emergence of a new liberal culture. Even if their resistance was no longer against the ruling regime, but a mode of existence as a form of resistance against everything systemic, against philistinism, and against a lack of culture in general.

The squat’s activity coincided with the difficult period fraught with the toppling of “idols,” ambiguity, attempts to discover one’s role and place in a world brimming with questions, a rethinking of values, and the inability to determine right from wrong, when everything was being questioned: “Life itself took a turn to where you could no longer distinguish heroism from crime, or the defense of ‘law and order’ from the defense of the unlimited power of the old “nomenklatura” and new oligarchs.” This was a time when “disrespect” for authority was spreading and was even cultivated, while noncompliance with official bureaucratic directives was becoming the norm.

This counterposition between the individual and the authorities continued to exist, but the fear of authority was replaced with contempt for it: “past a certain point, you stop respecting the authorities. Their power is unlimited but ambiguous. It is not manifested in the form of a persuasive and tangible instrument of action, and, as a result, you start to question, or even doubt, the very existence of authority.” In this environment of transience, artists found shelter in the squat, where an alternative universe already existed. This attempt to retreat into their own shell was a reaction to social upheavals. This, however, was typical of the early, “heroic” period in the history of the ParCommune, before its first international shows and the commercial successes of its members.

The artists of the ParCommune developed against the backdrop of momentous shifts in the Soviet Ukraine of the late 1980s through the early 1990s. Political events, at a time of economic crisis, artists found shelter in the squat, where an alternative universe already existed. This attempt to retreat into their own shell was a reaction to social upheavals. This, however, was typical of the early, “heroic” period in the history of the ParCommune, before its first international shows and the commercial successes of its members.

The ParCommune developed against the backdrop of momentous shifts in the Soviet Ukraine of the late 1980s through the early 1990s. Political events, at a time of the collapse of grand narratives and ideologies, produced an art that was highly apolitical by its very nature and proclaimed its detachment from the mainstream. However, this retreat from ideologized art was in itself an ideological gesture that lay the foundations for the emergence of a new liberal culture.

The freedom manifest in their daily lives extended equally to the works of artists whose very lifestyle embodied the romantic images of the characters from “Assa” or the slogan...
“Our hearts demand change.” From the standpoint of art, the most productive period in the life of the ParCommune artists was the squat on Kyiv’s Lenin Street, which existed in 1990 and which in later historiography was subsumed into the ParCommune phenomenon. It is there that Oleksandr Hnylytskyi, Dmytro Kavsan, and Valeria Troubina created their most iconic works. Which is to say that the process of changes and the evolution of a new Kyiv school of painting were largely completed by the early 1990s: “The history of the new Ukrainian art began three years before Ukraine declared her independence” writes Konstantin Akinsha.

Were the works of the ParCommune the beginning of a new art or, rather, the final phase of the large Soviet art project and a product of its late Soviet stage? There is little doubt that the works of the ParCommune represent the period of transition from the late Soviet era to the new liberal way of life. The artists chose a mode of escapism based on ignoring everything that pertained to the system. At the same time, they continued developing the form of large canvases, replacing the usual industrial and collective farm workers with rhythms of codes, interpretations, and meanings.

At this time, the ParCommune artists started to adopt modes of interaction with the professional community that were new and unfamiliar to them, but well-known in the West. These included talking with curators and critics and discussions about exhibitions, which in Kyiv were then usually confined to showing individual works and were only beginning to define certain artists’ groups. This process of socialization and “growing up” was typical for the late Soviet period. Recalling those life-changing years, the Russian artist Yuri Albert described them as follows: “Now I understand that the situation was rather illusory, but I remember that there was a time when I would set out to do something and would automatically pick up the 2 × 1.5 meters canvas format. This greatly changed our perspective: the first exhibitions began and they transformed our private—or not so much private as underground — activity into public activity. […] We used to be our own viewers. […] Now we had to produce and show something.”

In the ParCommune, these processes occurred later than in Moscow. What set the ParCommune artists apart was the absence of experience in the underground: they were not familiar with the risks faced by artists in unofficial circles. They emerged as artists apart was the absence of experience in the underground: they were not familiar with the risks faced by artists in unofficial circles. They emerged as artists after the Youth Exhibitions of 1986 and 1987. Although they had never been nonconformists, the bureaucracy in Kyiv saw them as a countercultural group.

Although the ParCommune squat was short-lived, lasting barely four years, its activity can be provisionally divided into two stages. The first was marked by a search for shelter, which the artists found in a squat, in a collective where art became the mode of communication. This stage ended with the first sales, the first successful members’ shows, especially in the Central House of Artists, and the first tours abroad.

These changes brought with them a search for the individual as artists attempted to find their own voice and affirm its uniqueness. In this sense, the ParCommune is best described not as a community but as a “scene” (tusovka), as defined by Viktor Misiano: “A group seeking individual self-actualization rather than consolidation. This made the 1990s ‘scene’ an internally conflict-laden, self-destructive community.”

The metaphor of the “short 20th century” is fully applicable to the ParCommune: during its four-year existence, its members witnessed the collapse of the Soviet system, the emergence of a new country, the first trips beyond the Iron Curtain, creative experiments, and much else besides. Their mark can be distinguished in many areas.

The ParCommune is best characterized by its denial of all things pertaining to the system, which had brought its members into the Western context of the “anti-system of culture” of the day. Their worldview was shaped in an environment typical of the view of the world prevailing in the late Soviet era. This was an environment of lost guideposts, which prompted creative individuals to form communities of like-minded people, in which dialogue was as essential as air. The cultural codes of the ParCommune’s works leaned towards postmodernism, and at the same time brought to a close the Soviet era of grand paintings. Indeed it was the group’s paintings that proved the potential of commercial success and established the primacy of the painting tradition over the discursive.

The realization that they were competitive in the market apparently trumped other considerations. The yearning for individualism took the artists of the ParCommune into the new era of the 1990s, where everyone had to fend for themselves, be responsible only for themselves, manage their own careers, and seek their own place in the sun. The era of collectivism had run its course, the old communication ties were broken. The idea that “bohemians and communities are made manifest in their disappearance” was applied perfectly to the ParCommune. It was a community of larger-than-life personalities highlighted by their affinity to one another. These men and women of gesture will be remembered as a vivid page in the history of Ukrainian art of the transitional era.

6 Asya (1987) is a perestroika-era cult film by the Russian director Sergei Solovyov, depicting the life of the informal artistic milieu of the time. The end of the film features Viktor Tsoi’s song “I Want Change!”
9 Namely, the 17th Youth Exhibition of the Moscow Union of Artists, organized without the censorship of the exhibition committee (see Danil Donduy, “Kultura upakovok,” Khudozhestvennyi zhurnal, 2003, No. 56 — http://xz.gif.ru/numbers/56/dondrous/), and the last Ad-Union Art Exhibition The Country’s Youth, where Savadov’s and Serchenko’s The Wave of Cleopatra made an appearance.
10 I am referring to the 1990 solo shows of Oleh Holosi (October 12–26) and Arsen Savadov/Georgii Serchenko (November 1–17) in the Central House of Artists in Moscow.
12 See Iakymovych, Polety nad bezdnoi, 368.
13 Anson, Bogema: opyt soobshchestv, 57.
The romantic revolutionary aura surrounding the Paris Commune art squat still prevails in art history and scholarship. The goal of this article is to offer a detailed history of the squat and to reveal mutual influences and connections among the artists. To this end, it uses a dry biographical approach. In fact, the biography of the ParCommune has yet to be written and analysed by a person who did not belong to the artistic milieu of the time.
The Paris Commune was a squat established in 1990 in Kyiv at Paris Commune Street that existed until 1994. After Ukraine gained independence, the street's historical name Mykhailivska was restored, but the artists kept calling both the street and their squat after the revolutionary government of Paris. Thus the name of the street—ParCommune for short—came to denote a whole phenomenon in the contemporary Ukrainian art that emerged during the turbulent era of revolutionary political, economic, social, and aesthetic changes.

The majority of critical materials in the late 1980s through the beginning of the 1990s were written by Oleksandr Soloviov, an art critic and historian who had an office on one of the floors of the ParCommune squat. In his early articles (“Adrift,” “The History of the 1990s Art of Ukraine (Reflections),” “On the Roads of Depainting,” etc.), Soloviov sought to contextualize the art of the Paris Commune, whereas his later writings, including the “Point Zero. The Newest History of Ukrainian Art” project (co-authored with Alisa Lozhkina), focus on sketching out a periodization of the phenomenon. Hlib Vysheslavskyi and Oleksandr Klymenko wrote about the Kyiv squat in the context of Soviet and post-Soviet spaces. The texts crucial to an understanding of the phenomenon include the articles “Chicken Kyiv, or The Wreath on the Grave of Ukrainian Postmodernism” [Kotleta po-kievski, ili Venok na mogilu ukrainskogo postmodernizma] and “Victims of Painting” [Zhertvy zhivopysu] by Konstantin Akinsha, and publications in periodicals of the time by Oleh Sydor, Olena Romanenko, Kateryna Stukalova, Halyna Skliarenko, Nadia Pryhodych, and others. The artists themselves also occasionally published texts that were no less important for the understanding of the artistic process.
At the turn of the 1980s–1990s, squats—informal unions of artists, mostly painters, living together in a house or flat—started to spring up in Moscow, Leningrad, and eventually Kyiv. Moscow boasted squats on Trekhprudny and Furmanny Lanes, as well as on Chistoprudny Boulevard; Leningrad had one on Pushkin Street. Similar processes occurred in Kyiv. These places were most often occupied illegally or semi-legally. The Paris Commune was one of the very few such squats in Kyiv. Artists established studios on adjacent streets too, so that, as Soloviov recalled, a part of central Kyiv began to look like New York’s Soho.

The ParCommune was an artistic scene, a “beehive,” a place where professional contacts and personal relationships were struck up chaotically; it was “a romance without a thread of romanticism.” The future squat residents (artists Oleksandr Hnylytskyi, Oleg Golosiy, Dmytro Kavsan, Oleksandr Klymenko, Valeria Troubina, and others) met at the Kyiv State Art Institute. Arsen Savadov and Georgii Senchenko, who were several years their seniors, also studied there.

The Sedniv plein-air residencies of 1988 and 1989, organized by the Union of Artists of Ukraine with the support of Tiberiy Szilvashi (the then head of the union’s youth branch), had also played an important role in the emergence of the community. In Sedniv, Hnylytskyi, Golosiy, and Troubina met their colleagues from all over Ukraine: Odesite Oleksandr Roitburd, Zakarpattia native Pavlo Kerestey, Kharkivite Pavlo Makov, and others. In the autumn of 1989, soon after Sedniv, Oleksandr Klymenko found a space for studios on Lenin Street (now Bohdan Khmelnytsky Street), where he was joined by Leonid Vartyvanov, Oleksandr Hnylytskyi, Oleg Golosiy, Dmytro Kavsan, Kostiantyn Reunov, Yuri Solomko, Oleh Tistol, Valeria Troubina, and Vasyl Tsalolov. Oleksandr Soloviov maintains that the “Lenin Street” period was the most productive: more paintings were produced there than later in the ParCommune.

The young artists did not stay on Lenin Street for long: they had to look for a new shelter in the summer of 1990, when their building was scheduled for renovation. Eventually they found the premises on Paris Commune Street. There are various accounts of how the artists wound up there, and who specifically arranged for getting the keys. One version has it that Oleksandr Klymenko got the keys from his friend, a young Kyiv businessman. By this point, nobody knows why a businessman had turned over an empty building for use by artists. Soon the abandoned building was transformed into personal studios and living quarters: Valeria Troubina, Oleg Golosiy, Dmytro Kavsan, Leonid Vartyvanov, and Yuri Solomko settled on the second floor, while the fifth floor became home to Oleksandr Hnylytskyi with his wife Natalia Filonenko and daughter Ksenia Hnylytska, Vasyl Tsalolov with his art scholar wife Nadia Pryhodych, Oleksandr Klymenko, and Oleksandr Soloviov with his artist wife Tetiana Lariushyna.

Arsen Savadov and Georgii Senchenko occupied the first floor in a squat in Sofiivska Street, next to Mykhailivska Street, while the second floor was shared by Illia Chicchkan and Illia Isupov. Irynynska Street also boasted a squat shared by Tetiana Halochkina,

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2. The squat on Paris Commune Street was not the first. At the time that the artists moved in there, Illia Chicchkan and his wife were already living in a large building next to October Revolution Square (now Independence Square), having received the keys by informal arrangement with the municipal services housing management office.
3. According to Oleksandr Soloviov, there may have been some variations.

Especially welcome at the ParCommune were fellow artists, particularly from Odesa like Oleksandr Roitburd and others, “a few years younger, unencumbered by professional training, [people] who, when they visited the ParCommune, brought with them a whiff of punk and radicalism...” The list included Dmytro Dulfan, Dmytro Liheiros, and Andrii Kazandzhi, among others.4 Another important figure was Odesa native Sergey Anufriev, who was closely connected with the Moscow conceptualists.5

Gradually, the squat turned into a social scene with never-ending parties that, according to Oleksandr Soloviov, rivalled traditional weddings in scale,6 with dancing and singing until the wee hours of the morning.7 The parties were often thematic. For example, Viktoria Parkhomenko remembers “a red evening” when everything had to be red, from red velvet curtains to red borscht. Musicians, primarily rockers, were important guests at the regular parties.8 Oleksandr Klymenko maintains that it was precisely the music (mostly rock and electronic) and psychotropic substances that set the Paris Commune scene apart from another community known as the Painting Preserve.9

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5 The friendship and collaboration between the artists Hnylytskyi and Anufriev produced the According to the Plan exhibition at Moscow’s Gallery 1.0 in 1991 (curated by Katerina Dishot and Volodymyr Lysashuk). According to the curators, the exhibition was an attempt “to define the boundaries of the mental meditative space with its endemic shifts and semantic slides” (Katerina Dishot, “Po planu,” in Kateryna Diohot and Volodymyr Levashov, “Kuratorskii tekst” [Exhibition catalogue], (Perm, 2010), 1).
6 According to the author’s private interview with Oleksandr Soloviov.
7 According to Soloviov and Kerestey, each party attended by Roitburd inevitably ended with Roitburd singing. Anatoli Hankevych, however, insists that he and Roitburd sang in tandem and that his voice lent the duet melodiousness.
8 In a private interview with Katerina Iakshchenko, the art critic Oleksandr Soloviov noted: “The musicians were good. There were many bands, such as Medlennyi Rul, Kaphetiga | DJ Deerbustler, DJ Sokolov, Ivanov Doren, Foni from the future band Mandry, ShakeItight, and others.”
9 According to the author’s private interview with Oleksandr Klymenko.

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1989. Oil on canvas. 110 × 100 cm

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Two-month residencies organized by the Union of Artists of the Ukrainian SSR in the town of Sedniv on the Snov River (Chernihiv Oblast), at the House of Arts of the Sedniv Art Bureau of the Ukrainian SSR. In contemporary Ukrainian art scholarship, the term “Sedniv plein-airs” usually refers to the residencies of 1988-1991, organized by the art scholar Oleksandr Soloviov and Tiberiy Szilvashi, head of the Youth Section of the Union of Artists. These residencies were instrumental in the formation of the art scene and informed the trajectory of the new Ukrainian art. After the first residency, the Republican House of Artists in Kyiv hosted the extracurricular report show Sedniv-88. The exhibition’s last day included a fierce debate that overflowed onto the pages of the Kultura i shvityta (Culture and Life) newspaper: “the report exhibition Sedniv-88 stuns the audience with evidence that Ukrainian fine art is declining and pedestrian.”10 In 1989, the report exhibition was hosted by the State Museum of Ukrainian Art (now the National Art Museum of Ukraine). Unlike the “breakthrough” 1988 residency, the 1991 plein-air did not provoke a radical response.

Tiberiy Szilvashi: “At the second Sedniv plein-air, I mentored those who came to be known as ‘plastic artists,’ while Oleksandr Soloviov took on those who leaned towards postmodernism. On my part, this was a perfectly rational endeavor to develop what has become known as the modernist discourse. After the 1920s, it no longer existed here, obviously. And, in general, the situation had no parallels in art history: we saw modernist and postmodernist movements in painting evolve at the same time. We were watching the birth of a new art, which was selecting and digesting over the course of two months what it had been deprived of for decades. All that remained was the formation of two groups, the Painting Preserve and the Paris Commune. The most important thing that happened at our plein-airs was the emergence of a generation. A generation that was aware of its shared basis for a common ground, both in a feeling of freedom and in plastic qualities. I think that all these artists would have been successful even without Sedniv, but there would be no generation as such.”11
The party scene: dancing, daily life, 1990-1994
Their gatherings featured screenings of movies by famous directors (Antonioni, Visconti, Greenaway, Spielberg, Tarkovsky, and others), readings of various works (including the "Tibetan Book of the Dead" and the books of Carlos Castaneda), discussions of ideas, and "familial" performances.

Anatoliy Hankevych summed it up well when he said that “the ParCommune was the space of power and freedom, where everything happened, all the revolutions” documented by the cameras of Oleksandr Druhanov and Mykola Trokh.

The main thing about the young artists was the fact that they were different from the generation that preceded them. Valeria Troubina’s interviews often mention the incredible boundless spiritual freedom of artists, which gave them unrestricted liberty of action. She often explained this by saying that she herself, Golosiy, and Hnylytskyi did not come from esteemed artistic families and were not even locals. All three came from the provinces and didn’t have two coins to rub together: Troubina was born in Luhansk, Hnylytskyi in Kharkiv, Golosiy came from Dnipro, and Golosiy also noted this “regional” feature in his curatorial introduction entitled “Late Art” to the “Dead Calm” exhibition (1992).

The artists underscored their otherness by wearing frilled shirts and theatrical costumes, “from shantung suits to 1950s hats,” creating an image of a bohemian “Parisian.” Illia Chichkan sewed himself unique suits from scraps bought at the Sinnyi flea market. For example, he sewed a coat out of a bright rug for his wife, Tetiana Iliakhova. As Natalia Filonenko put it, the artist was a hero or at least believed that he was one.

This “new fragile generation” — blue-eyed, romantic, sentimental, without a fixed take on contemporary art — needed someone who would take charge. This responsibility fell to the art critic and scholar Oleksandr Soloviov: he took on the role of “speaking” for the artists, interpreting their works, and placing them into the broad cultural context. Soloviov’s article about the Sedniv residencies of the late 1980s entitled “The Space of Tolerance,” appearing in the Kyiv weekly “Kultura i zhyttia,” made quite an impact, starting a vibrant discussion about new art in the newspaper. Soloviov’s text “A Sketch of Young Ukrainian Art (The View from Kyiv)” became programmatic; in it he essentially juxtaposed the young artists Golosiy, Hnylytskyi, and Troubina with the slightly older Savadov and Senchenko that had already shot to fame in Moscow. The contrast is also interesting in that the young artists were provincials without a background in art or previous access to any artistic circles, unlike, for example, Arsen Savadov, who was born in the capital in the family of the artist whose works graced Brezhnev’s study.

Another important figure was the art critic Konstantin Akinsha, who worked in Moscow’s first commercial gallery MARS. Having met the young Roitburd, Golosiy, Hnylytskyi, and other artists of the ParCommune, he introduced them to the curator Andrew Brown and Sylvia Hochfield, the editor of the “ARTnews” magazine. The ParCommune is notable for its peculiar “painting boom”: everyone painted, including even Oleksandr Hnylytsky’s wife Natalia Filonenko, who was not a painter and eventually became a curator. She calls her works “an unserious experience,” yet her “Tour les jours” was exhibited at the first programmatic “Painters of the Paris Commune” exhibition (1991). An important role in this boom was played by the commercial

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10 According to Katerina Iakovlenko’s private interview with Anatoliy Hankevych.
12 Ibid.
Vasyl Tsaholov.

Père Lachaise at Karl Marx Street (1993).


During the performance “Père Lachaise at Karl Marx Street, or the Execution of the Paris Communards”, the artists, most of whom lived in the Paris Commune Street squat, reenacted a gangland shootout on Karl Marx Street in downtown Kyiv (now Horodetskoho Street). The artists obtained official permission from the Kyiv Municipal Administration to film the performance. On the one hand, the performance reflected the crisis-ridden post-Soviet era, when criminal standoffs were seen as the norm. On the other, the performance was a reaction to the eviction of the artists from their squat.

The “Karl Marx-Père Lachaise” performance represented Vasyl Tsaholov’s general conception of “hard TV,” which consisted in viewing the world as a biological fiction. According to Tsaholov, any global ideology in politics or art leads predictably to a criminal finale. The symbolic execution of the new Communards (who lived and worked in the squat at Paris Commune Street) was staged during the last days of the squat’s existence and brought to a close the first period in the history of contemporary art in Kyiv.

Performances were mostly interventions into public spaces, as in “The Sleeping Princess”, “Prize for a Video—Real Camera”, “Karl Marx’s—Père Lachaise”, etc. “Magic Mirror. Live Paintings”, shot by Hnylytskyi, Filonenko, and Mamsikov, entered the history of Ukrainian video art as one of the first works in the medium.

The squat was initially a rather closed community, but the situation changed in 1992: the circle of artists staying in the ParCommune kept expanding, and the artists themselves occasionally travelled abroad. Oleg Golosiy divided his time between Kyiv and Moscow, and his works were actively bought by the Moscow collector Vladimir Ovcharenko (Regina Gallery, Moscow). Savadov-Senchenko might have been the first artists to sell a work to a foreign institution, but Golosiy was said to be the first to sign a contract with a private gallery.

14 In 1990, the National Art Museum of Ukraine held an exhibition entitled Ukrainian Paintings of the 20th Century, which brought together Ukrainian modernism and “the new postmodern art” in a shared space and context.
16 Ibid.
18 At that time, relations between artist and gallery were based primarily on an oral agreement, a practice followed by many galleries. For example, there is evidence that the YKV Gallery of Contemporary Art may have offered modest scholarships to artists (including Oleksandr Klymenko, Maksym Mamsikov, and Illia Chichkan), but the conditions of these grants remain unclear.
Oleksandr Hnylytskyi, Maksym Mamsikov, Natalia Filonenko.

In their “Funfair Mirrors. Tableau Vivant” project, Oleksandr Hnylytskyi, Maksym Mamsikov, and Natalia Filonenko pose among five funfair mirrors bought at a dismantled funhouse. They dance, touching one another, themselves, and surrounding objects, enjoying their distorted reflections. All the while, a video camera documents their “experiments.”

According to the artists, “The project envisioned the collection, systematization, and exploration of virtual spaces created by reflections in planes with set degrees of distortion through tracking and the documentary fixation of visual effects that appear spontaneously from interactions between the documenting subject (video cameras), filters that transform visual information (the optical apparatus, funfair mirrors), and objects (performers, things and animals).”

Preparation for the project lasted several months. Hnylytskyi meticulously developed gestures and frames in a series of graphic drafts and sketches. Original videos were stored on 15 VHS tapes, whereabouts unknown. There are several existent cuts of the video, which bear the names “Beatles Legs”, “Funfair Mirrors. Tableau Vivant”, etc.

The film is comprised of three parts. The first part shows Maksym Mamsikov hastily making a camera of polystyrene at his studio at the Paris Commune squat, with a plastic cup replacing the lens. In the second part, Mamsikov wanders the streets of Kyiv and the places that were symbolic for squat residents, “filming” everything he sees. At the same time, Oleksandr Hnylytskyi documents both Mamsikov’s actions and everything happening around him, from the city residents’ indifference to the pointed interest of policemen. In the third part of the film, the fake camera itself becomes an exhibit at the experimental “exhibition” space of the Paris Commune squat. The camera’s meaning is brought to the foreground by its placement next to a TV, where it is reflected on the screen. French blinds put a finishing touch to the composition. This performance is a document of the era and the squat as such.


Oleksandr Hnylytskyi invited his friends and fellow artists, mostly from the Paris Commune squat, to join his performance “The Sleeping Beauty”, which reenacted a funeral procession. Dressed in their bohemian theatrical costumes, with flowers, the performers started their procession at 18-A Mykhailivska Street and carried a glass coffin (made by Hnylytskyi) through the streets of Kyiv. The performance continued at the water facilities of Pershotravnevyi Park (now the Museum of Water). The coffin was placed in the center of a room, and in it the naked sleeping beauty (female participants took turns playing the role) masturbated to an audio recording of Hnylytskyi’s poem. The author had especially distorted the audio to resemble the recognizable nasal sound of the 1990s dubbing of foreign-language films.

The institutionalization of culture started during those days. The first galleries emerged, and the Space of Cultural Revolution was established to promote art based on new technologies (1994, chair: Tatiana Savadova). Its organizers were the first to receive support from sponsors and grants for organizing events.

At the same time, Centers for Contemporary Art began to spring up in Kyiv and other cities of the former USSR with the financial support of George Soros. Marta Kuzma, who used to frequent the Paris Commune, became the first director of its Kyiv branch.

Today Lesia Zaiats summarizes the experience of those days as follows: “From the outside, the ParCommune seemed decadent and scandalous, but in reality it was a very productive and communicative hub.” For some of the ParCommune’s residents, this period and the squat itself remain an integral part of their biographies, uniting the personal and the professional (this is true primarily for Valeria Troubina, Oleg Golosiy, and Oleksandr Hnylytskyi). For some, like Vasyl Tashovol and Yuri Solomko, it was little more than a workspace or a studio, while some came there to hang out and pursue creative collaboration. But the “hub” could not last long, and there came a point when the “smell of borscht overpowered the smell of oil.”

As early as 1993, Oleh Sydor-Hibelinda published an article — in essence, an obituary — entitled “La Commune parisienne, or the Symphony of Decay” in the Kultura i zhyttia newspaper, in which he contended that “the ‘Paris Commune’ is dead, gone, finished, over.” He dated its end to the death of Golosiy, the Mozart of the ParCommune, Slon, “a brilliant teenager, or, better yet, an Eternal Teenager, the song thrush of the springtime of the new era” who died tragically in early 1993.
Sydor–Hibelinda noted that the artists were no longer interesting as a unit but rather were becoming interesting as creative individuals.

Be that as it may, the first successes, fame, and the envy of their ParCommune colleagues and neighbours created rifts between the artists. Each sought to become a big name. “This was the generation of the artists of the 1980s–1990s, the generation of patriarchs.”23 “They were all very strong, very vivid, very different personalities. They could coexist, but only on an ad hoc basis, and not for long. They were always very envious of one another.”24 Solomko recalls that he was invited to the ParCommune by Golosiy, saying it’s more interesting together, but in his opinion, the ParCommune “couldn’t be viewed as a cohesive movement. I felt it myself: one had to fight hard to avoid getting into trouble and to be different from all.”25

Vasyl Tsaholov, who worked in the Paris Commpune squat from its earliest days and met his first wife Nadia Pryhodych there, notes post factum: “No umbilical cord ties me to the ParCom. Everything ties me to Kyiv, but nothing to the ParCom.”26 Hnylytskyi contends that “the word ‘movement’ doesn’t fit [the ParCommune]. A ‘movement’ has at least a manifesto, not always, of course, but often. Here, in this case, a manifesto may have been possible, but it was never written.”27

Several factors hastened the dissolution of the Paris Commune:
- physical separation: Golosiy died, Troubina left for the U.S. with her new husband Volodymyr Berezhnyi, and Oleksandr Hnylytskyi moved to Munich, where he married Lesia Zaiats. Hnylytskyi’s departure meant the disappearance of the last link holding the diverse group together;
- the municipal authorities ultimately took back the Paris Commune building and cordoned it off with a construction fence.

El Kravchuk, a Ukrainian musician close to the Paris Commune, describes those days as follows: “That, too, affected us strongly: the first understanding of the digital era, of digital cameras that came to replace analogue ones. This had a powerful effect on our personalities. Analogue meant feelings, the soul, emotions, whereas digital is always cold math and clear pixels. The community known as the ‘Paris Commune’ went digital.”28

Golosiy’s paintings illustrate this process: rough pastose works become airy, almost washed out analogue photographs where time erases images, merging them with the white background until there is nothing left but memories of the participants of the events and legends that could become screenplays or novels about the Ukrainian bohemians.

Obviously, witnesses and relatives of the ParCommune members will provide more information about the phenomenon. The number of witnesses will grow, although their physical number is dwindling. All of this, of course, will offer new revelations to art historians interested in the period. Because in the absence of an archive of contemporary art, consistent documentation of history, and a uniform approach to surviving documents

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23 Kateryna Iakovlenko’s interview with Pavlo Kerestey, April 19, 2016.
24 Kateryna Iakovlenko’s interview with Oksana Baryshynska, April 22, 2016.
25 Quoted from Desiateryk, “Tam, de zhushchuietsia chas.” Den. Accessed at http://day.kyiv.ua/uk/article/kultura/tam-de-
grushchuietsya-chas.
26 Ibid.
27 Ibid.
28 Quoted from Kateryna Iakovlenko’s private interview with Andrii (El) Kravchuk.
reviews and newspaper publications, artists’ manifestos, etc.), the names and projects of the early 1990s are getting erased. This “organized obliteration” has played a dirty trick on many names that have been long marginalized for one reason or another: some may have taken a break from art and temporarily switched to related applied fields like design or video, and some may have ended their careers in art. Take Georgii Senchenko, for example, who switched to design in 1996; or, say, Volodymyr Iershynihin, who, aside from painting, in the early 1990s had been creating conceptual projects and working in video art with Viacheslav Mashnytskyi, but withdrew from art from the mid-1990s until the mid-2000s; or Viktoria Parkhomenko, who is now a restaurateur but experimented with light-boxes and photography until 1996; or Mykola Trokh and Leonid Vartyvanov, who died early without leaving a systematized archive or bibliography. This list of names can be continued.

The Paris Commune was only one part of the artistic life of Kyiv of the late 1980s to the 1990s, four years in the private and creative life of its members that had, without a doubt, left a mark on their later works.
A period of working together united the artists of the ParCommune circle, but no manifesto or professed goal unified their works. Their creative pursuits were often presented in collective exposition and exhibition projects featuring both members of the squat and the artists who belonged to the ParCommune circle. This article is an attempt to describe significant collective exhibitions, the majority of which are yet to be described, conceptualized, or analyzed. Access to the private archives of Oleksandr Soloviov, Ihor Oksametnyi, Arsen Savadov, and others made possible a comprehensive analysis of exhibitions, which can serve as a basis for tracing the development of the art market, ideas, artistic ambitions, and creative solidarity.
Between the 1987 all-Union exhibition “The Country’s Youth” and the beginning of institutionalization, marked by the opening of the Soros Center for Contemporary Art in Kyiv in 1993, exhibitions were not regulated by official agencies or ruled by market demand. Georgii Senchenko comprehensively described that period as follows: “What does the market expect of an artist? Recognizability. This disciplines us. What a ‘free artist’ wants though is new experience. That’s hardly compatible with discipline. But we were not really integrated into the market, so we were free to do whatever we wanted.”

That period saw the emergence of the first private collections of contemporary Ukrainian art. Impresssed by Ukrainian artists since the 1987 Moscow Youth Show, the collector and beginner gallerist Marat Guelman invested in Ukrainian art and consistently bought the works of ParCommune artists. The collection of their paintings was the cornerstone of Guelman’s large “Babylon” exhibition (1990, Moscow, the Palace of Youth), which played a decisive role in the subsequent evolution of his career as a curator and gallerist. With this project, Guelman sought to delocalize the ParCommune phenomenon by putting it under the umbrella of the “South Russian Wave” brand. Thus the works of these artists were initially united into a “choir” to better export them. Of course, in Moscow, through which the way to the outside world then lay, this “choir” contrasted with the reigning Moscow conceptualism, so that their large-scale paintings were bought up by collectors who missed a vibrant palette and textured brushwork.

Starting in 1991, banks began to spring up in Kyiv. Their directors often had an interest in contemporary art and created corporate collections. Works of the ParCommune artists constituted the foundations of the collections of Ukrincombank and Hradobank. The same years saw the gradual emergence of the first private galleries, which also tried to sell contemporary art. In the latter half of 1991, the YKV Gallery of Contemporary Art initiated the “Flash Marathon” exhibition series under the direction of Oleksandr Soloviov as its curator, and the “Artists of the Paris Commune” became the first show in the cycle (November 1991). The show marked Oleksandr Soloviov’s first attempt to map the ParCommune circle. Their works were selected and exhibited with an eye to young bankers and businessmen as their audience. It seemed logical that the newly minted business elites would support and buttress the contemporary art of a newly created country as it transitioned to market relations.

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The “Flash Marathon” continued with the “Dead Calm” exhibition (March 1992) and “Letó” (June 1992). “Dead Calm” can be described as the programmatic exhibition of 1992, a true break-through both in its scope and its approach to organization and exposition. It was intended for a general audience and gave the public perhaps the first opportunity to see such a unique, cutting-edge approach to selecting artists and, most important, to organizing the tough exposition space of the exhibition hall of the Union of Artists of Ukraine at 102-104 Gorky Street.

Although the notion of a curator did not yet exist at the time, Oleksandr Soloviov and Konstantin Akinsha — organizers or composers of exhibitions, as noted on the poster for Letó — approached the shows in a manner that would now warrant calling them curator’s projects. The traditional job of “hanging up pictures” was replaced by expositions that engaged with contextual, compositional and, lastly, conceptual meanings. For example, the “Dead Calm” exhibition showed paintings not on walls but in space: they were hung straight from steel frames under the six-meter ceiling. What now seems like a curatorial breakthrough was described by critics of the time as proof that “the artists whose works were featured in the exhibition show a want of persevering creative effort.”2 The dramaturgy of the project developed not through the content of the exhibited works but through spatial arrangements.

The realization that Moscow had ceased to be the only cultural, economic, and political center prompted the curators or organizers of the early 1990s to focus in their exhibition projects primarily on “local differences, produce ‘instant’ [...] synchronic overviews,”3 and immediately highlight stylistic shifts in the art of the day “towards the pursuit of some artificial experimental styles. Or, to be more precise, a somewhat neoclassical, somewhat preromantic, but still decadent pseudo-style, attuned to the time, which is inspired, as a rule, by the fin de siècle mood.”4

Compared to the “Dead Calm” exhibition, Oleksandr Soloviov’s show “Letó” significantly expanded the circle of the artists of the Paris Commune group, exhibiting the works of ten very young artists for the first time. Sviatoslav Iarynych, a critic for the “Kurier muz” newspaper, compared the show to the “unintelligible polyphony of a delivery room or kindergarten.”5 This comparison, however, was elicited primarily by the show’s title: Letó is a Greek goddess who assists in childbirth and protects the health of newborns. This choice of title suggests that the curator Soloviov sought to explore the intentions of the young artists and to promote the contextualization of their works within the framework of the established ParCommune circle of artists.

In the summer of 1993, the YKV Gallery exhibited its collection, consisting mostly of the works of the Paris Commune and the Painting Preserve circles, abroad — in the Astoria Gallery in Helsinki. Interestingly, after the exhibition, these works wound up in a private collection and have never been shown since.

4 Ibid., 120-121.
The largest international project of the ParCommune group was a residency program in Munich for young Ukrainian artists entitled “PostAnaesthesia. Dialog mit Kiew”. The chief goal of the residency was to show Germany a new country that had appeared on the geographic map of Europe. Its curator, Christoph Wiedemann, chose Kyiv as the site of the study. First, Kyiv is Munich’s sister city, and the project was financed by Spielmotor München e.V. (BMW). Second, Wiedemann was interested in what was happening on the other side of the Iron Curtain, besides Moscow conceptualism and Illia Kabakov, which were already known in Europe.6

The project consisted of exhibitions and a four-month residency in Munich, in the old terminal of the Munich Airport. The works brought from Kyiv were exhibited in the Villa Stuck Gallery, whereas the works created during the artists’ residency in Munich were shown in a gallery on Lothringerstraße and in the Grassi Museum in Leipzig.

The title “Postanaesthesia”, which was selected by the artists themselves, described the state of consciousness of the young generation as it awoke from prolonged sleep. In his texts to the exhibition and comments to the media, Wiedemann often emphasized the sociopolitical and economic aspect of the project: the opportunity for artists to earn money for their works, since they had been left alone with their art and a still unfounded art market, in the midst of an economic crisis and without patrons. Wiedemann maintained that the social and economic upheavals left a mark on the works of Ukrainian artists. According to the curator, “dreams and illusions become survival strategies in times of radical changes.”7

Eight Ukrainian artists, all connected in one way or another to the Paris Commune squat, took part in the project: Oleksandr Hnylytskyi, Oleg Golosiy, Oleksandr Druhanov, Dmytro Dulfan, Pavlo Kerestey, Oleksandr Roitburd, Arsen Savadov, and Georgii Senchenko. For many it was the first chance to see the West.

The exhibitions of the “Dialogue with Kyiv” program initiated an important discussion in the Ukrainian artistic milieu about the place of Ukrainian art in the global context and raised the issue of cultural diplomacy. In her review of the Munich exhibition for the “Kultura i zhyttia” newspaper, the art scholar Tamara Tarnavska posed the problem of the representation of Ukrainian culture in the West. Tarnavska harshly criticized the young Ukrainian art for its obscurity; she would have rather had the shows abroad present a more “traditional” school of painting instead of postmodern works. Oleksandr Soloviov responded to her article by urging the need for new and fresh art, which is what the Ukrainian artists had represented. In his interview with Olena Romanenko in the “Kurier muz” newspaper, he explained that Ukrainian art had to embrace “the privilege of outsidership”: “Art is not created for a utilitarian purpose. Seeking to artificially ‘integrate’ (such a tendency exists, and it is fostered by commercial rather than creative interests) is nonsense. Integration is a natural result of the evolution of the local artistic environment, and not at all a goal in itself. Therefore, as a critic, I am interested primarily by the state of Kyiv’s (and more broadly, Ukrainian) artistic environment, and only then everything else.”8

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6 From Tatiana Kochubinskaya and Ksenia Malych’s Skype interview with Christoph Wiedemann, June 2016.

57 / View of the “Dead Calm” exhibition with Leonid Vartyvanov’s works (title and size unknown). Author of video documentation unknown. Still from video documentation of the “Dead Calm” exhibition, digitized from a VHS tape in 2016. Courtesy of Oleksandr Soloviov


Dead Calm

Dates: March 6-21, 1992
Location: Exhibition Hall of the Union of Artists of Ukraine (102-104 Gorky Street), Kyiv, Ukraine
Curators: Oleksandr Soloviov, Konstantin Akinsha
Participants: AES, Leonid Vartyvanov, Hlib Vysheslavskyi, Oleksandr Hnylytskii, Ihor Husiev, Oleksandr Druhanov, Dmytro Dulfan, Volodymyr Iershynych, Pavlo Kerestey, Valerii Koshliakov, Maksym Mamsikov, Viktor Troubina, Illia Chichkan, and others

Maslov, Avdei Ter-Ohanian, Viktoriya Parkhomenko, Kirill Protosenko, Natalia Radovinska, Oleksandr Roitburd, Viktor Trubchaninov, Arsen Savadov, Savadov/Senchenko, Georgii Senchenko, Yuri Solomko, Illia Stomatov, Valeria Troubina, Illia Chichkan, and others
PostAnaesthesia Project (Residency program and three exhibitions)

Participants: Oleksandr Hnylytskyi, Oleg Golosiy, Oleksandr Druhanov, Dmytro Dulfan, Pavlo Kerezey, Oleksandr Roitburd, Arsen Savadov, Georgii Senchenko

“PostAnaesthesia. Dialog mit Kiew” Exhibition
Dates: September 11-27, 1992
Location: Villa Stuck, Munich, Germany

“PostAnaesthesia” Exhibition
Location: Kunstlerwerkstatten Lothingerstrasse, Munich, Germany

“PostAnaesthesia” Exhibition
Dates: January 15 – February 7, 1993
Location: Grassi Museum, Leipzig, Germany

Angels over Ukraine

Dates: August 13 – September 5, 1993
Location: Apostolic Catholic Church, Edinburgh, Scotland
Curator: Andrew Brown
Participants: Oleksandr Hnylytskyi, Oleg Golosiy, Oleksandr Roitburd, Arsen Savadov, Georgii Senchenko, Valeria Troubina, Illia Chichkan
Western reviews of the “PostAnaesthesia. Dialog mit Kiew” and “PostAnaesthesia” exhibitions were mostly in the nature of reports and did not contain critical analyses.

During the residency, the artists visited not only Munich galleries but also the “documenta IX” show in Kassel. The fact that the artists expanded their media arsenal (some even abandoned painting altogether) cannot be divorced from the impact on their consciousness of this huge exhibition of contemporary art. Then again, Wiedemann noted that Savadov and Senchenko were already working in installations, and Oleg Golosiy had set out on the same path. Oleksandr Hnylytskyi probably summarized it best: “We felt as if we were watching the Olympics and our sport wasn’t in the programme.”


Space of Cultural Revolution

Dates: May 26, 1994 – [?]  
Location: Ukrainian House, Kyiv, Ukraine  
Commissars: Tatiana Savadova, Oleksandr Soloviov  
In the opinion of Oleksandr Soloviov, “indeed, the problem of our being ‘out of step’ with the global rhythm, or, rather, of our traditional lagging behind, does exist, but we should not absolutize it. For example, golf isn’t an Olympic sport either, but that doesn’t make it any less attractive or prestigious. Art is not a sport, and the issue of values here is much more complicated, nuanced, and relative. Borderline, marginal, or, if you will, anomalous phenomena sometimes harbor huge potential precisely because they are not ‘incorporated’ into broader structures. Therefore, it makes no sense to feel an inferiority complex just because it’ll be a while before you can afford creative manipulations with laser, or have limited, if any, choice of spaces and hence are ostensibly doomed to create ‘poor art’ (not to be confused with Arte Povera). Because it will ultimately lead you to a dead end.”

The Munich project not only opened a window to Europe for Ukrainian artists but also showed Ukrainian art abroad for perhaps the first time without Moscow’s mediation.

The “Angels Over Ukraine” exhibition—a joint project of Scotland and Ukraine organized in Edinburgh during the theatre festival—was another important international event. Andrew Brown, a Scottish art historian and curator of the 369 Gallery, was the project’s curator. He often visited Moscow and was interested in Soviet art. Unlike Wiedemann, who avoided Moscow’s mediation, Brown became acquainted with Ukrainian art through his Moscow contacts; he was introduced to the Kyiv artists by Konstantin Akinsha, who knew the Paris Commune circle well and was close to them. The “Angels Over Ukraine” exhibition was held in the Catholic Apostolic Church, which had been closed almost a century earlier. The exhibition of Ukrainian postmodern works inaugurated a new stage in the church’s history, this time as an exhibition space.

This fact carried important symbolism for the artists. The theme of the Apocalypse and the end of the world is present in the works of Golosiy, Hnylytskyi, Savadov, Senchenko, Chichkan, Troubina, and Roitburd. Savadov/Senchenko’s lightbox “Paradise Lost” was installed upon the site of the altar, and on the surrounding walls side by side with pre-Raphaelite murals hung giant paintings by Troubina, Chichkan, Golosiy, Roitburd, and Hnylytskyi. Their works—a reaction to the collapse of the large system of the Soviet Union—happened to coincide with the crisis of easel painting and “the death of the author”—not only the abstract author but also the very real artist and friend Oleg Golosiy, who died a few months before the exhibition opened. According to the art scholar Konstantin Akinsha, the “Angels Over Ukraine” exhibition concluded the heroic period of the Ukrainian Wave: “the giants won, the angels perished.”

The last collective statement of the ParCommune artists was the “Space of Cultural Revolution” exhibition “beyond the fence” (Kyiv, 1994, Ukrainian House, commissars: Tatiana Savadova, Oleksandr Soloviov). The project focused not on the meaning of individual works but on the artists’ collective declaration. All the works were arrayed behind a fence outfitted with flipped binoculars, so that the paintings could only be viewed at a distance. Although this exhibition limited the viewers’ direct access to the works, it delegated to them the responsibility for the perception of art.

The “Space of Cultural Revolution” exhibition was perhaps the only collective statement of the ParCommune artists and one of the first interactive viewer-oriented projects:

Konstantin Akinsha described the artists associated with the Paris Commune Street squat as “victims of painting.” The critic described them thus because they thought in painting and always returned to painting no matter where their creative search took them. For them, the squat was the space where creative experiments smoothly dissolved into everyday socializing, and continuous parties turned into original artistic gestures. Living and working together as they did, the artists were exposed to identical influences and creative pursuits, creating in effect a hermetic circle in which they all referred to and influenced one another. Therefore, the issue of originality or imitation seems irrelevant today. Temporal distance allows us to explore their works not from the perspective of apologists or leaders, but as a network of mutual influences and imitation. The analysis of their works proves that it was in the collective that the powerful energy that formed this singular phenomenon and launched new processes in art lay. This article will deal with the general and the typical rather than the individual: the themes and subjects the artists used and their most frequently recurring motifs. We will try to establish the stylistic and formal similarities in the paintings of the Paris Commune artists through an analysis of their principal works.

precursor

As a rule, historical narratives demand a starting point that inaugurates a qualitatively different stage with a different aesthetic and a different worldview. Obviously, such starting points are provisional, but acceptable if you seek to establish a certain frame of reference. For Kyiv, for example, these were the Chernobyl catastrophe of 1986 (it resulted in a painful post-traumatic stress syndrome, and art took on the character of a “post-Chernobyl carnival”);2 the exhibition at the Moscow Manege in 1987, where “The Woes of Cleopatra” by Arsen Savadov and Georgii Senchenko signalled the advent of a new Ukrainian art with its own distinctive language; and the All-Union Youth Exhibition at the Manege,3 after which the critics began to talk about a “new wave” in Ukrainian art, and the art scholar Leonid Bazhanov called this phenomenon “Transavantgarde Neo-Baroque.”4

As early as in 1991, Konstantin Akinsha noted in his article “Wreath on the Grave of Ukrainian Postmodernism” that “a precise definition [of the ‘new wave’ — T.Zh.] never emerged, so the new generation had to make do with a dozen names.” It is telling that in the early 1990s the local phenomenon was described with a multitude of terms that sought to inscribe it into the international context.

55 / Arsen Savadov; Georgii Senchenko. The Woes of Cleopatra (1987). Oil on canvas. 275 × 330 cm
56 / Georgii Senchenko. Sacral Landscape of Pieter Bruegel. 1988. Oil on canvas. 280 × 420 cm

Arsen Savadov.
Georgii Senchenko.

This work, with its direct reference to the “Equestrian Portrait of Prince Balthasar Charles” by Diego Velázquez, initiated the discussion about Ukrainian postmodern painting. It depicts a woman riding a tiger across a desolate desert. The apocalyptic landscape and the tiger evocative of Salvador Dalí’s dreamscapes, the distorted proportions, the unexpected details like the red outline around the tiger and the strange locks of hair on its stomach, the painting’s irrationality and eroticism—all combined to make it memorable.

The painting was first exhibited as the All-Union Exhibition of Young Artists “The Country’s Youth” (1987, Moscow), where it created a sensation among artists and critics. “The Woes of Cleopatra” was sold at the prestigious FIAC fair of contemporary art in Paris for a record sum, and it has remained in a private collection and not accessible to the public ever since. “The Woes of Cleopatra” was a formative influence for the generation of Ukrainian artists, primarily painters, that emerged in the late 1980s through 1990s, either because of its commercial success, or its introduction of novel imagery, or the stir and public outcry it had caused.

3 The painter Valentyn Raievski was the show’s curator.
The designations included the “South Russian Wave” (as an offshoot of the Northern Moscow phenomenon), “the new gentle” (as opposed to the German “new wild”), and the “Ukrainian Transavantgarde” (referring to a similar movement in Italy). The search for a name of its own by invoking other national artistic traditions and through direct loans of foreign terms is symptomatic of the era’s complexities: the desire to automatically include Ukrainian artists in the global context on the one hand, and the deficiencies of local art scholarship that could lay the theoretical basis of the phenomenon on the other.

The majority of the ParCommune artists were graduates of the Kyiv State Art Institute. The institute was where their views on painting were formed and where they received their academic training; at the same time, it was their constant target of criticism, which the artists consciously or unconsciously invoked in their questioning of academicism, subject matter, and narrative. In the late 1980s, the institute was a conservative, inert institution, incapable of reacting to the changes that were in the air. Old faculty members (Viktor Puzyrkov, Mykola Storozhenko, and others), who continued to teach the method of socialist realism, could not gain the respect of the younger generation.

On the other hand, commercially successful exhibitions in Moscow meant something. The appearance of new literature and information gave the artists access to global trends in art, especially the Italian Transavantgarde, which was close in spirit. The Italian Transavantgardists gave painting a new relevance by reinterpreting classical and local traditions, and Kyiv artists, steeped in the painterly tradition, easily adopted this approach.

The ParCommune artists tended to think in paintings, mostly of large format. The most frequently used size was 2 x 3 meters, because that was the standard format issued by the Artists’ Fund. Two by three meters became the default unit the artists worked with, often combining several canvasses into an even larger format.

The high-ceilinged buildings of the squat, first on Lenin Street, then on Paris Commune Street, allowed for it. The origins of this phenomenon can be traced either to the tradition of large narrative paintings or to the global practice of the new generation of painters, such as the Italian Transavantgardists and the German Neue Wilde. The format also dictated the character of the painting: expressive, dynamic, mostly done in one sitting. These works were often marked by non-finitism, which became an expression of freedom and authorial will in opposition to the completeness of Socialist Realist paintings.

Sergey Kuskov defined the general characteristics of postmodern art in his article “Post-Concept Painting” thus: “…different artists, such as the West German ‘Neue Wilde’ or the Italian ‘Transavantgarde,’ are drawn together by the combination of a growing interest in tradition and the practice, clearly inherited from avant-gardism, of overcoming, subverting, and altering it.” In the case of Ukrainian artists, this rethinking led to Baroque art, with its expressiveness, vitality, and wide use of mythological subjects.

5 Die Neue Wilde or the “New Fauvists” was a movement in painting that emerged in the late 1970s in Germany. Its participants acted in opposition to the Conceptualists and Minimalists and proclaimed the return to figurative and expressive art, as well as spontaneous means of creative production.
6 The term “Transavantgarde” derives from the Italian trans-avanguardia, which literally means “beyond the avant-garde.” The term was first introduced by the Italian art critic and curator Achille Bonito Oliva in his programmatic article “Italian Transavantgarde,” published in the Flash Art journal in 1979. In the article, Oliva reported that Transavantgarde artists included such painters as Marko Bagnoli, Sandro Chia, Francesco Clemente, Enzo Cucchi, Nicola de Maria, Mimmo Paladino, and Remo Salvadori.
7 The Artists’ Fund of the Ukrainian SSR was a public organization affiliated with the Union of Artists of Ukraine tasked with assisting artists, art scholars, and artisans in their work by improving their material and living conditions. It had artisanal production companies, artists’ salons, and artists’ residences.
Inherent in the Baroque worldview were resistance to rationalism and orderliness, a departure from ossified norms, and a balancing between reality and illusion. These were readily embraced by the ParCommune artists, who were maturing in a period of political instability and lack of clearly defined values. In addition, the Cossack Baroque was a rare period of triumph of Ukrainian national culture, and, as such, it has regularly attracted artists from different historical eras.

In analysing the Neo-Baroque phenomenon in Ukrainian art, Halyna Skliarenko maintains that “in a way, the Neo-Baroque of the late 1980s played much the same role in Ukrainian art as the role chosen for itself by Moscow’s Soc-Art. But whereas Moscow artists analysed Socialist Realism, taking its idea to its logical conclusion, the ‘object of study’ of the Ukrainian Transavantgarde was the national art tradition as such, with its constant circling around the Baroque and inability to reach the next level of perceiving reality.”

Grotesque and metaphorism, irony and expressivity in the paintings are combined with the wide use of mythological subjects. “The Woes of Cleopatra” (1987) by Arsen Savadov and Georgii Senchenko is emblematic in this respect. There is no point in denying its primacy. Its success at the All-Union Exhibition at the Manege publicly signalled the birth of new art and sparked a discussion about Ukrainian identity in art, qualified as painterly vitality as opposed to cold Moscow conceptualism. This work incorporated all the traits of the new painting: expressive pastose brushwork, bright palette, allusionism, atemporality, intellectually irony, symbolism, and metaphorism.

These stylistic devices are typical of many artists of the time, including Serhii Panych and Valentyn Raievskyi. The latter often visited the ParCommune and, without a doubt, left a mark on the young generation.

Baroque influences became very apparent in this art starting in the mid-1980s and began to wane by the beginning of the 1990s. Nearly all the ParCommune artists went through a “Baroque period” as an inevitable stage in the search for their own language. For example, Oleksandr Hnylytskyi in his Discussion About the Mystery (1988, illustration on page 74) imitates the Baroque painterly style, creating color-saturated compositions with “curly”
contours, which earned paintings of this type the designation of “curly style.”

The same “curly” contours appear in “The Gift of the Magi” (1989) and “The Battle of Zhovti Vody” (1989) by Dmytro Kavsan, as well as in Yuri Solomko’s early experiments, such as his “Bio-Declination” (1989) and “Symmetry of the Way” (1989, illustration on page 75). Valeria Troubina combines metaphorical images with painterly expression in “Air Kiss” and “Adoration of the Newborn Horror” (1989).

As Baroque influences began to weaken in the early 1990s, they were replaced by a simplified, more restrained plastic language, while mythological subjects gave way to existential searches, infantile images, and subjects from motion pictures.

**religious contaminations**

After the collapse of the USSR with its long years of atheist propaganda, the whole country was gripped by a religious revival, accompanied by a simultaneous rise of new sects and local beliefs. The Russian Orthodox Church (of the Moscow Patriarchate) re-established its authority, the schism produced the Ukrainian Orthodox Church (of the Kyiv Patriarchate), neopaganism resurfaced, and so forth. The early 1990s also saw the emergence of the notorious White Brotherhood, an eschatological religious sect. The resurgence of religion was one of the hallmarks of perestroika, offering a sphere in which many artists sought answers to existential questions that had gained unprecedented importance in a society of lost values, social disorientation, and lack of stability.

Sacrality and mysticism often alternated with irony regarding on the subject of the spread of religious dogma in everyday life. Artists turned to religious motifs in their highly subjective explorations, where what mattered was the issue of faith, not religion. In addition, the religious theme appealed to artists because of the secret language of symbols and signs, accessible only to a narrow circle of people, which seemed to underscore their “chosenness.”

Eastern philosophy was another area of interest. Artists often turned to Eastern, particularly Hindu mythology, read Buddhist and Chinese works, studied Carl Gustav Jung’s forewords to the “Bardo Thodol” and “Zhuang Zi” translated by Volodymyr Maliavin. “We were all steeped in the East,” said Georgii Senchenko in an interview, stressing that all the artists shared this fascination.

Religious themes played the dominant role in the early works of Valeria Troubina and Oleg Golosiy: these works were replete with profound symbolism and devoid of irony so typical of Ukrainian art of the late 1980s. For Oleksandr Roitburd, this theme was coloured by

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11  The Great White Brotherhood (YUSMALOS) was a modern religious eschatological movement and a destructive totalitarian sect. It was founded in Kyiv in 1990–91 by the expert in psychological manipulation Yuri Kryvonohov and Marina Tsvihun, who announced she was the Virgin Mary.
philosophical speculations so sophisticated that Konstantin Akinsha described them as “the sin of intellectualism.”\(^{13}\)

“...at that point we were all asking ourselves all sorts of questions connected to religion and the notion of God, and as we had grown up in atheist families, this became for us a path to knowledge, a way of gaining experience. In one way or another, we were all painting ‘religious’ paintings, Golosiy and Hnylytskyy as well...,”\(^{14}\) related Valeria Troubina. She retold an episode from her life that she deemed important for the understanding of her works. When she was ten years old, she learned about the crucifixion of Jesus Christ in the first grade of the Luhansk art school: “I rushed out of the classroom and ran up and down the school’s corridors, unable to grasp why poor Jesus had been crucified.”\(^{15}\)

Troubina and Golosiy often painted angels and cherubs against the sky. “The Celestial Choir, or A Word Dropped from a Song Makes It All Wrong and Cool Sky” (1989, illustration on page 77) offer “childish” images of divine beings, whom Troubina interpreted as she pleased. These images are closer to the Western Baroque tradition, in which celestial beings signal earthly or angelic spirits. Troubina’s works are permeated with profound symbolism, where every color and image is endowed with meaning. Much like “The Woes of Cleopatra” by Savadov/Senchenko, her compositions are often ringed with a red line. In Christian iconography, a red or gold line separates the spiritual and material worlds, and red is the color of flames, both scourging and cleansing.

This symbolism is well pronounced in her painting “King Fish” (1989, illustration on page 21), which retells the legend of the Deluge that devastated the entire world. Troubina often turns to fish imagery, important in various traditions. In Christianity, a fish denotes Christ, the Teacher, and his disciples. It is also important in Hindu mythology: a fish is the reincarnation of the god Vishnu who emerged from the water to save the first man Manu, the progenitor of humankind. Much like Noah in the Old Testament, Manu was chosen for the role of the archetypal man as the lone righteous man during the era of great sinners. Troubina’s painting depicts the giant King Fish with a human body, four arms and a long tail. It is flanked by men with hands in prayer, and above it is a red lotus, a symbol of spiritual purity. The King Fish is encircled by a red line. In this canvas Troubina used tempera, a technique typical of ancient icons, and mixed it with oil paints. The upper right corner features a hydra-headed creature, the monster Vishnu fought in order to save the world. The work created during the tumultuous year of 1989, two years before the collapse of the Soviet Union, proved to be largely prophetic.

Accidentally or not, the mythological demon bears a clear resemblance to Lenin. This transposed the mythological motif into the present and engendered hope for large-scale changes and the emergence of a wise ruler who could save the world. “Dream Landscapes” (1990) share preoccupations with the “King Fish”: its post-apocalyptic subject combined ancient myths, Biblical themes, and contemporary times.

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\(^{15}\) Quoted from Kateryna Iakovlenko’s private interview with Valeria Troubina.
Arsen Savadov. Vital Season. 1987. Oil on canvas. 220 × 530 cm
The Kyiv artist Serhii Panych, who participated in the Sedniv plein air residencies in 1988 and 1989, is close to Troubina with her absence of irony. His painting “Hoc Vince” (1989, illustration on page 25) depicts a lone human being watching the sky. The words on the canvas refer to an ancient legend about the Roman emperor, Constantine the Great, who saw a cross and the words “In hoc signo vinces” (Latin for “In this sign you will conquer”) before his victorious battle with Roman Emperor Maxentius. In the Orthodox tradition, this phrase affirms the all-conquering faith in Christ. Thus a man with his thoughts, ideas, and tribulations, rebellious and heroic, becomes a symbol of the world and is transformed into a sign. No wonder that Konstantin Akinsha placed both Troubina’s and Panych’s works under the joint rubric of “the sin of seriousness” in his article “The Wreath on the Grave of Ukrainian Postmodernism.”

For Valeria Troubina, faith lies within the realm of the deeply existential quest that is as central to her works, as it was in the works of Oleg Golosiy. The latter was notable for his feelings of anxiety, fear, and disquiet about man’s aloneness and place in the world. He illustrated these anxieties with loosely interpreted biblical motifs. His “Sleepers in the Garden of Gethsemane” refers to Christ’s last prayer. Without depicting Christ, the artist paints apostles, their bodies seemingly frozen in weightlessness. The painting’s palette has a symbolic dimension. Constructed on a combination of bluish-green, a reference to dusk, with the crimson appearing in the upper part of the composition signaling the inevitability of dawn, it portrays Christ’s last prayer before his execution.

Golosiy’s early work Execution (1988, illustration on page 78), which exists in two variants, has clear allusions to the crucifixion iconography. A man with arms spread wide stands against a dark crimson background, and the dark patchy color inspires the sense of anxiety and chaos into which the world seems to be sliding. Physically tangible suffering and pain permeate the canvas. The climactic dramatic moment of Christ’s earthly ministry gives the artist an opportunity to address his own fears and trepidation.

A characteristic feature of the period was the active use of allusions to the history of world art. Artists borrowed famous subjects and compositions and, interpreting them freely, integrated them into a contemporary context. Black-and-white reproductions from school textbooks and histories of world art often served as a source from which artists drew their subject matter. By turning to different periods in history, artists created a crucial cultural bridge, conceptualizing interrupted tradition and periods artificially excised from art history.
Subjects taken from various stories and paintings, myths and legends, the past and future intertwine, producing new meanings and images. Illustrative in this respect is a series of works by Yuri Solomko, in which he quotes famous Rococo paintings, in particular the risqué 18th century engravings from Marquis de Sade’s “Justine”. The very appearance of “Justine” in free circulation signalled societal changes: erotic literature was prohibited in the Soviet Union. Solomko projected erotic scenes onto political maps of the Soviet Union, creating a very different reality, poised between art and politics, history and the present.

A “Psychedelic Attack of Blue Rabbits” (1991, illustration on pages 84–85) by Oleg Golosiy seems to document either a dream or the artist’s psychological state. The work is an allusion to the famous painting “On the Line of Fire” by Kuzma Petrov-Vodkin, but it is more of a free creative reference than an attempt to establish semantic links. Created in Golosiy’s typical non-finitist style, the work expressed the artist’s psychological state and represented the entire generation that explored borderline states, seeking ways to expand their consciousness and change their perception.
68 / Oleksandr Klymenko. Moon Cowboy. 1991. Oil on canvas. 200 × 250 cm

69 / Oleg Golosiy. Elbrus. 1991. Oil on canvas. 150 × 200 cm
In the early 1990s, the arsenal of allusions was expanded to include the language of mass media: advertising, television, cinema (including action movies), and comic books. Unlike Western artists of the “new wave,” Ukrainian artists turned to the lowbrow mass media culture only rarely, appreciating instead the cinematographic classics of Luchino Visconti, Rainer Werner Fassbinder, Michelangelo Antonioni, Federico Fellini, and other directors that were in mass distribution. Watching “the right kind” of cinema was a kind of admission card to the ParCommune. Artists quoted stills from their movies directly or imitated their general aesthetic or atmosphere.

In the “Dead Calm” show, Illia Chichkan exhibited a series of works that he had provisionally described as video paintings. The first projectors appeared in the ParCommune in the early 1990s, offering the artists another field for experiments with new approaches and media. For example, Chichkan would pause videos and retrace the stills, including static, creating unique “screenshots.” In this way, he combined lowbrow mass media culture with an “elite” form of art, that is, painting, which in his case contained signs of subverting and criticising traditional foundations. A parody on mass culture is also palpable in Vasyl Tsaholov’s “Rubber of Feelings” series (1992, illustration on page 69). The paintings in this series resemble stills from gangster movies, where murder and bloody confrontations are intertwined with love and passion. An important role in the compositions is played by the texts written mostly by the artist himself; they become a means of artistic expression and an integral part of the works.

“The Rubber of Feelings” series lay the foundations of the style that Vasyl Tsaholov developed in subsequent projects by turning to new media, especially videos and photography. Mass culture, with its profusion of criminal TV series and class B action movies that destroy the line between the real and the virtual, remained the focus of his attention, culminating in the large-scale media installation “World Without Ideas” (1993), which combined photographs and video monitors with movie stills.

Oleg Golosiy often included allusions to films or imitated their aesthetics in his works. His “Serhii” (1991) looks like a still snatched out of a sequence of scenes, and the scene described appears as the culmination of a film. In “The Shot” (1991), the artist divides the canvas into four fields, in which a story of a murder unfolds in consecutive stages. Golosiy’s cinematographic style manifests itself primarily in the borrowing of subjects, themes, and compositions, as well as the recreation of a cinema aesthetic, but his plastic language remains markedly painterly. This is typical of most artists, with rare exceptions such as Leonid Vartyvanov’s series “This Good World” (1992), which is marked by an emphatically poster-like style and fragmentary composition constructed with local color splashes.

17 Except for one work where the artist used texts by Borges.

Leonid Vartyvanov. From “This Good World” series. 1992. Oil on canvas. 200 × 150 cm
Maksym Mamsikov. Burrow.
1993. Oil on canvas. 130 × 140 cm
A characteristic feature of the ParCommune artists of the early 1990s was their turning to the theme of childhood, depicting cute animals and various childish subjects, quoting children’s books and magazines. The art critics of the time described it as “the discourse of childhood”; Oleksandr Soloviov and Konstantin Akinsha often used the term without offering an explanation. The term was in active use in Moscow Conceptualist circles with which Ukrainian artists had extensive ties, especially with the Inspection Medical Hermeneutics group that was popular in the late 1980s and included Odesa artists Sergey Anufriev and Yuri Leiderman. For the MedHermeneutics, the discourse of childhood offered an opportunity to speak from the position of the abnormal, inadequate, absurd, that which is not subject to adult logic and rule. The “Dictionary of Terms of the Moscow Conceptual School” offered the following definition: “CDC (Collective Discourse of Childhood): childhood as a cultural niche which was serviced by various cultural industries (children’s literature, book illustration, movies, TV shows for children, toy production, children’s magazines, design of playgrounds, kindergartens, toy stores, children’s food, and so forth).” Everything pertaining to childhood became fertile ground for creating a chain of meanings that existed in the field of absurdity and abnormality.

“The infantile fixation of the 1990s manifests not the modernist search for fresh approaches but the fact that practitioners of postmodern art sought to take on a passive or incapacitated role of those who do not yet have (or no longer have) the ‘adult’ ability to influence the course of events, or of those who refuse ‘adult’ responsibilities, refuse to grow up like the boy in the movie ‘Tin Drum.’” This position of limited capability is easy to read in the childhood discourse of the MedHermeneutic artists that produced chains of whimsical meanings.

The ParCommune artists turned to childhood themes mostly in paintings, which put them in a special position. Childish subjects demanded simplified visual language that imitated children’s drawings. The artists often took images from the Soviet magazine “Murzilka” and other works of children’s literature. Leading among these were the works of Russian avant-garde writer Daniil Kharms.

The theme of childhood is most prominent in the works of Oleg Golosiy, Valeria Troubina, and Oleksandr Hnylytskyi. Valeria Troubina’s early work “Here Comes a Wounded Cat, Chewing on a Puppy’s Ear” (1990, illustration on page 97) is interesting in this respect. It portrays the subject of Yunna Morits’s children’s poem “The Cat Went Out for a Walk,” but the painterly language remains “Baroque.” The center of the canvas features a full-length figure of a cat with a female body and an animal head, with a bloody wound in the side of the body. In the sky next to it hovers a cherub with a dog’s head. The blue background symbolizes the stylized celestial space. In this work, the artist reconciles the irreconcilable: cats and dogs, popular characters in children’s literature that always quarrel, and religious imagery. This combination underscores the absurdity that overflowed life in the late 1980s.

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18 Andrei Monastyrskii, Slovar’ terminov moskovskoi kontseptualnoi shkoly (Moscow: Ad Marginem, 1999), 224.
Childhood images permeate the works of Oleg Golosiy, who often painted baby elephants (“Six Baby Elephants”, “White Baby Elephants”, “Elephants № 1”, “An Elephant and the Sun”). In Golosiy’s works, elephants appear as intrusive dream imagery in fanciful landscapes, or as haunting hallucinations. What is more, elephants had deep personal meaning for him: it is no coincidence that his nickname in the ParCommune was “Slon” (Elephant).

Oleksandr Hnylytskyi’s “Buratino” (1991, illustration on page 99) and “Squirrel” (1990) belong to the same realm. The large-format painting “Squirrel” (1990) depicts a plush toy squirrel in the centre of a white canvas. Next to the sophisticated mythological subjects that the artists kept exploring, the “minimalist” “Squirrel” appears as ironic commentary on “pictorial” innovations in Ukrainian art.

For the ParCommune artists, “the discourse of childhood” was a way to escape reality rather than a framework for intellectual games. The childish element is that which cannot be grasped, described, or analysed because it does not lend itself to adult logic. This is confirmed by Oleksandr Hnylytskyi, when he says: “there are many tricks and turns for those who want to escape: you can pretend to be an idiot or a child…”

Palms, exotic landscapes, and wild animals constitute another recurring image in the works of the ParCommune artists, and they, too, signify an escape from reality. Artists sought subjects that lay outside the social and political fields. Especially typical of the phenomenon were the palms that seemed to wander from one painting to the next. In the works of Valeria Troubina and Oleg Golosiy, they appear as intrusive dream images, symbols of unattainable yearnings, and empty reality. They symbolise the freedom the artists craved, their unreachable imaginary paradise.

In 1992 Dmytro Kavsan created the “Giraffomania” (illustration on pages 100–101) series, depicting African landscapes populated by giraffes and other wild animals. Their bodies contain allusions to works of world art, from Leonardo da Vinci’s “Lady with an Ermine” to characters from Rococo paintings. Kavsan traveled in Africa in 1997, but the Africa of his early 1990s paintings represents an unattainable dream, as underscored by the very title “Giraffomania”.

“The ‘discourse of childhood’ was the artists’ last collective attempt to create their own a singular movement. In 1991–1992 […] the artists […] preferred the path to individual salvation,” summed up Konstantin Akinsha. Their artistic experiments increasingly transcended the boundaries of paintings, and their “escape paths” crossed less and less frequently, until finally drifting apart in the multiplicity of individual initiatives.

From today’s vantage point, the description of these artists as “victims of painting,” coined in the long-gone year of 1993, seems perfectly just: after all, painterly thinking defined their practice. Paintings as the ParCommune artists’ preferred medium were not a conscious choice: it was a given, a legacy, a craft that defined their professional trajectory. This was also their key strength—this powerful painterly force that held them all on one wave for a bright if brief moment.

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21 Akinsha, “Zhertvy zhyvopysu.”
Constant communication and exchange of thoughts, books, and films defined the sphere of themes and subjects that the artists turned to. Indeed, the collective component was that strong impetus that gave birth to the new art. It helped to form the phenomenon in which the “collective” ceased to be shared. It represented the voices of the many and existed under qualitatively new rules, different from the former Soviet tenets (which were oriented towards a social goal) and based on individualism and freedom of expression instead.
Dmytro Kavisan. Giraffomania I. 1992. Oil on canvas. 149 × 199 см
THE ESTABLISHMENT AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE PARIS COMMUNE SQUAT IN KYIV


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43. Kirill Protsenko. The Last Photograph. Early 1990s. Oil on canvas. 150 × 200 cm.


47. View of the “Dead Calm” exhibition with Leonid Vartyvanov’s works (size and titles unknown). Author of the video documentation unknown. Still from the video documentation of the “Dead Calm” exhibition, digitized from a VHS tape in 2016.


57. Dmytro Kavasan. Attempt at a Minuet in Ruins. 1989. Oil on canvas. 300 × 200 cm.


60. Valeria Troubina. “Celestial Choir, or A Word Dropped from a Song Makes it All Wrong”. 1989. Oil and enamel on canvas. 199 × 147 cm.


73. Valeria Troubina. Here Comes A Wounded Cat, Chewing On A Puppy’s Ear. 1990. Oil on canvas. 200 × 300 cm.

74. Oleksandr Hnylytskyi. The Birth of Buratino. Oil on canvas. 200 × 150 cm.
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Posters / Invitations

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04

05
Приглашаем Вас на открытие выставки "Художники Парижской коммуны"

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Виставка відкрита з 6 по 30 травня 1992 р.
The “Manuscripts” section of the Archival Materials contains selected authorized typewritten texts, with their authors’ comments and signatures. The featured texts are Ihor Oksametnyi’s draft, sketches and drafts by Oleksandr Soloviov, and a previously unpublished text by the art scholar Mykola Kostiuchenko.

The “Publications in Newspapers” section contains a collection of important critical articles from 1989-1994. Note the long and metaphorical titles characteristic of the time.

The Archival Materials section covers only a small part of the archive on which we based our scholarship of the Paris Commune as a social and cultural phenomenon.
Manuscripts

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просто не было. И не художественное, тем более позитивное настолько важное итог работы художника и его искусства, в сегодняшнем мире, не играет. Поскольку и поведение того — то жеста, но он не существует автоматично, так как изображение, элемент позиционирования, метафорические значения образа, события, сформулированы и оформлены иначе, чем текст непосредственно не связан. Осталось крайне-кое количество, определенного образом расположенного в пространстве и времени, что осталось бы на месте, возможно бы оставаться на месте, и он был бы считаться его техническим. Но, как показано, очень важна роль идет навстречу тематическим смыслам. Его герои и его ситуация, как стали существовать — те сюжеты. Роль художника — сопоставить их, что это в целом получает простое восприятие, линию фактуры. Этот момент может помочь постигнуть поэме на выставке появились телевидения с началом изображения канонов из непосредственности. 

По своей природе это, что представляет Паган на своей иной выставке является, в итоге, существовавшим, так как для Гоголя это простое восприятие не менее важен чем сами работы.

...Тем, заменялось прослеживалось событий, иногда в центре вновь очертает плоски возвышающиеся на чувством ощущающее на самый виртуальный. Какое место этих "событийного" в сюжетной художественной ситуации.

Новое понимание художества как определенного как события, что прост — материал как система восприятия или воссоздания. Как некомплексная, Вопомним о, что искусственный режим пространственного дискурса был "персепт"

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спокойной со собственным непосредственно на столицах, но хотя бы с поднять Капа — оглядка.

То есть самое большое, "события" произошло в простой последовательно в его сюжетах. Она вполне пропускает для анализа приверженности Паганов, и это одним только, который возникает и настолько важным. Хотя, не было появление на Паганов, держится вдоль пост-постмодернизма. Может быть, и поэтому, что привычный Паганов параллельно имеет основной в проблеме с параллельной…

Николай Костиничев.
избыточность "угасания ненужности", а также своевременно совершенствующееся постепенное концентрирование "нагнетания" и "откачивания" ведет к более эффективному, в определенное вре- мя, и более "ненужному" "прогрессивному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужному" "ненужно
Прес-репортаж

Загальна для підприємства

УКРАЇНСЬКИЙ ВИСНИК XX СТОЛІТТЯ
1900–1940
1960–1990

Ретроспекція від нікому до постіндустріалу.

Нові та подаровані експонати відкрито в Державному музей української образотворчої мистецтва.

Українська асоціація артистів, інститут літератур в якій є академія наук УРСР.

Національна експозиція у Державному музеї української образотворчої мистецтва.

Відкриття 23 серпня 1990 року. А 10.

Глибоко описуючи цікаві інтереси українського сучасного мистецтва XX століття на пресу, навіть в нікому ніхто не впливає на мистецтво вже існуючі форми, навіть нікому.

Для першого разу в Україні відкрився виставка, яка показує, як відродження живопису, скульптури і навіть сценіки.

На виставці представлені роботи відомих художників, таких як Михайло Жванчар, Олег Собол, Олександр Чохов, Микола Левинський.

Виставка продовжується до кінця серпня 1990 року.

Національна академія наук УРСР.

22

23

Мануфактури

Концепція виставки передбачає показ стислих твірків, які відображають національну незалежність та соціальні зміни.

Виставка працює в рамках проекту "Україна: історія та сьогодення".

Національний музей української образотворчої мистецтва та природних колекцій.

Директор: Олександр Мамін.

Відкриття 23 серпня 1990 року. А 10.

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Національна академія наук УРСР.

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23
НА ГРОМАДСЬКЕ ОБГОВОРЕННЯ

Про виставку молодих художників

З 14 квітня по 27 травня 1988 року в Будинку творчості "Середа" працювала група молодих художників України під керівництвом Т. Сільвей.

Ваші словоформи, графіки, скульптури, ляльки, досягнуті відомості прикладного мистецтва було зроблено на основі традиційної підготовки, згідно з принципом спільності соціальної позиції, здатності виявити її, не будучи перебувачними стереотипами та штампами. Протягом близько десяти днів з 10 по 22 липня виставка робот молодих художників виступала у Республіканському будинку творчості, її відвідали близько трьох тисяч чоловік.

23 липня у Спілці художників України відбулася обговорення виставки, що небуло гостро дискусійної форми. У найближчих небезпечних планах планування відвідали громадського обговорення роботи, експонувані на її виставці. Дуже багато, хто перебував виставку, залежно від того, чи має відомості з виставки, а якщо, так і широкий вибір видань.

Ваша "ДУМАКА"?

Про простір толерантності чи монополія модернізму?

Publications in newspapers
Der Westen als Traum und Wirklichkeit

Künstlerwerkstatt Lothringer Straße: acht Künstler aus Kiew ziehen nach München


Publications in newspapers
Kiewer Kunst in Leipzig


Die Thematik der Arbeiten ist breit gefächert, reicht von erotischen Zeitzeugen (Vertreibung der Bücher auf einer Zeitscharte, Installation von Sowjet/Russisch) bis hin zur Kritik an der westdeutschen Gewalt, "Blume nicht" von Kruse


Karin Timmer

Leipziger Volkszeitung
15.01.1993


Foto: Silke Eberspächer
Scanned films
POSTERS / INVITATIONS


MANUSCRIPTS

18–21. Oleksandr Soloviov, “Two Undefined Narratives Without a Kangaroo” [about Oleg Golosiy and Valeria Troubina].

PUBLICATIONS IN NEWSPAPERS


SCANNED FILMS


We’ve Got What We’ve Got

Trends, problems, and hopes in Soviet and post-Soviet Ukraine in the late 1980s to the early 1990s

KOSTIANTYN DOROSHENKO
The Soviet and post-Soviet society of the late 1980s through the early 1990s is best described by the cynical affirmation of helplessness, or, essentially, inherent irresponsibility, as articulated by the first President of Ukraine Leonid Kravchuk, who gave it a quasi-folksy cast: “we’ve got what we’ve got.” “What you don’t see can’t hurt you,” “Now you have it, now you don’t”—scores of such banalities that added little to their understanding of events enriched the vocabulary of average Ukrainian citizens. Moreover, these clichés masked a cunning strategy: if you don’t know what to do, do whatever you want without giving consequences or the goal a second thought.

The years when all-embracing hypocrisy, an officially sanctioned single belief system, and administrative as well as economic determinism collapsed provided strong impetus for the development of individualism throughout the former Soviet territories, and particularly in Ukraine, where the spirit of singularity always persisted. Those years may be described as the era of romanticism and naiveté coupled with opportunism and chutzpah. The mumbo jumbo of scientific communism and the hodgepodge of for-profit models of various academies, trusts, and ministries were replaced by the sancta simplicitas of statehood ideas from circa the early 20th century and a rollback to an embryonic market economy. Life was becoming tougher, but more exhilarating. Despite economic hardships, those years brimmed with vibrant energy and faith in the future until they were crushed by the Kyrienko default of 1998.

Leonid Kravchuk, who was never afraid of coming across as a simpleton, and yet proved to be one of the canniest politicians in recent Ukrainian history, titled his memoir We’ve Got What We’ve Got. Much like Talleyrand, he has remained in politics through successive regimes—with less profit than the legendary Frenchman, but without provoking national hatred either.
“What idiot invented the word ‘perestroika’?”

Ukraine had played a key role in both the political and economic life of the USSR. Present-day attempts to interpret the Soviet regime exclusively as a colonizing, occupying power are tantamount to ideological reductionism in the Bolshevik spirit. From Volodymyr Vynnychenko’s negotiations with Vladimir Lenin, through the period of Stalinist potentates of Ukrainian extraction (Kliment Voroshilov, Lazar Kaganovich, Andrei Vyshinsky), to World War II, which inundated the Ukrainian land with blood to a degree almost unseen elsewhere in Europe, Ukraine was not only a territory of strategic importance to the Communist empire but also a source of important resources, especially human resources, providing cadres for the Soviet scientific and ruling elites. After the war, Nikita Khrushchev turned Ukraine into a pathway to the highest echelons of power, promoting the merger of Ukrainian and central Soviet elites. Leonid Brezhnev’s reign marked the rule of the Ukrainian Dnipropetrovsk clan throughout the empire. It is another matter that these natives of Ukraine did not see themselves as its patriots, but, rather, viewed themselves as members of the party that served the interests of the hegemonic working class. National culture was only ever of interest to them insofar as it could help them solve pressing issues. The Soviet era saw two large waves of top-down Ukrainization: first, under Lazar Kaganovich during Stalin’s rule, and later, under Petro Shelest during Khrushchev’s tenure. But these campaigns were dwarfed by the attacks on all things Ukrainian, mostly in the form of a war on the peasantry, which the Soviet authorities distrusted till the very last days of the USSR.

When Mikhail Gorbachev was elected General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1985, Moscow refused to look to the Ukrainian party elite. Rumors at the time had it that Volodymyr Shcherbytsky, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine (1972–1989), was one of Gorbachev’s rivals for the highest office in the empire. Gorbachev’s predecessor Konstantin Chernenko died during Shcherbytsky’s visit to the U.S. Even the American media assumed that the imposing leader of a key Soviet republic arrived with a parliamentary delegation to meet Ronald Reagan precisely as a likely successor to the more than half dead General Secretary. After the new wave of anti-American rhetoric that had been whipped up by Yurii Andropov during his short tenure and actively stoked

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2 Lazar Kaganovich (1893–1991) — a Soviet party activist and politician from the village of Kabany (now Kyiv Oblast); Andrei Vyshinsky (1893–1991) — a Soviet party activist and politician, lawyer and prosecutor of the Supreme Court of the USSR; born in Odessa, a graduate of Kyiv University.
by the USSR, this was the first dialogue at such a level between the two global powers. Shcherbytsky, however, had already lost his chance for the Kremlin. Serhii Plokhy, the director of the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, wrote: “Before Brezhnev’s unexpected death, there had been a rumor in the halls of the Kremlin that at the forthcoming plenum of the Central Committee he would step down and transfer his powers to Shcherbytsky, ensuring the continuing pre-eminence of the Dnipropetrovsk faction in the country’s leadership [...] But Brezhnev died before the plenum took place. The new party leader, former KGB chief Yuri Andropov, had nothing to do with the Dnipropetrovsk clique and would soon go after Brezhnev’s cronies for corruption.”

Incidentally, it was then that the image of a gold toilet bowl that tantalizes the popular imagination to this day emerged in the Soviet mentality. Talk of this fantastical bathroom fixture first began circulating in 1984 during the deconstruction of the personality cult of the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Uzbek Communist Party Sharof Rashidov on the wave of a massive corruption scandal that came to be known as the Great Cotton Scandal. Stories about Rashidov’s unparalleled self-indulgence and debauchery featured the proverbial gold toilet bowl. His body was even exhumed from the grave in the center of Tashkent and reinterred at a cemetery, next to prominent cultural figures: nobody denied that Sharof Rashidov was a talented writer. To give Shcherbytsky his due, no corruption cases were ever brought against him, either during Andropov’s reign, or after his resignation in 1989. But the ghost of the gold toilet bowl still haunts post-Soviet people.

Shcherbytsky did not manage to get back to Moscow in time for the Central Committee plenum at which Gorbachev was elected General Secretary. Leonid Kravchuk recalls that Gorbachev felt uneasy facing the leader of the Ukrainian SSR even when he came to Kyiv in 1989 to a plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine to accede to Shcherbytsky’s resignation request, sent to Moscow beforehand. Their mutual distrust went back to 1979, when Gorbachev became the secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in charge of the agricultural sector. Shcherbytsky had a protégé for the office: Fedir Morhun, hero of the Virgin Lands campaign in Kazakhstan, a reformist agronomist, and a writer. However, the then-secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Mikhail Suslov, who insisted on Gorbachev as his candidate for the office, came out the winner. Interestingly, later, in 1988, Gorbachev made a point of acknowledging Morhun’s achievements and appointed him head of the recently established State Committee for Environmental Protection of the USSR. But Morhun proved himself too intransigent and principled, and was sent off into retirement just a year later.

A party apparatchik of the highest order, Shcherbytsky respected hierarchy, but Gorbachev irked him with his “blather,” and his acceleration and perestroika programs were viewed as a “sham” by the old Kyiv warhorse. Shcherbytsky would ask his staffers: “What idiot invented the word ‘perestroika’?” With his deep respect for science and a history of close cooperation with the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR, he was dismissive of Gorbachev’s slogans: “We’ve been implementing this perestroika for quite a while in our republic. Nothing to get so worked up about. You have to work to see results.”

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6 The last fruitless attempt to track down the gold toilet bowl came in 2014, when activists burst into the palace of Viktor Yanukovych in Mezhyhirya.
8 Plokhy, The Gates of Europe, 315.
9 Quoted from Vitalii Vrublevskii, Vladimir Shcherbitskii: pravda i vymysly (Kyiv: Davira, 1993), 220.
The Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant disaster in 1986 put the last nail in the coffin of trust between the republican and Moscow elites. This event had the same explosive effect on the minds of the majority of citizens of the Ukrainian SSR, shattering their complacency and galvanizing anti-Soviet sentiments.

**A Star Called Wormwood**

In the mid-1980s, Kyiv residents used to joke that perestroika ended in Khutir-Mykhailivskyi, a border crossing between Russia and Ukraine. In the USSR, Kyiv, “the mother of Rus’ cities,” belonged to the first category of cities in terms of provisioning, along with Moscow and Leningrad, whereas the rest of the republican capitals belonged to the second category. In Kyiv you could buy Cuban cigars, mango juice, Finnish sausages, and Czech bubble gum. Richard Nixon, Indira Ghandi, and Josip Broz Tito had all stopped in Kyiv, the capital of a founding member of the UN, during their visits to the USSR. Kyiv hosted international competitions during the 1980 Summer Olympics. The black market flourished in Kyiv, and there were two fashion houses—republican and municipal—an incredible redundancy in the Brezhnev economy, which was supposed to be economical. Kyiv residents seldom left the city to study elsewhere: they had their own university that ranked third in the USSR, and their Polytechnic Institute, conservatory, art institute, opera, and Academy of Sciences (chaired by Borys Paton, a scholar of world renown) were recognized worldwide.

We now know that the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR was not only one of the first institutions in the USSR to raise the issue of environmental threats but that it did everything in its power to prevent them. For example, thanks to the determination of Borys Paton, the project to dam up the Dnieper-Buh Estuary was blocked, despite pressure from Moscow. When the Kremlin saddled the Ukrainian SSR with a large-scale program for constructing nuclear power plants, members of the Ukrainian Academy were quick to point out the flaws in the technical support for these facilities. However, the words of Anatolii Aleksandrov—one of the fathers of the Soviet nuclear weapons program, the key creator and promoter of the “peaceful atom” program, president of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, and a native of Tarashcha village just outside Kyiv—had by then become a mantra: he famously said that nuclear power plants were so safe that they could be built on Red Square or right under one’s bed.

“We now know that the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR was not only one of the first institutions in the USSR to raise the issue of environmental threats but that it did everything in its power to prevent them. For example, thanks to the determination of Borys Paton, the project to dam up the Dnieper-Buh Estuary was blocked, despite pressure from Moscow. When the Kremlin saddled the Ukrainian SSR with a large-scale program for constructing nuclear power plants, members of the Ukrainian Academy were quick to point out the flaws in the technical support for these facilities. However, the words of Anatolii Aleksandrov—one of the fathers of the Soviet nuclear weapons program, the key creator and promoter of the “peaceful atom” program, president of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, and a native of Tarashcha village just outside Kyiv—had by then become a mantra: he famously said that nuclear power plants were so safe that they could be built on Red Square or right under one’s bed.

“Ukraine, which accounted for 2.7 % of the country’s [USSR’s — K.D.] territory, also accounted for about 16 % of its fixed production capital, 17 % of its industrial output, and 22 % of its agricultural output, with 92 % of land resources in economic turnover. Environmental pollution was worsened by faulty application of herbicides, plant growth stimulators, and artificial fertilizers [...] The concentration of electric power plants on small areas in the upper reaches of rivers, primarily the Dnieper and its main tributary

Prypiat, is unparalleled globally. Millions live in their basin. Notably, ten nuclear power plants were being built and operated within the 250-500 km radius from the place where Prypiat falls into the Dnieper.10

All nuclear power plants in the USSR were managed from Moscow: republic leaders could not even visit them without the Kremlin’s say-so, and had no sway over their operation and personnel policy. In general, the economies of the republics, their ecological or social problems, were treated as secondary to the general plans and needs of the empire as a whole. This lay the foundations for a number of international and social problems that the states that arose on the ruins of the USSR cannot solve to this day. The 1986 Chernobyl disaster made Ukrainian citizens realize that the republican government cannot guarantee their safety. Volodymyr Shcherbatsky and the Ukrainian authorities were not initially apprised of the full extent of the catastrophic accident and did not take the necessary measures to contain it. Nonetheless, despite Moscow’s accusations of fear-mongering, the republic’s leadership curtailed the school year and launched a program to take students to camps in environmentally clean regions.

I was thirteen then. My parents took me to their friends in Belgorod, Russia. There I saw with my own eyes the social results of the war on alcoholism that marked the beginning of Gorbachev’s tenure in office as the leader of the USSR. During the hours when the sale of alcoholic beverages was permitted by law, two crowds of people gathered outside the grocery store: city dwellers and collective farm workers. The moment the store opened, everybody rushed to the door in a cacophony of yells, shouts and choice Russian curses. Suddenly, an awful scream, the crowd parted, and lying on the ground was a woman who had been crushed to death by the throng. The emergency medical service could do nothing but pronounce her dead on arrival.
The anti-alcohol campaign was the first, but hardly the last ill-thought-out and hastily implemented Gorbachev reform. After two years of perestroika, the shops were empty, filled with nothing but an occasional can of kelp hailed as a superfood that could ward off radiation poisoning. While the USSR leadership promised to solve the housing shortages by the year 2000, such household staples as soap and toothpaste became scarce.

Tough social and economic challenges naturally push people to seek salvation in the irrational. After Gorbachev proclaimed “glasnost,” almost all reading materials that had been proscribed earlier were decriminalized and made available to Soviet citizens—from the works of purged writers and counterrevolutionaries to horoscopes of all sorts, Helena Blavatsky, and “The Practice of Occultism or Magic” by Dr. Papus. The Church seized on the media in anticipation of ideological and economic revenge. To the builders of communism, not used to such diversity of information, it felt like a surrealistic phantasmagoria. Sitting on benches by their front doors or in their kitchens, they talked about the apocalyptic star called Wormwood and Chernobyl as its embodiment (chornobyl’nyk is a Ukrainian word for wormwood, artemisia vulgaris l.) and about the alleged biblical prophecy about Birthmarked Misha (an allusion to the birthmark on Gorbachev’s forehead).

Trust, but Verify

U.S. President Ronald Reagan, who shared the Nobel Peace Prize with Gorbachev for the reunification of Germany, loved to use Russian proverbs and jokes in his speeches. The first and last president of the USSR enjoyed phenomenal popularity in the West: its citizens still do not understand why he is disliked and sometimes hated outright in post-Soviet countries.

The reason lies in the phrase that Reagan had once said in Russian: Doveriai, no proveriai (Trust, but verify). Gorbachev’s assertions about prosperity and democracy failed the test of reality. His policies led to economic impoverishment, international conflicts, bloodshed in Almaty, the Karabakh conflict, and Soviet tanks in Vilnius, Tbilisi, and Baku.

As to the international thaw, Chernobyl marked a decisive watershed. “It was more than a disaster. Indeed, attempts to inscribe Chernobyl in the list of best-known disasters actually obscure its meaning. We seem to be constantly walking in the wrong direction. Obviously, old experience does not suffice here. We have been living in a new world after Chernobyl; the old world no longer exists,” wrote Svetlana Alexievich, the Belarusian Nobel Prize Laureate in Literature.

The release of radiation after the Chernobyl disaster equalled the explosion of 500 nuclear bombs like the one that levelled Hiroshima. After this telling illustration of humanity’s capacity for self-destruction, global leaders could no longer avoid coming together and de-escalating the military standoff. This humanizing trend prompted the international community to step up its opposition to nuclear weapons.

On December 5, 1994, newly-independent Ukraine acceded to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma co-signed the Budapest Memorandum on Security Assurances with the leaders of the United States, the United Kingdom, and the Russian Federation, guaranteeing Ukraine’s security and territorial integrity.
Chernobyl also sparked off a political movement in what was still a constitutionally one-party USSR. An environmental non-governmental (public) organization emerged as the de facto first legal opposition force in Ukraine. It later transformed into the Green Party. During the coup of August 1991, when the conspirators attempted to remove Gorbachev from office and declared a state of emergency in the USSR, “Zelenyi Svit (Green World)” — the newspaper of the Ukrainian environmental NGO — was one of the very few media outlets in Kyiv that condemned the coup in no uncertain terms.

In a front-page story we read: “The coup in Moscow is directed against the legitimate authority. The actions of the junta threaten the restoration of totalitarianism and catastrophic consequences in our country and globally. We call on everyone to remain calm and steady. We must be ready to oppose the conspirators by all nonviolent means available. We call on the Supreme Council of the Ukrainian SSR to hold firm in its defence of Ukraine’s sovereignty against the criminal actions of the putschists, and to request support of the UN and of the international community.”

It is interesting to note that in present-day Belarus, where the authoritarian regime rules political life with an iron fist, the environmental movement remains one of the few vibrant social movements that actualize legal oppositional sentiments and actions.

The 1991 Moscow coup put an end to the existence of the USSR. Ukraine played the leading role in this process. Its then leader, the Chairman of the Supreme Council (Verkhovna Rada) of the Ukrainian SSR Leonid Kravchuk adopted a wait-and-see attitude and made no public pronouncements, unlike his Russian colleague Boris Yeltsin, who led thousands of his supporters onto the streets of Moscow, where they did not hesitate to confront the tanks. Nevertheless, on August 24, 1991, the Ukrainian parliament passed the Act of Declaration of Independence of Ukraine written by Levko Lukianenko, a former Soviet political prisoner who from as far back as 1988 headed the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, the first non-clandestine non-Communist political organization in the Ukrainian SSR. The declaration was passed by an overwhelming majority of deputies — not only representatives of the People’s Movement of Ukraine (Rukh), a party founded by the nationally conscious intelligentsia, and the dissidents—“sixties” but also those who had recently constituted the Communist majority in the parliament. A national referendum was scheduled for the day of the presidential election in Ukraine, which was to ratify the Act of Declaration of Independence of Ukraine.

Boris Yeltsin knew that the new Union Treaty that he took over after Gorbachev was ousted from power would not make sense without Ukraine and therefore hinted to Kyiv that, should it come to a final divorce, Russia might put forward certain territorial claims.

Members of the liberation movement of the Crimean Tatars, who were officially rehabilitated as an ethnic group by the Supreme Council of the USSR only in 1989, when they were allowed to return to their homeland after the Stalinist genocide and deportation of 1944, told me that Yeltsin’s representative Galina Starovoitova met with Mustafa Dzhemilev on Yeltsin’s orders. As the Chairman of the Mejlis of the Crimean Tatar People, Dzhemilev was offered certain guarantees and privileges for his people in exchange for the Crimean Tatars’ support for Crimea’s becoming part of the Russian Federation. Dzhemilev reportedly answered: “We have lived in one country with Russia for two hundred years. Let us now live in exchange for giving up her nuclear arsenal. Twenty years later, Russia annexed Crimea and demonstrated that it cared little about the international obligations it had willingly taken on.
for two hundred years without you, and then we’ll see.” Despite all the unsubstantiated fears of Ukrainian political elites, the Crimean Tatars have remained the staunchest supporters of Ukraine in Crimea throughout the years of independence.

In 1991, the Crimean Tatars accounted for only 1.5% of the peninsula’s population, while the Russians constituted 66%, and the Ukrainians another 25%. However, 54% of those who showed up at Crimean polling stations supported independence. On the national level, a solid majority of citizens said “Yes” to independence. Based on these results, the newly elected President Leonid Kravchuk rejected the new Union Treaty. In December 1991, the Belavezha Accords dissolved the USSR.

Perestroika politicized Soviet society. The reaction of Ukrainian society, however, was different, since political thought and opposition had existed in it throughout the Soviet years: from the soldiers of the OUN-UPA [Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists-Ukrainian Insurgent Army] and the members of the Greek Catholic Church that resisted the Soviet authorities in the underground for long after the end of World War II to the “sixtyer”-dissidents who were given much harsher punishments than dissidents in other republics. As the saying of the time went, “In Moscow they clip fingernails; in Kyiv they chop off fingers.” Vasyl Stus perished in the camps during Gorbachev’s reign, in 1985, the very year when Heinrich Böll nominated the poet for the Nobel Prize.

Politicization and the yearning for independence had come to outweigh pragmatic considerations and a vision of the future in the Ukrainian body public. Taras Vozniak, the founder of the “Yi” journal for cultural studies, noted that recent Ukrainian history is marked by “the absence of any constructive realistic programs for the development of Ukrainian society in an independent state. All preceding ideologies were aimed solely at gaining independence and went no further. Attempts to implant old ideologies in new ground, either in the form of right-wing nationally-oriented programs, or in the form of absolutely unpopular left-wing programs, have absolutely no chance of success here.”

Who’s your “krysha”?

Ukrainians who grew up in the late 1980s through the early 1990s exhibit a distinctive determination, light-mindedness, recklessness, and stop-me-if-you-dare spirit. Those years offered us empirical evidence that each day could indeed be our last. Kiosks set on fire during shootouts between gangs burned in the streets, building entrances and hallways rang out with shots fired by hitmen hired to eliminate businessmen or gang members, our classmates and university cohorts committed suicide over shady debts or overdosed on drugs, and scientists, academicians, and notable artists and composers died of poverty and lack of medicines because they were either too old or too proud to sell various wares in the market.

The bed-ridden founding father of Ukrainian art scholarship Platon Biletsky, the only professor of the Kyiv State Art Institute (now the National Academy of Visual Arts and Architecture) who lectured in Ukrainian on principle throughout the witch hunt for nationalists during Shcherbytsky’s rule, and one of the few representatives of the official intelligentsia who

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14 Taras Vozniak, Retrospektyvna politolohia. Epokha Kuchmy (Lviv: Yi, 2010), 45.
refused to sign letters denouncing Vasyl Stus, had to sell for next to nothing his family library with editions of Voltaire published in the latter’s lifetime and Crimean landscapes by Maksymilian Voloshyn. He continued lecturing about Ukrainian art, in which he made several discoveries: he was the first to describe the phenomena of Ukrainian folk paintings of the Cossack Mamai, comparing their iconography to Buddhist paintings; to analyse Ukrainian folk icons as artistic treasures; and to identify Sarmatian portraiture as posthumous. He also introduced his students to contemporary western European art, including René Magritte and Salvador Dalí, unequivocally condemned in Soviet art scholarship. Inviting his students to the house with a memorial plaque immortalizing his father Oleksandr Biletsky, a philologist of world renown, Platon liked to point out the monumental marble lamp over his desk: “This is a symbol of stability in this world. It’s always been here, for as long as I remember the house. And so it will remain.” However, in 1997 one of Kyiv’s criminal bosses obtained an apartment in the house on the quiet Mykilsko-Botanichna Street in the city center. Such people live a tense life, and the gangster grew tired of groups of young people flocking to Biletsky’s apartment. So the gang boss bought the professor an apartment on Klovsky Descent, and bought his place for himself. Burly young men in tracksuits carried the paralyzed Platon Biletsky down the stairs in a chair, and after him, the marble lamp, which did not suit the tastes of the new owner. So much for the symbol of stability. Platon Biletsky died a year later, looking at the bitter smile of a Voltaire statue on his bedside table. No longer of true wood, but of plastic.

“The transition to a new democratic life in Ukraine occurred peacefully. Nobody will ever be able to deny that,” Leonid Kravchuk told me in 1998.15 He will go down in history not only as the first president of Ukraine but also as the first state leader on the ruins of the USSR to voluntarily and peacefully transfer power, acknowledging his electoral loss.16 With the exception of the Baltic countries, he remains a rare exception in this region. In a 2016 interview, Kravchuk told me that he got so carried away with politics that he effectively let the young country’s economy slide.17

Describing the opposition forces in the USSR as divided into so-called “democrats,” whose top priorities were human rights and the broadest possible democratization of society, and so-called “nationalists,” who regarded the destruction of the “prison of nations” and national self-determination as their main goal, Taras Vozniak determined that the nationalist trend had come out the winner in Ukraine. The “nationalists” hastened to conclude an unwritten pact with the nomenklatura to establish a state by the name of “Ukraine” without reserving for themselves any viable roles based on concrete economic or political functions. In doing so, they effectively turned over the “sacrament of independence” to the nomenklatura that had only recently shed their blatantly imperialistic and openly anti-Ukrainian nature.18

16  An early presidential election was held in Ukraine in 1994. The decision to hold this election was made by the Verkhovna Rada as a response to an indefinite strike by Donbas miners that paralyzed an already stagnant economy. In the late 1980s, the miners emerged as the most active social force within the working class that could affect national politics. Their marches on the capital and strikes, driven by ever greater economic decline and constant tragedies in the mines, compelled Kyiv to make some concessions. In addition, there were already signs of the standoff between the presidential and parliamentary branches of power that has not been normalized legislatively to this day. Reminiscing his triumph in the 1991 election when he received more than 60% of the vote, Leonid Kravchuk was certain of victory in the early election, too. And he did come in first in the first round of the 1994 election. But while his team and electorate celebrated his success, the team of his opponent, Leonid Kuchma, pooled their resources and intensified their campaign efforts. Kuchma’s victory in the second round and subsequent inauguration as president came as a shock to many and as a signal to society that it was high time to drop romantic complacency. Kravchuk did not try to contest the results, setting a precedent for a peaceful and legitimate transfer of power from one president to the next in the post-Soviet space.
Oles Donii, one of the leaders of the 1990 Revolution on Granite19 (a public hunger strike conducted by Kyiv university students that led to the dismissal of the then head of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR Vitalii Masol), accused the “sixtyers” of colluding with the Soviet nomenklatura. Having seen the new political alternative, the deputies of the Verkhovna Rada passed a new election law raising the age requirement for deputies, thereby depriving yesterday’s strikers of the opportunity to run for office and preventing the new generation from participating in the governing process.20

Psychologically speaking, the former dissidents’ behavior was perfectly understandable: they had sacrificed the best years of their lives to the struggle for Ukrainian statehood, and now they wanted to be the ones to build this state and govern it. But we should also note that these people of turbulent fates lacked both a strategic program and a sober assessment of their own competence. The years of Kravchuk’s presidency will be remembered by the citizens of Ukraine, among other things, as the era of gangsterism and crime. Ukrainian state-builders were in no hurry to change the legislation dealing with economic crimes. For example, before Kuchma became president, the law in effect was Article 80 of the Criminal Code (“Violations of Regulations Concerning Foreign Exchange Transactions”), which provided for imprisonment for a term of up to five years with the confiscation of currency assets as punishment for the illegal purchase, sale, exchange, or use of currency assets as an instrument of payment or collateral. At the same time, the dollar had already become the main currency for all commercial operations during Gorbachev’s tenure: Soviet money was not worth the paper it was printed on. The hyperinflation of the Kravchuk-era coupon-karbovanets became legendary, just like the shopping cart popularly known as the “kravchuchka” that the impoverished citizens rammed into one another in endless lines, at markets, and in public transport. Granted, now the “kravchuchka” is viewed as a stylish hipster accessory — Kravchuk’s unwitting contribution to the history of design.

Shouts of “we buy dollars and Deutsche marks!” remained a refrain throughout Kyiv’s commercial districts for a good decade. Thus the existing laws were effectively criminalizing Ukrainian entrepreneurs from the very beginning. The real estate market and other financial and property operations—perfectly legitimate from the market standpoint—remained for the longest time legislatively unregulated. Even after cancelling the outdated criminal laws, the Ukrainian authorities persisted in criminalizing private entrepreneurship by forever changing the rules, particularly in the sphere of taxation, and introducing various institutional authorization documents and bureaucratic instructions. The year 1990 also started the tradition of dismissing the head of government the moment the president sensed a wave of public dissatisfaction rising. Once the people had let off steam, the discredited prime minister could be cynically reappointed, as Kuchma did with Masol in 1994 and Viktor Yushchenko did with Viktor Yanukovych in 2006. The latter did not make use of this strategy during the 2013 Maidan protests. But then his entire political career proved to be singular. Racketeering, gang violence, and crime lords became a part of everyday life during Kravchuk’s term in office.

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19 The Revolution on Granite was a nonviolent student protest in October 1990 that started with the hunger strike of students of the T. H. Shevchenko Kyiv State University (now National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy). The students had a number of demands, including the withdrawal of the Ukrainian SSR from the talks about the new Union Treaty initiated by Mikhail Gorbachev, the return home of citizens of the Ukrainian SSR who had been sent to Afghanistan or outside the republic as part of their mandatory military service, and early multiparty elections to the Verkhovna Rada. The initial group was later joined by students from other universities in Kyiv and beyond. The Chairman of the Verkhovna Rada Leonid Kravchuk met with the striking students, and they were given an opportunity to address the parliament. As a result, the Prime Minister Vitalii Masol, who represented Ukraine at the Union Treaty negotiations, was dismissed, and the government promised to meet all the protesters’ other demands as well. However, in passing the new election law, parliament raised the age requirement for parliamentary candidates, thereby denying the generation of the protesters the chance to be elected.

Even the smallest businesses sought a “roof” (krysha), whom they paid protection money. Law enforcement and courts could not guarantee security, having neither the legislative nor technical base for this. Kyiv gangs settled scores among themselves as far away as the Czech Republic and Slovakia. They tracked “shuttle traders” there—that is, those who brought in goods across the border to resell at home. Businessmen who were easy marks for extortion of tribute payments were known as “lokhs” (chumps, easy prey) in the criminal world.

In Gorbachev’s time, criminal gangs were led by so-called thieves-in-law, men who had prison experience and adhered to the “code” of conduct developed in “the zone” (i.e., the prison camps). The panorama of the criminal world changed after independence. Merited athletes and even former military officers, previously deemed inconceivable from the standpoint of the “thieves’ code,” came to become crime lords. Youth flocked to gangs as an alternative to dead-end idleness and lack of social mobility, an alternative being promoted by those who opened gyms, taught self-defense, and offered opportunities to earn some money by using physical force. A writer and scholar of criminal Kyiv, Svitlana Zorina, however, maintains that “it was organized crime that succeeded in curbing an increase in the number of random crimes committed by ‘hell-raisers’ from among the members of small gangs and lone-wolf thugs.”

It was not until Leonid Kuchma’s term as president that the criminal free-for-all in Kyiv was reigned in. Packs of young men in tracksuits finally stopped roaming the streets and paying visits to commercial firms. Crime bosses who had once supported Kuchma in the presidential race either perished in unsolved murders or ended up in prison. Members of law enforcement became the new collectors of protection money, threatening businesses with endless inspections that could destroy any enterprise. The authorities turned their attention to the economy. These were the times of the criminalization of the government itself, producing what Taras Vozniak described as a “stagnarchy,” a mixture of oligarchy and stagnation.

The period spanning 1985 to 1994, from the beginning of Mikhail Gorbachev’s rule in the USSR to the end of Leonid Kravchuk’s presidency in Ukraine, became an informational and mental revolution. The economic acceleration proclaimed in the Kremlin spread to social thought, into the realm of self-identification, creativity, ethics, and morality, becoming stronger with each passing year until it became a raging tornado. It was the era of the sexual revolution, the drug revolution, the revolution of individualism: people asserted their right and desire to be themselves. It seemed like the times of prohibitions and hypocrisy were never coming back. Each revolution, however, leads to economic decline, and we are often asked to pay for overcoming it with certain freedoms.

It is important to remember: the freedoms you relinquish are very hard, and sometimes impossible, to get back. The rhythm of Ukrainian Maidans, the popular uprisings against the government, demonstrates that Ukrainians are aware of this.

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21 Svetlana Zorina, Kiev nekriminalnym vzgliadom (Kyiv: Shkola, 2003), 55.
22 See Vozniak, Retrospektyvna politolohia. Epokha Kuchmy, 5.


E Lenin monument taken off its pedestal, stored at the Zhovtnevyi District Public Utility Company. Lviv, September 1990.


K In front of the entrance to the machine unit of nuclear reactor No. 3 of the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant. Chernobyl Exclusion Zone, 1996.


N Viacheslav Chornovil at the ceremonial session of the Ukrainian parliament celebrating the results of the national referendum on the Act of Declaration of Independence and the inauguration of the elected president of Ukraine. Kyiv, December 5, 1991.


S Dispersing Crimean Tatars on a hunger strike to demand that returnees be granted land plots for the construction of housing. Simferopol, November 1990.

T Beginning of the student hunger strike. Kyiv, October Revolution Square, October 2, 1990.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Political events</th>
<th>Events in art</th>
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| 1985 | March 11 — Mikhail Gorbachev elected General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CC CPSU)  
April 23 — Mikhail Gorbachev announced the strategy of accelerated socioeconomic development of the USSR at the Plenum of the CC CPSU. This marked the de facto beginning of “perestroika”, although the term was not yet in official use  
April 26 — The Warsaw Pact extended for 20 years  
May 7 — Decree of the CC CPSU and the Council of Ministers of the USSR on the struggle against heavy drinking and alcoholism—beginning of the anti-alcohol campaign  
November 19 — U.S. President Ronald Reagan met the new General Secretary of the CC CPSU Mikhail Gorbachev in Geneva. It was the first meeting of the American and Soviet leaders in 6 years | “Young Artists of Ukraine” exhibition held at the Central House of Artists in Moscow. Participants included Tiberiy Szilvashi, Serhii Bazylev, Valentyn Hordiichuk, Serhii Odainyk, Halyna Borodai, Andrii Chebykin, Valerii Laskarzhevskyi, Serhii Iakutovych |
| 1986 | January 15 — Mikhail Gorbachev announced his program of complete elimination of nuclear weapons globally  
February 25–March 6 — 27th Congress of the CPSU held in Moscow, 12th five-year plan adopted  
April 8 — Mikhail Gorbachev’s visit to the city of Tolyatti, where he used the term perestroika for the first time  
April 26 — Chernobyl disaster — explosion at the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant  
August 31 — sinking of SS Admiral Nakhimov near the Black Sea coast of the USSR  
December 17–18 — uprising in Almaty (Kazakhstan) | |
| 1987 | The majority of political prisoners were released during the year  
January 27–28 — Plenum of the CC CPSU resolved to implement full-scale reforms in all spheres of public life, including alternative elections to the Councils and support for cooperatives. Official course towards perestroika  
August 6 — Ukrainian Culturological Club, the first independent non-governmental organization in the Ukrainian SSR, founded in Kyiv | Soviart Centre for Contemporary Art founded in August  
Artists Arsen Savadov and Georgii Senchenko created their painting “The Woes of Cleopatra”, which they exhibited at the “Country’s Youth” exhibition at the Manege (Moscow) the same year, where it was acquired by Galerie de France  
“The Woes of Cleopatra” by Savadov/Senchenko was exhibited at the FIAC International Contemporary Art Fair as part of the presentation of the Galerie de France collection. It was acquired for Arman’s private collection there  
Ukrainian-Estonian exhibition at the Kyiv Polytechnic Institute. Participants included Oleksandr Hnylytskyi, Oleh Tistol, Kostiantyn Reunov, Anatol Stepanenko, Oleksandr Zhyvotkov, and others. Curator: Serhi Sviatchenko |
| 1988 | February 12 — the US-Soviet military naval bumping incident off the Crimean coast  
February 22 — the beginning of the Karabakh conflict, the first internal armed conflict during the period of the USSR’s disintegration  
February 27–29 — Sumgait pogrom (Azerbaijan)  
December 7 — Spitak earthquake (Armenia) | First Soviet-American exhibition organized by the Soviart Centre for Contemporary Art in the hall of the Union of Artists of Ukraine on Volodymyrska Street. Participants included Oleksandr Hnylytskyi, Oleksandr Roitburd, Oleh Tistol, Kostiantyn Reutov, Pavlo Kerestey, and others  
The All-Soviet Exhibition of Young Artists was held in Moscow. The Ukrainian section of the exhibition featured works by Arsen Savadov, Georgii Senchenko, Oleksandr Hnylytskyi, Oleh Holosi, Valentyn Raievskyi, Kostiantyn Reunov, Valerii Troubina, Oleksandr Roitburd, Dmytro Kvasan, Yuri Solomko, Serhii Panych, and others. Discussing the exhibition, the art critic Leonid Bashanov described the Ukrainian new wave as “transavantgarde neo-baroque” |
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<tbody>
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<td>1988</td>
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<td>The en plein air residency held in the Sedniv House of Art (Sedniv) in April–May</td>
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<td>The “Sedniv-88” report exhibition of young artists of Ukraine was held at the Republican House of Artists in June</td>
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<td>1989</td>
<td>Nationalities deported in 1944, primarily the Crimean Tatars, begin to return to Crimea en masse</td>
<td>Soviet Centre for Contemporary Art organized the travelling exhibition “21st Glance”, shown first at the exhibition hall of the Union of Artists of Ukraine at Volodymyrska Street, then at the Odense Museum of Fine Arts (Denmark) and in Munich</td>
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<td>Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church emerged from the underground</td>
<td>The “Sedniv-89” report exhibition of young artists of Ukraine was held at the State Museum of Ukrainian Art in July</td>
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<td>February 15 — Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan completed</td>
<td>The Republican Exhibition of Young Artists was organized at the Union of Artists on Lviv Square (Kyiv) in October–November.</td>
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<td>March 26–May 21 — the first alternative elections of people’s deputies in the USSR</td>
<td>Transavantgarde paintings were allocated the main hall</td>
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<td>April 5 — Round Table Agreement signed in Warsaw, initiating the dismantlement of the Communist regime in Poland, the first socialist country to do so</td>
<td>A squat was founded on Lenin Street (now Bohdana Khmelnytskoho Street) in the fall and existed until the summer of 1990</td>
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<td>April 9 — Soviet army dispersed an anti-Soviet demonstration in Tbilisi (Georgia), resulting in multiple casualties</td>
<td>The Soviart Centre for Contemporary Art organized a travelling exhibition entitled “Ukrainian Art. Three Generations of Ukrainian Painting (60s–80s).” First hosted at the Kyiv Chamber of Commerce and Industry, it visited the Odense Museum of Fine Arts (Denmark) and Germany. Curator: Halyna Skliarenko</td>
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<td>April 15–June 4 — Tiananmen Square protests in Beijing (China), suppressed by the government</td>
<td>The Soviart Centre for Contemporary Art organized the travelling exhibition “21st Glance”, shown first at the exhibition hall of the Union of Artists of Ukraine at Volodymyrska Street, then at the Odense Museum of Fine Arts (Denmark) and in Munich</td>
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<td>Summer — mass miners’ strikes all over the USSR, including the Ukrainian SSR</td>
<td>The “Babylon” exhibition was held in the Moscow Palace of Youth (curator: Marat Guelman), featuring Ukrainian artists. Participants included Vasyl Tsaholov, Oleksandr Hnylytskyi, Oleksandr Roitburd, Oleh Holosii, Valeria Troubina, Oleh Tistol, Kostiantyn Reunov, Dmytro Kavsan, and others</td>
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<td>September–December — a wave of democratic revolutions toppled Communist regimes in Eastern Europe</td>
<td>The “Ukrainian Painting of the 20th Century” exhibition was held at the State Museum of Ukrainian Art. Participants included Oleh Holosii, Valeria Troubina, Leonid Vartyvanov, Dmytro Kavsan, and others</td>
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<td>September 8–10 — founding meeting of the People’s Movement of Ukraine (Rukh)</td>
<td>The Kyiv House of Architects hosted the “Flash/Spalakh” exhibition organized by the Soviart Centre for Contemporary Art. It featured works by Valeria Troubina, Oleksandr Klymenko, Oleh Holosii, Oleksandr Hnylytskyi, Leonid Vartyvanov, Hlib Vycheslavskyi, and others. Curator: Serhii Sviatchenko</td>
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<td>October 28 — The Supreme Council (Verkhovna Rada) of the Ukrainian SSR passed the law “On languages in the Ukrainian SSR,” adopting Ukrainian as the state language of the republic</td>
<td>The Soviart Centre for Contemporary Art organized a travelling exhibition entitled “Ukrainian Art. Three Generations of Ukrainian Painting (60s–80s).” First hosted at the Kyiv Chamber of Commerce and Industry, it visited the Odense Museum of Fine Arts (Denmark) and Germany. Curator: Halyna Skliarenko</td>
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<td>November 10 — demolition of the Berlin Wall began</td>
<td>A squat was established on Paris Commune Street (now Mykhailivska Street)</td>
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<td>1990</td>
<td>November 19 — Vasyl Stus, Yuri Lytvyn and Oleksa Tykhyy—dissidents who perished in the Soviet camps were reinterred in Kyiv</td>
<td>The “Babylon” exhibition was held in the Moscow Palace of Youth (curator: Marat Guelman), featuring Ukrainian artists. Participants included Vasyl Tsaholov, Oleksandr Hnylytskyi, Oleksandr Roitburd, Oleh Holosii, Valeria Troubina, Oleh Tistol, Kostiantyn Reunov, Dmytro Kavsan, and others</td>
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<td>The year marks the beginning of the economic crisis in the USSR</td>
<td>The “Ukrainian Painting of the 20th Century” exhibition was held at the State Museum of Ukrainian Art. Participants included Oleh Holosii, Valeria Troubina, Leonid Vartyvanov, Dmytro Kavsan, and others</td>
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<td>January 20 — the Soviet army dispersed an anti-Soviet protest in Baku (Azerbaijan), resulting in casualties</td>
<td>The Kyiv House of Architects hosted the “Flash/Spalakh” exhibition organized by the Soviart Centre for Contemporary Art. It featured works by Valeria Troubina, Oleksandr Klymenko, Oleh Holosii, Oleksandr Hnylytskyi, Leonid Vartyvanov, Hlib Vycheslavskyi, and others. Curator: Serhii Sviatchenko</td>
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<td>March 4 — the first alternative elections of people’s deputies of the Ukrainian SSR</td>
<td>The Soviart Centre for Contemporary Art organized the travelling exhibition “21st Glance”, shown first at the exhibition hall of the Union of Artists of Ukraine at Volodymyrska Street, then at the Odense Museum of Fine Arts (Denmark) and in Munich</td>
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<td>March 15 — Proclamation of the Act on the Re-Establishment of the State of Lithuania, the first such document issued during the process of the disintegration of the USSR</td>
<td>The “Babylon” exhibition was held in the Moscow Palace of Youth (curator: Marat Guelman), featuring Ukrainian artists. Participants included Vasyl Tsaholov, Oleksandr Hnylytskyi, Oleksandr Roitburd, Oleh Holosii, Valeria Troubina, Oleh Tistol, Kostiantyn Reunov, Dmytro Kavsan, and others</td>
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<td>March 15 — Mikhail Gorbachev elected President of the USSR</td>
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<td>June 4–7 — Osh ethnic clashes in Kyrgyzstan</td>
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<td>June 5–6 — restoration of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in Ukraine</td>
<td>The Soviart Centre for Contemporary Art organized a travelling exhibition entitled “Ukrainian Art. Three Generations of Ukrainian Painting (60s–80s).” First hosted at the Kyiv Chamber of Commerce and Industry, it visited the Odense Museum of Fine Arts (Denmark) and Germany. Curator: Halyna Skliarenko</td>
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<td>July 2–13 — the last, 28th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union</td>
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<td>July 16 — The Supreme Council of the Ukrainian SSR adopted the Declaration of State Sovereignty of Ukraine</td>
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<td>August 2, 1990–February 28, 1991 — Gulf War</td>
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1990

The summer saw the Ukrainian-Funen travelling exhibition “77+7.
First Joint Enterprise: first at the Odense Museum of Fine Arts” (Denmark), then at the exhibition hall of the Charlottenborg Palace in Copenhagen (Denmark), and finally in Kyiv, Odessa, and Kharkiv (Ukraine).

In September the Odesa Regional History Museum hosted the New Figurations exhibition. Participants included Dmytro Kavsan, Oleksandr Roltburch, Vasyl Riabchenko, Valeria Troubina, Oleksandr Hnylytskyi, Dmytro Dulfan, Oleh Holosi, and others.

January 5, 1991—June 24, 1992 — South Ossetian Republic of Ichkeria was proclaimed.

January 11–27 — attempts by Soviet military forces to suppress pro-independence movements in Latvia and Lithuania.

January 22 — confiscatory monetary reform in the USSR.

February 12 — The Crimean Oblast of the Ukrainian SSR transformed into the Crimean Autonomous Republic of Crimea on February 26, 1992.

August 19–21 — attempted coup d'état in the USSR staged by conservative party and state officials who created the so-called State Committee on the State of Emergency, known under its Russian abbreviation GKChP.

August 25 — the activities of the Communist Party in the USSR were suspended.

August 24 — The Supreme Council of the Ukrainian SSR adopted the Act of Declaration of Independence of Ukraine. The official country name was changed from the Ukrainian SSR to Ukraine.

November 1 — The independence of the Chechen Republic of Ichkeria was proclaimed.

1991

January 1, 1991—December 31, 1991 — Centralized control of prices was abolished.

January 10 — Ukrainian currency (the coupon-karbovanets) was introduced to replace Soviet rubles.

February 7 — European Union created based on the Maastricht Treaty.

March 2 – August 1 — Transnistria armed conflict.

May 5 — The Supreme Council of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea proclaimed Crimea’s independence.

May 13 — The Supreme Council (Verkhovna Rada) of Ukraine annulled Crimea’s declaration of independence.

June 25–26 — The Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the Kyiv Patriarchate established, split in the Ukrainian Orthodox Church cemented.

December 1 — The all-Ukrainian referendum on the Act of Declaration of Independence was held. Leonid Kravchuk became the first popularly elected President of Ukraine.

December 7–8 — Belarus, Russia and Ukraine signed the Belavezha Accords, dissolving the USSR and establishing the Commonwealth of Independent States.

December 25 — Mikhail Gorbachev resigned as president of the Soviet Union. The USSR ceased to exist.

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Adding to the list of events in 1991:

In October Oleh Holosi had a solo show in the Central House of Artists in Moscow entitled “Oleh Holosi. In-Dependent Art”. Oleh Kulik was in charge of the exposition.

In November, the Central House of Artists in Moscow hosted the exhibition of Arsen Savadov and Georgii Senchenko.

In the fall, the YKV Gallery of Contemporary Art was founded on Sichnevoho Povstannya Street (now Ivan Mazepa Street). Curator: Oleksandr Soloviov.

The YKV Gallery announced the launching of the “Flash Marathon” exhibition project, which began in November with the “Artists of the Paris Commune” show at the exhibition hall of the Union of Artists of Ukraine on Volodymyrska Street.

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<td><strong>1992</strong></td>
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<td>August 3 — the first agreement on the partition of the Black Sea Fleet between Russia and Ukraine</td>
<td>Oleksandr Roitburd, Pavlo Kerestey, Savadov-Senchenko, Yuri Solomko, Illia Chichkan, Valeria Troubina</td>
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<td>August 14, 1992 – August 30, 1993 — Abkhaz–Georgian conflict</td>
<td>In May, the Kyiv Fortress Museum hosted the “Skew Caponier” exhibition. Participants included Oleh Holosii, Oleksandr Hnylytskyi, Illia Chichkan, Maksym Mamsikov, Mykola Matsenko, Oleh Tistol, and others. Curator: Anatol Stepanenko</td>
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<td>October 13 — Leonid Kuchma became the Prime Minister of Ukraine after the resignation of Vitold Fokin</td>
<td>In June, the Republican House of Artists hosted the “Leto” exhibition of young Ukrainian artists. Curator: Oleksandr Soloviov. Participants: Natalia Radovinska, Anatolii Hankevych, Ihor Husiev, Volodymyr Iershyn, Vasyl Tshaholov, Viktoriia Parkhomenko, Dmytro Dulfan, Maksym Mamsikov, Oleksandr Hnylytskyi, Oleksandr Druhanov, Illia Chichkan, Valeria Troubina</td>
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<td>In September, a four-month residency for young Ukrainian artists started in Munich. The city’s Villa Stuck museum hosted the “Dialogue with Kyiv” exhibition. After the residency ended, the Munich gallery on Lothringer-strasse, and later the Grassi Museum in Leipzig, hosted the PostAnaesthesia show. Participants: Oleksandr Hnylytskyi, Arsen Savadov, Georgii Senchenko, Oleksandr Roitburd, Oleh Holosii, Dmytro Dulfan, Pavlo Kerestey, Oleksandr Druhanov. Project curator: Christoph Wiedemann</td>
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<td>In November, the New Art Gallery exhibition hall of the Union of Artists of Ukraine (Gorky Street, Kyiv) hosted Vasyl Tshaholov’s solo show “The Rubber of Feelings.”</td>
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<td>In December, the End of the Year exhibition was held at the YKV Gallery</td>
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<td>Hyperinflation over the course of the year: prices increased by a factor of more than 102, the highest indicator during the entire economic crisis</td>
<td>Oleh Holosii died tragically in January</td>
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<td>June — multiple miners’ strikes</td>
<td>Vasyl Tshaholov’s solo show “The World Without Ideas” was held at the YKV Gallery (Kyiv) in February, and at Marat Guelman’s gallery (Moscow) in April</td>
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<td>September 24 — under the pressure of miners’ strikes and the economic crisis, the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine approved a motion to hold early parliamentary and presidential elections in 1994</td>
<td>In the spring, three art performances were held in Kyiv’s public spaces: “Three Elephants” by Valentyn Raievskyi, “Karl Marx’s Père Lachaise” by Vasyl Tshaholov, and Far, Close by Volodymyr Iershyn, Viacheslav Mashnytskyi, Kostiantyn Maslov, and Mustafa Khalil</td>
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<td>In May, the art performance “Kyiv-Mohyla Academy. Exploring the Space” was held in the Old Academic Corpus Building of the National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy. Participants included Mykola Matsenko, Kostiantyn Reunov, Oleh Tistol, Anatol Stepanenko, Oleksandr Kharchenko, and others. The author and organizer of the project: Anatol Stepanenko</td>
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<td>In June, Illia Chichkan’s and Illia Isupov’s exhibition “Gene Mutations” was hosted by the Union of Artists at Volodymyrska Street (Kyiv)</td>
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<td>The Aplii Gallery opened at the Ukrainian House in Kyiv, with Valeriy Sakharuk as its curator</td>
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<td>In August-September, the “Angels Over Ukraine” exhibition was held in Edinburgh (United Kingdom) as part of the International Theatre Festival. Participants: Arsen Savadov, Georgii Senchenko, Oleh Holosii, Oleksandr Hnylytskyi, Valeria Troubina, Oleksandr Roitburd, Illia Chichkan, Savadov/Senchenko. Curator: Andrew Brown</td>
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<td>1993</td>
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<td>In October-November, the “Steppes of Europe – New Ukrainian Art” exhibition was held at the Ujazdowski Castle Centre for Contemporary Art (Warsaw). Participants: Vasyl Bazhai, Oleh Holosii, Ievhen Leshchenko, Serhii Panych, Valentyn Raisievskyi, Vasyl Riabchenco, Oleksandr Roitburd, Andrii Sahaidakovskyi, Arsen Savadov, Georgii Senchenko, Oleh Tistol, Mykola Matsenko, Hlib Vysheleslavskyi. Curator: Jerzy Onuch</td>
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<td>1994</td>
<td>January 14 — the U.S., Russia, and Ukraine signed the deal under which Ukraine gave up nuclear weapons in exchange for security guarantees</td>
<td>The “Artistic Impressions” exhibition was organized in February, with a separate set allocated to the works of the Paris Commune artists Oleksandr Hnylytskyi, Valeria Troubina, Oleh Holosii, Maksym Mamsikov, Yuri Solomko, Vasyl Tshaholov. The exhibition was hosted by the Alipii Gallery at the Ukrainian House. Curator: Valeriy Sakharuk</td>
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<td>February 4 — pro-Russian activist Yuri Mieshkov elected president of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea</td>
<td>In late June or early July, the Paris Commune squat ceased to exist</td>
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<td>March 27 — early elections to the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine</td>
<td>In July, the “Alchemical Capitulation” exhibition was held on the naval vessel Slavutych in Sevastopol with the support of the Soros Center for Contemporary Art in Kyiv. Participants: Oleksandr Hnylytskyi, Oleh Tistol, Mykola Matsenko, Arsen Savadov, Georgii Senchenko, Andrii Sahaidakovskyi, Oleksandr Kharchenko, Iliia Chichkan, Serhii Bratkov, Borys Mykhailov, Ihor Podolchak, Dmytro Baltermants. Curator: Marta Kuzma</td>
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<td>June 26 – July 10 — early presidential election, Leonid Kuchma elected President of Ukraine</td>
<td>In November, the “Mediatopia” exhibition held at the Central House of Artists in Moscow featured the media work “Voices of Love” by Arsen Savadov and Georgii Senchenko</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Konstantin Akinsha (born in 1960 in Kyiv) — art scholar with a PhD in art history, critic and curator; curator of the MARS gallery (Moscow), co-curator of the “Dead Calm” exhibition (1992).

Sergey Anufriev (born in 1964 in Odessa) — artist. A representative of Moscow Conceptualism, member of the “Medical Hermeneutics” Inspection group. Frequent visitor in the Paris Commune Street squat. The 1.0 Gallery (Moscow) hosted his joint exhibition with Oleksandr Hnylytskyi entitled “According to the Plan” in 1991.

Olesia Avramenko (born in 1959 in Zaporizhia) — artist scholar with a PhD in art history, curator, and art critic. Her works were published in the journals “Obrazotvorche Mystetstvo” (Fine Arts), “Ranok” (Morning), “Kultura i zhyttia” (Culture and Life), and others.

Volodymyr Berezhnyi (born in 1971 in Odessa) — artist. Graduated from the Department of Painting of the National Academy of Visual Art and Architecture. Worked in painting, installations, and video art. Member of the At Lenin’s squat (at the corner of Franko Street and the former Lenin Street, now Bohdana Khmelnytskoho Street). Lived and worked in the Paris Commune Street squat. Took the curatorial studies program at Bard College (New York). Director of Marat Guelman’s gallery in Kyiv.


Tetiana Halochkina (born in 1959 in Kyiv) — artist working in graphics. The first wife of Arsen Savadov.

Anatolii Hankevych (born in 1965 in Odessa) — artist. Worked in photography, video art, performance art, and installations. Has no formal schooling. Belonged to the Paris Commune circle. His works were exhibited abroad starting in 1991. The first Ukrainian artist who started collaborating with a private gallery (Regina Gallery, Moscow). With the support of the Regina Gallery, had a solo show at the Central House of Artists in Moscow (1991).

Participated in the “PostAnaesthesia. Dialog mit Kiew” project (Munich, Germany).


Oleg Golosiy (born in 1965 in Dnipropetrovsk — died in 1993 in Kyiv) — painter. Studied at the Department of Painting at the Kyiv State Art Institute. Member of the At Lenin’s squat (at the corner of Franko Street and the former Lenin Street, now Bohdana Khmelnytskoho Street). Lived and worked in the Paris Commune Street squat. His works were exhibited abroad starting in 1991. The first Ukrainian artist who started collaborating with a private gallery (Regina Gallery, Moscow). With the support of the Regina Gallery, had a solo show at the Central House of Artists in Moscow (1991).

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Oksana Barshynova (born in 1970 in the village of Rizdvianka in the Novomykolaiv district of Zaporizhia Oblast) — art scholar with a PhD in art history, curator, and art critic. Co-founder of the 1.0 Creative Union (1986) and of the Centre for Contemporary Art in the Yakimanka District in Moscow (1991). He described the works of Hnylytskyi, Golosiy, Savadov, Senchenko, Troubina, and others as the “Transavantgarde Neo-Baroque.”

Konstantin Akinsha (born in 1960 in Kyiv) — art scholar with a PhD in art history, critic and curator; curator of the MARS gallery (Moscow), co-curator of the “Dead Calm” exhibition (1992).
Ihor Husiev (born in 1970 in Odessa) — an artist working primarily in painting. Participated in the “Letó” and “Dead Calm” exhibitions.


Illia Isupov (born in 1971 in the town of Vasyikiv, Kyiv Oblast) — artist. Belonged to the Paris Commune artistic milieu. Graduated from the T. H. Shevchenko Republican Comprehensive Art School. Occupied a studio on Sofiivska Street and lived in the Paris Commune Street squat during the last year of its existence.

Dmytro Kvasan (born in 1964 in Kyiv) — artist and painter. Graduated from the workshop of monumental painting at the Kyiv State Art Institute. Member of the At Lenin’s squat (at the corner of Franko Street and the former Lenin Street, now Bohdana Khmelnytskoho Street). Worked in the Paris Commune Street squat.


Oleksandr Kharchenko (born in 1965 in Mykolaiv) — artist working in photography, installations, and performance art. Worked in the Trekhprudny Lane squat in Moscow in the early 1990s. His works were featured at the “Dead Calm” exhibition. Visited the Paris Commune Street squat.

Oleksandr Klymenko (born in 1963 in Luhansk) — artist, curator, and art scholar. Graduated from the workshop of monumental painting at the Kyiv State Art Institute. Member of the At Lenin’s squat (at the corner of Franko Street and the former Lenin Street, now Bohdana Khmelnytskoho Street). Lived and worked in the Paris Commune Street squat.

Mykola Kostiuchenko (born in 1953 in the village of Iaroslavets, Kirovets district, Sumy Oblast — died in 2007 in Kyiv) — art scholar and critic. Graduated from the Department of Theory and History of Art of the Kyiv State Art Institute, where he studied in the same year as Oleksandr Soloviov. Worked in exhibition management for the Union of Artists of Ukraine. His articles were published in the periodicals “Tvorchestvo” (Creativity), “Iskusstvo” (Art), “Образотворче мистецтво” (Fine Arts), etc.

Tetiana Krendeliova (born in 1963 in Kyiv) — financier and businesswoman. She was an accountant for Ukrinkombank, which had a corporate collection of contemporary Ukrainian art that she eventually bought out. A founder of the YKV Gallery for contemporary art which supported Ukrainian artists and organized exhibitions of contemporary art, including the “Artists of the Paris Commune”, “Letó” and “Dead Calm” shows.


Vladimir Levashov (born in 1958 in the city of Komunarsk (now Alchevsk), Luhansk Oblast) — art historian and critic, curator of contemporary art. Co-founder of the 1.0 Gallery (Moscow), where he co-curated Oleksandr Hnylytskyy and Sergey Anufriev’s show “According to the Plan” (1991).

Dmytro Liheros (Dmytro Karabanov, Liheros) (born in 1970 in Odessa) — poet and artist. Member of the Yellow Hummer performance group. Often visited the Paris Commune Street squat, where he became interested in graphics under the influence of Valeria Troubina and Oleg Golosiy.


Igor Volynets (born in 1967 in Lviv) — an artist working primarily in painting. Participated in the “Kurier muz” (Messenger of the Muses) newspaper.

Vladimir Ovcharenko (born in 1963 in Moscow) — Russian entrepreneur, gallery owner, and art collector, the founding director of the Regina Gallery and VLADYEY auction.


Viktorija Parkhomenko (born in 1971 in Kyiv) — artist and model. Belonged to the Paris Commune scene. Along with Natalija Radovinska, she was a student of Arsen Savadov and Georgii Senchenko. She left art in 1996, switching to the restaurant business; she is now a gastro expert.

Kirill Protosenko (born in 1967 in Kyiv — died in 2017 in Kyiv) — artist, graphic artist, and designer. Graduated from the Department of Graphic Art of the Ukrainian Academy of Art, where he studied with Maksym Mamsikov, with whom he shared a studio at Irynynska Street. He has been working in a studio next to the Kyiv Opera Theatre since 1992.


Natalija Radovinska (born in 1971 in Kyiv) — artist and model. Belonged to the Paris Commune scene. Along with Viktorija Parkhomenko, she was a student of Arsen Savadov and Georgii Senchenko. Left art in 1993 for the fashion industry, where she works to this day.


KOstiantyn (Winnie) Reunov — artist. Proclaimed the “Forceful Aspect of National Post-Eclecticism” program with Oleh Tistol (1987). For a time occupied a studio in At Lenin’s squat (at the corner of Franko Street and the former Lenin Street, now Bohdana Khmelnytskoho Street). Worked in Moscow, where he lived and worked in Furmanny Lane and Trekhprudny Lane squats (1989–1993).


Halyna Skliarenko (born in 1955 in Kyiv) — art scholar and curator with a PhD in art history. Author of treatises about contemporary Ukrainian art. In the early 1990s, she taught the course on contemporary art at the Department of Theory and History of Art of the Ukrainian Academy of Art (1992–1993), taking her students (the class included Tetiana Hershuni and Kateryna Stukalova) to the studios of contemporary artists.

Yuri Solomko (born in 1962 in the Autonomous Republic of Crimea) — artist. Graduated from the workshop of monumental painting at the Kyiv State Art Institute. Member of the At Lenin’s squat (at the corner of Franko Street and the former Lenin Street, now Bohdana Khmelnytskoho Street). Lived and worked in the Paris Commune Street squat.

Oleksandr Soloviev (born in 1952 in Volgograd, Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic) — art scholar, art critic, and curator. Graduated from the Department of Theory and History of Art of the Kyiv State Art Institute (1975) and from the graduate program of the M.T. Ryisky Institute of Art Scholarship, Folklore, and
Anatol Stepanenko (born in 1948 in the town of Irpin, Kyiv Oblast) — artist and curator working in photography, painting, installations, and performance art. Curator of the “Kyiv-Mohyla Academy” art performance (1992) in the old academic building of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, which eventually became the exhibition hall of the Soros Centre for Contemporary Art in Kyiv.


Oleks Sydor (born in 1962 in Lutsk) — art scholar, art critic, and journalist. Graduated from the Department of Theory and History of Art of the Kyiv State Art Institute. Works under the name Oleh Sydor-Hibelinda. While the Paris Commune Street squat existed, he wrote extensively about the artists of the circle in the periodicals “Kurier Muz”, “Terra Incognita”, and “Kultura i zhyttia”. He published his “obituary” of the Paris Commune in the latter newspaper.

Christoph Wiedemann (born in 1958 in Munich, Germany) — German journalist, historian, and art scholar. Curator of the “PostAnaesthesia”, “Dialog mit Kiew” project in Munich (1992) and Leipzig (1993).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>Marat Guelman Gallery (Moscow)</td>
<td>One of the first private galleries of contemporary art in Russia, founded by the businessman Marat Guelman in 1990. The gallery worked with Russian, Ukrainian, and Moldovan artists. A branch of the gallery existed in Kyiv in 2002-2004.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regina Gallery (Moscow)</td>
<td>One of the first private galleries of contemporary art in Russia, founded by Regina and Vladimir Ovcharenko in 1990. Worked with Ukrainian artist Oleg Golosiy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State Museum of Ukrainian Art (now the National Art Museum of Ukraine)</td>
<td>One of the largest and oldest museums in Ukraine, founded in the late 19th century as the first public museum in Kyiv. It has a rich collection of Ukrainian art and is now acquiring works of contemporary art. In recent years, it has hosted a series of exhibitions of contemporary art, including “The Ukrainian New Wave” (2009), “Ukrainian Baroque Myth” (2012), “ENFANT TERRIBLE. Odessa Conceptualism” (2015).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyiv State Art Institute</td>
<td>An art school founded in 1917 as the Ukrainian Academy of Arts on the initiative of a number of cultural leaders in the arts and sciences of the time. After several name changes, it was known as the Kyiv State Art Institute since the late 1930s. In 1992, it reverted to its initial name (Ukrainian Academy of Arts). Its current name was introduced in 2000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T. H. Shevchenko Republican Comprehensive Art School</td>
<td>The leading art school that prepares children for art colleges.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union of Artists of the Ukrainian SSR (now the Union of Artists of Ukraine)</td>
<td>The public union of professional artists and art scholars, founded in 1938 at the First Congress of the Artists of the Ukrainian SSR in Kharkiv.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Art Foundation (Khudfond) of the USSR</td>
<td>A public organization under the aegis of the Union of Artists of USSR, founded in 1940. It had a wide network of production facilities that processed state commissions for artworks or decorations for exhibitions and public institutions. Each republican Union of Artists had its own branch of the Art Foundation.</td>
</tr>
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BOOKS


ARTICLES, PERIODICALS, ETC.


### Articles, Periodicals, etc.

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<td>16</td>
<td>Komarova, I. “Sedniv’88. Tvorche oblychchia.”</td>
<td>“Obrazotvorche mystetstvo”, №6, 1988, pp. 8-10</td>
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<th>DIGITAL RESOURCES</th>
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The Victor Pinchuk Foundation is an international, private and non-partisan philanthropic foundation based in Ukraine. The Foundation was established in 2006 by the businessman and philanthropist Victor Pinchuk. The Foundation’s goal is to empower future generations to become the change makers of tomorrow. It has been developing projects and networks in Ukraine and abroad towards this goal for more than 10 years. Since 2006, it has invested more than 142 million USD into transformative projects.

The projects of the Victor Pinchuk Foundation include the Cradles of Hope neonatal centers, the largest Ukrainian private national scholarship program Zavtra.UA, the WorldWideStudies scholarship program that supports Ukrainian students receiving an education abroad, and the PinchukArtCentre, the most dynamic art centre in Ukraine and the region, which gives free-of-charge access to contemporary art to inspire new thinking. The Foundation supports the international network Yalta European Strategy (YES), a leading forum for discussing Ukraine’s European future and global context.

The Foundation supports a crowdfunding platform to foster giving in Ukrainian society, the Ukrainian Philanthropic Marketplace. The Foundation is a member of the European Foundation Center and the Ukrainian Grant-makers Forum; it cooperates with the Atlantic Council, the Brookings Institution, the Tony Blair Institute for Global Change, the Council on Foreign Relations, Amicus Europae Foundation and other nongovernmental organizations.
Research Platform is an open platform for thinking, research and discourse launched by the PinchukArtCentre in February 2016. Research Platform is focused on Ukrainian contemporary art and conjoins research, exhibition making and education.

With a growing body of materials that is collected through institutional collaborations and with individual support, in the form of the donation of personal archives and providing access to rare information, the Research Platform is a centre of knowledge on Ukrainian contemporary art.

The mission of Research Platform of the PinchukArtCentre is to preserve, catalogue and reconsider gained information. At its core stands an academic project that aims to generate a living archive of Ukrainian Contemporary Art from the early 1980s through the present. Openly accessible, the Research Platform is a cutting-edge project designed to preserve, catalogue, and rethink historical information of crucial importance to a critical reflection on Ukrainian identity today and tomorrow.


In 2016, the PinchukArtCentre launched the Research Platform as an open site for intellectual exploration, research, and dialogue, with the purpose of creating an archive of Ukrainian art from the early 1980s through the present. Openly accessible, the Research Platform is a cutting-edge project designed to preserve, catalogue, and rethink historical information of crucial importance to a critical reflection on Ukrainian identity today and tomorrow.

For more than 10 years, the PinchukArtCentre had been the only space in Ukraine with a consistent program of large solo shows, thematic exhibitions of new works of leading global artists, and long-term projects intended to enliven and support the new Ukrainian art scene.

Its exhibitions and a dynamic public outreach program have made the PinchukArtCentre an intellectual and artistic hub that promotes the development of a new generation able to think and act outside the box, thereby empowering it to modernize and transform society.

The PinchukArtCentre’s projects deal with national identity and meet international challenges. The PinchukArtCentre seeks to introduce the leading world artists to the broadest audience. The PinchukArtCentre invests in the young generation. In 2009, it founded the PinchukArtCentre Prize for contemporary young Ukrainian artists under 35 years of age, and the Future Generation Art Prize—the first global art prize for young artists from all over the world. These biannual prizes have made the PinchukArtCentre the leading hub for the brightest young artists in Ukraine and globally.

The PinchukArtCentre has introduced Ukrainians to over 150 artists from all over the world, offering free access to new ideas, views, and experiences.

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