Bolshevik Era-The Extreme Case of Urban Planning

by

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Submitted to the Departments of Architecture, Urban Studies and Planning in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degrees of Master of Science in Architecture Studies and Master in City Planning
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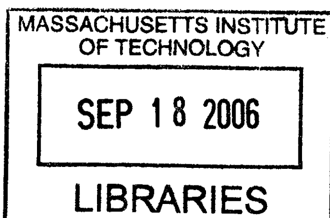
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ABSTRACT

The key premise of the Russian revolutionary movement was the overthrow of the old government and establishment of the new political order under the one party leadership of the Bolsheviks. The political platform of the new government extended well beyond the promise of simple reforms. Its foundation was a vision of an entirely new society governed by a set of new economic mechanisms and social relations. The foundation of the new system rested on the complete socialization of all economic resources and means of production and the creation of the centralized planning system independent of the volatile dynamics of the free market. In this thesis I argue that in their role as the new government of Russia, Bolsheviks simultaneously acted as town planners and as social planners, envisioning the new society and its institutions in every detail and creating a new urban form—the socialist city, and the new citizen—the socialist man. To create this city the Bolsheviks designed a unique tool-they merged their legal right to make policy with their ability to use rhetoric in the form of widespread persuasion, propaganda, indoctrination and force. I define the socialist city as an urban settlement in which the primary from of human existence is the collective life. This city is designed in such a way as to make every space accessible to government control, by making it transparent to the collective which has assumed the censoring and policing functions of the government The space of the city is permeated by a network of institutions and agents making it an environment in which a person is constantly exposed to the mechanisms of control. During the first decade after the revolution the Bolsheviks created the forms of housing and the auxiliary institutions, such as the social club, the communal canteen etc, that became the building blocks of the socialist city. In this thesis I examine the social institutions created by the Bolsheviks between 1917 and 1932 with the goal of understanding of how their design defined the future development of the socialist city

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Moscow Youth in May Day Parade Passing Lenin's Tomb

FOREWORD

The subject of this work is the transformation of the Russian city and society during the decade following the events of the Great October Revolution of 1917. The focus is on the role of the Bolshevik Party as the comprehensive urban planner whose work defined the emergence of a distinct type of space that is the socialist city. By comprehensive, I mean a type of planner who merges the role of physical planner-- defining the shape of the city and its artifacts -streets, buildings, infrastructure, and that of the social planner-- defining the social organization of the city and the nature of its institutions. Socialist city is a space in which an individual human body exists in the constant state of being controlled. The control is facilitated by a set of social institutions and the physical structures that house them that are designed in such a way as to continuously expose the body to the mechanism of control. This mechanism is the ideologically united collectivity which is socialist society. The collectivity is both the agent and the objective of the ideology; its main goal is protection and perpetuation of the ideology through maintaining the collectivity.

In the socialist city, the individual body can not survive outside of the collective; it is perceived as a threat to the ideology and thus must be either absorbed by the collective or destroyed. An individual body is allowed to exist in so far as it defines itself as part of the collective, linked to the collective by the ideology and willing to protect the collective and the ideology by either aggressively assimilating or destroying individual bodies unaffiliated with the collective. To insure stability of the union of the ideology and the collective an individual body is never left alone. It is never outside of the collective, both intellectually and physically.

The nature of the union of ideology and the collective requires continuous maintenance and reinforcement. Control serves the function of reinforcement, by ensuring internal coherence of the collective, expunging potentially destabilizing elements, and absorbing new elements of the collective. To protect itself from being expelled, an individual body has to continuously prove its ideological adherence to the collective and thus to the goals of keeping the collective intact. Never ceasing vigilance is expected of every member of the collective in his search for any deviation of any other member from the self-preservation goals of the collective, which are synonymous with the preservation of the ideology. Therefore the space of the socialist city must be transparent making an individual body constantly accessible to the rest of the collective.

I argue that in their role as planners Bolsheviks saw creation of a socialist city and society as defined above as their goal. The question I ask is how they went about executing this goal, what tools they used and what artifacts can testify to the Bolshevik's intent.

Key socialist institutions of the city are considered with particular emphasis on housing.

The work of Bolsheviks in the city of Moscow is used as the case study.

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Young Russia

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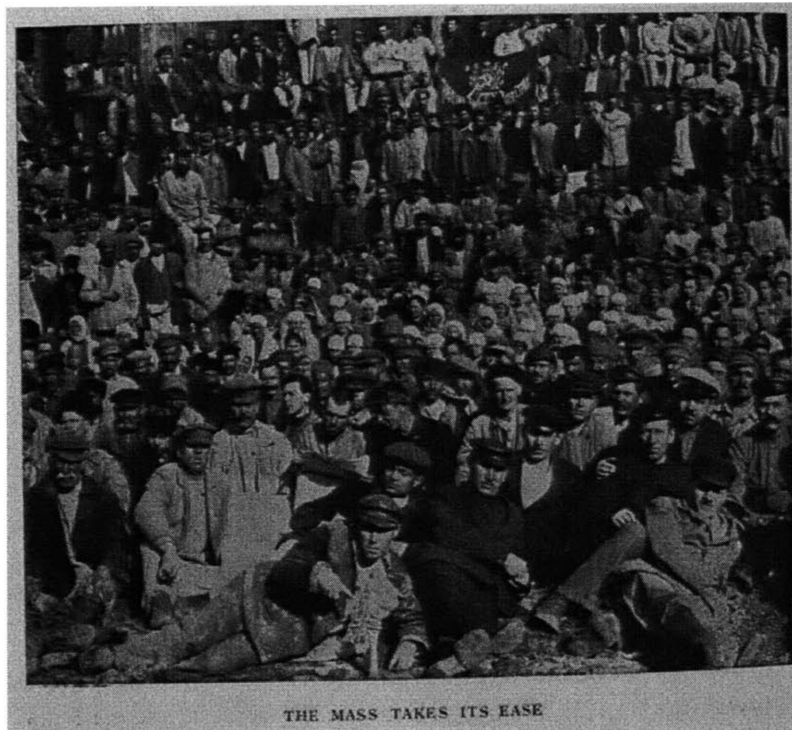

THE MASS TAKES ITS EASE

Fulop-Miller The Mind and Face of Bolshevism

Young atheists against religious fathers

МАЛЕНЬКИЕ БЕЗБОЖНИКИ ПРОТИВ ВЕРУЮЩИХ ОТЦОВ

Фот. Фридлянда

Pioneers, be alarmed! Your parents pray to god!
Giants of electification

Jornal Ogonek:1930

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This thesis would not have been possible without the information, feedback, and encouragement provided by many people. First and foremost, I would like to thank my advisor, Alexander D'Hooghe, for his enthusiasm, encouragement and patience throughout the duration of this project. His interest in complexity of the Russian urban history and willingness to embrace the unknown, as well as his own work were a great inspiration to me. His understanding of the intellectual and at times emotional challenge oh this material gave me much needed courage.
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This work is dedicated to the loving memory of my grandmother, Matilda Ufit, who found a way not to compromise by choosing women as subject in her literary career in Moscow. And to my grandfather Pavel Nilin-the Russian Soviet writer who lived the revolution. And to my grandmother Evdokiia Firsova for her great love.

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Moscow Youth in May Day Parade Passing Lenin's Tomb

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

In October of 1917, following the tumultuous years of the Great Russian Revolution, the Soviet Government under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party (later renamed the Communist Party of the Bolsheviks) took control over the city of Moscow. On March 12, 1918 Moscow became the capital of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic and the leaders of the Party moved there from Petrograd. In 1922 the first All-Russian congress of the soviets took place in Moscow. The congress accepted the Declaration of the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics making Moscow the capital of the Soviet Union (USSR).

Immediately after the Bolshevik party proclaimed its victory over the revolution in Petrograd in1917 Russia plunged into the Civil War. The war was fought by the Bolshevik Red Army and the pro-Czarist White Army which was aided by the West. The Bolsheviks prevailed in 1922.

During the war the Bolshevik Party, under the leadership of Vladimir Lenin, coordinated the actions of the Red Army from Moscow. From there the Party and the Unions sent troops to the front lines along with food, clothes and weapons. The Party's attention and resources were divided between commanding the front and reconstructing the economy.

Their first goal was to take control of all economic resources and means of production, including land and labor. It was also critical that they secure political stability essential for peaceful reconstruction. Centralization of power and success of reconstruction were seen as the guarantee of the permanence of the party.

Under the circumstances, achieving political stability was a difficult task. Though Bolsheviks used all of their powers of persuasion to secure the support of the masses, they did not feel that was enough. From the very first days the Party assumed an aggressive role in suppressing any political opposition. The first step was the creation of a secret political police—the All-Russian Extraordinary Committee for Combating Counterrevolutionary Activity and Sabotage, otherwise known as Cheka, led by Felix Dzerzhinsky. In the following years Cheka's responsibilities grew and it was renamed the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission for Combating Counter-Revolution, Profiteering and Official Corruption. That commission became the most feared organ of the Soviet government by gaining the right to undertake quick non-judicial trials and executions. As soon as it was established, it began mass arrests, imprisonments, and executions of "enemies of the people". Its targets were "class enemies" such as the bourgeoisie, members of the clergy, and political opponents of the new regime. In 1922 the commission was transformed into State Political Administration or GPU, and become part of the larger force of the NKVD- People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs. NKVD was intimately connected with what became known as the Red Terror. Among the many functions it performed were general policing, criminal investigations, intelligence, espionage, counter-intelligence and personal security for

high officials. In 1928 NKVD transformed the Imperial labor camps (*katorga*) in Siberia into special-purpose and forced labor camps. They were restructured for various categories of people considered a threat to the state, such as common criminals, prisoners of war, corrupt officials, political enemies and former aristocrats, businessmen and land owners. In 1930 NKVD created a section called The Chief Directorate of Corrective Labor Camps and Colonies known as GULAG, and put it in charge of the camps. Having access to all other spheres of human life, under the banner of state security, NKVD established a section that defined all housing policy in the Soviet Union.

Policing in everyday life permeated Soviet Russia when citizens of that first socialist state in the world were encouraged to assist Cheka and NKVD in their activities. One of the desired characteristics for members of the new socialist society was vigilance toward potential class enemies. In fact, that vigilance became a self-imposed obligation. It was considered virtuous to denounce anyone, regardless of their rank, affiliation or the certainty of their crime, by writing a letter to the appropriate organization. Crimes to be reported concerned any expressed doubt about the course the Bolshevik Party was taking. Belonging to the wrong social class was a crime in itself, and anyone not of proletarian background was a legitimate suspect. Thus surveillance became the defining characteristic of the socialist society and its cities. The very survival of an individual was dependent on his ability to prove his affinity to the Party. That loyalty was demonstrated by an individual's affirmation of his affiliation with the Bolshevik ideology and his engagement with socially useful cooperative labor. One had to appear dedicated to survive. Individual views and ideas as well as bodies had to be transparent at all times. Single-mindedness became fashionable.

The system of ideological control through collective cooperation, fueled by institutionalized fear, defined the psychological environment the new Russia. Uncertainty and paranoia became the mainstay of the regime. The body was no longer autonomous. With the nationalization of all land, the body became the property of the collective known as the socialist society, always at the disposal of the government, vulnerable to any whim of the regime.

Old people, those who were officially identified as suspect by virtue of their heritage, suffered the most. The new people, the proletariat that came to the city after the revolution had less to fear. But the Party had a plan for old and new alike. The old were to be either reformed or extinguished, and the new were shaped to meet the Bolshevik's vision of society.

Along with establishing their absolute control of the masses, the Bolsheviks needed to rebuild the economy. They decided to tackle that problem at once and equipped themselves with the unique tool of their own design. They merged their policy making capacity with their talent for rhetorical persuasion. Next to the growing incarceration system propaganda became their most powerful tool. Fear instilled by the first and ardor inspired by the later allowed Bolsheviks to mobilize masses of people for the work of reconstruction. Highly valued capacity for self sacrifice for the good of the whole and the particular sense of competition emerging from the collective work contributed to the extra strength the Party was able to find in its people. That strength was channeled into two forms of labor: economic reconstruction and the social restructuring. The first involved wage labor at factories and free volunteer labor used primarily in public works; the later included work for the unions proselytizing their goals and running their administrative machinery and participation in the political activities of the party. Professional Unions in the soviet Russia essentially became the agent of the Bolsheviks party. During the revolution Unions were the main source of ideological propaganda that incited workers to rebellion. After the revolution among other important duties, they assumed the responsibility of safeguarding the ideological purity of their members and became an important mechanism of control. Many privileges came with the membership in the Union including a possibility of joining a housing cooperative, an option to send ones kids to the summer camp, receive additional holiday food ration and resort or sanatorium vacation package. Person found to digress from the socialist norms in any way was brought to the attention of the union which was obliged to publicly scrutinize the culprit at a meeting of colleagues first, demanding repentance, and then decide whether to notify higher authorities. Thus Unions were a real agent of social change, responsible for the sovietization of people.
Theoretically any employed person was visible to the Union, thus to the Party. By delegating part of the control to the Union, the Party created a transparent space of the country in which every resident was visible to one or another agent of the Party, or to several at the same time. Other party cells included local soviets, house committees, coop boards, political sections of the clubs that determined class curriculum and appropriate collective activities, organized parades, demonstrations, subbotniks, ran meetings
The work for the Unions or any of the other cells was considered socially useful labor one should be honored to perform. It was usually unpaid and took up considerable amount of time. The work of the Party penetrated every aspect of life in the socialist city, and affected everyone equally. No one was invisible to the Party or immune from its propaganda.

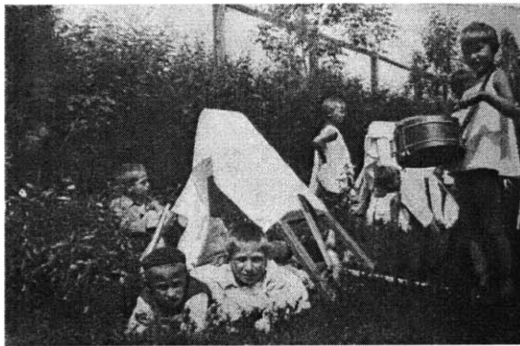
В детском саду завода „Каучук"

Children were exposed to the mechanisms of social control soon after birth. They were given revolutionary names like Octiabrina, christened in a Socialist ceremony that replaced religious baptism, and cared for by the institutions organized by the professional Unions, the local soviets or the Zhenotdel- the female section of the Bolshevik Party led by Alexandra Kollontai. Upbringing of the new generation of Bolsheviks was a matter of utmost importance to the Party, and no resources were spared to insure the proper socialization of the young. (Fuqua: 1996. p1-74)

At the tender age of six children joined the infant league of the Communist Party called the Octyabriata that taught them to refer to Lenin as their grandfather and developed their sense of loyalty to the collective. Next, adolescents joined the youth league called the Pioneers, followed by the Komsomol. Every step involved initial scrutiny of a child's suitability for membership of the league by peers who were already members of the league. If one was found suitable to join, he would then be sworn at a solemn public ceremony where he declared his allegiance to the Bolshevik Party. This oath ceremony required a recital of the *ystav* – a set of moral obligations and rules of conduct. Same procedure accompanied every next step in the organizational ladder, with growing degree of complexity and responsibility. (Goldman: 1993)

Life outside of the youth organization was unimaginable. A school pupil not admitted to the organization appropriate to his age by virtue of being born to the wrong class, befriending another pupil of a wrong class or for his own misdemeanors would be continuously ostracized by others. Classmates would be advised to avoid him, as an association with a wrong person could easily sully one's own reputation. The ingenuously organized social milieu of the children's life left one little choice but to comply with the demands of the collective. One was always better off if adopted prescribed behaviors, paid his dues to the system, proved his trustworthiness by making himself available to public scrutiny and criticism. In other words one

was better off making himself transparent. (Brine:1980)
The idea of the organization of youth into subservient cells of the Party was in part masterminded by Lenin's wife, Nadezhda Krupskaia. She developed extensive theory on the proper education of the Communist children. Before the idea of complete separation of children as a way to liberate women and assure proper upbringing of the young emerged at the end of the 1920s, Krupskaya advocated the ban on particular types of bourgeois toys and their replacement with the socialist ones. Dolls and teddy bears were to be replaced by wooden telephones, radio towers and other symbols of industrialization. She called for the prohibition of all myths and fairytales and severely criticized Chukovsky for the use of metaphors in his poems for the young.
Children were a subject of comprehensive planning just like all other members of the collective. (Rosenberg:1990)



The goal of having all members of society accessible to the collective, therefore to the influence of the Party was not always easy with regards to urban women. It was easier to reach a person if at least part of his or her life took place in public setting, be it work, club, public canteen, or other institution of collective life. But the majority of women did not use these places thus was still isolated from the influence. Newspapers and magazines designed to engage their attention were of no use as many women remained illiterate.
Women were encouraged to seek employment and participate in the socially productive work of the Unions and the Party. Household labor was considered a waste of energy.
Domestic employees, that large contingent of invisible citizens of the great soviet society which has declared to have overcome slavery, were being actively drawn into the Unions.
The work of the Zhenotdel was instrumental in pulling women out of their isolated life and into the collective. As the female branch of the Bolshevik Party, Zhenotdel called for complete socialization of everyday life which would free women to do useful work.
The Zhenotdel put women on the agenda of the party. (Rosenberg: 1990)
Familiarizing formerly peasant women with the urban way of life, dispelling their theological prejudice were among the goals of the Zhenotdel. It made great progress in setting up day care centers and training facilities for women, advocating equal employment, promoting literacy and education. Its ultimate goal was to liberate women from the confines of kitchen, educate them, and bring them into the workforce. It wanted to transform illiterate women into socially conscious members of society.
Responding to continuous threat of epidemics and the need to decrease child mortality, the Zhenotdel conducted a country wide enlightenment campaign focused on hygiene and prenatal care. It set up

first under the Soviet regime, clinics focused on reproductive health and infant medicine. For many Muscovites, recently arrived from the countryside many ideas advocated by the Zhenotdel were novel. (Black:1960)

Following the example of other sections of the Bolshevik Party, Zhenotdel published a number of newspapers, one of which- Kommunistka had Inessa Armand and other illustrious members in its staff. Publishing primarily propaganda material, editorial board slowly recognized the disparity between the ideal direction set out by the Znenotdel and the reality of everyday life. While its first issues concentrated on getting women into the work force, disappearance of work itself forced editors to adjust contents of the paper. Towards the middle of the decade, Kommunistka began to dilute propaganda with cooking recipes and advice on how to treat common colds. (Mishuris:1969)

Despite its precarious existence since other members of the Bolsheviks Party were weary of the separation of women into their own section and its controversial opinions on many issues, Zhenotdel had an undeletable impact on the course of development of the socialist city.

Its effort at socialization of services crystallized in the inclusion of daycare, laundries, and other service facilities in every design of the urban complex. The idea of microrayon that originated in the 1920 but reached full bloom under Khrushev, included the service core as the central organizational element of design. Architects of house communes popular in the 1920s incorporated ideas defined by the Zhenotdel as their own, reducing kitchens to the minimum and providing communal facilities instead. The existence of the quotidian institutions, such as crèche and the after-school clubs and youth centers that became essential to the fabric of soviet life was revived and defended by the Zhenotdel.

Ran by the small group of highly educated women who have seen how things were done before the revolution in Russia and abroad, Zhenotdel transformed the models of institutions they observed and made them indispensable to the soviet way of life, deserving of funding and protection of the Party. It is to this small group of revolutionary cadre that millions of soviet women owed their partial liberation from the domestic slavery. (Fuqua: 1996. p1-74)

After the revolution, women were needed for the reconstruction work. Responding to the situation, the Zhenotdel wages a real war against domestic labor. At one time it prohibited the sale of domestic tools and kitchen supplies such as brooms and pots, announcing that time has come to allow professionals to do the housework and to allow public canteens replace domestic cooking. Prohibition of sales was not difficult to execute, as most stores had yet to reopen after the revolution. Public canteens however still desired a lot of improvement before one could safely give up an individual kitchen and before they became affordable.

Female employment was a complicated matter as men returning from the front were given priority in hiring and many women drawn into the ranks of the proletariat during the war were loosing employment. Also parts of the service economy was evolving much slower then the rhetoric inspired by the idea of female liberation. In most instances the rhetoric superseded reality by many years, and many women returned to the home. However, the mission of the Zhenotdel to make women accessible to the influence of the Party was greatly aided by the fact that the soviet domestic sphere was fast acquiring greater transparency with the densification of the bourgeois apartments, creation of the house communes and cooperatives. Thus while women returned home, the home became much more porous. With the installation of radio and the organization of house committees, women could now be reached in their homes. Women joined the ranks of the great mass of the population that was gaining a new level of legibility, as every member had to be registered with the house committee or an administrative board. Between the institutionalized passport control and the mandatory registration of the place of residence, every member of the great soviet collective was to be accounted for.

While Zhenotdel, the Commissariat of Enlightenment and other organs of the Party entrusted with building the new society concerned themselves with proper upbringing of children, education of women and the creation of new proletarian culture, other sections of the Bolshevik government had to engage in the reconstruction of the economy.

Their first radical step was the abolition of all private property and concentration of ownership of all

things that make up the economy, including industry and real estate in their own hands. They took over a capitalist economy where free market determined prices, production and distribution, and set out to turn it around into a country-wide command economy where everything was planned by the central authority. The new arrangement gave Bolsheviks certain advantage allowing them to execute ambitious projects, some of which were only made possible by the use of the methods of control and persuasion that mobilized the large work force. The five year plan strategy that became the main staple of the soviet economy was the best manifestation of the confluence of these methods. But there were inherent disadvantages as well. Having exterminated the enterprising class Bolsheviks were left short of a particular kind of human capital. Soon people began to rely on command only to do their job. Initiative and personal investment in ones work began to erode, along with the motivation to do it well. Bolshevik newspapers on the late 1920s urged readers to develop more creative approaches in their work, criticizing the lack of enthusiasm. But the model of a socialist man that was being developed by the theoreticians was unclear on the issue of personal initiative in the socialist society. Entrepreneurship and initiative were demonstratively decried by the Bolsheviks. During the years of unrest many businesses, industries and institutions were closed. Extensive social reconstitution allowed memory of many of these places to be erased from collective consciousness. People, who did remember, were silenced.

Short of many resources, Bolsheviks recognized that their efforts must be devoted to the reconstruction of old enterprises rather then trying to build anew.
The party came up with an ingenious solution. The entire economy was subdivided into sectors. Each sector was composed of a productive sphere, and an administrative sphere brought together under a ministry. In itself that solution was not new, but was in fact an interpretation of the economic organization that existed before the revolution. What was thoroughly original is that each ministry was given a responsibility for ensuring the ideological adherence of every organization in its charge to the ideals of the communist party. Through unions and party organization, each industrial sector was

responsible for continuing the ideological work of the party.

The regulatory role of the ministries before the revolution was replaced by their new role as planner. The new ministries designed an entire system of product design, acquisition of resources, production and distribution. Logistics no longer depended on the market but were coordinated by a single command center that decided where to produce and ship the products and in what amounts. The ministries decided what kind of specialists each section of the economy required; facilitated development of professional schools and universities and distributed quotas determining the kind of specialists to be educated.

But before any of this was accomplished the Bolsheviks had to rely on old specialists many of whom were suspect by virtue of their class to rebuild the economy and on the total dedication of the workers, including women and adolescents, for the execution of their initial plan. (Colton:1995)

Following the widespread nationalization, the Bolsheviks refashioned every institution they inherited to their own economic needs while at the same time making every institution an agent of the Party. Celebrating the opening of every factory, store, kindergarten, the Bolsheviks introduced them as the new enterprise, and they were not insincere. Old institutions were reinvented to merge their productive, educational, entertainment function with that of spreading and safeguarding the Bolshevik ideology, thus they were in fact new institutions. None the less to understand some of the origins of the so called soviet institutions I now propose to look at what specifically was accomplished by the pre-revolutionary government that was to be appropriated by the Bolsheviks as their own creation.

Therefore the next section will look at the general conditions of Moscow before the revolution and the emergence of civic institution concerned with the housing and welfare of the working class.

Moscow before the revolution

The city

As a result of centuries of urban development, the spatial organization of Moscow at the turn of the twentieth century was defined by a core nucleus containing Kremlin and Kitai Gorod circumscribed by a wall and a set of rings crossed by streets radiating from the core. Distinct areas segmented by the rings and the major arterial streets amounted to five topographic areas defining the official city districts. A sixth part comprised of the less cartographically articulated periphery was an important economic and social region of the city, containing factory estates with worker barracks. Outside the city boundary was a ring of suburbs that contained agricultural enterprises and some small villages favored by prosperous Muscovites as their summer retreats.
Most of the land in the city was owned privately or by enterprises such as the Railroad Company, stock companies and corporations, various municipal departments and authorities. Streets, squares, boulevards and parks were managed by the municipality.
27 % of the city land was considered public space. (Sytin:1972)
The civic infrastructure of the city, its financial institutions and cultural establishments were concentrated close to Kitai Gorod within the Boulevard ring. Zoning as we know it in the western sense did not exist. As the built up territory expanded some older industries were becoming stranded as enclaves within the rest of the city. Many factories were clustered along the banks of the Moskva and Yayza rivers, discharging their runoff directly into the streams. But the majority of factories were located outside of the Sadovoe Koltso (Garden Ring). In the north part of the city, the areas of Presnia and Syshevo were dominated by the industrial skyline, as was the Preobrazhenskoe on the north-west and Kozhevniki on the south. Railroad stations connected the center to the periphery, outside of the Garden Ring. An industrial character prevailed in this suburban ring as well. These areas, away from the heart of the city comprised its economic backbone and it is here tha the majority of the proletariat lived. (Colton: 1995)
Thus, the social map of the city emerged clearly at the time, concentrating the well off in the center with the working class gravitating towards the industrial belt of the periphery which was known as the "workers' outskirts"(*rabochiye okrainy*). Approximately three-quarters of the city's inhabitants and 90 % of its industrial workers lived beyond the Sadovoe Ring. Here the population density measured only a third to a half of that in the center, owing to tracts of industrial and waste land and the predominance of low-slung frame housing. Seventy-five % of all buildings outside the Sadovoye in 1912 were wood, compared to about 60 % between the two inner rings and fewer than 10 % within the Bul'varnoye kol'tso. Vertical social stratification existed in the center of the city as well, with servants and urban

workers employed in non-industrial jobs occupying lower floors and basements of the growing number of apartment buildings.
In the multistory apartment houses in ritzy areas there was differentiation by floor: laborers, tradesmen, and domestics lived in cellars and garrets, the highest-status families on the first floor, and professionals and bureaucrats on the intermediate floors. Spatial integration of class groups was possible precisely because the sharp legal and cultural segregation made neighborhood segregation superfluous."(Colton: 1995. p. 44)
The character of urban development was defined by rudimentary dwellings and barracks on the periphery, surrounding brick factory buildings, and by mansions and townhouses within the Sadovoe Ring mixed with some taller apartment and administrative buildings closer to the center. The center of the city was a select place where the nobility held their "gentry nests" and the most prosperous portions of the population resided in the "*osobniaki*". On the whole, the central city was a quaint residential space of relative comforts. The nobility continued to prefer the "gentry nests" of the Arbatskaya, Tverskaya, Prechistenskaya, and Myasnitskaya districts. Lined with private homes, Patriarshii (Patriarch's) Pond and Chistyi (Clear) Pond continued to attract the privileged.
At the turn of the twentieth century Moscow was fast becoming a great center of manufacturing and commercial activity. Expanding railroad system was bringing new opportunities and new prosperity. The center of the city was becoming modernized, with paved streets and European fashions in clothes, buildings and transportation shaping the environment. Despite the obvious modernization, "The flavor of Eastern life persisted. Opposed to the images of advancement and modernization were those of backwardness. When earlier patterns of sprawling settlement were complemented by the contemporary physical environment of wooden houses, unpaved streets, and livestock on the outskirts, the composite impression of foreigners and Muscovites alike was that of an "overgrown village," symbolic of the city's backwardness and the most recurrent image of late-nineteenth-century Moscow." (Bradley: 1985. p.65)

Population and the city

Despite the dramatic contrasts between modernity and the manifestations of rural life, Moscow was a fast growing metropolis. By the turn of the XXth century Moscow was the eighth largest capital city in the world. The main causes of its rapid growth were defined by the following factors:

- Emancipation of serfs 1861 freed thousands of people and forced many to look for work as hired labor. A good percent of the landless people ended up in cities.
- Continuous industrial expansion and attraction of the city as a place of work
- Reduction of agricultural productivity due to subdivision of land after agrarian reforms and other factors was driving peasants to seek wage employment.

Literature on the migration patterns shows that, while becoming the proletariat for a season or long term, many peasants maintained their families in the villages and remitted large portions of their income back home. This was a fluctuating population, difficult to account for in the official census. According to the Encyclopedia of Brokgauze and Efron, in 1882 50 % of the city's population was comprised of peasants residing in the city half or full time. By 1902 that number rose to 61.5 %. In absolute numbers, that amounted to 722,700 people, of which 437,600 were men and 285,100 women. During the revolution many peasant returned to the villages. Due to the nature of this immigration, the majority of the people coming to the city were of working age (20-59) and predominantly men. Traditionally occupied as domestic servants, more and more women came to the city with the development of textile and related industries.

The number of Muscovites rose an unprecedented 65 percent between 1862 and the first proper city headcount in 1871. This rate never recurred, but it did not have to for Moscow to hit the 1 million mark in the 1890s and 1,618,000 in 1912, 6.5 times the population before the Napoleonic blaze of 1812. A close second to St. Petersburg in Russia, it was the eighth or ninth biggest urban center under the heavens by World War I and one of the fastest growing. Natural population growth was insignificant compared to the effect of immigration. (Colton: 1995 p.35)

A large increase in population was caused by the First World War, due to the vast number of refugees from the Western part of Russia who were joining peasant migrants in search of work. Wounded soldiers returning from the front contributed to the statistical increase of population as well. Negative effects on the population numbers were usually downplayed by the Soviet sources and included:

- Famine of the 1890s
- First World War
- Peasants leaving the city during the revolution due to closing of industries and loss of jobs
- Large exodus of the middle class around the 1917 due to politically motivated immigration abroad or a temporary move to the country side

Character of the population

A large portion of the urban population of Moscow consisted of peasantry. Most of these migrants had no real ties to the city and were unaccustomed to the urban life. Many were illiterate. Few considered the city their home. For most it was a temporary source of livelihood. Those who settled in the city, continued to maintain close ties with the villages, maintaining a transitional lifestyle, suspended between the city and the country. As mentioned previously, 50 % of Muscovites in 1882, and 61.5% in 1902, were first-generation immigrants, nearly all of them peasants; they accounted for over 90 % of all factory hands in the city and four-fifths of its population growth between 1890 and 1917. (Colton: 1995 p.34)

Surveys at the turn of the century showed 80 % or more of the workers in some Moscow factories to be full or part owners of rural land. Many returned to their villages in time for sowing and harvesting. As long as labor was in short supply, factories contended with their prolonged absences. Many workers maintained a wife and a family in the village. For example 92 to 94% percent of all workers at the large Prohorovskay Textile Factory were peasants. Only one tenth of the proletariat was born in Moscow and had very weak or no ties to the countryside. That proportion was represented by the most qualified workers, in printing, woodworking, metal smiths and those employed by the municipality for public works.

Fraternization with *zemlyaki*, "landsmen" from one's village or district, was widespread in Russian cities but especially prevalent in centrally located Moscow. Tens of thousands of *otkhodniki*, seasonal workers, flocked in each summer, working a few months in construction or industry before returning to the hearth for the winter. In politics, it was often said, the ties with the countryside gave many of Moscow's workers "village sympathies." In everyday life they lent a human face to what was otherwise a city of strangers. (Colton: 1995 p.38)

Industrial employment attracted predominantly young males between the ages of twenty and forty. With the introduction of mechanical looms more and more women came to the city to work in textile industry, by 1902 half of all people employed by that industry were women. Initially, the pattern of employment in factories was defined by the fact that the majority of workers had to return to their villages seasonally for agricultural work. But by 1902 the situation changed. According to the 1902 census, the majority of industrial workers declared the factory as a permanent place of employment but continued to consider villages as their home keeping return as an option in case of emergency. Very few had families in the city due to the inherent instability of their employment, low wages and lack of housing. It should be noted that illiteracy rates were very high among the proletariat, with 44% of men and up to 80% of women unable to read and write.

Factory life

Within the city most factories existed as true enclaves, as cities within cities. The traditional relationship between the factory owner and the workers did not evolve much since the abolition of serfdom and was essentially defined by unadulterated power of the owner over the fate of the worker. Legal stricture required all workers to "obey the owner in silence". As with serfs, two times a year, before Easter and on the First of October, a contract between the factory and workers was signed. It did not guarantee employment stability but was used as a management tool only.

No regulation existed with regard to accidents and medical leaves. The high mortality rate among the textile workers and widespread occupational injuries were exacerbated by the overcrowded living

conditions conducive to the spread of infectious diseases. Private police operated within the factory. Strict regulations within the factory and the existence of passport control in Moscow prohibited workers from leaving the premises, making the situation of those discharged from work precarious in the city.

Most workers employed by the well established factories, such as the famous Textile 'Trehgornaia' Manufacture lived in barracks on factory territory and did not spend much time in the city. The large majority of these workers did not consider the city or the factory as home, but rather as a temporary place.

Working conditions are known to have been dismal. Excess of available labor coming from many adjacent provinces and ready to work for very little money continuously jeopardized the stability of employment and wages. The textile industry, one of the largest in the city, had the lowest wage scale and the longest workday. The law of 1898 limited the workday to 11.5 hours, but the textile workers still put in between 13 and 15 hours. (Bradley:1985)

Descriptions of the living quarters where workers returned to after the hellishly long day in the dusty and poorly ventilated factory are terrifying to say the least.

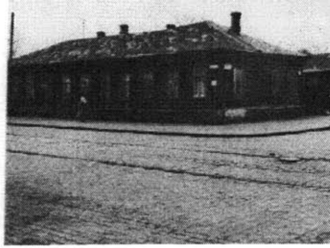
"Judging by their interior environment and the rules of behavior in them, factory barracks bared more resemblance to a jail then to housing." Particularly difficult was the life of married workers whose plank bed was separated from the rest only by a curtain.

Horses in a stable are better off then us, the workers often said. Where dorm beds in barracks were not available, workers shared rooms in apartments. The entire room would be filled with bunk beds and rented in shifts, many beds shared by two people at a time.

The economic crisis of the beginning of the twentieth century exacerbated conditions for the proletariat, with many factories closing at the time when thousands of people were forced into the cities by the famine in the countryside.

Only with the beginning of the union movement and the attention to the conditions of the proletariat brought about by the press, some changes began to occur. In 1903 a law was passed that required factory owners to take responsibility for the care of the employees injured at work.

Housing



Housing before the revolution can be separated into several broad categories: institutional, "company," commercial, communal, and "private." Institutional units were those provided for the wards of private, municipal, or state institutions. These were monasteries and convents, schools, prisons and jails, barracks for soldiers, policemen, and firemen, hospitals almshouses, and shelters. In 1912 one-quarter of the population of Moscow lived in hotels and boarding houses, communal (*artel'*) apartments, special quarters for building superintendents and doormen, school and factory dormitories, shelters, almshouses, hospitals, prisons, jails, barracks, monasteries, and housing for laborers in the home of the employer.

The most distinctive type of communal living arrangement was that of the informal association of migrant workers known as the *artel'*. These precursors to the Soviet communal apartments sometimes contained as many as eighteen people. They were described as bug infested large rooms of bare walls and bunk beds, with a long table in the middle and long benches on both sides. Dim light came from a single kerosene lamp hung on the wall between the windows. A woodcut depicting the royal family faced the blackened icon in the corner. Next door was a kitchen which also doubled as the entryway. The cook slept in the corner.

Sleeping at the workplace was also an old tradition in both rural and urban Russia. A study of the Moscow textile industry in the late 1870s revealed that most weavers slept at the workplace; of fifty workshops for handloom weavers, only two had separate sleeping quarters. The transitory nature of many immigrants and their poverty did not make them good tenants. Many were uninterested in long term accommodations. For centuries, Moscow's transient immigrants, with little stake in the city and a strong stake in the village, had been used to finding makeshift urban accommodations while maintaining their real home elsewhere. Although an increasing number of skilled workers were settling and making Moscow their permanent home, the expanding and volatile economy demanded that more and more immigrants come. Consequently, the majority of the labor force still had to find makeshift urban accommodations as the conditions of their employment permitted. (Bradley: 1985)

The general shortage of space for everyone except the very rich resulted in widespread overcrowding. The private apartment market did not escape that problem. Communal, institutional, and company housing all suffered from high density. In 1882 the average private apartment had three to four rooms and almost nine residents, that is, from two to three residents per room. The smaller the apartment, the greater the density; six persons lived in the average one-room apartment. The situation had improved little by 1897 and 1912, when the average number of residents of private households

still exceeded eight.

Large numbers of people lived as lodgers and boarders and as domestics in the homes of their masters, and as laborers in the homes of their employers. The widespread practice of subdivision and subleasing in large households was a common practice.

Koechno-kamorochnye apartments, built by the charitable trust with support of the Duma presented a miserable picture as well. The article on the workers housing published in 1905 by the "Russkie Vedomisti" describes the situations as follows:

"From his meager salary, most of which was sent back to the village, the worker could barely afford to pay for a bed or a corner in an apartment. These apartments resembled disgusting kennels. Unsanitary conditions and lack of medical care lead to epidemics. People who lived here were not the suspect homeless or delinquents, but factory employees or independent craftsmen and other workers. The survey shows that 70 % of these apartments are so overcrowded that each person has a space of no more then two and a quarter cubic meters. These conditions shorten human life." (Russkie Vedomosti, 1905. volume 42)

Often, several families shared one room in the apartment.

In 1899, the Duma undertook a study of the living conditions. The most crowded apartments were found in basements and sub-basements, attics and mansards, and the koechno-kamorochnue apartments built with the support of the Duma. In 1912, 453,300 people lived in 37,300 such apartments. Leo Tolstoy, personally involved in a census, described what he saw in these places as follows:

"Every apartment was full, all beds occupied, not by one, but by two or more persons. People were crammed awfully together, men and women mixed... And worst of all the terrible lot of children confined here.. Revolting stench, stale air, everyone, men and women cooped up together everywhere...fear, submissiveness and guilt in every face" (Tolstoy:1886)

Ameliorative efforts and the role of the city Duma

Feeling the pressure of the expanding population and inspired by the examples of the other European capitals, the Moscow administration began to engage in public works, such as the construction of a new water supply system and of sewage treatment plants. Issues of transportation, trams in particular, got their place on the agenda of the city administration, called the Duma. Most efforts were concentrated on the city center with only a few improvements, such as extension of tram lines, towards the periphery. At the time, many of the factories and the housing of the industrial

belt, with its concentration of problems, were still technically located outside of the boundary of the city. Soviet historians who frequently accused the Moscow Duma of neglecting the pre-revolutionary proletariat usually chose to overlook this fact.

Some key efforts of the Duma included:

- In 1894 Duma instituted the first secular charitable organization for the poor, providing matching funds to the private foundation. The work of this foundation included building of cot-closet apartment houses for the poor workers who had lived in the city for a minimum of two years.
- Work houses were created for the unemployed and for women. These sometimes worked like miniature factories, providing training in handicraft for women and offering sewing and repair services, etc.
- Homeless children were a huge problem and 56 orphanages were built to house them.
- The Duma subsidized organization of shelters, facilities for the mentally ill, including their children.
- Child care, canteens, and medical centers for women were being built.
- Indigent elderly were cared for by the municipal nursing homes.

Several private charitable organizations were supported by the Duma, for example "house of child work and recreation and child's corner."

After 1905 and the unrest created by the first revolution, the Duma increased its efforts and began to bring attention to the increasing numbers of workers who were no longer housed by the factories and were living in severely overcrowded conditions within the city. A number of urban reformers began the campaign to raise awareness of this situation among the civic elite of the city, collecting funds for improvements and designing ameliorative programs. Noting the severe conditions of life for an increasing number of residents, the reformers feared the breakdown of traditional morals and family virtues associated with the disconnection of people from their traditional environment, the increasing anonymity of the city life, the lack of safety networks for many and the desperate conditions driving people to engage in illicit activities such as prostitution and theft. While Christian values were reinforced within the village, leaving for the city one often left the parish as well. Civil reformers began to search for ways of reinforcing the ethical values of the new urban residents.

By 1906 the entire country's business class and its civic elite were thoroughly engaged in considering the roots of the social unrest of the previous year. Debates surrounding ameliorative programs sparked everywhere, engaging civic leaders across the political spectrum in a search for solutions. While the Duma already recognized the extent of housing problems in the city, the 1899 survey of apartments drove home the extent of the issue. At the same time the connection between the spread of infectious disease, unsanitary housing and overcrowding became obvious. Scientific evidence supported rising suspicions.

Responding to the increasing concern, the Moscow government opened its first night

lodging in 1879 strictly for the purpose of reducing the spread of infectious disease. By lessening overcrowding among the poor, disinfecting their clothing, and providing baths and decent food, the municipality hoped to improve resistance to disease.

Thus the origin of housing reform in Moscow was the same as in England earlier in the century, where the upper classes also realized that poor housing conditions bred diseases that killed regardless of social standing. Since better health was the objective, Moscow's first night lodging was free, at least in its early years. Its initial capacity was 510 people but by 1886 it held 1,305. A second house opened in 1903 with a capacity of 350; in 1906 it moved and expanded to hold 400-500. (Colton: 1995)

By 1912 there were six city night lodgings with a combined capacity of 5,650. In the two previous years these had provided space for an average of 4,857 per night. Despite this capacity, the city houses were often overcrowded and forced to turn people away. Conditions in the municipal lodgings varied widely. Most had no special health facilities, but some had receiving clinics with doctors on duty. One house even had a bath hall and washing machines, presumably operated by the staff, on each corridor. Some of the houses had cafeterias and tea rooms where a diner of cabbage soup and porridge cost five kopecks. Occasionally private contributions enabled the city to give out free meals. With subsidies from the city, tea and a pound of bread could be sold in the tea rooms for two kopecks. (Colton:1995)

In general, the city did not provide free services in its housing programs. The consensus was that users should be made to pay something, as a protection of general moral standards. Different attitudes described civilizing ideas which involved public parks and recreational facilities made free by the efforts of the civic leaders as a way to promote active recreation, already considered a preventative measure against some diseases. The idea of public health, taken to the next level by the Bolsheviks, was initiated and promoted in pre-Revolutionary Moscow. Needless to say, the examples of Paris, New York, and Boston, with their implementation of pastoral parks and cemeteries as a way to bring people out into the air had their part to play in inspiring the wealthy Muscovites to donate money for such causes.

The city Duma had also used its regulatory capacity to improve the situation in the city. In 1903, the Moscow governor-general issued sanitary regulations for all housing in the city, including rules on cleanliness, space per person, and number of persons allowed in certain buildings. These seem to have been enforced only sporadically at best, judging by the many reports of continued overcrowding in the city, but from time to time the police did make inspections, levy fines, or close lodgings altogether (Colton: 1995 p.142)

Of particular concern was housing conditions in factories and artisan establishments. In April 1879, the Duma used its right to administer measures for the prevention of disease and introduced rules governing living conditions for factory and artisan workers. Factory owners were required to provide one cubic sazhen (2.13 meters) of space in quarters for workers. This was also true in

workshops, where quarters were further supposed to be light, dry, well ventilated, and well kept. In neither case could quarters be underground or in places "recognizably harmful or impossible." [56]

In 1906 the Moscow Office on Factory Affairs, headed by the *gradonachalnik* (city administrator) issued rules on the construction and maintenance of sleeping quarters for workers. The regulations included specifications for bedding, washrooms, and ventilation In 1911 the Duma made plans to build inexpensive apartments with its own money. These were inspired by the ideas of the garden city movement but left unrealized due to the beginning of the revolution. These plans signified a real modernization of the Duma, which was originally representing interest of the landed citizenry but was now beginning to create not-for-profit programs. (Colton: 1995)

Sanitary awakening

As a response to the terrible epidemics outlined below, Moscow entered the age of sanitary awakening. That age began with important medical discoveries on the bacteriological nature of diseases and the realization of the connection between living conditions and epidemics. In Moscow, the age began with the concerted efforts of the civic elite of the city to bring about ameliorative reforms, but was interrupted by the Revolution only to be reestablished by the Bolsheviks as a matter of policy and propaganda.

Massive epidemics had plagued Moscow between 1883 and 1917: 8 epidemics of small pox, 10 of typhoid, 10 of spotted fever and 4 of cholera. The was an uncountable number of cases of tuberculosis; between 1500 and 9000 children suffered from scarlet fever every year; diphtheria accounted for 1200-9860 cases per year. Enteric infections were widespread. The Moscow city Duma started the fight against these and other diseases and while the Bolsheviks succeeded in bringing them under control, it is important to note that most if not all of the programs they proposed have pre-Revolutionary roots. (Thurston: 1987)

While in Europe the sanitary awakening emerged in the last quarter of the 18th century, spurred by John Howard's reports on the poor condition of prisons and hospitals, Moscow civic leaders and medical professionals began to establish a set of policies that were later taken up by the Bolsheviks as the foundation for their work on the building of the new society. The great British sanitary reformer, Edwin Chadwick whose research was influential in securing the passage of the Public Health Act of 1848 in London, had his counterparts in Moscow in the persons of V.N.Rozanov, S.S. Molodenkov, N.N.Alekseev. These progressive doctors organized in the 1890s to bring about the reorganization of public medicine and raise concerns of public health. Moscow's civic elite knew of the *Chadwick's General Report on the Sanitary Conditions of the Labouring Population of Great Britain* and subsidized the survey of the living conditions in Moscow mentioned above. Their matching effort to the establishment of the first British Board of Health was the reorganization in 1914 of the city

sanitation control and food check systems.

While the New York physician Stephen Smith organized and directed a sanitary survey of New York City In 1864, a landmark event in the history of American public health, Russian hygienist Ericksman became an advocate of many reforms, especially in food provision and sanitary controls. The Moscow city fathers always looked to Europe for good ideas of urban management, but even American influences were felt. People traveled and many pre-Revolutionary engineers and architects were educated abroad.

After the revolution, ideas about sanitation and preventive medicine became closely associated with the name of Nicholai Semashko who became the leader and the biggest proponent of public health movement that with the help of central planning permeated all spheres of Soviet life.

It is important to note that while the Duma had brought to the fore practically all important civilizing ideas later adopted by the Bolsheviks as their own, central planning and the Bolsheviks' ability to unite propaganda efforts in support of policy played a major role in the realization of these ideas. The ability of the Bolsheviks to concentrate power in their own hands while disseminating responsibility among reliable agents made their achievements in the sphere of public health in Moscow significant.

Progressive projects executed by the Duma in the sphere of public health included:

- The First Commission on Infectious Diseases was created by the Duma in 1886 placing sanitary concerns and epidemiology in its hands.

Check points in places of highest concentration of people, such as the Hitrov market, were created to control outbreaks of diseases.

- In 1902 the Duma organized all spheres of medical and sanitary relevance under the one banner of the Medical Advisory Board.
- In 1914 the city Sanitation Control Commission was reorganized.

Schools started to be monitored for health and food entering the city checked by the sanitary patrol organized by the sanitary commission.

- 1914 was the year that first prenatal consultative centers were opened
- Fist milk kitchens for infants were opened
- Ambulatory care centers were organized
- School medical centers instituted
- In 1913 the first sanatorium was opened in Moscow

The first city sanatorium was opened under the old regime. It was privately owned and located in Sokolniki park, housing just 25 patients. In 1923 the Moscow section of the Russian Society of the Protection of Public Health opened a sanatorium for the poorest patients suffering from consumption. It was opened on Losinyi Island in Moscow. The place was chosen for its obvious separation from the city, but also because fresh air was believed to have healing powers. (Colton:1995)

A city sanitary station organized by the Ericksman was later transformed into an institute that was both a research institution and conducted practical work. This was an organization in charge of developing strategies for the protection of health of the urban population, amelioration of urban conditions, medical help to the population, organization and administration of medical facilities. All heads of the hospitals, the city inspector general, and the sanitation inspector were involved in the work of the advisory.

Sanitary doctors were charged with:

1) systematic inspection of the sanitary conditions of the city and working and living condition of the population.

2) Scientific and practical work on development of strategies to improve public health and well being of the population.

3) Sanitary control.

4) Treatment and prevention of epidemics.

5) Institution of mandatory vaccination began in 1909.

As early as 1889, the Organization of the Institute of School Doctors, under the direction of the school hygienist D.D. Bekarukov, petitioned the Duma for the institution of the following measures for the care of schoolchildren:

- Regular medical sanitary inspections of school children;
- introduction of physical education in schools;
- hot breakfasts; and
- organization of summer camps.

All of these ideas were taken up by the Bolsheviks and transformed as a matter of national policy. Their literary reference was of course Freidrich Engels' *The Living Condition of the Working Class in England* published in 1844 and Marx's *The Housing Question* written in 1872. The work of these two forefathers of the Russian revolution was cited and interpreted often in a distorted manner to legitimize many of the Bolshevik policies. (Bradley: 1985)

Architectural character of the city

At the turn of the century, Moscow was dominated by low-rise wooden houses. Half of all buildings were of wood. Stone was the typical material only in the very center of the city. By 1912 the character of the city overall did not change much, with the exception of a number of taller buildings springing up. 51 % of all buildings at that time were one story, 40 % two story and only 9 % of all buildings were three floors and taller. Eight story buildings began to appear in Moscow only in 1911, six and seven stories in 1902, and five storied houses began to appear in the 1880s.

Apartment buildings at the turn of the century were similar to those built in other European capitals, and housed mostly the prosperous middle class. Imitating the 1903 competition for the best apartment building facades in Paris, the Moscow Duma also proposed a competition for the best façade in 1913, promoting the florid style of the Moscow baroque. A type of "for profit" house began to be very popular wherein smaller apartments could be rented to a single person or shared by two or more lower middle class occupants. Their outward appearance was that of typical apartment building in any European capital, if slightly more reserved.

The first organizations of residential builders began to emerge in 1905 when the law on associations and unions was passed. Some associations emerged concerned with apartment buildings but they were not interested in truly affordable housing. The first cooperative building began construction shortly before the First World War. For example, the Cooperative on the Dolgorukova Street, belonged to the middle class.

Overall Moscow was characterized by an eclectic style with many contrasts of traditional Russian town houses, large mansions, small wooden relics of the bygone era and modern apartment buildings sporting the latest fashion in facades. Historic structures were coming into disrepair at the end of the 1880-90, as was the religious architecture, as more and more attention was given to new, secular uses—businesses, theaters, retail establishments. The Empire style dominated the scene during the reconstruction after the fire of 1812 followed by the Eclecticism of the 1860s.

Many buildings exhibited historical elements borrowed largely from medieval and seventeenth-century Russia. The 1870s saw the neo-Russian revival. Interpretation of the wooden architecture, village vernacular motifs and religious architecture were used in the search for an authentic "national style." Many prominent architects before the revolution studied abroad, bringing back styles, as well as social ideas. Emergence of new metal technologies manifested itself in some structures of civic engineering, such as train stations, but overall the development of construction industry lagged behind the European level.

Towards the end of the 19th century Moscow acquired a unique version of the Art Nouveau popular in the rest of Europe at the time. Referred to as Moderne, many authors refer to it as the primary modernist tendency in Russian architecture. Moderne attempted to synthesize efficient and comfortable layout with and up-to-date decorative art stressing geometric and florid forms. Many of these apartment buildings, favored by the new bourgeoisie class before the revolution, were to be later "densified" by way of conversion of the spacious apartments into communal flats and house-communes. This is particularly ironic as these buildings were the epitome of the bourgeois existence, ornamented to the gills, and inspired by the French and Austrian precedents of middle class housing.

More and more factories were built in the city. Industrial architecture, also influenced by the western standards, became an important signature of the city. Red brick dominated their design. (Brumfield: 1993)

Some ideas on urban planning

Some Muscovites saw salvation from the urban problems in another idea, the "garden city" propagated by the British social reformer Ebenezer Howard. His book on green planned communities in which industry, housing, and greenery would happily coexist, was translated into Russian in 1904. Russian Garden Cities Society was founded in 1913. Architect Vladimir N. Semenov Howard's disciple, who had worked for five years in London, drew out Russia's first garden town in 1912 on 680 hectares at the Prozorovskaya station near Perovo, on the Moscow-Ryazan Railway. Although partially built, the social ideal inherent in the design did not come to fruition. To everyone's disappointment, the railroad that sponsored the project provided no local employment when it built a village in 1914. Thus instead of being populated with permanent residents, the town was "kept in bondage" to the company. Most of the spaces here were rented to temporary residents.

Other plans were being considered by the Duma, when the revolution brought about a different eventuality.

CHAPTER 2: MOSCOW AFTER THE REVOLUTION

Policy and Persuasion as methods of urban planning

The disposition of power and an established tradition of urban management allowed the Moscow Duma before the revolution to execute its civilizing policy in a quiet manner. Debates, particularly after 1905, happened within the small circles of the educated elite and city fathers, while several newspapers published the resolutions and educated opinions of respected citizens. Comprised of the propertied residents, the Duma took a paternalistic attitude towards the landless workers, recognizing the need to improve their lot but relying on their own expertise and their ability to examine foreign precedents to solve the issues. On particular questions, their strategy was to consult with local experts and if the question was beyond their knowledge to invite foreign specialists. For example, when the construction industry was recognized to be lagging, a group of German experts was invited to help modernize the industry.

The only time the daily activity of the Duma came to the attention of the general population was when it endorsed an undertaking and was inviting citizens to contribute funds. For example, at the turn of the century the Duma made a decision that central arterial streets must be paved and asked citizens to contribute. The most vivid example of such advertisement of its efforts was when the Duma was raising funds for the Charitable Foundation for the Care of the Poor that built apartment houses, homeless shelters, orphanages and medical centers in Moscow. (Thurston:1987)

The Bolshevik government took a dramatically different approach in its administrative work. Its style was boisterous; the soviets announced every achievement with great fanfare and exposed themselves to criticism only when it was strategically acceptable. Usually it was self-criticism designed to make them appear "only human" thus legitimizing potential flaws. No criticism in the true sense of the word was allowed.

They invited the populace that consisted of previously disenfranchised people to contribute to the debates, if only symbolically, but much more significantly, they mobilized large masses of people to realize programs they saw fit for execution. If their ideas were old, their methods were dramatically new.

From the very beginning, intimidation, force and use of imprisonment as a tool of population management were the preferred practice. But it was done skillfully with everyone who saw their tools for what they were deported or killed in the most expedient manner. It has taken historians several generations to begin to uncover the bloody reality of the time. It is not my goal to do that as well. Instead I will look at the methods devised by the Bolsheviks that allowed them to execute programs of great scope that had lasting effects on the life of the socialist city of Moscow, its shape but more

importantly its social environment. I hope that by placing the chapters about the pre-Revolutionary conditions and the Bolshevik strategies next to each other the intellectual links will become clear while the description of the Bolshevik methods will help shed some light on the ingenuity of their approach to urban management.

Immediately following the violent events of the Russian revolution and the declaration of Bolshevik power in November of 1917, the new government embarked on a campaign to rebuild the country and its economy. Its greatest ambition beyond the urgent needs of reconstruction was to restructure the country the Bolsheviks inherited from the previous capitalist regime into a new socialist one, thus replacing the foundations of society with a new set of principles based on the system of centrally planned economy and state ownership of the means of production.

Understanding potential difficulties in transforming an existing society burdened by traditions and already exhausted by the hardships of the tumultuous years of the revolution and the ongoing Civil War, Bolsheviks sought to achieve their goals by restructuring its very essence, its material and spiritual culture. They understood clearly that they had to act fast, building on the momentum of revolutionary fervor and showing real results in order to continuously legitimize their own existence. Their resources were scarce and their most important resource -- the people -- were their first and perhaps the most difficult challenge.

Led by the small group of educated elite under the charismatic guidance of Vladimir Lenin, Bolsheviks chose to address that challenge in the most aggressive manner. They decided to reshape every person according to the model befitting the socialist ideal, redefining his way of thinking and his behavior accordingly. They understood that in order to build the society and the world they envisioned they had to first and foremost recreate the members of that society. Confronted with the social reality of the time, they had enough foresight to understand that without the necessary human material, their ideal model of the universe could never be realized.

They had to choose their methods wisely, aiming to lure as much of the population as they could reach into the self-renovation project or at the very least making sure not to antagonize the very people they were going to "remodel".

Policy and persuasion

Faced with the task of rebuilding the country and the society Bolsheviks chose to use two key methods: policy and persuasion.

Persuasion was used to disseminate their ideas, to draw the support of the masses, and to protect the legitimacy of the government. The primary audience of the Bolsheviks was the proletariat; their first rhetorical strategy was to identify themselves with their audience. Bolsheviks referred to

themselves as the Revolutionary Party of the Proletariat while their official name was the Social Democratic Labor Party (of the Bolsheviks), changed in 1917 to All Russian Communist Party (of the Bolsheviks) and then renamed again in 1925 to All-Union Communist Party (of the Bolsheviks)

In the particular tradition of persuasion that had survived for the entire duration of the socialist regime in Russia, the rhetorical ethos of the Bolshevik party, was constructed in such a way as to fuse the identity of the party with that of the collective identity of the people. Their key slogan was "People and the Party are United."

Fusion of identity began with the strategy of personification of the Bolshevik leadership. Introduction of the key party figures to the masses in a way that made them appear personable was at the root of the advance of the Bolsheviks to power. Later, an entire body of literature emerged that created myths about Lenin and his compatriots that served to bridge the perceptual distance between the party and the people, introducing them as simple individuals of humble origins and as accessible role models at the same time. The key message was that everyone should aspire to emulate their examples through hard work and perseverance despite the immediate difficulties, and that the compassion of the leaders is with the people.

The strategy of personification was not confined to the leaders but used to represent other party members as well and continued to play an important role throughout the entire time of the regime. Citizens, who began to approximate the ideal model of a socialist man or women, were celebrated widely, with their portraits published in newspapers and journals, their achievements celebrated in documentary films. Since the institution of the five year plan, workers who won distinction for their exemplary work (*peredoviki*, later called *Stakhanovites*) became celebrities in the true sense of the word. Glamour and privileges often in the form of material rewards, the most important of which was additional living space, followed by resort vacation packages, sanatorium stays and supplementary 'gourmet' food rations given out before holidays, were bestowed on these heroes of labor.

Personification was used to inspire as well as to legitimize the party. In the early 1930s an entire body of popular literature and even city guides emerged that told the story of the socialist transformation from the point of view of the common people. The 1935 *History of Moscow* edited by L. Lovalev for example is essentially a collection of such stories designed to bring the message of great achievement of the party and the people during the years after the revolution. In A. Rodin's guide book *Moscow of Tomorrow*, the city is described through the eyes of two men reminiscing about the past and the present. In both of these texts, individuals telling the story have real names and a believable tone of voice, albeit what they describe may differ somewhat from the experience of the real people. Often their photographs were included. The degree of detail provided in these stories, down to the amount of money a family of the narrator spends on bread weekly, is intended to infuse them with authenticity and credibility.

In its attention to minutiae it is an example of what I would like to call anthropological myth making, a unique rhetorical strategy invented by the Bolsheviks. It was widely used in the early Soviet films, journalism, poetry and fiction. The main message was invariably: “If you work hard, you will live well.” The secondary message told people to hold on tight while things are getting better.

At the same time, behavioral models and patterns of thought were introduced in the traditional way of indoctrination not unique to Soviet power. Subject matters were censored closely and the forms of socialist realism instituted as the most favored artistic style. Techniques of subaltern histories infused literature of all sorts, always privileging the point of view of the common people and the proletariat, vilifying previous or foreign regimes, and extolling the Communist Party.

The legitimizing effect of personification was achieved by showing the improvements in the lives of real people, creating characters that could be embraced by the people as one of their own, appreciated as much for their weaknesses as for their virtues. One example of the visual propaganda shaped by this strategy is the famous 1920 poster “What the October Revolution gave to the women worker and the peasant.” In it a woman in a traditional dress and an apron is shown above a set of buildings identified with functions, such as library, kindergarten, club, and of course at the center of it all the local organ of power, the soviet. It suggests that these institutions have directly benefited the individual woman, liberating her from the imprisonment of child care, educating her and most importantly giving her protection and the representation of her political interests by the soviets. In body, dress and hairstyle, the woman is of a recognizable type. She is presented in such a way that the chosen audiences can easily self-identity with her, with just enough anthropological detail to place her in the right time. She is given enough signifiers to position her within a social class she is representing.

This is just one example of the propaganda of the legitimacy of power through demonstration of its real achievements relevant to an individual member of society as well as to the collective, and of the invocation of gratitude each individual should personally feel. This strategy was developed to its fullest during the years of the great terror when representations of the austerity of the revolutionary and war years was replaced by an almost baroque depiction of nutritional cornucopia, architectural ornamentation, and other voluptuous forms personally delivered by comrade Stalin.

It is interesting that Bolsheviks openly revealed many of their persuasive strategies, as was the case with propaganda and agitation. Bolsheviks actually used propaganda to recruit people to be propagandists. Propagandism became a full time profession, as well as a hobby for a cadre of soviet activists. In the wave of hype of the scientific organization of labor, their work became regimented as well, with the designs of most appropriate methods of propaganda explained in the numerous handbooks and schedules issued to guide their work. The occupation of propagandist grew out of the phenomena of agitbrigades that came into existence immediately after the revolution.

The Bolsheviks demonstrated an exceptional degree of openness in their messages; comparatively little was done subliminally. They openly called their rhetoric activity-propaganda and

the term had no negative connotation associated with it. Propaganda was understood as a source of enlightenment and education, not of mental manipulation. As Peter Kenez writes in his *The Birth of Propaganda State*, "Propaganda is nothing more than the attempt to transmit social and political values, in the hope of affecting people's thinking, emotions and therefore behavior." (Kenez: 1985)

It is important to note that Bolsheviks made the job of persuasion much easier for themselves, as essentially no opposing view had a chance to reach the ears of the audience. All independent newspapers and other sources of mass information were eradicated and replaced with those sanctioned by the party. Thus the nature of their rhetoric was not to argue with an opponent, but in fact to most convincingly introduce their ideas in a way that would prevent potential opposition.

Understanding the limitations of their audience, large part of which was illiterate as well as completely unfamiliar with visual forms of communication beyond *lubok* (a cartoon like tradition of pictorial story telling), post-revolutionary designers aimed to make their work as digestible to the masses as possible. As we well know from many examples, that aim was not always fulfilled. In fact much of artistic as well as architectural production was criticized as difficult for the masses to understand. Language was attacked as well. Lenin personally criticized his colleagues for using in their addresses and speeches, archaic, extravagant words incomprehensible to the masses.
The most direct, simple language and symbols were required to deliver the message. Stripping everything to its bare bones semantically and visually and resorting to repetition was a key strategy.

I would argue that in all the spheres of artistic production sanctioned by the Bolsheviks to serve their rhetorical purposes including architecture, they waged a war on complexity. Opaque, sophisticated intricate designs of language and representation were to be replaced by simple, clear, transparent structures and simple forms.

The first example of the professionalization of persuasion was the Agitation Brigades. Initially Agitbigades were groups of party leaders that traveled the country on the mission to provide moral support for army troops and spread the word of Bolshevism to the countryside. They used specially equipped train cars, complete with film projectors and boxes of propaganda literature and grammar textbooks attached to the trains supplying military provisions to the front line. The idea was to use the necessary occasion of bringing provisions to the front to bring the leaders of the party face to face with their audience, the soldiers and the peasants.

At the same time, agitbrigades supported the implementation of the December 26, 1919, decree "On eradication of illiteracy among the population of RSFSR" by bringing textbooks and pamphlets to the remote areas. The goals of the ideological propaganda and the literacy campaign were intimately connected, as educating people on the ideas of the revolution was infinitely more difficult if they could not read. At the same time, Bolsheviks understood that the desired industrialization of the country would require a more educated work force.

Anatoli Lunacharsky, the People's Commissar for Education, and N.K Krupskaia, his deputy

and the wife of Lenin, were among the first leaders to travel with the brigades to the front line. Bringing supplies and taking back the wounded, as well as strengthening the morale of the soldiers, was only half of their task. Explaining the goals of the party, its ideas and plans was a taller order. They also took this opportunity to further acquaint themselves with the conditions in the country. (Kenez: 1985)

At the time of resource shortages on all fronts, Lenin personally decided to spend money to import film projectors and undeveloped film to supply the newly established cadre of directors with materials to work with. The idea was to produce propaganda films that will educate the vast numbers of illiterate people on what was happening in the world around them in the simplest comprehensible form and to bring new ideas to the masses. Needless to say these films were infused with the socialist ideology. The second purpose was to personify the leaders by showing them on film, aiming to have a similar psychological affect as meeting someone in person would have.

The agitbrigades brought the films to the rural areas and used the opportunity of gathering people for the professed purpose of entertainment to gain a stage to exercise the methods of verbal persuasion as well. Capitalizing on the situation of a captive audience, these missionaries staged discussions on the subjects of relevance to the peasants, such as conditions of agricultural production, etc, while advancing their ideas. The key themes of agitation and propaganda were not restricted to the virtues of socialism and the advantages of creating party cells in the rural areas but included such essential topics as hygiene and sanitation, child bearing, and agricultural work, in other words emerging civilizing ideas. (Rosenberg:1990)

While the use of railroad lines restricted the reach of the brigades in the most rural areas, some trains had additional cars carrying automobiles and motorcycles which were used by the agitbrigades to travel further into the territory. Surpassing limitations of the railroad, agitbrigades were beginning to cover vast stretches of territory, disseminating and gathering information at the same time, and recruiting reliable collaborators to continue their work.

Their idea was to create a strong network of agitators that would extend the reach of the party even further, serving as its agents, and perhaps as informants as well. The agit trains served as a mobile inspectorate, bringing party members of the Central Committee to inspect the work of their colleagues in the country. The inspections looked at the work of new Soviet organizations, the status of implementation of policies designed by the center, collected information on the conditions in schools, etc. Trains were equipped with a radio and sent reports about conditions on the front to the center. As physical objects, these trains as well as the cars and motorcycles were used as instruments of propaganda, painted with portraits of the leaders, posters and slogans. Originally the cars were painted with modernist paintings, but it was discovered that peasants did not care much for the abstract art, so the paintings were replaced with portraits of heroic soldiers and workers.

Acting as part regional planners part war strategists, Bolsheviks viewed the entire space of the country as a territory to be mapped and transformed by their kind of civilization, in other words a

territory to be controlled in its entirety. They aspired to make that space as malleable and transparent as possible by creating many layers of overlapping networks that would penetrate into every corner of the space and make it accessible from the center. The centrally planned economy, with its administrative tentacles extending into all regions of the country and all spheres of life, was of course the most obvious manifestation of this idea and many networks coincided with its workings, but other forms of networks were being put in place, starting with the work of the agitbrigades described above. A network of Agitpunkt -- agitation stations -- were set up at all major railroad stations, complete with small libraries, lecture halls and often theaters. (Rosenberg:1990)

Soon after the revolution, an enormous agitation network involving every Soviet organization spread throughout the country. The trade unions were particularly active, carrying out political work among their members and sending worker-activists as recruiters and organizers everywhere and sponsoring traveling theaters and lecturers.

Another idea that was instituted to facilitate the work of persuasion being carried out in the villages was to create a dense network of reading rooms -- *Izba Chitalnya* -- where literate peasants would read the press to the illiterate. According to Krupskaia, the idea came from Lenin himself, based on the shortage of reliable and able people to spread ideas among rural people. A decree in1918 mobilized the literate citizens to do this work, which was compulsory and unpaid.

Readings were selected by Narkompros. Recommended were readings from newspapers and from the materials on Soviet laws and regulations. Some practical literature that contained useful advice on agricultural matters was also sent to these reading rooms. To make the readings in support of the regime more attractive to the masses, they were supplemented with screenings of films and a more literary selection of materials. The *izba chitalnia* was a much-reduced rural version of the urban clubs to be discussed later. (Kenez:1985)

Engaged by the idea of a network, the party used every opportunity to create them. For example, rural schoolteachers were perceived as a valuable resource to the revolution and were organized and made responsible to the party. The advantage was that these were people that had personal influence in a community and thus could be very effective in spreading the right ideas to the masses.

The persuasive advantage of personal influence was reinforced by the creation of centralized organizations that oversaw the work of the individual representatives, such as the teachers, and also brought them together at conferences where they were instructed on how to carry out their work. Being members of an all-Russian organization increased their legitimacy in the eyes of the population and thus increased their power of influence.

As the case of the reading rooms and the school teachers demonstrates, the work of indoctrination was carried out by human agents with the help of the physical elements of the network. Perhaps the most metaphorically powerful network put in place by the Bolsheviks was the network of electricity

created as a result of the policy of total electrification of the country masterminded by Lenin himself in 1920 and executed within a decade of its inception. Radio broadcasting served the same purpose of delivering the message into every home. It was rapidly developed and transmitters were installed in every village and eventually receivers were mandated in every home.

The sphere of the application of rhetorical work was not restricted to the rural areas. Every aspect of life in the urban areas was subject to rhetorical persuasion.
Personification of leaders took the form of the new Bolshevik monuments springing up everywhere on main squares and public spaces to replace the monuments of the old regime. Slogans and other symbolic elements were used to decorate building guided by Lenin's idea of monumental propaganda.

While the circulation of newspapers was still problematic due to all sorts of shortages, the city of Moscow sported newspaper kiosks where one could read the news and see the pictures. Movie theaters and clubs were being opened everywhere to screen films and stage discussions in the same way agitbrigades did in the rural areas. The content of materials used in urban areas was of a different nature, attuned to the practical needs of the populace.

Policy was used as way to structure the implementation of the actual ideas. Policy and persuasion were designed to work together and reinforce each other and were bound by more or less solid theoretical foundation rooted in the model of an ideal socialist society. Persuasion was intended to create an environment in which policies would be accepted without recourse to force by explaining the policies to the very people who were to implement them. Policy was designed to legitimize force, including but not restricted to legal action, if persuasion failed to ensure peaceable acceptance and implementation of policy. Persuasion was also designed to instill the enthusiasm in people who were to implement policies thus mediating between the reality and the ideal vision. Due to the dismal conditions the state found itself in, the economic crisis and the shortage of people needed to work on the reconstruction of the industry and the city, enthusiasm and faith in the idea of a better future were desperately needed. Thus the Bolsheviks wisely invested their energies in finding rhetorical devices to instill that enthusiasm.

At a time when the very survival of individuals was at stake, the most immediate goal of persuasion was to engage the imagination of people in the vision of the future that was not only drastically different from the present, or from anything they knew, but that required each individual to take an active part in the process of its realization. Hungry, poorly housed, often illiterate people, who were thus far used to a way of life in which nature and economic necessity dictated their actions, were asked to imagine that in a few years they would have the control over their own lives and their environment. They were asked to believe that not only their most essential wants of shelter and nourishment will be fulfilled, but the needs they may have yet to understand - spiritual needs will be satisfied in the near future. In short they were presented with a picture of happiness that can be attained, and the ways of attaining that happiness were laid before them in a form of a plan. The plan

at the time was an emergency reconstruction program, but the tradition of plans became a mainstay of socialist development strategy in the form of a Five Year Plan of Economic Development.

The happiness mentioned above, was of a particular kind: it was a collective happiness that required a united effort in its realization and was going to be enjoyed by everyone equally, and could only be understood by people who would learn to see themselves as part of a greater collective whole. At a time when bread shortages resulted in endless queues and fuel shortages prompted residents to burn floor planks and window sashes in their homes to keep warm, people were asked to accept on nothing but faith the Bolshevik model of happiness as their real goal, to tighten their belts and join in the fight for the new life. It was made clear that immediate sacrifices were both inevitable and necessary if the goal of a socialist society that would benefit one and all was to be achieved. The rhetoric constructed to persuade people to accept the requisite sacrifice as inevitable made use of the word "fight" and "war" in a number of ways. When the country had just disentangled itself from Work War I, only to plunge into a Civil War, the metaphor was a poignant one.

The building of a new life was to be one and the same as the fight against everything old. Used as a rhetorical enemy, the old regime was an amalgamation of both the tsarist regime and the provisional government and the Moscow Duma. The Duma in particular was represented not just as an enemy, but as a scapegoat responsible for every hardship the people have had to endure. All remnants of the old were to be destroyed or restructured unrecognizably to suit the new socialist society. The conditions were war- like, with austerity and sacrifice as common themes. (Fitzpatrick: 1992)

Recognizing that most people who were subject to the persuasive efforts of the Bolshevik government lived under the old regime, the rhetoric was designed in such a way as to send two key messages. The first one concerned the perceptual fallacy that may have affected people who have lived under the old regime. Addressing primarily the proletariat but other members of society as well, the message was that if the old life did not seem so bad, you did not recognize the injustices and miseries that were suffered by the entire people. If you lived well, that means you were benefiting at the expense of these miseries and injustices, even if you simply did not know better constrained by the limits of your class consciousness. But now is the time to repent. If you feel remorse you can atone for your mistakes and misconceptions now by joining in the fight for the new society and the new way of life. You can find redemption in devoting your energy, skills and resources to the process of building a more just way of life -- socialism.

Many people of the old regime, who were known to have sinned by virtue of living well before the revolution, were redeemed by the Bolsheviks for their contribution to the rebuilding of the economy. They were never fully absolved, but they were allowed to lead a merely tolerable life under constant surveillance.

The civilizing achievements of the Bolsheviks

The issue of housing was one of the main things on the agenda of the new government and it was always closely related to the overall idea of creating a new society. Several considerations contributed to its importance. I will mention two. One was the issue of public health. The other, discussed at length in the chapters on the forms of housing, was the use of shelter as a mechanism of control, a means of legitimizing the government and the way to ensure a productive labor force.

A connection between housing and public health emerged strongly before the revolution, with the discovery of bacterial and airborne nature of transmission of disease and the emergence of epidemiology as a field of medicine. As a result of the general shift in the social dynamics that coincided with the industrialization of Europe all major cities were experiencing a period when more and more people were coming under the care of the state. Previously, the care of the individual for the most part was in the hands of families, guilds and monastic orders. Individuals who were not affiliated with any of these associations were small in number, and were usually supported by charitable efforts affiliated with some institution such as the church.

Until 1867, servitude defined the rural situation in Russia while urban lower classes were organized into guilds. Therefore with very few exceptions the number of unattached people was negligible. Russian folklore often included the character of a destitute person, usually a nomadic pauper. His very poverty was considered a rare sign of divinity and every Christian was guided to help him by providing food and shelter. It is unlikely that a large number of paupers would have inspired the same attitude.

The rise of the industrial revolution changed the order of things. Initially, industries were replacing guilds and absorbing scores of freed serfs, often providing shelter and security for the emerging proletariat as well. But the establishment of wage labor and the changing nature of the relationship between employer and workers, as well as the rise in total population numbers and the numbers of peasants migrating between villages and the cities, were affecting the extent of security and social protection an individual could expect.

This tendency towards continuous disenfranchisement and alienation of people varied in different countries, but most European capitals experienced a growing number of people seeking livelihood in urban settings and most began to have enclaves of poverty. Urban poverty as a wide spread phenomena began to be associated with what became known as slums -- *trushoba*. Numerous, colorful descriptions of these places were given by authors from Charles Dickens to Vladimir Giliarovski, the latter a newspaper journalist and author who described the conditions of Khitrov Market and other slums in Moscow. The famous work of Jacob A. Riis had its counterparts in both Soviet and pre-revolutionary Moscow and resonated deeply with concerned reformers. Vivid descriptions of human misery in these places inspired a number of civilizing efforts at the time.

Towards the second half of the nineteenth century Russian civic leaders, inspired by those in Paris, London, and New York began to design programs to alleviate the situation of spreading human misery. At the time, slums began to be perceived as the breeding ground of the disastrous epidemics of disease that continued to wipe out significant portions of urban population. Emerging humanitarian concerns for the working class coincided with the concern for the survival of the entire population. Abolition of servitude in Russia in 1867 led to increasing numbers of destitute people flocking into the city. Growing industry and domestic employment absorbed some numbers but there were many more people than jobs. The Christian Orthodox Church had a rather positive attitude towards these people, continuing to treat poverty as a misfortune rather then a personal flaw. Civic society on the other hand considered the growing numbers of poor a threat, particularly after 1905. Yet both tried to address the issue by providing support to the needy, and considering ways of improving their lot. I have described their efforts in the previous chapter.

In their destructive furor Bolsheviks denounced all civilizing efforts of the previous regime as only a pretext for exploitation. For example the Soviet historians' description of a charitable foundation that housed and employed women in a sewing workshop focuses on the fact of the low wages, ignoring all positive aspects of this arrangement. In a blink of an eye, Bolsheviks did away with these civilizing achievements of the previous regime. Civic leaders who administered charitable foundations were declared enemies, their funds confiscated. In the best case scenario, they escaped with their lives and settled abroad.

But soon after dust started settling, Bolsheviks realized that a number of issues well beyond shelter required investment and serious organizational effort and began to recognize their own lack of organizational capacity. Where possible, they brought back the former members of the Duma, explaining that although these were people not to be trusted, their expertise was valuable to the new regime; therefore their presence among the ranks of the top administrators had to be tolerated. They were treated with utmost caution, but many of their ideas were appropriated by the soviets and put at the top of the list of priorities for the new regime.

Thus, most institutions that became known to the Soviet people as unique achievements of the socialist government were in fact a reiteration of the ones that emerged before the revolution, albeit on a smaller scale. Some of these were never available to the workers and the proletariat, some uniquely created for them. Before and after the revolution the idea behind the new urban institutions put in place as part of the modernizing and civilizing effort was to provide services and at the same time to educate people about the modern way of life. Bolsheviks adapted this strategy and brought artists on board to create propaganda explaining the progressive ideas of the time and polices that were being put in place. Thus, the creation of shelters, technical and craft school, medical facilities, canteens, sports stadiums, was accompanied by the creation of posters, brochures, pamphlets and even documentary films explaining the role of these institutions in the new society and their recommended use.

Among the most celebrated achievements of the Bolsheviks was the creation of what came to be known as '*stolovaia*', canteens, that served workers at the factories, residents at the house communes, children at school. It took a while to establish these as truly functional enterprises. Food shortages of the first few years after the revolution and long-term scarcity of supplies made it difficult to get these up and running. But for the Bolsheviks it was a matter of pride to get them built and started. Next to housing they were intended to signify the care Bolsheviks bestowed on the workers. They were also intended to signal the real beginning of the new way of life in which women were liberated from domestic slavery and were free to join the ranks of the workers, become union members and assert their role in the building of a new society.

The smaller newspapers of the time and personal accounts unanimously attest to the dismal conditions of these early cafeteria, the reluctance of most women to enter them, and the volume of debate they engendered. One half of the Bolshevik propaganda was geared to educate workers of these establishments about proper hygiene; the other was designed to attract workers to use them. Still for many, lack of habit, extra expense and perhaps fastidiousness was a deterrent.

In every detail, the design of these cafeterias affirmed the ideas of collectivity and equality. The simple lines of the facades and austere interiors, complete with the most durable unadorned furniture, was the opposite of everything a pre-Revolutionary cafeteria or a restaurant had to offer. The entire space was open, every person visible to everyone else. Table clothes and menus were replaced by aluminum plates and self-service. Table waiting smacked of the old regime and exploitation, the same way private dining rooms did and thus could not be tolerated. Needless to say that most restaurants and the great majority of stores were closed after the revolution, as the economy was being reorganized according to new principles and the class that ran these establishments was becoming extinct. During NEP, many new enterprises sprang up but that was a short lived digression from the general direction of development in which the government was to become the sole owner and fashion setter.

Cafeterias were a part of the general discourse on the preferred socialist way of life that in many ways was centered on housing and the idea of regimenting of everyday life to free an individual, women in particular, to pursue productive social roles.
Changing family patterns, identified by Alexandra Kolontai but not entirely understood by other thinkers at the time, demanded a new life style. Women had no choice but to engage in productive labor outside of the family home. The bitter irony of the situation was that at first, the pull was to bring as many women into the ranks of the working class as possible, particularly during the wars, but subsequently unemployment ensued as the economy recovered and men returned to their peacetime occupations.

The rhetoric continued to persuade women to abandon their traditional roles, allowing for complete socialization of their socially unproductive work. For a time this propaganda took on an

almost militant form, prohibiting the sale of any domestic tools and appliances for individual use and architects took the most active role in driving forward the idea of the socialization of household chores.

A model of an ideal living arrangement included provision of services such as the canteen, child care, laundromats etc. that would serve a whole settlement, be it an apartment building or a group of buildings arranged around a core, a precursor to the microrayon as a typology that emerged in the Soviet Union in the 1960s. The early microrayons were designed predominantly as house-communes or an ensemble of apartment buildings defined by mutual territory and a shared aesthetic. The major strategy in residential design at the time, and throughout the Soviet regime, with the exception of a small proportion of buildings designed for the elite, was to reduce the cost of construction to the bare minimum by reducing the size of apartments and using standard elements.

Kitchens were continuously miniaturized, often using scientific calculations as the justification. Whole sections of the planning bureaus were engaged in figuring out how much distance a woman covers in her movements from the stove to the cutting board. While Gastev's Institute of Labor was drawing diagrams of the most efficient use of a hammer, and the best schedule of the workers day, bringing ideas of Taylorism to Russia, these specialists were liberating the women from the unnecessary expenditure of energy that could be otherwise applied for the good of society.

The ultimate goal was to eliminate the kitchen entirely and create centralized and scientifically organized facilities that would provide adequate and reasonably priced nutrition for all. Other conveniently located facilities were to provide the rest of the necessary services, such as dry cleaning, laundromats, etc. Direct descendants of the early urban ensembles, the microrayons of the 1960s usually provided these services, concentrating them at the center of the settlement. (Stroitelstvo Moskvy:1926)

Widespread socialization of cooking was to take several forms, from the smaller kitchens of the house communes, to the mega structures of the centralized kitchen factories that were to deliver ready made meals to the smaller canteens of factories, government departments, and other public eating places in the city. At the time when food was rationed and bread lines extended around the urban block, the new Soviet government sent delegations of specialist abroad to study the work of kitchen factories. Reports on the organization of logistics and the mechanized production processes were brought back to be further analyzed by the local engineers and adopted for local construction.

Some of the accounts of these research trips abroad are characterized by an utmost awe inspired by the extent of mechanization of these places. The overwhelming admiration of the machines and their aesthetic permeated much of the design at the time, as well as affected the debates on the economic restructuring of the country, and the need to create a new man. The new government tried to compensate for the backward state of Russian technology by importing some machines on the one hand and by designing a more efficient labor process on the other. While the remaining engineers were placed on strategically important projects, reverse engineering was applied to many projects of

the everyday application, such as the design of industrial kitchen appliances, etc. The introduction of a shorter workday and the switch to a three shift schedule, training on the job and creation of new trade schools, institution of medical centers with regular mandatory check ups, and of course an attempt to provide better housing, all supported by the massive propaganda campaigns were all explained by the need to restart the economy. Building of the canteens was going to facilitate that process as well by providing good nutrition and freeing up the time of the workers. Supplementing the meager space of the personal apartment or a communal flat, the new institutions brought to life by the Bolsheviks were going to serve the body and the mind alike. Cafeterias and ambulatory medical centers focused on preventive care, sports facilities, public parks and sanatoriums intended to keep the worker in good physical form were complimented by clubs, cinemas, libraries and vocational schools to elevate his cultural and skill level, while also ensuring his moral adherence to the goals of the party.

Thus the *stolovaia*, or canteen/cafeteria, was an integral part of this all- encompassing project of building the new life. And despite its rough start, the stolovaia as institution did become one of main staples of the Soviet society. It also continued to occupy the imagination of urban planning theorists engaged in envisioning the future socialist city. Perhaps its finest iteration was the school cafeteria, which in fact relived the women of the necessity of making daily breakfasts and lunches.

Bolsheviks were captivated by the idea of a factory kitchen, and the first centralized kitchens emerged to supply schools. Numerous orphanages were created by the government in response to an incredible number of homeless urchins in Moscow were also going to be provided with the precooked meals from the centralized kitchen. However the lack of transportation curtailed these efforts and individual cooking facilities had to be put in place. While the new schools began to be designed and built in Moscow as early as 1920, with modern facilities for receiving and serving food, orphanages were mostly housed in old buildings adopted for such use.

Other public eating establishments were designed in two ways, one for the general public, located at the street level of buildings or in clubs that were accessible to everyone, and the other for use by people of a single category, such as workers of the same factory, government department or an organization.

I would like to draw an analogy here with housing and the service center. After the concentration of all land in the hands of the government in 1918, Bolsheviks realized that in order to build organizational capacity and the resources to manage all that land they had to subdivide it and subdivide the responsibility accordingly. The decision was made to divide much of the territory between appropriate departments of the government and their respective ministries. Parcels of urban land, empty or with existing buildings were allocated for the use of specific agencies. The land continued to belong to the government but the symbolic ownership was transferred out. Suburban land was likewise subdivided between sovhoz, kolhoz and the dacha cottage-garden cooperatives. Various government departments, such as the Ministry of Light Industry received a portion of all land. They

were then responsible for the management of that land, which usually included assigning part of it to the industry itself and keeping some for the administrative purposes, such as office buildings, as well as for housing, medical centers and other services that were developed for the use of the personnel.

Part of the land given to the industry itself was used for the construction of factories, and building of housing and services for the workers. Thus the degree of prosperity of a particular sector was directly translated into the quality of space and services they created. Central government itself was the most well funded sector. Thus housing and dachas built for the top officials were considerably better then anything else in the country. Cafeterias designed for this sector were many times better then anything open to the general public or designed to serve industries or other departments.

Therefore, while the idea of public canteens and centralized kitchens was to serve everyone equally, the institution saw the same fate as the idea of the equal amount of space for everyone. People who directly served the rhetorical goals of the Party were considered more valuable to the Bolsheviks, and were rewarded with a lifestyle that was significantly different from the rest. Unlike the rest of the population, their lives were also less transparent to everyone else, although certainly as exposed and scrutinized within their own circle. But no one was allowed to enter their cafeteria, or be treated in their medical centers and hospitals, or send their kids to their summer camp, or buy produce at their stores, or take their seat at the Bolshoi. The elite of the country of victorious socialism continued to enjoy privileges designed for the elite.

While the quality of services may have been much better, the names of the institutions designed for the elite were the same as those built for the masses and the ideas and rhetoric behind these remained the same. Despite all difficulties, the great masses of the population came to enjoy the same services and amenities albeit with less politesse. Children of the elite may have had their education supplemented by tutors, but the stricture of their schools was not different from the standardized school other children went to.

As mentioned elsewhere, bringing literacy to the masses was one of the greatest ambitions of the Bolsheviks. They were not shy in the methods of executing that policy, on occasion using jail as punishment for non-compliance. Perhaps the plan was to make sure that indoctrination starts at the most delicate age, but the result was the emergence of schools and childcare everywhere in the country and at the same time the emergence of public medicine. One of the greatest achievements of the Bolshevik party during the first years after the revolution was the institution of preventive medicine as the key public health strategy. Every school had a medical office staffed with a full time nurse whose responsibility was not only to see students and teachers when a complaint emerged, but most importantly to maintain medical records for each child and conduct what was called dispanserization –- once-a-semester mandatory full physical check ups (for lice, tapeworm, etc). This strategy, extended to the rest of society, with regular check ups conducted at each place of employment, if there was a medical center, or at a local ambulatory center based on the place of residence.

“ Under the Soviet government, public health care took on a far more centralized character, which continued to focus on society as a whole rather than on the individual, This focus resulted in medicine’s penetration into schools, factories, and families, and in the idea that responsibility for one’s health and hygiene was a social obligation.” (P253)
The goals of public health were intimately linked with the ideological goals of the Party.
Extending the ideological reach of the party, in 1922 Bolsheviks introduced the idea of organizing children between the ages of ten and fifteen into pioneer brigades. Krupskaia herself was among the most vociferous advocates of the idea. These were organizations started everywhere that groups of children came together, schools, orphanages, summer camps. Pioneers were organized as a youth league of the Communist Party. The hierarchical structure of their organization included smaller and larger cells, with their respective leaders and most importantly their rules of conduct. These rules fulfilled two basic functions. They turned an adolescent from an individual into a collective member of society, responsible to the fellow children for his conduct. Thus there was always an element of self-policing as well as of group control. The same transparency of thought and behavior expected of Bolshevik adults was now expected of children. Understanding the goals of the Bolshevik party and complete dedication to these goals was the key function of the pioneer. The first function was that of control.

Special books and radio programs were designed to explain the goals of the party to the children and to explain their role in the overall scheme. The journal Pioneer was published specifically for this audience. Imitating the adult world with its magazine Ogonek and newspaper Pravda, the children’s journal published articles about the most illustrious pioneers who were great athletes, great students or great young leaders. Role models looked out at other children from the pages of the magazine, instructing them on the right course of action.
The Bolshevik Party loved competition as a way to inspire people to work harder. The Stahanovsty --people who overfulfilled their productivity norms and surpassed everyone else in perseverance and ability to sacrifice all else, including time and effort, in rebuilding the economy were celebrated on the pages of these magazines.

The second goal of the Pioneers was to ensure the appropriate upbringing of these children as conscientious members of the socialist society, ensuring their moral compliance as well as their future productivity. Taking the responsibility off the shoulders of their mothers was also an important issue. It allowed mothers to work and it lessened their influence. Proper education required professional involvement and proper socialization of the youths. Mothers, many of whom in Moscow had strong ties with the peasantry, quiet a few still illiterate, and what’s more unacceptable, still religious, were not viewed as proper agents of the socialist transformation. A large body of theoretical work was still emerging on the issue of the education and transformation of these women themselves. Thus anything

that could further free the women to pursue their own education and training was welcomed. Also, as single-parent families were growing in numbers, the government tried to lessen the burden of child care for them. (S)

For the pioneers, along with their younger counterparts, octyabriata, and the older youth, members of the Komsomol, the goals of physical education came to be united with those of moral education. "Governments became interested not only in preserving the health of the population, but in improving it and even in achieving a biosocial transformation. The increasing concern with child health in the early twentieth century reflected not only humanitarian impulses, but state concerns about the size and capacity of the population." (P 254) Personal hygiene and regular engagement in sports were introduced as a matter of personal responsibility and honor. Adherence to the principles of the party required each pioneer to do his best in learning and extracurricular activities geared to shape him as a new socialist man.

Pioneers were expected to take an active role in the fight for the new life. They participated in subbotniki -- voluntary work Saturdays, helping adults clear the debris of collapsed building, plant trees, etc. The older generation of teenagers was instructed to look over the younger.

As early as 1918, sports came to be considered a key element of preventive health care. Job of creating policies related to sports was given to the Department of General Education. While the idea of popularizing sports emerged before the revolution, the majority of activities were only accessible to the wealthy. Socialist government brought sport to the masses. In 1920 The Day of Sport was organized, followed by the National Day of Physical Culture in 1923. All along, athletic competitions were gaining more and more attention from the press while the sports propaganda campaign became a major feature of everyday life.

The Bolsheviks frequently used the idea of competition as a motivational strategy. Socialist competition became a defining institution of the productive life in factories and in agricultural production. People demonstrating exceptional achievements at work were celebrated, their persona used by newspapers, filmmakers and writers as role models for the rest of the population. Imitating the adult world, role models for the children were chosen using the same criteria as for adults. Children of exceptional dedication to the tenets of the youth organizations, those who showed great perseverance in their study, volunteered their time for socially valuable tasks, such as cleaning parks, planting trees, and helping adults, winners of sports competitions were all widely celebrated and again used as role models. An entire cadre of Soviet writers was engaged in mythmaking about these exceptional Soviet children (Pavlik Morozov who denounced his parents to the authorities, to name one). Youth heroes gained a special place in the new folklore of the socialist life.

Physical urban planning concerned with the actual shape of the city addressed the issue of public health in several ways. Demolition of slums and re-housing of the people was one effort. The reopening of homeless shelters and orphanages was another step.

Dispensaries for the treatment and prevention of particularly dangerous diseases, some requiring quarantine, were set up in every district of the city. While the country was still immersed in the post-revolutionary fury, the Moscow Soviet began to push forward public projects that would improve the spirit and the physique of the proletariat.

Many mansions located in the nationalized parks and on former aristocratic estates within and outside of the city limits were converted by the Bolsheviks into sanatoriums. Some old sanatoriums were simply reopened under new names. For example the sanatorium on Losinyi Island was reopened after the revolution as a pulmonary clinic for children. Other sanatoriums and asylums were reopened in Kuntsevo and Petrovsko-Razymovskoe, also on the outskirts of the city. 17 sanatoriums with a total of 1500 beds for adults and children were opened in Moscow in 1924 for the treatment of patients with tuberculosis. Two sanatoriums were opened for internal diseases and one for gastrointestinal problems. Five mental health sanatoriums were established. These later acquired the sad fame of being used to warehouse "patients" whose political views needed some adjustment.

Public parks were beginning to reopen, with Central Park renamed after Maxim Gorki in 1932 leading the way. Mostly these were old municipal parks but some were part of larger private estates before the revolution and were now municipalized for public use. All required some reconstruction and maintenance after the revolutionary evictions devastated their original owners. For example Vorontsovsky Park was now opened to the public, as well as Archangelskoe that belonged to the family of Prince Golitzin. Ekaterina's Park, named after Catherine the Great and opened in 1818 as the first public park in Moscow, was reopened by the Bolsheviks.

The centuries old Russian tradition of narodnoe guliania -- massive outdoor fairs, usually associated with religious holidays -- was transformed by the Bolsheviks into highly theatrical events celebrating the new socialist holidays. Traditional rituals, costumes and masks that had a mix of Christian and pagan elements and the songs that went with them became transformed into parades, massive theatrical events. For example, during the 1930 celebration of the 16th National Congress of the Communist Party, Central Park in Moscow housed a reenactment of the revolutionary events with several thousand participants almost equal to the number of viewers. Combined with the Bolsheviks appreciation of fresh air and understanding of the positive effects of sports, the need to make parks available to the public had a strong resonance with the municipal administration. Where masses of volunteers failed to meet the workload, prison labor was put on the task.

Along with the cafeterias and the clubs, public parks were created as auxiliary socialist spaces. In his free time, forced outside by the smallness of his apartment where he was never alone, always exposed to the scrutiny and the influence of the fellow socialist, the Soviet man had few choices of where to go. On a good day, the Public Park offered a welcomed relief from the congestion of the city. Here, only the artifacts of the monumental propaganda and the infinite numbers of police patrolling the disorderly youths reminded one of his social duties. Open space and greenery, along with the banners

and slogans, inspired an admiration of the achievement of the new regime. In the socialist tradition of anthropological mythmaking, Bolsheviks made everyone believe that before the Revolution the luxury of space, cultivated green space in particular, was only available to the rich. That was certainly true for the factory workers confined within their barracks, though not for the peasants and the urban residents, but as an element of persuasion it worked wonders.

Parks were very popular and indeed inspired positive sentiment towards the regime. Sculptures of illustrious communist workers and Party leaders became the permanent fixture of these spaces, and flower beds and rudimentary ornamentation of the fences were for some a nice relief from the severity of the urban and industrial architecture of the time.

The Bolsheviks understood the rhetorical power of these open spaces and used them to legitimize their existence in yet another way. Using one of their best methods of anthropological mythmaking, they created displays of their achievements in the form of craft and industrial expositions. The tradition of trade shows and large expositions in Moscow dates back to the 1830s, when textile manufacturers demonstrated their products at the open ground fairs. Bolsheviks appreciated the idea of the Expo for its rhetorical potential; their most famous example was the National Exposition of the Economic Achievements known as VDNH opened in 1958. The goal of the expo was to "actively propagate scientific, technical, cultural and labor achievements and educate all workers on the new methods of production"

As early as 1923 a National Agricultural and Industrial Exposition was opened in Moscow. Parks and stadiums were continuously used for rhetorical purposes, hosting demonstrations, and theatrical events while offering the most invaluable opportunity for adults and youth alike to participate in sports. The goal of raising the enthusiasm and competitive spirit essential for active participation in perpetual revolution and improving the physical body of the new socialist man and woman coincided with the desire of the Bolsheviks to engage people in the truly collective way of life. Group sports required team cooperation, a desired attribute of a socialist man. At the same time, as many observers noted, the physique of the Russian proletariat was not in good shape for all the reasons that defined the time -- malnourishment, drinking and smoking, along with the living habits contributing to the weakening of the labor force. Sports were viewed as a way to improve that situation.

Clubs

The idea of the club existed before the revolution in the following form. During the prior centuries, clubs were called Sobranie, which literary means "a gathering or meeting", and were organized according to social status. The aristocracy gathered at the English Club, nobility at the Noble, merchants at the Merchant. A German club was established in 1819. Balls and music events were

held here, but these were not considered cultural centers in the same way that literary salons, kruzhki (hobby circles), literary sections, artistic and professional societies were. By the 1860s, clubs were no longer organized by social class but began to exclude women, students and the lower classes. Moscow intelligentsia organized clubs according to professional affiliations, such as the doctors club, writers club, etc.

Sports clubs emerged at the end of the eighteenth century, along with the hunting and yachts clubs. Peoples Houses emerged for the lower classes. During the revolution of 1905-07 political clubs emerged. Unions organized workers in their own clubs for political meetings, rallies and lectures. The later were closed by the provisional government. After the February revolution, workers, youth, political and women's clubs were revived.

After the October revolution, all but workers clubs were closed, many to reemerge as new institutions, bearing more ideological goals and now existing within the greater framework of the Cultural Revolution. Every large enterprise sported a new club under the administration of professional unions. Some of these became very large and were called Palaces of Culture. An extensive network of smaller clubs for the general public was put into place, with one or more club in every city neighborhood. These were created as cultural institutions for adults, imitated by the organizations for children, adolescents and youths which were soon to be organized in the semi-political organizations of octiabriata, pioneri and the komsomol. A large network of these "dom" (houses) was put in place. Together, reading rooms, palaces of culture, agitation stations, clubs and youth centers, became an all encompassing network that transmitted socialist ideals to the public. It was a network which by way of entertainment, literacy training, education, and collective pass time, broadcasted the values and ideals of the socialist society.

As a quintessential auxiliary space of the Bolshevik regime, clubs offered space that no one had at home while at the same time exposing the body to direct ideological conditioning. Many of these were true palaces of the proletariat. Here the workers saw films made for them, shared in collective activities with their colleagues, and reaffirmed their loyalty to the regime during discussions.

The 1919 Eighth National Communist Party Congress proclaimed clubs as one of the most strategically important institutions. Their significance lay in their potential to bring propaganda directly to the masses, to raise the cultural level of the proletariat and to organize their free time. By 1921, seven thousand clubs were opened, as were twelve thousand public libraries.

The first clubs were located in expropriated town houses and urban mansions. They were also designed as the integral part of the new housing typology of the house commune. Clubs were planned in such as way as to reach the entirety of the population, every member, young and old, but their primary target was the proletariat. Four types of clubs were developed according to the different categories of human relations they served: everyday life clubs served people connected by their place of residence, such as residents of the house commune; industrial clubs served factory coworkers;

professional clubs were run by the unions; and finally regional club organizations were run by the local soviet and brought together people from the same district or neighborhood.

The latter category of club organized by the city and the neighborhood became most elaborate, with the most diverse programs and largest buildings. These palaces of culture were viewed as places of culture and enlightenment that actualized the formation of the new healthy life style of the proletariat by providing it with a possibility of collective life, a place to rest and regenerate, a place to engage in sports. Thus, the programmatic requirements included a large auditorium, smaller lecture halls, separate spaces for intellectual work, classrooms, studios for an art school, music facility, library, reading room, science club, theater and rehearsal space, gymnasium, and a self-service cafeteria. Ideally, an adjacent outdoor sports facility would be present also.

As the 1919 competition brief for a club in Petrograd stated: The facade as much as the interior must strike anyone by its breadth, light and air. ...It must be a unique building, astonishing in its might, grandiosity and purely American utilitarianism. (History of Soviet Architecture 1917-1925 in Documents:134)

Several competitions were held for the building of clubs, worker and cultural palaces, attracting the most talented architects of the time and giving a real impetus to constructivist architecture. Their programs varied slightly in context, although every project had some core functions, such as movie theater/lecture hall, usually a meeting room that doubled as dance hall, some music, art and sports facilities. The scale, complexity and amount of funding varied from place to place, with a definite hierarchy of quality established depending on the source of funding, i.e factory or a local soviet.

The youth centers, that served exactly the same function as clubs, occupying children in socially useful and educational activities after school, offered a greater variety of classes for diverse tastes. The most popular among these were the young engineering and inventors groups, various crafts and woodworking, and gender-specific sewing and knitting clubs. Every Soviet child was entitled to his share of music classes. Those less ambitious, like I, resorted to singing.

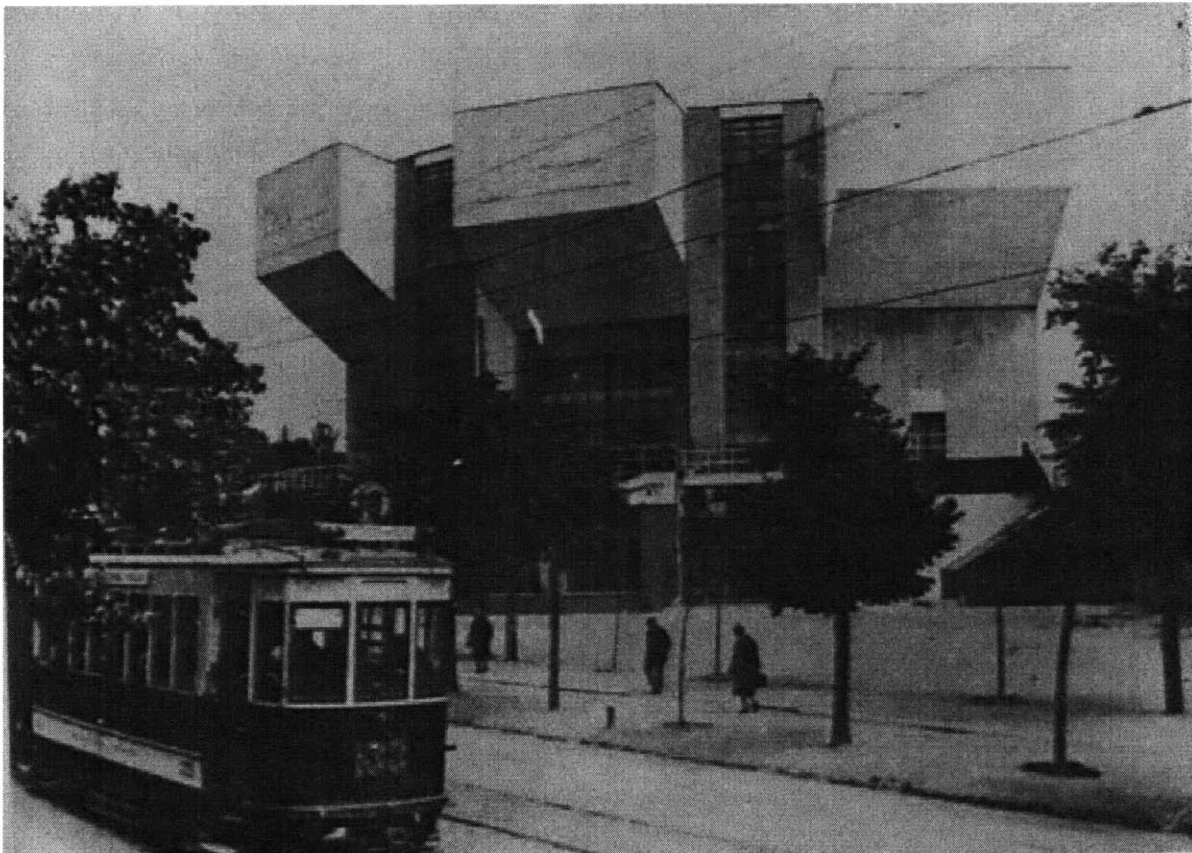
Clubs and youth palaces became an essential element in the fabric of Soviet life.

They allowed both parents to work, while their offspring continued their education and physical activities at the clubs. They instilled a sense of collective life and the healthy competitiveness in children and adolescents. They relieved the pressure from the overcrowded apartments, at the same time serving as an ideal auxiliary socialist space that guaranteed continuous public exposure of every member to others, to their scrutiny and influence.

The very first workers clubs in Moscow were ran by Proletkult, the Organization for the Proletarian Culture. Their goal was to keep the clubs open only to the proletariat and use them as the place of germination of the real, pure proletarian culture. That culture was going to be created by the workers themselves and disconnected from any previous culture. Eventually that ideal model became watered down when it became clear that all social classes of the city would benefit from access to the clubs,

while clubs would serve many rhetorical needs of the party all at once.

The agenda of the first Congress of Club Workers that took place in June of 1924, included subjects concerning the role of clubs, such as their participation in literacy and political education campaign, on their role in professional propaganda and the methods of organizing the propaganda, on their role in the reorganization of life according to socialist principles, on the questions of liberation of women from domestic slavery. Congress delegates also discussed the appropriate curriculum for the clubs, and the methods of aesthetic education of the masses. This agenda clearly betrays the overwhelming ambition of the clubs to be not just the integral but the defining element of the everyday life, carrying a system of values to the masses. Over the course of Soviet history, clubs as social institutions, along with the youth centers offering a comprehensive set of continuing education options for adults and children and a social space away from the tight quarters of home, have maintained their importance and contributed significantly to the preservation of the Soviet artistic culture while making it accessible to the masses. Over the years, the rigor of their ideological objective lessened in its importance, giving way to primarily educational and entertainment functions. For many people it is the only Soviet institution the loss of which was mourned after the collapse of the Soviet Union.



CHAPTER 3: COOPERATIVES

Of all the tasks the Bolsheviks faced after the revolution, housing the proletariat was one of the most important. Construction industry was outdated, materials scarce, labor force untrained. Surprisingly new buildings did rise, and new typology, distinct from anything done before the revolution emerged. At first only low rise cottage- type buildings rose as entire ensembles. These were built using the old fashioned wood construction methods that did not require advanced technology or skills. The arrangement of one-family buildings in groups was inspired by the garden city ideas and the traditional Russian village design.

The designs combined Russian *izba*, Swiss and English cottage styles. One of these projects survived to this day near Sokol Metro Station in Moscow. Built in the 1920s, for a short time it was viewed as an ideal settlement. (Stroitelstvo Moskvy:1924)

But soon, it's almost rural character and resemblance with the bourgeois ideal put it out of favor. The design went against the main tenet of socialism, that of collective life and it was difficult to streamline its production. Ginzburg criticized this project as completely derivative of the past and foreign styles and not reflective of contemporary social conditions. (Khazanova: 1970)

The growing population required large numbers of spaces, thus is became clear that multiunit building was the only solution.

Several methods of relieving the pressure of the housing demand were devised by the soviets. Workers housing as such, built by the municipality or the industry emerged as predominantly four and five story apartment blocks. By 1925 the periphery of the city, which continued to concentrate large portion of the proletariat began to be rapidly transformed from barracks and low rise houses to a truly urban settlement.

Kitchen factories, cafeterias, stores, clubs, kindergartens, laundries and other amenities were put in place at the same time as the buildings. The apartments were incredibly small, many without kitchens, the design inspired by the idea of socialization of food preparation. Some had showers but almost none a bath tub. Minimal, clean and utilitarian, at least in theory outfitted with furniture designed exactly to fit the space, these apartment did everything to ensure that a resident would spend minimal time here, choosing instead to live his life in the auxiliary soviet spaces of collective institutions. The apartments were well suited for sleep but could not contain anything beyond the most rudimentary functions. Public bathhouses, ubiquitous in Moscow at the time provided substitutes for individual bathtubs.

In the foreword I describe the socialist city as a space where individual body is constantly on display, where space is made transparent as to expose the body. It is not surprising than, that having

transformed most civic institutions, the Bolsheviks left the public saunas intact. The most traditional Russian urban space, sauna was a quintessential socialist space, where body was finally literally naked and exposed to a collective. It is only the fact of the inherent equality of nudity that preserved that institution without an infusion of ideological function. Saunas which were an integral part of life for many people who did not enjoy the luxury of an individual bath, served to remind one of his innate vulnerability, while serving an essential function of keeping the population healthy.

Workers housing was designed in the very sober, elegant style characterized by complete reduction of all elements to their most utilitarian form. Zeitgeist dictated austerity and legibility of the structural elements. On the other hand, clubs which sheltered an important part of the workers life were the most sophisticated expression of contemporary design. They were built as proletarian palaces. They combined industrial aesthetic with the luxury of space, sporting new materials such as vitreous brick. Cafeterias demonstrated restraint in design as well, offering plain spaces legible to the user. But their spaciousness contrasted sharply with the tiny kitchens provided in some building. Simple, clear forms and addition of monumental text were preferred to make every building in the city announce itself for what it is. Functions within the new buildings were articulated in the most direct way. Stairwells were marked by a vertical line of glass, apartments by balconies. Plain, unadorned facades with repetitive elements identified these as workers housing distinct from the older apartment houses of the bourgeoisie.

The municipal housing, that took of in the 1925 housed only a portion of the proletariat, while to other housing strategies developed by the Bolshevik require special attention.

In the following chapter I will discuss cooperative form of housing after the revolution.

The question I am asking is how did this form fit into the larger development of the socialist society and why did the Bolsheviks promote this form?

Although some official Soviet histories prefer to present it as an early achievement of the socialist regime, the cooperative form of housing was not invented by the Bolsheviks but emerged before the revolution. In its soviet reincarnation it existed between 1924 and 1937, and was reestablished again in the 1960s. (Khazanova: 1970)

Under the provisional government, which followed the tsar's abdication and preceded the Bolshevik Revolution of October 1917, it was regulated by the law of 20th of March 1917 'On cooperative associations and their alliances'. After the second, Bolshevik revolution it was replaced by the February 1918 decree on the 'rules of registration of cooperative associations and their charters' In May of 1918, a special decree calling for an organization of special committees in all major towns overseeing the registration of the cooperatives was put into place. Cooperatives that existed before the

revolution were thus required to go through a new registration process, aimed to survey existing coops and the properties they occupied and to assess their social composition.
Loud promotion of cooperatives did not gain its full strength until 1924, but what is surprising considering the overall strategy of complete expropriation of private property adopted by the Bolsheviks, is that cooperatives enjoyed some legal support even before that time. The reasons for such support were not purely.
Immediately after taking power, Bolsheviks created a policy intended to transfer all ownership of land into the hands of the government. Institution of total control of all decisions concerning housing was among their first goals. From the very beginning shelter was explicitly used as an incentive and as punishment. A roof over one's head was to be earned through hard work and deep loyalty to the Bolsheviks if not through the prerequisite social background. The preferred background was that of a peasant transformed into the proletariat, and in the case of high achievers, further transformed into a party leader, an intellectual, scientist, or an artist at the service of the regime. The closer one's achievements aligned with the goals of the perpetuation of the party, with its political goals, the more space one would be rewarded with. Achievements which sustained the economic development of the country ranked second after those of the party administration and the intelligentsia. Reluctance to collaborate with the regime and failure to engage in socially productive labor resulted in the loss of ones right to housing. Starting with the very first housing efforts and continuing throughout the years of the socialist regime, the amount of living space a person had at his disposal directly corresponded to his or her value in the eyes of the Party. That relationship was true for every form of housing that existed, the communal apartments, old and new cooperatives and municipal housing. Similar considerations defined the social map of the city, with the most deserving members living closest to the center in the largest apartment.

In their fight for socialism, Bolsheviks were determined to reshape the space and the social make up of the entire city according to their ideal. They succeeded in the repossession of all urban space and began to aggressively use it as their key playing card.
Space allocation began to be used as a mechanism of reward and punishment, securing the Bolshevik's ability to advance their social and economic goals. As a first step in the overall revolution of life, Bolsheviks put forward a promise of providing adequate housing for every deserving member of the new society, first and foremost for the proletariat. In order to ensure continued support of the masses the promise of adequate shelter was the one that needed immediate attention and tangible results.
Facing this practical question, Bolsheviks first turned their attention to the existing space situation, ordering immediate survey of all available buildings suitable for housing on the one hand for the offices of the emerging socialist institutions on the other.

In the same breath they decided to get a full picture of what human material they would have to find accommodations for as well as who they would have to work with to accomplish their goals. A variety of strategies was created to ensure that everyone was accounted for. Each administrative area of the city was required to conduct a survey of the available space; each person was to be registered with some arm of the central government.

Theoretically no person could remain in the city for more then three days without registering his passport and the required address with the local authority.

Surveying every apartment and every space required vast amounts of energy and resources, so the Bolsheviks decided to draw on their experience of executing large scale policy by distributing the work among a reliable network of people, analogous to the example of rural teachers and professional propagandists described in the earlier chapter, and create a similar network to carry out the surveying. This particular network consisted of individual building administrators, house committee members and coop board members.

Part of the network emerged spontaneously or was put into place following Lenin's decree on residential densification announced in November 1918 in the form of housing committees (domovoi komitet)-resident organizations overseeing placement of demobilized soldiers, workers relocating from basements and attics, and homeless and unemployed members of the proletariat intro the apartments of bourgeoisie, with the original owners either leaving the city or staying and occupying one room of the same apartment. The committees were entrusted with conducting complete surveys of apartments to determine the extent of available space. Initially only apartments left behind by the emigrating upper class were to be requisitioned, but as not enough space was gained that way, densification of the remaining residents ensued.

I am describing that process in the chapter on the creation of the communal apartments.

On November 8, 1917, the day after the seizure of power, Lenin drafted the law "On Requisitioning the Houses of the Rich for Alleviating the Needs of the Poor"; on November 20, he issued the "Fundamentals of the Law on the Confiscation of Apartment Houses." On August 20, 1918, a decree abolishing private ownership of urban real estate (issued at the end of 1917) was ratified. (Hazard:1939)

Akin to the emerging house committees, the pre-revolutionary coop committees were targeted to become one form of the network node as well, compliant with the goals of the party. Thus the initial legal support provided for them was intended to ensure their compliance with their responsibility of facilitating population control. The law required them to carry out the initial surveys, participate in some form of surveillance and reporting as well as to enforce the space allowances as defined by the government.

In the frequent events of relocation of residents within building or those moving in, committees were

expected to organize and supervise their movement. They were to ensure that no one had more space at his disposal than is allowed by the current regulation. That amount varied from 6 to 9 square meters, the later considered the most appropriate number.
Later cooperatives, exempt from the strict space allowances may have lost their legal footing in the later half of 1930s for that very reason, becoming too autonomous and potentially taking away the punitive/rewarding facility of the government by providing space above the norms and not directly commensurate with achievements.

During the first decade after the revolution, cooperatives seemed to be adequately fulfilling their role within the larger administrative network and were therefore allowed to exist and were even promoted as a desirable form of housing after 1924. The usefulness of the boards to the control goals of the Party was one reason cooperatives were permitted to exist. Another reason why Bolsheviks supported the cooperative form of housing administration was purely pragmatic. Fulfillment of the housing promise made by the Bolsheviks to the proletariat required resources that the Party did not have and while densification solved some immediate problems, as soon as the population of the city began to climb back towards its pre-Revolutionary level the crisis returned full scale.
Residents themselves had no incentive to invest in the upkeep of the buildings. Lack of individual ownership and continuous reshuffling from place to place precluded people from developing any sense of attachment and care, while poverty and for many, lack of habits of urban living exacerbated the situation. Terrible winters during which fuel shortages forced residents to use any available wood including furniture and doors for heating further exacerbated the situation of the extreme decay of the building stock.
The rhetoric of the party's fight against the bourgeoisie and the rich, explained in the earlier chapter in more detail, and the process of requisition of all remnants of the previous way of life, led to the virtual annihilation of the apartment housing culture with its yard keepers and repair man, exacerbating the decline of the buildings' conditions. Many residents, having recently arrived from the country did not have the basic skills of urban living, leading to the increased speed of deterioration.
Economic difficulties during the revolutionary time also resulted in some inappropriate uses of housing. Despite the efforts by the government to prevent unsuitable uses particularly by strengthening the work of the sanitary inspection, people continued to keep domestic animals in the apartments. Chicken, goats, rabbits, ducks and pigs were brought in from the country as the means of food security at the time of severe shortages and rationing. Observations written between 1917 and 1924 unanimously testify to the terrible conditions of buildings, overflowing with garbage and effluent. Lenin personally called for the rectification of the situation.
Scarcity of resources, lack of appropriate expertise in housing management as well as the need to secure ideological control over the population, forced some corrections in the ideal of the government

owned and ran housing for all. Other forms of housing had to emerge, which would at the same time preserve the sacrosanct condition of undivided government ownership of the land defined by Marx as the prerequisite for the existence of a socialist way of life. Thus cooperative 'ownership' and house communes were as much a response to the insurmountable difficulty of providing housing for all, as to the socialist ideology of collective way of life.

Seeing the situation as it was, Bolsheviks recognized the need for ameliorative policies that would capitalize on any existing or emerging organizational potential and nurture any seeds of structure that could make the situation manageable without bankrupting the state. Drawing on their previous experience of implementing complex policies, Bolsheviks decided to deploy their well tested strategy of personification of responsibility. From within the anonymous mass of residents who were collectively contributing to the worsening of living conditions, they have decided to extract a set of individuals who would become personally responsible for the renovation, maintenance and upkeep of the buildings. According to the new policy and the directive of January, 1921 supporting it, every building was to elect the responsible administrator who would lead and oversee the voluntary reconstruction work on the building. Severe punishments were designated for non compliance of the newly established administrators. At the same time, every resident, including invalids and housewives were to be mobilized for the clean up of the buildings and the territory. Separate policy provided punitive measures to maintain the "voluntary" work efforts by the residents. The plan however was to use persuasion rather than force in this matter, creating an additional benefit of engaging people in collective labor. Lenin personally believed that such engagement will serve as a vivid demonstration of the great potential of collective and should be encouraged at all cost. (Meerovich:2005)

In order to ensure the participation of individual buildings in this city wide renovation campaign, the new network of activists-administrators was created whose goal it was to mobilize people to donate time and money in the reconstruction.

Capitalizing on the success of the "subbotniki"-- voluntary work on Saturdays, started in 1919 by the rail road workers as a response to the government's appeal to improve their productivity and as a demonstration of their commitment to the Bolsheviks -- Lenin called for the extension of this practice into all productive spheres that needed an infusion of energy. Housing reconstruction and street improvements were the natural area of the application of this practice.

Using himself as a role model, Lenin advocated for the mobilization of all residents in removal of the debris of collapsed building, elimination of garbage from buildings, streets and squares, pavement and tree planting works. Artistic representation of Lenin personally volunteering on the restoration of the Kremlin, in the form of paintings and posters was aimed to inspire imitation.

Using my own experience of life under Soviet regime I can attest that the tradition of subbotniks existed up until the dissolution of the Soviet system. School children and adults alike participated in 'socially useful' work, including seasonal park cleaning and painting of classrooms in schools and clubs. The

tradition of social mobilization for volunteer work extended into many other spheres of activity. For example, every fall college students were expected to spend several weeks helping with harvest in agricultural regions; best students were expected to donate time teaching at the clubs, etc. These instances are a direct continuation of the tradition of 'socially useful projects and public works' started in the 1920s with learned citizens volunteering time to read aloud to the illiterate, and urban residents spending their days off cleaning up pars and squares.

While the government was unable to complete unfinished building projects, renovate ruined structures, build new and refurbish non residential spaces for housing uses, or even replace the myriad missing windows, doors and roofs, cooperative administrations proved capable of fulfilling many of these tasks along with their ideological tasks, by mobilizing the residents personally. Seeing results, the city government realized that more can be done by relinquishing some responsibilities to the hand of the residents. That realization led to the idea of reintroduction of cooperatives as a preferred housing solution and the beginning of a massive propaganda campaign to persuade the people to voluntarily self organize and form coops. The idea was so appealing to the Party that every rhetorical device available was employed to promote it while more coercive methods were thrown in as a booster. The cooperative promotion campaign was led by Lenin himself. In his speech of January 4-6, 1923, on Cooperation he expressed his appreciation of cooperation as association of working men and peasants as a transitional form of organization for production, "being transitional in that it lay between the forms of capitalism and socialism" (Meerovich:2005)

Lenin appreciated two aspects of cooperatives, the retention of the principles of private property, which he believed continued to be appealing for artisans and peasants,
and the potential of cooperatives as a revolutionary force whose members would be subjected to revolutionary influences. He promoted cooperation in housing as well as in production. At the same time it was understood clearly that all decisions concerning the allocation and redistribution of housing units, and the use of housing as reward or retribution was to remain in the hands of the government.

On September 3rd, 1921, Moscow Soviet of the Worker-Peasant and Red Army Deputies signed the edict on the "State of Housing Associations". The document makes explicit the administration and maintenance of building stock as the purpose of creation of cooperatives. What this law regulated was the cooperative organizations within existing buildings. Some authors argue that in fact such organizations were voluntarily springing up everywhere and just gaining secure administrative power by the law, while others insist that this form of organization was brought in from above. It was probably both. We know that in Moscow, numerous compulsory 'residential associations' were created as government refused to take care of the buildings delegating that responsibility onto the shoulders of the residents.

The apparent success of this strategy led in May of 1922 to the return of many previously nationalized

building to the cooperative associations. As a result about 4,000 cooperative buildings existed in Moscow in the later half of 1922, and somewhere between 6300 and 8350 were already registered by march of 1923. The "Charter of Residential Associations" of October, 5th of 1921 gave full official status to cooperative housing administrations. On April 17th, 1923 construction administration was added under its regulation.(Hazard:1939)

The spread of residential association alleviated some of the difficulties associated with the reconstruction, yet as independent entities capable of providing the most coveted and essential privilege, that of shelter, cooperatives soon fell under suspicion. As long as cooperatives were fulfilling the government's goal of using unpaid labor and private capital for the reconstruction, the coops were not a problem. But as soon as they began to demonstrate potential for independence, a new law restricting their freedom was enacted.

On August 19th, 1924 a new law was put forward that restructured the regulation of the cooperative form of organization of the management and construction of dwellings to bring it under a tighter government control. This law began what was known as the period of 'new residential policy' and required complete reorganization of the old cooperatives to confirm with the regulations on social composition of the administrative cadre. Many of the old cooperatives were still run by the people who carne from the old propertied class, the very people soviet regime was waging a war on. The cooperatives that contained such people came to be criticized as demonstrating "mixed social composition and predominant presence of the bourgeois element among their administration which may lead to the underreporting of livable space and incorrect assignment of the rent amounts".

Thus the main goal of the new law was to replace the socially alien element in the administration of the existing cooperatives with the new trustworthy people who shared the social consciousness, values and political views of the socialist regime, and were therefore much more obedient. The new law On Housing Cooperation officially designed to drive forward the fight against the housing crisis stipulated two main forms of cooperation: 1. cooperative management societies in charge of existing municipal housing ; and 2. cooperative building societies for the construction, ownership and management of new housing.

Cooperative management societies were a direct descendant of the building management committees, many of which may have emerged spontaneously during the first years of the revolution to support the municipality in its task of handing the housing administration during the time of crisis. These committees were to be formalized under the 1924 law, and to execute long term lease agreements with the municipality which stipulated their responsibility to maintain the buildings, collect rent and provide necessary repairs. They were organized within existing buildings, or with the goal of retrofitting a non residential building for use as housing.

The new law, designed by the Government Committee of the Communal Affairs of the People's Commissariat of the Interior Affairs, the same organization that handled criminal cases and

administered Gulags, stipulated that every member of the cooperative administration must be approved by the special housing committee of the local soviet.
The housing committee could appoint people of their own choosing to serve on the board of cooperative administrators. The law stipulated that a special 'proletariat fraction' must be present in each board of administrators. And that all 'parasitic elements' should be cleansed from among the members of the administration.
In addition to the set of directives shaping the behavior and social composition of the boards, the new law included a normative charter that excluded members of the pre-revolutionary privileged class and others known as those 'stripped of electoral rights'
(*lishentsy*) and members of their families, from joining the cooperative.
In this form, management cooperatives became a dominant form of organization until they were abolished on October17th, 1937.

Two other types of cooperatives that could be involved in construction were created:

1. General (civil) cooperatives with open membership regardless of the social background and occupation. These permitted membership to the former bourgeoisie and aristocracy and allowed them to subscribe to as much space as they could afford. This form developed as an extension of NEP policies of restricted capitalist development in housing but disappeared almost entirely in the 1930s as members were unable to pay the taxes and lost titles to their property as a result. Occupants were permitted to stay as renters. These were called Obshegrazhdanskoe Zhilishno-Stroitelnoe Kooperativnoe Tovarishestvo-OZSKT.
2. Worker's Housing Construction Cooperatives survived longer as only persons of working class background were allowed to join. Space norms were imposed here.
   These were called Rabochee Zhilishno-Stroitelnoe Kooperativnoe Tovarishestvo-RZSKT.

All members of the workers housing cooperatives shared in the right to elect a management and an auditing commission for the house. In practice, new cooperatives would be initiated and organized by the leaders amongst the workers, such as trade-union representatives. Other workers would then be invited to join. An initiation fee of 1 ruble was required to join, followed by a deposit of between 20 and 60 rubles. (The average wage of a worker at the time was 125 rubles per month.) In addition to the initiation fees, members were expected to advance money to cover the cost of construction of the space each family intended to occupy. Eventually it became clear that workers would not be able to make adequate payments towards the cost of construction as a bulk sum and the government permitted cooperative societies to make use of the newly created lending bank-Central Bank of Municipal Economy (*Bank Communalnogo Hoziaistva*). The bank was created by the state specifically

to provide long-term financing to facilitate cooperative construction of apartment houses. In some cases, factories or offices that employed members of a cooperative provided construction loans. (Hazard:1939)

The boards of both types of the new cooperatives were highly regulated by the city authorities and were expected to carry out the duties of population control through background checks and registration of all members; assist the office of civilian registrar; participate in searches and inquiries; assist public safety and security offices in their work; assist military commissariats in their draft activities; assist the People's Commissariat of Labor in its work.

As mentioned above, only people in good standing were allowed to join cooperatives. That excluded people deprived of electoral rights. By the law of article 69 of the constitution of the R.S.F.S.R of 1925 persons deprived of electoral rights were:

A) Any person who employs hired labor for the purpose of deriving a profit there from

B) Any person who lives on unearned income such as interest on capital, income from enterprises, revenue from property, and the like

C) Private traders and middlemen engaged in trade or commerce

D) Ministers of any religious denomination or sect who practice this calling as a profession, and monks

E) Employees and agents of the former police force, of the Special Corps if Gendarmes, and of Tsarist Secret Service, members of the former reigning dynasty, of Russia and persons who directed the activities of the police, of the gendarmes, and of the penal authorities

F) Any person who has been duly declared of unsound mind or mentally defective

G) Any person who has been sentenced for a crime, if the sentence in the court specified that he was to be deprived of his political rights for a period of time.

While all the above mentioned were excluded from the cooperatives, Bolsheviks created a law that made it possible for non members of the cooperatives to be housed in both the existing and new buildings at the discretion of local authority. These non members were usually chosen by the local authority and used as part of the network that kept everything in check. Yard keepers (*dvorniki*) and the soviet equivalent of a doorman called "*liftersha*" -- usually female, elevator attendants -- were usually hand picked by the authorities and installed as a permanent fixture of the coops. The coops were usually required to provide room for these members of the service and surveillance community. Another way a non member could be housed in the coop is by the utilization of the 10% rule that allowed landing state enterprises, such as banks or industries to either charge interest on the construction loans or demand an allotment of space. Legally the lender was entitled to a portion of the space in the building based on the ratio of the amount of the loan to the total construction cost, but

in any case, no more then 10 % of the space was allowed to be given to the lender. When loans were fully repaid, space in the building allocated to the lender theoretically was to revert to the cooperative. Loans could be secured by a mortgage on the future building. The legal structure of cooperative arrangement stipulated that for the period of loan repayment, lending institutions would be in full control of the space allotted them, with the right to place any individual of their choice in the space. Individuals benefiting from this arrangement had to be approved by the local authorities, and were expected to pay their share of the communal running expenses to the management of a cooperative. These arrangements were secured by the Law of July 27th, 1931. (Meerovich: 2005)

While the land continued to belong to the government, residents were considered members of the cooperative society, a status similar to that of co-owners but defined by many restrictions. Rights to occupancy of the apartments could be inherited by members of the family if they qualified for membership in the cooperative society, but the residents could not move out except in exchange for a right to occupy rooms in some other building. Temporary leasing to outsiders was restricted.

The system of cooperative construction proved successful for the time being and was favored by the government as it made significant contribution in attenuating the housing crisis after the revolution. The housing shortage as such was never really alleviated, not for the entire time of the Soviet regime, but at least during the years that cooperatives were allowed to exist they helped to ease the situation. All things considered, the quality of construction was better in cooperatives and the average space allowances were slightly more adequate then in the rest of housing. Better maintenance also paid off by extending the life span of these buildings.

Also, while the strategy behind municipal building was that of infinite reduction of the cost of construction and stripping of all extraneous elements from the architecture with greatest emphasis placed on the drive towards standardization of every element of construction and the interior, cooperative building exhibited more design ingenuity and architectural merit.

The success of urban cooperatives and the discovered capacity of the construction industry prompted the return of yet another pre-revolutionary element-the suburban dacha. In the 1930s, as the number of cooperative societies increased in the cities, suburban cottage developments were being built by the cooperatives organized in exactly the same way as the urban apartment coops. These ("*sadovo-dachnye cooperativy*") new villages were often planned with individual centers that contained administrative offices and recreational facilities. Maintenance costs were shared by the members proportionate to the size of their lot and house, while everyone was obliged to keep their property in good shape. Cooperatives had the legal right to seize property if it was not adequately cared for. (Hazard:1939)

Many of the suburban coops were organized by government offices and industries in exactly the same way as the urban ones, often bringing together residents of the same housing complex that already had the experience of working together. The construction industry was beginning to be organized in

such a way as to serve both types of building needs equally.

That the option of having a dacha was attractive on many levels, providing recreational opportunities traditionally favored by the Russian society before and after the revolution alike, was just one aspect. The possibility of gaining a little more space undoubtedly had its appeal as well as a rather meager yet important function that these dachas played as garden lots where one could grow vegetables, gooseberries and black currant. No personal plot of land could provide enough food for a family over any real extent of time, yet it offered a small supplement to the basic nutrition that became significant to many Muscovites.

Although the idea was to standardize the buildings entirely, the interior of these cottages may have been the only space where one could enjoy some degree of freedom in decorating. At the same time, where urban dwellings were essentially under constant surveillance and anything resembling bourgeois way of life could immediately put a resident under suspicion, the interiors of dachas were slightly less transparent.

Considering the inherent precariousness of residential tenure during the entire Soviet regime and its first decades in particular, suspicion that was to turn into a full blown paranoia enveloping the entire country was a very real thing. An extra pair of shoes, florid curtains or ostentatious furniture were all grounds for suspicion carrying potentially serious consequences. All these conflicted with the socialist ideology of personal austerity and put one in danger of being accused of sympathizing with the ominous if at this point largely symbolic enemy in the form of the pre-revolutionary bourgeois class. Actual or alleged belonging to that class automatically disqualified one from membership in most cooperative associations and took away many other forms of social protection.

Thus soft couches and windowsill geraniums were not something to be considered lightheartedly. Cooperative administration boards and house committees enjoyed an incontestable right to enter any premises within the building in their charge if only with some small restrictions on the time of day. For all intents and purposes the idea of privacy did not exist as such or even worse was associated with the wrong life style. In fact, anything that symbolized the desire for privacy was considered highly suspect.

The socialist man was first and foremost to be a collective man, with nothing to hide from his fellow citizens, neighbors and colleagues. His life was primarily a public life, designed to take place in a collective setting. The inherent shame associated with certain functions, such as sleep, washing, etc. and the unfortunate need of the human body for protection from the elements as well as the hard to break tradition of individual associations and marriage, were the reasons that preserved housing as a building type in a more or less unaltered form. But every effort was made to reduce the degree of privacy to the bare minimum, just enough to shelter the aforementioned functions. And even that was not enough. Where physical transparency could not be achieved, ideological transparency became the goal. The entire machinery of persuasion was geared to ensure that even within the confines of family,

ideological strength was to be continuously reinforced and tested. Massive indoctrination that took place at every level of society aimed to penetrate the family in the most profound sense. Wives were instructed to check the ideological disposition of their husbands, children were instructed to watch out for any deviation from the ideological norm in their parents. The extent of this trenchant ideology became evident during the time of the great terror, when not just neighbors reported on the suspicious behavior of neighbors, sometime with the goal of acquiring their space, but members of the same family reported on each other to the authorities.

One of the main characteristics of the ideology during the 1920 was defined by the language of warfare. The building of a socialist society was not presented as a peaceful process, but as a fight, a struggle. It was a fight against defined enemies such as the bourgeois, their sympathizers and everything associated with their way of life. It was a struggle for the future socialist society. At the same time it was necessarily accompanied by an internal struggle, a mental strife against old habits and ways of thinking. That warfare extended to the artifacts of the old regime, destroying the very idea of private life and private space. Beginning with the confiscation of property and possessions from the privileged class that coincided with the requisition of warm clothes from everyone for the use of the Red Army soldiers, the idea of individual warfare transformed to mean complete self–abnegation. Within a short period of time, self-abnegation became one of the most coveted virtues of the Soviet Man, to be emulated and celebrated. Readiness to sacrifice everything and everyone for the sake of the socialist ideals found its manifestation in the way people treated space. Giving up of all privacy, all comfort and decoration, reducing all signs of domesticity to the bare minimum was expected of all self-respecting Bolsheviks. Vice versa, the presence of trimmings, vignettes, floor rugs or other extravagant details immediately placed a person under suspicion. Considering the severe economic decline and scarcity of everything, for many people demonstrating this virtue was not a hard task. But the transformation of the existing situation of scarcity into a matter of individual virtue, highly praised and propagated, is significant to our understanding of the Bolshevik rhetoric

The fight against the bourgeois aesthetic was complemented by the development of the new appropriate aesthetic which I refer to as the proletarian aesthetic. This included the architecture of new housing but also the design of furniture, clothing, etc. While the war against personal space with its noble goals of providing shelter for everyone resulted in the most minimal apartments and the war against the remnants of the old life made bourgeois furniture unacceptable, a new style had to emerge that would comply with the ideological requirements. Needless to say that whatever furniture may have survived the requisition would have simply taken too much space in the new or subdivided apartments. In my calculation, an old commode (chest of drawers) -- the very symbol of the enemy life style -- would have taken about one forth of the average space available for a family. (The largest

average space allowance achieved during that time was less then 9 square meters, the average commode would have taken about 2 square meters.) Also a sentimental attachment to such a piece of furniture could be a signal of affinity for the old regime and thus eminently dangerous for anyone exhibiting it. One might just as well consider it extravagant firewood.

Given the environment of rising paranoia, the suburban cottages contained the only space that remained unassailed or was not forcefully subdivided to be shared by several families. It was undoubtedly small and regulated, forcing inhabitants to spend as much time outside as possible, but then again its main role was to provide summer recreation and gardening opportunity. It was also the only space where families could be together for prolonged periods of time, if they so chose. I will not argue that less surveillance surrounded the dachas -- even the height of the fences was regulated by the coop board --but would suggest that all things considered this was a more relaxed space.

Bolsheviks liked the idea of both urban and suburban cooperatives for one other important reason. The ideal of a socialist life they espoused privileged the idea of organizing the majority of society into the work-live units. These social formations would be united both by their occupation and their residences. Social cohesion of these groups and the collective nature of their existence were viewed as beneficial in both practical and ideological terms. Practical issues such as construction and maintenance of housing and perhaps collectivization of some household burdens were easier to address if a group of people pooled their resources which in turn relieved the government from the responsibility of delivering these services. Common interests established by shared professional engagement, coupled with joint investment of resources were viewed as a strong psychological binding component as well, resulting in a mental cohesion favored by a one-Party regime. The key goals of the Party were easier to fulfill if the audience was a homogeneous group. The group was rightfully expected to be more receptive to the persuasion if the 'speaker' had some leverage. In the case of the Bolshevik party, its legislative and other support of cooperatives was such leverage, not to mention the obvious fact that the land belonged to the government which meant the Party. The success of cooperatives worked to the advantage of the Party as well proving the right choice of action and therefore legitimizing the Party.

Yet another reason the Party supported the cooperatives was the fact that in the situation of continuous housing shortage and social restructuring, anyone wishing to maintain anything like a normal existence had very few choices. Thus promoting the cooperatives coincided with the Party's design to draw more people into the ranks of the workers. The fact that the places of employment and housing were so intimately connected encouraged people to aspire to job security so as not to jeopardize their chances of having a home.

To summarize, there were two general types of cooperatives: management only and management and construction coops. The first type existed before the revolution. Its structure was continuously

transformed between 1917 and 1924 to confirm with new regulations, eliminating many members suspected of affiliations with the old regime and bringing them under progressively tighter government control. While tolerated by the Bolsheviks, this type of cooperative was always held in suspicion and was allowed to exist primarily as a default solution to the rapid housing deterioration. While essentially all housing was controlled by the government, this type of association was frequently abused by the local soviets, which could confiscate apartments at will, or require existing residents to make space for additional residents of their choice. Residents did not enjoy any real incentives or security but were expected to volunteer their labor and resources for the renovation and upkeep of the structures.

The second type of cooperative association allowed citizens to undertake construction and renovation projects. Within this type two kinds or organizations existed: worker cooperative and all-citizen cooperative. Both types were regulated by the law of 1924, with the worker cooperative being the type of housing most closely aligned with the ideal of socialist living advocated by the Bolsheviks. The preferred type of workers cooperatives organized by professional affiliation usually substantiated by union membership were involved in construction of new or rehabilitation of existing buildings with the help of a bank or industrial loans. They were promoted by the Party through propaganda and by incentive policies that offered reduced rate insurance and taxes, as well as reduced cost of construction materials. They were essentially closed to non-members and according to the decree regulating their existence, membership was based on the type of employment favored by the Bolshevik party. Government workers and the proletariat were allowed to join as well as members of socially acceptable categories such as the Red Army cadre, fire fighters, police officers, invalids and war veterans, as well as people supported by the state. They were governed by a board whose membership was regulated by the decree defining social composition. Regulations also strictly defined the behavior of the board in turn requiring the board to regulate and monitor behavior of the residents, reporting digressions to the higher authorities. Each board was obliged to register with the local arm of the Bolshevik party-the Soviet; each member had to undergo a background check. Boards were joined into district- and city-wide associations which ensured their compliance with the official rules designed by the main policy making body. Larger association carried out ideological work among the boards, while boards were responsible for ideological virtue among the coop members.

The general (civil) coops accepted non-proletarian members among their ranks. They did not enjoy the same incentives as the Worker Cooperatives, but were viewed as an appropriate solution to the housing crisis and the need to delegate the responsibility of providing housing onto the shoulders of the citizens. Theoretically this was the only type of cooperative people unaffiliated with industries or with the several unions that united the socially useful members of intellectual occupations could join. For the most part, non-productive professions valued by the Bolsheviks became unionized with the title ‘proletarian’ added to their name. For example large portion of the architects became organized under the banner of the ‘association of proletarian architects’. The most useful to the rhetorical goals

of the Party, the professional union of "proletarian writers" was one of the first to gain recognition and support as well as become the most subservient to the needs of the party. Introduction of the term proletarian was not simply a symbolic act. Proletarianization was a matter of policy. That policy aimed at creating a new intellectual class entirely devoted to the key rhetorical goals of the party –that of its perpetuation, and that of creating a new socialist man. A set of incentives was created to draw writers into the role desired for them by the party. A special quota was created for aspiring writers of peasant and proletarian origins to be admitted to the universities. Special stipends were given to the most promising talents to study in Moscow and St Petersburg.

Support of proletarian literature extended to sponsorship of journals and periodicals, as well as allowed the union to create a number of housing and cottage cooperatives. Needless to say, only subject matters that conformed to the rhetorical goals of the party were allowed to be exposed by the writers, placing special responsibility on them for the creation of appropriate role models and exemplary patterns of behavior.

While each policy came with both 'carrots and the sticks', the policy on proletarian literature implied severe punishments for any digressions from the list of allowed subject matters or acceptable linguistic norms. Depending on severity of digression, punishment could plunge a creative professional into complete oblivion, deprive him of all sources of livelihood, banish him from housing, and as later history shows, send him into exile etc.

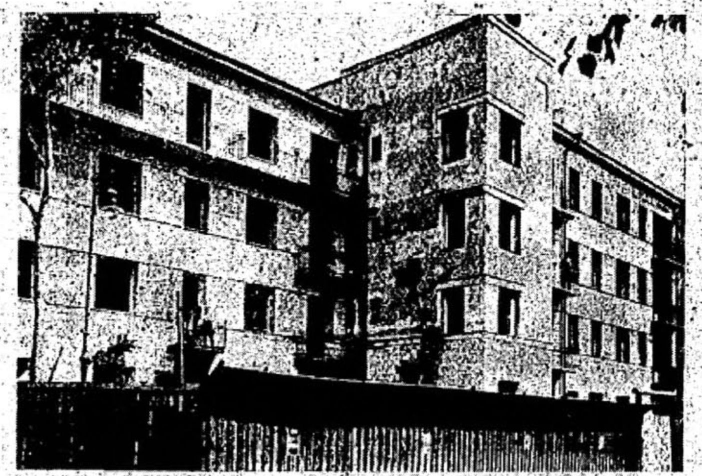
Similar restrictions existed on other professions, including for example appropriate stylistic restraints imposed or self-imposed by the architects.

Misdemeanors at work always threatened one's housing tenure, and that is the other way, Bolsheviks attempted to secure people's loyalty to their place of employment and their work-life collective. Political crimes, such as harboring of anti-Bolshevik ideas or anything that could be interpreted as such resulted in immediate eviction from housing of the offender and his family. Thus ideological loyalty was supported by means of housing as well.

Застройка участка на Погодинке

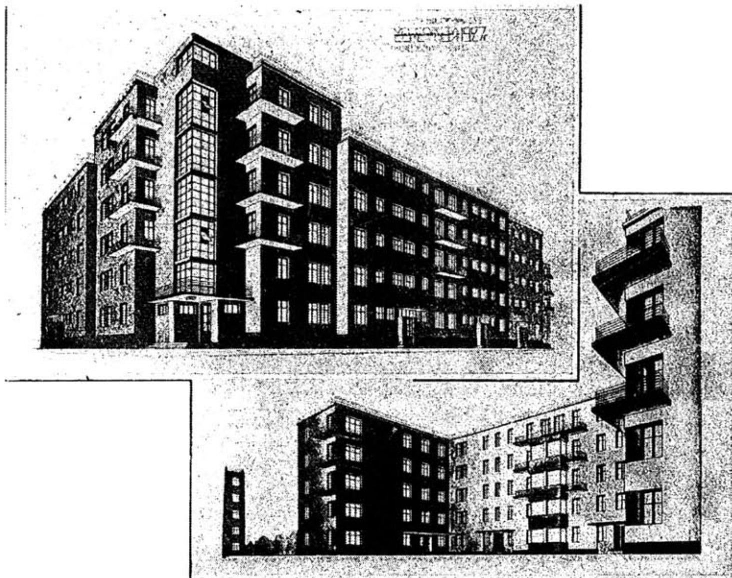
Застройка участка по Мал. Семеновской улице

Дом для работников милиции. Большая Полянка


Арх. Б. М. Великовский. Внешний вид дома кооператива Льноторга.

SM2,'27" House of Residential Construction Coop... "Leontorg", Pg. 9

Stroitelstvo Moskvu


SM6,'26/27 Residential Construction for Workers in 1926/27, Pg. 3

СТРОИтельство
москвы

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1929

ИЗДАНИЕ МОСКОВСКОГО СОВЕТА РК и КД

CHAPTER 4: KOMUNALKI

This chapter will discuss the uniquely soviet institution of a communal flat-a quintessential socialist space.

Anyone who traveled to St Petersburg before the mid-1990s must have encountered this strange phenomena – the front door of an apartment sporting not one but five and up to fifteen door bells. The fancier the building, the more doorbells and mailboxes with newspaper titles collaged onto them. A guest in such a place would be asked to quietly proceed into one of the rooms, advised not to make eye contact with anyone in the long narrow corridor complete with zinc buckets suspended from the ceiling along with faint, unadorned light bulbs. People who lived here, one family per room, sharing a bathroom and a kitchen were not connected for any reason of their choosing, but were brought together by historic circumstances dating back to the days following the Great October revolution. They did not work in the same factory or a state office, did not belong to the same union, except may be by coincidence, did not go to the same university. They lived together under the same roof bound by nothing but a complete lack of alternative. Some have been there their entire lives, some moved in recently, taking turns cleaning the 'common places' -- bathroom, corridor, kitchen, reporting to the 'responsible for the apartment' when finished.

Life within the apartment was shaped by the rules, some determined by the local 'housing block' committee, some implied. These stipulated for example that one could not take a bath after 11pm, place a gramophone on the windowsill, or wash his clothes in the kitchen when others were cooking. A long phone conversation broke the rules and went against all common sense as every word would be heard by everyone else even if the etiquette demanded the pretense of privacy, and could result in a scandal. Resentment and paranoia bread subdued hostility, yet common deprivations kept people at bay, uniting them at times against a common misfortune. Such misfortune could be a new neighbor whose alcoholism crossed all borders or a clogged sink that must be snaked out. On the other hand, as a person who has spent most of her life in one of these apartments told me recently, and as some literary evidence shows, certain amount of social support and cooperation in solving mutual problems existed in these places during the hardest times. During the Second World War for example, lost sons and husbands were mourned communally and meager bread rations shared with the widows. And of course lifelong friendships grew here between kids, even if their parents' relationships were no more than cordial.

Still, as Susan Buck-Morse writes in her *Dreamworld and Catasrophe*, for many "The forced intimacy of the communal apartment was a particular kind of terror, affecting the most banal practices of every day. It kept the body in perpetual public exhibition and intervened in the ecological circuit of all senses. Its ideological justification was the utopian claim that public life was personal fulfillment."

Paranoia resulted from being watched all the time, and the real danger of being exposed as a "foreign" element and thrown out of the apartment or sent to the "far north".
This living arrangement was called "*kommunalnaia kvartira*," better known by its diminutive, "*kommunalka*." During the 1920s Moscow had its share of *kommunalka*, but the housing policy of the 1950s "de-densified" many of its residents into separate apartments, while St Petersburg still continues to have a share of these. This chapter tells the story of the communal apartment as a housing option developed by the Bolsheviks.

As discussed in the introduction, a housing crisis plagued Moscow before the revolution. The wealthy middle class and the aristocracy gravitated towards the center of the city, residing in family owned "*usadba*" or town house. About 4.1 % of the urban population lived this way in 1912. Another 127,000 people or (8.4 %) of the population, servants, yard keepers, small craftsmen, was housed in the corners of attics and basements of the same houses.
The lower middle class, clerks and office workers, occupied rooms or small apartments in "*dohodnyi dom*" – rental establishments with maid service and sometimes a cafeteria. A large portion of the factory workers and the industrial proletariat lived in "*kazarma*," a dorm style arrangement typically within factory territory, complete with "*stolovaia*," canteen, and a rudimentary medical facility. About 14 % of the population was housed by their place of employment. The great majority of residents, 72.1 %, were tenants or subtenants (more than half of tenants had to sublet part of their space to make ends meet). A great number of workers huddled together in "*koechno-kamorochaia kvartir*"' literally translated as "cot-closet" apartment.
Institutional housing included dormitories, almshouses, barracks, independent communal housing and provided shelter for about 7%. About 1% of the population was counted as homeless, with "*nochlezhnye doma*," overnight shelters, available to them.
Cot-closet apartment buildings, resembling the settlement houses in New York, were set up by the joint efforts of the municipality and a charitable foundation 'for the guardianship of the poor'. This foundation was started in 1894 and counted twenty eight local chapters by 1912. It was initiated and sustained by the civic leaders of the city, a professor of Moscow University, a duke and a former mayor. Financial support was provided by the matching funds from the municipality and from private donors. Some money was raised through fundraising events such as concerts. The goal of the foundations was to provide 'systematic support to the needy'. They gave out food, clothes, footwear, provided emergency loans, offered assistance with rent and job placement in hospitals, alms-houses, and shelters, and visited and monitored the sick poor at hospitals. They ran orphanages, nurseries, children canteens, trade schools, sewing workshops, and the free or low cost 'cot-closet' apartment buildings. Several of them organized summer camps for the children of the poor. All of these were shut down in 1917 in the wake of the revolution.

Cot closet apartments were very small, notoriously overcrowded with often abominable hygienic conditions. The 1912 census enumerated 319,000 Muscovites, 20.2 percent of the total population, in such flats. Two-thirds of these houses were located close to the industrial enclaves on the city periphery. The same census noted a total of 207,000 Muscovites resided in company housing. Of these, 59,000 were office workers and 32,000 were domestics and building superintendents; 117,000 were industrial workers. (Colton: 1995)

The capitalist form of economy prevalent before the revolution made solutions to the affordable housing crisis hard to come by. The number of people coming to the city for work, driven out by the severe decline in agriculture or lack of land exacerbated the situation. The growing economy, including expanding manufacture, development of public work programs, available service and industrial employment continued to attract people to the city. But the surplus of labor and the lack of established regulations kept wages very low. Many jobs were still paid in kind, providing bed and board for the domestic servants, or remitting money directly to the village elder if a worker was contracted by such arrangement. At any rate, the majority of peasants that came to the city to work either permanently or seasonally did not have control over their own meager income or were obliged to send most of it back to the villages. Lack of disposable income made it impossible to acquire decent housing. But perhaps the more important determinant of the housing crisis was the fact that the population simply grew faster than the building stock of the city.

Appalled by the living conditions of the proletariat, the pre-revolutionary civic society attempted to ameliorate the situation by providing shelters and building settlements, but these efforts could not cope with the numbers of people who needed shelter. There was simply not enough space to provide anything approaching a sanitary norm of 6 square meters for every person.

By the time the Bolsheviks took power in 1917, nothing remained of the charitable trusts, but the living spaces they created, including by now deteriorating settlement houses. The population of Moscow fluctuated greatly between 1912 and 1926. Many people left town or were exiled for political reasons. Factory closings and instability associated with the socialization of industry drove large numbers of peasants to return to their villages. Many upper class residents moved to their dachas for the time of the unrest, some to return later, some to eventually leave the country permanently.

The population numbers dropped to one million in 1920, but gained half a million residents by 1923 and another half a million by 1926. Despite the earlier drop in the population, the housing crisis never disappeared entirely, and by the middle of 1920s was felt particularly acutely. The deterioration of building stock and the temporary partial and then full abolition of rent between 1917 and 1926 did not make things any better. Return of the citizens, increasing numbers of demobilized soldiers and new migrants put further pressure on the existing space. New construction took place at a very slow pace, hindered by the poor state of the industry and the outdated building techniques.

Seeing the situation deteriorate the new government issued decree after decree that amounted to a warfare strategy of dealing with the existing space. All existing space was to be conquered, stripped of its pre-revolutionary character including all ornament and superfluous details, subdivided, repartitioned, and molded to carry a new set of functions and ideological signifiers. Such aggression determined the tone of its dealings with the people as well. All those useful to the socialist regime people were promised shelter, all people of questionable values were threatened, persecuted, sent abroad or to the auxiliary Soviet space of the growing gulags.

The first major decree that had the most profound effect on the entire history of the socialist city was the August 20th, 1918 – Decree of All-Russian Central Executive Committee on the Nationalization of Land. From that day onward land became a public property to be administered by the municipal soviets as agents of the state. For a time buildings in Moscow and St Petersburg remained in private hands however, with the exception of those with 5 or more apartment of any size. In theory only large property owners were to loose their rights, but in practice many smaller property owners also lost their titles, with the exception of small apartment houses and individual little dwellings which were besieged with restrictions as well. For example, no sale transactions were allowed, with a possibility of confiscation as penalty. This law was temporary and partially repealed during the NEP (New Economic Policy) of the 1920s. The rhetoric behind the expropriations rested on one of the fundamental tenets of socialism, the public ownership of land as a way to prevent exploitation, social stratification and extraction of profit for the benefit of one class at the expense of another.
From the first days following the revolution Bolsheviks proclaimed their undivided right to the city. Their main rhetorical promise was housing for the workers, the same issue used in persuading the workers to join the revolution. The mirage of an individual apartment for each member of the proletariat remained a symbol of the victory of the revolution. When Moscow became the capital of Russia on March 12, 1918, it was often referred to as the Proletarian capital. But the majority of the proletariat was still huddled in the dark, damp, overcrowded corners, sharing cots on the periphery of the city. The government recognized that to sustain the support of the masses, the promise of housing needed to show some tangible results. Meanwhile it continued to underscore the promise by announcing new unreachable goals. For example, the People's Commissariat of Labor went so far as to promise every worker's family "a separate apartment with total floor space of at least 50 square meters consisting of two habitable rooms, a vestibule, kitchen, bath, and a separate storage room or cellar."
Unwittingly the population had grown to expect that their government would provide spaces, and it was growing restless as their living conditions continued to deteriorate. While no law yet existed declaring such right, people began to equate the government's promise with the "right to space". In their collective consciousness housing was becoming one of the key criteria for the evaluation of the success of the government. In order to legitimize its own existence government had to deliver on that

promise.

The defining point in the history of the housing issue in Moscow and St Petersburg took place when Lenin outlined the definition of a wealthy apartment in his decree on the requisition of winter clothes for the soldiers. He has said that any apartment should be considered wealthy and therefore inappropriate for the socialist man, if the number of rooms in it equals to or exceeds the number of residents. The Bolshevik housing policy was thus defined by this ban on "extra" living space. No person of clean consciousness was allowed to live in a wealthy apartment. We know now that the only exception was made for people of exceptional value to the regime, the nature of whose work required additional space. (Meerovich: 2005)
Earlier policy giving undivided right to control space to the local soviets, signed in October of 1917, and the Decree on Land announced at the Second National Congress of the Soviet Proletariat, on October 26, 1917, liquidating all private ownership of rural land, and instituting complete nationalization of all land, combined with the decree on the wealthy apartments ratified on March 1, 1918 lead to the formation of the housing policy in question. Two more decrees contributed to its crystallization. The first, signed on the 20th of August, 1918 decreed the annihilation of all rights to private property of land in cities, including built and empty plots currently in possession of private individuals, industries and organizations. All buildings in urban settings with more then 10,000 people were to be nationalized as well with all rights transferred into the hands of local administrative organs. The second decree of December 14, 1917 forbade all sales transactions involving real estate.
Thus all land and building property was confiscated from the owners through either municipalization or nationalization, concentrating control in the hands of the government and its departments. The distinction between the two terms was not yet made explicit, but in essence the difference was that residential buildings that belonged to the industry were confiscated together with the industry as one package and transferred into the hands of the newly established government departments in charge of that particular field of production. Thus what later became the primary form of housing development was defined by the fact that all land belonged to the government but different departments were given the right to develop plots under their jurisdiction, had its roots in the very first decrees of the soviet power and the way expropriation occurred. After the nationalization of property, the newly created state departments such as the ministry of textile industry for example, were entrusted with the goal of rebuilding their sector of production, renovating factories, establishing new supply lines, etc. Along with that goal came the right to renovate existing or build new housing for their workers. Thus the connection between work and housing that was established before the revolution found its soviet reincarnation, with the necessary ideological character in place. Housing provided by the departments was of two forms. New building financed and developed by the department itself, and offering apartments to the workers for the duration of employment, and cooperative apartment buildings

executed with the loans from the industry or a bank, by the group of workers from the same enterprise.

The process of repartition began at the end of October 1917. The initial strategy was supported by the law announced by the National Committee of the Interior Affairs on "The right of local soviets to regulate the housing issue". The goal was to quickly survey all vacant apartments and place them at the discretion of the local soviets for the relocation of the people living in deplorable conditions, such as basements, attics and dilapidated tenements. Apartments left empty by the aristocracy, or anyone who may have been away for more then several months, were to be requisitioned for the use of the needy. Even before nationalization of large buildings had become official, city soviets began sequestering properties of people who had fled the city and compiling a list of all buildings under their jurisdiction to begin a planned distribution of dwelling spaces.
But the planned distribution took on the form of an uncontrolled wave of the lower classes moving into the apartments of the former bourgeoisie.
" one of the most spectacular demonstrations to the working men of what the Revolution really could mean to them was the moving of people, who had been living in the cellars and hovels and little shacks out in the poverty stricken suburbs, to the palaces and mansions of the former rich"

On the 17th of February, 1918 with the publication of their decision in *Izvestiya*, Bolsheviks began the process known as "*zhilizhny peredel*" – housing repartition -- that lead to the emergence of the communal flat as a major urban phenomena. The title of the announcement in *Izvestiya* read: "Decree on the moving of the families of soldiers and unemployed workers into the apartments of the bourgeoisie and on the institution of the residential space norms". The article stated that no more than one room was allowed per person, two children counting as one adult. Families of no less then 6 were entitled to an additional space for use as a dining room. Kitchen, servant quarters, work spaces were not to be taken into account. All residents occupying more then the allowed space must declare the fact to the local soviet by 4pm, on March 3rd, with the list of all family members and available space attached. All extra rooms are to be immediately vacated, giving space to the families of soldiers. Furniture in the rooms must be left untouched.
Failure to comply with this order will result in eviction from the entire apartment with confiscation of all property. House committees are obliged to report exact figures of the space under their management that is to be vacated to the local soviet, by the same date. Failure to comply will result in arrest of all members of the house committee and confiscation of their property. Empty rooms are to be immediately allocated to the families of soldiers and employed workers. Control and accounting of the empty apartments is to be entrusted to the local soviets which are instructed to create special apartment committees with members from the Red Army personnel and the professional unions. Copies of all documentation pertaining to the repartitioning should be sent to the central housing

committee."

The law specified that first the empty apartments, townhouses and mansions of the wealthy should be taken, followed by spaces occupied by people with legitimate employment but occupying space beyond the norm. This norm used in the process fluctuated from 9.3 square meters in 1920 to 6.8 in 1923, and 5.3 in 1926, although officially it was fixed at 8.25 square meters in June of 1919 according to the required air calculation per person. (Hazard:1939)

While the decree asked for public participation in the process of repartition, asking existing house committees to compile lists of available spaces and administering relocations when prompted by the local soviet, no law supported the activity of the self-motivated local officials and self appointed house managing committees who directed former owners of the apartments to shift all their belongings into one or two room of the apartment and free the rest of the rooms for new occupants chosen by the committee.

Composed primarily of former janitors, domestic servants and clerks, these committees, self appointed or elected by the residents propelled the process forward ahead of the law moving people from the basements and attics, before the locals soviets began to bring in the workers from the periphery. Bulgakov's 1920's work otherwise known as *The Heart of the Dog* gives a vivid account of these events and a rather acerbic description of the house committee.

Townhouses and mansions were frequently requisitioned to be used as offices for the Bolshevik party and the numerous soviets and other organizations affiliated with the new government. Accounts of the barbaric invasion of these spaces leading to their rapid deterioration, tell of destruction of fine furnishings, senseless vandalism of fixtures and ornamental details, and an omnipresent dust and dirt mixed with cigarette butts strewn everywhere.

The apartments of the bourgeoisie presented another problem, many rooms were significantly bigger then the norm. Creative solutions were found here as well, yielding what was known as the "one family per room" phenomena. Each room was partitioned with flimsy screens and counted as multiple rooms, allocated usually to one family but often to unrelated strangers.

In 1920 Muscovites were given the right to find residents for the extra space in their apartments. Residents of each apartment declared to have extra space had two weeks to move in enough deserving people of their choice to make the apartment compliant with the norm. If such voluntary densification did not take place, forced repartition would take place, taking over not just empty rooms, but corners of rooms already occupied, if their size exceeded the norm.

In July 1924 another law required each communal apartment to elect a 'responsible for the apartment'. That person had to register with the local Soviet declaring his or her acceptance of the role of domestic administrator. Responsibilities of this person included maintenance of the apartment and mobilization of all residents for the renovations. He or she must oversee appropriate cleaning and

upkeep, maintain books and ensure proper rent and utilities payments, after these were reinstated. He or she must also know everything about his immediate neighbors, taking personal responsibility for bringing up their level of social consciousness. In essence the role was half administrative half ideological. By institutionalizing the role of the 'responsible' Bolsheviks enlarged the extent of the penetration of surveillance and control further and further into personal space of an individual. The 'responsible' took personal interest in the moral strength of his neighbors as laxity of ideological watchfulness was tantamount to harboring the enemy. (Meerovich: 2005)

Once the process of repartition had started, Bolsheviks became determined to make it as highly publicized as possible, proving their commitment to their promise of providing shelter for each worker. Many workers however, particularly those who lived on the periphery of the city in small wooden houses within a walking distance or a tram ride to the factory, were reluctant to move. Proximity to work and the possibility of using the land around the house for growing a little extra food outweighed the attractiveness of urban amenities. Overcrowding was not as hard to accept given the degree of temporariness, at least psychologically associated with urban employment. The tradition of "*zemliachestvo*" -- association of people from the same village or region -- also offered some comfort in the peripheral settlements where people who shared the same roots tended to cluster together and help each other out.(Johnson: 1979)

Apartments in the center on the other hand, potently symbolic for the Bolsheviks, were not as convenient for the industrial workers, who now had to commute to work. Given the dismal state of transportation after the revolution, that presented a problem.
Large spaces, albeit subdivided into cells were hard to heat in the winter, which added an expense. Imposed rules of behavior and constant surveillance may have not been as welcome as the Bolsheviks imagined. Overall this resettlement required a real adjustment in life style and habits of the proletariat, as well as the obvious change in the life of the original urban residents.

But the Bolsheviks persevered, producing new laws and inciting citizens to move the process forward. Following the attempted assassination of Lenin in 1918, a period of 'red terror' ensued with its bloodcurdling slogan "Knock the Bourgeoisie out of Their Nests". Immediately following the event, a large-scale effort bordering on military intervention forced the proletariat to occupy apartments of the bourgeoisie in the center of the city. Rapid wave of evictions coincided with the wave of arrest and persecutions.

Following a number of iterations of the law, occupancy of extra space was further prohibited by the decree of July 28th, 1924 'on regulation of housing in Moscow" that brought the sanitary norm to 8 square meters per person. Space in excess of the norm could be further requisitioned at any time with a new resident given a section of a room or even a corner at the discretion of the housing administration.

Students and the proletarian youth moved into the centrally located apartments with certain

enthusiasm, converting lordly apartments into communes.
But workers continued to be reluctant about moving, especially married workers.
Their hesitation is not difficult to understand considering that before the revolution as many as 60 % of the workers already lived in commune-like worker dorms. But these had always been considered a temporary solution for the lowest skilled workers, who tried to upgrade their accommodations to a more individualized situation as soon as they could.

Spontaneous communes had also emerged among the workers to help the most destitute survive, but again they were viewed as an emergency solution, not an ideal.
Despite all this, the repartition continued. It served the rhetorical needs of the Bolsheviks and for a large number of people was indisputably an improvement from the damp, cold, crammed spaces they occupied before.

The most brutal repartition was the coercive resettlement (*pereseleniye*) of workers and other have-nots into the homes of the nobility and bourgeoisie. The first intrusion, of more than 20,000 workers and family members into neighborhoods inside the Sadovoye Kol'tso, occurred in the final two months of 1917. There were fresh spasms in the spring and early autumn of 1918, then more gradual movement in 1919-1920, mostly in the summer months. One hundred thousand Muscovites relocated into higher-grade accommodation between October 1917 and the end of 1920. (Colton:1996)
The symbolism of the proletariat occupying the very center of the city was indisputably powerful; Moscow was finally becoming the Proletarian capital envisioned by the Party.

If Bolsheviks defined their strategy as two types of warfare: fight for the new and fight against the old, their aggressive reorientation of the social geography of the city served to demonstrate the success of both strategies. Without a doubt, people who often only owned the clothes they wore were given all symbolic attributes of the ruling class: housing in the center, along with the furniture, kitchenware, and china of the expropriated upper class.

The other goal fulfilled by the repartition was the realization of one of the ideals most dear to the Bolsheviks -- that of organizing work-live communes. Albeit far from the ideal organization where people are organized according to a mutual goal and cooperate in the realization of that goal, the communal apartment bore only the outward appearance of such an organization. Bolsheviks went as far as to impose a mutual goal, that of fighting for socialism, and offered a strong reason for unification providing a mutual enemy in the bourgeoisie. However, constant inconvenience and need for self censorship, public exposure and external control, as well as continuous uncertainty in every sphere of life, both real and perceived, exacerbated by the use of intimidation as a rhetorical device, created an atmosphere of barely subdued aggression, resentment and potential explosiveness. Availability of a mutual enemy, a scapegoat was intended to be a unifying force, as well as provide psychological relieve to the people who were subject to a great deal of stress. Whether it worked as a strategy is hard to tell, but the degree to which the newly established dominant class set out to destroy all

remnants of the previous regime, including its people, institutions, artifacts, language and beliefs, is certainly telling, as is the degree to which people were ready to subject their fellow human beings to torture, prisons and even death in the name of the new society cleansed from the "foreign" element.

The fight against artifacts included not only stripping of all extraneous elements from the interiors of the newly seized mansions. During the repartition, original owners were ordered to leave their furniture in the rooms they were freeing for the new residents.
At the same time that was the furniture that was rapidly acquiring the threatening symbolic status associated with all the artifacts of the old regime. Some owners took a risk and moved their favorite pieces to their dachas, but moving furniture in broad daylight was a sure way to attract unnecessary attention.

Furniture left behind quickly became subject to vandalism. The rapid onset of a new form of overcrowding made large armchairs with florid woodwork a complete nuisance. They took too much space and reminded everyone of the forced nature of the repartition. Resentment against the old furniture was exacerbated as its symbolic status became the subject of propaganda. Slogans announcing the old commode as the real enemy were often not understood metaphorically, and an ax was used to reduce it to firewood, much in demand at the time.

While the bottoms of the new resident's pots and frying pans were becoming imprinted on the Karelian birch of the empire style tables, and the old books were vanishing in the "*burzhuika*" during the cold month, the fight against the old continued. The *burzhuika* was a wood-burning stove that became the primary heating device in the old apartments during the time when fuel shortages and the general state of disrepair put central heating out of service. Originally referred to as a small stove, the new *burzhuika* – a diminutive for a female bourgeoisie were being installed to heat the many rooms of the communal apartments. (Andreenskii: 1998)

As the paranoia of the time became more and more pronounced, even the old owners began to destroy their furniture and hide whatever was not confiscated of their old dress. Blending in became the preferred strategy. By giving up symbolically laden artifacts the formerly privileged class tried to protect itself from the enraged mob incited to destruction by the propaganda.

The buildings themselves continued to languish. That process was slightly slower in the apartment buildings where the network of "responsible" parties made sure that at least minimal repair got done, patching up holes in the roof, etc. The concentration of human bodies which contributed to a particular smell referred to by the writers of the time, none-the-less prolonged the life of the buildings by keeping them warm. The fate of smaller building was bleak. Contemporary accounts tell of terrible dirt, broken windows, and decaying wood; mold, lack of heat and care hastening the approach of their death. During NEP (1921-1925) some things were saved as the new sense of ownership discovered by people who were allowed to boost the economy returned investment to some structures. NEP men were reopening shops, buying whatever remained of the old furniture and 'antique' fixtures, enlivening

street life with cafes and a more varied fashion. But that did not last.

From the very beginning, NEP was perceived as a step backward in the process of creation of the socialist society. It was viewed more as an emergency measure to patch up the damage of the revolution and the civil war, while the country returned to its right course. Rhetoric split between the encouragement of the economic revival by means of private capital and continued policy of concentration of all productive forces in the hands of the government. Celebrated by day, NEP men were viewed with suspicion, if not resentment. Several years of anti-bourgeois propaganda placed them in precarious position vis-à-vis the proletariat. After 1925, the fight against the old extended to include the new NEP man in the ranks of those to be treated with contempt, their possessions expropriated, many of them sent abroad or exiled within the country, forever abolishing any impulse of entrepreneurship in the soviet people. (Meerovich: 2005)

Leaving one's room in the communal flat for more then a month, particularly during the winter month, was a precarious endeavor. Any vacant property was subject to repossession by the house committee and assignment of new residents from without, or expansion of existing residents into the space. Summer dacha season was less prone to unwitting evictions as long as the "responsible" and therefore the housing committee was informed of the whereabouts of the rightful resident. Every space in the city was coveted. In 1925, for example, twenty seven thousand people in Krasnopresnensky district alone were in line to receive accommodations while only about sixty were granted any housing. In many buildings people lived in foyers and corridors.

Once a room was granted, only connections at a very high level could allow one to move again. Couples that opted for divorce, which became legalized in December of 1917, were frequently forced to continue residing together indefinitely. Many a literary and cinematographic account of the situation came out of this inconvenience. On the darker side are the criminal records of the time kept in various archives depending on category of offense. Driven to despair people did terrible things. Petty crimes, such as a dead rat placed in a neighbor's soup were rarely reported; after all it was hard to prove that the pest did not fall and drown on its own even if the lid was on. But bodies found near suburban train stations were more then occasionally traced back to the close quarters of the communal flats where former spouses continued to share a bed and a "Primus" years after a divorce (primus being the small table-top stove used for cooking).

Fist fights and other misdemeanors abounded. But the worst was the individual abuse of the socialist methods of social cleansing to acquire additional space. As eviction of undesirable or just suspicious citizens from the capital became the key methods of the Sovietization of the city, residents took an active part in identifying who should be considered unnecessary. The archives of NKVD, the Peoples Commissariat of Internal Affairs, are full of letters sent by people accusing their neighbors of thought crimes. Any unwisely expressed opinion could be used against an annoying housemate, while avalanche of these letters made it difficult to investigate each one with due diligence. NKVD as

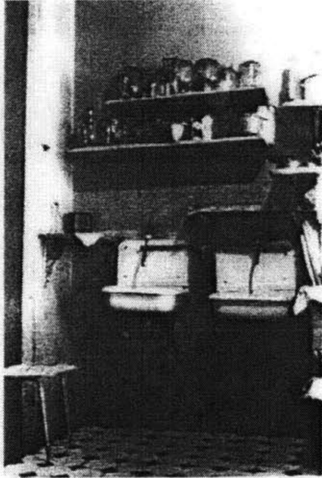
I already mentioned was in charge of several important spheres, housing and Gulags being just two. Thus a decision to evict could be made and executed in the same breath. Old intelligentsia and the bourgeois class had a lot in common, and while the Bolsheviks were creating far-reaching policies on the creation of the new proletarian culture, writers, musicians, scientists were being cleansed out of the city as a superfluous and potentially dangerous element. The only people who had a chance at relative safety were the engineers and architects who could manage to refrain for expressing their opinions. These specialists were identified as a special class and given the name "spets". They were tolerated but closely watched and never trusted. Their technical expertise was desperately needed by the new society. Thus the Bolsheviks were willing to close their eyes on their foreignness and even offer some incentives for them to stay in the city and work towards the reconstruction of the economy. (Meerovich: 2005)

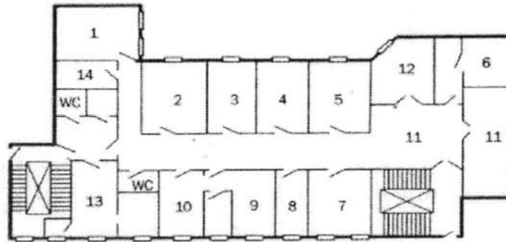
Servants, that invisible urban class, often resided in the kitchen, employed by several residents of a communal flat at the same time. While remaining an integral if secret part of the soviet society, they were rarely officially mentioned as rightful residents, but in fact enjoyed certain protection of the housing committees and the local soviets because they belonged to the right class. When residents were no longer able to keep a domestic worker, housing committees did their best to find a room for the women.

In the early party of the twenties Zhenotdel conducted an extensive campaign to bring domestic workers into the Unions, to provide literacy training and education for them, in other words to make them conscious members of the socialist class. But despite all efforts at socialization of everyday life, domestic service continued to exist as a profession throughout the entire time of the regime, yet they were rarely accounted for in the planning of housing. (Kiaer:2006)

Their presence exacerbated the overall crowding and the tension that must have been increased by the constant presence of yet another set of observing eyes.

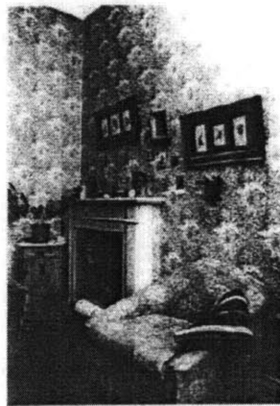
As a typology the communal flat was a quintessential soviet institution were forced collective life affected every member. No one had privacy regardless of rank or family status. Everyone exposed to everyone else at all times.

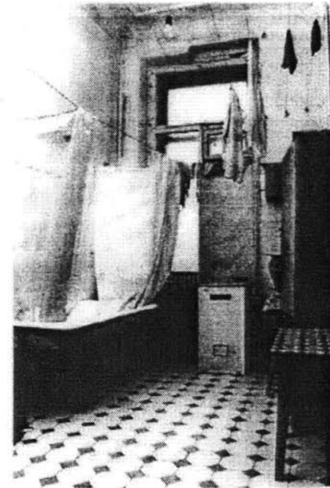




1-10 Individual family units
11 Common foyer
12 Common laundry/storage
13 Communal kitchen
14 Communal wash room

Plan and photos from an existing communal apartment, Moscow





Susan Buck-Morse:1985

CHAPTER 5: HOUSE-COMMUNE

This chapter discusses the creation of the phenomena of the House Commune--Collective form of housing most favored by the Bolsheviks.
It too created a transparency of space, if by cramming many people together in one apartment by drawing them out to spend most of their time in a collective environment.
By socializing everyday household chores, house communes were to create a new way of life where women were finally free child rearing and cooking while the family could continue to enjoy the benefits of good nutrition and the joys f having children.
This is the most celebrated and analyzed form of socialist housing that claimed the most theoretical work already. Therefore I will only introduce the logistical part of the emergence of the typology often overlooked by other scholars and will show some ideological determinants of the popularity of the type.

In the brochure "*o bute*" (about everyday life) published for the anniversary of the revolution, Lunacharsky wrote: our goal is to kill housekeeping... The absolute, total, final liberation lies in the socialization of domestic chores. It is the journey we are embarking on slowly, gradually, within our capacity. We are organizing public laundries, communal eating establishments, and collective child rearing." (Khazanova:1970)

The VIII the Party Congress (RKP(b) Russian Communist Party of the Bolsheviks) which took place in March 1919, called for the liberation of women from the domestic burdens by way of construction of the house communes, public dinning room, centralized Laundromats, child care centers, etc.

In June 1921 National Committee of the Interior Affairs, creates an instruction (on measures to improve living conditions of the proletariat) which gives legal status to one of the central ideas of the Bolshevik vision of the future that of 'dom –komunna' house communes.
This regulation orders Communal Departments to begin creating such houses without any delay and gives instructions on how to proceed.
On the 24th of August of 1921 the same Committee announces the law on creation of house communes for the working youths.
The reason for the additional law is given as follows. Education goals will not adequately met by the house communes for adults as these are organized according to particular industries, while young workers are scattered between different industries.

Also concentration of youths in one homogenous friendly environment was to allow the various commissariats, including the Peoples Commissariat on Enlightenment (Narkompros), and the Commissariat of Health and the Union of Youth to have direct influence on the members of the commune and take charge of their upbringing.

Legislative and organizational work on the communes continues during the following decade. A number of regulations were issued to smooth the progress of their registration, to facilitate provision of furniture, food and other necessities.

Special sections of the soviets responsible for the socialization of everyday life are set up at every soviet called "bytovaia sektsiya'. These were entrusted with the organization of measures of 'voluntary socialization of domestic services' and 'reinforcement of the socialist everyday life'. Their responsibility was to create day cares, kindergartens, playgrounds and other facilities for children; public cafeterias and canteens for children; Laundromats, saunas and public baths, kitchen-factories. They were put in charge of supporting municipal organs in their work of serving the socio-economic needs of the population and overseeing construction projects that involved factory worker settlements.

Collective life identified by the Bolsheviks as the only correct way of life for a socialist man and women may have resonated with certain traditional ways of the Russian peasantry. Collective efforts characterized much of the village life including the majority of productive activities. The space of the village was characterized by a good deal of transparency. People certainly knew each other closely and relied on mutual cooperation for survival, sharing in many responsibilities, such as animal husbandry, field work and harvest, child rearing. Recreation often took place as a collective endeavor. And of course church united people, giving them a common set of values and ideas that added coherence to their lives. In the place where people shared roots, much of life went on in public and the idea of privacy did not have much currency.

Thus the idea of a house commune may have emerged as an acceptable alternative for many. That may explain the spontaneous emergence of communes, otherwise referred to as artels, among the workers, particularly when a large portion of building was partitioned in their favor.

Dom-communa was as close as Bolsheviks came to the complete realization of their vision of the ideal life, and more efforts were thrown at support of the emerging communes then to any other type of housing. Loud propaganda was accompanied by actual incentives.

In the sea of the housing need, the percent of space provided by the communes was negligibly small, but the significance of these establishments can not be overlooked.

Some of the first communes emerged from expropriation by the Bolsheviks of entire buildings, or large portion of the apartments in one structure. These were a welcome manifestation of one of the dearest principles of social organization under socialism, that of collective life and a work-live unit as an ideal social cell.

A. Lunacharsky wrote: "Revolution aims to turn all people into brothers..., it wants to build large communal houses where kitchen, dining room, laundry, nursery, club would be designed according to the last word of science, and would serve all residents who live in clean, comfortable apartments supplied with water and electricity." (Khazanova:1970)

The expropriation of buildings was praised by leftist intellectuals and party members who wanted Moscow's best housing, denuded of its former owners and their worldly possessions, to become "workers' communes" (rabochiye kommuny)- demonstrations of the society of solidarity and cooperation they were all for forging. Nikolai Bukharin popular among the radicals waxed lyrical on "the socialization of the household" in Moscow's "proletarian fortresses."
Two thousand Muscovites, equally divided between blue and white collar households, banded into the first recognized commune in January 1919, in the big apartment house at 12 Tverskaya ulitsa, built in 1901-1902 as an investment property by the Bakhrushins. The commune had individual and family bedrooms but a common kitchen, dining hall, crèche, and laundry. In March 1919 the Eighth Congress of the Communist Party linked residential communes to the liberation of women, proposing transition from "the obsolete domestic economy" of feudalism and capitalism to "the house-commune, socialized eating facilities, centralized laundries, kindergartens, etc." (Colton:1995 p.96)

The most significant aspect of the architectural production in the 1920s was not the architecture itself, but the realization that housing crisis can not be solved by simply providing apartment, but must be considered within a larger project of restructuring of everyday life. Collectivization of everyday life combined with new housing was the most important aim before the architects of the 1920s. (Khazanova:1970)
Two ways of achieving this aim were seen by the architects.
One-creation of a comprehensive plan of a block that would include residential and public buildings, the other-creation of a mixed use building typology that would include housing and services.
Idea of liberating the women by proving alternatives to domestic cooking was voiced as early as November of 1919, when the Moscow Soviet Conference on the Building Policy discussed the potential of a building housing with one centralized kitchen that would distribute food to apartments with dumbwaiters.
During this conference, Shusev brought up the question of centralized food provision in one-kitchen building and house communes, and the necessity to create a bureau that would be entrusted with the design of a system of public eateries in new buildings.
It was understood that the economic reality may not yet allow for the realization of a multiple one-kitchen houses, yet theoretical work on the subject was quiet interesting.
Three factors were believed to shape the floor plan of the future housing typology:

1) Options to eat out 2) Family structure 3) Child rearing
Following these factors, two ideologically disparate types of housing emerges:
1) Individual housing-that supports the entire cycle of domestic life from cooking to child rearing
2) Communal housing supported by the separate institutions providing food, child care and other services. The only individual pursuits here would be sleeping and recreation. A special type of apartment within these buildings would be designated for childless couples.
For the most part, architects of the 1920s proposed to plan housing as entire blocks, with a portion of partially serviced buildings for single or married workers. Strict differentiation of housing by marital status served as criteria for the creation of new building typologies.

"We must build new housing, not like the isolated mansions of the bourgeoisie, but different-adequate to the new social relations, without individual kitchens, without former exclusivity. Houses with shared living rooms and assembly halls, clubs, communal kitchens and laundries. Houses that will foster comradely closeness of all residents." (Khazanova: 1970)

Ideas about the future of everyday life were being defined slowly and with considerable controversy and ranged from most drastic to rather prosaic.
For example some theoreticians strongly believed that the most appropriate way to raise children in the socialist society is to free them form oppressively narrow confines of a family and place them in a healthy environment of a school. (P.Kerzhentsev K Novoi Kulture 1921 Toward the New Culture, as quoted by Khazanova)
Only with the genuine increase in the level of general culture the family would be able to rescue itself from its wretchedness.
Liberation of the women from domestic burdens, their initiation into the productive process, reduction of the work day, and the consequent opportunity for parents to spend free time on self education, would be the key to the development of completely new relations within family.
Thus the transformation of family was to occur from the confluence of new economic conditions, changes in the cultural environment of the entire nation, and continuous education of the family.
Other theoreticians proposed a more drastic view of the future insisting that family as an institution will soon become obsolete and disappear entirely.

Dom communa

The first projects for the house communes did not have the same radical thinking behind them that characterized later projects of socialist housing. The authors did not doubt continuous existence of the

institution of family, did not advocate complete separation of children from parents or the sorting of residents into different houses by age categories. Most commonly, house communes were intended for single and married workers, who would fully or partially utilize the communal canteen, facilities for children and other services provided for the house. This was a rational plan of the 'collectivization of the everyday life" not coercive or forced. In comparison to the projects of the polemically wild period of the late 1920s and early 30s, early house communes were mostly modest proposals that were attempting to offer a better organization of everyday life but did not annihilate everything customary and familiar.

The "Exemplary program for a model urban design" put together in October 1918, by G.Dybelir, clearly demonstrates the thinking of the time. Four to six buildings for married couples were to be arranged around a public building containing a dining hall and other services. Individual apartments were planned without kitchens or dinning rooms, but each building was to be connected to the service core by glazed corridors. This was the seed of the idea of creating housing supplemented by a service provision network.

Already in the early twenties N. Ladosvky and V.Krinski designed sophisticated "communal houses" with 'guest-yards' surrounded by various facilities with multiple access points.

In 1922 Melnikov's proposal for the B.Serpuhovskaia Ylitsa competition offered an innovative approach to the communal house for single people. Four story buildings, connected by the second story corridor with each other and the service facility.

At the same time, in 1924, model house communes planned by L. Vesnin and A. Ivanov were not a departure from the basic structure of the multistory apartment house.

In fact Vesnin, proposed a the project based on the same core used two years prior for the Lenin's Sloboda, and originally based on the his pre-revolutionary work. In fact his floor plan is still based on the traditional family structure with individual kitchens, etc, but at the same time with access to communal facilities, club for meetings and discussions, concerts, and which could be used by children during the day. At the same time it would be possible to convert the building into a communal housing where the entire housekeeping could be done collectively. Organization of collective kitchen would make individual kitchens superfluous making space for additional living rooms. In any case communal facilities including reading room, dining hall, kitchen etc, were located in eth center of the ground floor. Basement was equipped with a laundry room, two bathrooms with bathtubs or showers, storage space.

In 1925 Moscow Soviet announced a competition for the communal building type in Moscow. The objective was to design a housing typology for 750-800 residents, adequate for the unmarried and families alike that would not be engaged in individual housekeeping. The break down of the resident composition was seen as follows: 10% single residents, 30%-families without children, 60% families

with 3to 5 members.
Residents would be served by a communal dining facility, which could comfortably seat 40% of the residents at one time. Dinning room would also be used for community meetings and other gatherings. Library-reading room and a club were designed to host 100 visitors at a time. Kindergarten was to have the capacity of 120 and a day care could handle 30 toddlers. Both facilities were to be located on the ground floor with access to the interior yard with a playground. A laundry facility was to be included. Some spaces could be located in the well lit half basement. Individual kitchens were banned by the brief. Only small electric table top stove placed on each floor could be used to cook for children or the sick during off hours. Thus one of the most difficult questions- that of collective vs. individual eating was strictly regimented.

Competition for the housing on Bolshaia Serpuhovskaia and the Lenin's Sloboda where building for married workers allowed individual kitchens, but also offered communal facilities such as library-reading rooms, child care and public wash rooms with bathtubs and showers. Community kitchens were to be placed in the houses for single residents.

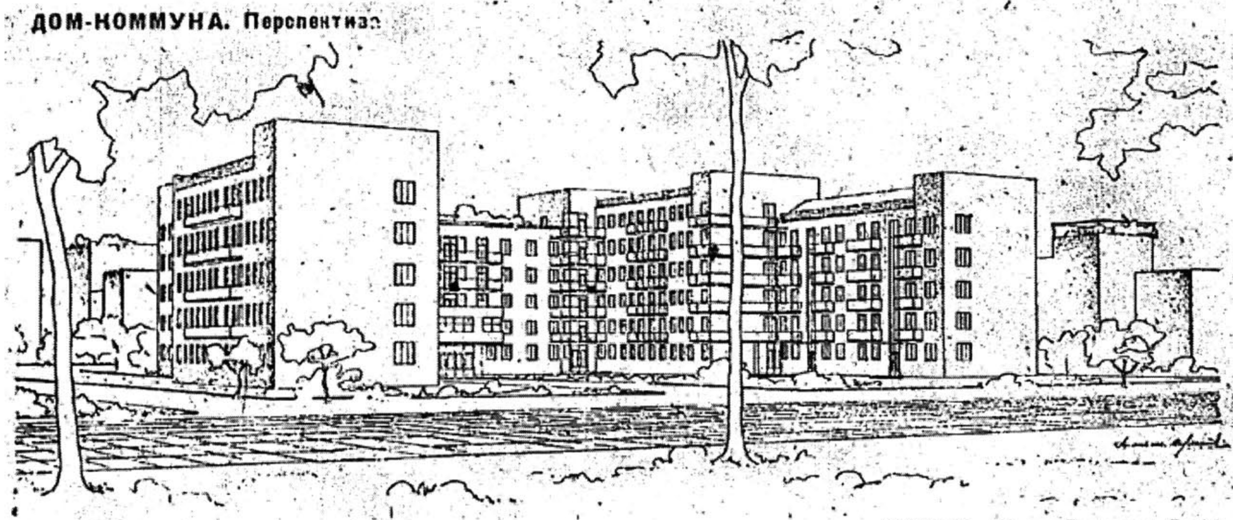
Child care facilities included in the structure of residential buildings, reading rooms and spaces for the recreation of school children and youth- these ideas emerged in the 1920.
Many could not be implemented then, but have served to inform later projects.

Although the designers of house communes of the 1918-1925 advocated annihilation of individual kitchens technical capacity was still an obstacle to the realization of their ideas. In the beginning of the decade, electricity and gas supply were simply inadequate to support large scale communal kitchens. Wood stoves of that capacity would have required not only a much bigger and better designed space, but also would have needed additional storage space identified by the competition program briefs.

Problems associated with the popularization of house communes stemmed mostly from the lack of infrastructure needed to support the new way of life offered by these buildings and the state of economy in general. Reconstruction of the economy would take quit a few years to ensure regular food delivery to the city in general. Thus ideas of communal kitchens for individual houses were still mostly in the domain of fantasy, although larger facilities began to emerge in the city.
The need for large kitchen spaces in the house communes made construction more expensive. Also economics of communal food provision proved inexpedient where the number of residents was small. Typical house commune was designed for 30-50 residents and with that number no real savings could be achieved by replacing individual kitchens by the communal one.
Public education and child care were also just beginning to emerge and the pressing issue of

homeless orphans needed to be addressed before less critical child care concerns could be dealt with.

The reality of soviet economy may have prevented this idea from reaching its full bloom at the time, but the early designs undoubtedly influenced subsequent development of the socialist city.



SM'28:First House Commune, Pg.14

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSIONS

In the aftermath of the Great October Revolution the Bolshevik Party set out to establish a new political order and create a new form of urban settlement called the socialist city.
The idea of a socialist city rested on the premise of the centrally planned economy in which every member engaged in productive and socially useful labor, and the primary form of existence was a collective life. Individualism and desire for profit of the pre-revolutionary time was to be replaced by selflessness and dedication to the collective good. The old character of the corrupt capitalist regime was to be replaced by a new man of the socialist formation.
The new government undertook drastic measures in transforming the economy and the people it came to govern. It assumed the role of the comprehensive urban planner, engaging in economic planning and social engineering simultaneously. It abolished all private property and concentrated economic resources and administrative powers in its own hands. It envisioned a new economy and a new society and devised a strategy of accomplishing both at the same time.
That strategy was defined by the fusion of the power of undivided policy making with the rhetorical methods of persuasion. Persuasion was used to explain the intent of the policy to the population, ensure their support and cooperation, and to inspire the dedication critical for implementation of the plans amidst scarcity of resources. The party used rhetoric to inspire enthusiasm of the people to perform voluntary productive labor and engage in the ideological activities of the party. In their attempt to create a unanimously socialist society, the Party used force to suppress any political opposition and drew the entire population into the web of suspicion, paranoia and insecurity.
Using force as a lever and revolutionary fervor as a malleable energy source, the Party engaged in the destruction of the remnants of the pre-revolutionary society and its social relations, and creation of the new way of life complete with a new set of institution.
Using their ingenuous planning strategy of policy and persuasion, the Bolshevik party took the pre-revolutionary institutions of social welfare and transformed them into new socialist institutions. Maintaining the same core social functions they had before the revolution the new institutions were defined by a new critical task. They became the political agent of the Party fulfilling its ideological goals. These goals included securing the stability of the power by ensuring unanimous appreciation of the masses, and their willingness to work on implementing the policies of the party.
In this work I looked at the transformation of several institutions in the hands of the Bolsheviks and

considered the outcome of the Party's intervention in urban space.
My primary interest was on the housing strategy of the party and I discovered the three forms that were most representative of the time: the communal apartment, the cooperative building, and the house-commune.
All there forms were substantiated by legislature and highly regulated. These were deliberately designed and implemented forms of settlement that resulted in what I call the socialist space. Their specific form served the ideological needs of the Bolshevik party by creating a transparent space in which each person was accessible to surveillance and scrutiny at all times.
To a various degree each new type of housing or institution, such as the communal canteen and the club, was created or recreated in such a way as to force the individual to spend the majority of his time in the collective environment.
The communal apartment was the collective environment par excellence. It completely annihilated privacy, forcing people connected by nothing but lack of choice to coexist in tight quarters, continuously exposed to each others scrutiny. Each apartment housed an agent of the Bolshevik party in the persona of the "responsible" who in fact was responsible for the pragmatic aspects of housekeeping as well as for the moral standing of the fellow residents. He was obliged to report any suspicious behavior or anything questioning virtue of the party to the appropriate organs. In essence every apartment had a spy who had access to everyone in it and inherently had control of their fate. Invented in 1817, the communal flat as housing typology it survived throughout the soviet regime defining urban experience for millions of people.
Cooperative housing was a solution to the decaying urban environment. It transferred the responsibility of the government to the shoulders of the people, while maintaining complete control over them. Cooperative boards acted as an agent of the party keeping watch over the residents and having continuous access to their space. Selection of the cooperative members initially secured their ideological solidity, but surveillance continued to keep people in check.
House communes, that most favored socialist space were designed as an ideal manifestation of the Bolshevik ideas, abolishing individual kitchens, minimizing private space and promoting and prioritizing the collective in every sphere of personal and family life.
Other institutions served as auxiliary socialist space. Forced out of the individual living cells by their inherent claustrophobia, an individual spent his non working hours in a series of social institutions, designed to be an agent of the Party. The social club and the public cafeteria brought an individual into the collective. Here he was accessible to the indoctrination through education and entertainment. Women, children and the invisible class of domestic servants were also exposed in this transparent place. They were targeted by the Party and the Unions in their ideological work, defined by the goals of creating a socialist society.

I conclude that my investigation of the housing and other socialist institutions put in place by the Bolshevik party during the first years of the soviet power showed that these were the defining years in the development of the socialist space as I defined it in the foreword. The space in which the primary form of existence is the collective life and where an individual is continuously exposed to the collective.

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