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The Purpose of the Past

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Restoration of the cupolas at Viazhischci Convent
Photo by Jose Martinez-Martinez.



During the Soviet Union's 74-year history, the central government espoused a range of attitudes towards the treatment of historic monuments, architecture and urban districts within its territories. Soviet leaders were faced with the choice of replacing these resources with symbols of the new order they were trying to impose, or conserving them as a way of maintaining economic and social stability. Soviet policies, quite often, were tempered by the strong connection and commitment ordinary citizens had to their history and culture.¹

Studying the ways in which the Soviets preserved these historic resources teaches us that how history is remembered depends, quite often, on who is remembering it and their reason for doing so. The history of a nation includes more than the story of the governments that have ruled it or even the stories those governments would like to tell. And the story of preservation in the Soviet Union reveals that the attitudes of common citizens can have an influence on preservation policies, even if indirectly, in a centrally controlled state.



Riga Faces its Future

Sigurd Grava, director of Columbia University's urban planning program, is a native of Latvia and has returned frequently to Riga, that country's capital, to consult on planning issues. Grava was interviewed by Todd W. Bressi and Eric Allison.

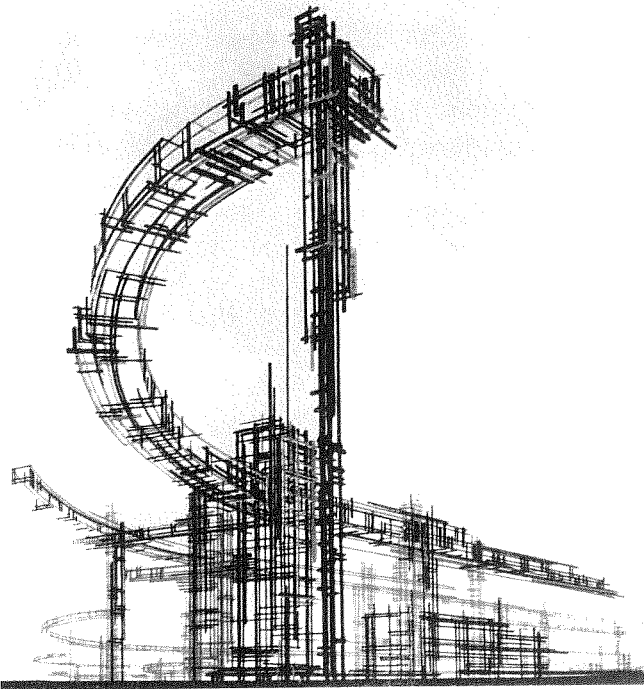
Latvia was a republic of the Soviet Union from 1940 to 1991.

What preservation activities did the Soviet regime undertake?

Restoration focused principally on monuments. In the late 1960s or early 1970s, the government of the Latvian Republic, with approval from Moscow, designated the central part of Riga (the medieval city) to be handled specially. An important program was the attempt to exclude traffic and put some parking spaces around the periphery. Anybody who wished to drive in had to be a resident or pay for an entry pass. However the organization responsible for collecting the money was also responsible for restoration, so it was tempted to sell as many passes as possible to get funds.

Much of the restoration was done by Polish specialists. There was a complicated trade relationship between the Soviet Union and Poland, which wound up owing the Soviet Union money it could not pay. "All right," they said, "the Poles have experience in historic restoration in Krakow and Warsaw. Let's bring the Polish teams into Riga under contract." But the minute the revolution came, the Poles said, "Okay, we want to continue, but we don't accept wooden rubles. We want marks, or dollars, or whatever."

Iakov Chernikov's "Spatial Theatrical Composition of Structurally Integrated Linear Elements with Clear Dynamic Indications No. 16" is expressive of the new architectural order that was envisioned by Russian modernists. Courtesy Columbia University Graduate School of Architecture, Preservation and Planning.



design for the Monument to the Third International (1919) is a well-known example. The monument consisted of a spiral, metal skeleton within which a rotating cube, triangle and cylinder would be suspended.

Although Bolshevik leader Vladimir Lenin supported the revolutionary aspects of Suprematism, he was aware that a new political and social order could not be created from a blank slate. He would have to build the new socialist state upon the fabric of bourgeois culture. This pragmatism is reflected in a proclamation issued by the Soviet of Workers' and Peasants' Deputies soon after the October Revolution: "Citizens, do not touch a stone, take care of the monuments, buildings, ancient things, documents: All this is your history, the object of your pride. Remember it is the ground on which your new national art is rising up."²

Lenin worked with Anatole Lunacharsky, the first People's Commissar of Public Enlightenment, to establish an active policy of cultural preservation. He viewed a harmonization of historic elements with modern works as the ideal image of a living city; he knew that, in time, the symbols developed under tsarist rule would eventually be assimilated by the socialist regime. In addition, Lenin thought, the cultural education of the working people would strengthen their sense of nationalism and encourage the rejection of foreign, capitalistic ideals.

Lenin reinforced this approach in 1918 by signing a decree that called for the "protection, study and the broadest possible

Revolution in Culture and Politics

The early twentieth century was a time of great intellectual and political ferment in Russia; the country's artists and architects were at the forefront of the modernist response to traditional forms of art and architecture. Proponents of Modernism rejected historic references and explored how new technology might be used — both practically and metaphorically — in making buildings, art, graphics, furniture and other designed objects. Many designers who embraced these ideas also were motivated by social concerns, particularly an interest in coupling design and mass production to improve the lives of the lower classes.

Some Russian avant-garde movements went even further. Suprematism, a movement founded by painter Kasimir Malevich, sought to destroy all traces of history and to replace them with symbols of a new social order. These movements sought to give artistic expression to the political philosophy of the Great October Revolution in 1917; their utopian underpinnings were coupled with the belief that the historical, bourgeois forms must be destroyed and replaced with pure, rational forms.

There were many critically acclaimed architectural proposals that embodied these ideals, but few were built; they either were of a fantastic nature and not grounded in the practical realities of construction or suffered from the decline in construction during World War I through the mid-1920s. Vladimir Tatlin's

What kind of restoration work was done in central Riga?

Not only facade restoration but also gut rehab. They ripped out everything that did not look right. They did a thorough job, sometimes, perhaps, too thorough.

It is unlikely this work will continue soon because no one has the necessary resources today. The great thing, though, as many people in Riga say, is that not too much was done besides the Polish efforts, so not too much was screwed up by local efforts. The stock was preserved, the research was done. Grime protects the brick quite well.

Was there an overall plan for the area?

Yes. However, in my cynical opinion, the purpose was to make Riga an important tourist place for the Soviet Union — as an example of a European, not a Russian, city to be visited by crowds from the other republics. So no housing was created there. The restored buildings became new shops, government offices and museums.

In that period, professional associations were well supported by the state. For example, the Union of Journalists took over a Renaissance building that had been built for a Dutch merchant, a large, late-1600s town house. They made the ground floor a museum, restored more or less as it had been; the second floor is an auditorium and a continuation of the museum; in the cellar there's an exhibition space and meeting rooms. They had resources from the Soviet government, but newly independent Latvia does not, and cannot, support these trade associations financially. How will these buildings be maintained?



We are seeking the future.

We have traveled the old roads for miles.

And now we ourselves

have settled into the graveyard,

oppressed by the tombstones of the palaces.

Find a white guard —

and it's up against the wall.

But have you forgotten Raphael?

Have you forgotten Rastrelli?

It is a time for bullets

to rattle against museum walls.

Fell the past with a full-throated volley.

— Vladimir Mayakovsky, "Too Soon to Rejoice"

**Pushkin, an imperial palace near St. Petersburg, was reconstructed after suffering severe damage during World War II. Detail of caryatid.
Photo by Richa Wilson.**

What was the physical imprint of the Soviet regime on Riga?

A basic concept of Soviet city planning was to have a central square that could be used for mass gatherings, rallies and parades. There were many holidays and on every holiday there was a major parade. In Riga, the Soviets made the old city square into their central square. After World War II, the burned-out masonry remnants of some buildings — including the most spectacular building in Old Riga, the merchants' guild — were dynamited so the square could be expanded.

This square was never successful. The Soviets thought it was too tiny, so they created an axis and built a new one at the end of it, across the river. That didn't work either so they tried to create another square immediately north of the old one. They put up markers that said this is the place for the future large square, but nothing much happened.

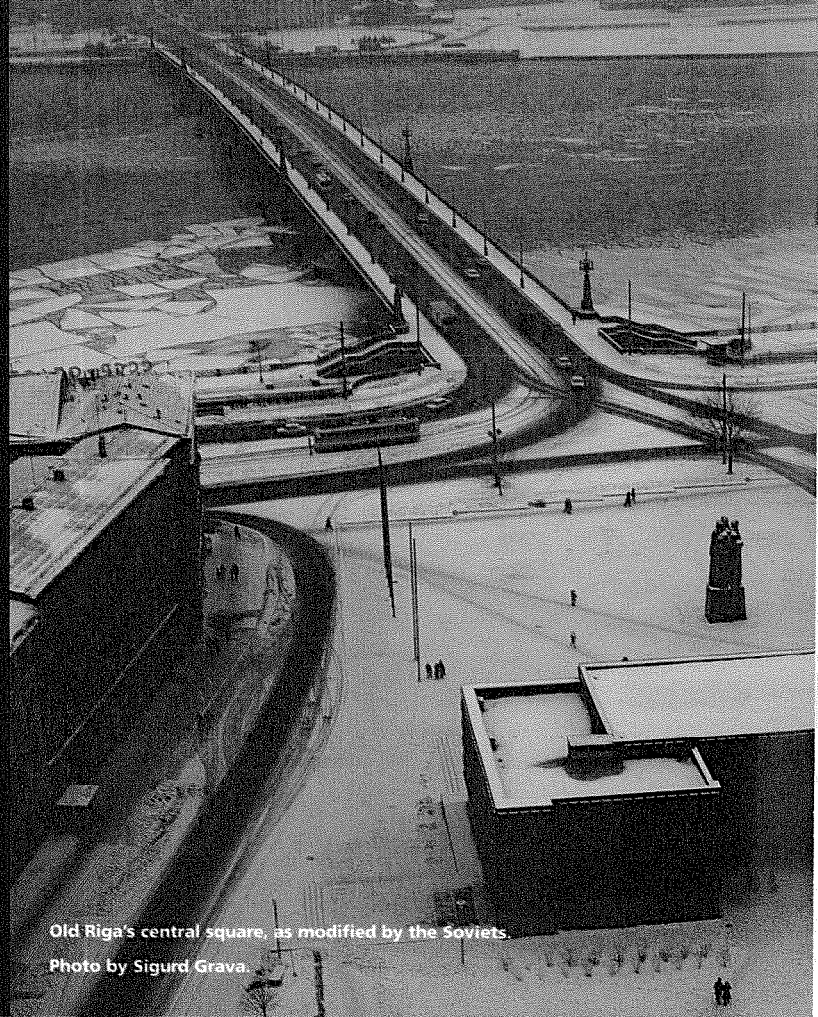
Now there is some thought of taking down the Stalinist and Soviet buildings, including the politically oriented museums, and rebuilding the old town square. Whether it's a good idea is academic; there are no resources to do it at this time.

What role did the old town play in the life of Riga's citizens?

The old medieval/Hansa district has always been the core of the city. Not too many people live there, but the streets and spaces are used for strolling, gatherings, markets and crafts fairs.

Did people in Riga ever use the Soviet squares?

No. That was sacred ground, used only for political events. People don't use them today because they are very uninviting and because of the associations they carry.



Old Riga's central square, as modified by the Soviets.

Photo by Sigurd Grava.

Many historic areas in and around Moscow were destroyed and replaced with apartment blocks like these. Photo by Richa Wilson.



What buildings on the old city square were destroyed?

There were two important buildings. One was the town hall, a landmark but not an architecturally important piece. The other was the guild house of the "Blackheads," an association of young, unmarried merchants. They were quite prosperous and built a spectacular building. There were other buildings of secondary importance that were part of the total ensemble, so they would also have to be restored.

What other imprints did the Soviet regime leave?

Inside the old, medieval city, there are few physical elements: the odd squares, a lot of banners and statues. Elsewhere, there was a statue of Lenin raised near the Freedom Monument, which is the Latvian national symbol. There are a few dominant new buildings, such as the polytechnic and the party headquarters. A Museum to Red Rifleman was put up in the Soviet square.

The real evidence of the Soviet regime is the ring outside, the *mikrorayons*, which translates as "neighborhood unit." They're large apartment blocks, built from the early '60s into the late '80s.

They sound like U.S. urban renewal projects. What kept the Soviets going into the older areas, knocking them down and rebuilding newer, modern housing?

The principal purpose of the building program was to create more square footage, more living space. Nothing could be destroyed, no existing inventory could be taken away. All the old buildings were and still are overcrowded. Therefore you didn't take them down; you built a new ring outside the city at a massive scale.

popularization of art and olden times treasures”³ These were to be regarded as evidence of the genius of the Russian people and their ability to create masterworks even under the oppression of capitalism. The decree called for the “registration and protection of art monuments and antiquities in the possession of private persons, societies and institutions”⁴ and placed these objects in public ownership — making the Soviet Union a leader in the identification and documentation of cultural treasures. Although registration did not afford monuments specific protection, it created an incentive for their restoration; within eight years, 10,000 monuments had been identified and 3,000 of those had been restored or repaired.⁵ Despite the prompt development of preservation policy in the new socialist country, many palaces and estates were pillaged or destroyed by those supporting Suprematist attitudes promoting the destruction of historic, bourgeois symbols.

These efforts drew criticism from the leftists in the avant-garde movements. Futurist poet Vladimir Mayakovsky reflected these views in “Too Soon to Rejoice,” published in December, 1918.⁶

These concerns did not sway the Soviet leaders. Another decree, issued in 1923 by the Council of People’s Commissars (the supreme governing body), further defined the system of protecting monuments.

However, Lenin did not live long enough to ensure the expansion and enforcement of this policy. Shortly after his death in 1924, Josef Stalin took command of the Communist Party and the national government and assumed totalitarian control over the Soviet Union’s economic and social policy.

Urban Expansion and the Rebuilding of Moscow

During the 1920s, the Soviets devoted a tremendous amount of energy to city planning. Many proposals for urban reconstruction were forwarded, but it was not until Stalin undertook his intensive program of industrialization and brutal collectivization (from 1929 to 1934) that any were implemented. Urban growth was encouraged through the development of new urban districts and entire new cities, such as Magnitogorsk, Dzerzhinsk and Berezniki, rather than maintaining or restoring older areas.⁷

Most center-city historic areas were ignored or modified in ways that established a symbolic Soviet presence. The most dramatic effort was the remaking of Moscow after Stalin’s vision of a perfect Soviet city, one that would glorify the progress of Soviet man and machine.⁸ Many older districts and more than 200 churches (such as the Church of the Dormition [1699]) in the city were leveled and replaced with government buildings, offices, parks, grand boulevards, impersonal tenement housing (designed to promote a communal life for the Soviet collective) and “palaces” for the masses. For example, the Cathedral of the

The modern cultural center in Novgorod. Photo by Richa Wilson.



Redeemer, built along the banks of the Moskva River, was destroyed to make room for the Palace of the Soviets (a project that was abandoned in the mid-1950s).

Moscow's main thoroughfare, Gorky Street, was developed into a grand avenue, widened from an average of 56 feet to 160-200 feet. Some structures along it, such as the Triumphal Gate and the Passion Monastery, were torn down to make room; more than 50 structures, such as the eighteenth-century Mossoviet (the Moscow City Council building, formerly the residence of governors-general), were moved back several hundred feet.⁹

At Red Square, next to the Kremlin, several buildings (including Kazan Cathedral [1636]) were removed to create an expansive space more suitable for mass political rallies and more reflective of the power of the Communist regime.

This massive destruction transformed the skyline. Moscow was once known as the "third Rome"; its panorama of steeples, towers and cupolas captivated painters for centuries. But during this era many of them disappeared, and those that remained were dominated by smokestacks, radio towers and seven Hugh Ferriss-like skyscrapers built in a style commonly called "Stalin Gothic." Silhouettes of the few remaining churches and the Kremlin ensemble are small reminders of Moscow's earlier beauty.

The historic center of St. Petersburg (then called Leningrad; it had been renamed from Petrograd after Lenin's death), escaped these changes. The city, founded in 1703, was planned in a Russian Classicist manner by order of Tsar Peter II¹⁰; its log-

ically planned squares and avenues and consistent architectural vocabulary were deemed appropriate for a rational, socialist city. During these years of urbanization, new construction occurred primarily on the outskirts of St. Petersburg.¹¹

Effects of the Great Patriotic War

The devastation of World War II left a deep imprint on the Russian psyche. Battles and famine killed 20 million people; cities like Novgorod, Smolensk, Stalingrad and Pskov experienced wholesale destruction. The Soviets managed to remove and hide some valuable objects just hours before the Nazis occupied the lavish palace-museums near St. Petersburg (then called Leningrad), but many precious structures and works of art were destroyed as the retreating Nazis burned what was left of Pushkin, Pavlovsk, Petrodvorets and Gatchina.

The Soviets viewed these ruins as a symbol of the tragedy they suffered during this "Great Patriotic War," and their will to rebuild was reflected in a statement published in *Pravda*: "The wounds inflicted by the invaders on our land, our cities and our villages will be healed. Our palaces, museums, picture galleries, fountains and parks will be resurrected."¹²

One of the greatest blows to Russian identity and cultural heritage was the obliteration of cathedrals and parish churches. These churches, ranging from basic wood structures with tent roofs to elaborate combinations of stone, glazed tile and colorful cupolas, represent an evolution of Russian architecture during a span of a thousand years. Even for non-believers, Hedrick Smith wrote, "the Russian Orthodox Church is the embodiment of Russian history and culture, a repository of art, music and architecture as well as religion."¹³

The starting point for the restoration of hundreds of churches was the Department for Orthodox Church Affairs, which Stalin had created during World War II in hopes of stimulating patriotism by re-establishing a link between the church and state. Funding from the national government paid for the complete reconstruction of many churches and monasteries as well as the restorations of icons, frescoes and other religious objects. However, the government maintained its official policy of atheism; many churches were, and continue to be, used for non-religious purposes like workshops, hotels, offices, museums and warehouses. Consequently, the interiors often were restored less faithfully than the exteriors.

The grand palaces and estates near St. Petersburg, completely destroyed during the war, were rebuilt afterwards as symbols of the nation's recovery. Constructed during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, they are showcases of Russian Classicism, Baroque and Eclecticism. They had been viewed with distaste by the Bolsheviks because of their imperial nature, but after the war they were remembered as glorious examples of Russian artistry. These restorations were carried out with a phenomenal level of dedication and skill. This is made evident in a series of postcards, titled "Risen from the Ashes," that have photographs showing the ruins and the restorations of these estates.

A pavilion at the Exhibition for Economic Achievements is an example of Social Realism, the government-approved architectural style.

Photo by Richa Wilson.



What happened to churches during the Soviet era?

There are two principal churches in central Riga. The Dom, the cathedral, was turned into a concert hall and was preserved. The organ is the key element; it's a European-class organ, never removed, and restored very well as part of the cultural inventory. Many recordings have been made there. The other church, St. Peter's, became a museum of architecture and planning. Its wooden tower, the tallest in Europe, burned down during the war and was restored in steel.

Many of the smaller churches were abandoned, many were used as warehouses (which doesn't do much for the building), and some of them just collapsed by neglect. Some were used as stables and so on, but a concert hall or museum of atheism were the best things that could happen to the building.

And what has happened since independence?

When independence came, they consecrated the Dom again and changed the pews so you could shift them one way or the other. The organ is at one end, over the entrance, and the altar is at the other.

There also has been an effort to restore the other churches. There's a quaint little church on the outskirts of Riga that houses the furnace of the local pottery club; the huge furnace kept the building dry. Last year I visited it and half the church was a pottery workshop and half was the church.

There are many Latvian communities in the U.S. and Canada. Each Latvian parish here has assumed sort of a brother relationship with one of the churches there and provides funds for physical restoration.



St. Peter's Church in Riga, with the tower rebuilt. Photo by Sigurd Grava.

The wounds inflicted by the invaders on our land, our cities and our villages will be healed.

Our palaces, museums, picture galleries, fountains and parks will be resurrected. — Pravda



St. Peter's Church in Riga during the war, with its tower destroyed. Photo courtesy Sigurd Grava.

What preservation problems does Riga face now?

The most important problem is housing. At the present time, 80,000 families are waiting for decent apartments. There has been no attempt to restore or modernize the housing stock in the medieval section of the city. These buildings have very little, if any, modern sanitation; they're damp and decrepit. Some people live there under rather unsanitary conditions, and some artists have moved in and spent their own money to upgrade flats or attics. The effort must be not only to restore these buildings on the outside but also to make them usable for housing.

When you talk about the preservation of the historical stock, you have to talk about not only the medieval and Renaissance area but also the very large nineteenth- and early twentieth-century zone — a typical European apartment district. These buildings were once occupied by prosperous families; they were very prestigious places to live. Now they are used as communal apartments, generally one family per room. Consequently the buildings have been worn and abused for almost 50 years. There were no major maintenance, no basic repairs, and all the service systems are obsolete.

Nothing significant was done in that area by the Soviet regime except that some of the best buildings were taken over and allocated to the higher classes — the party functionaries, the senior military officers. Those buildings were maintained but they are a relatively small number. A few new buildings were actually constructed, which shows that it could be done, but they, too, were for special occupancy.



Apartment building in the section of Riga built around the turn of the century. Photo by Sigurd Grava.



Unrestored warehouses in Riga. Photo by Sigurd Grava.

Is there a desire on the part of people there to conserve those areas as well?

Yes. Planners have decided that besides the urgent need for utility systems, the next city planning and organizational priority in Riga is repairing the century-old apartment buildings in the older districts — and not building more of those barracks-type *mikrorayons*.

Would more housing reduce the pressure on these areas?

The real answer is to reduce Riga's population. The population is now 900,000-plus; the population of Latvia is around 2.4 million. The infrastructure for that city population is not in place. People will have to be moved to satellite cities outside or other urban centers. There is an attractive greenbelt, which should be preserved, and there are towns outside, within 20 kilometers of Riga.

The utilities would need to be upgraded, also.

Some utilities are simply non-existent. The Soviets tended to take care of visible things, for which they could get immediate political credit, and not the hidden support systems, such as sewers and water supply, which still date from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. They built monuments and towers instead.

For example, water pressure is not adequate to reach the fifth floor in the central districts during the day, and this is a five-story town. People who live on top floors, which are the most desirable, fill their bathtubs with water at night. There is a problem with basements because of the high water table, and it was made worse by a large reservoir built upstream. Many basements are wet and there are the usual urban vermin; it is a significant public health problem.

Many buildings and settings were left in their war-damaged state as a testament to the devastation. Visitors can still see pockmarks caused by shells on building facades in St. Petersburg, the foundations of buildings in a village that was burned along with its inhabitants, and symbols (such as birch trees, rose bushes, or wooden crosses) that mark the spot of some horrible deed performed by the Nazis. Sites like these can still stir one's emotions and recall the suffering of the war.

During these massive reconstruction efforts, which began in the 1950s, lavish funding from the national government also supported the development of preservation technology. Since then, great strides have been made in developing restoration methods and skills. Today, St. Petersburg's Restavrator workshop employs several hundred designers, engineers and artisans alone; similar workshops are operating in Moscow, Novgorod, Suzdal and elsewhere. Even though these workshops often suffer from a lack of adequate supplies and tools, they maintain a high quality of artistry. The workers possess superb skills in restoring miniatures, sculptures, paintings, wooden objects, leather, parchment and furniture as well as in metalworking, wood carving and making cast iron objects.

The Thaw

Despite a relaxation in the suppression of artistic creativity after Stalin's death in 1953, his urban development policies were continued. Although the nihilistic attitude that was prevalent in the 1920s and 1930s had faded, rationalist approaches toward city planning were revived and historicism was discouraged. The postwar demand for housing and the development of prefabricated building components resulted in a focus on new construction, generally on the periphery of cities.

In the 1960s, though, renewed energy was turned towards heritage protection as both citizens and government agencies began to respond to the destruction of the cultural heritage of the Soviet republics.

The All-Russian Society for the Preservation of Historical and Cultural Monuments was formed in 1965 as a reaction to development proposals that would have affected historic areas in Moscow. This grassroots organization was instrumental in saving a handful of churches in the old trading district of Zaryadye near Red Square when the new 3,500-room Rossiya Hotel was constructed. The group also helped force the revision of a plan for Kalinin Avenue, a new radial thoroughfare that necessitated the removal of whole city blocks, so several older buildings and an exquisite church could be saved.

Through dues and donations of citizens, the Society has been responsible for initiating the identification, documentation and preservation of numerous historic sites. Its continued growth reflects a popular appreciation for the creativity of Russian heritage, increased awareness of historic sites, and increased interest in visiting them. The importance of such a grassroots group was recognized when the Russian Council of Ministers granted the society the authority to review new development in areas



Citizens,
do not touch a stone, take care of the monuments, buildings, ancient things, documents: All this is your history, the pride of your pride.
Remember it is the greatest gift which your new national art is rising up. — Vladimir Lenin

Statue of Lenin being removed in Bucharest, Romania.
Courtesy AP/Wide World Photos.

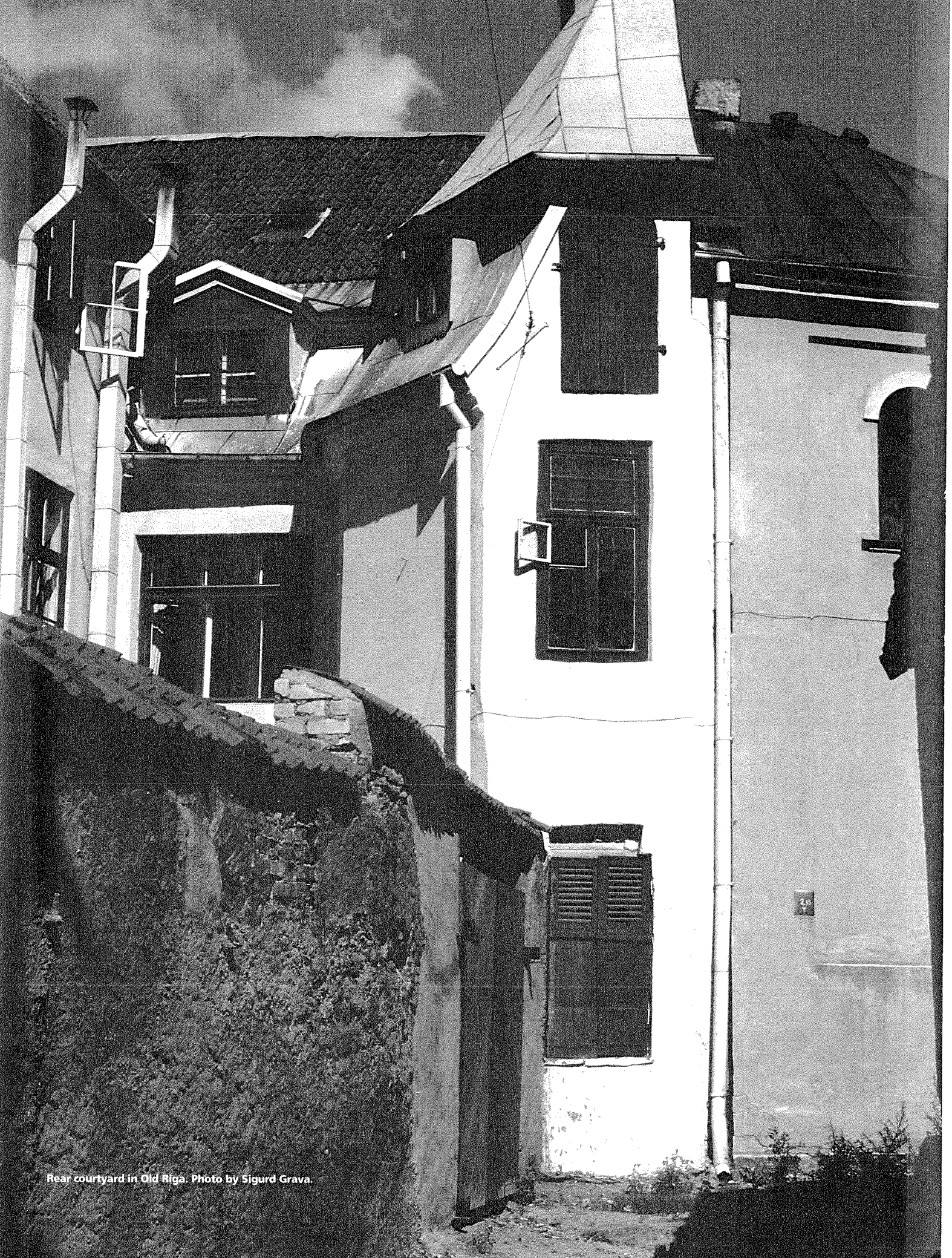
designated as historic areas by the Register of Historical and Cultural Monuments.

In the 1970s, Soviet urban development plans showed an increasing interest in contextual development: Proposals reflected an integration of the new and old as architectural monuments were viewed as part of the urban fabric. Several areas near Moscow, such as Kolomenskoe and Tsaritsina, were designated protected cultural zones. Significant legal controls were instituted with the establishment of government agencies, an advanced system of monuments identification and documentation was created at the national, republic and local levels, and protection was offered to significant cultural zones. These trends reflected the work of groups like the All-Russian Society as well as the evolution of attitudes throughout the worldwide preservation community, to which Soviet ties were strengthening.

The Purpose of the Past

The Russian peoples' strong commitment to their heritage not only survived suppression under decades of totalitarian rule, but also surfaced repeatedly to influence the central government's attitude towards the nation's architectural, archaeological and historic resources.

The recent political and economic changes in Russia certainly will unleash new forces that will affect the country's historic resources. The diffusion of control under privatization initiatives



Rear courtyard in Old Riga. Photo by Sigurd Grava.

What happened to important Latvian monuments?

The most important Latvian national monument, the Freedom Monument in the center of Riga, was not destroyed. They came pretty close a number of times. But it survived because a very important sculptor in Moscow, a Russian, who had become famous because she was very adept at making images of Lenin, said the monument had artistic merit, therefore, the regime could not touch it. That was a ploy by the planners and politicians of Riga, the nationalists; they persuaded her to sign a testimonial that characterized any destruction as "uncultural."

What will be done with the symbols of the Soviet state?

The statue of Vladimir Lenin had to be removed immediately after independence, not only because Lenin is Lenin but also because the most important Soviet political events took place at the statue. The statue was not destroyed; it was simply removed and put away in a storage yard.

The victory monuments to the Red Army have been a problem. Reminders of the occupation of Latvia by an outside army are repulsive but the fact remains that a lot of soldiers were killed during World War II. Every city now has such monuments, in very prominent locations, with the red star, the hammer and sickle, and very clumsy Soviet-type heroic posturing. Nobody wants to tackle the problem now because the revolution is not quite over and the former Red Army is still in the country because it has nowhere to go. There could be a military putsch, so no one wants trouble.

Taking down the Museum to the Red Riflemen is a touchy historical issue. During the Bolshevik Revolution, Latvians served as both White and Red Riflemen, special detachments that guarded Lenin in the most difficult period, so Latvians can take credit for preserving the life of Lenin, which is something we find very difficult to deal with today. Lenin was smart. Alexander Kerensky said Mother Russia would take over everything. Lenin said every ethnic group will get its own country back. And he was believed at the time.

and the economic dynamism of capitalism may present new challenges for conservation. But it may be that Russians can use their newly obtained personal freedoms to rise to these challenges and mount a vigorous expression — and defense — of the importance of their heritage.

Notes

1. While this article discusses preservation policies of the Soviet Union in general, its primary focus is how those policies affected historic resources in the former Russian Republic.
2. *Protection of Historical and Cultural Monuments in USSR* (Moscow: Izdateletvo Sovetskii Khudozhnik, 1978).
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*
5. Kathleen Berton, *Moscow: An Architectural History* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1977), 201.
6. Vladimir Mayakovsky, "Too Soon to Rejoice," December, 1918, reprinted in Anatole Kopp, *Town and Planning*, translated by Thomas E. Burton (New York: George Brazillier, 1970), 45.
7. The urban population increased from about one-fifth of the nation's total in 1913 to about two-thirds in 1960.
8. Although plans for Moscow had been developed in the years immediately following the revolution, a master plan was not adopted until 1935 and major reconstruction efforts did not begin until 1936. Work continued until the outbreak of World War II and was revived afterwards.
9. Berton, *Moscow*; and Andrei Ikonnikov, *Russian Architecture: The Soviet Period*, translated by Lev Lyapin (Moscow: Raduga Publishers, 1988).
10. Russian Classicism differed from western European Classicism or Baroque in that it was "a fusion of classical regularity and traditional picturesque-ness." (Ikonnikov, *Russian Architecture*).
11. Other reasons for the preservation of St. Petersburg may be that the cohesiveness of the city conformed with Stalin's personal tastes and that the Communists focused on Moscow as a symbol of their regime because they regarded St. Petersburg as a Western, European city.
12. *Pravda*, 3 September 1944.
13. Hedrick Smith, *The New Russians* (New York: Random House, 1990), 396.