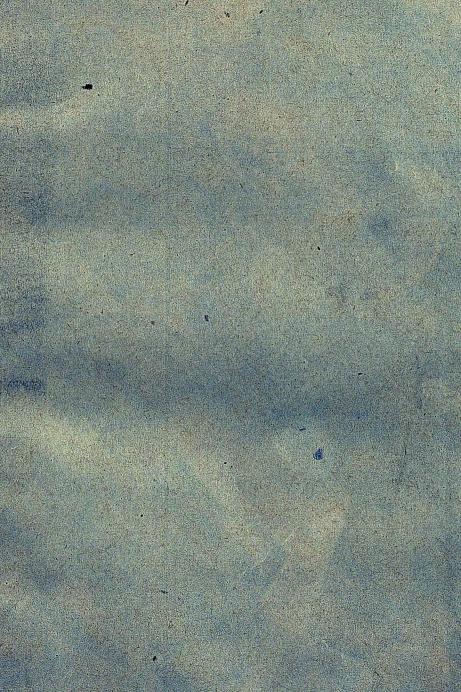


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L. P E R C H I K

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF MOSCOW





CO-OPERATIVE PUBLISHING SOCIETY OF FOREIGN WORKERS IN THE U.S.S.R. – MOSCOW 1936

also





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SOCIALISM AND THE HOUSING QUESTION

The housing question, and questions of municipal services and enterprises in general have attracted attention from the very first days of the birth of scientific socialism. As far back as ninety years ago Frederick Engels, after making a study of the situation of the English workers in Manchester and other towns of capitalist England, wrote:

"The manner in which the great multitude of the poor is treated by society today is revolting. They are drawn into the large cities where they breathe a poorer atmosphere than in the country; they are relegated to districts which, by reason of the method of construction, are worse ventilated than any others; they are deprived of all means of cleanliness, of water itself, since pipes are laid only when paid for, and the rivers so polluted that they are useless for such purposes; they are obliged to throw all offal and garbage, all dirty water, often all disgusting drainage and excrement into the streets, being without other means of disposing of them; they are thus compelled to infect the region of their own dwellings. Nor is this enough. All conceivable evils are heaped upon

the heads of the poor. If the population of great cities is too dense in general, it is they in particular who are packed into the least space. As though the vitiated atmosphere of the streets were not enough, they are penned in dozens into single rooms, so that the air which they breathe at night is enough in itself to stifle them. They are given damp dwellings, cellar dens that are not waterproof from below, or garrets that leak from above. Their houses are so built that the clammy air cannot escape."*

In his preliminary notes for *The Holy Family* (1844) Marx wrote concerning the housing conditions of the workers under capitalism:

"Man returns to the cave dwelling, which is now, however, poisoned by the mephitic, pestilential air of civilization, in which, moreover, he only dwells precariously, a foreign power which can slip away from him any day, out of which he can be thrown any day if he does not pay. He must pay for this death house. The sunny dwelling, which Aeschylus has Prometheus call one of the great gifts by which he made a savage a man, ceases to exist for the worker." **

Marx's scathing and trenchant criticism of bourgeois society in his immortal *Capital* also treats of the frightful housing conditions of the workers under capitalism.

In the *Draft and Explanation of the Program of the* Social-Democratic Party which Lenin compiled in prison in 1895-96, he wrote the following on the impoverishment

^{*} Engels, The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844.

^{**} Marx-Engels, Collected Works, Vol. III, Book 1, p. 128, German ed-

of the workers and the tremendous increase in the wealth of the exploiting classes:

"Luxury and extravagance have reached unprecedented dimensions among this class of the rich, and the main streets of the large towns are lined with their princely palaces and luxurious castles. But, as capitalism grows, the conditions of the workers become worse... it became more and more difficult to find employment and alongside the luxurious palaces of the rich (or in the suburbs) the workers' hovels increased in number, the workers were compelled to live in cellars, in overcrowded, damp and cold tenements and sometimes even in dugouts near where new factory premises were being built."*

The leaders and teachers of the working class did not deal with utopias after the example of the utopian

socialists, the predecessors of scientific socialism (Thomas More, Tomas Campanella, Charles Fourier, Robert Owen and others). Moreover, they warned us against indulging in fantasies concerning this momentous problem of refashioning human life under the new conditions created by the socialist epoch.

Thus, for example, Engels in 1872 in his brilliant

work, The Housing Question, wrote:

"How a social revolution would solve this" (the housing) "question depends not only on the circumstances which would exist in each case, but is also connected with still more far-reaching questions, among which one of the most fundamental is the abolition of the antithesis between town and country.

^{*} Lenin, Selected Works, Vol. I, p. 474, Co-operative Publishing Society, Moscow, 1935.



As it is not our task to create utopian systems for the arrangement of the future society, it would be more than idle to go into the question here." *

But one thing was clear: the working class, having won power, must radically reconstruct its cities, abolish the antithesis between town and country, wipe out the gross contradictions which obtain in a capitalist city between the bourgeois and the proletarian quarters.

Ninety years have elapsed since Engels wrote his Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844. Almost simultaneously the great Russian critic, Belinsky, wrote of Moscow:

"Everywhere self-sufficiency, lack of connection.... The houses of huts are like fortresses, prepared to withstand a prolonged siege. The household is everywhere, but there is practically no civic life."

At that time Moscow lagged behind Manchester, as all Russia lagged behind England, a good hundred years. And even at the time of the October Revolution, Russia was not less than a hundred years behind England and other advanced capitalist countries. But now eighteen years have passed since the Revolution and the picture has changed radically. During this time, Moscow has gone through a fundamental reconstruction. The extent of this reconstruction in all branches of municipal services and enterprises has been amazing, especially in recent years.

Meanwhile, in London the problem of the slums is just as acute as ever. This problem, which could not be solved ninety years ago, is just as insoluble now so long

^{*} Engels, The Housing Question, p. 36, Co-operative Publishing Society, Moscow, 1935.

as the bourgeoisie is in power. If a worker under the capitalist system does get the chance to break away from the slums, and remove to more or less decent living quarters, the higher rents affect his budget in such a way as to leave him insufficient money for food.

Thus, according to the report of a British medical officer of health, Dr. M'Gonigle, the death rate among workers in England who have removed to better quarters has increased by 0.85 per cent in comparison with the death rate among workers who remain in the slums. Making an analysis of this apparent anomaly, M'Gonigle explains that removals from slums to new houses involved an increase of more than one and a half times in rent. Thus the worker had to cut down expenses on food drastically. And this further starvation of the workers could not but result in an increase in mortality in the new houses.



Red Square at the beginning of the twentieth century

OLD MOSCOW

Ancient Moscow of the nobles and merchants presented a symbol of Russian backwardness, Asiatic ways, merchant extravagance, clerical obscurantism, and extreme exploitation of the workers and toilers. Ancient Moscow went down in history as "the big village," a "big village" which was filthy, boorish and municipally backward, famous for its abundance of monasteries and drink-shops, pubs and chapels.

Moscow was an exceptionally backward and poorly laid-out city, a city that had developed planlessly and chaotically, a city with narrow, crooked, filthy, ill-smelling, dusty and unpaved streets, with numerous lanes and blind alleys, with a hodge-podge of architectural styles, with a huge number of churches and monasteries as the city's predominant feature, with public utilities—electric power, water-supply, sewerage and particularly transportation—at an extremely low level, and a preponderance of foreign capital in these branches.

Eight centuries have passed since the Russian feudal lords built the Kremlin fortress on the high left bank of the Moscow River to protect themselves from the internal and external enemy. As the spider weaves its web, so the exploiting classes of ancient Moscow—the feudal lords and merchants—in the course of centuries extended the city in all directions from the Kremlin, turning the old rural roads that led into the neighbouring villages into streets and alleys.

But because of a deference to the interests of private property owners, who built wherever they chose to do so, and because of the consequent sporadic and chaotic methods of house building these streets were narrow and uneven, crooked and winding. They were dusty in summer and muddy in spring and autumn.

Moscow, like all capitalist cities, was characterized by the glaring contrast between the luxurious residences of the parasitic classes, on the one hand, and the slums, hovels and cellars of the urban poor, on the other. Of all European and American capitals and large cities, Moscow was the most backward and poorly laid-out city, and its population had the highest death rate (twenty deaths per annum per thousand inhabitants).

To give an idea of the level of the municipal "facilities" in pre-revolutionary Moscow, we cite a descriptive passage from the book of a certain I. Slonov, From the Life of Merchant Moscow (1914).

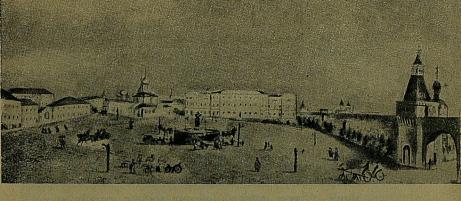
"At that time" (the end of the nineteenth century)
"the central streets of Moscow were lighted with
kerosene lamps, and the suburbs and outlying streets
were lit with dim vegetable oil lamps. The lighting
and cleaning of them was the duty of the firemen.
A large part of the hempseed oil, which was supplied
for lighting purposes and which was of a rather
inferior quality, was eaten by the firemen with their
porridge. As a result, what few lamps there were,
barely penetrating the darkness of the night, went

out early, and the streets were plunged into pitchy darkness, thus completing the picture of patriarchal Moscow."

Old Moscow was built chaotically. There were no plans whatever; buildings were erected wherever and whenever fancy dictated. But in this haphazard erection of buildings, some sort of system appeared. This was what is usually called the radial and circular system of Moscow.

It is called radial because Moscow streets are radial lines diverging from the centre in all directions. On the other hand, this system follows a circular plan also: all these long radial thoroughfares are intersected at various points by circular thoroughfares, which have formed on the sites of former fortresses. The Boulevard Circle is located on the site of an old white stone fortress, the Sadovoye Circle—on the former site of earthen ramparts. Hence the names of fortress gates—Arbatskiye Vorota (Gate), Sretenskiye Vorota, and also the street named Zemlyanoy Val (Earthen Ramparts), and so on.

That barbaric Russian capitalism not only did not improve, but, in a number of cases, actually rendered the old feudal plan of Moscow worse, is borne out by the following facts. Tverskaya, once called Tsar Street (now Gorky Street) from a straight street became crooked at the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries as a result of the shameless filching of land by private owners. Bolshaya Dmitrovka, which at one time formed one straight thoroughfare with Malaya Dmitrovka, changed its direction at the end of the seventeenth century as a result of the erection of a church and a number of merchants' houses at the junction of these two streets. Petrovka was made narrower and crooked because at the end of the eighteenth century one



Old Lubyanka Square — middle of nineteenth century (now Dzerzhinsky Square)

Gubin, a merchant, appropriated a part of the area of the street to build his house, and on the other side the Petrovsky Monastery extended into the street. Thus, by the joint efforts of priest and merchant this street was hemmed in from both sides.

The barbaric cupidity of the Russian capitalists is attested to by the notorious case of the so-called "Khomyakovsky Grove" which existed for several decades. The big landlord and nobleman, Khomyakov, who owned a house on the corner of Kuznetsky Most and Petrovka, did not want to yield the city fifty square sazhens (350 sq. ft.) of his land to widen Kuznetsky Most, except at the exorbitant rate of three thousand rubles per sazhen. To prevent anybody from taking away his land in some unexpected way he planted young fir trees there and earned for it the facetious title of "Khomyakovsky Grove."

In an article by I. Verner, "The Housing Conditions of the Poorer People of Moscow," published in 1902 in the organ of the Moscow City Council of the landlords and merchants, we read:

"In Moscow, as in all big cities in general, there is quite a considerable group of persons who have not only sunk to an extreme level of destitution, but who have even lost all human dignity. Drunkenness, disease, chronic hunger, the influence of changes in temperature on their all-but naked bodies—all these deplorable and distressing conditions have made them physically and morally unfit for regular work, as a consequence of which they have no definite means of subsistence, neither property nor even a permanent abode. These outcasts of our society usually spend their days on the streets, and their nights in dosshouses, which they have to quit at daybreak.

"The next class of the poorer population of Moscow constitutes a huge category of able-bodied and hardworking people. These are the factory and mill workers, small independent artisans and the people who work for them, cab-drivers, seasonal workers from the country employed by contractors, labourers, small tradesmen, clerks, domestic servants, low-paid railway employees, and the families of the people belonging to the professions we have enumerated and many other professions. The characteristic feature of this class of persons is that it has a somewhat fixed and steady income, although this income at times varies considerably; it has some sort of possessions, and is anxious to obtain a permanent place of residence. These are the people who occupy quarters which differ from the doss-houses only because they are tenanted by a settled population who hire premises for a fixed, more or less prolonged period."*

^{*} Moscow City Council News, No. 19, October 1902, p. 2.

Thus, in respect to housing, the workers of old Moscow found themselves in the same class with the declassed elements. They occupied, as a rule, rooms which in no wise differed fundamentally from the dosshouses of the city "underworld," or from the hovels of the Khitrov Market.

According to the figures of the 1912 census Moscow had 24,500 rooms of this type, occupied by 327,000 people, or more than 20 per cent of the entire 1,600,000 population of the city. An average of ten persons to a room lived in Moscow's basement and semi-basement one-room apartments; in one-room apartments above-street level—six to a room, and in two-room apartments—three to a room. From these figures, characteristic of any other capitalist city, we see that density of population grows in proportion to the growth of poverty.

Before the Revolution only 3 per cent of the workers lived within the Moscow Boulevard Circle known as the "A" Circle (the "A" street-car runs along this circle), that is, in the centre of the city, in its best apartments and houses, and within the Sadovoye Circle ("B")—about 5 per cent.

In old Moscow 88.2 per cent of the houses were constructed of wood, 91.2 per cent were one and two-storeyed.

Here is one of numerous characterizations of the level of "municipal facilities" in old Moscow.

"The courtyards of the houses are usually very dirty and are paved only in very rare instances. Cesspools and garbage bins are rarely cleaned; investigators have noted many cases where the cesspools were absolutely overflowing, exuding vile odours, and where there was garbage scattered about the courtyard. Neither the courtyards nor the staircases are illumin-

ated and on winter evenings you can cross the courtyard or descend into a basement apartment only at the risk of breaking your neck.

"The latrines in most of these houses are for common use, and are kept in a very filthy state. In the census forms a great many cases are noted where layers of excrement a quarter of an arshin* deep covered the floor of the latrine, rising higher than the seat; there are not a few cases where the cesspools overflow and the contents seep into the passages and sometimes under the floors of the apartments. The tenants prefer to relieve themselves in corners of the courtyard, and children are set down near the steps. In many cases latrines and urine-gutters adjoin an old wall, as a consequence of which foul fluid seeps into the apartments and contaminates the air to such an extent that after half an hour of it the census takers 'developed nausea, became ill and dizzy.' "**

This is the Moscow that is now being transformed, that is being given a new appearance corresponding to its new socialist content.

^{*} One arshin=21/3 feet..

^{**} Moscow City Council News, No. 19, October 1902, pp. 5-6, I. Verner, "The Housing Conditions of the Poorer People of Moscow."

STALIN ON THE LINES OF DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALIST CITIES

At the June Plenum of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. in 1931, at the initiative of Stalin, L. M. Kaganovich delivered a report on the municipal services and enterprises of Moscow and the development of the municipal services and enterprises of the U.S.S.R.

The resolution of this Plenum reflected the masterly suggestions of Stalin concerning the development of the construction of the cities of the U.S.S.R. in general, and of Moscow in particular, as the capital of the great socialist fatherland.

Stalin severely criticized the trend towards bourgeois urbanism, which proposed to develop Moscow and other great cities of the U.S.S.R. along the lines of capitalist cities, without limiting industry and the influx of the population. At the same time, he criticized petty-bourgeois anti-urbanism, which denied the very principle of the city and sought to reduce the cities and change them into small settlements of the rural type.

At the suggestion of Stalin, the June Plenum of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. adopted the following resolution, limiting the further growth of industry within Moscow, Leningrad and other large cities:

"Bearing in mind that the further development of industrial construction of the country must proceed along the lines of creating new industrial bases in rural districts, and thus bring nearer the final abolition of the contrast between town and country, the Plenum of the Central Committee deems it inexpedient to agglomerate a huge number of enterprises in the big urban centres now in existence and proposes in the future not to build new industrial enterprises in these cities, and above all not to build them in Moscow and Leningrad as from 1932."

This decision expresses the policy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which is directed towards the proper geographical distribution of productive forces throughout the country.

The Soviet government and the Communist Party are opposed to the unrestricted growth of industry exclusively in a few centres, while there are purely agrarian districts having no industry whatever. The Soviet government and the Communist Party consider that socialist industry should infuse new life into all the territories and regions of the great Soviet land and that every district should have its own sound industrial base.

Apart from this decision on the distribution of productive forces throughout the country, the June Plenum of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. also expressed its views on the principles of distributing the population and all enterprises and institutions serving it in the socialist city itself:

"In planning Moscow as a socialist city, in contradistinction to capitalist cities, an extreme concentration of large masses of the population, enterprises, schools, hospitals, theatres, clubs, shops, dining-rooms, etc., in small areas should not be allowed."

This decision expresses the policy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union that socialist cities should not resemble the huge octopus cities which are so typical of the capitalist world, with their agglomeration of enormous skyscrapers, excessive congestion of population in small areas, extremely uneven distribution of cultural, trading and other establishments on the territory of the city. Besides these important fundamental principles the decision of the June Plenum of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. contains directives of historic significance concerning the work of reconstructing the municipal services and enterprises, first and foremost, concerning the construction of the subway in Moscow and the Volga-Moscow Canal, which will link the Volga and Moscow Rivers. In the resolution of this Plenum the following directives are given concerning the planning of Moscow:

"Simultaneously with the measures now in force and the fulfilment of the program of capital construction for the year it is necessary to elaborate a detailed program for the development of Moscow's municipal services and enterprises from the point of view of science, technology and economics, coordinating this plan as rapidly as possible with the phenomenal growth of industry and the population, and with the planning of Moscow as the socialist capital of the proletarian state."

In the process of carrying out this decision, Moscow has achieved great successes on an important front of socialist construction.

In the last five years hundreds of new houses with a total floor space of 2,600,000 square metres have been erected in Moscow. New schools, theatres, cinemas, clubs, kindergartens, nurseries, dining-rooms, shops, central kitchens, mechanized bakeries, public buildings and office-buildings have been built.

Two million square metres of roadways have been surfaced; the capacity of water mains has been increased by 100 per cent, the sewerage system has been extended hundreds of kilometres, street-car lines have been lengthened by over 100 kilometres. City transportation facilities have been supplemented by a little over a thousand new street-cars and hundreds of motorbuses. Moscow has acquired 25 kilometres of central heating mains, the first step in the vast program of heat-and-power development in the Soviet Union. The rate at which construction proceeded on the first subway in the U.S.S.R. and on the Volga-Moscow Canal is unparalleled in history. Parks of culture and rest, and verdure bearing areas within the city have been extended, and new ones have been laid out.

All this is convincingly borne out by the words of Stalin at the Seventeenth Party Congress:

"The very appearance of our large towns and industrial centres has changed. The inevitable hall-mark of the big towns in bourgeois countries are the slums, the so-called working class districts on the outskirts of the town, which represent a heap of dark, damp, in the majority of cases, cellar dwellings, in a semi-dilapidated condition, where usually the poor live in filth and curse their fate. The Revolution in the U.S.S.R. has swept away the slums in our country. Their place has been taken by well-built and bright workers' districts and in many cases the working class districts of our towns are better built than the central districts." *

^{*} Stalin, "Report of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. (Seventeenth Party Congress)," in the symposium Socialism Victorious, p. 49.

The years since the October Revolution have not only witnessed the construction of thousands of new apartment houses with a total floor space of 5,100,000 square metres, which has increased the entire living space of Moscow one and a half times, but, at the same time, scores of old factory tenements and barracks have been renovated. Tens of thousands of workers have been removed from "dormitories" and accommodated in individual rooms and apartments. But to satisfy the growing material and cultural requirements of the workers and

toilers of Moscow it is necessary to build hundreds and thousands of large, modern, many - storyed, well - appointed and beautiful houses.

Since the October Revolution the length of watermains has been increased by 50 per cent. The daily consumption of water in the city has become four and a halftimes

Moscow Hotel (Hotel Moskva)



greater. The consumption of water per capita has increased from 60 litres to 160 litres, that is, by more than two and a half times. Sewer mains have increased one and a half times. The street-car lines have more than doubled. The number of street-cars has increased from 800 to 2,500, *i.e.*, more than tripled, and in addition Moscow has 450 motorbuses and 60 trolley-buses, which were non-existent before the Revolution.

Before the Revolution only 2 per cent of all the roadways were covered with asphalt, macadam or setts; now 30 per cent of the total street area is surfaced with these materials.

The per capita consumption of gas has increased from 8 cubic metres to 21 cubic metres.

The number of telephones has increased from 25,000 to 110,000. The number of electric street lamps has increased from 5,000 to 37,000, and kerosene and gas street lamps have been completely eliminated.

But Moscow cannot well be satisfied with these achievements.

Even though 160 litres of water daily per capita is two and a half times greater than the volume per capita in pre-revolutionary days, and considerably higher than the Berlin average, it is not sufficient in view of the increased requirements of the Moscow population.

It is not sufficient that the sewerage system has been extended one and a half times when Moscow still has areas of old one-storey houses, where the sewerage system has yet to be introduced. Nor is the great increase in transportation facilities sufficient, since the requirements of the population in this respect have exceeded this increase. Before the Revolution a Moscow inhabitant made an average of 156 journeys per year, now he makes 500 journeys per year. With the rise in the cultural level of

shortening of the working day, ever greater demands are being made on transportation facilities. That is why the radical reconstruction of Moscow and its municipal services and enterprises, and the planning of Moscow as a city have been made questions of such profound importance by the Party and the government, and above all by Stalin himself.

Concurrently with the work of reconstructing the

the population and their consequent increased attendance at schools, libraries, parks, theatres, etc., and with the

Party and Soviet organizations, under the direct leadership of L. M. Kaganovich, have, in the course of recent years, worked out a general plan for the reconstruction of Moscow, which covers the planning of Moscow as a city as well as the construction and reconstruction of the municipal services and enterprises for the next ten years.

municipal services and enterprises of Moscow, the Moscow

This plan constitutes the basis of the historic decision of the Council of People's Commissars and the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. of July 10, 1935, on the reconstruction of Moscow.

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PLANNING NEW MOSCOW

The great October Revolution made Moscow the socialist capital of the Land of Soviets. Moscow has become the symbol of the construction of socialism.

Moscow could not remain the badly laid-out, dirty city lacking adequate public facilities that it was before the Revolution. That is why, as soon as the Land of Soviets entered the reconstruction period and began to achieve great victories on all fronts of socialist construction, Stalin, the far-seeing mentor and leader, confronted the Bolsheviks of Red Moscow with a task of such significance that it will go down in world history—the task of carrying out, in the shortest possible time, the reconstruction of the city and its entire municipal services and enterprises on such a scale as would make Moscow a city worthy of the great title of capital of the mighty socialist fatherland.

Socialist cities enjoy great advantages over capitalist cities in the matter of planning and reconstruction, primarily because in socialist cities private ownership of land and of all means of production is abolished.

The notorious Haussmann, the Paris prefect of Bonaparte France, who carried out extensive building alterations in Paris in the middle of the nineteenth century,

dwelt repeatedly in his memoirs on the insuperable difficulties encountered in the process of replanning Paris, because of "sacred and inviolable" private property in land.

"To execute engineer Belgran's plan for the water supply of Paris," he writes, "the city had to gain possession of the sources of the Somme and the Soude. However, private owners did not yield to any persuasion, and the job fell through."

When the Japanese capital, Tokyo, suffered the catastrophic earthquake and fire in 1923, which destroyed nearly the entire city, it was necessary to pay private owners of city land 40,000,000 yen for some 120 hectares used for widening the streets when the city was replanned.

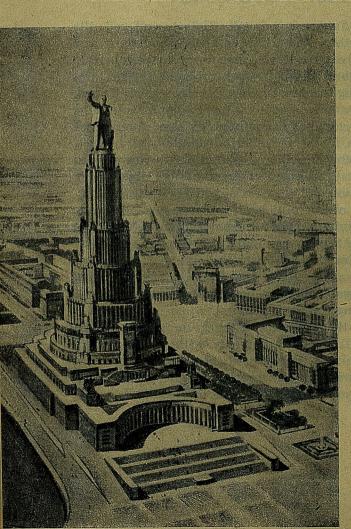
But the great advantages in the matter of planning socialist cities cannot be confined to this question of private property. There are other outstanding advantages. One of these is the principle of planning, which has been introduced into all branches of economic life and culture of the Soviet Union and which is directed towards furthering the interests of the millions of proletarians and toilers. Another determining factor is the correct Marxist-Leninist policy of the C.P.S.U. in municipal construction.

When the Communist Party and the Soviet government first began to tackle the task of reconstructing Moscow, there were different points of view on the question of developing the Soviet capital.

Some said that Moscow should be made into a museum-city. "It is an ancient city with very beautiful memorials of ancient times," said the reactionaries. "We should not disturb these memorials of the past. Let us build a new city somewhere outside of Moscow."

Others said: "Although we must rebuild old Moscow, it should not be a big city. Why should we have a four or five million population in Moscow? That is too much. Let us dismantle most of the factories. Let us make a decisive reduction in the number of our higher educational institutions. Let us reduce the Moscow population to a million or at the most to one and a half million."

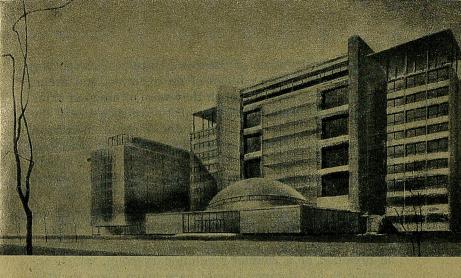
A third group said: "We want to overtake and surpass capitalist countries in respect of technique and economy. We know that in New York and London the population



reaches eight to ten millions.
Moscow must surpass them in this respect too."

As regards the planning of the city, there were plans of the most varied architectural trends and schools concerning the necessity demolishing the historical radial-circular system of Moscow. The cry was raised that this system is

Palace of Soviets (project)



Central Savings Bank (project)

supposedly peculiar to a feudal city and that it contradicts the principles (!) of a socialist city.

Proposals were made to replace the present system with a checker-board scheme, or a system which would cut up the city, and turn it into a city made up of individual settlements. Other proposals were for a city with a "comet" system breaking through the present circular city in some single (preferably northwesterly) direction; or for a linear scheme; or for "a garden-city" lay-out, according to which Moscow should grow to the enormous dimensions of 200,000 hectares, and so on and so forth.

All these abstract plans, which were drawn up without regard for the heritage of history, reflected the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideologies of their authors. The Right, reactionary wing of these planners sought to leave old Moscow inviolate, just as it was when the nobles, merchants and priests ruled it. These people were opposed

to the reconstruction of Moscow, since it entailed the demolition of certain edifices of an historical and architectural interest—even though they were of no great value and stood in the way of the socialist reconstruction of the city. The "Left" wing avoided the task of reconstruction and proposed to build the capital on a new site, thus leaving old Moscow intact. As we see, even in the sphere of planning there is a very close connection between the Right and the "Leftist" petty-bourgeois ideologists.

In 1920 the ideologist of kulak counter-revolution, Chayanov, wrote a book called My Brother Alexei's Journey to the Land of the Peasants' Utopia. In this book he dreamed of a counter-revolutionary coup, which according to his almanac should have taken place in 1934, and which was to lead to the deliberate destruction of Moscow as a city. The following is the policy in the sphere of the "development" (or more correctly, destruction) of cities, and of Red Moscow in particular, about which this openly kulak ideologist dreamed:

"At first the reconstruction of Moscow was influenced by reasons of a political character," wrote Chayanov. "In 1934, when power was firmly in the hands of the peasant" (read: kulak!) "parties the Mitrofanov government, convinced by many years of practical experience of the danger of a great concentration of people in cities to a democratic" (read: counter-revolutionary) "regime, decided on a revolutionary(!) measure, and promulgated the famous decree concerning the destruction of cities with a population exceeding 20,000 inhabitants.

"Of course, it was most difficult to carry this decree out as regards Moscow which in the 'thirties had more than 4,000,000 population. But the stubborn persis-

tence of the authorities and the technical equipment of the engineering corps made it possible to cope with this task in the course of ten years. In 1934 the streets of Moscow began to be deserted; the engineering corps proceeded to plan the new Moscow; Moscow skyscrapers were destroyed by the hundreds, often with the use of dynamite. The most daring of our leaders, wandering about a city of ruins, were prepared to confess themselves vandals, so dire was the picture of devastation that Moscow presented. However the unremitting struggle continued."

With the victorious march of the proletarian revolution this farrage of utopian banalities, the fantasy of the ideologist of kulak vandalism calling in his pamphlet for a farmstead system of economy, for the destruction of cities, for the founding of "cultured" monasteries, and similar obscurantism, has been completely shattered.

Enemies of the Soviet Union did no little damage in the matter of reconstructing Moscow, not only in theory, but also in practice.

For a whole decade (1920-1930) in the planning of Moscow practices prevailed which militated against the interests of the socialist reconstruction of Moscow. In the reactionary plans of those formerly in charge of the planning of Moscow the city was to grow to 200,000 hectares, so as to preserve the old city intact. They strove for a territorial separation of the political centre from the workers' quarters, disposing it in a diametrically opposite direction. The architectural treatment was to be based on the style of old aristocratic residences, squires' countryhouses, churches and monasteries.

The decision of the Council of People's Commissars has set the task of the radical reconstruction of Moscow,

which "reflected, even in the best years of its development, the barbaric character of Russian capitalism."

This decision says:

". . . it is necessary to retain the historical outlines of the city, but radically to re-plan it by co-ordinating the network of its streets and squares. The most important conditions for this re-planning are: the proper disposition of dwelling houses, industries, railway transport and warehouses, the deepening of the Moscow River and the introduction of new ponds, canals, etc., the elimination of congested areas, the proper organization of residential districts and the creation of normal and healthy living conditions for the population."

Moscow must become a city which is laid out to the best advantage, a city with well-organized municipal enterprises and services. Furthermore, Moscow must become a city of outstanding architecture.

The Soviet government stands not only for comfortable homes, but also for beautiful living quarters, not only for municipal improvements in the city, but also for a beautiful city.

The decision of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. and the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. states that

"... uniformity in the architectural treatment of the squares, thoroughfares, embankments and parks must be achieved and the best examples of classical and modern architecture, as well as all achievements in the technique of building construction, must be utilized. . . ."

Moscow, which had a population of 1,600,000 before the Revolution, has 3,600,000 inhabitants at the present time. The decision of the Council of People's Commissars and the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. proposes to increase the population of Moscow to 5,000,000. This means that Moscow's industry, municipal enterprises, Soviet institutions and institutes of higher education will be in a position to provide work for a number of people such as, together with the juvenile population and the people who are unable to work, will amount to about 5,000,000.

We must bear in mind that capitalist countries with a considerably smaller population than the Soviet Union usually have capitals with a larger number of inhabitants in proportion to the total population of the country. For example, the population of Moscow will represent not more than 2 to 2.5 per cent of the entire population of the country while in France the percentage of the population in the capital to the total population is 9, and in England more than 15.

When we speak of a 5,000,000 population in Moscow,

this does not mean that there will be any barriers to the natural growth of the population of the city. On the contrary, the natural growth of the population of the Soviet Union, including the population of Moscow, proceeds under the most favourable conditions. The Communist Party and the Soviet government take the utmost care of mothers and the rising generation. When a 5,000,000 population in Moscow is spoken of, it is bearing in mind that the excess engineers, doctors, architects, teachers, workers—all those who perform manual or brain labour—will move to other cities of the U.S.S.R., bringing with them examples of Moscow work and Moscow culture.

For a 5,000,000 population it is necessary to have a much larger territory than that now occupied by Moscow. At the present time, the territory of the city equals 28,500 hectares. Before the Revolution, Moscow covered 9,000 hectares. In line with the decision of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. and the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. the territory of Moscow is being extended to include an area of 60,000 hectares.

The new territories which are to be added to Moscow comprise about 32,000 hectares. More than half of this territory is adjacent to the southwestern side of the city, and is located beyond the Lenin Hills, along the Moscow River, between Kuntsevo and Lenino (formerly Tsaritsino).

The major portion of the territory to be annexed to Moscow is in the southwest because the southwestern territory is located on an elevation. The average difference between the level of this territory and the level of the territory of the rest of Moscow is about 100 to 120 metres. Furthermore, this territory lies windward, as the prevailing winds in Moscow blow from the southwest. Therefore the population which will live in this part of the city will have the advantage of pure air with a high ozone content.

During the next decade, one million square metres of housing will be built in this district.

Besides the extension to the southwest, Moscow is being extended to the east (Izmailovo, Perovo-Kuskovo), to the southeast (Textilshchiky, Lyublino, Novinky-Nogatino) to the west (Terekhovo, Mnevniky, Khoroshevo, Shchukino) and to the northwest and north (Tooshino, Zakharkovo, Aviagorodok, Khovrino, Likhobory, Medvedkovo).

But the territory of Moscow will not be confined to just these 60,000 hectares of land. Beyond the boundaries

of this territory a protective belt of forests and parks is being formed, with a radius of up to ten kilometres. This belt of large wooded areas originating in the forest land outside the city will serve as a reservoir of pure air for the city and a place of recreation for the population.

From this surrounding belt, parkways will extend to the centre of the city in the following directions: 1) from the Stalin Park at Izmailovo and the Bubnov Park at Sokolniky along the banks of the Yauza, 2) from the Lenin Hills and the Gorky Park along the embankments of the Moscow River, and 3) from the Ostankino Park along Samotyoka and Neglinnaya Streets.

All the city parks will be replanned and put in perfect

order. The thirteen great parks around the city: the Stalin Park at Izmailovo, the Bubnov Park at Sokolniky, the Ostankino Park, the Timiryazev Park, the Peter Alexeyev Park, the Skhodnensky (near the Moscow-Volga Canal), the Krasnaya Presnya, the Fily-Kuntsevo, the Lenin Hills Park, the Gorky Park, the Nogatinsky Park, the Kuzminsky and Kuskovo Parks and about fifty local parks inside the city, the city boulevards on the Sadovoye and Boulevard Circles and the lawns and gardens around the houses in the residential districts will constitute a huge reserve of plant life from which the Soviet capital will derive health and beauty.

Plants and trees act as lungs with which a city breathes. The more plant life a city has the more habitable it is and the more healthful for the population. But attention must be concentrated on large green expanses, and not on mere strips of planted areas which frequently narrow the city streets, without at the same time being of any benefit to the population.

That is why the decision of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. and the Central Committee

of the C.P.S.U. deems it necessary to effect the widening of the streets not only by demolishing buildings, but by

"... immediately clearing away the shrubbery and lawns from the streets and removing trees planted along some streets (for example—Meshchanskaya, Kalayevskaya, Dorogomilovskaya, Tulskaya, etc.), which reduce the width of the streets and obstruct traffic."

Moscow will be planned along the lines of its historical radial-circular system of streets. From the Avenue of the Palace of Soviets, bordering the Kremlin and the Kitay-Gorod, with its central squares: Nogin, Dzerzhinsky, Sverdlov and Revolution Squares, constituting as it were a constellation around the Red Square, radial thorough-fares diverge in all directions. These radial arteries will be intersected by circular streets. But to make this radial-circular system of streets answer the requirements of the city of Moscow, it must be subjected to a number of radical improvements.

The main streets of Moscow, which at present are 18 metres wide on the average, will be widened to 30-40 metres in the old part of the city, and the main thoroughfares and the streets in the new parts of the city will be widened to 70 metres and over.

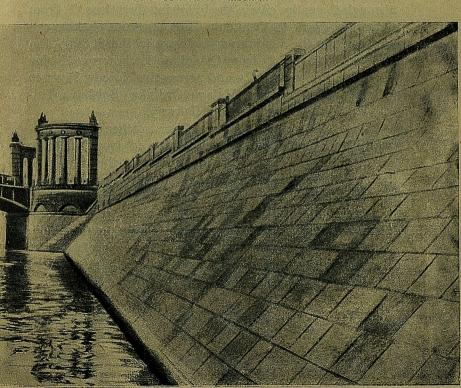
The embankments of the Moscow River will constitute the main thoroughfares of the city. Stalin was the first to point out the enormous importance of the Moscow River as the main thoroughfare of the city. At his initiative the banks of the Moscow River are being faced with granite and along the embankments broad thoroughfares are being built for through traffic. The roads along the embankments of the Moscow River are being asphalted and widened to 40-50 metres. The embankments of the

Obvodny Canal and the Yauza River are being widened to 25-30 metres.

On these embankments mainly apartment houses and public buildings will be constructed. Within the course of the next three years new buildings will face the river along the following embankments: Krasnaya-Presnenskaya, Smolenskaya, Dorogomilovskaya, Berezhkovskaya, Prichalnaya, Kotelnicheskaya, Novo-Spasskaya and Rostovskaya. In the following seven years of the decade, new houses will be built along all the other embankments of the Moscow River, the Obvodny Canal and part of the embankments of the Yauza, from its estuary to the Sadovoye Circle.

The existing network of Moscow streets will be supplemented with a system of new streets "which will serve to relieve traffic in the centre and afford the city districts

Moscow River Embankment



direct communication with each other without necessarily

passing through the centre of the city."

The task of relieving the centre of a big city like Moscow from heavy traffic is one of the most important tasks in the planning of the city. This task is all the more complicated because Moscow is built on a radial-circular system wherein all the radial thoroughfares converge on the comparatively small central part of the city.

That is why the decision of the Council of People's Commissars and the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. projects the formation of a new avenue extending from Dzerzhinsky Square to the Palace of Soviets, Luzhniky and thence across the Moscow River to the Lenin Hills and the new southwestern district. This thoroughfare will greatly relieve the centre, by assuming the main burden of traffic.

Besides this central avenue of the Palace of Soviets, three new thoroughfares are being built, which will cut through the entire city in the following directions: 1) from Izmailovo Park to the Lenin Hills, 2) from Vsekhsvyatskoye along the Leningrad Highway to the Stalin Automobile Plant, and 3) from Ostankino Park across Marina Roshcha, Rozhdestvenka and across the Moscow River to Bolshaya Ordinka and Malaya Ordinka, Bolshaya Tulskaya and the Serpukhovsky Highway.

These three thoroughfares from northeast to southwest, from northwest to southeast, and from north to south will be the main thoroughfares of the city, each being 15 to 20 kilometres long.

In addition, there will be three new radial streets in the east end of Moscow: 1) from Nogin Square to Prolomnaya Zastava, 2) from Yauzskiye Vorota to the Stalin Automobile Plant, 3) from Pokrovskiye Vorota to the Kursk Railway Station. Two streets to run parallel to the present Kirovskaya and Arbat Streets—Novo-Kirovskaya and Novo-Arbatskaya Streets—are also being planned. In the same way, Moscow's circular thoroughfares and

squares will be reconstructed. The area of Red Square will be doubled by demolishing the building of the former State Department Stores. The central squares surrounding the Red Square—Nogin, Dzerzhinsky, Sverdlov and Revolution Squares—will also be among the first to be reconstructed.

In accordance with the decision, Kitay-Gorod is being cleared of small structures, in place of which several monumental government buildings are being erected. Zaradye, a part of Kitay-Gorod, has been designated as the site of the new building of the People's Commissariat of Heavy Industry.

A very important part of the planning of Moscow is

the creation of four streets, running past the centre and connecting the various districts of the city. These streets will be direct thoroughfares between 1) the White Russian-Baltic Railway Station and Komsomolsky Square, 2) the White Russian-Baltic Railway Station and the square in front of the Kiev Railway Station, Komsomolsky Square and Abelmanovskaya Zastava, and 4) Shelepikha,

October Square and the Stalin Automobile Plant.

The replanning of Moscow involves the abolition of small residential blocks with an area of 1.5 to 2 hectares, and the formation of new residential blocks to cover an area of 9 to 15 hectares. The houses will be not less than

6 storeys and up to 10 to 14 storeys.

To ensure that the population has the most healthful living conditions, all enterprises which are fire hazards or which are injurious from the point of view of sanitation

will be gradually removed from Moscow.

In a number of cases the reconstruction of the city

necessitates drastic measures. It is necessary to demolish buildings which obstruct the widening and straightening of the streets, not to mention those houses which are a liability not only because they are actually in the way, but which are moral liabilities because they were built extremely badly, purely as sources of rent for the landlords. Such dark and airless houses, with their pit-like court-yards where the sun very rarely penetrates and where the apartments are almost without ventilation, cannot be left in a socialist city. However, it goes without saying that it is impossible to wipe out this evil heritage of the past at one stroke, and that it must be done gradually, and according to a definite plan.

In the question of demolishing old buildings the policy of the proletariat is diametrically opposed to the policy of the bourgeoisie. The Soviet authorities provide new accommodations in well-appointed houses for all tenants of houses marked for demolition.

It is of interest to draw a comparison between Soviet conditions and the frightful pictures presented by the razing of the gloomy and ancient slums of the disinherited urban poor in capitalist cities* to understand the really fundamental difference between socialist reconstruction in our cities and that "Haussmann method" exposed so devastatingly by the great teacher of the proletariat, Frederich Engels, in his *Housing Question*.

About this bourgeois policy as expressed in the "Haussmann method" Marx wrote:

"Admire this capitalistic justice! The owner of land, of houses, the business man, when expropriated

^{*}Emil Zola, the famous French writer, depicts such scenes with great force in his novel *Paris*, describing Paris of the middle of the mineteenth century.

by 'improvements' such as railroads, the building of new streets, etc., not only receives full indemnity. He must, according to law, human and divine, be comforted for his enforced 'abstinence' over and above this by a thumping profit. The labourer, with his wife and child and chattels, is thrown out into the street, and—if he crowds in too large numbers towards quarters of the town where the vestries insist on decency—he is prosecuted in the name of sanitation!"*

The allocation of the enormous area of 100,000 square metres of floor-space for the temporary accommodation of the persons affected by the demolition of their quarters in connection with the planning of Moscow is witness to the solicitude of the Soviet government for its people.

Every clause of the decision on the reconstruction of Moscow speaks of only one thought, one desire: to improve in every way and to enhance to the utmost the well-being of the toiling masses of the Red capital of the glorious socialist fatherland, to make of Moscow a city worthy of its great title—capital of the U.S.S.R.

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^{*} Marx, Capital, Vol. I, p. 677, Swan Sonnenschein & Co., London, 1908.

THE TEN-YEAR PLAN OF GREAT WORK

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The decision of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. and the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. lays down for the next decade an exceptionally comprehensive plan of work for the reconstruction of Moscow and its municipal services and enterprises. This plan is designed to effect a radical improvement in the living and cultural conditions of the population of the city.

Above all the fulfilment of this plan will greatly improve the housing conditions of the toilers of the Soviet capital. The present area of living space is approximately 15,500,000 to 16,000,000 square metres as against 11,900,000 square metres in pre-revolutionary Moscow. According to the plan, 15,000,000 square metres of housing accommodation (nearly 2,500 houses) will be constructed during the next ten years, of which 3,000,000 square metres (about 500 houses) will be constructed in the course of the next three years—800,000 square metres in 1936, 1,000,000 square metres in 1937 and 1,200,000 square metres in 1938.

Thus in the course of the next ten years the living space of Moscow will be doubled. In other words, a new Moscow of the same size as the present Moscow will

be built, greatly excelling the old, however, in quality of construction, modern conveniences and architecture.

In addition to regular residences, the plans provide for the construction of six new hotels with 4,000 apartments, exclusive of the Moscow Soviet Hotel on Okhotny Ryad, and the hotel on the square in front of the Kiev Railway Station. In all, 5,500 hotel rooms and suites will be built. At the present time, there are only 2,250 rooms and suites in all the 22 hotels of Moscow. Hence, in the course of ten years, new hotels having two and a half times more rooms and suites than the number now available as hotel accommodation will be built. It is understood that the quality of these new hotels, the appoinments and general atmosphere of the new rooms in the hotels, will be far in advance of what they are now.

Passenger service within the city will be greatly developed. Besides the construction of the second and third sections of the subway, during the next three years the number of street-cars will be increased to 2,650 as against 1,256 before the Revolution. During the same period the number of trolley-buses will be increased to 1,000: that of motorbuses—to 1,500, and the number of taxis will increase to 2,500.

Tramway lines for the ten years will be extended from 450 kilometres to 850 kilometres, *i.e.*, nearly doubled, and, with the development of subway, motorbus and trolleybus traffic, will be gradually removed from the centre of the city and transferred to outlying streets.

Before the Revolution the streets and squares of Moscow were paved almost exclusively with cobblestones. Only 200,000 square metres, or 2 per cent of the Moscow streets and squares, were surfaced with asphalt or setts. This year more than 3,000,000 square metres of the city streets are surfaced with asphalt, setts, or macadam, *i.e.*,

nearly 30 per cent of all the Moscow streets and squares. Within the next ten years 10,000,000 new square metres of streets and squares will be surfaced, so that all the streets and squares of the city will be covered with asphalt. The only exception will be in the case of inclines which will be paved with small setts or paving brick, since asphalt makes inclines dangerous for motor-traffic, especially in wet weather and when frosts make the ground slippery.

According to the records of the old City Council, during 1908-11 Moscow paved an average annual area of 18,000 square sazhens (126,000 sq. ft.) with cobblestones. Had Moscow continued to treat its road surface at the same rate, it would have required seventy years to pave all the streets and squares of Moscow merely with cobblestones, to say nothing of asphalting.

Gorky Park of Culture and Rest



In surfacing streets the proper construction of drains is of great importance, otherwise rain water remains on the roadways and gradually washes away the surface instead of draining off. Dust, mud and stagnant water are as injurious to street surfaces as to people's clothing. It is also important that all operations which involve underground work should be carried out before the roadways and sidewalks have been surfaced, so that it will not be necessary to tear them up again. There are great systems of pipes, mains and cables under the streets in big cities: for water, sewage, heating, electricity, telephones, telegraph, etc. This vast system of underground installations will be so arranged and planned that all excavation work is completed by the time surfacing of the streets begins. All Moscow's underground installations will be laid in underground collectors.

The embankments of the Moscow River, the Obvodny Canal, and the Yauza River are being faced with granite. Before the Revolution only 4.5 kilométres of the Moscow River embankments were faced with sandstone. At the suggestion of Stalin, the work of facing the embankments was begun in 1933, and proceeded at the following rates: in 1933—2.3 kilometres were faced with granite, in 1934—4 to 5 kilometres, in 1935—about 10 kilometres.

The decision of the Council of People's Commissars and the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. makes obligatory the completion of the work of facing all the embankments along the banks of the Moscow River within the city limits in the course of the next three years, from Shelepikha on the northwest to Kozhukhovo on the southeast, viz., for a distance of 46 kilometres on which no work had been done hitherto. In addition 4 kilometres of embankment along the Obvodny Canal and 20 kilometres along the Yauza River will be built.

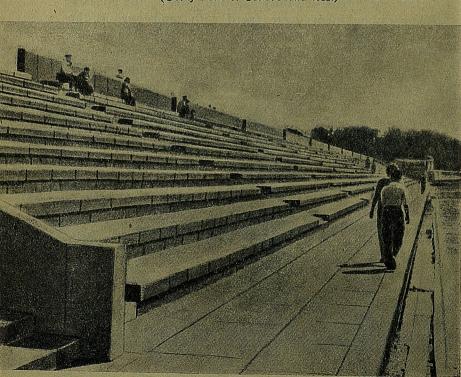
In the course of the next ten years, 11 new bridges will be built at a height of 8.6 metres above the water level; three bridges will be reconstructed and raised to the same elevation. This height will allow big Volga ships to pass freely under these bridges along the Moscow River, which, beyond the Babyegorod Dam will be raised 3 metres, making it 120 metres above sea level.

Four viaducts will be built, of which the Krestovsky Viaduct will be completed by 1938.

The capacity of the Moscow water-supply system before the Revolution was 27,000,000 Imperial gallons of water daily. By the end of 1935 the capacity of the water supply system was 150,000,000 gallons daily, *i.e.*, it increased five and a half times since the Revolution.

According to the decision of the Council of People's Commissars and the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.

Grandstand on the Moscow River Embankment (Gorky Park of Culture and Rest)



the capacity of the water supply system in 1939 will be increased to 288,000,000 gallons daily, *i.e.*, it will be nearly doubled as compared with the present capacity. In the subsequent six years, this capacity will be increased to 488,000,000 gallons per day. To realize this plan, new waterworks will be built—the Stalin Waterworks, using Volga water, with a daily capacity of 135,000,000 gallons by 1938; the Northern Waterworks on the Volga, with a capacity of 135,000,000 gallons and the Proletarian Waterworks in the southeastern section of the city, with a capacity of 68,000,000 gallons a day. In ten years more than 250 kilometres of mains and nearly 50 kilometres of water-supply pipes will be laid. At the present time the total length of the water mains is 120 kilometres.

Before the Revolution the Moscow sewage system was the most backward of all the municipal facilities. The capacity of the sewage farms was 15,000,000 gallons a day, and the system was 446 kilometres long. Since the Revolution the capacity of the sewage farms has increased to 68,000,000 gallons daily, *i.e.*, almost five times, and the length of the system is now 727 kilometres.

The decision of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. and the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. provides for an increase in the capacity of sewage farms to 165,000,000 gallons daily in the next three years, and in ten years to 271,000,000 gallons daily, which is four times greater than the present capacity. The capacity of the sewage canals will be increased from the present 54,000,000 gallons daily to 325,000,000 gallons by 1945.

The capacity of the heat-and-power stations* will be increased to 675,000 kw. instead of the present 89,000 kw. The Stalin Heat-and-Power Station with a capacity of

^{*} Power plants supplying central heating to urban areas by the use of turbine exhaust steam.

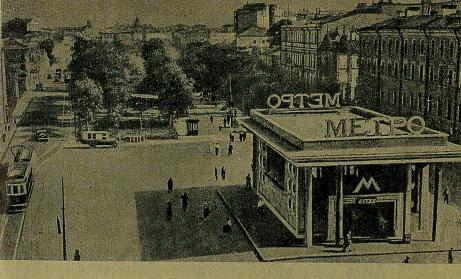
100,000 kw., the Frunze Heat-and-Power Station with a capacity of 50,000 kw., the heat-and-power station of the Stalin Automobile Plant with a capacity of 25,000 kw., the heat-and-power station of the All-Union Heating Institute with a capacity of 64,000 kw. and the Moscow Electric Power Station (Moges) with a capacity of 24,000 kw. will be completed in 1937.

According to the plan, 390 schools working in a single shift, and accommodating 350,000 children will be built in three years. This number of schools and seats exceeds all the school accommodation built in the whole history of Moscow. For the entire decade, 539 schools will be built. Of course in respect to quality the new schools will be far better than the old ones.

In the course of ten years, at least 17 hospitals will be built, with approximately 7,000 beds, and 27 dispensaries (at present there are 13 dispensaries in Moscow).

According to the plan for serving the cultural requirements of Moscow, 50 cinemas, 3 houses of culture, one children's house of culture, and 7 clubs will be built during the course of ten years.

To develop Soviet retail trade and public catering, the plan provides for the construction of: 9 large department stores, 5 cold-storage plants with a total capacity of 50,000 tons, underground storehouses for the storing of vegetables with a 600,000 ton capacity, 3 grain elevators with a 175,000 ton capacity, 6 mechanized bakeries and 5 large factories for supplying semi-prepared food to public dining-rooms.



Kirovsky Subway Station

THE ROLE OF THE SUBWAY IN THE RECONSTRUCTION OF MOSCOW

Municipal transportation facilities play a great role in the life of big cities. They are of special importance in the land of socialism.

Having the shortest working day in the world—a seven hour-day—the workers and toilers of the cities of the Soviet Union enjoy enough leisure time to take an active part in the political and social life of the country. Leisure time is widely used for cultural development, for the satisfaction of the varied cultural demands and requirements which have grown so tremendously since the Revolution.

In no city in the world has the utilization of urban transportation facilities by the population developed at

such rates as in the socialist cities of the U.S.S.R. In this respect, Moscow holds first place among the world's cities.

The following table shows the increase in the number of passengers carried since the Revolution in comparison with 1913.

NUMBER OF PASSENGERS CARRIED IN MOSCOW

Years	In millions	In percentages of 1913	In percentages of the preceding
			year
1913	257.4	100	
1929	762.4	296	114.5
1930	936.1	363.5	123.0
1931	1,412	548.5	151.0
1932	1,864.4	724	132.0
1933	1,970.6	765	105.5
1934	2.018.2	784	105.0

Thus, in comparison with pre-revolutionary times, the number of passengers carried by Moscow's municipal transportation system has increased almost eightfold.

The rate of growth was particularly high in the years of the First Five-Year Plan. In 1931, for example, the increase was absolutely phenomenal—51 per cent more passengers were carried than in 1930.

The table on page 51 shows the average utilization of urban transportation facilities by the Moscow population.

These figures show the enormous increase in the use of Moscow transportation facilities, which is almost four times greater than before the Revolution.

NUMBER OF JOURNEYS PER INHABITANT PER YEAR

Years	Journeys	In percentages of 1913	In percentages of the preceding
			. yea r
1913	148	100	
1929	328	·229	106.0
1930	382	258	116.5
1931	502	339	132.0
1932	552	373	110.0
1933	555	375	100.5
1934	564	381	102.0

According to the reconstruction plan Moscow is being built for a population of 5,000,000 instead of the present 3,600,000. At the same time, the working day will be further reduced and the transportation facilities will be improved continually.

The number of journeys per year will therefore necessarily continue to rise from year to year, and it is safe to estimate that it will increase to at least twice the present number, *i.e.*, to about 4,000,000,000 journeys per year.

It is interesting to compare the figures of transportation in Moscow with those of some of the capitalist cities.

In *Berlin* in 1932 the number of passengers conveyed was 1,221,000, which represented 68 per cent as compared with the preceding year, and in 1933, 1,161,000 passengers were carried, or 95 per cent of the figure for the preceding year. In respect of the number of journeys per inhabitant, Berlin is nearly 50 per cent behind Moscow. Thus, each Berlin resident made an average of 287 journeys per year in 1932 and 273 journeys in 1933, nearly one-half of the Moscow figure.

In Paris the average is higher—420 journeys per resident in 1932—but it is also considerably behind Moscow.

In New York only in the bumper year of "prosperity" —1928—did city transportation reach the figure of 560 journeys per inhabitant. However, it fell sharply in the years of the crisis, and even in 1933 when there was a certain economic improvement it was only 450 journeys per year, viz., less than in Moscow.

Up to the present time, most of the passenger service in Moscow falls to the share of the street-cars, which convey 95 per cent of the city passengers. In recent years this form of municipal transportation has been greatly developed, as a result of which the length of street-car lines reached 442.3 kilometres in 1934 as against 262 kilometres in 1913, and 336 kilometres in 1928. In the same period, the number of street-cars increased from 1,256 in 1913 and 1,349 in 1928 to 2,475 by January 1, 1935, or almost twofold.

A comparison of the increase in the number of street-car journeys with the increase in the length of the street-car lines and the number of new street-cars shows a great discrepancy—the latter two increasing much less than the number of journeys. This led to a considerable aggravation of the traffic strain. The Moscow street-cars carry 8,200,000 passengers per kilometre of double track. Hence the great overcrowding of the street-cars—775,000 per car annually.

The load on the street-car system of Moscow—8,200,-000 passengers per kilometre of track annually—exceeds not only the density of passenger movement in the Berlin street-cars, which carried about 1,440,000 passengers per kilometre of track in 1929, a peak year for Berlin traffic, but is even greater than the load on the subway lines of great cities like Berlin, which handles about 5,000,000 passengers per kilometre of track, Paris, which handles 7,000,000, and London, which handles 3,500,000.

In the second form of public transportation—motor-buses—the number of passengers carried in Moscow increased from 50,700,000 in 1928 to 92,300,000 in 1934, *i.e.*, by 80 per cent, and the number of motorbuses increased from 163 units in 1928 to 400 as for Jan. 1, 1935, or two and a half times.

The system of motorbus routes was extended from 162 kilometres in 1928, to 366 kilometres as for Jan. 1, 1935, *i.e.*, it doubled. However, notwithstanding this increase, the motorbus still plays an insufficient part in the municipal transportation services, handling a total of approximately 4 to 5 per cent of the passenger turnover of the city, while in cities with a smaller passenger turnover like Berlin and Paris, the motorbus conveys 9.5 per cent and 19 per cent of the passengers, respectively. In Berlin there are 700 motorbuses, and there are 1,500 in Paris.

And lastly, the latest and youngest form of urban transportation, with the exception of the subway, is the trolley-bus, introduced in November 1933, and having the broadest perspective for further development.

In 1934 trolley-buses carried 5,900,000 passengers. There were 33 trolley-buses on January 1, 1935, and 60 by the end of 1935.

In this form of transportation the Soviet Union is rapidly overtaking, and in a number of cases has already overtaken, capitalist countries.

The various forms of public transportation by which Moscow has been served until very recently, despite their enormous development, could not cope with the continually increasing demand for transportation. It was this backwardness of the transportation facilities in face of the rising demand of the population for service that led to the decision of the June (1931) Plenum of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. on the construction of the subway

in Moscow "as the chief instrument for the solution of the problem of affording the people rapid and cheap passenger service."

Four years have passed since the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party heard the report of L. M. Kaganovich on the socialist reconstruction of Moscow and the cities of the U.S.S.R., and adopted the decision on the necessity of building the subway. And now in opening the first section of the subway, one of the most magnificent creations our age has produced, the working class of the U.S.S.R. can justly pride itself in its great achievement.

In 1931, on the eve of the Plenum of the Central Committee, a heated discussion was carried on in the Soviet press and among the municipal workers as to whether Moscow needed a subway.

A considerable number of the so-called "theoreticians" on municipal enterprises—and they were seconded by many practical men—were opposed to the construction of a subway not for reasons of utility, but "on principle." They went so far as to say that the subway is a purely capitalist form of transportation, that it is an "anti-social form of urban transportation," that Communists must categorically veto the very idea of building a subway.

People wrote in all seriousness—and there were those who took these people seriously and listened to their "revelations"—that under socialism the population will not move about more rapidly but more slowly than under capitalism. These "theoreticians" asserted that the population will not have to move about so much since everything for the service of man will be found at his own doorstep. In other words, according to their "theory," in the future people were to become self-sufficient stick-in-the-muds.

In essence these people preached not proletarian, but petty-bourgeois socialism.

There was even a theory that propounded the so-called "constrained mobility" of the population of the Soviet Union. The "profound substance" of this false theory was that the mobility of the urban population of the Soviet Union is greater in comparison with the largest capitalist cities only because the population is not distributed properly, and because the services at its disposal are not well organized.

These would-be theoreticians regarded the growing mobility of the Soviet population not as a progressive, but as an extremely abnormal phenomenon.

It is now clear to everyone in the Soviet Union that these people were preaching outright bourgeois views, that they were propagandists of the most reactionary, antiproletarian ideas in the sphere of developing socialist cities. But at that time there were many adherents of these views who were not averse to any artificial measures for retarding the rapid development of urban transportation facilities in Soviet cities. Blind to the great achievements of the Revolution, they greatly exaggerated certain negative features which actually existed in our cities.

Before the Revolution the factory worker, the office employee and the clerk worked, as a rule, eleven, twelve and more hours a day. The wife of the worker or office employee was a domestic slave, fettered to the kitchen and the cradle. Culture was beyond the reach of the masses; in its stead there were the church and the pub.

The workers in the suburbs were very poorly served by municipal transportation facilities; besides, their wages were too small to permit them to ride every day. Not far from the factories, in everlasting filth, soot and smoke were the so-called workers' barracks, "dormitories," "keeps," doss-houses, slums and cellars, where the hired slaves of capital lived in inhuman conditions. This is the primary cause for the extremely low mobility of the urban population of pre-revolutionary Russia.

The parasitic upper classes did nothing to develop the municipal transportation service, since they had private vehicles at their disposal.

In the cities of the land of socialism the worker works only seven hours a day. Unemployment has been abolished. The adult working population has been drawn into active productive, political and cultural activity. The working class women have also been drawn into production, lead an active public life and are not disfranchised domestic slaves, fettered to their kitchens.

Science and art, theatres and clubs, cinemas and parks

—all these are accessible to the broad masses. After work, the worker and his family still have enough time to go to the theatre, to the club, to a lecture, on an excursion, to the park, to the stadium, or to pay visits to comrades.

Of course, the so-called "constrained journeys" of the

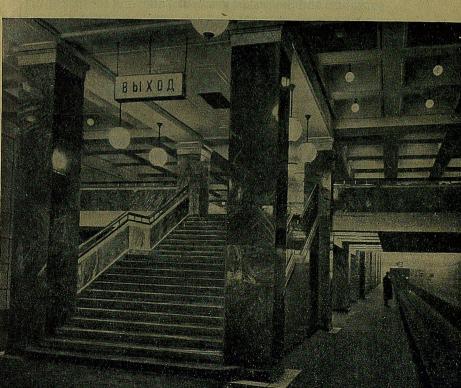
Of course, the so-called "constrained journeys" of the population are of some significance too. Of the 564 average annual journeys per inhabitant of Moscow, 100 to 150 might be necessitated by the poor distribution of the population, the distance from the place of work, the insufficiency of shops and cultural centres, etc., in the outlying districts.

All efforts are being exerted to eliminate these defects. But it must not be forgotten that there is such a thing as "constrained immobility" as well as "constrained mobility," and the former is probably well in excess of the latter. Every resident of a big city in the Soviet Union knows only too well that one may sometimes put off a visit to the cinema, to the club, and so on, because the municipal transportation service is still poor.

However, there was so much opposition to building the subway that before the job of overcoming the geological obstructions in the depths of the Moscow earth could be begun, the ideological obstacles in the "depths" of human brains had to be overcome. And before beginning to struggle with the quicksands along the route of the subway, the people who had such false ideas had to be extricated from their own ideological "quicksands."

And here as in all stages of the struggle of the Soviet Union for socialism, as in all sectors of socialist construction, the great role of Stalin was in evidence. He immediately pointed out that this problem was one of principle and not a narrow technical question, that it was a profoundly political question, a question of the paths of development of socialist cities.

Platform of Subway Station at Sokolniky



It was not only a question of the subway. It was a question of what type of socialist cities would be built, of whether Soviet cities would be developed according to the pattern of capitalist cities, of whether the Soviet government would build according to the proposals of petty-bourgeois decriers of cities in general—or whether the path of the Soviet Union would be a new path, a special road, a road along which the proletarian state is moving and cannot but move, the road of the creation of socialist cities, of centres of socialist economy and culture.

Thus, the final decision to build the subway was essentially a decision for the creation of a truly socialist city; the subway itself was the first step in the radical reconstruction of Moscow.

The first section of the subway was built in record time. In quality, the Moscow subway is far in advance of subways abroad. It has, for instance, the biggest radii of curvature and the easiest gradients, allowing for maximum safety and speed. In Moscow the diameter of the tunnel is 5.5 metres, as against 3.7 in London and 5.2 in New York. This allows for subway carriages of the most comfortable and convenient size.

Each Moscow subway station is laid out in a straight line, which ensures the maximum safety for the passengers. The maximum width of the platforms of the Moscow subway stations is 4 metres, as against 1.5 in Paris and London and 3.5 in New York. The artificial ventilation in Moscow is the best—changing the atmosphere nine times an hour, as against four times in Berlin, five times in London and six times in New York. The Moscow subway is by far the best in architectural treatment.

The average speed of the subway (including stops) is twice that of a street-car (25-35 kilometres an hour as against 12-16 kilometres); its capacity is three times against 18,000 persons by street-car). Thus, in addition to the fact that it is not hindered by traffic (as street-cars are), that it does not constitute a hazard to pedestrians and that its service is more rapid and punctual, it can serve many thousands more people, considerably lightening surface traffic.

The Moscow subway is the prototype of the socialist public utility, and in this lies its historic significance. The

greater (48-60,000 persons per hour in one direction as

public utility, and in this lies its historic significance. The U.S.S.R. is proud of the fact that the Moscow subway is the very best creation of engineering and architecture and that there is no subway equal to it in any capitalist country.

The subway of the revolution, is a revolution in sub-

ways. And there is no doubt that all the municipal transportation facilities which the Soviets are reconstructing and developing will completely revolutionize the daily life of the Soviet Union's cities.

Moscow owes its great accomplishment in the cons-

truction of the first section of the subway primarily to the successes scored in the socialist industrialization of the Soviet Union, and to the enormous achievements attained by the mighty and flourishing socialist country under the leadership of the Bolshevik Central Committee and the leader of the proletariat—Stalin.

Moscow owes this accomplishment to the heroism of the Moscow Bolsheviks and proletarians who built the subway under the brilliant leadership of L. M. Kaganovich (at present Commissar of Railways) and his closest associate, N. S. Khrushchev (now Secretary of the Moscow Party Committee). Moscow owes this accomplishment to the assistance and support of the entire Party membership and all the proletarians of the Soviet Union.

The role of the human factor in the construction of the subway, in particular the role of the Moscow Y.C.L. members whose excellent work on the subway won them the highest award—the Order of Lenin—is shown in the statement of the American engineer, G. Morgan, who wrote:

"When we began to work with the shield the head office of 'Metrostroy' asked me to fix the speed. From a study of the geological conditions and a calculation of the requisite pressure of air I gave the figure as one metre per day.

"Later on when I was having a talk with the English experts who had had 25-35 years' experience on shield work and who had been invited over to work the shield here, I gathered that their absolute limit under the existing conditions was 0.75 metres per day. The commission of French experts put the limit at the same figure. Then it seemed to me that my calculations were too optimistic.

"Well, and how did it turn out? In no time at all."

the shield began to do 3 metres! As it happened my calculations for the soils, the shield itself, and the air pressure had been fully confirmed. I had just underestimated the human element, I had been mistaken in the people working the shield."

Old Moscow was characterized by executions and pogroms, epidemics and fires, the shooting of revolutionary workers and monstrous exploitation of the masses.

But new Moscow—Soviet Moscow—is a world centre, a flourishing socialist city, the international capital of the workers and toilers of all lands, it is the dream city of all who are oppressed and exploited.

Moscow has pressed forward with gigantic strides. Nothing can stop it. And the role of the subway in the great transfiguration of the Soviet capital can hardly be exaggerated.

WIDE, WELL-KEPT, BEAUTIFUL STREETS

In old Moscow the Revolution found a capital with extremely narrow, crooked and short streets, with frequent turnings and crossings, with sharp windings and with a host of blind alleys, lanes and bye-ways.

In the symposium Moscow Today (published in Russian in 1912) we read:

"The thoroughfares of the city cover 18 per cent of the total area of Moscow. The very relation of the area of the thoroughfares to the total area of the city shows that the width of the Moscow streets is far from sufficient. As a matter of fact, the average width of the big Moscow streets does not exceed 8.5 sazhens (18.1 metres) and of the pereuloks—5.5 sazhens (11.7 metres). The total length of all the streets in Moscow comes to 576 versts, which is made up of the following categories: 393 streets, 1,031 pereuloks, 87 blind alleys, 38 boulevards and 30 embankments."

Such was old Moscow. Streets 12-18 metres wide and a great jumble of pereuloks and blind alleys, outnumbering the streets three times over.

In accordance with the decision on the reconstruction of Moscow, the Moscow Soviet has set itself the task first

and foremost of widening, straightening, and levelling the streets, and of abolishing excessive crossings.

At the present time Moscow has 666 streets, 1,326 pereuloks, 119 blind alleys, 59 embankments and 39 boulevards and avenues.

With the extension of the territory of the city representing an almost threefold increase in area (28,500 hectares in 1935 as against 9,000 hectares in 1913) the number of streets has almost doubled, while the number of pereuloks and blind alleys has increased by only one-third.

This is explained by the fact that from the very beginning of the Revolution big streets were laid out in the new parts of the city, not lanes and blind alleys.

As is shown in the following table, the width of Moscow streets at the present time is altogether inadequate for modern urban traffic and particularly for the enormous development of auto-transport which is being planned for Moscow.

This is shown below.

The transfer of the transfer of the transfer of the	Width (in metres)	
Gorky St.	20	
At the narrowest point	14.7	
Bolshaya Dmitrovka	19.6	
Dzerzhinsky St.	20.5	
Kirov St.	21.5	
Marosseika	19.1	
Solyanka	20.1	
Bolshaya Ordinka	18.7	
Malaya Ordinka	15.1	
Bolshaya Yakimanka	20.6	
Bolshaya Polyanka	19.1	
Comintern St.	22.5	

	Width (in metres)
Arbat	20.3
Herzen St.	23.5
Kropotkin St.	21.5

We see then that the average width of the radial thoroughfares in the central part of Moscow varies between 18 and 20 metres, and in some cases drops to 15 metres.

Because the city has been developed through the centuries along the radial-circular system, the following anomaly arises: the nearer the radial streets get to the centre, where one would expect them to be widest, the narrower they become, and the farther away from the centre and the nearer to the outskirts, the wider they become.

For instance, Tverskaya-Yamskaya, the continuation of Gorky Street from Sadovoye Circle to Kamer-Kollezhesky Val is 34.5 metres wide on the average, or one and a half to two times as wide as Gorky Street. The Leningrad Highway—the continuation of Gorky Street—is 118 metres wide. Malaya Dmitrovka is 24.6 metres wide; Kalayevskaya—a continuation of the latter—is 28.6 metres wide, and Novoslobodskaya—the continuation of Kalayevskaya—is 41.9 metres wide; the First Meshchanskaya—a continuation of Dzerzhinsky—is 41.7 metres wide; Krasnoprudny—a continuation of Kirov Street—is 36.2 metres wide, and Bolshaya Cherkizovskaya—a continuation of Kirov Street—is 41.1 metres wide.

In deciding what the normal width of the streets should be the following factors were considered, bearing in mind, however, that not all streets would be the same, since every street should be planned according to its importance either for transport or other purposes and should be laid out accordingly.

The major elements in the width of a city street are as follows: a sidewalk with a minimum width of 3 metres on each side of the road, a street-car line with a minimum width of 7 metres, and a roadway on either side of the street-car line with a minimum width of 3.5 metres on either side. Thus, the narrowest street with a street-car line and a roadway designed for a single column of vehicular traffic in both directions should be 20 metres. But since streets with street-car lines cannot as a rule be limited to a single column of vehicular traffic and the minimum width for the sidewalks, it is estimated that the minimum width for Moscow streets should be the following: sidewalk-4 to 5 metres on either side, the roadway—accommodating 3 columns of vehicular traffic (a column in either direction and one side for parking) -8 to 9 metres on either side, and the street-car line—7 to 9 metres, making a total of approximately 30 to 35 metres (sidewalks 8 to 10 metres, roadway 16 to 18 metres, street-car lines 7 to 9 metres).

The busy streets and main thoroughfares, however, will have sidewalks approximately 6 metres wide, and in many cases will be lined with trees, which in their turn will take up not less than 2 metres. The roadways will be designed not for a minimum average of 3 columns of vehicular traffic, but for at least 4 to 5 columns which will take up no less than 15 metres of roadway on either side. In those cases where the street-car lines are left on such streets, the total width will be 53 to 55 metres (sidewalks—12 metres, planted area—4 metres, roadway—30 metres, street-car lines—7 to 9 metres).

A number of the principal thoroughfares will be 60 to 70 metres wide. In such cases the sidewalks and roadways will not be made wider, since the widening of the roadway to allow for 5 columns of vehicular traffic would

entail some inconvenience both for vehicular transport itself and for pedestrians. In these cases boulevards 15 to 20 metres wide will be laid out in the middle of the street.

Paths for cycling as well as for ski-ing and skating in winter will be laid out along these boulevards.

The question of the width of streets has been presented here only from the point of view of transportation because transportation is the prime factor to be considered in determining the width. But it would be incorrect to

confine oneself to merely the transportation aspect of the A street case. is more than an artery for transportation. The layout of a street and width are influenced by many other phases of town-planning. Architecture in particular plays a very important part in this matter. since a street of a socialist city must represent an integral architectural

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whole, composed of a number of complete architectural ensembles.

In conclusion it is of interest to note the width of the promenades and business streets of capitalist cities. The following table gives the widths of the most famous streets of the big cities of Western Europe and the U.S.A.

following table gives the widths of the	
of the big cities of Western Europe	
Paris	Width (in metres)
Champs d'Elysées	97
Cour Vincennes	88.5
Avenue de la Grand Armée	73
Avenue Carnot	42.6
Berlin	
Unter den Linden	62.2
Kurfürstendamm	53
Bismarckstrasse	50.
Tiergartenstrasse	30
Friedrichstrasse	22.3
Vienna	
Ringstrasse	59.2
Rome	
Vittorio Benito	37.6
Brussels	Light of the Market West
Boulevard Midi	69.5
London	
The Mall	48.8
Liverpool	
Muirhead Avenue	67
New York	
Queens Boulevard	61
Upper Broadway	4.7
Fifth Avenue	30.6
Chicago .	And the second of the second o
South Parkway	60.4
Michigan Avenue	39.6

However, even the widest streets and boulevards of advanced capitalist cities will be surpassed by such Moscow avenues as the Palace of Soviets Avenue, the avenue leading to the Stalin Plant, the Ostankino-Ordinka artery and particularly by the new streets of the southwestern territory beyond the Lenin Hills.

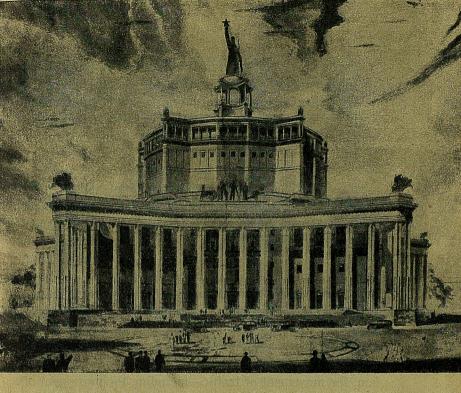
THE STYLE OF NEW MOSCOW

Socialism will put you in barracks! Socialism will take all the joy out of life! These are slogans by means of which defenders of the capitalist system seek to antagonize the toilers against the socialist order.

In the sphere of architecture the Leftist phrasemongers tried to ascribe views to the proletariat which are foreign to it. Instead of utilizing to the full the cultural heritage of past centuries, and critically assimilating it, the vulgarizers in architecture proposed to dump everything onto the dust heap of history, discarding even the best of what has remained from the past.

The decision of the Council of People's Commissars and the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. decisively rejects any such attitude towards architecture, and demands the utilization "of the best examples of classical and modern architecture."

The planning of the city will establish for many decades in advance the layout of the city, of its individual districts, its main thoroughfares, squares and its entire system of streets, its blocks of houses and public buildings, its transportation system, particularly in respect to the vast undertaking of the new railroad junction, the subway and the Moscow-Volga Canal,



Theatre of the Red Army (project)

The larger the city, the greater is its role in the economic, political and cultural life of the country and the more vital is the given stage in the city's development as a stage establishing the main lines of its development for decades to come, the more responsible is the task of planning the city. That is why the planning of Moscow is such an exceptionally important matter at the present stage.

"The great work now being carried out on the reconstruction of the municipal services and enterprises of Moscow," says the decision of the Council of People's Commissars and the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., "and the still greater scope of the work to be carried out in the near future make it particularly important to have a fixed plan for the building of the city, since the extensive development of construction in Moscow without a unified plan may extremely complicate the life and reorganization of the city in the future."

The planning of a Soviet city is a vast and complex undertaking such as no other epoch has contemplated. And indeed can one speak seriously of planning in former epochs at all? The "planners" of the past were either utopians who left us only the outlines of their utopia-cities, without having built anything "in real life," or architects who built various ensembles, for the most part certain public squares (particularly during the Renaissance), or bourgeois "planners" of the type of the Paris prefect, Haussmann, whose plan followed a horizontal scheme and ignored the height of buildings, i.e., solved only one problem, the movement of traffic—including the movement of artillery shells. (As is known, in replanning Paris Haussmann chiefly pursued the aim of depriving the workers of the opportunity of building barricades in the crooked and narrow streets which were inaccessible to artillery fire.) Town-"planning" under capitalism can no more be considered actual planning, than the "planning" of an individual enterprise, trust or even entire branch of capitalist industry can be considered "organized" capitalism.

This, of course, does not mean that Soviet town-planning has nothing to learn from the past. On the contrary, there is much that can and must be taken from the rich heritage of the architecture of the past, particularly from the masters of the Renaissance, much that can be learned even from contemporaries, however limited the aims they set themselves. But the Soviet Union approaches this ex-

perience, as it approaches all the culture of the past, critically, adapting it to the interests of the working class and all the toilers.

The socialist epoch demands a new style of planning and architecture. The architecture of a socialist city must express the strength of the working class, must express the vast front of socialist construction and imbue it with the fervour of emancipated labour, of a rising culture, of advancing science, and of flourishing art.

At no time in the past have such tremendous tasks been undertaken in the construction of cities.

The sheer daring and scale of construction of socialist cities in the Soviet Union, and of Moscow in particular, make the boldest and most striking ideas of the best architects of other epochs pale in comparison.

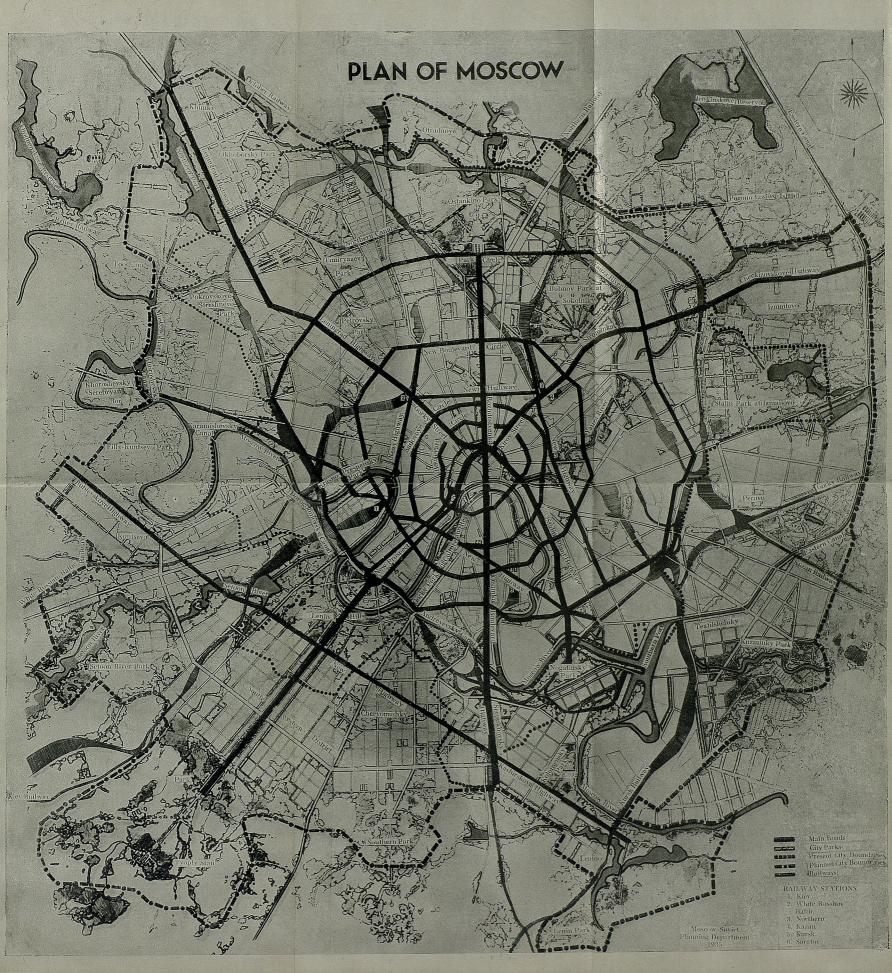
"The Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. and the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. emphasize

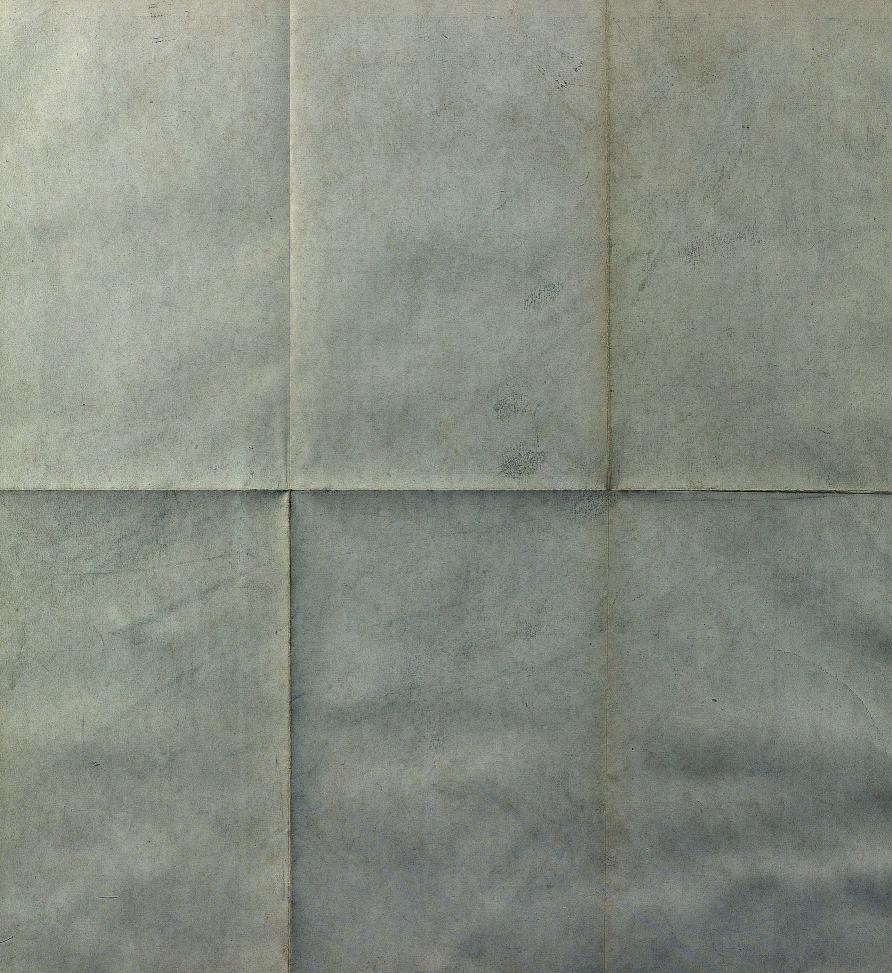
Office Building of the People's Commissariat for Agriculture



the fact that the task of the Party and the Soviet organs of Moscow consist not only in formally executing the plan of reconstruction of the city of Moscow, but first and foremost in building and creating high quality structures for the toilers, of ensuring that construction in the capital of the U.S.S.R. as well as the architectural design of the capital as a whole shall fully reflect the grandeur and beauty of the socialist epoch."

Under the masterly leadership of the great architect of socialist society, Stalin, Moscow, the capital of the land of Soviets, will become the best city in the world in all its facilities, in culture and in appearance.





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Andrew Commencer (1998)

