

# Contents

**Acknowledgments ix**

**Note on Transliteration and Abbreviations xi**

**Introduction 1**

**1  
Red Moscow 10**

**2  
The Palace 28**

**3  
The War 57**

**4  
Moscow of the Plan 79**

**5  
Moscow of the Shadows 111**

**6  
The *Vysotniki* 137**

**7  
The View from the Top 171**

**8  
De-Stalinization and the Battle against “Excess” 191**

**Epilogue 215**

**Notes 219**

**Bibliography 249**

**Index 263**

# INTRODUCTION

In 1947, Soviet architects and engineers embarked on a project to transform the cityscape of the Soviet capital through the construction of eight skyscrapers. When seven of these monumental buildings were completed in the 1950s, they would serve as elite apartment complexes, as luxury hotels, and as the headquarters of Moscow State University, the Ministry of Railways, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Yet, in 1947, the function of Moscow's skyscrapers was secondary to the role these structures were to play collectively on the cityscape. These buildings stood as monuments to Soviet victory in the Great Patriotic War, as pillars of Russian cultural achievement, and as evidence of the USSR's emergence as a world superpower in the postwar era. The skyscrapers were designed with the express purpose of transforming Moscow into a world-class capital city—as Stalin put it, “the capital of all capitals.”<sup>1</sup> Monumental by design, Moscow's skyscraper project had far-reaching consequences for the urban fabric of the Soviet capital and its inhabitants alike.

This book is a study of monumentalism and its consequences. It is a history of efforts during the Stalin era to transform Moscow from a provincial and run-down former Russian capital into *the* showcase socialist city. In the 1930s, Soviet officials and leading architects began to implement large-scale building projects in Moscow, including the Moscow-Volga Canal and the first lines of the Moscow metro. Construction of the Palace of Soviets also got underway during the 1930s. This enormous structure would have been the tallest building in the world had it been completed as planned. While in the interwar period Muscovites celebrated the construction of the large underground palaces of the metro, they would have to wait until the postwar years to witness the emergence of tall towers on their cityscape.

Moscow's postwar skyscraper project built upon the work begun in the interwar years with an even more ambitious program. The vision for the capital that emerged in 1947 placed the still-unbuilt Palace of Soviets at the center of a citywide skyscraper ensemble. With the Palace in the middle, there were to be nine skyscrapers in all. And although in the end only seven of these structures were completed, the desired effect was achieved. Each building is positioned at some distance from the next, elevating the cityscape with staccato peaks that gaze toward one another across the city below. The similarities between these tiered, ornate structures serve to unite the cityscape, creating a sense of continuity and repetition along the horizon. Moscow's skyscrapers continue to stand today as the quintessential architectural works of the Stalin era. Collectively, they are known, in English, as the “seven sisters.” In Russian, they are known as Stalin's “*vysotki*.” Together, they made, and make, Moscow monumental.



There is nothing new about architectural monumentalism. In fact, many who study this phenomenon are experts in the history of the ancient world. As archaeologist Bruce Trigger explains, architecture is monumental when its scale exceeds the practical function that the building is intended to perform.<sup>2</sup> Whether it is a residential structure or a public building, that which exists in excess of pure necessity is, by this definition, part of what makes the building “monumental.” This is not to say that monumentalism is without function. Monumental structures do more than simply contain and shelter people and things; they also guard and convey meaning and memory. From palaces to temples to tombs, monumental architecture throughout history has served the purpose of honoring one’s connection to the sacred and communicating the right to rule. Building monumentally typically serves an official purpose, tied as it is to the desire to project power or make a statement. Whether it is a pyramid or a ziggurat, a Gothic cathedral or a skyscraper, monumentality has proven useful to many societies throughout history. The Soviet Union was no exception.

The Soviet Union under Stalin was, among twentieth-century societies, one of the most enamored with architectural monumentalism. In Moscow in the 1930s, the question of architectural monumentality was brought to the fore by the Palace of Soviets. This building project prompted not just architects and engineers, but ordinary Soviet citizens as well, to reflect on monumentalism. What was the purpose of monumental structures in a “proletarian” state? What symbols and values should they communicate? While the Palace of Soviets was to stand as a monument to an individual—Lenin—it was also a structure that would bring together the collective. As Henri Lefebvre put it when commenting on the long global history of building monumentally, “monumental space offered each member of a society an image of that membership, an image of his or her social visage. It thus constituted a collective mirror more faithful than any personal one.”<sup>3</sup> That Soviet citizens might look up at the Palace of Soviets and see themselves was precisely the point.

But the Palace of Soviets was never finished. Instead, in 1947 work began in Moscow on eight other structures, seven of which were completed. The Palace of Soviets would remain an important icon through the Stalin years, but only its progeny—a ring of skyscrapers—would take real form. While historians have typically focused on the idealized visions for Moscow’s iconic structures, this book looks at what happened when monumental plan met material reality during the final years of the Stalin era. From the displacement of residents to the downfall of architectural and political elites, Moscow’s skyscrapers changed the course of political, social, and cultural life in the Soviet capital. Insofar as they served as mirrors in which each individual could understand their place in the collective (to borrow Lefebvre’s phrase), Moscow’s skyscrapers reflected different images to different people. This book explores what those diverse groups, from architects to workers to residents, saw in these buildings.



The enormous energy dedicated to making Moscow monumental brought with it a number of consequences specific to the Soviet, and Stalinist, context: it fostered internationalism, reshaped the city of Moscow in unintended ways, and served as an opportunity to connect the Soviet capital to the pre-revolutionary Russian past. First, Soviet architectural monumentalism compelled Moscow’s architects to engage with

the wider world beyond socialist borders. In their work on the Palace of Soviets in the 1930s, Moscow's architects went abroad, seeking technical knowledge that would enable them to build ever higher. In 1934, Palace of Soviets architect Boris Iofan led a group of his colleagues on a study tour of major building sites across the United States. On this trip, Iofan and his team hired a New York-based engineering firm to assist with work on the Palace of Soviets in Moscow. And when they were in Manhattan, the Soviet group toured the Rockefeller Center construction site, where they made lasting connections to the American building industry. The relationship between Soviet internationalism and monumentalism changed in the postwar years, when the focus shifted from the dream of the Palace of Soviets to the construction of eight other skyscrapers. Moscow's postwar skyscrapers, in contrast to the never-realized Palace of Soviets, transformed Soviet monumentalism from socialist realist projection to built reality with long-lasting consequences.

Built in the first years of the Cold War, Moscow's skyscrapers signaled a shift in the way the Soviet Union positioned itself globally. Gone were the days when Soviet architects would go abroad—least of all to America—for assistance. Now, architects from the expanding socialist world would flock to Moscow to study the capital city's new buildings. There was newfound irony in transforming the icon of capitalist triumph, the skyscraper, into a symbol of communism. And the message about Soviet supremacy that Moscow's architects sought to convey with their buildings was one that refused to translate beyond socialist borders. Nonetheless, Moscow's skyscrapers played an important role in the shifting dynamics of Soviet internationalism. By examining the 1930s through the 1950s, this book traces the long build-up to the *Zhdanovshchina*: the xenophobic and anti-Western ideological campaigns that dominated Soviet culture in the postwar Stalin period.

Second, this book argues that Stalin-era monumentalism had much larger consequences than its planners and architects originally intended—consequences that affected both the shape of the Soviet capital and the lives of its inhabitants. Moscow's postwar skyscrapers symbolized the stability and longevity of the Stalinist regime in the wake of Soviet victory in 1945. Yet in the day-to-day life of the capital these buildings were destabilizing structures that rose only to create new chasms in late-Stalinist society. In 1952, I. G. Kartashov wrote a letter to Lavrentii Beria, the Soviet official who oversaw the construction of Moscow's eight skyscrapers until his arrest in 1953. Kartashov had worked on the skyscraper at the Red Gates. "I took part in the construction," Kartashov wrote, "and the whole time I cherished a dream that I might be lucky enough to live out my old age in that building."<sup>4</sup> Kartashov dreamed of escaping the damp room he lived in with his family in a communal apartment in Moscow. His hopes, like those of so many others, would not and could not be satisfied by Stalinist monumentalism. While the Soviet state granted apartments in the residential skyscrapers to a number of elites, far more Soviet citizens were left to carry on dreaming.

In addition to creating disillusionment among Muscovites like Kartashov, Moscow's postwar skyscrapers led to disappointment among another group: the tens of thousands of people evicted from their homes and displaced to the outskirts of the city. Monumentalism propelled the urban expansion of Moscow outward, all while solidifying and making ever more visible the social hierarchies of late Stalinism. The

project also required the influx of large numbers of construction workers—both free and incarcerated—brought into Moscow from the hinterland. In order to build the skyscrapers, construction managers found themselves tasked with hastily building housing and other amenities for uprooted Muscovites and incoming workers. In tracing how the skyscraper project pushed Moscow's expansion into the forested suburbs, villages, and collective farms around the capital, this book examines how, in requiring so much other construction, the project to build skyscrapers in Moscow was in the end far grander and more all-encompassing than its architects ever imagined.

Finally, this book argues that Moscow's skyscrapers tied the Stalin era to the Russian past in ways that both bolstered and undermined the Soviet state's claims to legitimacy. Designed in stylistic reference to the Kremlin towers, Moscow's monumental new buildings harmonized with the existing cityscape. But these structures also stood as evidence of the tension between history and revolution. The skyscraper project was publicly unveiled in September 1947 during Moscow's 800th anniversary celebrations, an occasion that threatened to overshadow the upcoming thirtieth anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution. In the lead-up to this new municipal holiday, city officials and residents alike struggled to draw a straight line between the long pre-revolutionary past and the comparatively short Soviet present. Moscow's skyscraper architects faced a similar challenge in early design discussions held in that autumn of 1947. Which past Moscow's skyscrapers should represent—which heritage they should build upon—was a vexing question with no clear answer.

When time came to break ground and build, skyscraper construction managers were confronted by the past in yet another way. In 1949, workers digging the foundation pit for the skyscraper in the *Zariad'e* district unearthed the remains of a settlement more than eight hundred years old. Upturned in the soil lay earthenware vessels, glass bracelets, and other remnants of the distant past. While these objects may well have been ignored in earlier decades, the feverish historicism of the late-Stalin years made them valuable. Construction work on the *Zariad'e* skyscraper would be delayed while archaeological digs were carried out on the site in 1949 and 1950. Ultimately, the backward glance of late Stalinism both shaped and complicated Moscow's postwar urban transformation. Today, the historical symbolism of the skyscrapers is less complex: they stand out on the Moscow cityscape simply as indelible symbols of Stalinism.



*Moscow Monumental* develops its tripartite argument about international engagement, urban restructuring, and historical ties in eight chapters. The book begins by examining how Moscow was seen and imagined in the late 1920s, in the years immediately following its designation as the Soviet capital and in the period immediately before the city's so-called "socialist reconstruction." The tensions that flared up in this moment between destruction and preservation and between the old and the new would remain alive throughout the subsequent Stalin era.

When Soviet officials began to take charge of the redevelopment of their new capital city in the 1930s, they embarked on a series of iconic projects, including the Palace of Soviets. Although it was never completed, the Palace was the cornerstone

of interwar debates about urban monumentalism, and any history of Stalin's postwar skyscrapers is incomplete without it. This book builds on the established narrative of the Palace's design to also consider its attempted construction. Not only did this gargantuan structure provide a stylistic precedent for the city's postwar monumental development, its construction established important institutional structures and international ties. Moscow's, and the Soviet Union's, experience at war starting in 1941 also served as a crucial step on the path to postwar monumentalism. Before turning to the postwar period, the third chapter of this book explores Muscovites' wartime ordeals, including the flight of the Palace of Soviets architects to the Urals in 1941.

With the fourth chapter, the book turns to Moscow's postwar skyscraper project by analyzing the design and planning process that led up to construction. Top Soviet leaders and architects were influenced in their discussions in 1947 by the broader political and cultural context of the postwar Stalin era. The postwar ideological campaign, known as the *Zhdanovshchina*, and the Cold War more generally, influenced the planning process in fundamental ways, ensuring that Moscow's skyscrapers would be conceived as examples of both Soviet world supremacy and Russian national achievement. When the skyscraper project got underway, however, idealized plans had unintended consequences on the ground. The fifth chapter of this book focuses on Moscow's Zariad'e, the district chosen for skyscraper development closest to the Kremlin. This chapter examines the buildings, people, and pasts that existed already on the plots chosen for skyscraper development. It describes how social differentiation was embedded in Moscow's urban terrain as tens of thousands of Muscovites were moved away from the skyscraper plots to new housing built for them on the outskirts of the capital.

The book moves in its final chapters to the histories of those who built and those who lived in Moscow's skyscrapers. These chapters explore how skyscraper building served as a means through which both the state and the self could be rebuilt after the war. Chapter 6 follows the experiences of builders, both regular workers and Gulag laborers, who came mainly from regions beyond Moscow. This chapter weighs the idealized skyscraper builder—the “*vysotnik*”—against the reality of life on these construction sites. Chapter 7 turns to investigate the lives of Soviet elites who requested apartments in the residential skyscrapers. This elect group sought to escape Moscow's housing crisis by appealing to top officials for apartments in one of the city's new towers. Drawing on letters of request written to Beria and other Soviet leaders, Chapter 7 explores the hope and disappointment that Moscow's skyscrapers represented in the popular and elite imaginations. Those who created and those who benefited from the skyscrapers, like those displaced for them, were compelled to engage directly with the Soviet state. As Chapters 5 through 7 show, architectural monumentalism served not only to reshape the skyline of the Soviet capital, but also to reframe relations between state and society in the final years of the Stalin era.

At the very moment Moscow's skyscrapers were completed in the mid-1950s, they became symbols of Stalinist “excess.” The final chapter of *Moscow Monumental* charts Nikita Khrushchev's attack at the Builders' Conference in December 1954 on these structures and on the architects who built them. Moscow's monumental buildings were swiftly cast as villains in the battle against uneconomical design. Yet the capital's



new skyscrapers, as useful as they were monumental, continued to dominate the cityscape. During the Khrushchev era, Moscow State University, in particular, served as a key site of the Thaw. And when identical buildings were given as “gifts” to Eastern European capitals in the 1950s, the Stalinist skyscraper cast its long shadow from Moscow to Warsaw, Riga, Prague, Bucharest, and Kiev.



In the trajectory of Stalinist construction projects, Moscow’s skyscrapers were late arrivals. The smokestacks of Magnitogorsk had been billowing for two decades by the time the skyscrapers made their debut in the Soviet capital. Through the 1930s, industrialization drove urban development across the Soviet Union.<sup>5</sup> Moscow’s postwar refashioning was different. The buildings that made Stalinism legible on the skyline of the Soviet capital appeared at the moment that the Stalinist regime was coming to an end. This timing has had an effect on how the skyscrapers are seen—or, often, not seen—by historians.

It was Nikita Khrushchev who first provided the script still used to interrogate Moscow’s skyscrapers today. In his speech at the Builders’ Conference in 1954, Khrushchev denigrated Moscow’s new buildings, casting them aside as remnants of an earlier, illegitimate past. That Moscow’s skyscrapers were so closely associated with Stalin himself made them particularly good targets in 1954. In his speech, Khrushchev characterized Moscow’s skyscrapers as frivolous, wasteful buildings that epitomized Stalinist “excess.” The rising Soviet leader provided the template by which historians have understood these buildings ever since. This book looks beyond Khrushchev’s template to tell a more complicated story about how these buildings were designed and constructed—and what they reveal about life in the Soviet capital during late Stalinism. We may well agree with Khrushchev’s characterization of Moscow’s skyscrapers, but in order to understand these buildings historically, we must view them through the lens of late-Stalinism, not through the script of de-Stalinization.

Historians have also overlooked Moscow’s skyscrapers, even though they loom so prominently on the city’s horizon, because much of the scholarly literature on Stalinist architecture in Moscow focuses on the Palace of Soviets. This unbuilt structure is often seen as the most significant and symbolic architectural monument of the Stalin era, while also serving as a central metaphor for the grand ambitions and real-world failures of Stalinism. The Palace of Soviets lends itself well to moralizing narratives of the Soviet Union’s foolishness and hubris: the failure to build the Palace of Soviets is equated with the failure of the Soviet project more broadly.

As monumental structures that were actually built, Moscow’s skyscrapers have much to tell us about the eight or so years that make up the late-Stalin period. The skyscrapers embody the contradictions of their era: they are ornate, monumental structures built at a time of deep physical and economic devastation. Moscow’s skyscrapers represented both the hope of a grand Soviet capital and the disillusionment of displaced populations and workers who would never be allowed to live in the buildings they constructed. In her foundational work on the postwar period, Elena Zubkova shows how hope gave way to disillusionment in a restless postwar society. She observes that this disillusionment was kept in check in the final years of the Stalin

era by an increasingly repressive state.<sup>6</sup> As this book shows, architectural monumentalism served to encapsulate and intensify many of the continuities and changes that characterized postwar life in the Soviet capital.

In numerous ways, late Stalinism saw a return to patterns of the 1930s. The *Zhdanovshchina*, the Leningrad Affair, and the “Doctors’ Plot” were all reminiscent of the purges of the pre-war years. But less repressive measures of state control carried into the postwar period as well. The social and cultural “embourgeoisement” that characterized Soviet society in the 1930s returned as the Stalinist state continued after the war to reward its most loyal citizens with the promise of “middle-class” lifestyles. The good life might take the form of a holiday on the Black Sea coast or a skyscraper apartment, both of which were part of an agreement between the postwar state and society that Vera Dunham has labeled the “Big Deal.”<sup>7</sup> The war itself also served to prolong and intensify pre-war initiatives. Official efforts to elevate Russian national sentiment and shore up the cult of Stalin gained added strength from Soviet victory in 1945.<sup>8</sup> The Gulag system that swelled in the years of the Great Terror continued to expand during the war and into the postwar period, when forced labor became a crucial instrument for the country’s reconstruction.<sup>9</sup> In rebuilding Soviet cities after the war, planners and officials turned to the prewar past for inspiration. But they also faced concerns and challenges that were unique to the postwar years.<sup>10</sup>

The late-Stalin era saw a return to the past, but this period also ushered in new developments, some of which bring these years more in line with what was to come during the Khrushchev era. Juliane Fürst argues that late Stalinism was a time of contradiction and flux. This “Janus-faced” period, she writes, was “as much about reinvention as it was about reconstruction.”<sup>11</sup> Fürst and others have questioned the break typically seen in 1953, stressing continuities from the late-Stalinist into the Khrushchev and Brezhnev eras.<sup>12</sup> In cutting across four historical moments—the Stalinist 1930s, the war, the postwar Stalin era, and the Khrushchev period—this book engages with questions of continuity and discontinuity. The skyscrapers that stand at the center of this book echoed the architecture of the planned Palace of Soviets and drew inspiration from other ambitious urban projects of the 1930s. At the same time, they reflected the Soviet Union’s efforts to reposition itself internationally after 1945.

This is the first book about Moscow’s Stalinist skyscrapers that is grounded in archival sources. Earlier studies have relied mainly on the extensive record of published materials relating to these buildings, while often foregrounding aesthetic questions.<sup>13</sup> This book, by contrast, draws on archival material from both Russian and American collections. Documents from the Russian State Archive of the Economy, the State Archive of the Russian Federation, and the Moscow City Archives form the archival basis of the book. Archival sources address questions about how and why these buildings were built while also bringing new voices into this history. From residents who watched the skyscrapers emerge on the horizon of their city, to construction workers who built Moscow’s skyscrapers, and on to those who were permitted to live in these structures—the archives are full of their stories.





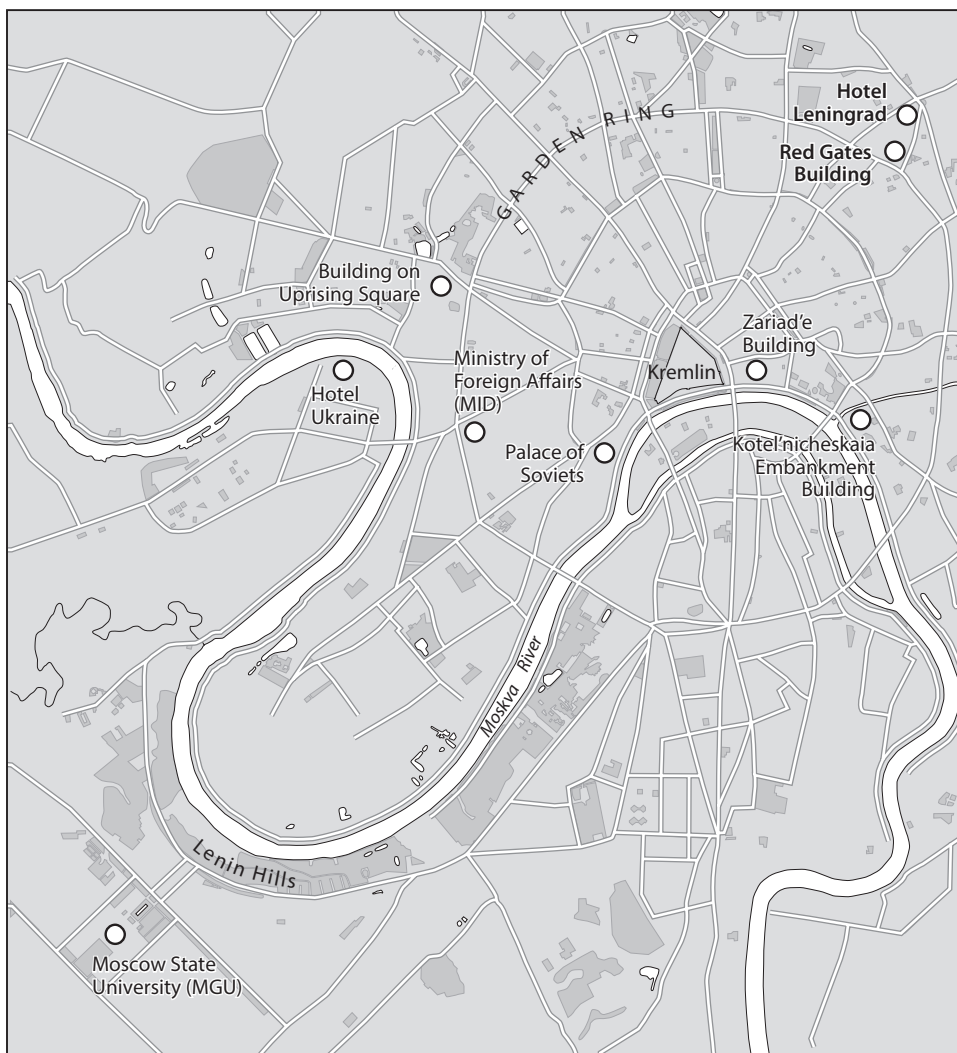


Figure I.1: Map of Moscow c. 1950s with Stalinist skyscrapers marked.  
Map by Cox Cartographic Ltd.

Anyone who has spent time in Moscow knows the buildings discussed in this book well. Today, nearly seventy years after their completion, Moscow's Stalin-era skyscrapers continue to serve in their original roles as key residential, institutional, and tourist sites in the city. Built at key junctions throughout the capital—on hilltops, at river bends, and next to railway terminals—these structures mark the horizon even now, in a city that has tripled its 1947 population.

Following the Moskva River as it winds its way into the city from the northwest, we come first to the Hotel Ukraine. This building, which stands on the southern bank of the river near the Kiev Train Station, was the last of the skyscrapers to be completed in 1957. For many decades to come, it would host foreign dignitaries and tourists in its opulent interiors. Across the river to the north stands the residential skyscraper on Uprising Square. Completed in 1954, this building faces toward the

Garden Ring Road, then the largest of Moscow's circular arteries. To the south and across the Garden Ring stands the headquarters of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MID), a building completed in 1953. Just as the hotel is still a hotel, and the residential skyscraper still contains apartments, this last building remains the headquarters of MID in Moscow today.

Heading back along the river from the MID skyscraper we arrive at the showpiece structure of the lot: Moscow State University (MGU). This thirty-six-story building stands tall above the riverbank below, overlooking the city from its place atop the Sparrow Hills, or Lenin Hills as they were called in the 1940s. When it was under construction, the MGU skyscraper was on the outskirts of town. But by the time the first class of students graduated, the southwestern region of Moscow was better connected to the center of the city.

Continuing back along the river, we pass under the bridge along the Garden Ring Road and into central Moscow. Here, not far from the Kremlin, we arrive at the site selected in 1931 for the Palace of Soviets. Still following the river, passing the Kremlin on our left, we see the plot chosen for the skyscraper on the Zariad'e. Neither of these centermost skyscrapers was built to completion, but plans for their construction nonetheless changed the shape of central Moscow. The Zariad'e neighborhood was cleared in the late 1940s and early 1950s to make way for this structure. A handful of churches were left standing on the site and they remain there to this day.

As the river makes its way southward, we come to the Kotel'nicheskaia embankment tower not far from the Zariad'e plot. From the time it was completed in late 1952, Moscow's cultural, scientific, and bureaucratic elites lived in this residential skyscraper, located closest to the city center, not far from the eastern side of the Garden Ring Road. As we head north up this road, we come to the last two skyscrapers. The Hotel Leningrad, built next to a trio of railway terminals, welcomes visitors to Moscow. Not far from the hotel is the skyscraper at the Red Gates, home to the Ministry of Railways and to residents housed in one, two, and three-bedroom apartments.

Moscow's skyscrapers, positioned at key points throughout the capital, were designed to speak loudly, to impress the viewer with the constructive power of the Soviet state. In lifting the Soviet capital skyward, these buildings changed the face of Moscow and altered the course of the city's history.

## Index

Page numbers in *italics* indicate the presence of illustrations. Specific titles of works will be found under the author's name.

- Abrosimov, Pavel V., 99, 235n89  
absenteeism and job changing, criminalization of, 149, 240n22  
Academy of Architecture of the USSR, 24, 52, 55, 66–67, 69, 70, 71, 115, 132, 182, 193, 194, 196–97, 200–202, 204, 229n51  
Academy of Construction and Architecture of the USSR, 204, 207  
Academy of Sciences of the USSR, 164, 173, 196  
Administration for the Construction of the Palace of Soviets. *See* USDS  
aesthetics, health, and happiness, skyscraper living associated with, 185–90, 186, 187  
Alabian, Karo S., 71, 73, 74, 75, 90, 91, 185, 197, 227n6, 233n52  
All-Union Builders' Conference (December 1954), 5, 6, 190, 191–93, 198–203, 207, 245n4  
All-Union Society for Cultural Ties Abroad (VOKS), 71, 73, 74, 75  
American Institute of Architects, 47, 71, 230n97  
American-Soviet Building Conference (May 1945), 74  
Amtorg Trading Corporation, 33–34, 43–44, 74, 224n76, 228n37  
Andreev, Viacheslav, *New Soviet Citizen*, 54  
apartments in skyscrapers, elites hoping to live in, 5, 171–90; aesthetics, health, and happiness, skyscraper living associated with, 185–90, 186, 187; allocation of apartments, 180–85; architects with apartments, 106, 176, 188, 236n122; communal living, as escape from, 183, 183–85, 184; entitlement for elites, viewed/intended as, 178–80; examples of residents, 173–76; justifications for, 173, 178–80; letters from, 171–73; living standards in, 176–80, 181–85, 184, 188–89; urban restructuring/displacement of residents and, 123–24, 131–32  
Arakcheev, Aleksei, and Arakcheevism, 198, 246n37  
archaeology. *See* historic conservation and preservation  
*Architectural Chronicle*, 71, 230n92  
Architectural Construction Control Office, 105–6  
*Architectural Forum*, 33, 54  
Architectural-Technical Commission, USDS, 44–45, 49–51, 53  
*Arkhitektura SSSR (Architecture of the USSR)*, 22, 24, 50, 70, 204  
Arkin, David E., 53  
Arutch'ian, Mikhail A., 123–24, 126  
Astakhov, Ivan E., 167, 243n113  
atomic project, and Moscow skyscrapers, 87, 129  
Avtopromtorg, 12, 14  
Bakulev, A. N., 176  
Balashov, Sergei I., 168, 169  
Baranov, Pavel V., 122, 127, 238n59  
Bauer Wurster, Catherine, 71  
Bedzhanian, Tamara, 123–24, 126  
Belorusskaia metro station, 62  
Benjamin, Walter, 13, 220n15  
Beria, Lavrentii P.: apartments in skyscrapers, letters from elites hoping to live in, 3, 172, 173, 176, 179, 184, 185, 188, 243n8; arrest and execution of, 132, 168, 191, 239n89; in design and planning process, 87, 88–89, 90, 97, 101, 233n43, 233n52, 235n94; urban restructuring/resettlement of displaced residents and, 111, 127, 129, 131–32, 238n69; *vysotniki* and, 150, 151, 155, 161–63, 240n30, 242n78; WWII and, 75  
“Big Deal,” 7, 149, 171  
Blake, William, *Jerusalem*, 132  
Blandford, John B., 74  
Blokhin, N. N., 173  
Blokhin, Pavel N., 182–83, 193, 244n38  
Blumenfeld, Hans, 73  
Bogdanov, Petr A., 43–44, 224n82  
Bogdanov, V. P., 180  
Boitsov, Vasilii V., 84–85  
Bol'shakov, Ivan G., 243n9  
*Bolshevik*, 197  
Bolshoi Theater, 18, 32, 59, 60, 78, 185, 227n12  
Boretskii, A. B., 100  
Breines, Simon, 73, 75, 230n92  
Brezhneva, V. M., 128  
Brik, Lily, 172–73, 188

- Britain: garden-city design, influence of, 12, 25, 70; Moscow skyscraper project and, 89; post-war reconstruction plans in, Soviet view of, 115; WWII and, 57, 59, 63, 229n55
- Brontman, Lazar' K., 75, 80
- Brovchenko, Vera N., 64–65, 68
- Bubnov, Aleksandr P., 226n145
- Buckminster Fuller, R., 67, 74
- Bueverova, E. N., 173
- builders. *See* *vysotniki*
- Builders' Conference (December 1954), 5, 6, 190, 191–93, 198–203, 207, 245n4
- Bukharin, Nikolai I., 55
- Bulganin, Nikolai A., 97, 191
- Burnham, Daniel, 88
- camouflage, 55, 59–60, 60, 64–65, 124, 229n55
- Capa, Robert, 92
- Capitol Building, Washington, DC, 44
- Catherine II (tsar), 10
- Chadaev, Iakov E., 232n4
- Chechulin, Dmitrii N.: design and planning process, 80, 86, 90, 91, 95, 96, 99, 100, 233n52; downfall in Chechulin Affair, 103–7; future cityscape, drawings of, 111; post-downfall career of, 106–7, 212; in WWII, 64–65, 68, 69, 229n52
- Cheliabinsk tractor factory, 31
- Cheremushki, 115, 124, 130, 134, 160–62, 164, 167, 203
- Cherkasov, Nikolai K., 172
- Chernyshev, Sergei E., 23, 69, 99, 115, 235n89
- Chicago World's Fair site, 44
- Chief Architect position in Moscow, 35–37, 69, 105–7, 229n79
- Chistye prudy*, 93
- Christ the Savior Cathedral, demolition of, 20–22, 21, 26, 37
- Chrysler Building, NYC, 45
- CIAM (Congrès internationaux d'architecture moderne), 30, 222n8
- City Beautiful movement in America, 25, 88
- classicism/neoclassicism: design/planning process and, 83–84, 109; de-Stalinization and, 193–94, 204, 209, 212; in interwar Moscow, 12, 19, 24; Palace of Soviets and, 29–33, 50–51, 222n15; of Triumph Palace, 215; urban restructuring/displacement of residents and, 112, 125; WWII and, 59, 65, 68, 70
- Cold War: Amtorg in, 224n76; comparison of Moscow tall buildings with U.S. skyscrapers in, 185; design and planning process influenced by, 5, 56, 83; internationalism affected by, 75, 207; interwar period leading up to, 47; socialist realism and, 232n24; Soviet views of America and, 207, 226n130
- Cominform, 155
- Communist Party and *vysotniki*, 151–57, 153, 156
- Congrès internationaux d'architecture moderne (CIAM), 30, 222n8
- construction workers. *See* *vysotniki*
- Constructivism, 194, 204
- Corbett, Harvey Wiley, 72–75
- Deineka, Aleksandr, 63, 228n36
- demobilization after WWII, 79, 120, 143, 150, 195, 234n66
- “democratic” luxury goods, 178–79
- design and planning process, 5, 79–110; additional decrees, meetings, and plans, 88–92, 97–98, 233n53; architectural designs and design competitions, 90–92, 98–102, 99–101, 233n52, 234n61; celebration of 800th anniversary of Moscow and, 92–97, 95; conception, oversight, and control of, 87–88, 105–6, 107–10; construction planning, 97–98; internationalism and foreign influence, official rejection of, 81–84; internationalism and foreign influence, practical consideration of, 86–87, 89; Moscow and Chechulin Affairs affecting, 102–7; *neboskreby* (skyscrapers), as term, 82–83; new General Plan for Moscow and, 107–10; original Moscow skyscraper project decree (1947), 79–83; Popov meeting on, 84–87; technical and stylistic requirements, 83–84, 85–86
- de-Stalinization and afterlife of skyscrapers, 5–6, 191–214; All-Union Builders' Conference (December 1954), 5, 6, 190, 191–93, 198–203, 207, 245n4; attacks on Soviet architects by Gradov, 195–97, 199–201; familiarity of Khrushchev with building industry, 192; Gradov and, 192–201, 204, 205, 207; horizontality in design, shift toward, 248n99; international engagement, increase in, 192, 207; letter and report of Gradov to Khrushchev, 197–98; in modern Moscow, 215–18; monumentalism condemned as Stalinist excess, 190, 192, 203–11, 204, 205, 210; Palace of Soviets and, 212–14, 248n97; the Thaw, 192, 211–12; urban planning and mass housing under Khrushchev, 109, 190, 194, 203–4, 204, 237n25. *See also* Khrushchev, Nikita, and Khrushchev era
- Diller Scofidio + Renfro, 212
- Dinamo metro station, 64
- Dinamo stadium site, 80, 97, 232n10, 233n52
- displacement of residents. *See* urban restructuring and displacement of residents
- Doctors' Plot, 7, 168

- doma-kommuny*, 194  
Donskoi Monastery and Museum of Architecture, 24, 96, 221n45  
Dorogomilovo embankment building. *See* Hotel Ukraine  
Dunham, Vera, 7, 149, 171  
Dürer, Albrecht, 15, 16  
Dushkin, Aleksei N., 63, 101, 176, 233n52, 234n59  
Dygai, Nikolai A., 202–3, 246n58  
Dymaxion Wichita House, 67, 74
- Eastern European states: internationalism and, 72, 247n79; Palace of Soviets and, 76, 231n128; skyscrapers in capitals of, 6, 208–11, 210  
Ehrenburg, Ilya, 63  
Eigel, Isaak Iu., 227n154, 229n66  
Einstein, Albert, 73  
Eisenstein films, 172  
elites in Soviet society: “Big Deal” between state and professional class, 7, 149, 171; displaced residents, social differentiation/entitlement groups versus uniform solution for, 120, 123–24, 131; under Stalin, 171–76; veterans as entitlement group in resettlement plans, 120, 124, 126, 130–31; *vyсотniki*, as heroes, 137, 139–43, 140–42. *See also* apartments in skyscrapers, elites hoping to live in  
Empire State Building, NYC, 43–45, 46, 140  
Engels, Friedrich, statues of, 18, 35  
Engineer-Technical Workers (*Inzhenerno-tekhnicheskie rabotniki* or ITRs), 152, 243n14  
“ensemble,” as architectural concept, 53, 195–96  
Enukidze, Avel’ S., 21, 33, 35, 220–21n41, 224n87  
Evgen’evna, Vera, 131  
Evstigneeva, comrade, 154  
Evstratov, N., 236–37n107
- Fedorov, comrade, 137  
Filippov, T. F., 242n91  
First Five-Year Plan (1928–1932), 19, 20, 22, 27, 39, 41, 42, 43, 50, 75, 113, 143, 149, 195  
Fisher Building, Detroit, 44  
foreign influence and exchange. *See* internationalism  
formalism, 15, 81, 220n18  
Fourth Five-Year Plan (1945–1950), 76  
France, Soviet view of postwar reconstruction plans in, 115  
Frolov, P. I., 234n58  
Frunze, Gradov’s work in, 194–95
- garden-city design, 12, 25, 70  
Gel’freikh, Vladimir G., 36, 37, 44, 49, 50, 53, 69, 78, 100, 188, 213, 233n52  
General Motors Building, Detroit, 44  
Gerasimov, Aleksandr, 91  
Gernet, Mikhail N., 184–85, 188  
Gil’manov, Nurmukhamed G., 166  
Ginzburg, Moisei, 19, 222n22  
Giprogor (Soviet City Planning Institute), 24, 73, 195, 196  
Gladkov, Fedor, *Cement*, 143, 240n12  
Glavpromstroï, 163–64, 242n88  
Goberman, Maria M., 159, 241n63  
Gogol, Nikolai, 93; *Dead Souls*, 201  
Gokhman, L. M., 103–5, 106, 236n122  
Gol’denberg, B. M., 226n148  
Golosov, Il’ia, 222n22  
Gorky, Maksim, “The City of the Yellow Devil,” 51–52  
Gorky Street: Chechulin’s residential project on, 104; interwar exhibition window of architectural drawings, 15–16, 16; in Moscow General Plan (1935), 108; postwar reconstruction of, 176, 177–78, 244n24; synthesis of technology and classicism in construction of, 68; WWII damage to, 59, 62  
Gosplan, 24, 76, 102, 105, 244n19  
Gostev, V. I., 173  
Gotovskaia, Nataliia M., 162–63, 241–42n78  
Gotseridze, Illarion D., 84, 226n147  
Gradov, Georgii A. “Sutiagin,” 192–201, 204, 205, 207, 245n17, 245n22, 245n9–10, 246n31  
Great Patriotic War. *See* World War II  
*Great Soviet Encyclopedia*, 82  
Great Terror, 7, 35, 54–56, 72, 76, 118  
Griboedov, Alexander, 93  
Gridunov, A. T., 223n61  
Grinberg, Aleksandr, 16  
Grushkin, V., 154–55, 159  
GULAG History Museum, Moscow, 167  
Gulag system and workers, 7, 72, 129, 150, 151, 162–68, 239n70, 243n109  
Gulynin, G. I., 154, 162  
Gusev, M. M., 74
- Hamilton, Hector, 33–35, 34, 47, 213, 222–23n31, 222n28  
Hanson, G. C., 42  
happiness, health, and aesthetics, skyscraper living associated with, 185–90, 186, 187  
Harriman, W. Averell, 72, 74, 230n98  
Harrison, Wallace K., 50, 72  
haussmannization, 117  
health, happiness, and aesthetics, skyscraper living associated with, 185–90, 186, 187  
Helmie & Corbett, 50  
Hine, Lewis, 140



- historic conservation and preservation: Christ the Savior Cathedral, demolition of, 20–22, 21, 26, 37; ecclesiastical sites, preservation of, 24, 70, 96, 135, 234n78; Kremlin, archaeological work at, 239n94; Kremlin, restoration work on, 78; Moscow, 800th anniversary celebrations for, 92–97, 95, 133–34; Moscow General Plan and, 26; Moscow metro, archaeological work during construction of, 239n96; new urban ensembles, incorporation of older buildings into, 135; patriotic themes in, 133, 239n95; Soviet tensions between old and new, 4, 20–22; in WWII and postwar period, 70, 73, 77–78, 132–34, 230n88; Zariad'e site, archaeological discovery at, 4, 112, 132–36, 134
- Hitler, Adolf, 58, 228n28
- honor courts, 81, 232n20
- Hood, Raymond, 53
- Hotel Leningrad (Kalanchevskii Street/Komsomol Square building): completion and opening, 245n1; design and planning process, 80, 97, 98, 100, 232n15, 233nn52–53, 235n84; de-Stalinization and afterlife of, 190, 202, 211; in modern Moscow, 8, 9; urban restructuring/displacement of residents and, 116; *vysotniki* on, 151, 160
- Hotel Peking, 107
- Hotel “Rossiia,” 106–7, 212
- Hotel Ukraine (Dorogomilovo embankment building): in architectural ensemble of Moscow, 112; completion and opening, 245n1; design and planning process, 97, 98, 99, 232n10, 232n15; de-Stalinization and afterlife of, 190, 202, 206, 211–12; in modern Moscow, 8; Mordvinov with model of, 199
- House of Government/House on the Embankment, 37, 64, 177
- House of Soviets of the RSFSR/Russian White House, 107, 191
- House of Unions/Assembly of the Nobility, 17, 18, 220n27
- housing: de-Stalinization and prefabricated mass housing, 190, 192, 201, 203, 205, 207; employment and, 177; Khrushchev on urban planning and mass housing, 109, 190, 194, 237n25; “living space,” definition of, 244nn20–21; monumentalism versus, in Moscow General Plan (1949), 109–10, 110; for Muscovites displaced by skyscrapers, 111, 116, 120–23, 125, 129–32; postwar housing shortage, 80–81, 109, 177, 178, 236n134; “Prefabricated Housing in the US” (NCASF exhibition, Moscow), 73–74, 231n112; for *vysotniki*, 89, 115, 154, 160–63; WWII, housing construction in Moscow during, 68; WWII, prefabricated housing development in, 67–68; in yurts, 161. *See also* apartments in skyscrapers, elites hoping to live in; urban restructuring and displacement of residents
- Iasnov, Mikhail A., 212–13, 248n97
- “iconographic” planning (DeHaan), 115
- Il’f, Il’ia, 51–52
- Institute for the History of Material Culture, 132–34, 239n93
- International Style, 83–84
- International Union of Architects, 83, 207, 211–12
- internationalism: American influences on Palace of Soviets, 40–54; British garden-city design, Russian architecture influenced by, 12, 25; CIAM, Moscow’s break with, 30, 222n8; City Beautiful movement in America, influence in Russia of, 25; Cold War affecting, 75, 207; de-Stalinization and international reengagement, 192, 207; foreign modernists in 1920s Moscow, 19; Italian influences, 50–51, 70; Moscow skyscraper project fostering, 2–3; Palace of Soviets and, 3, 28–30, 40, 50, 76; practical consideration of, in design and planning process, 86–87; rejected in Moscow skyscraper project decree (1947), 81–84; WWII fostering, 57, 63, 71–75; *Zhdanovshchina* affecting, 75, 83
- interwar Moscow, 1, 4, 10–27; administrative separation of city from Moscow *oblast’*, 19; capital of Soviet state, designation of Moscow as, 10, 18; as film backdrop, 220n25; Gorky Street exhibition window of architectural drawings, 15–16, 16; population of, 11, 22, 220n36; pre-revolutionary past and, 10–11, 17–19, 18, 25–26; Red Moscow, early development of, 18–22; rural migration to, 22; Sidorov’s portrait of late 1920s Moscow, 10, 11–17, 12–15, 18, 21, 22, 26; urban planning in, 19–20, 22–28
- Iofan, Boris M.: American influences and criticisms, 40, 44, 46, 47, 49–54, 214, 225n116, 226n138; construction of Palace of Soviets and, 3, 33, 35–37, 36, 39, 40, 55–56, 75–78, 77, 223n35, 231n128; design and planning process, involvement in/removal from, 86, 90, 95, 97, 233n52, 235n89, 247n69; de-Stalinization and Palace of Soviets, 212–13, 248n97; Goberman and, 159, 241n63; Great Terror and, 54–55; on Moscow Architectural Council, 69; Popov/Chechulin Affairs and, 106; World’s Fair pavilions by, 54, 226n138; in WWII, 64, 65–66, 227n6
- Isachenko, I. A., 173
- Istra, reconstruction of, 69–70
- Italian influences, 50–51, 70



- ITRs (Engineer-Technical Workers or *Inzhenerno-tekhnicheskie rabotniki*), 152, 243n14
- Iudin, Pavel A., 202, 246n58
- Ivanitskii, Alexander P., 193–94, 245n15
- Ivanov, Konstantin A., 197
- Izvestiia*, 63–64, 222n28, 240n50
- Jews: anticospopolitan campaign and antisemitism, 135, 241n63; as residents of the Zariad'e, 117, 237n14
- job changing and absenteeism, criminalization of, 149, 240n22
- Kaganovich, Lazar M., 19–20, 35, 40, 173, 191, 213
- Kahn, Albert, 19, 31, 49, 74
- Kahn, Moritz, 41
- Kalanchevskii Street building. *See* Hotel Leningrad
- Kalinin, Mikhail I., 69
- Kalinkina, Maria, 130–31
- Kartashov, I. G., 3, 179–80
- Katanian, Vasilii A., 172
- Katuar station, 131
- Kemenov, Vladimir, 74
- Khabarov, comrade, 153
- Khriakov, A. F., 99, 233n52, 235n89
- Khrushchev, Nikita, and Khrushchev era: All-Union Builders' Conference speech (1954), 5, 6, 190, 191–92, 198, 199, 201–2; architecture and construction under, 83, 135; building industry, familiarity with, 192; Cheremushki and, 130; continuities and breaks with Stalinist past, 7; death of Stalin and rise of, 191; dissociation from skyscraper project, 190; Gradov and, 194, 197–98; horizontality in design, shift toward, 248n99; on MGU, 201–2, 212; Palace of Soviets and, 212–13; Polish United Workers' Party speech (1956), 207–8; replacing Popov in Moscow, 19, 107, 235n94; Secret Speech, 192, 193, 198; on urban planning and mass housing, 109, 190, 194, 203–4, 204, 237n25. *See also* de-Stalinization and afterlife of skyscrapers
- Kibirev, S. F., 234n61
- Kievskaiia metro station, 64
- Klepikov, Petr, 16
- Kolli, Nikolai D., 40, 69, 90, 91, 233n52
- Komarovskii, Aleksandr N., 129–30, 153, 161–63, 239n70, 242n86
- Komsomol Square building. *See* Hotel Leningrad
- Komsomol'skaia metro station, 64
- Korin, Pavel D., 76
- Kornfel'd, Ia. A., 234n61
- Korolev, Ivan F., 162
- Korovaeva, comrade, 178
- Kosmicheskii reis (Cosmic Voyage; film)*, 40
- Kotel'nicheskaiia Embankment building: administration and revenue, 180; apartments in, 106, 171, 173–76, 174, 180–82, 185–89, 186, 236n122, 243n10, 244n32; architects with apartments in, 106, 236n122; Chechulin Affair and, 103–5; completion and opening of, 170, 171, 174, 191; design and planning process, 86, 90, 91–92, 98, 100, 107, 232n15, 233n52, 234n55; de-Stalinization and afterlife of, 190, 206; ensemble development, as example of, 195; *Illiuzion* (movie theater), 175, 189; in modern Moscow, 8, 9; in original Moscow skyscraper project decree, 80; shops and other amenities, 180; urban restructuring/displacement of residents and, 116, 131–32; *vysotniki* on, 151, 155, 160, 165, 167, 242n91, 243n113
- Kozlova, Agaf'ia, 130–31
- Krasin, G. B., 223n36
- Krasnogorsk Thermal Power Station, 64
- Kravets, S. M., 234n59
- Kremlin: All-Union Builders' Conference (1954) held at Grand Kremlin Palace, 192; archaeological work at, 239n94; in interwar years, 10, 13, 17, 18, 21, 23, 25; Lagutin's description of, to other soldiers, 142; on map of Moscow, 8, 32; Palace of Soviets and, 23, 29, 37, 46; restoration work on, 78; skyscraper apartments for Kremlin Garrison Commandants, 176; skyscrapers intended to aesthetically displace, 96; skyscrapers stylistically referencing towers of, 4; urban restructuring/displacement of residents and, 117, 121, 132; in WWII, 59–60, 64
- Kriukov, Matvei, 159
- Kriukov, Mikhail V., 37, 223n36
- Krokodil*, 94, 132, 133, 137, 138, 141, 148, 149, 159, 183, 185–87, 186, 187, 205
- Kropotkinskaia metro station, 40
- Kuntsevo, 115, 121–23, 124, 126–31, 150, 156, 160, 163, 164
- Kurochkin, comrade, 200
- Kuznetskstroï*, 113
- Kuznetsov, N. V., 234n58
- Ladovskii, Nikolai, 222n22
- Lagutin, Fedor, 141–43
- Le Corbusier, 19, 26, 27, 29
- Lefebvre, Henri, 2
- Lench, Leonid, 159
- Lend-Lease program, 63, 72, 75
- Lenin, representations of: Palace of Soviets, statue planned for top of, 28, 29, 35, 36, 37–38, 38, 44, 47, 48, 77; Rivera, Diego, *Man at a Crossroads* mural, 53

- Lenin, V. I., 2, 18, 154, 198  
Lenin Hills building. *See* Moscow State University (MGU) building  
Lenin Institute/State Archive of Socio-Political History, 12, 220n12  
Lenin Library, 78, 231n129  
Lenin Mausoleum, 12, 32  
Leningrad Affair, 7, 102, 235n94  
Leningrad Junction Bridge, 68  
Leninism, 192  
Lentsman, Ian D., 226n145  
Leonov, Leonid M., 117–18  
Lisitskii, El' (Lazar), 19  
*Literaturnaia gazeta*, 185, 197  
Lodygin, A. N., 82  
Loriston, K. (pseudonym), 56  
luxury goods, “democratic,” 178–79  
Lyashko, N. N., *The Blast Furnace*, 240n12
- Maksimov, Aleksei G., 166, 242n105  
Malenkov, Georgii M., 191, 212, 235n94  
Malyi Theater, 59  
Malyshev, comrade, 153  
Manege building, 38, 227n8  
Mares'ev, Alexei, 142  
Marshall Plan, 75  
Martynov, E., 137–39, 140, 143, 169  
Marx, Karl, statues of, 18, 35  
Matsa, Ivan L., 200  
May, Ernst, 19  
Mayakovskaya metro station, 63–64, 228n36  
Mayakovskaya metro station speech (Stalin), 62–64, 228n36, 228n38  
Mayakovsky, Vladimir, 12, 172; “My Discovery of America,” 51  
McCandless, Stanley, 49  
McCarthyism/Red Scare, 73, 75, 83  
*Mechanix Illustrated*, 47, 48  
Meerson, D. S., 234n61  
Mercury City Tower, Moskva City, 214, 217  
Met Life, NYC rehousing efforts of, 237n25  
Metrostoi, 24, 38, 42  
Meyer, Hannes, 19  
Mezentsev, B. S., 101, 233n52, 234n59  
MGU. *See* Moscow State University (MGU) building  
MID (Ministry of Foreign Affairs). *See* Smolensk Square building  
Mikhailov, Nikolai A., 212–13  
Mikhailov, Vasilii M., 33, 34, 37, 42, 54, 222n22, 226n146  
Mikoian, Anastas I., 86–87, 191  
Miller, Mikhail, 239n95  
Ministry for State Security, apartments for officials in, 176  
Ministry of Aviation Industries (*Minaviaprom*): in design and planning process, 84–85, 101, 232n15; in Moscow skyscraper project decree, 81; urban restructuring/displacement of residents and, 116; *vysotniki* at, 240n26  
Ministry of the Building Materials Industry, 150  
Ministry of Construction of Army and Navy Industries (*Minvoenmorstroï*): in design and planning process, 232n15; in Moscow skyscraper project decree, 81; urban restructuring/displacement of residents and, 116; *vysotniki* at, 240n26  
Ministry of Construction of Heavy Industry (*Mintiazhstroï*): in design and planning process, 87, 89, 101, 232n15, 237n20; in Moscow skyscraper project decree, 81; Palace of Culture and Science, Warsaw, Poland, 209; urban restructuring/displacement of residents and, 116; *vysotniki* at, 240n26  
Ministry of Defense, apartments for officials in, 176  
Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MID). *See* Smolensk Square building  
Ministry of Industrial Construction Materials, 89, 160  
Ministry of Internal Affairs (MVD): apartments in Kotel'nicheskaiia Embankment building and, 176, 180; Chechulin and, 105; in design and planning process, 86, 232n15; Gokhman and, 105; Gulag workers assigned as *vysotniki* by, 163, 165, 242n91; in Moscow skyscraper project decree, 81; urban restructuring/displacement of residents and, 116, 128, 238n59  
Ministry of Labor Reserves, 150–51  
Ministry of Railways (MPS): apartments for officials in, 176; in design and planning process, 84, 101, 232n15; in Moscow skyscraper project decree, 81; urban restructuring/displacement of residents and, 116; *vysotniki* at, 240n26. *See also* Red Gates building  
Ministry of Urban Construction (*Mingorstroï*), 120, 125  
Minkus, M. A., 100, 244n36  
Mizerov Vadim M., 112  
Mndoians, A. A., 101, 234n58  
modernism: design/planning process and, 81; de-Stalinization and, 192, 205, 212; International Style, 83–84; in interwar Moscow, 12, 19, 25, 26; Palace of Soviets and Soviet rejection of, 29, 30–31, 33, 222n22; Stalinism and, 247n65; WWI and, 67–68, 72  
Molotov, Viacheslav M.: apartments in skyscrapers, elites hoping to live in, 173; in Khrushchev era, 191; Palace of Soviets and, 21, 35, 46, 51

- 53–54, 76, 224n87, 226n149; *vysotniki* and, 150; in WWII, 57–58, 64–66, 76
- Monument to the Third International, 33
- monumentalism: concept of, 2; condemned as Stalinist excess, 190, 192, 203–11, 204, 205, 210; housing versus, in Moscow General Plan (1949), 109–10, 110; in modern Moscow, 215–18, 216, 217; Palace of Soviets and, 28–30, 47–49; socialist realism and, 25–26; Soviet attraction to, 22; Tolstoi, Aleksei N., “Searches for Monumentality,” 31–32; WWII and, 70–71
- Moran & Proctor (Later Mueser Rutledge), 41, 44, 45–46, 214, 223n61, 225n95
- Mordvinov, Arkadii G., 69, 82, 90, 99, 108, 192, 197–202, 199, 207, 233n27, 233n52, 246n31
- Morozov mansion/*Proletkul’t* building, 17, 220n26
- Moscow: Chief Architect position in, 35–37, 69, 105, 229n79; 800th anniversary celebrations for, 92–97, 95, 133–34; pre-revolutionary past in, 4, 10–11, 17–19, 18, 25–26; *vysotniki* viewed as having new outlook on, 139, 157–60. *See also* interwar Moscow; World War II; *specific places and structures*
- Moscow Affair, 102–3, 235n94
- Moscow Archaeological Expedition, 133–35
- Moscow Architectural Council, 69, 230n83
- Moscow Building Institute, 74
- Moscow General Plan (1935), 19–20, 22–23, 25, 26, 39, 54, 58, 60, 71, 92, 108, 116, 118, 177, 226n132
- Moscow General Plan (1949), 78, 107–10, 125, 178, 233n44
- Moscow General Plan (1951–60), 212
- Moscow Merchants Club/Theater of Young Workers, 17
- Moscow metro, 1, 20, 23, 25, 40, 42, 51, 54, 59, 61, 84, 142, 227n2, 239n96. *See also specific stations*
- Moscow of the plan. *See* design and planning process
- Moscow of the shadows. *See* urban restructuring and displacement of residents
- Moscow Pool, 107
- Moscow skyscraper project, 1–9, 215–18; aesthetics, health, and happiness, skyscraper living associated with, 185–90, 186, 187; architectural influence of, 96–97; consequences of, 2–4; decree of 1947 calling for construction of, 79–82; historical approaches to, 6–7; in modern Moscow, 8, 8–9; modern Moscow and, 215–18, 216, 217; pre-revolutionary past and, 4; slow pace of, 116; Soviet greatness, aimed at supporting claims of, 1, 82, 83, 85, 87–88, 109; symbolic and practical needs, introducing conflict between, 111. *See also* apartments in skyscrapers, elites hoping to live in; design and planning process; de-Stalinization and afterlife of skyscrapers; internationalism; interwar Moscow; monumentalism; Palace of Soviets; urban restructuring and displacement of residents; *vysotniki*; World War II; *specific structures*
- Moscow State University (MGU) building (Lenin Hills building): completion and opening of, 170, 191; design and planning process, 78, 80, 86, 90, 97, 98, 99, 232n15, 233nn52–53, 235nn86–87; designation of site as, 97; de-Stalinization and afterlife of, 5, 190, 203, 204, 207–8, 211–12; in *Great Soviet Encyclopedia*, 82; Gulag workers as *vysotniki* on, 162, 164–68; in modern Moscow, 8, 9, 215; Moscow General Plan (1949) and, 109; Palace of Soviets and, 28, 213; Popov Affair and, 103; schools used to store furniture for, 161; urban restructuring/displacement of residents and, 116, 120, 127, 129, 130–31, 238n59; view from, 109–10, 110; *vysotniki* on, 137–39, 140, 141, 142, 144, 145, 146, 147–49, 148, 150–52, 153, 154, 158–60, 162, 164–70, 169
- Moscow-Volga Canal, 1, 20, 23, 38, 129, 163
- Moses, Robert, 117
- Mosgioprogor (Moscow State Institute of City Planning), 193
- Mosgorispolkom (Moscow city government), 89, 229–30n79, 236n107
- Mosgorproekt, 105
- Moskva City, 214, 215, 217
- Mossel’prom building, 12, 13
- Mossovet State Academic Theater, 178
- Mostras, Konstantin G., 173
- Movchan, V. Ia., 233n52
- MPS. *See* Ministry of Railways
- MPVO (air defense office), 55
- Mueser Rutledge. *See* Moran & Proctor
- Mukhina, Vera, 91; *Worker and Kolkhoznitsa*, 54
- Mumford, Lewis, 50, 52; *Sticks and Stones*, 52, 53, 226n132
- Municipal Building, NYC, 45
- Muradeli, Vano, 75
- Museum for the History and Reconstruction of Moscow, 132–33
- Museum of Fine Arts (later Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts), 16, 31, 32, 37–39, 56, 80, 220n20
- Mussolini, Benito, 117
- MVD. *See* Ministry of Internal Affairs
- Nakonechnaia, M., 148
- Napoleon’s invasion of 1812, 20, 58
- Narkompros, 16, 32–33

- Narkomsvetmet, 66
- National Bureau of Standards, Washington, DC, 44
- National Council of American-Soviet Friendship (NCASF), 72–75, 231n108, 231n110
- nationalism, Soviet, fostered by WWII, 70, 71, 230n91
- NCASF (National Council of American-Soviet Friendship), 72–75, 231n108, 231n110
- neboskreby* (skyscrapers), as term, 82–83
- neoclassicism. *See* classicism/neoclassicism
- NEP (New Economic Policy), 10, 11, 41
- Nesmeianov, Aleksandr N., 243n9
- New Economic Policy (NEP), 10, 11, 41
- New Jerusalem Monastery, Istra, 70
- New York County Courthouse, NYC, 46
- New York Times*, 12, 34, 47, 80–81, 206–7
- New York World's Fair (1939), 40, 54
- Nikolaev, Vasilii P., 44, 49
- NKVD, 55, 61, 87
- Obelisk to the Soviet Constitution, 12, 93
- Obregon Santacilia, Carlos, 72
- Obshivalov, comrade, 78
- October Panic (1941), 61
- Office for the Use of the Tall Buildings, 180, 182
- Ogonek* magazine, 146, 157, 185
- Olenin, Boris Iu. (Girshman), 178
- Olesha, Yuri K., “The Day,” 21–22
- Oltarzhhevskii (Oltar-jevsky), Viacheslav K., 49–50, 72–73, 225n117, 230nn97–98, 233n52, 234n58
- Onufriev, Innokentii A., 87
- Operation Typhoon, 60, 228n22
- Organization of Contemporary Architects (OSA), 19
- OSA (Organization of Contemporary Architects), 19
- Ovchinnikov, comrade, 153
- Palace of Culture and Science, Warsaw, Poland, 208–11, 210
- Palace of Science. *See* Moscow State University (MGU) building
- Palace of Soviets, 4–5, 28–56; American influences, 40–54, 48; *Answers to the Questions of Workers and Collective Farmers* on, 26–27; Architectural-Technical Commission, 44–45, 49–51, 53; automated cloakroom, 26–27; Christ the Savior Cathedral, demolition of, 20–22, 21, 26, 37; construction work on, 1, 26, 27, 39, 45, 55–56; design and planning, 28, 35–40, 36, 38, 220–21n41; design competitions, 30–35, 34, 37, 222n5, 222n15, 223n39; de-Stalinization and afterlife of, 212–14, 248n97; failure to finish, 2, 28, 47, 213–14; Great Terror, effects of, 54–56, 226n145; iconic status of, 39–40, 223n55; influence and significance of, 28; internationalism and, 3, 28–30, 40, 50, 76; Italian influences, 50–51; landscape design, 38; on map of Moscow, 8, 31; metro station, 40; monumentality of, 28–30, 47–49; Moscow skyscraper project, relationship to, 78; public comments on design of, 37–39, 223n43; purpose of, 2; scholarly study of, 6; site proposals for, 20, 37, 2212n44; statue of Lenin planned for top of, 28, 29, 35, 36, 37–38, 38, 44, 47, 48, 77; tallest building in world, planned as, 28, 37, 48; in WWII, 55–56, 58, 66, 75–78. *See also* USDS (Administration for the Construction of the Palace of Soviets)
- Palkina, Zoya, 166
- Paris Exposition (1937), 54
- Patrikeev, Aleksandr, 160
- Perret, Auguste, 27
- Peter the Great (tsar), 10, 94
- Petrakov, comrade, 128
- Petrov, Evgenii, 51–52
- Plastov, Arkadii A., 173
- podmoskov'e*, extension of city into, 115, 122, 132, 133, 161
- Poliakov, L. M., 100, 233n52
- Polish United Workers' Party, Khrushchev's speech to (1956), 207–8
- Pomaznev, Mikhail T., 122, 243n8
- Popov, A. S., 82
- Popov, B. P., 223n51
- Popov, E. V., 128
- Popov, Georgii M.: in design and planning process, 84–89, 97, 233n29, 233n35, 233n52, 235n87; Moscow, celebrations for 800th anniversary of, 92–94, 95; in Moscow Affair, 102–3, 106, 235n94; on Palace of Soviets, 78; post-Moscow Affair positions, 103, 235n98
- Posokhin, Mikhail V., 101, 111, 112–15, 113, 114, 199, 233n52, 234n58
- Potemkin, M. N., 227n161
- Pravda*, 50–51, 53, 60, 62, 63, 75–76, 80, 81, 95, 108, 191, 240n50
- Predvoditelev, Aleksandr S., 181–82
- prefabricated housing: de-Stalinization and, 190, 192, 201, 203, 205, 207; “Prefabricated Housing in the US” (NCASF exhibition, Moscow), 73–74, 231n112; in WWII, 67–68
- pre-revolutionary past in Moscow, 4, 10–11, 17–19, 18, 25–26
- Proctor, Carleton S., 41, 45–47
- Prokof'ev, Andrei N.: biography and background information, 226nn147; in design and planning process, 86, 90, 97; Great Terror, investigated

- in, 54–55, 226n148; as head of “Builder” construction trust, 227n150; replaced by Komarovskii, 129, 239n75; *vyсотniki* and, 150, 151, 152, 163, 240n30; in WWII, 54–55, 65, 76
- Pronin, Vasilii, 240n30
- Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, 16, 31, 32, 37–39, 56, 80, 220n20
- Putin, Vladimir V., 215, 217
- Rabinovich, Mikhail G., 133–35, 239n94
- Radek, Karl, 55
- Radio City Music Hall, NYC, 44–45, 49, 53
- Raizer, David Ia., 202, 246n58
- Ranevskaya, Faina G., 189
- Raznitsin, Nikolai F., 226n145
- RCA Building, NYC, 53
- Red Gates building: administration and revenue, 181; apartments in, 106, 171, 174–76, 175, 179, 181, 182, 185, 189, 236n122, 243n10, 244n32; completion and opening of, 170, 171, 175, 191; design and planning process, 84, 85, 91, 97, 98, 101, 101–2, 232n15, 233nn52–53; de-Stalinization and afterlife of, 190; in modern Moscow, 8, 9; in original Moscow skyscraper project decree, 80; urban restructuring/displacement of residents and, 116; *vyсотniki* on, 152–53, 155, 158
- Red Gates metro station, 84, 176
- Red Moscow. *See* interwar Moscow
- Red Scare/McCarthyism, 73, 75, 83
- Red Square, 32, 46, 53, 59, 62–64, 99, 117, 121, 186, 228n28, 1281
- Rekin, Major, 128, 238n69
- Riis, Jacob, 13
- Rivera, Diego, *Man at a Crossroads* mural, 53
- Rockefeller, John D., 49
- Rockefeller Center, NYC, 3, 49–50, 53, 225n116, 226n138
- Rodchenko, Alexander, 16
- Rolfe, Douglas, 47, 48
- Rolling Stones, 211
- Ropes, E. C., 43, 224n72
- Rostkovskii, Andrei K., 86, 91, 100, 104, 106, 233n52, 236n122, 236nn111–12
- Rotert, Pavel, 42
- Rozhin, I. E., 233n52
- Rubinshtein, A. L., 223n51
- Rudnev, Lev V., 69, 90, 91, 97, 98, 99, 109, 153, 209, 233n52, 235n89
- Russian Photographic Society, 16
- Rykov, Aleksei I., 55
- Sadarov, Ismail G., 138, 166, 240n4, 242n107
- Safonov, Grigorii N., 243n9
- Sagal, Daniil L., 173–75
- Salomon, Ivan E., 226n145
- Sarukhanian, Alla P., 183, 244n41
- Sarukhanian, R. L., 183
- Satel’, Georgii E., 146
- Semenov, Vladimir N., 23, 25
- Senadskii, comrade, 94
- seven sisters. *See* Moscow skyscraper project
- Shaginian, Marietta S., 168–70; *Gidrotsentral’*, 169
- Shchuko, Vladimir A., 36, 37, 44, 49–51, 53, 78, 213
- Shchusev, Aleksei V., 12, 35, 69–70, 82, 90, 100, 233n52
- Shorokhov, Anatolii S., 166
- Shuliakovskaia, Nadezhda A., 161
- Sidorov, Aleksei A.: *Moskau* (photograph album), 10, 11–17, 12–15, 18, 21, 22, 26, 220n18; “Revolution and Art,” 15–16
- Simonov, Grigorii A., 90, 91, 108, 233n52, 237n107
- skyscrapers. *See* Moscow skyscraper project
- Smirnov, N. V., 185
- Smolensk Square building (Ministry of Foreign Affairs building): administration and revenue, 181; apartments in, 188; completion and opening of, 170, 191; design and planning process, 80, 87, 98, 100, 102, 232n15, 233nn52–53; de-Stalinization and afterlife of, 190, 202; in modern Moscow, 8, 9, 215; urban restructuring/displacement of residents and, 116; *vyсотniki* on, 139, 155
- socialist competitions between *vyсотniki* on different skyscrapers, 151, 155
- socialist realism: apartments in skyscrapers, elites hoping to live in, 173, 176–77; artists and urban displacement, 123; centrality to Moscow skyscraper project, 3, 208; in design and planning process, 84, 232n24; doctrine of, 15–16, 25–26, 68; fantastic qualities associated with, 27; Gorky Street, as Socialist Realist boulevard, 176, 177; Palace of Soviets and, 29, 31, 53; Sidorov and, 15–16; skyscraper project transforming Moscow according to, 176; *vyсотniki* and, 138, 170; in WWII, 68, 70
- Sokolov, Konstantin M., 120, 121
- Solomentsev, Sergei, 160
- Sovetskaia kul’tura (Soviet Culture)*, 158
- Sovetskoe iskusstvo (Soviet Art)*, 27, 170
- Sparrow Hills building. *See* Moscow State University (MGU) building
- Speer, Albert, 222n4
- Stakhanovite Watch, 155
- Stakhanovites, 152, 159–60



- Stalin, I. V., and Stalinism: apartments in skyscrapers, elites hoping to live in, 173; death of, 167–68, 191; design/planning process and, 82, 85, 87–88, 93, 97, 233n43; elites in Soviet society under, 171–76; Great Terror under, 7, 35, 54–56, 72, 76, 118; honor courts and, 232n20; Mayakovskaya metro station speech, 62–64, 228n36, 228n38; Moscow skyscraper project decree of 1947 and, 79–80; Palace of Soviets and, 35, 78, 231n132; postwar purges under, 7, 102–7; seventieth birthday celebrations, 154; Soviet reclamation of “tall buildings” by, 82; transformation of Moscow into world-class capital, desire for, 1; urban demolition and, 117; urban restructuring/displacement of residents and, 121–22, 127, 131; *vysoтники* invoking, 163; in WWII, 58, 61, 62–64, 70, 228n34; *Zhdanovshchina* orchestrated by, 81
- Stalin Prize, 104, 181
- Stalin’s *vysotki*. *See* Moscow skyscraper project
- State Architecture Committee, 69, 72, 90, 96, 105, 108, 229–30n79, 230n84
- Steinbeck, John, 92–93
- Strepukhov, M. F., 176
- Stroitel’ Universiteta (The University Builder)*, 155, 158–60
- Sukharevskii market, 14, 15, 220n16
- Sumbatov, Iuvel’ian D., 233n37
- Sverdlovsk, 55–56, 63–64, 66, 76, 228n41, 229n51, 229n66
- Svernik, Nikolai M., 166
- Sweden, 89
- “tall buildings” instead of skyscrapers, 82–83
- Tatlin, Vladimir, 33, 222n22
- technology transfer/exchange, 50, 73, 75
- Tekstil’shchiki, 115, 121, 123–25, 124, 127, 130, 161, 164–65, 238n59
- Teplov, G. N., 226n147
- the Thaw, 192, 211–12
- Timofeev, Leonid I., 62, 227n5, 228n28
- Todd, John R., 49
- Todd, Webster B., 49
- Tolstoi, Aleksei N., “Searches for Monumentality,” 31–32
- Tolstoi, Lev, *War and Peace*, 95
- Tolstoi, Vladimir P., 76, 231n124
- Tomskii, Nikolai V., 68
- Tret’iakov Gallery, 20, 32, 40
- Tribune Tower, Chicago, 44
- Triumph of Astana, Central Asia, 218
- Triumph Palace, 215–18, 216, 248n3
- Trud*, 176
- Tsakhilov, Mairam S., 226n145
- Tsarev, Sergei I., 166, 243n108
- Tsyganov, Dmitrii M., 173
- Tsytsarkin, Iakov, 151–52
- Turgenev, S. P., 234n61
- Turovetskii, B., 159
- Udal’tsov, Aleksandr, 133–35
- Ukhanov, Konstantin V., 35, 221n41
- Union of Soviet Architects, 24, 52, 64–65, 66, 73, 96, 135, 200, 207, 211–12
- Union Trust Building, Detroit, 44
- United Kingdom. *See* Britain
- United Nations headquarters, NYC, 83
- United States: aviators, valorization of, 139; City Beautiful movement in, 25, 88; construction workers, valorization of, 140; design and planning process, practical consideration of American expertise in, 86–87, 89; de-Stalinization of architecture, response to, 206–7; Kostof on public architecture in, 221–22n4; McCarthyism/Red Scare, 73, 75, 83; Moscow skyscraper project decree, announcement of, 80–81; Moscow skyscraper project decree, rejecting internationalism and foreign influence, 81–84; Moscow’s tall buildings compared to skyscrapers in, 185; [non]recognition of USSR by US government, 41, 42; Palace of Soviets, Hector Hamilton in design competition for, 33–35, 34, 47, 213, 222–23n31, 222n28; Palace of Soviets, influence of American architecture on, 3, 25, 40–54, 214; Soviet views of America, 50–54, 226n125, 226n130; urban restructuring/resettlement of displaced residents in, 117, 237n25; WWII and, 57, 63, 67–68, 71–75. *See also* Cold War; *specific structures*
- Uprising Square building: completion and opening of, 170, 245n1; design and planning process, 84–85, 91, 98, 101, 102, 232n15, 233n52, 234n55; de-Stalinization and afterlife of, 190; ensemble development, as example of, 195; in modern Moscow, 8, 8–9; in original Moscow skyscraper project decree, 80; shops and other amenities, 180, 181; urban restructuring/displacement of residents and, 112–15, 113, 114, 116; *vysoтники* on, 144, 151, 157–58
- Urals Aluminum Factory, 55, 65
- urban restructuring and displacement of residents, 3–4, 5, 111–36; archaeological discovery at Zariad’e site, 4, 112, 132–36, 134; architectural ensemble of Moscow, placement and role of skyscrapers in, 112–16, 113, 114; awareness of problem of, 115, 238n49; compensation for displaced residents, 119–20, 237n27; complaints about corruption and incompetence,



- 127–32; demolition and preconstruction work, 116; displacement orders, 120, 126, 127, 135; extension of city limits, 23, 115; housing and resettlement of displaced Muscovites, 111, 116, 120–23, 125, 129–32; incorporation of older buildings into new urban ensembles, 135; infrastructure, factories, and amenities, need for, 115, 116, 128–29, 238n25; letter-writing campaigns by displaced Muscovites, 121–22, 123–32; monumentalism versus, in Moscow General Plan (1949), 109–10, 110; outskirts of city, relocation of displaced residents to, 111, 115, 122–24, 124, 128, 132, 133; postwar housing shortage in Moscow, 80–81, 109; rural migration to Moscow, in interwar years, 22; slum clearance/urban demolition, avoidance of rhetoric of, 117; social differentiation/entitlement groups versus uniform solution, 120, 123–24, 131; Soviet nationalities policy and internal passport system, 25; symbolic and practical needs, skyscrapers introducing conflict between, 111; USDS and, 116, 119–21, 125–31; WWII housing construction, 68; Zariad'e district, 5, 116, 117–28, 118, 119, 121, 130, 131, 135, 237n13, 238n36
- USDS (Administration for the Construction of the Palace of Soviets): apartments in skyscrapers, allocation of, 180; Architectural-Technical Commission, 44–45, 49–51, 53; design and planning of Moscow skyscraper project, role in, 81, 83–84, 86, 89–90, 97, 103, 106, 232n15; de-Stalinization and afterlife of, 214; Great Terror affecting, 54–56, 76, 226n145; Moscow/Chechulin Affairs and, 103, 106; pre-WWII work on Palace of Soviets and, 35–37, 40–46, 49–50, 53–56, 223n61; urban restructuring/displacement of residents and, 116, 119–21, 123, 125–31, 238n59; *vysotniki* and, 150–54, 156–57, 159, 161–64, 167, 169, 240nn26–27; in WWII and immediate postwar period, 55, 64–65, 76–78, 231n129; Zariad'e district and, 116, 119–21, 123
- Usov, Iakov, 157
- Ustinov, Aleksandr V., 60, 61, 62
- utopianism, Soviet architects' abhorrence of, 114–15
- Vakhtangov Theater, 78, 227n12
- Vasil'ev, Dmitrii M., 131
- Vavilov, Sergei I., 93, 234n68
- Velikanov, A. P., 233n52
- Vershinin, Konstantin A., 97
- Verzilin, Sergei I. and Leonid, 161
- Vesnín, Viktor A., 71
- Vesnín brothers, 193, 233n52
- Vikhoreva, Anfieva K., 126
- Vinokurov, K. D., 120, 121
- Vlasov, Aleksandr V., 107, 124, 195, 206–7, 247n69, 247n73, 248n97
- Vlasovites, 164
- Voenproekt, 65, 193
- VOKS (All-Union Society for Cultural Ties Abroad), 71, 73, 74, 75
- Voloshinov, G. I., 234n59
- Volyntin, Georgii K., 166–67
- Voronkov, Aleksei V., 162, 242n78
- Voroshilov, Kliment E., 35, 76, 220–21n41, 231n128
- Voznesenskii, Nikolai A., 102, 228n35, 235n94
- vysotki*. See Moscow skyscraper project
- vysotnik* House of Culture, 160
- vysotniki*, 5, 137–70; aviator-*vysotniki*, 139–40; collective labor actions by, 156–57; Communist Party and, 151–57, 153, 156; etymology and meaning of term, 139; Gulag inmates as, 138, 150, 151, 162–68, 242n109; as heroes, 137, 139–43, 140–42; housing for, 89, 115, 154, 160–63; narratives of, 137–38, 138, 139, 143, 169; new outlook on Moscow, viewed as having, 139, 157–60, 170; newspapers for, 155, 157–60; Shaginian on, 168–70; shortages of workers and supplies, 150–51; socialist competitions between different skyscraper crews, 151, 155; as university students, 148–49, 149; women as, 143–49, 144, 145, 147–49; WWII and, 139–43, 141
- Vzryvprom, 21, 221n46
- Walker, Ralph T., 47
- Warsaw, Poland, Palace of Culture and Science, 208–11, 210
- “wedding cakes,” Moscow skyscrapers known as, 96, 234n80
- Werth, Alexander, 59–60
- Wölfflin, Heinrich, 220n18
- women, as *vysotniki*, 143–49, 144, 145, 147–49
- Woolworth Building, NYC, 45
- World Peace Council, 155, 156, 241n50
- World War II (Great Patriotic War), 5, 57–78; architects in, 64–66, 69; cultural spoils of, 80; demobilization, 79, 120, 143, 150, 195, 234n66; emergence of USSR as world superpower from, 57; evacuations to Urals, 55–56, 57, 61, 62, 64, 65, 227n161; frontline Moscow in, 57–62, 58–61, 227n8, 227n12; German invasion of Soviet Union, 57–58; Gradov in, 195; influences on architecture and construction, 66–71; internationalism and, 57, 63, 71–75; monumentalism

- World War II (Great Patriotic War) (*continued*)  
and the mundane, tensions between, 70–71;  
Palace of Soviets in, 55–56, 58, 66; population  
in Moscow during, 62, 228n24; pre-war initia-  
tives intensified by, 7; revolution, incorporation  
into myth of, 62; Soviet nationalism fostered  
by, 70, 71, 230n91; Stalin's Mayakovskaya  
metro station speech in, 62–64, 228n36,  
228n38; veterans as entitlement group in  
resettlement plans, 120, 124, 126, 130–31;  
*vysotniki* and, 139–43, 141
- Wright, Frank Lloyd, 50, 52
- Yeremin, Yuri, 16
- Young Pioneers, 15
- Yuri Dolgorukii (founder of Moscow), 93, 135  
yurts, 161
- Zariad'e building and site: archaeological discov-  
ery at, 4, 112, 132–36, 134; design and planning  
process, 86, 90, 98, 99, 232n15, 233nn52–53,  
235n86; failure to finish building, 4, 9, 191, 212,  
245n1; Hotel "Rossiia" on, 106–7; in modern  
Moscow, 8, 9; in original Moscow skyscraper  
project decree, 80; Popov/Chechulin Affairs and,  
103, 104; urban restructuring/displacement of  
residents and, 116, 129; *vysotniki* on, 150, 151,  
160
- Zariad'e district, displacement of residents of, 5,  
116, 117–28, 118, 119, 121, 130, 131, 135,  
237n13, 238n36
- Zaryadye Park, 212
- Zhdanov, Andrei A., 81, 232n20, 235n94
- Zhdanov, Yuri A., 197
- Zhdanovshchina*: antic cosmopolitan campaign and  
antisemitism, 135, 241n63; archaeological dis-  
covery at Zariad'e site and, 135; Chechulin Af-  
fair and, 103; defined, 3; design and planning  
influenced by, 5, 75, 81, 83; internationalism  
affected by, 75, 83; launching of ideological  
campaign of, 81; as postwar continuation of  
pre-war patterns, 7
- Zholtovskii, Ivan V., 12, 33, 35, 90, 193, 233n52
- Zhukov, A. F., 233n52
- Zhukov, Georgii K., 60
- Żołnierz Wolności (Soldiers of Freedom)*, 209