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Soviet workers' clubs: lessons from the social condensers

Anna Bokov

School of Architecture, Yale University, USA
(Author's e-mail address: anna.bokov@yale.edu)

What was a workers' club? What was its purpose and vision? How did it manifest itself spatially and formally? These are some of the questions that this paper addresses through the historical and architectural analysis of the Soviet workers' clubs.

It looks at the complex phenomenon of the workers' club from a number of viewpoints. Starting with the idea of club as 'life itself', the paper examines it as an instrument of the *Proletkult* and traces this radically new typology, which aimed to become both a 'second home' and a 'church of a new cult'. It addresses the ideological and educational role of the workers' club as a 'school of communism'. It analyses the architecture of the club, from its dynamic form to its agency as a multifunctional 'social condenser'. Finally, it challenges the outcomes of the workers' club as embodied ideology—a paralysed condenser, resistant to transcending the utopian aspirations of the era that brought it to life.

> Enough of half penny truths!
> Old trash from your hearts erase!
> Streets for paint-brushes we'll use,
> our palettes—squares with their wide open space.
> Revolution's days have yet to be sung by the thousand year book of time.
> Into the streets, the crowds among,
> futurists, drummers, masters of rhyme![1]
> *Vladimir Mayakovsky, 'An Order to the Art Army', 1918.*

Club as 'Life Itself'

The anthem of the Russian Revolution, 'The Internationale', called on socially disenfranchised groups to destroy the 'world of violence' and build a 'new' one.[2] This massive socio-political project, from introducing *noviy byt* [a new collective lifestyle] to planning the *Sotsgorod* [socialist city], where this collective lifestyle would be realised, required a convincing aesthetic vision. The production of the new environment for 'the worldwide great army of labour' that encompassed practically all areas of life was an important part of this overarching mission.[3] Soon after the October revolution, the Soviet authorities set out to reform all Tsarist institutions, including cultural, religious and academic, in order to establish entirely new socio-cultural models. *Rabochiy klub* [a workers' club] was seen as a key element of the new collectivity, as a platform for proletarian culture, even 'as life itself'.[4] The call to set up workers' clubs was transmitted across the leftist press in advance of the October events. The major Bolshevik newspaper *Izvestiya* proclaimed:

> Comrades, set up clubs! Let these clubs be the tribune for all who seek conscious freedom! Let them be beacons for the masses, seeking meaning, but not knowing the way! Clubs! More clubs! And as fast as possible![5]

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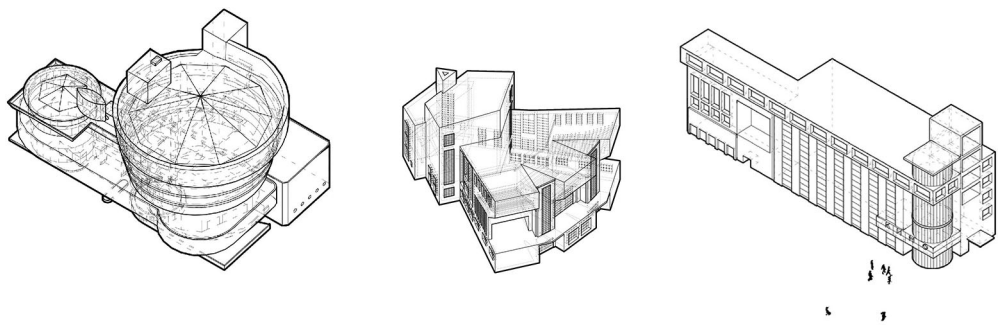

Figure 1. Workers' clubs comparative study: diagrams of Rusakov Club, Zuev Club and Guggenheim Museum, drawn to the same scale (produced as part of the Moscow Architectural Institute Research and Diploma Studio: professor, Anna Bokov; students, Arseniy Afonin, Olga Krukovskaya, Kirill Lebedev).

So what was a workers' club? What were its origins? What was the ideology behind it? What was its programme and how did it function? What happened inside? What did it look like on the outside? What was its purpose and vision? How was it situated? What was its relationship to the surrounding context? How did it manifest itself spatially and formally? What were its architectural and urban challenges and innovations?

These were the questions that guided 'Social Condensers: Rethinking the Workers' Clubs of the Avant-Garde', a research and design diploma studio I conceived of and taught at the Moscow Architecture Institute. There are currently over a hundred workers' clubs and palaces of culture, built between the late 1920s and mid-1930s in Moscow and the surrounding region. Today these buildings range from total decrepitude to active use. Some have gained landmark status while others are being adapted for different uses. Their adjacent territories, which typically housed essential club functions, such as sports fields and playgrounds, are often subject to new development. The studio investigated the programmatic, organisational and architectural qualities of the typology as a whole and studied the specific histories and formal attributes of a selection of these buildings. Students performed on-site research, documented the existing buildings and produced three-dimensional architectural analysis (Fig. 1). The research project included mapping of the clubs around Moscow, performing comparisons of the buildings and their surrounding territories, and analysing their link to the urban fabric (figs 2, 3). Archival investigations were conducted using historical maps and photographs, as well as period publications and magazines, such as *Rabochiy Klub* [Workers' Club], *Stroitelstvo Moskvi* [Construction of Moscow] and *Sovremennaya Arkhitektura* [Contemporary Architecture].

Workers' clubs embodied the notion of proletarian culture [*proletarskaya kul'tura*] and housed the host of *Proletkult* activities, from anti-religious propaganda and agitation to *samodeyatel'nost* [self-action or amateur performance] and *massovie deystviya* [mass acts or mass spectacle]. *Proletkult*, a term coined from the combination of two words, prole-

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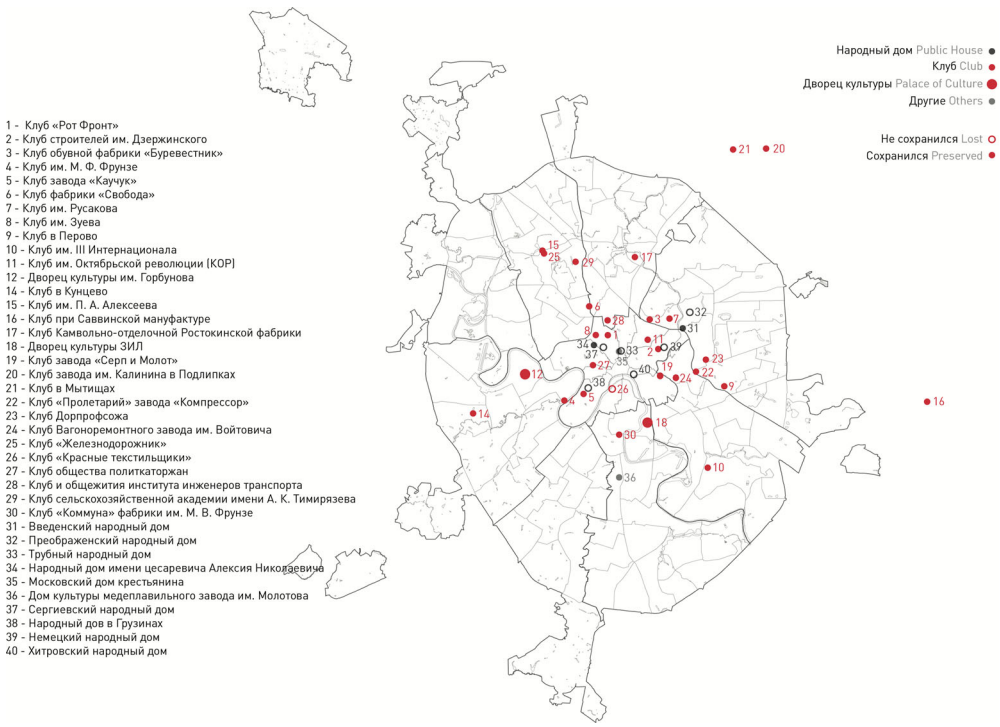

Figure 2. Site map of workers' clubs, palaces of culture and people's houses in Moscow (produced as part of Moscow Architectural Institute Research and Diploma Studio: professor, Anna Bokov; students, Arseniy Afonin, Olga Krukovskaya, Kirill Lebedev).

tarian and culture, was established to develop and promote the ideology of the newly empowered class. A key instrument of the cultural revolution, Proletkult was founded in 1917 by Narkompros (short for 'People's Commissariat for Education'). By 1920 it had grown into a federation of over 200 independent organisations and had over half a million participants. Like many other original revolutionary institutions it was shut down in 1932. The Workers' Club, this 'source of light and knowledge', became a central setting for many of the Proletkult activities. The club served as an agent for the 'production of political culture' at the 'core of class struggle', effectively replacing traditional religious institutions as new sites of a communist cult.[6] The club movement was initiated from above, by the Communist Party, as well as from below, through trades unions and independent youth groups, engines of the Proletkult. It reflected various aspects of a tumultuous post-revolutionary period: its ideological power struggles, utopian projections for the future, experimental art forms, as well as

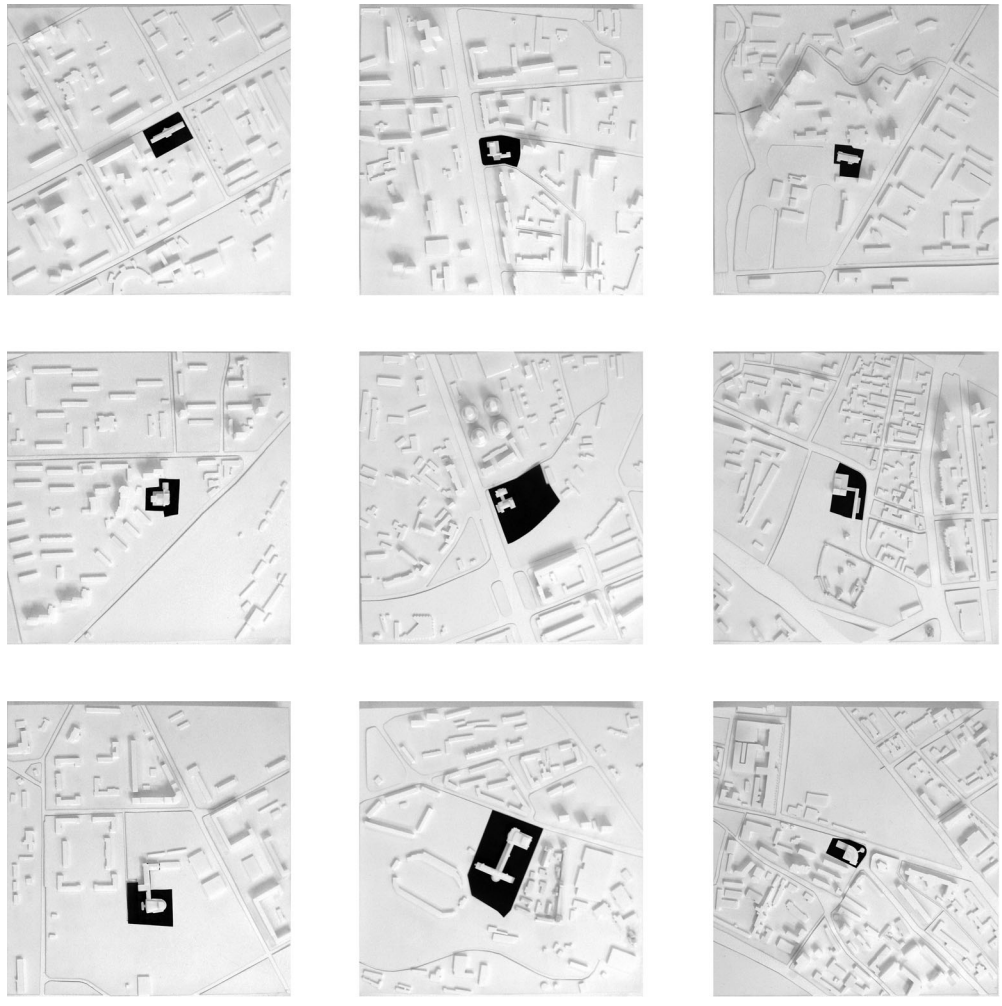

Figure 3. Site models of selected workers' clubs in Moscow (produced as part of Moscow Architectural Institute Research and Diploma Studio: professor, Anna Bokov; students, Arseniy Afonin, Olga Krukovskaya, Kirill Lebedev.

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educational challenges. The architecture of workers' clubs embodied this layered complexity and became a platform for formal and spatial experimentation, eventually evolving into a distinctive new building typology.

Immediately following the revolution, workers' clubs could not be built from scratch due to dire economic conditions and instead used repurposed existing buildings. The new typology actually took shape by the late 1920s as hundreds of clubs were being built across the Soviet Union. Subject to standardised programmes, clubs functioned simultaneously as communal living rooms, performance spaces, adult education and daycare centres, and sports facilities. These showrooms for *noviy byt* served as amplifiers for political propaganda and provided platforms for experimentation with new theatrical art forms. Ultimately, these so-called 'social condensers' were a part of a larger social engineering project and facilitated the forging of a *noviy sovetskiy chelovek* [a new Soviet man] (Fig. 4).

When initially introduced, the term *rabochiy klub*, was intended to challenge the elitist origins of the club as a social institution, at the time accessible only to the aristocracy, and therefore perceived as a provocative if not paradoxical collocation. The term *dvorets* [palace], as in palace of labour or culture, communicated a similar paradox, by using the word *palace*, traditionally reserved for those in power, thus highlighting its transfer after the revolution into the hands of the proletarian masses.

The term 'social condensers' was coined by Constructivist architects in the late 1920s and popularised on an international level in the 1970s by the historian Anatole Kopp. The founding resolution of the Organisation of Contemporary Architects (OSA) applied the term not only to workers' clubs, but to all new architectural and urban typologies.[7] These typologies included communal housing, clubs, palaces of labour, administrative buildings and factories, and were supposed to become *provodniki i kondensatory sotsialisticheskoy kul'tury* (conductors and condensers of socialist culture].[8] The explicit task of the workers' club was to conduct the new ideology in a more condensed way than housing units or factories, whose primary functions lay outside of this dictum. Constructivists juxtaposed the new architecture to 'such prerevolutionary building types as the speculative apartment house, the private residence, the "gentlemen's club", etc., all products of pre-revolutionary social, technical and economic circumstances, but still serving as a model for buildings now being erected in the U.S.S.R.'[9] Perhaps no other building type has reflected the difference in approaches between two major modernist camps of Soviet architecture of the 1920s—Rationalists and Constructivists—better than club buildings. The Rationalists typically treated the club as a composite volume with articulate components, whilst the Constructivists thought of it as an assembly of different functions and their relationships.

Club as an instrument of Proletkult

Revolution not only pushed the crowds into the street, but turned entire cities into stages for artistic experimentation. Art became a subject for mass spectacle, no longer belonging to the elite but to the commune. Celebrated by Mayakovsky and others, revolutionary art was to erase the boundary

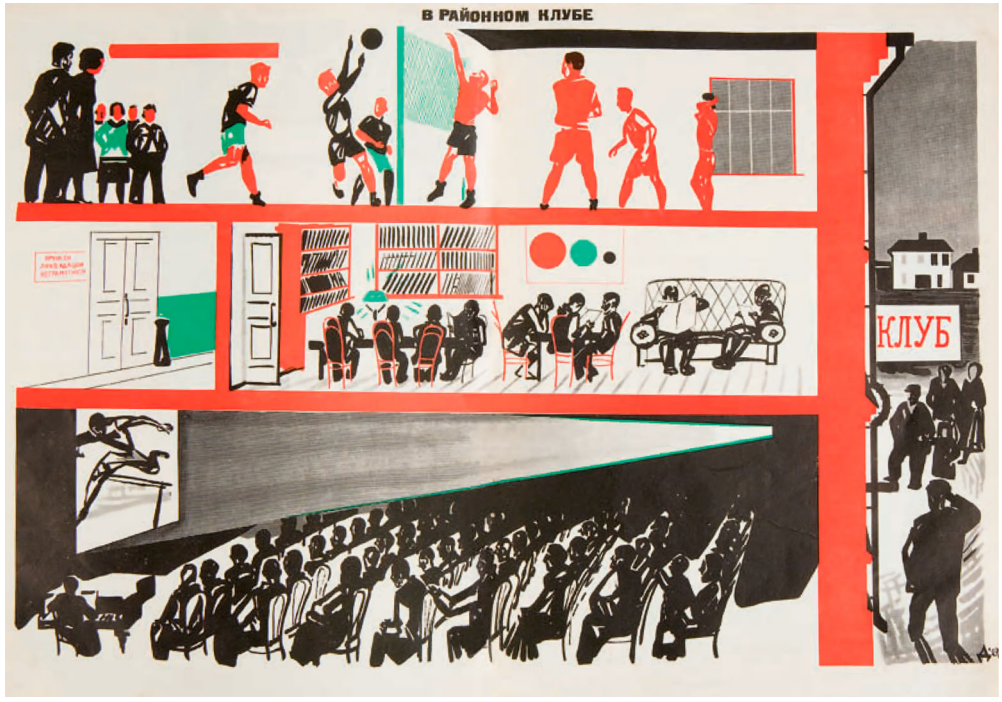

Figure 4. Alexander Deyneka, *V rayonnom klube* [At the local club], illustration for *Bezbozhnik u stanka* [Atheist and the machine], No. 3 (Moscow, 1927).

between spectators and performers.[10] Art was now seen as literally life-changing, it was to become a part of life: *iskusstvo–v zhizn* [art into life], *iskussto v massy* [art for the masses], became ubiquitous mantras of Soviet society. Any work of art, according to one of the masterminds of the Proletkult movement, the physician and philosopher Alexander Bogdanov (1873–1928), reflected the ideology of a particular class and was not applicable for another. He wrote: 'Art–is one of the ideologies of class, an element of class consciousness; hence–it is an organisational form of the class life, a way of unification and cohesion of class forces.'[11] The proletariat needed to create 'its own culture' by first destroying the old Tsarist one. 'Throw away the art of the past!', read a famous revolutionary slogan (Fig. 5).[12]

Another ideologue of Proletkult, Alexey Gastev (1882–1939), a revolutionary poet and a founder of *Tsentral'niy Institut Truda* [Central Institute of Labour, or TsIT], dedicated to the study of scientific management, interpreted mechanistic standardised labour as a 'combined' art form. He wrote in 1919:

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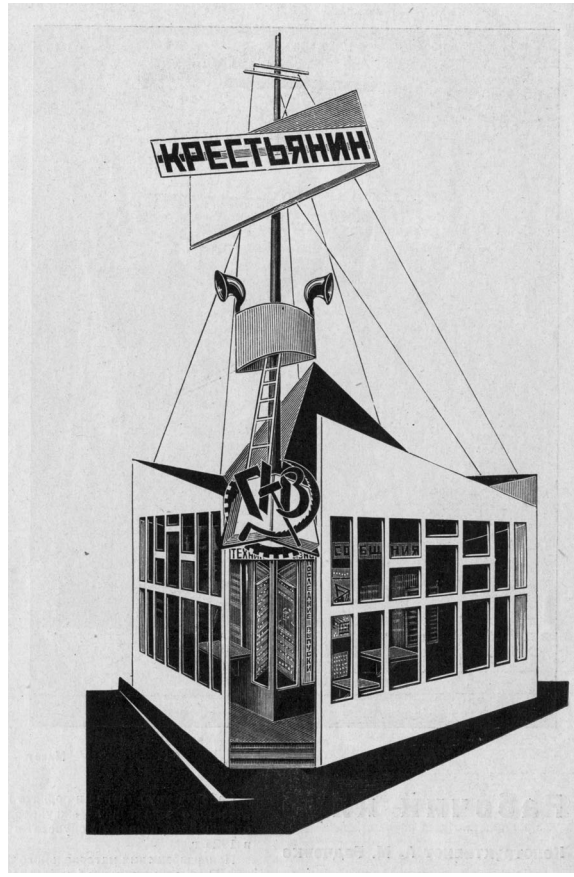

Figure 5. Alexey Gan, 'Derevenskiy Kiosk' ['Village Kiosk'], *Sovremennaya Arkhitektura* [Contemporary Architecture], No.1 (1926).

We have come close to something really new, to a combined art, where purely human demonstrations, pathetic play-acting and contemporary chamber music will recede into the background. We are heading for an unprecedented demonstration of objective things, mechanised crowds and stunning outdoor grandeur, which does not know anything intimate and lyrical.[13]

Gastev and his compatriots intended to create new art forms that would erase the boundaries between elitist culture and everyday life, as well as between performance and reality: thus effectively

conducting the cultural messages of the new regime.[14] In that regard, one of the most successful Proletkult practices was *samodeyatel'nost*. Satirical in manner and ideological in content, these amateur performances could take a number of forms—from a song or a dance, to a poetry reading or a full-blown theatrical act. Clubs were to become the 'acting centres for mass propaganda and the development of creativity within the working class', the 'cells for proletarian class samodeyatel'nost'.[15] This process of theatricalisation of life was so deeply transformative that everything felt like 'acting'. The sense of mediated reality was shared by many cultural luminaries of the early Soviet period, including Viktor Shklovsky, who wrote: 'drama circles are propagating like protozoa … all Russia is acting; some kind of elemental process is taking place where the living fabric of life is being transformed into the theatrical'.[16] Gastev's *poeziya rabochego udara* [poetry of a worker's blow], the biomechanics of the Meyerhold theatre, the bodily labour rhythms measured by TsIT—all of these combined 'the creativity of art with the exactness of science'.[17] This synchronised mass-mediated state required a dedicated physical setting, something that could organise and propagate this meta-laborious mass ecstasy.

Unlike bourgeois art forms, such as opera and ballet, *samodeyatel'nost* aimed to be closer to the proletarian masses by using accessible folk language to communicate sophisticated political messages. One of its best-known improvisational groups was called *sinyaya bluza* [blue blouse], named after the blue workers' overalls that its members wore. Founded in 1923 as an independent youth collective, *sinyaya bluza* quickly expanded to over 400 groups in different Soviet cities.[18] Its members were a mixture of professionals and amateurs and included such figures as Boris Yuzhanin, Osip Brik and Vladimir Mayakovsky. Their acts were typically a series of performance vignettes, formatted as short folk poems or sung *chastushki* [satirical couplets], on topics ranging from political reforms and bureaucracy to alcoholism, ultimately searching for a 'reflection of the contemporary moment in all its spontaneity, explosiveness, polyphony, fatalism'.[19]

Not everyone agreed with the prevalence of performance activity in club culture. Nadezhda Krupskaya, the head of Glavpolitprosvet [Main Political Enlightenment Commission], a revolutionary, an educator and Lenin's wife, felt that such performances were imposing on the workers' recreation time. Instead she advocated that a club should be a quiet place, for 'comradely conversation':

> … in the contemporary club there is too much tutelage and regulation: sinyaya bluza, samodeyatel'nost evenings, kruzhki, concerts, films, sports … It's loud, one can easily kill time, but neither recreation, nor satisfaction is being achieved … [20]

While Proletkult did not dictate the architectural form of a club *per se*, many of its initiatives, from *samodeyatel'nost* to *massovie deistva*, required active audience participation. The merging of audience with the actors influenced dynamic spatial solutions for the theatrical component in club architecture. The 'blue-blouse' movement, helped define the new typology and contributed to architectural experimentation. Perhaps nothing triggered

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the innovative scenarios for the new club buildings more than these emerging forms of theatrical arts.

Although affiliated with and funded by Narkompros [short for 'People's Commission of Education'],[21] Proletkult positioned itself as an independent movement and had an alternative reading of Marxist theory, resulting in Lenin's concern with its 'distorted view of proletarian culture'.[22] By 1922 Lenin's criticism had grown stronger, accusing the major leaders of the movement, Bogdanov, Gastev and Valerian Pletnev, of the 'falsification of historical materialism'.[23] As a result, Proletkult was transferred to the head organ of the labour unions (VTsSPS) in 1925 and was eventually closed down in 1932.[24]

Club as multifunctional 'Condenser'

From a programmatic standpoint, the club was a radically new building type. As opposed to a church or a theatre, it was a poly-functional space; compared to a typical nineteenth-century *narodny dom* [people's house], which offered an alternative to a public house as a place for factory workers to relax and socialise after a long day, the club had a far more developed public assembly component. More importantly, a workers' club had an ideological coding—its entire programmatic composite was intended to condition a new social behaviour through a series of orchestrated collective experiences. The basic club programme contained the following elements: 'foyer w/cloakroom, auditorium, quiet recreation room, library and reading room, *kruzhki* [sections] classrooms, administration, children's play room, occupiable roof and exterior terraces'.[25] As apparent from the programme, the club would need to have a space for personal reflection and quiet rest, games rooms and classrooms, but of larger importance were spaces for collective activities: these building blocks of Proletkult dogma and the instruments of Bolshevik communist worship. One of the major tasks of club life was to occupy the free time of a Soviet worker almost entirely, shaping an individual through the prism of the new collective culture.

Larger clubs also included a gymnasium, a dining hall [*stolovaya*] or cafeteria [*bufet*], games rooms [*igrovye zaly*], additional sections [*kruzhki*], lecture halls and administrative spaces. The number of programmatic components, required even for a basic workers' club, contributed to the notion of condensing. For one thing, it involved organising the spaces in such a way that they could perform both separately and together. This was achieved through strategic adjacencies and partitioning mechanisms. Spaces often also had to perform several functions at once. The foyer would often become a flexible space, serving as an overflow area for an auditorium or a rehearsal space. A gymnasium could be transformed into a cafeteria, especially in those clubs without one originally. One of the more interesting solutions for the dining hall was offered by Nikolay Ladovsky in his project for a club at *trudkommuna* [labour commune] Kostino. The stage is positioned as a hinge between the auditorium and the cafeteria, which allowed it to operate simultaneously on both sides, and presumably have performances with spectators in both spaces. Ladovsky's organisational solution took into consideration the processional character of many events in clubs, such as military marches and demonstrations (Fig. 6).[26]

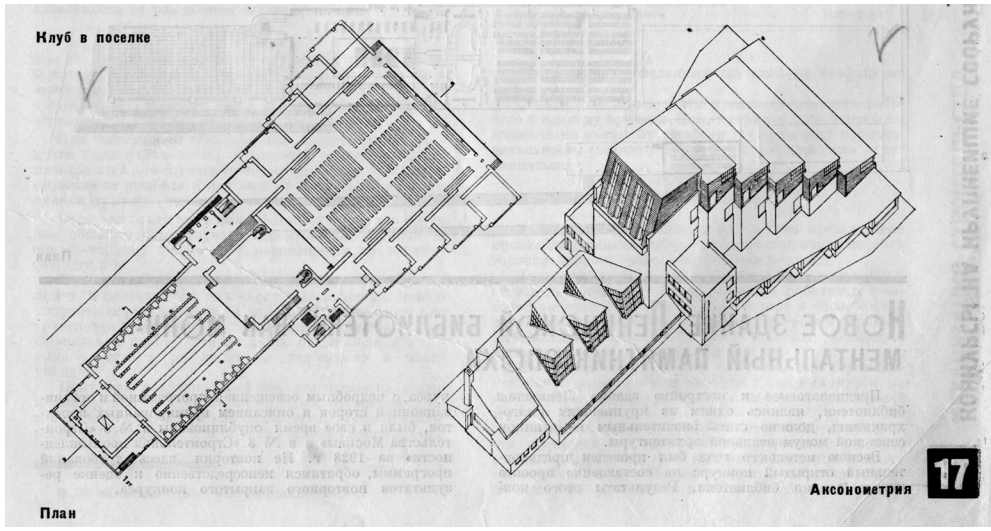

Figure 6. Nikolay Ladovsky, Kostino Workers' Club, *Stroitelstvo Moskvy* [Construction of Moscow], No. 7 (1929).

Although dining facilities were typically not a part of the basic trade-union club programme, as the idea was to industrialise food preparation at *fabrika-kukhnya* [kitchen-factories], it was quickly determined that food would be a major attraction for the workers. In consequence, *buffets,* at the very least, were added to the standard club programme by the late 1920s. Aside from helping to address housing issues and grocery shortages, these integral companions of Soviet life, providing a food service as part of work or social experience contributed to the political agenda of liberating women from domestic 'slavery' and engaging them in the most efficient way as a factory workforce.

At the core of every club, whether large or small, was an auditorium—a space for both mass assembly and theatrical performance. Some of the most interesting experiments in this new architectural typology had to do with articulating the auditorium both internally and externally. Nothing had a larger impact on the workers' club as a building type, than the spatial articulation of public movement, known as *massovie deistviya*. Of great importance ideologically, these mass processions would weave together performers and spectators, interior and exterior, the stage and the street. The processional sequence, typically leading from the street through the foyer to the assembly hall, would be celebrated architecturally, contributing to the dynamic volume of these buildings (Fig. 7).

The two most iconic workers' clubs best illustrate this idea: the Rusakov Club (Fig. 8), by Kon-

Figure 7. Stair, Palace of Culture ZIL (photograph produced as part of Moscow Architectural Institute Research and Diploma Studio: professor, Anna Bokov; students, Arseniy Afonin, Olga Krukovskaya, Kirill Lebedev).

stantin Melnikov (1890–1974) and the Zuev Club (Fig. 9), by Ilya Golosov (1883–1945). Whether through the use of transparency, as in the glazed cylindrical circulation volume of the Zuev club, or by directly pushing the entry sequence outside, as in Melnikov's designs, the celebration of public procession was one of the fundamental ideas, manifested spatially and formally. In each of the buildings, this idea is articulated through the spatial and organisational structure of the entrance, foyer and auditorium zones. In the Zuev Club, circulation is the active element,

Figure 8. Rusakov Workers' Club by architect Konstantin Mel'nikov. Photograph by Branson DeCou, 1931. Photograph courtesy of the Branson DeCou collection, UCSC Special Collections & Archives.

whilst the auditorium is embedded within the rectangular body of the building.

In the Rusakov Club, the auditorium component becomes visually active, shaping the exterior as if turning the building inside-out. Melnikov declared his design principles as follows: 'the club is a system of auditoria of different sizes separated by moveable partitions. When needed, these auditoria could be combined into a composite performance and meeting space'.[27] Here spatial transformation manifests itself in two major ways: through spatial re-combination made possible by auditorium subdivision and the expandable foyer, as well as through transcending the traditional relationship between the inside and outside (Fig. 10).

Whilst assembly, performance and education were historically a club's major functions, it was not a municipal headquarters, or a theatre, or an

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Figure 9. Zuev Workers' Club by architect Il'ya Golosov. Photograph by Branson DeCou, 1931. Photograph courtesy of the Branson DeCou collection, UCSC Special Collections & Archives.

educational facility. It was a hybrid. Despite elegant architectural solutions, as in the examples discussed above, it was also a compromise. Its theatrical part was often too primitive for a full-blown professional performance with any substantial technical requirements. Its educational facilities and section spaces were often limited and unfitting for whatever activity they were supposed to house. Moreover, most of the technological innovations, such as sliding partitions, moving stage parts and other mechanically operated architectural components—used by Melnikov, in particular—were rarely realised or, even if implemented, hardly used. Despite the efforts to make club architecture flexible and to create a variety of spatial configurations, clubs were, and continue to be, criticised for not being able to change fast enough for the dynamic life that was happening inside them.

The ideal solution for the architecture of a workers' club was a subject of intense polemic on

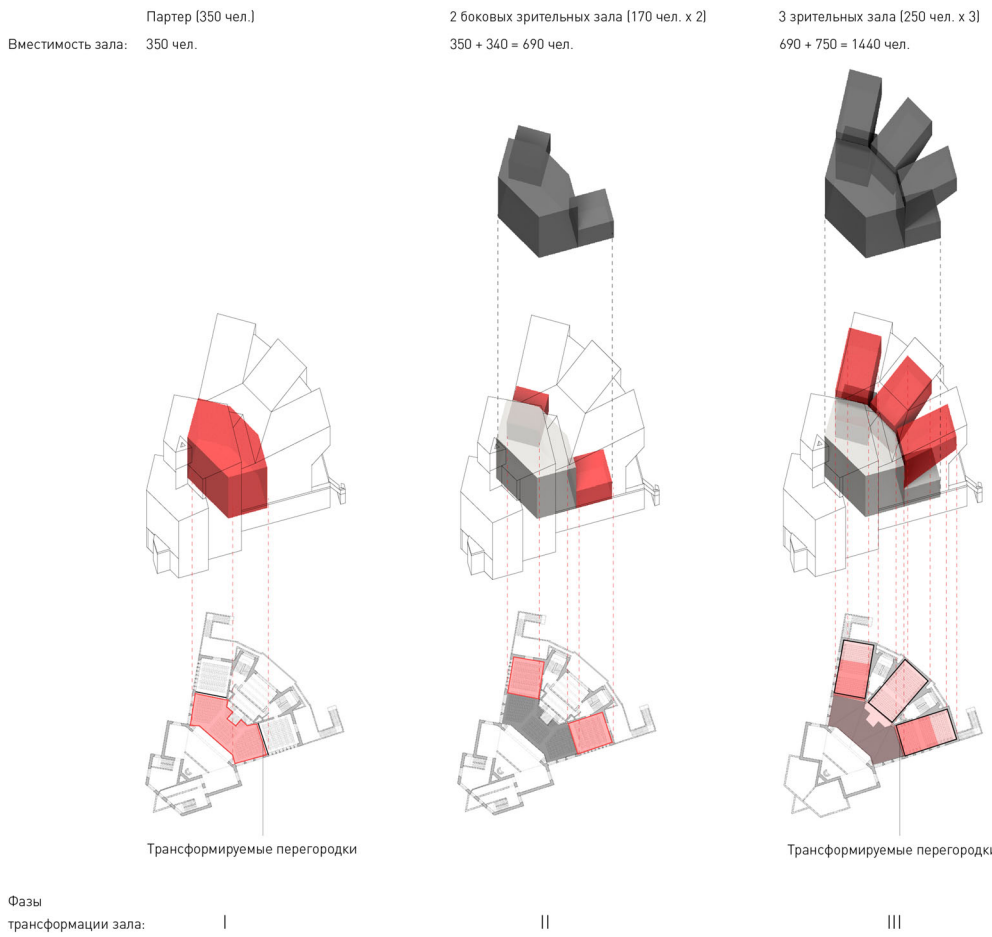

Figure 10. Spatial and programmatic analysis of Rusakov Club (produced as part of Moscow Architectural Institute Research and Diploma Studio: professor, Anna Bokov; students, Arseniy Afonin, Olga Krukovskaya, Kirill Lebedev).

the pages of the contemporary press. The first free-standing large-scale club buildings, designed and built around 1927–1929, were considered experiments of sorts, intended to serve as 'models for future construction'.[28] This intense process of experimentation by the major Soviet architects resulted in buildings that vary greatly in terms of their compositional solutions and organisational

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configurations.[29] The overtly sculptural nature of many of Melnikov's buildings, for example, revealed an affinity with the model-making method practised by Nikolay Ladovsky in his studios at the Higher Art and Technical Studios, known as VKhUTEMAS. Melnikov, who was a member of ASNOVA and a VKhUTEMAS professor, had to develop a scheme 'on the run' within a limited time, forced to design directly in space, sometimes sketching while construction was already underway.[30] Perhaps it was due to this combination of a constrained timeframe and the task of finding a radically new form, that practically each of the clubs offered a different architectural solution to the 'assembly—performance—education' problem.

Club as 'Second Home'

The immediate precedent for the typology of the workers' club was neither the gentlemen's club nor the palace, but the so-called *narodny dom* [people's house], a typology that emerged during the rapid industrialisation of Russian cities at the end of the nineteenth century. Its goal, similar to that of a workers' club, was to educate and entertain workers, and to provide alternatives to drinking, as a preferred spare time activity. Modest in nature, *narodny dom* was a secular enterprise and lacked an ideological agenda, more reminiscent of a communal living room or a tea house. As opposed to the *narodny dom*, the workers' club was not just about recreation or education: it was about political education and social reform of the working masses.

The notion of the club as an extension of the domestic realm was shared by Nadezhda Krupskaya. At the First All-Russian conference of proletarian cultural-educational organisations, held in 1918 in Petrograd, she proclaimed: 'The club has to be thought of as a second home.'[31] Ideally, Krupskaya continued, 'it should, like a real home, be close to the work place, so workers could go to the club straight from work, without having to go home'.[32] Krupskaya's utopian vision was reinforced by the hardships of post-war Russia. The housing crisis that lasted practically throughout the entire Soviet period was particularly severe during the post-revolutionary years, compounded by industrialisation and collectivisation campaigns. An instance of dystopian reality combined with utopian vision, the permanent lack of adequate housing was in line with one of the most fundamental Soviet doctrines, known as *kommunalniy byt* [communal lifestyle]. Clubs operated as critical nodes in this existential puzzle, serving as *de facto* living rooms for the majority of the population. In this light, Pletnev's pronouncement that the 'club is life itself' takes on a whole different meaning—that one needs a club in order to have a life. This role of the club as a public living room, as defined by Krupskaya, on the one hand, and as a 'school of communism', as defined by her husband, Lenin, on the other, required a range of spaces, both for quiet recreation and for mass assemblies.

The club's function as a 'second home' was conceived not only in relation to the 'first home', the 'new social housing', but also along with the workplace, relative to all integral elements of *noviy byt*. As such, the club had a particular position within a larger urban context. Urban context itself was a subject of a complete renewal during the first Five-Year Plan. Three major planning strategies

emerged during the so-called resettlement debates. Two polemical positions were debated among 'Urbanists' and 'Disurbanists', both affiliated to the Constructivists. The Urbanist model, based on total collectivisation of life, proposed *zhil-kombinat* [housing combine]—a large-scale high-density multifunctional hybrid-housing combine as a building block of *Sotsgorod* [socialist city]. Instead of compact urban settlements, the Disurbanists advocated dispersed linear settlement networks. These 'lines of settlement', strung along electricity lines, roads and railways, would be distributed over the entire Soviet territory, connecting industrial complexes.

In the Disurbanist version of Sotsgorod clubs were typically inscribed within the generous open recreation zones, culture parks, strung along the linear organisational spine, whilst in the Urbanists' socialist city, the club was essentially a built-in function within *zhil-kombinat* or *dom-kommuna* [communal house]. In practice, situating workers' clubs next to workers' housing, as well as to the workplace, eg, a factory, was of great importance, demonstrated in the case of the Proletariy Club, Dangauerovka housing and Kompressor factory in the east of Moscow (Fig. 11). Not only did it create a kind of a closed daily circuit for the worker, but this housing-factory-club loop also functioned as an autonomous settlement unit, similar to a Russian *obshchina* (a traditional tightly-knit village community) and had a familiar feel to workers, most of whom were yesterday's peasants. This is one of the seeming paradoxes of the workers' clubs, which on the one hand, claimed to be a radically new social type, and on the other, replicated the traditional model of the obshchina. Perhaps the distinction lies in the regimented, if not institutional, character in which this link was structured within the daily lives of the working masses, formalising, once again, the agency of clubs as 'social condensers' (Fig. 12).

Club as 'the Church of the New Cult'

Following a degree by the Sovnarkom (short for 'Council of People's Commissars') in 1918 that nationalised all land and private property, the club movement quickly spread from Moscow and Petrograd into the provinces, taking over existing buildings, former homes, palaces and churches.[33] Reclaiming religious buildings as clubs was not just a matter of convenience. It communicated the most important underlying mission of the Proletkult movement, which was to make a workers' club into *khram novogo kulta* [the church of the new cult].[34] Just as communist demonstrations replaced religious processions, workers' clubs were conceived as antidotes to religious institutions—churches, cathedrals and temples. At times this mission went as far as physically demolishing a church building and constructing a new club in its place, as in the case of the Simonov Monastery and the ZIL Palace of Culture in Moscow, designed by the Vesnin brothers - largely a cultural act rather than a practical necessity. In the case of the Putilovets factory workers' club in Petrograd, the existing church building was repurposed to house the new function by chopping off architectural fragments such as the dome and cross (Fig. 13). A similar fate awaited Alexander Nevsky's church in Petrograd (St Petersburg), which was converted into the Lenin Club.

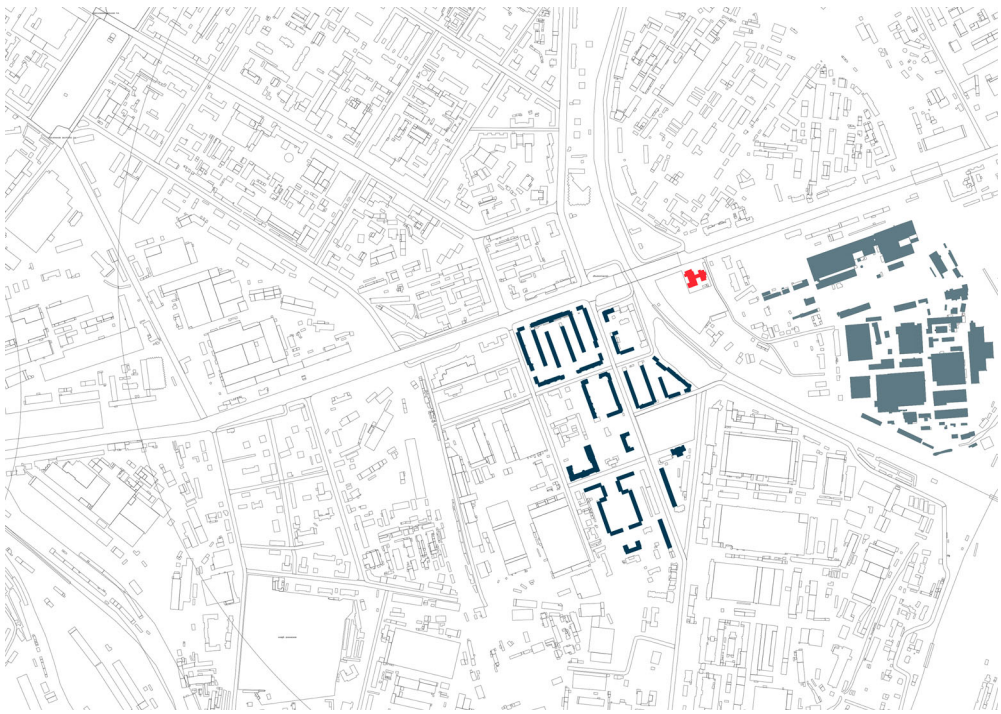


Figure 11. Map of Proletariy Club, showing adjacent Dangaurovka housing and Kompressor factory (produced as part of Moscow Architectural Institute Research and Diploma Studio: professor, Anna Bokov; students, Arseniy Afonin, Olga Krukovskaya, Kirill Lebedev).

As workers' clubs started to function on a daily basis it became clear that old buildings did not satisfy the new programmatic requirements, at first resulting in the alteration of existing interiors and exteriors, and eventually in the development of a programme for this 'new social type'. Despite a wave of propaganda, few ideas actually materialised at the time, due in large part to the economic hardship of the first post-revolutionary, post-civil war years. Besides a number of rural clubs, built using vernacular wooden construction, most clubs of that period were housed within retrofitted existing structures. However, discussions on the new programme were taking shape. In the competition for a workers' palace in Petrograd for the Putilovsky factory workers in 1919, four major programmatic components were established: '1) public life, 2) science and art, 3) place for recreation, 4) sport'.[35]

The 1922 competition for the main administrative building of the country, *Dvorets Truda* [Palace of Labour], also played a formative role in the development of the workers' club typology. The competition

Figure 12. Alexander Deyneka, 'Prevratim Moskvu v obraztsoviy sotsialisticheskiy gorod proletarskogo gosudartva' ('Transform Moscow into an exemplary socialist city of the proletarian state') (Poster, Moscow-Leningrad, IZOGIZ, 1931).

programme called for two principally different elements: an enormous theatrical auditorium; generous administrative office spaces. Alleged democratisation of political life required assembly spaces that could house thousands of people, but more importantly these spaces needed to enable public participation in the mass spectacles—this involved providing not only visual, but also physical access between the stage and the audience, as well as articulating a connection between the street and interior. The composite programming introduced by the Palace of Labor competition would become a blueprint for the workers' club, where a large auditorium space for mass gatherings would be combined with the more nuclear spaces housing a variety of educational and hobby sections, known as *kruzhki* [sections or circles]. Centered mainly on the performance arts, *kruzhki* were both for children as well as for young adults, and often served as training venues for club performances. These were

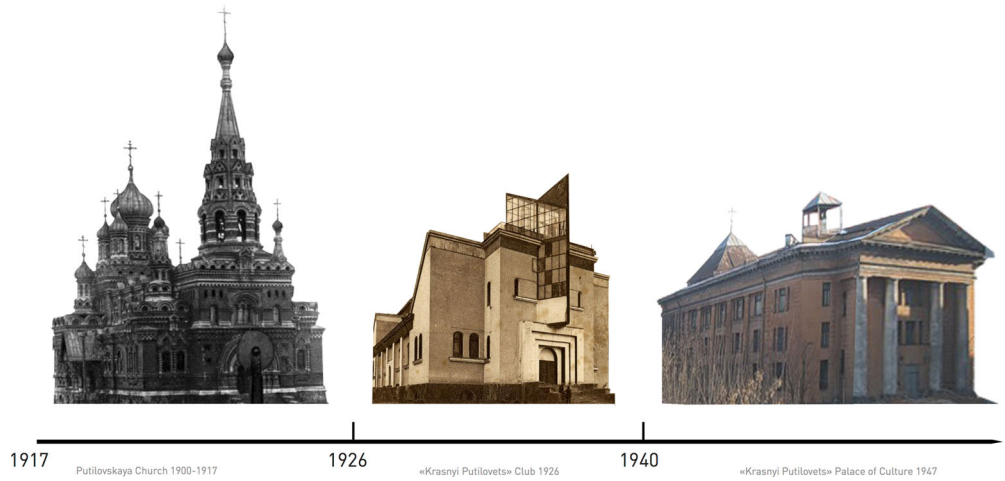


Figure 13. Timeline of the transformation of the Red Putilovets church into a workers' club and a palace of culture (produced as part of Moscow Architectural Institute Research and Diploma Studio; professor, Anna Bokov; students, Arseniy Afonin, Olga Krukovskaya, Kirill Lebedev).

spaces for various interest groups and hobbies, constituting a major portion of worker's club activity, from chess and book clubs, to samodeyatel'nost, which typically included practice in dance, music, costume and set design. Therefore, a club could function as a complete system, so to speak, where a performance could be both prepared and consumed in one venue.

Lenin's death in January, 1924, marked another phase in the development of workers' club typology. The clubs were now recast as memorials to Lenin's heritage and often referred to as *Doma Il'icha* [Ilyich's Houses]. Alexander Rodchenko's workers' club interior, designed for the Paris Art Decoratif Exhibition in 1925, featured Lenin's portrait in the so-called red corner, a place traditionally designated for icons in a Russian dwelling. Lenin's corner [*Leninskiy ugolok*] became a canonical element of public institutions, sanctifying Lenin's image in Soviet collective consciousness for decades. This memorial function corresponded well with the vision of Krupskaya, Lenin's widow, who felt that a club should be an intimate place for introspective activities, rather than a loud setting for the theatrical heightening of daily life. This dual vision for the workers' club as a place for individual respite, on the one hand, and collective activities, on the other, manifested a dichotomy inherent in the club mission and in the challenges its architecture faced.

The shift towards memorialisation was reflected in the size of the clubs, which began to transform from the scale of a 'second home' to palatial grandeur. In Sevastopol, a committee for 'immortalising Lenin's memory' declared the construction of a 'worker's palace with an auditorium for 5000 people, public

library and lecture halls … to concentrate the entire educational and cultural life of the city'.[36] Many other large industrial Soviet cities, including Dnepropetrovsk, Ivanovo-Voznesensk and Rostov-on-Don, followed suit, organising competitions and starting the construction of these ambitious memorial palace-clubs. The architectural competitions conducted in the period 1924–1925 constituted an important platform for developing the typology of the workers' clubs and palaces of culture. The projects that emerged, including those by the Vesnin brothers, by Mikhail and Grigory Barkhin (a father and son team) and by Ilya Golosov, already contained 'simple, clear forms, harmonious relations of masses, volumes, surfaces, openings … dynamically flowing space, producing a variety of perceptual experiences from constantly changing views and spatial dimensions'.[37]

Club as 'School of Communism'

The most prolific period in the development of club architecture, between 1926 and 1932, coincides with end of the New Economic Policy and the first Stalinist *Pyatiletka* [Five-Year Plan].[38] It also marks the rise of the *profsoyuznoe dvizhenie* [labour or trades union movement]. As administrative units, *profsoyuzy* managed masses of people who worked in various industries from transport to construction to manufacturing, irrespective of their places of residence. These 'schools of communism', as Lenin called them, became increasingly powerful economic players in cities, as the largest proletarian organisations, some counting hundreds of thousands of members nationwide.[39] By 1919 the *Tekstilshchiki* [Textile Workers] Trade Union was the largest in Russia, with 711,000 members; the second largest was the *Metallisty* [Metalworkers] Union, with 400,000 members. As a result, by the mid-1920s the *profsoyuz* network controlled practically the entire workers' movement and organised not only labour but other aspects of its members' lives, from recreational activities to political education, effectively becoming not only a proselytiser for workers' clubs, but also the major client for using club buildings. In 1927, in order to systematise this new typology and streamline club construction, MGSP ['Moscow Regional Council of Labour Unions'] adopted a resolution to build 78 new club buildings.[40] *Profsoyuzy* played a key role in defining the workers' club as a building type, articulating the functions and goals of the clubs, developing numerous iterations of the club programmes and experimenting with different architectural solutions. The clubs built as a result of the *profsoyuz* programmes encompass some of the best-known buildings, including practically all the projects by Konstantin Melnikov, The Zuev Club by Ilya Golosov as well as The Dvorets Kultury [Palace of Culture] ZIL by the Vesnin brothers.

During the peak of club construction over a hundred new clubs and palaces of culture were built in Moscow and its region (Fig. 14).[41] If by 1929 there were 56 labour union clubs, by 1936 there were already 161 clubs in Moscow itself.[42] During this period the political, educational, cultural and recreational role of the club was considered to be of great importance by union leaders as evidenced by this 'Statute on Working Clubs by the Central Labor Union Committee' [VTsSPS]:

> … As a centre of trade union culture a workers' club has the following goals and tasks:

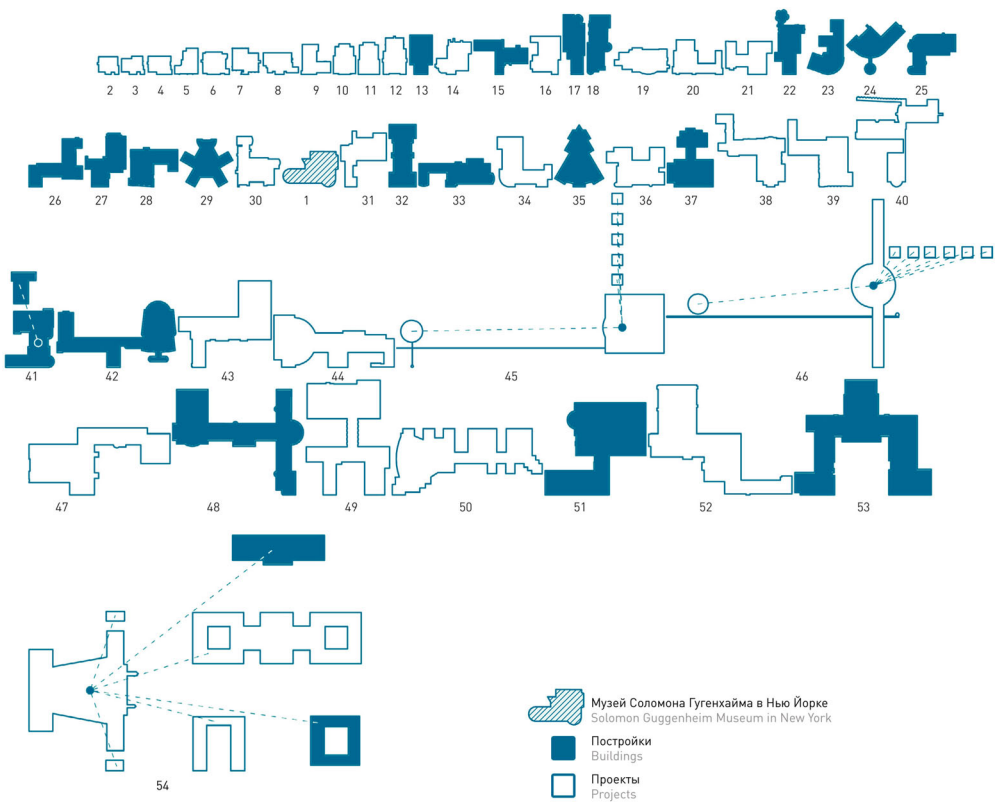


Figure 14. Workers' clubs scale comparison chart: Figure 1 is the footprint of the Guggenheim museum (produced as part of Moscow Architectural Institute Research and Diploma Studio: professor, Anna Bokov; students, Arseniy Afonin, Olga Krukovskaya, Kirill Lebedev).

1. Political education of working masses based on labor union and production tasks, development of revolutionary class-based consciousness of the workers and improvement of their activism and amateur performance [samodeyatel'nost].
2. Serving cultural and lifestyle demands of the workers, their unification around the labour union under the auspices of balanced recreation and entertainment in a club setting after a work day and elevation of the cultural level of a worker and his family.
3. Physical health of the proletariat by way of mass exercise and sports.

In meeting those goals a club leads mass activities and sections … [43]

Indeed, *noviy sovetskiy chelovek* had to be not just literate and politically educated, but also needed to be in good physical health. *Fizkul'tura* [physical culture] was part of an underlying nationwide initiative for ongoing military mobilisation of the Soviet population. The creation of a new Soviet man and the new Soviet woman, what Leon Trotsky referred to as a 'higher social biological type, … or a superman', was not about the making of a new individual. It was an integral part of constructing a new 'we': a single unified Soviet nation. Trotsky had recast 'all the arts—literature, drama, painting, music and architecture' in terms of their social mission to give the new man a 'beautiful form'.[44] For him, 'social construction and psycho-physical self-education' were one and the same, serving the ultimate goal of the 'Socialist Art' project:

> It is difficult to predict the extent of self-government which the man of the future may reach or the heights to which he may carry his technique. Social construction and psycho-physical self-education will become two aspects of one and the same process. … . Man will become immeasurably stronger, wiser and subtler; his body will become more harmonised, his movements more rhythmic, his voice more musical. The forms of life will become dynamically dramatic. The average human type will rise to the heights of an Aristotle, a Goethe, or a Marx. And above this ridge new peaks will rise.[45]

Sports were an important part of the club programme. Typically, sports facilities were located next to the club building, as part of its grounds, and included an Olympic-size running track, soccer pitches and playgrounds. These 'fields of mass acts' were an important part of both organising leisure and producing a collective spectacle (Fig. 15).[46]

Club as dynamic form

Tatlin's Monument to the Third International and Nikolay Ladovsky's project for the Temple of Communication of the Peoples [*khram obshcheniya narodov*], both designed in 1919–1920, initiated the design exploration of what became, arguably, the most important theme in Soviet architecture—a space for mass assembly and mass spectacle, intended as a symbol for the young Soviet nation (Fig. 16). Throughout the decade, various projects continued to explore the theme, from buildings with a primarily administrative function, such as *dvorets truda* [palace of labour], *dom s'ezdov* [congress hall], *dom narodov* [palace of the peoples], to those with a mostly performative function, such as a palace of culture or synthetic theatre. This search for a new typology collapsed at the end of the decade with the competition for the Palace of Soviets, culminating in the grand winning entry by Boris Iofan. Most consistently, this theme was tested, realised and interpreted in the workers' clubs and in palaces of culture. These buildings, both built and unbuilt, had a characteristically expressive dynamic architectural form: intended to 'conduct and condense' a variety of mass activities both inside and outside.

Workers' clubs not only channelled utopian aspirations through social engineering mechanisms, but also embodied the *avant-garde* search for the new kind of form—one that would mani-

Figure 15. Alexander Deyneka, illustration for *Bezbozhnik u stanka* ['Atheist and the machine'], No. 5 (Moscow, 1926).

fest a decisive break with the classical tradition. More than any other typology, club buildings were a result of the progressive pedagogical experiments with form of the 1920s. Centered at VKhUTEMAS, these were methodically explored by the schools' professors, the architects Nikolay Ladovsky, Konstantin Melnikov, Ilya Golosov, Alexander Vesnin, Moisey Ginzburg and others.[47] If reduced to a three-dimensional diagram, many workers' clubs would resemble core design exercises of the 'Space' course [*distsiplina 'Prostranstvo'*], taught by the Rationalist architects, members of ASNOVA.[48] The course 'Space' was a foundational design course, used to teach hundreds of students at VKhUTEMAS. Its experimental pedagogy was instrumental in articulating the

Figure 16. Nikolay Ladovsky, Kommunal'niy Dom [Communal House], 1919–1920.

formal grammar of modern architecture. The course aimed to offer an alternative to classical academic training and to develop a standardised instruction for teaching architecture by engaging the so-called objective method, based on psychophysical research and perceptual psychology. It introduced such staples of modern architectural education as explorative model making of abstract assignments. Plasticity of composition and overtly dynamic form in many club buildings were steeped in the rich experimental culture of the school (Fig. 17).

Starting with Rodchenko's club design at the Paris Expo in 1925, architects and designers sought to reflect the emerging forms of collective life in these new environments. Conversely, architecture's role was actively to shape those environments, to provide a variety of collective-use scenarios and to serve with showcases the future Soviet lifestyle. Rodchenko's Paris installation was the prime example of defining a canon for a club interior and introducing a set of standards, from the bold use of colour and signage, to multifunctional and transformable furniture, to the sacred element of every club—the Lenin corner (Fig. 18).

Club buildings were subject to both intense design experimentation and a process of standardisation (Fig. 19). A number of national competitions were held to develop solutions for a *tipovoy* [standard] club, or, as competition organisers put it: 'to find appropriate architectural expression, capable of addressing existing notions of hygiene, comfort

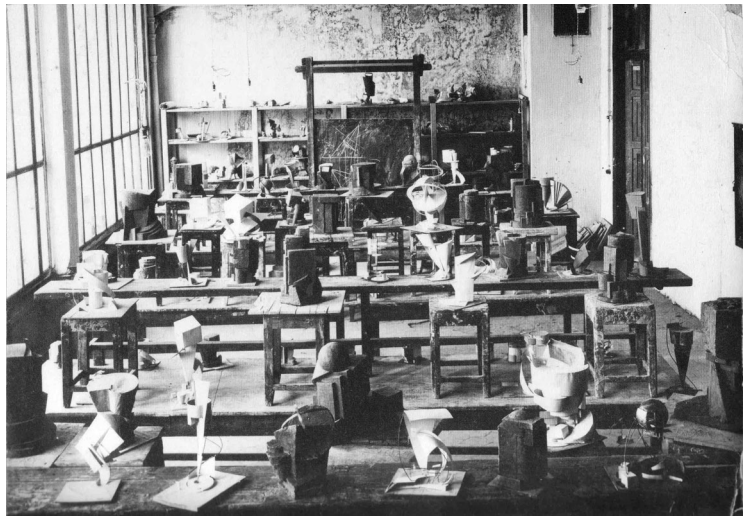


Figure 17. VKhUTEMAS, Course 'Space', 1927–1928, Moscow.

and aesthetics'.[49] The goal was clearly to establish parameters for the club as a type: 'The competition aimed to articulate principal solutions for standard clubs, which would satisfy all the requirements of club work.'[50] The competition projects were to provide design solutions for clubs of different sizes, number of occupants and site configurations. Three types of club buildings were developed: '1) Type A– for servicing 500 club members; 2) Type B– for servicing 1000 club members; 3) Type C–for servicing 1500 club members. The main design challenge was not only to find 'the most perfect solution for the architectural composition of the building', but to retain the essential code of a workers' club typology: 'maximal convenience and expediency for both the programmatic groups within the club and their connection with each other'. One competition yielded over a hundred entries, with Panteleimon Golosov receiving the first prize and Moisey Ginzburg, the second (Fig. 20). Both designs consisted of basic rectangular programmatic blocks interconnected with each other by a system of corridors and interstitial spaces. The rational plan organisations nevertheless succeeded in producing dynamic exterior compositions formed by carefully orchestrated sliding volumes.

The relationship between the form of the workers' club and its function was a topic of heated debates between Rationalist and Constructivist architects. A member of the Constructivist OSA, Ivan Leonidov, a former student of the Vesnin brothers and also a VKhUTEMAS professor, who specialised in the

Figure 18. Alexander Rodchenko, 'Rabochiy Klub' [Workers' Club], *Sovremennaya Arkhitektura* [Contemporary Architecture], No.1 (1926).

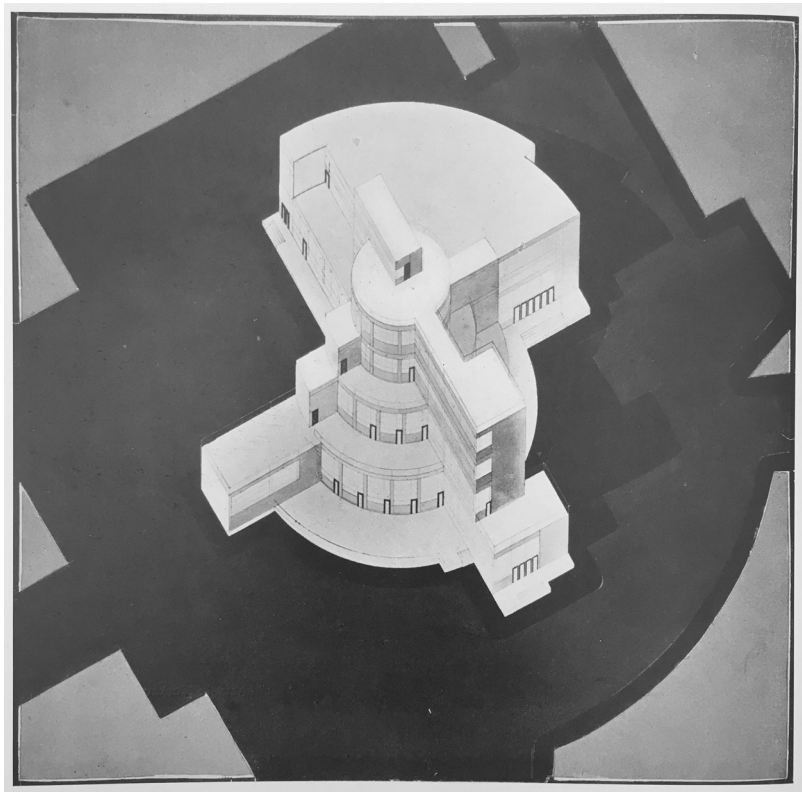
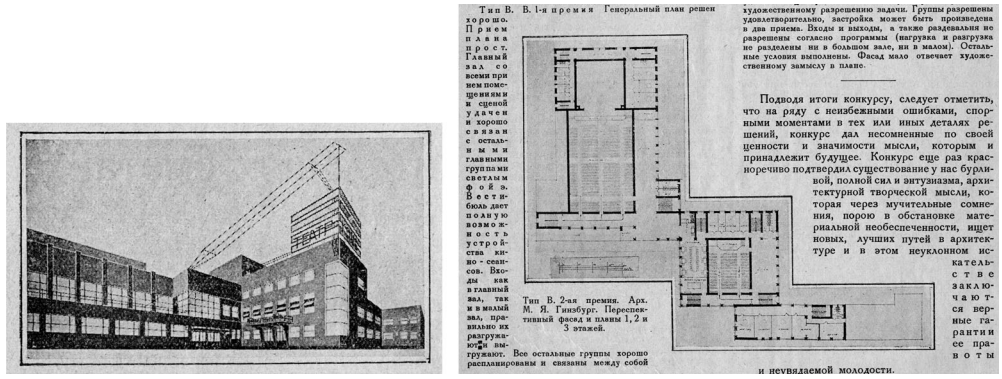


Figure 19. Ivan Lamtsov, Workers' Club at the Center of a Workers' Settlement, perspective view: El Lissitzky, Russland. Die Rekonstruktion der Architektur in der Sowjetunion (Neues Bauen in der Welt. Band 1), vol. 1, 1930. Courtesy of The Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library.

design and conceptualisation of workers' clubs, addressed the question of form as follows:[51]

> Question: If not resorting to aesthetic and formal terms how could one explain the application of the same forms deployed by you for different functions?

Answer: The question reveals that the one asking it is interested first and foremost in external form, in superficial savouring rather than in organisation. Such a question is appropriate where one is occupied with idealistic architecture 'as art'. For us, however, form is a result of organisation and functional relations of working and construc-



Тип В. В. 1-я премия. Генеральный план решен хорошо. Прием плана прост. Главный зал со всеми приемными и сценой удачен и хорошо связан с остальными и главными группами светами фойе. Вестибюль дает полную возможность устройства кассо-сеансов. Входы как в главный зал, так и в малый, правильно их разгружая. Все остальные группы хорошо распланированы и связаны между собой

Тип В. 2-ая премия. Арх. М. Я. Гинзбург. Перспективный фасад и планы 1, 2 и 3 этажей.

художественному разрешению задачи. Группы разрешены удовлетворительно, застройка может быть произведена в два приема. Входы и выходы, а также раздевальни не разрешены согласно программы (нагрузка и разгрузка не разделены ни в большом зале, ни в малом). Остальные условия выполнены. Фасад мало отвечает художественному замыслу в плане.

Подводя итоги конкурсу, следует отметить, что на ряду с неизбежными ошибками, спорными моментами в тех или иных деталях решений, конкурс дал несомненные по своей ценности и значимости мысли, которым и принадлежит будущее. Конкурс еще раз красноречиво подтвердил существование у нас бурлящей, полной сил и энтузиазма, архитектурной творческой мысли, которая через мучительные сомнения, порою в обстановке материальной необеспеченности, ищет новых, лучших путей в архитектуре и в этом неуклонном исканьи закаляются верные гарантии ее правоты и неувядаемой молодости.

Figure 20. Moisey Ginzburg, Project for Standard [Typovoy] Workers' Club, plan and perspective view: Stroitelstvo Moskvy [Construction of Moscow], No. 5 (1927). Courtesy of the Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library.

> tive moments. It is necessary to look at it and critique it not as form, but as an approach to cultural organisation.[52]

Ultimately, for Leonidov, as for Melnikov, the question of form for this *noviy sotsial'niy tip* [new social type] was open for interpretation.[53] Leonidov's proposal, for a club for 2,500 people, designed in 1928 and published in the 1929 issue of *Sovremennaya Arkhitektura* (figs 21, 22), addressed what he called 'spatial cultural organization' [*prostranstvennaya kultorganizatsiya*]. Conceived as a series of exquisite black and white drawings of a sprawling complex made of carefully chosen lines, circles and squares, this abstract composition is accompanied by a detailed programmatic description, an organisational algorithm for a future workers' club. It reads like a graphic novel. 'What is it then, a novel [*roman*] or a project?' the critics asked Leonidov. He responded in a characteristically sharp, yet elusive way. 'It depends on one's understanding', he said, 'for some—Soviet power—is not a power, but a novel.'

Club as Paralysed Condenser

Ultimately, workers' clubs were not simply propaganda machines for the Proletkult or the labour unions, they were first and foremost symbols of a new era and the new way of life. Judging from the period photographs, these multifunctional condensers were in striking contrast to their urban context. Unlike housing or infrastructure projects, whose formal solutions are traditionally largely determined by their function, these buildings were actively in search of new form: breaking from the past and making a giant leap forward. They demonstrate how ideological coding could be manifested spatially and formally—articulating the symbiotic relationship between internal spatial organisation and the exterior envelope. Paradoxically, it is the synthetic quality of these masterpieces of *avant-garde* architecture that in a certain way prohibits them from transcending the

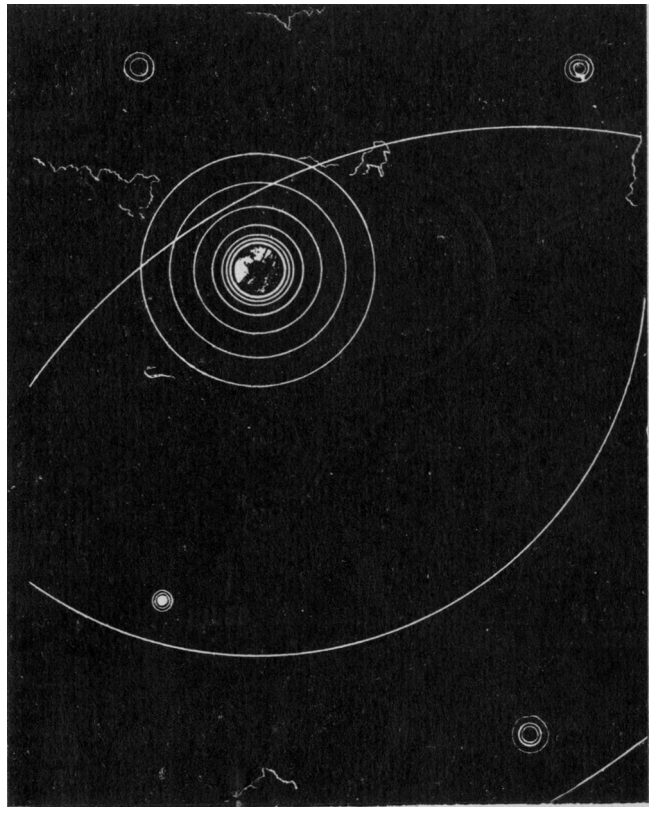


Figure 21. Ivan Leonidov, Diagram of Kultorganizatsia; illustration to 'Organizatsia raboty kluba novogo sotsialnogo tipa' ['Organisation of the work of the club of a new social type'], in *Sovremennaya Arkhitektura* [Contemporary Architecture], No. 3, Gan Alexey, Moisey Ginzburg, eds (Moscow, 1929).

period they so successfully captured. This, then, might be an underlying factor in the current neglected status and unclear future of many of the Soviet workers' clubs. Already during the early 1930s, the utopian ideas of communal *byt* had been replaced by more traditional views on lifestyle, family values and individual interests, which characterised the official cultural and artistic creed of the Stalin era, Socialist Realism. It was not an accident that workers' clubs transformed into palaces, and later, houses of culture, refocussing on education and entertainment, instead of the ideological condensing of the masses.

As the revolutionary period receded, the challenge of creating workers' clubs adequate to

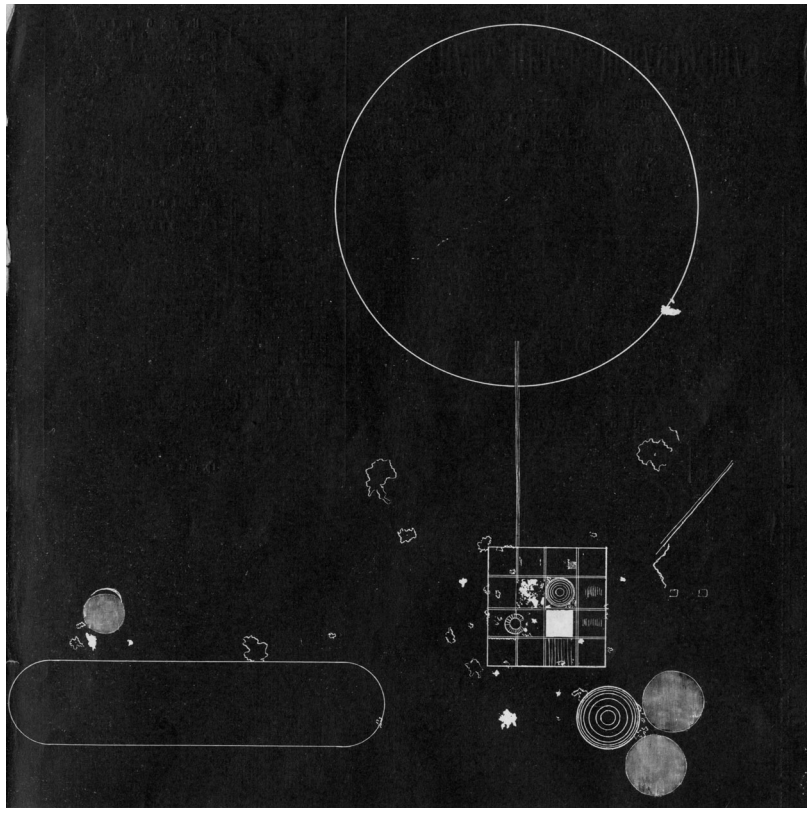


Figure 22. Ivan Leonidov, plan, club of new social type, in, 'Organizatsia raboty kluba novogo sotsialnogo tipa' ['Organization of the work of the club of a new social type'], in *Sovremennaya Arkhitektura* [Contemporary Architecture], No. 3, Gan Alexey, Moisey Ginzburg, eds (Moscow, 1929).

their wide-ranging ideological purposes became apparent. The history of this typology was initially a search among existing types, such as the church or the theatre, followed by a commitment to creating a new architectural form for this new social type. This was a case in which existing architectural forms were inadequate to the scope of the concept of the workers' club, which in its ambition to condense and conduct socialist culture required something made entirely in its image. The clubs' recognisable, if uncompromising forms make them a peculiar challenge to adapt today. Comprised of a mixture of programmatic components - performance space, study, sport,

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Figure 23. Zavety Il'icha Workers' Club, Moscow (photograph produced as part of Moscow Architectural Institute Research and Diploma Studio: professor, Anna Bokov; students, Arseniy Afonin, Olga Krukovskaya, Kirill Lebedev).

leisure and entertainment areas - they are curiously unfit for any single tenant. In the fragmented cultural landscape of the present, all too likely to be seen as political slogans of the past cast in stone (Fig. 23). Nothing has the ability to bring these functions together with the same force, leaving them paralysed in their condensed state. What can still be learned from these 'schools of communism' now that there is no longer a need to relay the tenets of Soviet citizenship?

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7. OSA, denoting Obschestvo Sovremennykh Arkhitektorov [Society of Contemporary Architects], was founded in Moscow in 1925 and closed in 1930. OSA issued a quarterly magazine *Sovremennaya Arkhitektura* ['Contemporary Architecture', abbreviated as SA], from 1926 to 1930, edited by M. Ginzburg, A. Vesnin and A. Gan.
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9. *Ibid*., translated in Anatole Kopp, *Town and Revolution: Soviet Architecture and City Planning, 1917–1935* (George Braziller, New York, 1970), p. 94.
10. *Iskusstvo Kommuny* ['Art of the Commune'] a newspaper published in Petrograd by IZO Narkompros, between 1918 and 1919; edited by Osip Brik, Nathan Altman and Nikolay Punin, *Iskusstvo v Massy* ['Art for the Masses'] was a monthly periodical in the 1920s. The phrase 'art into life' is taken from Vladimir Tatlin's saying: 'Iskusstvo - v zhizn', iskusstvo - v tekhniku, ni k staromu, ni k novomu, a k nuzhnomu' ('Art–into life, art–into technology, not towards the old or the new, but towards the necessary.')
11. Alexander Bogdanov, *O proletarskoy kul'ture 1904–1924* [On Proletarian Culture 1904–1924] (Leningrad; Moskva: Kniga, 1924), p. 105. [Translation by the Author.]
12. 'Iskusstvo proshlogo—na svalku'; Proletkult slogan, 1919.
13. Alexey Gastev, *O tendencyakh proletarskoy kultury* [On the Tendencies of Proletarian Culture], 1919.
14. Lynn Mally, *Revolutionary Acts: Amateur Theater and the Soviet State, 1917–1938* (Ithaca, New York, London, Cornell University Press, 2000), p. 255.
15. *Kommunisticheskaya partiya Sovetskogo Soyuza v rezolyutsiyakh i resheniyakh s"yezdov, konferentsiy i Plenumov TSK (1898–1988)* [Communist Party of the Soviet Union through the resolutions and decisions in meetings, conferences and plenums (1898–1988)], v.1 (Moscow, In-t Marksizma-Leninizma pri TsK KPSS, 1954), p. 731.
16. Cited in Lynn Mally, *Culture of the Future: The Proletkult Movement in Revolutionary Russia* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1990), p. 125.
17. Susan Buck-Morss, *Dreamworld and Catastrophe: The Passing of Mass Utopia in East and West* (Cambridge, Mass., The MIT Press, 2002), p. 107.

18. Sinyaya Bluza, translated as 'Blue Blouse': a state-wide amateur performance group, active between 1923 and 1933. Another popular organisation was TRAM, an acronym for *Teatr Rabochey Molodezhi* [Theatre of Working Youth].
19. *Zhizn Iskusstva* ['Life of Art'], No.28 (1924), pp. 3–4: quoted in 'From the History of Soviet Architecture 1917–1925. Documents and Materials, 1963. *Op. cit.*
20. Nadezhda Krupskaya, 'O klube' ('On Club'), *Pravda* (12th December,1925), quoted in From the History of Soviet Architecture 1917–1925. Documents and Materials, 1963. *Op. cit.*
21. Narkompros, acronym for Narodny Kommissariat Prosvechsheniaya [People's Commission of Education or Enlightenment], headed by Anatoly Lunacharsky, 1918–1929.
22. *Pravda* (1st December, 1920), p. 1.
23. Lenin's speech at the All-Russian Soyuz Molodezhi (October, 1922).
24. VTsSPS, acronym for Vserosiiskiy Centralniy Sovet Professionalnykh Soyuzov [All-Russian Central Council of Professional Unions].
25. The Workers' club programme was put together by the Cultural Department of VTsSPS, Moscow, 1927.
26. Nikolay Ladovsky, *Stroitelstvo Moskvy* ['Construction of Moscow'], No. 7 (1929), p. 17.
27. In *Stroitelstvo Moskvy* ['Construction of Moscow'] No. 1, (1928), p. 20.
28. *Ibid*.
29. *Ibid*.
30. ASNOVA (1923–1932), acronym for Assotsiatsia Novikh Architektorov [Association of New Architects]; ASNOVA was the first organisation for Soviet Architects, founded in 1923 by Nikolay Ladovsky: its members included Konstantin Melnikov, Ilya Golosov and El Lissitzky.
31. First All-Russian conference of proletarian cultural-educational organisations, Petrograd, 1918.
32. *Ibid*.
33. Sovnarkom, acronym for Soviet narodnykh kommissarov [Council of People's Commissars].
34. Nikolay Istselenov, 'O vozrozhdenii chistogo znacheniya arkhitekrunogo sooruzheniya—kak Khrama Novogo Kulta' ['On the revival of the pure meaning of architectural structure—as a Church of the New Cult]; in, Selim Khan-Magomedov, *Kumiry Avangarda. Nikolay Ladovsky* [Idols of the Avant-garde. Nikolay Ladovsky] (Moscow, Russkiy Avangard, 2011), p. 51.
35. 'Iskusstvo Kommuni' ['Art of the Commune'], No.7 (January, 1919); quoted in From the History of Soviet Architecture 1917—1925. Documents and Materials, 1963. *Op. cit.*
36. Izvestia, No.13 (16th January, 1925); quoted in From the History of Soviet Architecture 1917 - 1925. Documents and Materials, 1963. Op. cit.
37. Il'in, M. Vesniny (Moscow, 1960), p. 85: from Project Reports by Alexandr and Viktor Vesnin, 1935.
38. The first Five-Year plan implemented by Joseph Stalin in the Soviet Union was for 1928–1932; it replaced the NEP (New Economic Policy) that was established by Lenin in 1921.
39. Vladimir Lenin, 'Infantile Disorder of Leftism in the Communist Movement'; first published as a pamphlet in June, 1920: in the Collected Works, Volume 31 (Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1964), pp. 17–118 (online version: marxists.org 1999).
40. Irina Chepkunova, *Kluby postroennie po programme profsoyuzov 1927–1930* ['Clubs Built according to the Labour Union Programme'], (Moscow, Shchusev Museum of Architecture, 2010); according to Chepkunova, in 1924 there were 156 clubs in Moscow and the Moscow region: p. 13.
41. *Ibid*., p. 11.
42. *Moskva v planakh, Spravochnik-Putevoditel* ['Moscow in Plans: Reference-Guidebook'] (Moscow, Mosrek-

lamspravizdat, 1929) and *Vsya Moskva* ['Entire Moscow'] (Moscow, Moskovskiy Rabochiy, 1936).

43. Statement by VTsSPS [Central Labour Union Committee], Moscow, 1925; quoted in From the History of Soviet Architecture 1917 - 1925. Documents and Materials, 1963. *Op. cit.*
44. Leon Trotsky, 'Literatura i revolyutsiya' ['Literature and Revolution'], in Revolutionary and Socialist Art, Chapter 8, 1923; Izdatel'stvo Krasnaya Nov', Glavpolitprosvet, Moscow, 1923.
45. *Ibid*.
46. *Sovremennaya Arkhitektura* [Contemporary Architecture], No. 5, 5 (1930).
47. VKhUTEMAS, an acronym for Vysshiye Khudozhestvenno-Tekhnicheskiye Masterskiye [Higher Artistic and Technical Studios], was an interdisciplinary design school in Moscow, founded in 1920 and closed in 1930. In 1927, the school was renamed VKhUTEIN, an acronym for Vysshiy Khudozhestvenno-Tekhnicheskiy Institut [Higher Artistic and Technical Institute].
48. ASNOVA, an acronym for Assotsiatsia Novikh Architektorov [Association of New Architects], *op. cit*.
49. V. Shcherbakov, Konkurs na zdanie tipovykh klubov [Competition for standard club building], *Stroitelstvo Moskvy* [*Construction of Moscow*] No. 5, 8 (1927), Moscow, Izdanie Moskovskogo Soveta Rabochikh, Krest'yan i Krasnykh Deputatov. [Translation by the Author.]
50. *Ibid*., p. 9.
51. OSA, an acronym for Organizatsia Sovremennykh Arkhitektorov [Organisation of Contemporary Architects], founded in Moscow in 1925; its leaders included M. Ginzburg and A. Vesnin.
52. Ivan Leonidov, 'Organizatsiya raboty kluba novogo sotsial'nogo tipa' ['Organisation of the work of the club of a new social type'], in *Sovremennaya Arkhitektura* [Contemporary Architecture], Issue No. 3, Gan Alexey, Moisey Ginzburg, eds (Moscow, 1929), p. 111. [Translation by the Author.]
53. *Ibid*.