

# The Concept of the Socialist City Plans and Patterns of Soviet Urbanism

**Barbara Engel**

Karlsruhe Institute for Technology

This paper discusses the specific features of the socialist city referring to the original ideas and intentions that were related to the foundation of socialist cities during Soviet Era. Planning and construction of socialist cities were embedded within the context of historical and social conditions that existed at the time. Soviet planners cited aspirations for the construction of large housing estates and new cities, such as the vision of a better person in a better society. These goals also opened up a view to an international debate: the search for a new city as a response to the unsuitable living conditions in the industrial city of the late nineteenth century. Urban planning and design in the Soviet Union was used as an instrument of ideology. Integrated within a system of state order, urban design played a political role. Hence the guiding principles for urban development emerged under certain preconditions, such as technical feasibility.

The paper emphasizes the visions and ideas, the urban guiding principles, and the physical structure and form of socialist cities.

## **Keywords**

Soviet Cities, Sotsgorod, Urban Development, Urban Morphologies, Industrialisation, Microrayon

## **How to cite**

Engel, Barbara; "The Concept of the Socialist City. Plans and Patterns of Soviet Urbanism". In Carola Hein (ed.), *International Planning History Society Proceedings*, 19<sup>th</sup> IPHS Conference, City-Space-Transformation, TU Delft, 5 - 6 July, 2022, TU Delft Open, 2022.

DOI: 10.7480/iphs.2022.1.6516

## INTRODUCTION

The planning and construction of Soviet cities was embedded within the context of the historical and social conditions that existed at the time. Soviet planners cited aspirations for the construction of large housing estates and new cities, such as the vision of a better person in a better society and 'the rejection ... of the city of capitalism, the slums, the inordinate luxury, and the appalling density'.<sup>1</sup> These goals also opened up a view to an international debate: the search for a new city as a response to the unsuitable living conditions in the industrial city of the late nineteenth century.

The Soviet period of urban development is characterised by three main phases, that are reflected in different urban morphologies and building typologies. The first period primarily continued pre-revolutionary planning ideas that applied, in particular, to low-rise settlements around industry or mining. The first five-year plan, started in 1928, marked the transition to industrialization and the emergence of a morphotype, which required decisions on the rapid construction of a large amount of housing. During this period, the idea of communal living was embodied in the morphology of the socialist city: utilitarian layout, prefabricated housing, dense low and mid-rise housing. A new stage of industrialization in 1954 affected housing construction and the emergence of a microrayon as a new morphotype that shaped the urban fabric of the cities in Soviet period and beyond.

## VISIONS OF A NEW SOCIETY

Beginning in the early nineteenth century, the intolerable conditions endured in large cities repeatedly led to new proposals for social and urban planning reforms. In general, however, urban development lacked a genuinely social and economic perspective. Reformers like Charles Fourier and Robert Owen, who were known as 'Utopian Socialists', were the first to attempt to unite social and architectural ideas in their plans for building utopian communities. But these first attempts to improve the tenement city had no tangible effect. It was first and foremost the concepts of Ebenezer Howard, Frank Lloyd Wright, and Le Corbusier – with their utopian visions from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries – that earned a place in the history of urban design.

In the era of fast-paced technical upheavals, however, the ideas of urban planners who focused on social reforms were given new impetus. Against the backdrop of dawning technical progress, fascinating opportunities to change cities for the better began to open up in the minds of planners. The reformers did not want gradual improvement, but fundamental transformation that not only meant urban and spatial renewal, but also always involved a social aspect.

The Soviet debates at the outset of the twentieth century were first and foremost theoretical considerations about the fundamental relationship between town and countryside, and about reconfiguring how people lived and the resulting consequences for urban development.<sup>2</sup> This

discourse peaked at the end of the 1920s in Milyutin's design for Sotsgorod, and his concept later formed the basis for the designs of new towns. Milyutin's urban structure was given several functional areas that were strictly separated from one another.<sup>3</sup> Even if Milyutin's Sotsgorod was primarily a production centre, it was still to be constructed in such a way as to optimise the housing and living conditions of the workers. Milyutin understood the importance of green zones, clearly seen in the green buffer zones between the residential and industrial areas, but also in the park strips and public zones in the residential neighbourhoods.<sup>4</sup> The parallel strips made it possible for residents to travel short distances between home and work across a green belt. Social infrastructure, clubs, and sport facilities were located close to the residential quarters, far removed from industry.<sup>5</sup>

## GUIDING URBAN PRINCIPLES AND THEIR PRECONDITIONS AND PARAMETERS

Urban design in the Soviet Union – like art and architecture as well – was used as an instrument of ideology. Integrated within a system of state order, urban design played a political role that was to be demonstrated on a social, structural, and visual level.<sup>6</sup> Hence, the guiding principles for urban development emerged under certain preconditions, such as technical feasibility, and above all subservient to political goals.

### INDUSTRIALISED CONSTRUCTION

By 1953, the growing tensions between demands for an architecture that represented grandiose political ideals and the deteriorating conditions of daily life within the Soviet Union had already erupted in conflict. Following Stalin's death that same year, a reorientation of Soviet politics came about through Hrushchyov and the directives adopted in Moscow by the All-Union Conference of Builders, Architects, and Construction Industry Workers in December 1954. This was followed by a move towards the standardisation and industrialisation of construction under the motto of building 'better, faster, and cheaper'. The enormous demand for housing could only be met by equally enormous increases in the quantity and rate of production.<sup>7</sup> This marked the beginning of the use of prefabricated units.

This phase was characterised by the ever-increasing pace in the development of residential areas, and by the industrialisation and streamlining of construction methods. Through the introduction of highly-rational methods of planning and building cities, housing construction in the years 1955–1959 more than doubled over the previous five-year period, from 43 million square metres per year to 95 million square metres.<sup>8</sup> It was only on the basis of standardisation, creating types, and industrial mass production that the completion of large-scale building complexes became possible. What emerged was a new and characteristic architectural type that, in the uniformity of its built structures and constructional elements, reflected the buildings' new tectonics and a fundamental order inherent in the work that was brought about by industrial production.<sup>9</sup>



Fig. 1. Towards the Socialist City: Construction of the 3rd Micro-district in Ust-Ilimsk 1978.

The factors that influenced housing construction at the end of the 1950s continued on into the 1960s. The great demand for housing still made it necessary to build as much, as quickly, and as cheaply as possible. Economic interests determined the standard for the first-generation large-panel and large-block construction system and its essential criteria. The typologies of residential buildings changed according to the state of the art of industrial prefabricated construction. The number of floors of the buildings also increased commensurate with the technological development: 1963 saw construction of the first nine-storey buildings.<sup>10</sup> Thanks to these technical advances and the consequent ability to build higher, buildable land could be used more intensively. The quantitative possibilities offered by industrialised large-scale construction in the Soviet Union led to more than just a structural reconfiguration of the socialist city.<sup>11</sup> Furthermore, the political circumstances were important preconditions for urban planning and developments.

### CENTRALISED ECONOMIC PLANNING

The centralised economic planning conducted by the state authority 'GOSPLAN' found its expression in a reallocation and redistribution of the production sites of industry and cities and in the resulting fundamental restructuring of the infrastructure.<sup>12</sup> The state ruled on the approval, execution, and financing of all urban development projects in the country. The USSR's State Committee for Construction (Gosstroj), which had subsidiaries in the Soviet Republics, was, together with the subordinate Committee for Civil Construction and Architecture (Gosgrazhdanstroj), responsible for the entire implementation of urban planning and architectural processes.<sup>13</sup> GOSPLAN determined if and when what measures were realised in the Soviet Union.

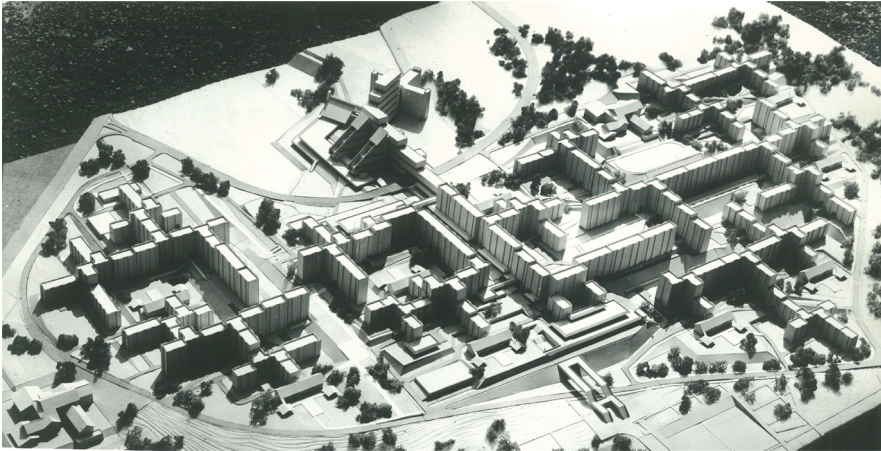


Fig. 2. Creating and Shaping new Neighborhoods: Model of Universitetskij, Irkutsk.

## THE NATIONALISATION OF LAND OWNERSHIP

The basis for urban development in the socialist countries was formed by doing away with or greatly restricting private property. Already in the first half year of its existence, the Soviet government ordered the ‘nationalisation’ of industry, banks, foreign trade, and land. This changed the legal form of ownership, and private property was replaced by state property.<sup>14</sup> Land ownership was nationalised because, according to the Marxist theory, land had no intrinsic value. Not until the state availed of the land and had exceedingly simple access to large, contiguous building sites at appropriately selected locations did the realisation of complex architectural undertakings and many urban projects become possible.<sup>15</sup>

## THE PLANNED ECONOMY

Another important precondition for urban planning was the economic order of the state-controlled planned economy that manifested itself in the Five-year Plans. Guided by politically motivated objectives, the state directed, steered, and controlled all economic processes in accordance with long-term plans. The planned economy had control over decisions pertaining to the planning and execution of all construction projects. Because the economy was planned, the nascent construction industry could rely on the continuity of building contracts handed out by the state as its client.

## STATE-CONTROLLED HOUSING POLICIES AND THE HOUSING SECTOR UNDER STATE CONTROL

Urban planning was shaped by the economic interests of the state and did not always grow primarily from the needs and interests of a city. Thus, plans to expand industry, for example,

were carried out without taking into consideration deteriorating living conditions and the increasing environmental pollution. The cities had no legal means whatsoever for regulation or for asserting their own important concerns, interests, and wishes.

### TOTALITY, UNITY, AND ENSEMBLE

The city should function as a social and functional unit<sup>16</sup> and constitute a system of functionally conceived and attractive residential and social ensembles.<sup>17</sup> The composition of the city should yield a clearly structured whole, both spatially and architecturally<sup>18</sup>, that reflects the diversity of the activities and social relations of the residents, and which manifests their common bonds and the richness of urban life.<sup>19</sup> Under this concept, the urban ensemble had priority over architectural detail.<sup>20</sup> When developing large complexes, the architecture of the individual building was of secondary importance.<sup>21</sup> The most important aspect should be the entire spatial composition of the built fabric of streets and residential complexes as an integral whole.<sup>22</sup>

### EFFICIENCY, STANDARDISATION, AND SIMPLICITY

In 1960, a resolution formulated that the main focus in urban planning and design would be placed on efficiency.<sup>23</sup> Simplicity, severity of form, and economical solutions were named as characteristic traits of Soviet architecture. Every 'obsession with decoration' was seen to contradict the socialist architectural style, whose traits should bear witness to a uniform, simple style both in the individual building and in the residential ensemble.<sup>24</sup> Individual design ambitions were to become less important than engineering technology on the basis of standardised construction elements that laid down restricted options for the design of buildings from the very outset. The standardisation of building types was seen in the urban ensemble as a sign of socialist construction, because it meant a renunciation of all individualism.

### EQUALITY AND INTEGRATION

The socialist model of society negated class and cultural differences among people. The propagated 'uniform lifestyle' was also supposed to be reflected in the spatial order and the design of the cities. The spatial order of the cities was to support the social objective of doing away with or preventing class divisions and social differences and was to promote the integration of social groups, while socio-professional stratification in the city districts was to be avoided.<sup>25</sup> The individual neighbourhoods should not differ in their spatial structure and organisation, should not possess differences in location and quality, and should not underpin social differentiation with isolated neighbourhoods.<sup>26</sup> The results were city districts with a strictly hierarchical arrangement of identical residential types that made no allowance for individual design wishes (and therefore no individual wishes concerning lifestyle).

## STRUCTURE AND FORM OF THE SOCIALIST CITY

The ideological and political stipulations ultimately found their expression in a basic hierarchical concept that addressed everything right down to the design of individual building typologies, the system of circulation, the organisation of open spaces, and so on. The Soviet city was supposed to support the ‘manifestation and materialisation of the socialist way of life’ in its function and its structure<sup>27</sup> and satisfy the cultural, material, and aesthetic needs of the entire population as comprehensively as possible.<sup>28</sup> In real terms, this structure entails painstakingly thorough organisation of the city at all levels of scale, which can also be seen in the system of the urban structure, which was laid out in a way that was strictly hierarchical and multi-levelled. It was reflected in an extensive system of binding governmental standards and regulations for the planning and construction of new cities in the USSR.<sup>29</sup> The organisational principle for structuring and guiding Soviet housing was the socialist residential complex as the embodiment of collective living.

A medium-sized city with approximately 200,000 to 250,000 inhabitants was based on the following tiered hierarchy:

- City
- Residential district: 20,000–60,000 inhabitants
- Residential complex (*microrayon*): 8,000–12,000 inhabitants
- Residential group (neighbourhood): 1,000–3,000 inhabitants

Each city consisted of individual residential areas, so-called residential districts in the magnitude of 20,000 to 60,000 inhabitants.<sup>30</sup> These, in turn, were made up of smaller units known as residential complexes with 4,000 to 20,000 inhabitants. Planning foresaw residential districts with a size of 30 to 60 hectares.<sup>31</sup> The smallest structural unit of the socialist city was the residential group with 1,000 to 3,000 inhabitants and a size of about 6 to 10 hectares.<sup>32</sup>

The goals of Soviet urban development were to supply the cities with work, living space, culture, and recreation.<sup>33</sup> These main stipulations for a city were expected to be reflected in its structure.<sup>34</sup> Thus the new cities were to comply with the principle of functional division that was outlined in the Athens Charter, which called for spatial separation of the principle functional areas in a modern city.<sup>35</sup> The workplaces were not integrated into the residential zones, but were concentrated at one location far from the living quarters. The residential districts were designed purely as bedroom communities, made up of so-called *spalny rayons* that dedicated purely to residential purposes.

The recreational functions were also removed from the areas of everyday life, such as the residential and work areas. The idea behind the functionally divided city not only assigned specific functions to individual neighbourhoods, but also separated the uses within them. This meant that each building accommodated specific functions: the residential buildings were exclusively residential, while the public facilities were manifested architecturally as special elements. The spatial separation of working, living, and shopping not only led to the need for an elaborate transport infrastructure, but also resulted in entire city districts being monofunctional in nature, as this meant that a mixture of functions and activities could not take place.



Fig. 3. Sotsgorod: Chelyabinsk Tractor Plant (ChTZ), planned 1929–1933, realized 1931–1950.

## DEVELOPMENT PATTERNS AND BUILDING TYPES

The development was guided by the internationally accepted principle of functionalism, the guiding principle of the ‘structured and spacious city interspersed with greenery’.<sup>36</sup> The Western principle of ‘form follows function’ also became the decisive criterion for the built forms of cities in the Soviet Union. Ornamentation of any kind was no longer aesthetically or ethically acceptable.<sup>37</sup> The still very limited technical possibilities of the early phase of industrialisation led in the initial stages of industrial housing production to the creation of standardised residential buildings with relatively simple forms that were employed frequently.<sup>38</sup>

Due to the short span lengths feasible with the prefabricated method of construction, the room sizes were limited, making it hardly possible to accommodate social facilities, shops, or service companies inside them without incurring high costs for the necessary constructive measures. This meant that buildings for residential purposes and buildings for civic purposes were physically separated, with the latter being housed in separate single-storey, flat-roofed buildings.<sup>39</sup> The facilities for cultural, social, and medical purposes, as well as shops, workshops, and schools were preferably distributed in standalone buildings.<sup>40</sup> Only a few small facilities that did not require isolated plots of land or independent structures, and which harmonised with the function of a residential building, were housed on the ground floor of those buildings.<sup>41</sup>





Fig. 4. Novokuznetsk. Competition in 1930, realized 1931–34.

## OPEN SPACES

The planning concepts for public spaces in Soviet cities were certainly demanding in terms of design and diverse in what they offered. While the plans for urban centres may have sometimes been over-dimensioned – because it was not people, but a system with ideological notions and claims to power that determined the scale – and inappropriate for the sizes of the cities and the real demands and needs, the ideas for green spaces and streets are planning aspirations that can nevertheless be seen as quite positive, particularly for the quality of living and the fact that so much was accessible on foot.

In the tradition of Ebenezer Howard and his concept of the Garden City, the Soviet city was to be a city of gardens and parks, which was also evident in the planning objectives for the green spaces in the cities. The integration of nature in the urban structure was an essential part of the conceptual planning.<sup>42</sup> Green areas among the buildings of a residential complex were primarily intended to serve as a means for improving the microclimate, for noise abatement, and as an important design element. In 1955, the Council of Ministers of the USSR passed a resolution stipulating that 45 to 50 per cent of the settlement area was to be set aside for green spaces in the new cities, compared with 35 to 40 per cent in the old cities.<sup>43</sup> The norm for public green spaces was to be increased to 16 square metres per inhabitant by the year 1965.<sup>44</sup> This included the green spaces at the buildings and their gardens, as well as the park areas in the residential complex. A size of 8 to 9 square metres was planned for small sports fields and playgrounds for children outside of the facilities for children.<sup>45</sup> The green spaces included a residential district's

park, with an area of about 6 hectares, and the open spaces of a residential complex, as well as the buildable land earmarked for residential use, the boulevards and the greenery in the streets, the landscaped grounds of public buildings and administrative offices, those at schools, child-care facilities, and sanatoriums, sports fields, and green spaces adjoining industrial plants.<sup>46</sup> The system of parks was, as far as possible, to be designed in such a way that people living in the residential buildings had access to it from a distance of no more than 800 metres.<sup>47</sup>

## CIRCULATION

Corridors joining the city were the first-order connecting roads, the 'arterial roads of urban importance'. This was followed in the hierarchy by the so-called arterial roads of *rajon* ('district') importance. These main thoroughfares served to connect individual residential districts and also provided a quick exit to the first-order corridors.<sup>48</sup> The arterial roads were supposed to connect the various parts of the city and represented the transportation artery between people's place of residence and the city's important sites, such as the railway station, industrial areas, central parks, and the stadium.<sup>49</sup> They were very generous, sometimes oversized; their proportions were appropriate not only for sufficient traffic flow, but were intended to emphasise their representative importance – especially in the city centre – so as to be able to accommodate demonstrations and political events.<sup>50</sup> Multiple lanes and large setback distances of sometimes more than 5 metres to the buildings often led to roadway cross sections of more than 40 or 50 metres.<sup>51</sup>

The third category included roads for local traffic within a microrayon, including the residential streets, that is, the connecting roads between separate groups of buildings; connecting roads that link pedestrian connections and roads within an industrial area that link individual storage areas; and finally access roads to individual buildings.<sup>52</sup> All through traffic should be kept outside of the residential quarter and the streets within the housing complex should only provide access to the residential area, which is why motor vehicle traffic on short, cul-de-sac-like roadways to garages, shops, and other facilities for the daily needs of the population should be provided for, namely in such a way that these transport routes do not intersect with the footpaths.<sup>53</sup>

## DEMOGRAPHIC STRUCTURE

The popular opinion that the socialist system was a completely homogenous, 'classless society' in the cities must be contradicted. There were certainly differences in income as well as a diversity of ethnic groups.<sup>54</sup> However, the differences were not reflected in different neighbourhood structures, because all of the land belonged to the state and no individual had access to it.<sup>55</sup> It is therefore a unique feature of the socialist city that the phenomenon of ghettoisation did not exist.<sup>56</sup> Basically, the heterogeneous character of the social structure within a neighbourhood can be seen as a hallmark of the Soviet city.<sup>57</sup> The doctor lived next door to the teacher, and next door to the worker. Unlike in European and American cities, income had

relatively little influence on the allocation of dwellings. Soviet citizens were assigned a flat by the local authorities after they had applied for one.<sup>58</sup>



Building Structure, 2022 (by L. Klein)

Fig. 5. Mid-rise Microrayon Novo-Lenino, Irkutsk. Planned 1961–1970, realized 1965–1990.



Building Structure, 2022 (by L. Klein)

Fig. 6. High-rise Microrayon Komsomolskiy, Yekaterinburg. Planned 1977–85, realized 1980–85.

## PHASES OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT

The Soviet period of urban planning is characterized by three phases: a) Pre-industrialization/ The avant-garde period, b) The Stalinist Period and c) Period of Mass Housing under Hrushchov and Brezhnev. Their beginning is marked by three turning points: the transformational phase for the establishment of political and economic institutions (1917–1928), the extensive industrialization and the construction of new cities around the plants and mining places (1928–1953), and the modernization of mass housing construction (1954–1980).

In the first years of Soviet governance not much was built (due to the lack of resources after the Revolution) but the key goals for enforcing industrialization and surrounding housing for the growing urban population were formulated. At the same time, this is the time of unique experimental housing projects of a new type – avant-garde planning. With a start of the first 5-year plan in 1928 announcing the simultaneous construction of many new cities around new industrial centers, the development of a “standard planning unit” for *sotsgorod*, workers’ settlements, housing estates, the first attempts at typification of housing series. In the field of urban planning policy, during this period there was a division into projects for large cities (“façade” projects) and projects for new industrial centers (cheap prefabricated houses, dormitories, barracks). The latter were the main place of residence for a large number of people till 1950s (and even later). From mid of 1950s wide industrialisation of housing construction and unification of the entire production process: from the development of standard series to commissioning. Modernist ideas in this period were on the rise, which made possible the emergence of the *microrayon* as a new planning unit and its spatial development until the end of the USSR.

## CONCLUSION: THE FUTURE OF THE SOCIALIST CITY

Only parts of the basic ideological concept of the ‘socialist city’ were realised. As in all ideal cities, an expectation based on wishful thinking emerged in the socialist city too, and to what extent this was fulfilled has to be assessed separately for every city project that was realised.<sup>59</sup> First and foremost financial constraints, but also the lack of political power on the part of local authorities, a lack of technical know-how among the people involved, and problems in coordination between state planning authorities and the local institutions responsible for implementation may have led to many plans not being realised. In many cities, neither the generously dimensioned city centres nor magnificent main thoroughfares were built. Insufficient financial resources meant that in many cases, and well below the propounded expectations, the residential neighbourhoods were not supplied as intended with social and cultural infrastructure in the centres of the residential groups and complexes. The limited technical possibilities and the speed at which the buildings were constructed led to flaws in the execution of the building work that turned the cities into cases for rehabilitation within a very short period.<sup>60</sup> The existing shortage of funds exacerbated this process so that sometimes only 70 per cent, and in some cases only 50 per cent, of the planned cultural and recreational facilities

were realised.<sup>61</sup>

Socialist settlements in the former Soviet Union were one of the answers to the growing housing crisis of the 20th century the search for a new city as a response to the unsuitable living conditions in the industrial city of the late nineteenth century. In the time these cities were built, they were seen as forward-looking models in urban planning, considered results of progressive social housing planning, promising better life. Today, many of the cities and neighborhoods are often considered problematic quarters and have a great need for renewal. However, this heritage represents an enormous and valuable housing resource, particularly in growing conurbations. The utilisation of socialist cities requires innovative and practicable strategies and concepts. Promising approaches to solutions for sustainable redevelopment can only be developed through dialogue between academics and practitioners from the realms of politics, business, and civil society. Successful transformation can only be achieved on the basis of a deep understanding of the planning history and the conceptions relevant at the time when the housing estates were built. Hence, understanding of the socialist city has to go beyond the physical structures but to look at the planning ideas behind the visible form.

#### DISCLOSURE STATEMENT

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

#### NOTES ON CONTRIBUTOR(S)

**Barbara Engel** is an architect and urban planner, since 2013 she is head of the chair for International Urbanism at Karlsruhe Institute of Technology. After receiving her PHD, she was teaching at TU Dresden, and was visiting professor at Kent State University in Ohio in 2007. From 2008 to 2013, she held a leading position at the City Planning Office in Dresden. Her research interests include urban developments in the USSR/Russia, and the MENA region, with a specific interest in open space and planning culture. She is a member of the Executive Board of the DASL and heads the design committees in Halle and Nuremberg.

#### ENDNOTES

1. Dolgij (1971), p. 1098
2. Han-Magomedov (1993), p. 20.
3. French (1995), p. 40.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Cf. Förster (1986), p. 127.
7. Ikonnikov (1988), p. 268.
8. Ivanova (1975), p. 564.
9. Cf. Krivov (1987), p. 34.
10. Trapeznikov p. 553.
11. Ikonnikov (1970), p. 97.
12. Rietdorf, Liebmann (1994), pp. 23.
13. Heumann (1972), p. 708.
14. Müller (2000), p. 40.
15. Bater (1980), p. 29.
16. Cf. Shkvarikov (1968), p. 455.
17. Kucherenko (1960a), pp. 61.
18. Galaktionov (1956), p. 163.
19. Cf. Belousov (1977), pp. 591.

20. Cf. Smolyar (1973), pp. 50.
21. Galaktionov (1956), p. 163.
22. Ibid.
23. Cf. Kucherenko (1960b), pp. 16.
24. Volodin (1961), p. 229.
25. Cf. Dolgij (1971), p. 1102.
26. Baburov (1954), p. 6.
27. Cf. Orlov (1970), p. 134.
28. Cf. Shkvarikov (1968), p. 454
29. Gosudarstvennyj komitet po grazhdanskomu stroitelstvu i architektуре pri Gosstroie SSSR. Ministerstvo zhilishchnogo stroitelstva i gorodskogo razvitiya: SSHA (1984), p. 9. Leucht (1962), p. 154.
30. Cf. Sharanov (1957), p. 85.
31. Leucht (1962), pp. 154-155.
32. Smolyar (1973), p. 46.
33. Ibid. p. 46.
34. Cf. Kucherenko (1960), p. 23.
35. Cf. Kadatz (1997), p. 150.
36. Ikonnikov (1988), p. 269.
37. Krivov (1987), p. 34.
38. Cf. Karro et al. (1975), pp. 40-43.
39. Ivanova (1957), p. 573.
40. Ibid. p. 573.
41. Vinogradov, Dolganov, Korzhev, et al. (1960), p. 33.
42. Ibid.
43. Ibid.
44. Cf. Colden 1958.
45. Vinogradov, Dolganov, Korzhev, et al. (1960), p. 29.
46. Ibid. p. 31.
47. Galaktionov (1956), p. 163.
48. Gosudarstvennyj komitet (1964), p. 76.
49. Ibid. p. 83.
50. Ibid. p. 84.
51. Ibid. p. 76.
52. Ivanova (1957), p. 569.
53. French (1979), p. 97.
54. Ibid. p. 97.
55. Ibid. p. 90.
56. Lehmann, Ruble (1997), p. 1090.
57. Ibid. p. 1089.
58. Shaw (1991), p. 129.
59. Zhuravlyov (1983), p. 14.
60. Bater (1980), p. 117.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Baburov, Vasilij. *Probleme des sozialistischen Städtebaus [Problems of socialist urban development]*, in Deutsche Bauakademie, Institut für Nachwuchsentwicklung (ed.), Studienmaterial, Architektur und Städtebau, 5/1954, pp. 5-47.
- Bater, James H. *The Soviet City: Ideal and Reality*. London, 1980.
- Belousov, Vladimir N. *Der sowjetische Städtebau in der Etappe des entwickelten Sozialismus' [Soviet urban planning at the time of developed socialism]*, in Deutsche Architektur 10/1977, pp. 587-591.
- Han-Magomedov, Selim O. *Pioniere der sowjetischen Architektur: Der Weg zur neuen sowjetischen Architektur in den 20er und zu Beginn der 30er Jahre* (Dresden, 1983); transl. as *Pioneers of Soviet Architecture: The Search for New Solutions in the 1920s and 1930s*. London, 1987).
- Colden, Halmut. *Ein Besuch bei Giprogor, Moskau Juli 1958' [A visit to Giprogor, Moscow July 1958]*, in Deutsche Architektur 12/1958, pp. 667-668.
- Dolgij, V. M. *Die Städte der Zukunft: Utopie und Realität' [The cities of the future: utopia and reality]*, in Kunst und Literatur vol. 19, no. 10, 1971, pp. 1097-1103.
- French, R. Anthony, and Hamilton, F. E. Ias. *The Socialist City: Spatial Structure and Urban Policy*, Chichester, 1979.

- French, R. Anthony. *Plans, Pragmatism and People: The Legacy of Soviet Planning for Today's Cities*. Pittsburgh, 1995.
- Förster, Horst. *Urbanisierung, Städtebau und sozialistische Lebensweise: Ein Diskussionsbeitrag' [Urban development and the socialist way of life: A contribution to the discussion]*, in *Idee und Realität der sozialistischen Lebensweise in Ostmitteleuropa*. Wirtschafts- und Sozialwissenschaftliche Ostmitteleuropastudien, vol. 11 (Marburg-Lahn, 1986), pp. 27–52.
- Galaktionov, Aleksej A. *Die Planung und Bebauung von Wohnkomplexen bei weitester Anwendung von Typenprojekten in der UdSSR [The planning and development of residential complexes in the USSR with wide application of standardised projects]*, in *Deutsche Architektur* 4/1956, pp. 163–164.
- Gosudarstvennyj Komitet po Grazhdanskomu Stroitelstvu i Arhitekture pri Gosstroee SSSR. *Rekomendazii po planirovke i zastrojke zilyh rajonov i mikrorajonov [Recommendations on the planning and development of residential and micro-residential areas]*. Moscow, 1964.
- Gosudarstvennyj Komitet po Grazhdanskomu Stroitelstvu i Arhitekture pri Gosstroee SSSR s Lenniigradostroitelstva. *Proekt detalnoj planirovki tsentra g. Angarska [Detail planning for the centre of Angarsk]*. Leningrad, 1984.
- Heumann, Benny. *Über einige Erfahrungen und Probleme im Städtebau und in der Architektur [On some experiences and problems in urban design and architecture]*, in *Deutsche Architektur* 12/1972, pp. 708–712.
- Ikonnikov, Andrej V. *Gestaltung neuer Wohngebiete [Design of new residential areas]*. Berlin, 1970.
- Ikonnikov, Andrei V. *Architecture of the Soviet Period*. Moscow, 1988.
- Ivanova, A. D. *Planung und Bebauung von Mikrobezirken' [Planning and development of micro-districts]*, in *Deutsche Architektur* 10/1975, pp. 564–573.
- Kadatz, Hans-Joachim. *Vergleich zwischen ost- und westeuropäischen Planungsideen des Städtebaus [Comparison between Eastern and Western European urban planning ideas]*, in *Städtebauliche Entwicklungslinien in Mittel- und Osteuropa*, REGIO: Beiträge des Institut für Regionalentwicklung und Strukturplanung, no. 12 (Berlin, 1997), pp. 147–155.
- Karro, V. M., et al. *Novye industrialnye goroda: Opyt proektirovaniya [New industrial cities: Design experience]*, Leningrad, 1975.
- Krivov, Alexander S., *Zur Entwicklung des Wohnungsbaus in der Sowjetunion [On the development of housing in the Soviet Union]*, in *Deutsche Architektur* 11/1987, pp. 34–36.
- Kucherenko, Vladimir. A. *Über den Stand und die Maßnahmen zur Verbesserung des Städtebaus in der UdSSR [On the state of urban planning in the USSR and measures to improve it]*, in *Deutsche Bauakademie* (ed.), *Städtebau in der Sowjetunion: Materialien der Allunionskonferenz zu Fragen des Städtebaus*, (Berlin, 1960a), pp. 2–64.
- Kucherenko, Vladimir. A. *Über den Stand und die Maßnahmen zur Verbesserung des Städtebaus in der UdSSR [On the state of urban planning in the USSR and measures to improve it]*, in *Deutsche Bauakademie* (ed.), *Städtebau in der Sowjetunion: Materialien der Allunionskonferenz zu Fragen des Städtebaus*, 301 (Berlin, 1960b), pp. 2–26.
- Lehmann, Susan Goodrich, and Ruble, Blair, A. *From "Soviet" to "European" Yaroslavl: Changing Neighbourhood Structure in Post-Soviet Russian Cities*, in *Urban Studies*, vol. 34, no. 7, 1997, pp. 1085–1107.
- Leucht, Kurt W. *Strukturelle Gliederung der Stadt [Organisational structure of the city]*, in *Deutsche Architektur* 3/1962, pp. 154–155.
- Müller, Jost. *Sozialismus: Rotbuch 3000 [Socialism: Red Book 3000]*, Hamburg, 2000.
- Orlov, Mark A., Sazanov, Boris V. and Fedoseeva, Irina R. *Nekotorye voprosy proektirovaniya sistem obsluzhivaniya byta gorodskogo naseleniya [Some problems of designing municipal service systems]*, in *Arhitektura SSSR*, vol. 38, no. 8, 1970, pp. 26–29.
- Rietdorf, Werner, and Liebmann, Heike. *Großsiedlungen in Mittel- und Osteuropa: Expertise [Large housing estates in Central and Eastern Europe: Expertise]*, in *Institut für Regionalentwicklung und Strukturplanung* (ed.), *Großsiedlungen in Mittel- und Osteuropa*, REGIO: Beiträge des IRS, no. 4. (Berlin, 1994), pp. 9–96.
- Sharonov Mihail S. *Fortschrittliche Züge bei der Bebauung von Wohnbezirken [Advanced approaches to the development of residential areas]*, in *Deutsche Bauakademie* (ed.): *Städtebau und Siedlungswesen: Gestaltung von Wohnquartalen* (Berlin, 1957), pp. 84–98.
- Shaw, Denis, J. B. *Recreation and the Soviet City*, in French, R. A., and Hamilton, Ian F. E., *The Socialist City: Spatial Structure and Urban Policy* (Chichester, 1979), pp. 119–144.
- Shkvarikov, Vyacheslav, A., *Die theoretischen Grundlagen der Gestaltung der sowjetischen Stadt [The theoretical foundations of the design of the soviet city]*, in *Deutsche Architektur* 8/1968, pp. 452–455.
- Smolyar, Ilya. M. 1973. *General'nye plany novych gorodov [General plans of new cities]*, Moscow.
- Trapeznikov, K. I., *Der sowjetische Städtebau*, in *Deutsche Architektur* 06/1975, pp. 542–554
- Volodin, P.A., *Schlichtheit, Wahrhaftigkeit und harmonische Schönheit in der Architektur [Simplicity, authenticity, and harmonious beauty in architecture]*, in *Deutsche Architektur* 4/1961, pp. 227–229.
- Zhuravlyov, Anatolij. M. *Die Architektur der 70er Jahre [The architecture of the 1970s]*, in *Deutsche Architektur* 1/1983, pp. 14–23.

**IMAGE SOURCES**

- Fig. 1 Municipality Ust-Ilimsk.
- Fig. 2 Municipality Irkutsk.
- Fig. 3 Lara Klein, based on Google maps.
- Fig. 4 Lara Klein, based on Google maps.
- Fig. 5 Lara Klein, based on Google maps.
- Fig. 6 Lara Klein, based on Google maps.