



*Figure 1: Pioneer Palace, Moscow, 1962. Architects: Viktor Egerev, Vladimir Kubasov, Feliks Novikov, Boris Palui, Igor' Pokrovskii, Mikhail Khazhakian. Artists: E. Ablin, A. Gubarev, I. Derviz-Lavrova, G. Derviz, I. Pchel'nikov. Reprinted from V. Egerev, et al., Moskovskii Dvoretz pionerov (Moscow: Stroizdat, 1963). With kind permission from Stroizdat.*

You might be forgiven if you have never noticed the Pioneer Palace in Moscow's Lenin or, formerly, Sparrow Hills (figure 1). You may have dismissed it as just another of those postwar prefabs that reminds you of your high school. Or perhaps you were too busy looking at Stalin's Moscow University, which looms over it. Yet, when the Pioneer Palace was built between 1958 and 1962, at the height of the Khrushchev Thaw, this modernist box of glass and reinforced concrete inspired enormous enthusiasm. Designed by a collective of young Moscow architects, Igor' Pokrovskii, Feliks Novikov, Viktor Egerev, and others, in close collaboration with a group of young artists, it was a monument—or rather, an antimonument—of destalinization. It became a rallying point for reformers in the art world who were eager to break down Stalinist cultural dogma and to liberalize and modernize the practices of Soviet visual culture. Looking back from the perspective of the Brezhnev era, liberal art historian Viktoriia Lebedeva described it as “one of the most popular constructions of Moscow, focusing the romantic strivings of art of those times; it was received with loving rapture by artists and critics—but quite quickly grew morally outdated.”<sup>1</sup>

The new palace opened its doors on the Day of Protection of Children, 1 June 1962, when Nikita Khrushchev, First Secretary of the Communist Party, launched a goldfish into an indoor pond. Having taken a trip around the extensive grounds on a mini-railway, he pronounced, “I like your palace. I am giving you my personal opinion.”<sup>2</sup> One of the youngest children received, on behalf

of all the Pioneers and Octobrists, a giant, magic key, “the Key to the Land of Romantics” as the newspaper of the Party Youth League, *Komsomol'skaia pravda*, dubbed it.<sup>3</sup> “Here it is, the fairy-tale golden key to the palace, behind whose doors a world of fantasy [*fantastika*], science, and childish joy opens up to children.”<sup>4</sup> More than just a building, it was “a whole town,” set in fifty-six hectares of park—as big as the Vatican and twice the area of the Kremlin, as it was proudly noted. Contemporary reports exuberated: it was the palace of happy childhood, a great box of presents, a gift to children, a dream come true, a city of the future, the City of Happiness, a Pioneer Republic, the Land of Red Ties, and the Pioneer Wonderland.<sup>5</sup> The illustrated news magazine *Ogonek*, in a rare departure from these common tropes, likened the palace to “a ship under full sail, sailing off into the future.”<sup>6</sup>

The Pioneer Palace had the symbolic task of identifying Khrushchevism inextricably with the rejuvenation of the socialist project and the realization of the happy future through communist education, social and technological progress, and aesthetic modernization. The press represented its construction as a kind of shock work, which, like the promethean industrial schemes of the era, mobilized the masses in communal effort. Inspired by joy and love of children, hundreds of people contributed voluntarily or worked with special dedication. “‘We are building for the children!’ – perhaps for this reason the fitters, stonemasons, welders try to work so quickly and well?”<sup>7</sup> While this was, of course, official rhetoric, and many of the tropes that recurred in the reception of the palace should be regarded as established conventions for discussing Pioneer houses in general, at the same time, its conception and reception transcended official clichés. Enthusiasm for the new palace, and the “romanticism” about the future it embodied, to which Lebedeva referred, was a point on which the official visions of the Party and Komsomol converged with the reformist artistic intelligentsia’s dreams of a better, more humane, socialist future. Their aspirations met in a conception of childhood as a distinct and especially happy condition, essentially *different* from adulthood.

The Pioneer Palace was, furthermore, a landmark in the formation of a modern or “contemporary” Soviet style in architecture and monumental art. This was a central preoccupation of reformist art professionals in the late 1950s.<sup>8</sup> Participants in a discussion of the palace, held in the predominantly reformist Moscow Artists’ Union, hailed it as a reinvigoration of the Constructivist spirit of the twenties, “a benchmark of good (contemporary) taste” and as “such ‘*moderne*’ as we have never seen.”<sup>9</sup> “What is important,” *Komsomol'skaia pravda* proclaimed on its opening in 1962, “is the *style* that triumphs here, . . . which is above all necessary in buildings for children’s institutions, so that our children

feel contemporaneity, see the future, and learn to live as people of the future . . . it was made by people who are romantics, and this romantic, Pioneer style of life must splash out over the walls of the palace. . . . The palace was made by people with contemporary taste, people who know how to work with children.”<sup>10</sup>

It is this equation of a modern or “contemporary” style with the accommodation of the specificity of children, and the idea that the whole venture was in some sense “romantic” on which I want to focus in this essay. The unprecedented modernity of the palace, which not only departed from Stalinist models of monumentality but also went beyond the technologist rationalism, mechanistic functionalism, and standardization typical of Khrushchev-era construction, was inspired by, and legitimated in relation to, a particular conception of the specificity of childhood that we might call Romantic with a capital R. Even if contemporary commentators did not have the historical phenomenon in mind, their frequent usage of the term can alert us to the Romantic roots of the modern ideology of childhood that underpinned the conception and reception of the palace. The composition, furthermore, revived the proto-Romantic tradition of the picturesque.

The complex is too large and varied for us to explore every aspect of it here. This essay will first outline the purpose of the Pioneer Palace and establish the nature and meanings of its location. It will then look at the complex as a whole in relation to its site and will propose that the designers conceived it in terms of two mutually reinforcing spatial models, or homologies, derived from the material culture and fantasy life of ideal Soviet childhood, one related to the home, the other to nature: the children’s corner and the camp. These models allowed the palace, more radically than almost any other public building of the Khrushchev era, to break with the Stalinist paradigm of the “palatial” and resume the interrupted project of Russian modernism. In its architectural forms, spatial organization, and use of materials, the palace was one of the most thoroughgoing efforts of the era to restore the spirit as well as the letter of Russian Constructivism, under the more auspicious conditions of contemporary construction technology, as well as to learn from the international Modern Movement. To trace the palace’s patrilineage in Russian Constructivism, the work of Le Corbusier, and in more recent international developments, such as the freeform modernism of Oscar Niemeyer, requires a study in itself, however, and this aspect will only be touched on here.

In order to examine the palace’s restoration of modernist principles, this essay will concentrate, rather, on some of the monumental art that was an integral part of its internal and external design. Reform-minded contemporaries, who championed the palace, regarded the synthesis of contemporary structures with monumental art as one of its landmark achievements and a vital contribu-

tion to an ongoing campaign to differentiate the conventions, or “specificity,” of monumental art from those of easel painting. The emphasis on the specificity of different art forms was a key strategy in reformist efforts to destalinize and liberalize visual culture during the Thaw, and to legitimate a selective rapprochement with modernism. Here, I shall focus on one aspect of the decorative program in particular: the way a Romantic conception of the specificity of childhood cognition legitimated departures from Stalinist norms of narrative realism and a revival of modernist devices such as montage.

### **The Project**

The specifications and intended meanings of the palace, whose design the First Secretary of the Party endorsed, were to a large extent determined by the client, the Party’s Youth League; it was the Komsomol that put up the funds for this forward looking project, and it remained closely involved throughout.<sup>11</sup> Pedagogues were also consulted regarding their specialist requirements. Even the children themselves had an opportunity to put forward ideas and designs for their palace by means of a competition in 1958.<sup>12</sup>

The Pioneer Palace was to house the out-of-school activities of the Pioneers and Octobrists, the Komsomol’s organizations for children aged seven to fifteen.<sup>13</sup> Far more than just a building, it was an entire purpose-made environment set in expansive wooded grounds and designed to facilitate the socialization and ideological formation of children, their aesthetic and scientific education.<sup>14</sup> It had a strategically important role: to prepare the next generation of Soviet people for self-government. According to Khrushchevist ideology, as it emerged in the late 1950s and was enshrined in the Third Party Program in 1961, the formation of fully integrated, self-regulating, and collective-minded individuals was an essential precondition for the transition to communism. In accordance with the principles of communist upbringing, the work of the palace, as of the Pioneers in general, was to promote self-regulation and mutual help, to temper children’s will and physique, and develop their initiative.

Destalinization of the Pioneer organization took the form of its separation from school education, to which it had become an auxiliary in the Stalin period. Beginning in 1957, it placed greater emphasis on the “all-round, harmonious development” of the individual.<sup>15</sup> Although the majority of school children were members, the Pioneers were distinguished from school by an important difference of principle: while school was a state institution, the Pioneers were, in theory, a voluntary association of children themselves. As Nadezhda Krupskaja, whose pedagogical views shaped the Pioneers in the 1920s, had defined it, it was “an organization *of* children, not *for* children.”<sup>16</sup> This emphasis on the voluntary, self-initiated, and self-directed nature of the Pioneer activities was paramount, shaping

not only the pedagogical approach but also, as I shall demonstrate, the physical design of the palace. As the journal *Sem'ia i shkola* stated, "Independent action [*samodeiatel'nost'*] is the basis of Pioneer work."<sup>17</sup> Adult direction, discipline and interference were to be as unobtrusive as possible. The children were to be "the true masters of their organization." Thus a principle of child-centered education operated. Children initiated and directed many of the activities and helped younger or less able ones; the motto of the palace was "when you have learned something, teach it to a friend." Each individual must learn to "take responsibility for working on him or herself," while the children's collective should keep discipline within its own ranks, primarily by means of peer pressure.<sup>18</sup>

At the same time, the emphasis on children's spontaneous action and initiative was counterbalanced by a framework of quasi-military ritual. A central part was played in Pioneer life by symbols, emblems, and rituals, many "critically appropriated" in the 1920s from the Scouts, under Krupskaya's guidance. These were regarded as a vital means to help children emotionally identify with the Pioneer collective and internalize its aims. The Pioneer organization paid increasing attention to such means of forming young Soviet citizens, beginning in the 1950s; shifting its emphasis away from direct indoctrination, it began to reinvent the use of emblems and ritual and to develop new ones.<sup>19</sup>

The new palace was to achieve its multifaceted educational function not only through the activities and rituals it accommodated, but also—importantly for the present study—through the influence of the harmonious ensemble of architecture and visual arts. Its external and internal appearance would educate the children's aesthetic sensibilities, while its decorative program and spatial organization would convey the dynamic equilibrium between spontaneity and discipline that distinguished the Pioneers. This approach revived a central commitment of Constructivism, social construction: the principle that a well-designed environment could act as a catalyst of social change.<sup>20</sup> Utopian notions about environmental determinism enjoyed a renaissance in this period. As *Komsomol'skaia pravda* declared, "In this 'house' the walls will teach."<sup>21</sup>

In addition to its pedagogical role, the Pioneer Palace had an important representative function, both domestic and international. As the headquarters of the All-Union Pioneer Organization, it was to receive delegations and be a showpiece for foreigners. It thus had to project an image of the Soviet Union as a maternal state dedicated to giving its children the very best start in life. Intourist even ran special tours and buses to take foreigners there.<sup>22</sup>

Plans for a purpose-built Pioneer Palace in the Lenin Hills went back to the 1930s, but had remained unrealized. According to Khrushchev, who was Moscow Party Secretary at the time, the country was not yet rich enough.<sup>23</sup> Since 1936, a prerevolutionary mansion at Pokrovskie Vorota in the center of Moscow had

served as the Pioneers' headquarters.<sup>24</sup> The radical refurbishment and decoration of the building— under Khrushchev's close direction and with the participation of the architects Karo Alabian, Aleksandr Vlasov, and the Constructivist Ivan Leonidov, as well as of the major theorist and practitioner of monumental art, Vladimir Favorskii—foreshadowed many of the principles applied in the new palace. They conceived it as a bright and sunny place, where children could learn in close proximity to nature even in winter, thanks to an interior winter garden. A combination of pictorial and more abstract decorative elements was to help children learn by stimulating their curiosity. For example, Leonidov decorated the ceiling of the technical block with twenty-two different types of snowflake, with the aim of inciting children to take a snowflake and examine it under a microscope. To go there was to "take a trip to wonderland."<sup>25</sup>

The 1936 palace conversion was a wonder in its time. But by the late 1950s, with the expansion of the Pioneer movement, its separation from the school curriculum after the Twentieth Party Congress, and the appearance of new demands for space-age technological and scientific facilities, a move to larger, purpose-built premises could no longer be postponed. Moreover, as new residential quarters mushroomed, the geographic and demographic growth of Moscow made it necessary to decentralize and expand the provision of culture and entertainment. As Mikhail Ladur (a festival designer since the 1930s and editor of the design journal *Dekorativnoe iskusstvo SSSR* from its founding in 1957 until 1974) challenged in 1966: "Let's face it, comrades: it is boring in the evenings in our capital. Look at the map of Moscow and try to mark the geography of our metropolitan entertainment facilities. Almost all are in the center. So hundreds of thousands of people live here who in practice have no possibility even to go to the theater because of the long journey."<sup>26</sup>

Leisure facilities for the young were especially urgent, for the Komsomol identified lack of constructive recreation as a major cause for the spread of disaffection among the younger generation since the war.<sup>27</sup> As Komsomol First Secretary Vladimir Semichastnyi lamented at the Twenty-First Party Congress early in 1959, "The taste of the young is undermined by cheap novelties and shows, and children's books are too dear, while the parks are not imaginative enough and holiday facilities are too bureaucratic."<sup>28</sup> The extent of young people's attraction to westernized youth culture, in particular, had become visible in the context of the Sixth World Festival of Youth and Students held in Moscow in 1957. Not coincidentally, the Pioneer Palace was to be built with funds raised by the Komsomol in a lottery held at the festival.<sup>29</sup>

The chosen location, the Lenin Hills, was a prestige address, a quiet, exclusive district of the city, where many top party officials had their residences.<sup>30</sup> Separated from the city center by the River Moskva, its bucolic wooded slopes

had long been a popular suburban resort, where Muscovites could escape the confines and constraints of the city for the joys of nature and unregulated pleasures. The hills were historically associated with other freedoms, too: the struggle for political and intellectual freedom from autocracy. Here, inspired by nature, the youthful Alexander Herzen and Nikolai Ogarev embraced and swore to dedicate their lives to the revolutionary cause.<sup>31</sup> In the Soviet period this was a prime site, already in the spotlight of architects' and city planners' attention since the 1935 General Plan for the Reconstruction of Moscow (in which Khrushchev had also taken an advisory role). This plan represented the southwest quarter, of which the Lenin Hills were part, as a specially favored realm; it was a gift bestowed on the people of Moscow as testimony of "Stalin's concern for people."<sup>32</sup> At the same time it was to be a showcase for the achievements of the Soviet Peoples, a kind of exhibition city, reminiscent of the City Beautiful projects of the turn of the century. Grand palaces would display the cultural and technological achievements of each of the national republics of the Soviet Union. Plans were also already in place to build a new Pioneer Palace here, right on the bank of the river.<sup>33</sup> The dual conception of the Lenin Hills—as a gift demonstrating the party and government's solicitude for the people, and as a showcase—was taken up again in the 1950s when these plans at last came to fruition.

After the war, Stalin—so the story goes—personally presented the Lenin Hills to Moscow University in 1948 as a reward to top scientists.<sup>34</sup> The new building of Moscow University, completed only in 1953 (Lev Rudnev and associates) was one of his ring of seven High Buildings erected between 1948 and 1953, which represented "the climax of Socialist Realist city planning, genuinely recreating the historic profile of a Russian town at Soviet scale" (figure 2).<sup>35</sup> Built on a promontory above the river, commanding the most semiotically charged axis of Stalin's city,<sup>36</sup> the great tower of the "palace of science" kept watch over the entire city and dominated its skyline. While echoing the Kremlin towers, which represented the greatness of the mediaeval Russian past, it simultaneously pointed to the glorious future, marking the Lenin Hills as territory for scientific advance, youth, and communist education.



*Figure 2: Moscow University.  
1953. Lev Rudnev et al.  
Photo: Susan E. Reid.*

Under Khrushchev, the Lenin Hills were, once again, at the center of plans to develop the entire southwest of Moscow. Planners earmarked the region both for new residential districts and for a whole new government quarter that was conceived after the Twentieth Party Congress to symbolize the fresh start on the path to communism.<sup>37</sup> Major efforts were invested to distance the area from Stalinist authoritarianism and historicism, and to reconfigure it in terms of the new, forward-looking, people-oriented, and technologically advanced values that Khrushchevism claimed for itself—socialist democracy, modernity, and scientific-technological progress. While the new regime repudiated aspects of the Stalinist legacy—notably the personality cult, the reliance on terror, and extravagant historicism in architecture—at the same time it set about making good some of the promises to the people left unfulfilled under Stalin. These were to be realized in the Lenin Hills, and in new, modern, and democratic terms. Maintaining the associations with communist education and youth established by Moscow University, the development of the Lenin Hills represented a critical assimilation of the Stalinist past and the consummation of its usable aspects, redeeming the past by reference to the future.

It was in the southwest of the capital that the most visible and widely trumpeted results of Khrushchev's *ex cathedra* interventions in architectural practice were to be found. In December 1954—before he denounced Stalin's crimes—Khrushchev had denounced the architectural “excesses” associated with the Personality Cult and called on architects to abandon the extravagance and historicism of the late Stalinist “triumphal style.” Instead, they must develop cost-effective, standardized building types and utilize the latest construction technology and materials. In search of new, functional design principles, Khrushchev indicated that it was legitimate to revisit the example of Constructivism, which had been condemned for formalism under Stalin.<sup>38</sup> The southwest quarter became a laboratory for experimental urban planning, public building and housing construction, which put the new principles into practice. As much-needed homes sprang up, the mythic identity of the area as a gift to the people acquired some substance. At the same time, it became identified with the formation of a modern or contemporary style of Soviet architecture.<sup>39</sup>

The Lenin Hills were, once again, to become a “Land of Palaces.”<sup>40</sup> The lynchpin of the new government quarter was to be the Palace of the Soviets. The design of this palace had been the most important architectural project of the 1930s, when its intended location was on the site of Konstantin Ton's Cathedral of the Saviour, on the bank of the River Moskva near the Kremlin. The General Plan envisaged it as a nodal point in the creation of the modern Soviet city. The different stages of its design had served to establish the parameters of Socialist



Realism in architecture. The final project, by Boris Iofan and Vladimir Shchuko, was an eclectic structure with a broad flight of steps leading up to a stripped classical portico and a vast, multitiered tower topped by a statue of Lenin. The Palace of the Soviets was never built, however, and remained one of the most high-profile of Stalin's uncompleted projects.

A new site, in the shadow of Moscow University, was allocated to the Palace of the Soviets in the mid-1950s, and its design was reopened to competition. If the prewar competition for the design of this major edifice had defined Stalinist Socialist Realism in architecture, the two rounds of competitions between 1957 and 1959 played an equally pivotal role in establishing the parameters of the modern or "contemporary style." The new palace would make efficient use of contemporary materials and technology and should be based on the imperatives of simplicity, clarity, and truth to function. The majority of competing architects conceived it as a crystal palace decorated with vast panels of monumental art. Many looked back across the Stalin years to Constructivist projects of the late 1920s and early 1930s, including the Vesnin brothers' Palace of Culture of the Proletarskii District, 1931–37, as well as to examples of international Modernism. The favored model, as it emerged from the competition, was the antithesis of its unbuilt Stalinist namesake and also of its recently completed Stalinist neighbor, Moscow University. Against their verticality, monumentality, formal hierarchy, and historicizing bombast, architects proposed a simple, transparent, monolithic, horizontal box of reinforced concrete and glass, with maximally open interiors to allow the free passage of the masses.<sup>41</sup>

The Palace of the Soviets was abandoned once again. But its role in defining the visible face of Khrushchevism—along with the stylistic parameters of socialist modernity it established—was inherited by the palace for children, a palace for the new generation. Dmitrii Sarab'ianov, an art historian prominent in the Moscow art establishment's modernizing wing, articulated the significance of locating the Pioneer Palace in the Lenin Hills. The Lenin Hills experience began as soon as one left the old center behind and crossed the river by a new, two-level rail and road bridge, a wonder of modern technology. "When you come out of the [recently opened] metro station, Lenin Hills, and ascend the escalator to the high hill above the River Moskva, you suddenly find yourself in a modern city. . . . As you approach the Pioneer Palace . . . this sense of modernity does not leave you. For all this is made in the 1960s."<sup>42</sup>

The Pioneer Palace figured consistently in contemporary discussions as a prototype for the happy future: it was the model not only for other Pioneer houses to be built throughout the country, but for the city of the future, indeed, for the entire communist society that was soon to arrive. As another reformist art

historian, Larisa Zhadova, declared: “The Pioneer Palace is a . . . living model of the new form of communist life being born here.”<sup>43</sup> A time capsule from the future, it would serve as a paragon, amplifying to a national, indeed, international scale the pledge each child made on initiation into the Pioneers: to be a shining example to others.<sup>44</sup> In true Socialist Realist fashion, this utopian enclave was at once a glimpse of the future and a means to bring it into being, to catalyze the eventual transition of the whole of Soviet society to full communism.<sup>45</sup>

### The Specialness of Childhood

It made perfect sense that the image of the radiant future should be embodied in a children’s institution. As Zhadova put it, “The society that has undertaken . . . the construction of communism has begun, first of all, precisely with building children’s facilities as prototypes of the cities of the future.”<sup>46</sup>

If childhood represents the collective future a society envisages for itself, it was particularly overdetermined in such a future-oriented society as the Soviet Union.<sup>47</sup> By virtue of their youth, children embodied, both physically and symbolically, the radiance, beauty, and joyfulness of the future. Beginning with the revolution, the image of young people had been widely used in Soviet iconography to represent the communist tomorrow.<sup>48</sup> In the 1950s, along with other revivals of the 1920s, youth became perhaps *the* valorized metaphor of the Thaw, most cogently embodying the Party’s promises of a rejuvenation of the socialist project, of social and scientific progress, and the imminent dawn of communism. At the same time, as anxiety grew concerning social alienation, ideological apathy, and even delinquency among young people, youth also presented a major problem for the Khrushchev regime. The existence of youth as a distinct social group with its own culture, separated or even alienated from adult society by a generation gap, surfaced undeniably as a troublesome social stratification, a symptom of the fracturing of the mythical social and cultural unity that had been axiomatic under Stalin.<sup>49</sup> Children, the youngest representatives of the younger generation, were altogether a safer, less problematic symbol of the future than adolescents.

Childhood has increasingly been recognized as a cultural construct whose definition as a distinct phase of life is historically and geographically contingent.<sup>50</sup> While childhood is not, of course, without biological foundation, like other social categories it needs to be historicized and deconstructed, rather than treated as something essential and universal. Childhood, and generations in general, can take their place alongside gender, class, and ethnicity as a useful analytical tool.

The modern European ideology of childhood emerged in various parts of the continent beginning in the seventeenth century. One dominant strain (important for the present study) originated in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and may be characterized as “Romantic.” The Romantics invested the child with some of their most treasured ideals, envying children for what they considered their easy, immediate access to the world of imagination, their proximity to nature, and their freedom from social convention. This Romantic ideology of childhood found its characteristic expression in the words of Jean-Jacques Rousseau: “Childhood has its own methods of seeing, thinking, and feeling.”<sup>51</sup>

The modern constitution of childhood as a specially privileged and protected stage of life, distinct from adulthood, was also expressed in material culture and the organization of built space: for example, the floor plans of dwellings physically segregated children’s space.<sup>52</sup> As Karin Calvert has argued, the special world adults create for children and the choice of particular styles and forms of child-rearing artifacts and environments are determined by historically specific assumptions and beliefs concerning the accepted place of children in the larger world and what is peculiar to childhood. Of course, they tell us more about the beliefs, values, and desires of adults than about children themselves.<sup>53</sup>

In Russia since the eighteenth century, the ability to provide childhood with its own separate space has been a cultural marker of distinction—a sign of the wellbeing and higher social status of the westernized elite. As Andrew Wachtel has analysed, the myth of childhood as a distinct and especially happy time was canonized in nineteenth-century literature, beginning with Tolstoy’s *Childhood*.<sup>54</sup> In the 1930s, “Happy Childhood” became a pillar of Stalinist propaganda, appearing all the more natural and persuasive thanks to its roots in Russian literary tradition. It was the defining trope of the 1936 Pioneer Palace conversion and of Pioneer houses in general, which symbolized the regime’s commitment to making life better and its love for children.<sup>55</sup>

By the postwar period, however, cultural production for (or even by) children no longer looked very different from that for adults. As Ella Gankina writes in a 1963 study of children’s illustration, books for infants were subject to the same requirements as those for the oldest children — to adhere to standards of “realism” derived from narrative easel painting—so that they all descended to the lowest common denominator of naturalistic illustrations for grown-ups. By the mid-1950s, book design for younger children was in “crisis.” After Stalin’s death, what Gankina and other applied arts specialists of the Thaw era considered “proper” children’s book illustration began to revive. This was a specific form of visual culture with its own conventions determined both by the nature of the medium and by the peculiarities of children’s perception and psychology.<sup>56</sup>

Specificity, a concept that tacitly harked back to Russian Formalism, was a highly charged, polemical term in the destalinization of visual culture. Reformist artists and theorists invoked it to dismantle Stalinism's dogmatic insistence on a unified set of "realist" norms across all forms of cultural expression, regardless of their medium or their audience. The Pioneer Palace was a manifesto of the reformist platform of specificity; it proclaimed at once the specificity of childhood and the specificity of monumental art.

The reinvigoration, in the 1950s, of the ideology of childhood, and the demarcation of a distinct children's culture with its own specific norms and forms, was part of the legitimation of the Khrushchev regime and of the socialist system in general.<sup>57</sup> In the global, cold-war conditions of "peaceful competition," happy Soviet childhood proved to the world the socialist system's superior capacity to provide a high standard of living for its people. If in prerevolutionary Russia and contemporary capitalist society the capacity to create a distinct realm of childhood was a marker of individual privilege or upward mobility, under socialism it was a sign of how life was getting better for the entire country. Universal access to the elite privilege of happy childhood was part of the well-being and abundance which, Khrushchev promised, was the precondition for the imminent transition to communism.

The myth of "happy childhood in the land of the Soviets" was closely identified with the person of Khrushchev; he had already cultivated the image of protector of little children in the 1930s as Moscow Party Secretary when he was credited with the construction of new schools, kindergartens and crèches, parks and children's theaters, as well as with the 1936 Pioneer Palace conversion.<sup>58</sup> Photo opportunities with young children—as in a photograph by Gurarii Samarii, "*Hallo Little One*"—were a significant element in the Khrushchev cult emerging in the late 1950s. Such images showed him as a benevolent, avuncular or grandfatherly leader, solicitous for those of his people most in need of protection. Even Nina Khrushcheva was brought out in public to project the image of the maternal state abroad. She told the American readership of *McCall's* in 1961: "Every Soviet woman wants her children to have a happy, joyous childhood . . . a bright youth full of daring endeavor."<sup>59</sup>

### **The Children's Corner**

Khrushchev repeatedly promised that the Soviet people would achieve full communism within a single generation. As the future citizens of communism, children (along with their mothers) were the object of intense public scrutiny, legislation, and debate concerning communist upbringing, discipline, health,

educational reforms, aesthetic education, and the role of the family. The Khrushchev regime sought to enhance its own role in the collective upbringing of the new Soviet person to mitigate the potentially regressive influence of parents and grandparents; a matter of such crucial state importance as child rearing could not be entrusted to inefficient and ideologically unaccredited amateurs.<sup>60</sup> It intervened pervasively in the domestic life of the family, taking an intense interest not only in parental child-care practices but even in the arrangement and decoration of the family home.<sup>61</sup> At the same time, it expanded communal facilities including twenty-four-hour crèches, boarding schools, playgrounds and children's parks, and out-of-school facilities, amongst which Pioneer clubs, camps and palaces featured prominently.

Much was invested in the creation of a distinct and special world for children during the Khrushchev era. Children were to be provided with their own separate space both in the public realm and in the home. Household advice manuals and magazines advised that, no matter how small one's apartment, "a child should have his own corner in which he feels himself to be master." If there was only one room for all the family, a segregated space should be set off for the child in the brightest and best corner, demarcated both through physical barriers, such as a low shelving unit, and through differentiated decor and a brighter color scheme. If the rest of the flat or room was full of things s/he was forbidden to touch, in the child's corner there should only be things s/he could play with freely. The choice of decor, objects, and pictures to surround the child was of particular significance, for these would lay the basis of his or her aesthetic sensibilities. Therefore, "the world opening up before the child should be *beautiful, festive, joyful, clean, and bright*."<sup>62</sup> In this enclave of brightness and joy, the child was master. While children could enjoy a degree of independence and freedom not afforded them elsewhere which was important for their psychological and physical development — they were, at the same time, contained and safe. Moreover, allocated the most visually prominent corner of the room, they were under constant observation and on display.<sup>63</sup>

In the 1920s, the creation of children's corners had played a part in rooting out the old religious customs and replacing them with new Soviet forms and rituals. It was one way to fill the "semantic void" left by the elimination of the sacred or red corner where the icons traditionally hung in the best lit and ventilated corner of the home. Victor Buchli describes how children's corners were conceived as exemplary revolutionary spaces, set up in conscious competition with the old order represented by adults: "when parents did not remove their icons, the children responded with 'let them stay up, it doesn't matter, our corner will defeat theirs.'" Just as the red corner had linked the individual household

to the patriarchal, Christian order beyond, so, too, the Soviet children's corner expressed the new secular order of the future in microcosm.<sup>64</sup> it was the nursery of the new society.

The segregated spaces of communal childhood ranged from the raised pen or *manezh* used in Soviet crèches,<sup>65</sup> to the new boarding schools, whose construction was one of Khrushchev's pet projects. Boarding schools were proposed as part of the far-reaching education and social welfare measures introduced from 1956. Debates concerning the design of boarding schools were an important context for the palace: they, too, were to be self-contained, model institutions for the all-round upbringing of young communists.<sup>66</sup> Most importantly, they were to be built in picturesque, suburban localities in order that children might benefit from the health-giving, aesthetic, and moral influences of proximity to nature and remoteness from the city.<sup>67</sup>

Like the boarding schools, the Pioneer Palace was a children's corner on a collective, urban scale: an ecological niche for children's development and the incubation of the new society, set apart from, yet embedded within the adult world. "Located in one of the best areas of Moscow"<sup>68</sup>—just as the children's corner was allocated the best part of the room—the Pioneer Palace was to be a bright, happy, segregated space of childhood. Here, children could develop a mature relationship with the material and social world and enjoy a sense of autonomy, while, at the same time, being contained, supervised, and on display.

## The Camp

The palace's location was suburban rather than rural, and it was easily reached by public transport. However, the designers consciously employed a number of distancing techniques and delaying mechanisms to enhance its sense of remoteness and separate it from the busy streets and quotidian life of the city, while at the same time preserving open, uninhibited access to the grounds and integrating the buildings with their natural surroundings. To this end they turned to a second spatial model derived from Soviet children's culture: the Pioneer camp. As they explained: "The Pioneer Palace is a parkland complex [*parkovoe sooruzhenie*]; it is drawn back into the depths of the plot and situated in a green meadow far away from the noisy city thoroughfares. This treatment emerged from the theme itself—a complex for children, to whose nature best corresponds the character of a camp."<sup>69</sup>

Why a camp? The camp was as central an institution in Pioneer life as it was for the Boy Scouts, from whom it had been appropriated in the early days of the Pioneer organization. By exposing children to nature, Pioneer camps tempered

their will and physical endurance, developed their resourcefulness, aroused their interest in natural history and geology, and built their collectivism. By removing them from their quotidian surroundings and familial influences, they rendered children of impressionable age especially susceptible to “emotionally appropriating” the political and ideological ideals of the Pioneers.

Today, with rising transport costs and concerns for safety, the relative remoteness of the Palace is a nuisance, making it inaccessible for unaccompanied children. But it was essential to the original conception that getting there entailed a journey (figure 3).<sup>70</sup> As Sarab’ianov’s account, cited above, made clear, the trip across the new bridge to the Lenin Hills played an important symbolic role. It served as a form of time travel into the future, a device that distanced the visitor to the palace from the ways of the past, whose material traces were ubiquitous in the center.<sup>71</sup>

For a child, the trip to the Pioneer Palace could take on the character of an expedition, invested with an imaginary element of adventure and the thrill of independence. Indeed the trek, or *pokhod*, was a central ritual in Pioneer and Komsomol life. It was closely associated with the camp and shared its pedagogical role in the development of children’s initiative and collectivism.<sup>72</sup> It was also a recurrent motif in the highly popular children’s stories of Arkadii Gaidar, a part of the common culture the young architects and their client shared with their even younger user group. Gaidar’s story *Timur i ego kommanda* [Timur and his Team], written in 1941, epitomized the ideal to which the Pioneers aspired: a voluntary, self-governing collective of children who spontaneously organized themselves to engage in socially useful activities. The whole plot centered on the notion of a secret place known only to children, the headquarters of a children’s gang led by a boy, Timur, who observed a self-imposed code of conduct. From their hidden base Timur’s Team made sorties into the wider, adult community to engage in adventures and good deeds.<sup>73</sup> The idea of going out ahead, breaking new paths, is inscribed in the Pioneer oath and in the very name of the Pioneers, as of the Scouts.<sup>74</sup> What was important in the *pokhod* was not the actual distance travelled but the thrill of preparation and the dislocation from normal routine it entailed. The usefulness of the hike and the camp as a means of integrating individual children into the Pioneer body may be attributed in part to their firm roots in children’s spontaneous culture.<sup>75</sup>

Pioneer camp villages were also in the vanguard of architectural innovation at this time, notably two new complexes at the largest All-Union children’s camp, Artek, on the Black Sea (architects Anatolii Polianskii and D. S. Vitukhin, 1961 and 1964). The All-Union Pioneer Palace and the All-Union Pioneer camp shared the same client, the Komsomol, and were conceived in relation to each

other both in their design and in the practices they accommodated. Many of the same tropes recurred in representations of both Artek and the palace.<sup>76</sup> Exemplary, modern, state-of-the-art facilities for the development of the future citizens of communism, both were also intended as international showpieces of the Soviet Union's concern for the well-being and upbringing of children.



*Figure 3: Pioneer Palace, Moscow. Main approach. Photo: Susan E. Reid.*

Although New Artek consisted of permanent structures rather than tents, these were as light and open as possible, minimizing architecture's sheltering and monumental functions, so as to approximate the effect of life under canvas.<sup>77</sup> Tents held a privileged place in the architectural discourse of destalinization. Appropriated from advanced Western construction engineering, and reviving the Constructivists' emphasis on maximum economy in use of materials, the tent principle underpinned the contemporary style. Just as, in a tent, canvas was stretched over guy ropes and battens, so, an article in *Novyi mir* proposed in 1961, the contemporary style used prefabricated panels and non-load-bearing glass walls suspended from a skeletal frame. Light, flexible, and mobile, relying on suspension and tension rather than mass, the tent displaced the massive dolmen paradigm of ancient temples and of the recent, Stalinist past. The tent, and no longer the temple, must be the paradigmatic structure of Soviet modernity.<sup>78</sup>

The interdependence between the design of the camp on the sunny Black Sea coast and the palace in the northern metropolis corresponded to Pioneer practice; a sojourn at Artek was one of the rewards held out to exemplary Pioneers at the palace. It was also part of its imaginary, symbolic world. According, at least, to one vision of the palace in 1959, it would incorporate within its grounds the leisure resorts of the Soviet Union's north and south. One could choose to go climbing and skiing in artificial mountains, or be transported from Moscow to the



“Black Sea,” represented by a beach of golden sand washed by artificial waves and warmed by an artificial sun. Children could get to know the rich variety of the Soviet empire’s natural world in microcosm.<sup>79</sup> The Pioneer Palace and Artek each figured as an earthly paradise for good children apparently free from adult intervention, and as a mandala of the communist social order of the future. One in the north, the other in the far south, the two nodal points of Pioneer civilization turned the whole intervening space of the country into one great “Pioneer Action Zone” irradiated by the beneficial “Pioneer Effect.”<sup>80</sup>

### **A Palace, Jim, But Not as We Know It . . .**

Adopting the camp as the most appropriate paradigm for a children’s institution, the designers of the Pioneer Palace abjured the established conventions of the palatial, which Stalinist public building had appropriated from the imperial past. Derived from the classical temple, these aimed at monumental effect and included verticality, imposing scale, symmetry, classical orders, colonnades and neoclassical porticoes, grand facades, rich ornamentation, and sumptuously fitted interiors. These conventions had already been challenged in the early 1920s, when discussions concerning the projected people’s palace, the Palace of Labor, focused on the need to appropriate the “palatial” for the people and to transform it from a symbol of their oppression into one of the triumph of the new social order. In the early stages of the Stalin-era competition for the Palace of the Soviets, Le Corbusier offered a radical, modernist solution. The Vesnin brothers’ Palace of Culture of the Proletarskii District, the swan song of Constructivism completed in 1937, was one of the last great exercises in the democratization of the palatial. However, many of the signs of power and order that had signified “palaceness” in the past were firmly reinstated in Iofan and Shchuko’s winning design for the Palace of the Soviets, as well as in other palaces subsequently erected under Stalin, such as Moscow University. After Khrushchev repudiated such atavistic monumentality, the Vesnin’s constructivist palace was reinstated as a legitimate alternative tradition on which to base a modern, democratic palace, as noted above in regard to the 1957-59 Palace of the Soviets competition. It is one of the most convincing historical sources of the loosely articulated spatial arrangement and certain aspects of the elevation of the Pioneer Palace, although its influence was not directly acknowledged.<sup>82</sup> The Pioneer Palace turned its back on the monumentality of nearby Moscow University. “Usually the word ‘palace’ brings to mind the idea of something majestic,” *Komsomol’skaia pravda* wrote. But, “the new Moscow Pioneer Palace does not seem like this”(figure 4).<sup>83</sup>



*Figure 4: Pioneer Palace, Moscow. Photo: Susan E. Reid.*

Arriving at an institution of such national and international significance as the All- Union Pioneer Palace, one might expect to be confronted immediately by a grand façade set in the most prominent part of the site, to which all other aspects of the design would be subordinate. Anyone who had grown up amidst imperial and Stalinist architecture would expect no less. Indeed, at the competition stage, which preceded the final design and choice of architects, the doyen of Stalinist neoclassicism, Ivan Zholtovskii had duly proposed a rigidly symmetrical plan and elevation for the palace complete with enclosed courtyards, and a pompous façade, placed directly onto the main thoroughfare. Perpetuating the Stalinist stereotype of the palatial, his neoclassical palace was deemed too officious for a children's institution by the jury, headed by the prominent former Constructivist Nikolai Kolli. As if imitating big brother—the Palace of Science a short drive along the same road—it implied a conception of the Pioneers as miniature, but fully formed Komsomols-to-be. It was decisively rejected.<sup>84</sup>

One looked in vain for an imposing main façade on arrival at the Pioneer Palace. Instead, away in the distance across a wide meadow and then a parade ground, a low, apparently incidental cluster of buildings nestled in a hollow below the level of the road (figure 5). It seemed to melt unostentatiously into nature. One western visitor, bussed there by Intourist in mid-winter, described how the buildings were almost buried amongst soft snow “piled into small hills almost as high as the palace, between which snow tractors had cleared lanes.”<sup>85</sup> It was the palace's close integration with nature that Khrushchev most explicitly welcomed in his opening address.<sup>86</sup> The chosen site had a particular advantage: formerly occupied by the Biological Section of the Academy of Sciences, it was an arboretum with many mature trees and rare species, and the deep valley that ran through the grounds was lush and quite wild. Thus it was a nature reserve on the edge of Moscow.<sup>87</sup>



Figure 5: Pioneer Palace. Axonometric plan

One of the greatest innovations of the palace was its striking informality. The roofline rose and fell in accordance with the internal functions of the different parts rather than conforming to any *a priori* imperative of regularity (this contributed to the impression of a ship that *Ogonek* noted). The composition of the architectural elements and their relation to the park may be best characterized as “picturesque,” historically a proto-Romantic principle of landscape composition. To enhance its easy interaction with its surroundings the designers even deliberately disrupted the straight line of the façade because “it always creates a sense of a building’s enclosure or hermeticism, its isolation from the surrounding space.”<sup>88</sup> Careless of convention, the palace refused to impose either on its surroundings or on the small visitor. By comparison with Stalinist complexes, which tended to dwarf their occupants, its scale was Lilliputian. The architects

explained that their design had shrunk in the course of planning as they gradually came to understand the specific nature of their task:<sup>89</sup> that a palace for children should not be a symbol of power and privilege, dominating the city, but the best possible environment for children's individual and social development, designed to correspond to the needs and character of children (as they and the client, the Komsomol, conceived them). Therefore, "it was most appropriate to subordinate the architecture to the "microclimate" of the site, to create an "inner environment" that made no claim on any direct compositional connection with the city." Like a camp—and quite unlike a conventional palace—it was embedded in nature, accommodating rather than suppressing the natural features of the plot.<sup>90</sup>

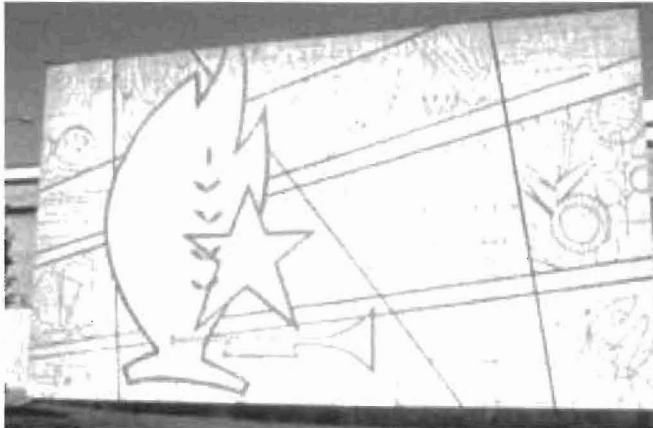
As noted, the actual distance from urban civilization mattered less than the psychological distance. The boundaries of a camp are also more contingent and imaginary than actual; no walls or fences enclose a canvas village, and the canvas itself is little more than a notional shield against intruders. Having crossed the River Moskva and attained the palace grounds, one has no physical barriers to negotiate. However, the palace is set off from the urban milieu by a broad lawn and a parade ground, which, from one side, is approached down a kind of earthwork rampart. Low and relatively small, it seems to lie far off in the distance across the expanse of open meadow.

As you approach the palace from the metro you pass, like stations on a pilgrimage, two works of monumental sculpture: a bugling Pioneer and a stone representation of a campfire. They introduce the key emblems of the Pioneers that run like a leitmotif throughout the palace's decorative program and announce that you have now entered Pioneer territory. The permanent stone "campfire" is located at the nodal point where the two main axes of the palace intersect, near the brink of a steep descent into the valley below. A further emblematic campfire is located on this incline, overlaid with a red star. Seen from below, the tower of Moscow University seems to rise out its flames, aligned with the flagpole of the Pioneer Palace (figure 6). Far from denying this relationship with the palace's Stalinist Big Brother, contemporary press photographers deliberately exaggerated the phoenix effect through their choice of viewpoint and lens, thus assimilating the past into the model of the future.

The central ritual of camp life, the campfire was a particularly potent device for effecting children's emotional internalization of ideology and their identification with the Pioneer body, which, according to Krupskaia, was the central function of Pioneer symbols and ritual.<sup>91</sup> The campfire motif is repeated around the palace in the many panels of monumental art that were a crucial part of its spatial and visual effects (figure 7).



*Figure 6: Pioneer Emblem. Photo: Georgii Arzamasov. This recent photograph is taken from a similar position to that adopted in press photos that appeared at the time of the opening in Komsomol'skaia pravda, Moskovskaia pravda, and in V. Egerev, et al, Moskovskii Dvorets pionerov (Moscow: Stroiizdat, 1963).*



*Figure 7: Pioneer Heraldics. Mural on back of Concert Hall. Photo: Georgii Arzamasov.*

The idea of the campfire determines the intense coloration of a large mosaic that draws you across the parade ground toward the main entrance. The mosaic, on the theme of *Young Leninists* (figure 8) by Andrei Vasnetsov, Viktor El'konin, Iu. and I. Aleksandrov, and T. Sokolova, hovers on a bowed panel slightly in front of the main plane of the façade like a huge iconostasis. In one part of the mosaic, directly over the doorway, Pioneers of different races group around the campfire—the most intimate bonding moment in the formation of the collective. The simple porch that shelters them, supported on slender cylindrical piers reminiscent of Le Corbusier's *piloti*, becomes—once one enters into the fiction of a camp—a canopy or the flap of a tent propped up on tent poles. (The term applied to the porch, *kozyrek*, means, literally, canopy.) From the protected space of their big tent and their campfire, the mosaic Pioneers are able to check out the visitor approaching across the parade ground. They are at once inviting and wary of strangers—in the words of a film made soon after about a Pioneer camp—"Welcome, or No Trespassing!"<sup>92</sup>



Figure 8: Pioneer Palace. Porch with Young Leninists Mosaic. A. Vasnetsov, V. El'konin, Iu. and A. Aleksandrov, T. Sokolova. Photo: Susan E. Reid.

The *Young Leninists* mosaic marks the threshold to the palace, a liminal plane, through which one leaves the outside world and is initiated into the world of the Pioneers with its symbols and rituals. But just at the point where one can actually enter the palace, this mosaic wall seems to block the way. Contemporary commentators were perplexed by the contradiction. We can see it, however, as another deliberate, delaying device—one of the techniques of border creation by which the inner world of the Pioneers is set off from the surrounding adult

space— just as an iconostasis is at once a passage through to, and a barrier concealing the sanctuary. Sarab'ianov, one of the palace's most enthusiastic advocates, compared the threshold mosaic to the frontispiece of a book. Like a frontispiece, it is a visual image poised at the interface between the real world about to be left behind and the world of wonder and fantasy about to be entered. Its role is to engage children's imagination, entice them in, and encapsulate the world of images that will then accompany them throughout their time in the palace, drawing them directly into "a world of youth and wonder, romanticism and poetry."<sup>93</sup>The mosaic panel marks a momentary pause at the threshold. The Pioneer must straighten his or her necktie and remember what it means to be a Pioneer, before passing on in.

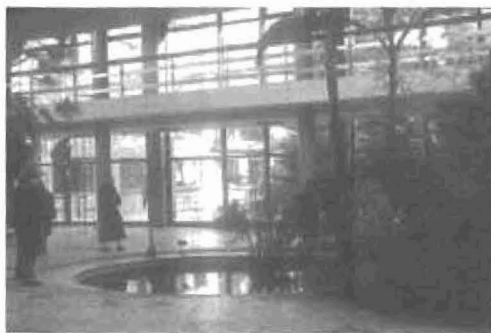
As the commentators noted, the mosaic wall blocking the entrance was an anomaly. For the palace was striking in its openness and transparency, quite unlike Stalinist palaces such as Moscow University, where entrances were set back in courtyards attained through narrow, guarded gates, inducing a sense of sanctity, deference, and privilege.<sup>94</sup> It was an important principle that access to the Pioneer Palace—as to the organization itself—was not dependent on privilege or prodigious talent, but was open to all children of the appropriate age.<sup>95</sup> At the same time, the mass nature of Pioneer membership could not be allowed to deprive it of distinction; the rite of passage marked by the *Young Leninists* signaled the special privilege and responsibilities incurred by membership, and set the Pioneer experience off from the universal childhood experience of school.<sup>96</sup> With the exception of the mosaic, the architecture of the palace expressed the principle of democratic access in a number of ways, most obviously by the presence of numerous doors on all sides. "How many doors—and all thrown open at once!" enthused *Komsomol'skaia pravda* on its opening.<sup>97</sup> As Zhadova wrote, it "hospitably and warm-heartedly opens itself to children; it invites them to come in and actively interests them in the most varied activities and objects."<sup>98</sup>

The "socialist democratism" which Khrushchevist ideology claimed as a central tenet was also expressed by the remarkable transparency and openness of the structures and the fluid, picturesque plan. These features connected the palace firmly to the Constructivist legacy, although they probably owed as much to the international Modern Movement, such as the work of Frank Lloyd Wright and Mies van der Rohe, as to the Russian avant-garde. Taken to this degree they were almost unprecedented in a permanent public building in the Soviet Union.<sup>99</sup> They served to connect the palace and its occupants with the wider social and natural milieu. Inside, continuous glazing created the impression of continuity between interior and exterior space, and this was reinforced by setting floor levels to coincide with those of the external terraces (figure 9).<sup>100</sup>



*Figure 9: Inside the Pioneer Palace. Photo: Susan E. Reid.*

The children inside could feel almost as close to nature as if they were under canvas. Sitting in the café, with its huge windows giving straight onto a terrace overlooking the steep valley below, one could even imagine that the ceiling supported on a single column was the spreading branches of a great tree. The sense of integration of inside and out was strongest of all in the bright and airy Winter Garden (figure 10). Large windows on both sides and three geodesic domes of “organic glass” (now Finnish replacements) filled the garden with natural light, making it feel spacious and festive. Here nature was literally brought inside the building, while a free-standing sculpture—a metal grille, on which were mounted linear metal reliefs of birds, fishes, and insects (by architect Viktor Egerev and sculptor P. Shimes)—continued the theme of transparency (figure 11).<sup>101</sup>



*Figure 10: Pioneer Palace, Winter Garden. Photo: Susan E. Reid.*





Figure 11: Inside the Winter Garden. Photo: Susan E. Reid.

The openness of the palace was particularly appropriate and enticing for children, in the view of contemporaries. This was not only because it kept them close to their “natural” habitat. The open plan of the interior spaces, through which one could pass freely along raised galleries, corresponded to a current conception of how children relate to space and to their material environment. Whereas adults might apprehend the complex from a distance with their eyes, children got to know it with their bodies. *Komsomol'skaia pravda* described the initial encounter with the palace complex as an active, spatial experience of a young body moving through it. It aroused the child's need to explore. It had a rejuvenating, stimulating effect even on adults, reviving their long lost excitement of childhood. Coming into the new palace, “You, too, suddenly feel like a little boy and want to run around and see everything at once.”<sup>102</sup>

Made possible by modern construction technology and materials, the continuous glazing proclaimed the technological modernity of the palace. Large expanses of glass also, of course, rendered the interiors very bright. This answered health specialists' requirement that children's educational buildings should have maximum natural light.<sup>103</sup> At the same time it also served other, symbolic functions. In Soviet iconography sunshine and the corresponding motif of the “shining path” represented the radiant future. It was specifically associated with happy childhood, as in the song every schoolchild knew, *Pust' vseгда budet solntse* (May there always be sunshine), and was a constant attribute of children's spaces.<sup>104</sup> That the Pioneer Palace should be a bright and sunny place was established in discussions of the 1936 conversion: children consulted at that time regarding plans for the new palace emphasized that it should be *svetloe* (radiant) and full of sunshine.<sup>105</sup>

The openness of the building not only connected the children inside with the outside world; it also laid them open to view. As in the children's corner of the home, the Pioneers were allocated one of the best places in Moscow.<sup>106</sup> Here, in their bright world, they were constantly on display. Tourists were brought in to marvel at this ideal society of children—the bright tomorrow of communism existing already in the present day—and to admire the maternal state that provided for them so well.

### Never-Never Land: The Pioneer Republic

Like a canvas village, deep in its nature reserve, the Pioneer Palace was conceived as a self-contained, picturesque ensemble, set apart from the wider world. Contemporaries routinely described it in terms of a utopian children's enclave. It was "a separate Pioneer's world with its own scale," "commensurate with the little person, its future master"; an "ecological niche" within which the new society could take shape; and a sovereign realm within the larger social space, operating according to its own Lilliputian scale, its own laws and customs.<sup>107</sup> "Enough, the reign of adults has ended!" *Sem'ia i shkola* declared. "From now on you are fully entitled masters of everything around you."<sup>108</sup> Here, as in the children's corner in the home—as, too, in the fictional worlds of children's stories—children were the masters. Dubbing it the "Land of *Pioneriia*," the "Pioneer Republic," or "Children's Republic," accounts of the Palace maintained the fiction of a self-governing children's enclave by suppressing the directing and disciplining role of adults.<sup>109</sup> It was as if grown-ups had no presence there at all.<sup>110</sup> *Komsomol'skaia pravda* dismissed scepticism that marauding kids would break the equipment and scratch the new, colored plastic floors; on the contrary, thousands of little guardians would watch jealously over their palace. "Because this is *their* palace. Here the children are the masters."<sup>111</sup> In true utopian fashion, a perfectly designed material environment had set in motion the perfectly functioning mechanism of a self-governing society-in-miniature.

This may all seem far-fetched. To see the Pioneer Palace as a self-governing, perfectly functioning children's republic that gave a glimpse of the communist tomorrow is Socialist Realism. Even the image of a camp reproduced in the suburbs of the capital requires the suspension of disbelief. But as Michael Holquist has argued, any utopia, like a game of chess, depends on a readiness to enter into the conventions that hedge it off from "real" life.<sup>112</sup> Furthermore, an element of fantasy, play, or make-believe was entirely appropriate to a children's institution.

The final section of this essay aims to show how the conception of childhood embodied in the Pioneer Palace prioritized imagination and fantasy, and how the perceived need to stimulate children's imagination legitimated departures both from a mechanistic conception of function and from naturalistic conventions in pictorial art. It is here that the most significant innovations of the Pioneer Palace lie. By foregrounding its function as a place for children, and by insisting on the Romantic premise that children have their own, specific modes of seeing, thinking, and feeling, the design and the discourse around it naturalized a modern idiom at the center of Soviet public building and humanized the application of cutting-edge construction technology. At the same time, the Palace transcended a narrow, rationalist "functionalism" driven by economy and technology—which Khrushchev's injunctions to constructors were often taken to require. Instead, returning to the spirit of Constructivism, which had prioritized the purpose of social construction, the architects applied a broader, more humanistic conception of function based on the child user. As one of the architects, Feliks Novikov, put it: "No, I do not consider myself an orthodox functionalist. But I agree absolutely with the idea that function—the content of the object, its purpose, the life-processes taking place in it—in many ways determines the architectural form."<sup>13</sup> Furthermore, the Palace also humanized and domesticated the international modernist models it undeniably appropriated, which the Soviet press still criticized for an antihuman fetishization of technology. Thus Le Corbusier's famous *piloti*, as we saw, are reduced to tent poles supporting the "canopy" that shelters the *Young Leninists* mosaic. Introducing elements of imagination and decoration, the children's palace pointed forward to the interest in play and fantasy that would become characteristic of the visual culture of the Brezhnev era—to something that might in some sense be called postmodern.

Contemporary discourse articulated the palace in terms derived from children's culture, for example, by reference to literary genres such as fairy tales and science fiction, considered particularly appropriate for, and appealing to children on the basis of their high degree of fantasy. One recurrent motif borrowed from children's culture was the magical transformation, including transformations of scale where things or people take on wildly exaggerated proportions, as in *Gulliver's Travels* or *Alice in Wonderland*—tales that were as much a part of Soviet Russian children's culture as of their peers in the West. An example is the outsized golden key to the "Pioneer Wonderland" presented to the children at the opening ceremony. Another type of transformation was the mutation from inorganic to organic; for example, according to *Komsomol'skaia pravda*, the ceiling of the café (which I likened to a tree) was supported on a giant toadstool. The cutting-edge engineering (derived perhaps indirectly from Pier Luigi Nervi),

which allowed the weight of the auditorium above to be supported on a single column, was thus rendered natural, friendly, and familiar—without losing any of its sense of wonder—by invoking the iconography of Russian fairy tales.<sup>114</sup>

The Komsomol press represented the application of state-of-the-art technology in the auditorium in terms of science fiction: “you wouldn’t be surprised if, in front of the self-moving and self-erasing boards, a Martian stepped out to give the lecture.”<sup>115</sup> Space travel was particularly topical, of course, and was a point on which official ideology met popular imagination. The success of the Soviet space program stimulated popular pride and demonstrated the power of science to turn a great leap of imagination into actuality. Space exploration also played an important part in the palace’s educational activities. Astronomy and Young Cosmonaut clubs enabled children to participate in this great exercise of patriotic pride. In its Planetarium “young cosmonauts” were trained with the latest technology (its “grown-up” sponsor, the Moscow Planetarium, donated a telescope). Young rocketeers and airplane model-makers competed for the Iu. A. Gagarin prize and V. M. Komarov prize. Visits from Iurii Gagarin and other famous cosmonauts, who had superseded pilots as the popular heroes of the day, inspired them to heroic feats and lent new meaning to the words of the Pioneer oath, “to step out on the path, knowing no bounds.”<sup>116</sup> If the fluid interaction between interior and exterior was an important characteristic of the palace as whole, in the planetarium — a small, cylindrical space enclosed within the building—outer space was brought inside on a cosmic scale. Here we have another motif from children’s culture, especially science fiction: in defiance of Euclidean geometry, a narrow door and confined space open onto the universe. As a sign of what will greet the visitor inside, the exterior shell of the planetarium is coated in black plastic (a material closely identified with the dream of placing scientific progress at the service of humankind), decorated with sculptures by Dmitrii Shakhovskoi and Mikhail Lukashkever. Made of strips of aluminium, like drawings in metal, these represent zodiac signs and constellations as if distributed across the night sky. But when you enter the plastic-coated cylinder the whole of outer space appears above you, reproduced on the interior of its dome. Like a conjuror’s magic box or science-fiction time capsule, the planetarium is a space within a space that opens up to infinity.

### **Physicists v. Lyricists**

The relation between science and fantasy, reason and imagination, was a topical concern in adult culture. A lively discussion known as the “physicists and lyricists debate” took place in the Komsomol press in 1959 and 1960. At

issue was the search for a continued role for the arts at a time when science had seemingly usurped artists' prerogative to dream and inspire. While scientists had abandoned the constraints of positivism to defy the limits of the possible and make fairy tales come true, literature and the arts were mired in the conventions of nineteenth-century realism.<sup>117</sup> The physicists and lyricists debate represented a challenge to the dogmatic conception of realism as the mere lifelike recording of appearances and facts, which conservatives still maintained. Reformers engaged battle with "the 'engineer's' way of thinking which, facts in hand, [had] set about annihilating the 'inexact world of fantasy.'"<sup>118</sup> In a controversial book published in 1961, *Comrade Time and Comrade Art* (Tovarishch vremia i tovarishch iskusstvo), Vladimir Turbin expressed great enthusiasm for "scientific-technological progress," and called for corresponding advances in art. He set out to reclaim for art the freedom to imagine worlds beyond what was yet possible; for art is "an experimental laboratory for future scientific discoveries," and without the freedom to dream man would never have flown into space. Turbin identified this freedom with youth: "art is the youth of human cognition, the morning of a formative ideology. Science is its noon, maturity."<sup>119</sup> Others, too, passionately defended the role of imagination in art, arguing that the scientific-technological revolution demanded new forms. Thus, the sculptor Ernst Neizvestnyi (a leading activist of the reformist wing of the Artist's Union, author of a great archaizing frieze for Artek, and originally intended to produce the sculpture of the Pioneer for the entrance to the Lenin Hills complex) proclaimed: "Intuition and imagination are essential for any creativity."<sup>120</sup>

Children's culture provided a niche where imagination could be given free flight. New concern with the specificity of children's cognition, combined with the idea that children's culture had different aims and requirements from grown-up culture, placed it in the vanguard of reformist efforts to dismantle the dogmatic norms of Stalinist realism and to reclaim for art the right to fantasy. Children's book illustration, for example, regained the status it had enjoyed from the revolution until the purge of "formalism" in 1936, when it had been the first target in the visual arts.<sup>121</sup> It became once again a space for artistic experiment. The Children's Republic likewise, offered a specially favored niche for artistic experiment, fantasy, and reengagement with modernism in pictorial art.

### **An Illustrated Children's Building**

It was axiomatic that cultural artefacts for children should be illustrated and that visual images were a potent educational aid. In 1952, *Komsomol'skaia pravda* wrote of the journal *Pioner*: "it is rich in illustrations: there are many of

them, and they are chosen with taste. As is expected of a children's magazine, illustrations here not only illuminate the text but also broaden the children's idea of life."<sup>122</sup> Contemporaries, as we saw, readily compared the building of the Pioneer Palace to a book, with a frontispiece marking the passage into its world of wonder. If children's books and magazines were to be illustrated, then so, the designers argued, should a building for children.<sup>123</sup>

It was by no means a matter of course, in the late fifties, that architecture should be complemented by monumental art. Here the designers and their patron, the Komsomol, took a stand in a current controversy. Khrushchev's condemnation of architectural "superfluity" had cast doubt on the legitimacy of visual art and nonstructural decoration in new public buildings. Some radical voices in the architectural establishment interpreted his injunction to mean that constructions in the contemporary style should be purged of all purely decorative elements, while penny-pinching authorities took the repudiation of "waste" as a pretext to annul contracts for painting and sculpture to embellish them. The result had been financial disaster for artists and their organizations, as well as a loss of prestige and public profile.<sup>124</sup> Others, however, asserted a vital role for monumental art in the new architecture. But, they argued, this was not a matter of merely decorating the structures, but of a *synthesis* of images and structures as two equal, complementary terms.<sup>125</sup> Nor must monumental art be forced to conform to the conventions of post-Renaissance easel painting, merely blown up to a large scale, as had become mandatory in the late Stalin period. Monumental art, reformers argued, must be true to its own conventions, or "specificity," which they defined in moderately modernist terms. Briefly: easel painting, cut off from the surrounding world by its frame, creates a hermetic, fictional space, within which a single, culminating moment of a narrative may be presented. Thereby it maintains the classical unities of time, place, and action. Monumental art, on the other hand, exists in the real space within which the viewer goes about his or her daily life and shapes the viewer's movements through and around that space. Therefore, according to the champions of specificity, it must preserve the integrity of the wall plane, and not "break through" or deny its materiality by creating an illusion of a deep perspectival box. Reformist theorists paid increased attention to the experience and space of the viewer. As Nina Dmitrieva put it, rather than demand deep philosophical contemplation and psychological response, as easel painting did, thereby forcing the viewer to step momentarily out of the real world, monumental art could affect the viewer "even if he does not specifically concentrate on looking but simply finds himself inside a harmonious ensemble. He involuntarily experiences the influence of the 'force field' emanating from it."<sup>126</sup>

Arguments for the synthesis of monumental art with architecture, beginning in the context of the revived Palace of the Soviets project, invoked the seventeenth-century utopian thesis of Tommaso Campanella's *City of the Sun*, which already in 1918 had inspired Lenin's Plan for Monumental Propaganda. The concentric walls of Campanella's utopian city were decorated with edifying frescoes, playing in whose midst children imbibed their lessons, as if by osmosis, without even realizing it.<sup>127</sup> In the discourse of the Thaw, with its concern for the development of aesthetic sensibilities as part of the formation of the all-round education of the future citizen of communism, the educational efficacy of visual aids, and their potential to catalyze social change, did not stop at the messages they portrayed. Children would imbibe a sense of beauty and taste directly from their more abstract, aesthetic qualities, for example, from the way they organized movement harmoniously around them. As Vladimir Favorskii, the most prominent theoretician of synthesis and specificity, put it in 1958: "Monumental art, in conjunction with architecture, organizes space, and organizes us. It can be compared here to music; how for example a march influences us. . . . So, too, monumental art has the capacity to make us live in a particular rhythm."<sup>128</sup>

The Pioneer Palace was the most consummate statement to date of the reformist promotion of synthesis and the specificity of monumental art. For example, the semiabstract frieze *Music* (figure 12), by Viktor El'konin (a one-time collaborator with Tatlin and a follower of Favorskii), Andrei Vasnetsov, and others above the entrance to the concert hall not only announced the theme of music; by means of a strong tonal rhythm it also provided a visual equivalent for the way the bugle and drum organized the movement of Pioneers marching on the parade ground in front of it.<sup>129</sup>



Figure 12: *Music*. Concrete frieze on console over the entrance of the Concert Hall. A. Vasnetsov, V. El'konin, A. Aleksandrov, Iu. Aleksandrov and T. Sokolova.  
Photo by Susan E.Reid.

## Montage

*Music* was one of the most extreme examples of abstraction in the palace. But no part of the extensive program of monumental-decorative art would have passed muster by Stalinist standards of realism. Instead, a range of modernist principles, outlawed as “formalist” since the mid-1930s, predominated, to the almost total exclusion of naturalism and didactic narrative. These included, in addition to the more radical abstraction of *Music*: flatness; intensified, nonnaturalistic color; simplified, emblematic motifs; “primitivism”; and montage. The use of such modernist devices was legitimated by reference to two mutually reinforcing “specificities”: the specific conventions of monumental art; and the specificity of the young user-viewers.

Let us return to the *Young Leninists* mosaic over the entrance to the main building (figure 13 and figure 8). Figures of different scales are juxtaposed. The incised, overlapping profiles reveal the new interest of monumental artists in the “primitive” art of ancient Assyria and Egypt. As Ernst Neizvestnyi proposed, a return to the massive, epic simplicity of the archaic corresponded to the grand scale of the present day socialist project and the mass nature of contemporary art and society.<sup>130</sup> The different dimensions of the figures are underscored by the use of diverse techniques and surfaces. There is no unity of scale, medium, or facture, nor any attempt to create a unified, illusionistic space for the whole mural.<sup>131</sup> As in the formative period of modernism, the artists sought in the nonnaturalistic conventions of archaic or “primitive,” non-Western art, alternative means of representation to those hegemonic in European art since the Renaissance.



Figure 13: *Young Leninists* mosaic (detail). Andrei Vasnetsov, Viktor El'konin, Iu. and I. Aleksandrov, and T. Sokolova. Photo: Georgii Arzamasov.



If we go round to the back of the complex we find a series of wings that butt out from the main corpus above a steep, thickly wooded valley (figure 14).



Figure 14: Pioneer Palace, Moscow. Wings protruding from the main building above the valley. Photo: Susan E. Reid.

The blind ends of three of these wings—accommodating club rooms, workshops, and laboratories— form three adjacent walls which, together, provide a vast surface for a triptych on the theme of *Conquest of the Elements*. This is one of the most important pieces of monumental art in the palace. In each of the three mosaic walls, the artists, Irina Derviz- Lavrova, Grigorii Derviz, Igor’ Pchel’nikov, E. Ablin, and A. Gubarev, represented individual motifs associated with human interventions in air, earth, and water respectively, using flat, heavily contoured, emblematic forms designed to be immediately recognizable from afar. These are scattered across the colored surface on a unifying grid, which is formed by the brick course, as in a diagram or textile design. Zhadova compared the mosaics’ simplified, conventional language to another popular children’s genre that afforded greater latitude for stylization than adult culture—animated film.<sup>132</sup> Real and fantastic elements, reason and poetry, present and future are juxtaposed. A horse plods alongside tractors (*Earth*), and an ancient longboat shares the sea with a state-of- the-art atomic icebreaker (*Water*) (figure 15). Thus, temporal distance is collapsed through spatial proximity to tell a tale of progress with the most concise means.<sup>133</sup>



Figure 15: Water. Part of triptych, Conquest of the Elements. Silicone brick. Irina Derviz-Lavrova, Grigorii Derviz, Igor' Pchel'nikov, E. Ablin, and A. Gubarev.

The use of montage was justified here partly because it maintains the flatness of the wall. A coherent illusion of recession would require a frame and a fixed viewpoint, which was not only impossible given the topography, but would isolate the images from each other and from the surrounding space. This, the artists felt, would be detrimental to the overall effect of the palace. For it was important that the murals, together, form a unified plane like a virtual membrane enclosing and protecting the outer perimeter of the camp while still allowing free passage to space.<sup>134</sup>

Most importantly for our purposes, the modernist devices of montage were also legitimated by reference to the young viewer. The montage compositions were poetic, just as children's fairy-tale illustrations should be. According to Zhadova, "They are grouped so as to arouse in a young viewer a love of beauty, a sense of nature's bounty, and thoughts about the greatness of man who has mastered it. . . . Montage, as a means of semantic [*smyslovoi*] composition, actively addresses the creative imagination of the viewer. And this is particularly important for children, in whom the whole process of cognition is directly connected with the work of fantasy."<sup>135</sup> Montage was particularly appropriate for a children's complex because it made the young viewer's imagination work, and this opened his or her mind to learning.

The idea that children's cognition is distinguished from that of adults by a more immediate relation to imagination brings us back, once more, to Rousseau's formulation that "childhood has its own methods of seeing, thinking, and feeling."

Indeed it suggests a revival of the Romantic envy of children for their supposed direct access to the world of imagination, proximity to nature, and freedom from adult constraints.

The final piece of monumental art I want to look at is located inside the palace, in the concert hall. An internal wall wraps round the auditorium, separating it from the bright, spacious foyer with its vast windows giving onto the parade ground. This interior wall provides two large, well-lit expanses for murals, again by Irina Derviz-Lavrova, Grigorii Derviz, Igor' Pchel'nikov, E. Ablin, and A. Gubarev. Those on the main wall, visible through the windows from the parade ground, depict *Children's Games and Dances Around the World* (figure 16), and those on the shorter, side wall, *Pioneer Festivals in the USSR*.

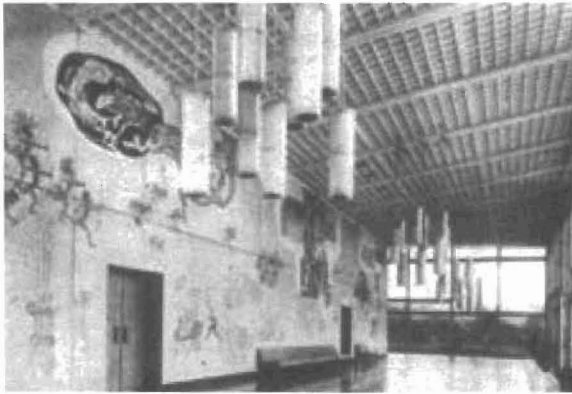


Figure 16: Children's Games and Dances Around the World . Murals on internal foyer wall of Concert Hall. Irina Derviz-Lavrova, Grigorii Derviz, Igor' Pchel'nikov, E. Ablin, and A. Gubarev. Reprinted from V. Egerev, et al., *Moskovskii Dvoretz pionerov* (Moscow: Stroizdat, 1963), with kind permission from Stroizdat.

The murals raise the issue of “primitivism.” Just as early modernist primitivism must be understood in relation to colonialist discourses, here, too, a postcolonialist critique is required to examine the relation between the revival of modernism, the construction of childhood innocence and of the child as the “primitive” of the emergent new society, and an infantilizing notion of the “noble savage” identified with colonized peoples. Analysis of this nexus must consider it in relation to the geopolitical context of the Soviet Union's self-appointed global role as mentor of national liberation movements. But this issue, fundamental to

the analysis of Soviet culture in the Cold War, is too large for the present essay and must remain an agenda for future research.

The restricted space of the foyer prevents one from standing back and taking in the whole auditorium wall properly at a glance. Instead, you see it bit by bit as you move around the space, and individual vignettes of children, playing music or dancing, alternately cohere and dissipate. The images are designed for just such a piecemeal process of perception through time and movement. On the shorter side wall, for example, they are concentrated into vertical panels within which the motifs are piled up, with blank areas between. Unlike Stalinist monumental tableaux and the naturalistic easel painting on which they were based, these murals do not presuppose a single, privileged and controlling viewpoint from which the design coheres into an illusion of deep perspectival space. Rather—appropriately to the theme of children’s play and dance—the emphasis is on spontaneity and unconstrained movement. According to the liberal art historians Viktoriia and Valentin Lebedev, their visual function and effect was quite different from that of the exterior murals. Where the external decorations aimed at immediate effect, “the interior ones have no pretensions to strictly organize the wall. Their compositional distribution is quite free [*neprinuzhdanno*], and in a sense this spontaneity [*neprinuzhdennost’*] contrasts with the organized-ness of the architecture and enlivens its strict architectonics.”<sup>136</sup>

To what extent this free, “unconstrained” mode of looking corresponded to any objective peculiarities of childhood cognition is a matter for psychologists. Certainly, a recent popular Russian psychology of children’s development, drawing on the work of Piaget, described children’s perception in terms that would render montage, divergent scale, and episodic compositional principles entirely consistent with children’s peculiar “methods of seeing, thinking and feeling.” According to Mariia Osorina, the child’s visual picture of the world is episodic, mosaic-like, and piecemeal, composed of discrete parts with no necessary consistency of scale. In other words, it is rather like a montage composition.<sup>137</sup>

My concern, however, is a matter of cultural history: how, at the height of destalinization, in 1962, reformist artists and art theorists, with the support of the client, the Komsomol, construed the specificity of children’s cognition in such a way as to legitimate a rapprochement with modernism. The characteristics of an appropriate visual environment for children were explicitly defined in regard to another children’s institution for which some of the same artists had painted murals shortly before the Pioneer Palace, in 1961. This was a kindergarten near Tarusa for the Moscow section of the Art Fund.

In the kindergarten murals, Irina Derviz-Lavrova and Grigorii Derviz aimed to facilitate free perception and free movement around the space in order

to give wings to the fantasy of the infant viewers. To this end they rejected the established approach of depicting a unified narrative, for example, illustrating the theme of water with a scene of washing or bathing within a self-contained illusionistic space, framed by the edges of the wall. For, as Viktoriia and Valentin Lebedev explained, the wall would thereby become a kind of abstracted space into which the child viewer would be drawn, and this would involve her being mentally extracted from the collective life and activities going on around her. Instead, Derviz-Lavrova and Derviz took account of the primary function of the three-dimensional space as an environment for children's collective play and interaction, in which they were to develop as social individuals. They depicted a number of separate, symbolic motifs associated with water in a simple, flat manner, wrapping them around the room from one wall to another. A grid of horizontal and vertical stripes united the motifs across the surface of the walls, emphasizing the plane rather than creating an illusion of three dimensions. No fixed perspective dissolved the wall or drew the viewer into a predetermined illusion. As a result, the murals "do not 'bind' the viewer to the same degree as an easel painting, which demands the full mobilization of his perception."<sup>138</sup>

The kindergarten murals, according to the Lebedevs, also expressly avoided the effect of a poster, which compels the viewer's thoughts toward a set goal. Nor, like the fresco cycles of old masters, did they conduct the viewer's concentration through an extended narrative by means of strict spatial organization. Instead, the freely disposed motifs were to stimulate the free play of the child's imagination and associations. One could look at the murals bit by bit, be distracted, then return to them at will. Like a fabric design, they were to be engaging and decorative without being binding. Thus, "this new type of interior mural painting in no way interferes with people's ordinary, everyday existence. The murals are emphatically flat. They do not deform the architectural environment; they do not 'break through' the wall. This also allows a person located in the interior to feel 'natural.'<sup>139</sup>

The free, "natural" quality of the kindergarten murals was specifically appropriate to children, according to the Lebedevs. For a montage of details, designed to arouse associative perception and depicted in a simple, flat manner, "involuntarily enriches the child with a complex of observations and ideas. He can get absorbed in looking at the parts, turn away, and return to it again." As a result, however, the mural had sacrificed a central principle of Stalinist monumental art, as they noted. It had "ceased to be a 'narrative' in the traditional sense; it consists, [rather,] of a multitude of individual, externally unconnected pictorial motifs. Clearly, this is how a mural painting in an everyday interior should be."<sup>140</sup>

The artists applied the approach developed at the kindergarten to the decoration of the concert hall foyer. But, you might object, the kindergarten was for infants, whereas the Pioneer Palace was for children aged seven to fifteen. Surely, if we are talking about specificity, we must distinguish between infancy and childhood? Amidst the overwhelmingly positive response to the palace, precisely this objection was raised at the time. It focused on the issue of narrative—or rather on its lack. Ekaterina Zernova, a prominent monumental painter, questioned, in regard to the decoration of the palace as a whole, whether the artists had got the age group wrong. “If it is for children up to ten years of age—charming. But if for sixteen-year-olds, they need to think about more political themes.” The playful, episodic, emblematic, and decorative treatment was all very well for infants. But for young adolescents more serious, expressly ideological narratives were required.<sup>141</sup>

Zernova’s comment went to the core of how the designers’ approach to the Pioneer Palace’s pedagogical role departed from that of the Stalinist past. As this essay has shown, it was far from unideological. On the contrary, every aspect of the spatial, structural, and pictorial treatment was pervaded with an ideology of childhood and a vision of the future, and, taken together, was designed to contribute to the formation of the generation that would live under communism. But just as Pioneer practice placed increasing emphasis on ritual rather than direct indoctrination, so, too, the artists eschewed overt didacticism, attempting instead, as the Constructivists had done in the 1920s, to catalyze social change through the specific means of visual art and the organization of space and material. Indeed, the most striking thing about the monumental art program is not even its high degree of stylization and primitivism, but what is *not* there. There are no narrative panneaux telling the history of the Pioneers’ contribution to building communism or defending the country against external and internal foes. Emblems and rituals abound, but didactic narrative painting—the cornerstone of Stalinist painting—is completely absent. Most surprising of all, there is *no* Pavlik Morozov!<sup>142</sup>

## Conclusion

A conception of children's needs and nature that required the eschewal of any didactic program teetered on the fringe of pedagogical orthodoxy. Rousseau himself was criticized for "wrongly supposing that children under twelve do not possess the capacity for abstract thought" and should therefore learn not from books but directly from nature.<sup>143</sup> To be sure, the innovations of the Pioneer Palace were not achieved without conflict and struggle (although negative responses barely appeared in print).<sup>144</sup> And yet, the exuberant welcome the palace received—not only from modernizers in the art world but also from Khrushchev and the Komsomol press—indicate the extent to which its radical repudiation of Stalinist monumentalism and didacticism corresponded to party modernizers' vision of childhood and of the future it stood for. Contemporary articulations of the Pioneer Palace rendered the modernist leanings of reformist art professionals ideologically meaningful by reinscribing them in terms of this ideology of childhood as the embodiment of the future. At the same time, the collective art work of the palace embodied a faith, which the artists shared with their client, in the rejuvenation of the socialist project, and in an intimate link between technological and social progress—a faith that would prove short-lived but which was none the less powerful.

The concert hall murals, Zernova noted, expressed adults' conception of how childhood is different from maturity. "What children need is things which are simple, contemporary, graceful, and convenient," *Komsomol'skaia pravda* wrote, and "this is precisely how the Moscow Pioneer Palace looks. It has been built by people who clearly know children well and love them. Working on the project they constantly thought about how children would feel here."<sup>145</sup> Sceptics who doubted that this simple glass box could really be a palace were told: "come like children..."<sup>146</sup> In this land of futurity, even cynical and ossified adults would find themselves rejuvenated. Aiming to stimulate the child's imagination rather than to indoctrinate, to encourage spontaneous activity within a purposeful framework, this was child-centered architecture, a design for the future not only with a human face, but with a child's face.

## Notes

1. V. Lebedeva, *Irina Lavrova, Igor' Pchel'nikov* (Moscow: Sovetskii khudozhnik, 1985), 10. Izrail' Gol'dberg, who ran the photographic studio from the time the new palace opened, observed that, despite the unfamiliarity of its modern style, the palace was well received by parents, children, and pedagogues alike. Izrail' Gold'berg, interview with the author, 18 January 1998. I am indebted to all those in Moscow who took the time to discuss the palace with me; to Ol'ga Kazakova; to Georgii Arzamasov for assistance with photography; to Catherine Cooke, David Crowley, and Anne Gorsuch for incisive comments on earlier versions of this study; to the British Academy for supporting the completion of this research; and to the publisher Stroiizdat, Moscow, for kind permission to reproduce figures 1 and 16.
2. "Vystuplenie N. S. Khrushcheva," *Komsomol'skaia pravda* (hereafter *KP*), 2 June 1962, 1–2; Pioneer Palace Archive, Historical Section of the Pioneer Palace, Moscow (hereafter PPA, no catalogue or file numbers); and V. Egerev, et al., *Moskovskii Dvoret's pionerov* (Moscow: Stroiizdat, 1963), 5–6. Khrushchev acknowledged that tastes varied and that he was sticking his neck out by pronouncing on the palace in advance of professional assessments.
3. S. Soloveichik and E. Brusikova, "Kliuch ot strany romantikov," *KP*, 2 June 1962; "Zolotoi kliuchik' Pionerskoi strany," *KP*, 17 May 1962.
4. Caption to photograph of the opening ceremony, *KP*, 2 June 1962.
5. Soloveichik, "Kliuch"; S. Soloveichik, "Eto Vam, schastlivye!" *KP*, 1 June 1962, 4; "Zolotoi kliuchik"; V. Lebedeva and V. Lebedev, "Gorod schast'ia," *Sovetskaia kul'tura*, 8 April 1962; Iu. Kotler, "Strana krasnykh galstukov," *Sem'ia i shkola*, no. 1 (1959): 28; "Mir i radost' nashim detiam," *Moskovskaia pravda*, 1 June 1962; "Podarok moskovskoi detvore," *Moskovskaia pravda*, 2 June 1962; Ekaterina Zernova at discussion of Pioneer Palace, Moscow Section of Union of Architects and Moscow Regional Artists' Union (MOSKh), 7 June 1962 (transcript). Russian State Archive of Literature and Art (RGALI), f. 2943, op. 2, ed. khr. 82, l. 30; Central Municipal Archive of Moscow (TsMAM), f. 959, op. 1, d. 452, ll. 1–3; f. 959, op. 1, d. 47; f. 959, op. 1, d. 32, l. 2; f. 959, op. 1, d. 54, l. 2.
6. "Pokolenie tovarishchei," *Ogonek*, no. 24 (10 June, 1962): 3.
7. "Oni sozdavali Dvoret's," photo caption, *KP*, 22 May 1962.
8. On struggles to define and defend a contemporary style in the visual and material culture of the Khrushchev era see Iurii Gerchuk, "The Aesthetics of Everyday Life in the Khrushchev Thaw," in Susan E. Reid and David Crowley, eds., *Style and Socialism: Modernity and Material Culture in Post-War Eastern Europe* (Oxford: Berg, 2000), 81–100; and Susan E. Reid, "Destalinization and the Remodernization of Soviet Art: The Search for a Contemporary Realism, 1953–1963" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1996).
9. Nikolai Andronov and I. Brodskii at discussion of Pioneer Palace, RGALI, f. 2943, op. 2, ed. khr. 82, ll. 35–39.



10. Soloveichik, "Eto Vam," 4.

11. All-Union Pioneer Organization Resolution, "O rabote v sviazi so stroitel'stvom Dvortsia pionerov," draft, 31 Jan. 1958; Postanovlenie sekretariata TsK VLKSM, protokol no. 67, 4 Sept. 1961: "O stroitel'stve moskovskogo gorodskogo Dvortsia pionerov," PPA; and "Vystuplenie N. S. Khrushcheva." Participants in the planning and design of the palace maintain that the Komsomol was a very supportive patron, a view that did not change even after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Egerev, *Moskovskii Dvorets*, 101; Izrail' Gold'berg, interview with the author, 18 January 1998; and Igor' Pokrovskii, interview with the author, Zelenograd, 6 November 1994.

12. Izrail' Gold'berg, interview with the author, 18 January 1998; Pioneer competition announcement, "Kakim dolzhen byt' Dvoret's pionerov?" PPA. Documents pertaining to the Pioneer Palace from 1939 to 1961, including its move to the Lenin Hills, have only partially been preserved. (TsMAM, f. 959, opis 1), and regrettably, I have been unable to locate the children's responses. Children were already consulted in the mid-thirties when a new Pioneer Palace in the Lenin Hills was first planned. A. Vlasov, "Iunye arkhitektory," *Arkhitektura SSSR*, no. 10 (1936): 19–21.

13. In 1957 the Central Committee raised the age of entry to the Pioneers to ten and resurrected the Octobrists to fill the gap left for younger children.

14. It was "not a palace but a city of palaces, a city for Moscow Pioneers." K. Barykin, "Pionerskaia respublika," *Sovetskaia Rossiia*, 4 June 1959.

15. Resolution of Eighth Plenum of VLKSM Central Committee, 1957: "On measures for improving the work of the Lenin Pioneer Organization." See A. Kutsenko and S. A. Furin, "Lenin All-Union Pioneer Organization," *Great Soviet Encyclopedia* (trans. of 3rd ed., Moscow, 1970; London and New York: Macmillan, 1974), 5: 242–46.

16. Russian State Archive of Social and Political History (RGASPI), f. M-2, op. 1, d. 148, l. 5 (On further development of initiative and *samodeiatel'nost'* in All-Union Pioneer Organization, Jan.-Aug. 1960).

17. D. Latyshina, "Razvivaite samodeiatel'nost' pionerov," *Sem'ia i shkola*, no. 6 (1961): 13–14. The need to restore to the movement "the character of a spontaneous children's organization," which its former subordination to school had sacrificed, concerned the Central Council of the All-Union Pioneer Organization at the time when the palace was under construction. In line with moves toward "self-government," it sought ways to develop children's initiative, *samodeiatel'nost'*, and sense of responsibility for the organization, and censured the undesirable tendency for adults to take control and make decisions over the heads of the children. RGASPI, f. M-2, op. 1, d. 148; RGASPI, f. M-2, op. 1, d. 130 (report of meeting of Central Council of Pioneer organization on question of development of initiative and *samodeiatel'nost'* in All-Union Pioneer Organization, 22–23 August 1960). For an account of *samodeiatel'nost'* in action see Allen Kassof, *The Soviet Youth Program* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1965), 81–87.

18. I. Svadkovskii, "Vospitanie dlia schastia," *Uchitel'skaia gazeta*, 19 Dec. 1961; V. Strunin, "V odnom stroiu," typescript article for *Uchitel'skaia gazeta*, 1960, PPA; D. Latyshina, "Roditeliam o pionerskoi rabote," *Sem'ia i shkola*, no. 4 (1962): 45. On children's self-government

at the palace see TsMAM, f. 959, op. 1, d. 47, l. 2 (meeting of Pioneer Palace staff trade union). For examples of how the children's collective, in the form of Pioneer Councils, disciplined its individual members see Urie Bronfenbrenner, *Two Worlds of Childhood — U.S. and U.S.S.R.* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1971), 51–69. See also Nigel Grant, *Soviet Education*, 4th ed. (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1979). Examples of initiative and self-directed activity at the palace include a museum of history of the Pioneer organization, researched and curated by Pioneers themselves; regular newspapers, *Pioneer Life* and *Little Star* (*Zvezdochka*, for Octobrists) written, edited, and produced by the children; and technology clubs which were to develop their inventiveness. The same principles operated at other Pioneer palaces and houses. See, for example, Y. Broditskaya and I. Golovan, *This Palace Belongs to the Children: A Story*, trans. Margaret Wettlin (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, ca. 1962). Assignments (*porucheniia*) played an important role in developing Pioneers' independence and initiative and in deepening their internalization of Pioneer norms. V. T. Kabush, *Pionerskie simvoly, ritually, traditsii*, 2nd ed. (Minsk: Narodnaia asveta, 1985), 163. The value of children's play as an educational medium, and the role of adults in organizing it to further the child's development were matters for discussion. TsMAM, f. 959, op. 1, d. 163, ll. 20–59; and A. P. Usova, "Play as a Form of Organizing the Life and Activity of Children," *Doshkol'noe vospitanie*, no. 10 (1960), trans. in *Soviet Review* 3, no. 1 (Jan. 1962): 11–16.

19. Kabush, *Pionerskie simvoly*; Christel Lane, *The Rites of Rulers: Ritual in Industrial Society—the Soviet Case* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 30–33.

20. See Catherine Cooke, *Russian Avant-Garde Theories of Art, Architecture and the City* (London: Academy Editions, 1995), 101.

21. Soloveichik, "Kliuch"; TsMAM, f. 959, op. 1, d. 47, l. 3. The meanings of the palace's spatial organization are the focus of Susan E. Reid, "Khrushchev's Children's Paradise," in David Crowley and Susan E. Reid, eds., *Socialist Spaces: Sites of Everyday Life in the Eastern Bloc* (Oxford: Berg, 2002), chap. 8.

22. "Iz knigi otzyvov," PPA. Only three comments have been preserved, all by foreigners, and all expressing stock enthusiasm. See also Stowers Johnson, *The Two Faces of Russia* (London: Robert Hale, 1969), 39.

23. Igor' Pokrovskii, interview with the author, November 1994.

24. The mansion, on Stopani Lane, had belonged to a tea industrialist, Vysotskii. TsMAM, f. 959, op. 1, d. 452, l. 1.

25. "Moskovskii dom pionerov i oktiabriat," *Arkhitektura SSSR*, no. 10 (1936): 1–8; I. I. Leonidov at discussion of the Pioneer house, 1936, reported in "O moskovskom dome pionerov i oktiabriat," *Arkhitektura SSSR*, no. 10 (1936): 14–15; L. Panteleev, "Dvoretz pionerov ili novoe puteshestvie v stranu chudes," *Ogonek*, no. 13 (1937): 9; V. Lebedeva, *Sovetskoe monumental'noe iskusstvo shestidesiatykh godov* (Moscow: Nauka, 1973), 25. The same principles underlay children's visions of their future palace, as reported in *Arkhitektura SSSR*. Vlasov, "Iunye arkhitektory," 19–21. I am indebted to Catherine Cooke for drawing my attention to these parallels.

26. M. F. Ladur, "Iskusstvo radosti," *Sovetskaia kul'tura*, 1 May 1966, reprinted in

M. F. Ladur, *Iskusstvo dlia millionov* (Moscow: Sovetskii khudozhnik, 1983), 105. On the decentralization of Moscow in the new, twenty-year city plan (1960–61) see B. M. Frolic, “The New Moscow City Plan,” in M. F. Hamm, ed., *The City in Russian History* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1976), 276–88. See also Timothy J. Colton, *Moscow: Governing the Socialist Metropolis* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1995).

27. The problem of youth leisure and behavior featured frequently in the youth press from at least 1949. See, for example: “Zabota o byte i dosuge molodezhi,” *KP*, 2 August 1952; P. Bondarenko, “Trudno otdokhnut’ v Kamenske,” *KP*, 16 July 1952; O. Ivanova and N. Sergievich, “Pustoi dvor,” *KP*, 19 July 1952; “Vospityvat’ ideinuiu molodezh’,” *KP*, 8 Oct. 1959. On youth problems, delinquency, and alienation in the postwar period see Merle Fainsod, *How Russia Is Ruled* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1956), 255–61.

28. “Summary of XXI (Extraordinary) Party Congress,” *Soviet Studies*, no. 1 (1959): 90. On the Komsomol as an instrument for the social control of youth by young people themselves see Hilary Pilkington, “The Future Is Ours: Youth Culture,” in C. Kelly and D. Shepherd, eds., *Russian Cultural Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 370–71.

29. All-Union Pioneer Organization Resolution, “O rabote v sviazi so stroitel’stvom Dvortsia pionerov,” draft, 31 Jan. 1958; and Postanovlenie sekretariata TsK VLKSM, protokol no. 67, 4 Sept. 1961, “O stroitel’stve moskovskogo gorodskogo Dvortsia pionerov,” PPA.

30. Santha Rama Rau, *My Russian Journey* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1959), 79–80.

31. On the historical significance of the Sparrow Hills, both as a tourist resort and as one of the pilgrimage stations on the trail of revolutionary history, see I. Zykov, “Dvorets nauki,” *Novyi mir*, no. 1 (1953), 158–59; and Alexander Herzen, *Childhood, Youth, and Exile*, trans. J. Duff (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 242 ff.

32. S. Borisov, *Iugo-zapad Moskvy*, issue 1 of *Sotsialisticheskaia rekonstruktsiia Moskvy*, (Moscow: Moskovskii rabochii, 1937), 30.

33. *Ibid.*, 100.

34. Zykov, “Dvorets,” 154–58.

35. Catherine Cooke, “Socialist Realist Architecture,” in M. Cullerne Bown and B. Taylor, eds., *Art of the Soviets* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993), 102.

36. The axis “MGU-Kremlin,” joining “the architectural center of the new Moscow” (i.e. MGU) to the center of the old capital (the Kremlin), “unites the new and old Moscow.” L. E. Epplé, “Mechta khudozhnika. Ideiia arkhitekturnogo ansambliia,” *Dekorativnoe iskusstvo SSSR* (hereafter *DI*), no. 1 (1960): 35.

37. E. N. Sil’versan, *Dvorets sovetov. Materialy konkursa, 1957–1959 gg.* (Moscow, 1961). I am indebted to Sona Hoisington for first bringing this competition to my attention.

38. N. S. Khrushchev, *O shirokom vnedrenii industrial'nykh metodov, uluchshenii kachestva i snizhenii stoimosti stroitel'stva* (Moscow: Gospolitizdat, 1955), 20; A. Vlasov, "Stil' nashei arkhitektury," *Izvestiia*, 25 Nov. 1959; S. O. Khan-Magomedov, "Novatorstvo i konservatizm v tvorchestve arkhitekora," *Voprosy sovremennoi arkhitektury*, no. 1 (1. Jan. 1962): 31-48.
39. See for example, I. Loveiko, "Khorosheet nasha Moskva!" *Ogonek*, no. 1 (1958). The experimental residential area Novye Cheremushki is celebrated in Dmitrii Shostakovich's opera *Cheremushki*, first performed January 1959.
40. Kotler, "Strana," 28.
41. Sil'versan, *Dvoret's sovetov*. The Sparrow Hills had earlier been the chosen location for another symbolically charged but never realized monument: the Russian government's first project for the Cathedral of Christ the Saviour in 1817 by Aleksandr Vitberg to commemorate the 1812 victory over Napoleon. Zykov, "Dvoret's," 160; Herzen, *Childhood*, 242-53; Elke Pistorius, "Der Wettbewerb um den Sowjetpalast," in Gabriele Gorzka, ed., *Kultur im Stalinismus. Sowjetische Kultur und Kunst der 1930er bis 50er Jahre* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1994), 153; Robin Milner-Gulland, *The Russians* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999 [1997]), 225. The proposed site for the cathedral was somewhat further along the river. It was abandoned because a survey showed that the ground would not take the weight. Catherine Cooke, personal communication, January 2002.
42. D. Sarab'ianov, "Real'nye plody sinteza," *Tvorchestvo*, no. 9 (1962): 1. The meaning was clear to a New Zealand visitor to the palace soon after its inauguration in 1962: "This morning we peeked into the future. We saw the beautiful Palace and we would like to say how lucky are the Pioneers of Moscow." "Iz knigi otzyvov, 1962," PPA.
43. L. Zhadova, "Probuzhdat' khudozhnikov," *DI*, no. 4 (1963): 7.
44. Kabush, *Pionerskie simvoly*, 26; Kutsenko, "Lenin All-Union Pioneer Organization," 244; Friedrich Kuebart, "The Political Socialisation of School Children," in J. Riordan, ed., *Soviet Youth Culture* (London: Macmillan, 1989), 111-12; and R. T. Fisher, Jr., *Pattern for Soviet Youth: A Study of the Congresses of the Komsomol, 1918-1954* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), 239.
45. Compare, on Gorky Park, Stephen Bittner, "Green Cities and Orderly Streets: Space and Culture in Moscow, 1928-1933," *Journal of Urban History* 25, no. 1 (Nov. 1998): 40.
46. L. Zhadova, "Monumental'naia rospis' Dvortsia pionerov," *DI*, no. 5 (1962): 11.
47. "In the Soviet Union, spokesmen for the regime are fond of the ritual reference to younger generations as 'our future.'" Kassof, *Soviet Youth Program*, 2.
48. See Anne E. Gorsuch, *Youth in Revolutionary Russia: Enthusiasts, Bohemians, Delinquents* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000).
49. On the tension between these images of youth in this period as represented in Soviet literature see Katerina Clark, *The Soviet Novel*, 2d ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press,

1985), 226–32; and see Gian Piero Piretto, *1961. Il Sessantotto a Mosca* (Bergamo: Moretti & Vitali, 1998), 24–47.

50. Philippe Ariès is widely credited with discovering the historically contingent nature of childhood in *Centuries of Childhood*, trans. Robert Baldick (New York: Vintage Books, 1962). It was indicated already by Karl Mannheim in his 1928 essay, “Das Problem der Generationen.” See Paolo Capuzzo, “Youth Cultures and Consumption in Contemporary Europe,” *Contemporary European History* 10, no. 1 (March 2001): 156. On childhood as a myth that serves to naturalize what is in fact a matter of culture, see Henry Jenkins, “Introduction: Childhood Innocence and Other Modern Myths,” in Jenkins, ed., *The Children’s Culture Reader* (New York: New York University Press, 1998), 15. Anne Gorsuch cites Philip Abrams to the effect that a society’s views of age, and specifically of youth, are an important reflection of that society’s perception and definition of self; youth is more than a social and biological formation, it is also a cultural construct. Philip Abrams, “Rites de Passage: The Conflict of Generations in Industrial Society,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 5, no. 1 (1970): 178; Gorsuch, *Youth*, 12.

51. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, “On Reasoning with Children,” 126, cited from Jenkins, “Introduction,” 18. Rousseau’s thinking on the nature of childhood was only partially accepted by the pedagogical establishment. See M. Shabaeva, “Zhan Zhak Russo,” *Sem’ia i shkola*, no. 6 (1962): 13–14.

52. On the physical segregation of children’s spaces as a modern European phenomenon contingent upon the historical emergence of the conception of childhood as a distinct, specially privileged stage of development, see V. Buchli and G. Lucas, “Children, Gender, and the Material Culture of Domestic Abandonment in the Late Twentieth Century,” in J. S. Derevenski, ed. *Children and Material Culture* (London: Routledge, 2000), 131–38.

53. See Karin Calvert, “Children in the House: The Material Culture of Early Childhood,” in Jenkins, ed., *Children’s Culture Reader*, 69; and Derevenski, ed. *Children and Material Culture*. The ideal of childhood and the corresponding environment fashioned for children by adults is not necessarily the same thing as children’s spontaneous popular culture or subculture, although it is the framework that both enables and constrains the latter. On children’s popular culture see E. K. Zelensky, “Popular Children’s Culture in Post-Perestroika Russia,” in A. M. Barker, ed., *Consuming Russia* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1999), 138–60; and M. V. Osorina, *Sekretnyi mir detei v prostranstve mira vzroslykh* (St. Petersburg: Piter, 2000).

54. Andrew B. Wachtel, *The Battle for Childhood: Creation of a Russian Myth* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1990). In the 1920s, the inability to create a special environment for children was regarded as a sign of deprivation. Gorsuch, *Youth*, 31. In present-day Russia, to possess the means to create a fairy-tale world for their children is a characteristic aspiration of the new middle class, as a number of scholars have observed. Zelensky, “Popular Children’s Culture,” 139–40; and C. Creuziger, *Childhood in Russia: Representation and Reality* (Langham, Md.: University Press of America), 1996), xii.

55. “Moskovskii dom pionerov”; “Dvoret s chastlivoi iunosti,” *Uchitel’skaia gazeta*, 8 Feb. 1959, 1 (on Sverdlovsk Pioneer Palace); E. Krasnovskaia, “Dvoret detskoi radosti,” *Uchitel’skaia gazeta*, 19 May 1959 (on Tbilisi Pioneer Palace).

56. E. Z. Gankina, *Russkie khudozhniki detskoi knigi* (Moscow: Sovetskii khudozhnik,

1963), 180–204.

57. One of the architects of the Pioneer Palace, Igor' Pokrovskii, recalled: "'Happy childhood in our country' was the central theme of children's literature." Igor' Pokrovskii, interview with the author, Zelenograd, November 1994. A similar conclusion is reached by Catriona Kelly, personal communication, 8 February. I am indebted to Catriona Kelly for allowing me to see part of the manuscript of her forthcoming study on Russian children's culture and for her comments on an earlier version of this study. On the cult of "happy childhood" and abundance of children in Soviet iconography see also Mikhail Yampolsky, "In the Shadow of the Monuments: Notes on Iconoclasm and Time," in N. Condée, ed., *Soviet Hieroglyphics* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995), 93–111, n. 5.

58. Letter to N. S. Khrushchev from wives of Moscow artists, 1936, RGALI, f. 2943, op. 1, ed. khr. 75, l. 22. The 1963 CPSU Central Committee Plenum on ideological questions, which attended to the creation of works of art and literature for Soviet children, is cited by Gankina to demonstrate the concern for children: *Russkie khudozhniki*, 206. According to the Third Party Program adopted in 1961, "a happy childhood for every child is one of the most important and noble aspects of communist construction." Grey Hodnett, ed., *Resolutions and Decisions of the Communist Party of The Soviet Union*, vol. 4, *The Khrushchev Years 1953–1964*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), 232.

59. Cited by David and Vera Mace, *The Soviet Family* (London: Hutchinson, 1963), 266, from *McCall's*, May 1961.

60. Bronfenbrenner, *Two Worlds*; Urie Bronfenbrenner, "The Changing Soviet Family," in D. Brown, ed., *The Role and Status of Women in the Soviet Union* (New York: Teachers' College, Columbia University, 1968), 107–17; J. K. Gilson, *The Soviet Image of Utopia* (Baltimore, Md.: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975), pp. 103–6; Alex Inkeles, *Social Change in Soviet Russia* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968), 216–19. Key contributions to the debate on family-centred or communal child rearing were S. G. Strumilin, "Kommunizm i rabochii byt," *Novyi mir*, no. 7 (1960): 203–20; and A. Kharchev, "Sem'ia i kommunizm," *Kommunist*, no. 7 (1960), 53–63.

61. See Susan E. Reid, "Cold War in the Kitchen: Gender and the De-Stalinization of Consumer Taste in the Soviet Union Under Khrushchev," *Slavic Review* 61, no. 2 (2002): 211–52; and Victor Buchli, *An Archaeology of Socialism* (Oxford: Berg, 1999).

62. E. Nikol'skaia, "Ob uiute i obstanovke kvartiry," in I. Abramenko, and L. Tormozova, eds., *Besedy o domashnem khoziaistve* (Moscow: Molodaia gvardiia, 1959), 42, emphasis added. See also I. Gil'ter, "Ugolok rebenka," *Ogonek*, no. 24 (12 June 1960); A. Vlasov, "Detskii ugolok v sem'e," *Sem'ia i shkola*, no. 5 (1958): 44–5; O. Baiar, and R. Blashkevich, *Kvartira i ee ubranstvo* (Moscow, 1962); L. Mikhailova, "Ugolok shkol'nika," *Sem'ia i shkola*, no. 8 (1962), 46–47; V. Strashnov, "Ugolok shkol'nika," *DI*, no. 9 (1960): 40–42. Compare contemporaneous western theories about spaces for children's upbringing, for example, Alfred Roth, *The New School (Das Neue Schulhaus)* (Zurich, 1950). This trilingual publication, which may well have been available to Moscow architects (the Lenin Library acquired this and subsequent editions), includes a section (293–95) on "The importance of physical environment for the aesthetic and moral education of youth."

63. The creation of a children's corner as "a separate world in miniature" that "reproduced the adult space in which it was embedded" was one of many innovations of the 1920s revived under Khrushchev. Buchli, *Archaeology of Socialism*, 143.
64. *Ibid.*, 49–51.
65. Bronfenbrenner, *Two Worlds*, 16. Bronfenbrenner emphasizes that this provides for face-to-face interaction with the staff.
66. The plans for the palace took shape in the context of intensive discussion among pedagogues, health specialists, and architects concerning the best possible design of children's educational and recreational institutions. See, for example, T. Agafonova, "Novye zdaniia dlia novoi shkoly," *KP*, 18 Jan. 1959, 2; G. Nidekker, "Proektirovanie internatov pri shkolakh," *Arkhitektura SSSR*, no. 12 (1958): 36–37; S. Zmeul, "O printsipakh proektirovaniia sovmeshchennykh detskikh uchrezhdenii," *Arkhitektura SSSR*, no. 9 (1959): 3–7; I. Bebiakov, and N. Dykhovichnaia, "Zagorodnye pansionaty," *Arkhitektura SSSR*, no. 12 (1959): 22–24; and N. Shkvarovskaia, "Proektiruem detskii sad," *DI*, no. 5 (1962): 22–26 (an issue dedicated to design for children). Numerous articles were also devoted to this matter in *Uchitel'skaia gazeta* between 1958 and 1962.
67. J. Dunstan, "Soviet Boarding Education," in J. Brine, M. Perrie, and A. Sutton, eds., *Home, School, and Leisure in the Soviet Union* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1980), 110–41; and Judith Harwin, *Children of the Russian State, 1917–95* (Aldershot: Avebury/Ashgate, 1996), 27–29.
68. Barykin, "Pionerskaia respublika."
69. Egerev, *Moskovskii Dvoretz*, 6.
70. Izrail' Gol'dberg, interview with the author, 18 January 1998. Whatever the designers' conception, the fact that a ten-year-old might have to take first an electric train and then a bus to get to the palace was cited in 1962 as the reason some parents would not send their children there. A. Sukhontsev, "Zhenshchin bol'she," *Ogonek*, no. 31 (29 July 1962).
71. Sarab'ianov, "Real'nye plody," 1. Already in the 1930s it was envisaged that even the journey to the new palace planned in the Lenin Hills should be something out of the ordinary. Vlasov, "Iunye arkhitektory," 19–20.
72. RGASPI, f. M-1, op. 1, d. 130, ll. 3–4. On the institutionalized *pokhod* of the Pioneers and Komsomol see Kabush, *Pionerskie simvol'y*, 59; and Rex V. Brown, "Recreation and Social Life at Moscow University" (1956), in Alex Inkeles and Kent Geiger, eds., *Soviet Society: A Book of Readings* (London: Constable and Co., 1961), 451. Party rhetoric also used the term *pokhod* to refer to the collective path to the communist future. See for example: N. S. Khrushchev, "K novym uspekham literatury i iskusstva," *Kommunist*, no. 7 (1961): 3.
73. See Arkadii Gaidar, "Pokhod" (1940), and "Timur i ego komanda" (1940), both in *Arkadii Gaidar. Sobranie sochinenii*, vol. 3 (Moscow: Detskaia literatura, 1964), 80–81 and 86–171. The Timur stories were extremely influential for at least thirty years. Republished several

times in the 1930s and 1940s, they were given a new lease on life in the 1950s by new editions illustrated by David Dubinskii. Gankina, *Russkie khudozhniki*, 169. They were still read by the generation of Pioneers of the Thaw and were reissued as a four-volume set in 1964. Groups of children consciously modeling themselves on Timur and his team, Timurovtsy, arose apparently spontaneously and continued to form with successive generations of children through the 1970s. An example of the continued social influence and inspirational role of Timur in the 1960s is that in 1962, children in a remote village in the Virgin Lands of Kazakhstan set up a postal service with its own stamps and postman's uniform. The village was renamed Gaidar in 1966. There were allegedly 130 Timur Teams in operation in one region of Belorussia alone in the late 1970s. See I. I. Rozanov, *Tvorchestvo A. P. Gaidara* (Minsk: BGU, 1979), 116–17.

74. Kabush, *Pionerskie simvol*y, 7.

75. The psychologist Mariia Osorina takes Timur to embody a universal aspect of children's subcultures and an essential stage in children's development. She notes children's need for a *shlab* or HQ, such as that of Timur's gang, a secret hidden space on the margin of the adult world, known only to initiates. "Children try to maximally distinguish their space from the adult world and organize for themselves a particular place outside the zone of their interests and influence." Osorina, *Sekretnyi mir detei*, 121–25, 148–49, and chap. 9.

76. See the excellent account of Artek by Jonathan Wallace, "Prefabricated Paradise: New Artek in Late Soviet Culture" (Master's thesis, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1999.)

77. A. Burgentov, "Fontany i vodoemy," *DI*, no. 3 (1963), 37–41; A. T. Polianskii, *Artek. (K 40-letiiu so dnia sozdaniia)* (Moscow: Stroiizdat, 1966). The emphasis on minimal shelter corresponded to a shift in the character and function of Pioneer camps away from a "soft" regime like that of a sanatorium toward greater emphasis on *zakalivanie*, the tempering of physique. One critique of the excessively structured and mollycoddling regime in 1959 argued that it not only contradicted the most important principle of the Pioneers—the development of children's initiative and *samodeiatel'nost'*—but such "fetishizing of a sanatorium regime" also deprived children of the most beautiful and memorable experiences of a camp, the magic of proximity to nature and the chance of adventure. RGASPI, f. M-2, op. 1, d. 126, ll. 5 ff. ("O novom tipe pionerskoi lagerei," December 1959). Similar criticisms were leveled in an official report on Artek: RGASPI, f. M-2, op. 1, d. 126, ll. 9, 22 (Central Council of All-Union Pioneer Organization, information on work of All-Union Pioneer Camp Artek, Jan.–Sept. 1959).

78. Georgi Borisovsky, "Architecture and Technical Progress," *Soviet Review* 3, no. 2 (Feb. 1962): 9–10, trans. from *Novyi mir*, no. 5 (1961).

79. Kotler, "Strana," 29. This collapsing of scale and distance corresponds to children's penchant for seeing, for example, a lake in a puddle. Osorina, *Sekretnyi mir detei*, 119, 277. The idea that the palace should encapsulate the geographical range of the Soviet Union in microcosm was already established in the 1930s. Vlasov, "Iunye arkhitektory," 20. Similarly, the All-Union Agricultural Exhibition brought the entire Soviet empire in miniature to the capital. Jamey Gambrell, "The Wonder of the Soviet World," *New York Review of Books* 61, no. 21 (22 Dec. 1994): 30–35. A similar model operated in Stalinist cinema. See Evgenii Dobrenko, "'lazyk prostranstva, szhatogo do tochki' ili estetika sotsial'noi klaustrofobii," *Iskusstvo kino*, no. 9 (Sept. 1996): 108–17, and no. 11 (Nov. 1996): 120–9. Proposals were on the table in 1962 for a



children's "Wonderland," a Soviet theme park similar to Kotler's description, to be built in the grounds of the palace. The founding principle was, again, that it should be a kind of journey that would collapse temporal and physical distance, enabling children to "get to know the greatness of their motherland." TsMAM, f. 959, op. 1, d. 29 (explanatory note on project for a leisure and entertainment zone *Strana chudes* [Land of Wonders], on the territory of the Pioneer Palace, 1962). A similar principle underpinned the project for a "Wonderland" children's park in the Mnevniki district, which was to recreate the Soviet Union in miniature form. RGASPI, f. M-2, op. 1, d. 176 and d. 177.

80. Beginning in this period, Pioneer Action Zones were designated around schools and clubs, within which children's inspirational influence or "Pioneer Effect" was exerted both directly, through environmental and social work, and indirectly, through shining example. Kutsenko, "Lenin All-Union Pioneer Organization," 244; Kabush, *Pionerskie simvoly*, 26. As an enclave of the communist future, the Pioneer Palace's good example was actively to irradiate the wider adult society within which it was embedded. Thereby it would catalyze the eventual transition of the whole of Soviet society to full communism. As *Komsomol'skaia pravda* put it, "The Pioneer Action Zone of the new palace is, of course, not only Moscow. It is the whole country." Soloveichik, "Kliuch," 2.

81. A. V. Ikonnikov, *Tysiacha let russkoi arkhitektury* (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1990), 359.

82. Catherine Cooke, personal communication, January 2002.

83. Soloveichik, "Eto Vam."

84. "Dvoretz moskovskikh pionerov. S zasedaniia arkhitekturno-stroitel'nogo soveta," *Arkhitektura i stroitel'stvo Moskvy*, no. 8 (1958): 9–14. The fact that Kolli was appointed to head the jury suggests that the rejection of neoclassicism was a foregone conclusion, and one can only be surprised that Zholtovskii was so out of touch as to propose this rearguard solution.

85. Johnson, *Two Faces*, 39.

86. "Vystuplenie N. S. Khrushcheva"; Egerev, *Moskovskii Dvoretz*, 5–6; E. Dzhavelidze, A. Riabushin, and M. Fedorov, "Dvoretz pionerov na Leninskikh gorakh," *Stroitel'stvo i arkhitektura Moskvy*, no. 7 (1962): 17.

87. Akt. no. 164/12, Arkhitekturno-planovoe upravlenie, Otdel gorodskikh zemel: "O predstavlenii upravlenii kapital'nogo stroitel'stvo Mosgorispolkome zemel'nogo uchastka dlia kapital'nogo stroitel'stva," 19 June 1959, PPA.

88. Viktoriia and Valentin Lebedevy, "Novoe v oformlenii obshchestvennykh zdani," *Iskusstvo*, no. 9 (1962): 29; Egerev, *Moskovskii Dvoretz*, 30.

89. "The palace gradually became more and more commensurate with the little person, its future master, the Pioneers." Egerev, *Moskovskii Dvoretz*, 30. Valentin Lebedev, likewise, noted that the scale of the palace was "entirely commensurate with those small citizens for whom it was created." RGALI, f. 2943, op. 2, ed. khr. 82, l. 7. Inside, too, the measure was taken from the diminutive size of the user, for example in the placing of windows and fixtures. The acoustics

of the theatre were designed to enable even the tiniest voice of the smallest performer to be heard.

90. Egerev, *Moskovskii Dvoretz*, 6; F. Novikov, *Formula arkhitektury* (Moscow: Detskaia literatura, 1984), 105; RGALI, f. 2943, op. 2, ed. khr. 82, l. 52 (Pokrovskii) and l. 25.

91. Kabush, *Pionerskie simvoly*, 29. As Igor' Pokrovskii put it, the campfire was as central to the life of the Pioneers as the Congress was to that of the Party. Pokrovskii, interview with the author, Zelenograd, November 1994.

92. The film *Dobro pozhalovat', ili postoronnim vkhod vospreshchen* (dir. Elem Klimov, Mosfil'm, 1964) is discussed by Josephine Woll, *Real Images: Soviet Cinema and the Thaw* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2000), 173–77. A satirical view of camp life, the film examines the tension between children's spontaneous action and the camp director's drive for discipline. The plot turns on a child's expulsion from the camp and his subsequent "illegal" presence there.

93. Sarab'ianov, "Real'nye plody," 3.

94. Richard Stites has aptly named this phenomenon the "parade-entrance mentality." Richard Stites, "Crowded on the Edge of Vastness: Observations on Russian Space and Place," in J. Smith, ed., *Beyond the Limits: The Concept of Space in Russian History and Culture* (Helsinki: *Studia Historica* 62, 1999), 259–69.

95. L. Dubrovina, "O vneklassnoi i vneshkol'noi rabote s det'mi," *KP*, 14 Sept. 1952.

96. See Kassoff, *Soviet Youth Program*, 67–70, and on the initiation ritual, 78–81.

97. Soloveichik, "Kliuch." The 1957–59 competitions for the Palace of the Soviets had already established that the new public architecture should express freedom, democracy, progress, and the "humanism" of the Soviet constitution in terms of big, open spaces, easy access, and transparency, as well as truth to materials and function. Sil'versan, *Dvoretz sovetov*, 14, 25, 30, 113. At the Pioneer Palace, the idea of freedom is identified with the irregularity of the architectural composition, and with the rejection of symmetry and of a single main façade. Egerev, *Moskovskii Dvoretz*, 30–31. It is no coincidence, although paradoxical in the context of the Cold War, that in the West the same characteristics of modernist architecture were also identified with the political virtues of freedom and democracy. See for example Vincent Scully, *The Architecture of Democracy* (London: Studio Vista, 1968), 15, 21.

98. Zhadova, "Probuzhdat' khudozhnikov," 7.

99. Although the *Rossia Cinema* on Pushkin Square (Iu. Sheverdiaev et al., 1961), also has a soaring wall of glass, it and the other landmarks in the remodernization of public building—notably the Soviet Pavilion for the Brussels World Fair in 1958 and Mikhail Posokhin's Kremlin Palace of Congresses, 1961, as well as Vlasov's winning project for the Palace of the Soviets—all contain their functions within a single monolithic shell, while their details retain a memory of historical ornament.

100. According to Sarab'ianov, "The building of the palace is easy to go around and go

through. Sometimes you don't even feel the difference between the interior and exterior. . . . Some of the rooms of the palace (especially the room for the youngest children) seem to lead right outside—such that you don't always notice the barrier between interior and garden. Moving around the rooms it is as if you continue to stroll along the paths and the architecture seems like rational nature, analyzed and transformed into a kind of pattern.” Sarab’ianov, “Real’nye plody,” 4.

101. Ibid., 4; Soloveichik, “Eto Vam.”

102. Soloveichik, “Eto Vam.” Osorina describes the difference between adults’ and children’s perception in similar terms: where an adult focuses his or her eyes without moving body or head unnecessarily, a child explores with the whole body, running up close, handling things, taking them apart. Osorina, *Sekretnyi mir detei*, 119.

103. Agafonova, “Novye zdaniia dlia novoi shkoly,” 2.

104. See “Pust’ vseгда budet soln’tse,” *Sem’ia i shkola*, no. 6 (1961), 5. The same tropes appear, for example, in an article on the new boarding school entitled “In the Sunny House.” A. Zhukova, “V solnechnom dome,” *Ogonek*, no. 25 (1962): 8–9.

105. Vlasov, “Iunye arkhitektory,” 20–21. Longer socialist traditions also associated brightness and transparency with socialism, enlightenment, and democracy, one well-known example being Vera Pavlovna’s vision of the crystal palace in Chernyshevskii’s *What Is To Be Done?* On *svelloe* as the defining attribute of Socialist Realist architecture see C. Cooke, “Beauty as a Route to the ‘Radiant Future’: Responses of Soviet Architecture,” in *Journal of Design History* 10, no. 2 (1997): 137–60. Light was used to dramatic effect in the architects’ drawing of the winning competition project for the palace in 1958, which represented it as a veritable City of the Sun.

106. It was a commonplace about Pioneer camps, too, that they were located in “the most beautiful corners of the Soviet Union.” Wallace, “Prefabricated Paradise,” 9.

107. Egerev, *Moskovskii Dvoretz*, 6; RGALI, f. 2943, op. 2, ed. khr. 82, l. 52 (Pokrovskii); Novikov, *Formula arkhitektury*, 105; Igor’ Pokrovskii, interview with the author, Zelenograd, 1994.

108. Kotler, “Strana,” 28.

109. RGALI, f. 2943, op. 2, ed. khr. 82, ll. 51–53; Barykin, “Pionerskaia respublika”; L. Fedorov, “Puteshestvie v stranu ‘Pioneriuu,’” *Uchitel’skaia gazeta*, 17 May 1962. *Sovetskaia Rossiia*, reporting on the construction in 1960, also referred to it as “The Land of Pioneria”: V. Kuskov, “Zdes’ budet ‘strana Pioneria,’” *Sovetskaia Rossiia*, 22 October 1960. The nickname “Pioneer Republic” was apparently so widespread that one western commentator mistook it for its official title. Grant, *Soviet Education*, 76. Artek was also known as the Pioneer Republic, for example, Evgenii Rybinskii, comp., *Pionerskaia respublika Artek* (Moscow: Planeta, 1975).

110. Accounts of other Pioneer houses and palaces also maintained this fiction, in accordance

with the principle of *samodeiatel'nost'*. Regarding the Leningrad palace, see Broditskaya, *This Palace Belongs to the Children*. Of course, the Moscow palace had a director (Vadim Strunin) and a large professional staff of pedagogues and specialists to lead the different activities and develop methodology for dissemination to Pioneer clubs throughout the country. For example, the artist Boris Nemenskii worked there and developed methods of teaching art to children. Interviews with palace staff, January 1998; and TsMAM, f. 959, op. 1, d. 47 (meeting of local committee of staff trade union, PPA archives). The quality and training of Pioneer leaders, *vozhaty*, was a matter of quite extensive discussion from the early 1950s. See for example, "Za obraztsovuiu rabotu kazhdogo pionerskogo lageria," *KP*, 3 July 1952. The role of adults was to organize the children's collective, for "twenty children gathered together do not make a collective," but once set properly in motion, it should govern itself. This art, it was admitted, had not yet been perfected; there were still children who would not obey their parents and who incited other children to hooliganism. Svadkovskii, "Vospitanie dlia schastia."

111. Soloveichik, "Kliuch," 2.
112. Michael Holquist, "How to Play Utopia: Some Brief Notes on the Distinctiveness of Utopian Fiction," in M. Rose, ed., *Science Fiction* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1976), 136–38.
113. Novikov, *Formula arkhitektury*, 10.
114. Soloveichik, "Eto Vam," 4.
115. *Ibid.*
116. V. Strunin, explanatory note, c. 1962, PPA. The external, catenary dome of the planetarium may have been a direct homage to the Moscow Planetarium by Constructivists Mikhail Barshch and Mikhail Siniavskii, 1929.
117. The battle of the "physicists and lyricists" was waged in *Komsomol'skaia pravda* and *Moskovskii komsomolets*, 1959–60; and see B. Slutskii, "O drugikh i o sebe" (Moscow: Biblioteka Ogonek, no. 40, 1991).
118. S. Bocharov, V. Kozhinov, and P. Palievskii, "Chelovek za bortom," *Voprosy literatury*, no. 4 (1962): 59.
119. V. Turbin, *Tovarishch vremia i tovarishch' iskusstvo* (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1961), 51.
120. E. Neizvestnyi, "Otkryvat' novoe!" *Iskusstvo*, no. 10 (1962): 10. See also Iu. Nagibin, "Chto sovremenno?" *Literaturnaia gazeta*, 3 Dec. 1960; and G. Nisskii, "Poiski formy," *Moskovskii komsomolets*, 9 April 1960.
121. "O khudozhnikakh-pachkunakh," *Pravda*, 1 March 1936; Evgenii Steiner, *Stories for Little Comrades: Revolutionary Artists and the Making of Early Soviet Children's Books*, trans. J. A. Miller (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999). From the Thaw through the Brezhnev era, many of the most prominent members of the unofficial art scene, such as Ullo Sooster, Il'ia Kabakov, Viktor Pivovarov, Erik Bulatov, Oleg Vasil'ev, and Vladimir Nemukhin, earned their

living—and their Artists' Union membership—by illustrating children's books or popular science textbooks.

122. E. Rusakova, "Soderzhatel'nye stranitsy. Zhurnal 'Pioner' v 1962 g.," *KP*, 10 Aug. 1952.

123. Igor' Pokrovskii, interview with the author, Zelenograd, November 1994.

124. The state construction agency Gosstroï, along with some ministerial departments and city councils interpreted a decree of the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers, "Ob uporiadochenii raskhodovaniia denezhnykh sredstv i material'nykh resursov na stroitel'stvo," 5 April 1958, which called for tighter control over expenditure in construction of administrative, sport, and other public buildings, to mean that painting and sculpture were extravagant, illegitimate "superfluities" in new buildings and should be struck from the budget. Russian State Archive of Contemporary History (RGANI), f. 5, op. 37, ed. khr. 70, ll. 30, 35, 56–66; RGANI, f. 5, op. 36, ed. khr. 107, ll. 29–31.

125. For a sample of the debate see: O. Shvidkovskii, "Novoe v arkhitekture i sintez iskusstv," *Tvorchestvo*, no. 1 (1960): 13–15; V. Tasalov, "Segodnia i zavtra 'lunosti'," *DI*, no. 1 (1962): 29–30; A. Ikonnikov, "Arkhitektura i zhivopis'," *DI*, no. 11 (1961): 10–12; V. Kemenov, "Zhivopis' i sovremennaia arkhitektura," *Iskusstvo*, no. 10 (1962): 12–24; and Iu. Arndt, "Prodolz'hem razgovor o sinteze," *DI*, no. 2 (1963): 1–2. A conference on the synthesis of art and architecture was held in 1963.

126. N. Dmitrieva, "Stankovizm i monumental'nost'," *DI*, no. 1 (1961): 1–3.

127. Tommaso Campanella, *The City of the Sun: A Poetical Dialogue*, trans. Daniel J. Donno (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1981), 41; Sil'versan, *Dvorets sovetov*, 33.

128. V. Favorskii, "Mysli o monumental'nom iskusstve," *Moskovskii khudozhnik*, 15 April 1958, reprinted in E. Murina and D. Chebanova, *V. A. Favorskii: Literaturno-teoreticheskoe nasledie* (Moscow: Sovetskii khudozhnik, 1988), 424. Significantly in this context, Favorskii had his epiphany regarding the specificity of monumental art while painting a children's institution, the Museum of the Protection of Mother and Child, Moscow, in 1932. "Favorskii o monumental'nom iskusstve," *DI*, no. 9 (1962): 25–29. Favorskii's monumental art studio took part in the 1936 refurbishment of the Pioneer Palace. Lebedeva, *Sovetskoe monumental'noe iskusstvo*, 25.

129. Sarab'ianov, "Real'nye plody," 4. On El'konin's relations with Tatlin see Viktor El'konin, "Chto ia pomniu o Tatline," *DI*, no. 3 (1990): 38–39.

130. Neizvestnyi, "Otkryvat' novoe," 10.

131. Sarab'ianov, "Real'nye plody", 3.

132. Zhadova, "Monumental'naia rospis'," 12. Similarly, the sgraffito on the theme of heroes of children's literature in the foyer of the small Pioneer Theater included stylized drawings seemingly based on the popular animated film *Cippolino*. Compare Galina Shergova,

“Puteshestvie v sto mirov,” *Ogonek*, no. 24 (10 June 1962): 16–17.

133. Apropos this montage, Zhadova cited Diego Rivera’s maxim that “monumental art includes simultaneously both space and time, it concentrates them.” Zhadova, “Monumental’naia rospis’,” 12.

134. Ibid.; RGALI, f. 2943, op. 2, ed. khr. 82, l. 8; RGALI, f. 2943, op. 1, ed. khr. 1579, l. 21 (V. Lebedev); V. and V. Lebedevy, “Novoe,” 30; Egerev, *Moskovskii Dvoretz*, 50–1; Sarab’ianov, “Real’nye plody,” 4.

135. Zhadova, “Monumental’naia rospis’,” 12.

136. V. and V. Lebedevy, “Novoe,” 32.

137. Osorina, *Sekretnyi mir detei*, 119. According to Osorina, adults’ way of looking differs from that of children in that the former can better hold (*uderzhivat’*) a visual field with their eyes and relate the scale of different objects to each other. To see something far or near an adult changes eye focus rather than moving toward the object. A child, by contrast, “cannot deploy his visual attention and intellectually process a large section of the visual field at once, as an adult can. For the child it consists, rather, of individual semantic units. Secondly, a child tends to move about actively in space: if he needs to see something he tries to run up immediately, lean closer—that which seemed smaller from afar immediately grows to fill his field of vision. . . . That is for a child . . . the measure of the visual world is changeable, the dimensions of individual objects.”

138. V. and V. Lebedevy, “Novoe,” 28–29.

139. Ibid.

140. Ibid. Decorativeness was regarded as a hallmark of children’s art. See L. Chaga, “O chuvstve dekorativnosti u detei,” *DI*, no. 1 (1961), 32–35.

141. RGALI, f. 2943, op. 2, ed. khr. 82, ll. 30–34 (Zernova). Lebedeva also noted retrospectively the “absence of high civicness of themes of great social resonance.” As she explained, the type of facility in which monumental art was most widespread in the late 1950s and early 1960s—cafés, restaurants, kindergartens, etc.—were, by their very designation, predisposed more to works of a decorative nature and could not sustain “an active ideological burden.” “The significance of these works as a laboratory of style is undoubted, but their civic function was very modest.” V. E. Lebedeva, “Tendentsii poslevoennoi monumental’noi zhivopisi,” in *Ocherki sovremennogo sovetskogo iskusstva* (Moscow: Nauka, 1975), 74.

142. Amidst the general euphoria, one commentator at the discussion in MOSKh complained that it did not narrate the history of the Pioneer organization and insisted that it should at least commemorate Pavlik Morozov. RGALI, f. 2943, op. 2, ed. khr. 82, l. 55. Although the image of the Pioneer martyr was absent from the permanent pictorial and sculptural decoration of the palace, a picture of Pavlik was included in an *Exhibition of Forty Years of the Pioneer Organization*, but since it is only mentioned in a report that seems to date from 1964 it may have been added

after the opening. TsMAM, f. 959, op. 1, d. 32, l. 13.

143. Shabaeva, "Zhan Zhak Russo," 14. The reference is to *Emile*.

144. For some negative responses see RGALI, f. 2943, op. 2, ed. khr. 82, ll. 50–51.

145. Soloveichik, "Eto Vam," 4.

146. RGALI, f. 2943, op. 2, ed. khr. 82, l. 52.