# Dead Men Walking: Soviet Elite Cemeteries and Social Control

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# Dead Men Walking: Soviet Elite Cemeteries and Social Control

Katya Vladimirov, Department of History and Philosophy, Kennesaw State University

## Abstract

The article analyses the Soviet elite cemeteries and their structure and questions the impact of the communist ideology on the Soviet society. Contrary to the Soviet law that proclaimed principles of equality, the Soviet state rigidly maintained social hierarchies. This social stratification remained the rule even beyond the grave. Soviet elite cemeteries, a replica of the society of the living, sanctified the political power of the Soviet leadership and preserved a social order in which the elite had a superior status vis-à-vis the mortal commoners for eternity. This structure did not respond to the wishes of the departed. In fact, the deceased were "powerless" in the scheme and had no need to justify their status. While Russian revolution meant to impose the proletarian equality as a rule, the living used the dead as means of social control within new society following traditional mores.

*Two friends meet "How are you?" One of them asks. His friend answers: "I am upset. My dream was to be buried at the Novodevichiy cemetery but it seems impossible to get a burial plot there." His friend promises to help and offered to meet in two weeks. After two weeks they meet again. The friend who offered help says:"I have fantastic news for you. I got you a burial plot at the Novodevichiy cemetery. There is however one small problem—you have to take it tomorrow."*
*Soviet joke*

## Introduction:

Contrary to the Soviet ideology that proclaimed principles of equality, the Soviet state rigidly maintained social hierarchies. This social stratification remained the rule even beyond the grave. Soviet elite cemeteries, a replica of the society of the living, sanctified the political power of the Soviet leadership and preserved a social order in which the elite had a superior status vis-à-vis the mortal commoners for eternity. This structure did not respond to the wishes of the departed. In fact, the deceased were "powerless" in the scheme and had no need to justify their status. While Russian revolution meant to impose the proletarian equality as a rule, the living used the dead as means of social control within new society following traditional mores.

## Part I. Soviet elite cemeteries

Throughout history living societies have constructed their societies of the dead according to particular arrangements. These constructions mirror the hierarchies of the living, and reflect their system of values and beliefs. The societies of the dead are structured according to deceased status, religious or ideological affiliations, and political and social allegiances. For example, the Roman aristocracy was laid to rest in pantheons, while slaves were ghettoized in *puticuli*.[1] In the United States before the emancipation white plantation owners were segregated in life and in death from their black slaves. In most European medieval cities criminals, vagrants and people

[1] *Puticuli*: the contemptuous name given to the graves into which the bodies of slaves and paupers were thrown promiscuously and putrefied. Samuel Ball Platner, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (London: Oxford University Press, 1929), 12.

who committed suicide were dumped outside city walls while the high clergy was sheathed by the catacombs under the monasteries.[2]

The Russian societies of the dead did not escape the same predicament. Particular burial grounds corresponded to a specific group. In Moscow before 1917, for example, the undesirables were buried at the cemetery in *Lazarevskoe.* Foreigners were segregated from the natives in *Mar'yina Roshcha* and later at the German cemetery in *Lefortovo*. Akin to other human communities, the Russian dead of various religious confessions were buried away from each other. In Moscow, there were seven cemeteries for Christians and two cemeteries for religious dissenters, such as the *Rogozhskoe* for the Old Believers. There were also separate burial grounds for the Armenians, the Karaims, and for the "Tatars" or the Muslims.[3]

The societies based on hierarchies elevated their elites in life and in death. Generations of those endowed with power have been buried apart from commoners since the Iron Age. The elite cemeteries served multiple purposes: they claimed a clan's territory and its natural resources, signified social hierarchies and pointed to correct ideological directions. The recognition of elites' superior status served as an essential link between societies of the past and the future.[4] Similarly, the essential feature that permeated Russian imperial burial grounds was the segregation of the elites from the commoners. Before 1917 the deceased from aristocracy, clergy and nobility were buried at particularly selected locations according to their class distinctions. The burials took place either at the exclusive cemeteries or specially chosen parts of the cemeteries. In addition, there were seven ranks of funeral arrangements depending on cost of the ritual which further deepened the social gap between the existing classes of Russian society. Vilfredo Pareto, a sociologist and a philosopher of the early 20th century, argued that the nature of all societies have been essentially similar, dominated by the everlasting presence of the elites. The Russian elite burial arrangements literally attest to his famous conclusion that "history is the graveyard of the elites."[5]

In December of 1918 the newly established Bolshevik government adopted the Decree on the Burials. This decree based on the principle of equality of all citizens declared the state monopoly over the cemeteries and took them from control by the religious institutions. The state also monopolized funeral arrangements. Previous class and monetary distinctions were annulled, and funerals had to be uniform. Each citizen had a right to an equal and free burial.[6]

The principles of equality declared by the Soviet government were soon forsaken. The Soviet state and party elites affirmed their privileged status in the Soviet society which became hierarchical. The cemeteries reflected these changes. The deceased Soviet elites were rewarded by the honorary funerals and buried in the specially designed locations away from the mere mortals. Soviet burials' planning asserted of the power of the Soviet elites. From 1920s the Soviet party and governmental dignitaries rested separately from the Soviet citizens, unequal in life and unequal in death.

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[2] *Death and Bereavement across Cultures*, eds. Colin Murray Parkes, Pittu Laungani, Bill Young (London and New York: Routledge, 1998) 24; for more information of segregated societies of the dead see Mircea Eliade. *The Myth of the Eternal Return: Cosmos and History* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2005); Antonuis C.G.M. Robber. *Death, Mourning and Burial: A Cross Cultural Reader* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004).

[3] *Sovietskie kladbishcha: Katalog* (Moscow: Raduga, 2004), 8

[4] Magdalena S. Midgley. *The Monumental Cemeteries of Prehistoric Europe* (Gloucestershire:Tempus, 2005), 69-76.

[5] Vilfredo Pareto. *The Rise and fall of Elites: An Application of Theoretical Sociology* (London: Transaction, 2007), 67.

[6] *Dekrety Sovetskoy vlasti v 13 tomakh* (Moscow: Soyuz, 1968), v. IV (1918-1919), 163.

The Soviets buried their party elites in four specific locations: at the Red Square, on the *Novodevichiy*, at the *Novo-Kuntzevo* and the *Troekurovo* cemeteries. The sites chosen by the new Soviet power had already been used as burial grounds prior to the end of the Russian empire. The history of the Soviet cemeteries often starts with the first burials at the Red Square site which began in 1917 and continued until 1985. There were, however, other elites previously buried on the Kremlin premises: the tsars, the princes and the high clergy. By burying "their own" dead, the Soviets claimed the grounds of the Kremlin necropolis for themselves. The members of the society of the dead, from their perspective, simply got new neighbors.

The first Soviet deceased arrived in November of 1917. [7] At first there were mass graves: two hundred thirty eight revolutionary fighters were killed during the Moscow events. The earliest individual grave was of Ya. Sverdlov[8] who died in 1919. After the construction of the Lenin's mausoleum in 1924, all Soviet elite burials continued around it and they were divided into two categories. One group was buried in graves and included the most distinguished members of the party and government, such as M. Frunze, F. Dzerzhinskiy, S. Budennyi, M. Suslov, L. Brezhnev, Yu. Andropov, and M. Chernenko[9]. The second group included those who were cremated. Their urns were sealed inside the wall on both sides of the Senate tower. These hundred fourteen dead had memorial plaques with commemorative dedications. Among them were recognized Soviet public figures such as G. Zhukov, A. Kosygin, V. Menzhinshkiy, G. Ordzhanikidze, R. Malinovskiy and I. Konev[10] as well as the foreign leaders affiliated with the international socialist movement: J. Reed, K. Tsetkin, and S. Katayama.

The urns carried the ashes, but not all ashes were deemed of equal quality. After their death the Soviet leader's hierarchical rank and status played an important and often different role. The urns of the distinguished leaders underwent additional selection and were placed either on the left or on the right side of the necropolis. In 1925-1935 the urns were mainly placed on its right side while after 1937 most of the urns were situated on its left side. The burials at the left side of the wall continued until 1976 (with the exception of Marshal Zhukov's). After 1976, and until the practice seized to exist in 1985, the urns were secured on the right side of the Senate tower. [11] Altogether, there were eighty seven CPSU Central Committee members buried in the necropolis within the Kremlin wall. There were, on average, one to three burials each year. The

[7] The Database was designed as a result of my research of the files of the State Archive of the Russian Federation (Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Rossiiskoy Federatsii) and based on the primary sources: Grey Hodnett and Val Ogareff. *Leaders of the Soviet Republics, 1955-1972* (Canberra: The Australian National University, 1973); Evan Mawdsley and Stephen White. *The Soviet Elite from Lenin to Gorbachev: The Central Committee and Its Members, 1917-1991* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); *Tsentral'nyi Komitet Kommunisticheskoy Partii Sovetskogo Soyuza : Istoriko-Bibliograficheskiy spravochnik*, Moscow: Parad, 2005; Aleksey Del'nov, *Novodevichiy nekropol' I monastyr'* (Moscow: Algoritm, 2007); *Novodevichiy Necropolis in Moscow, 100 years* (Moscow: Fond A. Nevskogo, 2006).

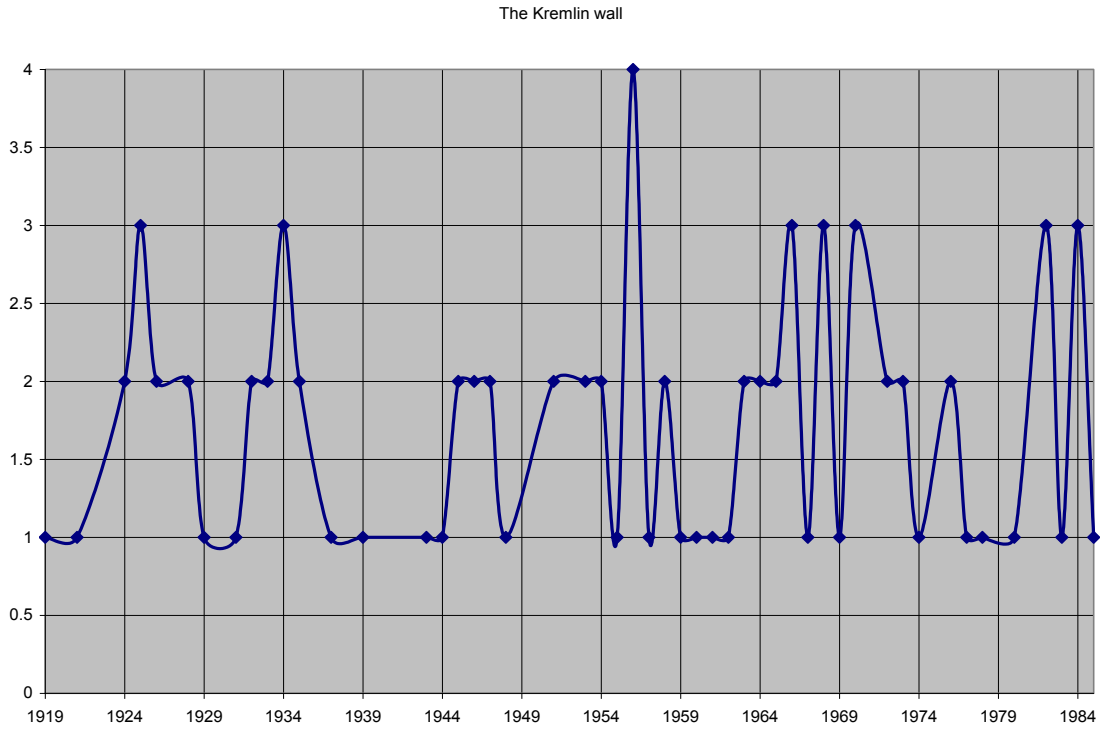
[8] Ya. Sverdlov (1885-1919)-the Chairman of the Central Executive Party Committee.

[9] M. Frunze 91885-1925)-the Chairman of the Revolutionary Soviet; F. Dzerzhinskiy (1877-1926); S. Budennyi (1883-1973)-the member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union; M. Suslov (1902-1982)-the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party; L. Brezhnev (1906-1982)-the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party; Yu. Andropov (1914-1984)-the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party; M. Chernenko (1911-1985)-the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

[10] G. Zhukov (1896-1994)-the Marshal of the Soviet Union: A. Kosygin (1904-1980)-the Chairman of the Soviet of Ministers of the Soviet Union; V. Menzhinskiy (1878-1934)- the member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party: G. Ordzhanikidze (1886-1937)-the Chairman of the Heavy Industry Commissariat; R. Malinovskiy (1898-1967)-the Marshal of the Soviet Union; I. Konev (1897-1973)-the Marshal of the Soviet Union.

[11] The Database.

last grave was made for K. Chernenko in 1985. D. Ustinov [12] was the last one sealed in the wall in 1984. The Chart below depicts all burials at the Kremlin wall in the period between 1918 and 1984. Several peaks on the chart demonstrate the highest numbers of the deceased bestowed with the highest honor to be buried next to the Lenin's mausoleum.



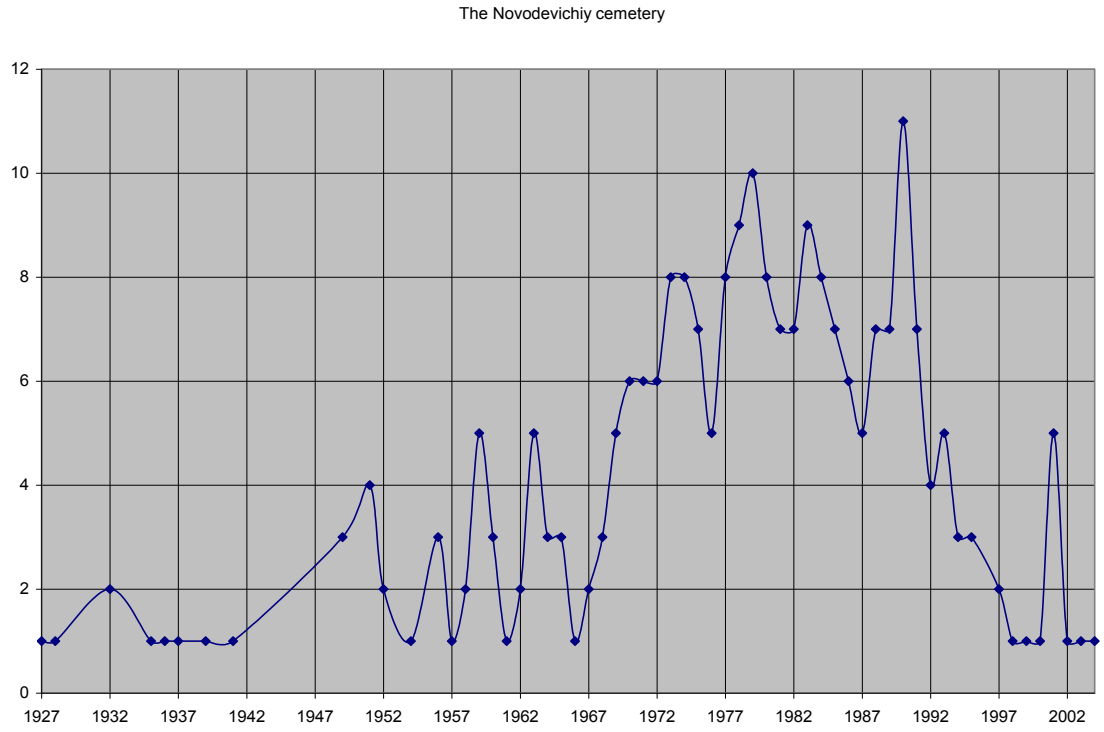

In the early 1930s the Soviet officialdom mushroomed so fast that the Kremlin premises were unable to accommodate the demand. There was a need for another necropolis and the *Novodevichiy* cemetery became the fashionable runway. The choice was logical: *Novodevichiy* had been known for its famous dead since the 16th century. Before the Soviet time, the cemetery served as a final resting place for the nobility, clergy, poets, musicians, writers and scientists. In 1927 many old graves were liquidated and replaced by the plots for the Soviet elites. Today *Novodevichiy* harbors 26,000 dead buried in the period between 1927 and 2007. There are two hundred forty nine members of the upper level party and government officials at the *Novodevichiy* cemetery.[13] Among them such famous people as M. Litvinov, N. Bulganin, N. Podgorniy, and A. Gromyko[14].

By the second half of the 20th century, the living faced a familiar dilemma: too many powerful people and not enough plots. For many members of the party elite the Kremlin wall was an unachievable goal. N. Khrushchev, for instance, had great expectations that never materialized. He was laid to rest at the *Novodevichiy* cemetery in 1971. He was joined there by

[12] M. Chernenko (1911-1985)-the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party; D. Ustinov (1908-1984)-the Defense Minister of the Soviet Union.
[13] The Database.
[14] M. Litvinov (1876-1951)-the Vice-Chairman of the Commissariat of the Foreign Affairs; N. Bulganin (1895-1975)-the Chairman of the Soviet of Ministers of the Soviet Union; N. Podgorniy (1903-1983)-the Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union; A. Gromyko (1909-1989)-the Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union.

N. Bulganin (dead in 1975), V. Molotov (dead in 1986), L. Kaganovich (dead in 1991), and B. Yeltsyn[15] (buried in 2007), all of whom had a rank but were not admitted to the Kremlin necropolis leaving a somewhat tainted legacy. The Chart "The Novodevichiy cemetery" below shows the timeline of the burials from 1927 to the present day.

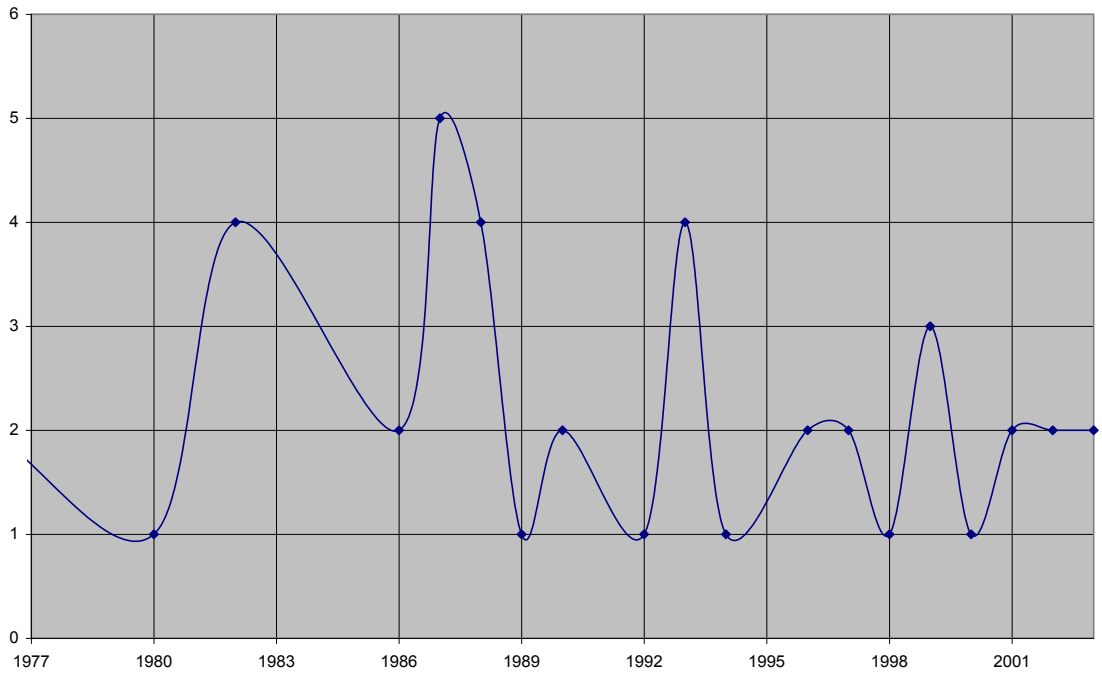
Since the *Novodevichiy* cemetery was used only for the highest echelons of power, other rank and file officials had to surrender and accept a defeatist offer of the cemetery in *Novo-Kuntzevo* located in the western part of the city. It was rebuilt in 1920s on the grounds of the *Spasskiy* necropolis constructed in the 17th century. The burials at the *Novo-Kuntzevo* started in 1976 and continue today. There are forty six members of the CPSU Central Committee buried at the *Novo-Kuntzevo*: among them S. Shatalin and V. Tsybul'ko.[16]



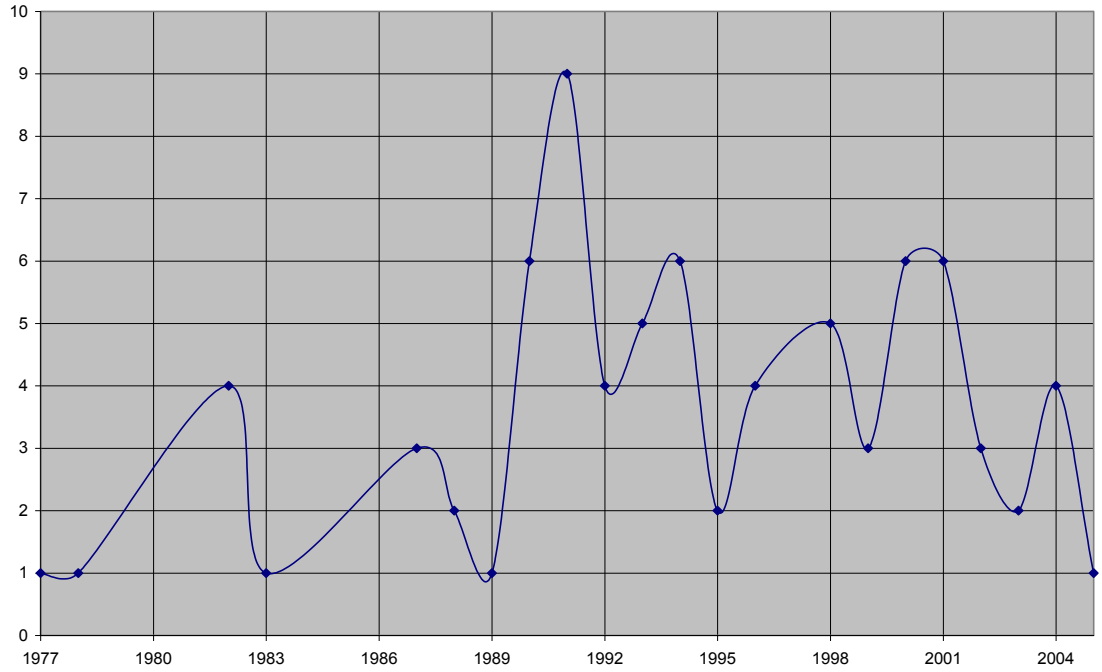

In 1977 the party and state officials added another necropolis in *Troekurovo*. It functioned simultaneously with the *Novo-Kuntzevo* and is still open today. There are 83 members of the upper echelons buried there. Most of them died in the period between 1990 and 1991, such as for instance A. Kirilenko, V. Fedorov, and M. Zimianin[17]. The Charts 'The Novo-Kuntsevo cemetery" and "The Troekurovo cemetery" below show the progress of the cemetery growth caused by both the expansion of Soviet elites and limited space for their appropriate burials.

[15] B. Yeltsyn (1931-2007)-the first President of Russian Federation.
[16] S. Shatalin (1934-1997)-the president of the Fund *Reforma*; V.Tsibul'ko (1924-1987)-the first secretary of the Kiev regional party committee.
[17] A. Kirilenko (1906-1990)-the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party; V.Fedorov (1912-1990)-the member of the Central Committee, M.Zimianin (1914-1995)-the member of the Central Committee.

The Novo-Kuntsevo cemetery




The Troekurovo cemetery



**Part II. Constructing Soviet societies of the dead.**

Clive Seal argues that "arranging the society for the dead, the society of living regularly recreated itself."[18] In the process of establishing itself, the Soviet society used the cemeteries and their inhabitants as the building blocks of social construction. The burial location of elites: at the pantheon, in the mausoleum, inside the Kremlin wall, or at the prestigious cemetery not only declared the privileged position of the deceased but also demonstrated their further ascension. It was a form of social mobility that signified a successful ending to life. By entering the circle of the Soviet officialdom a person handed over his/her body to state and society. The esteemed cemetery plots were a part of the package deal for the Soviet nomenclature: their distinguished life secured their ascension in death. The burial place was a reward akin to the orders of St. George, the Stars of the Hero of the Soviet Union and Lenin awards. It identified a powerful person with highest degree of recognition encrypted in the annals of history. So strong was the seduction of power and beliefs that the Soviet dignitaries chose to part with their loved ones, for their families were not allowed to be buried at the same location. In exchange, the Soviet dignitaries gained symbolic immortality and became monuments with a prestigious post-mortem address recorded for eternity in their personnel files. [19]

The preservation of elites' status after their death was crucial. Moreover, the end of their biological life was much less important than the end of their social life. Venerated people who died while still in power secured luxurious plots. The retirement on the other hand was an unfortunate occurrence: the probability of being buried appropriately to rank was slim. Living longer was hazardous as there was already a new generation anxiously awaiting openings at the pantheons. For the Soviet nomenclature it was better to die in office. Even those who died at war or in an accident were in a better position than those who retired. The alternative was unimaginable: they would have to lounge forever surrounded by dead commoners.

Only six Soviet dignitaries were buried at the Red Square after they retired. These people apparently made such an invaluable contribution that their postmortem location was secured. Among them were Vannikov, retired in 1958, died in 1962, responsible for the Atomic bomb project, Zhukov, famous military commander, retired in 1958, died in 1974, and Stasova, the secretary of the Central Committee, retired in 1946, died in 1966. Less fortunate retirees, such as for example Kapitonov[20], consented to *Novodevichiy* because of their lengthy retirement of more than 14 years. There were also several rejects from *Novodevichiy*. Despite their high status L. Florent'ev, A. Shkol'nikov, and D. Goryunov[21] were laid to rest at *Novo-Kuntzevo* after lengthy retirement. The officials who missed their opportunity because of retirement were unfortunate indeed. This was nothing comparable to the disappointment of the Soviet dignitaries after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Their life achievements became null and void: prestigious plots were completely out of their reach. [22]

[18] Clive Seale. *Constructing Death: The Sociology of Dying and Bereavement* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 4.
[19] The Database.
[20] I. Kapitonov (1915-2002)-the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Part of the Soviet Union.
[21] L. Florent'ev (1911-2003)-the Minister of the Agriculture of the Soviet Union; A. Shkol'nikov (1914-2003)-the member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union; D. Goryunov (1915-1992)-the Ambassador of the Soviet Union.
[22] The Database.

The society of the dead was socially controlling the moral life of the living.[23] The rituals designed by the Soviet regime such as the visitation of the Soviet pantheons, especially the Lenin's mausoleum, by millions of people shaped the national conscience. These rituals have been a form of ancestral worship. In the Soviet times, the newlyweds did not miss an opportunity to visit these locations ahead of long lines to get endorsements from the founding fathers. Today in Russia, young people rarely know the names of the Soviet martyrs. Yet, on the day of the wedding they still visit these burial grounds that somehow connect their future with the past.

The Soviet elite cemeteries served as a foundation for the Soviet state and society. After the Soviet elite cemeteries were designed spatially there was a need to give them meaning and populate them with the ideologically useful dead. With changing times and political situation some dead became more valuable than others which required constant reshuffling of graves.

Human societies have odd relationships with their dead. On one hand, the dead have to be separated from the living because they "ceased to be" and for the fear of contamination. The living guard the deceased as if their continual social existence and intervening in the affairs of the living as "ancestors" or "spirits" presents a danger to the social order. On the other hand, the living preserve memories of the departed and reinforce their bond with the community. The public disturbs the dead with celebratory rituals and visitations, appeases them by sharing food and drink at their burial sites, and is engaged in constant reburials. At the same time, the living feel anxiety at a thought of lost corpses or dispersed bones of their compatriots as if they bring harm unaccounted. [24]

These relationships between the dead and the living have a long history and in their wisdom escape rationality of "modern" ideologies. A Russian journalist A. Ivinskaia, favoring the removal of Lenin's remains from the mausoleum and his burial, argued that "Russia is not an Egypt."[25] She was possibly wrong. We might all be "Egyptians" when it comes to human obsession with bones as if they were still inhibited by spirits. Modernity failed to replace the complexities of human relationship with death.[26]

The Soviet troublesome relationship with their dead can be further illustrated by the practice of remains' relocation. In the Soviet Union graves have been rearranged due to the changing status and political allegiances of the dead. Depending on the fluctuations of the party line or the shifting morality of the society, some dead became more useful than others; their graves were moved from the shady corners to the central alleys of the cemeteries. Other dead were relocated from the provinces. In the 1930s writers S. Aksakov, N. Gogol, and A. Chekhov, painters V. Serov and I. Levitan, and the scientist I. Sechinov abandoned their provincial locations and got transferred to the *Novodevichiy* where they served as proper bricks of the Soviet ideology.[27] In a similar fashion, the recent reburial of the tsarist family gained for its members the status of saints.

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[23] *Constructing Death*, 51-71.

[24] *Death and Bereavement across Cultures*, eds. Colin Murray Parkes, Pittu Laungani, Bill Young (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), 34-35; for more information on the relationship with the dead see Mircea Eliade. *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion*, San Diego (New York, London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1957); Mircea Eliade. *The Myth of the Eternal Return: Cosmos and History* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2005); Mircea Eliade. *Rites and Symbols of Initiation: The Mysteries of Birth and Rebirth* (Woodstock: Spring Publishers, 1995).

[25] www.newsru.com/religy/13 apr2006/sokolov.html; gazetazp.ru/cgi-bin/showissue.pl?n=2005; www.newizv.ru/print/44175;

[26] *Constructing Death*, 2-4.

[27] The Database.

The Soviet state called on many immigrant writers and artists to return to their motherland. Many did not and died abroad. Their bones were still considered a valuable commodity. The Russian state recently repatriated the bones of some immigrants and buried them in Moscow and St. Petersburg. A suggestion was made recently in the Russian parliament to collect all dead, i.e. all "Russian-related bones scattered around the globe" and bring them home.[28]

While status of some deceased was elevated, there were also the "unfortunate" dead who lost their standing and their bones were evicted from the premises or relocated further away from the main area of attraction. Stalin was the famous example of such an *opala*[29]. He was removed from the mausoleum and buried in the grave next to it. It should be noted that his spirit was nothing to fool around with: his body was hastily taken in the middle of the night and his fresh grave was opened to the amazed visitors next day. [30] The "ungrateful" dead were never safe from the living. They could have been demoted any time and for a variety of transgressions. These solutions applied were not universal or comprehensive and were decided on a case by case basis.

The peculiar relationship with the dead can be also seen through the selection of sites chosen for the mass graves. Political massacres and their victims have been particularly useful for the living when they were related to historically important events. At the times of wars and revolutions, the Russian and Soviet society, like many of their counterparts, had an established practice for mass burials: there were mass burials after the 1905 December uprising in Moscow and the mass graves of the defenders of Moscow against the Nazi invasion in 1941. Heroic dead have been generally welcomed by the living while the dead who refused to fit into a provided script created problems as was the case with the deceased during the Krondstadt rebellion or "the enemies of the people", i.e. the victims of the Stalinist purges, buried in *Strogino, Butovo,* and *Dolgoprudnyi* and recovered recently after years of oblivion.

"The victorious dead" have been admired unlike their opponents or "the dead losers." Opponents have been resurrected in stone and bronze to serve the appropriate national ideology. For example, in the United States of America, the participants of the American Civil War who reside at the Arlington National cemetery are forever segregated by their loyalties eternally locked in mortal combat. In a similar fashion, in Moscow, the fighters against Napoleon's army in 1812 were buried at *Vagan'kovo*, while the Napoleon's officers were sent to *Lazarevskoe* and *Vvedenskoe*. The Soviet times did not replace this practice. After the uprising in Moscow in 1917, the revolutionary soldiers were buried at the Kremlin wall. On the same day their political opponents headed to a cemetery at *Sokol*.[31]

The dead combatants often belonged to the same social, cultural or ethnic group and were equally malnourished, poorly dressed and had no particular distinctive characteristics, making it difficult for the living to tell a friend from a foe. Periodically, the disputes arose among scholars, politicians and journalists who suggested that errors were made and some "undesirable dead" sneaked in the graves pretending to be heroes. A much safer solution was to construct a tomb of the "unknown soldier," which serves any national idea perfectly.

The living continuously controlled the societies of dead for various improprieties and also monitored those destined to serve as building blocks of national construction. In the 1920s there were about fifteen mass graves for the revolutionaries who perished during the turmoil of the

[28] "Novosti iz Dumy,"*Ogonek* , no.2 (Moscow, 2007):3.
[29] Loss of favor (Russian).
[30] *Kladbishcha Moskvy* (Moscow: Vagrus, 2000), 9.
[31] *Kladbishcha Moskvy*, 123

revolution and civil war in Soviet Russia. There were, however, some who missed their chance to die as national martyrs and who suffered demise later from natural causes. They still did not escape their destiny. The living knew better than to let them run loose and united them with their kin: the appropriate mass graves were opened; their bodies were added to the graves and forced to stay permanently where they belonged. [32]

**Conclusion**

The cemeteries replicate the living communities and their systems of values and beliefs. The analysis of the Soviet elite burial grounds provides important insights in the structure of the Soviet society. It demonstrates that the Soviet society was based on inequality and traditional hierarchy in which party and state elites had an elevated status and privileges not available for common Soviet citizens. The venerable departed were selected and utilized as building blocks that serve the interests of the state. Their graves were the property of the state and their bones were the tools of social control of the living.

This construction of communities of the Soviet dead aimed at the preservation of such a societal order for "eternity". But "everlasting" lasted for less than a century: national boundaries changed and allegiances expired. One last factor should be considered: What is the future of the dead in new Russia? In the view of endless youth concerts and celebrations at the Red Square, many Russians nowadays express their disgust with the disrespect to the dead buried there, or as they call it "dances on the bones." The argument was picked up by the Russian Duma that discussed a construction of an elite pantheon in *Mytishi* where all honorable dead will finally gain peace.[33] Their eviction to the outskirts beyond the perimeter of Moscow will only signify the inevitable victory of life. New Russia will be soon symbolized by the new society of the dead; it's just a matter of time.

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[32] Ibid, 90.

[33] "Novosti iz Dumy,"*Ogonek* , no.2 (Moscow, 2007):3.

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