

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Building Solidarity

Architecture After Disaster and The Skopje 1963 Post-Earthquake Reconstruction

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the  
requirements for the degree of Doctor in Philosophy  
in Architecture and Urban Design

by

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## ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

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Professor Dana Cuff, Chair

This dissertation starts with the consideration that the climate disaster is going to change every aspect of the built/living environment as we know it, and asks: what can architecture do after disaster? For this examination, the dissertation looks at one of the most optimistic and understudied post-disaster rebuilding efforts, that of the Skopje earthquake in 1963. Through the examination of archival planning material, the Skopje example shows how architectural labor can be organized for a common cause of the community and that architecture can thrive without capitalism. Skopje was a successful rebuilding effort because it was entrusted to the local architects, engineers, and planners, and not government or military contractors, with international help, which was there to lend expertise, technology, and media attention to help support funds for the project. The reconstruction effort, because it was mostly done by the local architectural workforce with some international help was able to produce a city suitable for the climactic necessities and conditions on the ground and provide humane urban living conditions for thousands of people. What this study of the Skopje reconstruction further shows is that architecture thrives outside of the constraints of speculation and zero-sum games of exploitative profits. This was because the Skopje project and others like it during the 1960s showed a different way of building and constructing the built environment for the benefit of the people and their needs. This dissertation explains the reconstruction process to show that it was suitable example for an environmentally sustainable future.

The dissertation of Marko Icev is approved.

Michael Osman

Sylvia Lavin

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Marko Icev is an architect, designer and researcher. He received his Bachelor of Architecture from Jefferson University in Philadelphia in 2008, and his Master's of Science in Architecture and Urban Design from the Pratt Institute in New York in 2011. He has worked in the private sector in the United States and Macedonia on small scale urban design and historic preservation. He has also taught at SCI-Arc and OTIS College of Art and Design in Los Angeles. His paper *Refashioning Modernity* was presented at the ASEES Conference in 2019, and his essay *Nostalgia Hangover* was published in POOL No.4 *Nostalgia*.2019. He has been a Teaching Fellow at UCLA since 2019, and a researcher at UCLA's cityLab center.

Building Solidarity: Architecture after disaster and the Skopje 1963 post-earthquake reconstruction.

On July 26<sup>th</sup> 1963 the city of Skopje, the capital of Macedonia, one of the six Yugoslavian republics was devastated by a 6.3 magnitude earthquake. Skopje was declared the City of Solidarity by Josip Broz Tito in 1963, immediately after the disaster. This declaration solicited an unprecedented effort in post-disaster relief and reconstruction involving an international workforce, helmed by Ernest Weissmann at the United Nations. The United Nations coordinated rebuilding effort, with donations from the international community and the Yugoslavian people built the city with experimental approaches in architecture, housing, architectural and urban history, as well as cooperative notions of architectural and planning practice and labor organization. The city that was built was organized around the ideas of communal collective work and the other ideas of Ernest Weissmann, integrated design (from Buckminster Fuller) or the neighborhood units of CIAM which were already existing in the form of *mahaala* (*neighborhood*) in the Balkans, as well as a diverse stock of architectural spaces and cultural institutions. The post-earthquake reconstruction plan of Skopje illustrates the possibility of international architecture joining forces for a common cause through a network of interdisciplinary collaboration; it shows how architecture can thrive without capitalism. At the same time, the examination of the architectural history of the project and its historical context reveals a model of architecture as social practice, in which self-managed architecture enterprises operated successfully in national and international markets.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Mrduljas, Maroje. *Architecture for a Self-Managing Socialism. Toward a Concrete Utopia: Architecture in Yugoslavia 1948-1980*. The Museum of Modern Art. New York. 41-42.

What sets Skopje apart from other post-disaster rebuilding efforts and makes it an important case for architecture history are the following considerations: Firstly, the rebuilding effort was entrusted to the architectural workforce with international help, and not international conglomerates or military contractors, and as such a single top-down vision or masterplan was avoided.<sup>2</sup> This architectural workforce consisted primarily of the local architects working in self-managed organizations, the construction workforce was supplemented by a special training school started and operated by the International Labor Organization, as part of a multilayered aid project from the United Nations. Second, the international help that was pouring into Skopje after the earthquake was directed and orchestrated by the local architectural workforce. Even with the establishment of the International Board of Consultants that carried the relief and rebuilding efforts, the responsibility for the administration of the city was entrusted to the local Institute for Architecture and Urbanism Skopje (ZUAS). This meant that the decisions for the rebuilding of the city were made by the local workforce, and not by the federal government of Yugoslavia or international experts. In other words, the federal government and international expertise worked for the local expertise. And thirdly, this reversal of power relations allowed the local architectural workforce to develop and deliver a plan for the development of the city according to its climactic and cultural context and needs. This plan, the UPP, focused on scientific analysis of life and the built environment in the Skopje valley, as well as architectural and urban history to determine a careful extrapolation of the already and existing way of life for a larger population. This plan depended on the “residential unit” or neighborhood unit that centered around the elementary school and was designed to provide all necessities for a humane dignified life to residents within walking distance of the primary school in their neighborhood. This neighborhood unit was then followed

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<sup>2</sup> For a detailed overview of the immediate post-earthquake rebuilding efforts see Addenda: Timeline.

with a careful consideration of the greenery and open spaces needed around the housing and public services that were necessary for a dignified urban life. In this way, the neighborhood unit was on the microscale the basic element that informed the development of the larger zoning plans. In this way the local urban culture and environment were implemented into the rebuilding and updating of the new city. This form of planning was different from all the planning methods of the people involved and was also important for the Yugoslavian government at the time because it was possible to show a method for doing architecture that did not rely on the western or eastern totalitarian models of doing speculative architecture and urbanism. The entire workforce of Yugoslavia was also organized into self-managed and self-owned organizations, that were key to the Yugoslavian economy and political project. In a political sense, the Skopje reconstruction project was a symbol of solidarity for the Non-Aligned movement that was supposed to unite the countries of the Third World towards a new future of equity and sustainability, both in the way architecture was made (through self-management) and in the deliverables (a sustainable city that provided humane and dignified urbanism). In other words, because the rebuilding effort was entrusted to the local workforce, that in turn updated already existing architectural elements like the neighborhood unit and elevated them from the micro to the macro scale as an urban strategy, the Skopje rebuilding effort was able to show a method of architectural praxis and deliverables that stands outside the speculative frameworks of capitalism or Soviet communism, but rather was reliant on providing a solution suitable for the local context and a method that can be implemented in other Non-Aligned cities, or other distraught areas.

Buckminster Fuller's concepts of integrated design, combined with the neighborhood unit promoted by CIAM, were inspirations for many Yugoslavian architects. As historian Maroje Mrduljas explains "these neighborhood units meant to be developed utilizing self-management

funds and with the participation of its citizens in the decision making, as well as to function as self-managing communities—thus rendered architecture as the crucial mediator between the individual and society at large.”<sup>3</sup> For Fuller, housing is a “weaponry” of peace and prosperity, which is being misused. This vision of architecture, and especially housing as an ailment to a society that was ravished by the anti-imperialist wars of the 20th century was a worldview that was shared with a lot of architects, planners and engineers of the period, like many of those professionals involved in the reconstruction of earthquake-distraught Skopje, including Fuller’s friend and collaborator of Constantinos A. Doxiadis who was hired to produce the social surveys of the reconstruction project of Skopje as well as the traffic plan.<sup>4</sup> Doxiadis himself was very prolific through the development of his study of human habitats Ekistics, in which he considered the scale of habitat as a global problem that could be understood through the study of different scales of human cohabitations, leading to the world-encompassing ecumenopolis.<sup>5</sup> Similar points of view on the scale of housing or habitat seen as a global or at least massive scale that could in itself be global is present in the works of most of architects involved in the Skopje project including Ernest Weissmann regional development ideas in the *Yugoslavian Alternative*, and Kenzo Tange and Arata Isozaki’s Metabolism, who were later responsible for the planning of Skopje’s central area. These projects belong to the optimistic 1960s that are revolutionary because of their public orientation and character.

Further, the architecture of post-earthquake Skopje was a unique case of practice because of its entanglement with the lived environment outside of the buildings as objects: the parklets, playgrounds, landscape and exposed concrete left the space open for *appropriation*. The

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<sup>3</sup> Mrduljas, *Architecture For a Self-Managing Socialism*. p. 45.

<sup>4</sup> Tolic, Ines. *Dopo il Terremotto*. Diabasis. 2011. p. 35-39

<sup>5</sup> Doxiadis, C.A. *Ekistics*. Hutchinson & Co. London. 1968. p. 3-4

appropriation of space is a way to study the success of social housing, after Lefebvre; such that when people successfully inhabit space, they also appropriate it.<sup>6</sup> As much of Yugoslavia's housing can attest to it was vastly appropriated and built upon leading to the popularity of the *dogradbi* (additions) to domestic architecture in every form in the Yugoslavian Republics. This appropriation of space in Skopje can be understood as the transformation of the space into a dwelling, relating to the "open totality" also borrowed from Lefebvre, where reality is understood as a "broken-up totality, fragments of which confront one another and sometimes separate when they do not enter into conflict."<sup>7</sup> In this way the architecture that was practiced through self-management served the purpose of providing the emerging form of a multicultural society, both traditional and socialist (modern), international and non-aligned. The architecture reflected the societal goals of achieving a non-hierarchical cityscape with guaranteed housing for all, according to the principles of equality – brotherhood and unity (or brotherhood and oneness) - that were postulates of the state.

In Yugoslavia the concept of brotherhood and unity depended on architectural practice which was particular and based on various vernacular architectural practices of Yugoslavia's cultures. As in most postwar economies, the army in Yugoslavia was a major contractor of housing, "however, the army's most lasting architectural legacy was not a single building, but rather a set of building standards developed to house its own employees. Unlike most other socialist countries, Yugoslavia never standardized mass housing, which accounted for the relative diversity of the production in terms of layouts, materials, systems, and forms."<sup>8</sup> The diversity of architecture that

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<sup>6</sup> Stanek, Lukasz. Henry Lefebvre on Space. Architecture, Urban Research and the Production of Theory. Minnesota University Press. 2011. p. 126

<sup>7</sup> Stanek. Lefebvre on Space. 127.

<sup>8</sup> Kulic, Vladimir. Building Brotherhood and Unity: Architecture and Federalism in Socialist Yugoslavia. Toward a Concrete Utopia: Architecture in Yugoslavia 1948-1980. The Museum of Modern Art. New York. 2018. p 37.

existed as a result of the multiethnic and multireligious population with their architectural and building traditions was rather encouraged by the federal government which “conditioned the production of architecture in multiple ways, most importantly through the organization of the profession and by defining the architectural programs to be constructed. What it did not do was prescribe how these programs should be articulated: architects were left with a great deal of agency in shaping the fledgling federal state and its constituent parts, in turn producing a vibrant architectural culture irreducible to simple ideological slogans.”<sup>9</sup> Alexandra Kollontai, the foremost socialist visionary of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century speaks of the same future that is envisioned later by Buckminster Fuller, the urban ideas of Doxiadis and Weissmann, the work collected in *The Limits to Growth*, and Hannah Arendt’s *isonomia* in the *Human Condition*. Using the resources available to support a dignified life for every human on the planet. Equity for all. And the Yugoslavian housing efforts of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, especially in the post-war era were one of the main steps towards this goal.

In Yugoslavian architecture the concept of solidarity was expressed even in the main ideological postulate of the country – brotherhood and unity – or brotherhood and oneness. The feeling of brotherhood and unity was understood as solidarity with all the oppressed people in their struggle against imperialist rule, and especially brotherhood and unity between the “kaleidoscope of cultures” that existed in Yugoslavia. As historian Vladimir Kulic has noted, the role of architecture became extremely important during the postwar period, and “the ideology of brotherhood and unity sought to reconcile this kaleidoscopic image with the universalizing juggernaut of socialist modernization. The federation’s six republics became the bearers of the

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<sup>9</sup> Kulic, *Building Brotherhood and Unity*. 38-39.

modern architectural profession: its organizations, educational institutions, etc.”<sup>10</sup> The diversity of projects that were produced from the existing cultural variants and vernaculars were transformed into modernizations of different scales “compressing a great deal of architectural phenomena—varied regionalisms, the particular articulations of certain programs, or idiosyncratic personal poetics,” resulting in a complexity of architectural expressions in the Yugoslavian built environment and it was precisely “this complex interaction between the various particularisms and the federalist mechanisms of unity that held the country together for almost half a century—a dialectic that also determined the production of architecture.”<sup>11</sup> In the case of Skopje, this architecture was also the continued legacy of *mondialism*, of international solidarity. The concept of brotherhood and unity resulted in various architectural projects and programs, reflecting the kaleidoscopic, or a mosaic picture of Yugoslavian society.

The concept of brotherhood and unity stems from the socialist concept of the *comrade* (*tovarish*, or in the languages of Yugoslavia *drugar*: – friend, other). When it was expanded towards encompassing the world the comradeship it expressed was a feeling of solidarity with the global brotherhood of all oppressed people. Alexandra Kollontai in 1902 was one of the earliest intellectuals to write about the concept of the comrade, which was supposed to represent a universal form of liberated love towards every person – “a love-comradeship.”<sup>12</sup> While Kollontai did not speak directly of housing as a concept understood today (apartments), she did write about the maternity houses that she later helped establish in the 1920s. The maternity houses would be provided by the state to care for the needs of women during pregnancy and postnatal care as well as the early stages of the infants’ childhoods, while socializing the care and providing full wages

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<sup>10</sup> Kulic, *Building Brotherhood and Unity*. 29.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid*, 29.

<sup>12</sup> Kollontai, Alexandra. Alix Holt (ed). Selected Writings of Alexandra Kollontai. New York: Norton, 1980. p. 114

for the women.<sup>13</sup> They were the precursors to the modern kindergartens. Kollontai's vision included all children being raised communally by the state in large communal towns and generational communes. Kollontai's idea was that the love-comradery had to start with raising the next generations as equals and comrades to each other and to all living creatures. Sharing the resources so that each human can enjoy a fulfilled life on Earth was a prerequisite for the future in which all class difference will be eliminated and human lives filled with actual meaning would be the norm instead of the pursuit of survival.<sup>14</sup> The concept of the comrade is at the base of the international solidarity of the postwar era.

Solidarity as a concept was at the core of the socialist political ideology, which is present in Skopje's history well before the onset of WWII.<sup>15</sup> In this study, public (social) housing as well as the rebuilding of Skopje after the earthquake is considered as the architectural project of this solidarity. This form of global solidarity can be historically traced through the socialist thinkers of the 20<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries back to Marx and Engels, Proudhon and others. But the standard history of socialism obfuscates the origins, influences and proliferations of the solidarity concept by absorbing the anarchist and all other factions (Proudhon, Kropotkin, Bakunin, Kollontai, Luxemburg) into mainstream, Comintern socialism. However, urban developments based on solidarity (social housing) exist throughout the late 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, from urban worker's

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<sup>13</sup> Kolontai, 183.

<sup>14</sup> Kolontai imagined this future to be 1972, the year of the publication of the Limits to Growth report which showed that the exponential growth and destruction of resources would destroy the habitable conditions of the planet. See: Meadows, Donella, et. al. The Limits to Growth. A Report for the Club of Rome's Project on the Predicament of Mankind. Universe Books. New York. 1972

<sup>15</sup> Skopje has a history of labor solidarity uprisings against imperialist capitalist occupations going back to the 1920s, and organized strikes against fascism from the 1930s onward.

housing, to anarcho-syndicalist communes during the Spanish Civil War, to peasant communes living independent of state control in the Balkans, Eurasia and other places.<sup>16</sup>

In architectural discourse of the postwar period, the ideas of global solidarity exist from the Whole Earth Catalog to CIAM, particularly the Left Wing (Ernest Weissmann, Josep Lluís Sert, Charlotte Perriand) to the writings of Buckminster Fuller, who was a huge influence for the Yugoslavian architects, including those working on Skopje.<sup>17</sup> Projects such as Skopje point out that the global architecture practice during the 20<sup>th</sup> century has produced a galaxy of projects based on ideas of collectivity, solidarity and architectural experimentation, especially in the so-called “Third World.” As Vikram Prakash, and others have pointed out – what is now called Third World Modernism, should be considered simply Modernism considering its global reach.<sup>18</sup>

The literature on the Skopje reconstruction project has been scattered though many archives, collections and materials. The main archive of the Institute for Urbanism and Architecture Skopje (ZUAS) that was the central institution for the Skopje reconstruction project was burned down in suspected arson during the neofascist government in 2017.<sup>19</sup> The materials and correspondences from the United Nations are kept in the UN archive in New York, while some other correspondences and materials are kept in the Archive of Yugoslavia in Belgrade, the National Archives of Macedonia and the Archives of the City of Skopje. This dissertation relies mostly on the materials at the UN and some parts from the other ones. In terms of literature, the 1975 publication *Skopje Resurgent* by Derrick Senior for the United Nations remains the most

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<sup>16</sup> See for example: Blau, Eve. *The Architecture of Red Vienna 1919-1934*. MIT Press. Cambridge, MA & London. 1999

<sup>17</sup> Mrduljas, *Architecture for a Self-Managing Socialism*. 48-50.

<sup>18</sup> Prakash, Vikramaditya. *Third World Modernism, or Just Modernism: Towards a cosmopolitan reading of modernism*. *Third World Modernism*. Duanfang Lu (ed.) Routledge. London and New York. 2010. p. 267

<sup>19</sup> See: Kokalevski, Damjan. *Skopje's History on Fire*. *eflux.com* May 2017; Jovanovic-Weiss, Srdjan. *Burning Down the House*. *Architects Newspaper*. 2017.

complete account of the earthquake aftermath, and the reconstruction process in the following years. Another very important source has been *Dopo il Terremotto, (After the Earthquake)* by historian Ines Tolic, as well as her article on the important role played by Ernest Weissmann in the reconstruction process. Tolic's study of the post-earthquake reconstruction is perhaps the most detailed account in contemporary literature. Her argument is that the socialist government of Yugoslavia at the time used the Skopje disaster to gather media and financial support not only for Skopje, but through the project was able to gather support for the Non-Aligned movement and for the propagation of the Yugoslavian form of socialism. In her essay on Weissmann, Tolic provides an important argument that the Skopje project while famous for the involvement of Kenzo Tange and his team in the later stages, should be considered Ernest Weissmann's major achievement because it was his vision for a world city based on collaboration, that was ultimately the success of Skopje. This dissertation follows these arguments and expands upon them, showing the extent and implications of Weissmann's novel ideas about architecture and planning, and they were successful because they were based on the historical architectural and building practices of the Balkans, and that Skopje's success is greatly indebted to the Weissmann's ideas. Further, this dissertation relies on the work of Leonora Grceva, and her thesis at the IUAV in Venice, *The Dark Side of Planning*, where she examines three consecutive plans of Skopje from the postwar era to the 2010s and concludes that the problem with planning lies exactly in the top-down visions that various administrations have tried to impose on the city. Another very important work for the study of Skopje is the dissertation of Damjan Kokalevski *Performing the Archive* at the ETH in Zurich, published as the book *Skopje Talkie-Walkie*. Kokalevski rightly points out that the rise of neoliberalism has resulted in what is known in the west as "balkanization" or fragmentation of nations, regions and spaces. The irony of this, as Kokalevski points out, is that these regions and

cities have always been and still are very cosmopolitan and diverse, and that is exactly the strength of the design and architectural legacy, especially in the Skopje 65 project. This points to the idea that “balkanization” is a derogatory and imposed term for a process that was already foisted upon the Yugoslavian population at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The criminal and unfortunate destruction of the architecture of the 1960s, the architecture of Yugoslavia, by the neoliberal/neofascist governments are in line with the destruction of the legacy of solidarity and collectivism as well as the reinstatement of one-party rule by the nationalist governments, so it is no coincidence that even the archive of the reconstruction process was destroyed in an obvious if not proven arson. Further the Skopje project has been examined by Mirjana Lozanovska, that explains the process of reconstruction while making a comparison between the previous city fabric and the reconstructed city, while framing it within the larger processes in Yugoslavian architecture. Skopje as part of Yugoslavian architecture has been most recently studied and included in the exhibition *Towards a Concrete Utopia: The Architecture of Yugoslavia* at the Museum of Modern Art in New York. Curator and historian Vladimir Kulic has previously also included Skopje into studies of Yugoslavian architecture in *Unfinished Modernisms* and other publications. His work is perhaps the most crucial in explaining to a western audience that architecture under socialism in Yugoslavia was not the typology housing of the Soviet Bloc but had its own diverse production from housing to institutions. Skopje is mentioned in the works of other historians with a focus on Yugoslavia such as Andrew Herscher, whose essay in the MoMA exhibition catalog frames the history of the country and the aftermath while explaining the key role architecture played in the construction of the state. Luckaz Stanek’s work on Lefebvre as well as the architecture exchanges between socialist countries is also very important for this dissertation. Stanek brings the theories and philosophy of the concrete utopia and habitation into western architectural history through the

work of Lefebvre, while in the *Architecture in Global Socialism* he explains the extent of the collaborations of the architectural workforce that was happening between different socialist countries. He makes one crucial lapse in the text where he lists some of these architecture companies in Yugoslavia as “state owned” while they were socially owned. Social ownership was ownership by the local municipality and so it was decentralized, and not state owned. The Skopje reconstruction process has also been the subject of the recent exhibition at the Museum of Contemporary Art in Skopje entitled *Skopje Resurgent* which focuses on the architectural process and the solidarity involved in the process. It is important to note that during the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and the early years of the 21<sup>st</sup> the work of the post-earthquake Skopje was deliberately sidelined even in Macedonia, where most of the buildings in the central area were either abandoned to decay, sold off or destroyed under suspicious circumstances, while some materials survive in archives and private collections. This dissertation is the first in the United States on the topic of Skopje and relies on many of the aforementioned materials, personal interviews, as well as primary sources from the 1960s at the UC Berkeley library.

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The 1960s had been declared Decade of Development by President Kennedy in the United Nation and in this context, housing and human habitat planning, with particular reference to developing countries was the instrument for the general improvement of living conditions where “economic development plans should provide for the creation of a physical environment adequate to human social and cultural activities; better housing for disadvantaged families; developed in an efficient construction industry, is considered the main prerequisite for the formation of built

capital.”<sup>20</sup> And housing was the prerequisite towards that goal. At the time of the Skopje earthquake, Ernest Weissmann was Assistant Director of the Economics and Social Council (ECOSOC) at the United Nations and was responsible for ECOSOC’s Housing and Planning Council (HBPC) a counterpart agency to the European International Federation for Housing and Town Planning (IFHT). The HBPC, during its first meeting presided over by Doxiadis, came to the conclusion that regional planning was the only means to promote economic development and to reduce the differences between urban and rural life, in this way alleviating the massive problems caused by urbanization processes while favoring economic well-being and social peace.<sup>21</sup> According to Doxiadis, due to the nature of the crisis “we could not only be limited to the ‘city’ in itself, but had to look to the region, to the nation and to the control of the international space.”<sup>22</sup> Weissmann and Doxiadis, both at the United Nations, firmly believed that the quality of life as well social peace depended on the quality of the habitat - the only way to level the differences between industrialized and non-industrialized countries.<sup>23</sup>

Ernest Weissmann, born 1903 was a Yugoslavian architect who worked under Le Corbusier between 1927 and 1930 with Lluís Sert and Charlotte Perriand. He was the founding member of the Yugoslavian chapter of CIAM and after WWII became one of the preeminent development experts by chairing major relief committees within the UN. His work as a development expert focuses on the planning of the city-region as the basic unit of development that would be able to overcome challenges of rapid urbanization and increasing poverty. In his published works, the focus on bridging the inequality gap is presented as an imperative for successful development and even a goal of society. During the 1930s he saw a growing discontent

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<sup>20</sup> Tolic, Dopo il Terremotto. 80.

<sup>21</sup> *ibid.* 82-83

<sup>22</sup> Tolic, Dopo il Terremotto. 37-38.

<sup>23</sup> Tolic, *ibid.* 35-37

with the work of Corbusier and CIAM, and while remaining active he was refocusing his work towards socially-engaged architecture that would remain a life-long devotion. Socially engaged architecture was the focus of his dissertation at the Zagreb Academy from 1926-1939. Weissmann was convinced that progress and development in societies had the sole responsibility of making life better and easier for all people, especially the disadvantaged, and that true progress was only measured by the equity of wealth across all social spheres.<sup>24</sup> He believed that architecture, and planning in particular needed to be focused around sustaining a growth of urban populations that would be economically and socially advancing, meaning that the city regions should not develop if it would only produce impoverished populations. The collaborations and exchange between these city-regions was the job of the highly trained and vast state or international bureaucracy, that Weissmann noticed as a shared resource of both free market and centrally planned economies.

However, his passionate political commitment, shared by the younger members of CIAM, led him into conflict with the founding fathers of the group with more neutral positions. The first generational confrontation – occurred in 1933, the year in which the conference was held on the on a Mediterranean cruise between Marseille and Athens. On that occasion, CIAM formulated the main lines that will later become known as the Athens Charter. In an article published in the Croatian magazine *Arhitektura*, Weissmann spoke of the existence of a second version of the Charter, drawn up in parallel to the official one, by the younger generations and in particular by the Croatian group consisting of Vladimir Antolic, Bogdan Teodorovic and Weissman himself.<sup>25</sup> This second version of the Charter was formulated with the intention of “shaking” the innate apolitical position of the architects, urban planners and construction workers, assigning them an

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<sup>24</sup> Weissman. Ernest. “Human Settlements, Bureaucracy and Ideology: The Yugoslav alternative”. *Centre for Human Settlements, University of British Columbia. Vancouver. 1981*

<sup>25</sup> Tolic. Dopo il Terremotto. 38.

effective socio-political function. This second version “had a very positive response among young people and radical participants in the congress.”<sup>26</sup>

Despite these discords, starting in 1935, Weissmann collaborated again with Le Corbusier at the *Pavilion des temps nouveaux* for the Universal Exhibition of Paris of 1937. With the Exposition he wanted to express the thesis according to which the best economic alternative to war, is the interventions in human habitat – the realization of housing, the urbanization and the provision of social services. The construction and the protection of the human environment should not be considered as an economically acceptable solution, but more as a way to tackle the socio-political problems of the international community.<sup>27</sup>

In 1938, Weissmann had been sent by the Yugoslavian government to America to follow the work at the national pavilion designed by Josip Seissel (1904-1987), to be realized on the occasion of the Universal Exposition of New York 1939. Due to the aggravation of the situation in Yugoslavia and with the beginning World War II, Weissmann, decided to stay in the US. In America, until 1947, he was actively engaged in the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA). After the Second World War, he was working as a representative of Yugoslavia in the design of the new United Nations headquarters in New York. This last position, in which an international team of architects was called to collaborate in the realization of a single project with “strong symbolic connotations could have influenced Weissmann to try a repeat experience again in the case of Skopje.”<sup>28</sup> Weissmann attended the meetings of Charter for Relief and Postwar Planning, seeing the possibility of a concrete use of CIAM experience in post-war reconstruction in Europe. The New York meetings, however, were not immune to tension already present after

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<sup>26</sup> Qtd in Tolic. Dopo il Terremotto. 39.

<sup>27</sup> Tolic, Dopo il Terremotto. 39.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

the first preparatory meeting to create that charter. On 19 February 1943, Weissmann wrote to Sigfried Giedion to complain that his considerations were not included in the meeting's account: "If you had listened to me, now you would remember that among other things I had talked about [...] there was also the how and why we should be able to collaborate between diverse sectors and that our common language is not a mysterious formula that must be discovered, but simply the obvious purpose of planning: to control the environment of man for the benefit of people. And when I say "some people" I mean people, not designers. And when I say "benefit", I mean achieving a better life for the many, and not for some "designers" eager to impose themselves on the person."<sup>29</sup>

The postwar involvement of the UN in housing was happening through the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) launched in 1941, which dealt with emergency aid and shelter, as well as the distribution of materials and labor but in a limited amount, while the larger projects of planned development for larger populations were transferred to the Department of Social Affairs after 1946.<sup>30</sup> As part of the UN Social Commission on Economic Affairs, where the Social Division published a *Bulletin on Housing and Town and Country Planning*, and later established a Branch to deal with these issues, a significant turning point was the arrival of Ernest Weismann as its director in 1951 who would be influential in steering the UN housing policy more exclusively on low-cost housing which ultimately led to the development of a long range program of action, approved in 1959 and defining the UN activity of 1961-1965

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<sup>29</sup> Qtd, in Tolic. Dopo il Terremotto. 39.

<sup>30</sup> Weissmann, Ernest. "Human Settlements - Struggle for Identity." Habitat International. vol.3, no. 3/4 (1978): 227-241.

making the early 60s as the UN's most active period of housing involvement since its formation.<sup>31</sup> The program started in 1961, coinciding with the UN's Development Decade, and was focused on fact finding and pilot projects through the regional commissions and the coordination with other specialized agencies, like the ILO (International Labor Organization, UN's sister agency in Geneva), being primarily concerned with vocational training of workers in the construction industry as well as workers housing for Europe's unions and self-help housing as part of those housing projects.<sup>32</sup> The long-term program of the late 1950s and early 60s, accounting for most of the housing related assistance outside of South America, combined with the increasing number of former colonies joining the UN as independent nations, as well as Jacob Crane's retirement from the Housing and Home Finance Agency - HHFA, shifted the seat of power into the UN, making it the preeminent and most prestigious agency in the housing field until the entrance of the World Bank in the housing field in 1973.<sup>33</sup> Jacob Crane, Ernest Weissmann, and G.A. Atkinson (of the British Colonial Office – BCO) formed the expert “triumvirate” leading the most influential agencies in dictating housing policies in the Third World, which were developed during various conferences, collaborations, travels and visits amongst the offices.<sup>34</sup> The agencies however, were still mostly involved in policy advising and funding but were not directly involved in the building or planning processes on a local scale.

The policies that these housing agencies were promoting fall under three categories: public housing, aided self-help and the market option. The public housing option was the least favorite of all agencies, since in the eyes of the Western governments it promoted a welfare state, and it

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<sup>31</sup> Harris, Richard and Ceinwen Giles. "A mixed message: the agents and forms of international housing policy 1945-1973." *Habitat International*, 27 (2003): 167-191. p. 171; Weissmann, Human Settlements - Struggle for Identity.

<sup>32</sup> Harris & Giles. 171-172.

<sup>33</sup> Harris & Giles. 173

<sup>34</sup> Harris & Giles. 173-174

was very difficult for the states to meet their building standards, housing needs and budgetary constraints. The aided self-help option is the general idea that through technical assistance (in the form of infrastructure or training) and funding (credits and grants to the states) people could build up on the dwellings they were currently occupying, bringing them to a better standard. This was the much preferred option, later known as ‘slum upgrading’ because it allowed people on the ground to build their own homes over time, promoted owner-occupancy, and took out the government from the housing business. The third option was supporting the private construction sector through grants and credits to develop and eventually produce low-cost housing for the poor, which did not come into consideration until the 1980s.<sup>35</sup> Weissmann, who on many occasions stated that “the goal of society is the betterment of the lives of every person in said society,” was trying to establish a development plan in which the local governments of the city-regions would own and be responsible for the housing of their constituents, while major issues, that he calls macro-elements like the environment, transportation and market relations would be relegated to a coordinative bodies composed of governments and international experts, this is something he called “The Yugoslavian alternative.”<sup>36</sup> This idea would gain some traction in planning circles until the rise of the IMF and World Bank as major neoliberal players in the development field in the 1970s and 1980s.

The International Bank of Recovery and Development (what today is the World Bank) and the IMF, established as part of the Bretton Woods agreements of 1944 which formed the policy of post-war development in the Allied countries, with open markets as one of the primary goals, while

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<sup>35</sup> Harris & Giles. 171

<sup>36</sup> Weissmann, Ernest. *“Human Settlements, Bureaucracy and Ideology: The Yugoslav alternative.”* Centre for Human Settlements, University of British Columbia. Vancouver. 1981.

establishing a fixed exchange rate pegged to the US dollar.<sup>37</sup> The main goal of the Bank was primarily reconstruction, rather than development, but once the Marshall Plan (1947) became the main recovery vehicle for the richer European countries, the World Bank turned its investing focus towards large projects in the developing world such as infrastructure, electricity, transportation, industry and agriculture that could be easily promoted to their investors on Wall Street through the touchstones of “visibility, verifiability and apparent productivity.”<sup>38</sup> Today, the most influential body in the international housing field is the World Bank, which entered the field in 1973. The World Bank, as an international body is less concerned with humanitarianism as such, and as a bank is committed to profitable projects.

Critique of Western development strategies tracks the formation of the United Nations and the World Bank into large international institutions that through their legion of professionals, are not eradicating poverty and hardship, but rather turning into a manageable and profitable enterprise for the Western institutions, while stunting the natural growth of societies in the Third World by installing a dependency system that steers the financial resources towards itself.<sup>39</sup> The Bank’s hegemony, based on what its experts consider development (the provision of “basic needs”) and how they measure it, is in large part based on the official representations of space, and since housing is considered a “basic right” the housing development sponsored by the Bank emerges as a hegemonic spatial practice that is only reinforced by the Bank’s official statements and representations.<sup>40</sup> In other words, the Bank not only declares housing as a right, but it also prescribes it to Third World countries as a basic “benchmark” for development, while spatially

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<sup>37</sup> For a detailed analysis of the role of the US in the postwar economy see Brenner, Robert. The Boom and the Bubble. Verso. London & New York. 2003

<sup>38</sup> Ramsamy, Edward. The World Bank and Urban Development. London & New York: Routledge, 2006. p. 36-46

<sup>39</sup> Ramsamy, 12.

<sup>40</sup> Ramsamy, 28

defining what that basic right and need is. Through housing as a quantifiable set of data, the Bank is able to impose a financial strategy for the developing country and a profitable product for itself, a model that can be slightly adjusted and repeated in other developing countries.<sup>41</sup> Housing was considered to be social spending, and as such, similarly to health and education, it was impossible to turn it into a profitable loan. It wasn't until the scope of problems of the urban poor in the late 60s and early 70s became too large to ignore and mounting criticism did the Bank get involved.<sup>42</sup> The Bank entered the housing field as Robert McNamara's effort to broaden the Bank's investment in social spending including education, health and nutrition, while maintain the image of a conservative institution.<sup>43</sup> Robert McNamara an alleged war criminal, before arriving at the World Bank, was the key strategist of the Vietnam war, which saw some of the deadliest and most brutal atrocities since World War II, perpetrated by the US onto the Vietnamese population.

As a manifestation of the neoliberal bias of the World Bank, that Arturo Escobar, and both Harris & Giles and van Waeyenberge have demonstrated, the housing agenda of the Bank has been constructed from its inception as an effort to expand markets in general and later finance in particular, primarily through solving urgent problems of the deficient provision of a core service (like housing) by making it "affordable" (by focusing on user charges, low standards – easily replicable by the private sector) and later reproducing the method into other areas (education, healthcare) and stipulating the opening of the market to other (now private) providers of such services or products, for which the self-help housing policy proved a very convenient method.<sup>44</sup> To be clear, unlike the socialist countries where housing was a constitutional guarantee, and much

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<sup>41</sup> Ramsamy, 42-45

<sup>42</sup> Ramsamy, 68.

<sup>43</sup> Waeyenberge, Elisa Van. "*Crisis? What Crisis? The World Banks and Housing Finance for the Poor.*" SOAS Department of Economics Working Paper Series, no.191 (2015). p. 7

<sup>44</sup> Harris & Giles, 17; van Waeyenberge, 7

of the housing was free, the goal of the WB was to produce profits for itself through so-called “affordable housing.” This goes hand in hand with the discriminatory and plainly cruel politics and traditions of the western societies where people are denied their most basic needs and rights until they work for them, while amassing fortunes for the people enacting those policies. The housing strategy of the World Bank relies on providing low-income families with “affordable” housing, through the self-help method (allowing for people to build their own housing or basic infrastructure services), recover those costs from the beneficiaries and eliminate public subsidies and to make these projects replicable by the private sector which would provide even further profitability.<sup>45</sup> In a way, the bank relies on housing construction to lend out its investment, and this housing needs to be quantified so it can appropriately reach the intended purpose, and for that the bank, and other agencies needed a large working expert force. The goal of the World Bank has been from the beginning to deteriorate the public and social layers of the “developing” world.

The rise of bureaucratic power was expanding through humanitarian efforts and was reaching into the housing field through credit and funding operations, however once it found a convenient vehicle that would link marketable finance strategies with physical products, (such as a self-help methods, sites and services or prefabricated houses) with quantified space/cost metrics, it conquered the developing world by combining food aid and agricultural policy, with emergency relief into the financial and economic juggernaut of modern humanitarian aid. This was hinged upon the experimentation in housing prototypes, testing out planning strategies and social surveys to secure a combination that could serve as an exchange currency between cost of construction (investment) and housing need diminished, which was depended on the local population accepting this combination (occupancy), something that was not always easily achieved.

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<sup>45</sup> van Waeyenberge, 7.

Weissmann, throughout his written work was against this mode of developing housing and was instead promoting a social model of housing in which the profits that were made by the slowly industrializing societies would be reinvested in social goods such as housing and infrastructural development of those given city regions. He was responsible for several competitions that were conceived to bring development of the city region through the development of housing, most notably the plan for the redevelopment of Skopje in 1965 and the PREVI housing project in Lima in 1967. His vision of wealth distribution and equitable development was replaced by the World Bank, introducing a single-family house as a basic index of foreign development which was in turn connected to neoliberal economic models of production.

The housing that was promoted by Weissman was to be aligned with the social fabric in which it belonged, and according to the possibilities of the city-region. In the Balkans, those city-regions had neighborhood units (*mahaala*), collective construction practices and housing co-existing in tandem with open spaces (*atari*) that were used for various programs, such as open air markets, exchanges, festivals, protests, celebrations and others. They were not unitarily programed spaces. In more descriptive terms, open space is a space absolved from an assigned function. Usually a parklet, green space, or open plateaus, quays, tree-lined walkways and sidewalks suitable for leisurely strolls. In Skopje 65 these spaces have no commercial program, but street vendors are sometimes present, as such they are open to small-scale local economies, rather than corporate or state business interests. In *Architecture of Enjoyment*, Lefebvre characterizes open spaces as those which are free for appropriation, defined “[in] contrast with domination and simultaneously by opposition to ownership and its consequences” and as such are created and exist outside of the dominant urban logic. “The appropriated space does not belong to a political power, to an

institution as such.”<sup>46</sup> In the “Urban Revolution” open spaces are mentioned as the gardens and parks that are “responsible for the quality of life” in major metropolitan cities, as attempts at reuniting “the spontaneous and the artificial, nature and culture” in an urban setting.<sup>47</sup> Power generally has no need for such a space, because it allows for activities that escape and undermine it.

The largest collective open spaces in the case of Skopje 65 were constructed with large workers’ actions and financed through municipal and state bonds. Examples include the artificial recreation lake Treska, Vodno Protected Forest area, City Park and Gazi Baba Park.<sup>48</sup> These protected green areas present the largest open spaces where further development was not allowed in the 1965 GUP (The UPP).<sup>49</sup> They represent architecture (planning and landscape) by and for the people in solidarity with the global struggle for production of space. In the case of Skopje, the large recreation areas, natural reserves, historical sites, as well as smaller neighborhood-scale open spaces as deliberate no-build zones served as respite from, and a counterweight to the built environment. No-build zones are important because they present terrains, realities that exist outside of the urban logic; they point to a way out and provide space for free thought. With the implementation of the 1966 GUP, trees covered most of the streets and sidewalks to mitigate Skopje’s climate, but most importantly they provided a shaded or covered space that belongs to the public. According to the traffic plan later devised by Doxiadis and ZUAS, bus lines were

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<sup>46</sup> Lefebvre, Henri. Toward an Architecture of Enjoyment. Lukasz Stanek (ed.) Minnesota University Press. Minneapolis. 2014. p. 87-88; On the Spaces of enjoyment, p. 52.; Because they exist outside of the urban logic for Lefebvre these spaces are not “devoted to death, either directly (tombs, for example) or indirectly (palaces, not excluding the palaces of knowledge and wisdom).” p. 94.

<sup>47</sup> Lefebvre, Henri. The Urban Revolution. Minnesota University Press. Minneapolis. 2003. p. 26

<sup>48</sup> The UPP; Large workers actions were organized to plant most of Vodno mountain as the newly protected forest area, as a response to the continuous flooding in the city, in order to avoid future disasters. Map of Skopje with Vodno, Gazi Baba and Treska lake in UPP, Vol.4-6

<sup>49</sup> Protected Green Zones – D1-D2-D3 In Skopje UPP, Vol.4-6

oriented so that citizens would travel in the center by direct line – or a short walk under treelined sidewalks. Open spaces allowed the citizens to inhabit the city in all seasons without the dependence on the private ownership of land, commercial areas or cars.<sup>50</sup> Some areas that were initially planned to become traffic thoroughfares in subsequent phases of the plan functioned as open spaces until 2010s. For example, the South Boulevard was designed to be a major highway executed in multiple phases connecting the neighboring towns and cutting through the city along the east-west axis. The first stage completed the two streets of *Jurij Gagarin* and *Ivo Lola Ribar* with two traffic lanes each separated by a 30-meter median which became a large open space park, whose development was contested by residents and future governments.<sup>51</sup> The South Boulevard, connected the major axial arteries to the inner Rings of the Central zone, the City Park, the Kale fortress and the Gazi Baba Park through the double tree-lined JNA (now blvd. St. Kliment Ohridski). These pedestrian and tree-lined zones along and between traffic corridors served as a large continuous open space, and at the time it was as significant as the built space.

The term “open space” in this study is based on the concepts already present in Macedonian architectural history (the *atari*) and on Lefebvre’s work. It refers to the space being open to activities of both: leisure (those not connected to the capitalist rhythm of social production); and as the case of Skopje shows spaces of civic necessity: natural and political emergencies as well as the maintenance of civic society (of *everyday life*).<sup>52</sup> These spaces were necessary for the functioning of democracy (there was open space for the citizens that is not pre-zoned, pre-

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<sup>50</sup> UPP, vol.4-6. See also traffic solutions in: Senior, Derick. Skopje Resurgent. The United Nations. New York. 1975. The overextension of some boulevards to accommodate large amounts of traffic as well as the belief in the automobile is one of the problematic elements of the plan, elaborated further on.

<sup>51</sup> From the traffic plan of the city. Skopje Resurgent.; UPP. vol. 4-6.

<sup>52</sup> In the case of Skopje, pre-earthquake parks (leisure spaces) were used as emergency shelters. So, they became open spaces and later the new city mandated a large portion of the city to be left open. The disaster introduced the new urbanism of the city.; - Lefebvre on leisure spaces. Architecture of Enjoyment. p. 95-99. ; Spaces of enjoyment, p. 52.

functioned) and their construction was a way of uniting the citizenry into a public; architecture was a platform for public friction and cohesion.

Lefebvre briefly refers to these spaces as an “empty lot” or “empty space” in which leisure activities can occur, in describing their necessity for the achievement of concrete utopias; or as *spaces of enjoyment*, “leisure spaces” as “contradictory” transition zones of detournement between two consecutive dominations of the space.<sup>53</sup> But what this study argues is that in Skopje they achieved their own formal status. More than transient spaces of detournement, they became permanent and valuable formal elements of the urban landscape, something more akin to Chtcheglov’s idea of the “*hacienda*” which “*doesn’t exist and must be build,*” as a separate space from the spectacle of production and banalization from which to observe it.<sup>54</sup> The term “open space” used in this study both suggests the spaces being open to possibilities (from emergency shelter to contemplation) and attempts to avoid another dichotomy of capitalist urbanism and postmodern theory (empty/full; lot/building; solid/void).<sup>55</sup> In the case of Skopje, they are not empty at all but they collect and connect the mini *concrete utopias* of the citizenry into a separate pedestrian stratum of public space that is superimposed and interwoven into the fabric of the city. Following the history of the space instead of the architecture (following Lefebvre’s proposal) a history of political and emancipatory struggle and alternative spaces is revealed within architecture

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<sup>53</sup> Lefebvre. *Architecture of Enjoyment*. p. 99-100.

<sup>54</sup> Chtcheglov, Ivan. *Formulary for a New Urbanism*. bopsecrets.org

<sup>55</sup> What does the term “empty lot” mean? What are these lots empty of: – program, ownership, construction, legal designation? Should every possible geography without a building on it be considered an “empty lot” and so open to ‘development’? The next step of that development logic is total binary development: space is either built:1 or empty:0. The “software”/ideology/logic of neoliberalism that results in the exhaustive horror vacui of fascism. As seen in Skopje 2014. A parable of what Rem Koolhaas has explained in *Delirious New York* as the theory of the Captive Globe but in this case imploded and unc cosmopolitan. The speculative economic logic insists on buildings occupying every space and that every space is and should be buildable. The opposite claim is argued in this chapter: that the city needs open spaces and that they are just as significant as the architecture. The open spaces in Skopje show how important (open-spaces) and no-build zones are. Going against the dichotomies of Venturi in *Complexity and Contradiction*.

practice itself.<sup>56</sup> Open spaces blur the distinction between commercial, institutional, and public space, and can be freely appropriated according to necessity.

The open spaces provide a respite and escape from the capitalist labor discipline. These activities are what Lefebvre would term enjoyment, or *jouissance* – the enjoyment of the connection between the body and its imagination in the given space.<sup>57</sup> Open spaces are inhabited by non-descript activities outside of the usual modes of production, they facilitate play and *enjoyment*. Enjoyment cannot be planned, the most architects (and others) can do is leave open space for it. Space for play, where the eye is not receiving messages from the spectacle of screens, advertisements, and ideology. For Lefebvre, this was a “serious objection [that] bears on the essence of pleasure and joy on the one hand, and productive and creative activity, on the other. Humans together can produce [many states] but never pleasure or joy or enjoyment. Such rewards cannot be provided by production or knowledge or planning. They arise from nature.”<sup>58</sup> In other words, open spaces necessary for enjoyment cannot be created by the planning ideology whose success operates on their destruction. Planning and zoning for pleasure and enjoyment only reverberates activities of the capitalist labor reproduction. With the destruction of other forms of urbanism of different cultures, “the madness of the Western Logos surpasses the extreme limits it could have established to avoid its self-destruction,” as evident by the majority of cities today facing obliteration in the face of climate change.<sup>59</sup> This was something conceptually foreseen by Lefebvre who saw an opening and a chance in the space of antagonism between these forms of urbanism (as extensions of political organization). Between the destruction caused by the Western

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<sup>56</sup> Lefebvre – on history of the space, not the architecture. Architecture of Enjoyment. p. 90-95.

<sup>57</sup> Lefebvre. Architecture of Enjoyment. p. 11; 114

<sup>58</sup> Lefebvre, Architecture of Enjoyment. p. 50-51.

<sup>59</sup> Lefebvre. Architecture of Enjoyment. p. 50-51

form of urbanism where “the heavy, powerful, destructive side, [of] knowledge and power, persuasion, and violence, economic and political, very clearly indicates the self-destruction of the species” and resigning to defeat of “the old despondency, the interminable complaint of history, the tears of the humiliated, the exploited, the oppressed,” a space for new critical developments and urbanities arises by questioning “philosophy, art, architecture itself; pepper(ing) them with questions that are increasingly specific.”<sup>60</sup> Which makes the case of Skopje as an example for what architecture can do as disaster relief, and a unique precedent of how architecture can thrive without capitalism.

To engage in leisure activities “we leave a space without quality, the quantitative space of production and consumption, in order to consume space and its qualitative properties: light, sun, the oceans, water, snow. We leave a space dominated by exchange to seek enjoyment in a space appropriated by and for our own use.”<sup>61</sup> Perhaps the most important quality of the open space is exactly this potential power of overtaking the preexisting space. “The site of enjoyment, if it exists, perpetuates what hostile space can, erode, exterminate. It assumes the presence of bodies, makes them available by shedding, like heavy clothing; psychic obstacles from the past, from the memory of other places.”<sup>62</sup> The open spaces of Skopje reflect this quality of being nondescript intermediary spaces that anticipate the presence of bodies and of the body politic. The open spaces of Skopje created a pedestrian stratum of the city which restrained and subdued the architecture to the natural vista and free circulation, and provided an urban “space without quality” that was laden with potential towards new habitations and urban relationships. They allowed the population to participate in imagining what the city might look like – to *play* architect, to imagine the future.

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<sup>60</sup> Ibid, 59.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid, 100

<sup>62</sup> Ibid, 113

The open spaces provided a ledge of distance to examine the city of built, constructed, cemented space as a distinct topology from the open space. They existed outside of the historical time of the city because they are ancient themselves and have absorbed what natural landscape has survived over the centuries, as such they age slower. The city can be observed from the open spaces which act as temporal islands. The Museum of Contemporary Art designed by the Polish team and the open spaces around the Kale fortress are important examples of this. They are more suitable to absorb the transition of political and societal changes because they are isolated from the construction (domination) of spaces. The open space around the government building (CK) had several large grass lawns, which were sometimes used by the citizens as pet parks and litter spots when disapproving of the government's policies.

In the case of Skopje open spaces as urban space are the result of historically contingent experimentation in architectural, planning and political processes, including self-management. During the Skopje Planning Circus these processes produced spaces free from prescribed programs, to be used by the citizenry as needed. These spaces are what Lefebvre would call a necessity for the creation of a concrete utopia, which “has its point of departure in spatial practice, in the effective appropriation of a dominant space, an opportunity for a space of representation to take shape: that of pleasant habitations associated with definite but still multifunctional structures.”

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Lefebvre's concept of the dominant/dominated space refers to the classical western imagination of the city, where human settlements and space is usually comprised and constructed by violent political forces in their attempt of mastery of nature, and with that of other human habitats. In architecture this concept can be seen in the binary definitions of space, (such as

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<sup>63</sup> Lefebvre on the “concrete utopia.” Architecture of Enjoyment. p. 141.

*solid/void* among others), that are concomitant with strict religious and political dogmas. The dominant space is the space of political power which asserts its power through social production, monumentality and violence on the dominated space, while appropriation of space allows for the usage of the space in differentiating forms of social production out of those strict definitions, it allows for a new political occupation of space resulting in the process of habitation, or creating everydayness that is opposed to or escapes the capitalist activities of social production.<sup>64</sup> The concept of appropriation of space is important to the case of Skopje, not only because the open spaces of Skopje that actively invite appropriation predate the theory of Lefebvre, but also because they are entangled in different history of the city; the western concept of the dominant/dominated space is nonexistent in the Balkans and particularly in Yugoslavia. The reason for this is twofold. Primarily because autonomous communities and communal ownership of land have existed and have been practiced well before the 20<sup>th</sup> century and the arrival of deregulated capitalism in these geographies as part of the model of folk urbanism even predating the Ottoman empire. Secondly, because of the unique brand Yugoslavian socialism, communal and local ownership was considered a goal of decentralization for the state, thus allowing for local architectural and urban practices to dictate spatial characteristics. While total mastery over nature and the environment was the main goal and *modus operandi* of Western urbanism according to Lefebvre, the dissolution of the state and any central power was the goal of Yugoslavian socialism, in the hopes that it would lead to autonomous regional communes that would cooperate in mutual benefit without any central control, as present in Ernest Weissmann's theory on urban planning and the writings of Edvard Kardelj.<sup>65</sup> Thus the open spaces of Skopje are examples that allow for the new understandings of

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<sup>64</sup> Lefebvre, Architecture of Enjoyment, p. 91-92.

<sup>65</sup> Lefebvre, Architecture of Enjoyment, p. 91-92. Kardelj on Decentralization. Problems of Socialist Productions in the Countryside. Lincolns Praeger. London. 1962. Weissmann, The Yugoslavian Alternative.

urban space and habitation different from the dominant/dominated philosophy of western urbanism, and as such they allow for the emergence of different social units as well as collective subjectivities.

The case of Skopje 65 can be compared to something that Stanek notices in Lefebvre's the earlier studies of vacation spots and rural areas "as an urban laboratory —the site of emergence of new collective subjectivities."<sup>66</sup> Skopje 65 provides for a deliberate urban model that incorporates open spaces with the clear goal of stimulating new processes of habitation, social unit formation (affective space making), and the emergence of new collective subjectivities as a form of global solidarity. In this way, Skopje 65 shows that architecture can not only operate outside of capitalism, but also provide the way out of the confines of speculative spatial formations. Lefebvre's theoretical ideas on space are already realized in Skopje in the mid-1960s, as well as other projects in Yugoslavia slightly predating the publication of his work on architecture. Yugoslavian politics and self-management were of particular interest for Lefebvre, and it was the propagation of Yugoslavian self-management model that got him dismissed from the French Communist Party.<sup>67</sup> As such Skopje 65 should be considered as a realized example of the architecture of enjoyment on an urban scale, part of the political experiment of *mondialism* on a global scale which produced the architecture of solidarity.<sup>68</sup> In other words, open spaces are formal achievements of the urban design and architecture of the period of postcolonial liberation, where international solidarity with all oppressed people was one of the key political ideas.

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<sup>66</sup> Stanek, Lukasz. Introduction. Architecture of Enjoyment. xxix.

<sup>67</sup> Stanek, Lukasz. *Yugoslav Architecture Across Three Worlds: Lagos and Beyond. Toward a Concrete Utopia*. pp. 85-89

<sup>68</sup> All terms coming from Lefebvre and Stanek's study of his works on space.

In Skopje public works of architecture and housing became monuments, and as such were destroyed by the rising neofascist government in the 2010s. This destruction, the further balkanization of the city in the 21st century was the destruction of a monument of solidarity and the ideas of social good that came with it.<sup>69</sup> As historian Andrew Herscher points out - these utopias and experiments did not fail, but rather they were destroyed.<sup>70</sup> The destruction of mondialist buildings are more famous than the buildings themselves, even though the achievements of that architecture is of monumental scale, not as individual projects, but a global effort of a generation of architects in the middle of the 20th century to provide housing for the people who need it most in an effort to end poverty and establish the next step towards equality. The neoliberal comeback (*restoration* [of empire]— according to David Harvey) started symbolically and was actually going after collective rights, and collective housing. Leading into the global crisis on housing in 2008, now those politics and architectures (or lack thereof) are global.<sup>71</sup>

Architecture is inherently political both as a form, as an object but also as a space, and especially as space with privileged access. The achievement of Yugoslavian architecture is that it was realized through the methods of self-management, and within a state-controlled economy produced a galaxy of architectural projects with multitudinous idiosyncrasies. This architectural production shows that architecture, urban life and even stylistic autonomy, expression and transformation can be achieved within a socialist, poor and war-torn country. Having access to the housing, to the architecture itself, which was not spared of luxuries of any middle class home of Western Europe was the powerful symbol of Yugoslavian modernity.<sup>72</sup> The architecture and much

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<sup>69</sup> Kokalevski, Damjan. *Debalkanize Skopje!* Schloss-Post. No. 5: Histories – An Everyday Practice. March. 2018. Schloss-post.com

<sup>70</sup> Herscher, Andrew. *Architecture, Destruction, and the Destruction of Yugoslavia. Toward a Concrete Utopia*. p. 114.

<sup>71</sup> Harvey, David. *The Right to the City*. New Left Review. No. 53. September – October 2008. pp. 23-40.

<sup>72</sup> Mrdujas, *Architecture for a Self-Managing Socialism*. p. 42-44.; p. 83.

of the urban environment in many cities in Yugoslavia was built as social projects with local services developed to provide a quality lifestyle to all citizens because it was seen as a human right, and as an investment against poverty and inequality seen as the preconditions for the spread of nationalist ideology.<sup>73</sup> Access to dignified housing was a weapon of the government against the return of nationalism/fascism, as was usual practice in the afterwar period, when social housing was seen as an investment in the peaceful future. The integrated design neighborhood unit, the complex of public housing, open spaces, and social services in the Yugoslavian case was the space designed to be the ethnic and social class equalizer and the bulwark against nationalism.

The anti-fascism of Yugoslavia (that is anti-nationalism) was the architecture itself but it was also a political ideal tied to the socialist principles of the country. Not only was a national identity seen as a bourgeois construction that detracted the working class from the real oppressors, it was a weapon used against them by powerful capitalists. Nationalism, nationalist political parties, literature and sentiment was the only thing that remained censored in Yugoslavia. And it worked for almost 50 years. The return of nationalism and neoliberal politics after the death of Tito in 1980 were slowly sowing the *grapes of wrath* throughout the region until the *vintage* was ready by the end of the decade. During the late 1980s and early 1990s the country was torn apart, while the social model returned to an oligarchical (pre-Modern) state system. The Yugoslavian war was nationalist as much it was the start of the “shock and awe” neoliberal doctrine that was carried off by all nationalists who were “oppressed” during all the years of secular socialism, aided by Western and Eastern corporations, governments and weapons manufacturers.<sup>74</sup> The vast

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<sup>73</sup> Mrduljas, 81-84.

<sup>74</sup> Klein, Naomi. *The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism*. New York: Metropolitan Books/Henry Holt, 2007.; Markovic, Tomislav. *SFRJ kao kost u grlu povampirenim naiocinalistima. (SFRY as the bone in the throat of the vampiric nationalists.)* Aljazeera Balkans. November 2018.

architecture stock and urban environment as well as open urban space, natural landscapes, parks etc. - anything that could be considered part of the commons – was the bounty of Eastern and Western oligarchs. The commons was privatized.

The physical architectural *urban artifacts* testify to a period when architecture played a pivotal role in urban development (as opposed to finance), when cities were planned according to principles of community, health and solidarity, when “people were thinking and working towards a better future.”<sup>75</sup> The mere physical presence, the reality, of these projects is a disturbing aporia to the neoliberal order for several reasons: complexity of space, ownership, authorship and their monumentality of scale both architectural and by volume of users.

In Yugoslavia housing was considered a human right by constitution, not a just a privilege, which was essential for the creation of the state through architecture.<sup>76</sup> Skopje is a city caught in the middle between *mondialism* and balkanization (fragmentation/privatization); Socialism, solidarity and “modernity” on the one hand and neoliberal, restoration, capitalist realism (post-modernism) on the other. The Skopje post-earthquake reconstruction was happening during the peak of solidarity in architecture and as such was conceived as a symbol and monument to antifascism and world solidarity and was constructed with contributions by the Yugoslav people and the international community. As historian Ines Tolic and others have pointed out the symbolism of Skopje was even heightened by the global political circumstances of the Cold War, where the image of the destruction of Skopje was the scene of a destruction that was to be avoided.<sup>77</sup> What we see in Skopje is a laboratory of planning, social architecture and international

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<sup>75</sup> de Graff, Reiner . *Four Walls and a Roof*. Harvard University Press. Cambridge, MA. 2017

<sup>76</sup> Mrduljas. *Architecture for a Self-Managing Socialism*. 42.

<sup>77</sup> Tolic. *Dopo Il Terremoto*. 31.

aid from the 1960s; a different model of architectural practice based on solidarity that functions outside of capitalism.

The realization of this plan was done through the local Institute for Architecture and Urbanism Skopje (ZUAS) and was done based on several scientific analyses ranging from the seismic conditions of the soil to the population dynamics and historical context to produce a framework plan – the Urban Plan Project (the UPP). The UPP was the plan that incorporated the existing city, the donated newly constructed neighborhoods, and the proposed growth of the city for the following thirty years. It had short term implications such as zoning and development – the UPP, and the Contour Plan which proposed the growth of the city until 1991. The UPP is more closely examined in the following chapter.

This chapter deals with the reconstruction and planning processes - the work of the architecture and planning teams in producing the Skopje Urban Plan Project 1964-65. The chapter explains the processes, decisions and knowledge exchange in the planning part of the reconstruction project from the planning side of the process.

The Skopje Urban Plan Project contour plan (UPP) reveals a unique case of planning and architecture according to the contextual needs and possibilities because of the work of the planning team on housing and open space. This was due to 1) a collaborative multilateral design methodology and praxis: planning circus, solidarity, self-management; and 2) because the urban tradition of open space being a tandem volume to architecture that was present in Macedonian architecture was incorporated into the plan and enshrined open spaces as a formal category of the urban plans.<sup>1</sup> This allowed the planning team a chance to adapt traditional domestic and foreign architectural concepts and technologies to the local context in Skopje. The resulting solution of the planning team – the so called “Contour Plan” that is based on a residential module, created a framework uniquely suitable for the city, and a unique architectural model of urban design and planning.<sup>2</sup> By basing the final contour plan of the future city on the architectural scale of the pedestrian community the planning teams subverted traditional planning (state) and architectural (citizen) relationships of power in the design of the city. The plan starts from the bottom-up looking at the history at the micro-scale on which recommendations are made towards the urban planning

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<sup>1</sup> The urban open spaces in Skopje are analogous to *atari* – open spaces in the center of villages and towns, traditionally used for various markets, fairs, (*pazarishta*) festivals (*panagjuri*), and other spontaneous congregations.

<sup>2</sup> It is termed contour plan because it proposes a contour – a framework or silhouette of the future city, based on the current situation and needs. A contour plan according to the planners is not a “final proposal” or “masterplan” even though this is the name in English. They mention the absurdity of final plans in the final sections, explained later on. The English term “masterplan” does not exist in Macedonian as is not used in architecture or planning, as seen in the text. The Macedonian term for such a plan is a general urban plan, or general regulation zoning plan. The closest in the English terminology to a contour plan is “skeletal” or a “framework” plan.

(macro) scale, as such allows the conditions on the ground (social and landscape) to dictate the limits of macro-development in order to maintain the existing balanced life in the valley. For this goal new architectural and urban design technologies had to be created that would be uniquely suitable for the context and the situation. The main are the residential module, the pedestrian layer of open spaces, and the contour plan. The contour plan itself as a format of architectural work (a deliverable, a product) is an invention of the planning team. The format of the plan expanded the limits of architectural project by enmeshing it into its social and natural context. By recognizing the limitation of the planning point of view the UPP repositions the possibility of the architectural project, and instead of a unitary vision for the entire city it delivers a contour plan for development – a framework with guidance in order to maintain a certain quality of life in city on an equitable basis, based on the existing balanced life of the city and its context. The increase of the standards of living for all inhabitants of the city was one of the main goals, besides the improvements in housing, this was defined as access to a humane urban environment – which meant a balanced relationship between built and open spaces for nurturing the connections between architecture and landscape, city and villages, rivers and mountains, work and play, home and outside. The UPP contour plan is a unique example in the practice of solidarity because it is a proposal for the future city to develop based on the careful extrapolation and continuation of the existing way of life in the valley through architecture.

The planning process relied on multiple large surveys: of the existing conditions, of the population in the most distraught areas and of the recently de-housed population; and further surveys of agencies and institutes to estimate their needs for improving standards in terms of spatial needs, connections and infrastructure.<sup>3</sup> So, the historical conditions, the existing condition post-

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<sup>3</sup> Many agencies and institutions in Macedonia and Yugoslavia provided analyses of the Skopje region.

earthquake (repairs), and the surveys of population, and surveys of agencies produced the studies and data – the scientific strata – for the work of the planning team. The planning team through the adaptation of these needs of the local context created a possibility for an increase in living standards by the provision of architecture and open spaces in tandem that would serve all the needs of the modern citizen and accommodate for the existing connections to the peripheries, such as the rustic or the pastoral. It was never the intention of the planners to completely eradicate these ways of life, in fact with the provision of open spaces and along with lanes for buggies on the main boulevards in and out of the center, the planners were trying to expand upon the existing social networks of the city and its surrounding settlements. The increase of living standards in the city was understood as having an increase in modern housing at least according to surface areas, and to be able to enjoy the natural and cultural context of the city. This increase in the standards of living was to be accomplished by the modest increase in housing space and the generous increase in public and open space as well as public functions. The tandem of architecture and open space, as the planners note, is important for the microclimatic realities of the region.<sup>4</sup>

Almost all programmatic functions were expected to grow with the projected growth of the population so the planning documents chart the plan for three periods 1965-1971, 1971-81, and 1981-1991. It is important to note that the plans for the distant dates are simply projections that come from the data, they are not edicts to follow. The key task of the planning team was how to

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<sup>4</sup> Galic, Risto. Skopje Urbanisticki Plan, NIP Nova Makedonija. Skopje 1968. p. 30. In the plan, there is housing, open space (both the urban and the landscape) and public functions, with some areas reserved for infrastructure which is also considered public functions. That is to say that in general the major categories were the domestic (private) and the communal. Everything beyond the private houses belonged to the community including the open spaces and the right to a humane and balanced life in the valley. In the text the term “balanced” is used in the sense that “sustainable” is used today. All places of work are considered public functions.

come up with a model that can be decentralized and that will improve the living standards of the people.

The car-centered approach was an inimical force of urbanism which pushed the agenda of fossil fuel dependency (as everywhere in the world in the 20<sup>th</sup> century). The historical layer, the pedestrian-centered approach, and car-centered modernism as concepts became translated, frayed and rewoven by the local teams into *humane urbanism* that favored the pedestrian, yet designated some spaces for car traffic (future car ownership and expansion of car infrastructure). To understand this reweaving process, this chapter looks at the planning process and final documents of the final Skopje Urban Plan Project (UPP) – the so called “Yellow Books” (because of their bright yellow cover page) which are the key documents of the analytic phase and the planning proposal that informed the “masterplans”, zoning and detailed urban plans. The planning documentation is a typical product of planning and architecture offices in Yugoslavia and Macedonia of the time and consist of an analysis of the conditions and a proposal based on the studies of the problem. The text elaborates on the historical condition of the city, then focuses on the scientific analysis which necessitated the reasoning for the proposals which was based on a series of large surveys conducted through the population and through the institutions of the country for better understanding the needs of the future city. The planning vision of humane urbanism and increasing the standards of living which hinges on the neighborhood unit is firstly explained for the entire city, and the later volumes explain proposals for the different neighborhoods and typical neighborhood units and each “volume was dedicated to one planning topic such as regional planning, spatial concept, infrastructure, housing, social survey, industrial zones etc.”<sup>5</sup> The planning documentation published in the Urban Plan Project – (UPP) were originally twenty-two

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<sup>5</sup> Kokalevski, Damjan. *Performing the Archive*. ETH Zurich. 2018. p. 47.

volumes but only a fifteen remain intact throughout private collections and archives in Macedonia because the main archive of the ZUAS institute that conducted this project burned down in 2017.<sup>6</sup> The first five volumes examined here are from the UC Berkeley library.

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**Collective architectural work:** It is important to briefly note here how planning (or urbanism) was organized in Yugoslavia at the time. Urbanism (or planning) and architecture have not been considered entirely distinct or different disciplines in Macedonia, and in Yugoslavia.

Institutes of urbanism which were independent institutions and similar planning bodies of municipalities and cities throughout the republics were staffed with planners who were trained as architects, since urbanism was taught in the final and graduate years of the architectural education. Together with commercial architectural enterprises they were all self-managed. The public institutes were socially owned while the commercial ones were workers' owned.<sup>7</sup> Architecture schools in Yugoslavia, like most other postwar European schools followed an engineering track, so the people who worked on Skopje had more in common through their education, than separation by disciplinary boundaries which exist in the west and east, but not in Yugoslavia to that extent, primarily because the country never had large urban conglomerations.<sup>8</sup> This largely decentralized, regional and small scale urban development was the typical living condition for the geographies in the Balkans. Within the regional framework it is understood that the city is not a closed, self-

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<sup>6</sup> Kokalevski, Damjan. *Skopje's History on Fire*. eflux.com May 2017.

<sup>7</sup> Socially owned and administered property is one of the political innovations of the Yugoslavian framework, such that there was private, social, and state ownership. Social ownership meant owned and operated by the city, or municipality where the institution or organization was located.

<sup>8</sup> Yugoslavian population saw a steady increase of population from 1947-1991 going from 15 million in 1947 to 23 million in 1991. Throughout the existence of the roughly 20 million state, Belgrade was the largest city with approximately 2 million, then Zagreb and Skopje. That is to point out that the geography of Yugoslavia was mostly rural and that this necessitated different architectural models and understandings.

sufficient entity, but that it exists in a network, and economy of exchanges with the landscape and the villages surrounding the city. This specific regional organization necessitated different architectural methods and traditions by the builders of Yugoslavia than those of the industrialized West, and East. The shared architectural heritage of the people in Yugoslavia is a shared history of anti-imperialism and a balanced living within climactic conditions and steep terrains. This is noted as the basis of the Yugoslavian Alternative of Ernest Weissmann, that regional development is not a completely new alternative to the metropolis-colony (imperial) mode of urbanization, but that it has existed in the regions of Yugoslavia and the Balkans, as a parallel development to the imperialist one, sometimes intersecting with the metropolises, sometimes not, due to the remoteness of some regions. As such, this relative autonomy and self-organization of labor and surpluses created decentralized economies of collaboration, exchange, collectivity, bartering and so on that cooperated on a larger regional level throughout the Balkans. Even if the republics of Yugoslavia had been formally under the same name since the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the populations share a history of autonomous regional development and anti-imperialist struggle against many different empires. This history is visible in the architecture of the region, especially the dispersed mountain villages in different altitude zones. The city of Skopje, as one of those cities in high-altitudes that was otherwise deemed inhospitable to long-term living, had historically been a trading post city with a limited population and growth, and the large urban open spaces throughout the city had often been used for markets and fairs, in addition to its many bazaars.<sup>9</sup> As an exchange city, there is a poetic beauty that the planning process for reconstructing Skopje as the City of Solidarity was to be conducted through a collaborative planning process of idea exchanges and not top-down solutions. This was the Planning Circus of Weissmann, which charged the Institute of Architecture

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<sup>9</sup> On Skopje being considered not really hospitable due to its climate of terrible hot summers and cold winters, is mentioned in Galic, 30.

and Urbanism of Skopje (ZUAS) that was set up for that reason, to compile the research and proposal for the city with some help from UN and other experts as needed. The model that Weissmann set up for the city builds on a history of regional and decentralized architectural development as well as collective labor organization. Yugoslavia (including its architecture) was built as a collective enterprise and through forms of collective labor. Some of the most vibrant such labor collectives at the time and today are building collectives, such as the *tajfa* (тајфа), a form of a specialized builder guild, and the *zadruga*: similar to a co-op model in many production forms have persisted throughout history.<sup>10</sup> During the time of Yugoslavia the constitution of the economy was based on these cooperatives (*zadrugas*) as the basic model of labor and municipal

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<sup>10</sup> The *tajfa*, or *tayfa* (p. tai-fah) is a type of specialized guild of construction workers or craftsmen. Though the term *tajfa* can be applied colloquially to any group working together. A form of collective labor organization, usually a small group of men who specialize in a skill in the construction process and distribute the gains, the *tajfas* are differentiated by type of work such as carpentry, masonry, joinery and so on. The *tajfas* then collaborate with each other to provide full construction services. Collective bargaining as the “contractors” or builders of the entire construction project allowed *tajfas* the power of setting the price of labor and with that the construction. The architectural labor history in Yugoslavia through these *tajfas* shows that an alternate model of architectural practice that is based on the workers’ rights as opposed to land speculation can exist and thrive. The destruction of the guild system in Italy and elsewhere was hailed as the Renaissance, but in the Balkans, it exists even today. The resurgence of interest in single-authors and their heroic achievements of the Western Renaissance could be a consequence of Cold War art historical interests in individuality, rather than the complete disappearance of guilds from the architectural scene in history. The *tajfa* is called a “band” in some English texts, but they were (and still are) much more organized locally and internally, so the term guild might be more suitable. They were the main form of labor organization in construction throughout the medieval and modern periods and are still active today in the Balkans. The *tajfa* is a surviving example of the medieval guilds that industrialization destroyed and are a small-scale union. The *zadruga* is any cooperative labor organization, and these were usually family homesteads and orchards, farms, though not exclusively, and can include many workers’ and producers’ collectives. *Zadrugas* of many kinds including *tajfas* formed the basic elements of the regional economy. Yugoslavia’s large industrialization efforts began after the end of WWII and continued during the 1960s including the period of the Skopje UPP, and as noted previously. Which means that for centuries, most of the architecture and other built work in Yugoslavia and the Balkans was done by these self-managed collective building guilds. The effort of the socialist vision of Yugoslavia was to take these already existing forms of collective labor organizations and extrapolate them to the scale of modern companies. The self-management and worker’s councils were not only Marxist theories but had living and thriving examples in Yugoslavia and they were taken as basic elements of the larger social organization of labor and society, such that most agricultural workers were joined in larger *zadrugas*, and the *zadruga* as a model of self-managed labor organization were expanded and adapted to include factories and trades. The *zadruga* model of self-management was applied to all places of work in Yugoslavia, including commercial and public firms and institutions, completely replacing the owner-worker (capitalist) model of companies, and decisions about the running of the company were democratized through workers’ councils. That is to say that all the architecture in Yugoslavia was built by collective enterprise. This model can serve as a valuable alternative to western exploitative model of the architectural and construction professions. See Edvard Kardelj. *Problems of Socialist Productions in the Countryside*; Weissmann, *The Yugoslavian Alternative*; on the interconnectedness of *zadrugas* in Macedonia and in the Balkans see Hart, Laurie Kein. "How to do things with things: architecture and ritual in Northern Greece" in *Greek Ritual Poetics*. Harvard University Press. Pp 383-404; On the history of Macedonian architecture see: Tokarev, Mihail. “*Expression of Contemporary Architecture in Macedonia and Tradition.*” Architecture faculty. Skopje. 1981.;

organization.<sup>11</sup> The architecture Institutes such as ZUAS, were part of a system of independent municipal urban and architecture institutes, which like the commercial architecture firms and all other large commercial entities were self-managed and self-owned bureaus managed by workers' councils. The Planning Circus of Skopje – which meant that the planning process and proposal will be based on the input of many institutions of expertise as well as social surveys (as opposed to hiring one firm or architect to execute a single vision), and further pairing local and international experts to work together on every team, as well as mixing architectural proposals together in combinations - is a uniquely suitable method of planning for the region considering the already existing urban and architectural tradition of regional development and the independent examination and experimentation with established models, typical of the peripheral regions.<sup>12</sup> In other words, Ernest Weissmann was perhaps the perfect choice of expert to come to Skopje's rescue because he was aware not only of the current situation on the ground but because he was aware of the architectural and urban heritage of the places like Skopje in the Balkans. The framework for work that he established allowed the local planners and architects to be in charge of the final proposals and decisions, and also allowed for Macedonian urban design and architecture to come to the fore, to be researched and extrapolated on a larger urban scale in the planning process of establishing the future city. For Weissmann the work of the builders in the remote mountainous regions was to be taken seriously, precisely because the attunement between the architectural object, the context and the community that created it. This way of looking at architecture through the history of the architectural labor that produced it was something that was seen in common with his Yugoslavian colleagues, not only because of socialism, but because that

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<sup>11</sup> See Weissmann, Yugoslavian Alternative.

<sup>12</sup> The experimentation allowed in the periphery is explained later on, mentioned in Stanek, Global Socialism. p.145

is how architecture is generally understood in the Balkans – as the work of the community that lives there.

The planning process starts with the task of establishing what is already there, then to reconstruct the most urgent areas, and finally to come up with answers and solutions to a series of complex questions about the growth of the city in the following 30 year period.

To try to summarize the mission: The ZUAS team was charged with producing a scientific planning document that was supposed to answer the following problem:

Based on: 1) the (social, architectural, urban) history of the city; 2) the local climactic, seismic and other characteristics of the Skopje valley; 3) the survey of the damage caused by the earthquake and necessary repairs; 4) a social survey of the population; 5) opinions from local organizations and institutions about their projected needs; 6) examples of contemporary developments in increasing living standards from foreign journals and institutions, to determine a model (plan) for the growth of the city that will allow for the local urban traditions of the city and region to continue, while building up the living standards of the city equitably. In other words, based on an analysis of the historical development of the city, the current needs, and the current possibilities of increasing standards in urban living – how should Skopje sustainably grow so it can maintain its character of greenery and compactness, while providing increased living conditions to the whole population. This was not an easy task, or for that matter something that architects and planners are usually trained to do, nor is there a historical precedent of urban development at this scale that is so thoroughly concerned with the local condition. Weissmann's framework for the planning process allowed the Macedonian team to extrapolate an urban future proposal for their own city based on the examination of the local architectural, urban and social history, current trends and expertise, and surrounding context of the mountainous valley.

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The planning was supposed to be conducted in the following stages:

- 1) Surveying of a) the current conditions on the ground to determine what can be salvaged or repaired, and if not – how to come up with a way to compensate the owners b) conducting a Social Survey of the population, c) surveying the relevant institutions and economic sectors in Macedonia and Yugoslavia about the needs of the rising population and how the new city can provide a higher standard of living.
- 2) A Contour Plan for the conceptual directions of development of the city, that is supposed to serve as the documentation of record until the new GUP (masterplan) is adopted.
- 3) Preliminary proposals for the Future City to be presented to the public, city council and the IBC, and to incorporate the revisions from the governing bodies.

In this process of clearing up, it was established that not all buildings were meant for demolition, so the first task was to sort buildings into history, to decide the level of damage and which buildings would be permanently destroyed. This was happening almost simultaneously with clearing the sites for new infrastructure and construction and deciding the priorities of each of those actions. The orchestration of these processes was termed *operative urbanism* by the team of urbanists and architects of ZUAS.<sup>13</sup> Operative urbanism is basically disaster relief and “operative criticism” in action, pushing the “unprejudiced experimentalism” forward as a truly architectural response into moving historical tendencies. Commonalities between the Yugoslavian socialism, the Italian *Tendenza* and Japanese Metabolism, not only formal but theoretical and critical found a common ground in Skopje, in the sense that disasters (destructions) showed opportunities not for only doing different architecture (by necessity) and thus moving critical points of theory, but doing architecture differently, that is collectively and as a form of solidarity; as part of large international process of reimagining and re-enchanting geometry with different meanings and necessities from

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<sup>13</sup> UPP. 1-2. Operative urbanism. Kniga 2. P.7

the bottom-up. It is this more egalitarian yet critical view of architecture's formation and meaning as well as formal legacy, which reaches to the core of western definitions of architecture, through the formation of "autonomous architecture" (or by poor or self-organized labor, as opposed to top-down patronage), the view of solidarity and of building architecture from the ground up that is shared through most of architectural tendencies of the 1960s.<sup>14</sup> This tendency of solidarity in global postwar architecture is then sharply opposed to the top-down imperialist view of urbanism and development which depended on the continuous destruction for exploitation of new lands and populations in the 20<sup>th</sup> century through the proliferation of the automobile infrastructure. The global dominance of imperialist urbanism of fossil fuel infrastructure is present in Skopje through the various traffic plans, overly ambitious industrial plans, and megalomaniacal infrastructural proposals such as making the Vardar river navigable. Some of these proposals that are part of the UPP were prepared jointly by the teams of ZUAS, the traffic institutes in Skopje and Doxiadis

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<sup>14</sup> Important to note here is that the American translation of Also Rossi's *Architecture of the City* exactly misses the point of Rossi that the "autonomous" of the city (which is measured by time) is the architecture that is done by the people, not by the edicts and orders of the elites. That the form of the autonomous architecture of the city happens without power noticing. This architecture did not assemble itself autonomously by pure stones flowering from dust. The architects, builders and designers who built the architecture of the city simply merge into blind anonymous autonomy in Eisenman's understanding of autonomous architecture. A consequence of the anti-community and anti-labor, anti-Marxism sentiment of CIA-sponsored institutions like Eisenman's Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies that initially took on the publishing of Rossi's book, finally published almost 20 years after its original Italian publication in 1966 with a famously esoteric introduction by Eisenman himself doing elegant gymnastics around the obvious communitarian (communist, Marxist thought of Rossi). This institute was not alone in the push for anti-collective propaganda such as postmodern individuality (car ownership; personal expression as a form of anti-classness, anti-collectivity) on all cultural affronts from Abstract Expressionism to historical revivalism of imperialist symbols and semantics together with neoclassical political values of free market (neocolonial) capitalism in Venturi's *Complexity and Contradiction*, and Venturi and Scott Brown's *Learning From Las Vegas* consecutively, to the *Oppositions* journal being sponsored directly by the Exxon Mobile corporation in the 1970s. This goes in tandem with the capitalist-patriarchy system that introduces single-family homes divided by tracks of single-car roads, that atomizes the family into single-generational units following the western bourgeois model, while abstracting the labor (of other people) who maintain and upkeep this independence. The apogee of that individualist model is the fascism of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Without the common spaces, without the collectivization of labor and the possibility to enjoy in that collective labor, fascistic imperialist forces are easily proliferated. Open spaces and communal architecture (the architecture) of indigenous people, of peasants, of the "petit," of the colonized is a communal type of architecture and it protects against authoritarianism, despotism, and imperialism (fascism), because it gives people space and means to organize and inhabit (habituate) that space to their liking. Even more so, autonomous architecture (of solidarity) provides an opportunity to the people to create a unique political economy that is independent of the central power of (any) court. Whether through the pooling of labor or finances small communities create value and currency through the construction of their communal architecture. That is what metropolitan, imperialist/neofascist architecture seeks to destroy – any and every communality, and a possibility of a communal creation of space and communal habitation.

Associates of Athens. As Felicity Scott has pointed out, Doxiadis Associates and many other such institutions during the Cold War that were sponsored by the Ford Foundation were functioning mostly as CIA-sponsored fronts for American interests in regions that they couldn't go to directly – especially socialist terrains. Doxiadis was one of the major grant recipients from the Ford foundation during this period.<sup>15</sup> However, Doxiadis was not the only one who believed (and promoted) infrastructural modernity and expanded automobile infrastructure (fossil-fuel products). Shortly after the earthquake, Maurice Rotival as one of the first visiting experts from the UN in Skopje similarly proposed conceptual sketches that would encompass the city in highways, knowingly perhaps that there were barely enough cars for boulevards at the time. The overstructured highways remain the most prominent feature of the Rotival conceptual sketches and besides their connections and the locations of asphalt clovers they ignore the cultural and physical context of the city entirely, floating on a black background. The context of the city is replaced with poched bubbles of data and pure function.<sup>16</sup> In his correspondence back to the UN during the initial period of reconstruction, another housing expert, Robert Fitzmaurice openly communicated that “another empire might be moving in” Skopje and that this was the time to increase the Western presence in the city.<sup>17</sup> Doxiadis and Rotival were certainly not alone amongst their Yugoslavian colleagues in the conviction that infrastructural modernity was advancement. It is important to note that this infrastructural modernity was a sought-after situation in Yugoslavia, that continually saw its society as somehow backwards.<sup>18</sup> Infrastructural Modernity however as an image of an advanced society is precisely the fabrication of fossil fuel industries; a Trojan Horse

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<sup>15</sup> Scott, Felicity. *Architecture or Techno-Utopia: Politics After Modernism*. MIT Press. Cambridge, MA. 2007

<sup>16</sup> See UPP: Rotival Sketches, and in Galic, p.34-35. explained further below.

<sup>17</sup> Fitzmaurice, Robert. Memo to Sudhir Sen. *Relief for Natural Disasters - Yugoslavia*. UN Archives and Records Management Section. Folder S-0198-0008-20.

<sup>18</sup> The self-colonizing internal gaze that sees itself as constantly lacking, in this case needs modern cars, roads, western clothes, longer sleeves, to be included in modernity.

image that various cover agencies and companies propagated across the world through any means necessary: advertisements, movies, fashion, architecture, planning, design. The image of Infrastructural Modernity is the Trojan Horse of the fossil fuel industry sent to the Third World during the Cold War, and many countries opened their gates and welcomed the gifts of modernity infrastructure expertise.<sup>19</sup> Cars and asphalt advanced easily through the Third World's political barriers to consumerism and capitalist exploitation.

In Skopje, the historical preservation, landscape, humane urbanism, and seismology factions of the planning team painstakingly tamed the car-centric pursuit with evidence to the contrary into some manageable state. The overstructured roadways and traffic plan that were intended for a continuous rise of car-ownership was directly counterbalanced by the work of

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<sup>19</sup> In the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century the image of industrially produced clothes was hailed as the height of advancement and modernity (see Baudelaire, Loos, Le Corbusier, etc.) The changing tides of women's clothes marked the tides of modernity for Baudelaire's 19<sup>th</sup> century Paris, while for Loos at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the epitome of modernity were men's English suits and hats. The suit itself is a modification of a military and a driver's uniform. This Trojan Horse image of modern clothes was made to extinguish foreign and local non-corporate textile and garment producers - and to centralize the control of the textile circulation - see: Loos explaining how Slovakian peasants in the Habsburg empire are oppressed by their clothes and customs, not the monarchy in *Ornament and Crime*. The advancement of the European (English) and American textile industries is tied with the colonization of the rest of the world, and especially with the monopolization of the textile market by the West throughout the colonial era (see: Loos identifying the source of fashion in London, not Vienna in *Modern Hats*). Vandana Shiva has traced how the businesses of the East India company were designed to crush the Indian textile producers through price dumping, a colonial enterprise, because the empire needs the colony in order to create monopolies, dictate prices and extract value from its markets and producers. The modern suits of Loos and dresses of Baudelaire, the symbols of Western modernity are commodities produced through deliberate price dumping in the colonies in order to maintain the monopolistic power of the market. This explains why fashion becomes a seasonal thing in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, at the height of colonization particularly in the colonial metropolises. The East India company flooded western capitals with fabrics from India to lower their price and so raise the price of domestic wool and cotton from America, and/or change the fabrics into different garments and export them back to the producers at higher prices. The image of modernity exists and depends on the colonization of the rest of the world, and to maintain this modernity, the system must upkeep the labor conditions that made that possible. (see more in Dutta, Arindam. *The Bureaucracy of Beauty*. Routledge. 2006) This type of monopoly of the market hinges on the fast turnaround of the garment industry in the metropole, which then requires cheap labor and materials in the colony. The early department stores develop simultaneously in the 19<sup>th</sup> century in western metropolises to sell this merchandize. (See Shiva, Vandana. *Earth Democracy*, North Atlantic Books. Berkeley, CA. 2005. pp. 11-65) In *Critical Path*, Buckminster Fuller explained that it was the India East company tea that was dumped in the Boston harbor during the American War of Independence, and that despite the change of state rule, the company through changing shapes and names retained its assets, business, and trading routes, to later become one of the major foundations for Standard Oil, which would later become the substrate company of Exxon Mobile and BP. In the West, Exxon and other fossil fuel companies such as Ford, GM, DuPont and others were major sponsors of architecture exhibitions and publications, museums and fairs throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century, like the 1964-65 World's Fair in Queens (exact same time as Skopje), various sponsorships to the MoMA artists and other museums, as well as the direct sponsorship of publications like *Oppositions* in the 1970s. It was up to architecture to create and promote the Trojan Horse image of modernity being fast automobile infrastructure and plastic commodities. The automobile is the constituent part to this modernity from its earliest founding figures that designed the new "modern" houses around the car, like Le Corbusier and Adolf Loos.

ZUAS by relying on the local context to produce design directives, pairing it with the more formalized ideas of the Humane Urbanism approach of Polservice and Adolf Ciborowski. This fossil-centered urbanism is not unusual for Skopje, but typical for the global post-war development especially in Europe through the Marshall Plan and the Intercity Highway program of 1950s in the United States. The American aid received through various kinds of vehicles was intended to help Yugoslavia modernize up to the western standards of agricultural industrial production, car ownership and infrastructure. Another such project that was sponsored by the UN in Yugoslavia was the Adriatic Magistral Highway that was supposed to connect the entire Adriatic coast of Yugoslavia, also a work of Doxiadis through the Ford Foundation and Yugoslavian agencies.<sup>20</sup> All of this was part of the successful effort of the fossil fuel industry to build the post-war world to its liking as a continuous surface of fossil fuel infrastructure. The fossil fuel industry successfully convinced the public that the whole world needed to be paved down and smothered in petrochemicals in order to be modern and free. But this did not quite happen in Skopje. Because of low car-ownership and no foreign imports of cars there was no justification for such expansion of motorways, some areas adjoining the corridors was reserved for future development, but were never built due to budgetary constraints, and were turned into open spaces. And on the other hand, the local experts persisted with their knowledge about the life in the valley and the possibilities of the city, over the foreign suggestions.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> The Ford Foundation also sponsors a dozen scholarships for Macedonian architecture and engineering students to attend Master's studies at elite US universities. Among others this includes Petar Mulichkovski, who studied at Taliesin and designed the CK government building in Skopje (later to be destroyed with neoclassical ornament, in the 2010s.). Georgi Konstantinovki, who studied under Paul Rudolph at Yale, and later designed the Goce Delcev student dormitory.

<sup>21</sup>This remains a contention to this day, as open space had become ravaged and scarce in the central zone after turning to a capitalist form of the market economy.

The institutional framework and counterbalancing approach set up by Weissmann for the reconstruction of the city turned out to be excellent forum to express the local expertise on architecture and planning. Particularly the modernist urban planning of Doxiadis, representing the Western point of view of the car-centric city, was to be counterbalanced by the Polservice team from Warsaw, with their humane urbanism approach. This was on invitation by the Yugoslavian authorities as a way to utilize the help donated of the Polish government, once Doxiadis was already working on the proposals. The Polservice approach was more suitable for the landscape and context of Skopje due to its pedestrian scale and proved more possible to succeed than the highway sprawl of Rotival and Doxiadis. In the end, what made Skopje successful was not the unitary vision of the architects' and its detailed execution-to-design (something architects in the western model consider success), but rather - the adaptations of various architecture ideas to the local context. The *counterbalance* of Polservice and the ZUAS local team focused on the pedestrian scale.<sup>22</sup> And in the process of creating the plan, the local team was able to adapt some local and imported ideas to the possibilities in the local context.<sup>23</sup> With that, the plan of Skopje becomes its own form of urbanism and architecture, that combined two or more theoretical approaches in urban design and reconstruction into the specifics of the local condition, two or more architectural proposals in a third one, and where the power of decision-making is on the side of the local expertise, conditions and circumstances. It is important to note that while the UN and other institutions provided the framework and gathered resources for the teams to function, it was the Macedonian team of ZUAS that produced the main features of the plan: the model of analytical

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<sup>22</sup> More on the Center competition that Tange won 60:40 with the Yugoslavian team of Wenzler et. al. In chapter 3 because the competition was executed after the contour and planning proposals were adopted at the end of 1964, and early 1965.

<sup>23</sup> Weissman used the term "counter-balance" to for introducing counter-points of opposing sides to work together on the teams of the plan. Something that the Yugoslavian government was already doing with political ideas and practices. See more in Tolic, *Dopo Il Terremotto*, 148-149.

planning, the decentralized housing module, the open space pedestrian layer, and contour plan for development.

### **The Skopje Urban Plan Project (UPP) – 1965**

“One of the first things one notices about Skopje is the mountains.”<sup>24</sup> As every observer noticed, so did the experts that came to help Skopje rebuild. The mountains are the most impressive part of the landscape and they play a major role in the illustrated plans and maps of the UPP, from the analysis to the proposal. The mountainous terrain is represented with rippling contours and tectonic bubbles that overwhelm and absorb human settlements and infrastructures. As such that the planner’s lines and interventions on the maps must take on the graphic, diagrammatic expression instead of drawing the physical scale. Proposal lines of corridors are superimposed on the landscape in a bold and exaggerated diagrammatic lines to be readable against the landscape. And with this increase in style and scale they become graphics and lose their relatability to the context. Either as overlapping pebbles of data or staggering blocks of data, the idea of tectonic assembly through layering and staggering, or gathering is present in the plans.<sup>25</sup> This is why top-down plans have historically failed in rugged terrains like Skopje.

Unlike previous planning projects for Skopje which were mostly top-down projects, the Urban Plan Project of 1965 had the local architecture, other expertise (outside of government) and the public engaged in some way from the start. Architecture (and planning) institutions became the platform where people could meet collectively overcome the trauma of the earthquake. As Mimoza Nestorova Tomic, an architect on the team and later one of the first directors of ZUAS explains: “during that period, only 20 years after the war Macedonia was in a shortage of all sorts of

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<sup>24</sup> Senior. 77.

<sup>25</sup> See Illustrations.

construction experts, from architects and engineers to construction workers. And, for the scale of the construction effort, a lot of equipment had to be brought in, special hydraulic cranes and other equipment that we simply did not have at the time, - or had one and we needed six. Of course, this included many specialized engineers, as well as machine operating expertise. Therefore, the Training School [established by the ILO in Skopje after the earthquake to train people in construction skills] was of great help. In general - it was imperative for the rebuilding of Skopje that the Yugoslavian and international communities stepped in to help, not just the ILO or the UN as institutions. It would have been impossible without this outside help.”<sup>26</sup> Mimoza Nestorova Tomic is one of Macedonia’s most celebrated architects of her generation. She is the designer of the Museum of Macedonia, the Skopje Fairgrounds Complex (Convention Center), the Beko department store and many housing projects in Macedonia and Yugoslavia. During the Skopje Project she was working on the housing, historical preservation and landscape teams in ZUAS, and later became one of its directors.<sup>27</sup> During this planning period, it was the work of Nestorova Tomic and her team that fought and won the modernist tide of (mostly male) engineers (both foreign and domestic) that were in favor of tearing down the Old Bazaar (the Carsija) and the historical neighborhoods surrounding it in an effort to modernize the automobile connections and highways. This was also due to the area being perceived as devastated by poverty and damage from the earthquake.<sup>28</sup> However, through the efforts of Nestorova Tomic and her team, it was decided

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<sup>26</sup> Nestorova Tomic, Mimoza. Personal interview, August 2017.

<sup>27</sup> Some of her work was included in the recent MoMA exhibition on Yugoslavian Architecture. The latter two destroyed by the neoliberal urban schemes, while the Museum of Macedonia was relocated in a neobaroque building as part of the criminal neofascist project of Skopje 2014. The original building remains closed to the public for the most part and is used to house certain collections of artefacts. On the criminality of the Skopje 2014 see the flooding of national archives, the new archeological museum’s depots, and the basement of the newly constructed national theater due to faulty contracts and corruption. See, Skopje 2014 Investigation Reports on prizma.mk

<sup>28</sup> And because of nestled racism and nationalism since the time of the Serbian occupation, the Carsija and the areas around had been seen as remnants of the Ottoman (Islamic) past and that needed to be rebuilt and “modernized” – see “modernist” urban plan for Skopje from the 1930s in Grceva. *The Dark Side of Planning*. The total grid of efficiency dominates and overrides all autonomous urban developments.

that the Carsija as the oldest inhabited part of the city should retain its architectural character, its pedestrian traffic and higher density. Automobile traffic was to be diverted around the Carsija and the historical core.<sup>29</sup> The reconstruction of the Carsija was a special sub-program of the Skopje project, but it had to be done simultaneously with the other phases, and this was a point of some contention with some of their car-centric colleagues, Nestorova Tomic mentions, who were envisioning highway connection in the NW area of the city to the Adriatic Highway. The Adriatic Highway was never totally completed so luckily the Carsija remained mostly intact. Nestorova Tomic pointed out that during the reconstruction efforts and the planning, there was an atmosphere of collaboration between the international guests and the local architects, most of them in their 20s and 30s, and that even though the foreign experts were essential to the effort, the final decisions about the execution of the plan and in the matters of the city were made by the local authorities in Macedonia, and not the federal government of Yugoslavia, the IBC, or the UN. In other words, all the proposals made by experts were subject to adaptation, public presentations and revisions by government bodies. While the IBC was instrumental for finding and bringing in the expertise, and coordinating the processes around the planning, it was up to the local authorities to decide on its final implementation. Nestorova Tomic remembers that “there was no sense of separate nationalities, or isolationism amongst the teams, but instead they saw themselves as architects and engineers working dedicatedly to the project, trying to help a devastated city. Through lots of debates and working late nights, solutions were made based on a lot of sources and sharing of information.” The proposed plan (that is published in the UPP) was meant to incorporate the historical layer, the new neighborhoods of prefabricated housing (baraki) built in the period from 1963-65, and a proposal for growth of an increased population living in an increased standard up to the year 1991.

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<sup>29</sup> Explained below as well, noted in the UPP documentation.

Nestorova Tomic explains that “it was important for the government at the time to provide improved housing standards to everyone in Yugoslavia, which was part of the national policy.” But especially in Skopje the earthquake revealed that “through the years, a lot of the housing stock was in poor shape as additions to older houses by the inhabitants themselves, in the pre-war era.”<sup>30</sup> The post-earthquake survey of the housing stock revealed in scientific terms to the architects just how much of the housing stock needed to be rebuilt and to be updated to contemporary standards that would also be able to withstand future quakes. To accomplish this the local workforce had to be reinforced with outside help. The goal of the project was not to “completely design and build the city all at once (in a totalitarian style) but to create a standard of living in an urban unit, a housing block, that can be successfully changed in architectural language but retain its spatial relationships, that can be adapted or repeated and serve future architects of Skopje and Yugoslavia as well.” This urban housing block (residential module) is the neighborhood unit present in Western literature particularly in CIAM, and in the writings of Buckminster Fuller. Even though this idea was present at the time, as Nestorova Tomic explains, the ultimate designs of the plan were mostly informed by the local conditions and possibilities: “The ‘neighborhood unit’ was something that was very suitable for the distraught city because it was decentralized, which meant a possibility of a simultaneous development in multiple locations, so that the standard of living for many inhabitants would be improved at once, as opposed to building housing in one phase, education and hospitals in another phase, and so on. In this way the city could quickly provide housing and necessities to many inhabitants because that was the most urgent task. Further it was beneficial because the residential module would be easy to replicate later or (in 10-15 years), and with smaller funds it would be easy to continuously replenish the housing stock in Skopje, as

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<sup>30</sup> Senior, 45-50

opposed to the city building new neighborhoods and satellite towns en masse – the existing neighborhoods could expand as needed by adding these residential modules - and that this would be a feasible model for other cities in Yugoslavia” as it later on turned out to be.<sup>31</sup> The residential module of the urban block (or neighborhood unit) was suited for the environment because Skopje already had its *mahaala* (city neighborhoods that are between a village and a small town in population). These *mahaala* were somewhat contained urban units, some divided along an ethnic basis, with their local public amenities such as green markets, temples, baths, health clinics, schools and open spaces.<sup>32</sup> Besides the residential module which can be read as an updated *mahaala* concept, a major innovation in the architecture itself was the introduction of a separate bedroom for children, and with that the slow creation of the western model nuclear home, as the standard unit within the neighborhood unit. “The separate bedroom for children was introduced by Weissman in the initial period of the planning.” Nestorova Tomic explains. “Before that, homes did not have separate room for children as such, multigenerational families were the norm, and the spaces were not programmed separately. Traditional houses were centered around fireplaces and kitchens with rooms radiating around them, because there was no central heating. In the postwar period apartments were typologically build, some in the railroad style. But Weissman was telling us that children should have their own rooms in the new housing, and that we should program the children’s rooms as such in the plans and documents. It was perhaps a clever way to convince the government to provide more finances when they see houses with children’s rooms in the proposals

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<sup>31</sup> Nestorova Tomic. Personal Interview. 2017

<sup>32</sup> Urban development in *mahaala*, as self-contained urban units was typical for many cities in the Balkans, the Mediterranean region and Eurasia under Ottoman rule, though not exclusively. Stanek mentions that socialist modern architecture in Uzbekistan, similarly, developed an urban model based on the *mahaala* as part of the urban and architectural history *Architecture in Global Socialism* ref. to Chukhovich, Boris. “Orientalist Modes of Modernism in Architecture: Colonial/Postcolonial/Soviet.” *Etudes de lettres* 2-3 (2014): 263-94.. The housing block would be a smaller version of the *mahaala* which can contain thousands of inhabitants.

as opposed to the more Soviet-style housing typologies. Though it might have been somewhat of a foreign concept at the time, we were aware of the trends, but it just wasn't how families in Macedonia functioned.”<sup>33</sup> This was seen in the social surveys of the population, showing that most were multigenerational. When asked if these new changes in domestic spaces had an impact on the fabric of society, or the family structure Nestorova Tomic opined: “Not really, outside of Skopje, the domestic spaces were not changed that drastically as in the city. Perhaps the rural-urban migration that during the industrialization process had its consequences on the family spaces and structures. But most families in Macedonia today are still multigenerational and live in some collective fashion, they might share two apartments instead of one house with five rooms, but this is of course limited to the urban architecture and that is not the average condition.” But architectural achievements and technologies should not be considered successful based on their complete adoption by the population or not – the fact that these new apartments were built and were existing along the older types is the sign of a successful adaptation of concepts to a context. The diversity of housing stock provided for the diversity of the city to continue. The fact that not all housing became the typical western bourgeois home, but the city gained many forms of housing was a sign of a success and architectural adaptation.

The main task of ZUAS was to coordinate of all the research into a coherent plan for the future city. This had to include all the work that was already completed, and to set forth a plan for the next thirty years of development, with the ambition to incorporate the already constructed to a standard equal of the buildings to be constructed with the future plan, as a way to provide the

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<sup>33</sup> Tomic. Personal interview. 2017. Also see: *Toward a Concrete Utopia*: Issaias, Theodossis and Anna Kats. *Gender and the Production of Space in Postwar Yugoslavia*. Pp. 96-104. Deskov, Ivanovska Deskova, Ivanovski. *The Reconstruction of Skopje*. pp.72-78.

maximum standard of living to most inhabitants.<sup>34</sup> The plan itself is a document that ties the reconstruction and future building efforts together. The entire Skopje reconstruction effort on the planning side that includes the post-earthquake relief (1963-65) as well as the set up for the permanent plan (1965-91) is termed the Skopje Urban Plan Project, and it “had to be conducted as an integral part of many-sided program,” which ultimately depended on a the whole series of activities by the United Nations, some completed in the immediate aftermath, and others occurring simultaneously as the planning or launched shortly after.<sup>35</sup> The success of the plan depended upon the completion of four separate Special Fund projects before the urban planning phase and rebuilding could begin. These were the establishment of a 1) Training Center for Building Construction Personnel; 2) The Vardar River Regulation Project; 3) Regional plan for the Skopje valley and 4) the Skopje Urban Plan Project.

The International Labor Organization served as the Executing Agency of the Training Center project and it established “the nucleus of a highly skilled labor force by providing facilities, close to a new technical school and to the Urban Plan Project [ZUAS] offices, for the training of workers, charge-hands, foremen and trade instructors. Its courses covered modern techniques of joinery, carpentry and wood-cutting machinists’ work, brickwork and masonry, painting and decorating, concreting and repair of contractors plant; sheet-metal fabrication and lock-smiths’ work, electrical installation, plumbing and heating, and the assembly of prefabricated buildings.”<sup>36</sup> In other words, the entire construction workforce, as well as the equipment was being modernized or updated during the process of the Skopje reconstruction. This was an important development for the construction and architecture industries in Macedonia and Yugoslavia because it precisely

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<sup>34</sup> UPP, Introduction. Vol. 1. 1-2.

<sup>35</sup> Senior, 77.

<sup>36</sup> Senior, 77.

promoted the Western standards of working to which the government was striving for, all while creating standards of living that would be comparable to those in the West. This was important for the Yugoslavian mission of creating a modern and urban workforce, while also proving that it can be accomplished with socialist methodology, communal labor, and resources. By 1967 there were 1,500 graduates of the Center who were working on the reconstruction plan.<sup>37</sup> The Training Center was a crucial element not only for accommodating the lack of expertise on the ground in Skopje, but because it provided a local workforce with highly specialized training. As opposed to importing or contracting-out the expertise needed, this project of the Special Fund and ILO guaranteed that there will a local workforce prepared to meet the challenges of construction, and that the future plan for Skopje would provide continuous employment for its graduates.

### **Book 1:**

Book 1 of the UPP opens with a reproduction of a photograph of a panoramic view of the city from the Vodno mountain looking north across the valley onto the Skopska Crna Gora mountain. Neighborhoods such as Vodno, Kapistec and most of the four Karpos neighborhoods have not yet been constructed. There are vineyards still visible on the mountain slopes, that will later become a part of the protected forest complex. The Prelude to the volumes covers materials that form the history of Skopje before the earthquake. It explains the oldest plans that the city has in order to spark a discussion in the public about the urbanism, and urban problems of Skopje. As the authors proclaim: “The process of urban planning (urbanism) is not complete after the completions of neighborhoods, streets etc. It continues in the formation of new habits, new contemporary findings, knowledge and in the creation and growth of urban awareness and culture.”<sup>38</sup> These notions of

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<sup>37</sup> Senior, 77.

<sup>38</sup> UPP. Kniga 1: p.9. ZUAS 1964

what the urban formation and architecture can do are later present in the work of Lefebvre. But this was something that already existed in the city of Skopje in its folk urbanism.

In explaining the previous plans of the city, the authors of the book explain how the 1912 plan of the city, which is the last of the Ottoman period, envisioned circular boulevards and a trolley system as transportation. The inclusion of mass public transportation as an option for the city existed at least in theory in Skopje's plans from this period.<sup>39</sup> The plan reveals the city with multiple centers of different in character and functionality, shown as poched cultural-historical institutions as well as multiple open spaces. These included large open fairgrounds (parks) around Cair, the recreational island in the Vardar river, while the Kale and Gazi Baba hills (massifs) got a special designation as protected areas.<sup>40</sup> What this plan shows is the coexistence of central planning layered on top of the local autonomous development of the city, by protecting certain zones of activity such as large fairgrounds for markets and stock (cattle) exchanges, as well as certain natural and historical areas as protected (from construction) areas in the city. It is evident that the planning history of Skopje even in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century under Ottoman rule, had a distinct path of urban growth that was not based on capitalist speculation and total-development paradigms. The terrain of the city dictated the conditions for the plan of the city.

The speculative mode of planning was present in the subsequent plan from the Serbian occupation from 1922-24. This plan is pure speculative housing blocks that are designed only as a geometric expansion of themselves, regardless of the city's historic or natural landscape on which it is superimposed. This kind of urbanism is not only typical for occupying or colonial forces, but also of complete deregulated capitalism that sees the urban as nothing but a surface (a tabula rasa)

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<sup>39</sup> UPP, p.13 -14

<sup>40</sup> UPP, p.13 -14

for the generation of blocks.<sup>41</sup> The following City Beautiful with Ringstrasse plan of 1929 was never materialized. The authors of the UPP, however justly critique the 1933 plan for having a “workers neighborhood” outside of the city with no other programs and close to the newly proposed industrial zone as evidence of the “reactionary ideas of conceptions of urbanism of the time,” meaning that workers were moved on the periphery of the cities as a way to isolate them from their communities.<sup>42</sup> The authors are acutely aware of the disastrous effects deregulated urbanization has had on the working classes in the West, and aims to avoid such problems. This critique points to the faults of the urban development of deregulated capitalism (oligarchy) that was present in the region of Skopje and Macedonia from the fall of the Ottoman empire until the end of WWII, under changing occupying forces, starting from Serbian forces after WWI, then German and Bulgarian fascist forces during WWII. The point is that the authors of the UPP were not creating an egalitarian city with improved housing standards out of nowhere, or by accident, but rather as a distinct anti-oligarchical and pro-working class direction that aims to restore or introduce dignity to the inhabitants not only after the disaster but also from the ravages of capitalist exploitation and war of its history. The Skopje city plan is not only an anti-fascist plan, but a major achievement in socialist principles of housing provisions at large and is an architectural (urban) achievement in pursuing a tradition that is deliberately different from its exploitative precedents. This awareness and criticism of previous (imperialist top-down) planning was present in the ZUAS team’s description of the 1946 plan by a Czechoslovakian engineer and is a reminiscent of pure efficiency plans in totalitarianism or engineering diagrams. The ZUAS planners note that its “radical rigidity” was part of its failure to materialize.<sup>43</sup> Next the volume turns its attention to the

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<sup>41</sup> Map od the 1922-24 plan is in the UPP. Kniga 1, p.15.

<sup>42</sup> UPP. K.1, p.15

<sup>43</sup> A fascist/Stalinist pure efficiency speculation on paper/land. UPP, k.1, p. 16-17.

postwar plan of 1948-50, which was the result of a massive urbanization campaign following the liberation of the republic. Even during this period, the authors note, there was not enough trained expertise to complete such a plan and a team from Czechoslovakia was invited in 1947 to work on the plan, which was delivered in 1948.<sup>44</sup> This points to the fact that planning, architecture, and urban development have been subject to international collaboration in Skopje throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and that plans that were proposed by these teams were not always executed nor were they expected to be. The planning that was imposed during the occupation did not materialize enough to completely change the character of the city but only to added certain structures in some areas. In other words, top-down imperialist urban plans (and their reflective political agendas) have a history of failure and dissolution in Skopje. The 1948-50 plan (after liberation) was the “first plan to consider Skopje’s connection to its neighboring towns” Tetovo, Kumanovo and Veles.<sup>45</sup> The post-earthquake reconstruction also formed an opportunity for the development of the neighboring towns and their connection to Skopje.<sup>46</sup> Regional planning and connections with other towns in Macedonia and Yugoslavia were present in architecture and reconstruction efforts from the immediate post-war years, and they continue in this period. In the 48-50 plan it was proposed that most of the Vodno mountain will be used for recreation, which was followed with multiple youth brigade work-actions that would turn the mostly dry mountain prone to flooding and mudslides that gave its name (Vodno=Watery), into a lush forest that protects and regulates the water table and the micro-climate of the city. This area joined other large recreation zones as green or open designations in the zoning plan, the second portion of the City Park, the Kale massif, the river banks, Gazi Baba park, and the Island, as the biggest “recreation areas” in the city.<sup>47</sup> This points

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<sup>44</sup> UPP, k.1, p.21.

<sup>45</sup> UPP, k.1, p.21-22.

<sup>46</sup> See senior p.42-45.

<sup>47</sup> UPP, k.1, p.22

to a process of continuous expansion of the open and green spaces in the city, that has succeeded more than the state-sponsored urban developments. The UPP then outlines the subsequent Detailed Urban Plans (DUPs) for all the separate neighborhood units that came out of the 48-50 master zoning plan (GUP). These plans were also not entirely executed, outside of some housing interventions. Some of them included the proposal for the clearing of old houses on the left bank of the city in the Carsija, as well as some of the older family houses in the Bunjakovec area. What all these plans point to is that the neighborhoods of the city were considered as separately sufficient urban units, analyzed as living wholes, as opposed to areas that must uniformly conform to the master plan.<sup>48</sup>

Volume 1 of the UPP indexes all previous urban plans both zoning plans – or (GUPs) and the Detailed Urban Plans (DUPs) for the neighborhoods of the city and some sub-urban neighborhoods before 1963, that were available to ZUAS. This includes historic and postwar plans for the city, most of them unrealized. Those already constructed are presented with some photos. Drawings, models and photomontages show at least some and, in some cases, serious consideration for the plan's context. The images of these plans in Volume 1 are predominantly drawings of architectural work: plans, drawings, sketches, models and some photos of already built projects. While older plans do resemble assemblages or collages, they are not quite the animated 1965 plan. What this study of the previous plans does reveal is a consistent model of urban development that straddles the authority of the plan vs. the architecture of the final occupants on the other hand.

In other words, how the citizens of Skopje made and used their city was rarely imposed from the top, even though obviously it was not for lack of trying. The plans of authorities are not always constructed, while the public itself creates pressure on planners and authorities to change

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<sup>48</sup> UPP, k.1, p.23-39.

their plans, through the construction of architecture and the use of open spaces for multiple purposes (folk urbanism). The city plans in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century were somewhat accommodating to the local needs and uses of the urban spaces, autonomous development, while extending open spaces. The top-down imperialist plans of the fascist occupying forces served the deregulated capitalism that those forces introduced, and were never successfully implemented precisely because of the idiosyncrasies of the neighborhoods, terrains, and open spaces that cannot be easily incorporated into a single geometric or political conception without raising the city to the ground. This points to a history of folk urbanism that creates a balance of open spaces and architecture that not only provides the basic provisions within walking distance to the inhabitants, but also prevents an urban overtake by a single-vision plan. And it was precisely this history that will provide a basis for the success of the residential modules (housing blocks) and the decentralized urban planning of the planning circus methodology with the special competitions. In other words, in Skopje there is a history of plans having to follow the life of the people and not the other way around. Top-down plans simply do not work because of the history of failed foreign occupation and local small-scale construction. Partial urban plans as a technology for the construction or regulation of certain neighborhoods were being introduced in Skopje in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and were made initially considering the existing context and how might that local area benefit from future construction. While this was absent in the occupation-era plans, the return to regional development and the localized planning through the DUPs allowed for a certain local autonomy in the creation of the build environment to be maintained, while growth was to be focused in certain new areas. This decentralized urbanism is important particularly for the existence of the green zones and open spaces that have been slowly increased since the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. From these local DUPs important to note are the competitions for the Kale and

Gazi Baba parks, both administered during the early 1950s as outlined in Volume 1 of UPP. The Kale Fortress massif is of immense importance for the history of the city, “as well as the entire space of the city” necessitated a special competition to be initiated in Yugoslavia for the urban design solution of the Kale Hill, as well as its “gravitational region” of the old Bazaar, and the left bank of the river, the historic core of the city.<sup>49</sup> This competition did not set a definitive program for the spaces but rather proposed ideas that had formed for the spaces around the hill, including: “mausoleum of fallen heroes, a memorial park for the fighters of NOB, fine arts museum, folklore museum...”<sup>50</sup> While many competition entries tried to propose the organization of this area, which the volume examines in further detail, none of the plans were fully realized, and no real winners were proclaimed. The other competitions mentioned in the volume had a similar outcome. What this points to is that the architecture scene in Skopje was involved in its own problems of rebuilding and redefining areas of the city well before the earthquake. Through a public and lively debate about built and open spaces, history and growth, architecture served as the platform for such negotiations in defining the city.

Vol. 2: - In the second Volume (Kniga 2), the authors explain why the previous plan (1948-50), was inadequate for further use because of the damage of the earthquake to the buildings of the city. The plan (the urban study) is composed of the urban program (textual elaboration) and the spatial concept (text and images: drawings, diagrams, tables). The reason for the study, according to its authors, is to explain why it is important to no longer abide by the old plan, “which the earthquake

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<sup>49</sup> UPP, k.1, p.64

<sup>50</sup> UPP, k.1, p.64

has made insufficient, and to allow the city to develop with the certainty of sustaining human life and material goods.”<sup>51</sup>

The job of the ZUAS institute was to be the administrative body of the reconstruction effort immediately after the earthquake, and for the duration of the reconstruction plan in the years 1964-71, to serve as the central institute in charge of the reconstruction of the city, as an independent expert agency, that then proposes the plan to the city administration. Also, it would be the agency that would compile all the ideas and donation packages from individual countries and synthesize them in a comprehensive plan for the growth of the city. It wasn't just the architecture experts who were creating the exquisite corpse but the people of the world as well.<sup>52</sup> In the beginning (after the earthquake) the job of the ZUAS is described “operative urbanism” which included the selection of locations for future neighborhoods, construction of temporary vs. permanent housing, prefabricated housing, giving out building permits for projects which became administration, overseeing some construction, and preparing a program for the work of all institutions who “directly or indirectly collaborate in the preparation of the urban study and spatial concept [the UPP].”<sup>53</sup> This points to the synthesizing role of the ZUAS Institute and that from the beginning and through the process, the plan was thought of as a vast collaboration between multiple agencies. The Yellow Books can be read as an introduction or as a guide-manual of what “operative urbanism” is, or how to rebuild a city after a disaster. To achieve this, as explained in Book 2, the obvious first step was to assemble a large team of people beyond architects that can help with their expertise. The

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<sup>51</sup> UPP. Kniga 2. P. 5-7.

<sup>52</sup> To this speak the volumes of memos throughout the archives on the Skopje projects that mark personal donations to the reconstruction of Skopje. From employees in the UN offices who passed around collections (noted in the UN boxes) to volumes of magazines that detailed every item of donation in *Skopje Remembers*, to the communication and speeches of the politicians in Belgrade who were in charge or rousing up support for the project (in the Belgrade archives), to the lists and lists of personal and institutional donations in the pages of all sources; as well as the names of buildings and streets in Skopje that remain today.

<sup>53</sup> UPP. Kniga 2, p.7

team of outside collaborators and foreign experts listed in the plan are Doxiadis Associates in Athens, Adolf Ciborowski and Stanislaw Yankovski of Poleservice, Warsaw; Maurice Rotival, France and Anatolij Nikolajevic, USSR from UNESCO, with multiple smaller institutes from Macedonia and Yugoslavia listed as collaborating agencies.<sup>54</sup> These collaborating agencies were asked through surveys to deliver to ZUAS a program that explains what the needs of their relative fields and sectors in terms of area (planned growth) and other necessities in the future city. The seismic map of the city and its seismic microregions come first in valence in the planning effort as they set the direction of all further plans.<sup>55</sup> This map of seismic microregions basically removes certain areas of the alluvial plane of the landscape from the possibility for construction because of unstable soils and other considerations, thusly creating further open spaces in the plan.

Chapter 1 of Book 2 explains the history and natural characteristics of the city and the Skopje valley. The history that is explained in the study includes the ancient formations of the city founded by the Dardanians, some of which ruins lay in the Kale hill, a city which was destroyed in an earthquake in 518 BC. Later it was rebuilt as Justiniana Prima by the byzantine emperor Justinian in 525-527 and remained an important city throughout the byzantine period. Skopje is mentioned in the map of Idrisi as Iskubia of the XII century, and in Turkish maps throughout the Ottoman period from the XIV and XV centuries. In the text the city is described as a “city-bridge for stock exchanges” which speaks to the city’s plurality and diversity and explains the long-standing history of large open spaces existing alongside the neighborhoods (or the built environment). The most important landmark of the city is the Stone Bridge in the central zone.<sup>56</sup> These large open spaces

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<sup>54</sup> Including the geodesic, geological, forestry, botanical, water management, agriculture, health protection, institutes UPP, k.2, p.7.

<sup>55</sup> UPP, k.2, p.21-40.

<sup>56</sup> UPP, k.2, p. 17.

were used as open-air cattle markets, bazaars, exchanges, fairgrounds and other uses. The idea that every land is suitable or necessary for construction was never present in the history of the city. The historical overview does not fail to mention the destruction of Skopje in 1683 by Habsburg general Piccolomini who set the city ablaze after losing a battle to the Ottomans. The authors note that the city was recovering from this devastating fire and the subsequent plagues through most of the 18th century, to become a commercial center again in the 19th century.<sup>57</sup> The other chapters in the volume explain other qualitative and quantitative characteristics such as demographics, economic conditions, public functions and preservation. These are important for the urban plan because they show the authors took care to learn the dynamics of the city they were planning. This was in line with the idea of a scientific and data-driven urbanism that was adopted at the time by the ZUAS team and Doxiadis Associates. The reliance on data and the scientific approach set the plan apart from its predecessors and brought it closer to the large macroeconomic plans of Yugoslavia, but also to international practices in urbanism, planning and architecture. The novelty and importance of this approach is not lost on the authors who emphasize the rational development.

Important to note from Chapter 2 of the book is the insistence of looking at the Old Bazaar as a compact whole, and to have a special historical status, deservedly so being the oldest inhabited part of the city. The vision of the pedestrian centered city that the architects were aiming for can be further glimpsed in chapters 6 zoning, 7: public functions, 8: housing.<sup>58</sup> The eighth chapter explains that the housing fund is seriously depleted because of the earthquake, but also the earthquake revealed a lot of inadequate construction as well, and the city needed to start planning for a growth in population and in living standards. One of the main goals for the future

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<sup>57</sup> UPP, k.2, p. 17-20.

<sup>58</sup> public functions include all functions of the city besides housing, open space and greenery, and historic monuments.

development was to increase the minimum living area per inhabitant from 10 m<sup>2</sup>, to 12.5 m<sup>2</sup>.<sup>59</sup> Another important stated goal of the planning effort is to guarantee that “people on the entire city territory should have completely equal conditions for hygiene, comfort, use of technical benefits, with maximum growth of the places they live in, no matter which area of town.”<sup>60</sup> Chapter 10, on Greenery and Recreation furthers this ideal of the city’s increasing living standards.

This chapter on Greenery and Recreation is perhaps the most important document that explains how seriously open spaces were taken in the planning process – as a separate formal category, and that the expansion of greenery, recreation and other open spaces is crucial for the increase of the standard of living in Skopje. The main recommendations include a minimum of 25 m<sup>2</sup> of greenspace per inhabitant, and to go up to 50 m<sup>2</sup> where possible; that every region should have a “quantum of greenery”; that 95% of streets should be planted with shade giving trees. One of the most important recommendations of this documentation is for greenery (open space) to become its own “space carrier” that is - its own designation in the zoning (masterplan) GUP. This will allow this space to remain open to all inhabitants and to continue the growth of housing and the city according to the standards it envisioned. In other words, the designation of greenery as its own function in the plan (designation by letters: D) to be added to the list of functions that can “carry” or be the main function of a plot. In this way parks, greenery, and other open spaces did not have to be “centered” or anchored by a building but rather they existed in their own right, they had their special designation in the plan, and they could not be later rezoned.<sup>61</sup> In this way open space becomes enshrined into the governing documents of the city as a legitimate formal category of space, existing to counterbalance architecture and the build environment.

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<sup>59</sup> UPP, k.2, p. 156-7

<sup>60</sup> UPP. K.2, p.158

<sup>61</sup> UPP, k.2, p. 175-176

In the Chapter on Greenery and Recreation, several things come clear. Firstly, the distinction between the open green space and the needs for it within the city versus the large recreational complexes on the outskirts. The text of the plan insists on the importance of the urban open spaces within the neighborhood units and throughout the city. The history of greenery (landscape) of Skopje reveals spaces that were both planned as parks and squares by various administrations, and by spaces that were locally open and simply circumscribed with roads or buildings. Further, that the history of the major park of the city was done so because it was the alluvial floodplain of the Vardar, such that the park was intentionally left as a terrain that can be flooded annually, with several extensive expansions along the river to incorporate more landscape into the park.<sup>62</sup>

From the UPP, Chapter 10 on Greenery:

“The new conditions of urbanization of the city should account for the current conditions of the immense needs of greenery in the spatial sense; taking into account the most current European norms for necessary free space for greenery. The earthquake had shown us an important fact [...] and that is that spaces in the city with green areas need to be significantly increased, so that the green area per person can be greatly increased to European standards. This greenery in the programmatic and spatial context will entirely meet the needs of the citizens not only in terms of sanitation and hygiene but also with creating vast opportunities for active recreation and rest.

The green surfaces (areas) are not the only factor necessary for rest and enjoyment (*разноода; razonoda*– enjoyment, leisure). Our city is missing many athletic projects, children’s playgrounds, sculptures, fountains and other elements [of open space]. And the new urban plan needs to take that into account. This is a different issue from expanding the existing recreational zones in the closer and more remote periphery of the city. The Skopje periphery has many possibilities for such recreational centers.”<sup>63</sup> [...]

“In the prewar period there is an interest and an insistence on the upkeep of greenery, even though it is clear that there was no distinct stylistic concept and manner of landscaping of public areas, their dispersal and location throughout the city, their connectedness, surface areas and perimeters.”<sup>64</sup>

In other words, many of these open spaces arose spontaneously through neighborhoods making their own greenspaces from the available lands. “In the city some new flower arrangements are known to show up, in the forms of rondels or emblems, it can be easily said that the parks of the

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<sup>62</sup> UPP, k.2, p.171-172.

<sup>63</sup> UPP, k.2, p.170

<sup>64</sup> UPP, k.2, p.172

city were not maintained well, and new extensions of greenery or squares did not occur (during the interwar period and the occupation).<sup>65</sup> What this shows is that there is a history of local or folk urban horticulture that has created open spaces and cultivated greenery outside of state capacities and apparatuses of control. In other words, there is a history of self-management of space, the self-creation of green and open spaces as well as architecture. This was however not enough to satisfy the needs for open space of the increasing population of the city, and the effort of building up open space in the city resumes in the post-war period. “Unlike the prewar-conditions, when greenery slowly increased, and completely stagnated during the occupation, in the socialist conditions of New Yugoslavia there are convenient opportunities for the enlargement of cities as a whole and for the enlargement of green spaces in particular. All of this is the product of the political-economic and social conditions, as the basic aspirations of socialism: - healthy and dignified conditions for life of the people, possibilities for work, leisure and recreation.”<sup>66</sup> The tables in the text show that greenery in the city had not been keeping up with the increase of population in the postwar period, around 8 m<sup>2</sup>/citizen.<sup>67</sup>

In order to improve the conditions of the greenery, the plan gives the following Directions for further development of the city greenery (pp. 173-182):

“1. In the urban planning process, enough space needs to be given to green complexes (spaces); to provide their equitable distribution and their inter-connectivity.” This stipulation is the basis for the creation of the large pedestrian layer of open and green space with the children’s playgrounds as a separate substratum of that layer.

2. “In the planning process, greenery needs to be correlated to the numbers of inhabitants, such that it should not be allowed to plan for less than 25 m<sup>2</sup> per inhabitant, and – if conditions of

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<sup>65</sup> UPP, k.2, p.172

<sup>66</sup> UPP, k.2, p.172

<sup>67</sup> UPP, k.2, p.173-4.

expansion of the city permit, it would be beneficial and necessary to increase it to 50m<sup>2</sup> of public urban greenery per inhabitant.” This is one of the most powerful stipulations of the plan that was aimed at raising the standards of living in the city, and to promote this level of access to open space, the housing blocks and the neighborhood units had to contain a quantum of green space and children’s playgrounds as a precondition for development.<sup>68</sup>

3. “During the design of greenery particular attention needs to be paid to the spatial concepts of green areas, such that each region or microregion to have its own definite, relational, necessary quantum of greenery.” Further connecting the public spaces through their connectivity and spatial relation, the text insists on the pedestrian connectivity between open spaces.

4. “Existing terrain-complexes to be reconstructed in detail, and to create a certain formality and to be conceptually matched to the new urbanistic conceptions.”

5. “A certain role in the city needs to be given to linear parks which would be a connection between the large green complexes and their applications onto boulevards, riverbanks, city streets, etc.”

6. “Tree-lines (*дрвореду - drvoredi*) need to be the basic element in the city’s skeleton in terms of up-greening the city. Existing tree-lines need to be largely reconstructed. Because of the climactic particularities of the Skopje Valley, the absorption of air pollution and noise pollution because of city traffic, 95% of the city’s streets need to be tree-lined.” This point is crucial for showing the sensitivity of the local climate and for the preservation of a certain climactic conditions.

7. “The choice of vegetation, including of autochthonous vegetation are elements that will greatly improve the contents of greenery in the city.”

8. “Special attention needs to be paid to the alluvial greenery along the banks of the Vardar, which will allow for new recreational centers to be formed along the river, simultaneously this green massif will be a connection to other green areas and parks inside and outside of the city.”

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<sup>68</sup> Important to note is the use of the term – жител – (someone who lives there, inhabitant); in the calculations of the area as opposed to “per capita” which is never used in the original text or drawings. “Resident” and “citizen” both come close to the original meaning, but in English they have connections to property (residence) and the state. If “citizen” would be used it would be have to be understood in the Native-American sense that the “panther is a citizen of the forest” in the same sense in Macedonian the bear and the people are equal inhabitants (citizens, жители) of the mountains.

9. “Public urban greenery with its own adequate percentage and programing designation and treatment needs to become the main zoning category (spatial carrier) for the various recreational-enjoyment objects (buildings) and areas (playgrounds, theme parks, etc.).”

10. “Public city parks should not be only a sum of trees and bushes with walkways strewn in between, but they need to become areas in which spatial concepts between certain greenery and furniture elements will be synchronized, enriched with water elements, in a rich pastel color scheme.”

The plan allows for open space to exist as its own category. Further, there are directions for the greenery within the yards of existing buildings. Some of the directions include that the greenery needs its own conceptual treatment, dimensions, and form, and to especially increase the quality of greenery in the school yards.<sup>69</sup>

A separate portion of the text is dedicated to the greenery outside of the city limits. The term *vongradsko*- means outside of the city but within its orbit - peripheral. The greenery of the city and the peripheral, together with peripheral villages, are considered as a constituent element of the ecology of the Skopje valley and of the landscape. There are large protected green zones surrounding the city that have been sparsely inhabited, except for remote mountain villages and temples. These mountains and forests have been protected from development partially due to their terrain, and partially through planning. Since the post-war reconstruction, and a previous plan of 1951 that partially tried to conceptualize the terrains around the city, these landscapes were incorporated into the political planning of the city as protected zones that need to be forested. The Vodno, Gazi Baba and Zajcev Rid mountains are considered as “green complexes,” protective forests for the climate of the valley and to outweigh, not just counterbalance the future expansion

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<sup>69</sup> UPP, v.2, p.175.

of the city.<sup>70</sup> These protected green zones were forested through youth worker actions from the postwar period through the post-earthquake reconstruction. In other words, the natural landscape of the city was slowly incorporated into the planning sphere of influence as such – a protected landscape that would be further geoengineered through work actions supplanting the forest. The landscape is seen and approached as an active space in the documents. What the document further details is how the peripheral (vongradski) landscape are to be developed, while acknowledging that in the development of the city green areas spontaneously arise, even though not evenly distributed across the area.<sup>71</sup> The directions for further development detail that all the green complexes should be further forested and upkeep, and reconstructed where needed. The green complexes as they are called in the documents include the mountain Vodno, and the massif Gazi Baba; further the complexes French Cemetery, Zajcev Rid, and the major green-recreational peripheral complexes Matka, Rasche, Katlanovo and Zelenikovo. These green complexes basically create a green protection zone around the Skopje Valley and limit construction zones to the low laying areas of the valley, while as the altitude increases so does the greenery. The protective green belt around the valley is both with accordance with the earlier 1951 plan, which was in turn influenced by the traditional, autonomous folk urbanism of the valley itself with the trading post city in the lowlands and the villages scattered in the surrounding hillsides and mountains. This format of regional development is typical for the Balkan peninsula and especially for Macedonia's mountainous terrains. This form of built development (urban/rural/landscape = folk urbanism) where the city, the landscape and the villages live in a regional shared economy is noted both in Macedonian architecture history, as well as Yugoslavian history and forms a major part of the

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<sup>70</sup> UPP, v.2, p.175

<sup>71</sup> UPP, v.2, p.176

theory of Ernest Weissmann in the Yugoslavian Alternative.<sup>72</sup> Besides Weissmann, this form of urbanism of symbiosis between the rural and urban settlements with the landscape is mentioned as well in Braudel's *History of the Mediterranean* as the autochthonous modus vivendi in the altitudes of the Balkans and other mountainous regions of the Mediterranean, as opposed to the port cities.<sup>73</sup> The point is that there has been a form of folk urbanism that exists in the peripheries of the major metropolises that is in an indeterminate scale of urban vs. rural where a local regional economy establishes and functions through nodes on a network. The periphery as a distinct form of terrain with its own mode of knowledge production that was different from the metropolitan/colonial or the provincial ones, was not an alien concept to the people in these regions. As Lukasz Stanek has pointed out through the work of Hungarian architect and planner Charles Polonyi, the periphery was in fact a different important terrain, "an open field" where influences and ideas from multiple sources (centers of influence) can be questioned and experimented with, unlike the provincial terrain which is usually connected and receives sources from only one center.<sup>74</sup> Stanek further refers to Croatian (Yugoslavian) art historian Ljubo Karaman, for whom the cultural production in the peripheries is free to experiment with ideas from multiple sources, receiving "influences from many centers, mixes, and develops them taking advantage of the 'freedom of the periphery.'"<sup>75</sup> Peripheral experiments with ideas from other centers was not a new concept, but rather an autochthonous form of knowledge production. As Stanek concludes both Polonyi and Karaman use the term "periphery" similarly, where "the delays, distortions, and echoes that characterized a peripheral mode of cultural reception offered an

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<sup>72</sup> Weissmann, Yugoslavian Alternative.

<sup>73</sup> Weissman, Yugoslavian Alternative.; Braudel. The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II. University of California Press. 1966. 53-58.

<sup>74</sup> Stanek. Global Socialism. 145

<sup>75</sup> Stanek. Global Socialism. 145

opportunity for skepticism, relativism, and a pragmatic appropriation of ideas for the specific purposes at hand.”<sup>76</sup> The “combinatorics” of these experiments, in other words, are only possible in the periphery, where the equidistance to power centers, allows for a certain freedom and skepticism towards influences as such. Nothing is sacred. Objects and influences are reworked or transformed to adapt to the circumstances of the periphery. The periphery in other words provides a destabilizing terrain for ideologies and hierarchies (a seismic terrain) because they are always met with counterbalancing ideas and concepts from somewhere else in a process of critical examination and recalibration. A process of tuning, remixing, or translation then occurs in this experimentation process in the periphery between influences from different sources, until they become more in tune with the local terrain than their source. Skopje is one of those examples, and the open spaces, the landscape plays a constituent part of that ecology. Skopje had to protect its “open fields” for exchanges and experimentation. The organization and inclusion of the landscape surrounding the city as a constituent element – a space carrier – into the documentation of the city was an important task of the UPP. The landscape is necessary to counterbalance the projects of the built environment. It is an acknowledgment of a history larger than the human scale, a geological history of place that anticipates that the city developing with and within its environment, in a play of counterbalance. The green zones act as landscape islands in a sea of built environment. And since living in Macedonia has always been tied to the land (architecture is always connected to the landscape), a complete western form of urbanization seems not only foreign but unnecessary to the scale of Skopje, not to mention the absence of enclosures in its history. To this tradition then the neighborhood unit as a microcosm of the city-in-the-valley contains a balance of built space and green space, and the efforts of the planning team is to allow this access to green space to every

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<sup>76</sup> Stanek. *Global Socialism*. 145

neighborhood unit and to every inhabitant. This meta-game of counterbalance between the open (green) space and the built environment becomes one of the major principles of the design of the city, the housing and the neighborhood units of each new block and the major guiding principles of the plan.<sup>77</sup>

Green space is subdivided into several categories according to its programmatic use.

- “1. Protected greenery with an area of approximately 30,000 ha, 17,000 out of which need to be forested.
2. Zones of Park-forests: Vodno with 2000 ha. And the recreational centers: Saraj, Matka, Rasche, Zelenikovo, and some areas in Skopska Crna Gora mountain, about 1000 ha.
3. Green zones for sports on the water – green zones along the river Vardar – 500 ha,
4. Peripheral parks – green complexes that tangentially adhere to the city region Gazi Baba, Zajcev Rid, Ostrovo and others.
5. Ameliorative forests – planned for some swamp areas in the city with the goal of their conversion into dry landscape, around 4000 ha.
6. Decorative forests – are small oases in the agricultural areas of the valley and they have a spatial and related programming use as an entity of green space outside of the city limits.
7. Health reservations – a separate space in the green peripheral complexes that will house various health related programming such as different health objects (projects), hospitals, secondary care (healing spaces), tertiary (oporaviliste), various recreation spots (odmoralista), youth recreational centers, etc. – 250 ha.”<sup>78</sup>

The directions for the continuous upkeep and increase of the peripheral greenery is outlined further in the document with the following “elements” given a key importance:

- “1. The continuous foresting of the complex “Vodno.
2. The continuous foresting of the complex “Gazi Baba.
3. Reconstruction of the forest areas of the “French Cemetery” complex.
4. Foresting of the Zajcev Rid complex.
5. Greening (forests) of the complexes “Matka”, “Rasce”, “Katlanovo”, “Zelenikovo.”
6. The construction of protected greenery in protected rings.
7. Reconstruction of certain forested areas in Vodno and Gazi Baba to include recreational areas and architectural objects in rustic style, mountain houses, porches, trellises, feeding spots and troughs for mountain animals, birds, etc.
8. The minimal intrusion of the possible traffic roads in Vodno and Gazi Baba.

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<sup>77</sup> UPP, v.2, p.176-7.

<sup>78</sup> UPP, v.2, p.176.

9. For the areas that have not been forested yet, separate programs for foresting should be conducted according to population, climactic and other indicators.”<sup>79</sup>

It is obvious that there was an awareness of the climatic changes caused by further development and increase in car ownership planned for the city, and these measures of increasing the green spaces around the city are used as deterrents, counterbalancing the development. The use of the term “complex” as a spatial term, and the naming of these complexes after their toponymic names in quotation marks to designate these green zones further exemplifies the seriousness with which green zones were taken. In other words, the “green” complex is the ecology itself of the forest Vodno or Gazi Baba, but now with a legal designation in the spatial plans of the city. It is important here to note, that the landscape surrounding the city was not “wilderness” that enters the legislation of the city as private property or acreage to be disposed of or diminished through exploitation, or “enclosures” at all; the landscape has been cultivated and inhabited throughout the millennial history of the city and it is never referred to as *wild*. The animals listed in the documents are not *wild* animals, but “mountain animals and birds” – inhabitants of the forest.<sup>80</sup> The mountains surrounding the city had always existed as a living counterpart to the built city in the architectural tradition of the region. The surrounding landscape enters the plans of the city as a network of protected zones from development with all economic consequences of limiting development along certain parameters and corridors in the valley and creating a large green zone surrounding the city. The green periphery around the city is the counterbalance not only to this plan, but to any plan in

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<sup>79</sup> UPP, v.2, p.177.

<sup>80</sup> UPP, v.2, p.177.

And, because the history of the term “park” in western historiography carries the connotation of an enclosed space, or of courtly parks and gardens, and of early colonialist impressions of the American landscape. Parks as well as green complexes in Skopje are not gated and have open pedestrian access. Further the surrounding valley of the city is not referred to as “nature” in the abstract sense as Western texts do, but rather the Valley with the mountains is seen as whole living ecosystem, like the human settlements within and, that there is a balance that needs to be maintained for the sustained growth and survival of the whole ecology. See the Future City – Contour Plan – UPP 412. This is perhaps a crucial difference between Skopje and other planning projects of the 1960s.

the future, at least that is what was imagined with the strong protections around the natural reserves.<sup>81</sup> It is important to note also that the foresting of these complexes was also conducted through collective work actions, continuing on a tradition of collective labor of pastoralism and agriculture in the regions of the Yugoslavia. In this way, the built environment and the landscape with its protections become part of the collective habitation of the people, of the collective legacy of the city.

The importance of the open spaces in the city is further seen in the attention paid in the planning documents on all types of open spaces in the city including: sports fields, children's playgrounds, recreational areas (as separate from sports fields), sculptures and fountain areas. It is interesting to note here, through the examples of the sports fields how the process of interpretation of ideas from elsewhere worked. In the description of the conditions of the sports terrains and what is necessary for the future city, the authors of the planning documents refer to a study by the Federal bureau of Physical Culture, which surveyed the available sports terrains and Yugoslavia, likewise for Macedonia. This showed that the sport area per person was around 1 m<sup>2</sup> and made Skopje deficient compared to some later planning developments like "New Belgrade, with 6,07 m<sup>2</sup>, East Germany with 7.86 m<sup>2</sup>, Czechoslovakia with 7.99 m<sup>2</sup>."<sup>82</sup> This comparison to other socialist regions is there to convince the reader (the government officials mostly) that further development in open spaces and sports terrains is necessary, even if only to keep up with the other

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<sup>81</sup> The UPP became the legal GUP "masterplan" of the city from 1965-1991, and the city continued to grow according to these directives wherever possible. With the destruction of Yugoslavia and the "liberalization of the market" plunder of public goods, the urban field was opened up to speculation in 1993, which initialized the subsequent destabilization of the economy, the rise of homelessness, and the decrease in public services provided.

<sup>82</sup> UPP, v.2, p.178.

socialist cities. The directions for the development of the sports terrains proposes an increase to 6-9 m<sup>2</sup> though the most contemporary building and technical necessities.<sup>83</sup>

### **Playgrounds:**

On the historical importance of the open spaces to the fabric (or tissue) of the city speaks the fact that before the war there were no children's playgrounds as programmatically separate open spaces. This is due to the provision of open spaces in many neighborhoods and the absence of car traffic. With modernization "free spaces for children's play is diminished and the play is transferred on the street."<sup>84</sup> This was something that the planners sought to overcome with the Skopje 65 project. It was clear that open spaces, especially playgrounds for children was something that the plan wanted to advance. In the directions part of the document the plan proposes that in "the new Skopje spaces for children's play need to find its place and space." Meaning, that space in the plan needs to be allocated to this special category of open spaces. It is important to notice the seriousness of the open spaces for children being taken as a separate category, because in a way, the open public spaces of the grownups follow the same planning scheme in becoming a separate pedestrian network of nodes or quanta of open space in all new urban blocks.<sup>85</sup> The new construction of playgrounds needs to be in addition to the already existing social spaces for play, such as kindergartens and school yards, such that "there needs to be the construction of new spaces for children's play."<sup>86</sup> According to the Yugoslavian standards of 6 m<sup>2</sup> of space for play per child, the documents propose a further inclusion of green spaces and additional open space to raise the standard to 25 m<sup>2</sup> per child – same as the adults, which for the 400,000 citizens planned for Skopje

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<sup>83</sup> UPP, v.2, p.179.

<sup>84</sup> UPP, v.2, p.179.

<sup>85</sup> UPP, v.2, p.179.

<sup>86</sup> UPP, v.2, p.179.

meant 45 ha of playgrounds.<sup>87</sup> That play is taken seriously in this plan is further documentation of the idea that the architecture of Skopje is surrealist architecture, the importance of play as a tool against authoritarianism and for the elevation of play in everyday life in the formal places of the city. These ideas of taking play seriously are present not only Yugoslavian architecture of the time but also in the Tendenza, in Metabolism as well as in Aldo van Eyck's work. Playgrounds and orphanages, together with the institutions of social care were very present in both the Yugoslavian and Finnish models of socialism, as well as the dedication to guaranteed housing and health.<sup>88</sup> Children's play was different from recreational open spaces, such that children's play is elevated to a programmatic status in the planning documents and is not something that just happens on the street.

Recreation, then, is the designation given to spaces for hiking, exploring the cultural and natural sights in the area, as well as biking routes, picnic areas, pit stops on trails and such. The further development of these areas is supposed to go along the lines of dispersed objects that don't disturb the surroundings, but also allow for the natural richness of the terrains and the "cultural monuments from virtuosos in building and painting" to be easily accessible.<sup>89</sup> The section on Sculptures and Gardens acknowledges that the city's open spaces are void of typical urban decorations such as fountains and sculptures in central squares and proposes the restoration of some old ones and additional construction of some, but this type of open space does not receive its own programmatic distinction, nor separate area in acreage to be dedicated to it, like the green

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<sup>87</sup> UPP, v.2, p.176.

<sup>88</sup> Finland's influence and help in the reconstruction of Skopje is more than just the popularity of Alvar Aalto, whose work was known in Yugoslavia through CIAM, other journals and collaborations. On Finland's help with the Skopje 65 project and its donation of prefabricated houses, more in chapter 3.

<sup>89</sup> UPP, v.2, p.180-1. referring to the monasteries and villages in the Skopje mountains. The term *неимар* – *neimar* – is a building "master-craftsmen" or great master, virtuoso of building. The *neimar* collectives were organized on the *tajfa* system.

spaces and the playgrounds.<sup>90</sup> In the Conclusions it is reiterated how important this chance for Skopje is to become a “city of greenery” because of the seismic opportunity to leave certain areas outside of the domain of development to turn them into green complexes, and that the foresting of multiple of the existing green complexes should further achieve this goal.<sup>91</sup> This further illustrates the creative struggle which ultimately succeeded in creating a city based on greenery as open space being a central element of all urban blocks and to tilt the design more on the humane urbanism pedestrian approach.

**Chapter XI** is the elaboration of the spatial concept of the city. It presents three possible variants of the spatial concept, and the first part of the chapter is devoted to the previous general regulation plan (not exactly a master-plan) that was in place before the earthquake.<sup>92</sup> The explanation of the spatial concept begins with four “solutions” – proposals - that were developed with the ZUAS team and the “expert-planner” from the United Nations – Maurice Rotival in the beginning stages of the project, before the UPP, and are somewhat informal.<sup>93</sup>

The first “solution” is to keep the city spatial concept exactly the same, it was not favored considering the necessity for housing and everything else in the city’s projected growth. The second one proposed a development of satellite towns outside of the city along a network of roads in the valley, like the typical suburban developments in the West. This is perhaps the most car-centric of Rotival’s proposed solutions. The text refers almost exclusively to car traffic as the central factor of planning decisions and the importance of the connection to the Adriatic Magistral

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<sup>90</sup> UPP, v.2, p.181-2.

<sup>91</sup> UPP, v.2, p.182

<sup>92</sup> UPP, v.2, p.183-6.

<sup>93</sup> UPP, v.2, p.186.

that was also going along under construction and sponsorship of the UN.<sup>94</sup> This type of regional connection of highways, especially to the North-South corridor “Brotherhood and Unity – *Bratstvo i Jedinstvo*” – and further the Adriatic Magistral was given precedence in these four “solutions” over their feasibility or necessity. The overstructuring of highway systems to meet perpetually increasing volumes of car traffic over the local needs of the population is redolent of the propagation of fossil fuel infrastructure. The third option proposes to keep the city as it is but with more development on the left bank, following the traditional street grid. Also a connection to the highways through the left bank is an important feature of this sketch. The fourth solution proposes satellite towns in the southwest of the city, and keeping the destroyed blocks in the center to become administration and industry, and a more local connection to the neighboring towns of Veles and Kumanovo.<sup>95</sup> These preliminary solutions done earlier in the process by the ZUAS team and Rotival, can be considered as conceptual sketches for the spatial plan of the city, but they are all heavily reliant on the expansion of the highway system and as such only are mentioned in their more conceptual ideas, as to in which direction might the city grow, not as planning directives. The megalomaniac highway expansion seemed outside of reach, and the language of the text it is clear that the “solutions” were part of the initial process, but the final proposals – the three variants – are much more complicated because of the research that went into them.

The three variants of the spatial concept presented are basically ideas of the directions of growth of the future city primarily through the highway network as a system of measurement of growth. They recombine the connections between the neighboring towns and the major highways with megalomaniacal proposals of tunnels and overpasses going through historic neighborhoods. In the end the combination in which the city grew excluded the most extravagant construction proposals,

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<sup>94</sup> UPP, v.2, p.186-7.

<sup>95</sup> UPP, v.2, p.187-9.

partially because the Adriatic Magistral itself was never completed, but also because the car ownership was never that large to necessitate such roadways. Through the urban blocks the city developed on the east-west axis along the river following its historic development. The ambition of these schemes, as well as the unfitting scale to the environment resulted in their quiet shelving, like the plans from the occupation era.

Volume 3 of the UPP is a preliminary report on the conditions of the city that should predetermine and guide the future proposals. The text explains the historical, topographical, climactic, and other conditions in the region beyond the Skopje Valley itself. It is presented as the scientific preliminary report of the planning experts involved in the plan from Doxiadis Associates and the ZUAS team.

If there is one thing that prevails and overlaps in the documentation is the belief in large infrastructural projects as necessary for progress and further development. With the megaprojects already going on in the regional neighborhood such as the Adriatic Magistral.<sup>96</sup> Another megaproject that is mentioned in the text as a future possibility for the development of Skopje's infrastructure is the Salonika to Belgrade canal that would create a navigable corridor from the port in Thessaloniki to the Danube through Serbia.<sup>97</sup> This idea of making the Vardar river navigable has existed in the imaginations of engineers since the late Ottoman empire, luckily only on paper. The point to note here is that through the accumulation of scientific data about the region from seismic to ekistic, the planning experts involved in the plan see the development of megaprojects such as massive highways and canals as a positive improvement to the relative remoteness of Skopje and Macedonia in terms to the rest of Yugoslavia. That is to say that the

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<sup>96</sup> UPP, v. 3:1

<sup>97</sup> UPP, v. 3:1, pp.9-33.

belief in infrastructural modernity is shared between planning experts on the teams working on the planning documentation. The planned construction of these megastructures was supposed to go simulate the growth in the economic and technological sectors of Yugoslavia. Here the engineering infrastructure projects that were planned are reminiscent of the rest of the megalomaniac highway systems built around the world in the same period. However, in the Yugoslavian case, the advanced modernity through infrastructure is necessary not only for the citizens, but also in an international game of one-upmanship, the country needed to prove to its Western and particularly Eastern skeptics that the country could achieve modernization and improvement of living standards, by tracing its own path between capitalism and socialism. This placed an added importance on all architectural and infrastructural projects, both in the economic sense because the construction industry was a major source of employment and in the political sense. The advanced architecture and engineering projects were the state itself as Kulic has pointed out, built through collective labor, but also a shield against attacks of being backward and undeveloped.<sup>98</sup> That is why the UPP's scientific approach is geared to prove through data that it is possible to improve standards of living through architecture and humane urbanism. The rest of the Introduction of the third volume is devoted to gathering as much scientific data about the region not only of the Skopje valley, but of Macedonia, the neighboring autonomous province of Kosovo, and the southern region of Serbia – Methohija. The plan states that Skopje was projected to become the major southern cultural and economic center of Yugoslavia and the largest city in that area. While this was historically true, the plans project this growth further and at a larger scale. The collection of the data itself through maps and spreadsheets, however, as presented in the report reads as an

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<sup>98</sup> Kulic & Mrduljas. *Between Utopia and Pragmatism: Architecture and Urban Planning in the Former Yugoslavia and the Successor States*. Unfinished Modernisations: Between Utopia and Pragmatism. Mrduljas & Kulic (Eds.) UHA/CCA. Zagreb. 2012. 6-14

encyclopedic CIA country file with a dash of optimism that lists all the possible resources, capacities, factories, all sorts of labor statistics, connections, hydrology, climate, demographics (ekistics), and planned development, while noting that Macedonia has a lower population density because of its mountainous terrain and is just going through industrialization in the postwar period.<sup>99</sup>

The UPP explains that “by the end of 1963, six months after the earthquake, 11,000 housing units were fixed, and 13,500 new prefabricated units were constructed by March 1964 with which the immediate housing problems of the city was solved.”<sup>100</sup> Doxiadis and Associates and other help from the UN’s TAB came to Skopje in March 1964, after the immediate housing problems are solved. The first part of the TAB program for assistance was used for the 4-month preliminary study of the contour plan of development of Skopje and for this task Doxiadis was chosen.<sup>101</sup> The Doxiadis group’s contract included preparing the contour plan for the development of Skopje and the region, preparing a test program for Skopje’s development for the period given by the Yugoslavian government from 1965-1971. The goal of this contour plan is to allow for fast work to happen in the distraught areas while the official GUP is adopted, this included determining the change of zoning where necessary, necessity of public buildings, locations of highways and infrastructure. The contour plan needed to produce short-term and long-term development plans.<sup>102</sup> The method of analysis of the plan was happening the following stages: assessment of damage, regional analysis – socio-economic projection for development for a six year period, the production of a transportation and traffic plan, and an infrastructure plan for water, sewage, street runoff, and water necessity assessment for the industry for the region; an assessment for all the

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<sup>99</sup> UPP, v. 3:1. Intro. p.1-9; pp.33; 55.

<sup>100</sup> UPP, v. 3:1, p.1

<sup>101</sup> UPP, v. 3:1, p.2.

<sup>102</sup> UPP, v. 3:1, p.2.

costs of the reconstruction plan.<sup>103</sup> The expansion of the transportation network as shown on the plans goes throughout the region and was optimistically anticipating an improvement of communication between Greece and Yugoslavia, and subsequent opening of more rail and highway connections, or at least increased volumes of traffic on existing routes.<sup>104</sup>

In the conclusions of the analytical part, the main north-south transportation corridor (Bratstvo i Jedinstvo, or E-95) is seen as a major improvement that is necessary for the economic and industrial development of the city of Skopje. In that sense the infrastructure and traffic plans of the city are planned in a way to correspond to the needs of a newly planned industrial zone on the east side of the city, that would move the industrial part further out towards the new highway.<sup>105</sup>

The text notes that all of the actual ekistic developments are in seismically active regions, which is to say that it is inadequate for large-scale construction undertakings. The text continues with optimism about the industrialized future of the country and Skopje as the center of the region and sees potential for development along the projected increase in population, and other natural resources. The idea that additional industrialization is needed in the city is something that is line with the federal development plans of the Yugoslavia at the time. In the planning texts, industrialization is seen as one more way that the city of Skopje can be of help to its citizens by building more factories and with that more amenities and more employment.<sup>106</sup> This vision of the

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<sup>103</sup> UPP, v. 3:1, p.3

<sup>104</sup> UPP, v. 3:1, p.87-91.

<sup>105</sup> UPP, v. 3:1, p.96.

<sup>106</sup> In the complex decentralized system of Yugoslavia, the cities themselves were the de-facto owners in the name of the people of all factories and major production facilities (orchards, agricultural facilities, mines, etc. This was called a "social" form of ownership as distinct from state or private ownership. These factories and other workplaces were self-owned and self-managed by the workers themselves and were meant to compete regionally and internationally with similar such companies from Yugoslavia. Organized like larger *tajfas*, while also serving a centrally planned domestic economy. The local government was supposed to be aware of the needs of its citizens and provide more employment opportunities while also guaranteeing a domestic and international markets for its goods. The everyday operations of the self-managed companies were done through workers' councils and were done with constant negotiations with the unions as the major agonistic force to the government plans at the time.

UPP is in continuation of the modernist vision and push by the Yugoslavian government to industrialize the country. Planning for Skopje coincided with federal plans to make Skopje the center of a developmental region (Macedonia and Kosovo being the poorest and least “developed” regions of the federation. Skopje was supposed to be the most important city center in Southern Yugoslavia.<sup>107</sup> The key planning efforts are to allow for the city to continue to grow as it has grown most recently (as a regional center). The planning documentation is not just about rebuilding buildings but how to “holistically” look at the region, and what improvements through planning can be done, such as the projection of new employment and increase in income.<sup>108</sup> The further development of the city and especially the increase in housing stock was expected to “change the domestic situation and make more young families independent.”<sup>109</sup> This shift in domesticity was seen as an improvement in the living standards, making them closer to the western standards, especially compared to the pre-earthquake and pre-war living standards where the average housing unit size was 44 m<sup>2</sup> for multigenerational families. The new housing standards planned to make that the minimum size of a housing unit, while the average to be around 60 m<sup>2</sup>.<sup>110</sup>

Besides the improvement of housing units, the development of public functions (everything except housing) is one of the key aspects of the planning efforts that added to the improvement of the living standards of Skopje and Yugoslavia. It is important to note here that the planning approach towards the public and public functions (spaces) is the key element of difference between Yugoslavian planning and its western and eastern counterparts. Public functions in the Yugoslavian planning case is everything that is not housing (private). This includes: administration, education, culture and social institutions, public (people’s) health, institutions of

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<sup>107</sup> UPP, v. 3:1, p.97-98

<sup>108</sup> UPP, v. 3:1, p.109

<sup>109</sup> UPP, v. 3:1, p.112

<sup>110</sup> UPP, v. 3:1, p.161

social protection, commerce and retail (industry included), banking, hospitality and services, open spaces, greenery and playgrounds, monuments. In other words, everything that was not the personal domain of the people was considered as public and such the responsibility of the local, national and federal government. The fact that commercial activities were considered part of the public domain, allowed for commerce to follow the housing development and not the other way around. The rest of Public Functions documentation goes to great lengths to document and tabulate every institution in the city that was there before the earthquake, and to make comparison by neighborhoods where the missing percentages of uses are, and in an effort to illustrate how the new plans would improve on this situation. It is important to note that through the data it is shown that most of the city's neighborhoods already functioned as an "urban block" with health, education and commercial uses integrated into the block.<sup>111</sup> This means that the idea of the urban block was very well suited for Skopje because it had a history of urban programming into pedestrian urban blocks with public functions provided withing walking distance.

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The second tome of the third Volume of the UPP is divided in two parts. Part 1 explains the needs of the city, while Part 2 explains the principles that will guide development. This volume of the documentation deals with the proposals of the improvement of the living standards in the city with the future development.

The planning methodology for development was to see how much space on average was devoted to a certain function before the earthquake, determine what are the city's needs – (the planning program based on questionnaires, letters, collaborations, and studies from multiple

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<sup>111</sup> UPP, v. 3:1, p.212-218.

agencies, institutes, and unions), and propose the new averages of that function that would be better suited for the future development. In other words, the standard of improvement for the city was measured by the modest increase in domestic and large increase in public space available to the citizen.

This methodology of tabulating the available spaces pre-earthquake, and proposing a new average of spaces available per citizen based on scientific studies, rather than by the wishes of companies or private interests is an important planning achievement of detouring western planning science itself, and centering the people (or “the subject”) into the mathematical matrix of the system as communities, not individuals; and as opposed to state or economic restrictions. Even as the language of the planning text shows, the calculations are done *per citizen* not *per capita*. Even in the keys of diagrams, the data are presented per “*zitelj/inhabitant*.”<sup>112</sup> In the following lines, this is examined in some detail:

For example, education: The UPP takes as a starting point that in Skopje approximately 14-17% of the projected population will be primary school students (ages 7-14). The Yugoslavian standards of education state that the maximum number of pupils per teacher-unit is 36, the maximum of pupils per school is 600, and that 600 m is the largest distance from the home to the school. To this were added the specific needs primary school educational workers and experts, made available to the ZUAS team through publications and research by multiple agencies.<sup>113</sup> These were that schools work 4-6 hours a day in one shift, so that students would spend 25-30 hours a

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<sup>112</sup> UPP, v.3:2, p.406 – Sketches 3a and 3b.

<sup>113</sup> UPP, v. 3:2, p.295-6. It is important to note that the plan relies on some data that is already available on the federal level and is using the federal, national, local and international institutions made available for further research. Union publications on the necessities for primary education are also considered as legitimate research into working conditions and needs. Which local, federal, and/or international institution provided, or collaborated in the production of the data and the standards for planning is something that is noted in the beginning of the UPP volumes and throughout the text.

week in school. In terms of space, this equates to a “desirable 7,9 m<sup>2</sup> built area per pupil of built school building,” while primary school grounds were planned to be between 1-1.2 ha, which would result in “approximately 20 m<sup>2</sup> per pupil of the entire school grounds area.”<sup>114</sup> Based on this data and methods, the text projects that the city would need to complete 44 new schools with 317,351 m<sup>2</sup> by 1971 to add to the restored or completed 32, which would give the city 76 primary schools, with a planned increase to 100 schools in 1981, and 120 schools in 1991, based on the 600 pupils per 4,740 m<sup>2</sup>.<sup>115</sup>

Banking is considered a public service together with construction companies, science institutes, utilities, business organizations and others, which follows Yugoslavian regulations. The documents analyze the functioning area dedicated to banking services in the pre-earthquake central part of the city (18,100 m<sup>2</sup> with 11,200 m<sup>2</sup> still usable after earthquake) and tabulate what would be necessary increase in area and per citizen. This recommendation of what is needed arrives from the banking institutions of the city: chamber of commercial banks, union of banking workers, etc. The banking sector recommendation is 300-400 m<sup>2</sup> per 48,000 people both in the central buildings and in dispersed branches. Then, that number (from 1965) is projected for 1971 and 1991. The UPP predicts that 15,600 m<sup>2</sup> of space would need to be constructed to meet the banking needs in the city.<sup>116</sup>

The planning for the University of Ss. Cyril and Methodius coincided with the plans of the Macedonian and Yugoslavian government to expand the university, including the dormitories, communal and recreational, administrative, and service buildings. The UPP projects that the student body of the University in Skopje will remain more or less stable and that the basic

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<sup>114</sup> UPP, v. 3:2, p.296. Primary education in Yugoslavia was K-8 while secondary education (high school and technical schools), and university educational needs are examined together under higher education.

<sup>115</sup> UPP, v. 3:2, p.297.

<sup>116</sup> UPP, v.3:2, p.288-289

requirements are 100 m<sup>2</sup> per student which includes all the different building subtypes like lecture halls, dormitories, recreation, etc.<sup>117</sup> To accommodate for 12,000 students the needs of the university is to set aside 12 ha of the plan for its expansion.<sup>118</sup> The text notes that there are two alternatives for the campus project that are being considered, the contained campus model and the university dispersed through the city model, which was favored by planners because it was more suitable for decentralization. The idea is to have some schools of the university grouped together according to their needs, such that the Architecture, Electro-Engineering and Technical Schools would be connected to the industrial zone, the Medical School to the main clinics, while the Agriculture and Natural-Science Schools would be in the periphery of the city. This was not further elaborated in these documents, because a secondary planning program was supposed to determine the final resolution of the University campus. The expansion of the university campus and the dormitories will be examined in further detail in chapter 4, because it is one of the competitions that was conducted after the planning phase.

For cultural and social institutions such as theaters, concert halls, ballet and opera hall, and others, the requirement is 6.2 ha in total of space that would accommodate 10 seats per 1,000 inhabitants. Similarly, the needs of the city require 3.5 ha in movie theaters, 14 ha in museums and galleries, 15,800 m<sup>2</sup> in library spaces, 2,000 m<sup>2</sup> in cultural-educational clubs, 5 ha of pioneer clubs, and other needs.<sup>119</sup> For open (green) spaces the plans recommend 25 m<sup>2</sup> per citizen in the urban area, or a total of 1,250 ha to be reserved for open space by 1991.<sup>120</sup> This methodology produced the areas as programming zones that are necessary to be incorporated into the final planning documentation.

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<sup>117</sup> UPP, v. 3:2, p.303.

<sup>118</sup> UPP, v. 3:2, p.303

<sup>119</sup> UPP, v. 3:2, p.303-313. This included the Macedonian Television and other public institutions.

<sup>120</sup> UPP, v. 3:2, p.329.

This “reconstruct + elevate” model of planning was applied to all the public functions (everything but housing) in the documents and numbers of needs for the city projected for 1971 through 1991. The premise in all calculations is reconstruct at least to what was there before the earthquake and to improve everywhere possible to meet the demands of the growing city and to better the living conditions. This improvement of living standards generally meant more spaces and amenities available to the citizens both in their neighborhoods and in the city in general. This increase of standards of living was based on the data collected from various agencies is the work of ZUAS that made the city what it is. The planning work of the ZUAS team is important to explain here, because this was the local team, which accordingly created the macro scale and strategy for development and the micro scale with the residential modules and street networks. The planning projections were based on studies and questionnaires from different collaborating agencies. In other words, the ZUAS team had to adapt the prevailing standards in urban planning and needs of certain sectors of the workforce to the specificities of the Skopje condition. The improvement of standards of urban living was to be achieved through the decentralization of architecture and open spaces in a humane form of urbanism.

To summarize the method: the starting figure of surface area was the available area dedicated to a certain function per citizen in the pre-earthquake city, this meant that the new standards should slightly increase to keep up with the increase in population and to improve standards of living for the future city. That would give an increased number of area needed, and that would result in smaller units of the function dispersed through the urban blocks, and some larger projects if necessary. This method was then repeated for every other public function. In a way, the planning method used for Skopje is programming the city according to the needs of the citizen in terms of equanimity and distribution of resources (public and “natural” functions), and

this programming is done with the pedestrian citizen as the primary user around which the urban block is functioning, not speculation. This optimistic pedestrian approach is found in many urban planning strategies of the period, however in Skopje, the circumstances of earthquake, the socialist state and the influx of help in the planning and construction process, made a lot these goals a reality.

This programming method continues for all possible needs and functions of the city, both in terms of architecture, open space as the tandem to architecture, and infrastructure projects. The infrastructure planning analysis concludes the analytical part of the text and the volume then proceeds towards the planning proposals.

## Part 2: The Future City:

The UPP created a framework for the development of the city within its natural and social region, as well as setting the criteria for construction of the neighborhood and housing units. This framework balanced the needs for urbanization with the possibilities in the valley and in the economy, allowing the already existent architectural and economic culture to expand but not to overtake the entire ecosystem. This type of planning that focused on the capabilities, needs, and possibilities of the context as opposed to grand schemes of urbanization in typological housing blocks for the sake of speed and efficiency is what makes the Skopje UPP important for architectural history and planning. It shows a method of work and a deliverable project that hinges on the already existing possibilities and needs of the context, and it was meant to promote an even degree of growth in the upcoming decades.

### **The future city:**

The proposal for the future city was presented in three variants. These variants are the cumulative effort of the analysis and the planning. The differences between the variants are mostly where to locate the new rail station and industrial core, and what areas of the city should be reserved for the hospital or university campus. The analysis on which these proposals are based see the city as the regional center for southern Yugoslavia and very important for the region's development.<sup>121</sup> The first part of the introduction of the proposals explains the decisions that led to conceptual plans for the direction of growth. After many ideas that were circulated that positioned the expansion of new housing blocks and the industrial axis in various locations, it was settled that the city should expand along the river Vardar, as it historically has, in a longitudinal direction, and locating the new industrial core outside of the city closer to the neighboring town of Kumanovo and the regional highway corridor.<sup>122</sup> It is important to note that in all variants of the proposal open space is a major part of the plan taking up a third of the overall area of the plan. Housing and open space together make up the majority of the plan, with only the industrial zone and the special reserved zones for the center and in the northwest corner as different uses.<sup>123</sup>

Housing is the main category of programmatic uses around which the rest of the city is organized and the proposal for the new city explains in detail how the housing units and blocks should be organized. This approach towards the housing as the central piece of the planning for the entire city is exemplified in the treatment of the smallest housing communes as the building blocks of the plan. The careful planning of the housing units and blocks prevented the construction

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<sup>121</sup> UPP, 3:2, p. 394

<sup>122</sup> UPP, 3:2, p. 400-403

<sup>123</sup> UPP, 3:2, p. 406. Sketches 3a and 3b

of unmaintainable large housing towers and estates like the ones in New Belgrade and other housing complexes throughout socialist countries.

The plan acknowledges that the earthquake has presented a unique opportunity not only for the construction of new housing but for the betterment of the surviving housing stock and their neighborhoods as well. The addition of new public spaces (open spaces) in all the housing areas was one of those ways of improvement of the space. The plan also considers all the new neighborhoods that had been built in the period of 1963-1965 and incorporates them in the planning documentation. While the newly constructed neighborhoods even though far from the center and with lower density, were incorporated into the plan none the less, with the idea that slowly until the 1991 reach of the plan, the density would increase, as well as amenities for the new neighborhoods. These new neighborhoods that were built mostly with foreign solidarity in the forms of prefabricated housing were constructed quickly on much of the agricultural land that surrounded the city streets and remained an issue during the planning process, until they were incorporated into the future plan. Finally, the UPP presents the housing plan for all new housing that is to be constructed, and this is the central formula of the design, since the whole planning of the city is centered around the housing commune.<sup>124</sup>

One of the first stipulations of the plan is that “all decisions that are guiding the future construction of new housing areas should strive for the compact and continuous growth of the city.”<sup>125</sup> The city from the very start is imagined as a green city with a compact linear growth, something that is achievable in the circumstances. The historic parts of the city and the newly constructed residential neighborhoods are considered part of the existing fabric, and the new housing areas are supposed to fit into the context. The plan suggests that due to efficacy, the central

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<sup>124</sup> UPP, v.3:2, p.409.

<sup>125</sup> UPP, v.3:2, p.411.

triangle of valley marked by the most eastern, western and northern towns of the city, should be built with housing in the first phases (up to 1981), and if necessary then continue to build outside of the triangle. High and middle density is recommended for the new housing areas in the triangle with lower density outside of it.<sup>126</sup> This kind of flexibility allowed by the plan makes it a programmatic blueprint with a formula for design that allows for decentralized development of the city, as opposed to a doctrinal planning decree. The central formula of that design is the definition and proposal of the residential module.

The organizing structure of for all “current and new development of housing will be organized around the residential module (“housing unit”) in which all public functions will be provided. This is of imperative importance from the economic and social aspect.”<sup>127</sup> The stipulations of the housing organizational structures quoted above clearly express that the socio-political model of Yugoslavia practically is hinged on the success and sustainable growth of these residential modules as decentralized self-governed communities within a larger urban and then regional framework. This planning decision that introduces the module (the size of a small village) as the basic urban unit is the most crucial element of the planning effort; it would open the door for many architectures further on, but also provided humane urbanism to many inhabitants in the city, while maintaining their independence in spatial-political terms. The introduction of the module as the basic unit of measurement for the calculations of the planning documents centered the community and their idiosyncratic autonomy in the planning and reconstruction documents; not the individual or the mass, but rather an average community centered around a school. This residential module then both relies on historical precedent of communal living in small density areas (rural/urban and architectural history of Skopje and Macedonia, Yugoslavia), and becomes

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<sup>126</sup> UPP, v.3:2, p.411-2. Gjorce – Butel – Dracevo triangle.

<sup>127</sup> UPP, v.3:2, p.412. The residential module is described below.

the modernized (urbanized) iteration of that living model. In other words, the residential module becomes a microcosm of the average (but not ideal) commune that the Yugoslavian socialism envisioned. The ultimate vision of development for the Yugoslavian society was a social state of independent communities living in a decentralized regionally collaborative economy through self-managed and collectively owned companies, while the state was there to provide fair markets, redistribution of resources and guarantee safety, social protections and standards of living, the invisible infrastructure.<sup>128</sup> This is based on the historically typical mode of life in the Balkans, allowed by its relative poverty and peripheral status, but then extrapolated to a modern (industrial) scale according to its internal socialist (anarcho-syndicalist) vision. In other words, through the introduction of the residential module the planners of Skopje had conducted a local experiment in adapting this system of social organization to the modern urban form and scale. The residential module, if successful, could prove that socialist society can produce its own urban model and structure of organization that is not based on the centrality of capitalist power relations of owner-renter and relies on the communal governance, social ownership, and collective labor of the people. As a microcosm of the larger social structural vision, the residential module is the element on which the functioning of urban socialism hinged.

Further, the text stipulates that “the spatial model (concept) of the urban residential module must be in total alignment (conformity) with the social organization of the people who will inhabit them.”<sup>129</sup> In other words, the text stipulates the architecture to conform to the needs and social organization of the inhabitants, and tries to stimulate the experimentation with the urban module by the architects, so it can be adapted to the needs of the different ethnic and cultural communities

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<sup>128</sup> And is the basis of the anarcho-syndicalist “socialist” societies of the mountainous regions of the Balkans such as Yugoslavia. Like the communes of Spain and Catalonia in the 1930s during the Second Spanish Republic until their destruction by the combined fascist forces of Europe in 1939.

<sup>129</sup> UPP, v.3:2, p.412

in Skopje. The module was also designed to be adaptable to future urban housing projects in Yugoslavia and elsewhere. Considering that Skopje with its multiethnic and multireligious population, the City of Solidarity becomes even more of a symbol of decentered multilateral collaboration for the Third World. Architecture and urban planning were the key professions that transformed this vision into a reality. As Kulic and others have noted, architecture became the platform for self-definition of the experimental socialist republics.<sup>130</sup> The residential module then is not only a symbol of a different urbanity that is based on an historical alternate (anti-imperialist, or autonomous, indigenous architectural history), but the main element for the realization of that vision. In other words, if the urban module worked, that meant that the Yugoslavian experiment could transcend its rural character (and mainly agricultural economy), continue with urbanization and successfully transition its economy (and workforce) to an urban industrialized nation. For the socialist economy to work, urbanization and housing needed to work; and vice versa, if the urban housing stock was inadequate citizens would not have the incentives to move to the city.<sup>131</sup>

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<sup>130</sup> Kulic & Mrduljas, 12-14.

<sup>131</sup> The Skopje project occurs during the years of industrialization of Yugoslavia. This “modernization” - urbanization in Yugoslavia was at a smaller scale than the West or East, and followed a unique path, and it did not quite work out in the long run considering that the majority of the population remained in the rural and agricultural sector. The belief in industrialized modernity as the only way for the working classes to “catch-up” to the living standards of the ruling classes in the countries in the West, as prescribed by Marx, was the main problem and short-fall of the socialist movements, governments, and experiments in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and Yugoslavia was no exception to this. Because This Industrial Modernity was the Trojan Horse of the neocolonization of the Third World. Kulic et. al. have pointed out in *Unfinished Modernisations* that because of Yugoslavia’s rudimentary industrial sector was still in the process of growth, it was up to architecture to deliver the standards of living promised, and it did, almost independently of the deliverables of industrial productivity. What this proves is that industrialization in general is not the precondition for the advancement of living standards in the city. Economic data of industrial outputs does not equate to better living standards, despite statistical gymnastics, but architecture and its provisions have a real impact on everyday life, as the example of free housing shows. Because Yugoslavian industrialization was not that advanced to begin with, it shows that architecture plays a key role in the sustainment of equitable distribution of resources on the urban level, and through architecture (and planning), the socialist city can surpass the purported gains of a heavily industrialized society. Not to mention that improved living standards in the West, are always social reactions against the living conditions of capitalist exploitation. Improvements in living conditions in the West were accrued through social movements and struggles against the conditions imposed by industrialization. “Housing or revolution” of Rosa Luxemburg was about architecture itself – architecture as the right to a dignified life in a nice place to live. Architecture, or architecture’s “products,” its work: the buildings - is the direct measurement of quality of life for the inhabitants of the city and it is the test of confidence in every political arrangement. The socialist experiment depended on architecture delivering a new form of urbanity, and Skopje was a major milestone in those efforts.

These residential modules while being an analogue to the rural commune, were the symbolic and literal building blocks of Yugoslavian urban socialism. Politics is about architecture, and the residential module (as an architectural technology), is the political ambition for urban resource equity within Yugoslavian socialism. Constitutionally guaranteed housing, humane climate-responsive urbanism, ample leisure space (or open space, which necessitates and stipulates more leisure time), employment within a short commute, and public services within walking distance – if socialism (or socialist urbanism at least) could provide these benefits to the average working class communities on the micro-urban scale, (which were paired with social guarantees such as free education, healthcare, lifetime employment, pensions and strong workers’ protections) - it would not only equal but surpass many “developed” metropolises in terms of standards of living.<sup>132</sup> The architectural and urban projects were reflections of the social and political ambitions of the people who made them.

The urban residential modules, as modern iterations of indigenous architectural technology become the centerpieces of a complex socio-political experiment in autonomy and self-rule. If the rural commune was the key element to the agricultural society, then the urban commune would be the architectural technology (project) that would correspond to the industrial society of socialist Yugoslavia. The planning documents paid great attention to the needs of the urban workforce, as they anticipated that in the new residential areas of the city, that were to be equidistantly located to industrial poles in the city and the periphery, at least one employee per family would be housed,

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<sup>132</sup> The module and the whole experiment were successful in many iterations. This type of humane urbanism approach paired with a socialist form of democracy was practiced and constructed not only in Yugoslavia, but all over the world. This development, this equity of particularly urban resources (standards of living) later became the thorn in the eye of neoliberalism and resulted in urban open spaces and social housing to be the main targets of its destruction.

such that the daily commutes of the different sectors of the workforce were calculated into the development plans.

According to the plan the basic definition of a residential module for Skopje “is based around an elementary school as the minimal measuring unit and point of reference.”<sup>133</sup> The housing model for Skopje does not start with the family house, or private property, but rather with a community of about “4,000 inhabitants, 15% of which or 600, are primary school pupils, and the elementary school is seen as the main center of the residential modules.”<sup>134</sup> Based on this definition of a residential module as a community centered around the elementary school, the plan further provisions five different classifications of residential modules, based on their density with additional programming uses. The diagrammatic (schematic) concept of these units then became the basis for the urban design, street profiling, communications and infrastructure networks, public transportation and so on. The five classes of residential communities are:

- I: 100-200 inhabitants
- II: 1000 inhabitants
- III: 4,000 inhabitants
- IV: 12,000 inhabitants
- V: 48,000 inhabitants.<sup>135</sup>

Each class is then defined with a brief programmatic explanation and key principles as follows:

“Residential community (zaednica) class 1: 100-200 inhabitants

It is a basic residential community formed by a group of dwellings on both sides of the street, that can be pedestrians, or is one way to motor traffic [...]

Residential community (zaednica): 1000 inhabitants

This is a group of communities from the previous class. The pedestrian walkway with greenery, and small parks and playgrounds can be become the organizing element. Collector streets of motor vehicles

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<sup>133</sup> UPP, v.3:2, p.412.

<sup>134</sup> UPP, v.3:2, p.412. In the original Macedonian, “станбени единици” – *stanbeni edinici*, translates directly as “housing units” or entities. But *units*, *unitary*, to *edinka* is closer to the original meaning. So, *housing units* in the UPP refers to a grouping of residences around an elementary school, of approximately 4000 people, as the average community for the city of Skopje, around which all other calculations in the documents are made. To avoid confusion with the English use of term *housing unit* which connotes a single-family home usually, the term “residential module” is used in this text, referring to a community based around the elementary school, The term *edinka* sometimes used in the text refers to the same design.

<sup>135</sup> UPP, v.3:2, p.413

will connect the one-way and blind streets of the previous residential class, and will be the boundary of the commune, such that traffic will occur on the periphery of the block and will not interrupt the pedestrian movements.

Residential module (edinica) class III: 4,000 inhabitants

Four residential communities from the previous class constitute this one. Here the pedestrian street is an important axis connecting to the pedestrian street of the previous commune in zigzag. The described group of services will be on this street; the major element is the primary school.

Residential module (edinica) class IV: 12,000 inhabitants

This module represents the typical residential module (stanbena zaednica – community); the ‘humane sector’ is developed around the center containing functions for the satisfaction of all daily needs. All housing projects in this community are in walking distance from the center of it. This housing community is independent economically, commercially and culturally. It can be crossed by a throughway as an axis in the central area, that would direct traffic on the edges on the commune [...] Naturally, the center of the commune is reserved for the pedestrian and the streets in the community should be engineered for the smallest speed possible and reserved for the inhabitants of the community itself, not the entire city. The goal of communes planned in this way is to direct traffic towards streets where higher speeds are allowed, which will be located on only one side of the residential community, while the pedestrian and slow traffic on the other side connecting to the center of the next class V.

Residential community (zaednica) class V: 48,000 inhabitants

This is residential module of a higher degree, which is approximately 4 residential modules of class 4. One such module is complete with all possible services, its center houses almost all necessities for the continuous functioning of a small city, which this this commune is. Maximum distance from the center to any given dwelling in the commune is not larger than 2km. this means that the center is accessible to pedestrians, bicycles, and buses that will circulate inside the commune.”<sup>136</sup>

These general stipulations are supplemented by two stipulations on the importance of greenery and open space that should define the pedestrian layer and further the profile of the streets.

“892. Adequate green belts will circumscribe the center, which will be connected with the center of the residential modules of lower classes. [...] In this way there is a guaranteed system of green zones and pathways, that connect the residential modules and give the community a humane measurement.

893. The basic effort in the planning of the housing community (residential module) is so that automobile traffic within the perimeter to be on the minimal allowed level. [...] This can only be achieved if the fast and heavy traffic that is not for the residential module be restricted to the outer perimeters of the module. The perimeters then become the main traffic corridors of the city [referring to class V], and these corridors [that collect the traffic] need to be fast, level and straight as much as possible to allow for quick access from any points of the city to the center and working places.”<sup>137</sup>

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<sup>136</sup> UPP, v.3:2, p. 417. The interchangeable use of the terms “zaednica” – community, “edinica” – unit, module, and “komuna” – commune, in the description of the residential modules shows that the planners were thinking of real communities with specific needs not just architecture as abstract mathematical models.

<sup>137</sup> UPP, v.3:2, p.421.

These stipulations ensure that the layout and profiling of the streets will follow the residential framework with its open spaces and pedestrian traffic that will take the primary significance over other engineering or economic considerations. In this way going from the pedestrian and scaling up, a hierarchy of automobile traffic is created moving cars towards collector-streets that then towards highways, leaving the internal area of the urban blocks to slow (residential) traffic where absolutely needed, and the rest of the area is reserved for pedestrian traffic and greenery (open space). Similarly for the rail line it was stipulated that it cannot cross any existing or future residential modules, and that it is meant to serve the needs of the industry as well as the population, and it was decided to locate the main central station near the industrial pole.<sup>138</sup>

#### **Plans and Programs: The “Preliminary long-range plan” - or The Contour Plan.**

The final section of the volume is the presentation of the long-term proposals for the city, or the **long-term contour plan**. This plan was designed to guide and direct the development of the city in the post-reconstruction from 1971 to 1991, with estimations of growth following the collected data and the possibilities of the terrain and context. This section of the documentation is entitled “Plans and Programs” and basically the long-term proposal for the city is presented as separate plans and programs for certain periods and areas of the city. Primarily the contours of development are presented in two programs covering the decades 1971-1981 and 1981-1991. The city plan is then subdivided along the residential modules and it was conceived that each of these blocks can be then constructed at different phases and by different architectural competitions based on the needs of the community and the city. These decisions are then passed to the smaller municipality and to decide when and what to build. In this way the UPP is moving closer to the architectural

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<sup>138</sup> UPP, v.3:2, p.423-25

scale in terms of vision. Specific architecture scale projects are decided by the local municipal government through detailed plans called DUPs, that become the legal plans and basis for building permits. The contour plan as the culminating result of the work of ZUAS and Doxiadis delivered a decentralized, phased framework (of text and drawings) for growth centered around pedestrian open space and humane urbanism. This final section also contains principles for the development of the industrial zones and infrastructure.

The planners acknowledge that these planning proposals are impossible to consider as definitive and that it is meaningless to consider a plan finished once the documents are finished because the city is a living organism just like the valley. In other words, the planners are not seeing this as an urban decree but as a planning framework – a contour plan – that provides stipulations or principles of growth and development.<sup>139</sup> “The proposed plan is not definitive. In the end, a “final” plan pertaining to an unspecified time period has no real meaning. Truly, it is impossible to make serious predictions for the period the contour plan. This period can be 40 or 50 years from now; but, preciseness in this case is completely not important because that is not the goal of the proposal.”<sup>140</sup> It is rare to find the honest voice of the planners come through the expertise, but this dry existentialist humor on the meaninglessness of final plans shows that the planning process and proposals were taken as living documents that will naturally undergo further adaptations and transformations, and makes clear that the planners did not envision a utopian-scale megastructure system. This further exemplifies that the planners did not have the ambition of a total design or a plan that would impose a code to every area of the city. The “principled plan” provides the contour of development of a green and compact city with a voluminous and expansive pedestrian layer and equitable distribution of urban resources. The Skopje Valley itself is one of those resources

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<sup>139</sup> UPP, v.3:2, p.427.

<sup>140</sup> UPP, v.3:2, p.426

considered collectively as space and while the contour plan addresses the limits of urban growth.

While the contour plan does not prescribe the architectural details of the city it does give several major stipulations as guiding principles that should be beyond debate of any future plan:

“The Skopje Valley is a space with limited dimensions, and while the extent of development is very important, and it will be even more important in the future, it is of great importance to consider the following basic factors [in that regard]:

- Skopje is a settlement (neighborhood), and as such is a living organism that is growing very quickly. The Skopje Valley as a whole is also one living organism. Because of this, any given conception or attempt to see the future Skopje as reaching a statistical end form, according to any predictions, cannot be taken seriously. The gravity of any plan needs to be given to the main city elements such as housing, central functions.”<sup>141</sup>

The contour plan was based on the analysis in the previous volumes and proposes the following main programmatic **elements for the city**:

- a. Housing area – 7,000 – 37,2%
- b. Central public function, special institutions, higher and special education – 700 ha, 3.7%
- c. Green areas, open spaces, sports, fields and the River – 4,800 ha – 25.6%
- d. Heavy industry – 2,500 ha – 13,3%
- e. Light industry and services – 600 ha – 3.5%
- f. Area reserved for central and regional health institutions, higher education, main sports arenas, convention center.
- g. Special functions – airport – 650 ha – 3.5%
- h. Main road network – 1,700 ha – 9.1%

With almost 19,000 ha total that the plan covers “the total population that could inhabit this area is between 800-900 000 people it cannot be determined when and if the city will reach that point.”<sup>142</sup>

The text continues to list stipulations about these elements in terms of their directionality and location, density, phasing and so on. These include:

Housing: That the housing is to be provided on a continuous base along both sides of the river, and should serve the needs of the working families, especially around the industrial poles. The density

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<sup>141</sup> UPP, v.3:2, p.427.

<sup>142</sup> UPP, v.3:2, p.429.

of the housing is increasing in the center and along the river and decreased with the altitude rise along the mountains.<sup>143</sup>

“All housing units are organized in communes, based on the principles in this report.” While a high-speed system will connect the major residential modules, a secondary street system with low speeds will connect their centers. This will follow the lines of the configuration of the terrain, the related centers [of the residential modules] are connected to the green zones converging into the central area and recreation towards the river.”<sup>144</sup> This stipulation of architectural text had a remarkable effect in the creation of a pedestrian layer of open spaces converging onto the central zone.

Central areas: This section of the text explains why the central zone should be taken as a special status program within the framework of the contour plan. The argument of the planners is that the central zone of new cities (like Skopje) should avoid the traditional model of having a closed fully developed center that houses all public needs and institutions and as such becomes a “knot” of vehicular traffic. To avoid this the planners propose that the central area should not be the location for every important institution of the city, or dense housing. Rather the center should expand longitudinally along the river in the south-east direction. The balance of “central function institutions” and open spaces that should be reserved in the current central zone, can be expanded along the banks so that the city has a dynamic center and expansion.<sup>145</sup> This stipulation was followed by the recommendation that the Central Zone be considered through a special program and a separate architectural competition for its urban plan and architecture. This competition was awarded to Tange and Weinzler in a 60:40 split and is examined further in Chapter 3. The recommendation for the planning through special program competition was repeated for the other zones of special functions.

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<sup>143</sup> UPP, v.3:2, p.433-35

<sup>144</sup> UPP. V3:2, p.435. “Zones of the central functions” meaning the central area of the city.

<sup>145</sup> UPP. v.3:2, p.436-37.

### Open spaces:

The stipulations of the contour plan make clear that: “the main goal in the efforts of green areas is to create a green zone along the river that connects to the central zone of open spaces and recreation: in the heart of the city and all along its axis.”<sup>146</sup> Further the planner state that the river is a very important element of the city with several other projects needing to be completed around the regulation and intakes. The spaces along the river are alluvial soil and so not suitable for many types of construction, as other zones according to the micro-seismic research, the planners suggest they should be left as open spaces “with no construction what so ever. Which makes the special space designation absolutely necessary.” And that is the designation of open space as its own “space carrier” in the contour plans that prohibits any construction.

### Streets:

The street profiling takes care to structure the hierarchy of vehicular corridors that follows the stipulation of the housing modules. Even with this dedication to the pedestrian and the human urbanism approach, high-speed automobile traffic pushes through the drawings demanding the maximum possibility for its infrastructure in the contour plan. The plans show an obvious overstructuring/over-promotion of the proposed highway network and high-speed streets. These ambitious asphalt networks were constructed in part, some had to be scaled down, some were serendipitously dissolved and never fully realized due to budgetary constraints in the later decades with the increasing difficulty of removing autonomous development of the urban tissue to create high-speed roadways.<sup>147</sup>

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<sup>146</sup> UPP. v.3:2, p.439.

<sup>147</sup> Some of them remain “on the books” as planned thoroughfares on the GUP of Skopje even today and are a cause of concern for some inhabitants, because their construction would mean the loss of valuable open space and greenery, as well as the danger to the residential fabric caused by high-speed roads.

An important example to mention is the secondary (“type B”) collector streets, that are the main arteries in the east-west direction from the center. Partizanska St. as one of those corridors has a profile is great example of architectural adaptation of existing technology that is uniquely suitable for this situation. The boulevard is one of the main east-west axis of the city, that continues outside the city to the western towns and villages. Knowing this the planners and engineers made a special profile for this boulevard so that the three median-separated lanes of vehicular traffic (one reserved for busses) on each side are paired with a separate lane for buggies, then a lane for bicycles, followed by the pedestrian lane and no street parking allowed along its entire length.<sup>148</sup> Even in the street profiles the planners paid attention to the local circumstances and conditions. The inclusion of lanes for buggies on the main newly constructed boulevards of the city was meant to continue the communication between the city and its villages. This was also done from a very practical reason because the food for the city is grown in the local villages and was brought in on hand carts and buggies. To cut off the traffic of the buggy and the pedestrian from the city would result in the collapse of the urban-rural balance and economy. This profile was repeated for other “type B” streets on the east side of the center. This is a unique street profile in the post war period that connects vehicular, buggy, bicycle and pedestrian traffic.

#### Conclusion:

The UPP proposal – the contour plan – is a unique architectural precedent of its kind. It is not a dropped down architectural vision, but a dynamic process. It is based on connections, on counterbalancing (dancing), on changing and adapting architectural scales and experiments with traditions, norms and trends. While having noticeable elements from many currents of architectural thought of the time, it is as if they all had to learn the local language (of making forms through

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<sup>148</sup> UPP. v.3:2, p. 441

combining elements) and transform themselves in order to fit into the plan. The high-speed corridors while trying to assert their dominance on the area, are contained and absorbed by the context. From the residential communes to the street profiles a particular care was given to maintaining the balance and connection between the built environment of the city, its villages, and the context of the valley. The UPP contour plan is a proposal for the future city based on the careful extrapolation of the existing way of life in the valley through architecture.

The original volumes of the UPP (all 25 volumes) continued with the presentation of specific case study proposals for all neighborhoods of the city to be considered as contours to follow, but not as design decrees.<sup>149</sup> The Central Zone, the University Complex and Cultural Zones are examined in the following chapter that looks at the architecture competitions and processes of architectural negotiations during the post-earthquake period and beyond (1965-1980) by looking at housing and public buildings.

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<sup>149</sup> The collection examined here from the Berkeley Library contains only the first five volumes examined in this chapter which are dedicated to the main analysis and design contour proposals. The other volumes are dispersed in private and museum collections in Macedonia, while much of the documentation on the planning process was destroyed in a fire in 2017.

This chapter covers the final stages of the international reconstruction efforts from 1965 onward. It explains that the Skopje Reconstruction Project was a unique example in architectural and recovery history because the reconstruction efforts were entrusted to architects and planners and not multinational corporations and government contractors. Because of this unique historical circumstance, the architectural workforce created new and unique methods of work and final deliverables that elevated the local architectural and urban traditions and constructed a city based on humane living standards. For this success to unfold, traditional western notions of architectural authorship, deliverables and “progress” had to be shelved or scrapped in favor of solutions that worked with the local conditions. The city and the architecture that was built was also an important site for knowledge transfer especially in housing construction, where Macedonian self-managed architecture and construction companies were designing, planning, producing and constructing various types of housing units and other public projects. What the Skopje reconstruction project shows is a model by which architecture can thrive without capitalism and speculative frameworks of urban development.

The chapter argues that due to the complex planning system set up by Weissmann, foreign overreaching ideas simply could not be imported to Skopje but had to be translated, adapted and metabolized to be viable in the building of Skopje and this was the success of the project for the local citizens and architectural workforce. This process made Skopje a viable example of sustainable post-disaster development.

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The 9<sup>th</sup> version – a metabolizing project:

In 1965 Kenzo Tange's office was invited via telegram to participate in a closed competition for the reconstruction of the city center of Skopje, by Ernest Weissmann's office at the United Nations Development Program.<sup>1</sup> This competition was supposed to complete the areas set aside for special consideration by the UPP with a planning framework. In the end the competition was awarded 60% to Tange's team and 40% to the Yugoslavian Wenzler team, and the two teams were conditioned to work together to meld their proposals into one, which would then be given to the local ZUAS Institute to translate to the local scale and conditions and construct. With this competition for the center of Skopje, western notions of architectural authorship died to give way to new forms of collective and collaborative authorship and architecture.

In the sign of international solidarity, Skopje was starting to rebuild at two different speeds simultaneously, the long-term urban and regional planning for the city and the immediate housing production. The urgent need for housing prompted construction immediately after clearing the rubble and was met by donations of prefabricated houses by late 1964. These were constructed in existing distraught neighborhoods as well as previously agricultural land surrounding the city that was expropriated by the Yugoslavian government and quickly rezoned and redistributed as individual housing. Housing was of the utmost importance in the years following the earthquake. Because of its scale, this rebuilding effort would mark a turning point in the city's history that is felt even today. The city became a developmental iteration of what the historian M. Ijlal Muzaffar describes as "the enigmatic and diffused terrain where relations of power are secured at the intersection of humanistic, social, economic, nationalist, and aesthetic agendas."<sup>2</sup> In the case of

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<sup>1</sup> Senior. Skopje Resurgent. Annex 1

<sup>2</sup> Muzaffar, M. Ijlal. *Modern architecture and the making of the Third World*. PhD Thesis. MIT Dept. of Architecture. 2007. (19).

Skopje, the relations of power were secured by the local ZUAS team and the self-managed architectural workforce and not the federal government or multinational corporations, and this is why Skopje is a unique case that provides an example for practicing architecture outside of the confines of capitalist speculation nor socialist totalitarian planning.

Tange's proposal for the central core, introduced a new type of housing would become a central piece of Skopje's architectural identity, namely the City Wall a combination of apartments towers and blocks interspersed with pedestrian plazas and open spaces. Neighborhoods of social and private apartments were becoming the new typical form of housing in Skopje following the neighborhood unit (*mahaala*) model prescribed in the UPP. The City Wall housing in Skopje can be considered as a Metabolist project because it contains some of the key elements of Metabolist work, namely the reinterpretation of history and the creation of artificial land in urban development, and the notion of city-as-process in the creation of new environments.

The Yugoslavian government in the 1960s was looking for a strategy for the development of urban socialism with minimal to no private ownership while the UN was developing a comprehensively deployable agenda for development in the Third World. While neither party achieved what they set out to accomplish during the reconstruction of Skopje, the city became the beneficiary of this experimentation by receiving new housing developments, more than a dozen new neighborhoods, civic and infrastructure projects, reflective of the strong emphasis on modernization by the parties involved. The process of implementation and execution of the plan itself, was mired with problems and compromises, which resulted in a different outcome from the original plan. This plan despite its international character and large scale remains in the tradition of central or "top-down" planning, however more than previous such plans it became a rostrum for the negotiations of different political and socio-economical agendas of the participants: the

local inhabitants, the Yugoslavian government and the United Nations, while the construction benefited the local population. Historically, successive waves of modernizations executed by different political power structures had created a diverse, dense, and open-ended urban morphology for the city of Skopje. The post-earthquake reconstruction plan shifted the rhythm and scale of the city towards a Metabolist automotive city, and a prototype for Yugoslavian socialism as well as a case study for the use of prefabricated housing as a vehicle for international aid programs. In other words, from 1965 onwards the city of Skopje became a terrain for experiments in architecture and urban development as manifestations of the political ideologies of modernization through the exploration of housing and property arrangements by the parties involved in the effort. While the politicians were trying to use the Skopje reconstruction as a symbolic power source, the architectural work was done by the local workforce with international help, according to the UPP which was based on the local conditions and possibilities. What the Skopje reconstruction project showed in the end after all the experimentations were built is that architecture can thrive outside of capitalism.

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Developing an urban model for socialist Yugoslavia. How Skopje fits into the Yugoslavian concepts of urban development:

After the second World War, internally in Yugoslavia the government was still developing its own form of socialism. After Yugoslavia was expelled from the Communist Information Bureau in 1948, Tito and Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY) had no other recourse but to tread a distinct path away from the USSR, towards a socialism that would be open towards Western

market capitalism.<sup>3</sup> This political experiment included multiple revisions of the legislature on the constitutional, federal and municipal levels throughout the 1950s and 1960s, especially in the economic sector, including banking and housing.

Yugoslavian socialism was mainly concerned with building the country as an ideological transitional state towards a true socialist classless society and at the same time trying to overcome the social and ethnic differences inherited from the Kingdom of Yugoslavia with the predominant centralized power structure of the Serbian and Croatian bourgeoisie vis-à-vis the working (peasant) class and Communist leadership. Historically these tensions can be seen through the country's main ideologues Edvard Kardelj and Josip Broz Tito, both following a Marxist conviction towards the necessity of the state as a transitory mechanism towards a truly classless society.<sup>4</sup> Edvard Kardelj was a politician and statesman, and one of the main social and economic reformist in Yugoslavia who proposed many of the constitutional and legislative changes to be enacted in order to create a distinct form of socialist structure that would be reliant on self-management of and collective ownership, while remaining open to Western markets. President of the federation Josip Broz Tito on the other hand was continuously concerned about discrepancies in social conditions and inequality between the different ethnicities and nationalities in the Federation as this represented fertile ground for ethnic tensions that could bring down the State.<sup>5</sup> Both Kardelj and Tito, however, set the course of Yugoslavian state organization towards a decentralized form of government, as opposed to the central state format of the USSR, towards a position where autonomous decisions can be enacted by economic, social and civil self-organized entities that

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<sup>3</sup> Jovic, Dejan. *Yugoslavism and Yugoslav Communism. Yugoslavism. Histories of a Failed Idea 1918-1992*. Ed. Dejan Djokic. Hurst & Co. London. 2003. 147-149

<sup>4</sup> Jovic, *Yugoslav Communism*. 159-160

<sup>5</sup> Jovic, 159. The name of the country changed in this period from Socialist Federation of Yugoslavia to the Socialist Federated Republic of Yugoslavia to mark the evolving attitude of CPY towards the state. To avoid confusion the term "Federation" is used here instead of "Federated Republic".

would eventually dissolve the central state itself as a form of government.<sup>6</sup> This meant that the CPY as the ruling party was trying to set the ideological course and legal framework of self-management and decentralization while relegating as much responsibility and bureaucratic leverage on the Republics themselves as well as local municipalities, which soon became an entanglement of jurisdictions and bureaucracy that eventually became too burdensome.<sup>7</sup> In the case of property ownership this became quite a complex system of overlapping ideas, concepts and legislation that practically placed all property rights in the hands of municipal bureaus of housing, which were acting according to centrally-planned development guidelines passed by the Republic and the Federal Parliament. Since almost all property was owned by the local bureaus during this period, looking at property relationships and models is closely related to agricultural reform, since the collectivization that occurred in the agricultural sector would serve as a model for the collectivization of housing. Kardelj saw the 'commune' as a representation of the mechanism of self-management of producers which were to be self-governed by workers' councils, aiming for total decentralization of economic management.<sup>8</sup> This model of the commune as the basic element of the society was similar to the idea of the commune as the central element for regional planning set forth by Ernest Weissmann, and it corresponds to the neighborhood unit being the central element in the UPP planning documents, as opposed to individual houses. Since Yugoslavia was barely an industrialized country after World War II, the necessary accumulated capital that would be redistributed according to the Soviet model simply did not exist, and the economic reforms in the 1950s and 1960s would be geared towards developing the industrializing the agricultural sector as well as expanding the manufacturing and mining sectors on the collective self-management

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<sup>6</sup> Jovic, *Yugoslav Communism*, 177.

<sup>7</sup> Jovic, *Yugoslav Communism*, 175-180

<sup>8</sup> Kardelj, Edvard. Socialist Democracy in Yugoslav Practice. New Delhi. 1956.

model. This meant that there was a large influx of population into the urban centers during the 1950s and especially in the 1960s.<sup>9</sup> These ideas concerned with collective ownership of land, and of the means of production can be seen as an updated *zadruga* (commune) form of organization and social reproduction of the previous centuries, and many of these workers councils were called “zadrugas.” The ownership of private property in housing remained a Gordian knot in Yugoslavia, especially in the urban centers where housing was not tied to agricultural production and income redistribution matrices within collectivist production.<sup>10</sup> The collectivization of land and the municipal ownership of housing was essential to the modernizing Yugoslavian socialists, lest society was to retreat back to a capitalist model way of life. Socialism could only be achieved in a modern and technologically advanced society.<sup>11</sup> The role of architecture and urban design in the Yugoslavian case can be seen as example of development described by M. Iljal Muzafar as “not a project to modernize primitive populations, but as a representation of the demands and desires of populations already in transition to modernization; development presented as a program of forging partnerships between the developed and underdeveloped worlds.”<sup>12</sup> Just that in this case, the Yugoslavian Communist Party (i.e. the government) saw themselves as the modernizing agents, using the tools of architecture and urban planning to mediate between the underdeveloped peasantry and a socialist utopia.

This model of economic reform was promoted by Kardelj as the mechanism for socialist democracy not only throughout the Third World, within the Non-aligned movement but at on the international stage. The position of Yugoslavia as one of the original signatories of the Non-aligned

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<sup>9</sup> Wright, Phil. The Political Economy of the Yugoslav Revolution. Institute of Social Studies. The Hague. 1985 (2-12).

<sup>10</sup> Kardelj, Edvard. Four Factors in the Development of Socialist Social Relations. Speech by Kardelj at the V Congress of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia. April 19. 1960. Jugoslavia Edition. Beograd.

<sup>11</sup> Kardelj, Socialist Policy in the Countryside, 277 -280

<sup>12</sup> Muzaffar, M. Ijlal. Modern architecture and the making of the Third World. PhD Thesis. MIT Dept. of Architecture. 2007. (23)

Movement created a special boon for the government because it used the political tension in the international arena to promote its form of socialism not only on ideological and moralistic grounds but as the political alternative applicable to countries in the rest of the Third World, while fearing, most of all, that the USSR would escalate the tensions into another World War or spread its influence further.<sup>13</sup> In other words, Yugoslavia and other Non-aligned countries found a way to circumnavigate the Cold War political tensions and to gain access to a vast mutual market in the Third World that was either undervalued or incompatible to the economic system of the great powers. This notion, as well as the heightened animosity between the USA and the USSR in the early 1960s meant that the United Nations played the key role as acting agency of not only international dialogue but diplomatic executor of peace, which was of immense importance to Yugoslavia.<sup>14</sup> The United Nations also presented a platform for outreach to countries in the world that might be blocked by bilateral diplomacy. The earthquake of 1963 in Skopje would be seized by Tito, declaring Skopje as the City of Solidarity, as an opportunity for bringing the international focus to a domestic problem and even further promote the image of Yugoslavia as the meeting ground between the blocs and a viable *third way*.<sup>15</sup>

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The earthquake destroyed much of the buildings from the Serbian occupation and post-war periods along with a large percentage of the housing. In the days following the earthquake, emergency relief in the form of medicine, tents, food and clothes started to come in and tended to

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<sup>13</sup> Kardelj, Edvard. The Historical Roots of Non-Alignment. Ed. Nikolaos A. Stavrou. University Press of America. Washington D.C. 1980

<sup>14</sup> Lozanovska, Mirjana. *The Intriguing and Forgotten International Exchanges in the Master Plan for the Reconstruction of Skopje*. Proceedings of the 2<sup>nd</sup> International Conference of the European Architectural History Network. Heynen, Hilde & Gosseye, Janina Eds. KVAB. Brussels. 2012. (438)

<sup>15</sup> Tolic, Ines. *Earnest Weissman's "World City"*. Southeastern Europe. 41 (2017) 173.

"Skopje 1963." Veljko Bulajic, director. Radio Television Skopje. 1965. Online Access 2017.

the surviving population that was not evacuated. In a telegram to President Tito, Secretary General of the United Nations, U Thant expressed the readiness of the UN “to offer any assistance within its resources to alleviate distress caused by the calamity.”<sup>16</sup> This presented a great opportunity for the United Nations to exercise its aid and development capabilities. Within weeks, the United Nations answering the plea for help, sent international experts, engineers, surveyors, charity organizations, army engineers and soldiers, medical crews and immense material help. Members of these expert teams, including “housing expert” Robert Fitzmaurice and UN officer Sudhir Sen, were tasked with surveying the devastation and deciding the best strategy for rebuilding the city, along with finding a solution to the housing problem through the Technical Assistance Board.<sup>17</sup> However, in a confidential memo to Sudhir Sen from September 29<sup>th</sup> 1963, Robert Fitzmaurice states his assessment that “it is possible, for example, that we are intruding into another empire which someone else is building. If so, we must by hook or by crook join up in that empire.”<sup>18</sup> The TAB effort would soon expand into the Skopje Reconstruction plan (1964-1966) – the UPP and would be helmed by Ernest Weissmann, at the Economic and Social Affairs Council at the UN (today known as the UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs – UN DESA). Weissmann was an intermediary between the Yugoslavian government and the UN, as the president of the International Board of Consultants (IBC). Weissmann organized the international competition for the design of the central core, which was won by Kenzo Tange and the Wenzler team of Yugoslavia, and created the team of other prominent names such as C.A. Doxiadis, Adolf

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<sup>16</sup> U Thant. “Telegram to Josip Broz Tito”. July 26<sup>th</sup> 1963. *Relief for Natural Disasters - Yugoslavia*. UN Archives and Records Management Section. Folder S-0198-0008-20.

<sup>17</sup> *Notes on the assistance provided by the United Nations system to the government of Yugoslavia for the reconstruction of Skopje*. 11<sup>th</sup> October 1963. “*Relief for Natural Disasters - Yugoslavia*.” UN Archives and Records Management Section. Folder S-0198-0008-20.

<sup>18</sup> Fitzmaurice, Robert. Memo to Sudhir Sen. *Relief for Natural Disasters - Yugoslavia*. UN Archives and Records Management Section. Folder S-0198-0008-20.

Ciborowski and other Yugoslavian and Macedonian architects, planners and engineers. Weissmann's importance lies in "his attempt to transform Skopje's tragedy into an opportunity for the world to finally see the rise of a 'world city'" which Weissmann imagined as "an epicenter of knowledge that, in spite of the Cold War, would promote peace, understanding and collaboration...achieved by international cooperation in the fields of architecture and urban design and planning."<sup>19</sup> Weissmann's approach to development was a combination of socialist (centrally planned) and free market economy, something he later called the *Yugoslavian Alternative*.<sup>20</sup> This idea of regional development was aligned with the institutional policies of Kardelj and the historical labor and architectural organization in the Yugoslavian republics. This approach called for demand-side oriented economic plan paired with different market capacities corresponding to different sizes of cities. The approach hinges on the city-region, something that becomes effectively clear in the Skopje case, where the urban population of the central city would create a dispersed regional economy supporting smaller local economies. These types of regions would in turn, develop commercial connections with similar such city-regions that would stimulate the interconnected economy, while maintaining the different types of urban and rural habitations. In this way, his plan would be able to, theoretically, bypass both the centrally controlled economy of the state, and the speculative danger of free market economics.<sup>21</sup> His beliefs being aligned with the experimental socialism of Yugoslavia as well as the principles of the United Nations, allowed him great leeway in the planning of the Skopje project. It was Weissmann's involvement that consequently transformed Skopje into a world affair becoming "an international workshop for

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<sup>19</sup> Tolic, *Weissmann's 'World City'*, 173-174.

<sup>20</sup> Weissmann, Ernest. *Human Settlements, Bureaucracy and Ideology: The Yugoslav Alternative*. The Center for human Settlements, University of British Columbia. Occasional Papers, 15. 1981

<sup>21</sup> Weissmann, Ernest. *Human Settlements, Bureaucracy and Ideology: The Yugoslav Alternative*. The Center for human Settlements, University of British Columbia. Occasional Papers, 15. 1981. (10-19)

architecture and peace, while the peripheral position of the Balkans was reimagined,” a project that was creating new political imaginaries.<sup>22</sup>

In a telegram to U Thant, from August 7<sup>th</sup> 1963, Tito expresses his gratitude for his personal involvement in the recovery efforts, praising the actions of the United Nations as a “manifestation of human solidarity which has come to expression on this occasion in the great family of nations inspires us with hope that we shall overcome with more ease the grave consequences of this tragic catastrophe.”<sup>23</sup> Part of that “manifestation of human solidarity” came in the form of prefabricated houses that were transported by train to Skopje in parts, and were assembled on site. The first 800 arrived within 10 days from the earthquake.<sup>24</sup> In 8 months, 14,000 single family prefabricated houses were built complete with utilities and infrastructure as donations from various countries.<sup>25</sup> By 1973 there will be 35,000 of these houses built; constituting the 17 new neighborhoods of the city.<sup>26</sup> The two- or three-bedroom, one story houses were one of the first times that international aid was delivered in the form of physical housing units. This was due to a historical convergence and transformation of multiple political and economic agendas within the UN agencies, as well as political opportunism of the governments involved. These houses although an effort of the initial stage of assistance became an important part of the long-term planning strategy for the rebuilding of Skopje. The houses themselves were a new building typology in the city where houses still usually meant multigenerational households. The prefabricated houses not only changed the size of the typical family unit for many Skopjani, but

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<sup>22</sup> Tolic, *Weissmann's 'World City'*, 174.

<sup>23</sup> Josip Broz Tito. Telegram to U Thant. *Relief for Natural Disasters - Yugoslavia*. UN Archives and Records Management Section. Folder S-0198-0008-20.

<sup>24</sup> Skopje Resurgent; The Story of a United Nations Special Fund Town Planning Project. New York: United Nations, New York. 1970. p.93

<sup>25</sup> Senior. *Skopje Resurgent*; pp.93-98

<sup>26</sup> Davis, Ian. Shelter After Disaster. Oxford: Oxford Polytechnic Press, 1973. p. 100

also warranted a new model of housing ownership in the city. The resulting solution by the government was to allow citizens to purchase the houses through cheap credit lines administered by the Skopje Relief Fund, but they would not be able to purchase the land on which they were located. In this way, the house was a hybrid of property relations, being physically owned by the purchasers but only in its above-ground elevation. This model however allowed purchasers to privately own houses in the city, which was not the case in the rest of the country. Most property in the cities was owned and controlled by local Municipal Bureaus for Commercial and Housing Realty and was leased out to citizens based on centrally deliberate development plans, with the exception of houses considered rural, and thus left to the original owners during the period of nationalization.<sup>27</sup> The prefabricated houses presented a different model of urban property which allowed single-family houses to be privately owned within the city.

#### Metabolist City; How Skopje embodies the ideas of the Metabolist and other foreign movements:

The other large housing development, which is probably one of the most iconic remnants of the reconstruction effort in Skopje is the City Wall housing, which was built as part of the plan for the central area designed by Kenzo Tange's team. These housing towers and blocks lined the Small Ring streets of an earlier 1914 plan and created a wall that encircled the inner historical core. Heritage from the medieval, Ottoman, and interwar periods were now encircled by a porous City Wall with large pedestrian walkways and parklets (open spaces) between them. The City Wall being the first housing towers in the city, elevated citizens above historical layers, quite literally, and created a historically desensitized central core where architectural heritage from different

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<sup>27</sup> Sluzben Vesnik na RM. 8 Nov. 1963. Year XIX, no, 39. *Law for the changes of allocations of funds from the Skopje Relief Fund.*

periods was clearly marked as historical, rather than in living occupancy, and was dwarfed by the futuristic optimism of the City Wall housing. The concept of the City Wall, inspired by the Kale fortress in the central part of Skopje, together with the City Gate, the new planned transportation center is what won the jury of the international competition in Tange's favor.<sup>28</sup>

The central core that was designed but not executed according to Tange's parti concept was incorporated into the larger regional and traffic regulation plan according to the UPP. The plans introduced oversized boulevards and regional roads, anticipating a large increase in population, something that was seen as oversized for the scale of the city, and the original designs of Tange were scaled down by the local partners.<sup>29</sup>

Both Kokalevski and Tolic have concluded that the proposal from Kenzo Tange was primarily important for Tito and the government both as a powerful futuristic symbol of the reconstruction and to gather further media attention and with that financial support for its construction. Kokalevski: "Tange's proposal for the central area of Skopje comes at a moment when both the UN and Tito needed a tangible symbol that would present Skopje to the world as both, a solution to the urban crisis and successful international development model."<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> *Skopje Resurgent*, Annex IV. (370-373).

<sup>29</sup> The most comprehensive report on the circumstances surrounding the competition for the central area come from Damjan Kokalevski's *Performing the Archive (129-130)*:

"The central zone of the city covering an area of around 290ha, was left uncovered by the UPP and at the second meeting of the IBC from 18 to 23 July 1964, the Board recommended that the city center, including the Old Turkish bazaar, should be planned via an invited international design competition. The competition for the central area was organized by the UIA. A separate board would manage, review, and judge the competition entries consisting of Ernest Weissmann UNHBPC, Martin Mayerson UNESCO, Arthur Ling U.I.A., Jean Canaux Director of Int. Centre for Town Planning Research in Paris (F.I.H.U.A.T.), Adolf Ciborowski Project Manager of the UN Special Fund for Skopje, Tiberic Kirijas, Uros Martinovic, Vojislav Midic, Sasha Sedlar and Ljube Pota as rapporteur.<sup>29</sup>On 15 Jan 1965 the competition was launched and four Yugoslav and four international teams were invited: Kenzo Tange Tokyo, Maurice Rotival – New York, Van der Broek and Bakema – Rotterdam, Luigi Piccinato – Rome, Edvard Ravnika – Ljubljana, Mišćević Radovan and Wenzler Fedor – Zagreb, Aleksandar Djordjević – Belgrade and Slavko Brezovski – Skopje."

<sup>30</sup> Kokalevski, *Performing the Archive*, 129-30.

Tange's proposal was an obvious Metabolist proposal, that introduced a Megastructure City Wall, elevated above the ground with the City Gate (the new railway and bus transportation hub). This "bold Megastructure fused his metabolic concepts with symbolic planning and went beyond the CIAM and Le Corbusier's concepts of the functional city. In this sense, the competition for the central area of Skopje connected to a long lineage of planning concepts for Tabula Rasa."<sup>31</sup> The notion that the earthquake produced a "tabula rasa" condition in Skopje was picked up by many architects and observers of the issue of reconstruction, including recently Ian Davis in *Recovery After Disaster*, and by Rem Koolhaas in *Project Japan*.<sup>32</sup> However, this was simply not true. As previously mentioned, while the earthquake destroyed 70% of the housing and many of institutions from the occupying forces of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, a lot of the historical core (the Old Turkish Bazaar – Carsija), as well as some houses in the Bunjakovec and Novo Maalo neighborhoods remained, as well as some of the street layouts, parklets, and important historical monuments. What the earthquake had done then, is erased one or two layers of the most recent buildings of the city, many of whom had a complicated legacy of occupation, and it had further exposed the many historical layers that needed preservation. This would be of course invisible by foreign architects and planners, who saw dilapidated neighborhoods and damaged houses as a tabula rasa, but there was no tabula rasa condition in Skopje. Therefore many of the foreign concepts and ideas from donations to bold megastructures had to be adapted, translated and scaled down to the environment, through the guidelines of the UPP which was made to accommodate the growth of the city to the environmental circumstances. This process of

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<sup>31</sup> Kokalevski, *Performing the Archive*, 130

<sup>32</sup> Davis, Ian. *Recovery After Disaster*.; Koolhaas, Rem and Olbrist, H Ulrich. *Project Japan*. Taschen. 2011. p.43-45

adaptation, of metabolizing was done by the unionized, self-managed, local architectural workforce.

Tange's proposal for Skopje was "a system of joint cores placed on elevated artificial ground, that were going to become the formative elements of the future city, based on both functional and symbolic elements. The exuberant Metabolic model, which he proposed for the central area of Skopje, was characterized by two main urban devices called the City Wall and the City Gate."<sup>33</sup>

According to Kenzo Tange:

"Our project... manifests a system by which the mechanism of our contemporary society could be transformed into a spatial structure. This structuring would continue to create a bridge between our ever progressing civilization and the constant factor of humanity."<sup>34</sup>

The artificial ground that connected the City Gate and the City Wall was a hallmark solution of Metabolist work that is present in Tange's Tokyo Bay project, as well as other Metabolist work. As explained by Kokalevski: "The City Wall consisted of horizontal slabs with housing units, connected by a joint core system in a chain-like composition. The City Gate was a large traffic interchange where all rail, vehicular and pedestrian traffic converged, forming a new dramatic east-west axis, positioned perpendicular to the historic north-south axis of Skopje. It was also a new administrative and commercial center of the city. The Cyclical Transportation System (already used in the Tokyo Bay Project, 1960) was guiding the vehicles in loops on multiple levels, each with different speed of traffic, connected vertically with ramps."<sup>35</sup> This idea of architecture serving as the transformation machine was something that all participants in the Skopje project shared. The project entry was presented by a meticulous 2x2m wooden model and was met with

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<sup>33</sup> Kokalevski, *Performing the Archive*, 127-135

<sup>34</sup> Qtd. In Kokalevski. *Performing the Archive*, 133

<sup>35</sup> Kokalevski, *Performing the Archive*, 127-28

admiration by the jury and the press. However, it became obvious that it was simply unbuildable at the scale that it was proposed. So, the jury awarded the prize to Tange's team at 60% and 40% of the prize went to the Yugoslavian Wenzler team.<sup>36</sup> The process of implementation of the proposal was a true work of exquisite corpse, or metabolizing, where the final design was something different from the initial concepts of all parties involved.

“Between June 1965 and July 1966 the two teams, together with planners from the Institute, worked on the so called ‘ninth version’. The ninth version was intended to merge the two ideas into a final and buildable layout of the city. For this purpose, the city was split in three parts between the teams. Tange's team was in charge of the ‘City Gate’ and the ‘City Wall’, the Croatian team for the cultural center and the Institute [ZUAS] for preservation of the Old Bazaar (Carsija) and planning of the area around Marshal Tito square [...] The ‘ninth version’ lacked the monumentality and expressiveness of Tange's competition model. The scale was reduced and the city wall turned into a series of individually standing towers and blocks. However, both Tange and Taniguchi recall that they did not expect the proposal to be built. It was about the ideas of symbolic parts, modules and scale. As Taniguchi explains:

‘Skopje did adopt our proposal, the ‘City Wall’ has been built, although it does not look much like our plan.’<sup>37</sup>

From all the designs and proposals for the 9<sup>th</sup> version, “the only part that Tange designed from initial phase to implementation was the new train station.”<sup>38</sup> And while the train station was built to its expanded capacity, the rail traffic did not materialize and to this day, and the train station represents a symbol, or memory of optimistic Metabolism of the 1960s.

The complex proposal by Tange's team was interpreted and worked on by many local architects in the following years, both in the ZUAS Institute and other construction companies, “the local planners sometimes took these models and started designing and building directly from the ‘ninth version’ in the scale of 1:500. The City Wall was not a connected Megastructure with joint cores

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<sup>36</sup> Kokalevski, *Performing the Archive*, 132-135

<sup>37</sup> Kokalevski, *Performing the Archive*, 132-135

<sup>38</sup> Kokalevski, *Performing the Archive*, 134-35.

but rather a series of towers and blocks. Skopje was *metabolizing* and adopting the concepts to its local needs.”<sup>39</sup>

While the 9<sup>th</sup> version of the plan which now included Tange’s proposal as fitting into the UPP plan continued to develop according to the local needs and possibilities “Tange was involved in later stages of the rebuilding of Skopje, most notably in the provision of consultation services to Olga Papesh and Radomir Lalovik in designing of a complex of banks, near the new train station, which was a fragment of the ‘City Gate.’ The local architects had to translate and mediate between the Metabolist plan and final outcome. Another revision of the city gate was made in 1975 at the ZUAS Institute. They connected the new train station to the Republic Square with a series of buildings that resembled the model of the ‘ninth version’. In the end, the new train station and the fragment that included the banks were the only two elements implemented.”<sup>40</sup> This process of interpretation, translation and metabolizing the ideas that were practically foreign yet suitable to the context is one of the key procedural successes of Skopje. Some observers of Skopje have concluded that because of this incomplete execution of the proposals from abroad, the city rebuilding effort was a failure, as well as ignoring the local architectural language.<sup>41</sup> However, it is precisely because none of the imported plans and ideas were executed as planned “from above” but rather they had to be translated and interpreted to the conditions on the ground through a process of architectural “exquisite corpse” as Weissmann had intended in the setup of the Skopje Planning Circus, the Skopje reconstruction project was a

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<sup>39</sup> Kokalevski, *Performing the Archive*, 135

<sup>40</sup> Kokalevski. *Performing the Archive*, 127-135.

<sup>41</sup> Almost all observers of the Skopje reconstruction project come to some conclusion of failure. Kokalevski finds it in the incompleteness of the proposals, Grceva in the heavy top-down decision making during the clearing and rebuilding part of the planning; Ian Davis considers it a failure because the City Wall was not aligned with the local tradition but rather seems foreign (towers vs. low-rise houses); while Koolhaas sees the failure in the abandonment of the original proposal of Tange’s team for something more suitable to the local environment.

unique viable example of different architectural praxis, both for the architectural workforce in Skopje, and the local citizens. This success is connected to the idea of “balance – counterbalance” a political idea where ideas from the east and west were freely taken and reorganized to fit the local conditions in Yugoslavia. It was this “counter-balance” approach that had paired Ciborowski and Doxiadis to work on the UPP, where Ciborowski’s Warsaw Method of rebuilding was the counter-balance to Doxiadis’ autocentric proposals for development. In this case the “counterbalancing” of Tange with the Wenzler, and the local ZUAS team was something that produced a unique architectural success. As to Ian Davis’ notion that the architecture of the City Wall is foreign amongst the low-rise houses of the city, it is necessary to examine the apartments themselves and the City Wall as an updated modern version of local Macedonian housing units. The façade of the City Wall was made with red, grey, and white terracotta tiles overlaid on the exposed concrete beams and structural elements. This architectural language is directly borrowed from the Byzantine and Ottoman architectural heritage of the Carsija and other historical monuments of the city. The success of the Skopje reconstruction project lies precisely in this adaptation of foreign proposals, counter-balancing them with the local possibilities, made to fit the ecologically sustainable proposals of the UPP.

The City Wall housing in Skopje can be considered as a Metabolist project because it contains some of the key elements of Metabolist work, namely the reinterpretation of history and the creation of artificial land in urban development, and the notion of city-as-process in the creation of new environments. These ideas are concepts developed by some of the architects involved in the Skopje project, Kenzo Tange and Arata Isozaki, while some are present in the work of other Metabolist artists tying the housing project of Skopje to the larger Metabolist movement.

While what constitutes a Metabolist project depends on the definition of Metabolism, some of the many aspects present in the work of the architects associated with Metabolism can be found in Skopje. Kenzo Tange was one of the most influential figures of contemporary architecture and was one of the first national Japanese architects, who was inevitably involved not only in the reconstruction of post-war Japan, but in the cultural debate of the new Japanese nation-state identity.<sup>42</sup> As a professor at Tokyo University, Tange was instrumental in creating the Metabolist group which consisted of his students and included other designers and writers. Metabolism was part of a larger artistic and cultural milieu developing in Tokyo during and after the American occupation that was dealing not only with issues of national identity and the cultural definition of urban subjectivity but also the space and methods of artistic and intellectual production.<sup>43</sup> The ways in which a city is designed and its growth and the way in which the urban population finds itself in the city and redefines the spaces it occupies were some of the themes present in Metabolism and the art avant-garde.<sup>44</sup> As art historian Michio Hayashi explains, the Metabolism principles were present not only in architecture, but in a number of visual artists of the Tokyo avant-garde as well, for whom Metabolism provided a distinct relationship between the two-dimensional surface of the artwork (i.e. paper, canvas) as a field on which the artists trace certain expressions of conditions from their urban existence.<sup>45</sup> These examinations that were primarily concerned with the new urban subject and their existence in their environment, often created a complex relationship between the subject and the medium, as well as a dense graphic composition that alludes to processes not present in the frame, fields of existence beyond the immediate subject

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<sup>42</sup> Yatsuka, Hajime. *The Metabolism Nexus' Role in Overcoming Modernism. Metabolism City of the Future*. Mori Art Museum. Tokyo 2011

<sup>43</sup> Hayashi, Michio. *Tracing the Graphic in Postwar Japanese Art. Tokyo 1955-1970; a New Avant-garde*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. 2012.

<sup>44</sup> Hayashi, 95-100.

<sup>45</sup> Hayashi, 95-98.

presented severing the connection between subject and medium, which in turn not only opened the space for further interpretation and phenomenological experiences of the viewer, it provided a space for the artists personal interpretation, symbolism and freedom in visual composition.<sup>46</sup> This condition of the expanded frame of graphic Metabolism can be seen as closely related to one of the main ideas of architectural Metabolism and that is the creation of artificial land. If for graphic Metabolism the canvas or paper became a field that was independent of the subject presented, making the depicted object always present in other fields as well, the artificial ground of architectural Metabolism can be seen as a necessary response to the overcrowded condition of the city of Tokyo, as well as the notion of Japanese soil being contaminated to the extent that a new elevated ground level needs to be created, exemplified by the Hiroshima Peace Memorial by Kenzo Tange.<sup>47</sup> Besides the notion of artificial ground, one of the key theoretical concepts that was present in both graphic and architectural metabolism was the notion of the reinterpretation of history through the search for an identity of the urban subject in quickly-urbanizing Tokyo.<sup>48</sup> For Tange tradition in architecture had a place only if reevaluated into a formal concept that would be useful to the larger concept of development. In his book on the Katsura palace he explains: “Tradition itself cannot constitute a creative force. It always has a decadent tendency to promote formalization and repetition. What is needed to direct it into creative channels is a fresh energy which repudiates dead forms and prevents living ones from becoming static. In one sense, for a

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<sup>46</sup> Hayashi, 95-100.

<sup>47</sup> Yatsuka, Hajime. *The Social Ambition of the Architect and the Rising Nation*. Kuan Seng & Lippit, Yukio Eds. Kenzo Tange – Architecture of the World. Lars Muller Publishers. Zurich. 2012.

<sup>48</sup> While Tange and other Metabolist architects were involved in the debate on history and national identity in some way or another, one worthy of note that is outside of the scope of this paper is Kikutake’s notion of artificial land for the creation of a new type of society bypassing corporate capitalism. In the visual arts, most of the work of the Tokyo Avant-garde was concerned with the exploration of new identities on the national, personal and interpersonal level, resulting in a body of work that transcends traditional forms of media. See Metabolism City of the Future. Mori Art Museum. Tokyo 2011. Also, Marotti, William. Money, Trains and Guillotines. Duke University Press. Durham and London. 2013

tradition to live it must constantly be destroyed. At the same time, destruction by itself clearly cannot create new cultural forms. There must be some other force which restrains destructive energy and prevents it from reducing all about it to havoc. The dialectical synthesis of tradition and anti-tradition is the structure of true creativeness.”<sup>49</sup> For Tange, the conversation on tradition and its reinterpretation is most famously present in the volumes on the Ise Shrine and the Katsura Palace, as well as the editorial correspondence with Noboru Kawazoe, one of the key theoreticians of Metabolism in the pages of *Japan Architect*.

History reinterpreted and incorporated into the new iteration of the city is perhaps a hallmark of Metabolism, especially in the work of Tange and Isozaki who worked closely together in the Skopje 1965 plan. Tange’s interpretation of history was in a more formal direction. Tange’s formal reinterpretation of history is presented in his interest of Jomon and Yayoi pottery as well as the admiration for the Ise Shrine in Tokyo and its ritual re-building every 20 years. The traditional renewal combined with the formal elegance of Jomon and Yayoi pottery creates a formal historical arc that connects Tange’s projects to Japanese history in the aesthetic sense as well as a procedural, something that is evident in his Hiroshima Peace Center, where he “had shown the rare ability to articulate the severe modernist materials of steel frame, concrete and glass to replicate the dignified spacing of traditional timber frame buildings.”<sup>50</sup>

For Arata Isozaki, a long time collaborator with Tange and the Metabolists but not officially a member of the group, the relationship to history is reinterpreted in many ways. In *Incubation Process* for example, ruins of the city are directly engaged into the new structure of the city, as a form of grafting and layering, while in a depiction of *Hiroshima Destroyed Again in the*

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<sup>49</sup> Tange, Kenzo. Katsura; Tradition and Creation in Japanese Architecture. Yale University Press. New Haven. 1960. (p. 35).

<sup>50</sup> Coaldrake, William H. Architecture and Authority in Japan. Routledge. London & New York. 1996. 258.

*Future*, his designs for the city are shown as piles of post-apocalyptic debris. In Isozaki's work from this period, not only the notion of reinterpreting history is present as a way to engage the city, but the city itself is imagined as a process of continuous reconstruction of creation and reinterpretation. His 1962 *Incubation Process (System Processing)* is an example of a piece of art that exists in multiple spheres at once. The piece itself is a product of a process in which Isozaki asked the gallery audience to tie wires and string onto nails on a large horizontal base. Once this resulted in a thick network of wire and string he poured concrete over it to solidify this network. The work was destroyed after the original showing in 1962 and it was reenacted in the 2000s from which most of the material evidence comes from. There are several ways to interpret this work. The first one is to examine it for its performative quality, in which case the material artefact of the performance is irrelevant and the process is the focus of the artistic endeavor. On the other hand, the work itself is a representation of the metabolic process that happens in the city. The wires and nails representing the connections and relationships that are both physical, infrastructural, cultural and emotional are intertwined in a dense and complicated network. Once the concrete is poured over this network it represents the city in a given state, a snapshot of time in material form. The raw concrete that is prone to immediate decomposition further portends the future destruction of this city. The city is only present in the state that we see, and that state is continuously being destroyed and reconstructed. This artwork is not only a symbol of Metabolism on its own, but the fact that it was destroyed and then reenacted more than 40 years later, establishes a Metabolic relationship to its own existence. The artwork can be produced, destroyed and reproduced on the same concept, such that the physical artefact is only one iteration of an ongoing regenerative process, like the fruits of a tree. This work was only one example of the radical Japanese avant-garde that tried to question the relationship to the new iteration of the Japanese nation in a post-

war environment as well as to reconsider what it means to be an urban subject in this newly created urban environment.<sup>51</sup> Isozaki was also involved in the larger debate especially between artists of the 1960s about ‘space as environment’ both in Japan and in the United States. In 1966 particularly several exhibitions and publications created a discourse around “environments” as particular spaces or fields that were conducive for the creation of a new form of spatial art that was not objectively tied to a specific medium.<sup>52</sup> The notions of the creation of artificial grounds as the *sine qua non* for the creation of new urban environments, as well as the city-as-process and the reinterpretation of history are concepts that are all present in the Skopje 1965 plan. Tange’s housing proposal can be seen as the point of convergence of several distinct yet closely related socio-political debates concerning the cultural identity of the urban population of Skopje.

The historical center of Skopje is located in the most central region of the Skopje valley, on both sides of the Vardar river. The left bank is the older historic core, consisting of the Kale fortress, the Carsija (“Old Turkish” Bazaar), complete with open air markets, Byzantine and Ottoman buildings and monuments from the various periods, and the somewhat newer buildings from the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century across the 14<sup>th</sup> century Stone Bridge over the Vardar River. The city of Skopje being a trading post since ancient times, has been home to a multiplicity of cultures that have all left their contribution to the urban fabric. Luckily, some of the oldest Byzantine and Ottoman buildings were not destroyed in the earthquake, while the same cannot be said for the remaining Jewish residences barely surviving World War 2, and the Serbian imperial cultural institutions of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. What became clear was that the historic part of the city was now too small to contain the entire population and at the same time, too precious and

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<sup>51</sup> Marotti. 280-315.

<sup>52</sup> Kataoka, Mami. “Environment” as Relationship: Color Space and the Environment. Metabolism City of the Future. Mori Art Museum. Tokyo 2011. The discussion of “environments” and “fields” in post-modern art is outside the scope of this paper.

valuable to be demolished and built over. To this, Tange's response of framing the historic core with new the new City Wall of housing came as a refreshing and innovative solution that incorporated reconstruction and preservation at the same time. The focus of preserving the historic core was placed on the oldest buildings first, namely the ones in the Carsija, while the buildings from the Serbian occupation (1919-1941) in the center were deemed to damaged to repair and were demolished in the clean-up efforts of 1963.<sup>53</sup> It is important to briefly note that the two damaged buildings that were destroyed in this process were the Theater of King Alexander I, and the House of Officers which were built right after the fall of the Ottoman empire when Macedonia became a southern province of Serbia in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. To many these buildings were elitist symbols of the occupying Serbian monarchy, and more importantly they did not fit the post-WW2 socialist conception of a secular and transnational proletariat identity, since the character of these buildings was both nationalist and imperial. The aftermath of the earthquake provided an opportunity for the government of Skopje to recreate the urban core in accordance with its current cultural values. According to Miroslav Grcev, urbanism professor at the Architecture Faculty in Skopje, this was quite a logical move for the Communist Party: welcoming the opportunity to distance itself from the image of monarchy and focus its energy and resources on creating a new city, especially considering that it was the Prince of Yugoslavia who signed a pact with the Axis forces in 1941 which resulted in an attempted coup d'état, a civil uprising and the invasion of Yugoslavia by Axis forces. World War 2 in Yugoslavia was also a civil war between the Communists whose goal was primarily to stop the spread of fascism but also to establish a socialist republic, and the various national armies fighting for territory and influence amongst each other, some in collaboration with the fascists and some in support of the monarchy. For Grcev, it seemed

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<sup>53</sup> Nestorova Tomic, Mimoza. Personal interview, 2012.

quite logical for the 1960s socialist government of Yugoslavia and the local government in Skopje to proceed with the demolition of the Theater and Officers House, not only as the cheapest solution to dealing with symbols of the monarchy but also because these buildings were still historically too close to the present, and they could have been imagined as dangerous cultural objects that might incite political turmoil.<sup>54</sup>

For Mimoza Nestorova Tomic, chief preservationist of the time and famed Macedonian architect, the demolition of those buildings was simply out of efficiency. “We had other priorities at the time. We had buildings and artefacts that were centuries, or millennia old that needed immediate attention and a productive plan of preservation, the Theater and the Officers House were not really a priority since they were considered part of the newer buildings, but also because they were badly damaged.”<sup>55</sup>

This decision oriented the redevelopment of Skopje in a direction that had a clear socio-cultural determinant in terms of history. The historical core that received the focus of the preservation efforts was the architectural past that preceded the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. This already places the redevelopment of Skopje in a political cultural context. However, the Tange plan did something to transcend this context, and that was the concept of the City Wall and the City Gate that as formal maneuvers on an urban scale transcended the local historical scale of Skopje and transformed the historical buildings from buildings of continuous living memory to preserved historical artefacts, releasing them of their political power, and thusly opening up a new environment for a new urban existence. This was accomplished by several main formal decisions by the Tange team. Firstly, the location of the housing on the periphery of the historical core can be read not only as a preservation of the historic buildings but also a barrier that keeps history from

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<sup>54</sup> Grcev, Miroslav. “House of Fascism in the Center of Skopje” *Okno. web.* 2015. [okno.mk](http://okno.mk)

<sup>55</sup> Nestorova Tomic, personal interview 2012.

spreading out into the new city. The orientation of the buildings to both sides of the center, the orientation to cardinal direction of the housing towers and the permeability of the City Wall, created a porous containment zone for ancient history bound by technologically advanced geometry that is alien to the historical context in terms of scale, while its orientation provides a decentralized focus and inclusion of multiple points of interpretation. The creation of the historic core which contains buildings from multiple periods also reorders historic development along the pre- and post-earthquake datum, equalizing and relegating all historic events and objects to the pre-earthquake historic zone, and creating a new start date for a modern city with kaleidoscopic orientation. On top of this, the housing plan included interstitial plazas between the housing blocks and towers that were modestly hidden from the street yet fully articulated on the inner court side, as social and cultural zones.

Tange regarded the City Wall as the second structural element of the city, after the City Gate, by which he means the articulation of the city center by a framework of high-rise apartment houses creating a system that ‘permits housing to be brought into the urban center’ by lending it architectural significance.<sup>56</sup> As historian Udo Kultermann explains, “Tange’s plan is exemplary in that the structural elements, City Gate and City Wall, have both a programmatic and a symbolic meaning,” and these features “are coordinated in a modern community. The city possesses an equilibrium bestowed on it by a design which is both urban and architectural. Tange’s central concern was to give structural shape to space. On the theoretical plane, Tange has here transcended traditional functionalism.”<sup>57</sup> The City Wall housing because of its Metabolist principles of

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<sup>56</sup> Tange, Kenzo. Qtd. In: Kenzo Tange Architecture and Urban Design 1946-1996. Ed. Massimo Bettinoti. Electa, Milano. 1996. (p. 43).

<sup>57</sup> Kultermann, Udo. Qtd in: Kenzo Tange Architecture and Urban Design 1946-1996. Ed. Massimo Bettinoti. Electa, Milano. 1996. (p. 43). Also in Kultermann, Udo. Kenzo Tange. Editorial Gustavo Gili. Barcelona. 1978. (p. 218)

reinterpreted history, open field and artificial ground is one of the key aspects of the new city of Skopje. It was able to elevate architectural discourse beyond local traditions and introduce new technological advances as well as modalities of urban life and expression.

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## The architectural and urban spaces of Skopje 65

### Colorful shadow

In English to express the “multiple” one has to start from the one – multi from Latin presupposes that there is a uni, a pluri, and then a multi. In Macedonian and many other languages in the Balkans, *sharena (colorful)* - is term difficult to explain because it presupposes dualities, it is a “multiplicity” as default. Same for “variety” or “diversity” – it presupposes that there is a unitary, many unitary elements, then a variety. The concept of *Sharenost* in Macedonian, on the other hand, presupposes there is a cosmos of possibilities and patterns that are organized or not; organized but rather entangled in relation to each other.<sup>58</sup>

The concept of *Sharenost* (colorful) denotes a complex variation of possibilities, that is finite and in relation with all the various elements that make up the complex. So that the sunlight interspersed with shadows under the tree (or the shadow interspersed with sunbeams under the tree) is considered a “colorful shadow” - *sharena senka*. It is light and shadow at the same time, it is also the most desirable position for tables for dining al fresco, for balconies, for pedestrian

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<sup>58</sup> There is no term that closely describes the *sharena* concept in English that does not in some way evoke the sublime or the supernatural, or the realist magical in the OOO sense. *Sharenost*, in English is usually described as colorful, as an adjective usually describing clothing or designs, facades, that contain multiple designs, patterns, colors etc. but the concept itself it is closer to *patterned* vs. *plain* and it can be also threedimensional, while the *pattern* simply means any variation of elements.

spaces, for sidewalks, and for yards to be located in. *Sharena senka* (colorful shadow) is the most desirable natural condition to be in the Skopje valley and in the Macedonian climate, under the trees, sunlight and shade, and protection from the rain. *Sharena senka* (colorful shadow) then as a desirable condition in the landscape is reified by the architecture of Skopje 65 through the large open spaces, tree lined walkways, passages and playgrounds. The *sharena senka* (colorful shadow) concept, the in-between as togetherness is developed even further in the development of the public and open spaces as well as the residential public spaces.

*Atari* (as open spaces of collectivity and spontaneous congregation) allow for the creation of the *sharena senka* (colorful shadow) spaces in the landscape to be captured and inhabited – by more open spaces both public and residential and by the residences and street urbanism as well. It was a microclimate adaptation that was lifted from centuries of practice already present in the building traditions of Macedonia and the Balkans. Weissmann was able to take something that was already existing, low-key thriving, in the highlands and mountains and promote it to a scalable model on an urban and international level, the keys to which were: collectivity and solidarity; collective design, labor and ownership, as well as local environmental adaptations to the climate and the geological and ecological context.

On the urban level the *atari* (open spaces) concept provides the local open spaces. On the architectural level the *sharena senka* (colorful shadow) concept creates the absolutely minimally necessary conditions for any type of socializing and hanging out – *sharena senka* (colorful shadow), a tree-covered three-dimensional space, a multiplicity of light and dark. As the most desired climactic condition in the valley, the successful adaptability of the architecture lies exactly in the details that made more *sharena senka* (colorful shadow) moments in the city both on the residential and the public levels. Spaces that can be occupied under the protection of the trees on

multiple sides are spaces that can have maximum occupancy throughout the year in the Skopje valley. The fact that most of the urbanism and architecture both on the urban and residential scales was made for the maximization and proliferation of these spaces is the proliferation of the spaces of habitation and the heterotopia under local climate conditions.

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#### Solidarity and self-management. A model of collective architectural praxis:

Solidarity, as a term while it might be known mostly as the eastern bloc movement of union workers, in this context it is used more to explain the political and ideological impetus of solidarity between the disposed – *bratstvo i jedinstvo* (brotherhood and unity), or – mutual aid.<sup>59</sup> Especially in the time of the Cold War, and during the height of the Cuban missile crisis, Skopje was a welcomed opportunity in the global media for an event that would bring the world together, and Tito has seized on this opportunity to promote Skopje as the city of Solidarity.<sup>60</sup> But this was also the height of the Yugoslavian project of reconstructing the country after WW2, and its urbanization projects to boost the working forces. In the Skopje project however, the urbanism is planned more towards the preservation of a healthy balance and life in the valley between the built and natural environments. This was the period when it was important for the Yugoslavian government to be able to provide a good life for its citizens and to boost the standard of life and the image of the Non-aligned countries. Coming fresh of the summit that launched the movement of the Non-aligned countries as a unified block on the international stage in 1962 in Belgrade, the Skopje disaster provided the opportunity to show that through international collaboration of mutual aid, in solidarity, the city could be rebuilt, and its living standard upgraded. The fact that all these grand

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<sup>59</sup> The term “solidarity” is a better fitting term because it was used mostly during the time.

<sup>60</sup> Tolic. Dopo il Terremotto. p.4

ambitions of the politicians were actually translated by the architects into architecture that is suitable for a balanced life with the natural environment in the Skopje valley, that served the city and its development until 1993, as opposed to a megalomaniacal megastructure, actually speaks to the layered success of the project. On the actual human and architecture level it is important to point out that the Skopje project was mostly done with self-financing of the Yugoslavian people (direct solidarity) and international aid through the UN as well as direct individual donations. This wave of solidarity allowed for architectural technology and typology, technology and machinery, ideas and schemes, to be transported into Skopje while the local teams were tasked with the interpretation of everything to scale of the context. Further the actual architectural labor around Skopje as well as all labor in Yugoslavia at the time was organized in self-managed and self-owned enterprises. In a way, Skopje is a collective city from the pencil to the brick and an international collective city of solidarity, as such it is a rare architectural example, and it shows how architecture can thrive outside of capitalist or speculative totalitarian frameworks. As such the effort hinged on the collective architectural and construction labor; from self-management to self-financing and construction through work actions; on the planning level it depended on delivering a humane urbanism where people would have access to public services in walking distance; and on the architectural level besides the basic provision of housing suitable for the climate, architecture also provided a modern standard of living as well as communal spaces throughout the city.

The Skopje project from the beginning while importing as much help as possible from the international stage was able to translate and adapt the most advanced technologies and solutions that could be useful to the conditions on the ground, while others were diminished, shelved, or rejected. In the end, the project was a result based mostly on the efforts of the local teams and that

was perhaps the circumstantial key to its success. The fact that none of the larger projects were exactly executed as the architects envisioned, yet the citizens of Skopje received modern (updated) housing with special attention paid to the local spatial traditions, climate conditions and quality of life speaks to the success of the architects and planners in general.

Architecture in these times also became the platform for the self-definition of the city and the country war or disaster stricken too often.<sup>61</sup> In other words, the Skopje project allowed for local architects to design their environment with the help of the international expertise dispatched to Skopje and the financial support of mutual aid and solidarity of the Yugoslavian government. In this way, because of the work of the architects, the Skopje project was able to develop according to its own trajectory in sync with its local traditions and outside of the centralized vision of powerful military contractors, international corporations, or the government which in the end only wanted results. And it was because many architects and planners in the local institutions were mostly in charge of the project that it was able to transcend any one centralized vision, whether of the Yugoslavian government (see New Belgrade as the opposite of Skopje), or the rather ambitious winning proposal of the Kenzo Tange team. From the start the project was functioning as intended by Weissmann, perhaps to the dismay of many architects not trained or open to the idea of open collaboration (the exquisite corpse or planning circus method) that the Skopje project or any post-disaster project necessitates. But Weissman knew that this type of collaborative building has a long-standing tradition in building in the Balkans, and it was the most successful route to rebuilding the city into something new and not seen before in those regions. What this process basically accomplished was to scale up or leapfrog a collaborative process of building and

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<sup>61</sup> As beautifully outlined in Senior. Skopje Resurgent. 56

designing into the 20<sup>th</sup> century on a larger scale. In this way the Skopje project was an example not only for the Yugoslavian architecture but also for architecture throughout the Third World.

Solidarity translated on the ground meant that architecture, as every other industrial branch operated on the concept of self-management. It is important to note that all of this architectural work was done through the self-managed offices and firms at all levels of the design and construction process. This is an important aspect that contributes to the idea that Skopje shows how architecture can operate and thrive outside of capitalism. The history and process of the self-managed architecture office is in ways similar and in other ways different from the architectural offices of the west. According to architect Ratko Radzenovic:

“In the project organization, the employees were the direct owners of the entire “real estate” (the offices, the buildings, etc.), the realized financial profits from the work, as well as the tax obligations towards the state institutions (health, state administration which then sponsored the large social infrastructure, army, schools and education). The taxation towards the state institutions was determined accordingly to the number of employees, the property of the organization, realized financial gains, and by percentage towards the agreed upon criteria in the society. If the organization (architectural office) met their obligations towards the employees and taxation obligations, and with the work it created a profit (a surplus) of financial gains, the organization would redistribute the gains to the employees or it would further invest in new capacities (more spaces, new employment).

The price of design and architectural services was determined according to European standards – a percentage of the overall scope and budget (value) of the project (something that is common even today). The total payment of the employees in the organization was determined by the level of engagement of the employees in the realization process depending on their level of engagement, professional expertise, type of activities. Personal gains were generally around the 1:5 with the given differences. Employment in the organization was primarily based on public postings. The basic structure of the organization was: design and planning, and the administrative sector (director, financial management). Besides the administrative sector, the main manager of the organization was the Workers Council, which was a consortium of representatives of all sectors of the organization (architecture, construction, installations, administration). The workers council had all the responsibilities in the management and the fulfillment of the obligations of the organization (finances, employment, competitions, marketing, etc.) with the right to hire and change the entire directorship cadre: from the office of the director to all levels of employment in the organization, according to the realization of obligations and results.

In construction companies, which provided the entire spectrum of architecture and construction services (marketing, project documentation, construction of all phases of the building), the self-management principle was the same, just that it was accordingly more complex given the scope of the organization, the number of employees and type of work: administrative, high-rise, infrastructure, installations, design, etc. Depending on the type of work in the construction organization there were separate self-management units that had their own administrative, financial sectors and workers councils. They functioned primarily the same as the smaller design organizations, but as sectors in a larger construction company in which the main

Workers Council is based on the percentage of all the other smaller sectors and their financial scale withing the entire firm as a whole.

The central Workers Council had the power of decision making in steering the entire organization and relating to all the constituent organizations within and the results of their work, mutual help in crisis situations or reformations if necessary. State organs were following the work of all independent commercial organizations, they helped with the presence on the national and international markets, but they respected their autonomy.

In the 1990s in all the newly formed republics, it came to the privatization of all commercial organizations. The organizations with all their property were translated into stocks owned by each employee according to their position. Stocks were sold on the general stock market. Ownership was then left to be bought and sold, and the value of the organization was based on personal ownership of stocks. Personal interests of the stockholders quickly resulted in the wholesale of the property of the organizations, the sacking of sectors of employees in consolidation efforts, and the top-down decision making for the salary of the employees. The realized gains from the work of the company was held by the private owners (whoever had the most stocks – bought with finances from unknown sources).

Very often the new owners sold the companies, and with the money they gained they left the country, while the organizations were ruined, and then vanished. Macedonian construction which used to employ 50 000 people in the 1980s with 70% of the work realized outside of Macedonia in the Middle Ear, North Africa, Europe, Russia, Ukraine and other places, today is only symbolically present on the market as subcontractors of foreign firms. The design organizations which had sometimes 500 employees today are exist as small firms with only dozens of employees that in Macedonia work for foreign firms and projects. In the world we were among the first in the process ‘what is mine – is now ours’ while very quickly that became ‘what is ours – now is yours.’<sup>62</sup>

Liljana Efremova, an architect and planner in *Makedonija Proekt*, one of the largest architectural organizations of the time explains the details of how work was made:

“In every organization besides the architectural (design) staff there was a modeler, in the larger offices there were many of them, and the models were made from the basic materials: wood, balsa, carboard. These were important positions because the models were the realistic expression of the project. Even with the later introduction of 3D software and animations, many clients insisted on a physical model because it was a more realistic vision of the proposal. Projects before computers were made on a paus (mylar). First the large paper drawings were placed on the mylar and the mylar was then inked with special ink pens. Then they were brought to a specialized copier that specialized in large format printing copying and packing of architectural and engineering projects. The copiers had specialized machines for copying large works, and they worked a lot with ammonia. The workers in these copiers received a liter of milk a day from the syndicate (the union) because working with these chemicals was very harmful for their health. The paus (mylar) photocopy then went on a machine that then copies it on a roll of paper – then the drawings on the roll come out either in a bluish metallic tint or a pinkish grey, the they got cut to the proper standard sizes for architectural drawings and then they get packed into a bound book that then gets bound

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<sup>62</sup> Radzenovic, Ratko. personal correspondence, 2019.

with a rope and a seal which certifies that the drawing is exactly as the architects and engineers has specified it.”<sup>63</sup>

What these examples show is that from the top levels of architectural organization to the copiers and printers it was all unionized and self-managed workforce that not only conceptualized, but modeled, constructed and realized the Skopje project, as well as the rest of the construction of Yugoslavia. It was the collaborative, work of solidarity, that even tried to protect the workers from chemicals in the workforce that imprinted the spirit of solidarity in concert with the international aid and assistance. This further shows that the Skopje reconstruction project is an example of how architecture can operate and thrive outside of capitalism.

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After the 1960s. Private interests in the humanitarian aid arena sidelined sustainable examples of reconstruction like Skopje 65.

International humanitarian aid before Skopje 1963 was present and active, however not on a highly organized and coordinated level seen in Skopje, and it typically did not involve the UN in a prolonged planning strategy with an active role in the urban development or housing construction. In August 1963 Ernest Weissmann was sent to Skopje to assess the damage. In his telegram back to the UN he requires immediate assistance and representatives of the UN Expanded Program for Technical Assistance arrived in Skopje and start a seismological survey of the region that would conclude in early October.<sup>64</sup> In early September, another dignitary visit was made by Paul Freeman, American Secretary of Agriculture, together with members of the Congress

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<sup>63</sup> Efremova, Liljana. personal correspondence, 2019.

<sup>64</sup> See Addenda, Timeline.

Committee on Agriculture and Foreign Agriculture Operations. The members of Congress were attending the Inter-Parliamentary Union Conference in Belgrade and they were chartered to Skopje by the Yugoslavian government to value the level of destruction. During their visit to Skopje, they visited the tents set up in the park, and noted that no effort was made to produce permanent housing for these people. Permanent housing was the solution that these congressmen were proposing at a congressional hearing held later that month on the possibility of how to help the city with the immediate aid of \$50 million held in Yugoslavian currency, with a direct on the ground approach, circumventing the approvals of the Yugoslavian government.<sup>65</sup> The 50 million dollars being discussed were money that Yugoslavia owed the US from the Food for Peace program. This was part of Yugoslavia's debt to the US, that according to the Title II of PL 480, the US government owned in foreign currency and could use it for any use within that country. However, if it was to be spent on things not specifically on American needs, such as the embassy or economic missions, the money was considered to be long term aid - and was prohibited to be spent in communist countries.<sup>66</sup> To spend the money on anything considered permanent such as the construction of new housing units, under this law the US government would have to demonstrate that it was of particular importance to the safety of the United States and it would have to ask for permission from the Yugoslavian government, as it would be considered being involved into the domestic affairs. This was something that the Committee naturally wanted to avoid. In further discussion, the committee looks for solutions to avoid the stipulations of PL 480 which would allow the US military to act in the Skopje rebuilding effort and to spend the money available in long term efforts of reconstruction - the most immediate one of which is - housing. Housing in this instance becomes

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<sup>65</sup> US Congress. Hearing before the subcommittee on Foreign Agricultural Operations of the Committee on Agriculture; House of Representatives; 88th Congress; First Session. Committee hearing transcript. Washington DC: US Government Printing Office, 1963.

<sup>66</sup> Congress Hearing, 14;

a symbol of humanitarian aid and solidarity and a vehicle of geopolitical strategy and monetary policy as the very nature of humanitarian aid is shifting and expanding from food, fertilizer and other agricultural goods to permanent projects in development. The definition of what permanent housing is, which would invoke the stipulations of PL 480 and prohibit the use of this agricultural aid money in Skopje, is part of the Committee's debate.<sup>67</sup>

Meanwhile in Yugoslavia, a solution was arising in the form of a prefabricated house that could be easily shipped and assembled in Skopje and because of its light frame structure, assembly method instead of construction, it would be considered "assembled for temporary use" which would mean that it is not a permanent building, even though these houses, when properly erected and insulated can last for decades and are even present today.<sup>68</sup> Being a one story house, and under a certain square footage allowed the "baraka" as it is called in Skopje - to escape the lengthy building permit process for other residential projects. As the name "baraka" suggests, it is referring to a barrack, as the first types of non-tent buildings to be built in the aftermath of the disaster were a combination of Nissen huts and military barracks.

One type of those houses donated by the British was a Dexion house, invented by British inventor and businessman Demetrius Comino, who turned a steel shelving unit into a light frame steel structure for a prefabricated house, which was firstly donated to the Ionian Islands, after the earthquake of 1953 in what was called *Project Ulysses*.<sup>69</sup> Over 1500 of these houses were deployed in Skopje in a neighborhood that today is called Dexion.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> Congress Hearing 14-20;

<sup>68</sup> Sluzben Vesnik na SFR Makedonija. God. XIX br. 33. Belgrad. Septemvri 1963

<sup>69</sup> Dexion House, 1953. British Pathe. <http://www.britishpathe.com/video/dexion-houses/query/dexion>

<sup>70</sup> Davis, Ian. "Skopje Rebuilt: Reconstruction following the 1963 Earthquake." *AD (Architectural Design)*; Vol. XLV (1975): 660-663.

Another type donated by the Finnish was the “Kotka 2” house built in September and October of 1963. This simple two-bedroom, one story house has a compact distribution of spaces. The minimized hallway area limited to the entrance foyer as an overlap between the private and public circulation of the house is a step in a different direction from a traditional Macedonian city house where private and public spaces were usually separated by floor or divided by a hallway. The dining room, semi-open to the living room by a sliding door is also an innovation compared to typical houses of the Skopje region with clearly separated living areas open to the public and sanctioned off private areas for the family. The relatively thin standard walls are also atypical for the heavy construction of the region that relied on heavy masonry for insulation. These typical elements of a modern Western house suggest a codification of modern elements into a systematized prefabricated house with standard designs as opposed to custom elements. The house is not signed by an author or architect, and the construction documents are in German, while the adaptation and corrections for the Skopje sites was done by the Helsinki firm Pelkkatalo Oy as the only signatory of the documents, which leads to the conclusion that this house was intended for the German speaking market and was perhaps built at other locations before the Finnish decision to donate them to Skopje. The standard walls of the same thickness and the modulated dimensions and the minimal amount of corrections suggest that prefabrication and fast erection were part of the original design efforts.<sup>71</sup>

On October 14<sup>th</sup>, a unanimous resolution is passed in the United Nations’ Special Fund that is a positive answer to the Yugoslavian plea for help in Skopje and is urging the member nations

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<sup>71</sup> See Illustrations. Courtesy of Elizabeta Avramovska, private collection; Report of the municipal government of the City of Helsinki. The City of Helsinki Statistical Office. 1956. pp 92.; The Kotka workers’ housing by Aalto and the possible connection to the manufacturer of this prefabricated house are outside the scope of this paper.

to help with what they can.<sup>72</sup> The UN with the approval of this petition not only expands the definition of the Special Fund's role but also expands the definition of humanitarian aid to include the planning and construction of housing and urban development in general. The UN is directly involved in the rebuilding process of Skopje, also through its Expanded Program for Technical Assistance several major projects are completed in Skopje, including the regulation of the river Vardar, the seismological survey, and a Training center for Building construction Personnel. Later the Special Fund will appoint the International Consultative Group in 1964 to be the central executive body in charge of the Skopje Urban Plan project. The body would later be known as the International Board of Consultants, with Ernest Weissmann as the chair and would oversee the rebuilding of Skopje. This board was populated with planners and scientists from various countries across the Iron Curtain, including Martin Meyerson, at the time Dean of the College of Environmental Design at UC Berkeley, and a proponent of an open market policy in housing development.<sup>73</sup> In 1965 the Special Fund and the Expanded program for Technical Assistance merge into what is known today as the United Nations Development Program (UNDP). The role of the UN Board of Consultants as executors of the Skopje Urban Plan and the experts involved in all the projects provided the chance for the UN to test its concepts and possibilities as a planning agency and to establish models for further use.

In *Skopje Resurgent*, published in 1970, the comprehensive description of the housing suggestions made by the International Board of Consultants explains that the solutions were based on specific social studies of the population and their habits as well as design calculations based on

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<sup>72</sup> United Nations General Assembly. 14<sup>th</sup> October 1963. Qtd in *Skopje Resurgent*, p 367

<sup>73</sup> Meyerson, et al. *Housing, People and Cities*. McGraw Hill Book Company, Inc. New York. 1962; Meyerson Martin & Terrett, Barbara. *Metropolis Lost, Metropolis Regained*. The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. Vol.314, Nov. 1957.

occupancy standards which were then cross-referenced to come up with an ultimate guide in terms of space/person and the typical allowance for a family unit as well as recommendations for the groupings of these units into neighboring clusters. The drawings that are presented on pages 273-277 are of a typical ranch style house only named as type LI-08, with no signed author, despite the strong presence of a personal style in the drawings. The strict Cartesian geometry of the floor plan positions the living areas perpendicular to the sleeping areas meeting open hallway leading from the entrance. The following pages illustrate the connection of similar models into groups as part of larger neighborhoods. The compatibility and ease of connection between these units is emphasized, alongside the metric of usable floor area broken down into its constituent living, auxiliary and wall percentages. Similarly, starting on page 196 -203 a diagram of the *Occupancy Standards* depicted in a rectangular table comparing family sizes to room sizes and usable floor area, zooms out on the next page to show the configuration of rooms and units into plots of designated sizes and into clusters of neighboring units with recommendations of the economized dwelling combination suggested for use and titled *Conclusions from cost analysis*. Further zooming out in the next few pages the clusters are depicted as elements of typical blocks, where the areas of the block are signified in terms of their use and number of inhabitants, further zooming out to *Community* consisted of multiple blocks and finally zooming out to *Sectors* on page 203 consisted of multiple communities. The understanding of the unit of space per family combined with a cost analysis is the starting point of deploying housing as a planning tool for development of larger regional and socioeconomic plans. The flat roofs of the suggested units, the floor to ceiling windows, concrete balconies and slim pilasters depicted in the perspectives can be seen as hallmarks of midcentury International Style. Their presence in a housing study recommendation, by a Board of international consultants of the UN, combined with detailed measurements of space

usage in combinational proposals reaffirms the transformation of housing from an economic or social policy to a specific tool with design parameters and metrics that can be deployed in further studies and other places if needed. The complexity of the bureaucracy that was responsible for the interweaving of all this surveyed data into design and planning tools is depicted on pages 120-121. A flow chart and diagram with time on its horizontal axis and phases of the plan along its vertical axis, populated by a circuitry of interconnected yet individually outlined specific actions, resulting in an informational schema similar to the organizational chart of the UN itself. The legion of experts involved in the Skopje Urban Plan saw itself as an interconnected network where decisions and results are produced as the outcomes of a multitudinous and ruminating bureaucratic process.

*Skopje Resurgent*, was published by the UN in 1970, 5 years after the completion of the Skopje Urban Plan and the disbandment of the Board, yet the mention of the Skopje project by Weissmann in his Vancouver address in 1976 suggests that the findings, recommendations and solutions contained in this report were part of the UN arsenal of information used in its further development endeavors, while closely tying housing design to financial practices and investment.

The prefabricated “baraka” houses that were constructed from 1963 while the major regulation, survey and planning projects were getting off the ground specifically marks the transition from temporary emergency relief for disasters and agricultural assistance into extended humanitarian aid through development. The houses trace their roots in agricultural uses and are constructed by a large multilateral effort with parts coming from different factories, and being constructed by different teams - not much unlike the complex political system that deployed them. They can be seen as a material expression of the convergence of humanitarian aid in the form of emergency relief and agricultural assistance, with long term planning and development. The planning effort at this scale of involvement did not become a common practice for the UN,

however the prefabricated Baraka house was deployed again in 1972 after an earthquake in Lice, Turkey but with diminished success due to sociological relations of the local population.<sup>74</sup> The United Nations' now stronger conglomerated political body of UN Habitat, as well as UNDP as a separate development program, together with World Bank after its first credits in social housing will continue to grow into political and economic power bureaucracies that will control much of the development fate of the Third World, as houses became a particularly useful tool in their strategies.

The Kotka 2 houses that were a gift from Finland later became an inspiration for a Macedonian prefabricated house, designed, produced, and constructed by the Treska furniture factory in Skopje for the new neighborhood of Radishani. Biljana Markovska-Culic, the lead designer for the 3-bedroom model of the Treska line of prefabricated houses explains the design and construction process of the Treska houses:

“Following the proposal of the Institute of Urbanism at the time, the land which was owned by the state of which is now Radishani, was to be subdivided into lots for individual houses of 10x10m. Later the proposal was changed so that duplexes can be built so that they are more affordable for the broader public. After the adoption of that plan that allowed for two houses on one lot, the solution prompted for prefabricated houses instead of masonry. When the plan solicited design and construction bids for prefabricated houses, there was no such organization in Macedonia, so the Treska factory was asked to step in with a solution. The projects are directly and originally from the Treska factory, but they were inspired in materials and details by the Finish houses that were already in Skopje. The hard construction of the foundations and the subterranean garages were done by the Mavrovo organization, while the houses themselves were designed and produced by the Treska Factory

There are 3 types of houses (baraki). Two different types of 4-rooms (3 bedroom) and one with 3-rooms (2 bedroom). The are made from metal steel construction skeleton, with panelized walls with glass wool insulation, gypsum board and wallpapers, while salonit and plastic façade on the outside, with wood-frame windows, and framed roof. The floors are a poured reinforced concrete on the ground floor with a rubberized carpet above, while the first level is made from wooden panels hanging on the metal framing, with full insulation, and closed with sheetrock and rubberized carpets. There was also a small shopping center in the new neighborhood that was built on the same principle, similar to the housing projects, also designed and executed by the Treska factory, also a prefabricated project.”<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> Cavanagh, Jon and Fiona Johnson. "Earthquakes and Prefabs." *Ecologist*. vol.6, no.3 (March-April 1976): 104-106.

<sup>75</sup> Markovic-Culic, Biljana. Personal correspondence 2021

What this example shows is that the Macedonian construction and original projects were not only similar but sometimes of better quality and of advanced design than the donated houses. The fact that the design and construction process was able to be engineered and upscaled for a shopping center, as well as for the entire new neighborhood shows that Macedonian self-managed architecture organizations took charge of the rebuilding effort to their own needs and criteria, and delivered resilient and quality results. This further shows how the Skopje project can be an example for architecture delivering quality and innovation outside of capitalism.

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At the address of the UN Conference on Human Settlements in Vancouver in 1976, while explaining the history of the UN's housing practices that evolved into the establishment of UN Habitat, in footnote number 11, Ernest Weissmann lists the planning effort of Skopje, Yugoslavia as a "good detailed example of the new orientation" towards an integrated approach with a stronger institutional cooperation, listing that the Board of Consultants, jointly appointed body of the UN and the Yugoslav government delivered a series of new plans for Skopje and coordinated the vast rebuilding operation which involved the help of UNESCO, the ILO, the WHO, and UNICEF, the World Food Program, the Skopje Urban Plan by the Social Fund, the regulation of the river by the Extended program, among other private charitable organizations. The techniques used in these efforts, including "computer programming for emergency shelter to social surveys and employment and income projection for housing, to feasibility studies for transport and infrastructure" is one of the aspects that made the rebuilding of Skopje unique, and in many ways

made the whole undertaking a symbol of international cooperation and solidarity.<sup>76</sup> The earthquake of Skopje provided the opportunity in 1963 where the UN could exercise its nascent institutional expertise and further develop methods of examining housing factors in connection to economics and population statistics. The political neutrality and joint interest of Yugoslavia between the adversary blocs of the Cold War made Skopje the most suitable experimentation platform where the international authority of the UN could be trusted and elevated if the experiment were to prove successful. In Skopje, the UN seized this opportunity and ascended with all its institutional might and expertise, not only to help the devastated city, but to validate the expertise and growth of the UN Committee on Housing, Building and Planning, and to further develop mechanism for the distribution of housing and monetary policy. What Skopje shows is what architecture can do after disaster and how architecture can operate and thrive outside of the confines of capitalism speculation in the modern world and on an international scale.

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<sup>76</sup> Weissmann. *Human Settlements - Struggle for Identity*. 235

## Conclusion:

The early 1960s were a pivotal moment in history, not only because it was the height of the Cold War, where scenes of rebuilding were a welcomed sight amongst a terrible fear of destruction, but also because it was the beginning of the realization that the climate was also being destroyed by the very industrial-imperial forces that were promising technological salvation. Historians like Fernand Braudel, as well as thinkers like Buckminster Fuller, and activists like Greenpeace rightfully predicted that the entire world was in danger not only from militant forces like *Dr. Strangelove*, but rather by the entire process of industrial pollutive exploitation. They were not alone, the very fossil fuel companies, themselves inheritors of the colonial East India companies were very well aware that the continuous pollution of the environment will lead to a disastrous collapse of the world's climate system. The Skopje reconstruction process fits into this narrative as a solution to the exploitative system which is considered "Architecture" in the West – a hegemonic perpetuation of the systems of power through bourgeois tastes. The Skopje reconstruction project (Skopje 65) provides a novel solution to rebuilding after disaster, architecture and construction labor organization through solidarity and collaboration.

Skopje was a unique historical rebuilding effort because it was entrusted to the local architects, engineers, and planners, and not government or military contractors, with international help, which was there to lend expertise, technology, and media attention to help support funds for the project. The reconstruction effort, because it was mostly done by the local architectural workforce with some international help was able to produce a city suitable for the climactic necessities and conditions on the ground and provide humane urban living conditions for thousands of people. What this study of the Skopje reconstruction further shows is that architecture thrives outside of the constraints of speculation and zero-sum games of exploitative profits. In other words, what the

Skopje reconstruction project shows is that architecture thrives without capitalism. It was because the Skopje project and others like it during the 1960s showed a different way of building and constructing the built environment for the benefit of the people instead of the ruling classes, that neoimperialist/neoliberal politics of the 1970s onward launched an attack on all public commons and domains.

The Skopje Reconstruction project was made possible by an unprecedented effort of global solidarity working through the self-managed architectural workforce. It is a unique example in the recovery history because it was entrusted to the architectural workforce and not large multinational organizations to deliver a sustainable city. The city that got built was a result of a multilayered collaboration between local and international architects, where the foreign expertise was working for the local one, not the other way around. The entire City of Solidarity was built by self-managed labor organizations from the design to the implementation and construction processes. This allowed for the local environmental and building conditions and traditions to be respected and upgraded into a plan that would allow for a humane approach to urban living for the next 30 years. This plan, the UPP, was made possible by paying close attention to the existing environmental and cultural characteristics of the city and the surrounding region. This included a close attention to the built environment vis-à-vis the open spaces in their surroundings as well as the updating of the neighborhood unit concept that had already existed in the Balkans. Foreign architectural help that came in the form of direct prefabricated housing and a monumental proposal for the central area were translated and interpreted into the local scale and context.

The UPP was a planning effort made possible by counterbalancing ideas from the preeminent experts at the time from different sides of the Iron Curtain. Ciborowski from Poland, Doxiadis from Greece and Kenzo Tange from Japan are some of the more prominent names from the field

whose ideas were metabolized by the local architectural workforce into a unique deliverable. The housing that was donated to the city by the international community greatly helped with the housing needs which were met by 1964. The UPP was the plan that provided the future growth of the city, based on the local context and traditions, with international help. This type of collaboration and involvement of international expertise and institutions like the United Nations and International Labor Organization were unprecedented before Skopje and open up new avenues for further academic research. The key aspects of the plan, such as the serious formal consideration of open spaces, the updating of the neighborhood unit and Contour Plan as a deliverable instead of a “masterplan” further point to the wealth of architectural ideas that invite further research and academic study. This was all made possible by the planning process set up by Ernest Weissmann who wanted and succeeded in making Skopje the “world city” of the future based on equity, sustainability and solidarity. This was no accident since Weissmann was very well aware of the local building history and regional development of the Balkans, that is to say he was aware of what works – and imported foreign plans and imposed solutions do not work. International aid was particularly interested in housing as a vehicle for aid since WWII, however the UN lost its primacy in the humanitarian field and was overshadowed by the World Bank and IMF in the 1970s, precisely to promote privatized and unilateral urban interventions. In other words, in Skopje we see a rare historical example of this multilateral solidarity that was meant to be responsive to the local conditions and not the wishes of the market or private agencies. For the Skopje project the local workforce with the help of the international community was able to achieve a sustainable humane city that respected the traditions of the local communities, primarily the abundance of *atari* (open spaces for spontaneous congregations) that work as tandem to the architecture. This paired with the counterbalancing of ideas from abroad about housing, reconstruction, and

infrastructure made the city a unique historical case and can point to new avenues of research for architecture, planning, historical research and environmental planning. Weissmann's ideas that he had cultivated throughout his career, about the promising potential of architecture and regional planning for the improvement of living standards were finally realized in Skopje. Weissmann remains on the fringe of architectural historical discourse and is a valuable resource for thinking of architecture beyond the speculative frames of capitalist or imperialist models of praxis. His vision of Skopje provided a framework for an analytical approach to planning with the counterbalancing of foreign ideas by the local workforce which ultimately resulted in a humane urbanism and various architectural accomplishments free of institutional formalistic dogma. Self-management as a form of labor organization and architectural praxis is also another valuable accomplishment in architecture that remains on the fringes of the discourse yet has potential for further development and study. While modern versions of self-management were successful in practice in Yugoslavia and similarly elsewhere in the Third World through various forms of social or state ownership, they were founded on traditional building labor organization practices that predate the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Through this form of organization, architecture and engineering cooperation was multilayered and unnecessary competition was eliminated through collaboration and solidarity. This allowed the projects to focus on the sustainability and viability of the proposals, as well as the long-term aspects of the plan. The solidarity that was the driving force for the project was also an aspect of the historical circumstances where architecture was understood as the communal effort that was supposed to provide the desired urban environment to the population. It was because the rebuilding effort was entrusted to the architectural workforce that the project was able to provide the spaces and buildings for the habitation of the city. The plans, buildings, open spaces and housing that were built in the reconstruction process served the

inhabitants until the reintroduction of capitalism into the country with the destruction of Yugoslavia.



:: Appendix 1 :: Timeline:

**What happened after the earthquake:**

- 26 July 1963. 5:17 am – the earthquake of 6.3 destroys most of the city.

- On July 26<sup>th</sup> 1963, a catastrophic earthquake in Skopje, Yugoslavia practically leveled the city of about 200,000 people and left two thirds of that population homeless. “Nearly all public offices schools, clinics, halls and other communal buildings were either destroyed or dangerously ruined. The city was almost cut off from communication with the outside world, for the radio station was badly damaged, the telephone system disrupted, post offices wrecked and roads and railways blocked,” while the power was badly damaged and the water turned off for fears of contamination.<sup>1</sup> **Twenty minutes** after the earthquake, Macedonia’s “Minister of the Interior had set up headquarters in a public park to organize rescue and relief work.”<sup>2</sup> **Five hours** after the quake, the president of the Yugoslav Federal Government’s Executive Council had arrived from Belgrade and by that time the “emergency committees were in action, directing and taking precautions against other shocks, and [...] the requisitioning of all means of transportation.”<sup>3</sup> In the morning, the locals from the neighboring villages brought their donkey-carts full of fruit and vegetables and left them for all who needed them.<sup>4</sup> The Yugoslavian Army (JNA) moved in to the city delivering field kitchens and tanks of water, and before midnight field hospitals were set up in the “surrounding countryside.”<sup>5</sup> During the night after the earthquake tents were set up as reception centers in the parks and provided shelter for 25,000 people, the rescue work continued, while the radio Skopje station was back on the air communicating the losses, for which a separate part of the city cemetery Butel was made.<sup>6</sup> The reestablishment of radio connections alerted the other Yugoslav capitals of the disaster and Skopje became the focus of an unprecedented show of support. The day after the earthquake aid started to arrive in Skopje,

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<sup>1</sup> Senior, Derrick. Skopje Resurgent. United Nations, New York. 1970. 23

<sup>2</sup> Senior, 24. Stressing the importance of open public space.

<sup>3</sup> Senior. 27-28.

<sup>4</sup> Senior, 28.

<sup>5</sup> Senior, 28.

<sup>6</sup> Senior, 28-29.

first from the other Yugoslav republics, and then from other countries. “The world cared about Skopje” emphasizes Senior in his description of the aftermath of the earthquake, it was the “focus of an unprecedented surge of international goodwill. In materials, in money, in messages (no less appreciated) of sympathy and encouragement, the proof came flooding in from every corner of the earth.”<sup>7</sup> The reestablishment of contact between Skopje and the rest of the capitals set the motion for federal, national and individual help to start to arrive in the city. The air force was flying in medical help and patients to other hospitals, while the Montenegrin government sent organized youth brigades to help with the clearance of rubble, who were joined with miners and rescue squads from Serbia and medical teams from Zagreb and Sarajevo. President Tito and Edvard Kardelj, then the president of the federal assembly and other ranking officials arrived in Skopje the day after the earthquake. Local authorities had restored electrical lines, and also had decided “to evacuate women and children who could not further help with the immediate tasks and in every part of Yugoslavia schools, youth hostels and private homes were thrown open to the refugees.”<sup>8</sup> After Tito’s plea to foreign governments and the Red Cross for help, within 36 hours of the earthquake, planes of aid in food, medicaments, tents and instruments were arriving from European countries and the United States. A 120-bed field hospital “complete with twenty doctors, thirty nurses and 150 orderlies” was assembled by the United States Army, by the direct order of President Kennedy, and was receiving patients at 9:00am on July 28<sup>th</sup> barely two days after the disaster.<sup>9</sup> Rescue work continued to save the last survivors under the rubble, while the “local authorities had repaired the water mains [...] and commissioned a group of engineers, architects, planners and surveyors to carry out a comprehensive inspection of damaged buildings as the basis for a demolition programme.”<sup>10</sup> The city archives and treasures were rehoused and secured, and public functions were being restored, and more than 100, 000 people had been evacuated from the city, while those who stayed had an improvised shelter.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Senior, 30

<sup>8</sup> Senior, 31.

<sup>9</sup> Senior, 31.

<sup>10</sup> Senior, 32

<sup>11</sup> Senior, 32.

In **the next few days** after the earthquake, emergency relief in the form of medicine, tents, food and clothes started to come in and tended to the surviving population that was not evacuated. Due to the scale of the clearing and possible rebuilding effort, the Yugoslavian government immediately solicited the international community for assistance, and within weeks, international experts, engineers, surveyors, charity organizations, army engineers and soldiers, medical crews and immense material help ascended on the city.

The Yugoslavian youth brigades which were stationed and working on the highway, were redirected to help Skopje with its reconstruction. These Youth brigades worked in 3 different shifts of two months each. Since their immediate deployment in Skopje, the Youth Brigades worked on clearing rubble, search and rescue, on the construction of prefabricated housing in the new neighborhoods, as well as the reconstruction of damaged buildings of schools and the university, as well as constructing new buildings for the university, student housing and housing for the city. More than 1500 people were part of the shifts in Skopje and with their help a large amount of the reconstruction work was completed.<sup>12</sup>

Part of that material assistance were prefabricated houses that were transported by train to Skopje in parts and were assembled on site. The first 800 arrived **within 10 days from the earthquake** as a gift from the British organization War on Want, together with a British “expert on prefabricated houses” Robert Fitzmaurice.<sup>13</sup> **In 8 months**, 14,000 single family prefabricated houses were built complete with utilities and infrastructure as donations from various countries.<sup>14</sup> By 1973 there will be 35,000 of these houses built; constituting the 17 new neighborhoods of the city, with streets named after the countries and cities that donated the dwellings.<sup>15</sup> These houses although an effort of the initial stage of assistance became an important part of the long term planning strategy for the rebuilding of Skopje, organized and led by the United Nations - an unprecedented effort in multilaterally coordinated relief and planning development.

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<sup>12</sup> “Ho-ruck For Skopje.” Museum of the City of Skopje. 2018.

<sup>13</sup> Skopje Resurgent; The Story of a United Nations Special Fund Town Planning Project. New York: United Nations, New York. 1970. p.93

<sup>14</sup> Senior, Skopje Resurgent; pp.93-98

<sup>15</sup> Davis, Ian. Shelter After Disaster. Oxford: Oxford Polytechnic Press, 1973. p. 100

During the **month of August** aid continued to pour into the city. Building materials and prefabricated dwellings among other things predominated this outpour of help which included “every imaginable commodity, from cooking-oil to concrete-cutting machinery, radiators, cranes and cakes of soap.”<sup>16</sup> Among these housing elements, “prefabricated houses Nissen huts and Dexion structures were erected by army engineers from the United States, Denmark, and the United Kingdom.”<sup>17</sup> These houses that were meant as temporary will become permanent when they are considered as elements to stay in the future plans of the city. During **the following months and years** Skopje was received aid and visits by a number of foreign dignitaries, and direct aid from trade unions, businesses, religious organizations, as well as individuals, and by the **end of 1965**, 77 countries had contributed serious financial aid to the reconstruction effort, almost matching Yugoslavia’s own contribution.<sup>18</sup> Many of the building names in Skopje carried the names of the contributors such as the Romanian Hospital, the Russian Hospital etc. Likewise in the housing, there are entire streets especially in the newly constructed neighborhoods like Taftalidze and Karpos, that bear the names of the cities and countries that contributed for the construction such as: Athenian St., Mexican St., Roman St., New Delhi St. Guadalajara St., Dresden St., Algerian St., Baghdad St., then on the next block separated by one of the shorter north-south axis Brotherhood and Unity Blvd.: Moscow St. Prague St., Bucharest St., Helsinki St., Warsaw St., Havana St. Tashkent St. Damascus St. London St., Vienna St., Paris St.. Further: Banja Luka St., Stockholm St., Copenhagen St., Brussels St., Sofia St. Hague St., Budapest St., Geneva St., Volgograd St., among many others and streets named for important figures such as Indira Gandhi, Franklin Roosevelt St., John F. Kennedy blvd., Nobel St., Jurij Gagarin St. and others.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Senior, 32.

<sup>17</sup> Senior, 32.

<sup>18</sup> Senior, 32-33. Explained in further detail below. Why Skopje is important to Macedonia, Yugoslavia and Non-Alignment, and the Cold War – see Senior pp 40 -47. – This can be explained with the history of Skopje – prewar and pre-Yugo. In Chapter 2.

<sup>19</sup> Interesting to note is that the names of these streets in Macedonian take the form of an adjective: Rimska Ulica = Roman Street, not “Rome Street.” Atinska is Athenian, not Athens St. and so on. The point is that the names of the cities are adopted to the native language and way of naming streets as adjectives like Vodnjanjska, Mokra, etc. such that New Delhi st. would be Newdelhian street in Macedonian, Budapest St. = Budimeshtanska Ulica., etc.

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**On Ilinden – August 2<sup>nd</sup> 1963** “the Executive Board of the Central committee of the League of Yugoslav Communists meet in Brioni and appealed to the entire nation to help get Skopje rebuilt within five years. Days after the disaster the UN sends a team to decide how they can help.”<sup>20</sup>

**Mid-August** Ernest Weissman as an expert of the UN, visited Skopje and send this telegram from back to UN headquarters:

SUBPARA A: ONE UNATIONS EXPERT FOR ONE MONTH TO ADVISE GOVERNMENT OF SUITABILITY AND RELATIVE TECHNICAL AND ECONOMIC ADVANTAGES EUROPEAN TYPES PREFABRICATED STRUCTURES TO BE ACQUIRED AND ERECTED BEFORE WINTER AND ON FORMULATION FIRST PLAN FOR DEVELOPMENT OF ADEQUATE BUILDING MATERIALS PRODUCTION FOR IMMEDIATE AND LONGTERM RECONSTRUCTION REQUIREMENTS STOP RECOMMENDED ROBERT FITZMAURICE UK STOP

SUBPARA B MATERIAL ASSISTANCE FOR COMMUNITY FACILITIES INCLUDING EQUIPMENT FOR NURSERIES SCHOOLS CLINICS COMMUNITY CENTRES IN INHABITABLE CENTRAL CITY AREAS SATELLITE SETTLEMENTS AND SPECIAL SELF-HELP COMMUNITIES TO BE ESTABLISHED IN TWO ZONES STOP UNICEF MAY CONSIDER ASSISTING IN CO-OPERATION WITH... SPECIALIZED AGENCIES CONCERNED STOP

SUBPARA C SHORTTERM EXPERTISE INDUSTRIAL REHABILITATION MAY BE NEEDED DURING 1963 TOTALLING THREE MONTHS STOP

SUBPARA D SIX TO TEN FELLOWSHIPS BY UN FAO WHO UNESCO FOR UNIVERSITY TEACHING STAFF BEGINNING THIS FALL IN VIEW PLANNED REORGANIZATION AS STUDENT BODY TO BE TEMPORARILY PLACED IN OTHER YUGOSLAV UNIVERSITIES PENDING RECONSTRUCTION STOP FELLOWSHIP REQUESTS FOR OTHER PURPOSES TO FOLLOW STOP •.. CONNEXION PREFABRICATED STRUCTURES FOR EMERGENCY PHASE CONSIDER IMPORT UNRELIABLE AS SOURCE BEFORE WINTER DUE EXCHANGE PROBLEMS EXCEPT WHERE EXTERNAL FUNDS OR OTHER ARRANGEMENTS ALREADY ASSURED AND STRUCTURES IN PRODUCTION OR IN STOCK STOP THEREFORE SUGGESTED AS MORE RELIABLE SOURCE MILITARY STOCK AVAILABLE IN EUROPE TO BE OBTAINED AS GRANTS COMMA ON LOAN RETURNABLE FROM EARLY YUGOSLAV PRODUCTION TO BE ACQUIRED BY YUGOSLAV GOVERNMENT UNDER SURPLUS PURCHASE AGREEMENTS STOP

PARA TWO LONGTERM RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT STOP IN THIS PHASE THE PHYSICAL AND ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION OF THE SKOPJE REGION IS TO BE ACCOMPLISHED IN FIVE YEARS AS A BASIS FOR ITS FURTHER

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<sup>20</sup> Senior, 32-33

DEVELOPMENT AS THE ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL CAPITAL OF MACEDONIA AND AN ESSENTIAL ECONOMIC UNIT OF YUGOSLAVIA STOP THE FOLLOWING UNATIONS FAMILY ASSISTANCE WILL BE REQUIRED

SUBPARA A JOINT UNATIONS UNESCO SEISMOLOGICAL EARTHQUAKE ENGINEERING AND PLANNING MISSION CONSISTING OF ONE PHYSICAL PLANNER ONE SEISMOLOGIST AND ONE EARTHQUAKE ENGINEER AND POSSIBLY ANOTHER EXPERT FOR A TOTAL OF THREE MONTHS EACH IN TWO VISITS TO ADVISE ON ONE THE SUITABILITY OF THE DIFFERENT GEOGRAPHIC AREAS OF THE SKOPJE REGION FOR URBAN AND INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT TWO THE CLASSIFICATION OF THESE AREAS FOR USE OF DIFFERENT SUITABLE STRUCTURAL TYPES AND BUILDING METHODS AND THREE ON GENERAL PRINCIPLES FOR THE NEW BUILDING CODE FOR SKOPJE TO BE ENACTED SHORTLY STOP THIS MISSION WOULD ALSO ADVISE THE GOVERNMENT ON PRINCIPLES FOR NATIONAL AND SPECIAL LOCAL BUILDING CODES IN OTHER YUGOSLAV SEISMIC ZONES STOP THIS MISSION PARTLY RESULT OF WORK OF DESPEYROUX PROVIDED BY UNESCO STOP..

SUBPARA C CONNEXION PHYSICAL PLAN NEW SKOPJE TO BE PREPARED BY YUGOSLAV EXPERTS GOVERNMENT INTERESTED OBTAINING SPECIAL FUND OR UN TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE BY MULTIDISCIPLINARY TEAMS FROM FRANCE ITALY POLAND SWEDEN US USSR AS A MEANS OF CONSIDERING POSSIBLE ALTERNATIVE SOLUTIONS BASED ON COMPLETE FACTUAL DATA PROVIDED BY COMPETENT YUGOSLAV AUTHORITIES AND EXPERIENCE OF THESE COUNTRIES IN URBAN DEVELOPMENT AND BUILDING IN EARTHQUAKE ZONES STOP DETAILED PROPOSAL TO BE SUBMITTED STOP SUBPARA D CONSTRUCTION NEW SKOPJE INVOLVES YEARLY INVESTMENT OF 100 BILLION DINARS OR 135 MILLION DOLLARS FOR PHYSICAL DEVELOPMENT STOP YUGOSLAV GOVERNMENT INTERESTED IN SPECIAL FUND PROJECT TO FURNISH BASIC GEOLOGICAL SEROLOGICAL SOIL TOPOGRAPHIC HYDROLOGIC AND PHOTOGRAMMETRIC DATA FOR REGIONAL LAND USE PLAN AND GENERAL PLAN FOR TRANSPORT POWER AND UTILITIES IN SKOPJE REGION AS FRAMEWORK FOR PHYSICAL PLAN FOR NEW SKOPJE STOP THIS PROJECT EXTREMELY URGENT AS NEW PLANS FOR SKOPJE MUST BE PREPARED WITHIN EIGHT MONTHS STOP ACCELERATED PROCESSING REQUIRED TO ENSURE SPECIAL FUND APPROVAL IN DECEMBER STOP DETAILS TO BE SUBMITTED SHORTLY STOP

SUBPARA E INDUSTRIAL AND GENERAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT INVOLVES IN ADDITION TO BUILDING MATERIALS INCLUDING CEMENT SIPOREX GYPSUM LIME AND EXPANDED CLAY ALSO EXPANSION OR DEVELOPMENT OF STEEL LEAD AND ZINC AND NICKEL PRODUCTION STOP GOVERNMENT INTERESTED IN FEASIBILITY STUDIES FOR EXPANSION EXISTING AND ESTABLISHMENT NEW PLANTS THROUGH SPECIAL FUND PROJECT AS BASIS FOR INTERNAL AND OR EXTERNAL FINANCING INCLUDING INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS STOP DETAILS WILL BE SUBMITTED SHORTLY STOP SUBPARA F IN VIEW EXTENSIVE FLOOD DAMAGE IN 1962 WHICH MAY HAVE INFLUENCED INTENSITY OF EFFECT RECENT EARTHQUAKE GOVERNMENT INTERESTED IN SPECIAL FUND AID IN PLANNING OF CONTROL AND USE OF VARDAR RIVER RESOURCE FOR POWER AND PROJECT AS A BASIS FOR LONGTERM PLANNING STOP DETAILS FOR PROJECT TO BE SUBMITTED SHORTLY STOP

SUBPARA G OTHER ASSISTANCE MAY INVOLVE FOLLOWING STOP ONE AID FOR RECONSTRUCTION SKOPJE UNIVERSITY FOR CURRENT ENROLMENT OF 12,000 STUDENTS IN VOLVING STUDY TOUR FOR PLANNING TEAM AND AID BY UNESCO UN

AND OTHER AGENCIES FOR REORGANIZATION OF DEPARTMENTS AND ESTABLISHMENT OF SPECIALIZED INSTITUTES PARTICULARLY SEISMOLOGY EARTHQUAKE ENGINEERING AND URBAN PLANNING IN SEISMIC ZONES STOP TWO WHO AND UN AID FOR HEALTH AND SANITATION SERVICES AND DEVELOPMENT OF NEW FACILITIES STOP THREE VOCATIONAL TRAINING AND REHABILITATION AID BY ILO STOP FOUR WORLD FOOD PROGRAMME AID FOR SELF HELP HOUSING AND OTHER RECONSTRUCTION WORK STOP.,.

EEE IN VIEW EXTRA ORDINARY GRAVITY ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES SKOPJE EARTHQUAKE DESPITE MOBILIZATION ALL AVAILABLE NATIONAL RESOURCES AND INTERNATIONAL GOODWILL GOVERNMENT MAY WELCOME APPEAL BY SECRETARY GENERAL TO INTERESTED COUNTRIES FOR SPECIAL AID IN FORM TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE LICENCES GRANTS AND FAVOURABLE LONGTERM CREDITS FOR EXECUTION OF RECONSTRUCTION PROGRAMME FORMULATED WITH AID OF UNATIONS FAMILY STOP

ABOVE PRELIMINARY CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS SUBMITTED TO GOVERNMENT AND ENDORSED IN PRINCIPLE STOP PLEASE CONSIDER REQUEST UNDER PARA ONE SUBPARA A EXPERT PREFABRICATE AND BUILDING MATERIALS AND REQUEST UNDER PARA TWO SUBPARA A JOINT TEAM AS DEFINITIVE FORMAL REQUESTS FOR URGENT ACTION STOP EXPECT DEFINITIVE FORMULATION OF OTHER PROJECTS ABOVE AND POSSIBLY OTHER REQUESTS FOR SHORTTERM AND LONGTERM INTERNATIONAL ASSISTANCE IN A FEW DAYS ON BASIS OF ACTION PROGRAMMES NOW BEING ELABORATED BY ALL DEPARTMENTS CONCERNED TAKING ACCOUNT OF LOCAL RESOURCES AVAILABLE NATIONAL RESOURCES BEING EMOTIVELY MOBILIZED AND BILATERAL AND OTHER ASSISTANCE OFFERED AND EXPECTED TO MATERIALIZE STOP EXPECT FORWARD THESE AFTER DISCUSSION WITH WARD BELGRADE AND VELEBIT LOSINJ WHERE EYE STAYING INCLUSIVE 21 AUGUST STOP RETURNING HQ ON SCHEDULE STOP.

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A week later (**Aug 9 1963**) – Federal executive Council Meeting – the council set for itself as a target the temporary accommodation of 120,000 Skopje citizens by the end of the year, 50000 in repaired buildings, and 70000 in prefabricated dwellings.<sup>21</sup> Further, the council took the responsibility for: - the education of 20,000 Skopje children in other parts of Yugoslavia, including education in Macedonian; - a financial provision for new factories; - declared a moratorium on the repayment by Skopje borrows of State consumer credits, made more such credits available, relieved Macedonia of its obligations to contribute to federal

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<sup>21</sup> Senior 50.

funds; - appealed to foreign loans to promote Skopje's industrial reconstruction. - A month later (**September 1963**) the Federal Assembly authorized an advance credit to Skopje.<sup>22</sup>

**August-September 1963** Maurice Rotival (France) and A. Rimsha (USSR) visit Skopje as the first planners and Technical Advisers from the United Nations on the ground in Skopje. Rotival presented three sketches for three possibilities for the development of the city, which were used as suggestions for the later undertaking of the local town planning team, the sketches are mentioned in the planning books. Later in 1963 technical adviser K. Watts negotiated the basis of the assistance of the United Nations and the Special Fund with the governments in Yugoslavia.<sup>23</sup>

From **18<sup>th</sup> of September 1963**. The city council had setup a consultative committee for the Reconstruction and Development of Skopje, with representatives of civic institutions, federal and republican agencies and representatives from the arts and sciences.<sup>24</sup> This consultative committee would operate throughout the disaster, but the efforts for the reconstruction would be delegated to other Skopje institutes like the Institute for Town Planning and Architecture of Skopje (ZUAS), that would conduct the planning and reconstruction process and ultimately produce the planning documentation and master-plan for the city and the regional plan for its implementation. ZUAS, working in tents together with the Skopje City Council established the preliminary sketches for the future development based on options provided from Rotival and Rimsha.

On **23 September 1963**, 35 nations asked the United Nations General Assembly to put relief for Skopje on its agenda. Four days later the Assembly agreed to give priority to a campaign urging national Governments and international agencies to give the people of Skopje immediate material help in any way they could, and

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<sup>22</sup> Senior 51.

<sup>23</sup> Senior, p.73. While Senior mentions that these sketches were used by the local team, the Yellow Books, do address these sketches but the final plans of the plan are much more elaborated projects, the sketches are not part of the larger elaboration and planning effort. They are mentioned as "solutions" but are explained as sketches, options. YB, vol.1. Intro. Rotival offered the sketches to the city, the local teams examined them, included them in the final documents, but they were not influential guiding principles.

<sup>24</sup> Senior, 81.

on 14 October it unanimously resolved to comply with the Yugoslav Government's request for technical aid in meeting the stricken city's long-term needs.<sup>25</sup>

By **October 1963** the seismic engineers completed their reports to UNESCO that concluded that the city can be rebuilt with the same location, as long as the river Vardar is regulated, and new construction follows a micro-seismic map that will exclude some zones from construction, because of the danger of the soil or water tables for future building.<sup>26</sup>

**October 22<sup>nd</sup> 1963** – Tito addresses the United Nations general assembly on the international efforts and contributions to rebuilt Skopje: “We feel that this broad display of international solidarity also reflected the desire of the overwhelming majority of peoples throughout the world to prevent the far greater catastrophe which a nuclear war would bring upon mankind. At the same time this display of solidarity expressed, in its own way, the strivings towards new, more humane relations in the world, of relations wherein the welfare of each and every nation would in the interest of the world community as a whole.”<sup>27</sup>

**In late 1963** local planning authorities in Skopje decided the reconstruction of the city will consist in two stages – up to the end of 1964 which would focus on housing and basic life returning to the city, while the second phase up to 1971 would be to construct the updated city with the possibility of future industrial and housing growth up to 1991.<sup>28</sup> From the start, the idea was not to simply rebuild the city as it was but to produce a city prepared for an increase in population, without speculation, a city of the future within the given circumstances. This two-track solution to planning and construction – one of immediate work (up to the end of 1964) and one long-term up to 1991 is an important decision that sets the Skopje project on a unique path. In the first phase (1963-65) the priority was on the physical infrastructure that would most directly house and shelter people, and slowly bring living conditions back to the city, such as transportation, factories, and other sectors of the economy. The plan of the city was foreseen to be adopted in 1965, and

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<sup>25</sup> United Nations. GA Records. 18<sup>th</sup> Session. Supplement no. 15 (A/5155);

<sup>26</sup> Senior, 73-74.

<sup>27</sup> United Nations. Official Records of the General Assembly, 18<sup>th</sup> Session, 1251<sup>st</sup> plenary meeting. qtd in Senior, 52.

<sup>28</sup> UPP, Intro. Vol.1; Senior, 74-75.

until then the reconstruction of the city without a plan but with urgency took precedence, while after 1965 investments and construction were supposed to follow the strategic long-term goals of the urban plan while incorporating the already constructed neighborhoods and infrastructure of the 63-65 period.

“By the nature of the emergency which prompted it, the Skopje Urban Plan Project was unlike any other operation of its kind ever undertaken by the United Nations Special Fund. By the same token it was, indeed, unique in the history of town planning.”<sup>29</sup>

**Late 1963** the Consultative Group later reformulated as the International Board of Consultants (IBC) was the central body that was to oversee and organize the Skopje effort, jointly appointed by the Yugoslavian government and the United Nations. It was chaired throughout the process by Ernest Weissman whose office at the UN headquarters was “in general charge of the Skopje urban and regional planning programme.”<sup>30</sup> **January 1964** – the official start of the United Nations Technical Assistance Programme (the Program). It contained multiple activities that paved the way for the Urban Plan. But there were many agencies on the ground in Skopje, such as UNICEF undertaking child welfare, the International Atomic Energy Agency which “contributed advice on the industrial uses of radio-isotopes,” the World Food Program, as well as many other contributions from individual governments.<sup>31</sup> This program was administered through the United Nations’ Special Fund, which would later become part of UNDP.

**15 February 1964** – preliminary sketch plans for defining the locations of further prefabricated settlements are presented to the public, which were produced by the ZUAS team based on the work of UN experts Mr. Maurice Rotival and Mr. Rimsha.<sup>32</sup> **On 24-30 March 1964** International Board of Consultants (IBC) first met in Belgrade and Skopje

The conclusions of the IBC (as explained in Skopje Resurgent):

- There needs to be a seismic study of the whole region (the Balkans), and that a Seismological institute needs to be established in Skopje as well as other places in Yugoslavia. That the city can be and should be

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<sup>29</sup> Senior, p. 7.

<sup>30</sup> Senior, 73.

<sup>31</sup> Senior, 73.

<sup>32</sup> Senior, 82.

rebuilt in the same location, but that the construction standard of the buildings needs to be updated, in order to withstand future shocks, and with that it was planned that the construction in Skopje could be an example for the building construction in the rest of the country.<sup>33</sup>

The planning had to be supplemented by a “seismic micro-regional” map and data sets, that should avoid certain micro-regions of seismic activity, and to determine the type of building adequate for certain micro-regions.<sup>34</sup> The importance of this is that the idea was never to completely cover the Skopje valley with construction (via speculation or otherwise), but rather to delimitate the regions suitable for construction as opposed to natural landscapes needed for the preservation of the seismic stability of the soil, alluvial strata and microclimate. From the earliest stages of redevelopment, the surrounding “landscape” of the Skopje valley, was not seen a “landscape” but as an active environment that informs the daily life of its inhabitants, and that important projects from this magnitude have to take into account the natural conditions and context before continuing with construction. The seismic viability was further supported by the project for regulation of the Vardar river and some its tributaries as to avoid future flooding of the urban plane in order to make the construction seismically more secure.<sup>35</sup> The seismological and alluvial (natural) context of the valley was taken as a precondition for the future development, which further disproves the notion of Skopje being a *tabula rasa* in the early stages after the earthquake.<sup>36</sup>

-Two stages of development: Immediate relief and reconstruction until the master-plan is voted in: (1963-65); then the masterplan will cover the long-term developments from 65-71; then 1971-81; then 1981-91 – which are supposed to correspond with the economic plans for Macedonia as well, with the goal of: Skopje’s “fabric and facilities” being able to “afford its increased population a normal standard of living, and its

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<sup>33</sup> Senior, 74. That the Skopje project became an important impetus for further development of Yugoslavian architecture see Kulic: MoMA catalog – Introduction. 10-16.

<sup>34</sup> Senior, 75. Senior also mentions that the IBC recommended a “seismic neotectonic regionalization” map should be produced for all of Yugoslavia and all of the Balkans, 75.

<sup>35</sup> Very important point that basically delimitates construction-free zones or open spaces in the city such as the banks of the river Vardar as a Green Belt, the further west sections of the city park, the Kale hill, Gazi Baba and Vodno parks.

<sup>36</sup> The notion of Skopje being a *tabula rasa*, is mentioned by Rem Koolhaas in *Japan*, where he interviews Isozaki on the Skopje project. This notion is further disproved by the taking into of seismological and alluvial contexts as preconditions for future reconstruction and development.

economy should be in a condition to sustain its further growth.”<sup>37</sup> The goal of the plan was to reconstruct and to simultaneously plan for growth at an increased standard of living, which sets the Skopje plan apart from its western counterparts of planning efforts, where speculation prevents solutions that respect the natural context and the cultural architectural tradition.<sup>38</sup>

-The construction standards and materials should be “improved and standardized” as to be able to enforce the guarantee of public safety, with a separate working group to prepare coded for strengthening damaged buildings and for “the earthquake-resistant design of future structures.”<sup>39</sup>

-A new research institute to be set up in Skopje dedicated to “training of specialists in earthquake engineering and town planning in seismic areas.”<sup>40</sup>

-A multipurpose Vardar Regulation Project. This project was also part of the four projects from the TAB of the Special Fund of the UN.<sup>41</sup>

The IBC further recommended:

-The preparation of a separate regional plan, “perhaps with the assistance of the UN.”<sup>42</sup>

- “A cost-analysis of alternative patterns of urban development”

-A separate international competition of the Central region of the city will be also launched, which will be set-up by the United Nations. This is the famous competition for the central area 60% of which was won by the Kenzo Tange Team.

The IBC advocated:

-an “evaluation of the earthquake damage by areas (so that the real cost of any change of land use might be calculated),” as well as “an expansion of Skopje’s construction and building material industries; and the

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<sup>37</sup> Senior, 74.

<sup>38</sup> i.e. the acknowledgement and legal designation of open space into the plans, and attention paid to architectural context and traditions are rare to this period of architecture, and to geographies with a socialist government. More on how Skopje relates to other city-planning efforts from this era – many of them by the same architects, see Chapters 3-4.

<sup>39</sup> Senior, 76.

<sup>40</sup> Senior, 76.

<sup>41</sup> Senior, 76.

<sup>42</sup> Senior, 76.

dissemination of the lessons learnt from the application of modern science and technology to the replanning of Skopje.”<sup>43</sup>

-The preparation of a scientifically based master-plan presented called for more specialized expertise than the local authorities had at their disposal at the time.<sup>44</sup>

By the end of March 1964 almost 11,000 apartments were restored and 13.500 new prefabricated houses were constructed and with that the basic needs for housing of the city population was met.<sup>45</sup>

**From April to July 1964** – Macedonia’s ZUAS together with Doxiadis Associates, Polservice and Alodph Ciborowski’s team, George Nez, the UN appointed expert for international planning, and other Macedonian Institutes and with the additional coordination help of government institutions, worked on the UPP (the planning documentation). “This was to comprise a short-term scheme for the smooth conduct of the planned reconstruction stage (1965-1971), taking account of the social targets of local authorities and the resources to be provided by the Federal Government, together with a costed long-term programme looking thirty years ahead.”<sup>46</sup> The Skopje Urban Plan Project (UPP) was designed to incorporate the newly constructed prefabricated neighborhoods, the reconstruction period (65-71) and to lay the ground rules for the next 30 years of city’s development.

**May 1964:** The Skopje City Council establishes a Town Planning Department, the first of its kind in Yugoslavia. It is envisioned to function as the agency responsible with the development and construction of the planning documentation (the master-plan) that the ZUAS will produce: The Urban Plan Project (UPP).

**June 1964:** the International Labor Organization establishes a Training Center for Building Construction Personnel. By the end 1967 there would be 1,500 graduates.

**July 1964** – the working engagement with Doxiadis Associates ends, as the UPP is completed.

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<sup>43</sup> Senior, 76.

<sup>44</sup> Senior, 76. The shortage of expertise in seismic engineering, as well as other building expertise such as architects, planners, including equipment and equipment operation specialists was confirmed in an interview with Mimoza Nestorovka Tomic, more in Chapter 3-4

<sup>45</sup> YB. Vol.3. t.1; p.1

<sup>46</sup> Senior, 82.

This plan called for a separate competition for the central area of the city.

**In 1965** the competition for the central area of the city is launched, sponsored by the United Nations. The competition invited four Yugoslav and four international teams. They are:

Kenzo Tange's team presented a bold Metabolist vision that ultimately won them the prize (60/40) with the proposals from Mišćević Radovan and Wenzler Fedor from Croatia (Yugoslavia).<sup>47</sup> The central area was further delegated between the Tange and Wenzler teams working on the City Gate and City Wall, and the local ZUAS Institute team on the restoration of the historical areas. Kenzo Tange's team included Arata Isozaki, Yoshio Taniguchi and others. This split of 60/40 in the final decision of the competition jury is one of the key moves of Weissmann's Planning Circus, in which the local teams in institutions would have the final decision-making power when it comes to the project. In other words, this split of the competition ensures that the standard imperial (*tabula rasa + deus ex machina*) mode of architecture practice will not happen in Skopje. This kind of pairing of international experts with local architects and agencies, (balance-counterbalance) and the adaptation of architectural knowledge, happens during the entire process of the building of the city: from the start during the disaster relief processes, then the creation of the scientific studies of the disaster, during the planning process, during the competition for the Center, and later during the construction of other key projects such as the University Complex, the Macedonian Opera House, and other buildings.

**By the end of 1965**, the planning and reconstruction work on the Center of Skopje is completed and presented to the public. The proposal from the architects then went through a series of public debates and revisions, and finally the "9<sup>th</sup> version" of that plan (as the final plan is known), with the planning documentation The Skopje Urban Plan Project (the UPP) become the basis of the new general urban plan (GUP) as the legal documentation of the city with expansion planned up to 1996.

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<sup>47</sup> Kokalevski 23, 24.

Skopje continues with construction in the central area and other neighborhoods throughout the following decades. The city grows and develops according to the humane urbanism stipulations of the UPP, with the contributions of many other Macedonian and Yugoslavian architects.

With the destruction of Yugoslavia and the subsequent plundering (privatization) of all commons from resources to the state supported guarantee of housing was diminished and urban speculation started to sway creating a market for property. Finally, urban space and architecture itself becomes a battlefield for speculation of power and surveillance, with the neofascist government of the 2010s violently manipulating the urban laws set in the 1965 plan to protect and guarantee open spaces and greenery of the city. The open space in the city was seen as a threat to authoritarian power, and the ruling party correctly identified it as such, and as such it had to be destroyed and filled with speculative office space with neoclassical laminated ornamentation. In this dissertation the Skopje 65 rebuilding effort is considered as the antifascist architecture because the open space that were the tandem volumes to the buildings acted as free spaces for spontaneous congregation and free expression. The Weissmann city of Solidarity (Skopje 65) is the architectural weapon against fascism and it worked. The credit goes to the Skopje 65 plan that it became a target for the violent and corrupt fight against the open spaces (pro-speculation) against the neofascist government's tactics of the 2010s. In other words, it is precisely because the neofascist government had to take such drastically violent and corrupt measures for the destruction of the central area and the usurpation of the planning documentation, methods, and bodies, that the Skopje 1965 project was successful and antifascist and an achievement in architecture. People not only built the city but also geengineered the landscape around it collectively, as they had for millennia, and later again rose up against the nightsticks of the police to protect the project and legacy of open space and the surrealist architecture of solidarity.

The foresight of the architects and planners in the Skopje 65 as well as the method of decentralized self-managed construction of the city, created an urban space welcoming play and habitation, surrealist spaces and architecture of collectivity that were (and still are) a mighty obstacle for the neoliberal/neofascist regimes.

Appendix 2: - Illustrations.

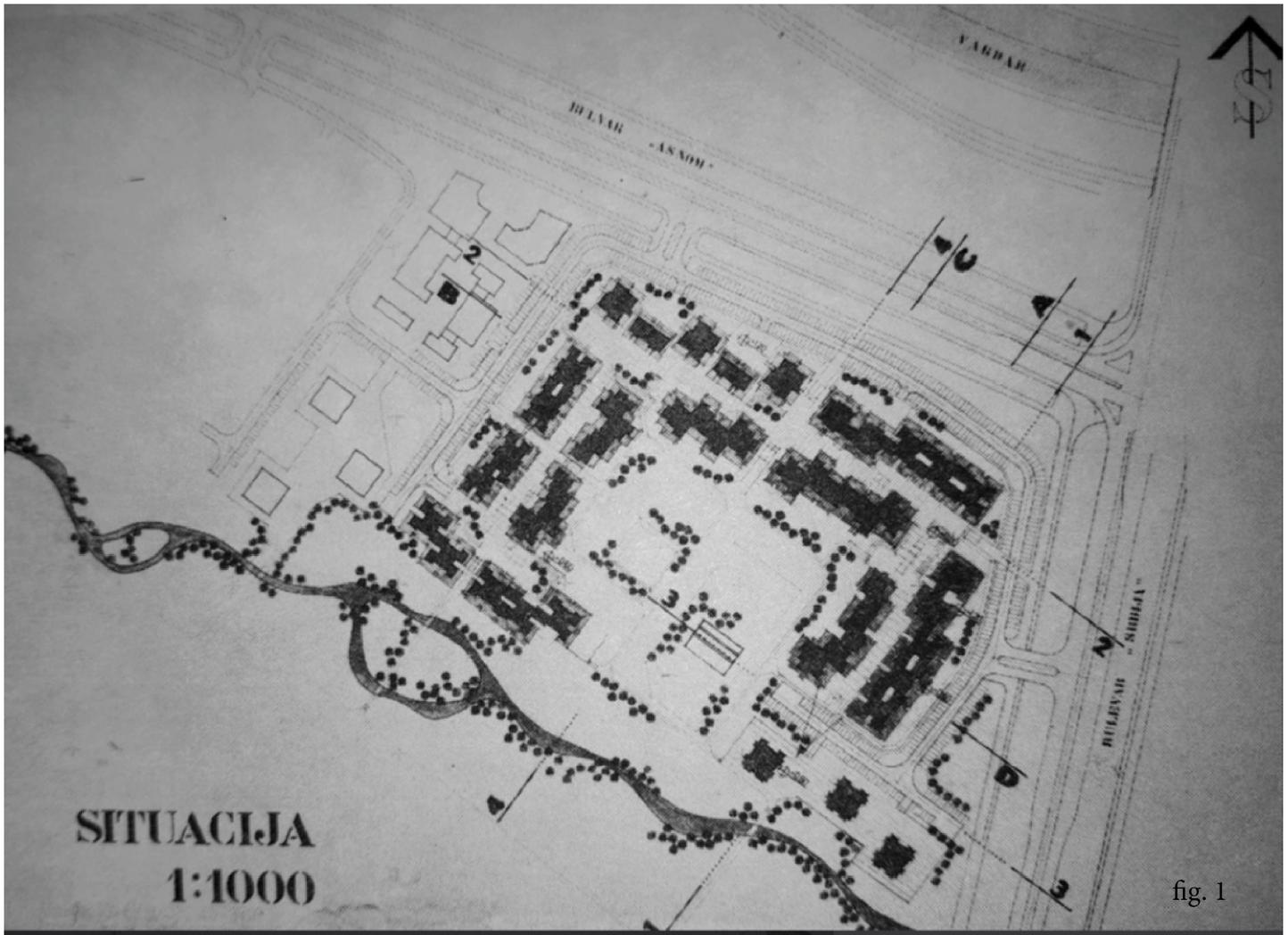


fig. 1

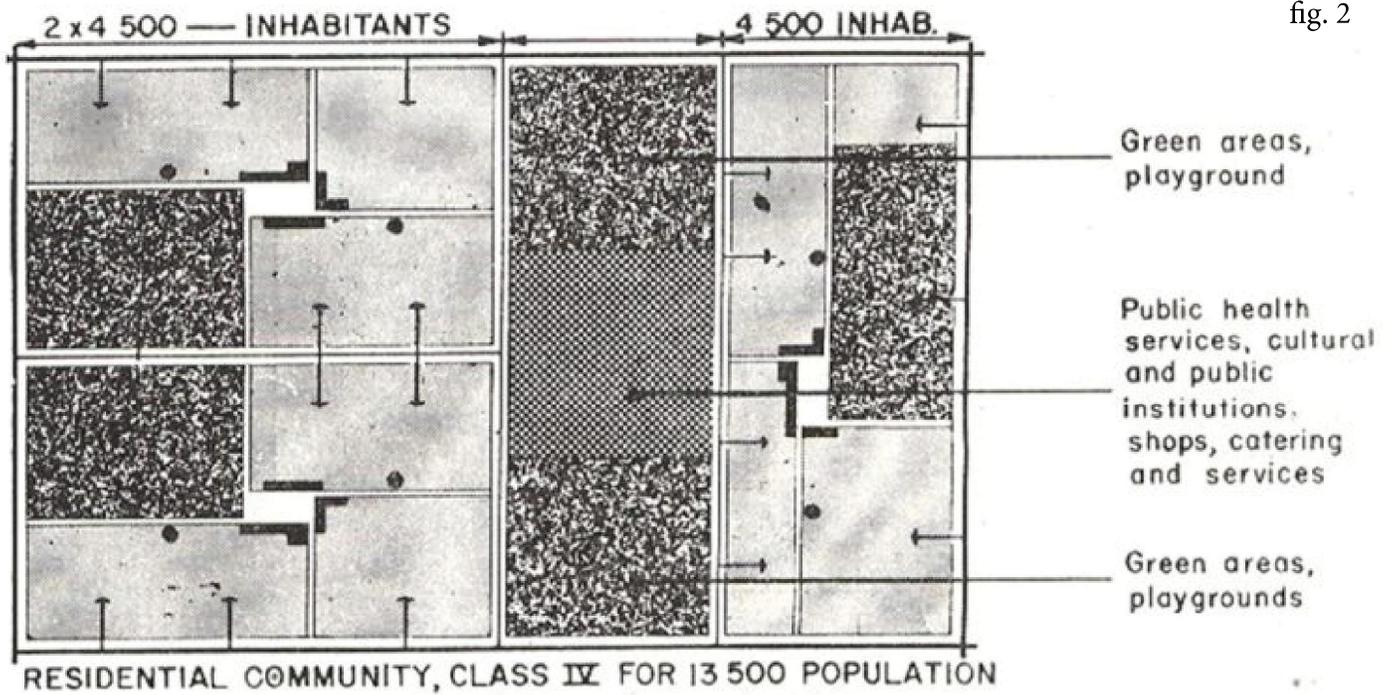


fig. 2

Proposals from the UPP for housing, neighborhood units. Images 1-6 from Skopje Resurgent. UN. 1975

| RESULTING FROM COST ANALYSIS |                         |                       |      |                            | RESULTING FROM PLANNING CRITERIA |                                    |  |
|------------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|------|----------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------------------|--|
| DUE TO CONSTRUCTION SYSTEM   |                         | DUE TO BUILDING TYPES |      | DUE TO TYPE OF COMMUNITIES |                                  | RESULTING FROM PLANNING CRITERIA   |  |
|                              |                         | more                  | less | more                       | less                             |                                    |  |
| 1-2 STOREY BLDGS             | PRECAST CONCRETE SYSTEM |                       |      |                            |                                  | FOR SMALL DWELLINGS 1-2 ROOMS      |  |
|                              | BRICK WALL SYSTEM       |                       |      |                            |                                  |                                    |  |
|                              | CONCRETE BLOCK SYSTEM   |                       |      |                            |                                  | FOR LARGE DWELLINGS 3-4 ROOMS      |  |
|                              | CONCRETE BLOCK SYSTEM   |                       |      |                            |                                  |                                    |  |
| DUE TO SOIL-BEARING CAPACITY |                         |                       |      |                            |                                  | DUE TO ORIENTATION AND VENTILATION |  |
| 1-2 STOREY BLDGS             | 0-1000                  |                       |      |                            |                                  | ORIENTATION                        |  |
|                              | 1000-1500               |                       |      |                            |                                  | VENTILATION                        |  |
|                              | 1500-2000               |                       |      |                            |                                  | a                                  |  |
|                              | 2000-2500               |                       |      |                            |                                  | b                                  |  |
| 4 STOREY BLDGS               |                         |                       |      |                            | a                                |                                    |  |
| 8 STOREY BLDGS               |                         |                       |      |                            | b                                |                                    |  |
| 12 STOREY BLDGS              |                         |                       |      |                            | a                                |                                    |  |
|                              |                         |                       |      |                            | b                                |                                    |  |

fig. 3

LOCAL CENTRE NEIGHBOURHOOD UNIT  $4500 \times 3 = 13500$

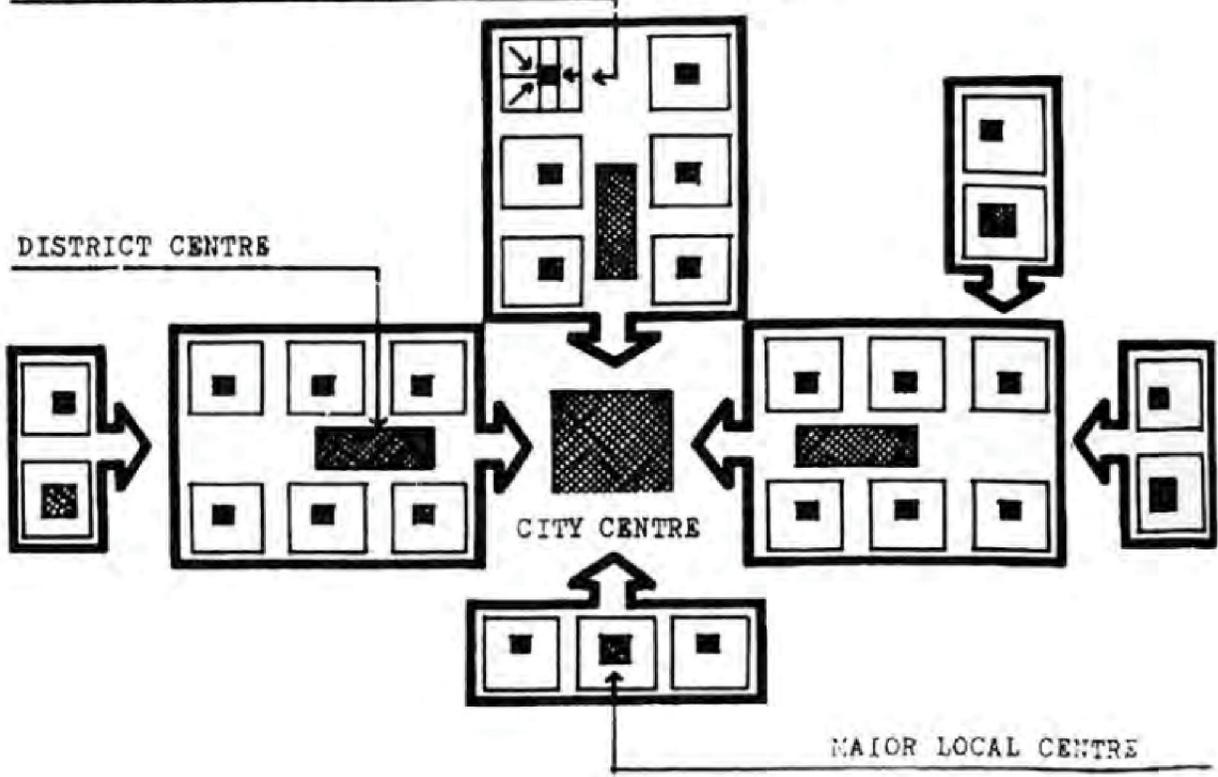


fig. 4

# SKOPJE

## Conception of model alternatives

|  | Unit                   | Population                              |                      |
|--|------------------------|-----------------------------------------|----------------------|
|  | <b>Z</b>               | 312 000<br>38 000<br>350 000            | <b>Z<sub>1</sub></b> |
|  | <b>Z<sub>1-3</sub></b> | 55 000<br>215 000<br>350 000            | <b>Z<sub>3</sub></b> |
|  | <b>R<sub>0</sub></b>   | 192 000<br>48 000<br>108 000<br>348 000 | <b>R<sub>0</sub></b> |
|  | <b>R<sub>1-3</sub></b> | 168 000<br>144 000<br>16 000<br>348 000 | <b>R<sub>1</sub></b> |
|  | <b>S<sub>0</sub></b>   | 192 000<br>54 000<br>96 000<br>348 000  | <b>S<sub>0</sub></b> |
|  | <b>S<sub>1-3</sub></b> | 192 000<br>108 000<br>48 000<br>348 000 | <b>S<sub>1</sub></b> |

21 fig. 5

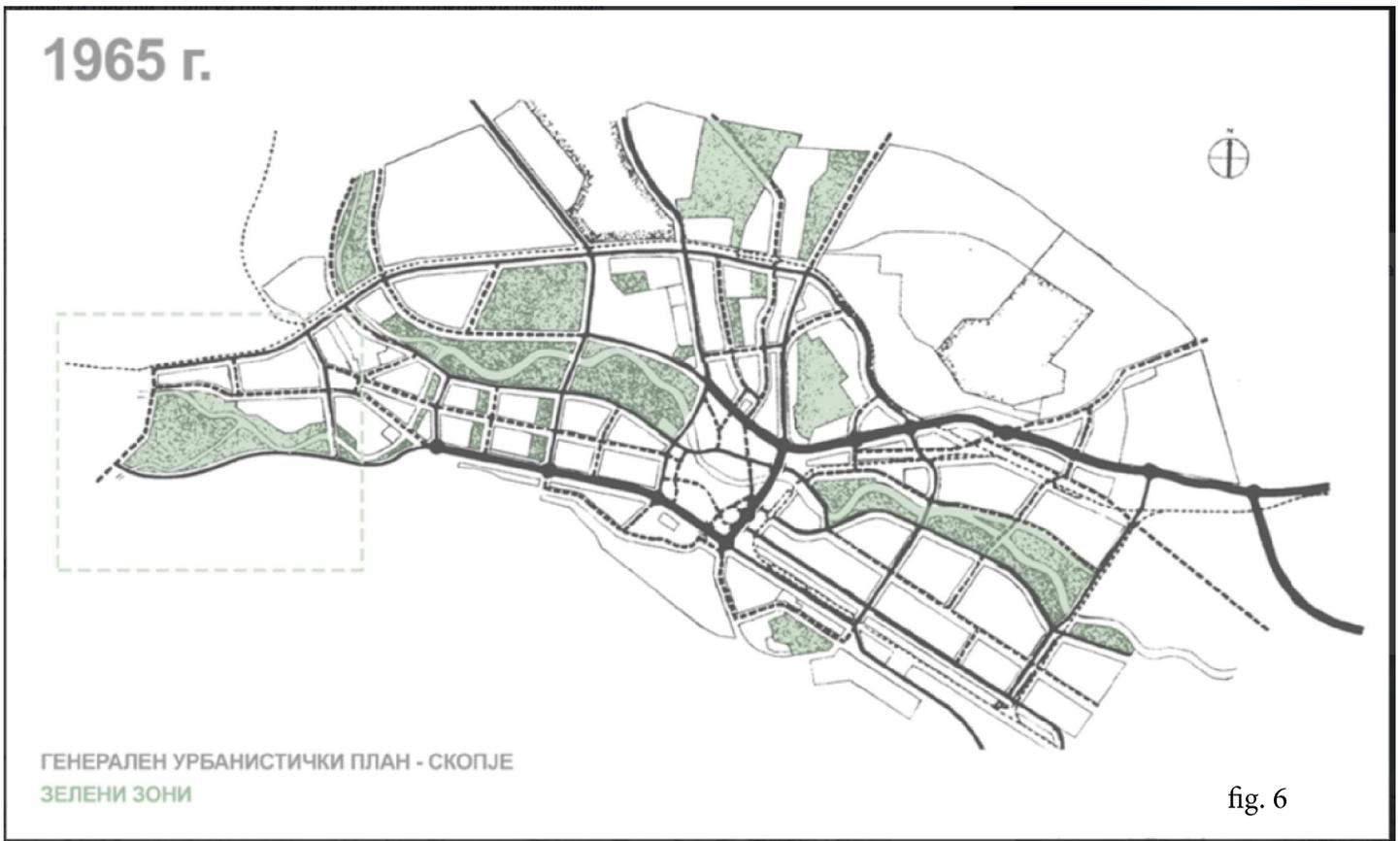


fig. 6



fig. 7



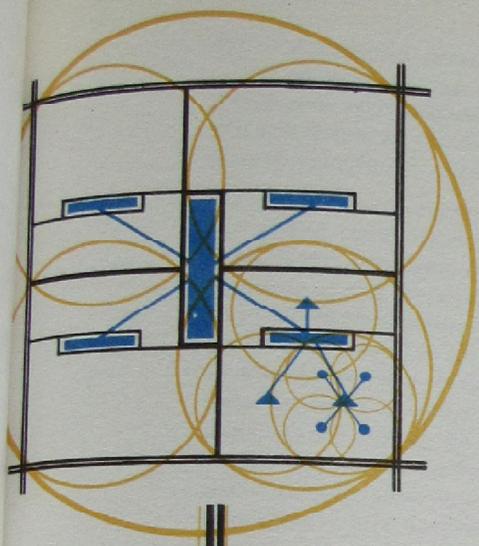
GRUPIRANE NA KOMUNITE ZA STANOVANJE I SAOTVETNI FUNKCII

| FUNKCII                                                                                                                                                                                                        | CEL                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | BROJ NA ŽITELI | KOMUNA | KLASA |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------|--------|-------|
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | 100-200        |        | I     |
| 1. KULTURNI I SOCIJALNI INSTITUCIJI<br>2. TRGOVINA, UGOSTITELSTVO I SERVISI                                                                                                                                    | • DUORANA<br>• AUTOMATI<br>• KIOSCI<br>• TELEFONSKA GOVORNICA                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |                |        |       |
| 3. OTVORENI PROSTORI, ZELENILO I IGRALISTA                                                                                                                                                                     | • MAL PARK SODETSKO IGRALISTE                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | 1000           |        | II    |
| 1. OBRAZOVANIE<br>2. SOCIJALNI INSTITUCIJI<br>3. TRGOVINA, UGOSTITELSTVO I SERVISI                                                                                                                             | • OSNOVNA SKOLA<br>• JASLI ZA DECA / OD 0-3 GOD /<br>• DETSKA GRADINKA / OD 3-7 GOD /<br>• TRGOVACKI CENTAR<br>• SNACK BAR<br>• SERVISI<br>• ADMINISTRACIJA                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |                |        |       |
| 4. OTVORENI PROSTORI, ZELENILO I IGRALISTA                                                                                                                                                                     | • MALO ATLETSKO IGRALISTE<br>• DODADENO NA OSNOVNATA SKOLA                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | 4000           |        | III   |
| 1. NARODNO ZDRAVJE<br>2. KULTURNI I SOCIJALNI USTANOVI<br>3. TRGOVINA, UGOSTITELSTVO I SERVISI                                                                                                                 | • AMBULANTA<br>• APOTEKA<br>• KULTUREN DOM<br>• KINO<br>• TRGOVACKI CENTAR<br>• KAFANA<br>• RESTORAN<br>• BANJA<br>• PERALNA<br>• AUTO-SERVIS<br>• SERVISI                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |                |        |       |
| 4. OTVORENI PROSTORI, ZELENILO I IGRALISTA                                                                                                                                                                     | • PARK                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                | 12000          |        | IV    |
| 1. ADMINISTRACIJA<br>2. OBRAZOVANIE<br>3. KULTURNI I SOCIJALNI INSTITUCIJI<br>4. NARODNO ZDRAVJE<br>5. SOCIJALNA ZASTITA<br>6. TRGOVINA, UGOSTITELSTVO I SERVISI<br>7. OTVORENI PROSTORI, ZELENILO I IGRALISTA | • ADMINISTRACIJA NA KOMUNATA<br>• PROTIV POZARNA SLUZBA<br>• POSTA<br>• STANICA NA NARODNA MILICIJA<br>• ZAVOD ZA OSIGURUVANJE<br>• BANCINA ISPOSTAVA<br>• GIMNAZIJA / DVE /<br>• KULTUREN DOM<br>• BIBLIOTEKA<br>• PIONERSKI DOM<br>• DOM ZA NARODNO ZDRAVJE<br>• APOTEKA<br>• STARACKI DOM<br>• TRGOVACKI CENTAR<br>• GOLEM PARK<br>• ATLETSKI IGRALISTA / DODADENI NA GIMNAZIITE / |                |        |       |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | 48000          |        | V     |

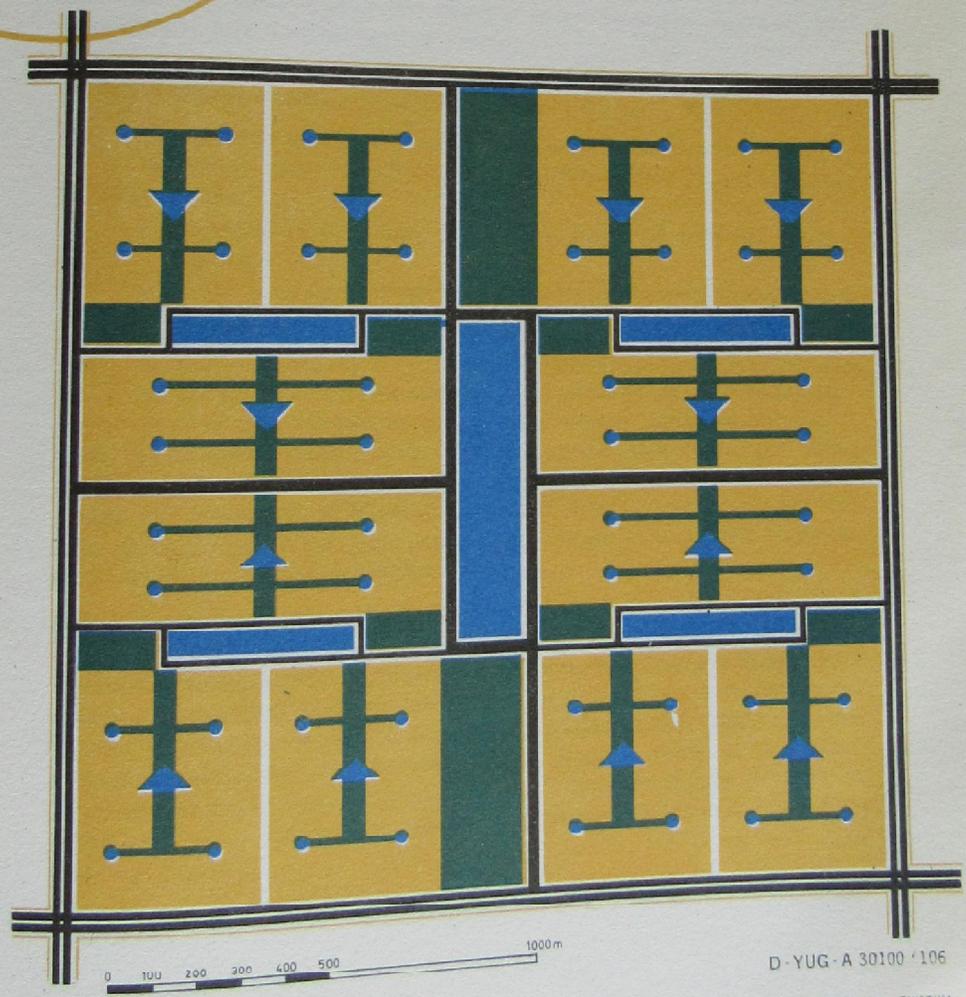
D-YUG-A 30100 105

fig. 10

SOSTAV NA STANBENA KOMUNA - OD - V KLASA  
 SYNTHESIS OF A RESIDENTIAL COMMUNITY CLASS V



- CENTAR NA STANBENA KOMUNA OD II KLASA (1000 Z)  
CENTRE OF COMMUNITY CLASS II (1000 inh)
- ▲ " " " " III " (4000 Z)  
" " " " III " (4000 inh)
- " " " " IV " (12000 Z)  
" " " " IV " (12000 inh)
- " " " " V " (48000 Z)  
" " " " V " (48000 inh)
- == PAT ZA GOLEMA BRZINA  
HIGH SPEED VEHICULAR ROAD
- PAT ZA SREDNA BRZINA  
MEDIUM SPEED VEHICULAR ROAD
- PAT ZA MALA BRZINA  
LOW SPEED VEHICULAR ROAD



D-YUG-A 30100 '106

ZAVOD ZA URBANIZAM I ARHITEKTURA — SKOPJE  
 INSTITUTE OF URBAN PLANNING AND ARCHITECTURE — SKOPJE

ZDRUZENIE DOKSIADIS — KONSULTANTI ZA RAZVITOK I EKISTIKA  
 DOXIADIS ASSOCIATES — CONSULTANTS ON DEVELOPMENT AND EKISTICS

fig. 11





PRELIMINAREN REGULACIONEN PLAN ZA GRADOT SKOPJE  
 PRELIMINARY MASTER PLAN FOR THE CITY OF SKOPJE

PRVA FAZA NA RAZVITOKOT  
 FIRST PHASE OF DEVELOPMENT 1971

PLANIRAN BROJ ZITELI VO SEKTORI  
 POPULATION CAPACITY BY SECTOR



| ZONI ZA STANOVANJE                    | RESIDENTIAL AREAS                            | STANOVNOSTVO - POPULATION |                        |                     | METRO KVADRATI ZA STANOVANJE VO OKOLINAMA (HA) / MET RESIDENTIAL AREA (SQ. MI.) | BRIG STANOVA NA KVADRAT (NOI) / NOI PER RESIDENTIAL DENSITY (PERSONS/HA) |
|---------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------|---------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|                                       |                                              | NOBINA<br>TOTAL           | KAKOVOST<br>SUPERFICIE | PROCENTO<br>ASISUED |                                                                                 |                                                                          |
| ZONI ZA STANOVANJE (NOVITEH)          | PRE-EXISTING RESIDENTIAL AREAS (IMPROVED)**  | 73,276**                  | - 19,246               | 54,470              | 197,28                                                                          | 275                                                                      |
| ZONIA STANOVAHJE (MEDI-TEH)           | PRE-EXISTING RESIDENTIAL AREAS (NOT DAMAGED) | 45,022**                  | + 10,000               | 55,030              | 377,35                                                                          | 145                                                                      |
| NOVI RAISBI OGRADENI POLE ZEMOTRESEOT | NEW SETTLEMENTS BUILT AFTER THE EARTHQUAKE   | 63,000                    | + 2,660                | 67,000              | 847,65                                                                          | 80                                                                       |
| PREDLOZENI NOVI POMOVI ZA STANOVAHJE  | PROPOSED NEW RESIDENTIAL AREAS               |                           | + 133,200              | 133,200             | 640,00                                                                          | 210                                                                      |
| UKUPNO                                | TOTAL                                        | 181,298                   | + 127,860              | 309,700             | 2042,79                                                                         | 150                                                                      |

ZAVOD ZA URBANIZACIJU I ARHITEKTURA - SKOPJE  
 INSTITUTE OF URBAN PLANNING AND ARCHITECTURE - SKOPJE

URBENIZACIJSKO-KONSULTANSKO ZASTAVENIŠTVO  
 DEVELOPMENT AND EXISTING CONSULTANTS OF ENVIRONMENT AND EXISTING

fig. 15



fig. 16

Previous: Density and Above: zoning plans from the UPP



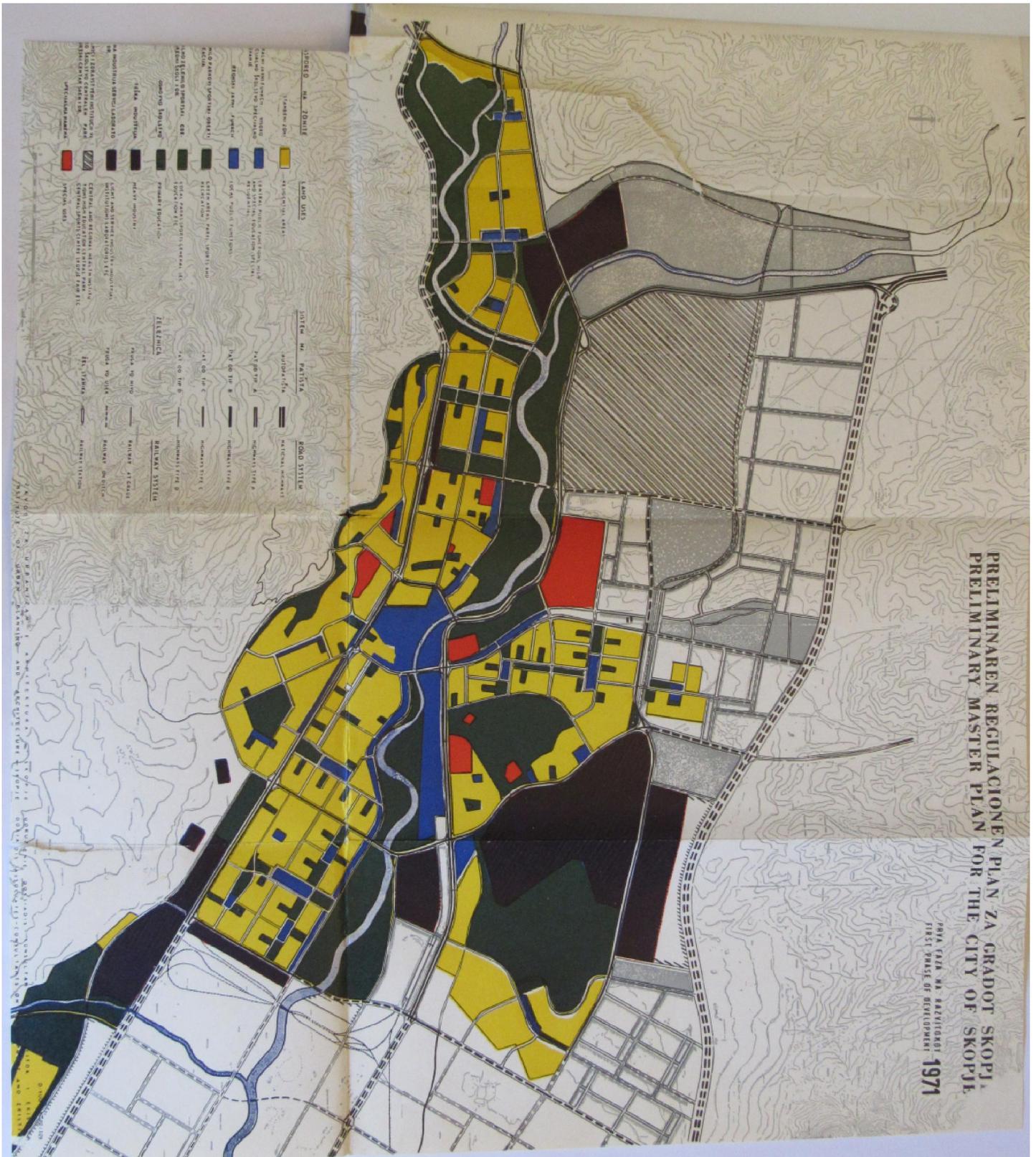


fig. 19

The Contour Plan. As a graphic collage- the industrial zone as the obvious dark spot on the otherwise colorful and organic development proposal for the city.

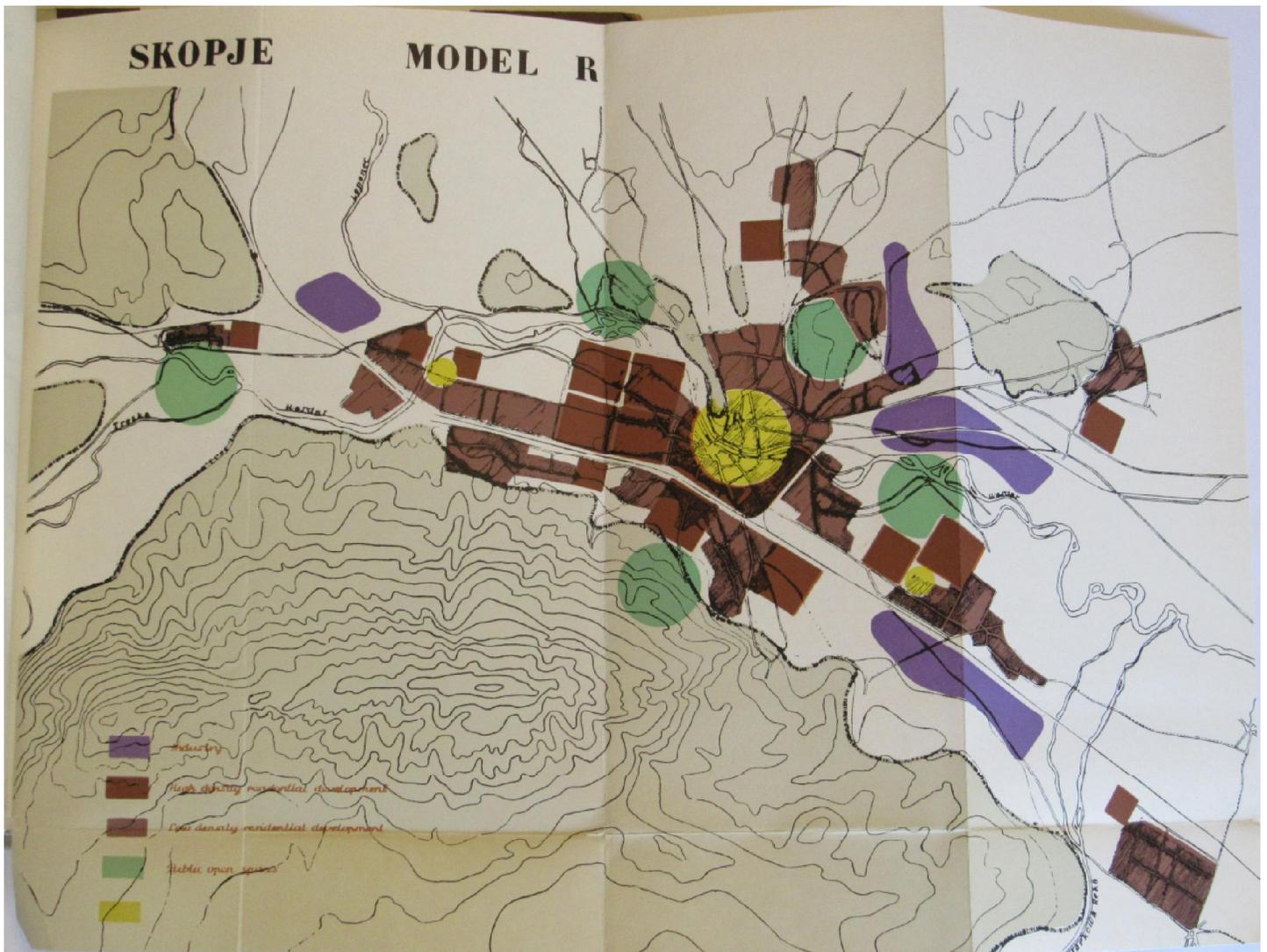


fig. 20

Another diagrammatic explanation of the Skopje Contour Plan. The valley and the open green spaces holding in the development and expansion of the built environment. The Open Spaces (protected green zones) form a gravitational boundary to the reach of the built rectilinear environment.



fig. 21

The zoning plan resulting from the Contour Plan

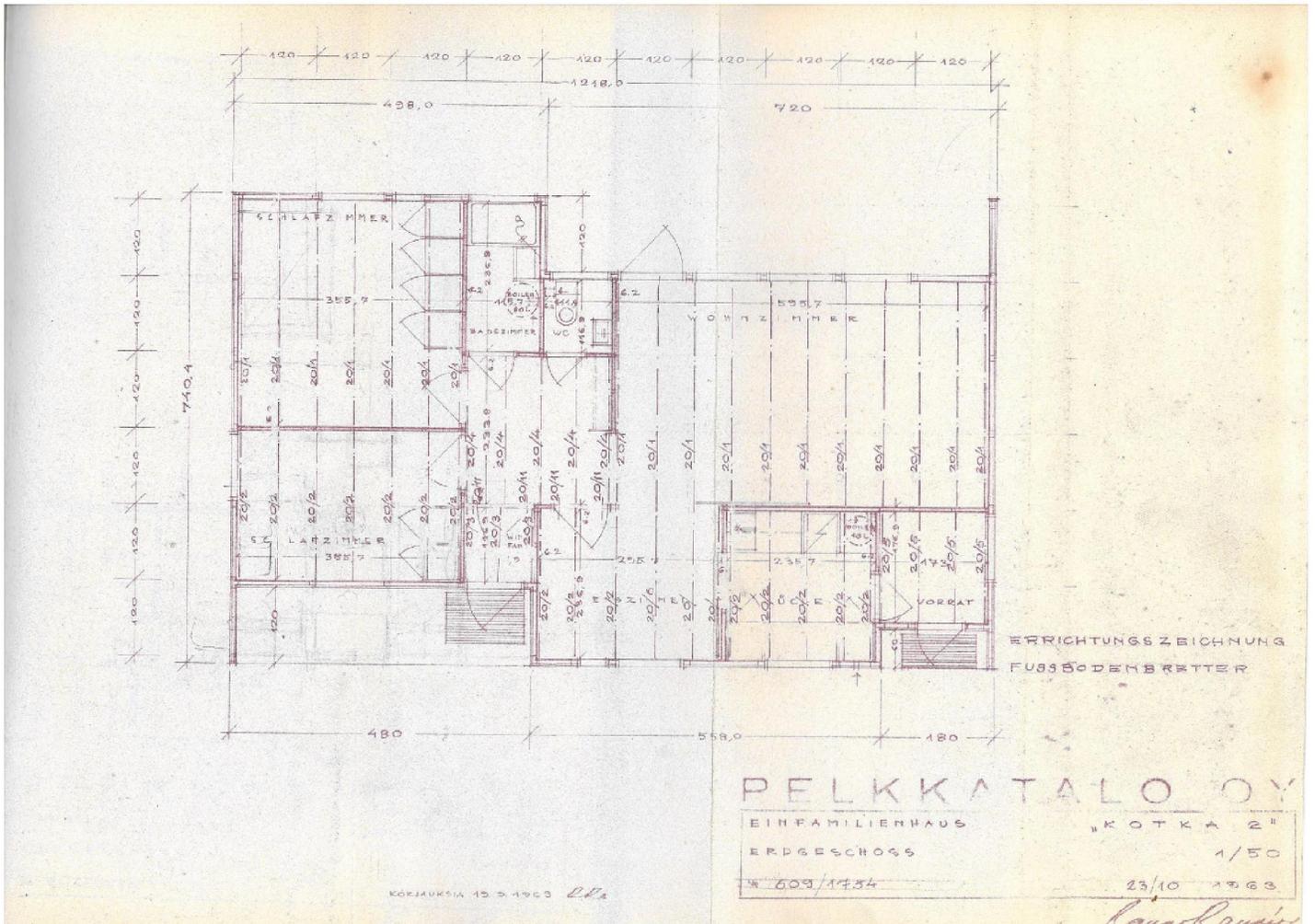


fig. 22

Images 22-25.  
 Drawings from the Kotka 2 house.  
 Private collection of Elizabeta Avramovska.  
 Courtesy: Elizabeta Avramovska.

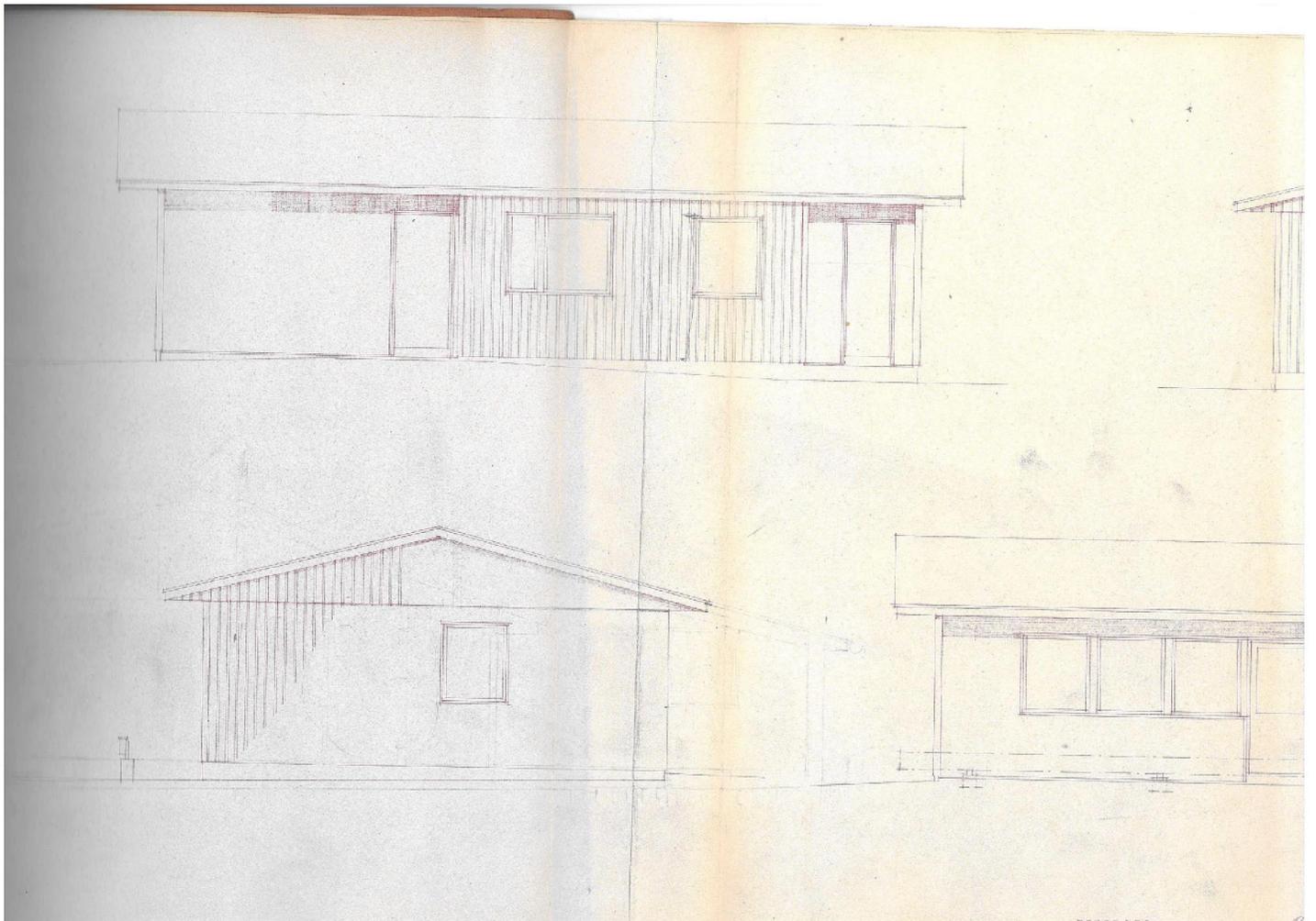
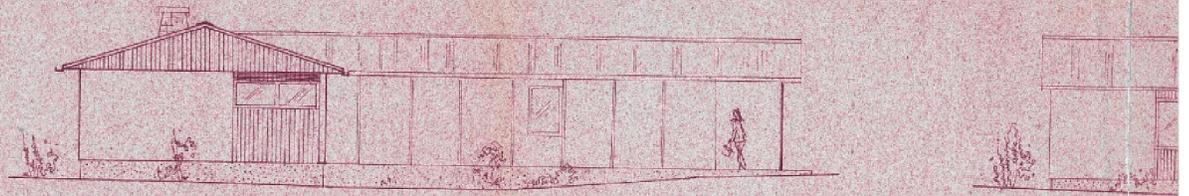
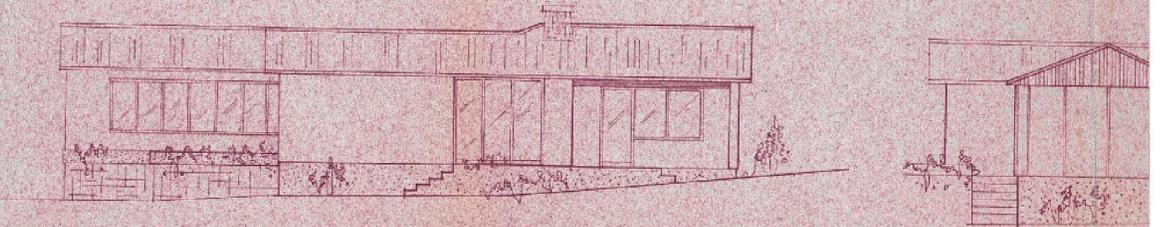


fig. 23



SEVERO-ZAPADNÁ FASÁDA R 1:100



SEVERO-VÝCHOVNÁ FASÁDA R 1:100

fig. 24

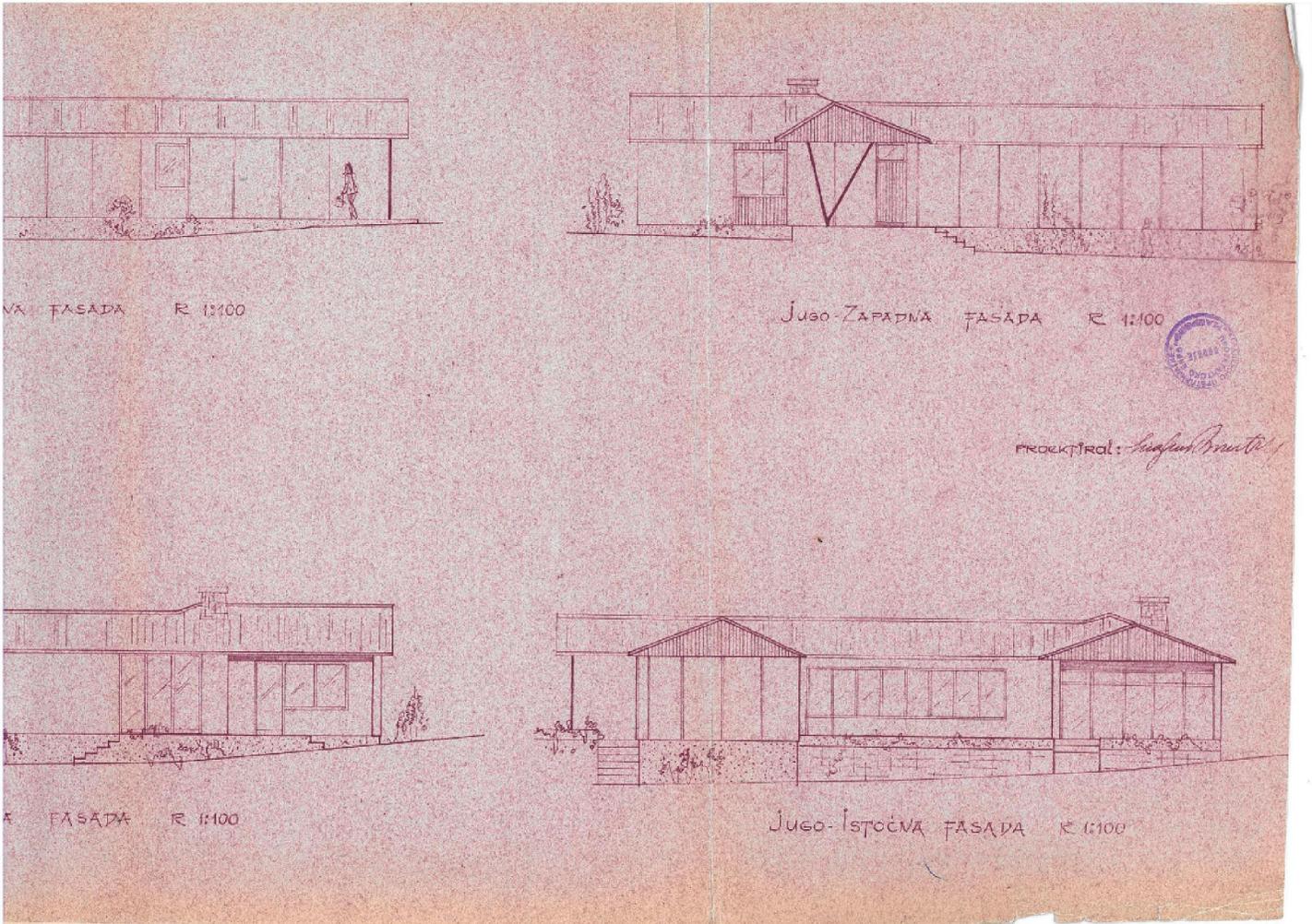


fig. 25

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