

New Belgrade Master Urban Plan, 1962, Uroš
Martinović and Milutin Glavički, model view from
Belgrade side, looking towards Zemun

Uroš Martinović – Milutin Glavički: územný plán
Nového Belehradu, 1962, pohľad na model
zo strany Belehradu smerom k Zemunu



Photo Foto: Novi Beograd, Belgrade, Direkcija za izgradnju Novog Beograda, 1961, illustration, p. 32

THE RESIDENCE AS A DECISIVE FACTOR: MODERN HOUSING IN THE CENTRAL ZONE OF NEW BELGRADE

BÝVANIE AKO ROZHODUJÚCI FAKTOR: MODERNÉ BYTOVÉ DOMY V CENTRÁLNEJ ZÓNE NOVÉHO BELEHRADU

... projekt mestskej reštrukturalizácie zahŕňajúci celú štvrť, ktorý identifikuje smer alternatívneho historického rozvoja(...); zároveň prevracia logické rozširovanie buržoázneho mesta tým, že bývanie sa dostáva do samotného jadra metropoly, ako rozhodujúci faktor¹¹.

Štúdiá prezentuje, dokumentuje a analyzuje bývanie v metabloku, postavenom počas obdobia socializmu v centre moderného mesta Nový Beograd (Srbsko). Mestská časť Nový Beograd bola naplánovaná, naprojektovaná a postavená v druhej polovici 20. storočia. V súčasnosti má Nový Beograd rozlohu okolo 4 000 hektárov a približne 250 000 obyvateľov. Príspevok je venovaný obytným blokom, ktoré tvoria jadro nového moderného mesta a poskytujú ubytovanie približne 50 000 obyvateľom. Tento modernistický masový obytný komplex postavili na aluviálnej močaristej rovine obkolesenej riekami Sáva a Dunaj, medzi dvoma historickými mestami Zemun a Beograd, ktoré vznikli nezávisle jedno od druhého. Počas šiestich dekád svojej existencie sa vyvinul na integrujúcu modernú urbánu štruktúru, ktorá patrí do väčšieho metropolitného celku mesta Beograd. Domnievame sa, že podporuje tézu bádateľov Manfreda Tafurriho a Francesca Dal Co ohľadom socialistického plánovania mesta a je jej významným príkladom. Bývanie v centre Nového Beogradu stále pôsobí ako rozhodujúci faktor v urbánnom plánovaní a rozširovaní metropoly Beograd. Obytné bloky tvoriace centrum Nového Beogradu teda sú niečo viac než len súbor prírbytkov pre masy: sú základom moderného mesta v srdci metropoly, a ako také sú rozhodujúce pre súčasnú postsocialistickú transformáciu.

Príspevok sa venuje šiestim pôvodným obytným blokom, ktoré postavili počas šesťdesiatych a sedemdesiatych rokov 20. storočia v súlade s kompozíciou a urbánnymi parametrami zjednoteného plánu centra Nového Beogradu (1960). Obytná štvrť v centre Nového Beogradu bola pôvodne plánovaná pre šesť okrskov, teda šesť územných jednotiek samosprávy – štyri z nich boli veľké, každá pre 10 000 obyvateľov urbánnych blokov rozlohou 600 x 400 m, a dve menšie, každá pre 4 000 obyvateľov v dvoch blokoch

rozlohou 400 x 400 m. Okrem bytov zahŕňal každý okrsk materskú školu, základnú školu a komunitné centrum, ako aj základný priestor pre obchody, služby, opravovne a podobne. Podrobné urbanistické plány všetkých obytných blokov vypracovali v období 1960 – 1969. Dostali číslovanie v rámci širšieho plánu Nového Beogradu: veľké obytné bloky čísla 21, 23, 28 a 30, a menšie obytné bloky čísla 22 a 29; bloky 24, 25 a 26 pritom boli rezervované pre budúce centrum mesta.

Na rozdiel od sivej monotónnosti masovej zástavby sovietskeho typu, centrum Nového Beogradu sa vyznačuje pluralitou architektonických výrazov a riešení. Obytné domy, s nimi spojené pomocné priestory, ihriská, otvorené zateľnené plochy a miesta na trávenie voľného času vo všetkých blokoch naprojektovali prominentní architekti toho obdobia, ktorí boli vybraní na základe architektonickej súťaže. Zmena architektonických koncepcií blokov, ktoré boli naplánované a postavené v rokoch 1960 – 1980, sa môže vnímať ako príklad hlavných posunov v povojnovom modernizme v Južoslávii. Obytná architektúra demonštruje širokú škálu hodnôt v architektúre socialistického modernizmu – od bielej geometrickej abstrakcie raného obdobia cez novú brutalitu surového betónu a prefabrikovanej estetiky sedemdesiatych rokov až po začiatky postmoderných foriem obdobia neskorého socializmu. Celý obytný komplex je chránenou pamiatkou v kategórii „kultúrny majetok pod predbežnou ochranou“.

Napriek tomu, že architektúra hromadnej bytovej výstavby v centre Nového Beogradu je nesmierne rozmanitá, nemožno ju plne pochopiť, ak ju neskúmame ako celok, teda z hľadiska urbanistického plánovania. Jej osobitá kompozícia, podoba budov a usporiadanie zateľnených plôch a verejných priestorov vyplývajú z ústredného plánovania, ktoré v tom období dominovalo. Inými slovami, príspevok je venovaný širšiemu kontextu plánovania a otázke, aké koncepcie prispeli k tomu, že bývanie sa v tomto prípade stalo rozhodujúcim faktorom urbánnej dynamiky. Rozhodnutie postaviť nové moderné mesto na ľavom brehu rieky Sáva oproti historickému centru

Dr. LJILJANA BLAGOJEVIĆ
architect, associate profesoor
Faculty of Architecture
University of Belgrade,
73/II Bulevar Kralja Aleksandra
11000 Belgrade
Serbia
ljblagojevic@arh.bg.ac.rs

Belehradu a mestskej pevnosti sa prijalo hneď po druhej svetovej vojne; prvé projekty vznikli v roku 1946. V pôvodných návrhoch bol Nový Beograd pojatý ako administratívne centrum, ako hlavné mesto novej federácie Južoslávia s ústrednými budovami federálnej vlády a straníckych inštitúcií, aj ako oblasť pre ambasády a ich rezidencie. V roku 1947 sa však od koncepcie hlavného mesta upustilo kvôli celoštátnej debate ohľadom plánovania a návrhu nového mesta. V dôsledku potreby vyriešiť bytovú otázku pre rýchlo rastúce mesto a v dôsledku súbežného procesu decentralizácie federácie sa Nový Beograd postupne stal prevažne obytným mestom. Počas prvých dvadsiatich piatich rokov vývoja, v období 1948 – 1973, táto oblasť mala okolo 135 000 obyvateľov v 39 000 nových bytových jednotkách. Sme presvedčení, že identita Nového Belehradu ako kombinácie hlavného mesta a obytného mesta bola v skutočnosti dôsledkom územného plánu zóny jeho centra. Koncepcia hlavného mesta zostáva vpísaná v urbánnej krajine centrálnej zóny vďaka ústrednej pozícii monumentálnej budovy Federálnej výkonnej rady. Táto stavba patrí k najvýznamnejším úspechom povojnového modernizmu v Srbsku. Napriek jej významu ešte stále nedosiahla plné uznanie ako súčasť najcennejšieho národného kultúrneho dedičstva. V súčasnosti sa zaraďuje do podradnejšej kategórie „kultúrny majetok pod dočasnou ochranou“. Obytné bloky v zóne centra sa postupne budovali počas dvoch dekád prevažne podľa plánu, avšak ústredná časť mesta sa vôbec nevyvíjala až do polovice osemdesiatych rokov. Oslobodzujúce rozhodnutie upustiť od koncepcie funkcionalistického oddelenia centra a obytných blokov otvorilo dominantnú modernistickú paradigmu plánovania rôznym interpretáciám, ktoré sa stále zdokonaľujú.

Počas posledných dvoch dekád v dôsledku postsocialistickej sociálnopolitickej a eko-

nomickej transformácie v urbánom priestore odštartovali také procesy ako depolitizácia, privatizácia, gentrifikačia, komodizácia a desekularizácia, ktoré sú viditeľné najmä v centrálnej zóne. Každá ulica a každý blok sídliska Nový Beograd svedčí o trvalom nástupe nového vývoja súkromného vlastníctva. V kontexte prevládajúceho ideologického antisocialistického či antikomunistického diskurzu sa priestor moderného mesta redukčne vníma ako fyzický pozostatok predošlého sociálno-ekonomického a politického systému alebo ako jeho ideologická pamiatka. Takto ideologicky stigmatizovaná moderná urbánna štruktúra, pre ktorú sú charakteristické veľké otvorené a zazelenené plochy, sa stáva ľahkou korisťou pre náhodnú reurbanizáciu. Otvorené zazelenené a verejné plochy obytných blokov sa parcelujú, privatizujú a vyvíjajú sa podľa programov, ktoré v socialistickej ére neexistovali, konkrétne v súvislosti s bytovým trhom, podnikaním, maloobchodom, voľným časom, bankovými inštitúciami, hazardnými hrami a náboženstvom. Je potrebné zhodnotiť, či tieto rôzne formy vývoja prispievajú k udržateľnému rozvoju súčasnej metropoly Belehradu, alebo, naopak, či ho ovplyvňujú negatívne. Aké udržateľné hodnoty a kvality socialistickej otvorených blokov a spoločenských priestorov, ktoré sú z urbanistického hľadiska prevažne nevyvinuté, by mali byť uznané a zachované, a kde nový vývoj prináša pozitívne zmeny? Niektoré nedávne štúdie prezentujú súčasné procesy urbánnych zmien v žiarivom a pozitívnom svetle dychtivo očakávaného pokroku smerom k trhovej ekonomike, zatiaľ čo iné zdôrazňujú nesmiernu dôležitosť modernistického architektonického dedičstva a potrebu jeho ochrany a zachovania. Môžeme tvrdiť, že rovnováha medzi týmito dvoma smermi spočíva v uznaní kvality urbánnej krajiny moderného mesta a jej obytných blokov a v perspektíve ekologického urbanizmu?

Introduction

The article presents, documents, and analyzes the housing mega-blocks in the centre of New Belgrade (Serbia)¹². Constructed in the socialist period, the blocks form the core of the new modern city and provide housing for some 50,000 inhabitants. In the six decades since its inception, this

complex of modernist mass housing constructed on the marshy alluvial plain circumscribed by the rivers Sava and Danube, between the two independently developed historical cities of Zemun and Belgrade, evolved into an integrative modern urban structure of the Greater Belgrade metropolis. I propose that it presents a striking example,

as well as support for the thesis quoted in the epigraph by Manfredo Tafuri and Francesco Dal Co regarding socialist city planning. The housing in the centre of New Belgrade acts as a decisive factor in the urban planning and expansion of metropolitan Belgrade. The blocks in question are thus more than an assemblage of mass housing: they form the core of the modern city in the heart of the metropolis, and as such they are at the centre of contemporary post-socialist transformations^{13/}.

The paper discusses the original six housing blocks which were constructed in the 1960s and 1970s closely following the composition and urban planning parameters set in the unifying Plan of New Belgrade's Central Zone (1960)^{14/}. In all of the blocks, the residential buildings and associated social services programs, that is, community centres, schools and kindergartens, as well as playgrounds, open green and recreational spaces, were designed by prominent architects of the period on the basis of their winning entries in architectural competitions. The housing architecture demonstrates a shift in the design values from the white geometric abstraction of the early period to a new brutalism of exposed concrete and prefabricated forms of the 1970s and, even later, the emerging postmodernist forms of late socialism^{15/}.

The planning, design and construction of public housing in the socialist period, with an average of 10,000 new apartments built in Belgrade each year^{16/}, complemented the ideological construct of self-management. The socio-political meaning of self-management, based on two fundamental components (functional and territorial), was given spatial meaning when directly translated into housing communities as basic territorial units with a degree of autonomous political function. The planning and design of housing aimed to address diverse aspects and issues, such as^{17/}:

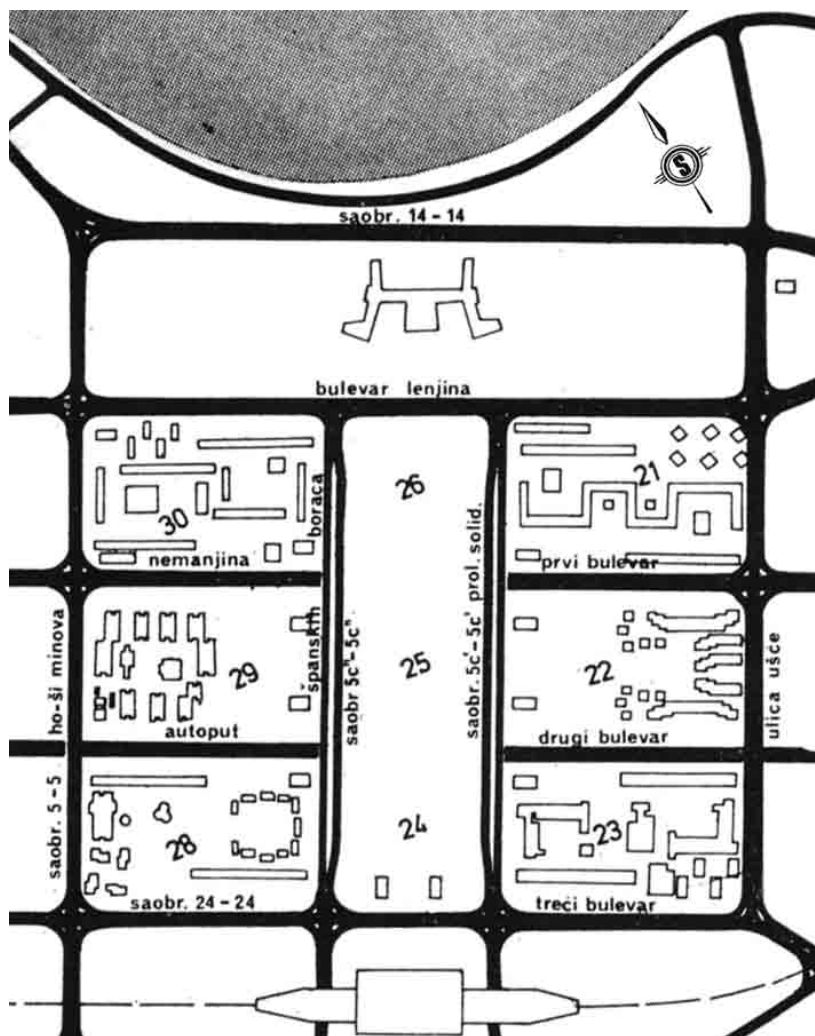
- urban planning concept of housing communities, that is, local communities,
- industrialization of housing construction,
- dwelling use value (analysis of needs and evaluation of apartment usability),
- identity and flexibility vs. unification, serialization and monotony,
- sociology of habitation,
- psychological aspects of experiencing green

- open public spaces, children's playgrounds, and recreation areas,
- environmental concerns.

The residential district in the centre of New Belgrade was originally planned in six local communities, that is, basic territorial units of self-governing housing communities: four large units, each

Schematic plan of New Belgrade blocks, 1975

Schematický plán blokov Nového Belehradu, 1975



Source Zdroj: Nova stambena naselja: Novi Beograd. Urbanizam Beograda (Belgrade) VII, 1975, 30, pp. 25 – 38, illustration p. 27

Housing Blocks in the New
Belgrade Central Zone

Bytové bloky v centrálnéj
zóne Nového Belehradu

with 10,000 inhabitants in urban blocks measuring 600 m by 400 m, and two smaller ones of 4,000 inhabitants each in two blocks measuring 400 m by 400 m. In addition to housing, each community included a kindergarten, primary school and community centre as well as a basic provision of space for convenience stores, repairs and home services shops and the like. Detailed urban plans for all the

housing blocks were worked out in the years 1960 – 1969, and were assigned numbers in the greater plan for New Belgrade: large housing blocks nos. 21, 23, 28 and 30, smaller housing blocks nos. 22 and 29, with blocks nos. 24, 25 and 26 being reserved for the future city centre.

From 1971, the role of the investor in the construction of the housing blocks was played by

block	21	22	23	28
development investment	Yugoslav People's Army	Belgrade Land Development Public Agency	Belgrade Land Development Public Agency	Business Association «JINGRAP»
urban design	1958 – 1959	~ 1967	~ 1967	1965
competition / architectural design	1958 – 1959	1968	1968	1967
architects	Mihailo Čanak Leonid Lenarčič Milosav Mitić Ivan Petrović Leon Kabiljo Bogdan Ignjatović	Aleksandar Stjepanović Branislav Karadžić Božidar Janković	Aleksandar Stjepanović Branislav Karadžić Božidar Janković	Ilija Arnautović Janez Lajovic Stanko Kristl Olga Milićević Nikolić Cveta Davičo
construction	1962 – 1966	1976	1976	1970 – 1974
total area, ha	24	10	19	19.42
no. of inhabitants	10,000	3,800	7,560	7,000
no. of apartments	2,365	1,050	2,100	1,715
population density inhabitants / ha	540	395	395	360
open green and recreation area m ² / per inhabitant	~ 11 total open green area 110,000 m ²	15	16	16.75
total no. of parking spaces	~ 1,350 (total area 16,870m ²)	960	1,400	1,425
structure of apartments	detailed data n/a			
studio	0.33 % / 8			
1 room	5.96 % / 141	–	18.9%	
1 ½	4.52 % / 107	20%	–	
2	34.97 % / 827	32%	31.6%	48.75 % / 836
2 ½	9.64 % / 228	–	–	
3	32.94 % / 779	44%	49.5%	
3 ½	11.63 % / 275	–	–	
4 and larger	–	4% large	–	
atelier				

the Belgrade Land Development Public Agency. Founded in 1966, and amalgamated with the New Belgrade Development Public Agency in 1971, in the first ten years of its operation (1966 – 1976), it accommodated the rapid residential construction of around 95,000 apartments or 5.5 million m² of residential space in Belgrade^{16/}. The Agency designed investment programs and was directly

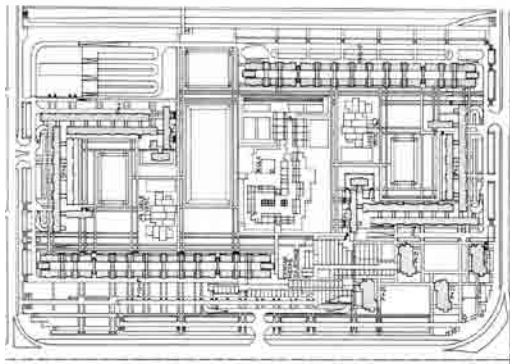
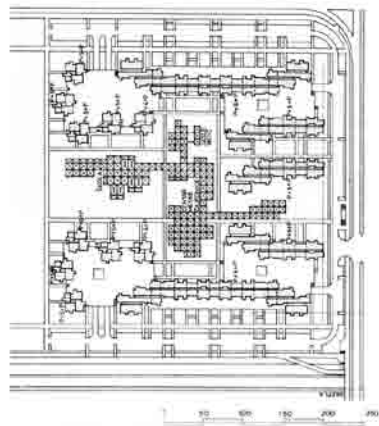
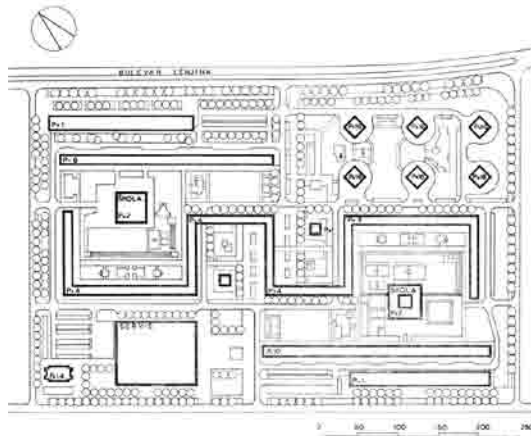
29	30
Belgrade Land Development Public Agency	Belgrade Land Development Public Agency
1966	1967
1967	1967
Mihailo Čanak Milosav Mitić	Uroš Martinović Collaborators: Milenija Marušić Darko Marušić Petar Gajčanin Borislav Stojkov Nadežda Martinović
1969 – 1971	1975 – 1979
9.86	19.88
4,000	6,000
1,260	1,280
405	302
11.40	20.50
1,000	1,543
data n/a	
	12.50 % / 160
	21.09 % / 270
	12.50 % / 160
	24.69 % / 316
	26.72 % / 352
	3.51 % / 32

involved in the role of investor when it came to housing blocks 22, 23, 29, and 30. For Block 21, the investor was the Yugoslav People's Army, and for Block 28, it was the Business Association "JINGRAP" from Belgrade. According to the 1981 census data, 87.7 % of apartments in New Belgrade were publicly owned or, more precisely, in "societal property", with the trend rising to ca. 90 % by the end of the socialist period. In the same period, the average area of apartment in New Belgrade was ca. 58 m², which was some 4 m² larger than the city average of Belgrade proper.

Housing Blocks: Changing Modernisms of 1960s and 1970s

New Belgrade's Central Zone features a plurality of architectural expressions and solutions. (The whole housing complex is protected as a heritage site in the category of "cultural property under preliminary protection"^{19/}. In general terms, the Central Zone was perhaps best described by the architect Leonid Lenarčić, one of the principal actors in its planning and design, when he wrote retrospectively in 1985 that its architecture was: "physically: predominantly plastic, radiant, macro-urbanistic mono-form, gradually interconnected; and in content: predominantly housing, mono-functional, collective and extrovertly organized"^{10/}.

The changing architectural concepts of the blocks designed and constructed over the period of two decades can be seen as representative of the main shifts in post-war modernism in Yugoslavia. As one of the protagonists, the architect Mihailo Čanak, said regarding its architectural expression, Block 21 in the 1960s "was this country's first true return to the early Modern of the 1920s."^{11/} Indeed, one can see a very strong correlation between the contemporary residential architecture of the modern city from the 1960 and the original principles of the avant-garde Modern movement. In the building B-9 in Block 21 (1962 – 1966; architects Čanak, Lenarčić, Milosav Mitić and Ivan Petrović), modernist tenets are upheld on the unprecedented scale of a ten-storey residential building measuring 286 m in length and numbering 626 apartments. In that same spirit of pioneering effort, the four-storied meandering building, A-7, in the same housing block and



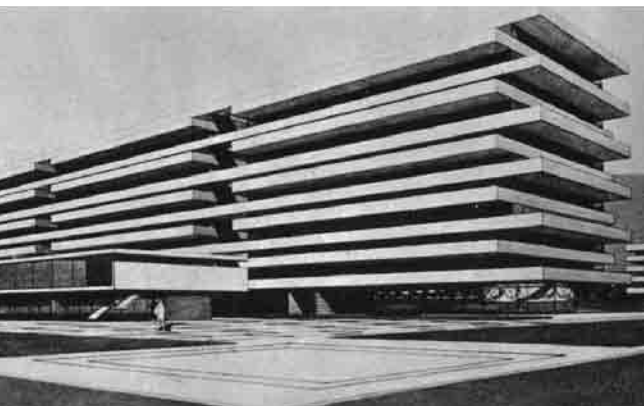
Detailed urban design plans of Bloks 21, 22 and 23, schematic comparison, by author

Podrobné urbanistické plány blokov 21, 22 a 23, schematické porovnanie autorky



designed by the same architects, was the longest building in Yugoslavia at that time, standing at 980m, with a total of 794 apartments^{1/2/}. Both mega-buildings are shaped as singular three-dimensional pieces of an uncompromisingly clear cubic articulation, seamlessly clad in pale ceramic tiles, with the accent on the primary plasticity, light and shadow, and no differentiation of the units or the secondary plasticity of façade elements, true to the artistic expression of geometric abstraction. Regarding functional solutions for apartments, the General Regulations of the Federal Ministry of Construction for the structure and size of apartments, which were followed until 1950, were in Block 21 amended to conform with the special requirements of the Yugoslav People's Army as an investor, and were then adopted in 1955 as the Manual for the Construction of Buildings for the Purposes of YPA. In Block 21, the investor placed a strict limitation on the provision of shops, cafes, restaurants, garages, surgeries and the like in the ground floor areas of housing blocks, arguing for the necessity of providing peace and quiet for the dwellers in their place of residence. As a consequence, Block 21 remained allotted for housing, despite its prominent central position and proximity to central Belgrade. It is only in the last two decades, as part of the socio-political and economic transition, that its perimeter areas have been taken up by more commercial functions, such as banks, shops and cafes, including the first McDonalds in New Belgrade.

Source Zdroj: top – Žanko, A. (Ed.) Stan, vol. II. Belgrade, Odbor za publicističku delatnost vojnog građevinarstva, not dated (1966), p. 29; middle, bottom – Stjepanović, A. – Jovanović, B.: Stambeni blokovi 22 i 23 u Novom Beogradu. Izgradnja (Belgrade), special issue Direkcija za izgradnju i rekonstrukciju Beograda XXX, 1976, not numbered, pp. 3 – 13, illustrations p. 5, 9



Source Zdroj: Novi Beograd, Belgrade, Direkcija za izgradnju Novog Beograda, 1961, illustration p. 19

As for Block 29 (1969 – 1971), the two architects who were co-authors of the aforementioned Block 21, Čanak and Mitić, introduced a completely different aesthetic of natural material, colour, texture and decoration through a combination of prefabricated concrete elements, red facade bricks, brightly coloured features, and hand-roughened concrete gabled walls. The particularity of Block 29 is also the design of standard seven-floor units with 10 m wide atriums which allowed all apartments to face at least two sides (apartments at the corners faced three), maximizing natural light and cross-ventilation. Grouped in rows, the units form the buildings around the common landscaping and recreational area. The landscape and buildings are interconnected in ground floor by deep recessed entrance-zone porches and public thoroughfares leading through atriums paved in natural materials.

Blocks 22 and 23 (1968 – 1974; 1976) ^{13/}, designed by architects Aleksandar Stjepanović, Branislav Karadžić and Božidar Janković, are of another aesthetic register, akin to the neo-brutalism tendencies of British and Scandinavian architecture of the period, yet quite uniquely related to their own cultural and social context. The urban composition and design of various apartment building types in these two blocks is based on the one hand on the reinterpretation of traditional city forms and environments, and on the béton brut aesthetics on the other. The architects developed



Source Zdroj: Žanko, A. (Ed.) Stan, vol. II. Belgrade, Odbor za publicističku delatnost vojnog građevinarstva, not dated (1966), illustration p. 48



Source Zdroj: Vuković, S.: Stambena zgrada »B« u bloku 21 na Novom Beogradu, Čovjek i prostor (Zagreb) XIV, 1967, 176. pp. 1 – 4, illustrations p. 3, 4

a very distinct, expressive and detailed façade articulation and the sense of strong differentiation of ground floor vs. building corpus, pronounced sloped gable walls and attic floors, various individual elements of the apartment units, forms and sizes of window openings and loggias, textures of prefabricated concrete elements and wooden roller blinds, bright primary colours of window frames and the like. In Block 22, residential buildings are arranged in free flowing rows which form pedestrian streets connected to a commercial and service centre in the middle of the block. Block 23 is of a significantly more formal composition due to its reliance on the original layout in the Plan of

Mihailo Čanak – Leonid Lenarčić – Milosav Mitić – Ivan Petrović: Residential building B-9 in Block 21, perspectival view during the design stage, 1962 – 1966, view of completed building and close-up views

Mihailo Čanak – Leonid Lenarčić – Milosav Mitić – Ivan Petrović: obytná budova B-9 v bloku 21, pohľad na ukončenú budovu a perspektívny pohľad počas plánovania, 1962 – 1966

no. of rooms	studio	1-room	1½-rooms	2-rooms	2½-rooms	3-rooms
type	1	2 3 4	5 6 7	8 9 10 11 12	13 14 15	16 17 18
no. of residents	1 – 2	2	3	3 3 4 4 4	4	4 4 – 5 5
room name				area m ²		
hallway	2 – 3	3	4	4 – 6	6	6 – 8
living room without bed with bed					18	18 – 20 18 – 20
combined (live- dine-bed) room	16 – 18	16 – 18	16 – 18	18 – 20		
bedrooms parents 2 beds 1 bed				12 – 14 10 – 12 2 x 6 ↑↓	12 – 14 6 – 8	12 – 14 10 – 12 2 x 6 ↑↓
kitchen niche for cooking work and dinning separate dinning work, dinning and bed	2 – 3	8 10 12	8 10 12	4 4 – 6 8 10 12 – 14	4 – 6 8 10	4 – 6 8 10 – 12
food pantry		1	1.3	1.3 – 1.6	1.6	1.6 – 2
storage	1	1	1.7	2.40	2.4	3
bathroom WC included WC separate	3	3 – 4	3 – 4	4	3	3
WC					2	2
net area range m ²	24 – 28	33 – 37	42 – 46	48 – 60	54 – 6	59 – 76
net area median m ²	26	35	44	54	59.50	67.5

3½ -rooms		4-rooms	
19	20	22	23
	21		24
5	5 5 – 6		6
	8		8
18 – 20		20 – 22	
18 – 20			
12 – 14		12 – 14	
10 – 12		10 – 12	
6 – 8		2 x 6 – 8	
4 – 6		4 – 6	
	8		8
	10 – 12		10 – 12
	2		2.2
	3		3.8
4		4	
	3		
	2		2
70 – 85		80 – 94	
77.5		87	

the Central Zone: two ten-story mega-buildings, 280 m in length, stretch along the main boulevards. The outer corner of the block is marked by the dominant composition of four 21-story residential towers, while the lower housing blocks enclose the inner sections of the block with schools, kindergartens and residential courtyards. The architects strove to avoid the presence of a technically problematic massive flat roof, e.g., cascading the last four floors of the towers and thereby dynamically shaping their top section. The expressive architecture of concrete in the massive residential buildings is given contrast by the rustic red brick finishing of the low cascading terraces and gardens of schools and kindergartens, and the landscaping design by architect Miloš Bobić.

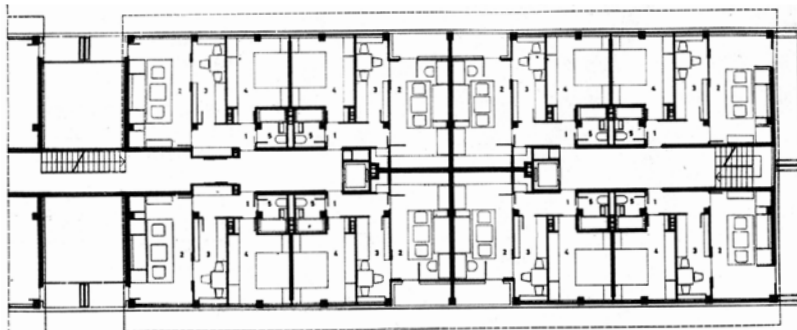
On the basis of the detailed urban plan, the buildings in Block 28 (1967; 1970 – 1974) were designed by architects from Ljubljana whose projects won the architectural competition; specifically, the residential buildings were designed by Ilija Arnautović, the elementary school by Janez Lajovic, and the kindergarten by Stanko Kristl^{14/}. The block is especially remarkable for its landscape architecture by Olga Miličević-Nikolić and Cveta Davičo, both of the Belgrade studio Vrtna arhitektura (Garden Architecture). From the outset, the decision was made to ensure the highest standard of living and optimum density of population, without insisting on economy. Because it was thought that the location would be coveted and important, along with forecasting an increase in the standard of living – the projected goal was that a three-bedroom apartment be the smallest family quarters – the investor demanded the architectural

New Belgrade
Central Zone: Block
21 apartment types,
structure and net areas

Centrálna zóna Nového
Belehradu: Blok 21
typ bytov, štruktúra
a celkové plochy

Residential building B-9 in
Block 21, typical floor plan

Obytná budova B-9
v bloku 21, typický pôdorys



Source Zdroj: Žanko A. (Ed.) Stan, vol. I. Belgrade, Odbor za publicističku delatnost vojnog građevinarstva, not dated (1966), table p. 16, illustration p. 39



Source Zdroj: Stojanović, B. – Martinović, U.: Beograd 1945 – 1975. Belgrade, 1975, illustration p. 229

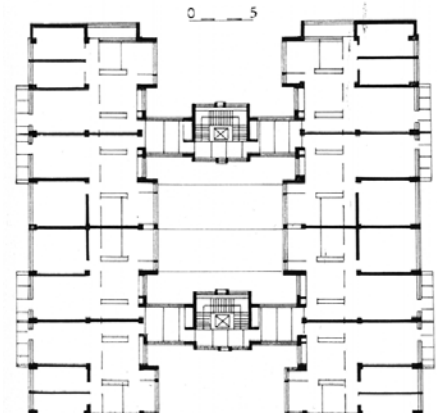
Mihailo Čanak – Milosav Mitić: Block 29, typical floor plan and view from the street, 1969 – 1971

Mihailo Čanak – Milosav Mitić: Blok 29, tipičny pôdorys a pohľad z ulice, 1969 – 1971

project provide around 300 large apartments (with a surface area upward of 120 m²) in the deluxe category of architectural and interior design. Once the apartments were put on the market, however, it turned out that there were not enough buyers for the large apartments, so the investor was subsequently forced to change the apartment structures to be able to offer a higher number of smaller units^{/15/}. As ascertained by the sociologist Ksenija Petovar, the number of large apartments shrunk to a tenth from the initial projection, and the number of two-bedroom apartments grew from the 364 designed, to the 836 completed. In the conclusion of her analysis, Petovar argues that in fact, a three-bedroom apartment was not the standard, but rather the upper limit of unit size that most Belgrade enterprises and organisations could afford to buy for their employees. She also points that Block 28 was unique in its ownership structure: 34 % of the apartments were owned by private individuals, which was several times higher than the New Belgrade average of 5.5 %^{/16/}. Even with the reduction of apartment size, the solutions for the courtyard spaces within Block 28 – green surfaces, rest and recreation areas, and children's

Aleksandar Stjepanović – Branislav Karadžić – Božidar Janković: Block 22, 1974 – 1976

Aleksandar Stjepanović – Branislav Karadžić – Božidar Janković: Blok 22, 1974 – 1976



playgrounds – made for a high quality of daily life. One of the authors of the landscaping solution placed special emphasis on an open approach to designing children's playgrounds as an "adventure" space that leaves room to the imagination and invention, as opposed to the usual solutions of orderly, but "boring" playgrounds^{/17/}.

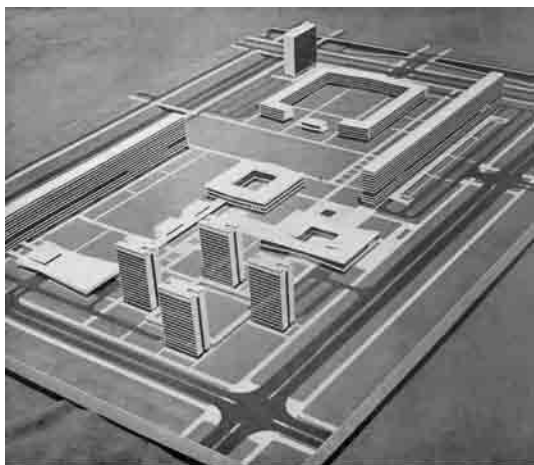
The design for Block 30, headed by architect Uroš Martinović, was completed as early as 1967,



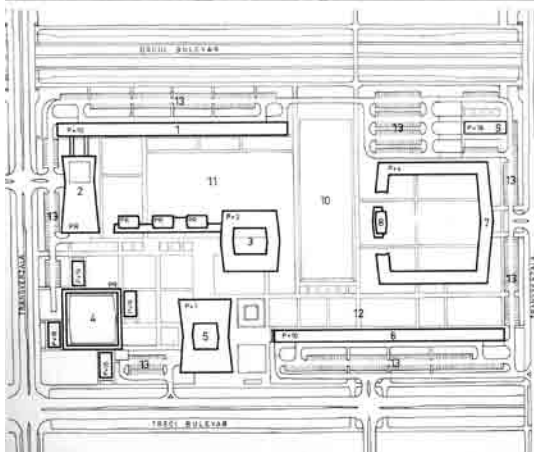
Source Zdroj: Courtesy of Aleksandar Stjepanović

Milutin Glavički and collaborator Branislav Jovin: Blok 28, detailed urban plan, 1965, model and plan

Milutin Glavički v spolupráci s Branislavom Jovinom: Blok 28, podrobný urbanistický plán, 1965, model a plán



Source Zdroj: Courtesy of Aleksandar Stjepanović



Source Zdroj: Glavički, M.: Detaljni urbanistički plan Mesne zajednice u bloku 28 – jedna faza razrade idejnog urbanističkog rešenja centralne zone Novog Beograda. Arhitektura Urbanizam (Belgrade) VII, 1966, 41 – 42, pp. 82 – 87, illustration p. 87



Source Zdroj: Courtesy of Aleksandar Stjepanović

Aleksandar Stjepanović
– Branislav Karadžić
– Božidar Janković:
Block 23, 1976

Aleksandar Stjepanović
– Branislav Karadžić
– Božidar Janković:
Blok 23, 1976

Olga Milićević Nikolić
– Cveta Davičo: Blok
28, landscaping, 1974
Olga Milićević Nikolić –
Cveta Davičo: Blok 28,
krajinné úpravy, 1974

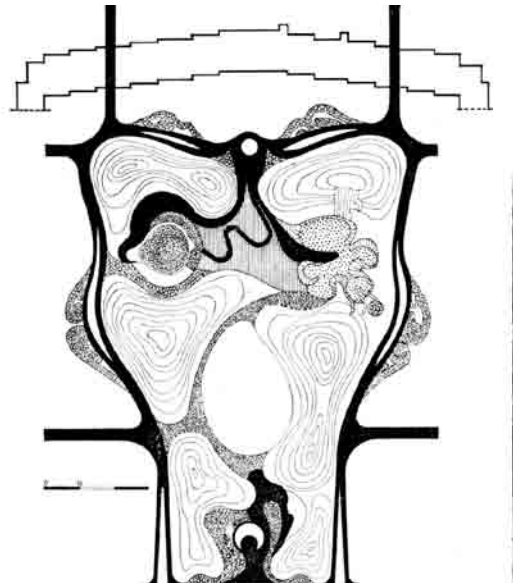
but the construction was postponed several times due to the delay in relocating the existing railway tracks. Construction only began in 1975 and was completed in 1979. The long process from design to realization resulted in a gradual impoverishment of the basic conceptions. As a review from the period pointed out, the project was adversely affected by a combination of the contradicting and changing demands of the investors, the public's fear of visionary solutions, and frequent changes in the system of financing ^{18/}. The original design team was made up of young architects who would in the following decades become leaders in the field of housing architecture and urban planning, and the main consultants on the project were top experts and professors at the University of Belgrade ^{19/}. This block was the first to feature segregation of traffic. Vehicular traffic was moved to the basement, where the parking garage was located, while the walkways remained on the ground level, so that cars and pedestrians never intersected. Garages were connected to the corresponding apartments directly by means of stair and elevator shafts. Residential buildings were differentiated according to their position in the housing block

and their appropriate heights. Longitudinal super-block buildings along the main boulevards – one eight-story high with a total of 180 apartments and another measuring ten stories, with 260 apartments – and five sixteen-story towers with a total of 480 apartments, compositionally mark the perimeter of the Block. Smaller, four-storied residential buildings designed in rows, totalling 191 apartments, and several small free-standing ones with 136 large apartments of a higher category were placed in the inner courtyards combined with low-rise schools and kindergartens.

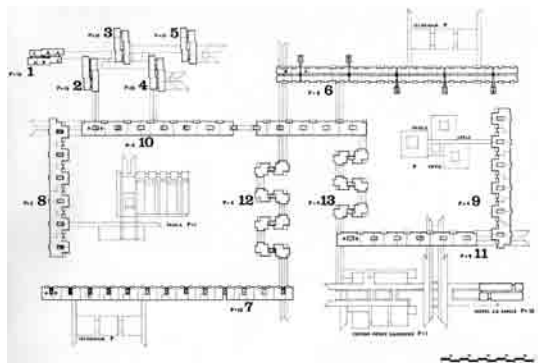
As a construction solution, most of the housing blocks used “Žeželj” a prefabricated prestressed reinforced concrete skeleton system for assembly, patented by the Serbian Institute for Materials (IMS), in combination with a system of heavy assembly of concrete panels or cast frame construction systems with massive slabs ^{20/}. A plethora of functional and formal solutions, and authentic architectural expressions, was specifically made possible by the widespread use of prefabricated skeletal IMS systems, which enabled rapid and easy building and open floor plans and façades.



Source Zdroj: Nova stambena naselja: Novi Beograd, Urbanizam Beograda (Belgrade) VII, 1975, 30, pp. 25 – 38, illustration p. 33

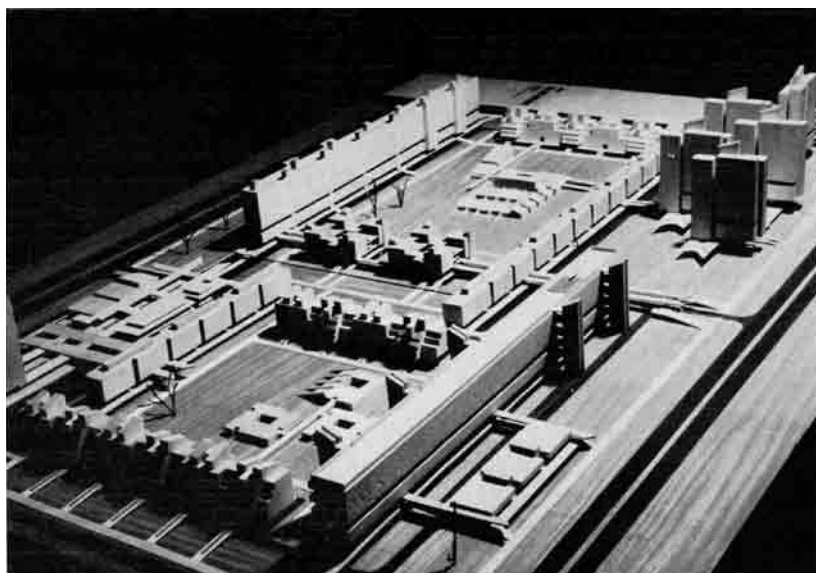


Source Zdroj: Mitrović, M.: Novija arhitektura Beograda, Belgrade, Jugoslavija, 1975, (Cyrillic), illustration p. 100



Uroš Martinović: Block 30, design 1967, schematic plan, model and plan of the largest apartment type (6,5 rooms)

Uroš Martinović: Blok 30, projekt 1967, schematički plán, model a plán najväčšieho typu bytov (6,5 izieb)



Urban Plan: From The Administrative Capital City to The Reality of Mass Housing

Even though architecturally highly differentiated, the mass housing in the centre of New Belgrade cannot be fully comprehended unless it is scrutinised as a whole, that is from the aspect of urban planning. Its particular composition, forms of buildings and arrangement of green and public areas stem from the top-down planning that dominated the context of the period. Yet, far from being static, the planning process itself went through radical changes of concept over time, which produced the specific hybrid identity of New Belgrade. The decision to found a new modern city on the left bank of the river Sava, across from the historic centre of Belgrade and the city fortress, was made immediately after World War II. The first designs were worked out in 1946 by the architect Nikola Dobrović, a graduate of the Czech Technical University (1923) and one of the leading modernists from the interwar period, as well as, more significantly, the first post-war Director of the Urban Planning Institute. In his initial sketch, New Belgrade was conceived as the administrative centre, that is, the capital city of the new Yugoslav federation, housing the main federal government and Party buildings, as well as a zone for embassies and their residences. The concept of a capital city, however, was abandoned in 1947 as part of a widespread debate throughout Yugoslavia about a plan and design for a new city. The battleground of the debate was the series of the all-Yugoslav competitions for the Urban Plan for New Belgrade



Source Zdroj: Đokić, A.: Nove šanse Novog Beograda, Arhitektura Urbanizam (Belgrade) IX, 1968, 49 – 50, pp. 25 – 32, illustrations p. 27, 28

The Master Plan of
Belgrade, 1950

Územný plán
Belehradu, 1950

Nikola Dobrović: Sketch
of the Regulation of
Belgrade on the left bank
of the river Sava, 1946.
Graphic enhancement
by author

Nikola Dobrović: Náčrt
regulácie Belehradu
na ľavom brehu rieky
Sáva, 1946. Grafický
upravila autorka

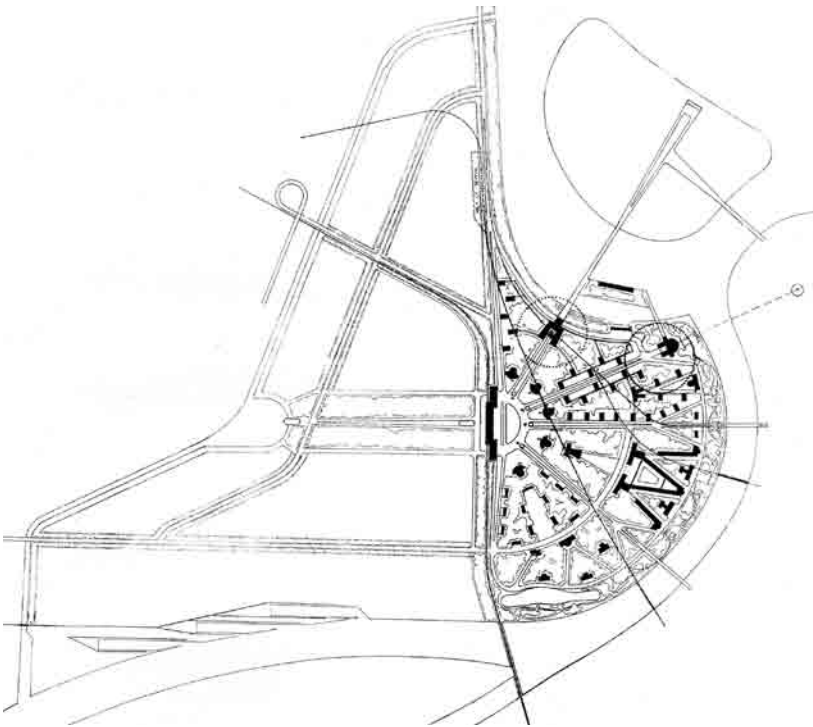
and the buildings for the Presidium of Government of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. In 1948, after authoring a new concept of urban landscape in his Outline Plan of New Belgrade, Dobrović himself was re-assigned to a professorship at the University of Belgrade – Faculty of Architecture, and the planning shifted from his visionary ideas towards an institutionalized and multidisciplinary direction of the General Urban Plan. The need to resolve the housing question for the rapidly growing city, as well as the concomitant process of decentralization of the Federation, started New Belgrade on a course to becoming a predominantly residential city. In the first twenty-five years of development, from 1948 to 1973, the area already saw some 135,000 inhabitants in 39,000 new apartments¹²¹. The identity of New Belgrade as a combination of a capital city and a residential city in reality was,



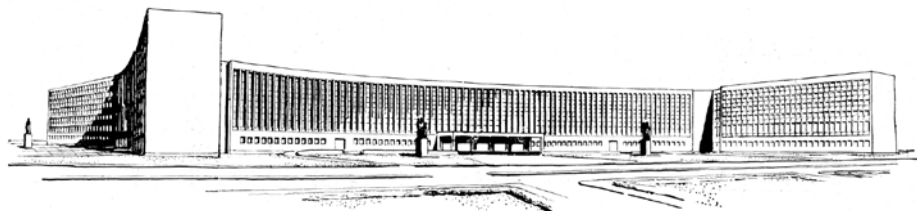
Source Zdroj: Generalni urbanistički plan Beograda. Arhitektura (Zagreb) V, 1951, 1 – 4, colour sheet, not paginated

I would argue, largely the result of the urban plan for its central part.

The General Urban Plan of Belgrade from 1950 outlined and programmatically defined the Central Zone of New Belgrade in the middle section of the Bežanija plain, halfway between the historical centres of Belgrade and Zemun. The only fixed point in the plan was the concrete skeleton of the Presidium building, positioned at the mid-point of the Belgrade-Zemun road. Its construction began in 1948, on the basis of the winning competition entry by the Croatian architects Vladimir Potočnjak, Zlatko Neumann, Anton Urlich, and Dragica Perak. The erection of the building was, however, thwarted right away in 1949, when, due to the economic crisis and the isolation stemming from the breaking off of political relations of Yugoslavia with the Soviet Union and the Eastern Block and Yugoslavia's expulsion from the Cominform, all construction and planning of New Belgrade was halted. The crisis lasted until 1956, when the work resumed amidst the new socio-political conditions of decentralization and liberalization. The Presidium, subsequently renamed the Federal Executive Council, had its monumental building (of total 75,000 m² area) completed in 1960 according to the altered plan by the Belgrade architect Mihailo Janković. As the centrepiece of the urban landscape, and with its exceptional quality of architectural and interior design, the Federal Executive Council building represents one of the



Source Zdroj: Dobrović, N.: Skica regulacije Beograda na levoj obali Save, 1946, prikaz urbane osnove. Tehnika (Belgrade) I, 1946, 11 – 12, p. 353



Vladimir Potočnjak – Zlatko Neumann – Anton Urlich – Dragica Perak: Presidium of the Government of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, winning competition entry, sketch and model, 1947

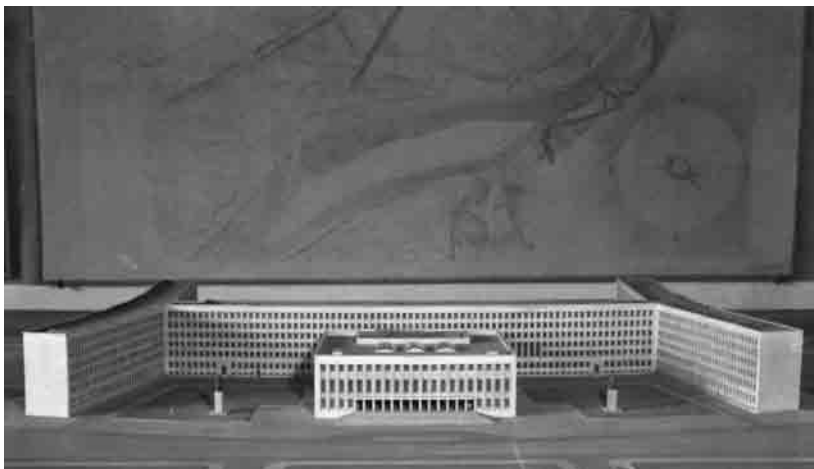
Vladimir Potočnjak – Zlatko Neumann – Anton Urlich – Dragica Perak: Predsedništvo vlády Federatívnej ľudovej republiky Juhoslávia, víťazný projekt súťaže, náčrt a model, 1947

Source Zdroj: Macura, M.: Problematika naše arhitekture u svetlosti konkursa za zgradu Predsedništva vlade FNRJ. Arhitektura (Zagreb) I, 1947, 3, pp. 3 – 17

most significant achievements of post World War II modernism in Serbia. Despite its significance, the building has yet to be recognized fully as part of the most valuable national cultural heritage, and is currently listed in the lesser category of “*cultural property under preliminary protection*”.

The Plan of the Central Zone also trailed the General Urban Plan by ten years, first due to the crisis and then because several plans were rejected in the process of post-crisis planning. Most notably, the New Belgrade Master Plan, which was finally passed after much debate in 1958, was effectively scrapped in 1959 by the announcement of the open competition for the design of the first residential block and the associated re-planning of the Central Zone. Because no first prize was awarded, the Belgrade Urban Planning Bureau formed a design team made up of representatives of the two highest placed entries, which worked out an integral plan based on a combination of solutions suggested at the competition. The team was headed by one of the most prominent figures of the time, architect and professor Uroš Martinović. The members of the team were Milutin Glavički, urbanist, and the architects Dušan Milenković, Lenarčić and Mitić. The Plan of the Central Zone was adopted in 1960, and built into the Regulation Plan of New Belgrade, authored by Martinović and Glavički in 1962. The main issues the plan sought to solve, concerned the following questions:

- defining the character of the centre of New Belgrade, and its broader importance in relation to the hierarchy of other city centres of Greater Belgrade,



Source Zdroj: Album izgradnje Novog Beograda, 1949 (original photo album, private collection of the author)

- the form and the symbolic meaning of the East-West longitudinal boulevards, in particular Lenin Boulevard (today Mihailo Pupin Boulevard) – a thoroughway of high importance that connects the historical centres of Belgrade and Zemun – primarily concerning its imbalanced profile between the monumental Federal Executive Council building set in the wide expanse of the public park on the one side, and massive apartment blocks on the other side. The sources report on concerns such as: “*How can an undesirable contrast be avoided, that is, the danger of a conspicuous residential atmosphere (pillows on windows, diapers on balconies)? Can a boulevard that runs past government buildings of the highest rank (...) on its other side look like any other residential street?*”

Mihailo Janković, after project by Potočnjak – Neumann – Urlich – Perak: Federal Executive Council, 1961

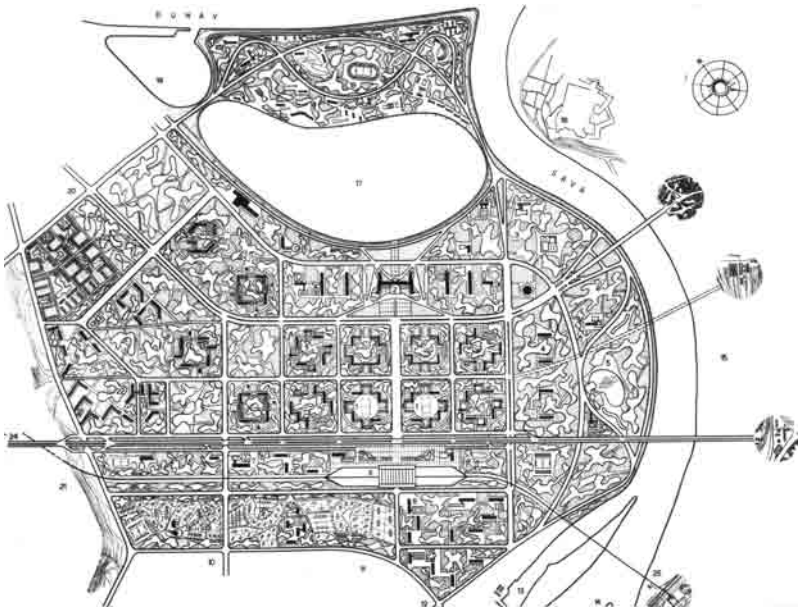
Mihailo Janković, dopracovanie: Potočnjak – Neumann – Urlich – Perak: Federálna výkonná rada, 1961

– a solution for the portion of highway (later part of the Pan-European Corridor X), which runs longitudinally through the Central Zone as 2nd Boulevard, and the problem of its integration into city traffic and residential areas ^{/22/}.

The relation of the apartment blocks to Lenin Boulevard was a frequent topic of discussion, and one of the main reasons for the rejection of the previously adopted Master Plan, authored by Branko Petričić. Drawing on his direct experiences in collaborating on Le Corbusier's project for L'îlot insalubre no 6 in 1937 ^{/23/}, Petričić attempted to adapt the Ville Radieuse doctrine for the concrete situation of New Belgrade, albeit with the time lag of twenty years. His initial plan of idyllic neighbourhood units sunken in a sea of green was criticized for the monotony of its urban concept based on serialized, evenly spaced and relatively small apartment blocks set in boundless vegetation, without symbolic or formal unity. This symbolically neutral approach to the Central Zone's planning was met with widespread disapproval, and was in effect recalled when, shortly after the adoption of the plan, an open competition was announced. Despite the fact that he was called

Branko Petričić: New Belgrade Master Plan proposal, 1957

Branko Petričić: návrh územného plánu Nového Belehradu, 1957



Source Zdroj: Courtesy of Vesna Petričić Tomić

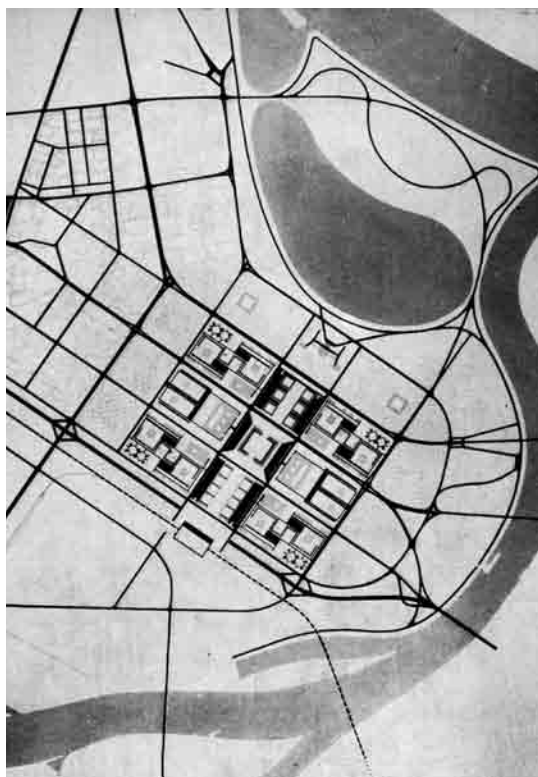


Source Zdroj: Novi Beograd, Belgrade, Direkcija za izgradnju Novog Beograda, 1961, illustration p. 91

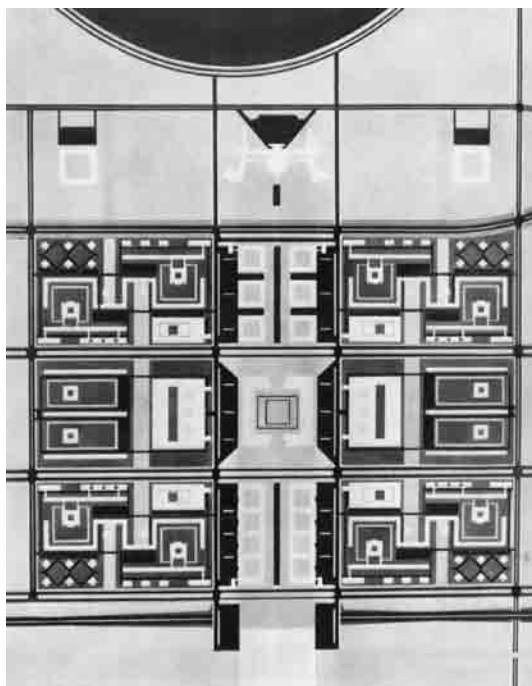
away from the University and appointed by the city government to lead the Master Plan as director of the Urban Planning Bureau, Petričić himself was expedited back to his professorship. The plan that emerged from the competition process was carried through and implemented by the Urban Planning Bureau under the new management of director Aleksandar Đorđević.

Strictly formal and hierarchical, the Plan of New Belgrade's Central Zone is laid out in a 1.6 km-sided square, which is functionally divided into segregated zones for state administration, the centre and housing. The area is cut through with four longitudinal thoroughways (Lenin Boulevard, and the 1st, 2nd, 3rd Boulevards) running East-West, parallel to the Danube, with the uppermost section on the square intended for administrative buildings, and the other three 400 m wide bands marked for housing blocks. The top border of the plan is outlined by the Danube river bank, while the boundary on the bottom end runs along the newly planned railway tracks. The transverse axis was drawn from the building of the Federal Executive Council to the planned New Belgrade railway station. Three urban blocks measuring 400 m by 400 m were designed along this axis to provide a city-wide centre with three large public areas, viz., a "demonstration square", that is, a square for large public conventions in front of the Federal Executive Council building, a "central

square” and a “railway station square”, each with the accompanying public and commercial venues. In previous research on the topic, the author of this article noted that the a-contextual design of pure and simple articulation of primary geometric forms of the Central Zone’s public space and housing blocks, aimed at creating a new context, or in other words a new reality, new values and new urban symbols appropriate to the idealized picture of the new social order^{124/}. While the housing blocks were constructed consecutively over the next two decades largely following the Plan, the central area was left completely undeveloped until the mid-1980s. To speak in Marxist terms, the first contradiction that can be recognized here is that between quantity and quality: while providing public housing for tens of thousands of inhabitants, thus satisfying their primary need, the Central



Source Zdroj: Đorđević, A.: Urbanističko rešenje centralnog dela Novog Beograda. Arhitektura Urbanizam (Belgrade) 1, 1960, 2, pp. 3 – 12, illustration p. 3



Source Zdroj: Đorđević, A.: Urbanističko rešenje centralnog dela Novog Beograda. Arhitektura Urbanizam (Belgrade) 1, 1960, 2, pp. 3 – 12, illustration p. 4

Zone largely failed to satisfy the desire for an appropriate cultural, commercial and leisure space.

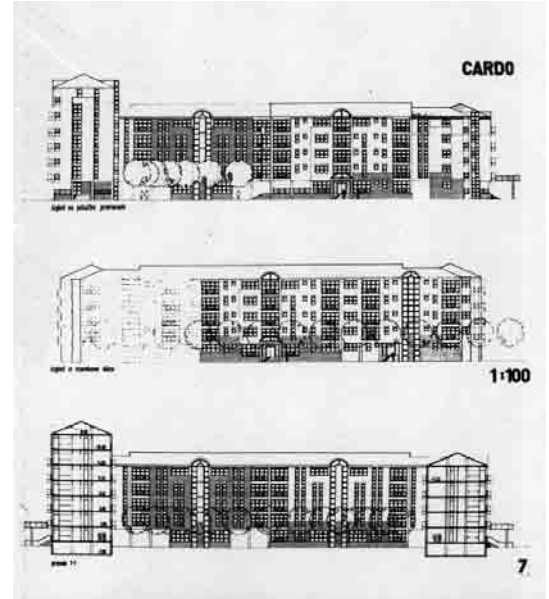
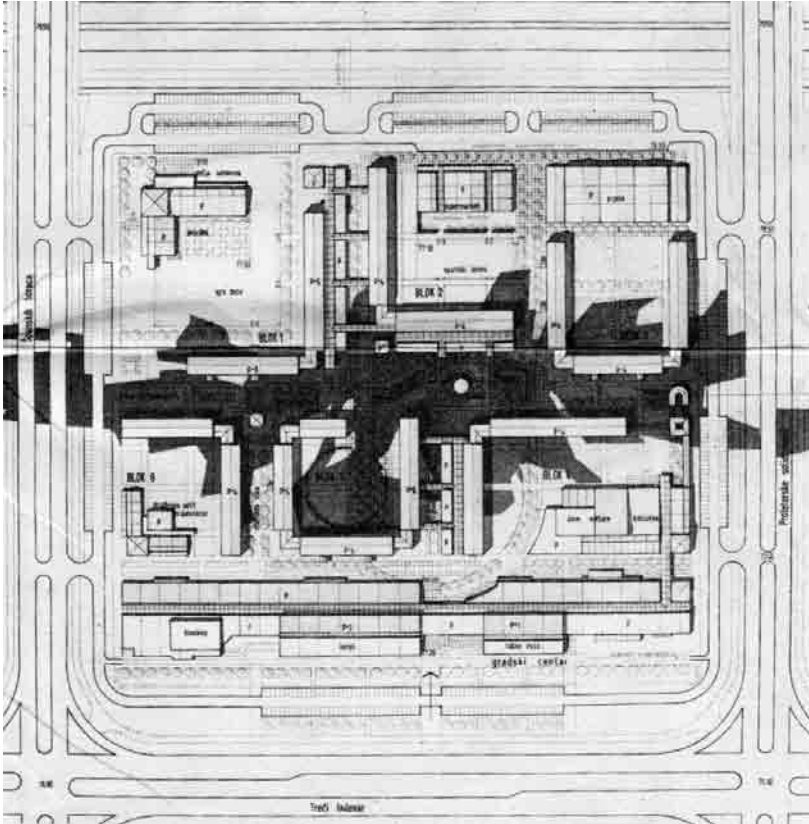
The Plan of the Central Zone was finally suspended in the mid-1980s, with the construction of housing in Block 24 (1984 – 1989, designed by Vlada and Bogdan Slavica) where the “railway station square” ought to have been, and a large sports venue, the construction of which began in 1991 on the site of the “central square” in Block 25^{125/}. The liberating decision to abandon the concept of functionalist segregation between the centre and the housing blocks opened the hitherto dominant modernist planning paradigm to various interpretations. In that sense, Block 24 represents the first sustained attempt at a postmodern reinterpretation of the traditional perimeter urban block tenets within the modern urban structure of New Belgrade. It could be said that with its sloped gabled roofs, exposed brick façade (even if of the

Uroš Martinović – Milutin Glavički – Leonid Lenarčić – Milosav Mitić – Dušan Milenković: plan of New Belgrade Central Zone, 1960

Uroš Martinović – Milutin Glavički – Leonid Lenarčić – Milosav Mitić – Dušan Milenković: plán centralnej zóny Nového Belehradu, 1960

Uroš Martinović – Milutin Glavički – Leonid Lenarčić – Milosav Mitić – Dušan Milenković: plan of New Belgrade Central Zone, 1960

Uroš Martinović – Milutin Glavički – Leonid Lenarčić – Milosav Mitić – Dušan Milenković: plán centralnej zóny Nového Belehradu, 1960



Source Zdroj: Konkursi: Block 24 Novi Beograd, Komunikacija (Belgrade) IV, 1984, 25, not paginated

Bogdan Slavica – Vlada Slavica: Block 24, competition entry, 1984
 Bogdan Slavica – Vlada Slavica: Blok 24, vítazný projekt súťaže, 1984

white silicate type), postmodernist portals and windows, as well as the walkways, gateways, landscaping and urban furniture, Block 24 represented a change within the framework of socialist residential architecture akin to the emergence of the New Urbanism movement.

Indeed, the mid 1980s were marked by criticisms and calling into question the principles of the functional city. The theoretical basis of the critique itself and subsequent concepts of densification was provided by the “Research into Alternative Urban Models”, and “Study for the Reconstruction of the Central Part of New Belgrade and the Sava Amphitheatre”, which were carried out by the Urban Planning Bureau in the period from 1979 to 1984, and published in 1985,

in a book entitled *Lessons of the Past* ^[26]. The book offers extreme criticism of the, to use its vocabulary, “functionalistic town”, and by extension of the modern socialist city of New Belgrade, regarding its unfinished open plan as an economic, social and physical void. An international competition for the improvement of the urban structure of New Belgrade, which ensued in 1986, put its emphasis expressly on rethinking the Central Zone ^[27]. The international jury awarded two ex-aequo first prizes: one to Polish architects Krzysztof Domaradzki, Olgierd Roman Dziekonski and Zbigniew Garbowski, and the other to the architect Jaroslav Kachlik from Bratislava. The competition also featured an entry by a French team made up of the philosopher and sociologist Henri Lefebvre and the architects Serge Renaudie and Pierre Gilbaud. Based on Lefebvre’s thesis of “right to the city”, the project presupposed a necessary democratization of society and socio-spatial appropriation of space through the consistent application of the politics of self-governance ^[28]. Instead, as Lefebvre himself wrote some twenty years prior to this



Source Zdroj: Rad Žirija, Arhitektura Urbanizam (Belgrade) XXVI, 1986, special issue The Future of New Belgrade (not numbered), pp. 6 – 76, illustrations p. 41, 42

competition, the state, even weakened, shaken, collapsing, as indeed Yugoslavia was by the end of 1980s, attempted to reaffirm itself, to consolidate its own apparatus, to change self-management into an ideology of the state in order to suppress it in practice^{/29/}. The imminent breakdown of socialism as a system and the breakdown of the system of planning left the unfinished modern city wide open to haphazard reclaiming of free, open, public, and green under-urbanized space. In place of appropriation, today's centre of New Belgrade is the main frontier for the effective privatization of public space. In Block 26, opposite the Executive Council building, two foreboding forms of High-Tech mid-rise commercial office buildings and a Serbian-Byzantine-styled Orthodox church are awkwardly juxtaposed, with the remaining space between them left undefined. This interstitial area still awaits final resolution, all the while being envisaged as a hyper-capitalist utopian project for some 650,000 m² upmarket sleek high-rise residential, commercial and business centre, flanked by 40-story skyscrapers and not one, but two ubiquitous shopping malls^{/30/}.

Concluding Notes

The relationship between the emerging urban reality of post-socialist New Belgrade and the extant of modern urban landscape of mass housing constructed under socialism, as well as questions about the opportunities of collective and cooperative appropriation of space, continue very much to be unresolved issues today, both spatially and socially^{/31/}. The last two decades of post-socialist socio-political and economic transition have unleashed the processes of change such as depoliticization, privatization, gentrification, commoditization and desecularization of the urban space. What is seen on the site of New Belgrade is a persistent, street-by-street, block-by-block advance of new private development. In the context of an eminently ideological anti-socialist/communist discourse, the space of the modern city is reductively seen as the physical residue of a deposed socio-economic and political system, or as its ideological monument. Thus ideologically stigmatized modern urban structure of a characteristically large percentage of open and green space becomes easy prey to haphazard reurbanization. Open green and communal spaces of housing blocks are being parcelled, privatized and developed by programs deemed to have

International Competition for the New Belgrade Urban Structure Improvement, 1986, two ex-aequo first prizes: left – entry by Jaroslav Kachlik (Bratislava), right – entry by Krzysztof Domaradzki, Olgierd Roman Dziekonski and Zbigniew Garbowski (Warsaw)

Medzinárodná súťaž pre zlepšenie urbánnej štruktúry Nového Belehradu, 1986, dve hlavné ceny ex-aequo: vľavo – projekt Jaroslava Kachlíka (Bratislava), vpravo – projekt Krzysztofa Domaradzského, Olgierda Romana Dziekonského a Zbigniewa Garbowského (Varšava)

been lacking in the socialist epoch, namely those of up-market residential properties, business, retail, leisure, banking, gambling and religion. One of the pertinent issues concerns the need to evaluate whether different forms of new development contribute to or adversely affect sustainable development of contemporary metropolitan Belgrade. What sustainable values and qualities of largely under-urbanised socialist open blocks and social space need to be recognized and preserved, and where can the new development make a positive difference? Some recent studies present the current processes of urban change in the bright and positive lights of an eagerly awaited progress towards a market economy, while others see the

paramount importance of modernist architectural heritage and the need for its protection and preservation. Can we argue that the balance between the two is to be found in the appreciation of the urban landscape quality of the modern city and its housing blocks, and in the perspective of ecological urbanism?

This paper was realized as a part of the project "Studying climate change and its influence on the environment: impacts, adaptation and mitigation" (43007) financed by the Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic of Serbia within the framework of integrated and interdisciplinary research for the period 2011 – 2014.

NOTES POZNÁMKY

¹ TAFURI, Manfredo – DAL CO, Francesco: *Architettura Contemporanea*. Venezia, Electa Editrice 1976, p. 427, quote p. 332.

² The Municipality of New Belgrade today covers an area of around 4,000 hectares and is inhabited by some 250,000 people.

³ On the history and theories of planning of New Belgrade see: BLAGOJEVIĆ, Ljiljana: *Novi Beograd: osporeni modernizam*. Beograd, Zavod za udžbenike/Arhitektonski fakultet/Zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture 2007, 322 p. (Cyrillic)

⁴ Cf. GLAVIČKI, Milutin: *Novi Beograd – novi deo grada u centru gradske teritorije*. *Arhitektura Urbanizam VII*, 1966, 41 – 42, pp. 69 – 87.

⁵ On postmodernism in late socialism see: BLAGOJEVIĆ, Ljiljana: *Postmodernism in Belgrade Architecture: Between Cultural Modernity and Societal Modernisation*, *Spatium International Review*, 2011, 25, pp. 23 – 29.

⁶ VELJKOVIĆ, Vojislav: *Pokazatelji stambene izgradnje*. *Urbanizam Beograda VII*, 1975, 30, pp. 14 – 15.

⁷ Cf. *Stanovanje (Housing)*. *Arhitektura Urbanizam XIV*, 1975, 74 – 77, pp. 6 – 141.

⁸ Direkcija za izgradnju i rekonstrukciju Beograda. *Izgradnja XXX*, 1976, special issue, pp. 117 – 164.

⁹ Cultural Properties of Belgrade. Available at: <http://beogradskonasledje.rs/kd/zavod/index.html>. Accessed 24 July 2012.

¹⁰ LENARČIĆ, Leonid: *Urbomorfološka analiza centralnog dela Novog Beograda*. Unpublished document prepared for the purposes of the International Competition for the New Belgrade Urban Structure Improvement, 1986. (11 pages of typed text) quote p. 9.

¹¹ Č(anak). Mihailo: *In memoriam: Ivan Petrović*. *ARD Bilten*, 2000, 19, p. 10.

¹² JEVTIĆ, Milan: *Stambeni blok 21 Novi Beograd*. In: ŽANKO, A. (ed.): *Stan*, vol. II. Beograd, Odbor za publicističku delatnost vojnog građevinarstva 1966, pp. 27 – 56.

¹³ STJEPANOVIĆ, Aleksandar – JOVANOVIĆ, Boško: *Stambeni blokovi 22 i 23 u Novom Beogradu*. *Izgradnja XXX*, 1976, special issue, pp. 3 – 13.

¹⁴ *II Stambeni rejon*. *Urbanizam Beograda VII*, 1975, 30, pp. 29 – 34.

¹⁵ The market here refers not to the free market, but to the socialist one in which the government bodies, army, various state institutions, organisations or enterprises alternately acted as buyers for the apartments, which they

distributed to their respective employees according to meticulously crafted ranking lists.

16 PETOVAR, Ksenija: Sociološko istraživanje uslova života u stambenim zajednicama u Novom Beogradu. Unpublished M. Sc. Thesis, University of Belgrade Faculty of Philosophy 1976, pp. 62, 84.

17 MILIĆEVIĆ-NIKOLIĆ, Olga: Dileme o stvaralaštvu vrtno arhitekture u stambenim naseljima u Beogradu. *Arhitektura Urbanizam X*, 1969, 56 – 57, pp. 110 – 115.

18 KEKOVIĆ, Aleksandar: Stambeni blok 30 u Novom Beogradu. *Arhitektura Urbanizam XIX*, 1979, 82, pp. 5 – 7.

19 Stambeni blok 30 na Novom Beogradu. Čovjek i prostor XV, 1968, 187, pp. 1 – 3; ĐOKIĆ, Aleksandar: Nove šanse Novog Beograda. *Arhitektura Urbanizam IX*, 1968, 49 – 50, pp. 25 – 32.

20 ĐOKOVIĆ, Milan: Primena sistema IMS u izgradnji Novog Beograda. *Izgradnja*, 1985, 9, pp. 39 – 47.

21 MENDELSON, Andrija: Nova stambena naselja kao oblik razvoja Beograda, *Urbanizam Beograda VII*, 1975, 30, pp. 17 – 21.

22 ĐORĐEVIĆ, Aleksandar: Urbanističko rešenje centralnog dela Novog Beograda. *Arhitektura Urbanizam I*, 1960, 2, pp. 3 – 12, quote p. 4.

23 Le CORBUSIER: Des Canons, des munitions? Merci! ... Des Logis ... S.V.P. Boulogne, Éditions de L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui 1938, pp. 67 – 70.

24 BLAGOJEVIĆ, Ljiljana: Back to the future of New Belgrade: functional past of the modern city. (2005) Available at: <http://aesop2005.scix.net/cgi-bin/papers/Show?204>. Accessed 17 July 2012.

25 "Beogradska Arena" designed by Vlada Slavica, holds 25,000 visitors, and was completed and opened to the public in 2004.

26 PEROVIĆ, Miloš R.: Iskustva prošlosti / Lessons of the Past. Beograd, Zavod za planiranje razvoja grada Beograda 1985, 250 p. (Serbian and English)

27 The Future of New Belgrade: International Competi-

tion for the New Belgrade Urban Structure. *Arhitektura Urbanizam XXV*, 1986, special issue, pp. 1 – 76.

28 RENAUDIE, Serge – GUILBAUD, Pierre – LEFEBVRE, Henri: International Competition for the New Belgrade Urban Structure Improvement (1986). In: BITTER, S. – WEBER, H. (eds.) *Autogestion, or Henri Lefebvre in New Belgrade*. Vancouver, Phillip Editions, and Berlin, Sternberg Press 2009, pp. 1 – 71. The project was rejected after the very first round of judging in the competition, and was forgotten for decades, until recent research by author of this article and subsequent theoretical reinterpretations. See: BLAGOJEVIĆ, Ljiljana: The problematic of a 'New Urban': the right to New Belgrade. In: BITTER, S. – WEBER, H. (eds.): *Op. cit.*, pp. 119 – 133; and STANEK, Łukasz: *Henri Lefebvre on Space. Architecture, Urban Research, and the Production of Theory*. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press 2011, pp. 233 – 244.

29 LEFEBVRE, Henri: *Problèmes théoriques de l'autogestion*. *Autogestion*, 1966, 1, pp. 62 – 64, 66 – 70.

30 Winning competition entry, 2007, by the architects Dejan Mijlković and Jovan Mitrović. ASANOVIĆ, M.: Krov Balkana kod Beogradske arene. *Glas javnosti*, 4 June 2007. Available at: <http://arhiva.glas-javnosti.rs/arhiva/2007/06/04/srpski/bg07060303.shtml>. Accessed 24 July 2012.

31 On post-socialist transformations, see: PETROVIĆ, Mina: Post-Socialist Housing Policy Transformation in Yugoslavia and Belgrade. *European Journal of Housing Policy* 1, 2001, 2, pp. 211 – 231; VUJOŠEVIĆ, Miodrag – NEDOVIĆ-BUDIĆ, Zorica: Planning and societal context – the case of Belgrade, Serbia. In: TSENKOVA, S. – NEDOVIĆ-BUDIĆ, Z. (eds.): *The Urban Mosaic of Post-Socialist Europe*. Heidelberg, New York, Physica-Verlag 2006, pp. 275 – 294; HIRT, Sonia: Landscapes of Postmodernity: Changes in the Built Fabric of Belgrade and Sofia Since End of Socialism. *Urban Geography* 29, 2008, 8, pp. 785 – 810; BLAGOJEVIĆ, Ljiljana: A free market landscape. In: ERIĆ, Z. (ed.) *Differentiated Neighbourhoods of New Belgrade*. Belgrade, Museum of Contemporary Art 2009, pp. 128 – 133; MARIĆ, Igor – NIKOVIĆ, Ana – MANIĆ, Božidar: Transformation of the New Belgrade Urban Tissue: Filling the Space Instead of Interpolation. *Spatium International Review*, 2010, 22, pp. 47 – 56; WALEY, Paul: From modernist to market urbanism: the transformation of New Belgrade. *Planning Perspectives* 26, 2011, 2, pp. 209 – 235.