Curating a Nation in Skopje: A Tale of One City's Architecture and Politics

by

Maja Babić

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Doctoral Committee:

Professor Robert Fishman, Chair
Associate Professor Tatjana Aleksić
Associate Professor Andrew Herscher
Associate Professor Vladimir Kulić, Iowa State University

Maja Babić

mbabic@umich.edu

ORCID iD: 0000-0001-9928-7504

Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my niece Nina Čečo. Thank you for the hope and joy.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

Abstract

Recent scholarship has put Yugoslavia at the heart of the debate over the architectural

production and urbanism of the Cold War era. To contribute to the inquiry into the architecture

of former Yugoslav federation, I examine in detail the urban environment of Skopje—the capital

of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—and its relationship with socio-political

transformations of the last sixty years. Existing scholarship mainly focuses on the United

Nations-sponsored reconstruction plans for the city after the catastrophic earthquake of 26 July

1963 that involved such internationally known architects as Kenzo Tange and Constantinos

Doxiadis. A secondary focus has been the creation in the 1970s of monumental brutalist

structures that have come to define the city. While architectural historians mainly study the

events of the twentieth century, socio-cultural anthropologists explore the problematic of

Ottoman heritage and ethno-national divisions of the present-day era. My project links the two

fields and connects the two distinct periods that built Skopje, further exploring its idiosyncrasies.

I argue that the study of the Macedonian capital reveals yet another facet of Cold War

architecture and its impacts on the contemporary urban production as negotiated and mediated in

a unique geopolitical environment.

Through examination of the remodeling of communist Skopje and the city's present-day

nationalist-driven alteration, I show that the 1960s post-earthquake reconstruction—that took

place under the auspices of the United Nations and Yugoslav government—was an event that

impacted the construction of modernist Skopje, but that it does not exist as a singular moment in

the creation of the city's urban identity. I contend that the creation of the urban fabric of Skopje

has been a multi-event process, entwined and nuanced. I argue that the collaborations between Kenzo Tange, Constantinos Doxiadis, Adolf Ciborowski and Yugoslav architects and planners such as Georgi Konstantinovski, Marko Mušič, and Janko Konstantinov were much more complex than previously understood. Finally, I claim that the treatment and negotiations of Ottoman heritage in the postwar and post-socialist nation-building projects in Yugoslavia and Macedonia—strikingly exhibited in the Skopje 2014 project—display the creation and negotiations of a distinct urban and national identity of a socialist and post-socialist state in the Balkans. The study of the architecture of Yugoslavia and its post-Yugoslav region provides further insight into the unique urban production of a country that spanned the Iron Curtain. Skopje is exemplary of the political and architectural complexities of the Cold War era and its contemporary aftermath in Southeastern Europe.

Chapter 1:

Introduction

"…for this town knows that it is the citizen of the world, and that it will be born again from the blood of the whole of its country and of the whole of mankind, and become part of the eternal tomorrow."[1]

—Slavko Janevski, Macedonian writer

"After the war, to our mother's dismay, my sister and I started referring to the Highway of Brotherhood and Unity as the Highway of Youth and Foolishness. But now I envy her; I envy the sense that she was building something larger; I envy the nobility and honor that comes with being part of a civic endeavor."[2]

—Aleksandar Hemon, Bosnian-American writer

In the summer of 1963, the city of Skopje crumbled to the ground. The early morning hours of July 26 brought upon screams of terror from the rubble of what was a budding modern city only a day before. At 5.17 am, an earthquake struck the capital of the Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and forever altered its path.[3] In the decades to come, from the concrete ashes of July

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[1] Aleksandar Mišić et al., *This Was Skopje* (Belgrade: Federal Secretariat for Information, 1963). n/a.

[2] Aleksandar Hemon, "My Mother and the Failed Experiment of Yugoslavia," June 5, 2019, https://www.newyorker.com/culture/personal-history/my-mother-and-the-failed-experiment-of-yugoslavia/amp.

[3] The Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia was created in 1943 and existed until its violent demise in the early 1990s. The country was comprised of six republics: Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, and Macedonia. The capital was the Serbian city of Belgrade. The republics differed in regard to economic development—ascending in the direction from East to West—and in regard to their ethnic characteristics

1963 and the remnants of centuries-long Ottoman history, a brutalist city of "international solidarity"[4] and Yugoslav "brotherhood and unity"[5] arose. Nowadays, Skopje stands dressed in a neoclassical garb: its modernist, Yugoslav, and Ottoman pasts collide with the urban fabric of the present.[6]

Skopje is the capital of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, now the Republic of North Macedonia, a country in the Western Balkans. Throughout the twentieth century, it was a part of the seceding Ottoman Empire, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, and the socialist Yugoslav federation; finally, it has been the capital of an independent Macedonian state since 1992. A city that stood on the fringe of Yugoslav political influences and architectural developments after the war became a beacon of hope for the Yugoslav government and the United Nations during the 1960s, when the local and international architects and urban planners together envisaged the modernist city to be built in the aftermath of the 1963 earthquake. However, the city of "international solidarity" and its utopian architectural project met the volatile reality of the Cold War Yugoslav communist politics and its economy of debt: by the late 1960s, the international community deemed its part in the project completed and departed from Skopje; the brutalist capital of the Balkans emerged from the hands of Yugoslav architects throughout the 1970s and early 1980s.

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and divisions. Macedonia, the southernmost Yugoslav republic was amongst the poorest, its people Christian Orthodox Macedonians and Muslim Albanians. However, the republic, and its capital Skopje in particular, experienced swift modernization and change in living standard after the end of the Second World War, and in the early years of communist Yugoslavia.

[4] In the aftermath of the July 26 earthquake and after eighty-five countries from all over the globe sent aid to the demolished Macedonian capital, Skopje became known as the "city of international solitary."

[5] "Brotherhood and unity," a slogan developed during the Liberation War in Yugoslavia (1941-1945) and employed by the Yugoslav communists throughout the existence of the country. The slogan designated the official policy toward Yugoslav nations and national minorities and granted them equal standing before the law.

[6] The contemporary remodeling of Skopje's city center via expansive *Skopje 2014* project is colloquially referred to as "neoclassical," and on some occasions as "neo-Baroque." I use these terms uncontested in the introduction segment of my project, yet I elaborate upon them extensively in the fifth chapter of this dissertation where I inquire into the architecture of the democratic and capitalist North Macedonia of the twenty-first century.

As the early 1990s end of the Yugoslav federation proved to be bloody and merciless elsewhere, the southernmost Yugoslav republic and its cities stood unscathed by the wars that ravaged the former communist union.[7] The Macedonian secession from the federation was peaceful. Still, the socio-political travails of the newly democratic and capitalist societies failed to omit Macedonia. The new millennium brought political and economic transformations the local society was utterly unprepared for, ultimately rendering its reality hyper-capitalist and its politics corrupt. *Skopje 2014*, an urban remodeling project that stands on the opposite spectrum of the utopian, global, and modernizing 1960s city commenced in 2011. Led by a nationalist, right-leaning post-communist government, the city's unnamed architects and sculptors transformed the Yugoslav Skopje into a neoclassical scenography, one where *béton brut* of the 1960s and 1970s mixes with gilded facades and statues of neo-Grecian warriors.[8]

The relationship between architecture and politics in Skopje and its effect on the creation of communist and post-communist Macedonian nation merits careful study for the insight it provides into the representational and transformative values of architecture and its inescapable relationship to ever-changing politics. In order to illustrate the complex links between architecture, politics, and ideology—and especially architecture's role in diplomacy and nation-building and vice versa—, I examine nation-building and modernization projects, as well as ethnic nationalisms as exhibited, negotiated, and perpetuated in the urban landscape of a city in Southeastern Europe. While contemporary architectural scholarship explores the relations

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[7] Throughout my dissertation, I interchangeably use terms "state socialism" and "communism" to describe the political and economic system employed in Yugoslavia and in Eastern Europe. Although Yugoslavia, nor any state for that matter, ever reached communism, the local Slavic languages commonly refer to Yugoslavia as a "communist country." For that reason, I utilize the similar terminology in English language, and I recognize and acknowledge the inherent problematic in this nomenclature.

[8] *Béton brut* (French) is a term for 'raw concrete' used to describe the unfinished surface of the concrete after it had been cast. Importantly, *béton brut* is not the material itself, but its architectural expression. From *béton brut* comes the term *brutalism*, a signifier of an architectural style executed in 'raw concrete.' Some of the best examples can be found in Skopje, North Macedonia.

between Yugoslav architecture and politics of the twentieth century, and socio-cultural anthropologists and geographers study the unfolding of the present-day city, the links between the two eras and their architecture, politics, and economy are only tangentially addressed, if at all. To address this problematic, I study the making of Skopje's built environment and its correlation with the formation of the Macedonian state and nation since the end of the World War II; an earlier iteration under the auspices of the communist Yugoslav union and the later independent, post-communist country.

Without a better understanding of architectural production of state-socialist and post-socialist Yugoslav region, and its connection with twentieth- and twenty-first-century nation-building projects, we fail to fully understand the societal implications of the construction of contemporary built environment in the Balkans. To remedy this broadening gap, I investigate the two reconstructions of Skopje: the 1960s brutalist rebuilding of the city, and its early twenty-first century—cautiously termed—neoclassical alteration. In the study of the two urban transformations, I examine the social fractures spanning two distinct political periods, perpetually negotiated and reproduced in the urban fabric of a city in Southeastern Europe. However, this study is not only of the two reconstructions, it is also of the decades in between when the Macedonians and Yugoslavs created the modern postwar city and the 1970s brutalist capital of the Balkans. I trace how the remnants of Ottoman heritage have co-existed with the Yugoslav modernist city, and I suggest that this negotiation of urban history fitted the imperfect narrative of Yugoslav "brotherhood and unity," reverberating throughout the region to this day. Finally, I demonstrate how five decades of Yugoslav politics impacted the creation of the contemporary Skopje and the architectural fabrication of a new state, one immersed in nationalist struggles, its autonomy challenged by almost all of its neighbors.

I was born in Sarajevo, in Yugoslavia in the early 1980s, at the time the country was in the final stages of its decline. Still, we deified Tito and the philosophy of unifying "brotherhood and unity" of all Yugoslavs. Soon, a decade-long war ravaged the former communist union, particularly viciously in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, and Kosovo. Today, the country that met its violent end in the first half of the 1990s remains a colossal part of the contemporary politics of its successor states.[9] The Yugoslav past became an inimitable presence in our everyday lives. The architecture and urban planning implemented by the state-socialist government define the cities of the region and serve as a backdrop to the contemporary alterations of the built environment.

As I grew up in the post-Yugoslav Sarajevo, my fascination with the former state only developed as the time passed. The people's unwavering affection expressed toward it further fueled my interest. In fact, my own parents' and grandparents' loyalty to a now-deceased Yugoslavia influences my work to this day. I admit that my interest in Skopje peaked when I learned of the inescapable architectural tale of the city's UN-facilitated reconstruction in the aftermath of the July 1963 earthquake; the fable was predominantly that of Kenzo Tange, a star architect credited with the rebuilding of the city. Coming from an ever-Yugoslav place, it seemed to me that the prevalent focus on the Western aspect of the narrative concealed the events that unfolded on the other side of that story. The question was simple: how did Yugoslavs—the government, the political and economic system, architects and planners, and the Yugoslav peoples—facilitate and participate in the projects of the 1960s Skopje? How did this process unravel? What were its intricacies? It appeared that parts of the story were missing. Still, the twentieth century did not produce the only architectural spectacle in Skopje. On the other side of

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[9] Important to note that these now independent countries are commonly referred to as the 'Yugoslav successor states.'

my fascination with the Cold War Macedonian capital and its rebuilding lays the lure of the contemporary urban shifts taking place in Skopje that have caught the attention of the world in the recent decade, although in a manner far from the favorable one of the 1960s. The neoclassical rebuilding of the Skopje city center has—somewhat uncritically—turned the North Macedonian capital into a mockery of the global architectural community. Together, these two projects tell a tale of Yugoslav and post-Yugoslav built environment, both emblematic and remarkable in their political and architectural negotiations and interventions.

Project Values, Aims, Objectives, and Terminology

The relationship between architecture and politics has created built environments throughout the globe and through history, never more so than in the past century and today. In the chapters that follow I analyze the different periods of the Macedonian postwar history and architecture and I study the link between the creation of the Macedonian Yugoslav—and later independently Macedonian—nation-state and its architecture. In my dissertation, I examine the connection between the Yugoslav political and architectural production, the impacts it maintains on the urban environment of contemporary Skopje and its politics, and I ask how this Ottoman city of the early twentieth century transformed into a brutalist "city of international solidarity." Further, I ask how the city of Yugoslav "brotherhood and unity" became the "capital of kitsch,"[10] and I trace the urban transformations of Skopje as a process enmeshed with problematics of modernization, heritage, and national minorities. Finally, I attempt to examine Skopje and Macedonia outside of the narrative of international collaborative processes and the 1960s UN-

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[10] Marc Santora, "Dancing Nymphs and Pirate Ships: Notes from a Capital of Kitsch," *The New York Times*, March 28, 2018, https://www.nytimes.com/2018/03/28/world/europe/macedonia-skopje.html.

facilitated reconstruction, and I study it as a Yugoslav city and the capital of a post-socialist Macedonia.

The interest in the architecture of socialist Yugoslavia has intensified since the end of the 1990s wars, highlighting the increasing importance of the region in the study of the twentieth century architecture. In regard to Macedonia, the scholarship produced by architectural historians—both international and from the region of former Yugoslavia—mainly focuses on the 1960s events that transpired in Skopje. The creation of the contemporary city remains under the domain of social and cultural anthropologists. However, the impact of communist architecture and politics on the creation of the contemporary built environment in the region remains only tangentially addressed. The particulars of the recent remodeling of Skopje into a disquieting historical attire only emphasize the importance of the communist architectural paradigm on the construct of urban fabric in the contemporary and ever-tumultuous Balkans. The vigorous urban transformations in present-day Southeastern Europe, instigated by the post-communist geopolitical shifts of recent decades, serve as instruments for the reproduction of local nationalist politics. Ultimately, these urban processes reproduce the relations established during the communist era, furthering disenfranchisement of minorities and urban neglect.

The significance of my project lays in its intervention into debates on state-socialist architecture and its relationship with politics within the fields of architectural history and urban studies. The merit of my dissertation also rests in the uncovering of a new perspective on the contemporary condition of communist architecture and its impact on the creation of post-communist built environments. Through the study of the rebuilding of Skopje in the aftermath of the 1963 earthquake, I show the consequences of the Yugoslavs' unorthodox foreign politics on the construction of the country's cities, and in the examination of the contemporary renewal of

the Macedonian capital, I study the current nationalist politics and their architectural displays. To uncover and establish the links between the two political, architectural, and historical periods, I firstly study the immediate postwar modernization of Skopje. Further, I study the creation of the brutalist city executed after the departure of the United Nations and international planners and architects, and I explore the city's architecture and its role in the formation of a nation. I analyze the modernist creation of the cityscape of Skopje, and I study the formation of the brutalist city that came to serve as an identifier of the Yugoslav heritage in the contemporary Macedonia. Parallel with this, I trace how remnants of Ottoman heritage have co-existed with the Yugoslav brutalist city, and I suggest that this negotiation of urban history fit the imperfect narrative of Yugoslav "brotherhood and unity" echoes throughout the region and its post-communist political negotiations to this day.

In the study of the two urban alterations—the post-earthquake reconstruction of a socialist Skopje and the present-day nationalist remodeling of the city—I examine the social fractures spanning two distinct political periods, perpetually reproduced and negotiated in the urban fabric of a city in Southeastern Europe. The two reconstructions of Skopje expose the relationship between the two periods and its effect on the creation of a modern Macedonian capital and its urban particularities. This link uncovers the basis for the current ethno-nationalist rift transforming the state of Macedonia and the urban fabric of its capital.

In this dissertation, I use the terminology prevalent yet seldom qualified in contemporary architectural discourse. In my project, I often refer to architecture as a "tool;" a tool of politics, economy, or ideology. This identification raises concerns in regard to autonomy of not only the field of architecture but also of its actors, architects and urban planners. However, in assigning architecture the role of a "tool," I presume the relationship between architects and architecture on

one side, and politics and economy on the other, to be mutual and cyclical. While architecture may be used as a "tool" of ideological negotiations—in a far more nuanced manner than assumed by the critics of this terminology—architects and planners utilize ideology in a similar manner and further the agendas of the field and their own. This entwined notion is illustrated by the political events and architectural developments that took place in Skopje and throughout Yugoslavia, particularly in the early decades of the existence of the federation. Architecture as a "tool" is utilized by political entities, but also by architects and architecture itself.

For further elaborations of this project, it is vital to discern between a concept—or perhaps even, a project—of architecture as a "tool" and stylistic features of architectural production of any state or an architect. Style and its characteristics on one hand exist within the political context—as exhibited in the three-year-period of Yugoslavs' association with the Soviet Union and loosely attempted implementation of Socialist Realism as an official style—yet the failed attempts at this project illustrate the cyclical nature of architecture as a "tool." While the sanctioned political directive was to construct the architecture of the new Yugoslav state in a style imported from the Soviet East, the architects were not hesitant in their rejection of this stylistic discourse. The foremost architectural figures of Yugoslavia cautiously dismissed the elements of Socialist Realism, and here we see the illustration of the cyclical relationship between architecture and politics: due to the high positions they held in the Party and due to their participation in the Liberation War, the Yugoslav architects could utilize their gravitas and—still somewhat subtly—push against the prescribed foreign style elected for its ideological value.

The discourse of nationalism remains paramount throughout this dissertation and serves as a key theoretical lens. To discuss the national architectural style as juxtaposed to and deliberated along the notion of nationalism, I first outline how these terms are understood in the

context of my project, but also in the context of the former Yugoslav state. Nationalism, per definition, is an ideology based on the premise that one's loyalty to their state surpasses their loyalties to any other entity; further, it as an economic, political, and social system that promotes interests of one particular nation-state. The basic tenets of nationalism are built on the juxtapositions of "us" versus "them," and emphasize the national identification and identity built against an internal or external enemy; as such, I use it in my project. In Yugoslavia, due to particulars of a multi-ethnic state—comprised of numerous different ethnicities and national identities—the construct of an umbrella Yugoslav identity was performed in a much more nuanced manner, and mainly focused on the creation of national politics and economy, not so much on culture or architecture. In the present-day North Macedonia, a nuanced expression of nationalism is all but missing, and the nationalist claims over urban and socio-political spaces feverishly utilize the fracture between "us" and "them," both in national and international arenas.

The urban expressions of nationalist rhetoric in North Macedonia are particular in regard to the use of foreign architectural and stylistic elements, and even historical figures. The post-socialist facilitation of national independence is to an extend anti-Yugoslav, however, it is even more so oriented toward Western Europe. To facilitate this shift, the right-wing national leaders appropriated the Western European and classical architectural elements, ultimately creating an *invented tradition*, one serving as a link to an immemorial past, one grounded in a problematic and arguably forged political narrative. This introduction of foreign elements in the creation of a nationalist urban identity is conducted in a manner seen around the world in the past centuries but in Macedonia, it is done a fairly indelicate fashion. However, this does not make it less North Macedonian, it only adds to its particular nature of the mixture of *local* and *imported* elements in the creation of *national*.

Literature Review

Within the discipline of architecture, the study of communist and Cold War architectural production has intensified since the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. Previously impenetrable to Western researchers, the countries behind the Iron Curtain and their archives have become available for examination, and the production of architectural knowledge has expanded into previously uncharted territories as a result. At the same time, authors from the former Eastern Bloc have not only encountered new source materials from the West but are also now participating in an East-West exchange of knowledge. Architectural research on the former Yugoslavia has recently shown an upsurge, and the recent MoMA exhibition, "Toward a Concrete Utopia: Architecture in Yugoslavia, 1948–1980," only emphasizes this trend, opening further questions on the nature of both Yugoslav communist politics and architecture, as well as the nationalist architectural production of the post-Yugoslav period.

Vladimir Kulić and Maroje Mrduljaš's *Modernism in Between: The Mediatory Architectures of Former Yugoslavia* (2012), their edited volume *Unfinished Modernizations: Between Utopia and Pragmatism* (2012), as well as Kulić's articles "'East? West? Or Both?' Foreign Perceptions of Architecture" (2009), "Building the Socialist Balkans" (2017), and "Orientalizing Socialism: Architecture, Media, and the Representations of Eastern Europe" (2018) serve as examples of internationally distributed knowledge about architecture and its relationship with politics in the former Yugoslavia. These publications assess the architectural production of the postwar period, the works of country's architects, and particularities of the socialist built environment. In *Unfinished Modernizations* numerous authors from the region

study the transfers of architectural knowledge in light of the then-newly founded Non-Aligned Movement.[11]

After perhaps Ivan Štraus's *Arhitektura Jugoslavije 1945-1990 [Architecture of Yugoslavia 1945-1990],* from 1991, Mrduljaš and Kulić's works are the first post-communist comprehensive studies of the Yugoslav architecture.[12] The authors establish the pathways between the pre-Yugoslav histories and their heritage, but the main elements of their monograph and the edited volume are the particulars of the architectural production of Yugoslavia and the country's political and architectural idiosyncrasies, firmly tied together. The authors' analyses of the projects of modernity and modernization in socialist Yugoslavia act as the groundwork for further examination of the region, both to be challenged and upheld.

Kulić and Mrduljaš's editions are accompanied by monographs such as Ines Tolić's *Dopo il terremoto: La politica della ricostruzione negli anni della Guerra Fredda* a Skopje (2011), and Brigitte Le Normand's *Designing Tito' s Capital: Urban Planning, Modernism, and Socialism in Belgrade* (2014), chronicling the reconstruction of Skopje throughout the 1960s, and the postwar construction of New Belgrade, respectively. Both Tolić and Le Normand follow the trends of post-communist architectural historiography and study one city and its urban transformations as influenced by the ideological transfigurations of the period. Tolić's 2017 article "Ernest Weissmann's 'World City:' The Reconstruction of Skopje within the Cold War Context" offers an in-depth analysis of the work of Croatian-born UN official and architect Weissmann who was

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[11] Maroje Mrduljaš, Nevenka Sablić and Saša Ban's *Betonski spavači* (directed by Ban) is a two-season documentary series examining the "unfinished modernizations" of the Yugoslav built environment. Expertly written and filmed, eight episodes analyze the Yugoslav modernist architecture of the Croatian Adriatic coast as well as monumental projects from other Yugoslav republics. *Betonski spavači* (The Concrete Sleepers, loosely translated from Croatian) unearths the richness of the architecture of the former union and posits the inevitable question of what happened to the Yugoslav built environment, and perhaps, what happened to Yugoslavia as well. See trailer at: http://www.hulahop.hr/hr/project/betonski-spavaci/.
[12] Ivan Štraus, *Arhitektura Jugoslavije 1945-1990* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1991).

in charge of the Skopje reconstruction project for the United Nations Special Fund; her chapter from the *Unfinished Modernizations*, "Japan Looks West," briefly examines the rebuilding of Skopje in light of the global Cold War perturbations. Tolić's work on Skopje is accompanied by scholarship produced by the Macedonian-born Australian architectural historian, Mirjana Lozanovska. Her articles "Kenzo Tange's Forgotten Master Plan for the Reconstruction of Skopje" (2012), "Brutalism, Metabolism and its American Parallel" (2015), and "Consciousness and Amnesia: The Reconstruction of Skopje Considered through 'Actor Network Theory'" written with Igor Martek in 2016, provide a range of information on the reconstruction of the Macedonian capital and the project's key players. While both Lozanovska and Tolić examine the earthquake and the reconstruction of Skopje, Tolić provides a more nuanced analysis of the broader geopolitical and architectural context of the events of the time period and their actors, while Lozanovska's work is perhaps more thematically diverse yet within the constraints of the field of architectural history. Both show unrelenting devotion to the contemporary trends in architectural historiography, and rarely address the experiences of the users of architecture, the citizens of Skopje.

In the field of anthropology, Fabio Mattioli's 2014 journal article "Unchanging Boundaries: The Reconstruction of Skopje and the Politics of Heritage" examines the state and treatment of Ottoman heritage during the Yugoslav and post-Yugoslav periods. The Macedonian Goran Janev's "Narration the Nation, Narrating the City" (2011) and 2015 book chapter entitled "'Skopje 2014': Erasing Memories, Building History" investigate the concepts of nation and memory in Skopje, and their problematic utilization by the present-day Macedonian

government.[13] Janev and Mattioli's articles are preceded by Rozita Dimova's *Ethno-Baroque: Materiality, Aesthetics, and Conflict in Modern-Day Macedonia* (2013). The anthropologist Dimova analyses the contemporary Skopje through anthropological, psychoanalytic, and semiotic approaches; she studies the present-day Skopje's urban particularities, but also the issues of minorities, emancipation, and ruptures, with a somewhat problematic approach to the prevailing issue of the Albanian minority group. Janev, Mattioli, and Dimova examine Skopje by utilizing anthropological methodologies; while Dimova's work is significantly more theoretical, Mattioli studies the Ottoman heritage in the city and the issue of national minorities in post-communist nation-building processes, and Janev explores the project of *Skopje 2014* and its particularities in regard to nation-building and city-building.[14] All three examine Skopje's built environment from the perspective of its inhabitants; the transformations of the city are explored as conductors and exhibitors of change. This scholarship juxtaposed with architectural historians' work shows the importance of the study of Skopje, but it also exhibits the deep disjunctions between the architecture scholars who focus on the city's urban fabric and anthropologists' dealing with heritage and minorities, a prevalent issue in Macedonian politics.

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[13] A great addition to Janev and Mattioli's work is that of Andrew Graan, in particular his articles "On the Politics of "Imidž": European Integration and the Trials of Recognition in Postconflict Macedonia" (2010) and "COUNTERFEITING THE NATION? Skopje 2014 and the Politics of Nation Branding in Macedonia" (2013).

[14] Along with the authors listed above, others make invaluable contributions. See: Derek Senior's *Skopje Resurgent*, Ian Davis and Jack C. Fisher from the 1960s and 1970s; for more recent works see: Ognen Marina, Divna Pencic and Jasna Stefanovska. For scholarship dealing with nationalism and nation-building in Macedonia, see Keith Brown's *The Past in Question: Modern Macedonia and the Uncertainties of Nation* (although somewhat simplistic at certain points, Brown's book serves as a good introduction into the history of national projects in Macedonia). For further reading on the history of Yugoslavia and nationalism see the inimitable Sabrina P. Ramet's *Nationalism and Federalism in Yugoslavia, 1962-1991* and *The Three Yugoslavias: State-Building and Legitimation, 1918—2005*, as well as Misha Glenny's *The Balkans: Nationalism, War, and the Great Powers, 1804-2011.* Ophelie Véron's excellent doctoral dissertation, "Deconstructing the Divided City: Identity, Power and Space in Skopje," is a great source of information about Skopje's heritage, architecture, and the city's inhabitants. The local authors offer scarce publications on the topic of the contemporary Skopje, some of the best examples are Jasna Mariotti and Divna Pencic's "Changing Perspectives of Urbanity during Socialism and after: The Case of Two Neighborhoods in Skopje" (2010) and Jasna Stefanovska and Janez Koželj's "Urban planning and transitional development issues: The case of Skopje, Macedonia" (2012). The extensive work of the Skopje based trio of Ana Ivanovska Deskova, Vladimir Deskov, and Jovan Ivanovski provides an invaluable input into the architecture of the city predominantly during the communist period but also today.

The sources above demonstrate the same trend noted in scholarship on communist and post-communist architecture in Eastern Europe. As the field of architectural history expanded in the aftermath of the end of communism in the late 1980s in Europe, the analyses of the architecture and politics of the era permeated the realm of architectural and urban historiography. The earliest publication was Anders Åman's *Architecture and Ideology in Eastern Europe During the Stalin Era: An Aspect of Cold War History* (1992), a historical inquiry in the relationship between architecture and politics of the Cold War period in the Soviet-influenced East. Almost two decades later, Greg Castillo's pivotal *Cold War on the Home Front: The Soft Power of Midcentury Design* (2009) examines the political powers of modernist design. More recent publications, Kimberly Elman Zarecor's 2011 *Manufacturing a Socialist Modernity: Housing in Czechoslovakia, 1945-1960* and Emily Pugh's 2014 *Architecture, Politics, and Identity in Divided Berlin*, address the particularities of the period in different states of the Eastern Bloc. Similar to works of Tolić and Le Normand, we can see here the post-communist trend of monographic works focusing on one particular state or city, and the relationship between its urban development and the communist era politics.

Outside of the field of architectural history, the anthropologist Krisztina Fehérváry's extensive study of the Hungarian socialist city and class in *Politics in Color and Concrete: Socialist Materialities and the Middle Class in Hungary* (2013) and the sociologist Virag Molnar's inquiry into the formation of state and its relationship with architecture in *Building the State: Architecture, Politics, and State Formation in Postwar Central Europe* (2013) create a broader narrative of the events that transpired in the processes of the creation of postwar Cold War communist states. Together, they allow for an insight into the minutiae of the intertwined creation of modernist cultural and urban production and the Soviet- and socialist-influenced

state. When it comes to Skopje, this narrative is missing and the city is studied only in its particulars, not as a whole.

The overall analysis of literature outlined in this document follows a clear trajectory: the relationship between architecture, politics, and ideology is presented as inescapable, influencing one another in cycles and in transforming and transformative modes. As such, it accounts for Eastern and Southeastern European architectural production in the second half of the twentieth century as a recursive cycle in which politics modifies architecture, and architecture then modulates politics. Conversely, the post-communist architecture is scrutinized through the severe political shifts taking place, in particular in regard to the expanding problematic of fervent nationalism within the political sphere. Together, they provide a discourse of the creation of the Cold War built environment.

Theoretical framework and research methodology

The overarching theoretical framework of my dissertation is the study of nationalism and nation-building in the aftermath of the World War II and in the decades since the fall of communism. As great empires ceased to exist during the 1950s and Third World countries forged their path to independence, optimistic scholars of nationalism determined the era of nation-building to have been completed, rendering nationalism as a prevalent tool of post-imperial and post-colonial quest for independence as obsolete. In the Balkans—as throughout the world, as a matter of fact—this proved to be inaccurate. In different variations through the decades, the national problematic saturated the Yugoslav political realm for the duration of the country's state-socialist existence and erupted with an unforeseen vengeance in the 1990s. My dissertation examines these processes as inextricably tied with architectural production of each

period; the built environment serves not only a passive tool in the creation of national identities, but an active participant and conductor of change.[15]

My project is inevitably informed by canonical works of authors such as Benedict Anderson, Ernest Gellner, and Yannis Hamilakis; the concepts of *imagined communities* and *national imagination* remain powerful tools in understanding the complex particularities of the Yugoslav nation-building project. Still, my dissertation is even more so informed by works of Maria Todorova, Mark Mazower, and Malcolm Anderson who examine the notions of the Balkans and its place in Europe as well as the problematic of resurgent nationalisms believed to be lost to the postwar years. Todorova's work on Balkan and Balkanization and the place of the region within the context of Europe—both real and imaginary—has influenced scholars of the Balkans since its original publication in 1997.[16] Mark Mazower provides a poignant insight into the history of the Balkans and the deeply problematic notion of 'ethnic hatreds' that have been used to entice violence in the 1990s Yugoslavia, while Malcolm Anderson offers a well-detailed account of the resurgence of nationalism in the recent period and discusses the flawed assumption of the era of nationalism to have been left in the early postwar years.[17] Amongst others, works of post-Yugoslav authors such as Gordana Rabrenović and Dubravka Žarkov provide an indispensable introduction to the issues of post-communist nationalisms in the region. A theoretical foundation of my dissertation, the study of nationalism and nation-building, and

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[15] For an important take on the distinctions between Eastern European *ethnic* and Western European *civic* nationalism, see John Gledhill, "The Power of Ethnic Nationalism: Foucault's Bio-Power and the Development of Ethnic Nationalism in Eastern Europe," *National Identities* 7, no. 4 (2005): 347–68.

[16] The problematic concept and terminology of "balkanization"—the bloody and war-induced fracturing of union-states such as Yugoslavia—has been utilized since the early 1990s and the demise of the Yugoslav federation. In the recent years, the term has been increasingly replaced with that of "Southeastern Europe" in European politics due to the negative connotations of the earlier one. The prejudice of the "violent" Balkans nations, however, perseveres in Central and Western European politics and consciousness.

[17] Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997)., Malcolm Anderson, *States and Nationalism in Europe since 1945* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), and Mark Mazower, *The Balkans: A Short History* (New York: Random House LCC, 2007).

their relationship with architecture is further intertwined with the studies of political and economic modernity.

Each chapter of my dissertation expands the study of the Yugoslav and post-Yugoslav nation-building by supplementing it with an analysis of a prevalent architectural issue of the given time period: urbanization and modernization, modernist architecture and urban planning, brutalist architectural explorations, and contemporary neoclassical renovations. Different decades and different political and architectural problematics created a more expansive narrative of the creation of one nation and its built environment in the midst of the Cold War negotiations and the post-communist political and urban permutations.

I develop my dissertation through temporal stages. In the first chapter, I study the early postwar decades of the rebuilding and construction of Skopje and the formation of early Yugoslav national and urban identities. Here, I analyze the project of modernization as conducted in a newly minted communist union. The projects of urbanization and industrialization play significant roles in the processes of the creation of a new postwar country and its complex national particularities. The second chapter examines the decade of the United Nations-facilitated production of plans for the reconstruction of Skopje; the immense project was an offspring of both Yugoslav diplomacy and UN politics, and its study serves as an inquiry into the role of architecture as a tool of diplomacy, a display of change as well as its conductor. The third chapter of my dissertation focuses on the creation of Skopje in the aftermath of the departure of international community; the construction of the brutalist city that came to characterize the Macedonian capital also functions as a study of the transfers of architectural knowledge, and the role of transformative Yugoslav economy and local expertise. Finally, the closing chapter of my dissertation assesses the contemporary resurgent nationalisms as entwined

with architectural production as well as the present-day understanding of the concepts of modernization and socialist modernity as explored in previous decades and as understood today.

For the purposes of my work, I examine legal documents, plans, and designs produced for the United Nations' competitions for Skopje, and I study newspapers, journals, and magazines from the period. I inspect photo- and video-documentation available throughout the region's institutions, as well as documentary and feature films. To amend the issue of poorly documented present-day refurbishing of the city, I study newspaper and journal articles, as well as the few available designs, and I analyze photographic documentation of the contemporary Skopje. I have conducted interviews with architects and citizens of the Macedonian capital who have lived through the earthquake and the city's reconstructions in the 1960s, and today, and I juxtapose the oral history of the citizens of Skopje with that of the official documents and traditional narratives. To establish a broader account of the political and architectural events that have transpired in the region since the end of the World War II, I study the daily political and urban developments as they perpetually produce and reproduce the urban fabric and the urban reality of Skopje.

The problematic of sources—archival, as well as primary and secondary literature—arose as the main issue of this project. Besides the concern that certain periods have been poorly documented by the Yugoslav and Macedonian governments—such as the early postwar decades and the 1970s and 1980s—archival data mainly addresses political events and bureaucratic minutiae of the second half of the twentieth century, and rarely offers an insight into the urban and architectural projects in the city. My main apprehension in the process of research and writing of this dissertation was an overwhelming secondary literature pertaining to the post-earthquake reconstruction and the role held by the United Nations in the process as opposed to

the lacking sources examining the decades prior and after. The archival data in Skopje concerning the 1960s rebuilding of the city turned further problematic due to the perturbations of the political shifts of the early 1990s and the poor management of available sources: in April 2014, the storage unit where the documents were kept—by private citizens as the Macedonian government did not deem them of any value—burned and all records are now lost. To mitigate this issue, I use secondary sources that had examined the archive prior to its destruction—in particular the work of Ines Tolić—and I juxtapose that information with the archival data as pertaining to Macedonian and Yugoslav politics, economy, and heritage preservation.

History

In the early morning hours of July 26, 1963, an earthquake measuring 6.9 degrees on the Richter Scale struck the Yugoslav city of Skopje. The earthquake was devastating, rendering over 80 percent of the city unlivable. In the following decades Skopje was rebuilt under the patronage of the United Nations and the Yugoslav government, a radical urban reconstruction project in the delicate game of Cold War politics. Today, Skopje stands a paradigmatic city of the twenty-first-century Balkans; past and present collide in its built environment, the city's neo-liberal politics permeate every aspect of urban development. In front of the brutalist architectural backdrop, the heritage of Ottoman and Yugoslav pasts clashes with ostentatious statues of Alexander the Great and Philip II of Macedon.

Skopje is the capital of the Republic of North Macedonia; the city's population is just over half a million.[18] The city dates back to 4000 BC. Founded during the Neolithic period as

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[18] Since 1991, and during the contentious twenty-seven years, the Greek government vetoed any Macedonian diplomatic effort over the dispute concerning the official name of the Macedonian state. In 2018, the Macedonian and Greek prime ministers signed the Prespa Agreement and thus changed the name of the Macedonian state to the

Scupi some 10 kilometers northeast from the modern-day Skopje, the city was moved to its

present location after a devastating earthquake of AD 518. Ruled by Romans, Byzantines,

Serbians, and Bulgarians, Skopje came under Ottoman rule in 1392 and remained a part of the

expansive empire until its death in 1912. The years of Ottoman reign proved vital for the creation

of Skopje's urban fabric, and by the time the empire ceased to exist, the Macedonian cities were

built in a typical fashion of small peripheral urban settlements found throughout the former

Ottoman world. During the trepidations of the interwar years, Macedonia became a part of the

Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes in 1918 (Kingdom of Yugoslavia as of 1929), and in

1944, it became one of the six Yugoslav socialist republics. In the aftermath of the World War II,

Macedonians became an ethnic group for the first time, their official language Macedonian. In

1991, the Socialist Republic of Macedonia seceded from the Yugoslav federation in an unusually

peaceful manner and declared its independence.

The urban history of Skopje, and of Macedonia for that matter, is partly similar to that of

other countries in the region. As is the case with cities in other former Yugoslav republics,

different rulers had left different architectural marks on Skopje, creating a built environment that

"brought large architectural traditions into proximity that is rarely found elsewhere."[19] In the

Macedonian capital, small Ottoman houses fuse with concrete high-rises of the Yugoslav era;

shops in the local Bazaar clash with modernist shopping centers that had flourished in the

Yugoslav economy of self-management. Still, the earthquake of 1963 made the greatest impact

on the destruction and creation of the city's built environment, an impact felt to this day.

Republic of North Macedonia. Previously, the country was referred to as FYROM (the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia) in all official foreign affairs, and as the Republic of Macedonia internally. In my dissertation, I use the term 'Macedonia' for the period prior to 2018, although acknowledging the name of the country as FYROM during the 1991-2018 period.

[19] Maroje Mrduljaš and Vladimir Kulić, *Modernism In-Between: The Mediatory Architectures of Socialist Yugoslavia* (Jovis, 2012). 23.

The two decades of a modernizing postwar progress of Skopje were brought to a halt on July 26, 1963 when the city crumbled to the ground in the early morning hours of what was to become a hot summer day. The newly completed infrastructure and architectural edifices came down on their unsuspecting tenants; the earthquake created a deep break in the urban development of the city. The 1960s and 1970s were the decades of city's urban growth: the 1963-1970 period was characterized by the United Nations' and Yugoslav projects for the city's reconstruction, and the 1970s by the production of Skopje's brutalist architecture. The newly found independence, democracy, and capitalism brought upon the new urban, political, and economic concerns. The 1990s encountered the new urban plan for the inner-city ring, and ultimately ended in the unforeseen and singular neoclassical and neo-Baroque architectural transformation of the *Skopje 2014* project.[20] Today, since the right-leaning nationalist government was removed from power in 2016, we see a new change: the abandonment of all neoclassical alterations. The question of handling of yet another layer of urban heritage looms large.

Chapters Overview

My dissertation is comprised of six segments: an introduction, conclusion, and four substantive chapters. They develop chronologically and overall follow the trajectory of examination of the relationship between architecture and politics, nationalism and nation-building. However, each chapter also has a distinctive thematic, one characteristic for either the time period in general or for Skopje in particular.

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[20] For reading on Skopje's often disregarded 1997 city plan, see Ognen Marina and Bojan Karanakov, *Skopje Unseen City* (Skopje: City of Skopje, 2015).

The first chapter examines the postwar Skopje, and the new city that arose on the foundations of midcentury nascent modernism and on the grounds of the new communist Yugoslav federation. The rarely studied period in Macedonia—overshadowed by the 1963 earthquake and even the monumental constructions of the 1970s—, it displays trials of a new state, both its national and urban formations. The first chapter mainly relies on literary sources produced by local authors examining not only the contemporary Skopje and its ever-present Ottoman past, but the also the larger Yugoslav region. This chapter is heavily based on information from secondary literature and some scarce archival data. Theoretically, as throughout the dissertation, I employ the study of the Yugoslav nation-building project, and in this chapter, I particularly focus on the modernizing projects of industrialization and urbanization employed in the construction of a postwar socialist city.

The second chapter comes from the largest source of data; the only available archival material in regard to Skopje's architecture comes from this period, however, it only pertains to the bureaucratic aspects of the earthquake and reconstruction. The secondary literature is abundant and thus in this chapter I examine and juxtapose the data available in archives, newspapers, and interviews with the scholarship produced on the topic. I examine the archival data from Skopje, from the United Nations archive, as well as other institutions throughout Europe and the United States. I study the initial responses and reconstruction plans as they were produced, and I juxtapose them with narratives pertaining to Skopje that developed in the last sixty years. In this chapter, I study the Macedonian capital as the city of "international solidarity" and the city that heavily emphasized the concept of "brotherhood and unity" in its reconstruction. I inquire into the lesser known aspect of the rebuilding of Skopje: that of Yugoslav side in the global architectural and political collaboration.

Similar to the circumstances of the first chapter, the third one explores an understudied period of 1970s and 1980s. The analysis of the construction of brutalist Skopje by local and Yugoslav architects perseveres on the scholarly periphery of the UN-facilitated production of city plans completed in the decade prior. This chapter utilizes the few available local sources, and heavily relies on journals, newspapers, and video-documentation. I study an approximately twenty-year period of the making of brutalist Skopje. Understudied and undocumented, the construction of 1970s and 1980s Skopje offers a story of the creation of a local iteration of a global architectural movement; it allows for an insight into transfers of knowledge that came from the UN-sponsored fellowships and from the global collaborations established by Yugoslav communists. This chapter also addresses the expanding problematic of minorities in Skopje and their urban presence, and continuous negotiations of urban identities.

The final chapter of my project—the study of contemporary and post-Yugoslav urban production unfolding in the era of resurgent and violent nationalisms—mainly relies on recent anthropological and architectural scholarship juxtaposed with photo documentation, newspaper articles, and extensive interviews I conducted during fieldwork. The last chapter of my dissertation offers an insight into the contemporary transformations of Skopje and their relationship with twentieth century politics and the past century's architectural production. However, the neoclassical modifications of the city center of the Macedonian capital do not only show the problematic socio-political present-day shifts and deepening of the relationship between architecture and politics, but they also unveil the problematic of the booming twenty-first-century nationalism, resurgent in Southeastern Europe and further. This chapter advances the examinations of the issues of Ottoman heritage in the post-communist Yugoslavia and the

post-communist Balkans, and it unearths the challenges of yet another layer of urban heritage, that of the communist and modernist Yugoslav federation.

Conclusion

In the aftermath of the 1963 earthquake, Skopje was regarded a city of "international solidarity" and an urban exemplification of "brotherhood and unity." Conversely, today Skopje is characterized as the "capital of kitsch"[21] and North Macedonia is known for its problematic architecture as much as for its political transmutations and decades-long political dispute with the neighboring Greeks. The city that was built on the premises of modernist mid-century planning and brutalist architecture of the 1970s now stands dressed in a neoclassical attire embodying the past that never was. The question of the relationship between the two historical and political periods echoes loudly as tourists stroll from Kenzo Tange's modernist housing structure named the City Wall and Janko Konstantinov's brutalist marvel of a Post Office complex, across the Macedonia Square, passing by the controversial statue of Alexander the Great, and toward the Ottoman bazaar and its small shops.

Still, can we really claim either holds higher architectural value than the other? And if so, how can we make that distinction and attribution of significance? Why is the kitsch—if we can even use that term—more problematic than the brutalist mastodons of the Yugoslav era? Is one Venturi's decorated shed and the other the duck? Or is it perhaps because one was executed through competitions, following urban plans, and without accusations of money laundering? Is this even the lens through which architecture can and should be discussed? My dissertation

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[21] Marc Santora, "Dancing Nymphs and Pirate Ships: Notes from a Capital of Kitsch."

explores this problematic, historicizes it, and further contributes to the discourse of what is one city's urban identity and how it interplays with the state's socio-politics and economy.

The architectural history of Skopje is seemingly easily divided between the highly regarded twentieth century international and modernist reconstruction of an earthquake-torn city and the heavily criticized contemporary nationalist-infused urban transformations, together creating an antagonistic architectural narrative. The reality is never as simple. My dissertation's contribution is not only to the study of the twentieth century architectural developments in Yugoslavia, but also in the establishing of a link between the political and architectural events of the Yugoslav period and contemporary Macedonia, intrinsically entwined. My scholarship is valuable for understanding not only of the Macedonian twentieth- and twenty-first-century architecture, but also that of the communist and post-communist Balkans and Southeastern Europe. Ultimately, the study of the reconstructions of Skopje is a study of the Cold War space and contemporary post-socialist urban and political production in Southeastern Europe. It is also a study of newly democratic and capitalist societies entrenched on the path of national and urban self-identification.

I visited Skopje for the first time in May 2017. My friends took me around the city to show me what they mockingly referred to as the city's 'architectural highlights' before we were to go to a local *kafeana* or one of the city's numerous restaurants.[22] The nightlife of Skopje paints a picture of a lively city. Its inhabitants are joyfully crammed into small bars and restaurants, chatting and singing to live music as the night draws to an end and the sun rises

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[22] *Kafeana* (Macedonian)—a bistro type establishment found throughout the Balkans. Unavoidable features are alcoholic beverages, coffee (earlier in the day), an array of small (meze) plates, and live music. Macedonians are known for favoring a lively social life; bars and restaurants are always full regardless of the time of the day or year. The local gastronomy, partly influenced by the long Ottoman history and the proximity of Greece, contributes to a dynamic entertainment culture.

above the Vodno Mountain. In the evening hours of any given day, Skopje and its people leave an impression of unmitigated indulgence, a feat not so often or so easily encountered in Yugoslav successor states further west. The next day, after we crossed the Macedonia Square and I awkwardly stared at the statue of Alexander the Great, my friend took me to knock on the façade of the recently completed Archaeological Museum and State Archive of North Macedonia. Yes, the locals take their guests to quite literally touch the new Skopje. The neoclassical columns were hollow, the echoing emptiness inside loud. The building felt unnatural, almost like a stage. We had our lunch on a pirate ship docked in the shallow Vardar River overlooking the Eye Bridge and the Archaeological Museum.[23] Kale fortress in the distance loomed large over the nearby Ottoman Bazaar.

A day later I visited Goce Delčev student dormitories, Georgi Konstantinovski's 1969 brutalist mastodon erected tall in a part of Skopje that is yet to see a Grecian column. University students told me the city abandoned them; the sewer system was barely functioning, and the walls were depleting.[24] It has been estimated that *Skopje 2014* city center remodeling cost over 680 million Euros of, quite possibly, laundered money.[25] The architectural and political tale of the North Macedonian capital, a tale of one city's role in the creation of a state and its nation, functions as a display and catalyst of transformation. The city's exaggerated features are the reason why it is so intriguing, yet not singular in the post-communist world. Perhaps just a bit hollower, and with a more striking façade.

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[23] Macedonia is a land-locked country with no access to sea.
[24] Interviews with students conducted in May 2017.
[25] Sinisa Jakov Marušić, "'Skopje 2014' Revamp Cost Exceeds 600m Euro," *BalkanInsight*, August 31, 2015, https://balkaninsight.com/2015/08/31/skopje-2014-revamp-price-tag-swells-08-31-2015/

Chapter 2:

Between the Two Catastrophes: Building the Nation and Architecture in Yugoslavia and Skopje, 1945-1963

"I have visited Skopje three times and each time found a new city. The Macedonians (What do we know about them?) have so visibly altered their city that it presented a phenomenon peculiar to itself to the visitor without a timetable. It was a city that had everything: Byzantine history, Ottoman history, European warfare, the gunpowder of the so called 'Balkan powder barrel', and the glory of New Yugoslavia."[26]

—Aleks Eriksson, Swedish writer and journalist

Skopje has been recreated over the centuries by various political entities and their architects, all aiming to make an urban mark on the city. As such, the Macedonian capital presents a fusion of historical architectural remnants and twentieth- and twenty-first-century architecture. A rapid and sweeping modernization project spearheaded by the nascent Yugoslav federation sought to mediate the centuries' worth of Ottoman architecture and recreate the city as a paragon of socialist urbanization and modernity in the Western Balkans. This chapter excavates some of these layers to study the city of today and the strenuous path it took. In this chapter, I

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[26] Nikola Popović and Branko Lustig, eds., *Skopje 26. VII 1963.* (Zagreb: Information Centre Skopje City Council, 1963). n/a.

examine the Ottoman and early twentieth century Skopje, as well as the pre-earthquake city, and I explore the postwar Yugoslav impacts of ideology and politics on the process and project of the ever-coveted socialist modernization. I argue that the study of architecture created during the early postwar period Skopje—now mostly missing due to the earthquake destruction and subsequent demolition—illustrates the particularities of the intertwined nature of politics and urban construction in the Balkans. I contend that the architecture of Skopje played a significant role in both the construct and negotiation of the national identities of Macedonia and Yugoslavia writ large.

The examination of the architecture of postwar Skopje advances the investigation of the role of contested heritage in nation-building undertakings. This chapter explores the particularities of the modernization processes in regard to the urban and political heritage of the Ottoman Empire, merged with the Yugoslav communist project. The study of the first two decades of the construction of postwar Skopje facilitates a better understanding of political and architectural tools—the ideological mechanisms that were being put in place following World War II and the formation of the Yugoslav socialist state—utilized in the creation of the post-earthquake city and its relationship with the Yugoslav modernization and nation-building.

The two points of interruption in the development of the early postwar architecture of Skopje—World War II and the July 1963 earthquake—serve as bookends of an unexamined urban progress. If we acknowledge Skopje as Macedonians did in the aftermath of the 1963 earthquake, as a "dynamic structure, as an organism," we must establish the "indicators of its structure."[27] I argue that the study of the two-decade postwar period of the early development of Skopje and the Macedonian national and communist Yugoslav identities furthers identification

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[27] *Skopje 1963* (Zagreb: Agencija za fotodokumentaciju, 1963). 9. (Translated by author.)

and examination of such indicators, and expands the narrative of the built environment of Skopje and its urban projects and processes.

Examining the connections between architecture and politics in Skopje's early Yugoslav period (1945–1963) is a challenging task, since the archival data and academic research almost exclusively address the decades after the earthquake of 1963. The extensive scholarly focus on the post-1963 reconstruction of the city has overshadowed accounts of Skopje's growth in the early Yugoslav period, and there is no literature to be found outside of the tourist prospects for those visiting the Macedonian capital and rare literary sources pertaining to heritage problematic. To understand the modernizing developments that occurred in Skopje during the Yugoslav era, it is paramount to study the processes of industrialization and urbanization that transpired throughout the Yugoslav federation and juxtapose them with the sparse information available in regard to the creation of the urban fabric of the Macedonian capital during the formative early decades of the Yugoslavia.

The Architecture of Postwar Yugoslavia

In 1945, most of the country's "major cities lay in ruin."[28] Throughout the Yugoslav federation, the five years of World War II were "both a metaphorical and a very physical break,"[29] one that signified the beginning of the communist rule and the modernizing rebuilding of the country. In the aftermath of the war, the communist political leaders planned to transform the Yugoslav cities at a significantly larger scale than during the interwar years, and the communist political revolution "yet again transformed the face of the city in an unprecedented

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[28] Maroje Mrduljaš and Vladimir Kulić, *Modernism In-Between*. 27.
[29] Mrduljaš, Kulić. 27.

manner, as the authorities pursued an aggressive of rapid industrialization, and modernization."[30]

Yugoslav cities were envisioned in an anti-historical fashion with an unrelenting focus on

technological achievements and advancements, New Belgrade—a newly envisioned capital

based on the Soviet model—serves as a powerful example (fig. 1). The existing built

environment was to be reconstructed and architecturally adjusted to the tenets of a modern

communist society and its building technology. The celebration of the new and modern was

envisioned as a guiding principle in rebuilding projects across socialist postwar Yugoslavia. The

country was to be urbanized and industrialized.

The political leaders of the communist federation only rarely considered the narratives of

the past in the construction of a Yugoslav future. Ottoman heritage in Yugoslavia was framed as

inherently Muslim, a signifier of both the centuries-long Ottoman occupation and the

contemporary religious identity of a substantial percentage of Yugoslav citizens. Although

nominally embracing all peoples of Yugoslavia and granting them constituency through an all-

encompassing notion of "brotherhood and unity," the communist government neglected to

extend rights and entitlements equally to all its citizens, to Muslim minorities in Macedonia in

particular. This disparate treatment was further manifested by the government's disregard for the

country's so-considered Muslim—Ottoman—architecture and cultural heritage. The

development of the urban fabric progressed in a similar manner throughout the country and

specifically focused on modernization—urbanization and industrialization—, particularly in the

late 1950s and 1960s. All urban heritage was designated to become a part of the new urban and

national modernity, or it was deemed as backward and was slated for demolition to clear the path

toward the socialist modernization. The latter mainly took place in former Ottoman cities, in

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[30] Stefan Bouzarovski, "City Profile: Skopje," *Cities*, no. 28 (2011): 265–77. 266.

Priština, Kosovo for example, where the local Bazaar and its surrounding neighborhood were fully destroyed.

When Macedonia became a part of the Yugoslav federation in 1945, the country's urban fabric was integrated into a larger narrative of unification and modernization that permeated the entire socialist state. The architecture of the cities of postwar Yugoslavia bore traces of their political and urban histories, and some distinctions between them were evident. The baroque sacral architecture that prevailed in northwestern cities such as Zagreb and Ljubljana demonstrated a long history of association with Western political and architectural centers, in particular those in Austria; in the east, Belgrade displayed the influences of neo-Byzantine architectural elements in public and sacral structures; the facades of the southernmost Yugoslav cities of Priština, Sarajevo, and Skopje spoke to centuries of Ottoman reign. Politically, economically, and architecturally, the republican capital cities of the young communist federation were substantially different: the leaders of the Yugoslav government were conscious of the deeply entrenched cultural, ethnic, and political distinctions among the federation's republics, and to counter these, government leaders employed the political narrative of "brotherhood and unity." The dogmatic slogan designating the official policy toward Yugoslav nations and national minorities and granted them equal standing and protection before the law intended to guide their drives toward all-encompassing industrialization and urbanization. The republics' distinct cultural heritage was acknowledged but relegated to a secondary concern to that of unification on the path forward.

To rebuild, modernize, and urbanize the new country were the primary concerns of the Yugoslav leaders. In order to establish a functional communist state, the war-torn cities had to be rebuilt, and people left without homes were to be resettled. The Yugoslav leaders directed

rebuilding in a purposeful manner and with a clear objective, and although "reconstructing the devastated country was of paramount importance," the new Yugoslav state made a political and structural emphasis on "fully modernizing the country practically overnight, following the model of the Soviet First Five Year of the nineteen-thirties."[31] The weighty Soviet political and economic impact was thoroughly manifested in the first three years of the existence of Yugoslav federation, and the amicable relations between Josip Broz Tito and Stalin influenced the creation of the Yugoslav political, economic, and cultural policies. After the first Yugoslav elections confirmed Tito as the federation's president in 1945,[32] the country emerged as a Stalinist-like state "ruled by a single party and its charismatic leader, with a constitution modeled after the Soviet constitution from 1936, with a highly centralized state-run economy."[33] Consequently, and quite effectively for a country reeling from a disastrous war, the "private architectural practices had also been nationalized" by 1947, following in the footsteps of the overall economy and construction industry.[34] Architecturally, the nationalization of the Yugoslav architectural firms based on the Soviet model that ensued promptly after the war only emphasized this, and the employment of the Soviet-developed Socialist Realism was all but certain.

Economic historian György Péteri argues that this state-driven modernization was characterized by a concept of a "take-off to modernity" from a place of great backwardness, typical of communist countries throughout Eastern and Southeastern Europe during the postwar

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[31] Maroje Mrduljaš and Vladimir Kulić, *Modernism In-Between*. 27-28.

[32] Josip Broz Tito was the first and lifelong president of Yugoslavia. He died in May 1980, his death being the first step in the series of events that culminated in the bloody Yugoslav wars and the dissolution of the federation in the 1990s. Tito was born in Kumrovec, Croatia in 1892, and by 1910 he had joined the Socialist Party of Croatia. After World War I, he joined the Communist Party, partaking in their activities that led to his arrest and imprisonment in 1928. He was appointed as the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia in 1939. During the war, Tito served as the head of the Liberation Army, ultimately freeing the country from the Axis forces. In 1945, Tito was declared a prime minister of the newfound Yugoslavia and later declared its lifelong president.

[33] Vladimir Kulić, "National, Supranational, International: New Belgrade and the Symbolic Construction of a Socialist Capital," *Nationalities Papers: The Journal of Nationalism and Ethnicity* 41, no. 1 (2013): 35–63. 37.

[34] Maroje Mrduljaš and Vladimir Kulić, *Modernism In-Between*. 28.

years.[35] European communist leaders envisioned a modernization project of a global scope and content, where the "global pretensions" of the communist governments and their ideologues were based on the notion of "catch up" with the advanced "core societies" of Western Europe and North America and the superimposition of socialism onto those societies in due time.[36] In 1947, a vast industrialization project was "launched with the inauguration of a wildly ambitious five-year plan."[37] The country's leaders' main goal was to "transform Yugoslavia into a modern, industrialized state based on an egalitarian social order,"[38] and to achieve this goal, Yugoslav politicians—and leaders of different republics—aimed to industrialize the country and build factories and power plants, roads and railroads, as well as to uproot peasants from rural areas and transform them into workers, consequently eliminating the former class-based social order based on agrarian production.

The architectural and urban scholars have frequently discussed the architecture of postwar Eastern and Southeastern Europe by its role in the representation of nation-building projects of the period. Throughout the region, the built environment served as a visual expression and facilitator of the national progress. The display of these postwar political fundamentals was illustrated on the cities' facades, in urban plans, and in overall architectural practice. Architecture, facilitated by architects and urban planners, forged an unbreakable bond with the politics of the period, and the impact of this relationship characterized the creation of new cities and reconstruction of war-torn ones within the communist world. This relationship ran in both directions; just as the region's politics impacted and assisted the production of architecture, so

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[35] György Péteri, "Nylon Curtain - Transnational and Transsystemic Tendencies in the Cultural Life of State-Socialist Russia and East-Central Europe," *Slavonica* 10, no. 2 (2004): 113–25. 114.
[36] Péteri. 114.
[37] Brigitte Le Normand, *Designing Tito's Capital: Urban Planning, Modernism, and Socialism in Belgrade* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2014). 25.
[38] Le Normand. 25.

too did architecture condition the creation of communist spaces. Producing and reproducing communism was a perpetual process facilitated by the built environment.[39]

Modest attempts to employ the tenets of Socialist Realism, as prescribed by diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, characterized the early postwar period of architectural transformations in Yugoslavia. Problems arose almost immediately: the small number of architects proved insufficient to fulfill the government's exceedingly ambitious plans. The already modest number of architects deemed suitable by the communist government to enact its vision were men—and a few women—mostly educated in the centers of modernist architecture throughout western Europe and practiced in the studios of modernist masters. They all but refused to indiscriminately adopt the canons of Soviet-imposed Socialist Realism, as they had been essentially commissioned to do by the government.

Another obstacle along the road to "Sovietization" was that that the majority of Yugoslav architects were partisan soldiers in the past war and heavily left-leaning even before the World War II. Consequently, they wielded substantial political power themselves. The most prestigious Yugoslav architects of the postwar era, including Edvard Ravnikar in Ljubljana, Nikola Dobrović in Belgrade, and the brothers Reuf and Mehmed Kadić in Sarajevo, all participated in the Liberation War, and some have even taken part in "left-wing politics before the war."[40] These architects staunchly rejected the neoclassical and folkloric elements of the Soviet architectural style. The government's attempt to employ Socialist Realism in the formation of a national architecture and the Soviet doctrine that the style represented were briefly championed by the only architectural journal of the period, *Arhitektura*. Though widely promoted by the

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[39] For further reading, see David Crowley and Susan E. Reid, "Socialist Spaces: Sites of Everyday Life in the Eastern Bloc," in *Socialist Spaces: Sites of Everyday Life in the Eastern Bloc*, ed. David Crowley and Susan E. Reid (Oxford: Berg, 2002), 1–23.
[40] Maroje Mrduljaš and Vladimir Kulić. *Modernism In-Between*. 34.

publication, Soviet-influenced monumental structures were nowhere to be found in Yugoslav cities, and "self-consciously functionalist structures […] which testified to continuity with prewar modernism" had been erected throughout the country's urban centers, even in the immediate postwar years defined by close political affiliation with the Soviet Union.[41] Yugoslav communists' brief effort to establish Socialist Realism as *the* architectural style of Yugoslavia ultimately shown to be only superficial, yet it introduced the state's leaders' stance toward architecture as a tool of diplomacy and political affiliation.

Only one building had ever been constructed in a Socialist Realist style in a three-year period between 1945 and 1948: The Trade Union Hall in Belgrade (fig. 2). The administrative building was designed by Serbian architect Branko Petričević and was only completed in 1957.[42] Its facades show only minimal impacts of Socialist Realism. The end of the Soviet architectural influence came with the end of amicable relations between Tito and Stalin in the autumn of 1948.[43] Yugoslav architects continued on a path similar to the one they had embarked on in the interwar period, now even more freely utilizing the architectural principles of the International Style frequently employed in the West. While in the Soviet Union and within the countries of the Eastern Bloc the "aesthetics of socialist realism" served as the "visual manifestation of Sovietization," the western-influenced capitalist countries in the Balkans—mainly, Greece and

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[41] Mrduljaš, Kulić. 33.

[42] The construction of the multi-purpose Trade Union Hall, designed by Branko Petričić, started in 1947, and was completed in the period between 1953 and 1957, ironically, by the Soviet construction workers. In 2013, the building was declared a cultural monument. The building exhibits a much more constrained exploration of architectural Socialist Realism, in particular in comparison to that employed in larger Soviet cities.

[43] For further reading see: Vladimir Dedijer, *The Battle Stalin Lost: Memoirs of Yugoslavia 1948-1953* (Coronet Books, 1978), Ivo Banac, *With Stalin Against Tito: Cominformist Splits in Yugoslav Communism* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1988), and Jeronim Perović, "The Tito-Stalin Split: A Reassessment in Light of New Evidence," *Journal of Cold War Studies* 9, no. 2 (2007): 32-63.

Turkey—exhibited "sleek corporate modernism," a clear display of the "International Style modernism at the service of American Cold War propaganda."[44]

A Soviet invasion seemed the inevitable result of the clash between Tito and Stalin. In 1947, the previously amicable relations between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union ceded; the Yugoslavs sought ideological independence and to create a new kind of socialism for Yugoslavia, either unacceptable to Soviets. The prospect of war seemed certain. However, global political events elsewhere proved useful for the otherwise dire Yugoslav strategic position: due to an escalation of tensions between the Soviet Union and South Korea, Stalin's focus on the split with Tito waned.[45] Although the threat of Soviet military retribution faded, the reality of being the sole European communist country outside of the Soviet sphere proved to be taxing for the young state, both politically and economically.[46] Between 1949 and 1950, in an attempt to differentiate and renegotiate the Yugoslav political narrative and re-establish its place in European and global politics, the "party ideologues developed a new economic, administrative, and political model for Yugoslavia around the concept of workers' self-management."[47] The tenets of the Yugoslav self-management—in which the workers were granted ownership and some autonomy over production—brought upon a new ideological path of singular communist doctrine, urgently sought after the split with the Soviets.[48] As the historian Brigitte Le Normand

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[44] Vladimir Kulić, "Building the Socialist Balkans: Architecture in the Global Networks of the Cold War," *Southeastern Europe*, no. 41 (2017): 95–111. 104.

[45] During the Korean War, 1950-1953, the Soviet Union supported the People's Republic of North Korea against the United Nations by supplying them with arms, materials, and medical services.

[46] Although diminished in the 1950s, in the aftermath of the Soviet invasion into Czechoslovakia in 1968 and its violent crushing of the Velvet Revolution, the concern of a possible attack on Yugoslavia briefly reemerged.

[47] Brigitte Le Normand, *Designing Tito's Capital: Urban Planning, Modernism, and Socialism in Belgrade*. 74.

[48] Socialist self-management was employed in Yugoslavia in the early 1950s, both as an economic shift from centrally planned economy, and away from the Eastern Bloc countries that practiced it. Put simply, self-management is based on workers' self-directed work process. In broadest terms, the goal of self-management is to improved performance of workers by granting them ownership or autonomy over production. For further reading on self-management in Yugoslavia, see Edvard Kardelj, *Samoupravljanje u Jugoslaviji, 1950-1976* (Beograd: Novinsko-izdavačko preduzeće "Privredni pregled" – Beograd, 1977), and Saul Estrin, *Self-management: economic theory and Yugoslav practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

assessed, "unlike the so-called administrative socialism that existed in the Soviet Union, self-management supposedly enabled the working people of Yugoslavia to shape their destinies by running their own factories," and making profit-related decisions.[49] The change only further alienated the Yugoslav party leaders from the Soviet communist behemoth.

Left with no political or financial assistance from their former communist allies, the Yugoslav government stood in a dire need to form new international partnerships. In a striking historical move, the Yugoslav leaders turned toward the West. Tito's government managed to establish successful diplomatic relations with western democracies, all the while staying firmly on the path toward communism and resolutely loyal to the communist doctrine envisioned in the early twentieth century. The relations between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union improved in the years after Stalin's death and the subsequent Khrushchev Thaw; still, they never reached the same levels of cooperation as during the three years following World War II.[50]

Modernism as Political Representation

In Yugoslavia, modernism became the architectural expression of modernity and progress after 1948.[51] After the conflict with the Soviet Union, and in the midst of the early Cold War geopolitical fragmentation, architectural production and aesthetic experienced a fragmentation itself.[52] In Yugoslav republics, this came as an outcome of postwar transmutations and quest for

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[49] Brigitte Le Normand, *Designing Tito's Capital: Urban Planning, Modernism, and Socialism in Belgrade*. 75.
[50] For further reading on the history of Yugoslavia, see Misha Glenny, *The Balkans: Nationalism, War, and the Great Powers, 1804-2011* (New York: Penguin Books, 2012)., and Sabrina P. Ramet, *Nationalism and Federalism in Yugoslavia, 1962-1991*, 2nd ed. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992).
[51] The relationship of modernity and modernism, as its architectural representation, has been frequently examined in the past. For further reading, see Hilde Heynen, *Architecture and Modernity: A Critique*, Second printing (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1999)., and Duanfang Lu, "Architecture, Modernity, and Knowledge," *Fabrications: The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians, Australia and New Zealand* 19, no. 2 (2010): 144–61.
[52] Vladimir Kulić, "Building the Socialist Balkans: Architecture in the Global Networks of the Cold War." 104.

political survival. Positioned between two diametrically opposed spheres of influence, Yugoslav leaders envisaged architecture as an ideological tool to bridge the political discrepancies concerning East and West and to establish a path in between, a so-called third way in the bipolar Cold War division. To emphasize the nation's distinction from the two blocs even further, the Yugoslav communists' employment of "market socialism as its new modernization strategy"[53] a unique feature in the Cold War economy and politics. As a result, "this clean stylistic division between the East and the West" was mitigated through the country's "own version of socialist modernism, which highlighted the country's independence from either bloc."[54] The socialist modernism in Yugoslavia was conditioned not only by regional deviations from the tenets of the International Style, but also by the political organization of the state and its financial managing and political control of architectural production. Socialist modernism was one of a *socialist* state, stylistically influenced by the principles of the modernist architecture of Western Europe and the corporate architecture of North America, albeit the one adapted by the state in which it was developed, and based on the tenets of self-management and communism, and not capitalist free market.

In Yugoslavia, the post-1948 architectural transformation that followed the Tito-Stalin split was instantaneous. Architects and urban planners saw the break with the Soviet Union and the elaboration of self-management as a unique opportunity to "reaffirm the relevance of the functionalist approach."[55] In 1950, Neven Šegvić, the highly influential editor of *Arhitektura* magazine, published an "article openly criticizing socialist realism and defining prewar modernism as an acceptable heritage on which to draw."[56] Brigitte Le Normand argues that this

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[53] Brigitte Le Normand, *Designing Tito's Capital: Urban Planning, Modernism, and Socialism in Belgrade*. xviii.
[54] Vladimir Kulić. "Building the Socialist Balkans: Architecture in the Global Networks of the Cold War." 104.
[55] Brigitte Le Normand, *Designing Tito's Capital: Urban Planning, Modernism, and Socialism in Belgrade*. 74.
[56] Le Normand. 76.

was the moment when architects and urban planners took on a more significant role in the creation of the new Yugoslavia, and the professionals of the time period claimed that the true point of differentiation from the Soviet architectural tenets was the focus on the socialist individual, as opposed to the socialist collective. However, the Yugoslav architects Milorad Macura and Vladislav C. Ribnikar argued that nowadays "architects should not undertake to transform the culture of everyday life, but rather, adapt to the existing lifestyles of the working class."[57] Macura and Ribnikar's claim contrasts the approach employed during the early postwar years which aimed at the creation of the new socialist man through architecture and was heavily influenced by the Soviet planning doctrine. The creation of a socialist man was not a prerogative of post-1948 Yugoslavia, and Brigitte Le Normand writes that "there was no mention of developing a socialist consciousness or teaching former peasants modern ways of living."[58] Architecture's new role was to adapt to the needs of contemporary citizens as they were.[59] Yugoslav architects focused on the individual and their needs, as well as the needs of the multi-generational families often cohabitating in the same house or an apartment, noticeably breaking with Soviet design precedents, though quite similar to those employed in the West.

The mid-1950s brought a time of economic prosperity that influenced all spheres of living. Architectural production and dissemination of knowledge across Yugoslavia was no longer aligned with the centrally controlled economy employed in the Soviet Union, and although they showed similarities and impacts exerted by the western trends of the time period, it was not fully western, either. In the same manner it exhibited distinctiveness in its political and

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[57] Le Normand. 77.
[58] Le Normand. 78.
[59] A great example of the utilization of architecture, design, and propaganda in the construct of modern citizens is seen in the GDR. For further reading, see Greg Castillo, *Cold War on the Home Front: The Soft Power of Midcentury Design* (University of Minnesota Press, 2010)., and Eli Rubin, *Synthetic Socialism: Plastics and Dictatorship in the German Democratic Republic* (The University of North Carolina Press, 2014).

economic presence in the global arena of the postwar Europe and the Cold War, the architecture

in Yugoslavia presented an amalgamation of contemporary and historical influences.

Architectural historians Maroje Mrduljaš and Vladimir Kulić devote a substantial portion

of their pivotal book *Modernism In-Between: The Mediatory Architectures of Socialist*

Yugoslavia to the simultaneous development of architecture in the Yugoslav republics. The

authors argue that "Yugoslavia's constituent nationalities possessed their own distinct

architectural identities that reflected certain transhistorical continuity."[60] The concept of

Yugoslav national architecture was only enforced—unsuccessfully at that—during the interwar

years, and only persevered during that short era.[61] Mrduljaš and Kulić contend that during the

interwar period, each republic's identity was supposed to "blend, culturally and architecturally,

into a single one,"[62] yet the problematic top-down politics of national amalgamation of the

Kingdom of Yugoslavia never successfully facilitated such unification. The interwar concept of

Yugoslav architecture was promptly abandoned during the construction of the communist

Yugoslav federation, and the notion of federalism—based on the division of power between the

national government and other governmental units—played a vital role in the process of

utilization and creation of regional particularities in architectural expression.[63]

The notion of "Yugoslav architecture" was officially abandoned in the early 1950s. Long

and diverse histories of Yugoslav republics and their peoples contributed to the creation of the

country's built environment, yet the notion of *national* in regard to Yugoslav architecture was all

but omitted due to the local traditions and the abandoned effort to create a unified architectural

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[60] Maroje Mrduljaš and Vladimir Kulić, *Modernism In-Between*. 76.
[61] For further reading, see Aleksandar Ignjatović, *Jugoslovenstvo u arhitekturi* (Beograd: Građevinska knjiga, 2007).
[62] Maroje Mrduljaš and Vladimir Kulić, *Modernism In-Between*. 77.
[63] The concept of a federal government, as opposed to a unitary one, is based on the division of power between the national government and other governmental units, in the case of Yugoslavia, its constitutive republics.

style in the country. The problematic lay deep in the Yugoslav understanding of nationhood, and scholars such as the Slavicist Andrew Baruch Wachtel go so far as to argue that the reason for the decline and dissolution of the country rests in its failure to construct a national culture.[64] Still, if we acknowledge that a national Yugoslav architecture never existed, or that Yugoslav leaders failed to properly attempt to develop one, we can acquiesce that socialist modernist architecture was not only employed throughout the country, but it formed the architecture in Yugoslavia together with urban heritage and the vernacular.

Although not focusing on particular buildings, architectural historian Tanja Damljanović Conley allows for a somewhat deeper examination of the problematic of the Yugoslav national architecture. Damljanović Conley argues that in the aftermath of constitutional changes in 1963 and 1974 which legitimized the possible secessions of the Yugoslav republics, the "model of unified Yugoslav art and architecture already started to fade away."[65] Damljanović Conley identifies ethnic problems in the Yugoslav union dating back to 1918 and claims that the failure to construct a national architecture was inevitable due to the severe distinctions between Yugoslav ethno-nationalities. The author argues that the uncertainties of the national architectural project are inextricably tied to political processes, and "at the announcement of the political shifts and constitutional changes of the 1960s and 1970s, came the fundamental change in conceptualization of Yugoslav architecture."[66] Damljanović Conley maintains that the adjective Yugoslav in art and architecture only meant the "'art and architecture on the territory of Yugoslavia'."[67] The regional particularities remain produced through the intersection of

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[64] For further reading, see Andrew Baruch Wachtel, *Making a Nation, Breaking a Nation: Literature and Cultural Politics in Yugoslavia* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998).
[65] Tanja Damljanović Conley, "Conceptualizing National Architectures: Architectural Histories and National Ideologies Among the South Slavs," in *Nationalism and Architecture*, ed. Raymond Quek, Darren Deane, and Sarah Butler (London and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012), 95–107. 102.
[66] Damljanović Conley. 103.
[67] Damljanović Conley. 103.

modernist architectural principles and republics' urban histories. Ultimately, the Yugoslav national architecture can perhaps be best described as the one of dissonance.

While there was never a governmentally prescribed architectural narrative employed and utilized in all six republics, the main influence over architectural production in the country was derived from the major Yugoslav cities of Belgrade, Zagreb, and Ljubljana during the early years of communist Yugoslavia. The Serb, Croat, and Slovene modernist architects from the interwar period once again conveyed their impacts throughout the country; professionals from "established centers" were "deployed to the less developed republics" to facilitate the urbanization project, now under the auspices of the communist regime.[68] The republics' schools of architecture developed their respective styles under the guidance of both local and national architects and based on regional traditions and the tenets of the International Style (fig. 3).

Although the notion of a national architecture was all but non-existent, the architecture schools "existed between the borders of the same state, which fostered a variety of interactions between them."[69] Regional architectural expression was explored and exhibited in the Yugoslav cities' urban fabric but, as Kulić and Mrduljaš argue, rarely for the sake of nationalist representations, as "tradition was always in some way self-consciously filtered through the lens of modernity."[70] Macedonia was the only republic where urban production unfolded in a distinct manner: Macedonians were first recognized as a nation in 1945, and the "articulation of the national identity played an important role in the construction of Skopje as a capital."[71] Although the resulting built environment in Macedonia followed similar trends as the other republics, the

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[68] Maroje Mrduljaš and Vladimir Kulić, *Modernism In-Between*. 78.
[69] Mrduljaš, Kulić. 78.
[70] Mrduljaš, Kulić. 78.
[71] Mrduljaš, Kulić. 78.

local politicians and architects paid an elevated level of importance to the ideas and problematics of national representation.

Examining Skopje I: The Pre-Yugoslav Skopje, a City of Foreign Rulers

Since the beginning of Ottoman rule in Macedonia in the mid-fourteenth century until World War I, the architecture of Macedonia was created under the direction of Ottoman rulers and according to Ottoman political, religious, and urban laws and regulations (fig. 4).[72] The central economic feature of an Ottoman town or city, the bazaar, functioned as the heart of everyday activities, while the surrounding neighborhoods, *mahale*,[73] were concentrated around a relatively small, local mosque and served as the primary organizing element of private family life.[74] Single-family homes provided a refuge from the daily pressures of urban living. The narrow streets of the bazaar bustled with life during the day, small shops providing for the needs of the citizens of Skopje prior to retreating to their homes. The cessation Ottoman rule in 1913[75] indicated the shift in the built environment and construction of the cities in Macedonia, mainly manifested through "spontaneous urban development" and in the nascent independence of

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[72] For further reading on the creation of the Ottoman Skopje, see Grigor Boykov, "Reshaping Urban Space in the Ottoman Balkans: A Study on the Architectural Development of Edirne, Plovdiv, and Skopje (14th-15th Centuries)," in *Proceedings of the International Conference "Centres and Peripheries in Ottoman Architecture: Rediscovering a Balkan Heritage*, ed. Maximilian Hartmuth (Sarajevo: CHwB, 2011), 36–50.

[73] *Mahala* or *mahalla* is used in various languages, denoting an urban neighborhood unit. In Balkan languages, *mahala* is a word for neighborhood or a quarter, both in urban and rural environments. The term comes from Ottoman Turkish language and is traced further back to Arabic and the word *mähallä*, meaning 'to settle' or 'to occupy.' *Mahala* (plural: *mahale*) is a mostly autonomous unit, comprised of a school, religious buildings, government representatives, etc. In Macedonian, the term is translated to *maalo* or *maala.*

[74] I use the terms *carsi* and *čaršija* intermittently in this chapter, and throughout my dissertation. Only Sarajevo's čaršija is referred to as Baščaršija.

[75] The First Balkan War took place between 1912 and 1913. It was fought between the Balkans nations under the Ottoman reign and the Ottoman Empire. The end of the war signified the end of the Ottoman rule in the region.

Macedonian architecture and city building.[76] "Original organic urbanism," as described by authors Tihomir Arsovski and Nada Taskovska-Arsova, exposed the traits of local and regional artistic and urban expressions in architecture—mainly through the use of vernacular ornamental motifs—as well as the early signs of Europeanization, illustrated through the employment of neoclassical elements.[77]

After the departure of the Ottomans, Macedonia was once again under foreign rule. After 1913 the newly formed Kingdom of Serbia annexed Macedonia, and in 1918, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes absorbed Macedonia into the first union of the western Balkans states.[78] Architectural transformations were once again conducted as decreed by a foreign ruler, and foreign architects planned and constructed Macedonian cities, Skopje in particular. Macedonian national independence was rendered all but impossible, and the Kingdom "denied the Macedonians any linguistic, political or economic autonomy."[79] The production of the Macedonian built environment was largely executed in an early twentieth-century European Academism, the main architectural style employed from the Kingdom's capital of Belgrade, and championed by its architects.[80] Serbian architects transformed the formerly Ottoman city and ushered it into the new political and architectural era; consequently, these served as daily reminders of a foreign rule, neoclassical architecture an avid and ever-present reminder (fig. 5).

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[76] Tihomir Arsovski and Nada Taskovska-Arsova, *Staro Skopje: Prilozi za urbanata istorija od XIX i početkot na XX vek*, vol. 2 (Skopje: Gradski komitet za urbanizam i zaštita na čovekovata okolina - Skopje, 1988). 8. (Translation by author.)

[77] Arsovski, Taskovska-Arsova. 8. (Translation by author.)

[78] Known as the Kingdom of Yugoslavia as of 1929.

[79] Derek Senior, *Skopje Resurgent: The Story of a United Nations Special Fund Town Planning Project* (New York: United Nations, 1970). 43.

[80] Architectural Academism of the early twentieth century was characterized by monumental structures with pure geometric forms and symmetrical facades. The European architectural academism was primarily envisioned based on the standards of the French Academy of Beaux-Arts, and under the influences of neoclassicism.

The interwar shift from Ottoman architectural principles toward a European urban language signified the political realignment of the nation with the West. The political and architectural dominance of the Ottoman Empire came to its definitive end, and the Balkans states embarked on a path of architectural modernism associated with central and western Europe. The architectural development of modernism was seen as a facilitator and an initial sign of modernity in the region. Regional architects initiated a more organized type of construction in regard to building codes and materials, and conducted the development and expansion of the city's neighborhoods in a more structured manner, all causing for the inevitable clash between the established building methods now abandoned by the local builders and newly employed architectural ideologies.[81] The changes were slowly taking place, extinguishing the "oriental building style," and creating the city's built environment in a distinct "European architectural style."[82] Still, authors and architects Radovan Miščević and Fedor Wenzler argue that the overall neglect of Skopje during the interwar period had caused a slow development of industries and the overall retardation in the expansion of the city.[83] Compared to other cities of the Kingdom, Skopje's urban and social progress was significantly delayed. Skopje remained a relatively small town until the end of World War II; its population was only 68,000 in 1931.[84]

The examples of architectural shifts are seen in the construction of publics buildings. Designed by the Croat Josip Bukovac in 1921, the Macedonian National Theater was completed in 1927 in a European academism style similar to structures found throughout the rest of the Kingdom (fig. 6). Serbian architect Bogdan Nestorović designed the 1931 National Bank (fig. 7).

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[81] Arsovski, Taskovska-Arsova. 9. (Translated by author.)

[82] Radovan Miščević and Fedor Wenzler, *Skopje: Novi centar grada* (Zagreb: Urbanistički institut SRH, 1965). n/a. (Translated by author.)

[83] Radovan Miščević and Fedor Wenzler later came to share with Kenzo Tange and his team the first prize for the reconstruction project of the Skopje city center.

[84] Derek Senior, *Skopje Resurgent: The Story of a United Nations Special Fund Town Planning Project*. 43.

The structure's façade reveals more constrained elements of the architectural style of the era; the Bank demonstrates a slight removal from the archetypal academic neoclassicism of the National Theater. Finally, Velimir Gavrilović, an architect from Belgrade, designed the Railway Station constructed between 1937 and 1940 (fig. 8). Atypical for its time, the architecture of the building united historic and folkloric references—mainly neo-Byzantine—as well as modern architectural principles.[85] The neoclassical and foreign imposed architectural elements made a distinctive mark on Skopje. As seen in the images, the city center of Skopje was characterized by distinctive Western architecture of the era, but even more importantly, it was an architecture imposed by a foreign ruler creating a new city, both stylistically and structurally: Ottoman center has diminished in significance and the new city square started to emerge.

Not all works of architecture followed the pattern prescribed by the Kingdoms neoclassical architects who problematically argued that academism was a signifier of modernity. Erected in the vicinity of Wilhelm von Baumgartner's Officers' Hall (1925-1929)—Russian-Yugoslav architect Vasily Wilhelm Fyodorovich von Baumgartner, sent from Belgrade, designed an imposing neoclassical structure (fig. 9)—the Social Security District Office in Skopje differs considerably from the academism preferred by Serbian architects (fig. 10).[86] Designed by Croatian architects Drago Ibler and his student Drago Galić and completed in 1934, the SSDO building makes use of functionalist and modernist architectural principles. Ibler and Galić's streamlined and simple design preceded the omnipresent modernist architectural production of the postwar period in Skopje. The building displays Ibler and Galić's concern with social issues

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[85] For further reading on Macedonian interwar architecture, see Kokan Grčev, *Stilska ergonomija: arhitektonskite stilovi vo makedonskata arhitektura od 19 vek u periodot meǵu dvete svetski vojni* (Skopje: Institut za folklor "Marko Cepenkov"--Skopje, 2002).
[86] Goran Mickovski and Vladan Djokic, "Okružni ured za osiguranje radnika u Skopju arhitekta Drage Iblera, 1934.," *Prostor* 1, no. 49 (2015): 82–95. 87. (Translation by author.)

and their negotiations in built environment, as well as the role of architecture as a socially

organizing element, a topic that would once again become relevant throughout the country in the

second half of the twentieth century.[87]

These examples suggest that the architecture of Skopje followed a trend of architectural

production developing across the region. Cities all over the Kingdom demonstrated a similar

clash between the official style of academism and a nascent modernism. Even more striking were

the diverse national origins of the architects responsible for building much of interwar Skopje.

Three Croats, two Serbs, and a Russian employed by the Kingdom's governing bodies created

the architecture of the Macedonian capital, leaving a mark that would only be erased by the

earthquake decades later. In their works in Skopje, architects from Serbia and Croatia explored

architectural trends and shifts of the period, furthering the urban mark of foreign rule in

Macedonia through the creation of its cities' built environment. Josif Mihailović Jurukovski's

creation of the first masterplan for Skopje, a "work of a cosmopolitan native,"[88] presents a slight

removal from the omnipresent foreign production of the Macedonian built environment.

Mihailović, the mayor of Skopje during the interwar period, had "studied and practiced in

France, England, and the United States," as well as in Belgrade.[89] The mayor of Skopje had

strong ties to the Serbian paramilitary Četnik movement[90] during the First Balkan War (1912-

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[87] Mickovski, Djokic. 88. (Translated by author.)
[88] Maroje Mrduljaš and Vladimir Kulić, *Modernism in Between*. 27.
[89] Mrduljaš, Kulić. 27.
[90] Četnici, or Chetniks in English, were a Serbian paramilitary group that terrorized the Bulgarian population and leaders in Macedonia during the interwar period, as well as recruited local population into labor camps. They fiercely propagated the concept of a 'Greater Serbia.' During the Second World War, although technically aligned anti-Axis, Chetniks often collaborated with the German forces. They used terrorist tactics against Muslim and Croat population, as well as against Partisans. They killed and assassinated civilians and politicians and burned villages for the purpose of 'cleansing' of Muslims and Croats from the areas that were to become the 'Greater Serbia.' After the end of the war, Chetniks were banned from Yugoslavia. In the late 1980s, as the Yugoslav federation moved toward its bloody end, the movement experienced a revival, supported by the Serbian president—later war criminal—Slobodan Milošević.

1913),[91] and was often credited with the ambitious, though never completed, transformation of the backward, "Oriental" Skopje into a modern city. Mihailović's 1929 masterplan introduced strictly European features of urban planning (fig. 11): a "monumental axis, civic parks, garden suburbs;" the plan also anticipated an expansion of the city from 70,000 to 150,000 inhabitants.[92] The plan proposed an alteration of the Ottoman neighborhood and envisioned a transformation of the Bazaar to "form a commercial piazza of a rather monumental form"[93] in a Westernizing architectural fashion.

Mihailović's plan exemplified the urban and political issues of the era. The planner's allegiance to Serbia and its rulers in Belgrade illustrates the concern of a continuous external influence responsible for urban changes that took place in Skopje in the interwar period, even when the designs were produced by a Macedonian architect. The urban developments that took place in the Macedonian capital were directed by the Kingdom's center of political power in Belgrade, as the development of the urban fabric of Skopje was not impacted in any significant manner by local politicians or architects nor was Mihailović's plan executed; the mayor's plan remained only on paper, and by the beginning of World War II, Skopje retained many of its Ottoman architectural features, mainly in regard to "architectural forms and types of buildings."[94]

The damage of World War II was felt severely throughout Yugoslavia. The war destruction violently altered Skopje's urban cityscape, and the ruination of the Macedonian cities

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[91] First Balkan War took place between October 1912 and May 1913. It was fought between the troops of the declining Ottoman Empire and the united forces of the kingdoms of Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece, and Montenegro, the Balkans League. The War was disastrous for the Ottomans who ultimately lost over 83% of their lands in the Balkans; the former Ottoman territories were divided between the countries of the League, albeit in an unsatisfactory manner that further factored in the in events of the World War II.
[92] Alexandra Yerolympos, *Urban Transformations in the Balkans (1820-1920): Aspects of Balkan Town Planning and the Remaking of Thessaloniki* (Thessaloniki: University Studio Press, 1996). 44.
[93] Yerolympos. 44.
[94] Yerolympos. 44.

and countryside was overwhelming (fig. 12). The Germans bombed Skopje during the war, and the raids of 1941 were particularly destructive to the city.[95] All progress accomplished during the interwar years was abruptly brought to nothing, and the Axis forces that occupied the country between 1941 and 1944 divided it between Bulgaria and the Italian-occupied Albania. The Bulgarian occupation forces imposed harsh conditions on the Macedonian citizens, causing many to convert into Yugoslav communists as early as 1943. The partisans finally ousted German forces from the country later that year. In 1944, the People's Republic of Macedonia was established as one of six republics to form the new People's Federative Republic of Yugoslavia.[96] An era of reconstruction and nation-building was to start. In the aftermath of the war, the Ottoman urban model was completely abandoned in all reconstruction projects and city planning, and Skopje, like other Yugoslav cities, was to be rebuilt on the premises of modernist urban planning.

Examining Skopje II: The Yugoslav City

Immediately following the war, the city of Skopje lay in chaos. Five years of warfare and the destruction caused by the German and Bulgarian forces left the city torn and in a need of reconstruction, as they had the rest of the Yugoslav federation. Relatively underdeveloped, the socialist Republic of Macedonia and its capital now partook in an ever-consuming modernization project conducted by the new Yugoslav communist government. Transformations to Skopje's built environment had already taken place in the period prior to the Second World War, and

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[95] Stefan Bouzarovski, "City Profile: Skopje." 266.
[96] For the history of Macedonia during the Second World War, see Александар Стојановски, Иван Катарџиев, and Данчо Зографски, *Историја на македонскиот народ* (Скопје: Македонска книга, Култура, Наша книга, 1988).

under the auspices of monarchy's architects. Then, "Skopje's city center was transferred to the south bank of the river Vardar,"[97] and concentrated around a newly constructed central square (fig. 13). The Kingdom's architects built the new neighborhoods in a "radial pattern," emanating from the city square in "either a historicist neoclassical, eclectic, secession or modern style."[98] With the beginning of the war, all progress was halted, and in its aftermath, the postwar urban reality of Skopje was rendered a dire one, replete with demolished buildings.

In 1944, for the first time in its history, Macedonia was proclaimed a state, its people officially declared Macedonians, now a part of the socialist federation. With the swift and all-encompassing industrialization and urbanization, Macedonia embarked on the project of modernization at an unprecedented pace. Once again, the new state "transformed the face of the city in an unprecedented manner;"[99] Skopje was thus born anew, a display and a tool of political change and progress.

By 1948, city administrators adopted a new regulatory plan designed by the Prague-born architect Luděk Kubeš (fig. 14). In his design, the architect extensively focused on the expansion of traffic patterns to accommodate the rising number of vehicles, and modernist housing and governmental structures became a prominent part of the city's urban core and its immediate surroundings. The Czech's architect's plan focused on the city center area; it proposed its expansion and further emphasized its centrality in regard to the Bazaar and Kale Fortress on the other side of the Vardar River. The plan made clear steps in further westward expansion of the city and the representational focus on the main city square. Kubeš proposed a plan that emulated CIAM's—*Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne*—principles of "clear, functional

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[97] Stefan Bouzarovski, "City Profile: Skopje." 266.
[98] Bouzarovski. 266.
[99] Bouzarovski. 266.

zoning, freestanding buildings with ample light," and Le Corbusier's radiant city concept, generating a plan that was "radically different to the previous layout and brought about a conceptual realignment."[100] Kubeš propositioned an extension of the city's footprint along an east-west axis formed by the Vardar River. The Macedonian architects and architectural historians Ana Ivanovska Deskova, Vladimir Deskov and Jovan Ivanovski argue that the Yugoslav Skopje was envisioned as a "prosperous administrative and industrial centre," architecturally expressed in "elegant administrative, institutional and residential buildings […] hallmarked by rectilinear forms with plane surfaces free of ornamentation."[101] Kubeš's plan proposed not only the creation of a modern city but also a modern society, his urban project serving as the "basis for the lively and healthy development of future generations to which socialist society is giving every political, economic and cultural opportunity."[102] In 1963, the earthquake interrupted the execution of plans, and Kubeš's proposal was subsequently abandoned.

During the 1945-1963 period, the modernist Yugoslav Skopje slowly emerged from the ruins of the World War II and promptly became a part of the expansive Yugoslav modernization project. The architecture of postwar Skopje was of diverse character, designed by Macedonian architects and those from other republics, often from Serbia, Croatia, and Slovenia. The buildings erected in the decades of the 1950s and early 1960s exhibited modernist tendencies and emphasized the modernist architectural trajectory taken upon by all Yugoslav republics. The earliest example, Edo Mihevc's 1952 design for the hotel *Palas* in the Macedonian lakeside city

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[100] Adolph Stiller et al., "Skopje. Architektur Im Mazedonischen Kontext / Macedonian Architecture in Context," 2017, http://www.airt.at/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/PA_Mazedonien_11102017_engl.pdf.
[101] Stiller et al.
[102] Divna Penčić, Biljana Spirikoska, and Jasna Stefanovska, "Skopje Urban Transformations: Constructing the Built Environment in Different Socio-Political Context," in *Unfinished Modernizations: Between Utopia and Pragmatism*, ed. Maroje Mrduljaš and Vladimir Kulić (Zagreb: UHA/CCA, Croatian Architect's Association, 2012), 200–215. 204.

of Ohrid, illustrated the early trends of a rationalist approach (fig. 15).[103] The Slovene architect designed the hotel consisting of a main block set to accommodate guestrooms and two side structures with restaurants and bars. The core section of the hotel overlooked the lake, with the top floor fashioned in a true Corbusian manner: an open terrace covered by a pergola. Mihevc planned open spaces for social activities, and large glass panels to enclose the restaurant, both features showing clear modernist narrative characteristic for the time period.[104]

The Croatian architect educated in Vienna, Slavko Löwy, crafted the design for the *Grand Hotel Skopje* in 1954, a structure erected in a recognizable, albeit simplified version of the International Style (fig. 16). Completed in 1964, Löwy's hotel exhibited a flat façade with small enclosed balconies. It housed almost two hundred guestrooms. Centrally located on the south bank of the Vardar River, the hotel served for decades as a central gathering point for the citizens of Skopje and those visiting the city.[105] In the immediate proximity of the *Hotel Grand*, Aleksandar Serafimovski's five housing structures stand along the Vardar River (fig. 17). Together with the hotel, these buildings constituted the central vertical component of the 1950s Skopje. The Macedonian-born architect Serafimovski designed the structures in 1952; the buildings were completed in 1959. The buildings ensemble comprised five vertical residential components joined by a horizontal slab segment hosting administrative offices, later adjoined by a commercial center. Postcards and photographs from the period represent what would come to be a typical visual representation of the Yugoslav cities' new constructions: housing and

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[103] Although not in Skopje nor affected by the 1963 earthquake, I use the example of the hotel *Palas* in Ohrid to examine the early modernist architecture in the Yugoslav Macedonia.

[104] The hotel in Ohrid was unaffected by the earthquake and was renovated during the early 2000s. Today, it is still in function.

[105] The hotel has been fully renovated in 2000 and is now a part of the Holiday Inn Group.

commercial structures intertwined, accentuated vertical and horizontal lines, and white-painted facades.[106]

The construction trends of the postwar period and the Yugoslav trend of political and economic liberations, expansion of trade, and market liberalizations allowed for the construction of shopping centers throughout the country. Another Macedonian architect, Slavko Brezoski, designed the *NAMA* department store, a multi-purpose complex incorporating commercial and administrative functions, completed in 1959 (fig. 18). Located on the Macedonia Square in Skopje's strict city center, *NAMA* adjoined the Serbian Milan Zloković's Avant-Garde Trade Center from 1933; the Macedonian architect eclectically utilized the design principles of the neighboring older structure. Brezoski's project emphasized the centrality of the square as well as its function as a public gathering space within the city.[107]

The early 1960s in Skopje brought upon more explicit explorations of the tenets of the Internationally Style, adopted and adapted in their Yugoslav iteration. Serbian born Branko Petričević's 1961 design for the *Elektro-Makedonija* electric company's headquarters (completed in 1962) boasted an uninterrupted glass façade and demonstrated construction improvements and technological advancements of the Yugoslav construction industry (fig. 19). Petričević, the architect of the Trade Unions building in Belgrade, the only structure designed in the style of Socialist Realism, displayed in his design for the *Elektro-Makedonija*[108] an unreserved commitment among Yugoslav architects to the principles of the International Style in its socialist

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[106] *GTC* housing complex stands today in its original form. Although there have been plans within the *Skopje 2014* project to apply a Baroque-sque façade to the towers, they were never executed, in part due to a loud outcry of the citizens of Skopje.

[107] *NAMA* building served its original purpose until 2003 when it was purchased by the Commercial Bank of Macedonia (Komercijalna banka na Makedonija). In 2005, the structure was sold to the Italian *TI-EN* foundation and was subsequently renovated, the project partially based on Brezoski's original plans.

[108] The building of *Elektro-Makedonija* survived the earthquake and served its original purpose until the 2000s. However, the government of the independent Macedonia left it to slow ruination, and under the auspices of the *Skopje 2014* project, the building is currently under renovation, soon to be uncovered in a new neoclassical garb.

iteration.[109] The design trajectory shows a slow but steady introduction of modernist architecture in Macedonia, both facilitated and thwarted by Yugoslav politics and economy. While modernist structures were a part of Yugoslavs' urbanization project, the unfortunate financial reality of the postwar state failed to allow for the construction of a more daring works of contemporary architecture.

The buildings completed during the 1950s and early 1960s indicate an embrace of the International Style in Macedonian architecture, as well as the progress that took place throughout the years prior to the earthquake. Significantly, the architects working in Skopje were of diverse backgrounds. Some were Macedonian, like Brezoski and Serafimovski, while others came from Croatia, Serbia, and Slovenia. The diverse nationalities of the architects demonstrate the entwined nature of the architectural production and knowledge transfers in Yugoslavia, however only from outside inward.[110] Without exception, all were devoted modernists and pioneers within the Yugoslav architectural discourse. Common traits between these men are easily identified: some, like Edo Mihevc for example, were Yugoslav partisans and important participants in the liberation of Yugoslavia in World War II; while others, like Slavko Löwy who studied in Vienna, were educated in the western Europe. A younger generation of architects played a paramount role in the creation of local schools of architecture and profoundly impacted the city's future built environment. Slavko Brezoski was educated in Belgrade under Zloković and was a professor at the University of Skopje for almost twenty years, spreading modernist ideas and ideals acquired from Zloković and further expanded during his prolific career.

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[109] All data on buildings listed in this paragraph was obtained from the digital archive of MARH (Makedonska ARHitektura). http://marh.mk, accessed July 16, 2018.

[110] Unsurprisingly for the time period, the architects from Bosnia and Herzegovina and Montenegro are lacking in this narrative, although they have been employed in their own republics, in particular in Bosnia and Herzegovina as was the case with Prague educated Kadić brothers.

Although a unified Yugoslav national architecture was practically non-existent, modernism was still employed throughout the country. Architects and planners fully employed modernist design principles in the construction of both housing and governmental buildings in Skopje, the built environment of the city thus came to align with a broader Yugoslav trend of using architecture in service to socialist modernism and modernization. This trend was however "not officially endorsed" by the communist government but was the result of a "synergy of continuing modernist traditions and the country's new cultural openness."[111] The period that followed the early postwar years of rampant reconstruction and modernization shows an introduction of the debate on urban heritage in the architecture of Yugoslavia and its republics. However, the debates on the condition and inclusion of urban heritage of the centuries long past remained mostly superficial.

Heritage and Nation-Building in Yugoslavia and Macedonia

The role of heritage in the construction of a state—particularly in Yugoslavia, a postwar state enmeshed in the project of nation-building and modernization—is a precarious one. In Yugoslavia, the long histories of its six republics brought into the federation a myriad of tangled historical narratives, and Yugoslav cities revealed centuries-long amalgamations of politics and built environments. The Yugoslav communist government may have officially promoted the inclusion of all heritage into the country's present; however, the new state's overwhelming focus on modernization relegated any question of heritage to a marginal position. The historic Ottoman bazaars and neighborhoods in the southeastern parts of the country and the baroque and neo-Byzantine buildings of the northern and northeastern regions of Yugoslavia all fell behind the

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[111] Maroje Mrduljaš and Vladimir Kulić, *Modernism In-Between*. 37.

politically and economically predominant phenomena of industrialization and urbanization of

Yugoslav cities, and heritage came to be associated with the very social and political

backwardness that socialist leaders sought to disavow.

Ottoman heritage proved to be even more contested than baroque or neo-Byzantine one.

Cultural anthropologist Fabio Mattioli argues that recent historical research "has shown that

Yugoslavia did continue the politics of the Kingdom of Serbs and Slovenes [*sic*] in pushing post-

Ottoman subjects to leave for Turkey,"[112] in particular in Macedonia, effectively rendering

Ottoman heritage in the newfound state as being of lesser value and with diminished number of

users. Still, only the Turkish-speaking Muslims in Macedonia, along with Albanians and Turks,

were affected by this, and those of Slavic origin living in Bosnia and Herzegovina successfully

integrated into the state, arguably due to their loyalties to the Yugoslav concept of "brotherhood

and unity." Still, the treatment of Ottoman heritage in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Macedonia

was negotiated and mediated by the authorities.[113] Ottoman cities endured the destruction of

World War II, yet their treatment in the project of Yugoslav reconstruction and modernization

offers a story of inequality and lack of representation.

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[112] Fabio Mattioli, "Unchanging Boundaries: The Reconstruction of Skopje and the Politics of Heritage," *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 20, no. 6 (2014): 599–615. 608.

[113] The negotiations in Yugoslav architecture as pertaining to the Ottoman heritage and the postwar socialist city are never better exemplified than in the proposal for the reconstruction of the Sarajevo's Ottoman Bazaar, as elaborated in Dijana Alić and Maryam Gusheh's pivotal 1999 article, "Reconciling National Narratives in Socialist Bosnia and Herzegovina: The Baščaršija Project, 1948-1953." Alić and Gusheh examine the postwar negotiations in the rebuilding of Sarajevo's Ottoman trade center, its Čaršija, and they explore the work conducted by Dušan Grabrijan and Juraj Neidhardt, prolific modernist architects and authors of the seminal 1957 book, *Arhitektura Bosne i put u savremeno (Architecture of Bosnia and the Way Toward Modernity)*.
Unlike in the other Yugoslav republics which were populated by the majority of the peoples of one nationality (Slovenes in Slovenia, Serbs in Serbia, etc.), in Bosnia and Herzegovina the situation was vastly different, and the population of the republic constituted of Muslims (as of 1968 declared as a nationality and implemented as such in 1971 census), Serbs, Croats, Roma, Sephardic Jews, and others. The uniqueness of a multi-religious city such as Sarajevo surely allowed for a distinct treatment of the city's heritage, in particular that of Ottoman origin, and the events of the 1950s further support this claim. Nonetheless, the work of Grabrijan and Neidhardt proves other elements vital for the creation of Yugoslav cities and the treatment of the Ottoman heritage as well: the significance and impact of the country's architects' influence and their purposeful negotiation of the tenets of modernism within the secularization of the Yugoslav socialist state.

The early postwar years primarily saw the communist leaders' focus directed toward rebuilding of the country, its prompt industrialization and urbanization, as well as the construction of housing for the rapidly de-ruralizing population. In Skopje, the Ottoman Bazaar dating back to mid-fifteenth century and its surrounding neighborhood became a part of the multi-cultural and multi-national narrative of the Yugoslav peoples and were both swiftly secularized, any religious affiliation stripped. During the war, the Ottoman Bazaar "remained largely unchanged,"[114] and the Yugoslav communist government furthered the Westernization processes started by the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and the attempts to rectify the "'irregular' construction of the Ottoman built environment."[115] The Yugoslav government did attempt to facilitate an inclusion of Ottoman heritage into the built environment of the new state, albeit in a newly secularized and Westernized form.

Just as is the case with the newly constructed buildings of the 1950s and early 1960s in Skopje, the documentation on the topic of handling of Ottoman heritage in the early Yugoslav period is scarce, if not non-existent, and we can only theorize about the plans for the Bazaar prior to the 1963 earthquake. This can mainly be done by juxtaposing them to urban developments that took place throughout the country in regard to the Ottoman urban fabric. The Yugoslavs' focus on industrialization and secularization, as well as its treatment of Ottoman heritage in Sarajevo and Priština—preservation and destruction, respectively—allows for an assumption that the employment of modernist urban plans played a significant role in the handling of Ottoman heritage (fig. 20 and fig. 21). Limited archival reports show that in the early 1960s the partial implementation of Kubeš's urban plan changed the appearance of the area and cut it off from the

[114] Goran Janev, "'Skopje 2014': Erasing Memories, Building History," in *Balkan Heritages: Negotiating History and Culture*, ed. Maria Couroucli and Tchavdar Marinov (Surrey, England; Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate, 2015), 111–30. 123.
[115] Fabio Mattioli, "Unchanging Boundaries: The Reconstruction of Skopje and the Politics of Heritage." 605.

city with the construction of modern boulevards.[116] The boulevards were followed by the construction of larger apartment buildings, and the small single-home neighborhoods surrounding the Bazaar were demolished as they presented obstacles in the creation of open areas around the buildings proposed by the modernist urban planners. Ultimately, the removal of Ottoman heritage in Skopje evaded the Bazaar; the complex stayed in a vacuum of sorts—from the historical and cultural perspective too important for demolition—, but consequently isolated and out of context of the developing city center of the Macedonian capital (fig. 22).

Prior to Tito's split with Stalin in 1948, and most likely influenced by the Soviet political and construction paradigm, the Yugoslav communist government took a stance promoting a "complete removal of the cultural heritage."[117] However, as the influence of the Soviet Union diminished after 1948, the Yugoslav government's position toward heritage and its role within the nation's urban spaces shifted as well. Mattioli pointedly states that the treatment of heritage in Yugoslavia was inextricably tied to the understanding of religion in the country, and as religious freedoms expanded in the later years, the socialist regime took "to an extreme the secular thesis of privatizing religion: the communist party crowned itself as the mediator of access to the public sphere."[118] The communist leaders saw Ottoman heritage as inextricably connected to Islam and, by controlling the religion, the state effectively controlled its architectural representation and vice versa. The treatment of the Muslim population in Macedonia was deemed a high priority, since the Muslims in Macedonia were not Slavic

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[116] Konstantin Dimitrovski, "Urban Space and Memory. The Old Business Quarter of Skopje," in *Reading the City: Urban Space and Memory in Skopje*, ed. Stephanie Herold, Benjamin Langer, and Julia Lechler (Berlin: Herausgeber der Reihe Sonderpublikationen, 2010), 81–89. 85.
[117] Fabio Mattioli, "Unchanging Boundaries: The Reconstruction of Skopje and the Politics of Heritage." 606.
[118] Mattioli. 607.

Macedonians but, rather, Albanians, many of whom still maintained firm ties to Albania, a foreign nation in poor diplomatic relations with Yugoslavia.

In multi-ethnic Yugoslavia, "not all identities or religions were equally welcomed […] not all were allowed the same weight and presence in public;"[119] this was the case in particular with Muslims, and even more so with the Albanian Muslims in Macedonia. The politicization and mediation of Ottoman heritage in Skopje became an element of aid in the elaboration of Macedonian nationality and national identity, as well as its display in the city's urban fabric. In such political environment, the treatment of Ottoman heritage—the Bazaar and the many mosques of Skopje—was carefully negotiated, finally resulting in its thinly veiled sequestering within the city's core and relegation to a superficial signifier of a multi-cultural and multi-religious country. The Ottoman heritage was carefully mediated, and as such served as a facilitator of the Macedonian nationhood, and the Yugoslav multi-national *Slavic* statehood. In the end, in the period between 1945 and 1952, "specific urban politics across the republics that first erased and then reshaped (in the following years) the presence and aesthetics of post-Ottoman subjects," and national heritage identifiers became acceptable only if they fit into the "secular and developmental imprint of the Yugoslav state."[120]

Political scientists, and at times architectural scholars, ascribe the notion of a 'divided city' to Skopje. The urban juxtaposition between the two ethnic groups—the ethnic Christian Orthodox Macedonian majority and the Muslim Albanian minority—has been evident since the early communist Yugoslav period and even earlier, dating back to the interwar years of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. The divided urban, social, and political sides were represented in the

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[119] Mattioli. 608.
[120] Fabio Mattioli, "Losing Values: Illiquidity, Personhood, and the Return of Authoritarianism in Skopje, Macedonia" (New York, The City University of New York, 2016). 212-213.

built environment of modern Skopje, the Ottoman Bazaar and its surrounding neighborhood. However, French geographer Ophélie Véron rejects the ubiquitous discourse of the division of Skopje dating back to Ottoman era, and argues that "Skopje's variegated urban form did not take root in the Ottoman period, but between the World Wars."[121] Véron further claims that "these divisions are the result of the dominant strand in the Yugoslav Kingdom's urban politics, which sought to break with a seemingly backward, 'Oriental' city to establish a new 'modern' Christian one and which, by doing so, created the image of a two-faceted city."[122] Per Véron, the officials of the interwar Kingdom deemed the division of Skopje as unavoidable, in particular due to the fact that "as opposed to the countryside, urban centres were still home to a majority of Turkish and Muslim communities and stood as symbols of imperial domination."[123]

The rejection of the past and its heritage was quickly rendered inevitable, in particular within the project of countering of the narrative of the "imperial domination" and the reality of the empire in question being Muslim. Nevertheless, attempts to root out the Ottoman past were only partly successful. Unlike in the case of the short period of interwar urban production, the rampant modernization and quest for modernity of the communist Yugoslav government nominally included the city's Ottoman heritage. Yet, the tenets of Yugoslav modernization quickly proved incompatible with the total incorporation of the Ottoman past into the Yugoslav present. The Yugoslav project of "brotherhood and unity" seemed at the time sufficiently potent to maintain the *status quo* in Skopje, all to create a city that would represent the socialist Yugoslavia and subdue the narrative of urban and social division.

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[121] Ophélie Véron, "Deconstructing the Divided City: Identity, Power and Space in Skopje" (London, University College London, 2015). 133.
[122] Véron. 133.
[123] Véron. 134.

Conclusion

The examination of the Yugoslav built environment and the mediations of Yugoslav socialist modernism within the bipolar division of the Cold War era adds to the expansion of the architectural discourse of the time period and allows for an inquiry into a unique national iteration of one country's modernist architecture. The architects of Yugoslav cities methodically employed modernism in the creation of the country's built environment, yet local influences, historical trajectories, and embedded heritage played a significant part in the creation of the architecture in Yugoslavia and its particular type of socialist modernism. The cities of one state, Belgrade, Ljubljana, and Skopje, to name a few, all displayed different architectural amalgamations.

The western modernist architectural paradigm remained rooted within the Yugoslav design and planning. As architectural historian Dennis P. Doordan argues, the "mid-twentieth century marked the emergence of modernist theory and architecture as the dominant force in design practice and education," and the juxtaposition of a "triumphant modernism in the West to a regressive Socialist Realism imposed heavy-handedly on the socialist bloc" arose as acutely problematic, illustrating the canonical nature of the modernist architecture of the period, demonstrated in Yugoslavia as well.[124] In the years after 1948, the Yugoslav architects'' and state's stylistic attention toward the western tenets of modernist architecture rarely faltered,[125] and although the urban display of a unique political and economic ideology characterized the

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[124] Dennis P. Doordan, "Introduction: Writing History, Reflections on the Story of Midcentury Modern Architecture," in *Sanctioning Modernism*, ed. Vladimir Kulić, Timothy Parker, and Monica Penick (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, n.d.), 1–6. 2.

[125] Vladimir Kulić, "'East? West? Or Both?' Foreign Perceptions of Architecture in Socialist Yugoslavia," *The Journal of Architecture* 14, no. 1 (2009): 129–47. 131.

socialist Yugoslav model, the gaze toward the International Style in architecture stayed unchallenged if mediated.

In Yugoslav Macedonia, modernism was used as a tool of progress and a rejection of the past. The newly completed structures designed by local and regional architects emphasized a forward trajectory and removal and managing of the assumed 'Oriental backwardness' expressed through the cities' Ottoman heritage. Following the establishment of the communist Yugoslav federation and the birth of a Macedonian nationalism, the architectural negotiations of the Cold War politics in Yugoslavia were illustrated in the clashes between modernist aesthetics and the Ottoman heritage that pervaded the region. The processes of modernization highlighted the rejection of a contentious past, and the Yugoslav overarching project of nation-building demanded negotiation and secularization of heritage. In the first two postwar decades, the former Ottoman cities in Macedonia—Skopje in particular—experienced swift transformation that signified the continuation of the interwar Yugoslav westernization project, although at a slower pace and in a more cautious manner.

Chapter 3:

Building the "City of International Solidarity:" The Reconstruction of Skopje, 1963–1970

"For the peoples of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Skopje was not merely a town like others. Skopje was a symbol of the brotherhood and unity of the equal and free peoples of Yugoslavia."[126]

— "This Was Skopje," Federal Secretariat for Information

"We feel that this broad display of international solidarity [for Skopje] 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 be in the interest of the world community as a whole."[127]

— Josip Broz Tito to the United Nations General Assembly

Veljko Bulajić's 1964 documentary film *Skopje '63* starts with an announcement to the inhabitants of Skopje that a film crew from Zagreb, Croatia, had been chronicling the events of the past year's catastrophic earthquake (fig. 23).[128] A man invites the somber citizens to view the

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[126] Quoted in: Derek Senior, *Skopje Resurgent: The Story of a United Nations Special Fund Town Planning Project*. 51.

[127] Quoted in: Vladimir Kulić, "Architecture and Ideology in Socialist Yugoslavia," in *Unfinished Modernisations: Between Utopia and Pragmatism*, ed. Maroje Mrduljaš and Vladimir Kulić (Zagreb: UHA/CCA, 2012), 36–64. 48.

[128] Veljko Bulajić, *Skopje '63*, Newsreel (Vardar film - Skopje, Jadran film - Zagreb, 1964).

footage, acknowledging how difficult it must be to watch. The trauma of destruction was still raw for many living in the city. Stone-faced women and men patiently listen to the presenter standing on a makeshift stage, who stresses that their opinions on the film are the only ones that truly matter. In 1963 and in the years to come it became evident that the pain and horror of the city's destruction belong to its citizens, whereas the reconstruction of Skopje belongs to all Yugoslavia and the entire world. Veljko Bulajić's documentary film set the stage for the narrative of unity and of hope.

Early accounts chronicled the immense suffering while making promises for the opportunities ahead.[129] The mid-1960s Yugoslav national discourse emphasized the concept of "brotherhood and unity" among all Yugoslavs, a slogan developed during the Liberation War in Yugoslavia (1941-1945) and employed by the Yugoslav communists throughout the existence of the country. Consequently, the federation and its cities lead the efforts to alleviate the pain of Skopje and to rebuild it with a better future in sight, one replete with progress and development. During the decade following the earthquake, Skopje became a symbol both of international solidarity utterly lacking in the Cold War rift that traversed the globe. However, Skopje also became the symbol of Yugoslav "brotherhood and unity," an undertaking often obfuscated by the extensive utilization of the city as a tool of international diplomacy.

Today, the notion of "brotherhood and unity" and the impact of the Yugoslav federation's diplomatic maneuverings remain merely background phenomena. Architectural historians largely address the formal design and planning aspect of the rebuilding of the city and the participation

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[129] *Filmske novosti*, a television journal providing daily news from throughout the Yugoslav federation dedicated its late July and early August 1963 episodes to Skopje; the footage was raw and unedited, dead bodies and injured people displayed on screens at homes throughout the country, juxtaposed with what was once a modern, industrial city. Amidst the destruction and the demolition of Skopje, the sentiments of federation-wide Yugoslav unity and perseverance arose immediately. FN 121/63. HFA/HAZU (Croatian Film Archive, Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts), Zagreb, Croatia. (Translation by author.)

of the United Nations in the project. Yet, a discourse of Yugoslav politics and the role architecture played in its processes stands on the other side of this reconstruction of the Macedonian capital. Scholars' focus on the significance of the United Nations in Skopje has ignored the importance of architecture in the politics of the Yugoslav federation. Yugoslavia's participation in and leadership of the Non-Aligned Movement strengthened the country's diplomatic position around the globe, and at the same time, the nation's delicate relations with the countries of the communist East and the democratic West created a particular political and architectural environment that greatly impacted the reconstruction of Skopje and the formation of its new built environment.

The contemporary examination of the reconstruction of Skopje prominently concentrates on the concerns of international cooperation and solidarity; scholars empathically scrutinize the master- and city center plans produced by some of the greatest architects and urban planners of the time period. Architectural scholarship often emphasizes the UN's participation in the reconstruction of the Macedonian capital, yet the diplomatic and political skills of Yugoslav politicians remain on the margins of architectural and political discourse of the 1960s Skopje. The reasoning for the omission of inquiry into the Yugoslavs' diplomatic impact on the project may be quite simply found in our own problematic focus on Western factors, but also in the complexities of the Yugoslav communism and its partial impermeability to foreign scholars. I argue that the reconstruction of Skopje was also a publicity project conducted by Yugoslav leaders, as was clearly exhibited during the competitions for the plans for Skopje and in the years of their execution. The study of Yugoslav diplomacy of the postwar period allows for the creation of a broader narrative of the events that transpired in the 1960s Cold War Balkans,

uncovering the vast and immersive role that architecture and urban planning played in the process.

The second chapter of my dissertation examines the reconstruction of Skopje in the period between 1963 and 1970. I study the events that followed the July 26, 1963 earthquake and conclude this chapter at the end of the UN-sponsored activities in the late 1960s. I examine the events of the decade in a dual manner: I study the archival, video, and newspaper documentation that chronicled the reconstruction projects, and I inquire into scholarship dealing with the period. The analysis of the 1960s Skopje is not only the analysis of its architectural projects; the reconstruction mandates a study of the Yugoslav nation-building project and its problematic utilization of Skopje, both ideologically and architecturally. In this chapter I focus on rare data found at the Macedonian archives and a more robust collection from the Yugoslav newspapers' archives and regional cinematheques. I use these documents to examine critically the established, and rarely challenged, scholarly conversations that exclusively focuses on the participation of the UN in the reconstruction of Skopje and the international architectural giant, the Japanese architect Kenzo Tange who helped design the city center. This chapter explores the multifaceted character of this story: the tale of international solidarity, the story of Yugoslav diplomacy, and the examination of the city where they converged.

July 26, 1963

On July 26, 1963, life in Skopje came to a halt. At 5.17 am, as the working citizens of the Macedonian capital awoke to yet another scorching summer day, and while the children and tourists still slept, an earthquake measuring 6.9 on the Richter Scale hit the city. It lasted for some fifteen seconds and left the city broken, many of its people dead with the survivors in

shock.[130] Out of the population that counted over 166,000 people living in the city, over 1,000 people were killed, and around 3,000 were injured.[131] The earthquake leveled an estimated 80.7 percent of the city's housing stock, leaving over 75 percent of the population suddenly homeless.[132] Nearly all public buildings in the city center were either completely demolished or else severely damaged, and the city was disconnected from the rest of the world as the radio tower and city postal and telephone systems were destroyed (fig. 24, 25, 26). The earthquake cut the supply of electricity, and the city leaders promptly shut off the running water for fear of contamination. After several hours, the news reached Belgrade and then the world.[133] An Army major had climbed the telecommunications pole and managed to establish a connection with an operator in Belgrade.

People only covered in towels and sheets wandered the streets barefoot; images from the period show weeping citizens of Skopje, their terrified faces covered in dust and tears (fig. 27).[134] While dead bodies and survivors were recovered from the rubble, those seemingly unscathed by the catastrophe and those who had already been rescued sat in the city's parks and feared the worst: another earthquake. While the citizens grouped in the streets or took upon the arduous task of digging their neighbors from the debris or exhuming their dead bodies from the wreckage, the representatives of the Yugoslav government arrived from Belgrade, and

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[130] Given that it was summer and a percentage of the population of Skopje, in particular the children, was either at the Dalmatian coast or out of the city for vacation, the death toll was lower that it would have been in any other month of the year.

[131] Alfred Friendly, Jr., "Skopje, Razed by 1963 Quake, Rising as a New City From Ruins," *New York Times*, July 9, 1970.

[132] Jakim Petrovski, "Damaging Effects of July 26, 1963 Skopje Earthquake," *Middle East Seismological Cyber Journal* 2 (2004): 1–16. 4.

[133] Although there is no archival evidence to support this tale, an urban legend says that a Yugoslav Army major climbed a telecommunications pole and rewired the broken cables to establish the connection with Belgrade. The legend further says that the Yugoslav government secretary whom he reached after several attempts asked who was going to pay for the phone call and refused to speak with him given that he had no satisfying answer. It took several attempts to finally deliver the news about the Skopje earthquake.

[134] *Skopje 1963* (Zagreb: Agencija za fotodokumentaciju, 1963). p. n/a.

emergency committees took "precautions against further shocks."[135] By midday, the Yugoslav Army brought in field kitchens and water tanks, and peasants from nearby villages fetched fruits and vegetables and offered them for anyone to take, alleviating some of the terror felt earlier that day.[136] The displays of solidarity abound in personal accounts of those who survived the earthquake.[137]

In the years to come, Skopje became a city of international solidarity, its reconstruction ultimately seen an "effective advertisement for world peace and peaceful coexistence."[138] In the following two decades, while politicians played a delicate Cold War game, Skopje was rebuilt under the dual patronage of the United Nations and the Yugoslav government. A new brutalist city arose on the rubble of the Ottoman and early Yugoslav Skopje. It was a city of international cooperation and Yugoslav modernity, a city of entwined local and international architecture. Skopje became a city of the surpassed Cold War bipolar division, and a city of the communist Yugoslav diplomacy.

The Aftermath

As the earthquake hit the awakening city, survivors stumbled out of their homes; tourists cried out for help from beneath the rubble of the Hotel Macedonia. Buildings had collapsed onto the lower stories, crushing their inhabitants. One resident, Desanka Stojkovska, pushed her two

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[135] Derek Senior, *Skopje Resurgent: The Story of a United Nations Special Fund Town Planning Project*. 24.
[136] Senior. 28.
[137] The people recall that in the following years to be from Skopje was not only to be welcome anywhere free of charge—for example, one of my interviewee's payment was rejected in a hotel on the Dalmatian coast on the account of being from Skopje; she vacationed for free for several weeks—but also to be part of a larger narrative, the one of suffering relieved by all citizens of the country, by all Yugoslavs.
[138] Ines Tolić, "Notes on the Reconstruction of Skopje after the Earthquake of the 26th July 1963," in *Reading the City: Urban Space and Memory in Skopje*, ed. Stephanie Herold, Benjamin Langer, and Julia Lechler (Berlin: Herausgeber der Reihe Sonderpublikationen, 2010), 103–16. 105.

children into a cupboard to save them from their home's crumbling walls; when the earthquake passed, she put a boy and a girl into a washing basin and lowered them from her second-floor balcony to the ground and into a stranger's waiting arms.[139] The city was in ruins, its people in shock, submerged in a seemingly impenetrable cloud of smoke and dust. Skopje's immediate city center suffered the greatest destruction with the largest number of victims, including locals and visitors.[140] Tremors were felt as far as ninety miles down the Vardar River.

The British author Derek Senior describes the destruction caused by the earthquake: "within an area of ten square kilometers around the city center brick walls crumbled, their mortar joints pulverized; […] tall concrete-framed structures, left behind as the earth slipped beneath them, staggered and came to rest with ground-floor stanchions leaning and curtain walls sheared."[141] The destruction left the city shattered, its people homeless, many wandering the streets in search of their loved ones.[142] Senior, the author of the UN's official account of the destruction and the reconstruction of Skopje,[143] portrays a city "open to fire, epidemic, famine, riot and looting;" still, the people of Skopje "remained quiet and disciplined […] 'amazingly

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[139] The interview with Mrs. Desanka Stojkovska was conducted in her home in Skopje on May 16, 2018. Mrs. Stojkovska was born and raised in Skopje, and on July 26, 1963 she lived with her husband and two children in an apartment building in the vicinity of the city center. Mrs. Stojkovska still lives in the apartment in which she and her children survived the earthquake. My interviews in Skopje were conducted with different participants over the period of two years, and they are utilized in the writing of this dissertation, in particular in this chapter and the final one. Nevertheless, I only refer to Mrs. Stojkovska by her name as her story is particularly unsettling and as I have spent the longest time period with her, her children, and grandchildren.

[140] Along with other dailies from throughout the country, Belgrade's newspaper *Borba* from July 27, 1963 offers extensive details from the immediate aftermath of the earthquake. The detailed *Borba* archive is located in the National Archive of Serbia in Belgrade, and thanks to the generosity and help of the Archive staff, I have had the chance to examine their extensive collection in the summer of 2018.

[141] Derek Senior, *Skopje Resurgent: The Story of a United Nations Special Fund Town Planning Project*. 20.

[142] Over one 1000 people died, 3000 were injured, and 150,000 were rendered homeless by the earthquake. Robert Home, "Reconstructing Skopje after the 1963 Earthquake: The Master Plan Forty Years On," *Papers in Land Management*, no. 7 (2007): 1–22. 5.

[143] Derek Senior's *Skopje Resurgent* is a unique account of the events that transpired in the process of the creation of the masterplan and city center plans for Skopje. Senior's book is detailed and accompanied with plentiful of images, plans, and designs, and I use it in my dissertation often—in particular in this chapter—to provide basic information on the project. Nevertheless, it is vital to acknowledge that the book was written by an author *hired* by the United Nations, a westerner writing during the Cold War. For this reason, the book is to be taken with caution and with reserve in regard to its objectivity and, perhaps, lacking criticality in the author's approach.

unchaotic'."[144] Newspaper reports highlighted the citizens' order and compassion in the hours and days following the earthquake.

Belgrade's daily newspaper *Borba* reported in its July 27, 1963 issue (fig. 28)—the day after the earthquake—that thousands of citizens of Skopje had been gathered in tents in city parks immediately after the earthquake. *Borba*'s numerous articles illustrate both the immense destruction and suffering that had taken place in Skopje as well as the immediate expressions compassion of all Yugoslav peoples insistent to alleviate the city's pain. Newspaper reports on the personal accounts of citizens of the Macedonian capital were particularly harrowing: Cvetanka Lazarova sobbingly recounts the humming and thunder that had enveloped Skopje in thick dust, and Olga Mišić describes the impact as sudden and unannounced. Some survivors mention that they had noticed minor trembles as early as 4.00 am. *Borba* reports that Petar Stambolić, president of the Federal Executive Council—the highest administrative body of Yugoslavia—, declared that "all citizens of our country will show their solidarity and offer help" to ease the suffering of Skopje and its people.[145] Once the dust settled, the city appeared similar to those found around Europe in the aftermath of World War II.[146] The influx of aid was immediate and vast. Hundreds of tons of food were collected throughout Yugoslav cities to be shipped to Skopje. Citizens gathered at hospitals throughout Yugoslavia to donate blood, crews of medical workers were deployed from several Yugoslav cities, and miners arrived to help recover the survivors and the dead from the debris.

By July 28, two days following the earthquake, newspapers were reporting on the reconstruction. Yugoslav seismic and building experts were deployed to Skopje

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[144] Derek Senior, *Skopje Resurgent: The Story of a United Nations Special Fund Town Planning Project.* 24.
[145] *Borba*, July 27, 1963. 2. (Translation by author.).
[146] *Borba*, July 27, 1963. 6. (Translation by author.)

instantaneously.[147] By July 27, it had already been announced that the Yugoslav government would appeal to the international community to send aid to Skopje and assist in its reconstruction. Within thirty-six hours, "planes bearing food and clothing, tents and blankets, medicaments and instruments had arrived" from the countries from both sides of the European Cold War divide and the United States.[148] Next to the photograph of Tito in Skopje, *Borba*'s front page from July 28 boasts "New Skopje Will Be Built," (fig. 29). The newspaper writes of the arrival of President Tito from Belgrade,[149] accompanied by some of the highest government officials, such as Edvard Kardelj and Petar Stambolić.[150] After a walkabout through the torn city and meeting with local politicians, Tito assured Macedonians that "all the necessary measures will be taken for the reconstruction of the city so that its people could once again feel happy in our socialist union."[151] On July 29, a local author writes in *Borba* that Skopje is not defeated but is a beautiful future city, one where blood donated from the far sides of the world will amalgamate.[152] The short overview of the first days after the earthquake displays the establishment of the narrative of national and international solidarity, one that would define the reconstruction of the city in the years to come.

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[147] The Croatian architect Ljubomir Miščević, the son of Radovan Miščević, one of the architects of Skopje, recalls that his family was on vacation on the Adriatic coast in late July 1963. The day after the earthquake a government official arrived at their doorstep to take the elder Miščević to immediately start the work on the provisional plans for the reconstruction of the Macedonian capital. The interview with professor Miščević was conducted in Zagreb, on May 21, 2018.

[148] Derek Senior, *Skopje Resurgent: The Story of a United Nations Special Fund Town Planning Project*. 31.

[149] *Borba*, July 28, 1963. 1. (Translation by author.)

[150] Edvard Kardelj was a Slovenian prewar journalist and a highly influential Yugoslav communist. Kardelj helped devise the economy of workers' self-management. He was one of the creators of the 1974 Constitution that facilitated the decentralization of the country and allowed for more internal powers for each of the republics. In 1963, Kardelj was the President of the Federal Assembly of Yugoslavia. He died in 1979.
Petar Stambolić was a Yugoslav communist politician born in Serbia. In the period between 1982-1983, Stambolić served as the President of the Presidency of Yugoslavia, a function established after Tito's death in 1980. In 1963, Stambolić was the President of the Federal Executive Council of Yugoslavia. He died in 2007.

[151] *Borba*, July 28, 1963. 1. (Translation by author.)

[152] *Borba*, July 30, 1963. 3. (Translation by author.)

News accounts of the immediate post-earthquake period focus mainly on the city's speedy recovery and the resilience of its people and capabilities of local and national leaders. Local and international authors from the era, and today, insist on a binary narrative of international assistance and aid distribution from countries on each side of the Cold War divide. Journalists from the period who wrote in *Borba*, Bosnian *Oslobođenje*, Croatian *Večernji list*, and Serbian *Politika* emphasized Yugoslav unity exhibited in collecting of money to be sent to Skopje, the bravery of the citizens of Skopje that continuously searched for those buried underneath the demolished buildings, as well as the unprecedented assistance of the world powers that came promptly after the earthquake. The American urban planning professor from Cornell University, Jack C. Fisher, details the destruction and the prompt recovery of the city. In his 1964 article, "The Reconstruction of Skopje," Fisher briefly focuses on the pre-earthquake Skopje and the immediate post-earthquake period, and addresses the future of the Macedonian capital.[153] Rather pointedly, the author states that the decision to rebuild Skopje on the same site was seen as a non-issue and it was reached quickly. Perhaps even more importantly, Fisher notes that the new city masterplan "will be based not only upon scientific or objective research, but to a large extent upon the resolution of political issues."[154] Fisher's 1964 prediction proved incredibly accurate. The reconstruction of Skopje swiftly became a political project, arguably even more so than an architectural one. Local, national, and international actors who partook in the rebuilding of the city all came with specific political and economic agendas, all proven to be significant factors in the 1960s refurbishment of a city in the southernmost Yugoslav republic of Macedonia.

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[153] For further reading see: Jack C. Fisher, "The Reconstruction of Skopje," *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* 30, no. 1 (1964): 46–48.
[154] Fisher. p. 48.

Building the Yugoslav Skopje

Following the earthquake, only one in forty buildings remained safely inhabitable.

However, many more than that were slated for demolition. As Macedonian experts unveiled the

initial plans for the new Skopje, a conspicuous trend surfaced only to be exacerbated in the

following years: the notions of *new* and *modern* not only became dominant in any and all

discussions of the reconstruction project, particularly in daily newspapers, and any suggestion of

preservation or even analyses of structures' feasibility were pushed aside in favor of plans to

construct a new city.

The reconstruction of Skopje started earlier than is commonly recognized by architectural

historians and prior to the multi-level and grand-scale involvement of the UN Special Fund. In

collaboration with local and regional firms, Skopje's ITPA had already started preparations for

reconstruction by production of feasibility, seismic, and demographic studies that were used

later. By the end of 1963, Maurice Rotival and Anatolii Rimsha, French and Soviet planners

employed by the UN, provided a report in regard to their expert advice on how to proceed with

planning.[155] Rotival provided three sketches for the possible city redevelopment. Rotival and

Rimsha's findings were utilized by the Institute for Town Planning and Architecture (ITPA) of

Skopje—the organization in charge of the production and implementation of the final plans for

the reconstruction of the city—in the creation of its first draft of for reconstruction plans in

September 1963, a month before the Yugoslav government officially placed a request for aid

with the UN.[156] Belgrade's *Politika* from September 20, 1963 reported that on the previous day,

the City of Skopje Assembly formed a Committee for Rebuilding and Construction of Skopje to

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[155] Igor Martek and Mirjana Lozanovska, "Consciousness and Amnesia: The Reconstruction of Skopje Considered through 'Actor Network Theory,'" *Journal of Planning History*, 2016, 1–21. 7.
[156] Lozanovska, Martek. 7.

oversee the rebuilding of the Macedonian capital; its expert consultants—members of the Macedonian Communist Party, politicians, and cultural workers, headed by Krste Crvenkovski—outlined the rules and regulations for the reconstruction of individual buildings.[157] *Politika* also reports on the pressing need for the regulation of railway transportation, at the moment congested due to great amounts of constructions materials.[158] The same article states that Japanese seismic experts had visited the city and would soon provide their findings, which would serve in turn as the basis for the city masterplan. Based on numerous reports in local and national daily newspapers, a simple conclusion arose amongst local and Yugoslav politicians: the rebuilding was an immediate concern, its international aspect not reductive to the involvement of the United Nations. In August 25, 1963 edition, *Politika* reports that Yugoslav republics have vowed to assist in the reconstruction of Skopje; for example, Serbia took upon itself to build a settlement for 15,000 displaced Macedonians.[159] The reconstruction process commenced immediately after the earthquake, never questioned or uncertain, and prior to the international collaboration that came to define it.

After Tito addressed the UN Council on October 22, 1963 and asked for aid to be sent to Skopje, an unprecedented Cold War reconstruction project began. The task at hand was both architectural and political, with all involved parties emphasizing the notion of international cooperation, bypassing the Cold War bipolar rift. The UN's involvement in the rebuilding of Skopje is commonly lauded as a successful effort in reclaiming the organization's lost status; the UN was seemingly ostracized from the politically charged global events in the midst of the Cold

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[157] "Obimni zadaci Srbije i Beograda za obnovu grada," *Politika*, August 26, 1963. 6. (Translation by author.)
[158] The issue was dealt with by addition of new railway personnel. The reconstruction efforts had already been deemed a priority.
[159] "Obrazovan komitet za obnovu i izgradnju Skoplja," *Politika*, September 20, 1963. 6. (Translation by author.)

War era.[160] Still, as architectural historian Ines Tolić states, the role of Skopje was important for more than just Yugoslav politicians and UN bureaucrats; it was also highly significant for the local and international architectural communities. UN official Ernest Weissmann deemed the city an "epicenter of knowledge that, in spite of the Cold War, would promote peace, understanding and collaboration."[161] From the outset, hopes for Skopje included a utopian element, one quickly proven to be unfeasible.

In the aftermath of the earthquake and demolishing of affected buildings—and some not damaged at all—the city was viewed as a proverbial blank page, one manufactured both by destruction and socialist land management (fig. 30), ultimately rendering Skopje as a "unique opportunity for an experiment in utopian idealism."[162] Both architecturally and politically, all actors repeatedly highlighted the progress and modern urbanization as the project's main focus, configuring Skopje as an architectural *tabula rasa*. The architectural historian Lozanovska defines *tabula rasa* as a "founding platform for utopian modernist visions of urbanism and architecture where much ground clearing preceded imaginative projections of new cities."[163] In Skopje, such a *tabula rasa* was created by the seismic event that partly razed the city, a demolition process furthered by the subsequent clearing of debris. Still, the notion of a *tabula rasa* cannot be seen as one of utter emptiness, but "a condition that can be analogous to a

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[160] Although scholars often state that the United Nations had little, if any, investment in the 'world behind the Iron Curtain,' the documents found at the United Nations Archives in New York City prove this to be inaccurate. Concurrently with the involvement in Skopje reconstruction that effectively started in 1964, the organization had partaken in projects in the USSR and in Poland in 1964. S-0553; S-1002-0010-03, United Nations Archive, New York City, New York, October 9-15, 2018.

[161] Ines Tolić, "Ernest Weissmann's 'World City:' The Reconstruction of Skopje within the Cold War Context," *Southeastern Europe*, no. 41 (2017): 171–99. 173.

[162] Igor Martek and Mirjana Lozanovska, "Consciousness and Amnesia: The Reconstruction of Skopje Considered through 'Actor Network Theory'." 3.

[163] Mirjana Lozanovska, "For or against Tabula Rasa: How to Perceive the Contemporary City," *IASTE 2010: Proceedings of the 12th Conference of the International Association for the Study of Traditional Environments: The Utopia of Tradition*, 2010, 13–28. 14.

destruction of a city […] to varying degrees the shape and form of the city have been erased."[164]

The earthquake did not destroy the entire city of Skopje, unlike the destruction that left European

cities almost leveled to the ground in the aftermath of World War II, such as in the more extreme

cases of Warsaw and Dresden, yet it did provide an excuse for state-sponsored demolition

necessary for the utopian modernist project Yugoslavs hoped for (fig. 31-35).

Nonetheless, the economic and ideological concerns of the twentieth century showed that

the utopian idealism of the postwar era was a problematic and unattainable notion. In Skopje, the

patterns of human interaction, cultural distinctions, and financial obstacles practically ensured

that the reconstruction would fail to be executed in the ideal manner conceived by its various

authors. Various historical layers, different and distinct ethnic groups, and country in economic

debt, contributed to the failure of the modernist utopia that was to be the new Skopje. In the end,

the "optimistic Eurocentric postwar architectural values that informed the vision of Skopje were

supplanted by a more eclectic and disparate array of Cold War visions of the city," occurring at

the transition period "from older modernist ideals to a culture of modernist critique."[165] Rotival

wrote in his UN report in 1963 that the world expected the new Skopje to "become a model city,

built not for the present but for the future," adding that "any less eloquent result will not be

understood and will tell to the millions of tourists (…) that a great opportunity has been

wasted."[166] The French planner all but omits the inhabitants of the city and their wishes. He

illustrated the focus of planners and political actors toward Skopje as a tool of architectural

development and progress, but only as envisioned by external actors. The reality proved to be

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[164] Lozanovska. 15.

[165] Igor Martek and Mirjana Lozanovska, "Consciousness and Amnesia: The Reconstruction of Skopje Considered through 'Actor Network Theory'." 3.

[166] Ines Tolić, "Japan Looks West: The Reconstruction of Skopje in Light of Global Ambitions and Local Needs," in *Unfinished Modernizations: Between Utopia and Pragmatism*, ed. Maroje Mrduljaš and Vladimir Kulić (Zagreb: UHA/CCA, Croatian Architect's Association, 2012), 218–31. 221.

quite different to that what Rotival expected. Historian of land management Robert Home writes that the project was ultimately a product of its era; architects and planners of the era followed modernist principles of urban planning and "worked with the state rather than working with people."[167] The utopian project of the reconstruction of Skopje was amended due to the circumstances of the politics and economy of the period, its utopian ideals left as mere foundations of what ultimately came to be the new Skopje.

United Nations and Urban Plans for a New Skopje

The production of urban plans for Skopje emulated the hopes and desires of the communist Yugoslav federation, aligned with the political needs of the United Nations. Architecturally, the plans for Skopje were to emphasize the "new" and the "modern;" the city was envisioned as the one of progressive twentieth-century planning, and its role was to exemplify the international cooperation and influences of modernist architecture. However, the UN was only to partake in the competition for master- and city center plans, in collaboration with the Yugoslav government and local experts, and the construction of the city would be done by Yugoslav construction companies at a later stage.

In his account written on behalf of the UN, Senior recalls that the organization "has exerted itself to a degree that goes above and beyond the call of duty."[168] As the main reason, the author argues that the devastation of the Macedonian capital called for "just the sort of many-sided scientific and technical assistance that the *United Nations* was *alone* to provide [emphasis by the author]."[169] Senior claims the organization was in a singular position to not only overarch

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[167] Robert Home, "Reconstructing Skopje after the 1963 Earthquake: The Master Plan Forty Years On." 20.
[168] Derek Senior, *Skopje Resurgent: The Story of a United Nations Special Fund Town Planning Project.* 67.
[169] Senior. 67.

ideological divisions of the Cold War, but also to fund the costly project. An unnamed journalist

for Belgrade's *Politika* similarly reports on the UN Council meeting held on October 12, 1963

and its fifteen member states addressing the topic of Skopje. The author for *Politika* emphasized

the solidarity of world leaders from both sides of the political divide expressed in a moment of

tragedy—pointing to the irony of needing a tragedy to express such solidarity—moreover

claiming that the events in Skopje represent a unique moment in recent history to receive support

from such ideologically opposed nations and their leaders. The journalist ascribes a missionary

role to the Macedonian capital, identifying it as a unifying element on the greatly divided Cold

War globe, emphasizing the unifying role Skopje served as a "responsibility and debt of the

world."[170] Just like Senior and the UN, *Politika*—indisputably guided by the politics of Yugoslav

diplomacy—labels Skopje as a symbol, an identifier of international aid, and of international

collaboration.[171] Ultimately, the official UN publication authored by Senior and the local and

Yugoslav newspapers never ceased to emphasize the ideological role of the UN as a mediator,

while assigning Skopje the part of a globally unifying force.

Although the UN's aid in the reconstruction of the city officially launched after Tito's

speech at the UN Council in October 1963 via Special Fund, the United Nations Economic and

Social Council took part in the relief distribution to Skopje as early as three days after the

earthquake. Ernest Weissmann, the Yugoslav-born UN official, reported on the city's high

morale, the scope of international aid flowing into the city, and the "'extremely well organized

and effective' measures taken by the local, republican and federal authorities."[172] The relief

distributed by the UN was both short- and long-term. The immediate aid-workers provided food,

[170] "Skopje pred OUN," *Politika*, October 12, 1963. 2. (Translation by author.)
[171] "Skopje pred OUN." 2. (Translation by author.)
[172] Derek Senior, *Skopje Resurgent: The Story of a United Nations Special Fund Town Planning Project*. 68.

water, and shelter for survivors and helped clear away rubble. At the same time, long-term plans were being made for the reconstruction of the city.[173] In 1963, the guiding principle of the UN presence in Skopje was clear: the new city "shall be the monument of human solidarity, […] the monument of international understanding;"[174] the UN would be its facilitator. The uninterrupted stay of Weissmann in Skopje throughout the 1960s only fortified the organization's dedication to the project. The architect became a singular figure, at once an employee of the UN, a modernist architect, and a Yugoslav citizen, capable of facilitating the cooperation between the UN, communist Yugoslav government, and modernist architects.

On September 27, three days after "35 nations asked the United Nations General Assembly to put relief for Skopje on its agenda," the organization made a priority of facilitating aid for the Macedonian capital, and in October, "it unanimously resolved to comply with the Yugoslav Government's request for technical aid in meeting the stricken city's *long-term* needs [emphasis by author],"[175] positioning the organization in charge of aid-distribution. Weissman helmed the International Board of Consultants, an executive body appointed by the UN and the Yugoslav government at the beginning of 1964 with the purpose of evaluating all proposals produced by the international community of experts.[176] On January 17, 1964, an international competition for the masterplan of the post-earthquake Skopje took place. Not much is known about the details of the competition—not much, if any, information is available at the UN Archive in New York City—but that three offices partook: Maurice E. H. Rotival and Associates, ABC group, and Doxiadis and Associates. The procedure for the selection of the

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[173] Risto Markovski, *The United Nations Scientific and Technical Aid to Skopje* (Skopje: The Information Centre of the Town Assembly of the Town of Skopje, 1964). n/a. B-03-060.6. Ernest Weissmann Archive at the Frances Loeb Library, Harvard University Graduate School of Design.
[174] Markovski. n/a.
[175] Derek Senior, *Skopje Resurgent: The Story of a United Nations Special Fund Town Planning Project*. 71.
[176] Senior. 73.

winner remains unclear. The UN ultimately chose Doxiadis and Associates—with whom they already had a long-established relationship—due to their "superior organizational capacities, numerous accomplished projects worldwide, and what was considered to be a convenient proximity of Athens, the seat of Doxiadis' headquarters."[177]

Architectural and political historians agree that the Yugoslav government insisted on the joint appointment of Doxiadis and Associates and the Polish communist-run Polservice to create the masterplan for Skopje. However, the Yugoslav government in Belgrade and Macedonian city leaders reached the decision based both on their concerns about diplomacy but also on the architects' indispensable expertise. Within weeks after the earthquake, the Polish government dispatched a planning team to Skopje. The team was headed by Adolf Ciborowski, the planner in charge of the reconstruction of postwar Warsaw. Martek and Lozanovska note that Ciborowski arrived in Macedonia as a "part of the socialist 'gift-exchange' between Poland and Yugoslavia."[178] Senior is careful to state that the Polish presence in Skopje was not a part of the UN project, and "it sprang from the fellow-feeling of one devastated city for another […] in the belief that the unique experience of the Warsaw Town Planning Department in the total reconstruction of a great city could at this juncture be especially valuable to Skopje."[179] Ultimately, Ciborowski's presence in Skopje served a dual purpose: on one hand, his expertise was unparalleled amongst planners who came to work in the city, and on the other, the Polish planner signified a political association with a sympathetic communist country from the Eastern Bloc. In the final division of assignments—prompted by the diplomatic measures and respective

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[177] Ines Tolić, "Ernest Weissmann's 'World City:' The Reconstruction of Skopje within the Cold War Context." 179.
[178] Igor Martek and Mirjana Lozanovska, "Consciousness and Amnesia: The Reconstruction of Skopje Considered through 'Actor Network Theory'." 10.
[179] Derek Senior, *Skopje Resurgent: The Story of a United Nations Special Fund Town Planning Project*. 96.

areas of expertise—the UN appointed Doxiadis and Associates to "work on the built-up area," and Polservice to "prepare the master plan and to work as a consultant for the regional plan."[180] Ciborowski was selected as the head of the entire project, and the masterplan creation unfolded without any substantial issues.

After analyzing the Greek and Polish proposals for the city masterplan, the Board of Consultants comprised of local and international experts—both for East and West of the Cold War divide—determined that "even if presenting quite different proposals for the future of the Macedonian capital, 'the two proposals completed each other'."[181] The Board members invited the teams to work together and to produce a plan that would utilize the best elements from both proposals. This would turn out to be a typical fashion of the decision-making process of the 1960s in Macedonia; archival data from the Doxiadis Archives at the Benaki Museum in Athens shows that friendly relations between the Polish experts and the Greeks continued throughout the decade, with recurrent visits and continuous correspondence.[182] The Greek and Polish teams were joined by Macedonian planners and other experts; the final production and implementation of the plan was assigned to ITPA. The Polish, Greek, and Macedonian planners suggested a dispersed pattern, and emphasized the need of the plan to adjust to the city's expanding structure and future needs of a growing population (fig. 36). To avoid the rigidity in treatment of the plans, the international experts invited the local authorities to treat the plan as "flexible instrument of policy, rather than a fixed frame of reference."[183] The plan addressed three stages: short-term

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[180] Igor Martek and Mirjana Lozanovska, "Consciousness and Amnesia: The Reconstruction of Skopje Considered through 'Actor Network Theory'." 10.

[181] Ines Tolić, "Ernest Weissmann's 'World City:' The Reconstruction of Skopje within the Cold War Context." 182.

[182] The archival documentation—mostly monthly reports—at the Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives at the Benaki Museum in Athens, Greece shows evidence of correspondence and friendly relations that continued after 1964.

[183] Derek Senior, *Skopje Resurgent: The Story of a United Nations Special Fund Town Planning Project*. 114.

until 1971, medium-term until 1981, and a long-range study focusing on the expansion of Skopje by the end of the century.

As envisioned from the beginning, ITPA produced the masterplan with the assistance of Doxiadis and Associates, Polservice, and an American transportation consulting firm, Wilbur Smith and Associates.[184] Polservice, Doxiadis and Associates, and Macedonians produced an urban plan that was a product of its time: modernist structures permeated the city filled with broad new boulevards; traffic infrastructure connected the city perimeter with the periphery; the Vardar River was regulated and along with the city's parks utilized by the locals (fig. 37). The plan was approved quickly by the city leaders and adopted without amendment in November 1965. During the previous month, October 1965, the city had organized an exhibition of the masterplan in Skopje. The interest was unlike anything encountered in Yugoslavia before, and over 10,000 people per week, including Tito and the prime ministers of Poland and Sweden, visited the exhibition in the month of its duration.[185] Through large-scale plans and models, Doxiadis and Associates and Polservice envisioned the city as be "fundamentally reorganized," its industry moved to the "urban fringe, […] new traffic corridors that would allow for the construction of extensive housing estates outside the urban core."[186]

The master plan for Skopje encompassed the vital tenets of mid-century modernist planning, already employed by both teams in their earlier postwar projects: the expansion of the previously neglected parts of the town, assumption of population and city area growth, and development of infrastructure. The article "Outline Plan for the City of Skopje," published in the May 1965 issue of Doxiadis and Associates' in-house magazine *Ekistics*, provides an insight into

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[184] Wilbur Smith and Associates is a transportation and traffic consulting firm, founded by Wilbur S. Smith in 1952.
[185] Jasna Stefanovska and Janez Kozelj, "Urban Planning and Transitional Development Issues: The Case of Skopje, Macedonia," *Urbani Izziv* 23, no. 1 (2012): 91–100. 93.
[186] Stefan Bouzarovski, "City Profile: Skopje." 267.

the particulars of the planning process.[187] Immediately acknowledging that Skopje was "no longer the small regional centre of the postwar period," an unnamed author, most likely a member of Doxiadis and Associates, posits industrialization and urbanization as processes that were already underway and not to be interrupted.[188] While the plan for the first seven-year phase, which would take place between 1963 and 1971, focused on post-disaster recovery, and included provisions for housing and improvements to standards of living,[189] the plans detailing the later phases predicted further site and population expansions.[190] The assumption of the UN and the Yugoslavs that a level of familiarity with the Yugoslav economy in general, and Macedonian in particular, acquired by the foreign planning teams would caution the creation of far-reaching utopian plans proved to be wrong, and the UN-sponsored urban project forged ahead, its participants, planners and politicians, eager enablers.

In the end, the optimistic and expansive Skopje masterplan inevitably met the reality of the indebted Yugoslav economy and the 1970s global crisis, and its implementation had to be downscaled to meet the capacities of Yugoslav self-management of the 1960s. Only parts of the plan were implemented—under the guidance of ITPA and by Macedonian and Yugoslav construction companies—mainly regarding the transportation infrastructure pertaining to the Adriatic Highway the city itself would not benefit from, and the establishing of traffic connections with northern parts of the town, previously disjointed from the city center. Due to the rationalizing of the masterplan and its modifications to accommodate the financial circumstances of the Yugoslav federation and Macedonia, one of its poorer republics, "many of

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[187] *Ekistics* was a journal founded by Doxiadis and Associates in 1957. With focus on the science and problems of human settlements, the journal was published monthly by the Athens Center of Ekistics. It went out of circulation in 2006.
[188] Doxiadis Associates, "Outline Plan for the City of Skopje, Yugoslavia," *Ekistics* 19, no. 114 (1965): 311–22. 311.
[189] Doxiadis Associates. 315.
[190] Derek Senior, *Skopje Resurgent: The Story of a United Nations Special Fund Town Planning Project*. 75.

the key transport corridors intended to support the growth of the metropolitan area were never built, despite the rapid construction of state-sponsored housing estates at the periphery of the city."[191] As a result, further social stratification within Skopje ensued. The "inability of the city's authorities to develop equitable and culturally-sensitive housing and neighborhood development policies," lead to poorly connected peripheral areas of the Macedonian capital and the creation of inner-city ghettos.[192] This resulted in the disenfranchisement of minority populations in parts of the city, causing further social distress felt to this day.

Skopje City Center

In early 1965, a year and a half since the earthquake, four Yugoslav and four international architectural firms were invited to take part in the UN-sponsored competition for the reconstruction of the Macedonian capital's city center, an area covering approximately three square kilometers and inhabited by 20,000 people. The Yugoslav participants were Slavko Brezoski of Makedonijaprojekt, Radovan Miščević and Fedor Wenzler of the Croatian Institute of Town Planning, Edvard Ravnikar and associates from Ljubljana, and Aleksandar Đorđević of the Belgrade Institute of Town Planning. The international architects included J. H. van den Broek and Jaap Bakema from the Netherlands, Luigi Piccinato from Italy, Maurice Rotival, the French planner working in the United States, and Kenzo Tange from Japan. The UN and the Yugoslav government in Belgrade extended invitations to all competition participants to visit Skopje in February 1965 to become acquainted with the city. The deadline for entries was May 31, and the judging process was scheduled to commence on July 12. The jury anticipated to

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[191] Stefan Bouzarovski, "City Profile: Skopje." 267.
[192] Stefan Bouzarovski. 267.

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deliver the recommendations the Board of Consultants by the end of the month. The organizers

informed all competitors from the outset that the "purpose of the competition was not to pick the

firm to be entrusted with the preparation of a detailed city-centre plan: that remained the

responsibility of the Skopje ITPA."[193] Although there would be a winning project announced at

the end of the competition, it was made known that there would not be one winning design to be

fully executed. The competition and the execution of the final plan was to be a collaborative

effort between all participants and under the guidance of Macedonian experts at ITPA, a notion

omnipresent in the reconstruction of Skopje, and an emblem of the project.

The city center area was comprised of the old Ottoman *carsi* and bazaar, the

contemporary city's central business district and the main square, as well as the nearby

residential neighborhoods (fig. 38).[194] The Yugoslav architectural and urban planning journal,

Arhitektura i Urbanizam, reported in 1966 that the main guidelines for the city center plan were

as follows: to integrate the construction from both sides of the river; to incorporate both

historical structures and natural features; to divide the functions in the city center; transportation

and traffic regulation; and finally, to focus on the feasibility of construction and integration of

the project into the masterplan.[195] The jury assessed each entrant's concept based on its "special,

functional and social aspects," specifically focusing on the issues of successful integration of the

developments on both sides of the Vardar River, on "how well the scheme as a whole fitted into

the outline plans for the rest of the city and the region," as well as the feasibility of the plan, the

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[193] Derek Senior, *Skopje Resurgent: The Story of a United Nations Special Fund Town Planning Project*. 298.
[194] *Carsi* is a commercial center, business district of an Ottoman city, its central feature is a bazaar. From Ottoman Turkish *çarşı*.
[195] Risto Galić, "Medjunarodni konkurs za urbanisticko rjesenje centralnog podrucja Skopja," *Arhitektura i Urbanizam* 7 (1966): 7–28. 8. (Translation by author.)

use of existing buildings, and "how much regard it paid to historic and natural features, seismic safety, traffic requirements and convenience in the relative location of main functions."[196]

While the jury announced that none of the competition entries received the first prize, following the masterplan precedent, it also announced quite diplomatically that "every entry had promising ideas to contribute."[197] The proposed city center designs offered a variety of valued options. Foreign and local architects produced proposals of different qualities, some viable, others more abstract and unattainable yet eye-catching. The comments on each proposal were fairly generic and in light of the principles of international cooperation: the jury praised parts of the designs that followed the competition requirements, while slightly admonishing those who failed to meet the specific needs of the Macedonian capital. The Yugoslav architect Risto Galić—the director of ITPA and a member of the jury—wrote in 1966 that some architects, Brezoski's for example, focused too much on formal architectural elements and were overly impacted by the need for swift realization, while others were excessively schematic and not realistic (fig. 39-46).[198] The jury found Miščević and Wenzler's proposal modest and understated, with well-planned traffic and transport schemes, offering feasible construction in stages.[199] Galić describes van den Broek and Bakema's proposal focusing on vertical accents and not disturbing the historical city core;[200] the Jury considered Luigi Piccinato's design to have met

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[196] Derek Senior, *Skopje Resurgent: The Story of a United Nations Special Fund Town Planning Project*. 300-301.
[197] Senior. 301.
[198] Risto Galić was a member of the International Jury for the city center competition as well as the director of the Skopje Institute of Architecture and Urban Design (ITPA).
[199] Miščević and Wenzler's proposal was actually rejected in the first round of deliberations, and only re-addressed in the second attempt. Initially, it was seen as simple and understated—arguably, features not desirable for the new Skopje, the 'city of international solidarity'—still, the same elements of the plan were the ones that ultimately brought its authors the shared first prize.
[200] Documentation analyzed at the Van den Broek and Bakema Archive at Het Niuewe Instituut in Rotterdam, Netherlands shows architects' detailed research, as well as the highly modernist city center proposal. The axonometric drawings show a city designed for pedestrians and vehicles, both circulating beneath buildings characterized by modernist ribbon windows and clean facades. BROX 3265 [May 1965], Architectenbureau vd Broek en Bakema at the Het Niuewe Instituut in Rotterdam, Netherlands.

the needs of the city in a significant manner as the architect proposed an adaptation of the city center as opposed to its complete restructuring.[201] Finally, Kenzo Tange's project was marked as original and inspiring with accentuating elements distinguishing the city center core, *carsi*, and residential structures. Still, the jury believed that some of the buildings were exceedingly monumental, and the transportation system that was set underground was unfeasible, unsafe, and contrary to the seismic character of the region.[202]

The proposals were highly diverse and employed different urban elements as focal points. Tange's plan envisioned the transportation hub and the housing "wall" as a key segment of the new Skopje, yet the scale of the structures was too overpowering for the city of the size of Skopje; the project would also require vast demolishing of pre-existing buildings that were not slated for demolition after the earthquake, a process deemed financially imprudent in 1966 although seen as less problematic in late 1963. Miščević and Wenzler proposed a modest city center, in particular in comparison to Tange's work, and focused on open spaces, medium-height buildings, and connecting the modernist part of the city with the bazaar via a pedestrian bridge. The Yugoslav architects, in particular Brezoski and Ravnikar, generally followed similar patterns: they all focused on open spaces, micro-climate of the region, and the connection of northeastern neighborhoods with the rest of the city. Although the majority of Yugoslav proposal were of rational approach to space, Aleksandar Đorđević'a city center plan was even more extreme in concentration of functions in the city center than Tange's; still, his transportation scheme was deemed realistic and well developed. Piccinato's proposal is on the opposite side of

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[201] Archival documents examined at the Luigi Piccinato's archive outline the architect's focus both on the problematic of heritage as well as the creation of Skopje as the city of 'international solidarity.' Piccinato's notes show the architect's interest in the matters of national minorities as well as in the repurposing of historical monuments and their integration into the masterplan. 01.173.01, 01.173.02 [1965], Archivio Luigi Piccinato at Sapienza Universita di Roma, Italy.
[202] Risto Galić, "Medjunarodni konkurs za urbanisticko rjesenje centralnog podrucja Skopja." 8-12. (Translation by author.)

Tange's monumental project as the Italian architect even proposed to demolish some of the postwar housing structures to diminish the scale of the city center; van den Broek and Bakema maintained the scale of the city center area, but proposed large structures on the outside rim of the center, similar to those of the Japanese team. Finally, Rotival proposed concentration of functions as well, but in a pyramidal structure that was to dominate the city's main square and that was outside of any urban traditions in Yugoslavia.[203]

Finally, the jury decided to divide the first prize between Tange and his team and Miščević and Wenzler. The jury members elaborated on their decision to award the first prize to Tange based on the "high quality of its over-all design composition and detailed ensemble layouts," and to the Croatian team because "their proposals made such a valuable contribution to the efficient and practical realization of the project."[204] The jury identified their main concern with Tange's proposal: the "judging panel was split between the ambition to satisfy post-1963 utopian hopes and a mediatic need for spectacle and the fears that such an inadequate and oversized project might never be realised."[205] Characterizing Tange's plan as "boldly positive," the jury had both high praise and criticism for the Japanese team's project, opposite to the reaction to Miščević and Wenzler's work that "evoked neither high praise nor explicit criticism," its winning feature being its feasibility, as "any plan for Skopje's central area would take many years to carry out."[206] The distinction between the two plans, as well as reasons for their selection, was evident: while Tange and his team envisioned a city center that furthered the tenets of modernist architecture, explored Metabolist principles, and drew the attention of a global architectural audience, Miščević and Wenzler designed a city center of a Yugoslav

[203] Derek Senior, *Skopje Resurgent: The Story of a United Nations Special Fund Town Planning Project*. 303-309.
[204] Senior. 301.
[205] Ophélie Véron, "Deconstructing the Divided City: Identity, Power and Space in Skopje." 159.
[206] Derek Senior, *Skopje Resurgent: The Story of a United Nations Special Fund Town Planning Project*. 301.

Skopje, a city that ultimately *could* and *would* be constructed. The Croatian team proposed a plan that was realistic.

In July 1965, after the jury concluded its deliberations, an exhibition of the competition entries was opened for the public, drawing reactions from local and national architects and planners. Although lauded as revolutionary, Tange's project brought up concerns, some of the commentators expressing doubts "about the inhuman scale of the service centre called the 'city gate'."[207] Others commended the "human dimensions" of the plan produced by the Croatian team, evidently comparing it to Tange's designs, both in regard to monumentality, concentration of functions, and most importantly, feasibility.[208] Nonetheless, as Tolić argues, Tange's model was praised because it "embodied perfectly what everybody expected the outcome of the reconstruction to be: a celebratory urban-scale monument to what can be achieved through peaceful international collaboration."[209] However, precisely, for the reason of urban-scale monumentality and high investments needed to complete such a large-scale project, Tange's proposal was destined to remain incomplete.

The final plan, the Ninth Version, was to meet the two basic needs: human scale and harmonious form.[210] However, its ideological goal focused on international diplomacy: the celebrated international architect and his visionary project brought attention to both the UN and Skopje and expanded the field of Tange's influence. The local—Croatian-Yugoslav—know-how facilitated the achievability of plans through familiarity with the region and the Yugoslav iteration of modernist architecture and urban planning. In his 1967 article published in *The Japan*

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[207] Ines Tolić, "Japan Looks West: The Reconstruction of Skopje in Light of Global Ambitions and Local Needs." 223.
[208] Tolić. 223.
[209] Tolić. 228.
[210] Derek Senior, *Skopje Resurgent: The Story of a United Nations Special Fund Town Planning Project*. 309.

Architect, "Skopje urban plan," Kenzo Tange outlines his approach for the creation of the winning proposal for Skopje city center. The City Wall and City Gate structures, housing residences and the city's transportation hub, respectively, were the key features of the design (fig. 47) Tange designed the City Gate at the intersection of two highways and proposed its construction to be relegated to an underground level; the City Gate proposal incorporated both transportation and commercial functions. Tange's Gate was characterized by two rows of portal columns, its enormous scale in correspondence with the highways and the interchange.[211] The City Gate formed a new city axis; it traversed from the City Gate to the Bazaar, and produced a "sequential hierarchy of scale," from monumental of the Gate, to the "human scale of the small buildings and narrow streets" of Ottoman bazaar (fig. 48).[212] Tange intended for the structures of the City Wall to function as the "defining element of the New City Center," to embrace the old and new and unify them "into one organic entity."[213] Designed as a row of vertical residences, the structures offered an unrestricted view of the streets and parks while guaranteeing privacy (fig. 49).[214] Overall, Tange's plan was a continuation of his earlier work: his designs focused on the new and modern and on the rejection of the old.

Art historian Udo Kutlermann analyzed the architect's plan for the city center of the Macedonian capital. The author argues that in Macedonia, the Japanese architect "further developed the town-planning ideas contained in the earlier Tokyo Plan."[215] Kutlermann contends that in Skopje, Tange advanced his earlier ideas in regard to transportation and housing: the architect proposed a "multi-level system of traffic units" which originally appeared in the 1960

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[211] Kenzo Tange, "Skopje urban plan," *The Japan Architect*, no. 130 (May 1967): 30–69. 35.
[212] Tange. 36.
[213] Tange. 38.
[214] Tange. 38.
[215] Udo Kutlermann, *Kenzo Tange, 1946-1969: Architecture and Urban Design* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1970). 262.

Tokyo Plan, and he organized the "vertically aligned building tracts into separated service towers," a system previously tested in Kofu.[216] In his Tokyo Bay plan, Tange propositioned an alteration of the urban order of Tokyo for the purpose of both regeneration of the war-torn city as well as the continuous sprawl. Further advancing the principles of the Metabolist Movement—in particular the transformative nature of architecture and the replacement of the old with the new as propagated by the architects of the Movement—Tange envisioned a plan for Tokyo's expanding population that was soon to reach ten million inhabitants.[217] Although an expanding city as well, Skopje failed to show any other similarities to Tokyo or to the Metabolist Movement's urban production due to the particularities of the Yugoslav economy and politics, and due to the historical singularities of the region and its cities. Still, Tange's interest in mobility, linear axes, and architectural language proved to be applicable in Skopje, albeit at a significantly smaller scale. Tange's main concern in the city was to "give architectural shape to space" and to transcend traditional functionalism; nevertheless, Kutlermann emphatically states that only the future will tell "whether the people of Skopje are inclined or not to live in a spatial reality so conceived."[218]

On the architectural opposite of the monumental and transformative work of Tange sits the unpretentious project of Croatian architects from Zagreb, Fedor Wenzler and Radovan Miščević (fig. 50). The architects' 1965 publication, *Skopje: Novi centar grada*,[219] offers an insight into the project development process. Miščević and Wenzler analyze the long history of the city and its transformations, concurring that Skopje should be reconstructed in its original

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[216] Kutlermann. 264.
[217] The Metabolist Movement, or Metabolism, was an architectural movement developed in the postwar Japan. Aimed at fusion of megastructures and organic growth, the Movement focused on the organic nature of the human society and its expansive urban development. For further reading see: Zhongjie Lin, *Kenzo Tange and the Metabolist Movement: Urban Utopias of Modern Japan* (London; New York: Routledge, 2010).
[218] Udo Kutlermann, *Kenzo Tange, 1946-1969: Architecture and Urban Design*. 264.
[219] *Skopje: Novi centar grada* (Croatian)—Skopje: The New City Center (English).

location, and rebuilding should preserve the city's "space values and the rich cultural and historical heritage without which the ancient tradition of Skopje is almost unimaginable."[220] The architects envisioned the new Skopje as a harmonious and well-balanced city "whose development will unite in one area the social and human principles of our time and of the future."[221] Furthermore, the authors saw the reconstruction of the city center as an excellent opportunity to rectify some of the urban developments that occurred in the period since the end of the war, primarily in regard to the absent construction on the left—historically Ottoman— bank of the Vardar River. In their proposal, Miščević and Wenzler positioned urban contents in relative distance from the river and further identified Ottoman *carsi* as a valuable monument—a monument nevertheless—and argued that interwar and postwar high-rises negatively impacted the scale of the area. The architects maintained that "transitions to new sizes and architectural volumes (should be) secured with a graduation of scale."[222] Unlike Tange's disregard for the progression of scale between the new and old, the Croatian architects at least nominally attempted to acquire the harmonious nature of the new Skopje, so eagerly emphasized in all proposed projects.

Although judged to be conservative and restrained—the only project determined to be more moderate was that of Luigi Piccinato—, the proposal produced by the Croatian team showed the architects' familiarity with the city. The jury saw the project as "modest in its proposals, avoiding exaggeration in building heights, the size of open spaces or the location of use zones."[223] Zagreb's weekly *Vjesnik* reported in July 1965 that both Miščević and Wenzler

[220] Radovan Miščević and Fedor Wenzler, *Skopje: Novi centar grada* (Zagreb: Urbanisticki institut SRH, 1965). n/a. (Translation by author.) The publication *Skopje: Novi centar grada* was acquired from Dr. Ivo Wenzler from his personal archive. Dr. Wenzler has been a kind supporter of the research conducted for this chapter and generous in sharing the materials inherited from his late father as well as personal recollections.
[221] Radovan Miščević and Fedor Wenzler. n/a. (Translation by author.)
[222] Radovan Miščević and Fedor Wenzler. n/a. (Translation by author.)
[223] Derek Senior, *Skopje Resurgent: The Story of a United Nations Special Fund Town Planning Project*. 303.

partook in the initial reconstruction efforts in the immediate aftermath of the earthquake, working from their extensive understanding of the particularities of the Macedonian capital.[224] Senior writes that the Croatian team's proposal not only "achieved a 'good relationship' between the banks of the Vardar,"—something architects identified as a problem of the postwar planning—but that it also honored "natural features and historic monuments and retained most existing streets and rehabilitated buildings."[225] Significantly, the proposal was also "adaptable to changing social and economic circumstances."[226] Senior characterized Miščević and Wenzler's proposal not as revolutionary, but feasible and in accordance with principles and possibilities of Yugoslav urban planning and the country's iteration of modernist architecture.

As the competition distinctly invitation stated, neither of the two winning projects was to be fully executed, and Skopje's ITPA planned to utilize elements from both the winning proposals and from the other six competition entries. The Ninth Version was always intended to be an amalgam of the eight proposed projects, and it was to be produced by the Japanese and Croatian teams, along with local and international experts. In a "manner without precedent in Yugoslav urban planning,"[227] the creation of the Ninth Version was led by experts from Skopje, aided by the three planners from Tokyo (Arata Isozaki, Yoshio Taniguchi, and Sadao Watanabe), two from Zagreb (Miščević and Wenzler), two from the ITPA (Vojislav Mačkić and Dragan Tomovski), and one from Warsaw (Stanislaw Furman). The Macedonians repeatedly emphasized that in the creation of the Ninth Version no single participant was more important or influential than others, although architectural historians Jasna Stefanovska and Janez Koželj argue that

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[224] *Vjesnik*, July 26, 1965. 5. (Translation by author.)

[225] Derek Senior, *Skopje Resurgent: The Story of a United Nations Special Fund Town Planning Project*. 303.

[226] Senior. 303.

[227] Vojislav Mačkić, "Urbanistički projekt centra Skopja," *Arhitektura i Urbanizam* 7 (1966): 13-14. 13. (Translation by author.)

given the architect's prominence, the project was "clearly under the leadership of Tange and his team's entry."[228] The information collected at the Skopje City Archive allows for this only to an extent and on the surface and emphasizes the importance of the Macedonians' expertise in the execution of plans. The documents in the City Archive further highlight the significance of international collaboration and Yugoslav "brotherhood and unity."[229] Tange's prominence surely established him as the 'face' of the project, but not necessarily as its driving force, as the Yugoslav enforcing of diplomacy showed.

The optimism of the leaders of ITPA, led by the director Risto Galić and the mayor of Skopje, Blagoje Popov, for the fruitful cooperation of all architects was premature. Given the vastly differing characteristics of the two winning projects, the "merging process proved to be difficult if not impossible."[230] Architectural historians, as well as the many creators of the plan, concur that the integration of the designs was anything but seamless. Vojislav Mačkić wrote in 1966 that difficulties occurred from the start, though he rushes to assure his readers that these were promptly resolved. The Yugoslav architects were at no point to show discord, and other participants soon followed suit. Tange remarked in 1967 that the group was "preordained of members with differing languages, experiences, customs, and attitudes toward architecture and city planning (…) when work began, the first thing to do was to discuss individual attitudes toward architecture and urban planning."[231] The Japanese architect recalls the differing methodologies employed by the winning teams, yet he concedes that after receiving suggestions

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[228] Jasna Stefanovska and Janez Koželj, "Urban Planning and Transitional Development Issues: The Case of Skopje, Macedonia." 94.

[229] Fond 06.0079 [1963-1977], Fond za pomaganje obnovata na Skopje 76/511-529 [1964]. City Archive Skopje, Skopje, North Macedonia.

Extensive information also acquired from the Archive of Yugoslavia. Plan operacija Jugoslavija. Fond za obnovu i izgadnju Skoplja (1963-1967). Archive of Yugoslavia, Belgrade, Serbia.

[230] Ines Tolić, "Ernest Weissmann's 'World City:' The Reconstruction of Skopje within the Cold War Context." 186.

[231] Kenzo Tange, "Skopje urban plan." 44.

and comments from the ITPA representatives, and after spending some time in Skopje, his team became "more thoroughly acquainted with the local conditions and were able to view the plan from a new dimension."[232] The nature of the East-West and national-international cooperation proved to be a guiding force in the 1960s Skopje, ultimately garnering cooperation between dissimilar collaborators.

The final plan was partly grounded in Tange's proposal (fig. 51, 52, 53) and covered an area of 295 acres. The plan concocted by the international group of experts crated a division between the new and modern city on one shore of the Vardar River and the Ottoman Bazaar and Kale Fortress on the other; it established a direct connection between the city center and westward neighborhoods with the new railway station on the east side of the city. While the focus on preservation of the Old Town remained in place, the overall attention was still on the westward neighborhoods and only some on that northeast. The City Wall housing segment was reduced in scale and adjusted to the surrounding structures in the center, as proposed by the Croatian team, and the residential areas were designed open for pedestrian traffic with ample green spaces. Public structures interspersed the city center, and in an attempt to further unite the historic and modern Skopje, some were erected on the north shore of the Vardar River. The discussions went for months, and ITPA ultimately produced the Ninth Version in 1966. Still, this was only the beginning, and the reconstruction of the city was only to commence; the plans were continuously adjusted and expanded, particularly regarding the shifting Macedonian and Yugoslav economies. The reconstruction of the city was deemed completed only in 1980.[233]

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[232] Tange. 45.
[233] Derek Senior, *Skopje Resurgent: The Story of a United Nations Special Fund Town Planning Project*. 315-321.

"Brotherhood and Unity" and Diplomacy

Yugoslav "brotherhood and unity" became a national leitmotif in regard to Skopje in the immediate aftermath of the July 26 earthquake. While often described by historians and political scientists alike as a flawed concept imposed by the federation's leaders, such claims remain unsupported in the case of the Macedonian capital, both in the early postwar period and in 1963. The National Liberation Army—its members colloquially known as partisans—developed the slogan of "brotherhood and unity" during the Liberation War (1941-1945) and utilized it to emphasize the equality of all Yugoslav peoples and nationalities; "brotherhood and unity" represented a "genuine and unique sentiment of solidarity of Yugoslav partisans confronted with the fascist occupiers […] the basis of solidarity of the Yugoslav working class in their pursuit of socialism."[234] In postwar Macedonia in particular, the "idea of a Macedonian nation was based on the principles of brotherhood and equality, and of Yugoslav union,"[235] assuring Macedonian independence from its non-Yugoslav neighbors. The immediate post-earthquake days and months and the reconstruction of Skopje proved to be "brotherhood and unity" epitomized: in a moment of dire need, all Yugoslav peoples, regardless of nation or religion, had united to relieve the agony of the citizens of Skopje.

The project of "brotherhood and unity" changed and transformed during the existence of the Yugoslav federation; it was slowly diminishing by the later decades of the twentieth century. Media studies scholar Zala Volcic examines the concept of "brotherhood and unity" as experienced by Macedonians and Slovenians born in the period between 1960 and 1970. Volcic explores the concept of *Yugoslav* identity as described by her informants, claiming it to be

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[234] Ana Devic, "The Forging of Socialist Nationalism and Its Alternatives: Social and Political Context and Intellectual Criticism in Yugoslavia Between the Mid-1960s and 1992" (University of California, 2000). 24.
[235] Ljupčo S. Risteski, "Monuments and Urban Nationalism. The Skopje 2014 Project," *Antropologija*, no. 3 (2016): 49–70. 58.

"culturally rich, full of possibilities, enjoyment, and excitement, as a space in between two opposed global blocs at the time, as a place of the non-aligned movement."[236] The author's collaborators—Macedonian and Slovenian citizens, mainly highly educated people—identify traits such as "cultural diversity, the multicultural slogan 'brotherhood and unity,' anti-fascism and resistance and Tito's leading role in the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries" to be of ultimate importance in understanding constructions of Yugoslav identity. During the 1960s, the Yugoslav project of "development, modernization, multiculturalism and pluralism"[237] played a vital role in the vast reconstruction project of Skopje and its diplomatic implications and framing.[238]

During the five decades of the Yugoslav state, the communist leaders consistently channeled resources from more developed of the republics to underdeveloped ones. The political scientist Sabrina Ramet argues that Yugoslav assistance to Macedonia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Montenegro was viewed by scholars and politicians "as the key to eliminating the nationalities question altogether."[239] The paradigmatic notion of "brotherhood and unity" played a significant role in the dissemination of nation-wide aid to the underdeveloped regions of the country facilitating urban development, industrializing and urbanizing areas exemplifying socialist progress. The modernization of Yugoslav cities in the aftermath of the war served both as the signifier and as a catalyst of Yugoslav progress: newly modernized cities throughout the country displayed the successes of socialist planning and economics, if only partly and on a superficial level. The immense aid delivered to Skopje in the aftermath of the earthquake and

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[236] Zala Volcic, "Scenes from the Last Yugoslav Generation: The Long March from Yugo-Utopia to Nationalisms," *Cultural Dynamics* 19, no. 1 (2007): 67–89. 75.
[237] Volcic. 75.
[238] The question of "brotherhood and unity" became a prominent concern by the 1970s—particularly in Croatia—and subsequently altered the Yugoslav political discourse.
[239] Sabrina P. Ramet, *The Three Yugoslavias: State-Building and Legitimation, 1918—2005.* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2006). 263.

during the post-earthquake reconstruction relied on a support system that had already been established since the postwar period and was based in the fundamental ideology of the Yugoslav state. By the end of the day on July 26, 1963, over 100,000 people were evacuated from the city and 485 dead were identified. The newspapers report that the intake of wounded and displaced commenced promptly; the nearby Serbian city of Vranje accommodated over eighty wounded Macedonians by one o'clock in the afternoon, and Slovenian hospitals anticipated its first victims by the end of the day.[240]

Aside from Yugoslav internal strengths exemplified in "brotherhood and unity," the tools of diplomacy proved to be vital in the immediate aid and reconstruction of Skopje. Yugoslav socialist leaders had worked to maintain successful relations both with Western democracies and the Eastern Bloc, establishing fruitful economic and political collaborations that proved vital in the aftermath of the Skopje earthquake. The political realities of the postwar Yugoslavia created a need for cooperation with both the Eastern European communist countries and the Western democracies, ultimately producing a country sufficiently neutral to be the ground of the Cold War collaboration. The architectural historian Dubravka Sekulić argues that the 1948 clash between Tito and Stalin was a moment when Yugoslavia embarked on the creation of an alternative communist path, with a gradual introduction of "market relations, with socialist enterprises largely free from state intervention."[241] Following this premise, Sekulić contends that "Yugoslav socialism rested upon two pillars," on an economic policy of socialist self-management and on a foreign policy of non-alignment, both grounded in the victories of the

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[240] *Borba*, July 27, 1963. 7. (Translation by author.)
[241] Dubravka Sekulić, "Energoprojekt in Nigeria: Yugoslav Construction Companies in the Developing World," *Southeastern Europe*, no. 41 (2017): 200–229. 205.

Liberation War.[242] While the triumphs of the War were the key focus of the early postwar era, the establishment of the Non-Aligned Movement proved vital in the later decades.

The establishment of the Non-Aligned Movement and the exporting of socialist know-how into newly independent and developing countries of the Third World has been the main emphasis of the inquiry into the role of architecture as a tool of diplomacy in the Yugoslav context.[243] Officially established in 1961, the NAM's mission was to find a so-called third way of political and economic existence within the divisions of the Cold War; member states all vowed to aid each other and to exchange knowledge.[244] The sociologist Ana Devic writes that as early as the mid-1950s, following Stalin's death, "Tito recognized that co-operating with Third World countries was a powerful strategy that would help promote Yugoslavia's independent position in world affairs."[245] The creation of the Non-Aligned Movement presented an economic opportunity as well. Yugoslav construction companies distributed the means of modernization and modernity, as often theorized by architectural historians, and "knowledge, materials, and labor were exported on a large scale."[246] Although the economic and diplomatic gains were immense, the import of knowledge from this part of the world was indiscernible in Yugoslavia. The influx of money and political presence on a global scale paved the way for unexpected

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[242] Sekulić. 205.

[243] For further reading see Maroje Mrduljaš and Vladimir Kulić, eds., *Unfinished Modernizations: Between Utopia and Pragmatism* (Zagreb: UHA/CCA, Croatian Architect's Association, 2012)., Lukasz Stanek, "Cold War Transfer: Architecture and Planning from Socialist Countries in the 'Third World,'" *Journal of Architecture* 17, no. 3 (2012): 299–307.

[244] The Non-Aligned Movement was established in 1961 by Josip Broz Tito (Yugoslavia), Sukarno (Indonesia), Nehru (India), Nasser (Egypt), and Kwame Nkrumah (Ghana) on the Croatian island of Brijuni. The member states vowed to aid each other and exchange knowledge. The Movement focused on providing the 'third way' of politics and economy for the countries of the developing world in the midst of the bipolar division of the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union. Amongst other provisions, the participating states agreed to mutual aid and exchange and peaceful co-existence. The Non-Aligned Movement lost its significance in the aftermath of the Cold War; nonetheless, the organization exists to this day, counting 120 states as its members.

[245] Ana Devic, "The Forging of Socialist Nationalism and Its Alternatives: Social and Political Context and Intellectual Criticism in Yugoslavia Between the Mid-1960s and 1992." 331.

[246] Dubravka Sekulić, "Energoprojekt in Nigeria: Yugoslav Construction Companies in the Developing World." 209.

collaborations and further facilitated the country's political independence. The Yugoslav distancing from the Eastern Bloc—albeit not from Marxist-Leninist doctrine—in addition to the introduction of workers' self-management that was a unique communist economic policy where the workers nominally owned factories in which they worked, and the opening of the country to liberalizations of the market, allowed for Yugoslav companies to work in Western European countries, particularly in West Germany.[247] Regardless of Yugoslavia's diplomatic successes and economic transformations that occurred after 1948, the unemployment in the country was notoriously high. Most likely, this trend was caused by de-ruralization, overpopulation of the cities, and constantly rising numbers of highly educated and employment seeking citizens. Consequently, Yugoslavia's permanent debt and high rates of unemployment created dependency between the country and West Germany; by the late 1960s, a large portion of Yugoslavs came to live and work in capitalist countries, driven by the failures of their own national economy yet impacting it favorably by bringing back in continual financial investments.

The political and economic processes that unfolded in the period between 1948 and 1963 established diplomatic relations that permitted Yugoslav leaders to seek help from the ideologically opposing nations after the Skopje earthquake, with aid swiftly pouring in from all over the world. The experiences of Yugoslav communism and its diplomatic relations facilitated the unprecedented collaboration of the world powers in 1963, aiding in the rehabilitation of the 1960s Macedonian capital. In 1963, as the earthquake demolished Skopje and the need for global assistance became unavoidable, two decades of Yugoslav "brotherhood and unity" and diplomacy proved vital.

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[247] For further reading on Yugoslav self-management, see Radoslav Smiljkovic, *Worker's Self-Management in Yugoslavia* (Federal Committee for Information, 1974).

The architects, planners, and construction experts who participated in the process of the reconstruction of Skopje were many, coming from different parts of the world. In July 1963, the modernist architect Ernest Weissmann was head of the United Nation's Special Fund and the man who would come to identify Skopje as the "city of international solidarity;" on behalf of the UN, Weissmann was in charge in the creation of reconstruction plans for Skopje throughout the 1960s. According to the architectural historian Ines Tolić, Weissman was the perfect person for the job; the Croatian architect was "trusted by both the Yugoslav government and the UN establishment," and from such a position stemmed his ability to "steer the reconstruction process in order not only to help the Macedonian capital, but also to further his own agenda."[248] Weissmann's dedication to "unconditional internationalism" in architecture, initially exhibited during the interwar years when he had just joined the United Nations, was yet another factor in his election for the role of a mediator between the UN and the Yugoslavs.[249] Weissmann's vision saw the reconstruction of Skopje as a world affair, as an "international workshop for architecture and peace, while the peripheral position of the Balkans was reimagined."[250] As seen in his archives at the Harvard University's Frances Loeb Library, Weissmann maintained cordial, even friendly, relations with all the key players in the project of the reconstruction of Skopje. The UN representative mediated differences between architects and planners from different parts of the world, all the while encouraging internationalism and modernist architecture and urbanism in Skopje.[251]

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[248] Ines Tolić, "Ernest Weissmann's 'World City:' The Reconstruction of Skopje within the Cold War Context." 174.

[249] Tolić. 174.

[250] Tolić. 174.

[251] Ernest Weissmann Archive at the Frances Loeb Library at the Harvard University Graduate School of Design has proven immensely useful in the research conducted for this chapter. The Archive was only recently catalogued and provides an insight into the work of an understated, yet highly impactful figure of the UN and Yugoslav architecture of the second half of the twentieth century. Data acquired from: B03-060 (1-6), Box 5 and C05-012, Box 12.

The diplomatic management of the rift between the East and West first took place in the initial stages of the reconstruction, during the selection of the planners for the Skopje masterplan. The ideological divisions of the era were mitigated in the joint appointment of Constantinos Doxiadis of Greece and of Adolf Ciborowski of Poland. In 1964, both the Greek and Polish teams partook in the creation of the masterplan, Ciborowski ultimately serving as head of the project. Scholarship habitually refers to this division of labor as a diplomatic compromise between the Yugoslavs and the UN, further emphasizing the fracture between the two political systems. Although this characterization is accurate to an extent, the reality of the events that transpired was more nuanced: Ciborowski's role was partly based on diplomacy, but the Polish planner's expertise acquired during the reconstruction of postwar Warsaw was unparalleled and for that reason urgently needed.

Doxiadis and Ciborowski were both highly regarded experts in the field of urban planning in the 1960s. Doxiadis' revolutionary work on the planning of Islamabad in the early 1960s, and later Riyadh, as well as the creation of *ekistics*—the science of human settlements— made him a frequent and invaluable collaborator for the UN. Although deemed by the scholarly community as ambivalent at times, the relationship between the Polish and Greek teams advanced without major concerns. Doxiadis' extensive archival documentation shows that meetings between the experts in his firm, the Polish representatives, and Yugoslav government officials were conducted as early as December 1964, suggesting that all decision making was carried out jointly by the Polish and Greek teams: The correspondence dealt with technical details of the early stages of planning.[252] The correspondence between the Doxiadis and

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[252] Monthly Report no. 3 MR-YUG-S3, [December 1964], WPR-YUG-S11, S13, Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives at the Benaki Museum in Athens, Greece.

Associates office and Ciborowski dates back to November 1964[253] and offers further insight into the relationship between the two teams. Ciborowski visited the offices of Doxiadis and Associates in Athens in August 1965 and, in a series of meetings, the planners assessed the progress of the project and discussed the concluding steps.[254] The archival documentation does reveal certain problems the Greek planners encountered in Skopje in regard to the requirement to work on different sections simultaneously as opposed to consecutively and progressively, though none in regard to jurisdiction, as the documentation shows that the Greek planners deferred to Ciborowski as the project manager and praised his guidance.[255]

Although international diplomacy was often brought up during the masterplan production process—particularly in regard to the appointment of Ciborowski as the project manager—diplomacy played an even more prominent role during the UN-sponsored competition for the reconstruction of the Skopje city center. The UN's selection criteria for the international competition participants remains murky to this day, yet the document with candidates' names listed in order of preference, with Tange's name in first place, was sent from the UN headquarters in New York City to Skopje some two months before the competition.[256] The Yugoslavs' challenging of this suggestion was never recorded. The Macedonian press "enthusiastically reported on the selection process, especially with regard to Tange."[257] The architect's work on the Tokyo Plan was discussed throughout the region as was the broader significance of progress and development his work signified. While the public pondered whether

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[253] Yugoslavia Correspondence, C-YUG-A 1-206 [1964], C-YUG-A159, A163, A170, Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives at the Benaki Museum in Athens, Greece.
[254] Monthly Report no. 11 MR-YUG-A11, [August 1965], Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives at the Benaki Museum in Athens, Greece.
[255] Skopje Urban Plan General Report, Organisation and Summaries ZUA-SK-21 DOX-YUG-A12, [September 1965], Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives at the Benaki Museum in Athens, Greece.
[256] Ines Tolić, "Ernest Weissmann's 'World City:' The Reconstruction of Skopje within the Cold War Context." 183.
[257] Tolić. 183.

the Japanese architect was favored due to his designs for monumental structures, hitherto unseen in the Balkans, Tange himself suggested that his invitation was extended by Weissmann with whom he has been acquainted since the days of CIAM in the early 1950s.[258]

In the weeklong period of July 12-20, 1965, the International Jury comprised of national and international experts and appointed by the Yugoslavs and the UN met in Skopje to evaluate proposals, deciding to split the first prize between Tange and his team at sixty percent and the Croatian team of Miščević and Wenzler at forty percent. Tolić writes that "given the split result, the jury decreed that the projects were to be merged into a new one—later called the "Ninth Version"—which would take into consideration all the best solutions" from the various submitted proposals.[259] The Jury was presided by Ernest Weissmann, and was comprised of two members of the International Union of Architects, one representative of the International Federation for Housing and Planning, two United Nations affiliates (one of them Adolf Ciborowski); the delegates from the Yugoslav institutions included experts from the Institute of Earthquake Engineering and Engineering Seismology, the Association for Town Planning, the Association of Architects, the Committee for the Reconstruction of Skopje and the University of Ljubljana. The Jury's external experts—both local and international—offered advice on the topics of cultural heritage, transportation and traffic, urban planning, economic concerns, structural and seismological problems; the group was completed with Blagoje Popov, the mayor of Skopje.[260]

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[258] Tolić. 183.
[259] Tolić. 186.
[260] "Documents Relating to an International Competition for a Study Plan of the City Center of Skopje, November 1964," box 182, MEHRP: 2. Cited in Ines Tolić, "Ernest Weissmann's 'World City:' The Reconstruction of Skopje within the Cold War Context." 186.

The collaboration between the planners and architects who engaged in the creation of the city center proposal was much more strained than the relatively harmonious cooperation between the international and local teams that worked on the Skopje masterplan. The vastly different and contradicting urban designs as well as the elements from other proposals that were to be included presented major obstacles for the makers of the Ninth Version. As Tolić writes, the Jury of the city center competition assigned the first prize to both Japanese and Croatian teams in order to maintain the balance between international and national "dimensions of the event […] the path leading to international collaboration was again (if somewhat forcefully) left open."[261] The overall focus of the competitions was clear: the international cooperation was vital and was not to be omitted at any stage or level. The reports authored by the competitions' participants show that the diplomatic needs of the period did not necessarily supersede architectural and planning trajectories, though politics held essentially the same weight in the decision-making process. The core of the disagreement was simple: the Yugoslav state actors, including Macedonian politicians and planners, ITPA experts, mayor Blagoje Popov, and Kole Jordanovski, the Director of the General Directorate for the Reconstruction of Skopje, saw the reconstruction as an opportunity to promote communist urban development, confined within the limitations of the state's Cold War division and economic travails, while the UN participants—Weissmann and Tange, primarily—saw it as a tool of modern progress and architectural and urban exploration that was ultimately impossible in the 1960s Yugoslavia.

In a 1967 article in *The Japan Architect* journal, Tange writes that the city center team was composed of members accustomed to different practices, work approaches, and languages,

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[261] Ines Tolić, "Ernest Weissmann's 'World City:' The Reconstruction of Skopje within the Cold War Context." 189.

yet with equal rights in the production of the plan.[262] Yugoslav architects and planners also wrote

about the unavoidable discrepancies and disagreements among the Ninth Version collaborators,

albeit in a more subtle manner, one befitting of the dogmatic Yugoslav politics of unity the

planners were surely not to stray from. The varying backgrounds of architects, in addition to

their differing understandings of the economic conditions in Yugoslavia in general, and in

Macedonia in particular, contributed to conflicting approaches that were to be negotiated

throughout the production of plans. Inevitably, this resulted in a different city than the one

envisioned by either Tange or Miščević and Wenzler. In the end, the city that was constructed

was not the lauded, attention-grabbing brutalist masterpiece proposed by the Japanese architect,

but more of a downscaled adaptation of his plan, heavily mediated by local experts—Miščević

and Wenzler with their rational approach and ITPA planners and architects, in particular—and

adapted not only to the needs but also to the capacities of the local and national economies.

The problems that beset this enforced collaboration from the start further underscored the

importance of diplomacy in the execution of the Skopje reconstruction project. Figures such as

Weissmann, Tange, Ciborowski, and Doxiadis joined the local planners and architects such as

Miščević and Wenzler, Brezoski, and Đorđević in the creation of the modern Skopje, all with

distinctive objectives to be explored in Macedonia. Weissmann's goal of elevating the status of

Yugoslavia in the world of mid-century architecture collided with the reality of the country's

economy and politics, all the while Tange's Metabolist explorations initiated in the Tokyo

Project failed to reach their full potential given the architectural and economic limitations of the

Yugoslav federation.

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[262] Kenzo Tange, "Skopje urban plan." 44.

Conclusion

The tale of the reconstruction of Skopje during the 1960s is seemingly well-known. Authors who wrote about the city in the aftermath of the earthquake provided an impressive amount of details as well as thorough analyses. However, the design minutiae and the Cold War division narrative seem to have overshadowed the broader context. The roles of Kenzo Tange, Constantinos Doxiadis, and Adolf Ciborowski are retold, their impact on the construction of Skopje rightfully emphasized. Yet, the entire project was more than a story of international competitions and the UN-facilitated project that overcame the Cold War divide. The rebuilding of Skopje was truly a project of international diplomacy and of "brotherhood and unity"—both architectural and political. Nevertheless, the current discourse mainly focuses on international actors and the impacts of a powerful international organization and obfuscates the narrative of the entwined notions architecture and politics, *both* local and international. The focus on Tange, the United Nations, and the disjunction between the ideological East and West excludes from the equation the larger context and particularities of Yugoslav politics, economy, and architectural trajectory that fundamentally facilitated not only the ever-coveted international cooperation, but also the creation of modernist urban plans and the subsequent brutalist city. Yugoslav diplomacy, the country's politics of non-alignment and vast modernization projects that commenced after the end of the war created the political environment in which the international cooperation that produced master- and city center-plan was possible to begin with. As architectural historians Mirjana Lozanovska and Igor Martek poignantly show in their 2018 article, "Skopje Resurgent: the international confusions of post-earthquake planning, 1963–1967," the "process of

reconstruction was non-linear […] its multi-polar fields and complexity […] related to its scale and the conditions of reconstruction."[263]

In the aftermath of the UN-sponsored competitions and as the world's attention shifted elsewhere, Skopje entered the 1970s armed only with urban plans and designs. It no longer had the same international patronage it had enjoyed in the 1960s; international architects went home, and foreign funding ceased. The United Nations completed the creation of plans and departed. The shifting politics of the twentieth century proved to be overwhelming, and the constructed city came to be less visionary and less functional than hoped for. In the end, only the City Gate and the City Wall were constructed from Tange's monumental plan, and even these were not done in the colossal manner originally proposed (fig. 54). Although the 1960s creation of urban plans for the Macedonian capital is often discussed as Tange's project, the final designs were mitigated by the more restrained and feasible plan produced by Miščević and Wenzler. As the next chapter shows, a new decade brought new challenges and urban developments: the brutalist city of the post-earthquake Macedonian capital was ultimately constructed by local and national architects throughout the 1970s.

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[263] Mirjana Lozanovska and Igor Martek, "Skopje Resurgent: The International Confusions of Post-Earthquake Planning, 1963–1967." 7.

Chapter 4:

Building Yugoslav Skopje: Urban Identity in a City of Contradictions

"…Today in our works on the plans for the reconstruction of the city we strive
to create only the first modest base for the future development of a new and
magnificent Skopje."[264]

—Adolf Ciborowski, Polish architect and urban planner

Derek Senior concludes his account of the United Nations' involvement in the
reconstruction of Skopje with the departure of international experts in 1966. The UN Special
Fund completed the production of master- and city center plans, and the project concluded its
work in Skopje with the construction of the highway system, just as the city began to "shed its
shabby, forlorn look."[265] As can be observed from Senior's text, the perception of a depleted,
backward city persisted throughout the 1960s, its transformation tied to the UN efforts in Skopje.
The foreign architects and planners left the Macedonian capital at the same time as the UN
personnel; a lesson gained from Skopje was that to plan the reconstruction of a city destroyed at
such scale there needed to be vast international collaboration. Still, the present-day scholarly

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[264] Derek Senior, *Skopje Resurgent: The Story of a United Nations Special Fund Town Planning Project.* 356.
[265] Senior. 350.

discourse on the city's reconstruction often omits Senior's final paragraph, failing to acknowledge that "this co-operative effort did no more than produce, in a short period of time, the technical equipment and policy guidelines required to enable Skopje to help itself."[266] The UN only sponsored the production of the master- and city center plans, leaving the inevitable question: who would fund the actual rebuilding of the city? Ultimately, the reconstruction of the city was only to commence after the production of plans and policies, and it was to be conducted by the local, Yugoslav and Macedonian, architects and urban planners and construction companies.

As foreign officials and experts departed from Skopje, there was little doubt left in Yugoslavia that the Macedonian capital was to continue to be a city embodying both "international solidarity" and Yugoslav "brotherhood and unity." Yugoslav president Josip Broz Tito frequently visited the city following the departure of the UN and remained a vocal supporter of rebuilding efforts. Still, the optimism with which the Yugoslav and Macedonian governments presumed the reconstruction would continue unabated bordered on naivete. As the new decade unfolded, it became clear to communist leaders in Skopje and in Belgrade that the optimistic urban plans for the city center and the Skopje metropolitan area would remain almost exclusively on paper. The financial reality was harsh. As Macedonian geographer Stefan Bouzarovski wrote in 2011, the "public finance gradually started to dwindle during the 1970s," and the local and national governments soon faced the necessity for the "downscaling—and in most cases, cessation—of construction activities aimed at implementing the urban development provisions of the 1964 Master Plan."[267] Tange's monumental proposal for the city center met a similar fate,

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[266] Senior. 356.
[267] Stefan Bouzarovski, "City Profile: Skopje." 267.

and the Japanese architect's arresting colossal structures are today found mainly in his archives at the Harvard University's Frances Loeb Library or reproduced in monographs.[268]

An understudied period left in the shadow of the 1960s plans effectively unearthed the city known for its brutalist architecture created by local, national, and international architects. I examine the architectural production of brutalist structures the city is known for and political processes affecting minority groups in Skopje that unfolded during approximately two decades after the departure of the international community. I study the local and national socio-economic permutations—the Yugoslav debt and disenfranchisement of local minorities— that inevitably impacted the execution of the UN-sponsored urban plans for the Macedonian capital. I explore the national and international knowledge transfers that facilitated the architectural production of the era, and the financial and diplomatic gains acquired from the Yugoslavs' participation and leadership of the Non-Aligned Movement. Finally, I study the treatment of heritage and its social connotations as well as the problematic of ethnic minorities and the creation of urban identity of the city split between urban progress and socio-political neglect.

In this chapter, I analyze the period of the 1970s in regard to the scarce architectural narratives dealing with the decade, but also in regard to the importance Skopje holds today as a repository of brutalist architecture in the Balkans. The overwhelming focus by the scholarly community on the involvement of the UN, international architects, and the master and city center plans produced in the 1960s obfuscates the history of the effectively Yugoslav construction of brutalist Skopje, its successes and failures. The structures completed in the 1970s and early 1980s were designed by local and regional architects—based on the modernist-era plans and under the influences of Tange's brutalist tendencies and constructed by local companies such as

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[268] A056-001-008, A073-001-006, and 007-011. Kenzo Tange Archives at the Frances Loeb Library at Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.

Granit—and as such, they tell a story of the construction of a Yugoslav city and its complex urban identity. Still, the story of the post-earthquake Skopje is not only of brutalist architectural trends and explorations, but it is also an inquiry into the divisive nature of the city's architecture, the Yugoslavs' treatment of minorities and their urban heritage and identity in the construction of the brutalist city. Ultimately, it is a tale of socio-political divisions exhibited in the urban fabric of the late-Yugoslav Skopje.

The Yugoslav Politics and Economy: 1970-1990

By 1970, major shifts in the ideologically bipolar world destabilized the established political patterns. New concerns arose in the Cold War political arena: the two decades of the Vietnam War had led to a global economic decline, and the 1973 oil crisis further destabilized the balance of power between the ideological East and West. The development of the Non-Aligned Movement further contributed to the imbalance of power, as the formerly colonized Third World countries established and asserted their independence. In 1968, following the Prague Spring—a brief period of political liberalizations—the Soviet Union invaded Czechoslovakia and quelled the initiatives for the freedom of press, speech, and movement. The invasion and its repercussions were severe and widely felt, causing protests around the world, further unsettling the balance of earlier decades. Further, the 1970s brought upon revolutions in Iran and Nicaragua and political crises in the Middle East and Chile. The fragile stability of the postwar years was gone; reawaken hostilities once again engrossed the globe in the late 1970s and early 1980s with the Soviet War in Afghanistan and the establishment of the *Solidarity*

movement in Poland.[269] All these events impacted the global economy, and although the

economic reform of the 1960s briefly "made possible the economic boom of the late 1970s,"[270]

they consequently influenced an already unstable Yugoslav economy of self-management.

In the internal affairs in Yugoslavia, the 1970s brought drastic changes as well:

contentions between the conservative and liberal strains of the Communist Party multiplied.

Despite the short economic boom, unemployment remained high, and tensions between republics

grew steadily, mainly seen in leadership and financial conflicts between Croats and Serbs and

between Montenegrins and Serbs. The nationalist problematic was least present in Macedonia,

proving the importance of Yugoslav politics of "brotherhood and unity" and local and national

identity in the establishment of Macedonian independence from its non-Yugoslav neighbors in

the aftermath of the war. The nationalist anxieties arose in Macedonia only in the early 1980s

and mainly pertained to the internal concerns of the national designation of Muslim Albanians

living in the Republic. In 1981, a Macedonian historian wrote in a local newspaper that the

"Albanians of Kosovo were utilizing Islam in a strategy to de-Macedonize Macedonia."[271] While

the issue paled in comparison to the problematic of Muslim national identity in Bosnia and

Herzegovina and Kosovo,[272] it grew in prominence in the period after the dissolution of

Yugoslavia and remains a point of contention in Macedonia to this day.[273]

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[269] Solidarity (*Solidarność* in Polish) is a labor union, and it was established in September 1980 under the leadership of Lech Walesa. The union was not controlled by the Party, a first in the Eastern Bloc, and within a year it amounted the membership of over 10 million workers. The union advocated for workers' rights and social liberties and was countered by severe opposition from the government and repression. Finally, the government and Solidarity leaders came to negotiating table, resulting in the first semi-free elections held in 1989. The union exist to this day, its membership just under half a million workers.

[270] Sabrina P. Ramet, *The Three Yugoslavias: State-Building and Legitimation, 1918—2005.* 228.

[271] Ramet. 290.

[272] The problematic of national identity of Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina was mitigated by their recognition as a national group in the 1971 Yugoslav constitution (Muslims in Bosnia accounted for at least one third of the population), but given the contentious relations with Albanian Muslims in Kosovo and neighboring Serbia, the issues were never resolved in the province, resulting in years of warfare in the later 1990s.

[273] For further reading on Yugoslavia and its politics, see the highly detailed works of Sabrina P. Ramet, in particular *Nationalism and Federalism in Yugoslavia, 1962-1991.*

Yugoslav foreign policies focused on the country's leadership of the Non-Aligned Movement, and the economic trade with either of the two global blocs was supplemented with intellectual transfers of architectural and construction expertise with the Third World countries. The Yugoslav role in the building of the newly independent post-colonial states in Africa emphasized both the economic accomplishments of the federation's socialist government and its role in "circumventing the 'centers'" and creating a new "network of collaborators."[274] Unlike economic gains, knowledge received by architects in Yugoslavia, on the other hand, was minimal and has been rarely addressed by architectural journals. A rare example is Aleksandar Đokić's 1969 article *Arhitektura Urbanizam*, "Naši neimari u inostranstvu" [Our builders in the world], detailing architectural and urban projects completed via NAM. Đokić elaborates on the successes of Yugoslav architects and companies throughout the world, mainly in Third World countries. In the text, the author acknowledges the missing focus on the Yugoslavs' participation in international competitions and the work of national construction companies.[275] The global political and economic impacts of the Non-Aligned Movement and its members' collaborations were immense and continued until the dissolution of the federation.

Diplomatic relations were perhaps slightly more strained with the Western Europe and the United State than with the Third World states, largely due to the peculiar position of Yugoslavia as a European communist state outside of the realm of Soviet control, yet still a communist country. As time passed, this changed as well, and by the beginning of 1970s, the importance of the geopolitical position of Yugoslavia became more prominent, and although "before the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia in August 1968, relations between the EEC and Yugoslavia mainly concerned the commercial sphere," the following decade brought upon

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[274] Dubravka Sekulić, "Energoprojekt in Nigeria: Yugoslav Construction Companies in the Developing World." 202.
[275] Aleksandar Đokić, "Naši neimari u inostranstvu," *Arhitektura Urbanizam* 10, no. 58 (1969): 15.

an new shift and the European democracies "regarded the EEC as a means for offering

Yugoslavia low-profile political support."[276] Western democracies saw cooperation with

Yugoslavia as vital in the Cold War partition of Europe; the country's economic stability was

deemed essential for the preservation of its independence from the Soviet sphere of influence and

the maintenance of the perceived Cold War balance of power.

In Yugoslavia, there was continuous increase in architectural production: the Yugoslav

federation has continued its quest for modernization, and "the opportunities grew even more after

Yugoslavia's policy of non-alignment opened the door to Third World markets."[277] As Kulić and

Mrduljaš argue, to practice architecture in Yugoslavia was a lucrative endeavor, and "until the

early nineteen-eighties, the booming urbanization made sure that jobs were aplenty."[278] The

developing country was nevertheless still a communist one, and "operating in hybrid economy

[…] meant a great deal of aesthetic and conceptual freedom while working within the limits of

socialized building types."[279] Yugoslav architects were trained in the country's newly founded

schools of architecture, with extensive liberties to travel for education and professional training,

which they would then bring home. These architects produced an urban environment that

combined local traditions and local architectural modernisms with international inspirations.

The 1970s and the 1980s ushered in widespread changes in global architecture. The era

of modernism, dominated by the International Style, gave way to postmodernist explorations of

high-tech and organic architecture; yet, Yugoslav architects engaged with this transition only in

the last decade of the union's existence. The architecture of the 1970s featured mainly works of

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[276] Benedetto Zaccaria, *The EEC's Yugoslav Policy in Cold War Europe, 1968–1980* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016). 46.
[277] Vladimir Kulić and Maroje Mrduljaš, *Modernism In-Between*. 29.
[278] Kulić, Mrduljaš. 29.
[279] Kulić, Mrduljaš. 29.

late-stage modernism, bound to the vanishing tenets of the International Style, and the local architects engaged in experimentation with brutalist architectural elements. By the mid-1980s, Yugoslav post-modernists became more prominent within the larger architectural field. Just as the 1960s in Yugoslavia "brought a taste for structurally advanced design with a pervasive focus on honesty of materials and of structure" that can be seen in regional brutalist explorations, the "taste for structure gradually lost its appeal with the onset of the 1980s."[280] A new architectural period unfolded congruently with a political one, and the early 1990s brought upon violent ends in both the architectural production and in the existence of the Yugoslav union.

Transfers of Knowledge

In 2019, the main references to Skopje are the academics' studies of the earthquake and the 1960s star-studded UN project, while the online blogs post images of brutalist structures and invite tourists to visit the contemporary neoclassical city. The towers of Georgi Konstantinovski's student dormitories stand perched on websites urging architecture aficionados to come to Macedonia (fig. 55), while scholars applaud the elegant lines of Biro 71's building of the Macedonian Opera and Ballet (fig. 56). The contemporary condition of these structures aside—abandoned by the present-day government and in an increasing state of disrepair—, the paragons of the brutalist era tell a story more expansive than that of the modernist planning of the post-earthquake city.

The brutalist Skopje was the outcome of the architectural expertise of Yugoslav architects and the ever-present transfers of knowledge, both national and international. Transfers and

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[280] Luka Skansi, "Unity in Heterogeneity: Building with a Taste for Structure," in *Toward a Concrete Utopia: Architecture in Yugoslavia 1948-1980*, ed. Martino Stierli and Vladimir Kulić (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2018), 64–72. 66, 71.

exchanges of knowledge among architects from Yugoslav republics and with the United States'

universities have been instrumental in the reconstruction of Skopje since the inception of the

project. The UN rebuilding project, with Ernest Weissman as its leading figure, established the

city center and master plans through collaborative processes; in 1970, Senior wrote that

international and local experts— "over a hundred consultants from more than twenty

countries"—worked together, "constantly exchanging ideas and experiences."[281] The UN also

proposed and facilitated the allocation of academic fellowships. Reconstruction project manager

Adolf Ciborowski had the "task of selecting, in consultation with the local authorities, the 14

professionally qualified candidates to be awarded Special Fund fellowships."[282]

UN officials envisaged the fellowships to be awarded to experts in the fields pertinent to

the earthquake destruction and reconstruction: the fourteen awards were given for "post-graduate

work in seismology, town planning, architecture, traffic engineering and water engineering,"

with experts selected from different universities around the globe, including the Federal Republic

of Germany, Finland, the Netherlands, Poland, Sweden, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom,

and the United States.[283] Host countries were typically those that played a significant role in the

reconstruction of Skopje or else those with vital expertise in the field of seismology, deemed as

paramount for the safe future of Skopje. Ciborowski recommended that the fellowships run

"from the end of the Project's planning period, so that the best use might subsequently be made

of the successful candidates' services in working out the detailed implementation of a Master

Plan they had themselves helped to prepare."[284] The UN awarded the fellowships to

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[281] Derek Senior, *Skopje Resurgent: The Story of a United Nations Special Fund Town Planning Project*. 123-124.
[282] Senior. 124.
[283] Senior. 124.
[284] Senior. 124.

professionals already involved in the reconstruction of the city, many of whom would come to define the urban fabric of the 1970s Skopje.

Seven Macedonian architects left Yugoslavia to participate in the United States-sponsored master's degrees at American universities. After spending time at American public and private universities and interning in American architecture studios, "they all returned to Skopje to design some of the most prominent structures" in the new city.[285] Significantly, the implementation of American architectural trends was conducted through the dissemination of knowledge in a long-term manner, and not through sponsorships of construction projects but by education. The architects who returned from the United States not only left an architectural mark on Skopje evident to this day, but they also influenced new generations of architects, either as teachers or through their works that came to form the cityscape of the Macedonian capital. Through these means, Skopje "served as an open-air classroom for a younger generation of Yugoslav architects."[286] Further, the local architectural experimentations allow for an insight not only into the Western impacts—American, in particular—in the creation of the Macedonian capital but also into the knowledge transfers between Yugoslav republics.

The assumption that the creation of brutalist Skopje lay on the influences exclusively assigned by the UN and the United States exhibits a simplistic understanding of the events that took place: the architecture of the Macedonian capital was created in a multifaceted manner that overarches this assumption. The production of Skopje's built environment took place through an amalgamation of interwar modernisms, regional particularities and centuries-long heritage, as

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[285] Vladimir Kulić and Maroje Mrduljaš, *Modernism In-Between*. 46.
[286] Martino Stierli and Vladimir Kulić, eds., *Toward a Concrete Utopia: Architecture in Yugoslavia, 1948-1980* (New York, NY: The Museum of Modern Art, 2018). 22.

well as transfers of knowledge from various parts of the globe that built the urban identity of
Skopje.

Building the Brutalist Skopje

On July 26, 1970, the seventh anniversary of the earthquake, the Macedonian daily
newspaper *Nova Makedonija* recalled the tragedy of 1963. Journalists praised the construction
completed in the past several years (fig. 57).[287] The unknown author of the short front-page
article emphasizes the perseverance of Macedonians and the Yugoslav "brotherhood and unity"
that rebuilt the city. The Skopje city council reportedly took pride in the "rational execution" of
new buildings and the repair of damaged ones, further highlighting that the rebuilding of the city
was not yet over and that it can only be done through the camaraderie and compassion of all
Macedonians.[288] The article concludes by stating that the memory of the earthquake and the
reconstruction project had transformed the city into a living monument. The reconstruction of
severely damaged Old Railway Station and its reopening as the July 26 Museum underscored the
importance of the memorialization of the event and its role in the creation of the present.

In the July 26, 1969 issue of *Nova Makedonija*, journalists regarded Skopje as a
construction site. The city was a transformed modern city, novel architecture plentiful
throughout.[289] In 1966, the local and national construction firms—*Granit* from Skopje, for
example—erected the first structures of the new Skopje. The ambitious city center plan was only
partly executed: The City Wall residential complex and the new train station were the only
segments of Tange's proposal that stand today (fig. 58). Tange's City Wall was planned in a

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[287] *Nova Makedonija*, July 26, 1970. 1. (Translation by author.)
[288] *Nova Makedonija*, July 26, 1970. 10. (Translation by author.)
[289] *Nova Makedonija*, July 26, 1969. 6. (Translation by author.)

format of "massive residential blocks circling the central area in a wall-like formation."[290] The Japanese architect envisioned the residential complex as an "expression of permanency"[291] and designed it in imposing overlapping segments (fig. 59). The buildings were divided into lower and upper sections: the lower elements were constructed for seismic stability and housed commercial amenities, while the architect envisioned residential spaces on upper segments of the structure. The open space shafts served as entrances to apartments connected the residential units. Although Tange envisioned the City Wall to encircle the city center perimeter and, perhaps, to serve as a psychological anti-seismic defense mechanism, the architect himself only designed one segment of the Wall. While Tange produced the initial proposal for the City Wall, the Macedonian architects working alone or in groups completed the designs for different towers that constituted the Wall. Due to the financial obstacles, these followed Tange's model only partly.

The City Wall complex is composed of residential blocks that traverse the city on an east-west axis, and include short, rectangular housing buildings, commonly referred to as "blocks" (fig. 60). Aleksandar Smilevski designed the City Wall block B. Smilevski utilized reinforced concrete in his design and envisioned a high-rise in a contrasting style of robust exposed concrete and large windows, creating airy and luminous spaces inside the apartments. City Wall block M was completed the same year; it was similar to block B yet larger in size. It was designed by a group of Macedonian architects: Dimitar Dimitrov, Slavko Gjurikj, Vasilka Ladinska, Rosana Minčeva, and Aleksandar Serafimovski. The architects utilized exposed concrete for large parts of the high-rise's facades, which became an identifying characteristic for

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[290] Irina Grčeva, "The Growth of Skopje and the Spatial Development of Macedonia 1965-2012" (International Conference on Earthquake Engineering, Skopje, 2013). 3.
[291] Kenzo Tange, "Skopje Urban Plan." 38.

the complex (fig. 61). Along with the high-rises such as blocks B and M, a group of local architects—Slavko Gjurikj, Nikola Bogačev, Vera Kjoseva, Simo Simovski, Aleksandar Serafimovski, and Ljubinka Malenkova—expanded on Tange's design for shorter residential structures. The buildings were also constructed in reinforced concrete, but their facades were painted and not only left in béton brut. The architects who partook in the designs of the were Macedonians who worked together on the design of the buildings, allowing for the creation of a unified narrative.

Any optimistic sentiments that accompanied the construction of the City Wall were dampened by the time of the completion of the complex. *Nova Makedonija* reported in its July 5, 1970 issue that "after much anticipation" the first tenants had finally moved into their new homes.[292] The new dwellings failed to measure up to the high expectations set by the government and their official propaganda; while they were reported by tenants to newspapers to be comfortable and spacious, the quality of construction was poor, and the new tenants regularly complained about the faulty electricity, and drafty doors and windows. Those in pressing need of housing brought up yet another concern: the city-administered allocation of units was extremely slow and, until by 1969, only thirty out of hundreds future apartments had been assigned tenants.[293] The construction process had been delayed, and many citizens of Skopje had to wait for long periods, since the apartments were allocated according to employment seniority and families' needs. These issues were accompanied by architectural concerns: the architect Živko Popovski wrote in 1981 that, while the towers were "healthy architectural productions" when taken on their own, as a complex they were missing "visual motivations […] and urban

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[292] *Nova Makedonija*, July 5, 1970. 10. (Translation by author.)
[293] *Nova Makedonija*, July 5, 1970. 10. (Translation by author.)

character."[294] Nevertheless, at the time of the building's completion and as the tenants were moving in, the design of the buildings was not the main concern, if it was at all, and the near-dogmatic treatment of the 1965 plan and its execution by the city government and the local and national newspapers suppressed any criticism that may have arose in the period.

In Skopje, the subdued high-rises of the City Wall stood as signifiers of the 1960s city center plan and of the role Tange had played in the city's reconstruction. However, the buildings that came to define the post-earthquake brutalist city were produced by local architects, under the influences of local traditions and international architectural expertise. As the decade of the 1960s reached its end, Georgi Konstantinovski designed a building complex that would initiate a trend of brutalist architecture throughout the rest of Skopje (fig. 62). The Goce Delčev Student Dormitories were completed in two segments: the first phase between 1969 and 1971 and the second between 1973 and 1977. Supported by one of the UN fellowships established following the earthquake, Konstantinovski first studied at Yale University under the supervision of Paul Rudolph, a visionary modernist and brutalist architect, and later interned in the studio of I. M. Pei, another modernist architect with a proclivity for combining traditional architectural influences with thoroughly modernist architectural principles. Konstantinovski's Dormitories exemplify his educational trajectory and merge the "sculptural, textured béton brut characteristic of Rudolph, with Pei's geometrically rigorous forms."[295] At the same time, Konstantinovski was also inspired by Tange's work, including his proposals for Skopje as the young architect participated in the development of the 1965 plans.

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[294] Živko Popovski, "O mladoj makedonskoj arhitekturi - On young Macedonian architecture," *Arhitektura*, no. 176+7 (1981): 8–16. 14.
[295] Maroje Mrduljaš and Vladimir Kulić, *Modernism in Between*. 46.

The dormitories complex was deemed by the Macedonian and Yugoslav public and professionals as a marvel of brutalist architecture. Composed of four buildings of different heights connected by "flying bridges," Goce Delčev was designed in exposed concrete, a key element in the Dormitories' architectural expression (fig. 63). Architectural historians Martino Stierli and Vladimir Kulić argue that the complex allowed for an "exclusive use of that brutalist material par excellence (to) subvert the conventional modernist distinction between structure and enclosure, resulting an aesthetic reduction in terms of materiality and colors."[296] Konstantinovski utilized national motifs and elements of traditional Macedonian embroidery as an inspiration for the Dormitories' facades.[297]

In his 2013 monograph, Konstantinovski summarized his design inspiration and key principles employed in Goce Delčev: he defines architecture as a pure art that requires the architect to "inevitably be acquainted with architecture of past civilizations, so that he would be able to locate himself with his work in the period of time he lives and creates [*sic*]."[298] The architect argues that, to produce quality works of architecture, one must always study, further emphasizing that an architect is a social being, one needing to acknowledge his place and role in society as well as the role society plays in the development of any architect's design. Konstantinovski defines the basic principle of his architecture as "creating a space for living or working that will be worth for man [*sic*]."[299] Konstantinovski's studies at Yale and his work with Rudolph and Pei deeply influenced his architectural path in regard to use of materials and space;

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[296] Martino Stierli and Vladimir Kulić, *Toward a Concrete Utopia: Architecture in Yugoslavia, 1948-1980*. 161.
[297] Erina Bogoeva, *Skopje: Architecture as a Photographic Sculpture (1963-1990)* (Skopje: Ars Libris, 2018). n/a.
[298] Georgi Konstantinovski, *Патот На Еден Архитект 1958-2013 / Path of an Architect, 1958-2013* (Skopje: Kultura, 2013). 11.
[299] Konstantinovski. 11.

however, the local particulars of Skopje and the architect's attuned stance toward the historical lessons impacted his architectural trajectory and the overall feasibility of his projects.[300]

The Goce Delčev Student Dormitories—like Konstantinovski's earlier work on the nearby Skopje City Archive completed in the period between 1966 and 1968—illustrate the brutalist architecture of the 1970s in the city not only in the architect's use of materials, but also in regard to the design aspects of open and closed space, and usability of structures. The large complex constructed in exposed béton brut makes a mark in the urban fabric of the Macedonian capital and serves as a signifier of development: the Dormitories were constructed westward from the historic city center and in what was to become the neighborhood of Karpoš, interspersed with clean-lined modernist housing, hospitals, and schools. The béton brut used extensively by Konstantinovski connotes a sense of progress and urban expansion sought in the aftermath of the war and earthquake and indicates the capacities and powers of Yugoslav socialism.

Although structures clad in béton brut would come to permeate Skopje and help create its new urban identity, the modified traditions of European modernism still found their place in the city. For instance, the Museum of Contemporary Art, which overlooks the city from atop Kale fortress just up the street from the Ottoman Bazaar, is strikingly dissimilar to the brutalist architecture of Konstantinovski (fig. 64). The building was a donation from the Polish government as a part of an international collaboration of socialist countries. Designed by the Polish *Grupa Tigri* between 1969 and 1970, the museum is a repository of an impressive

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[300] After the completion of Konstantinovski's City Archive in 1966, the president of the Macedonian Academy of Arts and Sciences commented that the building stands as a proof that affordable material such as concrete can produce "a beautiful ambience." In Georgi Konstantinovski, *Патот На Еден Архитект 1958-2013 / Path of an Architect, 1958-2013*. 32.

collection of contemporary art.[301] The structure is an archetypical modernist building with an open floorplan enclosed in glass with external columns supporting the upper floor (fig. 65). Constructed from reinforced concrete with coffered ceilings and painted completely in white, the Museum is a significant building in regard to its design, its prominent site, and its donation from the Polish government as part of a multi-national socialist collaboration. In keeping with the post-earthquake international cooperation, artists from all over the world donated works of art to the museum, including Picasso, Andre Masson, Christo, and Yozo Hamaguchi, to name a few. Polish artists donated over 200 paintings, ranging in themes from late nineteenth-century pre-Avant-Garde to the reconstruction of postwar Warsaw. The construction of the museum and the donation of artworks exemplifies the dual nature of socialist countries' exchange: art and architecture were utilized as a tool of diplomacy but also of ideological instruction and affirmation.

Another example of modernist architectural exploration is the GTC shopping center (*Gradski trgovinski centar)*, located just east off of Macedonia Square (fig. 66). Designed by the local architect Živko Popovski between 1969 and 1973, the building is reminiscent of the International Style: long geometric lines, white exteriors, and series of ramps facilitating vertical communication exhibit the Macedonian architect's modernist proclivities. In a 1974 publication "Macedonian Architect," Popovski argued that the "question of regional difference in architecture is… similar to the question of language. If the language is the most authentic characteristic of a nation, then architecture is the most permanent one."[302] Popovski's architecture demonstrates his theoretical explorations and intellectualism in the study of

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[301] The *Warsaw Tigers* was comprised of modernist Polish architects Wacław Kłyszewski, Jerzy Mokrzyński and Eugeniusz Wierzbicki.
[302] Maroje Mrduljaš and Vladimir Kulić, *Modernism in Between*. 76.

architectural modernism: GTC stands engrained into the fabric of the city center, enmeshed with the surrounding park and buildings, accessible from the river and the main throughway. Popovski designed the complex as a semi-open building: the square and the street merge with the building via the open ground floor. Born prior to World War II, Popovski experienced all major urban transformations of Skopje—either as an observant or a participant—, from interwar modernisms, postwar modernization and urbanization, and the post-earthquake reconstruction of the city. His own designs were a product of complex theoretical understandings of space as well as the unforgiving nature of time. Popovski exemplifies the Macedonian architect of the period in Skopje: a creator inspired by the 1960s plans and also by the prevalent architectural trends of the period in Yugoslavia and the local and regional histories of continuity and destruction.

Marko Mušič, a "visionary amongst his contemporaries," designed the complex of the Ss. Cyril and Methodius University in Skopje (fig. 67).[303] Constructed between 1970 and 1974, Mušič's structures were erected in béton brut. They stand imposing, all elements of the composite urban unit seemingly alike. However, distinctions between the architectural segments do exist. The Slovenian architect designed buildings of the different departments with subtle differences, mainly exhibited in the designs of the facades (fig. 68). The architectural historian Mirjana Lozanovska describes the University as "Brutalism in speed," and references Mušič's work in regard to Paul Rudolph's design of the University of Dartmouth, further arguing that the Slovenian architect was "interested in other, parallel developments of Brutalism,"[304] with more dynamic forms.

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[303] Erina Bogoeva, *Skopje: Architecture as a Photographic Sculpture (1963-1990)*. n/a.
[304] Mirjana Lozanovska, "Brutalism, Metabolism and Its American Parallel," *Fabrications* 25, no. 2 (2015): 152–75. 158.

Marko Mušič's work is not only significant for the qualities of the architect's design of the vast complex, but also for its affirmation of Yugoslav knowledge exchange: Mušič, a renowned Slovenian architect, falls into a group of highly successful architects from the northwestern Yugoslav republic. These architects were "exceptionally successful at architectural competitions around Yugoslavia, spreading their taste for expressive structural figures to other republics."[305] Like other brutalist structures of the time period, the University complex serves as a signifier of space and its architectural manifestation through monumentality of design and use of a remarkable material such as béton brut. Mušič's design for the University complex is not distinct from the rest of the brutalist structures in the city due to his different utilization of béton brut; the architect's design is different in its spatial explorations within the site and the surrounding urban fabric of Skopje, and in his urban compositions of open and closed spaces.

Evocative of Scandinavian modernist architecture employed in designs of cultural institutions across Europe, Biro 71's building of the Macedonian Opera and Ballet stands on the north-east shore of the Vardar River, across from Macedonia Square and near the old Ottoman Bazaar.[306] The Slovenian architecture group Biro 71's design for the Opera and Ballet emphasizes geometric volumes and is reminiscent of snow-covered mountains (fig. 69). The Opera and Ballet aligns closer with the clean and streamlined aesthetic features of the GTC shopping center than the brutalist behemoths, such as Konstantinovski's student dormitories or Mušič's university campus. The design for the Opera and Ballet won the competition held by the city for a new cultural center in 1967. Originally, Biro 71 had conceived of a larger complex;

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[305] Maroje Mrduljaš and Vladimir Kulić, *Modernism in Between*. 87.
[306] Biro 71 was officially established in 1971 in Ljubljana, Slovenia. It was comprised of Slovenian architects Štefan Kacin, Jurij Princes, Bogdan Spindler, and Marjan Uršič.

however, only the building of the Opera and Ballet was completed. The construction finished in 1981.

The Slovenian architects designed the complex in a "dynamic geometry" of its interlocking parts, which "through a series of gestures of fragmentation, descended as an artificial topography from the highest edges to the central platform"[307] (fig. 70). The building intersects with the ground in a manner that makes it difficult to discern where the structure ends, and the pavement begins; building and site merge into one another and create an urban cohesion. Architectural historians often argue that this experiment in design questions the functionalist paradigm, wherein "one can hardly distinguish the standard architectural elements: walls, floors, columns."[308] Although striking and innovative from a contemporary perspective, the building "differed dramatically from its surrounding urban context […] and initiated an avalanche of opposing reactions."[309] Oddly, brutalist structures around the city never encountered such reactions. The reason for this may have to do with the location of the building—in the immediate city center, near the city's historic architecture and more modest postwar modernisms—but perhaps even more so in the fact that it disturbed the common differentiation between site and building, a feature uncommon for the period, and surely, for Skopje.

One of the most impactful brutalist structures in Skopje is the otherworldly Telecommunications Center, designed by Janko Konstantinov (fig. 71). The multi-building complex was constructed in two periods: the tower was completed between 1972 and 1974, and the Post Office Counter Hall was built between 1979 and 1981. Konstantinov, a student of Alvar Alto, designed the complex in béton brut, the quintessential brutalist material. However, he

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[307] Martino Stierli and Vladimir Kulić, *Toward a Concrete Utopia: Architecture in Yugoslavia, 1948-1980*. 153.
[308] Stierli, Kulić. 153.
[309] Stierli, Kulić. 153.

employed unusual "decorative curvilinear forms," defying "brutalism's original call for modesty and ordinariness"[310] (fig. 72). In Skopje, brutalism is rarely modest, if not for the rare decorative elements executed in béton brut, then certainly due to unique design features that overtly emphasize space and the structure's identity and utilization of local vernacular elements.

Konstantinov's Post Office stands north of the outer perimeter of Macedonia Square, the city's urban focal point. The building's exterior is characterized by its geometric volume—"its elevations comprise ornamented structure, mechanistic and regional"[311]—and the complex's more architecturally restrained tower stands in contrast with the round Counter Hall. Konstantinov designed the Center in a futuristic fashion; Lozanovska argues that the Macedonian architect was influenced by Izosaki's 1960 City in the Air project, as Konstantinov's Post Office was initially comprised of "horizontal bands supported on giant core systems," similar to the work of the Japanese architect.[312] The Telecommunications Center is one of the few brutalist structures that is immersed in the city center. Overlooking one of the city's main boulevards, the complex greets visitors to the city center with its imposing volumes, while its Square-facing façade interacts with the city in a more reserved fashion (fig. 73). Ultimately, Konstantinov's Telecommunications Center is a futuristic structure designed and constructed based on the influences of Japanese Metabolism and the movement's architects,[313] the hopes of the economic boom of the 1970s Skopje, and local architectural idiosyncrasies.

The last grand building completed in the 1980s was the Macedonian Radio and Television Center (MRT), designed by Macedonian architects Kiril Acevski, Nakov Manov, and

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[310] Maroje Mrduljaš and Vladimir Kulić, *Modernism in Between*. 84.
[311] Mirjana Lozanovska, "Brutalism, Metabolism and Its American Parallel." 158.
[312] Lozanovska. 158.
[313] For further reading, see Zhongjie Lin, *Kenzo Tange and the Metabolist Movement: Urban Utopias of Modern Japan* (London; New York: Routledge, 2010).

Haralampsi Josifovski between 1973 and 1983; the construction was completed in 1984 (fig. 74). The building displays the first removals from the ubiquitous brutalist and modernist architectural styles that characterized the postwar architecture commonly found in Skopje. Steel profiles and blue-glass ribbon windows distinguish the arresting structure, from afar seen as dark blue monolith accented by raw concrete columns. Although dissimilar to brutalist structures around Skopje, such as the City Archive or the Post Office, the MRT Center bears some similarities to the architecture found in Belgrade and Sarajevo—Ivan Štraus's 1986 UNIS skyscrapers in the Bosnian capital, for example—designed in what has been deemed as early high-tech architecture that Yugoslav architects started slowly embracing, following the trends of postmodernism, and showing the similarity in architectural trends found throughout Yugoslav republics.

The architectural design developments in Skopje that unfolded in the aftermath of the 1960s UN-sponsored production of the city center plan and city-wide masterplan were not uniform nor did they follow a prescribed pattern. The creation of the brutalist urban narrative of Skopje exemplified knowledge transfers of the era, both national and international. The brutalist structures transformed the city into a locus of cutting-edge design based on influences of Tange's proposals and other international influences—mainly American architects and educators—which were then modified to fit the local histories and vernacular motifs. Konstantinovski's earlier City Archive (fig. 75) and Student Dormitories exemplify a new design path; the massive complex of the Dormitories located near the Archive illustrates that a new era had dawned in the urban development of Skopje. The 1970s gave birth to a new city, one that exceeded Yugoslav architectural experimentations, and has only seldom proliferated throughout the rest of the federation.[314]

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[314] A notable exception is Mihajlo Mitrović's Western City Gate in Belgrade. Colloquially known as Genex Tower, the building was designed in 1977.

Still, the architecture of Skopje did not receive uniform approval. Macedonians were some of the brutalist city's harshest critics. In his 1981 article in Zagreb's *Arhitektura*, Živko Popovski—the architect of GTC—outlined the development of the brutalist architectural style in Macedonia during the 1970s. Popovski starts his multipage treatise by acknowledging that the "results are not always in line with the wishes."[315] He both praises the new architecture of Skopje and offers a rare critique of the lauded brutalist structures, deriding the architecture of both Konstantinovski and Konstantinov as derivative of global architectural trends of the period. Popovski argues that the lack of an established school of architecture in Macedonia resulted in the creation of "parallelisms in architectural expression," perhaps best seen in works of Macedonian architects who have studied in the United States and were exposed to Western influences.[316] Popovski deliberates on the introduction of béton brut in Skopje, a material that will "shock" and "introduce people to "new architecture;" however, people soon start calling the new architectural style 'brutal,' both in reference to the material and the resulting commanding buildings.[317]

Although Popovski provides a rare critique of the new Macedonian architecture, the architect never addresses the historical influences and treatment of heritage in the construction of the post-earthquake Skopje, nor does he address the socio-political problematics of heritage. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, one could hardly find any reference to Ottoman urban elements in the city in daily newspapers and journals—outside of the reiterated importance of preservation of certain 'picturesque' architectural segments—and one is hard pressed to find any reference to the creation of ghettos populated by minorities groups in Skopje, an urban

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[315] Živko Popovski, "O mladoj makedonskoj arhitekturi - On young Macedonian architecture." 8.
[316] Popovski. 12.
[317] Popovski. 14.

development well underway during the construction of the brutalist city. The architectural and political discourses focusing on progress and development of the Macedonian-Yugoslav architecture and city-making completely neglects deep urban and socio-cultural inequalities in the Macedonian capital, to a point that is impossible to find any references in daily newspapers pertaining to the urban and political issues of the minorities in Macedonia nor in regard to the built environment they inhabit. The creation of the Macedonian urban and political identity of the 1970s and 1980s seemed to have been *only* of progress, of béton brut, and of the musealized Ottoman Bazaar. The reality is much more complex.

Minorities, Heritage, and Rebuilding of Skopje

In the Yugoslav socialist federation, politicians, architects, and urban planners ostensibly recognized urban heritage as fundamental in the creation of local identities and cultures. However, its significance was rendered secondary in the grand scheme of things, far behind the all-encompassing project of urbanization and industrialization. Yugoslav and Macedonian city planners and the municipal authorities of Skopje did not deem all heritage equally important or valuable. Ottoman heritage in Skopje was partway successfully incorporated into the city's urban fabric during the early postwar years and the city's interwar divisions between the modern city and the ; nonetheless, its treatment during the reconstruction of Skopje in the 1960s and in the subsequent decade exposed a less integrating nature of its handling and long-running tensions and brought to surface new questions in regard to Yugoslav urban fabric and identity, its creators, and minority population users.

The 1964 Social Survey that was produced correspondingly with the creation of masterplan allows for an insight into the Yugoslav understanding and negotiation of social

relations in Skopje, ones displayed and perpetuated in the architectural production of the city. The Survey was mainly forgotten and has been addressed on very few occasions. The Survey shows the social and ethnic basis for the treatment of local heritage and highlights the relationship between the city's urban fabric and its users. The surveyors interviewed roughly 400 families in 1964, and "the most significant result of this examination of the Skopjani's conditions and ways of living was the recognition of two separate zones which divided the city."[318] The division ran along the Vardar River with the left shore identified as having a lower standard of living, and the right one as being more developed. The left bank was permeated by dilapidated buildings and populated largely by Albanians, Turks, and Roma, while ethnic Macedonians inhabited the right bank. Geographer Ophélie Véron argues that the Survey "established a link between ethnicity and ways of living;"[319] nevertheless, the Survey did not significantly impact the planners' decision-making process in regard to mitigation of deeply seated socio-economic differences.

Although the "decision to create separate centres for Skopje's different ethnic groups was opposed by the planners,"[320] the city was ultimately built with two focal points, one of Albanian and other Muslim minorities exemplified by the Ottoman Bazaar, and the other of socialist progress. Some argue, the British professor of land management Robert Home for example, that the Vardar River actually served as a unifying rather than segregating element, and "while the right side would become the political, financial and commercial centre of the city, the left side would be its cultural reflection."[321] Home's characterization of the division is more nuanced than other scholars' portrayal, and the city center does partly function as a unit, but only at certain

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[318] Ophélie Véron, "Deconstructing the Divided City: Identity, Power and Space in Skopje." 162.
[319] Véron. 162.
[320] Véron. 163.
[321] Robert Home, "Reconstructing Skopje after the 1963 Earthquake: The Master Plan Forty Years On." 18.

points, and only superficially. The stark social inequality between the two sides of the Vardar

River has only slightly shifted since the 1960s.

The Ottoman Bazaar and the surrounding neighborhoods were urban segments included

in the creation of both the master and the city center plan. In *Skopje Resurgent*, Derek Senior

outlines the level of destruction that befell the Old Town (fig. 76, 77, 78, 79), and reports that

monuments devastated during the earthquake "were protected by law from demolition, but not

from changes in use."[322] This resulted in the conversion of the Church of Holy Savior and

Kuršumli Han into museums and the transformation of Čifte Hammam into a café-restaurant.[323]

An important clue as to the overall stance toward the inhabitants of the Old Town can also be

found in Senior's text, where the author notes that the "Old Town's Turks, Gypsies and Schiptars

are more concerned about where they live than about how they live."[324] Senior's writing

exemplifies both Yugoslav and Western prejudices toward Muslim minority groups and the

behavior and social conduct of the inhabitants of the Ottoman Old Town that inevitably impacted

their treatment in the production of city center and masterplan.

The documentation found in the Doxiadis and Associates Archive in Athens illustrates

the general treatment of Ottoman heritage in Skopje of the period even further. The documents

maintain that the old part of the city is the "most undeveloped […] except for the cultural and

historical monuments and a few new buildings, it is subject to radical clearing after the

earthquake."[325] Noting that the "physical condition and material value of the buildings in this

area are so negligible, that even before the earthquake this area was suggested for radical

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[322] Derek Senior, *Skopje Resurgent: The Story of a United Nations Special Fund Town Planning Project*. 300.
[323] Han (or 'an') is an Ottoman caravanserai that had served as an inn and a prison in Skopje's Old Town. Hamman (or 'amam') is an Ottoman public bath; the one in Skopje was comprised of three rooms, one designated for the Jewish population of the city.
[324] Derek Senior, *Skopje Resurgent: The Story of a United Nations Special Fund Town Planning Project*. 172.
[325] Outline Plan for the City of Skopje, Preliminary Report DOX-YUG-A1, [August 1964], Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives at the Benaki Museum in Athens, Greece.

changes,"[326] Doxiadis' report implies that even prior to the destruction caused by the earthquake, the Yugoslav and Macedonian planners failed to see any value in the neighborhoods of Old Town. The foreign planners most likely followed the Yugoslavs' suit in their treatment of local heritage, a view supported by the documentation from the Skopje City Archive. An annual report produced by the city government in January of 1964 emphasized the value of urban heritage— and the problems in functioning of the Institute for Heritage Preservation—yet it maintained the overarching need for urbanization and industrialization as ultimate tools of urban progress.[327]

Although the Greek, Polish, and Macedonian experts ostensibly intended to include Ottoman urban heritage in the masterplan of Skopje, it is evident from archival documentation and the literature from the period that value was only assigned to historical and cultural monuments. Doxiadis' documents contend that, unlike the settlements inhabited by Turks and Schiptars, the part of the town that included the "old market and the greatest number of historical buildings, should be preserved […] this area is protected by a special law."[328] The Greek planner and his associates note that "most of these monuments, individually, as is the case with the Mosque of Sultan Murat, and, as a group, as is the market 'Bit Pazar,' represent important architectural elements for the synthesis of the city's new Master Plan."[329] In regard to the living arrangements of the inhabitants of the Old Town, a later report summarizes that "this part of the city was heavily damaged by the earthquake, and although a considerable number of dwellings

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[326] Outline Plan for the City of Skopje, Preliminary Report DOX-YUG-A1, [August 1964], Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives at the Benaki Museum in Athens, Greece.

[327] Izveštaj 01-91, [January 27, 1965], Skopje City Archive, Skopje, North Macedonia. (Translation by author).

[328] Outline Plan for the City of Skopje, Preliminary Report DOX-YUG-A1, [August 1964], Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives at the Benaki Museum in Athens, Greece.

[329] Outline Plan for the City of Skopje, Preliminary Report DOX-YUG-A1, [August 1964], Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives at the Benaki Museum in Athens, Greece.

has been repaired and rehabilitated by their owners, it still consists, in its quasi-totality, of dwellings of very low living and seismic standards."[330]

The housing areas of Old Town inhabited by minorities were considered both by the government and planners to be without architectural or historical value while Ottoman urban monuments, mosques, hammams, and madrassas were deemed worthy of protection. It can be argued that only the monumental heritage that furthered the notion of cultural diversity remained protected under the Yugoslav laws—Bazaar, Clock Tower, and some mosques (fig. 80)—, while the minorities' housing quarters were perceived as having little architectural and cultural value. Against the wishes of their inhabitants noted in the 1964 Survey, the authorities planned to demolish the structures and relocate the people. However, as the reconstruction did not unfold in a desired streamlined fashion, some parts of the Old Town settlements were demolished, while others slowly transformed into slums in the following decades, abandoned by municipal and city governments.

The analysis of the city center competition allows for a further inquiry into the treatment of urban particularities of minorities' settlements. The United Nations' city center competition of 1965 made the politicians' and planners' priorities clear. Kenzo Tange, a prominent modernist architect and a member of the Metabolist Movement, was known for his progressive ideas and in his projects for Skopje, Tange faced the competition's heritage prerequisites, which were unfound in his previous projects. The competition rules demanded that the "Čaršija should not be mummified as a mere tourists' museum-piece; it should be restored and developed, in a manner consistent with its traditional form, as an integral and useful element in the centre's functional

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[330] Yugoslavia Reports DOX-YUG-A2-4, [April 1965], ZUA-SK-10, Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives at the Benaki Museum in Athens, Greece.

composition."[331] The requirements were clear and the competition participants diligently responded to them, albeit only in theory. Architectural historians Igor Martek and Mirjana Lozanovska write that Tange's "design solutions were unsympathetic to the past," with the architect stating during his earlier reconstruction projects—mainly the Tokyo Plan—that citizens "needed to look forward to be able to be able to draw security from the urban fabric."[332] It is unlikely that the architect changed his attitude toward heritage while in Skopje, and primary and secondary literature supports this by showing that his adherence to the competition guidelines were little more than declarative.

Still, the Yugoslav and Macedonian governments went no further than requesting the protection of only historical monuments, displaying their own disregard for their users and their way of life. As various authors have noted, Fabio Mattioli and Goran Janev, to name a few, the old Ottoman Bazaar eventually became a museum piece anyway, noticeable from the functions represented in the area: museums, shops, folklore activities, and the overall lack of further organic urban development.[333] The outcome of the reconstruction of Skopje illustrates the superficial character of heritage treatment by all participants of the 1960s reconstruction project, a trend that remained evident in the subsequent decades and furthered the pre-existing stratification within the ethnic groups in Skopje.

The Japanese architect was not alone in his neglectful treatment of Ottoman heritage in the Macedonian capital. In their 1965 publication, *Skopje: Novi centar grada* [Skopje: The New City Center], the Croatian architects Radovan Miščević and Fedor Wenzler note that the largest

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[331] Derek Senior, *Skopje Resurgent: The Story of a United Nations Special Fund Town Planning Project*. 312.
[332] Igor Martek and Mirjana Lozanovska, "Consciousness and Amnesia: The Reconstruction of Skopje Considered through 'Actor Network Theory.'"Igor Martek and Mirjana Lozanovska, "Consciousness and Amnesia: The Reconstruction of Skopje Considered through 'Actor Network Theory.'" 9.
[333] For further reading see Fabio Mattioli, "Unchanging Boundaries: The Reconstruction of Skopje and the Politics of Heritage."

number of monuments that were to be preserved per competition requirements were Islamic and an outcome of the historical trajectory of Skopje. The architects write that these monuments not only have a "great historical and artistical importance but are still at present the most vigorous town planning accents within the town at the left river bank."[334] In their treatise, Miščević and Wenzler argue that the Old Tower-Clock and the Old Market should be unified in an urban complex and the newly constructed buildings were to be carefully positioned not to disrupt the historical core. The complex of the Old Market "should be protected for its picturesque aspect, particularly attractive for the tourists, for its monument importance, specific types of its buildings;"[335] this latter stipulation was especially valuable due to the idiosyncrasies of the traditional Turkish and Macedonian houses.

Although noticeably more attentive to the protection and incorporation of Ottoman heritage in Skopje than Tange and his associates—yet not its organic functioning—, Miščević and Wenzler also focus on the tourist and picturesque aspects of the Market, and are quick to note that "it will be hardly possible to impose a strict protection of the townplanning whole of Skopje, since the urbanistic study has already fixed a road for express traffic in the northern part of the whole," i.e. the Ottoman Old Town.[336] In the end, the large portion of the Old Town neighborhoods were removed or gradually transformed into urban ghettos, while the Čaršija and the Bazaar maintained their musealized roles, and the overall urban development of the area based on Ottoman urban principles eventually came to a halt. It is vital to recognize the distinction between the 'accepted' forms of Ottoman heritage and the structures deemed without

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[334] Radovan Miščević and Fedor Wenzler, *Skopje: Novi centar grada*. n/a.
[335] Miščević, Wenzler. n/a.
[336] Miščević, Wenzler. n/a.

value: the latter are lived-in while former are of picturesque and ideological quality lacking in the housing settlements.

The 1960s plans for Skopje had expressly focused on the city's modernization and progress, exemplifying the ultimate prerogatives of the Yugoslav state. The role of heritage was nominally taken into account, and the archival documentation and secondary literature demonstrate that the more profound integration of the Old Town urban unit into the newly expanding socialist city failed to take place. Foreign architects and planners, Tange in particular, showed little regard for Ottoman heritage outside the minimal limitations imposed by the competition requirements, and the Yugoslav experts—although more invested in the protection and integration of heritage into the new city center fabric than Tange—acknowledged the inherent limitations of this quest. Ophélie Véron emphatically writes that Skopje's master plan was a "mix of different conceptions of urban planning: the socialist ideal of urban uniformity, the rational and standardized principles of functionalism, and the shared belief that everything was possible on this new space;" further, Véron questions to what extent "Skopje's planners took into account the pre-socialist legacy."[337] The answer is to be found in the contemporary Skopje and the counterexamples found throughout Yugoslavia: the Old Town, the Bazaar in particular, is equal parts a segment of the city center of Skopje, a museum, and a tourist attraction. As such, the Bazaar was a tool in the creation of Skopje's urban fabric as much as brutalist structures that came to define the city, though in a non-progressive manner associated with the new city and with a diminished urban significance.

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[337] Ophélie Véron, "Deconstructing the Divided City: Identity, Power and Space in Skopje." 162.

Urban and Social Divisions

The distinctions between the modern Skopje and the ghettoized neighborhoods of Čair illustrate the juxtaposition of urban amalgamation and unity with segregation within the city. When discussing Skopje's urban development between World War II and the 1963 earthquake, scholars often establish a clear division between the discussion of the creation of the modern and modernist city and the treatment of the city's Ottoman heritage: the two are often placed in separate categories. Architectural historians study the modern and brutalist Skopje, while geographers and socio-cultural anthropologists inquire into the treatment of Ottoman heritage in the Macedonian capital. Thus, while scholars address the correlation between the two, they rarely examine Skopje as a singular urban unit, one that encompasses four hundred years of Ottoman history and Islamic heritage as well as the drastic urban transformations of the twentieth century. More often than not, in the discussion of the Muslim Albanian minority in the city, the Ottoman Bazaar is ascribed a problematic role of the exclusive urban signifier of an ethnic group, and scholars neglect the formation of urban segments exclusively populated by local minorities, existing in seclusion far behind the striking architecture of the Bazaar (fig. 81). While the urban divisions of Skopje may have been harshly drawn in the past and have been negotiated in the decades of the Yugoslav federation, the reality of Skopje proved the division permanent as the communist union neared its end, but not where we believed it to be, in the Ottoman Old Town.

In his book *Skopje: vizija i realnost* [Skopje Between Vision and Reality], Macedonian sociologist Ilija Aceski studies the creation of slums in the Macedonian capital. Aceski examines the urban and morphological transformations in Skopje and argues that the catastrophe-laden city was given an opportunity to rebuild, ultimately to experience an "unbelievable disappointment"

in the process.[338] Per Aceski, this disappointment was caused by city's fragmentation, with the partially built city center and expanding suburbs juxtaposed with slums found throughout Skopje (fig. 82). The sociologist argues that the ultimate cause for the fragmentation of the capital rests in the city government's inefficiency to supervise the execution of the 1960s plans: the resulting built environment is one of separation and division between the westward ethnic Macedonian neighborhoods and northeastern ones, inhabited by Muslim minorities. The inevitable question arises: what is the impact of this urban stratification on the creation of Skopje's urban and social identity?

The understanding of architectural scholars that the 1965 masterplan was partly successful rests on the execution of some of the revolutionary works of architecture proposed by the international creators of the city center plans, and the seemingly prompt rebuilding of the Macedonian capital. In the aftermath of the 1963 earthquake, the Yugoslav government and the United Nations sought to transform Skopje into a city that broadcast conceptions of hope, international solidarity, and brotherhood and unity. But further from the brutalist behemoths perched on the western edges of the city, the reality was significantly different. Claims against the success of the Skopje masterplan rest in the urban ethnic divide the plan not only facilitated but also perpetrated. The 1964 Social Survey may have served as an official inquest into the ethnic divisions within the population of the city, yet the neglect of its results only points further to the failure of the plan outside of its architectural achievements.

The 1965 plan anticipated equal re-construction of both sides of the Vardar River, the modern Yugoslav and the historical Ottoman shore. One of the goals of this proposal was the unification of the city, and ultimately, the modernization of the underdeveloped and 'backward'

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[338] Ilija Aceski, *Skopje: vizija i realnost* (Skopje: Filozofski fakultet, 1996). 280.

Ottoman-Muslim part of Skopje. Aceski concedes that the original proposal attempted to "promote ideas of 'social justice' in the space (and) an equal diversification of the urban standard over the whole territory,"[339] but the reality unraveled in a perhaps expected yet unfortunate manner. The segmented reconstruction and new construction took place in a fashion that effectively divided the city into parts and caused for missing organic connections between the Old Town, city center, and the expanding modernist Skopje. However—although highly problematic in the urban fabric of the city center—the ultimate separation between the city's urban segments was not executed along the lines of Ottoman heritage and the modern Skopje, but between the impoverished minority groups inhabiting worn-out modernist buildings and the more economically fortunate residents living in the developing neighborhoods of the Macedonian capital.

The urban division ascribed by scholars to the Bazaar and its surrounding area is only somewhat correct, and the true urban partition took place much deeper in the urban fabric of Čair, among the impoverished and abandoned minority groups: Roma and Albanians amongst others. The declining Yugoslav economy of 1980s exacerbated the already problematic issues of informal housing.[340] The decade was "marked by the deterioration of interethnic relations in Skopje,"[341] originating in the interwar era, worsened by the urban division that unfolded in the aftermath of the creation of 1960s reconstruction plans of the city. Ophélie Véron poignantly states that the "city center never became the unifying nucleus envisaged by planners (…) the post-1963 planning only succeeded in exacerbating the existing divide."[342] The Čair and Gazi

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[339] Aceski. 282-283.
[340] The negligence of 1980s slums in Skopje was so expansive that it is next to impossible to find images from the period depicting the issue.
[341] Ophélie Véron, "Contesting the Divided City: Arts of Resistance in Skopje," *Antipode* 48, no. 5 (2016): 1441–61. 1449.
[342] Véron. 1449.

Baba municipalities, located in the city center and just across the river from the Macedonia

Square, are associated with the Muslim minority population in the city and illustrate this division

(fig. 83). The overall condition of urban decay and abandonment throughout these

municipality—in particular juxtaposed with the westward "Macedonian" municipality of

Karpoš—displayed but also effectively furthered the divide within the city's urban fabric, one

the city leaders never truly attempted to mitigate and perhaps even partly facilitated.

In 1985, the city proposed a new urban plan for Skopje (fig. 84); its main directive was

the "correction of realistic [*sic*] conditions and a re-orientation of development (…) with the aim

of creating a spatial organization which would establish a rational division of the functions."[343]

The new plan was to effectively connect the disjointed parts of the city, the planners ultimately

acknowledging the issues of the 1965 masterplan and its execution. Still, the new plan failed to

address the social distribution of the citizens of Skopje adequately, and Aceski argues that the

production of the plan was no more than a "mental exercise" open to manipulation.[344] The issues

proved insurmountable, as the late-stage socialist Macedonia failed to solve these decades-long

urban concerns.

Derek Senior wrote in 1970 that the Survey shows "most of the Turks, Schiptars and

Gipsies [*sic*] were crowded into rickety dwellings of one or two rooms (…) yet the Social Survey

found that they were not on the whole dissatisfied with their housing conditions."[345] The rhetoric

used in Senior's text exhibits unfamiliarity with the local population and their living conditions

as it does a xenophobic and prejudicial approach to city planning; Senior outlines how the

minority leaders expressed reluctance to move and that "they much preferred to stay where they

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[343] lija Aceski, *Skopje: vizija i realnost*. 283.
[344] Aceski. 283.
[345] Derek Senior, *Skopje Resurgent: The Story of a United Nations Special Fund Town Planning Project*. 265.

were than move to roomy, well-equipped flats."[346] However, neither the planners nor the surveyors took into account the living traditions of the interviewed minorities but assumed the civilizing role of the reconstruction project that expressly contradicted them. The majority of those interviewed refused to leave the subpar housing they inhabited, not out of emotional attachment but for fear of the overarching negation of the group's urban identity and the planners' staunch unwillingness to alleviate the urban distinctions revealed within ethnic groups in Skopje. The results of these processes are found in the city even today. Urban divisions have proliferated since the execution of the 1965 plan, and even more so since the end of the communist rule. This is also the legacy of the modernist city planning, one often neglected and obfuscated by the city's leaders and architectural historians. Ultimately, the urban and socio-economic division of Skopje is not between Ottoman heritage and its modern and modernizing counterparts; it is between the Yugoslav architecture of the second half of the twentieth century and the Muslim minorities' settlements hidden behind the brutalist curtains of the new city.

Late-Stage Socialism: The End of Yugoslav Modernization

While the Yugoslav architects created the brutalist urban environment of Skopje in the period between 1970 and the end of the Yugoslav union in the early 1990s, the two decades following the earthquake were characterized by national and global political and economic shifts. The ultimate blow was Tito's death in May 1980. The Yugoslav national transformations coincided with architectural changes; the brutalist Skopje accompanied the demise of modernism on the global stage and the dramatic introduction of postmodernist architecture throughout the

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[346] Senior. 265.

world. Postmodernism in Yugoslavia coincided with late stage socialism.[347] Nevertheless, a

brutalist architectural trajectory endured in Skopje until the mid-1980s, with few examples

pointing toward the postmodernist architectural shifts unfolding in other Yugoslav cities.

The 1970s in Macedonia were a period of economic growth. After decades of influx of

funds from wealthier Yugoslav republics, the economic tide changed, and in 1977 Macedonia

"showed exceptional growth, especially in heavy industry."[348] Although not long-lasting, the

uncommon financial boom allowed for the construction endeavors that characterized Skopje

during this period. At the same time, the Yugoslav national budget for the following year,

"nearly doubled the amount of money being turned over to the three underdeveloped republics

and Kosovo [Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, and Macedonia]."[349] Still , although

beneficial for construction industry, these financial peaks and investments were exceptions, and

"between 1975 and 1986 Macedonia's economic position relative to the Yugoslav average

declined steadily."[350] These economic developments only further emphasize the uniqueness of

the creation of the built environment of Skopje: the city was designed and constructed despite the

issues that engulfed the rest of Macedonia during its time as a Yugoslav republic.

Following Tito's death in May 1980, his successors launched the slogan "And after Tito,

there will be Tito."[351] Yugoslav "brotherhood and unity" came under threat—a plausible threat,

as it turned out—and the country's new leaders had to forge the way of keeping the country

united and functioning, ultimately failing at that quest. The 1984 Sarajevo Winter Olympics still

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[347] For further reading, see Vladimir Kulić, ed., *Second World Postmodernisms: Architecture and Society under Late Socialism* (London and New York: Bloomsbury Visual Arts, 2019). In this edited volume, see Ljiljana Blagojević's "An architect's library: Printed matter and PO-MO ideas in Belgrade in the 1980s," 62-81, and Vladimir Kulić's "Bogdan Bogdanovic's surrealist postmodernism," 81-98.

[348] Sabrina P. Ramet, *The Three Yugoslavias: State-Building and Legitimation, 1918—2005.* 268.

[349] Ramet. 268.

[350] Ramet. 271.

[351] Vjekoslav Perica, *Balkan Idols: Religion and Nationalism in Yugoslav States* (Oxford University Press, 2002). 91.

highlighted the paradigmatic project of Yugoslav unity, and the country remained an ideal of communist progress and freedoms. Yet, the progress was only superficial, and the country became deeply engulfed in a "galloping economic crisis."[352] The dissolution of the union was already looming large in the Yugoslav republics, in particular in Slovenia and Croatia. "Brotherhood and unity" had reached the end of its unifying capacity, and the federation inched toward its inevitable conclusion. Architecturally, the Yugoslav modernization project met its end, and cities throughout the nation engaged in explorations of postmodernism and high-tech architectural influences, further signifiers of the political changes to come.

By the late 1980s, Skopje was a much different city than it had been twenty years earlier. Its population grew by almost half a million, and the city spread significantly. Brutalist structures pervaded the Macedonian capital, while large parts of the city had been reconstructed based on the 1965 United Nations-sponsored masterplan. The buildings clad in béton brut exemplified the urban identity of Skopje, yet only partly: the urbanization and technological advancement of the Yugoslav and Macedonian construction industry and the architectural know-how was on full display in the city by the early 1990s, but the ethnic and urban stratification bled into Skopje behind the brutalist doors of Konstantinovski's buildings. The division between the city's ethnic groups was embodied in the built environment of Skopje, a result of both mid-century international urban planning and the historical and economic stratification of the Yugoslav and Macedonian society.

The urban division was not displayed only or exclusively in the city's Ottoman heritage as it is often contended. It was epitomized and facilitated through dilapidated and ghettoized buildings of Čair, a city within the city. Modern and divided city met the dissolution of

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[352] Perica. 92.

147

Yugoslavia. Today, the change that befell the independent post-socialist Macedonia stands deeply rooted in Yugoslav national and urban politics of the twentieth century. The new Macedonian built environment and urban identity was constructed on the remnants of Ottoman heritage, and modernist and brutalist architecture of the Yugoslav era: the newly democratic and capitalist leaders now erected yet another architectural layer in the city of Yugoslav "brotherhood and unity," that of a forged neoclassical urban fabric clashing with Tange's City Wall and small shops of the Bazaar.

Chapter 5:

Building the Post-Yugoslav Macedonia: Transformations of the Present

"If there is one consistent theme in the story of Skopje's economic, political and social development to date, it is precisely the lack of consistency: the city's history is one of repeated discontinuities and radical breaks."[353]

—Stefan Bouzarovski, Macedonian geographer

In the urban environment of Skopje, capital of North Macedonia, architecture has been used both as instrument of political transformations and as a facilitator of change throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.[354] This dual function was best exemplified by the *Skopje 2014* reconstruction project instigated by the state government: an all-encompassing, nation-building plan to beautify the city and to transform it into a neoclassical, Western capital (fig. 85). However, although attention-grabbing and exaggerated in its narrative, the urban problematic of Skopje cannot be reduced to recent governmental transformations of the city center. The close relationship between architecture and politics has permeated virtually every aspect of the built environment of the Macedonian capital throughout the recent centuries and through numerous

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[353] Stefan Bouzarovski is a professor of geography at the University of Manchester. Quoted in: Stefan Bouzarovski, "City Profile: Skopje." 276.

[354] Since 2018, the official name of the state is the Republic of North Macedonia. Depending on the time period I am engaging with, in this chapter I use either Macedonia or North Macedonia.

149

iterations of statehood, whether those imposed upon Macedonia by foreign powers or those democratically elected by the Macedonians themselves. The tale of Macedonian architecture and politics, told by architectural historians and socio-cultural anthropologists, is one of progress and modernism, of division, and of nationalist alterations devoid of aesthetic value. Across Macedonia in general and in Skopje in particular, these transformations are inherently political, and create recurrent cycles in which politics impacts architecture and, in turn, architecture impacts politics. The architecture of Skopje's city center reveals the contestations, omissions, and violence tied into Macedonian national identity, even as state leaders try to unify it into one architecturally homogenous program.

An analysis of the relationship between the post-communist and nationalist politics of recent decades and the intricacies of the national architectural production of a newly independent state in the tumultuous Western Balkans provides an insight into the role of built environment in contemporary era and in nation-building negotiations. I study the urban *antiquization* executed by *Skopje 2014* through an examination of the buildings and sculptures, their designs and executions, and I parse its opposition: the students, architects, and the citizens of Skopje who protested the reconstruction of the city and who advocated for the preservation of the urban heritage of previous periods.[355] I juxtapose *Skopje 2014* against the notion of Ottoman and Muslim heritage and its treatment during the era of post-communist Macedonia, which I then compare to the handling of Yugoslav architectural heritage: the former right-leaning government engaged in an urban campaign to remove, cover, and mediate any traces of both Ottoman and Yugoslav architectural past from the city center. I contend that the reasoning for the removal of the 'backward' Ottoman and communist past from the political and urban narrative of

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[355] For further reading on *antiquization*, see Anastas Vangeli, "Nation-Building Ancient Macedonian Style: The Origins and the Effects of the so-Called Antiquization in Macedonia," *Nationalities Papers* 39, no. 1 (2011): 13–32.

Macedonia on its path toward Western Europe was intended with two audiences in mind: the minority of Albanians in the city—the perceived inheritors of the Ottoman past—and, to a lesser extent, and contrary to a popular opinion, Greeks and Europeans outside of the country, in an attempt to construct and emphasize the longevity and the historical significance of the Macedonian state and fortify its claims to independence.

The architecture of contemporary Skopje is emblematic of the political and architectural events taking place across the region of former Yugoslavia and the post-communist world writ large: the political transformations of transition era have rendered the local economies hyper-capitalist and altered the local cityscapes in an attempt to manufacture a distance from the communist past. Nationalisms of the mid-twentieth century, which scholars have relegated to the postwar and post-colonial eras, persist in the region today. Corruption, disenfranchisement of minorities, and the rise of extreme rightwing parties tied to religious organizations are discernable throughout Southeastern Europe and beyond. The lack of legislation or its flawed implementation, inadequate urban planning, and shortfall of institutions not only in the construction of cities' urban fabrics but also in the preservation of their heritage, all serve as evidence of post-communist transformations during a period of transition largely impacted by contemporary European and global politics characterized by rising nationalism. In the end, the architectural transformations and alterations that have taken place in Skopje have played a role in forging a Macedonian national identity, with the built environment's representational values being used in local politics and in foreign diplomacy.

The Politics of Independence and Nationalism

On September 8, 1991, the Socialist Republic of Macedonia seceded from the Yugoslav union, following the country's dissolution months earlier. Unlike Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia, Macedonia peacefully withdrew from the former communist federation. The new state was named the Republic of Macedonia, a newly democratic and capitalist country (fig. 86).[356] The republic's majority population were Macedonians, with minority groups composed of Albanians, Serbs, Roma, and Turks.[357] The two main religious groups, Orthodox Christians and Muslims, formed the clerical and spiritual fabric of the state. Even though the country separated from Yugoslavia in an uncommonly non-violent manner, the unstable new capitalist democracy unearthed an array of new political and economic divisions and resurrected some of the old ones, which previously lay dormant under Tito's autocratic rule and buried beneath the ideology of "brotherhood and unity."[358] The conversion from five decades of Yugoslav economic self-management into an insecure nascent capitalism and the shift from a one-party political system to a fragile pluralist democracy uncovered internal and regional anxieties that would come to define Macedonian politics, economics, and cultural production for decades.

Almost immediately after Macedonia gained its independence, longstanding divisions between the republic's majority and minority ethnic groups splintered the country and finally

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[356] On Greek government's insistence, the country was officially named the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM), not to be associated with the ancient Greek land of Macedonia. In Macedonia and throughout the former Yugoslav region, the country was simply referred to as 'Macedonia.'

[357] The 1994 census divides the population of Macedonia between ethnic Macedonians at 66.6 percent, Albanians at 22.7 percent, and Turks, Romani, Serbs and others at 10.7 percent. The 2002 census shows slight change, with the Macedonian population at 64.2 percent and Albanians at 25.2 percent. Macedonians are mainly of Christian Orthodox faith, while the Albanians are largely Muslims. The percentage of atheists in the country is as low as 0.5. Pew Research Center estimates that due to the low fertility rates in the country, the Macedonian population will be at 50 percent Christian, 44 percent Muslim, 1.3 percent atheist. (Source: www.pewforum.org)

[358] "Brotherhood and unity" was a slogan developed during the Liberation War in Yugoslavia (1941-1945) and employed by the Yugoslav communists throughout the existence of the country. It designated the official policy toward Yugoslav nations and national minorities and granted them equal standing before the law.

culminated in 2001 with a nine-month conflict between the Macedonian government and

Albanian insurgents. The conflict—contained to enclaves in northern Macedonia—consumed the

state, and a fear of its escalation into a civil war infused public life, while bringing further

international attention to the instabilities of an already volatile region. In the aftermath of the

conflict, the Albanian minority was granted greater political power and cultural recognition.[359]

Although the fighting had come to an end, the contentious relations between the ethnic

Macedonians and minority Albanians were never truly resolved. The anthropologist Vasiliki P.

Neofotistos argues that neither side made any "significant efforts to establish what happened and

who committed wrongs" during the nine-month clash, but instead mostly reiterated the claims

that "one's own ethnic community did not engage in any wrongdoing at all, and only those in the

'other' community committed abuses."[360] The Albanians maintained that they had been

continuously treated as second-class citizens, while the Macedonians asserted that "Albanians

enjoyed all rights a minority could possibly enjoy in any state," accusing them of being

"ungrateful, (…) launching an attack against Macedonia's national sovereignty."[361] Such

accusations never subsided even years after the conflict, and the contemporary Macedonian

political realm still suffers under the familiar nationalist infighting. As Neofostitos points out, the

Albanian minority continues to seek equal political rights and representation in the country—

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[359] In Skopje, "the Muslim community's internal heterogeneity increased in the late 18th century, with the establishment of new Muslim populations. It is in this period that the Albanians – or 'Arnauts' as they were called by the Ottoman ruler – settled in Skopje. All of them were Ghegs, but not all of them were Muslim – not to mention also the Orthodox and Catholic Albanians. Many Catholic Ghegs opted for Islam when they settled in Skopje: religious conversion (especially to Islam) was a common practice in Ottoman lands, with the complexity it added to the already convoluted cultural make-up of the Empire." Ophélie Véron, "Deconstructing the Divided City: Identity, Power and Space in Skopje." 122.

In the aftermath of the demise of the Ottoman Empire, a large population of the Muslim Turks left Macedonia, however, the majority of the Albanian population remained in the country. Ghegs are one of the two ethnic subgroups of Albanians living in Kosovo, Macedonia, and Albania. The other group are Tosks who live in Albania, south of the Shkumbin River.

[360] Vasiliki P. Neofotistos, "War Criminals, National Heroes, and Transnational Justice in Macedonia," in *Everyday Life in the Balkans*, ed. David W. Montgomery (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2018), 220–29. 221.

[361] Neofotistos. 221.

including access to its institutions, cities, and culture—and the right-leaning Macedonian parties continue to pursue the "recognition that Macedonia remains the national state of the Macedonian people and that Macedonians have the allegedly inalienable right to protect the state against all external and internal enemies—including the Albanian minority living in the state."[362]

In recent decades, foreign relations have also been quite fraught though have not resulted in the same levels of violence or animosity. A perpetual diplomatic struggle with neighboring Greece in regard to the name of the Republic of Macedonia has been a constant issue over the last twenty-seven years. When the Macedonian state proclaimed its independence from Yugoslavia, the Greek government expressed its concerns about the newfound republic's name, particularly in respect to the Greek region of Macedonia. The Greek government maintained that "Greece has exclusive rights to use the word *Macedonia* [emphasis from original text]," and that the Republic of Macedonia's leaders' insistence on the use of the term has brought up concerns that the "Republic of Macedonia has territorial aspirations and wants to hijack parts of ancient history related to ancient Macedonia."[363] Although this narrative is seemingly supported by the former Yugoslav republic's attempts to associate the new Macedonian state with the ancient classical heritage, the government in Skopje never made any claims over the Greek land, as both right- and left-leaning politicians in the country have eagerly emphasized; the assurances that such claims will never be made have even been embedded in the Macedonian constitution. It would be almost naïve to assume that a country as internally divided and burdened by plagues of transition as Macedonia would ever attempt to annex a region outside its national borders. Still, right-leaning Greek politicians have been drumming up fears of a supposed Macedonian

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[362] Neofotistos. 222.

[363] Ilka Thiessen, "Life among Statues in Skopje," in *Everyday Life in the Balkans*, ed. David W. Montgomery (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2018), 251–61. 254.

unification to promote their own state's nationalist rhetoric, continuously generating uproar among their Macedonian neighbors, essentially as a distraction from the Greek political and financial issues of the past decades. This diplomatic discord was only resolved in June 2018 when Macedonian and Greek prime ministers Zoran Zaev and Alexis Tsipras reached a settlement, which guaranteed the end of the Greeks' obstruction of the Macedonian participation in European and global politics and the change of the country's name on the Macedonian side.

Macedonia has not only been challenged over the use of its name by Greece but also for the uniqueness of its language by Bulgaria[364] and for the legitimacy of its Church by Serbian Christian Orthodox leaders.[365] It is also is a country internally overwhelmed by the divisions between the Orthodox-Christian Macedonians and Muslim Albanians. Since the independent Macedonian Republic was established in 1991, the politics of the state have remained in constant flux due to a series of elections and subsequent failures to form governments. After several socialist-led parliaments, the right-leaning Christian and nationalist VMRO-DPMNE party (*Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization – Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity*)[366] formed a government in 1998 and, a year later, its candidate became the president of

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[364] Macedonian is a South Slavic language spoken by inhabitants of Macedonia and the country's diaspora. It is somewhat similar to Serbian, Croatian, Bosnian, and Bulgarian languages. Throughout the last century, and in particular since 1991, the Bulgarian government supported by their linguists has contended that the language spoken in Macedonia is technically Bulgarian; the Macedonian language was arguably codified artificially by Macedonian and Yugoslav linguists to make it similar to the languages spoken throughout the Yugoslav federation. In 1999, the two countries reached a diplomatic compromise, the Bulgarians acknowledging Macedonian as the language spoken in the country in "accordance with the constitution."

[365] Throughout the recent decades, the Serbian Orthodox Church and its Patriarchate refused to acknowledge the independence of the Macedonian Orthodox Church. The main question is that of autocephaly—the Church hierarchy and authority—and the architectural and religious heritage of the churches in Macedonia constructed during the rule of the Serbian Nemanjić line. In 2002 the leaders of the two organizations reached an agreement, giving the Christian Orthodox Church a *de facto* independent status. The agreement was promptly broken, and animosity continues to this day. In 2017 the Bulgarian Christian Orthodox Church became the Mother Church of the Macedonian Christian Orthodoxy.

[366] Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization – Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity (Macedonian: Внатрешна македонска револуционерна организација – Демократска партија за македонско национално единство), hereinafter referred to as VMRO-DPMNE (Macedonian: ВМРО–ДПМНЕ).

Macedonia. After losing the elections in 2002, which led to eight years of left-wing leadership by the Social Democratic Union of Macedonia,[367] the VMRO-DPMNE once again secured a majority vote in 2006. The following decade was characterized by the hardline conservative politics of the ruling party and its uncompromising stance toward minorities.[368] The VMRO-DPMNE crafted a campaign in which its leaders were identified as the defenders of the *Macedonians'* Macedonia, the protectors of the "state and guardian(s) of national pillars that are under attack," i.e., the language and the church, in addition to the country's name and territory.[369] The ten years of VMRO-DPMNE rule were above all dominated by a discourse of Macedonian national defense against threats to its sovereignty, both foreign and domestic.

The era of the VMRO-DPMNE was one of heightened nationalism, pervasive corruption, nepotism, and the suppression of all political opposition and ethnic and religious minorities. The reigning party engaged in widespread money-laundering, and in 2017 the State Court froze its property assets and launched investigations of many of its leaders, including the former prime minister Nikola Gruevski and several ministers and other high-ranking officials. The VMRO-DPMNE was finally ousted in 2016 after a series of protests beginning in 2015 and following an extensive wire-tapping scandal, which had involved high-level members of government and the prime minister, and the new elections took place in December 2016. In February 2017, in an unprecedented political move, the Macedonian socialists formed a government in coalition with

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[367] The Social Democratic Union of Macedonia (Macedonian: Социјалдемократски сојуз на Македонија–СДСМ, SDSM) is a social-democratic and the main center-left political party in Macedonia. Hereinafter referred to as SDSM.

[368] I do not engage in detailed analysis or elaborations on the Macedonian political parties. The minor focus on the VMRO-DPMNE party is exclusively due to the transformations of Skopje conducted under the auspices of the state-sponsored *Skopje 2014* project during the rule of the VMRO-DPMNE in the period between 2006 and 2017. Along with VMRO-DMPNE and SDSM, the third major party in Macedonia is the Democratic Union for Integration, the lead Albanian ethnic party (BDI/DUI or Bashkimi Demokratik per Integrim/Demokratska Unija za Integracija).

[369] Ilka Thiessen, "Life among Statues in Skopje." 254.

junior Albanian parties, and the decade-long period of pro-Russian and pro-Serbian conservative politics finally ended. It was this new government that fostered dialogue with Greece and sought to end the twenty-seven-year period of strained relations which led to the Prespa Agreement, ratified by the Macedonian Parliament in July 2018. The Macedonians agreed to rename the country the Republic of North Macedonia from earlier FYROM, allowing their people to remain Macedonians and their language Macedonian. In return, the Greeks ceased their vetoing of Macedonian participation in NATO and the European Union. A new political era of the Macedonian state commenced, now fully focused on the European West and participation in the global economy.

Skopje 2014

As the Yugoslav federation came to its end, the inheritance of socialist and modernist architecture added new layers to the historical urban narrative and to the nation-building challenges. As the former communist republics transitioned to democratic and capitalist countries, the construction of a new urban fabric unraveled throughout the region. Across former Yugoslavia, in some countries earlier than in others due to war, new urban production commenced, often greatly impacted by Western trends, which altered the pre-existing architectural paradigm. In Macedonia, the focus on Western Europe is fundamentally grounded in its own local and geopolitical issues: the nation's decades-long contentions with Greece, Bulgaria, and Serbia have permeated public and political discourses, and the rejection of Yugoslav and Ottoman political and architectural pasts has been used as an implement in a process of differentiation from political centers in Istanbul and Moscow and in the alignment with Western Europe.

Today, architecture in the Balkans—both urban heritage and newly constructed buildings—is a major tool utilized in nation-building projects. Architecture is also an actor in these processes. This dual course is explored nowhere as dramatically as in Skopje. The post-Yugoslav Macedonian government took on the burdensome task of creating a new nation—and its urban and national identity—and Skopje's architectural production has come to play a vital role in the process. As the cultural and linguistic anthropologist Andrew Graan contends, the local political leaders were not only interested in creating distinct architectural features for the purpose of constructing a Macedonian national identity, but also the "project has been positioned as the cornerstone of broader government efforts to construct a *national* brand [emphasis from original text]."[370] A national brand is a tool in making a mark on the international stage; the Macedonian leaders argued that it would make the Macedonian state more appealing to international business competitors. The creation of this national brand is exemplified in the project of *Skopje 2014*. A dramatic refurbishment of the city center was envisioned and conducted with the intention to construct a 'European' city, one in which the heritage of past centuries has no place, or else its place is continuously renegotiated and mediated. *Skopje 2014* was to transform the city center emphasizing the forged 'Europeanness' of the centuries-old Macedonian state, as expressed through a—cautiously labeled—classicizing architectural style.

In February 2010, the Macedonian government and its leading VMRO-DPMNE political party unveiled *Skopje 2014*. It was announced via video presentation that showed the designs for new and reconstructed buildings, and sculptures envisioned for the city center of Skopje (fig. 87).[371] The government promoted the project as one of vast beautifications; the project soon

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[370] Andrew Graan, "COUNTERFEITING THE NATION? Skopje 2014 and the Politics of Nation Branding in Macedonia," *Cultural Anthropology* 28, no. 1 (2013): 161–79. 162.
[371] See the video presentation at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YBYtmAOt7RI. "Визуелизација на центарот на Скопје во 2014."

turned out to be one of inherent rejection of Ottoman and Yugoslav pasts. Ultimately, it sought to "rewrite history and invent national and urban memory."[372] The creators of *Skopje 2014* proposed to alter the Yugoslav open-space urban paradigm and to create a brand-new city, one that would help negotiate Macedonia's complicated political reality and settle its domestic and foreign disputes. The project proposal signified a shift in architectural developments in the city with profound urban consequences. The politicians of the VMRO-DPMNE and their numerous architects—mostly anonymous and hand-picked by politicians—sought to erect the new city in what was deemed a baroque and neoclassical style, one intended to facilitate the "'cultural rebirth' of the Republic."[373] The project envisaged the building of twenty new structures, mainly cultural institutions and governmental buildings, as well as number of bridges and over forty monuments dedicated to ancient and medieval figures and Macedonian heroes of the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century uprisings against the Ottomans.[374] The original cost of *Skopje 2014* was estimated at eighty million euros, but some assessments from as early as 2013 put the actual costs in the vicinity of six hundred million.[375]

The reconstitution of the urban narrative of Skopje was intended to accentuate the political presence and legitimacy of the country in the European political and economic arena, and architecture had been designated to play the role of an artificial link to a past that never was. The forging of historical connections in an attempt to emphasize one nation's longevity and claims to independence is far from a new concept, and the utilization of architecture in that process has been documented throughout history. However, the Macedonian government took

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[372] Ophélie Véron, "Deconstructing the Divided City: Identity, Power and Space in Skopje." 172.
[373] Véron. 175.
[374] Promptly, the number of sculptures exceeded the anticipated forty statues. The current number of 'Skopje2014' sculptures in the city is unknown today.
[375] Ophélie Véron, "Deconstructing the Divided City: Identity, Power and Space in Skopje." 176.

Skopje 2014 to an almost farcical extremes in their attempts "to invent a cultural heritage to fit the new version of history."[376] Acutely problematic in the case of the *Skopje 2014* were the numerous historical inaccuracies: for instance, national identifications with past events and historical figures such as Alexander the Great are mainly counterfeits, rarely supported by historical evidence. Despite widespread opposition of the citizens of Skopje to the project, the right-leaning government pushed forward. *Skopje 2014* transformed the city center rapidly and in a manner anticipated only by very few as the plans were never showed to the public, further illustrating the suppression of public debate in general, and surrounding the project, in particular. The Macedonians stood incredulous in front of brand new Pantheonic structures.

The architectural style employed by the architects of the twenty-first century Skopje continues to be referred to as neoclassical both by Macedonians and international journalists. The structures often combine various differing historical styles, and the design narratives regularly fail to display any sense of coherence or developmental trajectory. Still, the label persists and for that reason calls for theorization and historicization. Neoclassical architectural style spread throughout Europe during the eighteenth and early nineteenth century; its architects employed classical orders *in their entirety,* as opposed to classical revival which only focused on certain elements. Neoclassical architecture—the term *neoclassical* was coined in mid-nineteenth century—arose as a response to "fluctuations in taste and, particularly, extravagances of Baroque space."[377] Overall, neoclassical architecture was perceived as "authentic and stable," and as such was used for civic architecture in France, and for architecture associated with the rise of nation-state in Germany; at its best, it was the architecture of "Enlightenment's spirit of reform" and

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[376] Goran Janev, "'Skopje 2014': Erasing Memories, Building History." 112.
[377] Francis D. K. Ching, Mark Jarzombek, and Vikramaditya Prakash, *A Global History of Architecture* (Hoboken, New Jersey: Joh Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2011). 605.

scientific progress.[378] At the dawn of the twentieth century, the neoclassical architecture gave way to early modernist explorations, and the architecture of an engineered global style.

Following the historical background of neoclassical style, it would be somewhat simple to infer that the Macedonian government chose 'neoclassicism' as visual identifier of *Skopje 2014* for the associated connotations of stability and reform. However, the completed structures and architectural processes that unraveled during the five years of construction tell a different and contradictory story. The many—mostly unnamed—architects of the Macedonian capital's city center only partly utilized the exterior elements of classical orders and created the urban identity of post-socialist Skopje as one of contradictions, plagued with accusations of forgery. The 'style' was hardly selected for its scientific progress or Enlightenment ideals, but for the national aspirations—due to its "Greek" implications—of the right-wing leadership of a small country in the Balkans. In 2010, the foreign minister in Gruevski's government proclaimed that the statue of Alexander the Great was an "'our way of saying [up yours] to them'," in reference to Greeks' vetoing of Macedonia's name.[379] The architect Aleksandar Bozinovski—the author of the *Memorial House of Mother Theresa*, yet another contentious addition to Skopje's city center—contends that *Skopje 2014* will carry out the long term desires of Macedonians, and that '"people are loving it."[380]

The Macedonians disagreed. Clamoring against the exorbitant costs of *Skopje 2014*, they not only fail to 'love it,' but brought upon questions of citizens' benefit from its execution. An Albanian woman living in the city was recorded as saying that it was not the time for statues, and

[378] Ching, Jarzombek, and Prakash. 605.
[379] Helena Smith, "Macedonia Statue: Alexander the Great or a Warrior on a Horse?," *The Guardian*, August 14, 2011, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/aug/14/alexander-great-macedonia-warrior-horse.
[380] "Macedonian Artists Keep Silent Over Skopje 2014," *www.BalkanInsight.com*, January 27, 2012, https://www.eurasiareview.com/27012012-macedonian-artists-keep-silent-over-skopje-2014/.

that people's priorities were to "eat, drink, and live."[381] The local intellectuals, artists and architects, deemed the project as an "embodiment of 'retarded nationalism'," almost exclusively tied to nationalist makeover of the state's past.[382] The local cultural expert Robert Alagjozovski claims that artists ultimately faced an existential dilemma: to work, be recognized, and earn big salaries while compromising their integrity and aesthetic, or to remain jobless. The architects and artists who did take part in the design of *Skopje 2014* mainly stayed silent. Bozinovski argued that artists are not forbidden from making comments on the details of city center's renovation, and Valentina Karanfilova Stevanovska, the author of the *Warrior on a Horse*, rejected the suggestion that artists were "afraid to speak out," and that they, just like her, "simply are not interested in politicised debates."[383] Given that only available commentary comes from Karanfilova Stevanovska and Bozinovski—both paid lavishly for their works—, it is difficult to ascertain the validity of such claims.[384]

The structures and sculptures in Skopje are not neoclassical nor are they neo-Baroque. They are erected an amalgamation of styles and elements taken from the past; these stand only on the exterior with the interiors rarely following any of the historical examples. As such, the buildings of *Skopje 2014* call for further analysis; their artistic and architectural mixture a focal point from both architectural and socio-cultural perspective. The social anthropologist Goran Janev argues that this cherry-picked and largely forged heritage "has to demonstrate links to and continuity with Western civilization, as well as establishing its origins in antiquity."[385] Its design

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[381] Helena Smith, "Macedonia Statue: Alexander the Great or a Warrior on a Horse?"
[382] "Macedonian Artists Keep Silent Over Skopje 2014."
[383] "Macedonian Artists Keep Silent Over Skopje 2014."
[384] While information pertaining to sculptors that participated in *Skopje 2014* can be obtained from *Skopje pod lupa* website, any information on architects of the many city center structures is fragmentary; many remain hidden behind the corporate construction companies. Artists and architects opposing the project are adamant that people have been actively silenced by a political system alike to one-party dictatorship.
[385] Goran Janev, "'Skopje 2014': Erasing Memories, Building History." 113.

patterns are an inferior concern. Janev argues that "'Skopje 2014' project serves as a bridge to Western European civilization which vaults over five centuries of Ottoman rule," with its main goal to "obliterate the Modernist-dominated reconstruction of the city which followed the disastrous earthquake of 1963 and was a reminder of Communist achievements."[386] The apparent objective of *Skopje 2014* was therefore twofold: to neglect and exclude the Ottoman heritage in the city and its communist counterpart—signs of backward and regressive pasts—and to forge a link to Western European architectural and political narratives. Ultimately, in the midst of the political processes that characterized the urban transformation of the Skopje city center, the specific architecture design practices were rendered almost irrelevant; architecture served mainly as a visual expression of political transformation.

The author Boris Petrović draws a comparison between the mid-nineteenth century Haussmannization of Paris, precipitated by another authoritarian regime, Napoleon III's Second Empire, and the recent reconstruction of Skopje. Petrović juxtaposes the two building projects in regard to the nationalist politics of their respective time periods, arguing that both, while seemingly vastly different upon first inspection, were "ambitious urban planning moves that […] meant to uphold one ideology over another" and to establish "cultural legitimization in the distant past."[387] While Parisian architects and planners under the direction of Haussmann looked back to ancient Rome, Greece, and Byzantium, architects involved in *Skopje 2014* sought inspiration from the pre-Hellenic and Hellenic world. Both projects sought to fortify the state's claims to legitimacy by associating it with a celebrated past, a recurring tenet of nationalist rhetoric. Petrović references Anthony Smith's argument of association with the pre-history of

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[386] Janev. 112.
[387] Boris Petrović, "The Haussmannian Paris and the Neoclassical Skopje (The Skopje 2014 Project)," *Belgrade Journal of Media and Communications*, no. 9 (2016): 23–33. 25.

any group in making claims of legitimacy in contemporary era, when making the claim that "This projection into the past needs to be overwhelming and all-encompassing;"[388] it must not be questioned in making a claim to the long-lasting history of the nation.[389] Smith himself addresses the relationship between architecture and nationalism and argues for the "necessity that the nation upholds and culturally justifies itself through architecture,"[390] creating a physical link to the long-lost past through buildings and sculptures that evoke it. By utilizing neoclassical architecture, the "nationalistic ideology confounds the past, the present and the future, therefore merging them together," and conflating time "from the historical (linear) to the mythical (cyclical, or non-existing)."[391] Consequently, the nation's origins are rendered unknown and thereby permanent; they become unquestioned dogma and ever-present through their representations in the built environment. In a fashion similar to *Skopje 2014*, the architects of Haussmann's Paris are unknown, and the project remains defined by its creator, the French official, Georges-Eugène Haussmann.[392]

The buildings erected during the implementation of *Skopje 2014* indeed make a dramatic impact. Among numerous neoclassical and baroque facades that architects fixed onto formerly modernist buildings, the most striking are those perched on Macedonia Square and its vicinity, including both sides of the Vardar River. A list of the completed and unexecuted buildings is available through an online archive, 'Skopje 2014 Uncovered,'[393] revealing the extent of architectural transformations of the city. The digital database further shows that different historical models and narratives utilized in the creation of the architecture of Skopje city center

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[388] Petrović. 26.
[389] Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford, UK: New York, NY, USA: B. Blackwell, 1987).
[390] Boris Petrović, "The Haussmannian Paris and the Neoclassical Skopje (The Skopje 2014 Project)." 27.
[391] Petrović. 28.
[392] My heartfelt thank you goes to Sean Kramer for his inputs on French Napoleonic history and Haussmann's extensive project.
[393] *'Skopje 2014 pod lupa'* (Macedonian).

through *Skopje 2014* almost exclusively emphasize the physical grandeur of structures while disregarding their functionality, as well as their place within city's urban fabric.

The Museum of the Macedonian Struggle and the Archaeological Museum built on the historically Ottoman side of the Vardar River stand across from Macedonia Square (fig. 88). The buildings seemingly encroach onto the Ottoman Bazaar area and connect the modern and historical urban segments of the city while also setting them apart. The Museum of the Macedonian Struggle is reminiscent of a large rectangular box with flat facades adorned with neoclassical pilasters and medieval windows (fig. 89). Constructed between 2008 and 2011— prior to the commencement of *Skopje 2014*—and relatively subdued in its utilization of historical models, the building is lacking a clear design trajectory. Yet, a powerful narrative is present in the building's interior, in the exhibition space filled with wax figures representing the heroes of Macedonia (fig. 90). They serve to recreate the history of the longevity of the Macedonian state and emphasize its people's struggles against the Ottomans, Bulgarians, Serbs, and Yugoslavs.[394] On the other side of the Old Ottoman Bridge stands the Archaeological Museum (fig. 91). Completed in 2013 and costing over forty-two million euros, a narrow building of only fifteen meters in width, has come to define *Skopje 2014* as much as *Warrior on a Horse*, a nearby statue allegedly representing Alexander the Great. Constructed in a boastful neoclassical style, the Archaeological Museum is clad in gypsum columns and glass-façade segments reminiscent of the 1980s hi-tech postmodernist style prevalent in former Yugoslavia (fig. 92). Erected from materials of poor quality, the building has suffered from practically non-functional plumbing and repeated flooding. The government deemed the Archaeological Museum as one of the

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[394] The non-ethnic Macedonian tales are only a few—several examples of Albanian, American, and English collaborators can be found in the exhibition—serving as an exception to the rule, only further reaffirming the official doctrine of the national struggle against the many conquerors imposing on the Macedonian state.

masterpieces of *Skopje 2014*; however, the poor quality of the building has become a signifier of the project in a different manner. Its lack of focus in design, the misplaced historical influences, poor materials, untimely completion, and problematic site all speak to the rushed nature of *Skopje 2014* and further highlight the exclusively political motivations for the project: the buildings' main purpose is merely to mark the space, while their use and functionality were by far secondary concerns.[395]

Another testament to the contentious character of *Skopje 2014* is the sculpture of a *Warrior on a Horse* (fig. 93). A dramatic equestrian statue perched atop a stone pedestal and clad in marble and gold, stands in the center of Macedonia Square. The statue was completed in 2011 by a Macedonian sculptor in a studio in Florence and cost over 7.5 million euros. Conceived as the emblem of *Skopje 2014,* the *Warrior* is over twenty-two meters tall, dwarfing all surrounding structures on the square. Encircled by a fountain equipped with an audio and light show, *Warrior on a Horse* serves as a signifier of the Macedonian nationalist transformation (fig. 94). The statue interplays visually with another sculpture of Philip II of Macedon, an ancient leader of the land, located in front of the Ottoman Bazaar (fig. 95); the two work in unison to create a link to Smith's 'immemorial past.' Another set of sculptures, those of the Macedonian leaders of anti-Ottoman uprisings, stand on the Square and further emphasize the predominance of the ethnic Macedonians in the city (fig. 96). Statues of ethnic Macedonian revolutionaries Goce Delčev and Dame Gruev just at the foot of the Old Bridge, which connects Macedonia Square with the

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[395] Dozens of buildings were completed and ever more were designed during *Skopje 2014,* however, for the sake of brevity and architectural analysis, only a few were addressed in this chapter. The full list of both completed and proposed buildings and sculptures can be found on the website 'Skopje 2014 pod lupa' at http://skopje2014.prizma.birn.eu.com/mk.

Ottoman Bazaar, additionally reinforce the anti-Ottoman discourse of the contemporary

Macedonian state.[396]

Among the seemingly never-ending array of statues of men, one is hard-pressed to find

any representations of women. The ones that exist are few and far between. The ones that do

exist, like the Fountain of the Mothers of Macedonia serves as a prime example of nationalist

rhetoric of *Skopje 2014* (fig. 97). The Fountain stands near the sculpture of Philip II of Macedon,

located just across the Old Bridge and at the entrance to the Ottoman Bazaar. A group of

unadorned women sit on the top of short steps, cradling young male children or else cupping

their visibly pregnant bellies (fig. 98). The sculptural representations of women that surround the

fountain resort to an almost rudimentary principle of nationalist theories: maternal figures

represent the land, Macedonia in this case, dutifully playing their eternal role as bearers of

children who will one day grow up to be defenders of the fatherland. The feminine figures are

seated and passive, allowing the growth of the new, while the boys are depicted in action,

representing the future, which is gendered male. The equation of the women with the land further

underscores their role as mothers of the nation, who then need to be defended by their male

offspring whom they will, it is implied, nurture to adulthood. The towering statue of Philip II of

Macedon overlooking the Fountain of the Mothers of Macedonia sends a poignant message on

the functions of nation and gender roles in the contemporary Macedonian state: women are

firmly relegated to a secondary position, where they serve as embodiment of the state and as

nurturers of its defenders.

Skopje 2014 sought to emphasize the supposed ethnic superiority of Macedonians over

the country's minorities, particularly Albanian Muslims. Per geographer Ophélie Véron, the

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[396] Goce Delčev (1872-1903) and Dame Gruev (1871-1906), both native Bulgarians, were Macedonian anti-Ottoman revolutionaries seeking autonomy and independence from Ottoman Empire.

project "simply denies the contribution of minority communities to Macedonian history and their existence as a constituent component of the Republic."[397] Although the goal of *Skopje 2014*, as advertised by the government, was to reinforce the Macedonian presence on the European economic arena and to attract investors and ultimately generate profit, the importance of the project in creating and affirming the predominant presence of the Christian Orthodox Macedonian group in Skopje remains unmistakable. As the statues emphasize the longevity of the Christian Macedonian state and its heroes, the architecture attempts at forging a link to a Western and *Westernizing* past, all the while negotiating and negating the Albanian present and eradicating the Ottoman and Yugoslav pasts altogether.

Ottoman Heritage and the Albanian Minority

The contemporary treatment of Ottoman heritage in Skopje—deemed the urban heritage of the Albanian Muslim minority—is heavily burdened by the current ethno-nationalist anxieties of the Macedonian state. The Ottoman Bazaar is relegated to a tourist attraction and has never become fully integrated into the architectural narrative of either communist or contemporary Skopje. The Bazaar, which had functioned as the Ottoman city's commercial center, exists in relative seclusion today. It is adjoined by the neoclassical and baroque city, which encroaches onto the historically Ottoman area of Skopje with its dramatic rendering of ancient Greek architecture as exemplified by the Archaeological Museum of Macedonia. The juxtaposition of the Ottoman Bazaar and the Archaeological Museum serves as an urban representation of the political strife that has engulfed the country, with no resolution in sight.

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[397] Ophélie Véron, "Deconstructing the Divided City: Identity, Power and Space in Skopje." 117.

In contemporary Macedonia, the main problem of Ottoman heritage is that of ethno-national identification. The multifaceted perception of the country's Ottoman past in Skopje is utilized for the ideological battles over national representation, which have changed the very urban fabric of the city. The Ottoman heritage does not only represent one of many historical layers that cities are commonly built from, more importantly, it represents a heritage of a minority ethnic group, one identified as problematic in the city's and the state's politics. At times violent, tensions between the majority ethnic Macedonians and the minority Albanians have shaped the current political and urban discourses of the country. The Ottoman heritage and its ethno-national attribution serve as a tool of negotiation within the bi-ethnic Macedonian state, creating a narrative in which architecture is conflated with the national identities of the peoples inhabiting it and utilizing it. Consequentially, the treatment of such works of architecture is polarized; on one end the ethnic population who does not associate with the heritage recognizes it as alien, and on the other end, the ethno-national group that identifies with it amplifies its relevance in not only an architectural manner but also in an ideological one.

This debate over Macedonia's Ottoman heritage began during the interwar years and further unraveled during the contemporary era. The Macedonian anthropologist Goran Janev argues that the expansion of the city during the twentieth century took place on the "east-west axis, along the river," instigating significant changes in the "social life of the citizens," who, however, continued with the tradition of the "long-established principles of negotiating diversity."[398] Véron's research supports Janev's claim that in Skopje, the "residential segregation is more of a myth than a reality, but its divisive rhetoric takes hold of the imagination of citizens."[399] The significance of this almost-mythical division rests in its importance for political

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[398] Goran Janev, "'Skopje 2014': Erasing Memories, Building History." 124.
[399] Janev. 124.

and ideological narratives, exemplified by and emphasized in *Skopje 2014*. Although not fully

realized, the division narrative employed by the political parties on both sides has taken root, and

Véron's 2008 interviews show that "intermixing [between the two ethnic groups] has been

decreasing from the 1990s onwards, and that it has been followed by a loss of confidence in a

successful multiethnic future."[400] Political propaganda has applied these pre-existing urban

narratives of division and amplified them through *Skopje 2014*. The project not only perpetuated

the rift between the two groups, but it also solidified it through urban development projects.

Janev's conclusion that the "protection, promotion, conservation and reconstruction of cultural

heritage can play an important part in cultural, and by extension political, conflicts"[401] points to

another layer in the creation of a bi-ethnic urban space in Skopje.[402] The *lack* of treatment of the

city's Ottoman heritage is an important signifier of contemporary politics itself. Aside from the

imposition of neoclassical and neo-baroque architectural elements throughout the city, the

neglect of the Bazaar is a statement in itself. To abandon heritage is to leave it to its own devices;

it is to let that heritage decay and, most importantly, it is to send a message of irrelevance to the

people utilizing it and associating with it.

Debates over the notion of heritage and heritagization in the former Yugoslav republics

and its significance in the construction of national identities have been a topic not many have

dealt with. The archaeologist Maja Gori examines the processes of heritagization in former

Yugoslavia, and the example of Skopje serves as a valuable tool in understanding the intricacies

of the post-communist nation-building projects across the Western Balkans. Gori argues that,

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[400] Ophélie Véron, "Deconstructing the Divided City: Identity, Power and Space in Skopje." 248.
[401] Goran Janev, "'Skopje 2014': Erasing Memories, Building History." 126.
[402] Ophélie Véron, "Deconstructing the Divided City: Identity, Power and Space in Skopje." 174.

following the Burra Charter,[403] the "concept of cultural significance is central for conservation activities," and it is to be used as a "guide to interventions on heritage objects, monuments, and sites."[404] The author investigates the 'heritagization process' as defined by N. A. Silberman, an American archaeologist and historian—per Silberman, the neo-nationalist processes of heritagization, of assigning of historical value to objects that hold none, is associated with contestation of power relations—arguing that the contemporary formulation of cultural heritage is "deeply influenced by social factors and historical circumstances."[405] As vividly exhibited in Skopje and in the case of the contemporary post-Yugoslav and post-communist states, the "sudden heritagization of places that possessed no such significance before […] is a common phenomenon."[406] Ultimately, the concept of 'neo-nationalist heritage,' as seen in the Balkans, is identified as a tool of "separation" rather than unification, with "neo-nationalism" using "heritage to contest contemporary power relationships."[407] Accordingly, the stripping of the designation of heritage from places that have been deemed as such in the past has become a corresponding process to that of heritagization, one furthering the politics of division.

In his 2014 article, "Unchanging Boundaries: The Reconstruction of Skopje and the Politics of Heritage," the anthropologist Fabio Mattioli outlines the century-long "selective secularization of urban space" in Skopje and argues that the city's "Ottoman heritage has been

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[403] Burra Charter was adopted by Australia ICOMOS (International Council on Monuments and Sites) in 1979, defining the basic principles and procedures to be followed in the conservation of (Australian) heritage places. The Burra Charter follows the principles of the Venice Charter set up in 1964, updated to apply to the particularities of the Australian built environment. (Venice Charter is largely seen as outdated today, representing modernist views opposing reconstruction projects.) (Source: Wikipedia)

[404] Maja Gori, "Stories From a Changing City. Heritage Places and Identity Performances in Former-Yugoslavia," in *Stadt – Erinnerung –Denkmal. Positionen Zur Validierung Des Kulturellen Gedächtnisses, Archäologisches Gedächtnis Der Städte 2*, ed. H. von Hesberg, J. Kunow, and Th. Otten (Worms, 2017), 50–56. 50.

[405] Gori. 50.

[406] Gori. 51.

[407] Gori. 54.

excluded from its built environment."[408] The process of 'de-Ottomanization' commenced in the

aftermath of the demise of the Ottoman Empire and continued throughout the socialist Yugoslav

period—arguably at a slower pace—further focusing on the nationalization of Ottoman property

and the creation of the "urban space as 'modern.'"[409] In Yugoslav politics, the notion of

"modern" fundamentally excluded and actively rejected the correspondingly "backward"

Ottoman history and its urban heritage. Consequently, the Yugoslav leaders and architects

utilized the 1960s post-earthquake reconstruction of Skopje as a form of secularization.[410] Per

Mattioli, the reconstructions are not only a "form of secularism," but they are also "directly

linked to the politics of ethnicity, nationality and religion."[411] As seen in Skopje, the processes of

heritagization and secularization often occur in the same instance and are inherently entwined

with national identity and urban politics.

Taking into account the concepts of heritagization and secularization and their ties to the

problematic of ethno-national identification and post-communist nation building in Macedonia,

the examples of the Archaeological Museum, Skenderbeg Square, the statue of Skenderbeg

himself, and the neighborhood of Čair all tell a pertinent story. Each of the urban segments—

either a singular element such as the statue of Skenderbeg or an expansive one like the

predominantly Albanian neighborhood of Čair—allows for an in-depth exploration of what

Mattioli defines as processes of "making Skopje's urban space 'European'" by "both eliminating

and reshaping its Ottoman heritage in order to construct a *national* physical and imaginary space

[emphasis from original text]."[412] On a superficial level, one might contend that the Macedonian

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[408] Fabio Mattioli, "Unchanging Boundaries: The Reconstruction of Skopje and the Politics of Heritage." 600.
[409] Mattioli. 600.
[410] A process and project of stripping of religious values and connotations in a society; in case of Yugoslavia, from former religious structures.
[411] Fabio Mattioli, "Unchanging Boundaries: The Reconstruction of Skopje and the Politics of Heritage." 600.
[412] Mattioli. 601.

post-communist and nationalist leaders vigorously took on the task of covering over the diverse urban history of Skopje with a neoclassical garb, but the historical reality is significantly more complex and layered.

The Archaeological Museum stands on the left side of the River Vardar, just across from the old Ottoman stone bridge (fig. 99). It houses the Museum, Constitutional Court, and the State Archive, fundamental institutions of the state. Built over a four-year period, the structure was commissioned in October 2014, and cost over forty-two million euros at the utter dismay of the citizens of Skopje.[413] The Museum is a repository of over 6000 objects collected at the nearby archaeological site of Stobi.[414] As envisioned by the creators of *Skopje 2014*, the Museum's collection emphasizes the longevity and richness of the millennia-old Macedonia in order to promote the heritage of the contemporary state. Adorned with numerous Ionic columns and a central pediment, the building is enclosed with two rotundas and a glass wall (fig. 100). When approaching the structure one can use the old stone bridge and arrive at the Museum's side; when using the newly constructed Eye Bridge that connects to the center entrance of the building, the visitor is both introduced to the Museum through the Bridge's neoclassical adornments and is simultaneously struck by the building's architectural narrative.

The Eye Bridge is garnished with prominent figures from the Macedonian past, ornamented with neoclassical elements. Numerous Parisian-inspired light fixtures illuminate the short passage (fig. 101). Completed in 2013, the Bridge soon started showing cracks in its marble railings, and its foundations began to flood even during its construction. The experts "have

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[413] *'Skopje 2014 pod lupa,'* (Macedonian)—'Skopje 2014 Uncovered' (English). http://skopje2014.prizma.birn.eu.com/en/Constitutional-Court-State-Archives-and-Archaeological-Museum. Accessed January 15, 2019.
[414] Stobi is an archaeological site some eighty kilometers southeast from Skopje. It is the location of the ancient city of Paeonia, located on the road that lead from Aegean Sea to Danube, making it an important center for both warfare and commerce.

indicated serious technical shortcomings and deficiencies in the design of the bridge, warning that its statics could be compromised in the future."[415] Still, the structural details and increasing engineering issues of both the Bridge and the Museum proved to be a non-issue for the government; the physical link created between Macedonia Square, the implicit center of Skopje, and the newly constructed museum building located in the immediate proximity of the Bazaar underlines a simple yet significant narrative of the exceeding dominance of the ethnic Macedonian people in the city (fig. 102).

The division between the two sides of the river and their respective populations has never been clearly demarcated. The presence of the new architecture in a neoclassical style and amplifying the nationalist rhetoric precisely does that. The Old Bridge, a stone feature from the Ottoman period, is flanked by the higher Eye Bridge, and the path from Macedonia Square to Čaršija is both physically and visually intercepted by the towering statue of Philip II of Macedon, represented as father of the state. The presence of neoclassical architectural signifiers has permeated the city center of Skopje, visually asserting the dominance of one ethnic group. By emphasizing the fabricated neoclassical past of the contemporary Macedonian state, the government's message was clear. The demarcation of the immediate city center in an aesthetic robustly clashing with the Ottoman urban fabric signified that in the bi-ethnic Macedonian state, the past was to be left in the past; consequently, the Muslim Albanian users of Ottoman architectural remnants were relegated to a secondary position.

While *Skopje 2014* transformed the city center on a grand scale over the past decade, less sweeping though still significant urban changes were implemented on the Albanian side as well. Elevated above the Bazaar, a square was constructed facing the west side of the River Vardar

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[415] *'Skopje 2014 pod lupa,'* (Macedonian)—'Skopje 2014 Uncovered' (English). http://skopje2014.prizma.birn.eu.com/en/The-Eye-Bridge. Accessed January 15, 2019.

and competing with the statue of Philip II of Macedon (fig. 103). Unlike the neoclassical Skopje, the Albanian Skenderbeg Square is designed in a non-descript contemporary architectural style. It is rarely frequented and arguably only serves a political rather than functional purpose (fig. 104). The representatives of the Albanian minority responded to the project of glorification "of only ethnic Macedonian history" with the construction of Skenderbeg Square, just across from Macedonia Square, at the entrance to the Ottoman Bazaar. The square was designed to be a "vast elevated surface." Providing "vistas of the surrounding Old Bazaar, the fortress and the other areas in the city centre," the square is empty of any architectural elements besides the sphere-shaped canopies that offer visitors protection from the summer sun. Down the steps from the square and facing the Albanian-Muslim neighborhood of Čair stands a monumental statue of Skenderbeg (fig. 105), its pedestal adorned with a mural that depicts scenes "from Albanian history, various scholars, humanitarians and an assortment of freedom fighters."[416]

Unsurprisingly, the construction of the Square caused an uproar within the ethnic Macedonian public "over its high cost and appeal to Albanian nationalism."[417] On the Albanian side of the town, the construction was a cause for admiration, some arguing that the mural represented "symbols of (Albanian) national pride."[418] The greatest irony is perhaps found in the fact that Skenderbeg was an Albanian military commander and nobleman fighting the Ottoman occupation for over twenty-five years. As in the case of the Macedonia Square with the Macedonian majority, many Albanians questioned the economic feasibility of the project, claiming that there was no need for its construction and that funds could and should have been

[416] Sinisa Jakov Marusic, "Macedonians Split Over New Skenderbeg Square," *www.BalkanInsight.com*, September 4, 2017, http://www.balkaninsight.com/en/article/skopje-s-new-skenderbeg-square-takes-shape-09-01-2017. Accessed November 10, 2018.
[417] Marusic.
[418] Marusic.

spent in a better way. Politically, the significance of the Skenderbeg Square is equal parts simple

and powerful; the statue of Skenderbeg implies the unity of the Albanian peoples—Skenderbeg's

uprisings effectively united ethnic Albanians from different regions—and relates the Albanian

minority in Macedonia with Albania, a foreign state. Paradoxically, even though the

predominantly Albanian Čair Municipality was to provide funding for the Skenderbeg Square,

the funds ultimately came from the city of Skopje, adding yet another layer to the complex

Macedonian national politics and its obfuscated narratives.

Living in Čair

Throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, the principal issue of the Muslim

presence in Skopje has been identified through the problematic of the old Bazaar. The

architectural expression of Muslim identity and urban presence has been reduced to the

negotiation of the Bazaar's place within the context of contemporary Skopje. However, a short

stroll through Čair—a predominantly Albanian neighborhood on the eastern shore of the River

Vardar constructed in a modernist style distinctive to the 1950s and 1960s—presents a different

tale, one of conflicting urban narratives. Čair is a neighborhood where architecture is lived in and

is not utilized as a signifier of political affiliation; for that reason, it exemplifies the social and

ethnic divisions in the city in a more drastic way.

Whereas contemporary debates over the Bazaar center around the urban heritage of the

centuries-long Ottoman presence in the city and in the region, the problematic exhibited in Čair

is significantly more complex (fig. 106). The dilapidated architecture of the neighborhood, the

street vendors in disarray, and the malfunctioning infrastructure, all stand in stark contrast not

only to the neoclassical city center but also to Skopje's other neighborhoods of Yugoslav

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residential architecture. The juxtaposition of Čair and the 'Macedonian' neighborhood of

Karpoš, both dating from the same period and constructed in the same functionalist style, tells

the story of a grimly curtained division of the city along ethnic lines. The urban fabric and the

built environment of Čair not only display the distinctions between the Macedonian and

Albanian parts of the city, but the built environment also perpetuates them, both in the city's

urban narrative and in the political and economic realities of Skopje. While Bazaar remains a

place of contested heritage, it is also a major tourist destination, one frequented by international

visitors and one that produces significant income, almost providing the historical legitimacy for

those who believe in the city's functional multi-ethnicity. Čair is another case entirely.

The urban narrative of Čair has erstwhile been characterized by Ottoman architecture and

urban planning, but the socialist Yugoslav urban paradigm definitively impacted the built

environment of the area during the five decades of the communist rule (fig. 107). Throughout the

1970s, during the reconstruction of Skopje after the 1963 earthquake, the neighborhood "indeed

witnessed the construction of socialist buildings that are now perceived as having eroded the

architectural coherence of the district." [419] Prior to the earthquake, the general urban plan for the

city of Skopje proposed the unification of northern neighborhoods into an urban unit branded

'Skopje-North.' The plan produced by the Institute for Urban Planning and Architecture

anticipated the integration of old northern neighborhoods such as Čair, Topansko pole, and Tri

kuki among others, with the purpose of furthering the modernizing transformation of the city

already taking place, and shifting the historical north-south axis to the new one in the direction of

east-west (fig. 108). 'Skopje-North' was comprised of three segments: northern segment with

individual housing units, central part with modernist high-rises typical for the period, and

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[419] Nadège Ragaru, "The Political Uses and Social Lives of 'National Heroes': Controversies over Skanderbeg's Statue in Skopje," *Südosteuropa*, no. 56 (2008): 528–55. 553.

southern portion the mixture of two. The project commenced prior to the earthquake, and in the aftermath of the 1963 catastrophe, continued based on an updated plan. The central area—comprised of Čair and Topansko pole neighborhoods—was planned as a mixed-use area, mainly with four stories and higher 'high-rises', accompanied by shops, kindergartens, medical facilities, and a number of single-family homes.[420]

Today, the Čair municipality is a home to residential housing and the Ottoman Bazaar, and it is an urban mixture of modernist, streamlined housing structures and remnants of Ottoman urban planning (fig. 109). It is often described by the Macedonian right-wing politicians in a manner of Orientalizing rhetoric: its "special structure, in particular, with its narrow and curved streets, [is] a 'maze' where it would be dangerous to get lost."[421] This Orientalizing discourse has been prevalent since the early 1990s when regional migrations of Muslims from war-plagued Kosovo intensified and the number of immigrants and refugees in Skopje increased, particularly from Macedonia's western neighbor Albania. What Véron has termed the process of 'Albanianisation' took place in the northern neighborhoods of Skopje and effectively turned parts of the city, Čair for example, "into ethnically exclusive and closed areas." The "densification led to the formation of totally unplanned housing areas in the northern part of Skopje," that contributed to urban disarray. The Macedonian politicians employed the narrative of enclosure and ethnic exclusivity and its effects have been felt in the city for the last two decades, with Macedonians choosing "to move to 'safer' neighborhoods on the right side of the river."[422] Consequently, in the aftermath of the 2001 conflict that resulted in the expansion of rights for the Albanian minority, the re-zoning of borders took place in the neighboring Čair and

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[420] For further reading, see *Skopje Sever - Čair - II Sveska - Stanbeni Blokovi i Kuli*, vol. 2 (Skopje: Zavod za stanbeno komunalno stocanisuvanje, 1970).
[421] Ophélie Véron, "Deconstructing the Divided City: Identity, Power and Space in Skopje." 19.
[422] Véron. 28.

Center municipalities, and new divisions provided "formal recognition to ethnic segregation in the city centre's core, as well as in the city as a whole."[423] Finally, the jurisdiction over the Ottoman Bazaar urban unit was transferred from the Center to Čair Municipality, completing the narrative of urban division between the Macedonian population and the Albanian minority exemplified in Ottoman heritage.

Typical modernist structures found throughout the former Yugoslav federation permeate Skopje and its neighborhoods in the form of housing units (fig. 110). Yet, the anthropologists' debates on Čair exclude mention of socialist construction projects and exclusively focus on the historical aspect of Čaršija. For Albanian urban planners "Čaršija is defined by its Ottoman past and by an Ottoman identity that was partially destroyed or ignored by socialist and post-socialist architects alike."[424] The deteriorating buildings from the Yugoslav era only reinforce the story of the government's deliberate alienation of the Albanian minority within the urban paradigm of the new Macedonian state. The extensive focus of the Macedonian government on 'tourist aspects' of the Bazaar supports this argument. Nowadays, the modernist structures of the Yugoslav period are neglected in a dual manner: on one end, the dilapidated buildings only emphasize the disinterest of the government in the living conditions of the country's minorities, and on the other, the Yugoslav urban heritage is disregarded both in heritage preservation projects, as well as within the academic community, scholarship on the topic utterly lacking.

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[423] Véron. 30.
[424] Nadège Ragaru, "The Political Uses and Social Lives of 'National Heroes': Controversies over Skanderbeg's Statue in Skopje." 552-3.

Yugoslav Heritage

In the search for the brutalist architecture of the 1960s and 1970s Skopje, one would encounter it everywhere in the city, embedded in the built environment. Kenzo Tange's City Wall encircles the city center (fig. 111), but its urban and historical role is now secondary to that of the Macedonian neoclassical and neo-baroque architecture, and surely less significant than the contested narrative of Ottoman heritage. Biro 71's Macedonian Opera and Ballet (1968-1981) is hidden behind neoclassical structures recently erected on the left shore of the Vardar River (fig. 112). Krsto Todorovski's Hydrometeorological Station from 1975 is left untouched—aside from the newly installed solar panels—arguably due to its isolated location outside of the city center (fig 113). In a similar fashion, Georgi Konstantinovski's 1969 monumental structures that comprise the Goce Delčev Student Dormitory stand unattended. The brutalist multi-building edifice is sufficiently outside the city center not to have attracted the attention of the *Skopje 2014* architects: the Macedonian state's neglect for its communist architectural heritage is further emphasized by the poor maintenance that jeopardized the building's functionality, rendering its infrastructure nearly unusable (fig. 114).

Citizens of Skopje, in particular older ones, recall the post-earthquake reconstruction of the city throughout the 1960s and speak about it with admiration for the communist government and its efficiency.[425] Still, the striking brutalist structures from the Yugoslav era such as the Post Office of Macedonia or the Goce Delčev Student Dormitory provoke strong criticism due to a general lack of appreciation for the value of brutalist architectural heritage. Today, it seems only architects gaze longingly at profoundly brutalist structures of the Saints Cyril and Methodius University of Skopje complex (Marko Mušič, 1974) or the City Archive (Georgi

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[425] The interviewed collaborators often refer to the expediency of the Yugoslav government, army and medical staff when recalling the events of the 1963 earthquake and the subsequent reconstruction of the city.

Konstantinovski, 1966-1968), yet young generations see them almost as problematic as the new architecture of the independent Macedonia. One distinction is clear: due to the contemporary city government's maintenance of the structures, the problematic with the communist heritage is primarily aesthetic and functional since the brutalist structures are seldom considered as pleasant, serviceable, or historically valuable. The buildings erected during the execution of *Skopje 2014* have provoked heated debates in a different manner, pertaining both to the political and economic issues of contemporary Macedonia as well as aesthetic concerns about the city's expanding urban fabric. The negation and neglect of Skopje's communist heritage is at times planned and executed with a specific goal, yet at times it seems that this negligence is mostly the consequence of political and economic shifts forcefully altering the region.

The handling of Yugoslav heritage has become an issue for the former communist federation's successor states later than in the rest of the post-communist world. Years of conflict and economic mismanagement have taken a toll on post-Yugoslav development, and "Macedonia embarked only very lately on a significant revision of its socialist past."[426] The mediation of Yugoslav heritage within a post-Yugoslav built environment can be identified as a fundamentally nationalist project, dealing with "a common past […] denied in the contemporary nation-building endeavors."[427] The contemporary post-Yugoslav republics' governments have dealt with the modernist architecture of the Cold War Yugoslavia in a different ways: housing or medical facilities, for example, have been left to their own devices and have been used for their original purposes, while the ideologically fueled monuments have been given due attention. The monuments to the People's Liberation Struggle, though historically significant, have either been

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[426] Ophélie Véron, "Deconstructing the Divided City: Identity, Power and Space in Skopje." 181.
[427] Marija Jauković, "To Share or to Keep: The Afterlife of Yugoslavia's Heritage and the Contemporary Heritage Management Practices," *Politička Misao - Croatian Political Science Review* 51, no. 5 (2014): 80–104. 80.

abandoned or conceptually and ideologically reframed. The monuments either maintained their form "with a general disregard of their initial meaning," or have been purposefully forgotten, which ultimately lead to their decay.[428]

In Macedonia, the Yugoslav Liberation War monuments—an extraordinary example can be found in Iskra and Jordan Grabul's Ilinden Memorial, a structure envisioned to "symbolize both the antifascist liberation of the Macedonian homeland after World War II and to evoke the local uprising against the Turkish occupation in 1903"[429]—are mostly left alone (fig. 115). Arguably, this can be ascribed to the Yugoslavs' utilization of architecture as a tool to enforce the national independence of the newfound Macedonian nation against its neighbors, the Greeks, the Serbs, and the Bulgarians, but also due to quite a simplistic reason of being located outside of the contemporary national battlefield—the city center of Skopje. Unlike in the Bosnian, Croatian, and Kosovar countryside, for example, where some "antifascist and Partisan monuments were denounced as 'Serb' and obliterated,"[430] Yugoslav architectural heritage in Macedonia seems to be only tangentially associated with a socialist ideological paradigm when located outside the city center. The urban problematic remains primarily entrenched in the bi-ethnic affairs of the Macedonian state and the negotiations of the urban space between the majority and minority populations.

Ultimately, it can be argued that the Yugoslav architecture in the city center has been transformed not due to its ideological background but due to contemporary urban events. The socialist heritage outside of the immediate center of the Macedonian capital is simply left to be dealt with by its increasingly unsatisfied users. The Yugoslav-era buildings clad in neoclassical

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[428] Jauković. 81.

[429] Srdjan Jovanovic Weiss and Armin Linke, *Socialist Architecture: The Reappearing Act* (Berlin: The Green Box, 2017). 32.

[430] Martino Stierli and Vladimir Kulić, *Toward a Concrete Utopia: Architecture in Yugoslavia, 1948-1980*. 13.

elements have not been altered due to their relationship with the past system but, rather, due to their monumental presence in the city center. A proof for this theory can be found in the fact that only the façade of the Post Office building facing the Macedonia Square has been dressed in neoclassical columns, while the side facing the housing settlements further west is left untouched. If the Yugoslav attribution was inherently problematic, brutalist monuments such as the City Archive and Goce Delčev Dormitories located westward would likely have been transformed or demolished altogether by the architects of *Skopje 2014*. However, they remain unattended and in a state of slow decay.

The Yugoslav architecture in Macedonia, and in Skopje in particular, is the architecture of the past regime, imbued with ideology and produced as a part and a tool of the communist modernization project. Although the opposite has been argued—and it has surely been the case in some instances in Eastern and Southeastern Europe—the contemporary treatment of the Yugoslav modernist architecture in Macedonia is mainly based on economic grounds of the late stage capitalism than it is on the burdens of past dogmas. The negotiation and transformation of the monuments of Yugoslav architects—many of them Macedonians—is only partly ideological in the city center. Still, that comprises only a small percentage of communist architectural production in the city. The general neglect of the Yugoslav architecture has more to do with economic and financial concerns of the time period; building new structures for the advancement of the economy and to secure foreign investments in the country is a sign of the newfound post-communist states adjusting to neoliberal capitalist models and not so much with the ideological burdens of the former socialist union.

Protests

In the last decade, frequent protests took place in Skopje, showing a rising civic involvement in political events and urban transformations during the past twenty years. The protests mainly focused on the alterations proposed and executed within *Skopje 2014*, however 2015 and 2016 saw political protests that helped topple the government and instigate the political shift desperately needed in Macedonia. Protests that took place in Skopje utilized the architecture of the city itself as a tool and as a catalyst for this change.

Before *Skopje 2014* was even announced, the first city protests erupted in 2009, led by Architecture Faculty students from the University of Skopje. They objected to the politicization of the urban planning process and the private urbanisms of investors, which excluded any public debate. The students vehemently argued against the construction of a Christian Orthodox church on Macedonia Square (fig. 116), the site of "one of the liveliest places in Skopje, frequented by pedestrians and small happenings."[431] The concerns were many: the site was too small, and the students argued that the location should be preserved for much needed public use. Further, the government planned to donate the site for the church and to help built it, all in a country that was nominally secular. The protest was scheduled for March 28, 2009, and students planned on creating a human wall to enclose the proposed church perimeter to emphasize how much of the public space would be lost. When the students arrived onto the square, an even larger group of counter-protesters was already there, supporting the construction of the church (fig. 117). The students argued that the counter-protesters were not even from Skopje, that they were transported into the city earlier that morning, and that the quality of their posters and the means of transportation signified governmental financial support and undermined the principles of

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[431] Snezhana Domazetovska, "How Architecture Students Became Activists in Macedonia," *[polis]*, March 1, 2012, https://www.thepolisblog.org/2012/03/how-architecture-students-became.html. Accessed November 10, 2018.

184

spontaneous gathering. The counter-protesters argued that "each European capital has a church in the main square," and that a "church had existed where the city's shopping center was today and had been destroyed in the 1963 earthquake."[432] In the end, the students never managed to create the 'human wall,' and as the counter-protesters became louder and more aggressive, all while the police failed to intervene. After several hours, the students ceded the square in disappointment.

In the end, the church was not constructed, though this was neither because of the protests nor because of the unfeasibility of the project itself, but rather due to increasing pressure from the Muslim community, who "asked for reconstruction of a mosque destroyed around a century ago on the other side of the same square."[433] To emphasize the bizarreness of the situation, "as a joke, a group was also asking for a Jedi temple."[434] None of these was constructed. The potential ethnic tension between the two religious groups was deemed as too contentious of an issue to be dealt with in the public arena. Ironically, this reasoning failed to stop the *Skopje 2014* project. In the following years, the level of public dialogue arose among the citizens of Skopje, mainly within the architectural and artistic communities and intellectuals and the public debates have become more present in the Macedonian public sphere. The students' protest prepared the Macedonian public for the social and political upheaval surrounding *Skopje 2014*, heralding the transfigurations of the city that were to come.

Further demonstrations took place in December 2014, in a bookend event when the citizens led by the Architects Association of Macedonia came out to protest against the baroque dressing of the modernist GTC shopping center (1967-1973), located just off of the Macedonia

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[432] Domazetovska.
[433] Domazetovska.
[434] Domazetovska.

Square. During the protest entitled "Warming up the GTC" and "Hugging the GTC," the citizens of Skopje 'hugged' the building in freezing temperatures (fig. 118), calling for the building to "remain 'authentic and urban'."[435] In April 2015, the citizens came to vote in a referendum on whether the GTC should be remodeled, and over ninety-seven percent of those who voted asked for the modernist structure to stay as it was. Given that only forty-seven of the needed fifty percent of the citizens of Skopje participated in the referendum, it technically failed. In 2016, the government announced that it would continue with the baroque refurbishing of the commercial structure. However, following the ouster of the VMRO-DPMNE party from power that same year, *Skopje* 2014 was promptly put to a halt, and the GTC was never remodeled. In February 2018, the government set up a commission to discuss and determine the course of action regarding the remnants of the city center remodeling and to assess the feasibility of its possible removal. To this day, none of the sculptures were removed nor were any of the facades stripped of their baroque and neoclassical attire.

Unlike the protests aimed against the neoclassical urban transformations of the city imposed by the right-wing government, the 2015 and 2016 political protests absorbed Skopje; tens of thousands of Macedonians took to the streets demanding change and that the electoral process be honored. Protesters met with the pro-government groups in the streets and boulevards carrying banners and playing audio recordings and announcements stating their allegiance to one side or the other. 2015 protests, taking place between May 5 and June 19 in Skopje and other cities in the country (fig. 119), saw up to 2,000 "protesters (clashing) with Macedonian police

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[435] "Macedonia: Protest against 'faux-Baroque' mall makeover," *BBC: News from Elsewhere* (blog), December 29, 2014, https://www.bbc.com/news/blogs-news-from-elsewhere-30624693. Accessed November 13, 2018.

[…] outside the government building."[436] Macedonians called for the resignation of Nikola Gruevski, the controversial prime minister from VMRO-DPMNE party, "embroiled in a long-running wire-tapping scandal."[437] Throwing stones and setting trash containers ablaze was a reaction to legal charges brought up against the leader of the left-leaning SDSM party Zoran Zaev who was the victim of the wiretapping, a "covert surveillance operation" with other victims including "journalists, opposition politicians and even government ministers."[438] The protests took place throughout the following month, reaching 40,000 participants on May 17, and 30,000 during the counter-protests the following day. After a series of unsuccessful negotiations and resignations of only a few government officials from the many accused of illegal activities, Gruevski remained in power, and the *status quo* persisted.

Following the protests of 2015, the so-called Colorful Revolution took place throughout Macedonia during the days between April 12 and July 20, 2016. Instigated by president Gjorgje Ivanov's decision to end the investigation into Nikola Gruevski, protesters again took to streets,[439] organized by the civic group 'I Protest.' Demonstrators flooded the city, throwing packets of various colors onto government buildings, specifically targeting *Skopje 2014* monuments, the urban representation of VMRO-DPMNE rule (fig. 120 + 121). Culminating on June 20 with the gathering of tens of thousands of citizens of Skopje (fig. 122), the months-long crisis ended with reinitiated proceedings to impeach the president, continued investigations into

[436] "Macedonian Protesters Demand Resignation of Cabinet, Clash with Police," *Reuters*, May 5, 2015, https://www.reuters.com/article/us-macedonia-government-protests/macedonian-protesters-demand-resignation-of-cabinet-clash-with-police-idUSKBN0NQ2BH20150505. Accessed January 20, 2019.
[437] "Macedonian Protesters Demand Resignation of Cabinet, Clash with Police."
[438] Matthew Day, "Up to 40,000 Protesters Call for Macedonian Government to Resign," *The Telegraph*, May 17, 2015, https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/macedonia/11611395/Up-to-40000-protesters-call-for-Macedonian-government-to-resign.html. Accessed January 20, 2019.
[439] "Macedonia Protests Demanding President's Resignation Continue," *Novinite.Com*, April 16, 2016, https://www.novinite.com/articles/174057/Macedonia+Protests+Demanding+President's+Resignation+Continue. Accessed January 20, 2019.

Gruevski, and the scheduling of parliamentary elections for December 2016. In the national elections, the party than ran the country for a decade was ousted, and the Socialist Democratic Union coalition came to power. The left leaning SDSM lead by Zoran Zaev, in coalition with Albanian junior parties, took control over the Parliament. Nikola Gruevski sought asylum in Hungary and currently lives there. He is still under investigation in Macedonia.

What Will Become of Contemporary Skopje?

The transformation of the Yugoslav federation into six new states fundamentally altered the political and urban fabric of the region. The contentious architectural production of the second half of the twentieth century has been paired both with the intense focus on the Europeanizing narrative in architecture of the new capitals and larger cities. Nation-building became a project of utmost importance across post-communist Europe. The decades-long companions of nationalism—economic hardships and political and social fracturing—became constant features in the construction of the new states and were further exemplified by their built environments.

Nowhere in the post-communist world is the problematic of the deeply entwined nature of the built environment, economy, and nation-building better demonstrated than in Skopje, a city of almost grotesquely exaggerated architectural transformations, which have proved to be emblematic of post-Yugoslav political and urban shifts. Today, the question of the future architectural heritage of *Skopje 2014* looms large. The vast remodeling of the city center took place over years, and Macedonia Square and its immediate surroundings stand unrecognizable from what came before as a result. The locals frequent it rarely, usually to visit a restaurant or two, to show it to tourists, or to cross it to access the Ottoman Bazaar and its growing alternative

music scene. However, for better or worse, the square still played a role of a catalyst for progress. As the drastic architectural transformations of Skopje's city center, and the local and regional outrage over the new urban narrative of the city increased, more and more citizens took notice and expressed their dissatisfaction through protests. Although their impact on the government's decisions was minimal, as is often the case throughout the region, it must be pointed out that the initial student and subsequent GTC protests, for example, galvanized the public and produced action that facilitated political activism.

The heritage of *Skopje 2014*, however, does not only rest in the beautification of the city and the neoclassical transmutations that overtook Macedonia Square and other parts of the city center. An even deeper problematic lies in the envisioning of the project to begin with, particularly in regard to its focus on an anti-Ottoman urban narrative, and the resulting juxtaposition between the two newly constructed squares and the two ethnic groups. *Skopje 2014* was an instrument in omitting centuries of Ottoman rule in Macedonia and was part of a larger attempt to infiltrate the political and economic sphere of the long-coveted Western Europe. Although some of the Grecian sculptures may be removed, the ethnic divisions that they indicate cannot be easily changed or swiftly transformed by the simple erasure of the hyper-nationalist project and its urban manifestations. The attempted expelling of the Ottoman Bazaar from the urban narrative of the city center was both a political and urban project grounded in the desire of the governing elites of the time to abandon what they perceived as backward and an obstacle on the path toward the West.

Ironically, the westernizing architectural and, by extension, political transformations were to take place through the emulation of neoclassical motifs, though the execution misfired to such an extent that western audiences' response has been mainly ridicule, exhibited in several thought

pieces in online portals, magazines, and newspapers.[440] The opposition to the 'new' Skopje and tourists' fascination with the 'Oriental' city speak volumes of the misplaced propaganda tool that was to be the city's neoclassical architecture. Still, the neoclassical and baroque transformation was never wholly for western audiences—the foreign investments would surely have flowed into the country without the beautification project as they have in Sarajevo and Belgrade—but it was mainly for the locals, for the Macedonians and Albanians, and for the intense disputes of the bi-ethnic state.

Now that the new socialist government has officially abandoned *Skopje 2014*, the question of the urban heritage of the past decade remains unanswered. The progress achieved by the former prime minister Zoran Zaev[441] in regard to the name altering-agreement with the Greeks has been clouded by protests of right-wing parties and their electorate.[442] Certain ethnic Macedonians have expressed disappointment with the change of the country's name; however, the majority believe that it had to be done for the sake of future progress.[443] The more pressing problematic now lays in the concessions given to the Albanian minority as a consequence of the coalition formed in 2016; the Albanian language will now be the second official language

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[440] For example: Marc Santora, "Dancing Nymphs and Pirate Ships: Notes from a Capital of Kitsch," *The New York Times*, March 28, 2018, https://www.nytimes.com/2018/03/28/world/europe/macedonia-skopje.html., and Kit Gillet, "How Skopje Became Europe's New Capital of Kitsch," *The Guardian*, April 11, 2015, https://www.theguardian.com/travel/2015/apr/11/skopje-macedonia-architecture-2014-project-building.

[441] Zoran Zaev retired from the position of the North Macedonian prime minister on January 3, 2020 after the agreement to hold the new parliamentary elections in 2020 was reached between VMRO-DPMNE and SDSM: the agreement stipulated the new elections to take place in April 2020, and Zaev's place to be taken by a member of his party. The acting prime minister is now SDSM's Oliver Spasovski. The new elections and Zaev's resignation come after the government failed to initiate membership talks with the EU. Different polls show both SDSM and VMRO-DPMNE leading ahead of the upcoming elections. For further reading on North Macedonian EU accession and 2020 elections, see https://www.politico.eu/article/north-macedonian-pm-zoran-zaev-resigns/?fbclid=IwAR1Jjp68Opa7LGep0JEnl_lfqfXcqGH2cw-cyh1IBFmKQV8RneLRLydWudg

[442] It is believed that the 2015-2019 Greek prime minister Alexis Tsipras lost the 2019 elections largely due to the signing of the Prespa Agreement with Zaev. Right-wing and conservative Greeks deemed his willingness for collaboration with North Macedonians as highly problematic and contrary to Greeks' national interests. Since 2019, he has served as Leader of the Opposition. Current Greek Parliament is run by the liberal-conservative New Democracy party; its voters are mainly right-leaning conservatives and centrists.

[443] Interviews regarding the change of the state's name were conducted in Skopje in March 2019.

throughout the country, unlike only in some counties as before. After the initial proposal to remove the remnants of *Skopje 2014*, the debate on the topic has been almost abandoned, the ethnic issues once again having taken center stage. The Skopje of today adds yet another layer to the city's urban identity, that of the twenty-first century neoclassical renovation. It is once again fiercely interrelated with the contemporary political transformations—or lack thereof—both a stage for the new government's political expressions and possibly a conductor of change once again.

Chapter 6:

Conclusion

"Normal life is delimited and defined by catastrophe: it's the life uninterrupted,
the life before *katastrofa* made it unavailable and, at the same time, visible.
And, inversely, *katastrofa* is whatever ruptures life, what makes its stability, its
necessary biological and emotional inertia, impossible."[444]

— Aleksandar Hemon, Bosnian-American writer

When I set to study Skopje, the capital of North Macedonia, I was firmly convinced this project would focus on the international reconstruction of the city in the aftermath of the earthquake; I foresaw my research examining international architects that rebuilt the city, transforming it into a brutalist masterpiece that nowadays lures the Internet's aficionados to Macedonia. I assumed I would be writing about the Yugoslav particular politics of socialism, and larger-than-life role Josip Broz Tito held. Lastly, I envisioned probing into the contemporary handling of Yugoslav heritage and the brutalist city that indisputably still represented the utopian hopes of the 1960s Cold War globe. The research and writing of this dissertation proved me wrong, and inspiringly so.

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[444] Aleksandar Hemon, *My Parents: An Introduction* (New York: MCD, Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2019). 51.

The document I produced tells a story of the six decades of a particular city, enmeshed in ideological permutations and travails of its continuously clashing past and present. A tale of Skopje is inherently an account of foreign impacts into the creation of the Macedonian capital, albeit impacts and influences continually negotiated and mediated by those inhabiting the city. As I traced the development of Skopje from the Serbian-imposed rule and architecture of the interwar years to the present-day nationalist-driven remodeling of Skopje's city center, I learned of the Macedonians and Albanians living the architecture we so diligently study as formal achievements while often failing to address its significance for those who experience it day-to-day. In the end, my dissertation is a tale of Skopje and in its many iterations, its people, and nationalism facilitated, negotiated, and sometimes contested through the city's architecture.

Curating a Nation in Skopje inquires into four different chronological periods in the political and urban history of Skopje. I have studied the early postwar modernist architecture of the city, the devastating earthquake and the subsequent international production of master- and city center plans, the brutalist masterpieces of 1970s and 1980s, and finally, I have probed into the contemporary neoclassical alterations of the Macedonian capital. I have examined political, economic, and social shifts of distinctive periods, and I juxtaposed them with architectural production of their respective eras. Throughout, I have encountered evidence of an intrinsically entwined relationship between built environment and ideology—not unlike elsewhere in the world—but I have also learned that the creation of Skopje is a 'multi-event,' and that the city never existed only through the UN-facilitated reconstruction or through the problematic of the *Skopje 2014* project as often perceived from the popular media and academic journals and literature. The architecture of Skopje is multi-faceted, complex, and profoundly related to its Macedonian and Yugoslav producers and users.

While I do fall under the spell of relentless criticism of the aesthetic value of *Skopje 2014*—both on its own and juxtaposed with the commonly highly regarded brutalist structures—I must acknowledge that such understanding of the present-day urban fabric of the city center of Skopje is somewhat simplified and impacted by the recent progressive political discourse positioned against the project's creators. In a similar vein, the appreciation for the brutalist urban heritage of the 1960s and 1970s stands almost a myth, lacking much, if any, criticism from architectural professionals and urban historians.[445] Both sides of this proverbial coin show not only the impacts of socio-political narratives on the production and criticism—or lack thereof—of certain works of architecture, but also the apprehensions as pertaining to the field of architectural and urban history of the former Yugoslavia and its almost unchallenged high regard for modernist architecture.

Today, the overwhelming criticism of *Skopje 2014* can only be compared to the overshadowing praise for the brutalist structures found throughout the city. While easily appealing, such approach is inherently problematic and should be avoided. Although lauded as progressive and utopian, the modernist and brutalist reconstruction of the city ultimately failed to take into account the different users of the city's architecture: the Yugoslav government fully embraced the paradigm of scientific construction of the city and disregarded any aspect of collective opinion.[446] Following Colin Rowe and Fred Koetter's criticism of utopian and scientific planning of the modernist postwar period so eagerly embraced in Yugoslavia, we do have to ask the inevitable question of who this was for. The people who sought to live in the familiar and the known, and not in concrete high-rises? Or for the political and economic benefit

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[445] Unlike in the case of the brutalist buildings' users who are enraged with the present-day low quality of standard maintained in the structures.
[446] Colin Rowe and Fred Koetter, *Collage City* (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England: The MIT Press, 1978). 6.

194

of the state? The answers to these questions are complex and multi-faceted, and as scholars of both the twentieth century modernism and the contemporary 'kitsch,' we should be careful in taking unconditional standpoints in regard to one or the other.[447]

Building a Nation

The examination of the architecture and urban planning in Skopje is inextricably tied to the study of nationalism and nation-building. Following the works of urban and political historians, I identify two distinct and critical periods: the formation of the postwar Yugoslav socialist federation and the Macedonian republic under its auspices, and the formation of an independent post-socialist Macedonia in the 1990s and in the early decades of the new millennium. During both periods, political leaders attempted to use architecture as a tool of nation-building; still, as much as politics influenced architectural production, the shifting urban fabric of Skopje proved to be equally impactful on transformations of the political realm. The agency of architects and planners played a significant role in this process: during the early Yugoslav period, it was them who established modernism as an architectural identity of the newfound state and who played a large role during the 1960s and 1970s in facilitating and directing the brutalist and modernist narrative of Skopje. The early twenty-first century brought upon a different role of architects in the creation of post-socialist urban and national identities: while their Yugoslav counterparts played a vital role in these processes, the North Macedonian

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[447] In the future, I aim to expand my dissertation project to explore the notions of 'kitsch' as attributed to Skopje and as examined in architectural history and theory. For further reading, see Clement Greenberg, *Art and Culture: Critical Essays* (Boston, Mass.: Beacon Press, 1961).

architects either anonymously partook in the construction of *Skopje 2014* monuments or took to streets to fruitlessly protest.[448]

The Yugoslav architects vehemently advocated for the use of modernism in the creation of the federation's cities, a sign and signifier of progress and modernization eagerly embraced by the communist party's political leaders. The newly urbanized and industrialized cityscapes of Yugoslav cities, in particular the republics' capitals, illustrated the country's precarious position between the ideological East and West, between the Soviet-ruled Eastern Bloc countries and the Western democratic and capitalist states. Yugoslav identity and national stability were displayed in the country's modern concrete cities. The architectural *tabula rasa* of post-earthquake Skopje that never was, had proven to be so politically, even if forced so: the deeply divided Cold War globe rushed to the Macedonian capital to assist its reconstruction, to clear the rubble, and to extract its 300,000 citizens from the crushed city's debris. Disaster-torn capital of the impoverished southernmost Yugoslav republic proved to be a ground inconspicuous enough for the bipolar Cold War participants to seemingly put aside the ideological power-games of the era. After the global forces rushed to Skopje, United Nations took upon the part of a mediator between the East and West, the organization's role seemingly turning into a predominant element in the narrative of the reconstruction of Skopje. Still, the archival data, newspapers from the period, and interviews with Macedonians who survived the earthquake and the two decades of the city's reconstruction tell a more pertinent story. The reconstruction of Skopje was deemed by Yugoslavs as personified "brotherhood and unity" of the federation's peoples, a doctrine firmly in place since the Liberation War. The aid promptly sent to Skopje in hours following the

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[448] While futile in preventing the transformation of the city center of Skopje, the early protests against the city's remodeling did make an impact: they served as a precursor to later 2015 and 2016 protests that effectively removed Nikola Gruevski's VMRO-DPMNE from power and ushered a new political era in North Macedonia.

earthquake was seen as the country's leaders' ability and willingness to protect their citizens, setting all eyes immediately and permanently on Macedonia.

The Macedonians regarded the reconstruction of Skopje and the role of the international community in the process as secured by the Yugoslav government: that Yugoslavs welcomed the East and West into the city was never brought into question, and the archival data—arguably under the influence of the ever-present Yugoslav policy of "brotherhood and unity," and the government's control—and interviews conducted with the citizens of Skopje, make it clear that the appreciation of Yugoslav citizens was never directed toward the UN as much as it was toward the Yugoslav and Macedonian governments. The unity of Yugoslav peoples was only exceeded by the Yugoslav state's capabilities to assure the federation's progress and development—in a problematically paternalistic manner, albeit one prevalent throughout the communist world. Although architectural scholarship rarely emphasizes that the UN took part only in the creation of the plans for the reconstruction of the city, the reality of the organization's architects and officials' departure from Skopje in late 1960s, before the extensive reconstruction of the city took place, only further highlights the political negotiations and narratives that unfolded between interested parties. Although acknowledging the significance of the international presence in Skopje in the 1960s—both in regard to the immediate post-earthquake aid and the production of the master- and city center plans—the unity of the Yugoslav peoples and the strengths of the state's diplomacy became the prevalent focus in the national discourse of the aftermath of July 1963 earthquake.

As the Yugoslav communism slowly inched toward its end, the brutalist urban transformations in Skopje created a city of unique architecture, a Yugoslav city, third in size only after Belgrade and Zagreb. Macedonia was spared the violence of the dissolution that tore apart

the rest of the Yugoslav federation, and in Skopje, the final years of the twentieth century passed peacefully, the country's socialist-democrat leaders adjusting to newly gained democracy and capitalism. Architecturally, the 1990s were barely touched upon by the 1997 masterplan proposed by the city's urban planners; the plan was shortly proven redundant. However, the new millennium brought upon political change soon followed by an unprecedented architectural transformation of Skopje. The right-leaning, nationalist, pro-Russian and pro-Serbian VMRO-DPMNE political party came to power in 2006 and in the following ten years shaped the Macedonian foreign and domestic politics and altered the architecture of Skopje in an unparalleled and unforeseen manner. *Skopje 2014*, a neo-neoclassical and neo-baroque remodeling and construction project transformed the city center of Skopje into a city of "kitsch" and brought upon relentless complaints of Macedonians living in the capital and the architectural community throughout the region and further around the globe.

The prerogative of *Skopje 2014* was simple: the newly neoclassical—that is, 'neoclassical'—city center was to convey the message of national longevity through Anthony Smith's connections to immemorial past. Smith, a British historical sociologist, is considered one of the founders of the field of nationalism studies; he argued that groups drew their present-day nationalist meaning through historical events as unifying factors, yet that these histories are often based on flawed interpretations of distant events that are at times blatantly fabricated to support the contemporary political and ethnic claims. The right-wing Macedonian leaders fully employed nationalist doctrine as theorized by Smith. The state's capital was envisioned as a tool to establish and maintain connections with Western political and financial centers, and further, to assure the state's successful economic future. The irony of such endeavor is not lost given the then-pro-Russian leanings of the state, however, the reasoning was quite simple: the neoclassical

reconstruction of the city center of Skopje was not directed toward Brussels, but much closer to home, toward minority Muslim Albanians in the state, and partly, toward the ever-problematic neighboring Greeks. Ultimately, the extensive research and interviews I conducted in the city and with Macedonians and Albanians living in Skopje show that the primary audience of VMRO-DPMNE's *Skopje 2014* were Albanians and all other minorities. Forging a firm connection with Grecian architectural and sculptural elements—or attempting to do so—was not to appropriate the ancient Greek past for the sake of tantalizing the neighboring Greeks, but to emphasize the Western-ness and Christianity of the Macedonian state, continuously on the brink of a conflict with the state's Muslim minorities, Albanians in particular.

Heritage and Minorities

Throughout the study of the architecture in Skopje that had been erected in different political and historical periods, the issue of minorities and the built environment they inhabit continuously emerged as a factor in understanding of the relationship between architecture and state in the Macedonian capital. Erstwhile, the handling of Ottoman heritage in the postwar Yugoslavia proved to be highly contentious and the secularization efforts of the newly communist federation relegated the Old Town of Skopje to a secondary urban position. The new urban plans focusing on the ever-coveted modern progress, on urbanization and industrialization, effectively cut off the Ottoman Skopje from the organic growth of the modern city and consigned it to a museum space. Today, the negotiation of Ottoman heritage is similar: the contemporary westward oriented Skopje sees Ottoman Bazaar as a signifier of multiculturality and utilizes it as such, however, only on a superficial level. The ethnic Macedonians seldom

frequent the Bazaar, and the local Albanians and tourists comprise the visitors of its bustling cafes and shops.

The deeply divided ethnic fabric of the Macedonian state is illustrated in the urban fabric of Skopje. It is also negotiated and mediated in the city's architecture and urban planning. Yet, these partitions and their negotiations are not executed and performed where most visible, in Ottoman Old Town; they are unfolding in the city's northeastern neighborhoods with predominant Albanian Muslim population. The heritage of Ottoman era, almost exclusively affiliated with the state's minorities, is a signifier of foreign and Muslim rule in the state, but the deeply entrenched divisions are not battled out in the Bazaar's packed coffee shops, but in the impoverished neighborhoods of Čair and Gazi Baba.

The minority problematic in contemporary North Macedonia has proven to be as contentious today as it was in the interwar period throughout the heavy-handed rule of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. During the two-decade period, the Kingdom attempted to obliterate the five hundred years of Ottoman presence in the region and the rejection of socio-culture and urban heritage was to play an immense role in the process. The forced migration of Muslims to Turkey continued during the early postwar years, but the Yugoslav doctrine of "brotherhood and unity" allowed for some—if minimal—inclusion of Ottoman heritage in the urban narratives of the new state, if not for much else, then for the attempted multi-culturalism of the Yugoslav federation. The Yugoslav modernization project and its urban process mitigated the divisions between the majority Christians and minority Muslims in the Macedonian republic, and the influx of funds to Albanian-inhabited Čair allowed for several decades of peaceful coexistence. The modernist boulevards connected northern neighborhoods with the rest of the city, and

seemingly organic incorporation of Čair and Gazi Baba into the westward expanding Skopje created a unified city.

The end of Yugoslav communism brought to surface ethnic and political divisions unearthed in the interwar period; the new millennium parted the urban and political arena of Skopje in a manner unforeseen. Now, the disputes of minorities are fought in the public domain and have divided the Macedonian state for the last three decades. The partition—political and urban—shows no signs of retreat. For the large part, this has been assured by the construction and incessant urban remodeling of the immediate city center facilitated by *Skopje 2014* reconstruction project. The erection of the Archaeological Museum on the historically Ottoman shore of the Vardar River further exacerbated the right-wing Macedonian government's push against the Albanian minorities in the state. The larger-than-life statue of the *Warrior on a Horse*—the supposed sculptural embodiment of Alexander the Great in the central square of Skopje—and its interplay with the statue of Philip II Macedon perched at the entrance to Ottoman Bazaar illustrate the simplistic yet powerful narrative of *Skopje 2014*. The Macedonian state is of *Macedonians*, its links to ancient past overpowering the mere five centuries of Ottoman-*Muslim* rule in the *Christian Orthodox* land.

Still, while strikingly powerful in its urban depiction in Skopje's city center, the division of the Macedonian bi-ethnic state is truly played out in Skopje's northeastern neighborhoods. The municipality of Čair, predominately inhabited by minority Albanians and other Muslim groups, is almost left to its own devices. Although partly funded from the city's budget, Čair and Gazi Baba neighborhoods are not only architecturally and socially unalike to those westward like Karpoš, but the organic development of the city has ceased, and these exist in an autonomous seclusion. Governed by the municipal Albanian leaders, when interviewed in regard to the

201

controversial name change of the state in 2018, the people inhabiting the neighborhoods north and east from the Bazaar, failed to show any affiliation with the official nomenclature, and expressed their disdain over ethnic Macedonians' refusal to embrace the agreement with the Greeks and allow for the hypothetical political and economic progress to commence.

Today, in the aftermath of the 2018 Prespa Agreement that changed the name of the country to North Macedonia and caused for further internal discord between the right-leaning supporters of VMRO-DPMNE and socialist SDSM, the domestic quarrels grounded in the expanding legal and governmental rights of the Albanians in Macedonia are not showing any sign of cessation. While the urban heritage of *Skopje 2014* stands peppered throughout the city's center, its more problematic rendering is firmly grounded in the divisions of lived-in neighborhoods further northeast, and in the ethnic discords dating back to interwar era.

Sources and Methodology

The study of Skopje was supposed to be a study of archives. I envisioned grounding my project in thorough archival work, and in the examination of plans and designs produced by Yugoslav and international architects and planners. Soon, I learned that this will not be the case. On 21 April 2017, only a month before my first visit to Macedonia, the archive of the Institute for Town Planning and Architecture in Skopje that was housed in a construction barrack vanished in fire. Invaluable designs and plans of Tange, Doxiadis, and Brezoski were never to be seen again. So, I directed my focus toward the City Archive of Skopje and the State Archive of Macedonia. Surely, such institutions would hold information on the event as significant as the 1963 earthquake and the subsequent international reconstruction of the city. Archives in Skopje do not hold this information outside of the minutes of the political handling of the 1960s events.

The 2017 Macedonian treatment of the city's modernist and Yugoslav heritage was the first sign that my project will not progress as I naively assumed. The burning of the archive was also the first sign regarding the contemporary contentions of the modern Macedonian state.

While I diligently used the city's archives to learn of the communist party's dealings with aid distribution and reconstruction initiatives, I failed to learn much about the design process and the creation of the post-earthquake city. This information was to be acquired in archives in the United States and throughout Europe, as well as from secondary literature, in particular the generous scholarship of Ines Tolić. As I spoke to the people of Skopje, and I learned from every taxi driver in the city how "communists took care of their people," my focus slightly shifted from the architecture of the Macedonian capital to its users, the Macedonians and Albanians of Skopje. I redirected my inquiry towards audio and video materials, newspapers, and journals. The Yugoslav newspapers from all republics proved to be invaluable sources of information pertaining to the earthquake, destruction, and reconstruction. Veljko Bulajić's *Skopje '63* documentary film and daily news-reports played on national and regional TV stations allowed for a further understating of what it meant to live in Yugoslavia and in Macedonia in July 1963.

The archival information on the particulars of the reconstruction and the United Nations' involvement in Skopje came from the UN Archive in New York City, Doxiadis and Associates Archive in Athens, and from Harvard University's Frances Loeb Archive that hosts Tange and Weissmann documents. Other international city center competition participants' files were kept in archives in Zagreb, Croatia, as well as in Italy, United States, and the Netherlands. Still, this dissertation is not a story of plans and designs alone; only juxtaposed with interviews and information acquired from newspapers and video footage and audio documentation it can tell a more comprehensive narrative of the production of post-earthquake plans and of the subsequent

erection of the brutalist Skopje. Tellingly, the data on the brutalist projects of the 1970s is fragmentary, at best, a sign of contemporary era's treatment of Yugoslav and modernist heritage. Information pertaining to Skopje in this decade of extensive construction comes from architects' monographs and rare journal entries. The inquiry into Skopje of today—the study of the history of the present—was a particular challenge. There are no archives and primary literature is scarce. As the transformation of the city center took place until late 2016, any available data comes from online portals and blogs, onsite investigation of buildings and sculptures, and interviews with the citizens of the Macedonian capital. Together, all these provide a tale of Skopje, a story of destruction and devastation, of tremendous works of architecture, and significantly less appreciated modern-day urban conversions; together, they tell a story of a transforming and transformative city, the North Macedonian republic and its citizens, Macedonians and Albanians.

What now?

The heritage of *Skopje 2014* lies on top of the centuries of urban and socio-political layers of Macedonian history. The city that can be traced back to ancient times and a nearby location of Stobi, is now characterized by its Ottoman architecture, brutalist facades of the Yugoslav decades of communist rule, and the newly added Grecian columns of a forged present. There are no new urban plans for Skopje. Investors' urbanism is dictating the city's development in North Macedonia just like elsewhere in the post-Yugoslav region. *Warrior on a Horse* stands in the Macedonia Square while street vendors loiter the modernist boulevards and alleyways of Čair. What is to become of Skopje?

As the new general elections are to take place in April 2020, we can link with certainty the architectural and urban future of Skopje with the election results. One can assume that

money-laundering project of *Skopje 2014* is indefinitely put to rest as North Macedonians aim to join the European Union and its open markets. Still, nothing is to guarantee that Skopje will not meet the fate of Belgrade's *Belgrade Waterfront* project that displaced thousands of impoverished citizens of the Serbian capital to create space for a government-funded development project or Sarajevo's extensive urban transformations conditioned by the unremitting influx of Middle Eastern capital. The future of Skopje is uncertain, but what is undeniable is that the era of nationalist negotiations and nation-building, in conjunction with transformations of urban fabric of the state and its capital, is long from over.

Appendix

Figure 1: The plan for New Belgrade, 1945-48.

Figure 2: The Trade Union Hall. Belgrade, Serbia. 1957. Architect: Branko Petričević.

Figure 3: International Style architecture. Federal Executive Council. Belgrade, Serbia. 1947-1959. Architect: Mihailo Janković.

Figure 4: Skopje (Uskub) during Ottoman period. Postcard. 1908.

Figure 5: City center of Skopje during Serbian rule. Postcard. Interwar period.

Figure 6: Macedonian National Theater. Skopje, Macedonia. 1921-1927. Architect: Josip Bukovac.

Figure 7: National Bank. Skopje, Macedonia. 1931. Architect: Bogdan Nestorović.

Figure 8: Railway Station. Skopje, Macedonia. 1937-1940. Architect: Velimir Gavrilović.

Figure 9: Officers Hall. Skopje, Macedonia. Postcard. 1925-1929. Architect: Wilhelm von Baumgartner.

215
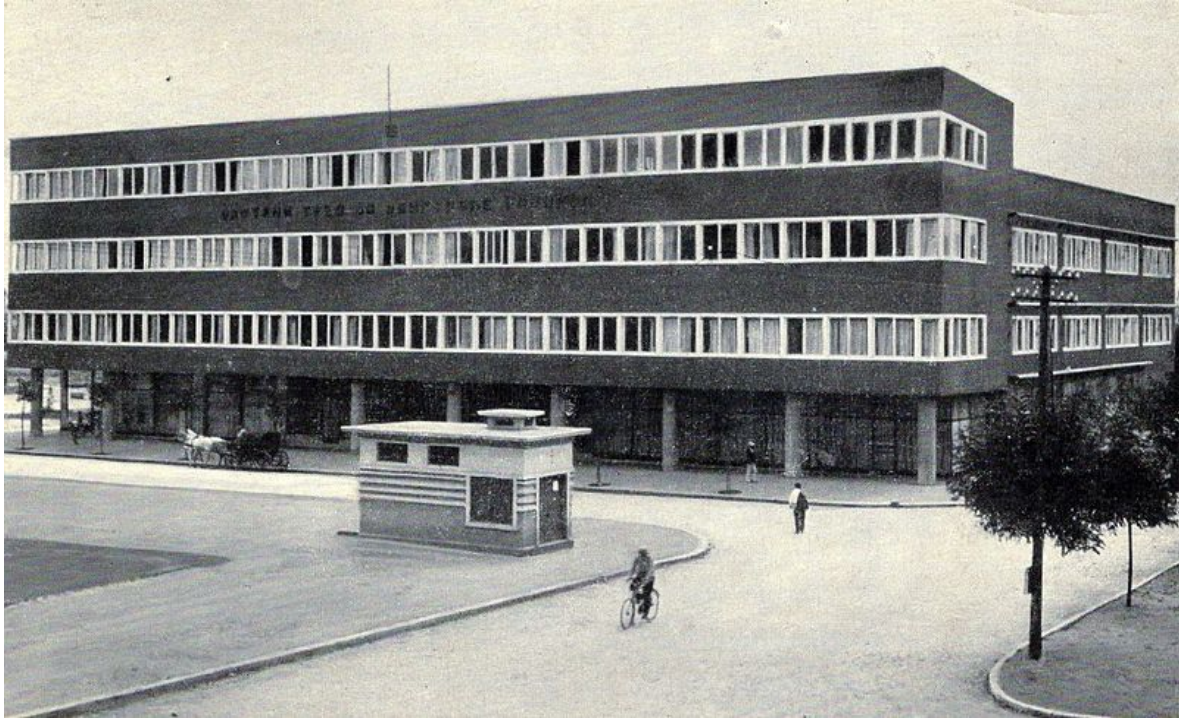
Figure 10: Social Security District Office. Skopje, Macedonia. 1934. Architects: Drago Ibler and Drago Galić.
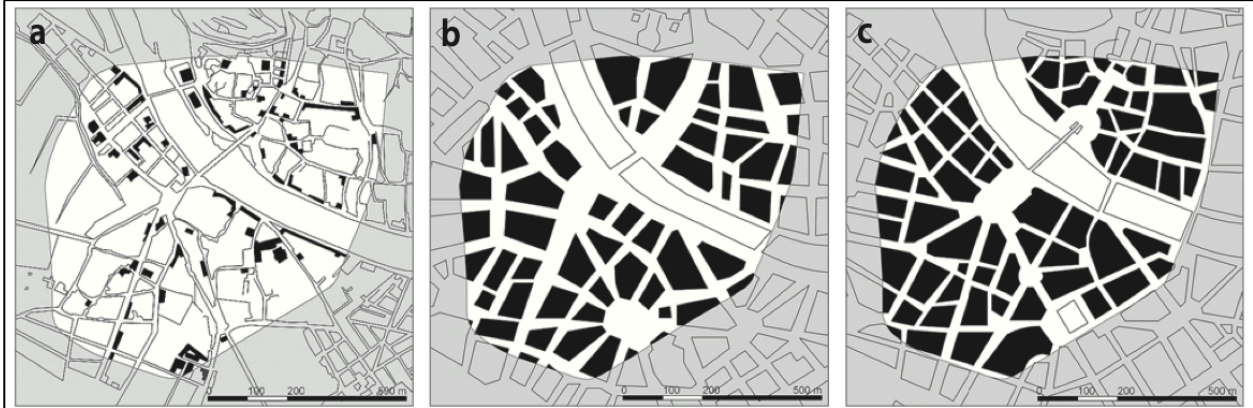
Figure 1: a) Site plan of 1914; b) Figure-ground of the block structure of the central city area of the regulatory plan by Dimitrije Leko of 1914; c) Josif Mihailović's 1929 regulatory plan (illustration: Jasna Stefanovska).

Figure 11: 1929 Masterplan for Skopje, Macedonia (image C). Architect: Josif Mihailović Jurukovski. Illustration by Jasna Stefanovska.

Figure 12: Celebration of the end of the National Liberation War, 1940-1945. Main square. Skopje, Macedonia. 1945.
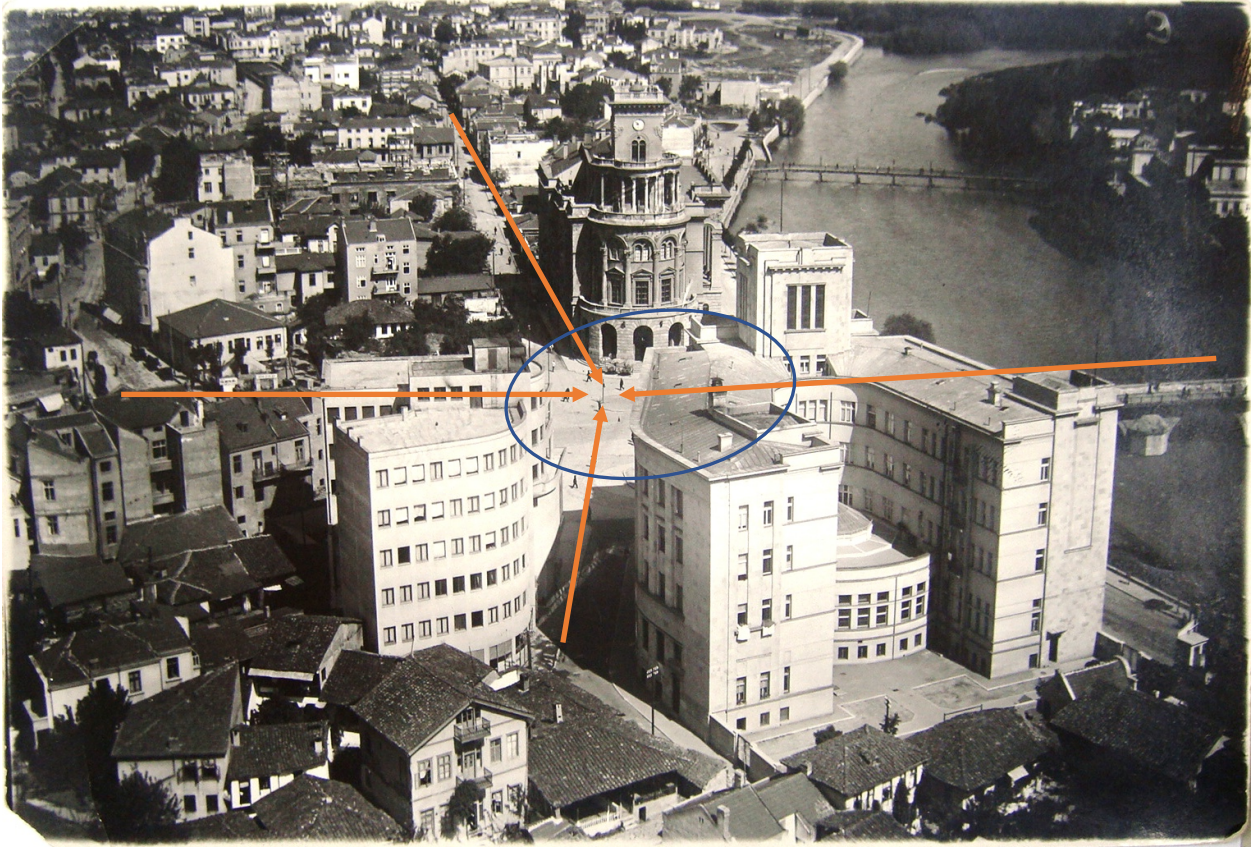
Figure 13: Erstwhile formation of a central square area in Skopje. Skopje, Macedonia.

Figure 14: Regulatory plan for Skopje, Macedonia. 1948. Architect: Luděk Kubeš.

220
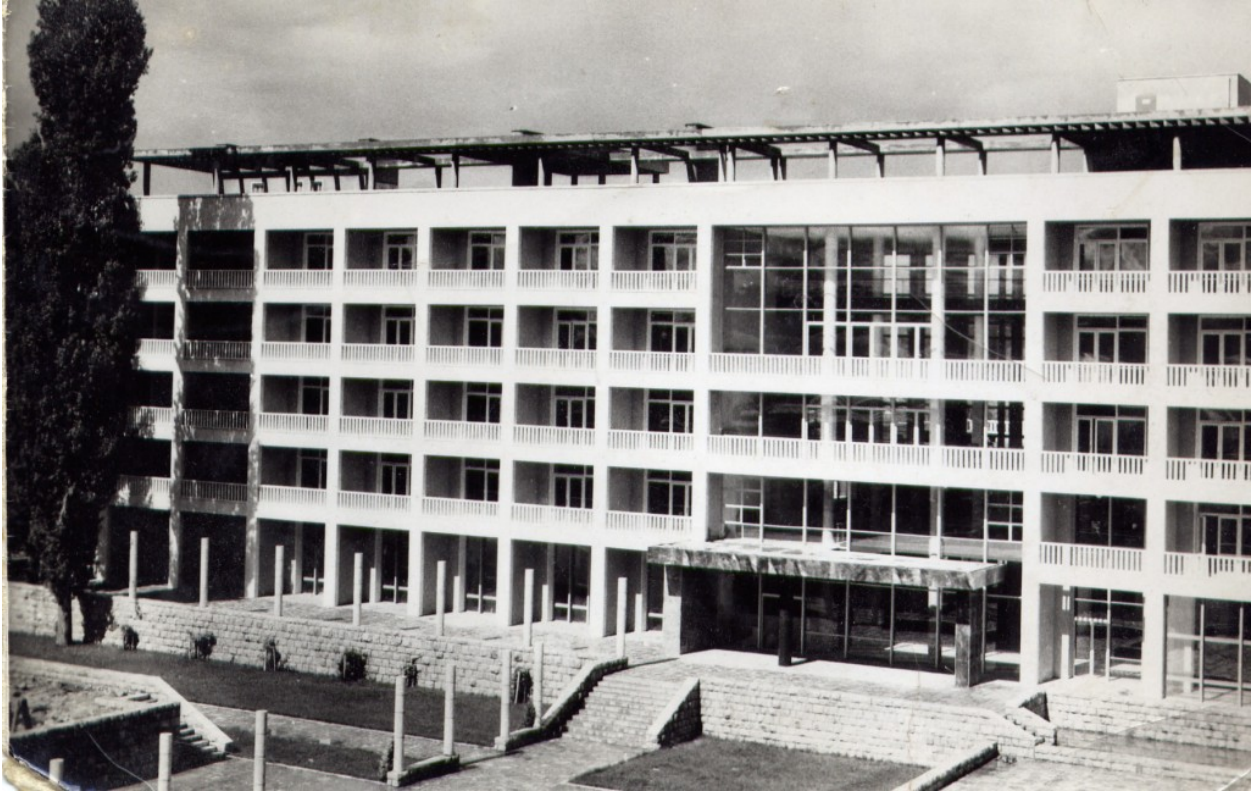
Figure 15: Hotel Palas. Ohrid, Macedonia. 1952. Architect: Edo Mihevc.

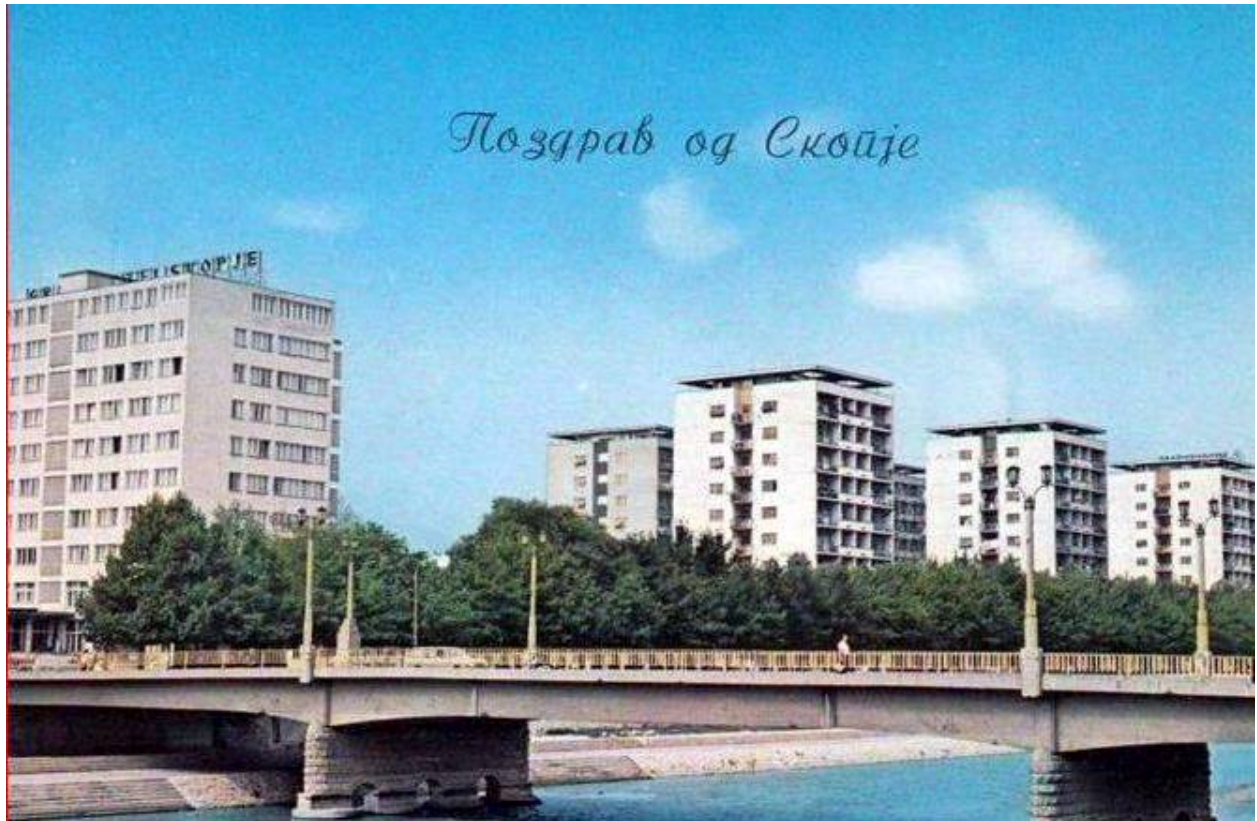*Figure 16: Grand Hotel Skopje. Skopje, Macedonia. 1954. Architect: Slavko Löwy.*

Figure 17: City center housing. Grand Hotel on the left. Postcard. Skopje, Macedonia. 1952-1959. Architect: Aleksandar Serafimovski.

Figure 18: NAMA department store. Skopje, Macedonia. 1959. Architect: Slavko Brezoski.

Figure 19: Elektro-Makedonija. Skopje, Macedonia. 1961-1962. Architect: Branko Petričević.

Figure 20: Old Ottoman Town. Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina. Postwar.

Figure 21: Demolition of Priština Ottoman Bazaar. Postwar. Priština, Kosovo.

Figure 22: Ottoman Bazaar in Skopje. Modern city in the distance. Skopje, Macedonia.

Figure 23: Poster for "Skopje '63." 1964. Director: Veljko Bulajić.

Figure 24: 26 July 1963 earthquake. Officers Hall. Skopje, Macedonia. Immediate aftermath.

Figure 25: 26 July 1963 earthquake. Railway Station. Skopje, Macedonia. Immediate aftermath.

Figure 26: 26 July 1963 earthquake. Skopje, Macedonia. Immediate aftermath.

Figure 27: Recovery of bodies. Skopje, Macedonia. Late July 1963.

КАТАСТРОФАЛАН ЗЕМЉОТРЕС У СКОПЉУ
ПРВИ ИЗВЕШТАЈИ ГОВОРЕ О ВЕЛИКОМ БРОЈУ МРТВИХ И РАЊЕНИХ

ЈЕДИНИЦЕ ЈНА, ГРАЂАНИ, МИЛИЦИЈА, ВАТРОГАСЦИ ОДМАХ УКАЗИВАЛИ ПОСТРАДАЛИМА ПРВУ ПОМОЋ

Многи градови упутили санитетске екипе, санитетски материјал и материјалну помоћ

У Куманову, Нишу, Врању, Лесковцу и другим ближим местима организован смештај рањеника

ДВОДНЕВНА ОПШТЕНАРОДНА ЖАЛОСТ У ЗЕМЉИ

Град на Вардару, Скопље, лежи у рушевинама. Рањен, тешко рањен. Више хиљада мртвих и повређених, према првим вестима, страховита су последица земљотреса, који се догодио у 5 часова и 17 минута, страховитог, јучерашњег јутра, за 15 секунди донесе највећи бол читаво земљи.

Катастрофа је задесила Скопље, трагедија је задесила све наше људе.

Док су становници овога града још спавали, или се припремали за посао у фабрике и предузећа, док су жене полазиле на пијацу остављајући децу у постељама, земљотрес је претворио Скопље у тренутку у рушевине смрти и ужаса. Неколико минута пре, када су се разредили облаци прашине, Скопље је пружало страшно болну слику.

Читав блок вишеспратница на Тргу слободе више не постоји. Порушени су Дом ЈНА и хотел „Македонија", потпуно или већим делом срушени су гимназија „Цветан Димов",

пошта код железничке станице, „Југобанка", зграда Скопског универзитета, преполовљена је железничка станица, срушено је и оштећено око 80 одсто зграда.

Тек отворени, четвороспратни, хотел се саме, раднике грађевинског предузећа „Бетон", затрпао је своје станаре. Око 400 радника, махом млађих људи, нашло се испод блокова бетона. Млади грађевинци, који би у садашњем часу могли другима да помогну беспомоћно су лежали испод рушевина. Неколико радника, који су на чудан начин успели да спасу живот похитали су да им помогну. Они су узалуд покушавали да пруже руке беспомоћним друговима.

Тешко је и немогуће у садашњем часу потпуно приказати шта је остало од овога дивног града. Али, зна се оно најгоре: Скопље практично више не постоји онако какво нас је увек гостопримљиво дочекивало. Већина зграда порушена или оштећена. Град је без читавих блокова кућа, без воде, без струје, без хлеба, без телефонских веза.

Скопље је, изнад свега, без бројних својих суграђана. Изградићемо нови, лепши град, али ће увек остати у сећању ово трагично јутро је унело тугу и сузе у очима читаве нације.

Било је непотребно звати, тражити помоћ, алармирати, апеловати на солидарност. Вест брзо упућена огласила се по читавој земљи. Тужно су завијале сирене параћинских фабрика, лекари свих градова журили су према Скопљу. Дубровчани су запосели авион намењен туристима, Словенац, путник, право са београдске железничке станице, где је чуо вест, упутио се у Завод за трансфузију крви; бригадисти са ауто-пута нудили су своју свесрдну помоћ; пред београдским Заводом за трансфузију крви ред је допирао до улице...

Одложене су све јавне приредбе, проглашена је дводневна опште-национална жалост.

(Наставак на 2. страни)

Дводневна општенародна жалост

Поводом катастрофалног земљотреса у главном граду Социјалистичке Републике Македоније Скопљу, који је изазвао људске жртве и тешке материјалне штете, Савезно извршно веће прогласило је дводневну општенародну жалост у дане 26. и 27. јула 1963. године.

За време општенародне жалости отказују се све јавне манифестације, културне и друге приредбе у земљи.

Дом ЈНА у Скопљу претворен је у јучерашњем страшном земљотресу у рушевину

ТЕЛЕГРАМ ПРЕДСЕДНИКА ТИТА

Председнику Народног собрања Социјалистичке Републике Македоније другу Видоју Смилевском, Скопље.

Дубоко ме потресла вијест о страшној трагедији која је због катастрофалног земљотреса задесила Скопље и читаву Социјалистичку Републику Македонију.

Заједно са свим народима Југославије дијелим жалост са породицама чији су чланови изгубили своје животе у тој ужасној несрећи. Заједно са свим народима Југославије настојаћемо да ублажимо несрећу која је задесила вашу републику.

Јосип Броз Тито

ТЕЛЕГРАМ ЦЕНТРАЛНОГ КОМИТЕТА СКЈ И САВЕЗНОГ ОДБОРА ССРНЈ

Централни комитет Савеза комуниста Југославије и Савезни одбор Социјалистичког савеза радног народа Југославије упутили су Централном комитету Савеза комуниста Македоније и Главном одбору ССРН Македоније следећи телеграм поводом несреће која је задесила Скопље:

„Тешка трагедија грађана и града Скопља дубоко је потресла и погодила све наше народе, који заједно са народима Македоније преживљавају овај тренутак у дубоком болу.

Изражавајући спремност да вам пруже свесрдну помоћ, радни људи Југославије уложиће све своје снаге и могућности да ублаже и што пре отклоне последице ове велике елементарне несреће".

(Танјуг)

САУЧЕШЋЕ ЕДВАРДА КАРДЕЉА

Председнику Собрања Социјалистичке Републике Македоније, другу Видоју Смилевском, Скопље.

Тешка несрећа која је задесила град Скопље, у којој је изгубило животе и пострадало хиљаде људи, све нас је дубоко потресла. У жалости грађана Скопља и македонског народа саучествујем својим људским и братским саосећањима сваки наш човек и сви наши народи. У име Савезне скупштине и моје лично молим Вас да пренесете породицама пострадалих и народу Македоније наше најдубље саучешће.

Председник Савезне скупштине
Едвард Кардељ

Припадници ЈНА одмах су почели рашчишћавање рушевина (На слици — у Улици маршала Тита).

Figure 28: Newspaper Borba. 27 July 1963. Belgrade, Serbia.

Figure 29: Newspaper Borba. 28 July 1963. Belgrade, Serbia.

Figure 30: Clearing the rubble. Post-earthquake. Skopje, Macedonia.

Figure 31: Destruction of Skopje earthquake. Skopje, Macedonia.

Figure 32: Destruction of Skopje earthquake and clearing of rubble. Skopje, Macedonia.

Figure 33: Destruction of Skopje earthquake and clearing of rubble. Skopje, Macedonia.

Figure 34: Destruction of Skopje earthquake and makeshift tent-living. Ottoman Old Town. Skopje, Macedonia.

Figure 35: Destruction of Skopje earthquake and clearing of rubble. Skopje, Macedonia.

The Project Manager, Mr. Ciborowski, presents a draft concept of the Master Plan to the third session of the International Board of Consultants

Figure 36: Masterplan for Skopje, Macedonia. Completed by Polservice, Doxiadis and Associates, ITPA, and Wilbur Smith and Associates. 1965.
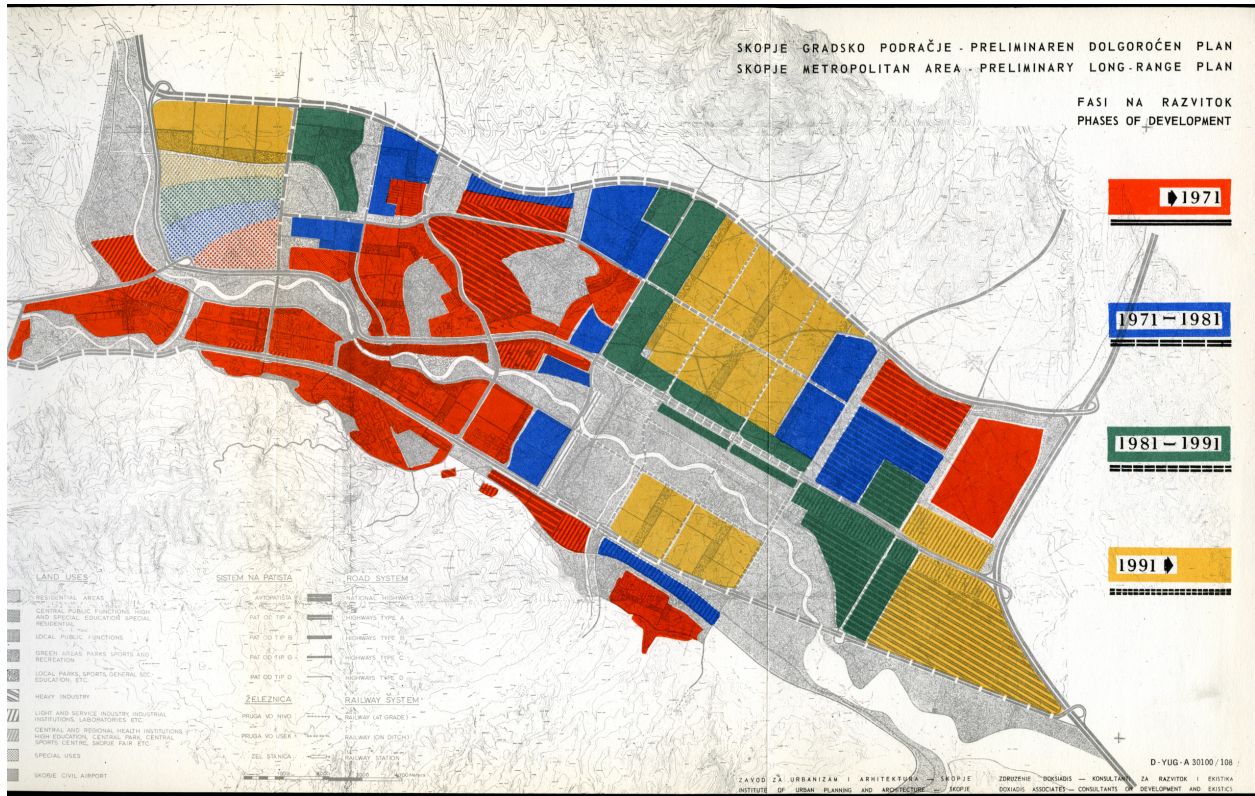
Figure 37: Long-range masterplan for Skopje, Macedonia. 1965.
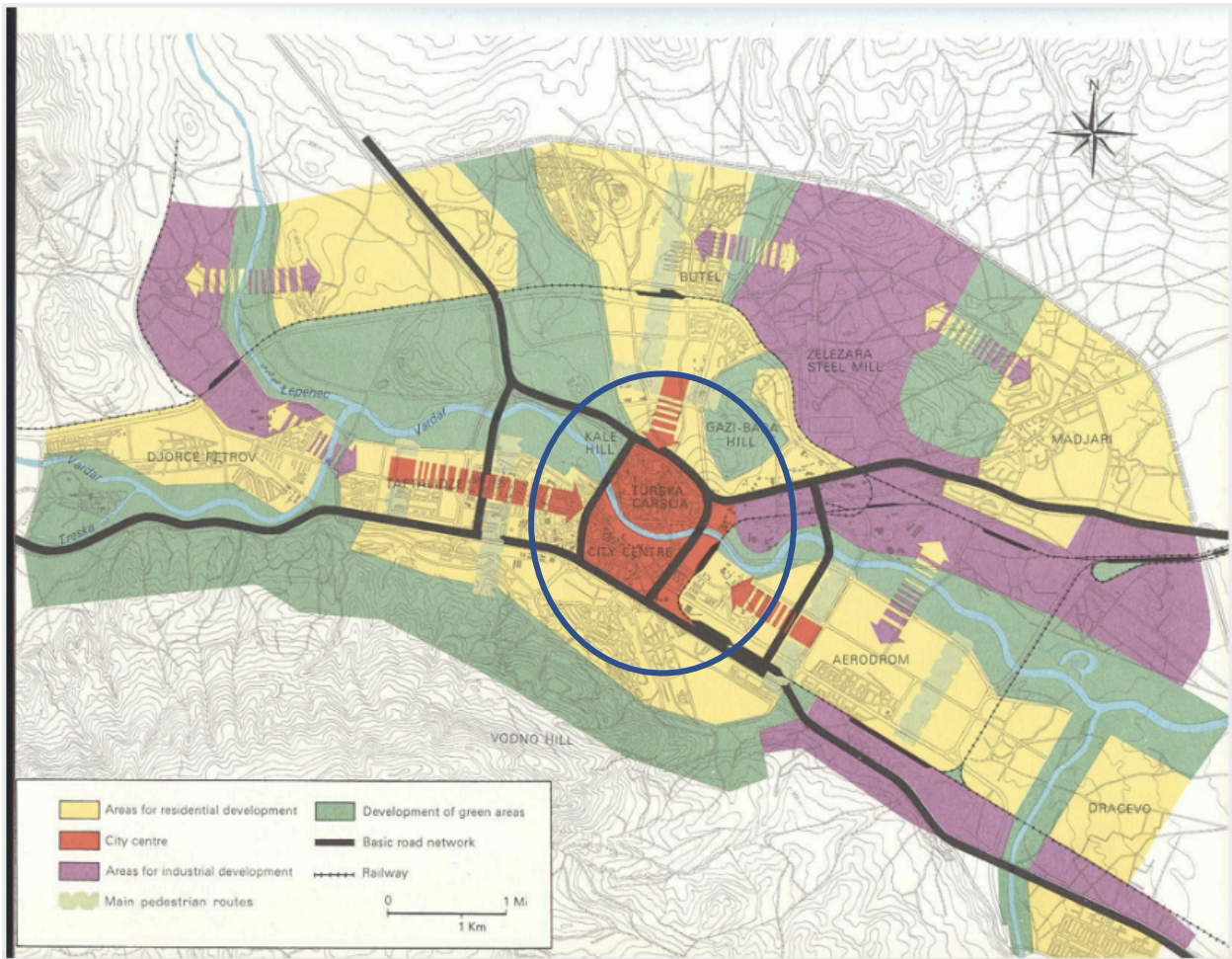
Figure 38: Skopje city center. Skopje, Macedonia.

Figure 39: Skopje city center proposals: Kenzo Tange.
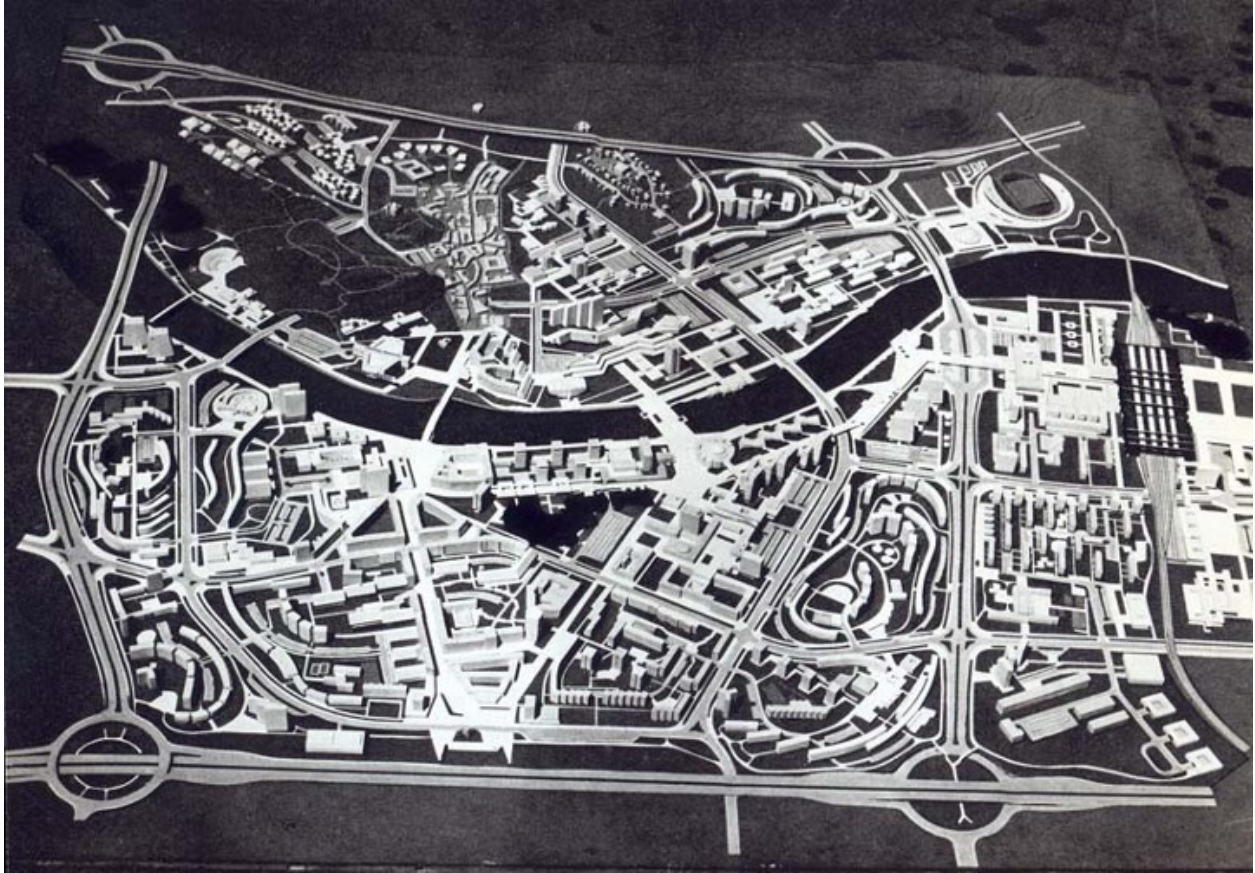
Figure 40: Skopje city center proposals: Radovan Miščević and Fedor Wenzler.
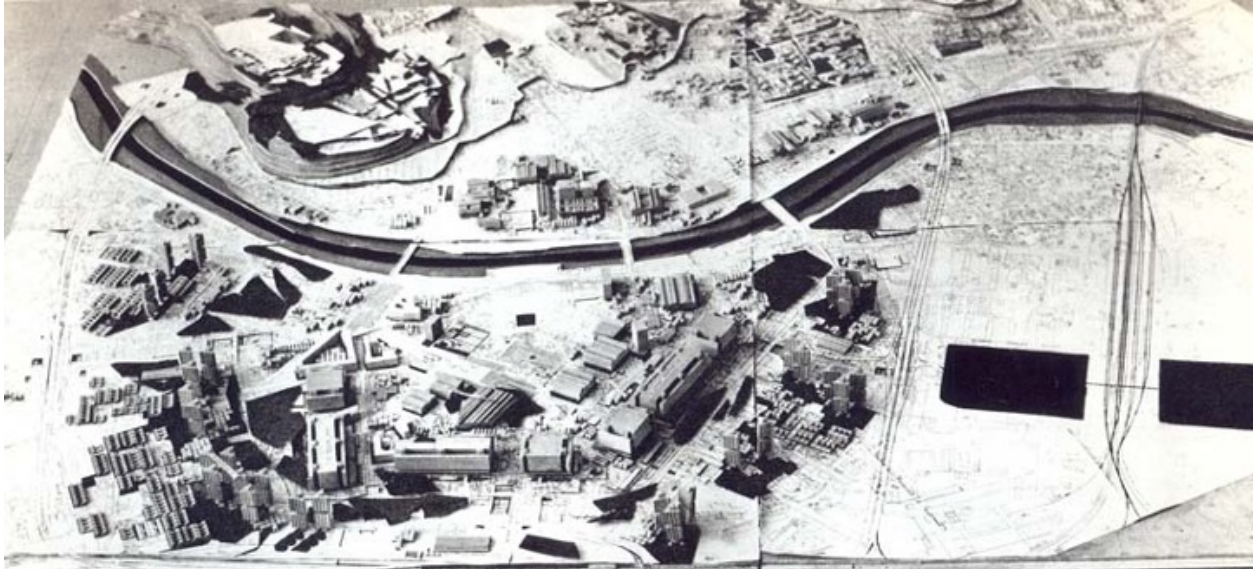
Figure 41: Skopje city center proposals: Edvard Ravnikar.

Figure 42: Skopje city center proposals: Luigi Piccinato.

Figure 43: Skopje city center proposals: Aleksandar Đorđević.

Figure 44: Skopje city center proposals: van den Broek and Bakema.
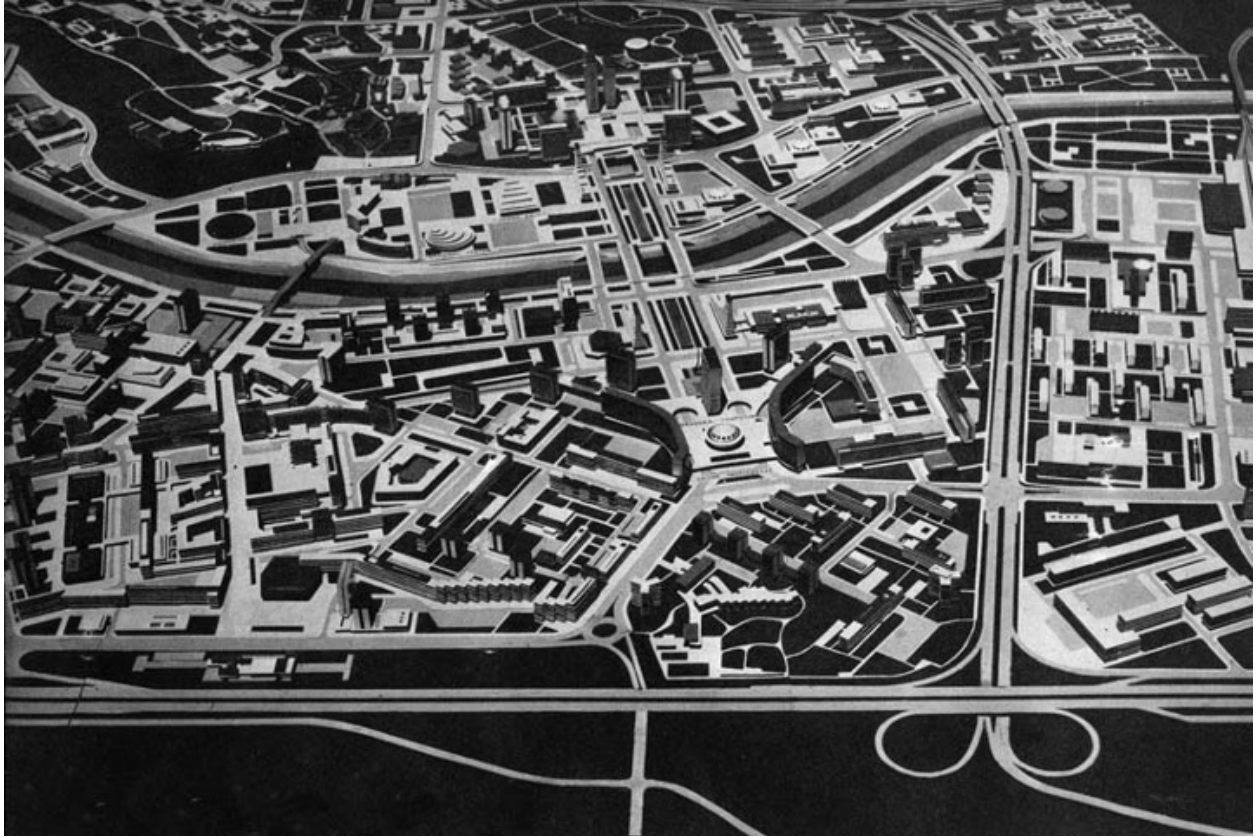
Figure 45: Skopje city center proposals: Slavko Brezoski.

Figure 46: Skopje city center proposals: Maurice Rotival.

Figure 47: Skopje city center proposals: Kenzo Tange. City Gate and City Wall. Model.

Figure 48: Skopje city center. Gradation of scale: City Gate - City Wall - Ottoman Bazaar.

Figure 49: Skopje city center proposals: Kenzo Tange. City Gate and City Wall. Model.

Figure 50: Skopje city center proposals: Miščević and Wenzler. Plan.

Definitivni urbanistički plan centra Skopja (model)
Autori (po abecedi): Arata Isozaki, Vojislav Mačkić, Radovan Miščević, Joshio Taniguchi, Dragan To-
movski, Sadao Watanabe, Fedor Wenzler i Stanislav Furman

Figure 51: Skopje city center final plan.

Figure 52: Skopje city center final plan. Model.
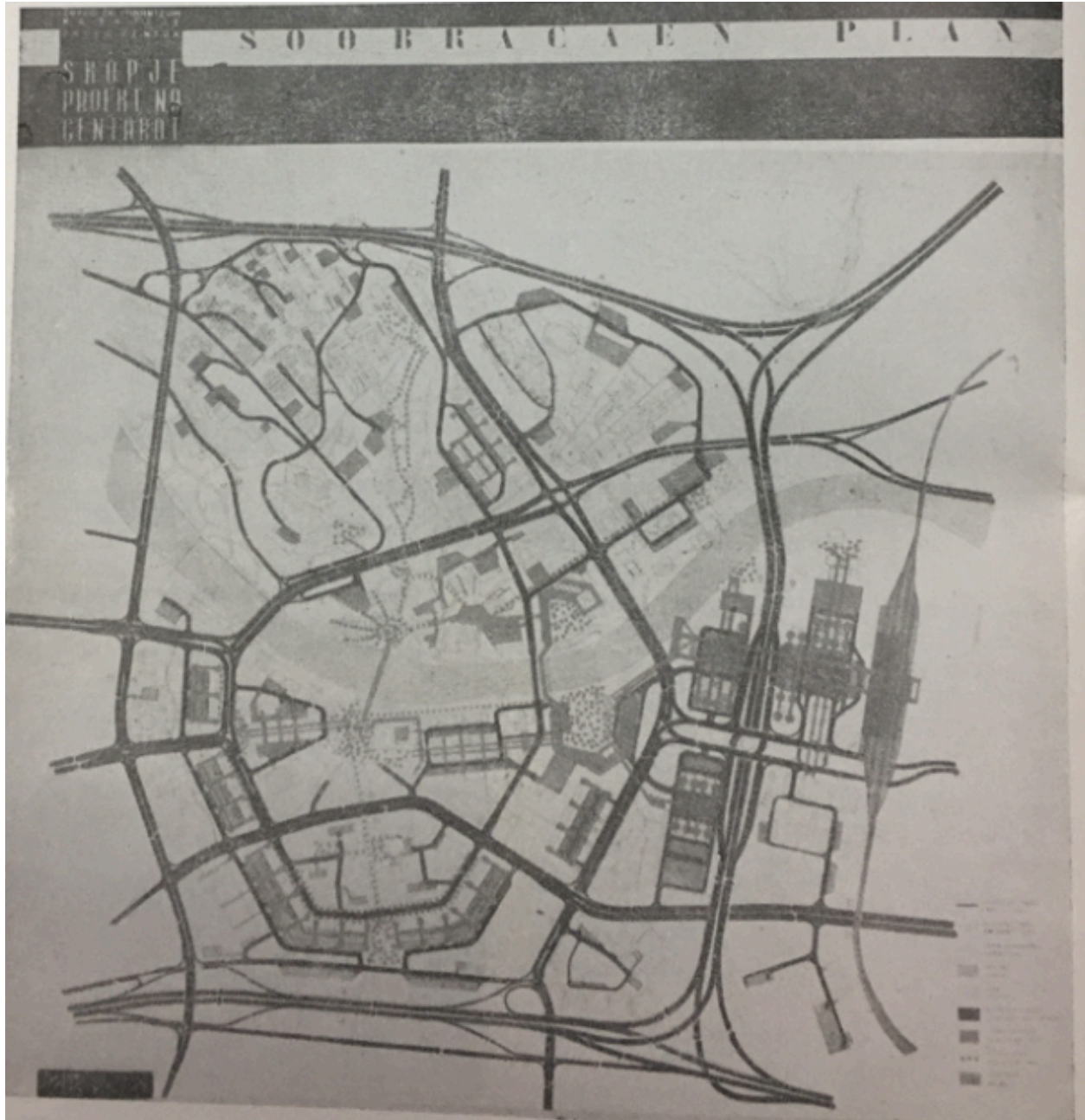
Figure 53: Skopje city center final plan. Traffic.

Figure 54: Skopje city center. City Wall.

Figure 55: Goce Delčev Student Dormitories. Skopje, Macedonia.

Figure 56: Macedonian Opera and Ballet. Skopje, Macedonia.

Figure 57: Skopje, Macedonia. Postcard. 1970s.

Figure 58: City Gate: Railway Station. Skopje, Macedonia.

Figure 59: City Wall. Skopje, Macedonia.

Figure 60: City Wall. Blocks. Skopje, Macedonia. 1968.

Figure 61: City Wall. Block M. Skopje, Macedonia. 1966. Architects: Dimitar Dimitrov, Slavko Gjurikj, Vasilka Ladinska, Rosana Minčeva, and Aleksandar Serafimovski.

Figure 62: Goce Delčev Student Dormitories. Skopje, Macedonia. 1969-1971 and 1973-1977. Architect: Georgi Konstantinovski.

Figure 63: Goce Delčev Student Dormitories. "Flying bridges." Skopje, Macedonia. 1969-1971 and 1973-1977. Architect: Georgi Konstantinovski.

Figure 64: Museum of Contemporary Art. Skopje, Macedonia. 1969-1970. Architects: Grupa Tigri.

Figure 65: Museum of Contemporary Art. External columns and coffered ceiling. Skopje, Macedonia. 1969-1970. Architects: Grupa Tigri.

Figure 66: GTC shopping center. Skopje, Macedonia. 1969-1973. Architect: Živko Popovski.

Figure 67: Ss. Cyril and Methodius University. Skopje, Macedonia. 1970-1974. Architect: Marko Mušič.
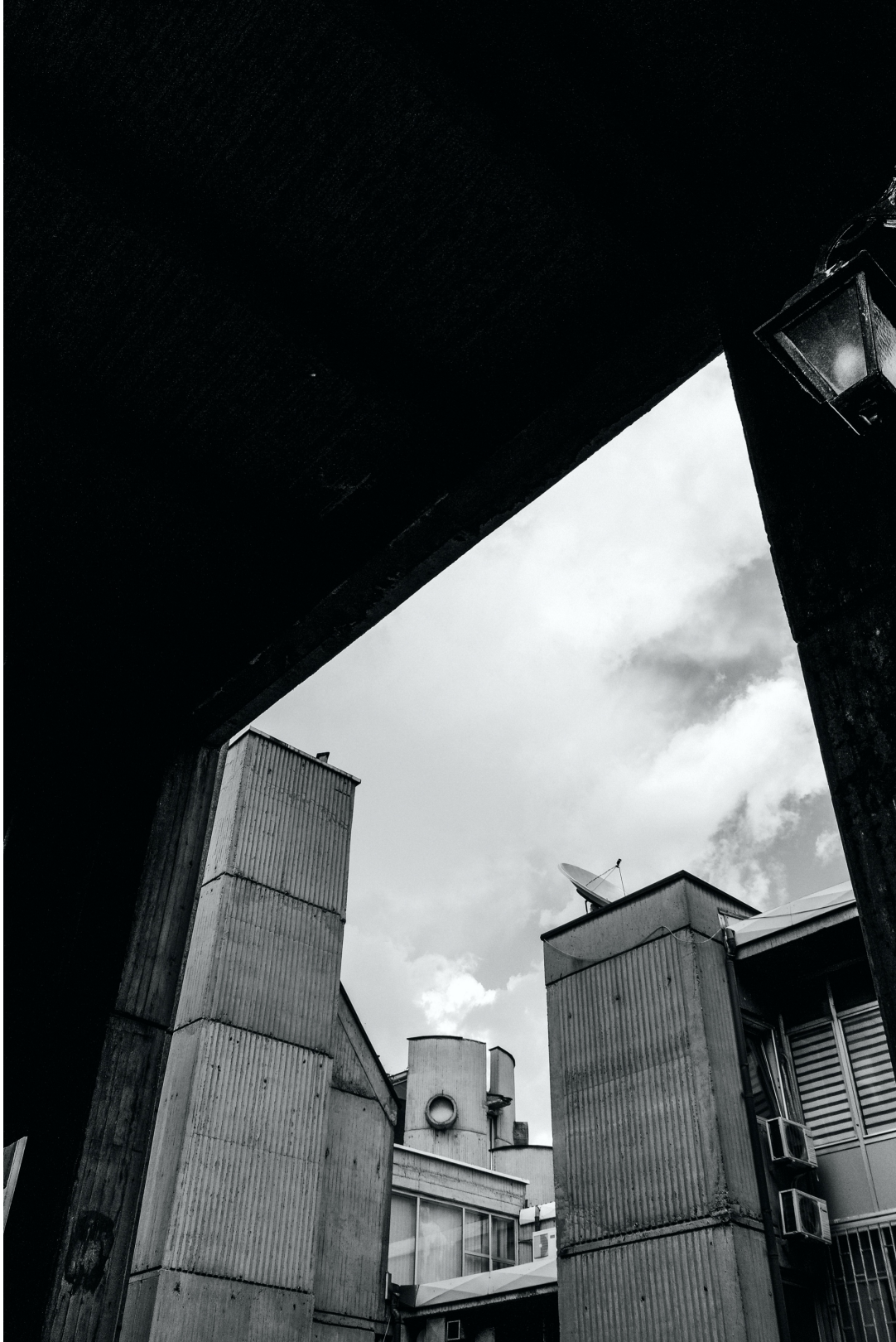
Figure 68: Ss. Cyril and Methodius University. Detail. Skopje, Macedonia. 1970-1974. Architect: Marko Mušič.

Figure 69: Macedonian Opera and Ballet. Skopje, Macedonia. 1967-1981. Architects: Biro '71.

Figure 70: Macedonian Opera and Ballet. Detail. Skopje, Macedonia. 1967-1981. Architects: Biro '71.

Figure 71: Telecommunications Center. Drawing. Skopje, Macedonia. 1979-1981. Architect: Janko Konstantinov.

Figure 72: Telecommunications Center. Detail. Skopje, Macedonia. 1979-1981. Architect: Janko Konstantinov.

Figure 73: Telecommunications Center. Detail. Skopje, Macedonia. 1979-1981. Architect: Janko Konstantinov.

Figure 74: Macedonian Radio and Television Center (MRT). Skopje, Macedonia. 1973-1984. Architects: Kiril Acevski, Nakov Manov, and Haralampsi Josifovski.
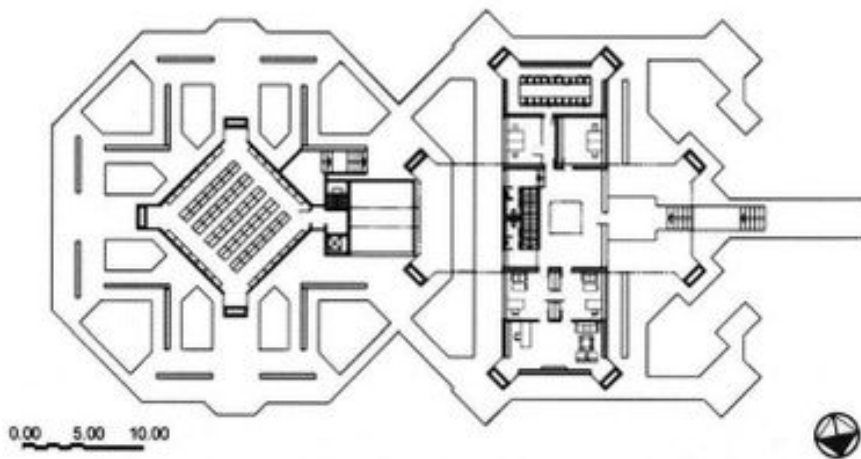
Figure 75: Skopje City Archive. Skopje, Macedonia. 1966-1968. Architect: Georgi Konstantinovski.

Figure 76: Ottoman Old Town. 1963 earthquake destruction. Skopje, Macedonia.

Figure 77: Ottoman Old Town. 1963 earthquake destruction. Skopje, Macedonia.

Figure 78: Ottoman Old Town. 1963 earthquake destruction. Skopje, Macedonia.

Figure 79: Ottoman Old Town. 1963 earthquake destruction. Skopje, Macedonia.

Figure 80: Ottoman Old Town. Clock Tower. Date unknown. Skopje, Macedonia.

Figure 81: Ottoman Old Town. Bazaar. Everyday commercial activities. Date unknown. Skopje, Macedonia.
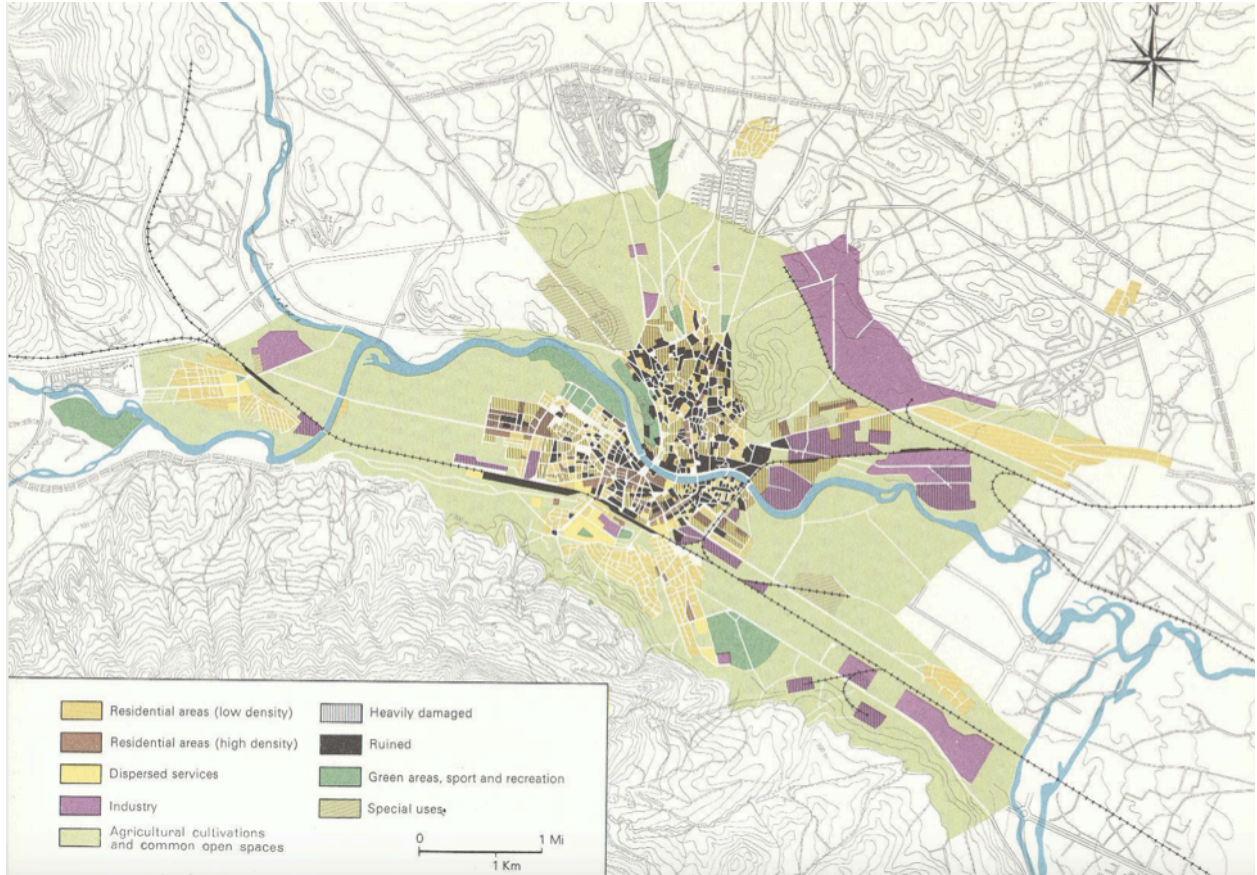
Figure 82: City center and expansion of Skopje. Skopje, Macedonia. Post-1963.

The legend of the map reads:

Residential areas (low density)
Residential areas (high density)
Dispersed services
Industry
Agricultural cultivations and common open spaces
Heavily damaged
Ruined
Green areas, sport and recreation
Special uses

0 — 1 Mi
1 Km

Figure 83: City center and northeastern suburbs of Čair and Gazi Baba. Skopje, Macedonia. Present-day.

Figure 84: Skopje, Macedonia. 1985. Postcard.

Figure 85: Macedonia Square. Skopje, Macedonia. 2018.

Figure 86: "Europe, our name is Macedonia." Skopje, Macedonia. 2018.

Figure 87: YouTube promotional video for "Skopje 2014."

Figure 88: Archaeological Museum of Macedonia and Old Ottoman Bridge. Skopje, Macedonia. 2019.

Figure 89: The Museum of the Macedonian Struggle. Skopje, Macedonia. 2008-2011.

Figure 90: The Museum of the Macedonian Struggle. Interior detail. Skopje, Macedonia. 2008-2011.

Figure 91: The Archaeological Museum and State Archive. Skopje, Macedonia. 2013.

Figure 92: The Archaeological Museum and State Archive. Exterior detail. Skopje, Macedonia. 2013.

Figure 93: Warrior on a Horse. Macedonia Square. Skopje, Macedonia. 2011.
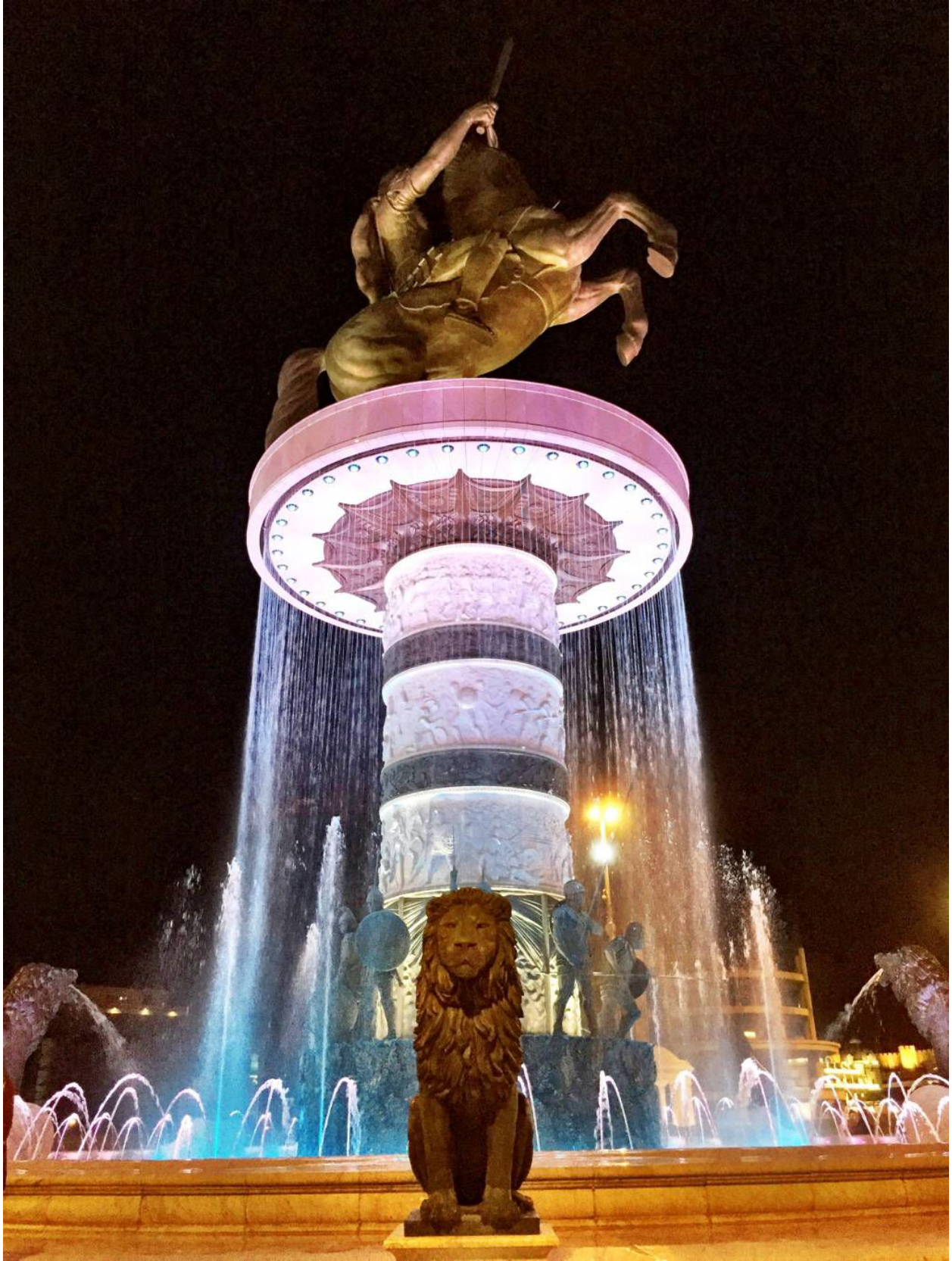
Figure 94: Warrior on a Horse. Macedonia Square. Detail. Skopje, Macedonia. 2011.

Figure 95: Philip II of Macedon. Skopje, Macedonia. 2012.

Figure 96: Goce Delčev statue. Macedonia Square. Skopje, Macedonia. Date unknown.

Figure 97: The Fountain of the Mothers of Macedonia. Skopje, Macedonia. 2013.

Figure 98: The Fountain of the Mothers of Macedonia. Detail. Skopje, Macedonia. 2013.

Figure 99: Archaeological Museum and Ottoman Bridge. Skopje, Macedonia. 2019.

Figure 100: The Archaeological Museum and Eye Bridge. Skopje, Macedonia. 2014.

Figure 101: Eye Bridge. Skopje, Macedonia. 2013.

Figure 102: Macedonia Square and Ottoman Bazaar with the Archaeological Museum in between. Skopje, Macedonia.

Figure 103: Skenderbeg Square. Skopje, Macedonia. 2017.

Figure 104: Skenderbeg Square. Skopje, Macedonia. 2012, 2014-2018.

Figure 105: Skenderbeg Statue. Skopje, Macedonia. 2006.

Figure 106: Ottoman Bazaar view, Čair side. Skopje, Macedonia. 2019.

Figure 107: Čair. Skopje, Macedonia. 2019.
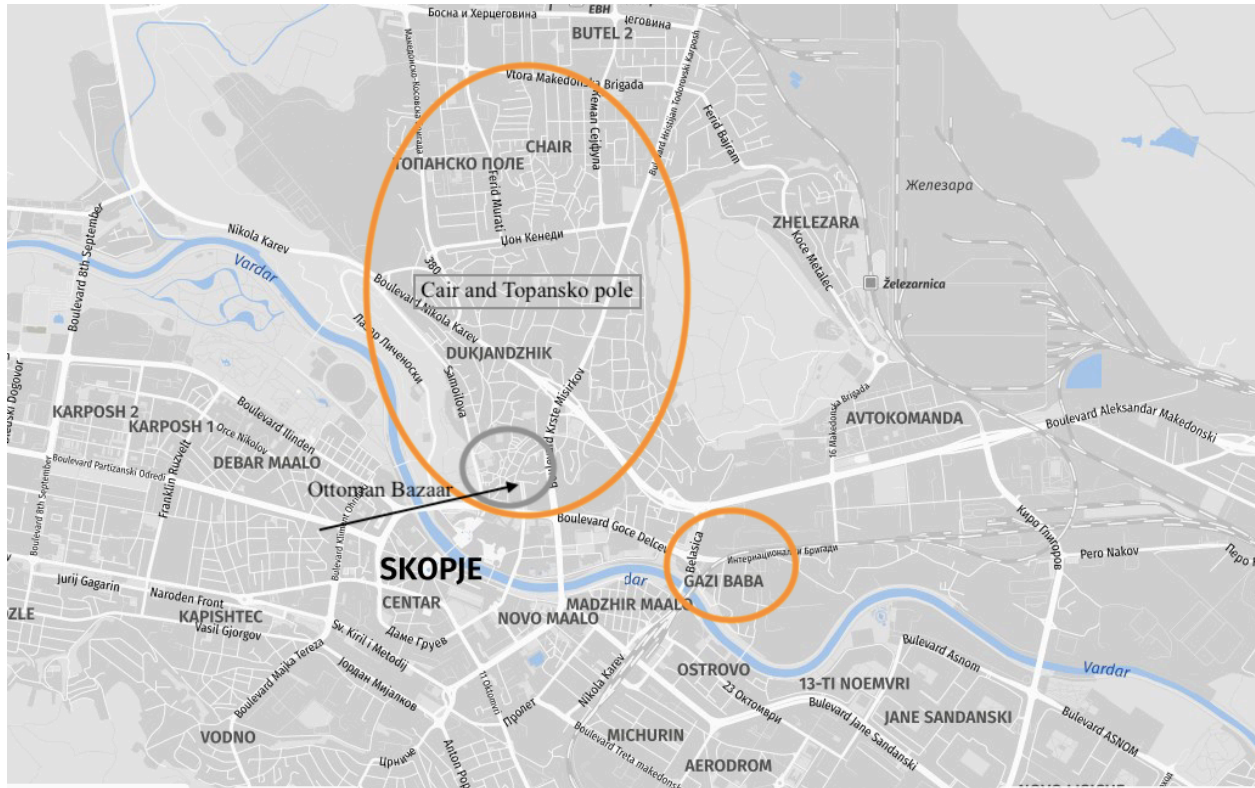
Figure 108: Čair, Topansko pole, and Gazi Baba neighborhoods. Skopje, Macedonia.

Figure 109: Čair. Skopje, Macedonia, 2019.

Figure 110: Modernist housing in Topansko pole. Skopje, Macedonia. Date unknown.

Figure 111: Kenzo Tange's City Wall. Skopje, Macedonia. 2018.

Figure 112: Macedonian Opera and Ballet behind neoclassical colonnade installed under "Skopje 2014." Skopje, Macedonia. Date unknown.

Figure 113: Hydrometeorological Station. Skopje, Macedonia. 1975. Architect: Krsto Todorovski.

Figure 114: Goce Delčev Student Dormitories. Interior. Skopje, Macedonia. Date unknown.

Figure 115: Ilinden Memorial. Outside of Skopje. 1974. Jordan and Iskra Grabul.
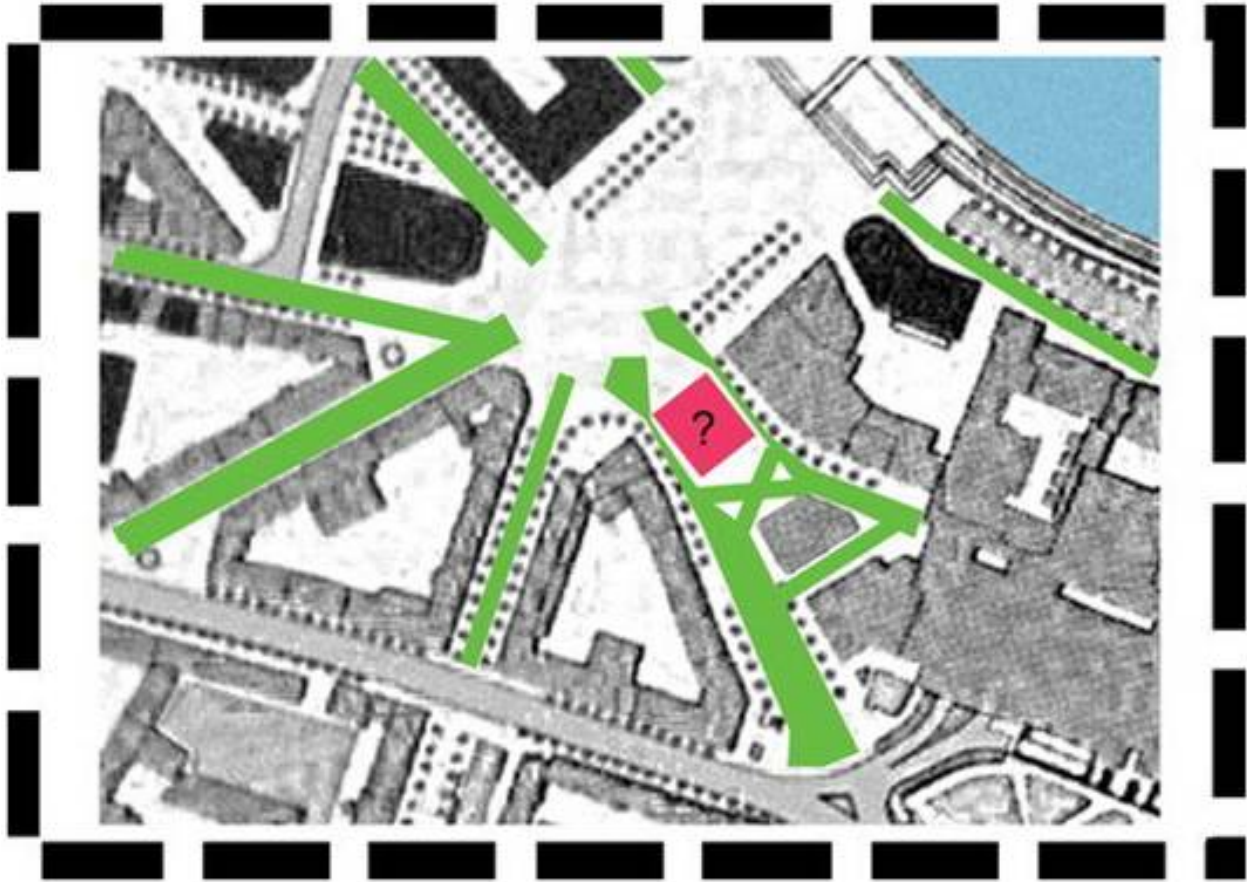
Figure 116: Macedonia Square and proposed site for church. Skopje, Macedonia. 2009.

ДЕМОКРАТИЈАТА НА КОЛЕНА
Уставот ни гарантира право и на јавно протестирање, освен во услови на вонредна или воена состојба. Доколку веќе не сме во редовна состојба, ред би било тоа и да ни се каже, за да не живееме во заблуда. Во спротивно, да се соочиме со поразителниот факт, дека уставот нема поголемо значење од она што го имаат тарабите 14

Figure 117: 28 March 2009 protests. Macedonia Square. Skopje, Macedonia.

Figure 118: "Hugging the GTC." Skopje, Macedonia. December 2014.

Figure 119: 2015 protests. Skopje, Macedonia.

Figure 120: 2016 Colorful Revolution. Skopje, Macedonia.

Figure 121: 2016 Colorful Revolution. Skopje, Macedonia.

Figure 122: 20 June 2016. Colorful Revolution. Skopje, Macedonia.

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The State Archives of the Republic of North Macedonia: City Archive of Skopje [Drzaven arhiv na Republika Severna Makedonija: Istoriski arhiv Skopje]

Cinematheque of Macedonia [Kinoteka na Makedonija]

Zagreb, Croatia:

Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts: Cinematheque of Croatia [HAZU: Hrvatski filmski arhiv, Hrvatska kinoteka]

Croatian Architecture Museum – Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts: Fedor Wenzler Archive [Hrvatski muzej arhitekture – HAZU]

Belgrade, Serbia:

Archive of Yugoslavia [Arhiv Jugoslavije]

National Archive of Serbia [Arhiv Srbije]

United States:

Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Archives, Frances Loeb Library: Kenzo Tange Archive and Ernest Weissmann Archive

New York City, NY: United Nations Archive

Athens, Greece: Doxiadis and Associates Archives at the Benaki Museum

Rome, Italy: Archivio Luigi Piccinato at Sapienza Università di Roma

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335

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