

ISTANBUL TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY ★ GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SCIENCE
ENGINEERING AND TECHNOLOGY

**KOSOVA'S ARCHITECTURE IN FRAME OF SOCIALIST
MODERNIZATION: BORO-RAMIZ SPORT, CULTURE AND TRADE
COMPLEX BY DOM ARCHITECTURAL OFFICE**



M.Sc. THESIS

Sara SYLEJMANI

Department of Architecture

Architectural History Programme

JUNE 2019

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Thesis Advisor: Prof. Dr. Mehmet Murat GÜL

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**SOSYALİST MODERNİZM ÇERÇEVESİNDE KOSOVA MİMARİSİ: BORO-
RAMİZ SPOR, KÜLTÜR VE TİCARET MERKEZİ, DOM MİMARLIK OFİSİ**

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Sara SYLEJMANI



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ABBREVIATIONS

UP	: Prishtina University
CPY	: Communist Party of Yugoslavia
UDB	: Yugoslav Secret Police
USSR	: Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
CIAM	: International Congresses of Modern Architecture
WWII	: World War II





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SUMMARY

Acknowledged by the majority of architectural historians, modernism defines reformist's and avant-garde's struggles towards the eclecticism of the 19th century. Modernism might be accepted as the history of the masterminds. Modernization is a process of society's re-genesis, in which architecture and urban planin were observed as a public issue, collective and political venture. Whereas heritage of modernism, in some countries, adverts to incomplete and abounded projects.

Since the Yugoslav Federation is a region touched by world wars, Cold War, Iron Curtain and the destruction of the Iron Curtain, it gives an example of interrupted and diverse modernizations. Consisted by margin ethnic groups, cultures and religions, Yugoslavia portrays a place of different ideological experiments that effected country's economic tradition metamorphosed from socialism to neoliberalism. After the 1948's political shifts, Yugoslavian government as a genuine model of management, established '*Socialist Modernism*'. Consequently, international architecture scene, (between World Wars and the 1980s) that was exposed to different streams from 'International Style' to Mega-structures and 'American Brutalism' influenced Yugoslav architecture too.

Yugoslav government, under the contention of 'modern urbanization', intendet to create a united and unified national identity, which transformed the cities into a symbolic structures. '*Brotherhood and Unity*' was ideological expression of Yugoslav inner politicals that was aiming to unite diverse ethnicities and cultures of the country and represents the strength of a government in international platform.

The purpose of this work is to describe the modernization of socialist architecture that occurred in Yugoslavia by presenting the evolution of 'Prishtina', the capital city of Kosova, during Josip Broz Tito administration. As a concrete representation of these historic phenomenons, this thesis introduce the building of '*Boro-Ramiz: Sport, Culture and Trade Complex*' designed by DOM Architectural Office from Sarajevo and built between 1974 and 1981. The complex is known as a landmark of Prishtina; a symbol of the socialist moral, and portrayal of Yugoslavia's international politic, economic and cultural achievements. Another important statment is the influence of 'Metabolist Movement's structuralism, like a paraphase of collective samples, since the design shows structural and rethoric similarities with 'TANU Headquarters' designed by Kisho Kurokawa. The scope of the work contains the complex's design

context in the frame of '*Socialist Modernization*', which is a display of Tito-Stalin Split in 1948 and government's political, economic and cultural shift towards the West and the Third World Countries.

According to literature review, it might be argued that there is a lack of elaborated presentations of 'Boro-Ramiz: Sport, Culture and Trade Complex' in the context of the potential effects of 'Socialist Modernization' and Metabolist Movement'. Literature review is studied in the frame of Cold War, accordingly, The Eastern Block's and The Western Block's perceptions on Yugoslav architecture. Latest studies on Yugoslav Socialist architecture provide more detailed informations connected with politic, economic, sociological and cultural context. The focus of the research is particularly Kosova's architecture's status and one of its significant modernist building's 'Boro-Ramiz: Sport, Culture and Trade Complex' categorization in the compass of the Socialist Modernization. Thus, in first three chapters of this study art and architecture of Socialist Yugoslavia is presented and in the fourth chapter detailed informations on 'Boro-Ramiz: Complex' built in 1974, in Prishtina are given.

To prove the statement that 'Boro-Ramiz: Sport, Culture and Trade Complex' is influenced by 'TANU Headquarters' design, in fourth chapter of this work projects were compared using as material, project descriptions of their own architects, models and plan readings of both projects.

In accordance with the analyzes that this work represents, two important statements might be specified: One is that 'Boro-Ramiz: Sport, Culture and Trade Complex', a landmark of Prishtina, is a symbol of 'Brotherhood and Unity' which displays Yugoslav inner political venture. The other categorization of the design is as 'functional modernist' building and a reinterpretation of Metabolist 'structuralism', which portrays international politics, cultural and artistic relations with world trends as a result of economic and diplomatic metamorphosis of Yugoslav government.

SOSYALİST MODERNİZM ÇERÇEVESİNDE KOSOVA MİMARİSİ: BORO-RAMİZ SPOR, KÜLTÜR VE TİCARET MERKEZİ, DOM MİMARLIK OFİSİ

ÖZET

Mimarlık ve Sanat Tarihçiler'in çoğunluğu tarafından kabul edildiği üzere, modernizm reformistlerin ve avant-gardın 19. Yüzyılın eklektisizmine karşı mücadelelerinin oluşumunu tanımlar. Mimarlık'ta 'modernizm' ise mimarlık üstadlarının tarihi olarak da kabul edilebilir. Modernizasyon, toplumun yeniden yapılandığı, mimarlık ve kentsel planlamanın kamusal, kolektif ve politik bir mesele oluşu süreci kapsar. Modernizm bir olgu, modernizasyon ise bu olgunun süreci olarak görülebilir. Halbuki, günümüzde, Modern Mimarlık Mirası, bazı ülkeler için tamamlanmamış, terk edilmiş projelerin temsili olarak algılanabilir.

Yugoslav Federasyon'u, Dünya Şavaşları, Soğuk Savaş, Demir Perde gibi tarihsel fenomenleri deneyimlemiş bir bölge olarak, kesintiye uğramış ve modernleşmede çeşitlilik gösteren bir örnek olarak değerlendirilebilir. Analizler, farklı etnik grupların, kültürlerin ve dinlerin ülkesi Yugoslavya'nın, değişik ideolojik deneylerin sonucu geleneksel ekonomisinin sosyalizmden neoliberalizme dönüşümünü etkilediğini gösteriyor. 1948'li yılların politik değişimlerinin ve batıya yönelmenin sonucu olarak, özgün bir yönetim modeli sunan Yugoslav hükümeti, 'Sosyalist Modernizm' prensiplerini kurumsal ve üretken bir kültür numunesi olarak benimsedi. Dolayısıyla, 'Enternasyonal Stil'den 'Metabolist Hareketi'nin mega strüktürlerine ve 'Amerikan Brutalizmi'ne kadar uzanan, farklı akımlara ışık tutmuş uluslararası mimarlık sahnesi, Yugoslav mimarisini de etkiledi. Yugoslav yönetimi 'modern kentleşme' adı altında birleşik ve bütün bir kimlik oluşturma niyetiyle kentleri sembolik bir strüktüre büründürdü. Birliği ve bütünlüğü sağlamak için 'Kardeşlik ve Birlik' kavramını araçsallaştırdı. 'Kardeşlik ve Birlik' farklı etnik kökenlerini ve kültürlerini birleştirmeyi ve uluslararası platformda hükümetin gücünü temsil etmeyi hedefleyen, iç politik tutumunun ideolojik ifadesiydi. İdeolojik ifadenin somutlaştırılması mimari ve kensel düzenlemelerle sağlandı.

Bu çalışmanın amacı, Josip Broz Tito rejimi döneminde, Kosova'nın başkenti, Priştine'nin evrimini sunarak, Yugoslavya Sosyalist Mimarisi bağlamında oluşan modernleşmeyi tanımlamaktır. Çalışmada, Priştine'nin simgesi, sosyalist ruhun temsili, 1974-81 yılları arasında, Saraybosna'dan DOM Mimarlık Ofisi tarafından tasarlanan, 'Boro-Ramiz: Spor, Kültür ve Ticaret Kompleksi'nin tanıtılması amaçlanıyor. Bu araştırmanın kapsamı, 1948 Tito-Stalin ayrılması ve devletin Batı ve

Üçüncü Dünya Ülkelerine yönelik politik, ekonomik ve kültürel değişiminin bir göstergesi olan ‘Sosyalist Modernizm’ çerçevesinde ‘Boro-Ramiz Kompleksi’nin tasarımı bağlamını içeriyor. Dikkate alınması gereken diğer önemli öge ise, Kompleks’in, Kisho Kurokawa’nın ‘TANU Genel Merkezi’ tasarımıyla, yapısal ve retorik benzerlikler gösterdiğinden ötürü, kaynaklarda sınırlı olmasıyla birlikte, ‘Metabolist Hareketi’nin strüktüralizm tesiri olarak tanımlanmasıdır.

Tez, beş bölümden oluşuyor, ilk iki bölüm ‘Giriş’, ‘Metodoloji’ ve ‘Literatür Tarama’larını kapsıyor. Üçüncü bölümde, Dünya Şavaşları arası dönemlerinden 80’lere kadar Yugoslavya’da sanat ve mimarlık kavramları ele alınmıştır. Dördüncü bölümde, Kosova’nın, Yugoslavya Federasyonu’nun bir parçası olarak tarihi, siyasi ve ekonomik arka planı okunmuştur. Onun dışında Priştine’de 1974 yılında tasarlanan ‘Boro-Ramiz Kompleksi’nin ve Kisho Kurokawa’nın 1972’de Tanzania için tasarladığı ‘TANU Genel Merkez’ binaları karşılaştırılmıştır. Beşinci bölümde ise, yukarıda belirtilen bölümlerin sentezini oluşturarak analiz sonuçlarının iletilmesi amaçlanmıştır. Tito Yugoslavya’sı sırasında sanat ve mimarlık tarihi kapsamında yapılan literatür taraması, aşağıdaki sorulara cevap aramak üzerine bir omurga oluşturuyor:

İdeoloji, mimarlığı nasıl etkiledi? Soğuk Savaş döneminde mimarlık nasıl siyasallaştırıldı? Mimarlar yeteneklerini sergilemenin yolunu nasıl buldu? Priştine’de ‘Boro-Ramiz: Kompleksi’ projesi tasarlandığında arkaplan koşulları neydi? Avantgard’ın, Enternasyonel Stilin’e ve Japon ‘Yeni Dalga’ Mimarisi’nin Yugoslavya Mimarisine etkileri nelerdi? DOM Ofisi’nin bu kavramlarla ilişkileri neydi?

‘Boro-Ramiz Kompleksi’nin, Federasyon’un mimarlık politikalarıyla ilişkisi, uluslararası kültürel ve ekonomik politikalar çerçevesinde kapsamlı bir çalışma bulunamamıştır. Değinilmesi gereken diğer önemli bir konu ise ‘Metabolist Hareketinin’ strüktüralizm tesiri olarak Kompleksin temsili hakkında da kapsamlı bir çalışma bulunamamasıdır. Literatür’de, Soğuk Savaş çerçevesine bağlı olarak, Doğu Bloğu ve Batı Bloğu’nun Yugoslav Mimarisine ilişkin algıları, Yugoslav Sosyalist mimarisi ve özellikle Kosova mimarisinin statüsü ile ilgili son çalışmaları ve ‘Boro-Ramiz Kompleksi’nin bu pusuladaki sınıflandırılması taranmıştır. Bu nedenle, çalışmanın ilk üç bölümünde Yugoslavya’nın sanat ve mimarlık konsepti sunulmuştur. Dördüncü bölümde literatüre katkı sağlamak ve Kisho Kurokawa’nın DOM Ofisi üzerine etkisini kanıtlamak amacıyla ‘Boro-Ramiz Kompleksi’nin ve ‘TANU Genel Merkez’ binasının detaylı karşılaştırılmaları yapılmıştır. Kıyas, tasarımları yapan mimarların proje sunumlarını irdeleyerek, plan kesit ve modellerini betimleyerek yapılmıştır.

Bu çalışmanın kapsadığı analizlere göre iki önemli beyan belirtilebilir. Birincisi, Priştine’nin simgesi, ‘Boro-Ramiz: Kompleksi’nin Yugoslavya iç siyasi girişimini gösteren ‘Kardeşlik ve Birlik’ sembolü olarak nitelendirilmesi. İkincisi ise, Kompleks’in, Yugoslavya’nın uluslararası politikaların, kültürel ve sanatsal ilişkilerin sonucunda ekonomisinin dönüşümünün temsilicisi olarak, fonksiyonel mimarlık ve ‘Metabolist Hareketi’nin ‘strüktüralizmi’nin yeniden yorumu olarak sınıflandırılmasıdır.

Projelerin benzerlikleri çalışmanın sonuç kısmında şu şekilde betimlenmiştir: Koridorların oluşturduğu sirkülasyon sistemi, dış ve iç mekanlar arası koordine bağlantılar, projelerin iç mekanlar arasında sokak oluşturması, yükseltilmiş kentsel koridor olarak tanımlanan platformun kamusal bir alan oluşturması, piramidal çatı şekli, projenin kent simgesi olması amacı, yapısal nedenlerden dolayı hacimlerin ikiye

bölünmesi, plan organizasyonu, kapalı sahaların bodrum katına yerleştirilmesi, galeri boşlukları, kültür bölümüne ait binanın işlevsel organizasyonu. Havalandırma ve iklimlendirme sistemlerinin düzenlenmesi, havalandırma borularının hacim boşluğunda dikey düzlemde yerleştirilmesi.

Analizler sonucunda tespit edilen farklar ise: ‘TANU Genel Merkezi’ndeki ofisler çatının altına yerleştirilirken, ‘Boro-Ramiz: Kompleksi’ndeki ofisler bodrum katında bulunmaktadır. ‘TANU Genel Merkezi’nin çatısı, Tanzania’daki hava şartlarından dolayı, kaplamasız betonarme gridal bir strüktür oluşturularak, ‘Boro-Ramiz Kompleksi’ndeki çatı bütün iç mekanları kapatmak için, çelik kafes-kiriş sistemi ile taşınmıştır. Çatı kaplaması olarak bakır malzeme kullanılmıştır. Diğer önemli fark ise, projelerin sembolik tanımlarıdır. ‘TANU Genel Merkezi’ndeki havanın sirkülasyonu, çatıdaki kaplamasız ızgara sistemi ile sağlanırken, ‘Boro-Ramiz: Kompleksi’nde hava sirkülasyonu iç bahçelerdeki açık sofalarla sağlanmıştır. ‘TANU Genel Merkezi’nde kullanılan malzeme sadece brüt beton iken, ‘Boro-Ramiz: Kompleksi’nde ahşap, çelik ve cam kullanılmıştır. Bu malzemelerin kullanılması binanın, Ivan Straus ve Ilir Gjinolli mimarları tarafından savaş sonrası Amerikan modernizminin yol açtığı ‘fonksiyonalist modernist’ olarak kategorize edilmesinin nedeni olabilir.

Batılı eleştirmen Udo Kultermann’ın analizlerine dayanarak Yugoslav Mimari’si ‘Kozmopolitan Modernizm’ ve ‘Rejyonel Modernist’ olarak sınıflandırılıyor. Rus yazar Vladimir Belouslov, ideolojik çerçeve içerisinde Yugoslav Mimarisinin, işleve göre kitabı sınıflandırılmasını sunuyor. Sosyalist Yugoslav Döneminde, Kosova Mimari’si üzerine yazan Kosovalı yazarların kullandığı kaynakçalar yelpazesi 1970’li ve 1980’li yıllar arasında Hırvatistan’da yayınlanan ‘Arhitektura Dergisi’ ve Yugoslav Mimarların görüşleri, kitapları ve Udo Kultermann’ın Güney-Doğu Avrupa Mimarisine üzerine yaptığı çalışmaları içeriyor. Udo Kultermann görüşlerini baz alan, Kosovalı Mimarlar’ın yazılarına göre 1970’ler ve 1980’ler Kosova Mimarisine; otantik mimari tabiri olarak ‘Rejyonel Modernist’, ‘Enternasyonel Stil’in, ‘Amerikan Brütalizm’inin etkisinde kalan mimari örnekler ve ‘Metabolist Hareketi’nin strüktüralizminin etkilediği projeler olarak üç kategoride sınıflandırılıyor.

‘Boro-Ramiz: Spor Kültür ve Ticaret Kompleksi’ ise ‘Metabolist Hareketi’nin üyesi Kisho Kurokawa’nın, Dar Es Salaam için tasarladığı ‘‘TANU Genel Merkez’ binasının tesiri olarak nitelendiriliyor. Bosnalı Mimar, Ivan Straus’a ve Straus’un etkisinde kalan Kosovalı Mimar, Ilir Gjinolli ise Kompleksi, plan organizasyonuna ve kullanılan malzemelere dayanarak ‘fonksiyonel modernizm’ temsili olarak sınıflandırıyor. Kultermann, Belouslov ve Straus’un ortak duruşu; DOM Ofisinin ana karakteri, Zivorak Jankoviç’i Çağdaş Yugoslav Mimarisine katkıda bulunan bir mimar olarak nitelendirmeleridir.



1. INTRODUCTION

Equivocal idiom 'modern architecture' adverts to all the buildings of modern era, despite of their ideological essence. It may be accepted as an architecture aware of its contemporaneousness and its struggle for innovation (Colquhoun, Introduction, 2002). In his book *Modern Architecture*, Colquhoun argues that modernism started as an aversion towards eclecticism, with 'reformist', 'avant-garde' predispositions in the 19th century. Modernism extends in the scope betwixt avant-garde's utopias and predominance of capitalist cultures. Because of its character, modernism may be understood as a history of virtuosos. World's architectural scene was exposed to different streams from 'International Style', to 'Mega Structures' (Metabolist Movement) between 1930-1965.

Modernism can be seen as society's re-genesis, as Marshall Berman argues in his book *"All that is Solid Melts into Air"*, in which architecture and city planning were pivotal keys. Modernization is a process and modernity is the era of these rearrangements (Berman, 1982). During modernism, architecture and urban planning were observed as a public issue, collective and political venture. The idea of a city reflected collectivity and equal access of citizens to public spaces, not a star architect's achievements for a diverse society or isolated architectural performances of private developments of a times when postmodernism and neoliberalism was accelerated. Modernism as an antagonist of cultural heritage, became unvalued heritage itself. Looking at unvalued heritage of modernism from today's conjecture would make us reexamine the significance of incomplete processes and abounded projects (Miller, 2005).

The Yugoslav Federation, a region touched by world wars, cold war, iron curtain and destruction of an iron curtain, gives an example of interrupted and diverse modernizations. Yugoslavia's geographical position between capitalist west and socialist east, inner economic situation of which was between financially developed north and underdeveloped south, portrays a complex political and historical

backgrounds. Yugoslavia, consisted of diverse ethnicities and cultures, was a place of different ideological experiments that were manifested with economic tradition metamorphosis from socialism to neoliberalism (Kulic, 2009). Between two World Wars, Yugoslav governmental system was monarchic, multinational. Avant-gardes were far from eye perception and were not included in artistic spheres. After World War II, Socialist Yugoslavia was integrated in Soviet Block, the '*Socialist Realism*' doctrine was dominating the Art and Architecture, and thus avant-gardes and neo avant-gardes were treated as an extreme expression of a Western bourgeois cosmopolitanism and were not included in politics. After Tito-Stalin break in 1948 '*Socialist Realism*' doctrine was abandoned and cultural scene was left to leftist avant-gardes again (Suvakovic, 2003). Still works of artists and architects were within political limits, and no opposition was offered, also no opposition was expected from artist since the system was highly tolerant to them. Yugoslav self-governing socialism as a unique model of management, established '*Socialist Modernism*' as an institutional and productive art world.

Around 1952-1954 there were academic battles between 'Realism' and 'Modernism' that ended with the triumph of 'Modernism'. Official Art of Yugoslavia was '*Socialist Modernism*' during the 1960s and the 1970s (Pejić, 2014). Thus International Art and Architecture that were being applied all over the world touched also Yugoslavia. Creation of a new unified identity of nations with different ethnicities, religions, cultural and historical backgrounds was a problem to be faced in the establishment of the United Yugoslav Federation. In Yugoslavia after WWII, architecture played an important backdrop role in the formation of a modern society in the frames of a new unified nation. It also played a cultural role in the Yugoslav image in the international sphere. Architecture can be seen as a tool of political manifestation that changed the social life. Changing from agricultural to industrial system, formation of the new cities and the city centers required a lot of infrastructural work. Urbanism and architecture were pens of political and strategic decisions. Establishment of administrative and cultural buildings, creation of public areas, gradually changed the habits of people living there.

Brotherhood and Unity :Inner Politics of Yugoslavia and Reflections on Architecture

Yugoslav state was created after the fall of Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman Empires. Yugoslav government took European nation-states as a template by gathering margin

ethnicities into a unified nation. The project of unifying South Slavs into one united nation was realized in 1918 which ended up with interethnic collision in 1941. Communist partisans among margin ethnic groups of Yugoslavia created a huge army that systematically fought and triumphed against fascist occupation. Socialist Yugoslavia as a postwar state was assembled as the federation of six different nations and (after the 1974 Constitution) two autonomous provinces under the umbrella of *'Brotherhood and Unity'*. In Kosovo, the cult of Serbian Boro Vukmirović and Albanian Ramiz Sadiku was the most prevalent one. Boro and Ramiz were two friends, comrades and members of the communist movement. They were executed together in 1943 in Landovica, near Prizren (Kosovo). *'Anti-fascist'* war united them. *'Brotherhood and Unity'* cult was a typical example of unification, internationalization and began to be taught in the schools all over Kosovo. Many schools, institutions and streets were named Boro-Ramiz (Maliqi, 2014). This notion was an ideological expression of the Socialist Yugoslav politics of homogenization all Yugoslavs and correspondingly modernization process of constituent Republics. (Kulic, *Building Brotherhood and Unity: Architecture and Federalism in Socialist Yugoslavia*, 2019).

Kulic, in his article *'Building Brotherhood and Unity: Architecture and Federalism in Socialist Yugoslavia'*, states that variety and unity determined the manufacture of architecture. Architects in particular were charged with constructing capitals of their own Republics and in general constructing infrastructures of state-power, culture and educational institutions of architecture. This venture evolved in endeavor to search and form architectural achievements accorded with intellectual organizations, institutions, periodicals and important personalities. Moreover, architects shared same socio-economic circumstances, joined the union of architectural associations and infrequently had the chance to build outside their own nations. War memorials¹ and

¹ Monuments and squares built in the time of socialism under Josip Broz Tito with modernist approach that aimed *'commonality'* and new Yugoslav identity were respected by everyone. Unification of nations and new identity was constructed through designing spaces attributed to the martyrs of the anti-fascist war. As Vladimir Kulic argues in his article *"Architecture and Ideology in Socialist State"*, elements of socialist state that were projected all over Yugoslavia, were war of liberation and the revolution symbols. Remembrance of the liberation war and revolution, maintained an immense designing spectrum for architects in Yugoslavia. Monuments had a wide scope of classification, from small symbols to big civic structures and solid landscape surgeries. A compass from figurative art to an avant-garde successor abstract expressionism. These commemorations were examples of nature, art and architecture synthesis.

tourism facilities were the engines of unity, interaction. Travels across Yugoslavia created a platform to construct public spirit.

Infrastructuring Socialist Yugoslavia

Architecture was supported by federalism. State sent intellectuals from more advanced to less advanced regions of Yugoslavia and initiated the foundation of educational institutions. In 1949, schools of architecture were opened in Skopje and Sarajevo, later in 1978 in Prishtina. Although, Kosova during the 1960s and the 1970s was recess to some local architects that were educated in other academic headquarters inside the Federation. Union of Architects of Yugoslavia was the fruit of federalist politics. Union organized exhibitions, conferences and published two architectural journals, *'Arhitektura'* in Zagreb in 1947 and *'Arhitektura Urbanizam'* in Belgrade in 1960. Union's most amalgamated strategy was the organization of federal competitions, which created a platform for architectural integrity and interaction among the constituent Republics. Although jury members favoured native architectural offices, most of the avatar architectural performances were the fruits of federal competitions achieved by architectural offices of other regions of Yugoslavia. One of the examples of this achievement is *'Boro-Ramiz: Sport, Culture and Trade Complex'* by DOM Architectural Office from Sarajevo in 1974 (Kulic, Building Brotherhood and Unity: Architecture and Federalism in Socialist Yugoslavia, 2019).

Non-Aligned Movement: International Politics of Yugoslavia and Reflections on Architecture

From the time when the 'First Conference of Non-Aligned Members' gathered together in Belgrade in 1961, Yugoslavia insured an important international political platform, which was manifested with important international political, cultural and sport events. It reached its peak point with the *'Winter Olympic Games'* in Sarajevo, in 1984. Olympic Games as an international event, were the main economic and

Commemorations attributed to 'Liberation War' and 'Brotherhood and Unity' were build not only in the landscapes, but also in the cities. Architecture and urbanism took a role of concretizing the abstract concept of remembrance. Designs build in the cities and urban spaces were consisting symbols of *'Brotherhood and Unity'*. Functionalism, futurism, brutalism and symbolism played a role during the period of modernization in Yugoslavian architecture. Only for a short period, during 1945 until the the 1980s, there was a space for creating monuments and remembrance that symbolized common life in Yugoslavia supported by all communities living there (Pavlakovic, 2014).

cultural domains. These facilities required designing new buildings and creating conditions for Olympic atmosphere. Boris Magas designed, '*Poljud Stadium*', in Split in 1976-79 for Mediterranean Games. Stojan Maksimovic, designed '*Congress Center Sava*' and '*Belgrade Intercontinental Hotel*' in 1976-79, in New Belgrade. DOM office with Zivorad Jankovic, Halid Muhasilovic and Srecko Epsek designed a multi-purpose '*Sport Hall Gripe*' in Split in the 1970s and the 1980s. '*Boro-Ramiz: Sport, Culture and Trade Complex*' in Prishtina 1974-1978, Cultural and Sports Center '*Skenderija*' in Sarajevo in the 1970s. Lidumil Alikalfic, Dusan Dapa, designed '*Zetra Sports Hall*' in Sarajevo 1984, Ivan Straus designed '*Holiday Inn*' Hotel, and 1983 in Sarajevo for Winter Olympic Games and Marijan Hrzic, Ivan Pitesa and Berislav Serbetic designed '*Cibona Center*' in Zagreb for University Games in 1987 (Kulic, *Architecture and Ideology in Socialist Yugoslavia*, 2012).

This study aims to describe modernization of architecture that occurred in Yugoslavia, with the example of 'Prishtina', the capital city of Kosova, during Josip Broz Tito regime. As a concrete example of this fusion the building of '*Boro-Ramiz-Sport, Culture and Trade Complex*' in Prishtina, 1977-1981 designed by DOM architectural office from Sarajevo, led by Zivorad Janković, Srecko Epsek and Halid Muhasilović will be accentuated (Gjinolli, 2015). Ever since '*Boro-Ramiz: Sport, Culture and Trade Complex*' is known as a landmark of Prishtina, a symbol of socialist spirit and a fruit of Federation's inner and international politic and economic relations. The scope of this work contains the context of the building in the frame of '*Socialist Modernization*', which occurred after 1948 Tito-Stalin split and Yugoslav government's political orientation towards West and Third World Countries. This political shift opened a canal for Yugoslav architecture to interconnect with international architectural trends that were touched by Japanese New Wave Movement after the 1960s.²

² World's architectural scene during the 1960s was introduced to '*Metabolist Movement*'. Kenzo Tange and Kisho Kurokawa were substantial architects of '*Metabolist Movement*', a representative of '*Japanese Modernism*' that was influencing world's architectural stage. In '*Metabolist*' projects, we see the break from '*functionalism*' and Corbusier model furthermore inclination towards structural method. Metabolism in Architectural scene emerged through Kenzo Tange's achievements with '*Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park*' design. This project was noticed firstly by Josep Lluís Sert who was working in Le Corbusier's atelier. Kenzo Tange was invited in conference of '*Congres International d'Architecture Moderne*' (CIAM) 1951, hold in Hoddesdon in England. Tange's project evoked interest of all the CIAM actors. Western significant architects as, Walter Gropius in 1953, Le Corbusier in 1955, Konard Wachsmann in 1956, frequented Japan. Wachsmann went to Japan for

According to Ivan Straus and Ilir Gjinolli, DOM Architectural Office, designed this complex in the means of 'functional modernism'. Zivorad Jankovic, one of the members of DOM Architectural Office was an important contributor to contemporary Yugoslav Architecture (Straus, 1991). Jankovic could provide a good example to understand the relation between International Architecture, Japanese New Wave, American Brutalism and Yugoslavian modernist demeanor. Team 10 conferences, Skopje reconstruction plan by Kenzo Tange in 1963, and collaborations with Third World Countries market established a platform for Yugoslav architects to interconnect with international architectural movements of the time. Based on publications of some Kosovar architectural writers on '*Boro-Ramiz: Sport, Culture and Trade Complex*', another important issue that merits to be mentioned is that, '*TANU Headquarters*' building in Tanzania built by Kisho Kurokawa in 1972, might have been a reference for DOM Architectural Office in building '*Boro-Ramiz: Sport, Culture and Trade Complex*'. These two buildings show structural and rhetorical similarities.

sequence lectures in Tokyo Institute Technology. K. Wachsmann's idea of 'prefab housing' became base for Metabolism (Colquhoun, From Le Corbusier to Mega-structures: Urban Visions 1930-65', 2002).

Development of Tange's international networks connected University of Tokyo and Western architectural scene. In 1960, world's major architects as Luis Khan, Alison and Peter Smithson and Ralph Erskine were convoked in 'World Design Conference' held in Tokyo. '*Metabolist*', an avant-garde architectural movement's members were Noboru Kawazoe, Kiyonori Kikutake, Noriaki (Kisho) Kurokawa, Fumihiko Maki, and Masato Ota and Tange's assistant Takeshi Asada. Metabolism's '*The Proposal for New Urbanism*' brochures were shared out in 'World Design Conference', this was the way how futuristic Japanese architectural flow '*Metabolist Movement*' emerged in avant-garde Western architecture arena (Tamari, 2014).

2. METHODOLOGY

2.1 Structure and Research Questions

Socialism, architecture, urbanization in Yugoslavia, have to be seen not in sentimental or emotional manner, but rather in a critique one. Architecture and urbanization were pivotal instruments in transforming the society and modernizing it. Even though modernizing processes had serious interruptions, and most of the urban projects remained unfinished, inside that atmosphere productions of public spaces, spatial qualities, cultural progresses, and social solidarities were portrayed. Yugoslavia was a region of an original architectural and urban interpretations and visions (Mrduljas & Kulic, 2012).

For tracing Kosovar architecture in the frame of '*Socialist Modernization*' and main architectural streams effects on it during Tito's administration, in this study, 'Art and Architecture' concept in Yugoslavia from interwar period, including '*Socialist Realism*' and '*Socialist Modernization*' until a period of a '*Non-Aligned Movement*' with Third World Countries will be elaborated. After explanation of political and cultural situations in Yugoslavia during these periods, will be concentrated in Kosova's modernization, construction of major cities, narrowing the spectrum into a single example built during the 1970s in the capital city. Reading a socialist modernization through an example of '*Boro-Ramiz: Sport, Culture and Trade Complex*' in Prishtina may give a picture of Yugoslavia's politic, cultural and economic traffic in international platform.

This thesis will be divided in five parts, the first two parts will include '*Introduction*', '*Methodology*' and '*Literature Review*'. In third part the '*Art and Architecture*' concept during Yugoslavia from interwar period until the 1980s will be elaborated. In the forth part, the project of '*Boro-Ramiz: Sport, Culture and Trade Complex*' 1974, in Prishtina will be described.

A comparison of a Complex will be made with the *'TANU Headquarters'*, 1972 in Tanzania by Kisho Kurokawa, by reading the historical, political and economic background of Kosova as a part of Yugoslavian Federation and country's relations in international arena. The fifth part of a work will present the synthesis of sections mentioned above.

The Methodology used in the study will contain analysis of a literature review on History of Art and Architecture during Tito's Yugoslavia. Literature review will be studied in the way to answer questions such as: Was Architecture under the ideological shadow? How was it politicized during the Cold War? Was Architecture politicized inside 'Socialist Yugoslavia'? How architects found the way to show their talent? What were the background conditions in Prishtina when *'Boro-Ramiz: Sport, Cultural and Trade Complex'* project was designed? Did Avant-garde, International Style and Japanese New Wave Architecture effect on Yugoslavian Architecture? What was the reaction of Zivorad Jankovic with these concepts? Does elaborated example in the thesis carry an influence from Kisho Kurokawa design in Tanzania?

The Method

In this study, political and cultural situations in Yugoslavia, from interwar period, 'Socialist Realism' and 'Socialist Modernization' until 'Non-Aligned Movement' with Third World Countries are based on the writings of prominent architects and critics of Socialist Yugoslavian era³ and latest works such as : Ljiljana Blagojevic, "*Modernism in Serbia: the Elusive Margins of Belgrade Architecture 1919-1941*", and most of Vladimir Kulic writings and his collaborations with other architectural historians. *'Kosovo Modern: An Architectural Primer'* as the most comprehensive work of Albanian architects from Kosova played an important role in this research. The other method was tracing the references given in the works related to the topic. Ilir Gjinolli (co-editor of *'Kosovo Modern: An Architectural Primer'* book) and architect Xhelal Llonqari (who worked on a final phase of application project of Boro-Ramiz Complex) were interviewed. Gjinolli and Llonqari were Zivorad Jankovic's students and now professors in Architectural Department of Prishtina University. For reading Prishtina's cultural and politic background during Socialist Yugoslavia was also applied in the reading of 'Rilindja' newspaper.

³ with the exception of direct access to the 'Arhitektura' in Zagreb and the 'Arhitektura Urbanizam' magazines in Belgrade.

'Rilindja' was the only published Albanian newspaper in Yugoslavia from 1945 until 1990. Newspaper is archived in 'National Library of Kosova' in Prishtina. The archive was not in a good condition and a lot of series of the newspaper could not be found. The plans of the project were reached from the archives of 'Boro-Ramiz: Sport, Culture and Trade Complex'. Whereas plans of 'TANU Headquarters' were taken from a book by Kurokawa called 'Metabolism in Architecture'. Archive of 'Prishtina University Architectural Department' is closed for five years, no one can use any material from University's Library nor archive. To prove the statement that DOM Architectural Office members were influenced by post 'International Style' architectural theorem and megastructure philosophy was applied in the analyzes of the 'Boro-Ramiz Complex' 1974 and 'TANU Headquarters' 1972 in Tanzania by Kisho Kurokawa that maybe seen as a concrete portrayal of abstract architectural demeanor.

2.2 Literature Review

The post-communist and nationalist politics which raised in Yugoslavia after the 1980s, were the reason of limited works and research on Socialist Yugoslav era. Research interest on issues that were related to pre-Yugoslavian architecture were increasing. Western scholar's orientation on the Balkan researches are concentrated more in pre-war periods. The period that occur Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian architecture, was theorized and developed by works such as: Maximilian Hartmuth on "*Ottoman Architectural Heritage in the Balkans*" (2010), Machiel Kiel on "*Ottoman Architecture in Balkans*" (1990), Makas and Conelly on "*The Aftermath of the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian Empires*", (2010).

Socialist Yugoslavia's Architects Writings

Other works or writings of Yugoslavian architects and critics of a time included the works of Bogdan Bogdanovic, Ivan Straus, Juraj Neidhardt, Dusan Grabrijan and Joze Plecnik written in Serbo-Croatian language, and recently were started to be translated in English. Yet there is an absence of elaborations and refinements on authentic writings of architects that facilitated on Socialist Yugoslavia.

Juraj Neidhardt and Dusan Grabrijan's work "*The Architecture of Bosnia and the Way to Modernity*" (1957), with a foreword written by Le Corbusier in 1953. This work documents vernacular architecture of Bosnia with the aim of elucidating the guideline of contemporary design implementation. Book is a product of a long term study of these two Yugoslav architects on Bosnian traditional architecture that was for centuries under the Ottoman rule and Islamic culture. Researches started in the 1930s but the book was published in 1957. Researches include Balkans, their everyday life and 'Oriental House' concept as a reference to contemporary architecture.

Modern architecture was described as a natural process of a vernacular architecture and correlation of local culture with global civilization. Gabrijan's knowledgeable writings that complimented the simplicity, functionality and commodity recumbent on Neidhart notional organization of five hundreded paged book that gives a scope from region and the city narrowing the spectrum into neighborhood and house (Zatric, 2019). This work can be paralellized with Sedad Hakkı Eldem's works in Turkey on Ottoman traditional houses as a reference to modern house. A student of Otto Wagner, Joze Plecnik's book "*Architecture and the City*" (1983), is based on Slovenian architectural experiences and the voyage to find republic's own character in the frame of modern architecture.

'*Sinturbanizam*' book written by Vjenceslav Richter in 1954, is a synopsis of a public discussions on art and the expression of art in that time. Richter in his book 'Sinturbanizam', describes socialist-communism as a civil behavior, searching for the bonds between individual and cooperative enterprise (Kulic, *Architecture and Ideology in Socialist Yugoslavia*, 2012). Ivan Straus's book "*The Architecture of Yugoslavia 1945-1990*" published in 1991 introduces accredited works of Yugoslavian architecture. Author treated Yugoslav architecture as a whole even if architecture compensated its assestment to each Republic's architectural arena (Kulic, *Building Brotherhood and Unity: Architecture and Federalism in Socialist Yugoslavia*, 2019). However, book is not completely compensating theoretical and critical schemes of situations in Yugoslavia; it portrays encyclopedic architectural knowledge. In the chapter called "*Bosnia and Herzegovina Architecture*", Zivorad Jankovic's plans and projects are described based on function and circulation solutions. Nevertheless architectural works and examples introduced in the book are disconnected from the historic and artistic context.

After 1948, Yugoslavian architects were emancipated from 'Socialist Realism' while it was continuing to be the only architectural style for the East Block's social society. Architects from Yugoslavia searched/studied the modernist heritage of the period between two World Wars. After Yugoslavia's geopolitical readjustment, architectural magazines role in internationalization of design dissertation was really important. Architectural Journal in Zagreb, 'Arhitektura' 1947 published 'Le Corbusier's, 'Unite d'Habitation' in Marseilles, multifunctional design connected with the idea of communal living in socialist state. Significance given to Le Corbusier's task also underlined West orientation of Yugoslavia's political appearance, which opened a path of designing a serious number of significant buildings in Belgrade, Zagreb, Ljubljana inspired from 'd'Habitation' model. The magazine 'Arhitektura' was publishing translated architectural texts from different languages, in 1951 acknowledged English as a second language of the journal that was a sign of orientation towards West (Stierli, 2019).

'Arhitektura', published two editions, '176+7' and '178+9' about Yugoslavian architecture during the 1970s in 1981. The published articles aim to describe architectural achievements of each republic inside the federation. The 1970s are known as the 'golden age' in collective memories of Yugoslavia. In these editions Zivorad Jankovic's works in Prishtina are not mentioned. '178+9' edition, includes an article by Andrija Mutnjakovic,⁴ "Dilemmas of Kosovar Architecture" which introduces projects and urban plans constructed during the 1960s in Kosova. In this article works of Georgi Konstantinovski, Andrija Mutnjakovic and Zivorad Jakovic that can be seen as landmarks of Prishtina are not mentioned because of the categorization based on the years of design's constructions. Mutnjakovic's article is based on contemporary architecture's approach on cultural heritage in Kosova.

'Boro-Ramiz: Complex', Zivorad Jankovic, 'National Library of Kosova', by Andrija Mutnjakovic and 'Stamp House, Rilindja', by Georgi Konstantinovski, were built in an empty fields and were not examples of contemporary designs in cultural heritage.

⁴ Croatian architect who have designed "National Library of Kosova" in 1972 in Prishtina.

'*The Dilemmas of Kosovar Architecture*' article, starts with Bashkim Fehmiu's (an Albanian Architect) citation from his own essay, published in 1971.

Prizren, a masterpiece of unknown masters. "City and society are directly proportional, and have a dialectical cause-consequence continued relations with each other. Thus an understanding as an important postulate of city's development, is imperative symbiosis of material and spiritual heritage with contemporary, increasing human manifestation intensity. Bashkim Fehmiu. On one side, 1971 is a late date for requiring heritage and contemporary symbiosis, as an orientation for following achievements, on the other side we still require this symbiosis in 1981. (Mutnjakovic, 2015, p. 57)

Croatian architect, in reinterpretation of Bashkim Fehmiu's essay, highlighting urban and natural habitat, encourages the understanding of architectural heritage in Kosova as a value and not as an inferiority nor encumbrance, also promotes a contemporary architecture based on regional identity elements. Croatian architect understands the effort of Kosova, in chasing urban and architectonic qualities, and other forms of architectural developments of that time; from schematic rationalism to dynamic plasticism. This shows that cognizance for cultural heritage in Balkans started to be established after the period when most of the cultural heritages were demolished. Whereas in Europe, '*historical value*' for the first time was comprehended in Renaissance, and has become a doctrine in architectural approach for centuries. Monuments as representatives of '*historical value*' were conserved and repaired until the 19th century. '*The Modern Monument Cult*' written by Alois Reigl in 1903, is one of the examples that shows sensitivity towards Cultural Heritage in Europe during the time when revolt raised towards 'historicism'. Even though the book became important and started to gain attention during 1980s, still portrays delicateness towards '*historical value*' during modernism (Ceylan, 2015). Modernization of Ottoman Era Heritage in Balkan was more complicated procedure than modernization of European cities. Austro-Hungarian cultural heritage was important in terms of the representation of the Western identity in Balkan countries. This can be understood also in Kulic's '*East? West? Or Both, Foreign Perceptions on Yugoslav Architecture*', article and '*Unfinished Modernization: Between Utopia and Pragmatis*' book. Article of Bashkim Fehmiu '*Prizren- Master Piece of Unknown Builders*' and an article of Andrija Mutnjakovic '*Dilemmas of Kosovar Architecture*' are important in representing the understanding of historical values in Kosovar architecture.

In The Frame of Cold War

Kulic, explains the perceptions of each bloc relating it to political shifts of Yugoslavia during Cold War. In 1948 being discharged of the 'Cominform' directed Yugoslavia to have its own political sphere. During that period Socialist Yugoslavia made a balance between counter poles such as socialism and capitalism, planned economy and free market, liberal democracy and dictatorship of proletariat. Art and Architecture were necessary components of Yugoslavia's segmentation from other communist places. With the separation from the communist bloc, Yugoslavia introduced the display of architecture closer to Western cultures and the Western political platform. The abolition of '*Socialist Realism*' occurred simultaneously when hostilities between Soviet Orbit and Yugoslavia were smoothing during the 1950s. Another reason was the proliferation of socialist architectonic typologies that made Yugoslav architecture perceived under eastern catechism. Accordingly, Yugoslavian Architecture would be represented as ambiguous.

This was the interpretation of architecture under the outline of the Cold War. To better understand the Western's perception of Yugoslav architecture, the best example would be Le Corbusier's trip to Belgrade in '*Journey to the East 1911*'. Corbusier was expecting Belgrade to open its doors to a magical east but the thing he faced was a polluted and unorganized town (Blagojevic, 2003). The modernization that would develop in a provincial way later would present the most common problems of modernity. The foreign perceptions on Yugoslavian social and political senses charged up to architecture and urban planning.

Belonging of Yugoslavia whether to the east or to the west, were political profits of superpowers that were running the Cold War (Kulic, East West or Both, Foreign Perceptions of Architecture in Socialist Yugoslavia, 2009). In a way to see American perspective on Yugoslavian Architecture during Cold War, Martino Stierli in his article "*The Architecture of Socialist Yugoslavia as a Laboratory of Globalization in the Cold War*" for a book published by MoMA, in 2019, "*Toward a Concrete Utopia: 1948-1980*", describes relations of Yugoslav State with USA through Museum of Modern Arts in New York. Museum in New York was a substantial character in including Yugoslavia in Foreign Cultural Relations in fellowship with American Embassy.

Due to this international layout, travelling exhibition of MoMA's permanent collection, came to Belgrade in 1956 among the other European cities. The exhibition presented 12 buildings from important architects of that time such as: Mies van der Rohe, Philip Johnson, Frank Lloyd Wright, Harrison & Abramovitz Merrill, Owings, Skidmore, and Saarinen. Catalogue and the writings of Henry-Russell Hitchcock and Arthur Drexler on American Architecture after the World Wars were translated in Serbian and Croatian language and were exposed in whole country.

In Belgrade, Modern Art of America had 24000 visitors within a month as most frequented exhibition and was affirmatively transmitted in media. Bogdan Bogdanovic, one of the most prominent architects of a time in Yugoslavia wrote an article in the biggest daily newspaper in Serbia, called '*Politika*'. Bogdanovic stated that exhibition mainly contained designs that represented functionalist architecture focused on Frank Lloyd Wright or his design derivatives by other architects. This changed the trends of architecture In Yugoslavia from Le Corbusier to a postwar American modernism with its elements like curtain walls, clearness ensured by glasses and high plate buildings.

Another architectural exhibition following the lead of a MoMA was exposed in Zagreb and Belgrade in 1963 but it didn't evoke the same interest as the previous exhibition. The most important critiques written in Serbo-Croatian were translated in English and were archived in Museum of Modern Arts in New York. Yugoslavia was between supermarket idea which represented the western consumerism and the industrial machinery representation of USSR 'productivism'. Self-service supermarket extended throughout the whole country within subsequent years. This contention would be concretely seen in the debate of US Vice President Richard Nixon and Soviet Union Premier Nikita Khrushchev in American National Exhibition in Moscow 1959. The most figurative representative of Yugoslav cultural and architectural work turning towards the West can be found in the design of '*Museum of Contemporary Arts*' in Belgrade by Ivan Antic (1923-2005) and Ivanka Raspopovic (1930-2015).

It was founded by art critique Miograd Protic, who was in New York for two months with Ford Scholarship in 1962. Miograd Protic was concerned with the ways of exhibiting contemporary art in a space, thus he was in contact with the director of MoMA's that time, Alfred Barr for his curatorial opinions.

And in subsequent years the Western attention on Yugoslavia's architecture began to fade away, for the reason that USSR's cultural politics arrangement was in the agenda. During 1956 the policy of eradicating the influence of Stalin in USSR's made Tito change its international politics, since it lost its importance in Western politics towards Stalin. In 1961 Yugoslavia created new geopolitical unions with 'Third World' countries, known as '*Non-Aligned Movement*'. It was an economical strategy to free the country from the Cold War political dependence, meanwhile it opened a way for different variations to international trade of modernist architecture and engineering for de-colonizing new nations such as Middle-East and Africa (Stierli, 2019).

The Western Perception on Yugoslav Architecture

In comparison with the Cold War contexture, there was another interpretation of Yugoslav Socialist Architecture, Udo Kultermann's, "*Contemporary Architecture in Eastern Europe*", second edition of which was published during the 1980s. Kultermann's observations address more religious rather than ideological connotations. In fact the socialist revolution has had a profound impact on Yugoslav architecture. But the political pressure to impose the Soviet style '*Socialist Realism*' had weak reflection in architecture, while other spheres of culture underwritten it. The reason of limited impact of '*Socialist Realism*'s style on architecture was not anti-Communism among the architects of that time in Yugoslavia. Yugoslav architects had lefty attitudes but were against the monumental historicism imposed by '*Socialist Realism*'. Yugoslav architects fought against the facade layers that later joined the objects.

So the modernization of Yugoslav architecture was based more on the attitude of architects and the influences of international architectural movements rather than on the political expeditions.

The change of Yugoslav political direction in 1948, changed the Western perception of the understanding of its architecture and art. Modernism was interpreted as a sign of departure from the Soviet circle, albeit limited, democratization and liberalization of society (Kulic, 2009).

Kulic gives an example of Udo Kulterman's book *'Contemporary Yugoslav Architecture'* published for a second time in the 1980s. Udo Kulterman's view on Yugoslav Architecture is not described through an ideological frame but it is categorized by historical moments and effects of religion on the Balkan regions. Kulterman uses the term of *'East Europe'* historically and politically not geographically. He classifies Balkan regions in two categories. Slovenia, Croatia and the Sections of Serbia as a part that had been exposed to Austro-Hungarian culture. The part that includes Slovenian architecture is the longest and most detailed one. In the category of *'Orient'*, is included Bosnia-Herzegovina, Macedonia, Kosova, Montenegro as a part related to the Ottoman culture, under the name *'Southern Regions'*. Kultermann gives just one example from Kosovar architecture, by Croatian architect Andrija Mutnjakovic who designed *'National Library of Kosova'* in Prishtina in 1971. National Library's design in Kultermann's work is categorized as *'regional modernist'* consisting oriental and Byzantine characteristics. In general Kultermann, who at the same time had written book for Kenzo Tange, argues CIAM's and 1960 'World Congress's effects on Yugoslav Architecture, giving the example of Skopje reconstruction plan designed by Kenzo Tange, two years after 1963's earthquake.

The Eastern Perception on Yugoslav Architecture

The Eastern Bloc's perceptions on Socialist Yugoslav architecture are articulated in Kulic's article, *"East, West or Both, Foreign Perceptions of Architecture in Socialist Yugoslavia"*. Kulic, follows the method of comparing the views written by writers of Communist Block and writers of the West. In the paragraph *'A View from the East'* he gives a sample of a book *"Contemporary Architecture of Yugoslavia"* written by Russian Architecture Historian Vladimir N. Belousov, published in two editions first one in 1973 and the second in 1986. Kulic, appoints Belouslov's approach difference from the Western writer's cognizance on Yugoslav architecture. According to Kulic's analyzes, Belousov's study is as political as Western Architecture Historians. Ignoring the ambiguity of the subject Russian writer accentuates the impact of *'Socialist Realism'* on Yugoslavian architecture and defends politically ideological closeness.

Belousov, diplomatically displays formally enforced Soviet color on Yugoslav architecture in the first years after the WWII, even though it was rejected by Yugoslavian architects consensus.

Modicum examples categorized as '*Socialist Realist*' constructions in Yugoslavia, in the book were presented as a good example because of their ideological context. On the other hand good examples commended by Western Architecture Historian as Salisbury, was gaining the same respect from Belousov although from different conjecture. Kulic, concludes that Russian writer pulls Yugoslav Federation on Soviet sphere, closer than it was back in the first three years after WWII. In the first edition of "*Contemporary Architecture of Yugoslavia*", country's socialism was highlighted as a leading interpretation of its architectural achievement. The architectural successes were attributed to the ideological assignment not to Yugoslav architect's proficiency.

Kulic argues that Belousov's book was regulated in accordance with efficacy or utility social life was requiring. Russian writer follows a chronology of utility, without the concern of categorizing architectural designs in cultural or aesthetic manner. Perception on architecture of the book is materialistic and based on an answer of trade to basic human necessities. In the first edition, the book starts with a chapter on urban planning and continues with industrial structures, housing and closes with cultural, educational, medicine, sports and tourist objects. The second edition of the book has a chapter on memorials which have the most ideological context, although categorized as least utilitarian.

Vladimir Kulic in his article, classifies Belousov's study consisting nature of scholar rationality because it is not touched by theorem of dialectical materialism. Even though, Khrushchev's Cultural Revolution in Soviets melted the ice of aesthetic opinion of '*Socialist Realism*', Belousov's impression on this phenomenon was skeptic. His approach was geopolitical in a sense; he was appointing that this movement was a trend imposed by Western impact. For Belousov, states like '*International Style*', '*brutalism*' and '*structuralism*' were associated with capitalistic way of building. On the other hand Yugoslavian architects and critiques were evaluating this international cultural and aesthetic movement.

As mentioned above Belousov, in the first edition of "*Contemporary Architecture of Yugoslavia*" categorizes architectural works rationally and scholarly according to their utility, in his last chapter he classifies sport and tourist objects.

“Boro-Ramiz Sport, Culture and Trade Complex” 1977, in Prishtina, cooperated with Halid Muhasilovic and Srecko Epsek are not mentioned since the book was published in 1973. In second edition published during the 1980s, the last chapter of the book contains monuments categorized as ideological and least utilitarian. The Monumentality of *“Boro-Ramiz- Sport, Culture and Trade Complex”* is not mentioned in this chapter.

Furthermore, Belousov is not the only Russian writer that attracted Kulic’s attention. He points out a good article written for Bogdan Bogdanovic’s surrealist sculptures. He points that the text written by N. Zlidneva is more realistic compared to the Western writers. In N. Zlidnevas’s text, and analyzes on Bogdanovic writings are sophisticatedly understood and studied because of the language similarities. The common denote of the Russian writers is that they did not ‘marginalize’ Yugoslavia’s architecture in the ideological skeleton of Cold War; as ‘balkanist’ or ‘orientalist’.

Latest Works on Socialist Architecture

Latest studies on Yugoslav Socialist architecture provide more detailed informations connected with politic, economic, sociological and cultural context. Studies that mainly this thesis is based on are the works of academics such as: Ljiljana Blagojevic, *“Modernism in Serbia: the Elusive Margins of Belgrade Architecture 1919-1941”*, (2003), who writes about the 20th century architecture in Yugoslavia, particularly the merge of modern art and architecture in Belgrade. Book starts with an article in which the relations of Yugoslavian artists and architects with European and Russian avant-garde are discussed. Work of Liljana Blagojevic can be parallellized with Sibel Bozdogan’s work ‘Modernism and Nation Building’, Suvakovic, Misko, *“Avant-Gardes in Yugoslavia”*, (Filozofski vestnik, Letnik XXXVII, Številka 1, 2016), whose writings are concentrated on art and architecture in between the two World Wars, the position of avant-garde during monarchy and the relations between politics art and architecture in Yugoslavia.

Babic, Maja, *“Modernism and Politics in the Architecture of Socialist Yugoslavia 1945-1965”*; (University of Washington 2013, A Thesis in Master of Science in Architecture), is a comprehensive work on politics, art and architecture in Yugoslavia, from interwar period including the emergance of ‘Socialist Modernization’ and ‘Non-Aligned Movement’.

Work is mostly based on Vladimir Kulic's works especially "*Modernism in Between: The Mediatory Architecture of Socialist Yugoslavia*", (2012) by Vladimir Kulic, Wolfgang Thaler and Maroje Mrduljas and "*Unfinished Modernizations: Between Utopia and Pragmatism*", (2012) by Vladimir Kulic, Maroje Mrduljas; supported by literature on Yugoslavia's politic and economic history. "*Modernism in Between: The Mediatory Architecture of Socialist Yugoslavia*", (2012) by Vladimir Kulic, Wolfgang Thaler and Maroje Mrduljas; "*Unfinished Modernizations: Between Utopia and Pragmatism*", (2012) by Vladimir Kulic, Maroje Mrduljas; and exhibition in MoMA curated by Vladimir Kulic, "*Toward a Concrete Utopia: Architecture in Yugoslavia 1948-1980*", (2018) is the most comprehensive and latest work in which are included the most notable architectural works and writings of Socialist Yugoslavia;

Kulić, Vladimir, "*Land of the In-Between: Modern Architecture and the State In Socialist Yugoslavia, 1945-65*", (PhD. Thesis, The University of Texas at Austin, 2009) which is based more on New Belgrade construction as a capital of Socialist Yugoslavia as a satellite of Soviet Union and portrayal of 'Socialist Realism', and New Belgrade a capital as portrayal of 'Socialist Modernization' and a symbol of political shift after 1948. Work displays New Belgrade as a place in which architects triumph in their struggle towards 'Socialist Realism', and federalism politics and architectural competitions. In the appendix of a work are the biographies of the most prominent architects of Yugoslavia. This work was under the mentorship of Danilo Udovicki-Sleb who is an expert of the 'Socialist Realism' in Soviets.

A work of Albanian architects from Kosova published by National Gallery of Kosova for an exhibition on 2015 by Ilir Gjinolli and Lulzim Kabashi, "*Kosovo Modern, an Architectural Primer*", that book includes modernist designs in Kosova, their project descriptions and interviews with their architects.

This book is the only book in Albanian that has a comprehensive description of Kosovar architecture modernization from the 1960s until the 1990s. Authors of a book are students of Yugoslav prominent architects. In this book architectural projects that were built during modernism are categorized as 'regionalist' and 'cosmopolitan' modernism inside the frame of '*Socialist Modernization*'.

'Dilemmas of Kosovar Architecture- Tracing an Article about Kosovar Architecture from 1981' published in a book *'Kosova Modern, an Architectural Primer'* (2015) by Lulzim Kabashi is another research in which author reinterprets Mutnjakovic's article and adds the 1970s and the 1980s most prevalent architectural works in Kosova. Kabashi in his article, describes the modernization of architecture in Kosovo during the 1970s that advanced parallel with the modernization of Yugoslav architecture. During the 1970s, Kosova gave its maximum for modernization of culture, society, architecture and for politic and administrative autonomy inside the non-democratic Yugoslav Federation. The 1970s in Kosova were times when cities and rural places extended, development of industry and tourism transpired.

Kabashi argues that the year of *'Arhitektura'*, '178+9/'81' edition's publication with subject related to Kosovar Architecture was no coincidence since 1981 was a year of Federative system's disintegration, which started in Kosova. Kabashi in re-interpretation of *'The Dilemmas of Kosovar Architecture'*, transmits that looking at the 'modernist buildings', would made us capture the ambitions of a society to create a qualitative life, through their relation with the space. During socialist modernization we can observe that Prishtina, was expanding with the build of habitats and other cultural, touristic and administrative buildings.

Kabashi concludes his article with citations from *'Arhitektura'* magazine in which Udo Kultermann's *'Architecture of the Seventies'* in 1980, first chapter was published.⁵ Citations are used to articulate and compare Kosovar history of modern architecture with modern architectural history of the world. Kabashi categorizes Kosovar Architecture examples according to Udo Kultermann's comments and categorizations on samples of prominent architectural designs.

The point here is to distinguish the difference between imitating an example and being influenced by it. Kabashi starts the paragraph with Kultermann's citation in which he states that artistic approach is directly proportional to historical moments. The period of the 1970s are considered stormy according to Kultermann. Kabashi adds that the 1960s were a period of characteristic styles due to the dominance of modern architecture masters and this situation is reflected also in Kosovar Architecture.

⁵ Translated in Croatian by Ivo Maroevic.

One feature is interest on ornament reuses that can be seen in Kenzo Tange, Paul Rudolph, Roche and Dinkeloo's works in the late 1960s. Direct reflections of Kenzo Tange and other American architectural examples in Kosova were stated '*Boro-Ramiz: Sport, Trade and Cultural Complex*', in 1972 designed by DOM Architectural Office from Sarajevo, '*KEK*' building 1984 by Zoran Zakic and '*Post Office*' building 1983 by coauthor of '*Boro-Ramiz: Complex*', Halid Muhasilovic.

'*Rilindja: Stamp House*' in Prishtina by Georgi Konstantinovski and '*Motel Vlaznimi*' by Miodrag Pecic in Suhareka are not in this category. They represent an authentic understanding of world's trends. "In spite of exploring collective interpretations of individual sample prototypes, have to explore individual interpretations of collective sample prototypes."⁶ (Kabashi, 2015, p. 48) According to Kabashi in Kosova's Architecture scene '*National and University Library of Kosova*' by Andrija Mutnjakovic, '*Motel Trofta*' by Qemajl Beqiri, and '*Kosova B*' by Lulezim Nixha and Buhradin Sokoli are reflections of '*individual interpretations of collective sample prototypes*'. (Kabashi, 2015, p. 48)

For the comparisons of the '*TANU Headquarters*' in Tanzania by Kisho Kurokawa and '*Boro-Ramiz: Sport, Culture and Trade Complex*' in Prishtina by DOM Architectural Office, and description of '*Metabolist Movement*', literature review includes also a book of Kisho Kurokawa published in 1977, "*Metabolism in Architecture*". In an articles by Florina Jerliu and Vlora Navakazi, "*The Socialist Modernization of Prishtina: Interrogating Types of Urban and Architectural Contributions to the City*", (2018); and Fatmir Lama, "*Pallati që lidhet me kthesat Historike të Kosovës*"⁷, published in a periodical magazine of "Koha Ditore" Newspaper in Prishtina (3 December, 2017), where similarities of '*Boro-Ramiz Complex*', in Prishtina by DOM Architectural Office and '*TANU Headquarters*' by Kisho Kurokawa in Dar Es Salaam are mentioned in one sentence.

⁶ Kulterman's citation of Herman Hertzbergerin.

⁷ In English can be translated as "*A Palace related to Kosova's Historic Bends*".

In literature review for the last part of this thesis which includes the analyzes of Zivorad Jankovic and his design “*Boro-Ramiz- Sport, Culture and Trade Complex*” the works of Udo Kultermann, of Udo Kultermann, “*Contemporary Architecture in Eastern Europe*”; Vladimir Nikkolaevich Belouslov, “*Contemporary Architecture of Yugoslavia*”; and Ivan Straus, “*The Architecture of Yugoslavia, (1945-1991)*”, where, the common opinion was classification of Zivorad Jankovic as a contributor to a Yugoslavian contemporary architecture are examined.

Conclusion

Based on literature review for Yugoslav architecture during Tito’s regime that includes the frame of ‘*Socialist Realism*’ and ‘*Socialist Modernism*’,⁸ this thesis will be interpreted in five trajectories following the works of “*Contemporary Architecture of Yugoslavia*” written by Russian Architecture Historian Vladimir N. Belousov, which is portrayal of the Eastern perspective on Yugoslav architecture; the Western perceptions, in the frame of Cold War, based on the arguments of Vladimir Kulic and different co-authors of his works, and ‘*Arhitektura*’ magazine re-interpretations; Geo-political perceptions giving the example of Udo Kultermann’s, “*Contemporary Architecture in Eastern Europe*” that classifies Yugoslav architecture in two categories, one as ‘balkanist’ and ‘orientalist’ and the other as cosmopolitan with Central Europe Culture influences.

Latest works and studies such as Ljiljana Blagojevic, Maja Babic, articles in the book, “*Impossible Histories: Historical Avant-gardes, Neo-avant-gardes, and Post-avant-gardes in Yugoslavia, 1918-1991*” and most of Vladimir Kulic’s writings and collaborations, in which perceptions mentioned above are synthesised. In these works Yugoslav Architecture is widely and meticulously elaborated. For detailed reports on Kosova’s architecture this study concentrates on the book, “*Kosovo Modern an Architectural Primer*”, article of Andrija Mutnjakovic, “*The Dilemmas of Kosovar Architecture*”, article of Florina Jerliu and Vlora Navakazi, “*The Socialist Modernization of Prishtina: Interrogating Types of Urban and Architectural Contributions to the City*” interview with Xhelal Llonqari.

⁸ After WWII, union with Stalin and the breakdown form Soviet Block in 1948. Turn from the East toward the West that was followed by establishment of ‘*Non-Aligned Movement*’, with Third World countries, in 1960.

On categorization of *'Boro-Ramiz: Sport, Culture and Trade Complex'* in Prishtina, the book of Ivan Straus, *"The Architecture of Yugoslavia, (1945-1991)"*; article of Lulzim Kabashi *"Dilemmas of Kosovar Architecture- Tracing an Article about Kosovar Architecture from 1981"*; article of Ilir Gjinolli *"Zivorad Jankovic"*; Albanian newspapers in Kosova were studied. Udo Kultermann's and Vladimir N. Belousov's works do not indicate itemized descriptions and analyzes on *'Boro-Ramiz: Sport, Culture and Trade Complex'* and on its architects.

Other articles on Zivorad Jankovic and *'Boro-Ramiz Complex'* are student's works in Prishtina derivate of *'Kosovo Modern, an Architectural Primer'*. Comparisons of *'TANU Headquarters'*, 1972 in Tanzania by Kisho Kurokawa and *'Boro-Ramiz: Complex'*, 1974 in Prishtina by DOM Architectural Office, will be based on project descriptions of their own architects, represented in *"Metabolism in Architecture"* book, by Kurokawa and *"Kosovo Modern an Architectural Primer"*. Resemblance of projects will be constructed on model and plan readings, also the interview with Xhelal Lloncari: Professor in Prishtina University on 21.12.2017 (worked on final phase of *'Boro-Ramiz, Sport, Culture and Trade Complex'*, in Prishtina).

Yugoslav architecture traced ideological, political and economic instructions. In parallel there was a historic persistence in every consistent republic and their arising architecture. Interwar period was a time of emergence of modern architecture in Yugoslavia through architects that studied in Western schools or worked in prominent architect's offices of the time.

Yugoslav architects merged modernist approach with traditional elements advancing orthodox modernist venture. Despite the fact that Socialist Yugoslavia searched for a unified national identity, the architecture of a country was diverse since each consistent republic digested modernism in its own way. The aim for modernity and the way to explore it portrays unifying characteristics in cities of Yugoslavia. After the 1960s architecture in Yugoslavia as a protagonist finds its unique character touching all the cities of the region and represents the country in the international platform as modern in the Western perspective.



3. POLITICS, ART AND ARCHITECTURE RELATIONS IN YUGOSLAVIA



Figure 3.1: The Map of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia 1918-1941. The Map Archive (URL1).

Prior to elucidating Art and Architecture concept in Yugoslavia we have to know historical background of South-East Europe. These are stories of complex, ethnic, cultural, geographical and artistic continuums. Political and social yarn of Yugoslavia went through different phases such as: ‘The Kingdom of Yugoslavia’, (1918-1941), after WWI and divisions of the ‘Austro-Hungarian’ and the ‘Ottoman’ Empires. Serbian Karadjordjević dynasty gathered South Slavic people into a single state known as the ‘*First Yugoslavian State*’ that lasted until the German occupation and WWII. ‘The Communist Revolution’, (1945-1980), as a resistance towards fascists and transformation of bourgeois system into social system. Josip Broz Tito the leader of ‘*Communist Party*’ created the second state under the name of ‘*Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia*’ (Todorova & Sendil, 2003). Between 1945-1948 there was an alliance with the Soviet political bloc followed by the rise of self-governing socialism

(1948-1980) and ‘*Non-Aligned Movement*’ with Third World Countries during the 1960s. Tito built the bridge of neutrality between the Eastern and the Western blocs, this political approach lasted until his death. During 1980-1991 post-socialist wars occurred and ended with the dissolution of Federal States (Bora, 1995).



Figure 3.2: The Map of The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia after 1945. A Medium Corporation (URL2).

3.1 Between Two World Wars

Socialist Yugoslavia’s architectural development is directly proportional to its complex historic and political background such as: Relations with Soviet Block, the Tito-Stalin Split in 1948, ‘*Non-Aligned Movement*’ with Third World countries. These political permutations created a situations of endeavors for Yugoslavian architects. In cultural scene, modernist inclination started to root before World War II, modernist streams that occurred in Yugoslavia were parallel with European countries. Modernism in art and architecture, initiated by monarch, in between two world wars can be described as conservative. Representation of a country as a monarchy and disavowal of ‘*avant-garde*’ movements in art and architecture, portray the conventionality of monarchic system (Suvakovic, 2003). Weak economic conditions

between World Wars, created a barrier for Yugoslavia's proper modernization. Inclination towards modernism in interwar period created a base for progress after the wars in the cultural sphere. Modernism was potent but unbalanced (Mrduljas & Kulic, 2012). Zagreb and Belgrade were the most advanced cities of the monarchy with dense population that were continuing their progress while the other cities remained rural until the 1950s. Modernism occurring in interwar period can be described as a simulation of European movements of the time, verse postwar modernism was unavoidable, as a way of creating a new system unfolded from empires and past reconciliations (Babic, 2013).

The Kingdom of 'Serbia, Croatia and Slovenia', ruled by Serbian Karadjordjevic dynasty, was officially established in December of 1918. Kingdom's political attitude was to unite and unify all the South Slavs, despite religious and linguistic differences. Connecting element was Yugoslavia's betwixt geopolitical position correlated to international politics. Component republics that were under the external dominance, which lasted for hundreds of years, wanted to unite in a familiar political atmosphere, except 4% Muslim Bosnian and %3.6 Albanian ethnicities (Bora T. , 1995).

The architectural language of major cities of Yugoslavia's constituent republics displayed a search for unified Yugoslav identity, in the absence of achieving a straightforward result. Under the hegemony of Karadjordjevic dynasty, Yugoslavian Kingdom's intellectual achievement was effected by traditionalist royalty. Romantics followed by 'Avant-Garde' movements and modernists were neglected. On the other side, metamorphosis from rural to urban society ended up with the creation of the 'Bourgeois' culture. Traditionalism of Karadjordjevic dynasty was economically and politically challenged with modernist movements occurring in the West. Kingdom was harassed by nationalist and class antagonism, poorness and unbalanced economic progresses. Country maintained agrarian. In cultural platform, political and economic gaps, materialized '*Socialist Realism*' and '*Capitalist Realism*' in response to internationality of modernism. Communist party animadverted bourgeois community and its cultural impolitic modernization, verse capitalist right defended folkloric characteristics in aesthetics. The result of this attitude in terms of art and architectural rhetoric was rational structures with Slavic folkloric representations (Suvakovic, 2003). Kingdoms monarchic construction stimulated political fanaticism and '*Socialist Realism*' emerged under the leadership of Communist Party (Jovic, 2012).

The period in between the World Wars period, the north of Yugoslavia⁹ was under the Austro-Hungarian Empire verse the south of Yugoslavia¹⁰ was under the Ottoman occupation. Thus constituent Republics of Yugoslav Federation had neither common history nor political backgrounds. Slovenia and Croatia even though both countries were occupied by Austro-Hungarian Empire, they advanced different modernist architectures, between two World Wars (Babic, 2013). Serbian architecture symbolized fight of their people against Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian Empires, adopting Byzantine and Romanesque elements (Krecic, 2003). Macedonia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosova had many historical layers but mainly were dominated by Ottoman architecture. Bosnia Herzegovina, Macedonia and Kosova were components of the Ottoman Empire for almost five centuries. Architectural display of the period are old bazaars, mosques, fountains, tombs built in the classical Ottoman Style during the 15th century, and administrative buildings built in the late Ottoman period. Some of these architectural works are still present in our time.

Between 1689-1690 (Malcolm, *Invadimi austriak dhe shperngulja e madhe e serbeve: 1689-1690*, 2000) and 1878-1918, (Malcolm, *Kryengritjet e medha, pushtimi serb dhe Lufta e Pare Boterore: 1908-1918*, 2000) Bosnia Herzegovina, Kosova and Macedonia were under the rule of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. '*Hotel Union Building*' in Prishtina, built by an Austrian architect, Andria Kremer in 1927, can be given as an evidence of an Austro-Hungarian architecture in Kosova (Figure 3.3).

In the early 1900s, under these complex political situations later constituent republics of Yugoslavia, turned towards Central Europe culture. Countries were affected by art and architectural evolutions that occurred in Central Europe. Joze Plecnik in Slovenia and Viktor Kovacic in Croatia brought modernist architectural principles from school of Vienna to their countries. Despite of Karadjordjevic's diplomacy's collapse, architecture of this system in the period between two World Wars introduced strong but unbalanced stream of modernization. Significant cities such as Zagreb, Ljubljana, Belgrade, experienced aesthetic development for a second time while other important cities as Sarajevo, Skopje and Titograd, were exposed to modernism for the first time (Thaler, Mrduljas, & Kulic, 2012).

⁹ Slovenia, Croatia a part of Serbia

¹⁰ Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Macedonia, Kosova and South of Serbia.



Figure 3.3: Former Hotel Union in Prishtina, built in 1927 by Austrian architect, Andria Kremer. Prishtina e Vjetër Archives (URL 3).

Architectural Education Between World Wars

According to Thaler, Mrduljas and Kulic, ‘*Between Worlds*’ chapter, in the book, ‘*Modernism in-Between: The Mediator Architecture of Socialist Yugoslavia*’ (2012), growth of a cities required architectural and urban feedback. Architectural schools were opened in Ljubljana and Zagreb verse Architectural Department of Belgrade Technical University opened earlier, in 1897. Model targets for Yugoslav architects were Vienna, Prague, Paris and Berlin. Students of Yugoslavia were studying in important universities and attending ateliers of Le Corbusier, Peter Behrens and Adolf Loos. In 1928, ‘*Group of Architects of the Modern Movement*’ was established in Belgrade.

Maja Babic argues that Croatia and Slovenia as countries that were under the Austro-Hungarian hegemony for a long interval, pursued architectural movements of Vienna. This was related to the fact that students from Slovenia and Croatia could easily participate in the Western schools. Jozef Plecnik and Ivan Vurnik from Slovenia studied in Vienna and were the students of Otto Wagner and Karl Mosyng; Croatian Drago Ibler was the student of Hans Poelzig in Berlin. Political and economic circumstances are not the only indicators of architecture aesthetics, also individuals effected the architectural directions of Federal Yugoslavia. Architecture was affected by politics symbolizing the sentiments of its era, ideology, politicians, rulers, architects as individuals gave direction to a representative of these symbols with their attitude, character and education.

Education played a determinative role in creating a constant interlocution with the Western Modernism. According to Martino Stierli's article, '*The Architecture of Socialist Yugoslavia as a Laboratory of Globalization in The Cold War*', for the book "*Toward a Concrete Utopia*" published in 2019, during the 1920s and the 1930s numerous architects were abroad to study or work in architectural offices whom later became major personalities in an after war period in Yugoslavia. Economic and political relations of the northern parts of the country with Central Europe opened a channel to some Yugoslav students, to be educated in Vienna and other great cities of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Nikola Dobrovic (1897-1967), considered as one of the most potent Serbian reformist architects of the time was graduated from the High Technical School in Prague, in 1923. Bogdan Bogdanovic, (1922-2010) professor in Faculty of Architecture in Belgrade, attempted his education in Budapest and Technical Faculty of Prague until 1930s. Muhammed (1906-1983) and Reuf Kadic (1908-1974), studied in the Technical University of Prague until the 1920s, who would become one of the most significant personalities of modernism in Bosnia during the 1930s. The most important Slovenian Architects as: Max Fabiani (1865-1962) and Ivan Vurnik (1884-1971) both finished their education in the Technical University of Vienna.

The observance revitalized during the 1950s and the 1960s when the Western nations financed scholarships for Yugoslavian students in Europe and America. They were connecting political strategy towards a country that had detached itself from the Soviet Union. The most influential platform was the studio of Le Corbusier where Yugoslav students from Ljubljana Faculty of Architecture were doing their internships. Founded in 1919 the Faculty of Architecture in Ljubljana became one of the major architectural education center in postwar Central-Eastern Europe under the captiancy of Ivan Vurnik and Joze Plecnik (1872-1957). Plecnik students were going for an internship in Le Corbusier's office. One of them was Edvard Ravnikar (1907-1985) as one of the most powerful profile in the modernization of Yugoslav architecture, also a contributor in the theory of modern architecture. Also architects from Croatia, Ernest Weissmann (1903-1985) and Juraj Neidhardt (1901-1979), worked with salary in Le Corbusier's office for years; one between 1927-1930, the other one between 1933-1935. Juraj Neidhardt, who was a contributor to the modern architectural theory, studied in the Viennese Academy of Fine Arts under the mentorship of Peter Behrens. Later he gave

lectures in Sarajevo University (Kulic, Appendix: Biographies of Architects, 2009). Most of his works are theoretical, and they have opened new horizons. One of them is *'Architecture of Bosnia and the Way to Modernity'* published in 1957 written in 1930 during the time when the idea of 'modernist regionalism' had appear. Neidhardt wrote this book with Slovenian architect Dusan Grabrijan (1899-1952) who was effected from the 'modernist' lectures of Plecnik. The book can be considered as a significant bibliography of Yugoslavian modern architecture. In the book writers are connected with the innovator characteristics of the Ottoman Traditional architecture, underlining cubical volumes, big horizontal windows and white walls. The book includes the study of 'revak's/hayat's or "divanhane 'sofa's as the connecting elements of Inner and outer spaces. This perspective towards the Ottoman Architecture was effected mostly from the experiences he had in Le Corbusier's atelier. Another student of Le Corbusier was Milorad Pantovic (1919-1986) who designed *'Belgrade Fair'* (Stierli, 2019).

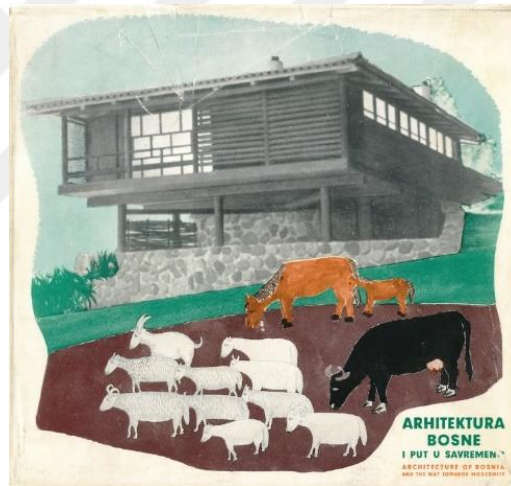


Figure 3.4: *'Architecture of Bosnia and the Way to Modernity'* written in 1930 by Juraj Neidhardt and Dusan Grabrijan, published in 1957. MoMA to Host the Exhibit Celebrating the Radical Brutalist Architecture of Socialist Yugoslavia (URL 4).

Works of the Architects Between Two World Wars

Joze Plecnik in reconstruction of Ljubljana City, from small interventions to monumental buildings, brought a new interpretation of Central Europe Classicism. Ivan Vurnik's design in 1921 for the *'Municipal Slaving's Bank'* with folkloric motives in the facade expressed the identity of Slovenia via functionalist architecture. Ljubljana was a city of interferences of Vurnik's functionality and Plecnik's modern paraphrase of classicism.



Figure 3.5: Interwar Modernism in Slovenia. From left to right: Municipal Slaving's Bank, Ivan Vurnik in 1921, Ljubljana; 'National and University Library of Slovenia', Joze Plecnik 1936-41. Turizem Ljubljana (URL 5).

Milan Zlokovic from Belgrade, was the first architect to design in a modernist architectural approach. '*Zlokovic House*' built between 1927 and 1928, is accepted as the first construction after the First World War and the first modern house in Belgrade. (Blagojcevic, 2003) Slovenian modernist, Vladimir Subotic studied in Vienna and Prague, but architect was not preferred by Communist Party because of his political stand. Subotic's 70 meters high skyscraper designed in 1931, was an example of neoclassical and modernist genres interlace. Drago Ibler, was an important personality that represented functionalism in architecture of Zagreb. '*Wellisch House*', 1930-31 designed by Ibler is a representative of Croatian modernist architecture between two World Wars. Representative of purity in geometrical surfaces in modernism are '*Buildings of Pension Fund in Sarajevo*' designed in 1940 by Brothers Muhammed and Reuf Kadic, which graduated in Prague. Architectural department in universities of other cities opened after WWII, critic architects mentioned above, contributed in establishments of architectural schools in modernist manner. Yugoslav architects were advanced because of their leftist attitudes, and their fight against fascists during WWII. After the war partisan architects were independent and liberal in indoctrination of modernism within the Communist Party frames. Therefore, establishment of a uniform administrative and cultural identity aborted because of the diverse directions that were followed in modernization of the each component country. At the same time this diversity formed the original Yugoslav architectural character. Architects educated in Central Europe introduced the understanding of architectural modernism and adopted it to their own history and origin (Babic, 2013).



Figure 3.6: Zlokovic House, by Milan Zlokovic, 1927-28. Cultural Properties in Belgrade (URL 6). During the Second World War and in the time after the war, Tito integrated ungovernable differentiations and variations in one united country, vigorously not including national symbols of any constituent republic. Anti-historicism was going to be a common field for unification of six historically and politically different republics that formed Yugoslav Federation. Modernist principles agonized in a struggle towards historicism and eclecticism and its aesthetics became an important implement apparatus (Babic, 2013).

Yugoslavia unlike the Soviet Block or Czechoslovakia did not have its authorized methodology for art and architecture or cultural representation, however architects, left their signatures after the epoch of world wars (Burghard & Kirn, 2012). Reformist architecture in postwar Yugoslavia was not embarked with socialist governmental containments, it was shaped by interwar Europe's artistic movements that impressed the republics of Federation. The reason of freedom in architectural expression, in Socialist Yugoslavia was the participation of architects as partisans in anti-fascist war. Except '*Socialist Realism*' period between 1945 and 1948. Architects that studied in European modernist universities contributed in the formation of architectural rhetoric

in their own countries between world wars. After 1948 these movements became the foundation of Yugoslavian 'Socialist Modernism' (Kulic, 2012).

3.2 Tito-Stalin Relations and 'Socialist Realism' in Yugoslavia

Yugoslavia during WWII established its politics on the basis of Marx, Lenin, Engels and Stalin guideline. Communist Yugoslavia was formed by proletariat transformed into a faithful communists (Babic, 2013). The partisan leadership during the antifascist war, with 'Brotherhood and Unity'¹¹ inter-ethnic politics gathered Albanians and Macedonians with promise of deconstructing savaging politics against them, consequently partisan leadership assembled Slovenes, Croats and Montenegrins with anti-discrimination politic commitments. (Bora T. , 1995) Albanian's in Yugoslavia, refused to join 'Popular Liberation Front' and wanted national union with Albania. National union of Kosova with Albania was refused, and Albanians were forced to join Liberation Front (Malcolm, 2011).

Soviet military service liberated Belgrade and the northern parts of Yugoslavia. Also helped Yugoslavia in its struggle against nationalists and class conflicts. Stalin and Tito were allies during WWII and three years after the war. Stalin's communist doctrine was a formwork for Yugoslavia in its economy, struggle against Chetniks, Ustashas, and class conflicts. In parallel, Europe was recuperating from Second World War. Yugoslavia formed the confederate with Soviet Union. Soviet Union was sustaining the continuum of forming a communist country (Bora T. , Üçüncü Bölüm, 1995). After the war, in proportion to fast recovering Europe, stagy inner political and economic circumstances of Yugoslavia and previously accepted communism and turned the country towards the Eastern Bloc.

Starting from 1945 Yugoslav polity's mission was to form a country on historical remains and war relics. Cities were demolished and 2 to 4 million people were unsheltered. Country was damaged, both in intangible and material way. Yugoslavia was reconstructed with international monetary assistance mostly by Soviet Union and voluntary help of Yugoslavian people. Under inner and international conditions of

¹¹ Partisans, pioneers of counteraction movement that fought for Yugoslavia's freedom from Fascists and Nazis under 'Brotherhood and Unity' motto. A slogan that displays policy of different ethnic group's affairs within the country.

postwar period, Yugoslavian government decided to pursue the Soviet Union's Communist doctrine via '*Communist Party of Yugoslavia*' (Thaler, Mrduljas, & Kulic, 2012).



Figure 3.7: Relations of Tito and Stalin after WWII. 'Masina', Production of Social Critique (URL7).

In the first postwar years Yugoslav government started a program for industrializing the Federation which was followed by society's modernization. In economic sphere enterprises of government undertook the production of goods and services.¹² Yugoslavia transformed from rural and unimproved country of prewar period and decadent place of war period, to a modern industrial country based on Soviet's communist doctrine (Kulic, *Architectural Culture in Stalinist State*, 2009). Within Soviet's sponsorship, administrative, economic, health, educational and cultural programs of '*Socialist Realism*' were adopted by Yugoslavia (Babic, 2013). Yugoslavia was not independent in any sphere from Soviet's until 1948. Communist Party of Yugoslavia respected Soviet's template from law to cultural diplomacy. Adaptation of Soviet's guideline in all spheres of life during modernism process was manifested with the implementation of '*Socialist Realism*' in cultural platform (Kulic, *A Land of Multiple Between-ness*, 2009).

¹² Economy was centralized, government took possession of private companies and properties.

Socialist Realism in Architecture

After the Second World War Yugoslavia's complex international relation with Soviet Union effected country's cultural sphere. This intercourse had an impact in Yugoslavia's inner diplomatic context and its status in the international platform. Between 1945 and 1948 Stalin's communist doctrine effected Tito's Yugoslavia in economic, politic and cultural manner. The break from Soviet Orbit in 1948 made Tito change directions in all governmental sections. During the three years of collaboration '*Socialist Realism*' guideline influenced art and architecture of Yugoslavia. '*Socialist Realism*' was a cultural stream in Soviet Block which transmitted the display of communist monumentality in urban perimeter. Yugoslavia's devotion to Stalin was evident also in architectural phrase, nevertheless in unpretentious form. The economic situation of Yugoslavia was weak. Thus within three years of '*Socialist Realism*' devotion, only one building was constructed among few planned structures (Kulic, *The Beloved Capital*, 2009).

The decision of making New-Belgrade, an empty swamp land, the capital city of Yugoslavia was geostrategic symbolic step. Construction purpose of new city was to portray Socialist Yugoslavia's strength, as the communist ally. The most figurative example of this political shift may be New Belgrade construction plan. New Belgrade was planned to represent all constituting nations and Yugoslavian unified identity (Kulic, *Architecture and Ideology in Socialist Yugoslavia*, 2012).

'*Socialist Realism*' mentality in art and architecture was not reformist and was against avant-garde. This doctrine was administered by predominant Soviet diplomacy from 1945 until 1948. Modernism that occurred in Yugoslavia between world wars was seen 'bourgeois', 'apolitical' and of international attitude (Suvakovic, 2003). Revolution didn't confirm the liberty of architectural language and modernist concepts. '*Socialist Realism*' was the only accepted phrase of architecture and urbanism in Soviet Block and Yugoslavia as Soviet's satellite. Doctrine played an important role in architecture, art and culture in general in the early postwar years (Kulic, *Architectural Culture in Stalinist State*, 2009).

Danilo Udovicki-Sleb, in an article, "*Between Modernism and Socialist Realism: Soviet Architectural Culture under Stalin's Revolution from Above, 1928-1938*"

(2009), states that, abolishment of '*Socialist Realism*' in architecture took more time than its establishment in Soviet Union. Soviet architects after Stalin's death, were refusing Stalinism in architecture because they already were searching for modernist ideas. Application of '*Socialist Realism*' meant forming an architectural understanding without disparity and constructed on rigorous choices of communist party. The purpose was to take the charge of instinctive and automatic architecture. For consolidating national indicator in portraying the country in the international platform during the 1920s, Soviet Union promoted renaissance of national style in architecture. Architects requested from government to advocate reformative modernist streams in architecture, and architects in their struggle towards Lazar Kaganovic¹³, assigned person by Stalin for Moscow's rebuild plan. This assignment was against the modernist wave occurring in Europe towards eclecticism.

Politicians and insiders of Communist Party formed the architecture of the time despite the attitudes and petitions of architects and society. During the 1930s, Stalin was promoting American legal architecture, satirically on behalf of modernity, eclectic style was implemented in Soviet's. Soviet government advocated modernity, but illustration of modernity in architecture was ambiguous. Metaphorically classicism was portrayal of democratic objective of ancient Greek, which was the answer of proletariat requests, physically classicism was a response to settled Byzantine style (Udovicki-Sleb, 2009). This political attitude accomplished in interfering the built of 'avant-garde' designs of 1917 reformists. Soviet government's reason for opposition of modernist movement in the 1930s was reported as technical and economic deficiency (Cohen, 2007).

In the First Congress of All Soviet Writers in 1934, '*Socialist Realism*' expression was used for the first time and it declared the relation between revolution and all art formats. Application of '*Socialist Realism*' in architecture was more complicated compare to the other dimensions of art, due to design process complications and construction procedure. One of the important indicators of architect's struggle with '*Socialist Realism*' was modernist approach in architectural departments in universities sustained from last decade.

¹³ Lazar Kaganovic was supporter of brummagem of classical architecture. see (Udovicki-Sleb, p.472)



Figure 3.8: Stalin and Lazar Kaganovic, Moscows Rebuilt Plan, 1935. The Charnel House (URL 8).

In 1933 Boris Iofan, was influenced by American tower blocks and Stalin’s preferences in ‘*Palace of Soviet’s* design. ‘*Socialist Realism*’ in Soviet architecture would be represented with Boris Iofan’s ‘*Palace of Soviet’s* classicist design. Palace was never built. Soviet government balanced the relations with architects by tolerating modernist designs in modest scales, mostly residential structures. Example of this tolerance is “Barviha Sanatorium” designed in Bauhaus Style by the same architect Boris Iofan and built in Barvikha Village in 1934. Mythical and traditional symbols were contemplated as representatives of Soviet’s history, whereas modernist inclinations were seen as unfamiliar and not revolutionary (Udovicki-Sleb, 2009).

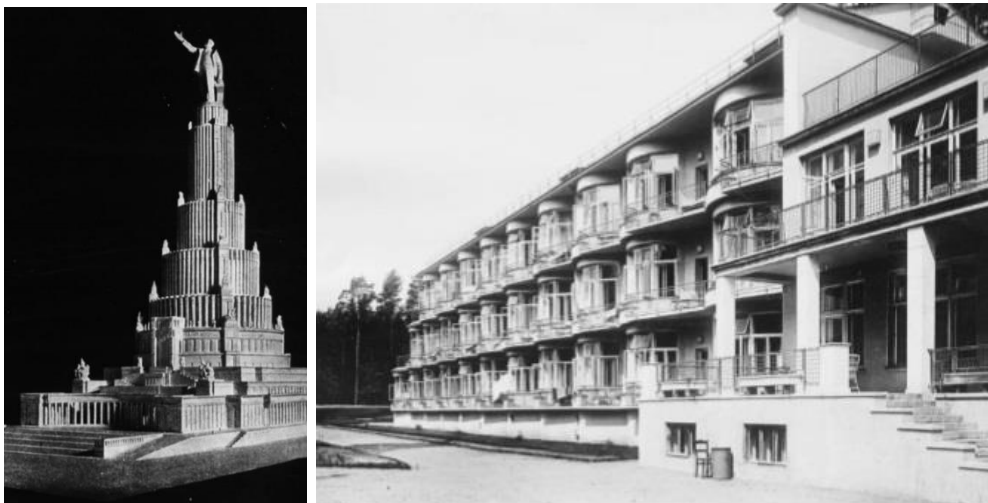


Figure 3.9: Boris Iofan Design’s. From left to right: ‘*Palace of Soviet’s* model; ‘*Barviha Sanatorium*’ in Barvikha Village in 1934 designed in Bauhaus Style (Udovicki-Sleb, 2009).

According to Kulic’s PhD Dissertation, ‘*The Land of The In-Between: Modern Architecture and The State in Socialist Yugoslavia, 1945-65*’ the architecture portrayal

of the revolutionary character of *'Socialist Realism'* in Yugoslav Federation was achievable in three models. Symbolization of communist figures in communal environments as diplomatic agitprop. Building of administrative constructions in capital cities of constituent nations, promoting new compound character of Yugoslav Federation in contrast to unified character of Yugoslavia and display of Jozip Broz Tito's figure. The competition for structuring Yugoslavia's new capital city "New Belgrade",¹⁴ demonstrated the disarray of Socialist Yugoslavia from *'Socialist Realism'* and Soviet guideline. New Belgrade, as a center of constituent republics, had to represent internationally the power of the communist Federation and to magnify revolution. These supreme aims were not completed. The organization of New Belgrade is correlated with purpose of representing united, unified and strong character of the country. Unifying element that would synthetically form a feeling of identity and togetherness, for multiethnic republics with different historical backgrounds, was construction of a new capital, which was going to symbolize new mutual national character, unfolded from singular histories.

Struggle of Yugoslavian Architects with Socialist Realism

Most of the Yugoslavian architects with leftist attitudes were reformist before WWII, during the war they fought for country's liberation, thus they achieved significant statuses after the war. Even though this fact was not enough in convincing government to free architecture from *'Socialist Realism'*. Deficiency of explicit description of *'Socialist Realism'* made situation more complex after the war. Communist Yugoslavian government tried fundamentally to modify the essence of construction perimeter and to build its essence suitable to the requests of revolutionary community (Kulic, Power Asserted, 2009). Accordance of all constituent republics of Yugoslav Federation, with different cultural identities with the *'Socialist Realism'* doctrine was the problem to be solved.

Thaler, Mrduljas and Kulic, *'Between Worlds'* chapter, in the book, *"Modernism in-Between: The Mediatory Architecture of Socialist Yugoslavia"* (2012), advocate that, after 1945 New Belgrade had to symbolize Federal Yugoslavia and government's aim was to distance physically and mentally from old Belgrade, which was a capital of

¹⁴ A blank swamp that was going to symbolize the objective of Socialist Yugoslavia as Soviet's satellite.

Kingdom of Yugoslavia. This plan of uniforming constituent republics in a Serbian city drew on strain in Croatia and Slovenia. Government opened a competition for gridal urban constructing of New Belgrade and designing of main governmental buildings such as: '*Communist Party Headquarters*' and '*Governmental Presidency Building*' and a '*Grandeur Hotel*' for hosting diplomatic guests. Significant Yugoslav architects such as: Nikola Dobrovic, Potocnjak, Neumann, Urlich, Perak and Milorad Macura applied in this competition. Architect's proposals and constructed project were a display of self-managing socialism, first changes from historicism to modernism, also a change from composite identity representation to an unified character portrayal of constituent nations.

In competition, '*Presidency of the Federal Government*' building and '*Grandeur Hotel*' were designed in a modernist manner. Modernist method in these two buildings was tolerated since they did not contain symbolic meanings as '*Headquarters*' building did. Because of its modest representational meaning presidency building was constructed in modernist style with some demure classicist details in façade. Whereas '*Central Committee of Communist Party*' building design encountered requests of rising '*Socialist Realism*' and modernist attitudes of architects. The architect's suggestions were rejected by Tito. Leader of Yugoslav Communist Party gathered reformist architects and requested them to include in their designs '*the eternal beauty of Greek columns*'. (Thaler, Mrduljas, & Kulic, 2012, p. 35) In competition held for the second time, architects did not submit projects with historical characteristics. Andre Mohorovicic, Croatian historian, critic and architecture professor who studied in Ljubljana, Zagreb, Prague, Vienna and Florence, pointed that there would not be a place for historical components in contemporary architecture. In 1948 after the break from Soviet Block, '*Socialist Realism*' doctrine's hegemony faded, modernist and reformist architecture of prewar educations restarted to facilitate (Kulic, Architecture and Ideology in Socialist Yugoslavia, 2012).

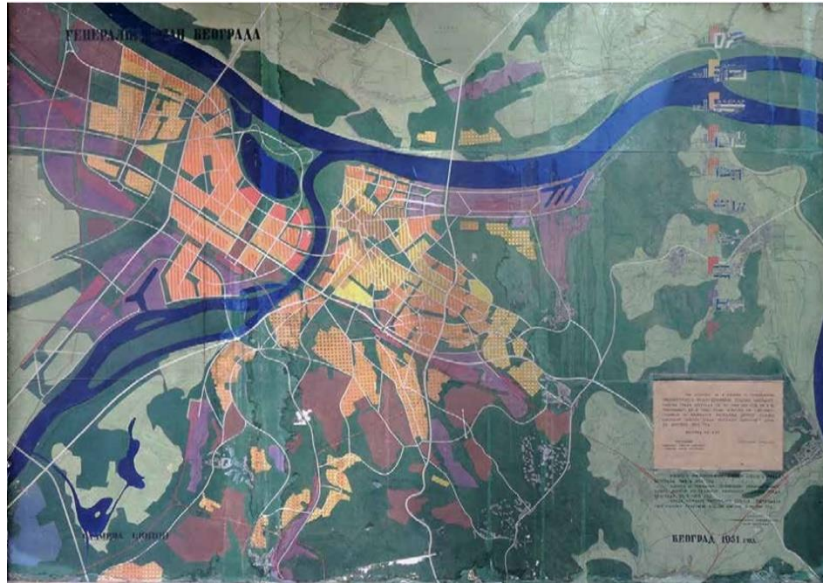


Figure 3.10: Belgrade Master Plan, Serbia 1949-50 (Jovanovic & Kulic, 2019).

Tito-Stalin Split

Tense relations between Tito and Stalin speeded up after the war. Tito's intent was to install zonal sovereignty in the Balkans. Tito's solution to regional and ethnic problems was unification with Albanians and Bulgaria (Bora T. , 1995).

The problem of inter-ethnic politics in Yugoslavia with Albanian population, 88% in Kosova, 5.27% in Montenegro and 25.2% in Macedonia was going to be solved via unification with Albania. The problem of divided Macedonia between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia was going to be solved via Balkan federation with Bulgaria. Tito and Enver Hoxha made 'Albanian Yugoslav Treaty on Friendship' at the end of 1946, this pact unified two countries in the economic sphere. Soviet Union's external action effected negatively Yugoslav and Albanian rapports. Moscow succeed in destroying Tito-Hoxha relations, and isolated physically and politically these two countries. Break with Albania, put Kosova in a really hard situation. Economic misbalance in 1949, 1951 and 1953 and discrimination of Albanian ethnicity in Kosova were consequences of Yugoslavia-Albania friendship pact's end. In 1947, Soviets required from Yugoslavia to consult Moscow for Balkan Federation decisions. Moscow approved Bulgarian and Yugoslav alliance but didn't accept unification with Albania (Malcolm, Kosova nën Titon: 1945-1980, 2011).

The reason for split of two communist leaders is Tito's counteraction towards Soviet dominance in Yugoslavian politics and economy. Due to the accessibility to the

documents in the last years 15 ensured that the main reason for breakdown is Stalin's fear of Tito's international enlargement policy. This policy contained incorporation of Communist Albania to Yugoslav Federation and to Form Balkan Federation with Bulgaria. Inside these diplomatic situations, Communist Information Office "The Cominform" sued Yugoslav Communist Party for declination of Marxist-Leninist doctrine and Soviet Union as their pioneer. This diplomatic change was the opposite of WWII Soviet and Yugoslavia cooperation.

According to Noel Malcolm, in his book '*Kosovo: A Short History*', Milovan Djilas, Tito's close partner, in 1948, went as a delegate to Moscow for negotiations with Stalin. Djilas declared that unification with Albania could solve the problem with Albanians in Kosova and this confederation was a good strategy for allies that have same political attitudes. Stalin opposed this idea because he wanted to avoid Tito's dominance in South-Eastern Europe. After Tito-Hoxha break, Enver Hoxha declared his loyalty to Stalin from the fear that Albania was going to lose its independence. Later Albania made an alliance with Communist China. This stamped the Tito-Hoxha split. '*Friendship and Mutual Assistance Treaty*' among Yugoslavia and Bulgaria was seriously criticized by Soviets. Yugoslavia didn't wanted to be under Soviet hegemony. Tito's denial to submit Stalin's demand was the end of Soviet- Yugoslav ally. Soviet accused Yugoslavia for deviation from Marxist-Leninist doctrine. In 19 June 1948 Yugoslavia rejected the invitation of '*Cominform*' meeting held in Bucharest in which the topic was going to be Yugoslav-Soviet relations. This occasion was accepted as official break of two communist countries. Yugoslavia was removed from the forum and accused for being in the way of capitalism.

In 1953, Tito publicly accepted that Soviet Union was using Yugoslavia for its own political and geostrategic benefits. The break from Soviet Block made Yugoslavia to change its diplomatic directions towards West. This change was translated in architectural rhetoric. Architecture as a cultural instrument undertook the role of transmitting political shifts to the West World. Between 1945 and 1948 architectural language was used as a demonstration of Yugoslav devotion to Soviets, after 1948 until the 1970s, it was instrumentalized for portrayal of Western adherence (Babic, 2013).

¹⁵ Statements acknowledged by generality of historians.

Communist Party of Socialist Yugoslavia directed its diplomacy and culture towards West. Government became tolerant in architecture and urban fields, giving more force to professionals. Constructions of New Belgrade took another axis, capital city was going to be a representative of political and cultural shifts. The solely representative of '*Socialist Realism*' in Yugoslavia remained design of Branko Petricic in Belgrade, '*House of Trade Unions*' built during 1947-55 (Babic, 2013).

These political conditions and changes had an impact in urban planning and architecture of the country. After Tito-Stalin split, New Belgrade construction projects were suspended. Modernist aesthetics gradually was freeing from the chains of '*Socialist Realism*'. Modernism in terms of aesthetics was an instrument to show devotion to Western confederates and to express the independence from Soviet Block. Architectural attitude was anti-historicist and used modernist aesthetic as a rhetoric for unified identity of Socialist Federation (Kulic, An Avant-Garde Architecture for an Avant-Garde Socialism: Yugoslavia at Expo'58, 2012).

The break with the Eastern Bloc was followed by a serious economic and politic depression. Tito changed the diplomatic directions towards the West Bloc in international sphere. In September 1961, in Belgrade, Tito established the '*Non-Aligned Movement*' together with Nasser and Nehru (Bora T. , 1995).

Political, economic and cultural changes in Yugoslavia can be followed via the model of New Belgrade. After abandonment of '*Socialist Realism*' doctrine, architectural and urban plans shifted. Projects were modified according to new political and economic conditions. Description of this change may be addressed to a particular example; '*Presidency of Government Building*' by Mihajlo Jankovic, built in 1961 in New Belgrade. This building is substantial specification of political preadaptation of Yugoslavia. Classical components of previous design by Vladimir Potocnjak were moved away. New design demonstrated an elegant and transparent construction inspired by Oscar Niemeyer's Brasilia design. Transformation of building's design portrayed Yugoslavia's strength and architecture to new confederates (Figure 3.8). This building hosted First Conference of '*Non-Aligned Movement*' with Third World Countries (Thaler, Mrduljas, & Kulic, 2012).

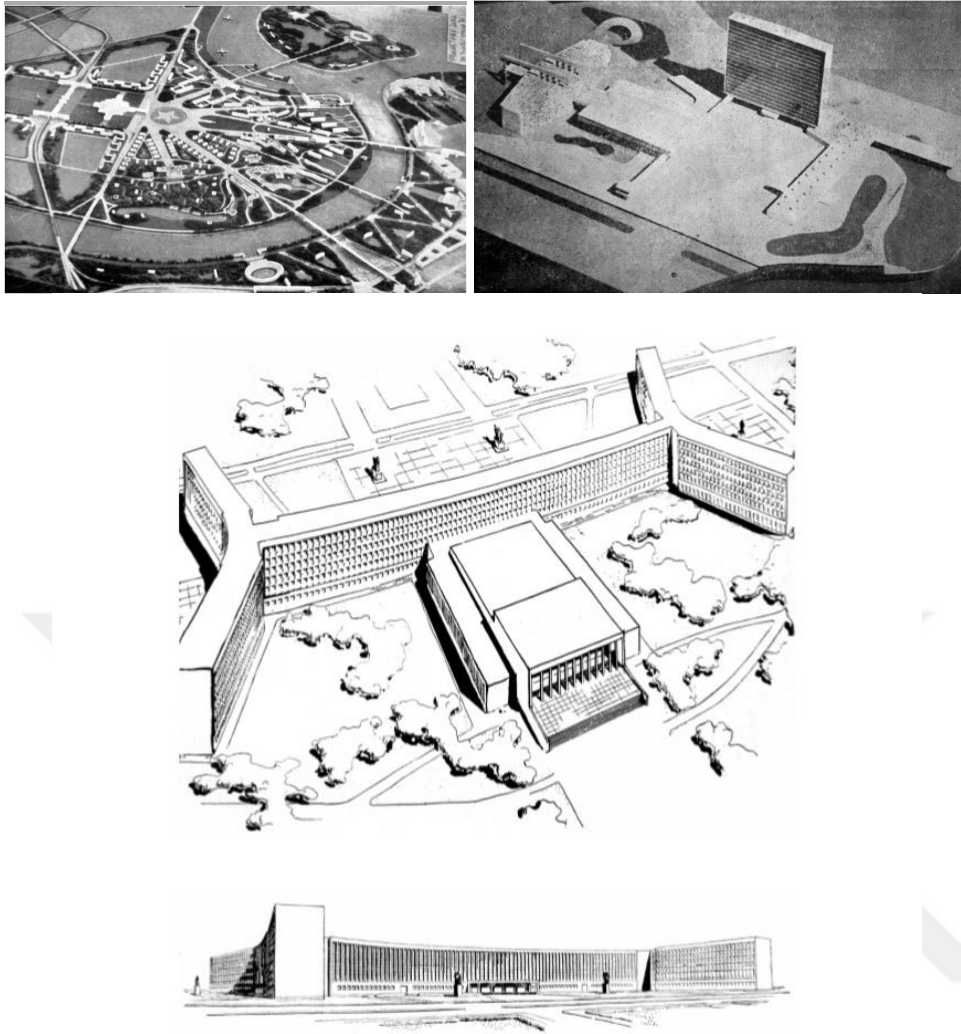


Figure 3.11: Competition for The Construction of The New Belgrade. From left to right: Institute of Urban Planning of Serbia (under direction of Nikola Dobrović) Master plan of 'New Belgrade', competition entry, 1947; Vladimir Turina Drago Boltar and Radovan Nikšić, 'Central Committee of the CPY', competition entry honorable mention, New Belgrade 1947; Vladimir Potočnjak Zlatko Neimann Antun Ulrichand Dragica Perak, 'Presidency of the Federal Government of Yugoslavia', competition entry first prize, New Belgrade 1947 (Kulic, Illustrations, 2009).

3.3 Western Block, Non-Aligned Movement and 'Socialist Modernization' in Yugoslavia

Political Shift of Yugoslavia

After the break of 1948, political terms and conditions changed drastically but country was unquestioningly on the way of 'Socialism'. Yugoslav government was facing the danger of Soviet army interference on one hand and on the another hand unsuitable economic situation of Federation and inner acts towards Tito. Stalin's army interference was a subject for both the East and the West Blocs. Bela Kiraly, the ex-Commander of Hungary's foot soldiers which migrated to US, argued that Soviet was

constructing an attack against Yugoslavia but after US invade to North Korea, communist government cancelled its attack plans. During the 1990s, after the communist bloc's collapse, documents were unlocked and Kiraly's claim was proved to be misleading. Based on some data insured from information delivered from Stalin to Czechoslovakian leader Klement Gottwald, it is understood that Stalin's objective was Yugoslavia's isolation not collapse of Soviet's ex-satellite. Reams, American diplomat, pointed to the strategic fact that Soviet's assault was going to be expensive because of Yugoslavia's capability to support military expedition. Inner acts against Tito had minimal risk, however it was possible as long as 20 percent of party participants favored Stalin. Subsequent years in Yugoslavia were the times of refinement the Party from people devoted to Stalin. The information enounced that around 8400 true and supposed Stalinists were imprisoned (Perovic, 2007).

The consequences would also touch Kosova, the secret police of Yugoslavia 'UDB', doubted that Stalinist Albanian leader Enver Hoxha, was infiltrating agents and saboteurs in Kosova. Albanians in Kosova were seen as potential traitors in the middle of the 1950s. The fact for this was weapon scan operation and forced migrations exerted on Albanians in Kosova. Between 1945 and 1966 around 246.00 people migrated to Turkey from all around of Yugoslavia; 100.000 of them were from Kosova (Malcolm, Kosova nën Titon: 1945-1980, 2011). Since Soviet conquest didn't occur and the politics towards government rivals were well operating, remaining problem was economical resistance and development. In early postwar years, dense commerce traffic occurred between Yugoslavia and Soviet Union. It was founded on a range of commerce compromises analogous to those between places in Western Europe. These commerce compromises were important in economic development of after war Yugoslavia (Bora T. , 1995).

Based on Maja Babic reference to William Zimmerman's work on Tito-Stalin Split, reasons for economic stability of Yugoslavia after the break with Soviet Block was stated in this way: After Second World War disunited political atmosphere, empowered Yugoslav Federation to take advantage of Anglo-American benefit in supporting Yugoslav sovereignty. Soviet's economic and politic barricade to Yugoslavia, unlocked commerce boundaries between the West block and Socialist Yugoslavia. Another indicator was importance given to existence of the nation and governmental management. The triumph of Yugoslavs in fight towards Fascists,

‘Chetnicks’ and ‘Ustashes’ would become a significant prestige in opposing Stalin. ‘*Brotherhood and Unity*’ unifying factor during the war and after the war, would bring together all the ethnicities forming a national emblem under Tito’s figure and serve as an important element in international affairs against Stalin. The other motive for economic stability was the character of communist force inside the Federation.

The fundamental distinction between Soviet Union and Yugoslavia’s communism was methodology. Communists of Yugoslavia counted on countryman, radical metamorphosis of society and the construction of regional political establishments were started in the end of Second World War. The Soviet’s after confiscating basic political power continued to transmute society and political establishments were constructed in rural zones. However the pivotal account that Tito maintained the Soviet’s political and economic assaults was resemblance of Yugoslav and Soviet systems. Eastern Bloc was effected by Tito-Stalin separation. Stalin reinforced dominance in socialist quarters, and dismissed communist members of a party under the operation of purifying party from Tito supporters (Babic, 2013, p. 70).

The case of Yugoslavia was even more unpleasant. Albania with the fear of losing its independence declared its devotion to Moscow. Bulgarian government criticized seriously Tito and his politics. Yugoslavia was isolated from Eastern Bloc. After the break, the borders between Albania and Yugoslavia were closed. In Kosova, “Prizren¹⁶ Process” was implemented by Yugoslavian government. In 1956 ‘UDB’ Yugoslav Secret Police, announced that they found spies and agents in Prizren that came across Albanian borders in 1950. The facts were without a base. In this group were included Albanian communists that were serving Yugoslav government and three Dervishes. UDB wanted to arrest these people but Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Yugoslavia rejected this accuse. Since, Krushchev and Yugoslavia were trying to soothe relations, Yugoslav governments didn’t want another Committee scandal (Malcolm, 2000).

In January of 1948 US forbid extrude of important consumer goods to Eastern Bloc, giving a visible business decline among two blocs. Yugoslavia, because of partisan governance in Trieste for forty days during WWII and some Yugoslavs living there demanded a benefit for the city. International affairs of US counseled Tito, to give up

¹⁶ Prizren is a city of Kosova, in the border with Albania.

on Trieste problem. Trieste problem was solved in 1947. Another US demand from Tito was to withdraw from Greece Conflict. USA diplomats in January of 1948 notified Stalin's deficiency of assistance and antagonism to Tito's independent industrial system project. USA ambassador of that time in Yugoslavia argued that Soviet was persisting on Yugoslavian manufacture to be canalized on Eastern Bloc. Soon after the split in 1948, diplomat of US R.Borden Reams prognosticated that Yugoslav government would sue economic and politic help from America (Lees, 1997, p. 52).

Western Ambassadors were not sure that deteriorated Stalin-Tito relations were resolving. Western authorities in spring of 1948 suggested a new political and economic supportive program for Yugoslavia. Despite the support, US inner diplomacy kept careful attitude towards a communist Yugoslavia. Reason of complexity of anticommunist America and Tito relations was Yugoslav government's adaptation of Soviet ethics. US had to keep balance between its anti-communist ideology and international affairs with Yugoslavia. On the other hand Yugoslavia had to defend its communist status in zone. Yugoslav communist leader guaranteed that imported American commodities would not be traded in Eastern Bloc, also stated that Yugoslav uncultivated ingredients would be exchanged with America. Interconnection with the west advanced systematically but connection with Soviet Block was not diplomatically strong as it was in the 1940s. Another political strategy of Tito was alliance with Third World Countries in 1961 while maintaining sincere market relations with West World. That noted an important diplomatic and market agreement between America and Yugoslavia. Yugoslavian international diplomacy triumph can be characterized by civility of Third World Countries alignment, communist ethics demeanor and business interconnection with the West World (Lees, 1997).

Socialist Modernization

The 1948 turn towards the West Bloc touched cultural sphere in Yugoslavia. '*Socialist Realism*' left the scene for improvement of formerly studied 'International Style' in interwar period. Categorized as collapsed bourgeois expression after Second World War, because of relation with the West Bloc and the dominance of post-revolutionary bureaucracy and social liberalization, during the 1950s modernist expression in art and architecture encountered its renaissance (Suvakovic, 2003).

The lecture of Miroslav Krleža at the Third Congress of Writers of Yugoslavia in October 1952, by intellectuals is marked as the fall of 'Socialist Realism' in Yugoslavia. Krleža attacked 'Socialist Realism' principles in tough way in his lecture in Third Congress. The lecture was based mostly on visual art critics. The animadversion to 'Socialist Realism' in terms of architecture was published in June of 1950 in 'Arhitektura' magazine with the article of Neven Segvic¹⁷ "Creative Components of Architecture in Yugoslavia". In 1951 with the impact of 'Arhitektura' magazine destruction of 'Socialist Realism' in architecture was accomplished. This attitude was official demonstration of architecture's orientation towards the West. Architects proceeded to build in socialist outline that characterized socialist system's common typologies, financial models and professional set-up. This juncture can be parallelized with political and economic situation of the country. Immediately after the break, Yugoslav government's central politics interfered on a task of displaying country's power to new confederates and old confederates, now their opponents (Kulic, Destalinization, 2009).

In an article, by V. Kulic, 'Architecture and Urban Planning in Former Yugoslavia and the Successor States' for a book, "Unfinished Modernisations Between Utopia and Pragmatism" (2012), is asserted that, government initiated a method of transferring authority from central to local administrations through a self-management system. This internal politic attitude disassociated Yugoslavia from Soviet Union and brought liberty to society and their daily life. Political and economic movements were unavoidable in spheres of art and architecture. Until 1948 architectural occupation was under a single authority, after the break, field reconstructed its system. From hierarchical to more emancipated system, giving freedom to architect's individual arrangement. Government left the management of architectural design continuum to professionals. On the other hand trading enforcement had a small aesthetic influence on construction. This impact effected unproductiveness in construction fields and building quality. Yugoslav government interfere on a task of characterizing Socialist Yugoslav identity, thus architects tried to intercourse modern architecture with traditional and national assets. After the war structuring of society began with

¹⁷ Neven Segvic, Croatian Architect, Historian of Architecture, Founder and Editor of 'Arhitektura' magazine.

elementary necessities construction, such as building of administrative, industrial, educational and health complexes.

Construction of necessities was followed by opening the country to international interchange of commodities. Freed from '*Socialist Realism*', architecture as a profession was unlocked to the West World. After the political and cultural shift, architecture of Socialist Yugoslavia was exposed to international modernist design exhibitions. Alliance with the Western Bloc opened a path for architects and students of architecture to work and study in the West European and the American architectural offices and universities. The exhibition of 'Boston Institute of Contemporary Art', portrayed Le Corbusier's works in Belgrade, Zagreb, Sarajevo, Ljubljana, Split, Skopje from December 1952 until May of 1953. The most significant project that took attention was '*Unite d'Habitation*' of Le Corbusier. Similar constructions were started to be seen in almost every leading city of Yugoslavia at the end of the 1950s.

Three years of '*Socialist Realism*' dominance made modernism in Yugoslavia astern compared to international streams that progressed with acceleration. In the beginning of the 1960s in contrary to former streams, straightforward, pure, white and glass volumes of the 'International Style' were applied format in administrative and institutional buildings, underlining distance from '*Socialist Realism*'. Presentation quality during the 1950s and the 1960s was one of the causes that modernism was not debated or questioned. In parallel politics of the time were complicated, situation of the government was unstable and uncertain. Architecture had a strong impact in portrayal of a country to its international allies and antagonists. Elegant, stipe windows, habitats and glass designs located Yugoslavia in the architectural scene of the Western Bloc (Mrduljas & Kulic, 2012).

One of the most symbolic representatives of Yugoslav modernism was Yugoslav Pavilion for EXPO'58, held in Brussels. Pavilion portrayed advanced Socialist Yugoslavia, distancing country from its underdeveloped figure. Vjenceslav Richter's design was one of the most visited, trendy, perceived, seriously studied and inscribed buildings in EXPO'58. Yugoslav government, which was consolidated in a single authority, in pavilion's inner exhibitions, introduced the country as structuring philanthropic decentralized socialism. Location of the pavilion and content of the exhibition were giving political message of independent and new Yugoslav identity. Unattended parts of pavilion were exhibitions inside the building that were displaying

government's reformed socialism. Recently developed and improved model of socialism ensued from Stalin-Tito conflict, was concretized in EXPO'58.

The design of the building symbolized the end of '*Socialist Realism*' era in Yugoslav cultural platform. Thenceforth in the beginning of the 1950s, art and architecture of Yugoslavia, by Western World was comprehended as a manifestation of Tito's break from Soviet Block. Richter's design contributed to the representation of democratic and sovereign figure that Yugoslavia was aiming to reach. Richter reflected his artistic approach as political devotion and contemplated socialism as an essential for alteration of our world perception (Kulic, *An Avant-Garde Architecture for an Avant-Garde Socialism: Yugoslavia at EXPO '58*, 2012).

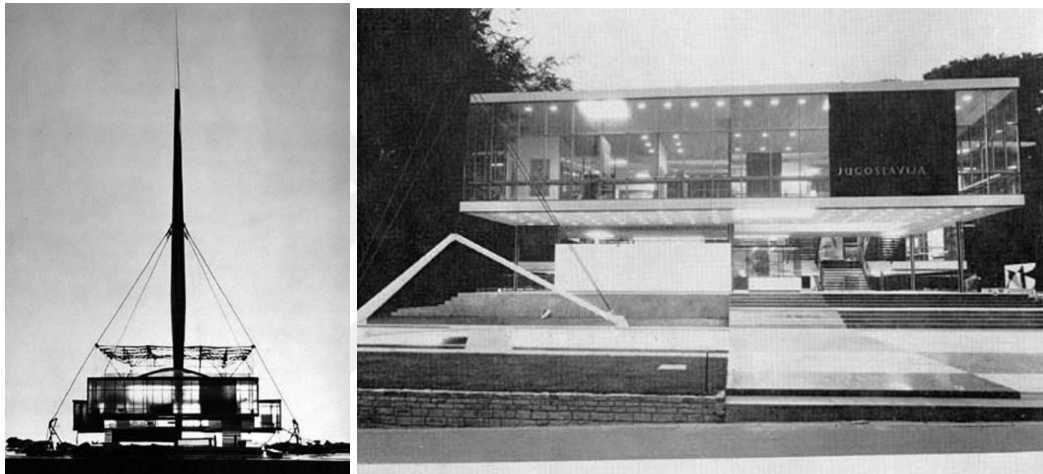


Figure 3.12: The Pavilion of Yugoslavia at EXPO'58, designed by Vjenceslav Richter, 1956. From left to right: model of design which gained first prize in the second round of the competition; the constructed form of a design (Kulic, 2012).

The 10th Conference of the 'International Congress of Modern Architecture' (CIAM) held in 1956 Dubrovnik, Croatia, could be taken as a top assembling point of Yugoslav and Western architecture. On the other hand Le Corbusier, Alvar Aalto, Walter Gropius did not attend this conference. Team 10, would be the leading model in architectural manufacture in the subsequent years. One of the most influential architects in Yugoslavia, Radovan Njškic (1920-1987) from Croatia, who went to Netherlands with a scholarship, later would work in Johannes van den Broek's and Jacob Bakema's office and became one of the leaders of Team 10 (Stierli, 2019).



Figure 3.13: CIAM'59: The End of CIAM September 1956. Participants in this Congress were reported to be: Team 10 partner's Jose Codrçh from Spain, Jerzy Soltan from Poland Radovan Niksic from Yugoslavia, Wendell Lovet from USA, Viana de Lima from Portugal and Kenzo Tange from Japan. Team 10 Online (URL 9).

Non-Aligned Movement and its Reflection on Socialist Architecture

The economic relations with the West in architecture were partly manifested with the building of trade complexes all over the country.¹⁸ Yugoslavian international diplomacy experienced radical change after 1948 Tito-Stalin split. Government maintaining communist character stayed away from Cold War with the '*Non-Aligned Movement*' diplomacy. This international policy, which was unequal to Yugoslavia's magnitude, increased country's position in the international platform. '*Non-Aligned Movement*' venture structured the economy in different aspects. Construction industry of Yugoslavia concentrated in Third World Countries. Developing companies of Yugoslavia connected with Indian and Egyptian markets. This diplomatic step encouraged new progresses in Yugoslav domestic politics and economy (Thaler, Mrduljas, & Kulic, 2012).

In the 1960s Africa's seventeen nations declared their independence, which was a favorable time for economical investments. Tito's politics was empathetically towards these nations and offered Yugoslavia's socialist example as a model to these places. 'Energoprojekt' as a constructing company, was engaged in infrastructure projects in Africa. 'Energoprojekt's Architecture and Urbanism Department established in 1971, worked in Nigeria, Kano. Kano's urban plan was shown as a draft for Lagos Trade

¹⁸ One of the architectural examples of this change is '*Boro-Ramiz: Sport, Culture and Trade Complex*' in Prishtina, 1972.

Fair Complex. As globalized construction manufacturing, workers were brought from Pakistan and Bangladesh. Later 'Energo-project' undertook Al Khulafa Street project in Baghdad. Edvard Ravnikar designed the 'Babylon Hotel' in Baghdad. Branko Zezelj pre-stressed skeleton system was exported in Italy, Hungary, Angola, Cuba and the Philippines (Stierli, 2019).

The late 1950s were the years of '*Movement*'s establishment. The time when Yugoslavia was seriously directed towards West and coped to keep friendly relations with Soviet Union, after Stalin's death. In 1955, Khrushchev and Tito restored relations of countries, but repaired bond between Yugoslavia and Soviet Union were not the same as in the 1940s. Danger maintained, Yugoslavian government was intimidated by Soviet's conquest of Hungary in 1956. In September of 1961, in the 'First International Conference' hold in Belgrade, between Nasser president of Egypt, Nehru president of India and Tito, '*Non-Aligned Movement*' was officially instituted (Bora T. , 1995). In the first years '*Movement*', appeared to support objectivity in international diplomacy, however its attitude was neither objectivity nor non-intervention in Cold War problems. The essence of '*Non-Aligned Movement*'s approach was mutual counteraction towards colonialism. Movement's policy was the participation of all governments in international system (Babic, 2013).

The reflection of these political changes in architecture was inevitable. In 1963, Skopje earthquake happened in times when anti-colonialist politics were intense. Earthquake destroyed the whole city, over 1,000 people were dead and over 150,000 people became homeless. United States, Czechoslovakia, Mexico and Soviet Union helped Skopje City to recover from earthquake damages. United States arranged a competition in 1965 for reconstructing Skopje in urban scale. City transformed into an international architectural exposition of different constructions sponsored by both parts of the Iron Curtain. Skopje turned into a display of international association, which was exceeding obstacles of ideology and national preconceptions. Although master plan of Kenzo Tange was not finished, city transformed into an uncompleted 'collage' of modernist architectural designs. Reconstruction plan of Skopje exceeded segmentations of Cold War, stamping the status of '*Non-Aligned*' Yugoslavia in new diplomatic order. Yugoslavia via '*Non-Aligned Movement*' entered into Third World market, unlocking channels of construction industry and architectural bureaus to contribute in dissemination of modernism in decolonized countries. In 1964, Yugoslav international

bank regulations with recently decolonized countries were achieving 360 million dollars. Yugoslavia through 'Non-Aligned Movement' would be independent and opened to both sides of Iron Curtain (Mrduljas & Kulic, 2012).

Croatian architect Ernst Weissmann who had worked in 1920 in Le Corbusier's office, later established the Croatian CIAM group, could be seen as a person that symbolizes the integration of Yugoslavia to the international architectural tribune. Following the postwar years Wiessmann was employed by UN Secretariat Department of Economic and Social Affairs, a status that could help him to canalize the international interests and assets in Yugoslavia, particularly for rebuilding and reconstruction of Skopje after the 1963 earthquake. In 1965, Wiessmann advanced in Chair of International Consulting Team where he assembled an international competition for the rebuilding Skopje founded by Yugoslav Government and the UN. Eight international architectural groups were invited in the competition, the winner was the Japanese architect Kenzo Tange. If the urban project of Kenzo Tange was completely implemented Skopje would now be a concrete example of the 'Metabolist' idea in an urban plate.¹⁹



Figure 3.14: Kenzo Tange, Skopje Reconstruction Plan, 1965. From left to right: Urban Plan of Skopje's City Center; Kenzo Tange Team in the front of Competition model (Lozanovksa, 2012).

¹⁹ Metabolism movement after the 'World Design Conference 1960' advanced communications with Western prominent architects that attended conference such as Peter and Alison Smithson from Britain, Louis Khan from USA and Jean Prouve from France. Maki, attended 'Team 10 Conference' in 1960 in Europe. According to a book section, 'The Origin and The History of The Metabolist Movement', of "Metabolism in Architecture", book published in 1977, Kurokawa participated in 1962 Conference of Team 10 in Royaumont and 1966 Team 10 conference in Urbino. In the meantime, in 1961 and 1962, members of a movement made an increasing number of applied attempts including prefabricated houses which created greater awareness of the potentials and paradoxes of 'Metabolist Movement' methodology.

Even though Japanese architect's master plan was applied to a limited extent, it brought out a numerous buildings of architects from both the East and the West. US came with a different helping program, instead of sponsoring building international designs, it gave a chance to seven local students to study in American universities with scholarship. Georgi Konstantinovski, a student of Paul Rudolph at Yale University, did his internship in I.M.Pei Office. Konstantinovski, merits to be mentioned with the quality and quantity of his labor. Konstantinovski in his works merged his knowledge, local technologies for constructing and socialist idea in space designs. Skopje became an example of a mixture of Japanese '*Metabolist Movement*' and American Brutalism. Numerous architects from Yugoslavia studied and worked in the west such as: Svetlana Kana Radevic²⁰ (1937-2000), Louis Khan was her professor in Pennsylvania University and later worked for Kisho Kurokawa underlining the relations of Yugoslavia with intellectual achievements of architecture (Stierli, 2019).

Skopje's reconstruction after an earthquake in 1963 was a screen of a peace between countries. After the participation of UN in reconstructing the city, field became a practical display of a modernism with international urban planners and architects. Some of the projects done in Skopje while it was reconstructing were: Georgi Konstantinovski, '*City Archive*' in 1970; Jerzy Morzynski, Eugeniusz Wierzbicki, Waclaw Klyszevski, from Poland contributed in building '*Museum of Contemporary Arts*' in 1970. From the time when the 'First Conference of Non-Aligned Members' gathered together in Belgrade in 1961, Yugoslavia insured an important international political platform, which was manifested with important international political, cultural and sport events. It reached its peak point with '*Winter Olympic Games*' in Sarajevo, in 1984. Olympic Games as an international event, were the main economic and cultural domains. These facilities required designing new buildings and creating conditions for Olympic atmosphere. Boris Magas designed, '*Poljud Stadium*', in Split in 1976-79 for Mediterranean Games. Stojan Maksimovic, designed '*Congress Center Sava*' and '*Belgrade Intercontinental Hotel*' in 1976-79, in New Belgrade.

²⁰ Svetlana Kana Radevic, as a first woman architect from Montenegro, graduated from Faculty of Architecture and The Art History in Belgrade. She gained the master degree at university of Pennsylvania under mentorship of Luis Khan. For her educational career she went to Japan. She won prizes such as: 'Borba Award' for 'Hotel Podgorica' in 1967 and award for Liberation of Trinaestojulska and Podgorica Awards. In 1994 she was selected a foreign member of the Russian Academy of Architecture and Construction.

DOM office with Zivorad Jankovic, Halid Muhasilovic and Srecko Epsek designed a multi-purpose *'Sport Hall Gripe'* in Split in the 1970s and the 1980s. *'Boro-Ramiz: Sport, Culture and Trade Complex'* in Prishtina 1972-1978, Cultural and Sports Center *'Skenderija'* in Sarajevo in the 1970s. Lidumil Alikalfic, Dusan Dapa, designed *'Zetra Sports Hall'* in Sarajevo 1984, Ivan Straus designed *'Holiday Inn'* Hotel, and 1983 in Sarajevo for Winter Olympic Games and Marijan Hrzic, Ivan Pitesa and Berislav Serbetic designed *'Cibona Center'* in Zagreb for University Games in 1987 (Kulic, *Architecture and Ideology in Socialist Yugoslavia*, 2012).

Categorization of Modernism in Yugoslavia

Yugoslav federation was made of different nationalities and new states were getting the chance for their freedom after a long time. Nations were structuring their major cities, administrative buildings, hospitals, libraries and universities. Representation of all component identities was another challenge that Yugoslav Federation had to face. Socialist Yugoslavia adopted spectrum of modernization as a representational rhetoric. Each Republic required different answers to the question of modernization. Solution to a diversity of customs from modern to traditional requested heterogeneity of modernization from metropolitan to regional (Kulic, *Architecture and Ideology in Socialist Yugoslavia*, 2012).

In *'Architecture and Ideology in Socialist Yugoslavia'* article by Vladimir Kulic, are given some categorized examples that appoint cosmopolitan modernism and modernist regionalism. *'People's Assembly'* of Bosnia and Herzegovina, in Sarajevo sketched in 1955 and designed in 1970s by Juraj Neidhardt, design is a projection of a modernist attempt influenced by Ottoman and vernacular architecture, as a synopsis of Bosnian traditional specification. Jose Plecnik, designed a building for *'Slovenian Parliament'* competition in 1947, building was never built but it's image was printed on the lineament of Slovenian 10 cent. This design is the most identifiable representative of cosmopolite modernization of Slovenian architecture. Edvard Ravinkar, designed a *'Revolution Square'* in Ljubljana in 1961-74, 1975-81. *'Revolution Square'* is in the center of Ljubljana where Plecnik students, Edvard Ravinkar and Vinko Glanz projected their Central Europe influences.²¹ Kulic in his article, *'Architecture and Ideology in Socialist Yugoslavia'*, categorizes this square as cosmopolitan modernism.

²¹ Otto Wagner and Gottfried Semper architecture teaching heritages of Plecnik's students.

Regional modernist example in Macedonia's capital city Skopje is a design by Boris Cipan,²² in 1970. This building imputes traditional bay windows,²³ (supported balconies) as a reference to the Macedonian identity.

Ivo Kurtovic's design in Belgrade, '*National Library of Serbia*' in 1965-73 refers to a traditional Serbian elements that monumentalizes regional configurations. Titograd,²⁴ after war devastation, it had to be reconstructed. City was an example of modernist method. One of the administrative buildings as an example of modernist approach is Radosav Zekovic's design, '*Building of Social and Political Organizations of Montenegro*' built in 1978. Another example to cosmopolitan modernism is the design of Marijan Hrzic, Zvonimir Krznaric, Davor Mance, Velimir Neidhart, '*National and University Library*' in Zagreb, built during 1978-95. Building of a national library was a concrete step towards a metropolitan city whose trajectory was extending from historical part of the Zagreb City.



Figure 3.15: Cosmopolitan Modernism and International Style's Representations in Slovenia. From left to right: Joze Plecnik, '*Slovenian Parliament*' 1947; Edvard Ravinkar, '*Revolution Square*' Ljubljana 1960-74. The Museum of Modern Art, Digital Gallery, New York (URL 10).

Andrija Mutnjakovic's '*National and University Library of Kosova*' in Prishtina 1971-1982, building is categorized as a regional modernist architecture. Its cubical magnitudes and domes refer to religious, Ottoman and Byzantine elements (Kulic, *Architecture and Ideology in Socialist Yugoslavia*, 2012). In an interview of Iva Ivas with Andrija Mutnjakovic given for a book '*Kosovo Modern, an Architectural*

²² Macedonian Academic of Science and Art in Skopje.

²³ In Turkish 'Cumba'.

²⁴ Now known as Podgorica, capital city of Montenegro.

Primer', architect appoints that he had applied modernist rhetoric in regional architecture. Also in the project description, Mutnjakovic says that he used domes and cubes as a Byzantine and Ottoman motives analogical to 'Haghia Sophia' in Istanbul. The facade of united hexagonal shapes from aluminum, are reference to '*mushrabiya*' derived from Islamic architecture (Mutnjakovic, National Library, 2015). The building with ninety-nine domes and cubical volumes is a technological interpretation of religious buildings. Mutnjakovic, who was in the circles of neo-avant-garde movement in Zagreb with this design built a bridge that connects vernacular and contemporary architecture, modern present and transhistorical past (Sadiki, 2019).

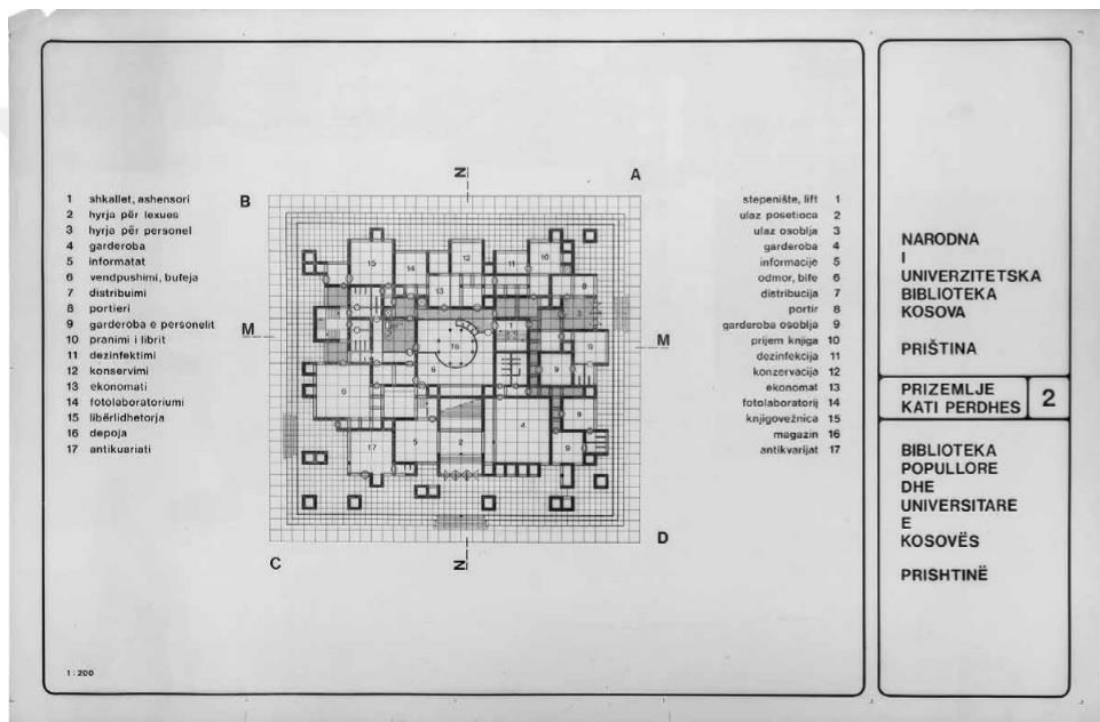


Figure 3.16: National and University Library of Kosova by Andrija Munjakovic 1972 (Sadiki, 2019).

The Case in Kosova

Relations of Albania and Yugoslavia were directly reflecting in Yugoslavia's politics towards Kosova. In the time when Enver Hoxha declared it's loyalty to Stalin, economy in Kosova marked downturn during the years of 1949, 1951 and 1953. In Kosova's Albanian's perspective, the 1950s and the 1960s were the hardest times of Tito's regime. There was an ethnic unbalance: according to demographic register of 1953, Serbians and Montenegrins were forming 27% of Kosova's population. However Serbians and Montenegrins constituted 50% of the Communist Party members, 68% of employees in institutions and leading positions and 50% of workers in factories. Industry was slowly developing, after 1957 budget of Federal Yugoslavia

started to invest in industrializing Kosova. The investments were channelized mainly in electric centrals, mines and basic chemical industry. This industry required serious capitals but not labor force. This was misfortune for a place with highest rate of population growth. Comparing to other constituent republics, Kosova was the most underdeveloped place (Malcolm, 2011).

As Noel Malcolm argues in his book, “*Kosovo: A Short History*”, the socio-economic problems in Kosova were accompanied with comedown of Kosova’s ‘*autonomous*’ status in 1963 Constitution of Federal Yugoslavia. Kosova was named ‘Province’, but lost its constitutional status in Federal platform and was represented by Constitution of Serbian Republic. In 1966 situation changed with the discharge of Aleksander Rankovic,²⁵ who was blamed for serial politic failures. Serbian hegemony in Yugoslav politics was slightly diminished. The difference now was that autonomous Kosova and Vojvodina were included in decentralized politics of Tito. In 1967, Tito visited Kosova where he talked about ethnic unbalance and Albanian rights. In 1968, the revision of Constitution of 1963 was debated. In the end of 1968 important amendments were approved. 7th amendment, by which ‘Kosova-Metohia’²⁶ name was simplified to ‘Kosova’ and 18th amendment by which autonomous provinces would have the same socio-politic rights as other constituent republics of Federal Yugoslavia. With these amendments, Republic of Montenegro gains the status of republic with 370 thousand Montenegrins. However, in the case of Kosova 1 million and 200 thousand Albanians who wanted Kosova to become a ‘Republic’ was not enough.

Between 1961 and 1962, Communist Albania lost its status as Soviet Union’s ideological ally, leader Enver Hoxha, was giving the signals that he intended reconciliation with Yugoslavia. The equilibrium of relations in the international platform had changed, Tito together with Third World Countries were establishing ‘*Non-Aligned Movement*’. Soviet Union invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, forced Tito to connect with anti-Soviet countries in Balkans. These ally affected Kosova and in 1969 important decisions were made. Tirana-Belgrade transport agreement was approved; a group of faculties that already existed in Kosova as a branch of Belgrade

²⁵ Serbian politician, Minister of Internal Affairs, who had followed anti- Albanian politics.

²⁶ Metohija derives from Greek word that means a place owned by Serbian Orthodox monasteries. Naming the west part of Kosova, ‘Metohija’ was upsetting Albanians since the plateau of Dukagjini originally was named from Albanian Dukagjini family. Dukagjini family was one of the most important Christian feudal families in medieval Albania.

University were extended and the independence of Prishtina University was authorized.

Architectural Education in Kosova

According to Mehdi Raci's interviewed by Ilir Gjinolli for '*Kosovo Modern, an Architectural Primer*' book, architectural section in Prishtina University was instituted with the initiative of Nexhat Orana, Dean of Technical Faculty of Prishtina University together with Mehdi Raci, Bashkim Fehmiu, Skender Hasimja, Suade Mekuli, Momir Vuciq. On 17 October 1978, Yugoslav commission of Education demanded the chairman of Kosova Presidency, Xhavit Nimani to establish architectural department in Technical Faculty of Prishtina University. Assembly approved this demand on 25 October of 1978. Recently established architectural department of Prishtina University was composed of different architectural currencies both in education and projecting. Sarajevo trajectory was functionalist with regional features verse Skopje flow was modernist affected by Japanese Metabolism after Kenzo Tange's involvement in reconstruction of Skopje City, after the earthquake in 1963. Urbanism in Prishtina University was influenced by Modernist Urbanism flow developed in Belgrade University with Professor Bashkim Fehmiu²⁷ as the admirer of Yugoslavian Modernist Urbanism.

In the article of Ilir Gjinolli, '*Is There a Kosovar School of Architecture*', it is stated that, with the change of political amendments of 1974 Constitution, Kosova became an autonomous place inside Yugoslav Federation. Subsequently, Prishtina University that was functioning as a part of Belgrade University became independent and established its own architectural department on 25 October of 1978. Administration of Architecture Faculty of Belgrade University and Kosova Assembly President Dusko Ristic,²⁸ opposed formation of architectural department in autonomous Kosova, with the argument that urbanism and architecture are only for republics, since the characteristic of these professions are state forming. In consequence of Belgrade University's protest against the establishment of Architecture Department in Prishtina University, in the beginning of first semester, teaching staff could not be provided.

²⁷ Albanian Architect and Critic, studied Architecture in Belgrade University, later worked as a professor of Urbanism in Prishtina University.

²⁸ Serbian politician in Kosova.

Only a professor of 'Basic Design' from Belgrade, managed to come without the authorization of Belgrade University.

Later, the agreement of Architecture Department of Prishtina University with Urbanism and Architecture Faculty of Sarajevo University, in 1979, opened a circulation corridor between Architectural Faculty of Sarajevo University academic staff and Prishtina University Architectural Department. After the arrangement between Sarajevo and Prishtina Universities, Serbian Professors in Prishtina University commented this act as an aspiration to bring Muslim professors from Sarajevo to Prishtina. In fact most of the professors that came from Sarajevo were with Serbian origin and had a high reputation in former Yugoslavia such as Zivorad Jankovic and Branko Bulic. However subsequently, pacts with University of Belgrade and Skopje were signed.

The program of Prishtina architecture section was the combination of major architecture university programs of Yugoslavia. In the first ten years of its beginning, lecturers were coming from Sarajevo, Zagreb, Skopje and Belgrade Universities. Main lecturers came with their own assistants or were assisted from local architects that were graduated in universities of Yugoslav Republics. This model was considered as a kind of experiment in which architects all around Yugoslavia brought their visions in Prishtina and broke all the barriers of tradition and culture widening spectrum of modernism.²⁹ In 1985 first graduated generation from Architecture Department of Prishtina University continued their post diploma studies in Zagreb, Sarajevo, and Belgrade Universities and were engaged as assistants in Prishtina University. Program structure of Architecture Section in UP³⁰ was organized with the division of five main chairs. The Chair of Geometry and Freehand Drawing, Chair of Building Construction, Chair of Architectural Design, Chair of History of Architecture and History of Art and the Chair of Urbanism and Spatial Planning. The Chair of Geometry and Freehand Drawing, The Chair of Building Constructions was led by Suade Mekuli

²⁹According to a citation of Slobodan Maldini from *Enciklopedija Arhitekture* (2013), in article of Ilir Gjinolli, *Is There a Kosovar School of Architecture*, "Kosovo Modern, an Architectural Primer," (Prishtina: National Gallery of Kosova, 2015) pp.64-79, p.67.

³⁰ University of Prishtina

and Mehdi Rraci³¹ with the assistance of Xhelal Llonqari³², Masar Dushi and Albert Zhubi. These were the only chairs that were led by local architects.

Professors from abroad were giving intensive lectures two days per month. The Chair of Architectural Design: lecturer of *'Design's Basics I'* was Zivorad Jankovic until 1986, he lectured in Prishtina university for 7 years. *'Designs Basics II'* with Momir Hrisafovic as a lecturer and *'Design of Public Buildings'* with Branko Bulic and Milan Vojnovic. Qemajl Beqiri, graduated from Belgrade University in 1961, assisted professor Zivorad Jankovic. Lulzim Nixha and Sali Spahiu local architects assisted atelier of *'Design of Public Buildings'*. Architectural Department of Prishtina University was composed of different architectural currencies both in education and projecting.

Lectures on History of Architecture were based on Sarajevo University's program. Program was including studies from pre-historic to antic Mesopotamia, ancient Egypt, Greek, Roman, Romanesque, Gothic, Renaissance, Baroque and Rococo, etc. History of Architecture was including different epochs of Europe, Middle East, Ottoman Architecture and European Modern and Contemporary Architecture. Architectural lessons were mainly based on International Style and functionalism outline. Functionalism, ideologically was understood as the reflection of Yugoslavia's Socialist System based on answering sociologic needs in optimal way. Attendance of architects and students of architecture in conferences hold in Universities of consistent republics of Yugoslavia was another opportunity for interactive exchange of architectural knowledge and trends. Architect's that studied in Yugoslav Universities and were influenced by their modernist pioneers, contributed in construction of modern cities in Kosova. Architects³³ involved in the construction of modern institutions in Kosova, were employing their local assistants from the architecture department of UP, so they could directly been trained for technics in architecture and transmit them to new students (Gjinolli, *Is There a Kosovar School of Architecture* , 2015).

³¹ First graduated generation from Architectural Department of Prishtina University.

³² Second graduated generation from Architectural Department of Prishtina University.

³³ Yugoslav Architects and Professors of Architecture in major Yugoslav Architecture Faculties that in the same time were professors in University of Prishtina.

Socialist Modernization in Kosova and its Categorization

Nikola Dobrovic, modernist architect, studied in Prague, before WWII worked in Dubrovnic, after WWII in Belgrade and also he worked as a lecturer in Belgrade University, Architecture Department. Dobrovic drew sketches for radical transformation and modernization of '*Prishtina Center*'. The project was never been implemented but Prishtina Center reflects the radicalness of those sketches. Dobrovic in 1965 designed '*Railway Station*' in Fushe Kosova, Prishtina. This project represents functionalist modernism with its construction methods and materials choices. One interesting part of the project is concrete umbrellas located in the passenger arrival and departure section. Another functionalist modernism's representational project is the '*Assembly Building of Kosova*' built in 1961 in Prishtina on the remains of '*Old Bazaar*', by Juraj Neidhardt (Kabashi, 2015).

Bashkim Fehmiu, was the first Kosovar architect to be Dobrovic's student in Belgrade University. Fehmiu was the director of '*Urban Institute*' in Prishtina. In the late 1970s, he was one of the initiators of establishing the Architectural Department of Technical Faculty of Prishtina University, in which he became the dean. Fehmiu, participated in three important projects in urban scale in Prishtina, one during the 1960s '*Ulpiana Neighborhood*', during the 1970s '*Dardania Neighborhood Triangle*' and '*University Campus*'. These were important intellectual foundations for the modernization of Kosova's architecture. '*Bregu I Diellit*' (Hill of a Sun), projected by Darko Koznjak together with his colleagues from '*Plan Architectural Office*' in 1976, is similar to '*Dardania Neighborhood*' in Prishtina (1972-1978). '*Bregu I Diellit*' is with less density and the heights of buildings are less compared to '*Dardania Neighborhood*' project. Both of the new neighborhoods are indicators of Prishtina's growth with their decentralized locations (Mutnjakovic, *The Dilemmas of Kosovar Architecture*, 2015).

'National and University Library of Kosovo' designed by Andrija Munjtakovic, is an example of 'regional modernist' architecture. The only building from Kosova's architecture that was widely referenced in Udo Kultermann's work, '*Contemporary Yugoslav Architecture*'; Vladimir Kulic's works as: "*Unfinished Modernizations: Between Utopia and Pragmatism*", (2012) and '*East West or Both, Foreign Perceptions of Architecture in Socialist Yugoslavia*', (2009); also in the catalogue of Museum of Modern Art New York, '*Toward a Concrete Utopia: Architecture in*

Yugoslavia 1948-1980, (2019) with the article of Arber Sadiki ‘ *National and University Library in Kosova* ’ (Figure 3.18).



Figure 3.17: New Center's of Prishtina. From up to bottom: ‘*Dardania Neighborhood*’ in Prishtina (1972-1978) projected by Plan Architectural Office with Drazen Jankovic; ‘*Bregu I Diellit*’ (Hill of a Sun), projected by Darko Koznjak together with ‘*Plan Architectural Office*’ in 1976 (Kabashi, 2015).

‘*Rilindja Stamp House*’ designed by Georgi Konstantinovski was the symbol of an authentic understanding of the world trends and projection of Paul Rudolph ecologie in Prishtina. The Yugoslav architect from Skopje went to Yale University with the State Department fellowship during 1965 (Kulic, Appendix: Biographies of Architects, 2009). State Department scholarships to USA were harvests of Yugoslavia’s political shift towards west. In an interview given to Eliza Hoxha and Kujtim Elezi, for a book called ‘*Kosovo Modern an Architectural Primer*’, Georgi Konstantinovski tells his memories for the time he had earned a scholarship for master degree in architectural department of Yale University in USA, while he was engaged in University of Skopje. In 1963, the same year after an earthquake destroyed the city of Skopje, six more students from the Skopje University, won ‘Ford’ scholarship, for further trainings in Berkeley, USA. Whereas Konstantinovski, because of good impressions he left in the interview for master program, and his political attitude,³⁴ was invited by the Foreign

³⁴ Georgi Konstantinovski, was not a member of Communist Party.

Affairs of America into Yale University, where he studied under Paul Rudolph and Serge Chermayeff. After his master degree, Konstantinovski worked as an intern in Yo Ming Pei's office.



Figure 3.18: 'National and University Library of Kosova by Anrija Munjakovic 1972. (Sylejmani, 2018)

Subsequently turning back from America, Konstantinovski worked as an assistant of a famous architect from Belgrade, Jovan Rankovic, and he gave lectures in Prishtina University in 1978. His carrier in Kosova began in 1971 with the design of '*Rilindja Stamp House*'. Design was representing brutalism in the level of world trends. Georgi Konstantinovski and Zivorad Jankovic, were colleges in Prishtina University; their designs in Prishtina were constructed approximately in same years and next to each other (Elezi & Hoxha, 2015). In late 1970s and in the beginning the 1980s the world's economic system was facing with changes. Neoliberalism, an economic system that gripped the West, was rooting in Yugoslavia too. Architectural portrayal of this economic scene was Postmodernism. Market economy's reinforcement and growth of sovereign private company's architectural translation were huge, single and extravagant buildings. The most important buildings of the 1980s were '*Post Office Building*' in 1983, designed by Halid Muhasilovic, Bosnian Architect and co-author of '*Boro-Ramiz*' Sport, Trade and Cultural Complex; '*KEK Building*' by Zoran Zakic Investbiro built in 1984; and '*Ljubljana Bank*' built in the 1980s. Post Office is categorized also as an architectural example influenced by Kenzo Tange's works (Kabashi, 2015).



Figure 3.19: Rilindja Stamp House by Georgi Konstantinovski 1971 (Gjinolli & Kabashi, 2015).

Other important introverted buildings that reflect postmodernism in Kosova are '*Kosovafilm*' by architect Sali Spahiu, built in 1986 and '*Kosova B*' by architects Lulezim Nixha and Buhranidin Sokoli built in 1983 (Kabashi, 2015). '*Boro*' Ramiz: *Sport, Trade and Cultural Complex*', designed by Zivorad Jankovic, Halid Muhasilovic, Srecko Espek, in 1974 which is the landmark of Prishtina and a portrayal of Socialist Federations cultural and economic politics is classified as a straightforward reverberation of '*Metabolist*' megastructures and American Brutalism (Kabashi, 2015). In following chapter design of the building is going to be elaborated in two ways. One as a symbol of inner socialist politics in the context of 'Brotherhood and Unity' and the other as a display of federalist culture politics in the frame of 'Socialist Modernization'.



Figure 3.20: Postmodern building in Prishtina. '*KEK Building*' by Zoran Zakic, (Investbiro) in 1984 (Sylejmani, 2019).



Figure 3.21: Postmodern building in Prishtina. '*Post Office Building*' in 1983, designed by Halid Muhasilovic (Sylejmani,2019).



Figure 3.22: 'Ljubljana Bank' sponsored by Slovenia (Sylejmani, 2017).



Figure 3.23: 'Kosovafilm' by architect Sali Spahiu 1986 (Gjinolli & Kabashi, 2015).

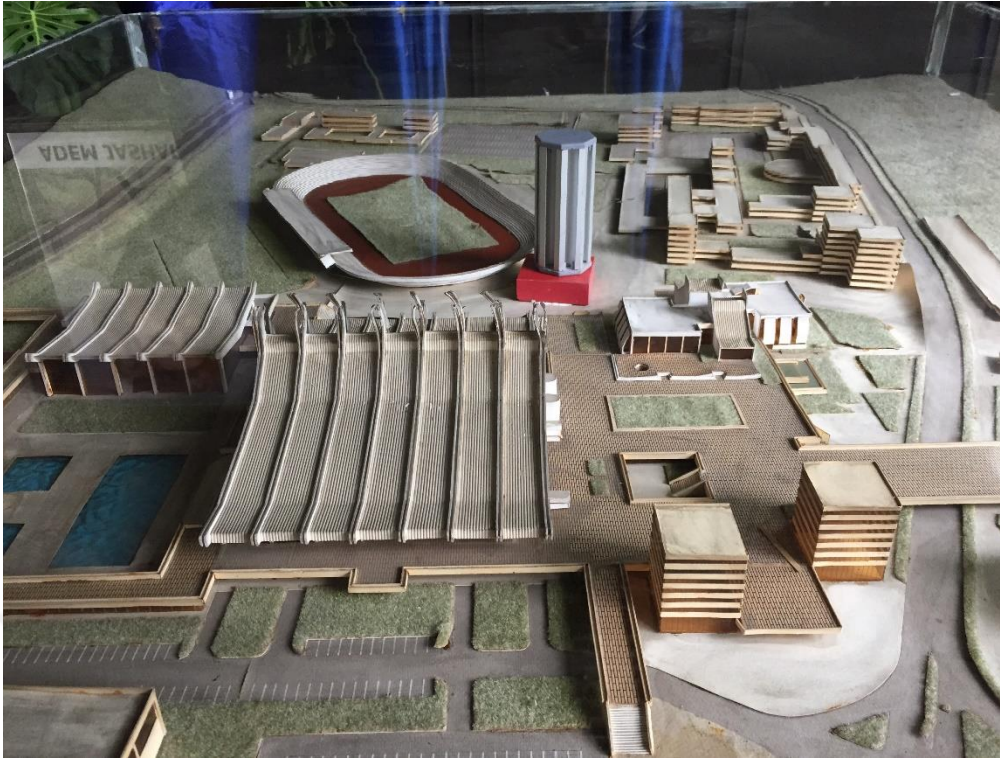


Figure 3.24: DOM Architectural Office, 'Boro-Ramiz:Sport, Culture and Trade Complex' 1974-81 Model, A View from the South. The Archive of 'Boro-Ramiz Complex', (Sylejmani, 2017).



Figure 3.25: DOM Architectural Office, 'Boro-Ramiz:Sport, Culture and Trade Complex' 1974-81 Model, A View from the South-West. The Archive of 'Boro-Ramiz Complex', (Sylejmani, 2017).

4. BORO-RAMIZ: SPORT, CULTURE AND TRADE COMPLEX

4.1 Boro-Ramiz: Sport, Culture and Trade Complex in Prishtina, 1974-81 by DOM architectural Office from Sarajevo

"The unity and brotherhood of the Yugoslavian nations must be preserved as the pupils of the eyes" Josip Broz Tito". (Maliqi, 2014, p. 29) *'Brotherhood and Unity'* was a strong political attitude to gather margin ethnic groups of Yugoslavia, to form and display the strength of country's inner politics in the diplomatic platform of the international arena. This political endeavor was translated and concretized through urban and architectural interventions into cities and landscapes all around Yugoslavia during modernism. In Kosova, these interventions and policies of unity were represented via *'Boro and Ramiz Cult'*. It was the cult of two partisans who were martyrs of the Liberation War against Fascists. Serbian Boro Vukmirovic and Albanian Ramiz Sadiku, who died together in Landovica near Prizren, Kosova 1941, for a common intent. Streets, schools, institutions established during the modernization of the society and the city after WWII, were named after *'Boro-Ramiz'* (Maliqi, 2014). Also a design for the Sport, Culture and Trade Complex built during the late 1970s and the early 1980s in Prishtina, by DOM Architectural Office from Sarajevo was named after *'Boro-Ramiz'*, with the purpose of promoting the objective of *'Brotherhood and Unity'* among Albanians and Serbians. Symbolism of this building was avowedly notified and re-explicated amid the community (Jerliu & Navakazi, 2018).



Figure 4.1: 'Boro-Ramiz: Sport, Culture and Trade Complex's Logo as a Representative of 'Brotherhood and Unity'. 'Boro-Ramiz Complex' Archive.

'Boro-Ramiz' Complex was architecturally translated as an expression of an abstract ideology based on the iconic representation of Yugoslav heroes and unified national and socialist identity of the country. Two main volumes constructed of two sets of pylons are analogy of Boro and Ramiz unity, verse the repetitive structure of pylons are analogy of six republics and two autonomous places of Yugoslav Federation. Considering the time of construction between 1974 and 1981, the building may be seen as a representative of political amendments of 1974 Constitution, in which Kosova advanced from a province to an autonomous place of Federation (Llonqari, 21.12.2017).



Figure 4.2: Boro-Ramiz Sport, Culture and Trade Complex. View from the West. Repetitive Sets of Pylons as a Representative of Six Constitutive Republics and Two Autonomous Provinces of Federal Yugoslavia. Hidden Architecture (URL11). Colored by (Sylejmani, 2019).

In 1974, six architectural offices were invited to a competition for the design of the Spor, Trade and Cultural Complex, called '*Boro-Ramiz*' in Prishtina. Although two of the six architectural offices draw back from competition, five proposals were delivered. The Institute of Architectural Faculty of Skopje submitted two different proposals. On November of 1974, the jury decided to give the award of the first prize to DOM from Sarajevo. The members of the office were Zivorad Jankovic, Halid

Muhasilovic and Srecko Espek. DOM was invited to implement the application project too. As it follows in the statement: “*Jury including eleven members, unanimously decided to give the award of the first prize and 80.000 dinar to ‘Researches and Design Institute DOM’, 04.11.1974.*” (Gjinolli, 2015, p. 149)

Design of ‘*Boro-Ramiz*’ Complex by DOM Architectural Office, shows similarities to ‘*Metabolist*’s objective of mega structures. This information was given in a sentence in the article of Florina Jerliu, Vlora Navakazi published in 2018, ‘*The Socialist Modernization of Prishtina: Interrogating Types of Urban and Architectural Contributions to the City*’ p.70; and article of Lulzim Kabashi, ‘*Tracing an Article about Kosovar Architecture 1981*’ in a book published in 2015 ‘*Kosovo Modern, an Architectural Primer*’, p.47. During the 1970s ‘*Metabolist Movement*’ was proverbial to Yugoslav architects via Skopje’s reconstruction plan after the 1963’s earthquake, ‘*World Design Conference*’ in 1960 held in Tokyo, Team 10, and through architectural competitions organized for the designs in Third World Countries. The most influential work among ‘*Metabolists*’ for ‘*Boro-Ramiz*’ Complex’s project design may be Kisho Kurokawa’s model for Tanzania Headquarters. Kurokawa was a student of Kenzo Tange and a member of ‘*Metabolist Movement*’. He was also a serious participant of Team 10 Conferences at that time. As a member of the ‘*Metabolist Movement*’ he was also engaged with international architectural competitions, where he won the first prize for the design of ‘*Headquarters*’ building in Dar Es Salaam in Tanzania, built in 1972 (Kurokawa, 1977).

According to Vlora Navakazi, Florina Jerliu and Lulzim Kabashi, ‘*Boro-Ramiz: Sport, Culture and Trade Complex*’ is considered as an inspiration of ‘*Metabolist*’s mega structure architectural attitude and American Brutalism, whereas according to Ilir Gjinolli who has referenced Ivan Straus, the complex is categorized as ‘*functionalist modernist*’ because of its plan organization and materials used in the design.

In the interview with Xhelal Llonqari³⁵, an architect that worked in the final phase of ‘*Boro-Ramiz: Complex*’s application project, tells that once he asked Professor Zivorad Jankovic about the similarities of ‘*TANU Headquarters*’ design in Tanzania by Kisho Kurokawa and ‘*Boro-Ramiz: Complex*’. Jankovic answered “*In earth two*

³⁵ Student of Zivorad Jankovic in Prishtina University, now a Professor of Construction’s in Prishtina University Architecture Faculty.

buildings can have similarities and be completely different from each other.” (Llonqari, 21.12.2017) According to Llonqari, design of the complex is important in terms of the choice of materials and its beam-truss carrier system. Materials used in this project are steel, glass and wood.

‘Boro-Ramiz: Sport, Culture and Trade Complex’ in Prishtina, is also considered as a ‘functional modernist’ architecture. The building’s architectural expression, dimensions of spaces, volume and materials are all organized in service of sport and cultural events and it’s functions (Straus, 1991). Complex consists functions such as: *‘Universal Hall’* (later used as a skate rink),³⁶ *‘Sport Saloon’*, *‘Closed and Opened Swimming Pools’* and *‘Sport Courts’*, *‘Concert Hall’*, *‘Exhibition Saloons’*, *‘Library and Shops for Trade’*. Circulation of these different services are separated from each other. A steel truss system is used in ceiling to enclose the *‘Universal Hall’* and the *‘Sports Hall’* areas (Figure: 4.3). Roof that is covered with cooper plating is supported by two Ferro-concrete pylons and beam-truss system, whereas Trade Seciton’s ceiling is supported by reinforced concrete beam and column system. Conversely, another material used in the building is glass which lightens the structure and welcomes public with its transparent appearance. The mass of the complex is in harmony with the *‘Stamp House Rilindja’* in it’s south and *‘Hotel Grand’*, *‘Republic’* (*‘Zahir Pajaziti’*) Square, in the east. Complex’s design quality is equivalent to *‘Skenderija’* project in Sarajevo, designed by the same architects, that won *‘Borba’* national award in 1970 for the best architectural design in Yugoslavia. Winning the competition for *‘Skenderija: Sports, Culture and Trade Complex’* opened the path for several following successes to Jankovic with different collaborations such as Gripe in Slipt for *‘Mediterranean Games’* in 1979 and *‘Sport and Cultural Complex’* Vojvodina in Novi Sad, for Table Tennis World Championship in 1982 and *‘Boro-Ramiz Complex’* in Prishtina (Gjinolli, 2015).

According to Ivan Straus book, *‘Arhitektura Jugoslavije 1945-1990’*, construction of *‘Boro-Ramiz: Sport, Culture and Trade Complex’* by Zivorad Jankovic, Halid Muhasilovic and Srecko Epek, gives a good example in capturing the way how contemporary idea of architecture is giving its first results and contributions to the wealth of Prishtina’s spirit and Kosova in general. During the 1970s and the 1980s

³⁶ According to Oral History of Prishtina Citizens.

urbanism and architecture in Kosova reflected progress of theoretical and practical trends of Yugoslavia within specific socio-political and economic situations of that time.



Figure 4.3: Boro-Ramiz Complex. View from The Universal Hall. Beam-Truss System Used for Covering Huge Areas, (Sylejmani, 2017).

4.2 Zivorad Jankovic and Halid Muhasilovic

Zivorad ‘Zika’ Jankovic (1924-1990) was a Yugoslav architect from Sarajevo. He finished his elementary and high school in Sarajevo. In 1950 he graduated from Belgrade University, Architectural department. Zlokovic, the founder of ‘modern architecture’ in Belgrade was the mentor of Zivorad Jankovic. From 1950 until 1952 he was a lecturer at Sarajevo University Technical Faculty. In 1952, Jankovic together with his colleagues Halid Muhasilovic and Srecko Espek formed “DOM Architectural Office” in Sarajevo (Gjinolli, Zivorad Jankovic, 2015). In 1960 he finished his post-graduation in Scandinavia. The 1963 earthquake in Skopje happened when anti-colonialist politics were intense. United Nations, Czechoslovakia, Mexico and Soviet Union helped Skopje City to recover from earthquake damages (Lozanovksa, 2012). In 1963 with the scholarship provided by USA, Zivorad Jankovic went to Michigan

University to attend architectural courses. In the same years many Yugoslav architects were attending architectural courses in USA (Elezi & Hoxha, 2015).

Zivorad Jankovic, in 1968 was engaged as a professor of *'Design's Basic'* in Sarajevo and in 1981 became the Dean of Architectural Faculty of Sarajevo University. 1979-1987 Jankovic, gave lectures for *'Design's Basics'* subject in Architectural Section of Technical Faculty of Prishtina University too. Zivorad Jankovic lectured in modernist terms. Even today his methods are applied in architectural classes. Lecture of *'Design's Basics'* has been based on typologies of buildings and *'Form follows function'* notion. Teaching of function was as important as the architectural treatment of spaces, compositions, applied materials and colors (Gjinolli, Is There a Kosovar School of Architecture, 2015). The modernist influence of Jankovic in Sarajevo and Prishtina Universities can be related to architect's experiences in Belgrade University, courses in Scandinavia and specialization in Michigan University. Zivorad Jankovic was a contributor to the contemporary Yugoslav architecture. From 1970 until 1972 he was the Chief City Planner for Sarajevo (Straus, 1991).

Z. Jankovic designed four recreational and sport centers that were awarded with prominent prizes in the former Yugoslavia. He was rewarded with the National Award *'Borba'* for the best architectural project in Yugoslavia, for his work together with Halid Muhasilovic, *'Center of Sports and Culture, Skenderia'* in Sarajevo. Other known projects and collaborations of Jankovic are: *'Vojvodina Center'* in Novi Sad together with Branko Bulic and *'Gripe Hall'* in Split. In 1974 Zivorad Jankovic with his colleges Halid Muhasilovic and Srecko Espek won the competition for a social complex with Sport and Youth Center *'Boro-Ramiz'* one of the major buildings in Prishtina. In 1987, he was chosen an associate of the *'Academy of Arts and Sciences'* of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Gjinolli, Zivorad Jankovic, 2015).

Halid Muhasilovic is known for his collaborations with Zivorad Jankovic. In an interview given to Aida Murtic for the ICOMOS Conference in Warsaw, he points that his friendship with Zivorad Jankovic was like Boro and Ramiz known as *'Zika and Halid'*. Reuf Kadic was his professor at the Secondary Technical School. Muhasilovic was a student of Muhammed Kadic and Architectural Historian Hustref Redzic. Kadic Brothers and Redzic were important figures of Yugoslav architecture, and founders of the Architectural Department of Sarajevo University. Muhasilovic stated the importance of his mentors influence on his architectural career. After the war in

Bosnia Muhasilovic moved and continued to work in Bahrain (Murtic, 2018). Among other works, architect had designed 'Post Office' skyscraper in Prishtina built during the 1980s (Kabashi, 2015).

'Center of Sports and Culture, Skenderia' in Sarajevo was their most awarded work, which was designed as a contemporary version of 'Bascarsija' in Sarajevo. Complex's important elements are its structure and materials applied such as : oak, concrete and tavela. This project is an authentic portrayal of its author's experiments on enforcing the concrete carpenters. Jankovic and Muhasilovic had a high degree of professional and cultural knowledge and a clear vision that brutalist megastructures reflect in the context of global modern culture. 'Skenderija', urban project combining three different functions as sport, economy and culture was a progressive and experimental concept that offered a new social and spacial typology (Donia, 2006). After being awarded with 'Borba' they were invited for similar facilities in the other parts of Federal Yugoslavia. "Skenderija' gave breeze in the reflections of other 'Skenderija's in Split, Novi Sad and Prishtina." (Donia, 2006) Prishtina Municipality gave an 'Honor Award' to Zivorad Jankovic for the design of 'Boro-Ramiz' Complex in the 1980s (Krasniqi, 2014). Another member of DOM office and co-author of the 'Boro-Ramiz Complex' is Srecko Epsek. Informations³⁷ for the architect could not be found.

4.3 Boro-Ramiz: Sport, Culture and Trade Complex Project Description

According to a documentary of Abaz Krasniqi, "*Pallati i Rinisë, faktet rreth tij*",³⁸ which displayed old films about 'Boro-Ramiz Complex' and its construction, citizens of Prishtina donated 2% of their monthly salaries for the construction of 'Boro-Ramiz Complex', which reflects socialist economy's organization. This project was made for the athletic and cultural needs of the capital city. 'Boro-Ramiz Complex's surface is 32.440 square meter. It was designed with open air and closed pools and sport halls, hotels, a concert hall and a bridge connecting the complex with the "Grand Hotel" located in the east side of the complex. During the construction phase of the complex open air and enclosed pools, hotels and bridge were not built because of the budget. It consists two main sport halls. The biggest hall is 1450m² with 1800 seats. The first

³⁷ The only information is collaboration with Zivorad Jankovic.

³⁸ '*Pallati i Rinisë, faktet rreth tij*' is an original Albanian title for 'Boro-Ramiz' Sport, Culture and Trade Complex as 'Youth Palace, Facts about It'. published in 2014

floor is for trading 8050m² with 122 stores. The terrace (+4.10m level) that enclosed trade section is used as a public square for entrances to the 'Youth House' and Sport Halls. As a reference we have a site plan of the complex used in the competition of 1974 (Figure 4.4). Project was located in an empty field of the new city center, non-peripheral place of Prishtina City. In city scale, project stands at the point where central square, called '*Republic Square*' now known as '*Zahir Pajaziti Square*' and '*Saobracanjica*' Boulevard, now as '*Luan Haradinaj Street*' axles are cut.

In the north and north west of the complex we see, existing '*Football Stadium*'. In the opposite of the '*Football Stadium*' open air swimming pools and closed '*Olympic Pool*' were located. 500 meters below the axe of closed '*Olympic Swimming Pool*' (towards the south), the huge mass containing '*Universal Hall and Sports Saloon*'. was located. Mass of Halls was withdrawn from '*Stadium*'. Sport, Culture and Trade Functions and entrances are separated from each other. Trade section is an analogy of old bazaars of the Ottoman era. Corridors inside the trade section create urban passages and creates a flow of the breeze and connects the outside with the inside.

Circulation areas for sportsmen and those for spectators are different. Spectator entrances have their foyers at different levels. There are entrances in ground floor in the south and entrances in a second floor that are entered from a platform that encloses the Trade Center, +4.10 m above the ground in the east. Platform is used as an alternative public square too. This platform or public square and platform of the '*Hotel Grand*' in '*Republic Square*' (in the East side of a Complex) were planned to be connected by overpass (footbridge) that was never built because of the budget. Cultural facilities were, located in an independent section which was called '*Youth House*'. House is located at +14.90 m high and was designed in the east-north side of the complex. It had two entrances from different levels. There are two highlighted entrances to '*Youth House*' one on ground level 0.00m in the north and the other one on complexes platform level +4.10 meter in the south of the House (Figure 4.6).

'Youth House's Plan Description'

In the -3.00 basement floor of the '*Youth House*', is located the '*Conference Hall*' with the capacity of 200 people. The entrance to the Conference Hall is provided through the main entrance (the east of the complex) from the 0.00m ground floor and the other entrance is from the north. In the upper +4.10 m level of the '*Youth House*' spaces for

cultural facilities such as; Concert Hall called '*The Red Saloon*' and '*Exhibition Saloon*' are located. The entrance to the '*Red Saloon*' is provided through the public square in the same level (Figure: 4.5 and Figure: 4.6). In the +7.70 level and +11.30 level, classes and the '*Library*' that form the educational section are located. Corridors of these facilities connect these functions through galleries. They can be adapted to the exhibition saloons or ateliers. From 2000 until 2018 first floor of the '*Youth House*' was used by a private business '*American School of Kosova*'. There is a watch tower attached to the north-east of the '*Youth House*'. In the south-east of a '*Universal Hall*' mass, the hotels are placed. In the south-west of the complex, is found the '*Stamp House, Rilindja*'. In the axe of '*Rilindja*', '*Open Sports Courts*' are placed.

Complex is a combination of three different functions and displays an experimental concept that offered a new spatial and social typology. After the 1999 War '*Boro-Ramiz Complex*' is not frequently used as before and is not in a good conditions. '*Trade*' section requires maintenance and repair, '*Sport Saloons*' too. Since it was under a private administration '*Youth House*' is in a better condition. On 25 February 2000, '*Universal Hall*' and its roof was completely burned because of bad use of the depots beneath it (Koha, 13 September 2018). UFORK foundation reconstructed the burned roof but not the '*Universal Hall*'. Hall's roof and structure was burned on 25 February 2000. Roof was poorly restored, on the other hand nothing was done for the damaged structure. The big sport hall now is used as a parking plot (see. Figure 4.3).

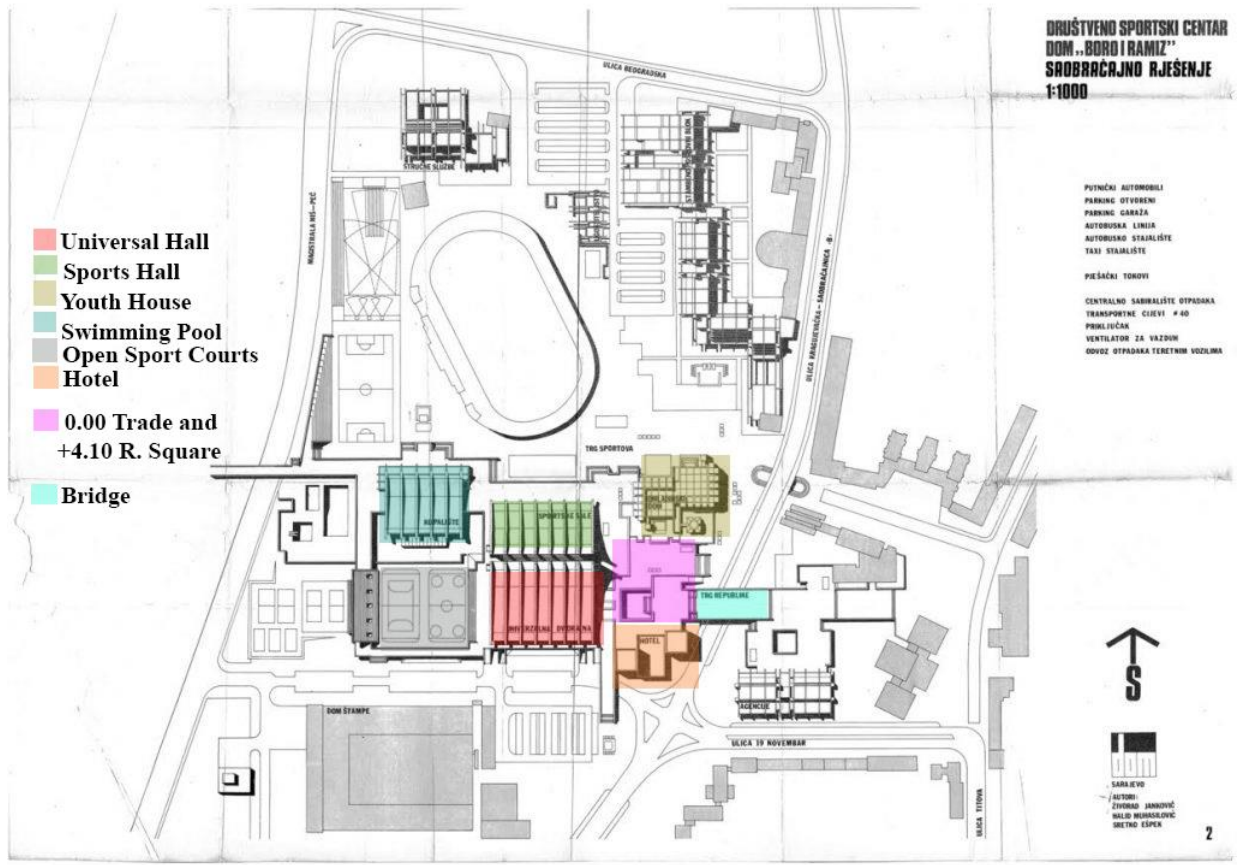


Figure 4.4: 'Boro-Ramiz Complex' 1:1000, Site Plan. 'Boro-Ramiz Complex' Archive. Colored by (Sylejmani, 2019).

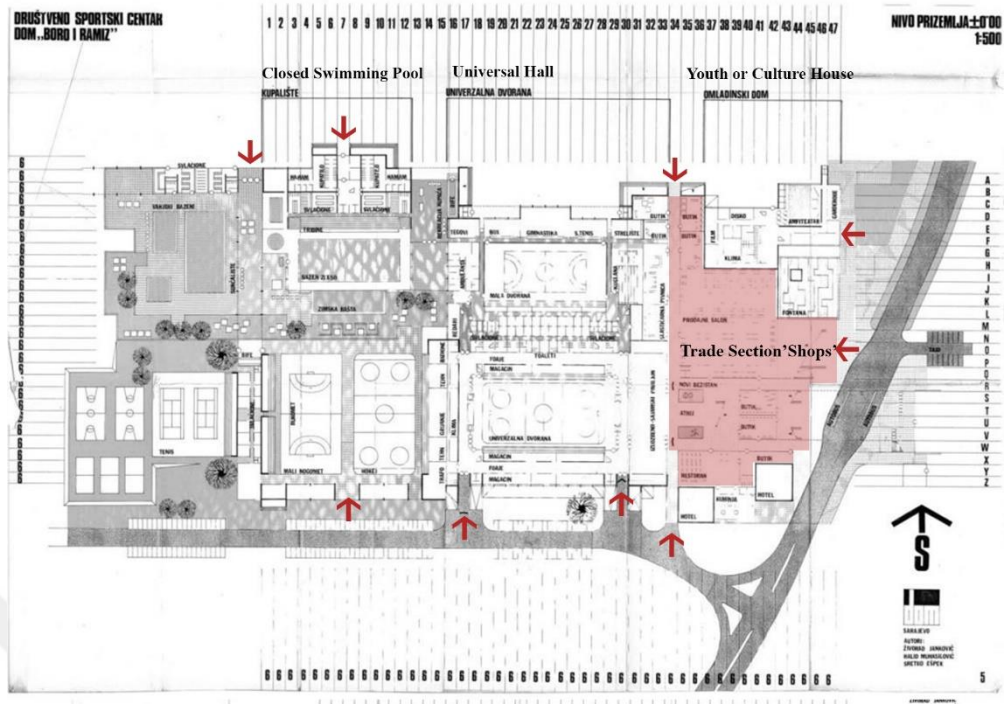


Figure 4.5: 'Boro-Ramiz Complex', 1:500, 0.00 Level Plan. Closed Swimming Pool and Open Air Sport Courts as Unfinished Parts of a Project. 'Universal Hall' 'Youth or Culture House', Trade Section' or Shops and Entrances. 'Boro-Ramiz Complex' Archive. Colored by (Sylejmani, 2019).

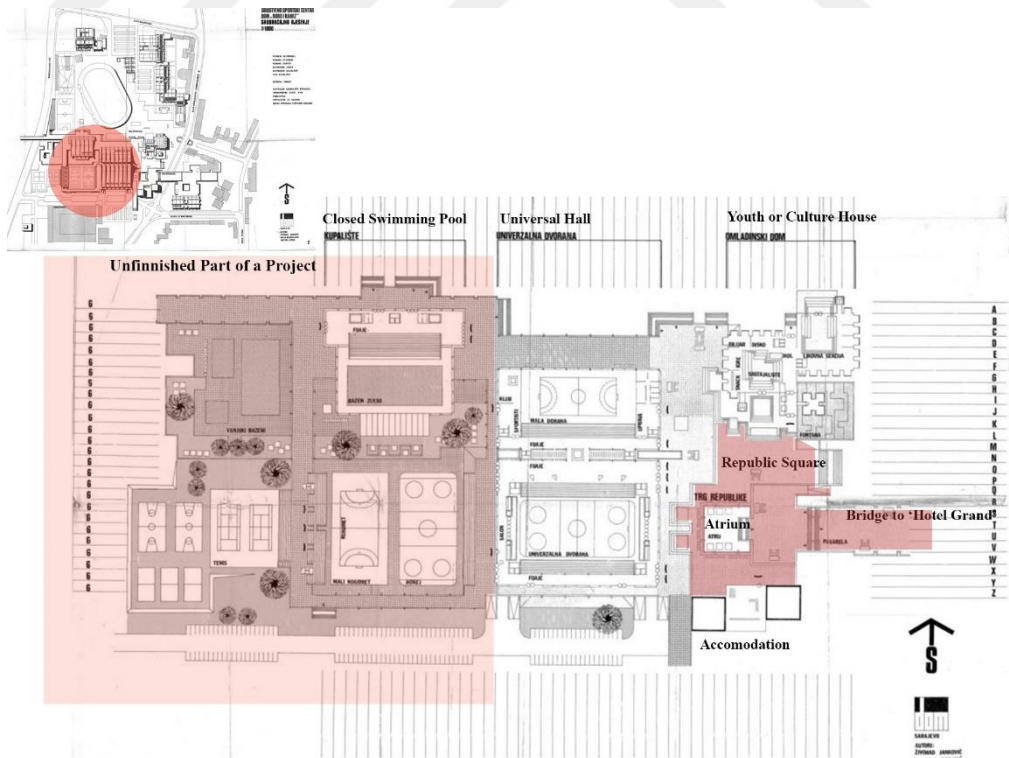


Figure 4.6: 'Boro-Ramiz Complex', 1:500, +4.10 Level Plan. Closed Swimming Pool and Open Air Sport Courts as Unfinished Parts of a Project. 'Universal Hall' 'Youth or Culture House', 'Republic Square' or Platform and Connecting Bridge. 'Boro-Ramiz Complex' Archive. Colored by (Sylejmani, 2019).

'Boro-Ramiz Complex's Universal Hall Floor and Section Plans

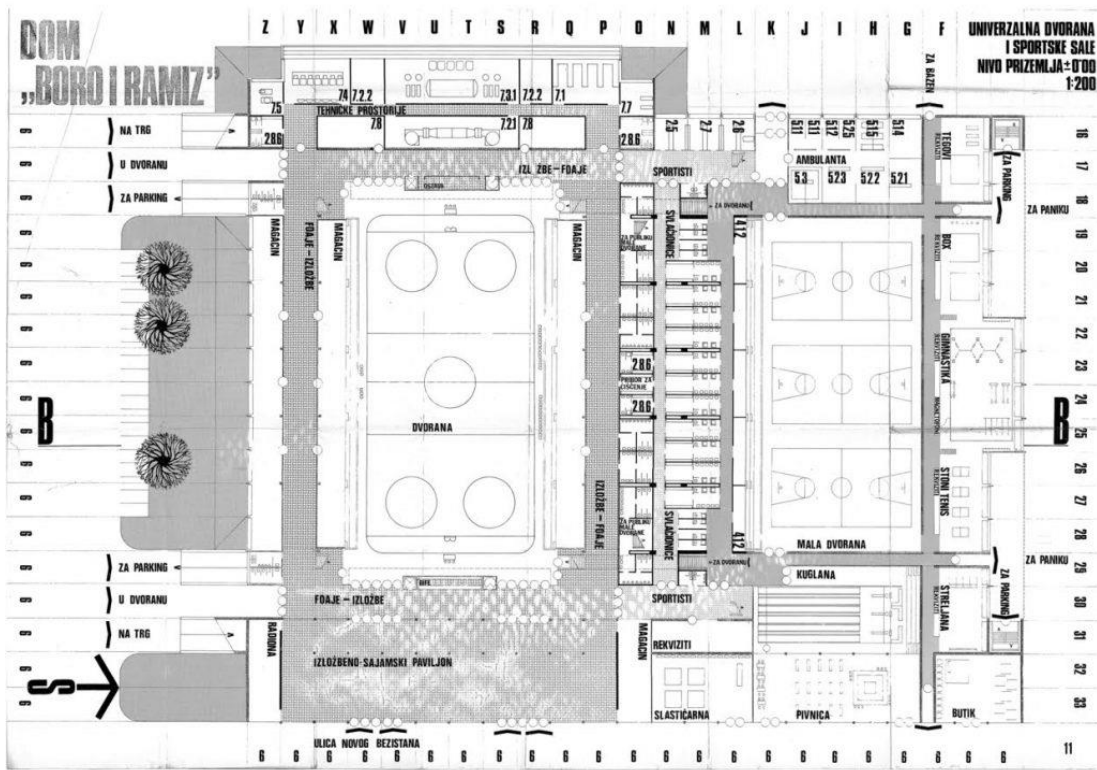


Figure 4.7: 'Boro-Ramiz Complex', 1:200, 0.00 Level Plan of 'Universal Hall'. 'Boro-Ramiz Complex' Archive.

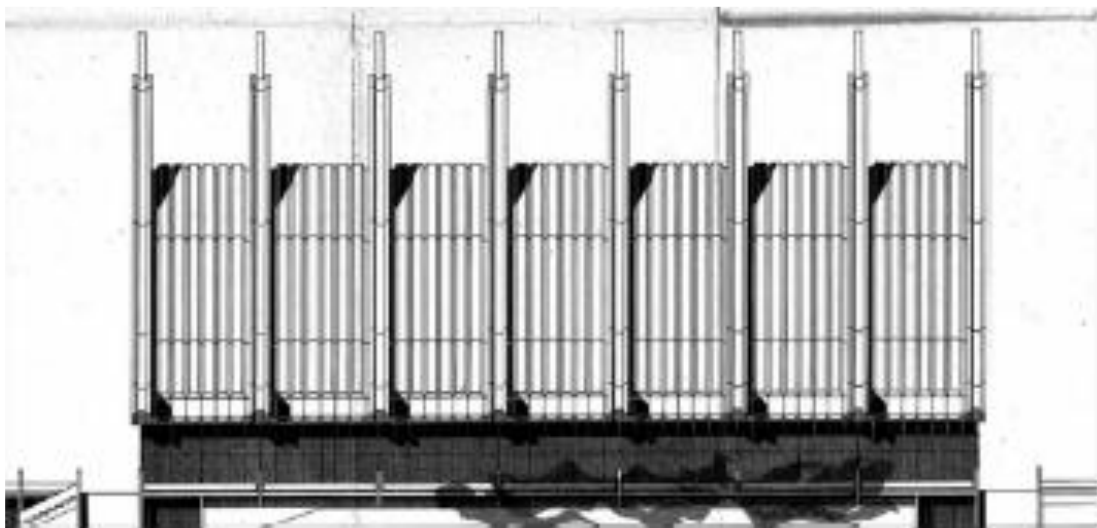


Figure 4.8: 'Boro-Ramiz Complex', 1:200 Southern Façade Plan of 'Universal Hall'. (Gjinolli, 2015)

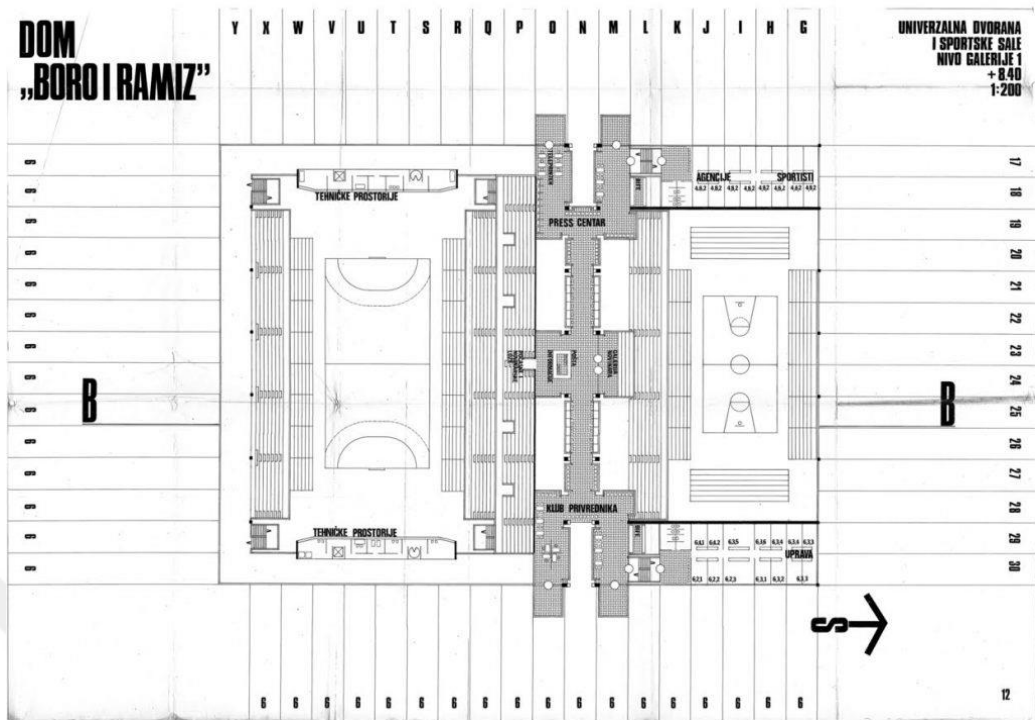


Figure 4.9: 'Boro-Ramiz Complex', 1:200, +8.40 Level Plan of 'Universal Hall'. 'Boro-Ramiz Complex' Archive.

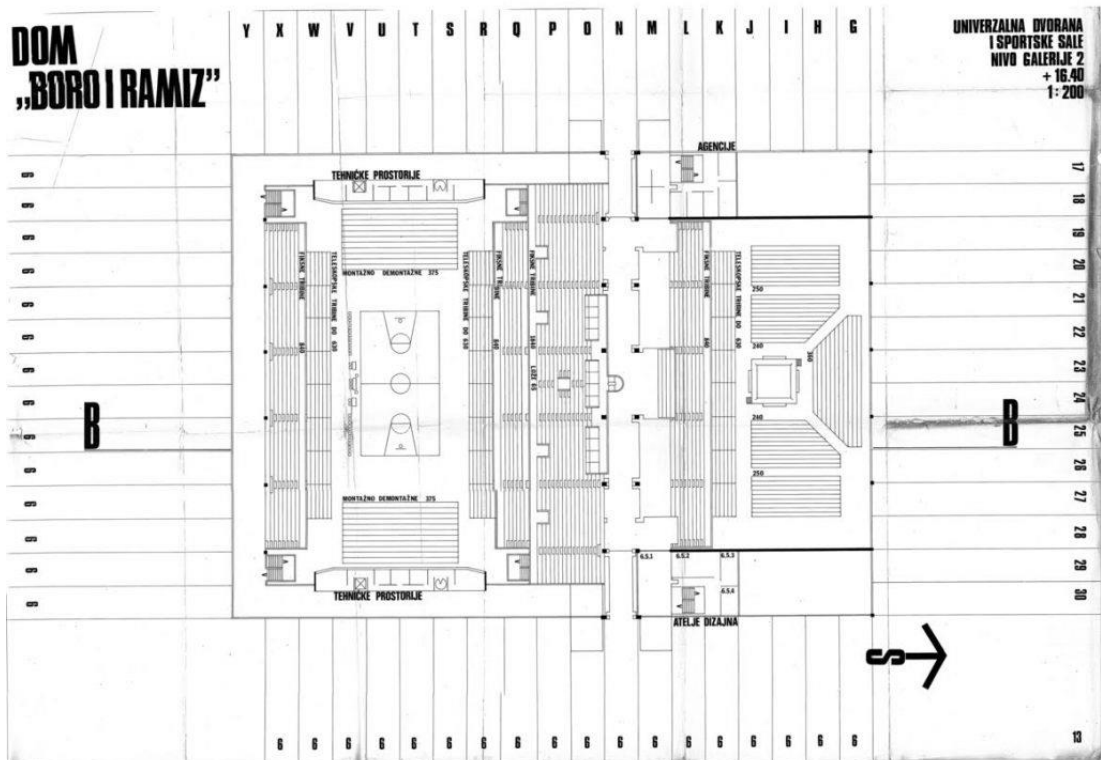


Figure 4.10: 'Boro-Ramiz Complex', 1:200, +16.40 Level Plan of 'Universal Hall'. 'Boro-Ramiz Complex' Archive.

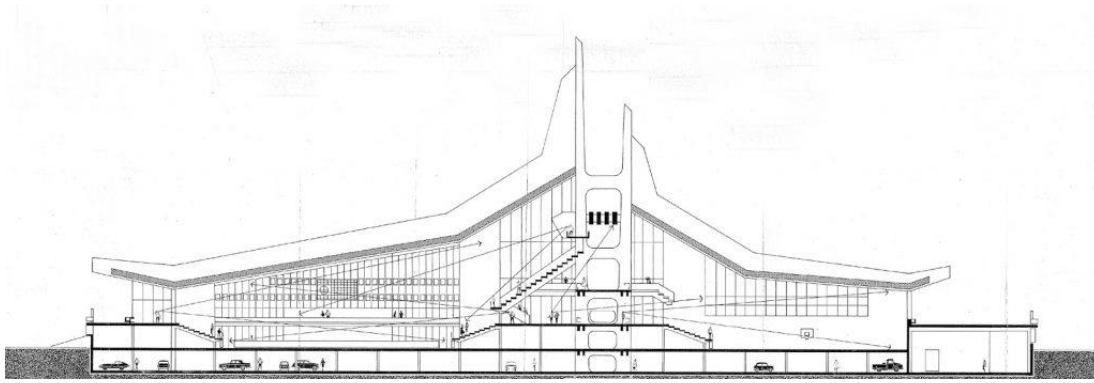


Figure 4.11: 'Boro-Ramiz Complex', 'Universal Hall', 1:200 B-B Section. 'Boro-Ramiz Complex' Archive.

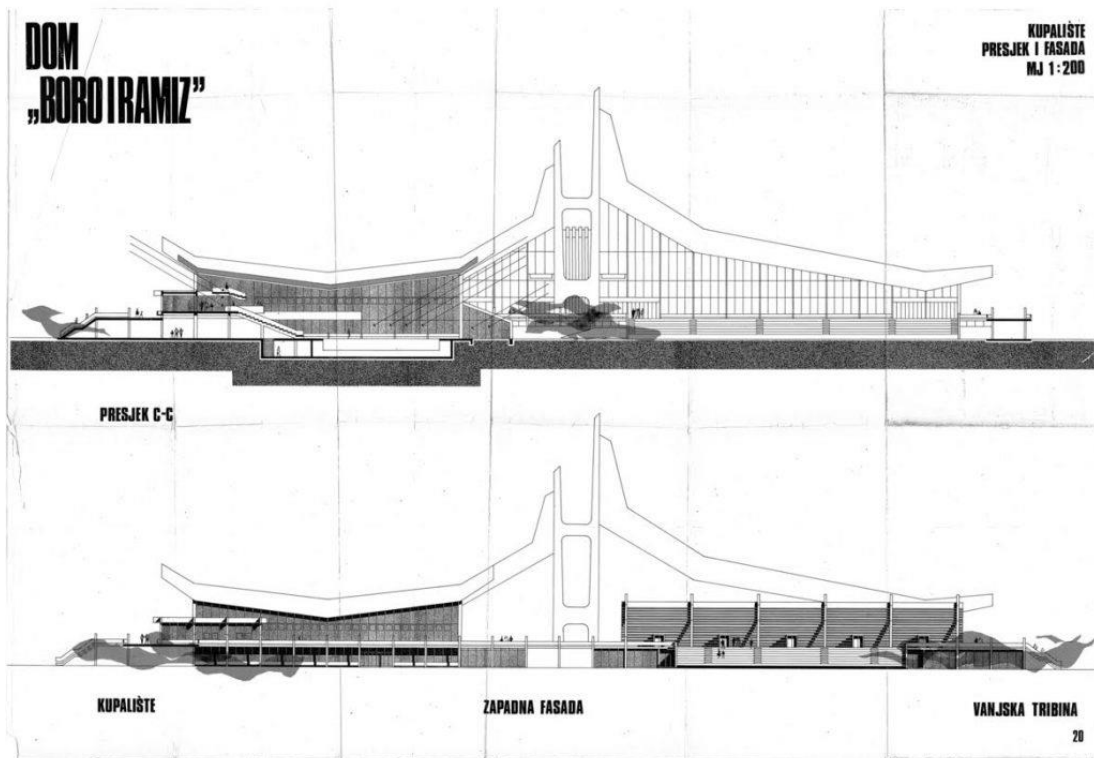


Figure 4.12: 'Boro-Ramiz Complex', 'Universal Hall'. From Top to Bottom: 1:200 C-C Section of 'Swimming Pool', the Western Facade; 1:200 'External Forum', The Western Facade. 'Boro-Ramiz Complex' Archive.

'Youth House' Plans

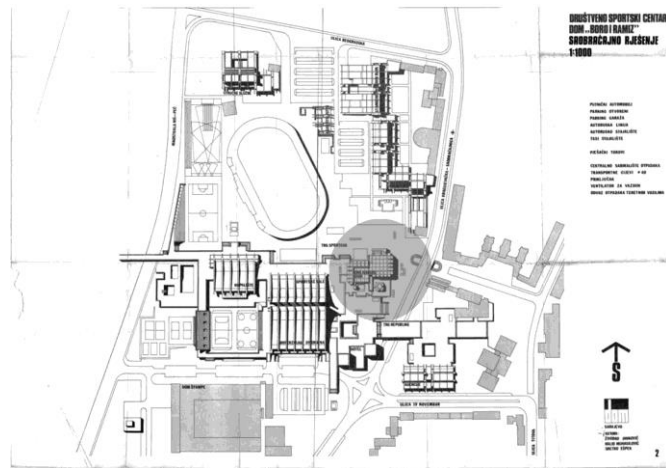


Figure 4.13: 'Boro-Ramiz Complex' 1:1000 Site Plan. Location of the 'Youth House'. 'Boro-Ramiz Complex' Archive.

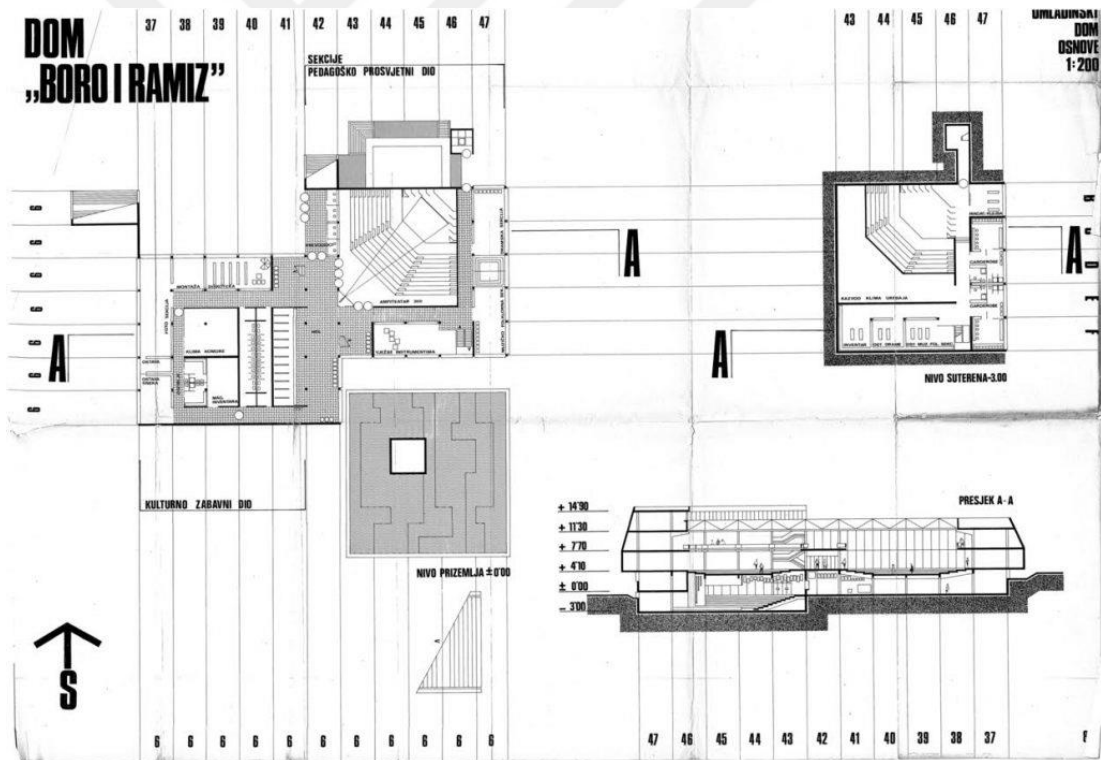


Figure 4.14: 'Boro-Ramiz Complex', The 'Youth House'. 1:200, -3.00 Basement Level Plan; 1:200, 0.00 Level Plan; 1:200, A-A Section Plan. 'Boro-Ramiz Complex' Archive.

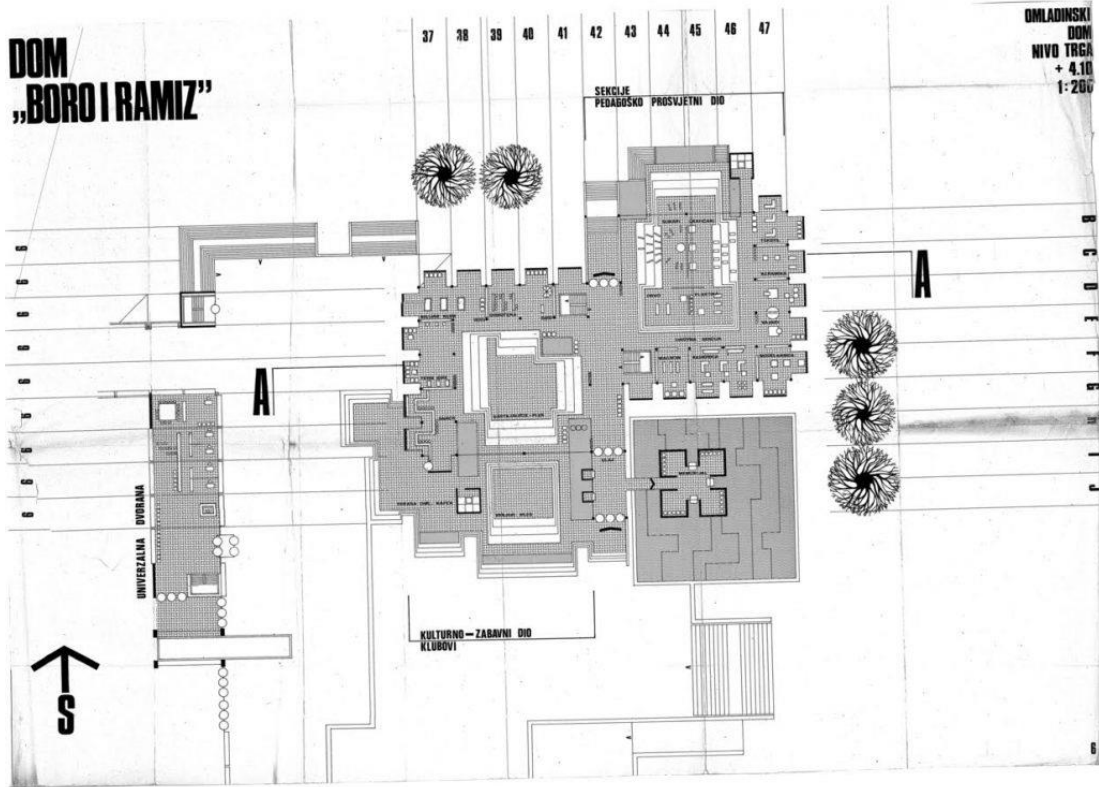


Figure 4.15: 'Boro-Ramiz Complex', The 'Youth House'. 1:200, +4.10 Level Plan. 'Boro-Ramiz Complex' Archive.

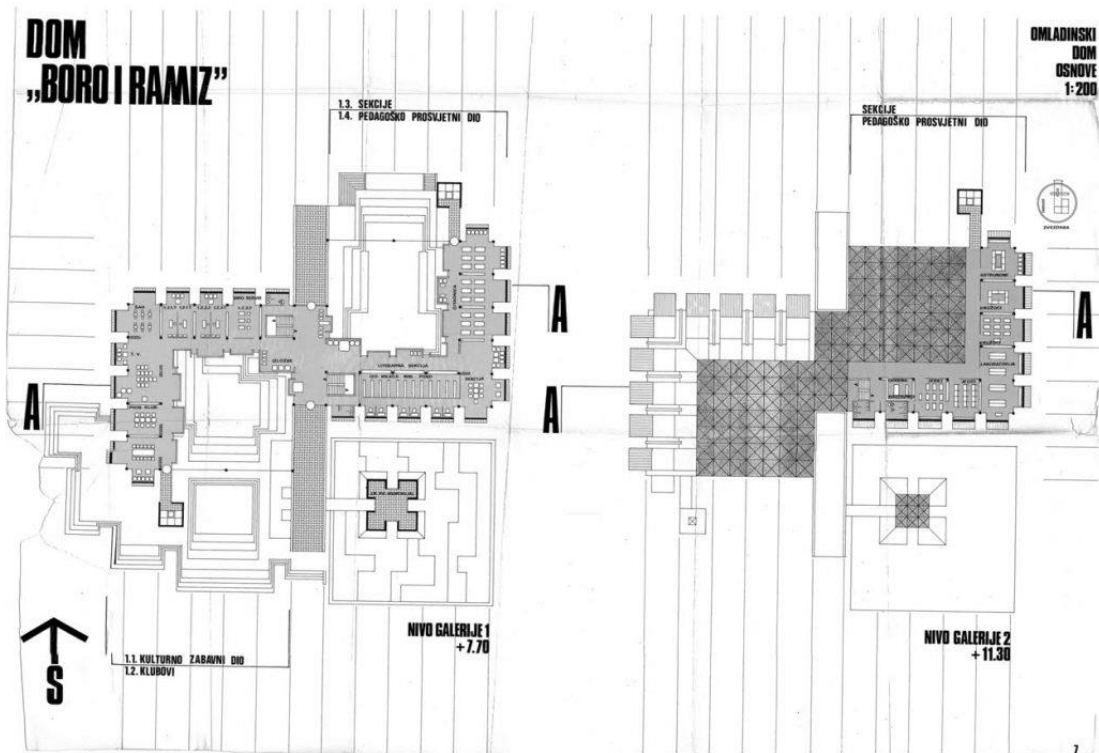


Figure 4.16: 'Boro-Ramiz Complex', The 'Youth House'. 1:200, +4.10 Level Plan. 'Boro-Ramiz Complex' Archive.

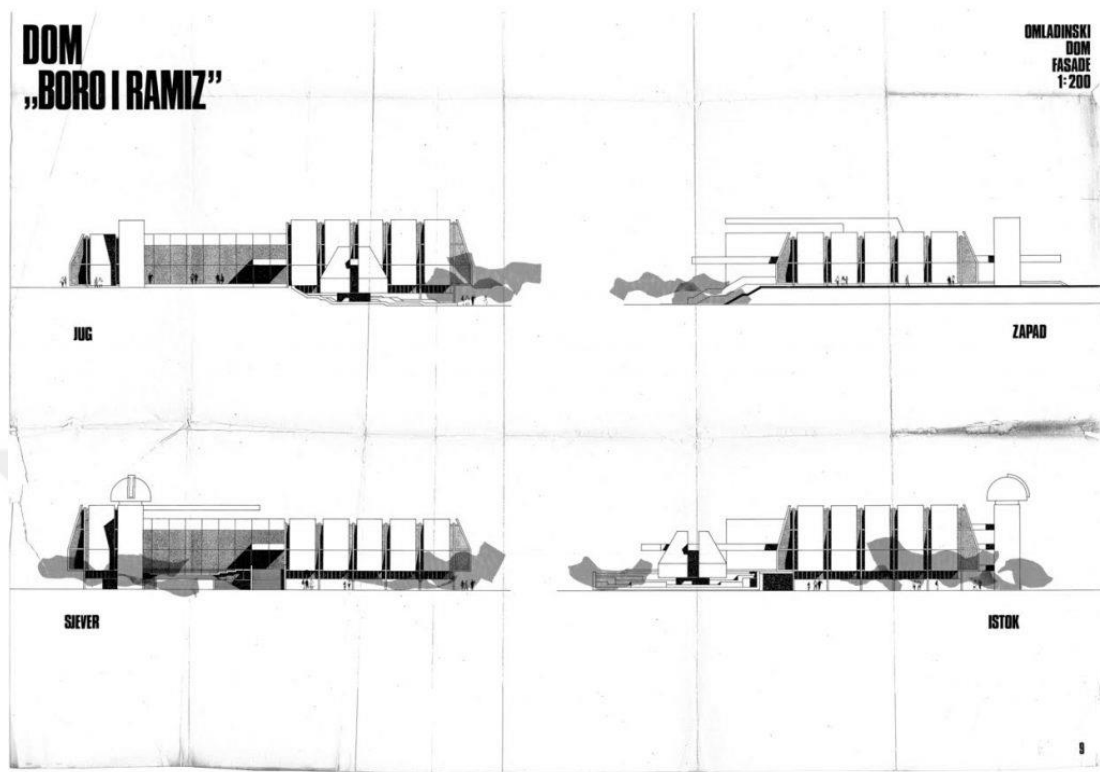


Figure 4.17: ‘Boro-Ramiz Complex’, The ‘Youth House’. 1:200, Facade Plans. From left to right: The Southern Facade; The Western Facade; The Northern Facade; The Eastern Facade. ‘Boro-Ramiz Complex’ Archive.

4.4 Comparison of the Projects: ‘TANU Headquarters’ in Tanzania by Kisho Kurokawa, Built in 1972 and ‘Boro-Ramiz Sport, Culture and Trade Complex’ in Prishtina, Built in 1974 by DOM Architectural Office

As noted in the introduction part, another important issue that deserves to be mentioned is the influence of Kisho Kurokawa’s megastructure on the structure, form and the plan organization of the ‘Boro-Ramiz Complex’. The comparison of ‘Boro-Ramiz Complex’ with ‘TANU Headquarters’ was not found in the literature. For that reason in this part, these two projects were compared through their plan and model descriptions. The comparison was based on the project description written in ‘*Metabolism in Architecture*’ book by Kisho Kurokawa, and ‘Boro-Ramiz’ project description based on ‘*Kosovo Modern, an Architectural Primer*’ by Ilir Gjinolli and Lulzim Kabashi and an interview with Xhelal Llonqari, an architect who worked on

the final phase of 'Boro-Ramiz' Complex's applicative project. In the third chapter of the book called 'Metabolism in Architecture', Kurokawa, under the 'Architecture of the Street' section categorized his own projects that have similar characteristics or evolved from each other. In this categorization two other projects that showed similarities with 'Boro-Ramiz' Sport, Trade and Cultural Complex by DOM architecture group are found. One is 'Hans Christian Andersen Memorial Museum', designed in 1965 and the other is 'Club House' in Guam Island, USA 1973.

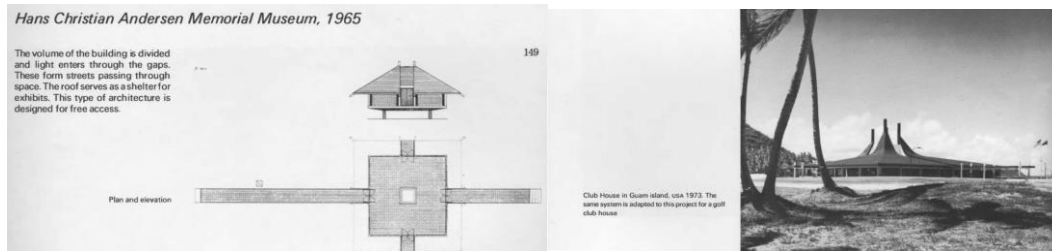


Figure 4.18: Kisho Kurokawa, Hans Christian Memorial Museum, 1965. From left to right: Ground and Front Facade Plans; Club House in Guam Island, USA 1973, which represents the same aperture system (Kurokawa, 1977).

As highlighted in the description, the magnitude of the building, which was split up so that the light can enter along the aperture. This division creates a circulation corridors designed for free attainment. The roof encloses the exhibition spaces. The idea of volume's division could be adopted in 'Boro-Ramiz' Complex project (Kurokawa, 1977).

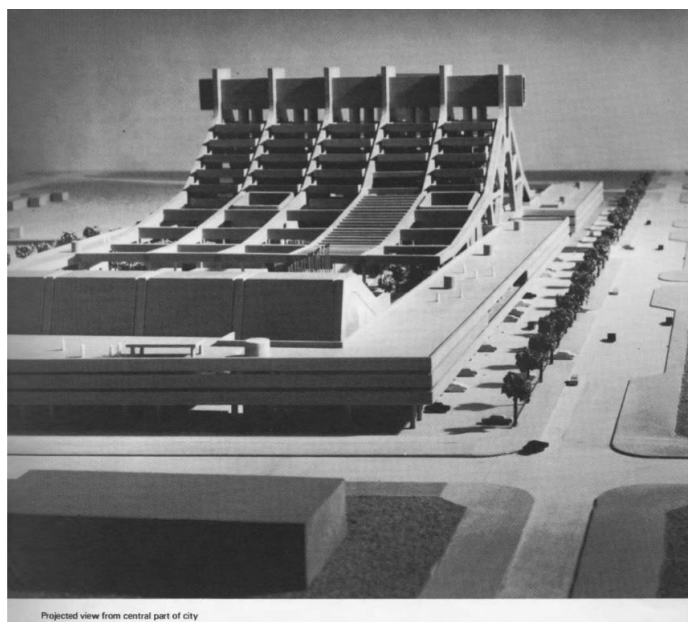


Figure 4.19: TANU Headquarters, in Tanzania 1972 (Kurokawa, 1977).

'The TANU Headquarters Building' in Tanzania, 1972 which originally was designed for Dar Es Salaam, later was transferred to Dodoma a new capital city of Tanzania. Design follows up a circulation system formed by corridors for uniting different functions like *'Party Headquarters'*, *'National Assembly'* and *'Cultural Center'* (Kurokawa, 1977). The same circulation method is used in *'Boro-Ramiz'* Complex (Figure 4.21) and (Figure 4.22). The corridor system in *'TANU Headquarters'* is used for protecting people from African climate verse in *'Boro-Ramiz'* project the corridor system derived from the idea of old bazaars of the Ottoman era, solving the circulation traffic of people and cars using the building. The corridors in *'TANU Headquarters'* design ensure coordinated interconnections between the exterior and interior and split up spaces, analogical to the street architecture (Kurokawa, 1977). The same venture is seen in *'Boro-Ramiz'* Complex too.

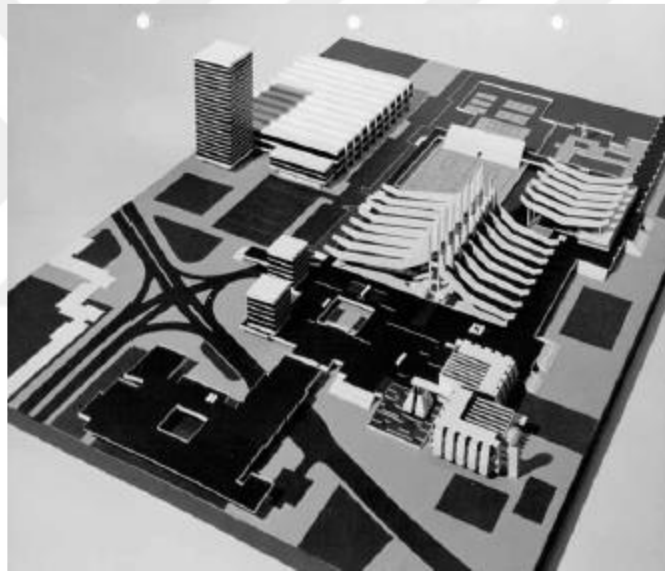


Figure 4.20: *'Boro-Ramiz Complex'*, Model 1976 (Gjinolli & Kabashi, 2015).

The concept of *'TANU Headquarters'* design is based on uplifted urban corridor with the purpose to create shadows and to release the current of air to diffuse into spaces. Uplifted urban corridor encloses the *'Parliament, Hall'* and the *'Museum'* creating a platform for gathering. The view of the platform meets the *'Mnazi Mmoja'* and the *'Independence Monument'*. This platform or urban corridor symbolically merges these functions. The representative idea is unification of functions and extinguishing the distance between government and people (Kurokawa, 1977).

The roof which encloses the offices in upper floors, is structured with grids and has a pyramidal form (Figure 4.19). Reading the model of the roof, we can see that the whole

volume of the design is divided into two sections. The reason of the mass's division may be structural. The form of the roof derives from combined and unified elements of the design in a way to create a landmark for Dar Es Salaam as a representative of Tanzania (Kurokawa, 1977). Kurokawa argues that, the plan organization of the building is divided into two phases. One phase consists '*TANU*' and '*Parliament*' construction and the other phase consists '*Cultural Center*' construction where the urban corridors were thought to be finished in the last phase of the construction.

The elements that are similar with '*Boro-Ramiz*' Complex are circulation corridors, the platform that encloses the functions to create an urban space where people can gather, plan organization of functions such as halls and culture section. The division of mass or volume for structural reasons, and pyramidal form of the roof. The difference may be stated in the symbolic descriptions of buildings. However the aim to represent a landmark of the city through design is a common purpose.

The other important similar element of the two designs are ventilation and air-conditioning system. In '*TANU Headquarters*', beneath the urban hall is a central room called the '*Machine*' where the conditioning system of '*Assambly*', '*Parliament*' and '*Offices*' is controlled, through the aperture of volume's division (Figure 4.22, Section Plan). The same system is used in '*Boro-Ramiz*' Complex, in underground floor is air-conditioning central room that controls '*Offices*' and '*Sport Halls*' through the aperture (Interview with Xhelal Llonqari on Zivorad Jankovic, 21.12.2017). The condensers in '*TANU Headquarters*' building are located in equipment beam on the top of the roof. In '*Boro-Ramiz*' Complex, equipment beam is located in-between the main pylons, on the top of the roof in the aperture of the volume (Figure 4.21: Section Plan). Vertical tube shafts are located in these pylons which carry air in both projects. '*Cultural Centers*' have a separate air-conditioning systems in both projects.

The spaces in '*TANU Headquarters*' without air-condition are designed to be ventilated with natural breeze, through the grids of the roof (Figure 4.21) whereas in '*Boro-Ramiz*' the natural ventilation is provided through gallery spaces used as gardens in the '*Trade*' section and the '*Culture*' section (Interview with Xhelal Llonqari on Zivorad Jankovic, 21.12.2017). The difference between projects are material choices accept ferroconcrete. '*TANU Headquarters*' is built with reinforced concrete patterned on site. In '*Boro-Ramiz*' Complex reinforced concrete, steel, glass and wood

are used. Roof of the complex, is carried through truss system which encloses all the interior.

Through these analyzes, it can be concluded that 'Boro-Ramiz' Complex shows similarity to 'TANU Headquarters', with the main structural system, circulation system, air- conditioning system, and urban corridor idea, organization of functions inter-spaces, form of the roof, except that in 'Boro-Ramiz' Complex it encloses the interior, verse in 'TANU Headquarters' roof was designed with grid system and was left open because of the weather contitions. The difference may be stated aforementioned materials used in the project and truss-system too.

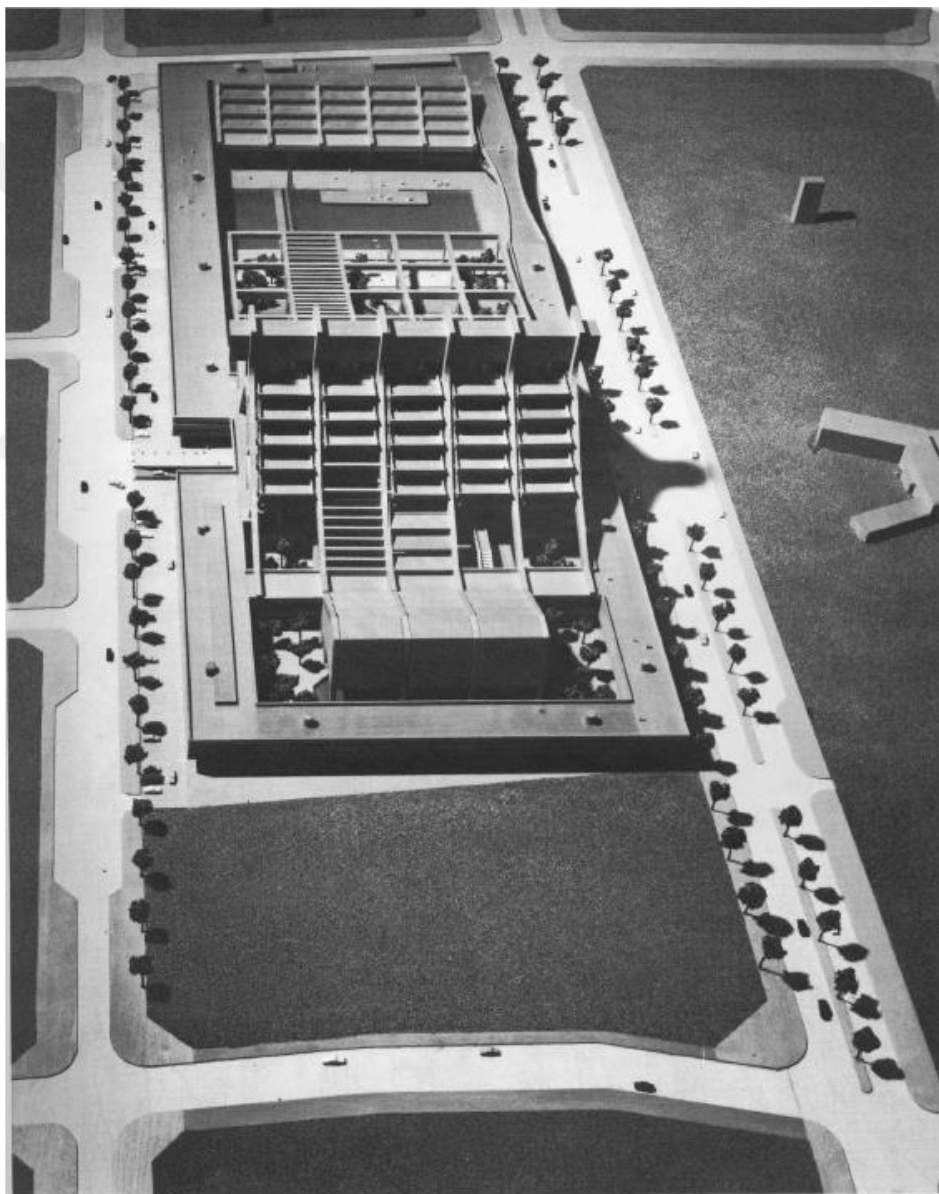


Figure 4.21: TANU Headquarters, in Tanzania 1972 (Kurokawa, 1977).

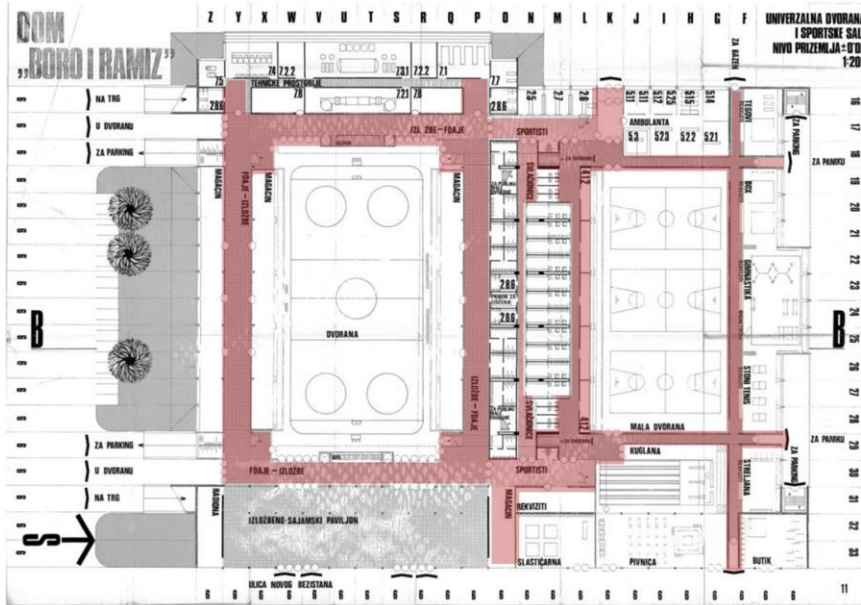
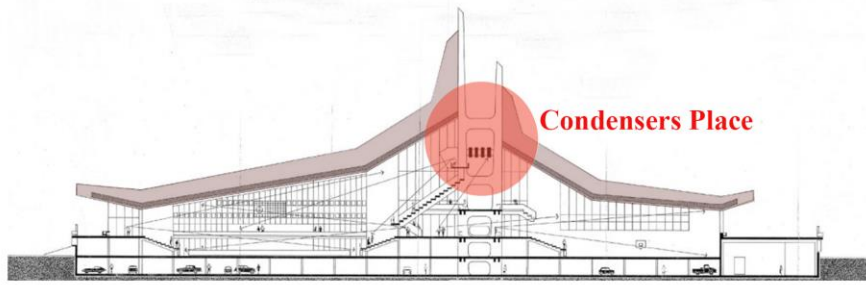


Figure 4.22: 'Boro-Ramiz Complex' 0.00 Floor Plan of 'Universal Hall' and Section B-B. Urban Corridor. 'Boro-Ramiz Complex' Archive. Colored by (Sylejmani, 2019).

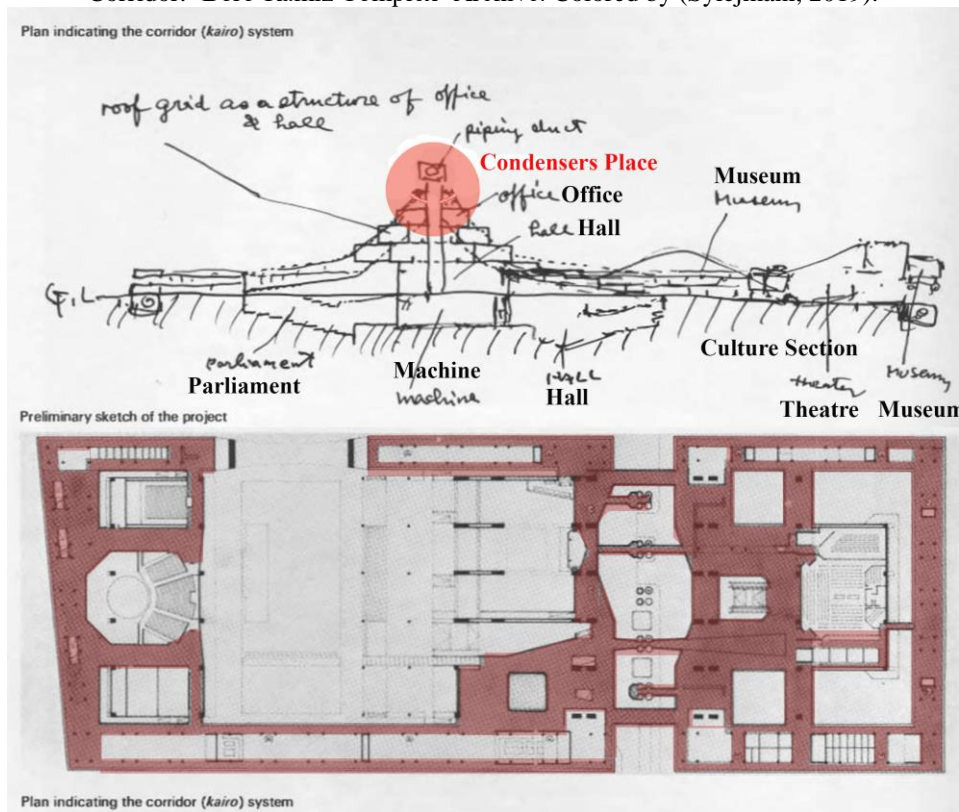


Figure 4.23: TANU Headquarters Plan and Section Sketch. Urban Corridor (Kurokawa, 1977). Colored by (Sylejmani, 2019).

5. CONCLUSION

The obscurity of Yugoslavia's historic, politic, economic and cultural scene composed a perimeter that was skeptical to discuss, nevertheless substantial enough to be unconsidered. Modernization of a destructed country after world wars and therefore of its society, its inner political situation of the time, economic circumstances and international relations formed opposed factors in which the identity characterizing operation occurred, and everything besides should pursue these operations. Following a long period of imperialism, the status of architecture was going to be ambiguous, in a country recently freed of historical spasm. Although political and economic situation of Yugoslavia was complicated, architecture of its constitutive republics (and after 1974 constitutional changes, two autonomous provinces as well) was opulent. Accordingly, architecture and urban planning could be significant factors or 'avant-gardes' for designing the identity and the future of the country. Along the entity of Yugoslavia, architecture and governmental politics were directly proportional to each other, consequently architecture may not has a sovereign character. Diplomacy of Yugoslavia formed after WWII may not be distinguished from its architecture. The transcendental conjunction of the political efforts of Yugoslavia, made its modernist architects to transact an atypical architecture in communist scope. Even though artistically, Yugoslav architecture's inclination may not reached utopic purposes, yet it portrays investigations for a modern character. Although it is not a harvest of its diplomacy, Yugoslav architecture performed an important act in the political legation of the country.

The narrative of Yugoslav architecture can be examined by using two methods. One is to negotiate architecture in its integrity and the other to negotiate the theme of architecture in constituent republics in terms of creating 'national identity'. Margin histories of constituent republics, shaped the characteristic architecture of Socialist Yugoslavia, and unconsciously formed national character via its variations. Various involvements of each republic and different impacts substantiated to be important in

the establishment of a distinctive composition of architectural influences in the recently established country. Adaptation of modern architecture in different ways assisted in forming various architectural authenticities. The struggles of establishing the Federation, instituted dissimilar historic, diplomatic, religious and economic scenarios limited the government to form a unified architecture throughout the country. Each constituent republic's architecture was a factor in creating Yugoslav architecture, as eccentric combination of segregations, which followed the advancement of European architectural scene.

Modernist architecture unintentionally was determined by Yugoslav administration to symbolize the country. It was more a result of a natural progress of the architectural streams advanced between world wars period, with the exclusion of '*Socialist Realism*' intermezzo. Modernism in Yugoslavia was instituted in initial years of its enterprise as a sovereign territory. Yugoslav intellectuals of that time were architects of the cultural bridge between Yugoslav and European art and architecture fields.

Yugoslav diplomacy used architecture as an apparatus of articulating its international adherences. After Tito-Stalin split, modernist progresses were instrumentalized in relations with the Western Block. Even after the 1948's breakdown, Yugoslavian devotion to communism did not amendment, Stalin's Soviet maintained to be a diplomatic template for the country. Yugoslav government made a sensible verdict to participate in the international interchange of cultural virtues and material benefits. Political shift after 1948, and emancipation of cultural scene from '*Socialist Realism*' doctrine, made architecture to unlock to the West. Yugoslavia freed its governance on cultural manufacture. Even though it was never publicly promoted, architecture in Yugoslavia adopted the '*International Style*' as a way of designing. Students of architecture frequented Western countries and had the opportunity to work in the ateliers of significant European modernists.

Yugoslav architecture pursued a similar methodology in internal architectural politics. Yugoslav architects worked and traveled inside the Federation, correlating modernist concept to vernacular characteristics, investigating and displaying regional modernism via modernist regulations and hermeneutics. The establishment of the Architectural Department in Prishtina University was a symbol of a step towards modernization of autonomous Kosova after 1974. Sarajevo, Skopje, Zagreb and Belgrade Universities, brought different architectural streams in Kosovar architecture, through the lectures

and designs of prominent Yugoslav architects and professors. Local students were going to other republics for their post graduations and assisting Yugoslav architects, in application phases of the designs in Kosova as a way of learning through practicing.

‘Non-Aligned Movement’ founded in early the 1960s was a diplomatically important endeavor. Collaborations with the so-called Third World countries effected positively the economy of the Federation and brought political strength by freeing country from the dependence by both the East and the West. The architecture was not affected by this political shift in artistic manner, as it was affected in economic manner by administrating construction industry in post-colonialist nations. Yugoslavia in the 1960s have exported its architecture to Africa and Middle East and became a promoter of the modern architecture in these places. This was a good economical exchange between these countries.

In the 1960s, Yugoslavia provided substantial international political platform, which was portrayed with significant transnational political, cultural and sport phenomenons. Main economic and cultural domains were provided by Olympic Games. These happenings required design and construction of new buildings as an answer to the Olympic needs (Kulic, *Architecture and Ideology in Socialist Yugoslavia*, 2012). As a result of this venture and free market economy, many sport cultural and trade complexes were build all around Yugoslavia and Kosova too. The display of this political endaeavour in Kosova’s architectural history is building of the ‘Boro-Ramiz: Sport, Culture and Trade Complex’ in Prishtina, designed by DOM Architectural Office in Sarajevo.

For tracing Kosova’s architecture in the frame of ‘*Socialist Modernization*’ and main architectural streams effect’s on it during Tito’s regime, ‘Art and Architecture’ concepts in Yugoslavia from interwar period, including ‘*Socialist Realism*’ and ‘*Socialist Modernization*’ until a period of a ‘*Non-Aligned Movement*’ with Third World Countries are elaborated in this study. After explanation of political and cultural situations in Yugoslavia during these periods, the study concentrated on Kosova’s modernization, construction of its cities, narrowing the spectrum into a single example built during the 1970s in the capital city. Reading the socialist modernization through the example of ‘*Boro-Ramiz: Sport, Culture and Trade Complex*’ in Prishtina, this study tried to give a picture of Yugoslavia’s political, cultural and economic traffic in the international platform.

According to the literature review, in the opinion of Socialist Yugoslav architecture writers, based on Kultermann's analyzes, Kosovar architecture of the 1970s is classified in three categories. A 'regional modernist' as an authentic architectural expression, 'functionalist' projects influenced by 'American Brutalism' and 'Metabolist Movement's 'structuralism', as a paraphrase of collective samples. 'Boro-Ramiz: Sport Culture and Trade Complex' by DOM Architectural Office and 'Post Office Building' by co-designer of 'Boro-Ramiz Complex' Halid Muhasilovic, are categorized as the representation of 'Metabolist Movement's 'structuralism', like a paraphrase of collective samples. 'Boro-Ramiz: Complex' shows similarities with 'TANU Headquarters' in Tanzania by Kisho Kurokawa, while 'Post Office Building' shows similarities with Kenzo Tange's projects. Meanwhile, Ilir Gjinolli based on Ivan Straus interpretations, classifies 'Boro-Ramiz: Complex' as the representative of 'functionalist modernism', since project is coordinated in the service of its functions and materials used in the project. According to the references might be argued that the conjecture on categorization of the complex as an influence of 'Metabolist Movement' is based on Kultermann's views.

In accordance with the analyzes of the study, two important statements might be specified, one is the construction of '*Boro-Ramiz: Complex*' as a symbol of '*Brotherhood and Unity*' which represents Yugoslavia's inner political venture, the other is the categorization of a design as a representation of 'Metabolist Movement's 'structuralism', like a paraphrase of collective samples which displays international politics, cultural and artistic relations with world trends, economic metamorphosis and status of Yugoslavia after Tito-Stalin Split in 1948, and its turn towards the Western Block and creation of 'Non-Aligned Movement' with Third World Countries.

'Boro-Ramiz: Complex' was designed to display 'Boro-Ramiz Cult's concept and it was not named after the construction. The complex as a landmark of Prishtina, with its two volumes that were united via ferro-concrete pylon structures was containing strong symbolism within itself. Repetitive structure of along the width of the mass represents six republics and two autonomous places of Federal Yugoslavia. After 1974 Constitution amendments the design can be seen as a display of semi-independent Kosova, which might be stated as an important achievement of Albanians in Kosova.

Structural and rhetoric similarities of 'Boro-Ramiz: Complex', built in 1974 in Prishtina, by DOM Architectural Office and 'TANU Headquarters', built in 1972 in

Tanzania, by Kisho Kurokawa might not be surprising, since Yugoslav architects were familiar with World's architectural trends through Skopje's reconstruction plan by Kenzo Tange in 1965, in which master architects of the time collaborated together. Although the reconstruction plan of Kenzo Tange was partly implemented, it brought out buildings of architects from both the East and the West. United States of America instead of sponsoring constructions of international designs, offered a scholarship to local architects in American Universities. As a result several Yugoslav architects went for courses and specializations in USA's different universities. Upon their return, they brought American 'Brutalism' of Luis Khan and Paul Rudolph in Yugoslavia.

The reason of this study might be argued as the lack of comparisons between these two buildings. To prove the statement that 'Boro-Ramiz: Complex' is influenced by 'TANU Headquarters' project, in this work designs of 'Boro-Ramiz: Complex' and 'TANU Headquarters' were compared using project descriptions of their own architects. Detailed comparison is applied on the model, plan and section's readings of both projects.

The similarities between 'TANU Headquarters's by Kurokawa and 'Boro-Ramiz: Complex's, by DOM Architectural Office are: Circulation system formed by corridors, coordinated inter-connections between exterior and interior, analogy to the street architecture, uplifted urban corridor that form a platform for people to gather, pyramidal form of the roof purpose of which is to create a landmark of a city, split-up of volumes for structural reasons, plan organization (functional organization of Halls and Culture section), ventilation and air-conditioning system arrangement, condenser's placement in the equipment beam on the top of the roof and placement of vertical tube shafts.

The differences between these two projects are: Offices in 'TANU Headquarters' are placed beneath the roof, while in 'Boro-Ramiz: Complex' offices are placed under the ground floor. The roof of 'TANU Headquarters', is structured with grids made of Ferro-concrete, and does not have covering, due to weather conditions. While in 'Boro-Ramiz: Complex', roof is structured via steel truss-system, which encloses all the interior, and is enveloped with the copper. Other differences are related with the symbolic descriptions of the projects. Circulation of the air in 'TANU Headquarters', is provided through gridal a system for the roof, whereas in 'Boro-Ramiz: Complex', is provided through gardens or 'sofa's. Material used in 'TANU Headquarters' is ferro-

concrete, while in 'Boro-Ramiz: Complex', ferro-concrete, wood steel and glass were used.



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