# ATRIUM Transnational Survey
of architectural case studies included in the project

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Partners
ATRIUM – Architecture of Totalitarian Regimes
of 20th century in Urban Management

01. Municipality of Forlì / Italy
02. Province of Forlì-Cesena / Italy
03. University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Architecture, Ljubljana / Slovenia
04. Municipality of Velenje / Slovenia
05. The National Institute of Immovable Cultural Heritage, Sofia / Bulgaria
06. Municipality of Dimitrovgrad / Bulgaria
07. Szechenyi Istvan University, Gyor / Hungary
08. Local Government of Gyor with County Rank / Hungary
09. Institute of Construction and Architecture of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, Bratislava / Slovakia
10. Metropolitanate of Moldavia and Bukovina – Archidiocese of Iasi / Romania
11. Institute for Innovation & Sustainable Development AEIPOUS, Patras / Greece
12. Cultural & Educational Technology Institute, ATHENA - Research & Innovation Centre information, Communication and Knowledge Technologies, Xhanti / Greece
13. Town of Labin / Croatia
14. Fund of microregional tourism cluster Subotica-Palic / Serbia
15. Municipality of Tirana / Albania
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17. Ministry of Culture, Sofia / Bulgaria
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For further information please contact NIICH, Sofia, Bulgaria or Municipality of Forlì, Italy here: atrium-see.eu.
This study is conducted within and for the international project ATRIUM (ATRIUM – Architecture of Totalitarian Regimes in Urban Management) and focuses on the architectural aspects of totalitarian regimes in the region of South East Europe. The aim of the project is to substantiate the possibility of introducing a thematic cultural route based on this heritage that is still young and unexplored. The end product of ATRIUM is intended to be a dossier of a cultural route that will be submitted to the Council of Europe to apply for the status "Cultural Route of the Council of Europe." Such status will be a recognition that the proposed system combines cultural and historical sites of European significance and promotes cultural exchanges between countries in Europe. In addition, such recognition is necessary for the totalitarian heritage to leave the framework of traumatic memory and become subject to diverse and complex scrutiny and interpretation. Currently the network of European cultural routes consists of 24 different topics and ATRIUM offers a new 25th, and so far undeveloped, theme.

ATRIUM is a pilot project. It deals with very different architectural and cultural contexts within the scope of a subject that still receives insufficient study. Its innovation can be found in several contexts.

First, it becomes a reason for interdisciplinary research into this type of heritage within the territories of many partner countries, which have not considered these aspects of the regimes as a subject of analysis and evaluations until now. Moreover, it stimulates a new attitude to these areas, which is directed towards conservation rather than destruction. Such examples are not lacking. The focus placed on the re-thinking and contemporary use of this heritage looks at it from a new and different angle and offers a new insight that has the opportunity to improve public attitudes towards relevant totalitarian rule in individual countries and set them free to take their due place in the relevant national histories.

Second, ATRIUM takes the first step towards exploring this topic at an international level. For the first time this heritage is identified as pan-European and
shared. History and philosophy have already found parallels between separate totalitarian regimes i.e. their common genesis and similar impact on people. Despite the negative context that constantly accompanies memories and evaluations of such regimes, an undisputed historical fact is their influence with the affected countries, in economic, political and socio-cultural terms. It is high time that the material aspects of these historical periods were considered as an important cultural heritage, which will help the contemporary understanding not only of South East Europe, but Europe as a whole, because totalitarian regimes have influenced the development of most of this regime.

Third, the project offers a specific practical, modern and comprehensive approach to identifying a common heritage, which combines both preservation and the gaining of new functions in the contemporary democratic and globalized city. Cultural routes, a cultural tourism phenomenon in the 20th century, offer such an integrated approach that achieves conservation and socialization by linking sites in a dynamic system capable of constant development and enrichment.

The first step towards the final goal of ATRIUM is the identification of emblematic architectural examples of the regimes in the territories of the project partners. Each partner has implemented this by means of a template, accompanied by a grid of criteria and guidelines for their application, designed exclusively for the project.

The template was developed by NIICH on the basis of their experience in the conservation of cultural heritage in Bulgaria and on the feedback provided by the project partners. All partners were encouraged to involve experts with a specific knowledge of general history, art history and architectural history of their country who can identify, with the help of the template, the clear thematic and time scope of the project, as well as using their own professional insights, a number of cases that are important for the goals of the project. On completing the template, each preliminary case study was analysed, its valuable aspects clarified and its representativeness and potential for tourist interest defined. Thus, a final selection of case studies for each country was made.
The total number of identified case studies in ATRIUM is 71, distributed between 26 settlements in 10 countries in the region of South East Europe. All 71 templates are an integral part of this transnational survey. The collected data is the basic material for the survey itself.
Structure of the survey

First comes the description of the historical context in which the presented case studies arise and develop. This chapter is formed with partners’ contribution in order to reflect their own vision of totalitarianism periods in their history.

First comes the description of the historical context in which the presented case studies arise and develop. This chapter is formed with the partners’ contribution, in order to reflect their own vision of totalitarianism periods in their history.

The chapter Architectural review briefly summarizes the main features of the architecture, presented by each country in ATRIUM, and its connection with the respective regimes.

The chapter Detailed analysis is based entirely on information provided by the partners in the submitted templates. In this context, the survey reflects the level of study undertaken for each case study, up to December 2011. There are different levels for the separate case studies, which directly reflect the degree to which they are incorporated in the detailed analysis and conclusions of this survey. So the survey should be seen as experimental, pilot work (like ATRIUM itself) and future opportunities for its development and enhancement should be sought.

For the purposes of the analysis all case studies are arranged into typological groups to allow adequate comparisons to be made. Typological similarities between the case studies form three main groups:

I. Urban Planning
II. Public Buildings
III. Monumental Synthesis

Additional subgroups are introduced in order to correctly reflect the typological characteristics in more detail. The result is a final and comprehensive typology of all 71 case studies in this analysis:
I. Urban Planning

I.1. Settlements
1. Arsia/Rasa, Istrian region, 1936
2. Pozzo Littorio/Labin, Istrian region, 1938
3. Small Socialist Town, Nova Dubnica, 1952

I.2. Public Urban Complexes
1. Town Centre, Dimitrovgrad, 1947
3. Boulevard Unirii Complex with New Civic Center, Bucharest, 1977

I.3. Public Urban Ensembles
1. Ministries Square, Tirana, 1925
2. Central Square, Arsia, 1936
3. Central Square, Pozzo Littorio, 1938
4. Freedom Square, Bratislava, 1940
5. Largo ensemble, Sofia, 1949
6. Union Square, Iasi, 1959
8. Revolution square, Ljubljana, 1983

I.4. Residential Units and Groups
9. “Nádorváros” Housing Project, Gyor, 1953
10. Szent Istvan ut 14-18 Housing Estate, Gyor, 1953
11. Szent Istvan ut 35-39 Housing Project, Gyor, 1953
12. Residential Building Kifla, Subotica

I.5. Residential Complexes
1. Residential complex “3 March”, Dimitrovgrad, 1947
2. Residential Complex Petrzalka, Bratislava, 1967
3. Residential Complex Radijalac, Subotica
II. Public Buildings

II.1. State-Political Buildings
1. Fascist Youth Seat, Forli, 1935
2. Fascist House, Arsia, 1936
3. Fascist Administration, Rhodes, 1936
5. Ceva with tower – Fascist House, Pozzo Littorio, 1938
6. Fascist Home, Tirana, 1938
8. Boyana State Residence, Sofia, 1971
9. Congress Palace, Tirana, 1982

II.2. Public-Political Buildings
1. Ceremonial House, Žilina, 1940
2. Workers’ Home, Trbovlje, 1953
4. Administrative building of the coal mine, Velenje, 1957
5. New Municipal Administration Building, Subotica, 1963

II.3. Culture and Media Buildings
1. House of the Spark, Bucharest, 1949
2. House of Culture, Velenje, 1957
3. Palace of Culture, Tirana, 1960
4. House of Culture, Suceava, 1963
5. Radio Center, Bratislava, 1970
6. House of Literature and Art, Patras, 1973
7. National Theatre, Gyor, 1973

4. Residential Complex Tokyo, Subotica
II.4. Social Buildings

1. AGIP Summer Camp, Cesenatico, 1938
2. Valsalva Sanatorium Centre, Forlì, 1939
3. Grand Hotel, Castrocaro Terme e Terra del Sole, 1943

II.5. Educational Buildings

1. Air Force College, Forlì, 1941
2. Industrial and Technical Institute, Forlì, 1941
3. Lukacs Sandor Secondary School, Gyor, 1950
5. Workers’ University, Subotica, 1963
6. University of Patras, 1972

II.6. Service Buildings

1. Bank of Albania, Tirana, 1930
2. National Bank, Bratislava, 1937
3. Railway Station, Thessaloniki, 1937
4. Thessaloniki Port High Direction, 1939
5. Railway Station and Post Office, Gyor, 1956
6. Public Health and Epidemic Station, Gyor, 1956
7. SNP Bridge, Bratislava, 1968
8. Customs, Patras, 1969
9. Municipal Court of Subotica

II.7. Cult Buildings

1. Church “St. Barbara” in Arsia, 1936
2. Church “St. Francis” in Pozzo Littorio, 1938

---
1 The two churches are not sufficient to form a separate subgroup in which a comparative analysis can be performed. Therefore, due to their specificity as cult buildings in the typological list, they are grouped separately, but in the analysis are viewed as part of the square spaces (I.3. Public Urban Ensembles) they belong to, in Arsia and Pozzo Littorio respectively.
III. Monumental Synthesis

1. Monument to the Fallen, Forlì, 1927
2. House of the War Disabled, Forlì, 1933
3. Monument Soviet Army, Sofia, 1950
4. Penio Penev Park, Dimitrovgrad, 1958
5. Monument to the Heroes, Bucharest, 1959
6. Memorial House of the Party, Buzludzha peak, 1971
7. Monument Banner of Peace, Sofia, 1979

The analysis uses the authentic names of the case studies, as presented in the templates, as authentic names and functions best reveal the link between the CS and the regime (ex. “Fascist Administration” instead of “Town Hall”). Where possible the referred date for case studies is the period of design, as it is more important than the period of construction when talking about the conception of urban, architectural or monumental art pieces.

The case studies within each subgroup are subject to comparative analysis based on the evaluation criteria set out in the template:

- Ideological trend of project programme
- Demonstration of the totalitarian ideology
- Scientific and historical value
  - Typological value
  - Innovativeness
  - Historical value
  - History of architecture value
- Aesthetic and artistic value
  - Aesthetic and artistic integrity
  - Artistic synthesis
- Importance of subject for the environment
  - Urban planning importance
  - Compositional relationships with the environment
The logical stress in the text is put on the manifestation of ideology, at both project and implementation level, as it is the most important feature of ATRIUM case studies that distinguishes them from other urban, architectural or monumental art pieces from the same period or same authors.

A summary conclusion for each subgroup is made and mapping of the three main groups is performed.

The detailed analysis is completed with an overall statistics for all 71 sites, which is also based on data submitted in the templates and is visualized with graphics.

In the final chapter, the most important conclusions are deduced from the detailed analysis. A synthesis map of ATRIUM sites is generated. Subtopics within the larger theme of ATRIUM are also suggested and graphically displayed using card materials. They can be used for future development of the project and topic.

The proposed international survey is the first step towards researching the considered topic. It will enable all partners in ATRIUM, and other relevant stakeholders, to acquaint themselves with the scope and cultural and historical potential of the heritage for the future cultural route and related cultural tourism products.
1. Historical Context

**Totalitarianism: a useful concept for different regimes**

Carrying out a survey on the concept of totalitarianism is challenging. First of all, the totalitarian form should be *contextualized* within the framework of interpretations of political regimes. Many scholars have analysed such a controversial word from this perspective, trying to identify its content and structural features.

From a review of the extensive literature on this topic, two prevailing and opposite interpretations emerge.

On one hand, totalitarianism is considered as something completely *new* in the 20th century, which from a political analysis perspective, stands out from other traditional categories, which are to some extent conceptually close to it, such as “tyranny”, “dictatorship”, “absolutism”, “despotism”. This interpretation is motivated by the need to classify and investigate the regimes that essentially differ from liberal democracies, but that however can be hardly classified within the array of traditional authoritarian government forms. In the line of this interpretation of *differentiation* or *discontinuity*, some authors see in the totalitarianism the preferred hermeneutic mark of the 20th century. In this respect, Hannah Arendt’s point of view is paradigmatic. In *The Origins of Totalitarianism* she wrote: totalitarianism is «not only more drastic but [...] differs *essentially* from other forms of political oppression known to us such as despotism, tyranny and dictatorship».

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1 Equivocal and ambiguous to such extent that a few authors proposed to leave out the term from political and social sciences; among them we can mention H. Spiro, *Totalitarianism*, in *International Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, vol. XVI, New York, Mac Millan, 1968, and, more recently, S. Žižek *Did somebody say totalitarianism?: five interventions in the (mis)use of a notion*, London-New York, Verso, 2001.
On the other, a second line of interpretation usually defined as continuist, points out the similarities between totalitarianism and all regimes, movements, authoritarian schools, trying to identify any historical precedents, as well as the multiple forms over the 20th century. Thus «retroactive applications»\(^2\) emerge and try to interpret the notion in a broader sense, within more vague contours. According to the champions of the first line of interpretation, they cause conceptual misunderstanding\(^3\) and the lack of a precise connotation. From this perspective, totalitarianism can be seen as «the idealisation of authoritarian government, Weber’s “typological simplification” cruelly implemented, [...] the universalized roman proscriptions», «a perfectly realized Aristotelian tyranny»; and also, totalitarianism is «the name given to the most redoubtable form of authoritarian government», «the tyranny or despotism of the time of modern mass democracy», or, in a more nuanced approach, «the updated, revised, corrected and exacerbated version of despotism»\(^4\).

\(^2\) From this perspective, Franz Neumann’s interpretations are a very good example. He stated that both Spartan regime and the Roman Empire at the time of Diocletian were «totalitarian dictatorships» (The Democratic and the Authoritarian State [1957]). Karl A. Wittfogel emphasized the oriental despotism as ancestor of totalitarianism (Oriental Despotism [1957]); Barrington Moore Jr. identified examples of modern totalitarian regimes in the despotism of China under Ch’in dynasty, traditional India and Meiji Japan (Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy [1966]), but most of all under Calvin’s theocratic dictatorship in Geneva (Political Power and Social Theory [1958]).


\(^3\) See D. Fisichella, Totalitarismo. An example of likely mixtures is represented by the R. Boesche’s work, Theories of Tyranny. From Plato to Arendt, University Park, The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996. Building on a continuist structure, he incorporates the concepts of dictatorship, absolutism, despotism, totalitarianism in the notion of tyranny.

We will follow a perspective between the aforesaid ones. Although the notion of totalitarianism is ‘extended’, as suggested by the Project [ATRIUM], a detailed survey of the different contexts will be carried out to study the organizing ways and similarities with other power forms. By doing so, any levelling anti-historical strained interpretations are avoided, while focusing on differences, gaps, mixtures, analogies of some important bottom lines of the different expressions of total power in the 20th century.

If totalitarianism, as underlined by Hannah Arendt, is a complex, intricate, multi-faceted and plural reality, but most of all a new reality – in terms of quality and dimensions – which was never experienced before, it is however possible to identify in the combination of elements it consists of, some significant similarities with some structural features that can be found in a number of power oppressive forms, even only in an embryonic status.

Indeed, Hannah Arendt wrote that the hallmarks of tyranny have always been the following: «an arbitrary power, unrestricted by law, yielded in the interest of the ruler and hostile to the interests of the governed, on one hand; fear as the principle of action, namely fear of the people by the ruler and fear of the ruler by the people, on the other» (The Origins of Totalitarianism, p. 631).

Moreover, the crucial and controversial issue of extending the notion of totalitarianism should also be better specified. Hannah Arendt limits her scope of analysis to Hitler’s regime in Germany and Stalin’s regime in Russia, considering

What characterizes totalitarianism if compared to the traditional forms of political absolutism – states Bobbio – «is the maximum concentration and unification of the three powers through which the man’s power is exercised on man: totalitarianism is not only political despotism, but also economic and ideological».

them under totalitarianism. The Fascist regime is left out from her analysis, and ‘simply’ considered as authoritarian. The philosopher wrote that Mussolini «who was so fond of the term “Totalitarian State” did not attempt to establish a full-fledged totalitarian regime” and contented himself with dictatorship and one-party».

This, however, until 1938 (The Origins of Totalitarianism) and in any way there are different interpretations today, even radically different from one another.

Nevertheless, Hannah Arendt surely contributed in a decisive way to the theoretical and historical-conceptual understanding of totalitarianism. Ultimately, totalitarianism emerges from her pages as an essential philosophical-political concept: on one hand it represents the place of crystallization of the contradictions of the modern time and, as it will be clear, of an even older idea of domination; on the

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5 Nazism is dealt with thoroughly, with extensive documentation, whereas Stalinism is discussed with fewer specifications (however, the material available after World War II for the USSR was not as much as for Germany). According to Hannah Arendt, the project for a study on the totalitarian elements present in Marxism had to add to the analysis of totalitarianism with respect to the Soviet Union, but it was never completed. Moreover, as some critics pointed out, the differences between the two regimes were poorly identified. And here comes the ‘subtlety’ of the paradigm of totalitarianism. From a morphological point of view, the two phenomena are very similar: where there is gulag, genocide, gas chambers, concentration and extermination camps, there is totalitarianism, as a unique criminal plan is implemented. From a historical point of view, however, the issue is different. In the case of Stalinist Communism, it should be analysed how and why an emancipating vision of the world was corrupted; in the case of National Socialism, we should consider in which way an initially hierarchic and racist ideology became very successful in Germany. It could be stated that, despite being extremely different in terms of social basis, represented interests and ideological contents, the two regimes tended to develop practises, types of social control and real forms of domination which were essentially similar. Both regimes reject whoever is harmful or superfluous in the process of creation of the “new man”, and therefore can be two versions of the same political form.

6 Without deeply analysing such a complex controversy, it should however be reminded that the term ‘totalitarianism’ emerged in the Italian context, firstly within the antifascist opposition (Giovanni Amendola, Antonio Gramsci, Piero Gobetti, Luigi Sturzo, Lelio Basso), and later within the regime itself (in a speech given in 1925, Mussolini spoke of «fierce totalitarian will»).
other, it marks the emergence of something which is completely new and unthought-of. This is the lesson to be drawn, although in a critical way and with caution, in order to understand and interpret very different stories and regimes\textsuperscript{7}, which in the 20\textsuperscript{th} century represented a clear attempt of total power configuration, even with respect to urban space and architecture. In other words, totalitarianism is a useful concept recalling regimes, that is to say structures to be historically understood in their peculiarity (by comparing the differences and similarities of the same).

Totalitarian regimes are characterized by attempts to control everyone and everything at any cost, by force and propaganda they impose a single truth about the world and people. The individual is deprived of the opportunity to choose to build their own lives, to build themselves. Totalitarian regimes intrude in the privacy of the people, break society and abolish its autonomy by maximum concentration of power.

Lenin's Bolshevik revolution in 1917 is conducted in the name of socialism and proletarian state power passes under the control of the party – as indeed happened later in Mussolini's Italy (after 1922) and Hitler's Germany (after 1933). Interwar similar process occurs in many European countries. The short proletarian revolution in Hungary turns into the military dictatorship of Horthy. In the 30s can be given different non-democratic regimes – Soviet communism, civilian fascist dictatorship on the basis of one-party system – in Italy and Germany, authoritarian dictatorships in Hungary, Yugoslavia, Romania and Greece, corporate regimes in Austria and Portugal, the military dictatorship in Spain. After the war the Soviet Union carried out a powerful invasion in Eastern Europe, resulting in creating the Communist dictatorships in Poland, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Albania. The latter two countries soon come out

\textsuperscript{7} To such extent that the term totalitarianism could be used in the plural form, as it was suggested by some authors, i.e. Totalitarismo e totalitarismi, by V. Strada, Venezia, Marsilio, 2003 (a collection of some of the presentations given during the conference ‘Enlightenment and Totalitarianism. Russia and Italy: a comparison of two historiographies’ held in Venice, at Fondazione Giorgio Cini, on April 5-7 2001). Bruno Bongiovanni has recently dealt with the distinction between ‘totalitarianism’ (considered as a concept) and ‘regimes’: Sfumature di regimi, «L'Unità», January 22, 2012.
of the sphere of Soviet influence, without infringing however, the main Communist principles, the same is somewhat true for Romania after the mid 1970s. In Western Europe remain the Salazar regime in Portugal (until 1974) and that of Franco in Spain (until 1975). For the short period between 1967 and 1974, Greece was ruled by the military junta of Papadopoulos.
1. Historical Context

Map 1 – Totalitarian regimes in Europe until Second World War, © NIICH 2012
1. Historical Context

Map 2 – Totalitarian regimes in Europe after Second World War, © NIICH 2012
ATRIUM Transnational Survey
1. Historical Context

SYNTHESIS MAP - TOTALITARIAN REGIMES OF XXth CENTURY IN EUROPE

MAP SYMBOLS KEY:

- ITA
  - ISO 3166-1 ALPHA/3 COUNTRY CODE
- TOTALITARIAN REGIME UNTIL SECOND WORLD WAR
- TOTALITARIAN REGIME AFTER SECOND WORLD WAR
- "LEFT" TOTALITARIAN REGIME
- "RIGHT" TOTALITARIAN REGIME
- SOUTH EAST EUROPE REGION ACCORDING TO SEE PROGRAMME www.nichbg.com

Synthesis Map 3 – Totalitarian regimes of XXth century in Europe, © NIICH 2012
ATRIUM Transnational Survey
1. Historical Context

1.1. Italy

The term fascism (in Italian *fascismo*) indicates a right-wing authoritarian political movement which governed Italy in the period 1922-43, under the leadership of Benito Mussolini. Consequently, the political views and state governments which resembled that of Mussolini were considered “fascist”. The word comes from “fascio”, plural "fasci", which in Italian means "bundle" and the “fasci” (rods tied around a cylinder axis) were a symbol of the power of magistrates in Ancient Rome. The most accurate term comes from "fascio", a word that was very popular in Italy at that time, in the political context, and which had previously been used by radical leftist groups. Italian fascists (*fascisti*) were known as "the black-shirts” because of the colour of their uniforms.

In Italy, the Fascist movement developed immediately after the end of World War One, in a period marked by serious financial difficulties, strong social tensions and harsh disagreements among political parties. Fascism came to power on 28
October 1922, thanks to a political and military action called “the March on Rome”. However, it was not a real *coup d’etat*, because in that difficult situation King Victor Emmanuel III formally entrusted Benito Mussolini with the role as head of the government.

Fascism lasted a little more than twenty years, a period which can be subdivided into the following stages.

**The first years** were characterised by the seizure of power. After victory in the First World War, bourgeois parties unanimously took up the formula of the great writer and extreme nationalist Gabrielle d’Anuncio regarding “the crippled victory”. Italy turned out to be “defeated in the winners’ camp”. The discontent amongst all sections of the society was strong. Fascism immediately took on the characteristics of an extreme Right, anti-liberal and anti-Socialist political party. Its typifying elements were habitual acts of violence everywhere in the Italian peninsula and the denial of democratic debate.

Mussolini counterposed the ideology of the nation to the ideology of class struggle and the international solidarity of the exploited. The program aimed at spreading propaganda amongst all representatives of the different sections of society and particularly the politically ignorant masses, which were susceptible to social demagoguery. With the evolution of the Fascist movement and clarification of its political physiognomy, the radical elements of the program were replaced with nationalist slogans. In 1921 the Fascists founded a political party. It received the approval of the Pope, which was a first step towards the mutual recognition that culminated in the Lateran Treaty of 1929. Thus, to some extent, the influence of Catholicism was diminished. Over time, it also obtained the support of the major industrialists and the peasants, and acquired influence amongst clerical workers, industrial workers and students.

Legally entering into power after the winning of elections, the fascists were gradually established influence over the entire public life, which culminated in the autumn of 1922 with the congress in Naples and the following march to Rome, where Mussolini peacefully received power from the Italian king, and this power was
practically unlimited. The earlier created militia forces of the black robed were consolidated. In 1924 the fascists won two thirds of the seats in parliament.

In 1925 the organization **Dopolavoro** was created, figuratively this means “free time”. With this organization, fascism aimed to penetrate into the workers’ clerks’ and peasant masses, in order to “advance” them in the physical, moral and intellectual sense. The real aim of the organization, however, was the constant brain washing of the Italians, in the fascist spirit. “Dopolavoro” controlled the artistic, sports and cultural events along three basic lines: cultural upbringing, physical education and social support. Soon, full control over the entire life of the country was established. The fascist union was the most powerful institution within the new regime. It held all command posts of the entire economic, political and cultural life in Italy. The fascist party, with its offsets, reached every Italian, even the most ordinary ones.

The regime was established **between 1925 and 1936**, with the adoption of laws and regulations which put the dictatorship in favour of the upper bourgeoisie. The dictatorship was carefully hidden, by pronouncing the fascist party as the party of the entire population. The assignment of the fascist party was to subordinate the Italian population, by disclosing the “new” horizons of “great Italy”. During the war and “the revolution of the black-robed” the objective was to make the people “from the Alps to Sicily, united, harmonious, disciplined and determined to forge the greatness and the power of the Motherland”.

In 1926, with the Law on State protection, the opposition parties were dissolved and banned. Thus, important opponents, such as the bourgeois Catholic parties, the socialist and communist parties and others were eliminated from the legal political scene. The fascio became a state symbol and fascism was proclaimed to be “science”. Reorganization of the economic conditions began and, on the bases of the “workers’ charter” a state-guided market economy was created.

**The 1930s** were characterised by the total organization of public life – and often the private life of people – by the duce’s politics, as well as by the power system which gravitated towards the indistinguishable relationships between party and
State. There was control of information and of production, propaganda, the repression of any hostile or opposing opinion, traditionalist and military approaches towards the educational system, and also a move towards the modernisation of structures and services, thanks to a predominant presence of the State in social issues and to the construction of architectural works in many cities and territories. These were the main points which typified the fascist regime in its middle period, defined by some historians as the “years of consensus”.

Fascism was graciously accepted in wide circles throughout Europe. On the European political scene it allied with German National Socialism. Italy initiated participation in the global colonial distribution and claimed lands in Turkey (Dodekanes islands), North Africa (Libya), East Africa (Abyssinia, Somalia) and later on, in Dalmatia and Albania, while the Mediterranean Sea was regarded as “Italian”. On May 9th 1936, Mussolini proclaimed Victor Emanuel as emperor and Italy as an “Empire”.

Thus was laid the beginning of the so called Italian empire – Mussolini’s attempt to create a second Roman Empire. In 1939 Albania was also annexed. Italy concluded a special military union with Nazi Germany, the so called “Steel Pact”, and later on a tripartite pact was formed, which included Japan. In order to maintain good relations with Germany, at the end of 1930 Mussolini put through a racist policy (notwithstanding that he himself is not a supporter of anti-Semitism).

On March 18th 1940, during a series of meetings, Mussolini once again explained to Hitler that the Italians were not ready to enter the war and, for this reason, would not take part in the military actions against France. On May 10th, the offensive against France was initiated without the participation of Italy. On June 10th, France was practically defeated and Mussolini declared war on France and Great Britain.

The Italian troops invading Savoy were beaten off. Hitler resisted Mussolini’s claims for the annexation of Corsica, Cote d’Azur with Nice, Savoy, Tunisia and Djibouti, because he was aiming at a reconciliation with France. On September 27th, Germany, Italy and Japan concluded “Defensive union for restoration of the global
peace”, better known as the “Tripartite Union” or “Trilateral Axis”. (This union was joined during the war by consecutively, Hungary, Romania, Slovakia, Denmark, Finland, China, Bulgaria and Croatia) Germany and Italy were fighting against the Western allies in Africa, even though the Italian army suffered greater losses than the Wehrmacht.

The end of the totalitarian regime took place between 1943 and 1945, a space of time that can be divided into two periods.

The first period is represented by the events of 25 July 1943. On that date -a few hours away from a meeting of the Grand Council of fascism which, by approving the items on the agenda presented by Dino Grandi, determined Duce’s fall. The king had Benito Mussolini arrested and entrusted a high-ranking Army officer (the marshal of Italy Pietro Badoglio) with the task of leading the government. On 8 September 1943, Badoglio announced on the radio that the king of Italy had signed an armistice with the allied forces.

That declaration determined the occupation of most of the Italian peninsula by the Nazi Army, while the king made his escape from Rome and took refuge in the south, which had already been reached by the Anglo-Americans.

After a few days, Mussolini was set free by the Germans from his prison in the Gran Sasso mountain group. His reappearance on the scene determined the reorganization of a fascist state in the regions controlled by Hitler's troops, which was called the Italian Social Republic, more informally known as the Salò Republic.

The advance of British and American forces – connected beyond enemy lines with Partisan groups – as well as the opposition of the Nazi Army and fascist formations turned Italy into one of the main war fronts on the world chessboard, with a terrible toll of death, pain and destruction.

In April 1945, the last allied offensive and the Partisan insurrection in Northern cities determined the defeat of the German Army and the definitive ending of the fascist regime.

The 25 April 1945 is Italian Liberation day and is a public holiday.
Mussolini was captured near Lake Como and killed on 28 April 1945 (at the same time, in the village of Dongo, the regime's other leading figures were put to death). On 29 April, his corpse was displayed hanging, head down, in piazza Loreto in Milan.

Among the regulations contained in the Italian Republic Constitution – which came into force on 1st January 1948 – there is the prohibition of the reconstitution of the fascist party.
1.2. Slovenia

Slovenia in South East Europe, © NIICH 2012

Slovenia is one of those parts of Europe that came in contact with all three European totalitarian regimes of the 20th century. Since Fascism in Italy and Nazism in Germany (when Austria was adjoined to it) showed intolerance towards Slovenians living there and took all their national rights, the Slovenes showed hardly any inclination towards Fascism and Nazism. War circumstances were best used by in the pre-war period illegal and unimportant Communist party of Slovenia (as part of the Communist party of Yugoslavia), which led resistance to the occupier and already during the war marked out the way to seize authority and to carry out revolutionary changes after the Soviet model.

Communists held authority already in March 1945, even before the war ended, when a government consisting of representatives of pre-war political parties and leaders of the resistance movement was appointed. It was led by Josip Broz Tito, and already back then communists held the most important levers of authority, the
army, police and media. In elections in November of 1945 only one list participated, the list of the People’s Front of Yugoslavia, led by the Communist party of Yugoslavia. Yugoslavia thus became the first European country after the Soviet Union. Initially, the People’s Front was supported by the majority of supporters of the liberation movement, which trusted promises about a socially more just future. Yugoslavia was faster than other Eastern European countries in transferring the Stalinist patterns. In contrast to them, communist leaders did not come to positions of power with the help of the Soviet Union, but Yugoslav communists seized authority on their own. The Yugoslav constitution was mainly a copy of the Soviet constitution. In 1945 it adopted the law on agrarian reform, and in 1946 the first law on nationalization. The state authority created a strong censorship apparatus, prisons were filled with opponents of the new authority.

The dispute between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union led the Yugoslav leadership to think about the adequacy of the current policy. At first the Yugoslav leadership tried to prove to Stalin that he had the wrong information about the activities in Yugoslavia and that there no better communists and a more communist state than Yugoslavia, and they are almost more Stalinist than Stalin himself. The treatment of all citizens was completely Stalinist as well, and they demanded changes in the leading structure of the Communist party of Yugoslavia, in compliance with criticism from the Soviet Union. For them the most infamous concentration camp of the communist Yugoslavia was opened at Goli otok, which remained in the memories of its prisoners for its brutal system. To neutralise criticism from the letters of the Soviet leadership about underestimating the question of class and exaggerated tolerance towards exploitation class, Yugoslavia quickly adopted the so-called second nationalization and then also encouraged collectivization in agriculture. Entering the established rural working cooperatives, the Yugoslav version of kolkhoz, took place under sever pressures on farmers. In Slovenia, the so called Dachau processes, several court proceedings from 1948 to 1949, were most reminiscent of Stalinist court proceedings in the Soviet Union of the 1930s. In this case the authority did not try to prove and sentence in court the personality estimated as the opponent. It wanted this personality to admit and repent of his actions. This can only be achieved by pressures
and torment, so that people under investigation were exposed to torture and some of them died already during the investigation.

The imitation of the Soviet social model reached its peak in Slovenia/Yugoslavia precisely at the time when its relations with the Soviet Union and its satellites started to deteriorate rapidly. With the intent of proving to Stalin that they are true communists, Yugoslavia and with it Slovenia in less than two years after the start of the dispute between Stalin and Tito experienced its ‘purest’ or most consistent imitation of the Soviet political system and with it the peak of the Yugoslav version of totalitarianism. When Yugoslavia was forced to open towards western countries at the beginning of the 1950s due to the international political situation and threatening economic situation in the country, it had to substantially change also its domestic policy. The purest form of Yugoslav totalitarianism quickly disappeared from the horizon, and the Yugoslav authority wanted to show the world that it was changing. It reformed in the 1950s from the totalitarian regime to a single-party dictatorship and in doing so it was quicker than other Eastern European countries also in the phase of ‘de-Stalinization’; it started it already at the time when Stalin was still alive.

Although it is true that authority in Slovenia was held by the Communist party until the fall of the Berlin Wall and consequently the communist regimes in Eastern Europe, Slovenia was considered one of the most open communist societies, whose citizens could travel freely around the world, where also socially somewhat more critical media were published legally, and where many more consumer goods were available than in other communist countries.
1.3. Croatia

History of Istria

From the Napoleonic Wars until 1918, Istria was part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and, together with Friuli and Trieste, was called the “Austrian coastal district”, directly subordinated to the capital, Vienna. Pula was the main military and Trieste the main commercial harbour of Austria. After the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian Empire at the end of the First World War, the district of Istria was returned to the kingdom of Italy.

During 1943-44, Istria and Trieste were adjoined to the Third Reich as an “Adriatic coastal district” (similar to the former Austrian coastal district). The Yugoslav partisans outraged and terrorized the population. After the victory of the allies over Italy and the Third Reich, North Istria, including Trieste and Pula, were occupied by the allies. South Istria was taken over by Yugoslavia, with the help of the

As a result of the multiple ethnic cleansing, carried out by the rulers of Yugoslavia, almost the whole population of South Istria escaped to the North and to Italy. Until the fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of the Soviet Union, these mass deportations were taboo, in order to avoid Yugoslavia turning its back on the West.

Thus, under pressure from the Soviet Union, the entire occupied South zone and a large area of the Northern zone were part of the Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia. A small strip, together with Trieste, remained in Italy. For the first time in its history, Istria was governed by a Slavic state. The final inclusion of Istria into Yugoslavia took place in 1977, with the Osimo agreement. With the collapse of Yugoslavia, the newly created state of Croatia obtained the larger part of Southern Istria. The other newly created state Slovenia obtained a corridor to the sea in North Istria. The Northern most part of Istria remained part of Italy.

While Germany and Berlin were being united, Istria was still divided into three parts, a consequence of the Second World War, the Cold War and socialism. The population was still suffering, in economic and cultural respects, due to its fragmentation and the border claims of the three neighbouring countries. It was called by the European Union a “unified official region”, wherein most probably its future lay.

In the Italian region of Istria, the towns of Rasa and Podlabin were designed and built during 1936-1940, and later fell within the territories of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, an independent state of Croatia, a German coastal district, again as part of Yugoslavia and Croatia and finally within the Independent State of Croatia.
History of Croatia

After the First World War, Croatia tried to separate itself from the collapsed Austro-Hungary, but entered a newly created kingdom, comprising of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians. The Croats were, in principle, against the monarchical form of government. During 1928 some Croatian politicians were shot dead in the Yugoslav parliament, amongst them the leader of the Croatian fraction, Stefan Radich. With the onset of the political crises, King Alexander I Karadjordjevich dissolved the parliament and called the country the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.

The dominating role of Serbia in the Kingdom was consolidated, and was preserved during the Second World War, when Yugoslavia was occupied and partitioned by Italy, Germany and Hungary. In 1939, with the Agreement between prime minister Tsvetkovich and Dr Machek, within the framework of Yugoslavia, an Independent Croatian state was created.

Immediately following the invasion of German troops into Yugoslavia, they also occupied Croatia, which became German territory, also proclaimed on April 17th 1941 under the name of the Independent State of Croatia. Its leader also became leader of the ustashi under Dr Ante Pavelich. He established a fascist dictatorship which systematically persecuted and suppressed both Serbs and Jews. Also, he brutally demolished any internal opposition. He acquired the Yasenovats concentration camp which has entered into history as the “Auschwitz on the Balkans”. During the summer of the same year, the Croatian communists initiated an attack against the ustashi regime and, together with Tito’s rebels, they established control over a large part of the country. Together with Tito, a leading figure is Andreya Hebrang. After the failure of the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo axis, the Yugoslav People’s Liberation Army brutally suppressed its enemies, the slaughter in Blayburg, on May 13th 1945, being emblematic.

After the Second World War, Croatia became part of the Federal People’s Republic of Yugoslavia. The Federation was created in 1946, after the Soviet example, and it was renamed in 1963 as the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.
“The Federation” was led by the communist party leadership in Belgrade, headed by Josip Broz Tito. Primarily, the principle of “democratic centralism” was obeyed. It was hardly possible to accomplish any change in the management, economy or politics of Croatia, as in these districts, the federation norms and principles were adhered to.

Tito’s policy changed after 1960, when the different republics were charged with certain responsibilities, and the opportunity was provided for the preparation of their own political and management staff.

The leading role of the Union of the Yugoslav Communists was preserved but, within the administrative framework, certain changes occur, especially after the adoption of the new constitution in 1974. Local and regional self-management was strengthened, and this was reflected in the urban, municipal, provincial and republican managements.

Belgrade’s priority was still with issues related to the defence policy, foreign affairs, finances and the currency. Croatia possessed its own national coat of arms and state language, as well as undertaking independent educational, scientific and cultural policies.

In 1971, the protest and reformation movement of the Croatian spring was suppressed. After Tito’s death, in 1980, the tension between Croatia and the dominated Serbian government grows. By the end of the 1980s this striving for independence developed into a request for independence from Yugoslavia. The Croatian Franyo Tudjman, who took part in the struggles, on Tito’s side, against the regime of the ustashi, met with vigorous support among the Croatian population.

After the weakened Yugoslav government allowed the introduction of a multi-party system in 1990, Tudjman established the Croatian democratic association, which soon acquired the character of a people’s party. Its request for an independent Croatia caused protests among the Serbian population which, according to the constitution at that time, represented the second state community. However, the Croatian democratic movement won the elections with majority in the Parliament and Tudjman was elected as president.
The crisis within the political institutions in Yugoslavia, caused by Tito’s death in 1980, weakened the federal mechanisms of both the communist party, and its totalitarian powers, and that of the state government. Existing, but cleverly suppressed, international conflicts, resulting for both economic reasons, in connection with the unequal participation in the federation, and from international disputes, come to the surface. During the 1990s, these conflicts were aggravated and again caused the rise of ethnic hostilities, which could not be settled peacefully.
1.4. Hungary

After the defeat of the Central troops at the end of the First World War, Hungary was proclaimed as an independent democratic republic, with President Mihai Kroyn. The social difficulties led to the fall of the government during March 1919. The opposition was headed by Bela Kun, who had previously been arrested by the democratic government as a Bolshevik envoy with the mission to evoke a communist revolution. Released in March 1919, Bela Kun created a government, following the Soviet model, comprising of socialists and communists, with the latter group dominating decisively. Banks, industrial enterprises and agricultural properties were nationalized. The established communist dictatorship acted with violence and a Hungarian “Red Army” invades Slovenia, with the aim of starting a revolution, but it was compelled by the allies to withdraw. In the subsequent Hungarian-Romanian War, Czechoslovak, Romanian and Serbian troops took over Budapest and overthrow the government of the councils, on August 1st 1919.
During the 1920s the Parliament formally returned the monarchy. The regent admiral Horti refused to hand over power to King Karl IV, while the Trianon Agreement prohibited the restoration of the Habsburg monarchy. Furthermore, complying with this Agreement, Hungary deferred two thirds of its territory to Czechoslovakia, Romania, Yugoslavia and Austria.

Because of the global economic crises and the revisionist propaganda, Hungary drew closer and closer to national-socialist Germany. The main aim of the Hungarian governments during the period between the two world wars was the regaining of lost territories. With the support of Germany and Italy during the period 1938-1941 Hungary succeeded in regaining around half of its lost territories from Slovakia and Romania. In return, admiral Horti took the side of the Axis in the war against the Soviet Union but, due to poor armament, his troops bore huge losses. He made contact with the Western allies and, via them, with Moscow, but this became known to the Germans and, in March 1944, they occupied Hungary, placing in charge Döme Sztójay, leader of the Hungarian radical right. His government deported over 200 000 Jews from the country and equally as many from the territories it occupied.

After the surrender of Romania, Horti declared a ceasefire with Moscow, through a proclamation on the radio. After the arrest of Horti, Hungary again entered the war on the side of Germany, under the leadership of Ferenc Salashi and the Hungarian national socialist party. Their participation in the war ended with the defeat of the country by the Red Army, which took place by April 1945. The damages for Hungary were huge, with a large number of military and civilian casualties, Soviet occupation and the loss of all of the regained territories.

In 1944, a second alternative to the monarchy in Hungary is formed – The Interim National Assembly from Debrecen. In 1945, free elections were carried out, whereby the right wing won 57% of the votes. Nevertheless, due to Soviet pressure, a coalition government was formed, in which the forceful ministries were entrusted to the communists, who began to slowly take over all power. In 1946, the monarchy was abolished and a Hungarian Republic proclaimed. On February 10, the Paris Peace Treaty between Hungary and the victors in the war was signed. The Treaty revoked all
territorial revisions by Hungary during the war and additionally annexed 3 villages to Czechoslovakia (these 3 villages are today regions in the capital of Slovakia). Serious reparations were also required in favour of the USSR, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. The Communist party, with the help of the USSR, demolishes, one after another, the right wing parties and is forcibly united with the social-democratic party, which it imperceptibly assimilated. In 1948, the communists possessed complete power. This situation was validated with the adoption of the new constitution and the establishment of the Hungarian People’s Republic on August 20\textsuperscript{th} 1949.

Under the leadership of Matthias Rakosi, a copy of Stalin’s management system was created. The forced development of the heavy and military industries was initiated, which led to a drop in living standards. The new Administration on the state defence became one of the main state organs and around 1 million people were subject to repression.

Until 1953 numerous public and closed trials were carried out, on the bases of Hungarian State Security. It exercised violence and terror, both against ordinary citizens and against the communists. Even Janos Kadar was arrested, accused of collaborating with Tito, and later vindicated.

After Stalin’s death in 1953, under pressure from Moscow, Rakosi resigned as prime minister, but kept the post of party leader. Imre Nagy became prime minister, favoured by the new Soviet government. Nagy carried out various reforms e.g. liquidated the labour camps, diminished the power of the Administration on Defence State, relieved the situation of the peasants and generally speaking, led a course towards liberalization. During 1955, however, Rakosi’s group again succeeded in taking over power in the party and Nagi was released from his position. In May 1956, once again under pressure from Moscow, Rakosi finally left power and resigned from the position of party leader. The new party leader was Ernö Gero, a true associate of Rakosi, who continued to lead by following the traditional Stalin communist line.

On October 23\textsuperscript{rd} 1956 an uprising broke out. The army and the police went on the side of the rebels. By November 1\textsuperscript{st}, the new government consolidated the situation in the country. The leadership of the interim government was taken over by
Imre Nagi and members of the government were not only reformed communists, but also representatives of the revived main political parties. The new communist party, under the name of the Hungarian socialist workers party, was created and its leader became Janos Kadar, a member of Nagi’s government.

On November 4th 1956, Soviet troops violated the agreement for their departure from the country’s territory and a new military offensive was initiated. Janos Kadar visited the USSR, where he proclaimed the creation of a new pro-soviet government, called the Hungarian Revolutionary worker – peasant government. Nagi’s coalition government proclaimed the Soviet intrusion as military aggression and reverted to the UN for assistance, but does not receive support from anywhere. The Soviet troops pass power to Janos Kadar. Nagi sought shelter in the Embassy of Yugoslavia in Budapest.

The first phase of Janos Kadar’s leadership, covering the period from 1956 to 1962, was the phase of stabilization. Bloody revenge was initiated against the instigators of the events of 1956. Eighteen thousand people were interned in Hungary, out of which 700 were sent to labour camps in the USSR. Twenty two thousand people were sentenced to imprisonment, a large part of whom were given amnesty in 1963. Around 400 people were executed, among them the Prime Minister Nagi and the defence minister Maleter. Thirteen thousand were interned. Around a quarter of a million people emigrated abroad.

The beginning of the second phase of Kadarism is very often related to the general political amnesty, announced in 1962. In fact, from this moment the regime took the road towards pragmatism. Kadar’s objective was to receive public and international recognition, thus it can be said that here commences “the experimental phase” of Hungarian socialism.

In 1967 economic reforms were initiated, which contributed considerably to the improvement of living standards. The ideological pressure, on behalf of the authorities over the people was also diminished. “The workers received the right to change their work, to work part time in small enterprises, which turns the invariable grey economy into a validated “second economy”. Possibilities were ensured for the
setting up of small enterprises in all sectors of the economy and the right to
ownership is legalized in most of these sectors. The improvement in living standards
and the successful satisfying of consumers needs significantly contributed to the
creation of a social atmosphere, wherein fidelity to the political regime and the
moving away from the process of decision making were equally necessary. The
character of political repression was also softening, thanks to the disinterest of the
population in politics. Thus, Kadar’s regime tried to achieve its political objectives,
however paradoxical it may seemed, through the imitation of a market economy”.

Towards the beginning of the 1980s, however, the reforms came to an end. It
was clear that the problems lay within the system itself. A slow decline commenced,
which lasted until the collapse of the system in 1989. In 1987, the first opposition
groups appeared. The reformers were increasingly taking over power, Miklos Nemet
became prime minister. The final blow to the system was delivered by Soviet leader
Gorbachev, who in fact retracts from the Soviet zone of interest in Europe.

On May 2\text{nd} 1989, Hungary started to remove the fencing along the border
with Austria, motivated by the high costs of maintenance for these facilities. The
symbolic opening of the border between Hungary and Austria took place on August
19\text{th} 1989 with the explicit consent of both governments. This, in fact, was the first
official “lifting” of the Iron Curtain. This act also contributed to the final collapse of
the communist system, during the 1990s.
After the defeat of the forces of the Axis in the First World War, Upper Hungary was simply divided and a new state of Czechoslovakia was created.

In 1918, the Czechoslovak troops occupied the territory of today’s Slovakia, together with Bratislava (Presburg), wherein the German and Hungarian population was predominant. The new state also included an area on the border with Hungary and there, even today, a Hungarian minority exists. The Czechs and the Slovaks lived in relative stability whereas, after the Global economic crises, Slovakia fell more and more falls under the influence of National Socialist Germany and the Hungary of Horthy. Following the Munich agreement of 1938, the Slovak district became autonomous.

Slovakia became independent for the first time during the leadership of Joseph Tissot, from March 1939 until 1945 (first Slovak Republic), and in fact was a
satellite republic within the German Reich. The Jews were deported to German concentration camps. In August 1944, the national anti-fascist struggle arose, defeated by the forces of the German Wehrmacht. Later on, Slovakia was occupied by the Red Army and Romanian troops, until the end of April 1945, when it again became part of Czechoslovakia.

Before the end of the war, some of the citizens of German origin were evacuated by the Germans and others were removed later on, complying with the Benes decree. During this time many Slovaks were transferred to the Sudeten area, deserted by the Germans, and an exchange of populations between Slovakia and Hungary was accomplished.

After the end of the war, in 1945, the Republic of Czechoslovakia had its borders restored to those before the Munich agreement, with the exception of Carpathian Ukraine, taken away by Slovakia and given to the Soviet Union. The German population, inhabiting mainly the lands of Czechoslovakia, was either expelled or displaced. Being a satellite state to the Soviet Union, and part of the Eastern Block, Czechoslovakia became a member of the Warsaw Pact and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

Even before the elections in 1948, the communist ministers occupied key positions in the Czechoslovakian government. The communists won the elections and the party leader, Clement Gotvalt, was appointed to the post of prime minister of the country. “The share of the communists in the elections in 1946 was bigger in Czechia than in Slovakia but, even with the Czechs, the result from the same year is due not so much to the increase in internal support for communism, but to the bitter disappointment felt among many Czech citizens from the West, as they sensed it in Munich in September 1938. Czechoslovakia represented an anomaly in Eastern Europe. In no other country in this region, except Bulgaria, did the communist parties from before the war gained anything more than the minimum support, and in some countries, especially in Romania, Hungary and Poland, communism was definitely regarded as inconsistent with the traditional beliefs and values.”
Twelve non-communist government members protested, in February 1948, against the unseating of non-communist chiefs of regional police departments in Prague, by the communist interior minister. Gotvalt put the president Benes under pressure to avoid the scheduling of new elections and to nominate a new government, dominated by the communists. Threatened by a general strike and the entry of the Red Army, Benes retreated and appointed a new government, led by Gotvalt. The non-communist members became the subject of attack by those close to Gotvalt. In May 1948, Benes refused to subscribe to the new constitution and withdrew, giving way to Gotvalt.

During the following years, the Soviet Union totally controlled the policy of the country, and the government was forced to decline to participate in the Marshall Plan. By the constitution of 1960, the country was renamed the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

In 1968, the party leader Alexander Dubcek made an effort to reform the communist state. The Prague Spring should have created “socialism with human face”, but it was crushed with arms by the Soviet Union and remaining members of the Warsaw Pact, with the exception of Romania. The only issue that achieves reform is federalization, which was implemented in October 1968. The Soviet Union again set restrictions i.e. that the Slovak communist party existed, but not the Czech. The party line was totally maintained by the presidium of the Czechoslovakian communist party in Prague, which is a member of the communist International.

After the suppression of the “Prague Spring”, the population was overwhelmed by indifference. This is what the philosopher Rio Preisner (1925-2007) says: “We should perhaps not be surprised by the fact that one or two years after 1968 everything in Czechoslovakia is marked by indifference, which is ambling around the homes and the streets like a drunken harlot.” The civil movement was renewed during 1977, with the publication of Charter 77, drafted in defence of human rights as stipulated in the agreements in Helsinki and initially signed by 242 intellectuals. The Charter was distributed in Europe and the playwright Vaclav Havel became its most popular face, later to become president of the Czech Republic.
Under the pressure of the reforms carried out by Mikhail Gorbachev reforms in the USSR, in November 1989, demonstrations burst out in Prague and other towns, to which the communist government had withdrawn. Thus, with the well known “velvet revolution” ended, the many years of rule of the communist regime. At the end of December, Vaclav Havel was elected as president and the first democratic elections after 1945, which took place in 1990, were won by the Czech Civil Forum and the Slovak Community against violence, these forming a coalition government.
1.6. Romania

**Establishment of the regime**

The totalitarian regime played an important role in the evolution of the country, with critical influences on the development of Romanian society.

The Act of 23rd August 1944, the day when Romania joined the Allies during the Second World War, marked the transition of the country to the Soviet influence, pioneering a new dictatorship regime, the totalitarian communist regime, that would control the fate of the country for years to come.

The totalitarian communist regime was actually established in Romania in 1948 and lasted until December 1989. When the communists came to power they resorted to a series of actions in order to gain full political power, beginning with the installation of Petru Groza government, composed mostly of communists, whose primary goal was Romania’s communization.
Another action carried out by the communists, in their struggle to fully accede the political power, were the elections of 19\textsuperscript{th} November 1946, which were falsified in favour of the communists.

The new parliament, according to the electoral law of that time, was composed of more than 78% communists, thus ensuring a new legitimacy for the communist powers.

After these purges, a new government made up entirely of communists was installed, a situation that empowered the communists to move to their final action of removing the last obstacle to the gaining of political power. Thus, on December 30 1947, King Michael was forced to abdicate and the Romanian People’s Republic was proclaimed marking the final success of the communists in establishing the totalitarian regime.

**Development stages**

During its four decades of existence, the communist regime has known several periods, with specific stages of development, dealing with a series of features.

The first period of communism stretched from 1944 until 1965, during Gheorghe Gheorghiu Dej’s governance. It was a period characterized by a diminution of Romania’s national sovereignty under the Soviet occupation. In order to impose his faithful team, the Dej regime followed the Stalinist model by purging both real and potential enemies. In other words the Soviets took control over the entire country, imposing their model in both the economic and the political spheres.

After 1958, once the Soviet troops had withdrawn from Romanian territory, the communist regime began to assert some independence from the Soviet Union, especially at foreign policy level.

For the internal policy plan this change was characterized by a relative liberalization of education and cultural life. Cultural and scientific links with Western countries, broken off after 1948, reached a modest, but promising, level. However,
despite all these changes, the communist party strictly maintained its internal control over the society and did not give up any of its powers.

The second period of the communist regime was represented by the period from 1965 until December 1989, during Ceausescu’s government. In July 1965, within the 9th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party, Ceausescu laid the foundation for his own political program, based especially on the principle of collective leadership, designed to prevent the accumulation of power in the hands of one person.

Within this second period of communism 3 different stages can be distinguished:

In the first stage (1965–1971) the process of economic development continued and, consequently, this determined an improvement in living standards, social protection and a certain liberalization of spiritual life although keeping the basic elements of the totalitarian communist regime.

On the external plan, Ceausescu continued the policy of independence from the Soviet Union and the strategy of opening towards the Western world, Romania being the initiator of a series of foreign policy actions which were very much appreciated during that period.

The second stage of the totalitarian communist regime, during Ceausescu’s governance, was characterized by an emphasis on the totalitarian context of the political regime. The communist leaders resorted to a series of acts in order to accomplish their dictatorial policy: a strict surveillance, by the state and party, of the population, the creation of mass organizations in each domain of activity, a super-centralization of the economy, huge loans from the Western markets with a view to building some giant industrial complexes, important consumers of raw materials, energy and other construction materials.

In this period the process of economic growth continued and, consequently, the development of housing for the Romanian population and of certain cultural and educational objectives.
However, towards the end of this stage there were some obvious signs of a slowdown in the economic development and also a shortage of food supplies, medicines, etc.

The third and last stage of the communist regime of Ceausescu’s governance lasted between 1982 until December 1989, when the Romanian Revolution overthrew both the communist regime and its dictator Nicolae Ceausescu.

The obvious consequences of this movement did not fail to appear. Human rights and freedoms were severely restricted. The economy of the country went through a crisis manifested by the cessation of economic growth and by a lack of efficiency and productivity. The serious state of the Romanian economy was strongly highlighted by the measures Ceausescu initiated to pay the foreign loans of the state. Going against the best interest of the Romanian people, Ceausescu decided to re-pay all the debts at once, and within a short period of time. That threw Romania into a period of unprecedented depravation, followed by economic and political isolation and a deep poverty and misery for the population.

At this stage, in terms of foreign policy, Ceausescu showed some signs of oscillation and uncertainty, which led to a deterioration in the country’s relations both with the Soviet Union and the West.

The paradox of this was that, although they still asserted a certain independence from the Soviet Union, economically, Romania depended more and more on them, due to the need for natural gas, oil and other raw material imports, and the gradual isolation from the Western world.

All these were signs of a profound crisis in the system, leading to the Romania Revolution and the fall of the totalitarian communist regime in December 1989.

In essence, the totalitarian communist regime in Romania was the same as in all countries where such regimes were established, but with some features that positively or negatively differentiate it from the others.
In Romania, the totalitarian communist regime meant political intervention and control over all areas of life.

Under Ceausescu's rule the people of Romania had experienced severe food rationing, power cuts and fuel shortages, state controlled censorship of the media and visit and travel restrictions. It is true that Ceausescu carried out a program of urban planning which brought about the “systematization” of half of Romania's villages. Totally manipulated and controlled, the Romanian people suffered oppression for more than 20 years, controlled and monitored by the 'Securitate', Ceausescu's secret police.

On the architectural level, the free practice of architects was dissolved, the architects becoming servants of the state in Institutes of Design. The possibilities for urban and architectural creations were limited and monitored. Despite these facts, the end of the 1950s, and two more decades after that, represented the most fertile period of Romanian architecture. The forced industrialization policy created the premises to design and implement certain urban interventions of huge dimensions that Romania boast of even today.
1.7. Bulgaria

Bulgaria in South East Europe, © NIICH 2012

The end of the Second World War led to radical restructuring of the geopolitical regions in Middle and East Europe. The future of all countries was predetermined by the spheres of influence exercised and specified by the leaders of the great powers of the USA, Great Britain and USSR at the conferences in Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam. The unfavourable situation for Bulgaria, as a participant on the side of Germany, Italy and Japan, placed it in a very disadvantageous position. Real possibilities existed for territorial fragmentation and allocation of territories to the winners in the war between Greece and Yugoslavia. This was not realized, due to the interests of the USSR towards Bulgaria, in connection with its strategic position in the Balkan region. In this way, confrontation arose between the super forces of the USSR and the USA.
The role of Soviet troops in Eastern European countries found expression in their direct intrusion in the political life and establishment of so called people’s democratic regimes in Bulgaria, Romania, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary.

On September 9th 1944, a coup d’etat was carried out, initiated by a coalition of the Fatherland’s Front (comprising the BRPk – Bulgarian Workers Party – communists; BZNS – Bulgarian Agrarian People’s Union, Zveno and BRSDP – Bulgarian Workers and Agrarian Democratic Party), entirely dominated by the Communist party, led by its bureau in Moscow, with leader Georgi Dimitrov. A government was set up, headed by Kimon Georgiev, wherein BCP (Bulgarian Communist Party) ensured its leading role by occupying the top positions in the key ministries and local committees of the Fatherland’s Front that were being established.

The power of the communists was accompanied by mass repression, prosecutions in front of the so called people’s Court, for judging those responsible for the national disaster in Bulgaria. Under this disguise mass, cleansing among the military, intellectual and political elite was performed. Hundreds of journalists, politicians, militaries and artists were executed without trial.

The form of the future government in Bulgaria was decided in 1946. On September 8th 1946, a referendum was carried out and a week later the NSO proclaimed Bulgaria as a National Republic and the election of the Grand National Assembly, in October 1946, substantially altered the political system and created a totalitarian regime of the so called Dictatorship of the proletariat.

During the period 1946-48 the opposition parties of the agrarians, members of Zveno and the social democrats were wiped out and their leaders either physically liquidated or confined to concentration camps. In this way a one-party management was formed, that of the Bulgarian Workers Party i.e. communists. New attacks against private ownership were brought into law, with large urban ownership, nationalization and confiscation of enterprises, banks, insurance companies, etc. by the state.
The imposition of a totalitarian system in Bulgaria, during 1948 – 1953, was accomplished under the direct control of Y. Stalin and through the coordinated activities of Cominformbureau, aiming at the acceleration of reform towards the alignment of the people’s democracy with the Soviet model of socialism. As a result of the so created totalitarian system, the communist party imposed its ideology on the entire society, penetrated and merged with governmental structures, kept all activities under its control, by wiping out the separation of powers, led aggressive propaganda of its ideas, creating allegiance to its leader, used unlimited political violence and administrative compulsion. In this way the BCP took complete power and for more than 40 years ruled the country, following the Soviet model.

Following Stalin’s death in 1953, and the subsequent changes in the USSR, hopes arose for changes in Bulgaria as well, but they were quickly averted by Valko Chervenkov and, later on, by Todor Zhivkov. The affiliation of Bulgaria to the Warsaw Pact and CMEA predetermine its restricted economic, political and cultural development. The April détente, in the middle of 1956, prepared the ground for improving the foreign-political relations of Bulgaria with its neighbouring and Western European countries and it marked a new stage in the economic development of the country. Evidently, the economic difficulties and internal discontent imposed a different approach towards industrial development and the production of agricultural commodities, both for the domestic market and for export. Attention was drawn to this and significant investments were made in the development of energy, machine building, metal working and other areas. These processes were not unique to Bulgaria, but in a different form were also being developed in other countries under e communist dictatorship – such as Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Romania.

During 1971, a new so called “article 1” was added to the constitution, which validated BCP as the only “leading power in the society and in the state”. At the Tenth Congress of the BCP, during the same year, a new program for the party was accepted, which aimed at the building of an advanced socialist society.

It is worth noting that unlike other countries, where totalitarian one-party regime exists, in Bulgaria no discontent or public intolerance occurred, that may
evolve into open defensive actions or riots. Unlike other countries there were no dissidents among the party establishment and intelligentsia where sometimes the latter introduce a certain corrective influence party policy. Events were occurring here that resembled those in Hungary in 1956, in Czechoslovakia in 1968 and in Poland during the 1970s, and especially after 1980, and even in Romania during the mid 1980s. Politically Bulgaria was still the most loyal ally of the Soviet Union, which brought economic benefits and had an impact on improving the lifestyle of the population. The separate internal party struggles did not go beyond the boundaries of the party and were quickly repressed.

In his capacity as secretary general of the CC of the BCP and chairman of the State Council, Todor Zhivkov skilfully isolated his political rivals, mollified the people's discontent through economic incentives, modified the expressions of the repressive regime and gradually attracted a wide circle of creative people to the power with the temptation of tangible benefits, privileges and high positions in the government. The accumulated inertia in cultural life, the considerable means allocated by the state and the relatively stable domestic and international situation were a good base for certain cultural achievements during the 1970s and the 1980s. This upswing is most significantly revealed in the fields of film, drama, literature, visual arts, etc.

Todor Zhivkov's daughter, Lyudmila Zhivkova, stands out as having had a significant role in this field, as she worked for the promotion of Bulgarian national origins and culture. The studies on the culture of the Thracians, the exhibitions of Thracian golden treasures, discovered in Bulgaria, the Banner of Peace Assembly and the popularization of the ancient culture around the World were part of Lyudmila Zhivkova's contribution to the opening up of Bulgaria. The utopian "communism" obviously did not take place and was replaced by the jubilee for 1300 years' anniversary of the Bulgarian state. A clearly defined historicising of the official culture was achieved, focused not on the past but on the present. This "historicising" was looking at legitimizing the present by reminding people of the past, which occurred through a new official language and new ideological propaganda messages.
The “historicising” involved coordinating the history of Bulgaria with the history of the Bulgarian communist party stating that it is an inseparable part of the glorious past of the people.

In the mid 1980s the crisis of socialism was already a fact and, together with the commencing in the USSR of Gorbachev’s perestroika, directly affected the socio-economic, political, social and cultural relations in the society. Bulgaria’s economy also entered into crises. Todor Zhivkov reacted to “perestroika” with the July plenum of the CC of the BCP, in 1987, when the deployment of the company organization in the economy was declared – with Decree No. 56, from 1989, the opportunity was provided to ordinary citizens to register companies and Bulgarian foreign trade enterprises were also transformed into companies.

The first non-formal organizations were also being created e.g. the Public Committee for ecological protection of Ruse, the Independent company Ecoglasnost, the Independent company for human rights protection and the Club for supporting the openness, glasnost and democracy in Bulgaria. They are slogans for glasnost and democracy, for ecological culture and for religious freedom.

Considerable tensions were regenerative process, from 1985, which led to open ethnic clashes, skilfully directed and then crushed by the government authorities. The massive exodus of Bulgarian Turks, in protest against their forcible renaming, stirs the Bulgarian liberal intelligentsia. In the communist party itself, dissatisfaction arises from the non-admittance of reconstruction, following the Soviet model. This discontent, and the international events from 1989 – the opening of the Hungarian borders, the disagreement with the regime in the DDR, the fall of the Berlin wall and the candid restraint of Gorbachov, who had already entered into a specific dialogue with the West, caused the resignation of Todor Zhivkov, as secretary general of the CC of BCP and chairman of the State Council, at the Plenum of November 10th 1989.

The change of power was accomplished through a legal procedure, but with a huge response from the entire society. The two basic parties for the implementation of the democratic changes and radical reforms were immediately formed. The first
one was the anti-communist party, led by Zhelyo Zhelev, and the other the post-communist party, led by Petar Mladenov, Georgi Atanasov and other former leaders of the BCP. Thus, the totalitarian leadership of the Bulgarian Communist Party was formally ended. The creation of democratic institutions commenced, as in the other countries managed by the former Soviet communist regime.
1.8. Greece

In Greece there have been two periods of control by totalitarian regimes. The first was the Metaxas Regime, from 1936 until 1940, and the second the Greek Military Junta, 1967–1974.

The Dictatorship of Metaxas 1936-1940

The 4th of August Regime, commonly known as the Metaxas Regime, was an authoritarian regime under the leadership of General Ioannis Metaxas that ruled Greece from 1936 to 1940. There is some debate over how the regime relates to other authoritarian regimes of the era i.e. those of Franco’s Spain, Italian Fascism and German Nazism.

From the traditional ideological foundation of the right, Metaxas retained two negative principles; anti-communism and anti-parliamentarism. In his
endeavour to introduce a new system of national ideology, these negative elements meant the rejection of the past. In his emphatic calls for unity and national solidarity, they constituted the condemnation of both the divisive teachings of communism and the corresponding practice of party politics. Finally, in his fervent campaign for a return to the indigenous tradition, they out-lined his abhorrence of "foreign imports". Metaxas promoted primarily the creation of a new national civilization as well as tasks such as the raising of the nation's morale, improving national education and securing respect for the country internationally. The strength required for this general mobilization was to be drawn from a return "to the roots and sources", an indication of the dictator's predilection for the "beautiful Greek tradition", which came side by side with his rejection of foreign influences. Because of the general climate of nationalism that developed under the absolutist regimes of the period, both in Europe (fascism and Nazism) and in Greece, a harking back to the glorious past, and consequently to neoclassicism, is observable, with emphasis on the monumentality of the structures and with morphological elements, such as Doric columns and pediments.

His policy was characterized by authoritarianism but also by the advancement of a personality cult towards himself. The Metaxas dictatorship promoted various popular measures, such as the 8 hour working day and mandatory improvements to the working conditions of workers, established the Greek social security fund (IKA), still the biggest social institution in Greece, and improved the country's defences. For rural areas, agricultural prices were raised and farm debts were taken on by the government. Another aspect of this populist policy was Metaxas' attitude to the language issue. This had been a matter of long and often violent controversy between the supporters of two versions of the Greek language, the "katharevousa" and the "demotic". The first was formalistically modelled on the ancient rules and "purified" of later "malformations", while the second consisted of a variant closer to the spoken popular idiom as it had evolved after centuries of use. Metaxas personally rejected the artificiality and rigidity of the dispute, which he believed would be settled in time by an ultimate fusion of the two versions. Finally, mention should be made of Metaxas' attitude towards two fundamental values of
Greek society, Family and Religion. Both were recognized and highly upheld, but assigned to a subordinate place in the scale of priorities. Religion, in particular, which had always claimed precedence in Greek spiritual life, was now relegated to a lower position, below the ideal of nationalism. This was a trend that had its origins in the work of the founding theorists of the right, who refrained from incorporating religion into their doctrines and retained an indifferent attitude towards the Church.

The ideology of the "Fourth of August" was never formulated into a fully comprehensive system and never acquired the sophistication of the theories of its Western European totalitarian counterparts. It lacked a founding theorist, and Metaxas had neither the ability nor the time for such a task. His statements and declarations ultimately provided the guiding principles, but the various ideas lay scattered confusedly among them. Despite their efforts, the Greek people generally moved towards the political left, but without actively opposing Metaxas.

The policy of Metaxas to keep Greece out of WWII was decisively broken by the blunt demands of Mussolini in October 1940. This ultimatum, which was presented to Metaxas by the Italian ambassador in Greece, Grachi, at down (04:00 AM) on 28 October 1940, after a party in the German embassy in Athens, demanded of Greece to allow Axis forces to enter Greek territory and occupy certain unspecified "strategic locations", or otherwise face war. It was allegedly answered with a single word: No (OXI-ohi)! On the morning of the 28 October, the Greek population took to the streets, irrespective of political affiliation, shouting “OXI!”. In response to Metaxa’s refusal, Italian troops stationed in Albania, then an Italian protectorate, attacked the Greek border at 05:30 AM. Metaxas’s reply marked the beginning of Greece’s participation in the war. In January 1941, Ioannis Metaxas died suddenly of a phlegm on of the pharynx.

Greek Military Junta of 1967-1974

The military junta, known simply as the Junta in Greece, was imposed on 21 April 1967 when army officers, led by Colonel George Papadopoulos, Brigadier
Stylianos Pattakos and Colonel Nikolaos Makarezos seized power in a coup d'état. Having positioned about 100 tanks in the Athens area, the coup leaders made their move at dawn on the 21st of April and first occupied the Ministry of Defence.

The coup had taken place two days before the campaign for national elections was to begin, elections which appeared certain to bring the veteran liberal leader George Papandreou back as prime minister. Papandreou had been elected in February 1964 with the only outright majority in the history of modern Greek elections. The successful machinations to unseat him had begun immediately, a joint effort of the Royal Court, the Greek Military, and the American military and CIA stationed in Greece.

Initially the colonels tried to rule through the king and the existing political system. But, gaining the cooperation of very few politicians, they soon began to arrest all those who showed signs of resisting the takeover, consolidating as much power as possible in their own hands. As the methods of the colonels began to resemble those of the Metaxas dictatorship, Constantine organized a counter coup in December 1967, but fled into exile when his plan failed.

**Junta’s Policy**

Because the imposition of dictatorship was the result of the choices of all municipal powers the regime of April 21st did not encounter any major problems to be stabilized, either with internal or international relations. The regime didn’t face any major problems in its relations with the "western allies". Despite the condemnation of the Council of Europe on human rights violations, both NATO and the EU (that period was the European Economic Community (EEC)), remained undisturbed in their relations with the regime. The EEC continued the implementation of the agreement for the accession of Greece to the EEC (despite the supposed "freeze") and legalized the regime by starting negotiations for the harmonization of the Greek agricultural policy with that of the Community.
The economic policy of the dictatorship had as its main objective: the complete irresponsibility of the capital. This explains also why the totalitarian period, with regard to the construction of buildings and monuments, was characterized by megalomaniac capitalist symbols and huge buildings which, most of the times, didn’t harmonize with the environment. During the period of the Greek Military Junta, many buildings, roads and public contracts were constructed all over Greece, and especially in the urban centres.

The economic growth was at the expense of labour income. During the period 1967-1973 the earnings in industry increased by 80% and the salaries by 46%. The ban on syndicalism intensified the work, with no possibility of any reaction by workers, leaving the capitalists unrestrained. It is no coincidence that there was an increase in emigration during the years of dictatorship i.e. in 1968 about 51,000 left, in 1969 91,500 and in 1970 about 93,000. The economic crisis of 1973 caused to all the problems in the Greek economy to come to the surface. Inflation in 1974 jumped to 30%. Labour productivity fell by 5.1% and salaries by 6%. It is no coincidence that the regime entered into its final phase after the crisis of 1973.

Two important events took place during that period. The first was in August 1968, when Alekos Panagoulis tried to assassinate George Papadopoulos with a bomb. Only the international outcry prevented the death sentence being passed on Panagoulis. A few months later, in November 1968, the first massive demonstration against the Junta took place. About 500,000 residents of Athens who attended George Papandreou’s (the grandfather of the then prime Minister of Greece) funeral were shouting and protesting against the Junta by singing the National Anthem. The Athenians disobeyed the military’s orders and followed the casket to the cemetery.

**The Mutiny of the Velos**, 1973 was a crucial year in Greek history. In May 1973 a wide-ranging anti-junta movement was discovered within the ranks of the mostly Royalist Navy but was suppressed just before its outbreak. On 25 May 1973, the destroyer Velos, under the command of Nikolaos Pappas, while participating in a NATO exercise, anchored at Fiumicino, Italy and refused to return to Greece in order to protest against the dictatorship in Greece. The captain and the officers had learned
by radio that royalist naval officers had been arrested and tortured in Greece. Commander *Pappas* was a member of a group of democratic officers, loyal to their oath to the King and planning to act against the junta. *Pappas* knew the arrested officers and realized there was no further hope for a coup at that point.

**The Fall of the Junta**

The two immediate causes of the fall of the colonels were the Greek student movement and events in Cyprus. In the autumn of 1973, large-scale student demonstrations, motivated by repression at universities, deterioration of the economy and a drastic increase in inflation, showed open defiance of the junta's ban on public assemblies. When the students occupied the National Polytechnic University of Athens and began clandestine radio broadcasts, calling for the people of Athens to rise up against the tyranny, the junta responded by calling in the army, in November 1973. Tanks brutally crushed the gathering. The incident exposed the regime's lack of control over society and showed the public that resistance was not futile. The junta lurched even farther to the right when Dimitrios Ioannides, former head of the secret police, toppled Papodopoulos and replaced him at the head of the government.

Believing that a major nationalist cause would rally the people behind him, in 1974 Ioannides induced a confrontation with Turkey over control of recently discovered oil deposits in the Aegean Sea. He also attempted to undermine Makarios by supporting Greek Cypriot terrorist activity. In July, when junta-inspired Cypriots engineered a coup against Makarios, Turkey immediately invaded Cyprus under its rights as a guarantor of the security of the republic established in 1960. Ioannides received little response when he called for full mobilization of the Greek military, which had already shown disaffection through scattered revolts. Thus, the Cyprus crisis made clear that the regime's most fundamental base of support was crumbling.

As the only non-communist country in South East Europe, Greece was an object of attention and highly tolerated by Europe and America. The brief period of
military control coincided with the Greek government’s fear of communization of the country and this position for some time legitimised the regime in front of states that were not its supporters. Internal unrest, but especially the intervention of Greece in Cyprus, and rising tensions in the eastern Mediterranean caused the collapse of the military regime.

At this point, under pressure from European countries, Greek military leaders and politicians turned to former Prime Minister Karamanlis, who possessed the ability and level of popular support needed to dismantle the dictatorship and restore democracy to Greece. Four days after the Turkish invasion of Cyprus, Karamanlis arrived from Paris and took up the task.
1.9. **Albania after Year 1939**

Despite the many years of protection and alliance with Italy, on April 7\textsuperscript{th} 1939 the Italian troops invade Albania, five months before the start of Second World War. The Albanian armed resistance forces turned out to be ineffective against the Italians and, after short defensive actions, the country was occupied. On April 9\textsuperscript{th} 1939, the Albanian king Zogu fled to Greece.

At this time, Albania was in fact an Italian protectorate since, during 1927, the political leader in Italy, Benito Mussolini, acquired direct control on the country, in order to raise his own prestige. This event may be compared to the later German annexation of Austria and occupation of Czechoslovakia.

After the Italian invasion, Albania formally remained a separate country, but in “close alliance” with Italy. In reality, however, the country was more than an Italian protectorate, as the Albanian crown was proclaimed in personal unit with the
Italian crown. Furthermore Albania was governed by an Italian clergyman, representing King Victor Emanuil III and the Albanian foreign policy was managed from Rome. The Albanian armed forces were included in the Italian army, Italian advisors were placed at all levels of the Albanian administration and the country was turned into a fascist state. 100 000 Italian soldiers were deployed in the country and 11 000 Italian colonists settled there, aiming at the integration of Albania with the Great Italy. The natural resources of the country fell under the direct control of Italy. All oil resources in Albania passed through AGIP, the state owned Oil Company in Italy.

In November 1941, a small Albanian communist group was created by the Albanian communist party in Tirana, amounting to 130 members under the leadership of Hoxha, with a Central Committee of eleven people. In the beginning it had only a small response from the people but, by attracting young members, gradually gained in popularity.

The nationalistic resistance against the Italian invaders commenced in October 1942. The nationalists formed Balli Kombëtar (National front), from the West-oriented and anti-communists. Balli Kombëtar was a movement, which found supporters among the large landowners and the peasants. They supported the creation of Great Albania, liberation from the Italians and urged the creation of a republic, as well as the introduction of social and economic reforms. The nationalistic leaders and landowners often supported the Italians and, later on, the Germans, in order to preserve their wealth and power.

After the fall of Mussolini’s fascist regime, in July 1943, Albanian troops, supported by five Italian divisions, as well as by Italian recruits joined, the guerrilla forces. The communists established control over the larger part of the Southern towns in Albania, with the exception of Vlorë, which was a fortress. Balli Kombëtar and the nationalists, supported by the national movement for liberation, acquired control over the larger part of the Northern regions.

In August 1943, the allies persuaded the communist leaders, and Balli Kombëtar, to sign agreement to coordinate their guerrilla operations. In the end, the
two groups put an end to any kind of collaboration, but thus disagreement arose regarding the post-war statute of Kosovo. The communists supported the return of the region to Yugoslavia, after the war with the hope that Tito would give Kosovo to Albania peacefully, while the nationalistic Balli Kombëtar defended the necessity of preserving the province.

Germany occupied Albania in September 1943 and the German army soon drove away the partisans into the mountains and to the South. As a result, Berlin declares that they would acknowledge the independence of neutral Albania and the organized Albanian government.

Many members of Balli Kombëtar collaborated with the Germans against the communist leaders and Balli Kombëtar took positions in support of the Germans regime. The communist partisans regrouped themselves and gained control over the larger part of South Albania in January 1944. Enver Hoxha became chairman of the Executive committee of the Council for the National front for liberation and commander in chief of the Army for National Liberation. The communist partisans defeated the last forces of Balli Kombëtar in the Southern parts of Albania and as, of summer 1944, only dispersed elements of Balli Kombëtar were met when they entered into the central and Northern parts of Albania, at the end of July. At the end of November, the partisans completely liberated Albania from German occupation.

Albanian partisans liberated Kosovo and supported Tito’s communist forces in the liberated part of Montenegro and in the Southern part of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

After the withdrawal of the Germans in November, control was taken over by the communists and Enver Hoxha became prime-minister.

The communist party in Albania, soon after the Second World War, defeated all potential political enemies diffracted the owners of land in the country and isolated Albania from the non-communist world. Many representatives of the country’s elite were killed, discredited or fled into exile. Thousands of politicians from the opposition, leaders of the clans and members of former Albanian governments were sentenced as “war criminals” and executed. Thousands of members of their
families were imprisoned for many years in labour camps and prisons and, later on, exiled for decades to survive unhappily on farms, built over regenerated swamps.

The communists undertook economic measures in order to expand their power. In December 1944, the caretaker government enacted laws allowing the state to regulate the domestic and foreign trade, as well as commercial enterprises, and to control several industries in the country. The law sanctioned the confiscation of property, owned by political exiles and “enemies of the people”. The state expropriates the property of all German and Italian owners, nationalizes transport, and revokes all concessions provided by the former Albanian governments to foreign companies.

The Stalinist style of state planning was introduced in 1946. All industries were nationalized, state monopoly was imposed over foreign trade, almost the entire domestic trade was placed under the control of the state and the sale and transfer of land was forbidden. The newly established Economic Commission for Planning underlined the role of industrial development and, in 1947, the government introduced the Soviet system for costs reporting and accounting.

The relations between Albania and the West deteriorated after the communist regime refused to allow the carrying out of free elections, in December 1945.

After severing relations with Tito’s Yugoslavia in 1948, Albania entered into the fold of the Soviet Union. Impatient to pay tribute to Stalin, the Albanian leaders imposed new elements of the Stalinist economic system. Soviet – Albanian relations remained warm during the last years of Stalin’s life. Albania implemented its foreign trade entirely with the Soviet dependant European countries during 1949, 1950 and 1951, and conducted well over half of its trade with the Soviet Union. Together with its satellites, the Soviet Union guaranteed any deficiency in Albania’s balance of payments.

After Stalin’s death in 1953, the leaders Hoxha and Shehu, despite the fictitious initial enthusiasm, expressed their distrust of the program of Nikita Khrushchev for “peaceful coexistence” and “different roads to socialism”, because
they were worried by the thought that Moscow may prefer the less dynamic leaders in Albania. When Khrushchev condemned Stalin’s crimes, Hoxha defended Stalin and condemned Tito for heresy and guilt about the problems in global communism, including the turbulence in Poland and insurrection in Hungary in 1956.

Until 1958 Albania supported the People’s Republic of China in its opposition to Moscow, regarding the issues of peaceful coexistence and de-Stalinization, and to Yugoslavia for its “different way to socialism” through economic decentralization. Furthermore, the Soviet leaders were promising to build a large Palace of culture in Tirana, as a symbol of the Soviet people’s “love and friendship” for the Albanians.

In May-June 1960, Hoxha and Shehu obviously believed that Albania was secured by Chinese support and, when the sharp polemics between the People’s Republic of China and USSR began, the Albanians openly took the side of the Chinese politicians.

The Soviet Union immediately responded to this by organizing a campaign aiming at the replacement of Hoxha and Shehu, during the summer of 1960. Moscow threatened to reduce the supplies of grain, as well as to take part in an internal attempt to replace Hoxha and Shehu by force. But, taking into account the tight control on behalf of the army and Shehu’s secret police, the Directorate of State Security, the two Albanian leaders easily averted the threat. Four pro-Soviet Albanian leaders were convicted and executed.

In December 1961, the Soviet Union finally severed its diplomatic relations with Albania. After that, Moscow called back all economic advisors and technicians from the country, including those working on the Palace of Culture, and discontinued the supply of consumables and spare parts for available equipment in Albania.

Communist China compensated Albania for the loss of Soviet economic support, by supplying about 90% of the spare parts, foodstuffs and other commodities that had been promised by the Soviet Union. China supplied Albania with a powerful radio station, from where Tirana praised Stalin, Hoxha and Mao Zedong for decades. On its behalf, Albania served as a bridgehead for China into Europe and acted as a chief spokesman for communist China in the UN.
After Mao Zedong loosened the Cultural Revolution in China in 1966, Hoxha initiated his own cultural and ideological revolutions. The Albanian leader concentrated on the reformation of the militaries, on the state bureaucracy and economy, as well as on the creation of new support for the Stalinist system. The regime removed military ranks, included anew the political commissioners in the army and rejected professionalism in the army. Six ministries, including the Ministry of Justice, were eliminated. Hoxha and the government arrested and imprisoned dissidents, writers and artists, reformed their education system and intensified the Albania’s isolation from European culture, in their efforts to protect themselves from external influences.

In 1967, the authorities initiated a coercive campaign to extinguish the religious life in Albania and to proclaim Albania as the first atheistic state in the World. All churches, mosques, monasteries and other religious institutions were closed down or turned into warehouses or sports halls. The priests were forced to return to civil life, otherwise they were thrown into jail or executed.

Hoxha’s communist Albania was a state-fortress, seeing enemies everywhere. Thousands of executions of political enemies were carried out, as well as the executions of enemies to communism.

Albanian –Chinese relations were at standstill in 1970 and, when the Asian giant commence to come out from isolation at the beginning of 1970, Mao and the other communist Chinese leaders reassess their commitment to small Albania.

The Albanian leaders did not approve the contacts of the People’s Republic of China with the Unites States at the beginning of 1970. At this time, Albania opts out of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and is the only European country which refuses to take part in the Helsinki conference, in July 1975. Soon after Mao’s death, in 1976, Hoxha criticized the new leadership, as well as the pragmatic policy of Beijing towards the USA and Western Europe. The Chinese responded by inviting Tito to visit Beijing in 1977 and ended up with programs for the support Albania in 1978. Tirana ignores the appeals of the USA and the Soviet Union to return
to normal relations. As Hoxha’s health deteriorated, the discussions were discontinued.

When Hoxha died, on April 11th 1985, he left, as a heritage to Albania, repressions, technological retardation, isolation and fear of the external world.

After Hoxha’s death, his place was taken by Ramis Alia. During his regime the first pluralistic elections were carried out, since the communists were in power in Albania. Alia won the elections on March 31st 1991. Nevertheless, it was clear that the change could not be avoided. On March 22nd 1992, the communists were defeated by the Democratic party in the national elections.
1.11. Serbia as Hegemony in Yugoslavia

After the end of the First World War, Serbia lined up on the side of the victors. The defeat of the Central forces and the collapse of Austro-Hungary disclosed the possibility not only for the implementation of the dreams of the nationalists for a “Great Serbia”, but also allowed the creation, on December 1st 1918, of a much bigger state under Serbian leadership – the Serbo-Croatian-Slovenian Kingdom which, since 1929, was called Yugoslavia. The following countries entered the composition of the new state: Serbia, Montenegro, part of Macedonia, Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Dalmatia and Vojvodina. On its conceiving, this artificially assembled state manifested its defects – it was a conglomerate, a mosaic of different nationalities, religions, cultures, preserved by one language, but some writing with Cyrillic and other with Latin letters, without being united in one nation. According to the new constitution, the polity was a parliamentary monarchy. The legislative power was in the hands of the king and parliament – the so called Skupshtina, elected every
4 years. In 1929 king Alexander carried out a *coup d'etat*. The Skupshtina was disbanded and political parties were forbidden. The king tried to legalize his dictatorship with a new constitution and elections but, in the end, was killed in a plot in 1934.

After changes in the international situation e.g. Germany and Italy attacked the Versailles system, in Yugoslavia people realize how dangerous the unresolved national problems are for the country. Attempts at saving the country were made concluding with a contract of “eternal friendship” with Bulgaria, for neutrality with Italy and with the provision of autonomy to Croatia five days before the start up of the Second World War.

On March 25th 1941, Yugoslavia joined the Tripartite Pact, but two days later the pro-Hitler government was overthrown, under the pressure of public opinion. Hitler decided to attack Yugoslavia and on April 6th 1941 the German army initiated the occupation of the country. In reply, the partisan groups, under the leadership of Tito, undertook armed struggles against the occupiers. The communist party used its party doctrine – the proletarian revolution – as a background and promised an attractive program after the end of the war, meeting with the consent of all Yugoslav nations. The struggle against fascism and equality of all Yugoslavian nations was propagandised with the creation of a unified federal state.

At the second conference in 1943, in Jajtse, the decision was confirmed for the establishment of a Yugoslav federal state after the war. Besides Serbia, Croatia and Slovenia, Montenegro and Macedonia were also recognized as separate nations. All of these nations must remain as separate republics. The recognition of the small states contributed to the identity in the two ethnicities. In this way, Tito looked towards strengthen his influence in the Southern parts of the country. On the other hand, the predominance of Serbia in New Yugoslavia should be noted.

When, in August 1944, Romania and Bulgaria declared war on Germany, under pressure from the Soviet Union, the road for the Red Army into Yugoslavia was opened. In October, the Yugoslav and Soviet troops entered in Belgrade at the same time. In practice, there was no occupying regime in Yugoslavia.
The fight for the liberation of Yugoslavia continued up to the capitulation, on May 8th 1945. Then to the forefront came the internal strife and the civil war. It is true that there were almost no German troops present in the country, but the ustashi and the Slovenian collaborationists fought against the inevitable defeat, because they expect cruel revenge to be taken by the communist troops. The massacres were not late in coming in Cainthia, Slovenia and Croatia, and that placed them at the edge of a deep precipice, which was temporarily overcome by the totalitarian communist regime, but which was to occur again forty years later.

After the Second World War, Serbia became part of the Federative People’s Republic of Yugoslavia, established in 1946 after the Soviet example and, in 1963 renamed the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia. This “federation” was led, on the principle of “democratic centralism”, by the communist party leadership in Belgrade and its leader Josip Broz Tito. In this respect, initially, it was almost impossible to detect any peculiarity in the management, economy and politics of Serbia, since in these areas valid norms and principles are common for the federation.

During the initial years after the war, to a large degree the government accepted and applied the methods of Soviet management in the field of the economy. Almost all mines, manufacturing enterprises, shops and banks were nationalized during the first months. Only towards the peasants who were the major part of the population, was Tito more cautious than Stalin and did not carry out the Soviet collectivization of the 1930s. The peasants preserved their land.

Again, after Stalin’s model, the communists were forcing the industrialization of the country. Particular attention was paid to the heavy industries, which had to be reoriented towards the not so well developed Southern regions of the country. A large part of the investments needed for this purpose came from reparations, Soviet loans and profit from sales of raw materials. International trade was also built up after the Soviet example. As befits a planned economy, all production and purchase prices were decided by the state.
Despite the initial influence of the Soviet Union over the global policy in Belgrade, it should be noted that certain areas were never so much affected, as was the case at the beginning of the post-war period in Hungary and Czechoslovakia, and as it continued as late as the end of the 1980s in Bulgaria.

After 1960, some decisions and responsibilities were gradually being transferred to the different republics and regions. The republics appointed their own political personnel and political elite in the state work and in the dominating regional Union of the Yugoslav communists.

If, at the beginning of the 1970s, Tito was still uncompromisingly opposing the autonomist attempts of Croatians, somewhat later he changed course and mitigated the external effect of the Serbian predominance. Excluding the leadership role of the Union of the Yugoslav communists, managing and controlling all spheres of public life, some changes occurred in the administrative management, especially after the amendment of the constitution in 1974. The local and regional self-management was strengthened and, in a hierarchical way, this was dispersed on to the urban, municipal, provincial and republican levels, up to federal level.

The policies for defence, foreign affairs, finances and currency are discussed at a nationwide level. The socialist republics acquire the right to their own national coat of arms and state language, as well as the possibility to independently settle issues relating to education, enlightening, science and culture.

During the years of Tito’s regime, Yugoslavia gave the impression of being a stable state with respect to both its foreign policy and in its domestic policy plan. It acquired global recognition in connection with its relations to non-aligned countries. The Americans looked positively upon the country and supported it economically, because it was the only socialist country, with the exception of China and, with certain provisions Romania, which was not bowing to Soviet supremacy. Furthermore, the Yugoslav communist dictatorship was regarded as relatively liberal. It was true that the Yugoslav citizens had more personal freedom than citizens from the Eastern Block. Many of the Left oriented West Europeans saw the Yugoslav system and its collective self-management as a positive example of the real socialism.
People abroad did not even assume that, in the seemingly independent republics within the union, the practical management was accomplished by a one-party dictatorship, where the power is concentrated in the hands of one leader. Many of the foreign observers missed a series of crises phenomena which, during the 1980s, led the country to collapse.

Tito’s death in 1980 abated the decisive factors in the communist leadership. This naturally caused crisis in the political institutions, both with respect to the distribution of the power and in connection with the taking of competent decisions. The formerly existing, but skilfully hidden, transnational conflicts burst out in full force. They were created mainly on economic bases, due to the claims of the better developed Slovenia and Croatia for not being equated with the poorly developed Macedonia, Kosovo and Bosnia and Herzegovina. These transnational disputes aggravated and revived the historically created, smouldering and unsolved ethnic hostility, with which the Yugoslav communists could not cope. This cleared the road for the disintegration of the federation, with the accompanying rather violent and bloody conflicts. The growing discontent of the Belgrade leaders ended with the proclamation of the independence of the republics during the 1990s.
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2.1. Italy

Ideological And Political Upbringing, Social Care

Italy presents architectural landmarks from the second period of Mussolini’s totalitarian regime, from 1930 to the end of the Second World War. The period is characterized by decisive and determining intervention of the regime in all spheres of public life. Of particular interest for ATRIUM are the political and ideological spheres, including the work with young people regarding education and upbringing, the field of social and health care, as well as heroism and military symbols.

The landmarks are located in four towns – Forlì, Predappio, Cesenatico and Castrocaro.

The chronological sequence is as follows:

1. Monument to the Fallen, Forlì, 1927
2. House of the Crippled, Forlì, 1933
3. Fascist Youth Seat, Forlì, 1935
5. AGIP Summer Camp, Cesenatico, 1938
6. Valsalva Sanatorium Centre, Forlì, 1939
7. Air Force College, Forlì, 1941
8. Industrial and Technical Institute, Forlì, 1941
9. Grand Hotel, Castrocaro Terme e Terra del Sole, 1943

Mussolini’s totalitarian regime devoted great attention to building and construction works, representing the material embodiment of the ideas of the fascist
regime and, in parallel with this, secured space for political upbringing, education and contact among the people, under the direct participation and strict control of the state. A typical expression of this policy is the construction of new towns on completely vacant sites, and the introduction of new building architectures, such as the Houses of the Fascists (Predappio, Illustration 1) and their youth organizations (Forlì, Illustration 2), public buildings of the militaries (Air force college) and other social institutions, built according to the futuristic forms of different machines (Sanatorium Forlì, Illustration 3), buildings for health care and recreation, unknown until then on such a scale (Cesenatico, Illustration 4).
Illustration 2. Arnaldo Mussolini Fascist Youth seat, subsequently Italian Fascist Youth Organization (or GIL) seat, Forlì

Illustration 3. Vecchiazzano Sanatorium Centre, Forlì
For the purpose of ideological and political upbringing, well designed and implemented urban public spaces were used—squares, important streets and alleys, symmetrical and axial compositional solutions with distinct dominants and accents and wide open spaces with monumental impact, such as the Via Mussolini in Forlì. Sometimes, in these places, one can also feel the association with some traditional urbanization and architectural principles and methods (*The House of the War Disabled, Forlì, Illustration 5*), not so much through the remarkable architecture, inscribed in the existing building, but through the skilful transformation of a new fascist language in the traditional historical frame. References are made to the magnificent spaces and specific landmarks of Ancient Rome, of which the regime was regarded as being the successor and continuer—Monument to the Fallen conforming to the project from 1941 (*Forlì, Illustration 6*).
Illustration 5. The House of the Crippled, Forlì,
Most of these public spaces were built as both symbolic and utilitarian landmarks important to the party and the state. The architecture is most often representative, decided by monumental rigorous and, in places, raw expressive language and cleansed of all redundant detail (Industrial and Technical Institute, Forlì, Illustration 7), with the exception of the usual fascist symbols (Fascists Youth Seat, Forlì) and separate sculptures (Icarus at the Air force college, Illustration 8). Within the new spaces, the Fascist Home usually dominates (Predappio), complete
with management, training and service buildings, as well as spaces for fascist signs and symbols.
Despite the distinct presence and different appearance and inspiration, the language, the style peculiarities and characteristics of Italian rationalism predominate in the architecture. In some places it is in combination with modernist elements, known since the 1920s in European and Soviet vanguard architecture – particularly evident in the towers of the fascist and urban houses (Forlì), as well as in the German expressionism and functionalism within candid vertical accent (Predappio) and markedly horizontal substructures (Cesenatico), or with accents around the entrances, the corner motives or the functionally outstanding, and thus outlined, elements of the building (Grand Hotel in Castrocaro, Illustration 9). These solutions often introduce larger structural scale as in Forlì, but on the whole are inscribed as silhouettes in a welded frame, striving laying down of an accent or dominant, through use of the architectural language and different dominating elements.
2.2. Slovenia

Public-Administrative Buildings And Complexes

Slovenia presents architectural landmarks from the period of the totalitarian regime in Yugoslavia – 1946 to 1990. The landmarks are located in five towns – Ljubljana, Nova Gorica, Trbovlje, Maribor and Velenije. The landmarks are representative of the basic subperiods of the totalitarian regime in former Yugoslavia – the early period of “democratic centralism”, until around 1960, as well as the period of decentralization after 1960.

The chronological sequence is as follows:

1. Workers’ Home, Trbovlje, 1953
3. Administrative building of the coal mine, Velenje, 1957
4. House of Culture, Velenje, 1957
6. The Revolution Square, Ljubljana, 1983

The character of the landmarks reveals a choice of public buildings and spaces, which were usually the most typical expressions for demonstration of the dominant ideology and the power, notwithstanding to which period of the totalitarian regime they belonged. If the House in Nova Gorica (Illustration 10) and the Sociopolitical House in Maribor (Illustration 11) are an expressions of the exercising of the power, then The Revolution Square in Ljubljana (Illustration 12, 13) and the Workers’ Home in Trbovlje (Illustration 14) also possess certain social orientations, as places for public and cultural events, under the management and control of the authorities.
Illustration 10. Administrative building, Nova Gorica

Illustration 11. House of Sociopolitical Organizations Maribor
After the amendment of the constitution in 1974, both the local and regional self-government was strengthened; the republics had the right to a degree of independence on issues of education, training, science and culture. A relatively open socialist system with Western capitalist influence was created via direct economic and cultural contacts with neighbouring countries.

Unlike the other countries in the region (Hungary, Slovakia, Romania, Bulgaria), during the early post-war period in Yugoslavia one does not observe a direct Soviet influence in the political life, but the country rather follows the unified communist model. The same also applies to the architecture. The interpretations are in the spirit of rationalism, which finds expression in the town of Nova Gorica. The town was built by brigadiers after the war, with nostalgia for the neighbouring town of Goricia, which remained in Italy. Within the Municipal Hall elements of monumentality and austerity are detected even though, to some extent, these are combined with Mediterranean architecture. Such monumentality is lacking in the remaining examples from the 1950s.
In the Workers' Home in Trbovlje and the Institute in Maribor – again from this period – the architecture is far more modern and open-minded, influenced by Corbusier with innovative glazed façades and notable constructions. It is not so much the architectural expression but rather the implied therein campaigning and propagandising of the ideological function that reveals the intention of the regime to impose its political will and to receive universal approval and recognition. Even the successful urban planning solution and the ostensibly open appearance of the Institute in Maribor cannot hide the mixed impression introversion and ostentation.

At the end of the 1950s two remarkable buildings were designed in Velenje, these being the Administration of the coal mine (Illustration 15) and the House of Culture (Illustration 16). The architecture is seemingly neutral, that of the Administration being defined by balanced horizontal and vertical subconstruction, while the House of Culture leaves a markedly artistic impression.
Illustration 15. Administrative building of the coal mine, Velenje

Illustration 16. House of Culture, Velenje
The imposition of the political line and its acknowledgement by the society was convincingly achieved in the urban planning solution and the separate elements in Revolution Square (today Republic Square) in Ljubljana (Illustration 13). The bases were laid at the end of the 1950s, when Yugoslavia was alienating itself from the strong Soviet influence and when economic and political decentralization, was progressing. The strongest impact of the ideology can be seen in the design of the monument of the revolution. Conforming to the elaboration, its initial location was between the twin-towers, positioned as far as possible in the centre. An additional amendment to the design led to it being positioned on the periphery of the square, the central area being emptied for the people. With respect to urban planning, silhouette investigations were completed and the towers were juxtaposed with other urban dominants, the architectural language being absolutely modern and European. Through the construction of this central square, the regime demonstrated its own might and solidarity, even though this was done using contemporary means of expression and techniques.

The landmarks were well selected and demonstrated both the strength of the totalitarian regime which, over the years, is seemingly mitigated in its architectural expression and the tendency towards liberating the architecture from historicism and taking of the path of European rationalism and functionalism.
2.3. Croatia

Industrial Settlements

Croatia presents landmarks from two industrial settlements, situated on the Istrian peninsula – the miners’ towns Rasa (Illustration 17) and Podlabin (Illustration 18). They date from the pre-war period of Italian fascism, headed by Mussolini at the end of the 1930s.

The historical background of the landmarks is rather complicated. The towns of Rasa and Podlabin are situated on the Istrian peninsula, which for more than 100 years was part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Following the disintegration of the empire after the First World War (1918), the peninsula came under Italian control. Following the Munich Pact of 1939, Istria was divided between Italy, Yugoslavia and Austria and the two towns remained within Yugoslav territory. Shortly afterwards they become part of the newly created (similar to Slovakia) Independent State of Croatia, which during 1941 was occupied by the Nazis as a satellite state. After the war, Istria remained divided, while Rasa and Podlabin fell into Tito’s communist Yugoslavia – on the territory of the Federal Republic of Croatia and, after 1991, a truly independent Republic of Croatia.

The chronological sequence is as follows:

1. Town of Arsia/Rasa, Istrian region, 1936
2. Square in Arsia, 1936
3. Fascist House in Arsia, 1936
4. Church of St. Barbara, Arsia, 1936
5. Town of Pozzo Littorio/Labin, Istrian region, 1938
6. Square in Pozzo Littorio, 1938
7. Ceva with tower – Fascist House in Pozzo Littorio, 1938
8. Church of Saint Francis, Pozzo Littorio, 1938
Both miners’ towns were constructed without any succession and more newly designed, with the function of ensuring shelter, labour and recreation for the workers. The towns were part of an extensive program of work by Mussolini on „Citta di Fondazione“ (planned towns). From 1928 until the beginning of war, twelve towns were constructed, of which three were miners’ settlements (the third is situated on the Island of Sardinia). The well defined functional zoning of residential, industrial, public and recreation areas is convincingly accomplished.

Illustration 17. Arsia/Rasa, Istrian region

Illustration 18. Pozzo Littorio/Labin, Istrian region
Illustration 19. Square in Arsia

Illustration 20. Square in Pozzo Littorio
The well-intended and implemented public spaces of the town squares (Illustration 19, 20) with strict and in places raw architecture and surreal impact, serve to enforce the ideological and political upbringing. The public buildings themselves, however, are stripped of detail and are resolved monumentally. The outline of the squares is dominated by the church (Illustration 23, 24), the Municipal Hall and the Fascist House (Illustration 21, 22), complemented by hotels, educational and administration buildings (Illustration 25).
Illustration 23. Church of St. Barbara, Arsia

Illustration 24. Church of Saint Francis, Pozzo Littorio
The settlements’ architecture generally relies on the materials used and on certain Mediterranean spatial elements, colour choices and artistic synthesis. Even though they are smaller copies of existing Italian towns, the two settlements bear all the features of Mussolini’s totalitarian regime – its decisive intrusion into public life and the introduction of a unified and undeviating line in the political and ideological sphere, in education, work with young people in the social field and especially in the working life of the people.

The selected examples provide clear evidence regarding the claim of “social” construction of the totalitarian regime and the fact that the mine in Rasa functioned up to the 1970s and in Podlabin until the 1990s illustrates the good intentions and quality of construction, as well as the positive public response to this architecture many years after its construction.
2.4. Hungary

Residential and Social Architecture

Hungary presents six landmarks from the period of the totalitarian regime - 1945 to 1990. The landmarks are located in the city of Gyor and correspond to the initial assignment. Residential buildings and ensembles are dominant and three of the landmarks are public buildings in the servicing, educational and social sectors. They are mainly from the first so called Stalinist period and were designed and constructed during the period between 1952 and 1959. This was also the period of public dissent against the government culminating in the revolution of 1956.

The chronological sequence is as follows:

1. Lukacs Sandor Secondary School, Gyor, 1950
2. “Nádorváros” Housing Project, Gyor, 1953
3. Szent Istvan (Stalin Avenue) ut 14-18 Housing Project, Gyor, 1953
4. Szent Istvan (Stalin Avenue) ut 35-39 Housing Project, Gyor, 1953
6. Railway Station and Post Office, Gyor, 1956
7. Public Health and Epidemic Station, Gyor, 1956
8. National Theatre, Gyor, 1973

The period after the war, and especially after 1950, was characterized by the forced development of heavy and military industries, which led to a decline in living standards. The city of Gyor was a workers’ centre and it was not by coincidence that the government demonstrated its care for the workers. The workers’ dwellings were built using the Soviet model of Stalin’s “decorating” period. The Residential group “Nádorváros” (Illustration 26), was built in the old urban centre in the existing street...
spaces and introduces new and bulky volumes. Efforts are made to soften their impact through façade subconstruction and “romantic” artistic appearance.

Illustration 26. “Nádorváros” Housing Project, Gyor

The group of residential buildings No. 14-18 Szent Istvan (Stalin Avenue) (Illustration 27), were designed and constructed on reclaimed land, with preliminary scale conception, which creates the impression of a dwelling ensemble. A new urban planning scale was introduced, alien to the established city fabric, but resulting in the building of a large city boulevard (Illustration 28).
The buildings are with simplified volumes, reserved but pronounced detail, with solid and outlined plinths and main cornices. The façades are mainly neutral,
sometimes partitioned with bands and pilasters, with underlined entrances and separate fragments. The planned schemes were distinct and simplified. Though modest in design, the residential buildings have a monumental impact and embody the striving of the regime to gain accreditation among an important body of society – the workers.

The public buildings are an expression of the attitude of the authorities towards the needs of the population. They are proof of the claims of the totalitarian regime for “better satisfying the needs” of the workers. Even though most were built during the same period, they were not influenced by “Stalin’s” architecture. They more bear the spirit of the traditional architecture of the region. This is true especially of the School “Miklós Bercsényi” (Illustration 29) and the Health Center (Illustration 30). They were designed with clear plan schemes, they integrate harmoniously with the environment and are convincing in a functional respect. Only the theatre is an exception (Illustration 31), its massive volume and resized scale actively dominating the surroundings.
Illustration 30. Public Health and Epidemic Station, Győr

Illustration 31. National Theatre, Győr
The buildings of the secondary school “Lukács Sándor” (Illustration 32) and the Railway station (Illustration 33) are typical examples of the earlier Scandinavian architecture, from the period between the wars, and the Middle European rationalist school, dominated by sculptural reliefs in the spirit of the new progressive system.
2.5. Slovakia

Public Buildings And Residential Complexes

Slovakia presents seven landmarks from the period 1945-1990. The landmarks are located mainly in Bratislava, with one in Žilina and one entire settlement – Nova Dubnica.

The landmarks are representative of all subperiods of the era of totalitarian rule in Slovakia:

1. The second half of the 1930s when Czechoslovakia was a democratic republic with growing influence from Nazi (nationalistic-socialist) Germany

2. The prewar and war period of the German occupation (protectorate Moravia-Bohemia 1939) and the formally created First Slovak Republic 1938-1945.


The chronological sequence is as follows:

1. National Bank, Bratislava, 1938

2. Freedom Square, Bratislava, 1940-1980

3. Ceremonial House, Žilina, 1940

4. Nova Dubnica, 1952

5. SNP Bridge, Bratislava, 1968

6. Radio Center, Bratislava, 1970

7. Housing complex Petrzalka, Bratislava, 1971

Some clarification is needed with regard to the prewar landmarks. The National Bank, now the Supreme Prosecution (Illustration 34), was designed and
constructed between 1936 and 1938. This was the period of the national-socialistic regime in Germany, but for Czechoslovakia it was still not a totalitarian period, the latter beginning there after 1939. The Slovak district became autonomous after the Munich agreement of 1938. Slovakia became independent for the first time during the rule of Joseph Tissot, from March 1939 until 1945 (First Slovak Republic), and was in fact a satellite state to the German Reich.

The Municipal House, today the City Theatre (Illustration 35), in Žilina, was designed and constructed during the period 1940-1941, when the First Slovak Republic had already been established. The country was a satellite to national-socialist Germany and it can be assumed that after 1939 the totalitarian regime was dominant.
The landmarks represent urban planning solutions (integrated socialist settlements, central city squares and residential complexes), public buildings with traditional functions (municipal house and bank), one building with a modern contemporary function (radio broadcasts) and one road-transport facility – the new bridge.

The buildings from the pre-war and war period’s carry the typical features of rationalism and functionalism, strongly influenced by the German architecture and means of expression, which dominated during the 1930s.
The concept of Nova Dubnica (*Illustrations 36, 37*), as a small socialist town, is an aesthetic manifestation of socialist realism. The external appearance of the settlement was directly influenced by the Stalinist period of architecture. The urban planning solution itself is convincing, even though it is missing some elements and spaces of public relevance.

The residential complex Petržalka (*Illustrations 38, 39*) was designed as a unified concept and was one of the most ambitious projects of the former communist regime and intended as a counter-weight to the historical core of Bratislava. The lack of main axes for the connection of public facilities leaves it multifunctional but much dependant on the city centre. This was also a typical feature of similar complexes from that period in other countries.
The central square in Bratislava (Illustrations 40, 41) results from 40 years of consistent designing and implementation and it has proved to be a central, dominating urban space, created during the totalitarian period.

The unusual and untraditional outline of the Radio building (Illustration 42), as well as the elegant New bridge (Illustration 43), are convincing expressions of the manifestation and affirmation of the regime through a modern and contemporary architectural and constructive language.
Illustration 42. Radio Center, Bratislava

Illustration 43. SNP Bridge, Bratislava
2.6. Romania

Monumental Public Buildings And Ensembles

Romania presents six architectural and urban landmarks from the period of the totalitarian regime 1946 to 1989. The landmarks are representative of the basic subperiods of the totalitarian regime in the country – the early period of “democratic centralism” until around 1960, the period of the famous liberalization between 1960 and 1976 and the second stage from the “Ceausescu era” – from 1976 until 1989.

The chronological sequence is as follows:

1. The House of the Spark, Bucharest, 1949
2. The Monument to the Heroes, Bucharest, 1959
3. Union Square, Iasi, 1961
5. House of Culture, Suceava, 1968

The character of the landmarks shows the choice of important and determining public buildings and spaces, which provide the most convincing demonstration of the dominating ideology and power, over the period of the totalitarian regime.

The publishing complex “Spark”, *(Illustration 44)* is one of the most impressive examples of Stalinist architecture, beyond the former USSR. Borrowing the voluminous-spatial structure, the compositional solution and the artistic language from Soviet examples of the 1930s and above all from “Lomonosov” University, it is built under the direction of the communist architectural regime, “socialist in content and national in form”.

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After the gradual rejection of “the decorative period” there followed a return to the architectural expressions of rationalism and functionalism, which can be clearly seen in the Monument of the national heroes (Illustrations 45, 46), even though the ideological burden plies exactly in its function – a tomb for higher ranking party, political and government figures. The architectural language is much closer to those examples of functionalism in Central and Western Europe.
During the period of liberalization, a remarkable representative of which is the third landmark – Balcescu square with its emblematic buildings of the National theatre and the representative hotel (*Illustrations 47, 48, 49*) – the architectural and urban planning solution was still symbolizing the consolidation and strength of the communist regime, with fully modernistic language and stylistic peculiarities, typical of European architecture at that time. This restrained but nevertheless convincing representation still records and respects the architectural heritage of the central city square.

*Illustrations 47, 48. “Nicolae Balcescu” Ensemble, Bucharest*

*Illustration 49. “Nicolae Balcescu” Ensemble, Bucharest*
Urban planning in the country side also followed the principles of consolidated structures and voluminous-spatial solutions which did not fully represent the existing situation. The architectural appearance nevertheless follows European examples with stripped down forms, in close resemblance to rationalism and functionalism (*Illustrations 50, and 51, 52*).
During Ceausescu’s second period of rule, properly called the period of “dictatorship” at the end of the 1970s, an unseen and brutal quest for monumentality was unleashed and this led to the demolition of entire central wards and to the building of gigantic, large-scale compositional axes e.g. boulevard Unirii, made up of mixed residential and public buildings. This gigantic axes were resized in all elements (Illustration 53). Its natural ending is the monumental and resized building of the Palace of the People (Illustrations 54, 55).

It seems that here we again come up against the influence of Stalinism – both in voluminous-spatial and aesthetic-artistic aspects. The decorative bias and the true mixture of traditional and post-modern means of expression turn this complex into the most persuasive representation of unparalleled megalomaniac eclecticism.
Illustration 53. Unirii Blvd ensemble and The New Civic Center, Bucharest

Illustration 54. Unirii Blvd ensemble and The New Civic Center, Bucharest
Thus Romanian architecture from the totalitarian regime starts with true Soviet “Stalinism”, passes through the process of liberalization and returns to the forms and language of traditional and modernized functionalism to end up with a monumental-material manifestation of true dictatorship from the final period of the regime.
2.7. Bulgaria

Urban Public Ensembles and Monuments

Bulgaria presents architectural landmarks from the period of the totalitarian regime, 1946 to 1989. The landmarks are located in Sofia, Dimitrovgrad and on Buzludzha peak. The landmarks are representative of two subperiods of the totalitarian regime in the country:

1) the early subperiod of “democratic centralism” until around 1960, when consolidation of the communist regime occurred.

2) the late period of communist rule from the beginning of the 1970s until 1989 – the time when the idea of the inevitable onset of communism is replaced by the affirmation of socialism in the country, as a natural progression from its millennial history and by the utopian aspiration “the reality to be transformed in compliance with the laws of beauty”.

The chronological sequence is as follows:

1. Town Centre, Dimitrovgrad, 1947-1956
2. Residential complex “3th of March”, Dimitrovgrad, 1947-1961
3. The Largo ensemble, Sofia, 1949-1956
4. Monument of the Soviet Army, Sofia, 1953
5. Penio Penev Park, Dimitrovgrad, 1958

A special place in the architecture of the totalitarian regime in Bulgaria is occupied by monuments – historical signs making events and personalities. These monuments demonstratively state their support for ordinary Bulgarian citizens, and
in some cases for the universal Bulgarian image, as much as the ideology looked upon communism to provide a natural fair outcome for all classes of society.

In this sense the party administrative ensemble the Largo (Illustrations 56, 57, 58) represents a persuasive symbol of the power of the totalitarian one-party doctrine from the period of Stalinism, of its striving for “material conversion of the totalitarian idea into a complete artwork”, both in concept and implementation. The architecture of the different buildings is late socialist eclectic and corresponds to their place and role in “the symbolic order of the political system”.

Illustrations 56, 57. The Largo ensemble, Sofia

Illustration 58. The Largo ensemble, Sofia
The monument of the Soviet army (Illustration 59, 60) was intended to express in durable artistic forms and in clearly understood realistic images, the strength and indomitable power of the Soviet army, liberator of Bulgaria and other nations, guardian of peace, culture and progress. Furthermore, it intended to show the gratitude and appreciation of the Bulgarian people to the Great Russian Population and the Soviet army.

Illustrations 59, 60. Monument of the Soviet Army, Sofia, 1953

During the early period the building of the new socialist settlement Dimitrovgrad (Illustrations 61, 62) was a demonstration of the care of the party for the workers and of the unabated enthusiasm of the builders and brigadiers who, in construction of the new socialist town, were in fact building up the new, more equitable social system under the wise leadership of the communist leaders.
The means of expression in these landmarks bear the total influence of Stalinist architecture and, despite certain modifications and integration of elements from Bulgarian national tradition, they preserve their “international communist character”, schematics and symmetry e.g. the park Penyo Penev, Dimitrovgrad (Illustrations 63), with its eclectic decoration and highlighted monumentalism. These properties are to some extent palliated in the different architectural solutions in Dimitrovgrad, but not so in the spatial-compositional scheme of the town itself.
The governmental residence Boyana occupies a special place in the architecture of the totalitarian period (Illustrations 64). It is a peculiar manifestation of the totalitarian ideology with an unequivocal demonstration of the living standards of those belonging to the supreme power. The entire functional program is subject to this – cabinets for the Chairman and members of the State Council of the People’s Republic of Bulgaria, a congress hall, hotel rooms etc. In this case, the ideology stems from the “Bulgarian impact” on the so called “contemporary interpretation” of traditional elements from the national architecture, which results in architectural language seen in the administrative buildings.
During the second period, the totalitarian regime changes the ideal and focuses attention on landmarks of “mature socialism”, as a natural penultimate stage in 1300-years of development of the Bulgarian state and its “international recognition” by the progressive global society. A typical representative of this “opening to the World” and to the “laws of beauty” is the monument “Banner of Peace” (Illustrations 65, 66). The landmarks here are treated with contemporary expressive and artistic means, demonstrating the self-esteem of the regime and its need for affirmation in the fields of culture, arts and universal values.

The complex of the National Palace of Culture (Illustrations 67, 68) is seemingly resolved democratically, as a proof of the unity in the views of the party and the people, with architecture appropriated for the working people and for their true prosperity. However, the basic features of totalitarian architecture – symmetry, centralism and hierarchical subordination, typical for the imposition public order, are convincingly dominating over the otherwise updated image and detail.
Illustration 65. Monument “Banner of Peace”, Sofia

Illustration 66. Monument “Banner of Peace”, Sofia
Illustration 67. National Palace of Culture Complex, Sofia

Illustration 68. National Palace of Culture Complex, Sofia
The Memorial House on Buzludzha peak (Illustrations 69, 70) was designed and implemented as an apotheosis of the megalomania of the communist dictatorship and, in this sense, is the most comprehensive symbol of the system, showing the dominating role of the party over all public life.

Bulgarian architecture from the first part of the totalitarian regime applies urban planning mechanisms and the expressive tools of “Stalinism”. After this, the process of liberalization directs it towards the language of functional European architecture. The final periods preserve this tendency to a certain degree, but even at this stage the monocracy of the party is demonstrated, together with its striving towards total domination in all public, political and cultural spheres.
2.8. Greece

Public Political, Cultural and Service Architecture

The Greek sites are from the time of the Italian rule of the Dodecanese islands (1912-1943) and two periods of dictatorship, namely the Metaxas era (1936-1940) and the Colonels’ Regime (1967-1974).

The chronological sequence is as follows:

1. Fascist Administration, Rhodes, 1936-39
2. Railway Station, Thessaloniki, 1937-61
3. Thessaloniki Port High Direction, 1939
4. Customs, Patras, 1970
5. University of Patras, 1972
6. House of Literature and Art, Patras, 1973

After 1912, under the pretext of protecting the lands of Greece from Turkey, Italy occupied certain areas – the Dodecanese Islands and others. There, years later, Italy introduced fundamentally different architectures. This applied not only to Rhodes, but the overall impact of rationalism, reproduced in Fascist architecture, which takes place all over Greece. The Italian regime also built emblematic buildings abroad, such as the Fascist Administration in Rhodes (Illustration 71). Familiar expression and monumental impact are applied to the architecture. This is a characteristic of the Railway Station (Illustration 72) and the Port High Direction in Thessaloniki (Illustration 73).
Illustration 71. Fascist Administration, Rhodes

Illustration 72. Railway Station, Thessaloniki

Illustration 73. Thessaloniki Port High Direction
The Metaxas period also bore influences from rationalist architecture, using the combination of an aesthetic classical order and modern elements.

Typical of the military regime between 1967 and 1974 is the construction of large, volumetric buildings, often oversized and beyond the scale of the surroundings, such as the House for literature and arts, (*Illustration 74*), rigorous and deprived of decoration, and landmarks such as the Customs building (*Illustration 75*), aimed at expressing the power of the regime and its role in the preservation of order and security in Greece, against the ostensible communist threat. In Europe at this time modern buildings are erected with contemporary and innovative constructions and with typical aspects of functionalism e.g. cleanness of line and pronounced volume – spatial structure. This to a certain extent, is achieved in the selected landmarks – two public buildings and one university complex (*Illustration 76*), approved by the people of Patras for more than 40 years after the fall of the regime.

*Illustration 74. House for literature and arts House and Center of Literature and Art, Patras*
The presented examples of totalitarian architecture exemplify the hierarchic, authoritarian attitude of government. European-style buildings with modern structures and pure lines, devoid of decoration, serve as an example. The ideological backdrop is supported by educational and cultural buildings, which are considered as successes for the regime. The architecture is simple, unpretentious and highly functional, without the use of any new technologies or materials.
Illustration 76. University of Patras (Buildings A & B), Patras
2.9. Albania

Public Political and Cultural Architecture

Albania presents architectural landmarks from the period of the totalitarian regime of Mussolini, before the Second World War, and the one-party rule of Enver Hoxha until the mid 1980s. Both regimes are characterized by monocracy, decisive and determining party intrusion and control in all spheres of public, political and social life. This has left long lasting material traces in the urban fabric and historical memory.

The chronological sequence of the presented landmarks is as follows:

1. Ministries Square, Tirana, 1925
3. Fascist Home, Tirana, 1938-42
4. Palace of Culture, Tirana, 1960-62
5. National Historical Museum, Tirana, 1978-81
6. Congress Palace, Tirana, 1982-86

The basis is set with the Ministries’ square (Illustration 77) designed in 1925. The Southern half of the square is enclosed by ministry buildings. To the west of the square the National Bank of Albania dominates (Illustration 78). During the period after 1962 the structure of Ministries’ square was completed to the East with the Palace of culture (Illustration 79) and to the North with the National Historical Museum (Illustration 80).

In the axis of the monumental Grand Boulevard, and at a considerable distance from Ministries’ square, is situated the building of the Fascists House (Illustration 81) where, before the war, representative buildings were constructed e.g. that of the rehabilitation centre Dopolavoro, the stadium “Kemal Stafa” and others.
During the 1980s, within the southern part of the main boulevard, the Palace of Congresses was built (Illustration 82).

The main square is of a Renaissance character, which prompts monumentality and representativeness with a well-balanced composition. In the centre a monumental horse statue of the national hero Skanderbeg is erected. The parterre behind the monument is resolved with the planting of low vegetation, and the space is well mastered and scaled. The preservation of the mosque is curious, since during 1967 Albania was proclaimed as the first atheist state in the world. The square is a spatial accent on the central boulevard, following completion of the building of the Fascists House.

Illustration 77. Ministries Square, Tirana, Albania

The building of the National Bank (Illustration 78) is resolved in the spirit of the rationalistic architecture of the time, with strict symmetrical façades, and corner situated portico with powerful colonnades and reliefs. The rationalism is strongly influenced by the fascist spirit and resembles German architecture from the second half of the 1930s.
The Italian fascist interest in the political ideological sphere and upbringing finds a convincing demonstration in the Fascists Home (Illustration 81). Symmetric composition and simple architecture, with balanced arcades on the ground floor and on the top floor of the central body, resolved as a massive rizalit. The stone lining and the balcony for speeches are among the typical elements of this type of ideological architecture.
Illustration 80. National Historical Museum, Tirana

Illustration 81. Fascist Home, Tirana
The Palace of Culture (Illustration 79) bears the marks of the 1960s with vertically indented façades and peaceful, horizontally lying volumes. The composition of the National Historical Museum (Illustration 80) is also markedly horizontal, the centre portion being underlined with protruding volumes with artistic decoration and the vertical slits in the vicinity of the corners punctuate the symmetry. With respect to volume and space, centralism and symmetry are brought to their peak within the pretentious building of the Palace of congresses (Illustration 82).

The selected examples from Tirana are good examples of the preliminary designed and consecutively implemented square spaces and buildings. Each of them demonstrates a complete aesthetic artistic wholeness and are a convincing manifestation of the one-party totalitarian doctrine. The ensemble, along Grand Boulevard preserves the artistic demands of two totalitarian periods and it is a true retrospection of the architectural thinking over a period of sixty years.
2.10. Serbia

Public and Residential Architecture

Serbia presents six landmarks from the period of the totalitarian regime, 1945-1990. They are located in the town of Subotica. Three of the landmarks are residential complexes and the remaining are public buildings, within the administrative and servicing sphere.

The chronological sequence of the presented landmarks is as follows:

1. Workers’ University Subotica, 1963
2. New Municipal Administration Building, Subotica, 1963
3. Municipal court, Subotica
4. Residential complex Radijalac, Subotica
5. Residential complex Tokyo, Subotica
6. Residential building Kifla, Subotica

The building of the Workers’ University (Illustration 83) is in the very centre of the city, next to the Franciscan Monastery and the church. It carries the features of functional architecture with rhythmic vertical articulation and uniting horizontal girdles. The building of the Municipal Court is situated on a main street, in the vicinity of the railway line (Illustration 84). The solution is symmetric and a certain monumental impact is sought, which is not emphasized by the geometric character of the façade articulation. The horizontal volume is counterpositioned with vertical elements and the overall impact is balanced.
Illustration 83. Workers' University Subotica

Illustration 84. Municipal court, Subotica
The new Municipal Administration Building (Illustration 85) is in close proximity to the court building. The composition includes a high prismatic unit and a horizontally lying volume, set back from the street line enabling an entrance park to be formed. The façade is formed by a raster with outlined strip horizontal articulation, which is typical of the period. Again the external appearance illustrates the influence of functionalism.

The residential complex Radijalac (Illustration 86) includes the planted boulevard “Marshall Tito” with green parterres, connecting the old city hall with Dudova Park. The buildings are of five or six floors with high-rise accents. Unlike this complex, the Tokyo complex is much more compact and it bears the character of a district building (Illustration 87). Also in the immediate proximity is the residential building Kifla (Illustration 88), which is in the form of a crescent and which faces the space in front of the City court. The architecture of the residential complexes is typical of the end of the 1950s and beginning of the 1960s, wherein older buildings also exist.
Illustration 86. Residential complex Radijalac, Subotica

Illustration 87. Residential complex Tokyo, Subotica
Illustration 88. Residential building Kifla, Subotica
3. Detailed Analysis

3.1. Analysis By Typology Groups

I. Urban Planning

Large-scale urban planning procedures are preferred by totalitarian regimes for a variety of reasons. They provide an opportunity for the designing and building of large-scale settlements that could convincingly demonstrate the power of the governing authority, their ideological superiority and alleged mastery over society and nature. The building of new settlements, with pre-designated zoning, spatial hierarchy and predetermined “new order”, obviously demonstrates the claims of the governing authority. The demonstration of governmental political and social hierarchy is one of the main instruments for affirmation of the one-party regime. During the totalitarian dictatorship, the concept of “the ideal city”, originating centuries ago, has the opportunity to grow and be represented.

I.1. Settlements

1. Arsia/Rasa, Istrian region, 1936
2. Pozzo Littorio/Labin, Istrian region, 1938
3. Small Socialist Town, Nova Dubnica, 1952

001. Arsia/Rasa, Istrian region, Croatia, view from 1937

002. Pozzo Littorio/Labin, Istrian region, Croatia, view from 1942
The common feature of the three towns – **Arsia, Pozzo Littorio** and **Nová Dubnica** is that they were designed and built as new towns. They were built on undeveloped land and in this way the town structure was determined not by the continuity of its development but by the characteristics of the terrain, the relief and the landscapes. The towns of **Arsia** and **Pozzo Littorio** (today located in Croatia) are representative of **città di fondazione** during the time of the Italian Fascist regime. The first new towns (Littoria, Pontinia, Sabaudia, Aprilia, Pomezia) were built between 1932 and 1939 in the area of the Pontine Marshes near Rome. Prior to the beginning of the town planning initiative of the Fascist party, the area had been a blank spot on the Italian landscape. “Town plans are planned with regard to certain principles or style. Town development plans usually include a rectangular-shaped network of blocks and two main streets that outline four sections of the town, similar to the antique Roman castrum. The centre of the town includes a rectangular square.” (Caprotti F (2007) Destructive Creation: Fascist Urban Planning, Architecture and New Towns). The town/political centre and the religious centre of the town are connected. They usually include municipal buildings and Fascist party buildings, a church, a post office, a cinema, sports grounds, etc.
The relationship between the governing authority and the Catholic Church was typical of the regime, for the new towns built during this time. Initially, both fascist and national-socialist regimes did not officially confront the church, despite their ideological differences. However, these differences are the reason for confrontation in the later stages of their development. During the 1930s the church, in the form of a building, and Catholicism, in the form of an ideology, were used in the new towns to stabilize and legitimise the Fascist power. In an indirect way, they became part of the propaganda.

The town of Nová Dubnica (Slovenia) is representative of the newly built towns in the socialist countries of the Eastern Bloc that were constructed after the end of World War II. Such is also Dimitrovgrad (Bulgaria). Magnitogorsk, Traktorstroy and about 1000 other new towns were built in the Soviet Union during the rule of Stalin (1924-1953). Unlike the Fascist authorities, the Bolsheviks and later the communist parties openly declared their opposition to religion. There were no churches in the new towns and the old churches were destroyed or abandoned in many settlements. In this context, the role of existing public buildings, such as the theatre or the stadium, was distorted by the new socialist society and new types of buildings appear, such as workman’s clubs, library clubs, the Palace of Culture, etc.

Being built in a valley, Arsia has a linear structure, while Pozzo Littorio and Nová Dubnica are built on flat landscapes or on agricultural lands and have a rather compact style of development. The common factor between them is the asymmetric nature of the buildings and the dominating role of the main communication axis, on which the town centre is located.

The following areas are identified in the three towns: public, residential, educational, recreational and industrial.
ATRIUM Transnational Survey

004. Arsia – master plan 1936

005. Pozzo Littorio – master plan 1938
Nová Dubnica is a compact town with axes of symmetry, radially laid out streets and blind streets due to the nature of the terrain, all typical for the 1950s. The central area, extended and surrounded by residential quarters, forms the spine of the town in an east-west direction. This linear composition is balanced in the north-south direction. Transport in the town is located at a focal point to the north, classifying radially the main streets to the southwest and southeast and providing the beginning of a main alley through a large park, which crosses through its centre and finishes with public buildings in the southern part of the town. The transverse connections of the main streets form compact residential quarters and a tendency toward a symmetrical solution. The high compactness of development in the central area is reduced towards the outskirts.
**Arsia** and **Pozzo Littorio** have clear social and functional zoning with all kinds of infrastructure and equipment needed by the residents. For **Nová Dubnica** there are some critical features regarding the project, such as fragmentation and a lack of cultural and service functions within the residential areas. Obviously, for that reason, the project proposal has not been completely applied. Lots of green areas, radial thoroughfares and grouped residential buildings are provided and, as a whole, even in the architecture of different buildings there is a great resemblance to the town of Dimitrovgrad, Bulgaria. (1948)

Structural development: high compactness of construction in the centre (on the central square) and lower in the outskirts is observed in all three towns. Residential buildings are standard.
Both the scale and height of buildings in the towns are different, but not radically so. **Nová Dubnica** provides for 20-25 thousand residents, which is twice as many as the number of residents in typical Croatian towns. Both human scale and social nature are the same for all three towns.

**Ideological aim of the project programme**

Although the three towns were designed and built in different historical times, they are characterized by similar ideological messages e.g. authority’s concern for workers. **Arsia** and **Pozzo Littorio**, located in today’s Croatia, were designed as miners’ towns at the end of 1930s, in the days of Mussolini’s regime. **Nová Dubnica** in Slovakia was created at the beginning of the fifties as a “small socialist town”, as it was called then. These three towns, regardless of whether we evaluate them today from an architectural viewpoint or in terms of an ideology incarnate in material structures, ensured good living conditions for their inhabitants, consisting mainly of miners and industrial workers. Although the three towns were laid out in advance, their building was synchronized and they had similar spatial structures and social infrastructures. Two differences can be noted: 1. Single/family houses are mainly preferred in miners’ towns i.e. “workman’s dwelling” in **Arsia** and adjoined family houses in **Pozzo Littorio**, while in **Nová Dubnica** we observe communal residential buildings characteristic of Stalinism, inhabited by socialist workers; 2. The name of the new town in Slovakia – “Small Socialist Town”, forward to an anonymous town space, which is subject to large-scale reproduction, while the names of the “new” miners’ towns suggest at least a certain individuality in the sphere of large scale production of such town constructions.

**Public and professional reaction**

The public reaction to the building of the new miners’ towns **Arsia** and **Pozzo Littorio**, in Italy and in the Republic Croatia, was not positive at the time. Native discontent was due to the perspective of exploitation of natural resources by a
foreign authority, not against the material structures, which ensured good living conditions for miners and their families and resulted in economic development for both the towns and the regions. **Nová Dubnica** came into being as a model socialist town and, in the 1950s, might not have given rise to anything else but national enthusiasm. Nevertheless, it was not entirely for the purpose of ideological propaganda as, at that time, the building of such towns meant handling housing problems caused by rapid industrialization/urbanization and providing living conditions which were unimaginable for yesterday’s peasants.

From a critical professional standpoint no data is available regarding the layout of the “new” towns. With regard to the construction of the new socialist towns, voices were heard against the socialist realism principles, recognized in the architectural details.

**Relations to the environment**

The layout of **Arsia** takes into consideration the natural environment and it is harmoniously integrated into the existing landscape. It was erected on an area of drained marshland. The building-up is in line with the terrain and does not disturb the appearance of the site. The appropriate scale of residential and public buildings and spaces brings peace to the silhouette. Accents are successfully found, both spatial and structural, and also in elevation. The natural links to Pula and Rijeka are strengthened. There is an impression of established structure and continuity, and not of an entirely newly-designed town. This impression also stems from the specific terrain.
The layout of **Pozzo Littorio** is more universal. In other words, it is more adapted to the environment. It is related to the relatively flat terrain and to the lack of spatial limiters, such as the hills around Arsia. The appropriately chosen scale of buildings and the layout of functional zones link and unite separate structures. Still, the solution is influenced more by the geometric nature and monotony of consolidated residential units. Housing construction in Pozzo Littorio is characterized by a certain uniformity and monotony, while in Arsia it is somewhat structurally...
involved in the hilly landscape. It is of no importance that both settlements were built using elements which are identical in character and appearance. Both the smaller scale and location of Arsia in the mountain folds compensate to some extent for the monotony caused by such constructions.

The three towns were designed and constructed in line with the climate, the lay, the landscape, and the terrain. The later development of Nová Dubnica, after the sixties, was likely to ignore these concepts. Nová Dubnica is located in an urban and industrial region, characterised by convenient transport links. The Croatian towns were designed with appreciation for the native traditions. Through its small scale and simple structure Arsia blends marvellously into the surrounding hills.

Geometrization and links to the environment are observed only in Nová Dubnica's layout, although these have been implemented only in the city centre. The housing zone is linked to the recreation zone and from there to the natural
environment. The industrial zone is set aside from the rest, although still maintaining close contacts.

**Manifestation of the totalitarian ideology**

The building of new towns is an ideal of Italian fascism, resulting in 12 new settlements having been erected since 1928. Together with some other exemplary structures, they represent the core of Mussolini's "third Rome" policy. Fascist architecture and urban planning are influenced by the architectural styles of Rationalism and Novecento. The architecture itself is impressive for its monumentality and rigorousness, as one cannot deny the social purposefulness of the urban planning nor the architectural hierarchy based on the ideology.

The towns of **Arsia** and **Pozzo Littorio** were erected in compliance with the new policy of building „laid out towns“. They are representative of the programme "Cittá di Fondazione" and became a symbol of the fascist ideology and an explicit manifestation of the party’s might. The projects also had a practical application, since they reclaimed land in a coal mining region, which was of strategic importance with regard to the imminent war. Numerous symbolic elements are evident strengthening the new urban planning and architectural principles. In both central squares the Fascist house and the church dominate. In the earlier built town of Arsia, both symbolic buildings appear to be of equal status, the Fascist house is more explicitly marked by Rationalism. The Fascist house in Pozzo Littorio more convincingly manifests the regime’s power, might and firmness, as the corner tower and the veranda are emphasized and the church is somewhat neglected by being behind the portico. Spatial hierarchy in both towns is limited almost entirely to the central square.
Ideological ostentation in the town of Nová Dubnica is far more concerned with “plan-ornament”, which is characteristic of the beginning of socialism. Although it was not entirely implemented, its effect is undoubted, as totalitarian regimes at the time of Stalinism were fond of geometric design and symmetry. However, this principle, which has not always been completely observed, is skilfully supported by
spatial solutions and exterior architecture where monumentality is again related to geometry, still emphasizing details in the well-known and somewhat anonymous eclectic style, which in general corresponds to the architectural expression of that time. Spatial structuring along the central axis of Nová Dubnica is hierarchical, similar to other squares of that era e.g. Dimitrovgrad, Unirii Boulevard in Bucharest. The ideological demonstration is frozen within geometrism and ornaments, and is similar in the different countries applying them.

012. Nova Dubnica, open areas formed by residential buildings

The situation in Arsia and Pozzo Littorio is different. Here, neither the denial of the past nor the glance to the future obliterates the Mediterranean and
particularly the Italian spirit, shaping it through the advanced Rationalism and Novecento of the time (XX century).

In the town of **Nová Dubnica** the emphasis is laid on the civic centre. The time of socialist realism of the 1940s and 1950s and its subsequent development represents the long-term perspectives of socialist building. To evaluate the manifestation of the totalitarian ideology, one should consider the unimplemented town layout, which gives prominence to monumentality and impressive appearance and not so much to functionality.

**Typological value**

The typological value of the scrutinized settlements consists of their contribution to overall urban planning. Industrial towns are designated to create good conditions for work and recreation, i.e. good living conditions. This is very powerful propaganda, for which the basic tools are architecture and urban planning.

From a typological perspective, for **Arsia** and **Pozzo Littorio**, the new town layouts are innovative. The programme "Cittá di Fondazione" serves as their basis. In Pozzo Littorio the emphasis is mainly on three zone types – industrial, residential and central square zones. The functional zoning in Arsia is persuasive – a central square with public buildings plus residential, administrative, educational, and sport zones, i.e. the full range of fascist tools in the social sphere is suggested – both educational and sport zones are an integral part of people’s education, particularly of youngsters. In both towns new typological symbols are the fascist houses, located in the central squares. Their balconies, for political speeches, are a basic means for the delivery of political campaigns and propaganda and the square itself is a place for forcible gathering, control and education of people.

Three types of residential buildings exist, used for workers’ families, and which, regarding the social hierarchy, are divided into: **casarmoni** (barracks), **casacape** (employee housings) and **vilette** (detached houses with gardens).
Casarmoni are for workers, casacape – for state employees, and vilette – for managerial staff.

The architectural typology is hierarchically applied in social work as well. The typological novelty of Nová Dubnica is the planning in unused and empty terrain. The name „new socialist town” introduces the typological meaning, regardless of the fact that the experiments have not been continuous. A special programme for the introduction of this type of settlement on a large scale is not known. The example comes from some newly built Soviet industrial and wartime towns. At the same time, such settlements were also being built in other countries. This is a model of a town designed for socialist industrial workers. Public buildings, erected in it, are usually not new from a typological point of view, but residential buildings were certainly different from the buildings familiar at that time.

Innovativeness

The innovativeness of the approach to a more complex and higher urban planning, through interaction with society, is observed in all three towns. A great achievement in the field of infrastructural solutions is noted with regard to Arsia and Pozzo Littorio i.e. the erection of public edifices, heating installation, sewerage, electric street-lighting, bridges and roads. The use of pre-strained concrete in construction works also, represents advancement.

Historical value

In Arsia and Pozzo Littorio it is related to some prominent representatives of the fascist period of Italian rationalism from 1920 to 1940. If we scrutinize the authors of the Italian programme for adaptation of rationalism and of the new trends in fascist architecture, we come across the names of Luigi Figini, Guido Frette, Sebastiano Larco, Giuseppe Pagano, Gino Pollini, Adalberto Libera, Giuseppe Terragni, Ubaldo Castagnola, Carlo Enrico Rava – founders and inspirers of the “Gruppo 7”. This indicates the particular goals the regime sets for itself in an
ideological perspective and the authors who are used by the regime to manifest and defend its new ideas. The attained goals are intended to convince the people that the governors stake on and give prominence to this performance, taking into consideration its crucial social and educational importance.

All three towns have a significant historic value for their region and for their country of location. They are indicative of the degree of totalitarian ideology (fascist rationalism and socialist realism) at that time and are unique on both a European and world scale.

The towns of Arsia and Pozzo Littorio (located in Croatia today) are representatives of città di fondazione of the time of the Italian fascist regime. There are many such settlements in Italy, which were built at approximately the same time and under the same programme – a miners’ town is Carbonia (Sardinia). The first five new towns (Littoria, Pontinia, Sabaudia, Aprilia, and Pomezia) were built between 1932 and 1939 at the Pontine Marshes, near Rome.

Analogues to industrial towns from this historical period are, for example, Dimitrovgrad, Rudozem, Madan – in Bulgaria, Wolfsburg, Eisenhüttenstadt – in Germany, Nowa Huta – in Poland.

**Artistic value**

If we do not take into consideration the degree of implementation of the original layout of Nová Dubnica (approximately 10 %), we can say that the settlements are designed and built according to a unified urban planning and architectural project, in line with the principles of socialism and fascism for a “complete artistic entity”, by the precise design of structural and spatial relations among all elements. Of course, they are also characterized by ideological purposefulness and hence their implementation is not always possible (for example, the main street in the north-south direction in Nová Dubnica leads nowhere, counter to the layout). Here, the spirit is international, similar to the architecture of socialist realism in the time of Stalinism. In Arsia and Pozzo Littorio, which were initially
Italian and later Croatian towns, in spite of the adaptation to the purposes of fascism, the rationalistic elements and artistic aesthetics of Mediterranean countries are more salient – this surrealistic atmosphere is due to simplified spaces, prevailing white plaster and deep shadows in porticos in the ground floors of buildings. Arcades, porticos and passages form the appearance of buildings in Nová Dubnica, complemented by classic frames and details. All three towns possess the aesthetic artistic entity so longed for.

Marcello Mascherini’s statue of a worker-soldier, created in Arsia, symbolizes not only a workman’s vigour, but also a soldier’s force. It is located in the central square, under the balcony for public speeches. In fact, this is part of the Italian policy of “heroisation”, characteristic of that period and suggesting respect and admiration of the militant spirit, propagated even in civil life.

In general, the appearance of Croatian towns reminds of futuristic painting, while the architecture of Nová Dubnica is characterized by more decorative elements, small plastic arts, and façade ornaments.
Urban planning significance

The towns in Croatia and Slovakia are significant urban planning factors due to the new approach to the building of settlements applied there. Both Nová Dubnica and Pozzo Littorio have continuously developed as they have spread and became dense, mainly in their residential zones. The stages of this spreading are obvious in Pozzo Littorio, and in Nová Dubnica residential zones of low compactness and height are added along with panel housing estates (in the 1960s) around the conserved centre. The impact of the natural environment is also evident – the linear town of Arsia has no other opportunity to spread but in a northeast direction. From a demographic point of view this is an obstacle, but it ensures an opportunity for conservation of the original urban planning structure and landscape, which is the other way round with regard to the other two settlements.
The links between the new and old towns of the miners’ Arsia and Pozzo Littorio are harmonious, as today they also somehow communicate more unaffectedly with nature and the surrounding environment. The links of Nová Dubnica with the surrounding neighbourhood are rather mechanical, but in the course of time the town has harmonized with the surrounding landscape. The town is still located on urbanized industrial territory.

Arsia and Pozzo Littorio are symbols of rapid industrialization successfully combined with urban planning – today the fascist ideology incarnated in architectural shapes and urban planning policy cannot be recognized in them – with the exception of the central squares. Nová Dubnica is still regarded as an exemplar of socialist urban planning and residential building, and a milestone of socialist realism.
I.2. Public Urban Complexes

1. Town Centre, Dimitrovgrad, 1947
3. Boulevard Unirii Complex with New Civic Centre, Bucharest, 1977

Totalitarian regimes often express their might through large-scale intervention in both the historical and urban texture of established settlements. They ensure possibilities for designing and building of large-scale ensembles, complexes, and cities, by which they convincingly manifest ideological dominance, power and societal hierarchy. Besides, they satisfy governors’ claims for absolute submission of society and individuals by violation or total abolishment of tradition, historical continuity, and also by depreciation, and rejection of any previous achievements. This becomes possible largely due to breaking of the principles of private property, which are characteristic mostly of the Soviet dictatorship and of the Eastern European post-war communist regimes. Thus, a totalitarian country takes possession and disposes of large urban territories, which provides opportunities for the implementation of large-scale and monumental projects, some of which cause irreparable damage to the urban texture and history of the settlements.

The public architectural complexes in ATRIUM are selected on the basis of their significance for the former and present developments in Sofia, Bucharest and Dimitrovgrad, as in this case a main feature becomes their size. These three projects can hardly be compared to the comprehensive town squares or public ensembles, which will be the subject of a separate review.

As far as the Town Centre Complex in Dimitrovgrad is concerned, the Soviet school’s approach is explicit, since at that time this school was experienced in the building of new settlements and complexes on virgin terrains. The Centre is the main body of a gradually designed composition with an emphasized north-south axis, which starts from the railway station and leads to a park area, with radially located
streets. The north-south axis is characterized by a classic three-section structure. The foundation is laid by the compact built-up space of the principal thoroughfare, with widening for two squares, a tree-lined promenade, which is typical of the boulevard and which forks into two parallel alleys in the shorter and wider transitional part with a large floral-bed and high trees in front of the buildings. At its north end the main axis forms branches into a park area. The proposed dominating feature – The Council House – was not built and hence most of the impression is created by the façade background with neoclassical architectural-plastic decoration.

The monumental complex of **Unirii Boulevard and the People’s Palace** (Palace of the Parliament) **in Bucharest** begins to the east with Alba Iulia Circus. A boulevard leads westward to the Palace. The space, which is 4.3 km long and 100 m wide, is flanked with blocks of flats with 35,000 apartments and more than ten floors on average, enlarged by huge commercial areas and several public edifices. The final
destination is the exedra at Constitution Square, built-up with Ministries' buildings looking towards the monumental building of the People’s Palace which is over-scaled and heavy in spite of both disarticulation and gradation of its basic space.

The National Palace of Culture (NPC) Complex in Sofia was designed as a wide park area, dominated by the main edifice. The building was designed as a complex prismatic space, which subordinates the surrounding environment. According to the layout, the structure consists of two inscribed squares with skewed coigns. The spatial composition vertically organized in three main functional groups: a large concert-congress hall, audience chamber, universal hall and maintenance. The park area is characterized by a prevalence of open spaces and a multitude of elements with impressive influence: decorative flagging, water effects, sculptures, floral decoration and lighting. An imposing monument, a symbol of the 1300 year
anniversary of Bulgaria, marks the „entrance” to the main space and the approach to
the main structure.

Large-scale interventions, of a different character, have been made in all
three projects. Construction work at the Centre of Dimitrovgrad did not destroy
any urban texture, but rather enhanced its development, while interventions at the
Unirii Boulevard caused large-scale destruction. Besides, the scope of the projects
is quite different. The principal structural axes in Dimitrovgrad and NPC are
700m long, while the principal axis of the Romanian complex is 4,5 km long. In the
process of construction of the Town Centre of Dimitrovgrad and Unirii
Boulevard a linear structure was developed, which consistently links important
urban elements, with a starting point – in this case Alba Iulia Circle – intermediate
and consistently gradated spaces and a persuasive dominant final point. The axis in
Dimitrovgrad was designated for a stately finish at the central square by the
Council House and a monument, whereupon the forked alleys should reach the park
and be radially directed towards selected important zones – a central composition, a
stadium, etc. Yet, the major public edifices along the main axis were not built and
their absence lowers the quality of the hierarchical arrangement, since it deprives the
arrangement of important dominant features. The structures located east and west of the main axis were designed to be symmetrical, so as to ensure a certain representativeness in the layout. The approach to the Unirii Complex is similar, as the final destination is the exedra at Constitution Square, made up of Ministry buildings and facing towards the monumental edifice of the People’s Palace – over-scale and heavy in spite of disarticulation and gradation of the main space. The surrounding spatial structures are also over-scale and consolidated.

In contrast to the above mentioned complexes, the National Palace of Culture in Sofia is a central structure, surrounded by a park and framed by residential quarters, constructed long ago. Here again, the complex prismatic space subordinates the surrounding environment. The spaces are graduated, as the reception one encompasses the huge monument “1300 years of Bulgaria”. The passage area, which is emphasized by fountains and low vegetation, ends in a large square in front of the central edifice.

The Town Centre Complex – Dimitrovgrad is clearly marked by the Soviet school’s style, as the façade background with neoclassical architectural-plastic decoration creates most of the impression.

In spite of the different architectural language, the People’s Palace in Bucharest highly resembles the architecture of the fifties, by its design and gradation of spaces. The location of volumes in the centric structure of NPC Sofia is also symmetric. Still, it gives an impression of consolidated and simplified structures.

**Ideological aim of the project programme**

The urban complex in Dimitrovgrad was designed and built in the subperiod of Stalinism, and the National Palace of Culture in Sofia and the (People’s) Civic Centre in Bucharest – during the decline of the socialist regime, at the beginning of international communism and the end of nationalism. It is no surprise that they embody and present the communist ideology in quite a different way. What is unexpected is the similarity between the Stalinism with human
scale (1950-1956) in the Town Centre of Dimitrovgrad and Ceausescu’s megalomaniac project of the People’s Civic Centre (1980s).

The similarity, however, is somewhat limited: the Town Centre in Dimitrovgrad is the centre of a new “socialist town“, built to give shelter to working people at hygienic dwelling places provided with all services. That is the basic purpose and it largely met the needs of the citizens at that time. In the so-called “People’s Palace” (centrally located in the “new” civic centre) in Bucharest there is nothing “people’s”, since a large part of the historical town centre was wiped out at the time of the project implementation. Thousands of citizens lost their homes, and the imposing new edifices gave shelter to followers of the regime i.e. public servants. Besides, the building was hidden from people’s eyes, although the project had been forwarded as a symbol of national unity and glory.
The NPC Complex in Sofia was designed and erected shortly before the Civic Centre in Bucharest. Still, although significant differences between them are apparent, the ideological focus of both complexes is an apotheosis of socialist achievements in national development. The complex in Sofia was laid-out and built as a Palace of Culture, a venue for the public presentation of Bulgarian socialist cultural achievements and an arena for other cultural events. Regardless of the emphasis on “national”, in the context of celebrations on the occasion of the 1300 year anniversary of Bulgaria (1981), and on the socialist presence of the day, a certain openness to the town and to the world is found in the ideological background of its layout, which is also revealed through either the spatial structure or architectural design of the complex central structure. At the same time, the Unirii complex is notable by its detachment and isolation from the town and from the people, whom the palace was supposed to have been designed for, notwithstanding the large space encompassed by the complex and the central location of the “People’s Palace”.
Public and professional reaction

Public reaction to the development of Dimitrovgrad, particularly the town centre, was a true “nation-wide” enthusiasm. Yesterday’s poor farmers became residents of the new socialist town, occupants of separate flats in newly built residential buildings with facilities unimaginable until that time. They could not help but react with enthusiasm. At the beginning of construction work on the Civic Centre in Bucharest, when recently occupied buildings were demolished, their owners moved out to the suburbs, enclosed and safeguarded by the special services. Data is available on the resistance to these probably short-term changes, followed by silence. The construction work did not gain either the attention or the approval of the media. Initially, the building of the Palace of Culture in Sofia was met with approval – before any information was available on its appearance and its effect on the surrounding environment. It was only after erection of the main edifice of the complex, when labels sprang up in the town, such as “unidentified flying object”, “cake”, “meat-ball”, which reflected the citizen discontent with the architectural
design of the “cultural palace”. Concerns also arose with regard to “people’s” access to the “people’s palace of culture”, which was limited for “security reasons”.

The reaction of professionals at the time of construction of Dimitrovgrad was generally enthusiastic, since most engineers and builders volunteered to work, in the name of the socialist motherland’s bright future. The reaction of professionals in Bucharest was mostly against the demolition of the old part of the town. However, the effective suppression of this reaction brought about silence within the professional circles, when building of the complex began, although the construction remained largely invisible behind the partitions and security guards. The design and construction of the NPC Sofia was not so secretive and invisible within Bulgarian professional circles. Their public reaction was decidedly positive, due to the availability of the Palace of Culture itself, rather than with regard to its architectural design. There was some talk of strong criticism at private meetings and discussions of many architects, with regard to the complex design and the overall project objectives.

**Relations to the environment**

The Town Centre of Dimitrovgrad is structurally linked on a conceptual, functional and aesthetic level with the newly designed urban planning environment, which encompasses other parts of the town. Its appearance is determined by moderate-scale spaces and moderate design, commensurate with the other urban zones. It was designed without considering the existing building design. This is the very reason for its structural and unified effect, supported by the neighbouring districts which were laid-out simultaneously. The complex of NPC Sofia is located in one area which was formerly either park, military or farm land. This area exists within approximately the same borders. There were not many derelict buildings and they were not typical of the urban environment of that time. The complex is a compositional ending of the main capital city axis in the north-south direction, with the Central Railway Station as the starting point. With the exception of the disruption of one important underground transportation link, the planning solution takes into consideration the urban texture of the time. In contrast to NPC the Unirii Complex
was brutally forced into the urban substance, as it completely destroyed existing structures, including the urbanistic, architectural, historical, and social texture of a large part of the town. The powerful east-west axis is alien to the environment and infringes forcefully upon the traditional town development in the north-south direction.

The main edifice of the NPC Complex with its large-scale structure, introduces an entirely different scale, even for the central part of the city. Although it is located on some of the main city boulevards, tightly built with high-rise buildings, the NPC Complex forces its volumes onto the existing structure and ignores the established city scale. Its effect is supported by a hierarchical arrangement of the spaces, which culminates in the main hall of the Palace of Culture.

As far as the complex of Unirii Boulevard is concerned, the total disregard for existing structures affects districts in the near proximity of the complex. It was built on a gigantic scale, which was alien to the existing urban spaces and structures. The huge area designated for the city centre design has not been reclaimed so far. The Palace edifice overwhelms even the newly built structures and completely destroys the surrounding areas. A simple comparison shows that the Centre of Dimitrovgrad is friendliest to the senses, regardless of its claims of „artistic entity” and exemplary „town plan – ornament” in the darkest years of Stalinism. Although it is chronologically the most recent, the ensemble in Bucharest is a true exemplar of brutality, which far exceeds the pretentious and pompous nature of the NPC Sofia, also designed as the pearl of the late regime.

**Manifestation of the totalitarian ideology**

The Centre of Dimitrovgrad was built between 1948 and 1956. At that time, the influence of Soviet architecture was strong and became dominant in Bulgarian architecture. As usual, however, things are not so unambiguous. The sense of moderation and aesthetics is impressive. Structural connections with the national culture were stronger than with disproportionately-scaled complexes and gigantic scenographies of Soviet and some East European examples.
Manifestation of the totalitarian ideology in Dimitrovgrad is explicit and gradually enacted. Still, its moderate scale adds other dimensions and hints at a social welfare conception, which is employed by the communist utopian methodology. The ideological burden is certainly relieved by the use of material structures commensurate with the spaces. The architectural-urbanistic conception was implemented all the way through, as a decoration styled background of the façade in the spirit of neoclassicism, which is typical of that period, is used. A unified, impressiveness and monumentality are attained by skilfully constructed fragments and details. While in Unirii, the impressive Stalinist monumentality, which was somewhat forgotten in Romania at that time and which was well-known from the
1950s for construction of the publishing house Scanteia (also a subject of the ATRIUM study), shoots up forcefully and unexpectedly. Here again, both urbanistic and architectural idea is consistently performed and supported by large structural elements and particular details. Still, propaganda and ideological blindness rise to unknown heights. This megalomania, which has analogues in Pyongyang and Peking, is focused on and dominated by the Palace – a symbol and residence of the totalitarian power and its monocrat Ceausescu. It is not difficult to find similarities with the absolute monarchic regimes from past centuries.

In contrast to Dimitrovgrad, the **Unirii Ensemble** was the largest building project in Europe, carried out in a living urban area. In this respect, even the complex project of Potsdamer Platz in the united Berlin, erected mostly in bare, abandoned or borderline areas, may not rival the Unirii Ensemble. The new complex in Bucharest was a product of complete town-plan restructuring, designed for this project between 1983 and 1989, after a decision of the Communist party, by order of the dictator Nikolae Ceausescu. The manifestation of the totalitarian ideology is successfully achieved, starting with the grandiose town-planning conception, through the disproportionately-scaled implementation, destructive in a historical and urban sense, to the eclectic decoration provided by the latest pseudo-classic details.
The **NPC Complex** design contains other messages. It should be considered in the context of the prevailing cultural policy from the 1970s to the end of socialism. The overall cultural programme of that time in Bulgaria follows the utopian idea to transform reality according to the “laws of beauty”. The idea to turn the present (instead of the past) into a thematic centre of the 1300 year anniversary explicitly highlights the historical approach to the official culture.

Rationalization of commonly used symbols on a visual-plastic level is also salient in studying the spatial characteristics of the monument “1300 years of Bulgaria”. In this case, the pure propaganda signal is apparent, combined with the idea of historical development, which is reproduced by spiral unfolding of the plastic structure around the principal vertical axis of the monument. A new trend in the ideological development is reflected there, namely promotion of the role of art and culture for harmonious development of personality and society, at the stage of
creating a developed socialist society. All these are meant to revive some key early symbolic values of the communist regime, which pretend to transform outdated labour enthusiasm into new creative euphoria and communist ideological content into humanism. The ideological dominance over the historical past is highly vivid in the monument.

A demonstration of the totalitarian ideology in the NPC Complex in Sofia is covert to a certain extent, in spite of some outward signs of ordered and dictated architecture. In the context of new ideological programmes, the implementation of the NPC project, by its architectural artistic synthesis, explicitly and successfully manifests the materialized might of the new cultural policy. However, it shows the aggressive cultural nationalism as well. This nationalism was tolerant toward the revival process, from 1984 to 1985, and ignored both the political and economic tensions emerging in the Eastern Bloc. This inevitably caused disintegration of the general ideological propagandist and economic structure of the regime.

**Typological value**

The **Town Centre of Dimitrovgrad** brings in a new typology of settlement space organization. This is a remarkable for its large scale operation since, by the formal annexation of existing villages, an entirely new town was designed and built. The unification of administrative official, social cultural and residential functions appears to be an advantage. In addition, the project was almost, but not completely, realized. Exceptions are the emblematic edifices of the Council House and of the Theatre.
The NPC Complex is also representative of entirely new types of Bulgarian structures, characterized by congress cultural functions. It reveals salient ideological and propaganda characteristics, expressed in the architectural structural solution and also by the content of ideological-political and cultural events held there. The key function here is ostensibly the cultural one, which is so much combined with the social-political function so as to make it difficult to discriminate between them. The
whole complex is surrounded by prestigious residential districts, which makes it comparable to the other two complexes.
Similarities between the complexes of NPC and Dimitrovgrad are largely with regard to scale dimensions, a monumental and demonstrative reflection of the party might through construction of impressive projects. The complex in Dimitrovgrad unifies administrative political and residential-social functions, while the functional programme and the building scale of the complex of NPC in Sofia resemble more the House of Culture in Prague and the Palace of the Republic in Berlin.

The typological value of the Unirii Complex is examined and assessed in the context of analogical large-scale and monumental operations. Such operations were performed in pre-war Berlin and in the era of Kim Ir Sen in North Korea. This town reconstruction plan lays the foundation for reviewing the urbanistic solutions of all large Romanian towns. The Unirii Complex also has mixed functions – administrative management, residential and cultural e.g. House of science, National library, National theatre and opera complex (its construction has not yet commenced), etc. Although it becomes emblematic of the demonstrative and pompous monumentality, manifested by the government of Ceausescu in the last years of the regime, the Unirii Complex does not create a new typological exemplar. It just accentuates the bringing of familiar types of urbanistic assemblies to inexplicable scales and forcefully imparted content.
In Dimitrovgrad the spatial structure of the town centre is emphasized. This is a demonstration of a representation concerning society and people, which provides space for public manifestation of power and personal life, which is symbolically represented by the residential district. The totalitarian government emphasizes this important component of organized propaganda characteristic of Stalinism.

The emphasis of the NPC Complex was on raising the role of the communist party in the “latest and most successful period of Bulgarian polity” – the development of the socialist society. It was accomplished through the education of young people according to the laws of aesthetics, through popularization of culture and synthesis of arts. They undertake ideological tasks in support of the regime and glorify the state cultural policy, trying to overcome the party propaganda framework and to involve the people in this remarkable cultural process.

The emphasis in Unirii was on the large-scale design and construction of monumental architecture, by any means, and on exaggeration of the governor’s
virtues. Achieved is the suggestion that he was capable of imposing his own conceptions with regard to the architectural expression of monocracy.

In **Dimitrovgrad** the ideas of modernism for functional zoning were combined as follows: personable and official zones, a standardized living area with a lawn and a labour zone separated by a green belt. Modernist urbanistic and architectural conceptions of a compact town, characterized by functional zoning according to the principles of the Athens Charter, are combined with the “classic socialist” doctrine, imported and enforced by the Soviet Union. As an entirely new type of town, the first socialist industrial town of Dimitrovgrad becomes an emblem of the victorious totalitarian regime and an exemplar for the construction of similar towns all over the country, such as Madan, Rudozem, and Devnya.

Through **Unirii ensemble**’s example, consolidated structures were introduced on a mass scale, uncharacteristic of the already established spaces, which alters the appearance of many Romanian settlements. A typical example is Iasi, where an intervention initiated by the reconstruction of Union Square results in the total destruction of the existing urban texture, particularly in the central part.

**The NPC Complex** is emblematic of the latest stage of socialist building in Bulgaria. Still, it remains an isolated phenomenon. Both impressiveness and pretentiousness of this type do not provide the opportunity for its full recognition. Such expensive buildings require purposeful use and profitability, which exceeds even a large cities’ capacity. An example of this type of building is the festival complex in Varna.

**Innovativeness**

The centre of **Dimitrovgrad** brings in innovative urban models and concepts, in the presence of traditional implementation technologies. These models had already been used by the totalitarian regimes in pre-war Italy and Germany, in the Soviet Union and in some smaller countries.
Construction of the **Unirii Complex** is generally through traditional approaches. Separate innovative solutions, which are rather untypical, are the result of often unexpected, unprofessional and even absurd requirements, ultimately enforced on designers and builders by the governors and, personally, by Ceausescu.

**The NPC Complex** does not add any innovations, techniques or technologies to civil engineering. Its uniqueness stems from the scope of the construction work, from the complex and simultaneous solution of urbanistic, communication, architectural and landscape problems.

**Historical value**

The historical value of **Dimitrovgrad** is related to its transformation into a major indicator of the success of socialist civil engineering and into a key component of the socialist propaganda. In practice, the town centre was built with the brigades’ youthful enthusiasm as a symbol of the future and of the next generation, raised in the spirit of communism. Hence, the construction project was glorified by the party doctrine as unique one and rarely seen on a global scale.

The historical value of the **Unirii Complex** is rather versatile. On the one hand, the project is a unique demonstration of the regime’s readiness to launch and finalize a project, which is megalomaniac and unjustifiable in both utilitarian and financial respects, aimed only at emphasizing the strength and might of the party, in the person of Ceausescu and his family. The Romanian people suffered losses, which were not only material, and which were difficult to compensate for in both social and moral terms. On the other hand, this complex provides evidence of the superficial and ostensible manifestations of the totalitarian authority, which is rather negatively related to historical processes, events and persons crucial to both the state and the era. In fact, the course of Romania’s overall policy, and all issues concerning living standards, awareness and relationships of Romanian citizens is determined from this unfinished building – symbol.
Until 1989 the NPC Complex had been a leader in the demonstration of large-scale events in all spheres of the official regime’s culture in Bulgaria. This involved authentic cultural events together with purely ideological initiatives and party/government congresses. The large political forums, meetings and cultural events held there, intentionally strove for international attendance and feedback in an attempt to legitimise the political doctrine around the world. Impulses for a change in the established official cultural dimensions arise here and popular music genres, synthetic performances, which unite theatre, cinema, photo-collages, musicals, dances, political songs, painting, graphics, sculpture, etc., were all promoted. The exuberance of programme initiatives and their versatile orientation as performances characterized by lofty ideological and artistic content and genre trends highlighted the claim for national and international recognition of the outgoing regime. There are analogues to such complexes in all eras and countries – partners under the ATRIUM project. Sometimes, these projects are designed to be emblematic, since dictatorial regimes assign great importance to propaganda. In this respect, both houses and palaces of culture play a central role in their ideological political, management and urban planning programmes. The first edifice of this type was the Palace of culture Maxim Gorky in Leningrad, built in 1927.

In the era of Stalinism and social realism there are examples of structures of gigantic scope which actually grow into megalomania – the House of culture and science in Warsaw prompts the tendency toward monumentality. The period of liberalization abandons decoration and axial symmetric structures to a certain extent, but still the wide-ranging functional programmes enforce complexes which are large in scale and content. Such complexes are the House of Culture in Prague and the Palace of the Republic in Berlin.

**Artistic value**

The major goal with regard to the complex in Dimitrovgrad was the creation of a town centre characterized by memorable, salient and impressive architectural design. Hence, a decisively laid-out central axis, characterized by the
classic three-section construction, underlies the structural solution. The tightly built-up main street is flanked to the west and to the east by residential districts, characterized by relatively symmetrical locations and a similar build-up. Although subordinated to the structural design, they show a convincing presence in the layout. In purely formal terms, the complex Dimitrovgrad is far more similar to Unirii Boulevard in Bucharest, without any immediate resemblance to the Romanian regime’s mega ambitions.

A similar structural solution is also preferred with regard to Unirii. Square spaces of different shape metrically alternate with each other along the main axis, and transverse emphases are sought for the intercepts – exedras, widening, and piazzette, which mark respective references on the façades. In spite of its uniform design and consistent style, the entire Unirii ensemble is marked by eclectic emanation. The compositional consolidation axis is exclusively over-scale and even the selected transverse links do not reduce its overwhelming effect on the urban texture, as its damage is relevant in the immediate neighbouring zones of immediate contact. It appears that a totally different town is hidden behind that curtain. We encounter a total non-compliance with the town-plan formulation, scale, structure and architectural traditions. The impression from the boulevard is continuously expanded by the edifice of the Palace, which, in fact, is threatening the space instead of providing completeness. The large exedra furthermore confirms the impression of a consistently conducted baroque axis, which ends at the palace edifice. Here is the culmination, attained by artificially raised terrain, covert diagonal entrances, strengthening the impression of inaccessibility, hierarchical structuring of subjects in a strictly symmetric design by salient emphases and a dominant.
Symmetry, axial composition and hierarchical gradation of volumes and spaces return at a higher location in the **NPC Complex**. The uniform design is explicit even the approach to and gradation of the park spaces. They are symmetrically designed at the approach and free in the remainder of the green zone. In spite of the geometric design and the central solution, the architecture hints at an opening into the park space and the strict symmetry is avoided at any given opportunity.

As far as the **complex in Dimitrovgrad** is concerned, the high aesthetic value of the project is attained through the avoidance of exemplars of the prime source – the gigantic models of Soviet architecture of the time.
Obvious harmonization of separate design components, aesthetic principles and artistic means is accomplished in some areas of the Unirii Complex. Borrowings from traditional Romanian architecture, mostly arcades, colonnades and framed openings, at some points, reach the desired articulation or consolidation, and provide a biased impression of some style unification. The real architecture, however, is lost in a mixture of numerous elements and details, which attempt to ensure both a monumental and decorative effect. The historical approach of decorative arts and the true mixture of historical, traditional and postmodern means of expression turn this complex into one of the most persuasive representatives of unprecedented megalomaniac eclectics.

The architecture of Dimitrovgrad is stricter, more restrained and commensurate with the human scale. Unfortunately, the most crucial elements of this central complex have not been implemented. The main town space, centrally located along the axis, should have reached its culmination in the Council House, whereupon the axis naturally forks into two parallel alleys and a gradual approach to the park is introduced.

The architectural language of the NPC Complex is simplified, without many details, although still with emphasized monumentality and overwhelming heaviness of the main structure. Nevertheless, in its artistic design the complex is characterized by a unified style and it represents one of the most significant works of Bulgarian monumental construction from the epoch of “mature socialism”. In the complex in Dimitrovgrad one can clearly recognize elements of the layout ornament enforced at the time of earlier socialism, as symmetrically located and hierarchically gradated square spaces are used along the main north-south axis and also along the transverse east-west axis. The solution is convincingly designed and implemented, as it is supported by the background of the façade, with its neoclassical architectural plastic decoration.

Works of prominent architects, artists and sculptors, working in different genres and art fields, are included in the overall NPC complex, as they attain complete harmony in terms of the aesthetics of the “socialist culture”. The Complex
suggests an unambiguous idea about the development of official arts, supported by the regime in the 1970s and at the beginning of the eighties. Although formal liberalization of the regime is absent, a definite return to functionalism is observed, if we do not take the exterior into consideration. At the same time, Romanian architecture of the totalitarian regime begins with true Soviet “Stalinism”, goes through the process of liberalization and returns to the shapes and language of traditional and modernized functionalism, and comes to an end with the Unirii ensemble through a brutal approach and a monumental material manifestation in its final period. Stalinism seems to have been rediscovered both in spatial and aesthetic sense, but at a different artistic level.

With regard to all three projects, we can talk about aesthetic-artistic entity that is planned, designed and implemented.

Works of monumental art are present in the Town Centre of Dimitrovgrad. Some of them appear at a later stage, although created in the era of totalitarian policy, and reflect the development of understanding in the arts and their synthesis in the respective epoch.
Both decoration of the Palace and the background of the façade at the Unirii Boulevard are studied in an attempt to provide a nationalistic formula of monumental propaganda.

The NPC Complex encompasses works of almost all genres of monumental and plastic arts: mural painting (wet and dry fresco), mosaic (stone and smalt), sculpture and relief of metal, stone and wood, textile wall panels (two- and three-dimensional), a metal-glass combination, ceramics – plastic and painted and
elements of design. A complete synthesis of architecture and plastic arts is achieved there, in line with the conceptions and criteria at the time of creation.

Rationalization of commonly used symbols on a visual-plastic level is also salient in studying the spatial characteristics of the monument “1300 years of Bulgaria”. In this case, the pure propaganda symbol is interpreted, combined with the idea of historical development, which is reproduced by spiral unfolding and reflection of historical eras from its foundation, through its establishment, slavery and the victory of socialism. The Party’s leading role in the latest and most crucial period for Bulgaria is emphasized, i.e. the development of socialism and communism.

**Urban planning significance**

The urban significance of the complex of Dimitrovgrad is related to the development of an entirely new urbanized environment on the territory of a non-
urbanized and traditionally rural land. The town centre is an unaffected town-plan dominant, determined by features of the structure and also by the monumental architectural design. Simultaneously, work-organization, construction, town planning and rapid urbanization issues are accumulated, which, among other things, are caused by the rural origin of a large proportion of new residents.

The overall NPC Complex is designed with a main emphasis along the southern axis of the main civic centre, which appears to be its termination. At the same time, the complex breaks the civic centre – South park – Vitosha mountain link. The main structure completely dominates and changes the traditional scale and structure of the surrounding environment. The NPC Complex is a major town-plan with emphasis on the southern axis of the main city centre and a dominant in the immediate surroundings.

The Unirii Complex alters the urban texture of historical town development and dominates as a new powerful structural axis. The outcome is an artificial division of the town and particularly of its central part, into north and south parts and the cutting up of the historical urban texture, this gross violation being most salient in the immediate contact zones. Unirii Boulevard is artificially conducted and characterized by pretentious impressiveness and an excessively over-scale structure, which complies only with the projected and implemented over-scale complex. It unconvincingly connects, or in fact rather disconnects, the north-south directions developed so far, which have assumed the function of supporting transverse links. This artificial division of the city disturbs traditional in-city relations and does not find its natural extension, notwithstanding some newly-established
transportation links and its inclusion in some major peripheral and out-of-city directions.

All three urban complexes are highly valuable as evidence of specific features of the town-planning policy in different sub-periods of the totalitarian regime in two socialist countries characterized by significant differences. The centre of Dimitrovgrad is a symbol of the regime’s first years, when the strengthening totalitarian authority was, on the one hand, embodied in architectural design and, on the other hand, succeeds in raising the enthusiasm of “the masses”, as it calls them, for “building” their own future. The NPC Complex in Sofia is representative of the latest period of the totalitarian regime in Bulgaria, when the impact of non-orthodox forces within the party enabled breaking of ideological and architectural dogmas, of cultural patterns and the demonstrative “opening” to the world beyond the “Iron Curtain” – all these at the cost of emphasizing Bulgarian historical and cultural heritage. The Unirii Complex in Bucharest is a proof that the sky is the limit when a (socialist) dictator decides to turn his megalomaniac ideas into an urban texture, (successfully) presenting them as nationality glorification.
I.3. **Public Urban Ensembles**

1. Ministries Square, Tirana, 1925
2. Central Square, Arsia, 1936
3. Central Square, Pozzo Littorio, 1938
4. Freedom Square, Bratislava, 1940
5. Largo ensemble, Sofia, 1949
6. Union Square, Iasi, 1959
8. Revolution square, Ljubljana, 1983

These sites are square spaces of great importance to urban development in Sofia, Ljubljana, Tirana, Bratislava, Iasi, Bucharest, Arsia and Pozzo Littorio. Most of the squares have been historically developed. Three of them – The Largo, Arsia and Pozzo Littorio, are new-designed and were erected in short terms. The difference is that the Largo was built without taking into consideration the old urban and building traditions, while Arsia and Pozzo Littorio do not encounter this problem, since they were erected on virgin terrain.

Both squares in **Arsia** and **Pozzo Littorio** are determinants of the town structure. Practically, they are the only square spaces in the urbanized zones, although functional zoning of both towns also suggests other spaces for development of either public or mixed functions.

In spite of their differences, mainly in spatial and structural regards, the eight case-studies are comparable with each other with respect to their historical development or uniform design, urban-planning and public significance, links to the environment, availability and concentration of important public edifices and equipment, typological, aesthetic artistic and other features.

035. Arsia – town centre and square

036. Pozzo Littorio – town centre and square
There are two types of spatial and structural features that are salient and that comply with town-plan and architectural approaches, which are enforced from the outside or continuously applied – symmetrical and asymmetrical.

By complete symmetry is characterized the Largo in Sofia, where three six storey atrium blocks with a central dominant create an entirely new space. The separate elements are structural parts of an entity and ensure a simultaneous effect.

The square in Bratislava is a space surrounded by large-scale horizontal structures, without a dominant. The individual structures harmonize with each other and also with the square. A unifying factor is the central fountain. Symmetry is a basic structural principle of the Ministries Square in Tirana, strengthened by the north-south axis, which is powerfully passing through it. Here, a central element is the horse statue of the national hero Scenderbeg. Certain symmetry is attained at the square in Iasi, shaped by existing, mostly residential, buildings, including those characterized by large spaces to the south-west, as the high structure of Unirii Hotel dominates. The structure at the square in Ljubljana, which includes already established buildings, is formally asymmetric. The towers dominate and are balanced by the horizontal space of the trade house. A good cohabitation is accomplished between the symmetry of the south entrance piazzette and the asymmetric north space with the monument.
038. Freedom Square, Bratislava – project 1955

039. Ministries Square, Tirana, 1936
The squares in **Arsia** and **Pozzo Litortio** are similar in scale, asymmetrically designed, and relatively well-linked to the surrounding neighbourhood in a functional aspect. Both squares were built simultaneously with the other town structures. The square of Arsia is unified and homogeneous, with an emphasis on one main space. The Fascist House and the church, with a strong bell tower, are outstanding. In comparison, Pozzo Littorio practically disposes of a main square combined with Civic and Fascist House and also of a minor one – with a church and a bell tower, as both squares are visually separated by a heavy portico. With regard to the scale of these small towns, one can say that the squares’ spatial solutions are similar and in line with the overall appearance of Arsia and Pozzo Littorio.

**The ensemble in Bucharest** supplements the structure of the historically developed central town square, and the tall hotel, balanced by the theatre, dominates the entire square. Buildings from the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century, which surround the square in Bucharest, have been preserved. **The squares in Ljubljana and Bucharest** are large-scale open structures with a huge green area and tall impressive hotels – the Union Hotel and Intercontinental Hotel. The **ensemble in the square in Iasi** is annexed with three high residential buildings with trade areas on the first floor, and **Balcescu Square**, with the building of the National theatre. The symmetric structure of the long and axially located **Ministries Square in Tirana** is a purposeful analogue to renaissance squares. The ellipsis is not closed, but the outline of the square, with a centrally located statue, has a calming and harmonizing effect. Southern transverse links are not completely symmetric, probably due to the preservation of the Et’hem Bey Mosque and of the old Clock Tower.
040. National Theatre Ensemble, Bucharest

041. Revolution Square, Ljubljana
042. Union Square, Iassi

043. Ministries Square, Tirana
I ideological aim of the project programme

These eight urban ensembles are all located in the central area, – five of them in capitals, and were implemented between 1925 and 1983. But that seems to exhaust their similarities. Two of the towns – Arsia and Pozzo Littorio – are much smaller in both population and functions, but still they are built on a large scale and are comparable from both structural and architectural artistic points of view. The urban ensembles are characterized by significant differences, which generally result from dissimilar political conditions in the different countries.

Designing of the central ensemble in Tirana started as far back as 1925 on terrains with former trade servicing and partial housing constructions. Its symmetric structure in the main north-south direction consists of new administrative government structures, which reflect the regime’s striving to strengthen and take up total power. The Fascist House is situated in the axis of the boulevard. These are substantially new elements, instigated by the totalitarian authority. Similar
understandings on behalf of the then powerful Italy, and the later chauvinistic trend in Great Albania, laid the foundations of the project ideology, both in the thirties and later. Let us remember that pre-war Tirana was the product of a structure combining marine and mountain influences, Illyrian, Roman and Byzantine cultural remnants and newly introduced, yet unacknowledged, European elements. The combination of an Eastern atmosphere and typical Mediterranean and Balkan structures, together with the European concepts of strict and authoritarian town planning, characterized the town up to the beginning of the XXI century.

The ensembles in the central squares in Arsia and Pozzo Littorio were constructed before and during World War II. The hierarchy of spaces in both towns is symbolically represented by the squares. Their dominant features are the Fascist Houses (in Pozzo Littorio the building is combined with the Civic House, and in Arsia it is separate) and the churches. In the earlier built town of Arsia, both symbolic features seem to be more or less equivalent and the Fascist House is strongly influenced by rationalism. The church in Arsia is located in the square and the church tower is overly solid and archaic. The Fascist House in Pozzo Littorio more convincingly reflects both the power and steadiness of the regime, as the stone built corner tower emphasises the main square. The church itself is devalued to some extent, since it is distanced from the passing portico, practically; it disposes of its own minor square space. The church tower has an influence in both squares.
It was approximately at that time when the structural foundations of the square in Bratislava were laid. Its construction is a rather continuous process, implemented in the socialist era of the then Czechoslovakia.

The urbanistic ensemble the Largo in Sofia was designed and erected between 1947 and 1956. Its material structure and architectural vision unambiguously suggest power and might, and a combination of higher party and state authorities, located in three of the buildings. Together with the huge for that time shopping store, which was centrally located and attractive to both citizens and visitors, and the imposing hotel, they were all intended to illustrate the close relationship between the party state and the working people. This ensemble was followed by the Union Square in Iasi, designed and built between 1959 and 1962, which is typologically similar to Nikolae Balcescu Square in Bucharest (renamed into “21 December 1989” Square). The time of communist government during the 1960s in Romania was marked by a particular opening up to the western world and by the exchange of experiences between Romanian architects and their colleagues from the USA, FRG, Italy and Spain.

The construction of Revolution Square in Ljubljana started in 1961 and finished in 1983. The start of its construction coincided with the new Yugoslavian policy of moving away from the Soviet Union and of providing more autonomy to its republics. The only strong ideological emphasis was the centrally designed space for the revolution monument, its relocation during construction to the ensemble’s fringes ensured openness and accessibility and may be regarded as a degree of liberalization of the regime.

Gottwald Square (Freedom Square) in Bratislava and the Ministries Square in Tirana are distinguished from the rest by two major features. Design of the central civic ensemble in Tirana began as far back as 1925. The so-called “Roman Island”, with an emphasis in the north-south direction, adds a disparate structure and appearance and a new culture of building-up and emphasizing in the central area. This is the first manifestation of totalitarianism which was characterized by a relevant European spirit in what was an entirely oriental town at that time. Completed in the
mid 1980s, Ministries Square was developed in the same way, and a remarkable harmonization of spaces is observed, in spite of the preserved hierarchy. The designing of the **square in Bratislava** commenced in the days of World War II (1943), and as a place identified for the location of key state institutions it was intended to manifest the Slovak fascist authorities’ power. Upon construction, however, the emphasis was moved from state/political structures to university structures and public park spaces.

**Public and professional reaction**

A key feature of totalitarian regimes is the suppression of the public expression of opinion, which differs from those controls enforced by the state party structures. In this political context, public reaction is required to support the party cause. With regard to the urbanistic ensembles, we might consider two public reactions. The first refers to the everyday use of town spaces, although, sometimes not as indicated. Here, we should certainly consider the public squares in **Arsia** and **Pozzo Littorio**, as they are the only such spaces in small settlements. The initial public reaction there was negative, because of the obvious military character of coal production. Opinion changes after the war, when this industry underlies the economic development of the whole region. The second opinion suggests that these spaces should be avoided because of the perceived pressure embodied into and emanating from them. On the one hand, as long as the eight urban ensembles are located in the central urban areas, one can hardly imagine avoiding these places in reality. Regardless of attitudes towards the ensembles, they are at the crossroads of the everyday routes used by different “groups” of citizens. On the other hand, one should take into consideration the specific feature of two of the ensembles; namely the three large residential blocks of flats in **Iasi**, which ensure previously unknown facilities to their inhabitants i.e. recent residents of the surrounding villages, as well as a central location in the town space and, in **Bratislava**, it concerns the park space of Gottwald Square, which was used for parades characteristic of totalitarian regimes, but at the same time, it was also turned into a “vivid public space”. Ministries Square
in Tirana was initially intended as an administrative official centre, but it gradually acquired cultural educational functions as well. The square in Ljubljana incited a positive reaction as an established civic centre. Only the Largo in Sofia remained for a long time “inhospitable” to passing visitors. Its use for parades and meetings for glorification of the regime, together with the overwhelming architectural background, actually alienated it from the citizens and only the presence of the General Store prevented its outright avoidance.

In most cases, no data is available with regard to professional criticism by architects against the implemented town-plan projects, probably due to specific features of the totalitarian regime rather than the undeniable virtues of the projects and their implementation. Expert reaction with regard to the towns of Arsia and Pozzo Littorio is not available. The case in Bulgaria is different, as both the design and construction of the architectural ensemble Largo started in the so-called Stalinist era. Architects unconditionally supported the party guidelines and embodied them in both the design and construction of the central urban complex. Nevertheless, Stalinism was very soon rejected and professionals, following the changed party
policy, began to express their critical opinions on various elements and features of the ensemble, and also on its overall appearance. Attitudes in Ljubljana and Bratislava were mainly positive.

**Relations to the environment**

The case-studies’ relationships to the established urban environment were different. The Largo ensemble completely disregarded the status quo. Its geometrically strict symmetric design is roughly imposed on the urban texture, as urban districts of historical importance, and directions of main streets and boulevards, were unceremoniously destroyed. Of course, the urban demolition caused by bombing during the war provides a degree of explanation. At the same time, the square space opens to the east, as the garden in front of the former palace was destroyed – of course, it also had its symbolic implications. The same opening had beneficial effects later on, since it linked the space of the traditional centre, in front of the market hall, with a set of squares through Tzar Osvoboditel Boulevard to the National Assembly, Sofia University and Borisova Garden, today a main capital east-west axis. This reduced the effect to a certain extent, as it turned the Largo into a feature between two more central squares – Lenin Square and The Ninth of September Square.

Until the town building initiative of the fascist party for the construction of Arsia and Pozzo Littorio, the settlements had not existed. The towns were laid-out according to certain styles and principles. The town layouts usually had a rectangular district network and two main streets, which defined four town zones, as in the antique Roman castrum. The town centre contained a square and both the political and religious town centres were linked together. They encompass the usual buildings of the municipality and the fascist party, the church, a post office, a cinema, sports ground, and some service buildings. The central square is a dominating feature in both layouts of Arsia and Pozzo Littorio. The excellent structural solution for both town squares, and their involvement in the settlements, suggests their convincing inclusion in both local and out-of-town areas.
Most of the squares are characterized by the construction of solely public structures – Iasi is the only town which differs significantly in this respect, with its predominantly residential buildings. There were existing residential buildings, but not newly designed ones, in the squares in Ljubljana and in the vicinity of the Balcescu ensemble in Bucharest. The approach in Ljubljana was a little different, as it considered the existing structure. The large-scale square was created in partly internal district space, with the sacrifice of both the monastery garden and a part of the monastery wing. The existing street network was preserved to a large extent, as were the building materials used. The border of the square to the north is determined by the layout of Šubičeva Street and in this respect the urban texture is not violated, particularly after the annexation of the Centre of Culture. The dominant structure of the towers creates a new scale, which corresponds to a capital centre, as they successfully harmonize with other dominant features of the town's skyline. The urban project for the square in Bratislava, designed in the 1940s, is considered and developed further. The buildings, which are gradually erected, support the projected framework and a dominant feature was sought in the square park area, initially with a monument to Gottwald (removed later) and with a centrally located fountain. Through the provision of distinct administrative buildings it resembles the Ministries Square in Tirana – started on fully virgin land. Its relationship with the existing environment was not particularly tolerant – only the mosque and the clock tower were preserved. Still, the chosen location and the building features support the idea of establishing a centre. Continuity is maintained only through the memory and spirit of the place, with practically non-existent material features.
The squares in Iasi and Bucharest are characterized by certain typological similarities, as both of them preserve and further develop major city areas of historic importance. A significant difference is that the combination of both hotel and theatre in Balcescu Square is only one element of an integrated historic square with numerous state and city sites, regardless of its separate urban importance, and by the spatially dominant feature of the International Hotel. The theatre building conforms to the existing street scale in terms of the height of cornices, but it considerably exceeds in volume the surrounding public edifices and is certainly overscale, even for this large space. In comparison, the square in Iasi consists mostly of residential buildings which have a consolidated structure. The urban texture is partly preserved as are the main square space and the major directions by certain geometric constructions, the hotel building is dominating.
**Manifestation of the totalitarian ideology**

An overview of the eight ensembles, from the viewpoint of manifested totalitarian ideology, reveals both general differences and common features. **The Largo ensemble** and its separate elements: House of the party, two ministries, a hotel and a general store, were designed under the strong and dominant Soviet influence. The project was simple and impressive – a powerfully enhanced axis in the east-west direction, reinforced by the almost mirror symmetry of both ministries’ façades. It represents an “ornamental plan”, characteristic of the totalitarian societies’ ensembles, which has its own interpretation as a "decorative unit". The goal is attained – architecture of a separate structure complies with the requirements for its place and role in the political system’s „symbolic order“. Even the absence of the final element – the Council House – does not significantly spoil the impressive and overwhelming effect. The project completely corresponds to the fifties’ spirit, when the ideology was demonstratively and unscrupulously enforced in all spheres.
Relationships between the government and the Catholic Church are a specific feature of the regime and, respectively, of new towns in Italy and of those built by the regime. Initially, the fascist regime did not confront the church officially, in spite of the ideological disparities, which predetermine conflict during the later stages of development. The fascist political party gained approval by the pope, which was a step towards mutual recognition, ratified by the Lateran Treaty of 1929. This reduced the influence of Catholicism to a certain extent. Still, its involvement in the urban environment was fully intentional at this stage. Both the church structure and catholic ideology were used to strengthen and legitimise fascist authority in new towns in the thirties. Indirectly, they become a part of the propaganda. In the new settlements’ square spaces, the church was formally considered to be equal in status to the Civic House which was increasingly treated as a Fascist House, with the respective attributes – a tower, balcony for speeches and a statute. The church was often situated at a dead-end of the principal thoroughfare (Sabaudia, Pontinia), and in other cases it was close to the Fascist House (Carbonia, Aprilia). Newly-designed towns have a central square with the above mentioned public projects. Their design is, however, changed with regard to the development of the settlement. Such is the case in Aprilia and Sabaudia, which grow bigger. The development of **Pozzo Littorio** and **Arsia** is similar with impressive manifestation of totalitarian ideology in their squares. Fascist Houses and churches dominate on a large scale – obviously a specific approach of tolerance towards Catholicism, which is deeply rooted in the culture of Italians. Tolerant relations are ostensible to a certain extent, although the tradition is observed. The Civic House – in this case a Fascist House – and cathedral have been common dominants in Italian settlements ever since the Middle Ages. In spite of its simple detail, the architectural design of the squares in Arsia and Pozzo Littorio is impressive for its spatial and structural design, which actually manifests both the ideology and its scope.
The square in Ljubljana provides a more unostentatious effect due to its later and longer construction. Here, the presence of power is also observed as it is manifested by a large-scale and well-completed design, which reflects the dominance of the new polity. However, the selected means of expression are different. The large-scale towers are projected as a functionalist architectural design, which corresponds to the time of autonomy between Yugoslavian united republics and of a strong denial to imitate the Stalinist style, recognized as “international”. Functionalism is also international, but it does not symbolize “dictatorship of the proletariat” and “party infallibility”. Here, the manifestation of totalitarian ideology is not imposing. The changes made to the original concept of the monument, which is symmetrically located on the axis among the high structures, also contribute to it.
The layout of the **square in Bratislava**, designed in the forties and observed to date, emphasizes certain continuity from the previous historic era. The large-scale original space is also a product of totalitarianism. The structures, built between 1946 and 1960, add rationalistic spirit. Although the perspective layouts seek impressive monumentality for the town, the ideological manifestation remains somehow muted in the presence of comparatively remote buildings. At first sight, the modern design from the 1980s, characterized by symmetry, centralism and overscaling, is pretentious and demonstrative, by the large scale of park space shapes and details. Here, the impressive ideological demonstration was achieved by the memorial of Gottwald, which was later removed. The square was designed as an administrative official city centre with a tangential main street, as per the original design, which was intended to enhance bustle. Here a remote analogy with the **Ministries Square in Tirana** can be found.
In comparison, the main boulevard in Tirana lies bilaterally along the square space, emphasising the main north-south axis. Precisely that difference makes the
square a true centre. In spite of its large scale it is more comprehensible and “functionally zoned”, with administration to the south and culture, education and banking services to the north. This gradation of merging spaces makes it more bustling and thus more attractive. The Ministries Square in Tirana developed further its central functions and, through its content, convincingly manifests the authoritarian idea, disguised by a certain monumentality. In comparison, Freedom Square in Bratislava was transformed into a park. Hence, the manifestation of totalitarian ideology is somehow muted and accentuated by the formal emphasis on the memorial of Gottwald and, after its removal, by the centrally located fountain.

The **ensemble in Bucharest** is indicative in two ways. A project to complement a square of historic importance in totalitarian days was demonstrative in itself. Moreover, it was implemented through the construction of buildings, which are emblematic and destructive to a part of the structure. The architectural language of the edifices is characteristic of both functionalist and European architecture – which ostensibly almost removes ideological grounds. Redesign of façades is much more demonstrative and is carried out in the spirit of overall excessive manifestation of the totalitarian regime of Ceausescu. Moreover, this happens in the days, when architecture had partially outgrown the ideological means of expression and suggestion. This initiative is a manifestation of the totalitarian ideology which may be compared to the large-scale complex of the Palace in Bucharest.
Typological value

The urban planning typology of the Largo is new for Bulgaria. The space is not a typical pedestrian precinct, but it is designated for large parades and events for the glorification of the regime. By design, with a central and isolated green area, it was not intended for a lengthy stay, but for passing through, in this case, to two large neighbouring squares, where real events for the glorification of the regime would take place. If the Council House had been built, it would have fully enclosed the square to the west, without ensuring the main function of a square i.e. the gathering and continuous stay of people with a certain purpose. Hence, the meaningless square of the Largo complements the sector composed of the other elements – administrative, trade and hotel structures. Each separate element has its own typological value – again on the condition that the Party House is a new and unfamiliar typology, which was meant for recognition in the years of socialism. Still, it has its analogues in the foreign transitional totalitarian regimes. The General store building is also unique for that time and it is the only one from the Stalinist sub-period – big general stores were recognized as a typology at a much later stage. This typological value is related to Stalinist and decorative architecture, as signs of traditional Bulgarian styles are visible only in a few places.

In a typological response, and with regard to Arsia and Pozzo Littorio, the projects of new towns, particularly of their central squares, are innovative in themselves. Their foundations were laid within the programme "Cittá di Fondazione". A characteristic expression of this social policy was the introduction of new and unknown typologies of buildings. Typologically new signs in the centres of Arsia and Pozzo Littorio are the Fascist Houses with balconies for political speeches, as a basic means of political agitation in the central squares, designed as places for forcible gathering, control and education of people. Hence, the typology is most relevant in the sphere of ideology.

In both the Largo and the Ministries Square in Tirana typological value is found mainly in the central construction, which is substantially new for the city. Here, a new culture is introduced into the functioning and perception of both
spatial and compositional structure, which differs from the oriental one. In contrast to the Largo and Bratislava, the Square in Tirana is particularly bustling and its designation was related to initiatives which were officially imposed by the regime and also to the citizens’ daily grind. Of course, this is not an indicator of democratism, because the structural aspects of this typology – symmetry, geometrism and centrism, are strictly and convincingly achieved.

The square in Bratislava was also intended for parades and popular events. There had not been such a place in the city before. Still, it is designated for a stay and approximates the main function of a square space. Its further development as a city park actually turned it into a public centre for spending leisure time. The typological value of separate structures is mostly functionalism related.

The square in Ljubljana is a modern complex, the centre of a modern city. It was designed as a typical city square for the gathering and stay of people not only with regard to organized public initiatives. Although its construction is not characterized by continuity, as internal district residential and public areas are used instead, it is structurally linked to the urban texture and has the typological value of a city centre. Separate administrative, trade and cultural projects have individual typological value in the spirit of modernism.
The ensemble in Balcescu Square is typologically valuable as a separate zone, a unit of a historically developed central city square. The space in front of the theatre, which is open to the main street, and the piazzette nestling between the hotel and the Opera comic creating the impression of a „north entrance”, provide reasons to estimate its typological value.

The square in Iasi has a typological value which has been historically developed and complemented over the years. It is a typical town square, a centre for the gathering and stay of people, which may not be in relation to an organized public event. This architecture from the fifties also has its typological value and it creates the general current appearance of the square.
Innovativeness

The subjects of the Largo do not introduce new techniques and technologies, yet they apply familiar and constructive solutions and materials. A similar construction, with solid supporting walls, is used for the separate buildings. This does not correspond to the scaffolding reinforced concrete construction which was used.

In comparison, all techniques and materials applied to the separate structures, and to the overall treatment of the Ministries Square in Tirana, are new for the country. Also, the very design and materialization of the compositional solution is innovative.

An innovation with regard to the newly designed central squares in Arsia and Pozzo Littorio was in the field of infrastructural solutions – construction of sewerage (precipitation, faecal water, and water purification system) and electric street-lighting. Pre-strained concrete was used in separate building constructions.

An innovation concerning the square in Bratislava is the urbanistic monumentality of the space. The separate buildings involved construction techniques and materials characteristic of the fifties.

The square in Ljubljana is innovative with regard to the approach employed – continuity of the urban texture. In such cases, totalitarian regimes intervene crudely, as if on virgin terrain. Each of the towers is in line with the studies of natural lighting. The use of visible concrete as an aesthetic element is relatively innovatory. Innovation is found in both the design and employed technologies.

New technologies, imported from the USA and advanced for Romania, mostly in the field of installation, were employed for construction of both the theatre and hotel in Bucharest. The circumstances regarding Union Square in Iasi are different. Construction work on the Unirii Hotel and on residential and trade projects are similar to those performed in other European countries at that time, and they are not particularly advanced or innovatory.
Historical value

The historic importance of the squares in Arsia and Pozzo Littorio relates to the fascist period of Italian rationalism between 1920 and 1943. As already noted in relation to the towns of Arsia and Pozzo Littorio, the names of the authors themselves, mainly of the “Gruppo 7”, indicate the particular goals the regime sets for itself in an ideological perspective and show how authors are used by the regime in order to manifest and defend its new ideas.
The historic value of the Largo Square is related to parades, which were held on days of importance to the government regime – both Bulgarian and international proletariat related. Of particular historic significance is the Party House building – in fact, all crucial decisions which effect both the internal and external affairs of Bulgaria were taken here, ideological and political education of the nation was managed here, all party functionaries exercised their authority; guidelines for development of all political and ideological, industrial branches, cultural-educational and social institutions were defined. Some prominent Bulgarian architects such as Dimitar Tzolov, Ivan Vasilyov, Kosta Nikolov, Petso Zlatev, etc., participated in the construction.

The square in Ljubljana is of great historic importance as a centre of republican and civil public-political life. Here, all government initiatives take place. Monuments related to outstanding figures of the communist regime and also to famous Slovenian cultural actors are placed here.

The square in Iasi is related to the statue of Alexandru Cuza and hence, historical continuity is present.

The main historic value of the square in Bratislava stems from its continuity. From Slovakian fascist polity, through post-war socialism, the stage of normalization, to the first Slovakian state, popular initiatives have taken place here, related to public political events.

The approach to the design of the Ministries Square in Tirana, the entirely new types of structures and involvement of the main space in the general urban spatial hierarchy is of historic importance. Until then Tirana had been a typical example of a structure combining marine and mountain influences, with Illyrian, Roman and Byzantine cultural remnants.

Balcescu Square is a historically developed urban space. Here, some of the most important city monuments are located – Michael the Brave, Gheorghe Lazar, Ion Radulescu, and George Sincai. Besides, the edifices of the University of Bucharest, the Museum of Bucharest, the University of Architecture, the Ministry of Agriculture and the Coltea Hospital are also located here. In the final days of the
totalitarian government this square was related to the beginning of the Romanian anticommunist revolution, which resulted in the dictatorship’s downfall. It is not so obviously related to initiatives in support of and glorification of the regime.

The Largo ensemble is a unique urban project. It has no equivalent in Bulgaria with regard to its overall design and construction in totalitarian times and as a “plan-ornament” it can be compared to Dimitrovgrad, which is far larger in scope. Some edifices have equivalents, for example, the Trimontium Hotel in Plovdiv. Similar to the Party House, regional Party Houses were built on a large scale in the sixties and seventies – already with different architectural designs. The ensemble resembles, on a small scale, Lomonosov Moscow State University, Warsaw Palace of Culture, and also the publishing house “Scanteia” in Bucharest.

The ensemble in Ljubljana probably finds analogues in the architectural designs of American towns. Skyline studies of the towers are compared to other city dominants. A similar approach to balancing high and low units may be observed at the National Theatre and International Hotel in Bucharest, which, however, complement a square of historic importance, while in Ljubljana the very square space is new. A similar impression, far larger in scope, is provided by Alexanderplatz in Berlin together with Stadt Berlin Hotel and the General Store, from the sixties, and the City House in Leipzig from 1973.

The structures of the ensemble in Bucharest reflect both American and European influences – a hint of Corbusier with regard to the theatre, but the redesign of its façades is in the spirit of the particular national trend after the sixties, when an attempt at the synthesis of national and modern architecture was made. Arcades and colonnades become emblematic for Ceausescu’s Bucharest, as in the huge Unirii Boulevard and in the monumental palace. We can also find them in rationalist influences in the Civic House of Žilina, Slovakia, also a subject of the ATRIUM project. Nevertheless, reconstruction of the theatre at Balcescu Square in the eighties does not include references to rationalism. A similarity to the church architecture in Mediaeval Romania is indicated.
The separate structures in the **square in Bratislava** are influenced by pre-war Speer and by European rationalism from the thirties right up to the sixties – with analogues mainly from Germany and Italy. The design of the square space in **Tirana** reminds us of the renaissance squares. It creates certain analogues with Piazza del Popolo, etc. Still, the powerful axis crossing the Ministries Square and leading to the Fascist House is already an expression of spatial structures and aesthetic conceptions, characteristic of Italian Fascism and German National Socialism.

**Artistic value**

The **Largo ensemble** was designed and constructed under a unified urbanistic and architectural project. The composition is geometrized and designed in the classic symmetry. The central space is framed by the well-balanced background of the façade, dominated by the Party House. The overall design represents a king-size ornament with its own meaning as a decorative unit. The composition is not finalized to the west. The architectural background was designed in the style of „socialist realism” going under the slogan „national in form, socialist in content”. The „national” spirit is hardly ever convincingly achieved. By its ideologically enriched and aesthetically designed spatial composition and also by its impressive aesthetic-artistic image, the ensemble has an effect as a complete and integral artistic entity.
In contrast to the Largo the **square ensemble in Iasi** does not completely ignore historical continuity. The town plan preserves the structure of the Traian Hotel, the monument and some contours of the former space. The new building
proportionally expands the square to the west and adds a disparate scale and geometry, which were performed gradually and the square outline has an effect of a complete homogeneous entity. The Unirii Hotel, which was new for that time, dominates. The monotonous new façades were not in line with the existing architecture and through both aridity and geometry complement the aesthetic-artistic entity corresponding to the era.
The squares in the Croatian towns of Arsia and Pozzo Littorio were adapted for the purposes of Fascism. Nevertheless, rationalistic elements and artistic aesthetics of Mediterranean countries are more relevant here. The buildings are subject to an integrated treatment with different articulation of details, still with horizontal volumes and on the same scale. Both in Arsia and Pozzo Littorio the principle of location of the main building – the Fascist House – along the long side of the square is observed. In this case, however, cult structures, used only in the days of the totalitarian regime in Italy, also appear to be important. Hence, they deserve special attention.

**Arsia**’s church of St. Barbara, the patron saint of juveniles and minors, is equal in status to the Civic House, and rises even higher. The solid tower is asymmetrically located, adjoined to the main body and characterized by a certain Romanic and archaic effect. At its end, an elementary analogy with a miner’s lamp is suggested. Of the new towns, the main body and the church tower are united only in Pontinia, where the tower powerfully dominates the symmetrically designed central square. The main space of the church in Arsia is designed in the pretentious and suggestive shape of a tram, which has been turned upside-down. Similar to the tower, this is indicative of the suggestive images used by the regime i.e. simplified symbols which are easy to comprehend and which have a primary effect. It emphasizes the integral character and quality, complemented by the remaining predominantly public buildings.

Certain differences are observed in comparison with the design in **Pozzo Littorio**, where the Civic House is turned into a fascist one by the inclusion of a powerful vertical risalit and the respective attributes. The church itself is also a dead-end of the square, and the bell tower is separated in a similar manner to the churches in Sabaudia, Littoria, Aprilia Carbonia and Fertilia, also new-built settlements. Here, the main square is separated by an arcade portico, which purposefully distances the church space, although it was formally present in the main space. Hence, a small piazzette is formed in front of the church façade, which appears to symbolize the separation and subordination of Catholicism by fascism, in spite of the declared
union. Similar design solutions are also observed in other places. They were treated in a different way through the course of time. Contemporary closing of arcades separates the church space from the main square space even more and the effect of the tower is somehow isolated.
The treatment of façades of both churches is certainly different from the above mentioned examples, which are located on Italian territory. **The church in Arsia** is unique in shape and is in unity with the bell tower, which gives rise to a simultaneous dominant effect, which is purposefully neglected in Pozzo Littorio. The façade in **Pozzo Littorio** is of a neutral design, as the colour effect of the alternating facing belts only reminds us of the Sabaudia example but without an emphasis on the vertical. The symmetry is strengthened by an opening, in the spirit of the Gothic „Rosette”, which is too small-scale and on a perfectly flat plain. The emphasis upon the semi-circular lower arcades adds horizontalism and does not accentuate the entrance, in contrast to all other churches mentioned. Here, the discrimination between the regime and the church is important as is the assumption of a dominant ideological function in the country, through ostensible respect for tradition. The church is simple and is strongly influenced by rationalism. The main elements are smooth and decoration-free walls, deep arcades, the play of light and shadow in the horizontal cover, which unites the arcades and, last but not least, the green background. The religious effect has gradually faded into the background, both literally and figuratively speaking.

**The square in Ljubljana** is structurally involved in the urban texture and adds a large scale to the buildings. In contrast to the square in Iasi, it was built and added to over the course of time. It was constructed gradually and, through compliance with the original project, it achieves consistent completeness and homogeneity. It is characterized by good interaction between high and low spaces, by a combination of a passing and a central space. This entity reaches its culmination in a harmoniously developed architectural hierarchy, where all elements are integrated into an inseparable whole. Hence, a simultaneous and convincing aesthetic-artistic effect is accomplished.
The square in Bratislava was designed as a compact and over-scale composition. The project was gradually implemented over an almost 40-year period of construction. The structure of the buildings, which form the square outline, corresponds to the main space, but it withdraws to the background because of the over-size architecture and provides dominant importance to the square, which is transformed into a park. The monumental geometrization turns the park into a dominant feature of the ensemble. Its emphases are the monument of Gottwald (removed later) and the fountain. Although certain depreciation in the background of the façades is observed, it does not undervalue the space as an aesthetic-artistic entity, which was purposefully sought for and accomplished over the course of time. In fact, both the set apart façades and city park development reduce the effect of the square, which is more persuasive as far as the Ministries Square in Tirana and the Largo are concerned. The space there is transitional and hence the square attracts with its detachment, but does not entice one to stay.
Similar to Bratislava, the Ministries Square in Tirana has a long history, as the spaces indicated in the original project are in place and the outcome is a complete artistic entity developed over 60 years. The south part of the square is constructed in the spirit of rationalism, as the ministry buildings are uniformly treated with different articulation of details, still with horizontal volumes and on the same scale. Later architecture to the east and to the north (the sixties and the seventies) complements the harmonious impression in spite of the different means of expression. If we exclude the unusually conserved mosque and the clock tower, no dominant features are present in the square in Tirana, such as the Party House at the Largo, the hotels in Iasi and Bucharest or the towers in Ljubljana. The role of a unifying structural centre is supplied by the statue of Scenderbeg. It emphasizes the renaissance character. The calming effect reminds us of the original design of Bratislava, but the scale in Tirana is considerably smaller and the space itself is comprehensible. Still, the square admits urban transport and other separate peripheral spaces are attractive for a stay as for example the green area in front of the bank.
The National theatre ensemble in Bucharest was designed and built according to an integrated design and actually possess all the virtues of an aesthetic-artistic entity. Severe changes to the theatre destroyed that entity, but the ongoing reconstruction and restoration of the original façade will restore the appearance and spirit of the original. In contrast to the Largo, which does not respect the status quo,
this ensemble successfully complements the historical central square and the harmonious unity is attained on two levels. The aesthetic-artistic entity of the ensemble is structurally included in a square outline created over a century. Here, one may search for a certain resemblances with the spatial effect of the square in Ljubljana, still on a sub-level. The liberalization in Romania was temporary and the regime soon reinforced the unusual aesthetics of monumental historism and traditionalism.

Each of the eight squares mentioned above is an aesthetic-artistic entity in itself, to different extents. The Largo and the ensemble in Iasi were designed and built in the shortest time frames. Hence they have a uniform effect, which is more convincing with regard to the Largo due to the designed and implemented plan-ornament. With regard to Iasi, the effect is reduced because of the inhomogeneity of styles and lower qualities of framing structures. The ensemble in Ljubljana was constructed over a longer time and maybe the most homogeneous, together with the Largo, but is more bustling and attractive, and the ensemble of the theatre – an element of a larger square space at Balcescu Square. The long period of construction work in Bratislava and Tirana had different effects. The civic centre in Bratislava has ceded its place to a park with distant background buildings. In comparison, the different construction stages in Tirana had a positive outcome and the differences in style do not lower the qualities of the aesthetic-artistic entity, attained by the spatial-structural effect of the architectural design.

Art synthesis is a key element of the fascist ideology, thus the regime did not omit to give it a key role. It must be noted that the author of the Arsia design, architect Finali, was a prominent designer of ships, interiors and expositions. He selected the location of the square where the sculptor Mascherini erected the Worker’s statue – a special symbol that summarized the ambition of the government to raise the population with work discipline and heroism. The location was in no way accidentally selected – below the balcony, designated for public speeches, lays the focus of the square space. The statue was removed after the end of the War.
Largo square used to be transitory and the main monument designed had been in front of the Councils House, so as not to affect the space hierarchy. For this reason no statue was planned in front of the House of the Party. The other concern was the Mausoleum of Georgi Dimitrov, which existed during the period 1949 - 1999. This controversial and non-typical form of respect and worship obviously could not endure, imposing linear spaces with none of the typical statue and sculpture groups. Only in 1970, the west side of the Largo was marked with a statue of Lenin, which was removed 20 years later. Monumental synthesis is revealed in the art decoration and plastic art of the individual buildings as is the material form of the ideology. It is rather more impressive in the interior – most of all in the arrangement of the foyer of the Council of Ministers – with references to historical fragments, vestibules and the ceremonial hall of the House of the Party, individual representative areas of the President’s chancellery and the hotel. The symbiosis of neoclassical forms, enlarged scales, monumental power and pathetic symbolism is purely eclectic and conforms fully to the totalitarian ideology.
The square ensemble in Iasi keeps the memorial of prince Alexandru Ioan Cuza in the new urban space. Art synthesis includes three decorative fountains, constructionally linked with the memorial. The effect is complemented by the integrated marble floor with its figured geometrical disposition.

The square ensemble in Ljubljana is full of memorial symbols, dominated by the Revolution monument. It had been designed originally to be symmetrically located among the high buildings, although it was eventually located peripherally with a background of high rising vegetation. In view of the liberalization of the regime and the sudden rejection of the Soviet influence, the monument had a rather modern vision for the period. In the surroundings are located monuments of communist figures from the Second World War, as well as of the Slovenian writer Ivan Chankar.

Initial designs and realization of the square in Bratislava provided single sculptures and sculpture groups, according to the tender solutions. However, none of
these symmetrically and non-symmetrically arranged monumental memorial projects were completed. In 1980, at a specially designated location, a sculpture group with Gotvald at the head, as a counterpoint to the central fountain, was erected. It was removed after the transition. Thus the main element of the art synthesis remains the large-scale fountain, which somehow represses with its symmetric radial approaches and sequential grass and paved sectors. Originally non-typical of the calm square contour, this pretentious radial symmetry gradually merges into the green framework, which mitigates the monumental impact. Pieces of art, arranged all over the square, were provided by prominent sculptors who were awarded academic degrees – Tibor Bartfay, Carol Lasko and Yurai Hovodka.

The square area in Tirana is dominated by the horse statue of Skanderberg, a historical Albanian hero, woven into modern history as a national hero. Stalin’s sculpture in front of the House of Culture is a fixed rule for the
downtown areas in Eastern Europe until 1953, but here its existence has lasted for a longer period.

The ensemble in Bucharest reveals the relationship between architecture and the other arts, and this is its most typical component. Interior restoration was completed with large gobelin masterpieces. The accent of the monumental synthesis is the impressive mosaic on the main façade, designated to enrich once more the urban space. The congruence with its standing on its own exquisite figural metal plastic piece in front of the theatre façade has to be considered. All public zones of the hotel are decorated with pieces of art, the work of dozens of prominent artists.

All squares employ art synthesis to different extent. In Tirana this is presented further in the mural and mosaic wall arts on the building of the Museum of History, whereas with the Largo interiors are preferred. The role of integrating composition centre in Tirana has the Skanderberg’s statue. It in particular reinforces the Renaissance effect. Of the reviewed ensembles only the welded statue of Prince Alexandro Cuza in the Square in Iasi has similar dominance, although not located in the geometrical centre. Gotvald’s sculpture in Bratislava has been removed, the one in Ljubljana, originally designed to be in the centre, has been peripherally located, the Largo had not planned for such changes, due to the risk of confrontation with uncompleted or existing monumental symbols.

069. Monument on Revolution square, Ljubljana – contemporary view
Urban planning significance

Impressive for the time, the urban planning operations of the city Largo initially invaded in a brutal way the traditional historical spaces of the city, neglecting any continuity. The extension of Tzar Osvoboditel Blvd. to St. Nedelya square accented the main east – west axis and later completed it to the west. Here in particular is the connection with the north – south direction, from Central Station to Vitosha Blvd. In this sense the connection of the two main directions makes the Largo the basic volume-space element and completes the architectural and urban planning ensemble at the highest government administrative level. This ensemble has a key role in the historical formation of the city. In addition to being a long-lasting expression of totalitarian architecture, the Largo continues the trend towards consolidated structure and scale of the city, already set by some of the pre-war buildings.

The central city square is at the centre of Arsia. Structurally it is more densely developed, with its large-scale and representative buildings of the Fascist House, the church and the hotel, which create the composition solution of a closed city square. The later designed and peripherally located central square in Pozzo Littorio is of a different scale and structure, the buildings and spaces there are consolidated. Seemingly the natural dominant is the church with the separately located campanilla. However the main building on the square is the Fascist House having a lower raised 90° angle arrangement and marked tower-shaped angle element. What makes the difference from Arsia is that the square of Pozzo Littorio is on the thoroughfare along the west-east axis, but the north-south direction is closed by the church, located at the highest point, with the background of a raised hill. Thus the area is approachable from all directions.
Planned access to the **square in Iasi** relies on some succession. An urban developmental plan dating to 1954 provides for central zone buildings of up to four floors, which is intended to preserve the town silhouette, dominated by the church towers. Notwithstanding the omissions at an architectural and urban planning level, the solution represents a historical moment. Despite this, the newly designed ensemble brings a completely different scale to the heart of the old town. This operation, at last, lays the beginnings of a new and different structure, in spite of the great number of historical monuments that had gradually been neglected. The tendency for new and significantly consolidated structural elements to be erected, especially in the public areas, has been maintained until the present time and dominates the appearance of the urban landscape to a great extent. While the existing scale of the Union Square is still acceptable, structures erected after the 1980s overwhelm the historical scale of the city.

The **ensemble in Ljubljana** was organically related to the enlarged city centre and the adjacent zones. Suitable urban planning links have been completed, together with convenient transport and pedestrian routes. The dominating buildings
of the towers introduce a new scale, supported by the additional public building developments. The balanced use of high and low units introduces harmony, but also ensures a spatial link to other dominant features in the urban skyline. Distinct from the schematic geometry of the Largo, here, in a convincing manner, the spatial hierarchy is demonstrated by means of well selected and successfully composed elements. This is obviously as a result of the liberalization of the Yugoslavian regime. After the 1960s, relative independence was given to the individual republics, which promoted their ambition to introduce urban planning and spatially impressive architectural and urban elements of the period. To a large extent, this mitigated the intrusive narrow restricted outlook and schematics, typical of the Largo and Bratislava and less so for the Iasi.
The main target of the square in Bratislava was to become an important public area. This idea, underlying the tender projects, was supported differently during the long construction period. However, the planned tangential urban axis was not completed and this gradually decreased the bustle in this zone.

On a completely different note is the composition of Ministerial square in Tirana, where the original urban planning concept was based on cutting the space down the main north-south axis, whereas the oval and splitting into two parts contributes to a relative softness of the framework and calming down of the traffic. Perhaps this is one of the reasons why the square in Tirana has a less impressive impact. The other reason is the relatively low-rise adjacent buildings.

In Bratislava the re-arranged square conforms to the basic space. However, as is obvious both from the original tender and subsequent designs, due to its enormous scale it is not welcoming and fails to achieve the desired attractiveness. The development of green areas gradually displaces the architecture and somehow,
during the 1980s, the solution was for it to be like a park with symmetrical areas and art design, including the political symbols. The artificial geometric design still stresses the main directions and links to the surrounding areas, where important units were erected, e.g. the building of the Slovakian radio. This space initially designated to organized mass gatherings, meetings and other events, gradually transformed into a recreational zone in the centre of the downtown area. In this sense, the outline of the square in Bratislava, which fails to achieve the business of the multifunctional centres in Ljubljana, Iasi and Tirana, does not incorporate organically the administrative and business functions, typical of the Largo.

The location of the emblematic urban planning National Theatre ensemble was not chosen by chance. Baltcescu square is located in the heart of Bucharest, at the point of intersection of the main city communication lines, both north-south and east-west. The square itself comprises several individualized, but naturally related, spaces, i.e. the square in front of the University and the most important urban monuments, of Michail Brave, George Lazar, Ion Radulescu and George Sinchay. Here are also located the Bucharest Museum, University of Architecture, Ministry of Agriculture and Koltea hospital. What makes the difference from the square in Ljubljana, which is the real central square of the city, is that the National Theatre ensemble is the dominant feature in the historically developed and busy multifunctional city space. The balanced composition of vertical sections and horizontal spaces ensures a harmonic compositional link with the rest of the elements in the square. This solution is in contrast to the schematic composition of the Largo and to the re-organized square in Bratislava. The theatre ensemble claims to be the city centre, notwithstanding the new artificially developed axis along Unirii Blvd. to the National Palace – which is also included in the ATRIUM survey, but on urban planning level.

The Largo was initially designed to connect two main city squares. The falling away of the Councils House, which completes the composition to the west, led to an overall review of the composition and gave birth to the idea for the city centre to be extended to the west. Thus the Largo became the space for the central part from
the west. Numerous archaeological findings and the elimination of traffic from the north leaves Banski Square with the trade units and a rich architectural heritage. In its role as a public square (along the axis St. Nedelya square – Al. Batenberg square – Narodno Sabranie square to the Borisova garden), the Largo has the original features of the traditional corso. A large complex, of three main scales dominates in the eastern part of St. Nedelya square and represents the compositional centre for several urban links. These compositional axis give the Largo ensemble the role of a real multifunctional centre, which is a radical change compared to it being the initial location for gatherings and transit passing.

The urban planning solution of the square in Arsia takes into account the natural elements and succeeds in interweaving the landscape to preserve the harmony. The well selected scale of the public buildings and spaces contributes to the calmness of the skyline. Accents are rather felicitous, both in spatial and compositional aspects.

The compositional solution in Pozzo Littorio is more universally applicable. The good choice of scale and the convincing composition of the functional zones are naturally interlinked and integrate the individual structures. The solution is
not dominated by the geometry, but the spatial hierarchy created naturally connects the central space with the urban areas.

Compositional links with the environment are the focus of the **Ministerial Square in Tirana**. This is characteristic most of all for the north – south direction, completed by the Fascist House. This solution, without undervaluing the main square, imposes as a centre another not so urban but ideologically and politically inspired space, an element of the dominating axis. Links between the square and its surrounding are not so prominent.

![Ministries Square, Tirana – contemporary view](image)

**The square in Iasi** continues to be the centre and its centralized location and closeness to the main town boulevards ensure good composition links to the rest of the town areas. This makes it a point of attraction, with the different functions and two hotels attracting visitors and guests. The existing framework of residential buildings creates additional liveliness at any time of the day or night.
The central square in Ljubljana deserves its place as a real centre, with convenient composition links to the surrounding zones. Dominating towers mark it as a modern urban centre, symbolic of the entrance to Ljubljana in the neighbouring hills. They interweave harmonically within the urban silhouette and combine in a balanced way with the symbols of other historical periods. In this way the ensemble both visually and structurally reinforces the sense of an urban centre, in compliance with the urban conditions and natural factors. The green system, gradating into the urban core, contributes to this natural link that has been developed over the years.

The square in Bratislava is located in the city centre and has been designated for mass events. It is directly related to other important central areas and indirectly related to the city suburbs. The planned construction of a main urban communication line close to the square was not realized.
The historically arranged centre at Balcescu square is related compositionally with both the close and remote urban areas. The ensemble of the National Theatre and the hotel is a natural part of the square area and is the real dominant feature of the centre, whilst the high buildings seen from afar mark this important city location. The juncture of Carol I Blvd. and Balcescu Blvd. connects the main traditional east-west and north-south directions, continuing to compete a series of squares along the artificially constructed Unirii Blvd., from Alba Ulia square to Constitution square and the National Palace, being directly linked with them.

Of the eight urban planning ensembles, the Largo in Sofia is perceived most as a true symbol of the totalitarian (communist) regime. However, while the buildings continue to be used by key government institutions, both the pentacle and Lenin’s monument have been removed and this is rather symbolic of the stability of government power. The other seven ensembles are rather more dynamic in their architectural aspect and functionally integrate (in various combinations) green and pedestrian areas, cultural institutions, hotels, residential
buildings and shops which have not preserved or, to a great extent, have lost their role as symbols of the governing, mainly communist, regime. This is valid to a lesser extent for the Ministerial Square in Tirana, mainly because its orientation is dictated also by its distant location, although still having impressive visual link to the symbol of Mussolini’s regime, the building of the Fascist House. Here an analogy with the Palace in Bucharest visible all along Unirii Blvd can be made. Of course in scale the Romanian example is a rather more monumental and completely oppressive solution. However, regarding the structure in Tirana, the dominant Fascist House along the main urban axis in practice has the same effect.
Residential Groups And Residential Complexes

Residential buildings, groups and especially large-scale residential complexes, are a powerful tool of totalitarian regimes in the implementation of their broadly promoted and realized social programmes. Housing policy had a central role because it was directly associated with the care of the regime for the working people, who were responsible for their own bright future, with a better daily life and living standards. Residential schedules ensured opportunities for the design and construction of large scale and impressive residential complexes, which coincides with the aim of totalitarian regimes to demonstrate both social care and strong and indisputable power. The preliminary zoning and spatial hierarchy of these complexes introduced a certain „new order” and, at first glance, satisfy the various needs of the population. However, most of them take the role of towns-bedrooms, as the initial designs of the complexes, providing public, auxiliary, cultural, educative and other functions to the residents, have almost never been completed.

I.4. Residential Units And Groups

1. “Nádorváros” Housing Project, Gyor, 1953
2. Szent Istvan ut 14-18 Housing Estate, Gyor, 1953
4. Residential Building Kifla, Subotica

The three case-studies in Gyor have different locations and size. The individual residential building at 35-39 St. Ishtvan is arranged along the street line of the main town boulevard and east-west axis. It is far away from the Residential group at 14-18 St. Ishtvan, at approximately 300 m distance. The residential group at 14-18 St. Ishtvan comprises three four-storey buildings on the street and two internal ones, of the same height, but with different configurations. Later they were flanked from east and west with volumes, located across the street,
and with a further three key buildings in the south. The buildings have been constructed amongst natural vegetation, but it would be arguable whether the approach is a la Corbusier. The residential building at 35-39 St. Ishtvan is seven-storey and in both scale and structure conforms to the main boulevard. The residential group at 14-18 St. Ishtvan is among the smaller of the buildings, but adds to the overall appearance of the southern frontage of the boulevard. The **Residential group Nadovarosh** is located in the existing residential quarter, around a moderate-sized garden. It comprises of three large residential buildings. The west and the south are of elongated shape, whilst the north part almost completely closes the whole inner quarter space. The housing nature of the previous mixed residential and industrial zone is maintained. The residential group corresponds to the quarter’s structure, but its development is large-scale compared to the existing buildings. The appearance of the three residential sites in Gyor completely conforms to the spirit of the Stalinist era, which is in fact their common feature.
078. Szent Istvan ut 14-18 Housing Estate, Gyor – present plan

079. "Nádorváros" Housing Project, Gyor – present plan
The residential unit Kifla in Subotica is located close to the Tokyo residential complex. Similar to Nadorvarosh, the location of the site is in an area destroyed by bombing. Its volume is simplified and unostentatious both individually and in the surrounding green area. Nevertheless, it contributes to the silhouette of the main street parallel to the railway line, along which are arranged important buildings, such as the City Court and the new municipal building.

Ideological aim of the project programme

The four projects are characterized by a common message: in the urban areas destroyed by Second World War bombing, stable and convenient housing complexes for workers were to be developed. The main differences are linked to the period of
their design and construction: the three sites in Gyor (1952-1956), are in the oppressively scaled Stalinist style; the residential building in Subotica, developed at the beginning of the 1970s, is more humble and of more human scale. Their location in the cities is also different: the three sites in Gyor are located along the central street, or in close proximity to it, and they force their existence in the city, famous as a “Communist bastion”; the site in Subotica is located in a relatively calmer quarter with good communication links.

**Public and professional reaction**

There are no data about public reaction against the sites. It can be suggested that in all four cases construction work had been welcomed by the residents, providing comfortable and well developed housing in place of the demolished buildings, of various designations.

There is no information about critical professional reaction either.

**Relations to the environment**

The attitude of the residential complexes to the established urban area is rarely tolerant. The decisions in the current examples in **Gyor** and **Subotica** are similar. The war caused serious damage to the housing in Gyor. Many of the buildings in the north part of the main street St. Ishtvan, formed at the end of the XIX century, were demolished. Gradually, in their place, new high monumental buildings were erected. The new main communication axis put the demarcation line between the medieval baroque town in the north and the developing urban regions in the south. Urban planning projects in the years after the Second World War followed the example of the linear city of Corbusier and in this sense the key composition was influenced by this model. The performance of the design affected the overall established urban structure.

**The Nadorvarosh residential group** forms a quadratic square garden, located on the west side of an important city boulevard „Tihani Arpad”. It results
from the new planning in 1948, but as a route is not on the scale of “St. Ishtvan”. The residential group itself was developed at the location of a destroyed industrial complex. Plots are completely affected; the direction of the street frontages is preserved.
The Kifla residential unit was also developed in a zone which, in principle, had not been adequate as a residential quarter. The location is close to the centre and the connections to the neighbouring quarters are convenient. It has connections to an important urban boulevard and the space in front of the City Court.

The residential sites along “St. Ishtvan” boulevard aimed to make development more intensive for this important urban line. An archive photograph, dated 1956, reveals large-scale development which had been typical for this part of the town over the related period. In this sense the groups are well linked to the neighbouring quarters and urban parts. The volume-space solution of the street is forcing, although its urban planning role is indisputable. On the one hand the street is the main city line of large-scale development and on the other the route splits the town and somehow isolates the north from the south.
Manifestation of the totalitarian ideology

The residential groups along „St. Ishtvan” boulevard in Gyor demonstrate the social care for the workers, whereas the Nadorvarosh group, at first glance, is discretely interwoven and preserves the quarter’s framework and is of a powerful structure, with a different scale and architectural language. What is typical in all three cases is that they are not looking for what is natural for the age in other countries „plan ornament”, but the decoration is partially expressed on the façades. Notwithstanding the willingness of the regime to demonstrate its social policy and introduce the Stalinist style into architectural arrangements, intervention is rather attentive. No large-scale construction operations had been performed, in line with the spirit of the époque, and intervention in the residential buildings at Nadorvarosh avoided the transformation of this zone into a typical residential complex.
The Kifla building was constructed in a bomb affected area and was thus preferred by the regime to demonstrate its power, replacing the old structure by a new socialist construction. In this case what we see is again a residential unit, but not an ensemble like the Sofia Largo for instance, which is a rather more brutal example of a demonstratively forced new composition solution on an existing environment.

All four sites are directly focused on the residential and thus social sphere, whereas the demonstration of totalitarian idea is achieved most of all through architectural and composition language, but not through large-scale urban planning interventions. For this reason the ideological effect is not compelling as it is, for example, in the reconstruction of the large complex of Unirii in Bucharest.
Typological value

The “Linear town” model of the central street **St. Ishtvan in Gyor** has typological meaning, but the solution is not as convincing as planned since the rhythmically arranged public areas are missing. The two sides of the boulevard claim to be representative, with their high rise large-scale construction. In this case the architectural solution is dictated by the intentionally pursued and realized grandeur. Numerous multi-story and higher apartment buildings were developed over consolidated residential plots.

In typological terms, the earlier residential buildings are a reflection of the modern style, whereas the later ones reveal the beginning of socialist realism, i.e. the residential blocks at **14-18 St. Ishtvan**. On these sites the new typology of free development among green areas is typical, i.e. the discussed residential group at № 14-18 St. Ishtvan. Design is standard, buildings are unimpressive in spatial structure and architectural language details are simplified and not pretentious. The individual residential building at **35-39 St. Ishtvan** has the natural elements of development of the central streets and boulevards, by means of erecting representative units. In
the case of **Nadorvarosh group**, a new scale is arranged around the quadratic square and the consolidated structures support the space. The peripheral quarter development is not new and neither are the individual four-storey buildings.

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**087. Szent Istvan ut 35-39 Housing Project, Gyor – floor plan**

**088. “Nádorváros” Housing Project, Gyor – floor plan**

**089. Szent Istvan ut 14-18 Housing Estate, Gyor – floor plan**
Innovativeness

There is nothing innovative in the applied constructions, technologies and materials. The solutions in Gyor and Subotica are typical of the urban planning of the 1950s with a new scale for space and squares close to the historical centre.

Historical value

Buildings and residential sites in Gyor and Subotica have their analogues in other countries. The individual residential building at 35-39 St. Istvan is a typical example of development of central streets and boulevards on specific sites, mainly in square spaces or marking the borders of the quarter. Such developments are often found in the architecture of the 50s in Sofia e.g. Rakovski Street, Vasil Levski Blvd., Al. Stamboliiski Blvd., Dondukov Blvd., etc. in Plovdiv, near Stochna Gara, and other capitals of Eastern European countries. The rather strange form is the reason for the prominence of the Kifla residential unit. We can find an analogue with the residential block “Krastavitzata” in Burgas.

Artistic value and urban planning significance

The detached residential building of St Istvan 35-39 is an example of a comprehensive structure with similar construction, but without any remarkable planning qualities, composition or aesthetic aspects. However, the decoration, in the spirit of the Stalinist period, has some claims, whereas the Kifla residential unit relies only on its volume-spatial impact and on its plastic loggias, but practical decoration is lacking. In the residential group of St. Istvan 14-18 a uniform concept and realization is obviously embedded, which is supported by the volume-spatial solution and the aesthetic appearance of the façades. A uniform impact is achieved, but its aim is not a “plan-ornament” and the result is more than modest. It is not a massive solution. When compared, it appears that the Nadorvarosh group possesses some degree of artistic integrity, because the overall idea has been consistently carried out and a reasonable scale has been preserved. The architecture of the individual buildings returns to the use of some traditional and romantic elements, regardless of the influences and details of the neoclassical period. These are also seen in St. Istvan 14-18, but in the spirit of Stalinist decorative architecture. A
successful balance is found between the horizontal volumes and the rhythmic vertical disposition of the wall panels, although with mechanically applied decoration, especially at the entrance porticoes. In a sense, in Nadorvarosh the spirit of middle European urban architecture was sought and achieved, although the means were taken from other aesthetic models.

The artistic details of the detached building at No 35-39 and the residential group No 14-18 are modest and frugal, in the spirit of Stalinist “decorative” architecture. The plastic decoration is limited to the entrances and is too small-scale and pompous, whereas the residential unit No 35-39 claims to bring in a greater number of compositional and decorative elements, although the effect is not very successful. The Stalinist architecture was achieved, which is specific to most Eastern European cities, being both monotonous and anonymous. Although lacking in quality, the decoration of the Nadorvarosh group is more uniform, more artistically precise and achieves some harmony with the appearance of the neighbouring spaces.
The detached building of **St. Istvan 35-39** supports the created street framework and gives it a local urban significance. The same can be said of the **Kifla residential unit** being more like a characteristic element of the neighbourhood, it frames, from the Northwest, the space in front of the District Court and also creates a kind of contour of the space. **The residential group No 14-18** is more extensive and complete, but it loses its significance as a complex since the garden and proximity of the transport unit, in practice, lowers the value of the initial design as a modern residential neighbourhood. The urban importance of the **Nadorvarosh group** is strengthened by the enlarged Tihani Arpad Boulevard, which tangs the neighbourhood park space, created by the buildings. Thus, the Nadorvarosh group turns into a kind of neighbourhood centre and the large-scale building corresponds to a new situation, compared to that provided under the original concept.

In the **Nadorvarosh group** the intervention in the urban web is at two levels i.e. demolition by bombing and construction on practically vacant terrain. Yet, the overall look within the urban structure supports the initial design and planning and the modern development provides for a relatively harmonious inclusion of the square space in the old web. The importance of the tangential Tihani Arpad Boulevard should be also not ignored. Thus, the place can claim to be a hub and, in a certain sense, the height of construction and the large-scale façades occupying the entire neighbourhood fronts are justified.
The relative remoteness of the residential groups along St. Istvan Str, No 14-18 and No 35-39 isolate them from each other. The individual building No 35-39 becomes just an element of the street framework, but it complements it massively, structurally and in height. While the greenery around the residential group No 14-18 is involved in the street space and to some extent enriches it in such a way that the physiognomy of the main street is downplayed. Moreover, it is precisely here that the street becomes part of a major transportation hub, which on the one hand connects the different areas of the city and on the other crosses the space and the residential area remains isolated and peripheral which, although not intended, has gradually occurred over time.

Today the residential buildings are symbols of the totalitarian care embodied in architectural design: strong and massive in the Stalinist period, more human in the 1970s. The buildings continue to perform their function due to their location and, although different, they attract the interest of the citizens.
I.5. Residential Complexes

1. Residential complex “3 March”, Dimitrovgrad, 1947
2. Residential Complex Petrzalka, Bratislava, 1967
3. Residential Complex Radijalac, Subotica
4. Residential Complex Tokyo, Subotica

In terms of basic volume-spatial and compositional characteristics, the residential areas have the following similarities: they are located compactly, asymmetrically and picturesquely in large areas. Contributing to the shaping of the complexes are the main and servicing roads, the grouping of the buildings and the appearance of internal district spaces. With regard to spatial characteristics similarities between the Radijalac and the Third of March complex can be detected, with lines of tall (4 to 6-storey) residential blocks situated parallel to the street. The Petrzalka and Tokyo complexes have specific and individual volume-spatial characteristics, due to the various types of using low and high volumes in the development – terraced, linear and high-rise.
Functional zoning is provided everywhere but it is only partially performed. In all complexes the residential and recreational functions dominate. At a more detailed level, on the territory of Petrzalka there are recreation areas and playgrounds, which serve the entire city, while the Third of March complex has a dominant square with cultural functions of a regional character.

All complexes are characterized by high density, but the scales are different – a relatively human scale in Radijalac and Third of March and too grandiose a scale in the Petrzalka complex.

**Ideological aim of the project programme**

The construction of residential complexes that provide hygienic and urbanized apartments for a large number of workers and their families were relatively late projects of the socialist regimes. Their planning, on the one hand, is appropriate in the cities, which were generally industrial, and to which workers were continually flowing and, on the other hand, the use of readymade structural elements became possible, thus shortening the time of construction. Among the four sites, however, there is one exception – the **Third of March complex in Dimitrovgrad** – its
design is synchronous with the overall design of a new socialist city in Bulgaria and its construction was completed in the late 1950s.

At the other extreme is the **Petrzalka complex in Bratislava** – with regard to the scale of the project and the socialist period and also with regard to the environment. Designed and built in the years of so-called “normalization” in Czechoslovakia, it bears a clear ideological charge—clearing of the urban space built up with small individual houses, construction of a large-scale residential complex (the largest in Central Europe), which dominates the opposite bank of the river Danube, where the old city centre is situated.
The **Radijalac** and **Tokyo complexes in Subotica** are intermediate cases both in scale and in the time of its implementation. They differ from the Stalinist architectural style of the Third of March complex, and from the monotonous panel forest of the Petrzalka complex. Both complexes have absorbed the specifics of Yugoslav socialism, allowing visual deviation from the uniform human dormitory.

![Residential complex “3 March”, Dimitrovgrad – project elevation sketches](image)

**Public and professional reaction**

With regard to the **Third of March** complex, one could not expect any negative public reaction due to the time of its construction. This is not the case, however, with the large-scale **Petrzalka panel complex** – negative reaction was shown towards it due to the spot of its construction and also because of the poor quality of the living conditions in the panel apartments. Of course, this reaction did not achieve great publicity but was shared mainly within dissident circles. **The Radijalac** and **Tokyo residential complexes** in Subotica were well accepted by the residents of the city, although the apartment buildings were regarded as affirming the socialist communal lifestyle.
The professional critique on the Petrzalka complex is mainly directed towards the uniformity of the panel buildings, the complete removal of the previous urban environment and the inability to create a meaningful and relatively independent area of the city. The Dimitrovgrad and Subotica complexes were well accepted by the professionals.

**Relations to the environment**

Each of the complexes tells a different story with regards to the existing environment. The construction of Petrzalka was emblematic, due to the expansion of the city across the Danube, but resulted in the destruction of the old neighbourhood. However, Dimitrovgrad (and in particular the Third of March complex) was an entirely new settlement. In the construction of the Radijalac complex, the original authentic buildings were also demolished, and the Tokyo complex was built on the site of buildings already demolished by bombing. However, the location of the Tokyo complex in an existing urban environment led to some restraint in the large-scale
design. In this regard, Petrzalka not only ignores and eliminates the existing environment but, with its large-scale structure, sits as an absolutely foreign body in the urban organism. The complex is connected to the urban areas through seemingly convincing, but rather mechanical, linkages. Here “shielding” has also been applied i.e. large structural peripheral groups separate the inside of the complex from the tangential motorways. This “scale model” effect, has long proved its inapplicability, as in the formal search for so-called “cosy interiors”, it virtually has no effect.

The Third of March complex was designed as a link between the city centre and the residential area, and it was achieved, while Petrzalka was built as a deliberate contrast and “counterweight” to the historic urban core.

In none of the complexes a deliberately sought connection with the landscape is observed. They create a new micro-environment, with communication connections with the centre and the rest of the city. These links are conducted freely, naturally, without any geometrization, following the individual nature of each object.
Manifestation of the totalitarian ideology

The Third of March complex was designed before the others. It was built up to 1960, while the complexes in Subotica and Bratislava were built in the 60s and the 70s. The political situations in Bulgaria, Serbia and Slovakia were somewhat different. There is unequal impact of architectural styles – from the Soviet architecture for the Third of March complex to modernism in the other three complexes. Serbia did not accept directly the Soviet influence in the architectural and artistic fields. This mitigates the geometric plainness of the Radijalac complex. During the construction of this complex many buildings were destroyed. One could say that this is an ideal demonstration of how the regime has systematically removed all the traces of the past by constructing new facilities in a modern socialist style, replacing the existing functional architecture. Nevertheless, there are similarities between the complexes: large-scale urban planning with an unceremonious attitude towards the existing environment, with an emphasis on social factors in the urban planning.
In the complex in Dimitrovgrad there is a touch of nationalism through the use of “traditional” elements. Petrzalka has achieved full “anonymity” - the complex has no nationality and at first glance it is entirely “apolitical”. For its design the contemporary methods of urban planning of the 1970s were fully used. However, the huge scale and giant structures were a convincing demonstration of the totalitarian idea for a complete change in the urban environment.
In the complexes in Subotica the totalitarian ideology is, to some extent, unobtrusive. They both focus on the quality of people’s lives but also manifest the power of government and, through the modern housing, emphasize the prosperity of the city (state). Yet, the convincing compositional axis Josip Broz Tito Blvd in Radijalac and the large urban complex operation in the Tokyo complex consolidate the belief that such measures could be taken only by a totalitarian power that is confident and firm in its own correctness and superiority.

In the Third of March complex, the emphasis was on striving towards the typical for this period “plan ornament” - a complete central space with focus on symmetric build up in directions leading to the compositional centre. This was fully in the spirit of the Town Centre, that was already discussed in the urban complexes sub-group. The architectural means of expression which were used for demonstration of the totalitarian ideology are the application of prefabricated building units and grand-scale of the residential buildings and residential areas. The use of decorative façade elements was gradually beginning to give way to the clean and functional forms of modernism.

Typological value

The typology of the Third of March complex in Dimitrovgrad applies the doctrine of the “socialist classics” imported and imposed by the Soviet Union on
an entirely new type of city, the socialist industrial settlement. Despite several partially implemented attempts, this typology was not imposed and smoothly passes to the modernism of the 60s.

In this sense, the residential complexes in Subotica combine the urban and architectural ideas of modernism for a compact city with functional zoning. Typologically new is the approach to the residential areas at an urban level, through central and scientific design, using the volume-spatial characteristics of the architecture, which was modern for its time.

The Petrzalka complex, through its approach, does not introduce a new typology, but displays the volume-spatial composition on a scale which was unknown for this part of Europe.
Innovativeness

The residential areas are largely innovative in terms of philosophy, approach and architectural character. The Petrzalka complex was large-scale, constructed of prefabricated elements, relatively quickly and cheaply. The composition and the structure of the complexes are innovative in terms of adding elements and spaces with seemingly indirect propaganda e.g. a cultural centre for workers in the Third of March complex. As in other cases, in Petrzalka the public function in the neighbourhood remains insufficient and relies on the urban cultural institutions. In the complexes in Subotica there are no innovations in the approach, technologies or materials, but rather in the integration of residential and office spaces.

Historical value

The historical significance of Dimitrovgrad, in particular of the Third of March complex is, in its uniqueness to Bulgaria, uncommon at a European level – the construction of a completely new city in its entirety, with all the basic social
functions. The site was very important for the regime, as a symbol of the victory of socialism, the new life, the youth and the brigade movement.

In 1963 in Serbia a Master plan of the city came into force that did not comply with the existing buildings. Both the Tokyo and Radijalac complexes were parts of this project, expressing disrespect for the totalitarian cultural heritage and calling for urgent social measures and improvement of living standards. Certainly, the introduction of this communal lifestyle usually offers dubious housing standards, but the general trend in post-war city growth dictated the choice of such a residential policy – moreover, the social system prefers the collective form to the private one, irrespective of which sector it applies it.

The Petrzalka complex has historical significance with its scale, design approach and urban trends.

Each of the complexes has its analogies within various countries.

Petrzalka is the most important of the whole series of complexes assembled in Bratislava during the period 1955-1995, and its equivalent could be found in most cities of Eastern Europe. Similar examples include the Mladost and Lyulin complexes in Sofia, but the ultimate in this field is the giant Martsan complex in Berlin. An analogue of the Third of March complex is the Lenin (Yavorov) complex in Sofia,
built in the 1950s. Its architecture has abandoned the decorative elements and tends more to a complex-garden with buildings freely located in the greenery. This effect was sought in the St. Istvan 14-18 residential group in Gyor. Here, the location of the main motorways is similar to the Lenin (Yavorov) complex, but significantly less structure violates the attempts at residences surrounded by greenery. The linear scheme in Radijalac has its analogues in Berlin and to some extent, with the concept of Lakatush on St. Istvan in Gyor, but it is more convincing in the compositional aspect, also due to its enriched profile with additional landscaping.

**Artistic value and urban planning significance**

The **Third of March complex in Dimitrovgrad** was organically connected with the other parts of the city. This can be observed at a conceptual, functional and aesthetic level. Human-scale spaces have been created, which are comparable with other urban areas. The general appearance is determined by restrained architecture, although in the spirit of decorative architecture. The trend towards the creation of plan-ornament is a part of the aesthetics. Because there was no need to consider the existing built-up area, the idea was successfully realized. That is the reason for the organic and unified impact and its connection with the city centre.

![108. Residential complex “3 March”, Dimitrovgrad – contemporary panorama](image)

The **Petrzalka complex** is an individually completed unit with its own distinctive look, a counterpoint to the central part of Bratislava, with its own volume-spatial structure, which is entirely in disharmony with the city network. In this sense, the complex also claims aesthetic-artistic integrity.
Aesthetic-artistic integrity is achieved in the complexes in Subotica, especially with the compositional solution for the Radijalac complex, as a convincing connection to the actual centre with the sports park. Otherwise, both complexes structurally fit into the environment and the buildings are roughly imposed. Unlike Subotica, the Third of March complex is more unified and harmonious.

The complexes in Dimitrovgrad, Subotica and Bratislava were designed with high aesthetic-artistic integrity, which was partially damaged during implementation and further development. They have united urban and architectural
design. Their characteristics are compositional and spatial relationships between the individual elements, coherent impact and completion. About the Third of March complex, it could be said that some architectural elements from the Bulgarian National Renaissance have been implemented. Subsequently, this integrity was damaged by the inevitable human intervention.

The sculptural compositions in the spaces between the blocks in the Petrzalka complex and the architectural-decorative plastic parts of the library building in the Third of March complex are evidence of the high-level artistic synthesis and a topic naturally associated with the traditional values and symbols of this period.

The Third of March complex creates an entirely new urban environment in place of the traditional and non-urbanized rural areas. It becomes a natural urban dominant, predetermined by the nature of the composition, good scalability of the internal district spaces and monumental architectural images fully comparable with the other areas of the district. The complex convincingly solves a major problem for the urban areas – a smooth and harmonious combination of the already existing part with the newly designed districts, as well as the construction of a secondary urban centre, in line with the scale and structure of the city. The implementation allows a successful solution of the boulevard as an entrance-exit road.
Quite different is the solution of Petrzalka as a completely new city sector in Bratislava and expansion of the city on the other side of the river. It contrasts with the city centre. Its distinctive silhouette is disturbingly monotonous, compared to the old town.

The **Tokyo** and **Radijalac complexes** have already been structurally involved in the city. The Tokyo complex dominates over the urban environment, primarily through its volume-spatial structure, whereas Radijalac is a compositional element – a connecting compositional axis between the centre and the city park, with many cross-links with the surrounding neighbourhoods.
All four residential complexes are emblematic for the time and place of design and construction with regard to the sub-periods of the socialist regimes and their specificity. By looking in their characteristics, one gets an idea of the lifestyle of the socialist working people and the patterns of adaptation to the city environment imposed on them.
II. Public Buildings

II.1. State-Political Buildings

1. Fascist Youth Seat, Forlì, 1935
2. Fascist House, Arsia, 1936
3. Fascist Administration, Rhodes, 1936
5. Ceva with tower – Fascist House, Pozzo Littorio, 1938
6. Fascist Home, Tirana, 1938
8. Boyana State Residence, Sofia, 1971
9. Congress Palace, Tirana, 1982

In this group fall nine sites and stylistically they can be divided into two groups. The first group covers representatives of the Italian fascist new rationalism of pre-World War II - Fascist Youth Seat, Forlì; House of the Fascist Party, Predappio; Fascist Administration, Rhodes, Fascist Home, Tirana, Fascist House in Arsia and Pozzo Littorio – built in Italy and Croatia during World War II, today in Croatia. The second group covers representatives of modernism in the period of mature socialism in the Eastern Block countries after the war – House of socio-political organizations, Maribor, Slovenia; Congress Palace, Tirana, Albania, and Boyana State Residence 1971-1972, Sofia, Bulgaria.
All nine sites were intended to house state-ideological organizations of the respective totalitarian regime, which determines their functional program – representative lobbies, halls and offices. This program has been upgraded in some fascist buildings, namely in the Houses of Fascist Youth organization in Forli and in Tirana (the second one is part of the complex surrounding the former Fascist House), where the representative functions have been complemented by sports functions, which was part of the totalitarian ideology for cultural and sporting education of the fascist youth. The building in Arsia was even intended as a town home with a tower, while that in Pozzo Littorio was originally named a Fascist Home.
3. Detailed Analysis 3.A. Analysis by Typology Group II. Public Buildings

116. Fascist House, Arsia – contemporary view

117. Ceva with tower – Fascist House, Pozzo Littorio – archive view
The high representativeness of the buildings is emphasized in a volumetric-spatial aspect with more or less clear, but always present, axes of symmetry (with the exception of the Public House in Maribor, which is deliberately asymmetrical, but with balanced composition of three volumes), with well-formed square spaces and a highlighted entrance.
The Italian examples from fascist rationalism have clearly defined vertical accents that dominate the environment (Forli, Predappio, Arsia, and Pozzo Littorio). In the buildings in the Mediterranean provinces of Mussolini’s regime (Tirana, Rhodes), the monumental Italian rationalism was refracted through the use of local traditional materials and volumetric solutions, which was part of the construction strategy for the Mediterranean region. The sites of mature socialism (Congresses Palace in Tirana and Boyana Residence in Sofia) were also seeking to implement local building techniques and architectural elements from the past, as a means of expression of socialist modernism.
Ideological aim of the project programme

All nine sites should be considered as a conductor of the totalitarian ideology, as they were designed and implemented to house the structures of the totalitarian organization (fascist or communist). Thus, they impact on the population, due to the fact that such highly representative buildings, inaccessible to the average person, exist as significant urban elements and demonstrate the power of the respective regime. This is particularly true of the buildings of mature socialism (Slovenia, Bulgaria and Albania).

The objects from fascist rationalism were intended as more brutal propaganda machines. They have an influence as part of the monumental urban ensembles, newly-built by the fascist regime (Arsia, Pozzo Littorio) as massive volumes and as a function that has a direct impact on the ideological education of the people. Such are the Fascist houses, but especially the Houses of Youth Fascist organization in Forli and Tirana – one of the many sports and cultural centres of
public and professional reaction

Negative public and professional reaction to this type of representation of objects of the governing totalitarian parties was generally rare. There are no such objections documented in this category. It should be noted that the positive professional reactions are justified because the buildings are of high architectural and construction quality, in order to demonstrate the power of the governing party. There are documented nicknames and informal legends relating to both sites of mature socialism in Bulgaria and Slovenia (in Maribor the building was called “the aquarium where big fish live”), which was natural due to the special status of the buildings.

relations to the environment

The influence of the buildings on the immediate environment is consistent with the task and conditions of their execution. All nine buildings are included in ensembles with representative square spaces. While the examples of Fascist Italy dominate by vertical accents, axes of symmetry and as a part of the ceremonial, newly-created urban structures (Tirana, Rhodes, Arsia, Pozzo Littorio), the socialist projects in Slovenia and especially in Bulgaria, seek a harmonious relationship with the environment and nature (The Boyana Residence is even located separately in a park environment outside the city centre and does not directly affect the urban fabric).
The **Congresses Palace in Tirana** is an exception because, although a building of late socialism, it was designed as a representative accent that dominates the surrounding area. Moreover, the **Palace** is located on Deshmoret e Kombit Boulevard (the Imperial Axis created during the regime of Mussolini (Viale dell'Impero), which connects the old city centre with the new political and Youth Centre). This boulevard ends at the Polytechnic University (former Fascist House in Tirana), another object in this category.
Manifestation of the totalitarian ideology

All nine buildings were designed as architectural propaganda to highlight the power of the regime.

The Italian examples are typical of a series of similar buildings for nationwide mass agitation (Houses of Fascists and Houses of Fascist Youth organizations (Forlì, Predappio, Tirana, Rhodes, Arsia, Pozzo Littorio), scattered throughout the large Italian cities and the Mediterranean provinces conquered during the regime of Mussolini. Most of them are in newly built urban ensembles, constructed during the fascist regime, and promote the “modern classicism” adopted by the regime directly linking its power to the “classical Rome” of the Roman Empire and neglecting all intervening historical periods.
The later socialist objects (House of Sociopolitical Organizations in Maribor, Boyana State Residence and Congress Palace in Tirana) are examples of individual high-class luxury, exclusiveness and quality of construction and life. Their totalitarianism is not rooted so much in their architecture (trying to be human, to follow the principles of modernism and to re-adopt the national architecture) but in their exclusiveness.

**Typological value**

In terms of the typological value, the buildings in the state-political category can be divided into two groups.

The sites of Mussolini’s fascist regime of in Italy and its provinces are distinct representatives of the Italian interpretation of the so-called New Tradition (by Henry-Russell Hitchcock), which binds rationalism with classical tradition to better serve the requirements for monumentality and nationalism of the fascist regime. They had a fundamental typological role in the Italian provinces during the Second World War (Arsia, Pozzo Littorio, the buildings in Rhodes and the complex in Tirana), where previously chaotic and spontaneous (oriental) urban planning occurred, and large public complexes were an innovation which contributed significantly to the organization of the relevant settlements.

The buildings of the period of mature socialism in Slovenia, Bulgaria and Albania are emblematic of the totalitarian regimes, but they offer a humane attitude towards the environment, harmonious relationships with nature and, in the Bulgarian and Albanian examples, a contemporary interpretation of the traditional local architecture, through the application of modernism.
ATRIUM Transnational Survey

3. Detailed Analysis 3.A. Analysis by Typology Group II. Public Buildings

127. Fascist House, Arsia – floor plans

128. Fascist Youth Seat, Forlì – floor plans
ATRIUM Transnational Survey
3. Detailed Analysis 3.A. Analysis by Typology Group II. Public Buildings

129. House of Sociopolitical Organizations, Maribor – floor plan

130. Congress Palace, Tirana – floor plan
Innovativeness

None of the nine buildings offer an innovative design solution, but adhere to the standard concrete construction. The technologies for the implementation of the fascist objects in Rhodes and Albania, however, are regarded as innovative for these regions, where previously this type of construction was unknown. The same applies to public buildings in Arsia and Pozzo Littorio, built according to the program Citta de Fondazione of the 1930s, and including twelve newly designed and newly built settlements.

In the three representative objects in Slovenia, Albania and Bulgaria it can be noted that a skeletal structure is designed to cover the large indoor areas and to offer flexibility in the building plan. As an extreme constructional achievement, implemented for the first time in Albania, one can refer to the internal covered round hall in the Congress Palace in Tirana, which has a diameter of 54 m.

Historical value

The historical value of the Italian examples in the category (in Forlì and Predappio) lies in the fact that both buildings are typical examples of vivid state-political structures (Casa del Balilla and Casa del Fascio), deployed around the larger Italian cities and of ideological influence during the fascist regime. Such is the nature of Fascist Homes built in small towns (Arsia, Pozzo Littorio), which shows the sequence of the conducted policy of uniformity and education of the population. In the particular four sites there are no documented important historical events. Similarly, for the House of Socio-political organizations in Maribor there are no documented key historical events, but in architectural-historic aspect the building is a good example of an important regional political site during the time of the totalitarian regime in former Yugoslavia.

Of key historical value, however, is the complex around the Fascist House in Tirana, which is considered fundamental for the development of modern urban planning in the country and extremely important with regard to the local history and
culture. Similarly, the Public House in Rhodes (former Fascist House) is part of an emblematic urban complex, which is indicative of Italian fascist rationalism in the Dodecanese island group.

In a separate group in this category are the Boyana Residence in Sofia and the Congress Palace in Tirana. They could be defined as local examples of vivid highly representative buildings, serving the totalitarian power. The architectural and functional program of the Boyana Residence is repeated in most of the Party Houses and municipalities in Bulgaria. The exterior look of the Congress Palace was the subject of a special study to provide a monumental and original form.

**Artistic value**

All nine objects are completed aesthetic-artistic ensembles, which is logical, since their purpose was to exercise a full and active ideological impact on society.

The Italian examples (in Forlì and Predappio) are more modest with regard to detail and decoration, in accordance with the tradition of Italian rationalism, where influence is through the monumentality of the forms. In both examples, the symmetry and strict rationalism of the form is harmonically disturbed by high towers/accents. In the building in Forlì the aesthetic-artistic influence was complemented by the slogans of the Youth Fascist Organization, painted on the walls of the vertical tower (these wall paintings were later destroyed) and with two-colour pavings.

![Fascist Administration, Rhodes – contemporary view](image-url)
3. Detailed Analysis 3.A. Analysis by Typology Group II. Public Buildings

132. Fascist Youth Seat, Forlì – elevations

133. House of the Fascist Party, Predappio – contemporary view
In the examples of colonial fascist rationalism (in Rhodes and Tirana) the strict classical form was deliberately modified by the use of local construction traditions and materials. The Municipality of Rhodes (former Fascist House) is an example of the deliberate use of traditional local porous stone for exterior coatings to give Mediterranean regionalism to an otherwise classical symmetrical composition and façade. The complex surrounding the former Fascist House in Tirana was also inspired by Italian classicism, but an attempt was made at regionalism, creating the impression of a medieval fortress that has links to the traditional Albanian Tower.

Rather different is the case of the Fascist Homes in Arsia and Pozo Littorio. The first was designed and built in Istria in Italy, and the second was completed, in circumstances changed by the war, in the fascist Republic of Croatia. The appearance of both objects has the characteristic signature of Italian fascism, and in aesthetic-artistic terms is closer to the Italian, rather than the colonial, examples.
In the Bulgarian and Slovenian objects (Boyana and Maribor) synthesis was used between the architecture and fine art and an integral part of the image of the buildings became paintings, murals and sculptures, wood and stone decorations. They are especially generous in the **Boyana Residence**, which was designed as a representative of the highest luxury. There can be also found a contemporary interpretation of traditional national construction and decorative techniques.
The Congress Centre in Tirana is an analogous example of a representative monumental building with a deliberately sought after contemporary interpretation of the local construction traditions. Fundamental to the aesthetic-artistic image of the building are the consoles, highlighted with radial reinforced ribs and corners, inspired by the old houses in Berat and Dzhirokastra, and the Albanian towers.
Urban planning significance

All nine sites were designed as politically important public buildings, as they were assigned a corresponding urban-planning role. Most examples (Italian, Albanian, Slovenian and that of Rhodes) are located in the central part of the city (entirely newly designed in Forlì, Tirana, Arsia, Pozzo Littorio and Rhodes) and were implemented as urban accents. However, while the sites of the Italian fascist period dominate the environment around them, with a strong vertical accent, in front of them is organized more or less open square-type space. The building in Maribor contrasts in its nature of construction, but merges more harmoniously with the environment in a structural respect.
Of greatest importance for the urban-planning environment were the sites from the period of fascist rationalism, which were always a part of representative, monumental urban areas and axes, especially designed with an ideological purpose.

In Tirana, the complex surrounding the former Fascist House (House of Fascist Youth organization with a sports centre, Fascist house, Home of workers) was developed around the newly-constructed urban axis (today Boulevard Deshmoret e Kombit), that connects the historic city centre (Scanderbeg Square) with the new public buildings to the south. The Fascist House is the natural end to this new axis, but the fact that today all the buildings on it are still used as community centres is evidence of the fundamental importance of fascist urban planning to Tirana. On this axis is also located the much later designed (1982) Congress Centre.

In Forlì the building of the Fascist Youth organization is also part of the newly-designed urban axis – Viale Mussolini, which ends with two squares, around which are located other important public buildings of that period. The squares in Arsia and Pozzo Littorio, with their major components of fascist houses and churches, create a uniform and homogeneous impact, due to their unique design and very short construction time.
In **Rhodes** the building of the Fascist House (today a municipal building) was part of a newly-designed central square, enclosed on three sides by buildings that
were important to the fascist regime – the building of the Fascist house itself, the Puccini Theatre and the building of the General Staff of the Army.

The Boyana Residence in Sofia is the only exception, being designed outside the city centre as a park area, it does not have any special urban importance. A harmonious relationship with the natural environment was also sought in it.

All nine objects demonstrate the power of the totalitarian regime, but while the examples during the time of Italian fascism were intentionally designed as propaganda machines for public influence, the buildings in Slovenia and Bulgaria were more introverted, due to the special status which they had during the time of socialism. The building of the Congress Palace in Tirana is of a similar time as those in Maribor and Sofia but, unlike them, it was designed and implemented as a landmark building, located in the centre of the city as an intentional dominant feature. From this viewpoint it is much closer in influence to the fascist objects than to those of mature socialism in the other two countries.
II.2. Public-Political Buildings

1. Ceremonial House, Žilina, 1940
2. Workers’ Home, Trbovlje, 1953
4. Administrative building of the coal mine, Velenje, 1957
5. New Municipal Administration Building, Subotica, 1963

The buildings were all constructed over a similar period of time, but their volumetric and spatial features are indicative of the use of stylistically different architectural approaches, with respect to solving similar functional tasks. On all five sites we can find volume-determining functions – imposing entrance spaces, large halls and more fragmented office – service areas. All five sites (within the traditions of rationalism) have their functions located in various volumes, instead of being subordinated and incorporated within a strict centrally-symmetrical, or other, composition.

In Žilina this solution carries the spirit of 1930s Italian modernism, influenced by the Renaissance, with its multi-storey arches and a solid ground floor. In Slovenian sites we have frugal modernism of three volumes of different height and a façade with clearly differentiated horizontals and verticals (Velenje), solid-volume social/Stalinist realism, a ground-floor colonnade and a sculpturally marked entrance (Nova Gorica) and almost abstract simple-shape monumentalism (Trbovlje). On the Serbian site, the New Municipality of Subotica was the latest, with respect to time of design and realization, and bears the tokens of the laconic international style (which got its reputation after World War II for office buildings in the USA, designed by the European emigrant – modernists) – a high parallelepiped office unit (with a corridor and offices along the longer sides), a low unit with foyers and halls and a main entrance marked with a large canopy.
3. Detailed Analysis 3.A. Analysis by Typology Group II. Public Buildings

144. Ceremonial House, Žilina – archive view and location

145. Administrative building of the coal mine, Velenje – archive view and location

146. Municipal Hall, Nova Gorica – archive view and location
3. Detailed Analysis 3.A. Analysis by Typology Group II. Public Buildings

Ideological aim of the project programme

All five sites were aimed at creating a new type of public centre, able to ensure ideological impact (socialist in the Slovenian Nova Gorica, Velenje, Trbovlje and the Serbian Subotica, and fascist-catholic in Žilina).
This new type of communality had been stressed by the volunteer brigade labour as well and the common enthusiasm ('by the people for the people'), which goes along with the development of Slovenian sites.

The purpose of the newly built **Municipality** in **Subotica** was, besides the ideological habituation towards socialist town-planning and shaping within the principles of modernism, the creation of a new edifice, intended to take on the functions of the old City Hall (built in 1910), which is one of the best preserved examples of Art Nouveau in Serbia and has been perceived as a retrograde example of the non-socialist period of the country's architecture. By the same logic, the older Coal Miner's Building in Trbovlje, which is related to the settlements history, concedes its place to the socialist **Workers’ Home**.

The **Ceremonial House** in **Žilina**, having been built during World War II and bearing the spirit of another type of military-fascist totalitarianism, is an exception.
Public and professional reaction

Logically, the professional and public response following the construction of the sites was positive – because the buildings met the needs for a new type of socialist public centre (moreover in country centres (Subotica), small country settlements (Velenje, Trbovlje), or newly developed settlements (Nova Gorica), which makes them even more valuable to the people), and also because no other responses, under the conditions of the totalitarian political regime, have been documented. The exception again is the Ceremonial House in Žilina, for which no documented responses have been found at all.

An interesting and positive characteristic feature of Slovenian and Serbian sites is that they are still actively used and are well accepted by the society and the professional guild.

Relations to the environment

Considering their important public function, which has been introduced on the sites of this category, they tend to be dominant in the environment. They are all situated in the centre of the settlement, there is always a more or less large square or an open space in front of them and their scale is markedly larger with respect to the surrounding city pattern.

Manifestation of the totalitarian ideology

The buildings, taken alone, do not constitute the most convincing demonstration of the totalitarian ideology, at least not from an architectural point of view. They follow particular stylistic principles for the construction of public buildings of that age and they are consistent with the architectural style and dominate the environment. However, this generally applies to the significant public buildings in a certain settlement.
The particular public buildings of the category do this in a relatively controlled manner, not being elements of the intrusive town-planning compositions and, though dominating the silhouette of the centre of the settlement they were built in, they have not been completely effaced by the natural city environment. However, their functional program, the purposes those buildings were used for by their totalitarian administrations and their very existence in such small country locations, makes them promoters of the totalitarian ideology.

150. Ceremonial House, Žilina – floor plan

151. Administrative building of the coal mine, Velenje – floor plan
3. Detailed Analysis 3.A. Analysis by Typology Group II. Public Buildings

152. Municipal Hall, Nova Gorica – floor plan

153. Workers’ Home, Trbovlje – floor plan
Typological value

The buildings of this category have another common feature with respect to the development of ideologically significant public functions. They are all built in small country locations. For this reason, maybe, none of those buildings constitute typological novelty, as the very idea of such public centres suggests their reproduction as a functional program in a series of other small settlements, whereas their architecture follows familiar European examples of this age. The Ceremonial House in Žilina, which was erected for the purpose of disseminating catholic concepts under the conditions of the totalitarian fascist order, is an exception, but it also does not constitute architectural novelty.

Innovativeness

The technological innovation of the sites considered in this category is also not very high (a standard reinforced concrete structure and a large hall space in each one). However, their construction was a challenge for the Slovenian sites because of the brigade labour used during construction.

Historical value

The historical value of the buildings in this category is regional rather than national. They have turned into centres of social life and party events in the respective settlements, but no significant state events of the totalitarian regime have been documented. The New Municipality of Subotica was built as part of the general town-planning for former Yugoslavia in 1963, which replaced some of the historic buildings with new ones, developed in the modernistic style approved by socialism.
Artistic value and urban planning significance

All five sites constitute buildings with aesthetic – artistic integrity, completed to a great extent, and integrate harmonic, newly designed ensembles into the environment. This is typical, as a rule, for the totalitarian buildings of public importance, which needed to give a harmonic message to the society.

The entry spaces of the five sites are marked with architectural and artistic symbols of the respective architectural stylistic typology, to which they formally belong – a neo-Renaissance colonnade with multi-storey arches, a solid stone plinth and no ornaments at all, according to Italian modernism of the 1930s and 1940s (in Žilina); frugal glass volume with respect to details and ornaments (in Velenje) and a low unit with a large canopy (in Subotica), both in the spirit of the democratic European modernism; a massive volume without ornaments and a monumental portal – colonnade, decorated with sculptures in the style of Stalinist rationalism (in Nova Gorica); organically related clear geometric volumes, decorated with mosaics...
and bearing the spirit of organic experiments with the construction form of Le Corbusier (in Trbovlje).
156. Administrative building of the coal mine, Velenje – present view

157. Workers’ Home, Trbovlje – archive view
All five sites were conceived as public buildings of political importance. Therefore they have been constructed as urban accents, dominating the ambient environment, creating new scale. A large space resembling a square has been formed in front of them and the buildings themselves are contrasting rather than blending with the surrounding urban pattern.

The public political buildings in Žilina, Nova Gorica, Trbovlje, Velenje and Subotica are evidence of the state urban planning of the age of totalitarianism and the society’s development, with its values and priorities. Each one of these buildings functionally bears the features of the age in the respective country and, with respect to architecture and composition, it repeats the world trends in town planning and architecture of rationalism as a whole.
II.3. Culture And Media Buildings

1. House of the Spark, Bucharest, 1949
2. House of Culture, Velenje, 1957
3. Palace of Culture, Tirana, 1960
4. House of Culture, Suceava, 1963
5. Radio Centre, Bratislava, 1970
6. House of Literature and Art, Patras, 1973
7. National Theatre, Gyor, 1973

The examples reviewed represent versatile approaches in town planning and architectural solutions.
The **House of the Spark**, now called the House of Free Press, is a typical example of the period in which it was created – located in an enormous triangular plot on the north – south axis, a dead-end of the central city boulevard, dominating the entire region with its size. The architectural solution is strictly symmetrical, with a central axis of symmetry and a system of volumes and yards.

The building of the **Palace of Culture in Tirana** was conceived as an important element of the spatial development of Skendenberg Square, but has destroyed the traditional environment of the place. It is built up of three basic volumes, enclosing a yard space, and the scheme is strictly functional – incorporating opera and ballet, a library and a distributing foyer. The architectural image is a reflection of the scheme – a principal front, a foyer with plenty of light and an endless repetition of pillars and glazing, and bare side façades, with openings, which are relatively small for the scale of the building.
The National Historical Museum of Tirana is a later edifice, constituting a compact volume with an internal yard and marked central symmetry with exposed volume, supported by columns and decorated with a gigantic mosaic “The Albanians”. The site is a significant element of the town planning solution of the central Skendenberg Square, which necessitated the destruction of traditional buildings.

The Culture House in Velenje is part of the newly built coal miners’ settlement, with compact volume, in the style of European rationalism, demonstrating a highly artistic synthesis of architecture and decorative–monumental arts.
The **Slovak Radio Building** also constituted compact volume, with the form of an upturned pyramid and two low units, situated in the central part of Bratislava, and influenced by high-tech architecture and the greatly used example of Boston City Hall.

The **House of Literature and Art in Patras, Greece** is located in a fully built up environment which predetermines the small area and the great number of floors in the volume.
The National Theatre in Györ, Hungary is a free standing building, realized in the spirit of rationalism with restricted access from the inside outwards. It was built after the complete effacement of the traditional edifices. Its scale dominates the old urban structure.
The House of Culture in Suceava, Romania, as well as many of the above examples, is a free standing volume, situated in the centre of a square, having appeared as result of the effacement of the traditional development. The volumetric-spatial solution follows the function, whereas each façade has an independently expressed architectural and artistic image, unified by the aesthetics of rationalism.

I ideological aim of the project programme

The Building of the Scanteia newspaper (after 1989 renamed the House of the Free Press), built between 1950 and 1953, is probably the most imposing building of this period, and not only in Romania. This was a period of liquidation – both physical and moral – of any opposition in the socialist camp. The Scanteia’s House was a stronghold of socialist propaganda, designed and built under the direct supervision of Moscow. With its architectural shape, as well as with the printed materials produced within its walls, it was called upon to inspire obedience and strength, power and the “knowledge” incarnated in the Party, which had to reach out and take hold of the working people.
Only a few years later in Yugoslavia, which had already started looking to the West, and in particular at Slovenia, close to the border with Austria, began the development of the ‘sunny city of gardens’ the town of Velenje, intended for miners from all over the country. One of the first buildings outlining the appearance of the new city was the Culture House (1958 – 1959). Situated in the central square, the
culture house very precisely lives up to its name, as an open space for creativity, creatively designed by architects and artists. Nothing in this building has ever given grounds for any associations with totalitarian management.

Some twenty years later, during the yearlong military junta’s control in Greece, the House of Literature and Art in Patras was built. On the one hand, the House matches well with the cultural life of the city, but on the other the building is in dramatic disharmony with the surrounding buildings, which are in a neoclassical style. This contradiction, incorporated into the building, sort of stated ‘from now on culture may only be as “we” understand it – cleared from any “foreign” stratification’. It is hardly a coincidence that the façade was significantly altered after the junta’s overthrow.

The Slovak Radio Building differs from the other three buildings in many aspects: designed in 1969-1970 its construction lasted almost until the end of the communist regime (1971-1985); designed at the very beginning of the so called normalization process, following the Warsaw Pact military invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, it stated its radical breaking off with the totalitarian architectural dogmas.

Both Albanian examples, the Palace of Culture and the National Historical Museum in Tirana, though built over a twenty year interval, express with their symmetric compositions and façade solutions, and with the use of gigantic implementations of the decorative and monumental arts, a hierarchy of power and centrally conducted culture. The destruction of the traditional environment, including important pertaining buildings, during the construction of the central square, merely supports the above statements.

The National Theatre in Gyor demonstrates the then typical attitude towards the traditional urban environment, by destroying it. It also stated its radical breaking off with the architectural doctrines of the period, offering a new architectural image, quite fashionable for its time.

Like the Gyor’s example, the House of Culture in Suceava demonstrated the typical 1960s attitude towards the traditional urban environment, by effacing it
completely. At the same time the solution expressed partial liberalization with respect to some European influences of rationalism, a radical breaking off with Stalinist architectural dogmas and the combination of national specificity and the modern spirit.

170. National Theatre, Gyor – present view

171. House of Culture, Suceava – archive view
Public and professional reaction

There are no data relating to any public reaction against the Scanteia’s House in Bucharest, as was the case during this period since any attempt to express personal opinion was cruelly punished by the regime. As far as the Culture House in Velenje and the House of Literature and Art in Patras are concerned, the public response was positive, notwithstanding their architectural appearance of the Patras’s building. The leading factor in both buildings had been their function – a place for cultural events. A certain scepticism was displayed towards the Bratislava Radio-Centre building due to its abstract monumentality, still preserved nowadays. No documented public response relating to the building of the Palace of Culture and the National Historical Museum in Tirana have been identified. Also, no public responses have been identified for the National Theatre in Gyor, but this site has had a significant cultural impact during the entire period of its existence. There are no written data available regarding any public responses to the building of the House of Culture in Suceava, but memories would dictate that the design had been positively accepted, according to public opinion.

We can only suppose that there may have been some critical professional response on behalf of architects against the Scanteia’s building, but they remained hidden in private conversations and discussions. Both the public and professional response had been in favour of the pompous megalomaniac projects of the governing party, in which it materialized its concerns for the exploitation-free people. The project for the sunny workers’ town of Velenje had at first been sceptically accepted, but in the course of its realization the experts’ opinion, both locally and internationally, had been strongly in support of the professionalism in urban design and construction. The upturned steel pyramid of the Slovak Radio had become an emblem of the city and is undoubtedly an internationally recognized achievement of Slovak architecture from the end of the 20th century. No professional responses have been found for the Palace of Culture and the National Historical Museum in Tirana, but there have been many cases of persecution and imprisonment of various architects who had not “thought over or had not reached the necessary ideological
level”. The project for the **House of Culture in Suceava** had been largely discussed in professional circles and many architects had either partially or completely approved of it, whereas others had criticized it. One of the few researches into the aesthetics of this period placed the House of Culture in Suceava side by side with the National Theatre in Bucharest under the title ‘Functionality and Lyricism’ and referred to the characteristics of the orientation, a play upon the spaces, complex volumes and attention to detail, combined with an interest in the dynamic architectural plasticity.

**Relations to the environment**

The buildings relationship with the environment is different, according to the requirements and pretensions of the various regimes. The buildings of the **Scanteia Newspaper** and the **Culture House in Velenje** were built in development free or completely non-urbanized areas. The publisher’s complex in Bucharest dominates in the system of boulevards and open spaces, creating a new scale for the area. The Culture House in Velenje is an accent in the city square, and in harmony with the surrounding residential and public volumes.

The **Slovak Radio Building** is in contrast with the surrounding building environment, but its shape creates a memorable image. The residential buildings, constructed at a later stage, form a well-balanced composition with it.

With its street façade and elevated volume the **building in Patras** is in disharmony with the main square and its traditional development. An unsuccessful imitative approach of re-modelling has been applied.

The construction of the **central square in Tirana**, regardless of the declared intentions for preservation of the historical area, had been planned to reduce to a considerable extent the significance of the traditional town with its oriental influence. The old market had been isolated from the centre and many symbolic buildings had been destroyed. A large square had been formed with enormous volumes of new buildings, amongst which are those of the Palace of Culture and the National Historical Museum. The entire integrity of the city, its scale and traditional contact areas had been destroyed, but the foundations of a new
modern European centre, with its emblematic buildings and spaces, had been laid
down.

The building of the National Theatre in Gyor dramatically differs from its
surroundings and yet has preserved the traditional developments. It has, however,
created a new scale in the urban architectural design.

Like other examples, the House of Culture in Suceava is situated in the
centre of a square, having resulted from the effacement of the traditional
development. The framework of the square was made up of buildings from the same
period as the house of culture, which harmonized with the surrounding residential
and public buildings, but not with the traditional urban structure.

**Manifestation of the totalitarian ideology**

The architectural image of the examples is very versatile and demonstrates to
a different extent the totalitarian ideology – from open and intrusive to indirectly
demonstrating its authoritative possibilities.

The clearest example, which illustrates the entire technology of creation of
inspiring pieces of art, spectacular in sizes and power, copying Soviet examples with
design and performance directly controlled by Moscow, is the **House of the Spark in Bucharest**.

![House of the Spark, Bucharest – project elevation](image)
Within the context of the entire solution for the central square, the **Palace of Culture** and the **National Historical Museum in Tirana** demonstrate the totalitarian ideology, mainly in their attitude towards the traditional environment, which was almost completely destroyed or altered. The **Culture House in Velenje** was part of a large-scale project for the development of an entire miners’ city, which gained the approval of the public and professional guild with its use of a modern architectural pattern, and which successfully implemented its cultural and educational functions. The **Slovak Radio** illustrates a later stage, with a relative freedom of creativity in the use of European styles of modernism and high-tech deviations.

**The Greek example in Patras**, apart from its unsuccessful town planning and architectural solution, which was not compliant with the historical and spatial aspects of the environment, demonstrated the striving of the military regime to create a multitude of cultural and educational sites, where the traditions and cultural heritage of Greece could be revived.
3. Detailed Analysis 3.A. Analysis by Typology Group II. Public Buildings

174. House of Culture, Velenje – present view

175. National Theatre, Győr – present view
In the **National Theatre in Gyor** and the **House of Culture in Suceava**
the architectural image, the functional concept, the constructive solution and the use
of decorative and applied arts demonstrated the more-liberal attitude of the regime
towards modern European ideas, as well as nationalistic ones.

**Typological value**

Most of the sites are examples of new typology – a grandiose complex,
implementing all activities involved in the issuing of a newspaper (Bucharest); a
building specially built and equipped to meet the needs of national radio (Bratislava),
a multifunctional house for literature and art (Patras), a culture house, uniting
amateur and professional groups, open to the population of the workers’ city
(Velenje) and huge complexes with many cultural functions (Tirana and Suceava).
Only the building of the National Theatre in Gyor is not a novelty in the typology of
theatre buildings.
177. House of the Spark, Bucharest – project layout
3. Detailed Analysis 3.A. Analysis by Typology Group II. Public Buildings

178. National Historical Museum, Tirana – floor plan

179. Palace of Culture, Tirana – floor plan
Innovativeness

The Slovak Radio Building contains a high degree of innovation in the application of new technologies in steel structures and their employment in the creation of modern functional solutions and attractive architectural images. The building of the National Theatre in Győr is also innovative with regard to its use of a suspended structure.
181. Radio Center, Bratislava – sections

182. National Theatre, Győr – floor plan
Historical value

High historical value can be found mainly in two building subtypes – those with propaganda (House of the Spark, Bucharest) and those with cultural and educative functions (the examples from Patras, Velenje, Györ, Suceava, and Tirana). They are part of the respective regimes program for total ideologization, harder in the Bucharest example and softer in the other ones. Buildings like the one in Bucharest, closely following Soviet examples from the late 1940s and beginning of the 1950s, also exist in Warsaw, Riga and Sofia.

The other examples lie within the large range of expression of modernism e.g. the high-tech architecture of the Slovak Radio, the ‘international style’ in Patras and Tirana, rationalism with influences of Le Corbusier in the houses of culture in Velenje and Suceava, functionalism with the use of structural solutions, which were avant-garde for that period, in the theatre in Györ. Similar examples of these types of buildings exist all over Europe.
Artistic value and urban planning significance

Each one of the examples has, to a different extent, reached completed artistic integrity. The House of the Spark is largely based on Soviet examples, completed with decorative details of the Wallachian 18th century’s civil and church architecture, resulting in a building with a glaring and impressive architectural image.

The Palace of Culture in Tirana has artistically completed interiors, in the parts of the national opera and the library. The National Historical Museum in Tirana welcomes visitors with a gigantic mosaic above the central entrance, with historical–patriotic and ideological context, which harmonizes with the building’s typology and functions. The Slovak Radio Building demonstrates aesthetics in its structure, which creates an unforgettable image with its upturned pyramid shape. The Cultural House in Velenje is a typical representative of rationalism with certain modern art influences.
The examples in Patras are part of this series, with the characteristic of so-called ‘international style’ solutions, not accepted within public opinion, and unsuccessfully adapted, imitating the styles of the neighbouring countries.
The National Theatre in Győr creates a vivid image with its volumetric and spatial structure. The building of the House of Culture in Suceava is also an example of rationalism, with the large scale employment of decorative and monumental arts.

187. National Theatre, Győr – side façade

188. House of Culture, Suceava – project elevation and model
The Romanian example of The Spark demonstrates synthesis of the imposing architecture of the ‘Stalinist Period’ with monumental and ornamental plastic art, typical of the neoclassical order.

The Slovak Radio was created using the concept of so called ‘total design’, most clearly expressed in the large, visual hall. A splendid example of synthesis is the building of the Culture House in Velenje with its stained-glass windows and plastic arts on all façade walls.
The mosaic above the central entrance of the National Historical Museum in Tirana shows synthesis of the architecture with decorative and monumental arts, typical for this period. The National Theatre in Győr is also a convincing example of synthesis of architecture and decorative and monumental arts, with the geometric façade motifs of Victor Vasarely and interior ornaments. Also the building of the House of Culture in Suceava is an example of synthesis particularly with its enormous mosaic on the western façade and the dialogue with Constantin Brâncuși in the interior spaces.

Some of the sites constitute important accents during the process of formation of the city centre (Velenje, Bratislava, Tirana, Suceava). Others, such as the editor’s office of The Spark in Bucharest and the National Theatre in Győr, were dominant during the entire development of the system of boulevards and open spaces, creating new scale in the area. The compositional connections with the environment, at most of the sites, are harmonic, whereas the respective sites are
dominant (Bucharest, Gyor, Suceava) or are accents in the construction of the surrounding environment structure (Velenje, Bratislava, Tirana). The example at Patras dominates the whole city with its height, but does not create a harmonic relationship with its immediate environment – the central city square.

All sites in the subgroup have a great, though significantly different, symbolic value.

The House of the Spark is an undoubted example of the Stalinist period. The Culture House in Velenje, well integrated in the entire design of a ‘sunny workers city’ is a symbol of the possibilities of planned town structures within the context of socialist development, so typical for Yugoslavia. The House of Literature and Art in Patras may be regarded as a testimony to the military regime in Greece – care for the conservation of the Greek cultural heritage but, along with this, control over its perception. It is not by chance that the municipal authority in Patras has been systematically working to integrate the building into the surrounding urban environment, releasing it from a very one-sided totalitarian perception, demonstrated in its façade. The Slovak Radio Building is the city’s emblem and, along with this, a symbol of emancipating Slovakia – emancipation both from socialism traumas and from its subordinate position within the framework of socialist Czechoslovakia. Both sites in Tirana symbolize the unremitting power of the regime which, though in complete isolation even from similar dictatorships in Eastern Europe, retained some basic features of its own total domination in public life. The National Theatre in Gyor, Hungary symbolizes the new possibilities with respect to the use of avant-garde structures and constitutes a more-liberal attitude of the regime towards modern European concepts. The House of Culture in Suceava, Romania, after the example of Gyor, also demonstrates a liberalization of the regime with regard to modern European concepts, filtered through the national specificity.
II.4. Social Buildings

1. AGIP Summer Camp, Cesenatico, 1938
2. Valsalva Sanatorium Centre, Forlì, 1939
3. Grand Hotel, Castrocaro Terme e Terra del Sole, 1943

The three examples in this subgroup are from one and the same region – the province of Forlì – Cesena, Italy.

The building of the **Sanatorium in Forlì** was the first major sanatorium centre of the pavilion type, situated on the periphery of the city. The composition is symmetrical, with a main entrance along the central axis, in the style of avant-garde futurism, resembling the body of an airplane.
The holiday camp AGIP was built on the seashore, its main unit being an enormous five-storey prismatic frame, elevated on columns and connected via a covered terrace to the single-storied service buildings.

The Grand Hotel building is an L-shaped volume with a marked corner entrance, façades with clear shapes and simplified design and with marked luxury in the interior spaces.
The sites differ in their location – the **Sanatorium** is peripheral, the **Grand Hotel** is in an urban environment and the **holiday camp** is outside the city. The volumetric–spatial characteristics are relevant – the prismatic building of the **holiday camp** is to a certain extent neutral with respect to the environment, whereas the **Grand Hotel** corresponds to the urban development in the central part.

**Ideological aim of the project programme**

All three examples demonstrate a modern interpretation of rationalist concepts, which was the fascist regime’s official style. The dictator Mussolini was interested in the construction of homes for social recreation and sanatorium centres as part of his social and health program. More specifically, he personally selected the
place intended for the sanatorium, opened the inaugurated the newly built edifice in **Forlì** and visited it a couple of times. **The holiday camp** was designed and realized by a state company, and was intended to provide organized summer holidays for the children of company’s workers. Thus the three sites were realized through the social and health policies of Mussolini’s regime: health care and upbringing of children (in a sunny building on the seashore), the provision of medical care for the sick (the sanatorium had been designed to provide treatment and rehabilitation for people suffering from tuberculosis), the creating of conditions for the deserved rest and recreation of the healthy and strong (e.g. the luxurious **Grand Hotel** was intended for the affluent followers of the regime).

### Public and professional reaction

There are no data regarding any public response following the design and construction of the three sites, but it may be assumed that they were well accepted not only by the residents of the district but by all residents of the country, and mostly by those for whom the buildings had been intended.

The professional response was documented only with respect to the construction of the holiday camp, and particularly as a materialization of the party’s directives for the provision of the hygienic and organized holidays for the children, rather than as an architectural site.

### Relations to the environment

**The Sanatorium in Forlì** was built in an out-of-town environment and more specifically in a rural region which, in the course of time, has become full of health buildings of the pavilion type. The environment has been richly planted with vegetation and has been urbanized.

**The building of the Holiday camp in Cesenatico** is situated in a non-built-up region on the seashore, with views towards the sea and the mountains. Volume has been created, the scale of which harmonizes with the natural contours.
The Grand Hotel, though with consolidated shapes with respect to the environment, is in harmony with the structure of the surrounding development with its horizontal composition, opposing the vertical accent of the entrance and the staircase.

**Manifestation of the totalitarian ideology**

All three examples clearly demonstrate the socialist concepts of Italian fascism, an important part of which were the efforts towards healthcare improvement, the management of some socially significant diseases, such as tuberculosis, and the provision of rest, all related to the ideological and political upbringing under the Party’s leadership and control. Sites of even greater luxury have meanwhile been erected, such as the Grand Hotel Terme, intended to show the spirit of innovation and material welfare under Duce’s rule. The considered sites are elements of a large-scale construction program, aimed at providing a material expression of the regime’s successes. The architectural and artistic techniques used in all three sites are typical of the stylistic peculiarities of Italian rationalism, which draws from classicism but employs the symbols of futurism as well – grandiose and laconic, strictly symmetrical compositions, multiple repetition of one and the same façade motifs, with a monumental and crude pattern, cleared of excessive details.
Typological value

All three examples are of high typological value. They also represent evolution of the respective buildings types: the Sanatorium as a health establishment with large public access and nationally significant functions, the holiday camp as a new form of social rest and the Grand hotel as a model of a hotel building with increased luxury and modern appearance.

195. Grand Hotel, Castrocaro Terme e Terra del Sole – floor plan

196. AGIP Summer Camp, Cesenatico – floor plan
Innovativeness

Each of the three sites demonstrates innovation in various fields. The Sanatorium in Forlì and the Holiday Camp in Cesenatico are with reinforced concrete, which was rarely used at that time. There are also certain innovations in the sanitary and engineering installations of the Grand Hotel Termi.

Historical value

The three examples are related in a historical aspect to Mussolini’s personality and particularly demonstrate the regime’s priorities with respect to social policy. These buildings were part of his ambitious health and education program. The holiday camp in Cesenatico and the Grand Hotel in Castrocaro manifest the strong influence of European rationalism (and more specifically the Bauhaus School) as well as 1920s futurism.
Artistic value and urban planning significance

All three examples represent models of artistic integrity, which takes an active part in the aesthetic impact of the sites. This is also expressed with respect to the volumetric – spatial composition and architectural and artistic stylistics, both in the interior and exterior. Each of the sites presents a clearly impacting architectural image, achieved by means of Italian rationalism, with strong influences of the European Bauhaus of the 1920s, as well as futurism, in the Sanatorium in Forlì in particular. The artistic synthesis in the holiday camp building is at a very high level, the creator obviously being inspired by various European avant-garde trends, including Bauhaus, cubism, the Art and Craft School, etc. There are similar influences in the realization of the Grand Hotel, especially in the interior spaces and exterior image (Bauhaus).
Sites have been developed in the out-of-town environments (the **Holiday Camp**), on the periphery of the city (the **Sanatorium**) or within the city itself (the **Grand Hotel**). Later urbanization did not impair their characteristics. On the contrary, they dominated the subsequently developed structures.

The compositional links of all the sites with the immediate environment are harmonic, although the sites remain important accents in it.

The **Holiday Camp in Cesenatico**, the **Sanatorium in Forlì** and the **Grand Hotel in Castrocaro** evidence the state planning of the Italian Fascism’s age, and the development of its society with its values and priorities, either real or imposed by force. They bear the characteristic features of the Italian rationalist period and of the world trends in European architectural rationalism as a whole.
II.5. Educational Buildings

1. Air Force College, Forlì, 1941
2. Industrial and Technical Institute, Forlì, 1941
3. Lukacs Sandor Secondary School, Gyor, 1950
5. Workers’ University, Subotica, 1963
6. University of Patras, 1972

The Air Force College and the Industrial and Technical Institute in Forlì are complex ensembles, made up of volumes related to one another and situated around one or several orthogonally intersecting axes of symmetry. In contrast, the university buildings in Patras are located as accents in a raster composition. The Bercesényi Miklós Secondary School and the Lukacs Sandor Vocational School in Gyor have similar corridor schemes, though of various compositions – symmetric axial foundation in the special secondary school and asymmetric composition in the vocational school. The layouts of the Air Force College and the Industrial and Technical Institute are enriched with atrium spaces and indoor yards, combining educational and residential functions. The Italian examples make use of solutions with amphitheatrical educational rooms, typical of the university building types. Their entrance spaces are monumental and monumental arts – sculpture and mosaic have been employed in the Air Force College’s interior and exterior. There is a sculpture of plastic art with a subject, typical for the period, in front of the Lukacs Sandor Secondary School in Gyor.
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3. Detailed Analysis 3.A. Analysis by Typology Group II. Public Buildings

200. Air Force College, Forlì

201. Industrial and Technical Institute, Forlì

203. Lukacs Sandor Secondary School, Gyor
Ideological aim of the project program

The purpose set forth in the project proposals of both sites in Forli, as well as of both schools of in Gyor, was to express the ambitions of the relevant regimes for
the education of the younger generations, building up ideology-driven and vocationally purposeful educational systems. Meanwhile, the considered sites are part of the authorities’ priority for global and equal access to education. Finally, both examples of Italian rationalism constitute spaces for the show of public power.

Despite the inevitable similarities in the educational institutions, particularly with regard to their designation, some differences can be found between the buildings of the universities, the institute and the college (Patras, Subotica, and Forlì) and the buildings of both schools in Györ. The higher institutions are marked as places of higher knowledge, with respect to scale and domination in the environment, whereas both secondary schools are inseparable from the neighbourhood environment. Differences can also be seen between the higher education buildings. The Air Force College and the Industrial and Technical Institute of the fascist regime in Forlì impose on the urban space with their massive, sharp outlines and through the knowledge taught there. The building of the Workers’ Institute in Subotica at the time of its foundation, still dominates the central space and the Patras University campus, which has been moved out of town, as if highlighting the freedom of scientific knowledge.

**Public and professional reaction**

There were no negative public responses against the educational institution buildings. The residents of the cities accepted and supported the policy aimed at the establishment of knowledge as an asset, regardless of the regime.

The experts highly appreciated the architectural solutions for the college buildings in Forlì but we do not know whether this is a reaction to their architectural qualities or to their patrons – Mussolini and his son. As far as the sites in Patras and Györ are concerned no responses on behalf of architects and builders have been documented.
Relations to the environment

The Air Force College and the Industrial and Technical Institute in Forlì were built in an urbanized area, full of public buildings representative of the regime. They are accents in the entire composition of the street and square spaces, providing places for contact under the authority’s supervision. Both university buildings in Patras are situated in out-of-town areas, following the new concept for a university campus. Despite the banal architecture of the so called ‘international style’ they harmonize well with the natural environment, due to their limited volumes. Both schools of Bercsényi Miklós and Lucacs Sandor in Gyor were built in close proximity to the park and harmonize well with the earlier built residential area.

The considered sites are notionally, functionally and aesthetically linked to the other parts of the ensembles, in which they play a major role.

Manifestation of the totalitarian ideology

The architectural imagery of most sites, as well as their participation in the development of monumental urban ensembles (Forlì), expresses the might and power of the state and its ability to provide education for everyone.

The Air Force College and the Industrial and Technical Institute in Forlì are the most vivid examples of Italian fascism’s ideas, bound in with ideological and political upbringing under the party’s leadership and control. The creators of the tendency sympathize with fascism, as shown in their manifesto: “Owing to the current period full of victories... Italy... bears the mission of innovation. Italy’s task is.... to habituate to a new spirit ... and to dictate this style to the other nations, as in the glorious periods of the past”.

206. Air Force College, Forlì – project elevation
The ensemble along Via Mussolini, and both considered sites in particular, are elements of a large-scale construction program, aimed at an expression of the regime’s successes. The means are typical of the stylistic features of Italian rationalism, which draw from classicism – grandiose and laconic, strictly symmetrical compositions, multiple repetitions of the same façade motifs, with a monumental and crude pattern, cleared of excessive details.

The example in Patras indirectly expresses the ideology of the military regime – as striving to provide global education and accessible higher education in particular.

Compared to the Greek university buildings, both schools in Gyor express indirectly the ideology of the communist regime, with the aspiration to create good conditions for mass and vocational education controlled by the authority. Their architectural appearance has been achieved by means of traditional approaches and materials – calm compositions, well balanced in volume cleared of detail, use of bricks.
3. Detailed Analysis 3.A. Analysis by Typology Group II. Public Buildings

208. Bercsenyi Miklos Secondary School, Gyor

209. Lukacs Sandor Secondary School, Gyor
Typological value

Most of the sites are of high typological value, mainly with regard to the aesthetic and artistic expression of the underlying functions. They were built in the spirit of modernism, in its various periods of rise and fall, with the regional peculiarities of the various states. As university and education buildings, the particular sites are not innovative with regard to their typology – passage schemes, educational rooms for lectures and seminar premises. This also applies to the general volumetric and spatial treatment. The influence of Bauhaus in the educational buildings can be perceived in the clear functional schemes of the architectural pattern. This refers to the greatest extent to the Italian examples – the Air Force College and the Industrial and Technical Institute in Forli, which create a new educational building type, with powerful professional and ideological tendencies.
3. Detailed Analysis 3.A. Analysis by Typology Group II. Public Buildings

211. Industrial and Technical Institute, Forlì – floor plan

212. University of Patras – floor plan
Innovativeness

The Industrial and Technical Institute in Forlì employs novelties in the reinforced concrete structures, which were modern for that time (non-traditional types of connections between beams and columns). The other examples of Patras and Györ do not demonstrate any innovation.

Historical value

The sites in Forlì and Patras have a historical value as part of the ambitious program of the relevant regimes for a new educational centre of supra-regional importance. The Italian examples follow more ambitious objectives – besides vocational, major attention has been paid to the ideological upbringing and control of young people, including the political organizations faithful to the regime.

Both schools in Györ are historically important as part of the creation of a new educational system in Hungary.

The sites are either one of the most important models for the relevant period (in this case The Air Force College and the Industrial and Technical Institute of Italian rationalism) or are typical representatives of the so called ‘international style’ of the 1960s and the 1970s (Patras).
examples are part of the traditional Middle and North European brick architecture with cleared shapes and details. There are similar sites existing in all countries of this region and lying within the scope of the period analysed.

**Artistic value and urban planning significance**

The Air Force College and the Industrial and Technical Institute in Forlì possess complete artistic integrity, which actively contributes to the aesthetic impact of the sites, situated in newly designed urban ensembles. The task faced by designers, who had accomplished two of the most important sites in the Via Mussolini ensemble, was the creation of a city centre with unforgettable, pronounced and influencing architectural imagery. Monumentality has been achieved, supported by architectural features of Italian rationalism, but with certain classical modernism influences. Special attention was paid to the buildings’ entrance spaces. In the College it was flanked by a statue of Icarus that became the emblem of the building.
The University Buildings in Patras were designed using the so called ‘international style’ of the 1960s, outlining the rationalism crisis of the post-war period in Europe.

Traditional architectural means had been used in both schools in Győr, typical for this building type – calm horizontal fragmentation of the façades, implemented with visible bricks. Their composition is different – symmetrical composition with a central axis from the site’s entrance, marked with a raised-up opening with arches, in the case of the special secondary school, and asymmetrical, well balanced composition with an emphasis on volume in both halls of the Lukács Sandor Secondary School.

In the design and implementation of the Aeronautical College are employed pieces of monumental art – a round sculpture of Icarus with mosaics and themes typical for the college in the interior spaces, which have been performed in high artistic synthesis with the site architecture.

Harmonic synthesis between architecture and decoration – monumental arts in the form of a sculpture of plastic art, with a theme typical of the period, has been achieved in the Vocational School of Győr.

215. Lukács Sandor Secondary School, Győr – workers theme sculpture on the façade
The Italian buildings of The Air Force College and the Industrial and Technical Institute are important elements in the construction of the monumentally impressive urban ensemble of Via Mussolini in Forlì. Both university buildings in Patras dominate within the structure of the university campus. Both secondary schools in Györ add monumental character to the traditional environment of the historically formed ‘workers’ settlement’.

Compositional links are harmonic and the relevant sites dominate or are major accents in the construction of the entire compositional structure of the adjacent environment.

The sites in Forlì, Patras, and Györ are valuable evidence of the state planning of the age of totalitarianism and the development of society, with its assets and priorities, either real or imposed by force. They bear the features of the relevant country’s period, but also constitute world tendencies in town planning and architecture of Italian and European rationalism as a whole.
II.6. Service Buildings

1. Bank of Albania, Tirana, 1930
2. National Bank, Bratislava, 1937
3. Railway Station, Thessaloniki, 1937
4. Thessaloniki Port High Direction, 1939
5. Railway Station and Post Office, Gyor, 1956
6. Public Health and Epidemic Station, Gyor, 1956
7. SNP Bridge, Bratislava, 1968
8. Customs, Patras, 1969
9. Municipal Court of Subotica

The category comprises nine sites, quite different from one another both with respect to function and to architectural typology and location. The sites were constructed during various totalitarian regimes, which predefined their architectural appearance and provided for their differentiation into two subgroups. The first one includes buildings influenced by Italian fascist rationalism, dating back to Mussolini’s age, and by the hybrid neoclassicism of National Socialistic Germany (the National Bank in Bratislava, the National Bank of Albania, the Railway Station in Thessaloniki and the Port Administration Headquarters in Thessaloniki). These are monumental buildings with restrained decoration, central symmetry, particularly marked in the principal fronts, and well balanced parallelepiped volumes. The National Bank of Albania can be identified as an exception to the group. It is oval, arch-like and with central symmetry volume, whose shape has been taken from its urban position in the central Skenderberg square in Tirana. The Greek sites in this group were designed during the period of the nationalist regime of General Metaxas,
who, however politically involved with Great Britain, had been ideologically influenced by Nazism and fascism.

The second subgroup is of buildings constructed during the socialist totalitarian regimes – the New Bridge of Bratislava, the Railway Station in Gyor and the Courts of Justice in Subotica. The three sites dominate the environment with their typical volumes. The Railway Station in Gyor is an example of 1950s socialist realism with a neoclassical and central-symmetrical principal front. The Building in Subotica is a large centrally-symmetrical volume, filled with elements of late modernism, and the Bridge in Bratislava is emblematic in its silhouette and with its experimental nature (an 84-metre inclined pylon, which is structure-bearing in terms of a system of steel ropes, and a panoramic round bar at the top of the pylon). The Public Health and Epidemic Station in Gyor was also built during the socialist rule in Hungary, but from a volumetric and spatial point of view it is rather an exception to the group. It is an example of regionalism and architecture on a human scale (a two storied building with sloping roof, which matches the environment), atypical of the other three sites.

The last building in this category, the Customs in Patras, is an interesting example. Built in 1970 during the regime of the Military Junta in Greece, and with a structure of visible concrete of the façades, the building bears the signs of British brutalism of the late 1960s and beginning of the 1970s, and of Corbusier's concrete government complex in Chandigarh.
216. National Bank, Bratislava – archive view and location

217. Bank of Albania, Tirana – project main view

218. Railway Station, Thessaloniki – archive view
3. Detailed Analysis 3.A. Analysis by Typology Group II. Public Buildings

219. Thessaloniki Port High Direction – present view

220. SNP Bridge, Bratislava – archive view and location
221. Railway Station and Post Office, Gyor archive view and location

222. Municipal Court of Subotica archive view

223. Public Health and Epidemic Station, Gyor – present view and location
Ideological aim of the project program

The sites of the Service Buildings category serve the ideological impositions of the relevant totalitarian regimes’ principles not only in their function – all buildings in this category are highly utilitarian, but rather due to the fact of them being significant public buildings with a large concentration and flow of people through them. It is not by chance that railway stations, banks, a bridge, a court and buildings of various institutions are concentrated here.

For the military regimes in Greece (the General Metaxas’s regime of the late 1930s and the military junta in the 1960s and 1970s) its ports were the focal points of the country, and the logical place to demonstrate the power of the regime and its technological progression. An analogical role is played by the railway stations and bridges for the socialist regimes – these are again buildings and facilities related to the transportation and passage of a large number of people, where monumental
volumes and experimental structures are the logical expression of the power’s abilities.

The former **National Bank in Bratislava** was a beneficial site for the imposition of the nationalistic ideology of the pro-Nazi government of Slovakia since the late 1930s. Such also was the National Bank of Albania, for the fascist regime in Albania in the 1930s, as well as the **Municipal Court in Subotica** for the Yugoslavian socialist government.

The **National Bank of Albania** was part of the completely new town planning of Tirana, designed by Italian pro-fascist architects, which completely changed the image of the city in the style of rationalism and predefined its trends of development even nowadays.

225. National Bank, Bratislava – original project elevation
Again as an exception to the category, we may include the Public Health and Epidemic Station in Gyor, which had been intentionally designed to demonstrate the non-totalitarian nature of Hungarian rule, before the events of 1956, with its modest dimensions and respectful matching with the town planning of an old quarter dating back to the beginning of the socialist regime in the country.

**Public and professional reaction**

Both types of responses during totalitarian regimes in Europe were positive, or at least no negative ones had been documented. It is quite logical that the situation would be the same in the case of the service buildings as well. The documented cases of a negative public response were related to the duration of construction (the railway station in Gyor took 6 years to build and the Railroad Station in Thessaloniki had been designed 25 years before its final completion).

Responses (both professional and public) regarding the National Public Health and Medical Centre in Gyor were positive, and again underline the role of this site as an exception to the category.

Negative reactions were aimed at the New Bridge in Bratislava, as it was a serious infrastructural facility with a distinctive silhouette, which intervenes, without respect to the historical city core, destroying part of it and actively changing its silhouette. The bridge, however, was gradually accepted by society and finally gained the reputation as the new icon of Bratislava.

**Relations to the environment**

The sites in this category had been intended and implemented to be in contrast with their environment and to impose themselves as urban dominants. These are buildings and facilities of public importance, which should be easily noticeable, identifiable and typical, in order to carry out their ideological and functional programs.
**The National Bank of Albania** in Tirana is a vivid example of this tendency. It was part of the new fascist town-planning of Tirana, dating back to the 1930s, which dramatically changed the inherited fragmented and oriental city pattern.

Parts of the sites, however, were respectful to the existing urban context and matched with it. This was to a greater extent applicable to the former **National Bank in Bratislava**, to the Greek port sites (which are in harmony with the other port structures, and not with the general urban structure and architecture of **Thessaloniki** and **Patras**) and above all to the Public Health and Epidemic Station, which had been intentionally designed to match with the so called City Garden quarter of Gyor, with an orthogonal street grid, free standing edifices on a human scale and carefully designed park spaces.

**Manifestation of the totalitarian ideology**

For the nine sites in the Service Buildings category the demonstration of totalitarian ideology is rather secondary, compared to their primary task, particularly because of their strongly utilitarian nature. The possibilities for ideological impact of such actively used public buildings, however, had not been neglected by the relevant authoritative regimes.

The impact of totalitarian ideology had been exercised through the monumentality of volumes, symmetry of the plan solution and the urban composition in a neoclassical style façade (the **Railway Station in Gyor**, the former **National Bank in Bratislava**, the **National Bank of Albania**) in terms of being purposefully hyperbolized against the surrounding principal volumes, performed by means of completely laconic modernism (the former **Municipal Court of Subotica**, the **Railway Station in Thessaloniki**, the **Customs in Patras**) or by means of expressive abstract forms, which dominated the city’s skyline and demonstrated the experimental progress of the regime (**the New Bridge in Bratislava**).
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3. Detailed Analysis 3.A. Analysis by Typology Group II. Public Buildings

226. Railway Station and Post Office, Gyor – present view

227. National Bank, Bratislava – present view
The strongest totalitarian impact of all sites in the category relates to the National Bank of Albania in Tirana, resulting from the massive fascist reconstruction of the city. It is a part of a ceremonial urban ensemble, with a symmetrical façade with a typical oval shape and solemn main entrance and dominates significantly the environment and the main Skenderberg city square.

A weaker totalitarian impact is seen in the building of the Port High Direction in Thessaloniki and the Public Health and Epidemic Station in Gyor, both on a human scale, without superfluous hyperbolization. The conciseness of the architectural style is perceived as modest and restrained modernism rather than as demonstrative totalitarian monumentality.
Typological value

The service buildings of this category offer characteristic typological models for the relevant utilitarian function, linked to the respective ruling totalitarian regimes. And while some of them repeat the figurative impressions of similar structures in other totalitarian countries (the Railway Station in Gyor, the Railway Station in Thessaloniki, the Municipal Court in Subotica), others are very distinctive buildings, which had become emblems of the respective settlements. This is particularly true of the building of the Supreme Prosecutor’s Office in Bratislava (formerly the National bank). It is one of the most significant buildings of the Slovak architect Emil Belush, combining the requirements of the Nazi and fascist ideologies, ruling at the time of its design (the building was completed in the fatal year for Czechoslovakia of 1938, when it was annexed to Nazi Germany) with the national Slovak architecture with respect to materials, details and interior solutions.

231. Railway Station and Post Office, Gyor – floor plan and elevation
The same could be said for the other bank in this category – the National Bank of Albania. Even today it is one of the most important public sites, defining the city skyline in the centre of Tirana and combining solid monumentality of Italian fascist rationalism (with its typical volume, entrance colonnade through several floors, large simple volumes and surfaces and neoclassical art – decoration) with local Albanian materials (coloured plaster and small bricks, travertine etc.).
The other two typical sites in this category are the **New Bridge in Bratislava** and the **Customs in Patras**. The first one highlights the technological optimism of the age (1960s and 1970s), with its sculptural shape, complex structure and panoramic café-bar on top of the inclined pylon, serviced by an elevator situated inside the pylon. The other one is a harsh edifice of visible concrete with an emphasized structure and a solid but fragmented shape, not typical of Greek coastal architecture, which is usually influenced by Venetian and Italian classicism.
234. SNP Bridge, Bratislava – plan and section of the café-bar

The Port High Direction in Thessaloniki and the Public Health and Epidemic Station in Gyor are examples of restrained architecture influenced by local traditions but transformed through the laconic language of modernism. They are not significant typological examples for the relevant service function, as similar in type buildings could accommodate functions that are quite different from the original ones, without requiring any change in the architectural pattern.

235. Public Health and Epidemic Station, Gyor – floor plan
Innovativeness

The technological innovation in most of the sites in this category is not high i.e. standard reinforced concrete structures. Only the coverage of the large hall space in the Railroad Station in Thessaloniki could serve as an example of technological progress. An exception to the standard structures in this category is the New Bridge in Bratislava, which is a unique structural solution. It is the longest suspension bridge, with an inclined pylon and ropes in one plane, in the world.

Historical value

The historical value of most of the buildings in the category is regional rather than national (the building of the Port High Direction in Thessaloniki, the Municipal Court in Subotica, the Public Health and Epidemic Station in Gyor, the Railway Station in Gyor).
The other two Greek sites (the Customs in Patras and the Railway Station in Thessaloniki) are demonstrative of the military regimes in Greece, situated in important port cities and intended to convey the economic might of the country during the time of the Military Junta and the Regime of General Metaxas, respectively. This makes them historically important on national level.

The building of the National Bank of Albania is related to the period of the most significant urban interventions, during the fascist regime in Albania in the 1930s. Just as important is the building of the National Bank of Bratislava, which historically and architecturally marked the end of the First Czechoslovakian Republic and the coming to power of Slovak nationalism.

The New Bridge in Bratislava marked the period of political normalization and active industrialization in socialist Czechoslovakia and allowed Utopian play with the shape, so typical of the self-confident mature socialism in the former Eastern Bloc.

Artistic value and urban planning significance

All nine sites in the category care completed harmonic and aesthetically artistic ensembles, according to the understanding of the ruling totalitarian ideology. This was normal for buildings of public significance during the authoritative regimes.

The entrance spaces are emphasized through the means of expression of the relevant architectural typology they belong to: neoclassical order with central symmetry, stone lining and sculpture decoration elements (the National Bank in Bratislava and the National Bank of Albania, whose decorations are the most important, and include mosaics, façade ornaments with coloured small bricks and bas-reliefs (the Railroad Station in Győr); restrained monumentality of the large principal volume, linings with outstanding entrance canopies (the Railroad Station in Thessaloniki, the Municipal Court in Subotica); the structure of visible concrete and central symmetry (the Customs in Patras).
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237. National Bank, Bratislava – present view of the main entrance

238. Railway Station and Post Office, Győr – façade details above the entrances
3. Detailed Analysis 3.A. Analysis by Typology Group II. Public Buildings

239. Bank of Albania, Tirana – artistic details
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3. Detailed Analysis 3.A. Analysis by Typology Group II. Public Buildings

240. Railway Station, Thessaloniki – present view

241. Customs, Patras – present view
As exceptions can be identified: the Public Health and Epidemic Station in Gyor, which was intentionally designed and constructed using a restrained architectural pattern, decoration and details in order to match harmoniously with the surrounding park environment; and the New Bridge in Bratislava which, on the contrary, is actively impressing with its architectural – figurative integrity and is in contrast with the environment to such an extent that it is transformed into a facility – symbol for the city.
The nine sites in the category may be divided into two subgroups according to their urban importance and their relationship with the environment. The first group includes the city dominants, which replace the existing town planning system with a completely different one, for the purpose of demonstrating the technological progress and economic might of the relevant totalitarian regime (the Greek port sites, the Railway Station in Thessaloniki, the New Bridge in Bratislava). The second group includes urban accents, which show respect to the existing urban environment though remain outstanding with their open square spaces and contrasting architecture (the National Bank in Bratislava, the National Bank of Albania, the Municipal Court in Subotica, and the Railway Station in Gyor). The public Health and Epidemic Station in Gyor, being on a human scale, is in complete harmony with the surrounding environment.
It is interesting to observe how the nine sites in the category show the different faces of the totalitarian regimes they serviced: local nationalism influenced by the ruling world ideologies (the National Bank in Bratislava, the Railroad Station in Thessaloniki), representative social realism with neoclassical elements (the Railway Station in Győr, the New Bridge in Bratislava, the Customs in Patras, the Railway Station in Thessaloniki), human socialism with a human face (the Public Health and Epidemic Station in Győr).

245. Map: Geographical location public buildings case studies in ATRIUM, ©NIICH 2012
III. Monumental Synthesis

1. Monument to the Fallen, Forlì, 1927
2. House of the War Disabled, Forlì, 1933
3. Monument Soviet Army, Sofia, 1950
4. Penio Penev Park, Dimitrovgrad, 1958
5. Monument to the Heroes, Bucurest, 1959
6. Memorial House of the Party, Buzludzha peak, 1971
7. Monument Banner of Peace, Sofia, 1979

The group of monuments most clearly represents the entire nature of the arts, subject to the ideology present in the considered period. The strong presence of aesthetic and artistic synthesis in all case studies of this group makes them extremely interesting within the context of the current analysis. On the other hand, elements of synthesis are present in many of the representatives in the other typological groups. There are interesting visual and plastic-artistic parallels which give the Monuments the role of a connecting element in the juxtaposition of all case studies in the three basic groups defined in the study.
3. Detailed Analysis 3.A. Analysis by Typology Group III. Monumental Synthesis

246. Monument to the Fallen, Forlì

247. House of the War Disabled, Forlì
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3. Detailed Analysis 3.A. Analysis by Typology Group III. Monumental Synthesis

248. Monument Soviet Army, Sofia

249. Penio Penev Park, Dimitrovgrad
3. Detailed Analysis 3.A. Analysis by Typology Group III. Monumental Synthesis

250. Monument to the Heroes, București

251. Memorial House of the Party, Buzludzha peak
The volumetric, spatial and compositional characteristics of the case studies necessitate their division into several subgroups which cannot be synonymously differentiated, because each one includes elements from the others. Therefore, it is expedient to differentiate two basic groups:

1. Chronological – corresponding respectively to the stylistics of a particular period in the development of the totalitarian regimes

2. Aesthetic – according to the basic artistic means used

The role of the town-planning solutions developed with respect to the surrounding space, is valid for all monuments.

Similarities can be typologically identified between the Monument to the Fallen and the House of the War Disabled in Forli both created at the same time and representing a re-interpretation of Roman heroic symbolism relating to the fascist ideology. The strict classical compositional features completely comply with the identified artistic requirements. The use of various elements – columns, porticos and decorative plastic arts, provide a clear expression of the concepts of heroism and
the belief in war. The use of the same decoration symbols i.e. the short swords, a token of the warriors’ steadfast will for victory at any cost and absolute obedience to orders. The shields, the roman helmets and other attributes, typical of legionary battle equipment, additionally adorn the monuments with their war symbols. Sculpture compositions are typologically similar. The heroic and heraldic figure compositions in the House of the War Disabled are simple and are a separate element in the construction of the monument’s architectural image.

In the Monument to the Fallen in Forlì the figure compositions play the role as a major herald of the concept of artistic pieces with the commemorative Pieta composition, so typical of Italian art. In this composition, the entire impression is overturned by the replacement of the basic characters of the classical motif with figures of grieving warriors in defensive postures. The recognition of one of the everlasting Christian symbols, in which grief, admiration and love are entangled, is emblematic in the use of the generally accepted motifs for expressing the concept of a new artistic imagery. The emphasis on the athletic figures of the warriors is typical, in praise of the ‘Aryan ideal’. The realistic interpretation of the images of grief for the fallen is supplemented by the allegoric element of water, which is poured out of two glasses, symmetrically located on both sides of the pedestal. The use of elements of an ancient Roman pantheon in the base of the Monument to the Fallen in Forlì may be juxtaposed with the concept of a memorial church, which has been designed in a new manner and has its analogues in other pieces of art in the group. There the memorial function of the temple had been replaced with the function of a public space.
The House of the War Disabled and the Memorial House of the Party on Buzludzha peak combine the hallmark function of a monument with the utilitarian designation of a building intended for public needs. This typical feature differentiates the two sites into a separate subgroup, with comparisons here at the level of symbolism and exploitation of the concept.
Ideological aim of the project programme

Ideology influences both the major volumetric and spatial characteristics and the interpretation of the purposes set forth in the design. All case studies in this subgroup have a marked propaganda element and clearly reflect the stages of ideological development, combining them with the imposed aesthetic and symbolic styles.

The presented sites are an expression of the diversity in the creation of monumental pieces of art through the different periods of totalitarian development, from the 1930s to the 1980s. Four of them are metropolitan; three are situated in the country, and one is in a natural environment – far away from any settlements. As part of the ideological tendency in the design program there appears to be domination of the monuments over the environment by means of volumetric – spatial characteristics. The House of the War Disabled may only be considered a dominant in the environment with regard to the impact of the artistic façade
decoration. The differences between the separate monuments are defined by the political situation, in that they propagate and therefore are emblematic for the age of their creation.

Both monuments in Forlì are chronologically the earliest and represent a tendency towards a reinterpretation of the classical motifs in the art, as most suitable for the integration of new, conceptually substantiated symbolism.

The Monument Soviet Army in Sofia expresses the ‘socialist realism’ doctrine largely conveyed in the Eastern Bloc in the 1950s. Victory in war gives the communist regimes grounds for the realization of the aesthetic concept of triumph, reflected in town – planning, architecture, and monumental arts, a logical outcome of the directions imposed during the Stalinist period (1946 – 1953). The basic requirement of the monument’s designs is: “To express in permanent artistic forms, in clear, understandable and realistic images the strength and irresistible might of the Soviet Army, liberator of Bulgarian and other peoples, guardian of peace, culture and progress. It should also express the gratitude and appreciation of Bulgarian people to the great Russian people and the Soviet Army”.

255. Monument Soviet Army, Sofia – side relief
The use of similar artistic approaches during construction of the artistic images in this monument and in the Monument to the Fallen in Forlì, i.e. central allegoric compositions, supported by various scenes, developed in different reliefs in the base of the monument, are a sign of propinquity of the artistic processes in the steady development and succession in European Art, and not so much as a token of ideologisation.

The propaganda associated with these pieces of art lies in their declarativity, imposed through all possible means. Regardless of the fact that it belongs to a later period, this group provides a more realistic visualization of the ideological platform of the pieces of art and also comprises the Penyo Penev's monument-ossuary as well as other pieces of art in the Penyo Penev Park in Dimitrovgrad, which quite realistically reflect the principal concept of the park as a monument to brigade labour and, at the same time, a memorial to the poet, who praises this labour in its poems. In this complex monument the ideological impact of the pieces of art is in synthesis with the non-traditional pieces of art as well – the verbal one.
The transition to a new important stage in the interpretation of the ideological platform has been demonstrated by the pieces of art in the park in Dimitrovgrad, but have been further developed in the Monument to the Heroes, Monument Banner of Piece and the Monument 1300 Years Bulgaria in front of the National Palace of Culture (NPC). The new trend in the development of ideology has been reflected there, and particularly in the promotion of the role of art and culture in the harmonic development of the individual and society in the context of the new socialist society development, aimed at the innovation of early symbolic values of the communist design, claiming to transform the old labour enthusiasm into a new creative euphoria with the communist ideological make-up i.e. into humanism. In the last monument, the dominance of the ideology over the historical past is markedly expressed.
ATRIUM Transnational Survey
3. Detailed Analysis 3.A. Analysis by Typology Group III. Monumental Synthesis

258. Monument Banner of Peace, Sofia

259. Monument 1300 years Bulgaria in front of NPC, Sofia – archive view
The culmination of this process of transition from development of the concept to implementation as a path to the future is the construction of the **Memorial House of the Party on Buzludzha peak**, where the ideological symbolism implies its supremacy over nature. The enriched design for the memorial envisages a ceremonial hall for various political events, related to the Party’s activities. The conceptual aspect aim at reflecting the might, the power and the beauty of communist ideals, the historical importance of communism on a global scale and, in particular, the historical role of the Bulgarian Communist Party in the development of society, for the victory over fascism and the development of socialist society and emphasizing the fact that communism had a bright and happy future for the whole of mankind. The gradation in the monuments is clearly differentiable from the development of the ideal image and its heroisation to the domination of the urban space, used and created by men, and to its overriding supremacy not only over people, but over nature as well.
Public and professional reaction

It is no wonder that the public response to all considered sites was enthusiastic and saw them as examples of the proper presentation of the ideology by art. There are no data relating to any critical opposition to the realization of the monuments, most of them having been created with great enthusiasm. This is typical of all monumental pieces of art in the age of totalitarianism – the impossibility of public expressions of a critical nature, notwithstanding the merits of the works. The
sites were accepted in professional circles, though not always synonymously, but always with silent criticism. Following the democratic changes in Eastern Europe, there have been calls for the removal of certain monuments, not for any radically new assessment of their artistic qualities, but because of their connections with the era of totalitarianism.

### Relations to the environment

The relationship of the sites to the environment has been different and in most case studies – aggressively destructive.

The case of the **House of the War Disabled** differs somewhat from the others. This is a building, part of a regular development, constructed in an existing urban environment. With respect to volume and façade it is not in disharmony with the surrounding edifices and in this regard it matches well with its immediate environment. **The Monument to the Fallen in Forlì** and **the Monument Soviet Army** were designed to fit into the existing urban spaces and their initial appearance has significantly changed the existing sites. The example in Bulgaria even destroyed part of the historic garden in which it was built.

**The Monument to the Heroes in București** was designed for an existing park, where it takes the role of a spatially leading and organizing element. During its creation a promenade was constructed, which was needed to connect the monument to the access to the Palace of People. This intervention significantly impaired the park’s historical line of development.

**The Penio Penev Park in Dimitrovgrad** is a newly created park, part of the entire town-plan of Dimitrovgrad. In the course of its construction and the evolution of the idea of its dedication additional memorial and monumental plasticity was created that enriched, in a harmonious manner, the original appearance of the park.

**The Monument Banner of Peace** and **the Monument 1300 Years Bulgaria** in front of **the National Palace of Culture** were designed
simultaneously with the relevant surrounding park spaces. The **1300 Years Bulgaria** is part of the integral design of the **NPC** and complies with the large-scale urban performance.

The **Memorial House of the Party on Buzludzha peak** entirely dominates the environment. Designed on a mountain peak, it violates the natural environment and irreversibly changes the overall landscape.
Manifestation of the totalitarian ideology

The totalitarian ideology is demonstrated in all of the sites considered by various means. The sites in Italy (House of the War Disabled and the Monument to the Fallen in Forli) are a reinterpretation of the symbolism borrowed from Roman art. Thus parallels between the fascist military discipline and organization and the invincible Roman legions, famous for their endurance, selflessness, and implicit obedience to orders, has been sought, by employing elements of the ancient temple in the symbolic message of the sites.

Approval of the new political doctrines was seen in terms of the obvious propaganda, expressed by synthesys of monumental arts and architecture. There has been a chronological transition from the stage of realism (the Monument of the Fallen in Forli, the Monument Soviet Army in Sofia, Penyo Penev Park in Dimitrovgrad) to a more symbolic treatment of the ideological messages, based on accenting the plasticity in the compositions and adorning of the works with additional figurative symbolism (Monument Banner of Peace and Monument 1300 Years Bulgaria in Sofia).

The Buzlidzha Monument achieved a monumental status and has turned into a symbol of the communist era in Bulgaria. It immortalizes the ideology, that placed foremost the glorious purpose to transform the society and symbolizes the everlasting idea of a heroic past, glorious present and great future. The monument not only immortalizes a particular event, but also aims to impact on and inspire following generations to take up new exploits and to identify with the bright communistic ideals.
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3. Detailed Analysis 3.A. Analysis by Typology Group III. Monumental Synthesis

264. Memorial House of the Party, Buzludzha peak – sculpture group “Torches”

265. Memorial House of the Party, Buzludzha peak – the pylon with the red ruby star
**Typological value**

In a typological sense the sites are indicative of the course of development of the figurative interpretation, through the different stages of totalitarian ideology. Their presentation, in a common context, enables the development of a more detailed concept concerning the processes in the plastic arts. They have been formed by the ruling ideology, but have also been correlated with the natural mechanisms of monumental arts development within the period. The signs of national specificity, especially in the earlier monuments – the **Monument to the Fallen, Forlì** and the **Monument of Heroes, Bucurest** have also been taken into account.

The **House of the War Disabled** and the **Memorial House of the Party, Buzludzha peak** combine the hallmark memorial function and the purely ideological designation, refracted through utility. From an architectural point of view they may be considered as two different monumental types – a memorial symbol and a memorial building. The particular point here is that the memorial symbol has a utilitarian function, a solemn hall for various communistic rituals and in this sense it approximates in terms of contents to the building. In this case the building of the **House of the War Disabled** is a symbol of war and living national heroes. The **Monument on Buzludzha peak** makes an assessment of the past through the present and looks at the future from a supra-national, communist standpoint. In this regard the typological proximity is functionally ideological rather than architecturally artistic.

**Innovativeness**

Innovation has not been applied everywhere, notwithstanding the technical possibilities. The juxtaposition of the monuments with respect to this index identifies two groups – the earlier **monuments in Forlì** and **Bucurest** keep to the classical methods of creating the artistic image. The later ones - the **Monument Banner of Peace** and the **Memorial House of the Party** in Bulgaria, reflect common tendencies in plastic arts development, new technical and structural methods of work.
are pursued and more adequate modes of integrating the basic concepts into the work are sought by all possible means.

**Historical value**

All sites have a high historical value, as carriers of the visual model of the ideological framework they were created for. Meanwhile, significant elements in the national arts can be identified in the same period, which had been considerably influenced.

An attempt to interpret the historical past, through the prism of the ruling ideology was made. This fact is also indicative for their role in the presentation of the totalitarian ideology through the various forms of art.

For instance:

- The use of symbols from the panoply of ancient heroism in the works of Forlì.
- Use of historic retrospection during the creation of the sculpture compositions Monument 1300 Years Bulgaria, Memorial House of the Party, Buzludzha peak, the Monument to the Heroes, Bucurest.
- Use of historically grounded but ideologically rejected symbols which, entangled in the context of the new monuments, are given completely new essence – the Monument to the Heroes, Bucurest, the Monument Banner of Peace.

Successful parallels can be made with sites outside those specified within the ATRIUM project. From a spatial and artistic view point, the Monument Soviet Army has a lot in common with the Treptow Monument in Berlin and with the Monument to the Soviet Army in Bratislava. The Memorial House of the Party on Buzludzha peak has no analogues.

**Artistic value and urban planning significance**

Each one of the sites claims to achieve aesthetic and artistic integrity. The visual perception of the Penio Penev Park in Dimitrovgrad creates the
impression of an integral, artistically inseparable site, with scaled proportions, balanced composition and regularly located structural elements and details.

The unifying concept in the Monument Soviet Army has been convincingly achieved through the hierarchically located spaces, emphasized by the volumetric and compositional elements. The picture has been supplemented by grading of the synthesis into groups, reliefs and sculpture compositions.

266. Penio Penev Park, Dimitrovgrad

267. Monument Soviet Army, Sofia
Despite the historical cataclysms the **Monument in Bucurest** manages to preserve its aesthetic and artistic integrity, mostly because of the compositionally convincing, but ideologically discreet, appearance of a powerful and to a large extent neutral spatial sign. This outer indifference to politics, in particular, contributes to the artistic completion of the Monument Banner of Peace in Sofia. The artistic integrity of the Monument to the Fallen, Forlì was inspired and supported by a deliberately sought after town-planning environment, refracted through the well-known but somewhat out dated military platform, subjected to a new political ideology.

![Monument to the Heroes, Bucurest – project plan and section](image)

In this regard, the **House of the War Disabled** is rather eclectic with the Renaissance building and the somehow mechanically added fascist symbols – but here the unity has also been protected by the ideological platform.

The **Memorial House of the Party** brings forward the idea of plan-ornament and ‘completed artistic integrity’, well known from the Stalinist period, and
submits to the architectural and ideological program of a large-scaled spatial and artistic language, unknown at that time. The ideology, that has been emptied of content, has been given here its most material expression and the relevant, fully completed, aesthetic and artistic integrity.

In all the sites in this group the artistic synthesis is an important factor, through which the ideas of the works are imposed at different levels: by means of shape development, through the combination of the plastic form with various elements of the architectural environment, the combination of different art types, as well as the skilful manipulation to focus the attention on the specific messages of each of the monuments. It should be pointed out that the synthesis in these works is one of the most significant factors in their ideological platform modelling.

The House of the War Disabled, Forlì was intended to be an integral whole and the separate elements of the artistic decoration are organically combined with the artistic shape. Meanwhile, the particular conditions at the time of its creation prevented the finding of the most suitable means of its expression in the urban ensemble in which it was situated.

The Monument to the Fallen, Forlì represents the entire development of a work of art within the context of the urban environment. The combination of all parts of the monument, including sculpture figures, architectural elements and park areas, on the whole, has been supplemented by the formation of a memorial – park ensemble within the urban space. The change in the appearance of the park area partially destroys the original interrelationships between monument and building from the point of view of the semantic messages of the thematically arranged garden.
In the case of The Monument Soviet Army, Sofia similar to the previous site, we also have an integral approach to the creation of the monumental work in an already existing park environment (similar to the construction of the Monument-ossuary of the antifascists, Sofia, the Memorial House of the Party, Buzludzha, the Monument to the Soviet Army in Plovdiv, the Monument to the Heroes, Bucurest, etc.). The examples given are of the respective periods, the practice has become general and the methods themselves could be considered typical of the totalitarian art. New spaces are formed with the relevant volumetric and structural compositions, approaches, target and public areas, necessary for the presence of a monument with clearly expressed ideological content. The interrelation between the
various elements has been well considered – a combination of park environment, architectural elements and sculpture, the monument is integral with respect to composition.

270. Monument Soviet Army, Sofia – archive view of the area

271. Monument Soviet Army, Sofia – sculptural detail
With respect to the implementation of the ideological concept of The Monument to the Heroes, Bucurest, the existing park area on this site has been redesigned and the existing memorial complex, dedicated to the Unknown Soldier (from the period of World War I) has been integrated into the newly built monument. The contemporary spatial environment forms part of the compositional integrity of the monument. The architectural elements and the central monumental composition form a unified whole and their separate consideration is not possible.
In the Monument Banner of Peace, Sofia the combination of the volumetric and spatial composition, the integration of various supplementary elements (the bells, donated from various countries), the temporality of the impact (the inclusion of the sound effects when viewing the monument), as well as the sculptured memorial composition in its central area, make it a unique and explicitly valuable example of the synthesis in monumental art, surpassing the boundaries of the totalitarian period.

Monument 1300 Years Bulgaria, Sofia is part of a larger ensemble and, from this point of view, is a vivid example of the synthesis in the development of architectural ensembles of the considered period. We should point out that the National Palace of Culture complex combines, in the most complete manner, all monumental and applied arts, and the monument is just one of the examples. As an individual site, the monument also constitutes a combination of spatial and architectural solutions and a sculptural composition, which are inseparable.
Memorial House of the Party, Buzludzha peak, like the other emblematic monuments presented in this selection, is also an example of the harmonic combination of architectural shape and monumental arts. The entire organization of the work includes its gradual perception by the spectator. In the preceding periods of totalitarian art the direction of the approaches was realized by more laconic, often park and architectural shapes – formation of approaches, fragmentation of the space, spatial and composition scheme, solved along the vertical as in the Monument to the Fallen in Forlì, Monument Soviet Army in Sofia, Monument to the Heroes in Bucurest). The idea underlying the development of the ensemble of the National Palace of Culture in Sofia has been completely elaborated with a combination of the separate forms of the artistic language in an integral space, marked by domination over the environment with clearly outlined architectural shape.
The synthesis in **Penyo Penev Park, Dimitrovgrad** – is multilevelled:

1. Harmonic combination of the sculptural ideological and artistically performed works of art and the park environment;

2. Combination of the simple sculptural forms with epigraphical elements, which form the synthesis elements with the inclusion of the non-traditional poetic form in the sculpture works.

The monuments are emblematic **urban** and, in some cases, **territorial structures** and have a crucial importance for the structure of the environment. They actually reflect and immortalize an idea, and in modern times remain significant elements in the environment. In most cases these structures have been developed in central, attractive places but, as tokens of the historical processes they often occur in areas of low public activity. They are usually transformed, in a basic manner, to reconsider the environment and subject it to the general concept of the site.

Such is the nature of the Monument Banner of Peace in Sofia and the Memorial House of the Party on Buzludzha peak. Despite the different scales, both monuments are similar, like true sole dominants, prevailing in the ambient environment. Nevertheless, **the Monument Banner of Peace** stands out as a mighty symbol, which can be seen both from the city and from the mountains. The aim of the **Monument on Buzludzha** is the subordination of not only the immediate but the distant space as well, and this has definitely been achieved.

The **monuments in Forli** and **Bucurest** are a natural culmination of the town-planning solutions – one is in the street space in an urban environment and the other is on natural rising ground in a park environment. The street space is a felicitous sector of the urban dominant, whereas the powerful silhouette of the monument in Bucurest is balanced by means of high vegetation.
Compared to Bucurest, the **Monument Soviet Army in Sofia** creates the impression of a more large-scale urban operation and takes a more active part in the
surrounding spaces. Both monuments in Sofia and Bucurest dominate their close vicinity with the strictly conducted symmetric composition and the powerful vertical accents. They are both situated in a park environment, although the Sofia monument almost participates in the street space. The monument in Forlì is a real square monument, developed in the Italian tradition as part of the street life. It is convincingly imposing in the urban space and is a compositional element for lots of important city directions. This turns it into a focus of the central area.

With the exception of the House of the War Disabled, which is a terrace building in a closed city block, all other works have, to a great extent, predetermined the arrangement of their own surrounding environment.

The Monument 1300 Years Bulgaria in Sofia is part of a more large-scaled project, to which it is integrally bound with respect to both composition and ideology and has a major role in the rationalization of the entire complex. It defines the beginning of the monumental alley trough the park toward the National Palace of Culture, with its own passages and calm spaces.

The space of the park in Dimitrovgrad is related particularly to the ensemble along Third of March Boulevard and other neighbouring areas.
The monumental pieces of art in the ATRIUM project represent most vividly the ideological platforms on whose grounds their artistic conception has been based. Thus they depict the course of the ideological development, the shapes and the means of impact of political doctrines over artists and arts as a whole.

277. Map: Geographical location monumental synthesis case studies in ATRIUM, ©NIICH 2012
3.B. Statistics

The statistics are based on those parts of the templates that can be summarized in a quantitative manner. Some of the factors are interesting aspects (e.g. Change of name) related to the history of the case-studies that can be used in the further development of tourist products relating to the architectural sites. Other factors are significant for the making of future investment plans (ex. Technical condition, Tourist infrastructure) and restoration plans (ex. Availability of archive documentation).

The most important conclusions that can be drawn from the collected statistical data are that most of the case-studies are in good technical condition, located in central urban territories and therefore easily accessible. This means that the sites could easily become part of an organised tour. In addition, the prevailing functional, technical and economic expedience facilitates implementation of the future cultural route.

Still there are several case-studies whose current technical condition is described as bad, very bad or at risk. These sites require special attention, further research and proper restoration measures to be taken prior to their inclusion in any tourist product. These are:

1. Fascist Youth Seat, Forlì, Italy
2. House of the Fascist Party, Predappio, Italy
3. Memorial House of the Party, Buzludzha peak, Bulgaria
4. The monument 1300 years Bulgaria near NPC, Sofia, Bulgaria
5. Most buildings in the Square in Labin, Croatia
6. Customs, Patras, Greece
7. House of Literature and Art, Patras, Greece
Change of name

![Bar chart showing the number of case studies for change of name (yes vs. no).]

Status of protection*

![Bar chart showing the status of protection for case studies.]

- protected as subject of Cultural Heritage
- nominated as subject of Cultural Heritage
- not protected as subject of Cultural Heritage
- within the borders of protected area
- other

*the total number of case studies is over 71, because more than one answer is given

There is no data available for 10 case studies

Property*

![Bar chart showing the property of case studies.]

- state
- municipal
- public
- private

*the total number of case studies is over 71, because more than one answer is given
3. Detailed Analysis 3.B. Statistics

Availability of archive cadastres

- Yes: 62
- No: 9

Availability of present cadastres

- Yes: 59
- No: 12

Availability of archive main plans

- Yes: 58
- No: 13
Availability of archive main elevation

![Chart](chart1.png)

Contracting authority of the commission*

![Chart](chart2.png)

*the total number of case studies is over 71, because more than one answer is given

Mechanism for determining the designers and contractors

![Chart](chart3.png)
Author/authors of the design

![Bar chart showing the distribution of known and unknown authors of the design.]

Executive of construction

![Bar chart showing the distribution of known and unknown executors of construction.]

Start of the design period

![Area chart showing the number of CSs over time.]

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**Duration of design period**

![Duration of design period graph]

**Start of the construction period**

![Start of the construction period graph]
### Duration of construction

![Bar chart showing the distribution of construction durations](chart)

- 18 CSs took 1 year
- 6 CSs took 2 years
- 8 CSs took 3 years
- 12 CSs took 4 years
- 21 CSs took over 5 years
- 6 CSs had no data

### Start of the design and construction period

![Line graph showing the start of construction periods](chart)

Data for construction periods (red) and design periods (brown) are plotted from 1925 to 1980.
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3. Detailed Analysis 3.B. Statistics

Technical condition*

*There is no data available for 1 case studies

Current function
Location of the subject in the structure of the settlement

*17 objects in the central part are situated on a square/are a square. 3 towns are excluded.

Development of the environment*

*3 towns are excluded
Dominant function in the environment

![Dominant function in the environment chart]

- Public: 53
- Residential: 32
- Industrial: 3
- Sport: 4
- Park: 19
- Other: 25

Other attractive sites in the area

![Other attractive sites in the area chart]

- Cultural facilities: 46
- Other: 34
- No data: 9
Accessibility

Tourist infrastructure

Information availability

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3. Detailed Analysis 3.B. Statistics

**Intentions for future development**

- Yes: 32
- No: 14
- No data: 25

**Material authenticity**

- High: 59
- High/medium: 6
- Medium: 4
- Medium/low: 0
- Low: 0
- No data: 2

**Image authenticity**

- High: 51
- High/medium: 7
- Medium: 11
- Medium/low: 0
- Low: 0
- No data: 2
Functional authenticity

Preservation of documentation
Functional expedience

Construction and technical suitability
Economic expedience

- High: 67
- Medium: 2
- Low: 0
- No data: 2
4. Conclusions And Guidelines

Further study

First of all it is necessary to emphasize the need for equal levels of study for all case studies. In the instance under study this has resulted in a fully completed template that comprises text and graphic information tailored to the needs and objectives of the ATRIUM project. Currently, some case studies are missing key data, such as the period of design and implementation, archival and/or actual drawings, cadastres, etc. Others lack sufficient clarity in relation to the corresponding regime and how the influence of the doctrine is demonstrated. This weakens the position of the case study as a participant in the ATRIUM project. To achieve a stronger cogency of the future cultural route it is advisable to continue and deepen the study of pilot sites, with emphasis on explaining each of them in their relevant context as part of the topic ATRIUM e.g. why is it important, how it contributes to the understanding of the regime that created it.

On the other hand, the information provided in these templates suggests that further potential case studies, lying within the scope of ATRIUM, are available. For example, the monuments in Sofia, in front of NPC, and in Ljubljana, in Revolution Square, are not identified as separate objects within ATRIUM, although they still possess considerable potential as interesting separate objects in the group of Monuments. In Forlì, it is just the opposite – separate buildings of a key urban ensemble are identified, but the very ensemble, which has its own different and urbanistic meaning, is not identified. In Tirana, the identification of an urban complex on a higher level, in comparison with Ministries Square, is also possible, along the Grand Boulevard. For both new cases of urban planning some interesting parallels can be drawn, as for example with regard to the Unirii Complex. The possibility for further case studies is illustrated in the maps below. Their identification would enrich the typological diversity of any location and hence it is recommended for a later stage of development of the ATRIUM theme.
Another possible approach for enrichment of the range of ATRIUM studies would be to look for new and so far unidentified case studies of the most prominent typological group from the separate partner countries. For example, in Italy – more social architecture projects, in Hungary and Serbia – more residential projects, in Romania and Slovenia – more public buildings and in Bulgaria – more monuments.

**Diversity of architectural heritage**

Unintentionally, it has turned out that the pilot projects within ATRIUM cover a large part of the conventional typological groups of architecture (Map 1). On one hand, the diversity of urban structures, public edifices and monumental projects suggests a significant impact of the regimes in the field of urban planning, architecture and synthesis of arts in the scrutinized regions. On the other hand, the great diversity of authentic designation of the proposed projects highlights the regimes’ pursuit of maximum control over public life in different countries. Here are also recognized some intriguing nuances that are indicative of the public and social influences still preferred by the regimes in different countries. In Italy, for example, social architecture prevails, in Slovenia and Romania – public buildings, in Bulgaria – monuments. Therefore, the comprehensiveness of studies in this regard is recommended.
Possibilities for grouping and subthemes of the main Cultural Route

Upon mapping of the objects it is the unaffected grouping, provided by the location of the objects themselves, which creates an impression. In purely geographical terms, two types of clustering are identified: local group – concerned with the concentration of objects in one settlement (more than three objects) and national group – concerned with the concentration of objects in more than one settlement in the same country (Map 2). Here, the differences depend on the country’s layout – Slovenia, for example, is a compact country and the concentration of objects there appears quite different from Romania, where Bucharest is located far away from Iasi and Suceava. In Bulgaria, Dimitrovgrad and Buzludzha are a
relatively short distance apart and we can talk about national grouping, as is the case in Italy – Forli, Cesenatico, Castrocaro, Predappio.

Hence, there is the possibility for further development of the international system of the main route at its lower structural levels – national and local. Again, it is necessary to point out that this study is experimental, incomplete and does not suggest general assessment or solutions. The suggested implications are based mainly on information provided by the partners in the course of the project. The conclusions outline the state-of-the art at a certain stage of the project development (January 2012) and should be taken as a basis for further studies or for decision-making with regard to such studies. Hence, it does not mean that Greece, for example, does not have the potential for developing a system on a local and/or national level. The implication is that at present the concentration of objects does not immediately
suggest such an option. Still, if it is a required outcome, the efforts at later project development stages should follow this direction.

Another approach to the development of subthemes of the main route is through the **typology of case studies**. Its main feature is the concentration of objects of the same or similar typological sub-group, which together (being complementary to one another) form a semantic subtheme of the main theme. Grouping is possible according to the three basic typological groups defined in this study, which has already been presented in the analysis. Still, it would be more convincing to group sites according to their message and modern interpretation. For example, it is appropriate to group public buildings of explicit political emphasis with public urban spaces. These are the places where the impact of regimes on architecture is most salient. Monuments, which themselves are always the most salient and eloquent materialization of ideologies, are successfully added as they support the idea of the manifestation of the totalitarian doctrine. That is how the proposal for a main **ideological and political** subtheme was developed (Map 3). It is characterized by eight larger concentrations of objects, which correspond to part of the geographically identified sites.
By different indicators on the map above are shown:

1. Case studies involved in the present study

2. Objects suggested through materials submitted to ATRIUM, suggesting an expanded potential of locations

3. Objects which are not identified by ATRIUM, but which are still available, and their identification is recommended with the purpose of enrichment of the proposed subtheme

Such an approach to the illustration of case studies is also employed in the maps below.
Another appropriate semantic-typological theme is **culture and education** (Map 4). It unites buildings of culture and media, theatres, educational buildings, which reveal the regimes in a different perspective – through their attention to the cultural life of society and young people. Again, it is appropriate that these objects should be examined, together with the group of Monuments, in a common subtheme, which should conditionally unite culture and arts.

Map 4 – culture and education theme – a possible subtheme of the main route, ©NIICH 2012

**Towns, residential complexes and service architecture theme**, presently concentrated in Croatia, Slovakia, Hungary, Serbia and Greece (Map 5).

The settlements in Croatia include interesting industrial objects (in the ATRIUM perspective), which suggest enrichment of the proposed subtheme. There are proposals for similar additional sites in Nová Dubnica (Slovakia) and Dimitrovgrad (Bulgaria) as typical examples of newly built socialist towns, where the
presence of industry is required by the project program, and also in Sofia and its neighbourhood (the complex of Kremikovtsi, the town of Pernik). An independent industry subtheme of the main route may be differentiated after further study and analysis in this direction.

Representativeness of common European values

A geographical allocation of the regimes of the XX\textsuperscript{th} century on the territory of Europe has already been illustrated in the Part “Historical Context” (Map 3). The theme of totalitarian regimes turns out to have been disseminated on a large part of Europe’s territory in the XX\textsuperscript{th} century. Hence, it is an important theme all over Europe. The ATRIUM project is developed in the region of South East Europe, which is on the borderline of the territorial allocation of both basic types of totalitarian regimes in the examined period, in the old continent. It is here, where
their historical interweaving occurs, that their influence is focused. Therefore, the pilot study of urban and architectural vestiges of these regimes in this very region suggests a valuable opportunity for comparison and development of a complex contemporary viewpoint with regard to their built heritage. The key importance of the region, in historical and geographical respects, turns into a crucial component for analysing the heritage of the regimes.

The pilot architectural survey of case studies in ATRIUM identified references to centres of influence beyond the defined region (Map 6).

All case studies considered before the war present the fascist / rationalist influence. Such examples can be found in Italy, Istria (Croatia), pre-war Albania, pre-war Slovakia and pre-war Greece. Immediately after the war, Bulgaria, Hungary and Romania were firmly under Soviet (communist) influence, which is also evident from
the architectural examples presented in these countries, highly emblematic of Stalinist architecture. The gradual weakening of the communist regime and the "liberation" of Eastern bloc architecture is represented by the modernist architectural examples in Slovakia and Bulgaria after 1956. In general, postwar Yugoslavia bears a weak influence of the USSR – a historical fact shown by the modernist architectural examples from Serbia and Slovenia.

Another historical fact, supported by the architectural analysis, is that the influence of regimes most often penetrates **through the capital cities**, but it also reaches considerably smaller towns in different countries. (Map 7)
Contribution to development of the ATRIUM theme

In recent decades we have witnessed the powerful evolution in the perception of cultural heritage.¹

1. expanded content – material and immaterial heritage (*Framework convention*)


3. expanded temporal limits – the heritage of the XXᵗʰ century is also included.

As a result, the current value of heritage for contemporary society has been raised and it appears to be a subject of increasing interest. A vivid indication of this is shown in Map 8. It was produced in 2005 and reveals the abundance of identified world and European cultural routes, single objects of world heritage and of intangible heritage in Europe. If this map were updated it would certainly be far more populated.

To the diversity of layers of Europe’s cultural history ATRIUM adds the layer of the XXᵗʰ century and hence it contributes to the interpretation of the diversity in present-day Europe (Map 9).

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¹ KRESTEV Todor, Scientific strategy of the project, Historical territories: integration field for Culture and Tourism, „Heritage ESPRIT“, LiterNet, 2009
Map 8 – Europe: World Cultural Routes, Cultural Routes of the Council of Europe, The map is developed by ICOMOS/Bulgaria in collaboration with UNESCO, the Council of Europe, European Institute of Cultural Routes, ICOMOS, British Council/Bulgaria, University of Architecture, Civil Engineering and Geodesy, 2005
The theme concerns an important cultural-historical factor in the common history of Europe which, together with the insufficient study of this factor, determines the strong educational connotation of the proposed theme. As was already noted, ATRIUM proposes an innovative approach towards the subject, as common, shared heritage, and suggests interdisciplinary studies of this young historical layer in the affected territories.

Map 9 – ATRIUM case studies on the background of cultural and historical heritage in Europe

Possibilities for further development of the theme

As mentioned above, ATRIUM has been developed in the geographical “delta” of totalitarian regimes in the XX\textsuperscript{th} century in Europe. The pilot setting of cultural routes on this territory will present both the diversity and relationships among the architectural traces of the different regimes. However, numerous locations exist on the territory of the EU which feature substantial potential (determined by
objective historical facts) for further development of the theme to “Architectural heritage of the totalitarian regimes in Europe”. Map 10 suggests a future study of such additional locations in the region of South East Europe and also within Europe as a whole.

Again, laying the region of ATRIUM on the background of Europe, after the analysis of the proposed objects and their cultural-historical context, repeatedly supports the inference that the ATRIUM theme is of common importance to the region of South East Europe and that it has substantial potential for being transformed into a **common European theme**.