



# Adriatic Projects Revisited

## Citation

Barovic, Marija. 2022. Adriatic Projects Revisited. Master's thesis, Harvard Graduate School of Design.

## Permanent link

<https://nrs.harvard.edu/URN-3:HUL.INSTREPOS:37372345>

## Terms of Use

This article was downloaded from Harvard University's DASH repository, and is made available under the terms and conditions applicable to Other Posted Material, as set forth at <http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:HUL.InstRepos:dash.current.terms-of-use#LAA>

# Share Your Story

The Harvard community has made this article openly available.  
Please share how this access benefits you. [Submit a story](#).

[Accessibility](#)

# Adriatic Projects Revisited

By  
Marija Barovic

Master of Architecture and Urban Design, University of Zagreb, Faculty of Architecture, 2015

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

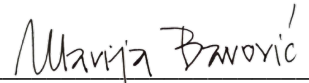
## Master in Design Studies History and Philosophy of Design and Media

At the Harvard University Graduate School of Design  
May 2022

Copyright © 2022 by Marija Barovic

The author hereby grants Harvard University permission to reproduce and distribute copies of this Final Project, in whole or in part for educational purposes.

Signature of the Author \_\_\_\_\_



Marija Barovic

Harvard University Graduate School of Design

Certified by \_\_\_\_\_



Eve Blau

Adjunct Professor of the History and Theory of Urban Form and Design  
Harvard University Graduate School of Design



Marija Barovic

# Adriatic Projects Revisited

Master in Design Studies Thesis

Advised by Eve Blau

Harvard University Graduate School of Design

Master in Design Studies, History and Philosophy of Design and Media

May 2022

Illustration by the author. Photo credits:

Fig 1 United Nations HQ Experts' Meeting. Source:  
Ernest Weissmann Archive GSD Frances Loeb  
Library Special Collections;

Fig 2 Children's Sanitorium for Pulmonary Diseases,  
Krvavica, Croatia. 1961-64. Rikard Marasović (1913-  
1987). Source: vimeo.com. Intermundia.

## ABSTRACT **ADRIATIC PROJECTS REVISITED**

The *Adriatic Projects* (1967-72) was a United Nations international exchange program in regional planning founded to transfer urban planning knowledge to Yugoslavia (1945-91). Established during the Cold War era in the non-aligned socialist Yugoslavia, the program brought together professionals from Eastern and Western cultural traditions to draft the urban development plans for the Adriatic coast. While these plans for extensive urbanization were never implemented, the planning technology was adopted into local urban culture engendering a spatial-economic development model that has dotted the small coastal towns with modernist urban forms.

This thesis examines the international exchange established in Yugoslavia from the mid-1960s to the mid-1970s through two parallel historical narratives: the prism of the transfer of Western planning technology on the one hand, and the local Adriatic urban culture on the other. While tracing different spheres of influence, this study reveals how Adriatic development produced an alternative urban model under the socialist state that continues to inform the present spatial reality. After Croatia gained independence from Yugoslavia, a thirty-year-long transition to market economy has shaped coastal landscapes of abandoned modernist structures, informal urbanization, and speculative development. Today, it is clear how the post-socialist spatial reality has reversed the concepts of public and private, preservation and development, planning and informality. Using the lens of the Cold War urban development diplomacy, this thesis disentangles the formation of global planning epistemology, local traditions, and aspirations raised in the ‘post’-socialist era.

## **ACKNOWLEDGMENTS**

Since embarking on this project, I have looked forward to this moment when I can acknowledge all who made my studies at Harvard GSD possible and who supported me along the way.

I am grateful for the generous support of the Joyce and Zlatko Baloković Scholarship, which financed my studies at the Harvard GSD.

This thesis could not be done without the insights and interventions of people who shared their knowledge with me at various stages. Professor Eve Blau introduced me to the complexity of post-narratives and always generously helped me push my thinking and refine my research. John May's inspirational class on mediatechnics led me to question and explore technological systems. Professors Susan Snyder and George Thomas, provided me with a critical lens on historical conservation. Professor Arindam Dutta introduced me to the theoretical foundations for examining the political economy of space. In his class at MIT, I had a chance to meet Anna Kats, the assistant curator of MoMA's exhibition "Toward a Concrete Utopia: Architecture in Yugoslavia, 1948–1980," who shared her perspective on the matter. Angela Wheeler unreservedly offered her insights into scholarship on post-socialism. I was lucky to join the GSD while Igor Ekštajn was there, as I could profit from his impressive knowledge and experience and rely on his friendship. I am grateful for all our gatherings and discussions that, among other things, made my stay in Cambridge feel more like home. And last but certainly not least, professor Karin Šerman conveyed to me her passion and enthusiasm for theory and history from my very first encounter with architecture in the first-year architectural studios. She equipped me with a critical body of knowledge throughout my studies. I thank her for her kindness, encouragement, and support. My coming to the GSD could have never happened without her belief in me.

This thesis research draws on various archives: the Ernest Weissmann Archive at Harvard GSD Frances Loeb Library Special Collections, and the Rockefeller Archive Center (RAC). I am grateful to Bethany J. Antos, a RAC archivist who kindly provided me with the information and materials on The Ford

Foundation's American-Yugoslav Project, and Igor Ekštajn who processed the Ernest Weissmann Archive.

Thanks to Anny Li, my History and Philosophy of Design and Media partner, for her kindness and intellectual sensitivity that offered me an example of how to expand research outside a design problem. Thanks to my favorite architects, Martina Stjepandić and Mislav Kuzmanić for sharing with me the same sensitivity in the world. To Neva Kandžija, for being with me no matter how far we are, I am grateful for your friendship.

I am forever and infinitely thankful to my husband Bruno Tomić, who simply holds my world together, for moving with me across the ocean and offering me his love, friendship, and intellectual support.

To mom and dad, with no words to express my thanks, this thesis is for you.

# CONTENTS

Abstract	3
Acknowledgment	4
INTRODUCTION	9
<b>CHAPTER 1 CRITICAL GENEALOGY OF THE ADRIATIC PROJECTS</b>	<b>16</b>
1. Adriatic Projects	
2. Ernest Weissmann.	
3. Adriatic-countryside modernization	
4. Planning and learning from the local	
5. Environmental failure of rational planning	
6. Reciprocity of international planning exchange	
<b>CHAPTER 2 PRESERVATION OF THE SMALL ADRIATIC TOWNS</b>	<b>41</b>
1. Between preservation and development	
2. From a preservationist to a professional manager	
3. Planning technology as a Cold War diplomacy	
4. Yugoslav exports	
<b>CHAPTER 3 POST-SOCIALIST URBANIZATION OF THE ADRIATIC COASTLINE</b>	<b>57</b>
1. The failed promise of democratic globalization	
2. Privatization of self-managed facilities on the Adriatic	
3. Adriatic informalities from above	
4. Adriatic informalities from below	
CONCLUSION	75
Figures	80
Bibliography	83





Fig. 3 Hotel Olympia Sky, Vodice. 2015-2017. Architects: Vulin i Ileković. Photo: by the author, 2018.



Fig. 4 Hotel Olympia Sky, Vodice. 2015-2017. Vulin i Ileković. Source: hrvaska.net



Fig. 5 Pelegrin Hotel, Cavtat, Croatia. 1960-63. David Finci (1931-2017).  
Source: Wikimedia Commons. Photo 2015.



Fig. 6 The Makarska Riviera, 2020. Source: slobodnadalmacija.hr. Photo: Duje Klarić

## INTRODUCTION

The uncontrolled urban sprawl of luxurious private houses and holiday homes stretches along a narrow strip of the Croatian Adriatic coastline increasingly usurping a scarce coastal land hemmed in by mountains on the one side and the sea on the other. The new commercial buildings and glossy hotels rise among single-family houses in the small coastal towns with little or no proper infrastructure. The neglected modernist hotels and concrete skeletons sticking out of the forested Mediterranean arcadia stand aside as a mute witness to some bygone times.

After the dissolution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in 1991, Croatia initiated the political and economic transition that altered the mechanisms of its urban production. However, the introduced neoliberal, market-oriented regulations encountered the inherited socio-spatial landscapes established under socialism. These I explore in this study. But before turning to history, I will use this introduction to situate my research in the contemporary scholarly discussions on understanding the modernist histories developed under socialist regimes.

The shared spatial experiences of former socialist states in Eastern Europe that unfolded after the unification of the world under the economic system of capitalism in the early 1990s gave rise to post-socialism. This field of inquiry was introduced as an effort to recognize the traditions established under socialism, often overlooked in the canonical Eurocentric (Western) history of modernism.

Faced with the planetary environmental crisis, contemporary scholarship has raised criticism of Western epistemologies that have given humans an agency to contribute to shaping the geological conditions of the current era accordingly named Anthropocene. The anthropocentric mode of knowing came with a propagated design canon. Elisa Iturbe theorizes this mode of production as “actively giving form to energy-intensive ways of life,”<sup>1</sup> coining ‘a carbon form’ to describe the corresponding spatial configuration. Instead of seeing

---

<sup>1</sup> Iturbe, “Architecture And the Death of Carbon Modernity,” 12.

energy as a byproduct of architecture, Iturbe argues energy must be understood as a political and cultural force that drives the very production of space.

Critical recognition of the anthropocentric material reality comes with a call for acknowledging alternative forms of living and knowing and therefore seeing and producing spaces. However, registering a global diversity of traditions, cultures, organisms, and people is often confused with the globalization processes. Bruno Latour clarifies the distinction between the global and globalization by exposing that globalization does not pertain to all existing ideas in a geographical sense but rather to one locally generated idea that can be transplanted globally. He writes:

“a global viewpoint ought to mean multiplying viewpoints, registering a greater number of varieties, taking into account a larger number of beings, cultures, phenomena, organisms, and people. Yet it seems as though what is meant by globalization today is the exact opposite of such an increase. The term is used to mean that a single vision, entirely provincial, proposed by a few individuals, representing a very small number of interests [...] is imposed on everyone and spread everywhere.”<sup>2</sup>

A global platform for dissemination of urban development concepts and design principles was established in the aftermath of WWII, when international organizations, philanthropic foundations, and universities began financing international urban projects. Two exchange programs in regional planning founded in the SFR Yugoslavia were part of this history: the United Nations’ “Adriatic Projects” (1967-1972) and the Ford Foundation’s “The American Yugoslav Projects in Urban and Regional Planning” (1966-1970). Inaugurated during the Cold War era in the geopolitically non-aligned Yugoslavia, these two exchange projects brought antagonistic cultural and economic traditions together. This was possible under the Non-Aligned Movement established in 1961 by countries that did not want to align with either the capitalist West or the Communist East. However, the transfer of Western planning technology through Adriatic Projects did not achieve the intended goals and the Adriatic modernization took an alternative path of development. The Croatian planning practices, synchronized with the Yugoslav socialist system of self-management,

---

<sup>2</sup> Latour, *Down to Earth*, 16-17.

have directed the Adriatic tourism development. This impact is generally downplayed, as explained in the following few paragraphs.

When examining the world geographies in relation to their cultural traditions, geographer Sharad Chari and ethnographer Katherine Verdery detect the imaginaries of the “three worlds” hidden behind the uniformity of the dominant global narrative. Drawing from the Cold War cultural traditions, they infer that the legacies established under socialist regimes (Second World) have been overlooked between the Eurocentric histories of modernization (First World) and their postcolonial critique (Third World), suggesting that the post-socialism should become a similar critical standpoint to the imposed dominant culture.<sup>3</sup>

Recognition of the overlooked traditions established under socialism has raised an extensive academic debate and artistic research experiment “Former West” (2008-2016) —an idea articulated by a Slovenian art theorist Igor Zabel who had noted that “Writers often speak about the ‘former East,’ intending to stress that they speak about the region which used to be a different world, while now this difference is abolished. They never, however, speak about the ‘former’ West.”<sup>4</sup> Detecting the post-socialist symptoms as a shared experience of Eastern European countries, art critic Boris Groys detects that socialism “is largely understood as a mere interruption, interval or delay in the ‘normal’ development of these countries—a delay which, once it was over, left no traces other than a certain appetite to ‘make up for lost time.’”<sup>5</sup> In other words, contrary to Chari and Verdery who detect the disappearance of the Second World, Groys argues that the elimination of socialist narratives is the main feature of post-socialism. He argues that the failure of undemocratic socialist regimes to implement the utopia of building a better society has imbued their legacies with the same spirit.

In the field of architecture, Kimberly Elman Zarecor registers the difficulties in following “the idea of the socialist city beyond the end of socialism,”<sup>6</sup> which has often stripped these architectural modernisms of the socio-economic

---

<sup>3</sup> Chari and Verdery, “Thinking between the Posts,” 11.

<sup>4</sup> Zabel, “Dialogue.” Cited in Hlavajova and Sheik, *Former West: Art and the Contemporary After 1989*, 22.

<sup>5</sup> Groys, “The Contemporary Condition: Postmodernity, Post-Socialism, Postcolonialism,” 42.

<sup>6</sup> Zarecor, “What Was So Socialist about the Socialist City?”

contexts that engendered them. Most scholarly analyses from the 1990s and early 2000s isolated post-socialist architecture in their national context or compared them to the Western forms.<sup>7</sup>

Using the Yugoslav international exchange in regional planning as a filtering lens to examine the Croatian coastal geography, this study analyzes how the propagated modernist ideas affected Croatian design practices in the late 1960s. In addition, following the logic of knowledge transfer, this thesis explains how two antagonistic cultural traditions came together. Through this confrontation, the study discerns the evolution of the Adriatic form processed under socialism, which provides a base for further understanding of how neoliberal mechanisms have conducted the construction upon those legacies.

In looking towards the future faced with the planetary climate crisis, it seems particularly important to raise questions about how our aspirations have been shaped and how they continue to inform our present. Drawing on the international planning exchange projects in Yugoslavia, this thesis presents the formation of Croatian Adriatic landscapes offering three parallel perspectives: (1) how the Adriatic development got sidetracked from the Adriatic Projects directed by the Yugoslav socialist system; (2) how the discursive and practical struggles have fashioned the Croatian planning practices; and finally, (3) how the transitional reality has altered the former two.

**CHAPTER 1** examines the UN Adriatic projects in regional planning (1967-1972) to compare the master plans with the built environment of the small towns on the Croatian seaside. The discrepancy between the planned large-scale urban expansions and the condensed urban interventions that dotted small coastal towns offers a new window to the understanding of the modern development of this coastal region. This analysis shows how the economic and social planning regulated by the Yugoslav system of self-management has employed a local urban pattern spreading it along the coast through tourism development.

This research draws from the Ernest Weissmann Archive at Harvard GSD Frances Loeb Library Special Collections, which informs this study of Yugoslav planning exchange through the work of a Croatian (Yugoslav)

---

<sup>7</sup> Angela Weeler, Harvard GSD PhD Major Exam on Interrogating the Post

architect Ernest Weissmann (1903-1985). After WWII, Weissmann served as the UN Senior Advisor in Regional Planning and a UN Center for Housing director. Insight into the mature phase of Weissmann's career in the UN offers a new lens for understanding Yugoslav planning through his professional contributions and international connections.

**CHAPTER 2** focuses on the Ford Foundation “American-Yugoslav Project in Urban and Regional Planning” (1966-70) to present how the international projects integrated preservation into development planning with the aim to improve the profession. Through interdisciplinary cooperation, concern for preservation was redirected from the physicality of the built environment into an economic strategy for tourism development.

Reports on American Yugoslav Projects, which I found in Ernest Weissmann Archive, led me to Rockefeller Archive Center. There, I have found a never-published history of Ford's urban philanthropy, which includes the American Yugoslav Project. Written by Foundation official Louis Winnick in 1989, the Ford history informs this research with a critical evaluation of the dynamics of Yugoslav planning from the American perspective.

**CHAPTER 3** shifts to the “post” condition to examine the Croatian Adriatic transitional landscapes shaped after the dissolution of Yugoslavia in 1991. Drawing on the conclusions from the previous two chapters, this study examines how neoliberal formations have operated in the young Croatian democracy, building upon the socio-spatial structures inherited from the socialist system. The booming informal urbanization, abandoned modernist structures, and the speculative development are all brought into focus to address the changing mechanism of spatial production, illustrated by the same case studies introduced in Chapter 1.

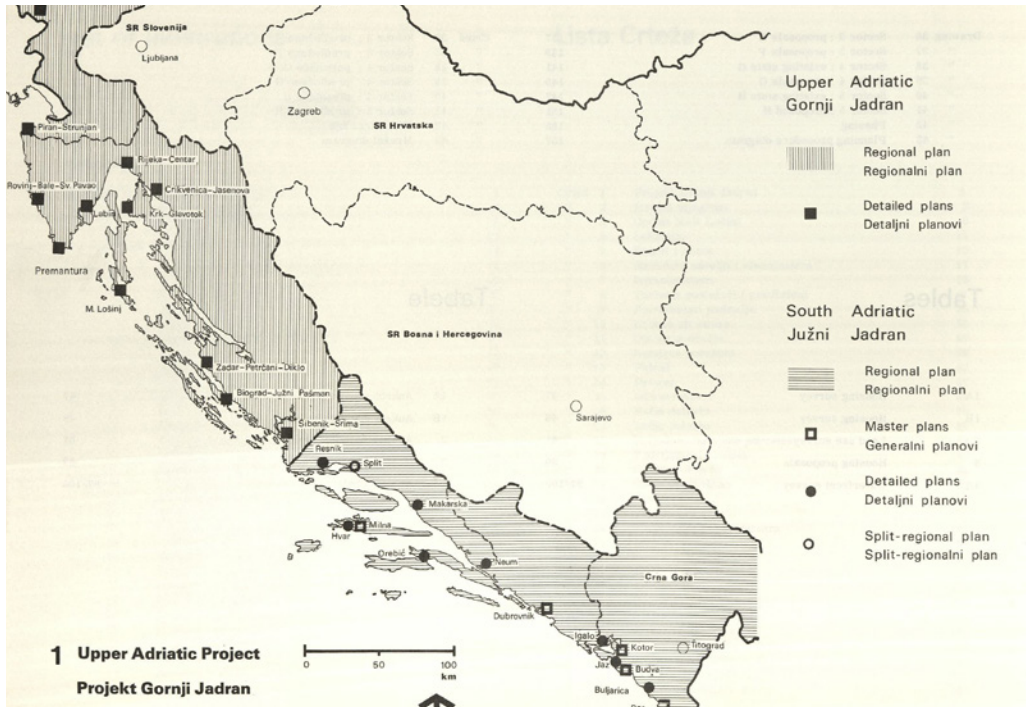


Fig. 7 Adriatic Regional Plans for the Upper and South Adriatic. Source: The UN Detail Plan Mali Lošinj, 1971. Ernest Weissmann Archive GSD Frances Loeb Library Special Collections

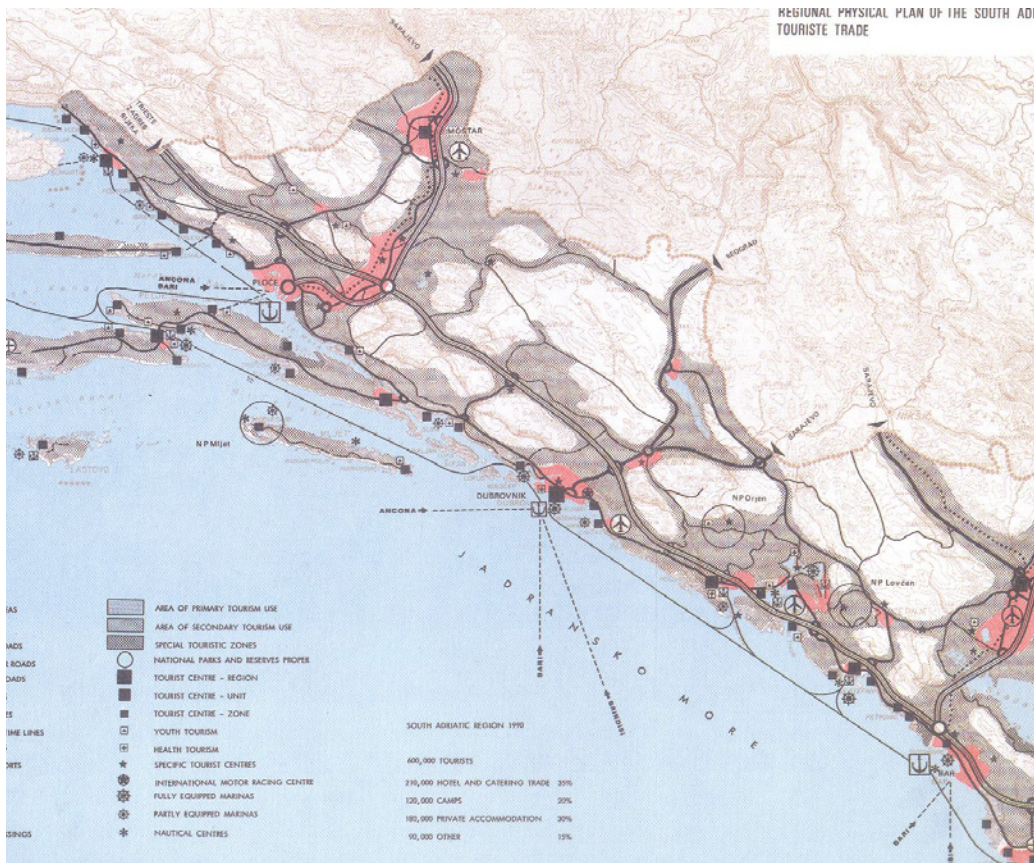


Fig. 8 Regional Physical Plan of the South Adriatic Region, Tourist Trade. Source: Mattioni, *Adriatic Projects: Projects of the Southern and Upper Adriatic 1967-1972* (2003).



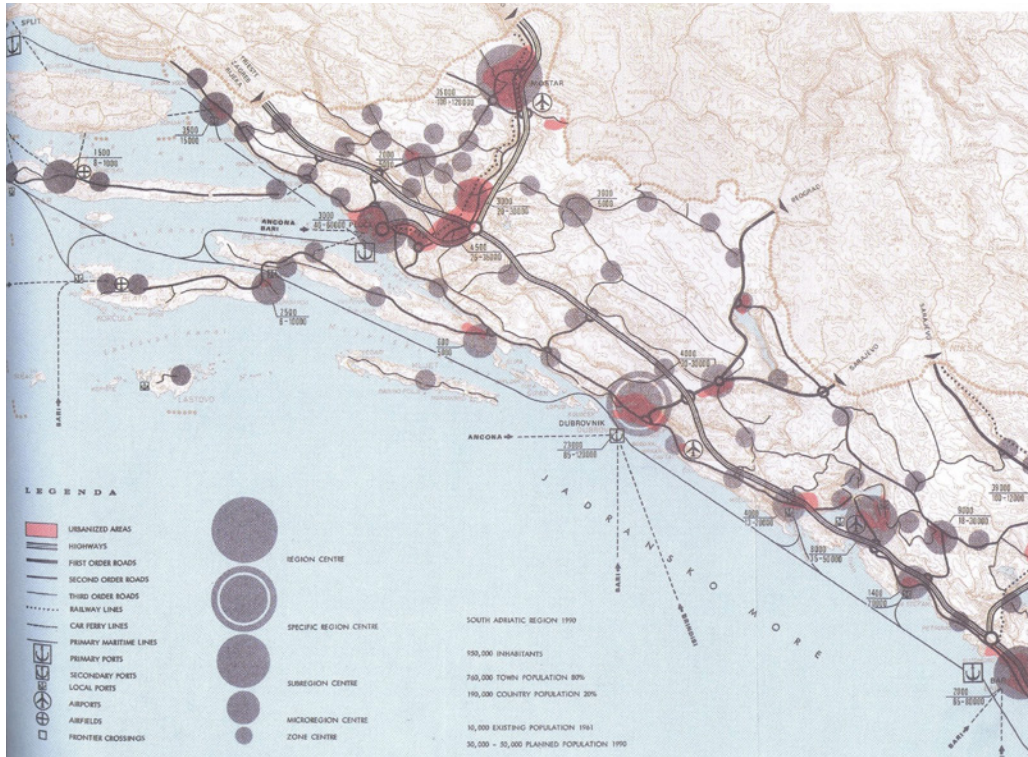


Fig. 9 Regional Physical Plan of the South Adriatic Region, Classification of Central Settlements. Source: Mattioni, *Adriatic Projects: Projects of the Southern and Upper Adriatic 1967-1972*.

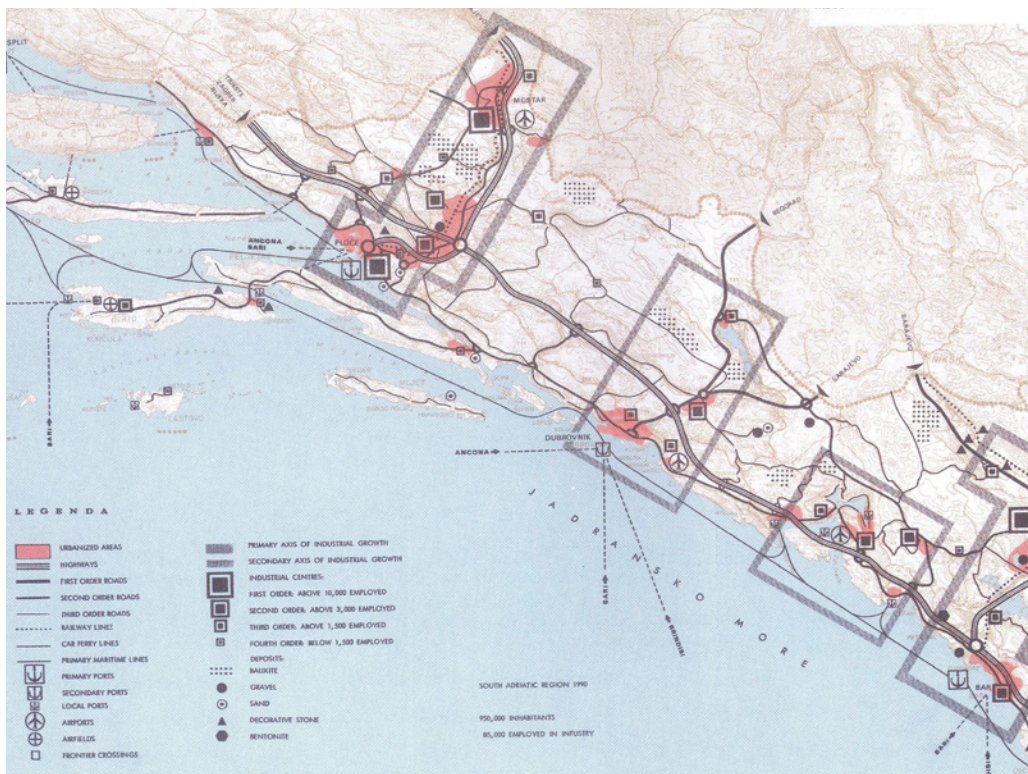


Fig. 10 Regional Physical Plan of the South Adriatic Region, Industry and Mining. Source: Mattioni, *Adriatic Projects: Projects of the Southern and Upper Adriatic 1967-1972*.

## CHAPTER 1 **CRITICAL GENEALOGY OF THE ADRIATIC PROJECTS**

Planning history can be assessed from two perspectives, “its role in the constitution of the objects of planning,” and its “claims to expertise in relation to them.”<sup>8</sup> Or, in Foucault’s words, there is a historical perspective on “what is done” and how planners “constituted themselves as subjects capable of knowing, analyzing, and ultimately modifying the real.”<sup>9</sup> But in the case of Adriatic Projects, what was done does not match with what was planned.

In 1967, an international exchange project in regional planning, called the “Adriatic Projects,” was established in Yugoslavia under the auspices of the United Nations (UN) with the aim to import urban planning technology.<sup>10</sup> The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (1945-91), of which Croatia was one of six federal states, initiated the project to develop plans for the urbanization of the Croatian Adriatic—a region of small towns dependent on agriculture and fishing. The drafted regional plans were grounded on the modernist planning ideals and methodologies, but the built form did not follow the set growth agenda. This chapter will illustrate how the model of development of the Croatian Adriatic countryside emerged as an integrated contribution of sides involved in Adriatic Projects. Secondly, the chapter will present how the discursive and practical struggles have established the planning practice and fashioned the role of the practitioners involved in planning.

### **ADRIATIC PROJECTS (1967-1972)**

Founded in the aftermath of WWII, the United Nations emerged as a networking platform of world politics, serving to provide technical assistance to the post-war developing world in building national development policies

---

<sup>8</sup> Huxley, “Problematizing Planning: Critical and Effective Genealogies,” 150.

<sup>9</sup> Huxley, 150. quoting Michel Foucault “Foucault, Michel, 1923-” in Gutting, G. (ed) *The Cambridge Companion to Foucault*, Cambridge. Cambridge University Press, 318.

<sup>10</sup> For the purposes of this thesis, I appropriated the term “Adriatic” from the *Adriatic Projects* to refer to the Croatian seaside defined by the contemporary Croatian borders. I intentionally do not use the adjective Croatian to avoid the confusion between the Socialist Republic of Croatia—a federal state within the SFR Yugoslavia, and the contemporary Republic of Croatia.

through “the transfer of *skills*, the transfer of *resources*, and the establishment of global *institutions*.”<sup>11</sup> In the face of growing urbanization, the UN began implementing worldwide projects to address the cross-border and common challenges using the framework of regional planning.

Faced with the growing and uncontrolled tourism development in the Adriatic region, the government of SFR Yugoslavia turned to the UN, seeking technical assistance in development planning. The project was implemented through partial financing by the Government of SFR Yugoslavia (\$5,302,000) and the United Nations (\$1,650,000).<sup>12</sup> Operating in cross-national contexts, the UN mobilized participants globally, nationally, and regionally to conduct a planning technology transfer to Yugoslavia.

The Adriatic Projects’ participatory structure came to reflect Yugoslav geopolitical position. Established during the Cold War era of military tensions between the NATO and the Warsaw Pact states, the geopolitically non-aligned socialist Yugoslavia allowed participants from these two antagonistic cultural and economic spheres to join the Adriatic Projects. Such a position was possible through the Non-Aligned Movement established in 1961, which gathered countries of the developing world to take a middle course between the two world powers. As a founding member of the Movement, Yugoslavia invested efforts to spread its international alliances, maintaining the connection with both western and eastern blocs countries.

Serving as a project Executive Agency, United Nations Development Program (UNDP), designated private companies from Europe to form design teams with the planning institutes of socialist Yugoslavia. Four companies were from the western bloc (London, Paris, Copenhagen, Milan) and one company came from the eastern bloc (Warsaw), including the project manager Adolf Ciborowski, an internationally well-established Polish architect and urban planner. The project coordinator was Croatian architect Miro Marasović, but regarding Yugoslav participants, they were predominantly from Croatia as the Adriatic coast, for the most part, covered the territory of the federal state of Croatia. However, the regions outlined by the plans included the marginal portions of the three neighboring Yugoslav federal states mobilizing the participants from Bosnia

---

<sup>11</sup> Murphy, *The United Nations Development Programme: A Better Way?*, 8, 13.

<sup>12</sup> Mattioni, *Adriatic Projects*, 64-65.

and Hercegovina, Montenegro, and Slovenia.<sup>13</sup> The government of Yugoslavia controlled Project Administration, and the Federal Bureau served as International Technical Cooperation. Design teams were then additionally joined by individual consultants and professionals. In total, fifty-nine institutions were involved in the project.

A complex program structure and interdisciplinary interconnectedness implemented in the Adriatic Projects reflect the UN idea of regional planning defined as a “comprehensive” method. Based on a critique of the sectoral planning, the new method aimed for the “integration of the different sectoral plans into a coherent whole.”<sup>14</sup> During the five years of such interdisciplinary cooperation, the planning teams have produced three regional spatial plans: (1) the Southern Adriatic Project, (2) the Upper Adriatic Project, and (3) the Split Region. In addition, the program produced six general plans, three studies, and twenty-five detailed plans.<sup>15</sup> Mobilization of a wide range of professional backgrounds facilitated geographical, historical, and demographic analyses, to analyses of settlement, economic and social studies, infrastructure, environmental and protection of cultural heritage.

Thirty years later, the Croatian planner Vladimir Mattioni concludes the overview of the outcomes of these projects in his *Adriatic Projects: Projects of the Southern and Upper Adriatic 1967-1972* with the statement that “none of what can be seen in this book can be seen in reality.” He notes, “Such squandering of human resources and financial resources can likely be comprehended only in conditions of the “Arcadian” socialist self-administration system or in the realm of pure fiction.”<sup>16</sup> Mattioni associates the failure of the unbuilt reality with the very decision of the Yugoslav government to implement the project, which confirms the voiced concerns of limited readings of the legacies developed under socialism. Still, there is a general consensus that the project “advanced the methodological basis of planning in Croatia and created a wide professional basis upon which future planning practices could be built.”<sup>17</sup>

---

<sup>13</sup> The split of the coastline into the “southern” and “upper” regions is derived from the concept of a region that did not follow the existing political or geographical divisions.

<sup>14</sup> Weissmann, “Tentative Plan for a Worldwide Training Programme.”

<sup>15</sup> Mattioni, *Adriatic Projects*. 63-65.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid*, 65.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid*, 64-65.

Such project review then leaves a question of why such multidisciplinary and technically justified plans have not found fertile ground for realization? What was built instead? And what were the implications of the methodological advances for a profession?

To address these questions, I bring the Adriatic Projects into a debate about the knowledge exchange between foreign and domestic professionals through two comparative analyses: the historical and spatial. The latter compares the envisioned plans with the built reality, while the former traces similarities in the genealogy of UN regional planning programs with the regional planning in Yugoslavia.

### **ERNEST WEISSMANN. BETWEEN THE UN AND YUGOSLAV REGIONAL PLANNING**

Croatian architect and planner Ernest Weissmann (1903-1985) provided the link between the UN and Croatian regional planning. In parallel to holding the position of Senior Advisor on Regional Development in the United Nations, Weissmann was engaged in the development of the Regional Plan for the Upper Adriatic (1970-72) as a town planner and consultant.

Weissmann was a devoted modernist with a fond belief in technology. He graduated from the Department of Architecture at the Technical School of Higher Education, University of Zagreb, Croatia, in 1926, but promptly established himself as an international figure, working for Adolf Loos and Le Corbusier in the interwar period. At that time, he was engaged with the Zagreb Working Group, an association of Croatian architects devoted to promoting the CIAM urban ideology that had an essential role in pre-war Croatian urban development. By the end of the war, he began an international career at the UN in New York.<sup>18</sup>

Faced with 20<sup>th</sup>-century urbanization of cities, industrialization, and agricultural development, Weissmann looked at regional planning as a tool that “may help in guiding decentralization of industrial and human agglomerations.”<sup>19</sup> Detecting “the era of scarcity,” Weissmann was searching for a way to

---

<sup>18</sup> Bjažić Klarin, *Ernest Weissmann*.

<sup>19</sup> Weissmann, “The Urban Crisis in the World,” 79.



Fig. 11-12 Ernest Weissmann at the United Nations Meeting. Source: Ernest Weissmann Archive GSD Frances Loeb Library Special Collections

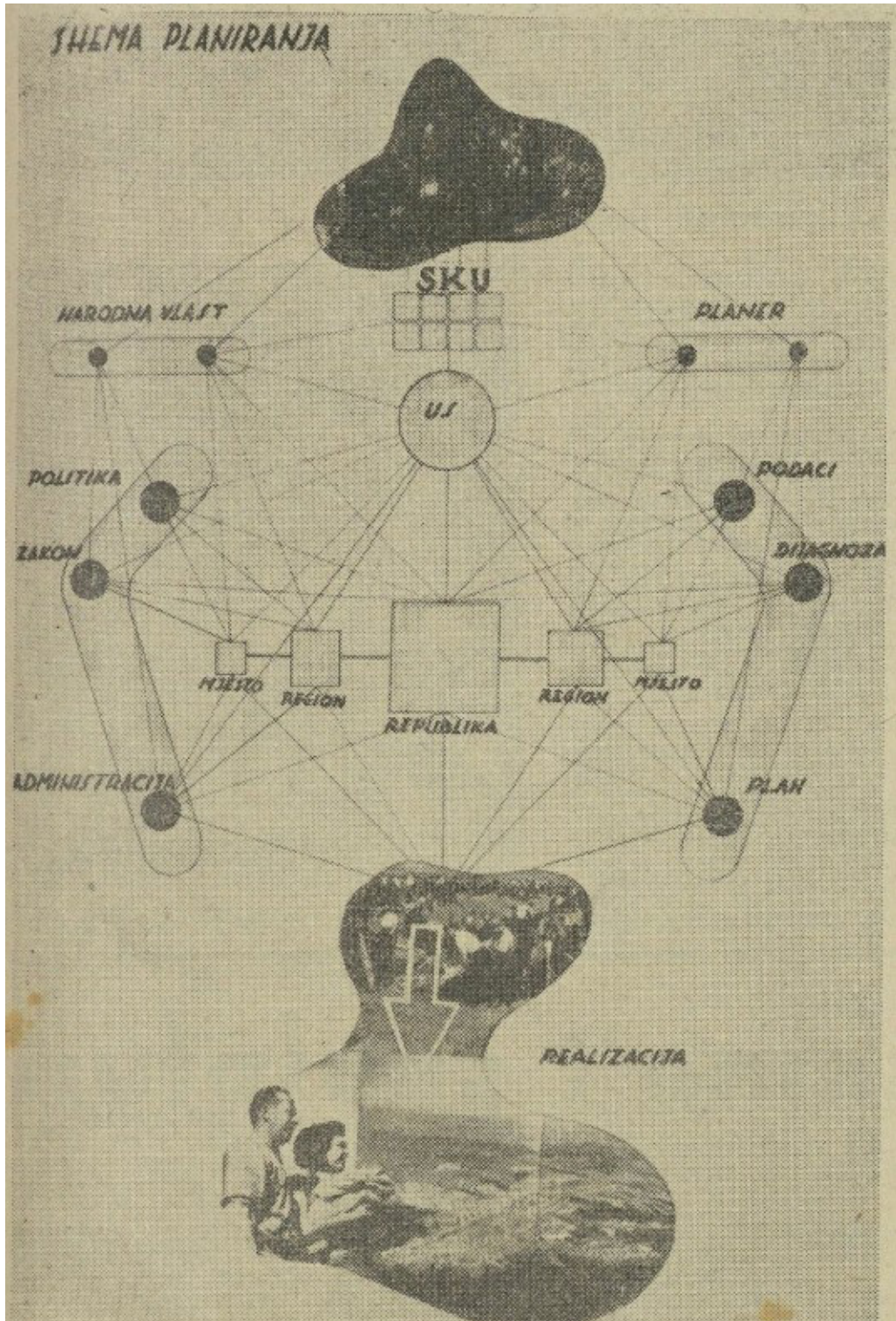


Fig. 13 Proposal for the Organisation of the Urban Planning Service. Source: Branko Petrović, "Prijedlog Za Organizaciju Urbanističke Službe [Proposal for the Organisation of the Urban Planning Service]," Čovjek i Prostor 1954, no. 19 (n.d.): 1

redistribute sources, people, and settlements with regard to human needs and economic development possibilities.<sup>20</sup>

Regional development planning lies in the concept of a region that carries two critical features. Firstly, the region was seen as “a link between the nation and the local community [which] provides a suitable frame of reference for a balanced integration of development projects of national significance with those basing themselves on local initiative.”<sup>21</sup> Secondly, the regional plans served to structure the logic and sequence of execution: the long-term plans for projects of national importance on the one hand, and detailed plans for actual development in local communities on the other.

Before implementing the UN Adriatic Projects, Yugoslavia already had an established planning tradition. In a country composed of six federal states with disparate geographical, demographic, and economic conditions, the problem of uneven development was a central political issue. In addition, there was a pressing need to develop the economy of predominantly agricultural and rural territory consisting of dispersed rural settlements, with only 13.6% of the total population living in towns in 1961.<sup>22</sup> In Croatia, regional planning already existed in practice<sup>23</sup> with the Urban Planning Institute of the Republic of Croatia (Urbanistički institut Hrvatske) established in 1947, followed by the regional branches in the coastal cities of Rijeka and Split in the early 1950s.

A particular feature of planning in Yugoslavia was its synchronicity with the state’s decentralized socialist system of workers’ self-management. When Yugoslav president Tito severed ties with Stalin in 1948, Yugoslavia abandoned the USSR-like constitution. As an alternative, the government inaugurated experimental self-management in the early 1950s as its “own road to socialism.”<sup>24</sup> To synchronize planning with the newly implemented self-management, the director of the Urban Planning Institute of Croatia, Branko Petrović, met with the system ideator Edvard Kardelj, after which he came up

---

<sup>20</sup> Weissmann. 82.

<sup>21</sup> Weissmann, “Urbanization and Regional Planning.”

<sup>22</sup> Hamilton, *Yugoslavia. Patterns of Economic Activity*, 39.

<sup>23</sup> The regional plan of the Krapina district, located north of Zagreb, was made in 1959. Bojić, “Social and Physical Planning.”

<sup>24</sup> Lapenna, “Main Features of the Yugoslav Constitution 1946-1971,” 215.



with the new scheme for the organization of urban planning in 1954. The planning structure reveals how the instances of planning were formatted to reflect the decentralized political and economic system with the aim to redistribute power to local communities and stimulate a social impact.<sup>25</sup>

Weissmann's engagement with physical planning was profoundly political and driven by the belief that it may contribute to economic improvement that would bring social change, welfare, and human dignity. Originally from a country that belonged to the developing world and was ruled by a socialist regime, Weissman's ideas were politically engaged even though he employed the "neutral" technology to promote them through international networks and cooperation with the elite class of global architects and planners.

### **ADRIATIC-COUNTRYSIDE MODERNIZATION**

While development was primarily concentrated in cities, this study examines what happened to the Adriatic countryside during the era of urbanization. Except for several larger towns, the Croatian coast represents a spatial configuration of small towns and villages with an average of 5,000 inhabitants, around 350 settlements dispersed along a 5835-kilometer-long Mediterranean coastline.<sup>26</sup> The region entered into the 20<sup>th</sup> century well below the average national revenue after decades of being neglected and disconnected at the periphery of the powers that ruled it. But this coastal region of small historical settlements soon gained an increasing attention of tourists, which appeared with a modern vision of leisure and free time.

In an era of the explosive growth of cities and industry, Yugoslav government saw growing tourism as the driver for economic progress addressed as an "industry of tourism." The central Yugoslav government initiated domestic tourism with the "Right for Holidays," subsidizing vacations for workers and youth, which propelled the construction of the modest tourism resort typology (odmarališta). But it was not until the mid-1970s that tourism boomed into a

---

<sup>25</sup> Petrović, "Prijedlog Za Organizaciju Urbanističke Službe [Proposal for the Organisation of the Urban Planning Service]."

<sup>26</sup> Randić and Turato, *In-Between*, 92.

state economy, <sup>27</sup> following the completion of a newly asphalted road built along the Croatian Adriatic coastline. Symbolically named the Adriatic Sunny Road (1950-1966), the new infrastructure started transforming the region from a rural- to a tourism-based economy. The implementation of the Adriatic Projects in 1967 was part of the state's economic strategy to support the fast-growing industry and attract foreign capital.

The Adriatic Projects divided the seaside into two regions structuring the planning program in two phases: the South Adriatic Project (1966-70) and Upper Adriatic Project (1970-72). While the scope of regional plans regulated the infrastructural projects of national importance, I am zooming into detailed plans to compare those with built conditions. Detailed master plans or 'detailed action plans' served to integrate inputs from and execute the projects on the local level. With tourism as a primary driver of the coastal countryside development, twenty-two out of twenty-five detailed plans were of tourism settlements defined by the capacity of 10,000 tourist beds. It is therefore not surprising that the modernization of the Adriatic countryside was carried out through modernist hotels and holiday resorts.

To trace the genealogy of the Adriatic development, I have chosen three master action plans, all done by the same company Shankland Cox & Associates from London. The company was first engaged in the planning of the South Adriatic region, but the UN extended collaboration to the next phase by hiring the firm for the Upper Adriatic Projects. Tracing one company over time and in a different territory allowed me to detect how the design strategy evolved over the duration of the project and how this translates back into built reality, which I present next through three case studies.

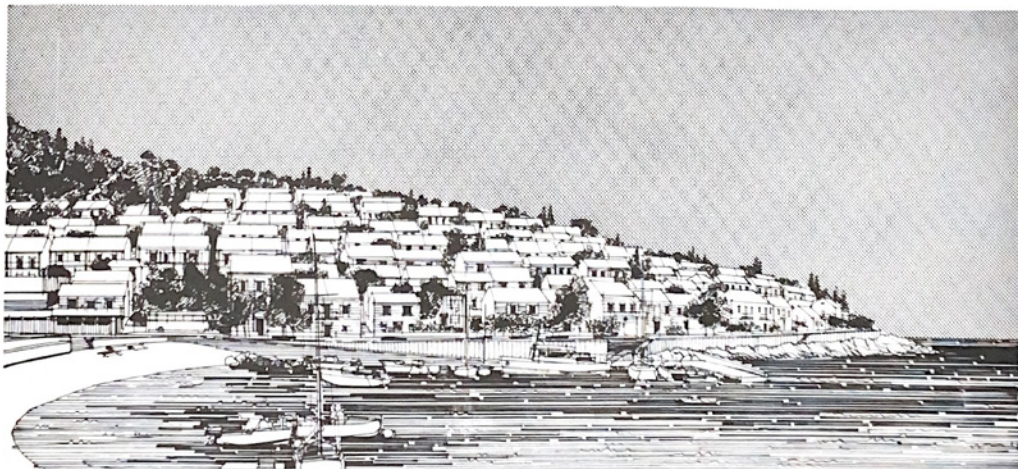
**HVAR-MILNA** The detailed plan for Hvar-Milna was one of 10 detailed plans developed under the Physical Development Plan for the South Adriatic Region. It was also one of the never implemented plans that envisioned extensive urban intervention in the unpopulated coastal zones. Milna Plan proposed the reconstruction of the deserted village Malo Grablje and a new large-scale tourism intervention with tourism settlement, village center, and public and tourism facilities for the two coves—Milna and Pokonji Dol, counting only 120

---

<sup>27</sup> Mrduljaš, "Building the Affordable Arcadia, Tourism Development on the Croatian Adriatic Coast under State Socialism.", 171.



Existing - Postojeće naselje



Proposed - Buduće naselje

Fig. 14 Hvar-Milna Master Plan. 1969. Source: Shankland and Urbanistički zavod Dalmacije, Hvar-Milna. Physical Development Plan for the South Adriatic Region.



Fig. 15 Proposed Land Use, Hvar-Milna Master Plan, 1969. Source: Shankland and Urbanistički zavod Dalmacije, Hvar-Milna. Physical Development Plan for the South Adriatic Region.

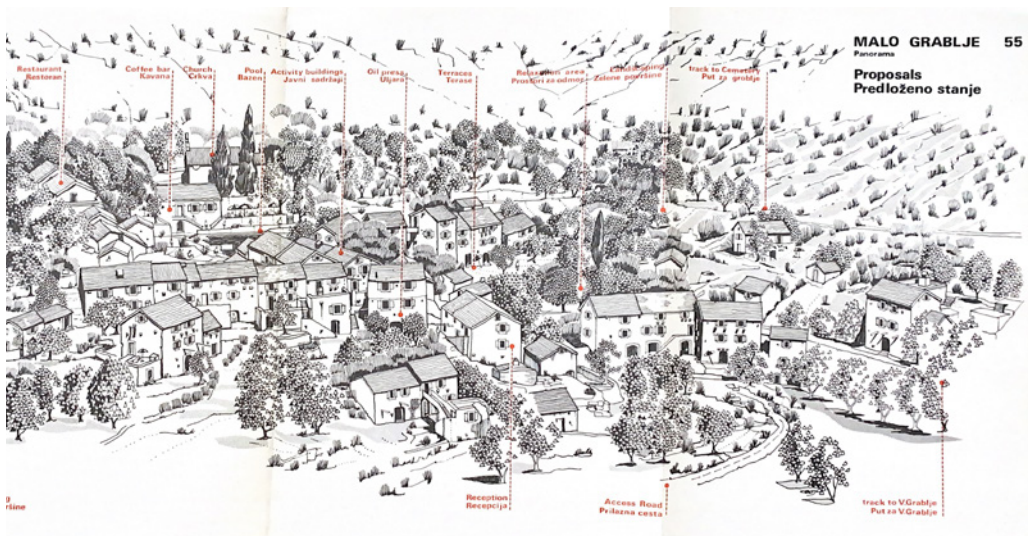


Fig. 16 Proposal for conversion of Malo Grablje village to a tourism settlement, Hvar-Milna Master Plan, 1969. Source: Shankland and Urbanistički zavod Dalmacije, Hvar-Milna. Physical Development Plan for the South Adriatic Region.

inhabitants. The only such plan with a similar large-scale intervention was built on the outskirts of the city of Dubrovnik, the region's largest city. In other words, although regional plans envisioned even regional distribution of the growth, the urbanization and population growth centered in cities.

**OREBIĆ-PELJEŠAC** The detailed plan for Orebić proposed the development plan of a new coastal city with a large-scale tourism development composed of several hotels. The existing settlement was composed of a small group of houses on the coast with a plan predicting growth from 8,230 to 46,000 inhabitants. As a reference, today, the city has around 4,000 inhabitants. While master plans were usually programmed with tourism developments, the Orebić master plan envisions a new residential zone as a territorial expansion of single-family houses. The current organization of the city of Orebić follows the planned urban pattern and housing typology, while the new tourism development remained only in plans. Instead, the single-standing hotels were built in the town's vicinity, around the location where several modernist hotels already existed from the mid-war period built for Czechoslovakian middle-class tourists.

**MALI LOŠINJ** Detailed plan for Mali Lošinj (1971) was one of twelve plans developed under The Physical Development Plan for the Upper Adriatic Region—the second phase ensued after the completion of the Southern Adriatic Projects. The UNDP designated the same London firm Shankland Cox & Associates, already engaged in developing the Southern Adriatic Projects, but now teamed up with new planning institutes: the Planning Institute of Rijeka (Urbanistički Institut Rijeka) and the Planning Institute of Dalmatia.<sup>28</sup>

The plan for Mali Lošinj proposes a pavilion typology for new tourism development contrary to the previous two master design propositions. The new facilities were distanced from the historic urban core but were designed as a functional part of an existing settlement. One of the solutions considered was the development of an entirely new town, but the main objective against taking such an approach was the goal to re-activate existing local communities and their settlements. Therefore, the master plan came with proposals for

---

<sup>28</sup> Shankland and Urbanistički zavod Dalmacije, *Hvar-Milna. Physical Development Plan for the South Adriatic Region; Projekt Juzni Jadran*.



Fig. 17 Orebić Trstenica Master Plan. Regional Physical Plan of the South Adriatic Region 1967-1970. Source: Mattioni, *Adriatic Projects: Projects of the Southern and Upper Adriatic 1967-1972*.



Fig. 18 Bellevue Hotel, Orebić, 1940. Source: delcampe.net



Fig. 19 Riviera Hotel, Orebić 1938. Source: Facebook, Maritime museum in Orebić

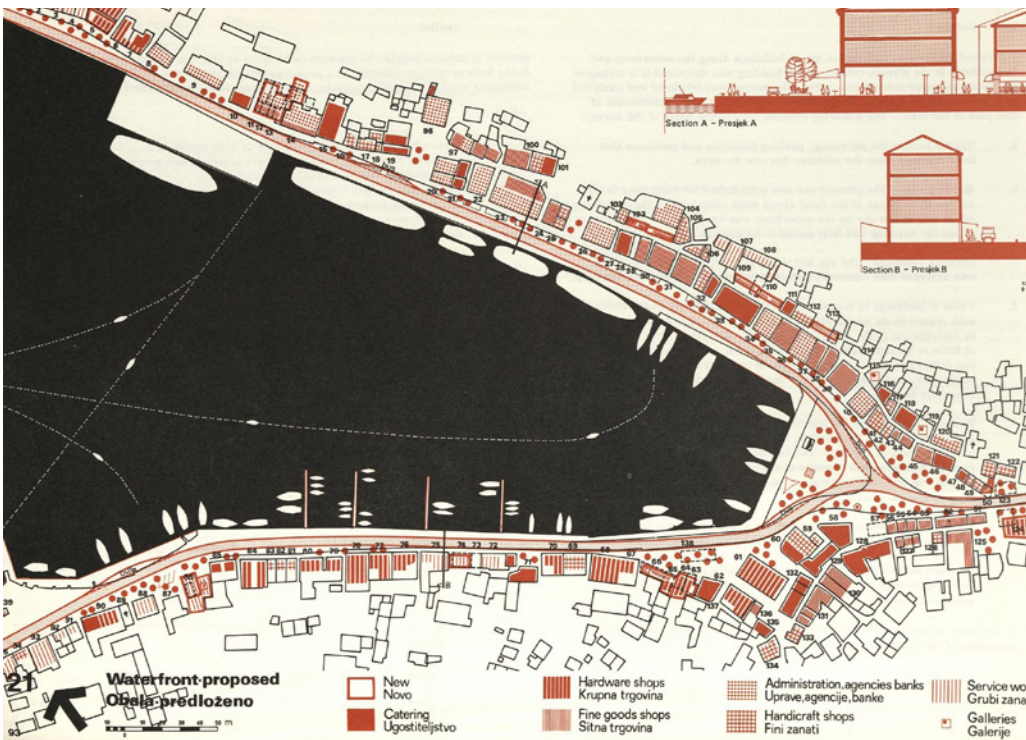


Fig. 20-23 Mali Lošinj Old Town, Waterfront Facades and Waterfront – Proposed. Source: Master Detailed Plan Mali Lošinj, 1971. The Upper Adriatic Region. Urbanistički Institut Rijeka and Shankland Cox and Associates. Ernest Weissmann Archive GSD Frances Loeb Library Special Collections



Fig. 24 Mali Lošinj Cikat Fliegeraufnahme (1921-1965). Source: delcampe.net

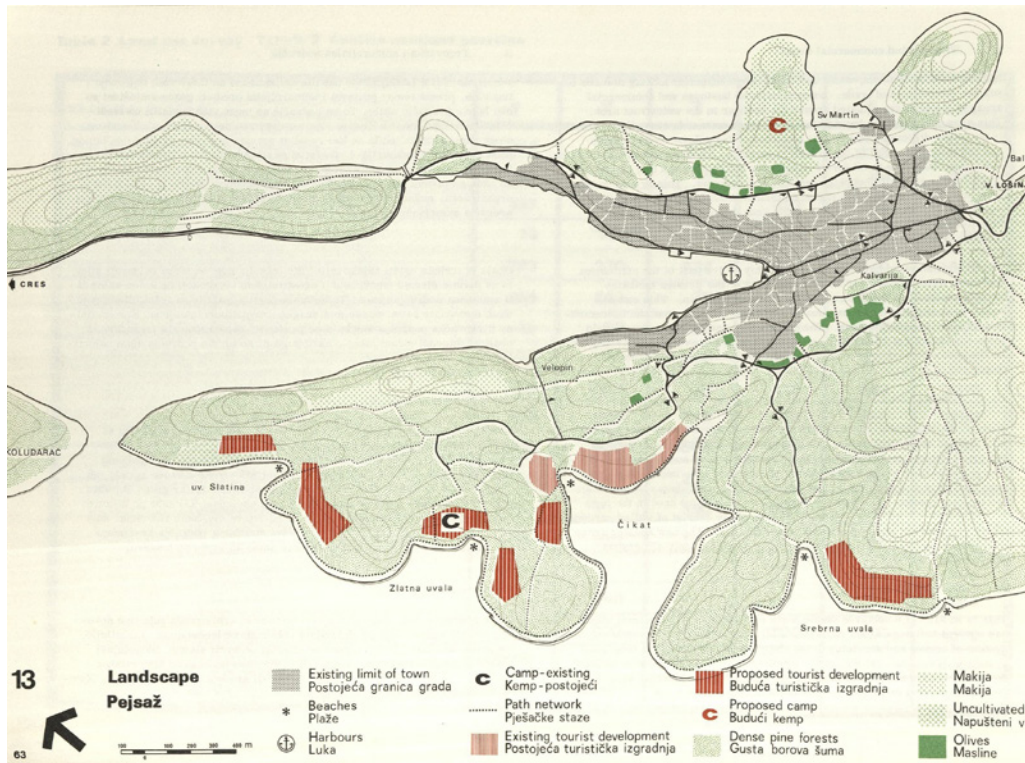


Fig. 25 Master Detailed Plan Mali Lošinj, 1971. The Upper Adriatic Region - Urbanistički Institut Rijeka and Shankland Cox and Associates. Source: Ernest Weissmann Archive GSD Frances Loeb Library Special Collections



organizational and functional changes of the historic urban core.<sup>29</sup> In other words, the master plans were equally focused on resolving issues of the historic urban centers as on devising solutions for new development.

## **PLANNING AND LEARNING FROM THE LOCAL**

The genealogy of tourism development in Mali Lošinj demonstrates that a new master plan appropriated the existing spatial pattern that already existed in Mali Lošinj. Two modernist hotels were already built in the bay, including the bourgeois villas from Austro-Hungarian Empire (1867-1918). The new facilities in Mali Lošinj were then designed as pavilions that extended the capacity of the existing tourism zone. What is more, this spatial scheme of tourism development dispersed over the broader area and located away from the historical urban core had already existed as a pattern implemented in the planning of the coastal towns.<sup>30</sup> Finally, the Mali Lošinj developments were built following the design propositions, contrary to the large-scale tourism zones envisioned by master plans for Orebić and Milna developed three years earlier. Given that the same firm was involved in designing all three Master plans, the changing character of a physical development model suggests, that over time, the design strategy was more adapted to the local environment.

The economic planning developed during the Adriatic Projects employed the **“spatial-economic” formula**. This model created a bridge between the design teams and local units of self-management. To understand this relationship, it is essential to know that, shortly before the start of the Adriatic Projects, the new Yugoslav Constitution of 1964 formalized the system of self-management and instigated a semi-regulated free-market economy.<sup>31</sup> This change implied decentralization of the state power through a new territorial organization

---

<sup>29</sup> Shankland and Urbanistički zavod Dalmacije, 6.

<sup>30</sup> Marinović, “‘Turizam u Sklopu Urbanističkog Plana Dubrovnika’ (Tourism in the Context of the Master Plan of Dubrovnik),” 29.

<sup>31</sup> Even though self-management existed before, it was not until the 1964 Constitution that it was extended to a state political, economic, and territorial structure. The Basic Law on Workers' Self-Management (July 15, 1950) initiated the system transformation. The development led to the Fundamental Constitutional Law (January 13, 1953) and later, to the 1963 Constitution (April 7, 1963). Lapenna, “Main Features of the Yugoslav Constitution 1946-1971.”

composed of more than 500 autonomous “socio-political communities.”<sup>32</sup> Within such territorial organization, the local units were invited to give orders for their economic projections, which would then be passed to design teams, primarily architects, who would translate those demands into plans. The local communities thus appeared as new actors that controlled development and planned executions while a decentralized territorial organization distributed new developments along the region.

Development plans followed the principle of “**consortium**,” which implied that an investment must be concentrated in one location and implemented to secure its full functioning – from buildings to infrastructure to landscaping.<sup>33</sup> In a self-managed system and semi-regulated free-market economy, the local district had to secure the finance on its own to implement the projected development plans. This model bounded the scope of construction to the financial capacity of the local units, which ultimately prevented the overdevelopment and execution of large-scale planned interventions. Such a system empowered the implementation of the urban configuration of condensed forms regulated through a holistic architectural, urban, and landscape design.

**KRVAVICA, MAKARSKA** After the completion of the Adriatic project, the new planning model was put into practice in places that were not necessarily covered by regional master plans. For instance, the existing building of the Children’s Sanatorium in Krvavica originally built in 1965, received an upgrade following the planning model from the Adriatic Projects. In 1972, the Urban Planning Institute of Croatia made an Urban Plan to adopt the single-standing modernist building into a holiday resort equipped with new infrastructure, facilities, and landscaping. The structure was thus transformed from a single building into an urban form.

If the 20th-century mechanisms of city-building in Croatia were processed through “buildings that functioned urbanistically, and transformed the organization and use of space far beyond the immediate context of the building

---

<sup>32</sup> The basic principles of the self-management system are organized in two forms: “work organizations” and “socio-political communities.” A work organization “covers not only economic enterprises, but also all other organizations, agencies and institutions in the fields of education, culture, health and similar spheres of activity.” On the other hand, “Socio-political communities” cover “territorial-political units, i.e., communes, districts, autonomous provinces, individual union-republics and the federation itself.” Lapenna.

<sup>33</sup> Mattioni, *Adriatic Projects*, 62-63.



Fig. 26 Krvavica Orthophotomap 1968. Source: geoportal.dgu.hr

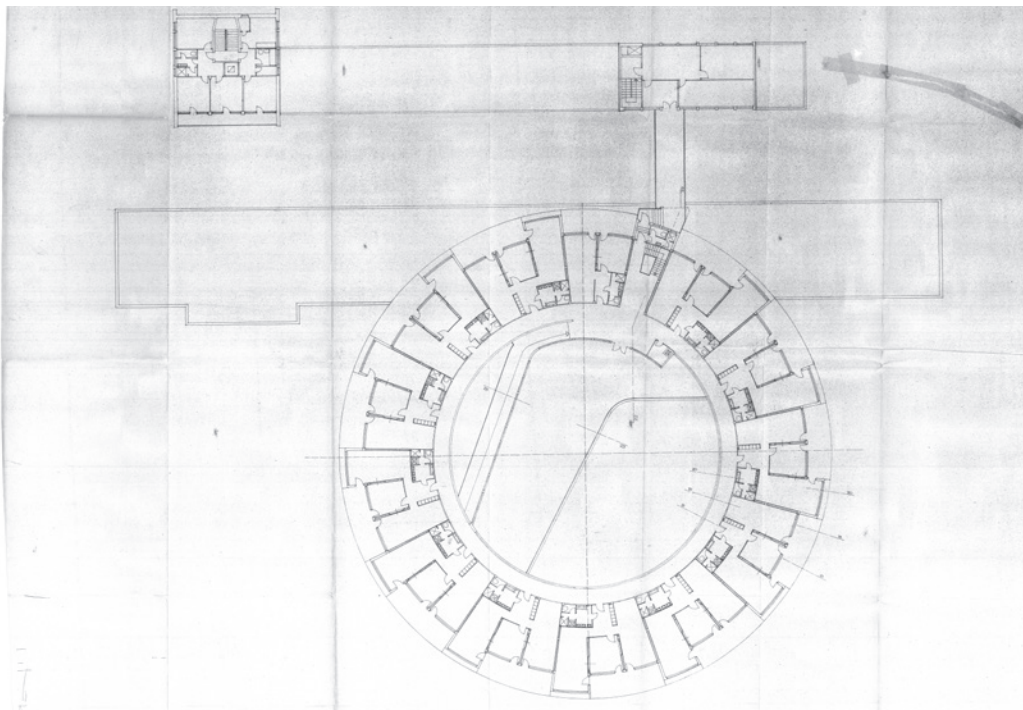


Fig. 27 Children's Sanatorium for Pulmonary Diseases, Krvavica, Croatia. 1961-64. Rikard Marasović (1913-1987) Source: Archive Lora, Split

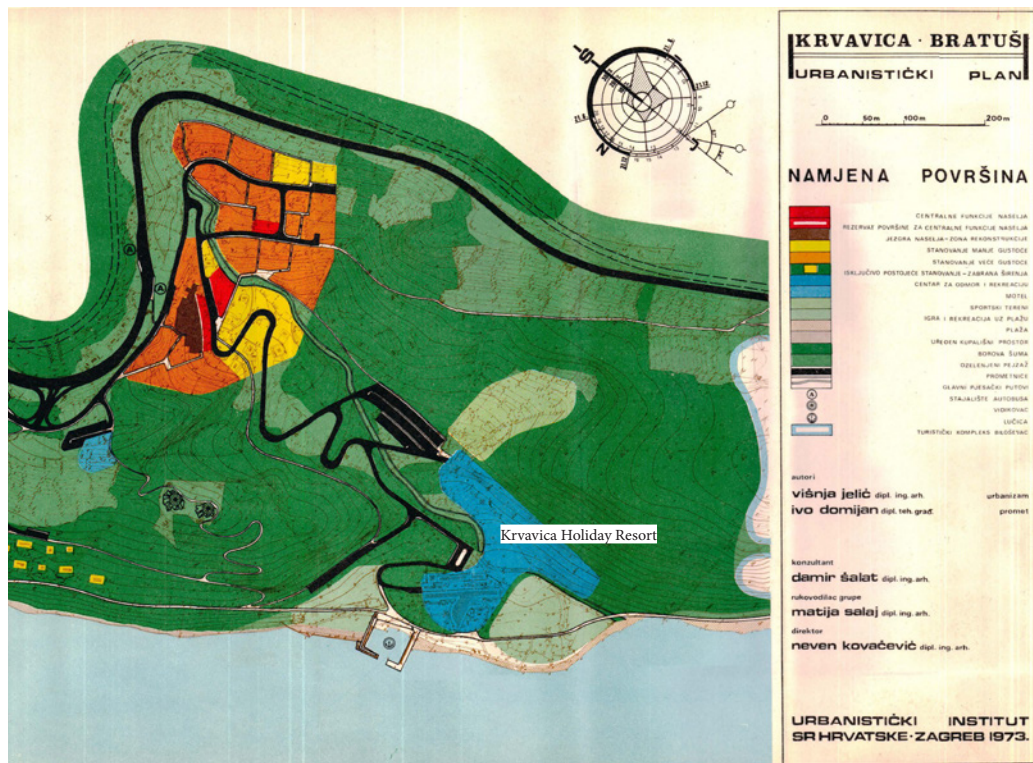


Fig. 28 Krvavica Urban Plan, Makarska. 1972. Urbanistički Institut SR Hrvatske, Zagreb, Višnja Jelić, Ivo Domija, Matija Salaj, Neven Kovačević. Source: Archive Lora, Split

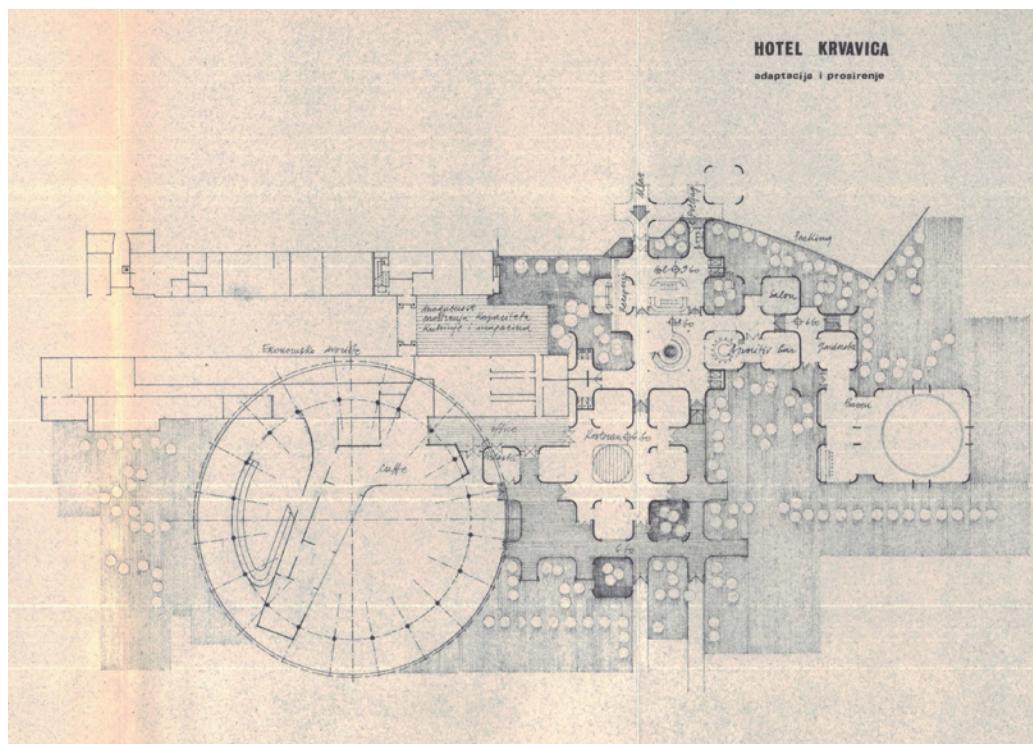


Fig. 29 Krvavica Extension Project for a Holiday Resort 1972. Source: Archive Lora, Split



Fig. 30-31 Krvavica Holiday Resort, Krvavica, Croatia. (1973-1991) Rikard Marasović (1913-1987). Source: Private Archive Dino Beroš. Source: 2020 Exhibition Catalog “(Ne)vjeruj pripovjedaču-Slučaj Krvavica.” 2021.

themselves,”<sup>34</sup> the same can be translated to the Croatian coastal countryside. But instead of being integrated into dense urban tissue, those architectures dotted small towns reliant on agriculture, fishing, and tourism. Those rural-building mechanisms processed through condensed tourism developments were thus changing the socio-economic structure of the small towns and villages.

Existing research on tourism development of the Croatian coast describes these modernist hotels as “social condensers,”<sup>35</sup> “urbanized assembles,” “open to all,”<sup>36</sup> “places of urbanity,” “everyday use,” and spaces of “increased quantitative output.”<sup>37</sup> The evolution of such rich spatial organization and diverse architectural typology has been studied as a tradition of a sensitive design approach adopted to diverse coastal topographies.<sup>38</sup> But the most recent studies examine those structures as spatial and cultural manifestations of the socialist system of self-management and the socialist ideal of “common use.”

Self-management was not only formative for the construction and management of tourism facilities. Architectural and urban planning practices that were similarly self-managed, whose empowered individuality then came to reflect the diversity of architectural typology. On the other hand, with the socialist ideal of common use, the local population of those small towns could appropriate tourism facilities for their everyday use. Even though tourism developments were primarily built for high-end guests, they were not exclusively reserved for foreign tourists. Commercial facilities established on the infrastructure of the socialist state ultimately created non-planned benefits for local communities.<sup>39</sup>

---

<sup>34</sup> Blau, “City as Open Work,” 19.

<sup>35</sup> Stierli and Kulić, *Concrete Utopia: Architecture in Yugoslavia, 1948-1980*, 83.

<sup>36</sup> Mrduljaš, “Building the Affordable Arcadia, Tourism Development on the Croatian Adriatic Coast under State Socialism,” 206., and Šerman, *Fitting Abstraction: Croatia 1914-2014. Exhibition Catalogue for the 14th International Architectural Exhibition (Venice 2014)*.

<sup>37</sup> Beyer, Hagemann, and Zinganel, *Holidays after the Fall*, 2013.

<sup>38</sup> Mrduljaš.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid*, 20.

## **ENVIRONMENTAL FAILURE OF RATIONAL PLANNING**

How the know-how was transferred during the Adriatic Projects was not recorded. Croatian architect Andrija Randić writes that the participants in design teams for the Upper Adriatic Region “enjoyed equal rights” in executing their tasks.<sup>40</sup> On the other hand, Mattioni notes that even though the working teams were composed of professionals on both sides, a role of a foreign expert was “viewed more as a well-received foreign guest than as an equal professional partner.”<sup>41</sup> Notwithstanding, the planning documentation was accompanied by normative justifications aimed at future design improvements and growth. Paradoxically, the exponential urbanization and industrialization did not account for environmental limitations, especially in cities and larger urban zones defined around rivers. A potential threat became recognized only after the Adriatic Project ended in 1972, which led to a new UN project. Established to evaluate the environmental impact of the previous plans, the UNDP implemented the “Adriatic III” (Jadran III) in 1972, centered on the region’s larger industrial city of Rijeka.<sup>42</sup> Paradoxically fashioned as comprehensive, grounded in mathematical reasoning, and empowered through the authority of foreign experts, regional planning has similarly led to overdevelopment and environmental detriments.

## **RECIPROCITY OF INTERNATIONAL PLANNING EXCHANGE**

Following the work of Ernest Weissman and his contribution to the field, it is possible to detect similarities between the UNDP regional planning and the Yugoslav decentralized planning system. Moreover, the Adriatic Projects occurred in parallel to the formative moment in the reprogramming of regional planning in the UN, which is presented in the following paragraphs.

Regional planning was an established format of disciplinary practice but was restructured in the late 1960s when the UN created new respective agencies and programs. Interestingly, the formative changes were implemented during the Adriatic Projects (1967-1972) and programmed by Ernest Weissmann. The

---

<sup>40</sup> Randić, “Structure of the Upper Adriatic Project,” 156.

<sup>41</sup> Mattioni, *Adriatic Projects*, 54.

<sup>42</sup> In the belt reaching up 1 km away from the coastline, there are in total 656 small towns and villages. Randić, “Retrospektiva prostornog planiranja u Primorsko-goranskoj županiji.”

initiative for creating “The United Nations Programme in Regional Development” came in 1965 from the Secretary General asking the Economic and Social Council to draft the research and training program in regional development. It was Ernest Weissmann, who scripted a Tentative plan for the program, in addition to programs for the establishment of regional centers for research and training in regional development.<sup>43</sup>

In 1966, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) came into being. The UNDP emerged as a combination of two predecessor organizations: (1) The Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance and (2) the United Nations Special Fund. The former was led by David Owen, a British diplomat “who provided technical assistance to less privileged nations (connecting countries to ‘knowledge’ for development),” and the latter, Paul Hoffmann, the American businessman “who had run the Marshall Plan (connecting countries to ‘resources’).”<sup>44</sup> In this critical moment of restructuring the UN, Weissmann criticizes the technical character of the existing planning practices and sectoral planning. He writes about regional planning as “comprehensive planning,” which in fact reflects the complex and interdisciplinary structure of the UN project established in Yugoslavia. Finally, the UNDP was established in January 1966, only a year before the agency implemented the exchange project in regional planning in Yugoslavia and it was not until 1971 that the UN Centre for Regional Development (UNCRD) was established. These two parallel narratives could not be disassociated from the role and influence of Ernest Weissmann given he was directly contributing to both sides.

---

While the post-war urbanization of the Croatian Adriatic settlements has substantially transformed its coastal geography, the tourism development has seemingly not followed the growth projections defined by Adriatic regional

---

<sup>43</sup> Weissmann wrote drafts and plans for the United Nations Research and Training Programme in Regional Development (“Tentative Plan for a Worldwide Training Programme.” (1969); “Guidelines for Regional Development Planning.” (1970), and several papers (“The Importance of Physical Planning for Regional Development.” (1969), “Regionalization of National Development.” (1970).

<sup>44</sup> Murphy, *The United Nations Development Programme: A Better Way?*, 5.



projects. Even though regional plans aimed for an even regional distribution of growth, the 20th-century urbanization concentrated in cities allowing the Adriatic countryside to preserve its configuration and through this, sustain the modern tourism industry

Following the spatial patterns of development of small coastal towns, it is possible to trace the evolution of condensed spatial configuration evenly distributed along the region. The comparative analysis between planned and built offers an understanding of how the tourism development on Adriatic adopted a local urban form, and further promoted it through physical, social, and economic planning of a decentralized socialist system.

The Yugoslav system of self-management enabled bottom-up planning, empowering the self-managed territorial organizations to execute the master plans. The design and planning teams relied on the principle of “consortium” to immediately secure the entire functioning of a new complex on all levels, from buildings to landscaping and infrastructure. However, with limited financial capacities of the local units, the size of these new urban forms did not follow the normative justifications of urban growth. In addition, the Yugoslav decentralized system allowed even distribution of development along the coast, reflecting the very core of regional planning promoted to link the national and local levels of power.

This similarity between the Yugoslav decentralized planning model and Weissmann’s UN writings on regional planning in the late 1960s leads to the conclusion that those two were interconnected. If the Yugoslav system inspired Weissmann’s conceptions of regional planning, he might be equally credited for introducing such a complex collaboration to Croatia (Yugoslavia).

Similarly, the presented analysis of plans leads to the conclusion that the produced model emerged from the contributions of each side involved in international exchange. If international participants were learning from the local urban culture, they reversely contributed to integrating economic strategy and execution logic into planning. Such an interdisciplinary approach was seemingly confusing to local architects involved in a process, at least if it is to account for Mattioni’s question of “What planners have to do with concrete tourism building as an architectural task and why economic planning was called

in to help.”<sup>45</sup> But it is precisely what the Adriatic Projects have served for, firstly, to expand planning from the architectural thinking, and secondly, to foster the relationship between the economic and spatial planning.

---

<sup>45</sup> Mattioni, *Adriatic Projects*, 52.

## CHAPTER 2 **PRESERVATION OF THE SMALL ADRIATIC TOWNS**

In the post-war tourism development of the small towns on the Croatian seaside, the role of preservation had an equally important role as modernization. Under the socialist Yugoslavia (1945-91), the Adriatic region entered the post-war urbanizing and industrializing world underdeveloped and disconnected without land transportation infrastructure. However, with the rising modern tourism, its picturesque Mediterranean landscapes dotted with small historical settlements and fisherman's villages became romanticized for their anti-modern character. It soon became clear that the preservation of its cultural geography was fundamental for sustaining its tourism potential.

In the mid-1960s, the question of historic preservation became a growing concern of international organizations, including the Council of Europe and ICOMOS, among others. During the 1960s multiple conferences and programs on preservation were organized in Yugoslavia as part of the international exchange programs in regional planning. In parallel to the UN Adriatic Regional Projects, the Ford Foundation (FF) founded the "American Yugoslav Project in Urban and Regional Planning" (1966-70). Contrary to the former, Ford Foundation was a philanthropic organization that established a bi-national exchange between American academics and Yugoslav planners. The project aimed to transfer the planning ideas and concepts to public officials in Yugoslavia while the American academics saw the project as an opportunity to test their ideas outside the US. The project was initially established between Cornell University and the Urban Planning Institute of Ljubljana (Urbanistični Inštitut). However, the cooperation extended through various programs and workshops to include a dozen of Yugoslav cities including those on the Adriatic coast.

Several international conferences and working sessions on preservation were organized under the auspices of the United Nations and the Ford Foundation as part of their installed projects in regional planning in Yugoslavia. Drawing from those activities, Chapter 2 examines the role of preservation in the modern formation of Adriatic cultural landscapes. The chapter begins by situating the role of preservation in the local context and expands on how the international exchange programs changed the disciplinary narrative by integrating preservation into planning. Finally, using the historical perspective of the FF

official Louis Winnick on the American-Yugoslav Project (AYP), the chapter brings the American perspective showing how (geo)politics were involved in international planning.

### **CROATIAN ADRIATIC COAST. BETWEEN PRESERVATION AND DEVELOPMENT**

If the mid-20th-century modern tourism has offered the Croatian coast “more development potential than any other part of the Mediterranean region,”<sup>46</sup> the late 19th century treated the Adriatic region of Dalmatia as “an exotic wasteland.”<sup>47</sup> Tourism on the Adriatic coast gained momentum in postwar Yugoslavia reaching its peak in the decade following the mid-1960s. However, the evolution of tourism in Croatian Adriatic started already with the pre-war Austro-Hungarian imperial tourism and Czechoslovakian interwar growing middle-class tourism. The infrastructures established by these early-modern holiday traditions have rendered the regional differences and determined the further development of the Croatian seaside.

Connected with the Imperial Royal Austrian State Railways, the northern Adriatic was more developed than the southern region of Dalmatia. The latter, left dependent on the locomotion by boats, and with “no ready-made profits to be extracted, and a population accustomed to living by their own devices, the region was neglected.”<sup>48</sup> In such conditions, the spatial practices were disrespectful toward historic assets; medieval City Walls of the Ston served as a quarry for construction material, the fortifications ensembles and monasteries were transformed into private residences, and islands were sold to private owners. So, it is only after the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1918, that the historic settlements, ancient architecture, and ruined or inhabited fortification systems became ‘transformed’ into heritage, supporting the growing tourism economy.

But, in the context of the newly formed Yugoslavia, the tradition was an essential part of the nation’s identity formation. Shortly after the establishment of socialist Yugoslavia, the Croatian architects launched the publication of the

---

<sup>46</sup> Mappes-Niediek, “A Thorny Tiket,” 209.

<sup>47</sup> Violich, “An Urban Development Policy for Dalmatia: Part II: Urban Dalmatia in the 19th Century and Prospects for the Future,” 246.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid, 246.

regional architectural magazine “Architecture” [*Arhitektura*]. The editorial board of the first issue (1947) writes that one of the architects’ missions was to “form the conceptual basis of the new architecture [...] that lies in the strength of our traditional architecture.”<sup>49</sup> While abstract functionalism has been seen as an agency of identity building of the newly formed federal state, the individual identities were recognized through their historical traditions and channeled through their individual architectural modernisms.<sup>50</sup>

The urban imperative for change and tourism nostalgia to experience the old created a paradoxical demand that embodies the internal conflict between the concept of development and that of preservation. In 1972, amid the tourism boom on the Croatian Adriatic, urban planner Francis Violich wrote how this duality had shaped the character of the Adriatic region of Dalmatia:

“the thirst for sun and romantic landscapes and townscapes by the industrialized northern Europeans and the desire for modern urban life by traditional residents of the village are among the forces that are changing Dalmatia into a sphere of urban development... Even then, as today, Dalmatia was viewed as an environment in which to escape from the drabness of European industrialized cities and to taste some of the flavour of the East without risk”<sup>51</sup>

Tourism on Adriatic was fashioned as *commercial antimodernism* providing modern subjects with a temporary escape from the pace of urban life, which is often reflected in the demand to experience the old from the luxuriousness of the new. All these paradoxical conditions have engendered conflicting requirements for the physical development of the region.

However, the scheme of the physical development of small towns on the Croatian seaside illustrated in Chapter 1 can be seen as the embodied paradox that resolves this internal conflict between the old and the new. In spatial terms,

---

<sup>49</sup> “Arhitektura 1-2 (1947).”

<sup>50</sup> The existence of federal architectural schools within Yugoslavia supported individual architectural cultures, which are however united under the same aesthetics. Looking beyond abstract expressionism, the Croatian pavilion “Fitting Abstraction,” at the 14<sup>th</sup> Venice biennale recognizes the values and historical footholds of the Croatian Modernist architecture beyond a unifying character of modernist functionalism.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>51</sup> Violich, “An Urban Development Policy for Dalmatia: Part I: The Urban Heritage to the Time of Napoleon,” 151.

the historic urban centers were visually preserved from the new Modernist interventions that were dispersed at the town's periphery. Safely distanced, but in close vicinity to those historical centers, guests could gaze at the old from the luxuriousness of the new.

### **FROM A PRESERVATIONIST TO A PROFESSIONAL MANAGER**

The 1969 Interdisciplinary Research Symposium "Preserving Historic Urban Centers: Problem and Techniques" was planned as a boat tour around the historic towns on the Adriatic Coast, starting in Split and ending in Ljubljana, with the aim to address the impact of urbanization on historic cores. Even though one may expect that such a road-trip symposium would serve to assess the physical conditions of the historic urban centers, this was not the case. The intention was to "alleviate a housing problem," "attract tourist money," and increase "investment opportunity."<sup>52</sup>

Integration of preservation into urban and regional planning directed the disciplinary concern toward "solving social and economic problems in historic areas."<sup>53</sup> The 1969 Symposium first detected "the preservationist's lack of understanding and expertise in economics, sociology, planning, politics, and law."<sup>54</sup> The lack of expertise suggested the application of new methods for urban analyses: "location theory," "market research," and "social area analysis."<sup>55</sup> Once those are identified, the preservation could "design a program." In other words, a redefined role of the preservationist was to reprogram the function of a historic urban center rather than to deal with the physical preservation.

However, such an approach was not an innovation of the two international planning exchanges in regional planning; the Yugoslav engagement with conservation was already drawn from the international discourse on preservation which was transformative to the traditional understanding of the discipline and the concept of heritage. Similarly, the 1969 Symposium

---

<sup>52</sup> "A Proposal for Interdisciplinary Research Symposium "Preserving Historic Urban Centers: Problem and Techniques."

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

A PROPOSAL FOR AN INTERDISCIPLINARY RESEARCH  
SYMPOSIUM

Preserving Historic Urban Centers:  
Problems and Techniques

Prepared Through the Collaboration of:

- The American-Yugoslav Project in Regional and Urban Planning Studies
- The Office for the Preservation of Monuments, Ljubljana
- The Office for the Preservation of Monuments, SR Slovenia
- The Office for the Preservation of Monuments, Split
- Urbanistički zavod Dalmacije, Split
- The Standing Conference of Yugoslav Towns, Belgrade
- College of Architecture and Urban Planning, The University of Washington, Seattle
- School of Architecture and Planning, Columbia University, New York

Sponsors

Ljubljana, September, 1969

Fig. 32 Interdisciplinary Research Symposium: "Preserving Historic Urban Centers: Problem and Techniques" 1969. Source: Ernest Weissmann Archive GSD Frances Loeb Library Special Collections

organized under the Ford Foundation used the already defined international propositions to advance planning primarily by putting “attention on entire historic section, more than on individual buildings;” developing “a uniform system [...] for adoption in many countries,” and integrating urban and regional planning with preservation.”<sup>56</sup> On the other hand, those goals reflected a very similar logic that has driven the development planning in the Adriatic Projects, primarily the promotion of technical expertise and a system planning that could be further exported.

The goal of organizing programs and conferences on preservation was professional training. Similarly, the purpose of the 1969 Symposium was defined as the research but directed toward the education of all involved in the process. In this case, there were nine institutions involved, from American universities to Yugoslav institutions. In the next paragraphs, I detail why the international exchange was focused on education rather than on finding and testing solutions, as was initially planned.

#### **PLANNING TECHNOLOGY AS A COLD WAR DIPLOMACY**

In 1989, a Ford official Louis Winnick wrote a multi-volume “Ford History” on the Foundation’s urban philanthropy. This never published history covers the “American-Yugoslav Project in Urban and Regional Planning” (AYP) as one of three Ford “International Urbanism” programs. Serving as the intermediary between the Foundation’s domestic and international urban development activities, Winnick clarifies several important aspects: the establishment of professional bureaucrats, the conflicting perspectives between the American and Yugoslav professionals, and the misuse of technology for (geo)political purposes.

While economic growth was the central goal of Yugoslav government, profit was not a guiding motive in planning. However, the transfer of technical expertise from American academics to Yugoslav officials implied the integration of the economic, market-led logic that often caused conflicting points. Winnick notes those misunderstandings where:

---

<sup>56</sup> “A Proposal for Interdisciplinary Research Symposium “Preserving Historic Urban Centers: Problem and Techniques,” 1.



FORD HISTORY

Louis Winnick

	<u>Number of Pages</u>
I. INTRODUCTION AND CONSPECTUS	43
II. PHILANTHROPY'S HOUSING PROGRAMS THE HUNDRED YEARS FROM PEABODY TO FORD	128
III. URBANIZING AMERICA'S UNIVERSITIES	22
IV. INTERNATIONAL URBANISM	
A. Development Plan for Calcutta	28
B. The American-Yugoslav Project in Urban and Regional Planning	52
C. The Athens Center of Ekistics: The Urban World According to Doxiadis	69
V. THE FOUNDATION AND GOVERNMENT: THE STATES	29
VI. THE FOUNDATION'S OPEN HOUSING PROGRAMS	13
<u>Preliminary Drafts</u>	
VII. ANTI-DELINQUENCY, GREAT CITIES, GRAY AREAS Kathleen D. McCarthy	62
VIII. COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT Robert E. Toiles	72
IX. FORD'S RELATIONS WITH OTHER FOUNDATIONS Robert E. Toiles/Louis Winnick	26

Fig. 33 Louis Winnick, Ford History, 1989. Source: "Ford History. Philanthropy's Adaptation to the Urban Crisis," May 1989. Ford Foundation records, #012158. The Rockefeller Archive Center.

“the free-market principle of “highest and best use”—i.e., that urban land, which derives its site value from the incremental gains of its location, should be allocated to the most productive users—was dismissed as an irrelevancy in a country where urban land was publicly owned and administratively distributed. Indeed, the attribution of any value and price to land, even as an annual rent, was, to some, an alien idea. To the Americans, on the other hand, unpriced land provides no clues to the rational spatial arrangement of economic activities.”<sup>57</sup>

The principles of the spatial organization were not consistent on both sides; while socialist Yugoslavia was invested to control the large developments that were in common use, the American planning served the needs of the pervasive interest of capital. Drawing from Foucauldian ideas, Christine Boyer writes about American planning as a “quest for disciplinary control.”<sup>58</sup> The American Yugoslav Project was not an isolated case for exercising such control subjected to the logic of capital accumulation. Still, it is undoubtedly the only Ford Foundation international urbanism project on the grounds of the socialist state that directly opposed the capitalist logic.

Ford Foundation as a philanthropy organization had an essential political role in introducing the private economy into the public realm, primarily through the form of private-public partnerships. Winnick writes how this format gave rise to a bureaucratic class of professional technocrats who gained an impactful role in governmental decision-making. Once equipped with technical expertise, those non-state professionals came to collaborate with governments, giving rise to the national managerial elite—a trained cadre of professional managers. The professionals expanded their function from “traditional role as “social engineers” in the technocratic sense into a second role as “social engineers” in the political sense.”<sup>59</sup> That said, Ford philanthropy and similar private organizations have “played an important role in setting the national agenda,

---

<sup>57</sup> Winnick, “Philanthropy’s Adaptation to the Urban Crisis,” 12.

<sup>58</sup> Huxley, “Problematizing Planning: Critical and Effective Genealogies.” 142. Quoting Boyer. M.C., *Dreaming the Rational City: The Myth of American City Planning*. 1983. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 9.

<sup>59</sup> Winnick, 3.

using their contacts and professional skills to define the nation's problems and solutions in new ways.”<sup>60</sup>

When translated to the American-Yugoslav Project, a similar entanglement of private interest defined this planning cooperation. The project began as a non-governmental initiative but it soon extended to the U.S. State Department and the Federal Executive Council of Yugoslavia, and the constitutive Socialist Republic of Slovenia. With the governmental instances involved, the planning exchange became a tool for Cold War politics. Winnick writes that the “higher goal” to establish a project in Yugoslavia was to enter the socialist territory since it was not possible to cross the Iron Curtain and enter the countries under the USSR sphere. In Winnick’s words, the goal to set the project in Yugoslavia was the “opportunity ‘to open doors and open minds’ within Marxist Europe” that would eventually reach other socialist countries.<sup>61</sup>

The American academics and professionals initially entered the international knowledge exchange project with the idea of neutral technology transfer. However, Winnick writes how they soon learned there was a political undercurrent. This is the main argument an American historian Tracy Neumann presents in her recent study on the American cultural diplomacy efforts behind the exchange program in Eastern Europe. Neumann writes that “the US government and the Ford Foundation hoped to use it [technology] to instrumentalize urban planning as a weapon in their Cold War arsenal, even as they insisted urban planning was an apolitical field.”<sup>62</sup>

So, while AYP was initially conceived as an exchange program, it soon turned into an educational and service program aimed “to assist the development of the nationally relevant planning programs, both governmental and university.”<sup>63</sup> The question was “not how to define a plan, but how to develop a particular *way of planning*.”<sup>64</sup> Moreover, the AYP aimed to establish the pan-Yugoslavian International Center for Urban and Regional Planning (1969) that would further expand international collaboration through research and training. The center

---

<sup>60</sup> Ibid, 1-2.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid, 7.

<sup>62</sup> Neumann, “Overpromising Technocracy’s Potential.”, 4.

<sup>63</sup> “Annual Report to the Ford Foundation (FF Grant 68-493).”

<sup>64</sup> Grabar, “Planning and Ideology.”

was never founded, but eventually, the graduate degree programs were integrated into curricula at the Urban Planning Institute in Ljubljana and at three large universities, among them, the University of Zagreb in Croatia.

There was an initially widespread skepticism on the Yugoslav side that Americans used technology as soft power; Americans, aware of this, were trying to find methods to reach their goal. The first year of the AYP grant was spent on the administrative organization because, as Winnick notes, technical equipment such as telephones, typewriters, and copying machines were in Yugoslavia not be taken as givens.<sup>65</sup> But in 1968, Americans introduced the Lowry system—a quantitative method to predict future changes in land use—and computers to model the city of Ljubljana. Winnick outlines how Americans have tended at times to offer the model as a tool to negotiate things rather than use it as a training device, which only supported a growing suspicion of the project’s intention.

In 1970, after four years of project implementation, the AYP was submitted for evaluation to a professor of international economics at Harvard's School of Business Administration, Raymond Vernon. He recommended the termination of the ongoing collaboration “due to set goals that had been unreached and were unreachable.”<sup>66</sup> According to the report, there were intrinsic problems, but the project had primarily failed for inappropriate research techniques. As stated in the Vernon-Birch report:

“Yugoslavs in influential positions who had not been affiliated with the project approached us to ask whether or not they could trust the output of the model as a basis for making decisions. While it is easy to see how the Americans could have slipped into this position, the position is a dangerous one and can easily undermine the entire effort. The hazard is not so much that the model will be believed and acted upon; the Yugoslavs are smarter than that. The danger is rather that the Yugoslavs, having been sold an oracle, will discover its weaknesses and begin to question. This could wipe out the gains in general attitude that

---

<sup>65</sup> Winnick, “Philanthropy’s Adaptation to the Urban Crisis,” 20.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 32.

the project has accomplished to date. We view this as a great risk inherent in the present design and implementation of the project.”<sup>67</sup>

The AYP project directors on both sides confirmed “the grievous miscalculation”<sup>68</sup> in their reports, ultimately leading to the termination of the grants. As a consequence of such political use of technology, the 1974 Yugoslav Constitution limited foreign field research to minimize the intervention of foreign experts in contributing to the construction of space.<sup>69</sup> However, with the continuous efforts of Vladimir Mušič—the director on the Yugoslav side—the AYP continued through university programs and workshops but with modest financial support. Overall, the American side deemed the project unsuccessful as it “gauged in its own terms rather than by the imperatives of foreign policy.”<sup>70</sup>

Even though short-lived, historian Vladimir Kulić, argues that the FF project induced a shift in planning because up to that point, urban planning functioned as a subset of architecture, taught as a part of an architecture curriculum, rather than as an independent discipline with its methodologies.<sup>71</sup> However, in assessing the project’s impact, Vernon dismisses the project as solely responsible for advancing practice in Yugoslavia.

“There is evidence they would have headed in the multi-discipline direction in the absence of the American Yugoslav Project. Nevertheless, there is practically universal agreement that the American/Yugoslav Project helped in a significant way to accelerate this trend, and we consider this acceleration a large item on the plus side of the ledger.”<sup>72</sup>

---

<sup>67</sup> Vernon and Birch, “Report to the Ford Foundation on Urban and Regional Planning Project in Yugoslavia.” April 16, 1970, Ford Foundation archives 68-493., 26.

<sup>68</sup> Winnick, 36.

<sup>69</sup> Winnick. Quoting Memo to files dated October 29, 1979, "Evaluation of grants in Yugoslav Urban Planning," Grants 75-181 and 72-149.

<sup>70</sup> Winnick., 50.

<sup>71</sup> Kulić, “Ford’s Architects.”

<sup>72</sup> Vernon and Birch, 27.

Even though it is impossible to assess the scope of influence, it would be hard to deny the impact after all those multi-year collaborations. Even though the projects did not develop as initially planned, they established a class of professionals with established international partnerships.

## YUGOSLAV EXPORTS

The goal of international exchange programs in regional planning was to export the technical expertise and urban ideas from the West to the developing world. However, Yugoslavs had similar ambitions toward the developing world, as Łukasz Stanek demonstrates in *Architecture in Global Socialism*.<sup>73</sup> This was possible through Yugoslavia's nonaligned networks, which, apart from providing the neutral geopolitical grounds, "facilitated political and economic collaboration between the member states to reduce their dependency on the superpowers and their satellites."<sup>74</sup> For instance, the director of the Adriatic Projects on the Yugoslav side, Miro Marasović, got engaged in the technical cooperation between Yugoslavia and Ghana from 1961 to 1964, just before the UN implemented the Adriatic Projects in Yugoslavia.<sup>75</sup> Or, when it comes to Adriatic planning propositions, the ambition of developing design proposals on the master plan level was to create "a prototype that could be applied to other locations with similar issues, in Yugoslavia and other Mediterranean countries."<sup>76</sup>

While the format of international cooperation in planning was devoted to training a new cadre of professionals, this study of two Yugoslav international exchange projects acknowledges the fundamental role of individuals in establishing such wide-implicating national projects. In the case of AYP, Slovenian architect Vladimir Musič initiated the FF project in Ljubljana, Slovenia, albeit very much driven by individual ambition. Similarly to his counterpart on the American side, Jack Fisher, whom he met at the Harvard

---

<sup>73</sup> Stanek, *Architecture in Global Socialism*, 15.

<sup>74</sup> Kulić, "Building the Socialist Balkans," 107

<sup>75</sup> Cvitanovic, "Tracing the Non-Aligned Architecture."

<sup>76</sup> Shankland and Urbanistički zavod Dalmacije, *Hvar-Milna. Physical Development Plan for the South Adriatic Region; Projekt Juzni Jadran*.

GSD.<sup>77</sup> However, after the project was canceled, Musič took the lead and moved the project to the next step with an ambition to organize a graduate program supplemented with the research and training center. It ended as a modest Workshop program in 1972, serving as an extra-university education. However, it extended the FF engagement in Eastern Europe for fourteen years, making it the largest project in that part of the world before the collapse of the socialist regimes in 1991.<sup>78</sup>

The same individual contribution to the international exchange goes to Ernest Weissmann, who had an important role in mediating between Yugoslav socialist planning and UN planning programs, as demonstrated in Chapter 1. Moreover, in 1972, a Yugoslav Regional Development Center was established in Belgrade on Weissmann's initiative.<sup>79</sup> But the connection of Weissmann to regional planning goes back to a prewar period when he was part of the International Congress of Modern Architecture (CIAM). In fact, Weissmann was part of the CIAM-Ost group that assembled architects from Eastern Europe whose main concern was the countryside addressed from two perspectives: housing and regional planning.<sup>80</sup> Interestingly, Weissmann took both the UN directing roles in housing and regional planning after the war.

But to return to the nexus between preservation and modernism, Weissmann has also engaged with the question of historic architecture as can be seen from his participation in the CIAM IV, where he stood as a representative of Yugoslavia in front of the Zagreb Working Group (Radna Grupa Zagreb). The CIAM IV statement *The Athens Charter* (1934), scripted by Le Corbusier, describes the historical heritage of cities as a “precious witness of the past which will be respected, first for their historical and sentimental value, and second, because certain of them convey a plastic virtue.”<sup>81</sup> As a co-signer of the Athens Charter, Weissmann contributed to the meetings with several proposals for the resolution. They were not accepted, but the scripts show Weissmann's political engagement with the heritage, contrary to the final resolution. For

---

<sup>77</sup> Neumann, “Overpromising Technocracy's Potential.” 4.

<sup>78</sup> Winnick, “Philanthropy's Adaptation to the Urban Crisis.” 2.

<sup>79</sup> Grabar, “Planning and Ideology.” 16.

<sup>80</sup> Kohlrausch, *Brokers of Modernity*, 116.

<sup>81</sup> Le Corbusier, *The Athens Charter*, 86.



Fig. 34a Ernest Weissmann and Le Corbusier at the United Nations HQ Experts' Meeting.  
Source: Ernest Weissmann Archive GSD Frances Loeb Library Special Collections



Fig. 34b Ernest Weissmann at the United Nations. Source: Ernest Weissmann Archive GSD  
Frances Loeb Library Special Collections





Fig. 35 Ernest Weissmann at the United Nations HQ Experts' Meeting. Source: Ernest Weissmann Archive GSD Frances Loeb Library Special Collections



Fig. 36 Ernest Weissmann in Japan. Source: Ernest Weissmann Archive GSD Frances Loeb Library Special Collections

instance, Weissmann pointed out the need for reorganization of medieval settlements,<sup>82</sup> proposing to investigate those from the aspect of the economy, housing, and traffic, for which he saw necessary to abolish private ownership over land, real estate properties, means of transportation, and the organization of supply system.<sup>83</sup> His proposals witness his leftist orientation which he continuously promoted through Modernist functionalism, even before socialist Yugoslavia was established.

---

Critical insight into the AYP project presents how the urban planning technology was used to fashion the profession and yield a new cadre of “professional managers,”<sup>84</sup> who could then justify the planning decisions, encourage the integration of various disciplines, and establish a new methodology of work.

Winnick’s historical perspective on the AYP reveals the critical implications of the political use of technology to negotiate things, primarily how the American Government and the Ford Foundation misused technological advances as a subtext to impose an authority of the western cultural doctrine against “Marxist thinking.” This has ultimately sowed mistrust in collaboration and credibility of planning, leading the American Yugoslav project to its end. Offering his historical perspective, Louis Winnick compares the two antagonistic cultural traditions by noting, “If in the West economics was being transformed into the ‘science’ that Karl Marx had known all along it to be, why not spatial planning? In that dubious belief, Marxist dogma and Western Enlightenment were as one.”<sup>85</sup> If emerging Post-Socialism as a field of inquiry questions the misreadings of traditions produced under the socialist regimes, one of the reasons for this certainly lies in the association of capitalist doctrine with rationalism and scientific reasoning, as explained by Winnick.

---

<sup>82</sup> Bjažić Klarin, *Ernest Weissmann*, 209.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid*, 212.

<sup>84</sup> “A Proposal for Interdisciplinary Research Symposium “Preserving Historic Urban Centers: Problem and Techniques.”

<sup>85</sup> Winnick, “Philanthropy’s Adaptation to the Urban Crisis,” 19.

### CHAPTER 3 **POST-SOCIALIST URBANIZATION OF THE ADRIATIC COUNTRYSIDE**

“The crisis consists precisely in the fact that the old is dying and the new cannot be born; in this interregnum, a great variety of morbid symptoms appear”—Antonio Gramsci<sup>86</sup>

The political and economic transformation that followed the collapse of socialist regimes between 1989 and 1991 has changed the mechanisms of urban development.<sup>87</sup> Identifying the physical features of Eastern European cities under the term post-socialism, Sonia Hirt writes that the economic transition to a market economy has dissolved key features of the socialist city-building, leading to the end of the compact spatial form, the reduced scale of civic and residential spaces, a re-balanced proportion between the public and commercial uses, the informalities, and the end of visual uniformity.<sup>88</sup>

On the other side of the urban spectrum, the Croatian Adriatic countryside has been affected by the same transitional conditions. While the 20th-century tourism development has preserved its coastal geography of small historical towns by dotting this countryside with condensed modernist arrangements, today, the Croatian coastline has been transformed by rampant urbanization of private villas, real estate developments, usurpation of the collective coastal zones and space commercialization.<sup>89</sup>

---

<sup>86</sup> Bauman, “Times of Interregnum.” 203. quoting Antonio Gramsci, *Selection from the Prison Notebooks*, Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell-Smith, ed. and trans. (London: Lawrence&Wishart, 1971), 276.

<sup>87</sup> Hirt, “The Post-Socialist City,” 43.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, 47.

<sup>89</sup> Concerned with the acceleration of the uncontrolled urbanization of the coast, The Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts published the document for Scientific Council for Tourism and Space (2021), where architect Nikola Bašić notes: “the 21st century on the Croatian coast is marked by real estate expansion, chaotic urbanization, the development of linear coastal settlements, excessive accumulation of accommodation capacities, without seeing an end of the rampant coastal urbanization.” Translation by the author.

A moment of interregnum—originally used to describe “a time-lag between the death of one royal sovereign from the enthronement of the successor”<sup>90</sup>—is in Antonio Gramsci’s phrasing a crisis that comes with the introduction of the new conditions responsible for making the old order useless. In the Croatian interregnum that ensued after the dissolution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in 1991, socialism had died, and the new, in this case, capitalism, was not born out of natural change but introduced in its most developed neoliberal form.

To illustrate how the emerging crisis on the Croatian coast has altered the mechanisms of the countryside-urbanization, this chapter first introduces the scholarly observations produced at a historical moment of the collapse of socialist regimes, which have shaped the way we know, think, and aspire. Next, drawing from the Adriatic transitional reality, the chapter detects how the new spatial mechanisms of the Adriatic countryside consumption have transformed the planning legacies instituted under socialist Yugoslavia. This is demonstrated by the same case studies introduced in the first chapter but here they illustrate the altered transitional reality. Finally, the chapter investigates with how the transitional crisis in the Adriatic countryside has been exacerbated by the recent urbanization patterns that expand from a city outward into the countryside.

## **FAILED PROMISE OF DEMOCRATIC GLOBALIZATION**

The physical reality shaped after the fall of socialism in Eastern Europe has not been synchronized with the historical understanding of the moment. After the dissolution of the SFR Yugoslavia in 1991—and the Croatian Homeland War that followed it (1991-95)—Croatia stepped into a new period of contemporary history, where architectural production was discussed as a “European architectural culture” that enabled “integration processes,” “comprehensive development” or “accessibility to an ever-growing set of users.”<sup>91</sup> Looking toward the future, the “post” aspirations have embraced a new reality and its narratives, withdrawing from the traditions established under its unfavorable past.

---

<sup>90</sup> Bauman, “Times of Interregnum,” 203.

<sup>91</sup> Ivanišin and Ibelings, *Landscapes of Transition: An Optimistic Decade of Croatian Architectural Culture*, 38.

In parallel, historians and theoreticians in the West have rendered the collapse of the socialist regimes as a moment that dissolved the long-lived ideological binaries between the East and West into a united global culture. This moment has regularly been illustrated by the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, which removed the most symbolic barrier between the western and eastern cultural traditions. In *End of History and the Last Man* (1992), Francis Fukuyama concludes that the consolidation of the globalized world under capitalism has eliminated ideological polarities leading him to theorize the world without conflicts and therefore of no history.<sup>92</sup> In the field of architecture, the same event of the dissolution of the Soviet Union pushed American architectural historian Charles Jencks to announce the death of modernity.<sup>93</sup> From such a worldview, not only have socialist political regimes become history but so have their legacies.

While the proclamations of the *ends* have been optimistically embraced by both the western world and those who lived under those undemocratic political regimes, recent scholarship points to detriments associated with the propagated idea of cultural unity. Fukuyama's understanding of the unification of the globe under capitalism is critiqued as a reductive interpretation that considered solely economic aspects for, "The end of history means political, and not merely economic, globalization."<sup>94</sup> However, understanding the Modernist history from a dogmatic perspective has stripped the modernist forms established under socialism of the socio-economic relations that engendered them. Contrary to the "international zero style abstraction" and "empty signifiers," Boris Groys writes that abstract forms in the socialist context were politically charged and that architecture was not merely a self-referential form.

While modernisms established under socialist regimes were channeled through abstract aesthetics, recent scholarship offers the explanation that these contexts

---

<sup>92</sup> Fukuyama, *End of History and the Last Man*.

<sup>93</sup> Jencks, "Moscow, October 4, 1993, 10.10 Am: Modernity Is Dead."

<sup>94</sup> Boris Groys traces the concept of the end of history in the work of philosopher Alexandre Kojève who formulated the term inspired by Hegel's *The Phenomenology of Spirit*, Groys notes that Fukuyama "followed Kojève very closely in his interpretation of history and its end. But he missed the central point of Kojévian discourse. For Kojève, the end of history is marked by the emergence of the universal and homogenous state. The end of history means political, and not merely economic, globalization. So from a Kojévian point of view, we are still not at the end of history. The universal state remains utopian." Groys, "The Contemporary Condition: Postmodernity, Post-Socialism, Postcolonialism," 44.

have been overlooked because of the ideological burden of their socialist utopia. Groys argues that the failure of former socialist governments to implement socialist ideals in building a better society has led to the suppression of the socialist legacies and deprived post-socialism of its critical potential. Emerging post-socialism as a field of inquiry comes with a call to restore the critical potential of those hidden and overlooked narratives. Contrary to Fukuyama's or Jencks's signals of *ends*, in her book *Off-Modern*, Svetlana Boym uses "off" not as a marker of margins but as a delimitation of a broad space for a new choreography of future possibilities that would allow alternative histories and formations of modernity to challenge the one-dimensional worldview.<sup>95</sup> Raising the questions of what was so socialist and what to do with a concept of a socialist city when the system has ended,<sup>96</sup> Kimberly Elman Zarecor offers the analytical framework of a "socialist scaffold," which she defines as "a basic infrastructure for future growth onto which other systems—economic, social, political, environmental—can attach and become activated."<sup>97</sup>

In sum, the post-socialist analytical framework criticizes democratic aspirations through the incompatible physical reality on the one hand and the historical understandings that overlook their socio-political contexts on the other. Finally, this field of inquiry aims to dismantle those conceptions so as to restore their potential for devising creative disruptions to neoliberal reality.

Building on these conclusions, in the next three subchapters, I examine how the recent mechanisms of urbanization have altered the Croatian Adriatic countryside with cognizance of the socio-spatial context instituted under a Yugoslav socialist system of self-management.

---

<sup>95</sup> To clarify the critical position, Boym stresses the distinction between the concept of modernization and modernity. "*modernization*, which usually refers to industrialization and technological progress as state policy of social practice, and *modernity* – the word coined by Charles Baudelaire in the 1850s – which is a critical reflection on the new forms of perception and experience" Boym, *The Off-Modern*, 4-5.

<sup>96</sup> Zarecor, "What Was So Socialist about the Socialist City?," 96.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid*, 99.

## PRIVATIZATION OF SELF-MANAGED FACILITIES ON THE ADRIATIC

Today, the state-owned Modernist ruins on the Croatian seaside stand as a reflection of the problems related to Croatian-state-led privatization processes of the former commonly owned land.<sup>98</sup> The first step in the transition to a free-market economy was defining the Croatian state-owned shares, properties, and rights and then privatizing them. The process was controlled by the Croatian Privatization Fund established in 1992 by the Croatian government. The privatization most often pertained to large developments such as tourism, industrial, and other similar facilities, which could not be privately run under Yugoslavia.<sup>99</sup>

A Yugoslav concept of “social ownership” was never clarified but was closely connected to the system of workers’ self-management: “In theory, this property belongs to nobody, but it must not be regarded as *res nullius*. The work organizations have been vested with the right of “operational-administrative” management.”<sup>100</sup> Therefore, this form of social ownership was neither state property nor everybody’s property but was associated with the workers who managed the facilities or the communities defined by the territorial division of the decentralized state. The privatization of the assets that once operated under a system of self-management has, therefore, not only implied physical redevelopment but has changed the existing socio-economic structures of small coastal settlements.

**MALI LOŠINJ** Tourism resorts in Mali Lošinj that were built according to the master plan of the Upper Adriatic Project (1970-72) were managed by Jadranka Group from Mali Lošinj. The group operated as a “socialized catering and hospitality company” (*društvena ugostiteljska poduzeća*) and was founded by the coastal county (*općina*) to manage facilities and sustain their future development.<sup>101</sup> In 1992, the hotels in Mali Lošinj under Jadranka Group

---

<sup>98</sup> The book “Mapping the Croatian Coast,” which came as an outcome of the TU Vienna master design studio and its 2018 road trip, documents Modernist ruins along the Adriatic Highway. Dika and Krejs, *Mapping the Croatian Coast: A Road Trip to Architectural Legacies of Cold War and Tourism Boom*.

<sup>99</sup> Yugoslav party did not abolish private property per se, farmers and citizens had a right to own arable land or means of production for agricultural production, crafts, or similar purposes. Lapenna, “Main Features of the Yugoslav Constitution 1946-1971,” 216.

<sup>100</sup> Lapenna, 216.

<sup>101</sup> Mappes-Niediek, “A Thorny Tiket,” 212.

entered the privatization process, but the company was restructured as a joint-stock company whose shareholders were its employees, former staff members, and the local residents. In this case, privatization was processed as the management buyout, which is not the most common case in privatization, but it is not an isolated case. For instance, in the early 1990s, former employees of a hotel Osmine, in the small town of Slano, took private mortgage loans to buy a facility from the state and invest in its renovation. Those individuals continued to be involved in hotel management but under a new capitalist model as its shareholders.<sup>102</sup>

If the management buyout is taken as a positive example of the Croatian privatization process, the same social frame caused problems on the other front, as the state had difficulties finding potential investors willing to inherit the former staff with a buyout package. Overall, the management buyout examples confirm that the social structure continued to operate as a *socialist scaffold* allowing the locals to devise creative ways of adapting to a new economic system. On the other hand, the privatization process created grounds for corruption. In 2004, the Jadranka Group from Mali Lošinj was privatized by a Croatian entrepreneur, but the takeover became part of the 2021 corruption affair discovered in the Pandora Papers.<sup>103</sup> Today, its Mali Lošinj properties are owned by a Russian private company, controlling all of its modernist hotels and Austro-Hungarian villas.

**KRVAVICA** While the Yugoslav system of self-management has operated to redistribute power to the local territorial divisions, after the transition, the same structure has empowered the local officials who—prodded by the market forces—often manipulate the interest of the local community. To demonstrate this, I will return to another example already examined under Adriatic Projects, the former Military Children's Sanatorium built by Croatian architect Rikard Marasović in 1965.

When in 2021, the local activists from the town of Makarska stood up for the heritage designation of the modernist ruin in Krvavica, the first person who vetoed against protection was a local major, arguing that the heritage

---

<sup>102</sup> Bačić, “Feniks na osami blizu mora: Radi li se bolje, kad se radi za sebe? (Phoenix near the Sea).”

<sup>103</sup> Delić and Bačić, “A Tale of Two Brothers and A Croatian Island.”





Fig. 37 Krvavica Orthophotomap 2014. Source: [geoportal.dgu.hr](http://geoportal.dgu.hr)



Fig. 38 Art initiative “To Cure a Place of Care,” 2021. Abandoned building Children’s Sanatorium for Pulmonary Diseases, Krvavica, Croatia. 1961-64. Rikard Marasović (1913-1987) Source: [vimeo.com](https://vimeo.com), Intermundia. Video by Matija Kralj. 2021

designation of a ruined building would jeopardize the privatization and potential new development. Contrary to workers' self-managed hotels in Mali Lošinj, the Krvavica holiday resort belonged to the Yugoslav National Army and consequently came under the Croatian Ministry of Defense. In fact, many of the ruins that have been left abandoned under state ownership for more than two decades are military complexes and have therefore not inherited the interest group that would advocate for their restructuring and redevelopment. Notwithstanding, today, the former holiday resort Krvavica has been recognized by the local community who advocate for the building reuse, and architects, the heritage designation. The future of the modernist ruins, therefore, lies in the tension between the national government that treats them as a source of quick profit through sale, local authorities who see them as the potential for new development, the local community who advocates for their reprogramming, and architects who campaign for their physical protection.

#### **ADRIATIC INFORMALITIES FROM ABOVE**

"Glassy high-rises have gone up, apparently randomly, always speculatively and often illegally." –  
–Fran Tonkiss <sup>104</sup>

The underlying effect of privatization and market deregulation in post-socialist contexts has often implied rearranging the private and public use. Sonia A. Hirt describes the post-socialist city as “a post-public space”<sup>105</sup> by detecting “the decline of commonality and publicness.” Archer Ghertner, on the other hand, examines gentrification in the contexts that historically had some form of social land-use, arguing that those contexts face “the most violent forms of displacement.”<sup>106</sup> This does only signify the displacement of one private group over another but the change in public use of the land.

---

<sup>104</sup> Tonkiss, *Cities by Design: The Social Life of Urban Form*, 92.

<sup>105</sup> Hirt, “The Post-Socialist City,” 47.

<sup>106</sup> Ghertner, “Why Gentrification Theory Fails in ‘Much of the World,’” 552.

**MAKARSKA BILOŠEVAC** A never-implemented master plan for Makarska-Biloševac developed under the regional plan for the Southern Adriatic Project (1967-70) proposed the large-scale tourism development near the coastal town of Makarska. The site location had remained relatively unbuilt until 2021, when a new Romana Hotel was opened. The new tourism intervention has stretched to the sea, intervening on the beach and transforming its natural configuration, which fueled a public reaction during the construction.

In Croatia, the 100-meter-wide strip along the coast is declared to be a common property legally defined as a public zone or ‘Maritime Domaine’ (Pomorsko dobro). This culture belonged to the socialist era and was implemented after the completion of the Adriatic Sunny Road. The road has not only secured the territorial connection and brought tourism to the coastline, but has also secured its public access. Moreover, this zone imposed the general construction ban within 70 m of the shoreline, which preserved the most valuable coastal area during the 20<sup>th</sup>-century urbanization of the Adriatic Coast. All until recently, when informal urbanization has breached the rule that still exists under the legal definition, which I explain under the subchapter on informal practices.

High-investment speculative development, routine practices, and the gray economy of major banks were not always visible to the public, writes urban and economic sociologist Fran Tonkiss in her study of recent trends in real estate developments in London and Istanbul.<sup>107</sup> Tonkiss defines the concept of ‘informality from above’ or ‘informality of the powerful’ as “the extra legality that allows for the arbitrary exercise of the spatial control.”<sup>108</sup> Using her disciplinary lenses to expand the understanding of informalities through social conventions, led Tonkiss to discern urban informalities into two categories: urbanization “from below,” which usually pertains to self-made structures; and urbanization “from above,” which includes high-investment speculative developments. With all the construction permits obtained, the intervention into the beach of the hotel Makarska can only be explained by the informal practices.

---

<sup>107</sup> Tonkiss, *Cities by Design: The Social Life of Urban Form*, 96.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid*, 100.



PEJSAŽ I VRTNA ARHITEKTURA  
LANDSCAPING AND GARDEN ARCHITECTURE

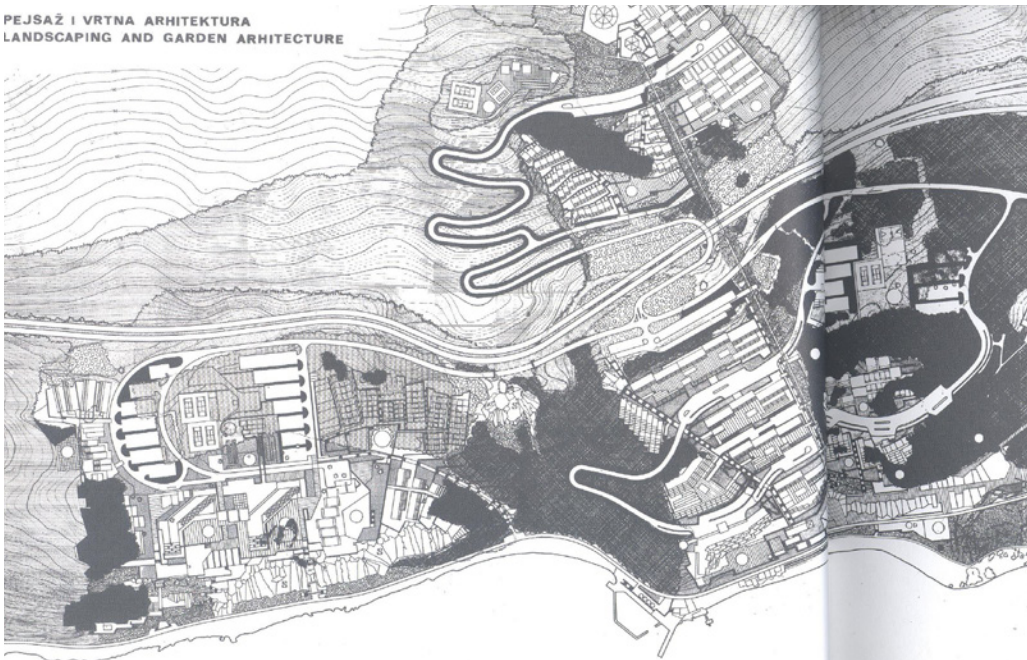


Fig. 39 Makarska-Biloševac Master Plan. Regional Physical Plan of the South Adriatic Region 1967-1970. Source: Mattioni, *Adriatic Projects: Projects of the Southern and Upper Adriatic 1967-1972* (2003).



Fig. 40 Vlado Antolic, "Makarska, Generalna Regulacijska Osnova (General Regulatory Plan)." Source: Arhitektura. 1949.



Fig. 41. Makarska Orthophotomap 2014. Source: geoportal.dgu.hr



Fig. 42 Hotel Romana, Biloševac, Makarska 2022. Jerko Rošin (1942.-) Source: slobodnadalmacija.hr. a3-doo.com

## **ADRIATIC INFORMALITIES FROM BELOW**

In “Urban Informality: Toward an Epistemology of Planning,” Ananya Roy addresses informal housing as a new reality of urbanization, defining it as “a distinctive type of market where affordability accrues through the absence of formal planning and regulation.” She continues that “Informal economy is the people’s spontaneous and creative response to the state’s incapacity to satisfy the basic needs of the impoverished masses.”<sup>109</sup> But the inventory of the uncontrolled urban sprawls along the Croatian coast is not of the impoverished masses, nor is it exclusively composed of housing. A most recent trend in the construction of luxurious villas and holiday homes on the Croatian coast has been driven by foreign investments. They often come without access to adequate sewage disposal or water treatment infrastructure, insufficient fire access, or pedestrian routes,<sup>110</sup> shaping the paradoxical landscapes of grand architecture without urban infrastructure.

However, the unplanned coastal constructions are not exclusively the “post”-condition. In the following paragraphs, I trace the trajectory of informal housing accrued in the absence of formal planning and regulation, sorting them into three different configurations: informal housing, informal housing with apartments, and informal villas.

**INFORMAL HOUSING** With the completion of the Adriatic Road in the mid-1960s, Croatian architects detected uncontrolled coastal constructions. In 1967, at the regular yearly architects’ meeting, The Central Committee of the Architects Union in Yugoslavia addressed the issue of unplanned and semi-planned constructions, noting that “individual building construction comes as a result of migration...and inadequate social engagement toward the collective construction.”<sup>111</sup>

In the absence of formal planning and regulation, the government of the Socialist Republic of Croatia engaged architects to provide the infrastructural basis to regulate the growing housing needs, including those

---

<sup>109</sup> Roy, “Urban Informality.”, Roy citing Hernando de Soto, 148-149.

<sup>110</sup> Kraljević Kolbas, “Apsurdistan: Prvi Red Do Mora (Apsurdistan: First Row to the Sea).”

<sup>111</sup> Vojtjeh, “Twenty Years of Architecture and Town Planning in Yugoslavia.”

in rural areas. For instance, the Croatian architect Vladimir Antolić<sup>112</sup> who made the functionalist General Urban Plan of Zagreb, the Croatian capital in 1947, developed a plan for the small coastal town of Makarska in the same year. Makarska General Regulatory Plan proposes the construction of residential blocks to secure the post-war housing shortages, giving this small coastal town a modern, urban matrix with the mass housing typology.<sup>113</sup> But with the increased rise of informal urbanization, the government of the SR Croatia started the initiative for the urban development plan of the Adriatic coast in 1965, which finally led to the UN Adriatic Projects.<sup>114</sup> But if we return to the master plan of Orebić devised under the Adriatic Projects, the housing development came in a form of a suburban model with the typology of single-family houses, contrary to early employed mass housing typology. In the next paragraph, I explain how this model became implemented.

**INFORMAL HOUSING WITH TOURIST APARTMENTS** The construction of private houses with tourist apartments on the Croatian Coast is colloquially named “apartmentization.” This form of urban sprawl could supply the housing shortages and the development of people’s informal economy in the context of growing Adriatic tourism. The example of the city of Orebić clarifies how the construction of private houses evolved as a response to the inability of the tourism industry to secure pressing tourism capacities. The workers’ hotel organization “Orebić” made a contract with private homeowners to take over their increased tourism demands in the lack of available beds.<sup>115</sup> This explains why bed capacities in Orebić were predominantly in the private accommodation (3935 beds), followed by the workers’ holiday resorts (1344 beds), and hotels (670 beds).<sup>116</sup> The very fact that 40 percent of tourism beds in Croatia are in private properties<sup>117</sup> reflects such practices of developing the private economies through the typology of single-family houses with the apartments.

---

<sup>112</sup>Antolić was a member of a Yugoslav delegate group Work Group Zagreb for CIAM Bjažić Klarin, “Constructing the World of Equal Opportunities,” 475.

<sup>113</sup> Antolic, “Makarska, Generalna Regulacijska Osnova (General Regulatory Plan).”

<sup>114</sup> Mattioni, *Adriatic Projects*, 52.

<sup>115</sup> Župa, “To Private Renters - 250 Million!”

<sup>116</sup> Župa, “The Record Tourist Season.”

<sup>117</sup> Beyer, Hagemann, and Zinganel, *Holidays after the Fall*, 2013.



Fig. 43 Orebić Orthophotomap 2017 Source: [geoportal.dgu.hr](http://geoportal.dgu.hr)



Fig. 44 Orebić Panorama. Source: [kortakatarina.com](http://kortakatarina.com)





Fig. 45 Private houses with apartments for rent. Source: “Apsurdistan: Prvi Red Do Mora:” (Apsurdistan: First Row to the Sea.)” HRT, 2022



Fig. 46 Luxurious Villas on the Adriatic Coast. Source: : “Apsurdistan: Prvi red do mora” (Apsurdistan: First Row to the Sea.)” HRT, 2022



Fig. 47 Luxurious Villas on the Croatian Adriatic Coast. Source: “Apsurdistan: Prvi red do mora” (Apsurdistan: First Row to the Sea)” HRT, 2022



Fig. 48 Hotel Romana, Biloševac, Makarska 2018. Source: slobodnadalmacija.hr

In addition, those trends appeared as a reflection of market demands, which came as another specificity of Yugoslav tourism. While new modernist hotels mostly served high-end western guests, Yugoslav tourism also attracted less wealthy foreign guests and those from the Eastern bloc looking for more affordable accommodation in private homes. In Orebić, those guests arrived in groups, predominately from Czechoslovakia, Federal Republic of Germany, and Austria. They could not afford the modern facilities, which finally supported the formation of the coastal landscapes of “apartments for rent” already during Yugoslavia.

**INFORMAL HOLIDAY VILLAS** With the transition to the market economy— and the Croatian Homeland War that followed—the construction of apartments for rent continued but in a more expansive and unregulated form. Today, the same trend continues with luxurious villas and holiday homes equipped with pools and financed by foreign investors. Such informal urbanism consumes the most valuable coastal lands previously preserved by the 70-meter ban on coastal construction. These territorial formations are either ruled by the informalities from above and below, whose practices then short-circuit the planning regulation.

While both socialist and capitalist governments encountered the same problem, they took different approaches. The socialist government employed planners to develop plans, and the latter employed architects to formalize the unplanned practices. From 2007 to 2018, the Croatian Ministry of Construction carried out a program for the “Legalization of illegally built construction works,” offering legal status to all the structures built since 1968 without a construction permit. The illegal here refers to the construction carried out in violation of regulations and building codes from 1968 to 2018, while the ownership of land was legal. This Law on legalization then pushed the trained architects to spend more of a decade drawing an inventory of illegally built structures.

This analysis of the informalities shows how the coastal construction of the single-family houses was propelled by different crises and was therefore taken the form of different architectural typologies; (1) the post-war housing shortage caused the construction of single-family homes, (2) the deficit of tourism capacities caused the construction of houses with apartments, (3) the 1990s post-war ruined economy has seen a boom of unplanned constructions of

houses with apartment for rent, and (4) the neoliberal capitalism has shaped the urban sprawls of luxurious villas.

What is more, informal urbanization that usurps the scarce lands, breaching legal and planning regulations, does not only illustrate the transitional reality. The expanding nature of the coastal constructions witnesses the recent trends of urbanization. While the 20th-century has seen dense urban concentration in cities, urbanization is today a process that expands beyond the traditional city cores into the periphery, countryside, and hinterland. Neil Brenner writes that under early twenty-first-century capitalism, “urbanization has become a planetary phenomenon”<sup>118</sup> that removes the binary between urban and rural.

---

While changing mechanisms of urban production was a shared experience of Easter European states that underwent the transition from socialism to capitalism, the way contexts adapted came to reflect its idiosyncratic socio-spatial structures. In the case of the Croatian Adriatic coast, the way processes of privatization, re-development, or heritage designation are processed has been principally informed by the Yugoslav socialist system of self-management. However, the altered reality of the Adriatic transitional landscapes reflects the shift from the regulated growth controlled by state socialism to informal urbanization. Similarly, this altered reality changed the agency of the state; the socialist government relied on the instrumentality of the practice while the Croatian government used the profession to formalize coastal informalities.

---

<sup>118</sup> Brenner and Schmid, “The ‘Urban Age’ in Question,” 21.

## CONCLUSION

“But failure to act, whether through neglect, or because resources are lacking, has already created an acute urban crisis in every part of the world whose implications harbor dangers for human progress no less frightening than atomic warfare. Unfortunately, neither the origin and consequences, nor the urgency of the crisis are fully realized by leaders in the sciences, professions and government.” —Ernest Weissmann<sup>119</sup>

Today’s paradigm of space and form driven by “a carbon-fueled culture of abundance”<sup>120</sup> dependent on continuous global expansion with “no longer any *outside* to the urban world”<sup>121</sup> has faced us with the notion that “the planet is *much too narrow and limited* for the globe of globalization.”<sup>122</sup> These concerns voiced by scholars in the last decade point to the reality of capitalism that is driving the world into planetary environmental crisis. In a very similar apocalyptic tone, Ernest Weissmann writes about *the urban crisis in the world* in 1965, just before an UN international exchange in regional planning, the Adriatic Projects, was established in Yugoslavia. In the inaugural issue of *Urban Affairs Quarterly*, Weissmann predicted that over 60% of the world’s population would be urban by the year 2000.<sup>123</sup> With a profound conviction that technology would resolve this issue, Weissmann urged for planning actions and professional training whose contributions we can assess only in retrospect.

The international exchange projects in regional planning established in Yugoslavia between 1965 and 1972 have been hailed as successful in developing a planning methodology and interdisciplinary approach, even

---

<sup>119</sup> Weissmann, “The Urban Crisis in the World,” 69.

<sup>120</sup> Iturbe, “Architecture And the Death of Carbon Modernity,” 13.

<sup>121</sup> Brenner and Schmid, “The ‘Urban Age’ in Question,” 21.

<sup>122</sup> Latour, *Down to Earth*, 16.

<sup>123</sup> Brenner and Schmid, “The ‘Urban Age’ in Question.” Quoting Weissmann, E. (1965) The urban crisis in the world. *Urban Affairs Quarterly* 1.1, 66, 69; *passim*.

though Adriatic regional plans have never been fully implemented. Yet the 1970 Harvard evaluation report on the American Yugoslav Project indicated that international cooperation had not substantially changed the direction that the Yugoslav planning would have taken in any case, leaving this question open for debate.

Nevertheless, with immense knowledge and interdisciplinary efforts invested in regional planning, the Adriatic plans were seen as rational, intelligent, and innovative. Yet the growth predictions justified by the calculations propagated an environmental crisis, which was detected only after the regional plans were developed, and when rapid urban and industrial growth became an environmental threat. The largest urban areas on the coast became a topic of a new UN international project, “Adriatic III,” established in 1972 to assess the negative effect of the previously suggested urban propositions.

In retrospect, the developed planning technology proved ineffective to the inevitable environmental detriments confirming that no planning solution will save the environment from the implications of continuous urbanization patterns. From the environmental viewpoint, John May writes that “Planning is pataphysics: a science of imaginary solutions. It is the locus of faith in Modernity. The planner’s social contract is the lie that is told in place of a truth that is either unknown or unbearable; he continually makes promises that go awry.”<sup>124</sup> Notwithstanding, the faith in technology has fashioned the professional practices and promoted the acceptance of their planning methodologies, systems, and devices.

In **CHAPTER 1**—in the analysis of the Adriatic countryside between what was planned and what was built—I present two historic perspectives of planning: the first, on the decentralized planning practices established under Yugoslav self-management, and the second, on the evolution of the Adriatic urban form. While high modernism of the late 1960s shifted architecture to urban planning, the Adriatic countryside was modernized through the urban form designed by architects who engaged in planning. Using master projects as action plans, professionals controlled the design of a building, infrastructure, and landscape design securing the holistic intervention that improved the economic and social structures of small cities on the Croatian Coast.

---

<sup>124</sup> May, “On Technology, Ecology, and Urbanism,” 104-5

The post-war physical development of the Adriatic countryside is therefore a history of modern preservation, rather than of urban development. The 20th-century urbanization concentrated in cities had bypassed the countryside, allowing the Adriatic coast to take a more regulated path of development. In addition, the decentralized system of Yugoslav self-management evenly dispersed the condensed urban configurations along the coastline respecting its rich historical physical environment. Such controlled modernization has thus preserved the configuration of small towns, sustaining Adriatic cultural geography and its growing tourism industry.

**CHAPTER 2** focuses on the preservation and explains how the schema for coastal tourism development on the Adriatic coast successfully resolved the conflicting relation between the modernist structures and historic urban cores. The same theme illustrates how the planning professionals negotiated their ideas and promoted new methodologies.

From the preservation programs financed by the Ford Foundation, the chapter shifts focus to *Ford History* written by Louis Winnick in 1989, which covers the American Yugoslav Project. The American historical perspective on Yugoslav cooperation problematizes the antagonistic confrontation between capitalist and socialist planning. While Ford's planning was instrumental for securing continual growth and profit, Yugoslav socialist planning was guided by the values of the common use given that all new developments operated under the system of self-management. Interestingly, similar socialist values are often propagated by Weissmann through his engagement in regional planning for the UN. In his writing, he suggests "abandonment, if necessary, of the dream of 'possessing' individual homes in their present form; and creation of their counterparts in taller buildings with less ground coverage."<sup>125</sup> This shows Weissmann's impact in spreading the socialist agenda through his international connections and networks. However, faced with housing shortages and driven by the growing tourism economy on the Adriatic, the housing urbanization on the Croatian coastline occurred through suburban expansion of single-family houses, contrary to the controlled tourism developments.

**CHAPTER 3** moves to contemporary Croatian history to examine mechanisms of spatial production on the Croatian seaside after the transition. As the recent

---

<sup>125</sup> Weissmann, "Urbanization and Regional Planning," 36.

developments confirm that urbanization patterns expand outside of cities into the Adriatic countryside, the changing coastal reality witnesses another crisis, that of planning deregulation.

If the 20th-century technology planning was regulating economic growth, the 21st-century Adriatic urbanization shows the crisis that happens when the spatial regulation is dismantled. Illustrating the Croatian transition through the concept of *interregnum*, I point out how the transition has not only implied the introduction of a new system but that the new has dismantled the old. In these conditions, every resistance to the crisis seems like an individual creative act.

The present epistemologies of urbanization—which Fran Tonkiss frames as informalities from above and Ananya Roy as informalities from below—are fueled by *carbon* glassy architectural forms taking *the first row of the coast* and usurping the remaining unbuild coastal lands, notwithstanding they have been protected under the Maritime Zone laws.

Therefore, the paradox of this transitional crisis lies in the fact that the profession and legal regulations exist. Drawing from this research, I can offer two reasons why they have been overlooked: the first, because the mechanisms of urbanization are ruled by informal practices, and the second, because the technology was misused for (geo)political goals. But the overall conclusion I gained from this research is that, rather than the planning technologies the politics that have driven them have failed.

While the regional planning efforts to secure the even development of the Adriatic coast could not change the urbanization flows centered toward cities, the decentralized system engendered the socio-economic framework internalized in its modernist countryside geography. In the context of the contemporary urbanization patterns that expand outwards of cities into peripheries, hinterlands, and countryside, regional planning seems as a viable framework for rethinking the distribution outside the city-rural binaries.

Finally, even though one may see the international exchange programs as a polygon for political domination, or a failed ambition to regulate an even physical development, if we account for Weissmann's contribution, it is clear how he was invested in fighting both with a deep belief in technology and social welfare. Concerned with the planetary crisis, Weissmann believed regional planning would help rationalize resources and control the urban



growth. What is more, well aware of the Cold War geopolitical interests of the world superpowers, Weissmann called for an urgency compared to the nuclear one, ending his papers aspiring for peace<sup>126</sup>—very much lacking in today’s world.

---

<sup>126</sup> Ibid, 36.

## FIGURES

- Fig. 1 United Nations HQ Experts' Meeting. Source: Ernest Weissmann Archive GSD Frances Loeb Library Special Collections.
- Fig. 2 Children's Sanatorium for Pulmonary Diseases, Kravica, Croatia. 1961-64. Rikard Marasović (1913-1987). Source: vimeo.com, Intermundia. Video by Matija Kralj. 2021
- Fig. 3 Hotel Olympia Sky, Vodice. 2015-2017. Vulin i Ileković (Dina Vulin Ileković, Boris Ileković). Photo: by the author, 2018.
- Fig. 4 Hotel Olympia Sky, Vodice. 2015-2017. Vulin i Ileković (Dina Vulin Ileković, Boris Ileković). Source: hrvaska.net
- Fig. 5 Pelegrin Hotel, Cavtat, Croatia. 1960-63. David Finci (1931-2017). Source: Wikimedia Commons. Photo 2015.
- Fig. 6 The Makarska Riviera, 2020. Source: slobodnadalmacija.hr. Photo by: Duje Klarić
- Fig. 7 Adriatic Regional Plans for Upper and South Adriatic. Source: UN Detail Plan Mali Lošinj, 1971. Ernest Weissmann Archive GSD Frances Loeb Library Special Collections
- Fig. 8 Regional Physical Plan of the South Adriatic Region. Tourist Trade. Source: *Mattioni, Adriatic Projects: Projects of the Southern and Upper Adriatic 1967-1972.*
- Fig. 9 Regional Physical Plan of the South Adriatic Region. Classification of Central Settlements. Source: *Mattioni, Adriatic Projects: Projects of the Southern and Upper Adriatic 1967-1972.*
- Fig. 10 Regional Physical Plan of the South Adriatic Region. Industry and Mining. Source: *Mattioni, Adriatic Projects: Projects of the Southern and Upper Adriatic 1967-1972.*
- Fig. 11-12 Ernest Weissmann at the United Nations Meeting. Source: Ernest Weissmann Archive GSD Frances Loeb Library Special Collections
- Fig. 13 Proposal for the Organisation of the Urban Planning Service. Source: Branko Petrović, "Prijedlog Za Organizaciju Urbanističke Službe [Proposal for the Organisation of the Urban Planning Service]," *Čovjek i Prostor* 1954, no. 19: 1
- Fig. 14 Hvar-Milna Master Plan. 1969. Source: Shankland and Urbanistički zavod Dalmacije, *Hvar-Milna. Physical Development Plan for the South Adriatic Region.*
- Fig. 15 Hvar-Milna Master Plan. Proposed Land Use, 1969. Source: Shankland and Urbanistički zavod Dalmacije, *Hvar-Milna. Physical Development Plan for the South Adriatic Region.*
- Fig. 16 Proposal for conversion of Malo Grablje village to a tourism settlement, Hvar-Milna Master Plan, 1969. Source: Shankland and Urbanistički zavod Dalmacije, *Hvar-Milna. Physical Development Plan for the South Adriatic Region.*

- Fig. 17 Orebić Trstenica Master Plan. Regional Physical Plan of the South Adriatic Region 1967-1970. Source: Mattioni. *Adriatic Projects: Projects of the Southern and Upper Adriatic 1967-1972*.
- Fig. 18 Bellevue Hotel, Orebić, 1940. Source: delcampe.net
- Fig. 19 Riviera Hotel, Orebić 1938. Source: Facebook, Maritime museum in Orebić
- Fig. 20-23 Mali Lošinj Old Town, Waterfront facades and Waterfront – Proposed. Source: Master Detailed Plan Mali Lošinj, 1971. The Upper Adriatic Region. Urbanistički Institut Rijeka and Shankland Cox and Associates. Ernest Weissmann Archive GSD Frances Loeb Library Special Collections
- Fig. 24 Mali Lošinj Cikat Fliegeraufnahme (1921-1965). Source: delcampe.net
- Fig. 25 Mali Lošinj, Proposed Tourist Development. Master Detailed Plan Mali Lošinj, 1971. The Upper Adriatic Region Urbanistički Institut Rijeka and Shankland Cox and Associates. Ernest Weissmann Archive GSD Frances Loeb Library Special Collections
- Fig. 26 Krvavica Orthophotomap 1968. Source: geoportal.dgu.hr
- Fig. 27 Children’s Sanatorium for Pulmonary Diseases, Krvavica, Croatia. 1961-64. Rikard Marasović (1913-1987) Archive Lora, Split
- Fig. 28 Urban Plan for Krvavica, Makarska. 1972. Urbanistički Institut SR Hrvatske, Zagreb, Višnja Jelić, Ivo Domija, Matija Salaj, Neven Kovačević. Archive Lora, Split
- Fig. 29 Krvavica Extension Project for a Holiday Resort 1972. Source: Archive Lora, Split
- Fig. 30-31 Holiday Resort. Krvavica, Croatia. (1973-1991) Rikard Marasović (1913-1987) Private Archive Dino Beroš. Source: 2020 Exhibition Catalog “(Ne)vjeruj pripovjedaču-Slučaj Krvavica.” 2021.
- Fig. 32 Interdisciplinary Research Symposium: “Preserving Historic Urban Centers: Problem and Techniques” 1969. Source: Ernest Weissmann Archive GSD Frances Loeb Library Special Collections
- Fig. 33 Louis Winnick, Ford History, 1989. Source: “Ford History. Philanthropy’s Adaptation to the Urban Crisis..” May 1989. Ford Foundation records. #012158. The Rockefeller Archive Center.
- Fig. 34a Ernest Weissmann and Le Corbusier at the United Nations HO Experts’ Meeting. Source: Ernest Weissmann Archive GSD Frances Loeb Library Special Collections
- Fig. 34b Ernest Weissmann at the United Nations HO Experts’ Meeting. Source: Ernest Weissmann Archive GSD Frances Loeb Library Special Collections
- Fig. 35 Ernest Weissmann at the United Nations HO Experts’ Meeting. Source: Ernest Weissmann Archive GSD Frances Loeb Library Special Collections
- Fig. 36 Ernest Weissmann in Japan. Source: Ernest Weissmann Archive GSD Frances Loeb Library Special Collections

- Fig. 37 Krvavica Orthophotomap 2014. Source: [geoportal.dgu.hr](http://geoportal.dgu.hr)
- Fig. 38 Art initiative “To Cure a Place of Care.” 2021. Abandoned building Children’s Sanatorium for Pulmonary Diseases, Krvavica, Croatia. 1961-64. Rikard Marasović (1913-1987) Source: [vimeo.com](https://vimeo.com), Intermundia. Video by Matija Kralj. 2021
- Fig. 39 Makarska-Biloševac Master Plan. Regional Physical Plan of the South Adriatic Region 1967-1970. Source: Mattioni, *Adriatic Projects: Projects of the Southern and Upper Adriatic 1967-1972*.
- Fig. 40 Vlado Antolic, “Makarska, Generalna Regulacijska Osnova (General Regulatory Plan).” Source: Arhitektura. 1949.
- Fig. 41 Makarska Orthophotomap 2014. Source: [geoportal.dgu.hr](http://geoportal.dgu.hr)
- Fig. 42 Hotel Romana, Biloševac, Makarska 2022. Jerko Rošin (1942.-) Source: [slobodnadalmacija.hr](http://slobodnadalmacija.hr), [a3-doo.com](http://a3-doo.com)
- Fig. 43 Orebić Orthophotomap 2017 Source: [geoportal.dgu.hr](http://geoportal.dgu.hr)
- Fig. 44 Orebić Panorama. Source: [kortakatarina.com](http://kortakatarina.com)
- Fig. 45 Private houses with apartments for rent. Source: “Apsurdistan: Prvi red do mora” (Apsurdistan: First Row to the Sea).” HRT, 2022
- Fig. 46 Luxurious Villas on the Adriatic Coast. Source: “Apsurdistan: Prvi red do mora” (Apsurdistan: First Row to the Sea).” HRT, 2022
- Fig. 47 Luxurious Villas on the Croatian Adriatic Coast. Source: “Apsurdistan: Prvi red do mora” (Apsurdistan: First Row to the Sea).” HRT, 2022
- Fig. 48 Hotel Romana, Biloševac, Makarska 2018. Source: [slobodnadalmacija.hr](http://slobodnadalmacija.hr)

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### ARCHIVAL COLLECTIONS

- “A Proposal for Interdisciplinary Research Symposium “Preserving Historic Urban Centers: Problem and Techniques,” 1969. BOX 6. The Ernest Weissmann Archive.
- “Annual Report to the Ford Foundation (FF Grant 68-493),” C01-009; C01-011. The Ernest Weissmann Archive.
- Weissmann, Ernest. “Guidelines for Regional Development Planning.” The United Nations Research and Training Programme in Regional Development, 1970. Ernest Weissmann Archive GSD Frances Loeb Library Special Collections.
- . “Regionalization of National Development.” The United Nations Research and Training Programme in Regional Development, 1970. Ernest Weissmann Archive GSD Frances Loeb Library Special Collections.
- . “Tentative Plan for a Worldwide Training Programme,” 1969. Ernest Weissmann Archive GSD Frances Loeb Library Special Collections.
- . “The Importance of Physical Planning for Regional Development.” Regional Development course 1968-1969, January 22, 1969. Ernest Weissmann Archive GSD Frances Loeb Library Special Collections.
- Vernon, Raymond, and David Birch. “Report to the Ford Foundation on Urban and Regional Planning Project in Yugoslavia,” April 16, 1970. Ford Foundation Archives
- Winnick, Louis. “Ford History. Philanthropy’s Adaptation to the Urban Crisis,” May 1989. Ford Foundation records, #012158. The Rockefeller Archive Center.

### PUBLISHED SOURCES

- Antolic, Vlado. “Makarska, Generalna Regulacijska Osnova (General Regulatory Plan).” *Arhitektura*. 1949.
- “Arhitektura 1-2 (1947),” no. 1–2 (1947).  
<https://arhitekti.eindigo.net/?pc=i&id=10028>.
- Bačić, Mašenjka. “Feniks Na Osami Blizu Mora: Radi Li Se Bolje, Kad Se Radi Za Sebe? (Phoenix near the Sea),” May 30, 2014.  
<https://www.lupiga.com/vijesti/feniks-na-osami-blizu-mora-radi-li-se-bolje-kad-se-radi-za-sebe>.
- Bauman, Zygmunt. “Times of Interregnum.” In *Former West : Art and the Contemporary After 1989*, edited by Maria Hlavajova and Simon Sheikh. Utrecht, NL; Cambridge, MA: BAK, The MIT Press, 2016.

- Beyer, Elke, Anke Hagemann, and Michael Zinganel, eds. *Holidays After the Fall: Seaside Architecture and Urbanism in Bulgaria and Croatia*. Berlin: Jovis, 2013.
- , eds. *Holidays After the Fall: Seaside Architecture and Urbanism in Bulgaria and Croatia*. Berlin: Jovis, 2013.
- Bjažić Klarin, Tamara. “Constructing the World of Equal Opportunities: The Case of Architect Vladimir Antolić.” *Journal of Modern European History* 18, no. 4 (November 2020): 474–93. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1611894420944840>.
- . *Ernest Weissmann: Društveno angažirana arhitektura, 1926.-1939. (Socially Engaged Architecture, 1926-1939)*. Edicija Architectonica. Zagreb: Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 2015.
- Blau, Eve. “City as Open Work.” In *Project Zagreb: Transition as Condition, Strategy, Practice*, edited by Eve Blau and Ivan Rupnik. Barcelona: Actar D, 2007.
- Bojić, Nikola. “Social and Physical Planning: Two Approaches to Territorial Production in Socialist Yugoslavia between 1955 and 1963.” *Architectural Histories* 6, no. 1 (December 31, 2018): 25. <https://doi.org/10.5334/ah.309>.
- Boym, Svetlana. *The Off-Modern*. Vol. 11. New York: Bloomsbury, 2017.
- Brenner, Neil, and Christian Schmid. “The ‘Urban Age’ in Question.” *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 38, no. 3 (May 2014): 731–55. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2427.12115>.
- Chari, Sharad, and Katherine Verdery. “Thinking between the Posts: Postcolonialism, Postsocialism, and Ethnography after the Cold War.” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 51, no. 1 (January 2009): 6–34.
- Cvitanovic, Mojca Smode. “Tracing the Non-Aligned Architecture: Environments of Technical Cooperation and the Work of Croatian Architects in Kumasi, Ghana (1961-1970).” *Histories of Postwar Architecture*, no. 6 (October 29, 2020): 34–67. <https://doi.org/10.6092/issn.2611-0075/10450>.
- Delić, Anuška, and Mašenjka Bačić. “A Tale of Two Brothers and A Croatian Island,” 10 2021. <https://www.occrp.org/en/the-pandora-papers/a-tale-of-two-brothers-and-a-croatian-island>.
- Dika, Antonia, and Bernadette Krejs. *Mapping the Croatian Coast: A Road Trip to Architectural Legacies of Cold War and Tourism Boom*. Berlin: Jovis, 2020.
- Fukuyama, Francis. *End of History and the Last Man*. New York: The Free Press, 1992.
- Ghertner, D. Asher. “Why Gentrification Theory Fails in ‘Much of the World.’” *City* 19, no. 4 (July 4, 2015): 552–63. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13604813.2015.1051745>.
- Grabar, Nika. “Planning and Ideology: American-Yugoslav Project.” RockFeller Archive Center Research Reports, 2017. <https://rockarch.issuelab.org/resource/planning-and-ideology-american-yugoslav-project.html>.

- Groys, Boris. "The Contemporary Condition: Postmodernity, Post-Socialism, Postcolonialism." In *Former West : Art and the Contemporary After 1989*, edited by Maria Hlavajova and Simon Sheikh, 37–45. Utrecht, NL; Cambridge, MA: BAK, The MIT Press, 2016.
- Hamilton, F. E. Ian. *Yugoslavia. Patterns of Economic Activity*. New York: Praeger, 1968.
- Hirt, Sonia. "The Post-Socialist City." In *Iron Curtains: Gates, Suburbs, and Privatization of Space in the Post-Socialist City*. Gates, Suburbs, and Privatization of Space in the Post-Socialist City. Hoboken, N.J.: Wiley & Sons, 2012.
- Hlavajova, Maria, and Simon Sheikh, eds. *Former West: Art and the Contemporary After 1989*. Utrecht : Cambridge, MA: BAK, 2016.
- Huxley, Margo. "Problematizing Planning: Critical and Effective Genealogies." In *The Ashgate Research Companion to Planning Theory: Conceptual Challenges for Spatial Planning*, edited by Jean Hillier and Healey. London: Ashgate: 2010, n.d.
- Iturbe, Elisa. "Architecture And the Death of Carbon Modernity." *Log*, no. 47 (2019): 10–23.
- Ivanišin, Krunoslav, and Hans Ibelings. *Landscapes of Transition: An Optimistic Decade of Croatian Architectural Culture*. Zagreb, Croatia: Croatian Architects' Association, 2009.
- Jencks, Charles. "Moscow, October 4, 1993, 10.10 Am: Modernity Is Dead." In *Post-Soviet Art and Architecture*, edited by Alexey Yurasovsky and Sophie Ovenden, 9–15. New York: Academy Editions, 1994.
- Kohlrausch, Martin. *Brokers of Modernity: East Central Europe and the Rise of Modernist Architects, 1910-1950*. Leuven University Press, 2019. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvcwnzhj>.
- Kraljević Kolbas, Nataša. "Apsurdistan: Prvi Red Do Mora (Apsurdistan: First Row to the Sea)." *HRT*, 2022.
- Kulić, Vladimir. "Building the Socialist Balkans." *Southeastern Europe* 41, no. 2 (2017): 95–111. <https://doi.org/10.1163/18763332-04102001>.
- . "Ford's Architects." *MAO Conference: Western Temptations in Cold War Times International Influences in Yugoslav Architecture (1945-90)*, Ljubljana 2015.
- Lapenna, Ivo. "Main Features of the Yugoslav Constitution 1946-1971." *The International and Comparative Law Quarterly* 21, no. 2 (1972): 209–29.
- Latour, Bruno. *Down to Earth: Politics in the New Climatic Regime*. English edition. Cambridge, UK ; Medford, MA: Polity, 2018.
- Le Corbusier. *The Athens Charter*. New York: Grossman Publisher, 1973. [https://jasonsedar.files.wordpress.com/2011/03/the\\_athens\\_charter.pdf](https://jasonsedar.files.wordpress.com/2011/03/the_athens_charter.pdf).
- Mappes-Niediek, Norbert. "A Thorny Tiket." In *Holidays After the Fall: Seaside Architecture and Urbanism in Bulgaria and Croatia*, edited by Elke Beyer, Anke Hagemann, and Michael Zinganel, 209–21. Berlin: Jovis, 2013.

- Marinović, Antun. “‘Turizam u Sklopu Urbanističkog Plana Dubrovnika’ (Tourism in the Context of the Master Plan of Dubrovnik).” *Arhitektura* 4–6 (1960): 29.
- Mattioni, Vladimir. *Adriatic Projects: Projects of the Southern and Upper Adriatic 1967-1972*. Zagreb: Urbanistički institut Hrvatske, 2003.
- May, John. “On Technology, Ecology, and Urbanism,” n.d., 7.
- Mrduljaš, Maroje. “Building the Affordable Arcadia, Tourism Development on the Croatian Adriatic Coast under State Socialism.” In *Holidays After the Fall: Seaside Architecture and Urbanism in Bulgaria and Croatia*, edited by Elke Beyer, Anke Hagemann, and Michael Zinganel, 171–207. Berlin: Jovis, 2013.
- Murphy, Craig. *The United Nations Development Programme: A Better Way?* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Neumann, Tracy. “Overpromising Technocracy’s Potential: The American-Yugoslav Project, Urban Planning, and Cold War Cultural Diplomacy.” *Journal of Planning History*, February 13, 2022, 15385132211060040. <https://doi.org/10.1177/15385132211060041>.
- Petrović, Branko. “Prijedlog Za Organizaciju Urbanističke Službe [Proposal for the Organisation of the Urban Planning Service].” *Čovjek i Prostor* 1954, no. 19 (n.d.): 1.
- Randić, Andrija. “Retrospektiva prostornog planiranja u Primorsko-goranskoj županiji.” *ZBORNIK RADOVA*, n.d., 291–300.
- . “Structure of the Upper Adriatic Project.” In *In-between: A Book on the Croatian Coast, Global Processes, and How to Live with Them; Venice Biennale 2006*, edited by Saša Randić and Idis Turato, 2006.
- Randić, Saša, and Idis Turato. *In-between: A Book on the Croatian Coast, Global Processes, and How to Live with Them; Venice Biennale 2006*, 2006.
- Roy, Ananya. “Urban Informality: Toward an Epistemology of Planning.” *Journal of the American Planning Association* 71, no. 2 (June 30, 2005): 147–58. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01944360508976689>.
- Šerman, Karin. *Fitting Abstraction: Croatia 1914-2014. Exhibition Catalogue for the 14th International Architectural Exhibition (Venice 2014)*. Zagreb: Republic of Croatia Ministry of Culture, 2014.
- Shankland, Cox and Associates and Urbanistički zavod Dalmacije. *Hvar-Milna. Physical Development Plan for the South Adriatic Region; Projekt Juzni Jadran. Physical Development Plan for the South Adriatic Region; Projekt Juzni Jadran*. Split, Yug.: ., v. 1- ; 1968-, 1968.
- Stanek, Lukasz. *Architecture in Global Socialism*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2020.
- Stierli, Martino, and Vladimir Kulić, eds. *Concrete Utopia: Architecture in Yugoslavia, 1948-1980*. New York, N.Y.: The Museum of Modern Art, 2018.
- Tonkiss, Fran. *Cities by Design: The Social Life of Urban Form*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2013.
- Violich, Francis. “An Urban Development Policy for Dalmatia: Part I: The Urban Heritage to the Time of Napoleon.” *Town Planning Review* 43,



- no. 2 (1972): 151–65.  
<https://doi.org/10.3828/tpr.43.2.156472qx8180011t>.
- . “An Urban Development Policy for Dalmatia: Part II: Urban Dalmatia in the 19th Century and Prospects for the Future.” *Town Planning Review* 43, no. 3 (1972): 243–53.  
<https://doi.org/10.3828/tpr.43.3.t008367676426756>.
- Vojtjeh, Delfin. “Twenty Years of Architecture and Town Planning in Yugoslavia.” *Čovjek i Prostor* 1967, no. 93–94 (n.d.): III.
- Weissmann, Ernest. “The Urban Crisis in the World.” *Urban Affairs Quarterly* 1, no. 1 (September 1, 1965): 65–82.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/107808746500100105>.
- . “Urbanization and Regional Planning.” *Ekistics* 7, no. 39 (1959): 33–36.
- Zabel, Igor. “Dialogue.” In *2000+ Artest Collection: The Art of Eastern Europe: A Selection of Works for the International and National Collections of Moderna Galerija Ljubljana*, edited by Zdenka Badovinac and Peter Weibel. Wien: Folio, 2001.
- Zarecor, Kimberly Elman. “What Was So Socialist about the Socialist City? Second World Urbanity in Europe.” *Journal of Urban History* 44, no. 1 (January 2018): 95–117. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0096144217710229>.
- Župa, Matko. “The Record Tourist Season” *Slobodna Dalmacija* (November 20, 1980).
- . “To Private Renters - 250 Million!” *Slobodna Dalmacija* (November 27, 1987).