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WITHIN THE LIMITS OF SCARCITY

RETHINKING SPACE, CITY AND PRACTICES

Edited by
Barbara Ascher
Isis Nunez Ferrera
Michael Klein

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CONTENTS

EDITORIAL

Barbara Ascher, Isis Nunez Ferrera, Michael Kleinp.7
Scarcity - Local responses to “lack”

Camillo Boanop.13
Notes around design politics: design dissensus and the poiesis of scarcity

Bo Tangp.29
Negotiating shared spaces in informal peri-urban settlements in India. The role of amenity buildings and the effect of the post-hoc introduction of infrastructure towards the creation of common places

Federico Venturini, Ersilia Verlinghierip.51
Scarcity, post-scarcity and local community: L'Aquila as a case study

Piero Sassip.71
Degrowth urban policy? The contemporary debate on post-growth alternatives and the challenges posed by soil consumption

Sheikh Serajul Hakim, Joseph Lim Ee Manp.83
Scarcity, control and negotiations: an interpretation of form in urban informal settlements

Tomaz Pipanp.103
Territorial Compromises: limits of morphological and civic negotiation

Sante Simone, Mejrema Zatricp.117
Voids as modern ruins. The project for the city in the face of the new spatial scarcity

Blokovi, New Belgrade, Serbia, 2009 © Alessio Maximilian Schroder

#New Belgrade
#scarcity
#Henry Lefebvre
#post-modern

Voids as modern ruins. The project for the city in the face of the new spatial scarcity

The scarcity of space might seem easy to understand in Euclidian and Cartesian terms. Confined to quantity, prone to measurability and objective assessment, space, so understood, can be partitioned to units of surfaces and volumes, and its scarcity evaluated relative to these units' limits in all of the three Euclidian directions. That the Sahara desert, featuring 9.400.000 sq km of surface, is abundant with space is meaningful to us if contemplated from the comfortable confines of our 94 sq m apartment. Compared, alternatively, to the "size of the Earth", together with its subterranean space and its atmosphere, the notion of the scarcity of Euclidian space, as such, loses any meaning.

It is only near, or in, the urban centres that the shortage of space can be observed, as a distinct socio-economic phenomenon (Lefebvre 1991): what gives weight to the notion of spatial scarcity is the definition of space as a *productive process*. If social space is a social product, as has been clearly put forward by Henry Lefebvre in the 1970s, then the scarcity of space must also be understood as being produced, thus inevitably involving the questions of the socio-economic organization and politics in the discussion.

In his theory of the production of space, Lefebvre intended to systematize the entangled relations between mental and social space, that combined to form, as he argued, our understanding of space both as a concept and reality. In his well-known spatial triad Lefebvre proposed that we should understand space as three intertwined productive processes: 1. The *conceived* space of ideology (epitomized in urban plans and projects and their inherent socio-economic programs); 2. The *perceived* space of social practice (the materiality of the urban); 3. The *lived* space of the citizen (the experiential life related to the symbolic aspect and emotions). All of these, Lefebvre argued, must be taken into account if we want to meaningfully address the reality of social space, beyond the mental and abstract scientific models (Lefebvre 1991).

In this paper we are seeking to address the notion of the scarcity of space by taking advantage of Henry Lefebvre's spatial triad, and in relation to the modern project for the city. The case in point will be New Belgrade, a new city initially planned as early as the 1940s as the socialist counterpart to then Yugoslavian capital of Belgrade, which in this sense can be considered as the oldest of the great urban projects carried out by modernity. What makes New Belgrade an invaluable example that can help us understand the multi-layered notion of the scarcity of space, we propose, is its complex ideological history, and its character as the *new central place*.

In Lefebvre's work, it is exactly this new centrality that holds the stakes of the future of urban society (Lefebvre 1991). For Lefebvre the urban *is* centrality (Schmidt 2006), and the advancement of urban society is based on the possibility of imagining the new kind of centrality, beyond the historic centre of the European city. Under-

stood in this way, the project of New Belgrade becomes clear in all of its complexity. Having been conceived as a new administrative centre of the emerging nation state of Socialist Yugoslavia, and featuring, in the words of Ljiljana Blagojevic, the idea of ‘building of socialism on a clean slate in a supra-historical time constellation’ (Blagojevic 2004), New Belgrade epitomizes the project of modernity in its most radical manifestation: the invention of the new society and its space, through the invention of a new centrality.

If the scarcity of space can be “measured” and addressed, as Lefebvre proposed, only if accompanied by the idea of the urban centre, we propose to examine the plans and projects of New Belgrade in terms of dealing with different manifestations of the scarcity of space.

Furthermore, the emergence of the “new scarcities” of space in post-socialist New Belgrade, occurring through the introduction of neoliberal democracy, provides for an opportunity to comparatively assess the scarcity of space as a product of different ideological constellations. In order to make our inquiry more consistent across shifting ideological eras, we will be looking at the voids – the open, unbuilt spaces – as the perceived elements of comparison. Except for being one of the most important constituent of the intermediary level of social space that Lefebvre deemed properly urban (Lefebvre 2007), and thus responsible for securing the unity of the city, the voids of New Belgrade seem to be the main field of change and subject of scarcity in post-socialism. As such, the urban voids can be seen as a comprehensive ‘register’ of the main traits of an on-going urban transformation.

Departing from Lefebvre’s spatial triad, we propose in this paper that the scarcity of space has to be understood and addressed as a system of conceived, perceived and lived scarcities. By comparing the changing rationale of these different scarcities of space in the socialist and post-socialist eras, we will expose the ways in which the scarcity of space is constructed, as well as the way in which we can understand the modern project for the city through the lens of scarcity.

The conceived, the perceived and the lived scarcities of space

The ways in which different ideological arrangements have articulated the concept and the reality of scarcity have been crucially determined by their inherent programs of socio-economic development. These different scarcities of space, stemming from the organization of society founded on different ideas, can be understood as being conceived, as is made manifest by the crucial role that the concept of scarcity has had in the theories of political economy (Marx 2002; Keynes 1963; Friedman 1992). This understanding of scarcity has been recently complicated by the emergence of scarcities of natural resources (Neumayer 2000). The shortages of water, air, energy etc. that are material and conceivable on a global level, can be thus understood as absolute scarcities.

In contrast to this absoluteness, the relativity of the scarcity of space provides for an opportunity for it to be addressed through a project. As different ideologies conceived of a scarcity of space according to their different socio-economic programs, mediatized through and materialized by architecture, these became a part of the domain of the perceived.

Today’s bird’s view of New Belgrade reveals different variations of concrete prisms organized around large green patches of urban parkland inside a tidy, orthogonal grid. Recalling the comment that Manuel de Sola Morales, the Spanish urban theorist, has made about East Berlin, is apt here: this is the city less of buildings and more of – distances (Sola Morales 2008). The image of these spacious voids, formed as a part of large collective housing apartment blocks, has come to represent both the failure of the modernist and of the socialist project throughout the second



half of the 20th century. The perceived abundance of the voids indeed reveals the way in which the socialist regimes used to conceive the scarcity of space. The quest for the solutions to urban problems ‘within a philosophical framework of Marxist doctrine and mostly within a practical, decision-taking structure of a command economy’ (French and Hamilton 1971), has differentiated the socialist urban regime from its capitalist counterpart in two important ways: the absence of land-value and an ambition to provide a “home for everyone”. The ideas of minimum dwelling (Teige 2002), originating in the early work of the socialist members of the CIAM, and the rationalist-functionalist discourse of its latter phases, merged with the difficult circumstances of the command economy and resulted in a conceived scarcity of space of the socialist era. The words of Yugoslavian architects Dusan Grabrijan and Juraj Neidhardt, witnesses to the first projects for New Belgrade, reveal a true ethos of spatial scarcity of socialism: “The time disappears when the man constructs only the roof above his head. But there would also be no luxury, because it is as much a detriment as poverty itself. What we care about is the healthy standard...” (Grabrijan and Neidhardt 1957). This ‘healthy standard’ resulted in New Belgrade, as elsewhere in socialist new towns, in standardized buildings featuring humble apartments for growing working population.

A second, more meticulous look at the contemporary panorama of New Belgrade reveals the character of the urban change, introduced along with the ideological switch to neoliberal democratic capitalism – the city is being densified. On the southern verges of the “Block 21”, for an example, rows of new apartment and small office buildings have sprung up during the course of the two post-socialist decades, thus enclosing the prismatic ‘meanders’ of the socialist residential development by occupying the voids around it. The introduction of space into the market system as commodity, now additionally endowed with exchange value, has meant a very different kind of the conceived scarcity of space. In Lefebvre’s view, the commodity is defined by its comparable traits, the recognizable characteristics that make it tradable for other similar commodities in the market (Lefebvre 1991). Seen in the light of this new idea, it is the undeveloped space that is understood as a luxury. Becoming much more than the mere organization of the production and catering for the needs of the population, or rather, addressing these in a different way, the new urban economy conceives the voids as scarce potential for producing a tradable and sellable global currency.

The leap from the abundance to the scarcity of the voids reveals the relativity of the conceived scarcity of space that, in New Belgrade, has followed the shifting of ideological and socio-economic programs. Looking at New Belgrade from high up, we judge the space inside its confines as more or less dense and the distances between its buildings, wide or narrow. We perceive the vanishing abundance of the voids. But is this knowledge exhausting the complexity of the scarcity of space?

In 1985, an International Competition was launched for the New Belgrade ‘Urban Structure Improvement’. Focusing on the central zone of New Belgrade, it posed a question that encompassed and superseded both the ideologically-economically conceivable scarcity and its material-perceivable dimension. What this competition brief was addressing, we argue, underneath its manicheistic critique of modernist urbanism that echoed the contemporary post-modern discourses in architecture, was the third aspect of spatial scarcity – the scarcity of the lived.

Addressing shortages of space in socialism – the explicit abundance and the implicit scarcity of voids

The intention of the socialist authorities to found the new state capital for the emerging Yugoslavian nation was a question of considerable representational weight, given the project's potent symbolic function (Blagojevic 2004). This intervention, simultaneously, gave rise to the notion of Old Belgrade – pre-socialist part of the city that was now abandoned as a distant image across the water, contemplated from the left bank of the river Sava where the new history was going to begin by the decision of the new state.

Starting with 1945, and throughout the next decades, New Belgrade was restlessly planned over and over again, as a largely self-referential urban 'island', floating between the Old City and Zemun (the satellite town of Belgrade) both of which it was going to try to involve into a new kind of urban culture. But how was this new, essentially socialist urban culture going to emerge? In Lefebvre's view, a society can acquire a reality and duration, only if it invests in its own space, in which centrality plays the crucial part as an intersection between the conceived, perceived and lived formants of space (Lefebvre 1991).

It is therefore less than strange that the most contested field of the entire project of New Belgrade, and the one left unfinished to this day, is its central zone, meant to be organized around a 1.2 km long axis that prevailed as a feature of all of the proposed design solutions, from the 1940s to the 1980s, when it became subject of the international competition.

In the 1945 proposal of Nikola Dobrovic the Sava River occupies a prominent place in the organization of urban space. Its focal point are the two squares, placed one across the other, on the opposite banks of Sava: the first (figure 1) defined by modern terraces that cascade down to the river starting at the centre of Old Belgrade, the second (figure 2) – on the other side of the Sava, defined by the axis that spans the river and an imposing building of the railway station. The entire urban composition of the proposal revolves around this one element. But it is not the aesthetics alone that holds Dobrovic's project together – through the building of the railway station, this plan sets a new gateway to the city and thus returns to the essence of its vocation as an interchange.

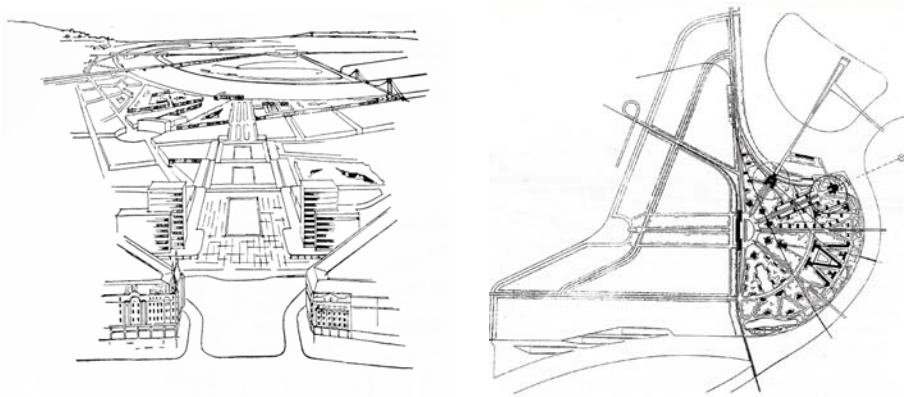


Figure 1 and 2. in Uros, Martinovic, Moderna Beograda, Privredni Pregled, Beograd, 1974

This very civic symbolic potency of the train station square was, already by 1947, contested by the first proposals for the two buildings representing the state power: the large headquarters of the Yugoslav government and the high tower of the Communist party. Seeking to be situated on or near the established central axis, these two buildings demonstrated the temporary consensus reached between the

architects and the politicians – as Yugoslavian architect Neven Segvic was writing at the time: “Our theoretical position on the issues of architectural design has to be based on the analysis of contemporary socialist socio-economic system, on the analysis of its organization, analysis of development of its capital assets, analysis of its ideological progress. The totality of all these factors forms the foundation for the development of contemporary architectural design, which has to be the expression of its time.” (Segvic, quoted in Blagojevic 2004) The large symmetrical structure of the Presidency of Government building, fully executed by 1949, fixated one end of the central axis to the riverbank, effectively blocking, by the same token, the direct pedestrian access from the axis to the water. Instead, everyday life was to unfold around the axis in the opposite direction: spanning 1.2 km towards the second end to the planned railway station and its square.

The Master Plan presented by the City Planning Institute in 1950 was the first one to clearly set out the ‘shape’ of the new centre, implicit in the previous plans and discussions. Organizing the rest of the space of New Belgrade through an orthogonal grid and the application of the functionalist principles, it committed to merely distinguishing the position of the new centrality by colour, as the new urban centre is covered in a single red pattern (figure 3). Nothing more, however, on the vision of the new lived space is revealed – one might imagine, upon abstracting the schematic nature of the plan, this space as a large red square, canopied perhaps, proposed for exchange of ideas to build a new urban culture.

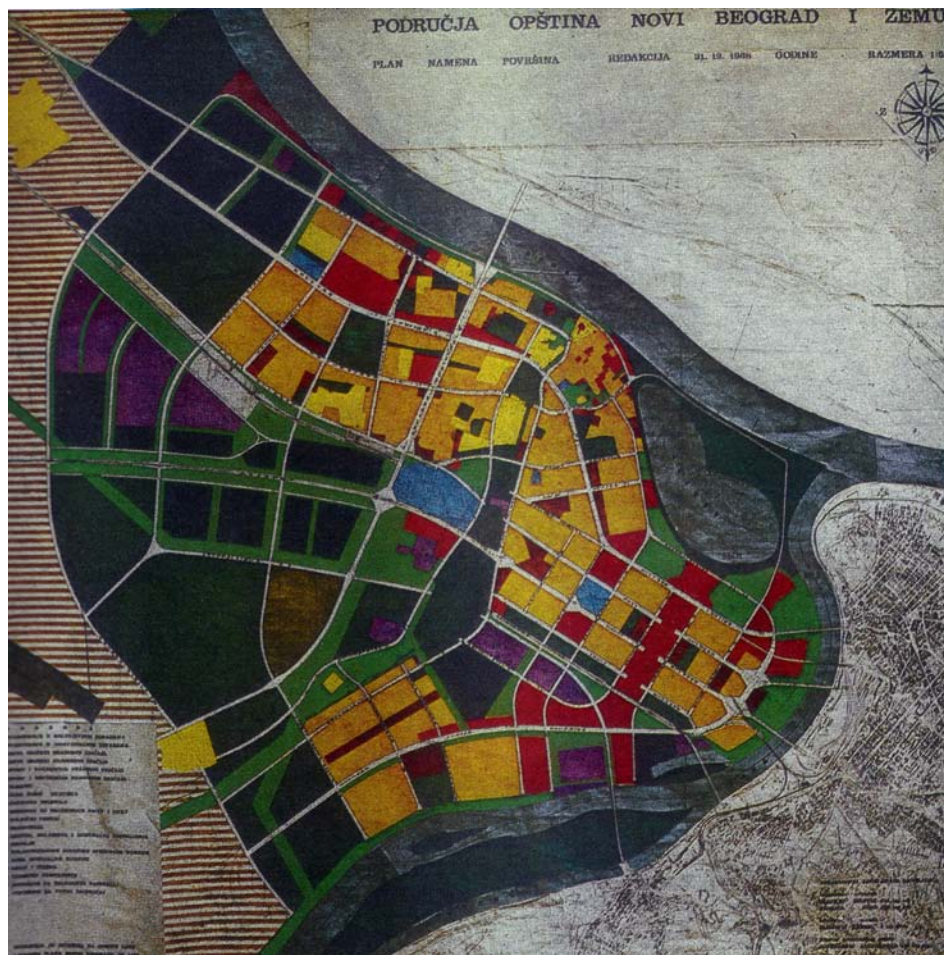


Figure 3. in Uros, Martinovic, *Moderna Beograda, Privredni Pregled*, Beograd, 1974

Coinciding with the concluding debates of CIAM, which held its final meeting in

Dubrovnik in 1956, the project for the central area of New Belgrade, completed in 1958, echoed its concern for the role of the architect-planner in developing the new spatial, political and economic aspects of society. This proposal (figure 4) can be understood as an expression of the new needs of the modern city to define public space through the construction of squares. It shows a division of the centre by means of three squares along the 1.2 km long axis, “spacious yet on human scale, bright, lively and useful” (Djordjevic 1960).

The complementary concerns about the notion of the landscape of the modern city were formulated by 1963 in the ideas of Branko Petricic, one of the authors of the Master Plan of New Belgrade. However, this idea, instead of following the directions of Dobrovic, comes from a very different reference, drawn from Le Corbusier’s Radiant City. It is in Petricic’s work, that the application of the CIAM functionalist discourse starts being gradually modified and partially left behind. If the development of modernist discourse was influenced by an implicit anti-historicism, which was confirmed by a number of avant-garde manifestos published between the two world wars, the 1950s are beginning to see this radical position as a contingent phenomenon, justified as a reaction to the eclecticism of the nineteenth century - and that leads to its reconsideration.



Figure. 4. in Uros, Martinovic, Moderna Beograda, Privredni Pregled, Beograd, 1974

Already in his writings during the Second World War, and specifically so when defining the pilot plan of New Belgrade, the revolutionary Petricic critically reviewed the directions of the Athens Charter to establish a connection between modernist discourse and the art of city-building by defining a spatial continuity between *redents* and offering clear community gathering places (figure 5).

However, this revision of modernist principles was not the only interpretation of continuity. If Petricic’s reconsideration of the construction of the city in experiential terms is still linked to ‘Le Corbusian’ imperatives, Bogdan Bogdanovic, his contemporary, simultaneously develops a contrasting position.

The core point in Bogdanovic's theory lies in the definition of the centre of New Belgrade as a place of memory that – the concern that, by the same token, defines the main problem of the modern project. Similarly to Ledoux, who decided to stop building after the French Revolution, Bogdan Bogdanovic acknowledged the departure of J. B. Tito by ending his career as a builder of monuments in 1983, three years after Marshall's death, to devote himself to politics. Serving as a Mayor of Belgrade from 1982 to 1986, it was Bogdanovic who initiated the international design competition entitled 'The Future of New Belgrade'(1985).

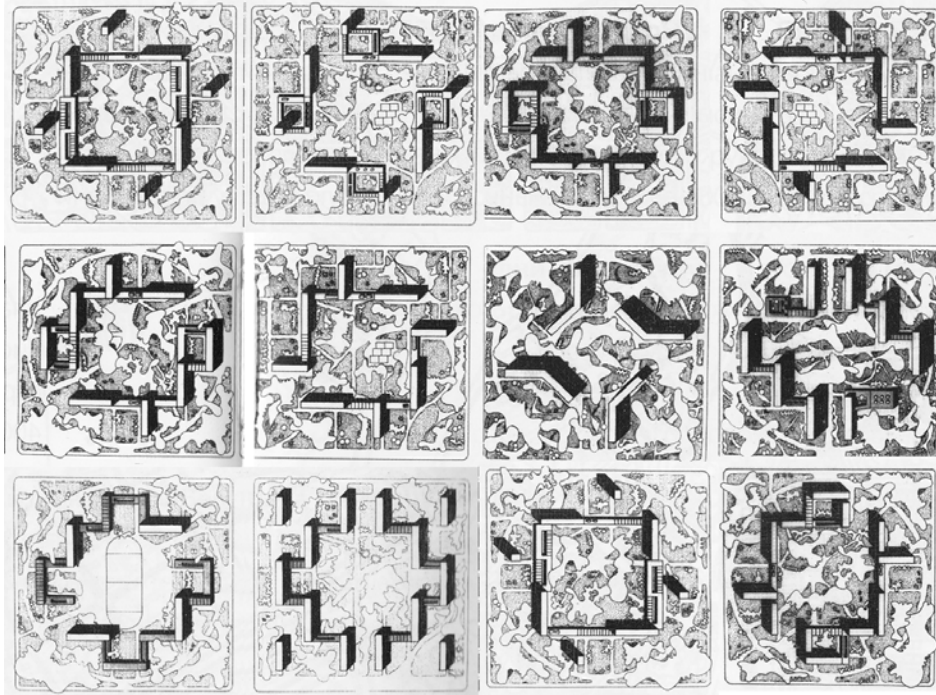


Figure. 5. Branko Petricic, Bloks for New Belgrade, in Ljiljana, Blagojevic, Novi Beograd: osporeni modernizam, Zavod za Udzbenike i Nastavna Sredstva, 2007, Belgrade, p.152, 153, 2003

While Bogdanovic's interest in memory could be related to the discourse of post-modernity, it is impossible to reduce this experience-centred strain of thought on New Belgrade, epitomized in the work of Petricic and Bogdanovic, merely to an echo of the mainstream architectural discussions that emerged in that later time period. What these architects knew all too well, as early as the 1950s when New Belgrade was witnessing the peak of the foundational enthusiasm, was that the new socialist city was not going to emerge only through the imposition of order by the application of principles of the Athens charter – not even through the provision of the "home for everyone", that resolved the ideologically constructed scarcities of space. What was at stake in New Belgrade was addressing the scarcity of the lived - this perennial scarcity that socialism was called upon to resolve, by reclaiming the bourgeoisie's civic culture, and re-evaluating it, straightening it out, to invent the 'New Urban'.

Out of the 60 projects submitted to the International Competition for the 'New Belgrade Urban Structure Improvement' project in 1985, two can be distinguished as displaying distinctly counter-poised positions towards this problem: one, Italian-Serbian, led by Paolo Portoghesi and Slobodan Selinkic, with its attention to the design of public space (figure 6) and the other, French, led by Henry Lefebvre, with the political message it conveyed (figure 7).



Figure 6. Prospective of New Belgrade, Rome 1985.
Courtesy of Slobodan Selinkic Office-Rome.

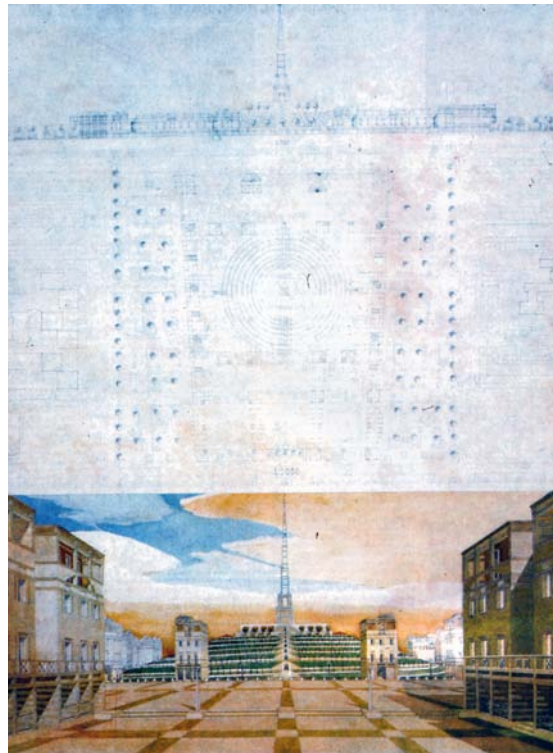


Figure 7. Poster series #4 Gazela, New Belgrade and #5 Peti Park, Belgrade.
Courtesy of Filip and Sternberg press.

Portoghesi and Selinkic, together with Pier Luigi Erolì and Sandro Sartor, formulated the problem of the scarcity of the lived in New Belgrade as the “lack of the city effect” (Portoghesi and Selinkic 1985). The Italian team sympathetically recognized

the lively unfinished condition of New Belgrade as a common urban situation - even the oldest cities have passed, in their history, through a moment of incompleteness. Subsequently the growth and integration with new projects led them to reach a level of quality that has defined their social-aesthetic balance. If New Belgrade could be compared to a living organism, they asserted, then its brain functioned only partially, and especially so sense of memory, the coordination between the functions, the unit reconciliation of the many aspects of life, the unity that is essential in an individual element of personal identity. What the Italian group therefore offered was to complete the modern design of New Belgrade giving it the full function of a brain and nervous system. To achieve this, they tried to re-establish the balance between the existing parts and the project through a therapeutic transplant that joins separate parts, one that redefines the role of aggregation at the centre, similarly to the historic cities in Europe, where this role is exercised by the ancient nuclei, around which the town developed at different times.

In Portoghesi's and Selenkic's project, the 'city effect', that we propose to understand as an attempt at the resolution of the scarcity of the lived, was pursued in a complexity that defines the mysterious and elusive in the perception of urban space, through the construction of an urban tale with a plot which unfolds gradually and unpredictably in various situations (figure 8).



*Figure 8. Plan of city center and Prospective of New Belgrade, Rome 1985.
Courtesy of Slobodan Selinkic Office-Rome.*

The issue of complexity, they maintained, is not foreign to modern design. In the space of New Belgrade, it is embodied in the sense of infinity, conveyed by the large gaps between the buildings. The main material fact that has been 'discovered' in New Belgrade is neither green space, nor water, nor a way to mark the paths according to the specific patterns. It is the void, alternating between the sense of the infinite - through long perspectives (around 1500 meters) - and distances between the architecture-noticeable-like-apparition, that defines the alternating perception of the position of the 'observer'.

What was pursued through the experiential complexity in the Italian project came to be addressed as political complexity in the project of the French team, comprised of Henri Lefebvre and architects Serge Renaudie and Pierre Guilbaud (Bitter and Weber 2009). In this late phase of Lefebvre's work, already transcending the enchantments and disenchantments with institutionalized socialism, the 'new centrality' and the 'new urban' could only be understood through a new political project – the notion of the 'new citizenship.'

Systematizing the topics in which Lefebvre inquired throughout his work, the 'new citizenship' merged his earlier notion of 'the right to the city' (Lefebvre 1991) with a more spatially reflected political program. His life-long interest in the concept of self-management that has been ultimately disappointed with the failure of Yugoslavian self-managed socialism, brought Lefebvre back to the utopian considerations of the necessity of the abolishment of both capital and the state (Stanek 2011).

In his team's proposal for New Belgrade, as in his general meta-philosophical project, the production of space becomes something that goes beyond planning, and becomes a synthetic process that is not organized by the state but by *polities*. Those that can participate in this process are those who live in the city, who are experiencing a sense of belonging to an urban setting. What stands out in his proposal for New Belgrade is, therefore, not a defined and definitive project. Similarly to the Italian entry, Lefebvre, Renaudie and Guilbaud seem to pursue a necessary complexity, as an increasingly urgent consideration for the contemporary city, through architectural concepts that are not processed, but are substantiated in dynamic development over time.

Departing from a critique of the abstractions of the functionalist doctrine, especially its homogeneous and uniform systematization of the city, the French team proposes overlaying and diversity as the appropriate traits of the project for the new urban. This is understood as the total diversity of housing types, production units, spaces for interaction and land uses. All of this is put in place through an overlay of infrastructures that, through straight and circular architectures meet with a specific character defined by the performed function (figure 9).

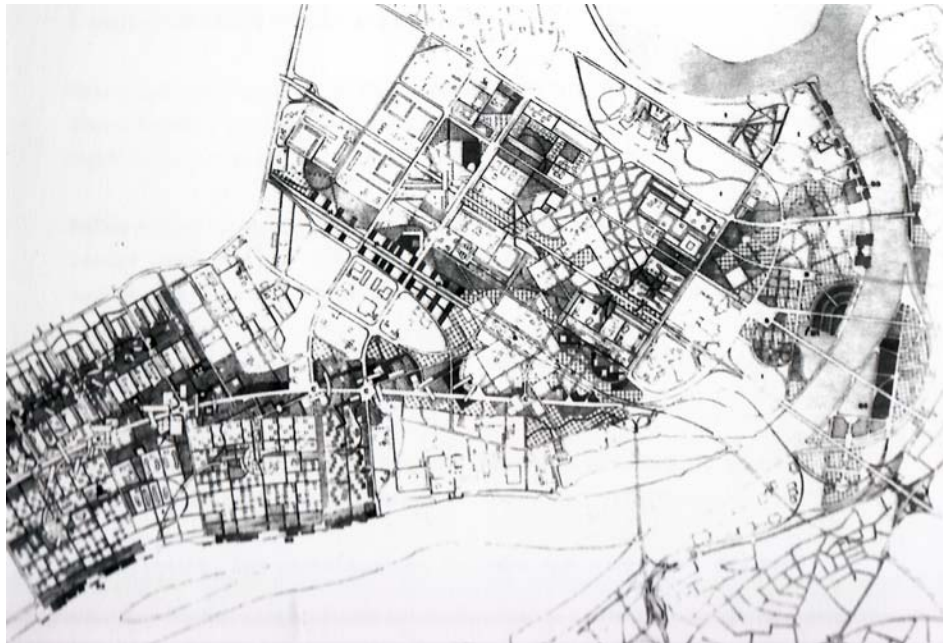


Figure 9. Plan of city center of New Belgrade, Rome 1985,
Courtesy of <http://serge-renaudie.com/spip.php?article133>

The playful, differentiated forms of their project reveal the rigid sterility of the modernist organization of voids, as they also simultaneously subvert it. Although essential in this sense, architecture is deployed here to remedy the scarcity of the lived in much less mediated way than in Portoghesi's and Selenkic's proposal. Rather than the carefully carved possibility for an aesthetic experience that achieves the unity of the city through the shared productive nexus of perception and memory, in Lefebvre's proposal for New Belgrade the overlapping levels, volumes, and other diversified elements of everyday life preserve the crucial possibility of appropriation – the possibility for the people to access physically, and to occupy and use urban space.

Conclusion

The *relativity* of the scarcity of space provides for the possibility to address it through a project. The *complexity* of the scarcity of space has to be fully grasped in order for this project to be credible. To fully understand the scarcity of space and the possible interests it holds in relation to the project for the city, we leaned on the spatial 'trialectics' of Henry Lefebvre and employed it as an epistemic tool to assess the scarcity of space in the City of New Belgrade that has itself been conceived as a modernist-socialist project.

The *constructedness* of the scarcity of space is made manifest in the project for New Belgrade by the virtue of its discontinuity - undertaken in one, and continued in another, very different, socio-economic system it can be used to reveal the similarities and differences of their respective constructions, through a process of systematic comparison.

Departing from Lefebvre's all-encompassing theory of the production of space, we have traced and described three different aspects of the scarcity of space: the conceived, the perceived and the lived. The elements of the inquiry and the units of comparison were the 'voids', understood as the constituents of the properly urban level of space.

While the logic and the constructedness of the conceived and the perceived spatial scarcity are much easier to understand and much less difficult to reveal, in the project for New Belgrade we have found the notion of the lived scarcity to have been persisting as the most elusive and to have been addressed meticulously, by both architecture and ideology. Although the notion of the scarcity of the lived space has been inaugurated into the political and the disciplinary discussions already in the early phases of the project, as a problem poised to solve in order to achieve the new, supra-historical socialist society, reflexive architectural involvement was inferior to the one of politics: the monumental buildings representing the state and the party have been introduced in strategic places to act as the exposed signifiers of state power. While the mere existence of these buildings obviously presupposes architecture, we recognize the reflexive disciplinary involvement, not in their authors, but in the ones like Petricevic and Bogdanovic who, throughout the unfolding of the New Belgrade project strived to address the lived scarcity of space, from the inherently architectural standpoint.

It was only in the 1980s, however, when the practical manifestations of both Yugoslavian self-managed socialism and the modernist project were dramatically revealed as unsatisfactory that the scarcity of the lived had to be addressed in the most fundamental terms.

By making their proposal for the new exuberance of the lived in New Belgrade, Portoghesi and Lefebvre answered to this imperative from two opposing, yet complementary, ends. What probably represents the strong link between the architect and the philosopher is the underlying and deep need to re-establish new relationships - in and with the modern city. If this is not explicitly clear in the competition-report sur-

veys, it is rendered clearer in the way in which both of the two thinkers decided to operate on the ruins of the modern city: by using the explicit perceived abundance of the voids to both reveal and supersede their implicit lived scarcity. Potoghesi by searching for the experiential and political expansion of the everyday life in architecture, Lefebvre by looking for the architecture of the new society in overlaying differences of everyday life, politics and play.

How can we learn today from these very different strategies, projected upon the “ruin of the modern”?

Should the inverted scarcity principle, brought about by the neoliberal *conceived* scarcities of space, be understood as a signal that the time has come for the design intelligence, the reflective architectural practice to engage again (now with the vanishing) voids as ruins of modernity, meticulously and dedicatedly, much akin to the attention that the first modernist architects have paid to the minimal dwelling? Should we deliberate at the spatial left-overs of the large real-estate developments – to their lawns and green buffer zones – pursuing the end of the scarcity of the lived by inventorying all imaginable uses and providing them, while subscribing to a polite disgust for luxury, a humble, but comfortable, space of their own?

Or should we, alternatively, and following Potoghesi, confine ourselves to architecture-like-apparitions, while putting out faith in the instaurational potency of the spatial composition and its ‘city effect’ that, in the circumstances of the densifying New Belgrade of today, will soon have to contend with being appreciated through less than 1500 m long perspectives.

Finally, should we follow Lefebvre and work on the margins, corrupting slowly, but steadily the limits to the voids by meandering, penetrating, involving, engaging, with one final and irreparable objective – the prospective confirmation of the “new citizenship” as the vision of the collective beyond the authorities and invested in hope for the new abundance of everyday life?

Which of these ways to the lived should be chosen?

The defense of the void in New Belgrade at all costs could be easily judged as yet another kind of ideology. If it is true, however, that the “necessary inventiveness can only spring from interaction between plans and counter-plans, projects and counter-projects” (Lefebvre, 1991), the voids of New Belgrade, as modern ruins, demand a consistent inquiry. Both the chance and the peril for architecture are contained in its obligation to undertake this inquiry in the face of the conceived, the perceived and the lived scarcity of space.

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