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[draft]

AN INTRODUCTION TO MODERN URBAN PLANNING
IN CENTRALLY PLANNED ECONOMIES

(the roots of the doctrine, its applications
and the main issues of the 1980s)

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P R E F A C E

This paper is addressed to students of urban planning and to all who are interested in a socialist mutation of European urbanism.

The topics will be presented in a synthetic manner and only the most essential and most typical issues of socialist urban planning will be included in the paper.

The findings and opinions are based on more than twenty years of practical experience of the author¹, as an architect and then as an urban and regional planner. The latter includes also a period of eight years which he spent in the positions of head planner of the Warsaw Metropolitan area and a managing director of the Warsaw Development Office. His opinions and conclusions are also supported by theoretical studies, which he began in the seventies and which became his main activity, in the eighties.

Because of his practical, professional background, an important criterion for selection of the issues was also a pragmatic context, noting the impact and dimension of the problems discussed.

Modern socialist urban planning (i.e. planning in the centrally planned economy systems), which is the main subject of this paper, was created, in a practical² sense, in Central Europe and after World War II.

It represents a very specific, not necessarily always precisely comprehended (even by professional scholars and historians) segment of world urban planning. Many practitioners and researchers, ashamed by results of socialist urban planning, its misuses and abuses, deny even the existence of a separate doctrine and methods of urbanism in the socialist system. But they exist because the specific "environment" created by this system had to create a separate doctrine in the field of urban planning. We may clearly define several of its features and principles. Investigation of its dogmas, methods and techniques is important for two reasons:

first, because only in socialist countries can we research and investigate the real effects of the practical implementation of the Modern Movements ideas and schemes;

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² Modern urban planning began in Poland in 1916, when the first urban plan for the city of Warsaw was approved, but the "Modern Movement" ideas and "modernism" were, for many important reasons, not very influential in urban practice in Poland and in Central Europe as a whole, before the year 1945. The political, economic and social conditions were not yet favourable for them. In the Soviet Union, the only socialist country of those years, modern urban planning (introduced in the 20s) did not develop either, mainly for political reasons.

second, because the political obstacles and taboos did not allow, until the eighties, for honest and scientifically correct description, evaluation and assessment of the socialist planning system.

Today, a theory of urban planning in the socialist system is a promising land of study and research, not only in its scientific dimensions. Its findings and conclusions can be also, in my opinion, of a great practical and professional importance. Its application to planning methods which are currently in use can be very fruitful also in the world of real urbanism.

An endless number of scholars and researchers are involved today in studies on urban planning theories. Also, an enormous number of papers, articles and books, are published on this subject each month. Therefore, when beginning the discussion on the theory of urbanism, we are immediately facing our first great question: how do we make a right choice, on a strong and justified basis, among those facts, features, historical events, project, studies, books and sources, which were and which are still important for investigation of roots, description of the development and evaluation of performances of the urban planning system in centralized economies.

When examining a general theory of planning, we may trace the theoretical and intellectual roots of modern urbanism to the nineteenth and eighteenth centuries [as Peter Collins did (1965)] or even deeper in human kind's history [as was done by Nicolaus Pevsner (1936) or by Leonardo Benevelo (1971)]. But we can accept also the approach of William Curtiss (1982) that the historical issues are already well-known and have been discussed for decades, and our current researches should emphasize the more practical and contemporary problems and questions.

But in the case of socialist urban planning the problem seems to be different. As was said, the proper description of this system was never achieved satisfactorily. Moreover, this system itself is in general very difficult to define, not only because it is vague, but more importantly, because what one theorist would accept as a paradigm of the system, another would deny as a socialist urban planning case at all.

Urban planning, serving in socialism as a vital part of the state's infrastructure, has always played a crucial role in executing actual policy of the ruling communist party. Simplifying the problem we may say that - to evaluate, to assess and to criticize the performances, achievements and failures of urban planning - means to evaluate and criticize the politically ruling groups and the Party. And according to unwritten, but strictly obeyed rule, in publications, discussions or researches, one could criticize individual examples of mischiefs or errors which occurred in a socialist country. But it was politically unacceptable, until the eighties, to make general conclusions or critical assessments, applying to the whole system or to its important, structural parts or issues. This kind of criticism would be, ipso apso, a critique of the ruling party since, practically all aspects of life in a socialist country, are controlled and supervised by the communist party. And it exactly was a reason why this kind of studies and researches was never welcomed and never could be properly financed and developed in socialist countries (we have to remember that in this system, practically everything in the field of science is financing from the central budget). The researches and dissertations from this field were published very seldom, evaluations were poor and often directed to the very marginal but, as it was called, 'safe' issues or they presented conclusions

distorted by political believes of authors and by political bias of their patrons. And the only theory which could and which have developed in socialist block was a normative approach³ theory of urban planning since, researcher was allowed to propose, to ask and to study, what socialist city should be like, but not to investigate and explain in dispassionate way, how this city is functioning in practice, how it serves its citizens and how it really develops.

The next crucial problem which every researcher of socialist planning system faces immediately, when starting his work, is availability of statistical data. For decades statistical system served (and in many fields serves even to-day) much more as a propaganda tool, than as the source of correct⁴ and precise information. The endless changes and 'modernizations' of administrative and territorial structures in Poland, make this problem even more complicated. It is enough to know that in Poland, the last administrative reform introduced in 1975, abolished administrative districts, and as a "side-effect" totally destroyed districts' data bases. And this exactly data bases were serving as a main source of information for all physical and spatial evaluation studies.

All these problems, which make often the role of researcher very difficult, have to be taken into account. Not always his findings and opinions will be properly based and often the scientific standard of the studies will not be as high as it should be. We have to remember, that important part of the operational decision system in socialist country is informal, semi-private, even deliberately concealed. It applies to the decisions of urban planning policy as well. The real channels of information, co-operation and decision networks, have sometimes nothing in common with the official structures, formally describe by the Law. Presented now reservation are important but they do not diminish, in my opinion, the substance of the problem which exists and must be investigated, if the efficiency and the progress of the urban planning methods are our objectives.

³ 'procedural' theories, dealing with problems of planning processes and planning institutions did not develope because planners and their bosses perfectly known, how planning process should be like. Also in the field of urban planning the socialism created "the only right theory and the best of all systems".

A 'substantivist' approach was not possible for already explained reasons. The theories of 'environmental' planning are still a matter of future in the socialist urban planning.

⁴ unfavourable results have been altered' in a statistical system ususally in two possible ways - simply faked or by restructuring a way of presentation of the data, what finally made displayed results, incomparable. The roots of this problem are deep, the motivations of the politicians, serious. In a socialist system, which was in general governed by distribution (until the eighties), results from the plan implementation influenced strongly next distribution decisions and 'favours'. Therefore for the boss of a province was politically less dangerous to fake the local statistical reports, then to admit that the target figures, e.g. in the housing programme, have not been achieved. If the latter happened, the region would received in the next year a smaller amount of steel or cement for the local building industry. And this should be avoid for every price.

They are three important messages in this paper.

The first - on distribution as a main and probably the only important in practice, function of socialist urban planning.

The second - on conflicts in urban life as a main present issue of socialist urban planning.

The third - on contradictions as a main and permanent feature of urban planning in centrally govern economy.

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Chapter 1

The origin of socialist urban planning

(1.1) The roots of the modern urban planning

From the long list of issues, ideas and events which influenced at first, the origin and next, the development of socialist urban planning, four in my opinion had a crucial impact on its final shape, achieved in the Twentieth Century. They were, **socialist traditions and ideas, the XIXth Century urbanization and industrialization processes, the housing demands created by rapid and tumultuous economic development of great cities and the technical revolution which started in the last decades of the XVIIIth Century.**

(*) socialist and idealistic traditions

Among forerunners of socialist ideology or ideas usually are listed Plato (and his REPUBLIC), Thomas More (and his UTOPIA - 1516), Campanella Thommaso (and the CITY OF THE SUN - 1602).

Socialist philosophers - Jean Jacques Rousseau and Babeuf; socialist utopians: Claude Saint Simon, Charles Fourier (and his famous Phalansters) and Robert Owen⁴, practically created the world of ideas which hundred years later shaped socialist urban planning.

And finally, the six ideas from the great heritage of socialist philosophy, influenced most practically, the modern urban socialist planning:

[a] an abolition of private property or strict control over its forms or uses (which in reality means - a dominant role of the state's or communal ownership),

⁴ Robert Owen (1771-1858) was probably the most important of these reformers. In 1799, Owen and a few his idealistic friends, founded the New Lanark factory, a practical example of modern industry with reasonable working hours, proper wages and living accomodation and social facilities (own school) for workers. But despite those revolutionary at the times ideas, Owen was even able to make a profit, what eventually made his example an interesting case also in economic dimension.

But his most significant achievement was a plan for ideal settlement, published for the first time in 1817, in a report to the 'Committee for the Relief of the Manufacturing Poor'. He specified in this report a several points of 'modern settlemet', which were to be revoked next, in documents of modern urban planning (the limited size of settlement, the sound economic principle of the venture, urban schemes and organization, housing principles, etc.). Unfortunately, despite several attempts, he was not able to put his plan into practice in Europe. His trip to the United States of America and project of 'Harmony' (next ideal settlement in Indiana) was the last, only partially successful effort, to implement his idealistic urban schemes.

Also Charles Fouriers (1772-1837) and Etienne Cabet (1788-1856) proposals and ideas were important for the future of European urban planning, there is a lot of similarities between these proposals and solutions which later were to appear in modern urban planning.

[b] a principle, that the labor and not the ownerships of production means should be a source of wealth,

[c] an idea, that the ownership of the land has to be collective,

[d] a romantic dream, that an equal opportunity should be given to the every member of the society ("from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs"),

[e] the enlightenment assumption that, by nature, men are rational and good,

[f] an optimistic and progressive concept of intellectual, social and economical development which was accepted by socialist thinkers.

(**) a rapid and tumultuous urban development in the XIX Century

According to all modern architectural critics, historians and scholars, a rapid and tumultuous urban development, effected from industrial growth of many regions in the nineteen century, was one of the main factors which shaped modern architecture and urban planning in our century.

The Table No.1 presents examples of urban development in a few cities only, but it is enough to show the scale and the extent of the issue (rates of growth in the period 1800-1900).

(inhabitants in the years 1800 and 1900)

Table No.1

Manchester	from	75,000	to	600,000
London	from	1,000,000	to	6,500,000
Paris	from	500,000	to	3,000,000
New York	from	33,000	to	3,500,000
Chicago	from	300	to	2,000,000

[quoted after Kenneth Frampton (1980)]

This rate of growth led to the transformation of the old, medieval towns into slums, paralyzed by lack of public transport, congested, extremely polluted. The XIXth Century urban regulations (among most famous those by Haussmann⁵ in

⁵ as Kenneth Framton (1980) has written "...During Haussmann's tenure the City of Paris built some 137 kilometers (85 miles) of new boulevards, which were considerably wider, more thickly lined with trees and better lit than more than the 536 kilometers (333 miles) of old thoroughfare they replaced...This entire system was 'ventilated' whenever possible by large areas of public open spaces...there was an adequate sewer system and fresh water piped into the city from the Dhuys valley...In achieving such a comprehensive plan, Haussmann, the apolitical administrator par excellence, refused to accept the political logic of the regime, he served. He was finally broken by an ambivalent bourgeoisie, who...supported his 'profitable improvements' while at the same time defending their proprietorial rights against his intervention." For the best and very detailed describtion of this fantastic venture, see also Leonardo Benevolo (1985, Ist vol.).

Also, Haussmann's influence on French and European urbanism was important. Within so called 'neo-conservative, town planning, several new ventures have been

Paris - 1853 and by Cerda in Barcelona - 1858) could not and did not improve substantially this situation.

And finally we must accept Kenneth Frampton (1980) that "...city, as it had come into being in Europe over the previous five hundred years, was totally transformed in the space of century by the interaction of a number of unprecedented technical and socio-economic forces...".

In the socialist countries the issue was even more serious since the industrialization and urbanization were recognized as an important political principles and goals. This approached were to accelerate development and progress, finally it brought new problems and perturbations.

(***) the great housing needs

The next issue was a great shortage of shelters for industrial workers in the most developed economically areas.

These great housing needs have been generated by fast industrialization and urbanization of many regions and countries, and by radical decrease of mortality due to improvement of medical care and nutrition. They finally created a new challenge and new, enormous demands for planners and politicians. But these new demands cannot be satisfied with methods and solutions of the classical urbanism and by employment of the planning principles created in the last two Centuries. This problem also required a new response and concepts.

And again, in the socialist world the problem was even more serious, the housing needs couldn't and still cannot be meet, the standard of new housing is very low, the conditions of living in new socialist estates, built in the seventies or sixties, in the Polish towns, miserable.

(****) technical revolution (the XIX Century - the Machine Age)

The XIX Century invented the structural engineering, steel building constructions and reinforced concrete. Among the most important achievements and technical developments, which perfectly illustrate the scale and scope of the technical progress, we can listed several events and dates:

1779 - The first cast-iron bridge is constructed over the Severn at Coalbrookdale, according to Wilkinson's idea and to design made by Pritchard (100 foot span),

1818 - The Royal Pavilion is built by Nash, and a cast iron is used for railings, grilles, balconies and decoration,

1829 - An iron-framed and made of brick warehouse (five-story) is erected in London docks,

1851 - The steel and glass construction of the Paxton's Cristal Palace is completed in London. It starts the great series of steel and glass constructions, so important next, for urban image of many European cities,

1867 - Coignet builds a six-story apartment houses from "ferroconcrete" in Paris (steel-reinforced concrete),

1883 - A cable-spinning Brooklyn Bridge is built,

carried out in France (Lyon, rue Imeriale in Marseilles), Belgium (lower part of the Brussels city), Italy (via Nazionale in Rome, reconstruction of Florence), Spain (Cerda's Plan for Barcelone), Austria (Vienna's Ring by L. Foster and next by M.Lohr) and in many other countries and cities.

1925 - A pre-stressed concrete is patented and used for the first time by Freyssinet in France.

These achievements created completely new situation, and both, possibilities and challenges for the architects and urban planners of modern era in Europe and USA. The technical means created in the Nineteen Century were to be used later by leaders of the Modern Movement and finally, they called into being a moder building industry.

(1.2) The fathers of the Modern Urban Planning

A great number of philosophers, scholars, politicians and architects have contributed to the creation of the Modern Movement and modern urban planning. But the most important and towering figures were in my, and many others opinion, Ebenezer Howard (1850-1928), Tony Garnier (1869-1948) and Le Corbusier (1887-1965). Especially, the influence and contribution of the latter's, to the modern socialist urbanism, cannot be overestimated.

Sir Ebenezer Howard

In 1898 Ebenezer Howard is publishing the book "To-morrow". He recommended then, as a solution for urgent urban problems and threats, creation of entirely new towns . He proposed an acquisition of large rural estates suitable for location of new, fully planned towns, arguing that financing of such projects should be possible by increment of a land value - when a land is transferred from agricultural use into an urban purposes.

Finally, for implementation of his proposals The Garden City Company was established and :

- in 1903 new town of Letchworth (4,500 acres) was built for 30,000 inhabitants (34 miles from the London city limits),
- in the next years the new town Welwynn (2,400 acres) was erected, 17 miles from London.

The main features and ideas of the GARDEN CITY concept included several new rules and proposals, which were to be adopted by modern urban planning :

- (*) the industry will be removed from a congested, polluted cities and built-up areas and will be located in a new, small scale settlements, separately from housing and services,
- (**) the "garden city" settlement will be provided with a large scale - open spaces and green areas of public use,
- (***) the housing should be separated from industry sites, but their close location (possible in small settlements) can be economically and functionally effective (short daily journeys from and to work),
- (****) an ownership of the land by the public (non-profit) company will be a general principle, this company should serve to and should be controlled by the local community. In a case of Letchworth it was The Garden City Company.
- (*****) garden cities will be very limited in size (20-30,000 inhabitants) and the further development of every, already completed new town should be controlled and effectively limited (e.g. by belt of farming lands),

(*****) the garden city should be professionally planned from its very beginning.

The impact of the Garden City concept on the urban planning in England and USA was immediate, its influence over the modern urban planning in Europe - immense. The "green belt" cities in USA, the concept of "new towns" in England, the CIAM's Athens Chart - in all those ideas and schemes one can find elements and principles borrowed from Howard's urban philosophy. Also socialist urban planning is indebted to all Howard's ideas.

Tony Garnier

The author of "The Industrial City" was born, educated and active in industrial city of Lyon, the one of the most important French centers of technical innovations. Its technical milieu strongly reflected Garnier's future thoughts and ideas. He was also very progressive in his political beliefs and until the very end of his professional life a close partner of famous socialist - Herriot of Lyon. They both have been working by decades for change of a tragic situation of Lyon's citizens. After education years (which he spent in the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Lyon and next in Paris) then a young architect, Tony Garnier, won the Prix de Rome and despite opposition of very conservative the Villa de Medici leaders, elaborated during stay in Italy his famous "Cite Industrielle" project, which was next exhibited in Paris, in 1904.

"The Industrial City" was planned as a new "satellite" town of Lyon, the project presented several new ideas and schemes which were to be later very important in socialist urban doctrine:

- (*) a logically and consequently design zoning system⁶ (strongly reflected next in the Chart of Athens);
- (**) the program of the town fully follows a concept of classless socialist, atheistic society (no churches, no banks, no barracks, no police headquarter),
- (***) the land in the town was communalized,
- (****) the strict sanitary standards were imposed, the provision of light, proper climatic ventilation, generously planned green and open spaces were proposed,
- (*****) the idea of "totalitarian urban planning" was for the first time openly presented, Garnier believed that architect can do everything - from the master plan of the city until the design of a chair.

Although the Garnier's ideas were never (to the contrary with Howard's) properly tested in practice, his influence over the next giant of modern urban planning, Le Corbusier, was enormous and finally fruitful in a practical⁷ dimensions also.

⁶ we should remembre that the very first zoning urban plan in the United States was elaborated not before 1916 (the urban plan for New York city).

⁷ William Curtis (1982) presents in his excellent book a long list of additional examples of urbanism "...which linked nineteenth-century notions with the progressive planners of the twenties.." as Berlage's extension of South Amsterdam, Kramer's and Klerk's collective housing, also in Amsterdam, May's 'Romerstadt Siedlung' in Frankfurt and probably the greatest and most radical

Especially, the idea of omnipotence of an architect and zoning concept were to be later strongly supported by Le Corbusier, and developed in his projects and his urban philosophy. And the latter was very influential in real world of urbanism.

Le Corbusier (Charles Eduard Jennaret)

The mechanics of urban life was, according to Von Moss (1979), a great concern of Le Corbusier, from his early years. But his first important urban project "Ville Contemporaine", a city for 3 millions inhabitants, was presented in 1922, several years after the first proposals of Howard's and Garnier's were published⁸.

programme of collective housing of those years, so called 'Hofs' in Wiena. The latter was an implementation of Peter Behrens idea by commune of Wiena, lead by social-democrat Mayor Otto Bauer. The most famous of them, Karl Marx Hof was planned and designed by Karl Ehn in 1927, it contained 1,382 apartments, a library, clubs, health clinic, all in a fortress-like huge superstructure, made nevertheless in a traditional way of bricks.

⁸ And two more important documents of the 'pre-Corbusiean era' should be remembered. They both have made a serious impact on modern urbanism: (1) the 'futurist' manifesto and (2) the Bruno Taut's Programme (both from the period of World War I).

(1) The 'futurist architecture' (1914) by Antonio Sant'Elia/Filippo Tomasso Marinetti:

"... The tremendous antithesis between the modern and the ancient world is the outcome of all those things that exist then. Elements have entered into our life of whose very possibility the ancients did not even dream. Material possibilities and attitudes of mind have come into being that have had a thousand repercussions, first and foremost of which is creation of new ideal of beauty, still obscure and embryonic, but whose fascination is already being felt by the masses. We have lost the sense of the monumental, of the heavy, of the static; we have enriched our sensibility by a 'taste for the light, the practical, THE EPHEMERAL AND THE SWIFT'. We feel that we are no longer the men of the cathedrals, the palaces, the assembly halls; but of big hotels, railway stations, immense roads, colossal ports, covered markets, brilliantly lit galleries, freeways, demolition and rebuilding schemes.

We must invent and rebuild the FUTURIST city: it must be like an immense, tumultuous, lively, noble work site, dynamic in all its parts;...the street, which will no longer stretch like a foot-mat level with the porters' lodges, but will descent into the earth on several levels, will receive the metropolitan traffic and will be linked, for the necessary passages from one to the other, by metal walkways and immensely fast escalators. ... Let us throw away monuments, sidewalks, arcades, steps; let us sink squares into the ground, raise the level of the city. ..."

(2) 'A programme for architecture' (Arkitektur-Programm, the Arbeitsrat fur Kunst, 1918) by Bruno Taut:

"Art-that is one single things, when it exists ! Today there is no art. The various disrupted tendencies can find their way back to a single unity only under the wings of a new architecture, so that every individual discipline will play

And already in 1925 Le Corbusier elaborates and presents next great scheme - "Plan Voisin", which in fact was the old concept of the "Ville Contemporaine" transformed for the city of Paris site. In the same period he is publishing his first important book on urbanism - "The City of To-Morrow".

This first period of great Corbusian schemes brought three new and very radical proposals:

(*) high density of urbanized areas (in which he factually opposed his predecessors, Howard and Garnier), it was achieved by using high-rise buildings (apartments and offices); (**) a total abolishing of a "normal" town street and traditional urban texture by a separation of traffic system in functionally and spatially isolated corridors and by specific use of great scale buildings in an urban space; and finally (***) a rigorous segregation of main city functions⁹.

its part in building. Then there will be no frontiers between the applied arts and sculpture or painting. Everything will be one thing: architecture. ..."

⁹ these ideas were extended next in the 'La Sarraz Declaration' (on the 26-28 of June 1928 in Chateau Sarraz in Switzerland, the CIAM - Congres Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne was founded, the official declaration of the CIAM was prepared by Le Corbusier and Sigfrid Giedion and, after discussions, accepted):

"... 1. The idea of modern architecture includes the link between the phenomenon of architecture and that of the general economic system.

2. The idea of 'economic efficiency' does not imply production furnishing maximum commercial profit, but production demanding a minimum working effort.

3. The need for maximum economic efficiency is the inevitable result of the impoverished state of the general economy.

4. The most efficient methods of production is that which arises from rationalization and standardization. Rationalization and standardization act directly on working methods both in modern architecture (conception) and in the building industry (realization). ...

... 1. Town planning is the organization of the function of collective life; it extends over both the urban agglomeration and the countryside. Town planning is the organization of life in all regions. Urbanization cannot be conditioned by the claims of a pre-existent aestheticism; its essence is of a functional order.

2. This order includes three functions; (a) dwelling, (b) producing, (c) relaxation (the maintenance of the species). ...

3. ... The chaotic division of land, resulting from sales, speculations, inheritances, must be abolished by a collective and methodical land policy.

The redistribution of the land, the indispensable preliminary basis for any town planning, must include the just division between the owners and the community of the UNEARNED INCREMENT resulting from works of joint interest.

4. Traffic control must take in all the functions of collective life. The growing intensity of these vital functions, always checked against a reading of statistics, demonstrates the supreme importance of the traffic phenomenon. ...

His approach to the problem of town planning was scientific (the urban planning was in his opinion a science and not an art) and functional. He was saying "all life is function and therefore not artistic".

Despite his leftist sympathies he was in those years attacked by the communist L'Humanite as a "reactionary". Not strange for the urban planner creating at that time a CBD from towers of banks and offices. But it was to be changed in next years.

In 1930 Le Corbusier presents new project, the "Ville Radieuse", the city of Machine-Age and for classless society. The legacy of Garnier and Howard can be easily traced in its schemes, but also an own great invention and fantasy Le Corbusier, the influence of his American journeys, his fascinations of the latest technical achievements.

This project includes a set of theories and new schemes, and presents the first ever, fully developed and modern proposal of zoned city and a new concept of regional planning.

The proposed zoning system includes: (1) business zone, what to-day can be called a CBD, (2) transport zones, (3) hotels and Embassies zone, (4) residential zone, (5) green and open spaces, (6) light industry zone, (7) freight and warehouse areas and (8) heavy industry zone. This time the segregation of functions is fully introduced and consequently planned. And Tim Benton was right when stated that "...By this stage, Le Corbusier was not simply concerned with the city (the metropolis), but rather with the whole pattern of living, working and leisure in town and country, informed on the one hand by his new political leanings towards Syndicalism and on the other hand supported by the ...CIAM" (in: LE CORBUSIER ARCHITECT OF THE CENTURY, 1987). And this exactly kind of a social approach to the urban problem made Le Corbusier's influence over socialist urban doctrine so immense.

A very important for his further developments was also the South America trip, when Le Corbusier, piloted by Saint-Exupery - surveys a tropical landscape and the South-American cities from the air. He discovers during those flights - "a natural linear city, Rio de Janeiro". It was probably the beginning of his fascination with linear form of settlement, which he next proposed for Algier and Zlin (in Czechoslovakia) and evaluated later in many theoretical schemes and projects.

6. Within the same order of ideas, all the prescriptions of the State which, in one form or another, tend to influence architecture by giving it a purely aesthetic direction are an obstacle to its development and must be vigorously combated.

8. If States were to adopt an attitude opposite to their present one, they would bring about a veritable architectural renaissance that would take its place quite naturally within the general orientation of the country's economic and social development."

(the Declaration was signed by 24 architects, among other: Berlage, Le Corbusier, May, Moser, Rietveld)

But the most important contribution, which Le Corbusier inherited to the modern urban planning have been his works on establishing and next practical running of the CIAM (the Congress of International Modern Architecture). The main steps of his activity in this first and most important, modern urban planning organization, have included :

(*) La Sarraz Declaration, a manifesto of the 1929 year, devoted mostly to the architectural issues of the Modern Movement;

(**) the organization of the CIAM and the CIRPAC (the working committee of CIAM) which he established and practically run (formally the post of the CIAM President hold Karl Moser, a prominent Swiss architect and the Secretary General of the CIAM was Sigfried Giedion, also a great personality of the Modern Movement).

The CIAM meetings and Congresses, its main documents and declarations - shaped the modern urban planning, their influence is important in many countries even now.

The most influential and outspoken document of this period is the Chart of Athen. It includes 95 points¹⁰ and recommends the rules of modern urbanism. As the most

¹⁰ in fact, the history of this document is complicated and a little mysterious. The CIAM's 'Charter of Athens' is a result of three years of work of the preparatory committee [CIRPAC, 1931-33], it is also an outcome of the IVth CIAM Congress, which took place in July and August 1933, on board of the SS PATRIS between Marseilles and Athens. But the final form of the document was set by Le Corbusier in 1941-42 and published in 1943. The most important principles for the modern urban planning were formulated as follow:

...
71. The majority of the cities studied today present a picture of chaos: these cities in no way fulfil their destiny, which is to satisfy the primordial biological and psychological needs of their inhabitants.

...
73. The ruthless violence of private interests disastrously upsets the balance between the thrust of economic forces on the one hand and the weakness of administrative control and the powerlessness of social solidarity on the other.

74. Although cities are in a state of permanent transformation, their development takes place without either precision or control, and without any account being taken of the principles of contemporary town planning worked out by qualified specialist bodies.

75. On both the spiritual and material planes, the city must ensure individual liberty and the advantages of collective action.

...
77. The keys to town planning are to be found in the four functions: housing, work, recreation and traffic.

78. Planning will determine the structure of each of the sectors assigned to the four key functions and will fix their respective location within the whole.

...
83. The city must be studied within the totality of its region of influence. A regional plan will replace the simple municipal plan. The limit of the agglomeration will coincide with the radius of its economic action.

...
85. It is urgently necessary for every city to establish its programme and promulgate laws that will enable this to be put into effect.

86. The programme must be based upon analyses rigorously carried out by specialists. It must foresee the stages of progress in time and space. It must gather into a fruitful harmony the natural resources of the site, the topography of the whole area, the economic facts, the sociological needs and the spiritual values.

...
93. The scale of work to be undertaken as a matter of urgency for the reorganization of cities on the one hand, and on the other the infinitely fragmented state of land ownership, are two opposing realities.

94. The dangerous contradiction noted here poses one of the most hazardous questions of the age: the urgent need to regulate, by legal means, the distribution of all usable ground, in order to bring the vital needs of the individual into complete harmony with collective needs.

95. Private interest will be subordinated to the collective interest. (the last tenen)

important of them we may recognized the following principles:

[a] detail studies and researchers should be a main base for urban planning and the planning itself should be considered as a science;

[b] the main issue of the planning is co-ordination of various functions and different interests within the city structure;

[c] as the four main functions of the city, planners should recognize dwelling, working, recreation and circulation;

[d] the separation of these, conflicting by nature, functions - should be a principle of modern planning;

[e] the basic, structural nucleus of town planning is the living cell (a dwelling) and its introduction into a group constitutes a unit of habitation¹¹ of suitable size;

[f] for solving the serious problems of the modern urbanism it is vital to utilize the resources of modern technological progress.

Until the sixties, the Chart of Athen was recognized as a important and working document. And even if that was not always openly declared, it has been a set of rules practically accepted by planners of many countries and cities.

(1.3) The introduction of modern urban planning into Central and Eastern Europe

Already in the twenties and thirties, many of urban planners and architects accepted the main principle of the Modern Movement and modern urban planning. The very first exhibition of Le Corbusier works was organized in the Warsaw School of Architecture in 1921 and the first modern institutions of planning network have been established in Poland, in the twenties. The Warsaw Planning and Building Office employed already in the mid of the thirties over six hundred of professionals, creating several new development schemes for Warsaw and for its region (this included then, the new housing districts, financially supported by the City).

The Polish, Hungarian and German¹² architects elaborated and presented - new

¹¹ the influence of this rule was important, even to-day in urban planning 'a housing unit' (for the catchment area of elementary school) is a basic structural element of the city structure, in Polish urban planning.

¹² two examples to illustrate these theoretical discussions, the first - a manifest: 'building' ("bauen", 1928) by Hannes Meyer (appointed as a head of BAUHAUS in Dessau in 1928) which stated : "...building is a biological process, building is not an aesthetic process. in its design the new dwelling becomes not only a 'machine for living', but also a biological apparatus serving the needs of body and mind. ... the new house is a social enterprise. ... the new housing project as a whole is to be ultimate aim of public welfare and as such is an intentionally organized, public-spirited project in which collective and individual energies are merged in a public-spiritedness based on an integral, co-operative foundation. ... building is the deliberate organization of the processes of life. ... building is nothing but organization: social, technical, economic, psychological organization.

projects, proposals and schemes. The idea of "integral planning" proposed by Jan Chmielewski and Szymon Syrkus in their scheme for Warsaw Metropolitan Region, called *Warszawa Funkcjonalna* won the Gold Medal at the 1933 CIAM Congress in Amsterdam and was later strongly promoted by the CIAM.

An important contribution to the Modern Movement and to the modern urban planning was also given by planners and architects from the Soviet Union. Between 1924 (when the XIIIth Congress of the Soviet Communist Party declared a housing issue as a political priority) and 1932 (when Stalin started to suppress all modern intellectual movements in the USSR), prominent Russian architects as Moses Ginsburg, Nikolai Milutin or Vesnin brothers, presented new ideas, projects and concepts. As early as in 1925, the OSA organization was established in Moscow (the Association of Contemporary Architects; it was a professional and very "progressive" body, somehow relevant to the CIA concept) and intensive co-operation between European and Soviet architects and planners started. The leading personalities of the Modern Movement, Bauhaus and other factions of modern architecture ideology - Eric Mendhelson, Ernst May, Bruno Taut and of course Le Corbusier himself, were visiting, lecturing and publishing in Soviet Russia, in those years.

Those contacts were very seminal. The Soviet architects and planners elaborated and proposed several new schemes and ideas, contributing to the Modern Movement heritage - own fantasy and creativeness.

The most well known projects of those times were Milutin's linear city proposed for Stalingrad development, Ginzburg's Project for Moscow and several schemes proposed for Magnitogorsk, a new city in the Eastern Russia. But finally nothing was completed. In 1929, the Soviet's Government decided that Ernst May's plan for Magnitogorsk is the best. Shortly after - in 1932, the Soviet's Ministry of Education, a philosopher and politically very significant person, Anatole Lunczarski, declared a "new idea - the pillars should be - for the people". Old, classical forms again were have to dominate in architectural and urban spaces, and the "new" period of pseudo-neo-classicism began. It's most spectacular example was the winning, classicistic Jovan's entry for the Palace of Soviet

And the second - 'A programme for city reconstruction' (1943) by Walter Gropius and Martin Wagner:

... 2. Former suggestion such as 'The City Beautiful' and other pictorial schemes have proved to be incomplete. First, action should be started by preparing legal, financial and administrative instruments to enable the planners to conceive and work out reliable master plans... 4. First of all the existing cities should be relieved of congestion and high blood pressure by removing those who cannot be permanently employed. Resettled around small industries in new 'townships' these people would regain their productive capacity and purchasing power... 8. Speculation often promotes blight and obsolescence. Therefore the community should own the land. The dwelling lots should be rented, though the houses may be owned. ...

competition¹³ in Moscow (1935). What was interesting also, that the Committee in charge of the construction of the Palace of the Soviets, was headed by Viaceslav Molotov not an architect or planner, but a notorious figure of politics in the Stalinist era.

The fate of many soviet precursors of modern urban planning was finally tragic, the most happy of them were marshalled under State control, many of them had to leave profession, not few disappeared in next years in "labor" camps or in prisons.

And the socialist realism¹⁴ was to dominate cultural and intellectual life of the Soviet Union for the next three decades.

Nevertheless, several of the early ideas of Soviet's modernity survived, many of them were finally inherited to the contemporary socialist urban planning in the USSR, after 1956.

Concluding this Chapter we should try to answer the main question, how we can define those ideas, proposals and principles which finally shaped at first, the modern movement projects and schemes and next the modern urban planning in the Central and Eastern, socialist Europe? In my personal opinion, we should accept the four main determinants of modern socialist urbanism, which were created in the early period of modern urbanism:

first, a very specific mixture of naiveness and utopian thinking derived from the socialist philosophy;

¹³ it was according to Kenneth Frampton (1980) "the struggle between the Modern Movement and the New Tradition" (as he calls the soviet's classicism of the thirties). Le Corbusier, Perret, Gropius, among other prominent architects, sent projects for this competition, but already in April 1932, the Socialist Realism line was adopted as the "only right", by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Soviet Union. Finally the project of Jofan was chosen for the 1st Prize, its architectural and urban image had enormous impact, at first, on the Soviet's, and next on the Socialist Europe urbanism and architecture. As K.Frampton (1980) is quoted, the jury found Le Corbusier's project "indulged in a too pronounced cult of machinism and aesthetization".

¹⁴ as it is quoted by Anatole Kopp (1970) from contemporary Soviet's documents, "... in 1931, the June Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party passed an important resolution relating to urban planning and development..The battle have been joined to give Soviet architecture a new ideological content..to assimilate all the progressive elements of our cultural heritage, to create highly artistic forms that will satisfy the aesthetic needs of the members of socialist society..". Next excellent, quoted example is - the resolution of the Central Committee <Concerning the general plan for the reconstruction of the city of Moscow>, approved in the 1935, which says that "...prepared on the initiative and under the direction of Comrade J.V.Stalin, ..(general plan) .. opened a new era in the development of architecture and city planning..". In 1937, the Congress of Soviet's Architects declared that "...socialist realism is the basic method of soviet architecture..(and it) means, combining ideological context..with a determination to make every building meet all the demands..".

second, a totalitarian approach and believe in priority of public good, represented by the state;

third, a strong faith in progressive character of historical development which must be supported also by planners through creation of new society and a socialist town (which could these "new and progressive" society houses);

fourth, a designer's desk syndrome - a believe that everything can be planned and designed.

This believe in social and economical progress and in new social order, which can be created and implemented is still alive among urban planners. An importance of a correct understanding of this legacy in a present methodology, scope and technics of urban planning, cannot be overestimated, both in practice and in theory of the modern socialist urban planning. The majority of shortcomings, failures and disasters of modern urbanism are strongly rooted in, and connected to the planning doctrine which was shaped at the beginning of this Century.

Chapter 2

A development of urban planning in centrally planned economies (a Polish case)

The Polish urban planning is in my opinion not only an interesting case by itself but also it is a good example for examination of the common issues of the modern urban planning in centrally planned economies, and it is so, for important reasons.

Firstly, because in the period of the 1960s and 70s the Polish urban planning represented advanced and practically operating, planning model. Therefore, the complexity of the problem, its range and scope, its effectiveness, can be precisely explained. What is also important, the Polish system includes complete legal framework and full institutional network; it employed also in the sixties - modern and advanced technologies and methods. Several, very instructive examples of the practical implementations of planning tasks (both, successes and failures), can be studied within limits of this system.

Secondly, because Poland as a country, despite its ruling communist ideology, saved a private sector of economy (a strong and economically vital private farming and small private business) and the Polish society, despite several efforts of communist leaders, saved also spirit of democracy and independence. The very powerful institution of the Catholic Church (more than 85% of Poles declared themselves as catholics), survived in Poland as well. These economic and political circumstances produced a very specific, very complicated but also very interesting social environment for urban planning, it also created many contradictions within the planning system itself. But at the same time, these circumstances create now a great possibility for studying many crucial questions and issues of the socialist urban planning model and the urban practice.

Thirdly, because Poland faced since 1980 the heaviest political and economical crisis of its modern history; the urban planning system is also under strong critics and attacks, the necessity of its radical reform no longer can be questioned. This situation creates now a considerable openness of all professional discussions and promotes all investigations. In the last few years many of the previous taboos have been lifted and urban planning as an issue reached a important position on a social and political agenda. Even, usually conservative, the Polish Society of Urban Planners, at its last Congress (1986), voted a reform of the Polish urban planning system as an actual priority of planner profession.

And as usual, some reservations have to be made also. We may accept a view that, despite dissimilarities in details, the systems which operate now in Hungary, Czechoslovakia or Bulgaria¹⁵ are essentially the same. Only the Soviet Union's and Yugoslavian urban planning systems (despite political similarities) should

¹⁵ some planners can argue with this statement, but when we are evaluating the most essential issues of different national urban planning models in the socialist Europe, distinctions are not really vital. The political systems of urban policy, the land-use model of planning, the instruments of plan implementation, are in all these countries, more or less the same,

be for many¹⁶ reasons, seen and evaluated as different. Therefore several statements, findings and conclusions of this text are not applicable to the latter (nevertheless, some of them are). And also we have to remember that the issue is very complicated and the whole, very complex planning system in Central Europe is in a transition period now. This creates not only advantages but also it brings an additional risks for all researches, since there is always a specific ambiguity of all institutions or systems being in a transformation phase.

(2.1) The origins and the beginnings of the Polish urban planning

The main roots of the Polish modern urbanism are more or less similar to roots of the whole modern urban planning.

IDEALISM as a reaction on miserable living condition which existed in Polish cities and towns in the 1920s and 30s and on decline of Polish cities as the aftermath of industrial revolution in Europe. A strong influence of THE SOCIALIST AND LEFTIST IDEOLOGIES. Several Polish architects and urban planners were members or supporters of the Polish Communist Party, already in the 30s. The Party itself was next (1936-38) destroyed by Stalin and nearly all Polish communist leaders were later to be murdered in the Soviet Union. Nevertheless those links, were to be very important later after 1944, when communist came to power¹⁷ in Poland. Next, THE ROMANTICISM and a strong believe that everything is possible. Already in 1930s - Polish urban planners demanded: a communalization of the land within the cities limits, an establishing of regional and central planning and they also suggested a creation of a new territorial structure of the country - to adapt an administrative pattern to the urban and physical structure of Poland.

And the Year 1944 made all those dreams - real. In this year, Poland abandoned by her Western Allies, became a socialist country and Soviet's model of socialism, after a few years of repressions and struggles, was 'transplanted' to Poland. A civil war (1944-1949) took more than 40 000 lives, but finally Stalin succeeded and the Polish People's Republic became a member of so called 'socialist family'.

(2.2) The Polish modern history and the planning system

The understanding of the political history of modern socialist Europe and Poland is very important for all next penetrations of socialist city planning, since

¹⁶ the Soviet's system primarily because of its enormous scale and totally different political circumstances, the Yugoslav's model because of strong regionalism of this country and advanced system of co-operatives, which influenced also an urban planning model.

¹⁷ But we have to remember that in the intellectual circles of the pre-war Poland (and not only in Poland, the 'Oxford Ring' in England, was much more prominent example of those mode) the positive approach to the Soviet Union and socialism was a kind of fashion. Writers, architects and scholars were frequently traveling, until it was possible, to Soviet Union. But the real face of communism in its Stalinist deviation was not yet known.

the city planning is in general a political art. This principle is also one of the main rules of socialistic urbanism.

The history of modern Poland can be conveniently described in terms of five main phases of political reality. I designate these: rebuilding (1944-49), cold-war (1950-55), socialism (1956-70), dynamic development (1971-80) and crisis (1980-1985). And for every of listed periods, the political dimension of urban question was different and must be separately presented.

1944-49 - The years of civil war and the years of rebuilding of the country after disastrous loses of the II WW. The Communist Party is consolidating its position, but multi-party system is still a political reality (the peasant and the socialist parties are active) and the private sector of economy is still strong. The Polish leader of those years, Wladyslaw Gomulka promote a vision of "own Polish way to socialism". But the year 1949 brought several new elements on international scene - after the Berlin's 1948 Year crisis, the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (ComeCon) is established, the Information Bureau of the Communist and Worker's Parties (infamous ConInform) is organized, the Soviet-Yugoslavian crisis erupted. Finally, political crisis of the Cold War starts.

1950-55 - The period of the Cold War, Gomulka is already deposed (1949), together with all more independent minded leaders of the Socialist Central Europe. In Poland, starts a period of rapid industrialization of the country and centralization of the economy (local government are abolished in March 1950). Private economy, with an exception of farming in Poland, is totally destroyed in the socialist Europe. It was a period properly called "...a peak of Stalinism which overwhelmingly influenced both the external and internal political framework in east Europe.." (for an excellent description of those years, see THE ECONOMIC HISTORY...vol.3,1986). The subordination of Poland, as all the East European countries, to the Soviet Union - was total. The socialized share of industrial output and retail turnover reached in Poland, in 1952, level - respectively: 99 and 93 per-cent (in Bulgaria - 100 and 98, Czechoslovakia - 98 and 97 and Hungary 97 and 82). As an effect of all these transformations, performances of Polish national economy are poor and the period ends in riots directed against harsh living conditions and against the Soviet domination (June 1956).

1956-70 - In June 1956 the Polish "Spring" began and the period of "socialism" starts. The next 14 years was the only more or less stabile politically period when, in some fields of economy and social life, socialist system worked. But more relaxed economic policy and increased freedom led by Gomulka in the fifties, ended again in a failure and economic stagnation, because of rigid¹⁸ and unsuccessful economic policy of the sixties. This periods is

¹⁸ 'after 1965 the administration stepped up its assault on the remnants of the "Polish October", culminating in the March 1968 suppression of dissent among students and intellectuals: determined to prevent anything resembling the developments in Czechoslovakia, the Polish authorities deployed not only considerable police power but also an enormous concentration of false propagan-da... In the subsequent months Poland became one of the most active co-organizers of the invasion of Czechoslovakia. The feeling for absolute licence for

closed also by political conflicts and tumults that came in the December 1970. The riots in Gdansk and Szczecin are the most stormy in the last three decades of Polish history. And Gomulka is once more deposed and replaced by younger generation leader, Edward Gierek.

1971-80 - A policy of "new and dynamic development" is declared, several economic reforms are initiated, but not coherent and not consequent economic policy programme, ineffective economy, growing foreign debts, low productivity of Polish industry, all these factors creates the heaviest political and economical crisis of the post-war Poland. The very conservative leaderships of the Party is not able to intoruce any sensible reforms, the economic system is not able to satisfy the growing social expectations, the national economy deteriorates, a hipper-inflation and severe shortage of foods and industrial consumer goods brings down standard of living (1981) of the population - approx. 25-30 % comparing with the 1978, a best year of the Gierek's era. The most significant politically is a foundation of the first independent trade union in socialist block, The Solidarity organization, and again, next new leader, General Jaruzelski is declaring a strong intention of radical social and economic reforms.

Since 1980 Poland is in a crisis and in a transition period. After eight tumultuous years, its economic recovery is still a matter of a distant future. Politicians, economists, planners are searching for a cure for the shortcomings and the common mistakes of the Polish economy. A strong tendency to decentralized the political power and operational decisions is an omnipresent factor of all discussions and proposals. It is a growing need of marketization and economisation of the whole system and for reconstruction of local self-government system. There is also a general demand of deep political changes and democratization of the system. But until now, the State and the Party, responsible in a socialist system virtually for everything, were not able¹⁹ to find an effective remedies

autocratic action became so strong in the last two years of the quinquennium to 1970 that Gomulka and his associates lost all sense of proportion and brought about a political explosion by announcing a sharp increase in consumer-good prices in the wake of stringent wage restraint... for the first time, a genuine mass working-class revolt in large industrial centres succeeded in overturning a communist government, forcing Gomulka and all his close associates out of the political arena. ...' (see: The Economic History of Eastern Europe, 1986).

¹⁹ Many times in last years, the Poland's communist authorities promised to carry out a democratization of political system, liberalization of economy, relaxation of controls of private economy activity and foreign investment. As with so many reform initiatives before (1956, 1971, 1981), the actual projects began as the rethorical revolutions to be ended later in proposals offering only slight alternations in economic and political system. According to critics of the reform programme, the drafts of legal documents (and only those have later a practical meaning) are always short of the original ideas and declarations. E.g., a law created in January 1986, which was expected to encourage foreign investors to start joint ventures with Polish firms, brought no positive results (only 12 such joint ventures were initiated until 1988). Private non agricultural business control in Poland less than 3 per cent of the economy (in 1988).

to the problems and a proper answers to all these urgent issues. The Table No.2 illustrates the scale and range of the economic crisis in Poland in the 80s. It presents the rate of growth of the economy (GDP), comparing with the basis of the 1960 year.

TABLE 2

Year	1946	1955	1960	1970	1975	1980	1985
GDP TOTAL	28	48	100	180	287	304	293
including (%) :							
industry	22	29	34	44	47	51	49
agriculture	70	42	35	23	15	13	16

(Notice: the lowest level of GDP was recorded in 1982 - 253%, comparing to the best year of post-war economy, 1978 when the GDP reached level of 332% of 1960s result)

(2.3) The establishing of modern urban planning system in Poland

The urban planning system as an important segment of the state institutional network, had to followed to the great extend the ways and turns of the Polish modern history. But important exceptions were also recorded.

The Year 1944 began for Polish architects and planners the period of great expectations, hopes and challenges. Many of them returned to homeland with the Polish People's Army (established by Stalin in 1943, in the Soviet Union). Among them, the first Chief Architect of Warsaw City - Jozef Sigalin, an important personality of Polish modern urbanism and a former officer of the Army. But many architects and urban planners spent the War years in Warsaw, elaborating in the underground studies, new urban plans for the city.

And thanks to the several important and specific reasons, these architects and planners achieved a powerful position, powerful beyond all their former dreams. Why it happened ?

Firstly, because raised to the ground Warsaw presented a "promised land" for all who would like to make a new and "a truly modern" city.

Formally, "equality of all sectors of economy" was declared, first by the Reform Committee and next by the Government. But reformers came under effective pressure form bureaucracy, which is strong enough to preserves and to protect own prerogatives. Finally, the limits on the economic activity of private firms have been imposed, both in domestic economy and in international commerce. Also a taxation system is very unfavorable for the private sector, and what's even more important, there is no legal control and clear rules in this field. The private company can be totally destroyed by the local tax office at its will. When this text is typing, in October of 1988, the new Prime Minister of Poland, just appointed, is making next promises, but skepticism is total.

Secondly, because the rebuilding of the Capital City was the all nation aim and a political goal of the Communists. They gave the highest priority to this issue, believing that it helps to unify the country and the nation, shattered by the civil war and political animosities.

Thirdly, because the strong political position of many leading architects and planners was a real fact.

Fourthly, because since from decades planners and architects were working on the issue of modern city, their professional background was strong, they have been ready and prepared for these difficult but exciting tasks - which they faced in a totally destroyed country²⁰.

And the last, but not the least important factor of this very specific situation, was personal engagement of many communist leaders, among them President Boleslaw Bierut in architecture and urban planning. They were frequently visiting architectural and urban planning studios, discussing with planners and architects even the most detailed²¹ problems and questions of new plans, proposals and schemes.

As it Professor Malisz stated in Fisher's (1966) book on city planning in Poland "...With the emergence of the People's Republic of Poland, the new system of government created conditions suitable for a planned socialist economy by nationalizing the means of production and by rendering land accessible for social purposes. These conditions were fully appreciated by the physical planners...". This statement needs no comment.

(2.3.1) the national planning system

But the urban planning system was constructed, from the very beginning, as a segment of general planning machinery and both formally and factually, was inferior to the economic planning institutions. Therefore it is necessary to recall the main steps of development of the whole planning system, before the presentation of urban planning issues can be started:

- 10 November 1945 - by the Decree of the Polish Provisional Government the Central Planning Office is established (its main task: planning and proposals

²⁰ we have to remember that the first Le Corbusier Exhibition was presented in the Warsaw School of Architecture already in 1921, that the PRAESENS group was founded in 1926 and since 1928, Szymon Syrkus nominated by Sigfrid Giedion was acting as a Polish representative to the CIAM. And Syrkus already in 1934 declared that "...the only rational solution is to leave the 19th Century town to its own fate...". And in 1945, Syrkus and his colleagues found an opportunity for practical implementation of those, seemed to be once only theoretical ideas.

²¹ The Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party was frequently discussing urban questions and issues in the fifties. The problem of shape of the Old Town squares in Warsaw, was a subject of several meetings of the Secretariat. A former Chief Architect of Warsaw city, late Jozef Sigalin, published three volumes of documents from the period 1945-81. This publication (1985) shows an enormous importance of urban question in a practical politics of socialism.

for allocation of available resources). Already in March 1946 the Office presents the first programme of industry development;

- 1947-1949 - the implementation of the first Three Years Plan. It is a period of mixed economy system in Poland (elements of the market economy still exists and private sector of small scale manufacturing and commerce is accepted). It is also a period of excellent economic results and performances of the Polish economy. The planning system is flexible, it accepts a considerable large areas of economic freedom and nearly free competition between private and nationalized companies. But gradually, the Soviet's methods starting to be introduced to the Polish planning and Polish economy. And the last year (1949) of the planned period is a decisive, since Gomulka is replaced by Bierut, the ComInform is created and the Soviet-Yugoslav crisis erupted;

- 27 April 1949 - The Central Planning Office is abolished²² and in the next year replaced by the State Committee for Economic Planning. The new role of plan is declared - "...the Plan has to mobilize the working masses, the targets of the plan must be ambitious but nevertheless, they should be exceeded...". This more political than managerial role of planning tools brought catastrophic effects first in economic, but later also in urban planning. The Corbusien ideas are condemned, his most faithful until then followers, became the most ardent²³ proponents of new, socialist doctrine of urban planning. And this doctrine conveyed the principles set up in the Soviet Union in the 30's. The resolution of the National Meeting of Architects-Members of the Communist Party, defined as the greatest danger to the building of socialist cities "...the influence of desurbanizing tendencies of Anglo-Saxon town planning, the deterioration of the concept of urban composition as one wholeness, and the threatening influence of Corbusien doctrine of urban schematistic...". But it is interesting enough to remember that already La Sarraz Declaration in 1928, a corner stone of modern urbanism stressed the importance of State's control saying "...if States were to adapt an attitude opposite to the present one (i.e. active politically in the

²² as many times before and after, also this decision regarding formally the field of planning, was politically motivated. The planning institutions were at that time dominated by the Polish Socialist Party. The latter was incorporated into communist party in 1948. Subsequently, all remainings of more liberal socialist ideology and practice, had to be destroyed. Professor Bobrowski, the head of the Central Planning Office was deposed (later he left Poland for a long period), the institution changed name, leaders and methods of planning.

²³ It was characteristic but at the same time dramatic, that pre-war representatives of 'constructivism' and 'functionalists' avant-garde, became the most ardent proponents of the doctrine of Socialist Realism. How hard the times were, what kind of choices had to be made, shows the position of Helena Syrkus, which she took at the 1949 infamous Architects Meeting (which formally declared the beginning of 'socialist realism') by saying: "Le Corbusier become even more alien for us because he did not attend the Wroclaw Congress (of Intellectual for Saving Peace of 1948) and refused to take part in The Paris Congress of Peace". Next year, Helena Syrkus, personal friend of Le Corbusier, Sert, Roth and many other prominent members of CIAM, was appointed to be the Chairman of Cultural Committee, which main task was to discipline all not "enough socialist" cultural organizations and to unify cultural "movements" in the field of social and professional activities.

field of urbanism), they would bring about a veritable architectural renaissance that would take its place quite naturally, within the general orientation of the country's economic and social development..". Of course, the authors could not predict that its idea can be employed to implementation of totally different aesthetic and functional canons;

- 1950-1955 - the 6th Years Plan is approved by the Polish Sejm (Diet) and new model of planning is adopted - rigid, non-realistic, implemented only by administrative decisions, working exclusively in up-down direction. The plan had to be revised twice, in 1952 and next in 1954 but its final achievements were non-satisfactory. The most important results for the Year 1955 were as follows - GNP reached the 81.7% of the target figure and accordingly; consumption level - 82.6%, investments - 65.9%, industrial production - 130% (but agriculture sector only 75.3%), employment (total) - 101.9% and real wages - 91.1%.

Since 1956 started unsuccessful efforts²⁴ of modernizing Polish economy, its planning system and instruments of economic policy. Today, in 1988 - we are still in quest for model which could meet political demands of socialist system, pleased a bureaucracy which run the country and in the same time, would introduce a sound and effective economic policy in Poland.

And as for now all efforts seem to be fruitless, many critics believes that this job is even totally impossible. And the impact of the obsolete, non-effective economics on urban policy, urban planning and, what is most important, on urban development processes - is now devastating.

(2.3.2) the urban planning system

The urban planning system was a second and a very important element of the planning model. It was developed on a parallel with the economic planning but to a great extent was much more successful in many fields. Its staff and its organizational network survived the cold war years, which were so tragic for other segments of the Polish social and intellectual life and it was, until the seventies, accepted as a useful tool for implementation of the city development policies.

The main steps of growth of the urban planning system in Poland can be characterized by following important decisions and dates :

- 24 May 1945 - the Central Planning Office of Physical Development is established in Warsaw;

- 2 April 1946 - by the Sejm's Decree, the physical planning system in Poland is formally introduced, since then physical planning and planned economy in spatial development are to be the general and ruling principles of Polish economy;

²⁴ Several distinguished Polish economists (among them, Kalecki, Lange and Lipski, all very well known internationally) presented new proposals and ideas for socialist economy, already in the fifties. For many reasons (mostly political) none of them have been adopted, although the urgent need of new, fundamentally different alternative for economic model, that could be working with reasonable effectiveness, was unquestionable since 1956 (see Alec Nove [1985])

- 1946-1949 a network of physical planning institutions is built (the most important of them were the Central Physical Planning Office and the Regional Planning Offices). Since the task of rebuilding of Warsaw city was enormous and was also of the greatest political importance, the separate office BOS (The Capital Rebuilding Bureau) is organized. Its staff is so radical and brave in planning decisions that Warsawians created in those years a popular and witty saying: "God save the Capital", since in Polish language the acronym BOS stands also for that;

- 1946 - the first draft of the Master Plan of Warsaw City is presented to the President of Poland, Boleslaw Bierut. This plan was supported by several interesting and valuable studies and researches, completed in the underground Warsaw's urban study, functioning in Polish capital during Nazi occupation of Poland. This period was successful for city planners in Warsaw. In extremely short period of a few next years, several urban complexes were completed, among them the West-East Bridge and Urban Complex "Plac Zamkowy", one of the most splendid, harmonious urban spaces in Europe. Those were really heroic years of real enthusiasm, sacrifices and achievements;

- 27 April 1949 - The Central Physical Planning Office is abolished, but the network of urban studies in the cities still exists. With strong support of President Bierut, ruler of Poland until his death in March 1956, the urban planning system is still growing. In April 1953 - The State Committee for Architecture and Building Economy is established, its main task is supervision of physical planning system and establishing proper standards, norms and methods for physical planning. The network of regional studies is developed and in next decade, in all bigger Polish cities the municipal urban offices are created;

- the political events of the 1956, did not change essentially the urban planning system, but "Polish Spring" had an important impact on aesthetic and functional aspects of urban planning. The nation-wide Conference of Architects in March 1956 discredited and banished the Socialist Realism and proclaimed an exultant return of the Modern Movement to Poland. Le Corbusier and his disciples became again heroes, but this time the Modern Movement ideology, surprisingly, stood for a symbol of democracy and freedom. In reality, a ruling doctrine and "the only right" methods of Socialist Realism were replaced by that of Modern Movement, also an unquestionable doctrine²⁵ and again a dogma;

- 31 January 1961 - The Spatial Planning Act passed the Polish Sejm. According to Professor Zaremba, one of the real "fathers" of the Polish modern

²⁵ we have to remember that a very few urban planners were conscious of real sense and content of the Modern Movement ideology, the next generations of urban planners had only to be obedient to its dogmas and liturgy. And there was also the very same ZEITGEIST which attended Socialist Realism. The March Conference postulated UNITY OF FORM, TECHNOLOGY, FUNCTION AND ECONOMY, the changes in planning and design methods were demanded, and finally they have been achieved together with introduction of TYPICAL DESIGNS AND INDUSTRIALIZED SYSTEMS OF BUILDING. The above mentioned and other, not relevant to this paper features of the Polish architecture and urbanism programme, created a doctrine which could be finally describe as a "socialist modern movement" (on this subject, see an excellent paper published by Henryk Drzewiecki: "The realism of the Socialist Realism in Polish Architecture"; ed. SARP, 1985. Also see the papers published by the Council of Europe from "Colloquy on Le Corbusier: Europe and Modernity", Strassbourg, 25-26 June 1987).

urban planning this Law : "...regulates the planned spatial development of the nation, regions, towns, settlement and villages. Taking into account past experience and methodological results of spatial planning, the Act tied it very closely to economic planning, making possible total planning for the development of the various parts of the country..." (Fisher, 1966). This Act had and still has a fundamental meaning for Polish urban planning since all next legal constructions followed its ideas and spirit. But under its influence, the legal framework of urban planning is in a permanent transition. The last version of Physical Planning Law was approved by The Sejm in 1984, and the last important amendments have been introduced to this Law in 1988. But, even critics of the present model of urban planning, must admit that in the year 1961, the Physical Planning Act could really be seen as a very progressive and advanced document;

- February 1964 - The network of Regional Physical Planning Bureaus is established, they were to serve since then as a link between physical and economic planning sub-systems. In fact, with creating this level of planning, the construction of multilevel, hierarchical model of planning, was finally concluded.

Since 1964, the physical planning system was consequently developed, but this process could be seen, until 1980, as a evolution of much the same model, operating in corresponding - political, social and economical environments, which existed in Poland until 1980. And what was interesting, that in the whole those period - the urban planners lost little of their immense public standing, when Poland careened from crisis to crisis. The functioning of planning until 1980 was relatively effective. As long as it could operated as a normative model of planning and as a part of socialist, centralized economy - its efficiency was quite acceptable. But the crisis of 1980-81 total destroyed this picture, creating a great issue and big question - what's next ? But this question cannot be properly answered as long as we shall not be able to understand a real roots and sources of our present problems, mistakes and failures. It is a main reason why the historic perspective is so important and is still needed in all researches, discussions and evaluations.

The performances of the urban planning system will be discussed in the next chapters, but first comment should be given now, before we start to discuss a structural feature of the present planning model.

None of the first Marxists seemed to have an understanding of an industrial modern economy and we can say exactly the same, in my opinion, on the socialist planners. As it was precisely defined by Aron Katsenellenboigen (see Nove, 1986 - pp. 51-52) : "...Marx failed to examine the mechanism of the functioning..." (of the socialist society believing that) "...the planned, purposeful development of the communist society would make everything clear and understandable, in contrast with the spontaneously developing market mechanism of a capitalist society..." (the future socialist society was to be a system in which) "...everything would be obvious. People's goals would be obvious, as would the available resources and methods of transferring them into products needed by the population...". And when analyzing the urban planning system, we have to deal simultaneously with both, urban planning and policy making system, since in this model they are totally integrated, presenting the most profound confirmation of well known expression that urbanism is a political art. Therefore, this naive and utopian thinking of Mark's followers is characteristic also for the urban planners in

socialist countries. It creates a strong believe of the planners that future can be predicted, planned and shaped according to their dreams.

(2.4) The current urban planning in Poland (the model of the 1970's)

The general structure of comprehensive planning system in Poland encloses two sub-systems, socio-economic planning and physical (spatial) planning.

The whole system is divided by three tiers, accordingly to the state administrative structure, i.e. national planning, regional planning and local (urban and rural) planning. And responsibility (legal and practical) for carrying out of all planning tasks holds state's administration (on every level respectively). The institutional network of planning machinery follows in general these structural features of the planning model.

According to the statements of the Physical Planning Act and The Planning Act, the both kinds of planning and all three tiers of plans, should be fully co-ordinate by official bodies, responsible for this field of state's affairs.

The urban planning system is formally a part of local planning and belongs to the physical planning sub-system. It means that urban planners and urban authorities are obliged to co-ordinate their works (a preparation of planning documents which are to be approved; an urban development policy documents, etc.) with:

- the field of socio-economic planning at the local level, which practically does not exist;
- the upper levels of planning (regional and national), in both, socio-economic and physical planning field.

In the comprehensive socialist planning exists three types of plans: long term (strategic) plans, 5 Years Plans (an essence of socialist planning) and short term (one-two years) plans of operational character and of different sort.

In addition to the listed types of plans, exists several various planning documents, elaborated and accepted by different governmental bodies, committees, companies, social and professional organizations. But in this area of planning, physical planning is usually non-existent or non important.

Assuming this general picture we can define the physical urban planning in socialist system as, essentially, - A LOCAL, LONG TERM (STRATEGIC) PLANNING, elaborated by the municipalities, co-ordinated by regional authorities and implemented by the City Council and its executives.

There is only one important exception to this rule. The regional plans, prepared in Poland for metropolitan regions (as Warsaw Metropolitan Region or Lodz agglomeration district) and a few more regional plans, prepared for the areas, where the capital city of region plays an important role in the national settlement network - all these regional plans include also vital elements of urban development policy.

(2.5) physical planning institutions and organizations

The comprehensive planning system in Poland is prescribed by two important legal acts :

- the Planning Law (26 February 1982), ruling the problems of socio-economic planning;
- the Physical Planning Law (12 July 1984), prescribing a tasks and a structure of the physical planning system.

On the national level physical plans (the National Physical Development Plan) are prepared by the State Planning Commission and are submitted for approval to the Sejm (a Polish Parliament).

Preparation of this plan is an obligatory task of the Commission and from mid of the sixties, several of them were elaborated (the latest in 1987), but no single National Physical Development Plan was ever formally approved.

According to opinion of present head planner of the physical national development plan, dr. Andrzej Pyszkowski, there are 3 strategic issue of the national plan: [a] an effective protection of most important ecological values and resources, [b] development of the national technical infrastructure and [c] harmonious development of the main elements of the settlement system in Poland. He beliefs that in future he will be able to add to this list: [d] the concept of inter-regional policy and [e] the policy for the "areas of social depression". According to his opinion, the greatest shortcomings of the national physical planning system are resulted from ineffective and poor implementation procedures and instruments.

On the regional level preparation of the plans (the Regional Socio-Economic Perspective Plans and since 1984, the Regional Development Plans) is an obligatory duty of regional administration. The plans, which normally are elaborated by "regional planning agencies" are next sent to the Regional Planning Commission for opinion and recommended to the Regional Council for approval. The last plan for the Warsaw Metropolitan Region (agglomeration plan) was elaborated in the period 1975-78, approved by the Warsaw City Council (which serves in both capacities, also as a regional council) in 1978 and is still in force.

The organization of planning at this level is more complicated, even confusing in some details, it reflex complexity of formal and informal systems of governing in Poland. The regional planning office (or the city planning office in a case of big cities, elevated formally to the position of a region) is a public enterprises. These institutions are nevertheless, not financed from regional budgets, but they operate as self-financing companies, on the basis of commercial contracts with communalities or regional public institutions. But the managing director of the Warsaw Development Office is appointed by the Mayor of Warsaw and is directly²⁶ to him subordinated. Also the influence of the local committee

²⁶ formally, regional development office has a status of 'independent public enterprise' operating for a profit; all reports, planning documents, opinions and drafts of the official decisions of the local or regional administration, are prepared by the regional office, technically, on the basis of commercial contract between the office and the 'client'. Although supervised by the regional administration, the planning office is independent in its internal structure, can accept additional commissions of different sort and from another regions. The planning office is also expected to present objective, best of possible, recommendations and proposals.

of the communist party and the local council on activity of planning agency is important and effective.

The regional planning offices carry out the majority of urban planning tasks both, at the regional and at the local level.

On the regional level (regions or metropolitan regions of big cities) several different types of planning documents is prepared and approved. They deal with different fields of regional economy and with spatial problems of development.

On the local level (commune town, city or city district) long term planning practically exists only in the field of physical planning, while the most important planning document at this level, is the economic Five Years Plan, serving as a policy document for the current development programmes.

The long term physical development planning includes all strategic proposal both, for physical and for social and economic development. The preparation of the local physical plans are obligatory and it is a task of local administration. The plans (master plans of the city, detailed plans of an action area) are approved by the Local Council. This level of planning represents a classical method of land-use planning and it is a main area of interest of urban and city planners in Poland.

The elements of city planning are included also in investment programmes and projects, especially when these are the great-scale ventures, designed by the city administration (housing projects, industrial parks, transportation facilities of vital meaning for the city etc). But as a principle, these projects and solutions have to follow instructions given by planners, which legally have to be supported by the ordinances included in approved master plans of the cities.

(2.6) urban planning documents and procedures

(2.6.1) regional planning documents on city development strategy

The physical development planning at the regional level is the most advanced and modern system of strategic planning in Poland. It deals mostly with problems of perspective development of the regions, both physical and socio-economic, but it includes also several important elements of urban development strategy. The latter, especially in the planning of the urban metropolitan regions and also the regions where settlement network is strongly developed. The elements of general urban strategy, when approved in a regional planning documents, have to be next transmitted and executed in master plans of the cities.

Until 1984, socio-economic planning and physical planning were at the regional level - institutionally separated. The last version of the Physical Planning Law established one unified system of planning institutions at the regional level, responsible for elaboration of a comprehensive planning document for the region, called Regional Development Plan.

(2.6.2) a master plan of the city

of possible, recommendations and proposals.

The most important planning document in the field of urban planning is a **Master Plan of the City**. Its essential features can be characterized by content, general structure of the document, procedures and methodology.

- general structure of the document - it includes two parts, socio-economic and physical principles and prognoses (approved by the Local Council as a separate document, before the elaboration of the plan starts) and a master plan of the city which is a policy document for the spatial development, housing and technical infrastructure programmes,

- content - [A] social goals and prognoses (population numbers and structures, employment characteristics, evaluation of future living standards); [B] economic development strategy and prognoses (since the master plan is the only long term plan of the city, it has to include also economic planning); [C] physical development strategy which includes general land distribution among different functions of the city and allocation of main programmes²⁷ and future investments (centers, cultural and sport facilities, communal services, educational programmes, industry etc); [D] accepted environmental policy and standards (which are obligatory for the planned period); [E] the land-use map (showing a destination of every fragment of city territory) which is an obligatory and strictly followed document in day-by-day decisions of the local administration; [F] general concepts of the technical infrastructure and communication systems (locations and technical characteristics of all functionally vital elements of these systems); [G] the obligatory instructions for lower level of planning (for detail plans and investment programmes which are going to be located on the planned territory). These instructions are specified separately for every so called "urban district" of the city (these are usually unified functionally areas, of medium size 20-80 hectares), they serve as a basis for all operational decisions of the local administration, very often they contain a very detailed and specific requirements and instructions, even proscription of architectural details of future single buildings; [H] the general costs assessments and schedules for plan implementation. These data have no practical meaning since, they are non obligatory and usually non realistic.

- time horizon - normally 15 years for perspective period (always more than 10 years, sometimes longer period is chosen for the target figures and standards) in obligatory elements of the plan and 25-30 years for long-term forecasts and projections and spatial development strategy.

- preparation of the plan - the costs of planning works is financed by the city budget, and plan normally is elaborated by regional planning offices (serving

²⁷ In the 1961 was introduced, as a obligatory element of urban planning, so called 'stage-plan'. It was to be an instrument of master plans' implementation; it included detailed description of subsequent phases of development, presented relations to the 5 Years Economic planning, costs of key investments, most important thresholds and pre-conditions of successful implementation of long-term objectives. But after very unsuccessful inauguration of this method in the sixties, the idea was abandoned, since the only result of "stage-planning" method, was production one more, useless in practice, planning document .

usually both, to regional and to local administration), formally it is possible to offer this contract to the private or co-operative architectural or planning firm, but this is rather seldom, since the administration prefers public organizations which can be better controlled. Nevertheless, in the eighties, the smaller regions were forced to sign many contracts with non-public enterprises, since many of them could not establish enough strong, own planning agency. In all cases the Chief Architect of the city is supervising directly the plan preparation and also the specialized commissions of the local council are involved in this process. In a course of plan preparation, the draft-document has to be co-ordinate with ca. 80 institutions and organizations, they can advise the planning agency both, on detail questions and on general strategy concept. The planning methods, content of the planning documents and planning procedures have been always prescribed by the instructions given from the national level (from the National Physical Planning Office or by the Ministry of Administration). This principle, as well as accordingly some legal regulations, have been changed in the eighties. Since then, local authorities are generally free in adopting own planning methods, only very general rules and schedules for the planning 'actions', are now established by the central authorities.

A methodology of the plan follows in both, procedures and substantial issues - the directives of the modern movement and modern "totalitarian" model of planning. The zoning system was successfully transformed in a land-use type of planning, the segregation of city functions is precisely executed, a very detailed programming is to make the future city a coherent, ideally functioning system - serving ideally designed society. In details, this methodology was evaluated and have been improving from time to time, but essentially, it is still the same model of planning and the same ideology.

What is a really crucial issue, it is the aim of planning. The plan, according to actual methodology, is aimed for presentation of final stage of development, i.e. an ideal picture of stage, when implementation of all plan proposals will be completed. Most of the planning documents²⁸ does not explain how this final picture can be achieved, what the process of development will be like, what kind of decisions have to be taken, to implement presented strategy.

The standard procedure of the master plan preparation includes several steps:

(1) studies and forecasts are carried out and next a general strategy, as a final result of completed studies and evaluations is presented for approval by the Mayor of the City, first to the local committee of communist party and next to the Local Council;

(2) a plan preparation starts and next, when its general concept is ready, a draft document of the plan is co-ordinated with different commissions of the local council, the local executives of political parties, more important local organizations (professional and social);

²⁸ these are some exceptions. The last, still in force, master plan of Warsaw city, prepared by the team headed by planner Maria Niemczyk, and approved in 1981, presented several interesting and new 'planning techniques'. Among them, staging and proposals of temporary use of land, designated to new programmes (what made this plan a little more flexible, comparing to typical planning documents). But these are really exceptions.

(3) the public hearings are organized, all motions and proposals submitted by the audience have to be carefully studied by planners and, with final recommendations of the head planner, presented next to Chief Architect of the city for final (professional) decision;

(4) a fully co-ordinated draft of the plan is presented to the local party committee for acceptance, usually to its executive presidium. In a case of more important planning document, as e.g. the Plan of Warsaw City, all governmental and central political bodies are involved in the process of plan co-ordination and acceptance, what make a job of planners really difficult (the preparation of such plan takes usually 3-5 years);

(5) the Plan is finally sent by the Mayor of the city to the local council for approval (on the plenary session). The Local Planning Act, issued by the local council normally includes decision of approval and recommendations for implementation policy of the plan, given by the council to the Mayor. The Local Planning Act usually comprehends also, a long list of more detailed and specific issues, enough important for the council to include them in the resolution;

(6) In every five years the Mayor of the city is obliged to present his opinion on effectiveness and actuality of the planning documents, he can recommend the preparation of new master plan, when existing, being in force plan is already obsolete or non-effective as an instrument of urban development policy.

The local council can itself make a decision that a new local plan is needed, and of course this decision must be obeyed by the Mayor of the city.

But the procedure of the plan preparation normally requires from three to four years of works of planners and efforts of the local administration, it is also rather costly (the full preparation of the Master Plan of Warsaw would costs now from 3 to 4 bln Zl, which can be compared with the sum of 6-8 ml US\$). Therefore, this kind of plan when once prepared, is serving next for a period of 12-15 years.

- plan co-ordination (within the planning system) - the master plan of the city has to follow several instructions of the actual regional plan and has to meet requirements of the regional development strategy. In the Polish model of centralized planning -the directives of the "central" and "regional" planners are based mainly on population figures. These figures make a starting point for all next evaluations and projections. And this is an important problem, since the accepted number of population is used for all next estimation of regional and city needs and balances.

- plan implementation (procedures and methods) - local administration is equipped with three important instruments of urban plan implementation, (A) LOCATION ACT, local administration can offers public or private developers and investors an attractive new location for planned programmes and ventures or can reject proposals submitted by them to the urban office. The location act includes several instructions which next, have to be followed by designers and builders; (B) BUILDING PERMIT, which is issued by the Chief Architect Office, on the condition that all requirements of Location Act and obligatory instructions have been strickly followed. The Building Permit usually includes additional instructions and indicators which developer is obliged to follow; (C) UTILIZATION PERMIT, given by the administration when project is completed, on the condition that all requirements have been met and all obligatory standards and codes satisfied (sanitary inspection, technical tests etc).

This set of administrative decisions is an important instrument of local administration in controlling of land-use, but practically these instruments are very ineffective in creation of new elements of the urban development policy, they can control, stop or reject not wanted activities, but they are not enough creative in promoting a new development policies.

(2.6.3) detailed urban planning

The urban planning policy is also implemented through system of local, detailed planning, which is executed in two fields of urban development: (a) for action areas, when great scale developments are initiated by the city or by public industrial organization (as e.g. big housing estate, industrial parks, or important communication programmes) and (b) for low density housing, build by private owners, usually located on the area where private ownership is prevailing and designated for extensive development.

The first group of plans is usually prepared by planning agencies or architectural offices, on a basis of contract with local administration. These plans include general urban concept, architectural schemes (as the examples and pilot designs) and projects of technical infrastructure of major importance. They usually serve as A BASIS FOR FORMULATION OF LOCATION ACTS issued by the administration for the developers which are ready to invest in a planned area. The private owners of the land, which are designated by this type of plan for new public programmes, are obliged to sell owned lands to the city on the basis of contract. The price of the land should be based on the actual market value of the land, in a case when city is not able to settle a contract with an owner, the final decision is taken by the administrative court.

The second group of detailed plans deals with a very specific and sensitive economically issue. These plans propose A REPLOTTING OF EXISTING LOW DENSITY HOUSING AREAS or farming lands, which are designated by the actual urban plans for low density housing. The land chosen for this purpose it is usually a privately own set of plots, remotely located, but in the city limits. According to the Polish planning law and other legal regulations on land policy, the owner of the land can possess, after replotting, five standard plots (the size of the plot and proposed divisions of the land is included in detailed plan), which plots he can use for his own purposes or can sell on private market. The remaining part of the owned land (if it still exists), an owner is obliged to sell to the city. The most difficult question is always a settlement of this type of contract, since according to the legal regulations, the selling price of the land should be fixed at the level corresponding to the actual purchase market value of the land, in given area. What means, that the contract price of the land should not reflects an expected increase of its value, when city will complete

a communal infrastructure for the area. The city can next²⁹ resell all collected, in this way, plots or use them for location of public facilities and services. The land needed for local roads and communication facilities must be given to the city by an owner without compensation, but the area of non-compensated land, could not exceed a ten per-cent of his whole property area (for the exceeding part over those 10 per cent, an owner must be fully compensated by the city).

An important part of urban development policy is implemented by plans and projects prepared for new investment programmes or renewal ventures. Formally, these projects have to follow instructions which are given in administrative acts of local administration (see 2.5.2), but they never could be really controlled by local planners and administration. It luckily gives, so important for cities, a touch of spontaneous and individual flavour to urban spaces. But it also creates a lot of problems and collisions.

²⁹ the problem is relatively new in Polish urban practice, since communal units did not have until 1988, a legal entity. When local government system was abolished in Poland, in March 1950, the local communities were empowered to act as 'plenipotentiary' of the state, and were expected to follow exactly the instructions of the central government. They have received a great area of autonomy in last few years, and they have to 'learn' now, how to perform their functions in new circumstances.

Chapter 3

The functioning of the urban planning system in a centrally planned economy

There are two sets of functions performed by the urban planning systems. The formal functions, declared and legally defined and the real functions, practically executed by plans and by urban planning policy. In centrally planned economies a position and the real functions of urban planning - are very specific, since essentially, this model of urban planning follows a general task of the whole planning system, a distribution of values, means, standards and privileges. In the economy with non-existent market, this function is vital for the whole socio-political system of urban life.

(3.1) The formal functions of urban planning

The formal functions of planning are declared by the Planning Law and they are officially formulated by political parties, politicians, government and its agencies.

The urban planning is directed, according to the Physical Planning Law (1984), toward: "...an increasing of standards of living and environmental quality of cities and regions, for a benefit of the society...in accordance with the existing economic conditions and requirements of national economy...". Following this goal, physical plans formulate the aims of urban development, future programmes and standards which should be achieved (usually, even very detailed target data are defined by plans) and describe a long-term, strategic picture of future cities, inhabited by the future socialist society. Plans do not explain how these goals could be achieved, this problem is delegated to the economic planning sphere and to the economic policy of the state and regions, what means practically that it is sent to nowhere. But for the local population the urban plan is very often the only document, which officially makes such promises and describes, in understandable way, a prosperous future. And this specific position of urban planning is one of the main sources of its present crisis in centralized economy countries. We must remember that these promises have never been fulfilled, and they never, from the very beginning, could be.

The promises of the urban plans and people's expectations are strongly contradicted to the reality of Polish cities. The latter is resulted from low effectiveness of national economy and from real priorities, which usually vary from those, set by urban planners but, which are decided and accepted by politicians and executed in a real process of decision-making. These sharp contrasts create finally, a general negative opinion on urban planning and the ultimate judgment on its relevance to the societal goals and needs.

(3.2) The real functions of urban planning

In socialist economy, the planning system as a whole and urban planning itself, plays three practical and fundamental roles:

(I) serves as a basic tool for sectoral and spatial distribution of products, goods, standards of living.

And the DISTRIBUTION is a real essence and a core of the socialist economy, for several reasons:

Firstly, because a shortage is a structural and permanent feature of the system, what makes a rationing, an indispensable function of governing (see an excellent theoretical explanation³⁰ of this issue given by Kornai, in his book, 1980).

Secondly, because when the market forces and economic rules are non-existent, the system of distribution is vital even for functioning of the society.

Thirdly, because from ideological reasons ("to everybody, according to his merits"), a distribution of goods and privileges, is a political principle.

(II) creates a formal (legal) system for execution of chosen urban development policy. In this area, it acts in a standard, traditional way, as all urban planning systems.

(II) offers an important tool for "ideological battles" (playing effectively role of a propaganda instrument), it gives also a platform for defining and presenting the social goals and priorities of future.

But its first task as a distributor, is a real essence of socialist planning. What is important for us, that this task, in the area of spatial economy, is practically implemented by urban planners and by urban planning system.

(3.2.1) a distributive issue in centralized economy

The trend toward a greater governmental authority is a common factor of political evolution of the XX century. It exists in all political and economical models. In the United States of America, the Federal Reserve System was established already in 1913, social security policy on the Federal level began in 1936 and the Federal Budget deficit reach in 1987 - a level of 150 bln US dollars. And these are examples from the most liberal economy, or at least declared itself as such. But the socialist economy model is designed, as it is openly declared, to attain the goals define by the single ruling party, which represents a "most progressive and leading" segment of the society. The state, as a matter of principle, decides in this system on the priorities of economy, on the allocation of GNP, on the distribution of consumer goods among society, regions and classes. The state was once an owner and a sole distributor of not only production means and manufactured consumer goods but also offered it's citizens - jobs, privileges and information, medical care, pensions, access to cultural values and travelling. In the fifties and sixties it dictated tastes and ways of life. In some periods of Polish modern history some goods (private cars) or "privileges" (as e.g., travelling to "the West") were not available to the ordinary citizen, as a matter of the general, state policy. This monopolistic model eroded in the

³⁰ he explains in which way, through structural elements and features of planned economy (lack of market regulations and forces, monetary and banking policies of the omnipotent state, role of investments in development of the economy), a shortage is created. He also explains why, the shortage once created, can itself accelerate the problem or caused the next shortages, in other fields or sectors of the national, socialist economy.

seventies and was severely damaged by the crisis of 1980-1981. Many of those rules are no more declared as values of "modern socialism", nevertheless, the spirit of the old system survived in many areas of socialistic reality, and among them in urban planning.

The latter still plays a decisive role in distributive policy of the State. And the most essential features of the socialist economic system are still the same. As it was described by Paul Samuelson (1985) they include: "government ownership of productive resources", "instead of free play of profit motives...co-ordinational planning" and "redistribution of income and cradle-to-grave welfare services .. provided by the collective purse".

But despite the enormous concentration of power at the national level, the distributive policy of the state was never stable and never really long lasting.

In the period 1944-55 nearly everything was distributed by the state agencies: housing, food (rationed and heavily subsidized), clothes, vacations (also very cheap and subsidized), nearly all industrial goods. The free market elements were destroyed and so called "speculants" faced even a danger of death penalty for economic activities. The area of private consumption was marginal and it represented then, a few per-cent of an overall consumption volume. In urban life this area was virtually non existent.

The period 1956-1970 shows a steady growth of private consumption, majority of the day-by-day spendings is now in hands of citizens. Also the principles of financial state's policy have been changed in this period. In several sectors of economy, the system of subsidization was replaced by the banking instruments (loans and grants). The small private enterprises and farms began to function and develop again. The travelling and information freedoms were consequently growing. But still the private ownership of the land was not legalized in those years and the government or the governmental agencies, were pre-dominant distributors of majority of most expensive goods and services (apartments, cars, health care, social security).

A next important change in the policy toward consumers was introduced by the state in 1971, when an increasing of living standards was placed very high on the political agenda of new leaders. They declared an intention of "building second Poland" (what was found by many people as a curious and offensive slogan), they claimed that Poland is already - "the 6th industrial power of the World" (what was not truth) etc, etc. But generally, in the years 1971-1980, the area of state controlled consumption was decreasing. The rationing and distribution still existed and included some luxurious (in Poland) goods and services³¹, but an everyday consumption was no longer the business of the state. And as an effect of these changes, the field of social care and traditionally strong system of social security were curtailed also. An inequality in living standards and incomes was consequently growing as well.

But in the field of urbanism, this period brought also an important and real change. Following the general political concept of "socialism of consumers", the

³¹ special health clinic, high standard housing or the best locations for the summer-houses - all these, for the political, social or professional elites. A substantial part of these goods or privileges was distributed via urban planning decisions or via urban policy.

party and the administration accepted an idea of private ownership of small houses, apartments, summer houses and urban land. Nationalized in the fifties estates and apartments were resold, usually to the former owners, who were repossessed before (without compensations). In the seventies, they were granted with privilege of priority in these 'sales'. Finally, the legal protection of the private ownership of land was reinstated. It totally changed the social and economical environment of urban planning system.

The present period, which started with crisis of 1980-1981, is very tumultuous and very confusing. The economic crisis forced the state for re-introducing rationing of several goods in 1980 (which was later shifted with an exception of meat and petrol), but at the same time the area of private, luxurious consumption was fast growing, resulting in a rapid increase of social inequities and economical divisions of the society. The social care and pension system are now totally inadequate to the elementary needs of people and the average income per capita is much lower than required for, even officially quoted, minimum standard of living in Poland. Practically, the consumption area is dominated by individual consumer and the state is making hopeless efforts to support at least the most needy, the young couples, invalids and pensioners. Rationing and special distribution system are also returning, not only in the field of social care and for the most privileged, but also as an economic instrument (e.g. special shops for coal miners, but only for those who are ready to accept work in the weekends).

Despite this very confusing picture, some general trends in distribution policy can be explained.

The first, it is a profound decrease of a state dominant, collective consumption area.

The second, that the importance of private consumer market is still growing, and without meeting its demands, the economic progress in and political relaxation in Poland, are not very likely.

The third, that a Veblen's "conspicuous consumption" is for the first time a real fact in a socialist society. And urban life is an area where this kind of consumption is most visible now.

Finally we must agree with these who argued that now, in the socialist system, the greatest and the most urgent for answering questions are - if growing inequalities can be tolerate to the benefit of productiveness of national economy, or they should be levelled for the social and political purposes of ideology ? Is the political system able to survived any of these two political choices ? Does it have a third one ? What these choices mean for urban life, urban policy and urban planning ? How will look like a future regional policy in these conditions ?

(3.2.2) a distributive issue in urban policy and urban planning

The planning system in Poland, from the beginnings of its socialist phase, was an important element of the distribution network. And urban planning was, and still is distributing - LAND (THE RIGHT OF USE AND WAY OF USING), PROGRAMMES OF DEVELOPMENT, ACTIVITIES AND RIGHTS OF ACTING, STANDARDS AND QUALITIES OF LIVING, it creates also ECONOMIC VALUE OF THE LAND AND RENT OF LAND. It is also

supporting a socio-economic planning in performing its distributive functions in a spatial context.

But the problem of distribution in territorial planning was never a real interest of practitioners or researchers of urbanism in its economic or social dimension.

Firstly, because there is a total lack of economic criterions in socialist physical planning and in socialist urban development policy. The market was non-existent for decades, rent of land was denied to exist either. One has to remember that according to Marx's Capital (the Second Volume), a land has no value. The influence of this dogma on socialist urban planning cannot be overestimated. It is noticeable also in different political, cultural and geographical systems, as long as they declared socialist principles of spatial economy³². Also, the researches on externalities issue could started in Poland not before the eighties.

Secondly, the superiority of so called "public interest" and practical effects of state's priority in executing its own land management policy, overwhelmed the rights of individuals, even if they were in some areas formally recognized. In effect, final task of the urban planning was an: "adequate spatial distribution and allocation of resources". Next aim was an "optimization" of the distributive decisions and spatial structures. The problem of private ownerships and distributive effects of the plan decisions, were totally ignored. The plan was to be a tool for promoting of ultimate "socialist justice"³³ and should create finally, a socialist town, benefiting all his citizens.

What is distributed within the physical planning system to-day (by plans and by planning implementations procedures) ?

(1) the use of land through the decisions of physical plans and through the land reclamation system,

(2) the value of privately owned lands, through the changes in the ordinances of land-use.

When privately owned land is designated by urban plan for the public use in future, a compulsory system of land reclamation deprives the private owner of his land, and a compensation for taken land given to the former owner, is settled in a contract usually below its real market value.

³² the author, as an UN adviser, could see identical approach to this problem also in African countries, which declared themselves as socialistic. The land has no value, it is own by the state, than - there is no reason to evaluate effectiveness and economic sense of physical development policy.

³³ though, we may agree with majority of theorists that "benefits in planning have to be distributed according to politically determined formula" and accept this general directive, we must remember that these formulas are strongly dependent to the political principles of the systems. The Western concept of the 'fair' distribution (distributive justice) is according to Bullock based on the principles of individual liberties, political and civil rights, opportunities and ownerships of the property. The meaning of this definitions (even if the used words are the same), in socialism are different, in result, a distributive policy and its instruments are aimed also at the different goals.

But when the same land is designated by plan for a low density, private housing, the owner is benefited by planning decision, since he can sell his land, or at least its substantial part, on the private market and to the private buyers. But this time, in a private contract, an owner can expect a honest price from a buyer.

(3) the programmes of public facilities, communication and services which are distributed by economic planning and also by urban planning, through their spatial allocation. The financing of those programmes was always a decision of socio-economic plan (5 Years Plan) but finally, the combined action of two spheres of planning created ultimate picture of the town or housing district, and decide about living standards offered to local people.

The field of individual's decision includes only the fields of private farming, low density housing and small scale private business. But even so, the central and local authorities are equipped with very efficient instruments for controlling all these small activities (distribution of building materials, banking loans, building permits etc),

(4) activities and rights for acting are also a subject of distribution in a spatial dimension. It is common task of all modern states, they have to control and co-ordinate activities of their citizens, enterprises, organizations, social and professional groups - to avoid collisions and conflicts of interests in an urban space. But until recent years, the socialist state was interfering in even the most detail questions of human existence. And it still controls all public and economic activities of citizens. Therefore, great part of real functions of the urban planning is connected to or directly performs distribution of activities³⁴ in space. And majority of urban conflicts is rooted in, or influenced by this issue,

(5) "security and freedom" values which are distributed by the planning decisions also. According to Kai Lemberg (1986), a former Head Planner of the Copenhagen city, these are values which are expected by individuals towards the life in society and the urban plans often determine and distribute them.

The "security" values include personal security, stability, harmony, well defined space, fixed pattern of the urban space and orientation, privacy.

The "freedom" values, which are often contradictory to the latter, include among other - possibility of expansion, contrast, discovery, individuality, freedom of choice.

The investigation of these problems could bring several new questions to the distributive issue in socialist urban planning.

Who distributes and how ? The complete list of factual distributors would be very long, but in my opinion, six political and social groups play a decisive role in this process :

(1) The central political power which exercise control over general policy questions but often comes to the details, when decides that details are important. This segment is usually supported by experts, planners, "ad-hoc"

³⁴ before any kind of economic activity can be started in the city, the entrepreneur has to receive a positive opinion (sometimes a decision) from urban planning agency, which formally should formulate its position according to the master plan of the city regulations and ordinances. Nevertheless, a great area of discretion (of city planner) in this field still exists.

groups etc. This level creates a political strategy for distribution. At present, it decides in general, what an individual can be allowed in Poland now, and which privileges can be granted to him later, in the next stage of reform process. The urban distributive policy is also decided at this level, the inter-regional balances, allocation of investment funds among regions and cities, communal budgets of all administrative units in Poland, the scope and range of private ownership - all these great and small issues are decided centrally in socialist system.

(2) The legislature and central administration, which formally approve all important strategic documents and proposals. This political group distributes more than 80 per-cent of national financial resources and 100 per-cent of all rationed goods and resources. It practically distribute everything, the Ministry of Commerce can (today) grants a citizen with a "coupon" for a new car, a Politbiuro member could provides his native village (in the fifties and sixties) with a steel plant. This level creates also an institutional and legal network of distribution system, present justification for the political decisions of the state and the party.

(3) The local political bodies, legislature and administration which can be seen in functioning as a coherent block, and which are practically ruled by local communist party organizations. They are responsible for detailed decisions and distribution of already allocated "to them" goods, funds and values. This level deals with all problems of private person, citizen, small enterprise etc. and it is responsible for majority of the urban life issues. This level practically creates an urban policy and it is managing an urban planning system and its institutions.

(4) Local lobbies and various social groups of different sort, which in certain periods of Polish modern history could achieved a great influence in local or even national scale. In 1956, the strong pressure of workers in several regions, led to the temporary abolishment of "special shops and services", established in the forties (but re-established again in the sixties). In the eighties, the activity of informal and semi-formal social groups, underground, political opposition or banned trade unions, is again strong and directed toward most urgent issues as environmental pollution, housing problems, democracy, civil rights, economical and political freedoms. In the same group can be listed, numerous in Poland, professional organization, which very often can strongly influenced a distribution policy.

In the field of urban planning, an influence of Architects or Urban Planners organizations is strong and far reaching. The opinion of the local branch of such organization is an important document and professional voice, seriously evaluated by city council.

(5) The owners of the land and tenants of the public housing, who are very active now, when land-use plans are presented for public hearings or when the rent system of public housing is discussed. But practical influence of this group on planner decisions is still very limited, thou we may expect that this group will also come to the prominent position soon.

(6) The future receivers and potential consumers of goods and services. This social segment, includes people waiting for new bus-line or for not completed school in their district, includes the members of new housing co-operative, in quest of new location, and many other groups unsatisfied citizens. These groups can be sometimes very aggressive and influential (especially if such group includes a someone with strong personal "connections"), their actions sometimes

are resulting in alternations of urban plans or urban policy. And not always these effects are justifiable.

The next very important dilemma of distribution through planning is a contradiction which exists between so called "social priority" and "private" interest. In the distributive system of socialist urban planning, the position of society and public interest are formally and practically protected. It is quite another and very interesting question, who and in such why defines this interest, but its priority is nevertheless, guaranteed.

Formally, the rights and position of an individual are protected in urban planning system also. Private ownership is guarantee and protected by the Polish Constitutional Law, there is also legal protection of private rights of an owner, citizen or entrepreneur. And three institutions have been created in the Polish urban planning system, to ensure the rights of individuals.

In the sixties, an institution (1) of public hearings as a part of planning procedure was introduced and (2) the right of appeal to the upper level of administration was legally established. As it was already explained, it did not help very much in protecting of the private owner's rights in Poland.

But in the seventies, (3) the administrative courts were constituted, primarily for protection of public enterprises and companies, but finally, they started to serve as courts for individual's cases as well. In these courts, ca. 30% of winning cases at present, are these sent by private citizens.

In the eighties the problem became very complex, since priority of public interest is still an official goal, which cannot be questioned. Also a strong position of the state and local administration, is a real challenge for private proprietor or small businessman. Nevertheless, politically, the latter came to the prominent position in the eighties. To-day, when conflict starts, nobody can predict who will be a winning part, when an important interest is at the stake. Until the eighties, individual was usually a loser but now the verdict of the court is usually more objective and more honest, therefore unpredictable.

(3.2.3) the ideological aspects of socialist urban planning

The ideological context of urban planning is a well known problem, many researches and excellent books³⁵ researches were carried out and published in last two decades on this subject. The employment of architecture and urban planning in a service of modern state was examined on examples of the Soviet Russia, Hitler's Germany and Mussolini's Italy. Hitler sought consciously to express the aspirations and goals of the nazi Third Reich in enormous urban compositions. An interesting series of publications on modern French "presidential architecture" was published by Chaslin. They illustrate a connections between political power of French Presidents and architecture; between the

³⁵ 'the architecture and urban planning are political arts' and it is true when Camhis (1979) is saying: "...Marxists theorists aim to show that planning is political. This means at least three things. First, urban problems are considered by the State as priorities in political programmes. Second, that crises of social conditions involve many aspects of territorial social relationships. And third, urban relationships can be understood only to the totalty of social relationships. ..."

personal dreams and ambitions of Mitterand (and his predecessors) and urban projects of the city of Paris. The inter-relations between politics and urbanism and architecture from three decades concentrate notice also of American researchers. In this field the socialist urban planning did not invent new ideas or patents. But as all states with strong central power and strong ideological bias, socialist³⁶ countries devoted, from their beginnings, "... considerable attention to the ways in which buildings and urban plans might be used to legitimize their position at home and abroad, and to convey their beliefs through symbolism and association.." (Curtiss, 1983). Ideologically, the urban plans should serve as an instrument for shaping future socialist society, for the creation of "socialist" spatial order of the cities, they also should promote by their physical features, a new economical order.

And there is one more, specific ideological problem of socialist urban planning. We should remember that in the contrary to the given examples from non-socialist countries, where we have been concerned with problems of implemented and arranged urban and architectural spaces - of Speer's Berlin or Pompidou Center - in socialist urban planning we are dealing mostly with projects, plans, visions and promises. These plans are often appealing to the citizen for hard work to-day, for sacrifices of present generation, to make possible a bright future for the next. The pictures of future, never reaching happiness, a fantastic, mostly unrealistic plans, create a kind of religious dreams. And Marks description, when he was labelling a religion as "an opium for masses" is adequate in my opinion, to one of the most important role, which urban planning plays in socialist system. This idealistic and somehow a missionary aspect of planning is so important for socialist rulers that several times, the plans, in the planned economy, have been amended in the last year of planned period, to make real a claim on 100 per cent plan fulfillment. The problem of "non-planning" in a centrally planned economy, has been already discussed by several theoreticians and scholars (as Nove, Zaleski or Ticktin), and it will be raised once more in this paper, therefore it is important now to stress only, that urban planning is a vital part of this "show". The urban plan, from its essence, is a type of planning document, which in a best, most spectacular and most clear way, can presents the future prospects. Therefore, in the years when believe in a sense of urban planning was still strong, the urban concepts, schemes and models were often displayed on the streets and squares of Polish cities.

The failure of ideological and professional policy, presented by urban plans had an important impact on the whole socialist system, when the Polish crisis of the

³⁶ But not only totalitarian and socialist regimes are accused now for using urban planning as a tool of political domination. In his last books, also in "The Urbanization of Capital", David Harvey (1985) blames, from his Marksist's position, a capitalistic system - for controlling the space and for shaping a physical landscape of the cities, not only for traditionally accepted functional and aesthetic reasons. The important aim for capitalists is also, according to his profoundly defended opinion - to structure the consciousness of citizens. We may add that, the ideological goals and principles of socialist urban planning are strongly connected, both in theory and in practice, with very similar aims. They usually reflects the goals of the socialist rulers, and promote the official state policy in urban sphere.

eighties started. This crisis was rooted also in planning mistakes and in social and political effects of inadequacy of urban plans. The plans declared future prosperity and the state claimed that this prosperity can be achieved only in "a planned" society. Non-fulfilled finally promises and failures of the plans became then, the failures of a system. Important was also that in all socialist countries, the system of urban planning from the very beginning have been acting as a part of a state's apparatus.

Therefore it is logically, that at the end, all mistakes of urban plans have been put to the state's threshold.

(3.3) An efficiency of the urban planning system

The efficiency of the socialist urban planning system in Poland, resulted always from actual economic and political conditions. Therefore it was very different in all periods of the Polish modern history and it was also different in its spatial dimensions.

(3.3.1) the period 1944-55,

These were the great years of architects and urban planners in Poland, it was also a period of real achievements: Total unity which existed between political, social and professional aims in the field of urban planning in Warsaw, created extremely favorable circumstances for urban planning in this city. It was also a period of simple solutions, obvious aims and primitive economy. The country and its people could be easily governed from the central level. An overwhelming system of distribution and totally centralized power, resulted, for a short period of time, in high efficiency of the system. The costs of this policy had to be paid in the next decade and in other areas. The rebuilding of Warsaw city as a capital of Poland was possible only through enormous accumulation of financial and material resources on this target. In the period 1946-47, nearly 24 per cent of all national investment funds were directed to this objective. The price paid for the successes in Warsaw rebuilding, was high. Abandoned for more than decade Western Poland, growing inequalities and disproportions between regions and cities, were the most important out-puts of that policy. But in the period 1944-1949, rebuilding of Warsaw was unquestionable goal of the nation. This enthusiasm was real, devotion to work authentic. For the first months, urban planners and architects were working in Warsaw Planning Office without earnings, only for shelter and food (poor). For several next years salaries were low, most of industrial goods and consumer products were rationed. For proper work, planner or worker could be awarded with small radio or coupon for shirt.

The conflicts in urban life were non-existent problem since firstly, the state was strong enough to "persuade" its citizens and imposed on them, all general and local decisions and secondly, because believe in superiority of public good was general. The period 1950-1955 was more complicated, since "cold war" and growing inefficiency of the socialist managerial system, halted economic progress and decreased living standards. Also enthusiasm of people was diminishing with years. A lack of progress, authoritarian model of governing, political repressions of the fifties, could not be easily accepted.

But urban planning system was working efficiently until the end of that period and its model survived the "Polish Spring" without changes. The methods of planning in this period were "borrowed" from architectural designing, what later was called "an architect's desk syndrome". But economically and politically

planning methods were very effective, since rebuilding task were similar to new investment programmes and projects. Planners were dealing with free space, without limitations as ownerships, plotting, existing buildings (85% of Warsaw was burned or dynamited by Nazi), the public participation was non-existent, social prestige of profession and political confidence in architects, very high. And again, price for that had to be paid later.

Resuming, we may ask, what were those crucial factors which brought high efficiency of urban planning, in the first period of socialist governing ?

Firstly, unity of aims and means, and unity which existed between all fields of planning, politics and between professionals and politicians;

Secondly, a concentration of efforts on a very few priorities of urban planning, the majority of Polish cities were totally abandoned, available staff and resources were concentrated in Warsaw, Cracow and a few more important politically and economically, those days, areas;

Thirdly, a sufficient number of professionally trained and skilled experts in this field, what was rather a seldom case in those³⁷ years in Poland.

(3.3.2) the period 1956-80

The equilibrium reached in the latter period was shattered by the turbulent year of 1956, a democratization for the first time in socialist Poland became a political issue (with years, it was to be repeated many times), more pragmatic attitudes began to appear in economic policies and in planning. But already in 1957, a reform programme was halted, the years 1959-65 brought a gradual erosion of liberalism and finally all these resulted in next economic and political crisis of 1970.

However, the timing in development of urban planning system was different, in 1961 legal base for physical planning system was established, and model of urban planning built in the next years, was to survive, essentially without changes, until eighties. The system of urban planning was constructed as an element of overall planning model, and urban planning was directly dependent in the plans

³⁷ we must remember that World War II, in which the Hitler's and Stalin's extermination policies were aimed at the destruction of Polish intellectuals and Polish upper classes, just ended. They both have succeeded. According to the official estimations, Warsaw alone, lost in the period 1939-1944 more than three hundred thousand inhabitants, murdered by Nazis. Those people were precisely selected (especially in the first years of German's occupation) - they were politicians, professors, men of letters, even sportsmen (as Janusz Kusocinski, winner of the Gold Medals in the Olympic Games). Similar effects brought occupation of the East Poland by Stalin in the years 1939-1941. The intellectuals, teachers, land lords, businessmen and politicians have got a priority on the extermination lists, prepared by NKWD (Stalin's secret police). Also, a majority of those representatives of cultural and intellectual elites, who survived the war (de facto, a small group of people), did not want to co-operate with communist or just simply left homeland.

The situation in architecture and urban planning was different, as it was explained before, the majority of the elites of those professions were always leaning to the "left", and nearly all of those who survived, were ready to work for a new regime.

implementation procedures to economic planning. But what was very characteristic, that the professional and methodological relations and connections between these two types of planning were weak or non-existent. This had several important consequences.

Firstly, it brought a total freedom to urban planning, planners could propose and plan cities and regions, regardless of existing and expected economic limitations and thresholds. With an exception of a few years in the sixties, the economic aspects of urban plans were non-important and urban planners simply were not interested in those issues.

Secondly, an economic consequences of urban development policy, of urban plans or spatial decisions were not investigated and non-predicted. Nobody knows to-day how great part of responsibility for poor performances of Polish economy³⁸ could be put in the doors of urban planning and physical development policy, unfortunately, this question never can be answered. But two hundred years of history of urban economics, location theories, externalities in urban life, shows and claims that every urban decision produce economic effects. We know only to-day that many urban decisions made in the sixties and in the seventies were totally unmotivated and unrealistic, it was a price paid for gap which existed between economic and spatial branches of planning.

Planners played also an important role in ill-shaped and unsuccessful policy of the seventies, the idea of "dynamic development" pleased the majority of Polish urban planners. The priority given to new investment programmes, fitted exactly the urban planning thinking, for urban planners, as also Polish politicians, considered that development means only - an implementation of new programmes and buildings and never - an improvement of existing cities and factories. But in Poland of the seventies existing substance of the cities, industry and infrastructure, was already much more important, than in the forties. And this ideology, new means better, plus old socialist believe that big is beautiful, brought next a disaster to Polish economy and next turbulent period to the Polish political life. This period of Polish history is well known, but what is seldom apprehended, that planners, who very often would like to present themselves as independent experts and defenders of public good, are also responsible, for the final results of the seventies in Poland. It was also a

³⁸ it is well known fact that the one of the main reasons the poor results of Gierek's economic policy of the seventies, was non-effective use of "western", hard currency credits in the investments field. An examination prepared by the Society of Polish Town Planners shown that nearly all new investments and new financial resources were allocated, in the decade 1971-1980, not according to the strategic plans and declared development policy, but just opposite. The biggest investment projects in industry (eight of them have been evaluated) was located in the industrial regions already developed, congested, polluted and marked by shortages of - labor force, technical infrastructure, housing and land suitable for further urban development. This location policy was strongly opposed by many urban planners, but with no effects. What is characteristic also, nobody dare to evaluate the final results of this policy, both in economics and in physical development field. But we may suppose that location factor played an important role in bringing about an economic disaster of the seventies (in the eighties, in the period which is some times presented as a period of crisis, we are only consuming the results of earlier mistakes and blunders).

reason why the crisis of urban planning started earlier. Already the period 1978-1980, brought to urban planning many conflicts and problems. Before general crisis in Poland started, urban planning lost its efficiency and what was also very important, planners lost both, social confidence and support of politicians. It was a price paid for the years of voluntaristic decisions, lack of real public participation, for arrogance of planners and their very close alliances with political powers (the latter had also no real public support and political acceptance of the society).

(3.3.3) The crisis 1980-1981 and its aftermath

The crisis of the 1980 year shattered also a urban planning system, though many planners still believe that "nothing happened". But real efficiency of the physical planning system in all scales, regional, national or urban is very low. There are four, the most important and new factors and components of physical planning and urban development sphere:

- a total lack of concept in regional and national spatial policies, the regional development is spontaneous, the urban policy in national scale is non existent, regional inequalities are again fast growing (after more balanced course of previous decades), areas of "social depression" became a real issue in a national scale,

- a decline of Polish cities is a fact, also spontaneous and voluntaristic location policy is a characteristic feature of physical development, mostly as an effect of the tremendous shortage of shelters³⁹ and collapse of the housing programme, these brought a strong pressure on urban planners and city councils in the field of land management policy,

- ecological disaster of industrial regions which is resulting, to a great extend, from above described factors, but which is also an effect of poor economic performances of Polish industry. It scale reached European dimension and creates a threat for Scandinavian countries and Germany, the Baltic Sea and of course Poland itself,

- the crisis of confidence in urban planning is total, no more a position, that something is envisaged by urban plan and therefore should be obeyed, has any practical value; it comes partly from described in this chapter political "connections" of urban planning in the past, it is also an effect of very low efficiency of urban plans and general cry for democracy, also in urban development policy of Polish cities. Urban planners are also accused for failure of housing programmes, what is unfair, and for lack of land for new programmes, for what they are to the great extend factually responsible.

³⁹ they are accused by representatives of other sectors of economy, and by politicians - that effectiveness of preparation of new sites and lands, suitable for urban or industrial development, is very low and it became an obstacle for economic development of many regions and cities. It brings many dramatic decisions, regarding urban policy. In the period 1986-1988, more than seventy amendments to the Master Plan of Warsaw City were introduced, they have changed designation of land use in several districts of the city. The message was clear - green areas and communal lands (reserved for future public facilities and communal infrastructure) have been designated now, for two only functions - housing and industry.

There is several additional factors and elements which could be listed in this description but, what author believe, these four are the most important. And in the next chapters (four and five) he will present his opinion on structural and genetic reasons of present situation of socialist urban planning.

Chapter 4

The current, critical issues of the socialist urban planning in Poland of the 1980s

Three groups of urban problems will be discussed on the next pages, (a) the conflicts, as an attribute of urban life in every political system, and the answer which is given to them by the socialist urban planning; (b) the economic issues which are present at the socialist urbanism, as market of urban lands, rent of land in the cities, externalities, thresholds and costs of the development in urban policy and finally; (c) the main contradictions, genetically inherited to the socialist planning from the general rules of the political and economical model of the modern socialist state.

The problems will be examined in the light of real, existing conditions of urban life and processes, created by socialist system.

(4.1) the conflicts in urban life

The conflicts in urban development should be seen through the omnipresent, powerful and complicated system of distribution, which have been described already. The majority of urban conflicts are created within this system and urban planning plays an important role both, in creating and in solving many of them, in the dimensions of real socio-economic processes and in the spatial contexts of the cities.

The essence of the problem lays at a practical capability of urban planning for investigation, defining and solving urban conflicts. Unfortunately, as it was explained already, the socialist planning does not have too long an too extensive experience in this field, since in the first few decades of the socialist regime in Poland, the 'conflicts' from political reason were 'non existent' in socialist society.

Therefore, in last thirty years, neither a planning practice, nor the urban theory and planning methodology, devoted much attention to this issue. But an author, from his "practical life" of city planner, can present several problems and characteristics from this field and, what is interesting enough, many of them are already in a center of interest of many research programmes in Poland. But these programmes, most of them, started not before the last years.

(4.1.1) main subjects of conflicts

There are, in my opinion, four groups of subjects which are distributed by urban planning system or, in which distribution an urban planning system plays a crucial role. They are - space and its quality; resources and products; activities and rights of acting; values and goals of the urbanized society.

(a) space and its quality, what includes land, its features, location, equipment, scenic qualities etc. Through urban planning system can be distributed or

influenced such issues as - ownership⁴⁰ of the land; rights of use of land; ways of land utilization; permissions and limitations for land development; privillages of market exchange; and practical functioning of inheritance regulations. Since 1944 until the seventies, the state control over all these issues were permanently growing in scope and range. The abolishing of local governments (already in 1950) and communal ownership, liquidation of communal entity⁴¹ and suppressing the land market, resulted in elimination from land policy all social and economical criteria. And until know (1988), no essential improvements have been practically notice in the latter's field. The new legal regulations, introduced to the land policy in the last years, have not been yet actually implemented.

(b) resources and products, this group includes - investment funds, idustrial goods and products, natural resources, which are allocated among regions and local administrative units by the central government or even by the Sejm (Diet), in the most important cases. This group includes many products vital for everyday's life and for functioning of the local small economies, as farm's machinery or petrol. It includes also food and many industrial products of frequent, mass consumption. A direct distribution, through state institutions and organizations, with a support an economic planning is a dominant way⁴² of performing this tasks and is also a direct reason of numerous conflicts. Nevertheless, the role of urban planning in this field is quite important also. The location decision or building permit, can be seen as a good examples of urban planning participation in this part of the distribution processes. In addition

⁴⁰ until 1970s, inheritance - in land management system, in farming and in other sectors of private ownership in Poland, was legally non existent. It was banned in the 1950s, since according to the socialist ideology, the private ownership of land was only temporary. Finally, according to socialist ideologists, the society was to be a sole owner of all production means. The legal rights of individuals in this area, were reinstated in the last years of Gierek's regime (1977-1979).

⁴¹ as it was already mentioned, a communal unit could not possessed, from March 1950 (when the independent local government system was abolished) until 1988 (when entity of communal councils was reinstaed), a land or buildings, it could only govern them as a representative of the state, authorized formally by system of legal instructions. It meant that in practice, communal administration could comfortably run a city in its day-by-day problems, but all strategic or economic operations, as e.g. collecting of new lands, were then very difficult. The local council could not get a bank credit, selling a land or the communal bus company, was possible only, when the permission was given to the city by the relevant Ministries.

⁴² the distribution system, which was described in the Third Chapter, was also frequently employed in the past, for political uses and abuses. A good example is the history of the city Radom in the seventies. It was half-offically admitted in 1980, that this city was receiving, by several years, smaller rations of many distributed products and goods. The reason was political, since after local riots, which have taken place there in 1976, political leaders decided that 'Radom must be punished'.

to that, planners play vital role in preparation of arguments and evaluations, for mayors of the cities or bosses of the regions in their struggles for bigger ration of coal, petrol or investment funds.

(c) activities and rights for acting, as it was already explained, in a socialist system every kind of activity is, as a principle, controlled and regulated by the state. This rule is also important in other political systems. But the specific attribute of socialist states are their interference in the most even detailed questions of human existence, or as it was in case of Poland, it was kind of interference, which existed until the seventies. The state was controlling, by different means and instruments, an individual's opinions and believes, economic and social activities of all sorts, trade unions and professional movements. A political activity was permitted only within the network of official organizations, and even so, they were still precisely monitoring by the communist party. And activities in a physical space of the cities were controlled also, and what should be stressed, the urban planning instruments have been and still are used for supporting this control system. E.g. -Chief Architect⁴³ of the Warsaw City supervised the licence office for architects. They cannot start private practice without his permission. Also all kinds of economic activity in a city, needs positive opinion (what practically means an acceptance) from urban planning agency. As a result of that, a great number of urban conflicts are created directly in this segment of distribution system.

An important and very specific group of conflicts in the urban development is created when the state does not want to oppose openly social actions or reject someones demands on the political basis. The urban planning agency can serve in such case as a very usefull instrument⁴⁴. And in that way many conflicts, originated in the field of politics, have been and still can be "transferred" to the field of urbanism.

(d) values and goals of the urban development policy, desribed by planners and by plans, accepted by politicians and approved by the local authorities. The role of urban planning system in defining of these goals at the regional and local level and in spatial, economical or social dimensions, was since 1944, and still

⁴³ in the fifties he also served as a censor with legal power for removing from Polish press anything what he considered as an offense to the city or to its urban planning, he fortunately lost censorship prerogatives, already in 1956.

⁴⁴ an excellent example can be given from the field of the Catholic Church building. Until an election of the "Polish" Pope in the seventies, construction of new Churches in Poland was practically banned and ideological fight between Party and Church was fierce. But for halting all new, unwanted sacral investments, the state has been using city administrations and urban planning agencies, for nearly two decades. They simply rejected applications for building permits or locations, sent to them by the Catholic Church representatives, employing different pretextes. But it was obvious for everybody involved in this business, that real reason for turning down all those applications was strictly political.

is very important. And probably in this area, the conflicts and contradictions are the most numerous and intense at present.

After four decades of socialism, the system has created two separate, different worlds, the world of ideas, declarations, planned but never achieved goals and idealistic, but never implemented principles; and the real world of operational decisions, pragmatic policy, world of more privileged and less privileged, the world ruling by the principles of "practical socialism". The aims, the languages and the institutions of these two worlds were much more different in the past, but still they are not the same. Many issues changed in the fifties and sixties their meaning, when adjective "socialistic" was added, as "socialist⁴⁵ justice" was a specific kind of justice and "socialist economy" was also special sort of economy.

The values and goals are an important subject of conflicts, also in a field of urban planning. It was already presented how an urban planning participate in a creation of this first, unreal world of new ideas and plans. The master plan of the city shows the picture of future happiness, create an image of urban spaces after two decades. It also includes perspective standards of living, programmes of development for next decades and usually predict "a dynamic development of local community" and promise an "increase of living standards of the whole socialist population". But such plan is in practice only a declaration of good intentions. The real policy, development programmes, short term economic plans and the world of operational decisions, are created by and based on another strategy. The latter decisions are usually motivated by present policy, actual needs, possibilities and obstacles. These both systems, the first system of physical, strategic goals and the second system of current priorities and operational decision are in permanent⁴⁶ conflicts and contradictions. They are aimed at different goals, they are shaped by different hierarchy of priorities, they are controlled and implemented by different people and institutions. This contradiction will be discussed once more in the Chapter (4.3), but for the proper understanding of the ideological failure of socialism and "its" urban planning in the eighties, the practical distributive context of this issue is very important.

⁴⁵ the best linguistic example is "socialistic friendship" which allowed Soviet's Army invade Hungary in 1956, Czechoslovakia (with a help of other "friends") in 1968 and in last decade Afganistan. It is a hope that last developments in the Soviet Union will change also a linguistics.

⁴⁶ at the beginning the problem was not so important, citizens had no chance then to protest and they had no platform for an open discussion. The situation have been changed in the eighties. In the circumstances created by the Solidarity Movement, political opposition and general social unrest - citizens became much more active also in the field of urban policy. The decline of the cities and the evident, strong discrepancies, which were existing between the officially declared goals and a real policy in the seventies, at first created strong social criticism, later they were found as politically and socially unacceptable in a new conditions. The side effects of this new public stand were not all favourable, they create also new spatial problems. An author was personally engaged in many disputes, when important decisions for urban development have been halted or finally rejected, under strong social pressure, in the eighties. Some of them have been really vital for the City of Warsaw.

(4.1.2) the main areas and the most important actors of conflicts.

The urban conflicts in the centralized economy are created, developed and can be solved in three main fields of political and economical activities - (a) in the distributive system of planning (its institutions, system of rules and practically functioning network); (b) in the system of operational decisions and (c) in the real space of the cities.

The strong and permanent inter-relations and connections exists between these three fields nevertheless, each of these fields can be characterized by its own, specific formal structure and by the urban context, typical for each of them. We must remember that this problem still needs serious and scrupulous investigations and researches; even understanding what the word "conflict" really means in the socialist urban planning is scientifically still not defined (conflicts once, were to be non existent in socialist system), saving the question where are they really located in urban processes of centralized economies. Nevertheless, some most fundamental characteristics of the problem are available even now, several of them can be described also, on the basis of practical experience of planner.

(a) in the field of planning the conflicts are created by priority which is given to direct distribution of natural resources and industrial products, with a total negligence toward economic instruments and non-direct methods of governing. Second area of conflicts in planning is created by ideological functions of plans and by general precondition and principle of non-conflicted development. It is a main reason why planning techniques are not advanced in the field of social and economic analyses, with exception of threshold theory (also seldom practically employed). It is why (albeit not the only why), the planning theory is so obsolete in socialist system.

It means that in practice, very seldom - different strategies and options are evaluated and recommended; future conflicts and thresholds - investigated; operational decisions - planned and recommended. In the planning field exist also an area where substantial conflicts are created by the system itself, these conflicts are caused by ill-conceived professional decisions of planners or ill-shaped social and economic policy by politicians, who plan accept. But generally, it is not a specific⁴⁷ issue of socialist urban planning, it is an

⁴⁷ what is a specific issue of socialist economy, it is an ideological priority of heavy industry and a quantitative approach to the economic policy. Until the seventies unbalanced model of investment (permanently underdeveloped sector of consumer goods) and permanent quest for increase of industrial output, was a basic reason of all economic and next political upheavals. For the first time a slowdown in overall economic growth was noticed in the period 1953-55 (in some socialist countries the fall was dramatic, in Hungary 9 per cent, in Romania even 14 per cent per year), as a result - investment had to fell everywhere in the socialist Europe (in Czechoslovakia by 25 percent, in Romania by 32 per cent and in Poland by 28 percent, all in 1953). It was accompanied by the decreasing of living standards of the whole populations of socialist Europe and brought the first wave of unrest there. Since then, the planners could not find a solution for a basic dilemma of socialism, how to combine perceptible improvement in living standards with continuous economic expansion. It was a greatest issue of the sixties, in search for more balanced development of

immanent problem of the profession, the proper solving of these issues is a normal task of every planner.

(b) the field of operational decisions is a main source of conflicts in urban development, also the most important and damaging collisions and conflicts are created here. They are resulted mainly from following reasons:

- domination of short term policy and priorities, which are usually not properly evaluated, the impact of these decisions on long term objectives are also generally not investigated (decisions in this field are caused by urgent and indispensable issues, they are always made under pressure of time and circumstances);

- the specific position which communist politics achieved in socialist countries, they are practically out of any public control (they usually accept "responsibility to the history" as representatives of the most "progressive part of the society"), they operate through semi-formal, semi-hidden and messy system of connections and relations, they are motivated by their wishes, dreams, personal careers, very often they are professionally or morally not prepared for the position given to them. We may accuse of course, all politics in all systems of many faults, abuses and mischiefs, but as long as public control exists, corrupted or incompetent politician can be deposed or replaced. Unbelievable number of errors and conflicts were resulting in the seventies from voluntaristic policy of Gierek (then the 1st Secretary of the Polish Communist Party) and his clique, what even officially had to be admitted⁴⁸ in the eighties. Nevertheless, great political crisis and social unrest, strikes and tumults were necessary to depose him in 1980, while already in the seventies his incompetence was obvious for every Pole and his blunders were shattering national economy;

- contradiction which exists between these (operational) decisions and decisions recommended by planning documents, a winning part is these disputes is normally a day-by-day policy system and its targets;

- next reason of contradictions and conflicts is a lack of legal regulation and formally clear structure in several segments of operational decision system. It is partly a result of already presented features of this system. But to the great extent it is also a genetic deficiency of the legal network and institutional structure of managerial system, which generally is lacking of formal discipline. In these circumstances, the informal system of decisions and connections is very important, very decisive and very effective, but without

socialist Europe.

All economic perturbations, every time strongly influenced also an urban development and urban planning methods. When each next crisis started, the communal sector of economy was hit the first since, local governments were non-existent and communal lobby was not significant politically also.

⁴⁸ the Investigation Committee which was established by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Poland in 1980 presented very critical conclusions and strong recommendations for future. Unpublished, but circulated protocols from the Committee meetings were even more depressing. In the eighties, was also published by The Polish Academy of Sciences several expertises, on spatial problems of Poland, Polish physical economy and environmental problems. This document also accused a leadership of Poland for voluntaristic, unsound and catastrophic policy in urban and regional economy, in the seventies.

responsibility for results of its own decisions. Many instructions are given by telephone, several decisions are taken only verbally, without formal documentation, next they are formally "undertaken" again at the level which is supposed to be responsible for them.

Last years brought several changes⁴⁹ and improvements to the presented above picture, especially to a practice, but the main reforms are still ahead and transformation and adaptation of urban planning system to new circumstances is very slow and non consequent.

(c) The urban space as an area of conflicts is again a general and not a specific problem of the socialist system. What can be recognized as specific problem of urban planning in socialism is a great and still growing number of, practically un-solved at present, conflicts in urban space, what was in excellent way presented by Professor Kolodziejcki (1986) in his report on the Polish Physical Space. He defined even a lack of spatial and functional order in the cities as structural feature of socialist planning. We must admit that he is a competent man in his field as a former head of Gdansk Region, a politician, an architect and urban planner and a teacher at the Technical University in Gdansk, he was also a negotiator of the August Treaty, which have been signed between the Polish Government and the Solidarity movement in 1980.

In these three fields act several actors of urban planning and urban development. Unfortunately, the actors oriented approach to the studies on urban theory, from already explained reasons, could have never been accepted in Polish researches. A proper understanding of real nature of the main actors of urban scene, their goals and motivations, formal and real positions and power, areas of decisions and influence, performances and inter-relations, is still a matter of investigations, in time to come.

This approach have been chosen for recently initiated, the Polish-Dutch comparative study on urban conflicts. And, in the preliminary study of research programme, there have been defined three groups of actors in the Polish political-urban system: (a) rulers, (b) activists and (c) opposition. This classification left out Polish society, individuals, private citizens, since these groups or persons were, practically excluded from the field of decision in political-urban system until eighties.

What makes this investigation very difficult, it is a great gap which exists between formal (legally described) structures and real network of (practical) decisions. It creates a specific ambiguity in all discussions regarded political power system in socialism, since only a practical knowledge of really existing networks and configuration of political alliances, has any value. The same problem exists in a politics of urban planning, many of its aspects are still unexplicitable or unclear, even for the insider. Nevertheless, a brief and simple explanation of the issue, again based on author's practical experience, can be given.

⁴⁹ but still, when watching in TV the plenary session of the Polish Sejm (Parliament) - debating appointment of next Prime Minister of Poland, one must know that real decision has been already made, probably day before (all important political decisions in socialist system are usually a matter of last-minute settlement), by the Politbureau of the Communist Party.

(a) the group of actors, called in this classification rulers, includes:

- **political** (political parties with predominant position of the Communist Party) and **administrative** institutions (central and local governments) and finally, created "ad hoc" but often lasting for years bodies, as e.g. the Council of National Alliance, a political institution, formally "free" and spontaneously organized by citizens, but factually established by Party at the beginning of the Martial Law period in Poland, in 1982. This still functioning organization is the most classical example of fictitious public participation in political life. In the field of urban planning this group of actors makes all important decisions, regarding strategic issues; its political power in urban questions and political control over urban development is total and very effective in practice,

- **legislatures**, which formally are superior to the first group of rulers but which, for forty years have been working as a rubber stamp for decisions of the Party. There is also an internal conflict, a contradiction which exists between socialist (elected) legislature and executive (nominated) part of the establishment. For decades, a Party bureaucracy (not elected but nominated members of executives, secretariats, agencies etc) was practically ruling Poland. The roots of this practical principle of communist model are very old, it was adopted first in the Soviet Russia⁵⁰ in the thirties and next in all socialist European countries in the fifties.

In the last years, an elected members of the Party Committees, formally superior to the Party administration, and formally authorized as the only group for making a politics in Poland, (also in the area of strategic, urban decisions), began a political struggle⁵¹ for real power. And this type of conflict, is a structural feature of many political and social institutions in a present Poland, as in other socialist countries. It is also reflected in a urban policy system, resolutions of the Sejm (parliament) or the Regional Councils, will have to be later, practically implemented by central or regional administration, which can hardly be controlled in a modern state and in a complex economy of country as Poland.

(b) to the group called **activists** of the urban scene we should include the organizations, institutions and social groups which are usually not fully controlled by the Party and even sometimes (albeit seldom) are really independent

⁵⁰ it was created, when Stalin in the twentieths, as the Secretary General of the Soviet's Communist Party, was struggling for political domination, from his formally non important then, rather bureaucratic position. But the formal status of the General Secretary (who was in the twentieths responsible "only" for co-ordination of Party apparatus) became with the years stronger and finally, a person holding this post, is formally and practically, at the most powerful position in the Communist Party organizational network. Together with elevation of the General Secretary (or the 1st Secretary as it is in some of the Communist Parties), the importance and prerogatives of Party apparatus were also increasing. This phenomenon was also adopted as a ruling principle in the Polish communist party after 1944. And the struggle between nominated executives and elected members of legislatures is at present a common problem.

⁵¹ in such way a classical model of three powers, formally existing also in socialist system, is initiated in a political practice.

from its spiritual and ideological influence, but which accept socialist system and its principle from mostly pragmatic reasons or for a time being, as geopolitical necessity. These are primarily - the Catholic Church, a very powerful institution and from the mid of seventies, active in the field of urbanism; a private sector of economy (owners of the land, farmers, manufacturers, small commercial organizations, shop owners and services); a co-operative sector of national economy, strongly developed in Poland (in housing, commerce, services and in a small scale industrial production). Without an exception, all members of this group are both, ideologically and practically, a important actors of urban scene. They enjoy a great area of influence and power but often, what is very important, without political or public responsibility.

An urban and building activity of the Catholic Church is the most recent example of such activity. The number of new churches, being under construction in Poland, reached unbelievable figure of 1.500 (fifteen hundred) and the architecture, programmes and functions of those investments are exclusively, in the discretion of the local priests. And very often these new projects are not the churches, but a huge cultural and educational centers, competing with state's educational and cultural facilities. But in that case there is practically no conflict in urban space, since the Church is actually so powerfull, that nobody can take a risk to oppose its decisions at present.

Generally this group of actors became very important from the seventies in Poland. Its behaviour is very aggressive, demands far reaching, public good left on the remote position in hierarchy of goals. Usually they are not responsible for effects of own actions, but they are - very effective.

(c) the third group, called opposition, includes all social and political forces and groups which aim at the radical reconstruction of Polish political model. The presence of this group in Polish life was a reality, first in the forties⁵² and again already in the seventies, but not before 1980 its members could openly act. Martial law, imposed in December 1981, again suppressed activity of political opposition in Poland, but after slow recovery in the eighties, oppositional organization (semi-legal or illegal) are again active. There is even a possibility, but rather remote, that they can be formally accepted as a part of Polish political environment.

What is characteristic for this last group, that it was never vitally interested in an urban issue. The Solidarity movement started in 1981 discussions on housing problem (millions of young Polish families are hopelessly waiting for years for an own apartment), but even this organization, never properly understood a real importance of an urban issue. Nevertheless, this group is potentially also an important actor of the urban scene.

We have to remmember also, that when struggling for political power, all oppositional movements are not ready to grant or to share political influence with the next newcomers to the political scene. And this is exactly why Polish

⁵² it was a period of civil war in Poland, and it was also a period of so called 'salami tactics' selected by the communists leaders of the Central Europe. Its essence was in acceptance, in the years 1945-47 (for a time being), oppositional parties and independent social groups, which next have been, step by step, methodically destroyed. When infamous Rakosi of Hungary finally consolidated his ultimate power in 1949, he cynically revealed this method as "cutting salami from the right end to the center".

opposition, in the period 1980-1981, when its power was in the apex, did not supported strongly enough, the idea of the local governing. And, precisely this idea, is extremely important for recovery of Polish cities and Polish urban planning. But in general, that group of actors were not, and still is not active in the urban life⁵³ of Polish cities. And there is also a society, the inhabitants of Polish cities. It is potentially a next actor of urban life, but in predictable future, no one can expect, that social participation, social control and societal activity can come to the important position in Polish reality.

(4.1.3) the conflict-solving methods and procedures in urban planning

The general approach to this issue, in the first period of socialist Poland was clear, conflicts did not exist in socialist society, or even if exist, it was only a short-lived legacy of capitalism. According to the ruling ideology, the classless and fairly governed society should be free from any kind of social or economic collisions and problems. Until 1955, officially, the conflicts were resulted only from the class struggle, they were created by the enemies of working class, enemies of historically inevitable progress. The solution was simple, it was enough "to isolate" enemies, to bring to the end all social and economic worries.

In the sixties we were witnessing a new approach to this issue, conflicts were already recognized as a reality of socialist society, but still the general policy of overcoming them by political and administrative solutions was adopted. The priority of so called "public interest" dominated, it was absolutely superior to the individual rights and interests. But the concept of "social" or "public interest" was not clear and was never properly defined in Poland, after 1944. It was only decided that the Party and the State are empowered for defining its scope, content and priorities. And the state's administration was equipped with several instruments, to carry these tasks in the field of urban planning and in real urban life of the cities.

The seventies brought next step in an evolution of this problem. The Party and politicians had to accept that conflicts are not only exist, but they are a crucial issue of socialist model in its struggle for survival. The state declared officially that the CIVIL RIGHTS OF ALL CITIZENS will be recognized and protected, the Constitution of Poland was amended and private ownerships become LEGALLY PROTECTED, finally, the problem of balance between a general public

⁵³ unfortunately, it would be necessary to write many pages to describe this problem, even in the most synthetic way. But what factors are the most important ?

First - that social (or public) participation in planning is very weak at present and it is due to several reasons. There is no believe in its sense and effectiveness, there is no means to make urban plans apprehensible to 'normal' citizen, there is no real interest (with a very few exception) in urban planning from a public side. Secondly - neither planners, nor politicians are really interested in introducing of public participation to the urban planning, saving the general urban policy problems. Thirdly - there is no tradition and training, what's more, no institution is ready spend the public funds, for this kind of 'useless' activity, but even if, there would be no knowledge how it can be successfully done.

interest and individual freedom was discovered as a crucial issue of "socialist justice" and as an important political question.

To-day both, the political leaders and citizens accept the view that the conflicts are a permanent feature of every modern society, that we should learn how they could be identified, how we can cope with them and how they can be solved.

And this general trend can be conveyed also in a sphere of urban life and urban planning.

The solving of conflicts in urban life and urban planning became a real problem not before the seventies.

In the fifties and in the sixties the urban plan was THE LAW, practically nobody would dare to oppose its decisions, no one could protest the expropriation from the possessed land or to object a location of new factory on the best soils in the region. Between 1950 and 1970 only a few public protests, of a very small groups of citizens disinherited from legally build private houses, took place in Warsaw.

The year 1971 has changed this situation. After a grave political crisis and bloody riots, the leaders of the Party had to promise a democratization of the system and reconstruction of local governments. The first steps of relaxation of rigid land management policy and urban planning, have been made in this period. But unsuccessful economic policy and unattained promises resulted in next crisis of the 1980 year and next political equipe started again next, but more consequently shaped programme of reforms. The local governments were reinstated and provided with limited area of real freedom, the market of the urban land was formally recognized, the public participation in a political and urban life started.

Many of the political and professional institutions, rules, methods and routines are at present in a transition period. Still, we may defined at least four basic platforms, which have been in the seventies and which are currently in use for investigation, negotiation and solving the conflicted issues in urban planning: (a) urban planning and programming procedures, (b) hearings and appeals, (c) judicial protection of (selected) civil rights and (d) semi-formal system of petitions, letters and complaints. In fact, these methods are generally well known and are widely in use in many planning systems of several countries. But in socialist urban planning, they perform in own, specific way, and it should be explained.

(a) the planning and programming phase is the best part of planning process for confronting and negotiating of all conflicts and contradicted issues. But the obsolete, rigid and bureaucratic system of economical and physical planning, full of jargon expressions and slogans, but never precise enough, is not very efficient in performing these tasks. Nevertheless, it will remain as a fundamental answer to the problem, and therefore a reform of planning methods is so urgent in a case of Polish urban planning. At present the planning system is in use for negotiation and co-ordination of interests of the different sectors of public life, public enterprises, industry, agriculture and other officially recognized subjects of national economy. An understanding of the urban problems among them is very limited, mostly the question of land and locations are the issues practically discussed and co-ordinated by planning machinery. The long-term strategy, future consequences of accepted solutions, thresholds or

potentials of development created by plan toward subjects of urban development policy, are usually not discussed,

(b) the administrative procedures of planning includes in Polish system, well know institutions of hearings and appeals, but the deficiencies of the present system are numerous, the most important of them are two - firstly, that all procedures are not legally supervised and secondly, that they are not neutrally executed. When a public official's decision is sued by a citizen, according to existing procedures, the author of the decision is evaluating himself citizen's complaints and next with his own recommendations is sending the case to the upper level (next public official) for a final verdict,

(c) the legal system of judicial protection exists, but an individual is entitled in a very few cases to use this way in his fight with administration and planners. Principally this system was constructed for the protection of the public enterprises and industrial companies, in the seventies. Since then, it is evaluating, and it is becoming now to serve as an instrument of protection of civil rights also for individuals. However, the full legal protection of citizen and his civil rights is still a matter of a distant future,

(d) there is also strongly developed system of petitions, letters and complaints, and only this system, works efficiently. The letters can be sent to several different organizations and institutions. The Central Committee of Communist Party is receiving alone, "thousands of letters weekly"⁵⁴, the Presidents of the cities, political and social bodies of different sort, the Church, all institutions are also permanently dealing with the enormous inflow of letters and petitions. Finally, the urban planning institutions have to deal with big part of this petitions and notions.

The Warsaw Planning Office was preparing yearly, more than twenty thousands opinions, responses, recommendations and draft of decisions in the seventies. An essential part of this work was and still is a result of letters and petitions sent by Warsawians. The final recommendations or proposals of the planning agency is next sent to the formally competent public official, which after additional evaluation makes a final decision. His verdict is next received by citizen, as an answer to his problems. What is interesting, that this system, which always was lacking a proper formal structure and regulations, was seen from its very beginning as a real transmission of peoples' problems to the state and to the party, therefore was always treated with care and patience. And what is characteristic also, that often, under strong popular pressure, the final decision, resulting from these petitions, can oppose the properly justified planners recommendations or urban plan statements. Sometimes they are even against a common sense. But nevertheless, this system works and is quite effective.

We may conclude that of all four described fields, still, only the planning system is capable for the proper evaluation of conflicted issues and for more

⁵⁴ these letters serve also as a basis for evaluation of political situation in the country, for investigation of actual "hot" issues, priorities and problems of people.

What is also important, most of them receives a honest attention. A great part of these petitions, with a support of the inspectors delegated by the Central Committee can go through 'red tape' of planning institutions or local administration.

or less fair answer to the problem. But with a few exceptions (as e.g. detailed urban plans) the system is not prepared to deal with real conflicts in urban life and space. It is still under strong influence of old, rigid, imperative system of governing, inherited from the fifties and the sixties. As for now, there is still no proper and logical place in the planning procedures, methods and institutions for negotiation of conflicts and for investigation of any difficult issues.

Also a planner himself is a serious obstacle for any substantial progress in Polish planning system. He is professionally and psychologically not prepared for new circumstances of the eighties, he still do not understand that urban planning is "a political art" and is an ignorant in all political issues. A long story could be written on this subject, but shortly this phenomenon can be explained as legacy of Polish modern history. The planner is a logical and excellent "product" of the political and economical system which existed in Poland since 1944. This system has fulfilled the planner's dream, born in a period of the Athens Chart and La Sarraz Declaration, it introduce to the planning practice postulates and calls of the Modern Movement. But the position of planner as well as position of politicians have been radically changed in Poland after 1980, and simply, they both are not prepared to these new circumstances.

And these circumstances will change also a future role of planner and planning in the urban conflicts issue.

(4.2) the main economic issues of urban planning

The theory of socialist economics is already a well developed scientific body. Both, western and eastern scholars made the endless efforts to understand its mechanics, issues and problems. Kaiser's three volume "Economic History of Eastern Europe" (1986), excellent books by Janos Kornai (1980) or by Alec Nove, give an exciting lecture for every one interested in these questions. But economic and political relations and contexts of urban planning, as it was explained already, are totally different matter⁵⁵.

The economic issues were only two times in post-war history of the Polish urban planning, a matter of serious interest. Both times for a short period of time, in both cases in a very limited scope and without significant contribution to the planning practice.

First time it was in 1956, when economization of the whole system arised as an important question, the problem of land market and rent of land was investigated. Since the majority of land remained privately owned, it seemed to be a real issue. But after short discussion and publication of a few books and articles, the issue dissapeared, since not urban planners, nor politicians were interested in creating a "problem" of ownership in the area of urban or land policy. Those

⁵⁵ Some of the most important theories from urban economics field have been reported by socialist researchers and scholars (as e.g., economic theory of location; supply-demand theory and cost-benefit techniques in planning; the land market and urban land economies; the economic CBD theories of Burgess [1925]; Christaller's theory of central places [1966]; external effects theories). But a practical application of urban economics to the socialist planning was very seldom and very limited.

books and conclusions of researches did not accept (they couldn't) "capitalistic" version of rent issue, they have been making a hopeless attempts to invent "something" which could be use by planners as a socialist replica for the problem and surrogate for economic functions of rent and land market in the urban economy. And all these efforts finally failed to create usefull instrument for land policy and for its economic dimension; in political circumstances of the fifties it was simply unrealizable.

Second time, in the sixties, when economic performances of the system were again poor, politicians came to the conclusion that urban growth of Polish cities is too costly. As result of this, started a discussion on two issues from the field of urban economics - (1) the costs of the urban size and (2) the thresholds of urban development. In both cases the practical out-puts were limited; Professor Boleslaw Malisz created THRESHOLD THEORY, which is very seldom of practical use in Poland; the concept of DEGLOMERATION OF THE GREATEST POLISH CITIES was established as an official urban policy in the years 1967-68, unfortunately, this policy did not survived very long. It could not properly functioned in a political context and already in the seventies, the idea was found as obsolete, backwarded and contradictory to the programme "of dynamic development of Poland" declared by the First Secretary Edward Gierek. But factually, the idea of deglomeration, which was quite sound in Polish circumstances, was abolished not because of ideology, but because the strongest economically urban regions, as Silesia or Warsaw, simply did not want to lose privileged positions. And these regions, being also politically most powerful, they could both very effictively fight out deglomeration concept.

Finally, the Polish urban planning of those years can be a good illustration to Goodall's statement (1972) that "...to plan for the improvement of the urban scene whilst ignoring economic consideration would be to invite disaster..." and it was that what exactly happened in the seventies.

The discussions and investigations of urban economics issues started again in the eighties, but in a totally different circumstances and for the first time these discussions are seriously motivated and methodically conducted.

The University of Lodz (the team of Professor Jerzy Regulski) started researches on externalities in Polish cities, on land policy problems, on tax instruments in physical development policy. The University of Warsaw began researches, financed by Polish Government and supervised by Professor Antoni Kuklinski on the "Local Poland", and the idea includes studies on several important issues of municipal and regional policy and economy.

The Polish Academy of Sciences inaugurated fundamental researches on urban planning theory and its economic aspects.

We may only hope⁵⁶ that this time a basis for urban economics sciences will be established and that it will bring also practical effects to the planning techniques in Polish urbanism.

These researches and investigations are promoted not only by scholars, which understand an importance of the problem, but also by some pragmatical motivations of local politicians. The local governments, as e.g., the Mayor of Warsaw Office, urgently need instruments and methods which could help them to perform more effectively, accepted urban policy. Therefore they are ready now to support studies and to co-operate with researchers, they look also for very practical and applicable effects of latest scientific projects.

After a few years of studies, many aspects of urban economics are still not clear, several issues remaind ambiguous and vague, many facts are not known yet or are still waiting for accurate interpretation. But on several problems - discussions already started, some aspects and issues can be described and even very first conclusions can be in some fields drafted. Also a practical experience of the author gives several examples of 'practical economics' which cannot be generalised, but which can illustrate selected economic problems.

The most commonly discussed problems from the urban economics sphere include at present: (a) the problems of land policy and land market, (b) the externalities in urban planning, (c) the taxation system and economic instruments of urban policy, (d) the urban implication of the central budget policy and (e) the costs of urban development policy.

(4.2.1) the land management policy and its crucial economic aspects

To-day Poland is an urbanized country. Industry, which has expanded rapidly since the IIWW, resulted in great migrations (which have been additionally supported by great geo-political "shift" of Poland to the West, as a result of the Jalta Treaties). The Table No.3 shows generally the scale of this process.

Table No.3 (000)

YEARS	POPULATION				total
	towns	(%)	rural areas	(%)	
1946	7 744	33	16 023	67	23 767
1950	9 081	37	15 743	63	24 824
1970	16 948	52	15 578	48	32 526
1985	22 375	60	14 828	40	37 203

(source: Statistical Yearbook, Poland 1986)

⁵⁶ as it was already explained, the main problem of present researches is caused by lack or by scarcity of accurate, objective and enough detailed information and data. Practically, information from the period of the 1944-1975, regarding urban issues are available only in a national aggregations, what of course is not satisfactory. The braking down these national statistical data is not possible since the statistical data base for the discussed period simply does not exist. Also, not always even existing data are truthworthy.

According to the most competent Polish researchers (B.Domanski,A.Karpinski), the migration trends in Poland were shaped by several factors, but the most important of them include:

- typical trends of industrialisation and social mobility, which occurred everywhere in Europe (from general, well known reasons),

- political programmes of socialist industrialization and urbanization (as an 'attribute' of progress in socialism). They strongly influenced an urban policy since they directed migrants not only to the cities but also to the certain urban areas, as specific type of social engineering. This policy was aimed at "improvement" of social structure of some old, "reactionary" districts or cities as Zoliborz in Warsaw or city of Cracow, populated by "the remainders" of the upper and middle classes from pre-war Poland. The location of new big industrial plants, accompanied by new housing programmes for "working classes" was intended to change this unfavourable politically, social urban structures. And it worked. In the eighties those districts create the greatest political problems for the Party and the State, since once more the Mark's believe that the working class is the most progressive part of modern society, was recalled, in Poland of the eighties,

- precisely directed migration movements from the East provinces of pre-war Poland (they now constitute the Soviet's parts of Ukraina and Bielorussia). A Polish population was resettled according to the methodically elaborated plans, e.g., people from Lwow to Wroclaw and people from Wilno to Poznan,

- sociological and psychological stands of Polish farmers, very devoted to the Catholic Church and even more devoted to the ownership of the land; moving of them was a very delicate and difficult process (notice a stabile number of rural population in Poland, nearly 15 mlns in 1985 comparing to 16 mlns in 1946).

The "great movements" ended in 1956 and since then, the urban development policy was dealing with more or less stabilized population pattern, the movements and migrations were mostly occurring in the scale of regions and within the regional borders. The influence of those migrations are still traceble in social dimensions of urban life, but economically they are no more significant.

But the land policy and land management issues passed a long and turbulent evolution in Poland since 1944, and they are still in a transition period. Three important factors influenced their history. Firstly, it was an ideological dogma of the public ownership of land and all production means (what resulted in nationalization of factories, bigger estates and farms; also housing stock and CBDs' lands have been communalized in many Polish cities in the forties and fifties),

Secondly, it was, practically existing for the whole post-war period, a private market of the land (in some periods of modern history, illegal). And to-day still nearly 80 per cent of farming lands, approx. 60 per cent of build up areas in the cities and more than 25 per cent of forrested lands - belongs to the private owners. And the private owners' rights have been elevated now to the constitutional law of Poland,

Thirdly, the ruling position of The Plan, which was established in 1946 and which was important in creation and execution of urban development policy and subsequently - urban land policy and land management.

(a) rent of land and land policy

The most important from the very beginning, was problem of the rent, and from the very beginning this problem could not be properly solved. A "non-existent" ideologically rent and politically established priority of social goals and public good, were confronted by private market, private ownerships, private interests of individuals and by real value of the land. Until the sixties problem was concealed, but to-day a strong and effective protection of private ownerships creates one of the greatest thresholds of urban policy. The planning procedures and instruments are no more effective in the process of land acquisition, the communal services have not enough money for purchasing a land from private owners, the city hall "public servants" are even psychologically still not ready to accept position of "buyers", since a few years ago they could get this land nearly for symbolic price or for nothing.

The planning methodology still neglects the existence of the rent and the problems of land value - hundreds of hectares of the land are "frozen" by urban plans, as a typical out-put of land-use urban⁵⁷ technique. The price mechanism and market forces (supply-demand theory in urban location) are still not investigated. This situation has also very practical dimensions and consequences. Many of the actual owners cannot utilize properly their plots, since urban planners have designated them - for a public future use. But city usually has no funds for public investments and land and its owner may wait twenty years, paying taxes all the time, for the moment when city will be ready for implementation of planned school or shopping center. What means that an owner carry a cost of city land policy. And this case is absolutely typical for socialist urban planning.

And what is the even worst, majority of those lands is never utilized in a planned period. According to the researches of the Polish Academy of Sciences, the Warsaw City purchased from the private owners, or repossessed in other ways, in the period 1981-85, only 5 per cent of the land designated for new functions and investments, and therefore blocked by last Master Plan of Warsaw. It means that probably 85 per cent of land, reserved for the new investments, for period 1981-1995, will not be purchased by the city in a planned period. This example illustrates the scale of problem, since in a case of a bigger city, the dozens and hundreds hectares are affected by urban development policy. The lost revenues, the problems created for owners in proper utilization of possessed still plots, low economic efficiency of land policy and its high social and political costs, all these factors creates a very high price which is paid by Polish cities, for obsolete methods of land management and land policy of urban planning.

Also economic location theory is not advanced in socialist urban planning, nobody is monitoring or projecting the behaviours of producers, consumers, households or private developers (the latter already exist in the socialist economies of Poland and Hungary), the economic problems of urban growth and urban size, once successfully investigated in the sixties, again disappeared from agenda of research institutes and planning agencies.

(b) public versus private ownership of the city lands

⁵⁷ it is quite old problem. The "over-zoning" is a term invented in USA in the twentieths, when American planners designated in urban plans (as Polish do to-day) hundreds acres for future urban growth, which were not happen.

The nationalization of the land and ideological priority of the public interest had enormous impact, psychological and professional - on the socialist urban doctrine and on planning methods. Since land value was not recognized, the use of land, density of planned areas, functional concept of socialist city, could be and in fact was totally free from economic "criteria and obstacles", economic sense was totally lost⁵⁸ in planning thought. The actual, being still in force Master Plan of Warsaw City, keeps 52.3 per cent of land within city limit as an open spaces, i.e. non-urbanized green areas, parks, forests, farming etc., and majority of this land is fully equipped with technical infrastructure, road system etc. In the same time housing programme cannot reach target figures in Warsaw, because the city is not able to prepare new lands for investments in this sector.

The seventies brought new approach to these issues. The private market of the land has been revitalized and the purchase value of the land reflects now its location and real attractiveness, e.g. in Warsaw agglomeration the price of the land vary from appx. 500-800 zł/sq.m. - up to 15.000-25.000 zł/sq.m. (in the summer 1988).

In the eighties, the local governments were made responsible for land management problems and communal ownerships was formally reinstated. A strong and very effective protection of agricultural lands have been introduced and constitutional rights of private owners have been established.

A housing stock was nearly fully reprivatized. Very often, former owners of nationalized in the fifties houses, purchased them again from the state in the seventies (as it has been done by an author of this paper, his house, built by his family in the thirties, was next nationalized in 1955, without compensation since it was located in central part of Warsaw, and next sold to him, in 1978). It is interestingly enough that previous owners have been privileged with priority rights in this action.

What we may expect? probably a further marketization of economy and consequently, the importance of the land market which will be still growing. It means that planning methods no longer can neglect the rent of land and the market of land owners.

(4.2.2) externalities in urban planning

It is generally accepted that in economy externalities are created when one economic factor does not compensate others, for affects on their economic conditions and chances, imposed by its action. The urban life, planners, public agencies permanently create externalities in many spatial dimensions and in different functional aspects of urban economy. Factory polluting air and water or developer increasing by its action a density of the urban environment, thus

⁵⁸ this rule works, and it works also in another, different political, climatic and religious conditions. The author was present as an UN adviser at the conference, in the Islamic African country, when the Ministry of Transportation was making enormous efforts, trying to explain the essence of Marxists theory on land value, to the western planners. The climax of his statement was a sentence: "... the land in my Country belongs to the people, so it has no value, therefore all your efforts for its saving by imposition of the planning standards are senseless...".

creating traffic problems and side effects typical for the highly congested urban areas, both represent, the most classical cases from this field. Externalities can be created by companies, households, but also by activities of local governments and by public policy of the state. The researches on this issue started in socialist planning theory few only years ago, but even from the very first discussions and presented already case studies, we are aware that problem is serious, expansive and very complex.

The theory of external effects was primarily created for free market economy and was devoted to studies on behaviours of private companies and to investigations connected with functioning of the market and its equilibrium. And there is still not answered question, if in the centrally planned economy external effects exists at all. Some of the scholars, as Andreas Faludi, argue that public agencies create "external effects", mostly negative. Others believes that public agencies create the wanted or favourable effects through urban policy. Yoshitsugu Kanemoto (1987) says that externalities can be even seen as justification for governmental intervention when they "...present a case of potential market failure..".

In my opinion, we may leave this general question without answer, at present. The theoretical problem of classification and names is less important, what is important, that firstly, the centralized economy in world of real economics, practically does not exist without market forces and market elements, and secondly that planning policy, always creates a great number of effects which were not planned, not envisaged and not wanted. Samone may argue that these are not external effects, since if we would improve the planning techniques, the problem will disappear. And again it is purely theoretical preassumption. And therefore, as long as real process of urban planning is important, the question can be left.

The author believes that external effects theory should be adopted for general theory of urban planning, primarily as a theoretical tool for investigation of real effects of urban policy and as an instrument for evaluation of effectiveness planning techniques. The planning methods, which have been employed in the Environmental Impact Statement procedure in the United States, in last decade, are the excellent example of this approach to the issue.

(4.2.3) economic instruments of urban policy

An impact of the national budget and tax policy on regional and urban development is a next issue, which have not be recorded, monitored and investigated in a socialist urban planning, since the 1940s. But first researches confirmed that also in socialist model, the impact exists and is very meaningful.

(A) budget policy - an impact of central budget policy on regional and urban issues, and on formally declared spatial policy, is mostly a result of contradiction which exists between declared goals of those policies and practically implemented decisions. The latter, which include allocation of funds from central budget in different sectors of economy and in different regions and cities, from decades delegate funds and investment goods (machinery and all rationed resources) to the unfavourable sectors of economy (heavy industry) and to already developed industrial regions and cities. This economic strategy

developed the Silesian and Warsaw regions - already congested, polluted and affected by shortages of labour forces, by decline of technical infrastructure and not properly functioning. In the same time, areas favourable for new development, distinguished by strong development potentials and designated by physical plans for economic activation, are abandoned and backwarded.

The lack of market forces and natural economic regulators, makes this very unsound "realpolitik" in space - possible. But the economy is paying a high price for that. Investment located in congested areas, caused by functional difficulties and shortages, are non effective. Finally, very low effectiveness of socialist economy, is resulting, to the great extent, from ill-adapted spatial development strategy, what is a typical example of feed-back. We must remember that this strategy is created under pressure of industrial lobbies and abused by economically strong regions, both of them are not aware of final consequences of this syndrom.

The problem is even more advanced by the system of distribution, since, for the channeling funds and industrial goods among public enterprises, concerns and co-operatives - the sectoral channels are primarily in use. In that way, the Ministries and national organizations of manufacturers can effectively influence, political and economic decisions of central government and even policy which is adopted by the Parliament. It also gives a random effect to the finally chosen strategy, since results of all bargainings and discussions are non-predictable. Nevertheless, this factor promotes mostly a strong and already developed industrial centers, and again it is contrary to the favourable spatial concept of "balanced, regional development".

Distribution of central budget through sectoral channels (Ministries and national manufacturers) create a random effects on the funds distribution pattern, since usually (but not always) the strongest financial support is given to the politically most influential regions i.e. economically developed, they are always the best and most effective in all political "games". It gives also a preferable position to the industrial companies versus communal organizations, but this problem is much stronger present in the taxation system.

(B) tax policy and instruments - in socialist system are aimed on maximalisation of the state's revenues, and usually they are not employed for implementation of the urban or regional development policy goals. Nevertheless, the impact which tax systems brings to the urban development is enormous in its scale and profound in its scope.

Because, the bargaining is a normal procedure also in a tax system, again strong politically sectors of economy or regions are in a preferable position. The paradox of socialist tax system is that strongest economically companies, are very often paying the lowest taxes. And the same rule applies to the regional tax policy. Two interested case studies have been completed on this issue, year ago.

The first case (by dr. J.Kot from the University of Lodz) has examined the real impact of special tax system, established for promoting undeveloped regions in Poland. According to the principle of this system, the rich and developed already regions, should collect special taxes, which next would create a "reserve development fund of the regional policy". As it was proved, the highest contribution to this fund was paid by the underdeveloped regions and the smallest

was collected from strong and developed areas. The reverse, from the objectives, effect was resulting from the bargaining procedures in tax system.

The second case investigated the results of tax-exemption procedure in its spatial dimension. The case was concerned with the tax-exemptions, granted to the coal-mines in Silesian Region. They could not efficiently operate, as affected by a strong shortage of labour force in the Region. The latter was caused by ill-shaped development policy, which brought the additional new investments and other economic activities to the already congested and harassed by many functional illnesses region. Finally, a huge tax-exemption and subsidies have been fuelled in the coal-mine industry.

A received support was in a big part used for establishing of own transport system, which on the basis of shuttle-operating buses, was collecting workers from neiborough regions. What was interesting, that from several decades, the regional budget was to limited, to make regional and inter-regional public transport operating effectively. And when hard winter striked Poland in 1987, the directors of Silesian coal-mines were prized by local and national press, for supporting with their own shuttle-bus system, totally paralyzed public transport of the Silesian agglomeration.

But nobody asked very simple question, why this regional transport was so weak ?

In the eighties, a local tax system have been introduce in Poland, but since then, its importance in general is very limited, and in a case of urban policy - non existent.

(4.2.4) the costs of urban policy

The first works on the economic theory of the costs of city development began in Poland in the sixties. Until then, the socialist urban-planners manuals and teachers in Architectural Schools (in teaching, urbanism is still a part of architecture and it is included in ciriculums of Architectural Schools in Poland) - presented simple, very applicapable and naive instructions : "don't waste a land", "programmes have to be concentrated", "functional structure should not generate great number of travels within the city limits", "mass transportation is better than motorization based on individual vehicles" etc., etc.

The issue of the urban policy costs arised for the first time in the sixties and urban planners have been asked:

- is big city more or less expensive than a small one ? how the costs can be estimated regarding the problems of investments, fonctionning, maintenace ? shouldn't we stop a development of the biggest agglomeration and promote instead smaller settlements and towns and medium size cities ?

- is it possible to measure a real cost of the city ? what are the uncountable and unmeasurable costs as - social costs, comfort and amenities, attractiveness of urban space ?

- if the smaller city is less expensive, should not we deglomerate industrial centers ?

Unfortunately, most of those questions could not been answered precisely even now, and even in more developed urban economics of Western Europe. Generally it is accepted as a common believe that bigger cities are more expensive, but simplifying the issue - we cannot answer the question if benefits given by

great concentration of economic, cultural and social activities in a great cities, are not enough important for modern civilization, to pay all its costs. Nevertheless, the planners and reaserchers, who have been working with these issue in Poland, from the sixties, contributed to the urban economics several interesting theories and ideas:

- (a) the "Threshold Theory" of Prof. Boleslaw Malisz in which he was egzaming relations which exists between the costs of the city development - its natural conditions, potentials and constrains and - its size. This theory was practically employed for planning of dozen of master plans (in Poland, Great Britain, Yugoslavia) but its general, theoretical conclusions are not universal, nor scientific principles can be constructed on its practical results,
- (b) the "Warsaw Optimization", which was a very erly example of making use of computer (1969-70) in urban planning. The idea was based on evaluation of hundreds of different options and solutions, with given criterions, for Warsaw Master Plan, but the difficulties which planners faced in measerment procedures, did not allow to
develope this method for more universal planning instrument,
- (c) the idea of "calculation of city costs" what was a real interests of several prominent Polish researchers (J.Gorynski, J.Kolipinski, J.Regulski among others) in the sixties and which was finally abandoned in the seventies, after several unsuccessful efforts to find a criterions and measures for proper estimation of social and functional values of the city, the costs of functioning of the city, value of environmental qualities, costs of ecological disasters etc. etc.

At present these questions are seem to be not important, since several much more urgent problems wait for answer. But it does not mean that in future, the issue will not return. We may expect that the problem will be seen in unsimilar context - the context of the city which is a field of many different activities of different subjects. What we can expect also, that the issue of city cost, will be egzamined in the context of different economic system, since the present model of socialist economy has no chance to survive.

(4.3) the basic contradictions of the urban planning system in centrally planned economies,

Finally, we have to ask what really created all these conflicts, mistakes, errors and general unefficiency of the urban planning system, in centralized economies in the eighties. In the system which served for decades properly, was efficient and accepted. In my opinion, the real core of the problem consist in **FOUR GREAT CONTRADICTIONS OF THE URBAN PLANNING SYSTEM**, genetically coded in the doctrine of modern urbanism. These contradictions existed also before, but they could be overcome in the 50s or 60s, when strong central political power and strong central planning were operative and effectual, economic system was primitive and simple and national economy not so complex. To-day, when society no longer accepts deprivation from power and civil and political rights, when national economy is complex and international market no more can be neglected, when market forces are introduced to several fields of the Polish economy - the urban planning doctrine, in her present state, is no longer capable of realization traditional tasks of urban planning.

All four main structural contradictions have been genetically inherited from the Modern Movement philosophy and socialist ideology. They cannot be eliminated by "improvements" or "modernizations" of planning technics, as planners cherished this illusion for two decades. A fundamental and profound revision of the whole planning doctrine is a necessity and the only way for eliminating contradictions which exist now between : urban planning and operational decisions ; between strategic image which plans create and reality; between expected role of local communities and centralized urban planning; and between present principles of urban planning and regional and urban economics.

(4.3.1) urban planning versus operational decisions

There is insuperable gap between ideological sense and principle of planning issues, goals and targets of the urban plans and aims of practically operating system of political and economical decisions. The gap which exists in both aspects - strategic and operational and in both dimensions - national and local. The ideology of planning is oriented toward long-term goals, structural changes and strategic choices. It is always over-optimistic and unreal, presents targets and final proposals, without proper evaluation of potentials, chances, obstacles, dangers and real processes.

The operational decisions are oriented toward urgent problems and conflicts in actual dimensions, they do not serve a general development strategy; they are means of survival, tools of reanimation of economy, the ways of restoration of political balance. In the system, shattered permanently by political and economic upheavals and crises, affected by lasting shortage of everything (once more Kornai's book must be recalled, 1980) - this gap has enormous impact on all practical decisions. And even if we have to accept this phenomenon, as a feature of all political and economical systems, and as a natural contradiction which always exists between strategic goals and short-term policy, we can be sure, that in the socialist urban planning a transmission between these two fields is actually broken.

(4.3.2) strategic image versus reality

The contrast between strategic picture of total happiness, presented by urban planning and grey reality of everyday life, is characteristic feature and the second great contradiction of planning world. Fantastic, ambitious plans and promises contrast with frustrating reality, and this contrast deprives an urban planning of social confidence and trust. It is a price which is paid now for using urban plans for several decades as an instrument of ideology and propaganda and not as a tool for steering and co-ordination of development processes. And it is a price which have to be paid for unfulfilled promises.

We may remember a bombastic promises of Nikita Khrushchev made in 1960, that USSR will outlive USA in economy, standards of living etc., etc., before 1980. He was deposed four years later, he even could expect that someone else and not he, will have to explain eventual failure of this pompous and unreal programmes. But finally, the reality of the seventies in the Soviet Union was totally different, and Khrushchev's promises caused a great damage to the picture of Soviet's planning.

Finally, we may agree with Camhis (1979) that, creating its strategic pictures and images, the socialist urban planning is "...obliged to incorporate concepts,

categories or whole theoretical formulations that belong to ..(capitalist system)..because they appear to be progressive, or because they are an advance in their particular area of inquiry..". And this approach makes the discussed contradiction even stronger.

(4.3.3) local communities versus centralized urban planning

Next great contradiction was introduced to urban planning, when in March 1950 a local government system was in Poland abolished. According to Soviet's instruction, so called "unified system of the territorial and national governing" was launched in a whole Central Europe. This very specific, even curious system joined in one institutional network, two totally different functions - central government and local authorities. This model can be described shortly by its main features.

The local administration performs in this model two different roles, acts as a local representative of central power and in the same moment serves as an executive body to the local legislature, "democratically" elected by local population. The chief of the local administration (President of the city or Mayor of the town) is nominated by Prime Minister of Poland or by the Chief of the Region. This nomination is "consulted" with local legislature, nonetheless, the real power and full superiority remained in the hands of central government. This fictitious world existed until 1980, without greater problems and without important consequences for the activity of the local society (was simply non-existent) and to the local life (which was shaped by the central decisions). But when political and economical crisis of eighties erupted, government and Sejm were forced for re-introducing of the local government system in Poland. The Parliament Act voted in 1983, declared that local governments are independent and they represent interests and priorities of own communities and own constituencies. Prerogatives of these governments are very limited, freedom and possibilities created by legal instructions, also. Nevertheless, the Act created a platform where conflicts, contradictions and different interests can be confronted. And of course these confrontations had to bring to the existence all well known problems, competition between different regions and areas, identification of own, egoistic interests of local groups, conflicts and struggles on different fields and in various dimensions. And, since the system from decades declared that socialism created unified, non-conflicted society, urban planning is not able to cope successfully with this new problem. And what we can expect, that we are only beginning a difficult and complicated process of adaptation planning system to this new circumstances.

Now, when the local communities struggle for economical freedom, the problem went under discussion again. Already in 1988, the Act voted by the Sejm in 1983 was reconstructed, communal ownership and legal entity of local council were reinstated. Step after step we can see erosion of "unified system of governing", inherited from the Stalinist era. But we know also that without a general reform, the urban planning system itself, will not be able to serve properly local governments.

(4.3.4) urban planning versus economics

Last important contradiction was as well concealed in urban planning system, a few decades ago. It was when, all economical criterions and market rules and forces were excluded from socialist economy. For three decades a market was non

existent (or existent but formally not accepted and recognized), rent of land was abolished (theoretically, since private market of land was functioning illegally), the prices were unreal, the costs of production unknown (several products from both, consumer and capital fields, were heavily subsidized), natural rules of economy did not work. In this kind of political and economical environment, directive model of urban planning was functioning until eighties. Even if some planners were making efforts for introducing an economic sense to urban planning, these attempts were usually fruitless, since the authors who proposed such schemes, were next blamed for 'introducing to socialist urban planning - elements of capitalism' or for promoting a land speculation. At the end the market rules were replaced by planners with pyramids of goals, standards, sophisticated methods of evaluation planning proposals. The plan preparation procedure became very long, consuming a lot of efforts and very costly. At it did not help, planning decisions were often not justified or very problematic, side effects of many of them disastrous in economic or ecological dimension. For many urgent questions, plan is not able to produce a satisfactory response or proposal. Urban economics could not developed, firsts important researches on externalities in urban life or on the rent of land in socialist city started not before the eighties.

And urban planning generally is not prepared for overpowering this last from its own, great contradictions.

But problem is urgent since, even non consequent and non radical reforms which started in last decade, reinstated several elements of market economy, and hidden once contradiction - is now a real problem of urban policy and urban planning. No more local governments are ready accept high, non-rational costs of urban policy, caused by unrealistic plans and total lack of economic criterion and evaluations in planning procedures. The market forces, protection of private owner of the land, economically motivated behaviours of state even owned enterprises, which now work for profit - all these new elements are contradicted to the existing methods and procedures of urban planning in centrally (once) planned economy.

Chapter 5

The new ideas for the socialist urban planning

(5.1) the social, political and economic environment of the urban planning in the 90s.

The Polish economic, social and political structures and networks are in a transition period. Nobody really knows what finally emerge from this process in the nineties, one can only be sure that present model of socialism cannot survives. And according to the very common opinion, three factors will have a predominant impact on, and they will finally shaped, the socio-economic and political landscape of planning in the next decade:

- (a) a wide public participation in political life, planning and economic activities of the state;
- (b) a strong public control over all political spheres of activity, (c) an economization of the both, managerial systems and planning system, as an introduction of market economy elements and forces to the socialist economics.

(5.1.1) A societal demand for the real and active public participation

(a) A selfgoverning of the local communities, abolished in the 1950, is under reconstruction in Poland. It will be supported in future, by strong economic basis of own local revenues. A new legal status of territorial units have been already introduced by the Polish Sejm (in 1988) and a democratization⁵⁹ of electoral system is widely expected. We may expect also, that progress of democratization processes will be fastest and strongest in the field of local governing, and that this field (which is responsible for the city planning), can be used for "piloting" of some new ideas.

Nevertheless, democracy is now seen in Poland as general demand which must be satisfied in all aspects and fields of social and public life. It will be, we may guess, a matter of more distant future, probably of the nineties. What kind

⁵⁹ the period 1981-1988 shown already that, the field of local governments is the only field at present, where the communist party is ready to share a power and responsibility, with more independent social forces and groups. And this approach is important and very logical, since great number of problems, conflicts and collisions can be solved at this level, by simple means and by active (real) participation of local community. But when the same problems are "elevated" on the national platform, they became to be the great political issues, creating many, difficult to solve, problems and struggles. And also, as it is argued by many Polish reformers, that promoting successfully a reconstruction of the local government system, the Party can give up 10 per cent of political power and get rid of 50 per cent of problems and troubles. Nevertheless, the reform of this area of state administration is not consequent and still not enough courageous. The party decided to grant a legal status to the local governments, what was a vital step for this reform, but not before the strong social and political pressure of the years 1987-88.

of in-put will this bring to the role and position of the planning, it is difficult to predict now. But it will be a worry of the next generation of planners in the next century.

(b) the extensive social participation in a planning processes is an urgent need. There are no means, no traditions and no tools for it, at present. The language of the urban plan is hermetic and full of jargon expressions, the plans' proposals are aggregated to the level which make them incomprehensible for the public. The roots of this situation have been presented, the Polish urban planning as off-spring of the CIAM, the Modern Movement and the "Praesens" legacies which fitted hand glove the totalitarian features of socialist state. Since pre-war Poland, never have been a place for public participation in a practical dimension. But problem must be solve and public participation in urban planning must be practically⁶⁰ introduce.

(c) the planners will lose their privileged position of experts "who know better", they no more can be the only mentors and judges in the field of city planning and they will have to, as well as politicians, accept the control of the Polish society, which no longer can be incapacitated for acting in a planning process,

(5.1.2) A necessity and the directions of the real reforms, as they can be expected in the nineties

In the decade of eighties - a strong determination of the Polish political leaders and also other important political forces; the Catholic Church and the political opposition - to reform a national economy, to decentralize the decision making systems, to delegate down a political power and to introduce market forces to the economy - is a real fact. The progress and implementation of the reform programme is still very slow and very limited, three subsequent governments made fruitless efforts to accelerate necessary changes. But the nineties should bring a real change, since general reconstruction of political and economic system, is the only chance of Poland.

The political position and power of local governments, social organization and groups, trade unions and other institutions, which no more can be controlled by the state, will be steady increasing. The rights and the position of the private ownerships, private sector of economy, consumers and customers will also be protected, legally and practically. These new factors will have a strong impact on urban planning and on the implementation procedures, especially the land reclamation system, which already do not work in Poland, causing a lot of obstacles in completion of housing programmes. All these procedures will have to be totally transformed and adjust to the new circumstances.

The national development policy will be carried out mostly by economic means and instruments. Its implementation will be left primarily, in the hands of the local

⁶⁰ in some segments of urban planning system it has been already introduced, with use of already existing, traditional methods and institutions. The "local citizens committees" have been empowered in the eighties, for presenting opinion of all urban planning decisions and proposals, regarding their city district. Since they are totally not prepared for this kind of tasks, and also planners, are not ready accept this new, "humilitating" for them situation, the new system creates now a lot of problems. But all partners in this difficult process need now a training.

governments and the role of central budget and administrative instruments will be reducing. We can expect growing importance of such elements of the economy as market, rent of land, monetary policy, banking machinery. The economic and financial instruments, which are until now -meaningless in the Polish regional and urban economy, will be introduced to urban planning and urban development policy.

The new important element of the economy and urban environment will be a private sector, its spatial behavior and aggressiveness is a new, unknown yet and unpredictable at present, factor of spatial processes. The needs and demands of private companies, private entrepreneurs, developers, insurance agencies - which already exist in Polish model of socialist economy, will be a new factor of urban issue.

5.1.3 A reform of urban planning system

The common requirements of modern economy, modern industry and modern city, create a hard challenge also for socialist urban planning. A rapid changes in industrial technologies and new structure of an industrial out-put is a necessity of Polish economy, high efficiency and economization of productive forces is a must of a next decade. And all these issues are strongly related and dependent, in a case of centrally planned economy, also from urban planning methods, its efficiency and effectiveness.

A stiff and rigid system of planning and management is inadequate to the new circumstances, requirements and challenges which national economy faces now and which will be a reality of the nineties. There is a general demand for independence of industrial enterprises, for abolishing of the inflexible planning model, using very detailed directives and creating strong and rigid limitations for economic development.

There is also a growing dependency between the new modern technologies and industries and the social and functional environment created by urban plans. The new technologies demand an effective physical structures, reliability of the technical systems and non-polluted ecological environment. And the present urban policy is not able to meet these requirements. The plans very often create a real threshold for economic progress.

The planners, the planning institutions and planning system will have to accept these new circumstances. It means that existing planning methods, forms of the planning, functions of the plans, implementation procedures and instruments - will have to be totally changed and replaced by new methods, solutions and devices.

(5.2) A few concluding remarks on the socialist urban planning in the 1990s

It was not an intention of this paper to present recommendations for the future model of urban planning in Poland. But one can be sure that the "environmental" condition of urban life in the nineties, described shortly, will have to have a strong impact on urban planning system and planning methods.

Marketization of economy will demand a subsequent revision of urban planner's approach to the problems of ownership, value and profit. The future instruments of urban development policy will have to also be changed and oriented toward economic behavior of independent companies and enterprises, households, social groups in the city space, local communities and institutions.

The land reclamation procedures will have to accept an existence of land market and urban officials will be confronted with private interests and motives.

Self-governing of the local communities, social and professional organizations and independence of different actors of urban life scene, will transfer the urban plan to the field of bargains and disputes. The plan already lost its commanding power, its image was shattered by events of the last decade, but it is only a beginning of a long and difficult process. Since, the legal status of territorial units was reinstated and legal entity was again granted to the local councils, the legal position and dimension of urban plan will be also different. It will be both, legally protected and legally controlled.

But it means also that planner is going to lose his privileged position of the only mentor and judge in an area of urban development policy, he will have to accept a control of the society and the local council. This means, practically that planning language, the way of plan presentation and its content must be radically reshaped. The concept of the urban plan and its main decisions must be understandably displace and explain to the local politicians which will be responsible for approval of the plan and for its implementation.

The local communities are going, not formally but also practically, to repossess the sphere of urban planning.

An economic efficiency of the whole system, as the highest priority, will change the methods of planning and content of the urban plan. Its economic content will be strengthened, the economic criterions will also be presents in all evaluation and solutions, feasibility of the planned ideas will be investigated. The statistical system will also have to be reconstructed, and the Statistical Yearbook of Poland, will start to serve, what I believe, as an information source.

Urban plan no longer can be a real threshold and obstacle for economic activity of the city, public and private sectors of economy, small entrepreneur and great companies. It calls for revision of the land-use technique and the method of very precise and rigid programming of the future city functions. Plan will have to less distribute, less direct and less instruct - and instead much more freedom must be granted to the actors of urban life. And it means also that distributive issue in planning field must be seen in a different dimension.

The future functions of socialist urban planning in a market oriented socialist economy will shape a plan much more as a projection of future decisions and description of goals, than as a picture of perspective structures and a set of numerous restrictions.

Generally, urban plan will have to make a projection of future operational decisions, which should promote a proper and wanted development of the city, instead of presenting an ideal picture of never achieving future. Its second, equally important function, will be co-ordination of different interests and actions, of different subjects of urban development processes, and what is important, the majority of these subjects already is and will be in future, totally independent from the city.

A new political environment also will have an impact on forms and functions of urban planning, the problem of civil rights in urban planning is not yet an important issue, since they are more urgent problems and demands in this field, but it will come soon to the very prominent position of all disputes on socialist urbanism. The problem of democracy and public decision in urban development

cannot be neglected in the nineties. It is difficult to predict which forms and functions of the urban planning will be reshaped by these issues, but certainly, some of them will. The legal control of the planning decisions, which is now a subject of general discussions among Polish planners and lawyers, is only a beginning of this problem.

It is also very difficult to predict what kind of impact for urban planning, will have a new political environment of the nineties. What will be the future role of political opposition in general, and in specific field of urban issues. The problem of civil rights is next, very important and general issue, it will influence an urban planning sphere in the nineties, legal control of the planners decisions has already started. But it is difficult to project the final dimension of this issue, as well.

Every qualified urban planner in socialist country knows already that radical reform of the urban planning system is a must and will be immense in its scale and scope. Nevertheless, its precise description is in my opinion, not possible, since so many factors of the future situation is totally unknown and the whole political and economic system of socialism is in a rapid and tumultuous transition. Therefore we may conclude only with a strong believe and hope that these changes will go in a right direction.

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