

*'The struggle of the non-Soviet self for space in the architecture of Nowa Huta; an analysis of Heterotopian conditions in the Polish-Communist context.'*

Submitted as fulfilment of the Doctor of Philosophy of Architecture course at Cardiff University/ Welsh School of Architecture



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## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

I am grateful to all those who supported me in the process of researching and writing this thesis.

This work would not have been possible without the support of Professors Stephen Kite and Chris Smith who showed a great deal of patience in leading me in my doctoral path. Both, with great compassion guided me, fuelled my curiosity and gave me the tools without which I would not be able to organise my thoughts in a clear manner.

I would also like to thank the academics and supporting staff of the Welsh School of Architecture as well as the students that formed a research and studio culture which was ripe for the proliferation of creative ideas.

Moreover, I would like to thank Toby Adam, the director of GauntFrancis architects and Dr. Michael Richards from the Kent School of Architecture. Both bestowed a great deal of trust in me and were kind enough to offer me the opportunity to gain valuable experience in architecture and academia that developed my approach to the issues I was studying.

In addition to that I would like to thank my interviewees who took the time to share their stories with me to enrich my understanding of the problems I investigated. For supplying much-needed material I would like to thank the Historians at the Nowa Huta branch of the Museum of History of the city of Krakow.

Furthermore, I would like to thank my friends and family that saw me through this difficult process. In particular: Anas, Vasilis, Alicia, Tina and Sam - my friends from the postgraduate-research community who offered advice and a chance to share ideas; Lisa, Tristan, William, Dan - my friends from Cardiff who offered a chance to take time away from my thesis; and as well as John, Tom, Clare, Scott, Anthony and Sara, who, although far away, always reached out to me. I would also like to thank my sister Magda who always believed in me.

Lastly, I would like to thank Charlotte and Cassie who kindly offered me a great deal of help in the last weeks of my writing process.



## ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates the formation and development of heterotopias in Communism, in the spatial context of the city of Nowa Huta which was initially inspired by Soviet architectural strategies and designed in 1949 to accommodate a steelworks factory next to Krakow, Poland. Heterotopias were first defined by Michel Foucault in 1966 in *The Order of things* and in this context can be argued to have served as spaces for a re-evaluation of the engagement with the power structures at hand. The research presented in this document explains the role of heterotopias in informing the development of architectural design and that of the self in the civic spaces of Nowa Huta.

To reach the aim of this thesis the research explored the situation in 20<sup>th</sup> century Poland, where a singular idea was to overwhelm all areas of life including architecture. The work presents the Sovietisation of Eastern Europe and the attempts to change the cultural habits of Poland by introducing a stronger paradigm of considering architectural design. Those attempts were based on the Soviet agenda to develop a robust public ethos guided by enhancing the work ethos. Nowa Huta stands as an example of Soviet-inspired architectural and urban planning. This thesis looks into the architectural representation of the subversive tendencies of Polish people who subverted this paradigm. The work interrogates the spatial qualities of the city and reaches beyond a detailed analysis of its initial masterplan. The thesis discusses the civic life of the place and consequent architectural changes to the urban fabric.

The inhabitants of Nowa Huta in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century were caught in a power struggle between the Communist government and the opposition (that was linked with the Catholic Church). As a result the inhabitants sought spaces in which they could avoid the normalising gaze of Communist agents. They were creating heterotopias, initially in informal spaces, out of desire to remain latent from what Foucault would call 'dispositif' (or apparatus that the government used to regulate public conduct). The centrepiece of the argument is a narrative of the growth of concealed forms of operation (of Communist and Non-Communist agents) within the city and their entanglement with the official or civic practices. In doing so the research concentrates on spaces that were on the margin of political engagement and aims to present how such spaces ultimately redefined civic engagement in Nowa Huta. Those spaces came to foster heterotopias which came to materialise in underground bunkers and corridors, peripheries of the city, abandoned cinemas and finally churches (the design of which was inspired by the former). It was the explicit subversive quality of church designs that allowed the subverts to conduct non-Soviet life in their depths. By doing so the Church aligned itself with the heterotopian energy of the dissidents.

This work is based on archival studies and site visits as well as interviews and analyses of documents. The theoretical framework of the research presented herein is drawn from Michel Foucault (especially his writing on Heterotopias), Giles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, as well as more contemporary authors whose writing is similar in ethos.

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Fig. 5.66 One of the many obituaries from *Architektura i Budownictwo* (1928 volume 7, 1)

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## DEFINITIONS

**Arborescence** (Deleuze and Guattari 2004) – This is a term developed by Giles Deleuze and Felix Guattari that signifies a structure which operates with an apparent hierarchy.

**Assemblage** (Deleuze and Guattari 2004) – This term is used to describe two objects both living and non-living that form a spatial relationship. This term is important for the philosophy of Deleuze and Guattari.

**City in plague** (Foucault 2007) – this term is used as a theory that Michel Foucault presented in his lectures. The term describes a city in the state of emergency where each inhabitant has to be wary of the other and by that becomes a marshal to police the other. The term is used to describe a situation of invigilation and dependence on discipline.

**Civic** – This thesis will consider the word civic as a materialisation of power structures on an architectural and urban level through public and civil space. It will also be defining ideas of citizenry and conduct in shared spaces.

**Desire** (Deleuze and Guattari 2004A) – This is a term developed by Giles Deleuze and Felix Guattari. The term in their definition is somewhat different from the conventional meaning. Desire here is a force beyond consciousness that binds humans and non-humans to come together and form relationships of what Deleuze and Guattari would call assemblages. This force is never free of social production and always engages with the dominating episteme. It never acts with an agenda or political intent.

**Dispositive** (Foucault 1977)– this is a term developed by Foucault which reflect all the means that serve to control a population, including architecture.

**Flow** – this term is used as Deleuze and Guattari would suggest in 'A Thousand plateaus'. It suggests the lack of stability of any state and the constant change of information and matter once it is directed to attain an aim.

**Governmentality** (Foucault 2000)– this is a term developed by Foucault which is a combination of the words: governing (meaning to lead) and mentality. The word suggests that the authority has a way of convincing the individual to convene themselves in a particular way.

**Heterotopia** (Foucault 1984)– this term is explored in depth in section 5.1. A heterotopia is a term used by Foucault to describe a place for dissent from the norm. His enigmatic definition from his paper leaves room for interpretation

**Homo-sacre** (Agamben 1998) – this term was developed by Giorgio Agamben and describes an individual, who is detached from the influences of their peers.

**Homo-sovieticus** (Zinovyev 1986) – this is a term developed by Alexander Zinoviev and is a lampoon of the Russian citizen under Soviet control. It was an idealised construct of a human being.

**Knowledgeable man** (Foucault 1995) – is a term developed by Foucault which signifies the individual's capacity to manifest their own opinion.

**Molar** (Deleuze and Guattari 2004) – This term was developed by Deleuze and Guattari and signifies the a more developed or refined level than the molecular, one that is composed of relations acting through the basic ontological affect.

**Molecular** (Deleuze and Guattari 2004) – This term was developed by Deleuze and Guattari and signifies the level of basic ontological forces which constitute their definition of desire.

**Power** (Foucault 1995) – This term was developed by Foucault and articulated in his Lectures at the College de France and his book *Discipline and Punish* and signifies the political relations between individuals that effect their behaviour. It is a purposeful domination of one idea or agenda over another which does not need to have a representation in official governmental institutions. Power is omnipresent and in many ways is similar to the notion of desire from Deleuze's perspective but as opposed to desire, Foucauldian power has an articulable agenda.

**Power-Knowledge nexus/network of knowledge** (Foucault 1995) – this is a term developed by Foucault and signifies the field in which the power structure operates. It consists of information streams and ways of communication that can be manipulated to change an individuals' conduct.

**Polish government/Polish Communists** – By this term I understand the Communist Authorities, which came to be part of the government of Poland.

**Rhizome** (Deleuze and Guattari 2004) – This is a term developed by Deleuze and Guattari that signifies a structure which operates without an obvious hierarchical mechanism. This term is opposite to an arborescent structure.

**Soul** (Foucault 1995) – this is a term developed by Foucault and signifies the part of the consciousness that can translate the external information to internal thoughts.

**Soviets** – This term signifies the Authorities of Soviet Russia at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In the period, discussed in this thesis the soviet government was led by: Iosif Vissarionovich Dzhugashvili (Stalin), Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov (Lenin), Nikita Sergeyeovich Khrushchev

**TW** - (Pl: Tajny Wspolpracownik/Eng: Secret collaborator with the Communists) This is an acronym commonly used in Poland to describe people who (for whatever reason) at one point in their lives submitted reports on Polish citizens to the Communist authorities.



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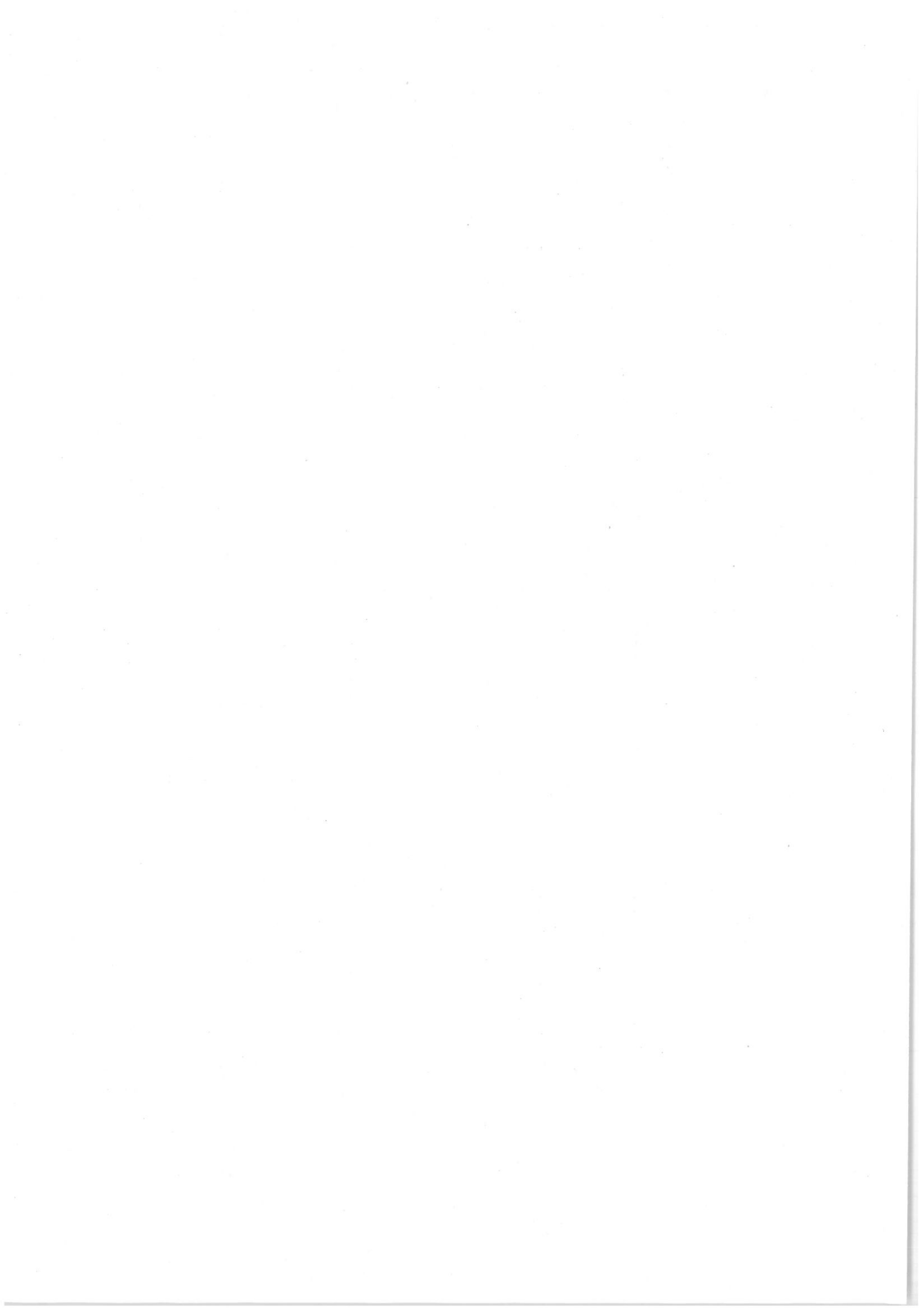
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  - (i) a title page, which states:
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    - the candidate's name;
  - (ii) a summary not exceeding 300 words;
  - (iii) a statement signed by the candidate declaring that, except where indicated by specific reference, the work submitted is the result of the candidate's own investigation and the views expressed are those of the candidate;
  - (iv) a statement signed by the candidate declaring that no portion of the work presented has been submitted in substance for any other degree or award at this or any other university or place of learning, nor is being submitted concurrently in candidature for any degree or other award;
  - (v) a signed statement regarding availability of the thesis;
  - (vi) a list of contents, which includes page numbers.
4. The declaration and statements should be incorporated at the beginning of the thesis, as illustrated in Annex 1.
5. Candidates must submit their work for examination in temporary binding.
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## Chapter 1

### Introduction

#### 1.1.1 Introduction

The purpose of my work is to explore the architectural mechanisms of contestation between the governmental apparatuses of power and heterotopias in the city of Nowa Huta, near Krakow in Poland, during Communism. This chapter presents the basic premise of this thesis, as well as a narrative that introduces the concept of the text. It outlines the aim, objectives and methodology of my investigation and the reasons for adopting specific approaches. The introduction also explains the structure of the thesis. This chapter is split into several sections: Introduction, Aim and Statement, Research Questions, Scope and Focus, Literature Review of key texts, Limitations of the study, Methodology, Objectives and the final section that explains the relevance and contribution to knowledge.

The key concepts discussed in this thesis are the role of urbanism and architecture in enforcing a clearer construction of a conceptual personae and the capacity of a Polish citizen in the 20<sup>th</sup> century to negotiate their position in the civic. This will be associated with the image and self-governance and ultimately the architectural design ethos that could be considered to have followed this trend. This thesis explores the premise that enunciation in public of art and architecture constructs opportunities of developing citizenry and is at the same time a type of representation as well as is represented in the construction of cities and architectures within. A representation of these themes is encapsulated in Jan Matejko's painting entitled *The Fall of Poland*. The painting and the event that it depicts is presented in the following sub-section.

#### 1.1.2 Partitioning of Poland;

##### **A historical event before the First World War in Poland (1772-1918)**

The information in this sub-section is presented in association with a historical event which had a fundamental influence on 20<sup>th</sup> century political life in Poland. A series of events which divided the Polish land, called the 'Partitioning of Poland', lasted for generations and left a mark on the politics of the country. The continuity of this event was extremely influential in fostering the development of diversity and spontaneity that excluded hierarchical attempts to unify the land.

Michael Müller writes that during the 18<sup>th</sup> century the Polish nobility was uncoordinated to a point of anarchy (2017). The Polish governance was diagnosed by neighbouring nations as having a lack of capacity to construct a coherent mechanism of sovereignty (or an arborescent model of monarchy). Prussia, Russia, and the Austro-Hungarian Empire took advantage of this situation and established a transaction with the Polish nobility, which gave

away large masses of Polish land to the three neighbouring countries. The first partitioning took place in 1772 and was accompanied by two more in 1793 and 1795 when the country was entirely ingested by foreign sovereignties (see Fig. 1.1). This state lasted until 1807 when Poland was given the opportunity to become a principality, however between 1795 and 1807 the country did not exist and there was nothing concrete which would allow for a continuation of a cultural flow. Müller points out that in 1918, shortly after the First World War, the Committee of Peoples' Commissars declared the partitioning treaty invalid, unifying most of the lands into one whole. In spite of the reunification, the reminiscence of the divisions and foreign influences remained. This gave a background to the development of a non-unified approach to socio-politics as well as Polish architecture in the following years. This includes the architectural situation in the area of Krakow (which this thesis is concentrating on).

The painting *The Fall of Poland* (shown in Fig. 1.2) depicts a scene where the Polish nobility is signing off territories of the country to the Partitioning Powers. The interior is dim and claustrophobic, the style of the ornamentation is Rococo and therefore implies a hierarchy that would, most likely, not be attainable by Polish citizens and therefore suggests exclusivity of the highest authority of the state. The composition of the painting is divided into three horizontal bands. The upper band is inhabited by women, who played a passive role in the political debate. They seem to be overseeing the event. The disinterested mass of noblemen are in the centre, as observed by the women. The richness and materiality of their attire implies wealth and their apparent attitude suggests lack of concern for the debate. The painting style resonates with Edward Manet's notions of focussing the attention of the observer on a singular point (as described in Foucault 2011) fixated, in this case, on the King of Poland. He appears to be leading the crowd in their engagement with the event depicted in the painting. He is doing so by facing the protagonist of the painting, Tadeusz Rejtan, who lies by the door, defining the lowest band of the painting. Rejtan rejects the authority and refuses to engage in debate by retreating into a corner of the room. Instead he is explicitly manifesting his disagreement with the partitioning of the nation, by protecting the land with his bare chest. Rejtan's act of dissent can be considered to be played out on the marginality of political power. The distance which the nobility is keeping from the dissident expresses repugnance for those engaged with the issue; the ramifications of which are presented by one of the characters, dressed in Rococo clothing, ordering Rejtan to leave.





Fig 1.1 Map of Poland in its partitioned fragments; territories occupied by foreign governments until 1815<sup>1</sup>

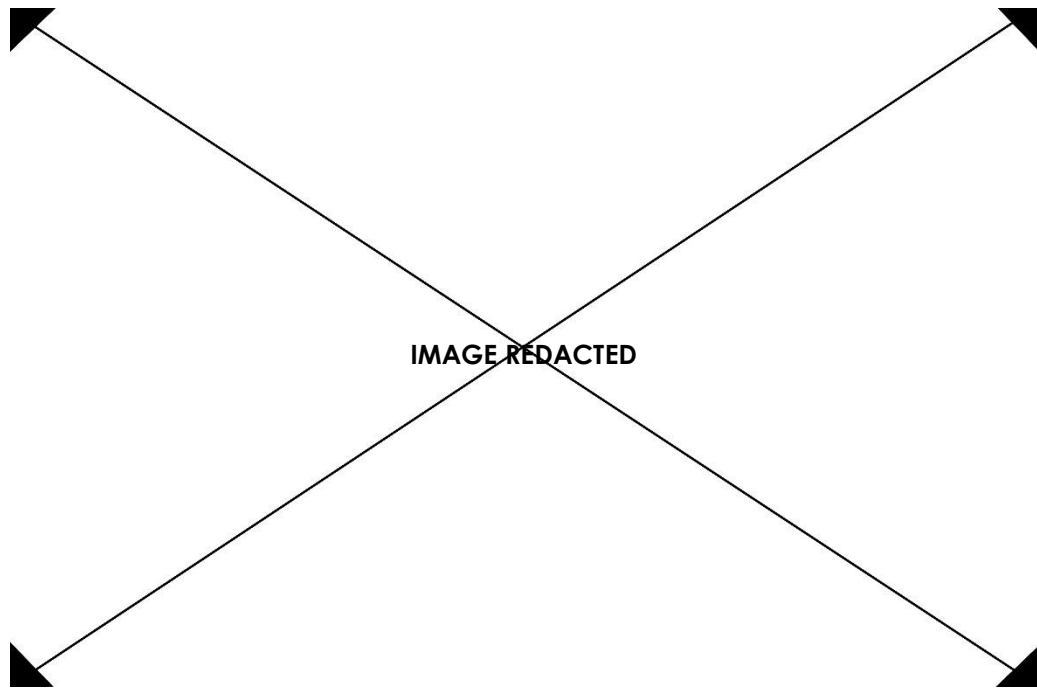


Fig 1.2 *The Fall of Poland*, Jan Matejko (1866)

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<sup>1</sup> The above map shows the portions of land which were taken by consecutive authorities. Krakow was left under the influence of the Austro-Hungarian Empire which, Muller claims, was the most liberal of all the hegemonies and allowed for a loosely developed Polish context to be present (2017).

This political debate presents itself as a conscious abjection and creative re-definition of the civic engagement. The tilted chair in the foreground and scattered organisation of people and the objects that found their way onto the floor implies a level of unintended abruptness in Rejtan's manifestation. The protest does not seem to have been planned or rational. It comes across as an emotional reaction flowing from Rejtan's desire to subvert. This type of conduct suggests a level of self-righteousness without which Rejtan would not be able to trigger the represented event. The violence and emotional character of this gesture distinguishes the protagonist as one presenting undignified desperation. His place is less than courtly and presents a conscious self-desolation in social status. Rejtan is on the margin of the painting, in the dark corner, almost out of focus suggesting that his act is unworthy of attention. If it were not for the gaze of the King, the protagonist of the painting may have gone unnoticed.

Rejtan's place-making, in the light of the political event that is depicted, implies that the civic in the narrative of the Polish culture glorified the abject that preferred to engage in escapism and antagonism than debate with an authority. The relationship between the places of the political authorities and Rejtan is reactionary and its significance is reinforced by its subversion of the power structures.

This defeatist heroism of Rejtan's gesture was an expression of Polish romanticism, an attitude which was advocated in the nation by many Polish writers. The protagonists seek violent ways to express dissatisfaction without tendering the possibility of achieving a conclusive compromise. Katarzyna Zechenter claims that individual, romantic heroism was prevalent in Polish history and was presented in the cultural flow as a positive trait (2007). Zechenter calls this phenomenon a 'culture of defeat' and presents it as a futile attempt of an individual to fight for a nostalgic and noble goal (2007, 677). In the case depicted in the painting, Rejtan is struggling to keep Poland unified, he is protecting the nation with his bare chest in a superfluous attempt against the intentions of most of the nobility. Albert Camus suggests that Romanticism presents rebellion, as a notion that is aligned with dandyism (1962). This dandyism assumes a nostalgia of ethics and demands a development of a new attitude towards the self. It might be said that the key aspect of a Polish citizen was heroic individualism, or understood otherwise as a lack of readiness to engage in a common debate.

My thesis concerns these places, subversive towards the political debates conducted in public, ones that allow for a retreat from the polis to seek an alternative way of participating in the civic discourse. Those would be spaces that do not flow from rational planning but rather emerge from outbursts of emotional entanglement where novelty has a chance to develop. These spaces were discussed by Michel Foucault in his paper entitled: 'Of other spaces' (1984) where he refers to them as 'Heterotopias'.

## 1.2 Aim and thesis statement

Thus the aim of my research is to understand the negotiation and development of heterotopian space-use and its development, which may be understood as having informed civic participation as well as architectural design, developed in resistance to the Soviet hegemony in the context of Polish Communism in Nowa Huta. This thesis will present how we can discuss spaces for soft subversions (understood as heterotopias) in the city of Nowa Huta through the reconciliation of theories raised by Foucault, Deleuze and Guattari.

The inhabitants of Nowa Huta sought spaces where they could indulge in non-Soviet acts in order to lead parallel lives to that which was expected of them by the government. It could be understood that by doing so they were creating heterotopias, first defined by Michel Foucault in 1966 (2002A XIX). They were creating heterotopias out of desire to remain latent from what Foucault would call 'dispositif' (1977) or an apparatus that the government used to regulate the civic. The civic in this text will be considered as a compaction of public and communal space but also ideas of citizenry and a materialisation of power structures.

Those were spaces on the periphery of the city of subterranean quality that came to be locations of the development of subcultural trends and often anti-Soviet thought. The text presents ways in which such heterotopias influenced self-definition, space appropriation and conduct of architectural design. Heterotopias opened up an opportunity of re-evaluating one's perception of being in civic space as a Soviet citizen and engaging with architectural elements. They allowed for the exploration of a subversive side and dissenting from the Soviet code of conduct. It could be argued that these came to inspire the design of churches which came to foster similar spaces and, retroactively, became politically significant.

The sacred spaces of the church were designed and used by the opposition and aided the development of cultural practices which could be understood as non-Soviet.

Those practices were conducted by returning to the way architecture was presented in the inter-War period in Poland, when the government did not have the infrastructure to govern and left the cultural flow to be re-appropriated. By doing so, the dissidents explored chances for re-organisation of the definition of the civic, which lead to the creative development of cultural and political disobedience.

To analyse the particularities of the power struggle the studied events are ones which exemplify the unbalanced power struggle most explicitly, allowing the resulting qualities of spaces for exclusion to be presented most vividly.

### 1.3 Research questions

The assumption of this thesis is that Nowa Huta (under the Communist government) was a space ripe for the germination of heterotopias. In this light the main research question (Aim) that the thesis is addressing is: How can the definition of heterotopias (raised by Michel Foucault) be reframed in the context of Nowa Huta and power relations in Communism that interacted implicitly and explicitly with desire (as defined by Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari) to help us understand the architectural qualities of events fostered by the city at the time?

To answer the Main research question a series of sub-questions was devised. The key aspects of the aim can be divided into power relations that define citizenry and civic conduct as well as desirous relations which are uncoordinated and unbound by civic regulation. These are presented in the following paragraphs and address: Power structures and definition of the self in Communism as inspired by Soviet hegemony; Polish cultural continuity that clashed with the Soviet power relations; the resulting design of Nowa Huta; and the re-interpretation of heterotopias.

Nowa Huta was designed in accordance with Socialist-Realist principles of architectural design. Those principles resulted from experimentation conducted in the theoretical context of Soviet Constructivism. To understand the strategies that informed the design of Nowa Huta -and what can be understood as (Foucault's) 'dispositif'- an investigation into the development of the historical and architectural context of Soviet architectural circles in the twentieth century should be conveyed. This had immense importance for the definition and attempts to control civic relations which might not be clear if one were to narrow down the investigation only to Socialist-Realism. Therefore the first sub-question can be formulated as follows:

What were the differences in the attitudes to citizenry and liberty presented and discussed by architects and leaders of the state in the Soviet Union with respect to 'Culture One' and 'Culture Two' as described by Vladimir Paperny?

Nowa Huta housed Polish people and apart from the power that was represented by dispositif it also fostered the cultural continuity of Polish citizenry. To understand the meeting of the two cultures and definitions of the civic self an interrogation of the affect in Poland and Polish architecture needs to be fulfilled. The research question that needs to be asked can be formulated in the following way: What evidence is there that attitudes towards architecture in Poland in the inter-War period were not coordinated and presented rhizomal qualities (as understood by Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari) on a civil level, which allowed tendencies of developing an architectural response through expressionism rather than

subordination to a typical architectural ethos even when faced with a project for the authority of the Catholic Church (assumed to be a high authority in Poland at the time)?

A detailed analysis of Nowa Huta can be conveyed after answering the aforementioned questions.

The research question that encapsulates the analysis of Nowa Huta as a tool of the Soviet dispositif can be presented as follows: How did the design of Nowa Huta encapsulate the influence of the Soviet definition of citizenry and architecture as presented by Culture Two (defined by Paperny and Ziada) and developed in Culture One (defined by Paperny)?

Only after establishing the historic, theoretical and geographic context of Nowa Huta and the civic quality of the city can the problem of civic-desirous relations be analysed.

To understand the intersections between civic power and desire and how the concept of heterotopias was played out in Nowa Huta in the context of a Foucauldian-Deleuzian-Guattarian concert a question can be formulated as follows: How can public space be considered with respect to key actors in the power contestation (the Church and the Communist government) with respect to the habituality of leisure and architectural language as fostered in the inter-War period in Poland and how was this translated into the development of heterotopias in Nowa Huta in response to the ordained spatial qualities of the city?

The latter will be addressed in three aspects, relating to the level of engagement between power and desire. The three resulting questions are:

In what exceptional instances did the authorities of the city change the architectural qualities of Nowa Huta through the presence of the policing service (TW and SB) in contrast to the planned presence of the Catholic Church envisioned by the architects (in the understanding of power circulation, defined by Foucault)?

What types of spaces were appropriated for acts of dissent from the regulations of citizenry through leisure in the city (with reference to desire as understood by Deleuze and Guattari) and how did they allow for a development of understanding of the self with respect to the normative definition of Communist citizenry? And;

What were the altered aspects of sacred architecture and its relationship with the city as a whole, including the spaces of dissent (with respect to a Foucauldian reading of engagement with the civic)?

## 1.4 Scope and Focus

For the context of this thesis it is important to examine the Sovietisation of Eastern Europe and develop an understanding of the schemata of hegemonic power structures. This is to develop an understanding of the way the Soviet architects were to treat architecture. The first step is to develop an understanding of key concepts in Constructivism and Socialist-Realism that allowed the Soviet governance of architecture. The timeframe which explicitly exemplifies the Soviet influence is Communism (1945-1990) straight after the Second World War as it presents the development of strategies that were prevalent within the hegemonic power institutions.

To understand the extent of change in Poland after the Second World War an examination of the state of the nation from the inter-War period is necessary. Since the focus of this thesis is urban, architectural and spatial relations – the architectural profession is focused upon. The second step, therefore, is to study Polish architectural culture before the Soviet interference. The third step is to locate an area within Poland that bears the purest architectural representation of Soviet leadership. Nowa Huta was chosen as a precedent, guided by comments of leading historians who research the topic. The conceptual development of the entire city was based on Marxism and the principles of communality and inclusiveness, gaining pride from work (Applebaum 2013). In this light, the city (designed in 1949) is based on Marxist ideals under Soviet hegemony in Poland. The whole city might be understood as an obfuscation of the Constructivist concept of a social condenser, the aim of which was to mould society to form a Stalinist organisation. The assertion of this thesis is that Nowa Huta is an urban and architectural manifestation of an over-codified epistemological shift that resulted in contestations.

The cases of subversions presented herein are ones related to the Catholic Church and an outward contestation with Communist ideals. The key cases of architecture are the Lord's Ark and the church of St. Maximilian. These are two of three churches mentioned in a Communist report (discussed in chapter 5) claiming that those buildings foster non-Communist operations, therefore posing a threat to security (the third church is outside of the city limits and not a focus herein).

A major component of my critical framework is based on the texts written by post-structural philosophers led by Foucault and elaborated by researchers who have based their reasoning on his writing or whose theories are similar. The reason for fixating on Foucault's writing is his acceptance of abnormality and dissent as a productive component of political relations. Another reason is the open conflict that Foucault came to engage with in the 1960s, where he criticised positivism and the Soviet philosophy whilst in Poland (Trombadori 1991). As Foucault was a direct witness of the effects of Soviet hegemony (Tomasik 2012), his texts could be read as influenced by the practicalities of Polish Communism (Foucault 1980).

As Foucault writes:

But if one is interested in doing historical work that has political meaning, utility and effectiveness, then this is possible only if one has some kind of involvement with the struggles taking place in the area of question (Foucault 1980, 64).

Jan Plamper's paper entitled: 'Foucault's Gulag' (2002) argues for Foucault's negative attitude towards the Soviet reality; implying that the break of the French intellectuals from Marxism in 1974 (with the publishing of Alexander Solzhenitsyn's *Gulag Archipelago*) was not coincidentally followed by one of Foucault's most famous works entitled: *Discipline and Punish*, where the author refers to Carceral Archipelago (Foucault 1995). In the light of Plamper's evidence, Foucault seems to have been describing how bourgeoisie power structures of the Tsarist regime were merely translated rather than reformed by Soviet Communism. By that Plamper instigates that Foucault's negative attitude to the government has come about from years of being subjected to Marxism.

## **1.5 Methodology**

### **1.5.1 Outline of Methodology**

The methodology outlined herein flows from the nature of enquiry employed to answer the research questions. That is, the conceptual basis of the dissertation does much to inflect the methodological stance. The concentration of the conceptual territories of Foucault, Deleuze and Guattari, have impacted on the manner by which the dissertation focusses upon and (re)constructs the historical moment of Nova Huta. I am aware that the gaze brought to bare upon Nova Huta during the Communist era is a gaze which occurs with intent—looking always for moments of resistance and flows of desire. The method is particularly based on gathering and analysing qualitative evidence which relies on a degree of inference and interpretation. By being explicit from the outset about which theoretical framework I am using, I am presenting the potential bias to this work that is leaning to a Foucauldian-Deleuzo-Guattarian analysis of space in historical situation. By doing so I am engaging with what academics call critical discourse analysis which was used by many scholars before me such as Andrew Ballantyne, Ronald William or Henry Classie (Groat and Wang 2002).

This section is divided into three following subsections. The first outlines the background which needs to be presented to understand the most recent debates on history in Poland. This subsection gives background to the narrative and difficulties which were encountered in this investigation. The next subsection presents the material sources which were chosen to be interrogated. The final subsection outlines the steps undertaken in the empirical study.

### 1.5.2 Polish Memory

The issue of orally reported history relating to events that took place during Communism has, in the recent debates in Poland, become an increasingly problematic matter. Not least because the actors involved in the events are becoming aged and the memory of those events is slowly drifting from our horizon as they die or reinterpret facts. The issue relates to the change in political order in the country that abolished or rather phased-out Communist authority in the governing bodies and replaced it with a democratically elected sovereign system. In a way, Communism gave societal advantages to some citizens. The system was set up to allow some to abuse the political context to benefit financially and educationally. After the change in government in 1990 the political system that followed immediately after (liberal democracy) had no regulatory system that would be able to openly equalise acquired advantages. The government embraced all Polish citizens and drew what Tadeusz Mazowiecki (the first Polish Prime Minister of the III<sup>rd</sup> Polish Republic) famously called a 'thick line' beyond which neither the government nor the Polish society should seek reparations from immoral situations that were made possible by Communism (but ones that were not, defined as illegalities at the time). Mazowiecki's approach laid the ground for what Stark and Burszt call a 'negotiated revolution' (quoted in Misztal 1999 33).

The reasoning of the 'Union of Freedom' (Mazowiecki's political party) was on one hand to defeat the Communists without loss in human life, but on the other was incredibly forward thinking in that Polish people, regardless of their political beliefs, should be represented in the Polish Parliament. Mazowiecki and his party also suspected that the Communist archives documenting all the privileges and benefits could not be trusted (Misztal 34). This approach of compassion and deep analysis of the Polish situation at the time allowed avoiding bloodshed however this liberal embrace opened the door for demagogical propaganda.

The problem lies in the nature of democracy which implies a demand of convincing the public opinion to the politician's position in order to attain a ruling majority. Artur Lipiński, a judge and academic from the University of Poznań, argues that there was an amplification of anti-Communist attitudes enforced by right-wing Conservative-Christian propaganda, particularly in the late 1990s (2012 77). The paradigm set out in the propaganda material fell on potent ground that was composed of feelings of mistrust of the former Communist government and the ways it conveyed unjust ways of handling political matters. Those ways, as perceived by first hand witnesses might have infringed what we might now see as human rights. Lipiński suggests that the information that was circulated ordained the character of the discourse that called Communists and even the democratic government that came to replace it as one serving an ill-defined 'conspiracy'<sup>2</sup> and a 'post-Communist salon'<sup>3</sup> (2012

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<sup>2</sup> 'układ'

<sup>3</sup> 'Postkomunistyczny salon'



80). This ideology defined the III<sup>rd</sup> instalment of the Polish Republic as merely a post-Communist state where the liberal law aims to adapt to the functioning of the alleged 'conspiracies'.

Barbara Misztal suggests that the vulgar and aggressive language of debate was not only to purge all public posts of former Communists but it consolidated a firm foundation for political parties pursuing their own interest (1999). Misztal argues that a key tool in this was the adoption of the lustration laws that were designed to target secret collaborators by a prosecution which would render them incapable of functioning in the government. Similar legal frameworks were set up in most post-Communist states and each time they were introduced to law they raised controversy (Kritz 1995). The Polish law came into effect in June 1997 and concerned candidates for presidential, parliamentary, and public official seats (Williams, Fowler and Szczerbiak 2007 27). It also touched on senior functionaries, judges, prosecutors, the media, and teachers. According to Kieran Williams, Brigid Fowler and Aleks Szczerbiak, lustration was a tool to regulate the inherited inequalities that gave the Communists and their collaborators the upper hand in social networks. The lustration trials, through a thorough analysis of the individuals' lives, were also to ensure that public officials would be trustworthy. However, in spite of their noble intentions the trials came to be used to the political gain of demagogues.

Ludmiła Stanek points out that the lustration legislation was associated with the role of the country to rectify caused harm implying that the former Communists were all linked with immorality (2013 43). This laid ground for a definition of a subcategory of citizens, inconsistent with the principles of a liberal democracy. Stanek notes a legal term: 'nocens sed innocens' which means 'one who does harm yet one who is innocent' (2013 48). This implies a certain degree of moral relativity which the lustration trials do not accept. The trials were also to be kept secret from the public. This made the legal act a perfect tool for articulating accusations without the necessity of backing them up. Language that was and still is used by politicians was and still is informing the way of articulating accusations and allegations which fed into Polish slang and was taken up by xenophobic circles that readily adopted the language of hate and started calling for the eradication of 'Jewish Communists'<sup>4</sup>.

Maurice Halbwach is a sociologist who writes on the notion of the role of collective memory in the formation of personal opinions (1992). He suggests that modalities of enunciation most commonly used in public will generate ways of acting upon information and recognising noteworthy knowledge in a selective way. Chris L. Smith, in his book, *Bare Architecture* uses the metaphor of the net to showcase how even the most robust methods of enquiry and engaging with knowledge are selective and let some information pass through without consequence to the research question (2017 22). In this way he suggests that the language

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<sup>4</sup> Żydokomuna

and argumentation of (in his case scientific) discourse will determine what information is relevant. Foucault might call this a power-knowledge network. Foucault writes:

'Since memory is actually a very important factor in struggle... if one controls people's memory, one controls their dynamism. And one also controls their experience, their knowledge of previous struggles.' (Foucault 1989 89-106)

In the context of the vulgar and insensitive language that was set out by right-wing propaganda, memories of a time which is much more complex can be misinterpreted. The history of lustration trials implies that in some cases it might be difficult to point out a former secret collaborator with the Communists (TW) or interaction with a security service representative (SB). In spite of this it will always be reprimandable to even be called out as such. In this light it might be difficult to share any memories from the Communist period. It might also be assumed that the memories might be repressed or misinterpreted to protect a constructed image of self-righteousness as defined by the net of the right-wing propaganda.

A specific example of the complexity of this problem is Zyta Gilowska's trial which rendered her role in the government of the country as a highly positioned Minister politically tied when forced to stand trial and answer accusations of the collaborator stigma (Wlazłowska, 2006). The trial revealed that the documents which were held on her were gathered without her permission and that they are incomplete as the officer, who was managing her alleged work stole documents from the archive before Communism fell (to protect himself and his family).

In past years this affect of a bi-partisan political struggle came to function in a somewhat arbitrary matter as people who did not even have a chance to participate with Communist authorities due to their age are publicly accused of collaboration.

The following section outlines how I navigated through the difficulties of obtaining information from the Communist period.

### **1.5.3 Material engaged with**

The first step in answering the research questions was to undertake an intensive literature review of the aforementioned intellectuals and others that responded to questions of otherness and dissent from power (particularly in the Communist context). Most of the conceptualisation of the findings were inspired by Foucault and writers who reflected upon his work or whose own divagations are similar to his. The theoreticians whose work I am concerned with have also informed the way in which I analysed the spaces I will go on to discuss. Apart from Foucault, Deleuze and Guattari are the most prominent authors whose work inspired this approach. All three saw the world as a set of disorganised and fragmented spaces. The same approach was taken herein, in the analysis of architectural documentation, physical environment and interviews that were conducted during this research project.

Guided by the approach that Foucault takes in his analysis of power relations I have conducted four site-visits to Nowa Huta, during which I have taken 11 interviews with people who lived in the city during Communism and could narrate as a primary witness how architecture was used. During the visits I have taken photographs, made sketches and spent time in the urban and architectural fabric analysing the space on my own via direct contact, photography and analysing via the medium of sketching. In addition to that I have spent an extensive amount of time in the national archives of Krakow, where historic documents on events, which have happened in Nowa Huta and have shaped its urban fabric are kept. In my study I have accessed two archives based on the description of their stored material. The national branch of the archive IV, where architectural documentation is stored, and archive V, where historical reports are located. Those come as part of the National assembly of places that compose the national archive.

The status of the national archive was formally defined in 2016 by Dr Wojciech Woźniak. The document defines the archive as a repository of historical documentation which presents the engagement of individuals with the local authorities and the wider government that concerns actions and directives which impacted on Krakow and its nearby area (Wozniak 2016). The archive was set up in 1877 and its role is to store historical material of regional and national significance and enable access to this material to members of the public. The choice of the archives was guided by the desire to understand the strategies of developing civic space in Nowa Huta via architecture and habituality.

Archive IV holds all the documentation that was created after 1945 as well as events which involved commercial bodies from the 19th and 20th centuries. The material which I investigated was closely related to the events that occurred in Nowa Huta in the Communist period and included graphic material such as posters, photographs and maps as well as documents of social problems and legal directives that impacted the regulation of the civic space eg: information of prohibition, martial law and strategies of sport-incentivising.

Archive V holds cartographic and technical documentation. This includes available planning applications of buildings in Nowa Huta as well as its masterplans that were produced by Miastoprojekt (the architect's office of the city). The archive, in spite of being meticulously maintained and stored, contains a number of errors: by cataloguing a Mechanical-And-Electric diagram as a plan of a building, by missing several drawings from a full set of planning applications and by combining several planning application drawings in one folder. I limited my scope of research into this archive to investigating only the drawings created for Nowa Huta in the Communist Period by Miastoprojekt. My interests lay in the Brief for the city and its alterations on a master-planning scale which outlined urban strategies. I also looked at drawings of individual buildings and residential quarters, focusing on cases which presented a different attitude towards the norm.

While engaging with the material I often followed a type of intriguing documents which led me to find texts which seemed to have the stigma of TW reports (as presented in this thesis) or sections of underground corridors (as presented in this thesis). These, due to security and terrorist threats, had been redacted from publicly accessible archives, and finding single drawings such as the ones I present herein is a result of their omission from the authority's redaction. In my research I encountered several cases like this which included TW reports on invigilating priests and parishes. For my research the archives presented an opportunity to engage with primary source material of all the events that were inspired or were relating to the authorities operating in the area.

I have also established a communication stream with the historic museum of Nowa Huta, which is called the Nowa Huta Branch of the Museum of History of the city of Krakow. This museum is a collaborative group of historians associated with the National Museum in Krakow. These individuals gather material on Nowa Huta and produce publications and exhibitions to present their work to the broader public. Each visit to Nowa Huta consisted of a particular approach gradually developing a more progressive and indepth understanding of the subject.

#### **1.5.4 Description of undertaken research steps**

The first site-visit introduced me to the popular venues in the city where I managed to establish communication with several figures that provided valuable information for this thesis as well as access to a network of people who feel passionately about Nowa Huta.

The second site-visit introduced me to archives IV and V where I have spent a great deal of time, photographing and reviewing documentation that I believed was of interest. This included architectural documentation and propaganda material as well as protocols and police records from Communism, which proved to be of great value for this thesis. During the second visit I also established a relationship with Maciej Mieziań and Paweł Jagło, historians who run the Nowa Huta Branch of the Museum of History of the city of Krakow.

The third site-visit consisted of an in-depth exploration of the architectural pieces that this thesis discusses, as well as conducting interviews with inhabitants of the city. I am arguing that the spaces that I intended to understand were ripped from the general stream of contextual events and have particular spatial and temporal qualities which cannot be understood without first-hand engagements. The interviews complete the emplotment of investigating architectural documentation of primary sources as well as an in-depth literature review on the city and philosophies of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

I convened the interviews with the respondents in informal arrangements, for approximately 30 minute conversations in which I limited myself to explaining what my thesis is about. After allowing them to elaborate on the subject I asked follow-up questions clarifying aspects that

were not clear from their descriptions. I asked the interviewees if I could record the session and I did so with their permission. All the interviewees were informed that they did not have to take part; that they could withdraw at any moment; that they would have full anonymity and did not need to answer any question if they did not wish not to. The interviewees were asked semi-structured questions and discussed subversive events which ruptured the pace of the city. I enquired about public and private spaces as well as spaces that explicitly required exclusion or ones for rebellion. My approach was inspired by a project carried out by Lubin-Levy and Motta that was appropriated when developing their publication entitled: '*Petit mortre*' (2011), as well as Gaj (2013) and Applebaum (2012) in their key texts; all of whom used interviews of personal experience in developing their narrative. My interviewees spoke about the way the city was governed and their role in the establishment. I encouraged them to use a variety of media from verbal recollections (that I recorded and transcribed), body language and gestures (that I noted down) and graphic representation of their narrative, in the form of sketches, that are included in this text. In order to obtain participants and maintain communication with them I have used social media (eg: Facebook <https://www.facebook.com/NowaHutaWolneMiasto/?fref=ts>), word of mouth and contacts gained in the city.

In order to fully understand the qualities of spaces that might operate as heterotopias in Nowa Huta I contacted a number of people who had lived in the city under Communism. Connections with eye-witnesses to the events that I am describing informed my engagement with their recollections was to treat their testimony as guidelines and information that led me to understand the way those specific people interacted with the civic and understood spatial qualities of Nowa Huta at the time of Communism. I was asking about the interviewees' experience of life in Nowa Huta in Communism. I was most interested in the aspects of their lives which cannot be defined as Soviet. I noted their stories not as authoritative positions but as narratives on the matter that are subjective or unconsciously biased sources of information.

The matter of gathering statements from people who experienced life in Communism raises a number of ethical problems which were outlined in section 1.7.2. The matter is of a sensitive nature and people are understandably suspicious of enquiries about that time for fear of defamation. In order to encourage honesty and convince of my good intentions I made it clear that I will not reveal the identities of my interviewees. Their names, even though noted down in the ethical form that I had to ask them to sign, will not be given out in this document and were substituted by random names which only give out the gender of my interviewees. By guaranteeing anonymity I was able to engage more closely and, I believe, more honestly with their recollections of their experiences from Communism in Nowa Huta. Their testimony presented an opportunity to engage with the small scale of human interaction at the time in

the city to emplot a rich depiction that might showcase a rich and diverse quality of heterotopias.

The choice of interviewees was limited by the time-frame of my investigation. It might also be noted that interviewees were difficult to find. Most people who experienced Nowa Huta under Communism are difficult to track or forgetting key moments in their life due to the feebleness of human memory. The people I found proved to be very helpful in understanding the variety and nature of heterotopias, but were limited in number. Their choice was guided by the desire to showcase the diversity and complexity of the concept, hence their profiles, seemingly ununified, are joined with a shared experience of life in Communist Nowa Huta. Due to the scope of my research I could not enquire about (what Paperny might call) Culture Two and the furthest recollections of my interviewees dates back only to what can be assumed as the Khrushchev era (Socialist Modernism).

The people I managed to track down to be interviewed could be divided into two conceptual groups: those that strongly opposed Communism and those that did not do so at least in an explicit way.

The profiles of the interviewees:

The ones that openly opposed Communism:

Marek: This man moved to Nowa Huta when he was four and has lived there ever since. He at the time of the interviews he was in his late 50s and was a teenager at the time of the 1980s strikes and engaged in many 'illicit' activities such as alcoholism or vandalism during Communism. He studied history at the Jagiellonian University and worked briefly for the Nowa Huta Branch of the Museum of History of the city of Krakow before he engaged with politics on a local level. He was my first interviewee and a discussion with him led me to think that I should not reveal the identities of whom I spoke to. I chose to Interview him as our initial discussion showed his engagement in outward dissent and an intimate and emotional relation to the city. I believe his testimony showcases a deep relationship with the hidden corners and corridors of the city.

Kazimierz: This is the eldest member of the public that I interviewed, he did not give me his age but he was present at the construction time of the Lords Ark. I met him at said church, where he often comes to speak to the nuns and discuss his books. He is a writer and a priest that served in the city during communism and hence claims to remember the atmosphere, which surrounded the engagement of politics and the Catholic Church. He was my most concerned interviewee and very reluctant to trust me. This interviewee's memories might have hinged the narrative in favour of the Church however his words were important to note as a representative of all sides in the power struggle.

Janek: This 50 year old individual was and still is a librarian in Nowa Huta. In the 1980s he worked in a library just off Central Square. His family is from the nearest vicinity to Krakow and moved a lot when he was a child but most of his memories relate to Nowa Huta. He was heavily engaged with the non-Soviet cultural life by channelling and harbouring propaganda material and attending non-Soviet cultural events such as poetry readings. I spoke with this individual as I aimed to gather information of how the intelligentsia of Nowa Huta dealt with the Communist situation.

Andrzej: This man works for the Nowa Huta Branch of the Museum of History of the city of Krakow. He is in his 40s and would be too young to be an active participant in the political struggle, however because of the context in which he was interviewed, the theme of the discussion and due to my promise to protect all interviewees identity I gave this interviewee an alias. I felt that his testimony would be informed by a robust historical investigation.

The ones who did not oppose Communism in an explicit way:

Agnieszka: This woman is a senior manager in a hotel in Nowa Huta. She is in her 60s and waiting for retirement. She used to work in a hotel for workers in the city and moved to Nowa Huta when she was a teenager to seek work. She claims to have never engaged with politics or any form of activism. She claims to have had a 'calm life'. I chose to speak to her as she argues to have not engaged with political affairs in the city and I felt her testimony might not be as biased.

Jarek: This man claims to have no secrets and insisted that I use his name in my thesis. He is 57 and lived in Nowa Huta most of this life after living in the Soviet Union. He is a supporter of state socialism and claims that there was no Soviet presence in Poland. In the late 1970s and early 1980 he worked in a kiosk stand on Central Square in Nowa Huta. I chose to interview this individual as I felt he had a lot to offer in terms of describing the view of Nowa Huta from a Communist standpoint.

Zofia: This woman works in one of the better known restaurants/bars in the city and has done so since she was in her early 20s. She is in her late 50s. I spoke with this lady as she worked in the most popular venue in the city for years and I felt that her narrative of the history of the place would be significant.

People, whose descriptions helped to outline the complexities of the engagement of the Polish vernacular and the civic conditions of soc-modernism:

Marcin: This individual is in his 30s and grew up in a neo-vernacular dwelling in the Polish Rural. In spite of the fact that he has never experienced Communism in Nowa Huta his house was just outside Krakow and was erected with the same material as the buildings in Nowa Huta so it might be assumed that their erection was concurrent. I chose him as I believed

that his description of a rural Polish dwelling would be narrated from the point of view of a building engineer.

Ewa: This woman is a woman in her early 30s and a researcher in Cardiff who also grew up in a neo-vernacular dwelling from a village near Warsaw. Ewa is a researcher at a British university and I believed that her Interview would show a reflexive image of a neo-vernacular Polish dwelling.

Michal: This is a man in his early 40 years old man who, like Ewa, grew up in a small village near Warsaw. Michal grew up and lived in a neo-vernacular dwelling for years and I believed an Interview with him might reveal an intimate relation and awareness of the spatial qualities of his home.

Krzys: This man is a 50 year old individual who grew up in a neo-vernacular dwelling and still inhabits a small village on the southern borders of Poland, near Krakow. This interviewee was chosen as he lived in a neo-vernacular, post-Communist dwelling all his life.

The final site-visit was a general return to the above sources of information, eg: architectural detailing and signs of rebellion. During this visit I produced a number of freehand sketches, which I have used to analyse the designed environment of Nowa Huta.

## **1.6 Literature review**

### **1.6.1 Introduction to Literature review**

The literature review element of my work is expanded and elaborated upon throughout this thesis in subsequent chapters. This section of the introduction sets up an overview of the main theoretical and historical-research texts that guided my intellectual development and introduced material that my research is focused on. The purpose of this section is also to position my investigation in the broader field of research in architecture. By doing so the review gives an indication of the knowledge generated by other scholars interested in similar issues as myself. The texts also conclude that Nowa Huta is a city that can offer a great insight into the power struggles in the 20<sup>th</sup> century in Central Europe.

Apart from Foucault, Giles Deleuze and Félix Guattari (who actively exchanged ideas between one another), I have included the work of such writers as: Giorgio Agamben, Georges Bataille, Leopold Tyrmand, Mikhail Bulgakov and Elaine Scarry as their work resonates with post-structural argumentation.

My literature review presents literary sources from the countries of Western Europe, America, Russia and Poland. All refer to the notion of subversion, Communism, Soviet studies or directly to Nowa Huta. The prime research material is composed of propaganda material, archival research into



the planning applications and historic documentation on Nowa Huta, and original publications from the inter-War period in Poland as well as a propaganda book that was published in 1953. Apart from the literature outlined in this review, the material of this thesis includes books, journals, poetry, photographs, interviews and films both in English and Polish.

### **1.6.2 Philosophical framework**

The relationship between poststructuralist theories and space is exemplified by Deleuze and Guattari who develop a notion of space as manifestation of desire (2004). According to Deleuze and Guattari it is via desire that one can truly appreciate distance and hence, space. Derrida, in spite of opposing Deleuze's concepts, goes even further to tie the concept with time in his essay on 'Differance', a word which he consciously misspells to express a spatial quality that has the capacity to differentiate between the 'I' and the 'other' but also a delay in obtaining what is at a distance (1997). It could be said that in their understanding, the relationship between the body and architecture can be truly appreciated via the de-regulation of the norm and a withdrawal from the implicit and explicit legislation of the civic. Only in that way, can one truly appreciate space and distance through desire.

The post-structuralist philosophy assumes a critical appraisal of positivism. The presented designs and historical events were considered and treated in a similar way as the post-structuralists thought of space.

### **1.6.3 Soviet hegemony**

Throughout the 20th century in the Soviet Union a particular approach towards the understanding of the human condition was developed philosophically and deployed socially a particular approach towards the understanding of the human condition. This approach assumed that the complexities of the body can be studied, understood and changed through a shallow investigation and architectural intervention. Such an attitude fed into the development of Marxism into its political manifestation: Communism. To understand this era I have relied mostly on secondary sources studying the research concerning this aspect of the doctrine in the Soviet field of influence. Those include research conducted by contemporary scholars such as Paperny, Chantal Mouffe, Ernesto Laclau and Zenovia Sochor. The presented scholars give a rich multiplicity of information and interpretive analysis of sources giving a variety of examples of case studies from the Soviet Union that evidence in their arguments.

A valuable source of knowledge for this part of my investigation was the text which came to inspire Structuralist ideologies and the pragmatics of implementing a Communist economy in the Soviet empire. This was a publication by Friedrich Taylor entitled: *Principles of Scientific Management* (1998), first published in 1911. Taylor thought of the human condition as being one that constantly seeks gratification in leisure and comfort. His theories rely on the notion of

care for self and a novel (for his era) approach towards spatial relationships of management. Catherine Cooke analyses Taylor's theories in the Soviet context and in particular Constructivism. Her writings include: *Russian avant-garde: theories of art, architecture and the city* (1995), *Fantasy and construction* (1984), *Architecture and revolution: contemporary perspectives on Central and Eastern Europe* (1999), *Architectural drawings of the Russian avant-garde* (1990). Most literature on the Soviet Union revolves around the idea of creating a new reality and a completely new human race, which Alexander Zinoviev refers to as: 'homo-sovieticus'. Zinoviev's book theorises the projection of one's self as a Soviet citizen. His writing is a satirical piece aimed to ridicule the West. The phrase that he appropriates: 'homo-sovieticus' is in this thesis used to name the development of architectural thought in the Soviet Union in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

The problem of the individual in the social atmosphere of Communism was always a troubling issue. Laclau and Mouffe present an understanding of the relevance of the social aspect over Eastern Europe at the time of Communism (2001). Their book: *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy* is an excellent introduction to the atmosphere of the state of politics and its relationship with architecture and the body in the Soviet Union. Laclau and Mouffe reflect upon the belonging of the self to a collective, and the responsibility of a sovereign power to the individual. They also claim that the Soviet fascination with the body never reached beyond a conceptual theorisation as it remained an exterior force of social determination. The micropolitics relating to the body were controlled via quasi-scientific methods by an external, centralised organ. This was, they claim, the basis for Trotsky's 'eternal revolution' mechanism that circulates power due to persisting divisions within the class system.

Foucault refers to architecture as being part of a regulating mechanism in several books and lectures, e.g. *Discipline and Punish, the birth of the prison*, first published in 1975 (1995) where he describes the regulating techniques in a prison, hospital, school and military camp; *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the College de France, 1977-1978* (2007) where he describes the functioning of a Capitalist city; *The birth of the clinic: an archaeology of medical perception* (2003), where he describes the mechanisms of a hospital; *Manet and the object of painting* (2009), where he interprets strategies of manipulating spatial perception in Manet's paintings; *The Order of Things: Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (2002), where he discusses the importance of enunciation in the formation of epistemological flows; and *History of Madness* (2009) where he explores the state of rejection from society and gaining ownership of one's own self as a sovereign. His most poignant writing on spatial qualities that reflect the circulation of power is his paper entitled 'Of other spaces' (1984), which outlines the space for subversions to the norm.

Foucault's theories of power relating to architecture are often used in the field of International Relations. His presence is also noted in research concerning architecture, conducted by scholars such as Eyal Weizman who writes on Israeli architecture, referring to the cities designed as

panoptic environments (2003). In Weizman's interpretation, 'panoptic space' is one that is controlled by an overseeing authority that can literally look into the space it supervises. The politics and form of the cities in that part of the Middle East are similar to Soviet concepts. In *Hollow land: Israel's architecture of occupation* (Ibid.) one of the architects of an urban project claims to have taken inspiration from Soviet interventions and the five year plan.

Foucault's theories are often used to describe power structures. An example of this practice is an article written by Hazem Ziada in the essay 'Undulating grounds, undisciplined bodies: the Soviet Rationalists and Kineasthesia of revolutionary crowds' published in the volume 4 of the *The Journal of Architecture* of 2013 as well as other journals and books published more recently to describe the post-World War situation in Europe. Ziada, like many other scholars, notices a relationship between Soviet architecture and art and the way it was controlled. He picks up on the way theatrical sets (in particular those in Meyerhold's plays) are designed, and relates ideas of controlling the body of the actors to transform them into character, to actualized architectural projects. Through this, Ziada claims that architecture was supposed to change people's identities to become new Soviet citizens.

Foucault's theories were also utilized by James C. Scott in '*Domination and the art of resistance*' (1990) where Foucault's theory is used to describe the isolation of the individual in a hegemonised situation. He later goes as far as to describe a specific example from Poland from 'before 1956' (Political Thaw) where the workers of a factory sought spaces that were away from the invigilation of their supervisors to unravel the 'hidden transcripts', they detached themselves from the power structure.

Vladimir Paperny is an architectural historian and in his book: *Architecture in the age of Stalin: Culture Two* (2002) he presents the situation of the Soviet power structures and conceptualises the patterns that he found into two consecutive periods. He called the first: 'Culture One' (based on equality) and the one that followed: 'Culture Two' (based on a strong hierarchy and reductionism). He draws out the hierarchical relationships that composed 'Culture Two' and juxtaposes them with the expressive and experimental nature of 'Culture One'. Paperny, having Russian ancestry, understands the subtleties of the language used at the time of 'Culture Two'. His research is a combination of analysis of prime sources, written texts, his own interpretations and experience of living in Russia. His theory is that the practice of architecture in the Soviet Union was inherently political due to the vast centralisation of the government and everyday life. The control over the architectural practice, according to him, was possible thanks to the 'Union of Soviet Architects' (SSA) which regulated the design directives in the country. The most vivid example is in his thorough analysis of the unbuilt project of the 'Palace of the Soviets', which inspired a twin in Poland called 'Stalin's tower'.

Other key texts include the comprehensive history of Russian architecture presented by James Cracraft and Daniel Rowland in their book *Architectures of Russian identity* (2003)

which is a relational presentation of the changes in general trends in architecture that followed the social changes in Russia; Dimitry Shvidkovsky who writes on the relationship of *Russian architecture and the West* (2007); Irina Chepkunova (1989) who provides a description of housing strategies after the Russian revolution.

A focused approach to the materiality of Soviet architecture is presented by Adrian Forty, who writes a chapter on the significance of concrete in the philosophy of Nikita Khrushchev in *Concrete and Culture: A Material History* (2012), examining architecture and the way the qualities of the material shaped its place in the profession.

As suggested by Paperny, a new wave of scholars started to emerge after the fall of the Berlin Wall, with studies focusing on the scientific principles that the SSA adopted and enforced in architecture in the Soviet Union. Examples include Sochor who writes on Aleksey Gastev and his role in developing Soviet Taylorism (1981); McLeod who concentrates on the architectural side of that managerial practice (1983); and Maier who determined it as one of the mechanisms of oppressive power (1970). Another source of information about the Soviet field of influence are essays written by Vaclav Havel on the situation of Communism in Czechoslovakia, in which he refers to the Soviet hegemony as 'living in a lie' (1990). These are not specifically related to architecture but present the nature of Communism in Eastern Europe.

#### **1.6.4 Poland**

To draw conclusions about the extent of the influence of the Soviet hegemony in Poland, I used a combination of primary and secondary sources. There is a distinct lack of direct statements explaining the relationship between Poland and the East, however all scholars seem to be explicit about the Soviet presence. It might be said that this part of history is far too recent to be objectively analysed and the reluctance of Russia to grant access to evidence of the Soviet history in Eastern Europe opens the field to further deliberation.

A helpful conceptualisation that is useful in describing the history of Poland is presented by Deleuze and Guattari in their book *A Thousand Plateaus* (2004). The book describes a key theory of diverging attention from normally understood hierarchies and provides a definition of rhizomatism that is a non-normative structure of operating. The theory has been elaborated by Woods et al. (2013).

Jan Behrends and Marin Kohlrausch wrote a book: *Races to Modernity: Metropolitan Aspirations in Eastern Europe, 1890-1940* (2014) in which they discuss the late urbanisation of Eastern Europe and the development of cities including Warsaw. Their argument implies that a high level of involvement from the government was prevalent however the civil societies in Eastern Europe were at the time weak. Anne Applebaum in her book *Iron Curtain: The Crushing of Eastern Europe*

1944-1956 (2012) writes on the situation on the continent under the Soviet hegemony, gathering a multiplicity of sources (ranging from interviews to archival sources) from Eastern Europe. The book is somewhat one-sided as the material presented and the questions she asks seem to be implying an outcome of the thesis, but her argument is overall convincing and supported by vivid evidence. An example of this is her fascination with the 'National Archive of Memory' in Poland which almost exclusively holds information on collaborators with the Soviet regime. She describes how the philosophy was to change people into Soviet subjects and how that was to be policed. Her understanding of the situation is that of an unprecedented attempt to destroy past habits and build a new Communist world. Her argument is supported by 'Between East and West: Geographic Metaphors of Identity in Poland' (2004) written by Marysia Galbraith who suggests that even simple architectural changes in the country were seen as dissent.

The key research material, which provided most information for analysing the Polish culture, was a journal published in the country in the inter-War period called: *Architektura i Budownictwo* (*Architecture and Construction*). The journal narrates the evolution of the profession after the First World War and includes such architects and researchers from all over Poland as Edgar Norwerth, Lech Niemojewski, as well as Dr A. Hoening and other contributors.

The specificity of leisure spaces seems to be a reoccurring theme that is consistent across the Satellite states, as mentioned by Jacek Salwiński and Leszek Sibila in their book *Nowa Huta; przeszłość i wizja* (*Nowa Huta; past and vision*), Maria Wąchata-Skindzier in *PRL mieszka w nas? Kultura czasu wolnego* (*Communism lives in us? The Culture of free time*), and *Teatr w Nowej Hucie* (*Theatre in Nowa Huta*) (Baran (ed.) 2013).

Tyrmand's text presents accusations about the Communist leadership that include allegations of corruption and neglect. The atmosphere of post Second World War Poland is described in Tyrmand's novel *Zły* (*Evil*) (2001), in which gangs and social disorder spread amongst destroyed cities and the firewalls which were the leftovers of demolished buildings. This is secondary source material that describes the situation just before Communism was formally announced in Poland. This was the state of the nation that the Soviet determinism changed. I am arguing that the situation described by Tyrmand resonates with the construct of the self, defined by Giorgio Agamben in *Homo-sacer; Sovereign power and bare life* (1998) and *State of exception* (2005), in which the author discusses the notion of exception from the rule of law. Tyrmand's writing as well as *Cywilizacja Komuny (Civilisation of Communism)* (2013) was influential for this thesis.

A valuable source of information about the situation in Poland at the time is art. One of the productions I investigated is the film: '*Człowiek z Żelaza*' (1981) by Andrzej Wajda in which there are a number of clips from archival material in Poland concerning interviews with people during strikes in 1980. The people present sentiments about the repression they were experiencing. The film is an exploration of the difficult situation of possible surveillance that the Polish people were subjected to. Films which provide fictional stories that explore the character of Polish Communism

include: Reverse (2009) that discusses the life of a common Warsaw citizen after the Second World War and her struggles with the policing strategies at the time; *Dom Zły* (2009) which discusses a situation of a rural dwelling in Communism. These, in spite of being fictional stories present the difference between the regulation of the urban and rural situation of Communist Poland typical of Soviet philosophy as argued by Stephen Kotkin (2001).

Another example of prime source material drawn upon herein is an article: 'Zeznania byłego esbeka - minuta po minucie' (2006), which gives the minutes from a trial where a former communist collaborator explains his reasoning behind the acts he has committed. This article paints an image of the relationship between the public and the private from the point of the view of the government. The minutes also show the other side of the argument. Following this track the book: *GejErEl: Mniejszości seksualne PRLu* (2012) presents interviews of people engaged in an operation organised by the Communist Police and the Secret Collaborators entitled 'Hyacinth' which show the hegemonic oppression from the point of view of individuals who agreed to contribute to the book with interviews. The author's research is expanded by literary sources, films and published articles as well as archival research into the 'Institute of National Memory' in Poland. The institute holds information on former secret collaborators with the Communists. Those sources are particularly emotional and personal in nature.

Mark Dorrian presented his interpretation of Post-Communist Polish architecture in 'Warszawa: projects for the post-socialist city' (2009) and the *Journal of Architecture* February 2010. He analysed the architecture of Warsaw and draws parallels between Soviet architecture and the attitude towards it in Russia and Poland. He also analysed the situation of architecture after Communism. One step further is taken in October's issue of the RIBA journal from 2013 where the contributors write on the state of architecture for leisure after the Second World War. the journal indicates that the approach to leisure on both sides of the Iron Curtain was similar. Grzegorz Piatek and Jaroslaw Trybus suggest a methodology of approach in their book *Lukier i mieso; Wokół architektury w Polsce po 1989 roku* (2015). Their approach seems to resonate with the architectural language diverged into residential, municipal and industrial typologies. Trybus additionally wrote on the unbuilt buildings in Warsaw post 1930 in *Warszawa niezaistniała* (2012) which show the diversity of the architectural approaches in the capital.

A researcher who engages with the past and present of Polish cities is Michał Murawski, who investigates the impact of Socialist architectural strategies on the contemporary landscape. His writing includes: 'Big affects; Size, sex and Stalinist 'Architectural Power' in Polst-Socialist Warsaw' (2016) and 'Placeology, or Place-as-Methodology: Ethnographic Conceptualism, Total Urbanism, and a Stalinist Skyscraper in Warsaw' (2013). Those papers provide an insightful evaluation of Warsaw's Stalinist legacy in the form of Stalin's Tower. His other writing such as 'Crystallising the social condenser' (2017) discuss strategies of Socialist city planning which influenced Polish design strategies. Marta Leśniakowska provides an image of Warsaw emerging

from the post-Second World War ashes in a new, Communist form that engaged subversive tendencies of modernists in *Architektura w Warszawie. Lata 1945 -1965* (2003).

### 1.6.5 Nowa Huta

Polish Communism aimed to use architecture to change the people into modern, Communist citizens. A key aspect for studying Nowa Huta in this respect was a book published in 1953 on architecture in Poland by Bohdan Garlinski, entitled *Architektura Polska 1950-1951* (1953). This text presents a representative cut through the history and theory of architecture in Communist Poland at the beginning of 1950s. The publication places Nowa Huta in a prominent position. Further prime source material is kept in the historical archives in Krakow. These hold architectural documentation on planning permissions for buildings in Nowa Huta as well as scripts of reports submitted by the Communist secret service.

Owen Hatherley in *Landscapes of Communism: a History through buildings* (2015), David Crowley in *Architecture and the Image of the Future in the People's Republic of Poland* (2009), Warsaw (2003) and *Socialist Spaces; Sites of Everyday Life in the Eastern Bloc* (1994) as well as Victor Buchli in *An Anthropology of Architecture* (2013) and *An Archaeology of Socialism* (1999) provide material necessary for the analysis of the city by showcasing trends that existed in Polish Communism in architecture.

The group of the Nowa Huta branch of the Museum of History of the city of Krakow recently published a mixture of secondary architectural and historical sources that comprise rich material for analysis. Two such publications, *Nowa przestrzeń modernizm w Nowej Hucie* (Jurewicz (ed.) 2012) and *Nowa Huta; przeszłość i wizja* (Ślawinski and Sibila 2008), include a chronological calendar of all works conducted on the construction site of the city. They also present the architectural drawings of non-normative buildings and some concepts adopted in the design process. They present the main actors involved in the design process. They also hold an open letter from one of the directors of the architectural office that designed the city. The main architectural aspects discussed include: the Swedish block, the French block, Social-realism, Adamski's standard blocks design, community building concepts from America and the influence of Athens charter from CIAM. The book also mentions the way the architectural office of the city Miastoprojekt worked. The data presented in both books is rich. A more intimate relationship with the city is engaged in by Agnieszka Gaj who wrote a guide to Nowa Huta, encompassing a series of anecdotal stories based on interviews and her own observations. Her book entitled: *Przewodnik po Nowej Hucie* (2013) is aimed at tourists visiting the city. More attention is placed on the history of the nearby area of Nowa Huta from before the Soviet intervention took place.

Several books present historical information (backed up by photographic data) about the land formations and historical interest to the 'hill of Wanda' that the city encompasses. Those are: *'Zapomniane dziedzictwo Nowej Huty; Mogiła'* (2012), *'Zapomniane dziedzictwo Nowej Huty;*

*Wadów'* (2010) and *'Zapomniane dziedzictwo Nowej Huty; Ruszcza i Branice'* (2009) published by the Museum of History of the city of Krakow. These present investigations into the history of the region and show evidence of space use before Nowa Huta came to be. The historians group also published other material such as multimedia presentations of the churches in the city (with a virtual visual tour of the spaces) and tourist booklets. Little information is published in accessible forms about the architectural qualities of the sacred buildings.

I have also investigated the propaganda material relating to the construction of Nowa Huta. These include poems written by Wisława Szymborska and an article written by Ryszard Kapusciński. The poems relate to the hope that the city will change the environment into an idyllic space (2013). Kapusciński takes the opposite view and describes a walk through the city where he notices moral degradation (1955). These are not focussed on architecture but present the failed hopes of the actors involved in events unveiling in Nowa Huta, even though Kapusciński was accused of hyperbolising the truth in his writing (in the book called *The Emperor*).

Another important source of information was the self-published autobiography of Tadeusz Binek who was an architect working on the construction site in Nowa Huta (1997). His recollections of architectural detailing and the situation of the erection of the city came as instrumental in studying the atmosphere and handing out directives to the workers at the time of erecting the city.

### **1.6.6 Subversions**

Foucault, in his elaboration on power structures, gives a definition of an act that mediates misbehaviour and rebellion (2007 44). This relation comes into play in a particular complexity of networks if the power mechanisms are in imbalance, but always respond to one another and 'the becoming' of the assemblage is always, as Carl Deane (2010) suggests, reinforcing the other party in the relation. Foucault studies similarly imbalanced situations of power and concludes with a description of a way to act upon them that is softer than rebellion but more impactful than disobedience. He names this assemblage an act of counter-conduct: '[Counter-conduct is an expression of the desire to not be governed] like that, by that, in the name of those principles, with such and such an objective in mind and by means of such procedures, not like that, not for that, not by them' (Foucault, 2007, 44).

Foucault's analysis of power structures and ways of acting upon them allows an analysis of the assemblages that are typical for these situations in a spatial context. It could be understood that part of his rhetoric was his definition of 'heterotopias' (1984). Such spaces would be ones taken out of the normative public events and ones which do not conform to a usual way of being. Heterotopias would be spaces for counter-conduct and, as such, they would be a reactive force; responding in a negative way to the normative governance of the 'self', yet necessary to uphold the state of normativity.



Kevin Hetherington describes 'The Palace Royale' in Paris to discuss heterotopias as laboratories of social reform using theories of Lefebvre and Foucault (1997). Hetherington saw heterotopias as everyday spaces of testing new social relations. Yoann Bazin and Philippe Naccache present how the notion of heterotopias can be used to analyse the world of business studies, in 'The emergence of Heterotopia as a Heuristic Concept to Study Organisation' (2016). Peter Johnson on the other hand provides a rich contextualisation of heterotopias in modern theoretical strands, in 'Foucault's spatial combat' (2008), 'Modern Cemetery: a design for life' (2008), 'Unravelling Foucault's 'different spaces'' (2008), 'The Geographies of Heterotopia' (2013). He also comments on how the concept of heterotopias can be used in the world of art in 'Making heterotopia: some explorations through contemporary art' (2014), 'Foucault and Heterotopian Art' (2015), 'Joseph Cornell's Untitled Book-Object: testing the boundaries of heterotopia' (2015) and how the concept originated in 'The ship: navigating the myths, metaphors and realities of Foucault's heterotopia par excellence' (2016). Foucault's paper that describes heterotopias name the library, the cemetery or the cinema as such, all spaces of dissent from the norm but arguably all necessary for the civic environment to function in an uninterrupted state construct (Dehaene and De Cauter ed. 2008). Such spaces are also ones in which a transition into a different way of being and participation in public emerge, either on a spiritual (a church), intellectual (a library) or corporeal (cemetery) level.

By subverting the norm, the heterotopia engages with the civic space in an assemblage necessary to reproduce the normal state of what is expected of a citizen in spite of acting against it. Heterotopias would be places for the energies and efforts of the people to be directed differently to that which the normal governance of the 'self' implies and hence could be considered as wasteful from the point of view of an overpowering government such as the Communist regime. According to Georges Bataille, all development or growth, whether it be a biological organism or a civic space, needs an abundance of energy (1989). Heterotopias would be places within the civic space where these abundances could find a channel that had the potential to develop a strategy to counter the normative, developing the space or self abnormally. Such spaces had the potential to explore the energy of the citizens. By doing so their energy and will that the Communists aimed to utilise for labour, often came to become depleted.

People who study spaces in which I believe heterotopias might have been constructed are Maciej Mieźan in *Krakow's Nowa Huta: Socialist in Form, Fascinating in Content* (2004) and Tomasz Mieźwa as well as Zbigniew Semik in *Atomowa Groza, Schrony w Nowej Hucie (Atomic threat, Bomb shelters in Nowa Huta)* (2015). They provide a detailed description of the defensive capacities of Nowa Huta as a preventive strategy aimed at facilitating the threat of the Cold War.

### 1.6.7 The Self

The self here is considered in the same way as an individual citizen for clarity of analysis.

Arguably, Foucault's most intense book is the *History of Sexuality* (1989) in which he theorises on the identity and need of developing a constant 'concern for self'. He also explains how this concept can be used in 'biopower' which is a way of manipulation of an individual and his body via a 'medio-judicial continuum', Foucault's term for a continuation of practices of controlling the body via medical and juridical means.

Foucault's texts served as the basis for analysis of regions under severe oppression and those of counter-conductive tendencies. Paul Hirst, in his paper on the conceptualisation of architecture as understood by Foucault, points out the distinction the philosopher makes between a heterotopia and a utopia (1993). Alongside Paul Virilio (Douglas 1997), Andrew Ballantyne and Chris Smith (2014) all combine the practice of architecture with Foucault's theories, positioning him in the field knowledge of architectural history and theory. Scholars that focus on Foucault and implicitly explore architectural concepts include Death who uses Foucault's theories to analyse South African districts (2010), as well as Bal Sokhi-Bulley and Dan Bulley (2016) who concentrate on urban spaces for unrest and compared how they change the legislation, specifically the Occupy movement and the London Riots of 2011. A less explicitly related but still relevant text was written by Stephen Kite, discussing the intent of architects to design with respect to shadows. His book *Shadow-makers: a Cultural History of Shadows in Architecture* (2017) analyses the deliberate cases of subverting modernist aims of creating a transparent space.

It has never been clear for scholars which aspect of the self is dependent on the individual and which part is shared by the community. From Baruch de Spinoza's writing on ethics (1994) to Friedrich Nietzsche by his writing on the development of historical records (1989), from Immanuel Kant through his analysis of perception of aesthetics (2005) to Jacques Lacan through his theory of psychoanalysis (1979), and Foucault, philosophers have argued about the significance of identity and its intricate relationship to the other. Derrida (1987), Scarry by her analysis of pain (1985) and Jean-François Lyotard through his understanding of libidinal economies and their spatial repercussions (2004), take the discussion further and claim that spatial perception gives a strong definition of the self and is a deeply personal experience.

There are also a number of cultural geographers who study the significance of spaces in the functioning of power structures: Edward Soja, who discusses postmodern notions of power structures and space (1989); Derek Gregory and John Urry, who discuss the relevance of spatial configurations for social contact (1985); Louis Marin, who discusses the relation of authoritarian power and space (1984)(1992); Nigel Thrift, who places the importance of place in studies of individual engagement in power-relations (1983), Doreen Massey, who analyses spaces for labour

(1984), David Harvey, who discusses the problem of individuation in a city-scape (1973), Rob Shields, who fixates on Brighton, Niagara Falls, the north of Canada and northern England to discuss geographies of marginality and a take on those by Bordieu, Foucault and Lefebvre (1991); Michael Keith and Steve Pile, who link the social framework of politics and notions of identity (1993) and Mary Douglas, who discusses relations of life and expectations of post-mortem space (1984).

Agamben describes how the mechanisms of a developing community produce the possibility of developing an individual identity. According to him the identity needs to '*transcend*' beyond oneself to juxtapose itself against other active identities. It is through that process that the self can be determined. Agamben has a methodological approach which disengages the possibilities of the existence of a lone man (1993). Foucault's definition, as described in *Discipline and Punish*, is that of a constant struggle between the other and the internal structure within the mental space.

The self as a conceptualisation of assemblages is studied by Deleuze and Guattari, who described an idea of a 'Body without Organs' (BwO) in *Anti-Oedipus* (2004) and *A Thousand Plateaus, Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (2013), a concept they adopted from Antonin Artaud and appropriated to describe a conceptual being that forms a plateau of intensities and that negotiates desire - a key concept in determining perception of space. They claim that everyone develops their own BwO based on their specific situation and not repetitive rationality, such as that of a drug addict in which the needs of the body are left aside in the state of intoxication.

The notion of intimate spaces that reflected the desires of the body in Nowa Huta is elaborated on, in *Nowa Huta dla Wolnej i Niepodległej* (Baran 2014), *Budujemy kościół* edited by Kamil Jurewicz (2009), *Moja Nowa Huta* (2009) also edited by Jurewicz and a self-published book by Marian Kordaszewski called *Arka Pana* (The Lord's Ark) (2013). These provide a comprehensive description of the usage of the sacred and subcultural places in the city. Mikhail Bulgakov's *Master and Margheritta* (1967) implicitly offers an insightful framework of analysing the sacred spaces under the condition of Communist authority.

#### **1.6.8 Review conclusion**

Material produced by the Historians from the Nowa Huta branch of the Museum of History of the city of Krakow is a valuable source of information that brings together archival material to a comprehensive narrative. The historians provide interviews with first-hand witnesses to the events that this thesis is touching upon. Such is the case with *Moja Nowa Huta* (Jurewicz (ed.) 2008), *Nowa Huta dla Wolnej i Niepodległej* (Baran (ed.) 2014), *Nowa przestrzeń modernizm w Nowej Hucie* (Jurewicz (ed.) 2012) and *Nowa Huta; przeszłość i wizja* (Salwiński i Sibila 2008) to name a few. Those pieces were written collaboratively by the historians in the Museum of Nowa Huta in the last 5 years. I am referencing them using the editor quoted in the book however it must be stated that the person responsible for the meritoric curation

of the material was a different member of the team. In this case I will mention who is the author of the knowledge that I am engaging in by giving their name in the main body of the text.

Research concerning Communist architecture in Polish literature seems to be rising in number in the past 20 years and definitely since the fall of the Iron Curtain. English-language sources such as: *Iron Curtain: The crushing of Eastern Europe 1944-1956* written by Anne Applebaum and *East European modernism: architecture in Czechoslovakia Hungary & Poland between the wars* written by Wojciech Leśnikowski provide a wider context and represent a didactic narrative. Michał Murawski's writing, for example 'Placeology, or Palace-as-Methodology' or, 'Big Affects' provide a high level of insight into the situation of Socialist-realist city planning strategies. Dorrian's book *Warszawa: projects for the post-socialist city* is a recent interrogation of the contemporary state of a Soviet construct of the Polish capital. Crowley's depictions of Warsaw and socialist design is a comprehensive narrative of the development of the domestic sphere in Polish Communism in its final years.

Polish historical texts relating to Nowa Huta mostly concentrate on the political framework relating to the city. There is a predominant concentration of sources are more than 30 years available in English and these concentrate on the political side of the issue. A narrative of the social situation of the time and place is noted in Polish sources such as: 'To jest prawda o Nowej Hucie' written by Tadeusz Kapusciński in 1955; *O Kosciiele* written by Edward Baniak, 'Człowiek z marmuru' directed by Andrzej Wajda in the 70s, and; *Przewodnik po Nowej Hucie* written recently by Agnieszka Gaj. Polish history relating to non-normative sexual conduct is included in: *GejErEI: Mniejszości seksualne PRLu* written by Krzysztof Tomasik, 'Zeznania byłego esbeka - minuta po minucie' written in 2006 by Michał Pietniczka; 'Człowiek z żelaza' directed by Andrzej Wajda in the 1980s, 'Between the state and solidarity: one movement, two interpretations –the orange alternative movement in Poland' written by Bronisław Misztal, *Zły* written by Leopold Tyrmand, and; 'Between East and West: Geographic Metaphors of Identity in Poland' written by Marysia Galbraith, Katherine Lebow who wrote *Unfinished Utopia; Nowa Huta, Stalinism, and Polish society, 1940-56*. These are charged with a great deal of subjectivity. It seems that the repercussions of this situation are still too fresh in people's minds to be objectively assessed. Many people still alive today participated in political events of the time and might feel shame or guilt. I am not discarding those but am using them in a knowing way, whenever I cannot confirm a source of knowledge I make it clear in the text by suggesting that it may be more than usually subjective.

In addition to this I am using a number of sources that are fictional and thus merely commentary on Communism and Sovietism. Examples of these are 'homo-sovieticus' by Alexander Zinoviev, Mikhail Bulgakov's *Master and Margheritta* or 'Cywilizacja Komunizmu' by Leopold Tyrmand. In spite of their quality of aiming to satirise the atmosphere of Communism and Sovietism I am

recognising their cynical tone and assuming that the social commentary in those texts has a relation with factual events.

Most of the major sources presenting data of architectural significance between 1949 and 1990 tend to encompass studies of Soviet architecture and its socio-political continuum without a specific focus on Poland, such as the case of: '*Concrete and culture*' written recently by Adrian Forty, '*Soviet Taylorism revisited. Soviet Studies*' by Zenovia Sochor; '*Architecture in the age of Stalin: Culture Two*' written recently by Paperny; '*Undulating grounds, undisciplined bodies: the Soviet Rationalists and kinaesthesia of revolutionary crowds*' written recently by Hazem Ziada; '*homo-sovieticus*' by Alexander Zinoviev, and '*Hegemony and Socialist strategy*' by Chantal Mouffe and Ernesto Laclau. This material is rich and insightful with a multiplicity of examples, references, and an in-depth analysis of architecture in conjunction with the social mechanisms of the Soviet intent and conditions. The sources were cross-referenced with other material to validate the claims.

Most of the archival resources (IPN archive – National Memory Institute; holding information of the relationships of Communists and their collaborators in Poland) containing information of dissent has been made available to Polish speakers. However the subjectivity involved in approaching this material is inescapable. They are, therefore, a controversial matter that requires careful study. The archives are also incomplete and there are reasons to believe that the Communist agents destroyed some documentation. The documents which are intact are disorganised and difficult to study.

Precedents of similar case studies were conducted by Dorrian, who analysed Warsaw and the reminiscence of Communist heritage of the city (2010); Carlos Motta, who presents examples of what can be understood as heterotopias emerging from the urban space of New York (2011); Michiel Dehaene and Lieven De Cauter who brought together scholars that are interested in the notion of heterotopias and organised a conference on the subject, which included known researchers such as Heidi Sohn and James Faubion (Dehaene and De Cauter eds. 2008). Vladimir Paperny (2002) and Anne Applebaum (2013) also provided a key way of considering the historical and architectural context of my research, as both looked at the Soviet hegemony in Eastern Europe; and Peter Johnson who studies heterotopias (2006, 2008, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016).

## 1.7 Limitations to the study

The way I have approached the research was to look at the city from a number of angles seeking to answer the question by conducting a rich and full investigation into the issues of Nowa Huta. This allowed me to gain knowledge from a variety of sources developing the depth of understanding the design decisions made to be implemented in the city. Several issues limited the capacity of the city to be understood, and at the same time orchestrated the study to move in a particular direction.

There is an emerging trend to examine Nowa Huta in the context of acts of subversion, treating them as a positive input to Polish legacy. Examples of such, are publications by the historians working for the Nowa Huta branch of the Museum of History of the city of Krakow edited by eg: *Jagło Zagrajmy to jeszcze raz...Muzyka Nowej Huty (1950-2000)* (Fryzlewicz (ed.) 2011) and *Nowa Huta dla Wolnej i Niepodległej* (Baran (ed.) 2014) as well as *Janik Teatr w Nowej Hucie* (Baran (ed.) 2013). My research fits in with those by looking at architecture as a toolbox for subversive acts. While this in itself is not a limitation it indicates that the research on subversion is an emerging field and offers possibilities for further research.

The limitation of the research lay predominantly in the availability of the sources of knowledge. The timeframe studied in this thesis is broad and examines a moment in the history of Poland that is not stable nor clear nor easy to discuss. Communism in Poland was set up to create a deliberate lack of transparency in the mechanisms of government. In spite of the fact that all documentation was stored at the time, during the change of government into a more democratic form of power, archives were actively destroyed to conceal the operation and identity of Communist agents. In this process, a number of documentation was lost, destroyed or misfiled which complicates any study on the architectural fabric erected before 1990.

The current archives, which hold information on the planning applications submitted to the authorities during Communism are Archive IV and V in Krakow. These rely on a filing system derived from just after 1990. The new filing system however did not override the old organisation but merely added to it. This added complexity means that each architectural drawing has two codes under which it can be sought, one leading to the second. In addition to this the set of drawings in each planning applications are incomplete; at times missing a detailed plan and at others a larger scale plan in context. They are also filed under erroneous names; an example is a diagram of ducting in a hotel for workers which was named as the plan for said building. Thus the information is generally catalogued in a misleading way. Most of the documentation, which holds information on covert operations and architectural documentation on bomb shelters are held in the Ministry of Defence and are not released to the public, not even for academic purposes.

What is more, interviews that are being granted are scarce and seem to be predominantly one-sided, suggesting the complex nature of the times. Communism seems to have left the Polish citizens with strong feelings towards Marxism, which translate into a rejection of studying Nowa Huta. The morally difficult choices which Polish people had to make during Communism are not shared often in public. The interviews, which I was granted were complicated to interpret as all the interviewees seemed to withhold information about key events and their participation in them.

## **1.8 Objectives**

In order to satisfy the aim of this thesis, a series of objectives were formulated. This text is structured into chapters. Each chapter concerns one objective. Those are outlined here, explaining the structure of this thesis.

Chapter 2 *The Soviet constructed body; the definition of the Soviet self and its spatial projection*. This chapter outlines the directives according to which Nowa Huta was designed. The objective of the second chapter is to discuss the way in which the culture and architecture in the Soviet Union were orchestrated to become mechanisms aimed at changing the Russian people into a new, modern construct of the citizen in the civic. The chapter also describes ways in which architecture was theorised to become a tool to enforce this strategy. This chapter gives an identity to the hegemonic order that was imposed over Poland and in Nowa Huta, explaining the power struggle suggested in the aim of this thesis.

The chapter outlines the Soviet government's directives to architects and presents the way in which the body was to be considered in architecture. The name of this construct is taken from Alexander Zinoviev's book: *Homo-sovieticus* (1986). This construct introduces the methodology of analysing the relationship between the governance of the self, implied by the government and an individual. The first half of the chapter focuses on Constructivism, when the intellectual development of a strategy that was to inform the 'homo-sovieticus' construct and form it by developing the concept of a 'social condenser'. The latter half of the chapter describes a precedent of a design that was drawn up with an aspiration to force its inhabitants to become a 'homo-sovieticus' by obfuscating the notion of the social condenser into a social stratifier based on work hierarchies. The chapter introduces how this philosophy can be encrypted in architecture and how the design approach hasn't changed in spite of the change in architectural expression.

Chapter 3 *The Polish Homo-sacre; The composition of the architectural profession and the self in Polish culture before and after the Second World War*. Chapter 3 discusses the cultural influences that give a background to the development of heterotopias, as mentioned in the aim of this thesis. Key events from Poland's history, which led to the development of a

relaxed approach to governance, are presented in this chapter. The text outlines key moments in history that draw an image of the nation led by a forceful government and its diverse and uncoordinated civil society. The fixation here is in the tradition of considering architectural language and the body of the citizen that afforded, among many other, an expressionist approach. The chapter introduces an examination of primary and secondary sources which present the diversity of Polish architecture before the Second World War (with concentration on the inter-War period), the presence of the Soviet aspect and the significance of the Sacred in Polish culture. I argue that the Polish architectural culture developed by individuals was focused on the interior and neglected the public/civic. This liberated the cultural habits of Polish architects liberated from meta-narratives that gave the resulting architecture a far-reaching diversity.

The construct of the Polish 'self' is here understood as the affordance of certain characteristics of liberty in the Polish culture to develop in an un-orchestrated fashion. Those liberties followed a weak definition of civil society in the country in spite of being governed by a forceful government. This chapter gives an image of the Polish context as one which holds affiliation with doxastic and individual notions encased in the Polish version of Catholicism.

Chapter 4 *Biopolitical space; Nowa Huta as a city of the 20<sup>th</sup> century Poland under Soviet hegemony*. Chapter 4 discusses how Soviet directives (which were discussed in chapter 2) were appropriated by the Polish architects from Miastoprojekt who designed Nowa Huta. The research presented in Chapter 4 discusses the architecture of Nowa Huta with a focus on aspects that might have been designed to develop a homo-sovieticus mentality in a similar way as suggested by the authorities in Soviet Russia. The city was to become a social stratifier to develop a civil society based on work. The text draws from earlier chapters to identify the elements of the city that were to develop a *homo-sovieticus* in the Polish landscape. The key design decisions that were to afford this were: the link between the political centre of the city and a nearby factory, segregation of people with respect to their employment, and a linear (conveyor belt) way of organising spatial relations. The chapter continues to examine the rhetoric of the Soviet philosophy in the Polish context and presents a case-study, which demonstrates the inappropriate nature of implanting a Soviet flow of life in architecture and of total accessibility of the government to even the most intimate information about people's lives.

This chapter describes bio-political aspects of the city as based on Foucault's definitions (Foucault 2007). The text outlines the design of the city, as it was intended by the architects, and how it was changed by the government to fit Communist goals. The text explores the masterplan of the city in depth and describes the process of erection and influx of people during the time of construction.



The text also presents the implementation process within the context of the dynamics of the socio-economic situation of Poland at the time. This led to changes in the design process, which resulted in an infringement of the surveillance technologies in the city. This chapter explores the mechanisms of order, which the architecture was to implement in the urban context. This text explains how the power struggle was played out in the city of Nowa Huta.

Chapter 5 *Heterotopias*: Chapter 5 discusses heterotopias recognised in the history of Nowa Huta at the time of Communism. The objective of this chapter is to discuss spaces for exclusion and dissent from the homo-sovieticus construct, that guided architectural concepts according to which Nowa Huta was designed. This chapter is a culmination of the previous chapters bringing together the research concerning Soviet and Polish culture in the geometries of the city. It describes places in Nowa Huta which were used or designed to counter the overwhelming sovietisation of the public space. It describes the spatial strategies of operation for the secret Communist agents that dissented from the Utopian ideal by creating situations that were not transparent and exclusive and therefore against the Marxist intent. This chapter also describes the misaimed strategies to facilitate leisure, which were associated with fear of encountering a Communist collaborator agent resulting in a displacement of areas for leisure to the underground. The text also describes the counter-movement in the form of the Church and opposition, the way its architecture was inspired by the subcultural leisure and how it evolved to accommodate its redefinition as an anti-governmental tool. By doing so the chapter suggests that the heterotopias dissented from the strategies of social stratification through architecture and seemingly attempted to return to the Polish affiliations with the Catholic Church and a relaxed regiment of civil participation.

The discussed heterotopias were chosen on the basis of the level of relationship with the civil order operating within Nowa Huta at the time of Communism. The chapter starts with an in-depth exploration of Foucault's definition and unveils three types of heterotopias identified in the philosopher's life's work; heterotopias of exception, molecular heterotopias and performative heterotopias.

The first section discusses heterotopias of exception. This was a type of heterotopia that was necessitated by the Communist government in order to sustain itself. The section discusses the security force and secret agents who were their protégés. In spite of the fact that the Security service was an established, active and visible participant in the civic, they contracted secret collaborators who worked undercover to minimise threat to the Communist way of life. Both had the authority to dissent from the utopian order to attain access to citizens' intimate lives. The section presents how their channels of their operation fitted into the geometries of the city to create a continuity of public space and eradicate the sensation of security in private spaces. The section argues that private spaces conflicted

with the Marxist ideology, in accordance to which the architects of Nowa Huta were operating. The section compares how the architects reacted to the notion of hegemony of Soviet ideology in the Polish context and how their efforts were reflecting the tradition of urban design in the nation, that fixated on the church.

The second section discusses heterotopias of leisure, which were created to explore the aspects of identity which were not explicitly linked with any overriding meta-ideology. Those were desires to be different and abnormal from the point of view of the Soviet hegemony, and also Polish culture. Those spaces used the infrastructure of the city and were developed as a response to the arrangement of leisure activities. Their quality changed in time to facilitate subversive uses and develop ways individuals not only perceived space, but also developed new identities and cultural habits in a non-orchestrated way, typical only for the heterotopias that housed them. This section reflects upon the affordance for individual freedoms that were inherited by the Polish citizens and adapted to the architecture of Nowa Huta.

The third section discusses performative heterotopias that catered for the sacred and how they created an atmosphere which explicitly engaged political contestation to attain a significant position in society. The section discusses how architecture was used as a signifier of conflict and polarised political positions, and how architecture developed in time as conflict deepened. The section describes how the typology of a church building evolved and adapted to the circumstances of dissent in Communism. This evolution pushed the internal layout of the churches to become increasingly more concealed and exclusive with time, as inspired by the spaces for subcultures discussed in the previous section. This section concentrates on the intimate relationship of the Polish 'self' to the Church and how this relationship produced an evolving architecture at times when religion was not linked with an overriding governmental structure.

This section describes heterotopias, introduced in the aim of this thesis. The section discusses how they stopped the flow of homo-sovieticus, intended to be channelled by Nowa Huta, and introduced a new order of conducting oneself in space.

## Chapter 6

The final chapter is a conclusion that synthesises the entire narrative of this thesis by touching upon the mechanics of operation of the mentioned heterotopias, and their qualities, as well as their creators and the impact they had on architectural design in an overly regulated space.

## **1.9 Contribution to Knowledge**

This thesis outlines how the situation in Nowa Huta, guided by Soviet intent, forced its inhabitants to seek leisure in hiding. This text describes how those strategies formed heterotopias and developed into an established architectural and oppositional movement that resulted in the creation of Solidarity (a movement that worked to abolish Communism). The thesis also discusses the identity formation that can be associated with the presence of heterotopias. This, as I am arguing, changed the definition of citizenry as well as the definition of space in the city. To reach this conclusion, the piece presents the key moments in the development of Soviet and Polish architecture as well as a comprehensive understanding of the urban fabric of Nowa Huta.

This narrative seeks to engage in the current debates that are being conducted within and on Nowa Huta that aim to find the identity of the place in a historic narrative of rejection of the Communist legacy. Groups which engage with the subject argue for the city to be included in the UNESCO listing of significant world sites. There are also those who attempt to invigorate the character of the city by satirically suggesting giving Nowa Huta a status of an independent state.

The importance of this debate is felt to be significant now more than ever since Nowa Huta is experiencing rapid development and the resulting architectural forms are struggling to determine an architectural way to engage with the character of the city.





## Chapter 2

The Soviet constructed body;

The definition of the soviet self and its spatial projection

## **Chapter 2 The Soviet constructed body;**

### **The definition of the Soviet self and its spatial projection**

#### **2.1 Introduction**

The aim of this thesis is to determine the mechanics of spaces fostering the subversive tendencies of the inhabitants of the city of Nowa Huta between 1949 and 1990. The subversions I am considering are those which allowed the citizen to become a non-Soviet entity. This chapter focuses on the Soviet understanding of citizenry. Architecture was to aid in the production of a type of civic dweller that would operate in a highly regimented collective. One of the key architectural concepts which way to aid in this objective was the notion of the social condenser developed in Constructivism. The principles that lay at its core fed into Stalinism to force a stratified image of society. The text outlines the design approaches that eventually came to be adopted by the architects of Nowa Huta, and presents the construct the citizens of the city were dissenting. The key moments in architectural history discussed in this chapter concern authors that wrote on liberty and architects operating in the Soviet Union in the context of what is theorised by Vladimir Paperny as Culture one and two. The chapter presents the way in which architecture in the Soviet Union reflected the governance of the state and its attempts to impose on its citizens a mentality of a new type of Soviet man that I am naming '*homo-sovieticus*'. This will come as an exploration of the political aesthetics of Soviet architecture. The narrative of the discussion and analysis of this construct is framed by Michel Foucault's definition of the self, drawn from *Discipline and Punish* (1995). A definition of the Soviet governance is presented as a construct which was to result from the experimentation in Culture One and is named after Alexander Zinoviev's *Homo-sovieticus*, published in 1986.

The sections of this chapter are guided mostly by Vladimir Paperny, Catherine Cooke, Caroline Humphrey, Dimitry Shvidkovsky, Irina Chepkunova, as well as Foucault. Each section of this chapter presents a discussion on the development of the power relations in the Soviet government. The chapter discusses the Russian architects' wilful development of a strategy that was claimed to conduct a hierarchical or arborescent power system in the Soviet Union. This was enabled by the atmosphere of power circulation prevalent in the country that, as argued by Stephen Kotkin, allowed Stalin to emerge in a dictatorial manner (2014). The text presents evidence that the architectural profession proposed a way of changing the social classes into that of docile workers readily deployed by the government. The first section analyses the relation of the concept of the body in Constructivist Soviet architecture, an implicit adoption of the concept of explicit connection of the body and its surrounding and a rejection of the Classical language. This section uses the example of Konstantin Melnikov to show the transition from Classical architecture of the Tsarist regime, to a modern

understanding of form-manipulation. The new forms were to create an ideal classless society of people who would draw pride from work. The second section introduces the revival of Classical architectural language and a maturation of Soviet philosophy. It presents a Soviet version of the Apollo (as the manifestation of physical perfection) that a new Soviet personae was to take the form of. The way of achieving this level of perfection was to be aided by a development of the concept of the social condenser to form what could be called a social stratifier. The social stratifier used the same principles as the social condenser to allow people from a single social hierarchy to mingle with one another but not with other levels of society. The final section discusses the 'Thaw' and Khrushchev's impact on the profession. This will introduce the way in which the power structures in the Soviet Union operated and changed with shifts in the government.

## **2.2 Soviet self in architecture of Culture one**

According to Alexander Paperny, an architectural historian writing about the situation in the Soviet Empire in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Russian culture could be divided into two subgroups: Culture one and Culture two (2002). They were dramatically different from one another and signified a different configuration of society. This section of the chapter introduces the architects' response to the prevailing philosophy of incentivising the revolutionary spirit of Constructivism that was explored in a time that Paperny would call Culture one. When spaces which were to house the Soviet construct reached a form that was sufficient, the Soviet government declared it to be the final stage of development of architectural theory (2002).

This text explores the experimentation that was conducted at the beginning of the regime by architects drawing on theories of Constructivism, shortly after the Tsar's murder in 1918. It outlines the way in which the profession transgressed into becoming a static and regimented entity as Stalinism took control over the nation.

After the Tsar was murdered the new governance signified a possibility of a progressive and fair development of the nation. Architecture was to adapt to the philosophical alignment with Marxism to create a better world, shedding the chains of the past (Paperny 2002). Paperny claims that there were two strands of the development of the profession in the nation. The first occurred straight after the revolution and presented an opportunity to experiment and explore architecture. Paperny called this phase 'Culture one' and locates it on the timeline between 1920 and 1930 (2002). He quotes a speech of Anatoli Strigalev, a specialist in art, who, in a lecture in 1976, said: 'For reasons that everybody is quite aware of, the development of Soviet art [by 1920] went in a different direction' (2002, XVII). The phase which came after was one of strict prescriptions and guidelines, which put an end to the liberty of the architect. Paperny called this phase: 'Culture two'. Culture two is the time of

maturity of a philosophy based on a strictly dictatorial governmentality which aimed at forging the *new man*.

At the beginning of the Russian revolution the state was following Marx and Engels, who in *The Communist Manifesto* proposed a complete equalisation of society (Marx and Engels 2002). This was their conclusion from observing that inheritance and ownership of the means of production gives unfair advantage to some. Marx's famous manifesto called: '[w]orking men of all countries, unite!' (Ibid, 258). Alexander Lavrentiev and Yuri Nasarov in *Russian Design Traditions and Experiment 1920-1990* write on the aesthetics of design just after the Russian revolution which helped forge the Constructivist style, arguing (1995) that art was to draw from the mechanics of the body that had defined limits and frontiers.

As Novitski says:

With the methods of applied art we will bring about the active ideological class war, we will renew life, increase the quality of industrial production and improve the taste of the working classes (quoted in Lavrentiev and Nasarov 1995 47).

According to Lavrentiev and Nasarov, in order to achieve this harmony all fields of art from painting through sculpture to architecture were, by 1920, to blend in and serve propaganda to change the 'taste' and ways of thinking of entire classes (1995). The interaction between these concepts was to aid in creating a relationship between art, behaviour, bodies and knowledge. The interesting aspect of the above quote is the distinction between 'we' and 'classes', positioning the active element of the society beyond the class structure. This would suggest a hegemonic order that is beyond the legislative structures that aim to equalise society but one that changes people into what the government assumes to be 'good'. The suggested form was to renew the working class and attune them to the 'we' or construct a better more ethical attitude, where aesthetics were believed to have the capacity to forge ordinary people into modern Soviet men.

Cooke in *Deconstruction* writes that Constructivism in the Soviet Union was an opportunity to take a step back and re-evaluate life and matter considering the scientific developments of the time (1989). According to Cooke, Constructivism was a movement which followed notions of relativity and matter being constructed of energy. Life, ritual and architecture were to take up a dynamic or energetic and non-Euclidian flow, which space was to facilitate. This flow favoured information and communication as well as the relationships that spaces and objects form between one another. Architecture in this sense was to form what Cooke calls a 'social catalyst' (ibid.17). The Russian avant-garde was the precursor of revolutionary experimentation and analysis of form under the scrutiny of 20<sup>th</sup> century science. In their representations, architects started drawing energy and presented it as matter in a dynamic intercourse of flows.



Cooke claims that in this philosophy symmetry, repetitive rhythms and the universal beauty of classicism were rejected as too static and outdated (ibid.). Modern ideas of architecture were to manifest a new enjoyable and functional space. It was to be a harmonious asymmetry of assemblages in dynamic combinations. Constructivism was a time when ideas of architecture as a tool for enacting what Rem Koolhaas would call a 'social condenser' came to the fore (Murawski 2017 372). As Edgar Norwerth notes in a Polish Architectural journal from 1933: 'a new "proletarian" form is arising, rid of rotten bourgeois romanticism, based only on the factory and machine, on the ideals of Constructivism (Nowerth 1933 49).'

According to Cooke, on 6 November 1917, two weeks after the Bolshevik movement seized power, the self-proclaimed leaders of the nation called a meeting of progressive artists to discuss their input in the revolution (1995 19). Amongst them was Vsevolod Meyerhold, Vladimir Mayakovsky and Aleksandr Blok. Cooke claims that after this meeting architects were presented with entirely different briefs for architectural designs which displaced the values of a family-unit-based culture. In practice this meant an adoption of a different scale of development that addressed the needs of single men and women or communal life. This attack on domesticity consolidated the equalisation of opportunities for women and men, whose roles in society were detached from a traditional understanding of gender (Buchli 1999). Narkomfin Communal House in Moscow, designed in 1930 by Moisei Ginzburg and Ignatii Milinis, exemplified the tendencies to gradually withdraw from a family-based organisation of society associated with a petit-bourgeois life style (ibid.). This was informed by a strategy of dealing with the situation in Russia- the problem of orphans and women who had no income after their husbands perished during the War (Cooke 1995 29). Architecture was to take a stand on solving the problem and was to suggest a new type of space which was to form a system of consumers in a city with a distinctive attitude towards the individual. Cooke suggests:

[The Soviet rationalist's manifesto claimed that] 'the Soviet state, which has put the principle of planning and control and the cornerstone of all its activity, should also utilise architecture as a powerful means of organising the psychology of the masses. However, unfortunately, the objective level of development of the humanitarian sciences, the inadequate development of the science of art, and the trivial results that have emerged from modern psychology, do not give us the possibility to fully appreciate that psych-organisational role which the spatial arts can have in life.' (Cooke 1995, 88)

Constructivism presented quasi-scientific investigations that explored specific ways of understanding space and form, which were assumed to be able to mould the mentality of people occupying it. In a seminar in 1924, Moisei Ginzburg proclaimed that modern psychology had established that various elements of form have the capacity to engineer emotions of satisfaction or dissatisfaction (Paperny 2002). Quoting Ginzburg: 'from the moment man takes his first steps form exerts a spontaneous influence, which becomes

increasingly clearer, distinct and concrete' (ibid. 138)<sup>1</sup>. The teachings of Marx were translated by Ginzburg into architecture (Cooke 1995). Ginzburg wrote 'document 8' in 1927, in which he outlines the laboratory method of teaching architecture. This method implies that a building can function as a social condenser enabling flows and needs of a revolutionary process and enable collaboration and destratification of classes (Cooke 1995, 113). Taylorism was part of this strategy. It was a widely accepted theory that aided those experiments in the Soviet Union. This was a 'scientific' way of developing managerial strategies and incentivising work in a neo-liberal context. Frederick Taylor in his essay entitled: *Principles of scientific management*, first published in 1911, outlines the way in which workers in a factory are to be managed to achieve a maximum prospect of productivity at the cost of minimum means (Taylor 1998). According to Taylor:

The natural laziness of men is serious, but by far the greatest evil from which both workmen and employers are suffering is the systematic soldiering which is almost universal under all of the ordinary schemes of management and which results from a careful study on the part of the workmen of what will promote their best interests (Taylor 1998, 7).

Taylor suggests that the worker should be placed in a state of constant invigilation in order to suggest informed changes in their working pattern (ibid.). His description encompasses rigour of timekeeping to the scale of minutiae discipline. The new Soviet man had to be hard working; the conditions of their work had to be highly efficient to build the new Soviet world. As Taylor says:

The change from rule-of-thumb to scientific management involves, however, not only a study of what is proper speed for doing the work and a remodelling of the tools and the implements in the shop, but also a complete change in the mental attitude of all the men in the shop toward their work and toward their employers (Taylor 1998, 51).

It could be argued that this signifies the origin of a type of mechanism (which Foucault would call biopolitical means) to gain control over a worker's body by manipulating the information flow surrounding them. One of the researchers quoted in Taylor's essay is 'Mr Frank Gilbreth'. This is a man who introduced special considerations of spatial organisation into the scientific method of managing (Taylor 1998, 67). He suggests an alignment of items necessary for work around the worker so that his motions are reduced and the effectiveness of his labour

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<sup>1</sup> The whole philosophy of Culture one (in terms of architecture) was based on Marxism and a naïve understanding of the social interactions within a group. In their Manifesto, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels assumed that a non-zero sum game mentality is the result of social cohabitation (Marx, Engels 1930). In their writing they suggested that this state of mind can be prevalent throughout the structures of a dynamic group. Game theory was not available at the time when Marx wrote his treaty, however had it been available it would have given the philosophers an understanding that after decomposing a non-zero sum game it comes across as a series of zero sum games, where there needs to be a winner and a loser of a contestation in order for the economy of the dynamic flow to continue.

improved. This could be done only after an in-depth analysis of how the worker conducts the process of work.

Mary McLeod argues that in spite of being an inherently Capitalist form of management, Taylorism found its place in the Soviet Union (1983). Frederick C. Thayer argues that Lenin himself advocated Taylorism in its social form as a means of developing a new, Soviet, state. Taylorism was implemented in the 1920s (Thayer 1972) and was to aid the noble worker to take pride and pleasure from their role in the collective. This approach to work was to reject the old ways of production, which in architectural terms meant the rejection of old hierarchies of design. According to McLeod, Le Corbusier (who supported the idea of Taylorism) saw it as a new beginning for architectural design principles (1983), one without outdated notions of the hearth signifying the focal point of a family or the dining table as the centrepiece of the house. Those were the virtues which the new Soviet people were to renounce, hence the practice fitted perfectly with the philosophy of the Soviet regime.

According to Thayer the leading researcher responsible for implementing Taylorism was Aleksei Gastev who, in the 1920s, was head of the Central Labour Institute (TsIT) (Thayer 1972). In Gastev's book entitled *How to work* he writes:

Too much is destroyed, much destroyed to the point of madness, to the point that chronology is wiped out, but even more is begun, begun with open naiveté [...] We have to accept all that, accept it without conditions, accept it as the emotional – political manifesto of the times and give ourselves up to the whirlpool of the new epoch, where the general platform must be bold rationalism (quoted in Carden 1987 7).

This would imply that the workers' dignity could be achieved through new ways of understanding work and labour that renounced undisciplined and chaotic conditions of the Capitalist structures of the power relations of work. The same Capitalist structures asked to place value in commodities without inherent purpose. The distinction of the Marxist organisation boiled down to who was in charge of the profits and how those were to be disseminated fairly. This was the form of Gastev's idea of the new science of social technology and a new approach towards creating 'new people', or as Gastev referred to them 'Nove sily' (or New labour), in the Soviet newspaper *Pravda* on 14 July 1923 (Thayer 1972 835). Gastev adopted Gilbreth's approach and referred to spatial planning in his investigations. Those went as deep as to study the elemental motions and space required to conduct a hammer stroke. As Gastev writes: 'In the machine-tool everything is calculated and adjusted. We shall perform the same calculations with the living machine – the human body' (Hellebust 1997 511).

Upon this recognition of the necessity of art and architecture to go hand in hand with the political goals of the revolution, new spaces had to be made. Paperny claims that Culture one followed Marxism in its rejection of hierarchies and adopted non-hierarchical qualities, where values were

peripheral to the central power structures (Paperny 2002 xxiv). Culture one in Paperny's description was directed at the future, as the people's commissar for enlightenment Anatoli Lunacharsky said in 1917: '[There is] no return to the past' (2002). It was a moment of a true Marxist break with the old hierarchies. All inheritance was denied; in some cases historical records were altered. Even though architects were, in those circumstances, left to their own profession, names of those which were expelled from the Union of Soviet Architects (SSA) were erased from official archives and stenograms (Paperny 2002 18). This complements Foucault's and Nietzsche's view of history, which implies that it is contingent upon the condition and contextuality of the power networks and its hierarchy (Roth 1981). This was the first step to developing a mentality fit for a modern worker.

Paperny notes that one of the signs of the rejection of the past order in the urban landscape was the break with old architecture (Paperny, 2002 14). Wooden buildings were torn down and their timber was used for fuel for industry in 1919-20. They made way for new, experimental developments which promised to be hygienic and fit for the new modern man. Irina Chepkunova and the team she collaborated with in their book: *Soviet architecture 1917-1987* present Ivan Nikolajev and Moisei Ginzburg as architects who experimented with novel notions of housing based on Marxist philosophy (Chepkunova et al.1989). They designed Moscow commune houses which were followed by other architects who opened the living arrangement to be shared with whole districts of the city. This way of thinking was to reflect the communal aspect of the modern Soviet living arrangements. In considering living conditions this trend explored the idea of rejection of the family unit that suggested a continuation of culture dictated by the Soviet collective. The notion of culture being propagated via and projected in the family dwelling had to make way for a new consideration of culture and the self, one which would follow the governance of the collective Soviet mentality. Housing law in the Soviet Union changed to privilege national housing cooperatives on 17 October 1937, which then went on to repossess privately governed buildings, effectively deconstructing the family unit (Buchli 1999 79).

According to Chepkunova, this trend took place at all scales of the architectural discipline from the urban aspect of studying spaces through to the notion of the garden city, which was propagated by Ebenezer Howard (maintaining a healthy growth of a city); from the inhabitation of rooms which changed after the revolution from an individual modality to that of communal living. This strategy was intended to incite the warmth and feeling of sharing life in a commonality of other Soviet citizens. The Soviet people were even given a new style of housing fit for its new prescribed fantasies of proximity with others. This type of housing was also easy to mass produce as it ignored the context of the site. The architect was then free to aim for satisfying the urban necessities of a Soviet city on a larger scale.

Caroline Humphrey claims that the architecture focused on exploring the communal potential that the new philosophy implied (2005). This was achieved largely via 'dom-kommuna' (Humphrey 2005, 39), a dormitory style block surrounding a 'dwór', an internal courtyard (Ibid.). Humphrey describes a typical block; the communication stream was arranged following a long corridor leading into all the residential quarters housing up to 15 people each. The rooms did not have any physical dividers in the form of walls, however furniture and the way they were used signified a complex relationship between the established places. The entrance to the building was guarded by a member of the Soviet personnel who could monitor circulation. A 'kommendant' would be appointed on the first floor, he would be responsible for order and discipline. There would additionally be a 'starosta' on every floor; (a man who was to supervise the building and make sure no antisocial behaviour took place). Humphrey argues that all that effort was directed at changing the flow of reasoning of the average Soviet citizen to internalise the Soviet ideology and monitor inhabitants (2005). The assumption was that each Soviet person should feel normal surrounded by other workers after a hard day of labour. The 'dwór' was laden with ideology as well. It was a green space meant for congregation, with sand pits and benches for rest. Gardening was encouraged as part of an agenda to incite a healthy lifestyle.

Humphrey notes that a dormitory style of living was an incentive to shed the constraints of ownership and private property (2005) renounced by Marx and Engels in their Manifesto (2004). Official reports suggest that the Russian people internalised the rhetoric of the state and did their best to contribute to conditions which would foster both the elimination of individualism and the production of the model Soviet worker (Humphrey 2005) [Some inhabitants of such communal residential units adapted to the environment quickly, however, there were those who did not (ibid.)]. These design moves can be understood as efforts to present the warmth and feeling of the typical Soviet person. In spite of the efforts, not all Soviet people had the capacity to become a modern, worker and a proud citizen. Humphrey analyses a letter of a female inhabitant of a dormitory in which the woman complains to her parents about the conditions (2005). She asks to be sent money as opposed to physical items as those get shared amongst the others upon arrival. She expressed a strong desire for solitude, which, as she felt, was unattainable. Humphrey notices that it was very easy to be overheard in all the corners of the building as most were crowded with people.

This commonality and sharing of space meant that personal belongings and inheritance had to be re-evaluated. Lack of inheritance in the Soviet Union would mean a discontinuity of unfairly gathered wealth and prejudice formed in the Tsarist years. An example of an architect who took full advantage of the freedom to experiment, explore and even fail in Culture one is Konstantin Melnikov. According to Frederick Starr, Melnikov is often titled the 'revolutionary architect' who best presents the transition from the Tsarist to the Constructivist mentality (1978). Melnikov's affiliation was with the theory that people are varied and, controversially in the context of Soviet

Russia, everyone should be different than the other. Frederick notes that at the beginning of his career, before the revolution, Melnikov designed classical buildings (Melnikov's Diploma project from 1917, presented in figure 2.1).

The elevations of the pre-revolution design present a classical typology via symmetry, columns and being raised above the ground on a plinth. Starr suggests that the change of governance had such an impact on Melnikov's understanding of design that it opened the door for his experimental tendencies.

During the revolution Melnikov was employed to rebuild Moscow (Starr 1978 50). He was in charge of designing factories, which as Frederick argues is where he absorbed the notion of stripping the facades of ornamentation. By 1918, the government nationalised all private property which meant that the council had full control of the urban design. In spite of Melnikov's strong position in the new circumstances he was always aloof to politics. A series of one-family dwellings developed in 1919 unveiled Melnikov's sculptural tendencies. In fig 2.2 the staircase uses the available space under the sloping roof and follows the incline. The ridge of the roof is broken to allow light to penetrate into the interior in a seamless way. Frederick writes that in the early days of the Revolution Melnikov presented a fascination with German expressionism (Starr 1978 67).

Via an office block project (Fig. 2.3), Melnikov presented his attitude towards architectural design by which people were not separated from architecture. People were not mere spectators of the building but gained a new role as activators and actors within a flexible space (Frederick 1978 70). The project had the capacity to move in accordance with the wishes of the inhabitants and engaged with their bodies in a way that could be controlled by the organisation of moveable elements in the building. The way the project was represented exposes a developing idea of a Constructivist *conceptual personae*. The people engaging with the elevation of Melnikov's building are all heroic and able-bodied men. The kinetics and sculptural qualities of this project distinguished Melnikov in Culture one.

The liberty of experimentation in Culture one, as demonstrated in the work of Melnikov, was limited to the early stages of the development of the Soviet Union until the 1930s (Chepkunova et al. 1989). Artists and architects had opportunities to experiment and design freely to achieve the best forms that could be conceived of. This attitude led to a state of philosophy that was considered to be the most developed epistemological position. Any change in this position would imply that its ideal quality would be lost so further development had to be put to a halt.

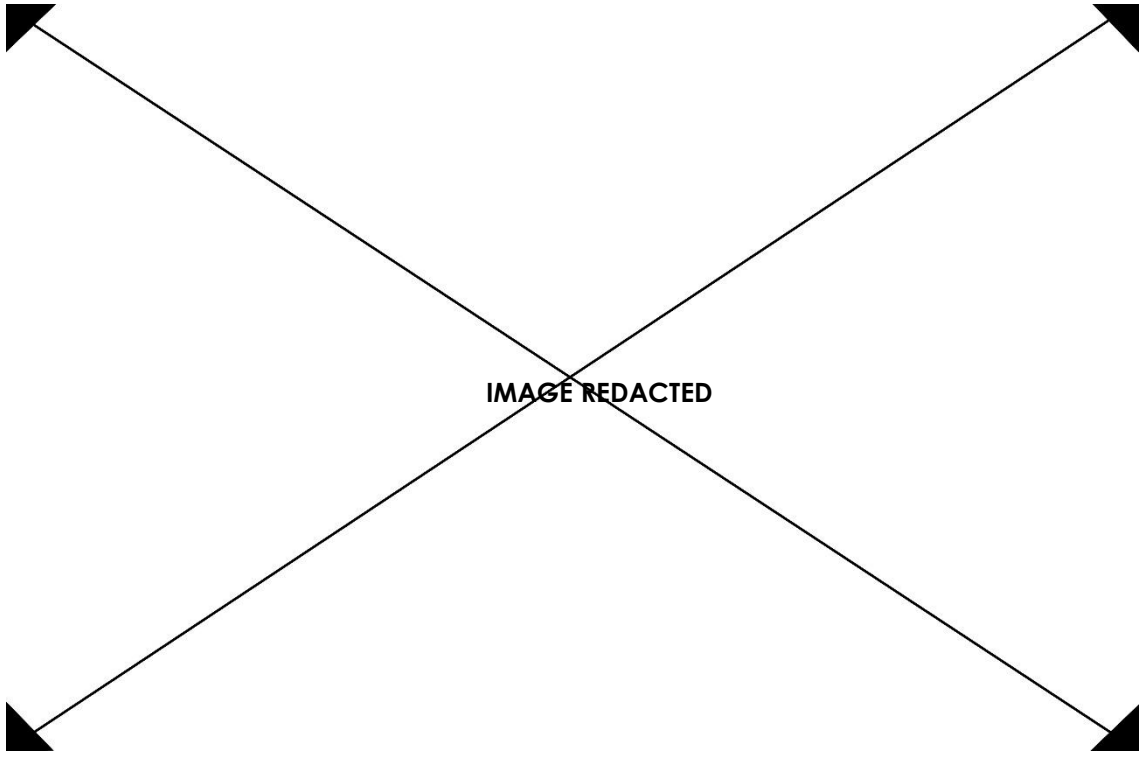


Fig. 2.1 Melnikov's Diplima project from 1917 (Starr 1978 30)

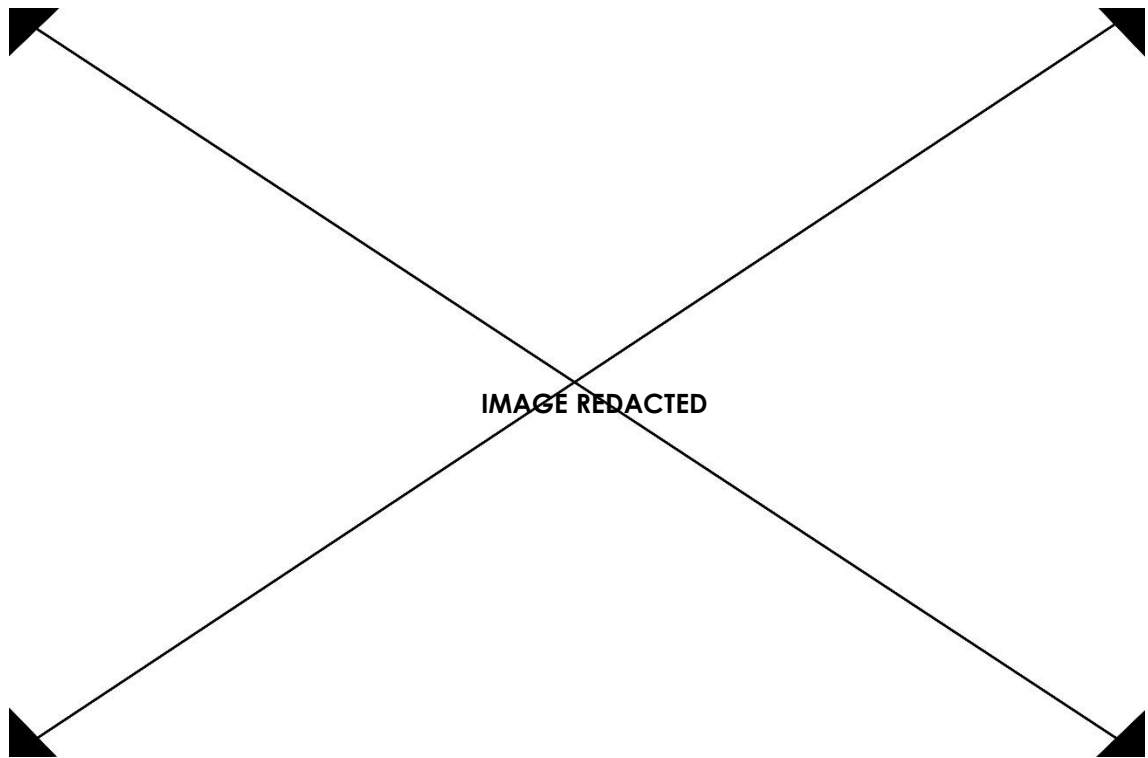


Fig. 2.2 Melnikov's residential experimentation (Starr 1978 38)

Gastev's concepts proliferated in Constructivism and carried on into the Socialist-Realist Culture Two, not via architectural language but rather by architectural concepts referring back to Taylorism, where geometry would interact with the human psyche. The Constructivist period concentrated on utilising form to create an ideal Soviet world. Constructivist experimentation related to Marxism by rejecting historical values and trusting underdeveloped scientific experimentation. This was done in order to create a strategy ripe for producing a new type of construct: the proud Soviet man.

### **2.3 Soviet self in Architecture of Culture two**

This section of the chapter introduces the mature state of the Soviet philosophy that Paperny called Culture two (2002). The text describes how architecture responded to the philosophy that was aimed at producing an ideal man, or as I am calling it, borrowing a phrase from Alexander Zinoviev: 'homo-sovieticus' (1986). This section is instrumental in understanding the following analysis of Culture two in respect to Nowa Huta. What is being described is the construction of abjection and how it was to play itself out directly on and through architecture, where the knowledge flow is strictly regulated. If Matejko's painting (Fig 1.2 'The Fall of Poland') can be considered to be a metaphor for the socio-political situation of the country in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, then Žukov's analysis can be seen as the architectural way of mediating the political language of the power structures.

The section presents the key points in the revival of classical forms that the Soviet architects, at the time of Culture two, appeared to have diverted their attention to. This section then goes on to describe how those inspirations were re-appropriated in the Soviet reality of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Architectural theory that guided design reached a point at which the Soviet government was satisfied and therefore assumed it to be the final stage of development of philosophy. This section explains the meaning of the Soviet philosophy in architectural terms, and outlines a basis for its translation into the architectural concepts implemented in Nowa Huta.

According to Paperny, as the literacy rate of the country was generally improving, the newly literate leaders of the state became increasingly aware that they were not capable of reading the subtlety of existing architecture and art (2002 44). This would imply that they could not gain comprehensive control of those areas of life. Paperny claims that in order to facilitate all Soviet-men, art had to be 'dumbed down' so each citizen could participate in Soviet culture and the language of propaganda (ibid.). The Central Committee ordered all architects to make sure that their architecture was easy to understand. This meant that the imagination of the Soviet citizen and their intellectual capacities were not challenged; it also meant that the biopolitical efforts of the government could reach everyone.



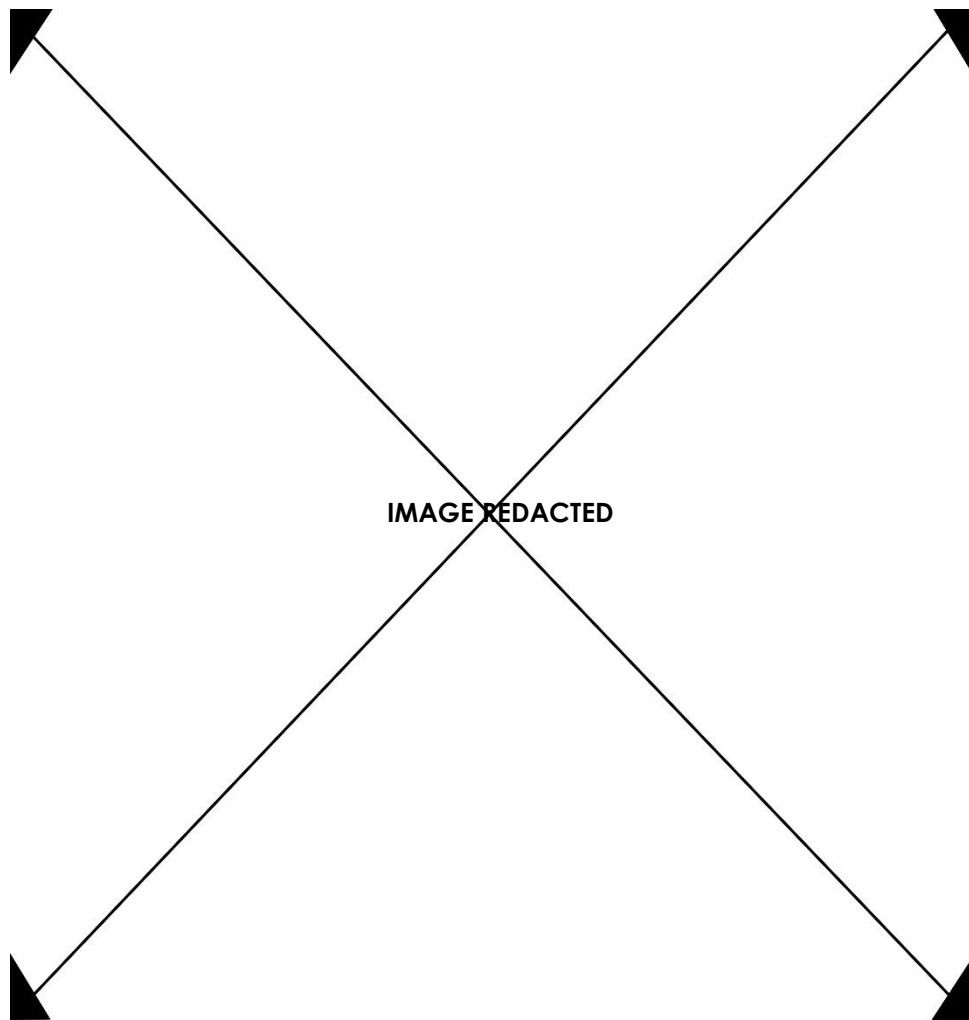


Fig. 2.3 A design for an office block from 1924 by Melnikov (Starr 1978 71)

According to Paperny, the first congress of the Soviet architects (which happened in 1932) (ibid.) gave the opportunity for Aleksei Shchusev, an architect in the Soviet Union, to pronounce:

The public and utilitarian constructions of ancient Rome in their scale and artistic quality are unique examples of their kind in the entire history of world architecture. In this realm we are the only direct successors of Rome; only in a Socialist Society and with socialist technology is the construction of even greater dimensions and greater artistic perception possible (Paperny 2002 20).

Shchusev's speech signifies the direction that the architectural profession would take in the following years. The profession would attempt to emulate the signification of victory and conquest in war that neo-classicism presented. The apologia of this choice was to convince the Soviet people of the good will of the governing apparatus. Architecture was to create an efficient mechanism for producing and manufacturing goods for the welfare of the state, and was to improve the future of the nation. In return the government was to create an imagery of simple inhabitation that appeared as though it was ripe for royalty. The unification of architectural language was to signify the equality of all men and women and their transformation into an undifferentiated group working together for the good of the collective. In spite of this intent, not all Soviet architects were in agreement as to the adoption of Socialist-Realism (Bodenschatz et al. 2015 184). This was unavoidable, considering the liberty of Culture one (Paperny 2002) and the vast number of Russian architects but, according to Paperny, opposition was met with severe consequences. The historians from the Nowa Huta Branch of the Museum of History of the city of Krakow quote the apologia for Socialist-Realism:

the Soviet nation is the happiest of all the nations of the world, its architecture should be deeply optimistic and gay [...] our architecture should inspire and cause trust in the hearts of millions of people, give them bolshevik passion, touch them, call for new victories [...] this is the style of architecture, which responds to the Stalinist epoch<sup>2</sup> (quoted in Biedrzycka 2007, 10).

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<sup>2</sup> Narod Sowiecki jest najszczęśliwszym z narodów świata, jego architektura powinna być głęboko optymistyczna i radosna, [...] nasza architektura powinna wywoływać zapal i zauwianie w sercu milionów ludzi, wzniecać w nich pasję bolszewicka, rozpalać ich, wzruszać ich, przyzywać do nowych zwycięstw. [...] taki jest styl architektoniczny, który odpowiada epoce Stalinińskiej

This new political order began to affect architecture. A new, formalist style began to ignite and consume the liberty of the Constructivist period (Lavrentiev and Nasarov 1995). This was Socialist-Realism; a style which dictated the form of everyday objects and centres of large cities. These had to be configured to the Russian civic body with respect to a narrowly defined scientific investigation guided by Taylorism (Sochor 1981). As Deleuze and Guattari claim, Marxism was a political order aimed at a qualified male worker who was over 35 years of age (2004 105). The aim of the Soviet philosophy was to achieve a collective of strong, qualified men. Anatoli Žukov, a Soviet architect who was delegated to introduce the Soviet architectural approach in Poland, commented that this is a natural course of the power structures which 'follows the path of the potentialities of the world - Cezars, Napoleons, Alexanders and Katherines, Egypt, Rome or Persia [...] All those sovereign rulers were seeking the most successful ways to establish power which was translated into architecture (quoted in Norwerth 1933 53).' In all cases, the result was an assumption that a glorification of their rulership and hierarchy would be best represented and enforced through axially of an architectural promenade, and a rhythmical alignment of the main edifices in the city, as well as the overpowering scale of architectural elements leading to the rulers' residence (quoted in Norwerth 1933 53). This way of design took the Roman Forum as a model. They also appropriated a clear hierarchy and introduced much sought hygiene and efficient circulation to desolated cities. For the regimes named by Žukov, the idea of an ideal body would follow the political intent via the affordance of a designed environment and political propaganda to attune barbarians to a civilised state.

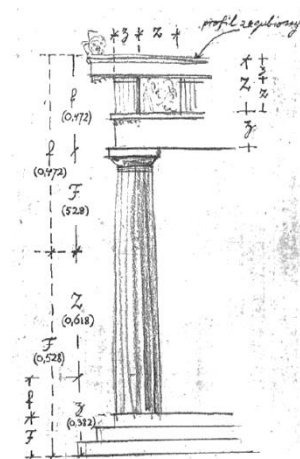
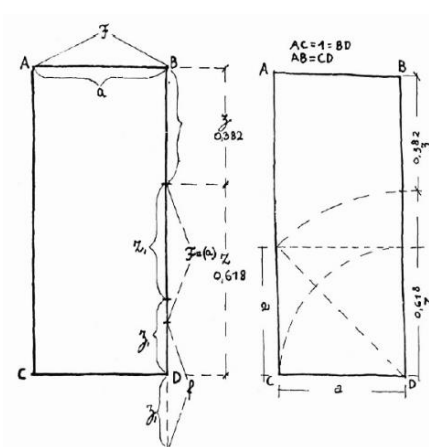
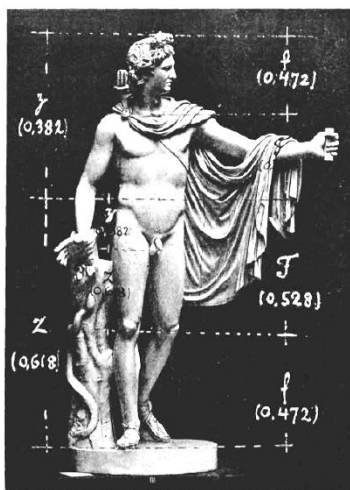


Fig. 2.4 Illustrations provided by Anatoli Žukov in his open letter to 'Architecture and Construction' in 1934 (p 175, 181 and 18)

Žukov, in a letter sent to the Polish architectural journal (*Architecture and Construction*), claims that architecture should correspond to the dimensions of the body which find their reflection in the 'Golden section' (1934). He analyses the way the Greek proportional system referred to ancient sculptures and notices parallels with real life by presenting an experiment he conducted. It was his belief that a standardised set of ratios would always be consistently applicable. Žukov praises the Hellenistic order (as presented in Fig. 2.4) and commends Brunelleschi as well as Palladio where all spaces are open, liberated, 'smart' and glorious (1934 174).

According to Lewis Henry Morgan, the dichotomy of material and social formation (being at the basis of the Marxist rhetoric) informed human evolution (quoted in Buchli 2013, 32). In this sense, architecture and the designed environment would be instrumental in grasping control over evolution and creating a bio-political notion of uni-linear development of the Soviet collective.

The conflict between such an abstract ideology and inner-mechanisms of the body was addressed by Guattari in his essay entitled: 'To have done with the massacre of the body'. He presents how the state of Capitalism, as the objective of commercial proliferation of wealth, leaves the body in a 'crippled state' and a 'stranger to her own desires' (2009 207). The authority attempts to control the individual via schools, factories, codes of conduct, and discourse. In Guattari's description, the ideology of the civic crowd overtakes and consumes the interiority of the body (ibid.). The hegemonic rituals conducted in the public developed in an abstract way and started blazing their way into the innermost molecular aspects of city dwellers' lives. The space of the city generates its own alien rhythm, and in order to survive, it requires complete obedience. This is a rhythm in which everyone is a militant as well as a victim. As Guattari says:

'I' oppress myself inasmuch as 'I' is the product of a system of oppression that extends to all aspects of living. (Guattari 2009 208)

The space-body interface is forced to become linear and seemingly mono-directional. According to Guattari the power structures subjugate desires in an attempt to exploit the potential of the body to generate profit (ibid, 207). The ideology, which he describes as smelling 'of dead fish', finds its struggle where the oppression is most deeply rooted, this, as he claims is the 'living body' (ibid. 208). As Guattari writes:

others steal our mouths, our anuses, our genitals, our nerves, our guts, our arteries, in order to fashion parts and works in an ignoble mechanism of production which links capital, exploitation and family... we can no longer allow others to turn out mucous membranes, our skin, all our sensitive areas into occupied territory – territory controlled and regimented by others, to which we are forbidden access. (Guattari 2009 209)

In the Soviet Union of the 1920s and 1930s, this concept of control over the body took a similar form and was inscribed in the architectural practice. The political aspirations of Stalinism was to create an affect of necessity to become a modern Soviet worker.

In every architects' mind there is always a conceptual figure that inhabits the future design in the designers' imagination before it can be drawn on paper. This conceptual inhabitant is the source of desires that the imagined architecture needs to cater for. In Culture one this conceptual self, a civic presence that was to be the result of the investment of architects, was to manifest itself through a high level of political support for the government and willingness to devote oneself to work for the collective. In this section of the research, I explore the Soviet man that Zinoviev named 'homo-sovieticus' (1986) and present it as a state of docility which lives in strict discipline (Foucault 1995). This was the conceptual personae that the architects were instructed to adopt. Zinoviev's books describe a paradox of Soviet life as a mockery of the Western elites who did not understand the complexities of the Soviet Union. I will herein refer to the construct by the name of homo-sovieticus or Homosos as per Zinoviev, as it helps to describe a set of relations necessary for following the argumentation of this thesis. Zinoviev writes:

In the West clever and educated people call us homo-sovieticus. They are proud to have discovered the existence of this type of man and thought up such a beautiful name for him (Zinoviev 1986, 39).

The 'homo-sovieticus' is a way of defining the new being that was outlined by the government.

### **2.3.1 Power/knowledge nexus and the body**

This subsection summarises the discussion on Culture one in this chapter and presents the driver that pushed the establishment of Culture two as presented above. Foucault's definition of the 'self' starts with the space encapsulating a being that carries flows of information, which inform the corporeal body of the environment. In *Discipline and Punish* he names this space the 'power/knowledge nexus' (Foucault 1995). This subsection describes that space in the context of 'homo-sovieticus'.

The years of experimentation in Culture one advertised by people such as Ginzburg (Paperny 2002 138) Gastev (Thayer 1972, 835) have resulted in a compelling concept of the physical form (including architecture) having a significant impact on the human psyche. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, Cooke claims that it was the inter-War period that the Soviet Union developed an idea of the social condenser that was championed by Narkomfin (1995). The condenser was to be an architectural manifestation of the energy and principles of the political hierarchies in the Soviet Union after the revolution. Initially this was limited to guiding circulation and mixing people from different classes to achieve a diluted organisation where hierarchy is a relic of the past. This concept is similar to Foucault's notion

of 'dispositif', which describes all the techniques and apparatuses including art and architecture that were used to achieve a certain level of control over society that can penetrate the skin to reach the interiority of the body including the mentality of a citizen (Foucault 2007).

The goal in Culture one, as argued by Paperny (2002) was to achieve a classless society according to the principle of the Marxist revolution but over time and with changes to the government in the country the latent legacy of the tsarist regime emerged. In 1922 Stalin became the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union giving him a high degree of authority of the country. As Slavoj Žižek notes, the public information implicitly suggested openness, however subliminal messages in art or architecture suggested the opposite (Žižek 1989). Architecture, and the notion of the social condenser, according to Žižek followed to incentivise a seemingly non-hierarchical yet simultaneously implicitly hierarchical from the collective.

All propaganda material referring to modern Soviet citizens presented the Homosos in public and at work but not in private. Anything private or intimate was to conform to the normalising and scrutinising gaze of the collective. The productive capacity of the Soviet citizens had to be utilised for the good of the Soviet nation. Mental manipulation in all areas of life was seen as good practice and the concept of the social condenser had to adapt.

*Discipline and punish* starts with the description of the public torture of a condemned man which took place on 2<sup>nd</sup> March 1757. As Foucault writes:

the flesh will be torn from his breasts, arms, thighs and calves with red-hot pincers, his right hand, holding the knife with which he committed the said parricide, burnt with sulphur, and, on those places where the flesh will be torn away poured molten lead, boiling oil, burning resin, wax and sulphur melted together and then his body drawn and quartered by four horses and his limbs and body consumed by fire, reduced to ashes (Foucault 1995, 2).

This was an example of legislative power which literally penetrated the membrane of the skin and its purpose was to re-establish the significance of the authority by presenting the consequences of disobedience to the public in what Foucault calls 'the theatre of terror' (1995, 49). Foucault discussed the possibility of presenting physical dismemberment as a consequence of disobedience. This was a case in which the governance took hold of the body and did with it as it pleased. Similarly the Soviet governmentality penetrated the boundaries of the body to reach their subject's interiority and change identities.

Regardless of biological gender the homo-sovieticus (shown in Fig. 2.5) was always presented as a strong masculine persona, physically fit to conduct the work of the Soviet empire. The divisions of gender, abnormality or background held no importance as long as the body was capable of production, drawing dignity and pride from it. All posters seem to

be serendipitously capturing the workers in the prime of their life, amidst symbols reflecting the authority of the government. The homo-sovieticus model was tall, strong, imperfection-free, it was grand and dynamic with exaggerated features and emphasised bone structure which gave their bodies a strong angularity. Their thoughts were submerged in collectivised ideology, gazing out from the poster, anticipating the challenges that awaited the Soviet empire. The representations of the homo-sovieticus from propaganda posters seem to bear stigma of Žukov's rhetoric as discussed earlier in this chapter.

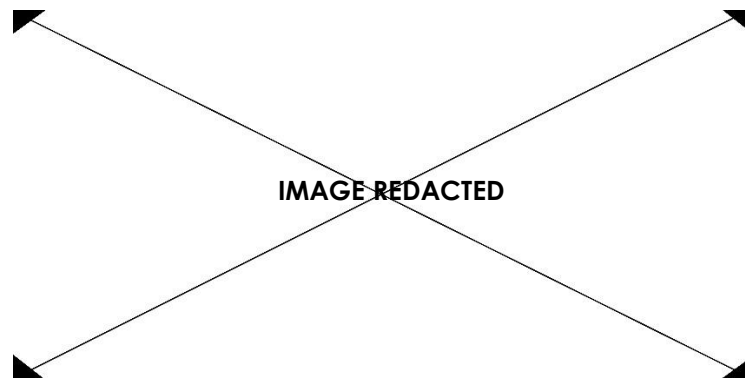


Fig. 2.5 The imagery of the Homo-sovieticus

Andrzej Wajda in his film 'Man of Marble' presents a typical peasant (a fictional character named Mateusz Birkut); his body represented in stone in a heroic pose with hair tucked back, the wind blowing in his face and his muscles tensed raising his arm in praise the Soviet glory (1977). The sculpture was an artistic interpretation of the body of the ideal worker. Few actual workers bore much resemblance to such an ideal image, however the propaganda-infused artwork carried a message of what a 'homo-sovieticus' should become and what the imperfect Soviet man should aspire to. This was an obvious utopianisation to incentivise work and raise the Soviet government to glory. When Wajda's character tried to point out the fall-backs of the representation of his persona to the authority's representatives he became stripped of his rank and privileges in the eyes of the Communist party.

The corporeal aspect of the homo-sovieticus construct was in the Soviet Union considered to be a tool, and its fleshy and irregular nature was ignored. This was the state of Žižek's 'unknown knowns' (2006).

The restrictions which gave birth to the homo-sovieticus were not a malicious strategy, rather a way of dealing with the renaissance of a vast nation in the spirit and faith of a radical revolution. The following section analyses the response of architecture to this construct.

## 2.4 Architectural consequences of Homo-sovieticus

This subsection of the chapter presents the case of architecture that was assumed to be a tool in achieving the perfect Soviet citizens. The text presents the centrality of control of the architectural profession and outlines the way in which it was to be used in order to change the Soviet people into 'homo-sovieticus' and embodiments of propaganda. This part of my research shows how the experimentation of Culture one was adopted for the purposes of Stalinism. It presents the coming together of Taylorism and Classical notions of the body in architectural form to suggest a new architectural ethos, that of the 'homo-sovieticus'. By 1930 the Communist society was, as Paperny would say, crystallised (2002).

Some architects saw the future of Soviet Russia in ASNOVA, an organisation formalising the architectural profession, and submitted to its decrees (Paperny 2002 46). This was the body uniformalising the profession in accordance with the government's demands. ASNOVA was a very influential body in Soviet Russia operating within the field of architecture and determining the direction of the profession's development. Due to his lack of interest in politics, Melnikov disassociated himself from established groups such as ASNOVA. The organisation made sure that architecture was to be similar across the nation and serving the objectives of the ruling class.

Dimitry Shvidkovsky notices that the infamous 'dom-kommuna' was in this design ethos also accompanied by 'dom privatel'stva' designed by Boris Iofan (2007) in Moscow. *Dom privatel'stva* was a type of villa with characteristics of a citadel, designed to house the leaders of the Communist empire who had the money and means to live on their own. It could be argued that this was a manifestation of the paranoia of the Soviet leaders, who wanted to distance themselves from the public. However, this would mean that the purity of the Marxist citizen was, in Culture two, polluted by the authority of Stalin, which glorified a newly emerging ruling class. The difference of the inhabited types of residential quarters signified at least two strata in social hierarchy and can be understood as constitutive of a hierarchical class system.

The argument presented in the previous section implies that by limiting the rights associated with private ownership of what can be seen as the lower class, the government muted the aspect of the self, which Foucault named the 'Knowledgeable-man' (2007). This was the part of the individual, which according to Foucault, negotiated non-public desires and is contingent upon the right to own. It was a manifestation of free will and opinionation of the individual.

Shvidkovsky claims that during Stalinism the free exchange of ideas between the Soviet Union and the West had to stop (2007). According to him the bio-political agenda aimed to control all channels of information; architects and urban designers were told to follow Taylorism. Milyutin, a Bolshevik activist, narrates that a great deal of care for the public realm and minimum attention



to private quarters was devoted to design in the Soviet world (quoted in Shvidkovsky 2007). This would imply that great care was devoted to spaces in which people could have been controlled, and less attention was given to places where they could be relaxed. Foucault mentions that the atmosphere of control in the Soviet Union was so strong that it intruded into every aspect of human life from architectural language to sexuality (1991). The country was conducted in a similar fashion to how it was convened under the 19<sup>th</sup> century Russian Tsarist rule. With the overstated care for the public the concern with the intimate was underdeveloped and therefore individual rights were often abused.

In an interview with John K. Simon, Foucault says:

One of the biggest disappointments we had involving the Communist party and the Soviet Union is that they readopted almost entirely the bourgeois value system. One gets the impression that communism in its traditional form suffers from a birth trauma: you would think that it wants to recapture for itself the world at the time it was born, the world of a triumphant bourgeoisie; Communist aesthetics in realism in the style of the nineteenth century: 'swan lake', painting which tells a story, a social novel. Most of the bourgeois values are accepted and maintained by the Communist party (in art, the family, sexuality, and daily life in general). We must free ourselves from this cultural conservatism, as well as political conservatism. We must uncover our rituals for what they are: completely arbitrary things, tied to our bourgeois way of life: it is good – and that is the real theatre (quoted in Simon 1971, 201).

Foucault presents architecture as a strategy, which was considered as part of a mechanism of gaining control of the productive capacity of the body by changing the available flows of knowledge. As Foucault describes in *Discipline and punish*, the way of gaining full impact on the power/knowledge networks can only be achieved by subtle forms with novel tools and technologies, to enable a new methods of observation much like a telescope or microscope did in the development of sciences (1995 143). He presents specific examples: the spatial syntax of a city in plague (in his *Lectures at the Collège de France* 2007), as well as the operational mechanism of a school, the intricacies of hospital designs, the layout of military barracks and a prison as institutions imposing a hierarchical social order, via architecture (Foucault 1995). Foucault's descriptions coincide with the Soviet philosophy of a penetrating gaze of a potentially omnipresent state. The resonance between Foucault's argument characterised in *Discipline and punish* (Foucault 1995) and Paperny's descriptions of Culture two (2002) become particularly apparent. According to Palmer, Foucault's philosophy was also based on a broader understanding of the Soviet Union (2002). Foucault claims that in spite of the fact that the modality of ownership in the Soviet Union was altered the role of the state in controlling production and all other aspects of life was merely copied from 19<sup>th</sup> century Europe. The principles remained the same, however the technologies became much more refined after the experimentation and investigation into the way people behaved in Culture one. Foucault discusses aesthetics and disciplinary methods as well as Taylorism to prove his point (1991).

The first historical precedent of this approach to design is the Palace of the Soviets in Moscow, which was never built, but the design preparation went beyond the planning application and hence was designed in detail. In Paperny's description the palace was the subject of a competition, in which famous architects such as Le Corbusier or Alfred Kastner took part (2002). The competition was held leading to a deadline of submissions in 1931 for all architects in Soviet Russia with an allowance of international entries and a general proclamation of democracy (Wóznicki 1932). After no entry was shortlisted, in August 1932 further work on the project was granted to several groups of architects whose designs stood out in the eyes of the judging committee. Those were: Ałabjan, Simbircew, Mordwinow, Dodica, Duskin, i Własow; W., L. and A. Wiesninowie; architect Boris Iofan; an academic Żółkowski and architect Szczusiew; academics Szczuko and Helfreich. The entries ranged from Futurism (Fig. 2.6) through Modernism (Fig. 2.7) to Constructivism (Fig. 2.8)

Eventually Iofan's design (Fig. 2.9) was chosen as the one which represented the ideals of the Soviet world most comprehensively, however it did not meet the expectation of the competition committee (Wierbicki 1934). Paperny claims that the judges were ordered to choose Iofan's entry (2002: 7). The palace itself consisted of a tower at the top of which was a 75m statue of the common worker (Shvidkovsky 2007). The ground floor would host the grand hall, resembling the Roman Pantheon (Paperny 2002). The approach towards the palace led along a wide avenue extending for miles much like the approach to a Roman forum in the ancient world. The design assumed that the avenue would have been surrounded by rhythmically-placed edifices. In the Soviet Union of Culture too there was much more care devoted to urban design rather than the individual architectural components in the strategy of shaping the intellectual development of the homo-sovieticus in a public gathering. Iofan, Żółkowski, Szczusiewicz and Szczuko were to alter the design and modify it in accordance with Stalin's wishes. In the end the design was changed entirely as shown in Fig. 2.10, 2.11, 2.12.

The competition to design the palace was received by prominent architects of the Soviet Union, including Żukov, as a turn in the architectural movement (Norwerth 1933). The design was changed substantially to a more radical iteration of Formalism. The tower became bulky and housed all of functions initially envisioned to be placed on the ground floor. Unusually for a neo-classical building the section of the building became elaborate, much more than the plan. The form of the building came to resemble a steep stepped pyramid. The statue on top of the tower remained, however it was changed from the representation of a homosos to that of Lenin, pledging allegiance to the cult of the individual leader (Wierbicki 1934, 394). The materiality of the building changed from concrete which was a signifier of modernism (Forty 2012) to marble, the finest stones from the USSR (Wierbicki 1934, 396). The homosos that were to encounter the palace would be awed by the glory and out-scaled proportions of the edifice.

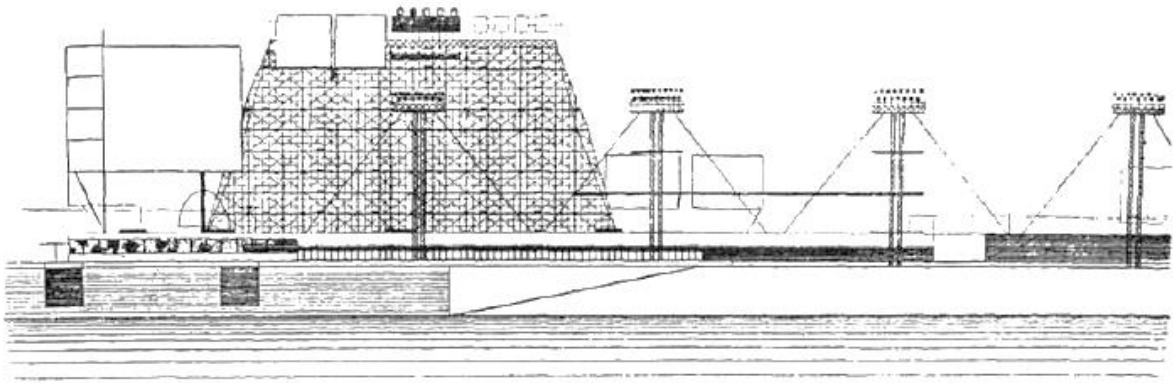


Fig. 2.6 Palace of the Soviets; Constructivist competition entry by Pawlow Kuzniecowa, (Woznicki 1932 61)

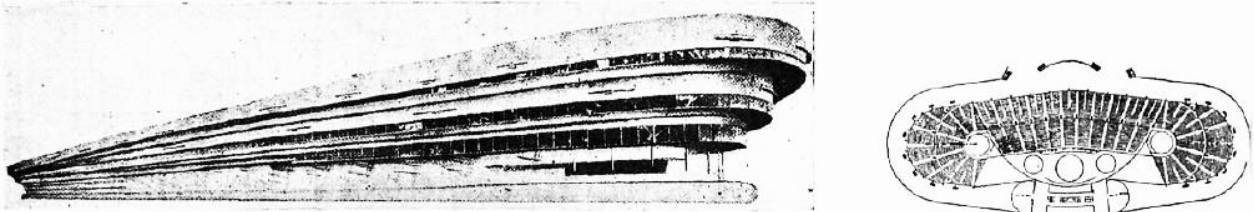


Fig. 2.7 Palace of the Soviets; Modernist competition entry by Fidman, (Woznicki 1932 62)

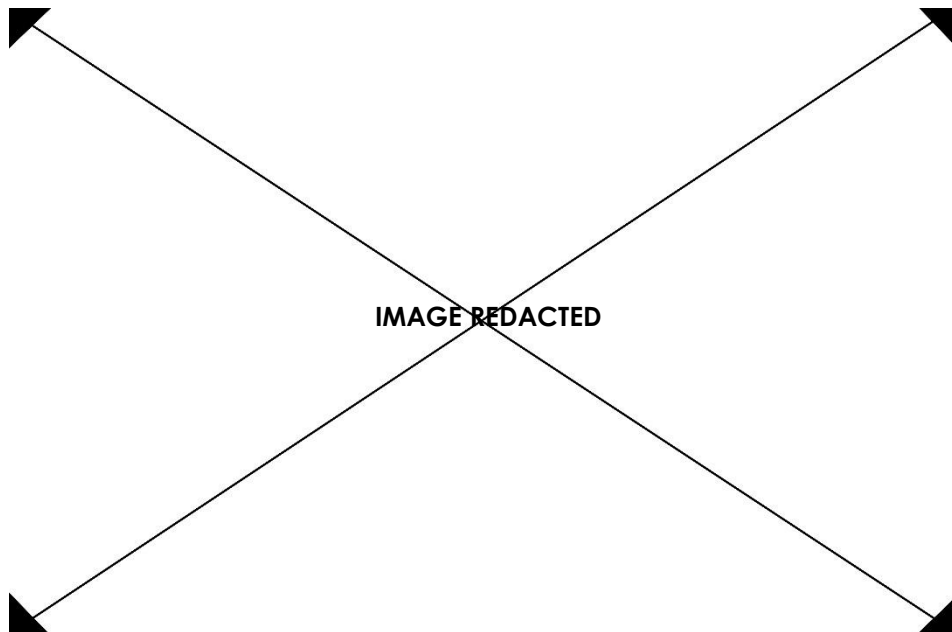


Fig. 2.8 Palace of the Soviets; expressionist competition entry by Melnikov, (Frederick 1978 264 - 265)

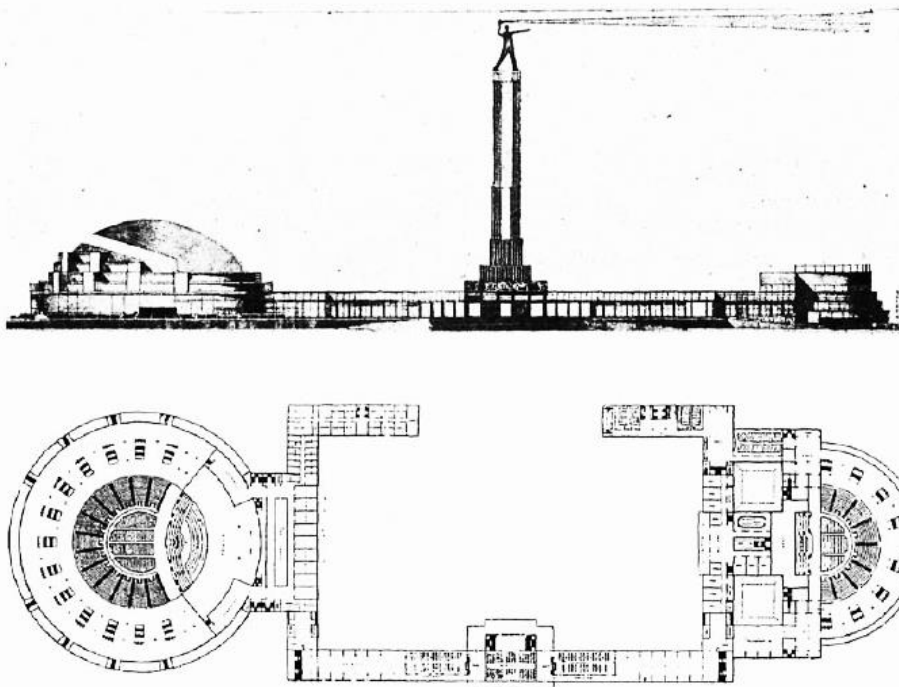


Fig. 2.9 Palace of the Soviets; Neo-classical competition entry by Boris Iofan, (Woznicki 1932 60)

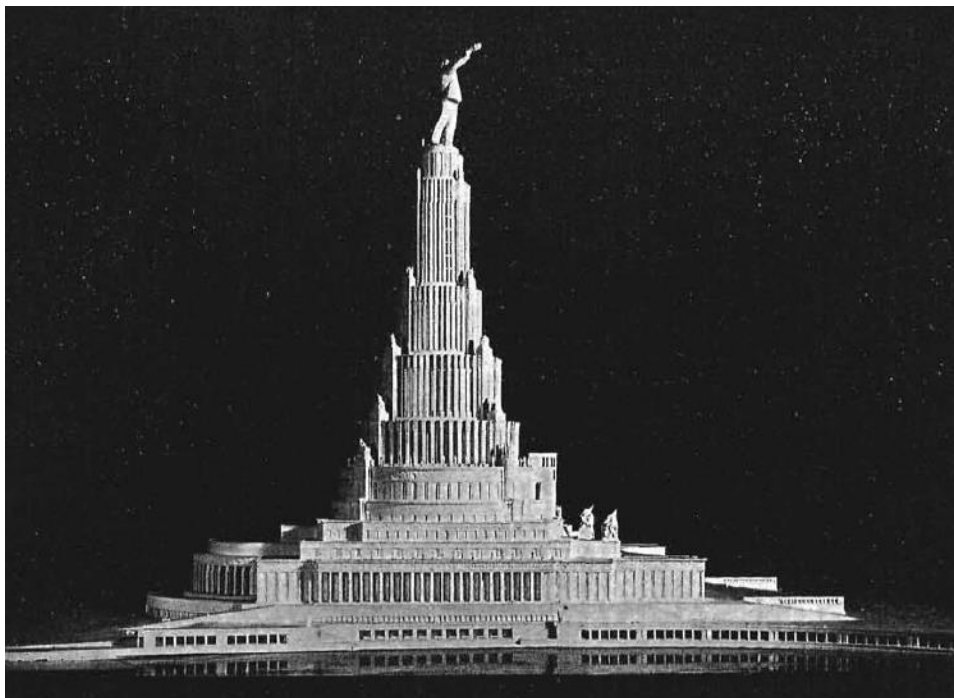


Fig. 2.10 Model of the final iteration of the Palace of the Soviets in Moscow (Wierbicki 1934 395)

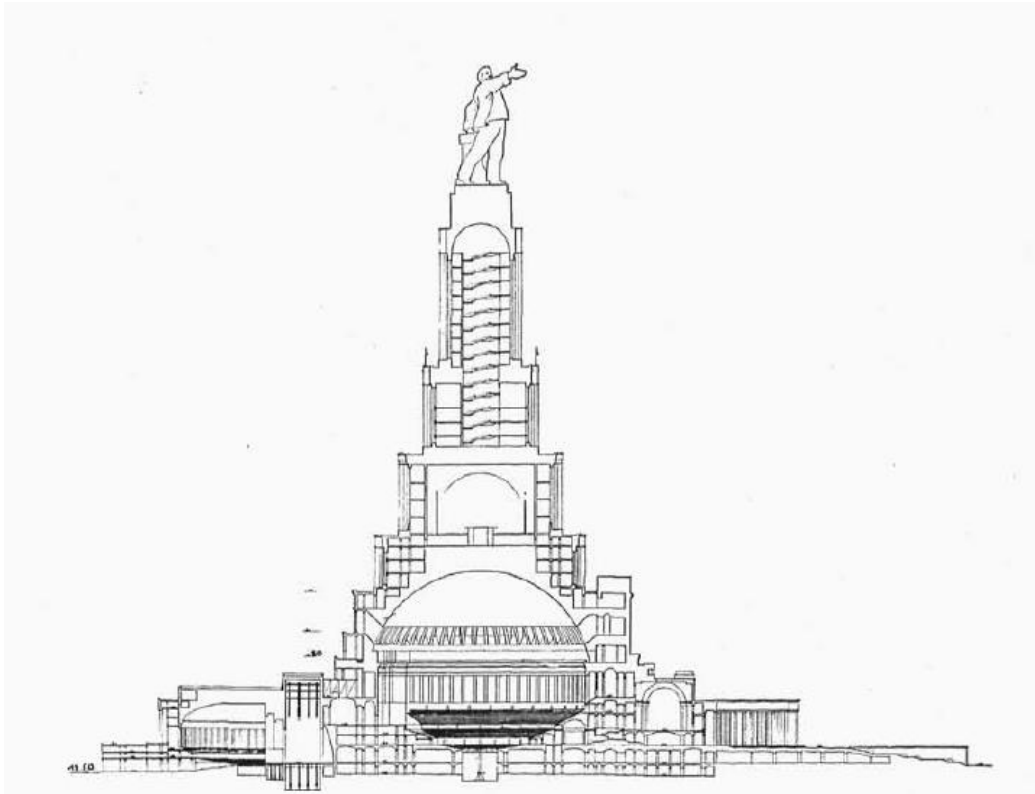


Fig. 2.11 Section of the final iteration of the Palace of the Soviets in Moscow (Wierbicki 1934, 395)

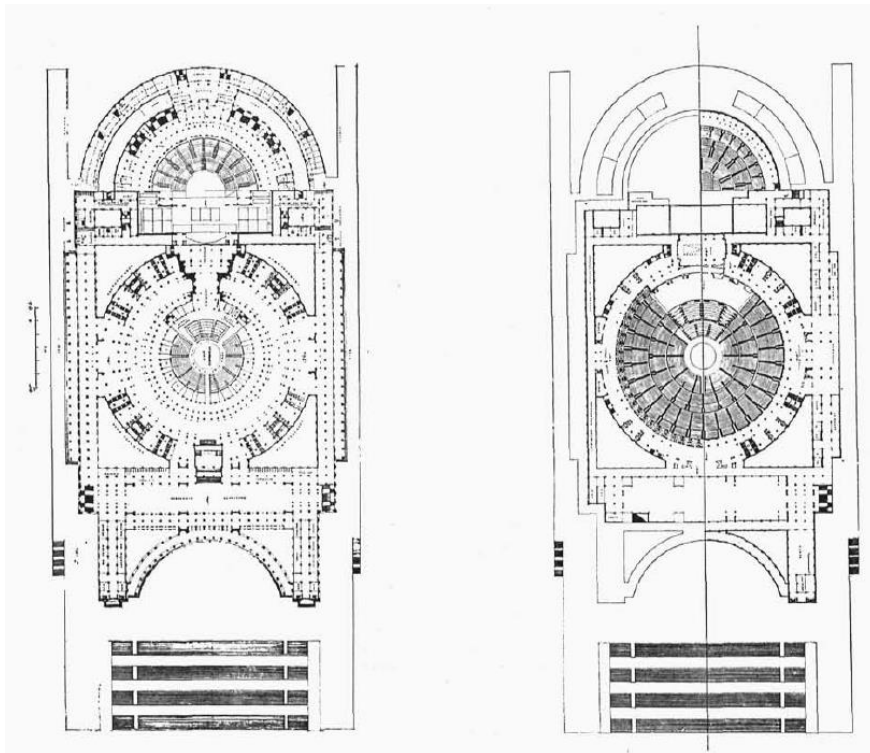


Fig. 2.12 Plans of the final iteration of the Palace of the Soviets in Moscow (Wierbicki 1934, 396)

Through his research on Soviet architecture Hazem Ziada argues that the bodies of the Soviet men were expected to change in response to the new designed environment (2013, 592). He hints that the Constructivist experimentation bled into the architectural efforts of Socialist-Realism. In his article entitled 'Undulating grounds, undisciplined bodies: the Soviet Rationalists and the Kinaesthesia of revolutionary crowds', he discusses the Palace of the Soviets. The palace would be preceded by a series of curved ramps which led a crowd of typical Soviet men into its interior. According to Ziada, the Soviet people would have to physically alter in walking along the ramps, as they would have to adapt their body posture to the curvature of the surface, changing their bodies into a new reformed position fit for a modern man, or as Zinoviev would call them, 'homo-sovieticus'. The flow of the Soviet empire was channeled to foster a proud and modern man.

The design of the palace was intended to play an active part in the attunement of the civic environment that was to shape the urban space into one subservient to the Soviet leaders. The civic debate was to be dominated by grandiose power structures in the same way as Moscow was to be dominated by the palace. It set the scene for a far-reaching hierarchisation of the civic engagement.

Ziada argues that this design move was common across all liberal arts disciplines as he compares it with the efforts of a theatrical director, Vsevolod Emilevich Meyerhold, and his set designs (2013 596). The sets in Meyerhold's philosophy were to change the actor to the extent of making them feel emotions and experience states of mind which they normally would not. Meyerhold writes:

Through manipulating surfaces of contact and movement for dynamic crowd assemblies, the rationalists propose a peculiar design-morphology of ground-and-body to choreograph crowd rhythms, and to forge a conception of space from the shared kinaesthesia of crowd movement. Accordingly, I reflect on the nature of collective consciousness thereby evoked, and its distinct difference from another modernist state of consciousness: a paranoid individualism of panoptic inspection (Ziada 2013 595).

Nicolai Ladovski, a leading architectural rationalist of Culture one, called these emerging principles, based on emotional experiences which informed spatial qualities, an 'economy of psychic energy' (Ziada 2013, 596).

Ziada holds that Meyerhold's philosophy was based on Hugo Munstemberg's research and draws from his theories. Munstemberg was a German/American psychologist who suggested a relationship between the state of mind and physical form or architecture. His aim was to comprehend the complex theory of relations between bodies and mass, which were then allowed to redefine the relations between mind and the designed environment accordingly. Meyerhold says: 'the essence of human relationships is determined by gestures, poses, glances and silences' (Ziada 2013 602). As Ziada suggests that lofan's ramps were to

orchestrate a sensation of dignity, they were to force people to change the way they relate to geometry and one another as well as every-day consciousness by a change in the choreography and rhythm of the governance of the cities' flow (2013). All art was to be controlled in the same way by the Soviet Union, to work like a uniform organism held together by biopolitical technologies of propaganda.

According to Jörn Düwel and Niels Gutschow, a vague outline of the main principles of Soviet urban planning had also been considered in 1930 whilst drawing up plans for the Palace of the Soviets (2013). Precedents were taken from 18<sup>th</sup> century architecture. In 1935 Leningrad was accepted as a model for a future Socialist city. All architects had to work rigidly with the rules of design and profession dictated by the state. The centralisation was taken up by the USSA Academy of Architecture after the destruction of the war. Potential fragmentation would weaken the bio-political efforts of achieving the heights of a superpower and was therefore avoided. The care for the larger scale of urban development is visible in the design of Moscow which places the Palace of the Soviets at the centrepiece of the master-plan. The urban design seems to resemble the classical order of Albert Speer's master-plan for New Germania with a strong axiality and rhythm on the approaching axis, modulated by large buildings leading to the central piece of the composition.

Helmus Lehman claims that art and architecture in the Soviet Union were to 'serve as a means of the total dissolution of the individual' (quoted in: Paperny 2002, XVIII). Just as the emphasis was on the overall urban design above its individual components, collective habitation for the masses was privileged over that of the individual dwelling. Even the politics of allocating living arrangements seems to have been aimed at dividing families, which further devalues the cult of the individual and fosters exclusion from intimacy. Each homos was to consider themselves only with reference to the Soviet collective and not romantic entanglements. The Council of Labour and Defence demanded that parallelism is eliminated as it introduced an aspect of 'unhealthy competition' in the nation. Any organisations which were outside of the government were treated as hostile to the Communist order. Any independent architectural company not subordinate to the SSA faced a great deal of difficulty in working independently. This was all in the effort to use architecture to produce a uniform society of homo-sovieticus with only one type of goal – production for the Soviet Union.

According to Paperny the *Union of Soviet Architects* (SSA, created in 18<sup>th</sup> July 1932) was in control of all architectural matters, including who could attend conferences (Paperny 2002 93). By that, he means that it was to be an organ which could coordinate and channel knowledge flows of architecture within the nation. The power/knowledge nexus, which translated into the Soviet soul of the homo-sovieticus construct, was to be controlled entirely

by the mindful state. The unification of all Soviet art and even life was to forge the new *modern* style of living, it was to lay the grounds for the development of the homo-sovieticus, capable of mass production. The overwhelming control of the architectural profession was not only an ideological matter: it was also part of Lenin's policy to jump start the Soviet market and increase state control to forge a financially successful revolutionary nation.

A built architectural precedent which expresses the aim of this system of governance is the Moscow Metro system designed by Dimitri Pegov and opened in 1935. The metro system is one of the most prominent manifestations of Socialist-Realism. The network of underground corridors and access points allows valuing the land and properties in the city in terms of the proximity of the nearest metro station as opposed to vistas: the closer the land is to the metro station the higher its value on the market. The metro station is clad with images of the glory of the Soviet collective, which people had to pass on their way to the platforms. The fabric surrounding the space of the metro tubes was impermeable and presented a narrow spectrum of route-choices. Each Homosos entering the nexus of the stations was to learn of the importance and glory of the Soviet Union. This type of understanding of the order was presented via ornaments, paintings and chandeliers which decorated the space. The over-coded nature of the metro system suggests internalising acceptance of the authorities' power.

## **2.5 The Thaw**

Socialist-Realism would essentially frame urbanism and architecture of the Soviet Empire up until Stalin's death in 1953. This section of the chapter will outline the period in Soviet history which followed Stalin's death. It briefly describes the subsequent repercussions for the profession of architecture and how the profession transited from neo-classical revival to its modernist iteration.

Stalin died in 1953 and Nikita Khrushchev took over (Kemp Welch 2008). In 1956 he renounced Stalin in a secret speech, which he gave at the 20<sup>th</sup> Party Union (Shukman 1998). According to Shukman, this situation changed the power balance in the country mostly due to the lack of strong leadership and the economic problems that became apparent after the information flow was (to an extent) liberated: without the strong leadership of Stalin, the problems of the state and authority became obvious. The architectural profession seized this strand of liberty but was far from free. Architecture became more succinct with the demands of the economy, nevertheless it retained the homogenic character of Culture two. Khrushchev advocated the use of prefabricated concrete as a new, quick remedy for the housing issues in cities (Forty 2012). The construction method he advocated was one that



assumed monotony and meant a devaluation of streets and squares typical in a classical city. The old way of designing was to be replaced by landscaping. In his study *Concrete and Culture*, Adrian Forty presents Khrushchev's speech as one which delineates a break in the architectural philosophy (2012).

In the 20<sup>th</sup> Party congress in 1956, after Stalin's death, the attitude toward the life of the common Communist citizen could have been assumed to have relaxed, however the contrary happened (Buchli 1999). Buchli claims that the control of the domestic dimension was made even stronger due to the constraints placed on the family unit by the awkwardly small scale of architecture. In *The Material Culture*, Buchli presents a case in which the domestic space in the Soviet Union in the Thaw assumed a strategy aiming at designing multi-purpose rooms, which would link all the household tasks in one space (2002).

The homo-sovieticus was still in a situation where the individual residential units were cramped and the public space was more cared for, however there was more liberty in interior design. In spite of the visual design of the buildings being different, Socialist-Modernist flats retained a measure of organising space in a collective way with respect to work. The strategies of the social condenser that were to stratify society in Culture two came to function a lot more like the urban strategies which existed in Western countries similar to the principles of the Athens Charter.

According to Shvidkovsky the Soviet people started appropriating 18<sup>th</sup> century elements from everyday culture from barns and old rural dwellings and hoarding them in their own flats (2007). In spite of this, the architecture was surprisingly bland. Since Marxism did not place any commercial value on land, little effort was placed in making the design commercially appealing or attractive. It was homogenous with no variation nor was there any mixed use strategies on an urban scale to encourage revenue streams. This caused problems in coordinating the design around walking distances and comfort. Above all, there was no definition in the spaces, which were scaled out of proportion. The blocks were scattered in the landscape amongst streets that enabled efficient car and public transport movements this was similar to the principles from the Athens Charter from 1943. The concept of a social condenser for the homo-sovieticus transformed, taking the form of quasi-modernist blocks as opposed to courtyards but still presenting attempts to group individuals and enable them to transition to work every morning.

## **2.6 Conclusion**

In the Soviet Union architecture was to be at the heart of propaganda and a mechanism to be used to construct a new, modern man called the homo-sovieticus. If a relationship between ideology and the body is always present then Soviet-Communism is a very poignant

case. Communism presented a situation where ideology was tied very heavily to the body. Infinite debt to the motherland was placed on people who could never repay, but had to make the attempt by working tirelessly throughout their lives. The location of debt never changed and in that sense it was like a pastoral mode of governmentality and not like a Capitalist state, where debts are constantly exchanged like currency. The citizen was, therefore, always in debt and the only way to retain dignity in this play of economy was to devote one's life to the Soviet concepts of collectivisation. According to Bataille, the aims of the collectivisation were to create a strong nation that could compete in a military arena (1989).

Marxism and the Communist revolution unveiled an opportunity to create a new and efficient environment in the Soviet Union. Culture one set the tone of exploration and development of a new style which liberated architects such as Melnikov. Culture two was a maturation of the political regime, which established a very narrow spectrum of design choices.

The power was to be taken from the Tsar and given to the people. This was a chance to create a new and fair order. However since the new actors in the political arena after the revolution were deeply embedded in the power structures of the Tsarist governmentality, the revolution came to be merely a reconfiguration of the aesthetics of the former power structures. As a result, in architectural terms, the creativity and enthusiasm of Culture one became a dull disciplined hegemony of Socialist-Realism in Culture two enriched by the experimentation of the previous one. In Culture two, architects such as Iofan found their place purely by associations with highly placed dignitaries in Moscow (Paperny 2002 3).

The individuality of the homo-sovieticus was dissolved in the ritual of law and automatism of reaction. Homo-sovieticus was the building block of power in the Soviet Union. Each person was, as Vaclav Havel would put it: 'living in a lie' of abiding by one or another ideology (Havel 2011, p54). In the Soviet ideology, this meant living in the collective and abiding by the flow what Foucault would call *dispositif*. This was reflected by the singular tone of architecture and urbanism, controlled by Taylorist efforts to change the mentality of the Soviet man. The building of the Palace of the Soviets was a manifestation of power-circulation residing in Moscow since the 19<sup>th</sup> century, which managed to survive the Marxist cleansing of Culture one and matured in Culture two. This was a philosophy implanted in Socialist-Realism by the experimentation attempts developed straight after the revolution in Culture one, which was highly prone to Constructivist ideas. It also found its manifestation as a social condenser or one might call it a social stratifier in a more hierarchical form in the Thaw by the adoption of principles similar to the Athens Charter.

This socio-architectural context was then translated in different versions in Soviet satellite states. The case of Poland in the inter-War period and as a land overwhelmed by the Soviet hegemony will be introduced in the next chapter.



### **CHAPTER 3**

**The Polish homo-sacer;**

**The composition of the architectural profession and the self in Polish culture before and after  
the Second World War**

### **3. The Polish homo-sacer;**

#### **The composition of the architectural profession and the self in Polish culture before and after the Second World War**

##### **3.1 Introduction**

The aim of the thesis is to define the operational mechanisms of Polish heterotopias which subverted the Soviet order in the city of Nowa Huta. The objective of this chapter is to outline the evidence that attitudes towards architecture in Poland in the inter-War period (1918-1939) were not coordinated, even when subject to the authority of the Catholic Church. The chapter also presents the clash of Polish culture with the Soviet order between 1949 and 1980 on a national scale, to indicate the inappropriateness of the presence of the Soviet hegemony on Polish soil. By doing so, I am presenting the context of the Soviets' presence and their architectural theories in Poland, thus defining the atmospheres that nurtured the 'self in struggle'. This section develops an understanding of the architectural manifestations of the political for a place in the civic, as represented in Jan Matejko's painting (Fig. 1.2). The information in this chapter is essential to understanding the context of the development of the Polish citizens' negative attitude towards the hegemonic governance as well as the logic behind heterotopias. The chapter will present the affiliation of the Polish people with the Catholic Church as well as the affordance in the architectural profession that allowed for the development of an expressionist architectural language in the Krakow area. It also examines the lack of definition for a civic presence in Poland that will come to manifest in Nowa Huta in the heterotopian quality of spaces appropriated for leisure. Thus it gives a base for the reasoning that will inform the analysis of heterotopias, as spaces for political and architectural dissent, within the urban grid of Nowa Huta that came to be materialised in the design of the churches described in chapter five.

The text herein discusses the aspect of developing and maintaining hierarchical relations in Poland in the 20<sup>th</sup> century and how the culture was forced to adopt a Communist mentality after 1949 (the year in which Poland declared financial dependence on the Soviet system). The evidence that this chapter compiles leads to the suggestion that Poland never had a unified civil society and after the First World War the available infrastructure that had the capacity to uphold a coherent social network was destroyed. This situation led to a relaxed regulation of cultural habits as well as architectural design. The resulting imagery of the Polish 'self' came to be carrying traits which could be seen as opposed to that of the homo-sovieticus. The governance of Poland recognised the disorder and, facing an apparent threat to the stability of the country, the right wing of the political spectrum intervened in May 1926 to set up a dictatorial style government.

My research discusses Polish culture in the 20<sup>th</sup> century and signs of lack of a singular or organised image of an ideal Polish citizen. Contrary to the Soviet government, where sovereign rule was directly translated into a strategy of civil conduct, the Polish state offered little implementation to strategies that were meant to obstruct the development of strong individuality. It could be understood that this situation encouraged the development of an individual with similar features to that of the 'homo-sacer', an outsider as described by Giorgio Agamben in '*Homo-Sacer; sovereign power and bare life*' written in 1998 and referring to the Hebrew notion of the hallowed or cursed, a being set apart from the social contract. As Crowley writes:

'During the nineteenth century, the *déclassé szlachta* then sharing the misfortune of all, provided a model for Polish society. As many historians have argued, its traditions of equality, resistance and individualism provided the guidelines for Polish social and political thought and for a common self-image of Polishness.' (2003 170)

Jan Behrends and Marin Kohlrausch write that in spite of the forcefulness of the government, the civil society of eastern European countries in the inter-War period was very weak (2014 7). Behrends and Kohlrausch suggest that the urbanisation of Warsaw was government-led as opposed to the result of civic investment. Most of the developments they discuss are large scale and fixated on the urban, ignoring the human dimensions. There was a dissonance here in the Polish nation between the government which as Crowley argues was 'inflexible and conservative' (1998 71) and the rest of society (or at least the part of it that was interested in architectural matters), which could be argued did not present a unified and coherent citizenry. The weakness of the government lay in the failure to mobilise the citizens to form a holistic nation. An example would be Stanislaw Rozanski's schemata for residential quarters in Warsaw which looked at the city as a whole (2014 215). When discussing power and the state of organisation this thesis will consider the relations existing in civil society as those seem to lie closer to Foucault's definition of power than the strength of authorities. For Foucault, power transcends political governments and embeds itself in the everyday life of every citizen. Power in his understanding is not a characteristic of agency and is rather a self-disciplining act which does not require coercion. As Foucault writes:

Power is not an institution, and not a structure; neither is it a certain strength we are endowed with; it is the name that one attributes to a complex strategical situation in a particular society. (Foucault 1989 93)

Foucault's words resonate with the situation of the architectural profession after the First World War where the disorganisation of the civil initiatives was associated with lack of direction from the government. I must make it clear that due to a lack of coherent strategy the power relations in Poland, in spite of having all the characteristics of a civil society, it had

difficulty forming a sustainable civil-based system with an organised structure. This analysis is based on the information from an architect's journal from the inter-War period that engaged with international debates, discussed further below.

This chapter is divided into three sections. The first section introduces the position of Poland in the cultural and geographical context of Europe before the Second World War. This section is composed of analysis of the architectural profession in the inter-War period, primarily based on the analysis of a publication of one of the architectural journals in Poland in the inter-War period called *Architecture and Construction*<sup>1</sup>. Behrends and Kohlrausch claim that in comparison with Eastern-German journals or even Polish journals such as *Dom, Architecture and Construction* had a substantial readership and the discussions enclosed therein included the international context (Behrends and Kohlrausch ed. 2014 217). This section presents the vast differentiation, in the architectural profession across the nation. This can be understood as a continuation of a trend in Poland and was amplified by a lack of communication streams within the country after the First World War. It was also informed by the education of architects who studied abroad due to lack of staffing in higher academic institutions in Poland (Behrends and Kohlrausch ed. 2014 218). The curriculum of the Warsaw Polytechnic was emblematic in presenting this plurality in acceptance of different trends. Looking at the capacity to organise civil initiatives in architecture this period is described as carrying features similar to a Rhizomal modality as defined by Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari (2004) (meaning one with a latent or unconventionally understood form of organisation), with a tendency to develop into a more refined and arborescent (conventionally hierarchical and authoritative) structures.

This section also discusses the impact of religious as well as international relations on the architectural profession in Poland. It describes the confidence of introducing and developing a new neo-vernacular style in the country. The first section analyses Krakow which is a city near Nowa Huta, as well as Gdynia which is a city designed on a similar basis as Nowa Huta. It also presents a competition for a Temple of Divine Providence in Warsaw which showcases the diversity of understandings manifested by the authorities with reference to which architectural discourse was conducted.

The second section of this chapter examines the time following immediately after the Second World War and elaborates on the position of the individual in Polish culture without recourse to explicit hierarchies. It is based on the literature by Leopold Tyrmand (a Polish writer who experienced the post-War context) (1958 and 2003) and mentions other scholars who have presented their understanding of the situation. Included in this section is also a short description of the physical landscape after the Second World War. The third section

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<sup>1</sup> *Architektura i Budownictwo*



presents the clash of the freedom or disorder of post-Second World War Poland with the Soviet hegemony and serves as an introduction to chapter 4.

The third section additionally presents the Palace of Culture (Stalin's tower) erected in Poland, which is a symbol of the Power relationships in Poland in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

The Polish individual is described herein as a conceptual construct whose civic conduct is not coordinated by a normative form of governmentality. This is to showcase the lack of appropriateness of an assumption that Soviet managerial practices (discussed in the previous chapter) would be readily accepted in Poland. The image of the Polish 'self' is drawn from the interpretation of an architectural journal in the country in the inter-War period. It is to be understood that the self is not a generalisation of all individuals into a uniform entity, but the affordance of the Polish culture to create conditions in which developing certain habits and ways of thinking would be possible. It is in this case considered in the same way as the self in the *Human rights act* from 1998. The research draws parallels between the particularities and context of the Polish language, art and history that channelled ways of considering the self which could be contested and shared in a network of communication. The influence of the self afforded by the Polish culture is here presented in conjunction with its response in architecture. This dialogue between this chapter and the previous one is created for ease of comparison between the two cultures to present a legible background for the analysis of Nowa Huta. This chapter introduces four key conceptual frameworks which, I argue, are helpful in the narrative in the understanding the Polish context of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. These are drawn from Deleuze, Guattari and Agamben; all of which drew from, and interacted with, Foucault's philosophy, as well as Tyrmand, who wrote a satirical piece on the cultural situation of Poland under Communism.

### **3.2 Before the Second World War**

This section presents the case of emerging assemblages of architectural interest in Poland during the inter-War period. Their development and apparent level of stability in the power/knowledge nexus described by Foucault is presented herein. This is based mostly on one of the Polish architectural journals published in the inter-War period called *Architecture and Construction*, which paid particular attention to moments of Polish history, that gave a base for instability. This section discusses knowledge circulation as well as the ethical and aesthetic frameworks within which architects and scholars approached the profession before the Second World War. It could be said the scarcity of communication after the First World War, which resulted from the destruction of infrastructure and media of communication, created a context ripe for developing a rhizomatic model of operation

within the architectural profession. It kept developing multiplicities of assemblages with potential to mature into arborescent forms of organisation, but were too unstable to maintain an uninterrupted state. The resulting diversity of architectural styles and approaches created a level of freedom in which architectural philosophies could intermingle and be juxtaposed.

### **3.2.1. Rhizome**

In a paper written in 2013 entitled *Rhizomatic radicalism and arborescent advocacy: a Deleuzo-Guattarian reading of rural protest* Michael Woods et al analysed the formation of protest groups noting that "it has become commonplace to describe new social movements as 'rhizomic' in form" (Woods et al. 2013 434), adding that "[t]o speak of arborescent or rhizomic political assemblages is to describe a propensity, not an absolute condition" (Woods et al. 2013 440). A rhizomatic assemblage in *A Thousand Plateaus* is defined as an organisation conducted according to a different and non-hierarchical structure which governs without centrality nor a defined periphery; it has no direction nor does it have constant dimensions (Deleuze, Guattari 2004). Each composite of the organisation oscillates around and links with other rhizomes via any point as there is no core to its entity and forms assemblages which when broken can still function. Deleuze and Guattari define the rhizome as effectively an immensely durable entity (ibid.). Destroying or eliminating its part would not be detrimental. Deleuze and Guattari compare this with an arborescent structure, which is a centralised organisation. Destroying an arborescent structure would be far easier as eliminating its core or any functional element would rid it of a vital component of its functioning, which would be detrimental to the organism or form of organisation.

Woods et al. study the distinction between a rhizome and an arborescent structure by analysing the development of rhizomatic and arborescent assemblages (Woods et al. 2013). They propose to embrace the theory by giving the two forms of structure a fluid transition. They give a list of tangible features to a rhizomatic assemblage: flexibility in creating connections with all members of the group; emergence without defined formalities or leaders; lack of a formal membership; relying on direct communication between individuals; consisting of particles which jump between networks; and being extremely resilient to attacks from arborescent oppositions. They also claim that rhizomes have a tendency to mature into arborescent organisations in the context in which arborescence is prevalent. Woods et al. define arborescent organisations as: linear in hierarchy; clearly and orderly organised even across distances; centrally organised; intolerant of competition; subject to parasites in the form of corruption and political careerists; slow to change and difficult, in adapting to new circumstances.

This model of organisation is useful in understanding the state of Polish governance in the inter-War years. The Polish cultural flow or civil society has endured the years of unrest but has not always managed to form an organised civil platform. The Polish architectural profession, in the case of the years following the First World War, is considered herein as a structure with predominantly rhizomatic features, due to the tendencies of the nation having refrained from a coherent governing structure since at least the late 18<sup>th</sup> century.

Influenced by a desire to achieve a normally-hierarchical stability, the Polish people attempted to form new assemblages founded upon common interests such as architecture. In this chapter I present a case in which the Polish architects, used to the idea of a resurrecting governance, made several attempts to form an hierarchical organisation. However, most of them had little impact. Perhaps the most successful attempt - a publication of an architectural journal - informs the narrative of this text.

### **3.2.2 Architectural Nexus;**

#### **Developing new communication streams after the desolation of the First World War**

This subsection concerns the period after the First World War and presents the case of attempts to re-establish communication streams in the nation. Those attempts were to create a new power/knowledge network within the country, one which encompassed the Polish architectural profession. Effort was put into establishing a clear medium where debate could be presented to a wide audience. Many local groups of architectural interest were created and abandoned within the space of a few years. (Stryjeński 1932) The one which managed to sustain a flow of operation was *Architecture and Construction* and this journal is the focus of this section. In addition to that, two architectural case studies are presented: these are of the cities of Krakow and Gdynia both present a measure of disorderly planning.

In January 1927 the first issue of *Architecture and Construction* was published. The journal was an attempt to establish a coherent leadership with a hierarchical core disseminating knowledge in an otherwise chaotic nation struggling to shed the trauma of the First World War. The contributors were initially academics from several cities around Poland (as Fig 3.1. shows those were: Warsaw, Wilno, Lwow, Poznan and Krakow). This was forming yet another assemblage of architectural interest which eventually matured into a coherent organisation with a defined hierarchy. Eventually the publication expanded and allowed contributors from all over the nation to submit their work. The journal fostered a rich mixture of theoretical debates adding to the complexity and structure of the power/knowledge network. The articles from 1927 resembled academic texts, which made the journal very insightful in terms of the theory of architecture and the state of the profession in Poland. Towards the second half of the 1930s, the journal became a lot more commercial. The list of contributors was

narrowed to a handful of people and the journal became more editorially focussed. The publication needed a revenue stream and a strong commercial grounding, to continue to grow and attract attention amongst non-scholarly architects concerned with material suppliers, tectonics and the craft of construction, as opposed to pure theory.



Fig. 3.0 The first (on the reader's left) and the last (on the reader's right) cover pages of the journal.

Pawel Wędziagolski wrote in celebration of the first publication of *Architecture and Construction* in 1927 (Wędziagolski 1927). This was ordained with an event that initiated the *Annual Salon* of the *Society of Polish Architects* (SAP for *Stowarzyszenie Architektów Polskich*). This event was to establish *Architecture and Construction* as a viable attempt at developing a cohesive image for architecture in the nation. According to Wędziagolski the debate inspired by the society and the creation of the journal set up a network of communication and a defined flow of knowledge that architects around the nation could share and benefit (Wędziagolski 1927 149). His observation of the *Annual Salon* revealed three distinct groups, to which all of the attending architects could be assigned.

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Fig 3.1 list of contributors at the back of the magazine of *Architecture and Construction*, June 1928

The first group was composed of designers interested in harmony of composition. Wędziagolski observes that they adhered to safe solutions without any innovative considerations in planning or construction. This group, as he claims, was interested in designing in accordance with a Neo-classical and/or neo-Gothic architectural language. The second group, according to Wędziagolski, were architects interested in Plato's notions of the utilitarianism of life. He sees this type of professional to be concerned with the demands of the client, following a rule: 'to each their own' (Wędziagolski 1927:149). This group was interested in designing for the individual needs of the inhabitants. The final group, he notes, was the youngest one. They saw the *raison d'être* of the profession in seeking an understanding of construction, comfort and hygiene. Wędziagolski criticises them for being not experienced enough. He also notes other subgroups and groups which desired to find an original form of expression. As Wędziagolski claims, they sought their individual voice by stripping the profession to its core and building up their own understanding of spatial planning and architectural elements different from architectural convention.

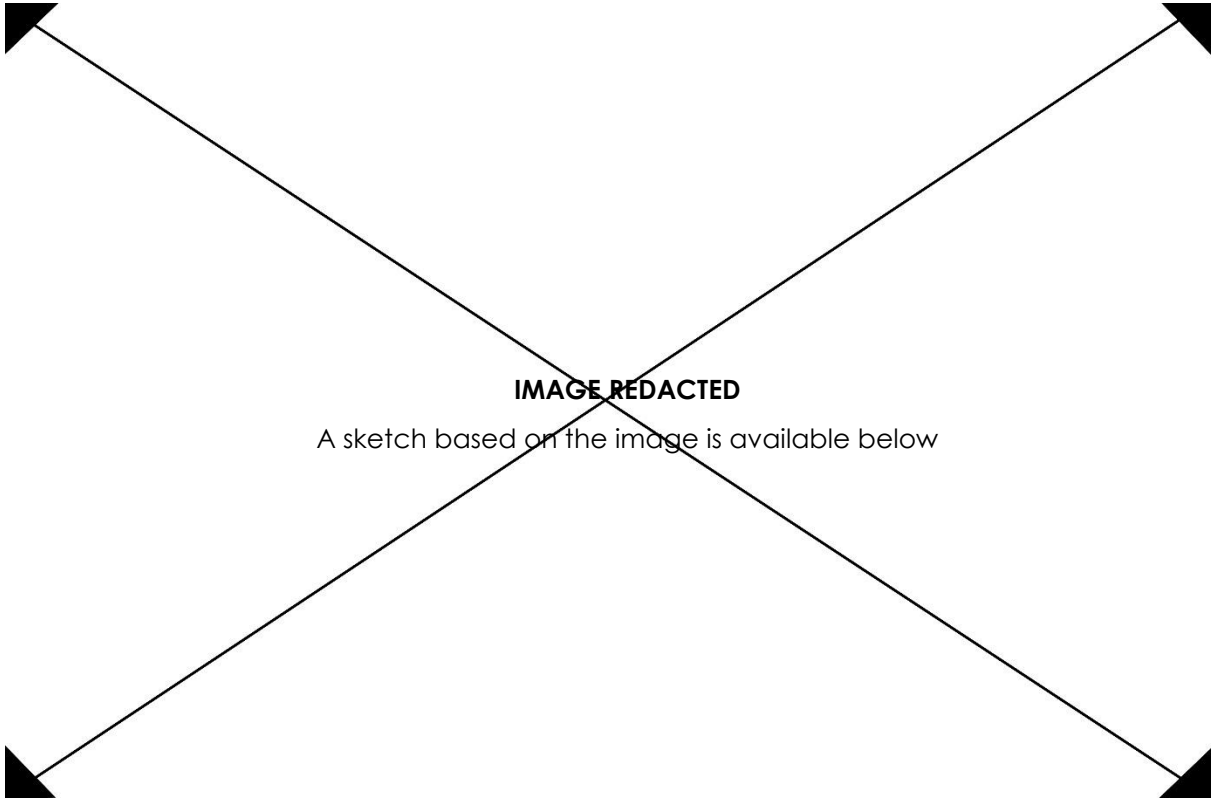
These differences of attitude to the profession, expressed at a formal conference suggested a deeper trend in the nation. This trend was one of fragmentation and an abundance of diverse approaches. The lack of regulation in Polish architecture and city

planning came to manifest itself most prominently during the inter-War period in the development of Gdynia.

Gdynia was a new, harbour-city designed to be erected north of (what was then called the free city of) Danzig, on the Baltic coast. The location was in the centre of the Polish waterfront on the east front of the Bay of Gdansk. The context of the design was enclosed from the east by the Baltic Sea and from the west by glacier-formed hills. The design was a response to the taxes placed by the authorities of the free city of Danzig which inhibited Polish trade on the river Vistula after the city was granted independence from Poland. The progression of the erection of Gdynia countered its contemporary theories of architecture and refused to follow established patterns for a newly built town (such as those mentioned in chapter 2 that quote Anatoli Žukov (Norwerth 1933)). There was no formal central administration point within the city and the architectural language was not controlled in the manner of the neo-classical, or any other singular style. It would seem that the negotiation of the place in the civic of Gdynia was to a degree uncoordinated.

What is distinct about the urban grid of the city is that it sprawls linearly along the main circulation route leading from Gdansk to the new harbour, forming an assemblage of centres along its stretch (as seen in Fig. 3.2). This implies a commercial way of thinking about land value and opportunities to develop accessible revenue stream, which in turn implies an assumption of an organic growth of the city following opportunities of trade associated with a main circulation artery. This in turn implies that the masterplan of the city had to change and adapt to the immediate typology of the city's social, topographical and economic context.

The city did not have enough income or resources to sustain a governing body capable of running the entire area, as conceived of by planning authorities. The result was the appropriation of the planned squares by commercial and administrative services, which created a series of loosely linked hubs. Fig. 3.2 shows four such centres signified by open spaces in the urban fabric.



**IMAGE REDACTED**

A sketch based on the image is available below

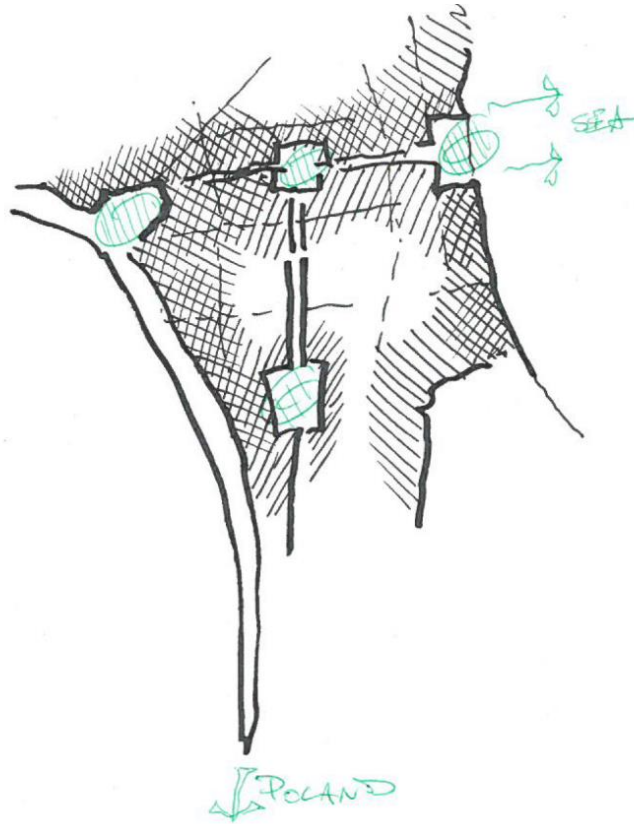


Fig. 3.2 own sketch and massing of the masterplan of Gdynia (1930)





Fig. 3.3 The port in Gdynia – the pride of inter-War Poland. (Jurasz 2012 61)

(inter-War period, unknown photographer, this image is also available at NAC photography archive)



Fig. 3.4 Vernacular residential buildings in Gdynia (Dąbrowski 1936 147)





Fig 3.5 Multi-residential blocks and mixed use buildings on the high-street in Gdynia  
(Dąbrowski 1936 147)



Fig. 3.6 Modernist/art deco office block in Gdynia (Dąbrowski 1936 152)



Fig. 3.7 Stripped neo-classical bank in Gdynia (Dąbrowski 1936 153)



Fig. 3.8 Secessionist/Neo-classical residential villas in Gdynia (Dąbrowski 1936 155)



Fig. 3.9 Modernist residential building in Gdynia (Dąbrowski 1936 155)



Fig. 3.10 Neo-Vernacular residential building in Gdynia (Dąbrowski 1936 155)

Gdynia (whose port is shown in Fig. 3.3) was to be a modern industrial city servicing a dockyard, the Polish window to the Baltic sea. It was a city designed anew, without a historical basis. S. K. Dąbrowski writes that architects were often accused of chaos in the design of the city and construction on site (1936). According to Dąbrowski, 'people are imperfect and it's difficult to demand an ideal, especially in the chaos of the re-birth of a country' (Dąbrowski 1936, 150). The variety of approaches and lack of centralisation in the city can be noted by comparing the architectural language of individual buildings erected in its urban grid. They ranged from Neo-vernacular and modernist to stripped neo-classicist. In a highly regulated urban fabric this would not be permitted under a strict planning authority.

The lack of consistency in architectural language is evidenced in the above images (Fig 3.4-3.10). Modernism was considered as acceptable as Neo-vernacularism when it came to designing residential units. Neo-classicism and modernism were both used to represent municipal institutions that required an impactful public presence, such as banks or post offices. It can be argued that this lack of overriding guidance from the planning authority regarding aesthetics was embedded in the attitude of the architects of Gdynia. This would suggest lack of strong leadership in this respect and an allowance for an un-coordinated type of civic engagement, or it may suggest a clear preference for diversity. This freedom of appropriating spatial conditions with respect to individual desires, as opposed to an overriding ideology, created a sense of a post-Kantian engagement with the civic and a production of a highly-individualised relationship within the power-knowledge network.

Despite the city being seen, on a national scale, as a manifestation of the success of a strong government. In spite of this the further development of the initiative left architects' questioning the ability of the authorities to govern. Accompanied by the diversity of the profession this situation lent itself to a disorderly composition of the city. This would imply that there was no particular image, as a whole, of what architecture should be.

In the diversity of styles and approaches to architecture, during the inter-War period southern Poland seemed to be similarly liberal. Krakow was the largest Polish city in the region as well as the former Polish capital, the symbol of a regal heritage (Opolski 1931 407). The city is home to the resting place of Polish kings and nobles, it also retained most of its historic urban fabric from before the First World War. According to a multiplicity of scholars who contributed to *Architecture and Construction* the urban and architectural organisation of the city was chaotic. This might flow from the fact that the functional centre of the city was still located in its medieval core. The urban arrangement was not necessarily adapted or adaptable to the 20<sup>th</sup> century lifestyles of a large city. The most pressing issue seemed to be transport and the city's inability to uphold the large masses of people moving via the

centre (Editors 1931 407). According to S. Łunkiewicz and Szyszko-Bohusz, the regulation related to planning in the city was too haphazard (1928). As Szyszko-Bohusz notes, 'the composition of space was left without any authority, it can be characterised by complete absolutism and chaos of the street image. This leads to an intensely despondent and negative understanding of the artistic culture of [1930s] Krakow' (Szyszko-Bohusz 1928 174). In 1937 Lech Niemojewski attempted to diagnose the problem of the overwhelming rejection of authority in Krakow and claimed that it seemed to have been infused with attitudes of Expressionism and Viennese Secession (1937, 139). This was a philosophy which assumed subversion from academic trends. Wojciech Leśniowski notes characteristics of Red Viennese architecture in the city, signified by monumentalism (1996). This is confirmed by Niemojewski:

Thanks to the [...] cult of national historicism and vernacular art, the Krakowian scene has fostered an interesting artistic assemblage, which can be characterised as expressionist (and therefore Secessionist). This quality afforded a huge degree of individuality ripe for the best (Niemojewski 1937, 139).

Considering the geographical location of Krakow and inclusion in the Austro-Hungarian Empire during the partitioning years, Niemojewski's comment about Krakowian inhabitants and architecture being Secessionist (Niemojewski 1937) is noteworthy. What is more, Tadeusz Stryjeński, a contributor to *Architecture and Construction*, notes that assemblages of architectural interest in Krakow, similarly to ones in the whole nation, were very unstable (Stryjeński 1932). The Krakowian group did not even have a defined meeting spot. Eventually all groups collapsed under bad management. Stryjeński says that its place was taken by *Architectural association of the Krakowian County*<sup>2</sup> but he did not predict a long future for this group either (Stryjeński 1932). A similar situation occurred in Warszawa, Wilno, Poznań and Lwów where such organisations were being established and abandoned at a high rate. Stryjeński writes: 'in short, dissent is prevalent within the profession'<sup>3</sup> (1932, 230). The reader might note the resonance between the disruptive organisation establishment and fall of architectural organisations in Poland in terms of Wood's et al. key description of a rhizomatic organisation (Woods et al 2013). There is something at once robust and instable about the rhizome. It is not the case that relations did not form - they did allow and sustain a forceful government - they rather formed in a non-normative way.

The Polish power/knowledge nexus was undisciplined, and with such a level of disorganisation may have enabled a certain type of freedom. Attempts were made to establish a coherent and legible position within the Polish cultural flow. One of them was an assemblage of voices channelled via a very open journal which accepted many points of

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<sup>2</sup> Związek Architektów Województwa Krakowskiego

<sup>3</sup> jednym słowem na całej linii panuje rozbieżność

view. The profession was left to explore spatial design in a variety of manners. This was signified by opinions on the development in Gdynia and Krakow as well as attempts to re-establish a coherent organisation in the field without crushing its diversity. Several articles across the 20 years of the inter-War period of the journal called for an establishment of governmental guidance, which would regulate the profession. However, the petitions and letters quoted in the publications were reiterated and hence it could be assumed that they were not put into effect.

### **3.2.3 Non-Secular Soul;**

#### **The role and nature of the Church in 20<sup>th</sup> Century Poland as a medium of communication**

This subsection analyses Foucault's notion of the 'secular soul' (1995) in pastoral authorities operating in early 20<sup>th</sup> century Poland. It also presents an analysis of an architectural competition completed by 1930 for the church of 'Divine Providence'. In spite of the apparently chaotic and diverse architectural landscape, consistencies emerged. The rapid urbanisation of Warsaw in the 20<sup>th</sup> century gave vitality to architects who proposed monumental edifices and structures within the urban fabric. Examples of which are presented by Jarosław Trybus and include architects such as Zbigniew Ihanowicz and Jerzy Romański (2012). The efforts of architects and urban planners were fuelled and encouraged by the authorities which had great ambitions for Warsaw as a European city (Behrends and Kohlrausch (eds.)2014). The most prominent in presenting a design liberty that did not need to conform with the reality of accommodating residents was unquestionably the Polish relationship with the Catholic Church. If Foucault's secular soul resulted from the presence of an individual in a group then in Poland it may find its origin in the Catholic Church. This was a literal pastoral power which, since 966, influenced the apparently secular state. It would be a misunderstanding to think that the Church was the only source of power-relations of this sort, however it seems to constitute a very poignant example. It was the Church which gave the Polish people an opportunity to define a morality and gave it an apparently conservative image dictated by the constancy in the ethical framework of the Catholic Church. Foucault's secular soul is in this sub-section linked with the Church.

The architectural history of Poland was described by leading Polish scholars of the 1930s and 1940s as contingent on the presence of the Catholic Church. In 1937 Jan Zachwatkwicz wrote a brief description of the history of Polish architecture fixating on the Church. He notes that the first sacred buildings, which were erected in Poland after the nation was baptised were monasteries similar to French ones erected in the same period (1937 103). Those were of Baroque style and catered for the Jesuit denomination (Ibid.).

Zachwatkowicz theorised that it was the acceptance of Catholicism that opened the borders of the Polish architectural profession and allowed influences from France and Italy to enrich the knowledge flows in the nation. This meant that modern (for contemporary times) ways of construction could be adopted. An example was the use of brick, which at the time was a massive technological leap from timber building construction methods.

In 1927 Jarosław Wojciechowski described the church building as a public space for gathering with a very specific program (1927). The church was not merely an architectural and urban object. The role and function of the church was tied tightly to personal sensibilities and community formation. In his eyes most Polish people attended mass every week and were surrounded by the inhabitants of their neighbourhood as they listened to the teachings of the preacher. This instilled the conviction of the righteousness of the pastoral power and an assumption that it operates to support the concern for one's own self before and after death. The role of the Catholic Church in developing relations was undoubtedly a powerful force and one which, in spite of the denial of archbishops, shaped the civic and political landscape of Poland in the inter-War period. According to Foucault, pastoral power relies on convincing the subject that it is in their best interest to subjugate themselves (2007, 235). The social aspect of the gathering also made it an important tool in channelling knowledge flows. To miss the mass would be to cut oneself off from the circulation of knowledge. The teachings and leadership of the pastors as well as the parish generated a very particular version of Foucault's secular soul.



Fig. 3.11 A typical formal dining table in a Polish household; circa: 1918-1939  
(unknown author) NAC photography archive

By the 1930s, the relationship with the sacred was so embedded within Polish culture that it had a representation in every house in the key place of the residence. The place was usually over a dinner table (Figure 3.11, the image of the crowned lady on the right hand side of the photo) and over every threshold in the house.

In 1930 the competition for the design of *The Temple of Divine Providence* gained unprecedented attention. Issues 9 and 10 of *Architecture and Construction* were devoted to the competition entries. The entries were not critiqued by the journal, however comments made by the judging panel were published. No prize was awarded as the panel did not consider any of the entries to be good enough, however several architects were awarded an equivalent prize and some were granted honourable mentions. The competition was announced on 17 March 1921 by the Polish government (unknown author 1930). The entries were varied in style and layout which suggests a far reaching liberty of understanding of the typology.

In spite of maintaining some common features which relate to the tradition of sacred designs, the form in each design entry differed greatly. The grandeur of all entries resembled that of the Palace of the Soviets project by Boris Iofan. The buildings were not attuned to the scale of the human body and were overbearing in scale. It could be understood that they were designed to be public manifestations of power, demanding a certain civic gravitas of habituality in the civic. Whilst the devotion to the Church was both a bottom up and top down movement it also demonstrated the complex organisation of hierarchies. Most of the designs originated with a Classical organisation in plan with a procession to the altar and aisles on each side however it would seem that this was subject to the architects' interpretation and evolution throughout the design process. The sectional relations of the edifices were also open to interpretation. Even the orthodox notion of the symmetry of entrance promenade was subverted in some submissions.

The sectional line denoting the height of the interiors signified different hierarchies which the architects' seem to have addressed. Some expressed the significance of the altar by placing the location below a tower and some chose to give more importance to the entrance gateway, making the entrance of the edifice a significant part of the composition of the city. In each case the building stood as iconic within the urban grid and constitutes an important aspect of the public space. The diversity in the form of the designs suggest a lack of unified understanding of the sacred.

The following is a representation of three of the 58 submissions to the competition (unknown author 1930 323). These were chosen to represent the variety of architectural ideologies with which the architects approached the brief. The first was drafted by architect Bohdan Pniewski, the second by Jan Witkiewicz and the third by Jan Karzewski.

The first example (Figures 3.12-3.18) bears features of the neo-gothic style.



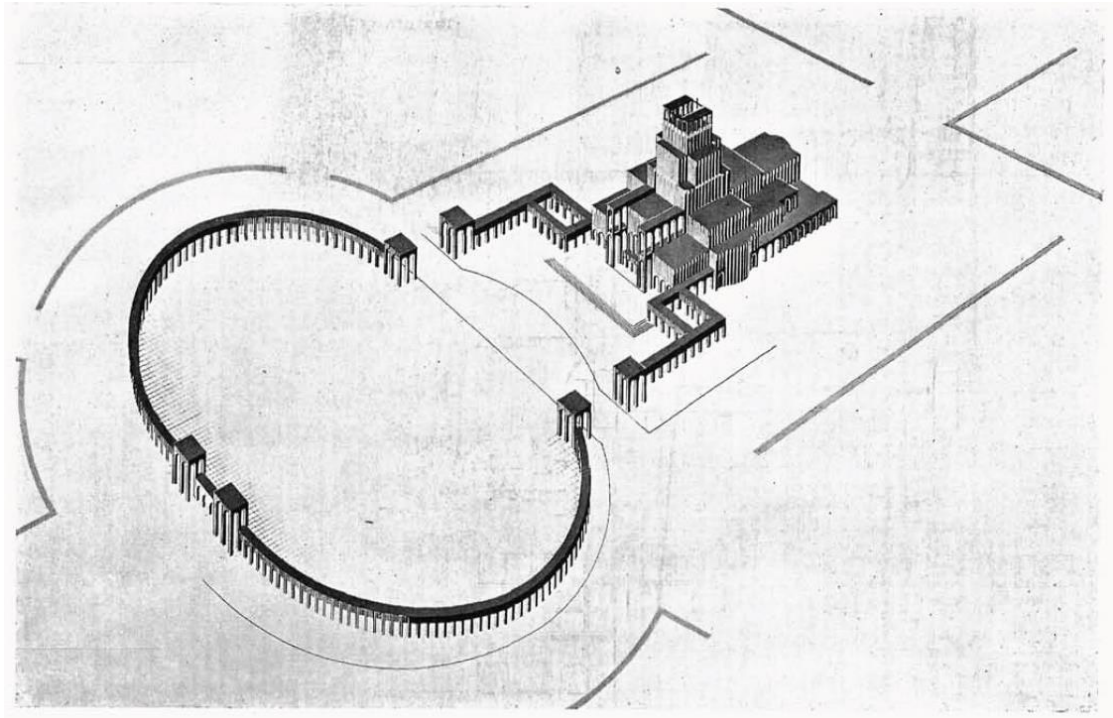


Fig. 3.12 Temple of Divine Providence in Warsaw by Pniewski; the axonometric bird's eye-view of the design (Pniewski 1930 329)

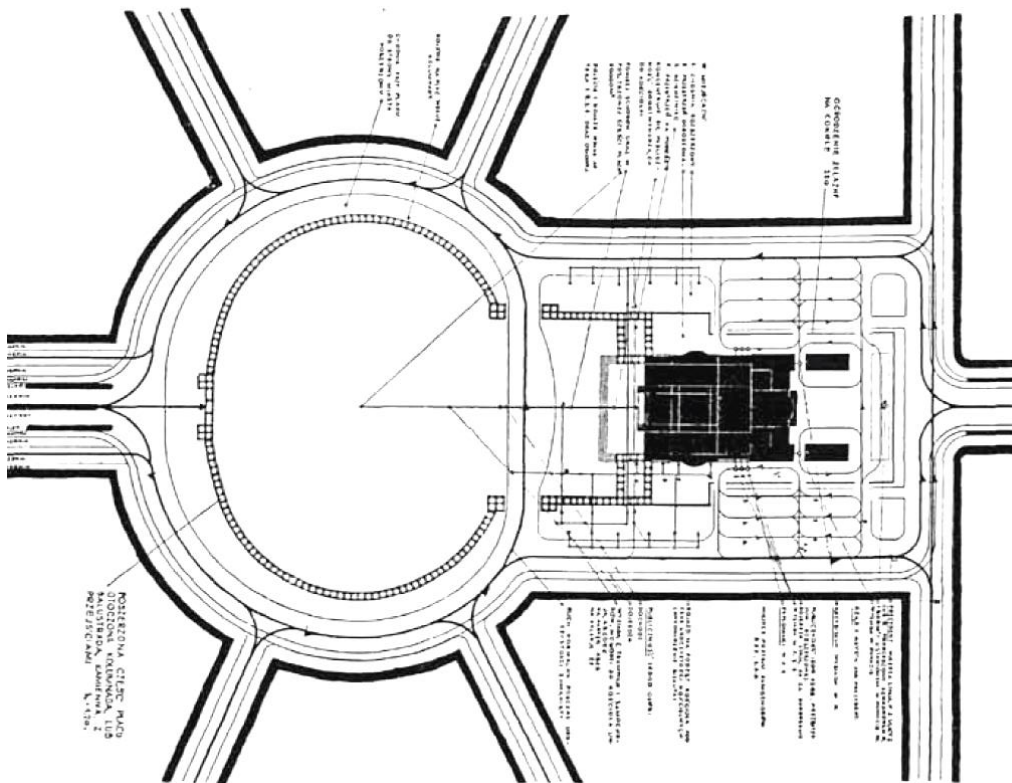
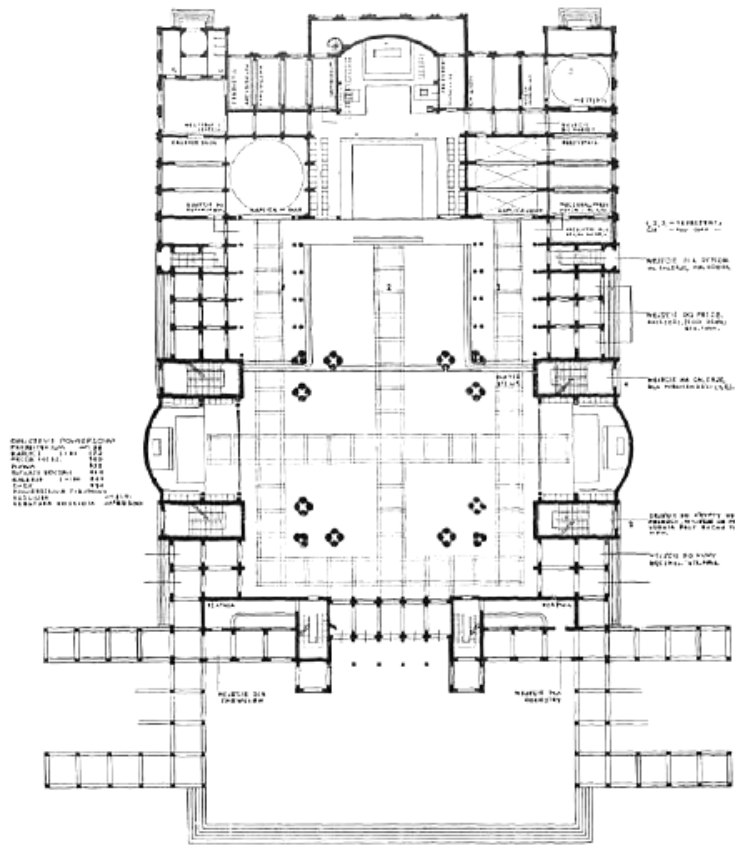
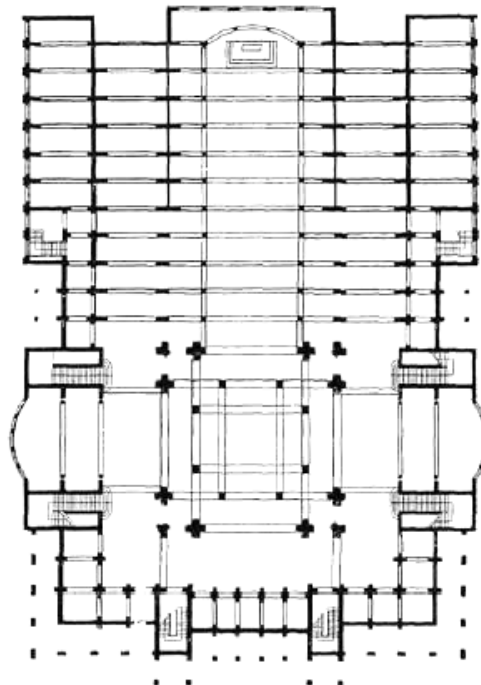


Fig. 3.13 Temple of Divine Providence in Warsaw by Pniewski; the massing of the building with some context (Pniewski 1930 329)



Rzut parteru 1:800.



Krypta 1:800.

Fig. 3.14 Temple of Divine Providence in Warsaw by Pniewski; the plans of the building's ground floor and crypt (Pniewski 1930 330)

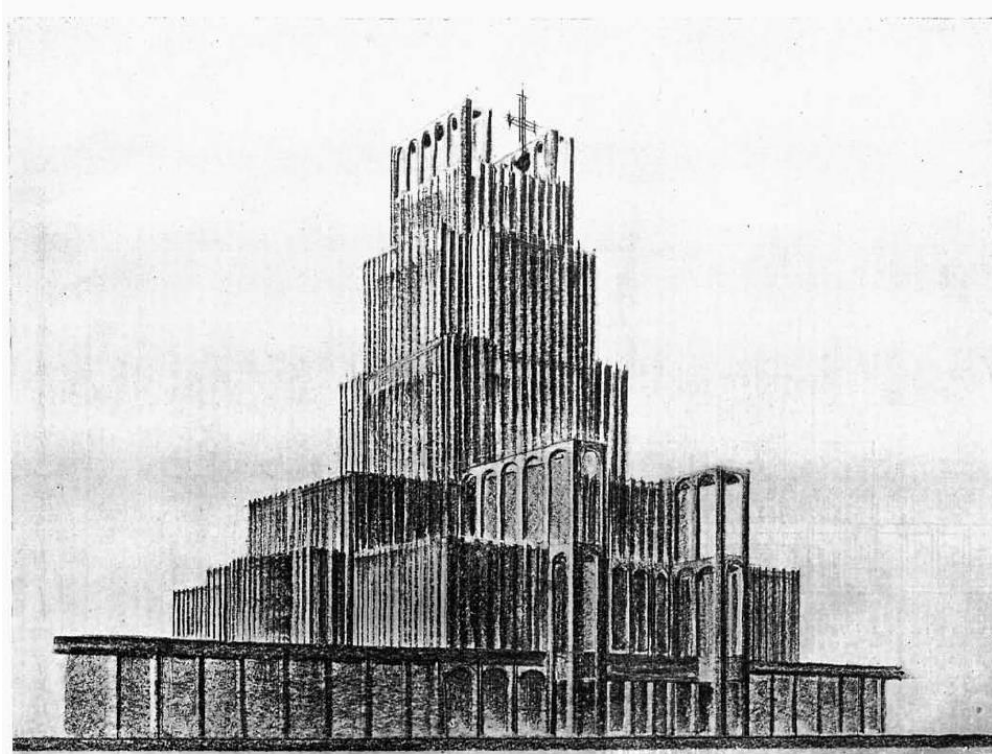
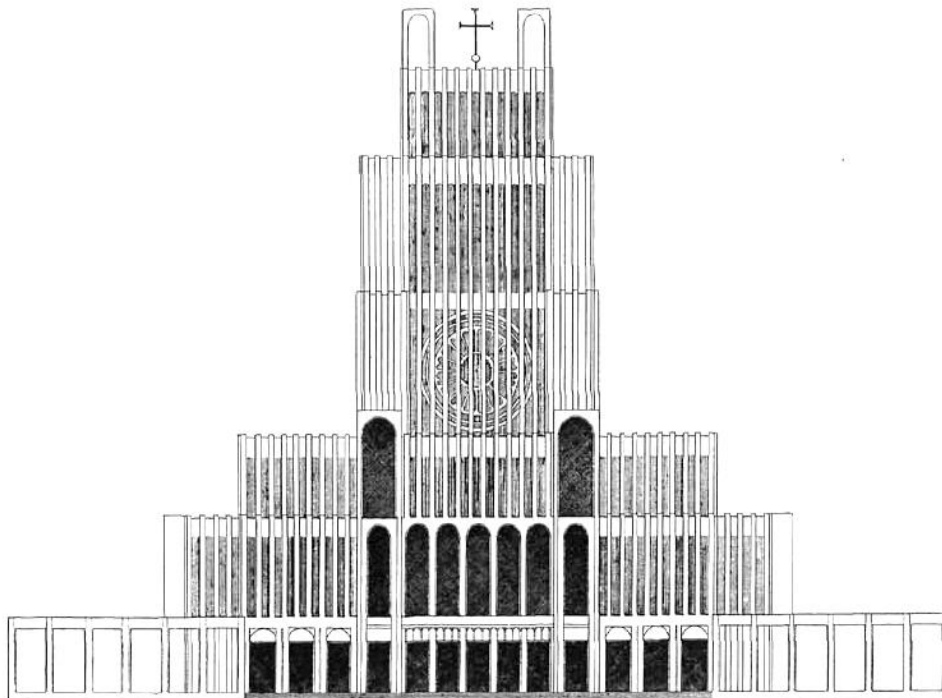
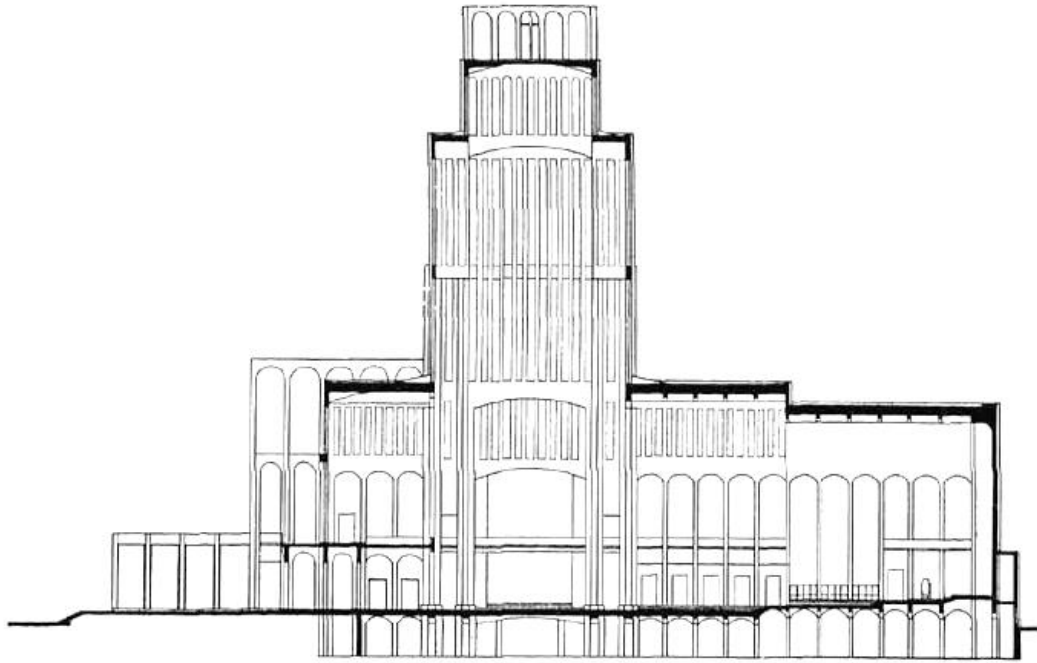


Fig. 3.15 Temple of Divine Providence in Warsaw by Pniewski; the perspective of the building (Pniewski 1930 331)



Elewacja przednia 1:800.

Fig. 3.16 Temple of Divine Providence in Warsaw by Pniewski; the front elevation of the building (Pniewski 1930 330)



Przekrój. 1:800.

Fig. 3.17 Temple of Divine Providence in Warsaw by Pniewski; the Section of the building (Pniewski 1930 332)

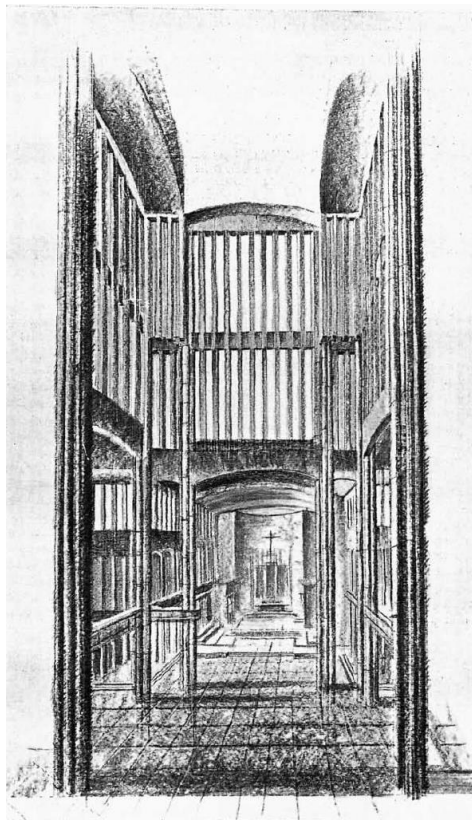


Fig. 3.18 Temple of Divine Providence in Warsaw by Pniewski; the interior perspective of the building (Pniewski 1930 333)

The first mentioned entry, by Pniewski, received an equivalent prize and represents a neo-Gothic style with a hint of neo-Romanesque expression in the external colonnades. As seen in the plan, the axis of the building is typical for traditional cathedral designs denoted by an entrance and the altar (dividing the building symmetrically via its longitudinal axis). The plan is bulky but traces of traditional design moves are noticeable, such as the vague demarcating of aisles and the presence of a transept. The axis leads from the entrance and carries the inhabitant along a processional route via a vertical expansion of the space denoted by a high tower to the altar and a darker space. The interior space is illuminated from all sides by windows framed by structural elements expressing the tectonics of the building. The whole composition appears light weight and airy from the inside, however the outside creates an impression of weight and detachment from the site. There is little relationship between the building and the urban context apart from an awkward colonnade which the judging panel was concerned about. The building dominates the locality by its mass and uncompromising geometry, however for a temple of its stature it seems to be appropriate. As a building that is attempting to fit into an urban context, though, it is an awkward design move. The panel reports that '[t]he project successfully combines the momentous character of the edifice with the church character and suggests a noble upper silhouette, of which the proportions – although much too fragmented [...] are situated very well' (feedback protocol of competition 1930, 325).<sup>4</sup>

The members of the panel also note that the situation in the context is good as it allows everyday usage of the public space denoted by the building as well as its use during large ceremonies. The panel also notes that the plan has undecided proportions and 'unpleasantly' distributed pillars.

The following design (Figures 3.19-3.24) is an example of Expressionist architecture.

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<sup>4</sup> Projekt łączy szczęśliwie pomnikowy charakter budowli z charakterem kościelnym i zaleca się szlachetną sylwetą ogólną, której proporcje — pomimo zbytniego rozdrobnienia mas (co uderza zwłaszcza w rysunku perspektywicznym) — są ustosunkowane b. dobrze.

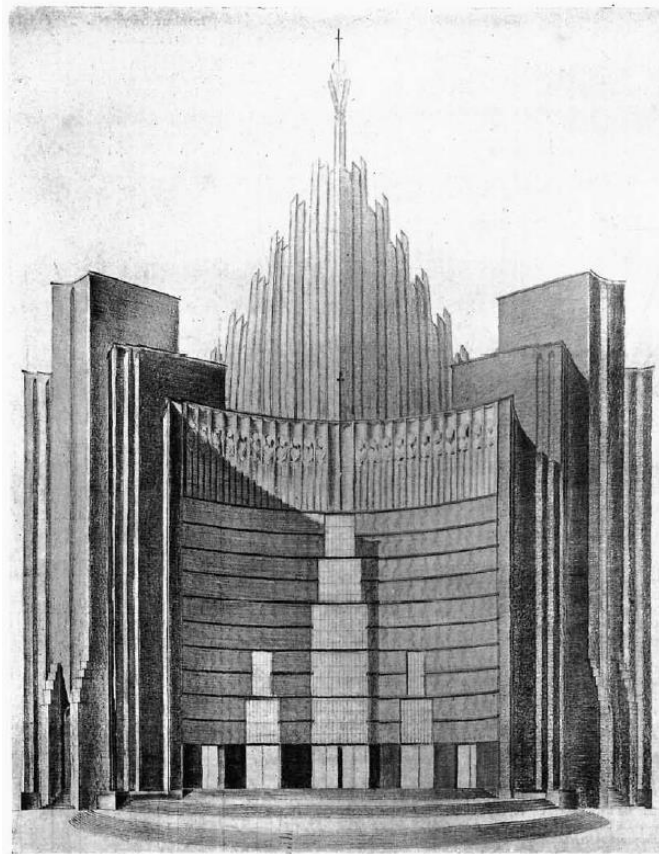


Fig. 3.19 Temple of Divine Providence in Warsaw by Witkiewicz; the Elevation of the building  
(Witkiewicz 1930 339)

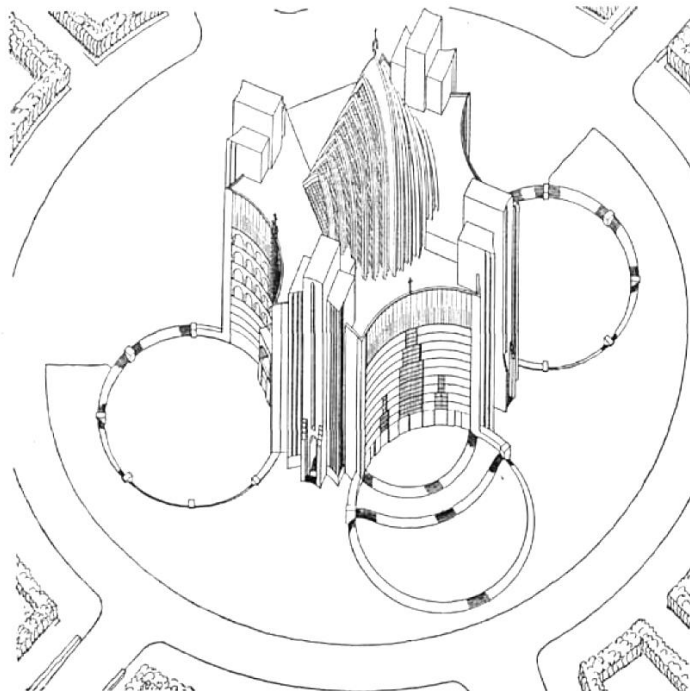


Fig. 3.20 Temple of Divine Providence in Warsaw by Witkiewicz; the axonometric of the  
building (Witkiewicz 1930 340)

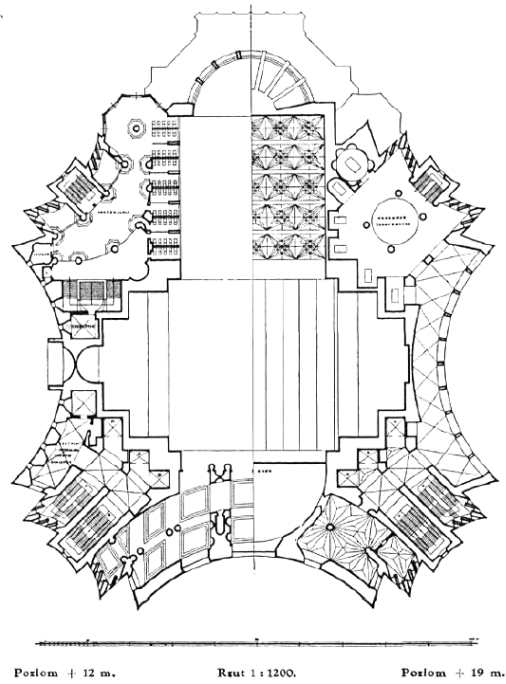


Fig. 3.21 Temple of Divine Providence in Warsaw by Witkiewicz; the first floor and ceiling plan of the building (Witkiewicz 1930 340)

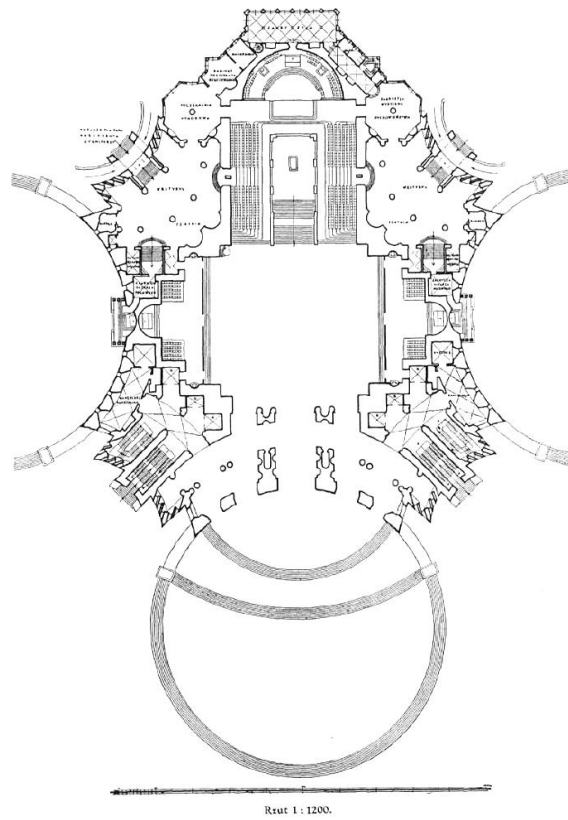


Fig. 3.22 Temple of Divine Providence in Warsaw by Witkiewicz; the ground floor plan of the building (Witkiewicz 1930 341)

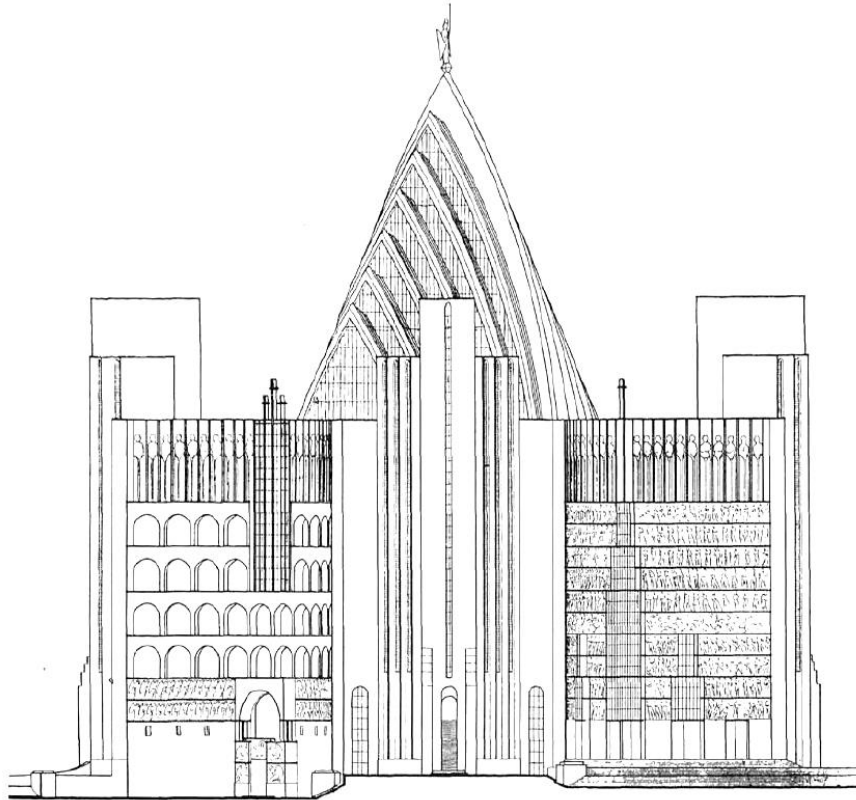


Fig. 3.23 Temple of Divine Providence in Warsaw by Witkiewicz; the elevation of the building  
(Witkiewicz 1930 342)

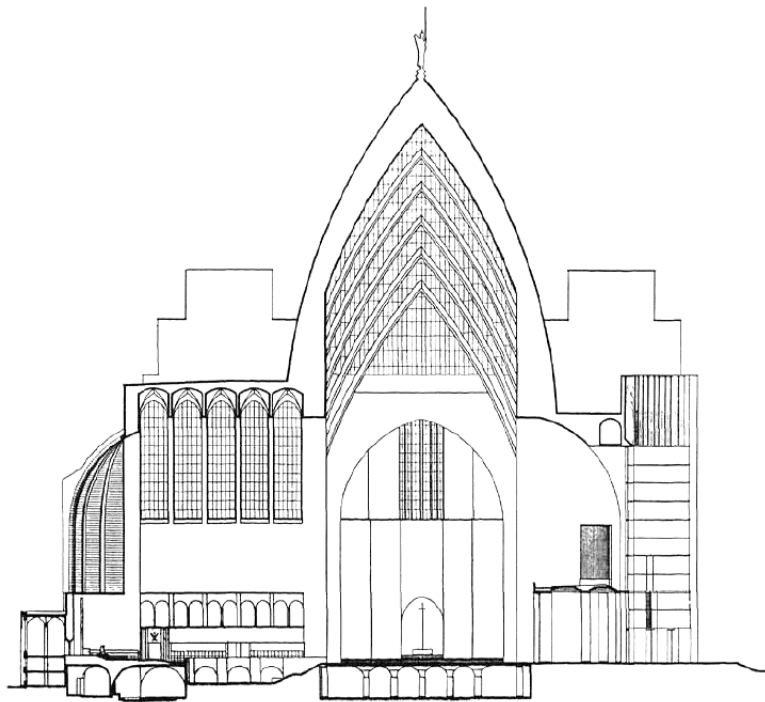


Fig. 3.24 Temple of Divine Providence in Warsaw by Witkiewicz; the section of the building  
(Witkiewicz 1930 343)



This submission is by architect Jan Witkiewicz and was also given an equivalent prize. This entry presents Secessionist features by breaking with the normative axially of entrance and approach. The arrangement of the space generates a sense of a centre over the altar signifying its presence on a civic scale. There is still a processional route which retains the altar's withdrawn position from the periphery. The exterior of the project seems to be privileged with little organic relationship to the interior spaces. The building denotes four spaces outside, which can be used for ceremonies. The three entrances are placed off the axis of the longest road leading to the site of the intervention. This move takes away the hierarchy of a traditional procession leading to the altar making it accessible and inclusive. The architectural language is Expressionist but lacks slenderness in spite of being crowned with a spiked roof as seen in the section. The architectural language of the church is an amalgamation of Modernism and Baroque where the plan creates an image of wealth and abundance and the section resonates with the dynamics of Modern form.

The panel was enthusiastic about the submission's original and individual attitude to the 'brief' (feedback protocol of competition 1930 p326). The project was praised for its monumental qualities and ideological character. The context was commented on as being very well thought through with a clear relationship between the inside and the urban context, by placing bridges leading to key locations in the vicinity and dealing with the vehicle movement by pedestrianising the square.

The panel did not appreciate the shallowness of the dome, nor did it like the sculptural nature of the interior which they considered to be artificially implanted in the buffer spaces without an expression in the urban context.

The next project (Figures 3.25-3.30) is Modernist.



Fig. 3.25 Temple of Divine Providence in Warsaw by Karzewski; the perspective of the building (Karzewski 1930 360)

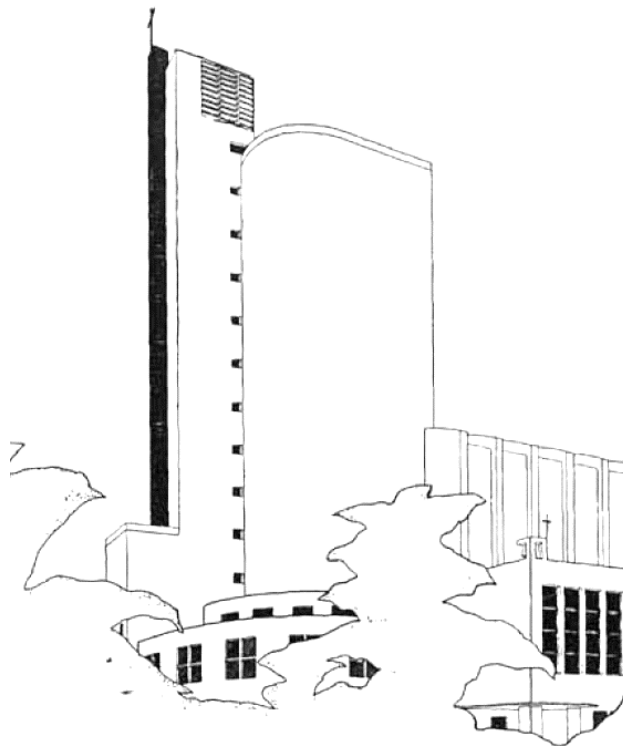


Fig. 3.26 Temple of Divine Providence in Warsaw by Karzewski; the perspective of the building (Karzewski 1930 361)

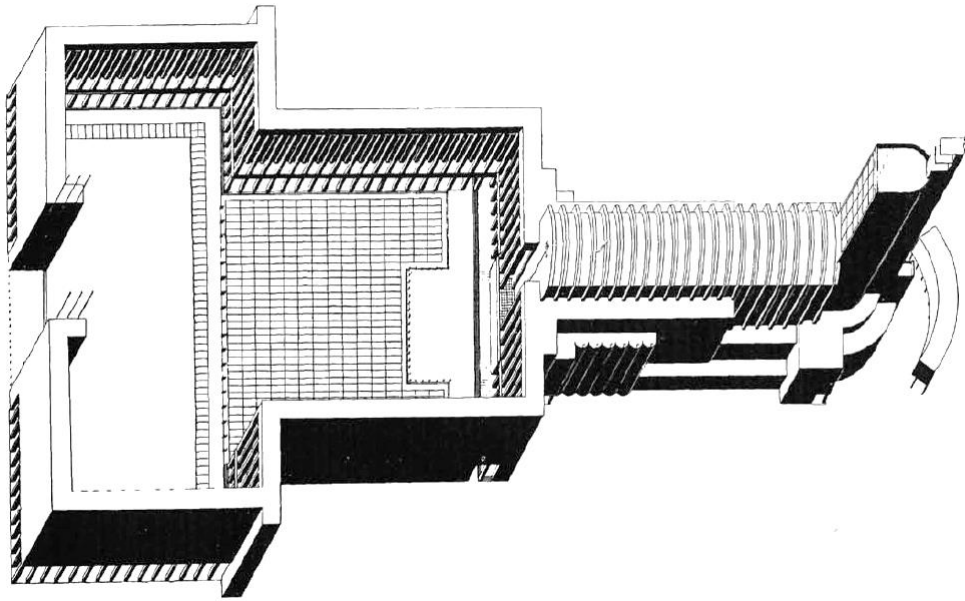


Fig. 3.27 Temple of Divine Providence in Warsaw by Karzewski; the axonometric of the building (Karzewski 1930 361)

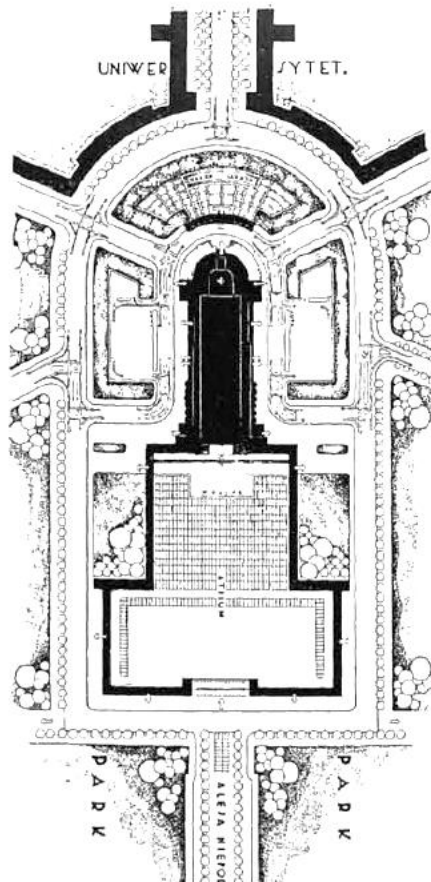


Fig. 3.28 Temple of Divine Providence in Warsaw by Karzewski; the massing in immediate context of the building (Karzewski 1930 362)

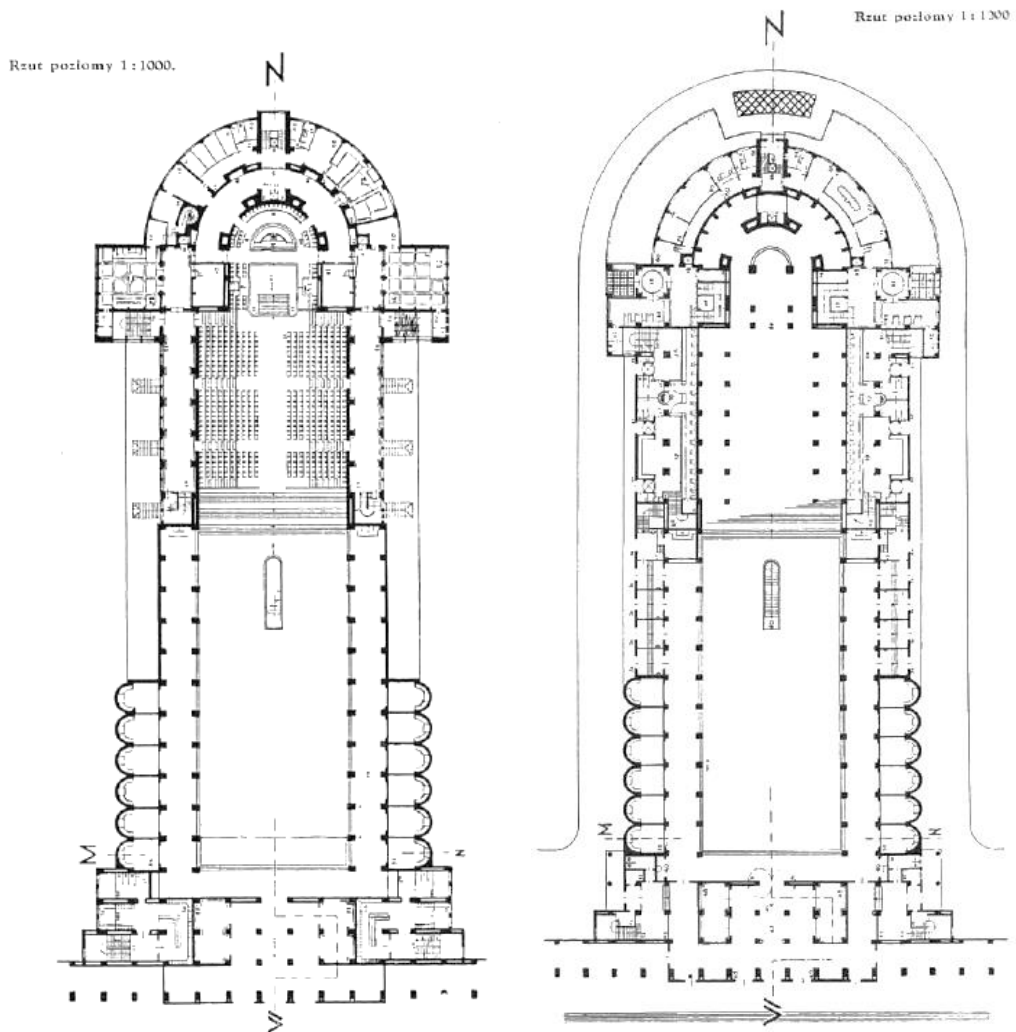


Fig. 3.29 Temple of Divine Providence in Warsaw by Karzewski; the ground and first floor plans of the building (Karzewski 1930 363)

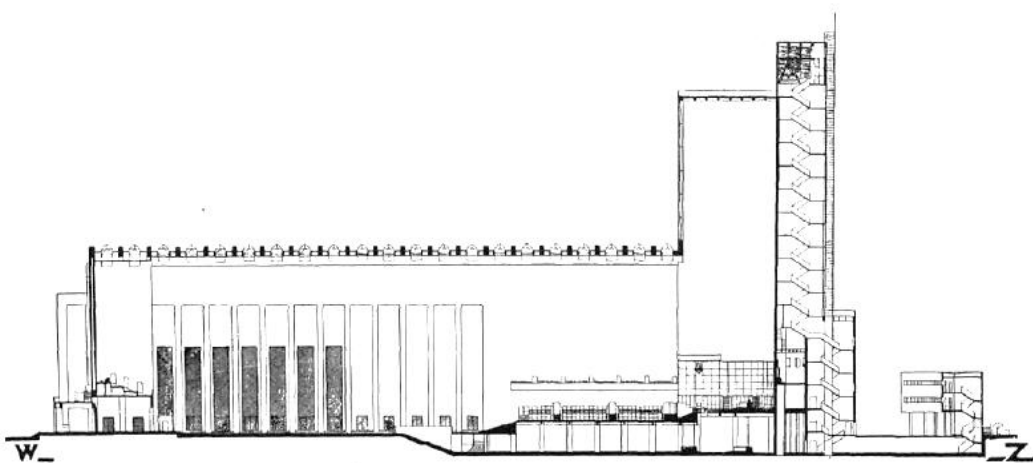


Fig. 3.30 Temple of Divine Providence in Warsaw by Karzewski; the longitudinal section of the building (Karzewski 1930 364)

This entry, by Karzewski, received an honourable mention and was designed according to the ethos of the modernist movement. It does however retain most features of a traditional layout and processional route towards the eucharist. This is enforced by a strong symmetrical axiality of the edifice leading from a square denoted by a colonnade via the entrance, and a route to the altar. The interior route is surrounded by auxiliary chapels and additional circulation paths. The rhythmicity of their appearance suggests a high degree of formalism and regimentation of order. The route is divided into two distinct sections divided by a physical gap that suggests exclusion of the public from the sacrality of the eucharist. The arrangement of circulation and inhabited spaces is functional but exercised little creative development of the brief. The edifice has an industrial character and suggests the typology of a factory in its orthogonal simplicity.

The panel seemed to believe that the relationship of the edifice and the urban circulation was poorly designed (feedback protocol of competition 1930, 327). The building was also criticised on the basis of unnecessary design moves which the panel saw as wasteful. The panel also commented on how the design failed to place enough emphasis on the distinctiveness of the function of the building, that is, that the architectural language represented an industrial building and not a temple.

The panel valued creative approaches and novel solutions, however they did not appreciate the devaluing of the edifice in the urban context. For the panel, the presence of the building and its urban image were very important. This is what may have been to the detriment of Karzewski's project and the strength of submissions made by Witkiewicz and Pniowski. The panel did not have a preference to the architectural language even in the case of Witkiewicz's Secessional entry which broke with the tradition of the Church. The judgement was more to do with the practicalities of the building in the urban context and the distinctiveness of the entries signifying the importance of church building for the Polish society. This signified the prominent place of the Church as an organisation in the civic or social and political life of the Polish people.

The power/knowledge network of Poland was in flux however the 'self' could always reflect *itself* against the principles of the sacred. No matter how disorderly the civic relations were, the ethical framework was expected to be consistent. This was due to the weekly meetings with the pastor in church as well as meetings with fellow-members of the parish in the sacred space. The years of distress which isolated the parishes and detached them from the hierarchy of the Vatican. The power relation was much closer to the body, much more sensuous and much more attuned with the individual needs of the members of its parish. The mass of people engaging in the liturgy created an affect which resonated with

Catholic beliefs and the righteousness of clerical preaching. The Polish secular soul was thus attuned to become synchronous with the rhythms of the Church. The presence of the parish in the operation of the self regulated its expression in accordance with the teachings of the scripture as interpreted by the priest. Agamben, who writes on the notion of the presence of the self amongst others, claims that the space for defining oneself requires a doubling of space for the presence of another so that the self in question can juxtapose itself against that which it is not (1993). This doubling of space for the definition of the self of which Agamben spoke for the Polish culture encompassed the divine and interlocked with the icon and Catholic ritual. The catechism of the Catholic Church often implores one to read the holy Bible in a simplistic way and consider one's own life in the context of the 'plot'. Because of the simplicity of this approach it was accessible, and its apparent rhizomal quality seemed non-threatening to the Polish culture. This created an inclusive group of individuals interested in the same concept but interpreting it in various ways, and as a result the Polish people themselves lifted the edifice of the Church to the same level and rank as the Palace of the Soviets had in Moscow. It was an extrusion of the sacred, a meeting place for people sharing the same ethical frontiers. In spite of the implied importance and hierarchy the interpretation of the sacred in Poland was extremely diverse, and such diversity was clearly represented in the entries of the competition. Even though the architecture was never realised on site this competition informs of the way the Polish architects saw the public space with respect to hierarchies. The profession seems to have retained liberty of interpretation but held the Catholic Church in great esteem.

#### **3.2.4 The value of individual opinion in the cultural stream of 20<sup>th</sup> century Poland**

This subsection of the chapter presents the case of the acceptability of subjective voices in Poland. It does so by presenting the confident implementation of a new Neo-vernacular style on the Southern borders of the country and the diversity of political views expressed in a publication of *Architecture and Construction*. It is this confidence that may represent a key difference between the Soviet version of the self and the image of the self in Poland. Polish architects often criticised old and established ways of designing and developed novel architectural styles. This was made possible by a culture which nurtured what Foucault would refer to as the 'Knowledgeable man' (1995, 305): a lack of a singular concept of citizenry defining what a conceptual personae should be.

There is considerable evidence that Polish architects nurtured individuality and independence. The overriding affect of liberation and self-assurance directed the interest of Polish architects towards the newly-forming architectural theories within the country and abroad. *Architecture and Construction* presented opportunities to express conflicting opinions. There is clear evidence in that journal that the contributors valued openness to

the novel architectural concepts and stylistic variation. Architecture discussed in the journal may have represented a wider trend in Poland.

The opportunity to present in the journal was open to a wide range of opinions from across the political spectrum. The voices of the Polish people were always contested and challenged however never silenced. This atmosphere fostered an organic growth and evolution of the power/knowledge network. The plurality of acceptance was also present in architectural projects which explicitly reflected the state of the government. Two opposing political factions were represented in *Architecture and Construction*. One was aimed at reflecting the far left wing of the political spectrum by discussing the notion of social housing using Marxist phrases (Syrkus 1928). The other was represented by the atmosphere accompanying the death of General Józef Klemens Piłsudski (an alleged Polish hero and patriot) in 1935 who was an icon for the right wing political spectrum (*Architecture and Construction*, issues 3 and 4 1935). The knowledge circulation was liberated and each individual opinion could be heard; Foucault would say that the 'knowledgeable man' was constrained only by societal factors and no overpowering, political hierarchy. Both political factions were represented and had the chance to have an impact on architecture by being voiced.

Szymon Syrkus writes about Witold Witkiewicz's project that was to house a significant number of people in a large tower block embracing a Marxist notion of communality (Syrkus 1928). This would be a workers' house equipped with luxurious amenities such as a lecture theatre and a swimming pool so that every worker could benefit from the wealth of the nation (Fig. 3.31). This building and the positive way it was described shows the affordance of the Polish architectural circles to accept such a philosophy next to ones that clearly aligned themselves with allegiance to capitalism.

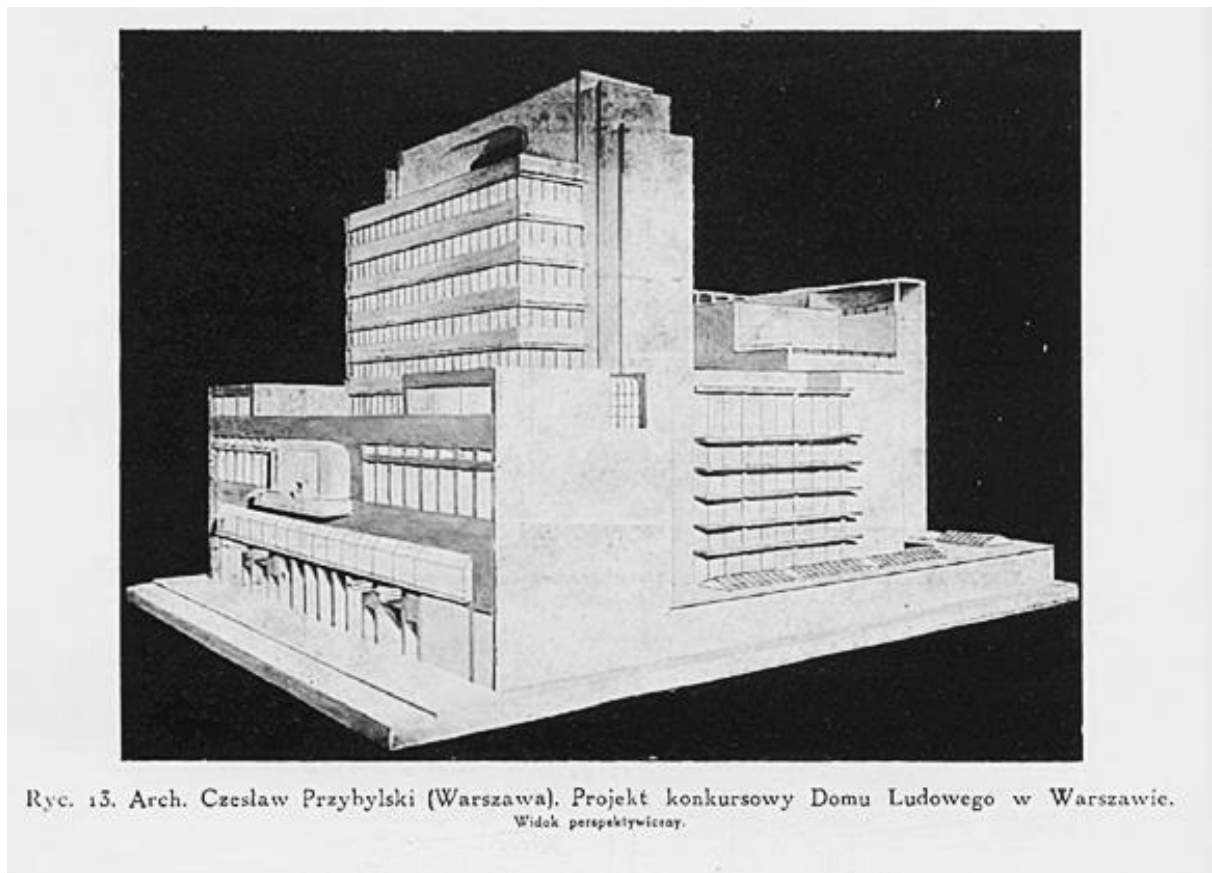
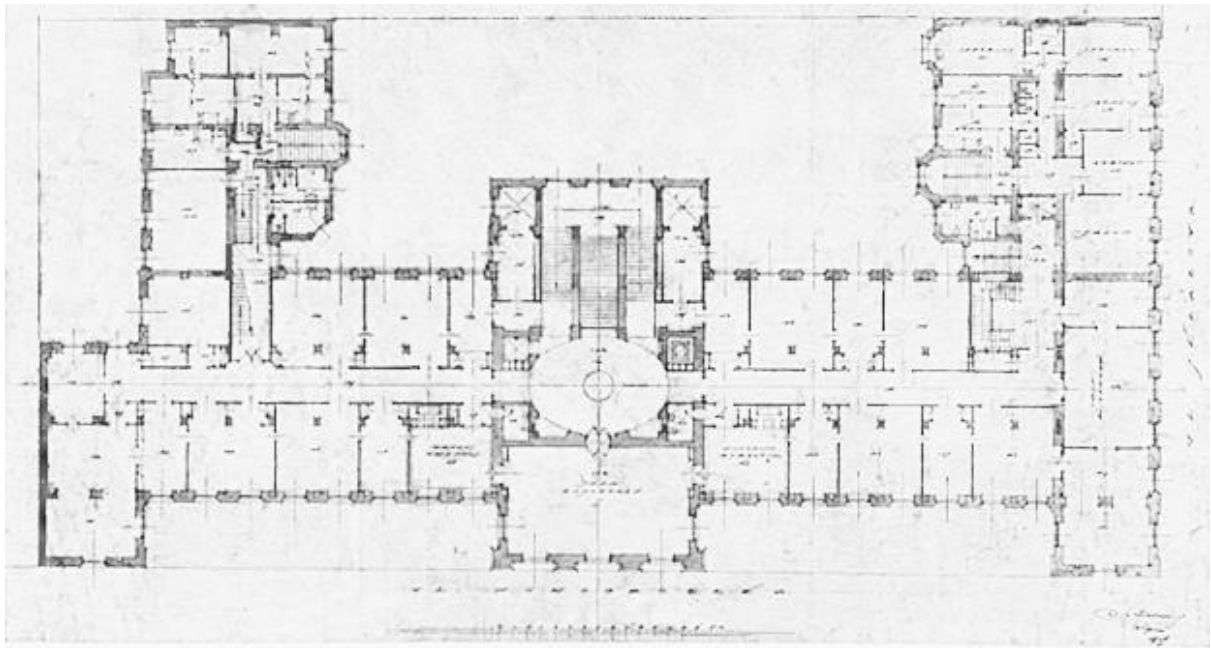


Fig. 3.31 Marxist housing project (Syrkus 1928, 284)

A representation of an architectural example of the opposing views in the political spectrum is the design for the National Agricultural Bank in Warsaw by Marian Lalewicz (Wędziagolski 1928). The design is clearly Neo-classical and expresses signs of exclusivity by directing several routes of circulation. One is facing the entrance, presumably for the public, who did not know the building, and one is on the periphery of each wing in the building, presumably for the workers of the bank. This implies an exclusivity in the way the bank operates.

The openness of the information flows allowed for far-reaching criticism. Lalewicz's design was discussed by Wędziagolski, who analyses a neo-classical edifice (Figure 3.32-3.34) (ibid.). In his opinion the symmetry and classical rhythms of the building are conservative and do not leave any room for creativity. Neo-classicism, in Wędziagolski's opinion, is dishonest as it does not express the design capacity of the architect of the building in an evident way. In his article Wędziagolski presents his disapproval of the style in spite of the established order in which Neo-Classicism was used extensively at the time, in Warsaw, for buildings with a mostly municipal and commercial character. The liberty of disagreeing with the established order of Warsaw as the capital set the scene for a debate and opened the debate to subversivity within the Polish architectural movement.

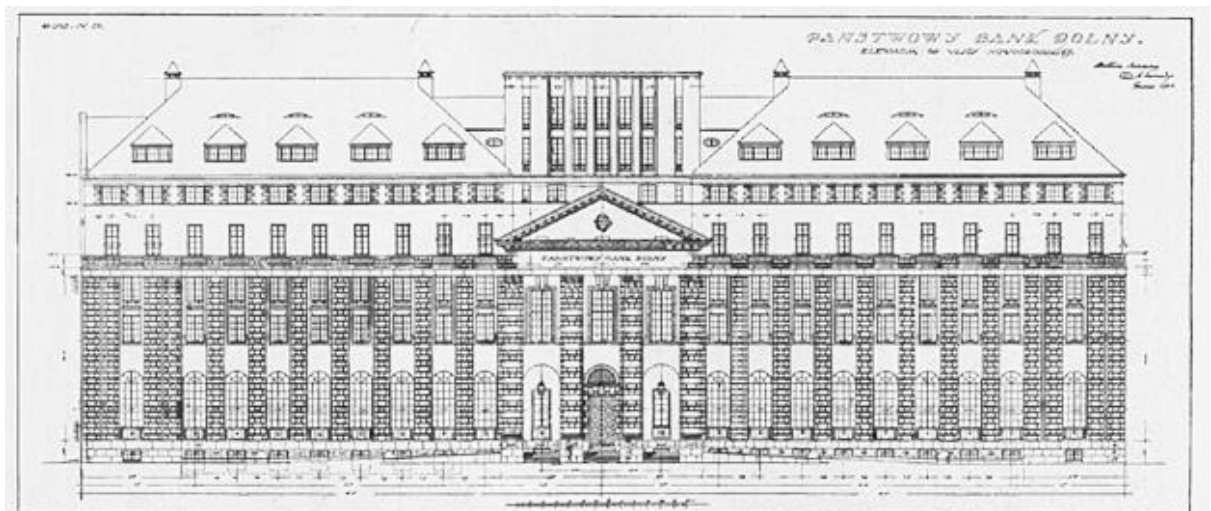




Plan 1 piętra.

Ryc. 6 i 7. Arch. Marjan Lalewicz (Warszawa). Gmach Państwowego Banku Rolnego w Warszawie.

Fig. 3.32 The plan of the building (Wędziagolski 1928 324)



Ryc. 5. Arch. Marjan Lalewicz (Warszawa).

Gmach Państwowego Banku Rolnego w Warszawie.

Widok od ul. Nowogrodzkiej.

Fig. 3.33 The elevation of the building (Wędziagolski 1928 323)

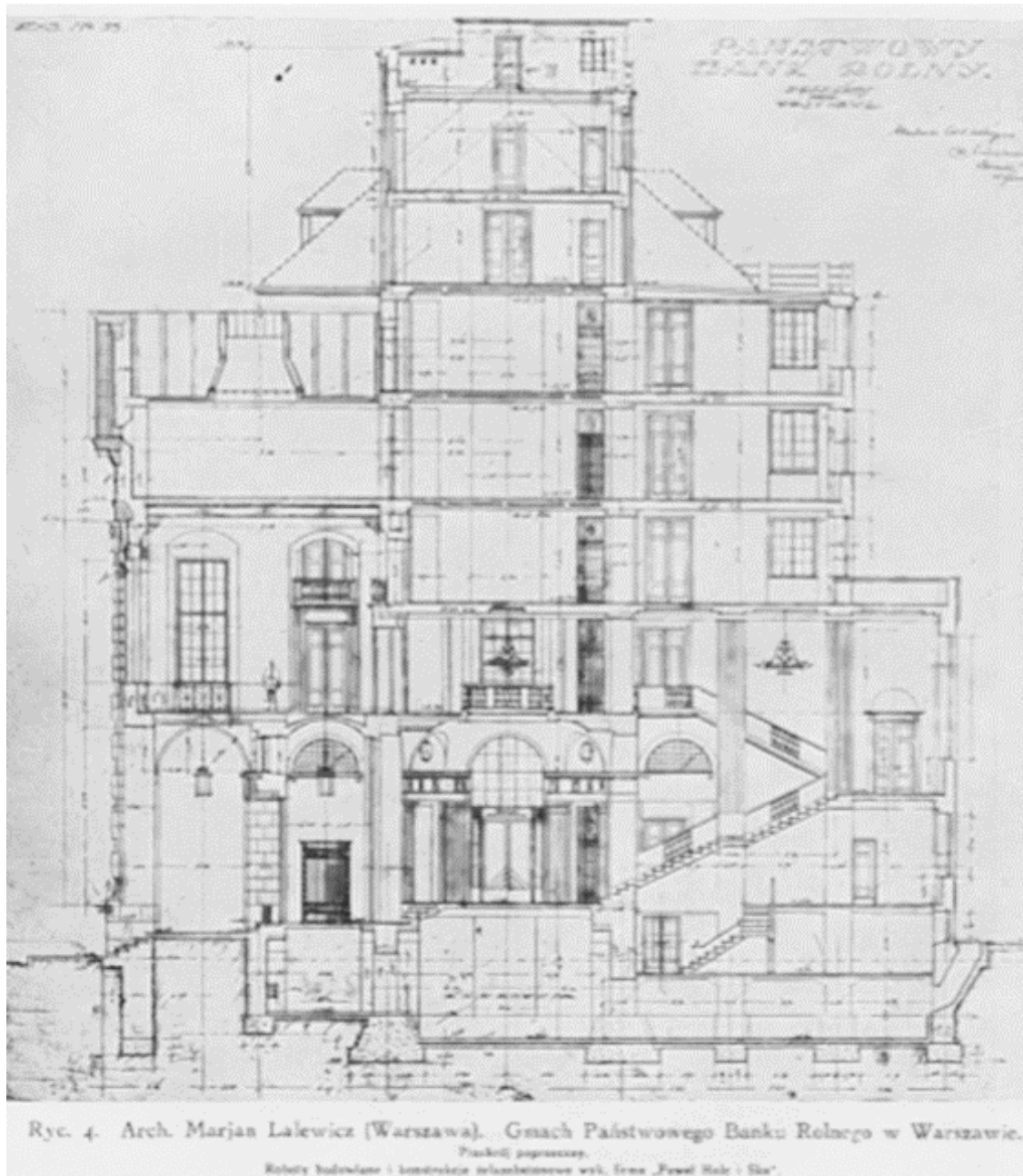


Fig. 3.34 The section of the building (Wędziągowski 1928 322)

A key example of the strength of personal convictions might be the confidence of development of a newly emerging style on the southern borders of Poland. In an article called 'Scout and tourist retreat in Kostrzenica, Czarnohóra' (Harcerskie schronisko turystyczne na Kostrzycy w Czarnohórze) published in 1936, Jerzy Żukowski evaluates the emerging Neo-vernacular style being developed on the southern border of Poland in the Tatry Mountain chain (Żukowski 1936). The style was conceived in Warsaw and implemented as a holiday retreat for the wealthy citizens of the capital as a reaction to the city's formal and orderly character. Contrary to the prevailing style of municipal buildings in

Warsaw, which were discussed in numerous issues of the journal, the new Neo-vernacular style represents liberation from the classical orders. Żukowski notes that the style was much more site-specific and responds to its location much more intimately than buildings in Warsaw. It retained a pitched roof geometry and the external appearance which signifies its contextuality within the landscape of the mountain chain but the planning and sectionality is much more liberated.

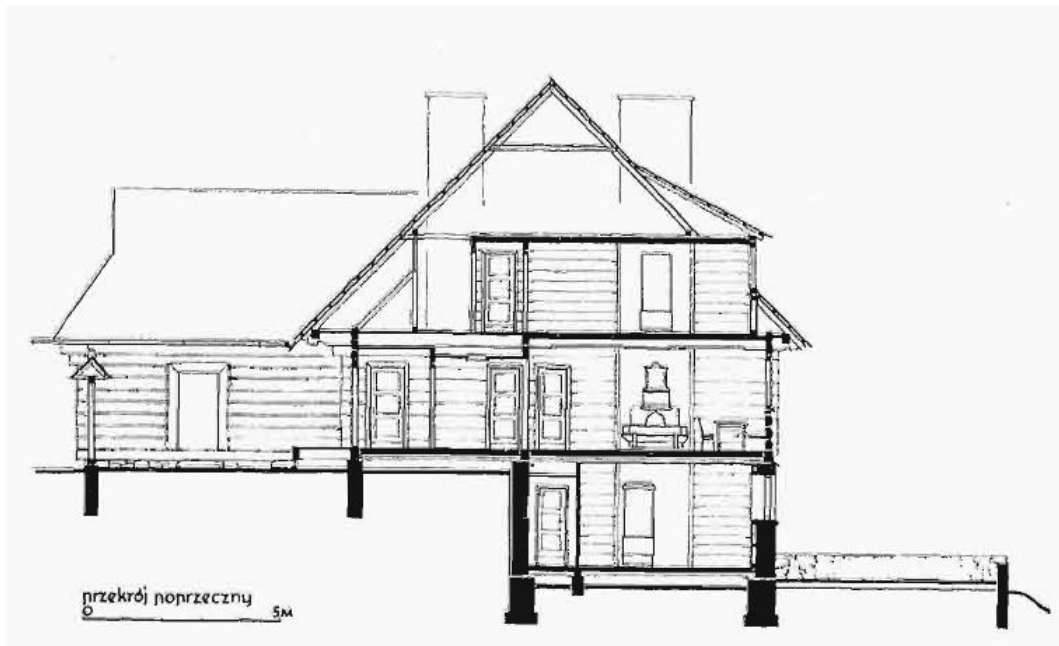


Fig. 3.35 Own sketch showing the view and approach to the interior and the section of the building (Żukowski 1936, 211)



Fig. 3.36 The section of the building (Żukowski 1936, 209)

The plan of the building is based on a courtyard, as most Neo-vernacular buildings of the region were. The section however is very developed. As Figure 3.35 shows, the first floor and the attic are mezzanine levels which overlook the entrance. What is also important to note is that the building takes advantage of the view by means of a large window facing the entrance. One of the key moves in the retreat is the basement level which, due to the nature of the site, is also facing the view of the hills and forms the key space in the whole composition; both warm and secure but at the same time offering a grand view of the context.

The confidence of exploring the new style implies the strength of the 'knowledgeable man' aspect of the 'self', which rejected a singular authority and felt free to explore intensities of what felt right to the individual. It can be argued that this was a result of the allowance of the Polish culture for not confining (and even supporting) diversified individualism and its expression in the civic debates. The negotiation for space, in this respect, was free. The individual opinion in the Polish cultural flow was free to be developed even if it represented a non-normative approach. As Foucault writes '[t]he knowledgeable man is the object-effect of [...] analytical investment, of this domination-observation' (Foucault 1995, 305). Foucault also refers to the 'knowledgeable man' as consciousness or individual: without it the body of the citizen would only follow the regulations of law but with it, the citizen can challenge the norm and become a counter-conductive entity. Developing a new architectural style is an example of such a counter-conduct.

During the inter-War period the Polish architects seemed interested in developing their own subjective understanding of spatial design, to demonstrate the openness of the architectural community to new styles and ways of thinking of the period. It allowed each architect to develop a personal attitude towards site and context. The approaches ranged from Neo-classicism to Neo-vernacularism. They scrutinised philosophies and approaches internally as well as abroad.

### **3.2.5 The Space of the traditional Polish Body**

This subsection explores the imbalances of gender-representation in vernacular architecture and media. By doing so I link the notions normally associated with gender representation with the weakness of the urban-oriented architecture and public presence in late 20<sup>th</sup> century Poland. This is done by analysing the public and private spaces in vernacular architecture, which was not likely to have been influenced by foreign input. The research in this section analyses the aspects of life which were seen as indispensable by the vernacular builders. Due to scarcity of means the vernacular builders addressed the cultural definition of the most prominent necessities of life. Thus, vernacular structures (that dominated the Polish landscape) give an indication of the core of Polish culture. The exploration gives an image of lack of strong definition in the traditional way of understanding of the Polish public personae. The tendency was, rather, to prefer a matriarchal social organisation, based on food-processing, which found its place in the interiors (especially the kitchen). Thus the image of the Polish body here is presented with respect to gender, as understood by Beatriz Colomina, who understands interiors to be of a nurturing and protective quality, much more so than the public (1994). The feminine aspect of the social life had a dominant role in Polish culture which, in the 20<sup>th</sup> century was still predominantly agricultural. In contrast its masculine counterpart, which represented the public, was left without a clear definition. When Western-civic models came to dominate the Polish landscape the masculine aspect had to become dominant, however it was not elaborated. The gender division here is based on the divisions of domestic roles in society that were ascribed to biological sex in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century in Poland<sup>5</sup>.

The social structure of Poland at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, before the Second World War, was predominantly agricultural (Philipp 1947) and therefore still valued spaces necessary for food processing and preservation. This would imply a far reaching significance of the kitchen in the residential traditions. It also suggests lack of importance of the civic image of the Polish personae. Hans Philipp writes on logwood architecture in the Polish mountain chain (near Krakow), and states that this particular typology of inhabitation

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<sup>5</sup> It should be noted that by masculine and feminine I mean features of social conduct rather than biological gender.

had no urban or public context and relied on the tectonic capacities of external walls leaving the interior partitions flexible and open to change. Philipp writes: 'In some cases the internal partitions are only roughly planed leaving the grain and colour to display the natural beauty of the timber' (Philipp 1947 15). According to him the only space in the interior which was to remain unchanged was the kitchen. Its inflexible nature was due to the necessity of allowing accessibility to food storage in the basement. This vertical complexity was only developed with respect to the kitchen, and it defined this space as a strong component in the composition of the interior. The trend of emphasising the position of the kitchen in the residential unit has prevailed in the 20<sup>th</sup> century Polish vernacular (ibid.), making it a very well established part of the residential unit, according to which all other spaces had to abide. It would imply that the Polish vernacular was based on the nurturing capacity of feminine spaces and not the masculine public.

My interviewees, who I asked to comment on the most dominant space in the Polish Vernacular households built after the First World War, all pointed to the kitchen (Ewa, Michał, Marcin, Krzysz). They all claim that it was territorialised and governed by the matriarch of the family. The gender roles here would imply that the feminine was devalued but nothing could be further from the truth. Their relations resonate with the stratification in Matejko's painting (*The fall of Poland* Fig 1.2), where women were present and placed in a privileged position overseeing the political process, giving them a silent significance in the civic life. Ewa notes that the

most important [space] was always the kitchen [...] it was a place where the whole family gathered, but mostly women [...] even though the space is not visible from the entrance the presence of the kitchen is clear while walking past it every time you walk anywhere in the house (Ewa Interview 2016).

Ewa suggests that the main entrance to the building was not visible from the public street and was hidden in a defensive way – rejecting its participation in the civic space. Michał confirms that the kitchen was the heart of the house. In his recollection, the kitchen was used by the matriarch for cooking, laundry, bringing up children and sometimes sleeping (Michał Interview 2016). It was also an important transition space to the living room which was 'not used as often'. Marcin, who is a structural engineer, notes that the kitchen was also used as a space generating heat for the entire household, conjuring images of sustaining the warmth of the hearth for the family (Marcin Interview 2016).

This followed in the way the body of a Polish citizen was represented in public. The feminine was always shown as a dominant element (as seen in Fig 3.37, a poster advertising sugar), in the interior, and with broad shoulders and strong arms, conversely, the masculine did not have a fixed image and was free to be interpreted in a number of ways, even as a lampoon of the human condition.

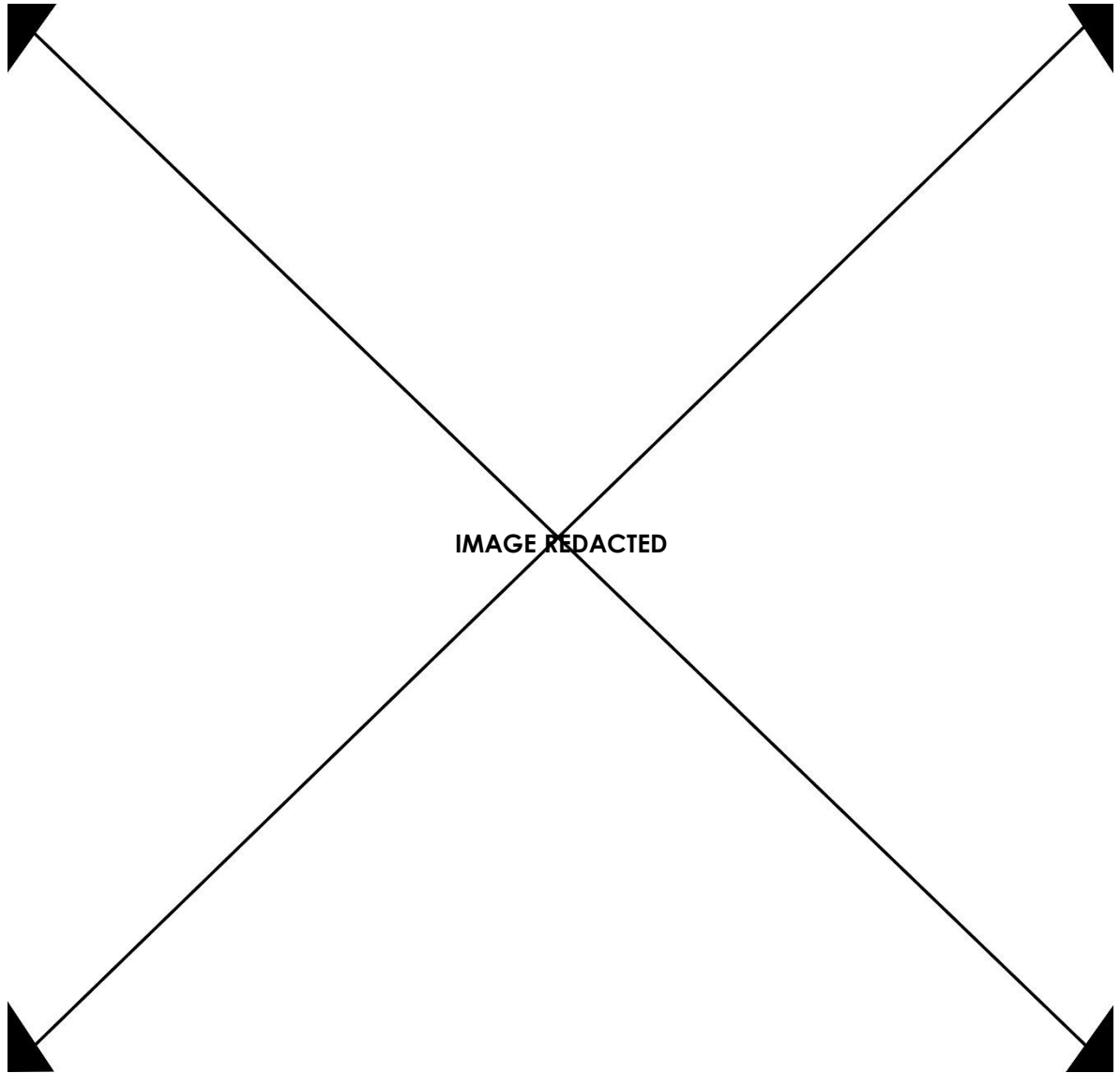


Fig 3.37 representation of woman in a commercial ad from Poland inter-War period (historic archive in Lublin)

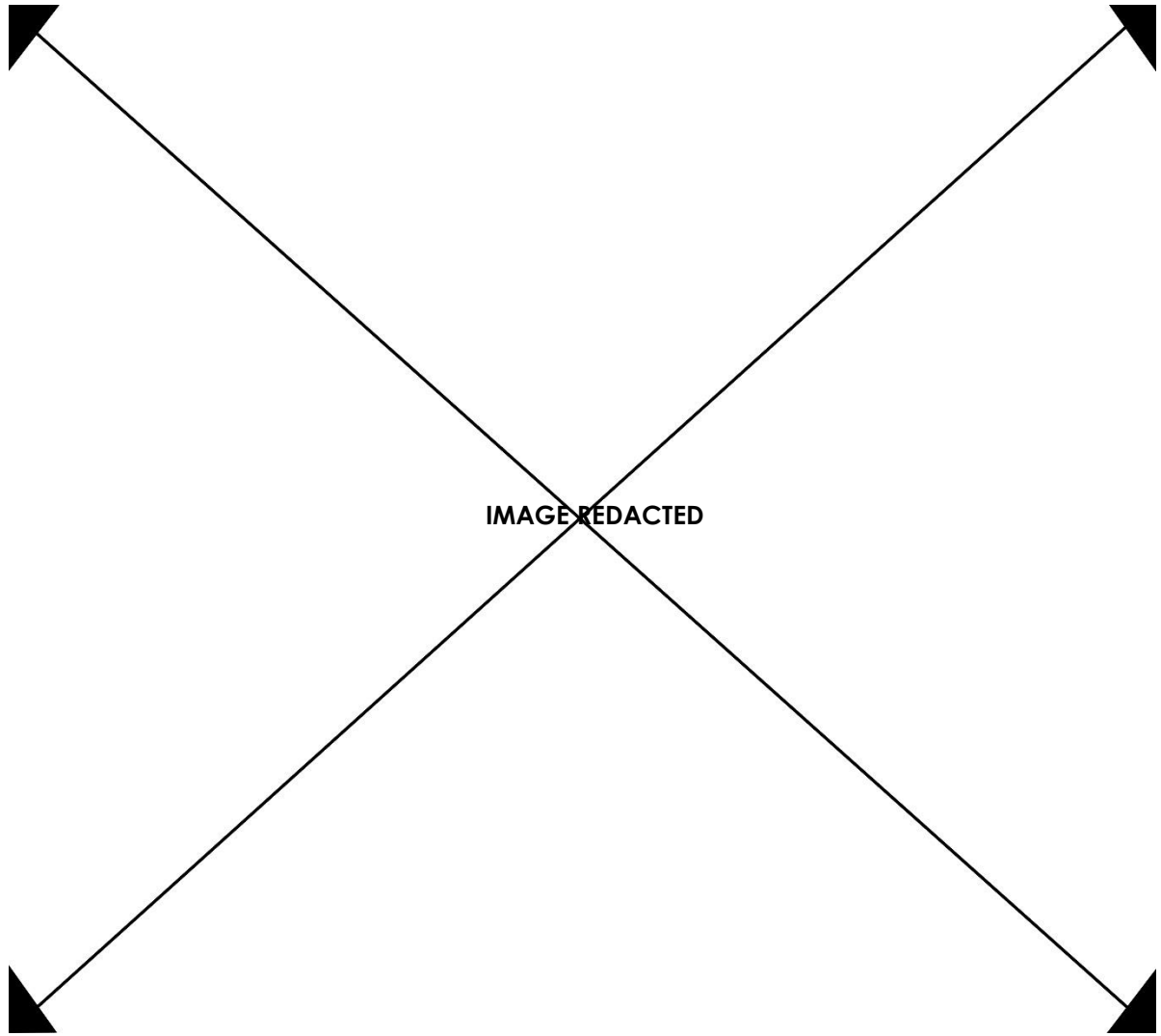


Fig 3.38 representation of man in a commercial ad from Poland inter-War period (historic archive in Lublin)



It may be understood that ever since Poland opened up to Western urbanisation paradigms, the domination of the civic elements started influencing Polish culture. Public spaces, which Colomina conceptualises as masculine elements of the urban fabric (1994), became increasingly more significant with the development of cities and necessity for public discourse. The architectural profession in Poland was, in the inter-War period, not able to navigate in accordance with a singular overriding dogma as there did not seem to have been an explicit imagery of the masculine or civic element. The lack of definition for the masculine and a growing necessity of civic space could have created an atmosphere of indeterminance and flux in the representation of the civic personae. This was contrary to the Soviet philosophy, which, as George Bataille argues, was always based on a masculine, war-based approach (1989 295).

It may have been the case that the lack of rigour in establishing a civic presence of the citizen allowed for the development of a multiplicity of approaches to understanding civic space and engaging with the knowledge circulation. Considering the architectural profession, the far reaching liberty of Polish culture allowed for an exploration of a variety of approaches. Apart from the consideration of commercial utility, the architectural practice was also open to theories engaging with a phenomenological standpoint. This means that a very personal and subjective impression was allowed. It was acceptable to think of architecture in terms of conditions which were not immediately or obviously gratified in economic terms. An example of such was presented by Jerzy Sztaudynger, who wrote an article on the role of atmosphere in architecture (1935). He wrote that apart from bodily demands such as desire to eat or breathe the body has other requirements such as hunger for inner-experiences attuned via art or travel. This resonates with Husserl's phenomenological understanding of spatial experience. Sztaudynger mentions that the spectrum of sensual perceptions interweave to compose a particular atmosphere (ibid. 245).

Similarly to considering the relationship of the male body and architecture, the representation of the civic self was not rigorously defined. The imagery of the body in publications or even commercial advertisements was varied and their physicality distant from dictating what an ideal man should become. Each advertising image had its own agenda and the representation of the male body in Poland was inconsistent. It was left to create a lampoon of the masculine in public. This dichotomy of representations also implies that there was no standardised ideal of the male Polish body or at least not one which was suggested by the producers of the posters. The Western influence, which inspired a slow process of urbanisation (Lubiński 1931), was based on the image of the publicity of the masculine form (Colomina 1994) and in the Polish tradition did not have a defined form.

This section of the chapter argues that there was no dictated modality of designing nor was there one which would force people into generating a unified stream of knowledge. The power/knowledge nexus was not strong enough to consolidate a unified approach in the field. In the atmosphere of the post-First World War crisis and desolation the information circulation enhanced the tendencies of the national culture to discard a total approach to leadership. The infrastructure as well as the will to engage in a public debate were not regulated, which allowed for a variety of opinions and approaches to architecture to emerge. This was represented in the disorderly governance of the development of Gdynia and Krakow. Information from the *other* was internalised by what Foucault would call 'a secular soul' which was filtered by the Catholic Church. The Church seemed to be one of the few established structures in the country that truly acted in and through the citizens, however this is the case only because of its capacity to function on a radically rhizomal level with minimal contact with hierarchy. It might have been those qualities that allowed it to function in the inter-War period without the advocacy of an arborescent model of governance. The rhizomal character of the Church is represented in the variety of submissions made to the competition for designing *The Temple of Divine Providence* in Warsaw. This variety created conditions which might seem disorderly but ones which operated under a latent organisation. It can be argued that with lack of strict regulation the Polish individuals could create their own ways of understanding architecture and develop new architectural languages (such as the new Neo-vernacular style in Zakopane). The human condition from the perspective of architecture in Poland was diverse and unstable during the inter-War period. The self was in a situation of being able to explore capacities of diversifying oneself to the frontiers of understanding. This was largely conducted within the context of glorifying the Catholic Church and the West. The success of the Church might have come from the scarcity of defined public presence and leadership, which Polish culture seemed not to have developed, focusing as it did on the intimate rather than the civic. It can be argued that the struggle to develop a strong civil society was informed by the inability of the Polish culture to form a strong civic presence, necessary for a democratic discourse.

As a result the power structure required less effort than the intensity of the Soviet regime, which aimed at creating a unified biopolitical strategy of a propaganda machine via vivid imagery. The Polish 'self' under the scrutiny of Foucault, Agamben, Deleuze and Guattari comes across as a strong individualistic movement with diverse opinions, unwilling to conform but on the other hand attempting to create a cohesive structure of governance within a landscape of lack of legible authority.

### 3.3 Post-War Poland

This section investigates literature which communicates the situation immediately after the Second World War in Poland. The War was an event that rendered the Polish people traumatised and questioning their participation and role in the public. After the War the normal cultural flows that orchestrated people's daily routines and habits were rechannelled. Bataille conceptualises the notion of abundance in systems, and suggests that the excess of a society needs to find an outlet and cannot be stored (1989). He suggests that war is a form of outlet and that when it is conducted there is no room for other forms of progress. This section of the chapter will give background to chapter 4 by discussing how some Polish citizens aimed at shifting their goals and life ambitions in Nowa Huta. It also suggests the difficulty that the new architecture of Nowa Huta was implemented with.

In this section I am drawing predominantly from the work of Leopold Tyrmand, Foucault, Agamben and Bataille. Agamben and Bataille interact with Foucault on a latent level, however Tyrmand is used as a descriptor of the situation of post-Second-World War Poland.

In February 1945 during the Yalta conference an agreement between the Allied forces, which were about to defeat the Nazi war machine, was consolidated (Volkogonov 1998). The following month, the Prime Minister of Great Britain at the time, Winston Churchill, made a speech in which he noted the division of Europe in two. The agreement between the Allied forces gave the eastern territories of Europe to the Soviet Union and allowed the west of Europe to thrive in the free market economy. The border between the two extended from northern Germany all the way through its southern borders which left Poland in the Soviet field of influence. Architecturally this meant that Poland would have to adopt a type of architectural philosophy that narrowed the richness and diversity of the pre-Second World War openness to new ideas. Culturally this suggested that Poland would have to adopt the overwhelming Soviet philosophy.

The country was in need of rebuilding as most Polish cities lay in ruins. In this novel entitled *Zły* (or in English: *The Evil One*) a commentator of post-War life, Leopold Tyrmand describes the post-War landscape as consisting of freestanding firewalls and debris (1958). These were perfect hiding places for the tendencies of the Polish people, which were fostered by a culture that valued the individual. It allowed gangs and rogue power structures to emerge haphazardly in the chaos fostered by a lack of governance and legislative regulations.

In the moment when the closest neighbour demolishes the spleen, mutilates kidneys, destroys the spell of a newly-bought jacket, ripping off its buttons, brutally extinguishes the beautiful shine of fervently shone shoes, crumbles into pulp cakes gotten for children, smiles apologetically whilst packing our mouth with the sleeve of the jacket, which he

had just used to clean the chimneys or unpacking old herrings - in such a moment, I repeat, instincts, how the sailing frigates, protrude dangerously from our soul.<sup>6</sup> (Tyrmand 1958, 37)

The above quote speaks of an animalistic nature of potential encounters in post Second World War Warsaw. Tyrmand's book presents a vigilante who refuses to be passive against the conflicting power structures and takes justice into his own hands. His book explores the character of the Polish citizens who were robbed of their sense of security and stability. The protagonist actively seeks out and fights groups which he considers to be acting outside of the ethical framework. It can be argued that his strong, individual conviction to a righteousness of judgement was based on what Foucault might call 'knowledgeable man' that nurtured an established conviction of being able to recognise *good from bad* (Foucault 1995). It might be said that Tyrmand's depiction showcases the tendencies of Polish people to dissent from conformity. Against the backdrop of an emerging nation and weakened government the protagonist could be explored and his self could project to its full potential.

This situation of scarcity of organisation and discipline heightened the sensation of the Polish people as being an outsider. This sensation is described by Agamben in 'Homo-sacer' (1998). Homo-sacer according to Agamben was at the same time the embodiment of the sacred and the forbidden. Homo-sacer is the untouchable man outside of the normative knowledge flows. It is an entity without what Foucault might call a 'soul', and distant from the power-knowledge nexus, it is therefore a bare 'knowledgeable man' (as defined by Foucault 1995). Without a feeling of being looked after by a nurturing authority the people were liberated and were allowed to develop their own strategies to negotiate survival amongst others. The Polish homo-sacer did not require the space for the other in order to juxtapose themselves and as a result were self-referential individuals. This entity already had a strong definitive position and sense of self-worth by its strong ethical framework. It was also left to itself and without any support by its lack of public presence and vigilante status.

### **3.4 Communist Poland**

This section interrogates the situation of Post-Second World War Poland. The text discusses the case of the Soviet intervention in the disorder of the country. It presents the clash of the strong individuality of the Polish people with the tendencies of collectivisation that came along with the 'help' from the Soviet Union (help as described by Mieziak 2004). As a case

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<sup>6</sup> 'W chwili, gdy najbliższy bliźni demoluje nam śledzionę, masakruje nerki, unicestwia czar dopiero, co kupionego płaszcza, niweczy z trudem przyszyte guziki, gasi brutalnie przepiękny połysk żarliwie wyczyszczonych butów, gniecie na miążgę wiezione dla dzieci ciastka, uśmiecha się przepaszając, pakując nam w usta rękaw od kurtki, w której przed chwilą czyścił kominy lub wypakowywał stare śledzie - w takiej chwili, powtarzam, instynkty, jak działa żaglowej fregaty, wysuwają się groźnie z burt naszych dusz.'

study this subsection focuses on *Stalin's Tower* in Warsaw as well as two buildings of lesser national importance which will be discussed in terms of an arborescent style of governance.

As Fyboski notes, Poland has always been the centre-point of attention from Soviet and Russian dignitaries (1934). Influencing Poland in a political context was a way to gain control of the information that was being forwarded to the Western countries. This was because both Polish and Russian languages bear similar phonetics in spite of drastically different notation systems. The Polish notation system relies on the Latin alphabet and the Russian language uses Cyrillic. The Polish language is hence written in the same notation style as the languages of the countries of Western Europe. This made Polish culture an ideal transition point between Soviet Russia and countries on the Western border of Poland. It was in this sense imperative to gain hold of the media in Poland in order to control communication between Communist and Capitalist Europe.

The enunciation patterns of the Soviet Union were always different to those of Western European countries. In *The sublime object of ideology*, Žižek mentions a painting which depicts the relationship of Russia and Poland (2008). The image is entitled *Lenin in Warsaw* (shown in Fig. 3.39) it was created by an artist group called 'Vertical Submarine' in 2013. The painting is a depiction of Nadezhda Krupskaya (Lenin's wife) in bed with a young man (supposedly a member of the Komsomol) in Moscow, while Lenin is away in Warsaw. The key point in understanding the painting is Lenin's absence. In this case the core theme is what is not represented. Lenin's absence allows his wife to engage in extra-marital indulgences and reflects the tendencies of considering the head of the state being abroad, in Poland. The choice of Lenin's whereabouts being Warsaw indicates that there is an appropriateness in assuming a relationship between Soviet Russia and Poland. Žižek notices that the absence of Lenin, the key theme in the painting, resembles the strategy of the Stalinist period to communicate (2008, 159). Communication streams were to be manifested via what was not said. The absence of the meaning created a situation where the information was to be determined by interpretation. Never certain about the information transmitted, each *Homosos* (construct discussed in the previous chapter) was left in a state of questioning, confusion and fragility. A state in which it was easy to indulge in the anonymity, strength and warmth of the Soviet collective. As Žižek writes, 'language is always saying, more or less, something other than what it means to say' (Ibid., 2008). It was therefore crucial to control a mediator between the Soviet communication streams and the Western European countries. Poland seemed to have been ripe as a translator.

There is a difficulty in the Polish and Russian languages when it comes to translating the terms that are associated with the phenomenon of 'social space' and 'private space'. In

fact 'social space' or 'public space' does not have any equivalent in Polish. The understanding of a communal or public space<sup>7</sup> usually only relates to legal ownership and responsibility as opposed to pleasure of being amongst the other. This is problematic as the western standards of private and public space were adopted by Poland. It is much easier to translate the Polish phrase for 'private space' into English and this may suggest that the understanding of the terms is much closer to that of the Western European countries than Soviet Russia. In Russian the term private space and personal space figures in the dictionary as the same word and loses its complexities that Polish still carries<sup>8</sup>. Architecturally, Poland in this sense may be considered as a linguistic in-between space that links Russia and Western Europe.



Fig 3.39. 'Lenin in Warsaw' by Vertical submarine (2013)

In spite of this, inter-War Polish commentators such as Edgar Norwerth (1933, 49) and Leonard Tomaszewski (1931, 341) criticise Soviet architecture as being inconsistent with the assumptions of the Marxist ideology, and its main assumptions make designs inappropriate for modern understandings of public and private space. In 1935 Jerzy Sztudynger formulated the criticism: 'now, as it already happened, a handful of people are trying to impose their will on a multimillion-scale society' (1935, 246).

According to David Crowley, Stalinism in Poland can be associated with the period between 1948 and 1956 (1994 187). This, according to numerous party members quoted by Crowley, was a period of 'errors and mistakes' (Ibid.). In 1948 Poland lay in ruin after the Second World War. The Communist government which took control in Poland after the war

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<sup>7</sup> przestrzen komunalna, publiczna

<sup>8</sup> przestrzen prywatna, osobista

was reluctant to rebuild the nation from the ruins, being very selective as to which buildings to reinstate. Crowley quotes an example of this by presenting the case of the *Royal Palace* in Warsaw which was rebuilt only in 1971 (Ibid.), in spite of the works within the country having started immediately after the war. Anne Applebaum - a historian of 20<sup>th</sup> century Soviet Europe - says that the public spaces in the Soviet era were intended to be used for leisure and parades praising the Communist regime in the philosophy of Marxism and state controlled economies (2012). Former aristocratic residences were not a priority.

The Polish Communist party wanted to create an image of allegiance of the whole nation under Soviet governance, in return for support in constructing an authority where the Polish Communists would be at the core. Vladimir Paperny notes that on 7<sup>th</sup> September 1944 the secretariat of the SSA (Soviet Architect's Society) received a query from the Society of Architects of the Polish People's Republic asking for literature on architectural history and theory (2002, 289). The Polish homo-sacer must have felt under siege when confronted with the uniformity of Soviet authoritarian culture.

This centralisation of governance was seen as unhealthy by Polish architects but led to a quick reconfiguration of the post-War situation in the country. The reconstruction of the Polish cities started immediately (Crowley 1994 188). Crowley narrates that architects such as Helena and Szymon Sykrus (members of CIAM) were working tirelessly to use the opportunity of the desolated land to create a modernist ideal. Due to political pressures their plans never reached fruition. During a party congress, Boleslaw Bierut (a representative of the new Polish government, filled with Soviet Communists) proclaimed that a six-year plan would be set up to rebuild the nation. Crowley claims that Jakub Berman, on the Congress of Architects in Katowice in 1949 said 'copying the model of the Soviet Union was obligatory in every sphere' (Crowley 1994 190). The plan gave priority to heavy industry such as the production of iron, coal and steel.

Bierut said:

We have to make up for inherited neglect. In architectural forms we still find the heritage of bourgeois cosmopolitanism, whose expression in the field of architecture are colourless, box-like houses, the symbols of dull formalism. Our architects should, to a greater extent than now, draw on the sound traditions of our national architecture, adapting them to the new goals and new possibilities of the building process, and infusing into them a new socialist spirit. (quoted in Crowley 1994, 190)

This hints at features of what Deleuze and Guattari would call an arborescent model of governing, which Woods et al. elaborate on. According to Woods et al. an arborescent model has: clear hierarchy, as was the governance of the Soviet state; is organised into branches, one of which was the Communist government in Warsaw; always refers to the

centre-point of the governance, as did the Polish architectural association asking for documents on 'history and theory of architecture'; is intolerant to competition, like the Soviet Union which had entered into the Cold War with the United States; is strongest when mature, as was Culture two; constant reluctance to change, as presented by Paperny; and finally is harbouring parasites in the form of corruption and bureaucracy, as did the bureaucracy of the Soviet state (Woods et al. 2013, 438-9).

Tyrmand describing the Culture of Communism in *Cywilizacja komunizmu* claims that living in Communist Poland meant that all aspects of life were regulated. Tyrmand's book is an over exaggeration but the sentiment that Tyrmand is trying to express might be understood as a manifestation of resentment and restrained subjugation. According to Tyrmand regulation extended even to insignificant aspects of life: dreams, kitchens, cats, even hats and shaving razors (Tyrmand 2013 28). In Communism people were taught to 'listen and not speak'<sup>9</sup> but, more importantly they were trained about the superfluity of 'fighting with harm'<sup>10</sup> (Tyrmand 2013, 28). This meant that people were taught that rebellion and counter-conduct against harm caused by the Communists was pointless as any attempt of dissidence would be violently silenced by the authorities. This formalisation of terror and control had architectural implications. Tyrmand claims that the enforcement of the propaganda used architecture and selective architectural imagery to convince people of their isolation in poverty and poor conditions (Tyrmand 2013, 25). He also discussed the importance of architecture in the formal bureaucracy of the regime. He notes that '[p]eople pass mailboxes and post offices and go to the main post office, otherwise their letters get lost'<sup>11</sup> (Tyrmand 2013, 57). The establishment of service in Communism according to Tyrmand was validated by the urban strategy and architecture.

In her book *Iron curtain, the crushing of Eastern Europe*, Anne Applebaum elaborates on the notion of the Polish individual under Communism. She claims that the situation of Communism was used to create secret collaborators with the Communists in Poland. Known as TWs, their role was to extend the invigilatory practices of the Security Service (SB) and their identity was secret to the rest of society but their presence was widely known and even expected (Applebaum 2012 cdx). It would seem that individuals with means to take hold of power in local governance took the opportunity to develop a strategy of secret invigilation supposedly for the good and security of the collective. Applebaum claims that this position was abused by the collaborators who mistreated the rest of society. Some, she claims, were reluctant to subdue to the will of the government however there were those that abused the system (Ibid.). It is a generally accepted fact that such collaborators

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<sup>9</sup> Sluchac a nie mowic

<sup>10</sup> krzywda

<sup>11</sup> Ludzie mijaja skrzynki pocztowe i budynki poczty i ida do glownej poczty bo listy inaczej sie gubia



played a huge role in the Communist structures and they were responsible for creating the character of omnipresent expectation of invigilation in the country. The character of their role was considered as malignant and they were prosecuted after the regime fell (Piętniczka 2006).

Tyrmand goes further and comments that the life of a Communist citizen is spent in fear, a knowing not to say anything which might be misconstrued as scepticism (which would most certainly be interpreted as rebellion) against the governance which would therefore result in punishment. Tyrmand comments: 'The word in Communism serves the purpose of concealing the truth [...] and thought'<sup>12</sup> (Tyrmand 2013, 247).

Mark Dorrian analyses the Soviet intervention in Warsaw (Dorrian 2010). He, his students and other academics explore the capital of Poland as an artefact of state Socialism. Amongst the researchers were: Ella and Agnieszka Chmielewska, Mariusz Tchórek, Paul Carter, Marta Leśniakowska. They claim that the Communist intervention from the 1960s was vandalism in the landscape. They noted Socialist residential blocks and claim that they relate to a loss of memory and lack any authenticity of place. Jerzy Elżynowski notes that the erasure of the past was an easy way of handling the difficult situation after the Second World War, and did not require dealing with the trauma of the post-catastrophic land. Biedrzycka et al. quote a call to all the representatives of fields of art in Poland:

Comrades painters, comrades sculptors, you artists of the victorious class [...] we think, that you cannot underestimate the vast support, that you are being given by the party and government, as well as the army of workers from the industry. We await great art from you. We want, your art to be teeming with creative passion. We want them to touch us and our children. We do not want, simple photographs. We want, the art to push us to new victories<sup>13</sup> (Biedrzycka et al. 2006, 11).

The homogeneity of the Soviet governance and its imposition can be noted from a propaganda book *Architektura Polska 1950-1951* by Bohdan Garliński (1953). The book was published and funded by the Communist government as an indoctrination tool and contains thirty-one projects from across Poland that distinguish what was acceptable by the state. Fifteen of all the designs were in Warsaw, which signifies the centralisation of the design efforts in the nation. A vast majority of projects, including ones which are not in the capital, bear Neo-classical features. Only one example does not conform and attunes to a Neo-vernacular style. This was a design created to stand in the Tatry region (close to the southern borders of Poland). The buildings have little to do with context and most of the

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<sup>12</sup> Slovo w Komunizmie sluzi do ukrywania prawdy [...] i mysli.

<sup>13</sup> Towarzysze malarze, towarzysze rzeźbiarze, wy artyści klasy zwycięskiej. [...] Myślimy, że nie możecie nie docenić potężnego wsparcia, które nam zapewnia partia i rząd, jak również armia robotników z przemysłu. Oczekujemy od was wielkich dzieł. Chcemy, aby one były przeniknięte pasją twórczą. Chcemy, aby nas wzruszały – nas i nasze dzieci. Nie chcemy, aby to były proste fotografie. Chcemy, aby te dzieła popychały nas ku nowym zwycięstwom.

projects are drawn without the surrounding buildings signifying that their composition was drawn with no relation to the outside conditions.

The edifice of PZPR in Warsaw was the headquarters of the Communist party in Poland. The building is a Neo-classical office block and is very compact (shown in fig. 3.40-3.43). The main entrance lies on an axis following Plac Trzech Krzyży Street and leads into formal landscaping outside the building. From there, the site becomes very rigid and organised in the manner of a French formal landscape where symmetry and orthogonality in plan are the dominant features. There is little resolution between the plan of the entire design and the nearby buildings. The edifice in question does not respond to even the daily movement of the sun. The building draws upon the Roman tradition of civic buildings being modelled on Greek temples in an urban context.

The presence of the sculptures on the elevation implies a shallow design strategy aimed at satisfying the regiment of Socialist-realist visual aesthetics. The building was to be admired as an object in space and not as an organiser of potential for relationships to emerge. The sculptures' presence suggests that the design left a series of awkward moments on the blank elevation that left it inactive and ripe for such ornaments. The spatial organisation was not as developed as the elevation, the presence of the building in public was to be representative and it had to be literal enough to encapsulate the spirit of the Communist philosophy in an understandable way. This implies that the building orchestrated a simple narrative of the hierarchies in the city. It was much less than the Palace of the Soviets, but the architectural language and spatial aspiration was communicated in the same simplistic way. It could be said that the characteristic Polish care for the section that is visible in the inter-War period, as discussed in the previous section of this chapter, was in this building lost.

The northern or back elevation of the building (fig. 3.44) shows that the incline of the site is dealt with by a plinth which the building is placed on. The front elevation (fig. 3.45) however bears features relating to a Greek tradition.

The rest of the projects from the book negate the diversity of the Polish nation and suggest the imposition of a singular style across the country. One exception comes in the form of a neo-vernacular building designed to stand in a southern region of Poland in the Tatry Mountains area, in the same area as the retreat mentioned earlier in this chapter.



Fig. 3.40 Central committee of PZPR in Warsaw (Garliński 1953 17)

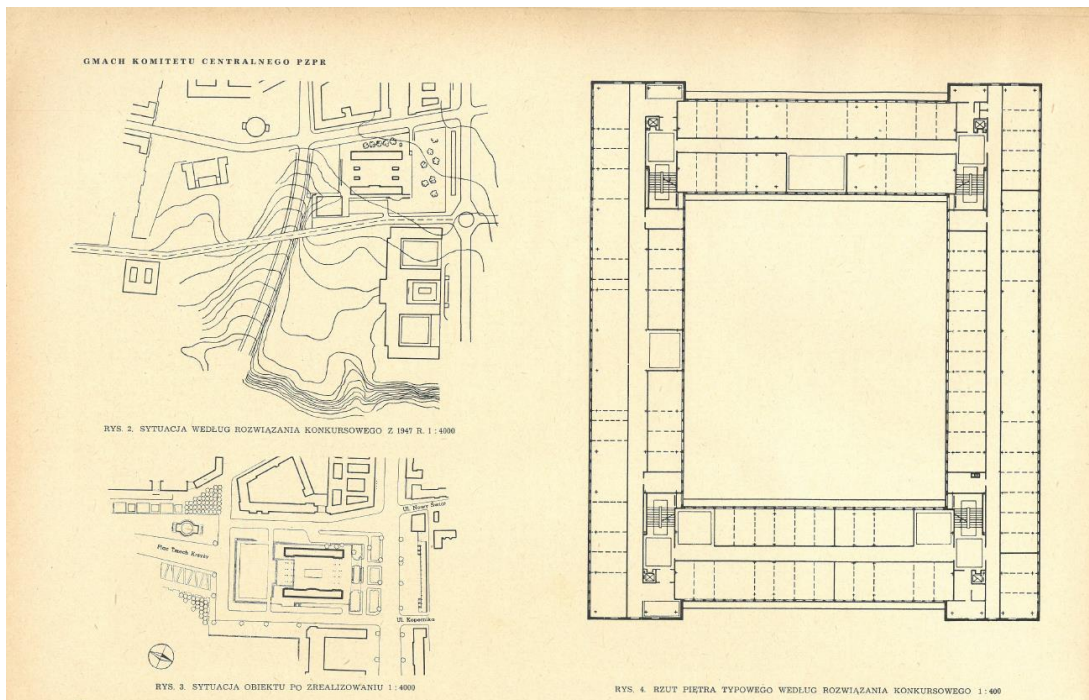


Fig. 3.41 Central committee of PZPR in Warsaw, plan and context (Garliński 1953 18)



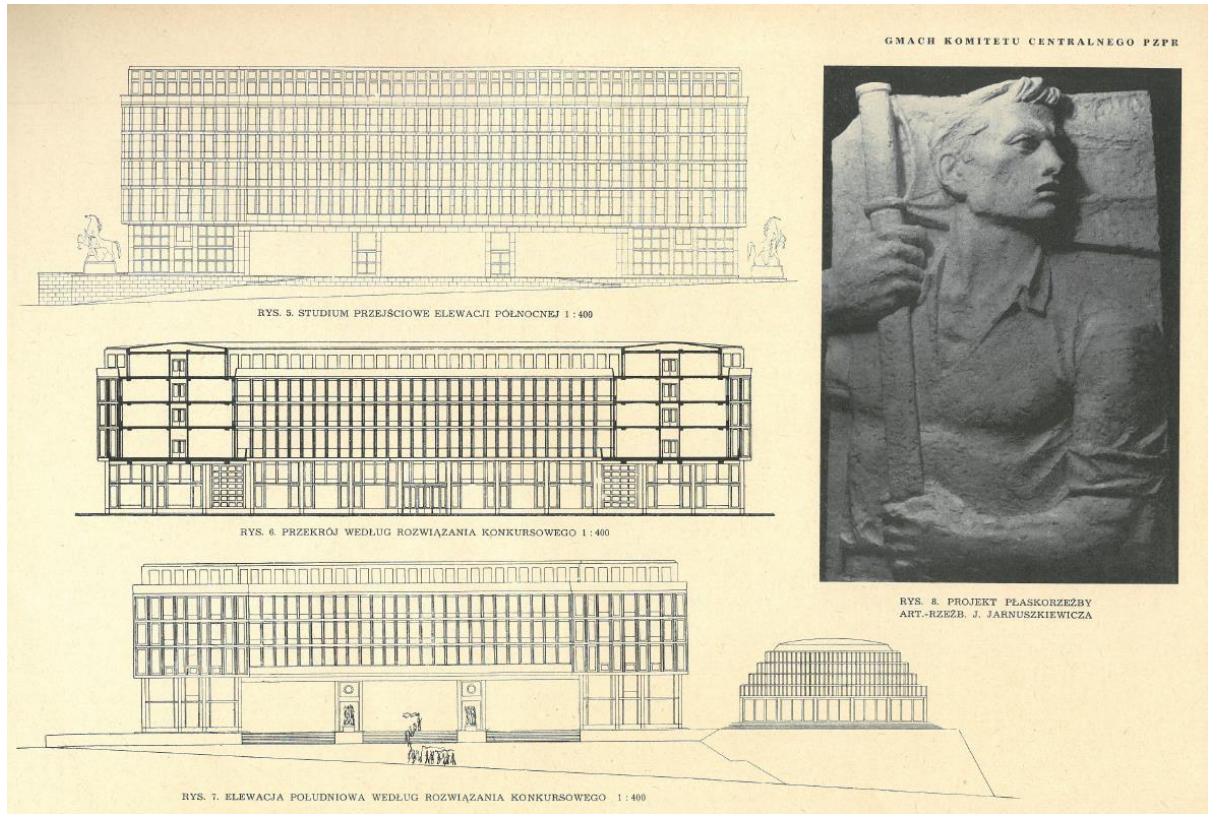


Fig. 3.42 Central committee of PZPR in Warsaw, section and elevations (Gariński 1953 19)

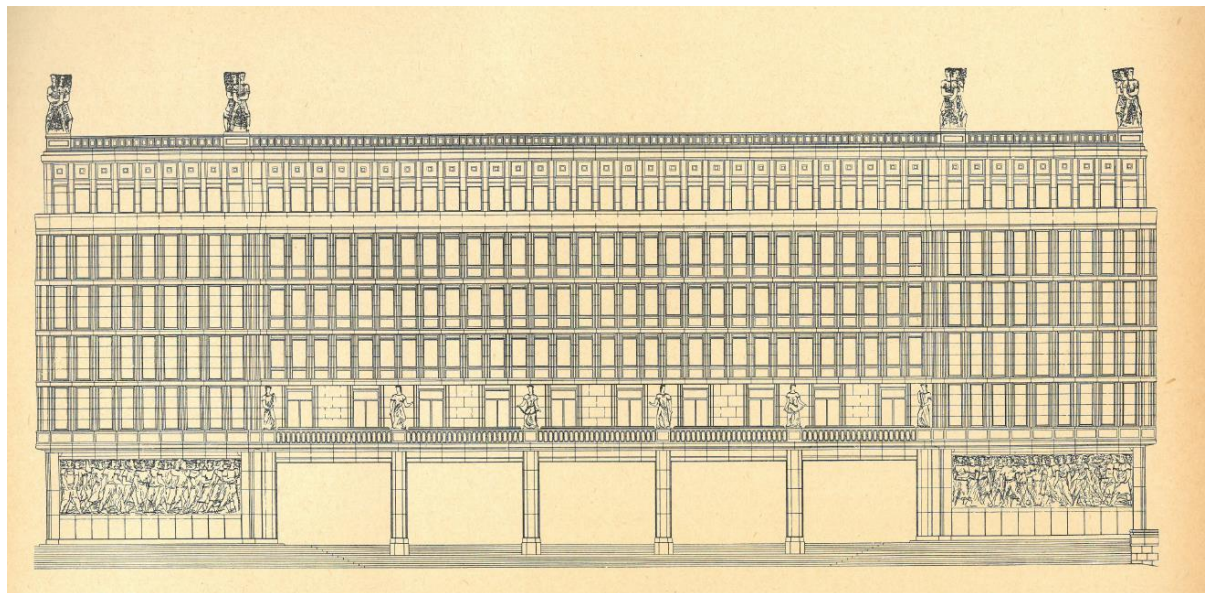


Fig. 3.43 Central committee of PZPR in Warsaw, front elevation (Gariński 1953 21)

The building was to be a ski factory (shown in fig. 3.44-3.45). It bears signs of a Vernacular architectural language in section and elevation such as the materials used, and a double-sloping roof with large overhanging eaves. The plan is highly symmetrical and appears aesthetically responsive to its context. It does have a clearly denoted front and back, however, all the spaces in the building seem to be facing random directions. The drawings give the impression that the architect drew the building without much interrogation of the site. As with the aforementioned Neo-classical building in Warsaw, the context is drawn but it seems to have no bearing on the shape of the design and the building seems to be almost ignoring its surroundings. It seems to be much more planar (as opposed to sectional) than the retreat. All the offices are facing the courtyard giving the building a very claustrophobic feel. There are very little sectional relationships between spaces, apart from the entrance to the first floor from the courtyard. The basement, which in the retreat forms the key space, is now a traditional storage space, which for the use of the building is appropriate but again diminishes the sectional character of the inter-War Neo-vernacular style. The building's hierarchy of spaces is not developed but this might be due to its industrial character. The building is an amalgamation of the industry which crept into the region and a poorly articulated neo-vernacular approach.

The overwhelming presence of Neo-classicism or Socialist-Realism of the new designs in the country dominated the landscape. Even if a building did not look Neo-classical, the same principles of design applied: designing predominantly in plan, creating a symmetrical edifice without interrogation of the site. It was a sign of the allegiance to the Soviet governmentality and carrying a design ethos developed in Constructivism as discussed in chapter 2. The most prominent example of this movement came in 1953 with the development of 'Stalin's Tower' in Warsaw (Fig. 3.46).

As a reminder of the supposed good relationship between Soviet Russia and Poland the city of Warsaw was promised a building named *Stalin's Tower* (Dorrian 2010). According to Dorrian the building was raised as part of the 'Six Year Plan' and was to commemorate the relation which the Polish government nurtured with the Soviets. He notes that the shadow of the tower as well as its visibility from the whole of the capital, like the memory of Stalin, falls upon Warsaw and forms an unpleasant imprint on the urban grid. The Tower was a physical manifestation of Soviet arborescence which gave the presence of the Soviet government in Warsaw a physical location.



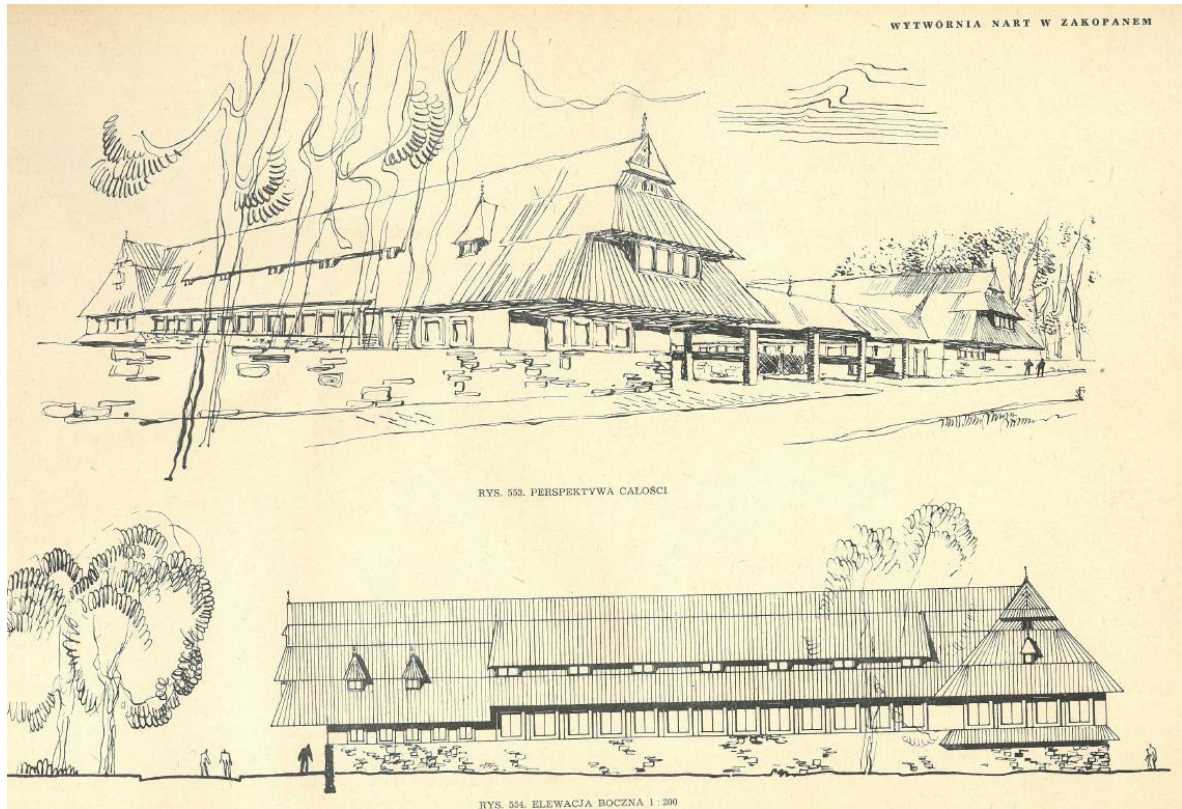


Fig. 3.44 Ski factory in the Tatry area, perspective and elevation (Garliński 1953 197)

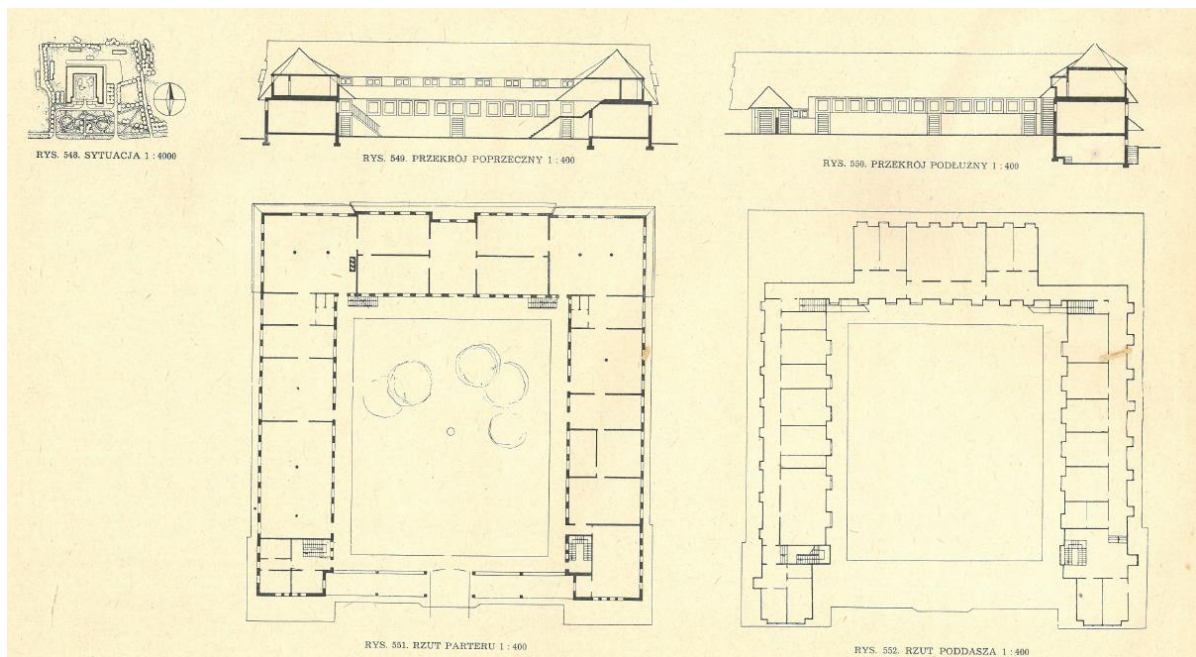


Fig. 3.45 Ski factory in the Tatry area; plans, sections and elevations (Garliński 1953 196)

The Tower is an orientation point (of a kind) for the entire city. Interestingly, it does not give identity to the individual fragments of Warsaw from which it can be seen, and since its upper sections are point-symmetrical there is no difference between the elevations of the building facing north, south, west or east. This means that if one tries to find one's way in the urban grid with reference to the Tower one would only find it useful if they were headed to the centre denoting it as an important figure in the design of the city. The tower resembles a smaller iteration of the *Palace of the Soviets* by Boris Iofan in the way it imposes its presence within the civic. The erection of *Stalin's Tower* commenced in 1953 and took two years to complete (Crowley 1994 190). It was designed by a group of architects led by Lev Rudnev. Michal Murawski, a scholar who studies the complexities of post-socialist cities, notes the affect of domination instigated by the scale and 'enormity' (Murawski 2016 69) of the edifice by comparing it to all other buildings in Warsaw (Ibid.). Crowley claims that the building was to be reminiscent of Polish history as explicit in Zamość or Lublin (Crowley 1994 190). The ornamentation completing the rooftop and presence of a tower of the building is in fact close to the design of the city hall in Zamość but the central spatial organisation, scale and boldness of approach is reminiscent of Constructivism as discussed in chapter 2. The edifice resembles the Soviet interventions in Moscow more than any previous Polish edifices.

The Renaissance city hall in Zamość fits in organically with its surrounding buildings and denotes a focal point surrounding a well-defined square. This is contrary to *Stalin's Tower*, which constitutes an architectural object which awkwardly dominates empty land in the centre of the city. This was a strategy common for Socialist-Realism in buildings such as the Moscow State University or the Palace of the Soviets.

The interesting aspect of *Stalin's Tower* is that its plan and sectional compositions are very elaborate. The close-to-pyramidal shape of the building encompasses a vast part of the city and is not specific to its site. The building was placed on a concrete platform, reminiscent of a Roman temple in an urban context. This design move forces the rest of the development to adapt to the odd geometries of the edifice and give it room to breathe. This was made possible by the timeframe in which the building was completed. When the edifice was opened in 1955 it was the sole high-rise building in Warsaw. In this light, the tower may be considered in a similar way as the Roman temples in centres of cities, which led the civic in determining the engagement with the power structures.

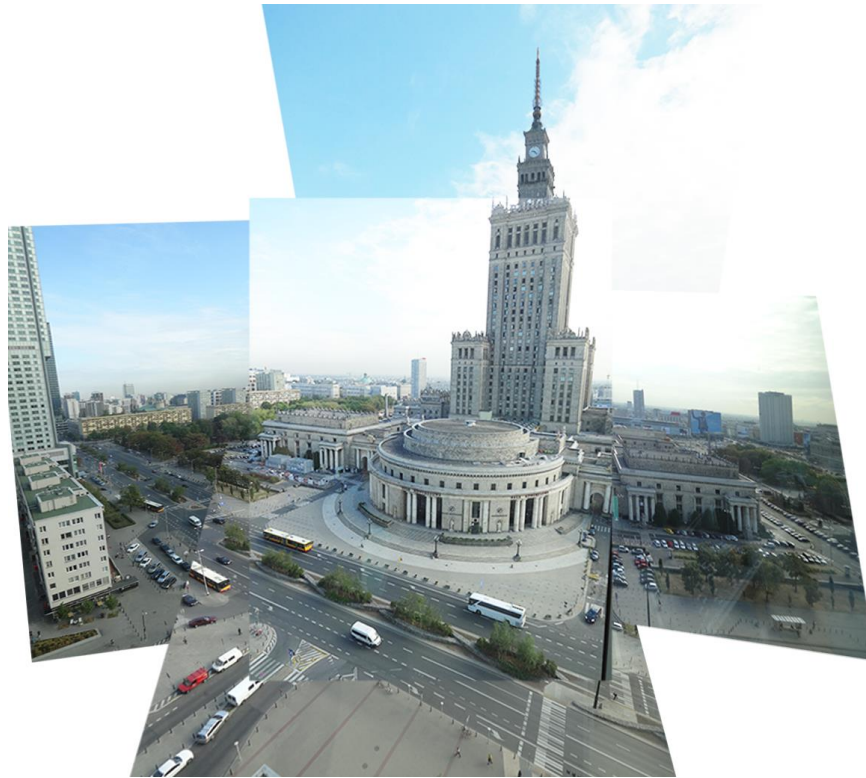


Fig. 3.46 Stalin's Tower in Warsaw, Author's photo

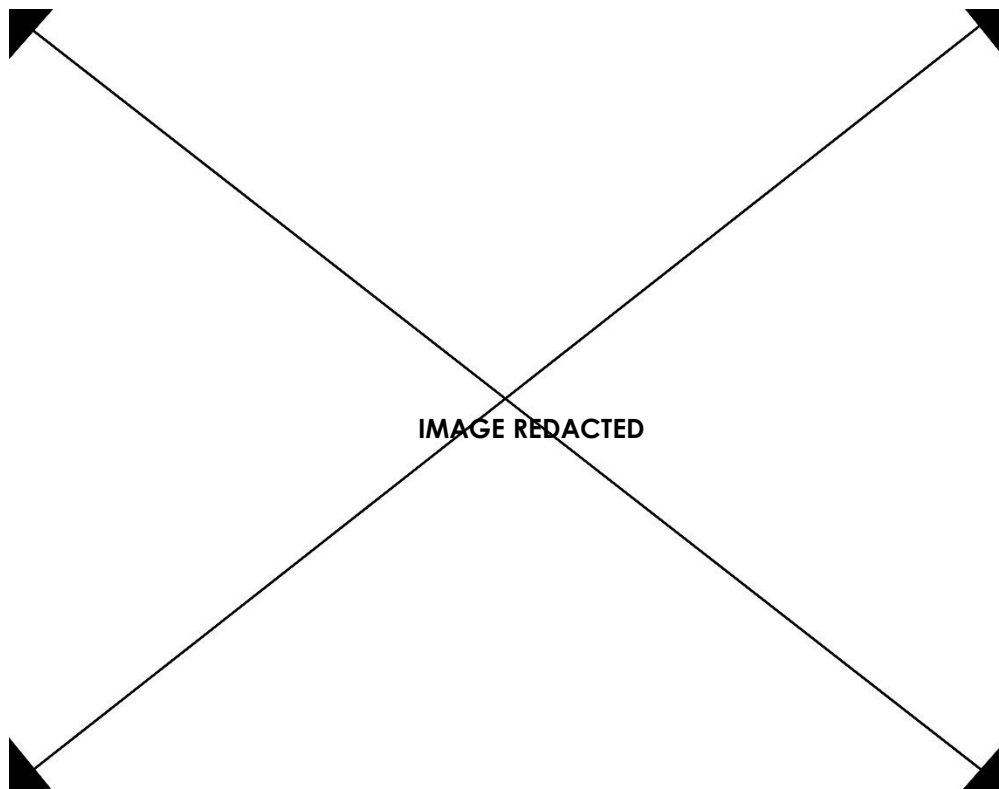


Fig 3.47 The ground floor plan of the Tower in urban context. (Urbanowska 2010)





Fig. 3.48 City Hall in Zamość 1941 (unknown author) NAC Photography Archive

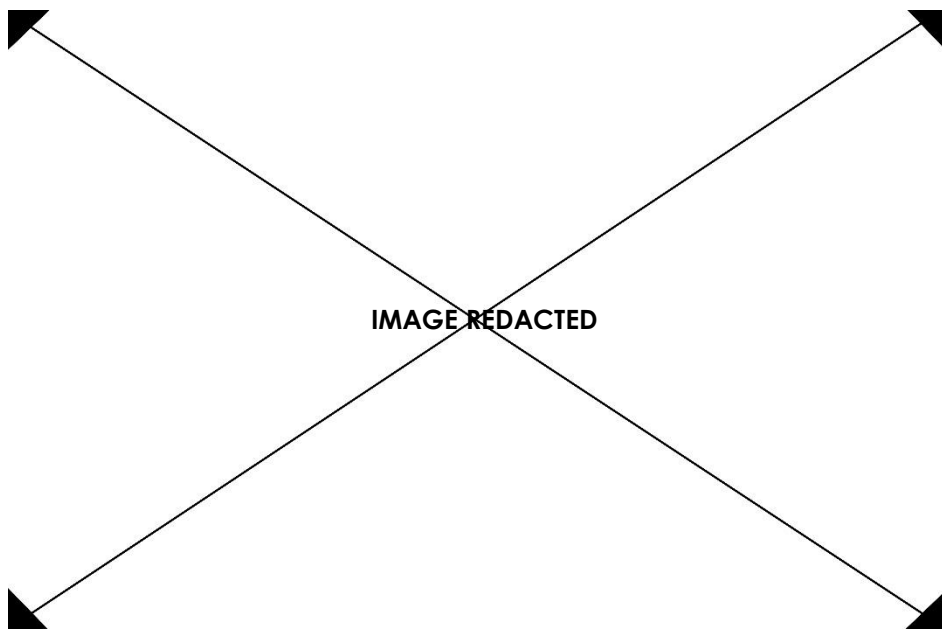


Fig. 3.49 Moscow State University (unknown author)

Stalin's Tower was a demonstration of a new order in which the cult of the individual was to be overshadowed. The building represents the character of what Paperny defines as Culture two which, as he suggests, implied the Soviet Union's technological and cultural superiority and imposed hegemony in the satellite states (2002). Thus, the formerly disorderly and diverse Polish culture was faced with the prospect of attuning to the narrowness and simplicity of the Soviet governance. The Polish self was to become diminished in the public eye and suffer the same fate as the Soviet one. Polish homo-sacer were to be transformed into 'homo-sovieticus'. Stalin's Tower was the most explicit architectural example, of the overbearing control of the architectural and socio-political situation in the nation.

Individual residential apartments were also to become a tool in the disposition of the government. In the name of equality, Polish peasants were invited to live in Warsaw. According to Komornicki (quoted in Crowley 2003 155) the apartments that they were given were intended to foster a single family with up to three multi-purpose rooms. The peasants refused to adopt the newly introduced concept of citizenry and used the dwellings in a way that they felt more comfortable with. The kitchen, which as discussed earlier in this chapter the Polish culture held so important, were turned into 'Czarna Izba', a central and multifunctional room that formed the core of all events in the dwelling. This contradicted the hierarchy of the designed flat which laid out the living room as the largest and therefore most important room in the flat.

Marysia Galbraith examined the situation by conducting a series of Interviews with people who lived under Communism in Poland (2004). She notes the omnipresent distinction between 'us' (Polish citizens who were not collaborating with the government) and 'them' (the Soviets and Communists). As the knowledge circulation was under strict control all independent publications were nationalised by the state and under the surveillance of censorship. However there were nevertheless those who managed to dissent from the directives of the government. An example of this was the Wydawnictwo Artystyczno-Graficzne which produced posters that as Crowley argues were censored by the artists themselves (1994 193). Circles of intelligentsia organised publications in Paris and disseminated them in Catholic churches and universities (Galbraith 2004, 58). Those were referred to as 'Bibula' and 'Kultura' (shown in Fig. 3.51), contraband journals aimed at criticising the Communists.

Galbraith's interviewees claim that even small alterations to the accommodation were not allowed even if those seemed to be a more logical use of the space to the inhabitant (Galbraith 2004, 70). Bogdan Mróz writes that the private was, as in the Soviet Union, treated as property of a vaguely defined collective (1991, 677). Juliana Maxim argues that socialist architecture aimed at nurturing a developed public space (2009). She also notes an under-

nurtured private space. This seems to be the case when considering the urban and architectural plans. The implication here is that the starting point of the design was a drawing on an urban scale (in spite of public space being underdeveloped and under-defined) and the intimate inhabitation was an afterthought. The conceptualisation of collective mass inhabitation was designed to nurture feelings of group and regional pride, as opposed to individual experience based on land-economy (ibid.). The dissolution of the private realm might have been the cause of this detest of expressions of individuality which Galbraith articulates.

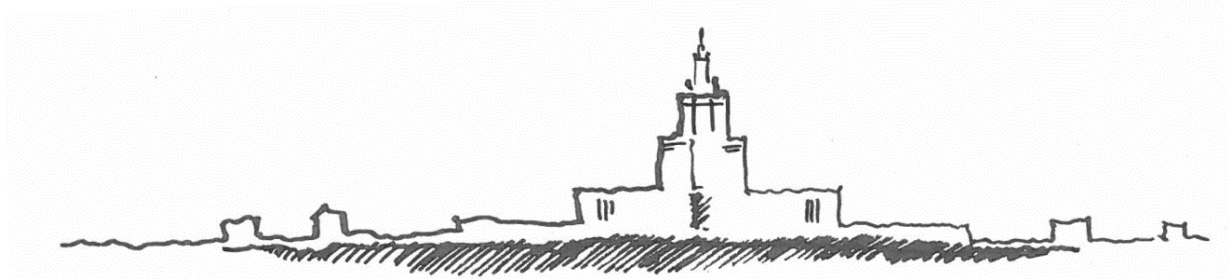


Fig. 3.50 Own sketch, and a photo of Stalin's tower circa 1962 - 1965 (photographer: Siemaszko Zbyszko) NAC archive of photography

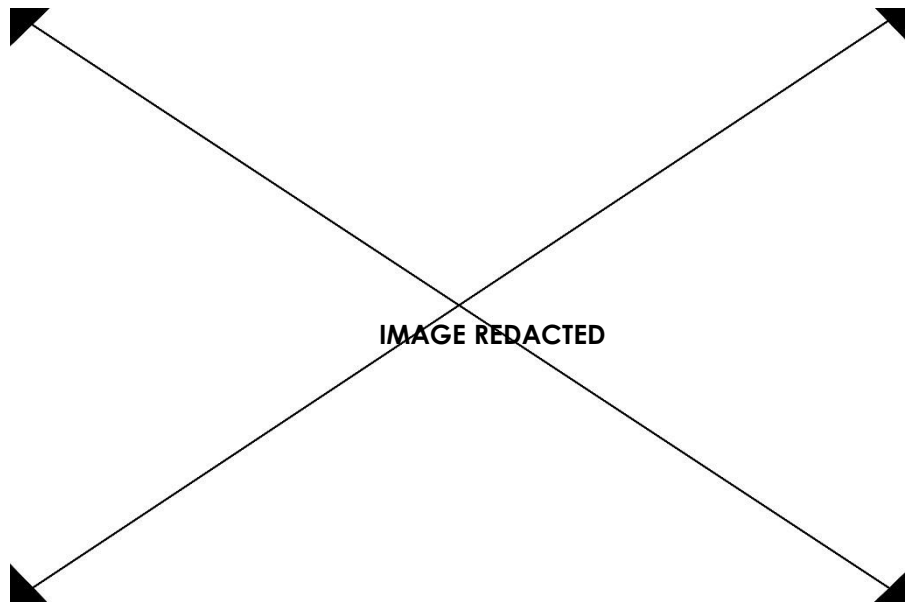


Fig. 3.51 Contraband leaflets

### 3.5 Conclusion

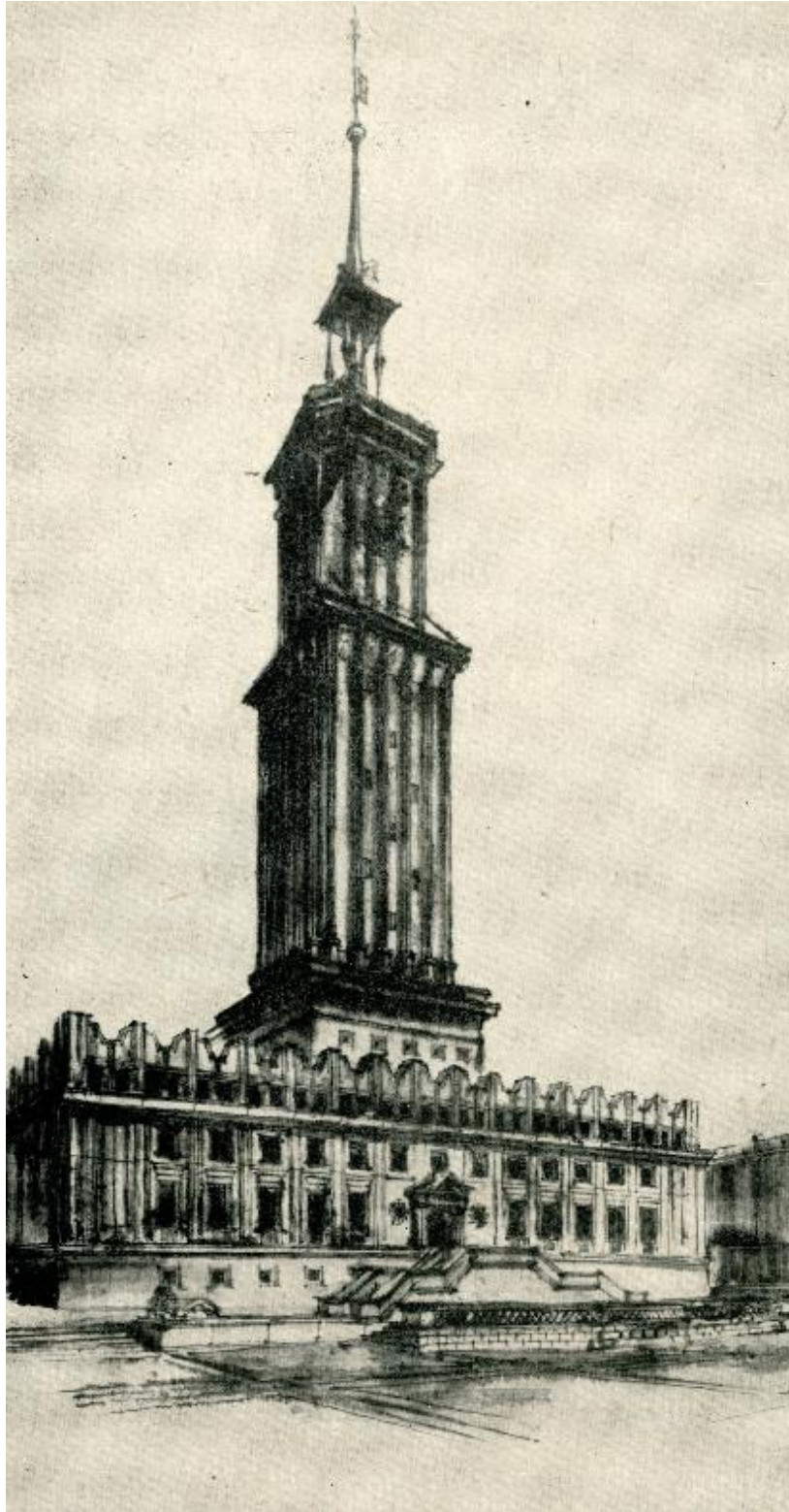
The tendency of the Polish nation to develop an individual without a strong collective presence resulted in a diverse but disorderly civil situation in the inter-War period after the First World War. The balance of the state seems to have been relying on a dynamic instability and the becoming of a nation which previously lay in ruin. The process of designing in Poland in the inter-War period, was not determined a-priori like in Paperny's *Culture two* (2011) and hence had the capacity to foster a multiplicity of understandings and developments of the architectural profession. The designs in Poland were not as expressive or experimental as the ones produced by Soviet architects in Paperny's *Culture one*. However, they had the potential to suggest a realistic strategy of progress. It can be argued that because of the humble and local impact and subtlety of Polish concepts, none had the potential to overwhelm the profession in an abstract, overriding capacity. This was a way of thinking about private and public, glorifying the interior and rejecting civic discourse.

This chapter presents the anxiety and tension between the rhizomatic configurations prevalent in inter-War Poland, and arborescence attempted to be implanted by the Soviet authorities. The power/knowledge nexus after the First World War in terms of architecture was in a rhizomatic state. As Deleuze and Guattari argue such states have a tendency to develop into a more arborescent modality (2004). Such did the architectural profession in Poland. A sign of this development was the transition of an architectural journal called *Architecture and Construction*. Its very first issue aimed at inciting critical thinking with theoretical articles discussing broader architectural issues. The very last publication of the journal, issued just before the Second World War, seems to be aimed at the commercial

side of the profession with advertisements and evaluations of technical detailing systems. The Second World War was a drastic trauma for the Polish people but it revealed the tendencies in the nation of an individual-based way of life, close to In spite of being an overly exaggerated commentary on life under Communism, Tyrmand's observations present a huge degree of what seems to be a lack of willingness to submit oneself to an established order in public. The Stalinist intervention and Soviet hegemony manifested itself in the form of Stalin's Tower of which the aesthetics and form communicated allegiance to the Soviet order.

The next chapter presents the case of Nowa Huta and the Urban and architectural strategies which were used in order to change the mentality of its inhabitants to modern docile citizens resembling homo-sovieticus. It will discuss how the governance discussed in chapter 2 was implanted in the Polish culture discussed herein.





**4. Biopolitical place of flows;**

**Nowa Huta as an expression of Soviet hegemony in Poland**

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### **Nowa Huta as an expression of Soviet hegemony in Poland**

#### **4.1 Introduction**

The aim of the thesis is to explore heterotopias, which were created in Nowa Huta and subverted Soviet governance. Chapter two introduced Stalinism in the Soviet Union and its hegemony over Eastern Europe. Chapter three explores the prevailing affordance of liberty and a rhizomatic system of relationships in the inter-War period in 20<sup>th</sup> Century Poland. The objective of this chapter is to present how the initial design of Nowa Huta and its subsequent changes encapsulate the influence of the Soviet Union related to a particular definition of citizenry and controlling the body of its inhabitants. The city was a type of social condenser, as argued by Michał Murawski (2017), that took the form of what could be called a social stratifier similar to the proposed architectural interventions in Moscow eg.: the Palace of the Soviets as described by Ziada that was meant to organise a different and better citizenry. The Soviet influence is here presented as one that went beyond mere appearance of buildings but acted through the organisation of space. The discussion in chapter two is here continued to present how the Soviet and a Stalinist understanding of architecture impacted Poland. The argument of this text is to present the ways in which Soviet architectural thought was played out in the design of Nowa Huta and was to orchestrate a hierarchical power structure that determined civic engagement in the city. The intent of the governance was to influence the designers of the city to shape architecture and urbanism to become a dispositif (to use Foucault's term; 1977) of the Soviet world. The toolbox of this strategy would include a clear link between the political centre and a major workplace that the city was to facilitate, the stratification of residential quarters in the city in accordance to the work hierarchy, the linear (factory-belt) type of design, and clarity of circulation by which the main arteries of the city gained a panoptic atmosphere. One might say that this strategy was intended to maintain a highly regimented citizenry that was to refer oneself always with respect to work and the homo-sovieticus community. The inhabitants of the new city were introduced to Nowa Huta by being presented with communal living in hotels for workers. Those design moves resemble strategies that were discussed in constructivism to orchestrate communal life in an organised, work-centred and efficient environment (as discussed in chapter two). Beyond the organisation of systems that architecture introduces the strategy of developing an architectural language were based on principles of Socialist-Realism as discussed in chapter three. The purpose of this text is to outline the context leading to the production of heterotopias and narrate the establishment of the power/knowledge nexus embedded in the design of Nowa Huta as one, aiming to control the conduct of its inhabitants.



The initial urban master-plan is herein considered as a space, designed to channel appropriate knowledge and material flows. The masterplan aimed to create a new episteme based on narrowly defined directives. Flows here will be considered in the same way as described by Giles Deleuze and Felix Guattari in *A Thousand Plateaus* (2004a) and interpreted by Chris Smith and Andrew Ballantyne in their chapter 'Fluxions' published in *Architecture in the Space of Flows* (2012). The episteme according to which Nowa Huta was conceived was to mimic the Soviet proliferation of hierarchy. The city was to foster and become a setting for a citizen as a model worker or a construct, which I am referring to, after Alexander Zinoviev's book *homo-sovieticus* (1986). The text also presents the *disutopianisation* of the design and subsequent changes made on the initial masterplan in the process of erecting the city. This chapter outlines the architectural strategies, which were theorised by researchers like Aleksei Gastev or architects such as Boris Iofan, to have the capacity to mould the internal dynamics of ordinary peasant bodies into those of the modern Soviet constructs. , Farmers and those, who lived rurally were actively sought and procured to work and live in the city hence developing their understanding of civic conduct was for the authorities of Nowa Huta of prime concern. Since life in a larger urban space was a novelty for them the task of developing a Soviet approach to commonality was much easier than struggling with established patterns of behaviour. What the authorities of the city were not prepared for was a strong relation with the sacred that created a rhizomatic configuration of power. Those were implicit regulations of the Catholic Church that were almost synonymous with a strong and particular set of values that neither Soviet hegemony did not accept. This will be examined via theories developed by Michel Foucault concerning the discipline of self-realisation that, as implemented by the Soviet authorities, could be fostered by an appropriate spatial strategy.

The text narrates different stages in the development of the design of Nowa Huta and follows a classical architectural analysis. This chapter is divided into eight main sections that outline the progression of these stages and theories, which guided the analysis of the city. The second section (4.2), named 'City in Plague' discusses the theories, used in this chapter. This section is based on Foucault's understanding of 'a city in plague' (2007). The third section (4.3) called 'Site in context', explores the very origin of Nowa Huta. It focusses on the site selection, introduces the architects who won the competition to design the city and the socio-political context in which the city was conceived. The fourth section (4.4) 'The Bio-politics of the city' discusses the notion of bio-power (Foucault 2007) and outlines the design decisions, which were intended to change the mentality of the new citizens into modern 'homo-sovieticus' (as proudly photographed and presented in Fig. 4.1). The city was to instil a strategy of architecture that was used in a similar way as Soviet urban concepts. It will be suggested this was a strategy to develop a homo-sovieticus-type thinking. This section draws

from Foucault's lectures, in order to develop an attitude to the intervention. It is based on an analysis of the initial masterplan and key drivers, which seem to be dominant in the composition of the city. Those were, the principles of Taylorism, neo-classical order, and collectivising society. Another aspect of the city that influenced its capacities to convey an architectural narrative was the Cold War but that will be discussed in the chapter five. The fifth section (4.5), 'Residential Palaces' discusses the residential buildings of the city and their composition into internal courtyards. The sixth section (4.6) 'Biopolitical incentive' outlines the propaganda associated with the project. The seventh section (4.7) 'The workforce; becoming the homo-sovieticus' narrates the influx of the construction workers and inhabitants into the city and their new accommodation. The final section (4.8) 'District D' presents the development of the concept after 1956, in sub-district D. The narrative is informed by historical literature collated by Nowa Huta Branch of the Museum of History of the city of Krakow and other writers, as well as investigations into archives and case study interrogations and interviews conducted in Nowa Huta.

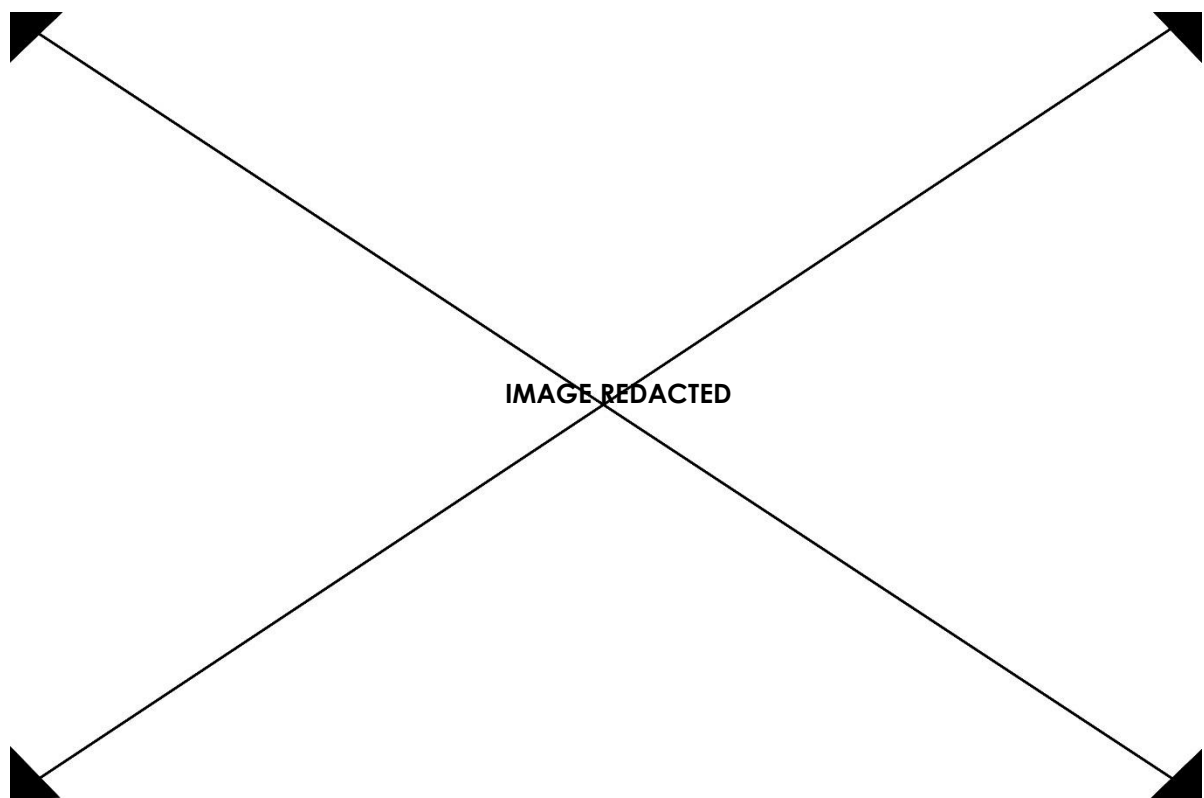


Fig. 4.1 Model workers, the builders of Nowa Huta 1952. Author unknown (Jurewicz (ed.)2008 188)

## 4.2 City in plague;

### Theoretical basis of the analysis

This section explores the theoretical basis of the analysis of the city of Nowa Huta. The interrogation of the urban grid of Nowa Huta is based on Foucault's description of architectural methods which can be seen as creating opportunities to enable mechanisms of control and discipline in society (2007). The material for this section is drawn from lectures which Foucault gave at the Collège de France concerning Biopower (2004). I am, herein, arguing that the city was designed with the intention to aid in fostering a *better future* without misconduct, defined in accordance to a very specific and narrow ideology.

As discussed in chapter two, the authorities in the Soviet field of influence aimed at creating a general rule for design. Mark Dorrian narrates the destruction of Warsaw and claims that after the Second World War its urban fabric was in ruin (2010 91). This was the situation of most cities in Poland. The situation of necessity for a civic space meant an opportunity for a new development of the urban context. In the context of the Soviet hegemony the urban development was guided by Communist ideals, which rejected old modalities such as inheritance and freedom, as discussed in chapter two. Dorrian suggests that the cities erected after the Second World War in Poland were destroying the tradition of spatial planning in the nation leaving a permanent imprint on the land that came to be governed by the Soviet power systems (Dorrian 2010 4). Understanding the Soviet interventions in this way they could be seen as a destructive force however their presence paved the way for a new order. Paul Rabinow notes that Foucault's description of power is never destructive (1984). In fact, it leads to a productive outcome in the form of a new episteme and constitutes itself between the domination of a national governance and the technologies of the self (Foucault 2007 2).

in any given culture and at any given moment, there is always only one episteme that defines the conditions of possibility of all knowledge, whether expressed in a theory or silently invested in a practice. (Foucault 1970 168).

The shift to a new way of thinking was associated with a new way of considering architecture and ways of organising space. The new epistemological order was to be equipped with architecture that was ripe to facilitate its flows. In Poland this shift was to lead to the adoption of the Soviet model of considering the self and reality. This process did not stop at the uptake of principles of Socialist-Realism and when implanted in the Polish landscape the newly adopted power relations came to be contested which gave rise to a new form of subversion that will be discussed in chapter five. Foucault follows his exploration of epistemological disciplines to describe places that enable intricate power structures (Foucault 2007). Those

would be found in locations of order and discipline such as civic spaces, medical institutions and military barracks (Foucault 1995 140). As part of a series of lectures at the Collège de France, between 1977 and 1978, Foucault discussed the relationships of power in society (2007). One of the key concepts he explored was the idea of the 'City in Plague'. This historical precedent of an urban environment inflicted with an infectious illness was a preamble to his interrogation of a modern capitalist city. In order to contain the disease the inhabitants of the 'City in Plague' were observing one another as the atmosphere of invigilation was necessary to contain the malady (Foucault, 2007). Foucault mentions that the regulations indicate:

when people can go in and out, how, at what times, what they must do at home, what type of food they must have, prohibiting certain types of contact, requiring them to present themselves to inspectors, and to open their homes to inspectors (Foucault 2007, 10).

Even though Foucault had liberal societies in mind when describing the 'City in Plague', the same situation may be found in Nowa Huta, as a place where invigilation is conducted by undercover Communist agents.

Foucault's writing on governance, resonate with the critiques of Taylorism and scientific management that, as shown in chapter two, served as the basis of Soviet principles of regulating life. The position of the architect in this power-play or in any process of design is a complex issue. In the context of Communism the architects were given directives, which were vague at first and required interpretation to be applied. Later these narrowed down to consultations with politicians. It can be argued that the architects, for fear of losing the commission, tried to be subservient to the Communist norm as much as possible and the public opinion would see the efforts as having originated from the architects as opposed to the government. This forced a unique episteme that disregarded the heterogeneity of spatial experience, and assumed the production of homo-sovieticus as the silent conceptual core of design.

#### **4.3 Site and context;**

##### **People and historical events which directly influenced the conceptual development of Nowa Huta**

This section of the chapter gives context to the development of the core ideas that governed the spatial design of Nowa Huta's urban plan. The text presents specific events which outline the socio-political necessity of erecting the city. It also presents the choice of the future site of the city, as well as introducing the team of architects who worked on the

design of the project. The purpose of this section is to give a basis of knowledge necessary to understand the initial design of the Masterplan.

According to Crowley, the destruction of the nation after the War opened up the opportunity to reconstruct Poland as a new modernist environment (1994 188). One case which exemplifies this point consists of two Polish CIAM members: Helena and Szymon Syrykus, who produced a modernist plan for Warsaw. The architects' efforts were never utilised as the government of the country eventually decided to rebuild most of the cities as they stood in the past, from old drawings dating back to the 18<sup>th</sup> Century. Crowley says that until 1948 the Polish Communist party was too concerned with making sense of the new political structures, orchestrated by entirely new actors and an unusual context, to take notice of art or design (1994 189). The country was, in this sense, at a standstill. Crowley goes on to describe how this changed when Boleslaw Bierut, the Polish Communist party leader, proclaimed an intention to implement a six year plan at the 1948 party-congress (1994 190). This was a plan to develop the nation's industry and residential conditions as well as infrastructure and communication streams. Priority was to be given to military, strategic and heavy industrial development, mostly producing steel and coal. As Bierut said:

We have to make up for inherited neglect. In architectural forms we still find the heritage of bourgeois cosmopolitanism, whose expression in the field of architecture are colourless, box-like houses, the symbols of dull formalism. Our architects should, to a greater extent than now, draw on the sound traditions of our national architecture, adapting them to the new goals and new possibilities of the building process, and infusing into them a new socialist spirit (quoted in Crowley 1994 190).

However, David Crowley also quotes Jakub Berman's speech to a congress of the 'Union of Architects' in Katowice in 1949. Berman said that 'copying the model of the Soviet Union was obligatory in every sphere' (quoted in Crowley 1994 190). Stalin saw the backwardness of the Soviet Union and the Eastern European states, as he himself claimed 'We remain backward, 50 years behind the leading countries. We must reach their level in ten years. Either we accomplish this task, or they will smite us.' (quoted in Biedrzycka et al. 2007 12). In this context, Stalin pushed industrialisation to prepare the Soviet Union and its allies for war (Bataille 1989 113). The political incentive was to channel a disciplined, military development first and foremost.

Urbanism and architecture were seen here as key in the context of necessity to rebuild Poland. Countries in Central and Eastern Europe under the Soviet hegemony produced several attempts to create an ideal, socialist city, fitting into Stalin's politics. Those were Magnitogorsk in Russia (Bodenschatz et al. 2015), Stalinvaros in Hungary, Stalinsadt in Germany (Appllebaum 2012) and Dymitrowgrad in Bulgaria (Biedrzycka et al. 2007). As seen in the figures below (Fig. 4.2-4.6), all structures are modular and recognise the main avenue that bears the most important flows of transport and information. All the subsequent streets

radiate from the main road that carries inhabitants along the stretch of the urban grid. An architectural intervention on a smaller scale but similar principles was Stalin-Allee in Berlin. Contrary to the strategy of the Polish government, the new cities (as Anne Applebaum notes) were to be socialist in character, free of historical burdens, where a 'new human being was to come into existence, the city and the factory were to be a laboratory of a future society, culture and way of life' (2012, 388).

A notable example is the city of Magnitogorsk, the urban form of which was determined by an explicit struggle between the designer and the governance (Bodenschatz et al. 2015). The city was to be an exemplar of utility in the Soviet Union. The lead designer was Ernst May, a man who prior to the design commission was employed in a Soviet office, responsible for producing standardised designs for housing (Sojuzsladatzilstroj) and standardised town planning. May's concept was of a linear city with three distinct parts: an industrial part, a green part and a residential part, where the inhabitant would engage with higher culture which was associated with leisure in the post-family-unit capacity. May's role in the project was to ensure the reproducibility of the concept. However, even his approach proved to be not representative enough for the governance and was changed to incorporate a street linking the train station with the main factory of the intervention.

All the mentioned cities (Fig. 4.2-4.6) have clear circulation and are driven by movement to a factory. The plans do not give many opportunities for relaxed leisure events in the form of squares or playgrounds. The plans identify with the modernist notion of speedy movement within a cityscape and it can be assumed that they were designed with little consideration to appropriating space otherwise.

This type of design resonates with Foucault's description of an efficient and disciplined city. In his lectures he continues to describe a city in which several features were to be orchestrated in order to gain control of the urban context (Foucault 2007 18). Those were hygiene, established limits and frontiers, hierarchy, security and surveillance. They were all to be used in an attempt to maximise the output of inhabitants by facilitating what Foucault called 'good circulation' and minimising 'bad circulation' (2007 16).

In Foucault's description there is a preconceived idea of economic progress, locating the city's stability in notions of regulated flows within a utilitarian, capitalist agenda. This was done in an attempt to, as Foucault says 'name procedures, processes, and techniques of normalisation' (2007, 56) and apply them via law to achieve a uniform and productive society.

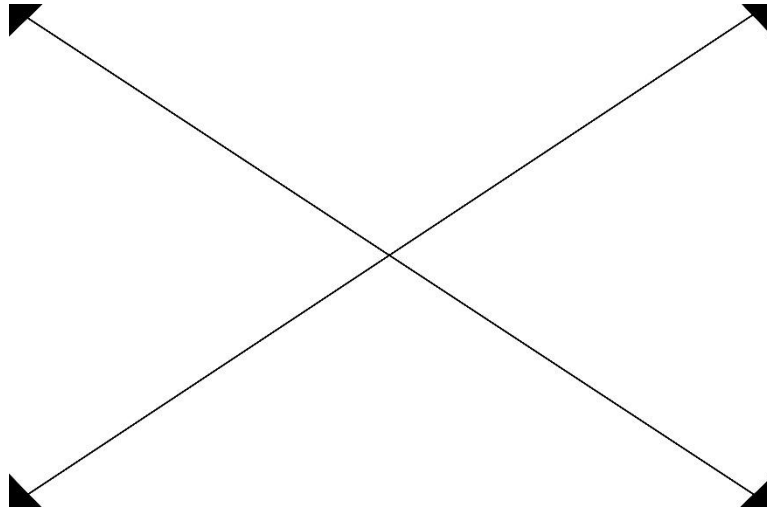


Fig. 4.2 Masterplan of Stalinstadt in East Germany from 1953 (Biedrzycka et al. 2007, 13)

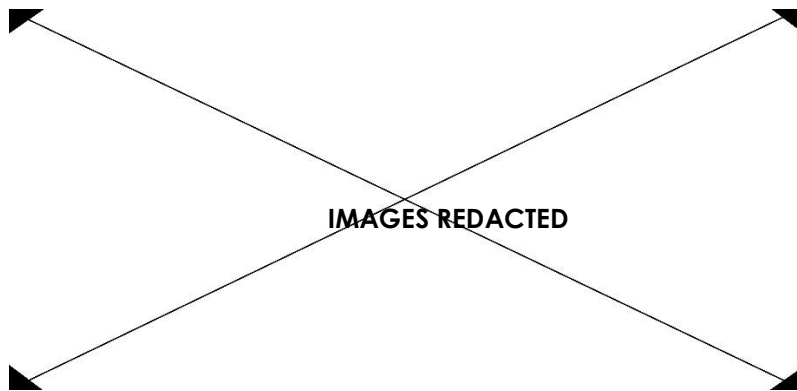


Fig. 4.3 Masterplan of a neighbourhood unit in Stalinvaros, Hungary from 1949 (Biedrzycka et al. 2007, 17)

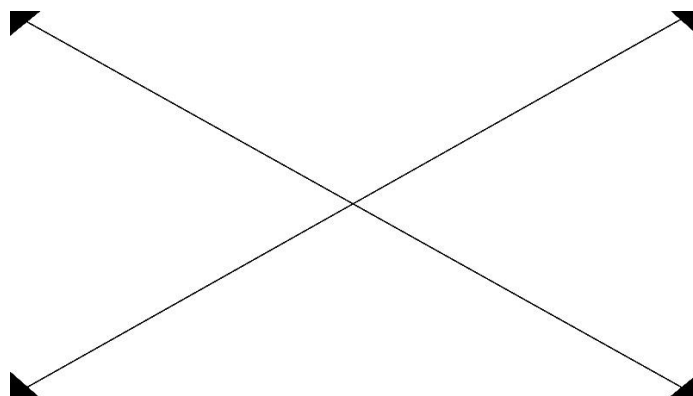


Fig. 4.4 Masterplan of Dyrmitowgrad, in Bulgaria from 1949 (Biedrzycka et al. 2007, 19)

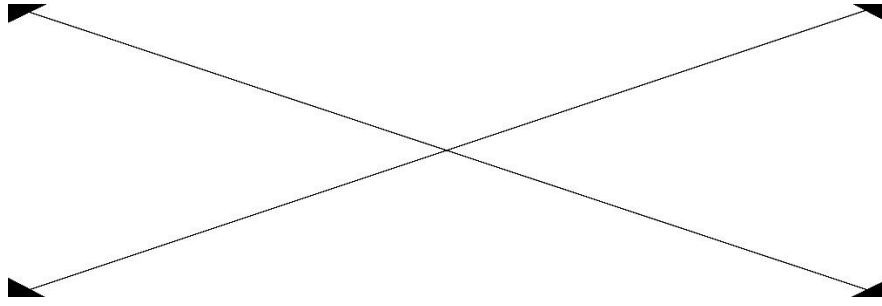


Fig 4.5. OSA brigade (Ivan I Leonidov et al.), design for the socialist city of Magnitorsk 1930 (Bodenschatz et al. 2015, 184)

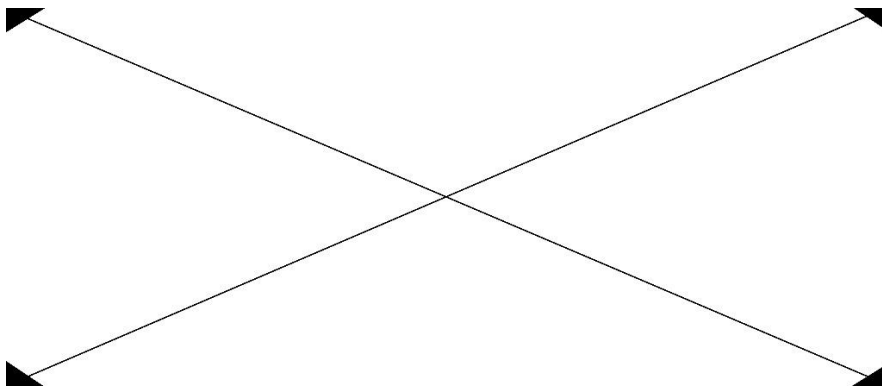


Fig. 4.6 Ernst May et al, plan for Magnitorsk, 1956 (Bodenschatz et al. 2015, 185)

For Foucault:

[d]iscipline [...] analyses and breaks down; it breaks down individuals, places, time, movements, actions, and operations. It breaks them down into components such that they can be seen, on the one hand, and modified on the other (Foucault, 2007, 56-57).

Disciplinary normalisation proposes a particular model, optimal to achieving a goal with the highest output at the cost of minimal input. This was the aim of an industrial city.

Bierut's six year plan was at the forefront of the race to express allegiance to Soviet leaders and his aim was to present the efficiency of Poland. Bierut went to Moscow to receive a fund from Stalin himself to erect a large factory (Mieziań 2004). This was a continuation of an agreement which the Polish government made in 1948 with that of the Soviets, concerning financial and economic cooperation (Biedrzycka et al. 2007 36). On 17 May 1949, the six-year-plan committee reached the decision to erect a new steelworks in Poland. The decision involved erecting a new complex which would support a massive steelworks factory that would be capable of producing an unprecedented amount of steel to fuel the military.

The city (as it would be later named Nowa Huta) was a symbolic endeavour similar to Stalin's Tower, as Crowley writes '[a]n example of Stalinist fetish for nineteenth-century models of industrial production' (Crowley 1994, 191). It was to signify to the whole nation the readiness



of the Polish Communist government to take control, yielding a positive output. Nowa Huta was to become the centrepiece of Communist propaganda in the country, a new, hygienic, socialist space. Considering the influences from Soviet Russia and the time in which the proclamations were made, it can be said that the new city had to abide by the rule of Alexander Paperny's Culture 2 at the highpoint of Stalinism. This was to be the code of the new space which would constitute the foundations of the idea for the urban design.

Such a description relates to what Foucault would name an episteme. In spite of the individual architects differentiation in accepting the new homogenised style they all referred to the October revolution in their divagations. Whatever the approach, the concept of the city from the designers' perspective, was to create a new world ripe for the post-revolutionary Marxists: a time when new knowledge is determined, when the old modalities of thinking are not good enough to comprehend new technologies and moral challenges, with which humanity was faced. This episteme would be based on the notion of Marxism, work and comradeship. The introduction of this new way of reasoning was propagated by Soviet propaganda.

An example was the language that was to replace the old, habitual Polish way of communicating. The word 'sir' or 'madam'<sup>1</sup>, which are so important in referring to someone in Polish, are replaced by 'comrade'<sup>2</sup>, which devalues gender and recognises the self only as an element in a group. Another example was the word 'collective' which was replaced by 'party'. In its new meaning the word 'party' had the same resonance and everyone, who was not in it was shunned and had problems at work (Baran (ed.) 2014). This change, however, implied hierarchy and leadership of the government. This was all in all an effort to de-territorialise the semantics of the Polish language and re-configure it with Soviet intent so that each individual would start considering themselves according to the new framework of thinking and new spaces for these people as 'homo-sovieticus'.

The site selection was the first manifestation of Soviet authority. Katarzyna Zechenter, analysed propaganda associated with the city such as period postcards. She claims that considering Krakow's history as the old capital of Poland as well as the fact that Krakow remained largely untouched by the War, Stalin's choice of Warsaw as the Capital of the country and placing the new socialist utopia next to Krakow seems to confirm that the site choice was dictated by more than just common sense (2007 661). The specific location of the city suggested building over an old village called Mogiła.

The inhabitants of Mogiła reacted negatively as the land on which the city was to stand was of fertile soil and cut across medieval trade routes between Krakow and Wieliczka (an

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<sup>1</sup> 'Proszę pana' or 'Proszę pani'

<sup>2</sup> 'Towarzyszu'

ancient city carved into a salt mine). It also was the site for the remains of a 15<sup>th</sup> century timber church as well as Wanda's Mound (which was associated with deep nostalgic patriotism). The site, therefore, was expected to have a huge archaeological value with potential to uncover historical artefacts dating back to the Palaeolithic age. Tadeusz Binek narrates that the city was to stand partly on the village of Mogiła (1997 159). The authorities had to dispose of several vernacular buildings already standing on that site, those had timber construction painted with calcium, often with straw and thatch roofs. This village dated back to the origin of the monastery of Cistercians from the 19<sup>th</sup> Century (ibid.). The site was therefore an unlikely choice for a new architectural intervention at this scale.

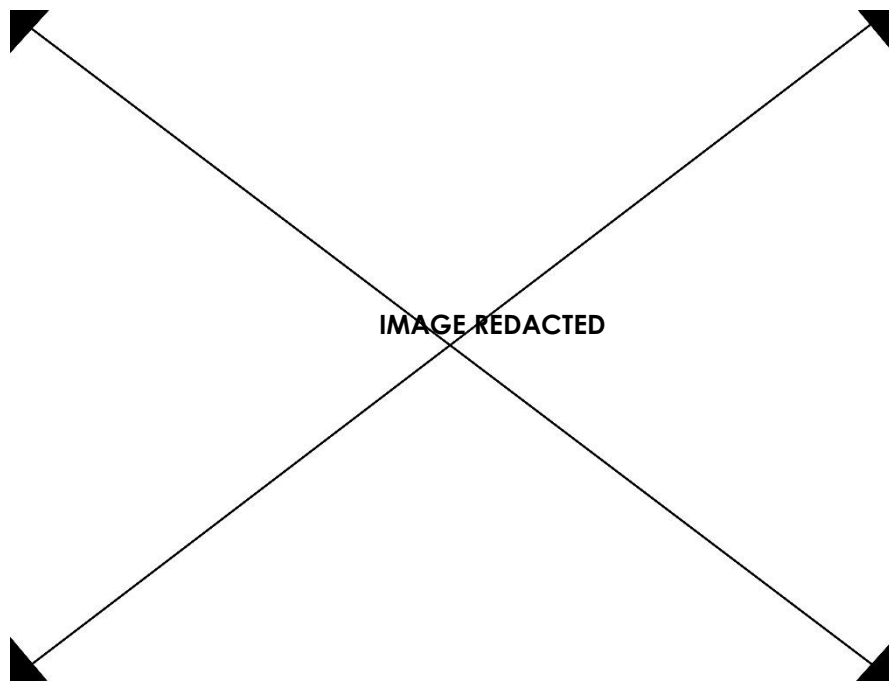


Fig. 4.7 Vernacular building in Mogiła; Private collection made available on Facebook

Marian Kordaszewski suggests that the concept of Nowa Huta was to create an ideal city according to a Marxist intent, one which would not have a place for the sacred (2013 9). It was to stand in contrast to everything which Krakow represented, its regal heritage, associations with the relationship of the country to the Catholic Church and an old medieval architectural pattern. Those attempts seem to be contesting the traditions that Krakow itself represents. By juxtaposing Krakow against the nearby city of Nowa Huta the Polish people would be presented with an image of the old heritage or new beginning, in a grand ideological game.

The choice of site seems to align with the language of Soviet propaganda, signifying an idea implicitly. In spite of there being little evidence for subterfuge, Miezián points out 'everyone knows that Nowa Huta was built by the Communists to humiliate conservative Krakow.'

(Mieziań 2004 4). Nowa Huta was to be an antidote for the bourgeoisie affect of Krakow, the mother of Polish patriotism. The geography of the city was to be utilised in an attempt to enable the newly formed homo-sovieticus to see only what the governance wanted to present.

One of my interviewees (pseudonym: Marek) shared his impressions of history. He imagined that the site-choice was made when the government dignitaries went to Wanda's Mound, which would constitute a viewpoint from which Krakow and the new steelworks were visible (interview with Rebel 2013). Marek's theory is untestable albeit compelling, considering that the location of the city from that one point is between two landmarks that disturb the visible skyline: St. Mary's church in the centre of Krakow and the Cistercian Monastery (see Fig. 4.8). The new city is framed by the two buildings, that disrupt the skyline of the vista.

In 1949, Tadeusz Ptaszycki (an architect from Wrocław) won the competition to develop the masterplan for Nowa Huta. By June, an initial masterplan for a city, which would support the factory, was approved by ZOR– Factory Workers' Neighbourhoods Union<sup>3</sup> (Sławiński and Sibila (ed.) 2008 100). Members of Tadeusz Ptaszycki's team that came to form 'Miastoprojekt' included amongst others Bolesław Skrzybalski, Adam Foltyn, Zbigniew Sieradzki, Tadeusz Uniejowski, Andrzej Uniejowski, Edward Dąbrowski, Marta Ingarden, Janusz Ingarden, Stanisław Juchnowicz and Tadeusz Rembieszka (Jurewicz (ed.) 2012 10). Those were people educated to be architects and urban designers in prominent universities of Poland: the University of Lvów, University of Wrocław, Politechnic of Gdańsk and Warsaw University. Some of the architects also served as soldiers in AK – national army (Armia Krajowa) which was an unofficial nomadic military force of Poland during the Second World War. Such people were considered to be trustworthy Polish patriots. Paweł Jagło claims that former AK soldiers were under constant surveillance as those were targeted by the secret Communist collaborators as most probable to raise revolt against the regime (Baran et al. 2014 29).

Applebaum also quotes Stanisław Juchnowicz (one of the architects working on the Nowa Huta project) who says: 'They wanted to change the character of Krakow [...] they wanted to create a working class who would change the city' (Applebaum 2012 388). Juchnowicz refers to the governors of the concept as 'they' because the architects' role was to design accordingly. He continues: 'it was often necessary to take risks and to engage in the appropriate sort of politics so that we could realize plans [which were sometimes conflicting with those of the Communists].' (Lebow 2013 29). Architecture had to endure harsh scrutiny from Warsaw in every aspect of their design process.

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<sup>3</sup> Zakład Osiedli Robotniczych

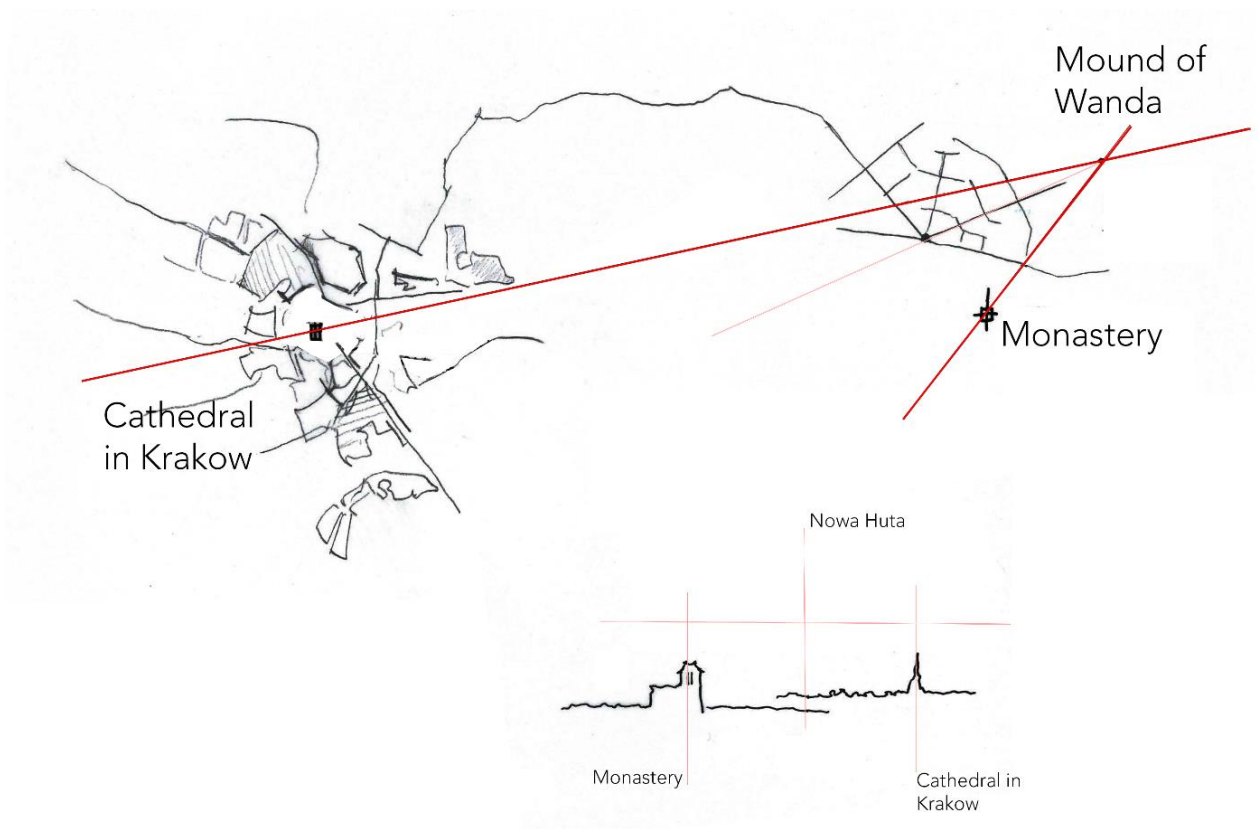


Fig. 4.8 My sketch of the framing of the site for Nowa Huta on an initial proposal of the city from archive V with the view from the Mound of Wanda framed by the monastery and the main Church in Krakow annotated by the author of this thesis. (Markowski 1961)

Ptaszycki travelled to Warsaw regularly to meet officials, when he was summoned by Bierut (the Polish equivalent of Stalin), to defend design decisions. Juchnowicz claims that Ptaszycki was very good at defending his office's ideas (quoted in Jurewicz (ed.) 2008 58). Juchnowicz adds that the discipline in the office was also facilitated by assistance from Warsaw (quoted in Jurewicz (ed.) 2008). He and other architects working in the office were driven to Warsaw and shown neo-classical buildings being erected in the MDM (Marszałkowska Dzielnica Mieszkaniowa) district of Warsaw (Fig. 4.9). One of the ministers would then say that he wants the buildings in Nowa Huta to look similar, saying: 'I will drive you there and I will show you how to build'<sup>4</sup> (quoted in Jurewicz (ed.) 2008 59).

Using MDM as a precedent was a well thought through strategy. Crowley describes MDM as a Communist haven for high culture that was to be an exemplar of acceptable culture (2003 113). According to Crowley the district democratised consumption that remained aimed at the middle-classes since the 19<sup>th</sup> century. This was a perfect model for the ideal city of Nowa Huta.

In spite of the regimented control that Warsaw was employing it does not seem like an unusual demand to ask the architect to comply with the requirements of the commissioning body. The opportunity to design this city must have felt like a chance to establish a comprehensive platform for citizens to engage with the civic debate. Whilst this may have been the case, another way of characterising this would be in terms of Foucault's notion of self-governance influenced by the government.

Juchnowicz sets out the context of the design (quoted in Sławiński and Sibila (ed.) 2008 177-230). He says that Socialist-Realism was dominant in art and architecture between 1949 and 1956. He adds that symmetry was preferred as were Baroque and Classical styles in architecture. His observation was based on an analysis of the detailing of arcades, ornaments, cornices. Biedrzycka and her collaborating team note that Nowa Huta is a materialisation of attempts to create a utopian city based on assumptions guiding the world at the time (2007). Juchnowicz said that the city is a legacy of the past and it was created against everything, common sense, tradition, law and history. This approach seems to resonate the Modernist assumptions dominant in Western-European countries, a new start and a new beginning without nostalgia which holds back progress. In the atmosphere of the Soviet Union this must have been a great assumption to accept in a public forum when justifying the new architecture of the post-revolutionary land.

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<sup>4</sup> 'to ja was zawiozę i pokażę, jak trzeba budować'

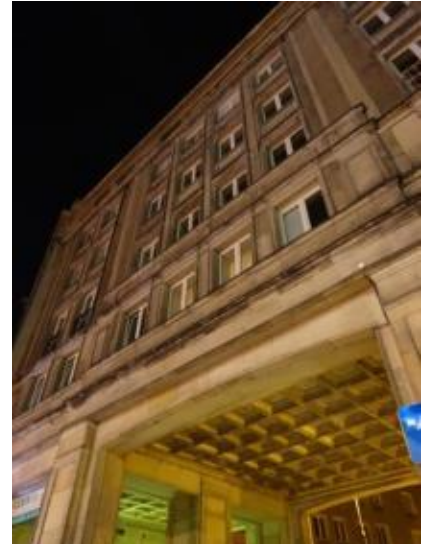


Fig. 4.9 Buildings in the MDM district in Warsaw; own archive

The city originated as part of the 'six year plan' to re-establish heavy industry and military movements in Poland. This was mostly dictated by Stalin's phobias relating to international relations. The project was funded by the Soviet government and it was engaged with great care by the people who were involved in it. It was to be the pride of the nation and a new start for Poland after the Second World War. As mentioned above, the architect who was given the privilege to design the new city was Tadeusz Ptaszycski, who set up his office in Krakow called Miastoprojekt. He and his team were to work under strict surveillance of the Soviet hegemonic order and report all design decisions to the governing authorities of Poland.

#### **4.4 The Bio-politics of the city;**

##### **The initial concept of the city**

This section of the chapter outlines the initial design of Nowa Huta as a space ripe for a socialist paradise (as presented in the aspirational rendering in Fig. 10). It describes the aspirations of the designers and concepts that can be associated with the intellectual development of the proposal. The text argues that the main architectural concept can be understood as one, channelling bodies of workers to gain an uninterrupted flow leading to a positive human-architecture assemblage that benefited the Soviet Union. Through a careful analysis of design drawings and documentation this section examines the probable evolution of the urban design of the city.

On a wider scale, by 1950 the design of the city, on paper, was such a success that it gained international acclaim. Applebaum draws parallels between the city and the 16 principles of architecture proclaimed by Walter Pistonek which investigated architectural strategies accepted by the Soviet government (2012). He assumed that heavy industry would be associated with every large development and that larger urban grids were more preferable. In his lectures, which he gave between May and November 1950, he argued for the presence of a green belt between the city and the industry, the visibility of factory gates from the main open spaces and a lack of churches. All of those features are present in the initial masterplan of Nowa Huta.

Figure 4.10 presents the city as an aspirational image. It is clear that the image contests the civic space of the future intervention with that of Krakow. It may be assumed that the regulation of the city was expected to be different from the qualities of the civic in the old city. The new city was to be rid of the disorder of the medieval Polish capital.

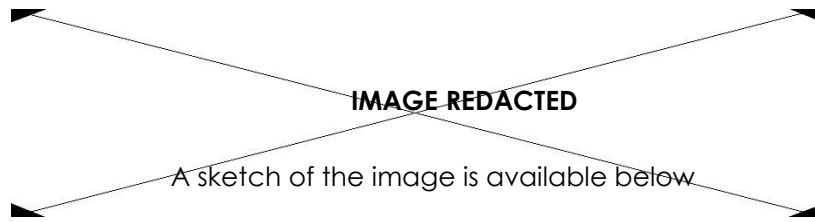


Fig. 4.10 Aspirational and romantic rendering of Nowa Huta on a postcard from 1954 with my sketch identifying the compositional hierarchies: Kombinat breaking the skyline, Nowa Huta in the foreground and Krakow (in the backdrop) (Biedrzycka et al 2007 66-68)

The first consideration that had to be addressed about any modern city, to justify it in the Soviet light, was its utility for the Communist goals. It may be understood that the conceptual personae of a socialist world was to be an element of the Soviet collective, a homo-sovieticus which, had to be housed in an appropriate environment. James Cracraft quotes a propaganda school-book from the Soviet Union: 'Every future city will be a worker's village near a factory' (Cracraft 2003 142).

Gregory Andrusz et al. claim that Marx and Engels, studied the rural-urban relationship and called for an abolition of the distinction between the two and a redefinition of the terms (Andrusz et al. 1996). Lenin, according to Andrusz, simplified the problem and described cities as centres of spiritual, economic and political life and hence proclaimed them as preferred by the Soviet hegemony (1996, 113). The value of a city, under Communism, was evaluated according to its capacity to sustain a nearby heavy industry (Andrusz et al. 1996 112). It can be said that the purpose of Nowa Huta was to sustain the 'Kombinat' which was a large steelworks complex that was designed in the Soviet Union and located immediately east of Nowa Huta. The city must have therefore been expected to respond to the presence of the Kombinat. Nowa Huta was also designed to recognise the presence of Krakow by impeding any direct infrastructure to develop west-wards.

The design of Nowa Huta was based on a rational notion of efficient utility which was defined by political interests. The architecture, which was to be erected in the early phases of the



project was that, which explicitly provided significant amenities intrinsic to the operation of the whole. These were communal canteens, spaces which served to sustain workers.

4. Warzywniczo-owocowy	120 m <sup>2</sup>
5. Winno-cukierniczy	60 m <sup>2</sup>
6. Mięsno-wędliniarski	90 m <sup>2</sup>
<b>Razem 6 sklepów</b>	<b>590 m<sup>2</sup></b>

**D2**

1. Ogólno-spożywczy	90 m <sup>2</sup>
2. " "	90 m <sup>2</sup>
3. " "	140 m <sup>2</sup>
4. Piekarniczo-nabiałowy	90 m <sup>2</sup>
5. Warzywniczo-owocowy	80 m <sup>2</sup>
6. " "	120 m <sup>2</sup>
7. Winno-cukierniczy	60 m <sup>2</sup>
8. " "	60 m <sup>2</sup>
9. Mięsno-wędliniarski	90 m <sup>2</sup>
10. " "	90 m <sup>2</sup>
<b>Razem 10 sklepów</b>	<b>910 m<sup>2</sup></b>

Ilość sklepów spożywczych w osiedlach peryferyjnych do ulicy Kocmyrzowskiej dla 39.000 mieszkańców wynosi 71 o pow. 6.490 m<sup>2</sup>. Powyższa ilość daje wskaźnik m<sup>2</sup>/1000 mieszkańców.

Na osiedlach tych na 1 sklep branży spożywczej wypada 549 mieszk.

**A. Sklepy spożywcze /za ul. Kocmyrzowską/**

Lp.	Branża	Ilość sklepów	powierzchnia w m <sup>2</sup>
1.	Sprzężenie spożywcze	1	235
2.	Ogólno-spożywcze	9	960
3.	Nabiałowo-piekarniczy	7	630
4.	Warzywniczo-owocowy	6	600
5.	Winno-cukierniczy	6	360
6.	Mięsno-wędliniarski	6	540
7.	Tytoniowy	2	100
8.	Ryby	1	90
<b>Razem:</b>		<b>38</b>	<b>3.515</b>

Fig. 4.11 One of the consultation documents issued as part of the brief development of Nowa Huta; this text relates to the calculations determining the number of retail venues; Archive V (Trzecielski 1955).

They were, however, thought of in terms of numbers and not qualities of space, as the following documents from Archive V, the brief development, suggest.

The outline of the brief above (Fig. 4.11) might signify that the design of Nowa Huta was justified by quasi scientific investigations which characterised the human condition by equations predicting conduct. The full extent of the brief is organised in the same way, tables of architectural spaces and numbers associated them. There is no narrative that suggests quality of space or building typologies. This came later when the design was presented to the client. This could be understood to be forcing a particular self-governance of the designer, who (in fear of disappointing the client) aimed to anticipate the client's demands. Following the reminiscence of Lenin's slogan: 'Learn, Learn, Learn' (quoted in Žižek 1997 39) the homo-sovieticus philosophy assumed the necessity for education facilities however it also assumed the self-regulation of sexual conduct that would result in a controllable growth of the population. Below is a document which predetermines the number of kindergartens per each inhabitant of the city (Fig. 4.12). This is part of a packet, which constituted a consultation document from the Communist ministry of education that was produced to determine the architectural composition of Nowa Huta. The second and third paragraph read:

Due to the fact that primary education is catering for all youth between 7 and 14 years of age, the potential number of places in schools is taken with respect to an assumption, that ...[children eligible for education]... compose 14% of all inhabitants.

Primary education is assumed to cater for 100 000 inhabitants including rural areas outside the city, for which the administration of the city is to provide in accordance with national agreements. (Fig 4.12, Archive V, Junczys 1955a)

The assumptions that the equation was derived from were meant to standardise ways of thinking about life into a politically adequate construct, close to that of homo-sovieticus. This gave a justifiable basis for the designers and conformed to an orderly preconceived conduct. The growth of the city was taken under consideration; it was, however, to follow a very predictable pattern with little interrogation of precedents in similar contextual situations. Some citizens fitted in to these assumptions.

Judith Butler's rhetorical question implies that with the growing domination of the role of the government in the citizen's life the identity of the self tends to subdue itself to follow the outlined modalities of enunciation (1994). It might suggest that conduct in Nowa Huta was expected to follow the same articulation that was set out by the government even in terms of the number of children per household.

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Szkoły podstawowe:

Ministerstwo Oświaty uważa, że wskazany jest dla M.N.H. typ szkoły 15 izbowej t.j. szkoły dwuciągowej z jednym oddziałem dodatkowym, o 600 miejscach, o kubaturze 10.800 m<sup>3</sup> na działce 1,25 ha.

Ponieważ nauczaniem podstawowym objęta jest cała młodzież w wieku od 7 do 14 lat, potencjalną ilość miejsc w szkołach przyjmuje się w oparciu o założenie, że 7 roczników po 2% dzieci każdego rocznika stanowi 14% mieszkańców.

Szkoły podstawowe w M.N.H. programuje się dla 100.000 M z tym, że rozwiązaniem szkolnictwa na terenie wsi włączonych do administracyjnych granic M.N.H. powinny się zająć Rady Narodowe.

Dla całości M.N.H. powinniśmy uzyskać:

100.000 M x 0,14 = 14.000 miejsc w szkołach dla dzieci w wieku od 7 do 14 lat /szkoły siedmioletnie/.

Dla I etapu budowy M.N.H. /do ul. Kocmyrzowskiej/ dla 75.000 M w perspektywie, powinniśmy uzyskać: 75.000 M x 0,14 = 10.500 miej.

Stany przesądzone szkół podstawowych w M.N.H. dają nam 5.880 miej.

S z k o ł y

stany przesądzone

Lp.	Osiedle	Ilość obiekt.	Ilość miejsc	Kub. m <sup>3</sup>	Pow. działki ha	Rok oddania	Uwagi:
	A1	1	600	17.200	1,10	1951	
	A11	1	600	11.700	1,00	1956	
	A2	1	560	17.600	1,65	1952	
	B1	1	600	11.800	0,70	1955	
	B2	1	560	16.100	0,90	1955	
	B3	2	1200	21.600	2,50	I plan 5-letni	
	C2	1	560	17.800	1,00	1952	
	C3	1	600	10.800	0,80	I plan 5-letni	
	D3	1	600	10.800	1,25	"	
Razem:		10	5880	134.600	10,90		

pozostaje niedobór miejsc dla I etapu M.N.H. w ilości:

postulowana ilość miejsc	10.500
stany przesądzone	5.880
stany przesądzone	4.620

Fig. 4.12 One of the consultation documents issued as part of the brief development of Nowa Huta; this text relates to the calculations determining the number of kindergartens; Archive V (Junczys 1955a)

As Butler says:

does politicisation always need to overcome disidentification? What are the possibilities of politicising disidentification, this experience misrecognition, this uneasy sense of standing under a sign to which one does and does not belong? (Butler 1994 219)

One of my interviewees, a supporter of State Socialism, Jarek (J) says:

J-There was no sex in Socialism, no one had sex, no one was gay, no one took drugs; there were no prostitutes... there were no derailments of the bourgeois.

CD -Then what was there?

J-Nothing, there were only decent citizens<sup>5</sup>

(Interview with Jarek 2015)

The above quote requires interpretation but suggests that there was a definition of the 'decent citizen' and that its image was that of a normative person, who refrains from any form of indulgences. This comes across most prominently in the revision documents to the initial brief that are almost entirely number-led, without any reference to quality of space.

The architects gave cultural amenities priority; 2 out of 10 in the building schedule (Fig. 4.14). Their omission must have meant that the government saw it as wasteful to erect a grand monument to liberal arts.

Considering the prepared and abiding general plan for phase 1 of the construction of the city, limited /to Kocmorzynowska Street/ It is suggested that the arrangement of districts West of Kocmorzynowska will be considered as "phase 2". The entirety of the erection of the socio-service amenities will be given the following priorities:

Section I: Education

Section II: Culture and Art

Section III: Health care and Social care.

Section IV: Handicraft services

Section V: Commodities distribution and facilitatory industries

Section VI: Communal dining

Section VII: Administration

Section VIII: Communal industry

Section IX: Transport.

Section Xxi: Physical culture

(Fig. 4.14, Trzecielski and Juncysz 1955 58)

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<sup>5</sup> J- Nie było seksu przecież w okresie Socializmu nikt nie uprawiał seksu nikt nie był gejem nikt nie zażywał narkotyków nie było prostytutce jak ci wiadomo nie było niczego nie było żadnych takich wykolejeń burżuazji

CD-to co było?

J-nic, byli poźadni obywatele



### Wskaźniki techniczno-ekonomiczne

Dane ogólne :

Ilość mieszkańców	100.000 osób
Kubatura całości :	8.850.000 m <sup>3</sup>
Kubatura mieszkalna	6.150.000 m <sup>3</sup>
Kubatura socjalna	1.270.000 m <sup>3</sup>
Kubatura usługowa	1.330.000 m <sup>3</sup>
Kubatura urządzeń Uzbrojenia terenu /komunalno-usługowa/	100.000 m <sup>3</sup>
Ilość mieszkań	25.470
Ilość pomieszczeń /izb/	67.000

Stosunek kubatury socjalno-usługowej do kubatury mieszkaniowej  
 $\frac{2.700.000}{6.150.000} = 44 \%$

Stosunek kubatury mieszkaniowej do kubatury ogólnej :  
 $\frac{6.150.000}{8.850.000} = 69,5\%$

Stosunek kubatury socjalno-usługowej i komunalno-usługowej  
do kubatury ogólnej:  
 $\frac{2.700.000}{8.850.000} = 30,5 \%$

Stosunek kubatury socjalnej do kubatury ogólnej :  
 $\frac{1.270.000}{8.850.000} = 14 \%$

Stosunek kubatury usługowej do kubatury ogólnej :  
 $\frac{1.330.000}{8.850.000} = 15 \%$

Stosunek kubatury komunalno-usługowej do kubatury ogólnej :  
 $\frac{100.000}{8.850.000} = 1,5 \%$

Kubatura jednego pomieszczenia /izby/ :  
 $\frac{6.150.000}{67.000} = 91,7 \text{ m}^3$

Kubatura 1 mieszkania :  
 $\frac{6.150.000}{25.470} = 241 \text{ m}^3$

Fig. 4.13 One of the consultation documents issued as part of the brief development of Nowa Huta; this text relates to the numbers and sizes of flats; Archive V (Junczyz 1955b).

If the construction plan were to follow the architects' instructions, the cultural amenities would be less likely to be dropped from the project than administrative buildings such as the ones framing the entrance to the Kombinat. It could be the case that in light of a very infrequent attendance of cultural events the buildings were seen as lacking in potential and the architect's directives were superseded. This suggests the way the government thought of the city, referring back to statistics but not considering potential future uses. This was a strategy of risk aversion that signified the attitude towards the self. The decision-makers focussed on the past and not the future and weakened the revolutionary position of the architects.

The conceptual development of the city, represented by architectural sketches, might imply a relationship between design and the Soviet intent to produce 'homo-sovieticus'.

Ptaszycki's sketch of the site (Fig. 4.15) shows the context of the future city. Krakow is the disorderly set of hatched forms on the left of the composition, the inner-circle on the right hand side is Kombinat (the misleading name 'Nowa Huta' means new-steelworks hence the factory was titled as such on the sketch) and the circle in the middle entitled: 'miasto' (literally meaning: city) was the new development, which was later named 'Nowa Huta'. The drawing clearly shows the spatial relationships at a broader conceptual level, which were later developed into a detailed urban design.

The city's initial design sketches are explicit about the priorities that were asked for in the design process. The new inhabitant was to become a Taylorist homo-sovieticus working to sustain the Kombinat.

Jarek narrates the rhythmicity of the city that aided the flow of workers into the steelworks, as he says:

I used to work on Central Square and I know how it looked and I worked [doing] funny things. I played in the kiosk... it was busy like in an ant farm at about half five in the morning as the shift would start at six... this was the first one, you see, then the buses would fly to the Kombinat.<sup>6</sup> (interview with Jarek 2014)

According to Jarek, the city was a great success. This is a man who claims to have been involved in many 'operations' within the city. It is his strong conviction that the city was designed on a factory-belt principle. He narrates the factory-belt theory thus:

Someone would leave their house to Kombinat, dropped off their child to kindergarten, walked whilst reading (...), to the buses, which took off from Central Square (...)<sup>7</sup> (Interview with Jarek 2014)

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<sup>6</sup> pracowałem na placu centralnym i wiem jak to wyglądało a pracowałem śmieszne rzeczy. Bawiłem się w kiosku ruchu... robiło się mrowie tak koło godziny wiesz w pół-do-szóstej, bo o szóstej zaczynała się zmiana... pierwsza zamina, prawda, a autobusy leciały do Kombinatu

<sup>7</sup> 'Wychodził ktoś-tam do pracy do kombinatu, podrzucał dziecko do przedszkola, szedł sobie czytać, podjeżdżał tam autobusem zakładam, bo autobusy startowały z Placu Centralnego (...).'

### Program budownictwa socjalno-usługowego.

Program budownictwa socjalno-usługowego opracowany w oparciu o P.N.U. i obowiązujące standardy I.B.A. zaktualizowany został na podstawie uzgodnień przeprowadzonych z użytkownikami na szczeblu ministerialnym. Bazą wyjściową dla programowania urządzeń socjalno-usługowych MHI jest ustalona cyfra ludności 100.000 H. Jedynie w niektórych wypadkach opracowano program dla 100.000 mieszkańców / lecznictwo otwarte i zamknięte, szpitalnictwo zawodowe/ uwzględniające ludność zapleczną MHI na wyraźne żądanie resortów użytkowników.

Przy bilansowaniu urządzeń socjalno-usługowych zgodnie z zasadą zastosowaną do całości niniejszego elaboratu, każdy z działów opracowano z rozbiorem na 4 stany przebiegane " i " założenia programowe " .

Ze względu na opracowany i obowiązujący plan generalny dla I etapu budowy MHI/ do ul. Kochanowskiej/ operuje się ustaloną nuzeracją osiedli, natomiast obiekty przewidziane do budowy za ul. Kochanowską, nie lokalizuje się wg osiedli, określając je mianem " II etap ".

Szkosć budownictwa socjalno-usługowego opracowano wg. następującego podziału:

- ✓ Dział I - Edukacja i Szpitalnictwo
- ✓ Dział II - Kultura i Sztuka
- ✓ Dział III - Szpital zdrowia i opieka społ.
- ✓ Dział IV - Usługi rzemieślnicze
- ✓ Dział V - Dystrybucja towarowa i przemysł. uzupełniająca
- ✓ Dział VI - Bytowanie zbiorowe
- ✓ Dział VII - Administracja i usługi
- Dział VIII - Gospodarka Komunalna
- ✓ Dział IX - Transport.
- Dział X - Kultura fizyczna.

Fig. 4.14 One of the consolation documents issued as part of the brief development of Nowa Huta; this text outlines the sequence of the erection on the construction site; Archive V (Trzecielski and Juncysz 1955 58)

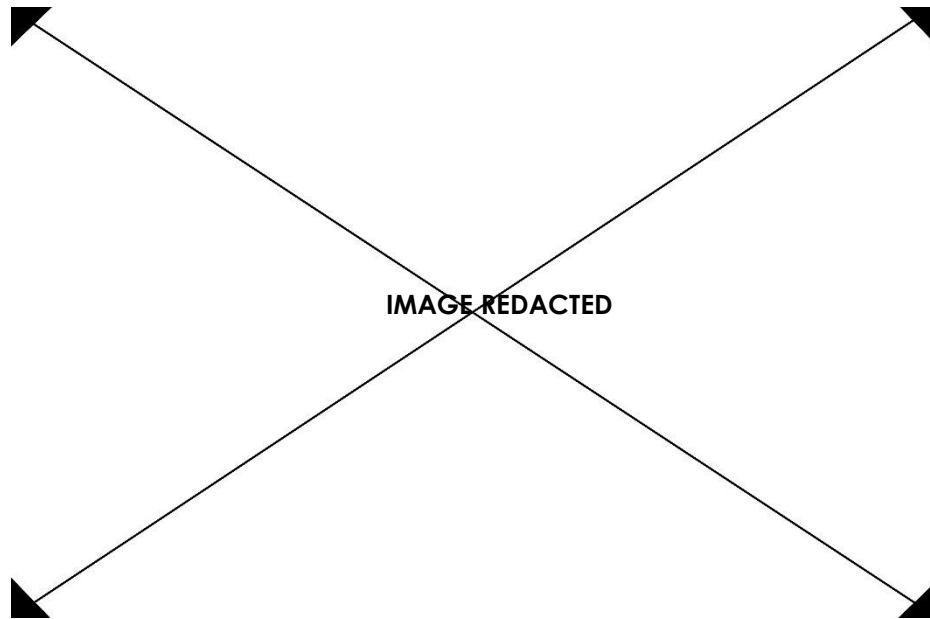


Fig. 4.15 Ptaszycki's initial sketch of the site from 1949; catalogued in 1983 (Sławiński and Sibila (ed.) 2008 178)

The syntax of spatial relationships in Nowa Huta being inspired by a factory-belt concept is possible and likely considering the attachment of the Soviet government to Taylorism. As argued in chapter two the Soviets were compelled by a scientific approach to improve the speed of work and it is possible that they would welcome any attempt to rationalise the rhythmicity of flows leading to production on an urban scale. Much like the arborescent veins within a leaf structure, the flows leading to work would start off in a small current from the residential quarters and join others to form a larger and larger channel leading to a central point where the factory belts would be accelerated by buses driving to the Kombinat. Binek, one of the contracted architects working on site, writes in his autobiography that he used to walk to a nearby hotel from under which a bus would take him to the gates of the Kombinat at a very specific time during the day (1997). It is possible that the architects of the city had this flow in their mind when designing.

This simplification of the design, inspired by the neo-classical ethos, provided clarity of flows in the urban grid which allowed for an informed circulation, always with the awareness of the Kombinat and the administration of the city. This was enabled by their-specific physical or visual presence in the most prominent areas of the city (Central Square) which had to be passed when making ones way through Nowa Huta, at least if one was not familiar with the secondary streets. This implies a streamlined way of thinking about the civic which may be understood to have redacted public engagement to considering it always with respect to or in subordination to the Kombinat.



A former hostess in one of the old hotels for workers in Nowa Huta, who agreed to become an interviewee (Agnieszka 2014), comments that the city is 'impossible to get lost in.'<sup>8</sup> She followed: 'There is a lot of greenery, easy transitions...'<sup>9</sup> She also compared the city to Krakow where, as she claims: there are 'small, cramped alleyways, little vegetation, little space'<sup>10</sup>. For her, the dichotomy of the Krakow-Nowa Huta binarity created a good comparison to evaluate the hygienic and spatial conditions of the new urban grid.

The composition of the city was based on a fan-like geometry where the southernmost square in the centre was the pivot-piece of a radial division. The main arteries were grand and wide to as Applebaum claims, create an opportunity to express allegiance to the Soviet hegemony (Applebaum 2012). The spaces between the streets became districts. The resulting sections were named: districts A, B, C and D starting from the one nearest to Kombinat (see Fig. 4.17). The route, which seems to be giving identity and determining the geometry of the composition is the one radiating to the Kombinat (now called Solidarity Alley) and thus establishing a sense of purpose of the composition of the design. A route which seems to be as important for organising circulation is the street between districts C and D. It has a similar angle in plan to the East-West road, as the street to Kombinat with the same road. This is a street leading only indirectly to Krakow. The former is the only route which has a well-argued definition, it is also one that links Central Square to the major workplace in the vicinity of the city. The comparison of the two streets implies that the city is turned away from the cultural associations of Krakow and turned to face the Kombinat. The confining elements of the city to the East was the Kombinat, and more specifically, a river which gave shape to a green buffer zone between the Kombinat and Nowa Huta.

The architectural expression of the relation between politics and work, manifested on the main axis, was key in constructing a space ripe for the homo-sovieticus and an episteme based on a strict discipline. The importance of this relationship was reinforced by navigating all formal flows leading to different destinations, for example Krakow, via Central Square. This square was one that was associated with leading people to work every shift. It is also the best place to view the recognisable gates to the Kombinat. This is a place where you cannot forget the presence of the major workplace near Nowa Huta. If one considers Foucault's notion of 'good circulation' one can see the immediate resonance of this notion in the conceptualisation of Nowa Huta by reminding its citizens of work at every step and basing the design of the city on home-work commuting. This strategy links anyone travelling within Nowa Huta with the view of the Kombinat gates (as seen in Fig. 4.19).

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<sup>8</sup> Nie można się zgubić.

<sup>9</sup> Dużo zieleni, łatwe przemieszczanie...

<sup>10</sup> małe, ciasne uliczki, mało zieleni, mało przestrzeni



Fig. 4.16 Initial proposal for the Masterplan from a propaganda book (Garliński 1953 81)

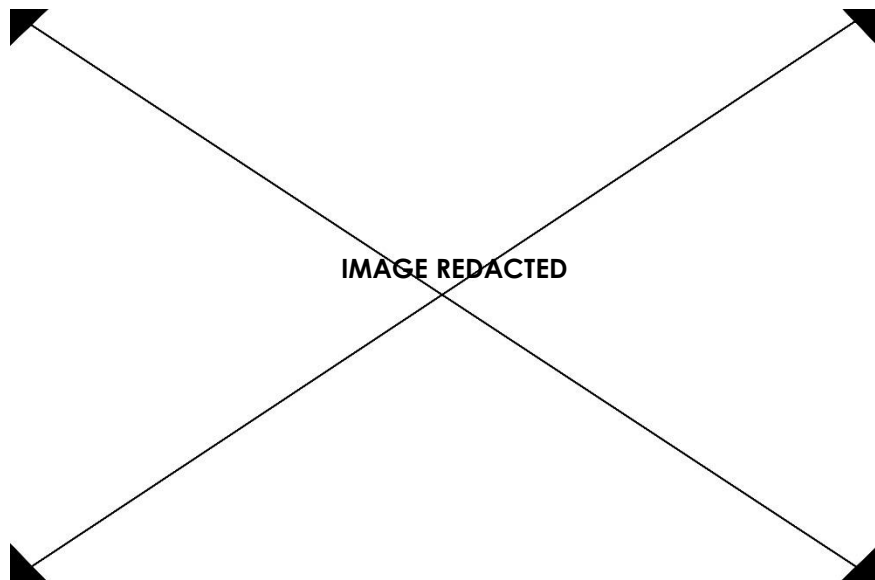


Fig. 4.17 The administrative map of the city with annotated districts from 1951 (Sławiński and Sibila (ed.) 2004)

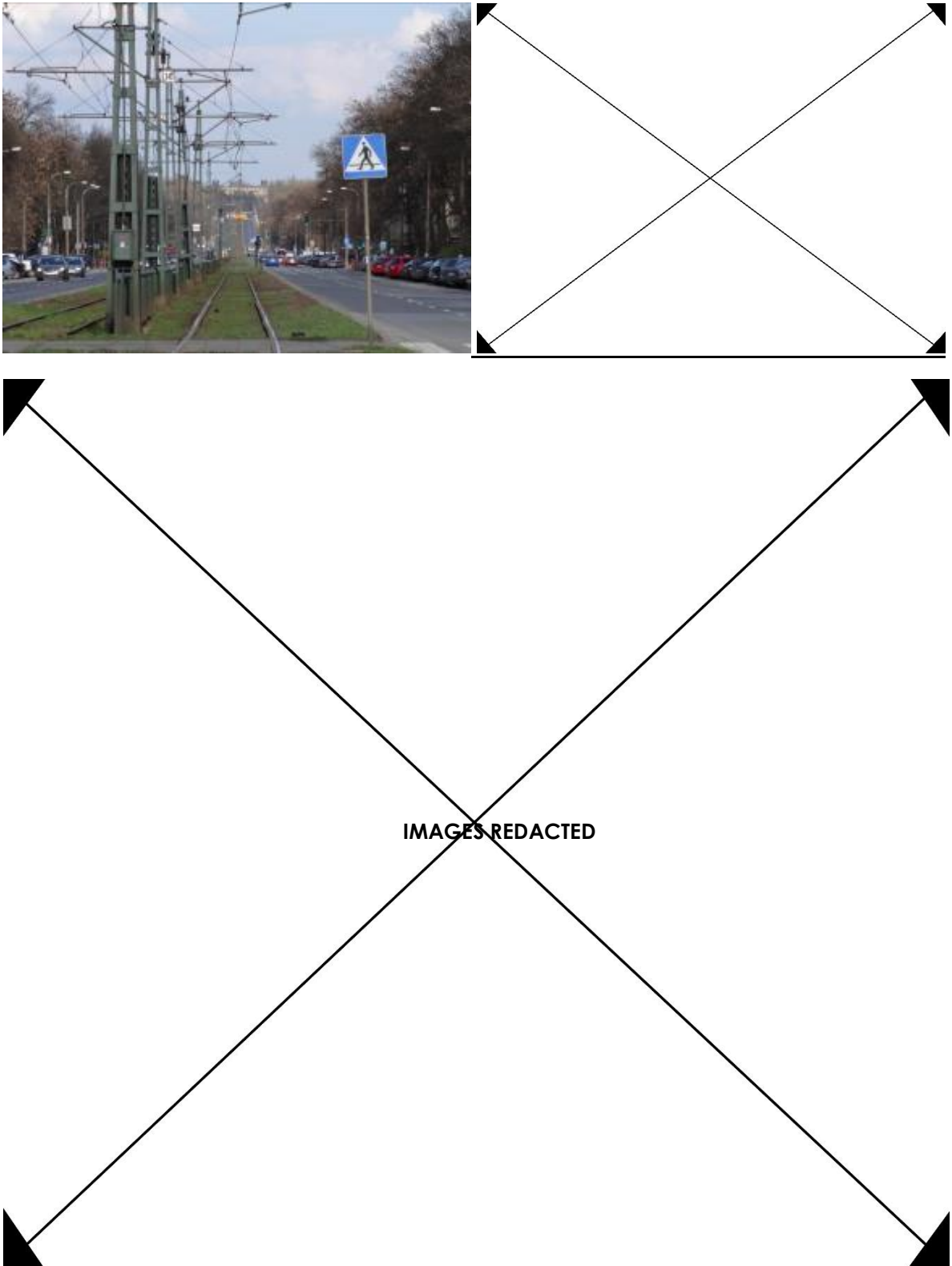


Fig. 4.19 The Kombinat Gates; View of Kombinat from Central Square and Kombinat gates, own archive and aerial view (Sławiński and Sibila 2008 197)

The gates pull the attention of the city towards the East, towards Kombinat. The two buildings framing the entrance to the workplace act as the nobleman from Matejko's painting dismissing Rejtan's protest and ordering him to leave so that a dignified civic debate can take place.

The two polarities (Central Square and gates to Kombinat) are the most impressive and compelling elements of the design. Lothar Bolz, a distinguished Socialist-Realism theoretician said:

The centre constitutes the core shaping the town. The centre is where the political life of this population focusses... in the Central Square demonstrations and parades, as well as celebrations and folk festivals, take place... the extent of its greatness is not a passenger rushing through the town in a modern car, but – A MAN OR A POLITICAL DEMONSTRATOR and the speed of his march. (quoted in Miezián 2004 83)

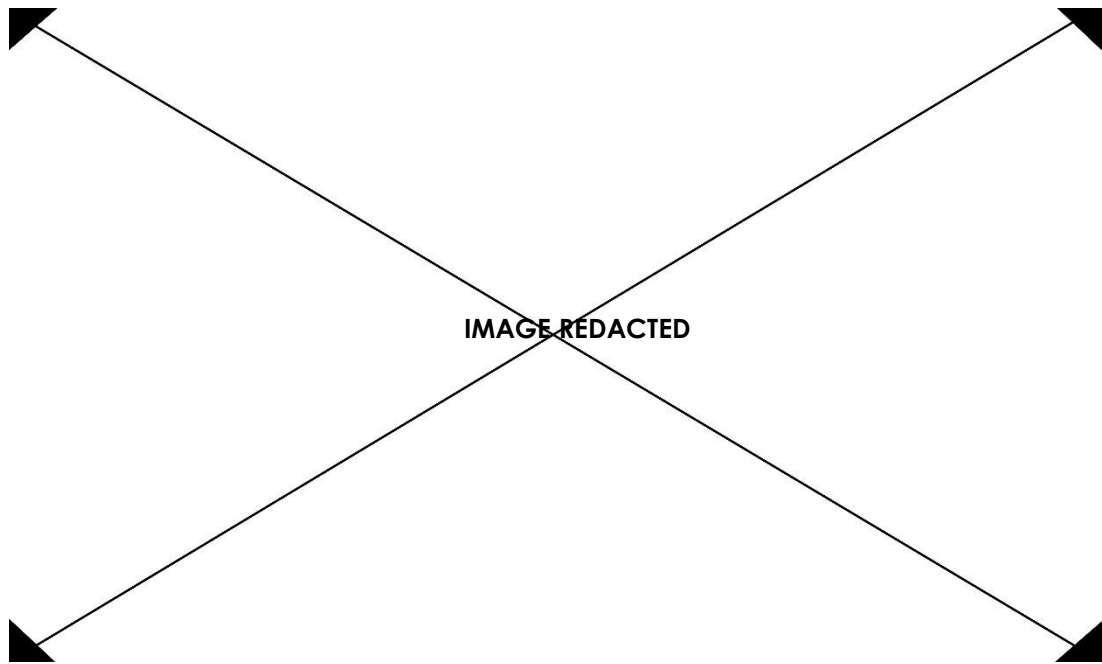


Fig. 4.20 A demonstration in praise of a Soviet Celebration in Nowa Huta; Communist period (Jurewicz (ed.) 2008 191)

It comes as no surprise that in Nowa Huta the politicisation of the citizen is linked with labour. What was to be produced in Nowa Huta was only in part steel and in part a conceptual personae of the homo-sovieticus.

The gates to the Kombinat were framed by two administrative buildings playfully called 'the Doje's palaces' by the local inhabitants, this was because of their regal ornamentation and appearance. Their eclectic name serves to ridicule the inadequate amount of effort, placed to glorify an administrative building of a steelworks factory. Binek notes that the palaces were

erected in record time by Soviet builders (1997). This links the entrance to the Kombinat with Central Square which was designed in a similar architectural ethos. It lies at the crossing of an already existing route – now called 'Jana Pawła' street and one perpendicular to what is now called 'Kocmorzynowska' street (Sławiński and Sibila (ed.) 2008), as seen in Fig. 4.21. The public nature of the urban plan was a reversal of the traditions of the Polish vernacular explored in Chapter three. This type of architecture was public with a strong civic or political presence as opposed to private and human scaled.

Even the grandest spaces in the city became eventually overshadowed by the gates to the Kombinat. This was a subtle way of signifying the un-spoken hierarchies that Žižek referred to when discussing the Soviet way of communicating while discussing 'Lenin is in Warsaw'. The imagery of work and the secondary nature of Central Square increased the importance of the Kombinat at the same time as moulding it from the centre of the city into, merely a communication link between the inhabitants and the workplace. The political manifestations, which took place were always associating the view of the Kombinat. In Fig. 4.20 the view looking out to the Steelworks is one street on the left from the performance stage. If one were to navigate around the space of the square, it may be easier to do so with respect to the view of Kombinat. It could be understood that place-making within this space was conducted whilst being reminded of work.

It can be assumed that the initial step of the design was to determine the location of Central Square (a sketch of the map of the main streets is represented in Fig. 4.21). Jana Pawła street and Kocmorzynowska street along with the boundary of the river denote a vague area but the geometries seem to be confined in a hermetic self-definition without reaching out into the landscape. No other features would have been influential as most of the terrain was bulldozed before the construction started. Considering the ethos of the design to be neo-classical, it can be argued that the determinant was geometrical.

The reason why Kocmorzynowska was not chosen as part of the fan is unclear, the proximity of Krakow might have been the factor which allowed for that street to become merely a barrier for the masterplan. Another reason might have been its lack of recognition of Kombinat. The merit of the design has little architectural value as there is no specificity of Central Square or any other street recognisable at the human scale. The streets are not organised according to specific features on site, they were rather organised to accommodate the power structures implanted on site by the Soviets.

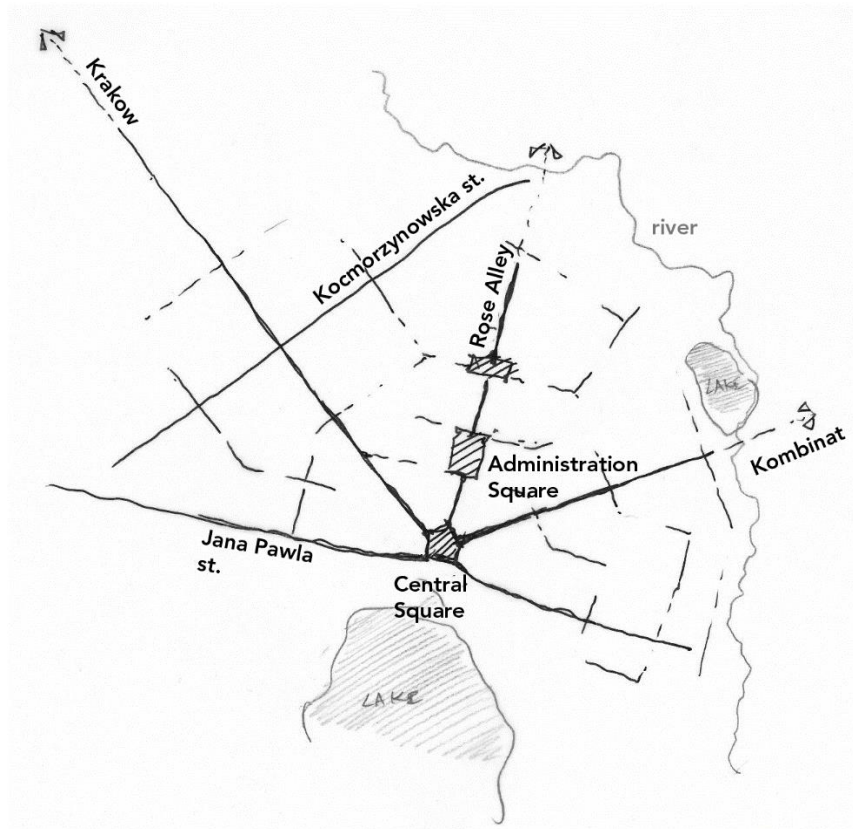
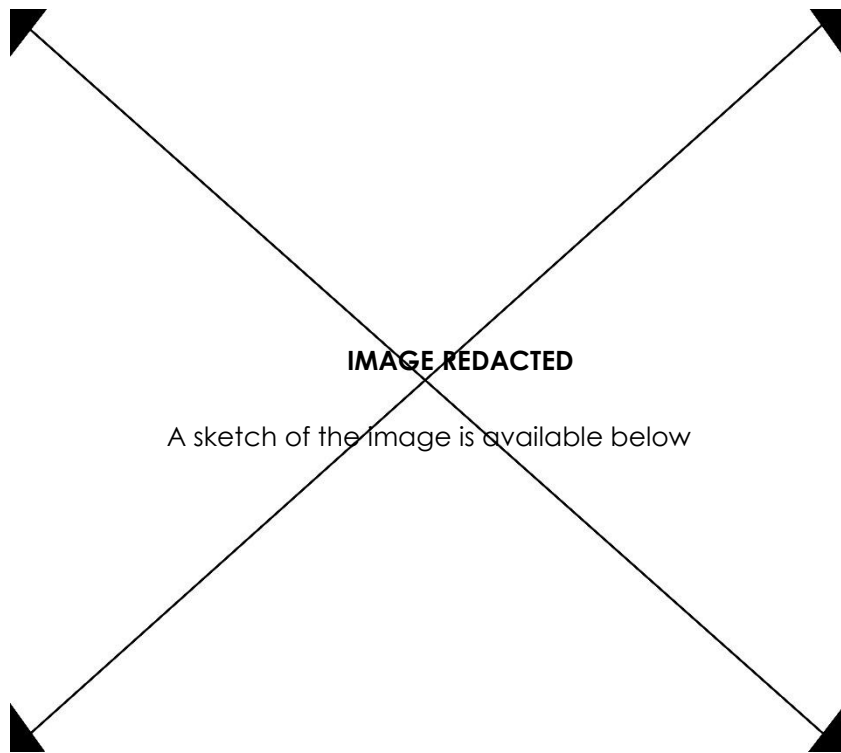


Fig. 4.21 My sketch over a rendering of the masterplan from 1955 which includes the gates of the Kombinat, considering the 'Doje's Palace' as part of the urban grid in spite of their satellite character (Sławiński and Sibila (ed.) 2008 185).



The relationships of spaces within the city and Kombinat were privileged negating Nowa Huta's accommodation of the natural context of local conditions. These present a neo-classical arrogance expressed through a lack of response to the microclimate in favour of geometrical rigour.

The below images (Fig. 4.22-4.30) are an extract from an original propaganda-book published in 1953 by the Communist government (Garliński 1953). These are the first images that are presented in the Nowa Huta section of the book. This implies the importance of the two major features in the composition of the design; Central Square and the Gates to the Kombinat.

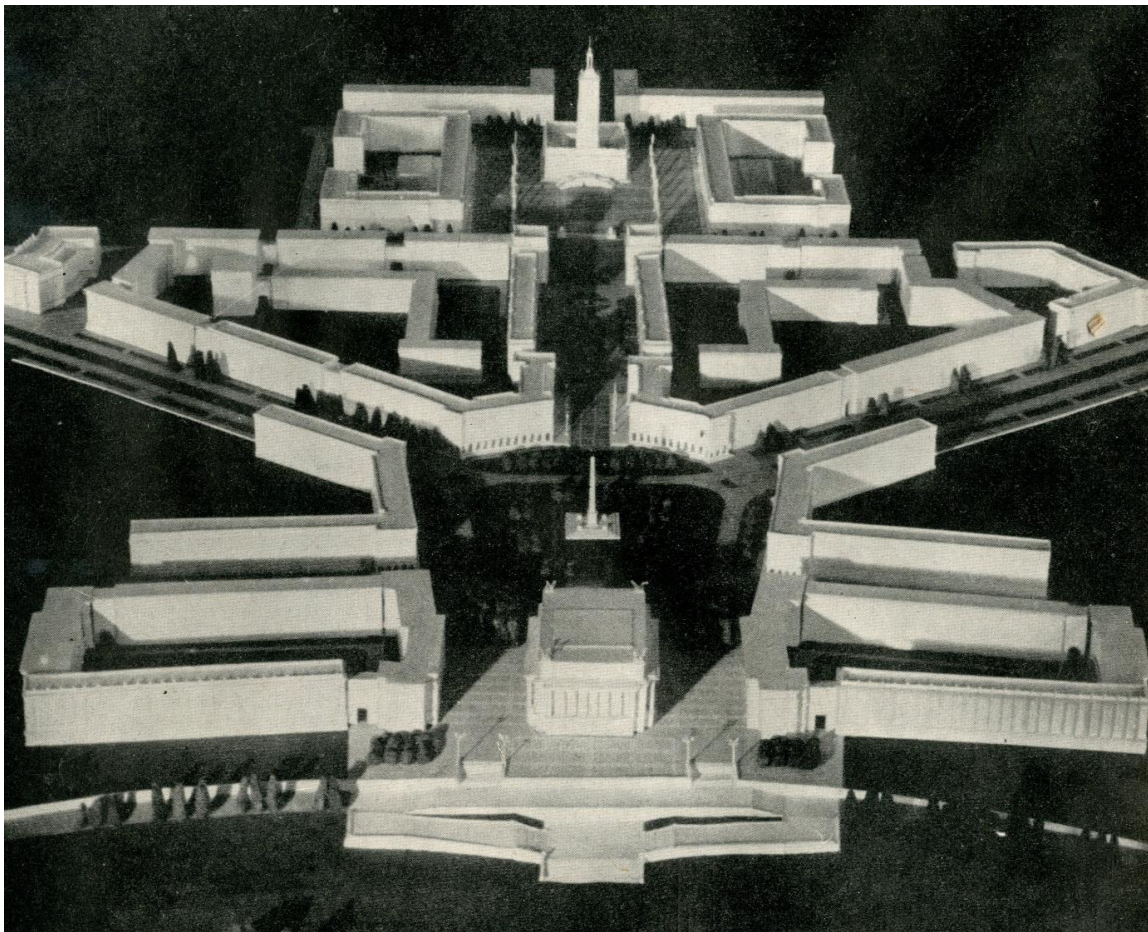


Fig. 4.22 Model created by Miastoprojekt representing Central Square (Garliński 1953 80)



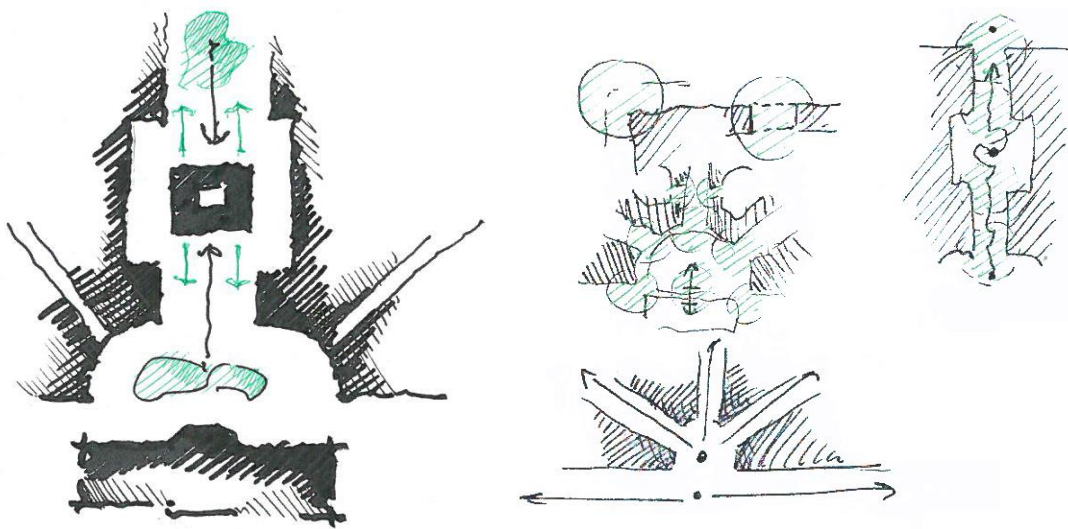
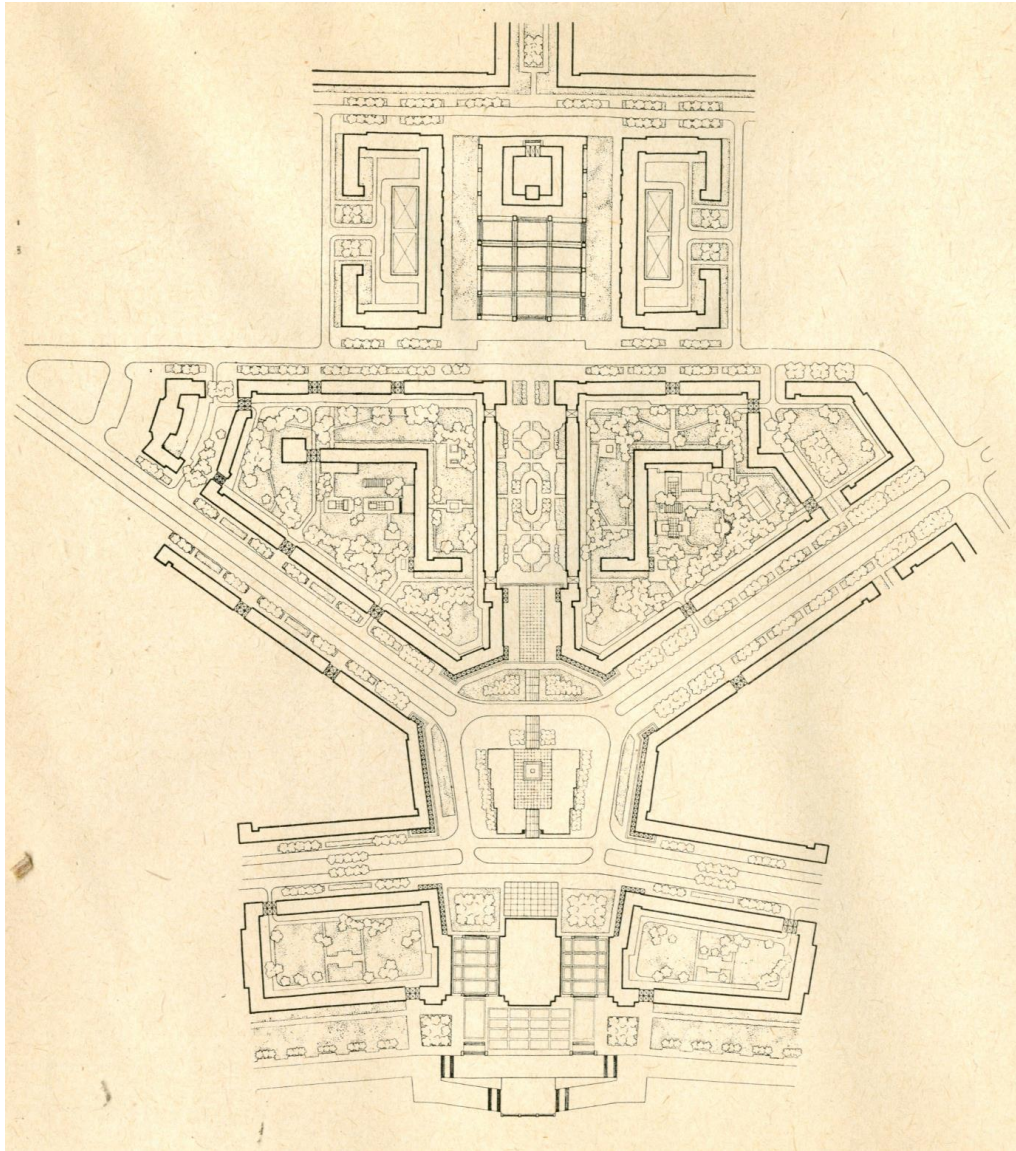


Fig. 4.23 Plan created by Miastoprojekt representing Central Square (Garliński 1953 81); own sketch showing analysis of the space – different zones of transition



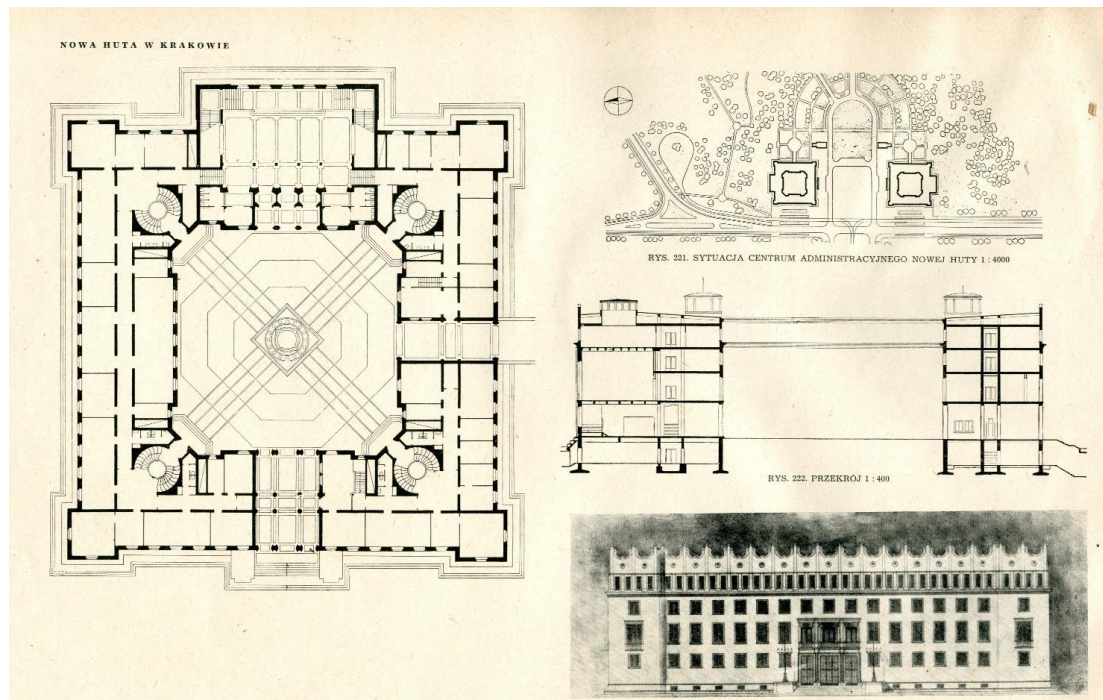


Fig. 4.24 Plans section and elevation created by Miastoprojekt representing 'The Doje's Palaces' (Garliński 1953 86)

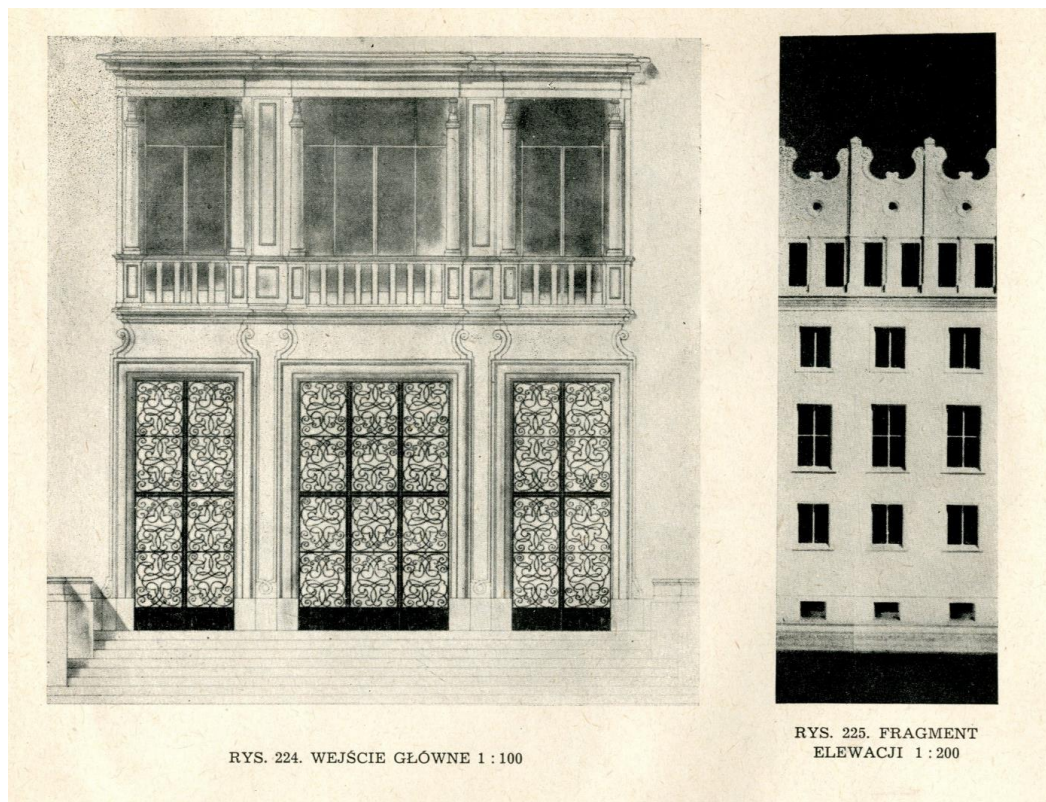


Fig. 4.25 Drawings of ornamentation created by Miastoprojekt representing the 'Doje's Palace' (Garliński 1953, 87)



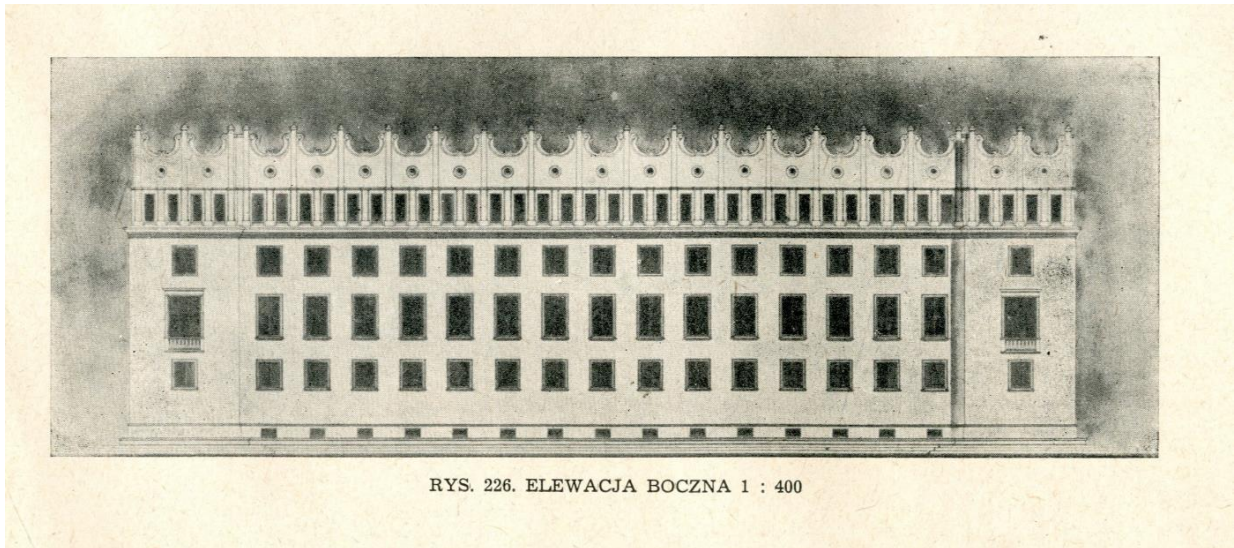


Fig. 4.26 Drawings of elevation of the 'Doje's Palace' created by Miastoprojekt representing the 'Doje's Palace' (Garliński 1953 87)

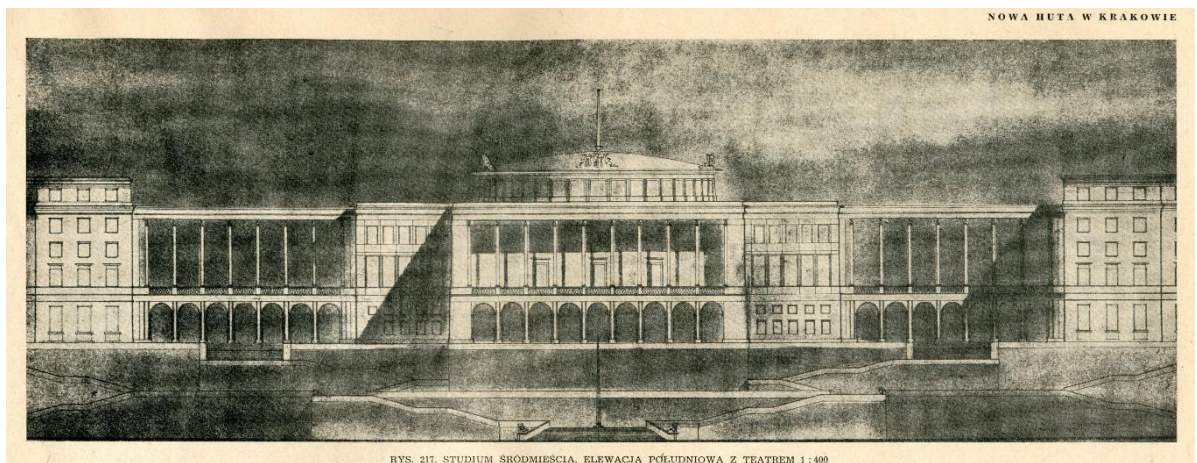


Fig. 4.27 An elevation of the House of Culture defining the Southern-most boundaries of Central Square (Garliński 1953 81)

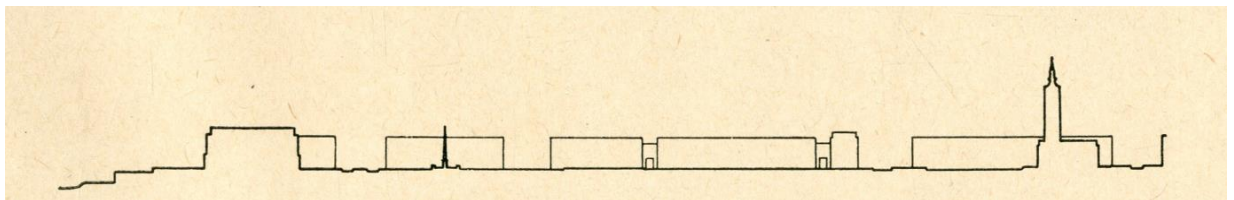


Fig. 4.28 A section leading along the Rose Alley, leading from the house of culture, via Central square to the administration square and through city hall (Garliński 1953 81)

The urban aspirations of the designers of Nowa Huta seem to be forming a relationship between Central Square, which was the political area of the city and Kombinat. The road perpendicular to Kocmorzynowska Street (now named *alleja Generala Wladyslawa Andersa*) became an indirect link between Krakow and Central Square. It is leading to Krakow via a sharp knee bend in the route and implies that the relationship of Nowa Huta and Krakow was casual and not as formal as the main axis. Those are the two major arteries. The resulting divisions of residential sections in Nowa Huta seem to be a result of dividing the area enclosed by the two major arteries. This might be what came to form 'Rose Alley' which was the representative avenue in the city.

Rose Alley (section of which can be seen in Fig. 4.28) was a route following a North/North-East direction from Central Square. It started from the South with the House of Culture (the elevation is presented in Fig. 4.27), it followed via Central Square, the Administration Square with City Hall (Fig. 4.29 and 4.30) and continued stretching to the limits of the city and further in the direction of a random vista. This street was often referred to by my interviewees and seems to have given political identity to the initial masterplan proposal however the route loses its significance as the alley stretches North. The street is positioned to receive sunlight and to be the extension of the political life of Nowa Huta in architectural terms. It also made the House of Culture that is positioned southerly, appear in shade at noon and therefore much darker in comparison with the light-blue sky surrounding it.

The inconspicuous name 'Rose Alley', came from the abundance of roses being planted on the street. The gentleness of the name came as an afterthought and was not planned in advance. This suggests that the authorities did not put as great importance to the alley as was intended by the architects.

The representative grandeur of the 'Rose Alley' was to be a signifier of the city's apparent political success. The Marxist notion of economic superfluity of land-use on this street seems to be missed considering that Central Square and Rose Alley were to be surrounded by high-class shops (Applebaum 2012). Buildings which denote Central Square were designed individually and with great care (Slawiński and Sibila (ed.) 2008). Juchnowicz claims that the splendour of the space was to be signified by monumentalism. As Juchnowicz notes, the main propagator of Socialist-Realism in Poland, Professor Syrkus, suggested designing a building similar to Stalin's Tower on Rose Alley (quoted in Slawiński and Sibila (ed.) 2008 60).

The House of Culture (Fig. 4.27) was to host a theatrical space inspired by the Parisian Opera house (Baran (ed.) 2013 24). The building was designed by Janusz and Marta Ingarden and Edward Dabrowski associated with engineer Tadeusz Castelli. The real significance of the hierarchy of circulation was concealed with a veil of miscommunicated ideals that followed the Soviet trend of communication (described in chapter two). Rose Alley was not the

anchor of the site as it was secondary and subordinate to the location of the primary circulation between Kombinat and Central Square. The alley is simply representational and not functional at all which did not match the strategies of Communists and hence, in time, it diminished in grandeur.

The style of the buildings on Rose Alley are Neo-Classical and expresses a Socialist-realist attitude towards spatial organisation. This meant that the buildings were to dominate their nearby surroundings. Applebaum discusses a notion that Ptaszycki presented claiming that the detailing was apparently appropriated from 18<sup>th</sup> Century designs when Polish culture was 'most Polish' (Applebaum 2012). The same was said about Stalin's Tower (discussed in chapter three) which would imply that both were designed in a Baroque-Renaissance style. This suggests that the City Hall can be understood as the King in Matejko's painting (Fig. 1.2) that radiates with enlightened rationality amidst the chaos of the debate.

The style predominant in Nowa Huta would have been relating to the Augustinian style (discussed in chapter three), typical for Polish Renaissance. As Jan Zachwatowicz claims in describing the style, this trend can be traced back to Napoleonic France and the 'Reminiscence of the Congress Kingdom' (1937, 103). Zachwatowicz also notes the importance of King Zygmunt August, who introduced Poland to influences from Italy in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The Socialist-realist reflection upon this style might have been an architectural metaphor for change and rapid development.

It can be argued that this concept would have been an appropriate intervention in Poland if not for the fact that the architectural inspirations taken from Augustinian style are superficial and represented only by a vague outline of ornamentation, just as they are in the case of Stalin's Tower. In addition to this, Juchnowicz claims that all the mouldings on buildings were successively simplified (quoted in Jurewicz (ed.) 2008 60). The spatial organisation of the most representative buildings in Nowa Huta as well as Stalin's tower, seem to be stand-alone buildings in the administrative part of the city causing a bold disruption in the circulation in the open space it defines, very unlike the humble city hall in Zamość, which is a typical example of Augustinian style and a building that both Stalin's Tower and City Hall in Nowa Huta are often compared to. The City Hall in Zamość is placed on the periphery of the square and seems (Fig. 4.31) a lot more attuned to the human scale than Stalin's Tower. As a result the circulation in Zamość is much clearer and the plan is much less complex. The elevation seems to be the only aspect of the Town hall that resonates with the Tower in Warsaw. The scale and grandeur of the Tower is, of course, much larger and much more ornate, decorated with sculptures and neo-classical architectural elements.



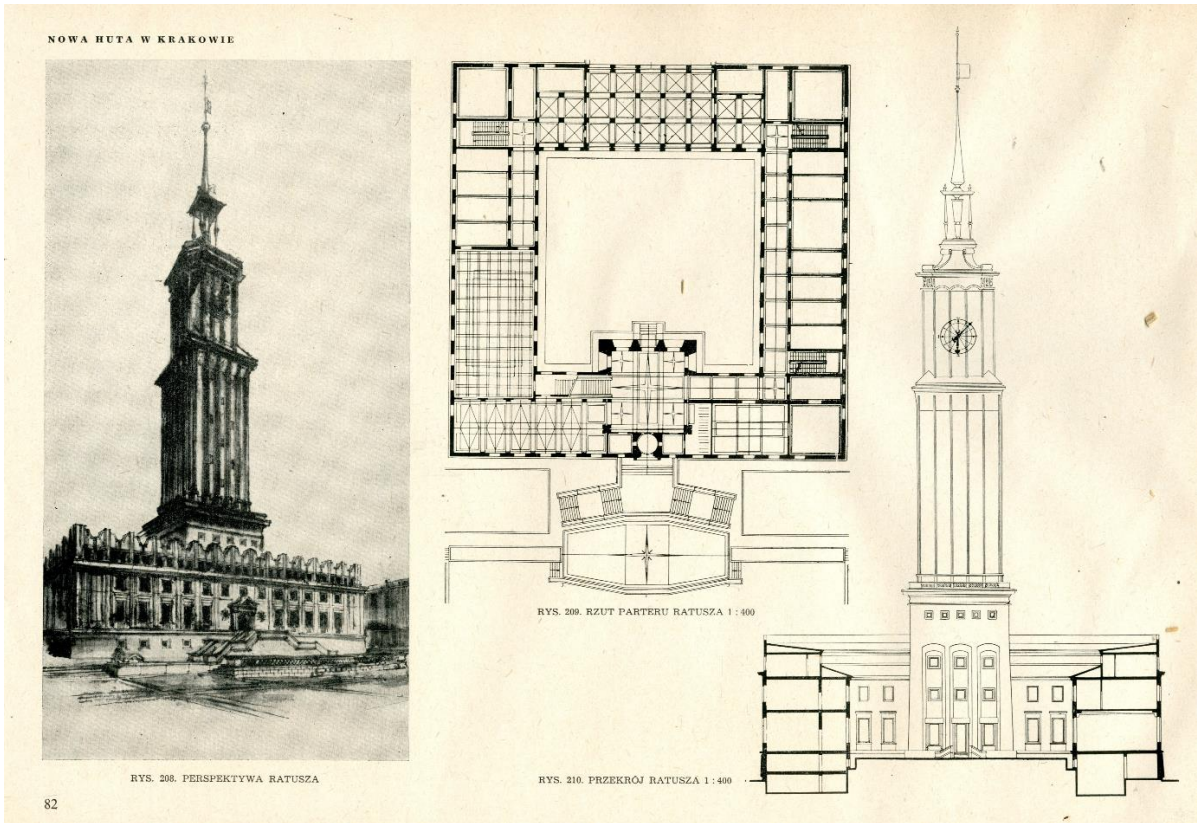


Fig. 4.29 Perspective, plan and section of the Town Hall (Garliński 1953 82)

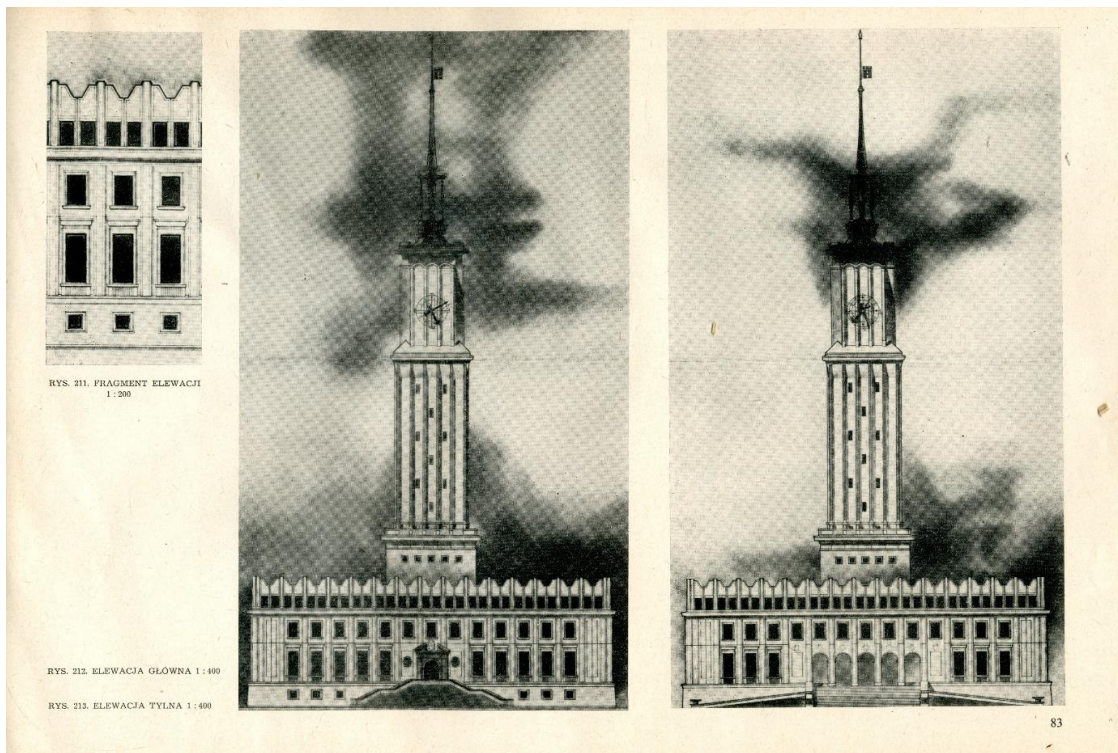


Fig. 4.30 Elevations and ornamentation detail of the Town Hall (Garliński 1953 83)



Fig. 4.31 The photo of city hall in Zamość circa 1937 (Author and date unknown), NAC photography archive

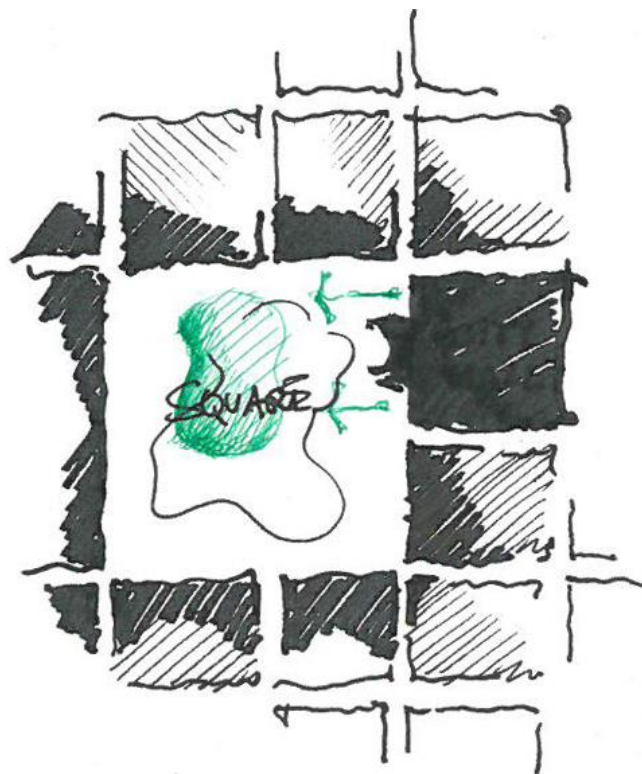
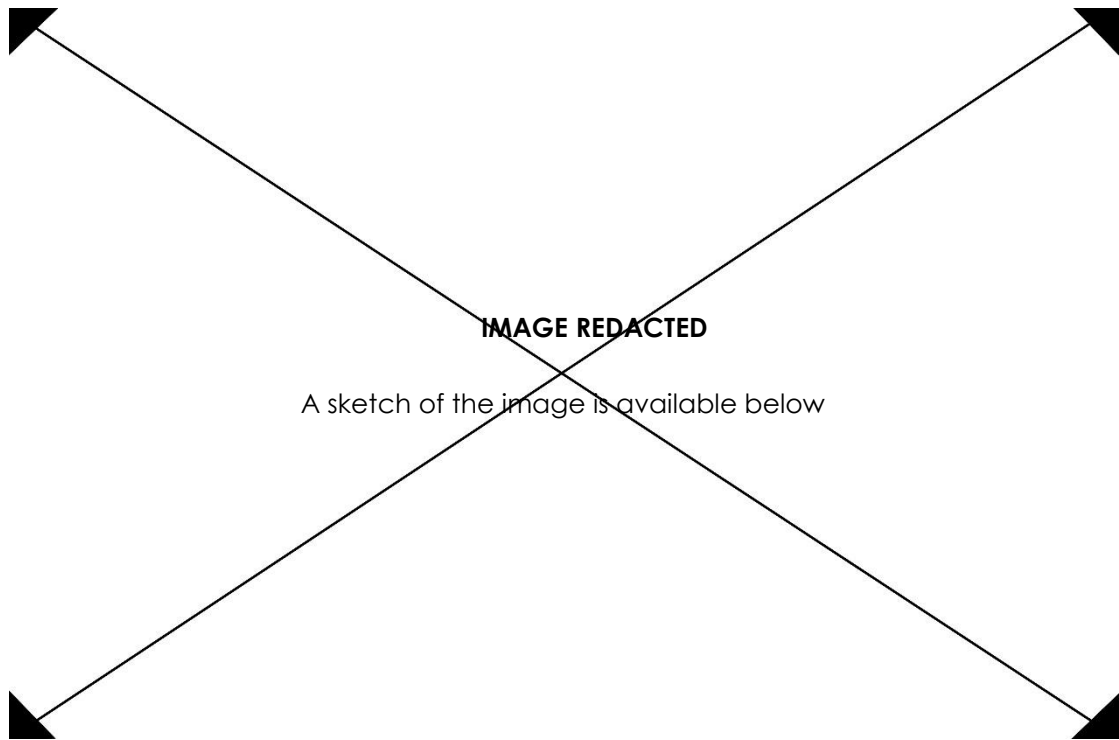


Fig. 4.32 The urban setting of the city hall in Zamość (Author and date unknown)

The spatial organisation, which the Nowa Huta City Hall and Stalin's Tower denote, can be associated with the boldness of Socialist-Realism which, in turn, followed the experimentation of Russian Constructivism. It may have been the case that the architects aiming to please the Communist clients attempted to emulate the Soviet design ethos which dominated the landscape of Nowa Huta.

The rest of the buildings in Nowa Huta were to be Neo-classical, following the Marxist notion of equality of the common working-man and the governance. According to one of my interviewees, the city was designed on a principle of equality. As Jarek (one of my interviewees) said 'Back then, socialism concluded that if the bourgeoisie lived in palaces the common workers deserve the same' (Interview with Jarek, 2014) <sup>11</sup>.

#### **4.5 Residential Palaces**

This section discusses the residential quarters in Nowa Huta. The text analyses the composition of residential buildings and their architectural design and relation to the general urban fabric. The text also suggests that the housing programme that allowed newcomers to the city to be granted a flat, was subordinate to the regulations of the Kombinat.

Every building, including residential quarters were to be decorated like a Renaissance palace (Hatherley 2015), and the administrative hierarchies would be denoted via more subtle methods than ornamentation. This was another example of Soviet communication where the real message is decorated in superficial phrases. The ones which were far from the centre, as is shown in the images below (Fig. 4.33-4.36), were less grand than the ones near to City Hall and the House of Culture. This move made the city easy to navigate amidst the architecture but only with reference to Central Square. This was yet another way of considering space which is typical for Socialist-Realism, an explicit central point within an urban grid, which can be traced back to Moscow and Warsaw. This was to ensure the flow typically associated with the homo-sovieticus; the flow of their thinking being directed to one point which was infused with propaganda and reminding people of their commute to work.

---

<sup>11</sup>'Wtedy socjalizm wychodzil z zalozenia ze skoro kulacy czy tez inni burzualisci mieszkali w palacach to robotnikom nalezy sie to samo.'





Fig. 4.33 Elevation of a residential unit close to Central Square (Garliński 1953 91)

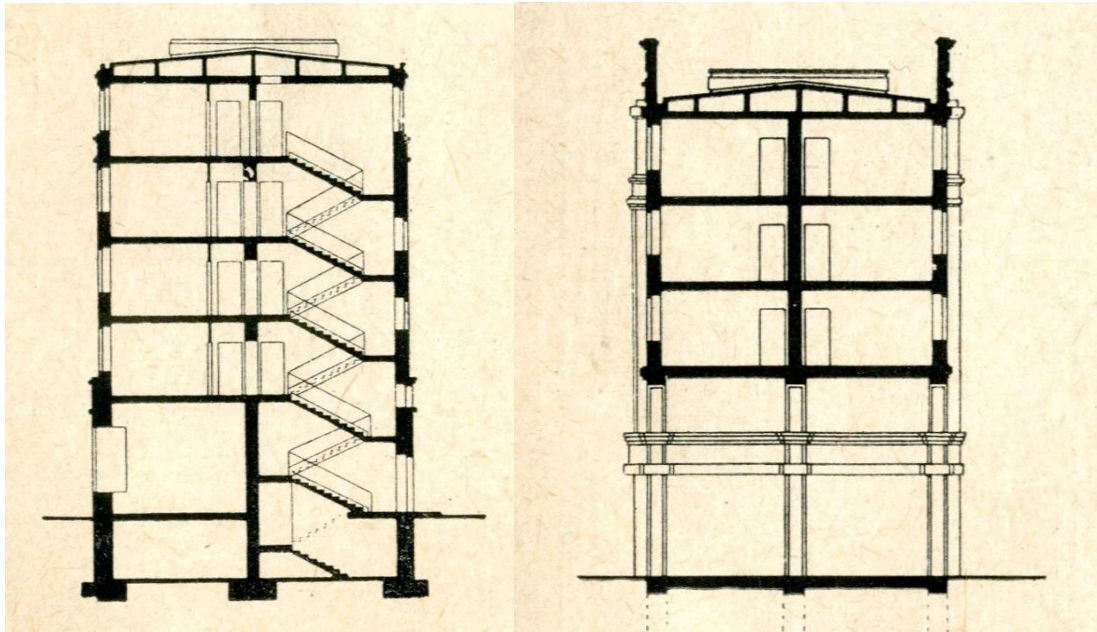


Fig. 4.34 Sections of a residential unit close to Central Square (Garliński 1953 91)

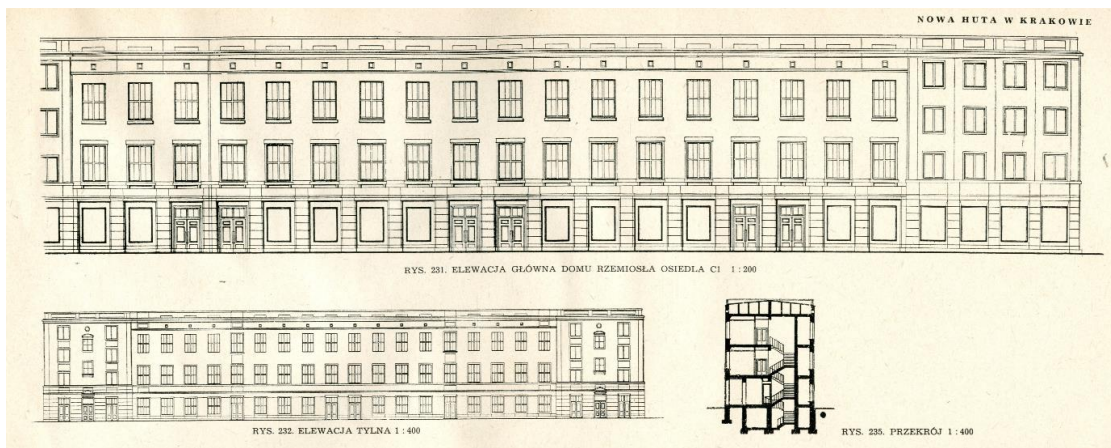


Fig. 4.35 Section and elevations of house of labour far from Central Square (Garliński 1953 92)

The sub-districts, which resulted from the spatial organisation of the major avenues in the city, were structured to produce a dichotomy of spaces. According to Maciej Mieziań the sub-districts themselves were structured on the basis of a neighbourhood unit, an American concept appropriated from New York (2004). Stanisław Juchnowicz claims that the intent was to house people linked with a pre-determined social or professional relationship (quoted in Sławiński and Sibila (ed.) 2008). Lebow explains that the flats were dispensed by the Central Committee in Warsaw and priority was given to the most prized employees from political ranks and trained specialists as well as essential administrators. This was done in accordance with the principle, 'to each according to his work' (Lebow 2013 92) which was named in a report from Warsaw on the matter. Mieziań describes each unit as consisting of peripheral residential buildings and a central space, in which there would be a civic institution (e.g: a school) (2004). An example of such is shown below in an axonometric format (Fig. 4.36). Thus the city was divided into formal and photogenic spaces ready to be used in propaganda material and apparently-relaxed internal courtyards of neighbourhood units which were meant to operate only for the inhabitants of the residences. They formed a space where inhabitants of each unit could socialise together indoctrinating them in a communal space to allow them to think and consider themselves as part of a wider collective under the scrutiny of the civic institution within respect to the Kombinat. An interviewee I spoke with, (Rebel 2014) claims that it was the courtyards where he and his friends would meet and socialise. He adds that there was always something of interest in those spaces; something interactive to engage in.

According to Andrzej et al. the rural-urban migration in socialist countries was often organised by disseminating flats in accordance with employment stratification (1996). The same principle applied in Nowa Huta where socialisation outside the realm of public avenues would happen laterally within an employment level. Managers would mingle with other managers and brick layers with other brick layers. An example is Biniek who was given a place to live, not in a communal room, but with one flatmate who also had a higher education degree (1997:109). This was, potentially, a very claustrophobic organisation and one which may have focussed the mentality of the inhabitants back to work and a literal embedding of the social stratifier, which was an obfuscation of the social condenser (as discussed in chapter two).

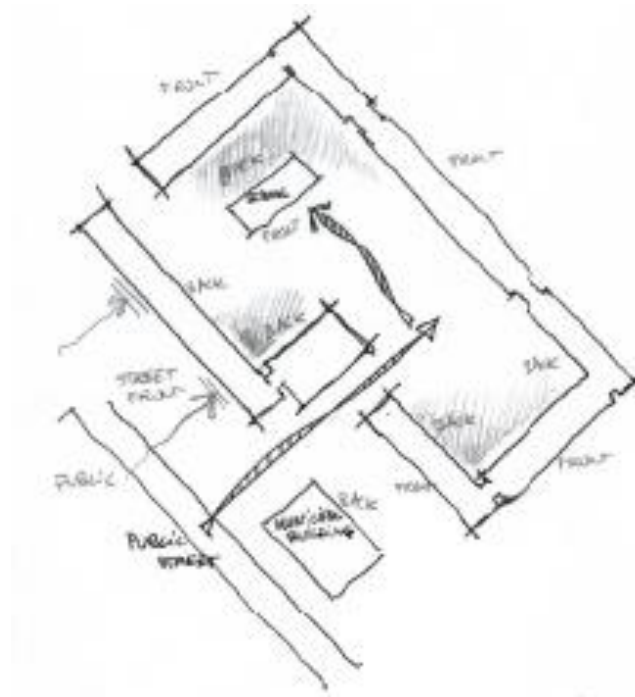
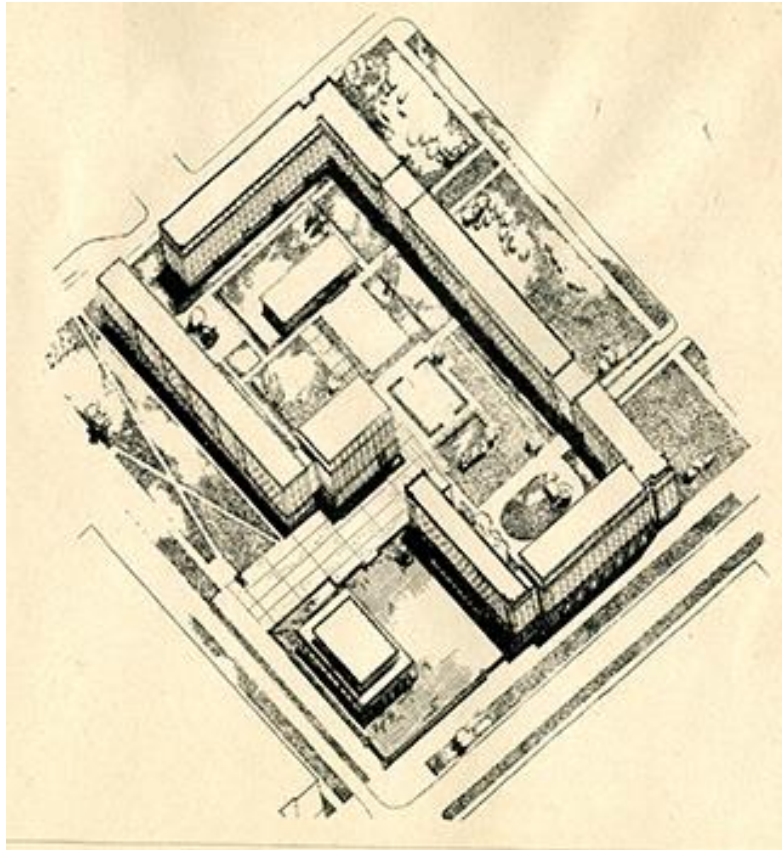


Fig. 4.36 Axonometric of a Neighbourhood Unit and analysis of front entrances to the buildings (Garliński 1953 92)

Each such unit with a municipal amenity within it would impose a particular discipline. Usually hierarchical in nature, based on the order of the building it fostered, for example, a school or a medical surgery. It could be assumed that each such unit would remind the modern Nowa Huta dwellers of their responsibility as the new homo-sovieticus. This was to ensure that the right level of discipline is played out within the units as well as the public avenues. This discipline was to be appropriate for a modern way of life.

Figure 4.37 is an image taken from a propaganda book, the inscription under it says, 'The future inhabitants of the Republic of Poland in one of the many kindergartens of Nowa Huta'. The aspiration of the town was to enable its inhabitants to internalise a modern way of life based on work and become a homo-sovieticus construct. The expectations for the new Utopia were high. The plans therefore incorporated design moves justifiable before the Communist government in a Soviet philosophy. The geometry of the city was to channel flows that were to ensure a planned and orderly development of the self into the homo-sovieticus.

Waldemar Komorowski claims that with respect to Marxist ideals of social equality each flat was made uniform in size and proportions as well as equipment (quoted Slawiński and Sibila (ed.) 2008 112). Residential units dominate the urban fabric; the highest concentration of shops was planned to surround Central Square (Slawiński and Sibila (ed.) 2008 113), those are some of the few buildings which have active street fronts. The ornamentation is reserved in nature and relates to the ethos of design at the time. The frontages of the buildings facing the street have formal aesthetics and therefore are not differentiated. The uniformity of the massing of the façades determined the internal spaces. According to Marysia Galbraith, the architectural form of communist designs was imposed with a general rule not to change the spatial relations of a dwelling even if the changes seemed a more logical solution for the inhabitant (2004).

According to Jarek, the Socialist-Realist flats were 'spacious' and 'palace-like' in appearance to accentuate the equality of all citizens. His argumentation is not clear considering that they were all the same and their proportions were awkward in plan (long and narrow rooms). The scale, which Jarek quoted as 50-70 m<sup>2</sup> is too small for a family, albeit large for a single individual. This might imply the way of life, which was envisioned for the inhabitants of Nowa Huta. His further description complicates his earlier statement: 'I don't know what it is like now, after people [who live in those flats] refurbished them'<sup>12</sup> (Interview with Jarek 2014).

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<sup>12</sup> 'nie wiem jak jest w tej chwili, jak ludzie porobili remonty.'





Fig. 4.37 Photo of children posing for propaganda in a kindergarten (Garliński 1953 92)

It is clear from the initial drawings of Miastoprojekt that the city was designed with great ambition and hope. The main aspect of the city, which denoted its character was Kombinat to which Nowa Huta seemed to be subservient. The secondary ones, which brought people from their subsequent neighborhoods and neighborhood units to the avenues and Central Square, and lesser important roads joining avenues into a web of circulation within the city. The circulation of flows in the city are divided into wide, formal avenues, which were made public by the propaganda machine (which features these spaces on posters) and less formal courtyards within neighborhood units, which organised a social space for people living in each residential block.

In spite of the fact that the architects did not receive any formal guidelines, their design decisions were closely monitored and regulated by the government in Warsaw, as the project was of great military and strategic importance on a political level. It could be argued that the conceptual personae inhabiting the spaces in the architect's minds is a man seeking fulfillment in a seemingly rational process of production. The Masterplan of Nowa Huta was designed as clear and transparent. The city created opportunities for flows ripe for homo-sovieticus, meaning: ones meant for work and in praise of Soviet hegemony.

## 4.6 Biopolitical incentive

### Propaganda on Nowa Huta

This section of the chapter outlines the propaganda machine, which was associated with Nowa Huta and used to propagate Communist ideals in Poland. This was an attempt to create an atmosphere in which the Soviet episteme could be internalised as well as shared. The artists were urged to prepare the nation for the transformation into a proud and working homo-sovieticus collective.

One of the consultation documents prepared for the architects of Nowa Huta (Fig 4.38) reads:

A significant part of constituting a new human and securing a decent life and good work conditions is rest and tourism. Nowa Huta should be a significant part of this endeavour. The inhabitants of the city as well as its designers should be able to take part in leisure in the nation whilst surrounded by symbols reminding them of the beauty and love to Poland [...]

In addition to this Nowa Huta as well as Kombinat, as the first and most important erections in Socialist Poland, are objects of interest within the country as well as abroad. A great tourist movement would come to Nowa Huta to get to know its splendour.

A significant part of the propaganda movement is the accessibility of Nowa Huta to tourists from within the nation and this is the reason of the importance of the grand movement of a substantial level.

(Fig 4.38, Archive V, Trzeciowski 1955b).

Lebow recognises Nowa Huta as a cog in the propaganda machine (2013, 2). As far as the biopolitical intent was concerned, the city was a successful Communist project and its most photogenic spaces were utilised by all available long distance media (Lebow 2013). People heard about it in radio programs, schools, books, poems, from professors who spoke about it, local organisations, etc. Amongst the people who wrote about Nowa Huta were famous Polish writers and poets such as: Tadeusz Konowicki, Sławomir Mrozek, Wisława Szymborska (whose poem will be examined in this section of the chapter) and Ryszard Kapuściński (who was openly negative about the city, and will be discussed in the next chapter). Zechenter writes that authors, who wanted to be published, had to abide by the common stream of Communist literature dictated by the government (2007). An example of guidance for good practice was that writers were allowed to portray minor problems which could be overcome easily; examples included the presence of livestock in Nowa Huta.

Tyrmand starts his commentary on the culture of Communism by presenting the imagery of architectural spaces and its relationships with the government (2013).

POLSKIE TOWARZYSTWO TURYSTYCZNO - KRAJOZNAWCTWA

Zarząd Okręgu Krakowskiego  
Kraków Pl. W.R. Świętych 8 - Skróty Telegraficzne: "Turystyka"  
K R A K Ó W

Telefony : 587-19, 589-17

L.dz. 2556/55

Kraków, dnia 26 marca 1955 r.

Dyrekcja Budowy Miasta

N o w a H u t a

Wielkie znaczenie turystyki i krajoznawstwa jako jednego z ważnych elementów wychowania nowego człowieka i zabezpieczenia godziwego wypoczynku i rozrywki dla świata pracy, winno znaleźć przede wszystkim należyte miejsce w nowym socjalistycznym mieście Nowa Huta. Mieszkańcy i twórcy Nowej Huty winni jak najbardziej korzystać z wypoczynku świątecznego, poznawać budowę ojczyzny, brać udział w wypoczynkach i imprezach turystycznych, które pogłębią ich miłość do ojczystego kraju, pozwolą poznać jego piękno i osiągnięcia, oraz dodadzą nowych sił i entuzjazmu do wykonywania swoich zadań w warsztatach pracy.

Aby realizować te zasadnicze zadania organizacja PTTK na terenie Nowej Huty winna otrzymać odpowiednie warunki dla kontynuowania swojej pracy.

Poza tym miasto Nowa Huta i jego Kombinat jako pierwsza największa budowla socjalistyczna w naszym Państwie, jest przedmiotem zainteresowania ludności całego kraju jak i zagranicy, stąd tak wielki ruch turystyczny przyjeżdżający do Nowej Huty celem jej poznania.

Należyta obsługa ruchu turystycznego w Nowej Hucie jest również wielką propagandą naszego ludowego Państwa i stąd rodzi się również konieczność zabezpieczenia obsługi jego wielkiego ruchu na odpowiednim poziomie.

Z wymienionych powodów - w przewidywaniu dalszego wzrostu turystyki i krajoznawstwa - Zarząd Okręgu PTTK i Dyrekcja Zarządu Urządzeń Turystycznych Oddział w Krakowie, występuje do Dyrekcji Budowy Miasta Nowa Huta z prośbą o umieszczenie w planie budowy miasta następujących urządzeń turystycznych :

./.

Fig. 4.38 One of the consultation documents, issued as part of the brief development of Nowa Huta; this text relates to the tourism and advertising of Nowa Huta; Archive V (Trzeciowski 1955b).

This relationship, as he argues was formalised by grand edifices and was used to create a sensation that the conditions in a space governed by the Communists were much better than in reality (Tyrmand 2013 25-26); the same applied to Nowa Huta.

In Poland, Nowa Huta was to become a promise of a modern and healthy way of life. As mentioned before in this chapter, Nowa Huta is represented on period postcards with Krakow in the backdrop signifying the preference for the new city (Zechenter 2007). It was advertised as a way to attain a decent life, while the whole country lay in ruins after the Second World War. Zechenter claims that the six year plan was to develop the backward and agricultural Polish landscape into an industrialised, modern society, which was educated and living in hygienic cities (2007).

The spaces of Nowa Huta served as a backdrop for images promoting Polish Socialism. The avenues were designed for parades which would fill the over-scaled spaces of the streets with apparent celebrations and marches praising Stalin and Lenin. One of the widest avenues in the city, Rose Alley, was ornamented with the statue of Lenin. Every worker in the Kombinat, commuting to work every day, would witness Lenin's statue and be reminded of the Soviet presence. Lebow claims that the amenities close to Central Square were intended to be fitted with marble and lit with chandeliers. This was to give an impression of the city being similar to regal residences (2013). This was also to ensure a prosperous image of the city. In spite of this, according to Juchnowicz, the vicinity of Nowa Huta was perceived as a major problem in Krakow (quoted in Slawiński and Sibila (ed.) 2008 179). The nearby inhabitants hated the new development, despite it gaining appeal in other areas of Poland. It could be understood that the inhabitants of Krakow had a closer knowledge of the conditions in Nowa Huta and developed their own opinion about the project. All advertising was based on long-distance media.

All propaganda and knowledge which the new inhabitants of Nowa Huta were subjected to were advertising collective living, achieving goals set out by the Communists and praising the Soviet leaders. The above photograph (Fig. 4.39) shows a synchronised march on the streets of Nowa Huta in praise of Lenin's Birthday.



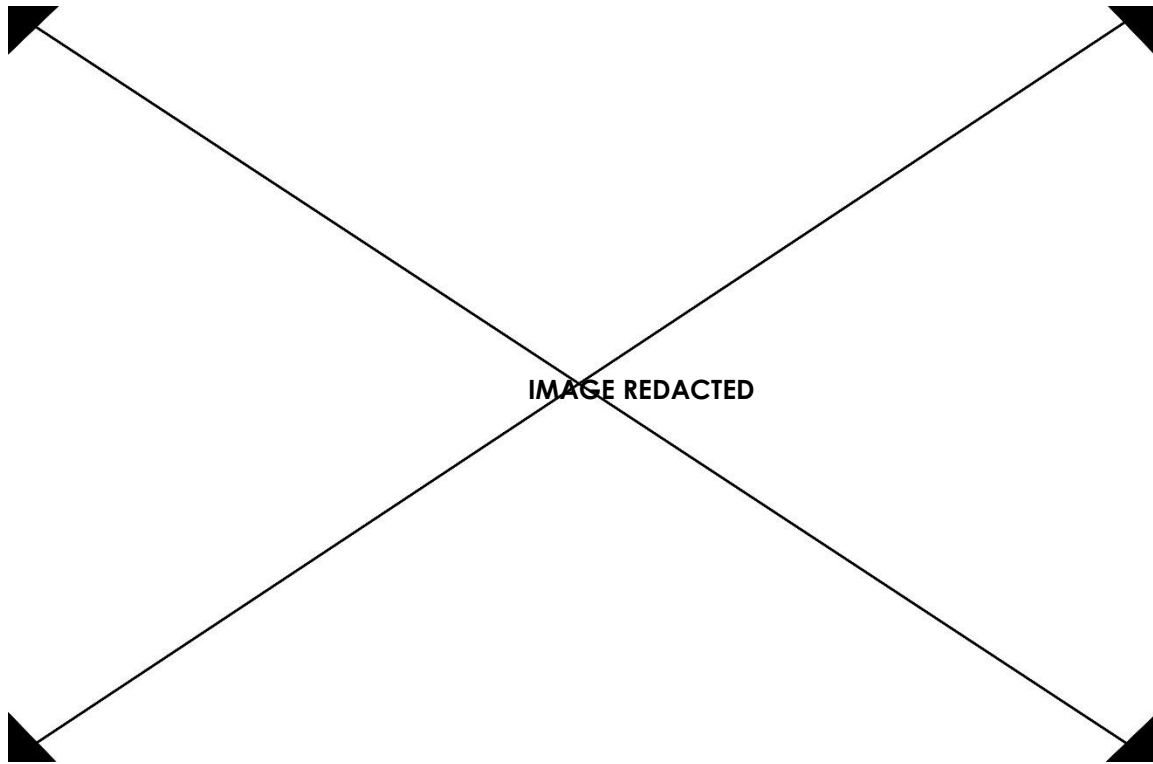


Fig. 4.39 A photo presenting a march in Nowa Huta in praise of a Lenin's Birthday (Pental and Marakiewicz 2007 56)

Several poems were written about the city to bring its concept to a wider audience in Poland. Wisława Szymborska (a Literary Nobel Prize laureate) wrote several of such texts, all of which she renounced later in her career, claiming that she was not aware of how dangerous Communism was (Jakulewicz 2013). Szymborska said that it was a naïve mistake of youth when she was trying to 'save humanity' (quoted in Jakulewicz 2013). In one poem, from 1952, entitled 'To greet the erection of a Socialist City'<sup>13</sup>, she interprets the physical build-up of the architecture as one which is composed only partly of physical material and held together by social concepts. She claims that the city was erected with 'asphalt' and 'bricks' however it was the will of the builders that essentially enabled the cohesion of the materials (Szymborska 1952). Towards the end of the poem she gives materials an intangible value; 'From Hope there will be trees. From joy - the fresh white of the elevations.' She sees the city as one with the potential to avoid dark alleyways and where people can live in harmony. A true Utopian city which, as Szymborska suggests in her poem is universal: 'the youngest of the cities that we have, the oldest of cities, which will be.' This shows that the propaganda machine or biopolitical flows of information were not limited to the uneducated masses. Szymborska praises the work of the lowest level of the collective in a truly Marxist manner. It does not have any direct affiliation to political alliances nor does it have any mention of Communism or members of the Stalinist governance. The poem is

---

<sup>13</sup> Na Powitanie Budowy Socialistycznego Miasta

purely about the people, who built the city and the positive atmosphere, in which the erection of the architecture occurred. Considering the testimonies of witnesses within the construction site in the Mid-20<sup>th</sup> Century Szymborska bent the truth of the conditions under which the erection happened.

'To greet the erection of a Socialist City'<sup>14</sup>

From asphalt and durable will  
The width of the streets.  
From brick and proud courage  
The height of the buildings.  
From iron and consciousness  
Cables for bridges.  
From Hope there will be trees.  
From joy –the fresh white elevations.

A socialist city  
A city of a good faith.  
Without suburbs and dark alleyways.  
In friendship with all men.  
The youngest of the cities that we have,  
The oldest of cities, which will be.  
The youngest for the close tomorrow.  
The oldest for a rich tomorrow.

By Wisława Szymborska 1952

To support this thesis, Architektura SSSR released an article with a quote from one of the new inhabitants:

For the first time I was in a large city as a grown man. After the archaism of rural life and small towns, it was a discovery of a new world for me – a vast, tantalising and mysterious world. Everything that man needs was here. The city guessed and responded to your desires. It made everything possible. Made by man, it transformed him, making him a new, perfect being<sup>15</sup> (Unknown author 1971 45).'

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<sup>14</sup> 'Na powitanie budowy socjalistycznego miasta'

Z asfaltu i woli wytrwałej  
będzie szerokość ulic.  
Z cegieł i dumnej odwagi  
będzie wysokość budynków.  
Z żelazai świadomości  
powstaną przęsła mostów.  
Z nadziei będzie drzew zieleń/  
Z radości - świeża biel tynku.

Miasto socjalistyczne -  
miasto dobrego losu.  
Bez przedmieść i bez zaułków.  
W przyjaźni z każdym człowiekiem.  
Najmłodsze z miast, które mamy.  
Najstarsze z miast, które będą.  
Najmłodsze na jutro bliskie.  
Najstarsze na jutro dalekie.

<sup>15</sup> 'Znalazłem się po raz pierwszy w wielkim mieście już jako człowiek dojrzały. Po archaizmie życia wiejskiego i zabitych deskami polsennych miasteczek, było to dla mnie odkryciem nowego świata – ogromnego, kuszącego i tajemniczego. Tu było wszystko, czego człowiek potrzebuje. Miasto odgadywało wszystkie myśli, odpowiadało na wszystkie pragnienia. Czyniło możliwymi rzeczy

Considering the standard of literacy of the new inhabitants of Nowa Huta, the language and eloquence of the author of the above text is possible but it is unlikely that the writing came from an inhabitant of the city and hints to the possibility of it being fabricated by the propaganda machine.

Ryszard Kapusciński writes, as he argues the image of an inhabitant of Nowa Huta was always shown in the context of work, avoiding reproducing images of bored men aimlessly taking up space (1955). Kapusciński writes:

My dear – but we only see part of the life of the inhabitants, only that moment, when they are at work. If they work well, we gratify them; this is who to emulate. If they work poorly – we reprimand them.<sup>16</sup> (Kapusciński 1955 1)

The propaganda machine in Poland used Nowa Huta to promote the success of the six year plan and attempted to create an image of a Utopian land synchronised within a modern hygienic life, which people would be happy to share. This was advertised in all available media and by the most famous writers and poets. The people who were affected by the strategy were representatives of all social strata. It could be understood that the duality of spaces in Nowa Huta were intended to foster the propaganda machine and create a backdrop for propaganda material.

#### **4.7 The workforce; becoming the homosovieticus**

This section of the chapter outlines the conditions, in which newly arrived workers of Nowa Huta were greeted, in preparation for their future life as homo-sovieticus. The text describes the new inhabitants' disappointment of the conditions encountered in the city. Spaces appropriated as hotels for workers are discussed and the organisation of those, is presented.

The significance of the project was immense and the speed of erecting it was to signify the competence of the government, and its capacity to successfully translate a Communist ideology into the Polish every-day. The shortage of workers was resolved by a novel recruitment procedure. The construction workers on site were recruited from a number of sources; they were mostly inexperienced and unqualified. The majority came from the obligatory military service operating in Poland at the time (Miezian 2004). Lebow adds that the second greatest social group that was recruited were young volunteer workers called 'Junacy' (Union of Polish Youth) who were, at the time, led by Józef Tejchma (Lebow 2013). This employment model was to ensure a plentiful, cheap and obedient workforce.

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niemożliwe, dostępnymi nieosiągalne. Stworzone przez człowieka, przekształcało go z kolei czyniąc z niego istotę nową, doskonalszą

<sup>16</sup> Moj drogi – przecież my ciągle widzimy tylko część człowieka, tylko te chwile, w której pracuje. Jeśli pracuje dobrze, chwalimy go: oto patrzcie, na kim się wzorować. Jeśli pracuje źle – ganimy.

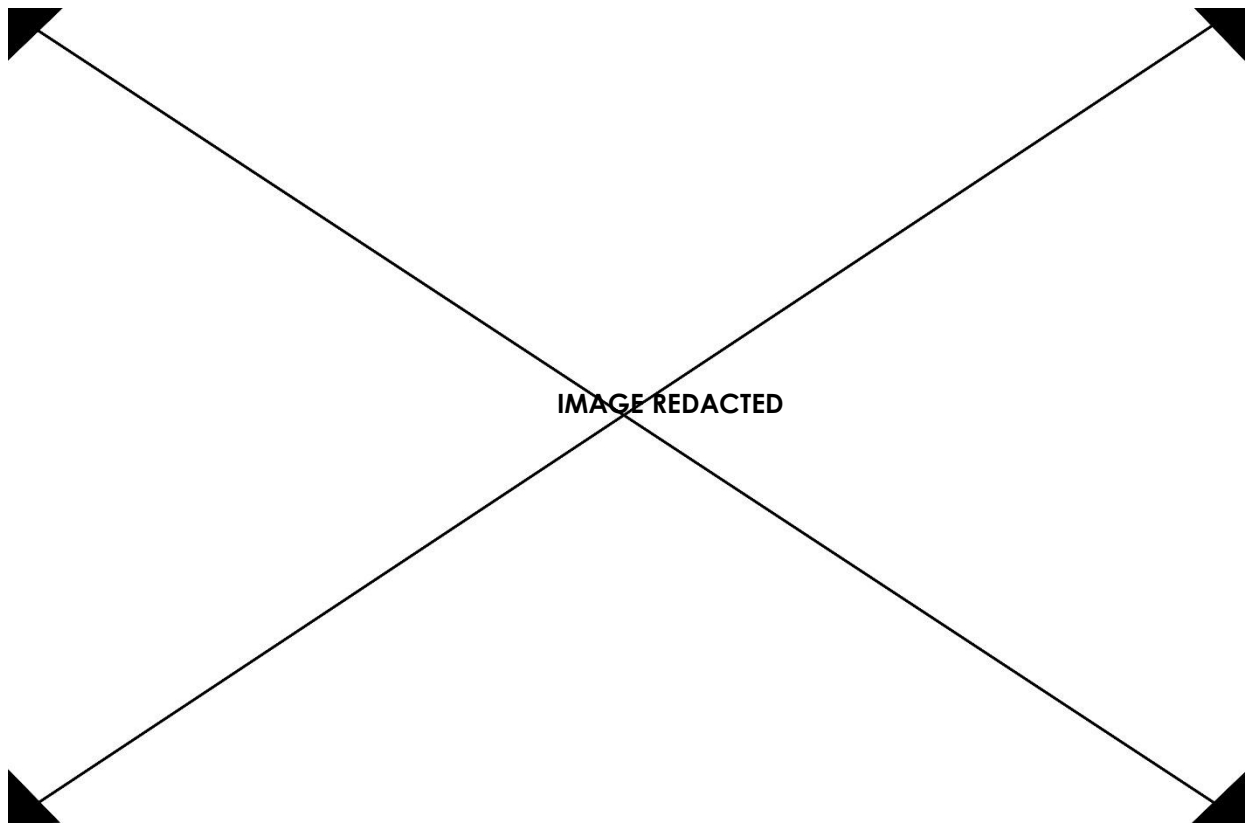


Fig. 4.40 Junacy at work in the Nowa Huta Construction site (Biedrzycka et al 2007 81)

The workmen, who arrived in the city, had to go through a process which would adapt them to their lives in the new context. This happened at a superficial level at first. Edmund Chmielewski, a former worker at the Nowa Huta construction site, claims that upon arrival he was given a hair-cut, a shower, a medical exam and new clothes to fit his new worker status (Quoted in Lebow 2013). His old attire was burnt, as a symbolic rejection of his old life. Miezan claims that when workers managed to receive accommodation they had to live in terrible conditions and often had to be separated from their spouses, hence discarding their relationship with traditional ways of living within a family unit (2004). As Chmielewski notes: 'sometimes I looked at myself furtively in the mirror. I couldn't get over how different I now appeared.' (Applebaum 2012 55). He also recollects his first meal in the brigade, he was given the same quality and quantity of meal as the others in his brigade. They were all eating in a communal space, wearing the same clothes and sharing the same living quarters. It could be understood that this was to be a new start for Chmielewski, as a homo-sovieticus in a collective.

The indoctrination forces reflected the Soviet affiliation with Taylorism (described in chapter two). Bricklayers had to be trained on site, as they arrived (Binek 1997 111). Their training incorporated the Taylorist notion 'rule of three' to increase the speed of erecting. This was a very simple system that shows the level of inexperience amongst the workers. The rule of the three in this case relied on a division of motions necessary to complete the bricklaying task.

One worker would be laying the bricks in their place, while a different worker would be collecting them from a stack and another passing them between the two. This simple rule shows how the pursuit of efficiency was implanted in the minds of each worker and inhabitants of the city. They were incentivised with a system of rewards and punishments, which most likely followed Taylor's principles outlined in his work-management philosophy (as elaborated on in chapter two).

An exemplary worker who was said to have consistently exceeded his daily expectations was Piotr Ożanński, who apparently laid 33,000 bricks per day (Miezian 2004). This was an obvious exaggeration as in order to have reached this number he would have to lay 23 bricks per minute and work tirelessly for 24 hours. Miezian rightfully notes that, for the government, individual activity did not matter. Ożanński's case and the way he was glorified in public was used as a propaganda tool to incentivise other workers to follow his example, in spite of his objections.

A vivid representation of this attitude is portrayed in a film by Andrzej Wajda made in 1976 called: *Man of Marble* (stills from the film are presented in Fig. 4.41-4.43) which was based on Ożanński's life. The film depicts the protagonist's blind obedience until he, himself notices that his image is being used to exploit him and his fellow workers for the supposed good of a collectivised 'truth'. The film is an excellent work of art positioned against propaganda, portraying the discontinuity between the biopolitics of the Communists and the every-day life of the inhabitants of Nowa Huta. The reason it was allowed to be released to cinemas was the fact that the Minister of Culture at the time, Józef Tejchma saw the film as a true portrayal of the poor condition of his former work in spite of the film being made in the 1970s.

The need for appropriate architecture that would house all the workers and match the philosophy of homo-sovieticus was immense. Maciej Miezian notes that with the political demands to increase the production of steel and the requisite need for workers and hence dwellings became a pressing issue (2004). Help came from a technological leap that increased the speed of erecting buildings. This was the use of 240mm thick prefabricated concrete slabs. The method decreased the time of erecting each building to one per month. This high rate of construction was not good enough to change the scarcity of space in hotels for workers. Tadeusz Swierzewski lived in one such hotel for a year and heard many dialects from all over Poland (quoted in Jurewicz (ed.) 2008 77). He saw how men fought and harmed one another due to being forced to be together, locked in inhumane conditions (quoted in Jurewicz (ed.) 2008 78). The hotels for workers were a bare minimum of inhabitation standard. This was a dormitory style living arrangement where each module of the building would be able to house a group of people.

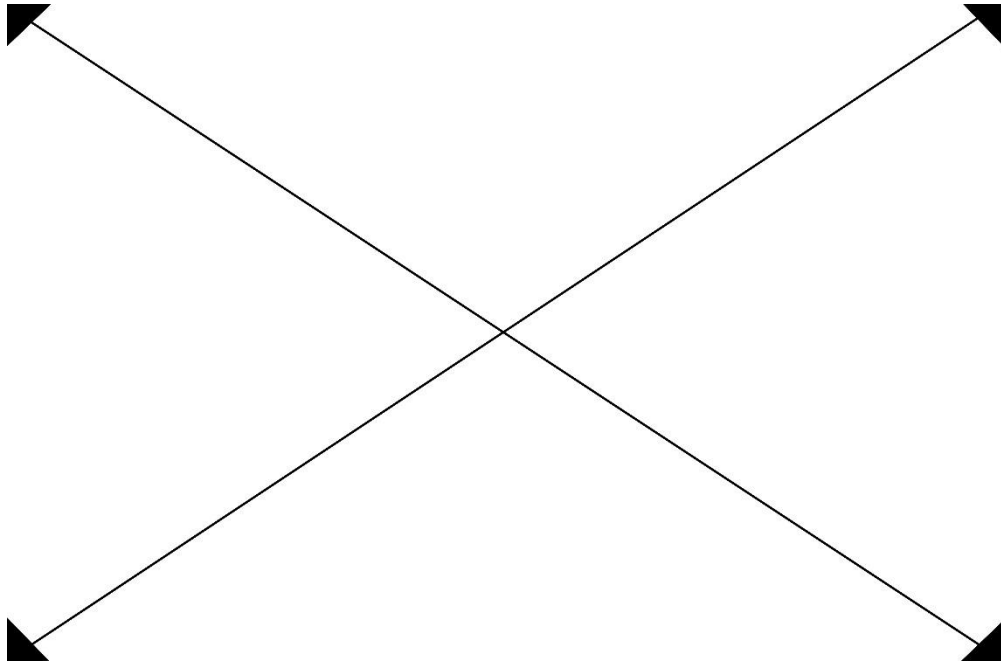


Fig 4.41. An image from the film, the workers, who exceeded the daily regiment for work (Man of Marble, directed by Andrzej Wajda) 1977

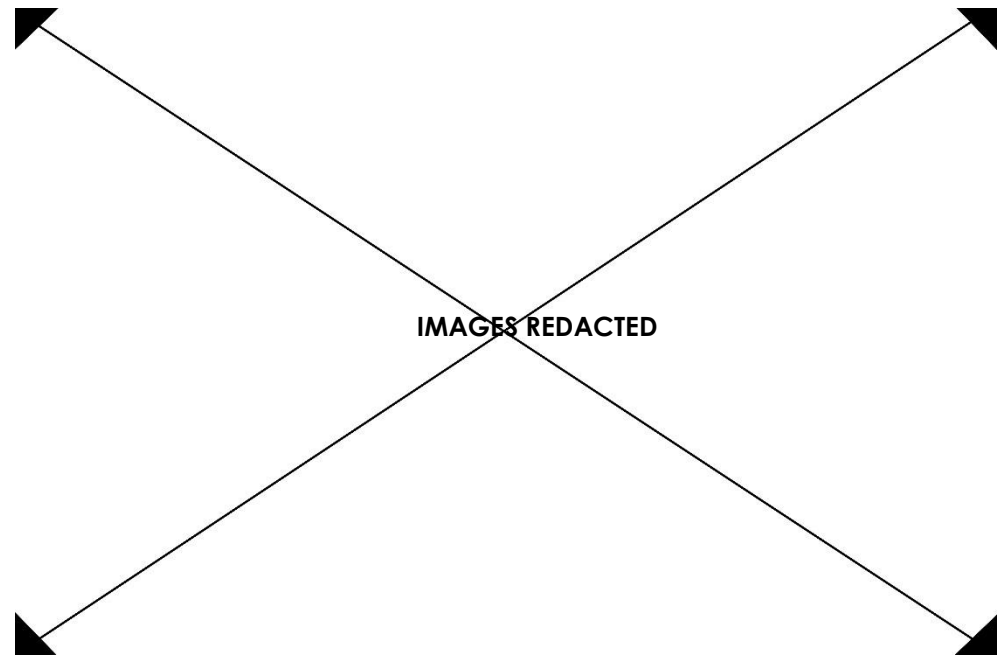


Fig 4.42. An image from the film, the sculpture of the protagonist (Man of Marble, directed by Andrzej Wajda) 1977

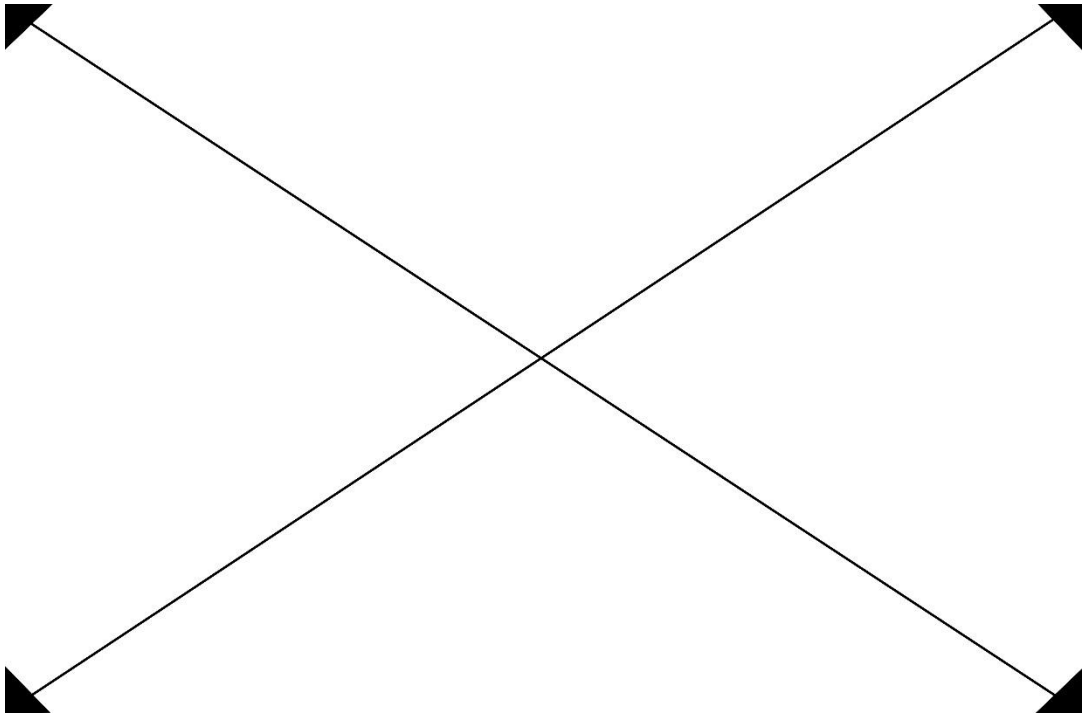


Fig. 4.43 An image from the film, the protagonist (Man of Marble, directed by Andrzej Wajda)

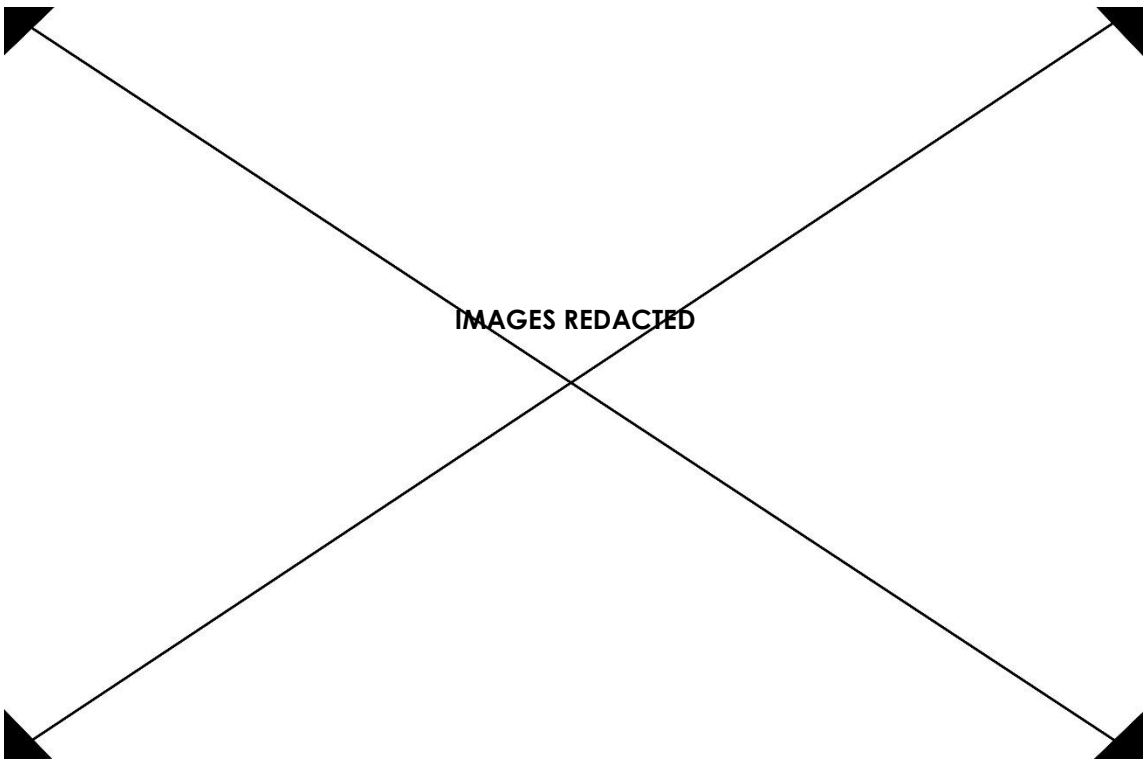


Fig. 4.44 Heating in a hotel for workers in Nowa Huta that is incorporated in the architectural plan of the building; Archive V (Unger 1954)

The hotel for workers was the only affordable inhabitation in the area and anyone who had the misfortune to arrive in Nowa Huta would have to live there and agree to fulfil the demands of the authorities. Kapusciński notes that one was allowed to live in a hotel if one supplied evidence of actively contributing to the work environment (1955).

In this case, it is not difficult to imagine Lebow's description of the corridor spaces as the only place where privacy in conversation could have been obtained by walking along its length. Eavesdropping would be difficult to achieve as following the movement along the corridor, on the other side of the wall, was impossible due to the rooms' segmentation by party walls. The only thicker walls were the firewalls which created the following zones: the corridor, entrance threshold, staircase and the room compartments. The walls between each room were thin partitions and barely provided any acoustic intimacy.

Komorowski writes that the construction work timetable indicates that the first buildings erected in the city were of pre-War designs by Adamski (presented in Slawiński and Sibila (ed.) 2008 100). Those were used in district 'A' due to pressure from the government and no available architectural drawings from the architect. The designs, which were used came from an inter-war scheme drawn up by a Warsaw architect Adamski. His blocks were, at the beginning, used as hotels for workers where hundreds of men were packed tightly into iron bunk beds. A plan of one of such is illustrated in Fig 4.44. Lebow describes the commodities; communal living usually consisted of a bathroom without warm water which was shared by an average of 17 people (Lebow 2013, 62). The interiors were grey and shabby, fostering conditions of poor hygiene. Overcrowding and malfunctioning plumbing and heating were a common problem. Fleas, bed bugs and all sorts of rodents and infections were common amongst the inhabitants of the hotels. It could be understood that the lack of comfort was a price which, according to the government, had to be paid to ensure that the newcomers into the city would get used to living in close relationship with their collective, and at the same time instigate the supposed immanent success of the endeavour. Sharing even intimate spaces in the hotel would be part of life in a commune of homo-sovieticus.

The opinions of the residents of Nowa Huta, from the perspective of close encounters, were consistently negative. Zechenter claims that at the outset the conditions of the work conducted on the construction site were deplorable, but the governing bodies tolerated them so long as the work continued and the rhythm of erecting was maintained (Zechenter 2007). The people who were monitoring the progress were the ones who benefited from a positive outcome of the project; the propaganda machine seems to have been relying on dubious accounts. Another construction worker, Chmielewski, who was encouraged to move to Nowa Huta to attain a satisfactory level of education and a humane life-style, said that his experience was an anti-climax (quoted in Lebow 2013). Lebow theorises that the low morale



might have had to do with the difficult living and working conditions, monotonous diet and lack of promised training. The city disappointed the newcomers' expectations who claimed that there was nothing to do in the city and that they felt overwhelmed by prevailing boredom. In Krakow, the city was despised and a malicious song was written about its builders and inhabitants. In the song, the people of Nowa Huta were referred to as 'Hutasy' (quoted in Lebow 2013) a combination of the words: 'huta' – meaning 'steelworks' and 'kutas' – colloquial word meaning 'penis'.

Tejchma, who was leading the Junacy (Fig. 4.40) movement in Nowa Huta, saw the complications associated with the transfer of young, illiterate men from rural areas to the construction site and big factories (Lebow 2013). He had instructions from the government on how to organise and conduct lectures and parades but he also organised meetings with poets and writers to introduce the written word to the new workers. His attempts to indoctrinate them into the homo-sovieticus world were futile.

The introduction of each worker into the city was planned in accordance with a philosophy of inclusion and equality. By that, the government attempted to guide and subvert the citizen's capacity to express their individual character. The outcome was the opposite. The inhabitation for the workers in Nowa Huta was communal but cramped and in poor conditions, which might be associated with instigating both apathy and unrest. Such spaces were provided in hotels for workers in which the new citizens stayed for years before they were given a flat in the city. This way of organising the inhabitation for workers may be seen as a strategy to introduce peasants to urban life contingent upon a collective. As soon as the workers arrived in Nowa Huta they were introduced to a new life-style. Their work lives were strictly regulated and past nostalgia rejected. They had to struggle to find spaces for leisure and any activity which did not conform to the order of the city.

#### **4.8 District D;**

##### **Post-Khrushchev element in Nowa Huta**

This section of the chapter describes District D within Nowa Huta. This was a sub-district of the city which was re-designed after 1956, and hence after Khrushchev's speech addressing the construction and architectural industry (Forty 2012 150-158). This impacted on the architectural language of the district, which, as a result, became an amalgamation of Socialist-Realism and Modernism. Examples of redacting the masterplan were: changes in material choices, which changed from high quality stone, on front facing facades, to plaster; balcony numbers, which were reduced; elevators, which were withdrawn from the project; washing basins, which were reduced and parquet floors, which were eliminated, leisure

facilities which were withdrawn. Continuing the disutopianisation of the project, in order to save money on administrative buildings (schedule of works presented by Komorowski in Slawiński and Sibila (ed.) 2008 103), in 1951, Nowa Huta became annexed by Krakow and the need for a grand representative City Hall was gone. By 1953, the House of Culture and large theatre were abandoned due to 'unconvincing aesthetic and compositional considerations' (Lebow 2013, 40). The national fund realised that it could not foster the investment of building cultural amenities in the city altogether. The buildings were to signify the accomplishment of the Soviet endeavour, the gratification of all the workers' efforts. Their rejection from the overall masterplan implies that the end goal of erecting Nowa Huta was less impactful.

Figure 4.45 shows the extent to which the plan was not realised by 1952 in association with buildings that were still worked on at that stage (but later not erected). Such unbuilt edifices that found their way into the masterplan drawing were: City Hall and the House of Culture. Figure 4.46 on the other hand shows the extent of the initial feasibility study<sup>17</sup> that was not realised. The image shows that the main civic buildings were not completed as well as most of the western side of the city (District D).

Similarly to Lebow, Małgorzata Włodarczyk comments on the changes which touched the masterplan of the city. According to Włodarczyk the masterplan underwent a substantial change in 1956 (in Jurewicz (ed.)2012 35). Most of the representative buildings, which were to establish Nowa Huta as a city drawing from the Augustinian architectural style were abandoned. These included City Hall (models of which are presented in Fig. 4.49-4.50). The same fate also touched Central Lagoon (a large water reservoir near the city), a radio station, collective laundromats, and additional bomb shelters.

The circumstances in which the more lavish elements of the project were rejected, are reasonable considering the financial situation of the country, however, the abandonment of City Hall comes across as a particular inconsistency with this. This was to be the icon of Nowa Huta, a building testifying to the designers' skills and the city's relationship with the continuity of Polish culture. The city was erected from the periphery inwards, starting from district A, which is an odd way of conducting a construction site. Binek claims that the peripheries were built between 1951 and 1953, those were sections of the city signified with acronyms: A0, A1, A2, C2, C1 and B2 (1997 121). He also claims that by 1953 the main construction site moved to the districts nearest to Central Square. Construction works on City Hall could have been finished by 1956 had the building been a priority, as presented in the schedule of the construction works.

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<sup>17</sup> a study presenting a potential masterplan or urban configuration on a given site



Fig. 4.45 The masterplan of Nowa Huta before 1956 showing areas which still need attention however also showing buildings that were not erected eg: house of culture; Archive V (Satlik 1952)



Fig. 4.46 The initial proposal for the Masterplan (Garliński 1953 81) with an overlaid sketch showing the buildings which were not erected (in red outline) and buildings that were erected according to an unassociated architectural scheme by Adamski (in black outline)

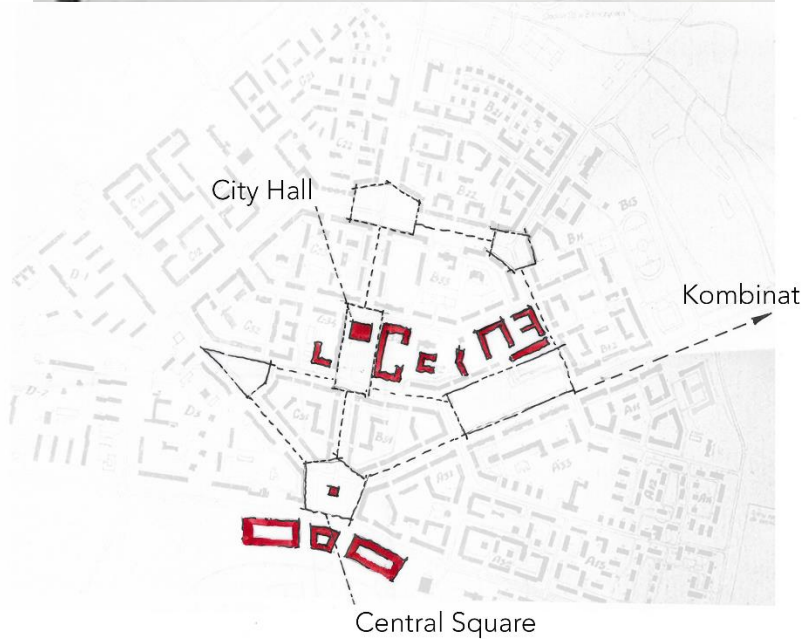
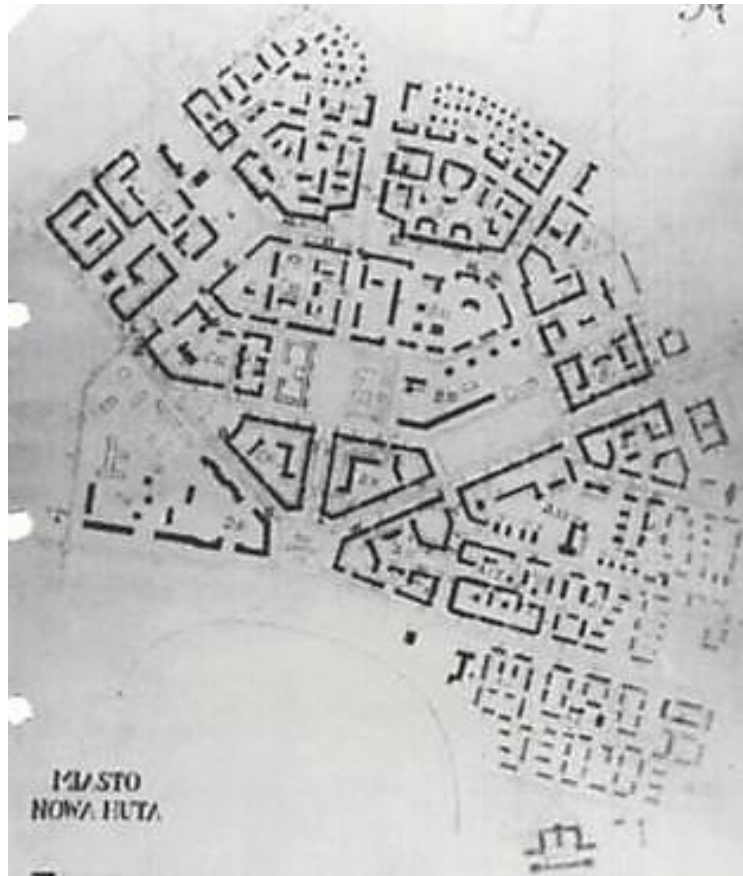


Fig. 4.47 The masterplan of Nowa Huta before 1956 showing unbuilt areas; (Baran 2014) associated with a sketch showing the unbuilt buildings that effect the legibility of the square network in the city

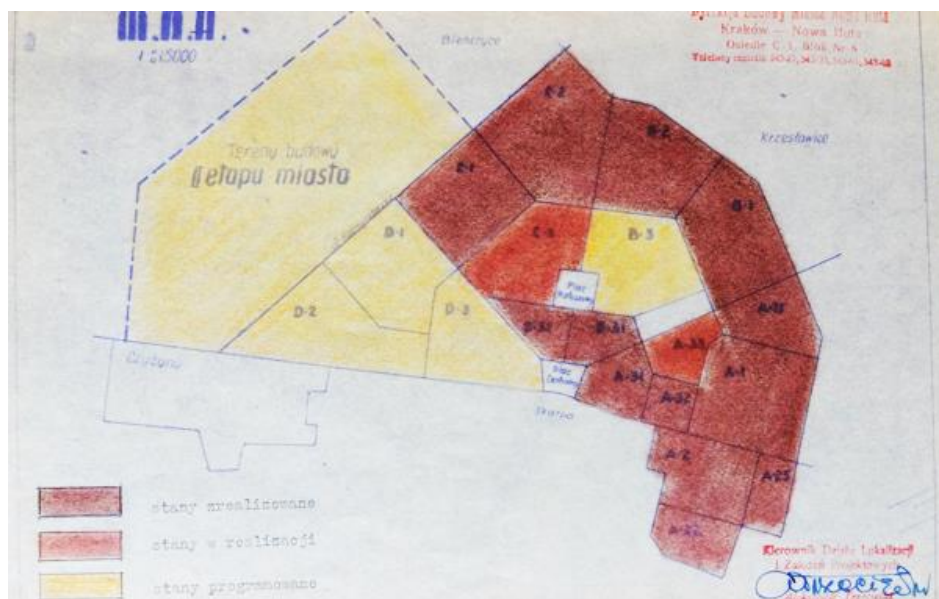


Fig. 4.48 The sections within the masterplan of Nowa Huta before 1956; consultation documents for the brief development; Archive V (Trzeciecki 1955c)

It was also said that the financial crisis started in 1956 whereas, new drawings concerning the building kept flowing into the contractor's office until 1957, according to Binek, the administrator of the site (1997 149). The inconsistency of the timeline also lies with the date of annexing Nowa Huta to Krakow, which happened in 1951. In spite of this, there are drawings of the edifice that were made after 1951 which suggests that the architects were either unaccepting of the design's rejection or unaware of it. Binek, as the administrator of the site, gives a vague explanation as to why he was the person responsible for abandoning the building: after another plan was sent I abandoned further work, explaining, simply, that in the foreseeable future work on this particular project will not commence<sup>18</sup> (1997). The differences in agendas imply a conflict between the architectural office and the financing body. The City Hall was rejected at a different time. However, due to ease of justification the decision was re-dated to a period of financial trouble.

The miscommunication about the loss of the architectural piece seems to imply a complex network of decision-making, which was not made public. It can be argued that the government never intended for this architectural piece to be erected but maintained a veil of secrecy to manipulate the architects and keep them enthusiastic about the endeavour. Another explanation may be that the architectural office operated with deep care for the edifice and produced drawings, denying the withdrawal of funding for the building after 1951.

<sup>18</sup> 'po zakończeniu więc kolejnej koncepcji wstrzymałem dalsze opracowanie projektów obiektu, tłumaczac, prosto, ze w najbliższych latach nie przewiduje się jego realizacji.'

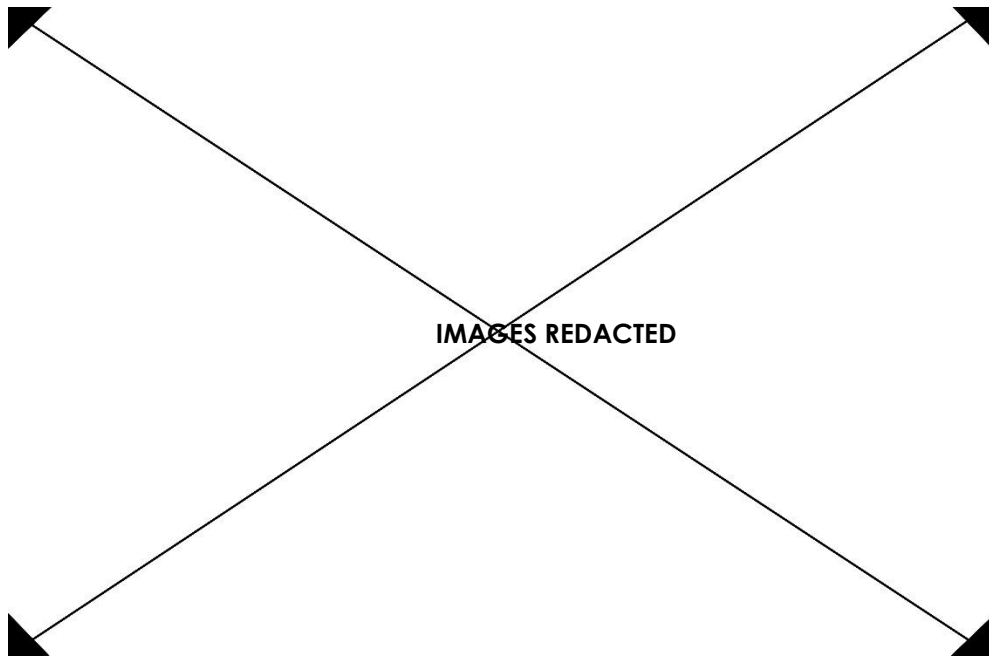


Fig. 4.49 Models created by Miastoprojekt showing different iterations of City Hall in Nowa Huta; (Jurewicz (ed.)2006 59)

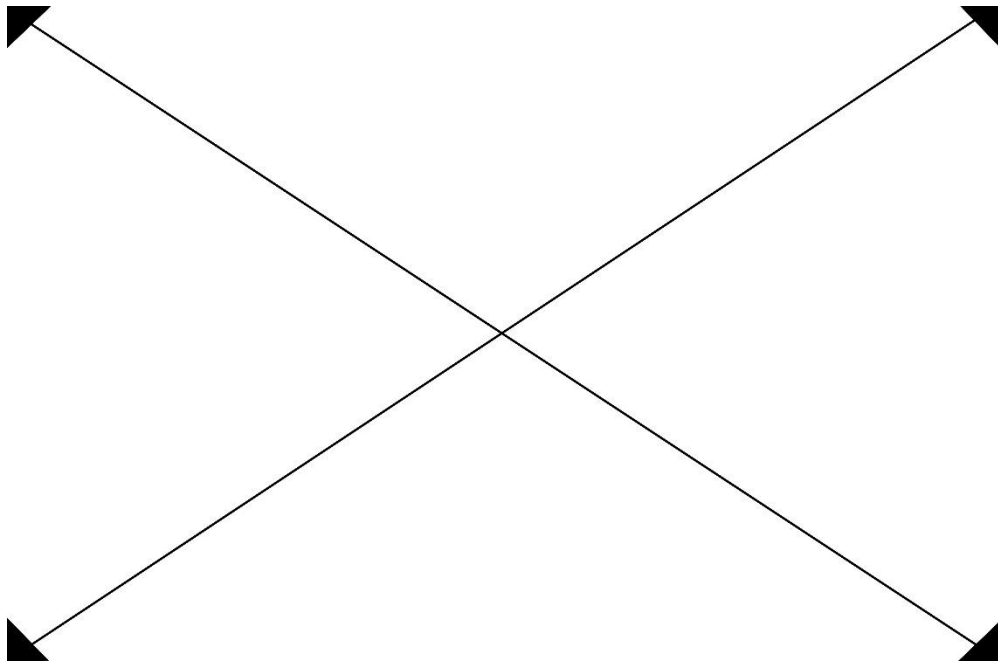


Fig. 4.50 Perspective and plan of yet another iteration of City Hall in Nowa Huta; (Biedrzycka et al 2007 81)

Thus, the city lost a crucial aspect, which was to denote its identity and link the city to the architectural traditions of the Polish Renaissance. To compensate for this loss, Miežian notes



that in 1970, a competition was held to erect Lenin's statue in the administrative square (2004). This, as mentioned before, was to remind the workers of the Soviet presence.

After Nowa Huta became annexed by Krakow, the presence of a much larger city changed Juchnowicz's initial plan. Some interventions started appearing to the West of Nowa Huta and closer to Krakow. The contemporary masterplan of the Nowa Huta district shows the extent to which the neat, classical symmetry of the city was distorted after it lost its independence. Włodarczyk claims that, at the time, district A was complete and districts B as well as C were close to finishing with the exception of the abandoned projects (in Jurewicz (ed.) 2012 24). This came at a difficult moment in the history of Nowa Huta, as the 1960s were a time of the city's rapid growth. David Crowley claims that this time was a moment when modernism was allowed to develop in Poland (1998), this style was called 'Socialist-modernism'. Those were buildings, which were made using prefabricated elements that were cheap and quick to assemble but left architecture to be an art of engineering rather than one fixated on the composition and organisation of space.

Adrian Forty notes, in his analysis of the Platenbaum style that the new Soviet Leader Nikita Khrushchev attempted to weave a similar type of hegemonic order as Stalin did but on different grounds (2012 158). Khrushchev had a specific approach to economy, his ideas seem to have aimed at reducing the cost and speed of erecting cities. His speech, which he gave at the 'All Union Conference of Builders, Architects and Workers of the Building Industry' (1954) implied that the whole profession should consider concrete as the only suitable material (Forty 2012). This was mostly dictated by economic considerations and those of political necessity resulting from years of isolation from the West. The available materials and viable construction techniques became scarce in the Soviet Union. As a result, Khrushchev suggested using concrete which was abundant and did not demand a specialised crew in manufacturing. Khrushchev also suggested offsite preparation of prefabricated building materials, which would be cheap and easy to assemble on site (Forty 2012 153). According to Khrushchev, 'the use of standardised designs in building will have a tremendous effect on economising, speeding up and improving construction work. Of this there is no doubt (stormy applause)' (quoted in Forty 2012 156). Khrushchev believed that site-specific solutions were incorrect and wasteful and that most of the construction should be happening in factories, where individual building elements would be assembled to be shipped off ready for installation. He also pointed out that standardised construction techniques would require little specificity of skills and hence a building could be erected in collaboration with a collective (Forty 2012 156). It is likely that the speech was dictated by the necessity of the architectural design industry and Khrushchev played simply a mediatory role. In 1956, the average norm for living inhabited spaces went from 6m<sup>2</sup> per person to 10m<sup>2</sup>, as discussed by Magdalena Smaga, there was a separate dining space and a sleeping area, and this also caused a

change in the requirements for furniture (in Jurewicz (ed.)2012 20). Concrete was associated with a newly developed material that came from Eastern Germany; plastic (Crowley and Reed (ed.) 1999 9). Both materials formed an ensemble that was to ensure a quick and cheap development of the built environment.

Smaga writes that the masterplanning of district D followed the CIAM principles of the Athens Charter from 1933 (in Jurewicz (ed.)2012 26). The public space was to be sunny and open with a large amount of vegetation. The location of buildings was withdrawn from the main streets and was multi-storey to protect the ground floor, capable of fostering green areas. Perfect examples of those are, as quoted by Włodarczyk; Spółdzielcze sub-district, Kolorowe sub-district and Handlowe sub-district by Bolesława Skrzybalski and Tadeusza Rebiesa (in Jurewicz (ed.)2012, 36). The CIAM principles acknowledged the importance of sport and, a small artificial lake towards the North-East of the city was produced, it was placed by the river Dubna filling a crater left by the construction of the Kombinat. This was a place devoted to swimming and rowing. A club house, designed by Juchnowicz, a swimming pool by Anna Ptaszycka in Biencyce was planned, areas of recreation with cycle paths and playgrounds were incorporated into the urban design, including two sports facilities; the already mentioned sports stadium (Miezan 2004) and an ice rink with a football stadium near the Mound of Wanda were erected.

Another difference between district D and the other sections of Nowa Huta is the fact that great care was given to commercial activity and revenue streams (Binek 1997 177). Binek claims that Juchnowicz's Nowa Huta was a romanticised historical plan of Socialist-Realism whereas by 1955 architects turned from a peripheral, street facing design into a more relaxed organisation which allowed for the development of stores and free trade based on flea markets and mobile sellers. The strategy may have become closer to natural economies of the human condition.

Juchnowicz says that during the Khrushchev period the architects were taken to Sweden and shown Swedish blocks for inspiration (quoted in Sławiński and Sibila (ed.) 2008 183). The landscape of Nowa Huta became a playground of modernist designers, Marta and Janusz-Ingarden designed a 'Swedish block' by the administrative square (B32), this was, at the time, an innovative technique of building with the use of pre-fabricated panels; the 'French block' (Fig 4.51-4.52) by Krzysztof Chodorowski arose soon after in 1957 in B31 (in Jurewicz (ed.)2012 35). These were inspired by Le Corbusier's residential Unit in Marseilles via influences from Sweden, which Ingarden Chodorowski visited and was inspired by. This way of designing allowed the architect to shape the space with much more freedom than in Socialist-Realist restrictions.



The development is reaching out to Krakow and connecting to Nowa Huta like an umbilical cord. The free-planning of the Modernist sections of Nowa Huta seem to have no general overriding organisational rule. The years of Socialist-Realist Neo-classicism had a devastating imprint on the design ethos and followed the notion of formal geometry in plan. The notion changed to a balanced and orderly composition, which in drawings looks like Corbusian-inspired urbanism, however, has little relation to the specificities of the site of human scale. The spaces are not determined in accordance with the sun-path nor are they aligned with the frontiers of the streets. The interiors of the buildings face random vistas and the spaces between the edifices are scaled out of human proportion and lack program or definition that might invite usage. In spite of there not being any comprehensive strategy for grand master-planning in this area, the developments do not seem contextualised and hence retain a Socialist-modernist lifelessness. The assumed transparency of Nowa Huta and the rigorous circulation was polluted in the late 1960s developments.

Curiously, the buildings retained a linear manner of designing space, which was used in Socialist-Realism as the sections of the erections remain similarly uncomplicated as seen in the drawing below (Fig. 4.56). The spatial hierarchies, like the ones in the Socialist-Realist blocks, ignore the importance of the kitchen, devoting the smallest and most awkward (in proportion) room in the flat. The positioning of the kitchen with respect to the living room and entrance also detached the space from the social aspect of the life in the flat. This might imply that the designers considered the living room to be the focus of the inhabitants and the kitchen as a service space which dissents from the vernacular Polish dwelling and its importance for the Polish culture in the 20<sup>th</sup> century (as discussed in chapter three).

There was little differentiation within the buildings and between each flat, as seen in Fig. 4.57 and 4.58. In such developments each inhabitant would then consider themselves as the same as any other as no space or inhabitant was privileged. The concept of the kitchen being the central room of the flat was diminished and the presence of the living room was expanded. To enforce this strategy, a plethora of interior decoration magazines were created and run by the state apparatuses; those were *Cross section*<sup>19</sup> and *Woman and lifestyle*<sup>20</sup> (images from which are presented in Fig. 4.58 & 4.59), 'You and I'<sup>21</sup> or 'Family Magazine'<sup>22</sup> to name a few. According to Crowley those were magazines, which presented a Western lifestyle to the people of Communist Poland (2003 161). It was to be based on minimalism and flexible solutions. An example that Crowley gives are furniture designs inspired by Ray and

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<sup>19</sup> 'Przekroj'

<sup>20</sup> 'Kobieta i Zycie'

<sup>21</sup> 'Ty i ja'

<sup>22</sup> 'Magazyn rodzinny'

Charles Eames from the 1950s. It could be said that this was a way of standardising the home environment that was a measure of expression in private.

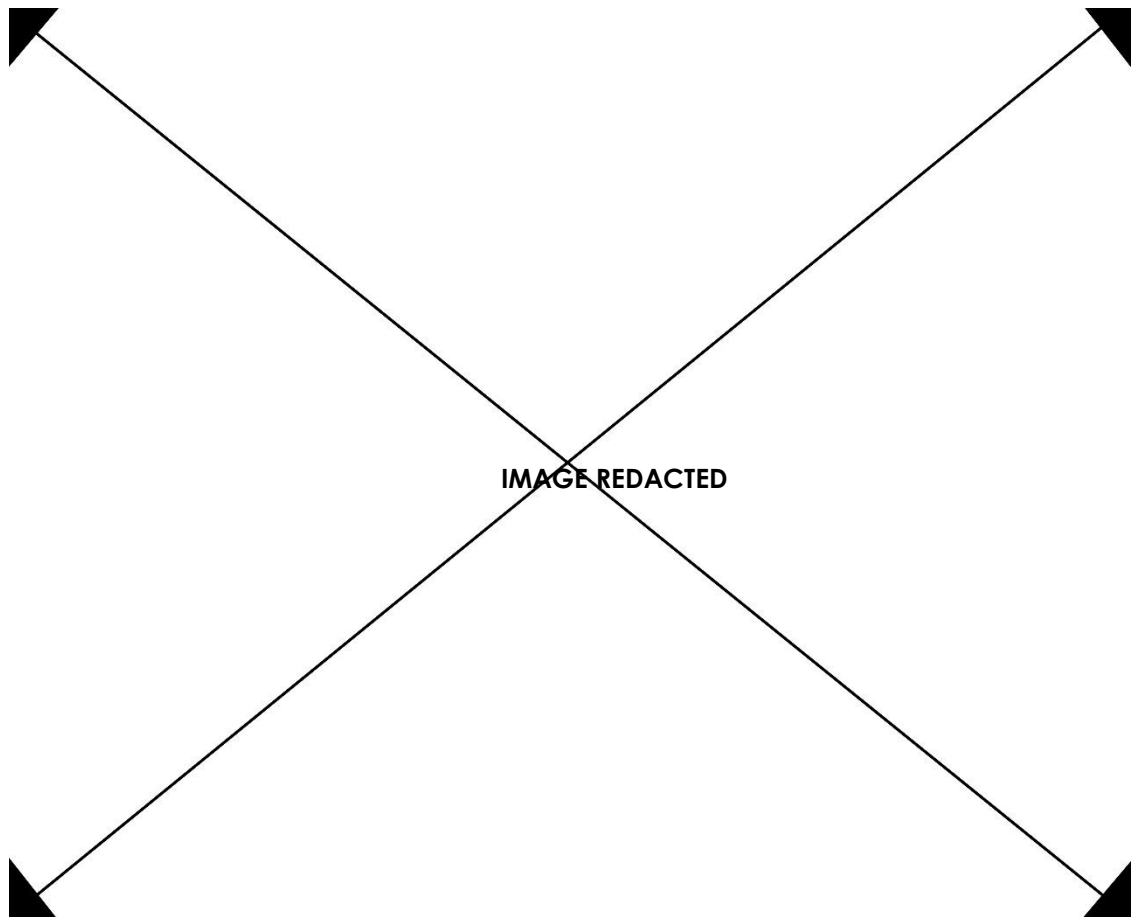


Fig. 4.51 Elevation of the french block; (Jurewicz (ed.) 2012 180)

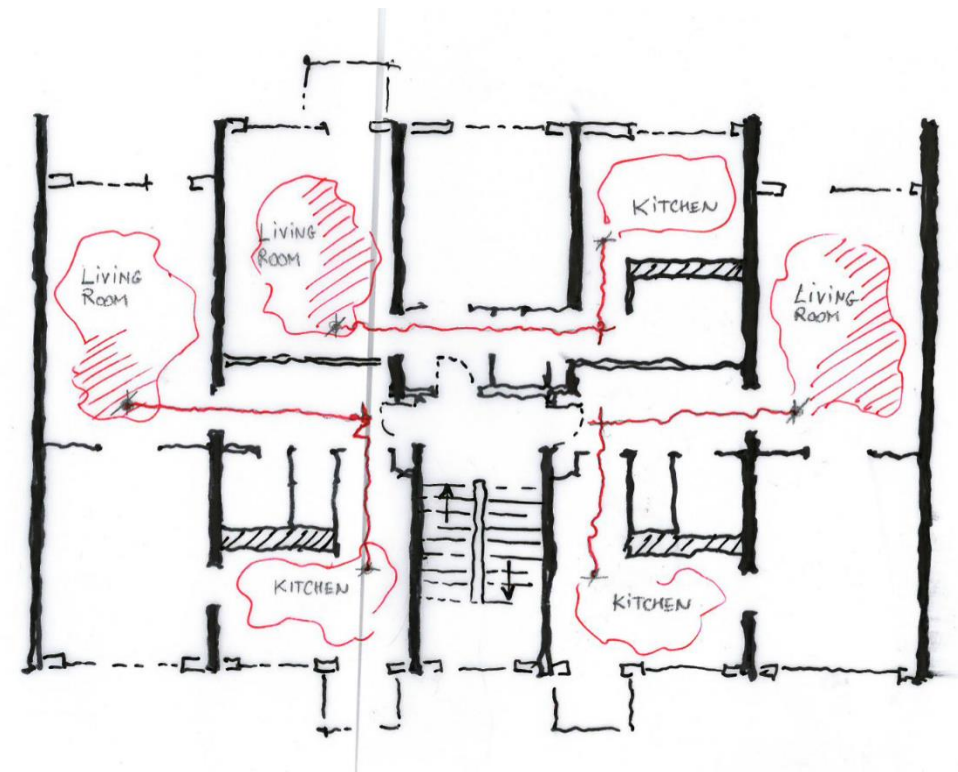
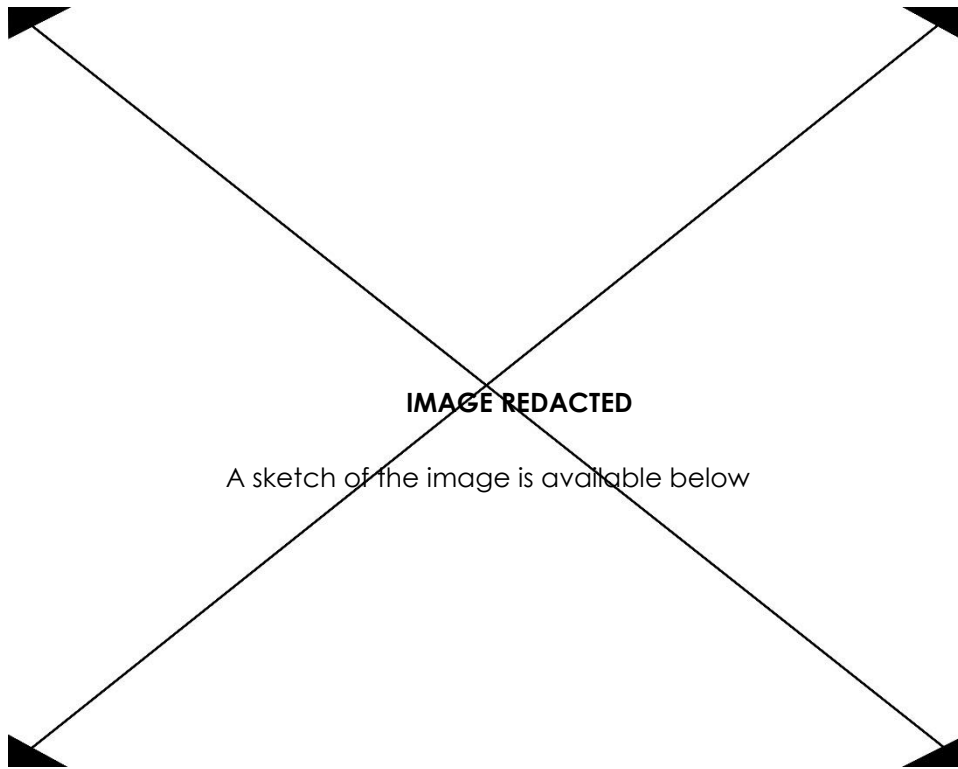


Fig. 4.52 Plan of the French block (Jurewicz (ed.) 2012 88) and my sketch showing the connection of the kitchen to the living room.

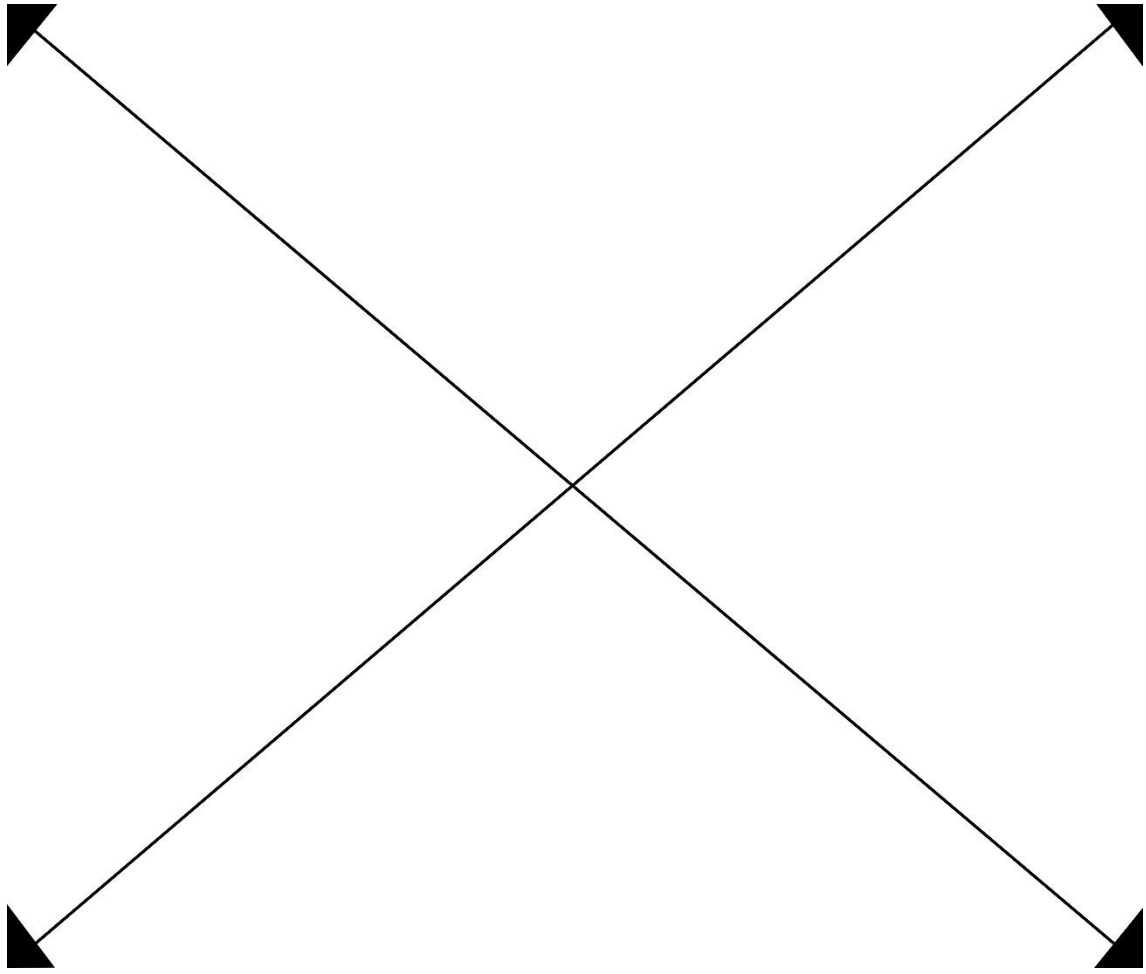


Fig. 4.53 Masterplan of Nowa Huta in its contemporary state; (Jurewicz (ed.) 2012 219)

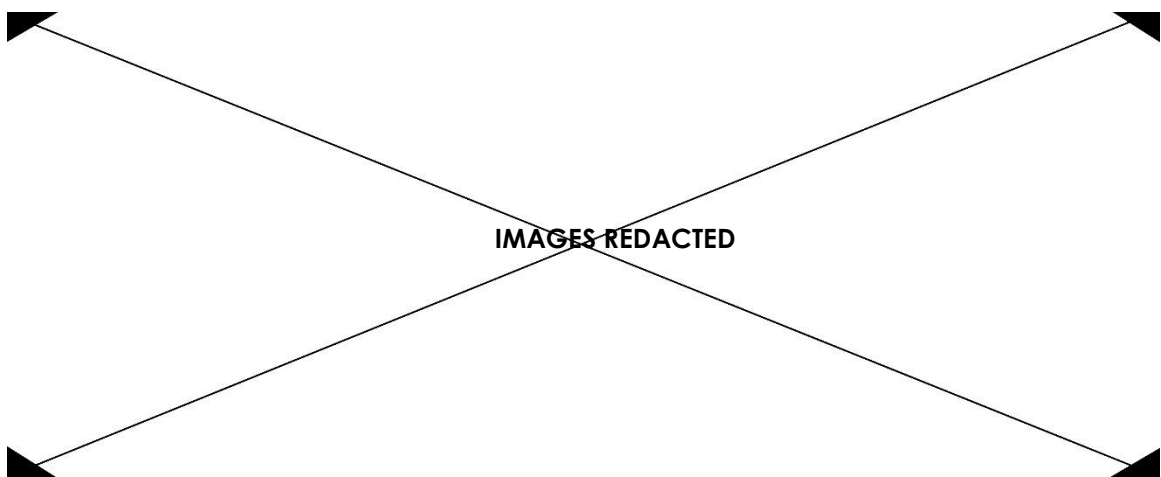


Fig. 4.54 Elevation of the Swedish block; (Jurewicz (ed.) 2012 194/5)

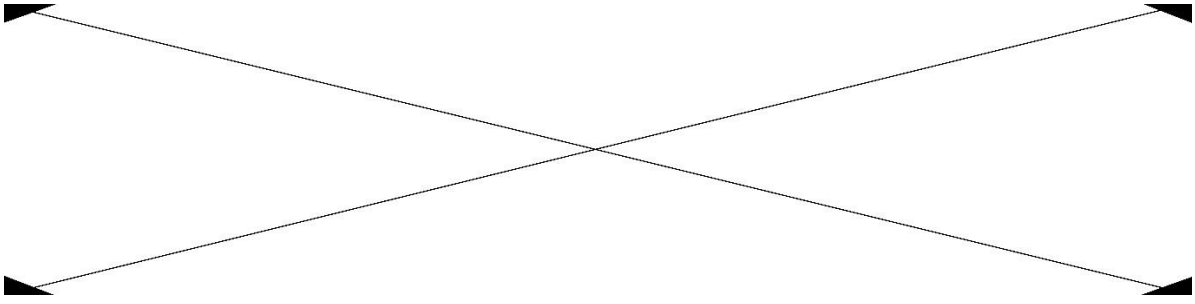


Fig. 4.55 Plan of a Swedish block; (Jurewicz (ed.) 2012 196/7)

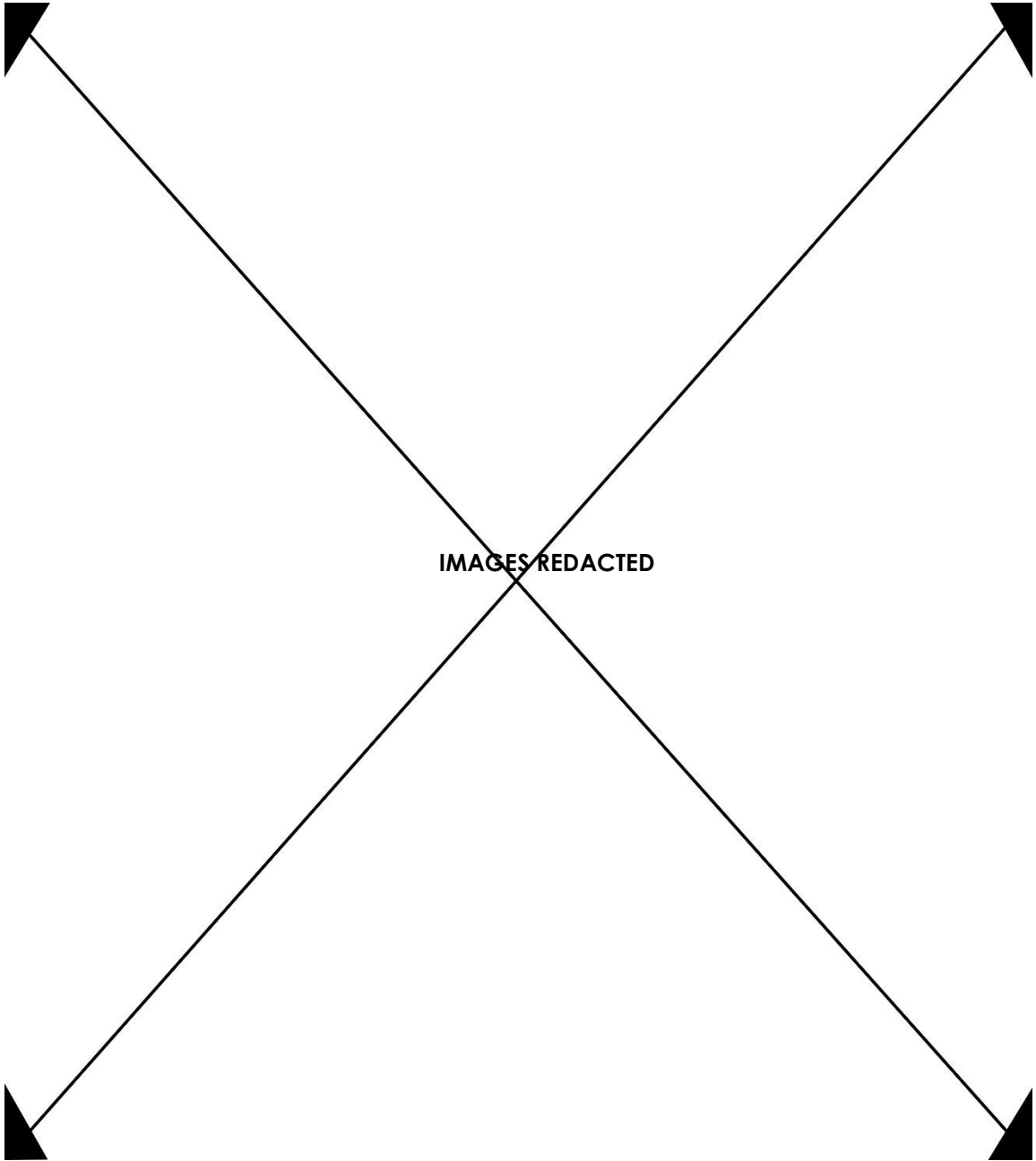


Fig. 4.56 Section of a French block (Jurewicz (ed.) 2012 198)

Krystyna Luszczak-Surowka writes that the flats were large enough to encompass large-scale furniture, which were named 'meblościanki' (furniture-walls), these became famous for being used as partitions within spaces to form additional separations in modernist apartments (in Jurewicz (ed.) 2012 62). This concept was developed by Stanislaw Kucharski. The furniture was light and simple without additional decorations. Their materiality made them cheap, light and flexible. An important characteristic of those times was the choice of materials used for partitioning space. Textile fabric was often used. Considering the pressure from the financial authority, Juchnowicz's Miastoprojekt was asked to hire an interior designer to design a potential organisation of furniture in each flat. Marian Sigmund was introduced in 1956, along with a larger department store in Nowa Huta which sold furniture. This was the only store of this kind in the area (in Jurewicz (ed.) 2012 67).

Crowley also argues that the Political Thaw was a time of socio-political liberation (Crowley and Reed (ed.) 2002). Formally the explicit regulation of life that came from the authorities was to relaxed however it could be argued that the cultural trends of the nation were still governed by the same artists and artistic directors. The continuity of culture during the Thaw is best represented by theatre that seemingly changed entirely after Stalin died (Skindziel 2013) and the theatrical world was de-centralised after Włodzimierz Sokorski was replaced by Karol Kuryluk as the minister of Culture in 1958. The theatrical directors such as Piotr Perkowski still followed the Socialist ethos of being true to theory of Meyerhold or Stanislawski. Perkowski suggested that the role of the theatre is still to liberate the working class – referring back to a Marxian concept of focus on work. In other areas of culture the Thaw was rich in experimentation and allowed for a high degree of artistic freedom. An example is an exhibition presented by Piotr Piotrowski who discusses the expressionist paintings presented in the 1958 expo: 'The Art of Socialist Countries' (Crowley and Reid (ed.) 2002 134). It was this moment when Socialist-Realism was challenged and rejected developing a new form of spatial relations but following the same train of thought of socialist propaganda.

There is implicit evidence to suggest that in Communism people felt as though they had no control over the interiors of their homes. Crowley suggests that in spite of the fact that the markets were opened to Western merchandise Polish people did not know how to use the newly-attainable commodities (2003). It is not unreasonable to see this situation from the point of view of nesting. The way people dealt with this issue was to use the provided flats as a skeleton for a nest. Like birds, people gathered and fitted the spaces with their own objects. Those were usually standardised furniture that were filled with tiny objects called 'durnostojki'. Walter Benjamin wrote that collecting little manageable objects is a reaction against lack of control (quoted in Buchli 2013). Those allowed people to negotiate the space in a subtle way and create a bespoke environment. Their material, usually porcelain or glass, and the way they were put together made them incredibly fragile, the space they needed

to exist in an exhibited way required much more space than the actual physical boundaries of the object. Their delicate state was accompanied with the instability of the joints in the standardised furniture which made the objects unable to match the close proximity of a moving and breathing human body. A durnostojka is a name created from 'durno' and stojka'. The 'durno' prefix translates to 'stupid' and `stojka' signifies 'something which stands'. The object was functionless, it served no point other than ornamentation. The choice of such items may be considered as a manifestation of individuality, however, their choice on the market was so small that they immediately became standardised across all interiors. This, according to Komorowski, happened after the leading supplier of such commodities, a store chain called 'Cepelia' became nationalised (in Salwiński and Sibila (ed.) 2008 113).

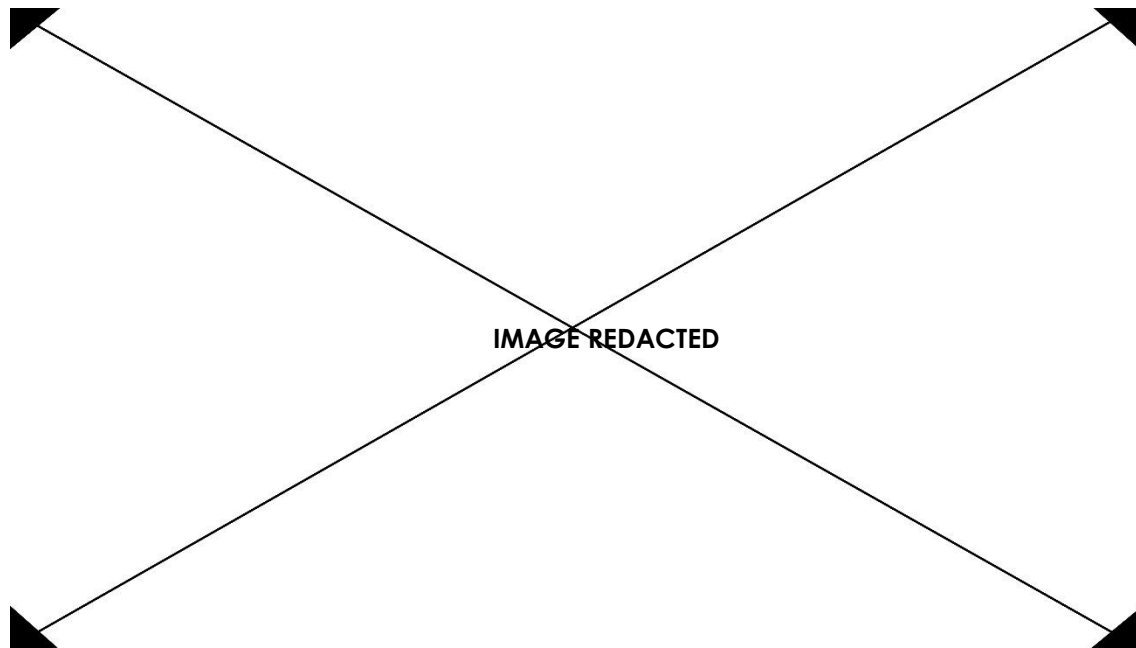


Fig. 4.57 Proposed interior design of a flat by Sigmund (Jurewicz (ed.) 2012 60)

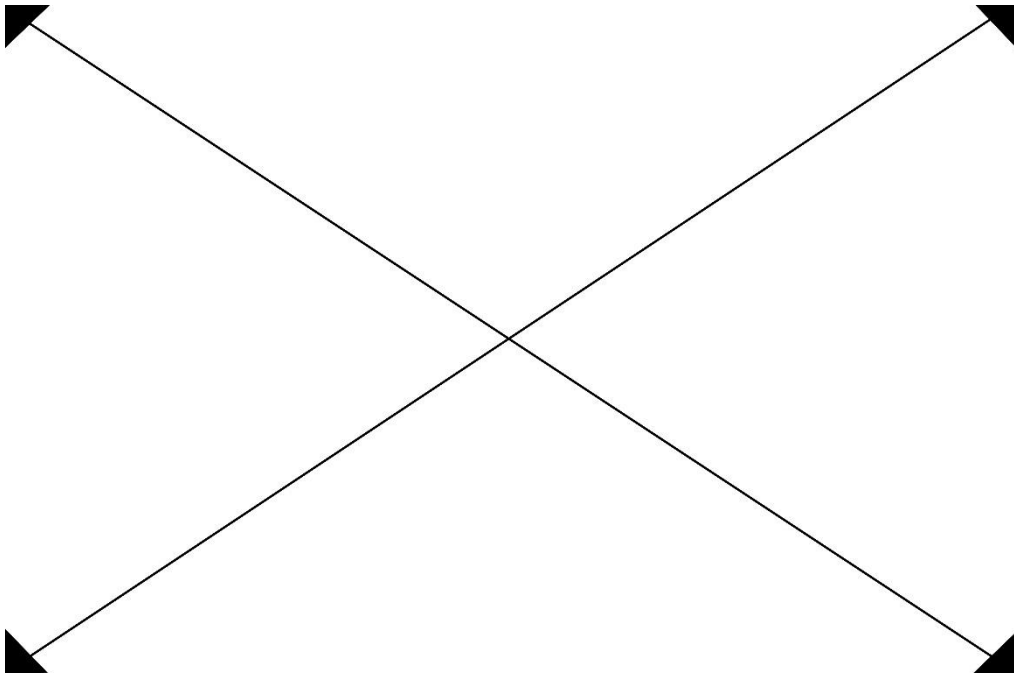


Fig. 4.58 Photograph from a furniture magazine; (published in Jurewicz (ed.) 2012 61)

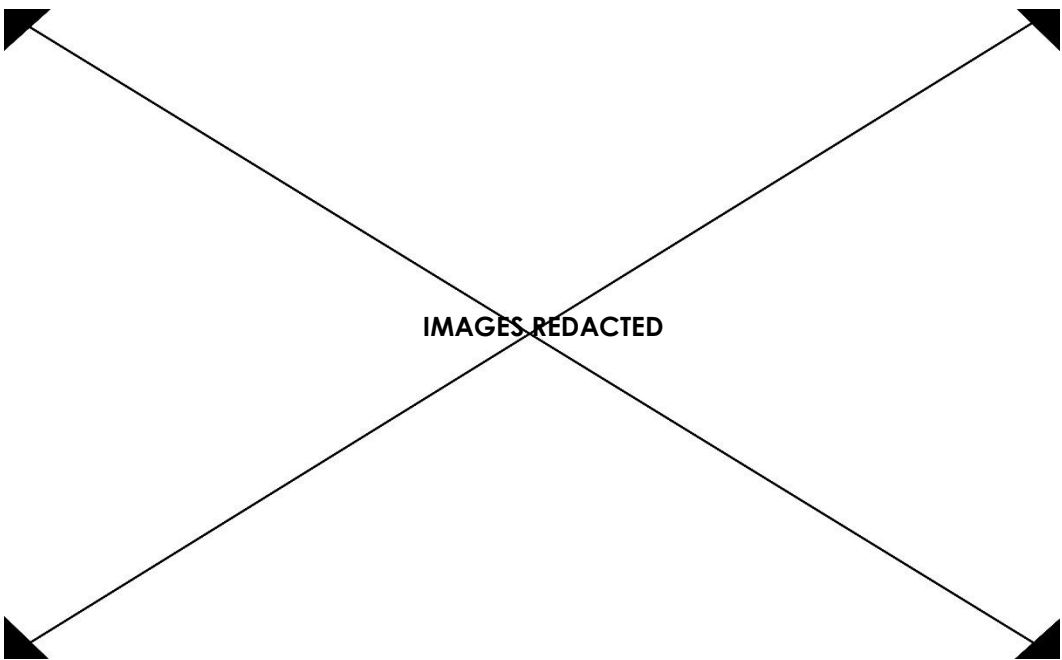


Fig. 4.59 Photograph from a furniture magazine; (Jurewicz (ed.) 2012 63)



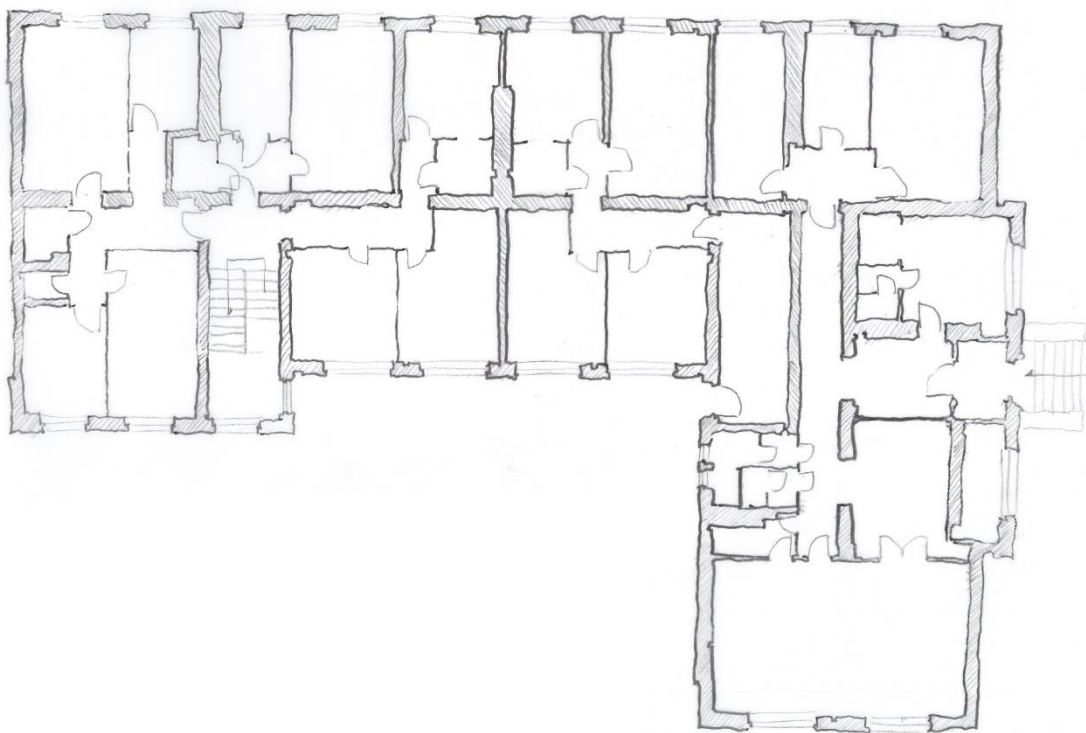
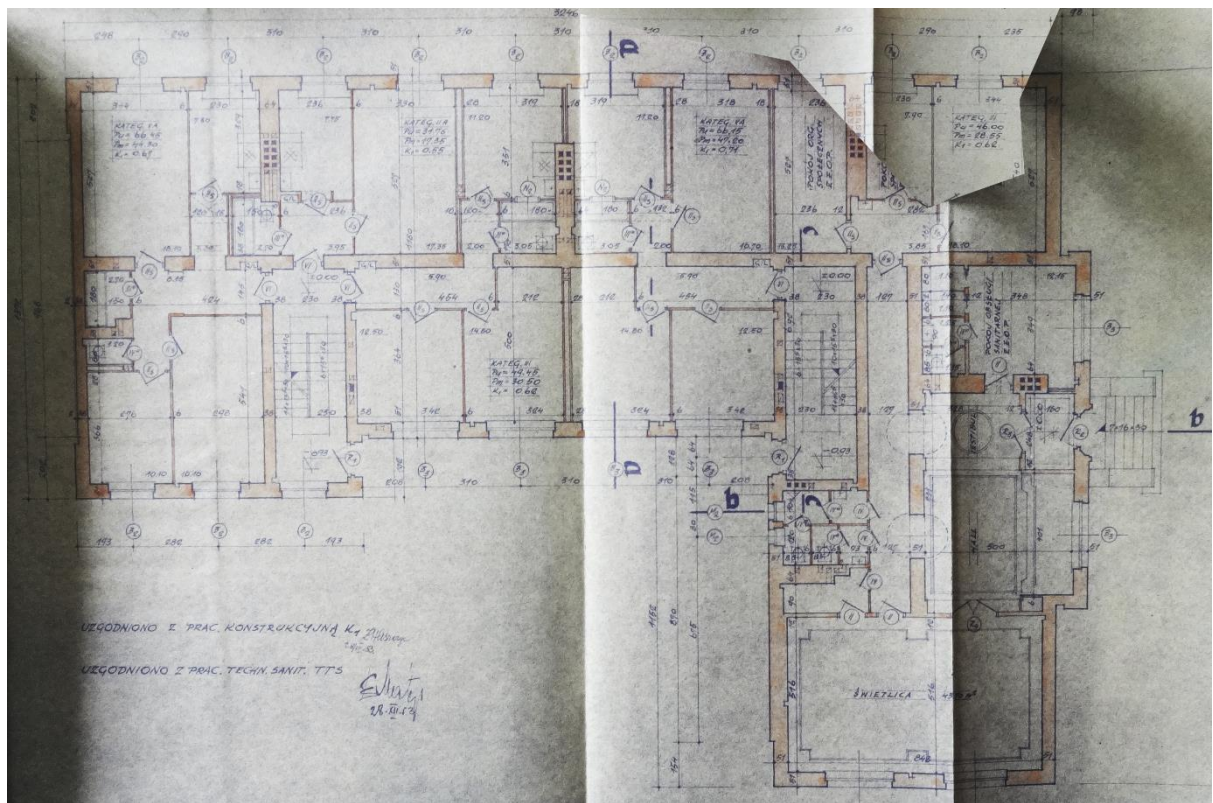


Fig. 4.60 Plan of Soc-Realist residential unit (Miecznikowski 1953) and Author's own sketch.

As seen in the plans of the Socialist-Modernist residential units, the largest significance in the flat is placed on the living room, as opposed to the kitchen. This was unusual for the Polish culture, which valued the role of the kitchen for generations before the public aspect of the flat overshadowed it. This change shifted the importance of the matriarchal presence in the household and formalised the relationships forming in each flat.

In spite of my interviewee's (Jarek's) earlier admiration of Socialist-Realist flats he is very negative towards Socialist-Modernist residential quarters. He concentrated on the small scale of the spaces and mentions that the apartments were not as well equipped as their Socialist-Realist predecessors. Curiously, when describing these he focusses on the informal, semi-public spaces, as opposed to the interiors of the living quarters. Jarek's description of the Socialist-realist flats was one he heard from his acquaintances, whereas, the ones he mentioned of the Socialist-Modernist ones seems to have been acquired by experience. It can be argued that Socialist-Modernist architecture created an opportunity to meet in semi-private spaces, stair landings accessible by lifts. Those spaces create a gradation leading from public to private. This suggest a measure of considering the private as an inaccessible place. This, if representative of the time, could indicate a change in considering the future inhabitant of a flat as well as a pragmatic measure to build higher with efficient circulation cores.

It could also mean that the philosophy of design implied that citizens were not to be equipped with interiors that would be able to support the habits of Polish people to host a guest in the house. Without the prominent presence of the kitchen the ceremony of preparing and delivering a meal to guests and their eventual transition into the kitchen would be discontinued. As seen in the residential unit in Fig 4.60 there are no divisions which would suggest a higher level of intimacy. This would imply that the normal level of exclusivity and inclusivity of the family was not in tune with the homo-sovieticus. Without the presence of the other, the exclusivity of the family unit could not be presented, tested and enhanced. The event of including a guest to the family household would be less impactful since everyone would have access to the interior.

After 1956, when Khrushchev took control over the Soviet Union, the hegemonic control over the Eastern European states became apparently more relaxed. The ways of control became far more subtle. Instead of setting out rules of how to live people were presented with choices, which were acceptable and limited by the authority. The architectural designers could part with Socialist-Realism but had to adopt Socialist-Modernism, which was an amalgamation of the international style and Soviet philosophies. Socialist-Modernism was indirectly guided by the Athens Charter and created a different way of thinking about

space. This was manifested by leaving the private space with little possibilities for differentiation and personalisation and the public space with little definition. The masterplan lost several important monuments which were to be iconic for the city, those were made in uncertain circumstances, supposedly guided by the economic crisis.

#### **4.9 Conclusion**

The objective of this chapter was to discuss Nowa Huta, and the strategies, incorporated into the design of its initial masterplan to create a social stratifier (using the principles of a social condenser, described in chapter two) to create a homo-sovieticus and induce a particular way of behaving in the city fabric. The chapter also discussed the subsequent changes that resulted from socio-economic difficulties that the construction of the city faced. Additionally, the chapter also narrates the conditions in which the inhabitants of the city were introduced to living in an urban environment. The general train of thought which governed the design of Nowa Huta was to create an episteme focussed on work, one based on a Stalinist philosophy of creating a collectivised homo-sovieticus. The purpose of this text was to introduce the context in which Heterotopias emerged and developed.

Considering Foucault's description of a city in plague, Nowa Huta can be considered as an attempt to create a 1950s mechanism of disciplining its inhabitants which would be a hygienic alternative to the non-ideological and organic Polish cities. Nowa Huta was designed to create a space ripe for the worker of the Kombinat, and that was a major feature which Nowa Huta responded to in spatial terms.

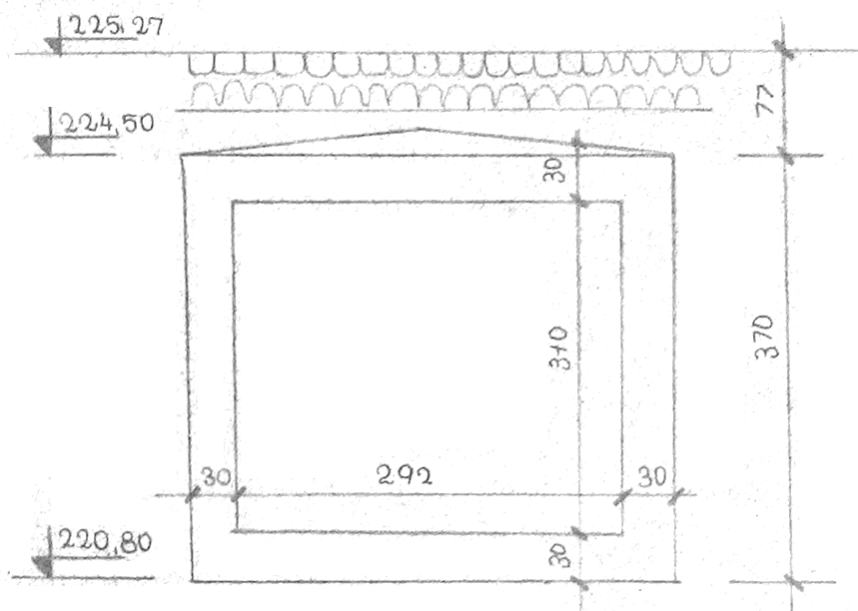
The intervention was part of a six year plan to rejuvenate the Polish industry so that it could serve the goals of its Soviet leaders to expand their influence. The city was to be the pride of the nation and a hope that Poland will rise from the ashes of the Second World War. It was designed by a group of architects working under the arm of Tadeusz Ptaszycy in his office called Miastoprojekt. Their work was under strict control to make sure the design was what the authorities expected. Writers and artists from all over Poland were to contribute to this aim. The transformation of Poland into a Communist land was most intensely experienced in Nowa Huta and its origin showcases the difficulty of this transition.

The initial design drawings made by Miastoprojekt were very ambitious and followed Soviet guidelines. The city was Neo-classical in style, which meant clarity of planning. The design moves included the use of spacious courtyards, which were to become neighborhood units and collectivise each individual living on their periphery. The most important formal flows, which the city was designed to foster, were the ones leading commuters from their houses to work and back again. Those were signified with the most monumental pieces of architecture

within the city fabric and were the aspects of the design, which the architects might have used as a starting point for the project. The key design points were the routes determining the main axes of the city; The axis leading from peoples' homes to the gates of the Kombinat and Rose alley leading towards Central Square. It can be argued that the civic environment in the city was set up as a polarity of the Kombinat gates and Central Square to facilitate a specific type of engagement with the public space, that redacted any attempts to negotiate space without subserviance to the power structures. The propaganda machine promoted Nowa Huta and used it to create a favourable image of the Soviet governance. This was done in all the available channels to transmit information so that the power-knowledge nexus was filled with positive mentions of the city. When arriving on site the workers were given new clothes, haircuts and a regime of hygiene and nutrition to maintain a condition fit for conducting the necessary tasks on the construction site. The inhabitation conditions were, however deplorable and were to introduce the new workers to a communal life where every commodity would be subject to being shared amongst a group.

After 1956, Khrushchev gave his famous speech, in which he suggested a change in architecture to that based on pre-cast concrete. This was a different kind of hegemony, seemingly more liberal, but still an authoritarian mode of control. The liberal arts were given much more freedom but the architects in Poland had to adhere to this new regiment direction and the Nowa Huta masterplan had to adapt. The new proposed architectural language in the country became Socialist-Modernism and the architects turned to the West for inspiration. This changed the way people related the intimate spaces and to the public ones and way they differentiated spaces for themselves and the other.

The next chapter discusses Heterotopias within Nowa Huta that were documented in historical archives or presented in interviews. This showcases how the transformation into a new episteme was implanted and rejected by the Polish people.



Chapter 5

Heterotopias

## Chapter 5 Heterotopias in Nowa Huta

### 5.1 Introduction

#### 5.1.1 Introduction

The aim of the thesis is to investigate heterotopias in Nowa Huta in the Communist period. The objective of the previous chapter was to present the situation of architecture in Nowa Huta and the complexity of the relationships between the civic and what can be read as heterotopic during the Soviet period. This relationship can be read as a story of architecture that was designed to foster a particular affect of communal living and social stratification. The previous chapter, along with chapter two, draw parallels between the architecture of Nowa Huta and the aspirations of the government in the Soviet Union. The objective of this chapter is to describe the effect of the atmosphere of control in the city, combined with the misplaced design efforts. The situation of overwhelming rigour in the city fabric pushed some citizens, who were looking for unauthorised leisure to seek rest in subterranean or peripheral spaces. The latent spaces of churches also gave the citizens of Nowa Huta a chance to rest from the homo-sovieticus order. This correlated with the inter-War lack of definition in civic conduct discussed in chapter three and comes across as a continuation of the trust in the institution of the Church. Through nurturing the cultural continuity of what is considered to have been a signifier of Polish patriotism heterotopias came to represent a link with the inter-War period. In this light, such latent spaces can be seen as similar to that appropriated by Tadeusz Rejtan in Jan Matejko's *Fall of Poland* (Fig 1.2). This latency gave an opportunity to negotiate a new way of engaging with the civic that was disconnected from the public debate attuned by the urban environment. Nowa Huta was not dissimilar to other Polish cities in the fact that the authorities' definition of citizenry was not acted upon by it's inhabitants. It might be said that this is the result of the continued weakness of the Polish government to convince citizens to follow a strong leadership. Had there been a strongly established way of conducting civic behaviour before 1945 in Poland the Sovietisation of Nowa Huta would have been a matter of channelling the governmentality already present in the nation into that of a homo-sovieticus. Since it was uncoordinated and underdeveloped it could slip through the net of propaganda and seek shelter away from the gaze of the Communist Policing strategies. It is my argument that such latent spaces bear the signifiers of what Michel Foucault would call Heterotopias. Throughout most of the discussed cases those heterotopias followed a rhizomatic model. Following my argument as discussed in chapter three; this affect was a result of the inability of Polish civil organisation to form a coherent image of citizenry and this resulted in the disorganised heterotopic quality of engagement with the public in Nowa Huta – a city that was designed for a single (homo-sovieticus) understanding of civic relations.

This chapter introduces the concept of Heterotopias, as defined by Foucault, and explores heterotopias in Nowa Huta in the context of Communism. The research presented in this text discusses the reaction of the architects of churches to the situation in the city which resulted from Soviet guidelines. The chapter also presents the reaction to the guidelines' likely impact on the spatial perception as well as the evolution of architectural design in the city. In this chapter, I am outlining cases which suggest that heterotopias are essential for a deep reflection on the definition of the self, existing in the power/knowledge nexus of latent invigilation. I am arguing that this reflection changed the role of the self in the civic as well as the form of art and architectural expression. Spatially, this reflection can be considered to necessitate latent qualities which avoid an expectation of a normalising gaze to freely explore a different reconfiguration of the self. Foucault writes in his paper 'Of other spaces':

Starting from this gaze that is, as it were, directed toward me, from the ground of this virtual space that is on the other side of the glass, I come back toward myself; I begin again to direct my eyes toward myself and to reconstitute myself there where I am. The mirror functions as a heterotopia in this respect: it makes this place that I occupy at the moment when I look at myself in the glass at once absolutely real, connected with all the space that surrounds it. (Foucault 1984 4)

### **5.1.2 Economy of leisure**

The designers of Nowa Huta were expected to create a space capable of fostering men and women ready to be transformed into a homo-sovieticus construct (as outlined in chapter two) by following a very particular flow, and immersing themselves in a prescribed power/knowledge nexus. This was to create ideal citizens, to constitute fragments of a much wider Soviet collective. Nowa Huta was designed for a construct of man that was to find its definition through pride from work. Jane Tooke and Judith Butler claim that Stalin's mechanism of discourse coordination was aimed at standardising existence (Butler 1997; Tooke 2003). Tooke makes the more general point that that standardisation of being and creating an affect of normativity is a common practice forcing citizens to recognise themselves always with dependence on the discourse of the authority (2003). Nikolas Rose writes that the notion of the self or the understanding of its definition does not precede the cultural flow and is by default linked to it (1999a) which would suggest a connection between the pre-Second-World-War and post-Second-World-War cultural habits. According to Margo Huxley, governance always attempts to gain control of the knowledge flows to suggest regulatable ways of self-governing (2008). The spaces of Nowa Huta can be read as ones that were designed to foster civic engagement of a worker with characteristics of the homo-sovieticus.

The Soviet way of thinking about space incorporated a definition of economy, which would be subservient to Marxist demands. Any excess was used to fuel the collective of the Eastern hegemony. George Bataille in *The Accursed Share* defines development of culture as a

concept contingent on the notion of excess (1989). It was his assumption that where there is life there is abundance, as life needs excess to grow and develop (Bataille 1989 24). Without excess all biological organisms stagnate or die. This excess is a dynamic force, which has to be utilised otherwise it will be channelled in an uncontrollable way. Positive utilisations of surplus, according to Bataille, are monuments and sculptures; an example of uncontrolled excess is the Second World War (1998, 113). The odd definition of circulation of Capital and economy of means, which was defined by the Polish-Communist government, seems to have defined abundance as never attaining a sufficient level in order to trigger change. Any form of plenitude was directed towards preparing the Soviet world for war with a vaguely defined enemy, exhausting the resources. This informed the way of operating in the Soviet construct of homo-sovieticus in the country. All of what Bataille would understand as abundances (1989) were to be directed to feed the war machine of the Soviet Union. This strategy aimed at withholding all desires which were not sanctioned by the government as useful to this task.

In spite of Foucault's concept of a city in plague he believed that regardless of the codification of normal citizenship the inhabitants will still be prone to choosing their own modalities of conduct as, for Foucault: 'Every individual acts out desire' (2007, 72). The excess of means and will, suppressed by the Soviets, finally erupted by forcing citizens to dissent from the homo-sovieticus economy and to explore the intimate desires of the self. I argue that the Polish people subverted the normative flows of Nowa Huta forming new, unpredicted ones, secured with an architectural membrane of subterranean corridors, churches or spaces outside the city limits. Those, by Foucault's definition, can be understood as heterotopias.

In the context of Nowa Huta, heterotopias created a supportive environment for latent cultural tendencies of intimate desires that did not conform with the Communist goals. Due to their nature they had to be constructed and maintained in hiding as any conspicuous presence could be noted by a Communist collaborator and reported to higher authorities. Within the cultural context of Poland, sacred spaces were devoted to the Catholic Church but also allowed for a more embracing type of heterotopia that welcomed non-religious uses. Those spaces, to some extent, ambiguously imbricated attitudes of Soviet-rejection and tense negotiation with aspects of national heritage and the prevailing Marxist ideology.



### 5.1.3 Of other spaces

Foucault studies the concept of spaces for difference on the marginality of power structures and names them heterotopias. These, as he suggests in his paper 'Of other spaces', are locations of self-reflection and departure from old ways of seeing the self and its space.

Foucault writes:

There are also, probably in every culture, in every civilization, real places - places that do exist and that are formed in the very founding of society-which are something like counter-sites, a kind of effectively enacted utopia in which the real sites, all the other real sites that can be found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted. Places of this kind are outside of all places, even though it may be possible to indicate their location in reality. Because these places are absolutely different from all the sites that they reflect and speak about, I shall call them, by way of contrast to utopias, heterotopias. (Foucault 1984 24)

Foucault mentioned Heterotopias first in 1966 in a radio broadcast for children discussing spaces for play (Johnson 2006), then again in 1967 when addressing medical doctors at a medical conference (Dehaene and De Cauter (ed.) 2008). Johnson quotes a letter from Foucault to Daniel Defert:

[Foucault to Daniel Defert:] Do you remember the telegram that gave us such a laugh, where an architect said he glimpsed a new conception of urbanism? But it wasn't in the book; it was in a talk on the radio about utopia. They want me to give it again. (Defert, 1997: 274 in Johnson 2006 76)

Heterotopias emerged as an unintended revelation but came to become an important part of the rhetoric of developing difference, as expressed within and through civic space. According to Peter Johnson, Foucault started this discussion with *The History of Madness* originally published in 1961 (2009) which holds the description of the ship of fools. The discussion was continued with *The Order of things* originally published in 1966 (2000) by describing Juan Borge's classification of the emperor's animals, and elaborated during lectures he gave at the Collège de France, given in 1987 (2007). After this the idea was developed in *Discipline and Punish*, released in 1975 (1995).

As Foucault writes, heterotopias are spaces that excluded a utopian ideology (1984). They are 'sacred' or 'forbidden' spaces that present the negative attitude of the society towards events that they foster. Rejected from the totality of public life they are places for 'a state of crisis', meaning different from the generally accepted norm (Foucault 1984, 24). As examples of heterotopias, Foucault mentions spaces in primitive cultures for menstruating women, as well as brothels and churches, spaces where the norm is no longer the rule and where free change and development is possible. All those spaces imply a moment of change; brothels, changing the boy to a man; menstruation, changing a girl to a woman; churches, changing the souls of the parish.

Heterotopias, as Foucault describes, constitute a discontinuity of the formally accepted flows and create conditions ripe for subversion (1984, 24). The membrane surrounding heterotopic spaces would often consist of juxtaposition and an ensemble of temporal relations, which implies a necessity of exclusion or conflict with the normative space. Those spaces can be understood as ones which held the tension that is felt when, upon reflection and re-examination, one leaves the old way of being to attain a new capacity of acting and understanding the world.

Within the heterotopia, there would be different rules, conducts and definitions of risk and excess in respect to the available abundance of energy and will. Foucault's studies of control mechanisms and experience of life in unstable political atmospheres (including Communist Poland) (Tomasik 2012) led him to describe a specific tactic of acting upon disagreement (Foucault 2007). He recognised a gap in the framework of knowledge that provides a new understanding of acting out otherness, which he named 'counter-conduct'. Counter-conduct is described by Foucault as a creative pursuit of a different form of conduct, a different flow or, as he put it an attempt 'to be led differently, by other men, and towards other objectives than those proposed by the apparent and visible official governmentality of society (Foucault 2007 199)'. This conduct is a '[conflict] of conduct on the borders and edge of the political institution' (Foucault 2007 198). This, according to Marin Rosol, is a more diffuse form of resistance (2014). This type of conduct would find its place in creating a heterotopia, where new ideas force the re-definition of normally understood risks.

Daniel Defert suggests that Foucault's description came as the development of considering a shift in thinking (1997). This is confirmed by Yoann Bazin and Philippe Naccache who suggest that heterotopias are necessary for the creative development of ideas (2016). Bataille interprets heterotopias as spaces where the normative way of 'business' and 'common sense' stops (Bataille et al 2013 2). Peter Johnson suggests that heterotopias, in spite of being defined in a vague manner, hold all the features of a liminal space where a transition to a new way of acting is possible (2006). Hjørn sees heterotopias as an opportunity for the normative hegemony to be subverted to a point at which different actors can be inspired in a free atmosphere and have a chance to experiment (2005). Kevin Hetherington suggests that heterotopias are places of ambivalence and re-ordering of relations between spaces (1997).

I claim that such spaces are essential in the move from one episteme to another via the development of new, creative ways of understanding the self in the civic space, and consequently, what is associated with it, architectural design and even culture. Those can be seen as places and moments of doubt and suspension of belief that lead a person to transcend to a new way of considering relationships in space (that, according to Foucault,

ultimately form the self (1995). These places are torn out of the normal way of seeing to strip the normative self to its bare core and develop a new civic order, as Foucault would say:

the disorder in which a large number of possible orders glitter separately ..... in such a state things are "laid, "placed", "arranged" in sites so very different from one another (Foucault, 1970 [1967]: xvii).

His description of heterotopias disrupts the normative civic: their rejection from the general public spaces due to their specific functions, their temporal character that allows them to be permissible at times, their definition that juxtaposes them against the rest of the space, and their exclusivity and permeability. In this portrait they seem to be dynamic bubbles of places, forming through the definition of spaces in every-day life in the totality of a homogenous and unanimated space.

In Nowa Huta, spaces for life's imperfections or nonconformities to the normative public realm were unacceptable. This was accentuated by the likelihood of encountering secret agents of the Communist police. This hegemony so categorised people in abstract terms and definitions that individuals may have found it difficult to articulate themselves. An independent sense of self, outside the discourses dictated by the governance or individual tactics of dealing with culture, were in this case impossible in the light of day. Development of creative subjects such as music or architecture proposed by individuals had no place in Nowa Huta as they were seen as tools for coordinating the citizens.

#### **5.1.4 Structure**

In order to convey a comprehensive discussion I am, herein, grouping heterotopias by considering their relationship with the governance. The division is based on the assumption presented in the discussion included earlier in this thesis. The sections are organised chronologically, in accordance with the events and buildings that are quoted in the texts, to show a progression in the development of what I understand as heterotopias of Nowa Huta.

The cases I have examined imply that heterotopias could be divided into two types. The first type openly manifested the opposing attitudes of citizens towards the government. This type seems to be returning to the inter-war period of Polish culture as presented in the *Architecture and Construction* journal between 1920 and 1935 (discussed in chapter three). Those were acted upon by both state apparatuses and civilians. Both sides of the struggle reinforced one another and through this contestation gained in intensity. Examples of this are erected civic monuments, churches and demonstrations in the city of Nowa Huta. However, the power struggle seems to have also acted in latent ways, undercover and in secret. The second type seems to have required a deeper exclusion and was produced for the purposes of reflecting upon the internal desires and defining the self in accordance with its internal mechanisms. Without this type of heterotopias there could not have been any reflection upon the

normative civic conduct and no appropriate act that could counter it. This type seems to have engaged both Communist and oppositionist sides of the power struggle and was acted out in hiding. Due to the latent nature of this type both sides of the contestation were acting without surveillance and in the state of counter-conduct, against the regulations of an ideal socialist state that Nowa Huta was designed for.

Kulynych finds that there are several ways of addressing civic conduct, prescribed by an authority. She suggests that counter-conduct can be divided into performative actions (Kulynych 1997) which openly dissent from the norm, and those which are more implicit. According to Kulynych, Foucault hints on this type of engagement with the governance by discussing the aesthetics of self-creation (1997, 332). Those cases would find their expression in demonstrations or oppositional marches. Carl Death would claim that such cases reinforce the governance of civic conduct (Death 2010). The performative conduct would express what Deleuze and Guattari would call a molar assemblage, which have a defined public presence (2004). The non-performative cases would develop what Deleuze and Guattari would name molecular assemblage, or a relation which is ignored by the public discourse outlined by the governance to address and define the self; those would be too insignificant to be considered and would find their manifestation in: secrets, dreams or desire to act abnormally. I will, therefore, consider heterotopias with similar attention for ease of legibility expressing their capacity to create exceptions.

The categories which I narrate are named borrowing the language of key theoreticians used in this thesis, to explore cultural tendencies in Poland and the Soviet Union in response to the power structures. Those are Foucault, Giorgio Agamben, Jessica Kulynych, Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari. Deleuze and Guattari with Kulynych present the difference between performative and non-performative acting out on power regulation with reference to the significant (or molar) and insignificant (molecular) aspects of the self. Agamben here is used to consider the understanding of development of heterotopias that are required by the government to convey an uninterrupted legislative flow in a rhizomal capacity. All heterotopias will be explored as a countering to the flow of the city, as understood by the architects and not the government. The complex relationship between the Government, the architects and the inhabitants will here favour the designers of the city. It is my assumption here that the architects designed for a different governance than considered by the Communist government, acting in what they considered to be the best interest of the Polish people.

The first group is here named 'Heterotopias of exception', using Agamben's theories of 'state of exception' (2005). These were set up by the government in order to create an atmosphere of almost total invigilation and separation, by withdrawing certain citizens outside the legislative flow into a state of abnormality to secure the authorities uninterrupted hegemony

(borrowing Agamben's discussion on the exteriority of law, discussed in chapter three) (1998). The policing service (SB) and Collaborators with the Communists (TW) will here be seen as inhabitants of the city acting outside of the remits of civic conduct, visualised by the architect. Constitutions, in democratic states, always have a clause, which assumes the rejection of normative legislative flow in case of an emergency; this is called martial law (1998). In more common circumstances this right is exercised in a similar way but on a smaller scale. Law needs to have an agent taken out of the legislative framework in order to function; in Democracy this state of exception would be given to a judge to secure the potential for an objective trial. In Communism this the SB or at times even the TW encompassed all power structures (legislative, executive and juridical) and was immersed within the society as an agent of the government. This section presents the incorporation of the policing service into the civic space of Nowa Huta and the operation of the TWs and their channels of information flow. The section compares the TWs with the architect's attempts to (secretly) design a space which might be seen as heterotopic in the urban fabric but one that explains the clarity of the designers' intent. The SB and the TWs dissented from the norm outlined in the utopian vision of Nowa Huta, as predicated by the architect's concept (and discussed in chapter four). This section is a continuation of chapter four and compares the latent presence of the TW with the presence of a hierarchy that was dear to most of the Polish people (discussed in chapter three). This section outlines the atmosphere of attunement in the city via the urban design as well as the ways that architecture for TWs was dealt with.

The second category is 'Molecular heterotopias' (borrowing Deleuze and Guattari's definition of the molecular assemblages), which emerged as spaces accommodating events which the architects and the Communist authorities did not mandate. Those were spaces in which no grander ideology could overcome the intimate desires of the body. This is discussed with respect to the strategies of organising non-approved leisure for the people of Nowa Huta. The resulting character of spaces that came to be appropriated for leisure would be much more intense and require clear discontinuity with the public in order to facilitate a near-delusional state of mind. The rupture of the flow in this case is subverted on a very deep level by excluding most of Nowa Huta's citizens and allowed for a deep reflection upon the self. An example of such would be venturing to a location outside of the city limits to seek solitude or spending time in the underground structures of Nowa Huta in alienation. This section speaks of spaces which gave an opportunity for self-exploration focussing on pure desire to determine the non-Soviet and even non-cultural aspect of the personality in which the power/knowledge nexus would be subverted. It presents spaces where the molecular could be in the state of becoming a characteristic that could not be traced back to a segment, in a power/knowledge nexus suggested by the governmentality of power structures<sup>1</sup>. This

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<sup>1</sup> Power structures here should not be associated only with the Communists

section presents spaces which were appropriated to break off from the flow of the homo-sovieticus and traditional Polish dweller and become an autonomous sovereign-self. This text shows the potential reason and inspiration for the architectural structures in the next section.

The final type of heterotopias is referred to as 'Performative heterotopias', these were catered by the sacred, for example: church buildings (in which the legislative flow did not abide, and a different hegemony could establish an order). This section presents the way the Catholic Church interacted with the Communist agency and the governance as a power, which was in contestation with Communism. The interaction that is considered was conducted in spaces devoted to praising the divine which broke the formal place-making and flow of the city. The section outlines spaces that opposed the Communist governance openly and were a divergence of the normative flow of the city, in formal architectural ways, breaking its hierarchy and uninterrupted nature. It presents a discussion of buildings which were erected to praise a different order than that of the Soviets and how the Church created an atmosphere of a different power/knowledge nexus and flow than the one planned by the State. I also describe how the strategy of the sacred developed with the emergence of the heterotopian architectural language. This strategy, I argue, took great care to create spaces ripe for the freedom to determine the aesthetics of self-representation. By doing so, the Church gained a stronger position in the contestation for authority in public. This section shows the architectural manifestation of the heterotopias, the way they were developed in time, and how they were inspired by subterranean spaces in Nowa Huta.

The three typologies of heterotopias are merely segments in an artificial division made on the basis of the evidence that I managed to obtain. The types of heterotopias presented herein are organised in chronological order. I neither claim that this is a full list, nor do I claim that the divisions cannot be separated even further or differently. However, in order to convey the arguments of my thesis, this division seems to carry the most appropriate features defining the intensity of the relationship between the events enveloped by a heterotopia and the prevailing power/knowledge conditions manifested in the conceptual development of the brief to carry a flow of homo-sovieticus'. The features of heterotopias which are outlined herein are: their sectional character, their concealed nature, their innovative or creative capacity (presented in the relation to architectural detailing and ornamentation), a change of perceiving the space, change in signification of hierarchy, their unpredictability, reactivity to the infrastructure of the city, and their rhizomatic qualities. It could be interpreted that these were formed as a way to regain control of a constant concern for the self and be aware of assemblages that the self engages in to become a non-Soviet sovereign. This will demonstrate how heterotopias present conditions for development and change and reject the stagnation of imposed utopias.

## **5.2 Heterotopias of exception**

## 5.2 Heterotopias of exception

### 5.2.1 Introduction

This section of the chapter focuses on the way Nowa Huta was prepared for the presence of, and used by, the Policing service in Communism which consisted of the Polish Security Service (SB– Służba Bezpieczeństwa) and members of the public, who were recruited to collaborate with the Communists in secrecy and transmit information of potential situations of threat (TW). The key architectural intervention analysed here is a building for the SB service which is in this text compared with a different civic building (a church) that showcases how the architects thought of the location of civic edifices in the urban fabric. This is to exemplify the difficult relation between the Communist policing and the civic.

The SB was the official force that included the military, militia (police service), border patrol, prison officers, intelligence, officers responsible for the security of key investments in the country (Referaty Ochrony – RO) and internal security corps. They also recruited TW agents (that were mentioned in chapter three). In this section of the chapter the SB and TW will be considered separately as their role in the civic had a drastically different quality however both will be assumed to compose the policing service as having similar impact on the power regulation. The SB officers were often publically known to common citizens whereas the TWs were agents in secret and their engagement with the civic was not made public. This was the strength of the TWs who had the capacity to intrude in people's most private lives and use the obtained information in sinister ways. In spite of the fact that their operation was contingent on the presence of the strict directives of supervising SB officers their corridors of operation were largely unsupervised. The curious aspect of their role is that in spite of the fact of lack of clarity in their work and identity the general public knew about the possibility of their presence.

The matter of the engagement of TWs in public life is a controversial issue even to this day. People holding higher public positions are subject to a special public employment of law called lustration (David 2003). This process regulates the examination of evidence of collaboration with the Communists before the change of regime. People who have been proven to be functionaries or collators of the former security services often lose a great deal of political capital even in spite of exoneration. To have been proven to be part of the Communist machine is associated with a shameful social stigma. This was in the case of Zyta Gilowska who in 2006 was accused of having been a TW (Pietniczka 2006) or in the case of Lech Walesa, who's supposed TW files emerged. Because of this, as suggested by Roman David, lustration trials can be used for ulterior motives and the legal process has been criticised by international bodies such as: the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (Resolution 1096, 1996) and the human rights organisation (David 2003 388). The



political potential of such trials reveals the negative impact on public space that the presence of TW agents had in Communism.

TWs have a negative reputation in the country as individuals, who have an untrustworthy ethical foundation. The difficulty of attaining an understanding of the civic morality in those times is best represented by my interviewee, Marek who said that '[T]he way you understood who is a Communist and who isn't was to see if they are troublemakers<sup>1</sup>. To be of good moral stature today was to be a legal dissident in Communism which engages with the debate that Hannah Arendt had when discussing the banality of evil using Eichman's trials as a case study (1994).

A deeper complexity of the matter in Poland came out in the (already mentioned) lustration trial of Zyta Gilowska who, as reported by her supervising SB officer, did not know she was a TW (Pietniczka 2006). The Interviews I conducted suggest that the TW's way of operating often used the urban fabric of the city to introduce a level of sinister presence in dark corners and areas of non-visibility. In Gilowska's case the shadow of secrecy included herself. Her supervising SB officer claims that he forged her TW contract to keep her safe in the light of Communist authorities but it did defame her later in life and only reported information that he received from her during casual conversations.

This level of uncertainty of information transmission provided a level of latency. This lack of transparency enabled and even perhaps encouraged illegalities or the immoral act of lying. As in all cases of heterotopias discussed herein this issue is not presented as a struggle between good and bad but a complex relations of that which is new and that which causes a conflict in the civic space between what Deleuze and Guattari would call morality and ethics (Deleuze and Guattari 2005). Contemporary debates including people who lived in Communism seem to categorise the relation between Communist policing and ordinary citizens in a bipolar way.

Considering Agamben's theorisation of exceptions of law, it could be understood that the SB and TWs (the policing service in Polish Communism), paradoxically, were expected to create heterotopias in secrecy in order to regulate the flows of the city and maintain a coherent definition of spaces that were ripe for fostering the homo-sovieticus collective. Regardless of political affiliation this thesis will consider the places of meeting between SB officers and TWs as well as TWs and ordinary citizens as heterotopias as they changed the roles of individuals in the act of information transition from passive objects to active subjects. As I am showing in this section this led to the development of a strategy of governance of the self with respect to power that is similar to the one discussed by Ben Anderson (2016). It was to force an

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<sup>1</sup> Jak chciales wiedziec kto jest komunista to wystarczylo popatrzec jak sie zachowuja i czy rozwalaja otoczenie

epistemological change onto the Polish dissidents and allow them to internalise the order of the Communist political intent.

Leopold Tyrmand mocks the policing service by claiming that in the Communist world the officers were to replace 'consciousness'. He writes:

'In Communism, the Police does not care about people. It's only goal is the maintenance of order outlined by the government. In this way an institution that was to protect people from evil turned into one that protects evil from people.' (2014 171)<sup>2</sup>

This is an overtly general simplification of the complexity of reality but the affect of the government seeing the SB as their tools to maintain in the position of authority is a convincing albeit cynical argument.

This secret tool was a strategy that is a type of dissent from the concept of neo-classical transparency of Nowa Huta and attempts to orchestrate a social or civic order, as envisioned by the architect. By presenting the ways in which the city was used by the SB and TWs I am discussing the power struggle between the architects of the city, the Communists' intent and the Catholic Church as also noted by Jagło (in Baran (ed.) 2014). The text also implies a complex co-dependency that the TWs sustained with the church. This text explores the urban manifestation of the power struggle that was acted out early in the life of Nowa Huta. This is done by a detailed analysis of two buildings that were erected in the city-fabric; a church (that acted according to the architects' intent), and a police building (which ruptured the designers' intent). The section also presents ways in which the perception of the city was changed by the policing's presence creating an atmosphere of discomfort. The goal of this section is to present the invigilation tactics created by the unwelcome heterotopias constructed by the government. Looking at the current political debates it is not unreasonable to assume that the SBs and TWs' presence was unwelcome in Nowa Huta.

To illustrate the point, this section of the chapter is divided into several subsections that communicate: the theoretical position of heterotopias of exception within the Communist governance; the relationship of the headquarters of TWs within the assumptions of the Masterplan of Nowa Huta; how the notion of TW related to Nowa Huta in Communism; their actual methods of operating and impact on spatial perception in the city.

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<sup>2</sup> 'W komunizmie człowiek nic policji nie obchodzi, po prostu dla niej nie istnieje, Jej jedynym zadaniem jest ochrona porządku, czyli systemu władzy. W ten sposób instytucja przeznaczona do pilnowania ludzi przed złem przeobraziła się w instytucje pilnująca zła przed ludzmi.'

### 5.2.2 Heterotopias of governance in Nowa Huta

This subsection engages with the theoretical setting out of exceptions in legislative systems and how the SB and TWs acted out this role to form heterotopias. This gives an image of the agents' responsibility to maintaining the operation of Kombinat at a high level of efficiency, and regulating the functioning of the city to support the rhythm of the steelworks. This subsection is based on archival material, Interviews and secondary-source literature.

Sovereign powers have the obligation to protect the laws and regulations within the remit of the power structures which they oversee. They are, as Agamben theorises, in a state of exception from the legislative regulations in order to enforce the law that they create (1993). Agamben, whose theories were discussed in chapter three, notes that the state of exception (or as he called it homo-sacre) is necessary in order to set up and maintain legal structures and a coherent governance (1993). As argued in chapter three, this conduct was present in post-War Poland. Whole groups of people designated to marshal the law in Poland were not restricted by the rule of legislation they were to maintain. Agamben writes that without this exception of law, which determines the limits of judicial authority, there would be no legal inclusion (2005). Agamben adds to the description of the state of exception:

nécessité fait loi [...] The state of exception is [...] a space devoid of law, a zone of anomie in which all legal determinations - and above all the very distinction between public and private - are deactivated (...) the state of necessity is not a 'state of law', but a space without law (Agamben 2005 50-51).

He follows '[t]his means that the paradox can be formulated this way: 'the law is outside itself'. (Agamben 1993 15). In the context of Poland, the SB had special privileges. In addition to this the recruited TWs were to a degree exempt from law without a designated mandate to police the public space. The space that both groups produced might be one that Agamben would have considered stigmatising as 'outside of law' to paradoxically enforce the legal system within the city. Considering that the designers of Nowa Huta aimed at achieving a transparent city with no dark alleyways, it can be understood that the TWs were acting against the architect's intent.

Foucault considers the necessities of exception in his rhetoric of heterotopias. When giving examples of these spaces, he mentions libraries and cemeteries, without which, as Michiel Dehaene argues, the city could not be able to operate. In spite of this those were spaces that worked according to different rules as the rest of civic space (Dehaene and De Caeter (ed.) 2008).

To justify the necessity for this exception as well as the operation of law in any system of government, there needs to be a clear definition of what is legal and what is not. As Thomas Lemke suggests, the government defines an appropriate conduct of conduct (Lemke 2001).

Erin Bishop suggests, by virtue of this definition, the governance also puts forth what is not appropriate conduct and therefore outlines the concept of 'risk' in society (2014). Definitions of risk, according to Frank Freudi, in order to be internalised, must be closely related to the anxiety and uncertainty of fear which, in his understanding, constructs scripts of conduct of the self and appropriate schemata of forming assemblages (2007). In Nowa Huta such definitions came in the form of potential threats to the Kombinat giving the factory another priority in defining the civic space in Nowa Huta. The official justification for the SB was: to eliminate the threatening elements from the nation and those which were uncertain politically (Baran (ed.) 2014). In other words, any uncontrolled political thought was defined as threat to the homo-sovieticus flow and had to be disposed of.

In strategic points, within the antidiversive [meaning: acting against the operation] network (...) [the service] ensures the eradication of hostile elements and those, which are uncertain politically especially ones which threaten with diversion (...), it deconstructs emerging criminal tendencies in a given workplace, namely, it recognises early signs of potential sabotage attempts, which might be conducted in the facility regarding its operational character (...), it studies the atmospheres of the employees attitudes (...) conducts prophylactic conversations (...), recognises those who inspire disruptions in the form of strikes, explains circumstances and reasons of failures.<sup>3</sup> (RO report quoted in Baran (ed.) 2014 25)

The SB's operation, however, did not end with the construction of the Kombinat and continued to regulate the life of Nowa Huta as both the city and the workplace were deeply interconnected.

### **5.2.3 Divine geometry;**

#### **The location of the SB building in the masterplan of Nowa Huta**

This subsection outlines an analysis of architecture and urban setting that was housing the SB (which at the time of the erection of the building were called UB – Urząd bezpieczeństwa). It presents the character of this building in contrast to the architectural and urban design of a church that had a strong civic presence (considering the Polish culture in the inter-War period) but arguably heterotopic quality (Foucault 1984). This is done to exemplify the position and architectural language of the SB building with respect to the civic and show evidence of a negative attitude the Polish architects had towards the agents. By doing so the text suggests that the presence of the policing service openly dissented from the transparent principles of clarity in the urban design of Nowa Huta. To understand its qualities, a brief exploration of the hierarchies of Nowa Huta is presented.

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<sup>3</sup> W punktach sieci antydywersyjna (...) powoduje usunięcie elementów wrogich i niepewnych politycznie z oddziałów szczególnie zagrożonych dywersją (...), rozpracowuje problematykę przestępczości na obiekcie, tzn. zapoznaje się z tymi formacjami sabotażu, które mogą być stosowane na danym obiekcie ze względu na charakter jego pracy i produkcji (...), bada nastroje załogi (...) poreprawdza rozmowy profilaktyczne (...), wykrywa inspiratorów zaburzeń strajkowych, wyjaśnia okoliczności i przyczyny awarii.

According to Tadeusz Binek (an architect working on the construction site in Nowa Huta) and confirmed by Maciej Mieziań (a historian studying the impact of the Cold War in Polish cities), as well as an interviewee I spoke with (Kazimierz), the architects of Nowa Huta predicted that there would come a day in which the inhabitants of the city would demand the erection of a church (Binek 1997) against the directives of the Communist government. The architects, expecting disapproval for designing a space for a church, had to be creative in negotiating a site for one. According to Binek, Ptaszycki (the leading architect of Miastoprojekt) did not explicitly leave a space that could foster a church but instead argued for the necessity of multi-storey car-parks, which would be facilitating the growing need of commuters with cars. Those, according to Binek, served as a cover-up for potential locations of churches (Binek 1997 115).

Considering the location of one the 'car-parks', the obelisk in Central Square, and what seems to be a larger courtyard on the Eastern side of the city (which is preceded by a generous forecourt), it would seem that the city hall in the administrative square is the centre of an equilateral triangle (as seen in red felt pen in Fig 5.1.) whose apexes are constituted by the three aforementioned buildings. Leaving this important urban function to a car-park would seem to diminish the significance of geometry in a neo-classical city and is inconsistent with the manner by which Nowa Huta was designed. Creating a focal point within the city fabric with a church would follow the long tradition of designing sacred architecture in Poland (see chapter three). A larger focal point in the form of a church would complete the composition, in which the city hall was the centre-piece. It would imply that the awkward position of the city hall (on the edge of the administrative square as opposed to its centre), the obelisk and the potential church were all considered as one system within the urban fabric, signifying the importance of all the spaces in question. If the triangle was expanded, the geometrical system would encompass a football field, a theatre and the house of culture. This would suggest a triad of importance, based on sport, culture and leisure. It would also suggest a more significant function for the East-North building, but there is no data to support this argument. These relations are also suggested by a sketch from 1951, explaining the network of civic spaces in Nowa Huta (presented in Fig. 5.2) which outlines the hierarchy and importance of open spaces, and the strategy of orchestrating public squares. This move would gravitate the significance of the city to Rose Alley from the street leading to Kombinat and would diminish the importance of the steelwork's vista in the daily lives of the inhabitants.

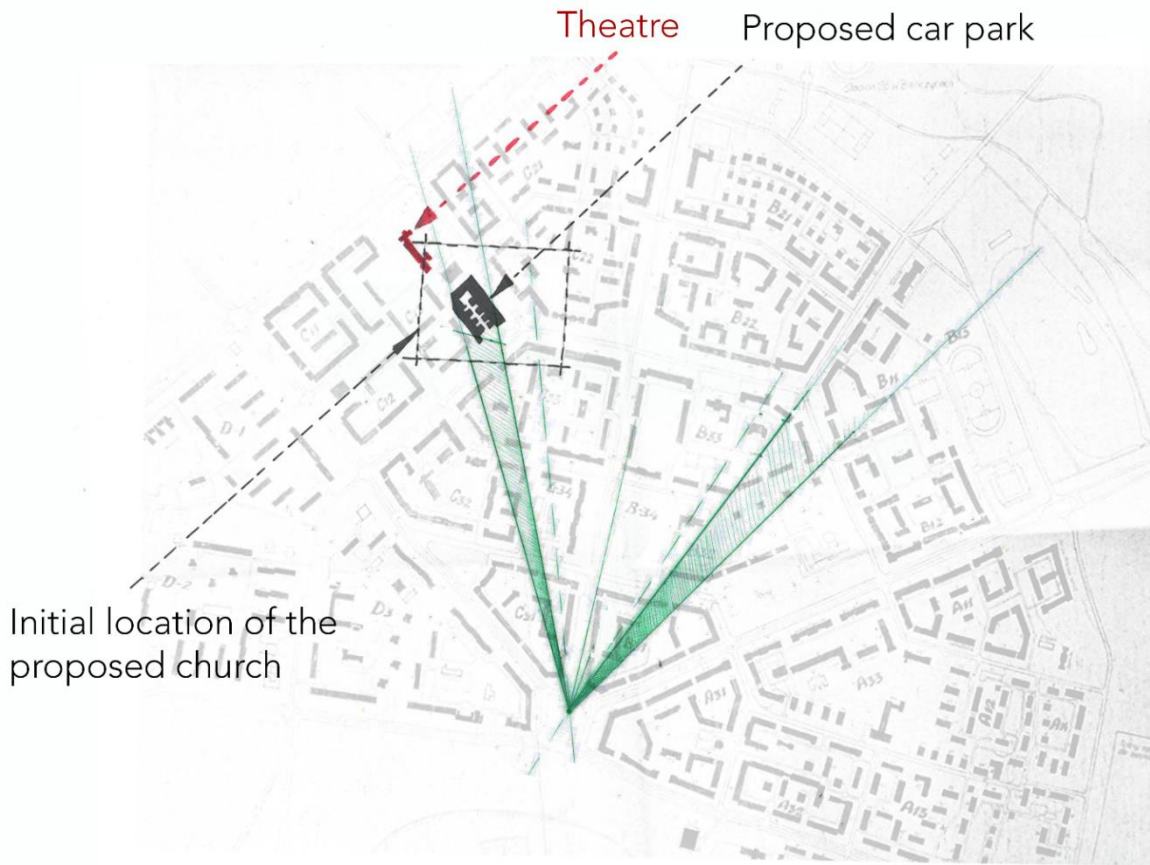


Fig. 5. 1 the location of the Car Park – Own sketch on the initial plan of Nowa Huta 1955

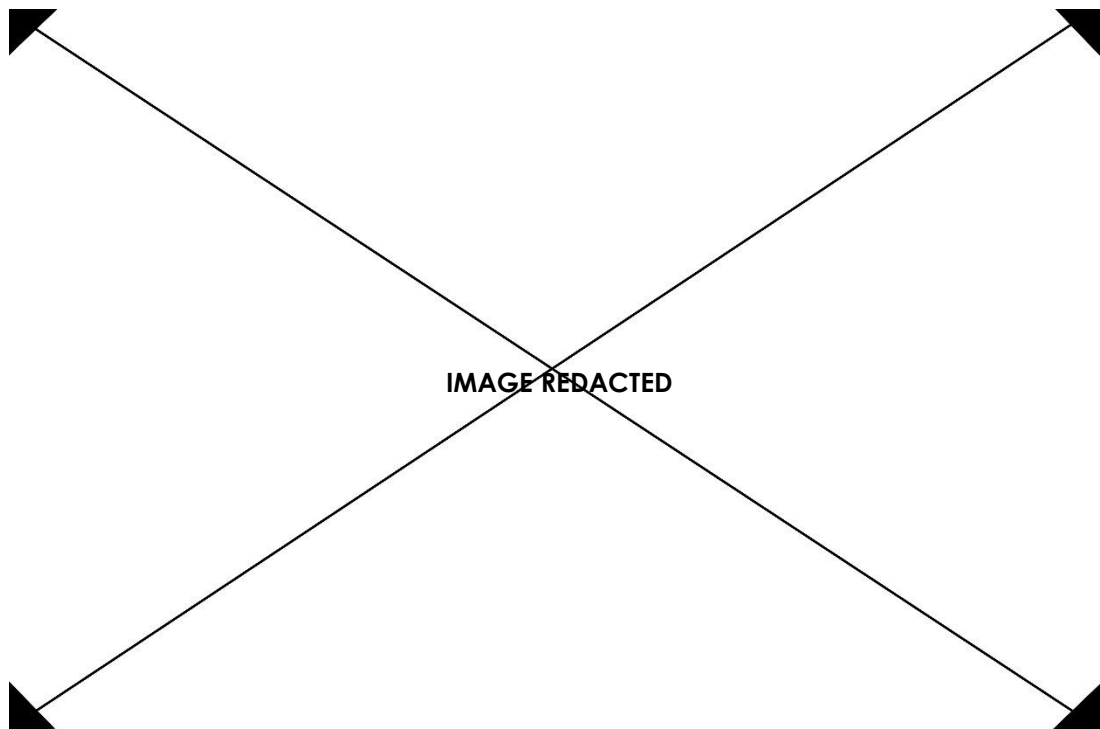


Fig. 5.2 The 'hierarchical system of service centres' in Nowa Huta; sketch from 1951 (Niezabitowski et al. 2007 29)

Pawel Jagło suggests that after Khrushchev replaced Stalin in the Soviet Union many architectural directives were changed (Baran (ed.) 2014 45). With the Communist Thaw, the authorities allowed the designs of buildings catering for leisure. Their position within the urban grid defined several open spaces, one of which fostered a theatre and neighboured the alleged 'car park' (as seen in Fig. 5.1). The nature of a theatre's urban interface would suggest that its most immediate vicinity should be another civic building catering for activities complementing leisure time. With the new order, the central administration of Poland supposedly allowed Miastoprojekt to explicitly locate a church in the masterplan (Baran (ed.) 2014 46). A few years later, on 14 February 1957, the district council of Nowa Huta pointed to a potential site of the erection of a suitable church on the crossing of Marx Street and Majakowski Street, the site for the discussed car-park. In the same year, the architectural association of Communist Poland (SARP) announced a competition for the church building (Jurewicz (ed.), 2007 14).

The award was given to Zbigniew Solawa, who designed a building which had a non-rectangular plan and three spires. The building stands out from its context and disrupts the Communist or Stalinist concept of the city, which was intended to suggest that the workplace is the most important focal point of Nowa Huta. The dichotomy of the Kombinat and Central Square axis would have to compete for attention with a sacred building that did not lead to a productive outcome that the Soviet governance could utilise. Another subversive aspect of the design was that the entrance to the church led from a freely accessible forecourt of the building, which was blocked off from the public street by the edifice. The building seems to be turning its back onto the public street. This would imply that the attention of the mass would be turned away from the normal circulation of the city and would place the church in the centre of the site. The building would, in this way, be transformed from a peripheral building that is simply a continuation of a row of residential houses to a more prominent civic presence (as shown in Fig. 5.3). This break from the homo-sovieticus flow, a stop and appropriation of a new flow, was a clear dissent from the Communist guidelines.

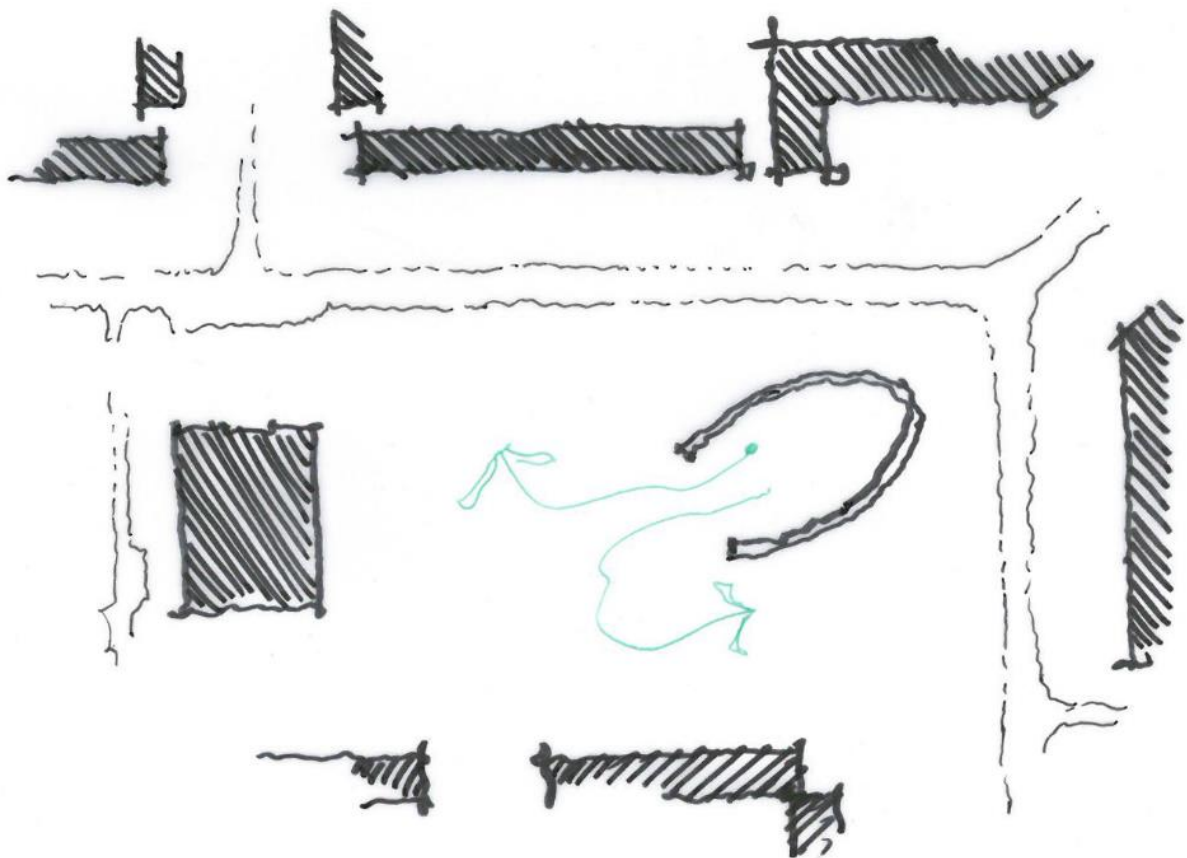
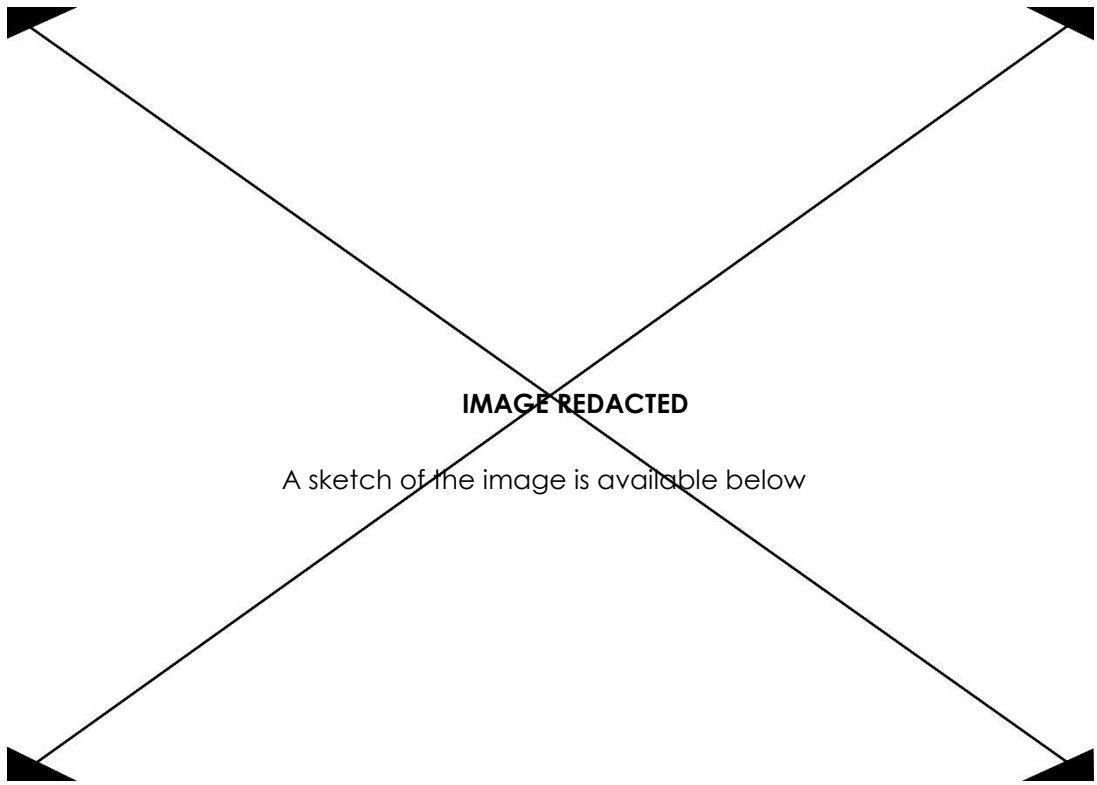


Fig. 5.3 The plan of the church (Jurewicz (ed.) 2007 14).



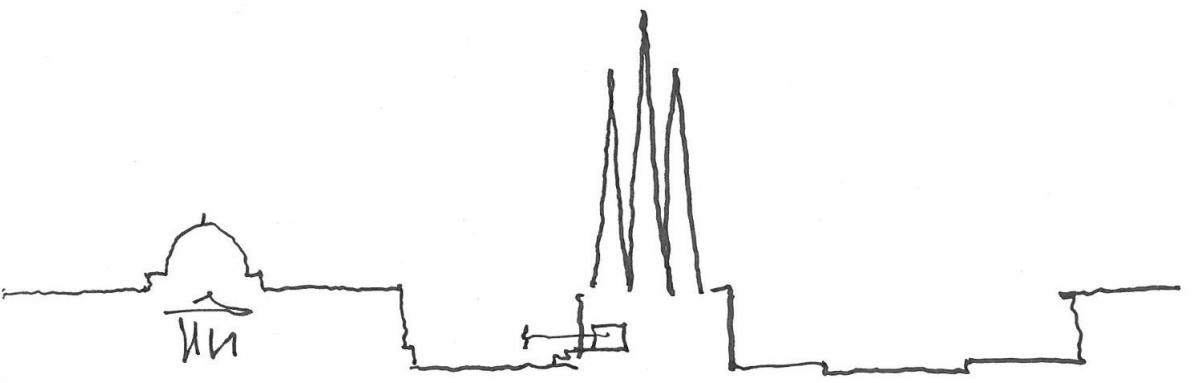
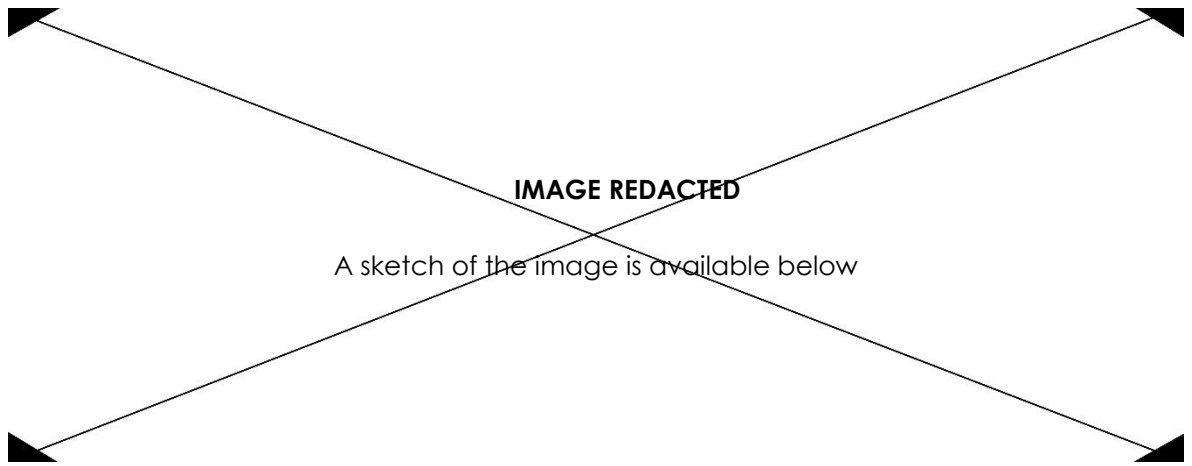


Fig. 5.4 The model of the church design (Niezabitowski et al. 2007 68).



Fig. 5.5 The masterplan of Nowa Huta from 1952 with the building annotated on site; Own sketch

The church's sectional form was reminiscent of the three crosses on Golgotha, the resting place of Christ after his crucifixion (see Fig. 5.4) (Baran (ed.) 2014 46). The slenderness of the form and the different qualities of the design that the building brought into the skyline of the city implies an Expressionist architectural language (discussed in chapter three). Its design was clearly communicating its function with a distinct architectural language that countered the Socialist-Realist and Socialist-Modernist styles that the buildings in Nowa Huta were designed in. The same care for urban composition applies to all the civic buildings of Nowa Huta that the Miastoprojekt-architects planned. This was signified by a network of forecourts, geometrical alignment of which seems to have been one of the strategies in the design. This gives legibility to the urban plan and clarity of classical principles of planning. The church disrupted the Communist intent for the city but not the architects' plans, who attempted to prepare the city for this type of building.

The church was never built, as Binek claims, due to a necessity to seize the site to erect a much-needed school (1997 156). On those grounds the proposal was rejected in 1959, which caused riots in Nowa Huta (Kordaszewski 2013).

A case of a civic edifice, which behaved in a manner contrary to the church was the police building that the SB used to interrogate inhabitants of Nowa Huta in Communism. According to Jagło the building was a place where occasionally TW's met and reported to the SB (Baran 2014). The building is clearly civic and, following Agamben's theorisation of law (2005), guarantees legal order in the city, yet it does not fit into any geometric patterns in the urban fabric. Its urban interface is far from embracive or inviting. Because the building was not incorporated into the initial masterplan of the city its presence in its current location is disruptive to the design principles, according to which, the architects from Miastoprojekt operated. The edifice first appears only in the revised drawing from 1952 (see Fig. 5.5). The urban plan assumed that each building would face the street with shopfronts, while backing courtyards. This allowed entrance to the residential units from the rear. The addition of a civic building that links two 'units' would change the clarity and dynamics of this system. This would imply that the urban fabric was not designed to foster the building with the same clarity as other buildings surrounding it. The police building's addition changed the qualities of its neighbouring 'units' by enclosing a courtyard at their frontages and comes across as an afterthought. Their urban interface would, therefore, be informed by a different type of public space.

The building itself presents a latent character mimicking the nearby residential units with a pre-Second World War façade (Fig. 5.7). This was most likely the consequence of inhabiting a design which was adopted from the inter-War years, designed by Adamski (as discussed in chapter 4). This is not an uncommon phenomenon in this district as this segment of the urban

fabric was erected before the architectural drawings from Miastoprojekt became available. The elevation of the building keeps the rhythm of the other residential units (see Fig. 5.6) and the double pitched roof resembles a mere continuation of the row of houses, without breaking the continuity of the urban fabric (see Fig. 5.7).

The differences between the building and other residential units are communicated by the interior plan. Those reveal the defensive aspect of the building and its capacity to conceal information from the public and channel circulation against the planned-normative flow of the city. The interior circulation (visible in Fig 5.9) and organisation of offices is not clear from the outside and the spaces are modulated into segments that are divided via firewalls. The way the firewalls were disseminated (and often doubled), implies that the design was not changed to become bespoke by an architect but was rather adapted by people with less experience with architectural design. Given the dates of the building's erection it is possible to assume that Miastoprojekt was in the process of developing drawings for segments B and C. It would be risky to assume however it feels right to say that the incorporation of this building into the urban fabric was not consulted with an architect.

It is, therefore, not surprising that the building and even its outline is not present in the masterplan from 1956 (Fig. 5.8) drawn up by the architect. This would suggest that either the presence of the Communist policing agents was contested by the architects or to be kept secret from public knowledge, or the building was rejected from the planning process in the moment of creating the revised masterplan. Either way, this would imply that the complexity of operation of the policing may have conflicted with the concept for the neo-classical utopian city.

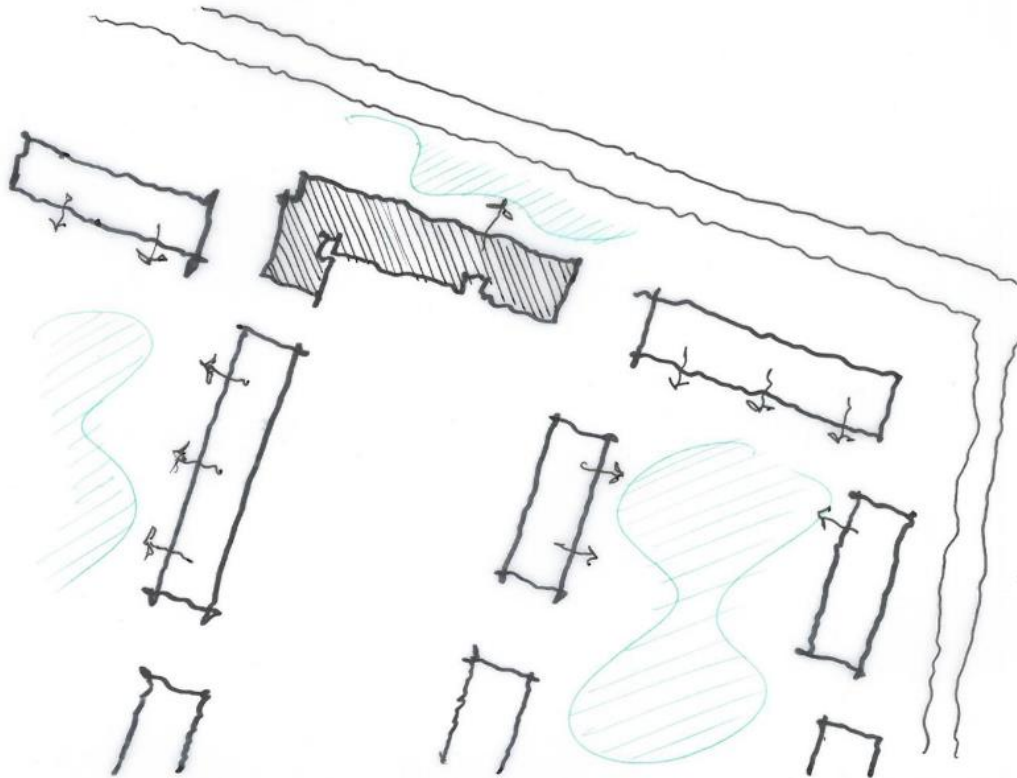
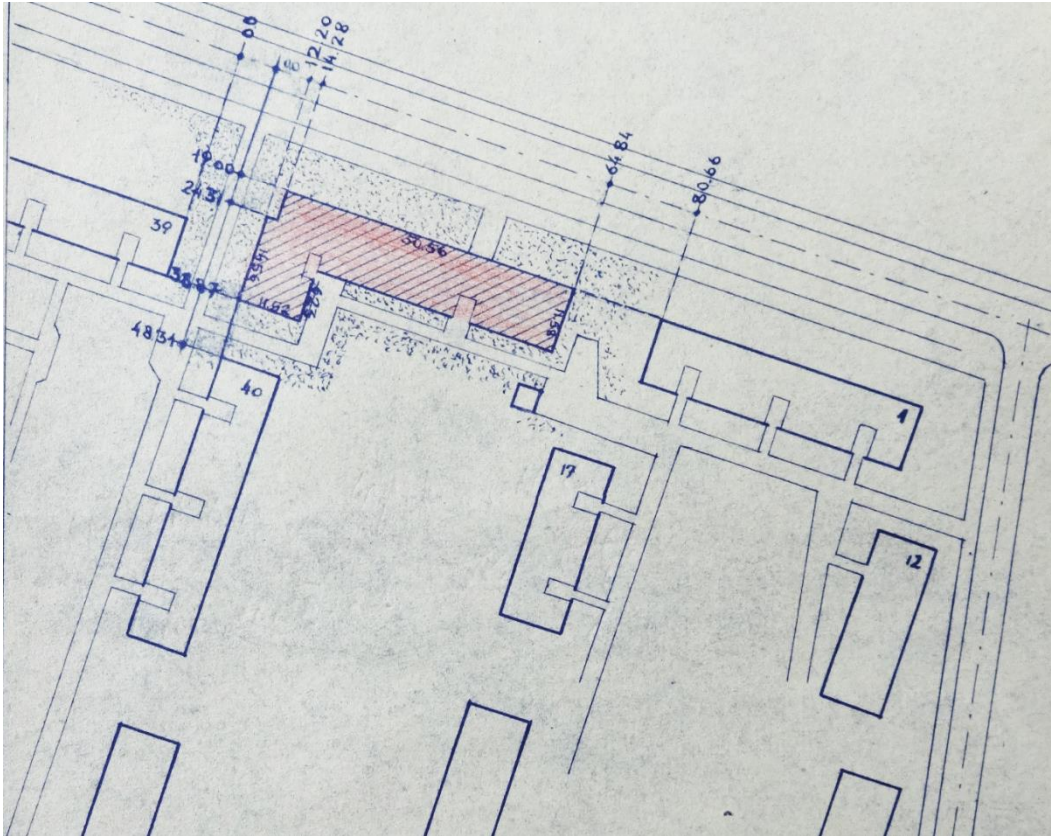


Fig. 5.6 The relationship of the building in immediate context 1952 (Sieradzki 1952)

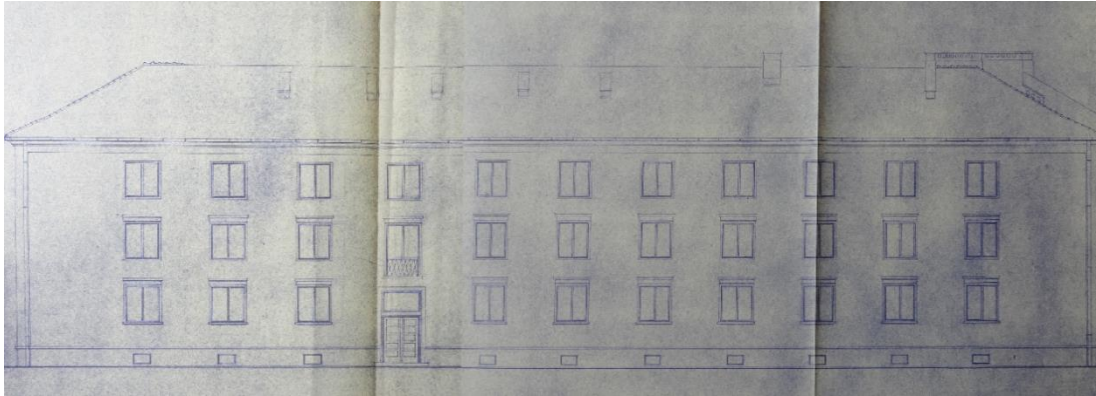


Fig. 5.7 The front elevation of the building (Sieradzki 1952)



Fig. 5.8 Masterplan of the city 1956 without the building (Miastoprojekt 1952)



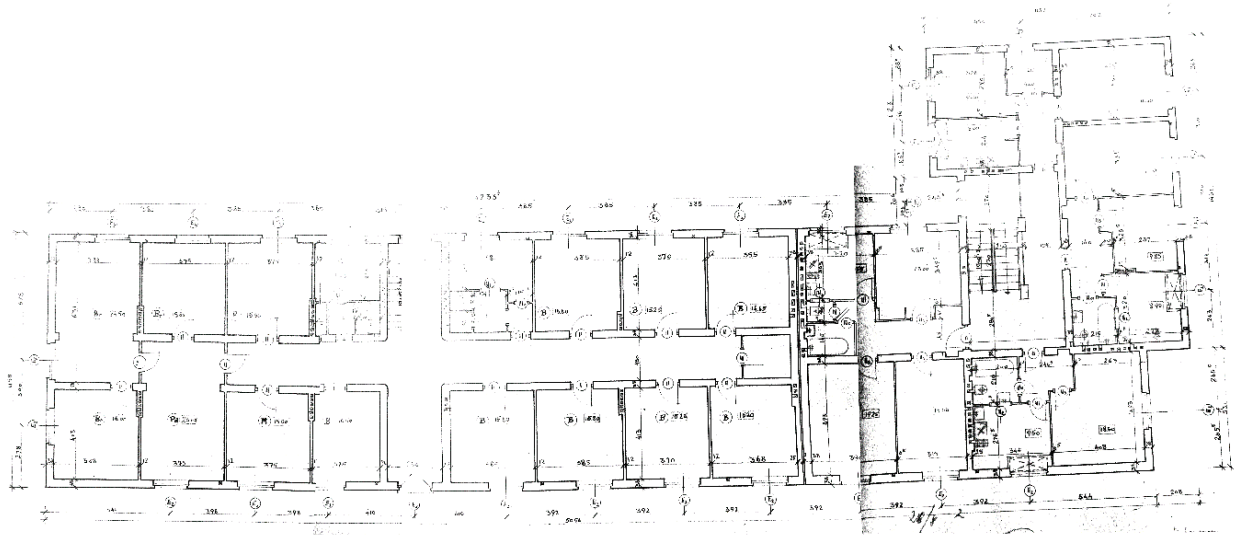


Fig. 5.9 The ground floor layout of the SB building (Sieradzki 1952)

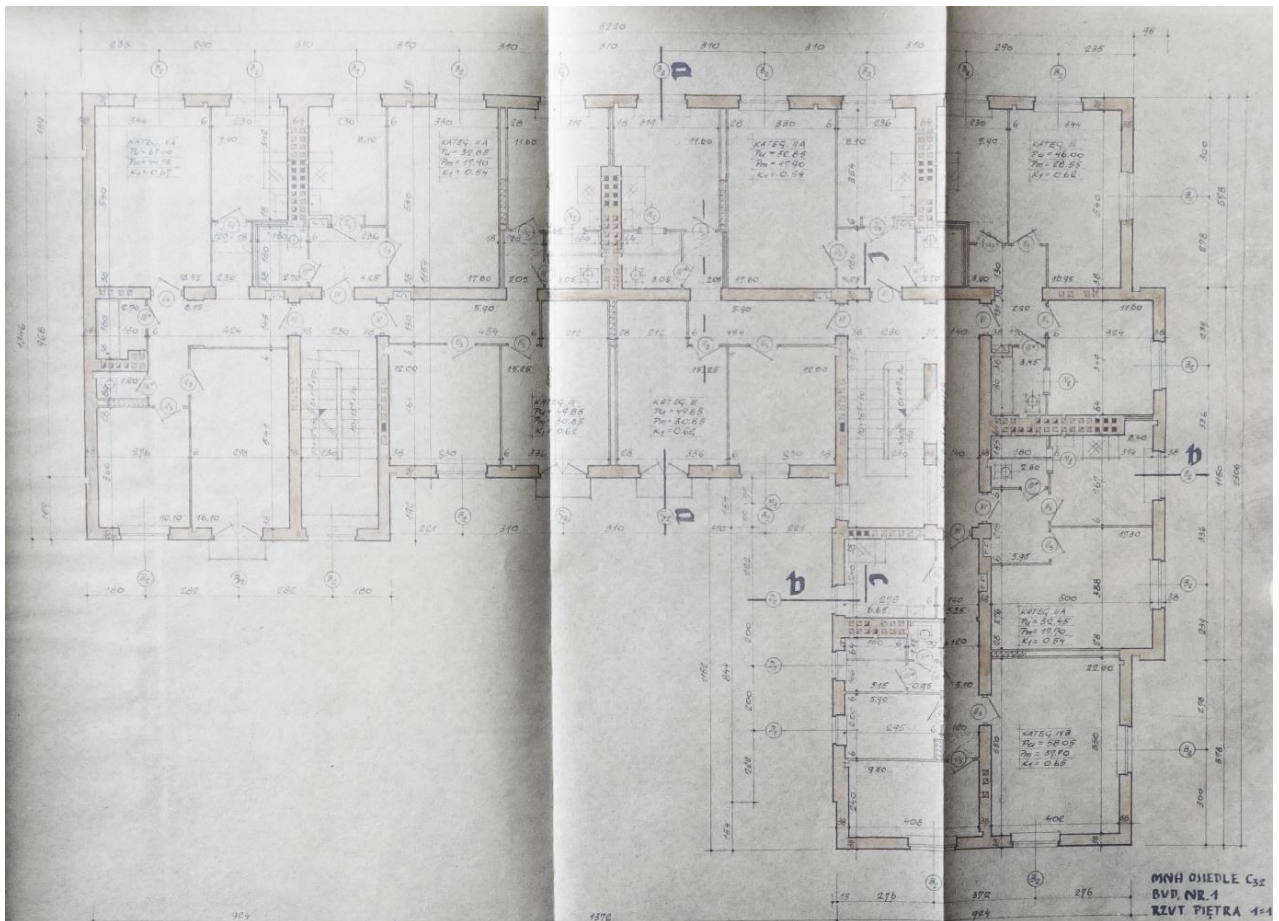


Fig. 5.10 A 1<sup>st</sup> floor plan of a typical, pre-War residential building by Adamski; Archive V (Miecznikowski 1953)

The building's position in the masterplan, lack of transparency and lack of an open urban interface suggest defensiveness. As seen in Fig. 5.9 the differences between the police building and its residential equivalent (designed by Adamski) lie in the modulation which, as seen in Fig. 5.10, seems to be favouring collective inhabiting and sharing repetitive, communal spaces. In contrast the SB building seems to be implying exclusion. The building sets up the power structures in Nowa Huta being intolerant to subversions and working on an implicit level where public dissent from the goals of Kombinat's authorities was subject to interrogation.

One of my interviewees, Andrzej, claims that it was this building that was considered as most probable to organise meetings with official Communist agency. As Andrzej says: '([A delinquent] would be called to the building and had to confess... end of story.'<sup>4</sup> (Interview with Andrzej 2014). This space was in a constant state of exemption from law, where unlawful and non-transparent practices could take place. This activity was sanctioned by the Communist lawgivers.

It could be the case that the architects of Nowa Huta could not envision the presence of the SB or TW in the city with the same clarity as the presence of a church. The urban interface of the police building was hidden like the agents themselves and was not incorporated into any geometrical systems in the masterplan. The policing building bears the features of an afterthought which did not follow any of the architect's principles. Contrary to the initial church design the policing building does not manifest its civic qualities to the public and rests in hiding and against the concept of design in Nowa Huta like the people it was to come and foster.

#### **5.2.4 Fury of the Christ;**

##### **Relation of the Church and the SB**

This subsection describes the relationship between the Catholic Parishes in Nowa Huta and the SB officers as presented by the police service itself. The discussed instance presents a relationship of conflict but also co-dependence. Herein is a narrative based on a report submitted to the SB office from archive V. This document speaks of a flat that was illegally converted into a chapel and also used for a place of storage for commercial goods. This obvious change in the definition of the space creates an imagery of profanity and opportunism. The report, if true, could have spoilt the spiritual purity of the chapel. The SB note reads:

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<sup>4</sup>'Wzywano normalnie do komendy milicji człowieka i miał się spowiadać i koniec kropka.'

On 7.XI.1969 officers [in Nowa Huta] underwent a routine control of a [flat], where priest Hyc organised an illegal chapel. During the control it was discovered that, at the time, when the chapel was empty, the space was used to sell meat from an illegal source. Slices of meat are being laid down, on seats, where the parish members sat, a bucket of meat was found in the confessional booth, an unsanitary place for selling meat was found in front of the altar. (See below Fig. 5.11)

The goods in the converted chapel were 'meat' and the 'unsanitary conditions' in which they were stored made the process, as the SB officer notes, illegal. This procedure is unlikely considering the testimony of one of my interviewees, Kazimierz, who denies ever hearing of such an event (Interview with Kazimierz 2014). It could be understood that this was a clever lie relating to the biblical fury of Christ. If Kazimierz is telling the truth then the mechanisms of operation of TWs have to be considered as far more complex than a binary distribution of the chain of command between the SB officers and TWs and a singular information flow. The manipulation would have been used to potentially leak information back to the Church and society, infringing the authority of the priests by implying the defamation of a sacred space.

Sacred spaces, for those who believe in the divine, hold a particular character. The presence of the sacred icon and the promenade that precedes it and opens the space to the divine. The graphic description of decomposing 'meat in buckets' and the profanation of organising a 'market-place in a temple' devalues the words of the preacher. It also reduces the transmutable properties of the icon, which loosens the impact of the perceived hierarchies. Such hierarchies could distract from the axial nature of the city and devalue the clarity of the classical plan based on the Kombinat-Central Square dichotomy. God was less important than the work for the homo-sovieticus.

The regulations that operated in heterotopias of exception were not always sanctioned by law and rarely by habitual conduct. The presented report suggests that the information was to be internalised by the SB (the only people who were permitted to read the note) and shared with fellow-inhabitants in Nowa Huta or at least the TWs. It was to deceive the people who contacted the policing service potentially including the people, who were not TWs themselves, as well as the people, who attend mass and create a sensation of opportunism within the parish.



Następnie ks. HYC zebranych wręczył kartki z pieczętkami parafii - by zebrali jak najwięcej podpisów, a potem on dopisze do tego pismo - petycję i delegacja zaniesie do DRN. W ten sposób dwotki każda na swoim rejonie zebrały ponad 500 podpisów i wniesiono podpisy te wraz z prośbą do DRN Nowa Huta.

W dniu 7.XI.1969 r. funkcjonariusze KIMO Nowa Huta przeprowadzili kontrolę domu, gdzie nielegalnie ks. HYC urządził sobie kaplicę. W trakcie kontroli stwierdzono, że w pustej o tej porze kaplicy ob. DRĄG Maria sprzedaje mięso z nielegalnego uboju. Na ławkach gdzie siadają w czasie mszy ludzie, porozkładane jest pościartowane mięso z krewy, w konfesjonale stoi duży garnek pełen mięsa, przed ołtarzem na dwóch zestawiony stołkach znajduje się mięso, a pośrodku ustawiony jest pniak na którym w anty-sanitarnych warunkach ob. DRĄG sprzedaje mięso.

Nie pozwolono nic usuwać, wezwano w zastępstwie nieobecnego ks. HYCA jego wikariusza ks. PIOTROWKIEGO, którego przywieziono na miejsce i w jego obecności fleszem dokonywano zdjęć stwierdzonego stanu w kaplicy.

Obecny przy tym pracownik Wydziału Handlu DRN spisał na miejscu protokoł kierując przeciwko ob. Marii DRĄG wniosek do kolegium o ukaranie za sprzedaż mięsa w anty-sanitarnych warunkach.

O fakcie tym powiadomiła kurię parafia Biedrzyce, że ks. HYC doprowadził do profanacji "najświętszego sakramentu", gdyż w kaplicy znajdowało się tabernakulum przeniesione przez HYCA z kaplicy zakonnej w Pleszowie.

Zaprzędano zbierania podpisów, by kaplicę pozostawić i wkrótce po tym ks. HYC opuścił dobrowolnie dom CEBULSKIEGO.

Wcześniej już ks. HYC wynajął pusty dom w Grębałowie od ob. GAJOCHA Jana, gdzie bez zezwolenia władz wyburzył ściany działowe robiąc z czterech oddzielnych pomieszczeń dwa - jedno jako salka katechetyczna, drugie jako kaplica. Dom ten zlokalizowany jest obok osiedli Wzgórza i Stoki, gdzie rozpoczął w nim ks. HYC normalną działalność jak w parafialnym kościele dla ludności tych osiedli.

Fig. 5.11 A report on a 'Marketplace in a temple' in Nowa Huta (Porebska 1969)

### **5.2.5 The impact of the security service and TWs presence on perception of space in Nowa Huta**

This subsection outlines the way in which the operational mechanisms of the TWs changed the ways in which people perceived space via invigilation. The security service policing tactics and those utilised by TWs, using unpredictable corridors for circulation in shadow and questioning of inhabitants, disrupted the transparency of the power/knowledge flow, which was the intention of the designers of the city.

Any suspicions of potential dissent or actions which might have infringed the preconceived flows of Nowa Huta were to be reported by the TWs to the SB and legislative authorities. Since the inhabitants of the city knew the urban fabric best, TWs were recruited in Nowa Huta. Nowa Huta therefore became Foucault's 'city in plague' where all its inhabitants could anticipate being observed by an agent, watching one another and themselves in fear of disclosing unlawful desires. Kazimierz Kubrak, an electrician, who was a member of the underground opposition in Nowa Huta, claims that the Communist policing intruded into people's homes and workplaces to look for contraband (quoted in Baran (ed.) 2014 223). As Foucault writes, 'discipline organises an analytical space' (1995, 143).

As Foucault understands it, the anticipation of being overseen forces a type of self-governance. This was to aid the concept of governmentality elaborated by Margo Huxley, where the power is internalised by the citizens and they police one-another (2008). This sensation of anticipating invigilation from any citizen might be compared to the one created in Poland, where any person could turn out to be a secret agent to the Communists (Applebaum 2012). Foucault notes that 'power is not possessed but exercised' (Foucault, 1995 26).

Exempting some heterotopias from the flow of the law for the good of the nation allows governmental agents to disregard the transparency of the governance of the homo-sovieticus self. The Communist system put in place the TW mechanisms, which broke the purity of the initial concept of the city. Their work created spaces of non-visibility, latent operation and eavesdropping. The SBs and TWs' channels of operation rejected the boundary between public and private and entered even the most intimate spaces of people's flats and lives (Baran (ed.) 2014). In this sense they created new, uncoordinated flows of information, which eradicated unsanctioned conduct that the architects did not anticipate.

Tyrmand claims that the TWs lied and deceived even the people for whom they worked, creating an atmosphere where individual opinions should not be said out loud as anything and everything was eavesdropped upon and recorded (2013 53). Tyrmand's statement

might have meant that, in Polish Communism, every individual was to be acting against another, expecting to be interacting with a TW. The architecture of Nowa Huta, through its capacity to transmit sound, eased this procedure. The city's hidden corners and spaces in shadow also provided opportunities to meet in secret with a member of the SB and withdraw citizens to a place where they could be reprimanded or threatened. This was used by the policing service to pass on and give momentum to appropriate streams for homo-sovieticus, but also to misuse their position to their own advantage. The disclosure of the TW identity made the inhabitant of Nowa Huta see their space differently and act outside of the homo-sovieticus stream, at the moment of encounter, and change their behaviour. It gave the people unrelated to the policing service an opportunity to transcend from object to subject and allowed them to control the information they present.

The interviewee, who claims he was involved in a multitude of 'matters' in Nowa Huta, reacted curiously to my question about the presence of TWs. The acronym is readily available and well-known in the country however his response suggests confusion or a refusal to discuss the matter:

CD - Did you have any contact with any TWs?<sup>5</sup>

J - [three second pause, when he turned his head away from me as though he was slapped to the left] Wait... TW... [six second pause, then reiteration with a trembling voice] Could you elaborate on this acronym...?<sup>6</sup>

CD - Secret Collaborator<sup>7</sup>

[...]

J - I am convinced that [TWs were present] if not in every vertical alignment [of flats along a staircase] then at least in every residential block, there was someone like that... I am convinced (...) I am convinced that they were present... that's certain.<sup>8</sup> (Interview with Jarek 2014)

Heterotopias of exception require separation and segregation to divide the people who are *equal* from those that are *more-equal*, to form a sub-servant reciprocity of power relations between lawgivers and the rest. In a situation where this division is not clear the power relation becomes, in most cases, reliant on the internalisation of law and self-regulation. It might be understood that it infringed the strategies of the architect to create a stratification of the social order in the city with the tools that were quoted in chapter four.

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<sup>5</sup> a miałeś może styczność albo widziałeś może jakichś TW?

<sup>6</sup> czekaj TW... (pause... 37-43) (drgający głos) może ułatwisz tenże skrót...

<sup>7</sup> Tajny Współpracownik

<sup>8</sup> Jestem przekonany ze [TW byli obecni] no, jeżeli nie w każdej klatce to na pewno w bloku ktoś taki był... Jestem przekonany (...) jestem przekonany ze byli... to jest pewno.

One of my interviewees, Janek, claims that:

The aim was to gather as many facts about as many people as possible. Those were famous people, priests, bishops, politicians, oppositionists. This was done to use that information later in blackmail. This was the purpose of their job.<sup>9</sup> (Interview with Janek 2014)

The architectural detailing which composed buildings in the city aided the feeling of being constantly surrounded by people eavesdropping on one another. Janek speaks of his fear of being eavesdropped upon while engaging in a sexual act, for the first time, in his flat (Interview with Janek 2014).

The city was constructed in a way that (most-likely unwittingly) allowed for a far-reaching investigation into people's private lives, and supported a spatial definition which is similar to Foucault's definition of a 'city in plague' (2007). In this light, acoustic transmission in residential units in Nowa Huta was particularly useful considering the potential omnipresence of TWs and other strategies in the SB toolboxes to invigilate. Binek, in his autobiography, claims that the architectural fabric was constructed mostly using reinforced concrete and bricks at the start of the construction (1997 152 and 154). According to him, this resulted in a high level of acoustic transmission between flats that were positioned on the same level. Whole conversations might not have been audible but tones of voices and therefore emotional states were clear. Binek also claims that the acoustic insulation in ceilings was not sufficient and that made him intervene: half-way through the construction process of the city he decided to add additional insulation to the ceilings to ensure intimacy within a flat.

The design of the city was predominantly visual; the architects did not give any specific evidence of considering the acoustic qualities via specifying geometries or materials. In fact, as seen in Fig. 5.12, the procedure that the architects followed allowed a very narrow choice of materials from a strictly defined palette. The first paragraph following signature '1)' in the presented form is associated with all the projects in Nowa Huta and is a clearly presented, legible format outlining which materials are available to be used in construction. The rejected materials would be crossed out from the list of available choices. This disallowed the design of an informed, bespoke and varied quality of a space, specifically in its acoustic characteristics. The paragraph reads:

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<sup>9</sup> Chodziło o to żeby zebrać jak najwięcej faktów o różnych znanych ludziach, o księżach, o biskupach o politykach różnych działaczach opozycyjnych żeby później móc ich szantazować. Na tym polegała ich praca





Wiesława Ciesielska, an inhabitant of Nowa Huta, claimed in an Interview that she was petrified to speak to anyone about the whereabouts of her husband (who was wanted by the Communist agents) as anyone could have turned out to be a TW (quoted in Baran (ed.) 2014). Her meetings with her husband had to take place outside of Nowa Huta in Krakow. Ciesielska says:

I didn't want to say anything, because I could never be certain, who I am speaking with but they insisted: 'your husband is in hiding isn't he?' in the end I replied that according to the [Communists] the husband is in hiding, and according to me he is arrested.<sup>10</sup> (quoted in Baran (ed.) 2014 223)

She continues:

I was afraid, because there was no way of knowing if there was an agent living below or above my flat.<sup>11</sup> (quoted in Baran (ed.) 2014 223).

Ciesielska reported that she changed the way she presented her thoughts to people when she felt she was in the presence of a TW. She was self-regulating her conduct to become the sovereign of the information flow. Another interviewee that I spoke with, Andrzej, claims that not all TWs were acting against people but there were those that did (Interview with Andrzej 2014). Those included people such as: Małeszko and Ketman. Małeszko, Andrzej recalls, was a member of the opposition and a talented writer. According to him, Małeszko was a TW that controlled his position within the power/knowledge network by leading his supervising SB officers and taking pleasure from testifying 'lies' against the oppositionists. Those two people, as Andrzej claims, were particularly 'evil', however, their case should not be considered as representative of all cases of TWs.

Andrzej adds that places for meeting members of SB or TWs were 'informal' and could take place in 'coffee houses, private flats, and specially designated contact flats' (Interview 2014). The interviewee claims that the place depended on the relationship between the TW and the leading SB officer. He follows that there were different forms of collaboration and that each manager in a workplace was forced to collaborate by submitting reports to the Security service, which special SB agents would later analyse in detail. In this case the whole of the space in Nowa Huta through the virtue of being an urban environment could create opportunities of being invigilated.

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<sup>10</sup> 'nie chciałam nic mówić, bo nigdy nie wiedziałam, z kim rozmawiam ale oni nadal naciskali: "pani maż się ukrywa czy co?"' odpowiadałam w końcu że według UBecji maż się ukrywa, a według mnie został aresztowany.'

<sup>11</sup> 'balałam się, bo nie wiedziałam, czy ubekiem jest sąsiad z góry czy z dołu'

### 5.2.6 Conclusion

This section of the chapter outlines the way in which the Communists produced a space of exception, in the form of latent corridors for TW agents, which were recruited by SB officers to regulate the flows of the city.

The city was prepared to foster a geometric set of systems, which would amplify the clarity of the hierarchy in the city. A Catholic church was expected and subsequently incorporated into one such system. The initial proposal for the church was dealt with in a secret capacity but as the architects were given permission for a sacred space the building was explicitly located, creating a nodal point in Nowa Huta. This was in contrast with the assumptions of the Communist government and the church was not erected. A contrasting building is the SB headquarters in Nowa Huta that acted in a radically different manner. Its presence implied the operation of TWs. With the expectation of their intrusion came a lack of clarity in the formation personal relations and therefore obfuscated the quality of space of the socialist city. This civic edifice was implicit and almost in hiding from the rest of the public space. It can be argued that the city was not prepared to accommodate a civic building for the policing service. The building contradicted the transparency of a neo-classical masterplan much like the agents themselves, who inhabited the edifice.

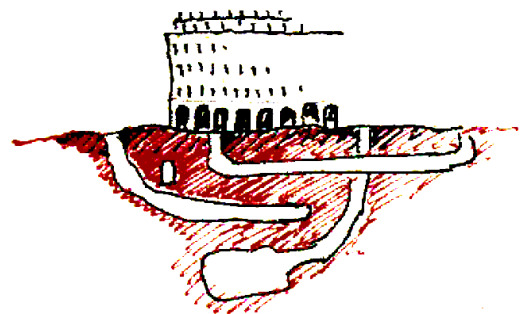
The tectonics of the buildings in the city aided the feeling of being eavesdropped upon. The potential to encounter TWs was to create a heterotopia that would change the thinking of the citizens into that of the homo-sovieticus. The reality came to be different as the role of TWs is a complex issue. Some TWs came to be recruited under duress and some did not even know they were a TW. Some even used their position to their own advantage and changed the perception of the city to that of a sensation of an expectation of being constantly invigilated. The heterotopias which they created were similar to Agamben's state of exception, which the Communists abused to govern by manipulating society via fear. It created an atmosphere of constant mistrust and invigilation where even sacred spaces were under threat of profanation. Their mode of operation was to act implicitly in cases where deep traditional values or irregular desires were competing with the homo-sovieticus agenda. As I show in this section the SB presence was considered by the architects of the city differently than what the authorities intended, the inhabitants of the city and the TWs themselves, who saw the presence of their peers as untrustworthy. In comparison with an expression of an authority which the architects trusted (the Church) the building housing the SB officers was hidden amongst other buildings, almost shamefully withdrawn from public presence.

The nature of the TW heterotopias, were temporal and their status was constant and held in secret from other citizens. It could be understood that the modality of operation was rhizomal

(as was the organisation of Polish society after the Second World War, discussed in chapter three) and penetrated even the sacred places that the Polish people held in great value. Their function was delimited by obtaining intimate knowledge of the lives of inhabitants of Nowa Huta and functioned on different legislature. One might say that heterotopias of exception had no legal regulation as a state of exemption from law. This regulation allowed for operating undercover and such was the architectural language of the SB building. It could be understood that its relation to the context created a sinister atmosphere of latent threat in the civic space that orchestrated a hierarchical ensemble of civic relations. It could be said that free negotiation of space in this atmosphere was inhibited by fear of encountering an SB or TW officer. In anticipation of a TW the public realm was a place of self-regulation and silence to maintain an image of obedience to the Communist order.

Considering the formality of the policing submissions, the regulation of the flows framed by architecture was coordinated and acted out with the same limitations as the notation style of the reports. The informal chapel was defined as a trans-programming of a marketplace and a temple that gave an opportunity to re-define it with respect to the SB objectives. The rationality of the typewriter was determining the way appropriate architectural place-making and design was to be carried out. The homo-sovieticus logic was based on the rationality of a written report: any aspects of being in the public that could not be clearly conveyed by a formal report were unauthorised.





### 5.3 Molecular Heterotopias

## 5.3 Molecular Heterotopias

### 5.3.1 Introduction

This section, contrary to those previous, presents cases of heterotopias which do not engage explicitly with the power contestation or propagation, but have undoubtedly influenced arborescent power mechanisms. In this way the people inhabiting those spaces retreated from the civic debate such as Rejtan did in Matejko's painting. These were spaces with the capacity to foster a change of perception of the self and the civic space but did so on a deeply personal level and without an explicit political agenda. This was fostered by the lack of strong and stable definition of citizenry in the Polish landscape, which allowed for a rhizomatic dispersion of individuals into spaces of heterotopic quality. This text exemplifies how the space of Nowa Huta was fostering states of transition and rejection of the hyper-political norm; considering the space's relationship with the civic they can be understood as a retreat from the ideology much like Rejtan's contestation of the partitioning of Poland (Fig 1.2).

With the discomfort of anticipating TWs in the city fabric, as well as the agenda of the government to convey their propaganda via ideologically approved forms of leisure, the inhabitants of Nowa Huta sought spaces where they could spend time in a more uninhibited atmosphere. Such spaces were appropriated by people out of pure desire to become abnormal, engaging differently with their context, forming rhizomatic assemblages. This text presents the subterranean and dark quality of those spaces. The inhabitants of Nowa Huta refused to internalise this rule and explored a new economy of means by forming heterotopias and developing a new understandings of the self. By that, I am arguing they used the spaces to create an imagery of their own selves, in which the aspect of the homo-sovieticus' aesthetic was not easily traceable. This will give background to the next section which discusses how these spaces can be argued to have inspired the development of architecture.

The policing strategy attempted to channel the energies of the citizens to engage in a variety of assemblages, into forming a narrowly defined and stable relationship with its context —that which was represented by the homo-sovieticus imagery. This construct was to devote all efforts to labour, fuelling the Soviet collective (as discussed in chapter two). According to Miezia (2004) and George Bataille (1989) the concern of the collective was to invest in the War machine and propaganda. Leopold Tyrmand writes that '[d]uring his whole conscious life, man in Communism lives in fear, to not say

something, which should not be uttered out loud'<sup>1</sup> (Tyrmand 2013 95). Officially, as Tyrmand claims, the consciousness of man does not belong to him but to the Communist social class. The atmosphere of pressure to become a homo-sovieticus was constant, there was no rest. Tyrmand says that man was not allowed to develop differently. Those assumptions worked against the nature of people who, in the inter-War period operated in a free state and developed a construct that counters the homo-sovieticus' tendencies to collectivise (as discussed in chapter four). Even leisure, as Tyrmand suggests, was not meant to relax people but embed a strong work ethic for the good of the collective.

The Communist economy was, in theory, defined as purely Marxist, which meant that all enterprises were to be governed by the state. Considering the financial problems of the Communist block, the investment in irregulated endeavours would be far too costly and would draw funds which could have benefitted Kombinat. Homi Bhabha suggests that spaces for leisure were often sought to be controlled by a colonising power in order to allow the habits, traditions, understanding of truth and economy of the foreign authority to be internalized by the native people (2004). All fiscal expenditure and effort devoted to leisure was to be directed to that which could facilitate internalisation of the hegemonic regulations. Crowley argues that domesticity was also 'subject in a political culture which placed enormous emphasis on the public realm' (Crowley (ed.) 1998 73). It could be said that private leisure was not in the Communists' brief for the city. On 12 April 1950, ordinary citizens, Stefan Strykowski and Adolf Rippe, were reported to the authorities for listening to radio broadcasts from London and Madrid in private (Baran ed. 2014).

In spite of the strict regulation of the SB agents, unwanted assemblages which did not fit into the homo-sovieticus propaganda could be found. Katarzyna Zechenter writes that a large number of young men were seduced by alcoholism and vandalism (2007). Zechenter claims that the situation was so deprived that many people fell into criminality, and general, moral degradation. This, as she claims, was a continuation of the 'culture of defeat' organic to Polish romanticism that bears, as discussed in chapter three, the stigma of homo-sacre. According to Bataille, in any system abundances need to find an outlet (1989). I am arguing that in the context of Communism in Nowa Huta this eruption occurred via the free channelling of energies in heterotopias as the public realm suppressed natural tendencies of the self and a renegotiation of individual participation in the civic.

This text looks at a new way of exploring Nowa Huta and is divided into two sub-sections. The first, named 'Over-codified leisure' discusses the position of the Polish government and its

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<sup>1</sup> 'Podczas całego swojego świadomego życia człowiek w komunizmie żyje w strachu, aby nie powiedzieć czegoś, czego nie należy głośno wypowiedzieć'

attitude to leisure. The subsection discusses three chronological strategies that were to officially accommodate leisure in Nowa Huta. The second subsection is named 'Re-codified leisure' and it interrogates the unintended provisions in the design of Nowa Huta that came to facilitate unpoliced leisure. This sub-section presents the delinquent tendencies of people living in Nowa Huta, which led to a creative development of subcultures. Due to the qualities of the examined heterotopias, there is no single building that will be the focus of this text. There will, however, be described ways of appropriating the urban and architectural fabric and ways of understanding certain structures in the context of Nowa Huta. The main spatial precedent in this section will be the underground corridors and bomb shelters that were meant to stand as a provision against the Cold War.

This section is based on the philosophy of Foucault, by exploring how heterotopias operated in the city and rejected the power institutions (1984)(2007); Deleuze and Guattari by investigating their theory of molecularism and assemblages (2004) and Bataille by examining the flow of economies which were channelled by heterotopias (1989). This section is interrogating material gathered by the historians working at the Nowa Huta Branch of the Museum of History of the city of Krakow, Interviews, site visits, and extensive studies on archival material.

### **5.3.2 Over-codified Leisure**

This section of the chapter discusses three consecutive strategies that were to address the needs of the citizens of Nowa Huta for leisure. It can be said that some aspirations of the designers of Nowa Huta deviated from the economic goals of the Communists. The architects' aim was to construct an alternative for Polish people, an opportunity to live in good conditions and sanitation amongst the desolation which followed the Second World War. The second strategy was the eventual aberration of the architects' attempts by the government and an architectural channelling of the Communist propaganda. The final strategy came as a way of minimising the financial impact of developing an entirely new city and was a result of cost cutting.

One of the ways of orchestrating informal leisure via architecture was the urban interface on Rose Alley between buildings and the avenue. This is signified by a belt of paving close to the buildings 3-6m wide and divided from the rest of the street by three steps (shown in Fig. 5.13). It could be understood that this was the architects' way to make space for a casual overflow into the public from the interiors of those buildings. Their urban interface is mediated via large glazed doorways and a colonnade, which open up the interior, creating an active façade that had the potential to interact with the public via a gradual extension of the threshold.



Fig. 5.13 Rose Alley; Author's own photo; sketch by author of this thesis

The intention of the architects was, according to Applebaum, to inhabit the interiors of buildings on Rose Alley with cafes and restaurants (2012) however, contrary to the designers' intent, the uses of the buildings were handed over to bookstores, shops and spaces without a strong capacity to engage with the public. It could be understood that the belt was to be used to invite the inhabitants of Nowa Huta to engage in casual and informal leisure. As a result the space remains unused and appears over-scaled for the functions that it supports.

The Communist authorities made efforts to orchestrate leisure in a cruder way. By 1951 a cinema and a library opened on Rose Alley as well as several clubs (Baran (ed.) 2013). The quality of those spaces implies a purposefulness and formality of use and unlike attending an evening at a café by Rose Alley, attending a theatre or a cinema requires planning and preparation. It could be argued that, by engaging in leisure those places were considered as destinations and would most likely be the focal point of an evening *out*. This suggests that the art form presented there would require investment and forethought in order to meet the expectations of the spectators. It also suggests that the Communist government could attain control over the message that those art forms conveyed, using them as another medium of propaganda. A note from a consultation meeting held on 11 January 1954 between the architects and the representatives of the government (Fig. 5.14) suggests that the aim was to centralise the leisure facilities. Figure 5.14 reads:

After a presentation conducted by the representatives of the directorate of the construction site in Nowa Huta the program of the resort of Culture and art for the city is altered in the following way:

1/for the House of Culture the House of Youth there is a common auditorium for 700-900 people

2/ decrease the program for the number of cinemas in the city from 4 to 3 and incorporate one in the House of Culture for 500-600 seats

3/ increase the speed of erecting the House of Culture and the House of Youth as urgent.

[...]

8/the scheduled museum: seems to be too big, It can be assumed that its size should not go beyond 25 000m<sup>3</sup>

(Fig 5.14/Archive V/Trzecielski, A. and Juncysz, S. 1955 51)

Notatka służbowa

ODPIS

51

z uzgodnień resortu kultury i sztuki w budownictwie usługowym MNH  
spisana dnia 11 stycznia 1954r. w Ministerstwie Kultury i Sztuki.

Obecni:

CRZZ - Tow. Grzyb  
CZT - dyr. Zajdenkopf  
CZBibl.- ob. Sedlaczek, ob. Chudek  
Departament Planowania MK i Sztuki: V-dyr. Wielski, inż.  
Hecht  
C. Z. Twórczości Amatorskiej - ob. Furmanik  
Dyrekcja Budowy MNH: kier. działu zał. proj. ob. Trzeciński,  
insp. ekonom. inż. Badura

Po przedstawieniu przez przedstawicieli Dyrekcji Budowy Miasta Nowa Huta programu resortu kultury i sztuki dla MNH, w wyniku dyskusji ustalono

- 1/ dla Domu Kultury i Domu Młodzieży zaprogramowano wspólną salę widowiskową na maksimum 700 - 900 miejsc
- 2/ zmniejszyć zaprogramowaną ilość kin w MNH z 4 do 3 jako miejskie, a jedno zaprogramować w Domu Kultury na 500 - 600 miejsc
- 3/ przyspieszyć realizację Domu Kultury i Domu Młodzieży jako obiekty kulturalne bardzo pilne.
- 4/ drugi teatr dla MNH na maksimum 750 miejsc o charakterze muzyczno-dramatycznym powinien być zrealizowany pod koniec Planu Pięcioletniego
- 5/ podstawowa szkoła muzyczna powinna być zlokalizowana w śródmieściu ze szkoleniową salą koncertową na 400 miejsc w/g programu uzgodnionego z Min. Kultury i Sztuki. Realizacja pod koniec Planu Pięcioletniego.
- 6/ ognisko muzyczne na os. B31 należy traktować jako tymczasowe.
- 7/ sala koncertowa na 500 miejsc powinna być zaprogramowana do realizacji w II-giej pięcioletce.
- 8/ zaprogramowane muzeum: wydaje się za duże, można ustalić kubaturę orientacyjną 20 - 25.000 m<sup>3</sup>, realizacja pod koniec Planu Pięcioletniego.
- 9/ w sieci bibliotecznej przyjąć zasadę 1 tom na mieszkańca. Poza centralną biblioteką, którą należy zlokalizować w śródmieściu, po za Domem Kultury, uznaje się za słuszne stworzenie 5 bibliotek filialnych oraz 1 bibliotekę prowadzoną przez Zw. Zawod. w Domu Kultury. Orientacyjny podział księgozbioru: biblioteka centralna 50 tys. tomów, ponadto 5 bibliot. filialnych po 5 tys. tomów, razem 25 tys. tomów, co stanowi 75 tys. tomów w sieci publicznej, oraz ok. 45 tys. tomów biblioteki w Domu Kultury, razem 120 tys. tomów.
- 10/ sprawę fotoplastikonu, wesołego miasteczka i cyrku ustalić z Przedś. Rozrywkowymi /Warszawa, ul. Złota 63/.

Fig. 5.14 One of the consultation documents issued as part of the brief development of Nowa Huta; this text relates to cultural amenities in Nowa Huta; Archive V (Trzeciński, A. and Juncysz, S. 1955 51)

The Communist assumptions and intent for fostering and controlling high culture had to be revised down during the re-visiting of the masterplan in the process of construction. The masterplan for the city was greatly diminished by the government in Warsaw when confronted with economic realities and lack of interest in organised leisure in Nowa Huta. The designs catering for leisure, which made it through the drafting stage, were a sports centre including a gymnasium, a sports stadium (most of the aforementioned facilities were never erected), one theatre, and a cinema (which was built as a reactionary strategy to counter the apathy and social unrest amongst the construction workers).

The scarcity of means and resources pushed the agenda of centralisation even further. Point 15/ in Figure 5.15 reads:

Considering the failure of the workers club, it is advised that work on other amenities of this sort (for leisure) should be stopped and their number in the overall design decreased to one of a substantial volume.

(Fig 5.15, Archive V, Trzecielski, A. and Juncysz, S. 1955 2)

In spite of the efforts to invigorate the leisure in Nowa Huta with Communist means the problem of lack of amenities to keep the Kombinat-workers away from delinquency persisted. Facing the scarcity of means and abundance of moral depravation, places of leisure were created to reach out to the working class with the Soviet civilising agenda (Biedrzycka ed. 2011 9). Those were devoid of architectural plans or funds to be established but created an image of the authorities reaching out to the common man in the atmosphere of Soviet propaganda. The name 'red corners' came from a place within a Russian house for religious icons from before the Marxist revolution (Buchli 2013). Russian people would devote a place in their houses where icons reminding them of a divine presence, were stored. It was a shrine to the sacred, often Orthodox Church. During Communism, those were replaced with the colour of the revolution and became a place praising Marxism.

These 'red corners' were organized on the ground floor of residential units. They were communal rooms and a place in-between the formality of a destination-point leisure and casual rest in a flat. Since they came to be a re-appropriation of a residential quarter, the corners were not adapted to formal gatherings. Their furnishing comprised of several chairs and a single table. Their conditions quickly deteriorated and according to Maria Wąchata Skindzier their interiors were often deplorable (Baran (ed.) 2013 17). Wąchata Skindzier claims that items which could be found in every 'red corner' were portraits of Communist leaders. They were important for the Communist propaganda as they gave an accessible place for furthering Communist art in a less formal way since cinemas and theatres failed (Buchli 2013).



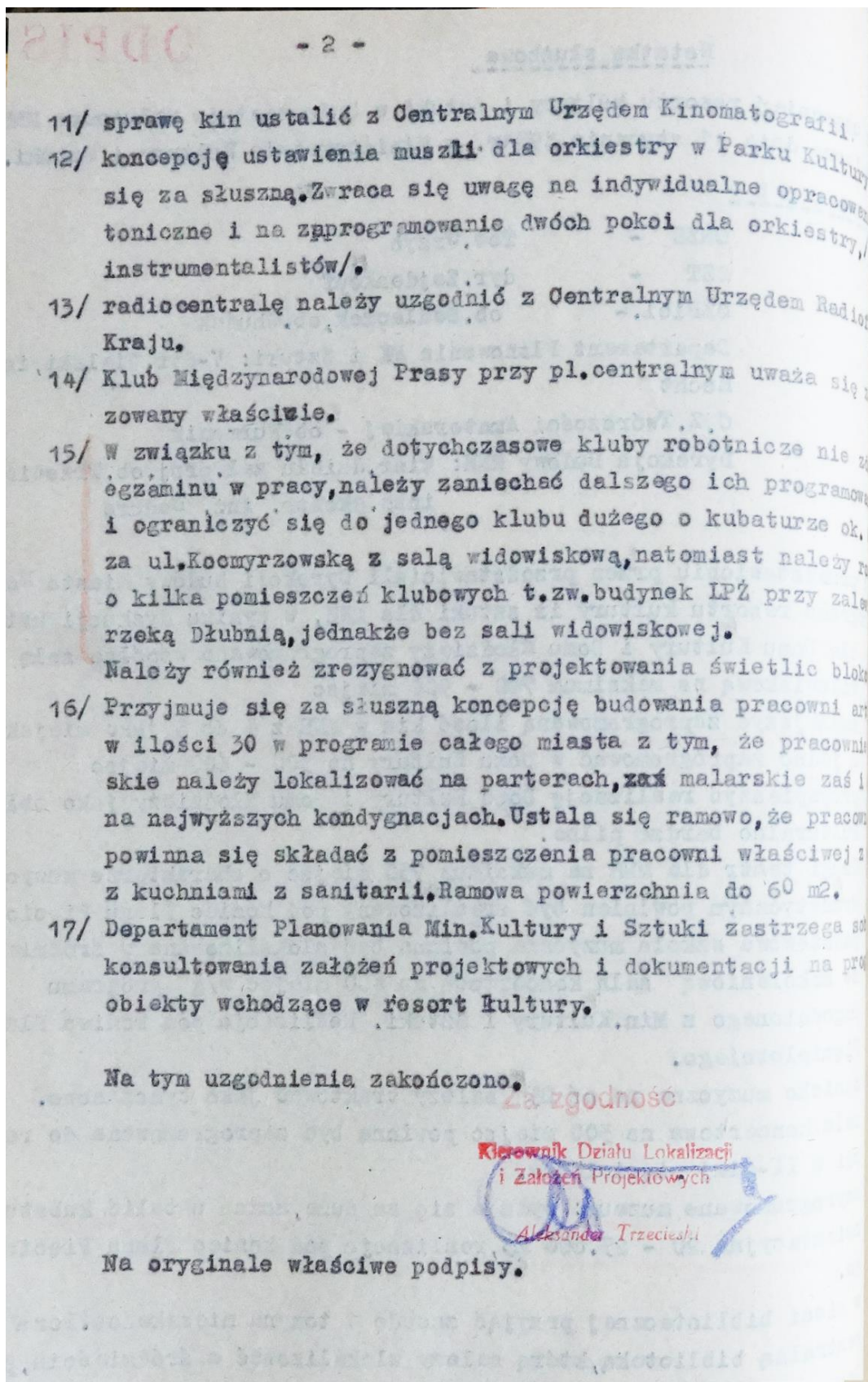


Fig. 5.15 One of the consultation documents issued as part of the brief development of Nowa Huta; this text relates to the sports amenities in Nowa Huta; Archive V (Trzeciński, A. and Juncysz, S. 1955 p2)

In spite of lack of appropriate space all types of art including music, literature, architecture and theatre were expected to be used to facilitate thinking about work and the Soviet collective (Baran (ed.) 2013 10). In 1947, the art world was criticised for a lack of engagement with the principles of Communist propaganda and artists of Poland, in an official statement, were told to conform (Baran (ed.) 2013 9). This regulation was felt most prominently by performative arts.

Krystyna Downar narrates the development of the music scene in Nowa Huta and gives music as an example of leisure manipulation. In 1957, another style was incorporated into the art scene of Nowa Huta. It was Jazz and it was tolerated by the Communists as it carried no clear message in the form of lyrics and hence, could not be clearly associated with the West (in Fryzlewicz (ed.) 2011 23). Downar suggests that music especially by the 1970s was allowed so long as it did not oppose the hegemony in a direct way (in Fryzlewicz ed. 2011 48). Lyrics performed in a public setting had to go through rigorous censorship to make sure they would not incentivise rebellion. Light-pop was legal as it avoided an overbearing political commentary (in Fryzlewicz (ed.) 2011). Roma and Jolanta Doniec, women who formed a group called *Ladybirds are dotted*<sup>2</sup>, were promoted by the Communist radio and took part in multiple public competitions in the 1950s. The aesthetics of their lyrics and music was to present life in Nowa Huta as noble and happy so long as the citizens were 'subordinate to the worker of the Kombinat'<sup>3</sup> (quoted in Fryzlewicz (ed.) 2011 93). By the 1970s, all lyrics had to be uncomplicated, not controversial and unchallenging intellectually, and the music was to be rhythmical and catchy.

As a result of lack of rest from the propaganda efforts, the citizens of Nowa Huta started seeking alternative places to spend their free time. Eventually unofficial clubs came to be set up scattered around the city. In spite of being humble in size and not adequate for musical performances, these were focal points of leisure. Despite their less rigorous atmosphere they too had to conform to the regulations of the Communists. They were attended mostly by white collar workers. Such clubs by 1990 included Violinka in district A25, Wersalik in district A2, Znicz in district B2, Jowita in district C1, Ewa in district C33, Prozniak in district B1, Walentynka in district B33, Tabakiera in Czyzyny district, Srodpole in Krzeslawickie district, Osbita in district C31 (location of districts in urban fabric shown in Fig. 5.16) (in Fryzlewicz (ed.) 2011 47).

In order to enable their operation, the clubs, had to place restrictions on the text, music and appearance of the performers. This was why some musicians refused to play in official music venues. According to Ryszard Szczudłowski, his band 'The Homeless'<sup>4</sup> experienced prejudice from a venue because they failed to conform to the regulations of the place

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<sup>2</sup> 'Biedroneczki sa w kropeczki'

<sup>3</sup> podporządkowane robotnikowi kombinatu

<sup>4</sup> bezdomni

(quoted in Jurewicz (ed.) 2008 107). The point of disagreement was the hair-length of the singers as well as the band's name, which, under pressure, became 'Ryszardy' after the first names of the singers.

In order to be truly free from Communist prosecution, some people of Nowa Huta even literally left the urban fabric to seek peace on the peripheries of the city. The image below (Fig. 5.17) was drawn by Janek who claims to have acted against the Communist guidelines. He narrates that he and his friends often sought leisure outside of Nowa Huta. He chose to represent the activities happening in the unplanned areas outside the city with a much more fluid line. The way that Janek chose to represent the space outside the city, was a lot more organic and relaxed in comparison with how he chose to represent the streets.

This way of thinking of the periphery of the city as a way of eluding the normalizing gaze of Nowa Huta was common. According to Marek, one of the destination points that invited heterotopic activities was the mound of Wanda (shown in Fig. 5.18) (Interview with Marek 2013). The mound was on the edge of the city outside of the SB's and TW's remit. According to Marek it was appropriated by people to escape the rigidity of social and Communist invigilation. Marek claims that the mound was used as a safe-haven for those who attempted to make a statement about individual sovereignty over their life by 'escaping from home' or 'playing truant' as well as, according to Marek, to take a girl out for a date (Interview with Marek 2014). He claims that this removal of oneself from the city was so established as a practice that it was given a name. It was called 'to be on the Giant'<sup>5</sup>.

Janek adds that 'planty' (the greenbelt of the medieval centre of Krakow) and the 20<sup>th</sup> century development of the city, was used by "doggers" from Nowa Huta who wanted to engage in illicit sex in public (Interview with Janek 2014). In his understanding, people who engaged with such practices felt that the public space in Nowa Huta was not as safe as its equivalent in the centre of Krakow.

In comparison with the needs of those, who opposed the Communists, the city was also inhabited by the Communists or supporters of the social reality. One of such people, Jarek, discussed his idea of leisure and described a park. He claims that this was a place for 'walks but not picnics'. As he says: 'You walked and you needn't worry about having a walk any more, you committed yourself and that was done, no?'<sup>6</sup> He reminisces about a fountain in one park, around which people would gather and sunbathe on benches. He seems to be describing leisure as not an act from which he drew pleasure. His drawing (Fig. 5.19) of the space reveals more.

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<sup>5</sup> 'bycie na gigantcie'

<sup>6</sup> Spacerowales i z glowy.. zes wloczyles sie i zalatwione nie?

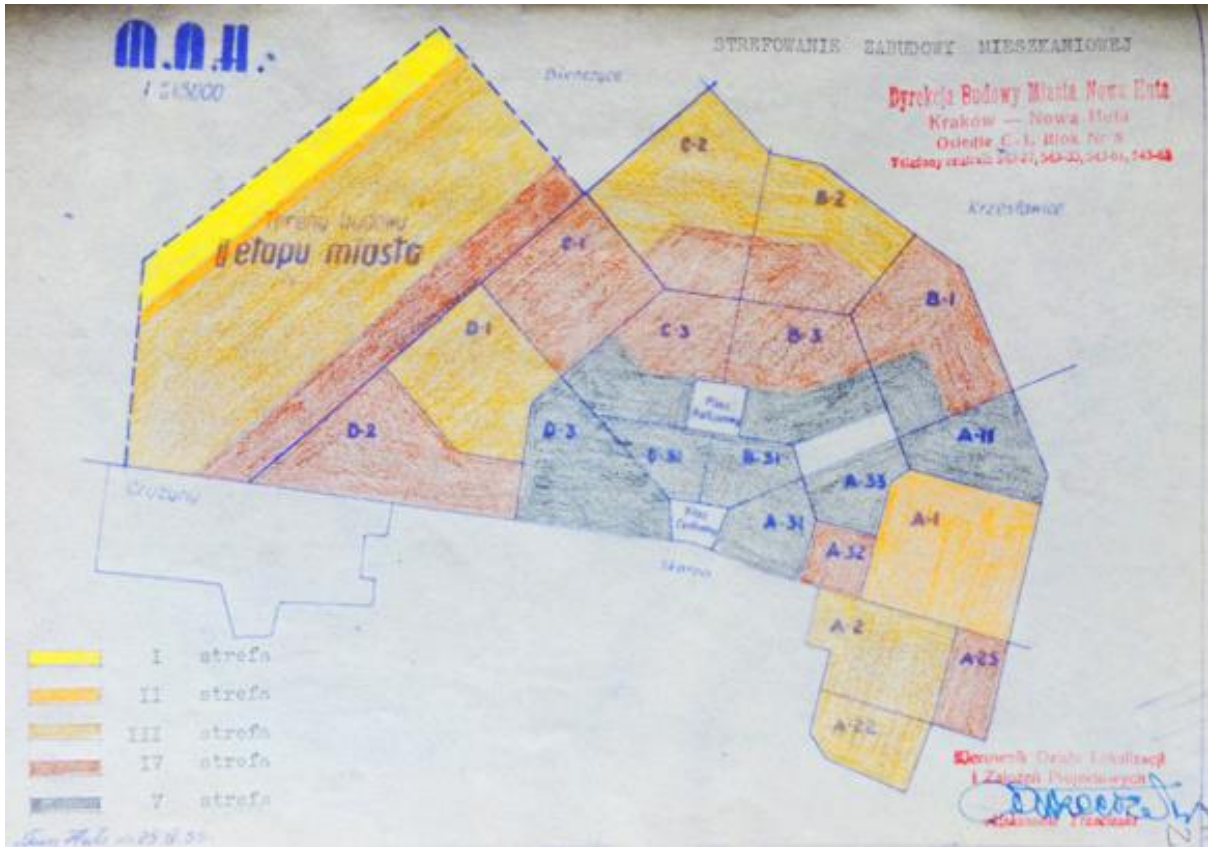


Fig. 5.16 Plan of Nowa Huta from 1955 denoting the districts. extract from consultation document in archive V (Trzecielski, A. and Juncysz, S. 1955 52)



Fig. 5.17 A drawing made by my interviewee (Janek) of public space in Nowa Huta





Fig. 5.18 The Mound of Wanda, between the city and the Kombinat; Author's own photo



Fig. 5.19 A drawing made by my interviewee (Jarek) of public space in Nowa Huta

Jarek narrates the drawing-task that I set out for him:

I suppose that I mostly worked here and didn't rest as such in that period...you work not where you rest. I suppose that the main resting space, in which I rested was a park... they named it: 'park of culture and rest' if I am not mistaken<sup>7</sup> (Interview with Jarek 2014)

The park in the sketch seems to be drawn with the same lines as his drawing of main avenues and streets. Jarek seemed to be narrating the idea of leisure in a negative tone. He describes it almost like an obligation. Leisure was to be devoted to one aim, supporting the workers.

Jarek's attitude towards leisure, as a supporter of Communism, gives an idea about the mentality of considering space in an organised manner. Leisure seemed to be catered for by spaces that are specially designed, policed and regulated.

### **5.3.3 Re-codified leisure**

This sub-section presents spaces which further polluted the clarity and legibility of the initial masterplan of Nowa Huta. A major factor in aid of this retreat were the provisions in Nowa Huta that were to protect it in the event of an attack from the allied powers from the West during the Cold War. Those were architectural elements that allowed the citizens to remain latent in the centre of the city fabric. Those provisions inform of the anticipated presence of military personnel in the city, which additionally fuelled the fear of the government and further deepened the necessity for spaces of exclusion. The provisions included a network of underground corridors, which became a frequent fostering of heterotopias.

The city was designed at the time of Cold War, which lasted from 1947 to the collapse of the Soviet empire in 1991. This was a time of threat and fear of a potential strike from the allied powers from Western Europe and/or America. According to Mieziań the context of the conflict was another force which had to be addressed in the design of the city (2004). Mieziań claims that under Stalin's rule, Nowa Huta was designed as a defence camp, capable of withstanding any abnormal flows that arose from a crisis situation, secretly awaiting a potential NATO attack. The Communist government went out of its way to spread and define the fear of NATO with all means possible (see Fig. 5.20).

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<sup>7</sup> 'Podejrzewam, że wiesz, tutaj głównie pracowałem, a nie odpoczywałem w tamtym okresie zacząłem mieszkać w Hucie zupełnie późno ale to też było jak tak w tej chwili, że jestem w hotelu. Pracuje gdzie indziej... a odpoczywam gdzie indziej, ale sądzę, że głównym miejscem takim wypoczynkowym był nowo-zalozony park.. chyba to sie nazywało park 'kultury i wypoczynku' jezeli się nie mylę.'



Fig. 5.20 a poster advertising the negative attitude to NATO,  
Original propaganda poster from archive IV; NATO: to destroy the earth; circa 1970s





Fig. 5.21 One of the entrances to the neighbourhood units; author's own photo



Fig. 5.22 A diagram of the urban fabric of Nowa Huta drawn by the Agnieszka (Interview 2014)



Miezian suggests that provisions against the Allies were used by demonstrators of civic unrest to hide the wounded and by the SB to interrogate suspects. They provided spaces where unusual states could be lived out and heterotopias could be formed. The defensive design strategies were tested in the city many times, when the police attempted to disperse marches of protesters manifesting their disagreement with the government (2004).

Miezian's theory resonates with Agnieszka's narrative of the city, where she discusses the neighbourhood units. Agnieszka (one of my interviewees) claims that in spite of the fact that it is easy to navigate in the city's masterplan it is also equally as simple to be unnoticed within the urban fabric (Interview with Agnieszka 2014). The concept of transparency, as she notes, was hindered by the presence of the courtyards and the opportunities they introduced to walk through them. This made the planar way of moving through the city easier (to be unnoticed by the Communist agents). When drawing a diagram of the masterplan of Nowa Huta (Shown in Fig. 5.22) she started by drawing the units. It can be understood that for her, the diagram of the city consisted of a cluster of private spaces forming public corridors.

The opportunity to disengage with the public became much more abundant after June 27<sup>th</sup> 1941, when, according to Paperny, the SSA directed an appeal to all organisations of the Soviet Union to ensure that all architects were required to design bomb shelters, amongst other measures, to aid the government in an effort to prepare for the Cold War threat (Paperny 2002 287). Binek, in his autobiography notes that since 1950 every building had an anti-air raid bomb shelter (1997 167). Their cost was substantial, but the unstable circumstances of international conflicts required an architectural response. They were constructed with reinforced concrete and involved alternate escape routes and corridors as well as gas-hermetic doors and mechanical ventilation. Whilst discussing the plan of the city, Agnieszka points out the presence of bomb shelters and underground corridors (entrances to which are shown in Fig. 5.23) which every citizen of Nowa Huta, according to her, was aware of (Interview with Agnieszka 2014).



Fig. 5.23 Entrances to underground structures; author's photos

A factor which made the underground corridors attractive was their concealed quality. It gave any event within their depths concealed character, hidden from the overground discipline. Those, as the design drawings of the corridors present, were to be of military regulation. Because of their latent quality, the corridors could foster uncoordinated leisure and dissent from the civic. One of the drawings showing a section through an underground corridor, by Jan Gryckowski, explains the engineering-side of the underground corridors (Shown in Fig. 5.24) (1953). The drawing clearly shows the dispersion and magnitude of forces acting upon a corridor from several vehicles, amongst them 'tractor T80'. The signifier of the tractor and the way in which it was represented in the drawing suggest that the tractor was in fact a Soviet tank T80. These provisions proved beneficial when the Communist army marched into and through the city presenting its strength in a parade along the long avenues.

One of the cases of such corridors is a link between the two buildings which frame the gates into the Kombinat. The below section (Fig. 5.25) shows a channel leading from one building to the other across the street. It also indicates a similar channel leading in the opposite direction to an unknown destination. Agnieszka notes that it was possible to consider the underground corridors as an alternate to the over-ground avenues (Interview with Agnieszka 2014).

The underground of Nowa Huta is a complex interweaving of a tunnel network both in plan and section and serves as a complex doubling of circulation between bomb shelters. Figures 5.26 and 5.27 show the spaces under 'Kino Switowid' located on the south of Nowa Huta and East of Central Square. The transition in Fig. 5.26 shows a vertical drop and suggests a three-dimensionality of the network.

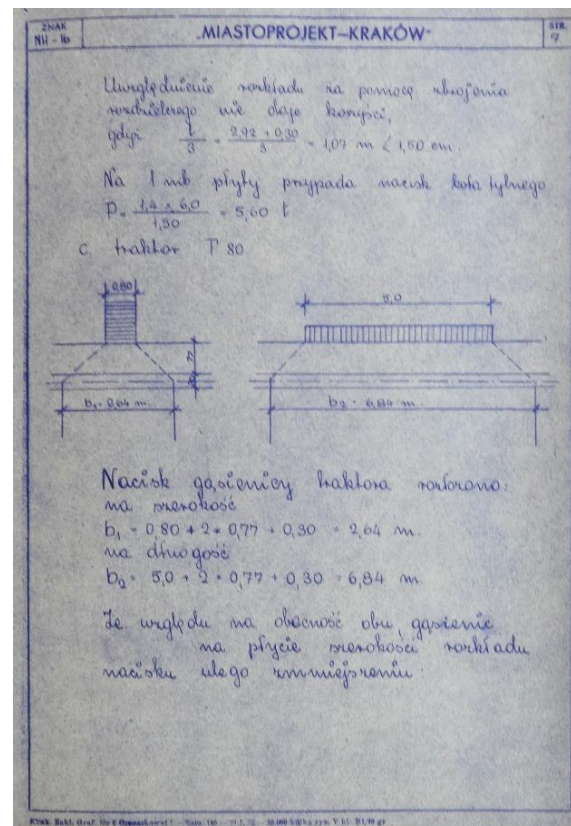
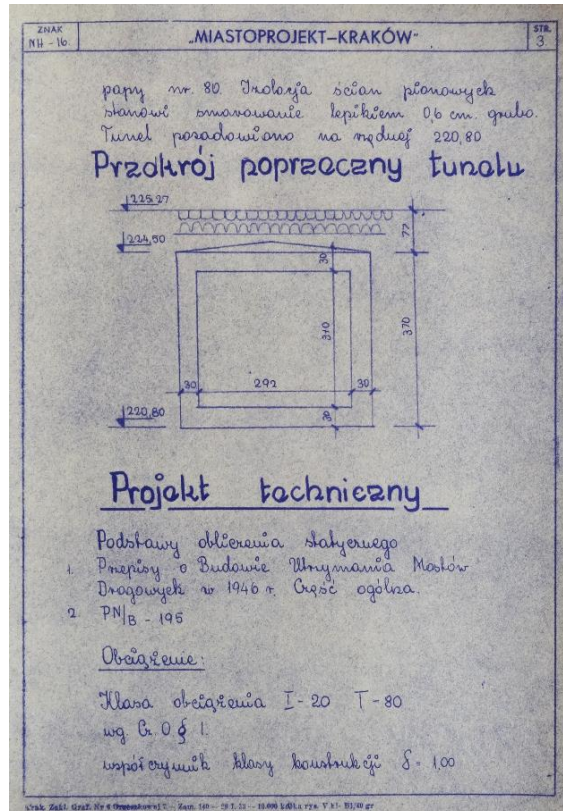


Fig. 5.24 Archive V technical documentation of cross section of an underground corridor (Gryckowski 1953)

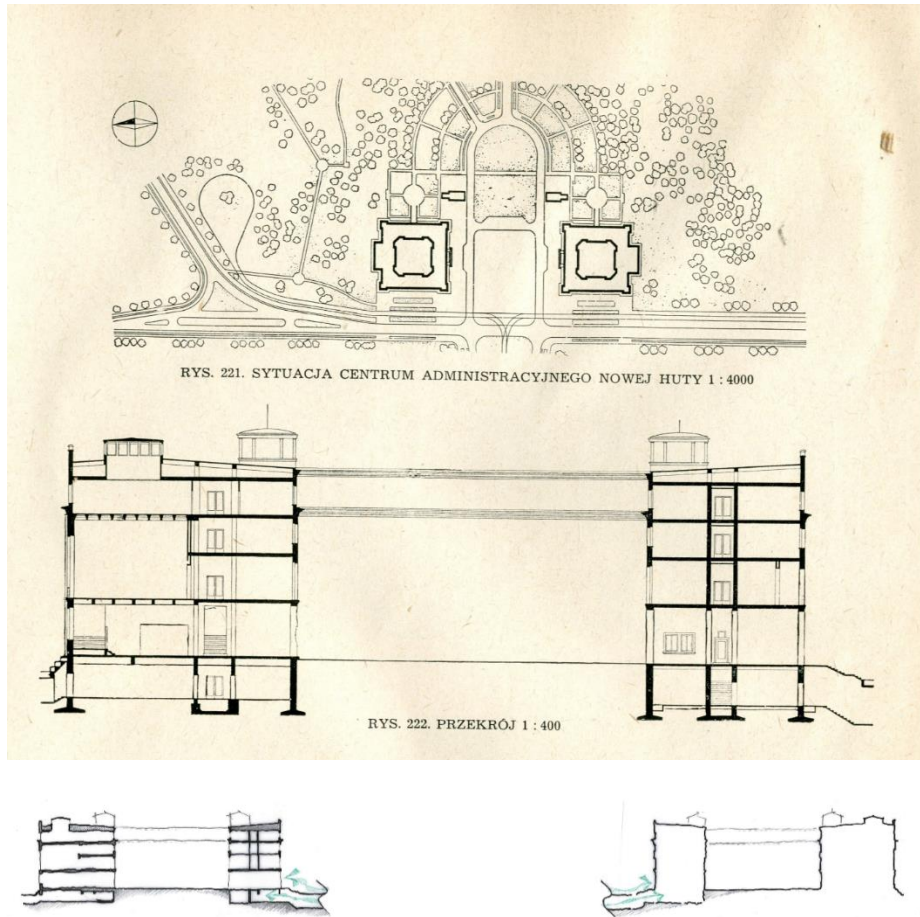


Fig. 5.25 Own sketch of the architectural composition of the section and Administrative centre near the gates to the Kombinat (taken from Garlinski 1953 86)



Fig 5.26 Basement of Kino Switowid; Author's own photo





Fig. 5.27 Graffiti under Switowid signifying unrest, circa 1970 in underground structures;  
Author's own photo

Since the Cold War was an anti-climax in terms of an armed conflict, in the city the underground spaces were used by the inhabitants of Nowa Huta for more mundane activities, most often to exclude oneself and create heterotopic conditions in which prohibited activities could be conducted.

One of my interviewees, Janek, describes how the underground spaces were used not only for misdoings and instruments of unsocial activities. He claims that librarians used the subterranean to store contraband books, such as those authored by Gabrowicz, Herbert, Gratka or Camus (Interview with Janek 2014). Those were writers whose work was illegal in Communist Poland. The underground spaces also held (and were used) as an exchange space for stamps, oppositional leaflets and newspapers.

Jakub Bładek mentions that there were several subcultures which were recognised and named in Nowa Huta (quoted in Jurewicz (ed.) 2008). Across many years of the city's existence, these were 'skins', 'skaters', 'punks' and 'metal kids'. They all signified their belonging to a particular group with appropriate clothing and music. Bładek's engagement with subcultures and music started in the underground of an abandoned cinema called Świt (shown in Fig. 5.28 – 5.29), where he and his colleagues rented basement spaces. During the night, they would organise half-legal and relaxed events. The labyrinthine underground and the elaborate character of the level changes in the building (shown in Fig. 5.29), imply an opportunity for developing playful relationships within the space.



Fig. 5.28 Świt cinema; Author's own photo

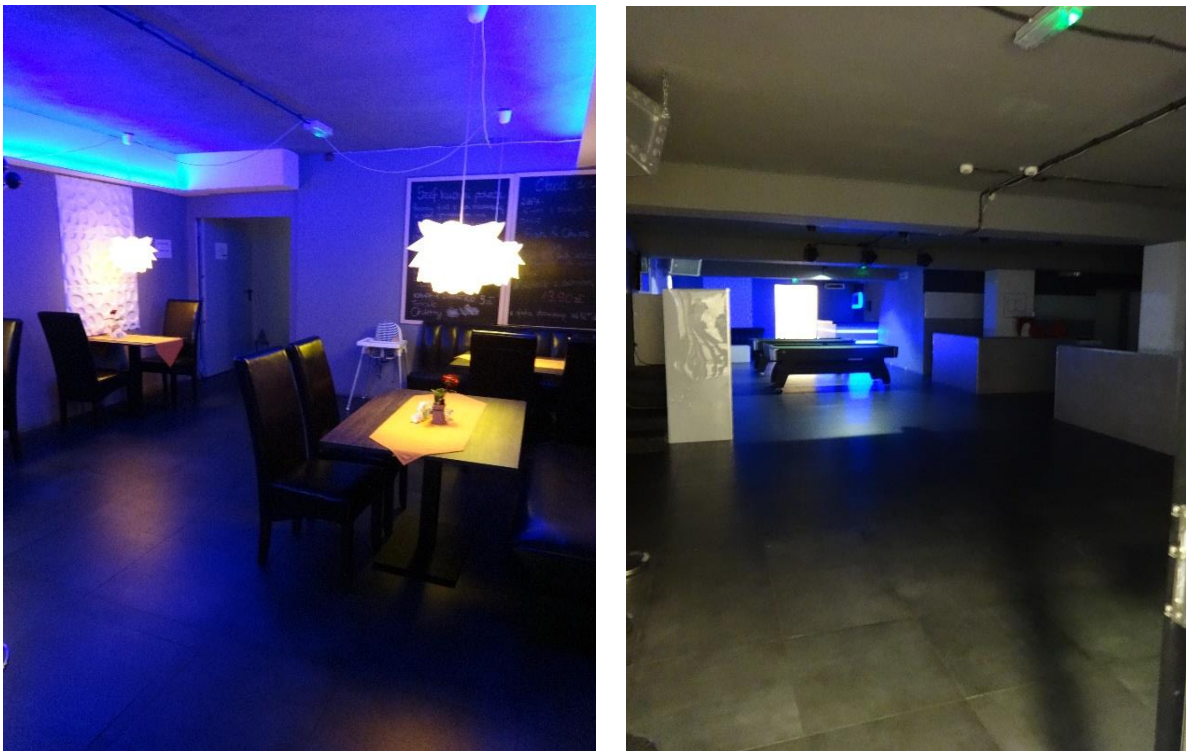


Fig. 5.29 Underground of Świt cinema; Author's own photo

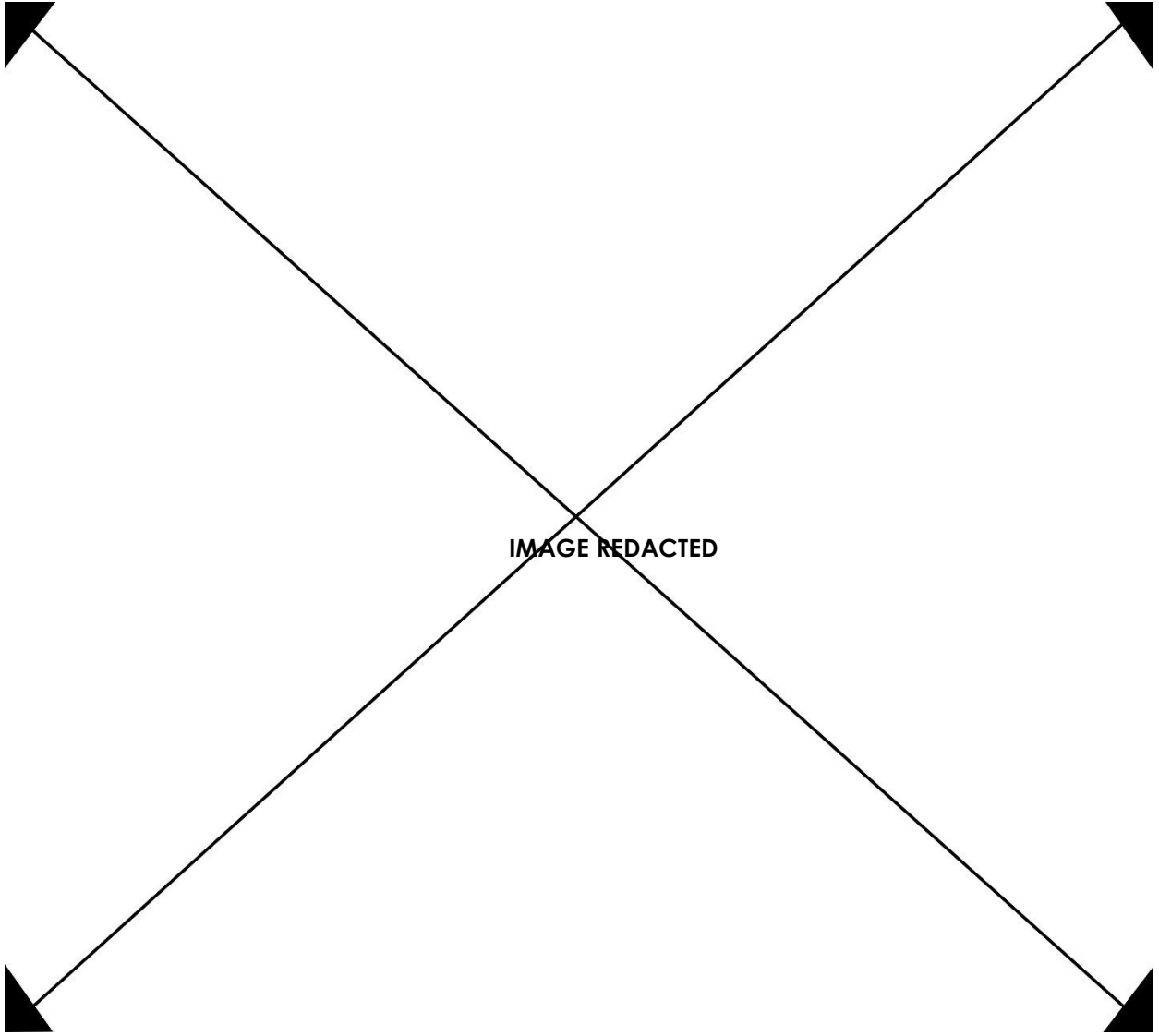


Fig 5.30 Entrance to a club, circa 1954 (Lebow 2013 114)

Karolina Żłobiecka writes that in this atmosphere the suppressed music scene developed a way to counter the Communists' guidelines in the subterranean (in Fryzlewicz 2011 85). The music scene in Nowa Huta diversified and took the form of an amalgamation of Polish and American cultural habits that were unacceptable to the Communists. Rock and Roll was adopted and named 'big-bit' to avoid any associations with Americanisation and hence, an open threat to the government's propaganda.

Downar notes that most of the music movements in Nowa Huta followed the logic of juxtaposition with the Communist mindset (ibid. 35). It was mostly composed and acted out by amateurs who, as Franciszek Nowak suggests, were practicing undercover in homes or basements, playing low volume music, not to be heard by unwanted ears (quoted in ibid. 85). Nowak claims that they associated basements with safe havens for their creativity. They were used to explore sound and noise without the hindrance of censorship or complaints from neighbours. This was a counter-conduct and a way to develop an individual understanding of expression of oneself. The self in this case was a matter of strategic and selective expression in a controlled manner. Spaces for subversive music had to be under elaborate organisation by the delinquents. Paweł, a punk-rock musician from Nowa Huta, claims that the events happening in the underground in Communism were treated as violations of the penal code. Strategies of a creative deferment of invigilation had to be set up (quoted in ibid.). There would always be one member of the band on the look-out. Whenever they saw police approaching, he would let the other members of the band know and they would shut the lights off and climb out the window into the garden of the courtyard.

The adaptable capacity of these subcultures led to a creative way of projecting their differentiation in space and through space. Żłobiecka claims that music which the Communist governance did not accept found it difficult to function in the space and had to seek alternative ways of celebrating a musical performance (ibid.). Most music studios were organised on an amateur level, in basements. This led to a situation in which subversive music was inaccessible for a wider audience. This also meant that they did not have to conform to high expectations and were free to experiment. The resilience of adapting to the conditions of scarcity followed the lack of appropriate acoustic conditions for practicing and fostered creative approaches to developing new styles (ibid.). In 1963-64, the band ZDK HIL was formed and, facing the difficulties of acoustically un-sound spaces, they developed a technique which used the challenging spatial context of inadequate reverberation conditions to aid its music (quoted in ibid. 127).

The underground spaces' latent qualities created conditions, which were perfect for eluding what Foucault would refer to as 'the normalising gaze' (2007). They were ripe for illegalities and risk of missing the civic order fostering delinquency. The corridors and bomb



shelters created an atmosphere that could be perceived differently and allowed to be seen abnormally.

Marek notes that the sectional capacity of the city was an opportunity for exploring prohibited desires but was also a source of nightmares (Interview with Marek 2013). The way he described such desires suggests an unusual way of perceiving the space, one which was not entirely based on sight. When talking about the quality of those spaces, he stood up and used his whole body to demonstrate the movements that he had to conduct in order to get into the corridors. This suggests that, in his memory, the space left a more tangible sensation, which activated his body muscles rather than rational associations, which trigger words. It could be understood that for him, movement was the most appropriate medium to convey the complexity of the experience he encountered in the corridors.

Marek says: 'In the underground corridors we drank until we were unconscious'<sup>8</sup> (Interview with Marek 2013). He suggests that the corridors were places where he could indulge in his desire to be a delinquent and operate with the merits of a different state of consciousness, where criminality and alcoholism were the norm. Janek suggests that this type of instrumentality was popular in the underground to a degree of attracting a subcultural image. 'Alcohol distilleries were everywhere, even though you could get alcohol after 1pm everywhere but alcoholic's dens were everywhere'<sup>9</sup> (Interview with Janek 2014).

Andrzej Knapp, Bogusław Śliwa and Ryszard Krupa claim that in the 1970s, whilst forming their music band 'Voodoo', they found a place in the underground of a youth centre to exclude themselves from all distractions and clear their minds (in Fryzlewicz 2011). The intention was to stay in that one space until the band made a decision on the name and attained a stable identity. Andrzej Knapp narrates:

We were methodological: we decided to lock ourselves in the underground of *Fama* for a week with two crates of Vodka. We did not leave for a week. We had one mattress, on which we could lie if we felt tired, we would then continue work... eventually we named ourselves Voodoo'<sup>10</sup> (ibid. 116).

Their experience, of being locked in a space in an attempt of self-definition in the state of being intoxicated, gave them an opportunity to express states which were discontinuous with the government's constructs. It was a process of re-definition within the state of subversion.

As Binek notes, the fact that the underground structures were underequipped and often vandalised (1997 151) triggered their re-evaluation. Eventually by the early 1950s the procedure to

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<sup>8</sup> W podziemnych korytarzach piiliśmy i się upijaliśmy do nieprzytomności

<sup>9</sup> a alkohol to był wszędzie po prostu, mimo że był można było kupić do 13tej ale były meliny wszędzie

<sup>10</sup> 'Wzięliśmy się na sposób: zamknęliśmy się w podziemiach klubu na tydzień z dwiema skrzynkami wódki. Nie wychodziliśmy przez cały tydzień. Mieliliśmy jeden materac, na którym jeśli ktoś się poczuł zmęczony, kładł się, później wyzdrowiał i z powrotem... w końcu wymyśliliśmy VOODOO.'

include the underground in every building design was dropped. More elaborate bomb shelters could be found only under municipal buildings.

The underground spaces became part of the citizens' lives and came to bear on their relationship with the city. The impact that the underground had on Marek's mentality went beyond conscious experience. Marek speaks of the role of those spaces in his dreams. He says: '[When I was young] I imagined a nuclear war and spending the rest of my life in underground bunkers (...) [because of that] I cried to my mother in the bathtub'<sup>11</sup>. The impact of the atmosphere of the bunkers and corridors on the oneiric landscape of Marek's dreams suggests a deep relationship between his imagination or social constructs of instability and the space. The unlit and narrow spaces, designed to accommodate the minimum of life, as well as their underground location, created such an impact that it imprinted the conscious self-development of Marek into a nightmarish mental space. It can be argued that in such conditions the non-Soviet aspect of the self might have been associated with a subversive darkness. It is undeniable that every inhabitant of Nowa Huta interpreted those spaces idiosyncratically and Marek's recollections prove that the range of those interpretations was broad and significant.

Military bunkers and underground corridors were places designed as provisions against potential Cold War attacks (Mieziań 2004). They signify the paranoia of the government at the time and provided a doubling of circulation within Nowa Huta. These spaces were used by people to create areas of non-visibility where they could indulge in anti-social or non-normative ways of being. These spaces allowed the citizens of Nowa Huta to experience space in a more tangible way, and a way which became deeply embedded in their mentality. The underground allowed a non-visible flow to operate within the city. This was a flow of information and bodies that could escape the government's apparatuses, which were based on forcing transparency and homogeneity of conduct. It was an opportunity to tap into a prohibited side of the human condition, a side associated with darkness and waste. These were places which served moments of self-realisation and exploration of states different from the norm. Those were crucial in determining identities and naming the self.

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<sup>11</sup> [Jak byłem młody to] miałem wyobrażenia o wojnie atomowej i spędzeniu reszty życia w bunkrach podziemnych (...) płakałem do matki w wannie'

### 5.3.4 Conclusion

This section of the chapter presents a case of mis-aimed efforts to consolidate a leisure community in the city and the resulting appropriation of the geometries of the designed environment to explore individual needs and desires on a different level of perception. Huxley suggests that the self is always in flux within the context of the knowledge flow (2008). The heterotopias that were discussed in this section allowed for the flux to take an abnormal and prohibited form. This form mediated the subversive and anti-social dimension of the every-day and allowed for an exploration and definition of otherness and non-Sovietism. By this allowance, such spaces channelled and allowed otherness to flourish and develop subcultural movements and creative forms of art through what Bataille would call 'abundances' (1989). The discussed heterotopias were free from Soviet rigour and policing and allowed for events that could channel the exploration and expression of the non-Soviet self.

The spaces which were chosen to engage in such subversive conduct were rejected by the Communist doctrine as they allowed for the development threats to the normative flows of a homo-sovieticus (1995, 305). Heterotopias were created by people who consciously or subconsciously desired to become abnormal. This led to a use of space which could not be predicted by the architects or governance and was not under control by any power structure but the individuals engaging with them at the time. In the moment of producing a heterotopia, consciousness and space-recognition could be altered and had the potential to enhance the perception of different senses that would not normally be dominant. This situation, combined with the political manifestation of Soviet hegemony could have led to a novel way of engaging, one which unveiled creative opportunities. In addition to that it often reflected the traditional flow of the Polish culture from the inter-War period with respect to considering the sectionality of the architectural fabric. The subcultures juxtaposed their creativity against the Communist propaganda. In this light, such spaces resemble Rejtan's corner, where he opposed engaging in the political debate and protected his land with his bare chest.

The break of considering oneself a homo-sovieticus, and the flow of consciousness and mass of Nowa Huta, was eroding the fabric of the power/knowledge nexus that the Communist government carefully weaved. It was those spaces which allowed for the anxiety of the rhizomatic and arborescent clash, to manifest itself. As Carl Death suggests, resistance is characterised on an individual level, in the transgression and contradiction of norms as well as disruption of metanarratives of aesthetics and the self (2010). The conditions of the city in the Communist context were, however, ripe for upholding an atmosphere based on scarcity and challenging conditions of artistic freedom. This challenging environment incited a novel

way of approaching performance. The latent sense of the non-Soviet was, in this sense, pushing the boundaries and defining the counter-conductive self.

#### **5.4 Performative heterotopias;**

**Sacred spaces and their role in defining arborescent boundaries of the power struggle**

## **5.4 Performative heterotopias;**

### **Sacred spaces and their role in defining arborescent boundaries of the power struggle**

#### **5.4.1 Introduction**

The objective of this chapter is to present heterotopias, which, by their nature, suggest a breaching of the normative flow of the city that attempted to create a civic quality which the Soviet governance would recognise as useful for their objectives (as discussed in chapter four). This subsection interrogates cases in which architects encapsulated the essence of heterotopias in Nowa Huta in physical form and how their design strategies evolved in time, becoming more defensive. The type of heterotopias investigated here are performative, and involved churches and spaces territorialised by the sacred.

Guattari, in his essay entitled 'To have done with the massacre of the body', discusses the barrier between the public and intimate by describing a 'mucous membrane'. The membrane, in his understanding, is to regulate the intake of material to the interior of the body (2009). This section concentrates on a similar membrane, which regulated the relationship between the interior of heterotopias, which were fostered by churches, and the normative flows in the public space of Nowa Huta. This membrane, as I am arguing, can be found surrounding all spaces where design was inspired by the subterranean corridors appropriated for leisure and described in the previous section of this chapter. As Guattari writes:

Women in revolt against male power – a power that has been forced on their bodies for centuries – homosexuals in revolt against a terroristic “normality,” young people in revolt against the pathological authority of adults: these are the people who, collectively, have begun to make the body a means of subversion, and have begun to see subversion as a means for meeting the “immediate” needs of the body [...] We can no longer allow others to turn out mucous membranes, our skin, all our sensitive areas into occupied territory - territory controlled and regimented by others, to which we are forbidden access. (Guattari 2009 208-209)

Church buildings were used for not only sacred events but for the purposes of gathering resources and meeting of the oppositionists to the Communists. Such buildings can be considered as established places which would create Guattari's membrane on an urban level. These spaces caused a rupture in normative Communist order and created a frontier of Communist authority, which validated the power-play of the Communist policing. From the point of view of the Communist government, such heterotopias were considered a threat, and therefore an infiltration target for the TW. This struggle also re-enforced the establishment of the Church as a significant, non-Communist agent, capable of supporting the underground opposition.

This section of the chapter starts with a brief description of the situation in Poland and the relationship between the Catholic Church, the opposition, and the state. The churches which I have chosen to interrogate were selected due to their capacity to create opportunities of fostering subversive and resilient conduct. Those are the parishes of St. Maximilian and St. Mary in Nowa Huta. These were parishes which were incredibly successful in developing their own, established presence in the city. As the historical note of an SB agent (Fig 5.31) suggested, the parishes in Nowa Huta organised events which operated in a different manner than Communism, and outside of the jurisdiction of the government. As the note in Fig 5.31 says:

of the five Roman-Catholic parishes in Nowa Huta, the parishes in Bieńczyce, Mogiła and Pleszów [which is outside of the masterplan of the city] attract most attention of the authorities as they serve a dominant role of the Church in Nowa Huta and are the strongest points of influence on the people. (SB note 1969e, see Fig. 5.31)

It could be understood that the design of churches and that of the promenade leading to them orchestrated a mucous membrane that presents the power relations between the government and opposition in the city.

The text compares those cases with ones of a sacred nature, which were not designed by an architect but rather were incorporated into the urban fabric by Communist site managers. Those were necropolises: a cemetery in district A and two concentration camps, which were bulldozed to make way for civic buildings.

The section also presents the undercover oppositional mechanisms, which were assisted by the Church and used the 'mucous membrane' to their advantage. All this was an irregular flow which destabilised the normativity of the city and although suggested by the architect in the initial masterplan, evolved in an unintentional manner (reflecting the Polish tradition) which was explored in Polish architecture before the Second World War.

#### **5.4.2 Soviet hegemony and the Vatican hegemony**

The relationship between the Soviet-Communists and the Church was complex. Death and sickness were not in the vocabulary of the Soviet propaganda and it could be understood that the homo-sovieticus was not to be reminded of the notion of oblivion or any hint of metaphysicality. In the Soviet imagery the homo-sovieticus was presented as a healthy and lively man. The construct was to associate itself and compare with other young, healthy workers that in the case of Nowa Huta, were capable to work in Kombinat. It was not to mingle with the ill and old, therefore it could be understood that it was not prepared to deal with the feebleness of the human condition. Surgeries were placed out of sight in the neighbourhood units and hospitals were located south of the Central Square, such as that named after Stefan Żeromski.

27

26

Kraków - Nowa Huta , dnia 13.12.1969 r.

POUFNE

NOTATKA

dot. sytuacji w parafiach kościoła rzymsko -  
katolickiego na terenie Dzielnicy Nowa Huta .

Spośród pięciu parafii rzymsko - katolickich na terenie dzielnicy Nowa Huta , parafie - Bieńczyce , Mogiła i Pleszów zasługują na szczególną uwagę terenowych władz , gdyż spełniają one domającą rolę kościoła w Nowej Hucie i są najsilniejszymi punktami fanatycznego oddziaływania na ludność .

Przyczyna takiego stanu uzależniona jest przede wszystkim od aktywności rezydujących tam księży , ich stosunku do sekcji kurii jak i też tradycji i historii powstania samej parafii .

Parafia Bieńczyce powstała wraz z budową Nowej Huty . Początkowo do budynku remizy strażackiej ksiądz z parafii Mogiła sporadycznie przyjeżdżał odprawiać mszę , uczęszczając swoje wizyty w miarę upływu czasu , a następnie zamieszkał przy powstałej w ten sposób samodzielnej kaplicy , by następnie podnieść problem budowy kościoła parafialnego . Ostatecznie sprawa ta zakończona została ekscesami przy usuwaniu krzyża z placu budowy Sokoły 1000-lecia na Os. Teatralnym .

Od tego okresu do 1964 r. z uwagi na zabranie do kurii b. proboszcza ks. SATORE - parafia Bieńczyce pozostawała bez administratora , rządzona przez nieoficjalnego administratora tak zwanego "wikariusza dyrygensa" którym był ks. SUKIENNIK Eugeniusz mając do pomocy trzech wikariuszy . Okres ten - do 1964r. spowodował , że księża parafii Bieńczyce zaprzestali podsycać opinie o potrzebie budowy kościoła , z drugiej strony wykorzystywali fakt nieobecności administratora i nie płacili podatków tak od osoby prawnej jak i fizycznej .

Fig. 5.31 SB note on the parishes in Nowa Huta. (Zyla 1969 1)



In *Master and Margarita*, Mikhail Bulgakov presents the awkward understanding of the divine, which he saw as prevalent in Soviet Union (2012). This is epitomised in one of the main characters of the book, Woland, who is a devil. He interacts with the Soviet dignitaries and through his misdoings, bring justice to the corrupt authorities in the country. Their response to Woland's presence is that of helplessness. It could be understood that Woland operated in a similar way as Tyrmand's *evil* (2013). The dignitaries' lack of appropriate response to the magical and playful events unveiled by the presence of Woland is a lampoon of the government's attitude to the abnormal or sacred. It can be argued that the construct of homo-sovieticus did not include a strategy that would effectively deal with the inevitability of mortality. The Church presented such a strategy, at the cost of a corporeal manifestation of its authority, however the homo-sovieticus philosophy could not accept it. This contestation resulted in a mucous membrane between the Church and Government that would protect the construct against what was believed to be false gods.

As Bulgakov writes:

what would your good do if evil didn't exist, and what would the earth look like if all the shadows disappeared? After all, shadows are cast by things and people. Here is the shadow of my sword. But shadows also come from trees and living beings. Do you want to strip the earth of all trees and living things just because of your fantasy of enjoying naked light? You're a fool. (Bulgakov 2012 264)

The world of the homo-sovieticus in Nowa Huta was intended by the Communist authorities to be a world immersed in a neoclassical concept of light without shadow. As suggested in chapter three of this thesis, the relationship with the sacred in inter-War Poland was incredibly important for Polish citizens. In the post-Second-World-War years it was translated to a similar devotion. This relationship appears to have been much more streamlined and the Church had a much greater impact on matters of self-governance in the state. Tony Kemp-Welch claims that being a Catholic and attending mass every Sunday was deeply intertwined with the identity of being a Polish patriot (2006). It could be said that the Catholic Church played a huge role in the development of an ethical code in public. Stalin once said that turning Poland into a Communist state would be like 'fitting a cow with a saddle' (quoted in Eberts 1998 818). In spite of his defeatist attitude, the Soviet nation attempted an ideological shift and, as part of those efforts, the government was ordered to diminish the role of the Church in Poland. By doing so the most visible aspect of Polish culture would disappear from the civic landscape.

In a letter to the Communist Prime-Minister, the Chief Communist Ideologist Jakub Berman wrote:

The Church is a great obstacle to [the Communists] because in it are concentrated the philosophical bases of ideological reaction, which it ceaselessly relays to the masses. In the popular consciousness, it is the bulwark of Polish tradition and culture, the most complete expression of 'Polishness'. This traditional understanding of patriotism is the greatest strength of the Church, even stronger and more powerful than the magic ritual. The Church is the natural source of opposition, both ideological and philosophical (Kemp-Welch 2006 112).

According to Dolan, the contestation between the Polish Communists and the Church for the influence over the ethical code of each Polish citizen ran incredibly deep (Dolan 1955).

In addition to that he quotes one of the pastoral letters written in September 1946:

'Catholics may not belong to organisations of parties, the principles of which contradict Christian teaching, or the needs and activities of which aim, in reality, at the undermining of Christian ethics (Dolan 1955 85).'

Mary Douglas writes on religions and the way the holy-men deal with impurities such as spiritual crises. One of the ways of dealing with such crises, as Douglas suggests, is convincing the people of an affirmed power, which can constitute an internal enemy that has amoral dimensions and threatens traditional rituals (2002). This, in her definition, had specific spatial qualities and capacity to define a place. As she notes 'We are separating, placing boundaries, making visible statements about the home that we are intending to create out of the material house' (Douglas 2002 85).

Implementing Stalinism in Poland must have been a perfect opportunity for the Church to recognise and establish a strong position in an antagonistic relationship with the government and strengthen its own ethical definition. The case, which the previous section brought up, concerning the usage of a sacred space for processing and disseminating meat, was part of this approach. The urban interface between the two powers striated the public space and relocated events, which were non-Soviet, into churches. This formed a natural frontier defining both power structures. The virtues that this contestation presented, to define policies and ethical positions, were in many ways embraced but in extremely careful ways, as the government operated via implicit means. In spite of the fact that there was no legislative directive forbidding a church building from being erected, the TWs targeted anyone who would aim at constructing one (Porębska 1969).

The lack of approval for a church in the ideal city of Nowa Huta was to enforce the notion that the inhabitants were to conform to a mono-ideological way of life. The church space provided a place for gatherings of people who had the potential and incentive to act on the periphery of, and outside, the legislative flow of Communism. As Madeley and Enyedi

claim, the Church took a more active position in the power struggle with the government in the 1970s and at that time it found itself formally allied with the Solidarity movement (2003).

The role of a church building, at least in Nowa Huta, was more than just a place for experiencing religious ceremonies and purifying the soul. Tyrmand notes, that a potential participant in mass did not have to be Catholic to be in church (2013). Tyrmand narrates a fictional discussion in a church:

'-Excuse me, why aren't you kneeling? – said someone to the side

-Because I am a non-believer – he answers – but – he continues - I am against the government'<sup>1</sup>

(Tyrmand 2013 105)

One of my interviewees, Kazimierz, adds 'everyone [in Nowa Huta at the time] wanted to be in the church'<sup>2</sup> (Interview with Kazimierz 2014). Kazimierz follows this observation by saying that a church building was one of the few places where the 'truth' [as understood by the Catholics] could be heard. The atmosphere of freedom in the building was associated with 'enthusiasm and joy'<sup>3</sup> (Interview with Kazimierz 2014). This statement has to be treated with caution. If both above statements are accurate, the church as a building kept the quality of its inter-War predecessors and gained a new group accepting it in the form of atheists.

The church was a non-productive space, an anachronism that had no obvious materialistic programme. It was a deviation from the Communist rigour. Churches seemed to be spaces where the abundance of will and human effort could be channelled away from work and production, to explore the non-Soviet definition of excess of will to devote to spiritual matters. This made it ideal as a heterotopia in the Soviet context as, even though they were ripped from the social contract of the government, they were secured by that of a different power. The ethical leap from the mentality of a Communist subject to that of a non-compliant citizen was in many cases facilitated by the adoption of a different hegemony, that of the Vatican. Such heterotopias allowed for liberation from the Soviet orchestration of 'homo-sovieticus' and explore other desires. In the case of churches the spaces allowed an exploration of a cultural continuity under the pastoral 'care' of the Church.

In all contexts, the church is a signifier of a different type of inhibition. The desire to transcend to the sacred overwhelms the corporeal desires in order to attain a level of divinity. The habituality of inhabitation in a church follows this repression and demands a

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<sup>1</sup> 'prosze pana...-szepcze ktos obok – dlaczego pan nie kleka?. Bo ja nie jestem wierzący – pada odpowiedz. – ja jestem przeciwko rządowi.

<sup>2</sup>wszyscy garneli sie do kosciola

<sup>3</sup> entuzjazmu i radosci

specific code of conduct, such as singing with the preacher at certain times but not others, or standing up or kneeling at specific times during mass. The orthodoxy of this regiment clashed with the unforgiving regulation of the Communist government, aiming to eradicate such rituals to give way to a strong work ethic. A contestation between the two for the citizens' attention was unavoidable.

The situation in the country developed grounds for creating a strong subversive reaction to the governmentality. The form which the reaction took was similar to the operational mechanisms of the Communists and manifested in an undercover agency (Applebaum 2012). The Church found itself in this context closer to the underground opposition and facilitated their flow, disrupting the intended hierarchy and flow of the city as envisioned by the architects. The intended flows of the city, in this case, became diminished and new flows of information were developed.

### **5.4.3 The Lord's Ark**

This sub-section interrogates the circumstances of erection, the architectural design and use of the first modern church building in Nowa Huta. The church was an unintended development of Miastoprojekt's masterplan. It was used by the opposition to dissent from the flow of the city and establish an organised movement against the Communist government. In this sense, the building is a perfect example of performative heterotopia in an established form, serving both the metaphysical and corporeal desires of the inhabitants of Nowa Huta by organising a multi-layered, protective, mucous membrane around its interior.

Considering that churches were used for subversive acts, the success of this building lies in its capacity to create an intimate and apparently secluded character of interior spaces (Drozynski 2016).

On 5 June 1953, Eugeniusz Baziak (the Bishop at the time), without the agreement of the authorities, consolidated the parish of Bieńczyce, an area (at the time) outside Nowa Huta (Kordaszewski 2013). As my interviewee, Kazimierz, says 'People considered it to be unthinkable, not to have a church in Nowa Huta'<sup>4</sup> (Interview with Kazimierz 2014). Whilst this may not be true for every citizen living in Nowa Huta it was most certainly a ripe statement for most. The parish at the time had a small, vernacular, timber chapel (see Fig. 5.32), which served as a meeting place for the congregation. The quickly-growing population of Nowa Huta flooded the chapel every Sunday. This created a demand for a much larger space,

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<sup>4</sup> 'Ludziom sie nie miescilo w glowie, zeby nie bylo kosciola w Nowej Hucie'

capable of accommodating 80,000 people every week. According to Kazimierz, all the people in the Nowa Huta districts demanded a new church (Interview 2014). Kazimierz said that the building was initially surrounded by temporary shed-like structures, erected by the congregation, standing around to create a conglomeration of spaces, which would be used by the Catholic community to preach Catechism to children. This relaxed and unorganised relationship between spaces proved to be functioning well in the climate of a warm, Polish summer. However, it could not withstand winter temperatures without central heating or thick insulation.

As the previous section of this chapter showed, the initial design for a church was met with an eventual revocation. The situation was concluded with a compromise. The conditions of the agreement, reached in 1965, stated that the existing timber chapel was to be extended (Kordaszewski 2013 27). The authorities of the Kombinat had no interest in a church building however they did have interest in maintaining a healthy workforce. The authorities saw a larger church as an acceptable remedy for illnesses and infections caused by exposure to winter temperatures during mass.

The secret plan, conceived by the parish, was for a new church to be built over and around the old chapel. The new church design was drawn up in 1965 and therefore, as mentioned in the previous chapter, during a time when Socialist-modernism was the dominant style and the majority of the landscape was constructed using concrete (as discussed in chapter four). This was an approach that assumed a rejection of traditional city planning and was based on landscaping between buildings, leaving the spaces of the urban grid with little definition. The Socialist-modernist philosophy assumed that standardised designs could fit anywhere. This meant that a bespoke relationship between inside and outside, which embraces the site-specificity of the building, had to be discarded as it was considered wasteful. The new design of the church was drawn up by Wojciech Pietrzyk and was a rejection of this approach (Kordaszewski 2013 27). The church of 'Holy Mary the Queen' or 'The Lord's Ark', as the edifice was nicknamed, had an immensely important relationship between inside and outside and was constructed in a non-standardised way.

The site of the timber chapel was initially surrounded with wooden planks, as seen in figure 5.34, officially to keep the public from the dangerous construction site, so that the works could begin. This was clearly an excuse, as during the construction works the members of the parish were free to enter the construction site as they were the ones who volunteered to erect the sacred building (Kordaszewski 2013 28). The enclosure of the construction site created partial and temporary conditions of non-visibility. This was a temporary, physical barrier, which would keep unwanted eyes from the early stages of the process. This allowed

the bulldozing of the old, timber church and the rebuilding of it as a new, bigger and more durable structure.

The edifice stands on one of the secondary arteries of the city (Drozynski 2016). The view of its unconventional form marks the street as the first space in the layering of the protective membrane, leading into the chapel in the church's depths. The streets are often used for Catholic celebrations such as the procession of Easter Friday.

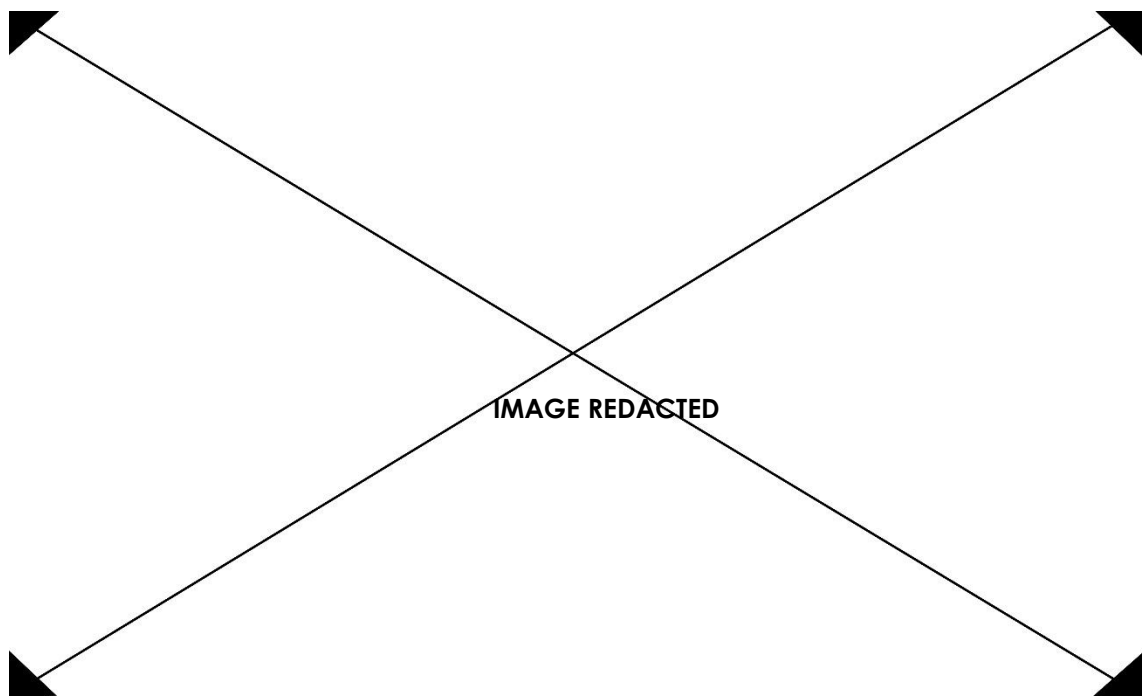


Fig. 5.32 Police officers denoting the impenetrable layers of the mucous membrane in The Lord's Ark, circa. 1980 (author unknown, in Jurewicz (ed.) 2010 257)

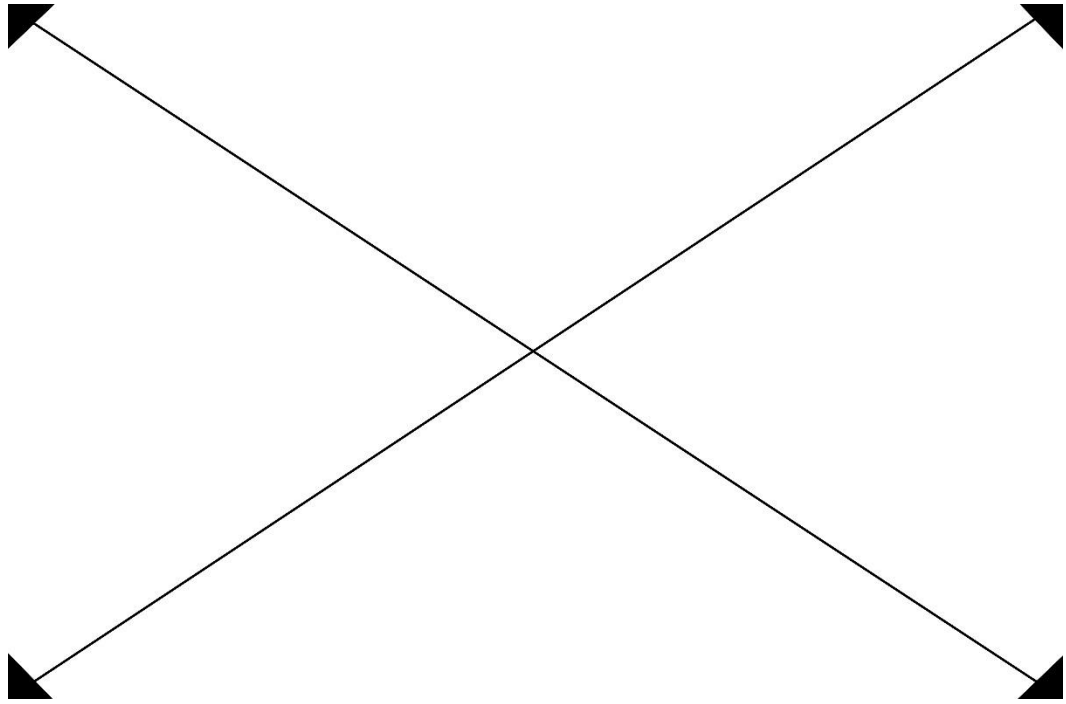


Fig. 5.33 The timber chapel, circa 1969 (author unknown, in Jurewicz (ed.) 2010 91)

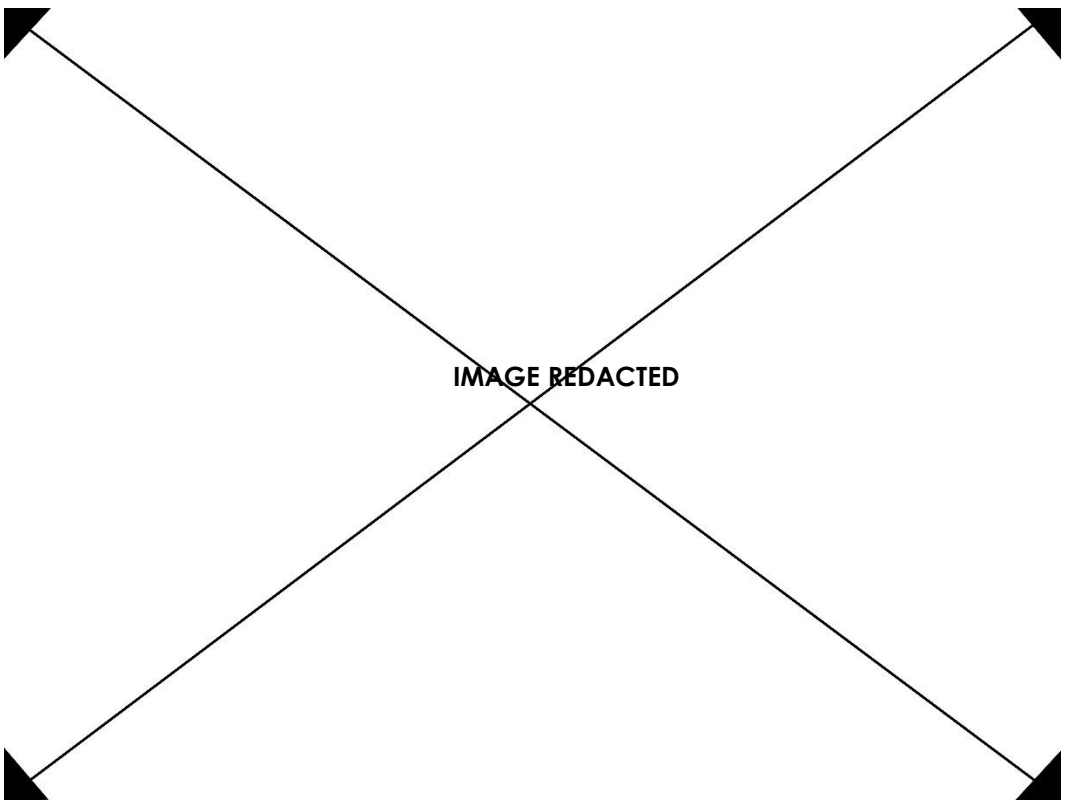


Fig. 5.34 Mass, conducted during the construction of the church, circa 1971  
(unknown author, in Jurewicz (ed.) 2010 96)

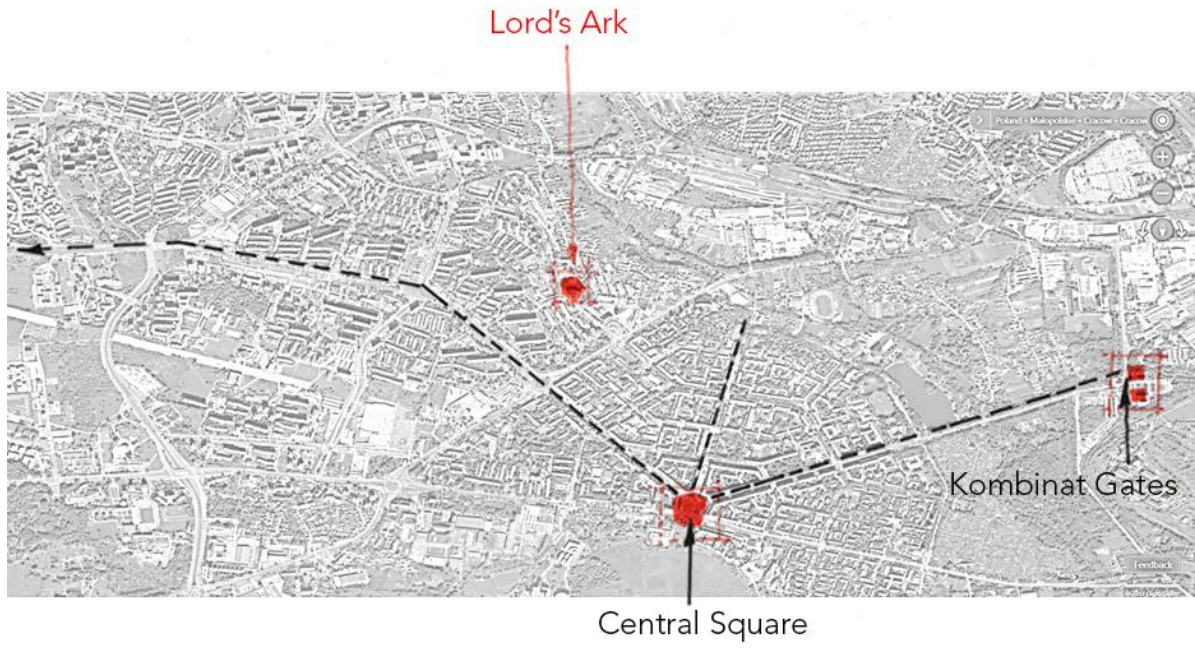


Fig. 5.35 Own sketch on Bing Maps showing Nowa Huta and the location of the Lord's Ark in red with reference to Central Square, view to Kombinat and street leading to Krakow.

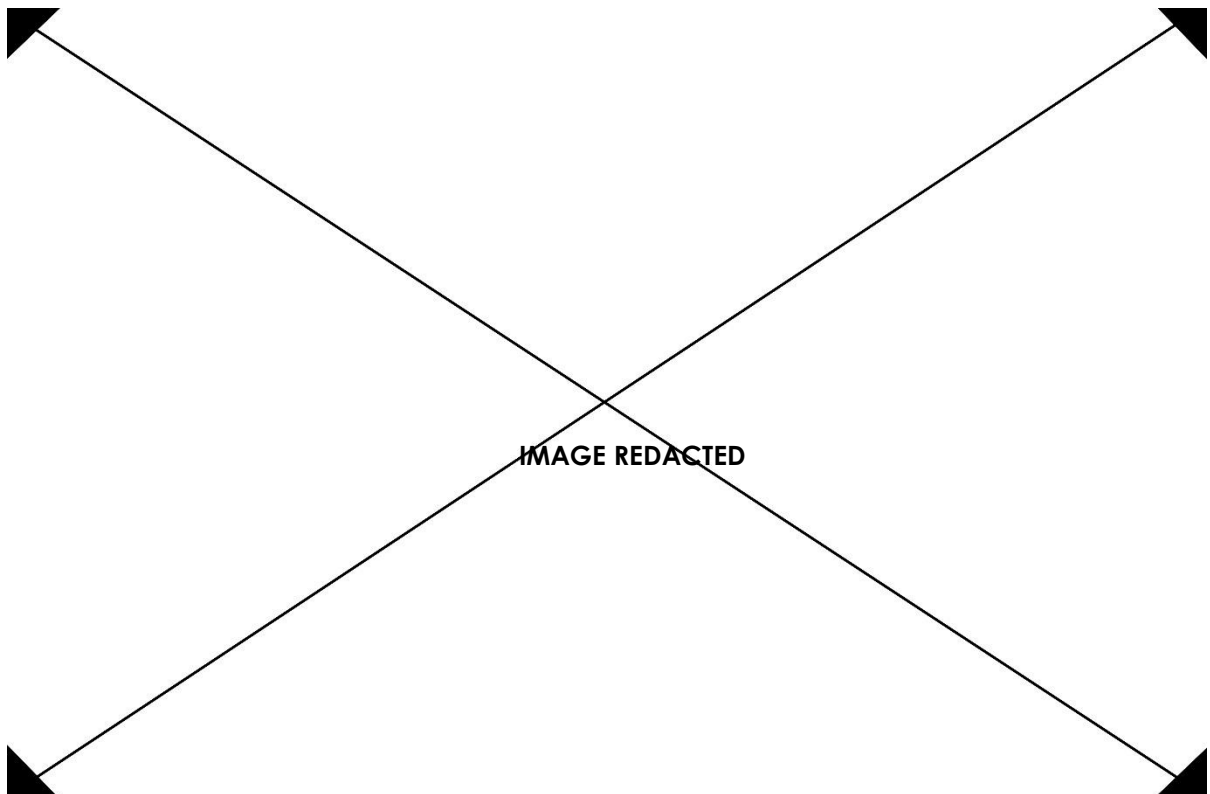


Fig. 5.36 A crowd territorialising the 1<sup>st</sup> space for a mass, circa 1960 (Jurewicz (ed.) 2008 254)



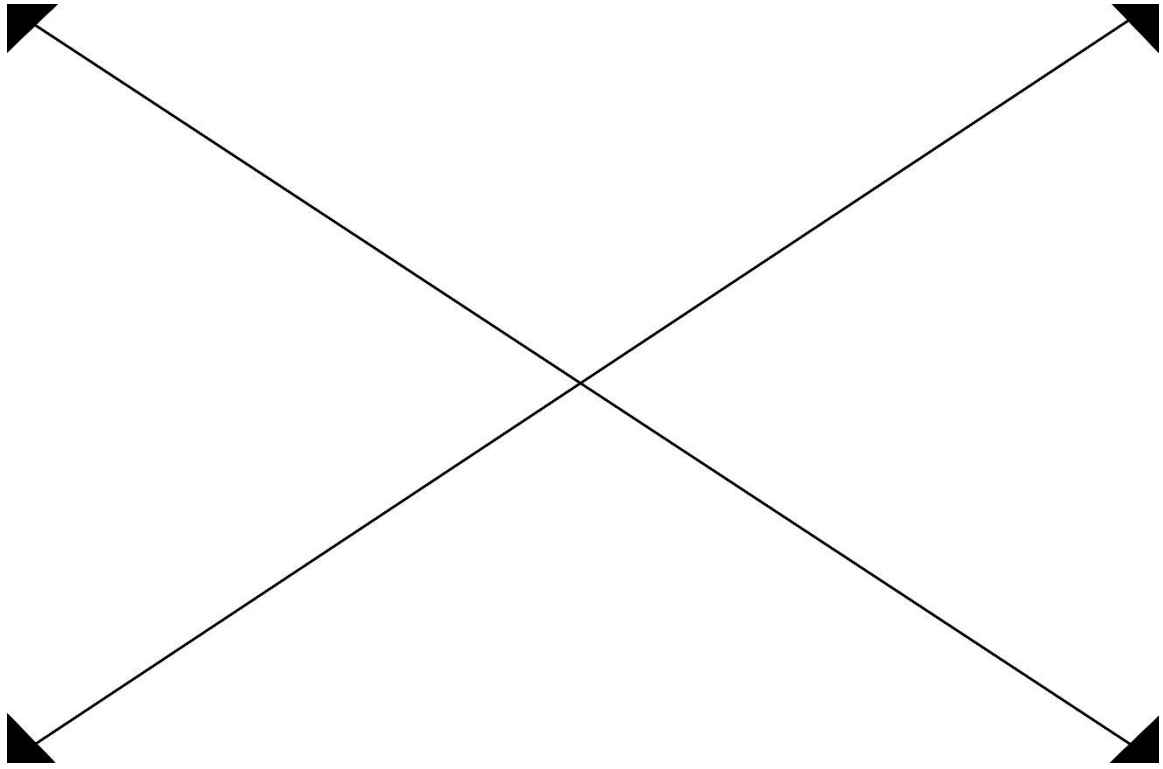


Fig. 5.37 The structure of the roof (Jurewicz (ed.) 2010 99)

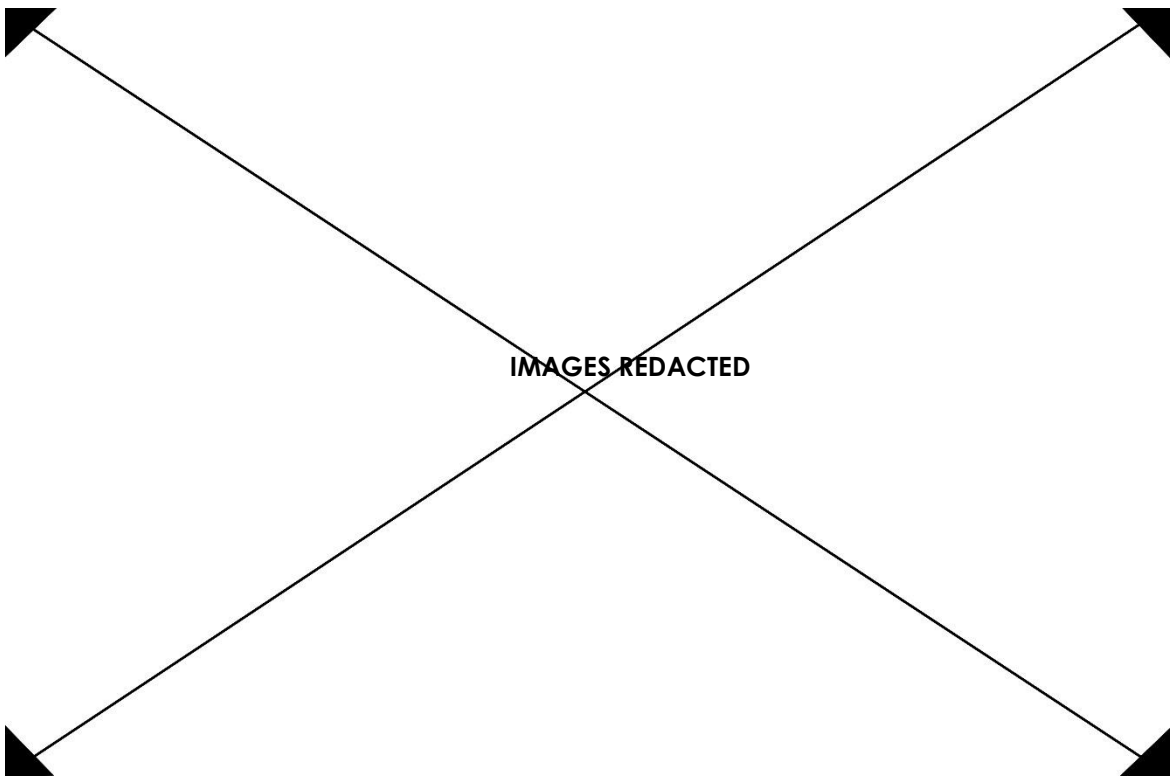


Fig. 5.38 The structural drawings of the roof (Jurewicz (ed.) 2010 112)

The architectural language of the edifice resembles an Expressionist architectural language that had been explored in the inter-War period in Poland near Krakow (Drozynski 2016). This, as discussed in chapter three, was reminiscent of the Austrian influence (from the partitioning). This was in itself counter-conductive to the public space of the city, which followed a single-tracked design intent against Socialist-modernism. This design move made the church stand out as a landmark, a point of orientation that related to the dogma of designs for the sacred in Poland. The city, in the light of the church's presence, was given an additional nodal point in a location chosen as a reminiscence of a vernacular development strategy. This was not foreseen by the architects of Nowa Huta and therefore polluted the clarity and clear hierarchy of the circulation in the city. It distracted attention from the centralised planning of the city and took away the significance of the Kombinat, as well as Administrative and Central Squares. It territorialised the space, from which the church can be seen and signified a relationship of the land to the Vatican as opposed to the Soviets. The careful balance of hierarchies in the city were faced with competition, and as a result the clarity of the urban plan became obfuscated.

Józef Szymon Wroński claims that the intent behind the architectural language was to negate straight lines (in Jurewicz (ed.) 2010 44). This, as Wroński argues was a political statement against Communist Socialist-modernism, or as he put it a manifestation of 'death' (quoted in Ibid.). Wroński suggests that the fluid forms create a space in which the inhabitant can 'feel free'. This allows an introduction of light into the space in an unnoticeable way which, according to Wroński, creates a 'contemplative atmosphere'. Jan Grobacki, the engineer of the structure, decided to pour the concrete in-situ, as obtaining standardised architectural elements to build the church would be impossible (Ibid.). Another obstacle with obtaining materials for the building was the intricate design of the roof structure. According to Mieziań, the nearby steelworks did not give an ounce of steel to aid the construction of the building (Mieziań 2004) as no establishment contingent upon the Communist legislature would aid the project. This meant that the architectural detailing *could be and had to be* novel and creative as opposed to standardised and repetitive. The design of the roof, was reminiscent of Noah's Ark and hence, required a shape that would curve upwards and enclose the irregular shape of the building, which meant a gradation of sizing of elements composing the steel truss (see Fig. 5.37). The form of the roof is uncannily reminiscent of the Chapel of Ronchamp by Le Corbusier and the architect claims to have taken inspiration for the form from the French precedent. (in Jurewicz (ed.) 2010 45). This caused not only structural issues but problems of drainage.

The pastoral authority which commissioned the church engaged in a struggle for power that the government started and which manifested itself with a simplistic modality of communication (Drozynski 2016). The way the church addressed the people, via the church

design, was similar in resonance with the simplicity of Polish Communist propaganda. The design reflects this struggle, as most architectural design decisions in the Lord's Ark conjure up a clear symbolism and are therefore understandable by all people familiar with the Bible. The symbolism does not end with the roof structure. Kordaszewski says that the floor of the church paved in polished stones is meant to resemble waves, symbolising two floods (Kordaszewski 2013 55). Those were likely both the biblical flood of Noah and that of Communist atheism. The structure of the building suggests that the whole edifice rests on a cross-shaped column. The aggregate in the concrete, used in the church, consists of pebbles gathered from river beds (of rivers Poplada and Dunajec) by the Polish congregation and sent to Nowa Huta (Kordaszewski 2013 39). This was to symbolise the earth (see Fig 5.39). The windows emerging from the concrete base were to symbolise river water and the arched roof was to be the Lord's Ark that docked in the city, 'where it was needed the most', being anchored by the hard pebbled wall on one side and seamlessly being upheld by the glass windows on the other. The whole symbolism of the design, according to Kordaszewski, was to relate to the mention of Noah's ark in the scripture. Kazimierz said:

The Lord did not give Noah a boat but he pointed to things he should do – it was faith and obedience to God that saved Noah – and in the same way the building saved the people [of Nowa Huta] from forgetting.<sup>5</sup> (Interview with Kazimierz 2014)

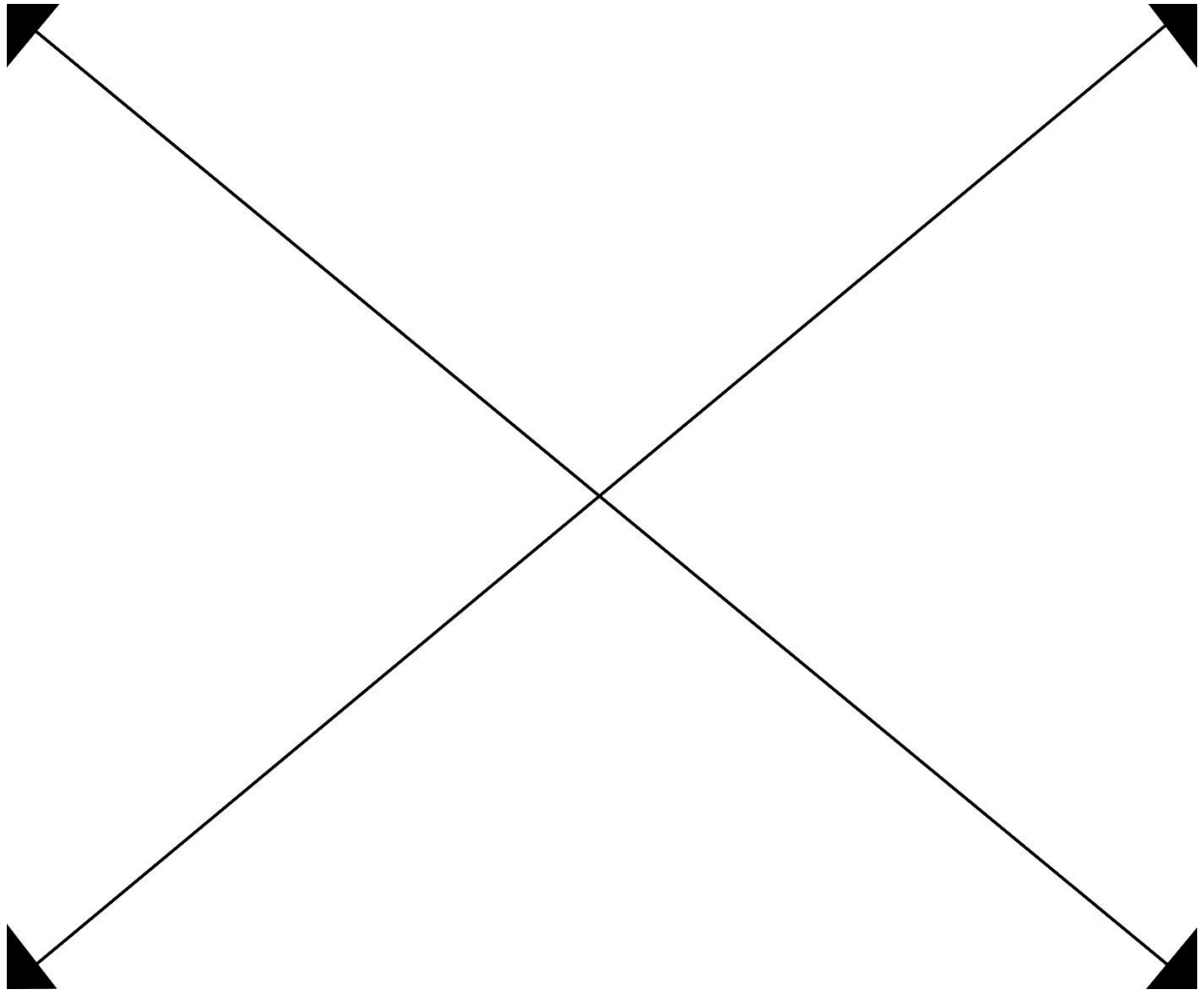
This clear symbolism was understandable by all Catholics and enabled the Polish nation to contribute to the erection of the church and become an active member in the process. The feeling of contribution might have created a sensation of ownership of the church and the spaces within it. It united the congregation of Poland. The church belonged to the people, rather than the state.

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<sup>5</sup> 'Bóg nie dał Noemu łódki, ale wskazywał, co ma robić – to wiara i posłuszeństwo Bogu ocaliły Noego – I tak samo arka ocaliła ludzi od zapomnienia'



Fig. 5.39 Elevation of the church-Concrete with river-bed rocks as aggregate; Author's own photo



Key:

A: interior of the building

B: overpass for the buildings

C: Administration of the parish

D: forecourt

**IMAGE REDACTED**

The sketch to the side shows the image in diagrammatic form

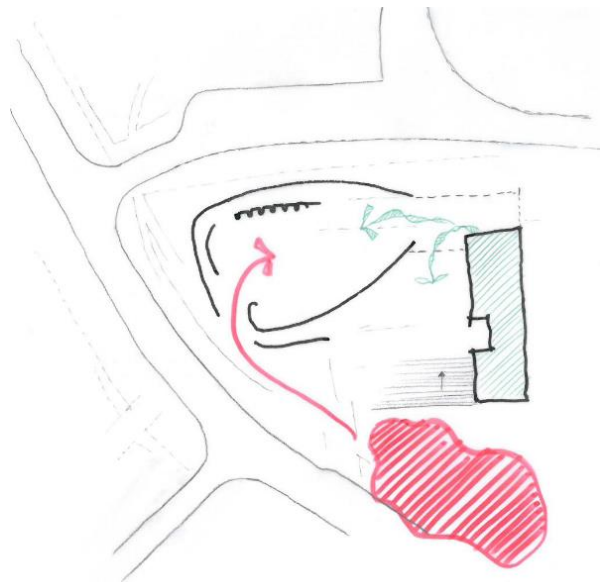


Fig. 5.40 The immediate context and ground floor of the building with a sketch of the circulation (green indicating the clergy and red indicating the public) (Jurewicz (ed.) 2010 110)

As seen in figure 5.40, the church stands on the most exposed edge of the site reaching out beyond its constraints. The walls of the building enclose enough space to enable circulation around the edifice to the periphery of the site. The clarity of the division between circulation of priests and the parish members in the interior is similar to the circulation of the exterior in that it is communicated by a system of symbols accessible to members of the congregation. The architectural composition is fluid and creates opportunities for a gradual transition between spaces with no awkward turns or suddenness in approach. This relationship between inside and outside creates a doubling of spaces for ceremonies, which can occur in the public as well as the interior. The minimal interface between the two creates the bunker-like capacity of the church and implies defensiveness. The build-up of places in the forecourt creates a sensation of a free flowing entrance to the building. The wall between the interior and the upper level of the forecourt is inclined away from the forecourt, making the space outside the building seem larger.

The second space (leading to the depths of the building) is the forecourt, preceding the entrance to the church (Drozynski 2016). This space caters for large numbers of people during specific religious ceremonies, organised annually for events such as Easter Friday. It is defined by the landing of two grand stairs leading through the main doorways into the interior of the edifice. The first leads into the interior of the church, whereas the second leads into the administrative section of the building. The feeling of belonging in that space was accessible to those that were intimate with the knowledge generated by the Catholic congregation. Signs and symbols that are intuitive to the members of the parish imply a type of normative behaviour that is unclear to intruders. An example of this is the altar above the upper landing of the second set of stairs (Fig. 5.41) which suggests that that area was only to be used by the clergy.

The presence of the church engages the public with ceremonial song and music in a very particular way. The interior of the intimate chapel is silent and contemplative according to Kordaszewski (2013 55). The bells in the forecourt of the edifice, however, ring every morning at 6am and evening at 10pm, announcing the presence of the parish. In addition to that, on every 13<sup>th</sup> day of every month, the figure of the Holy Mary is taken to the forecourt and placed there to celebrate the miracle in Fatima. The 'Lord's Ark' therefore enkindles an animated presence in civic life.

The journey into the interior of the building follows along the first stairway and implies directionality to the entrance (Drozynski 2016). This is signified by a visible entrance in the elevation. This is partially misleading as access to the church is open from all sides, however,

this would only be known to members of the congregation, who are allowed into the interior of the building, in which the presence of alternate routes is apparent.

The main doorway, located on the first floor landing of the first stairs, leads into a large interior space designed to cater for the needs of a ceremony directed at a large part of the congregation; this is the third space (Ibid.). The space is used every Sunday for conducting mass and other religious ceremonies, which require controlled acoustic and visual conditions of an interior space.

The plan is free-flowing and the majority of the place-making, apart from the raised altar, is determined solely by the usual Polish classroom layout of the seating (Ibid.). The acoustic conditions in that space are designed to amplify the perception of the traditional prolonged singing during a Catholic ceremony reflecting the acoustic waves that would normally be lost at the back of the audience. This creates a sensation of being enveloped by the sound, protected by the collectivity of the congregation. Those conditions also meant that one could whisper to another without being eavesdropped upon. The visual continuity and possibility of exiting the space from all sides creates a sensation of an informal transition between inside and outside. Entering the third space from the second is almost unnoticeable for a member of the parish. Józef Szymon Wroński claims that the initial concept in the design was inspired by the location of the building standing between several districts of Nowa Huta (in Jurewicz (ed.) 2010). One of the most important notions, according to Wroński, was that the interior was to be accessible from all sides so people from all the neighbouring districts felt welcome. The inside was intended to feel open and relaxed.

The building orchestrates a long promenade preceding the entrance into the ground floor chapel (Drozynski 2016). The design of the external staircases, which lead into the first floor, conceals the entrance into this space. It seems to imply that the entrance to the chapel has to lead via the main hall on the first floor. The promenade into it makes it seem latent in the depths of the edifice or even underground, secured by a layering of spaces in spite of being on the periphery of the church. The space can hold one hundred people comfortably and its scale enables concentration and developing a more personal relation among the people within it.

The official contemplative area has its twin on a ground level forming a type of catacomb-space. This was most likely inspired by the tradition of prayer in subterranean catacombs in larger cathedrals continued during the inter-War period (as discussed in chapter three, in the precedent of the competition for the temple of divine providence in Warsaw). The



significance of this place for the city may have also been informed by the development of leisure spaces in Nowa Huta, using the subterranean corridors and basements.

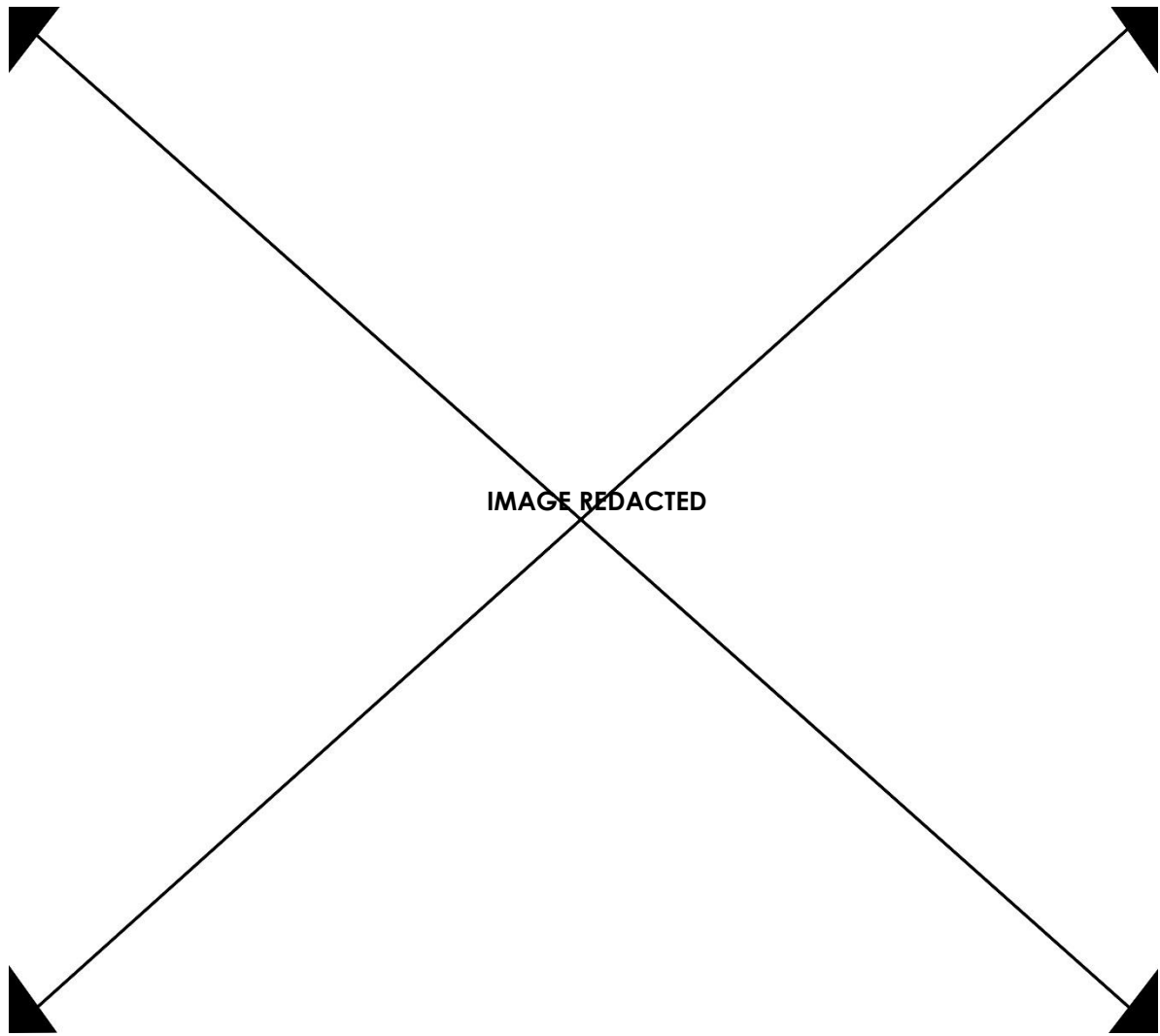


Fig. 5.41 The outside altar; Author's own photo



Fig. 5.42 The Lord's Ark church; Author's own photo





Key:

A: interior of the church

B: overpass linking the buildings

C: administration of the parish (library)

D: stairs

Fig. 5.43 The first floor of The Lord's Ark. (Jurewicz (ed.) 2010 111)

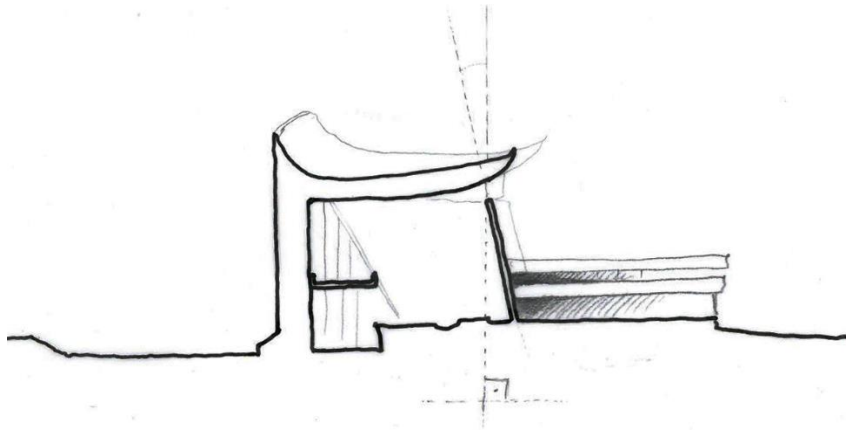
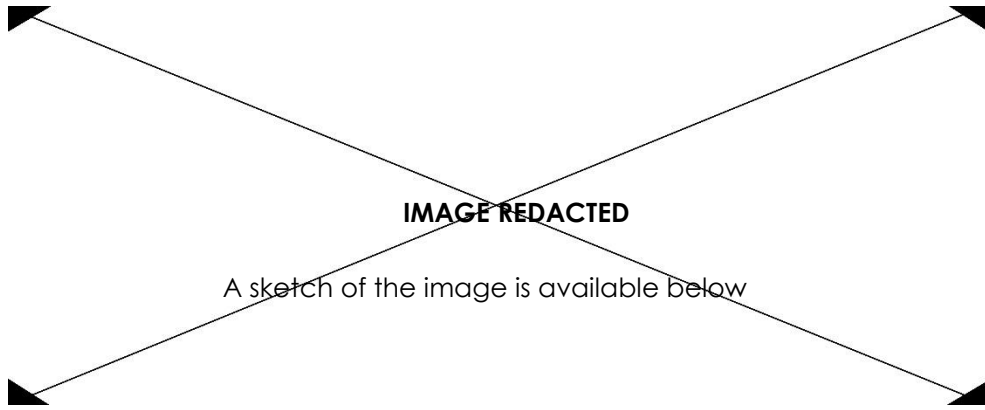


Fig. 5.44 Own sketch of the architectural composition and the section of The Lord's Ark (taken from Jurewicz (ed.) 2010 113)

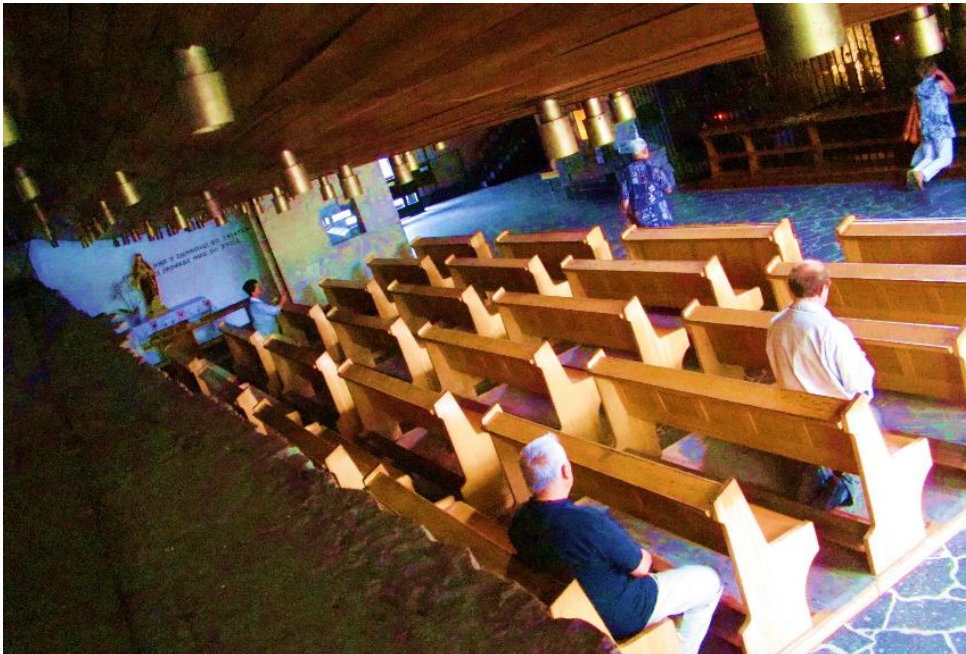


Fig. 5.45 The lower-level Chapel in The Lord's Ark; Author's own photo

The prolonged anticipation of approaching the building created a buffer or what Guattari might have called the 'mucous membrane', protecting the congregation from the Communist policing. The space became a metaphorical raft for communication where anti-Communist thought might have felt as though it was not surveyed. In this sense, it was extraordinary from the point of view of Modernism and Communism. It could be argued that the layering of the spaces, leading into the intimate chapel of the church, cut it from the fear of stumbling into TWs. This made the chapel (the final space) ideal for the purposes of organising counter-conduct.

Kazimierz says:

[The Lord's Ark] was a place where the members of the Solidarity from Krakow gathered by the rector (...) here is where the Solidarity banners were stored (...) here is also where Solidarity conducted its hunger strike [between 26<sup>th</sup> to 30<sup>th</sup> of August 1980].<sup>6</sup> (Interview with Kazimierz 2014).

This is also confirmed by a historic note informing the inhabitants of Nowa Huta about the strike available in figure 5.49.

Today [...] at 7pm we started a hunger strike combined with prayer and meditation. We pray and withhold from consumption [...] We chose the church of the Holiest Mary the virgin and queen of Poland in Nowa Huta [Lord's Ark] as the place of the strike and prayer. This church is the fruit of the struggle and suffering as well as renunciations of working men.

As Adam Macedoński, one of the striking workers narrates: [Józef] Gorzelany, the leading priest of the congregation, put his authority at risk by allowing the strike to happen in the lower chapel, to support the workers in Gdańsk and against the SB. Gorzelany acted against the Bishops' instructions. Macedoński follows that Gorzelany also gave the striking workers water and a table. Soon after the strike started a typewriter was snuck into the chapel in spite of a number of police officers surrounding the building (Baran (ed.) 2014 213). This was a moment, which enabled Macedoński and his colleagues to produce contraband and posters. Another striking worker, Jan Franczyk adds that the striking men could also broadcast announcements to *Radio Free Europe* making the space a receiver for information from the free countries in Western Europe (Jurewicz 2008:146). The church became a nodal point for information flow which was not controlled by the Communists.

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<sup>6</sup> 'Tu członkowie solidarnosci krakowskiej sie gromadzili przy proboszczu tego kosciola (...) Tutaj gromadzono sztandary Solidarnosci (...) Solidarnosc tutaj prowadzila glodowke'

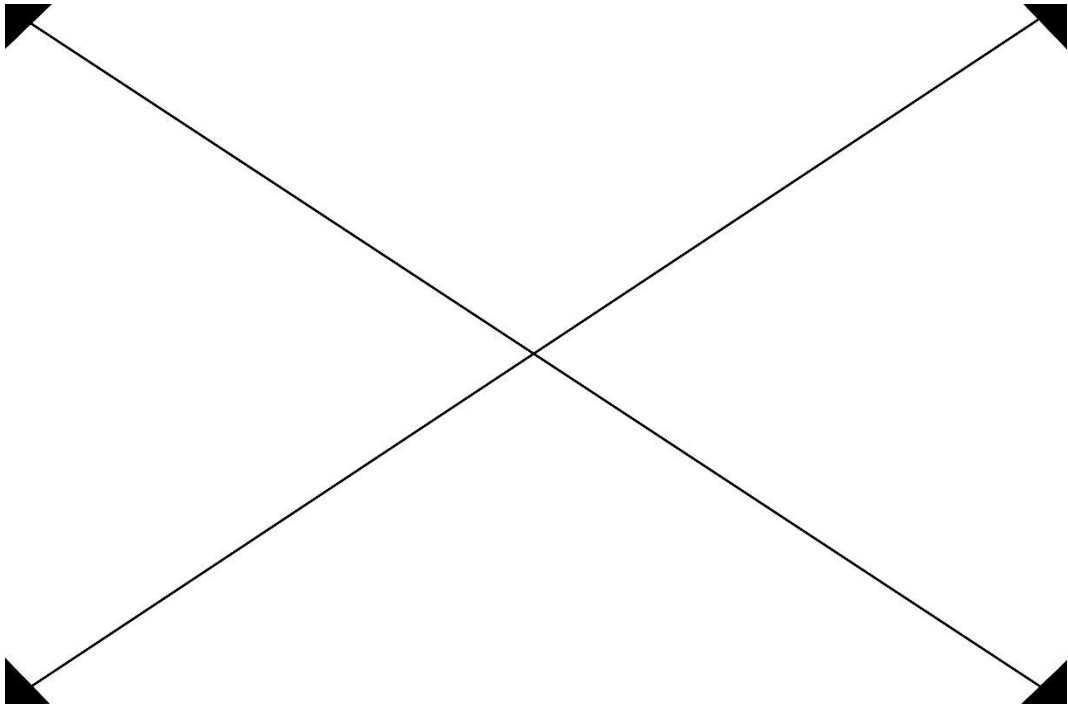


Fig. 5.46 Section and elevation of The Lord's Ark (Jurewicz (ed.) 2010 114)

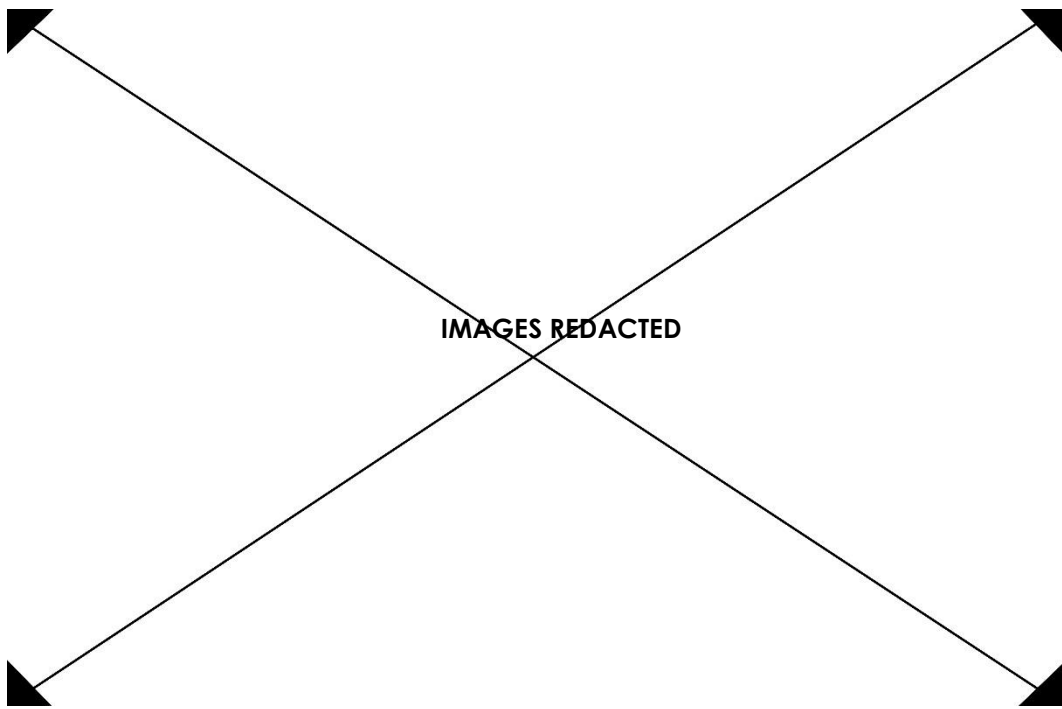


Fig. 5.47 Section and elevation of The Lord's Ark (Jurewicz (ed.) 2010 115)

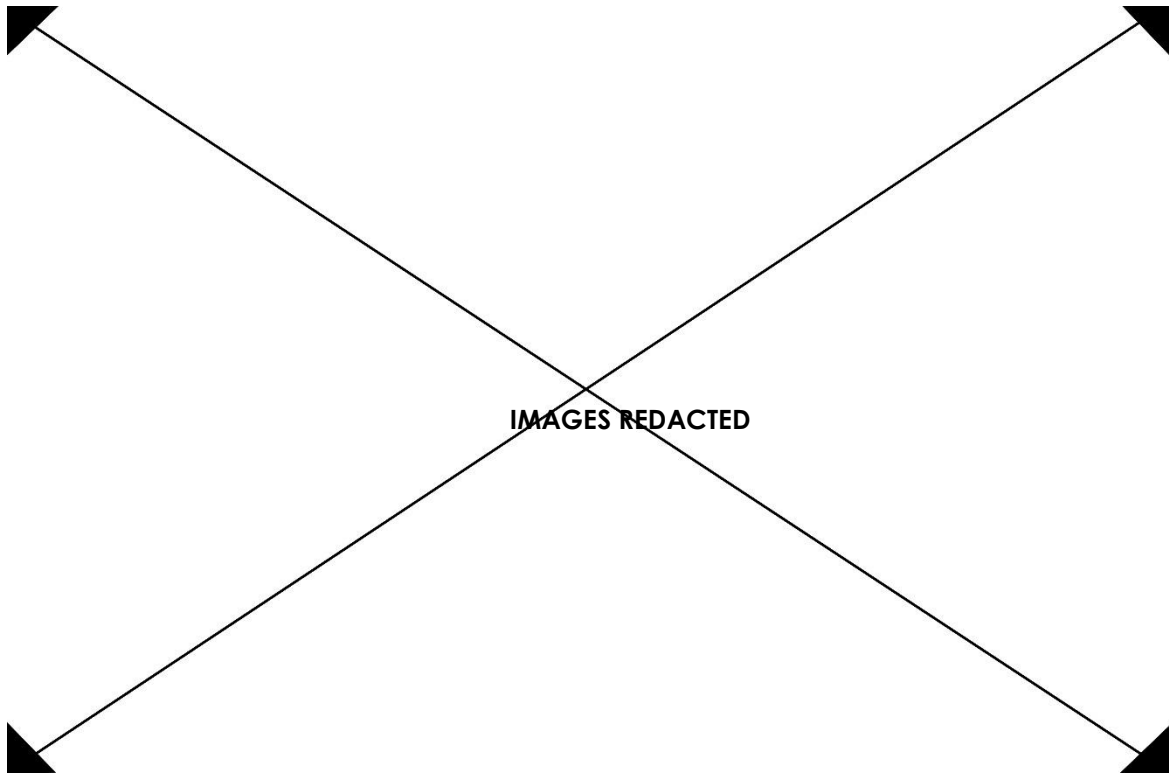


Fig. 5.48 Elevations of The Lord's Ark (Jurewicz (ed.) 2010 116)

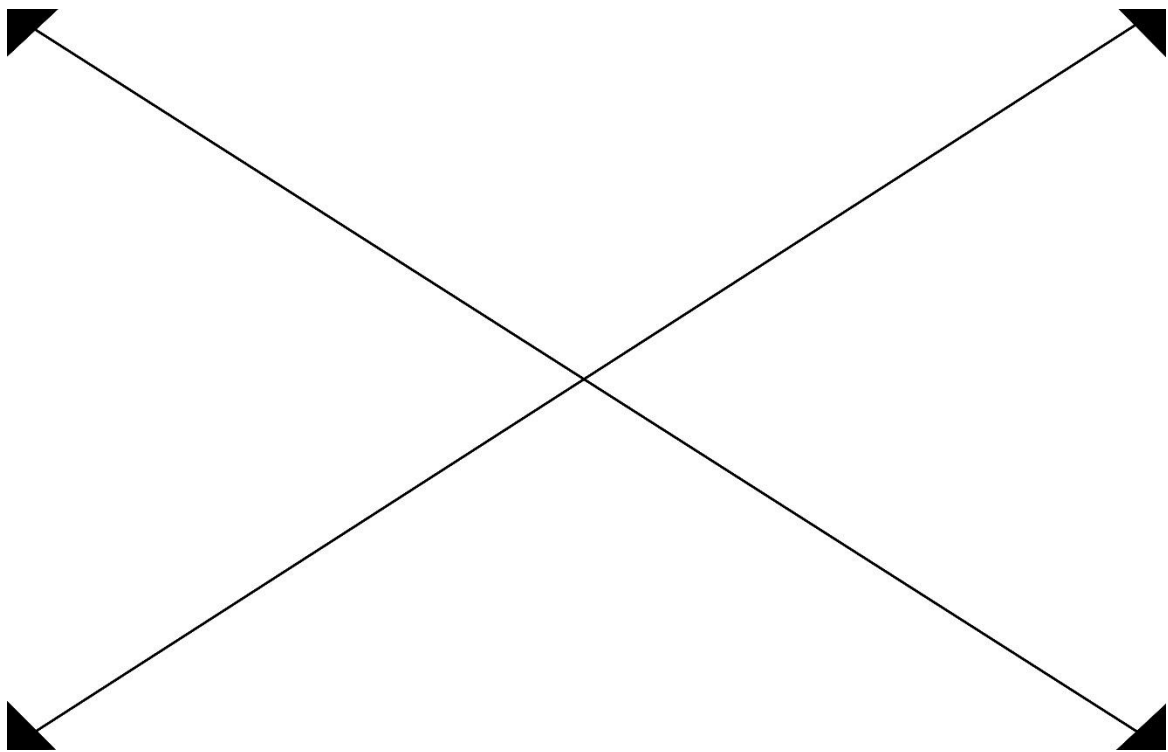


Fig. 5.49 Note produced by the men, protesting in The Lord's Ark (Macedonski 1980, quoted in Baran (ed.) 2014 82)

The church had become a hub for projecting an image, ripe for becoming a construct, which was different from the homo-sovieticus concept. The projection even took the form of a flow of people which outwardly ignored the intended flow of the city. The forecourt created a space for rest en route of a preconceived flow, which the architects envisioned. Religious manifestations were organised on a regular basis creating new civic participation, or Foucault's 'bad circulations', that did not lead to material gain (2007). A note made by an SB agent about one such event, that started at the 'Lord's ark' is presented as figure 5.50. The manifestation was associated with the erection of temporary structures along the trail of the march. The church seems to have allowed for an exploration of the desire to get in touch with Polish pre-Soviet tradition. It grew like a cancer, overtaking more and more space in the city. As Maciej Gawlikowski claims, in 1982 the building was a starting point for many public acts of aggression on a mass scale against the Communist police (quoted in Baran (ed.) 2014 255). The manifestations usually ended with the Communist police intervening and stopping the marches.

The church of the Lord's Ark in Nowa Huta fostered subversive qualities formalising heterotopias with an inversion of the environment around it; a negation of the Communist's governance, without which it would not have been as prominent. Similarly, if not for the contextuality of the city (being surrounded by rural and urban fabrics with a distinctive hierarchical relationship towards the sacred) the church would not have been built and would not have gained the status of such an intruder in the Communist ideal city. Erecting and using the church was an architectural manifestation of counter-conduct against the government; built by the people, who did not want to be governed, as Foucault would have put it 'by these people and by these means' (Foucault 2007 201), and placing emphasis on the metaphysical (and therefore non-productive) aspects of people lives. Its unconventional form symbolises the disagreement between the government and its citizens. The building was designed against the guidelines of the Soviet architectural meritocracy. It exposed the desire of the Polish citizens to maintain a relationship with the intangible. The erection of the Church was, in this sense, a formal manifestation of a heterotopia, countering the 'homo-sovieticus' philosophy. It allowed a space of hiding from the public within the city and gave a chance to dissent for a brief moment from the civic ethos of work. The presence of the church in the civic might have created an opportunity to feel liberated from the constraints of the Communists.

Prezydium Zarządowej Rady Narodowej Kraków-Nowa Huta, dn. 29 maja 1969 r.  
Nowa Huta w Krakowie  
Wydział Spraw Wewnętrznych

Nr SW.II-920/1/69

Parafia rzymsko - katolicka  
Biańczycy - Nowa Huta w Krakowie

Na podstawie art. 8 ustawy z dnia 29 marca 1962 r.  
o zgromadzeniach /Dz.U. Nr 20, poz. 69/ Wydział Spraw Wewnętrznych  
Prezydium Rzeszowskiej Rady Narodowej Nowa Huta w Krakowie  
z e s w a l a na zorganizowanie i odbycie zgromadzenia  
w formie procesji w dniu 5 czerwca 1969 r. w godzinach  
od 10,00 do 12,00 trasą: plac targowy, ulicą Błotnej Jasioni,  
drogą przez wieś Biańczycy do kaplicy w Biańczycach, bez prawa  
wejścia na ul. Kocmyrsowską ze względu na bezpieczeństwo  
i porządek publiczny.

Obszarze usytuowane będą: na placu targowym,  
przy ścianie domu parafialnego,  
przy szkołach lekcyjnych  
przy figurze we wsi Biańczycy

Za przebieg zgromadzenia odpowiedzialny jest ks. Józef Gorzelany.

Od decyzji niniejszej przysługuje prawo wniesienia  
odwołania do Urzędu Spraw Wewnętrznych Prezydium Rady Narodowej  
w Krakowie za pośrednictwem tut. Wydziału w terminie czterdziestu  
dni od dnia doręczenia.-

Opłatę skarbową w wysokości  
zł. 30.- pobrano i na kopii  
decyzji skasowano.-

Kierownik Wydziału

mgr Józef Gorzelany

*Przebieg procesji*

*Dz. 30.6.1969*

*J. Gorzelany*

Fig. 5.50 An agreement to conduct a march through the city made to Priest Gorzelany to celebrate Easter Sunday (Porebska 1969a)

#### 5.4.4 St. Maximilian

This subsection of the chapter concerns another church in Nowa Huta called St. Maximilian-Maria Kolbe. This design followed a development of the strategy that resulted in the erection of 'The Lord's Ark'. Paraphrasing Kazimierz, the building housed the cultural life of the city without Communist propaganda (| Interview with Kazimierz 2014). The act of erecting the church was conducted with no explicit veil of secrecy and in tune with the expectations of how a subversive space should operate. The building seems to be placed on the periphery of the masterplan of Nowa Huta, and denotes its planar geometry in a way that disables any development in its near proximity. Any interventions near the building would enclose spaces which are awkward to inhabit. The building stands in solitude, turned away from the public, unlike the space denoted by the Lord's Ark. In spite of this, the church does not come across as an intruder. It is a defensive and introspective building which is apologetic towards the city for being unattuned to the flow of intensities leading to a corporeal gratification of work<sup>7</sup>. The membrane of St. Maximilian was seemingly impenetrable and unapproachable. The promenade leading into its interior is orchestrated as a juxtaposition of the emptiness of site and the building's voluminous proportions and non-embracing entrance. The withdrawn and humble nature of the urban interface is misleading, considering that the intricacies of the design were not fully transparent for the Communist planning authorities. The entire design of the lower chapel was not included in the planning submission drawings, as presented in fig. 5.59.

The church of St. Maximilian was erected outside of the city limits [at the time] and thus, it avoided the problematics of openly contesting the Communist iconography. In this respect it is much more apologetic than the Lord's Ark.

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<sup>7</sup> The notion of positioning a problematic, but necessary, building outside of the official city limits is not a new concept. In history this has usually been implemented so that the problem is relocated close enough to enable community access but far enough to give the building limited impact on the public. The first to write on this way of considering such spaces in the city was Vitruvius. He mentions temples of Mars and Venus which would have to be placed outside the city limits (Vitruvius 1968). This would indicate that his ideal city as depicted in the project presented to the Cezar, was not capable of fostering the promiscuity that the temple of Venus (goddess of love) would inspire or the violence that would be associated with a temple of Mars (God of war). He understood the importance of those spaces for the city however considered them to be a hazard to a rhythmic flow within the city. Similar approaches were made throughout history; an example is the Globe Theatre, which was positioned on the South Bank outside of the official city limits in London.





Fig. 5.51 The church of St. Maximilian; Author's own photo

St. Maximilian

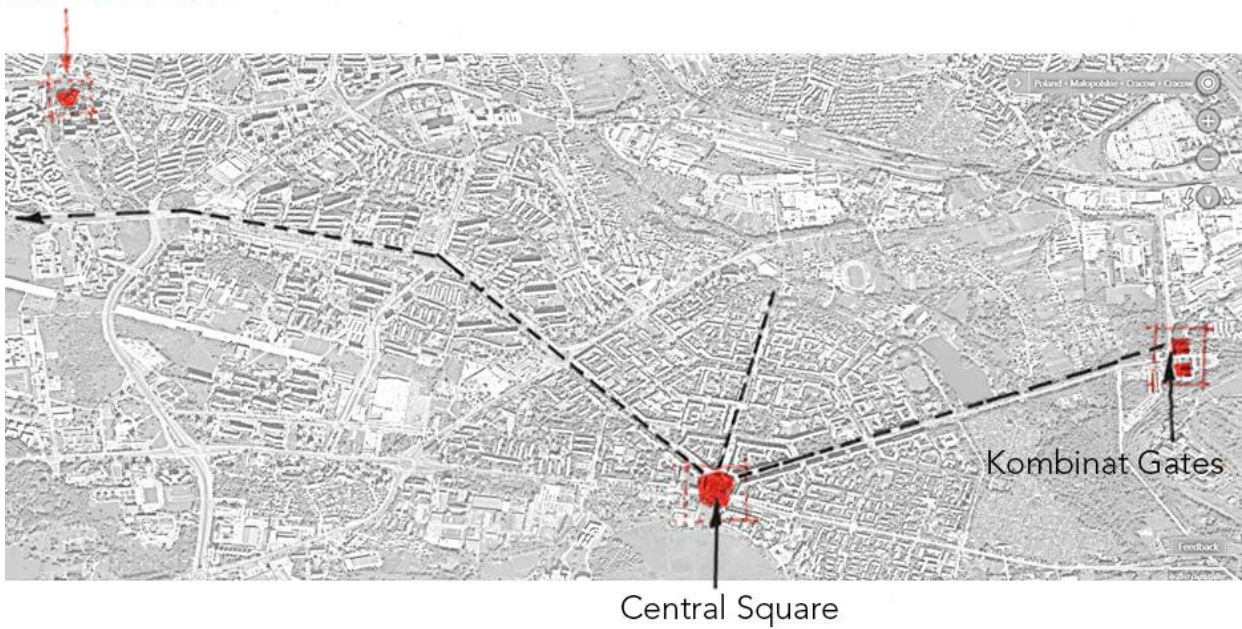


Fig. 5.52 Own sketch on Bing maps showing the location of St. Maximilian church with respect to Central Square, view of Kombinat and Rose Alley as well as the Street leading to Krakow.

As elaborated in chapter two and four of this thesis, in 1956, Khrushchev's speech changed the philosophy of architectural design and introduced a new ethos of Socialist-modernism (as discussed in chapter four). The language introduced a primitive simplicity of appropriating angular geometries and an expectation of using standardised elements, which could be manufactured in factories and therefore, cheaper to obtain considering economies of scale. The Lord's Ark breaks off from this concept and follows a novel route to determine organic and relaxed forms of space. The church of St. Maximilian, on the other hand, seems to have adopted Khrushchev's architectural strategy; in this sense the building is projecting its negation of the regime in a less impactful manner. What is more, the church uses the site which it was given to withdraw from the public, becoming defensive and isolated.

The building was designed in 1975 by Józef Dutkiewicz (Jurewicz (ed.) 2010 49). The vastness of the site buffers the building from the public. The architectural promenade towards the entrance prolongs the sense of anticipation before entering the building and makes it seem like a hermetic and defensive bunker. The massing is subservient to the directives of the Masterplan, not breaching the allowed height of the surrounding residential buildings, even mediating between the residential blocks and the natural slope of its site. At the time of its design the site was not a green-field and in a sense this might have inspired the architect to create a structure typical for Socialist-Modernism. There is no view that the church is framing, nor is there a source of sound that the building would be responding to. The building is a closed composition in itself and seems as though it would be equally appropriate in any other location as it is not using the site to enhance the character of the interior. A withdrawal from the public is also visible in the design of the entrance to the edifice. The whole building is placed on a plinth (see Fig. 5.53-5.55) like a Greek temple. In fact, the whole mass of the building seems to be forming an uninviting, narrow entrance to its interior making it appear defensive. One might argue that the design decisions were based on the notion of security.

The perception of places leading into both St Maximilian and Lord's Ark differ greatly. The procession from the centre of the city to 'The Lord's Ark' is defined, prolonged and secured. The procession to St. Maximilian is even longer but less defined by residential buildings and was likely to include a journey on the tram system. The entrance to St. Maximilian seems much more abrupt and a lot more difficult to penetrate.

A crucial aspect of the church, as in the case of 'The Lord's Ark', is the stair landing, which is prepared to host important dignitaries of the clergy. The first floor landing is crowned by a spire, which announces the position of the place in the urban context, contradicting the defensiveness of the whole architectural composition. This design move was used during

the Papal visit in 1979, in the Communist period (see Fig. 5.57), when the highest authority in the Church used the place as an altar to address the congregation. The event, of the Pope's visit, stopped the flow of the city by creating an area of rest. This was a place where the flow of Nowa Huta was made to cease and nothing was produced. The buffer zone between the church and the public became inhabited by thousands of people participating in mass.

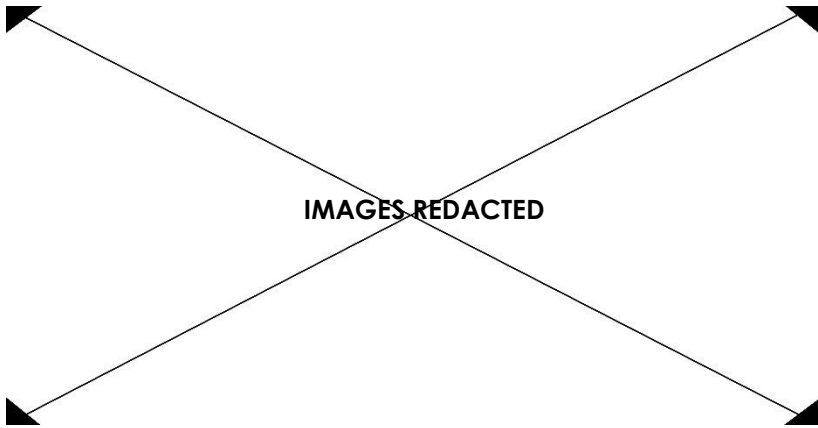


Fig. 5.53 Elevation of St. Maximillian in context (Jurewicz (ed.) 2010 138)

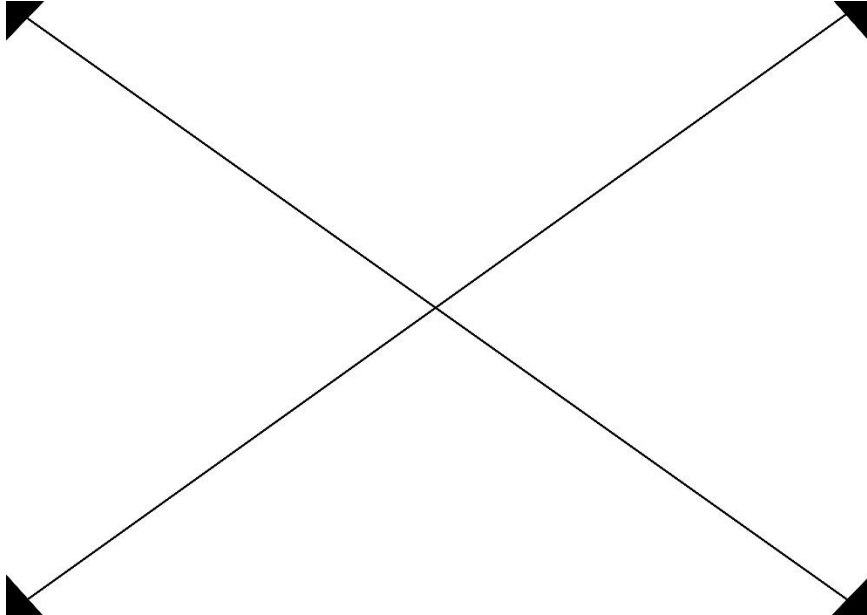


Fig. 5.54 Elevation of St. Maximillian (Jurewicz (ed.) 2010 138)

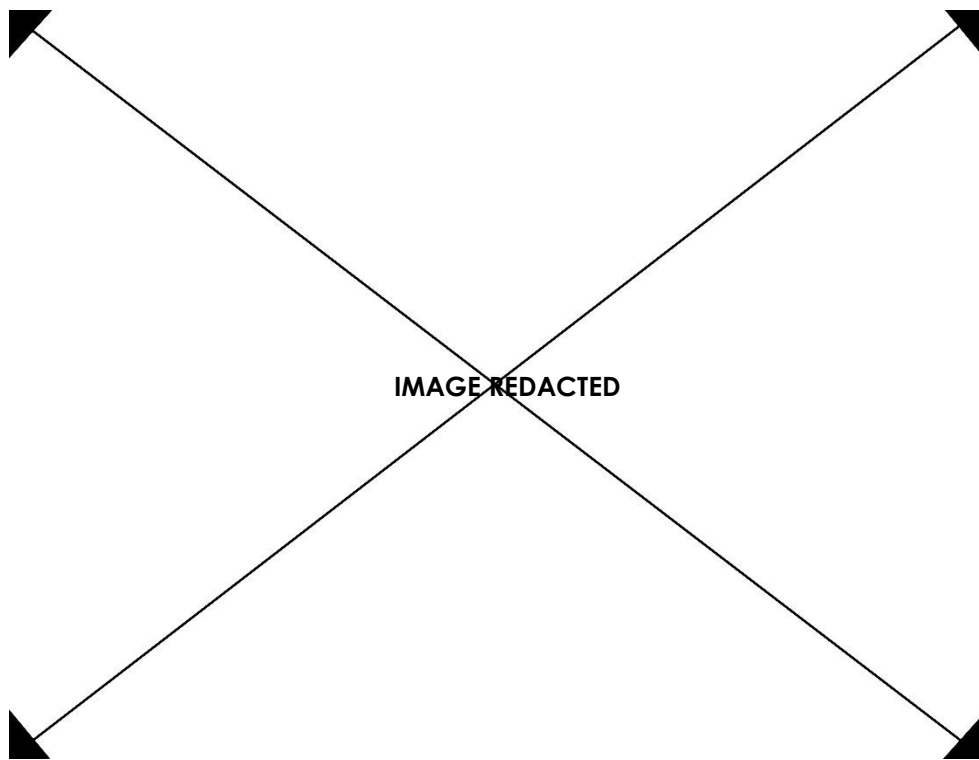
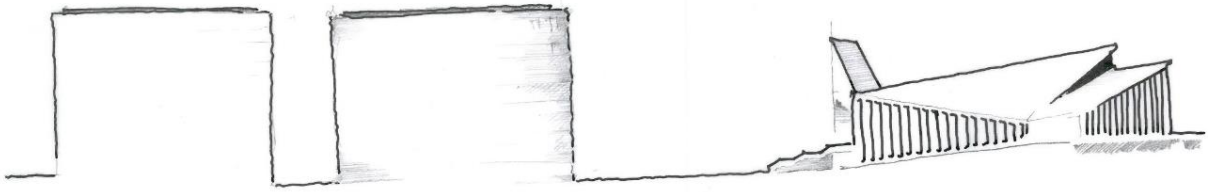


Fig. 5.55 Own sketch of the architectural composition and Elevations of St. Maximilian (taken from Jurewicz (ed.) 2010 137)

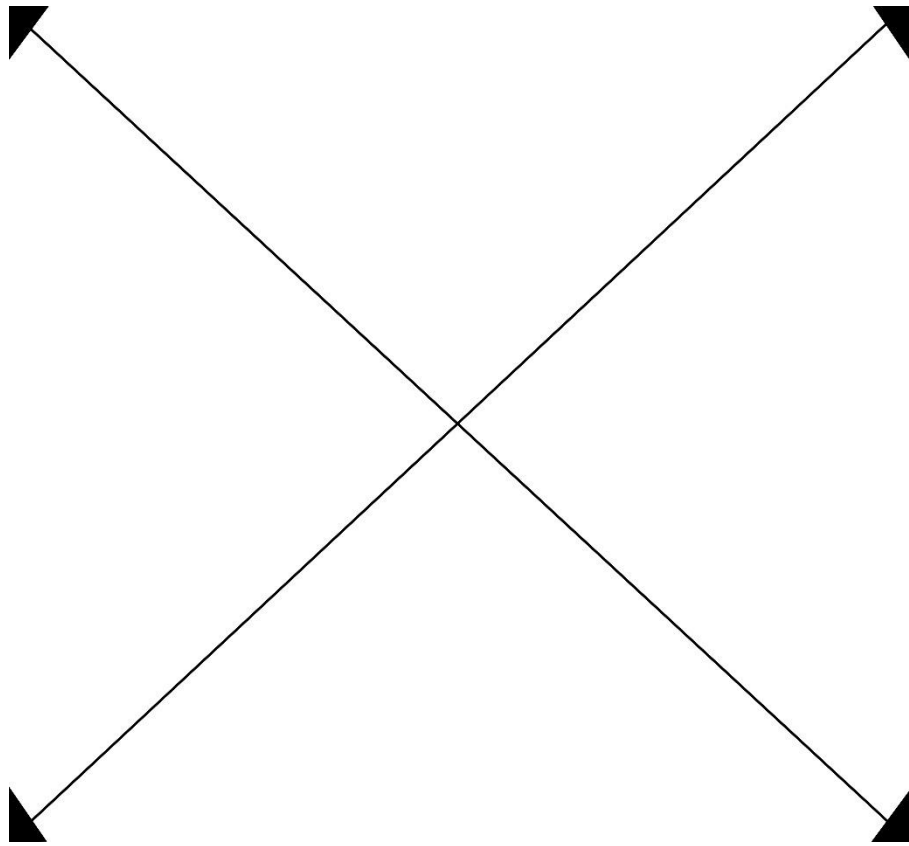


Fig. 5.56 The plan of St. Maximilian in context (Jurewicz (ed.) 2010 134)

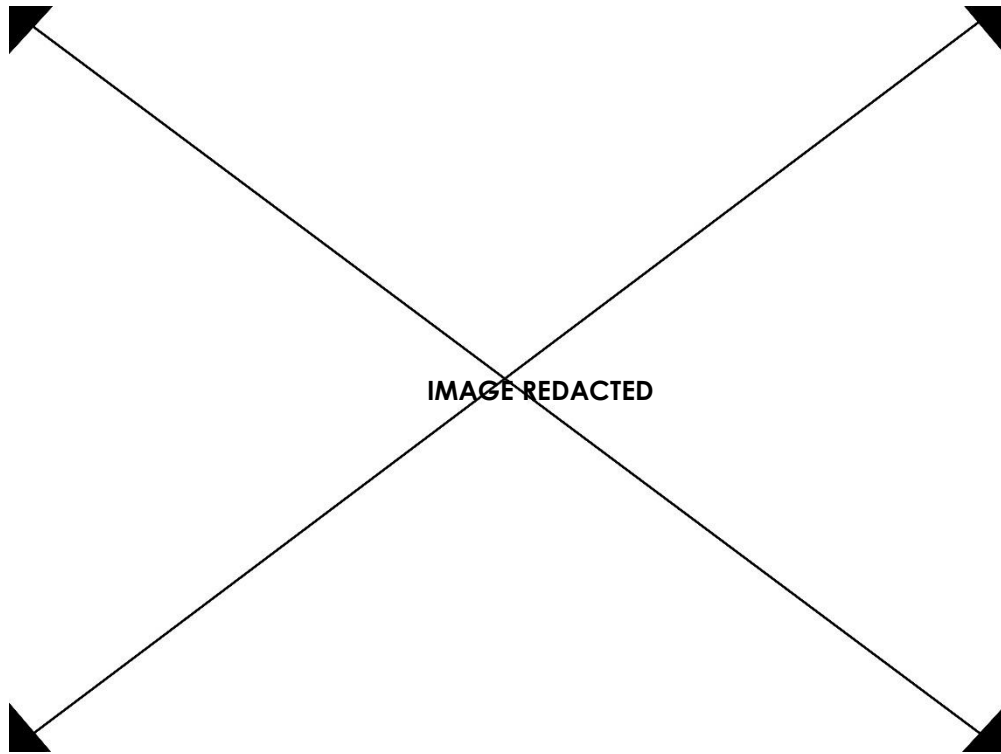


Fig. 5.57 The church of St. Maximillian during mass conducted by the Pope 9<sup>th</sup> June 1979  
(Jurewicz (ed.) 2008 266)

The interior of the church is difficult to navigate. The section of the interior seems developed, as is its planar composition. The plan aims to combine several angular geometries, resulting in awkward angles. This was, according to Wroński, a symbol of the five wounds Christ suffered from during crucifixion (in Jurewicz (ed.) 2010 49).

The grand entrance to the first floor of the building implies that the public is invited to the interior via the upper chapel. The entrance to the ground floor chapel (see Fig. 5.58), like 'The Lord's Ark', is concealed by the grand stairs. This means that the lower level gains a similar quality to its equivalent in 'The Lord's Ark'.





Fig. 5.58 The entrance to the Ground level of St. Maximilian, Author's own photo

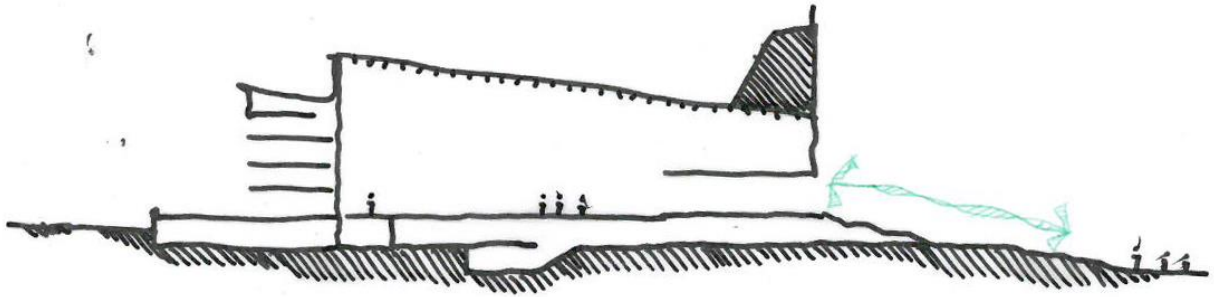
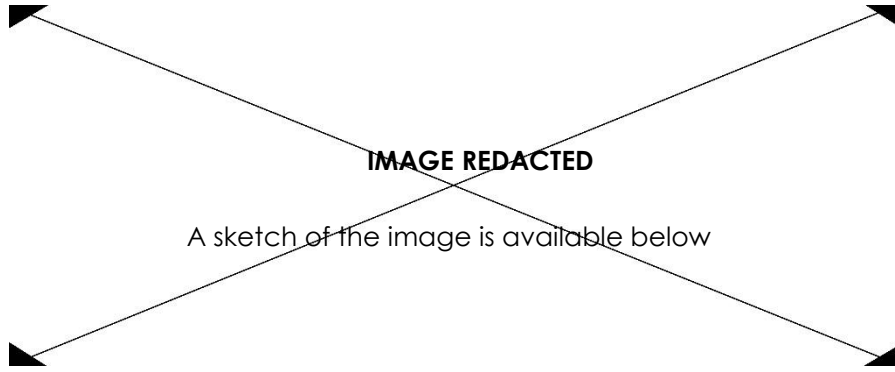


Fig. 5.59 Longitudinal Section of St. Maximilian (Jurewicz (ed.) 2010 135) with own sketch showing the relationship between the public and the entrance

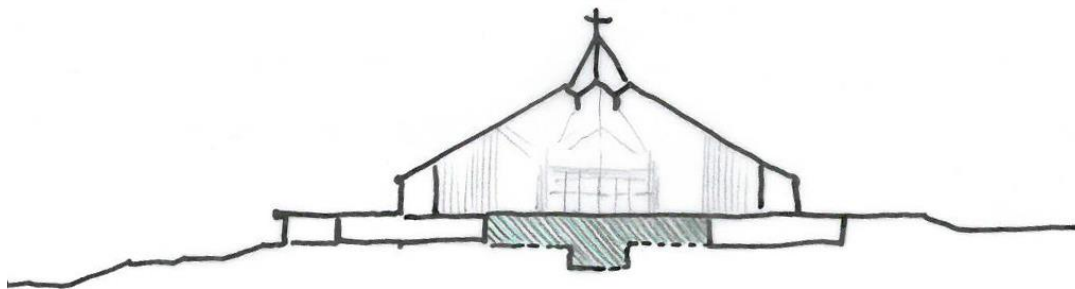
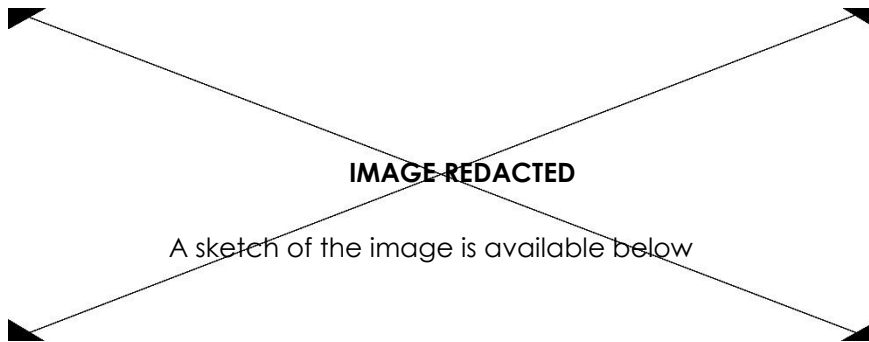


Fig. 5.60 Cross sections of St. Maximilian (Jurewicz (ed.) 2010 135) with own sketches showing the location of the lower ground chapel (missing from the planning application)



The planar design of the upper chapel resembles the traditional Romanesque concept of a long procession to the altar from the entrance on the other side of the church, under a choir. The dimensions of the space are longer along this axial approach. The processional space is accompanied by side aisles, which are defined by two beams that support the roof structure. These also signify the longitudinal stretch of the space. The upper chapel is compressed at the entrance to the building and expands towards the altar, making the space very well prepared to amplify the acoustic conditions of singing from the altar.

The lack of transparency on the ground floor (see Fig. 5.61) is amplified by the awkward geometries of the edifice. Thanks to the complex angular form of the building, the corridors which surround the lower chapel are divided by sharp turns. This disallows visual continuity throughout the whole space. The corridor leads to discrete rooms which further the lack of transparency of the ground level. In the Soviet times this enabled several distinct functions to occur concurrently (as well as in secret), within the depths of the building. The plan of the lower chapel was changed after the planning application was submitted. In the cross-section (see Fig 5.60) and ground floor plan (see Fig. 5.61) there is a segment that appears as a white area, almost like the assumed conventional representation of soil. This design move is odd from the point of view of buildability and a trained architect should know not to make such mistakes. It is reasonable to assume that the architect planned for the lower level from the start.

In fact, the space was arguably one of the most important rooms in the building. The lower chapel was a space where 'Thursday Mass' took place (Kordaszewski 2013). It was an event organised by the priests to pray in support for the opposition. According to Jan Franczyk the ground level of St. Maximilian was a space where high culture thrived (in Baran (ed.) 2014 149-156). It was also this space that explored, and utilised, the capability of the sacred to foster a non-Soviet culture to its full potential. Franczyk claims that these events were the only ones, where Communist censorship could not influence art (Ibid.). In this light, the building seems to come across as a place to engage with information flows, which were not regulated by the government. The lower levels of the church were also used as a poetry corner, a music-performance space and a place to convene a University course called CHUR (in Baran (ed.) 2014 150).

The students of CHUR have indexes and the programme includes modules such as: Church philology, Bible studies, Christian Ethics, and sociology, which in essence are a camouflage for lectures on modern history of Poland, mythology, economy in an oppositional aspect and against the official Polish governance. <sup>8</sup>(quoted in Baran (ed.) 2014 151).'

The ground floor chapel had access to yet another level which was subterranean. This space was not even hinted upon in the official submission to the government's city planning officials.

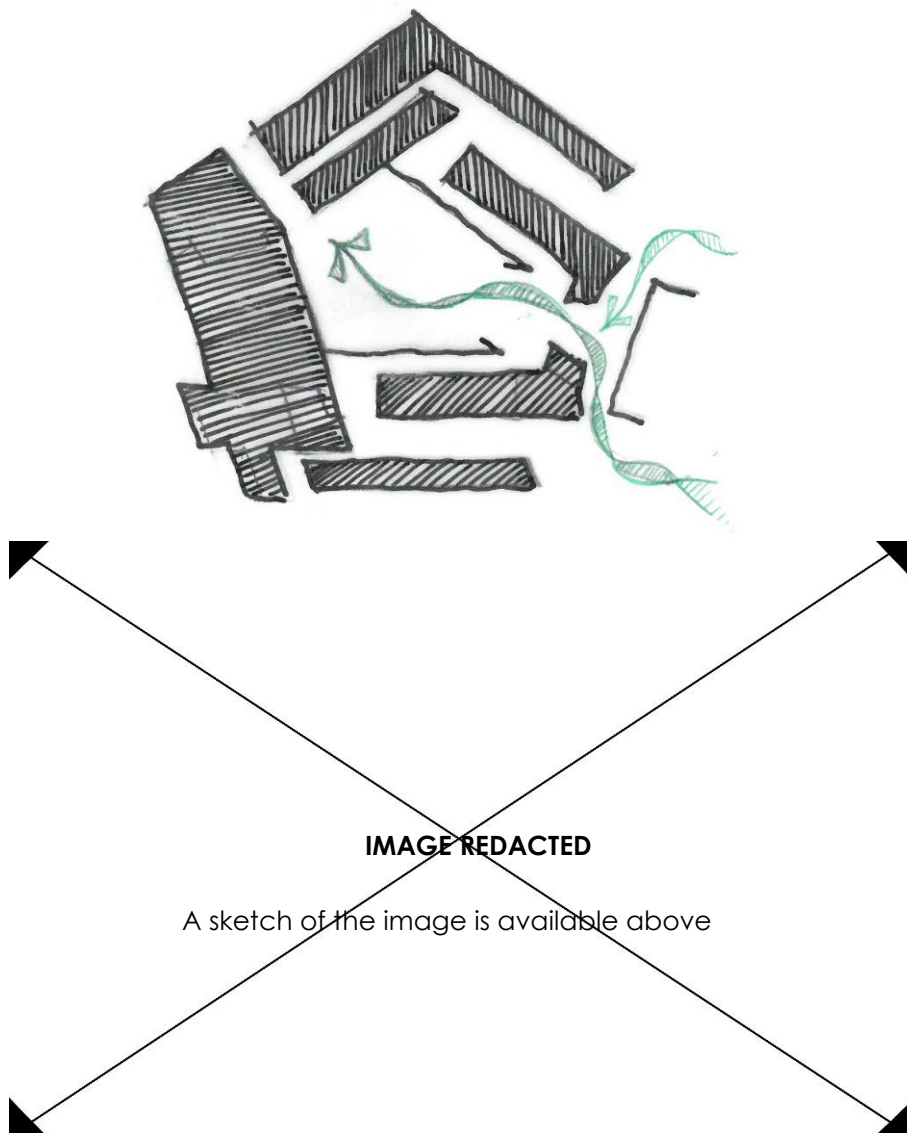


Fig. 5.61 Ground level of St. Maximilian (Jurewicz (ed.) 2010 134) with circulation diagram showing the lack of transparency in the corridors that a member of the public can access

<sup>8</sup> 'Słuchacze CHURU posiadają specjalne indexy, a program studio oficjalnie obejmuje takie przedmioty jak: filologia kościelna, nauka o biblii, etyka chrześcijańska i socjologia, które w istocie mają być kamuflażem dla wykładów z najnowszej historii polski, mitologii i ekonomii w ujęciu opozycyjnym wobec władz państwowych i system ustrojowego

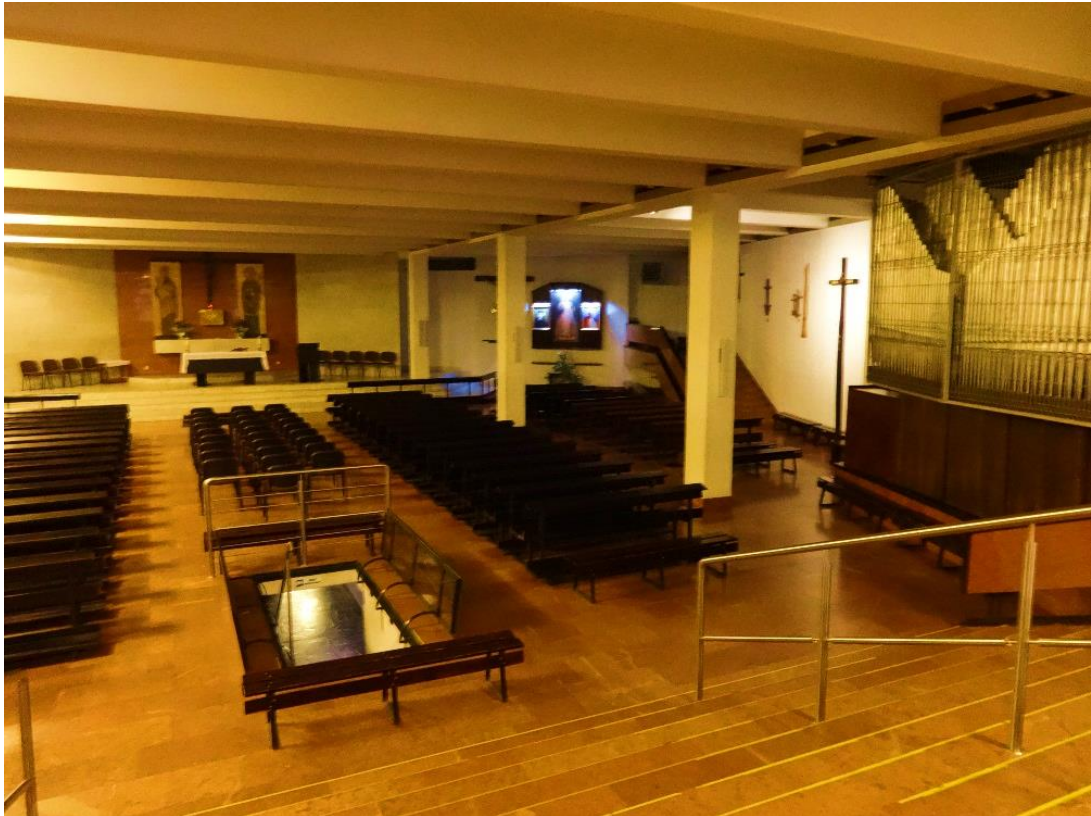


Fig. 5.62 The lower level chapel of St. Maximilian, Own archive

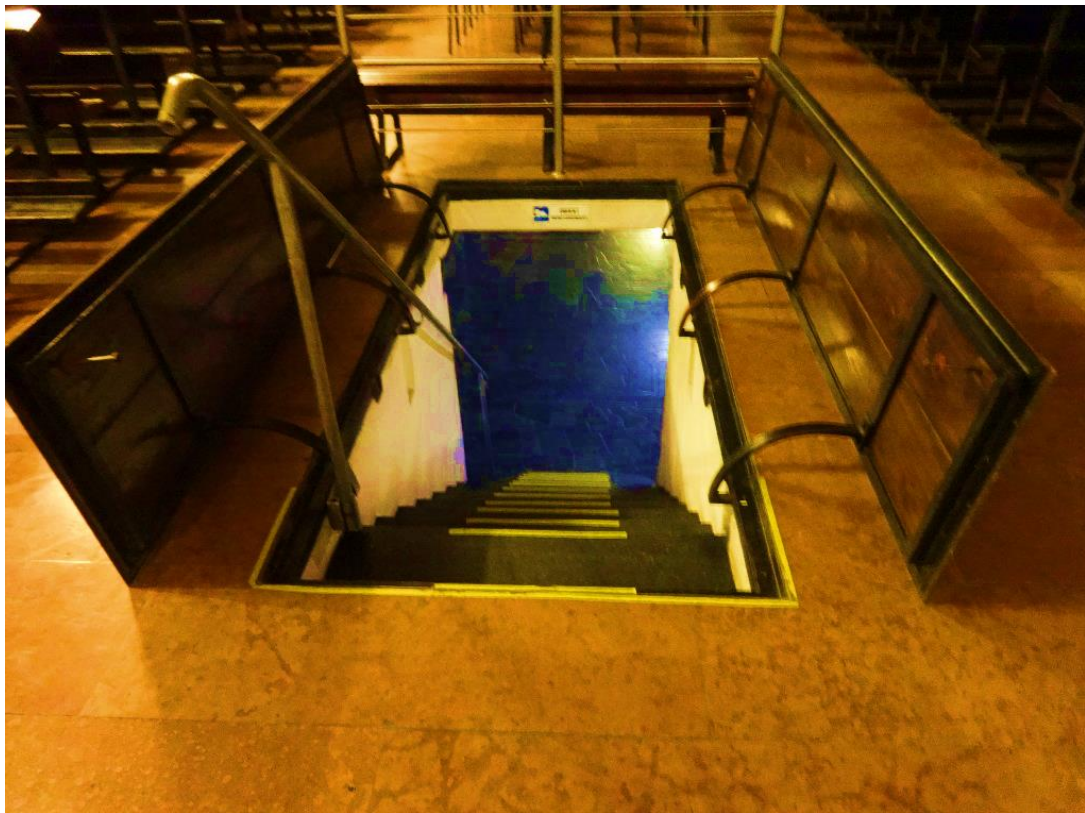


Fig. 5.63 The entrance to the crypt in St. Maximilian, Own archive

The centre of the lower chapel holds a horizontal doorway (see Fig. 5.63) leading to a staircase that descends into a 'crypt'. This space is a narrow but long, basement-type room which currently serves as a burial ground for Jozef Kurzei and Mikołaj Kuczkowski. Both of these priests were pastors, who served the parish during the Communist era. The space is fitted with large shelves on the side, presumably awaiting to become resting places for more dignitaries. However, because of the condition of materials on the furthest external walls and those which are composing the shelves, seem to be an afterthought inserted years after the space was constructed. The space is divided from the lower chapel by a thick, timber doorway framed with iron. Its hinges are unusual and scaled out of proportion; their curious design, at first sight, suggests that they are to uphold the weight of people standing on the door while they are queuing for communion from the priest. However, their positioning on the door is much too peripheral to bear any vertical loads when the door is closed. Their purpose becomes clear when examined from the interior of the 'crypt'. When closed, the door can be locked-shut from the inside by threading a metal rod through the metal hinges and the concrete elements (which the former are alternated with) (see Fig. 5.64). This suggests that the space may have been intended to be used for other uses than a sacramental grave space.

According to Franczykl, the 'crypt' (see Fig. 5.65) was used after 'Thursday mass' for meetings with artists, journalists, politicians and poets (Baran (ed.) 2014 150). Those meetings always gathered a full house. According to Blnek's relations the time of erection of the church was no longer a moment when edifices were being equipped with underground structures (as discussed in chapter four).

The scale of the church seems to imply that the edifice was intended to be used for multiple functions. It is possible to assume that the designer of the church examined the precedent of 'The Lord's Ark' as well as the subcultural life of Nowa Huta and catered for a rich underground. The lack of transparency, and fragmentation of the experiential qualities of the ground floor and 'crypt' had a latent character, which seems to imply a capacity to foster activities, which subverted the public regulations. This would suggest that people unfamiliar with the layout would be lost. The church of St. Maximilian was placed at a distance from the centre of the urban grid, composing a destination-place, as well as distancing it from the social unrest of the 1970s. The complex underground arrangement of the church had the capacity to foster a different, non-linear way of perceiving space. This unveiled opportunities of developing oneself in a different, more fragmented manner than the Soviet homo-sovieticus. The temple was a celebration of the non-Soviet culture, a way of developing strategies of being in the civic that was different than the homo-sovieticus regime. The space was filled with opportunities to become familiar with other ways of appropriating space than those, foreseen by the Communists.





Fig. 5.64 The hinges of the doorway leading to the crypt in St. Maximilian, Own archive



Fig. 5.65 The crypt of St. Maximilian, Own archive

#### 5.4.5 Impurity of necropolises

This subsection of the chapter explores sacred spaces devoted to death and the way in which the Masterplan of Nowa Huta dealt with the cohabitation of death and channelling flows leading to corporeal production. Those are the Cemetery in Nowa Huta's subdistrict A1, and a major hospital which was built on the grounds of a former concentration camp following the Second World War. Both spaces were incorporated into the masterplan without architectural plans and the only regulation of the works came from the Communist management (Jurewicz (ed.) 2012). Spaces for death are traditionally associated, in Poland and around the world (Johnson 2008), with a ritualistic spatial arrangement, which divide them from the normative spatial flow of the city and orchestrate a new flow. These spaces in Nowa Huta had no defensive membrane.

Mary Douglas writes on the notion of impurities and the ritual of a proper disposal of the dead claiming that such a ceremony is necessary in establishing a spiritual sense of worthiness (2002). As she understands it, death presents a challenge to any metaphysical system. For Douglas, 'though we seek to create order, we do not simply condemn disorder. We recognise that it is destructive to existing patterns; also that it has potentiality. It symbolises both danger and power' (Douglas 2002, 117).

The way the concept of death was dealt with in Nowa Huta countered the way in which such matters were usually tackled in Poland. An example of this is the death of Józef Piłsudski, mentioned in chapter three. His death was extensively discussed by two issues of *Architektura i Budownictwo*, and in several competitions for public memorials commemorating his memory in the Capital (1935 vol 3 and 4). This case was an amplification of the tradition, as Piłsudski was a public figure. However, it could be argued that the trend applied to all Polish citizens, as the journal always addressed the decease of architects with an honorary mention at the end of every issue (an example of such is presented in fig. 5.66). The graveyard in district A and former concentration camp sites in Nowa Huta fail to celebrate the concept of oblivion in the same way.

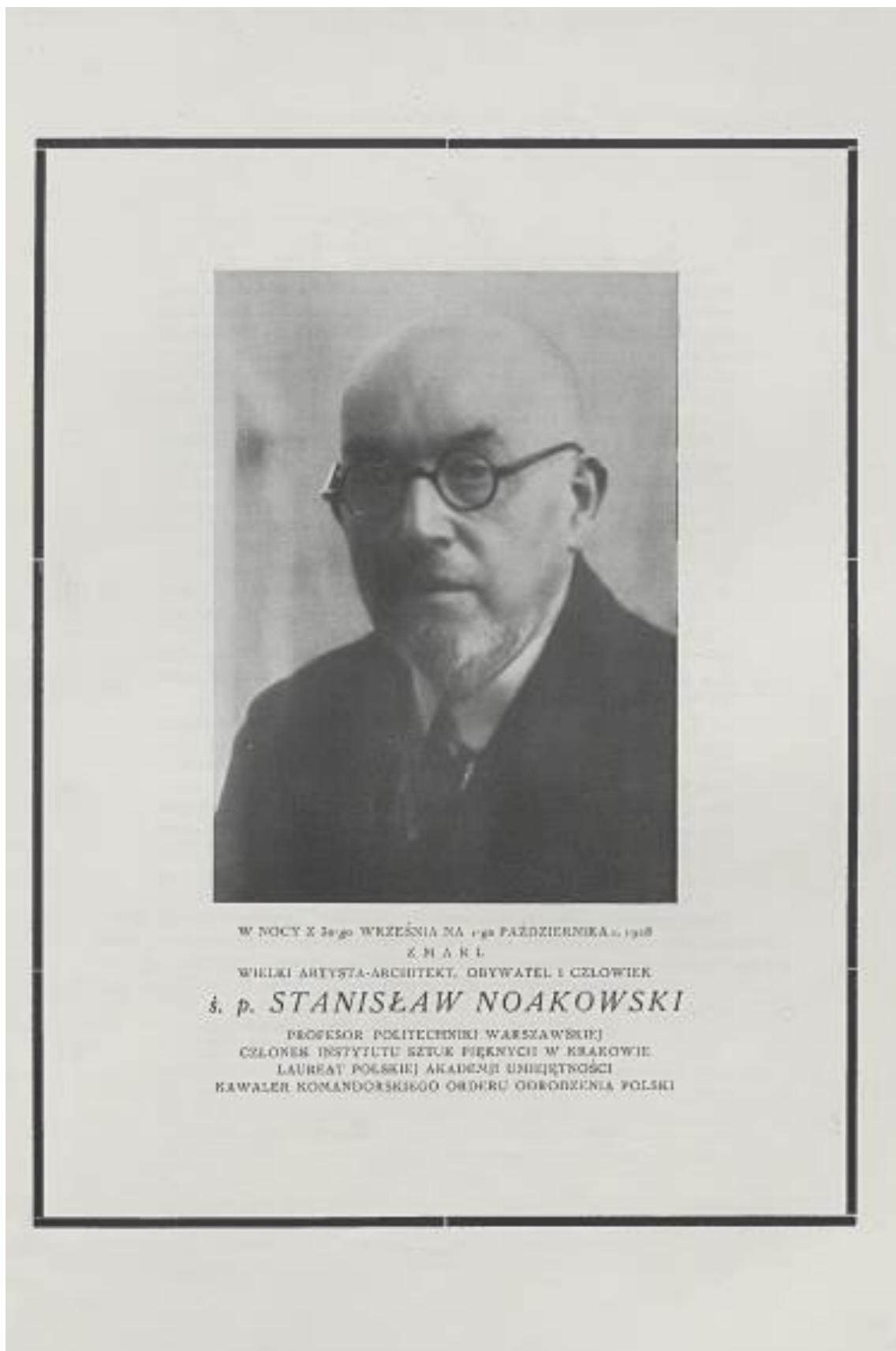


Fig. 5.66 One of the many obituaries from *Architektura i Budownictwo* (1928 volume 7, 1)

Maciej Twaróg discusses the location of the cemetery (see Fig. 5.67) in district A1 of Nowa Huta (Twaróg 2012 26). What he implies is the inappropriately open interface between the necropolis and the residential units neighbouring the cemetery. Twaróg adds that, as he got older, he found graves in the cemetery which were much older than Nowa Huta itself. Some graves can be traced back to the Rologinski family, which resided in the Mogiła village long before the Nowa Huta was erected. He also found graves, which are the resting place of soldiers of the Wehrmacht, and those serving under the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Miezián speculates that the cemetery was established shortly after the 3<sup>rd</sup> partitioning of Poland in 1795 (2004). This would imply that the district (A1) was built around the graveyard and enveloped it. The designers and builders included no strategy to address its location. Considering that this district was erected first and before the architectural plans were available (as mentioned in chapter four of this thesis), the managerial decision for this openness can be associated with the Communist authorities, who operated with Soviet directives and rejected notions of respect to the divinity of death. This would imply that it was a Soviet managerial decision to orchestrate the relationship between the cemetery and the public in this way. Peter Johnson analyses heterotopias of necropolises and concludes that, ever since the 18<sup>th</sup> Century, they were linked with the way designers thought of spaces for the living (Johnson 2008). His analysis of burial grounds and households in the context of the graveyard in Nowa Huta would suggest a lack of care in the city for the divisions between the dead vs the living, *us* vs. *them*, *interior* vs. *exterior*. It might be said that the sacred nature of the cemetery in Nowa Huta did not celebrate the memory of the dead.

The relationship between the neighbouring buildings and the cemetery introduces the necropolis into the public. The space feels almost like a park. This was met with resistance from the clergy who, according to Jan Franczyk (in Jurewicz (ed.) 2010 152), attempted to erect temporary structures that would signify the definition of the cemetery. In the end and after extensive negotiation the priests agreed to limit their efforts to placing a metal shed on the site of the necropolis (Ibid.). The significance of the space was also reinforced by processions leading from the Lord's Ark every year (see Fig. 5.68).



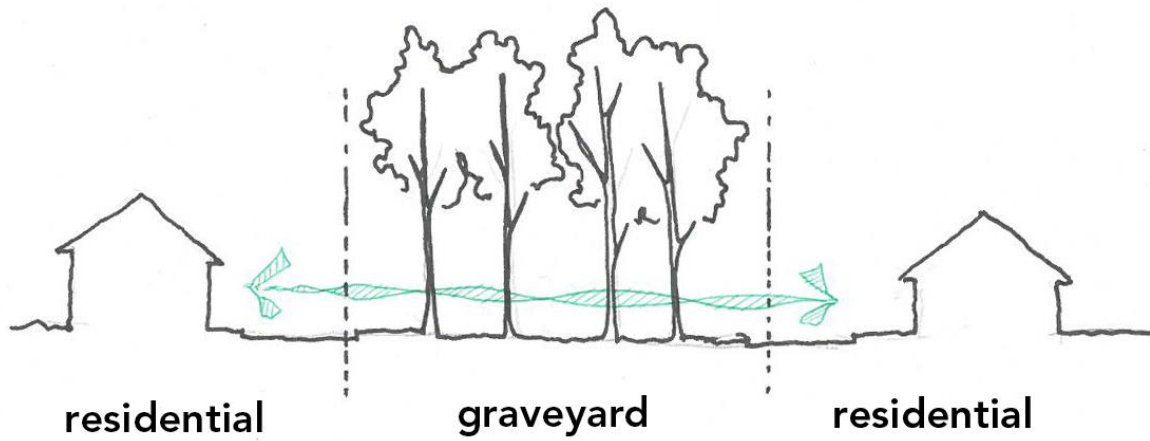


Fig. 5.67 The architectural composition and Photo of the Cemetery in district A, Author's own photo and sketch

Kraków-Nowa Huta, dn. 29 maja 1969 r.  
Wydział Spraw Wewnętrznych

Nr SW.II-920/1/69

Parafia rzymsko - katolicka  
Bieżanów - Nowa Huta w Krakowie

Na podstawie art. 8 ustawy z dnia 29 marca 1962 r.  
o zgromadzeniach /Dz.U. Nr 20, poz. 89/ Wydział Spraw Wewnętrznych  
Prezydium Rzeszy Narodowej Nowa Huta w Krakowie  
z e z w a l a na zorganizowanie i odbycie zgromadzenia  
w formie procesji w dniu 5 czerwca 1969 r. w godzinach  
od 10,00 do 12,00 trasą: plac targowy, ulicą Kłotej Jasioni,  
drogą przez wieś Bieżanów do kaplicy w Bieżanowie, bez prawa  
wejścia na ul. Koszyrską ze względu na bezpieczeństwo  
i porządek publiczny.

Obtarte wytworzone będą: na placu targowym,  
przy ścianie domu parafialnego,  
przy salkach lekcyjnych  
przy figurze we wsi Bieżanów

Za przebieg zgromadzenia odpowiedzialny jest ks. Józef Goczelony.

Od decyzji niniejszej przysługuje prawo wniesienia  
odwołania do Urzędu Spraw Wewnętrznych Prezydium Rady Narodowej  
w Krakowie za pośrednictwem tut. Wydziału w terminie czterech  
dni od dnia doręczenia.-

Opłaty skarbowe w wysokości  
ok. 30,- pobrano i na kopii  
decyzji skasowano.-

Hieronim Wydziału

mgr Józef Goczelony

*Przewodniczący*

*dn. 30.5.69*

*W. J. ...*

Fig. 5.68 SB document narrating the march from the Lord's Ark to the Cemetery. (Porebska 1969b)

Spaces which are even more representative of bereavement and death, but less documented, are concentration camps. One of them functioned between the Monastery and Central Square in Nowa Huta, and was called The Bulager 15/XIV, which, as Maciej Mieziań claims, comprised of about 20 barracks (2004). This camp was responsible for producing aircraft elements, which were later shipped to Krakow for assembly. The camp was, at that time, distanced from Krakow and hidden from eyes which could report its existence to the international community. After the Second World War the place became a prison for former Nazi soldiers. With the grand plans for Nowa Huta the camp had to be bulldozed to make way for the biggest hospital in the city named after a Polish poet, Stefan Żeromski. This lack of sensitivity to the historical context might imply the lack of an ethical framework necessary to respond to the atrocities of the Second World War.

Another concentration camp used to reside on the location of the Światowid cinema, where women worked in a Taylorist workshop (Mieziań 2004). This site was, after the War, converted into the location of a mass grave for Nazi soldiers. This mass grave was not commemorated and the transition into that necropolis is seamless. The memory of death embedded in that site was lost. This loss created opportunities to develop Światowid but at the same time it failed to pursue a continuation of the cultural heritage of Poland. With the lack of a debate about the graves, there was no process of dealing with the trauma of the War.

Spaces which related to the ceremoniality of death in Nowa Huta, were not dealt with in a manner traditional to Polish culture. The Communist philosophy of governing spaces for work, which the homo-sovieticus was to thrive in, did not anticipate providing a space commemorating death. The relationships between spaces that were not designed by an architect, and were rather governed by the Communists, had an unusual urban interface. The impurity of spiritual enlightenment was not to become part of the modern Soviet man's mentality as it would dissent from thinking about production. It could be understood that the homo-sovieticus was refused this right as the construct was not to have any sovereignty over his own self, his existence was to always be focussed on work and his Soviet community.

#### 5.4.6 Penetration of the Membrane

This subsection interrogates the notion of the 'mucous membrane' and discusses the complexity of infiltration between sacred and secular. The text discusses the lack of rigidity in regulating transgression via the permeable membrane. It could be understood that this was due to the rhizomatism of the operational mechanisms of TWs and the priests which simply filtered through the barrier. This would imply that the mucous qualities of the membrane securing the sacred merely reduced possibilities of encounter forming a porous barrier, rather than a concrete border. The text also focusses on the role of the clergy in contraband transfer in public. The arborescence of the performative establishment of the churches did not work on a rhizomal capacity, creating a feeling of unease.

Dissent from the Communist regime was highly monitored by the TWs. Exchange of information between Opposition members had to happen in safe locations. The note represented in figure 5.69 written by a SB agent shows evidence of information that the invigilation of the parishes, conducted by a TW in Nowa Huta revealed about the opposition. The note lists each parish with every paragraph determining the number of people attending religious ceremonies in public in Nowa Huta on 5 June 1969. Each paragraph concludes with an assessment of the capacity of each group to raise a potentially uncontrollable situations, for example 'presence of items that were listed [in the application handed in to the authorities]' or 'disturbance of residential elevations'.

It was usually assumed that the sacred spaces were free from TWs (Interview with Kazimierz 2014). However, this assumption was denounced in a sermon that Kazimierz suggests:

...and you militants [agents of the SB], that come without a uniform, to listen to what I say, we gather here to pray, so that you have the courage to protect your brothers and sisters.<sup>9</sup> (Interview with Kazimierz 2014)

Kazimierz also notes that TWs participated in mass and recorded sermons given by the preacher, however, infiltration of parishes proved to be difficult. Kazimierz narrated a story in which members of the SB came to one of the churches to arrest a particular member of the clergy. When the militants arrived they encountered the man in question but did not recognise him, as they did not know what he looked like. As a result they ordered him to bring the man they were after. The bewildered priest told them to wait, while he 'fetched the man' in question. As he went to the sacristy he managed to escape through the back exit.

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<sup>9</sup>I wy milicjanci, którzy przychodzicie bez munduru, żeby słuchać, co ja mówię, my się tu gromadzimy żeby się za was modlić, żebyście mieli odwagę bronić brata, bronić siostrę



23

I N F O R M A C J A

o przebiegu zgromadzeń wyznaniowych w dniu 5 czerwca 1969 r.  
w dzielnicy Nowa Huta w Krakowie.

1. Parafia Czystań - w zgromadzeniu wzięło udział około 3000 osób.  
Z tego około 150 stanowiły zorganizowane grupy dzieci szkolnych,  
około 500 osób młodzież niezorganizowana.  
Trasa procesji była słabo udekorowana, nie stwierdzono żadnych  
haseł na kościele ani wzdłuż trasy. Żadnych sztandarów  
organizacji nieistniejących nie zauważono .
2. Parafia Ruszcza - zgromadzenie odbyło się zgodnie z wydanym  
zezwoleciem. Osób biorących udział - około 1000, w tym około  
100 dzieci w wieku szkolnym oraz młodzieży niezorganizowanej  
około 150 Osób.  
Udekorowane były tylko budynki prywatne.
3. Parafia Pleszów - zgromadzenie odbyło się zgodnie z wydanym  
zezwoleciem . Osób biorących udział około 400, przy czym większość  
stanowiły starsze kobiety z sąsiednich wiosek. Dzieci w grupach  
zorganizowanych było około 50.  
Nie stwierdzono żadnych sztandarów nieistniejących organizacji.  
Dekoracja na trasie procesji była skromna.
4. Parafia Mogiła - trasa i czas zgromadzenia był zgodny z wydanym  
zezwoleciem. W zgromadzeniu uczestniczyło około 6000 osób, w tym  
około 450 zorganizowanych dzieci szkolnych. Około 1500 osób  
stanowiła młodzież niezorganizowana.  
W czasie procesji niesiono 6 sztandarów szkolnych.
5. Parafia Bieńczyce - w zgromadzeniu udział wzięło około 7000 osób,  
w tym około 400 zorganizowanych dzieci szkolnych, około 1000  
osób stanowiła młodzież niezorganizowana, około 3000 mężczyzn  
brało udział w zgromadzeniu.  
Zgromadzenie rozpoczęło się prawie z godzinnym opóźnieniem.  
Uroczystość rozpoczęto przy ołtarzu na placu targowym,  
a następnie procesja przeszła zgodnie z trasą podaną  
w zezwoleniu.

Fig. 5.69 SB note on an analysis of each parish (Porebska 1969b)

The majority of flows not directed by the Communists were facilitated by the Church in one way or another. Władysław Palmowski, who served the prison, testified that he visited it regularly and served sacraments such as *communion* or *confession* to the prisoners (Baran (ed.) 2014 234). When the prisoners realised that there was an opportunity to speak with the priest without being eavesdropped upon, they established a communication stream between them and their families outside of the incarceration. As Palmowski claims, he would sneak in letters in hidden pockets of his briefcase (quoted in Ibid.). Palmowski says this mechanism developed to such an extent that some of the information was kept concealed from him, and handed in secrecy, in case he was captured and tortured to reveal all that he knew of the opposition.

Priests' apartments also became an apparent nodal point for knowledge flows which did not adhere to the Communist doctrine (Ibid.). As Father Paweł Mynarz, the pastor for the academic parish in the Cistercian monastery, notes the city had yet another network of undercover collaborators set up, those being the people working to counter the Communist governance (quoted in Ibid. 241). He would receive parcels, which were later picked up from his flat by truck drivers, who had the opportunity to travel abroad to and from Brussels. He notes that no information or package ever came the other way so, as he suggests, there must have been a different return channel, assuming that the system was developed into a whole network. Another member of the opposition claims that flats used in this manner by the underground were changed every six months, in fear of infiltration by TWs (Ibid.). The preachers' flats were an obvious target. The fact that it was used consistently as a stop point for valuable information transfer and the fact that it was only used in one direction implies that the flat in question may have been a decoy. This lack of trust suggests a similar way of operating as the TWs had in generating strategies of regulating leaks of communication transfer.

The benefits of the non-Communist relationship between the Church and the opposition were twofold in spite of this lack of trust. Mynarz describes people called animators, who transmitted information about meeting-places to people who were not in the opposition (quoted in Ibid. 241). He reminisces about 'Wanda', who worked in a school. 'Wanda' was an animator who transmitted invitations to religion classes to children. This displacement of people from their official whereabouts via a long chain of connections ensured the covert character of the opposition was maintained. Mynarz never pursued any personal information about the organisation; he claims that he tried to know as little as possible about people from the opposition as he, as a member of the clergy, was an obvious target for the SB officers. The lack of transparency in the oppositional structures and the latent way in which they organised meetings and events imply a similar way of regarding information

flows as that of the TWs. It also resonates with lack of unity, typical for the Polish culture in the inter-War period (described in chapter three of this thesis).

This activity was another case of dissenting from the established architectural hierarchy of the city and developing a new flow, contingent upon a power/knowledge network, regulated by a different authority than the Communist governance. The lack of regulation of the Church came most intensely as the appropriation of private use flats for sacred purposes. This confused the polite architectural hierarchies, by giving significance to a space which does not stand out to the parish members. My interviewee, Kazimierz, confirms that such spaces existed. Figure 5.70 shows that the flat owned by Franciszek Blach was converted to become a sacred space. Both political organisations - the opposition and the Communists - operated in a similar way. The organisations valued the cult of the individual above the collective. In this respect, both broke the flow channelled by Nowa Huta to become part of the Soviet collective. The agents that penetrated the membrane were concealed under a veil of hidden identities and the information which they managed to gather was always fragmented, never giving the full image of the struggle.

Od tego czasu to niekończące się, drobne na pozór inwestycje - wszystko poświęcane, daje mu pieniądze i uczestników uroczystości. Śmiało wypowiada się do ludzi na pytanie - czy ma zezwolenie na procesję w dniu święta zmarłych, że nie zamierza o to prosić, gdyż władze przyzwyczajone do takiej uległości kazałyby prosić o zezwolenie nawet na kondukt pogrzebowy. Dzięki tej postawie zdobył sobie uznanie kurii, a nawet księży w rozmowach wskazywali nań niego, jako przyszłego dziekana w miejsce dziekana mogińskiego ks. BARTOSIKA z Wawrzeńczyć.

Przeprowadzono rozmowę z przypadkowo przebywającym w Grębałowie ob. CEBULSKIM ostrzegając go przed konsekwencjami za wynajęcie wyłączonego domu ks. HYCOWI na kaplicę, a tym samym samowolnej zmiany przeznaczenia budynku. W wyniku tego ten zabronił ks. HYCOWI dalszej adaptacji budynku nie chcąc mu zwrócić zainwestowanej sumy pieniędzy, którą ks. HYC w kwotę 20 tys. złotych miał uzyskać w formie pożyczki z referatu nauczania religii w kurii.

Sporządzono wniosek do kolegium o ukaranie ks. HYCA za zorganizowanie procesji w dniu święta zmarłych, za co ukarany został grzywną 1500 zł.

Ustalono, że ks. HYC zakupił od portierki hoteli Zarządu Kwaterunku i Zaopatrzenia Robotniczego PPB Huty im. Lenina ob. Marii PABIAN 50 taboretów do punktu katechetycznego za kwotę zł. 500, które to uprzednio - na prośbę PABIAN Marii - komisja kasacyjna uznała za zbędne. Odebrano w czasie rewizji przedmiotowe taborety, a przeciwko Marii PABIAN i ks. HYCOWI wszczęto dochodzenie za przywłaszczenie mienia i paserstwo.

Również ob. BŁACH Franciszek u którego ks. HYC zainwestował pewne kwoty w wykonczenie mieszkania na punkt katechetyczny przestał z nim rozmawiać, nie chcąc słyszeć o zwrocie pieniędzy - zerwał z HYCEM ustną umowę. Wówczas wezwano ks. HYCA do kurii, by pozostawił sprawę kaplicy na omentarzu w spokoju, gdyż tym zajmie się ks. GORZELANY lub adwokat kurii.

Fig. 5.70 SB document inspecting a case of the dissidence of a priest (preparing a flat for conducting mass) (Zyla 1969 19)



### 5.4.7 Conclusion

The playfulness of Bulhakov's devil and capacity to mediate the metaphysical with the corporeal was an intrinsic part of the Polish landscape. This was manifested in the presence of the churches and priests in the urban fabric. The heterotopias of the Church became a new construct in Nowa Huta. They relaxed the regiment of the homo-sovieticus flow and dissented from the mentality of constant efficiency.

It can be argued that the tradition of beliefs in Poland before the Second World War ran parallel with ways of dealing with death or the other, in order for society to function in an uninterrupted state. When the Church was defined by the Communists as an irrelevant impurity and an expression of wasteful excess, the traditions associated with it, and concerning processing the metaphysical, were cast aside. The heterotopias of the Church, which excluded in order to include, were transformed by the Communist governance of Poland. They became a new construct promising privacy in space that the citizens of Nowa Huta sought underground.

The churches of 'The Lord's Ark' and 'St Maximillian' had different strategies organising different ways to narrate their relationship with the public. 'The Lords Ark' is more openly intrusive of the public and dissenting in architectural language 'St Maximillian' is more withdrawn and defensive, designed as a maze with a multiplicity of underground levels and secret hiding spaces. The performativity of the sacred buildings in public made the heterotopias inside of them develop a very thick 'mucous membrane' (Guattari 2009). The dates of their construction and the strategies of acting in latency in the context of Nowa Huta seem to suggest a relation between the design of the churches and other heterotopias in the city. The buildings' designs hint of intents to create spaces capable of supporting the anti-Communist opposition. The planned locations of sacred buildings as well as the erected churches in Nowa Huta suggest that architects imagined non-homo-sovieticus negotiations for space in the city fabric. This type of architectural alignment to facilitate civic engagement created a dissonance between the official concept for the city presented to the Communists, and the role of the designers. The architects of Miastoprojekt and the discussed churches positioned themselves in Rejtan's corner, opposing the governance of the country. These churches engaged with the arborescence of the Soviet hegemony but failed to filter all of the rhizomal operations of Polish agents. The other sacred spaces in Nowa Huta, such as the Cemetery or former Concentration camp, were left to diminish in meaning, as the Communist construct could not encompass a coherent strategy to deal with them appropriately. Those spaces were incorporated into the urban fabric without the architects' drawings and their urban interface was left to be determined by Soviet managers. It can be argued that the lack of active participation of the events in the

necropolises in civic or political life allowed their urban interface to be relaxed and even allowed for their demise. Bulhakov's devil was to be invisible to the homo-sovieticus.

## 5.5 Conclusion

Even though the architects designing Nowa Huta aimed to prepare the city for the presence of heterotopias by designating spaces for churches, they could not predict the development of their locations within the urban fabric. The instances of emerging heterotopias created on an arborescent and rhizomal level developed a new approach towards the perception of the self in the civic.

The masterplan of the city was designed for the presence of the Catholic Church in a performative way, embracing the cultural heritage of the Polish people. The architect's efforts were negated by the government which revoked the application for a church in the prepared site. The presence and design of the building as compared to that of a police building in Nowa Huta gives away the atmosphere that the government had planned for the city. It was an atmosphere of secrecy and invigilation that obfuscated the Neo-Classical concept of transparency and inclusivity, as indicated by the architects from Miastoprojekt. Contrary to the church design, the police building did not give away its municipal presence and mimicked the appearance of nearby residential buildings. The edifice acted like the users that came to inhabit its interiors. Those were SB agents and TWs who operated under-cover and in secrecy, invigilating even the private spaces of the citizens of Nowa Huta. By doing so they changed the definitions of the private spaces and made them feel uncomfortable.

The situation of discomfort and lack of possibility to relax must have been amplified by the lack of appropriate space to spend casual leisure time. Most of the opportunities to engage in rest were aimed to support the Soviet concept of becoming a homo-sovieticus and placed the people engaging with it in a state of tension. To allude the possibility of encountering a representative of the policing service and to spend time away from the Soviet propaganda, some people of Nowa Huta started seeking spaces away from the normalising gaze of the police force. Those were most often subterranean spaces, and ones without a clear circulation and layout. Examples of such were bomb-shelters, garages and underground corridors, as well as distinct spaces on the periphery of the city. Such spaces were difficult to control and hence seemed like a perfect opportunity to transcend the Soviet agenda. Those were places of the development of dreams, adolescent love, sex, art and self-definition. Away from the eavesdropping and ocular intrusion of the governance of the self, the people in such spaces could develop strategies that gave them the defensive capacities to maintain a conscious position within the power-knowledge nexus. As a consequence a number of subcultures and illegal conduct could find a release, developing new ways of acting upon the socio-political atmosphere in the city.

The Catholic Church that facilitated the political opposition in the country came to be considered as an ideal place to distance the self from the Soviet propaganda. The Polish Communists, under the Soviet input, were not prepared or expected to be affiliating

themselves with any signs of the divine and were therefore, unable to interact with the clergy. The subcultural groups and intellectuals started organising focus groups around the Church and developing a cultural life away from the Soviets. It may be the case that this situation inspired the development of the design in two churches; the Lord's Ark and that in turn was reflected and enhanced in the church of St. Maximillian. The design development shows the withdrawn qualities of the interiors of the churches. The most secluded were the ground floor areas and subterranean spaces that were inaccessible for people who were not part of the parish. The buildings became an organised meeting place for those who wished to explore a side of themselves which did not adhere to the Soviet mentality. Those buildings had a designated area that was explicitly designed to uphold a number of events in a defensive manner that implicitly resonated with the spaces of the subcultural groups in the city.



**Chapter 6.**  
**Conclusion**

## **Chapter 6. Conclusion**

### **6.1 Introduction and answer to the aim of the thesis**

The aim of this thesis is to understand the negotiation and development of heterotopias in the context of the city of Nowa Huta as a reaction to the Soviet hegemony over Poland at the time of Communism. The formation of heterotopias was, under Communism, intensified and in Nowa Huta found its release in places that were withdrawn from the public eye. Under the threat of encountering Communist policing, people engaging in heterotopic conditions were largely acting against invigilation. The situation developed when the Church offered a public space where some heterotopias could become acted out as part of the public. This allowed part of the underground cultural life of Nowa Huta to engage with the civic. Through this relationship with the Church-heterotopias gained the ability to develop into a visible and influential political force. This force came to be manifested in architecture by an open dissent from the Soviet design guidelines. I feel it is right to say, but at the same time I can see tension in suggesting, that heterotopias which were latent in the civic spaces of the city inspired a more diverse architecture that was witness to different notions of 'progress', as manifested in the withdrawn and subterranean character of key spaces in churches of the Lord's Ark and St. Maximilian, in Nowa Huta. As such the heterotopias that I discussed in this thesis can be understood as molecular, performative and heterotopias of exception. Architectures that could foster the free exploration of habituality came to become molecular heterotopias. Structures that could navigate corridors for secret invigilation and legislative dissent from Marxist ideals fostered heterotopias of exception. Buildings that fostered meeting spaces for the opposition and cultural movements for non-Soviet purposes and came to openly manifest their disobedience to the public realm can be named performative heterotopias.

### **6.2 Elaboration on the Aim of the thesis**

When reading Foucault's texts, in particular his paper on heterotopias, I was struck by their similarities to the situation of Nowa Huta and the way some spaces were appropriated for counter-conductive acts. The Soviet hegemony over Poland outlined a particular way of acting in public which every citizen was expected to adopt. This ran contrary to the free-spirited nature of Polish civil order. When the two came together a complex relationship was acted out. There are similarities between the manner by which this interaction occurred and Foucault's description of power. Nowa Huta was a city which was the architectural and urban manifestation of Soviet ideology and power on Polish soil. The architecture and urban form of the city resonated with the guidelines of the Soviet hegemony to create what Foucault might have called a 'dispositif'. This was a strategy of addressing the civic order that was developed in Constructivism and that was established in Socialist Realism. Apart

from the Soviet guidelines the city was also inspired by a number of other concepts which polluted the clarity of the architectural and urban composition. The discussion in this thesis suggests that the spaces informed by the other concepts proved to be ripe for the generation of heterotopias.

To reiterate Foucault's definition of a heterotopia outlined in Chapter five:

There are also, probably in every culture, in every civilization, real places—places that do exist and that are formed in the very founding of society— which are something like counter-sites, a kind of effectively enacted utopia in which the real sites, all the other real sites that can be found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted.

(Foucault 1984 24)

The heterotopias that were created in this city and which 'contested' the Soviet guidelines had to be concealed in the urban fabric due to fear of prosecution. Heterotopias formed in underground corridors, abandoned theatres and basements as well as bomb shelters and on the peripheries of the city. In order to remain latent some delinquents engaged in heterotopias to act out their desires: to become subverts. Those desires came in the form of soft rebellion such as listening to unsanctioned music, consuming alcohol, having sex, and disseminating unauthorised literature. In this way heterotopias came to rupture the Soviet flow of ideology and propaganda. This was a way of retaining the cultural habituality of civil society continued in the inter-War period and presented in the architectural discussions in *Architecture and Construction*. Heterotopias here were considered as spaces that give the opportunity of transition to a creative civic engagement, and dissenting from the normative episteme. This was an opportunity to attain new ways of understanding that can be manifested by actions of resistance associated with place-making related to complex reconsiderations of the nature of the self with respect to the imposed public norm. This thesis commenced with the image of Tadeusz Rejtan's place-making represented in Jan Matejko's painting *The Fall of Poland* (Fig. 1.2) as a space that Foucault might have called a heterotopia. The outcomes from the analysis of the case studies, presented in this thesis, imply that heterotopias in Nowa Huta became intrinsic to the production of a continuation of power structures and character of a civic space. However, the case studies suggests that their role in the power structures may only be recognised as explicit retrospectively, after the trigger of rupture with the norm has passed. At the time of their operation they 'invert' the norm and appear disruptive without leading to a coherent outcome such as the depiction of Rejtan in the *Fall of Poland*, which explores the traditions of romantic fatality.

It would be wrong to assume that these acts were charged with a grander ideology or defined aim; rather they might have been inspired by curiosity or need to indulge in deep, intimate desires of a rhizomatic nature. Such desires necessitate an outlet and in the

described cases their encounter with Soviet power structures was problematic. The need to avoid the gaze of authorities pushed those desires into a heterotopic state. As a response the government created TWs, who operated in a heterotopic way, to match the dissidents' ability to elude authoritarian arborecence. The role of the Communist policing was to prevent the proliferation of anti-Communist counter-conduct. With time the Catholic Church noticed this trend and started organising special events in church buildings which could include the expressions of non-Soviet cultural life. By doing so, some heterotopias could surface and become public but still retain apparent distance from the interference of the TWs that dominated other public spaces. This affiliation of the Church with illegality coincided with the design development of the two aforementioned churches – that of the Lord's Ark and St. Maximillian. The architectural composition of these churches included rooms that had similar qualities to the subterranean or peripheral spaces of heterotopias. In this way heterotopias became more visible and through their alliance with the Church they fuelled the ranks of the opposition. The presence of such heterotopias in the civic changed the urban environment and through the help of the Church they became much more influential in the cultural life of the city.

The type of heterotopias presented here are not a full list of such that materialised in Nowa Huta. By their very nature heterotopias are difficult to identify and classify. It could be argued that the presented heterotopias allowed for a re-evaluation of the performativity of the civic spaces in the city and ultimately fostered a more explicit participation in power structures. The text presents a narrative guided by a reading of Foucault's concepts to outline the complex situation of the constitutive engagement of Catholic architecture under a Communist government in a city that was designed in accordance with Soviet principles.

### **6.3 Answers to the secondary research questions**

To tie together the arguments and issues raised in this thesis, this section synthesises the outcomes of all the chapters to clearly present their relation to the aim of this thesis.

The outcome of the second chapter outlined the guidelines that were set out by the Soviet hegemony and imposed on Poland. This gave an indication of the power struggle that the discussed heterotopias have addressed. After the Russian Revolution (1917), the Soviet culture was infused with a spirit of exploration and development in all fields of life, including architecture. This was conducted in pursuit of a perfect world. The presumed pressure from the social changes in the country pushed the national association of architects (SSA) to establish a justified approach, which would ensure the most efficient architectural strategies were adopted to create a utopian civil society. The time straight after the revolution was a period in architectural history that Paperny called Culture one. During this time architects



turned to theories raised by Frederick Taylor to reflect the fixation on work discussed by Karl Marx. This was done in large part to increase the productivity of workmen in the Soviet Union. The ordinary Russian citizen was to be attuned to become a modern Soviet personae, which Alexander Zinovjev called the 'homo-sovieticus'. The affect of this time is best represented by Konstantin Melnikov's way of designing which developed from Neo-Classical and conservative to extremely experimental and bold. The concepts, which were developed during the Russian Constructivist period, were based on Taylorism and became the basis of the Soviet guidelines. It can be argued that the Soviet government assumed that every citizen would conform with the abstract nature of its propaganda and become an ideal worker. In theory, architecture was to become one of the tools to achieve this goal.

In 1922 Joseph Stalin was appointed as the general secretary of the Soviet Union. This was the moment in architectural history was one that Paperny categorised as Culture two. Under Stalin it became directive to incorporate all areas of civic life to construct the homo-sovieticus. This construct was to be governed by the state and regulated rigorously, to attain a high level of efficiency of work leading to industrial reparations of the country and development of the defence capabilities of the Soviet Union. For the architectural profession, this meant the adoption of Socialist-Realism as a rule of design that followed Neo-Classical aesthetics with the added benefit of being infused with principles of a social condenser developed during Constructivism. At this point the concept of the condenser changed to become more of a stratifier. All this effort was set up to maintain a level of control - a singular stream of propaganda - was to ensure that no one would undermine the governing body. This approach favoured the public aspects of architectural design.

It can be argued that Soviet culture was based on a strong and arborescent governance of civic life that found its sovereign leader in Stalin and was permeated into architecture via the SSA. The repercussions of this way of life were represented in a developed public realm that could foster a strong presence of a defined leadership. The urban fabric of the designs for New Soviet cities, in particular Moscow, created an illusion of grandeur with a defined centre. In the case of Moscow this was Iofan's Palace of the Soviets – the design of which was perhaps the best architectural representative of this period.

What followed was the appointment of Nikita Khrushchev to fill the void after Stalin's death in 1953. His appointment signified the beginning of the political Thaw which can be seen as another type of (what Paperny might have referred to as) Culture. This was a time for Socialist-Modernism, in which a Soviet translation of modernist principles came to dominate the landscape, with concrete being the predominant building material.

The third chapter outlined the Polish culture from before the Soviet hegemony. The chapter presented evidence that there was an affiliation of the Polish people to the Catholic Church and the rhizomatic quality of the nation at least in architectural circles presented in the

thesis. Contrary to the Soviet approach, the Polish culture, between the two World Wars, was in a state of disorder and liberty of civic expression. This might be the reason for the friction that came to arise when the two cultures came together. The architectural profession in the inter-War period in Poland was lifted from the burdens of overwhelming hierarchy and used this opportunity to explore a multiplicity of ideas – none of which emerged as a dominating dogma such as Taylorism did in the Soviet Union. The situation was what Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari might have characterised as presenting rhizomatic qualities of organisation, attempting to achieve a more arborescent model but failing in most cases due to lack of infrastructure and civic strength. A representation of the situation can be found in one of the architectural journals that was published at the time in Poland which was *Architecture and Construction*. In its initial phases the journal was very academic and the articles explored a variety of approaches to architecture and politics, but towards the end of the inter-War period the publications became commercially oriented and focussed on the pragmatics of the construction industry. The journal provides evidence of how the rhizomatism of the Polish inter-War period struggled to attain a more openly hierarchical or arborescent structure. One of the more prominent social entities that managed to maintain a clear hierarchy in the inter-War context was the Catholic Church. The relationship of the Church and Polish culture was best represented by the competition for the church of Divine Providence in Warsaw where architects showed great affiliation to the establishment, but also extreme diversity of approaches. I have suggested that the evidence points towards the fact that the civil society was too weak to take control or even give out guidance to the planning authorities in spite of the forcefulness of the Polish government. This was informed by lack of infrastructure after the First World War. The approach of the Polish government was to invest in efforts of rapid urban development of the country which left the public presence of a building underdeveloped. The rural typology of residential units in the country was in the twentieth century still dominant. The architectural specificity of this typology was manifested by devoting importance to the kitchen as the key space in a house. This way of treating the kitchen and the public implies that the architectural profession did not have a chance of developing a coherent strategy to address the public, placing emphasis on small domestic developments. As such it had a relaxed attitude towards the public or civic image, emphasising the interior. This may imply that the Polish culture cherished the opposite of what the Soviet architectural and urban planning circles placed value in.

After the Second World War Poland had to develop a new way of seeing the self in respect to the civic. With aid came the Soviet Union that promised help in return for uncompromising allegiance. This allegiance could be seen as the imposition of the homo-sovieticus episteme upon the Polish people to make them useful for the Soviet Union. The Soviet hegemony

attempted to incorporate the Polish nation into the military aspirations of the post-Tzarist regime. When the two cultures came together after the Second World War, the Soviet order assumed rapid urbanisation and reparation of cities to include Poland into the mechanics of serving the war industry. This transformation of Poland from the disorderly civil landscape of the inter-War and post-War period to a new regimented form was a significant leap within the cultural flow of the nation. This meant that the Polish landscape was expected to resemble that of the Soviet ideal. Part of this agenda was the development of the civic space that in Polish culture was not previously as important as the interior of a building. The new Polish cities were to be equally as hierarchical as the new Soviet ones, designed with an emphasis on the public realm. This transformation played itself out in the design of Nowa Huta where the architects and urban planners had a chance to develop the Soviet spatial strategies, which did not need to recognise the historical urban structures of Polish cities. This was in an attempt to implement the strategies of the Stalinist social condenser (stratifier). The city was to cater for a nearby heavy industry providing an unprecedented amount of steel to industrialise the nation. This initiative was part of an agenda to introduce a number of steelworks across Europe to serve the Soviet nation. This is in large part what makes Nowa Huta a possible case study for any consideration of the installation of regimes of thought onto a people via architecture and totalitarian policing practices.

Chapter four presented Nowa Huta and the dispositif which was implicitly inscribed in the urban and architectural design of the city. This chapter describes how the Soviet culture was translated into the Polish landscape and explains the context of the emergence of spaces which can be considered as heterotopias discussed in this thesis. Nowa Huta is a city where the design followed the Soviet principles by adopting a Neo-Classical architectural language that reflected classical proportions and ornamentation, axial urban planning and the grandeur of municipal edifices. The basic intent of the government was to outline a brief for a city that would foster an ideal worker. The urban plan of Nowa Huta also bears signs of continuing the Taylorist philosophies that the Soviet architects developed in Culture one which were to direct people to operate collectively as well as creating a clear urban relation between home and work. The design moves which created this aberration of a social condenser included the neighbourhood units which grouped people according to work strata, visibility and grandeur of the edifices leading to work, the directional concept of organising leisure and a conveyor belt of spatial alignment leading people to work. It was commented that the architects' attempted to develop a strategy of design that would follow an atmosphere that placed great importance on the workplace and suggested what the inhabitants lived in a 'conveyor-belt' type of space that operated as a sequence leading commuters from home and ending at work. All the public places were to be

regulated and streamlined to ensure a single-tracked mentality similar to that of the homo-sovieticus.

In spite of the architects' efforts their city failed to accomplish the creation of a model collective of homo-sovieticus'. Chapter five presents the different interconnected heterotopias which came to dominate certain aspects of urban life in Nowa Huta. The over-codified Soviet discipline had a flaw in assuming that Polish individuals, who were used to liberty, would succumb to communality. The resulting clash of the two cultures created opportunities ripe for dissent. This came to form what Foucault might have called counter-conduct resulting in heterotopias in areas that could not be overseen by the Communists. The different character of heterotopias presented the opportunity to compare them with Soviet conduct and juxtapose the Communist regime with the relaxed, non-Soviet sovereignty of the self in Nowa Huta.

The first type of heterotopias discussed in this thesis are those of 'exception', which were created by the legislative framework to ensure the proper functioning of Communist ideals. Those were spaces which the agents of the Communist regime SBs and their subordinates TWs used to abuse the Marxist ideals and the assumptions of the architects of these spaces, to infiltrate the public and ensure that no counter-conduct was initiated. These heterotopias were produced against the Marxist concept of inclusivity and transparency and changed the definition of public and private spaces in the city. The TW's operated individually and unsupervised, conducting their investigation undercover and changing the facts they were to transmit. The spaces they worked in were not transparent and can be argued to be similar to the spaces constructed by the Polish people prior to Second World War. The right of private ownership or privacy or even family space, which lay at the core of Polish values before the Second World War became, in the presence of the agents, void. The architecture that fostered the TWs and Communist policing reflected the work of those agents. The orderly and symmetrical urban plan of Nowa Huta was in this case hindered by the presence of a police building for the SB. This building lay latent in the civic, away from the main axis of the urban plan (Rose Alley). Every encounter with a representative of SB or TW forced a re-interpretation of space and the self as one of a subject of information-flow. This allowed for the coordination of knowledge transmitted to the authorities via the TW and SB. The people who were exposed to a TW saw the hierarchy of the city differently, focusing on the police building and points of contact that devalued the carefully planned rhythm of hierarchy in the civic-spaces. This re-configured hierarchy of spaces came to foster TWs' transmission of information without an explicit public presence. This changed the supposedly utopian principles of design suggested by the Soviets. Their presence also changed the way the inhabitants of the city perceived private space.

Public spaces, especially spaces for leisure, were not ones in which the inhabitant could relax and retreat from thinking about work. The constant feeling of being invigilated suggested that any dissent from homo-sovieticus would be punished. The same applied to residential quarters. This implied that the care for the family-unit-oriented way of life had to be re-configured to adjust to the new quality of spaces. The situation reached an absurd level when inhabitants feared that they could not speak in their own homes without being eavesdropped upon. This meant that private residential units were expected to become part of the public. This was also followed by the design of residential units that amplified the role of the living room and detached it from the kitchen.

The second type of heterotopia presented in this text was one that I described as 'molecular'. They allowed withdrawal from the civic in order to attain a level of non-visibility that sought to engage and contest the regulation of public order. This was a reaction to the presence of the Communist policing and misguided attempts to form a leisure culture which developed a peripheral and subterranean way of acting. In this way it was an attempt to regain control over personal space that could not develop in the Sovietised urban fabric of Nowa Huta. The locations of molecular heterotopias, though heavily dependent on the design of the city, worked to subvert it, transgressing boundaries of the norm suggested by the authorities of Nowa Huta. The quality of those spaces, in spite of being public, bear resemblance to the intimacy of the kitchen in the traditional Polish dwelling in that they were detached from the public gaze. Molecular heterotopias helped to define and develop a strong and defensive concern for the self, which, as I argued in chapter three, was an important aspect of the Polish personae. Those spaces were adopted in conjunction with alcoholism, prohibited music, subcultures, raves and sex -activities which found their place in an atmosphere of darkness, pushing boundaries of the self and informing a new hierarchy of the city-space. These heterotopias dissented from the orderly spatial planning principles of Socialist-Realism. The key spaces here were the abandoned leisure centres, underground corridors, basements and bomb shelters as well as the peripheries of the city. All those had the virtue of being not-overseen and could foster non-public and non-Soviet acts and relations. They served as places where new assemblages could be formed and transgressions of the homo-sovieticus frontiers could be made. An example is an invention of a new type of music-making by a band which was forced to practice in an acoustically unsound heterotopia. The chance to engage in heterotopian acts gave the opportunity for the self to explore other aspects of identity which did not belong to the hegemony, such as ability to play forbidden music or being in a state of alcoholic intoxication. The homo-sovieticus that was forced in the public was in heterotopias transformed into a less regimented construct. These spaces were liminal places, which afforded the possibility of transformation of a man from a conformist civic-dweller to an entity without explicit regulation. These moments and

spaces of realisation afforded self-reflection and re-assessment of cultural trends. Those heterotopias could be understood as places that allowed a new way of perceiving the self and the civic to developed.

The final type of heterotopias that this thesis explored, were 'performative' in character. Those were explicit architectural manifestations of counter-conduct in the civic space. They came in the form of church buildings that were designed to foster events, which did not lead to the Marxist notion of pride from work or any form of civil orchestration. The spiritual was too abstract for the homo-sovieticus dealt with and had to be rejected from the civic. Churches would therefore be assumed to be free from Communist agents.

The church designs, as examined in this thesis, evolved to explore more and more elaborate, explicit and withdrawn ways of resisting the Communist orders, giving the opportunity to oppose the hegemony within the depths of sacred spaces. In spite of the architects' assumptions that spaces for churches would have to be prepared for a future that would follow the Communist regime the government was adamant in their declination to erect them. After social unrest and upheaval permissions for construction were granted the church of the Lord's Ark, and after that the church of St. Maximillian. The turbulent context of approving their location misplaced such buildings within the masterplan of the city, changing the orderly dissemination of civic spaces in the urban fabric. Sacred spaces became uncontrollably located across Nowa Huta developing new architectural languages and organisations that did not fit into the Soviet hegemony. Under the pretext of attending religious ceremonies subverts could gather in churches and share ideas in secret. The buildings were usually composed of a public upper floor and a more latent, lower one, which bore similar attributes to the spaces referred to above as molecular heterotopias. It is possible to consider the designs of church buildings as having a relation to the subterranean and peripheral spaces in Nowa Huta. Churches came to foster the opposition and anti-governmental campaigns. By doing so, the Church gained a significance in the power structures, which elevated its authority in Poland. The church buildings became a visible sign of heterotopias which acted against the Soviet regime in the civic. The endorsement of the Church and the parish allowed for an easier adoption of the role of a subvert and gave the sacred building a liminal quality characteristic of the heterotopic space.

The specificity of the Church as an institution with meticulously defined codes of conduct channelled the friction between the Polish culture and the imposed Soviet hegemony. The spatial qualities of the churches allowed for a certain type of behaviour which established the unorchestrated dissatisfaction of the inhabitants of the city to form an organised opposition. This development of reaching an arborescent form of operation from a rhizomatic type of assemblage was implied by Deleuze and Guattari and showcases the difficulty of the Polish culture to come together.

The Catholic Church came to be used by the delinquents for personal gain, as well as TWs for eavesdropping just as much as the church used the situation to amplify its role in the political propaganda. The spaces of churches gained a new quality where the rhizomal relations could build up and interact with their arborescent counterparts. This came to be manifest both within the interiors of the churches as well as the architectural language in which they were designed.

The heterotopias of exception bear strong similarity to that of the opposition. The Soviet guideline took the bearing of the Polish cultural habituality and became a manifestation of the homo-sacer rather than homo-sovieticus. Both types of spatial use were heterotopias which could be characterised as latent and implicitly subversive to the civic order. The mechanisms of the contesting power structures were played out explicitly through this relation. Those heterotopias were engaging with the infrastructure of the built environment in Nowa Huta.

There were also those that did not have an explicit, political agenda in refuting the Communist regime and engaged in heterotopian tendencies. Their heterotopias were detached from the rigour of the urban fabric and could have been organised on its peripheries such as the hill of Wanda or underground corridors that provided intimacy. Eventually the government-opposition relation became so overpowering that even such heterotopias had to be incorporated in the power struggle. This was done by the design of churches that could foster a development of non-Soviet habituality and became an attractive venue for all subverts. In this way the Church and opposition gained a way of attracting unregulated heterotopias. By that the churches came to gain in significance in the urban fabric and the opposition established its representation in the public.

The churches discussed in this thesis fostered heterotopias which were performed in the civic but may have merely been a projection of the latency of the significance of molecular heterotopian acts. The outcome of chapter five implied that the spatial qualities of performative heterotopias was distant from the intimacy of molecular heterotopias or those of legal exception but was their civic projection. In this way heterotopias in Nowa Huta carried the cultural legacy of Polish civil liberty facing the regimentation of a Communist government.

#### **6.4 Implications of the thesis**

The discussion in this thesis presents a city that was designed to facilitate a singular way of understanding the self and facilitated this conceptual personae through architecture. As a result, its inhabitants ruptured the narrative through establishing heterotopias and developed a new way of being in space that eventually fed into the stream of opposition against the

overbearing power structures. This thesis presents a close reading of a spectrum of heterotopias which suggest a limit to the architectural materialisation of power.

It is nearly impossible to convey a full and comprehensive study of the whole magnitude of heterotopian cases and conditions in Nowa Huta. The reality of their operation is far too complex to present in one doctoral document or even a lifetime. The cases which were discussed herein are only a fragment of the whole image of the city and merely a singular narrative of the architectural situation. The way they were described here relates to their engagement with the power structures and this approach implies that heterotopias which did not engage with the government explicitly were not taken under consideration. This is because such heterotopias did not have a chance to mature to an arborescent form and all trace of them were deemed insignificant or irrelevant for the discussion of power relations.

The way this power was actualised was analysed in a new, post-structural take on the problem of spaces of resistance in Nowa Huta under Communism with particular attention to theories raised by Foucault, Deleuze and Guattari. The choice of their philosophies was dictated by the similarities that I saw between the conceptual conditions they explore and the intricate complexities of the situation of Nowa Huta during Communism. In this sense the theories operated much as Foucault had described concepts as 'tools' (1994) and Deleuze and Guattari had referred to as 'tool-boxes' (Colombat, 1991). That is, the theories were engaged much as tools to help prise open the workings of spatial sites as sites of resistance in Nowa Huta.

The thesis is playing on the theoretical framework of Deleuze and Guattari by considering the heterotopian spaces as ones that originated through what they understood as 'desire' (2004, 215). In their understanding desire was a force that brings people together as well as living creatures and inanimate objects, organs or particles. Desire is a force that acts through context but does so on a rhizomatic level. This force has no agenda and operates as a default of existing in the presence of others. This thesis notes that this understanding of desire, through non-Soviet heterotopias in Nowa Huta had a chance to mature and be recognised. By that it gained a type of operation which could be reflected upon, understood and finally enunciated. By their enunciation or channelling via the structures of the Church the desire, that created the heterotopias, became a conscious player in the power/knowledge network. This is what, I believe, links the philosophy of Foucault with that of Deleuze and Guattari.

An outcome of this thesis is complexity rather than simplification. When considering the concrete actuality of the spaces of Nowa Huta one is led into more and more complex relations that do not easily equate with simple observations of good/bad government/resistance. The spaces of SB and TWs were as complex and subversive as those



of the subverts themselves. It is not contrary to Foucault's definition to describe the spaces of the Communist policing as heterotopic. Though these spaces might have served to reinforce certain aspects of hegemonic existence, the spaces themselves were outside of civic organisation of the new, Soviet city. These heterotopic spaces infected this structure - they were spaces of whispers, gossip, eavesdropping and spying.

The richness and complexity of the theoretical framework comes across in its application in practice. This research has the potential to provide a rationale for a wider investigation of how conceptual inhabitants of potential designs are constructed. The research has a chance to be forwarded and applied to the establishment of citizenship in other cities around Europe and their relationship with the governance of the state. In times of austerity and political manipulations of information, new forms of engagement with the public might arise through heterotopias similar in nature to the ones discussed in this thesis. This has already begun through my research into architectures and strategies of shaping and re-shaping public spaces through civic engagement of subcultures (such as parkour runners) and minority groups (such as the LGBT movement) in larger European cities. The resulting papers have been presented on international conferences as well as published.

What was discussed in this thesis and what I aim to further in my future work is to examine moments in time and space that present a particular set of qualities resonating with Jan Matejko's painting. The depicted ferocity of Rejtan's refutation can be seen as a metaphor for the violent struggle of counter-conductive or non-normative desires with power structures. By the inversion of the norm, heterotopias rupture the civic and recompose it anew. It could be said that it is in such moments and places where culture has a chance to be re-invented and new citizenry can come to life.



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