

RETHINKING ROOTS OF SOCIALIST CITY

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ABSTRACT

RETHINKING ROOTS OF SOCIALIST CITY

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Capitalist urbanization is doomed to meet a dead-end. Hereby, from a utopian point of view, we propose the socialist city as a revolutionary alternative to overcome the capitalist crises. We discuss the principles of the socialist city in the light of references from socialist city expansions in the past and in contrast to today's capitalist cities. We discuss how can the principle ideas of the socialist ideology such as equality, organization and productivity be spatialized, how can space serve publicness and socialization of the society, how can the urban space and geography be equal, and how can the socialist city serve productive forces against consumerism of the capitalist city.

Keywords: Socialist Urbanization, Spatial Equality, Spatial and Social Organization, Productivity

ÖZ

SOSYALİST KENTİN KÖKENLERİNİ YENİDEN DÜŞÜNMEK

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Kapitalist kentleşme çözümsüz bir çıkmaz içerisindedir. Bu tez kapitalist kentleşmenin içinde bulunduğu çıkmazı bir kez daha vurgulayarak onun karşısına ütopyacı bir bakış açısıyla devrimci bir alternatif olarak sosyalist kenti koymayı amaçlar. Sosyalist kentin ilkelerini geçmiş sosyalist kent deneyimlerinden aldığı referansların ışığında günümüz kapitalist kentinin karşısına yerleştirir. Sosyalist ideolojinin eşitlik, örgütlülük, üretkenlik gibi ilkelerinin nasıl mekansallaştırılabileceği, mekânın kamusalığa ve toplumun sosyalleştirilmesine nasıl hizmet edeceği, kentsel mekanın nasıl eşit olacağı ve sosyalist kentte kapitalizmin tüketiciliğine karşı üretici güçlerin etkin kılınmasına nasıl hizmet edeceği konularında tartışma yürütür.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Sosyalist Kentleşme, Mekansal Eşitlik, Mekansal ve Toplumsal Örgütlülük, Üretkenlik

to people who struggle for beautiful days

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Our cities are in a deep impasse. Implicit contradictions of capitalist system are spread to all corners of the capitalist cities which have been observed as investment means. Furthermore, it is easy to see that the existing capitalist system cannot create genuine solutions to these problems because cities exacerbate contradictions as a mechanism to reproduce working forces. When we read backwards, eliminating these contradictions and tackling these tangles means the collapse of the capitalist system itself (Castells, 1978; Harvey, 1973, 2000; Şengül, 2009).

City was seen as a means which is used as an instrument to provide continuity and security to the capitalist system. Lands, history, culture, identity, publicity, transportation, infrastructure of city, all are sold over and over again. Capitalism heads towards cities to find new investment mechanisms and keep up this selling process (Touraine, 1999; Castells, 1978). After all these investment processes, cities are laid in front of us with their contradictory characteristics: continuously growing, plundering nature with its irrational projects, disrupting social relations. . .

The capitalist class invests in an area with mega-projects which make investment areas more popular and attractive. But after some time, the once popular area loses its profitability; meanwhile, capitalists are busy building another mesmerizing area to move on to. In this concept, cities are consumption products and this consumption processes harms the citizens with no regard to their needs or requests. Cities lose their publicity, separate the society to layers and transform themselves into commercial areas that serve to individual clients. To summarize in one sentence, cities are not our living area anymore, they are the playground of the capitalist class (Harvey, 1973).

Profound urban contradictions are met by urban movements. Thereby cities serve a new struggle position to inclusive social opposition against capitalists, central and local governments, and international interests groups. Urban social movements fight against the dominant classes to have a say in urban space and they overcome these conflicts successfully by inflicting the investors (Harvey, 2000).

The goal of this study is to present a new alternative to erase the contradictions of capitalist urbanization and provide a new model to serve urban social movements to make their organizations stronger. This alternative model is called the ‘socialist city’ that has been demonstrated in the past in the countries that socialist system came to power. But we do not handle the subject with mere acceptance as if the socialist countries reached the ultimate socialist city; we aim to improve the model.

After the failure and collapse of socialist government expansions, the absolute victory of capitalism was announced to the whole world (Şengül, 2009). The capitalist system abandoned its baselines such as national government and modernism, revealed its contradictions and it proceeded to an order of deeper contradictions. In such a case, saying the capitalist system has met its absolute victory can be explained with not having enough information or making evil disposed propaganda for continuity of the capitalist system. Contradictions that were drawn by Marx keep up to date and yet they have deepened and varied. So one can say we are in the age which was demonstrated by Marx (Harvey, 2000).

Today our cities are like huge factories: cities are dominant in the world order not industry (Lefebvre, 1970). We transfer the surplus earned by social cooperation to the cities but after that transfer process capitalists have more gain than us. Our situation can be captured by the capitalist class at any time; the capitalist class can make us poorer in its own playground, they can erase our habits to hold onto social life or our publicities from urban space. Consequently we do not have an economic or social guarantee for the urban space.

In such a case, in a frame that was created by Marx; city is our new emplacement and we present this study to carry ‘guns’ to this emplacement. We aim to present the socialist city model as a lodestar to urban social movements and a flag for international anti-capitalist struggle that dispatch us to imagine about future and make us ready to

anticipate the nicer days that we will live in the future.

We should indicate that slipping to the point which fetishizes the space is not going to be our primary concern. Bourgeoisie is going to be defeated by leadership of the working class and space can only follow that social revolution, it cannot get ahead of that revolution (Kopp, 1970). Furthermore, space can create arguments and struggle sources during the development process of that revolution.

In the end, we do not claim to describe the socialist city with its all details. Rather, basic principles of the socialist city in a general frame will be discussed. According to this framework we can develop some space setups with a utopian point of view during the study. Unger describes the situation of the existing society: “an astonishing gap between the alleged interest in alternatives and the lack of any tangible sign that this interest is real.” (Harvey, 2000).

1.1 Why Do We Discuss Socialist Cities Again?

To base this study on a solid ground there is a need to answer this question in more detail. After the October Revolution, socialism experiences that practiced real socialism or state socialism spread to over more than half of the world’s landscape and these experiences implemented their own planning approaches and urban models. Socialist city discussions after the October Revolution continued for long years with great utopian and experimental views and models. This study aims to explore the practices of these experiences and find new solutions for the problems of the existing capitalist cities.

The lack of solutions that the capitalist city faces cannot be solved with a reformist view; the reformist movements that finds implementation area on the city can only postpone the problem or move it to another area of the city or overlap the problem, where as we emphasized before this deadlock comes from internal contradictions of the capitalist system itself and solving these contradictions means demolishing the capitalist system (Lefebvre, 1970; Harvey, 1973). Miliutin quotes Lenin as follows;

“Marxism has gained for itself the universal historic significance of the ideology of the revolutionary proletariat because Marxism has not thrown away the achievement of the bourgeois epoch, but, on the contrary has mastered and reworked everything that was valuable in more than two millenniums of human through and culture” (Miliutin, 1974). Marxism works on subjects which are important for the humanity in the frame of its ideology. This study aims to create balance between Marxist ideology and its space.

Today, anti-capitalist strugglers confront a state more multilayered and more diverse than the time of Marx and Engels. There is a need a new instrument to unite the struggle and this instrument is the city (Harvey, 2000; Castells, 1978). Against the capitalist usage of the urban space; if the city is settled into the center of anti-capitalist struggle there can be a chance to unite this multilayered and diverse structure and maybe we can put an end to this struggle (Touraine, 1999). Socialist city model aims to clarify this end and also aims to create a spatial vision to welcome the future when the anti-capitalist struggle succeeds.

To rephrase our answer to the question briefly, this study discusses socialist city again to create a socialist solution to the destruction of the capitalist city, new arguments and emplacements to social movements and prepare ourselves to welcome the bright days of the future.

1.1.1 A Solution to the Destruction of Capitalist City

Space is an economic element in the capitalist city and it is a basic subject of the capital accumulation by investments of the capitalists. In other words, the frame of the capitalist city is drawn by profit struggles between capitalists, namely, by property relations (Gottdiener, 2001; Horner, 1978). The existing city is a concept that is identified with capitalism as the playground to fictionalize its property relations (Kopp, 1970). These property relations also breed the problem of land rents which is the main subject of the process of unequal development of the city (Keskinok, 2006). This unequal development creates new property relations and this process brings us to a vicious cycle.

The contradictions and crises underlying capitalism also show themselves in the urban space because the city is a notion that is directly identified with capitalism. One of the most important contradictions is the continuous capital development which is defined by Engels as the weak point of the capitalist model of production (Engels, 1987). Because of competition capitalists need to invest and to grow incessantly, or otherwise, they will be wiped off from the market (Huberman, 1953). This competition reflects on urban space and the crises created by this competition have more destructive effects on the urban space than the economic crises of capitalist mode of production. The capitalist city must be fluid and it must grow continuously. In such an environment it is impossible to advocate the urban space is owned by people and its promise of democratic environment for them; and thus, in such a city dictatorship of the economy prevails.

Technologic development is one of the most important stands for the capitalist class in the competitive environment that requires continuous growth. By the force of new technologies capitalists can improve their production and they can make more gain with less investment. But this stand does not abolish the crises but only postpones it. Urban space cannot even see this postponing; the construction sector that is geared up according to technological developments invests on and consumes urban space faster and drags itself into crisis conditions and worsens the urban contradictions (Castells, 1978).

Another solution for the capitalist class against competitiveness requiring continuous growth is creating new markets and new sources to postpone the contradiction. Capitalist class manages this process in urban space by the way of creating new needs and directing demand of citizens. In such a condition even the working class who could get property in the urban do not feel safe. Their properties can be taken from their hands by investment instruments of the capitalists or central and local governments that want to create a path for capitalists (Şengül, 2009).

Scarcity is another mechanism that is used by the capitalist class to augment its profit. It is one of most important criteria to make something meta. Under the favor of scarcity a product can be demanded in the market and provide its investors with more gain. The scarcity mechanism is operated in urban by differentiations (Harvey, 1973).

These differentiations originate from the geographical features or new factors which are created by investors such as services, architecture etc., declaring the scarcity in the urban space as an abstract notion.

In summary, implicit contradictions in the capitalist system spread to the urban space and they drag humanity to the collapse of the capitalist city. Destruction of the capitalist city cannot be stopped by reforms which are filtered from the capitalist system. Property relations which are accumulated in the urban space charge us to establish a method more radical and more revolutionist (Lefebvre, 1970; Harvey, 2000).

1.1.2 To Knit a New Social Opposition

The dominant economic element in the society is also a dominant ideological element which holds power; and space plays a strategic role in knitting power relations. Power relations which do not have an impact on space are doomed. It is a basic necessity to maintain control over the space for all social groups which aim to protect, change, or develop power relations. Therefore struggles for the space are in the focus of struggles for the power (Şengül, 2009; Marx and Engels, 2002).

In addition, if power shapes the city, the social movements which come in sight by this shaping process would have strategic roles to transform the power. In these conditions the city serves to melt different social layers into the same pot and to knit social opposition bringing together the class movements and the layer movements.

Social movements which depend on social layers are directly or indirectly related to class movements and our target is to strengthen this relation and place social movements in a more revolutionist position. The socialist city can undertake the task of meditating this mission. Blumer states that social movements have two main bases: 1- criticizing the existing situation, and 2- praising the future conditions (Touraine, 1999). This study covers these two bases by criticizing the existing cities and praising the cities of future.

Engels describes interests and thoughts of people as the driving forces for progres-

sion of humanity, but the driving forces which conduct these driving forces are also important. There is a need for motives for the movement of the working class. This motivation was inoculated to the working class with the discourse that “they have is nothing to lose except of their chains, but there is a world to win” (Marx and Engels, 2002). However, today the working class has something to lose even if they own it under the capitalist system’s permission. Under these conditions it is harder to find the necessary motives. The socialist city can provide such a motivation. This study aims to illustrate a utopia and social opposition come together around this utopia.

1.1.3 Enlightened with Past, Preparation for the Future

“History is always worth thinking about in the interest of making the future.” (Bruno Flierl)

Throughout history, it has been witnessed that humanity has taken references from the past for new spurts, especially in critical conditions. One good example is how ancient Greeks’ ideas were used for the Renaissance or taking utopian approaches which represents going back to the nature as an alternative against the dead-end of the cities after the Industrial Revolution. In this way, the intellectual history produced arguments from the past and achieved to push humanity to a forward point and to overcome crises. That is the reason why this study try to explore the socialist city. Capitalist city is in stalemate and belongs to the history. Humankind could create a socialist city and make it alive against the capitalist city and the dominant ideology which created it. Therefore, in such a content examining previous socialist city experiences should be the first thing to cross our minds.

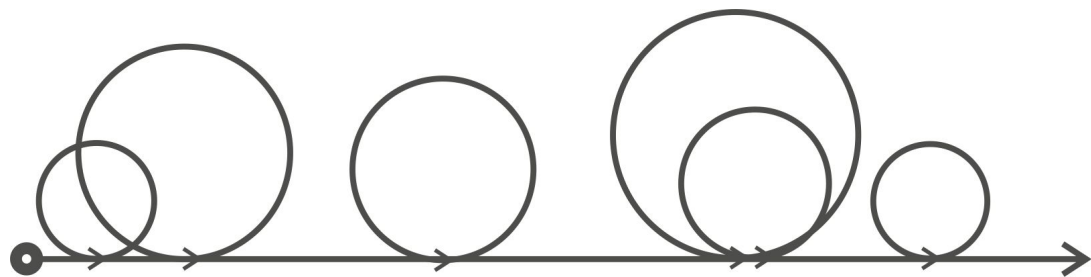


Figure 1.1: Diagram of Intellectual Progress (Barlas)

The community that is affected by the crises and riots against these conditions is not enough to create a revolutionist alternative; intellectual wealth of the ferment is a necessity to not entail the crises to chaos. The socialist city discussion is a humble study to create this intellectual ferment.

"Modern city is a product of mercantile society and will die together with it." (Militin, 1974). We are aware of implicit contradictions of the capitalist system which will cause the collapse of the system along with the space created by this system. Another aim of this study is to provide an answer to "how would the city of future be?" We can further deepen the question by asking "How will the city of future have a role in bringing the society of the future to a further point?" and "What role will the cities play in the transition from socialism to communism." We discuss the socialist city to imagine the future in the light of the socialist city experiences that existed in the past.

1.1.4 Value of Utopian Point of View

"A map of the world that does not include Utopia is not worth even glancing at"
(Oscar Wilde)

Utopian point of view has been presenting eye-opening suggestions for humanity since it has been proposed with a spatial frame by Thomas More. This point of view suggests analyzing chaotic conditions of the existing situation, criticizing the problems, and fictionalizing the present state in a different way to reveal alternatives. Figures of the city and Utopia are intertwined. In different periods of history, planners came up with utopian point of views to create solutions especially in crises conditions, such that Choay describes utopians as the first planners (Harvey, 2000; Eaton, 2002; Ganjavie, 2012).

Today, the largely abandoned utopian point of view could have an important effect on the crises encountered in our cities. The utopian point of view is an important instrument for illumination to create a theoretical infrastructure and provide an excited contribution to social opposition. (Ganjavie, 2012; Harvey, 2000; Posokhin, 1974).

It is a common knowledge that utopianism was criticized and rejected by Marx and

Engels but their rejection was not towards utopianism but the ways of utopians at that period. Utopian socialists like Owen and Fourier realized poverty of the working class before Marx and Engels and they tried to find a solution, but their implied utopian critics about the system, however, could not display a revolutionist position. Utopians could not name the working class as a class which displays a revolutionist position, and therefore, according to Marx and Engels utopias could not contribute to the working class because they had a target to create freedom islands in the middle of the poverty sea. They chose to create spaces where these contradictions do not exist rather than dealing with problems. Despite all of these criticisms, Marx and Engels did not ignore the contribution of utopian socialists to the working class and they interpret them instructive due to their proposal of attacking the root of the existing society: *"But these Socialist and Communist publications contain also a critical element. They attack every principle of existing society. Hence, they are full of the most valuable materials for the enlightenment of the working class. The practical measures proposed in them — such as the abolition of the distinction between town and country, of the family, of the carrying on of industries for the account of private individuals, and of the wage system, the proclamation of social harmony, the conversion of the function of the state into a more superintendence of production — all these proposals point solely to the disappearance of class antagonisms."* (Marx and Engels, 2002).

Also Harvey summarizes how utopias are important for the working class: *"(...) the socialist utopians that preceded a repertoire of critical principles and 'valuable materials for the enlightenment of the working class. The problem Marx and Engels aver, is that the development of the class struggle itself renders this utopianism redundant, even turns it into a negative force as sects form around charismatic leaders who seek their own 'spatial fix' to social problems by founding isolated communities or colonies overseas."* (Harvey, 2000).

Utopias can be divided into two subclasses: 1- utopia of process 2- utopia of space. Also Harvey describes another new utopianism concept; the "dialectic utopianism": *"The task is then to define an alternative, not in terms of some static spatial form or even of some perfected emancipatory process. The task is to pull together a spatiotemporal utopianism - a dialectical utopianism- that is rooted in our present pos-*

sibilities at the same time as it points towards different trajectories for human uneven geographical developments." (Harvey, 2000).

In this way the studies of Marx and Engels which reveal contradictions of the capitalist model of production and evolution of the capitalist society can be named as the utopia of process. Eaton says: *"Marx's historic belief in a revolution that would radically transform the whole of society is of course, arguably, no less utopian or idealistic than the approach of figures like Robert Owen."* (Eaton, 2002).

Utopianism is like a laboratory for fictionalizing life of the future and not only does it provide consolation about a probable peaceful area but also plays as an educative element. Today a routine reproduction process is built for the working class, spatialization of daily life puts up walls around our minds and this is a basic factor that prevents us to change. The utopian point of view must be used as a tool to awaken the working class from this routine. Utopia has a critical role about creating ideas at the process of creating urban space and creating references for practical life (Ganjavie, 2012; Lefebvre, 1970).

This study wants to discuss the socialist city in a utopian point of view as a driving force to use features of utopianism like instructiveness and encouragement. It is going to adopt Harvey's dialectic utopianism notion to illustrate a general framework without directing people to a specific space or target. Yet one of the features of utopianism is providing an evolutionary concept not a predefined one. Utopians are changed by social demands and they produce new descriptions according to problem analyses. In this frame our aim is not to give a clear answer to the question of "how must a socialist city be like?" with a clear description of space. We aim to propose a general framework to reveal principles of the socialist city.

To sum up, the socialist city is an experimental work and this experiment is worthless if we only talk about the space without approaching social change. Even if a socialist revolution takes place this experiment has to change itself according to new needs and demands of the new life and the best way is using a utopian point of view to meet this dialectical experimental work.

CHAPTER 2

SCOPE OF STUDY

We mentioned that our aim is to present general principles of the socialist city and illustrate a framework for it according to these principles. We are going to use a trivet in the process of designation of the principles: make use of the capitalist city because we claim to produce an alternative against the problems which are created by the capitalist city, make use of Marxist and Leninist principles which are going to be tried to spatialize in this study, and make use of the socialist city experiences in the past. In brief we describe the answer of the question “How must a socialist city be like?” to the opposite of the first and in the light of the second and the third.



Figure 2.1: Scope of the study

2.1 Problems of Socialist City Experiences

"It is easier to put on artificial satellite into orbit around the earth than to work out a general design for building our city. (One Soviet official stated in 1957, several weeks after the launching of the first Sputnik.)" (Grant, 1980).

One of our basements is the urbanization experiments of the socialist countries in the past or the governments which tried to implement socialist spatial policies.

One of the bases of our argument is the urbanization experiments of the socialist countries in the past or the governments which tried to implement socialist spatial policies. After the October Revolution, the socialist government intelligence had the power in many countries all around the world and many studies were conducted to reflect the socialist ideology to space. Many theoreticians criticized socialist city experiences; according to them the socialist cities were not different from modernist cities of the West and that they were imitated utopias of the West, and even the planning mechanism in many cases resembled the West (Sawers, 1977; French, 1995; Lefebvre, 1970).

First of all we should indicate that socialist planning mechanisms cannot resemble capitalist planning mechanisms: in the first the planner makes decisions according to the public welfare, while in the later, the planner can only struggle with capitalist groups or their delegates in the political area in a "do-gooder" manner. The "do-gooder" planner aims to take his/her share from the process and create ways for capitalists to make more profit. Conversely, where the socialist planner is not dominated by capitalist groups, one cannot talk about the planning processes which are dominated by relations of interests.

Did socialist cities imitate utopias of the West? Most of these utopias tried to create solutions for destructive features of the capitalist city but as we discussed above, implicit contradictions of capitalist system and their reflections on the city cannot be solved inside the capitalist system. So socialist cities took utopias of the West which could not find any area to implement themselves and revised and improved them according to the socialist ideology to find implementation of spaces in the socialist city. In other words, utopias of the West could find an opportunity for implementation

in the socialist world, far away from the contradictions of the capitalist world. A different space research in the Soviet Union did not begin from the zero point. Some of the important architects and planners from the West carried out their works to the Soviet Union. Le Corbusier describes the conditions in the Soviet Union after revolution: “Moscow is a factory of ideas, a promised land for specialists.” There were some works with limitless imagination in these conditions such as Lavinsky’s City of Springs, Malevich’s Cosmic City, Krutikov’s Flying City.

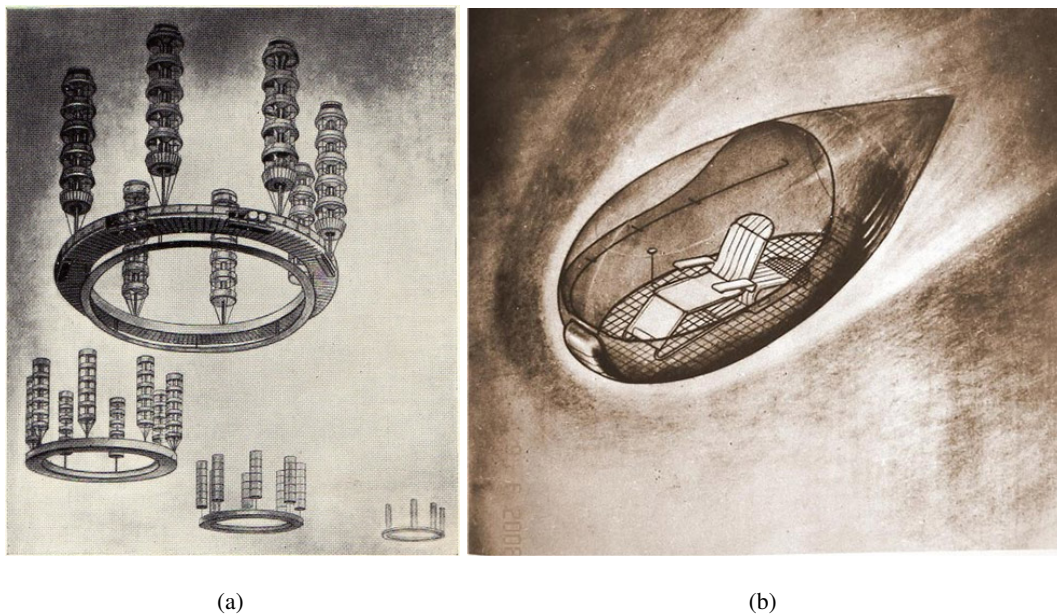


Figure 2.2: Georgii Krutikov’s Flying City (<http://thecharnelhouse.org/2013/05/20/georgii-krutikov-the-flying-city-vkhutemas-diploma-project-1928/>) an important example to understand how utopian view was dominant in Soviet Union

Miliutin’s Linear City can be an important example to understand how socialist world used utopias of the West. This city took base from Soria Y. Mata’s Linear City and Tony Garnier’s Industrial City. Miliutin’s city has a structure with six basic areas which are parallel to each other: 1- the transportation network 2- the production area 3- the green buffer zone 4- residential areas with social facilities 5- green areas and sport fields, and 6- gardens and agricultural areas (Miliutin, 1974).

Countries which experienced socialization after the October Revolution were very far from this framework with incomplete industrialization and revolutionist proletarian masses which were drawn by Marx and Engels. The Soviet Union and China being

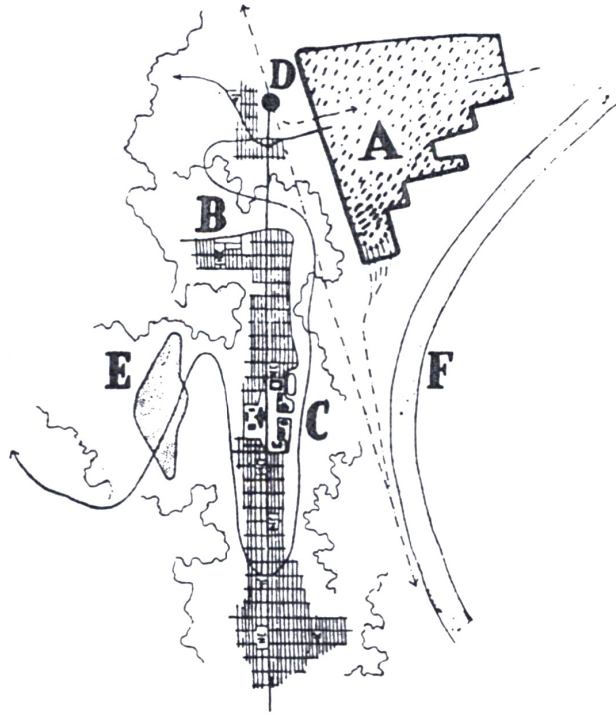


Figure 2.3: Tony Garnier's Industrial City (Miliutin, 1974)

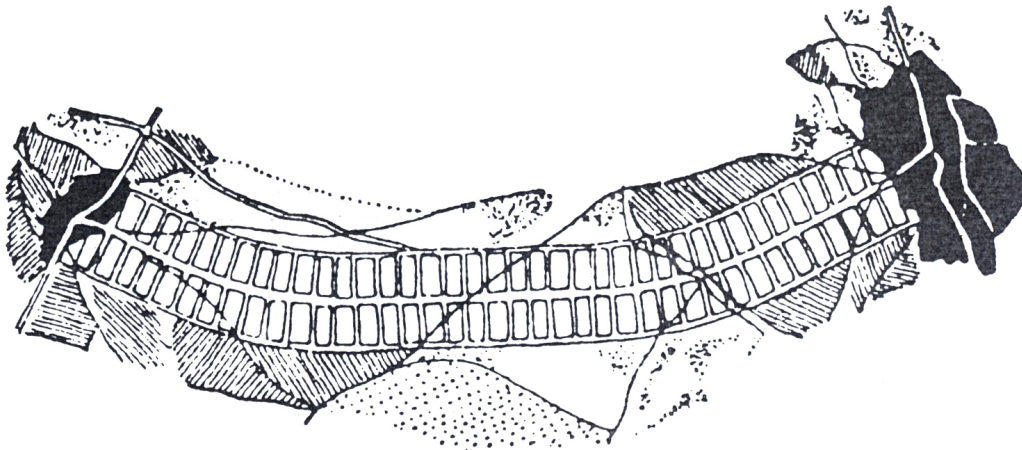


Figure 2.4: Arturo Soria Y Mata's Linear City (Miliutin, 1974)

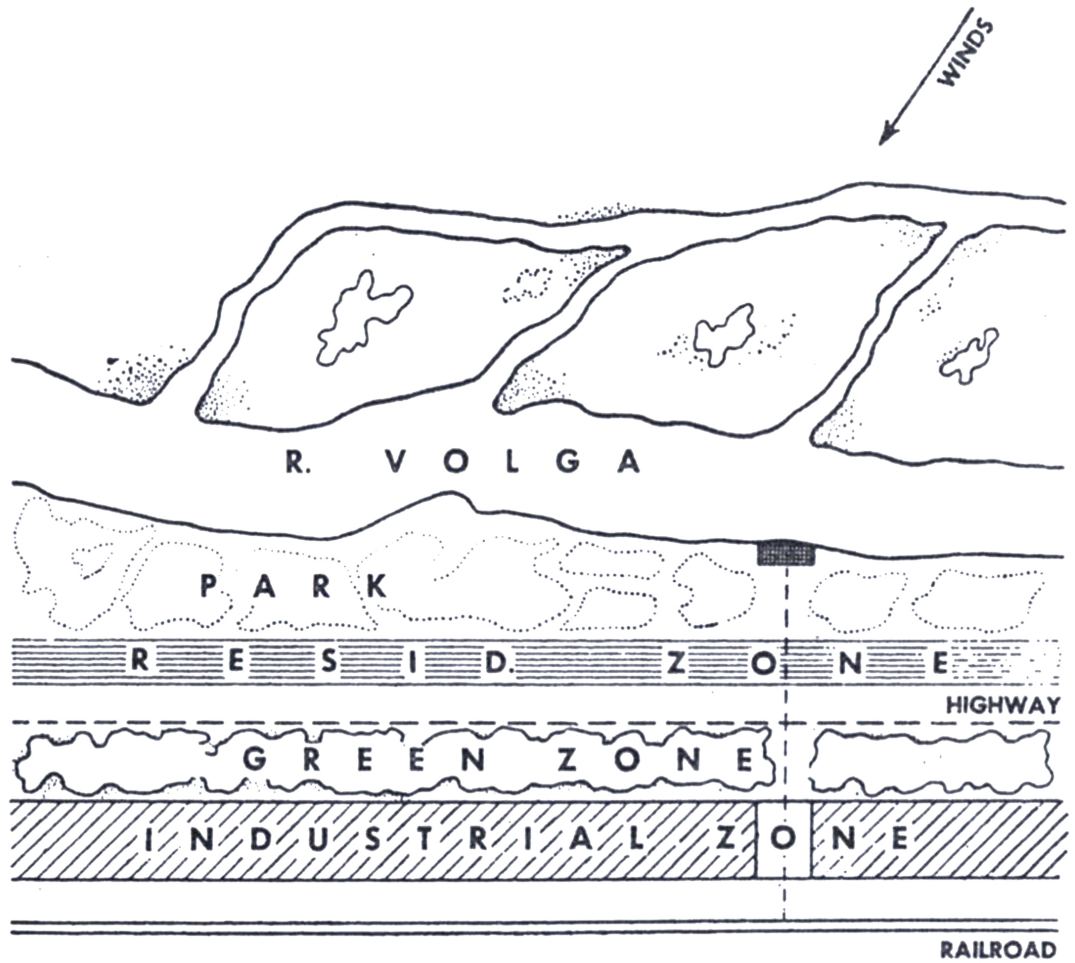


Figure 2.5: Nikolai Miliutin's Linear City (Miliutin, 1974)

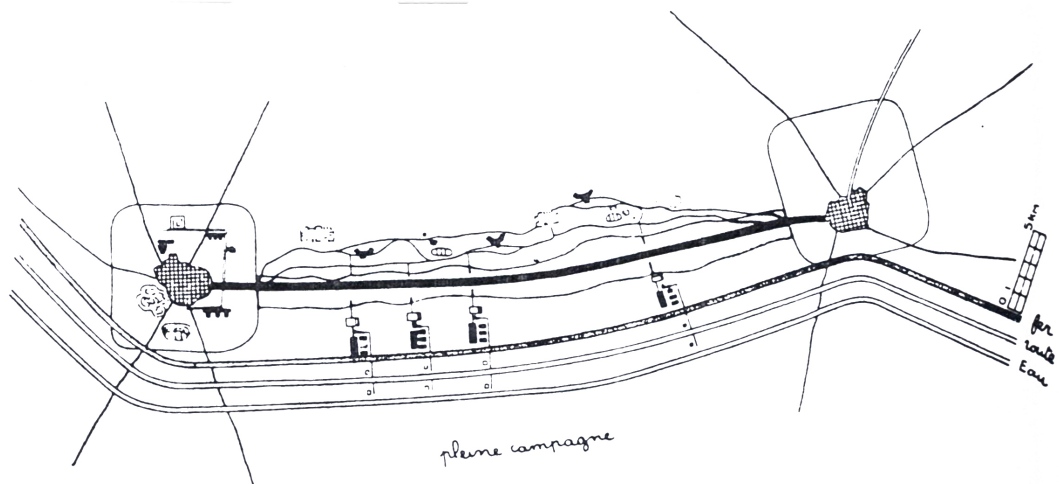


Figure 2.6: Le Corbusier's Linear Industrial City (Miliutin, 1974)

in the first place followed by the Eastern Bloc countries were mainly agricultural societies and their production had just begun to transform from manufacturing to the industrial mode. In such a situation socialist revolution took a different role than the role described by Marx and Engels: to create an economic model based on socialist production and spatialization concordant to the socialist life, avoiding the economic conditions which are based on the capitalist model of production. Because of this role, establishing socialism had been considered a modernization project and for this reason socialist cities had some similarities with modern cities of the West arguing that modern architecture is one of the most appropriate styles for socialist urbanization in its pure form. To create a new socialist system, a new way of life is the goal of the modernization process in socialist countries which is substantially different from the modernization in the West.

One of the most important handicaps of socialist countries was that they did not have developed capitals and rich proletarian population. Also, Marx and Engels proclaimed that the socialist system is convicted to failure if not implemented in a world scale and the collapse that happened in socialist countries was the prognosis of this assertion. Lack of capital and underdeveloped economic life constrained the socialist social structure. For example the features that must play a part in the socialist city were ruled out and sources were directed towards industrialization. Socialist countries had to race with the capitalist world economy and this racing condition obstructed the freedom of the working class. After the Second World War, the Cold War conditions between the Soviet Union and USA pushed aside the subject of building a well-defined social structure.

However, socialist city experiences urbanized themselves different from capitalist urbanization, despite all the lacks and defects. Socialist urbanization was carried out in without property relations and by looking to space over its usage value and by concurrent spatial and economic planning. We try to take some references from rights and wrongs of these experiences in our study to declare the principles of the socialist city.

2.2 Problems of Today's Capitalist City

The capitalist city is a city concept that we observe in countries where capitalist economic relations are dominant. Political dispositions in capitalist countries can be in a wide range from dictatorship to democracy, thus the concept of capitalist city can exhibit differences according to the different political dispositions or the accumulation of capital. The capitalist city can play a dominant role in the capitalist economy with leadership of the construction sector or can play a dominant role in the reproduction process with its social structure (Keskinok, 2006; Harvey, 1973). This wide range of capitalist city roles has a priority: submitting conditions to capitalists to increase their profits, thereby providing continuity of the capitalist system.

Today, the capitalist city is more layered and complicated in compare to its previous versions in the last century. Production processes started to be liquidated: the capitalist city is being instrumentalized to create new markets and investments for capitalists. These conditions is squeezing the working class and other disadvantaged groups and deepening the contradictions in urban space, thus diversifying the struggles in urban (Harvey, 2000). In other words, today the capitalist city is utterly in a different point, therefore examining socialist city experiences in the past cannot be sufficient to present a new alternative. Our socialist city model is going to be created in opposite of today's capitalist city.

2.3 Problems of City and Urbanization in Marxist Literature

The criticism of Marxists did not examine urban problems until 1960's (Lefebvre, Harvey, Castells, O'Connar and other Marxist theoreticians). It would be a severe criticism if an ideology with the allegation that independence of humanity passes through itself would not take the urban – the most complex structure and achievement of material and non-material culture of the humanity – into account. Urban problems have been noted in Marxist literature since Marx and Engels. Ten principles in the second chapter of the Communist Manifest that addresses proletarian and communists

give tips about what should be done for the urban space:

1. Abolition of property in land and application of all rents of land to public purposes. (...)
3. Abolition of all rights of inheritance. (...)
6. Centralization of the means of communication and transport in the hands of the State.
7. Extension of factories and instruments of production owned by the State; the bringing into cultivation of waste-lands, and the improvement of the soil generally in accordance with a common plan.
8. Equal liability of all to work. Establishment of industrial armies, especially for agriculture.
9. Combination of agriculture with manufacturing industries; gradual abolition of all the distinction between town and country by a more equable distribution of the populace over the country.
10. Free education for all children in public schools. Abolition of children's factory labour in its present form. Combination of education with industrial production, &c, &c.(Marx and Engels, 2002)

After the October Revolution, important theoretical discussions was put forth to spatialize the discourses of Marx, Engels and Lenin in the Soviet Union. Subjects which are discussed in Marxist literature like housing problems, situation of the family, proletarianization of the masses, creating organized society were some approached in this period (Kopp, 1970; French, 1995).

Today, urban space plays a prior role. Urban is seen as a dominant element of the social struggle and space of the revolution, due to the increasing exploitation of capitalist system over the space. Vital bonds between capitalist system and space create gathering place for disadvantaged groups (Lefebvre, 1970; Harvey, 2000; Castells, 1978).

CHAPTER 3

MAIN PRINCIPLES OF SOCIALIST CITY

Socializing means of production alone is not enough for the revolution. The desired social relationships by the dominant ideology cannot be built without power over the space (Gottdiener, 2001). Thus, socialist ideology must have a space setup to make revolution actual and this setup must be different from the space setup that was distilled from the history of oppressor and oppressed relation.

Tafuri argues that space setup of socialist ideology must be dominated by the principles not by the objects, and he states that the Soviet Union succeeded to do so (Tafuri, 1983). The socialist city must be coalesced by the principles of the city not by pieces or elements of the city. Does not capitalist city have its own principles? As we mentioned before the main principle of the capitalist city is providing necessary conditions for capitalists to make more profit. Indeed, objects which is pointed out by Tafuri rises to the importance with this principle and objects take the mission of hiding the principle from the society and pushing it aside. The city which is created by these objects does not tender the principles. The capitalist city is defenseless to the transitions and attacks on the target of the unique principle of the capitalist system.

No doubt, the most radical difference of the socialist city with the capitalist is that it ignores the property and the relations created by the property (Scott, 2009; French, 1995). Even the lack of land rent in the city will alone allow the elimination of many problems in the city because many problems are caused by scarcity of the land – not to forget that this scarcity is an imaginary notion which is created by investments and propagandas of the capitalists – and removing property relations is going to remove this scarcity and irrational capitalist urbanization which is shaped by it. Our cities

are going to be shaped by rational plans not by urban land rent. Property fetishism which locks people to irrational capital oriented urban development and drags them into inhuman dispositions is going to be surpassed by publicities (Gottdiener, 2001).

When we look at the socialist urbanization experiences in the past to find an answer to the question: “What are the principles of a socialist city?” we see different principles approached by different experiences.

The characteristics that the socialist city must carry in the GDR was put forth by “Sixteen Principles of City Planning“ (Sixteen Principles of City Planning, 1950). According to these principles; the socialist city must imbue political organization and national consciousness to the society, must answer working, housing and socio-cultural needs of people, and must focus on industrial production. Population growth of the city must be at an optimum point. It must be high enough to provide socio-cultural life of the city and it must be low enough to prevent crises because of population accumulation. Historical heritage of the city must be protected. City center must be the core of the city and must include cultural, administrative and political units and also must host dominant architecture with monumental buildings and spaces. Transportation must be provided by public transportation to the center and the city center must be purified from the traffic. Commercial, socio-cultural units must be located in a neighborhood to service them. The neighborhood units must be connected by transportation routes. Water, sun and fresh air must be taken into account during planning and building. Planning must create bases for architecture and planning and architecture must be developed according to the needs of people (Sixteen Principles of City Planning, 1950).

Susman summarizes aims of the urbanization in Cuba as: eliminating incongruity between urban and rural areas, balancing cities, politicization of locals and taking production as a base (Susman, 1987). Priority of the socialist city in China was proletarianizing industrial and agricultural labors according to the target of Mao “walking on two legs” (Blumenfeld, 1978). At 1st Urban Development Conference expectations from urbanization was revealed as providing production and industrialization and peaceful environment to the working class (1st Urban Development Conference, 1954). Moses Ginzburg declared his expectations from constructivist building area

as: spreading urban to rural, liberalizing women, setting up life of the workers out of the working place and gathering social groups (Ginzburg, 1982).

The principles of the 1935 Moscow Plan also can be instructive to understand expectations from the socialist city. This plan aimed to limit urban growth, apply state control over housing construction, plan development in housing zones, equally distribute the common consumption goods, provide accessibility to working areas, rationalize transportation, improve green spaces to give new symbolic values to the city and to strengthen city center as a result, and to shape urban planning as a part of national planning (French, 1995).

According to Sweezy, socialist urbanization should carry the idea of creating a peaceful society rather than economic growth (Blumenfeld, 1978). Gutnov and others point out that socialist city must focus on the individual and inhibit losing individualism in a society (Gutnov et al., 1968). According to Tabb, the socialist city is a city of proletarian so it must have production as a base (Tabb and Sawers, 1978). Fisher believes that the socialist city must be a place for the integration of workers from different working areas so the socialist city can be declared as the city of proletarian (Fisher, 1962). Xie and Costa proclaim the socialist city is an important instrument to improve the organization of the working class (Xie and Costa, 1993). Kopp suggests that the socialist city must prevent spatial differentiations of the urban vs. rural, big city vs. small city, and center vs. periphery (Kopp, 1970).

To conclude, according to the historical experiences, specialists' opinions, and the inevitable destruction of the capitalist city that we live in today, our socialist city must have three basic principles which are:

- • Equality: to create equal spaces at every scale and to provide social equality.
- • Organization: to organize, collectivize and liberate the society to realize socialist life and to make ways to a communist society.
- • Production: to focus on production in contrast to the consumption in the capitalist city, to provide reproduction of proletarian and sustainability of industrial production and conservation of the nature.

In the following sections we try to explain these principles in further details.

3.1 Spatial Equality

Indeed, 'equality', creating a society without classes and exploitation, is one of the first coming notions when we talk about socialism. Certainly, one of the priorities to provide social equality is getting on the stage with a space setup that all individuals can use it equally (Horner, 1978). Space must be equal both in a physical and in a socio-cultural way to create social equality, properly and to provide continuity (Xie and Costa, 1993). Spatial equality can be provided by balancing economic effects, population distribution, effects of production, providing of services, consumption levels (Keskinok, 2006). It is not enough to abolish class privileges for spatial equality, class discrimination must be abolished, and so providing social equality is prerequisite to providing spatial equality (Engels, 1999).

When we look at the capitalist cities of today we clearly see that we are very far from spatial equality. The capitalist city emerges as a hierarchical system which is caused by site selection or creation of the state of social groups. Social differences both create these unequal spaces and feed itself from these spaces. Unequal space is created by investments and the competition environment of capitalists, by the power of the state, and by different ethnic identities or financial possibilities of social groups (Harvey, 1973).

Basic necessity of the process of creation of spatial equality is refusing land rent which is directly related with refusing private property. Only urbanization which occurs according to the needs of the society and not for profit motives can realize these conditions by a state power which executes according to the needs of the society (Brenner et al., 2012).

In addition, we emphasize that the socialist city is a means to get people ready for the communist society which reshapes itself according to different demands or behaviors of the society. The question of "how much private property will be restricted?" is

going to be one of the most important of the questions to tackle at this phase. When we look at previous socialist experiences, we see some policies to remove or restrict private property. The first one of these policies was expropriation. After establishment of the Soviet Union, the private properties in the urban space were expropriated first, and then they were converted into common properties for all the society by the way of socialization (French, 1995). Some of the other ways were to forbid families or individuals to have more than one house, to guarantee to the tenants that they had rights over the property like an owner, and to index rent expenses according to the income of families or individuals (Belediyeler Dergisi, 1937).



Figure 3.1: El Lissitzky's Wolkenbügel (Kopp, 1970)

“Wolkenbügel” work of El Lissitzky emerges as a symbolic work that aimed to minimize the connection of the structure with the land in order to overcome the problems which are created by land property (Frampton, 1968). This is a valuable example because it shows us how the Soviet Union gird on utopian weapons at the war against land property.

One of the most important instruments in the capitalist city that creates spatial inequality is differentiations of reachability of citizens to working, socio-cultural and service areas (Tabb and Sawers, 1978). In today's cities, middle-upper classes live in gated communities, they solve their transportation problems by using their private vehicle and they do not encounter with other social groups. On the other hand, working class or urban poor who are very far from advantages of the city, spend considerable amounts of time of their day on the way between their living areas and working ar-



Figure 3.2: Building of Georgia Ministry of Highways (http://www.architectural-review.com/Pictures/web/c/q/p/Socialist_Modernism_2.jpg)

eas (Gutnov et al., 1968; Castells, 1978). Even though the working class reach their aim by eight hours working day struggle with the slogan of “eight hours for work, eight hours for rest, and eight hours for what we will”; todays working class spend an important part of “what we will” hours to reach their working areas. From this point we should emphasize again that today’s capitalist city deepens class and social layer contradiction, so gains of the working class which they had via their struggles for years are taken from their hands one by one by a hidden mechanism.

This is why Miliutin determined transportation as the most important tool to provide spatial equality in his 'Linear City'. In Miliutin’s city, housing areas are positioned parallel to working areas and citizens do not spend more then 10-20 minutes to reach their work places.

Our aim in this part of the study is discussing how spatial equality can be provided in every scale. The socialist city must establish policies for spatial equalities in global scale between regions, in national scale between town and country, and in urban scale between neighborhoods and housings.

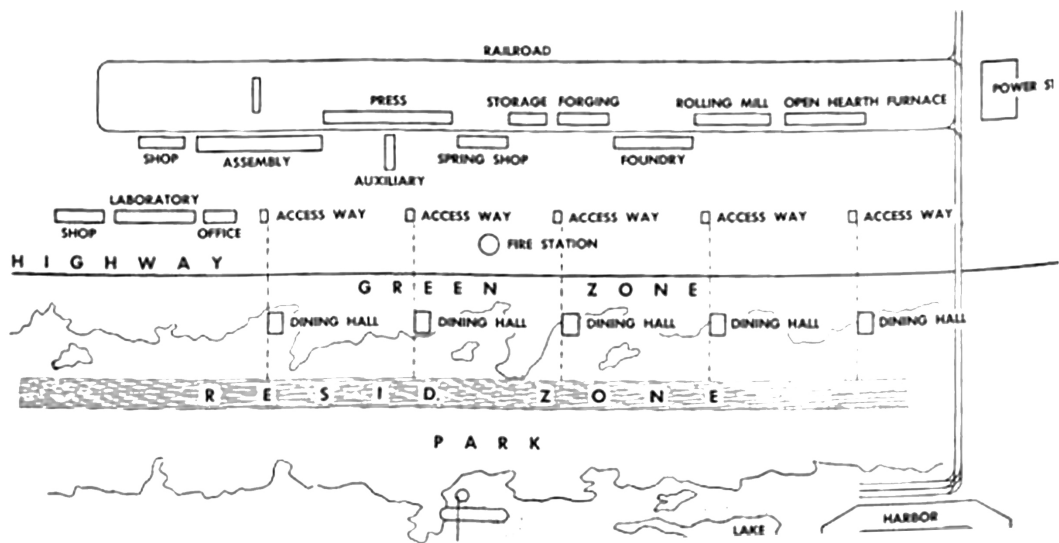


Figure 3.3: Miliutin's Linear City (Miliutin, 1974) Parallel urban uses and perpendicular lines for rapid transportation. Socio-cultural facilities for leisure time are located on the access lines between residential and working areas.



Figure 3.4: Stalingrad -Volgograd- Satellite Image. Stalingrad was a Soviet City which was designed by Miliutin according to Linear City principles; residential and industrial zones which are diverged by main highway and railway line settled parallel to each other by River Volga. Another remarkable point is areas on the west side of old residential area which were built up after collapse of Soviet Union. Urban land was divided to small parcels and buildings are smaller than the buildings of old residential area. Non-organized market mechanism slogs on to built large projects.

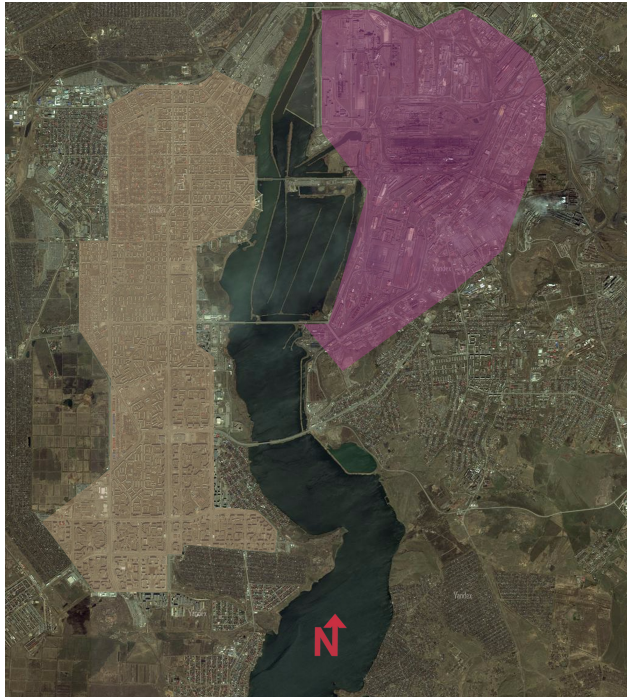


Figure 3.5: Magnitogorsk Satellite Image. Magnitogorsk was a linear city which was planned by Ernst May. Miliutin and May have letters to discuss planning process of that city. Residential and industrial zones are parallel to each other and River Ural separate these zones.

3.1.1 Obstacles to Spatial Equality

There are some obstacles to achieving spatial equality even if social equality is in place. We need to create some ideas to hurdle these obstacles. Inequalities in geography and heritages that come from unequal cities of the past are the most apparent ones of these inequalities. When we look at the past experiences of socialist cities, the third obstacle is the competition conditions of socialist countries against the capitalist world.

By nature geography is an unequal notion; it involves different elements like mountains, plateaus, valleys, forests, seas... One of the basic problems of the socialist city in the spatial equality dilemma, is building an equal city on such unequal geography. Referring back to Miliutin's linear city, Miliutin provides equal access for all to reach parts of the city like working areas to overcome geographical differentiations. The citizens who live in the linear city have the same opportunities to reach sun, forest, water or socio-cultural areas (Miliutin, 1974).

“The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles” (Marx and Engels, 2002) and the cities that are built by humankind reflect this. All of the cities that are built before the socialist city, produced unequal spaces as reflections of the model of productions (Harvey, 1973). According to Harvey, the most important challenge of the revolutionist movements which gained power was to free themselves from the common way of thinking of materialistic conditions of the past. It is even harder to set free from the physical environment of the past. It is impossible to eliminate the materialistic conditions of the past, which would require to rebuild the city which was inherited from the capitalist era. This rebuilding process must be proceeded in the light of the principles of the socialist city.

The transformation process of an inherited city is defined as the socialization of the city (French and Hamilton, 1979). Although inherited cities are a reflection of the dominant ideology of the past, our intention of rebuilding is not a destructive procedure. Some parts and structures of the cities are cultural heritage that was created by humanity. Architectural values as a part of this cultural heritage must be protected in the light of the principle of “protecting cultural values” as declared by Lenin, where

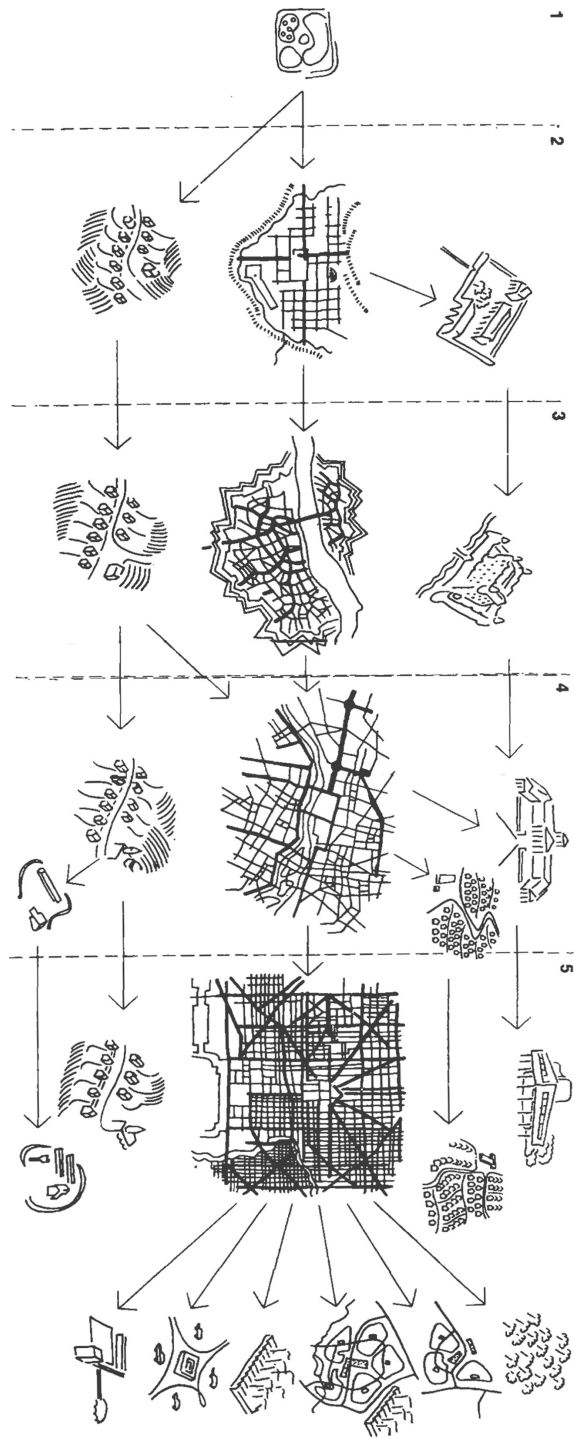


Figure 3.6: Urbanization Stages of Humanity (Gutnov et al., 1968) 1. Communal organization of primitive society 2. Slavery 3. Feudalism 4. Capitalism in the era of free competition 5. Monopoly capitalism

for example, the monuments of Moscow were protected and adapted to the new city (Posokhin, 1974). These protected parts of the city are tasked museum functions (Kopp, 1970).

However, the structures which do not have any architectural or cultural values can be adapted and made useful for new life. The reorganization process of bourgeoisie houses to make them suitable for collective usage of the working class can be an example for this situation (Belediyeler Dergisi, 1937).

The third obstacle in the way of providing spatial equality is the inevitable competition with the capitalist world. This hindrance was a continuous alert since Marx and Engels warned that socialist revolution cannot be real in only one county, it would be interrupted in such a case and it cannot reveal its implementations (Huberman, 1953). Competition against the capitalist world would interrupt providing spatial equality and building the socialist city, similar to the case in the previous socialist countries especially in the Soviet Union. Despite Miliutin's criticism about skyscrapers; "the last cry of capitalism", the "Seven Sisters" project in Moscow aimed to compete against American skyscrapers (Miliutin, 1974; French, 1995).

Moreover, limiting population of big cities was essential to create spatial equality. After Moscow had become a showcase for the socialist world, as the population of the city increased continuously, it became impossible to provide spatial equality. Also socialist countries which could not provide capital accumulation at industrial production sites, directed their sources to increase the production and they put aside the spatial set up. One of the most important reasons of the problems which lead to spatial inequalities such as routinization of the city, was caused by imbalance between housing demand and supply and imbalance between populations of cities.

We see some theoretical and practical discussions to hurdle these obstacles at socialist city experiments of the past. Is it possible to provide spatial equality in the socialist city despite all these obstacles and how? We are going to find an answer for this question and discuss how spatial equality can be provided in the upcoming parts of our study.



Figure 3.7: Moscow State University (<http://higeom.math.msu.su/msu-big1.jpg>)

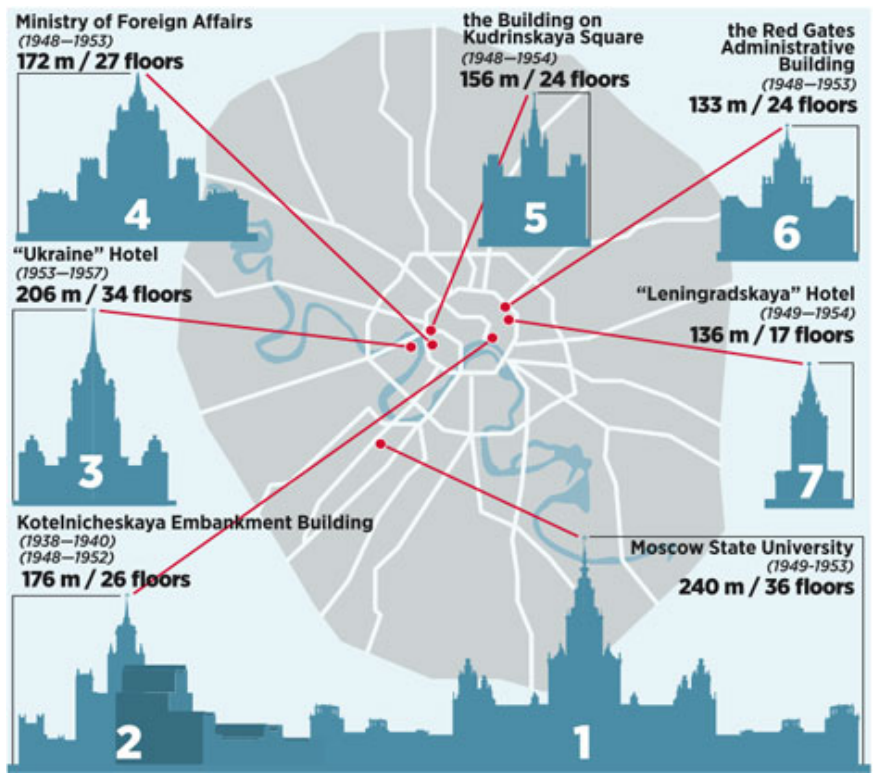


Figure 3.8: Seven Sisters of Moscow (<http://in.rbth.com/assets/images/2011-10/skyscrapers.jpg>)

3.1.2 Contradiction Between Town And Country

"The antagonism between town and country begins with the transition from barbarism to civilization, from tribe to State, from locality to nation, and runs through the whole history of civilization to the present day" (Marx et al., 1965).

Towns are the center of power, economy, and development, and therefore have always dominated the country. In today's capitalist city, this domination has become stronger and towns take the form of a mechanism that consumes foods which are produced by the country, exploits nature of the country and poisons it, requites power to the ranks of the unemployed from country.

The capitalist class deteriorates the incongruity between town and country and provides economical accumulation in significant focus points of the geography and creates new land rents with pressure on the accumulated population (Keskinok, 2006). Country is under absolute power of the town; town is a center for trade, it is an accumulation area for production centers, capital, labor, dwellings, art and ideas (Lefebvre, 1970). On the other hand country is at a far point from the potentials which are created by information and economic development in the city. In other words, contradiction between town and country creates a poor structure which has negative repercussions. It is needed to establish ties between industrial and agricultural production to get rid of chains on the country (Engels, 1935).

To overcome the contradiction between town and country is one of the priorities of the socialist city at the broader scale. Some solutions were discussed and tried in socialist city experiments of the past. Miliutin summarizes the method to overcome contradiction between town and country as: "we must correctly solve the problem of inter-relation industry and agriculture on the basis of the redistribution of mankind" (Miliutin, 1974). In socialist urbanization both country and town do not carry their old features (Kopp, 1970).

The urban is one of the most complex structures created by humanity and the widest reflection area of the cultures created by humanity. From this point of view, it is an instrument for propaganda because it submits the space of socialist ideology. The socialist city is going to be an instrument to speed up the process of promulgating

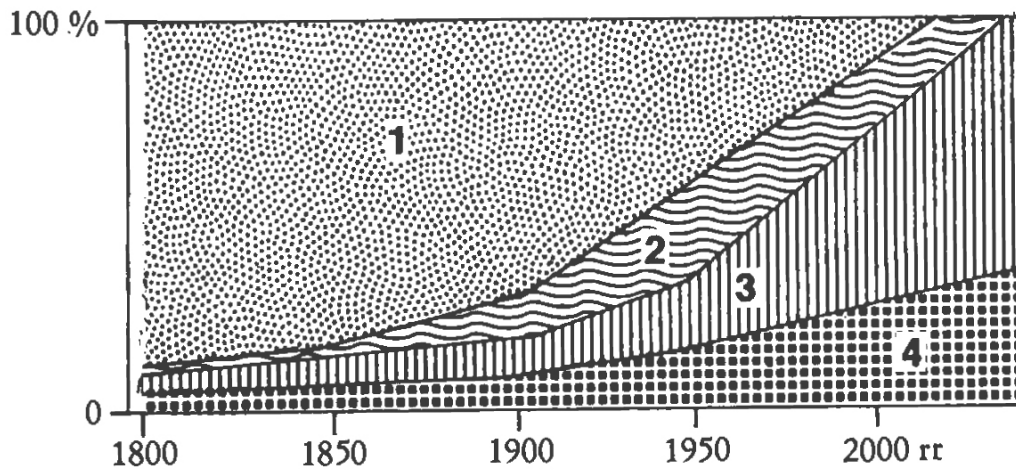


Figure 3.9: Population Change and Projection Graphic by Gutnov and others. 1.Rural Areas, population below 5000 2. Towns, population between 5000-20000 3.Cities, population between 20000-100000 4. Cities, population above 100000 (Gutnov et al., 1968)

socialist ideology to the geography via spreading socialist city to country (French and Hamilton, 1979).

The most remarkable discussion about overcoming the contradiction between town and country was between urbanists and dis-urbanists at the first years of the Soviet Union. Both two theoretician groups agreed that the urban is a reflection of the capitalist society and an instrument of it and that organized production is a necessity to remove the country notion to overcome contradictions between town and country. The basic differences between the two groups were that urbanists aimed to retransform the cities inherited from past according to new way of live and to spread to country with new self-contained commune cities; while the dis-urbanists aimed to demolish the urbans and to spread to the geography with agricultural cooperative settlements which was inspired by the Garden City of Ebenezer Howard (Scott, 2009). Some models bandied about in the Soviet Union were affected by the Garden City. Sakulin's Garden City was set up like Howard's; there was a central city and smaller satellite cities which encircle the central one and these satellite cities were deployed on circular highways which are hierarchically enlarged. Population of the central city was 58000 and population of satellite cities were 32000. Shirov's Garden City pre-

dicted that the city center was encircled by three belts: culture and sport, industry, and agriculture and pedestrian and vehicle ways tie these belts to the center (Scott, 2009). Okhitivish's concept was based on huge communal blocks in green areas which were tied to the working areas with main transportation ways (French, 1995).

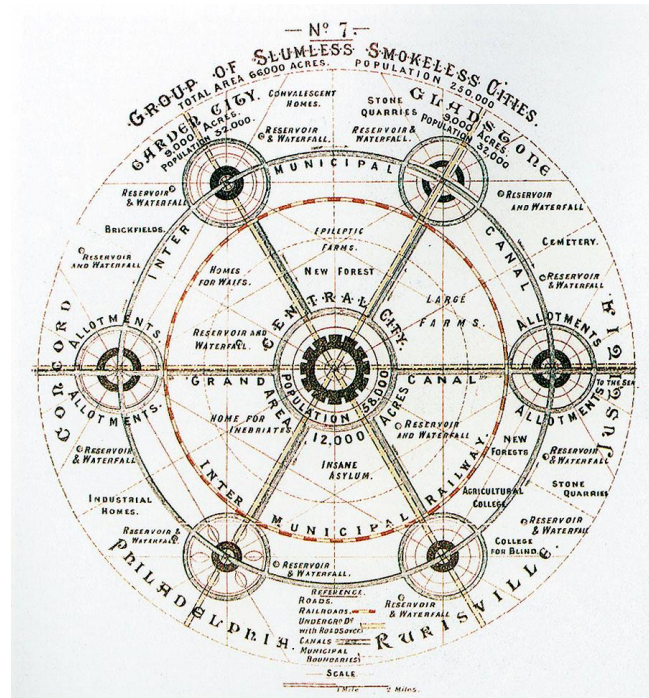


Figure 3.10: Ebenezer Howard's Garden City (http://www.mediaarchitecture.at/architekturtheorie/garden_cities/content/ebenezer_howard_social_city_1898.jpg)

Another approach to overcome contradiction between the town and country is "Agrograd". This model aimed to merge settlements in country and created farm communes which have 10-20 thousand population but the model failed to success because it had to service huge agricultural lands and this situation could not catch up to time (French, 1995).

The works in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries to overcome the contradiction between the town and country usually aimed to create new cities which depended on industrial or mining activities and agricultural cooperatives in rural areas as Engels advised. This attitude is called 'worldwide urbanization'. Employment is not the only basis to encourage migration to these new cities. For example in Cuba schools played a significant role to overcome the contradiction between the town and

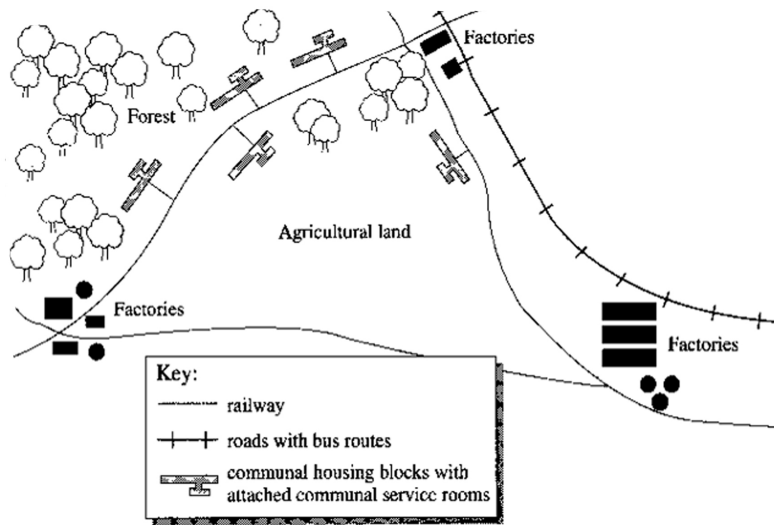


Figure 3.11: Disurbanist City Okhitivich's Concept (French, 1995)

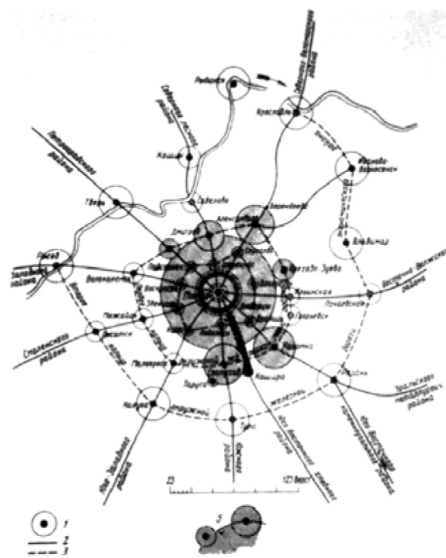


Figure 3.12: Boris Sakulin's Garden City (Scott, 2009)

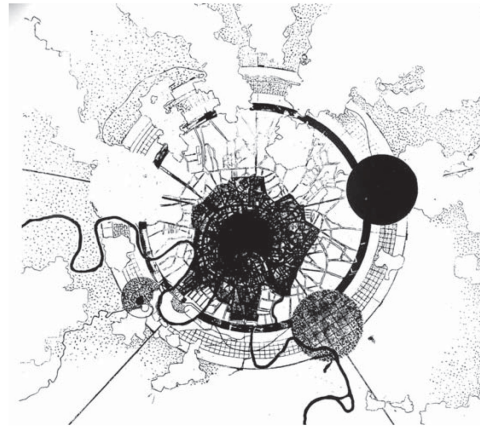


Figure 3.13: M. Shirov's Garden City (French, 1995)

country. People concentrated on the geography to reach education more easily. The advantages like more wages, more qualified housing supply were also useful instruments to encourage people to settle in the new cities (Posokhin, 1974).

Gathering population in specific focuses provides effective organizing services. About a thousand new cities were created in the Soviet Union according to these aims and by year 1990, 35% of the total population of the country was living in these cities (Underhill, 1990). Cuba established 83 new cities on rural areas only in three years period between 1959 and 1962 (Xie and Costa, 1993). In short, the approach of socialist countries was to support urbanization at a national scale instead of accumulating the population in specific cities. However, this approach cannot be applied in a society in which capitalist mode of production is dominant because the cities with accumulated population provide cheap labor, easy consumption, urban land and urban services which holds high profits for the capitalists.

Fisher opposes the transformation process of rural to urban claiming that the rural provides more collective life (Fisher, 1962). This can be evaluated as a fair criticism at first sight but he makes a mistake by counting capitalist urban and rural as origins of his work. It must not be forgotten that the urban and rural that we aim to create are totally different notions and socialist spatial organizations must not be criticized according to spatial objectives which are created by the capitalist system. The socialist city aims to solve contradictions between town and country by spreading the population to all geographies. The spatial model which is created for this solution is

not binary choice of either urban or rural. It is a modal that unites town and country with collective production.

3.1.3 Contradiction Between Big and Small Cities

"The great towns are chiefly inhabited by working-people, since in the best case there is one bourgeois for two workers, often for three, here and there for four; these workers have no property whatsoever of their own, and live wholly upon wages, which usually go from hand to mouth." (Engels, 1935).

After the Industrial Revolution, the cities where working areas are accumulated in are also accumulation places for working class. The big city which appeared as a result of this continuous accumulation is a spatialization created as a final product of capitalist mode of production. This spatialization is a critical instrument for capitalist system to maintain its continuity (Frampton, 1968).



Figure 3.14: Plan for National Settlement System in Soviet Union (Grant, 1980) Plan aimed to spread cities on the country especially in direction of Trans-Siberian Railway Line and to northern parts of Asia lands of Soviet Union. Also plan predicted powerful transportation accesses to connect cities to each other.

Bigger cities create more advantages for the capitalist class. They provide suitable conditions for development of the capitalists' investments with urban infrastructure investments which are common consumption goods. Accumulation of labor in big cities increases competition between workers and so demands of labor for prices and other social rights decrease (Engels, 1987). Big city is an instrument that is used by the capitalist class to make more profit and it makes the working class poorer, it imprisons them to a life without security and it is not known up to where it will grow, it is a meta with increasing demand and fixed land supply and it is a tumor that consumes natural balance (Gutnov et al., 1968).

As a result of the capitalist mode of production, the big city had different roles in the history while a new role is given by capitalism to the big cities. With the accumulation of industrial investments in specific geographies of the world, the big city is broken off its old industrial producer role. It had a new state with its service-concentrated expression which obligates people to serve each other in a spiral manner, with powerful finance firms in global (or national or regional according to its scale), with exploitation of natural values not only in the geography where it settles but also the surroundings (Harvey, 2000). This consumer and exploiter behavior will increase with continuous growth of the big city (Harvey, 1973).

Capitalism which was thought to overcome all geographical thresholds caused a decline on social relations; it caused an imbalance between the nature and humans. Today's technology makes possible to create productive forces without accumulation on specific space (Mingione, 1981). Today, people try to hold onto routines of the life and abandon their human behaviors (Posokhin, 1974). There is no place for humans in the big city, private vehicles are the dominant transportation means of the city and the society individualizes rapidly.

As previously mentioned; one of the prior targets of the socialist city is to untie big cities as the source of implicit contradictions and indispensable for continuous development of capitalism and to provide equality between cities in regional scale. Already, producing policies to obstruct accumulation of population on specific regions would solve some problems such as destruction of nature, unemployment, weakness of social relations, economical increase of land rent... If that is so, which methods

can be used by socialist urbanization to overcome contradictions between the big city and the small city?

First of all some policies must be created to eliminate pressure of development over big cities. We mentioned that the big city works in a spiral, they take more migration because they have more working areas and this migration pushes capitalists to make more investments because of cheap labor. This spiral deepens with scarcity of urban land after the demand of increased population. This demand directs projects which aim to have share from land rent and these projects bring more population to the city. The first policy to remove the pressure of growth on big cities is to remove working areas to other geographies, step by step, and to decrease employment possibilities in big cities.

Even policies which aimed to stop the growing of big cities could not succeed; it was one of the basic anxieties in socialist urbanization experiments. For example, in Cuba some works was made to break Havana's spatial hegemony and after those works population rate of Havana over Cuba could be pulled from 25% to 20% so a limited success could be realized (Susman, 1987). Also same policies were developed in China for the population which was accumulated on shore and in the Soviet Union for the population which was accumulated in Europe. Those policies were applied in a wide range from not establishing new housing or working areas to police control at the entrance of the big cities (Tabb and Sawers, 1978).

New cities must be established to hinder accumulation of population in a specific geography and these new cities must provide equal urban services to provide equal spaces. In this way, pressure over the natural environment which depends on accumulation of population would decrease and population would spread all over the country.

The Soviet Union established more than 1000 cities during its ruling timespan and it aimed to spread population to Asia with these cities (Grant, 1980). These new cities played a role not only in balancing the population but also in passing to commune urban living with the self-contained principle. New cities had been spatialized especially focusing on an industrial or a mining institution like tractor city, copper city, etc. (Bernhardt, 2005). The answer to the question: "how a socialist city must be

like?" was sought and experimental works could be tried. In previous examples, urbanization aimed to spread to whole geography with small cities which have powerful ties with each other (Horner, 1978).

One of the basic discussions about establishing new cities in socialist countries was carried on using old infrastructure and this idea was seen anti-Marxist by theoreticians (Frampton, 1968). But an opportunity of these inherited cities was used with economic considerations and this caused population growth in big cities (Lefebvre, 1970). Of course, the socialist city must worry about economic conditions but this concern must not push the ideological thought to the background (Tabb and Sawers, 1978). In addition, the policy of spreading industry to the whole country has some advantages such as decreasing cost of transportation of raw materials, encouraging industrial development in locals, more effective results in local economy with low investment... (Tabb and Sawers, 1978).

Moreover, small cities must be promoted same as new cities. Methods were used to direct population to small cities such as more wages in small cities than big cities, more vacation opportunities, and qualified education and health services (Underhill, 1990; Susman, 1987)

Urban sprawl is one of the irrational problems of today's capitalist cities and this problem plays an important role in developing countries which are seriously affected by role of land rent in the capitalist accumulation process. Capitalist cities sprawl to provide more land rent for the capitalist class despite it is not economically rational and it has a pillage effect over nature. Socialist urbanization refuses urban sprawl because it is irrational. Specifically, green belt projects which aimed to encircle cities to avoid urban sprawl in the Soviet Union had succeeded (Tabb and Sawers, 1978). Collective services and collective housing also contributed to a compact city against urban sprawling. Still, the tendency of building infrastructure with low costs in the periphery of the city, instead of settled parts of the city gave rise to urban sprawl in socialist urbanization experiments (Bernhardt, 2005).

Satellite towns were established to decrease the population pressure over big cities. These satellite cities were far away 100-120 kilometers from the main city; in this regard we must indicate that they are not in the same content with suburban settlements

of the capitalist city (Tabb and Sawers, 1978). Though these satellite cities were tied to the main city, they were set up with a self-sufficient service.

The socialist city must not be incapacitated like the capitalist city which does not know the limits of its growing. There must be a population vision and the city must be set up according to this vision. With this approach, one of the most important discussions about the socialist city is the optimum population of the city. The socialist city must oppose over population accumulation in cities to preclude exploitation of the nature and to provide healthy social life, while on the other hand, the socialist city needs a certain population to perform social activities, healthily. The optimum population should be designated in this balance. In socialist countries this balance could not be designated and a general standardization could not be created; the optimum population varied between 25000 and 300000 (Osborn and Reiner, 1962). The Soviet Union abandoned optimum population policy by the 1970s and population accumulation in the Soviet cities speeded up. After this accumulation the Soviet Union tried a way to plan administration of cities according to hierarchical order and Moscow was deployed on the top of the triangle (French, 1995). This policy can be seen as a departure from the spatial equality idea in the regional scale.

In brief, capitalist urbanization profits from accumulating public services and working areas followed by accumulation of population at specific geographies and the scarcity which is created by these accumulations. On the contrary, socialist urbanization aims to solve two basic contradictions at the regional scale: the contradiction between town and country and the contradiction between big city and small city to ensure spatial equality which is a prerequisite for providing social equality. It is one of our important duties to develop policies to solve these contradictions.

3.1.4 Equality at Housing

Housing is a problem arising since the day of accumulation of the working class at the cities of bourgeoisie. Engels pointed out that this problem occurs as a result of property relations and it can be solved only by eliminating property relations (En-

gels, 1935). However, it is a clear that elimination of property relations is not enough to solve the housing problem today as the problem has become more complicated. While housing was only a meta for capitalist classes at first, today it is a symbol of social status, deepening contradictions between social layers, an instrument to develop urban land rent, a prior for the construction sector, one of the important credit items which feeds finance sector, a hope for the working class at reproduction process which drags them to their works every morning and more. In such an environment, removing property relations cannot be enough to solve housing problems. What will happen to the housing stock which is inherited from the capitalist city? And how will we get rid of the concept in the minds of house in the capitalist city? How can we recycle the houses which are created with such different types, are settled on different places and have such different characters? How can the expectations of the society be redirected to create social organization?

The first policy about management of housing supply in most of the countries where socialist ideology took power is abolishing property rights over housing and capturing houses of the rich class. These houses are provided for usage of poor masses after regulation and residents started to live in these houses with rents which are determined according to their income (Belediyeler Dergisi, 1937), (Fisher, 1962; Kopp, 1970). Housing area standards per person were determined with the aim of equal housing and new housing production was shaped and old housing stock was regulated according to these standards (Osborn and Reiner, 1962; Scott, 2009; Miliutin, 1974; Posokhin, 1974).

In “Ideal Communist City” by Gutnov and others housing production is one of the most important duties of the socialist architect. They stated that equality at housing cannot be provided by equal supply for housing area and they defended that all houses must have the same plan. They also defended that architect must produce different façade solutions to houses which have the same plan against routinization and dedifferentiation of the cities (Gutnov et al., 1968).

It is a fact that determining some standards at housing supply or obligating rents according to some criteria serves to equality but it is most probably impossible – even maybe irrational – to equalize issues such as location of the house in the built envi-

ronment, features of the geography, building materials, architectural differentiations and details. Geography is variable and building environments at various landscapes is also differentiated since for example different building materials are used in different geographies.

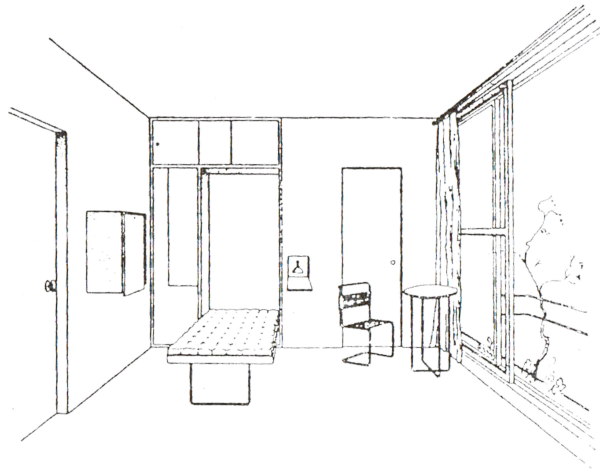
Furthermore, people have different expectations from housing according to their cultural background and standardization of housing without considering these cultural differences does not serve the revolution. The socialist city is a practical project and this practical project aims to transform different social groups so it must present different supplies for this transformation process.

The only way to provide equality at housing without steering our cities to routinization and without causing creation of social layers is rendering houses with unimportance. The house does not have a meaning more than a dormitory in the socialist life. Housing is not a symbol of status or investment instrument. It is only a dormitory which aims to serve the private life of people. If such a collective lifestyle was knitted, differentiation at housing would be insignificant.

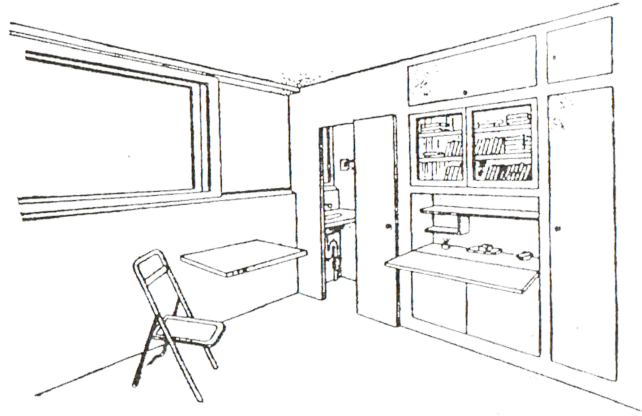
3.1.5 Equality and Risk of Standardization

One of the most general opinions about cities of countries in which the socialist ideology took power is that they were created by standards blocks and routines. This opinion can be accepted partially, the most important factor which caused this opinion is panel blocks which aimed economical housing production and which are built by type projects at East Europe and the Soviet Union (Damian, 1978; Brenner et al., 2012).

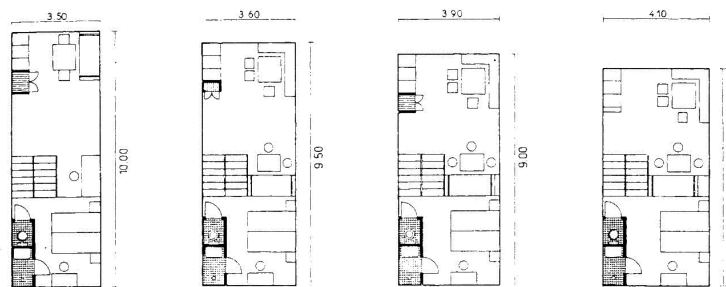
Construction norms and trend of housing building according to type projects which came into question with the aim of spatial equality and equality at housing in this frame was seen as a means to fast housing production against the uprising housing problems and after 1950s' in the Soviet Union, standardization of housing was established (Ronneberger and Schöllhammer, 2010; Fisher, 1962). Architecture was seen as a technical job without ideology, industrial construction methods were used



(a)



(b)



(c)

Figure 3.15: Dorm Type Housing Unit. This concept of housing unit which has restricted living space about 30 m^2 and modular design was affected by minimum dwelling unit concept of Bauhaus.

for fast and cheap housing production and this attitude caused dedifferentiation of designs (Posokhin, 1974). In the late 1950s' type projects involved 90% of the total housing stock in Eastern Block (Ronneberger and Schöllhammer, 2010). The utopia which aimed to reach spatial equality evolved to a dystopia which standardized the whole city.



(a)



(b)

Figure 3.16: Plattenbau Housing (http://lurkmore.so/images/8/89/Sto_hrushovok.JPG, <http://www.thethirdcity.org/blog/wp-content/uploads/2012/09/grabowskipix1.jpg>) This housing type was preferred for the aim of rapid and cheap housing production

Despite all these politics, socialist urbanization experiences present us different architectural structures. Especially during the period of 1917-1932 serious works were produced and these free and original products continued after this period in lower



Figure 3.17: Circle Houses in Moscow (<http://media.englishrussia.com/022013/fantbls/25phantasticsovietbls001-3.jpg>) Disregardless, Socialist urbanization was open minded to different architectural trying not only for public buildings but also for houses.

quantities (Compton, 1965). In reality, architectural profession which has served to the ruling class throughout history found a change to perform itself without pressure and market mechanism in socialist countries. Architecture was a profession which needed to market itself and it could interest only some monumental buildings with political missions which in an oppressor and oppressed fashion but the socialist world offers a chance to architects to look at the city in a holistic way (Gutnov et al., 1968). Observing socialist cities as products of standard pieces would provide a shallow criticism. We can learn from socialist urbanization experiences of the past that becoming monotonous is a risk that we encounter when trying to create spatial equality. The socialist city must provide equality and it must be economical, too; it must not exploit nature and resources and it must progress according to needs of different social groups; meaning it must produce humanistic and rational solutions, not monotypes.

3.2 Contribution of Space to Social Organization

“The new way of life must be born as a natural result of the new organization of labor and housing.” (Miliutin, 1974).

Today, daily life which is created by the capitalist system and its spatial reflection is created directly by property relations (Gottdiener, 2001). There is a relationship between this extinction and space. This extinction shapes space according to individual usages and also the space which is shaped by capitalists pushes society to individual extinction. Of course the capitalist system also has political expectations from this extinction; it gets difficult for oppressed groups to unite in a society when individualism comes into prominence.

According to Barkin, the socialist person is cognizant of collective production: he/she takes individual demands after social needs, he/she gets involved in social, economic and political life of the country (Tabb and Sawers, 1978). Creation of the new socialist person cannot be made by orders; policies must be tracked step by step in space and social life to create the new socialist person. In this frame, creation of the socialist city would not be limited to building housing and industrial areas. The city which is owned by the working class after passing to collective property is a structure with working, vacation and cultural purposes (Kopp, 1970; Huberman, 1953). This structure must provide opportunities for organization of the working class in every scale and it is indispensable to strengthen public spaces (Şengül, 2009).

According to Marx, ideas and propagandas of the hegemonic class is what was shaped until today, pushes us to the idea that individualism is more rational. Mind of the working class will be clarified by collective relations and collective life style such that the rational will become creating collective life style. Miliutin summarizes social benefits of collective life as:

1. "the freedom of woman from domestic slavery;
2. a reduction, and in places elimination, of demands for a flow of new workers into the city;
3. a reduction of demand for new residential construction;

4. an increase in the productive capacity of the labor force;
5. an increase in the standard of living of the working population;
6. an advance to a higher cultural level of mankind (Miliutin, 1974)."

We will discuss how space can contribute to the creation of organization which is necessary for the establishment of rational and collective life, and how we can form the space of collective life style in the following section.

3.2.1 Producing Space for Social Organization

Space/place and planning must be fictionalized from the scale of global down to the scale of housing. Socialist experiences at the past presents some beneficial examples.

Today, efficient return of investment cannot be taken because of competitive conditions of the market which is created by the capitalist system. Solidarity must be set up to organize production efficiently at the global scale against the conditions of competition. This is possible with central planning, but this central planning must not be a mechanism that dominates all of the process. Investments must be directed by interrelation – and sometimes conflicts – between center and local with organized power (Huberman, 1953). Democracy means organized society which takes part at this investment process and takes political and economic conditions under control in the socialist society (Susman, 1987). Already, it is not possible to talk about democracy in such societies that people cannot control the economy. There is a dictatorship of groups which hold economic power, and this dictatorship usually is hidden by political democratic attitudes like elections (Huberman, 1953).

This planning approach with central planning mechanism and local organized structure contributes to relations and equality between regions. Regions incline to the outputs which are more productive according to their conditions and they barter each other. In this way integration between regions can be increased. For example, petrochemical city of Schwedt in Eastern Germany that was built after Second World War, aimed to serve and integrate all Eastern Europe (Bernhardt, 2005).

When we come to urban scale, there is a need for spaces for meetings and decision making process for self-governance mechanism. For example Gutnov and others divide city according to relations such as R&D region, industrial region, housing region, etc., and state that these regions must have own self-governance mechanisms. Workers come together at the space in industrial areas and take decisions about production processes and they implement their decisions, same workers come together at the space in their neighborhoods and they take decisions about housing areas and implement their decisions (Gutnov et al., 1968). At subscale, it is necessary to improve publicness of neighborhoods and to weaken family houses to push people into the public life (Sawers, 1977). In brief, we aim to direct people to take advantage of rational publicness which empowers self-governance mechanisms.

3.2.2 Role of Planning Mechanism at Social Organization

Similar to most organized structure which is created by society, planning is an organization work and state is the planning authority. It is necessary to be organized to take a share from the capitalist planning process and usually capitalists are the most organized part of the capitalist society, so the capitalist planning process will result in their gain.

In such an environment in which private interests are investors, the planning mechanism cannot be operated properly (French and Hamilton, 1979). According to Posokhin, planners in the capitalist world try to solve contradictions between human and nature and between person and other people but capitalists do not give such an opportunity to them (Posokhin, 1974). Interest groups get involved in planning process with the aim of profit maximization and they are usually inclined to push away the plan from rationality with their involvement or they do not obey the plans which restrict their profitability. Because of that reason capitalist planning process lacks the ability to solve problems; at the most it can postpone them (Mingione, 1981). As a result, the capitalist planning process does not reveal products with the aim of reaching rationality; there is a race between different organized powers and plan is shaped as the result of this race.

We mentioned that in the socialist ideology, we need a central planning mechanism to provide spatial equality at every scale but this central planning mechanism is not an oneness that gives decisions on behalf of the society. Totally opposite, it must be a mechanism that collects ideas and data from locals and after that collection it must aim to provide equality between them. There must be organized powers in locals to operate this mechanism in a healthy manner which is an example of participatory planning. When the central planning mechanism starts to give decisions instead of locals and implements its decisions, organized locals can lose their meaning and they can be useless, thus this planning mechanism must be central to provide equality between locals but yet it must not make locals powerless. This balance between locals and center must be supervised.

Aim of the planner in the socialist world is to produce decisions to benefit humanity. Planning puts long run targets forward and these targets are determined by welfare of the society (Posokhin, 1974; Huberman, 1953). Planning is not solely a spatial work offering spatial products to provide social welfare. According to Fisher, the basic difference between socialist planning and capitalist planning is that socialist planning sits on a political base and it has desires to reach an ideal (Fisher, 1962). Socialist planning is an economical, spatial and political work and it results with carrying along these works and blending them (Osborn and Reiner, 1962). This complex structure also aims to conduct itself in a revolutionist direction (Ronneberger and Schöllhammer, 2010).

In the Soviet Union, this structure was performed by a planning organization named Gosplan. Drafts of five year development plans were prepared after collecting all demands from the Soviets and analyzing them and then drafts were sent back to them to be evaluated. The five year development plan and the five year spatial plan which was shaped accordingly came to light as a final product and the twenty year programs was demonstrated at an upper level. All of these plans were being controlled and revised if necessary every year. Locals also have their own funds about 20% of the investment budget which was determined by the center and they used these funds according to their decisions (French, 1995; Bater, 1980).

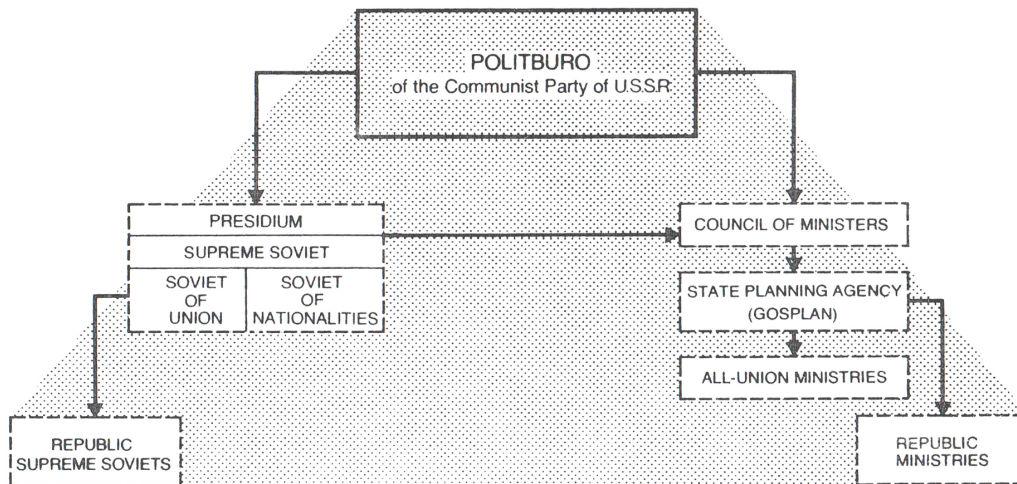


Figure 3.18: Simplified Structure of Decision Making in Soviet Union (Bater, 1980)

There must be an organized, hierarchical structure both in the center and in locals to perform this process robustly. There must be a control system in place to allow locals to control the decisions of the center and there must be a planning logic to supervise equality among locals.

3.2.3 Power and Social Organization

We have repeatedly mentioned that the capitalist city is under the dominance of market mechanisms and that the attitude of the socialist city that rejects this market mechanism can solve many problems encountered in the capitalist city. Furthermore, we must indicate that capitalist relations are not the only mechanism which have power over the space. Urban space is shaped by movements of capitalists, state or social groups. That is to say, even though they do not have equal powers, struggles or collaborations of these three structures shape urban space (Şengül, 2009).

The elimination of market relations which shapes the types of capitalist cities is not enough to make a city democratic. Even if we assume that social equality is created in such a world where market mechanism does not exist, we must think about what is going to happen to power accumulation which is created by the state (Brenner et al.,

2012). Excessive domination of state power over society is one of the subjects of criticism at all socialist countries.

Brenner and others claim that motivation to profit has domination over the capitalist city; on the other hand, state has domination over the socialist city and they advocate that this state domination can be solved by taking problems not only in urban scale but also in global scale (Brenner et al., 2012). The main reason the socialist countries collapsed was that the socialist ideology did not have power at global scale, so the socialist countries must have had competed with the capitalist world and these conditions of competition pushed social organization to the background and state power had been devoured publicities and social organization (Brenner et al., 2012; Şengül, 2009).

A new political understanding fed by theoreticians and utopians was developed by the state in the Soviet Union after the period between 1917 and 1930 which was named as the “heroic period” by Frampton. This understanding aimed to compete with the capitalist world and adopted the motto: “less talk more work” (Frampton, 1968). In this period the idea of creating a socialist superstructure had started to be abandoned and the understanding of ‘building socialism in one country’ became dominant (Sawers, 1977; Frampton, 1968). The discourse of Kaganovich summarizes this abandonment clearly; “Our cities became socialist from the very moment of the October Revolution, when we expropriated the bourgeoisie and socialized the means of production.” (French, 1995).

Miliutin points out that socialist architecture must be pure and simple just like the working class. The Constructivist Movement which came in sight at the first period of the Soviet urbanization pursued that goal; while this movement had worries for differentiation with the Modernist Movement (Miliutin, 1974; Ginzburg, 1982). The baroque and classical order named Stalinist Architecture aimed to propagate socialist union by the way of pride and grandness in the Soviet Union (Bernhardt, 2005; Sawers, 1977). Symbolic values of the cities featured to bring out this pride but Lissitzky argues that a city with powerful symbols reflects a new power (French, 1995).

Lefebvre discusses the symbolism which is created by monuments with two different point of views: a monument is oppressive and it is symbol of the power, but on



(a)

(b)

Figure 3.19: Constructivist Architecture (a) Central Post Office-Ukraine (<http://architectuul.com/architecture/central-post-office>) (b) Zuev Worker Club (<https://rosswolfe.files.wordpress.com/2013/10/blog-club-zuev.jpeg>) Constructivist Architecture can be defined as a type of Modernist Architecture but it aims to differentiate itself especially with curve façade forms (Ginzburg, 1982)



(a)

(b)

Figure 3.20: Stalinist Architecture (a) House of Scientists-Lithuania (<http://www.truelithuania.com/Nuotraukos/VilniusMokslininku.JPG>) (b) Red Army Theatre (http://www.lesliehossack.com/images/portfolio/moscow/red_army_theatre_moscow_2012_by_leslie_hossack.jpg)

the other hand, it is a reflection of collective society, it reflects the publicness of the society. The opinion that is advocated by Lefebvre is that symbols of cities can have meanings at different points; it is about where symbol holds on to social life (Lefebvre, 1970).

After the competition between the Soviet Union and the capitalist world, cities were pushed to another target; they aimed to prove themselves to the capitalist world. According to this target Moscow was not only capital of the Soviet Union, it was a showcase of the Warsaw Treaty Organization (French, 1995). Squares which were built for meetings of worker masses had a meaning for individuals to reflect state power (Ronneberger and Schöllhammer, 2010). Lefebvre estimates the collapse of the Soviet Union was due of the inequalities created by state power (Lefebvre, 1970). After all of this process, a state power was seen which centralized and crushed locals (Grant, 1980). It is not an unexpected result after this process that bureaucrats of the state had a privileged status in society (Ronneberger and Schöllhammer, 2010). In conclusion, excessive centralization of state authority prevents social organization and equality and this centralization reflects itself to space and deepens contradictions. Operating organized locals and preventing competitive conditions of central authority are prerequisites to provide continuity of socialist space.

3.2.4 New Family and Its Living Space

A new family type is predicted in socialist life. This family type aims to adapt collective life, to rescue women from domestic slavery and to grow up children collectively. A new living space for the adaptation of families to collective life style is needed to abandon the old type of living space which was created according to the old family type. Accordingly, a new housing horizon was developed at the experiments of socialist cities in the past. These communal housing areas aimed to restrict housing life of the family and to push people to the collective life and because of that; housing models were created which were not suitable to live an individualistic life but they were still providing a private family life. These housing models were tried to be created in a wide range from superblocks, high-rise buildings to neighbor units where,



Figure 3.21: Palace of Soviets (<http://russiatrek.org/blog/wp-content/uploads/2011/07/moscow-palace-of-soviets-3.jpg>) This project was not implemented.

in all cases, the main aim was to create communities in these houses (Kopp, 1970).

New communities had to be created over publicness and activities which can be performed publicly must be performed publicly; for example people must eat together in the dining room of the neighborhood, but the houses would have their own private kitchens because cooking can be seen as a leisure time activity (French, 1995; Gutnov et al., 1968). In this way, people can be pushed to collective life and on the other hand wastages of individualistic life can be inhibited. One of the wastages of the individualistic life is usage of land callously which depends on urban sprawl. Organizing family houses like dormitories would inhibit the urban sprawl (Bernhardt, 2005). Moreover, the neighborhood units must have their own socio-cultural facilities and these facilities must be associated by self-governance (Sawers, 1977). After the breaking of individualistic family lifestyle, daily life will take place between home and work, and facilities in the neighborhood units such as libraries and worker clubs will provide an opening for socialization (Miliutin, 1974).

One of the most important aims of organizing houses collectively is to end the domestic slavery of women. Woman is an unwaged personnel of reproduction process



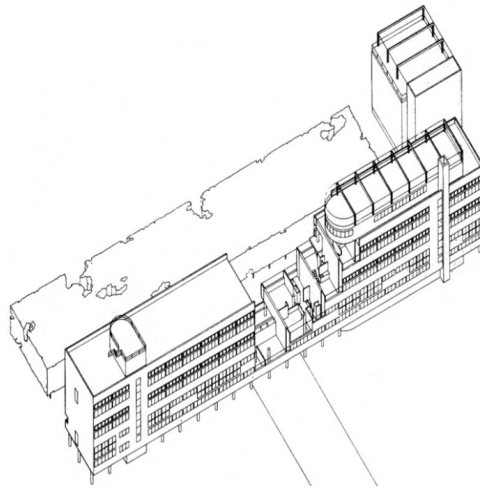
Figure 3.22: Worker Club - Aleksandr Rodchenko (https://rosswolfe.files.wordpress.com/2014/05/tumblr_inline_mhuto1o47j1qz4rgp1.jpg?w=440&h=367)

in the capitalist world. She is responsible of housecleaning, cooking, growing children, etc., and these responsibilities play an important role in the reproduction of the working class (Castells, 1978). Changing the role of woman and her participation to employment do not change only the woman or family, they play a transformative role for the entire society. There are three subjects that we work about to rescue woman from domestic slavery: 1- Creating a balance between heavy and light industry to create employment areas for women because they cannot work at heavy works due to their biological structure (French and Hamilton, 1979). 2- There must be a spatial reflection since even if employment areas are created but there exists no new spatial organization, women would find themselves inside worst conditions which they come from work and continue to their slavery (Kopp, 1970; Miliutin, 1974). 3- Housework must be organized as public service (Gutnov et al., 1968).

Another feature of the new family type is that it allows nurseries make children grow not by the necessity of a family (Scott, 2009). There are two main reasons to do this: 1- Parents are busy because of their works and they cannot take care of their children. 2- Children will be protected from bad families and selfishness of family



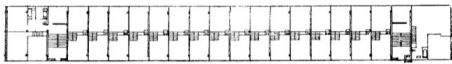
(a)



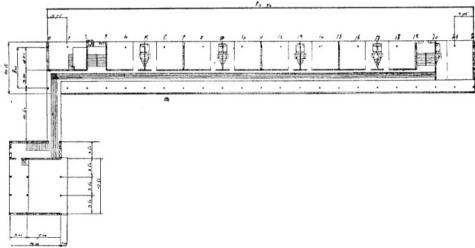
(b)



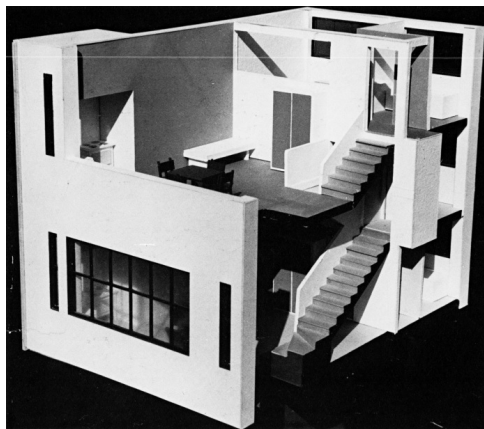
Floor a with continuous side corridor.



Floor b.



(c)



(d)

Figure 3.23: (a) Narkomfin-Moses Ginzburg (<https://rosswolfe.files.wordpress.com/2011/09/moisei-ginzburg-narkomfin-building-1928.jpg>) (b), (c) and (d) New housing block for new family (Kopp, 1970)

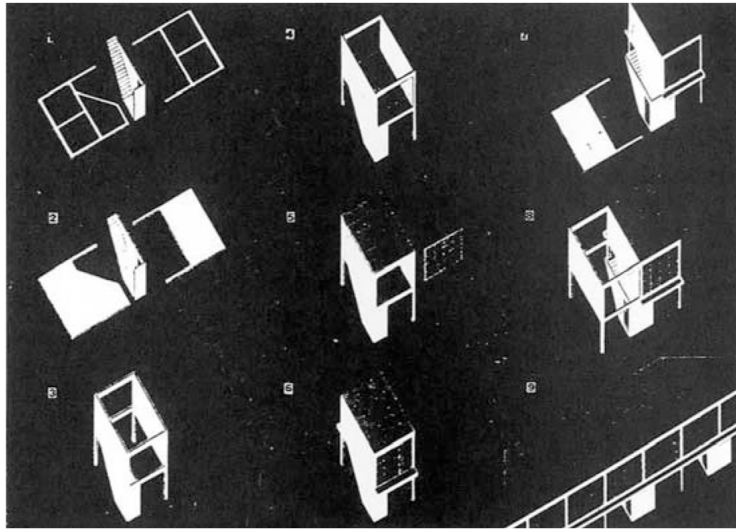


Figure 3.24: Mobile Prefabricated Houses-Moses Ginzburg (Kopp, 1970) Main block is stable and the housing units which comes over main block are mobile. Thus, family does not link to geography it is free to carry its housing unit anywhere also family members do not link to each other because of housing need, they can separate their prefabricated houses.

life (Gutnov et al., 1968). Making children grow at nurseries does not mean rupturing children from their families, it must be guaranteed that parents could easily get in contact with their children and families may visit nurseries to support the education process whenever they want (Miliutin, 1974; Gutnov et al., 1968). The hierarchical divisions of education institutions in the city should be made according to the age groups of children; for example nurseries will be located on the gardens of houses, primary schools will be located at neighbor center, high schools will be located at city centers (Gutnov et al., 1968).

As a result of this family organization dependence, compulsory commitment between husband and wife and parents and children will disappear. Ginzburg offered an utopist housing unit to make independent family members named the “mobile city” which was formed by pieces which were removable and by this way the house did not play a binding role in the family.

3.2.5 Personhood and Socialization

Describing working class as waged slaves in capitalist world is one of the basic criticisms of Marxian approach. Manifest tried to tell to laborers that slavery with the words; "The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains." (Marx and Engels, 2002).

Working class cannot cross the frame which is drawn by capitalists' choices; their decisions are directed by the capitalist class. Huberman describes the freedom state of the working class clearly; "He is free only in terms of accepting the oppressive terms offered by the employer or to starve" (Huberman, 1953).

The target of the socialist society is to make people persons, not slaves. The working class need to be freed from their moral and materialistic chains to become persons. Everything which inhibits the working class from thinking or acting freely must be rejected by the socialist society. For example Engels criticizes house ownership of labors which was at first considered as an advantage for the working class who is oppressed under rents; but Engels points out that house ownership makes workers chained in a specific region and limits their skills of struggle (Engels, 1935). Engels's criticizing clearly exhibits our idea.

There are two threats about personhood process: 1- Disappearance in community: if a person cannot bring himself/herself into being into the society he/she can become indistinct inside the organized society. If this situation becomes general, we cannot talk about an organized society which is created from persons who move away from self-governance towards a point which is determined by the central power. 2- Disengagement from society and individualism: we try to create a collective and social life but we must produce spaces for private demands because sometimes people would not want to participate in social life and if they cannot find alternative spaces for their demands, a disengagement may occur. They try to find or create their own spaces for their demands. That is to say; we must create a physical environment dominated by socialization, but this environment should not neglect personal demands.

3.2.6 New Neighborhood

Fisher compiles features of a neighborhood unit in socialist city in three titles: 1- a part of city (suitable service and building according to city which is set up in hierarchical fashion), 2- self-governance, and 3- an instrument to develop living standards (Fisher, 1962). Socialist countries tried to implement these features with different models. Lissitsky suggested a dorm type neighborhood unit which serves a population of 2000 with its own dining hall, laundry, socio-cultural facilities, and nursery (French, 1995). One of the most discussed models was the “Microrayon” which aimed to organize urban services with 10-15 thousand population and it can be seen as a large scale implementation of Lissitsky’s dormitory model (Sawers, 1977). One of the main aims of Microrayon was to develop social relations in the neighborhood. Microrayons merge together to create an upper neighborhood unit; zhilkompleks and urban services of these units were organized hierarchically.

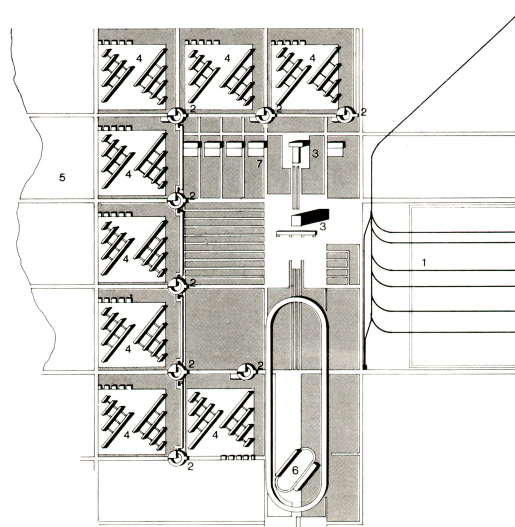


Figure 3.25: Neighborhood Unit with Dorm Type Houses-ARU Group (Frampton, 1968) 1. Railway Sidings and Auto Works 2. Workers’ Club 3. Cultural and Administrative 4. Commune 5. Parkland 6. Sport Centre 7. Schools

Another model that was suggested by Gutnov and his friends to organize public services in residential areas was the NUS (New Unit of Settlement). There are three main principles in this model 1- walkability, 2- school-focused design, and 3- parks. Transportation network of the NUS is created for pedestrian priority where pedestrian

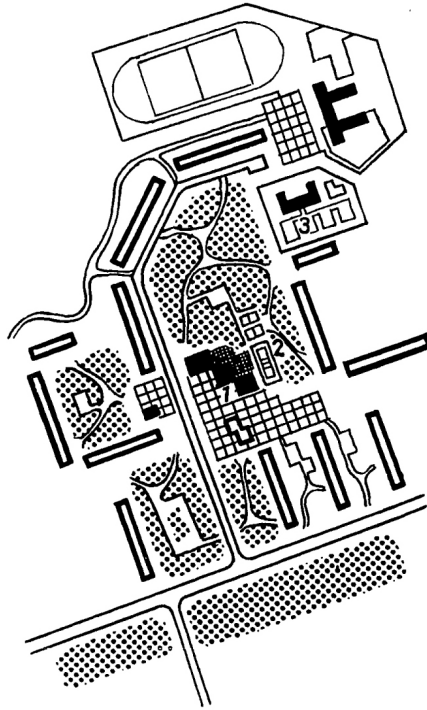


Figure 3.26: Microrayon (N. et al., 1967) 1. Unit for Primary Service 2. Stadiums 3. Kindergartens and Nurseries

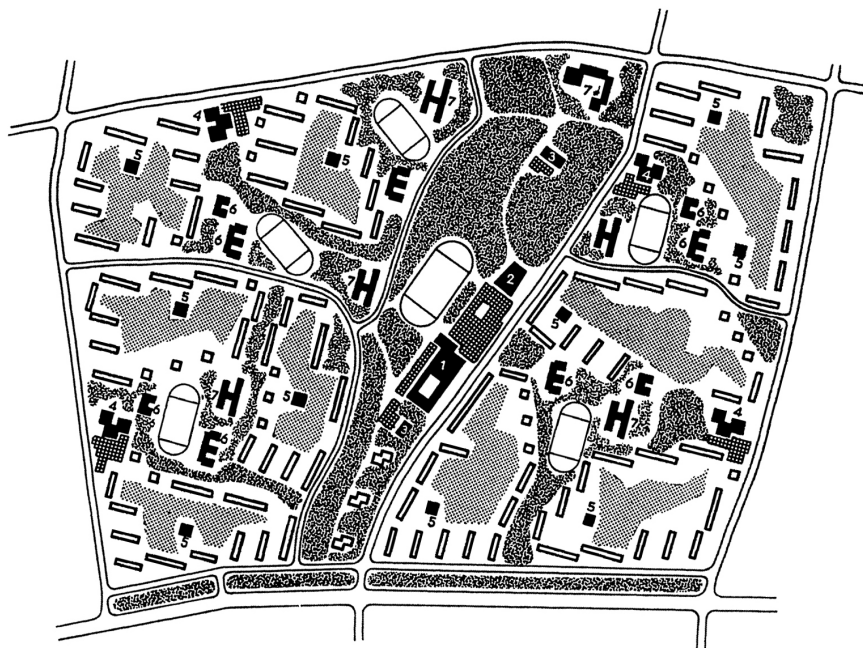


Figure 3.27: Zhilkompleks (N. et al., 1967) 1. Shopping Centre 2. Club 3. Administrative and Office Buildings 4. Civic Centers of the Neighborhoods 5. Unit for Primary Service 6. Kindergartens and Nurseries 7. Schools

roads and vehicle roads do not intersect. A self-sufficient hierarchical neighborhood system is built in a structure which was focused to schools. Green-space fiction supports pedestrian pathways while providing a green belt around the neighborhood. This green belt provides connection between neighborhoods and hosts recreational, sport, and health facilities (Gutnov et al., 1968).

In summary, socialist neighborhoods must give importance to public facilities rather than houses with awareness of a collective life (Gutnov et al., 1968; Miliutin, 1974). Also these neighborhoods must combine different social groups or layers of the society, they must serve the social union (Hausladen, 1987).

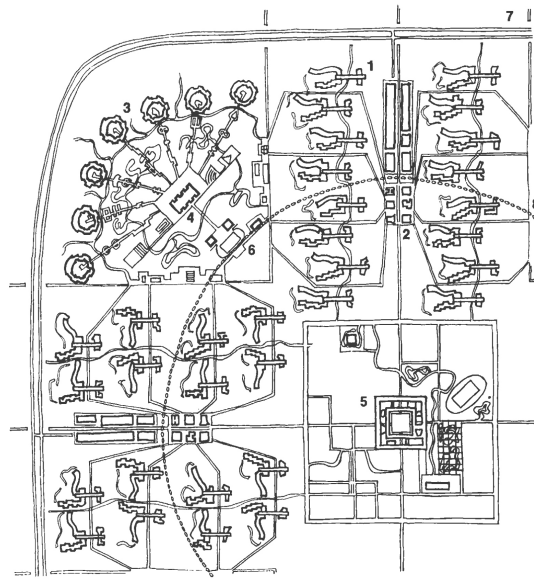
3.3 Production-Based Urbanization

"If the pivot for capitalist economy is the market and its laws, then the pivot for socialist economy must be production and its planning." (Miliutin, 1974)

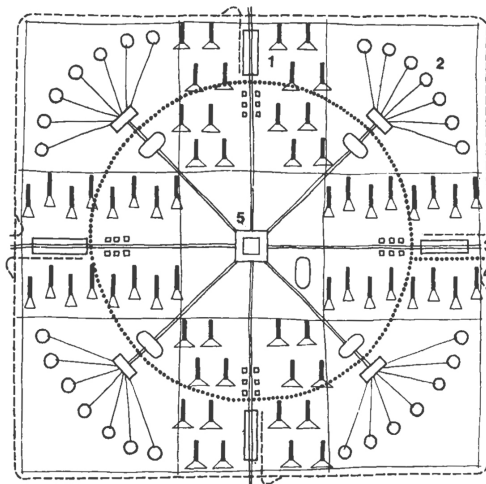
A city which is managed by proletariat must be based on production and to distribute its income of production to the society. A socialist order without production and surplus means only sharing of poverty. Because of that reason productive forces must be featured in the socialist city (Blumenfeld, 1978). We must tackle the issue of employment areas which come from production even if we do not have an ideological background as we mentioned above because these employment areas directly affect the shaping of the city and the social life in the city (Gutnov et al., 1968).

We mentioned that today's society shifted from the industrial society to the urban society. In such a world, cities which direct the world economy have a consumer role (Lefebvre, 1970; Harvey, 2000) where service sectors generally come into prominence and only simple reproduction processes run (Harvey, 1973). What we mean about simple reproduction processes is imposing an intangible socio-cultural life.

Cities play an important role in shaping and distributing the surplus value and this distribution ends up with losses for the poor class (Lefebvre, 1970). After some time, the



(a) 1. Primary Residential Units 2. Community Center for the Sector 3. School Community Complex 4. Academic Center 5. Community Center of NUS 6. Sports Complex 7. Highway 8. Rapid Trasport Above Pedestrian Way



(b) 1. Residential Units 2. School and Sport Area 3. Rapid Transport Above Pedestrian Level 4. Highway 5. Community Center of Nus

Figure 3.28: NUS (Gutnov et al., 1968)

city averts the economy which was created by industrial and agricultural production. This process finishes with moving the production areas out of the city and adding the remaining areas to urban land (Keskinok, 2008). At the end of the process; the city is a consumer parasite, poor citizens become poorer, and social contradictions are deepened.

The supposition that if the economy abandons production, it would become impossible to solve the spatial inequalities is totally false; land rent based urban development which is the main reason for the problem of spatial inequality can only be solved by socialization of production (Keskinok, 2006).

Lefebvre asserts there are three main production areas in the capitalist world: urban, rural and industrial (Lefebvre, 1970). As mentioned before, the socialist city aims to abolish the contradictions between town and country. The socialist city aims to combine these three production areas and its space must be set up according to this aim.

City is a center of markets of industrial products, agricultural goods, capital, labor, space, art and ideas for capitalists (Lefebvre, 1970). However for socialists the city is the center of production and the distribution of products will not take place by the means of marketing, thus a planning mechanism is necessary for this distribution.

In the opinion of a socialist, production plays a critical role for the organization of not only the city but also the whole life. Democratic control of means of production is a must to organize socialist life (Brenner et al., 2012). With democratic control and central planning, production can be managed rationally not competitively. Rapid socio-economic development is achieved with this rationality not only in agricultural and industrial production but also in organizing service sector, reproduction of nature, reproduction of labor (Mingione, 1981). The socialist city must aim to be self-sufficient at the end of the democratic and planned organization of the production process (Tabb and Sawers, 1978).

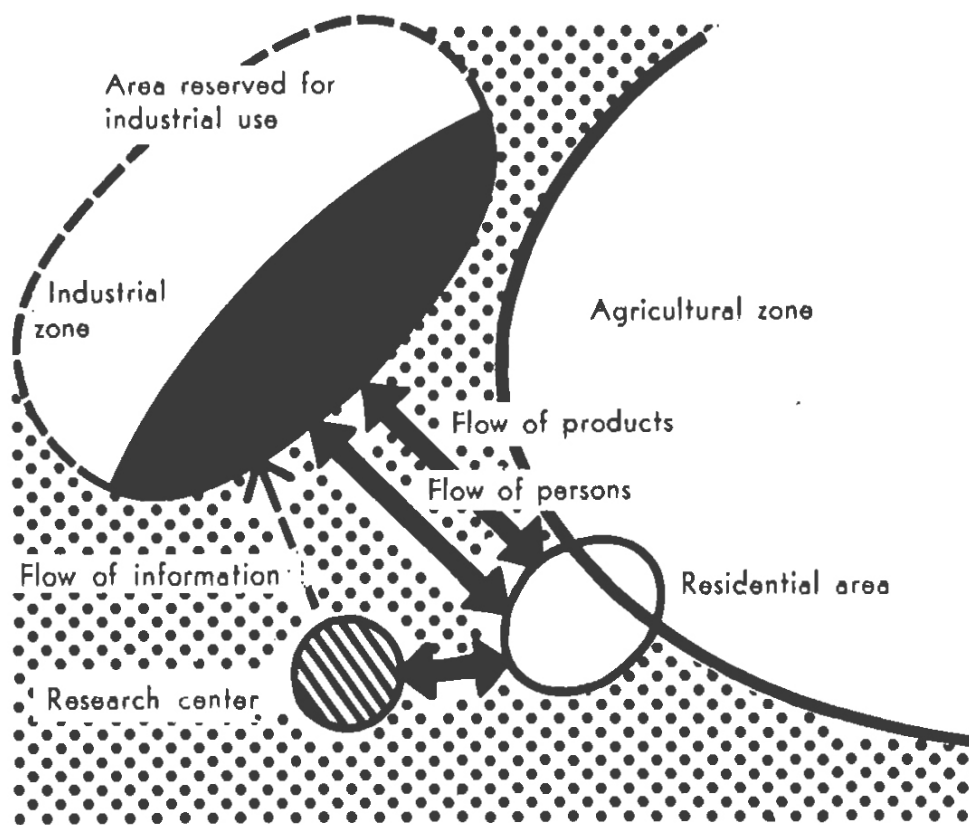


Figure 3.29: Production Relations in the City (Gutnov et al., 1968)

3.3.1 Industrial Areas and Industry Based Cities

After globalization of capitalism, industrial production agglomerated on specific geographies in the world and this caused inequalities at global levels and weakened the working class, who could not globalize. Today global capitalism establishes its factories on geographies which provide more labor supply and offer lower wages such as the Far East. Workers of these geographies do not have power of resistance because of intensive labor supply which means losing job easily. On the other hand, worker class on the other geographies are in danger of losing their job with the danger of moving of factories to the geographies with high supply of labor so this situation makes them weak, too. That is to say, inequalities are deepened on the global scale but the working class cannot be globalized and they are pushed to a less organized point (Harvey, 2000; Şengül, 2009).

At urban scale, industrial zones are seen as harmful parts of urban areas and they must be settled far from the city in capitalist cities. In addition to this, labor neighborhoods are located close to industrial zones so the worker class is pushed to a place which is far from urban facilities. Relation between the worker class and the society is cut so revolutionist masses cannot meet at urban scale (Keskinok, 2008).

Industrialization is a regional and urban problem in the socialist world. We mentioned that there are two regional contradictions that socialist city aim to overcome; town vs. country and small city vs. big city. Industrialization is one of the most important solutions to tackle these contradictions. New industrial zones can lead urbanization to spread population or old small cities can be developed by building new industrial zones in them. Mingone criticizes this type of industrialization and urbanization with reference to the capitalist view: productivity will be lower, employment of labor higher, technology and factory organization totally inconvenient and unprofitable and so on (Mingione, 1981). On the other hand, Sawers counts the advantages of industrialization which is organized in this way: there is minimum demands on the overstrained transportation network, could often be constructed very quickly leading to a rapid return of investment, affects economy with less capital, more powerful against military attacks due to separated industry, can be located close to farms and employ labor that would otherwise be seasonally idle (Tabb and Sawers, 1978). New

industrial based cities must be self-contained and they must be typical cities with their own health, education, socio-cultural facilities (Miliutin, 1974).

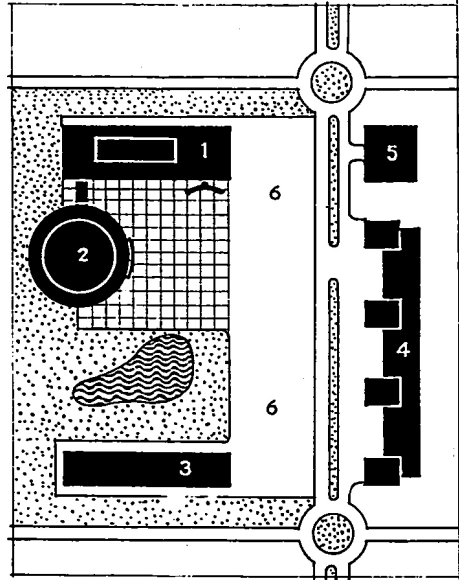


Figure 3.30: Industrial District Center 1. Managerial Building 2. Central Hall for Meetings 3. District Out-Patient hospital and Preventive Clinic 4. Public Catering, Trade and Welfare Services Establishments 5. Transportation Office 6. Car Parking Lots (N. et al., 1967)

The socialist city does not see the industrial zone as an unhealthy part which must be located far from the city. Industry is part of the city and pollution which is created by industrial production can be absorbed by technology (French, 1995; Miliutin, 1974). Residential zone and industrial zone which are divided by green belts must be close to each other to decrease travel time of worker. Production zones must set up strong ties with each other; production of knowledge, industrial production and education must be factors which support each other (Posokhin, 1974).

In summary, in order to proletarianizing the society, we must aim to provide spatial equality with the site selection process of industrial zones in a regional and urban scale.

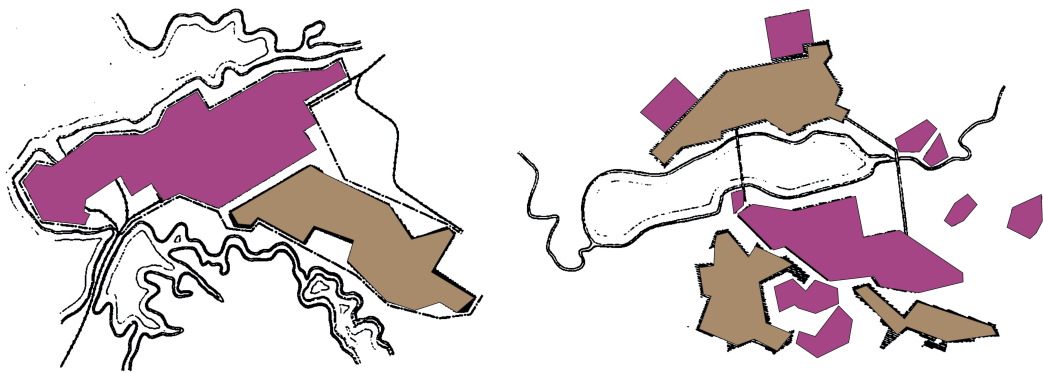


Figure 3.31: Compact industrial settlement against prodigal usage of nature (N. et al., 1967)

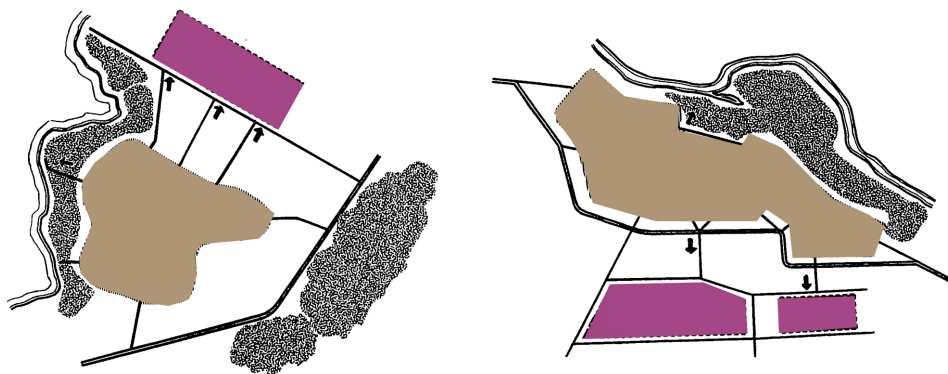


Figure 3.32: Perpendicular relation between compact city and industrial area and parallel relation between city and industrial area to minimize travel time of workers (N. et al., 1967)

3.3.2 Agricultural Production

Since existence the country was under domination of the city within an oppressor and oppressed fashion. The country produces for the town but it cannot benefit from the social life and technology which is the product of the town.

Socialist urbanization aims to organize country and agricultural production, collectively with a cooperativist approach (Miliutin, 1974). With cooperativism agricultural fields will get holistic state and this situation will allow for machinery production which is more efficient. This production approach can be an important example to make propaganda in rural areas where socialist production is more rational.

In Cuba, agriculture was declared as a key development sector. Cooperativism was promoted with the Agriculture Reform Law. Service facilities like schools and people's markets were established in the rural areas to create higher living standards for farmers whereas these policies aimed to inhibit migration to large cities (Tabb and Sawers, 1978).

In addition, as pointed out by Gutnov and others, agricultural production creates employment for specific seasons of the year and a farmer cannot be employed with 100% with this periodic work. So they offer mobile NUS for rural settlement. In this way, it is possible to shift farmers to other sectors in order to provide year-long employment. This type of settlement breaks the chains of the rural and also it prevents the negative effect of losing time to reach working area which is the case in Agrograds.

In brief, organization of farm communities increase agricultural production and creates more technological and social life facilitating the spread of socialist ideology over the geography.

3.3.3 Service Sector

We mentioned that today's capitalist city is based on consumption. The service sector plays an important role in the economy and the urban space of the consumption-based

capitalist world. The service sector can be described as slavery that people exploit each other and this sector does not contribute to the progress of society.

Organization of service in the socialist city can be summarized with two adjectives: self-service and collective (Gutnov et al., 1968; Posokhin, 1974). The socialist city would have spatial reflections according to this approach. Miliutin predicted 11400 workers in the industry sector while the number of workers in service sector was only 3500 (Miliutin, 1974). When we compare these numbers with service intense capitalist employment we can see the gap clearly. This production based economy would increase the welfare of the society. Service sector is usually agglomerated in city centers of capitalist cities, whereas the socialist city center serves to administrative and cultural institutions and services that are distributed to locals to make people easily access the services (Fisher, 1962).

Service facilities must be set up hierarchically in the socialist city similar to other parts of the city. Daily services, like market, must be located in the center of neighborhoods and services like theatres which do not serve daily needs, must be located in center of districts (Gutnov et al., 1968). Collective and free services serves to social welfare and promotes people to integrate with collective life.

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

Subjects of impasse of capitalist cities and the revolutionist social opposition which is created by this impasse and their resistance against these conditions are discussed in academic literature. But the subject of “how will be our alternative space set up after the collapsing of this system” has not been thoroughly discussed.

We described the sources of the impasse of the capitalist city and propose the socialist city as a revolutionist alternative. Believing that the socialist city must be an experimental study, an experiment entangled in relation with life, our goal was not determining a set of ultimate principles. The socialist city aims to prepare citizens to the socialist life and would face inevitable problems in this process. One of them is socio-cultural habits of citizens from their old lifestyle. Trying to hastily direct citizens to leave these habits might push them to a point which they resist the socialist city. In addition, there are different socio-cultural accumulations at different geographies of the world and the socialist city cannot provide one simple answer to all of these accumulations. Therefore, the socialist city must be an experimental work exhorting people to embrace the advantages of socialist life and therefore sound strategies must be in place, it should be flexible enough to reshape itself according to social reflexes but not to divert from revolutionist attitudes.

In this frame we tried to develop the principles of a socialist city in three main titles; equality, organization, and production. More precisely, we discussed how these three main principles of socialist ideology can be spatialized.

The socialist city must aim to provide spatial equality and thereby overcome the con-

traditions created on space or geography, and furthermore overcome the implicit contradictions of geography which comes from its essence. The socialist city must also produce solutions to housing problems brought about by the capitalist system by accumulating populations in large cities.

Other main subjects of our discussion are tackling the contradictions between town vs. country and big city vs. small city in a regional scale and distribution of residential areas and working areas throughout the city landscape.

Another main argument of the socialist city is how it will contribute to social organization. The socialist city must reflect administrative mentality of self-governance of socialist society. It must contribute to the integration of society to collective life and further. There is a critical co-existing relation between planning and society organization.

At last, we discuss that the socialist city must be a productive state of power. Today's capitalist world tries to make itself sustainable by setting economical notions in a consumption spiral and in this way, postponing destructive effects of implicit contradictions of its system. On the contrary, socialist city must be productive in a wide range of matters including reproduction of nature, industrial and agricultural production, and reproduction of working class and so on.

In the light of these discussions, experimental models can be produced for the whole socialist city or sections of the city. In fact, it is a necessity to create models in the areas which are led by progressivists and revolutionists. In this way, revolutionist movements can be strengthened, they compass the entire space making it more difficult to erase them from space, ensuring their long-term stay. Revealing socialist lifestyle with these experimental models provides us with an easy and effective propaganda instrument.

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