

One Plan to Rule Them All: Architects and the Visions of Urban Development in Late Soviet Lviv¹

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Introduction

A promotional article published in *Arkhitekturnyi visnyk (Architectural Herald)* in 2001 compares Lviv urban planners to the “stalkers in a relativistic environment, who are navigating their way to an unclearly defined purpose while knowing only the general direction of their movement.”² However, just a decade before the broad aim of urban planning in Soviet Union was rather clear—theoretically it had to visualize and provide guidelines for the construction of a socialist city and practically it had to adjust Communist Party decisions to specific urban situations with a limited amount of resources. Together with the collapse of the USSR, this certainty disappeared; instead, there remained a Zone full of not only physical debris (sometimes of a great scale) of the previous regime, but also infrastructures, institutions, social practices, and cultural patterns which were inherited and creatively appropriated.

The mentioned article provides a brief history of APM (*arkhitekturno-planuval'na maisternia*, architectural planning workshop) #2, part of the organization of the Mistoproekt State Institute for Urban Planning, the former Lviv Branch of the Dipromist State Design Institute for Cities. This institute has been engaged in urban planning documentation at various levels and, most importantly, designed the master plans of cities³—guiding documents for urban development and management in the areas of residential and industrial construction, transport, engineering infrastructures, green and recreational zones, protected areas etc. One of these master plans—the one developed during the 1980s and adopted in 1993 by Lviv City Council—is the key artifact around which my narrative would be constructed.

In order to analyze this type of documents, Christina Crawford proposes a set of text-based (i.e. Who was the author and the client? What information does the key hold?) and image-based (i.e. What is visually stressed in the plan? What is the relationship between street and non-street?) questions.⁴ At the same time, this paper is not primarily the story of an object (master plan) or a discourse (the urban planning ideas behind it) but of a community—both

¹ This paper is part of my post-doc project “Urban Experts and Changing Cities: Reshaping the Professional Field (1970s-2010s)” affiliated with the Center for Urban History of East Central Europe and conducted within the interdisciplinary research network “Legacies of Communism? Post-Communist Europe from Stagnation to Reform, between Autocracy and Revolution” coordinated by the Leibniz Center for Contemporary History in Potsdam.

² APM-2 (2001). Mistoproekt, *Arkhitekturnyi visnyk* 1/2, 22. The quote offers a frame of reference, which is important for Lviv urban planners—the cult Soviet movie *Stalker* (1979) loosely based on the novel by the Strugatsky brothers, *Roadside Picnic* (1972).

³ In this paper “Master plan” means “Heneral'nyi plan (General plan)” although it is a broader term.

⁴ Crawford, C. E. (2015). GenPlan 101: How to Read a Socialist General Plan Drawing. *Second World Urbanity*. URL: <http://www.secondworldurbanity.org/master-plan-of-the-socialist-city/genplan-101-how-to-read-a-socialist-general-plan-drawing/> (accessed 08.08.2019).

epistemic⁵ and community of practice⁶—of architects, engineers, geologists, transport specialists, economists, and “urban experts” in general, who are behind a number of decisions related to urban spatial development. The former chief architect of the Lviv Region who held this post both before and after 1991 described the group of urban experts as “the people who own the territory”.⁷ This phrase catches the essence of his definition of professional communities, who possess knowledge about the land specifics, available resources, possibilities, and restrictions of each spatial intervention. His approach resonates with the ideas of “spatial agency”—an ability of a person to act or refrain from acting according to individual goals, interests or values, and produce an effect in symbolic, social or material form. This concept suggests (similar to the approach of Anthony Giddens) that “action to engage transformatively with a structure is possible, but it will be effective only if one is alert to the constraints and opportunities that the structure presents.”⁸ It is both about limits and possibilities, which are mutually related and contextually defined.

The research is built on in-depth, semi-structured interviews with urban planners (a total of 25 hours of conversations with nine persons—three women and six men with the average age of 72—as of mid-June 2019), publications in professional journals like *Stroitel'stro i Arkhitektura* (*Construction and Architecture*) and *Arkhitekturnyi visnyk* (*Architectural Herald*), and materials from the archival collections of the Mistoproekt State Institute for Urban Planning and the Archive of Lviv City Council. While working with archival materials I was facing similar struggles to the ones described by Heather DeHaan, who was searching for materials that “offered some concrete sense of (1) planning ideas, (2) issues, and (3) the professional concerns of architects. Any file could in theory speak to these things... In theory, everything concerns politics, place, and professional relationships.”⁹ Therefore, I have focused on a master plan.

Master Plan: Vision of Possible Urban Future

Spatial reconfiguration was one of the fundamental tools of Soviet authorities: it helped the Communist Party to envision, organize, and manage cities and communities. Nationalization of the land and abolition of private property made it possible to plan and build on an unprecedented scale. Urban development was expected to have a significant social-transformative role—new ways of spatial organization aimed to produce new social relations, personal identities, and values systems.¹⁰ Thinking about socialist urban planning often uses the lens of utopia, like “unfinished utopia” of Nowa Huta,¹¹ “building utopia” in

⁵ Haas, P. M. (1992), Introduction: epistemic communities and international policy co-ordination, *International Organization* 46 No.1 Knowledge, Power, and International Policy Coordination, 1–35

⁶ Wenger, E. (1998). *Communities of Practice: Learning, Meaning and Identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

⁷ Interview with urban planner, born 1946, recorded 21 December, 2018. In order to preserve confidentiality, only information about the professional background and age of participants is provided here. All interviews are preserved at the Center for Urban History of East Central Europe in Lviv. The conversations were conducted in Ukrainian, and all translations into English given here are my own.

⁸ Awan, N., Schneider, T., & Till J. (2011). *Spatial Agency: Other Ways of Doing Architecture*. London and New York: Routledge, 31.

⁹ DeHaan, H. (2015). Plan through Text. *Second World Urbanity*. URL: <http://www.secondworldurbanity.org/master-plan-of-the-socialist-city/plan-through-text/> (accessed 08.08.2019).

¹⁰ Crowley, D., & Reid S. (2002). Socialist Spaces: Sites of Everyday Life in Eastern Bloc. In *Socialist Spaces: Sites of Everyday Life in Eastern Bloc*, ed. D. Crowley, S. Reid. Oxford: Berg, 1–22.

¹¹ Lebow, K. A. (2013). *Unfinished Utopia: Nowa Huta, Stalinism, and Polish Society, 1949–56*. Ithaca–London: Cornell University press.

Nizhniy Novgorod/Gorky¹² or generally “infrastructures of utopia”.¹³ This metaphor reflects on the mobilizing power and omnipresence of a vision of a new urban future.

The first decades of socialist rule were marked with attempts to provide a new vision of what the new city had to look like. These desirable futures had to be visualized in material form on quite a specific piece of land. Early experiments and Stalinist urban planning were discussed based on a number of cases, for instance, Moscow by Marina Dmitrieva¹⁴, Gorky by Heather DeHaan¹⁵, Magnitogorsk, Baku, and Kharkiv by Christina Crawford,¹⁶ and Lviv by Sofia Dyak¹⁷. The mentioned works address the issues of entanglement into or fixation of a Soviet project. For example, Sofia Dyak in her discussion of the first post-war master plan looks at the inclusion of Lviv into a new reality through the circulations of ideas between Lviv, Kyiv, Moscow, Leningrad, and Kharkiv during the period between 1946, when the first draft was presented for review, and the moment of its approval in 1956. My idea, however, is to see how the city is getting out of socialism with social, symbolic, and material legacies of Soviet regime. Similar to Lisa Kings and Zhanna Kravchenko’s research on Stockholm and Leningrad/Saint Petersburg,¹⁸ I am less interested in ruptures and more in continuances in both urban planning practice and conceptualization of the city. Therefore, my time frame for this paper starts in the late 1970s and lasts till the mid-1990s.

A socialist master plan expresses the most general scale of urban development; it was a visualization of expectations of what a city should look like.¹⁹ It is significantly different from a so-called “capitalist” master plan. Christina Crawford describes this difference in two key points—the scope of ambition and temporal persistence: “As a roadmap for urban improvement within a centralized economy, the general plan can, and often did, propose radical physical change to the city and persist for decades.”²⁰ Also socio-economic planning and urban planning in the USSR were seen as interrelated processes (scheme 1). Three stages of the development of a master plan—setting the tasks for *techniko-ekonomicheskoe obosnovanie* (technical and economic rationale, the feasibility study), calculations of this rationale, and preparing a master plan itself—constitute the core of the area of urban planning and are entangled with visions of long-term socio-economic urban development.

The planning and construction sector in the USSR was organized according to clear-cut hierarchies. In case of Ukrainian SSR, the State Committee for Construction (*Gosstroï*, or *Derzhbud*) (subordinated to the Central Committee of the Communist Party, the State Committee for Construction of the USSR, and the Council of Ministers of the Republic, and related to Regional and City Administrations) was the key institution and the highest

¹² Austin, R. C. (2004). *Building Utopia: Erecting Russia's First Modern City, 1930*. Kent: Kent State University Press.

¹³ Bocharnikova, D., & Harris, S. E. (2018). Second World Urbanity: Infrastructures of Utopia and Really Existing Socialism. *Journal of Urban History*, 44(1), 3–8

¹⁴ Dmitrieva, M. (2006). Moscow Architecture between Stalinism and Modernism, *International Review of Sociology* Volume 16, Issue 2, 427–50.

¹⁵ DeHaan, H. (2013). *Stalinist City Planning: Professionals, Performance, and Power*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

¹⁶ Crawford, C. E. (2015). Soviet Planning Praxis: From tractors to territory, *Centerpiece / Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University* 29, no. 2 (2015), 14–20; Crawford, C. E. (2015) GenPlan 101.

¹⁷ Dyak, S. (2018). ‘The City Needs to Have the Document’ or Paper Stories of the First Postwar Master Plan of Lviv, 1946-1956. Lecture. URL: <https://www.lvivcenter.org/en/chronicle/news/2947-18-11-17-dyak-master-plan/> (accessed 08.08.2019).

¹⁸ Kings, L. & Kravchenko, Zh. (2013). Giving up on great plans? Transforming representation of space in city plans in Russia and Sweden, *Laboratorium* 5 (3), 43–65.

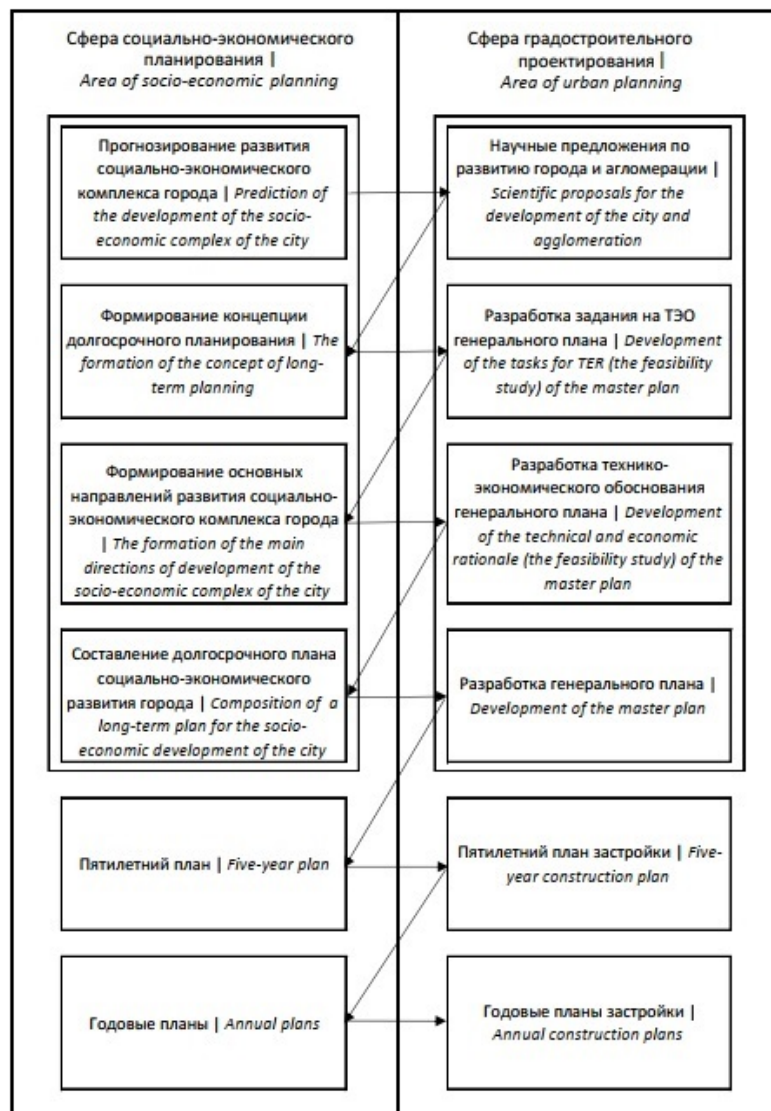
¹⁹ Harris, S. E. (2015). The Master Plan and the Socialist City. *Second World Urbanity*. URL: <http://www.secondworldurbanity.org/second-world-urbanity-2/the-master-plan-and-the-socialist-city/> (accessed 08.08.2019).

²⁰ Crawford, Ch. E. (2015). GenPlan 101.

authority. A number of planning institutions were parts of Gosstroimost structure, except Kyiv Zonal Scientific Research Institute of Experimental Design (KyivZNIIEP) dependent on the State Committee for Civil Construction and Architecture of the USSR.²¹ This very centralized system started to transfer responsibilities to regional and local levels—at least in the case of development of serial mass housing—during the early 1970s.²² I am going to show how similar processes occurred in urban planning as well.

Depending on the scale of a city and its role in the structure of Soviet economy, a master plan was developed either by central institutions in Moscow or Leningrad or by the ones in the capitals of the republics. The first and the second socialist master plans for Lviv, from 1956 and 1966 respectively, were designed by Dipromist State Design Institute for Cities in Kyiv. However, in the late 1970s the work on a new edition was transmitted to local professional community in Lviv. It began as the third socialist master plan of the city but became the first master plan of Lviv in already independent Ukraine.

Scheme 1. Relation between socio-economic planning and urban planning in the USSR²³



²¹ Meuser, P. (2015). Ten Parameters for a Typology of Mass Housing. In Meuser, P. & Zadorin, D. *Towards a Typology of Soviet Mass Housing: Prefabrication in the USSR 1955-1991*. Berlin: DOM Publishers, 12.

²² Ibid., 16.

²³ Fomin I., Korobenko, A., Botvin V., Zaets R. (1978). Upravlenie sotsialno-ekonomicheskim razvitiem krupnogo goroda i ego general'nyi plan, *Stroitel'stro i Arkhitektura* 1, 9. Translation: Natalia Otrishchenko.

City to Imagine: Lviv

The inter-war and post-war Lviv was a contested city where different national and ideological projects clashed and where the transformation from the multiethnic eastern European city into the monoethnic Soviet one unfolded.²⁴ Political but also symbolic appropriation of the city opened this area for new planning projects.²⁵ Due to intense industrialization the decades between 1945 and 1985 were the period of rapid population growth—from around 185,000 in 1946 to 704,000 in 1980 (with expected 835,000 in 1985-90)²⁶. Lviv became an important center of production in the region of western Ukraine—with a focus on micro-electronics, mechanical engineering, and chemistry. Along with factories and plants in the framework of the construction program launched by Nikita Khrushchev, new mass housing estates emerged. This construction was meant to resolve the problem with a lack of housing stock and to host thousands of workers who commuted every day from nearby villages to factories within the city and back. Ideologically they were planned as the incarnation of the future, where every person constitutes an integral part of the Soviet community and has access to modern facilities both inside the apartment (heating, water, electricity) and in the district (kindergartens, schools, sport infrastructure, grocery stores). They were designed according to the idea of a self-sufficient micro-district and the system of stepped services where all important facilities are accessible within a walking distance.²⁷ These mass housing estates were located in different parts of the city, but the largest one was Sykhiv, which was designed by the Lviv Branch of Dipromist during the late 1970s and 1980s in order to accommodate 120,000 daily commuters to the plants within the city.²⁸

At the same time, Lviv inherited valuable architectural ensembles from the medieval times to the early 20th century. Pre-socialist architecture was assembled and recycled for a new socialist project—140 hectares of central Lviv were claimed as a State Historical and Architectural Reserve by the Decree of the Council of Ministers of Ukrainian SSR #297 on 12 June 1975.²⁹ The tension between creating new urban structures and preserving the old ones largely remained throughout the Soviet period and its peculiar apotheosis was the history of the construction of an underground tram under the central part of the city, which was never realized.³⁰ The local professional community had to simultaneously reflect on the urban past, analyze the urban present, and envision the urban future. And their milieu was not isolated—they constantly interacted with the local administration, as the sphere of their competence coincided with the field of management. Territory and authority were (and remain) interrelated.

²⁴ Amar, T. C. (2015). *The Paradox of Ukrainian Lviv. A Borderland City between Stalinists, Nazis, and Nationalists*. Ithaca, NY & London: Cornell University Press; Mick, Ch. (2016). *Lemberg, Lwów, L'viv, 1914-1947: Violence and Ethnicity in a Contested City*. West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press; Risch, W. J. (2011). *The Ukrainian West: Culture and the Fate of Empire in Soviet Lviv*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

²⁵ Tschertes, B. (2005). Stalinist Visions for the Urban Transformation of Lviv, 1939–1955, In *Lviv: A City in the Cross-currents of Culture*, ed. J. Czaplicka (Cambridge: Ukrainian Research Institute Harvard University), 205–22.

²⁶ Petrova, A. et al. (1979). *Proekt razmeshcheniia I-oi ocheredi stroitel'stva v g. L'vove na period 1981-1985 g.g. v 4-h tomach. Tom I. Poiasnitel'naia zapiska*. Archive of the Mistoproekt State Institute for Urban Planning, Inventory number 450/04500, 9.

²⁷ Zadorin D. (2009). Microrayon Handbook, *Volume #21: The Block*, 26.

²⁸ Mysak, N. (2018). Sykhiv: An Overview. In *Sykhiv: Spaces, Memories, Practices. Results of the Third Urban Summer School "Visions & Experiences"*, ed. N. Otrishchenko. Lviv, FOP Shumylovykh, 9.

²⁹ Novakivskyi, Ya. et al. (1983). *Techniko-ekonomicheskie osnovy (TEO) General'nogo plana g. L'vova v 12 tomah. Poiasnitel'naia zapiska. Tom VII*. Archive of the Mistoproekt State Institute for Urban Planning, Inventory number 532/05543, 41.

³⁰ This example was described in a number of interviews. The underground tram was also mentioned as a project at the development stage in academic publications during the 1980s.

The “socialist city” is usually conceptualized as a result of centralized design, implemented by single actor, the state. However, the design itself is made by specific people and within specific institutions who have authority for this type of work. There were several institutions in Lviv that created a vision of the city’s urban development. Viacheslav Sekretariuk, the First Secretary of the Lviv City Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine in 1980–1987, proudly stated that “Lviv town planning school is one of the oldest in the country”.³¹ He wrote that while working on the plan of economic and social development, *gorkom* (city committee) and *gorispolkom* (city executive committee) of the party “are relying on support of regional party committee, active participation of workers. The big *scientific potential of Lviv*, the presence of *large design and production organizations*, active *work of creative units* give an opportunity to solve questions of town planning (*gradostroitel’stvo*) on a high level [*italic—N.O.*]”.³² These three groups correspond to the organizations in the fields of education (mainly Lviv Polytechnic Institute), urban planning practitioners, and professional association, like the Lviv branch of the Union of Architects.

My paper is focused on one of these groups—the Lviv Branch of Dipromist State Design Institute for Cities, which was established in Lviv in 1940. After the World War II in September 1944, the Lviv Regional Architectural and Design Bureau under the name Oblproekt resumed its activity under the supervision of the Office of Architecture of the Council of People’s Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR. It returned the previous name in 1955 and became Mistoproekt in 1993.³³ During the late socialist period the number of employees grew to over 500 people.³⁴ Structurally the Lviv Branch of the Dipromist consisted of four architectural planning workshops (APM), and in relation to the topic of this paper the most interesting case in APM #2, which was responsible for the development of planning documentation in the region of western Ukraine.

People Behind the Master Plan

The promotional article mentioned in the introduction uses the year 1966 as a starting point of active work: it was the time when Yaroslav Novakivskyi (1920–82) became the head of APM #2.³⁵ It was also the year when the second socialist master plan of Lviv was approved. Roman Mykh, the chief architect of the city in the 1970s and 1980s, while discussing the legacy of this document from a perspective of almost two decades, mentioned key urban planning ideas which the master plan from 1966 addressed. He stressed the need to change planning structure of the city through development of four planning zones, reorientation from a radial to radial-circular road system, and limiting urban growth by restriction of new industrial construction; he also pointed out on the miscalculations mainly in regard to the size of population and numbers of daily commuters as well as lags in residential, social, and transport constructions.³⁶ Similar problems were faced in the other cities of Ukrainian SSR.³⁷ However, Mykh optimistically looked into the future—he believed that architects and builders would create an optimal environment for life and activity of soviet people. And by

³¹ Sekretariuk, V. (1983). Gorod L’vov i ego problemy, *Stroitel’stvo i arkhitektura* 1: 4.

³² Ibid, 3.

³³ The history of institution is presented on the web page: <http://mistoproekt.com.ua/about-us/> (as for 01.09.2019).

³⁴ Interview with urban planner, born 1947, recorded 26 November 2018.

³⁵ Dubyna, V. (1997). Yaroslav Novakivskyi—zasnovnyk suchasnoi mistobudivnoi shkoly L’vova, *Arkhitekturnyi visnyk* 2–3 (3–4), 50; Dziadyk, N., Lypka, R. (2002). Pershi vypusky arkhitekturnoi spetsial’nosti L’vivskoi politekhniki pisliavoiennogo periodu (1946-1951). *Arkhitekturnyi visnyk* 2 (15), 18. Roman Mykh provides alternative date—1961 (Mykh, R. (2000). Arkhitektor-mistobudivnyk Yaroslav Novakivskyi. *Arkhitekturnyi visnyk* 1–2 (10), 15.). I will rely on the dating of Dziadyk and Dubyna, as both of them used to work with Novakivskyi.

³⁶ Mykh, R. (1983). Realizatsiia general’nogo plana L’vova. *Stroitel’stvo i arkhitektura* 1, 5.

³⁷ Nudel’man, V. (1982). Aktual’nye problemy razrabotki raionnykh planirovok i genplanov gorodov. *Stroitel’stvo i arkhitektura* 7, 8–9.

the time he published the mentioned article, the work on a new master plan had already started.

The key idea of Lviv urban development proposed in 1970 by the Lviv Branch of Dipromist was transformation of the city structure from monocentric to polycentric—through development of larger sub-centers in the northern and southern parts of Lviv and community centers in the new districts.³⁸ One of the masterminds behind this concept was Yaroslav Novakivskiyi. He is considered to be the founder of the contemporary urban planning school in Lviv.³⁹ As an expert with strong agency and a number of connections within different professional and artistic milieus—the son of a famous painter Oleksa Novakivskiyi (1832–1935)—he had vast symbolic and social capitals, described by his colleague:

[Yaroslav] Novakivskiyi was such a figure, he was not just an architect, he was the son of Oleksa Novakivskiyi, he knew that perfectly well. Now a few of our architects are so widely represented in the circle of people who personify Lviv culture. Novakivskiyi... had close relations with many writers, knew many artists... There were the contacts precisely in that artistic circle, so very active. I'm already in his place [a head of APM #2—N.O.], I do not have such contacts.⁴⁰

At the same time his position was not only an outcome of inherited connections, but also a result of his professional expertise: every five years, according to the stages of economic planning, the Lviv branch of Dipromist prepared the projects of the placing the first stage of construction⁴¹, which contained detailed information on the state of implementation of urban development plans as well the prospects for the next five years. Each such document had sections on the amount and location of construction (residential, communal, industrial), engineering infrastructures, road-street network and transport, engineering-geological conditions, environmental protection, expected cost of the work, and construction base. These projects were “urban planning school of Novakivskiyi”⁴², as Vitalii Dubyna puts it. One of the narrators recalls the experience of work on these documents:

we have done [projects of the placing the first stage of construction] so perfectly that we have always been an example for all other cities [in Kyiv]: “Look, the Lviv Institute makes placement projects well, very extensively, that means there is a lot of information.” And when the question was raised about the need to make changes in the master plan, which was made in the [19]66, then at the State Construction [people] have taken into account the request of Novakivskiyi, who on his part, so to speak, insisted that we can do it, we are able, and he proved it with that placement projects that we are able to do [the master plan].⁴³

³⁸ Sekretariuk, V. (1983). *Gorod L'vov...: 3*; Mykh, R. (1983). *Realizatsyia general'nogo plana L'vova... , 6*.

³⁹ Dubyna, V. (1997). *Yaroslav Novakivskiyi... , 50*.

⁴⁰ Interview with urban planner, born 1947, recorded 20 November 2018.

⁴¹ Petrova, A. et al. (1975). *Proekt razmeshcheniia I ocheredi stroitelstva v g. L'vove na 1976-1980 g.g. v 4 tomach. Tom I. Poiasnitel'naia zapiska*. Archive of the Mistoproekt State Institute for Urban Planning, Inventory number 369/03811; Petrova, A. et al. (1979). *Proekt razmeshcheniia... ; Bugaev, V. et al. (1985). Proekt razmeshcheniia I-oi ocheredi stroitelstva v g. L'vove na 1986-1990 g.g. Tom I. Poiasnitel'naia zapiska*. Archive of the Mistoproekt State Institute for Urban Planning, Inventory number 532/05395.

⁴² Dubyna, V. (1997). *Yaroslav Novakivskiyi... , 51*.

⁴³ Interview with urban planner, born 1947, recorded 26 November 2018.

As a person of “huge creative energy”⁴⁴ Novakivskyi was dreaming to work on the Lviv master plan.⁴⁵ Due to his personal agency as well as the role of the institute’s director, Zynovii Pidlisnyi (1936–99),⁴⁶ the Lviv branch of Dipromist obtained the possibility to develop a new Lviv master plan directly, which unlike the rest of master plans of big cities was held not in Kyiv but in Lviv. The experience of the projects of the placing the first stage of construction became one of the key arguments when we think about professional justifications. However, the role of both Novakivskyi and Pidlisnyi in lobbying the transfer of master plan development from Kyiv to Lviv is also important. The later as a head of institution was quite influential. His relations with the central planning office in Kyiv could be illustrated with one example. In the late 1970s the Lviv branch of Dipromist started to plan Sykhiv mass housing in the southern part of the city. A local team made changes in typical construction of 84 series of prefabricated panel buildings, and Pidlisnyi had to get approval from the State Construction Committee in Kyiv. Later he described this meeting to his Lviv colleagues. Professor of urban planning recalled Pidlisnyi’s story in his testimony:

It is clear that these improvements [in series] were constructive, and they caused some increase in price, and it was a deadly sin. And he [Pidlisnyi] told how [people] were shouting on him in high offices in Kyiv (his name was Zynovii): “Zynovii, you will be imprisoned, because you raise the cost of the construction.” Well, somehow, thank God, he was not imprisoned. Thank God, he remained in Lviv with his projects.⁴⁷

The other interviewee told a similar story about this conversation. She recalled that the director of the State Construction Committee was very angry about these changes in the series, but Pidlisnyi protected the project and it was implemented.⁴⁸ Later both Sekretariuk and Mykh proudly mentioned, that Lviv builders were among the first in the Ukrainian SSR who switched to construction of houses with improved planning.⁴⁹ Therefore, two persons with strong positions in professional field—Novakivskyi and Pidlisnyi—managed to convince the Dipromist State Design Institute for Cities and the State Construction Committee to pass the development of the master plan to the Lviv team. An urban planner who worked with Yaroslav Novakivskyi in AMP #2 since 1977 recalled his in this process:

Somewhere in the [19]80, thanks to Novakivskyi himself who was very active, very competent specialist, he was very active in his work [lobbying the transfer of master plan development to Lviv—N.O.]. Hence, he succeeded through the State Construction Committee to organize the financing of the next master plan... Novakivskyi managed to prove to current leadership of the State Construction Committee that we have the appropriate personnel here, there is a potential that can work on the master plans also of such large cities as Lviv.⁵⁰

And, basically, we started that in the [19]81, to make a new master plan. Well, we started, Novakivskyi was preparing for a long time before, he had somewhere, maybe some materials were preserved. The whole tables, then, the structure of sections, and

⁴⁴ Interview with urban planner, born 1952, recorded 13 December 2018.

⁴⁵ Ibid.; Mykh, R. (2000). *Arkhitekto-mistobudivnyk...*, 15; Dziadyk, N., Lypka, R. (2002). *Pershi vypusky arkhitekturnoi spetsial’nosti...*, 19.

⁴⁶ Interview with urban planning professor, born 1934, recorded 9 February 2019; Interview with urban planner, born 1952, recorded 13 December 2018.

⁴⁷ Interview with urban planning professor, born 1942, recorded 26 February 2019.

⁴⁸ Interview with urban planning professor, born 1934, recorded 9 February 2019.

⁴⁹ Sekretariuk, V. (1983). *Gorod L’vov...*, 2–3; Mykh, R. (1983). *Realizatsyia general’nogo plana L’vova...*, 6.

⁵⁰ Interview with urban planner, born 1947, recorded 20 November 2018.

who could be the potential executer of those sections in Lviv and so on. He had been preparing for a long time.⁵¹

Technical and economic rationale of master plan was developed during the early 1980s, as the team was organized in 1980 by the decree of the Lviv Branch of Dipromist #91-OK (supplemented with the decree #132-OK on 30 December 1983). The team of designers included, except the recently deceased Yaroslav Novakivskyi, architects Vitalii Dubyna, Oleksandr Mariev, Alla Petrova, Zynovii Pidlisnyi, Roman Mykh (at that time—the chief architect of the city), and engineer Liubov Shevchuk. The initial data for this document was calculated as of 1981 with the first stage in 1990 and the estimated period till 2005.⁵² The concept of technical and economic rationale was defended during the urban planning council (mistobudivna rada) at the State Construction Committee on September 11, 1985 in Kyiv. Hennadii Zlobin, the head of the State Construction Committee of the Ukrainian SSR, chaired the meeting. One of the participants of this discussion recalls that Zlobin “was one of those very, very tough ones, but surprisingly he listened to the report, practically said nothing critical, even praised and said that Lvivians are working well, look, Kyivans, how you should work.”⁵³

However, that meeting did not go as smoothly as it is remembered. Hennadii Zlobin interfered into the presentation at the very beginning and raised a question why the Lviv branch of Dipromist prepared the feasibility plan not the central institute in Kyiv. Yurii Piskovskyi (his deputy at the State Construction Committee) immediately expressed his support to Lviv team and stressed that they were always very professional. He continued: “And we believed that they could do this work on a high level. C.[omrad] Novakivskyi worked here at one time, who organized the work well [horosho postavil rabotu]... And the direction for the work is settled by the central institute. But the implementation is carried out by the Lviv branch.”⁵⁴ Basically, Piskovskyi stressed the dependence of Lviv team upon the central office, which might be only a formal gesture in order to make the discussion go further. Furthermore, he—not Hennadii Zlobin—seemed to be the main patron for the Lviv team at the State Construction Committee. Roman Mykh, who was present at that meeting, also expressed his delight at the fact that the Lviv Branch of Dipromist was developing the master plan, but it was crucial for them to have the support from the Central Institute of Dipromist, especially in the fields of economics and transport, in order to successfully complete the development of this document. Therefore, even while sufficiently autonomous in their work, the designers of Lviv master plan had to rhetorically emphasize their connection to the central office. This strategy seemed to be successful—their work was successfully discussed at the State Construction Committee.

After the approval of the feasibility plan Pidlisnyi invited his friend from the student years in Lviv Polytechnic Institute and with whom he used to work in Novokuznetsk—Volodymyr Bugaiov—to return to Lviv and lead the project of master plan development. At that time Bugaiov was already an experienced professional—he used to work on two master plans of Dushanbe, the capital city of the Tajik SSR, as well as a number of cities in the Russian SSR.⁵⁵ As a person with strong connections to Moscow institutions (like the Central Research and Design Institute for Urban Planning, TsNIIP gradostroitel'stva) Bugaiov organized the final discussion around technical and economic rationale of the Lviv master plan in the State Committee for Civil Construction and Architecture of the USSR. Since 1986 he joined the

⁵¹ Interview with urban planner, born 1947, recorded 26 November 2018.

⁵² Novakivskyi, Ya. et al. (1983). *Techniko-ekonomicheskie osnovy (TEO)*..., 12.

⁵³ Interview with urban planner, born 1947, recorded 26 November 2018.

⁵⁴ Protokol 7 zasedaniia nauchno-tekhnicheskogo soveta Gosstroia USSR ot 11 sentiabria 1985 g. The Central State Archives of Higher Authorities and Administration of Ukraine, Fond 4906, description 4, file 4655, 134.

⁵⁵ Interview with urban planner, born 1947, recorded 26 November 2018.

team of the Lviv branch of Dipromist and became the chief architect of the master plan. This document was finalized during the late 1980s and was approved only in 1993.

Imagining Urban Development of Lviv

One of the key ideas developed in the master plan was the concept of “polycentric system of the city center”—which meant transfer of some of the functions (like public services, consumption, and leisure) from the heavily loaded central part of Lviv to a few sub-centers in a close proximity to it. Roman Mykh mentioned that for the first time this concept was justified in the project of detailed planning of Lviv reconstruction in 1976,⁵⁶ but Bohdan Posatskyi believed that it was already present in the master plan of 1966.⁵⁷ This idea was embedded in the next master plan, and Yaroslav Novakivskyi is perceived as a main contributor of its promotion:

He [Novakivskyi] was the author of that master plan [of 1993], he organized that team, and they laid down exactly the basic parameters for our city, which, in fact, I think, are still lasting with variations until today [z perespivamy do s'ogodni idut']. There are no such concepts up until today. The idea was to disperse the center and create sub-centers.⁵⁸

So, the idea of the polycentric city included the center and four or five sub-centers. They called it “A”, “B”, “B”, “Г”, “Д”.⁵⁹

The master plan was not only about zooming to the city center and trying to disperse it, but also looking at the wider context: it intended to regulate the interconnections between the city and its surrounding area mainly because of large numbers of daily commuters. The concept of Lviv group system of settlements was developed by the local professional milieu from both the Lviv Branch of Dipromist and Lviv Polytechnic Institute. While discussing the development of the area Ihor Fomin, Iryna Rusanova and one of the authors of technical and economic rationale of the master plan—Alla Petrova—envisioned the transition from dispersed to group sub-urban settlements. They justified three stages of this process: till 1990—formation of a primary settlement groups with public centers and good transport connections; till 2000—arrangement of enlarged sectoral industrial areas interconnected with urban planning zones, finalizing of a radial ring; till 2030—development of three large residential and industrial formations connected to the structure of Lviv.⁶⁰ One of the authors of the master plan reflected on this concept during the interview:

There was a local settlement system... back in the [19]80's, in that direction we were developing a master plan. That is, we viewed Lviv as the center of the regional system ... the center of the district system. Because at that time we even suggested that here, from the point of view of the formation of the settlement system, it would be valuable to form the Lviv district, because it has a large area of influence ... That is, we viewed the city, not just as a city, but an entire conglomerate of such settlements.⁶¹

This urban planner also mentioned the influence of Fomin and his description of Lviv as a center of agglomeration. He and other urban professionals laid up an explanatory language,

⁵⁶ Mykh, R. (2000). *Arkhitekto-mistobudivnyk...*, 15.

⁵⁷ Posats'kyi, B. (2003). Do kontseptsii general'nogo planu L'vova. *Arkhitekturnyi visnyk* 1 (17), 34.

⁵⁸ Interview with urban planning professor, born 1958, recorded 13 May 2019.

⁵⁹ Interview with urban planning professor, born 1957, recorded 22 March 2019.

⁶⁰ Fomin, I., Rusanova, I., Petrova, A. (1983). Perspektivy razvitiia L'vova i zony ego vliianiia, *Stroitel'stvo i arkhitektura* 7: 6.

⁶¹ Interview with urban planner, born 1947, recorded 26 November 2018.

which was used in order to justify the development of the city. As my interviewee recalled, the scientific work which substantiates the master plan of Lviv was done by Kyiv Scientific and Research Institute of Urban Planning (KyivNDImistobuduvannia): “At that time, we were very, very actively cooperating with them.”⁶² Therefore, this document connected locally relevant ideas (like polycentric system of city center) with general trends (i.e. planning settlement systems). Even though the master plan was developed in Lviv, it is still an example of a knowledge transfer between different expert communities and different scales. One more source for inspiration, which was recalled during the interview, was a publication by prominent Soviet architect and theoretician of urban planning Alexei Gutnov. His book *Evolution of Urban Planning (Evoliutsyia Gradostroitel'stva)* (1984) was mentioned as a catalyst for rethinking the approach towards planning the city:

The master plan was more detailed, well, let's just say, at that time there were some shifts in urban planning. Already, in my opinion, at that time already, and maybe later, a book came out in the late [19]80's, a book was published, Gutnov's “Evolution of Urban Planning”, which made among urban planners such a revolution in thoughts... Maybe he [Gutnov] used such terms in urban planning, as “frame” and “fabric” [karkas i tkanyna] [earlier]. The frame—that is the transport frame, that is the most stable part of the city, and the fabric, that is something between the frame, filling of that frame.⁶³

The ideas about “frame” and “fabric” were already discussed in the late 1970s in the book *The Future of the City* (1977), written by Alexei Gutnov and Ilia Lezhava.⁶⁴ It was among a few conceptual works published after the Second World War on how new socialist cities have to be planned. The book summarized the experience of the NER⁶⁵ group, the collective of MARKhI students who graduated in 1961 with a collaborative experimental project on a new settlement. The project rethinks the architectural and planning organization of the city on the basis of communication structure, as well as demonstrating an approach towards urban development as a dynamic process. This example shows the transfer of knowledge between Moscow professional milieus and community of urban experts in Lviv. While talking about adopting ideas Stephen Ward develops a typology of diffusion in the field of urban planning based on the power relations between actors, who either “borrow” (knowledge is shaped by local agency) or “impose” (knowledge is lent by foreign experts).⁶⁶ In case of the Lviv master plan, the idea was rather borrowed and modified in this process. The key priority was given to the “frame”—a transport network—while the “fabric” was undervalued. One of urban planners recalled:

Novakivskyi once said that transport infrastructure is the basis of urban planning, because without close links, it is a solid structure... Where the main road begins to grow, that is, the territory gains a corresponding commercial value, attractiveness. If there is a highway, then this territory can develop.⁶⁷

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Gutnov, A., Lezhava, I. (1977). *Budushchee goroda*. Moskva: Stroiizdat.

⁶⁵ The name comes from the diploma project entitled *Novyi Element Rasselenia (New Element of Settlement)*. For more about this group and their ideas see the work of Daria Bocharnikova: Bocharnikova, D. (2014). *Inventing Socialist Modern: History of the Architectural Profession in the Soviet Union 1932-1971*. Thesis to obtaining the degree of Doctor of History and Civilization. Florence: European University Institute.

⁶⁶ Ward, S. V. (2010). Transnational Planners in a Postcolonial World, in *Crossing Borders: International Exchange and Planning Practices*, editors Patsy Healey, Robert Upton. London: Routledge, 48.

⁶⁷ Interview with urban planner, born 1952, recorded 13 December 2018.

Development of transport system—roads, interchanges, traffic circles—remains a determinant for urban development in Lviv for decades. It is the most stable part of the city; however, it also shows the city only as a background for movement from point A to point B with a priority of vehicle and does not take into consideration the pedestrian. At the same time professor of urban planning mentioned the new imagination of pedestrian areas, which was grounded in the master plan:

The largest pedestrian city that was ever designed in Lviv, in fact, was in Novakivskyi's master plan. There were such pedestrian spaces designed there, even today it is difficult to imagine how to design them... New sub-centers were interconnected with the center by pedestrian links... I am amazed with such an insight; I think all the time: where did they get those ideas? There was almost no one abroad, so maybe they were in Warsaw, maybe they were in the Baltic States, yes. But these pedestrian zones only started to emerge [there], and they [master plan authors] already designed them on such a great scale in Lviv.⁶⁸

Vitalii Dubyna presented these planning ideas during the meeting at the State Construction Committee in 1985. He mentioned that Lviv had developed as a compact city—and the result of such historical evolution had to remain in the future. Dubyna also used the language of Gutnov: he described the presence of the planning frame [karkas]—the radial axes that formed the basis of the urban structure of the districts (central one and three peripheral). The intersections of these axes and the diameter of the center made up subcenters,⁶⁹ therefore, he also justified the concept of “the polycentric system of city center.” In this way the authors of master plan used both ideas developed in Moscow and locally relevant ones.

The master plan also showed a discrepancy between the image of the city as an important industrial center⁷⁰ and the limitation of its industrial growth. Since the very inclusion of Lviv into Soviet project, its profile was constructed as industrial one. However, with a growing number of daily commuters the pressure on urban infrastructures became too intense. Urban planners were designing new housing and social facilities (the mentioned case of Sykhiv is the brightest example), but the capacity of a system to finance such mass-scale construction was limited. The construction or extension of city-forming industrial enterprises was generally prohibited in the five cities with more than a million inhabitants as well as in Lviv and Zaporizhzhia—Volodymyr Nudelman described this process as “transition from quantitative to qualitative methods of urban development”.⁷¹ In the early 2000s Bohdan Posatskyi wrote about one of the main tenets that guided the authors of the 1993 master plan: “containment of industrial development in Lviv,” which is no more a case, as the prospects for industry are not yet clear.⁷² Anyway, the limitation of industrial growth was part of master plan justification. Authors of the master plan proposed three possible directions of urban development based on the density of area usage: extensive, intensive, and compromissory.⁷³ These three approaches were discussed and based on the results of evaluation the compromissory version was selected as the most appropriate for the future of the city

Changes arrive already in 1990. Yurii Piskovskyi and Volodymyr Nudelman were reflecting on the effects of a new political situation on the master plan development. They stated that

⁶⁸ Interview with urban planning professor, born 1957, recorded 22 March 2019.

⁶⁹ Protokol 7 zasedaniia nauchno-tekhnicheskogo soveta Gosstroia USSR..., 155.

⁷⁰ Bugaev, V. et al. (1985). *Proekt razmeshcheniia I-oi ocheredi...*, 8.

⁷¹ Nudel'man, V. (1982). Aktual'nye problemy razrabotki raionnykh planirovok i genplanov gorodov. *Stroitel'stvo i arkhitektura* 7: 8.

⁷² Posats'kyi, B. (2003). Do kontseptsii general'nogo planu..., 32.

⁷³ Novakivskyi, Ya. et al. (1983). *Techniko-ekonomicheskie osnovy (TEO)...*, 21–2.

now in order to formulate tasks for master plans it was necessary to take into account new laws adopted by the Supreme Council of the republic (like the laws about land and property), and “above all, the Declaration of Sovereignty of Ukraine, its economic independence. All of them define new requirements to the content, adjustment procedure, approval and implementation of master plans.”⁷⁴ Their article stresses that the changes in the field of ownership and transition to market economy “enhances the probabilistic nature of future development⁷⁵ and leads to the need to abandon the directive-dogmatic methods of urban design”.⁷⁶ They also proposed reorientation from productive to social aims, as well as a new scheme of financing for master plan development and optimization of the approval procedure. However, these considerations were not fully reflected neither in the practice of master plan development nor in the content of this document. An excerpt from one the interview with one of the authors of the master plan clearly shows it:

Interviewer: Did you have to change anything substantially [after 1991]? In fact, a new state was emerging with new rules. Were you forced to review a feasibility study or any of your drawings?

Narrator: Well, let's say, the new processes have not shown themselves [yet]. Everything was based, let's say, on the existing production and industrial potential. We thought that as we became independent, on the contrary, we would benefit more. Our competitors, who were on the territory of Russia, have fallen away from us, and now we are monopolists here, and we have to develop further. And that potential was very high. At that time of breakup [rozrukha], there were no traces, no such signs of disintegration.⁷⁷

Conclusions

The discussion about approval of this master plan was held during the plenary session of Lviv City Council on 24 June 1993. Two persons presented the master plan: the head of the department of architecture and urban planning in Lviv City Council Oleh Chamara and the chief architect of the projects in Ukrzahidtsyvilproekt (former Lviv branch of Dipromist) Volodymyr Bugaiov. Chamara mentioned that the base of the master plan constitutes “a qualitatively new concept of urban planning,” while Bugaiov outlined the key principles: limitation of industrial growth, selecting areas for housing developments, solving the problems with transport, development to the city center.⁷⁸ Those are the same concepts discussed in the 1980s and reflected in the master plan. Zynovii Pidlisnyi, who was also present during this meeting, stressed the conceptual and regulatory role of this document and concluded that the city had to serve a person, not a system. Among the specific questions addressed to the authors there was the following one from Zhuk: “is it a master plan of a socialist or a capitalist city?” However, it remained without answer. The deputy Kohut mentioned that basically the project of the master plan remained the same as it was ten years ago. Andrii Hrechylo, who was a head of commission on architecture and construction, proposed to approve the document, but to treat it not as an instruction but “philosophically.”⁷⁹ Even when there were certain concerns, it was approved by 77 votes (two persons voted against, and three abstained from voting) with a scope till 2010. The last “socialist” master plan became the first “capitalist” one.

⁷⁴ Piskovskiy, Yu., Nudel'man, V. (1990). Kakim dolzhen byt' general'nyi plan v novykh usloviakh, *Stroitel'stvo i arkhitektura* 11, 1.

⁷⁵ The idea of a relativistic environment (mentioned in 2001) was already in the air in 1990.

⁷⁶ Piskovskiy, Yu., Nudel'man, V. (1990). Kakim dolzhen byt' general'nyi plan...

⁷⁷ Interview with urban planner, born 1947, recorded 26 November 2018.

⁷⁸ Plenary session of Lviv city council on 24 June 1993. Archive of Lviv City Council, Fond 6, file 4467, 46.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 48–51.

The next decade was a time when visionary ideas were far from the main priority in urban planning. The chief architect of Lviv Volodymyr Shvets in 2001 proposed to dedicate one of the meetings of the local Union of architects to a discussion about the future development of the city, with “not a short-term, but rather a theoretical, conceptual perspective”. Further he complains: “Nobody does this; ideas are not produced. Ya. Novakivskyi has been working on the perspective ideas all the time, but they have not been implemented yet.”⁸⁰ In this interview he was asked a question about relying on a current master plan in his work. Shvets answers that this document was developed during the time of big political and economic changes: “It is designed for the past, the completely different socio-economic system, but it is made professionally. Its content is not corresponding to contemporary realities, it is rather the statement about a situation in Lviv at the end of the 1980s”.⁸¹ At the same time, he adds that solutions in regard to functional zoning, development of transport and engineering networks would not be changed substantially. Although Shvets has rhetorically denied the relevance of this document, he is not questioning its key ideas.

The example of master plan from 1993 opens a larger discussion on how the urban expertise was transferred from central institutions to the local ones and makes visible both individual and institutional agency. It shows the production of ideas about urban development which was taking place between a number of locations. It is a story of ideas, but it is impossible to tell it without people who are constantly negotiating, lobbying, and justifying their right to describe the future. Finally, it is also a story of continuances through disruptions, when a document created during the late socialist period became a basis for urban development of the city in different political, economic, and cultural conditions. Within these conditions urban planners continue to be stalkers in a relativistic environment. As Redrick Schuhart from *Roadside Picnic* says, they might believe that it is possible to give happiness for everybody or at least they need to have some visions of desirable future:

Let’s say, what is a master plan? Is it a reality or is it a utopia? There must be some combination. A little of utopia, a little of reality, I think. Because there are always some new ideas, sometimes some already forgotten old utopian ones are coming back.⁸²

⁸⁰ Shvets’, V., Shuliar, V. (2001). Volodymyr Shvets’: “My vsi khochemo,shchob L’viv stav shche krashchym”. *Arkhitekturnyi visnyk* 1–2 (12), 8.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁸² Interview with urban planner, born 1952, recorded 13 December 2018.