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Modern Visions and Development for the Eastern Part of Skopje

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Abstract

During the twentieth century, Skopje underwent a process of modernization, moving away from the oriental urban structure inherited from Ottoman rule. While interwar urban plans introduced only subtle changes, through individual buildings, a decisive transformation occurred with the first post-war urban plan by Ludjek Kubesh in 1948, which established a clearly recognizable modern urban morphology. Skopje expanded from a compact central structure into a longitudinal city organized along a dominant east–west development axis, replacing the earlier north–south orientation. Modern architectural language subsequently became the prevailing framework of the city's urban planning.

This paper works on a critical review of several urban plans for the development of eastern Skopje, an area mostly dedicated for housing. Focusing on the period from the mid-twentieth century to the mid-1970s, the research reveals how varying socio-political, cultural, and natural conditions shaped the heterogeneous evolution of this territory.

Through a chronological analysis of archival material, the study examines both the projected residential visions and their realized forms, all carrying a recognizable modernist impulse. These range from plans emphasizing logical continuity within the city's urban fabric, to residential zones integrated with an ambitious sports park. The paper further addresses the rational planning responses to post-earthquake housing demands, the continuation and reinterpretation of Kenzo Tange's ideas, finishing on an eastern residential development envisioned as a "new modern city for 100,000 inhabitants". Collectively, these urban entities illustrate attempts to redefine Skopje's architectural direction, forming an interconnected urban milieu marked by clear and evolving modernist tendencies.

Keywords

Skopje, housing, modern city, architectural history of the 20th century

1 Introduction

1.1 Understanding the context

"Evolution of structure of towns is based on evolution in structure of society. Evolution of structure of society is the growing awareness of man about what is existence. Part of existence is consciousness of space-quality" (part of Bakema's work from 1967 (see also: Bakema (1968a:p.10))). These words by Bakema can easily be spoken within the context of Skopje in the second half of the twentieth century as a city striving for progress, driven by the social and ideological changes of the context in which it exists. After the turbulent first half of the twentieth century, marked by destructive wars and changes in the territorial affiliation of Macedonia between several kingdoms and empires, in the period after the Second World War, the country became a stable, sovereign and equal

member of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, with Skopje having the status of social and cultural center of its southern territories.

The post-war reconstruction of Yugoslavia was aimed towards achieving advanced concepts in the field of urban planning (Maksimović, 1948:p.240). While attempting to chart its own social path, one different from that of the Soviet bloc, Yugoslavia established self-managing socialism that would infiltrate and affect all the spheres of life in the country (Mrduljash, 2018:pp.40–55). Working in favor of the newly established system, architecture and urbanism from the late 1940s took on the hallmark of Western modernism as the basic doctrine for the material representation of the state's ideologies (Jovanović and Kulić, 2018:p.59). Most obviously through the domain of

housing, the influences of CIAM, and later Team 10 penetrated the country, trying to promote a modern lifestyle that transcended the physical boundaries of the home and questioned the values of the entire environment (Bjažić Klarin, 2018:pp.90–94).

Modern tendencies defining the built environment in Skopje entered the scene with the new General Regulation Plan of 1948 (Archive 1) of the City of Skopje, GRP of the city of Skopje, box n.1). The new settlements, developing along an elongated east-west axis, deviated from the radial expansion of the city proposed by the previous two development plans. Through their planning, the manners of Corbusier and the principles of CIAM were easily recognizable (Ivanovska Deskova, 2015). The eastern territories of Skopje, which had their definite form being planned for the first time with this plan, showed fresh ideas and socio – spatial perspectives that would mark the basis of further evolution and upgrade when it comes to development of this part of the city.

2 Used methodologies

This paper aims to form a historical overview of the development and evolution of the eastern residential areas of Skopje. In this regard, most of the material on which this research will be based is primary archival materials, maps and texts that describe and show the visions of the modern urbanization of the city.

In addition to the historical character, the paper aims to evaluate the ideas presented in it, comparing them with the paradigms and ideologies of the avant-garde world movements from the time when these plans were made. At the same time, the views of local architects are also considered in order to harmonize, but also understand the global and local aspirations, qualities and achievements of the plans.

2.1 The General Regulation Plan of the city of Skopje and the development towards East, '48

Abandoning the close relations with the USSR and the simultaneous orientation towards the ideals of European West, concerning the urbanization of the city, resulted in a modern influence that would establish a "new beginning" in its development (Ivanovska Deskova, 2015). The General Regulation Plan of Skopje from 1948 prepared by Ludjek Kubesh and a group of Czechoslovakian architects physically and ideologically redefined the city. With the greatest emphasis placed on housing, Kubesh's longitudinal plan, in addition to the expansion of the city, strived towards elevating the form of housing and surpassing the low quality of the existing housing stock that

Skopje has to offer. Thus, the eastern territory of Skopje, which were specifically shaped in this plan for the first time through a new settlement called "Vardar" (taking the name of the river that passes through the city), turned out to be "fertile ground" for advanced housing experiments and ambitions (following the example of other contemporary settlements of similar character in Yugoslavia (Maksimović, 1948:p.241)). The goal of this settlement was to solve the housing issue predominantly for the needs of industrial workers, working in the industrial zones that were already established on the east and were currently developing on the south of the city.

The basic building elements that formed the residential ensemble of the Vardar settlement were four rectangular blocks composed of a large number of parallel arranged residential buildings with identical typology and open green areas between them. These multi-family freestanding buildings had a simple architectural expression and low height (mostly ground level + 1 with a small number of ground level + 3). The simplicity of the shape of the buildings came from the need for, above all, elementary improvement of the living space and capacity in the city. The housing reports in Skopje from 1954 indicate a meager 6.3 m² of living space per inhabitant in the home, which is far behind the Yugoslav standard (Archive 2) (Fig. 1).

The progress of housing policy and ideology through the model of the Vardar settlement, however, was not reduced solely to a simple increase in the basic housing capacity of the city. Of greater importance was the attempt of the settlement to raise the idea of housing, giving it a new cultural and emancipatory meaning. Perceiving the issue of housing as a complex state that includes multiple conditions, the plan of Ludjek Kubesh treated the importance of the living environment inclusively, taking into account the biological and collective needs and habits of people. Such intentions were noticeable throughout the modern approach when shaping spaces, especially in the treatment of open spaces and the relationship between the settlers and nature.

The "limitlessness" of the new free territories that this settlement occupied and the way in which it expanded as a new urban part of the city, enabled the placement of free-standing buildings that floated in greenery. Their limited height prevented the built space from dominating the natural silhouette of the region, working in favor of the idea of a "city that sprouts from greenery" (Archive 3). This attitude towards space shown by the plan can easily be linked to Le Corbusier's ideas about the order of city planning elements, where "the presence of nature is primary in relation to the built space" (Atkinson, 2016:p.185)

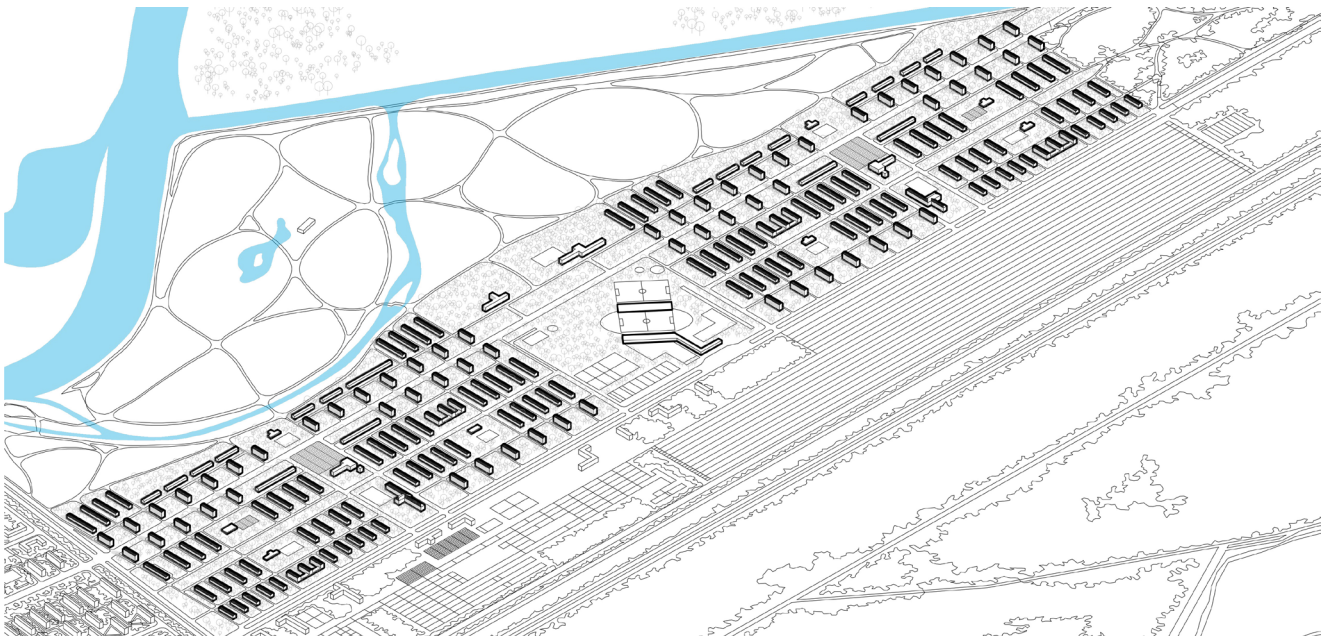


Fig. 1 Axonometric view of Kubesh's plan for the eastern development of Skopje and Vardar settlement (author's drawing over the General Plan)

as well as to Bakema's vision of a quality space as the sum of "man, nature and the idea of nature" (part of Bakema's work from 1942 (see also: Bakema (1968b:p.27))). Reading the plan this way, marked the beginning of the understanding of the social and biological nature of people and their inclusion in shaping the city, an agenda that would get further emphasized in the continued development of the eastern part of Skopje.

The symbiosis of natural elements and built space in Kubesh's plan can be traced across two scales. At a lower scale, all of the residents of the settlement had a small, shared and open "yard" in front of their building, with which they established a direct connection with nature. Furthermore, according to Hristova Popovska (2019:p.139), part of the initial buildings in this settlement were designed with open entrance spaces, open passages and galleries, aimed towards further emphasizing the soft boundary of the architectural experience of "inside" and "outside" spaces, while also enjoying the benefits of the local climate. The low height of the building supported the direct connection of man and nature. Close with the ideas of Gropius (1955), the limited height of the buildings allowed people to remain in the physical domain of nature, visibly feeling its presence and building a direct relationship with it (stepping on the grass, looking at the trees from their home, enjoying the shade of the canopies, etc.).

Moving away from the scale of a single building and its relationship with the natural elements in the immediate surroundings, the relationship between nature and built space

at the urban scale in this plan could be felt through the green park and utilizing the natural and existing water arm of the Vardar River, which was envisioned to flow parallel to the longitudinal axis of the built part of the settlement. The freely curved pedestrian paths that made the movement through the park took on a natural ambient, as well as the water surfaces that instead of being considered a barrier represented an opportunity to enhance the natural experience, enriched the contents of the settlement and created an overlap of the programs, where recreation and housing existed directly next to each other. In this case, although we were talking about a modernist settlement, the plan slowly showed the tendency to abandon the purely functionalist nature of the city and leaned towards post-war paradigms for unifying functions in a logical living environment. This idea has been further supported by a plan for a large sports park, placed and adapted to the already existing park (Archive 4). By doing so 13 years later, the planners understood the general track towards which Skopje was developing, and continued to enrich the city with spaces of mixed character.

Enrichment of the contents of the settlement also occurs with a number of blocks taking on public programs. Aimed at supporting housing, blocks with similar shapes and appearance to the housing ones, introduced elementary schools, sports fields, children's institutions, service markets and other contents that met the needs for everyday life of the settlers. In addition to their primary function, these public buildings and open spaces represented a generator of social activities and spontaneous meetings that

contributed to building the identity of a settlement and the identification of its residents with it.

Through the principles of organization of Vardar settlement and Kubesh's plan, analyzed from a contemporary perspective with an objective time distance, an echo of Clarence Perry's "neighborhood unit" (Perry, 1929) can be felt, having the school as the center of social events and greenery as a structural part of the human environment. At the same time, the settlement can also be recognized as a kind of an attempt modeled over the concept of the Garden City (Howard, 2008), as a self-sufficient entity on the eastern periphery of Skopje. Such parallels can bring to light the essential values of Vardar settlement, which were also discussed by Popovski (2006:pp.177–178), recalling that the settlement (together with Prolet settlement, which was developed west of Vardar settlement and which was a kind of intermediate layer of transition between the central and the elongated plan of the city), at the time of its creation, was "at the level of the best European urban achievements, pointed out in professional periodicals" because of its humane and cultural significance.

Looking at the direction of the continued growth of the city, the attitude towards modern ambitions of city planning was continually nurtured while developing the eastern residential zone of Skopje. In the years that followed, facing current needs and contextual conditions, most of the plans tried to respect the guidelines given by Ludjek Kubesh.

2.2 Residential neighborhood "13ti Noemvri", '61–'62

Together with the sports park, an idea for a neighborhood at the western most limits of the planned site was being developed, parallel to the Vardar settlement. The neighborhood, called "13ti Noemvri" followed the model of a "neighborhood unit" (Archive 5), with two residential blocks gathered around a public program that was supposed to support and emancipate the living environment of the neighborhood. The urban morphology of the apartment blocks followed the example of current Yugoslav and European realizations in architecture (Kulić, 2018:pp.26–39). Different types of residential buildings (one type of tower and two types of elongated buildings) formed the residential blocks of the settlement that, comparing spatial configuration, showed a higher level of complexity and exceeded the Kubesh's planned residential matrix. Placed in an orthogonal system, the free-standing buildings formed an "open" perimeter block in the middle of which there was free green courtyard with playgrounds and additional program for children and youngsters. Seen through quantitative values, the residents of this neighborhood received

18 m² of gross living space in the new apartment buildings and almost 17 m² of green space for recreation and enjoyment of natural environments per resident. A significant improvement compared to the existing standard.

The public program located in the center of the settlement exceeded the capacity of only basic and service activities that should have satisfied residential needs. In addition to the usual program of a kindergarten, school, grocery store and ambulance, a public bath and a cinema hall for 300 spectators were also included. The architectural volumes of the public sector were also made through ambitious geometry and abstract aesthetics, using the language of modernism. The introduction of such a program and buildings in the plan, pointed to the idea of including cultural elements directly, but also spontaneously within the life of the neighborhood. By embodying content of such nature, the 1962 vision, may be viewed as an attempt to reach the contemporary urban and architectural paradigms (part of Smithson and Smithson's work from 1953 (see also: Smithson and Smithson (1968a:pp.77–78))), manifested by the spatial superposition of multiple programs in one surface and allowing them to resonate with the associative part of human life. The goal of such an idea, in addition to quantitative progress, was also the understanding and improvement of living habits.

Continuing the connection of people with nature, but also the relationship with the rest of the city, the neighborhood established a relationship with Vardar River. In order to connect the old part of the city with the newly planned sports park to the east, "13ti Noemvri" proposed the articulation of the Vardar quay in the form of a pedestrian walkway, linking together the city center and the new eastern development via the natural infrastructure of Skopje (Vardar River). The planned embankment thus contributed to a direct connection of the neighborhood's residents with the river, even more reinforcing their connection to the natural environment with the addition of two planned lookouts, accessible from the neighborhood side and directly facing the river (Fig. 2).

Such advanced plans and visions for Skopje promised a strong modern stage of its development. Although the plans were partially starting to be realised, the current state of urbanism and architecture in the capital of Macedonia would be abruptly changed. On July 26, 1963, Skopje would fall victim to a strong earthquake that would destroy or render unusable close to 80% of its building stock, calling for a new approach to planning and a rapid need of solution involving the housing issue of a large number of its residents (Ivanovski et al., 2015:p.54).

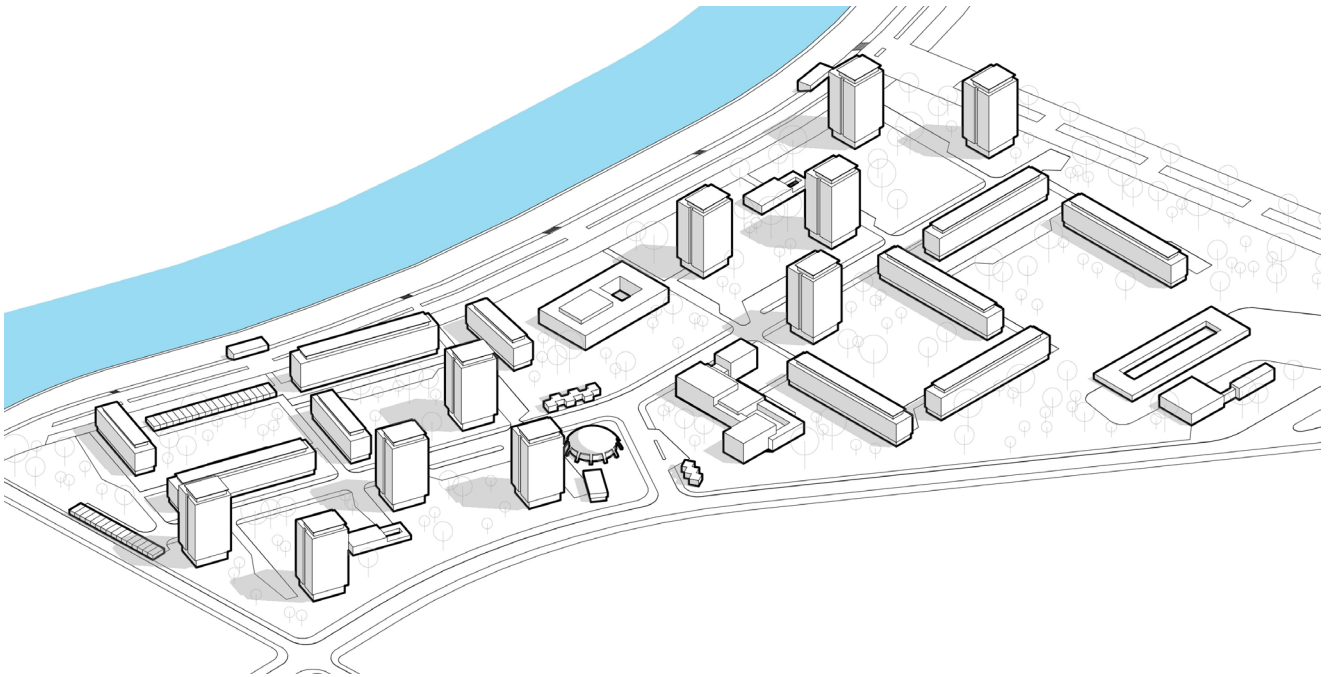


Fig. 2 Axonometric view of "13ti Noemvri" neighborhood (author's drawing over the plan of the neighborhood)

2.3 Suburban settlement "Aerodrom" with prefabricated buildings, '63

The architectural and urban history of Skopje in the second half of the twentieth century is largely defined by the post-earthquake reconstruction of the city. With 150,000 people left homeless (Ivanovski et al., 2015:pp.55–56), the President of Yugoslavia Josip Broz Tito assured the day after the disaster that "Skopje will be rebuilt with the help of the entire country, becoming a symbol of brotherhood and unity of Yugoslav and world solidarity" (engraving at the Museum of the City of Skopje). Immediately after the earthquake, the need for a quick response to the open housing issue of the city's residents resulted in construction of 17 prefabricated housing settlements that defied the still-destroyed city (Mijalkovic and Urbanek, 2018:p.7). These estates having, essentially, the features of the international style (Kransy, 2018:pp.18–19), emerged in several favorable locations mostly in the suburbs of the city, just months after the disaster. A specific stage in the development of the eastern territory of Skopje is the suburban prefabricated settlement "Aerodrom", which was to be developed on part of the territory planned by the general plan of Kubesh from 1948. The project for the suburban settlement "Aerodrom", prepared by "Centro Proekt - Belgrade" from 1963 (Archive 6) and financed by the Yugoslav People's Army, took into account the local context and the natural features of the location, aiming at the creation of housing solution that would exceed the basic and primal motivation of the prefabricated settlements, to provide a roof

over the head for the most vulnerable residents of the city, before the coming of winter (Senior, 1970:p.93).

Divided into several blocks with different geometries in which a micro-urban variation of the built structure appeared, the prefabricated residential buildings in the settlement "Aerodrom" didn't have the usual organization, characterising the other prefabricated settlements in Skopje (Janković, 1964:pp.36–39). Instead of the often used model of a single-family detached house parceled out in its own yard with a small green garden and a sense of individuality, the organizing of the residential units in the Aerodrom settlement was done in such a way that they formed a houses-in-a-row structure (for the ground floor units) or a collective building with a gallery system oriented towards an open common space (ground floor and first level units). Such a "united" form visually and ideologically encourages the feeling of collectivity and community. The yards were minimal, and access to each of the buildings was achieved through a common pedestrian path that tangented the houses or turned into a vestibule that blurred the boundary between "inside" and "outside", forming a kind of "open living room" for the buildings. At the same time, this design and attitude towards the built space coincided with the wishes of the residents of Skopje, guided by their already established societal habits and relations of living (ITPA, 1965:pp.98–99).

The compact organization of the buildings freed up more areas for public facilities, which defined mostly planned as a group courtyard, imagined to be used by all

residents of the settlement. Several blocks received a unified common space that was planned for social interaction, and the rest of the blocks were filled with tall greenery that enhanced the natural ambiance of the settlement.

A kind of strengthening the connection between public spaces intertwined with nature, but also respecting the values of Kubesh's plan, was shown through the natural water arm from Vardar river, which in this plan, 15 years later, still brought the feeling of connection between man and nature. Conceived as a social attractor, this water arm freely passed through the settlement. Additionally to the ambient characteristics, the idea of the designers was that, it will form two shallow pools that would be used for cooling during the summer days, and they would be turned into ice skating rinks during the winter, thus enriching the program of the settlement (Fig. 3).

As in the previous examples, the public contents that complemented the housing program did not deviate in this case either. Settlements of this nature were considered local communities (some were seen as one, some more in number, depending on the capacity of the people who were to live into them), which represented a complex urban unit recognized in the social system of Yugoslavia (Janković, 1964:p.37). Their planning content was defined in a standard way, foreseeing the entire

program necessary for the comprehensive functioning of the community (ITPA, 1965:pp.84–89). As in the others, the appropriate public and social contents were foreseen for the suburban settlement "Aerodrom" as well, even in a state of housing crisis and emergency.

The initial pressure of the earthquake was primarily absorbed by the quickly erected prefabricated settlements. Although we are talking about architecture of immediate needs and forced planning, knowing the time from the conception of the idea to the beginning of the realization of the settlement, the attention that was dedicated to the social relations in the settlements and the possibilities for improving the lifestyle even in such conditions, was a confirmation of the value that the settlement "Aerodrom" brought with it. The necessity, but also the significance of this settlement was confirmed by the urban plan for Skopje from 1965, which implied the "complete integration of prefabricated settlements in the next stages of the city's development" (ITPA, 1965:p.92).

2.4 Continuation of the manner of Kenzo Tange, '70

Simultaneously with the construction of immediate prefabricated settlements, Skopje was going through a more thorough phase of spatial and formal redefinition. A large number of foreign experts in several fields, led by the

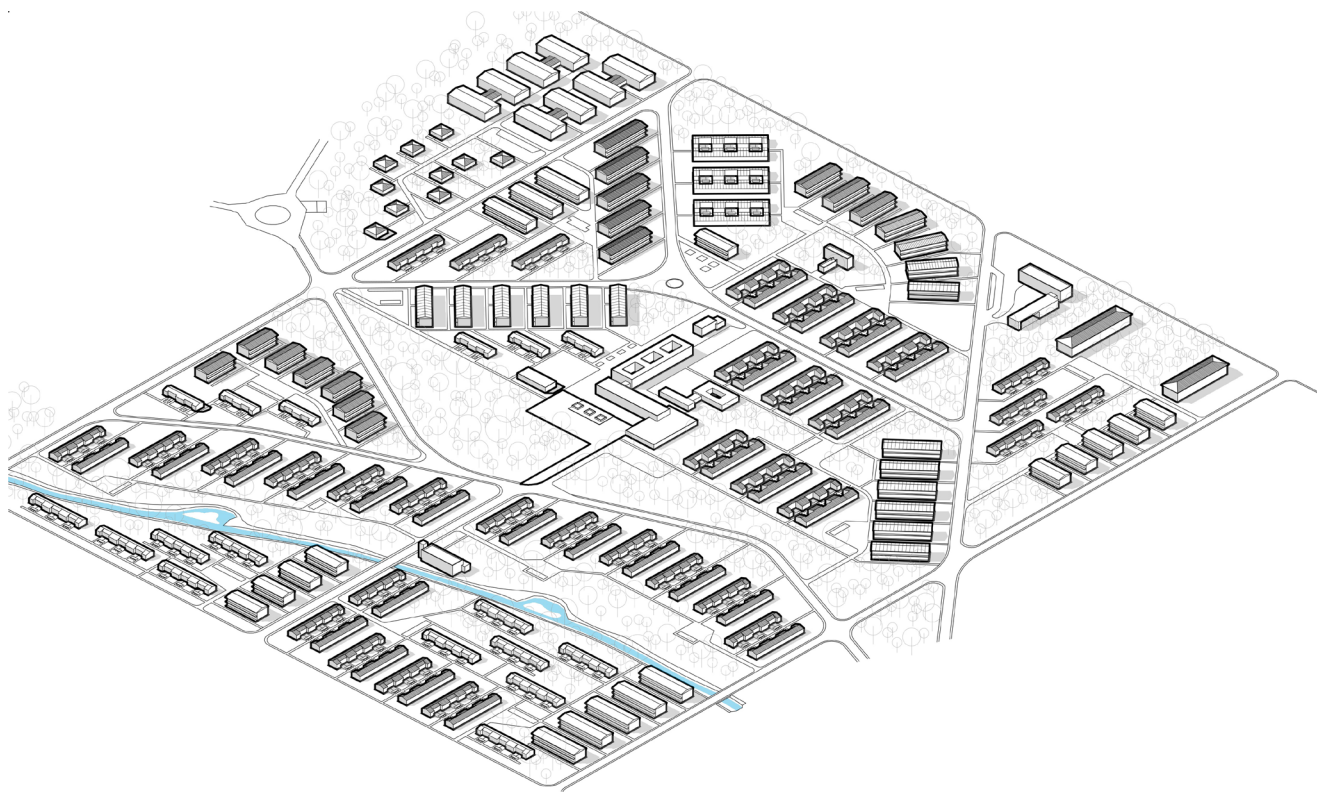


Fig. 3 Axonometric view of suburban prefabricated settlement "Aerodrom" (author's drawing over analog plan)

United Nations, were involved in the process of rebuilding the city (Senior, 1970:pp.357–366). A particularly important process was the competition for the reconstruction of the central city area from 1965, which presented a plurality of late modern ideas, taking different approaches in the development of the city (Korobar, 2018:pp.90–99). The winner of the competition was the Japanese team led by Kenzo Tange, with the most iconic segments of his plan being the City Wall and the City Gate.

The City Gate was a strong longitudinal infrastructural and architectural project that symbolically introduced the visitor to the city and led him to its center. Positioned on the eastern edge of the central city area, the gate began with the Transportation Center from which paths for different users at different height levels emerged (pedestrians, cars, public transport...). This traffic structure was placed between a system of several public and service buildings, flanking the pathways, and supporting the functioning of the city. Volumetrically, the entire complex spoke in a modern language, and dominated with its scale, compared to the whole city.

The influence of the City Gate was also felt in the eastern expansion of the city, on the territory that was previously

the subject of development with several greater and smaller plans. This was evidenced by the Compositional Plan for the Shaping of the Eastern Part of the City from 1970 (Archive 7) which proposed a megastructure with mixed content in the zone bordering the city center (north-south orientation) and in continuation of the axis of the City Gate (east - west orientation) (Fig. 4) The planned megastructures was supposed to erase parts of the settlements "Vardar", "13ti Noemvri" and the prefabricated settlement "Aerodrom", having the lost residential capacity be compensated by the construction of skyscrapers in the central part of the intervention (Archive 7). The service facilities were intended to appear on the ground floor and lower floors of the central part of the newly planned situation, and the public facilities were located in the northwestern part of the intervention, dimensioned appropriately to meet the needs of the eastern residential zone, but also of the center of Skopje (respectively, with the position that is had, overall in the city). The architectural language with which this megastructure was shaped appeared appropriate to the time in which it was planned. Structuralism could be felt as a European influence in the lateral parts of the site, while Kenzo Tange's manner, although volumetrically reduced as

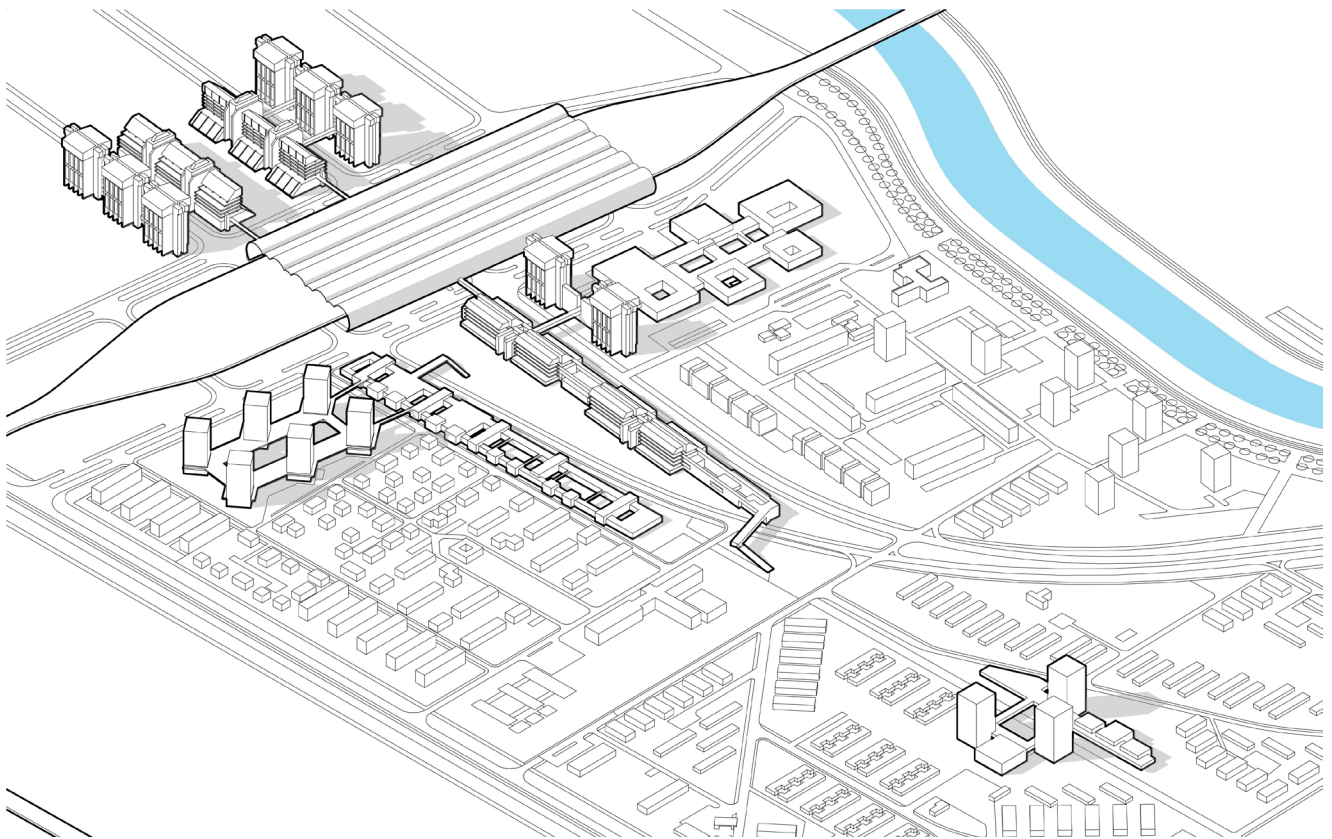


Fig. 4 Axonometric view of the compositional plan of Kenzo Tange's City Gate extension (author's drawing over analog compositional plan)

a result of financial shortage, tried to follow the form matrices and schemes of the City Gate. At the same time, this plan for the development of the city, despite its destructive nature, considered a fresh idea, tendency and willingness to follow contemporary paradigms and provided a vision of a city that had bold modern aspirations for its future.

3 Conclusions

3.1 Contemporary conditions

The experience obtained by reading several plans organized in chronological order, although in different scales and contexts in which they arose, creates images that can lead to objective conclusions about the evolution of the eastern part of the city, and also the intentions for the transformation of the housing standard, lifestyle and living environment in Skopje. In terms of the general shaping of space, post-war urbanism in Yugoslavia was characterized by a belated interwar functionalist approach to city planning (Maleshić, 2014:p.34) which is visible in the ideas for the settlement "Vardar". The breakthrough of contemporary theories in the following years, led by the idea of a human-centric focus in architecture and the unification of the functions of the city into an intuitive and associative whole that would serve man, was undoubtedly seen through the spatial organization of the settlement "13ti Noemvri", and even the prefabricated settlement "Aerodrom". Settlements became centers of cultural growth of the population and emancipatory units of cities. Such an evolution was easily seen through the

spatio – volumetric shape of the immediate surroundings of the home and its articulation / position in the rest of the settlement. The plans that defined the appearance, and thus, the identity of the eastern part of Skopje, represented different attempts to modernize the city. Expressed with a different vocabulary, each of them was aimed at creating contemporary forms of living. The sum of these plans represents an urban testament to the advanced thought of modern city planners and basis for the further evolution of planning and architectural thought.

With the absence of capability to perceive their values, some of these settlements in the first quarter of the 21st century were erased or underwent a visible transformation as a result of new housing interventions created in a capitalist-oriented society (part of the Vardar settlement, the prefabricated settlement Aerodrom and parts of 13ti Noemvri). Some of them were never realized (the sports park). Nevertheless, viewed through the analytical prism of the evolution of housing paradigms, the experience gained from the previous plans certainly served in the subsequent expansion of the city to the east. In the mid-1970s, going further to the east, Skopje started developing a neighborhood that was recognized by the daily macedonian newspapers as "the new modern city for 100000 inhabitants" (Archive 8, 1973:p.13), in which the culmination of the late modern housing ideology would occur. An expansion that surely benefited from the experience of the previous development knowledge (Fig. 5).

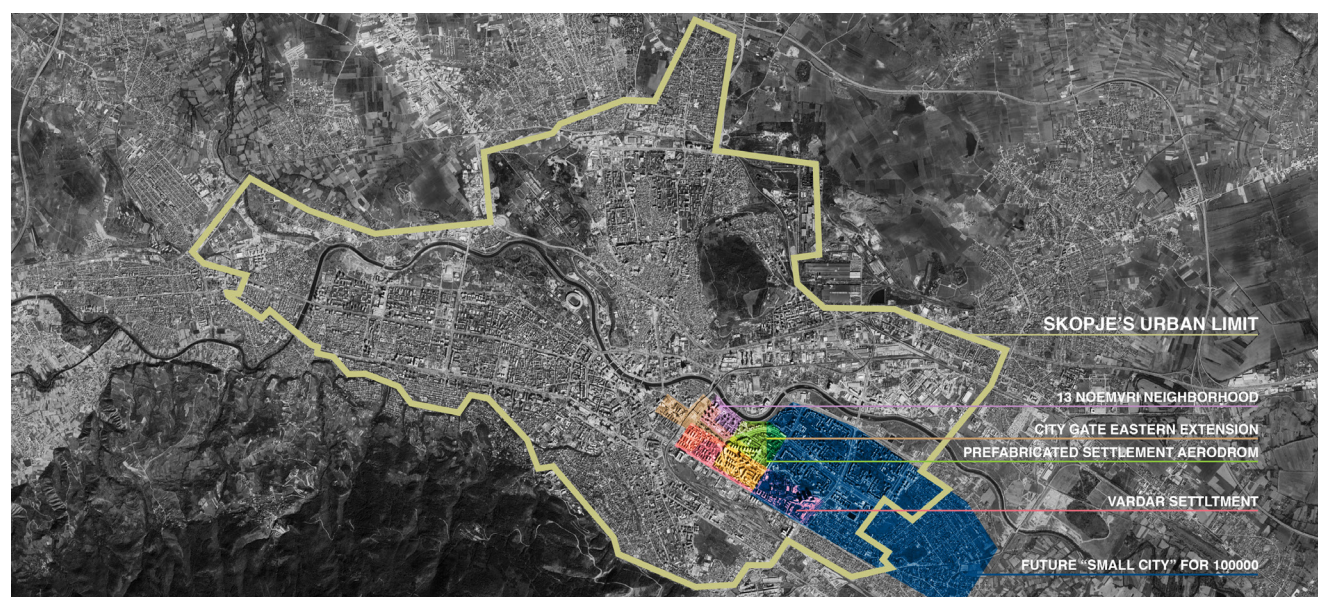


Fig. 5 Position of different interventions in Skopje's urban context (diagram made over Google Earth (online) image)

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Archive 1	Atelier architektu Praha, Ladjek Kubesh	"Генерален регулационен план на Град Скопје" (General regulation plan of the City of Skopje)	paper	GRP 48, box n. 2	Државен Архив – одделение Скопје (State Archive – Skopje office)	Skopje	Macedonia	(in Macedonian)	1948
Archive 2	/	"Анализа за станбената положба во Скопје" (Analysis of the housing conditions of the city of Skopje)	paper	GRP 48, box n. 1	Државен Архив – одделение Скопје (State Archive – Skopje office)	Skopje	Macedonia	(in Macedonian)	1955
Archive 3	Dobrović, N.	"Стручна анализа за Регулациониот план на Лудјек Кубеш за Скопје" (Expert analysis of the Regulation plan of Skopje done by Ladjek Kubesh)	paper	GPR 48, box n. 1	Државен Архив – одделение Скопје (State Archive – Skopje office)	Skopje	Macedonia	(in Macedonian)	1949
Archive 4	/	"Спортски парк "Острово"" (Sports park "Ostrovo")	paper	"Собрание на општина "Кисела Вода" – Скопје, Комунално одделение 1954-1968, Кутија 72." (Parliament of the Municipality of "Kisela Voda" – Skopje, Communal department 1954-1968, box n. 72)	Државен Архив – одделение Скопје (State Archive – Skopje office)	Skopje	Macedonia	(in Macedonian)	1961

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Archive 5	Kjosevski, V.	"План за населба "13ти Ноември"" (Plan for a neighborhood "13ti Noevmri")	paper	Собрание на општина "Кисела Вода" – Скопје, Комунално одделение 1954-1968, Кутија 77. (Parliament of the Municipality of "Kisela Voda" – Skopje, Communal department 1954-1968, box n. 77)	Државен Архив – одделение Скопје (State Archive – Skopje office)	Skopje	Macedonia	(in Macedonian)	1962
Archive 6	Centro proekt - Belgrad	"План за приградска населба "Аеродром"" (Plan for a suburban neighborhood "Aerodrom")	paper	Собрание на општина "Кисела Вода" – Скопје, Комунално одделение 1954-1968, Кутија 50-51 (Parliament of the Municipality of "Kisela Voda" – Skopje, Communal department 1954-1968, box n. 50-51)	Државен Архив – одделение Скопје (State Archive – Skopje office)	Skopje	Macedonia	(in Macedonian)	1963
Archive 7	/	"Композициски план за населба Аеродром" (Compositional plan of Aerodrom settlement)	paper	Седница на совет за Урбанизам при собрание на град Скопје, 13.2.1970 г. (Session of the department of Urbanism at the Assembly of the City of Skopje, 13.2.1970)	Државен Архив – одделение Скопје (State Archive – Skopje office)	Skopje	Macedonia	(in Macedonian)	1970
Archive 8	/	"Аеродром, населба за 100000 жители" (Aerodrom, Settlement for 100000 settlers)	newspaper article	5.13	Нова Македонија	Skopje	Macedonia	(in Macedonian)	1973