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FOREWORD

The bi-annual DOCONF series provides a comparative overview of current doctoral research in architecture, urban design, urban planning, and landscape architecture focusing on the urban challenges related to the inherited physical – built and natural – environment of post-socialist cities in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) and post-Soviet Asia. The organizers, the BME Department of Urban Planning and Design and the Foundation for Urban Design wish to promote international cooperation facilitating academic network building for scholars active in these specific fields of research through meeting in person to teach and learn from each other.

DOCONF2021 proposed six thematic sessions: mass housing neighbourhoods, shrinking cities, the Fifties, resilience, re-collective, and leiscapes. Each session was prepared, proofread, and moderated by members of the scientific board, who are university teachers, and in most cases also doctoral supervisors either at the BME Department of Urban Planning and Design, Budapest, at a university in another post-socialist city or in a Western country (see the call of sessions on pages 8-21).

DOCONF2021 featured successive sessions consisting of presentations and discussions. Even though 2021 has been strongly affected by the COVID-19 pandemic, the Chairs, besides the Hungarian faculty of the hosting department, arrived from the Czech Republic, France, Italy, Romania, Serbia, Slovakia, Switzerland, and the USA. The 36 selected speakers, doctoral students, candidates, and post-doctoral researchers (holding a doctorate degree for less than 5 years at the time of the conference) study at various doctoral schools of architecture or planning in thirteen countries.

I believe that the DOCONF conference series is an important step towards learning about each other's research fields, comparing research methods, giving presentations, and writing academic papers published in this open access e-Proceedings.

I would like to thank you all for being active in this year's DOCONF experience, working on (preparing or proofreading) papers, presenting and taking part in the discussions in Budapest, on October 8th and 9th, 2021. And last but not least, I would like to say a big thank you to my colleagues and students at the BME Department of Urban Planning and Design for their contribution to the success of DOCONF2021.

I hope that we continue the DOCONF series, this exceptional international doctoral meeting related to challenges of the post-socialist urban heritage.

<http://doconf.architect.bme.hu/>

See you in 2023!

Budapest, 11th October 2021

Dr. Melinda BENKŐ habil. Ph.D.

Chair of DOCONF series

Towards a Potemkin City: Motifs and Consequences of Reconstructivism in Central- and Eastern Europe

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ABSTRACT

This paper investigates the current reconstructivist trend in Central- and Eastern Europe with the comparison of two case-studies of examples in the post-socialist cities of Berlin and Budapest. According to the central hypothesis, the reconstructivist trend in architecture, manifesting itself in the apparent widespread resentment of society towards late modernist architecture, is in fact a mere psychological projection of unresolved collective traumas of the past. I argue, that the aesthetic judgement of late modernist architecture (it being 'ugly') is in fact a projection of undisputed and unresolved collective traumas deeply rooted in the collective memory of society. The projection is taking form as facadist, scenery-like architecture, the so called Potemkin City. This collective nostalgia towards a never-existing past, connected with the anxiety caused by permanent over-exhaustion of global resources and the unsustainable development, can only imagine the future as a re-establishing of the past. The process is strongly interwoven with the effects of the tourism-industry on the city, when the entity of the city only functions as an Instagram background, resulting in the loss of porosity in the city.

KEYWORDS

reconstructivism, heritage protection, post-war architecture, late modernism, adaptive re-use



Figure 1. Palace of the Republic, Berlin. Leading architect: Heinz Graffunder, construction: 1973-76, demolition: 2006-08 (Photo: Peter Heinz Junge, source: Bundesarchiv, Bild 183-1986-0424-304 // CC-BY-SA 3.0)



Figure 2. Headquarter of the Hungarian Commerce Chamber, leading architect: Béla Pintér (KÖZTI), construction: 1969-72, demolition: 2016-17 (Photo: László Heltay, source: Magyar Építőművészet, 1974/1., 12.)

1. Introduction

The demolition of the Electric Power Distributor Station (by architect Csaba Virág, IPARTERV) in the castle District of Budapest in 2020, which took place against the petition of the Hungarian ICOMOS committee and the Association of Hungarian Architects appeared to be an almost unprecedented shock for many professionals –which can partly be traced in the discussions on social media and professional platforms such as epiteszforum.hu –, whereas it caused a rather minor turmoil amongst townsman outside the professional field. The removal of the office building of the former headquarters of the National Chamber of Commerce in 2016, another late modernist building, which stood vis-à-vis to the neogothic Hungarian Parliament building, was even less debated professionally and socially. Both these office buildings

have been dismantled to be replaced by reconstructivist architectures with the same function, accommodating offices.

Whilst the pressure to provide affordable housing and regulate the profit on rental fees (for example the *Mietendeckel* debate in Germany) is ever increasing in the context of enduring shortage of (especially social) housing units in Central- and Eastern Europe and investors already seem to seek out every possibility to convert built substance with diverse past functions into flats and the demand for sustainability in architecture is more and more understood in terms of flexibly planning and development of adaptive re-use practices, reconstructivism proves to be still popular in Central- and Eastern Europe, resulting in demolitions of socialist built heritage, mostly late modernist edifices and the (re-)erection of historical buildings, that are strange amalgams of historicist facades and up-to-date structural and interior solutions.

The result of reconstructivism, one of the current trends in architecture in Central- and Eastern Europe, will be the Potemkin City of facadist, scenery-like architectures, which might prove to be ideal backdrops for touristic images and marketing campaigns but, interfering with the demands of neoliberal economies on urbanism, also might result in the loss of porosity within the cities - by denying the option of adaptive re-use for most late modernist built heritage - and this time a more casually happening than planned separation of the four functions within the city.


Affirming that reconstructivism is more than just another revival of styles (hence the very term of re-constructivism is preferred to the as well circulating term of neo-historism) two case-studies in Berlin and Budapest are analyzed: the removal of the GDR-era Palace of the Republic (Palast der Republik) and the resurrection of the former Berlin Palace (Stadtschloss or Schloss zu Berlin) as a multi-functional cultural agora (Humboldt Forum) is compared with the dismantling of the headquarters of the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce and the (re-)construction of a never completed tenement building.

2. The Disregarded Possibility of Adaptive Re-Use

When investigating examples of reconstructivism particularly in Central- and Eastern European context it can not be ignored that a certain period of architecture, namely what can be broadly but best categorized as the late modernist period, is mostly excluded from the options of adaptive re-use. Some may call these architectures 'socialist modernist', however, I agree with Hungarian museologist and curator Márta Branczik (M. Branczik, personal communication, 18 February 2020), that apart from their – indeed – oftentimes poor materiality (to be understood not as a poor choice of materials but as the poor availability or more so the lack of high quality materials) most of these buildings have nothing architecturally 'socialist' about them: their morphology, oftentimes their functions and contribution of functions, their architectural formal language differs in no way from what was built in Western Europe by the same time. Late modernist architecture established behind the Iron Curtain reflects as well the utopias of a collectivist society as Western European late modernist architecture reflects the collectivist efforts of the late welfare states.

So whereas the late modernist building stock in Central- and Eastern Europe in fact does not portray many eastern specialities or socialist traits, the treatment of these architectures – oftentimes not even regarded as built heritage worthy of protection – is indeed a post-socialist peculiarity.

In many cases reconstructivism, the demolition of a built late modernist edifice and the (re-) construction of a predecessor building, is favoured to the adaptive re-use



of these buildings. It has to be pointed out that this paper is not concerned with the often claimed and supposed inability of this late modernist buildings stock to be updated to contemporary structural and HVACR / house automation standards and expectations. This is often claimed as a central argument for limitations within adaptive re-use, however it has to be pointed out that it is seldom actually proven, when not the most conventional (re-) refurbishment techniques are applied.

I argue, that the possible resentment of society towards late modernist architectures, often judging them 'ugly' is in fact a projection of feelings towards an unprocessed past, that is motivated by their connotation with this difficult past: the material destruction during World War II., (Göbel, 2015, p. 2) conditioning how they came into being, their connotation with socialist regimes in Central- and Eastern Europe (Radnóczy, 2018) – even though they oftentimes do actually not bear specifically 'socialist' features – and a collectively felt nostalgia of contemporary societies for a constructed 'better past'.

The following two examples of reconstructivism can not only be compared by their seemingly superficial similar imageability, but also because construction works started and ended in the approximately same period, both buildings were demolished despite many argued for their potential for adaptive re-use and both buildings were situated in a historically highly charged location in the city of Berlin and Budapest. Also the successor building is in both cases a neohistorist reproduction. However, there are some interesting discrepancies between the two cases, which are being elaborated in the following section and lead to a conclusion, that could raise awareness for the not only architectural, but also huge cultural potential that lies within the potential function change of late modernist buildings.

3. Berlin: the Palast, the Bergkristall and the Schloss

3.1. Historical overview

The Palast der Republik in Berlin is an interesting edifice amongst the many state buildings of the German Democratic Republic: on the one hand it was conceived to be a 'people's palace', accommodating differently themed restaurants and cafés, event halls (resembling the function of the specifically socialist type of culture halls (*Kulturhaus* in German or *kultúrház* in Hungarian) but also non-public functions such as governmental offices. In the many event halls weddings could take place, but the Palast was also the location for SED (Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands) party congresses. It was a 'gift' to the citizens of GDR – and it was a gift from the party – meant to show not only to their own citizens the progressiveness of the leadership but also to display this to the West: Figure 1. is chosen deliberately because it depicts the Palace from an angle, which displays the formal indeterminateness of the building; according to this viewpoint the Palast could have stood on either side of the Berlin Wall (but obviously the view of the TV-tower at Alexanderplatz puts it into context immediately). But all architectural skillfulness, public functions and well designed interiors could apparently not forget that this building was erected almost on the same spot the residency palace of the Hohenzollern, the Palace of Berlin once stood: it was heavily damaged during World War II. but was dynamited and dismantled only in 1950 on orders of SED secretary general Walter Ulbricht. Until the construction of the Palast der Republik the site of the former Schloss was used as parade grounds and parking lot.

The Palast could never entirely free itself from the difficult proceedings in history. However the removal of the Palace after the fall of the Berlin Wall was a highly debated topic in Germany for many years. It would be impossible to retrace details of the Schloss-debate that caused many confrontations inside and outside of the profession in the given frame of this paper. What is of importance however, is the very fact that there has been a public debate in television, newspapers and private blogs on the question of the demolition of the Palast and the re-erection of the Schloss, which not least also demonstrated that the diversity of society was also displayed in this discussion: it would be hard to conclude, that the vast majority of citizens was clearly for or against the demolition and reconstruction. It is even claimed, that there could be a particular, strange post-Cold-War, almost imperialist reading of the dismantling of the Palast, as it was decided on institutional level from a reminiscent of a Western-perspective, trying to retroactively liberate citizens of GDR and freeing them from their difficult heritage, that only reminds them of their – as assumed from a Western perspective again – not too bright past, whereas some sources claim, that independently from how grim or not the GDR past was, some ex-citizens of the GDR did value the building, did have a personal attachment to it through visiting or simply as being part of their everyday lives or seeing when visiting Berlin and felt, that the demolition took away or even erased part of their past. Melanie Van der Hoorn reflects on this in her book *Indispensable Eyesores. An Anthropology of Undesired Buildings*, that not seldom there does form personal attachment even to buildings with difficult pasts or presents, buildings in an unconventional 'state' or even without a function. She portrays this procedure with the case study of the informal usage and the demolition of the Kaiserbau, a never completed hotel skeleton in Germany (Cf.: Hoorn, 2009).

3.2. Zwischennutzung (interim usage)

Being without a function was perhaps the most interesting state of the Palast. After the asbestos removal has been carried out and the building has been stripped of all its interior furnishings, fittings and claddings, almost only the building frame remaining, the Palast has been given a second life in form of a *Zwischennutzung*, interim- or temporal usage, as the premises were made available for artistic installations and interventions. This in-between-state of the Palace, being architecture without a function (so almost not actually being architecture anymore), after asbestos removal and before an already decided-on demolition, with a vast availability of spaces that could be not only flexibly used but were because of the final decision invulnerable, proved to be an extremely inspirational ground for artist and creatives. Hanna Katharina Göbel examines in her book *The Re-Use of Urban Ruins. Atmospheric Enquiries in the City*. amongst other examples in Berlin in the 1990s – how the temporary usages of the Palast by a cultural curatorial committee changed the perception of the building for a vast number of Berlin and former GDR residents, but also attracted a large number of tourists. The curatorial committee called themselves and the project happening during the summer of 2004 and 2005 Volkspalast, which was a reflection on the German typology of Volkshaus (similar to the worker's clubs in Great Britain) and to the very idea the Palast having been built for the people (Göbel, 2015, p.27). Artistic interventions such as the *Hotel Bergkristall* made it for instance possible for visitors to spend a night in the skeleton of a building and to be part of a unique experience. The 2005 installation by Lars Ø Ramberg, which displayed the word ZWEIFEL (doubt) in capital letters on the facade of the building and which was

illuminated by night (Fig. 3.) possessed of such strong imageability and manifested the apparent doubt concerning the demolition of the Palast so well, that the installation was not only well represented in the media then, but photographs of the installation are still circulating.



Figure 3. Palace of the Republic, Berlin. Z W E I F E L installation by artist Lars Ø Ramberg. (Photo: Dr. Naraelle Hohensee, CC BY-NC-SA 2.0, Source: <https://smarthistory.org/palast-der-republik/>)

3.3. Funeral or *danse macabre* of a building

This interim period of artistic usage and making the empty premises available to artists and creatives, ‘letting people into’ the building, guaranteeing them accessibility proved to be a fruitful intervention on many levels: it can be regarded as a strange kind of *danse macabre* - as the fate of the socialist modernist building was sealed by that time - , an opportunity to say goodbye to the building, regardless of the fact how much ‘loved’ or appreciated it was in the GDR era or right after the fall of the Wall. The sudden removal of architecture, that is in most of the cases a display of a collective effort or a big collective endeavour, as something that was planned, if not for eternity, but to be present in the city for at least long decades, always reflects a major shift either in political or socio-economic context. However appreciated or disregarded a building was, but not independent from how dominant it was in the cityscape, the demolition is always a bit of a shock for society (either as a relief or as a trauma). Being granted the opportunity to experience the Palast in a different state, right when it is only borderline architecture – or even ruin as Göbel defines it – and being granted the option of a quasi funeral is of high importance in the process of society dealing with complex and difficult feelings for the past (Hoorn, 2009, pp. 33-34). This understanding was also favored by architect Eric Tschaiker’s contribution in the Call for Ideas Fun Palace 200X concerning the possible re-use or demolition of the Palast. Tschaiker reflects in his proposal to Lacan’s concept of *dying twice* and proposes, that the symbolic death of the Palast (as its ‘backing’ state institution was no more) should be followed by a physical death, but as an “orchestrated deceleration of substantial

decomposition” (Misselwitz et al., 2005, p. 192), the final layers of the Palast being disseminated by 2010.

3.4. Reflective nostalgia

On the other hand, making this difficult, multi-layered, hence inspiring milieu available for artists and accessible to residents and tourists could be regarded as a form of trying to collectively cope with complex and challenging feelings. Again, the demolition of the Palast was already decided by the time of the interventions and there was already the possibility, although not decided on, of re-building the Schloss, but all the artistic interventions can precisely be understood as forms or expressions of *reflective nostalgia*. In Svetlana Boym's terminology, contrary to *restaurative nostalgia*, which “attempts a transhistorical reconstruction of a lost home” (Boym, 2001, p. XVIII) and to “patch up the memory gaps” (Boym, 2001, p. 41), *reflective nostalgia* “dwells on the ambivalences of human longing and belonging and does not shy away from the contradictions of modernity” (Boym, 2001, p. XVIII).

3.5. Access to the margin and individual narratives

Furthermore, Van der Hoorn emphasizes, marginalized or quarantined buildings (that have been out of function for some time and inaccessible to the public, that are rumored to be ‘contaminated either materially or ideologically’) always trigger collective imaginations, why it happened, what happened to the building and hence fabulating about what might be hiding in the inside of the building (Hoorn, 2009, pp. 1, 4). Radically opening up the Palast materially and metaphorically was an answer to all the narratives and myths circulating around this literally and phenomenally contaminated building (ironically also called *Asbestpalast*) and was in turn generating new, this time personal experiences with the building, that could integrate into new personal narratives: “It created its own cultural value by making itself available as an object, an object that at the same time remained resistant to concerns of planners, investors and politicians, and to other human interference.” (Göbel, 2015, p. 65)

Accepting the hypothesis that the difficult relationship with the Palast for many citizens is rooted in the amalgam of collective memories and feelings concerning the history of it, the heavy damage of the Stadtschloss during World War II and the final removal of it by the SED mainly conditioned the erection of the Palace of Republic than the processing of such difficult feelings would only be possible through artistic means, through reflective nostalgia, as reconstructivism can only be regarded as an almost absolute example of restorative nostalgia and can only result in the Potemkin City, in which “the past is not supposed to reveal any signs of decay, it has to be freshly painted in its ‘original image’ and remain eternally young” (Boym, 2001, p.49).

4. Budapest: the Good, the Bad and the Ugly

The headquarters of the Hungarian Commerce Chamber (Magyar Kereskedelmi Kamara székháza, Fig.2.) by architect Béla Pintér (KÖZTI) was completed in 1972 and the office building - similar to the Palast - was supposed to be a representative building, as businesspeople from East and West were expected to visit it. It was to represent socialist progressiveness in its imagery, the applied architectural formal language, by the used materials and by the accommodated functions. Large parts of the ground floor had to be occupied by the Metro exit to Kossuth Lajos square, but in the design of the remaining space it was still attempted to rather generously leave space for pedestrian traffic (as the glass facade of the entry to the office building was regressed) and to

nonetheless provide the offices (floors III.-VI.), the large lecture theater (I. floor) and the canteen and cafeteria (VII. floor) with a well articulated, representative foyer, from which a spiral staircase led to the lecture hall (Fig. 4.). Drawing a parallel between the Palast der Republik and the Hungarian Commerce Chamber building, it has to be pointed out that in both these buildings are manifestations of the late-socialist effort, to represent Eastern up-to-dateness not only to the own citizens, but also - or precisely - to the West. According to their architectural formal language there is nothing specifically socialist modern about them. The walls of the foyer of the Commerce Chamber building was clad with white marble, and relief by artist Gábor Boda covered one of the pillars.

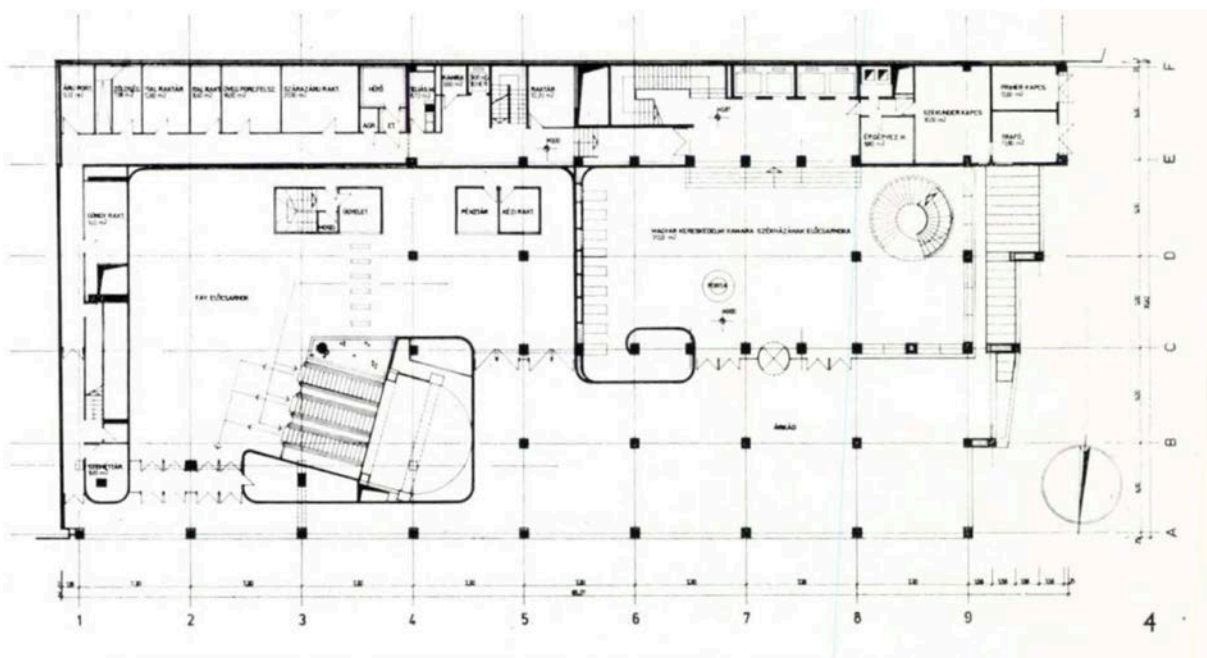


Figure 4. Floorplan of the ground floor. Hungarian Chamber of Commerce headquarters. 1972. Architect: Béla Pintér, KÖZTI. (Source: Magyar Építőművészet, 1974/1. p. 13)

The location of the headquarters was - similarly to the Palast - prominent, diagonally opposite to the Parliament building, neighboring an unfinished historicist building by Dezső Hültl. Completing Hültl's original vision and unifying the facades around and through this harmonizing the architectural imagery of Kossuth square was the main reasons for the removal of the Commerce Chamber building (Fig. 5.). As David Smiló states in his article *Plastering of Power (A hatalom vakolása)* the results of the international ideas competition in 2015 (the governmental decision to convert the building was passed in 2012) was rather disappointing regarding the quality and complexity of the submitted works. In some of the proposals it is even hard to trace if the proposed solution is an actual serious proposition or an ironical vision (Smiló, 2016). It has to be noted that this idea competition did not propose a full demolition of

the building by then, it was a call for a solution to the facades to integrate the edifice better into the historicist context.

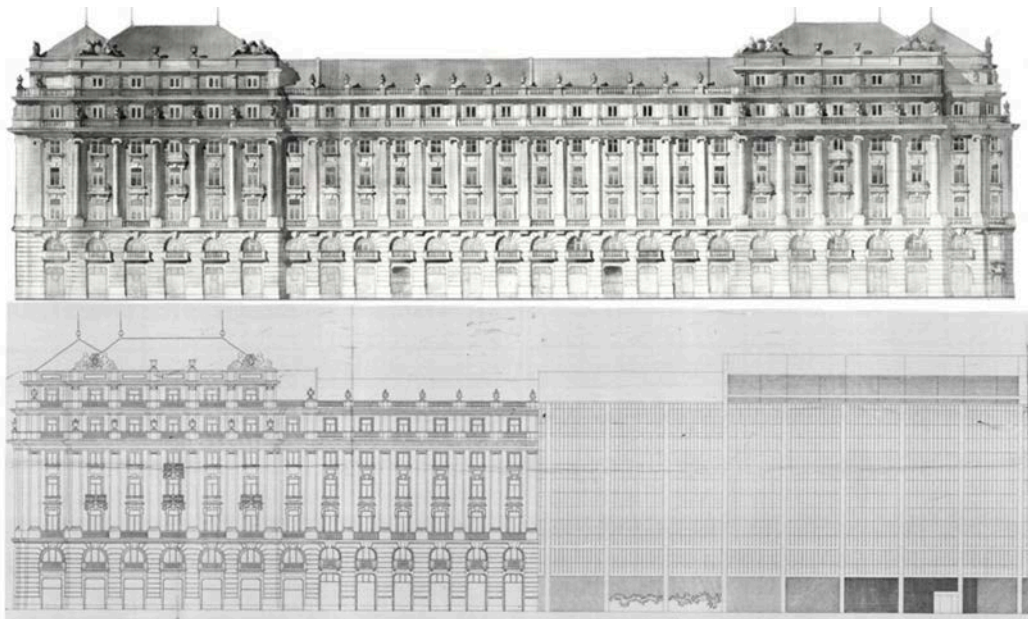


Figure 5. Above: Facade of the full city palais as designed by Dezső Hüllfi. Below: Facade of the constructed part (on the left, Kossuth tér 10., 1929 and 9., 1937) and the adjacent late modernist Commerce Chamber building (on the right, Kossuth tér 6.-8., 1972). (Source: Steindl Imre Program)

In summary, nearly all the submissions struggle with the anticipation of the initiators, to unify the historicist, turn-of-the-century character of Kossuth square and design an up-to-date office building with Metro entry on the ground floor. In result none of the proposals can liberate itself from a kind of postmodernist grip and this is reflected by the ornamental treatment of the facades, and the very concentration and focusing on the facades. Although some prizes were awarded to contestants, no winning proposal has been selected (not even all available prize money was handed out) and none of the awarded concepts was further developed or realised later. The finally erected structure can be seen - parallel to the re-erection of the Stadtschloss in Berlin - as an exemplary case of reconstructivism, as it lacks any reflective attitude, even if only portrayed in a postmodernist manner 'superficially' on the facades, but is a reproduction of the original plans of the exterior. As the new function of the new structure equals the old function of the old building, the Janus-facedness is irresolvable: the building, architecture is torn into space and surface that is unable to meld into whole, exterior surfaces and interior surface clash and diverge in materiality and formal language.

4.1. Competition Entry No. 19.

There was however one competition entry (No. 19.), which did not succumb to the siren call of postmodernity giving a 'new' facade (which is a mimicry of an old facade) to an 'old' building. The concept behind this proposition is the detailed analysis of the almost objet trouvé, an investigation of how the building is morphologically integrating into its surroundings, how the demands of functions are fulfilled, how relevant the used formal language is and a detailed examination of how the materials have aged. Whereas the initiators assert in the competition brief that the Commerce

Chamber building is “is both technically and aesthetically outdated, its condition run-down” (Országgyűlés Sajtóirodája, 2015), the competitors begged to differ in this opinion disguising as a fact and came to the conclusion, that in nearly all the above mentioned criteria the building does quite well, hence there is no actual need for a total conversion of the facades, only keeping the column-and-slab-structure of the late modernist building. The participant proposes some refurbishment on the facade (for instance removing the parapet areas and deepening the glass fronts to the floors) and some alteration on the volume (particularly in the roof area), where the construction did not follow the original plans of the architects and details were carried out differently, but overall they display great sensitivity for the late modernist architecture and even speak out against converting or dismantling a building ready for adaptive re-use only because of its architectural formal language connotated with a past regime, ill-defining the building as socialist-realist (sic): “Our conclusion is that (...) i. This is an architecturally valuable and sensitive building and it would be a shame to throw it all away, because this building is good! Vernacular language often falsely calls the style of this building a socialist-realist (“szoc-reál”) and attaches, not without any cause, negative connotations to the architecture of that period. We think it would be important, to somewhat rehabilitate the opinion or judgement on that period exactly by not throwing away the values this building created and bears.” (Sándor, 2015).



Figure 6. Above: Kossuth square 6.-8., international architectural facade design competition, visualization of the modernized former MKK headquarters building, competition entry No. 19 by Viador Átrium (Gergely Sándor et al.)



Figure 7. Above: Kossuth square 6.-8., international architectural facade design competition, visualization of the modernized former MKK headquarters building, competition entry No. 19 by Viador Átrium (Gergely Sándor et al.).

5. Conclusion

In Berlin reconstructing a building ‘lost’ in the past was supposed to materially and metaphorically assemble a fragmented or difficult past (Buttlar & Habich, 2011, p. 10), in the case of the Palast, reconstructivism was supposed to maybe erase traumas concerning the destruction of the built environment during World War II. - (as claimed by the associations pro Schloss (Binder, 2009, pp. 170-172) - , to maybe make up for the dismantling of the Schloss by the GDR regime, whereas in Budapest reconstructivism also tried to repair historical incongruity and unify a highly frequented, representational square in its imagery. The latter aspect can be traced in the jury’s final report of the creative design competition for the visual modernization of the MKK headquarters, as *harmonious fitting to the adjacent buildings and how condign the proposed design would be for neighbouring the Parliament building and being located an the Nations Main Square* was one of the main criteria of judgement (Füleky et al., 2015, p.2)

The manifold motifs for reconstructivism in Central- and Eastern Europe are a highly complex amalgam of – partly collectively suppressed – feelings, that range from collective traumas with history, destruction of built environments and oppressive regimes to feelings of nostalgia for a somewhat cloudy past, that manifest themselves architecturally in form of buildings feigning historical continuity (Cf.: Oswald, 2005, p. 41) and as sceneries for consumption (Buttlar & Habich, 2011, p.14) where architecture is often reduced to its imageability (Oswald, 2005, p. 40).

Among the potential effects of architectural reconstructivism – which can not be exhaustively elaborated in their full range within the scope of this paper – are the production of unreflective architecture, the debatable disappointment in contemporary architecture, the possibility of deepening an already existent disruption in societies

(Brodowski, 2005, p. 56), whereas the incapability of dealing with the paradox of GDR-utopia and institutional surveillance portrays another missed opportunity of self-reflection (Reis, 2019, p. 189).

However, the often claimed obsolescence of late modernist architectures in Central and Eastern Europe and restorative nostalgia favored by reconstructivism gains importance also by being regarded from the perspective of the ever growing scarcity of building materials and worrying energy over-consumption (invested into the demolition process and invested into the construction of a completely new edifice). This is a paradoxical process in so far, as this collective nostalgia towards a never-existing past or arbitrarily chosen – Cf. Svetlana Boym quoting Daniel Libeskind (Boym, 2001, p. 191) – is vested primarily in the loss of a vision of the future that is exactly conditioned by the anxiety caused by permanent over-exhaustion of global resources and the unsustainable development.

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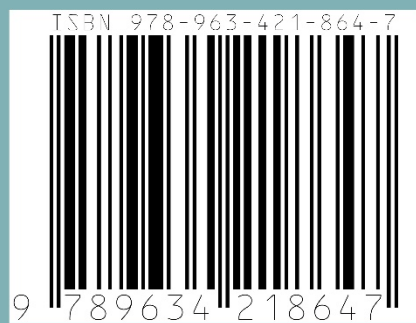
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