

Bežanija Plaža

In the Shadow of Visions



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Introduction

Grand visions have always existed for both banks of the Sava. Yet today, a conglomerate of industry, business, and residential space exists next to the museum park on the side of New Belgrade. There is little to be seen of the grand visions.

Since the realization of a park and museum in the 1960s, as a fragment of the vision of New Belgrade, much unplanned development has occurred along the Sava. Where legal houses stood, illegal were added; next to large businesses, a great number of smaller ones also emerged.

Due to the change of political regime and the Balkan crisis, legal conditions remain unclear on several different levels. Unchanged however is the existence of visions for the prominent shore of the Sava. These plans signal a great deal of interest in the area.

A village-like, residential area lies at the heart of the area in which the so-called Sava Amphitheater is planned. Since the planning and realization of New Belgrade, diverse plans have existed for the area around Block 18. At one time a green belt was to be established along the Sava, at another the center of New Belgrade was to be constructed, forever joining the area to old Belgrade. Over the decades, many visions and Master Plans were developed, whose declarations however continually negate the existing situation. And none of the plans show that which was really there; namely a residential area, whose foundation was the first settlement within the area of New Belgrade.

The main content of our study will demonstrate these two, parallel histories. On the one hand stand the plans, in form of visions and Master Plans, while on the other, stands the actual history and situation of the settlement, which, in the past 60 years, has developed in the shadow of visions.





A Village that is Not a Village- A City Sector without Name

The village-like structure is limited, in its form, to Block 18, which is bordered by the street Vladimira Popovica in the west, the two bridges Zemunski Put and Gazela, and the Sava to the east.

From afar, it is difficult to recognize the area as a residential area due to its widespread vegetation. First of all, the terrain outside the area is slightly higher, and secondly the parks act as a form of hedge, blocking insights and acting to foster the autonomy of the area. Today, the settlement lies somewhat lower than the rest of New Belgrade.

Though located at the heart of the city of Belgrade, the area retains a very village-like atmosphere. Not only in plan does it give the impression of a number of street villages, lying next to one another. Practically each of the primarily one-story houses is accompanied by a relatively large garden, where people plant vegetables and grow fruit trees. In part, residents even keep some livestock, though this is limited to chickens and a few sheep.

Still, one cannot speak of a village within the city. Though on first sight giving the appearance of a village, the area still demonstrates the actual structure and history of an urban sector. There is neither a village association nor a form of infrastructure, which might indicate a village. This small settlement is dependent upon the city and the entirety of its infrastructure.

The origin of the settlement's name is unclear. At the time of its establishment, it was named Bezanija Plaza, and with the construction of New Belgrade it became one block, namely Block 18. When people speak of the settlement today, they say Staro Sajmiste which means 'old fair' and refers to the old fair grounds to the north of the settlement.



Bezanija Plaza - today's Block 18



The view to the residential block, that is completely covered by the greenbelt.



New Belgrade

parking

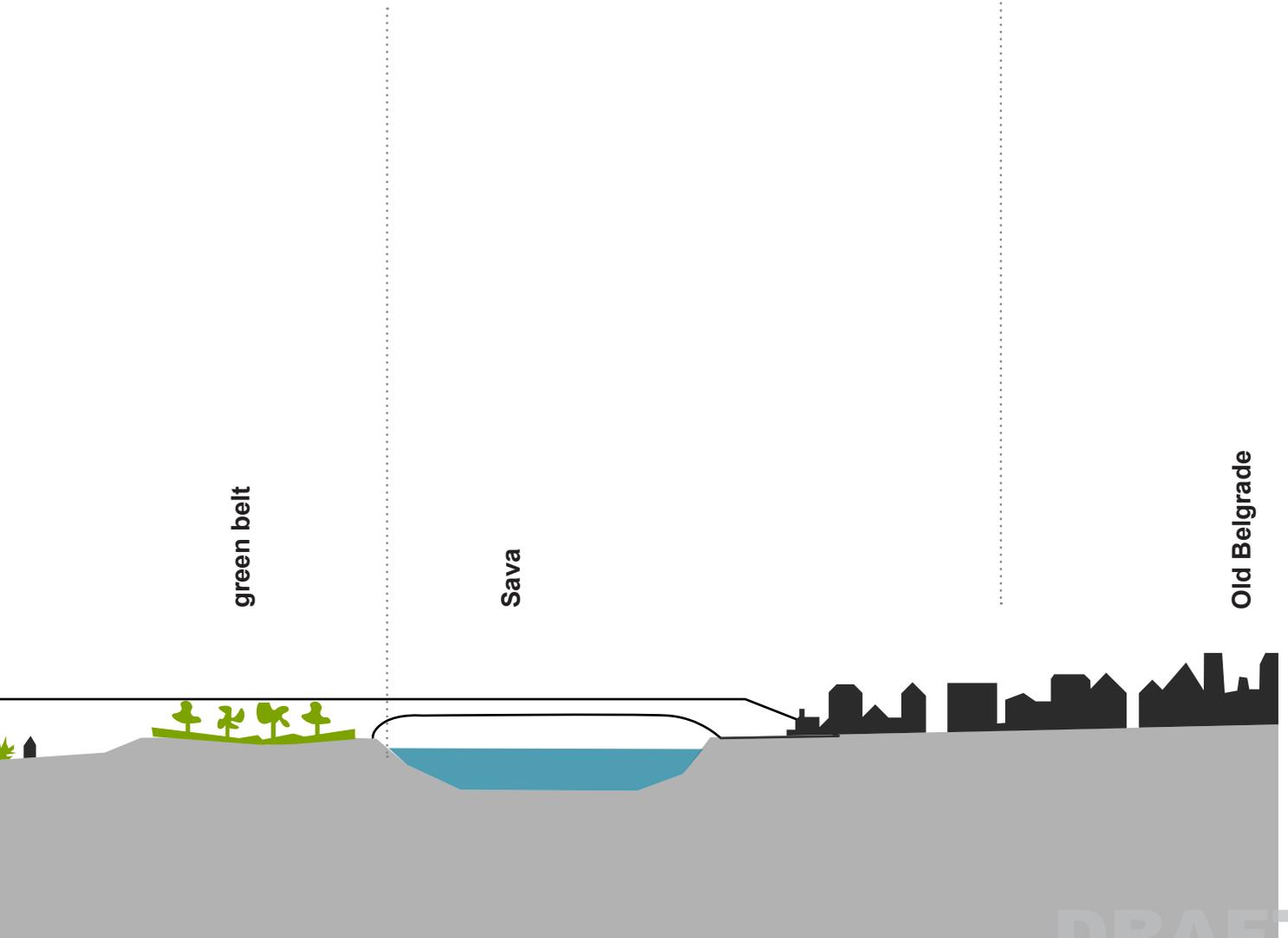
Bezanija Plaza

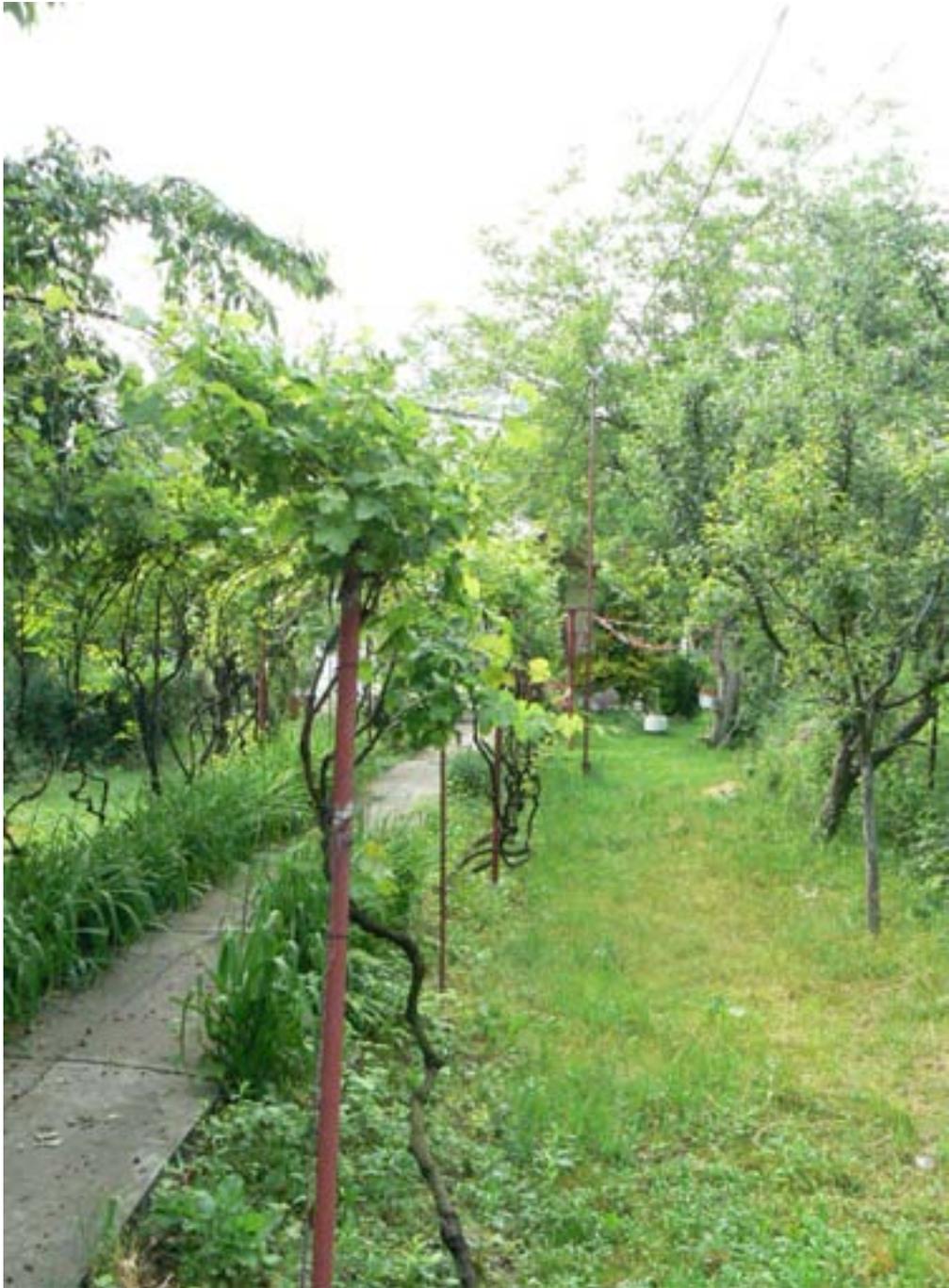


green belt

Sava

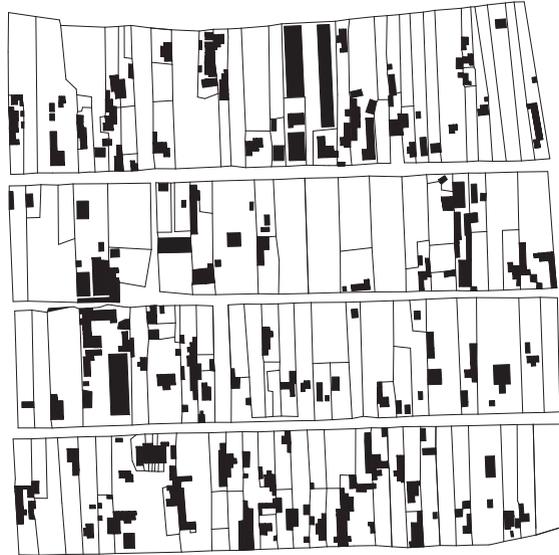
Old Belgrade





Garden at the Ivana Markovica Irca

The division of parcels is drawn from agricultural settlement structures, which have been placed within the urban context. The long, narrow parcels, with a small house on the side of the street and a garden behind, is a typical characteristic of street villages, which are found foremost in Eastern Europe.



Settlement-structure and subdivision of the parcels



Garden in front of a house at the Zarja Vujosevica





Dragana Jefica



Zarja Vujosevica



Ivana Markovica-Irca

Portrait





Sadika Ramiza



Slavka Slandera

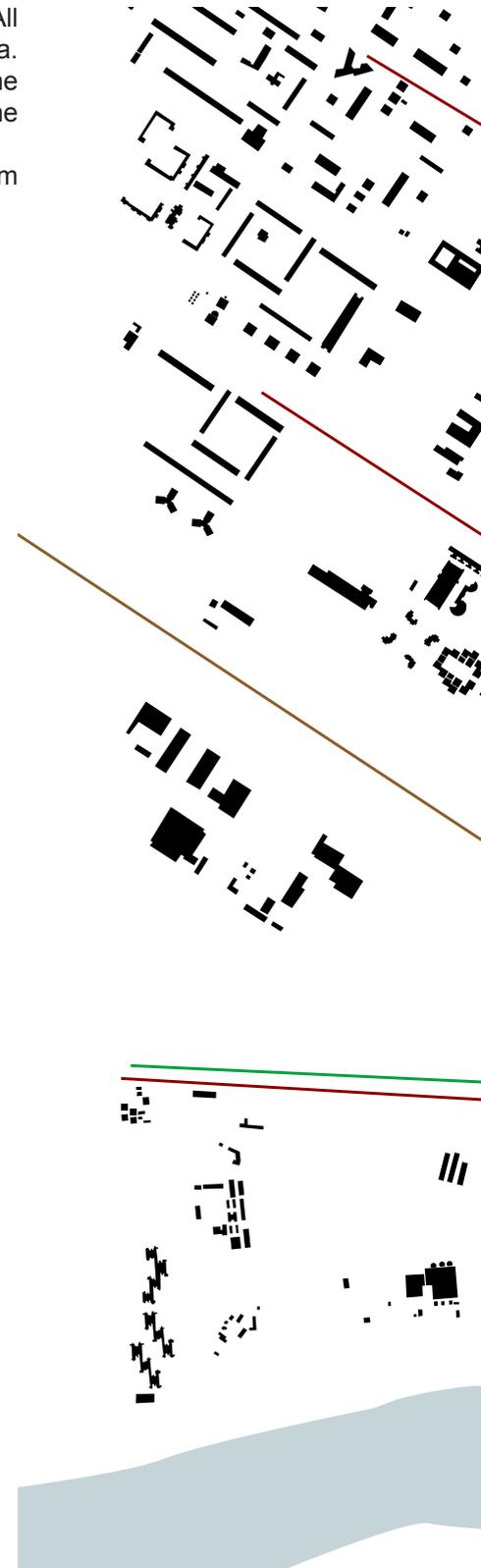


Brodarska

Access to the Settlement

The settlement is well connected to traffic routes. All main streets and highways lie in the immediate area. The tram and bus stations are accessible by foot and the main train station, as well as the bus station, lie on the opposing side of the Sava.

Despite access to transit, the area itself remains calm and with little traffic.

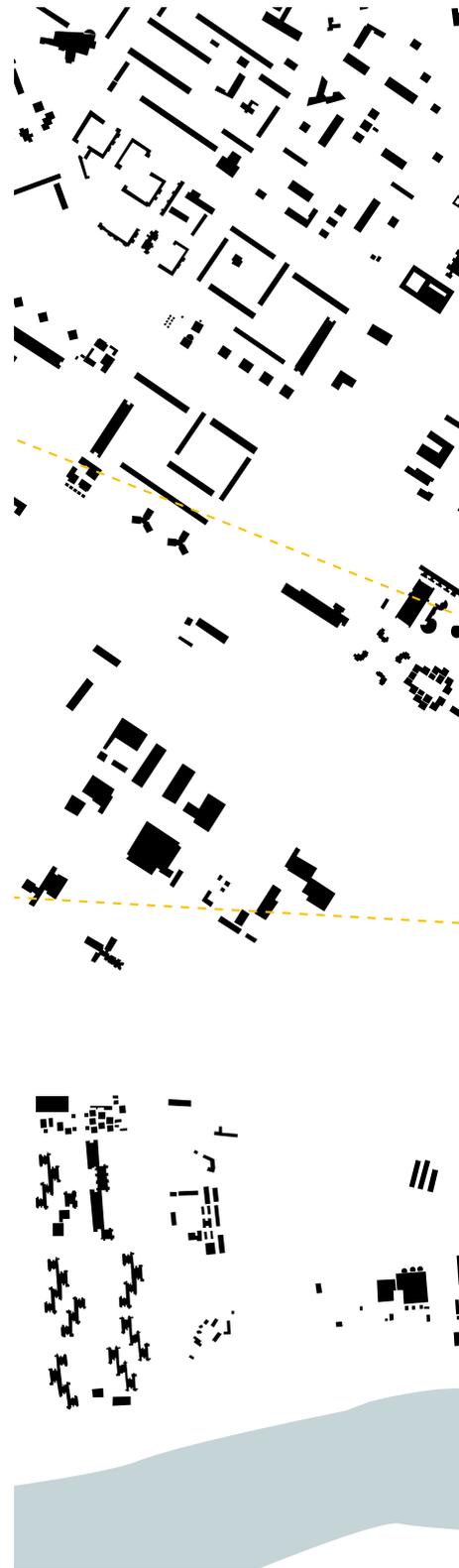




Dependencies – Movement

Aside from two small grocery stores, there are hardly any services available within the settlement. Though there was once a school and post office, these disappeared with the construction and expansion of New Belgrade.

For large purchases, residents must go to the local market or into Old Belgrade. Today, children also attend school in New Belgrade.





Different Functions

Bezanija Plaza is a residential area, actually a city sector with a special status. Next to its primary residential function, a number of smaller functions also exist in the neighborhood. Small businesses are to be found in diverse locations, though primarily of auto mechanics and merchants. A number of small firms or family businesses also have small workshops or garages, which are usually next to or connected with the family home. The former construction worker barracks of the firm RAD are rented for differing functions; they are no longer used as residential space.



- public services
- RAD-barracks
- car-markets
- food-supply shop



Gypsies in Bezanija Plaza

More and more gypsies, who have succeed in the quasi “leap” from sordid areas, such as the Gazela-settlement to the south of Bezanija Plaza, have moved into the area. The majority of gypsies have settled in Sadika Ramiza. They are relatively unloved within the area. Diverse, sometimes partially racist comments are made. For instance, the largest problem of the settlement is seen as this influx of gypsies, not the grand visions of urban planners.

The gypsies have been stereotyped as lazy, dirty, and criminal. The dirtiness of the area is attributed to the gypsies and, in general, residents believe that the gypsies own large villas and properties in the south of Serbia. These racist prejudices are not only encountered within the area, but throughout all social classes in Belgrade.







What the Numbers Say

We received official data of the last population census from the urban administration of the City of Belgrade. According to this population data, a total of 542 households live in the area, this means: 1731 people in 552 residential structures, or approximately 3.13 people per structure, though this number varies from street to street. The street with the highest population density is Ivana Markovic-Irca, with 3.87 people/residence; in contrast Sadika Ramiza has the smallest density of 2.68 people/residence.

In comparing the different numbers to one another and with those we received from the residents themselves an interesting chart is produced. Residents approximate from 3'000 to 12'000 people, Miodrag Ferencak spoke to 6000 inhabitants.

The comparison of data for the densest streets is interesting in so far as that the street which officially has the lowest density, Sadika Ramiza, also seems to be the street on which the most gypsies live. In any case, this number seems to be far below the reality.

Street	Buildings	Population	Households
Brodarska	77	236	77
Slavka Slandera	124	386	125
Sadika Ramiza	109	292	104
Ivana Markovica-Irca	86	333	94
Zarija Vujoševića	83	224	70
Dragana Jeftića	73	260	72
	552	1731	542

Built Visions of Novi Beograd

After the Second World War, the new capital city of the new Socialist State of Yugoslavia was to be constructed on the to fore relatively vacant, and thereby neutral, swamp land. What before 1918 was the swampy borderland between Serbia and Austria-Hungary, now took on a central role for the urban planners and architects of Belgrade.

On the foundations of Dobrovic's Urban Development Plan of 1946, a competition was carried out, of which the definitive plan emerged a few years later.

The first urban plan for the expansion of Belgrade was established in 1947. Shortly afterwards, the construction of the new center and new administrative buildings was begun. A new, modern city was to be developed.

Symbolically, the banks of the Sava were given a great deal of importance as the area in which the new city was to be joined with the old. However, at the time no comprehensive plan for the area along the Sava was completed.

The Euphoria of the Young State

Further master plans followed the urban development plan of 1947, up to the current plan of 2003. If Dubrovic's first sketch was still radial, this was soon discarded and the first, definitive planning grid was established.

Different competitions took place. In the beginning, residential function played only a secondary role in the plans.

In 1948, the construction of the center was begun along the basis of plans for the center of New Belgrade. By 1952, New Belgrade already had its own administration; a city next to the city had emerged. For the peripheral areas there existed only visions, which were displayed in competition projects and models, but were never earnestly pursued.



Nikola Dobrovic, City Development Plan for Novi Beograd, 1947



View from old Belgrade to the area of future New Belgrade, around 1920



Nikola Dobrovic, Sketch for the left side of the Sava



Sketch for the Visions

Competitions for the New City



Discussion of the competition with Tito 1958.



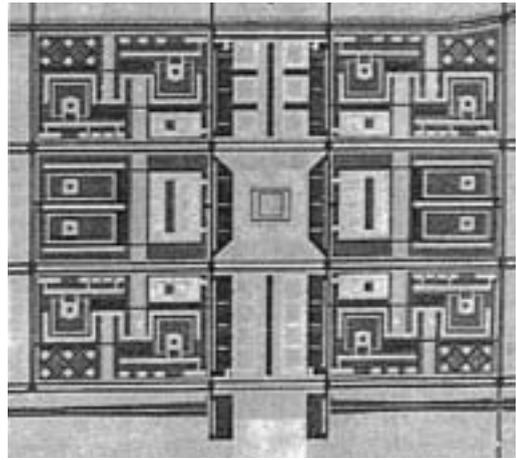
Different plans and designs were completed. The photo, above, shows the model of the Master Plan of 1960, in which a green zone with important buildings and centers for the neighborhood were planned.



Competition entry of 1956, which includes the side of Old Belgrade.

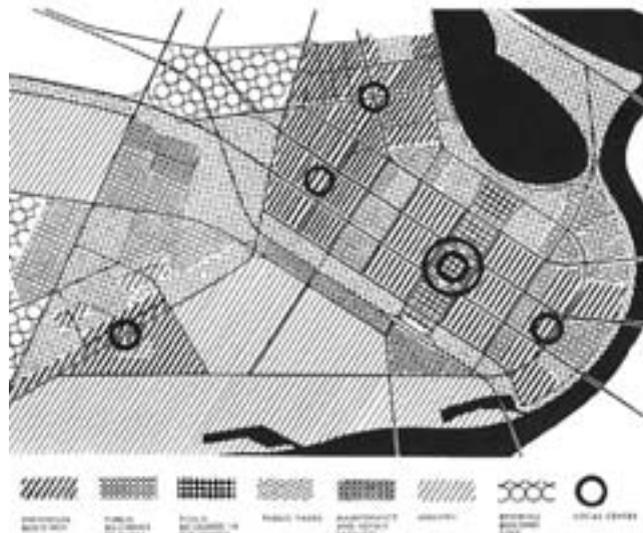


Plan of the Center, 1960



Plan of the Center, 1960

First Master Plan 1960. The core of the first master plan was the erection of a modern, representative city to symbolize the new state. For this reason, the plans for the center of New Belgrade were concentrated on this area. A symmetrical arrangement of uniform block structures was the basis of the future building plan. At the time, the design of the shoreline was secondary to this process, which led to its becoming the edge of New Belgrade.



Plan of New Belgrade, Department for City Planning 1960

First Steps

After the drainage of the swampland, the construction of the new governmental buildings was begun. The museum, near the point at which the Sava and the Danube flow into one another was also among the first structures to be realized. In the same step, the promenade along the Sava was designed. Housing blocks and other buildings followed.



The Palace of the Government, 1969



View from old Belgrade to New Belgrade, 1963



The Riverbanks today



The Vision becomes real - High-Rise Buildings in New Belgrade, 1966



- residential area, high density
200 to 350 inhabitants/ha
- public services, schulen
- mixed zone
- green spaces and public places

Master Plan of 1952- The placement of streets in Block 18 is determined by the urban center of New Belgrade. A mixed-use zone is intended along the shore, while a high-density residential zone is planned for the area of Bezanija Plaza.



- local centers
- city centers
- centers of administrative areas

A diagram from the 1950s, on which the projected centers of New Belgrade are depicted. This sketch also shows the expansion of the street grid over the area, where a local center was also to be planned.



- residential area
- city center/commercial
- public greenspaces
- industry

Subsequent plans for the development of New Belgrade usually included the areas along the Sava, on the side of Old Belgrade. This area was to become an urban green zone, definitively tie the city together and develop into a new urban center.

Belgrad, Masterplan 1972

Other Intentions- the Disregard of Bezanija Plaza in Planning

Already in the first Master Plan of 1950, there is no consideration of the area. The superposition shows the Master Plan and the structures in existence next to New Belgrade at the time. Although the Master Plan is drawn in a rudimentary form, it is clearly evident that the street network is entirely different and a so-called mixed-use zone is intended for the area of Bezanija Plaza. The plan assumes an empty surface.



- residential area, high density 200 bis 350 inhabitants/ha
- public services, schools
- mixed zones
- public green spaces

Bezanija Plaza- On the Border of Legality

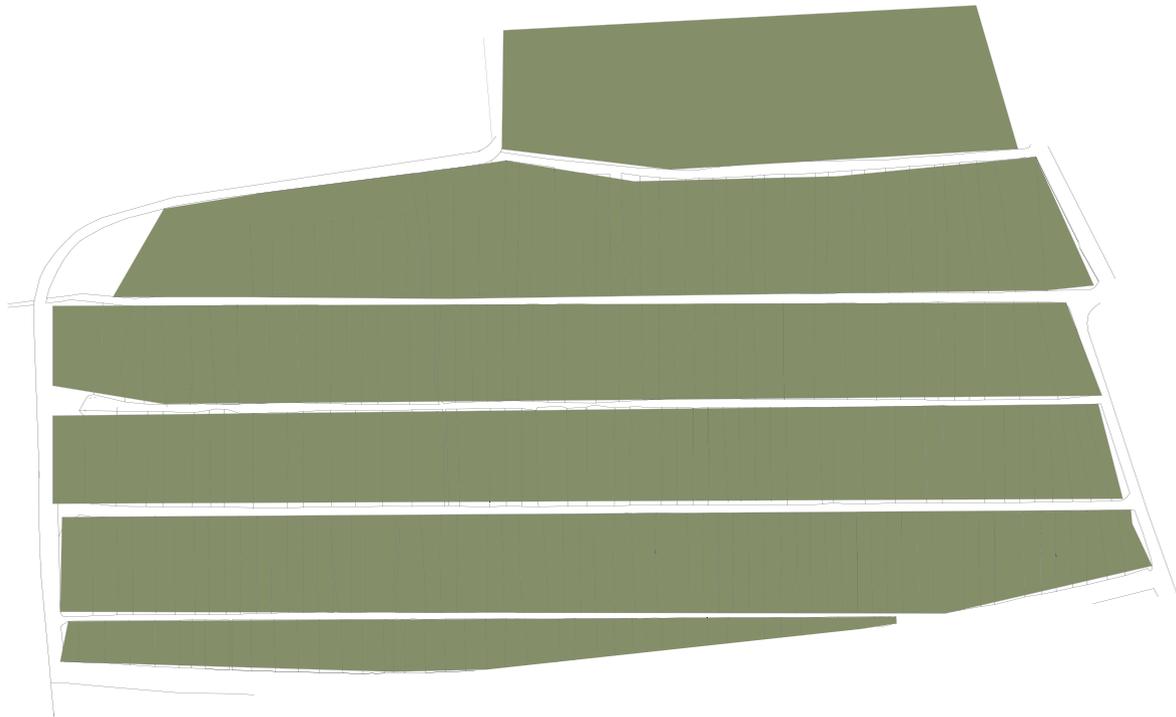
The area of Bezanija Plaza was established twenty years before the first ground-breaking for the foundation of New Belgrade,

At the beginning of the 1930s, the area belonged to the municipality of Bezanija, which in turn was ruled by the Duchy Vukovar (Croatia). The king of Yugoslavia at the time bought the land from its farmers, constructed seven parallel streets, and divided the area into 200 parcels, which were resold to primarily private owners. Due to its slight elevation, it was the only land on the side of New Belgrade that was not covered in swamps and had served the former farmers as pasture for sheep. It was named Bezanija Plaza (the beach of Bezanija), because up until the 1960s a Sava-beach lay in the location of today's park.

With the construction of the bridge to Zemun between the two World Wars, the two cities grew closer to one another. The area of Bezanija Plaza and above all the construction of the fair grounds a few years later, were to act as political gestures to overcome the border between the old K+K- empire and Serbia.

Legal Primary Structure – Seven Parallel Streets

Bezanija Plaza (today Block 18) was the first residential area on the side of New Belgrade. In 1935, the king established 200 parcels, which he sold to private owners. Since this time, the area has defied planners and visionaries. The most diverse ideas were and continue to be presented for this area, which was to be the heart of the so-called Sava-Amphitheater. Over decades, various Master Plans continually proposed uses for the area other than what it really is. Yet despite this, more and more people settled in the area, building, in part illegally, larger and larger houses.



reconstruction of the subdivided parcels

Of the seven original parallel streets, six still exist today.
They are named after the heroes of Serbian history.



Dragana Jeftica



Zarjia Vujosevica



Ivana Markovica Irca



Sadika Ramiza



Slavka Slandera

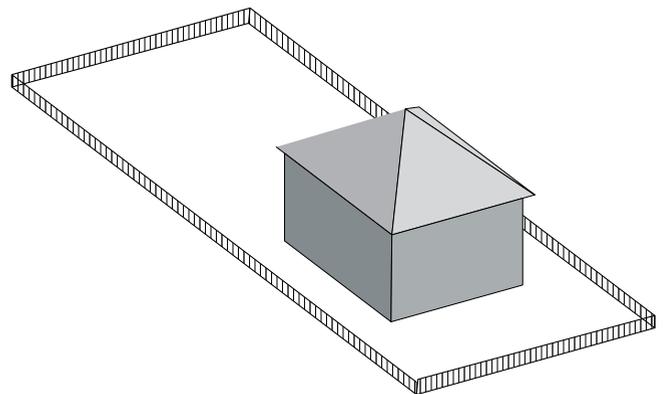


Brodarska

on the border
of legality

Fixed House Sizes

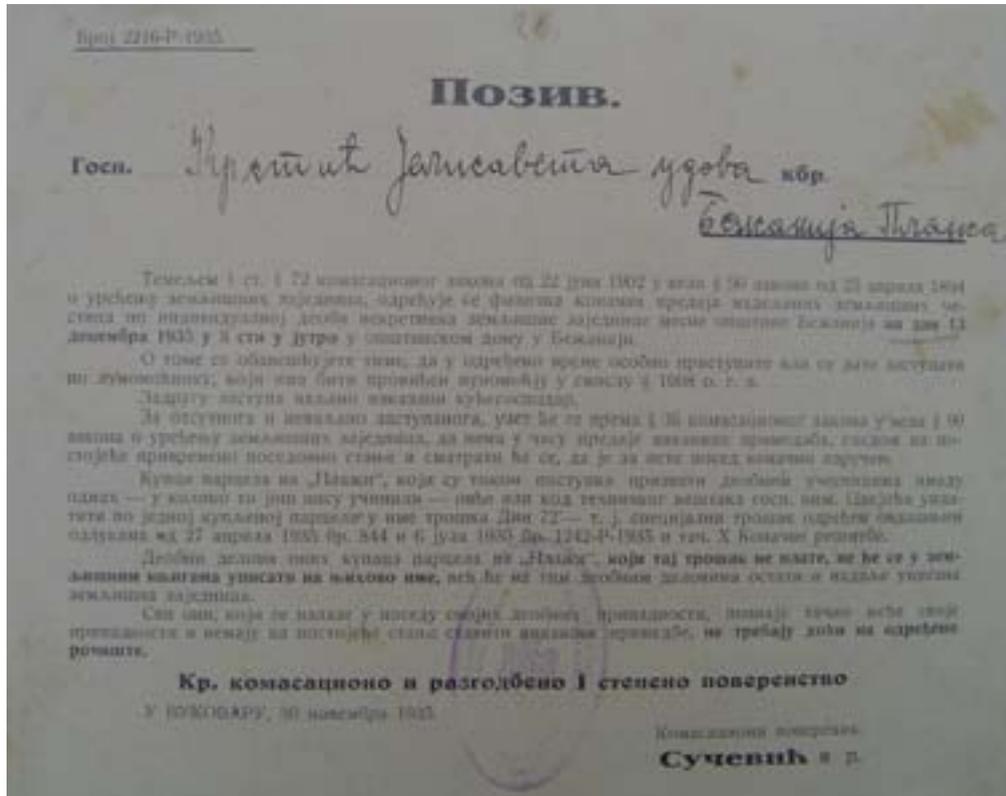
The first, original structures were one-storey, simple, small houses with a specified maximal buildable surface. Later, these structures could be expanded.



small parcels with small houses

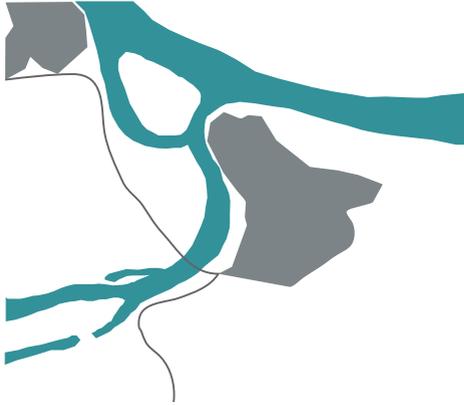
A Witness from the 1930s

The parcels were sold legally to interested buyers. The permissible building sizes were stipulated and, in the beginning, 200 small houses with large gardens were constructed.

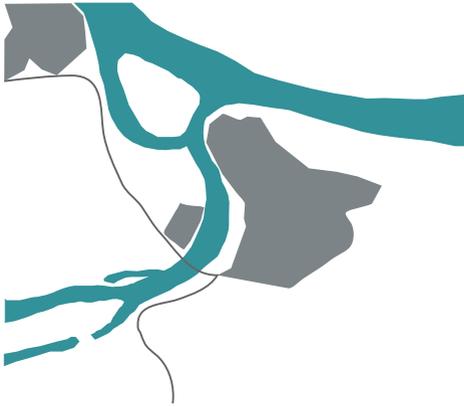


This document was sent to the interested buyers of the parcels in 1935. It summoned buyers to present themselves in the municipality of Bezanija on the 13th of December at eight o'clock for the official distribution of parcels. This document is addressed to Mrs. Krstin, whose daughter is still the owner of the property and house today.

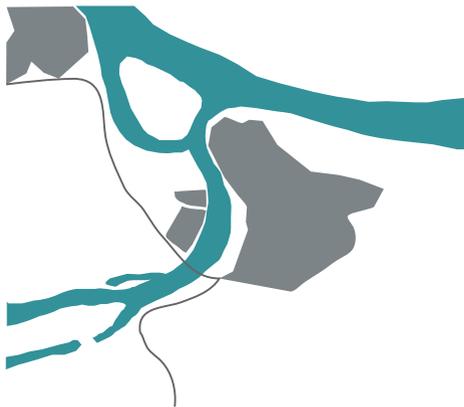
Growth on the Side of New Belgrade



Around 1885
The new railway line between Belgrade and Zemun connects these with other European cities.



Around 1932
The area of **Bezajina Plaza** begins to grow.



Around 1935
The fairgrounds Staro Sajimiste is built.



Around 1970
The first parts of New Belgrade are built.

Construction still Occurs at the Beginning of the 1960s



Bezaniya Plaza, 1963

Bezaniya Plaza means the beach of Bezanija and its construction continued into the 1960s. The first mention of the Palace of the Federation and the residential area of Bezaniya Plaza occurs in the plan of 1964. In comparison to New Belgrade, the structure of the area depicted on the urban plan does not undergo major changes in the next 40 years.



Belgrad in 1964

on the border
of legality

Existing Houses from the Time of Establishment

A few houses dating back to the original construction at the beginning of the 1930s still stand. Today, these houses are among the scarce evidence of this first settlement. Usually, the houses are relatively simple, small, and of one-storey. Later, residents were legally forbidden to enlarge their houses. The city was afraid of the continued growth of the area, making it difficult to remove the settlement in case of the realization of visionary plans along the banks of the Sava.





“We are a Part of Old Belgrade”



Dragana Jeftica, 33

The parents of this woman purchased the property on April 22, 1935 and built a small house, where the woman was later born. They still have the original documents of the sale. In the meantime, the property was nationalized and they now await their property ownership to be reinstated. The former king bought the land from farmers, divided it into parcels and sold a large part to private persons. Before this, the land was used as pasture, the only land on the side of New Belgrade not to be covered in swamps. At that time, it belonged to the Duchy Vukovar. The family also owns a list of the 200 buyers, in the 1930s. These were the first residents of the area, the old fair grounds and New Belgrade were constructed later, for which a number of existing houses were torn down. The original name of the area was “Bezanija Plaza”, meaning, more or less, the beach of Bezanija. Many of the original owners have moved away and the area has changed strongly in the last few years. The settlement used to have a post office and school, with which the area became a full-fledged, small municipality. In the last 15 years, the state has purchased parcels and simply left them vacant. Today, many illegal settlers are to be found on this land. In total, approximately 60% of houses have been built illegally. When, in the 1970s and 80s, the Sava Center was constructed, the family hoped that their property would ‘have its chance’ as they had already waited their whole lives to move away from the area, hoping to move into an apartment with central heating. Unfortunately, they were never allowed to expand their home; the old, original residents hope to leave the settlement, those that have newly arrived wish to stay, their houses are also much larger.





“But with the construction of New Belgrade, everything changed. We virtually became the periphery of New Belgrade, even if we continue to see ourselves as part of Old Belgrade.”

George und Ana



This is the list of all the owners of the 200 parcels. The document is of the year 1933. The family of Ana bought this parcel, Nr. 136.

Negated Settlement – Bezanija Plaza

The hallway through offices and commissions offered us a vague insight into the headquarters of the official offices of the area. The initial and partially continued ignorance and uncertainty over the area are further crystallized. It is obvious what is of issue:

A continually growing, 60 year old residential area, which has established itself in the shadow of planning. The conditions of land ownership are, and continue to be unclear: legal and illegal settlers have joined together to build a nearly cohesive village- structure. Within the area, the gypsies, who have lived near the Gazela bridge for approximately 20 years, are perceived to be the largest problem. They have become accustomed to the declarations of the city and respond to them with corresponding indifference. In an area which was purposefully never granted access to the urban sewage system and in which, legally, the buildings could not be expanded, one has always been conscious that the city had other plans for the neighborhood... Yet the constant overthrows and political changes of recent history have pushed these intentions far into the future and settlement, building, and growth continues. More and more, this growth occurs with the consciousness that garages and garden sheds are being constructed on the valuable space for the city.

Illegal Construction on Legal Ground

Although building permits are not granted and there is no chance of legalization, the building fervor has remained unbroken. So far, there has been no enforcement of the building regulations. The size of the houses continues to grow. The difference between simple, modest homes and large buildings with multiple stories and enclosed, manicured lawns continually increases throughout the area.



Today, the status of land ownership is unclear; next to a few, legal owners the majority are illegal. The area used to be middle class, yet with its simple, small houses, it now belongs to the lower classes of Belgrade. Always considering the area as a temporary solution, the city has, to this day, denied access to its central heating and sewage systems.

Officially, 1'731 people live in this area today. Due to the chaotic, ambiguous ownership and legal status, this area is one of the greatest problems of the urban planners and architects of Belgrade in the development of the inner-city Sava-region.



“ Still no sewage system... we want to get away from here.”

They arrived in 1973. The house was built in 1938, but they ultimately reconstructed it. They never finished construction for which we, Western Europeans, are to blame.

Two families, with a total of nine people live on this parcel. There are about 50m² available for each family. They are unhappy with their living conditions; they have no sewage system and have to heat with a wood stove during the winter. They would prefer to live in an apartment, even one in a housing block... they do not care, long as there is heating and a sewage system. If the state would offer the proper compensation, they would sell their property in an instant. The city has intentionally neither expanded the poor infrastructure nor granted the permission to expand existing structures. These actions have been avoided because the city views the area as a temporary solution and hopes to avoid payments to land owners with the realization of planned projects. The city plans a type of Manhattan in the area, yet the family is indifferent to this, they only fear that investors will bargain with the city and that ultimately they will be at a disadvantage.

Of the approximately 12'000 residents in the area, five houses are legal. The family wanted to legalize their house and have submitted all the necessary papers and paid the proper taxes, yet in the meantime they have lost their nerves and health and have given up.



“The city plans a type of Manhattan in this area.”

Branko



Zarija Vujocevic 107



“We expanded our house so that two families could live here.”

Marija und Rado

“ No one can take us away from here.”

The Family Marinkovic bought their house legally in 1966 and has lived there since. Pedro is a Serb from Kosovo and his wife grew up in Zadar (Croatia). They have lived all over the world, including four years in West Germany. Today, they live off of a Serbian and a German pension. In their eyes, the area has changed dramatically. When they arrived, they say that there were 300 families here, now there are 3000. The Family Marinkovic lives on a street perpendicular to Sadika Ramiza, the street on which the most gypsies live. According to them, the gypsies have contributed to the continued decline of the area.



“ This is the most beautiful spot of Belgrade and also the most expensive. By foot, I am in the center and at the market in fifteen minutes. No one can take me away from here, my next stop is in heaven.”

“ My cousin was Miss Yugoslavia, but she has since lived in Australia for many years.”

Bianca und Pedro Marinkovic



Sadika Ramiza 110



Her Son built up his own small business which sells high pressure cleaners from western Europe. The Marinkovic family covers the whole side road of Sadika Ramiza with all family members and the company of her son.



Pictures from the family photo album give an impression of the everyday in the borough in the late 60ies.

Brave New World – Visions for the Future

The most recent vision of urban planners for the future is that of the so-called Sava-Amphitheater. This project intends to connect New and Old Belgrade through the Gazela- and Novi Zeleniki Bridge, in the form of a new city center. Through a wide-spanning, international competition, the city center of the future is to emerge, with avenues, parks, high-rise structures for wealthy residents, and workplaces for the service sector. In the Master Plan, the zone is marked as the city center. Next to the statements made by urban planners, the Master Plan is also the most tangible part of planning. The resistance of local residents and the enormous problem of existing structures related to it are disregarded.

The area is comprised of approximately 100 hectares. Whether Belgrade can sustain another center is questionable, it is also implausible that investors would be prepared to invest in such a megalomaniac project, whose principals lie beyond all sense of reality or means of realization. Idealized visions stand on the one hand, while, on the other, an official ban on construction work has been placed over the area, for instance by the department of legalization. Basic questions have been overlooked, which indicate that the Sava-Amphitheater will remain a vision and will hardly be transformed into an actual plan in the near future.

A Reach for the Stars

The Sava-Amphitheater project is meant to unite the cities of Old and New Belgrade. The tracks of the old railway terminal in Old Belgrade and the area of Block 18 in New Belgrade are intended for this project. In total, the project encompasses an area of approximately 100ha.

Today, the eastern bank of the Sava is cut off from the water through a railway line, which runs along the river.

Though a new railway station is under construction, after ten years the primary structure has not yet been completed. The railway line is to be moved, though this also remains a speculation. Should the terrain be made available, it would serve as the first step in finding space for new development.

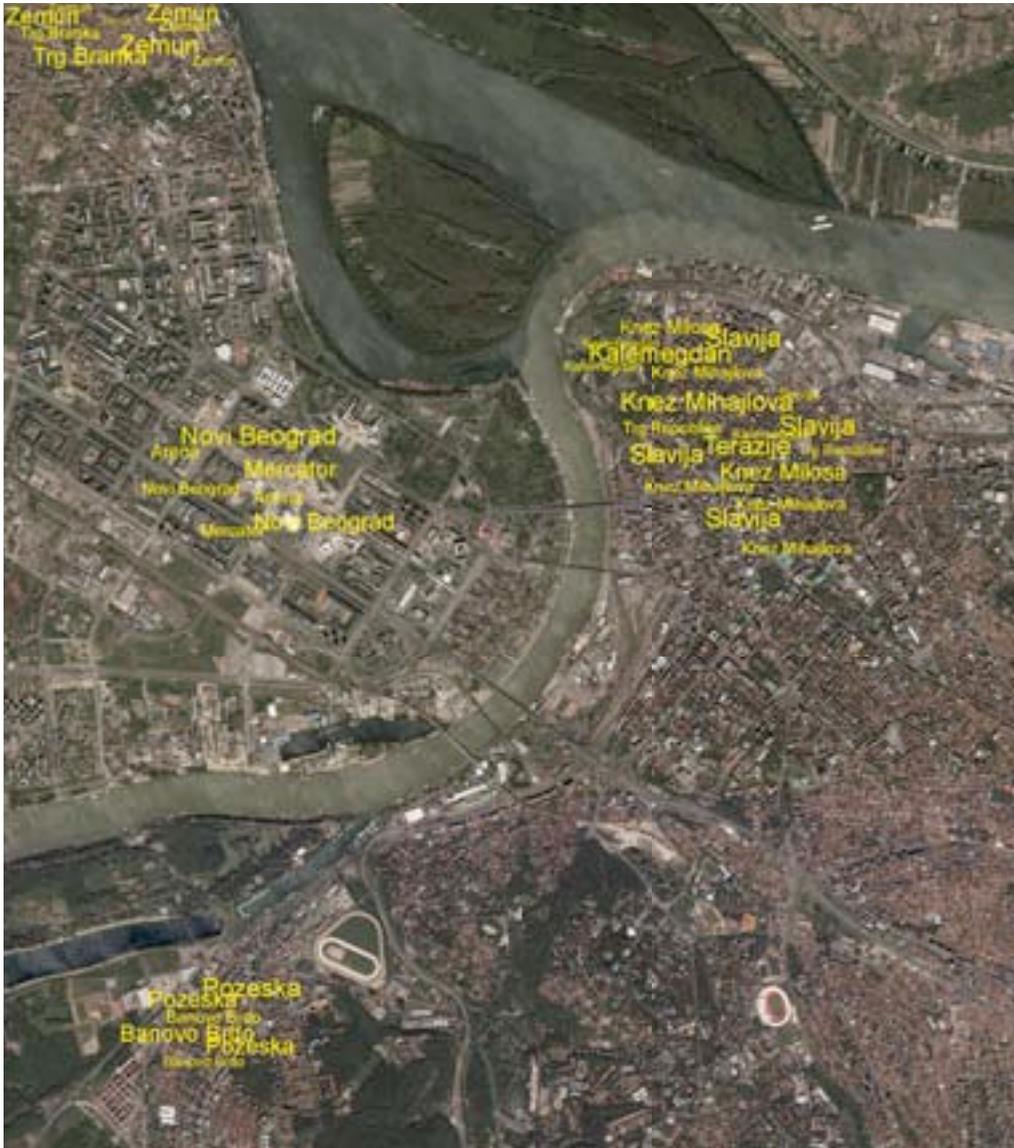
As the urban planner of Belgrade, M. Ferencak says:

“ New Belgrade awaits the developments in Old Belgrade, only with changes to Old Belgrade can steps be taken towards contemplating the next steps of development for New Belgrade.”



Area of the planned Sava Amphitheaters.

Centers of Belgrade



The city centres of today, Belgrade as a polycentric city.

“ As the Future City Center the Sava Amphitheater is of Highest Priority”

7.1.10 Sava Amphitheater and parts of the New Belgrade Center on the left side of the Sava.

As the future city center, the Sava Amphitheater and parts of the city center of New Belgrade are of highest priority. In an initial phase, open, international competitions should serve to create a logical, visual and contextual dialogue between Belgrade and New Belgrade. The vision strives harmonic structures on both sides of the river, which are to give a sense of identity and character to Old and New Belgrade. High quality public space is to be achieved by a large number of parks and avenues. Public spaces (streets, avenues, piazzas, parks and dock facilities) are to make up 50% of the area. Exclusive residential spaces and services are intended for both sides of the Sava, equally.

National cultural and educational institutions are to be housed in this area. A bridge, open to motor vehicular traffic, or a ferry, are to unite the two riverbanks to one another.

Though its position is yet to be determined, the Sava Boulevard is to be constructed within the Sava Amphitheater. This boulevard is to be connected with the Karadjordejeva and Slobodan Penezic Krcun Street, the freeway, the main train station, the new exhibition grounds of Belgrade and the Vojvode Misisic Boulevard.

official excerpt from „GENERALPLAN BEOGRAD 2021“



Gazelabridge, would border the Sava Amphitheater towards the south.

The Amphitheater Today

The left bank of the Sava, occupied by a promenade constructed in the 1960s, is hardly used between the Zeminjski Put and Gazela bridges. The industrial areas, with gravel production works, are located towards the south.



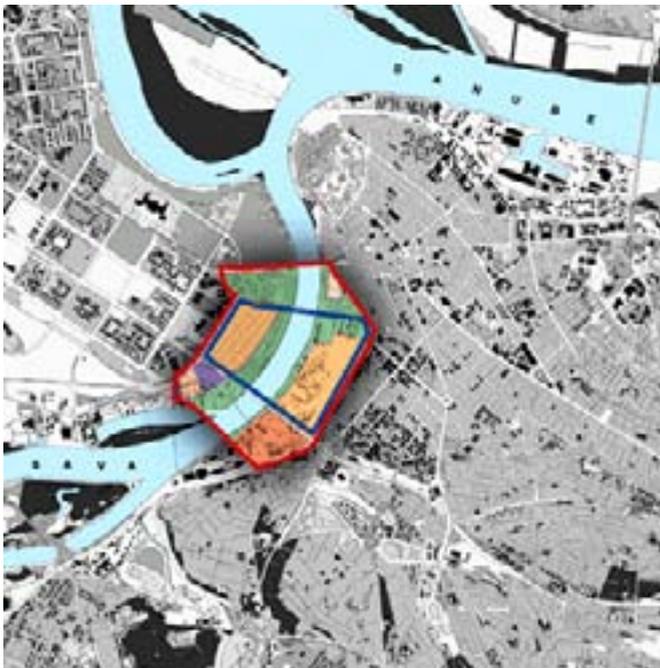
View to old Belgrade, where the Sava Amphitheatre is going to be built.



Riverbank on the left side of the Sava, where the Amphitheatre is going to be built

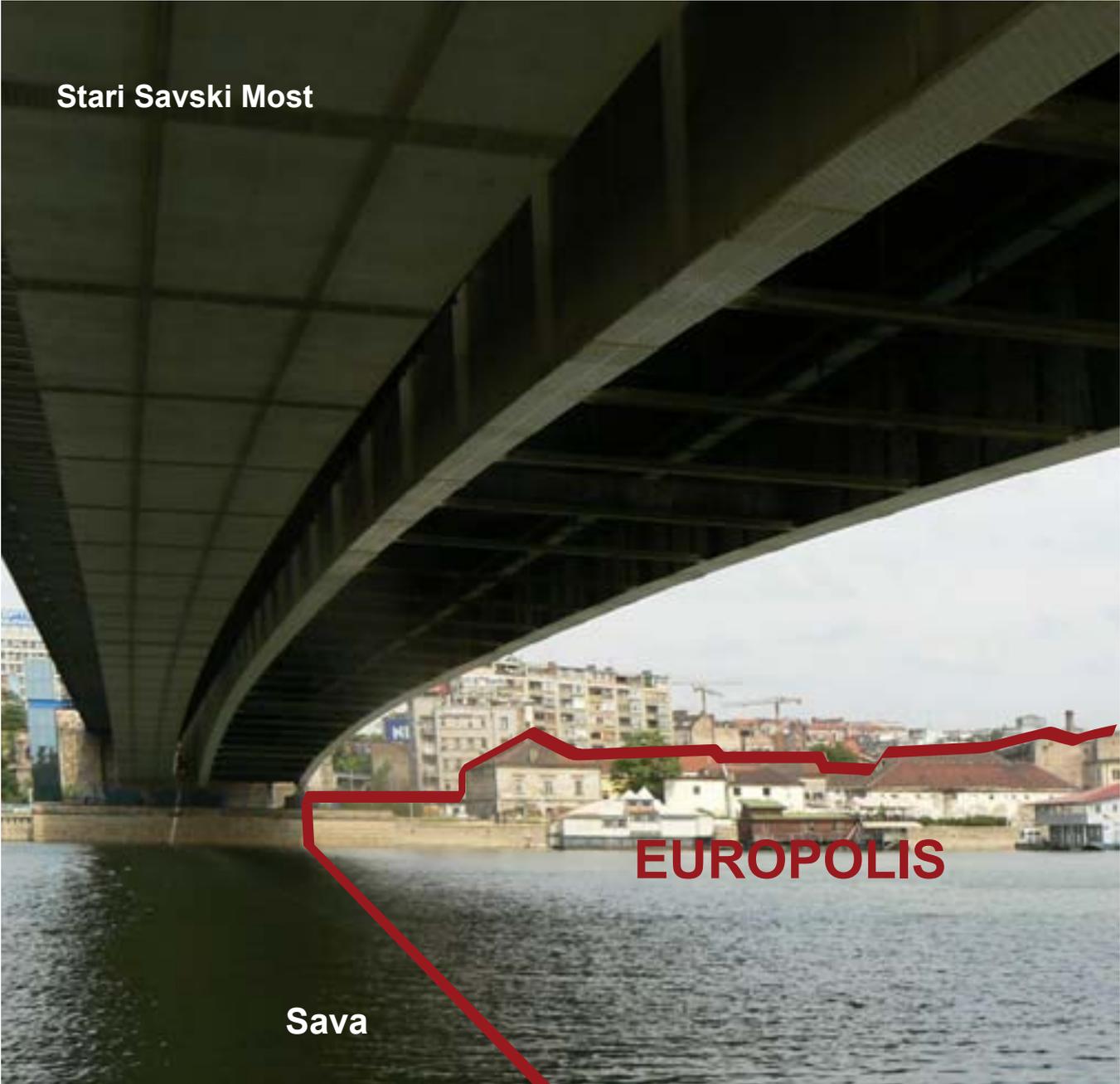
Milosevic's Vision of the New Center of Belgrade

On July 5th, 1996 at the World Congress for Architecture in Barcelona, the large-scale project Europolis was presented. Belgrade was to gain a new architectural concept, as the capital city for the Federalist Republic of Yugoslavia and Serbia, a large-scale project under the Milosevic regime. A large, international competition was announced, which was at first met with great interest within the congress. A total of 114 ha, with an approximate total surface area of 2'000'000m² were to be constructed. Belgrade was praised as undertaking one of the world's largest investment endeavors of the 21st century. By in large, the project made the same proposition as the plans for the Sava-Amphitheater: the consolidation of the two cities of Belgrade and New Belgrade on this, charged urban area. In the 1990s, the importance of Belgrade's strategic position within Europe was even more dramatically formulated as it is today. The publicity must have been enormous, for a time the topic of Europolis was on everyone's lips. Ten years later, plans still exist, but the topic has become calmer.



Europolis, example for the idea of the future of Belgrade under Milosevic, published on the official homepage of all the future large-scale projects of serbia .
(www.srbija-info.yu)

Stari Savski Most



EUROPOLIS

Sava

Belgrade Plans for the Year

The most recent Master Plan for Belgrade 2021 shows a different structure than that which is found on Block 18 today. The plan involves a tabula rasa and overlays the area with an entirely new street network. The area is defined as a dense city center with commercial functions. Nobody knew how to implement the plan into the reality of a project. The conversation with Miodrag Ferencak, director of the city building department, on the following page shows that this optimistic plan is likely to remain a vision indefinitely.



Belgrade Master Plan 2021

- city centre, commercial area
- residential
- industry

“The Sava Amphitheater is a Too Large Project...”

“The Sava Amphitheater is too large a project, it is impossible to do all of this at once. We can only earnestly begin to consider this project once we have removed the railway tracks on the side of Old Belgrade. This is also the main reason why nothing of this vision has been built; everyone is waiting for the tracks to finally disappear.

The area of Block 18 is approximately 200 ha; approximately 50% of homeownership is legal. About 6000 people live in the area, these cannot be treated as a collective, each are individual cases which need to be appraised separately, legal proceedings must be taken for each family. A very strong motivation for this plan is needed and we will need to wait a few more years for it.”

Excerpt from the interview with Miodrag Ferencak on may 26th 2006



Overlay of the Master-Plan 2021 with the density map.