



the *New Town* travel guides



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the *New Town* travel guides

Nowa Huta

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Introduction to the Nowa Huta travel guide

Nowa Huta: A socialist New Town

This travel guide will provide you with information on Nowa Huta, a post-war Polish New Town. 'Nowa Huta' means simply 'new steelworks'. The New Town was founded in 1949 as workers' housing and facilities for Poland's first integrated steel plant, the Lenin Steelworks (*Huta imienia Lenina* or 'HiL'). Over the last two decades there has been a growing interest in Nowa Huta and other socialist New Towns from the 1950s. Most of the research focuses on the fascinating planning process of the *gründerzeit* and Nowa Huta's connection to the development of the new Republic of Poland and its ideals. But despite this interesting history, Nowa Huta is not yet a popular area for tourists to visit—although this is slowly changing. One of the reasons may be that Nowa Huta is not included in most of the regular tourist guides. This is not only the case for Nowa Huta, but also for most other European New Towns. Because of this deficiency, the International New Town Institute (INTI) took the initiative to make a series of travel guides on European New Towns. This travel guide on Nowa Huta is the first in the series. It is the product of a field trip to Nowa Huta organized by INTI in 2010 as part of a masterclass on New Towns for students of the Technical University of Delft (urbanism) and the University of Amsterdam (sociology, architecture history and urban planning).

INTI is a research and knowledge institute specialized in New Town planning worldwide, with a commitment to the improvement of New Towns. The research takes a wide angle approach, employing social sciences, history, design and planning as analytical and operational tools. The subjects of this research range from the informal cities in the developing world, to large scale planning in urban Asia, to the use of urban simulation in planning. INTI initiates studies, offers educational programs, and organizes public events and lectures.

What is a New Town?

Before explaining what makes this New Town interesting from a tourist's perspective, we should clarify the term 'New Town' and place Nowa Huta within the context of Eastern-European New Town planning in the post-war period. Although Nowa Huta is a very unique New Town in some ways, it is also part of a large family of New Towns with similar features and characteristics. It is one result of a long tradition of developing new cities from scratch. What characterizes a New Town? New Towns are typically designed from the beginning by professionals as a totally new city according to a Master Plan on a site where there was no city before. This aspect distinguishes a New Town from a 'normal' city that gradually grows and evolves over time. A second aspect in which New Towns are distinguished from 'normal' cities, is that they are often the result of a political (top-down) decision. They are the product of a deliberate action plan.

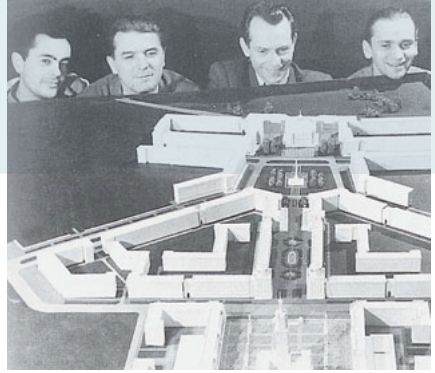
New Towns on the frontier of Cold War politics

The construction of New Towns reached its height during the Cold War period, when the Soviet Union and the United States took the lead in the creation of New Towns as a way of making political statements and spreading influence. On the western side of

the 'iron curtain' the United States and Western aid agencies financed the creation of New Towns in developing countries. The aim was that these towns would contribute to the development of a Western, democratic lifestyle. Simultaneously, on the other side of the 'iron curtain', in the Soviet Union and the new People's Republics, New Towns connected to an industrial complex were built to facilitate the industrialization of socialist countries. The common starting point for the construction of these New Towns was the decision made by the government or political party of the country, under the influence of the USSR, to develop an independent industry. Given the commitment of the decision by the political leader the New Towns had varying degrees of political significance. They were the visual evidence of the development of a new industrial state and society and therefore acted as a propaganda tool. The construction of these New Towns indicated a new political agenda. Nowa Huta belongs to this family of post-war New Towns in the former Eastern Bloc. The foreign equivalents include, amongst others: Sztalinváros/Dunaúváros in Hungary, Dimitrowgrad in Bulgaria and Stalinstadt/Eisenhüttenstadt in the German Democratic Republic.

Nowa Huta as the product of Cold War politics

The underlying condition for the creation of Nowa Huta was the decision made by the newly founded Polish Volkspartie to develop the steel industry and focus on the industrialisation of the rural areas as part of the first Six Year Plan. The plans for new steel factories in Poland were first initiated in 1947 under Poland's first three-year plan. However, the plans were not implemented before the Six Year Plan was approved in 1948. This was likely a result of increasing involvement from Soviet planners. The Soviet Union was also the main financier of Nowa Huta. Although the plans for a new steel plant were made earlier, the Soviet Union's loan of \$450m resulted in the decision to change the steelworks location to a site east of Krakow and accelerated the implementation of the plans.¹ It is often suggested that the choice of location near Krakow was not only made because of the good railway and road connections with the Ukraine and the USSR, but also because the political purpose was to transform the bourgeois, reactionary city of Krakow into a proletarian city.²



The architects of Nowa Huta with the scale model of the city, Warschau 1949.



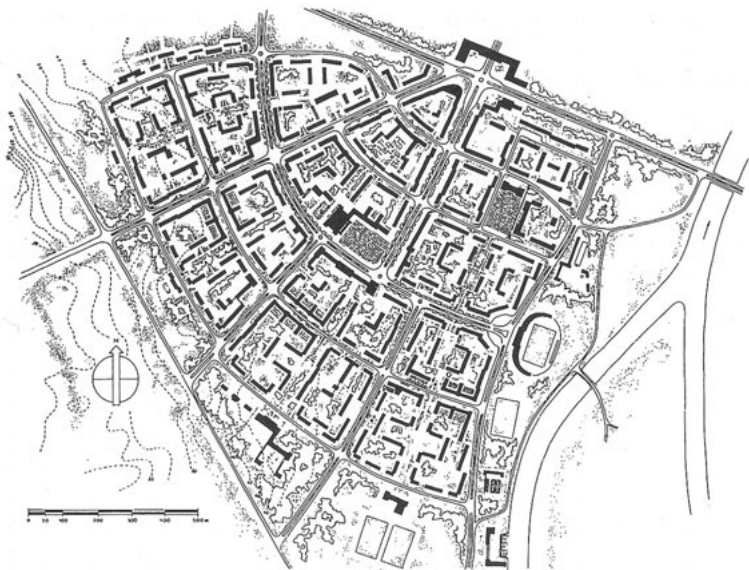
Workers palaces in the first 'socialist city' in Germany, Stalinstadt, 1958.



One of the main streets in Dimitrowgrad, Bulgaria, 1957.



Urban plan of Nowa Huta.



Urban plan of Stalinstadt/Eisenhüttenstadt, designed by Kurt W. Leucht, 1952.



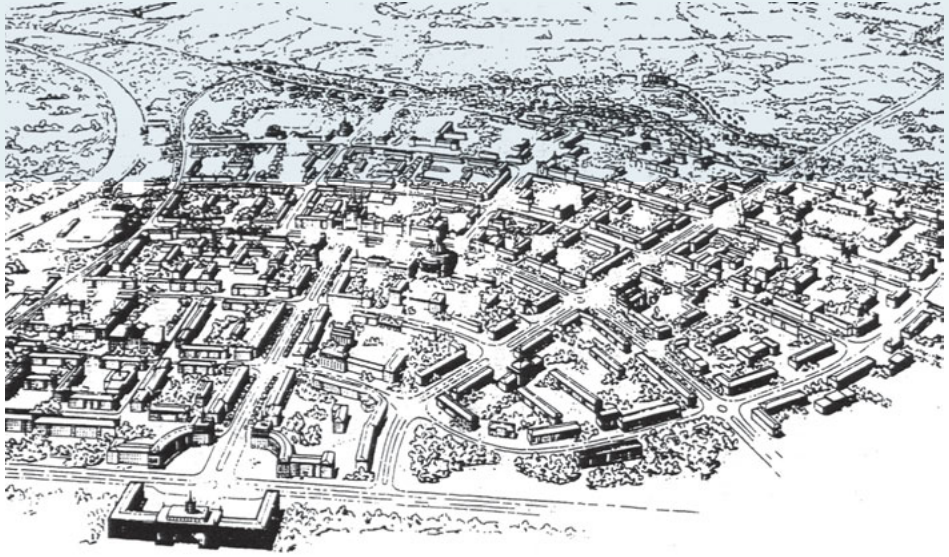
The socialist boulevard of Nowa Huta in the present situation.

The creation of a socialist New Town

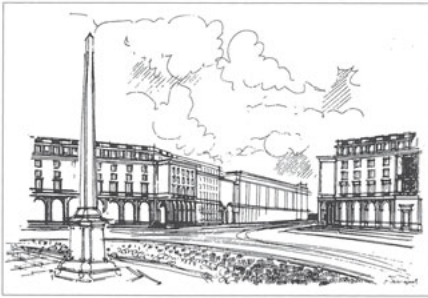
The city's political commitment to the state ideology was reflected in the idea of building a model town according to the principles of socialist realism. The designers were instructed to create an impressive city as a socialist alternative for the New Towns in the west, which were considered oversized residential areas rather than 'real' cities. The desire to build a socialist alternative was based on ideas about the 'make-ability' of the city and society. Politicians and planners claimed that Nowa Huta was a city where social transformation could take place. They believed that a new urban environment would contribute to the creation of a new socialist man and society. This belief was reflected in the urban concept for the city in which the factory and administrative buildings had a central position and the housing quarters were determined by apartment blocks (workers palaces) with public gardens. In addition, there was no place for churches in a socialist city. With these conceptual impulses made physical, it became clear that Nowa Huta was a socialist New Town that proclaimed a new political era in Poland.

The masterplan and architecture contributed to the idea of creating a model socialist New Town. The masterplan contained the elements that a socialist town had to display according to the *sozialistische grundsätze* for urban planning. It was shaped in a semi-circular form, with a central square and an imposing entrance building marking the transition to the steelworks. According to the *socialistische grundsätze* Nowa Huta also contained a representative centre. The central square in the middle of the city was clearly designed after Stalin Square in Moscow, with monumental administrative buildings in the socialist realist style at every corner. The main administrative and cultural buildings controlled the urban composition by their dominant shape and size. These buildings served as a representation of the state.

Many elements of Nowa Huta's masterplan are similar to the masterplans of its contemporary examples, such as Sztalinváros/Dunaúváros, Dimitrowgrad and Stalinstadt/Eisenhüttenstadt. The semi-circular shape of the city, the radial street pattern and the central axis that runs from the center to the factory entrance were all typical elements of this period. One of the reasons for the similarities between the masterplans of Nowa Huta and its contemporaries was that the same or similar guidelines (*socialistische grundsätze*) were used for urban planning in the Soviet Union and the former Eastern Bloc. Another reason was that the new representative center of Moscow was not only the model for Nowa Huta, but for all the socialist New



Sketch of the socialist boulevard of Stalinstadt, 1951.



Sketch of the central square of Nowa Huta, 1955.



The socialist boulevard of Stalinstadt/
Eisenhüttenstadt in the present situation.

Towns in the former Eastern Bloc. In addition, the similarities were probably also due to the planners' visits to the twin cities and their ongoing exchange of ideas.

The names of streets, squares and buildings also contributed to the creation of a socialist New Town by reflecting the ideological significance of the construction of Nowa Huta. The steel factory was named after Lenin, to refer to the alliance with the Soviet confederate. The streets and boulevards that ranged from the central square to the edges of the city were named after important events and politicians in the history of socialism, such as: Six Year Plan Avenue, Lenin Avenue, December Revolution Avenue and Avenue of the Shock Workers. The Eastern-European equivalents of Nowa Huta also had street names celebrating Lenin and Marx. This shows that the relationship between street names and the ideological system was not exemplary, but rather characteristic for the family of post-war socialist New Towns. Nowa Huta's creative range of street names, however, was also much broader.³

Promoting the socialist New Town

The media closely followed this attempt to build a new world according to the socialist model. The movies, books and theatre performances from this time reveal a great enthusiasm about the creation of a 'truly socialist' settlement. Residents were encouraged by the media to participate in the project and many of them literally built

the city with their own hands. The propaganda claimed that Nowa Huta played an important role in the creation of the new socialist state and society in Poland. In other socialist New Towns, media and the arts were used for the promotion of the socialist projects. However, the reality in the New Towns was often very different from what the state media proclaimed. Not everyone accepted the idea of the 'new socialist man' and the prohibition of religious practice was especially troubling. During the 1950s, for example, the inhabitants of Nowa Huta protested with increasing fervency against the government's overbearing dominance and fought for better living and working conditions. The protests reached a peak in 1956, as political unrest spread throughout Poland. Nowa Huta was not the only socialist New Town where the inhabitants expressed their dissatisfaction. It quickly became clear that even a socialist New Town—one that was designed as an ideal town with an ideal socialist population—was not immune to rebellions and disorder.

Nowa Huta as both a characteristic and unique socialist New Town

Taking into account the similarities between the socialist New Towns in terms of urban planning, ideologically-named streets and buildings and their status as political symbols, Nowa Huta was not unique, but really a rather characteristic example for its contemporary family of socialist New Towns. However, varying circumstances during the construction period, such as the date of the construction, location and differing site sizes, resulted in fundamental differences in the built results.

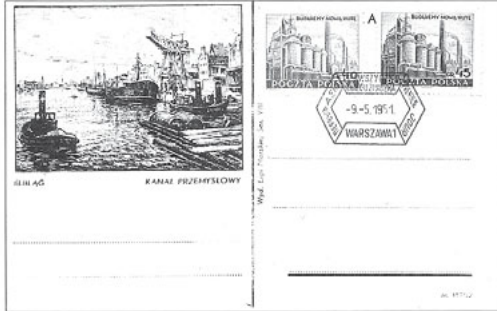
Many plans for the socialist New Towns were not carried out as intended. To illustrate this, we can compare Nowa Huta with Stalinstadt/ Eisenhüttenstadt. The construction of Nowa Huta started in 1949, while the first stone of Stalinstadt/ Eisenhüttenstadt was laid in 1951. These small shifts in time (before the re-orientation of industrial building in 1955) resulted in very different urban expressions. In Nowa Huta, the entrance building to the factory complex and the central square were completed before the original plans were abandoned in the mid-1950s, while in Eisenhüttenstadt the architectural achievement of the city centre remained largely rudimentary, lacking a central square and an entrance building.⁴ Nowa Huta distinguishes itself because it has



The socialist boulevard of Sztalinváros/ Dunaúváros under construction.



Working for a better future: the pictures from the first years of both in Nowa Huta (middle) as Sztalinváros/Dunaúváros and Stalinstadt/ Eisenhüttenstadt (bottom) show the inhabitants who helped with the construction of the town and by that with the creation of their future.



Promoting Nowa Huta through post cards.

a complete city centre with a central square and entrance buildings. The presence of a city centre was the main criterion for becoming a real city. Nevertheless, even Nowa Huta does not fully match its designers' plans and remains partly incomplete. As the first post-war industrial town in Poland and one of the first socialist New Towns in the former Eastern Bloc, Nowa Huta was a pioneer city and a laboratory where the concept of a 'true socialist city' was developed and promoted, but also extensively criticized.

After the fall of the communist regime in 1989, Nowa Huta lost its identity as a socialist New Town. The transition from a top-down, planned economy to a market-driven economy did not only affect the city's financial status, but also left marks on the urban form. This urban space was mainly adapted to the

symbols and personification of the new post-communist era through the addition of new shopping centers. The first and most visible transformation was the renaming of streets. The main square (Plac Centralny) was renamed in 1989 as Ronald Reagan Square. The Lenin statue on the central plan was removed and the site is now a flowerbed. The streets that once referred to heroes of the communist history were replaced with the names of Polish national heroes that held a less loaded significance for the city. Lenin Avenue was renamed Avenue Solidarnosc, referring openly to the former resistance movement in Nowa Huta.

The central square in Nowa Huta became a youth hangout, 2010.



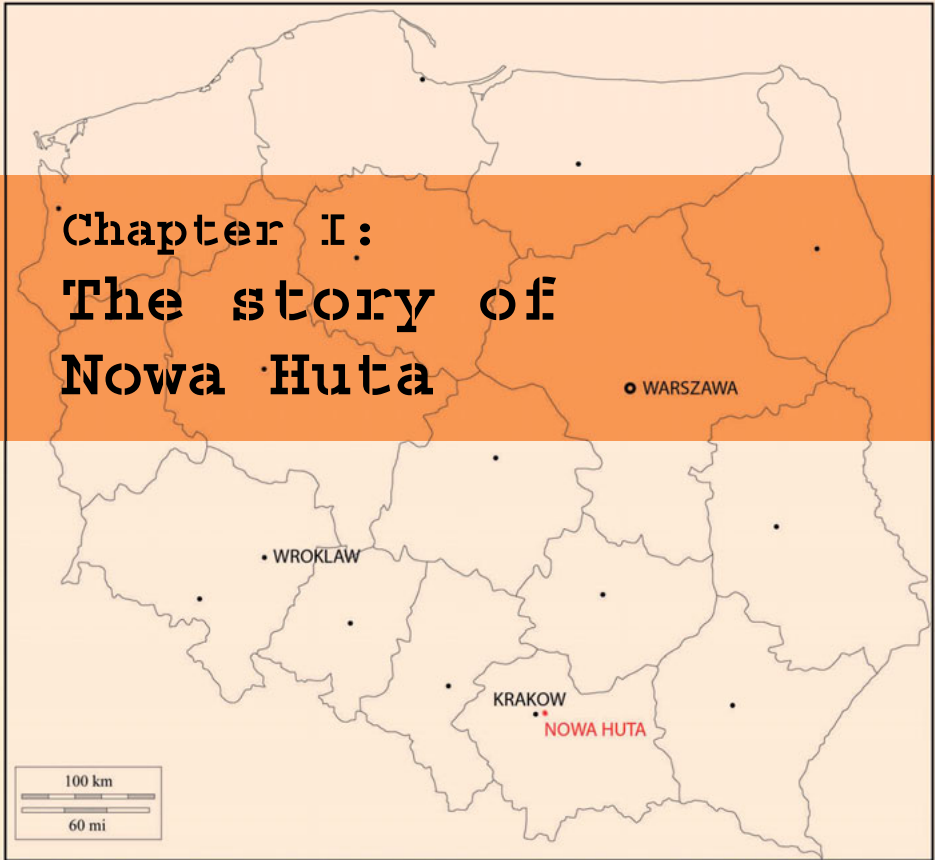


The new shopping centre of Eisenhüttenstadt seen from the main street, the Lindenallee (formerly the Leninallee). The shopping centre partly takes away the view of the entrance to the factory complex. The factory, which was the image of the city in the socialist period, was substituted by a new image of consumerism that suited the new status of a capitalist city.

Despite its transformation and continuing deterioration, the townscape of Nowa Huta remains very impressive. In recent years there has been a growing interest in the first 'socialist city' in Poland and a re-evaluation of the region's socialist heritage. Attempts are being made to promote the New Town as a tourist attraction. An organization in Krakow now provides city tours where tourists are driven through Nowa Huta in refurbished Trabants. Because of its exceptional planning history and preserved architecture and urban layout, Nowa Huta is an interesting New Town for tourists, (architecture) historians, architects and urbanists. According to many specialists, Nowa Huta stands out as the best example of a socialist realist city in the former Eastern Bloc. This fact alone makes it worth visiting.

Visiting Nowa Huta

During your visit to Nowa Huta this travel guide will provide you with information and help you to discover the remains of its socialist heritage. The first chapter gives an introduction to the town's planning history. The second chapter goes into more depth regarding the urban planning of Nowa Huta, with a focus on how Nowa Huta was planned and the present situation of the town, almost sixty years after realization. There is also a tour included in this chapter that highlights the urban plan and important places in the city's development. The third chapter gives more background information on the architecture in the different time periods of Nowa Huta's existence. The architectural development is so clearly visible, that Nowa Huta can be seen as an open-air museum of Polish architectural evolution. The fourth chapter discusses the facilities and attractions that were originally planned and how Nowa Huta is used today, with a special focus on the contrast between public and private amenities. The last chapter points out that even though Nowa Huta lacks the amenities you would expect in a city with established tourist industries, it offers many surprising places that are definitely worth visiting. The last chapter consists of four themed tours, which will help you find these surprising places. Finally, the Dutch writer Joris van Casteren writes down his impressions after visiting the city, in 'The miracle of Nova Huta'.



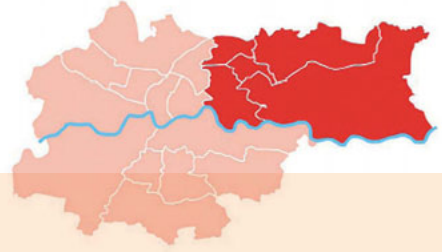
Poland.

Poland becomes part of the countries behind the Iron Curtain

The Stalinist regime had a major influence on planning in Poland. According to Soviet architecture historian Anders Åman, the development of New Towns in combination with industry was essential to socialist ideology in the Soviet Union. Åman describes these model towns and their concurrent industries as key manifestations of the ideologies of the original five- or six-year plans.⁵ Although their role has shifted over time, these New Towns are still characterized by author Alan Dingsdale as the iconic sites of socialism.⁶

While under communist rule, Poland initiated its first three year plan in 1947. This primarily focused on the rebuilding of property and industries destroyed during WWII, including a New Town and steelworks.⁷ During this period, increasing political influence from the Soviets coincided with greater involvement of Soviet planners, culminating in the first Six Year Plan. This signalled a shift away from reconstruction towards the building of New Towns with heavy industry. In addition, the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (Comecon) was introduced in 1949 to counteract US assistance to post-war reconstruction under the Marshall Plan. Within this context, plans to build Poland's first integrated steelworks (the Lenin Steelworks, known as *Huta imienia Lenina* or "HiL") and the New Town Nowa Huta were consolidated and formed a part of the first Six Year Plan approved in 1948. According to Alison Stenning, Professor of Social and Economic Geography at Newcastle University, the Soviet Union contributed \$450m in funding on the precondition that the site for the steel plant was relocated from Silesia to the area east of Kraków.⁸

Nowa Huta and the Lenin Steelworks (HiL) were intertwined, not only through the large numbers of inhabitants working at the steelworks but also by the ideology behind the planning of the New Town. Nowa Huta would become a 'new socialist settlement' and was therefore of great ideological importance to the Soviet regime.⁹ According to author Jan B. de Weydenthal the regime made "a deliberate attempt to permanently redefine social structures, ways of thinking and behaviour of the population".¹⁰



Nowa Huta is the easternmost district of Krakow.

Choice of location

Many reasons have been put forward as to why the Soviets preferred Krakow to Silesia as the location for Nowa Huta. For example, great emphasis has been placed upon the political aspirations of the Soviets to transform Krakow into a proletariat city partly through increasing the working class population.¹¹ After the war, Krakow was perceived as a city rooted in intellectual and bourgeoisie culture, lacking a foundation in socialism.¹² In what has been referred to as an attempt at social engineering, the decision to build Nowa Huta in this location has been interpreted as a deliberate attempt to increase both support for the socialist regime and the level of influence exerted by the Soviet Union.¹³



- | | | | |
|---|----------------------|---|----------------------------|
| 1 | Old town | 5 | Suburban and weekend areas |
| 2 | Cracow settlement | 6 | Public facilities |
| 3 | Regional development | 7 | Leisure facilities |
| 4 | Service facilities | 8 | Landscaped areas |

Krakow layout 1955

Stenning, however, states that there were other reasons to develop the steelworker's town at this particular location. The site was situated along the main road and rail routes from Upper Silesia and between Krakow, the Ukraine and the USSR, providing access to iron ore imports from the east.¹⁴ Large expanses of flat land adjacent to the River Vistula provided suitable conditions for construction of the steel plant. Additionally, Krakow's hinterland was experiencing a decline in agriculture creating a labour surplus in the surrounding rural area.¹⁵



- | | | | |
|----|-----------------------------|----|---------------------------|
| 9 | Natural green areas | 14 | Thoroughfare |
| 10 | Parks | 15 | Stream |
| 11 | Woods | 16 | Alley |
| 12 | Railway area | 17 | Canal |
| 13 | Railway line | 18 | Surface - slope |
| 13 | Collieries (does not apply) | 19 | Administrative boundaries |

Krakow long term plan, including Nowa Huta.

An unplanned start: 1949-1950

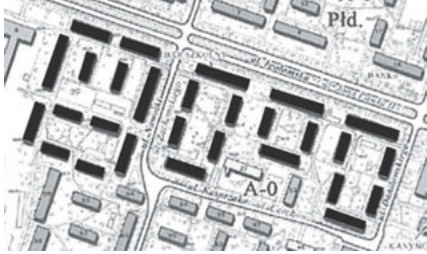
Nowa Huta was founded in 1949, ten kilometres to the east of Krakow and adjacent to the historic village of Mogila. Construction began in 1949 in the neighbourhood (osiedle) Wandy to provide housing for workers. Osiedle Wandy was the first neighbourhood to be completed and is situated to the west of the steelworks. Due to time pressures and the absence of a completed master plan, the designers relied on a familiar housing typology known as *Siedlung* which utilises free standing



Nowa Huta's industry lies in close proximity to a rural landscape.



Nowa Huta within Krakow, 1933 above, 1961 below.



Typical Soviet residential complexes.

blocks grouped together creating semi-private and shared green space. These neighbourhoods are borrowed from the utopian tradition of the garden city movement and traditional Polish design.

A quick design of a socialist Icon 1950-52

Nowa Huta was planned as an independent New Town with its own local authority and amenities. Claimed by some to be the best example of a

socialist realist city, the architecture and urban planning reflected a new social order. According to the head designer Tadeusz Ptaszycski, the New Town was to be 'socialist in content, national in form' in line with socialist realist principles.¹⁶

In 1950, the Ministry of Reconstruction of the German Democratic Republic (GDR) drafted the Sixteen Principles of Urban Development during a study trip to Moscow.¹⁷ The Principles provided the basis for socialist realist urban design. This study trip was conducted with the intention of developing an alternative model representing the new state.¹⁸ Nowa Huta, along with a number of post-war cities such as Eisenhüttenstadt (formerly Stalinstadt) in East Germany, followed this design doctrine. Contrary to the Athens Charter, the socialist realist doctrine did not emerge from debates between planners and architects, rather, it was issued by the central government to planners and architects who were then required to implement it.¹⁹ National heritage played an important role in this doctrine, creating a counterpoint to the functional, intellectual and rational associations of the Bauhaus and 'American imperialism'.²⁰

The Sixteen Principles of Urban Planning include:

- ▣ Congruence between traditional urban features and the new character of a socialist industrial town.
- ▣ The goal of urban planning is the satisfaction of the needs of the people for employment, housing, culture and recreation, with the use of modern planning methods and techniques. Soviet Union examples were used as a model.
- ▣ Cities do not exist without industry. The city is defined by its political institutions, places of production and private dwelling spaces.
- ▣ Extension of existing urban areas is preferred to the foundation of new industrial towns.
- ▣ A compact, urban approach is preferred as a planning principle over CIAM or garden cities.
- ▣ 'City centre' is redefined; rather than trade, administration and culture were expressed in monumental buildings. The city centre becomes the political core for the lives of the people.
- ▣ Recognisable signature for the historic city; in contrast to the anonymity and the interchangeability of the functionalist town.
- ▣ Baroque neoclassical urban planning; axial, radial composition with symmetry, clear hierarchy of the public space and uses.
- ▣ Segregation of the means of transport with pedestrian walkways emphasised.
- ▣ Individual image of the public space developed; main streets, rivers as axes, squares defined as the structural basis of the urban design.
- ▣ Egalitarian, monotonous and anti-individualistic urban space.
- ▣ Several micro districts clustered together to form a residential borough in a city.
- ▣ Neighbourhood Unit concept by Clarence Perry; houses grouped around 5,000-6,000 inhabitants per unit and amenities accessible at the ground floor level with additional functions (kindergartens and schools)
- ▣ Recognisable living units as palaces for workers; more opulent (modern and spacious buildings), with imposing and large gateways.
- ▣ Buildings are to express social ideas of mass collective character, democracy, humanism and freedom more than aesthetic meaning.
- ▣ Architecture is to be socialist in content and national in form.
- ▣ For urban planning, principles are necessary, but abstract schemes are rejected.



Axial - symmetry - composition - green



Model of the centre of Nowa Huta with the main square.



Promoting Nowa Huta through media.

Some of the key ideas in the Sixteen Principles of Urban Development evident in Nowa Huta include an emphasis on the city centre constituted by dominant administrative and cultural buildings rather than trade; a preference for compact cities with higher densities in the centre organised around a system of public spaces defined by hierarchical use; the dominance of public life over traffic; and “the recognisable signature of the historic city – or its image” in contrast to the anonymous functionalist city.²¹

Beginnings and subsequent growth: Demographics, work and community

Nowa Huta was initially planned for 100,000 residents, however, population growth greatly exceeded expectations and between 1950 and 1985 there was an increase from 19,000 to 223,000 inhabitants. This accounted for 60 percent of Kraków’s growth. The new steelworks attracted people from predominantly rural areas in Poland, making up 74 percent of the district’s population by 1970.²²

Over 80 percent of workers from the HiL steelworks lived in Nowa Huta, greatly influencing the demographics of the New Town. In 1950, approximately 75 percent of the population were male compared with 52 percent in Kraków. Nowa Huta’s population was also noticeably younger, with 37.5 percent of the population aged 16 or under in 1958. With lower levels of education than Kraków, around 60 percent of Nowa Huta’s inhabitants had skills in construction and industry compared to 40 percent in Kraków.²³

The steelworks were central to the formation of Nowa Huta and a dominant influence on the everyday lives of the inhabitants. Established under a socialist regime, the industry also provided social and cultural facilities. Employees and their families had access to health services offering comprehensive and specialised treatment; vocational training was offered through a metallurgical school; while other facilities provided by the steelworks included sports clubs, a cultural centre, stadium, cinemas and a theatre. Holidays were subsidised and a range of formal and informal services operated through the steelworks. Although HiL did not own the town’s housing stock, the steelworks assisted in construction and maintenance. According to Stenning, Nowa Huta was a town built by workers for workers.²⁴

When opposition to the socialist regime emerged in the late fifties, the dominance of these institutional community services was questioned. Workers' organisations, churches, students and citizens organised themselves into informal networks to both challenge the state and provide for the community's everyday needs as the state increasingly failed to do so.

Nowa Huta has experienced many years of shortages and challenges. During its construction there was a desperate need for housing that resulted in poor living conditions. This was in stark contrast to the propaganda encouraging young people to settle in Nowa Huta offering employment and the prospect of a secure future. This promise of stability seemed unlikely particularly from the late 1950s onwards as anti-communist sentiment infected city life. Nevertheless, at the beginning of the 1960s stability, opportunity and security were re-established in Nowa Huta.²⁵

The New Town flourished during the 1970s, with peaking employment, high levels of steelwork production and increasing standards of living. By the end of the decade, HiL employed more than 43,000 workers and produced almost 7 million tons of steel every year, making it the largest employer and producer of steel in Europe. The residents of Nowa Huta profited greatly; their shops were full of products, the sports clubs were full of participants and cultural organisations were booming.

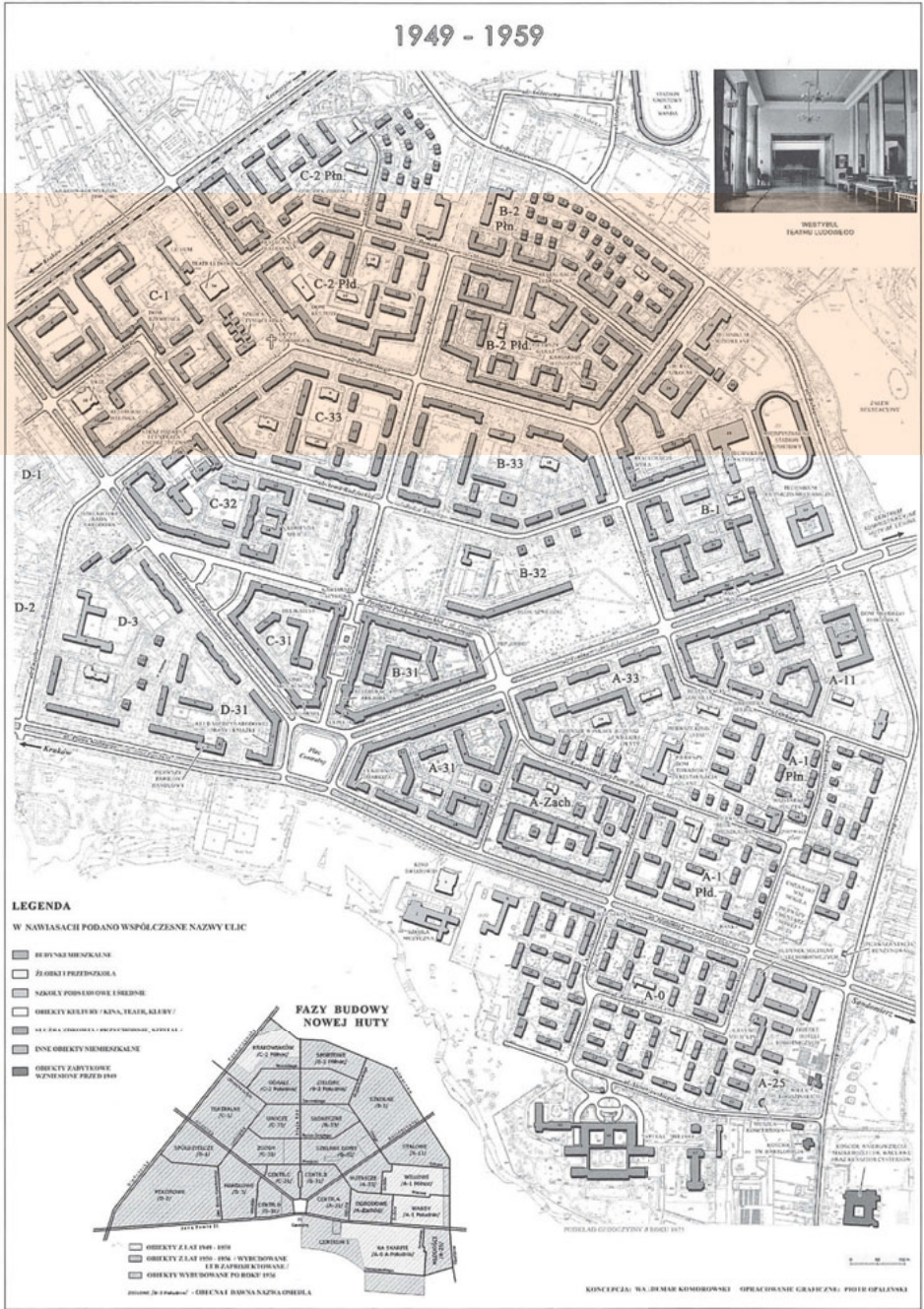
Security and stability became the basic principles of Nowa Huta and the town has enjoyed several periods of prosperity. The New Town is often portrayed as a place of migrants seeking new opportunities and better living standards. This picture contrasts markedly with the present characterisation of the town, often conveyed as a place of insecurity, declining possibilities and uncertainty.

After Stalin 1953-1954

Stalin's death on March 5, 1953 is a key moment in the history of Nowa Huta. His successor, Nikita Khrushchev, was less involved in the project, its strict social ideas and financing. The industrialisation of the construction process signalled a significant change in planning and construction methods. Mass production was

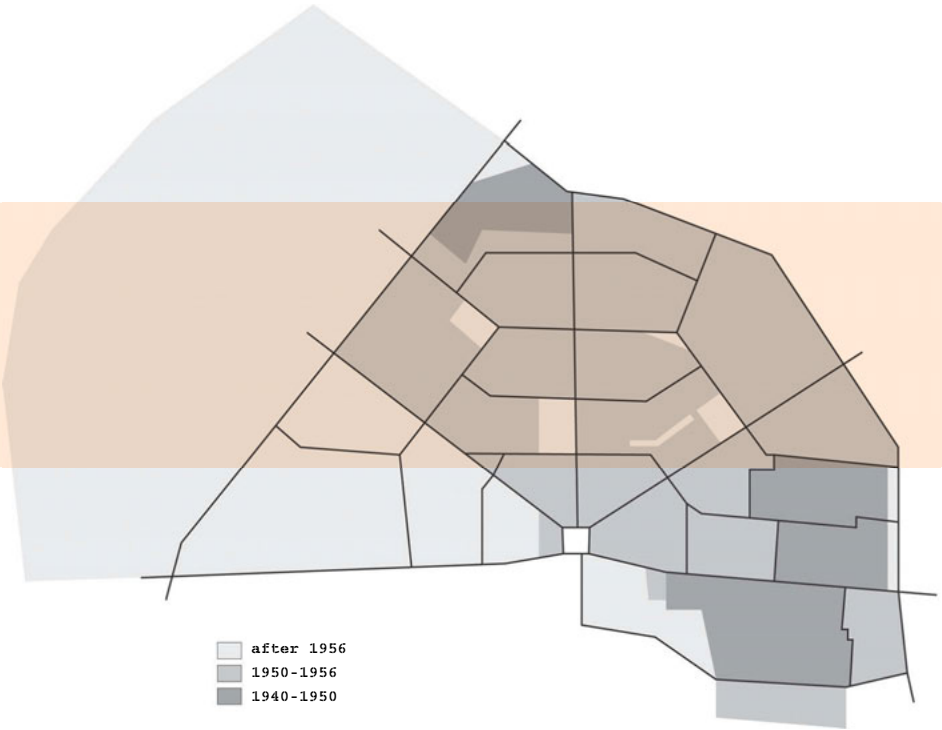


The factory is part of daily life in Nowa Huta.



The Nowa Huta master plan.

adopted to meet the high demand for housing. Khrushchev believed the Soviet Union could match living standards in the west, allowing Soviet citizens exposure to western achievements. Mass production and prefabrication became more important than prestige and esthetics. Free-standing apartment blocks in open public space characterised the change in residential architecture. Sensing this freedom, architects began to experiment. New ideas along with the ability to travel to countries such as Sweden greatly influenced subsequent design.



Nowa Huta expanded in steps over time.

Modernism 1954-1956

The Swedish House (*blok Szwedzki*) built between 1956-1959 is the first modernist building in Nowa Huta, expressing a different vision of public space and urbanity while also responding to the existing environment. This project represents the western influence in the design of Nowa Huta. From 1956 onwards, construction was dominated by mass prefabricated housing influenced by the International Style, which lacked the level of detail characteristic of socialist realist façades.²⁶



The Swedish block.

Opposition (the beginning of the protests)

The first sign of resistance was in response to the repression of religion. The socialist New Town excluded churches, however many of Nowa Huta's inhabitants had arrived from the countryside where Catholicism was commonly practiced. Residents continued to visit churches in surrounding villages, with the first cross in Nowa Huta erected during 1957. These acts could be seen as the beginning of dissident behaviour within this "model socialist town without God".²⁷ According to Stenning these struggles for religion "were intimately intertwined with political and social struggles for space for dissent within the socialist state".²⁸ After continuing struggles, The Lord's Ark (*Arka Pana*) was built in 1967 and



The axial design of Nowa Huta is striking from the air.

consecrated in 1977. During the 1970s and 1980s this church became a key site for the anti-communist movement. There was also a growing wave of anti-Soviet sentiment with animosity targeted at the statue of Lenin in Roses Avenue (*Aleja Róż*). Stenning identifies these factors as two key examples of “the growing challenges to the authority of the state within and beyond Nowa Huta”.²⁹

During this period, investment in the steel plant was reduced and redirected towards Huta Katowice in Upper Silesia, signalling a deterioration of Nowa Huta’s status and a strategic shift away from the region. Modernisation of the steelworks came to a halt and working conditions deteriorated, contributing further to the growing opposition against the Soviet Union.³⁰

Solidarnosc-period and the collapse of the Soviet regime

The communist opposition in Poland was embodied in the emergence of an independent trade union called Solidarity (*Solidarność*), the first in the former Soviet bloc that was to play a central role in the demise of communism. The union was officially introduced by Lech Walesa in August 1980 during a strike at the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk to improve economic conditions for Poland’s labour force. Workers at HiL responded swiftly and were the first to take action by organising a strike one week following the shipyard workers in Gdansk. Within two months, 97% of the 43,000 workers at HiL had joined Solidarity, creating the largest trade union in the country.

In an attempt to quell growing opposition, the Polish government introduced martial law on December 13, 1981, which lasted until July 22, 1983, effectively driving the trade union movement underground. This did not deter the steel workers, and major street battles erupted in Nowa Huta between 1982 and 1983. Army forces were brought in to contain the violence and production at the steelworks was severely affected.

In 1988, HiL steelworkers began another strike that was to have far reaching implications

for Central and Eastern Europe. The demands outlined by HiL employees set a benchmark across the country and led to the 1989 Round Table Agreement, followed in 1990 by the election of President Walesa and the first non-communist government. Solidarity inspired a wave of anti-communist opposition groups throughout the Eastern Bloc countries, leading to the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1990.³¹

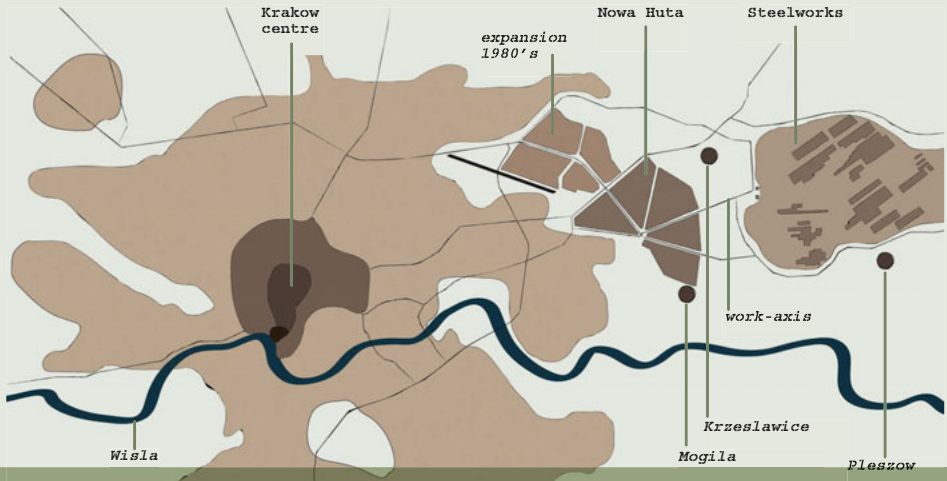
Socialist city becomes a monument in a market economy

Nowa Huta has faced three key challenges following the collapse of socialism:

- The rejection of socialist society;
- The loss of ties between Poland and the Soviet Union (and with it, HiL's major export markets following the collapse of Comecon in 1991);
- A breakdown in support for large, industry-dependent and centrally-planned towns.³²

Productivity at HiL had declined from its annual peak production of 7m tons of steel during the 1970s to 2.5m tons in 1991 and, despite its 32,000 strong workforce during this period, the steelworks had to fight for survival.³³ In an attempt to secure HiL employees' jobs, restructuring and modernisation plans were proposed for the steelworks in 1991. The wide variety of activities previously undertaken by HiL has been divided between a number of independent spin-off companies which employ 60% of the former workforce. In addition, more than £200m was invested in upgrading the steel plant between 1995-1998. Many public sector industries in Poland have been privatised since the collapse of communism, including HiL, which was partly sold to the Mittal Steel Company (now Arcelor Mittal Poland) in 2003, before acquiring complete ownership in 2007.

The collapse of socialism has had enormous implications for Nowa Huta as Poland and other former communist states adjust to free market forces and globalisation. A major restructuring of the Polish steel industry has resulted in reduced employment levels, predominantly affecting workers at HiL and Huta Katowice. With the town's future dependent upon the steelworks, much focus has been directed towards securing HiL's position in Nowa Huta and to minimise the impact of restructuring on the town. However, the transformation of the steel plant's role has wider implications beyond job security. Given the steelworks central role in the resident's lives, how have the "spaces of socialism" embodied in the town been reshaped with the shift to a market economy? Nowa Huta's future is intrinsically linked to Krakow's growth. With the reinforcement of Krakow as an intellectual city whose future development is focussed on attracting foreign investment, tourism and high tech industries, what role can Nowa Huta play as it faces an increasingly marginalised and uncertain future?³⁴



Chapter II: The urban planning of Nowa Huta

The City in its context

Nowa Huta's beginnings

The Nowa Huta New Town occupies an area between Krakow to the west, the River Dlubnia and Krzeslawickie Hills to the north and east and the River Vistula (*Wisła*) to the south. The choice of site has been the topic of many discussions covering everything from geographical features to political motivation including sufficient quantities of flat land available for development, good transport links to iron ore and coal (supplies necessary for the production of steel), and the political decision to establish a socialist workers' town next to the *bourgeois* Krakow.

Prior to the construction of the steelworks in 1950, related infrastructure was implemented adjacent to the village of Pleszow (*Pleszów*) and the first housing blocks were built in 1949, adjacent to the village of Mogiła (*Mogiła*). In 1952, a plan integrating the steel plant into the formal design for the city was officially approved. This interdependent relationship between heavy industry and the city is clearly articulated in the masterplan and is characteristic of other socialist cities designed during this period. As the flagship project for Poland's first Six Year Plan (1948), enormous amounts of resources, funds and talent were invested in Nowa Huta's development.

This chapter focuses on the most important aspects of Nowa Huta's urban planning. We will discuss relevant questions such as: What is Nowa Huta's position in this region? What is the relationship between Nowa Huta and Krakow, the steelworks and the original settlements? Particular focus will be placed on the way Nowa Huta was planned, and the form it now takes, almost sixty years after realisation.



City expansion beyond the original boundary, Nowa Huta.

Nowa Huta and the landscape

Nowa Huta's urban plan appears to have been developed using a *tabula rasa* approach to the site with little attention given to existing landscape patterns. There is little information to suggest that there was any real relationship between the urban planning and the geographical structure of the area. The only elements of the city plan that refer to the surrounding landscape are the five arterial roads that meet at Central Square (*Plac Centralny*). The original design for the Central Square included an obelisk, and the House of Culture and Theatre. The city park and lake were to occupy the terrain south of the cultural centre, the area now called the Nowa Huta Meadows (*Nowa Huta Łąki*). These projects were either relocated or unrealised and the termination of the five axes at Central Square now provides a view of the meadows looking towards the Vistula River. (See chapter 5, route 5: Unrealized projects)

Nowa Huta and Krakow

One of the biggest differences between Krakow and Nowa Huta is the way each city has developed. Krakow's urban history spans one thousand years and is one of the oldest cities in Poland. The area now occupied by the city centre was originally a small medieval fortress and separate fortified village, situated on the north bank of the River Vistula. Krakow grew to become an important cultural and economic centre, and is now Poland's second largest city with 3.25 million inhabitants. The radial structure that is characteristic of the city developed from the old centre in a series of concentric rings beginning in 1850.

Nowa Huta was the first planned socialist city in Poland designed according to the socialist realist doctrine. The official plan for Nowa Huta was designed over a two year period to house 100,000 inhabitants. This figure was revised to 200,000 after 1956 when President Gomulka came to power and initiated an increase in steel production. By the 1970s Nowa Huta's population had reached 250,000, and today the city has over 200,000 residents. The first phase of construction occurred over a ten year period, essentially following the original city plan which was based on a semicircular



Solidarity Avenue, leading to the Tadeusz Sendzimir Steelworks (HiL).

form with radial axes. Originally intended to be a self sufficient and independent city, Nowa Huta included all the requisite facilities and services and was surrounded by a greenbelt, separating it from Krakow.

By 1951, Nowa Huta had lost its independent status and became a district of Krakow. Financial restraints encountered during the construction of Nowa Huta led to changes in the city plan. As a result some of the public buildings (such as the Town Hall) were no longer required.³⁵ In 1959 Nowa Huta expanded beyond its original boundary towards Krakow. Krakow was also expanding towards the east resulting in the urbanization of the area between the two cities. Today, Nowa Huta is comprised of six districts forming part of the City of Krakow. However the distinctive layout of Nowa Huta is still recognizable and the city retains its own identity. A remarkable similarity between the centres of Nowa Huta and Krakow is that both are national monuments. The oldest part of Nowa Huta (Nowa Huta's Central Square and Avenue of Roses) was added to the Polish Heritage Register in 2005.

Nowa Huta and the Lenin Steelworks

Developments in industrialisation and urbanisation led by the Soviets were at the core of Nowa Huta's development. The name Nowa Huta actually translates to new steelworks and reflects the intrinsic importance of this industry to the city. This was embodied in the design of the city's plan. One of the city's five axes called Solidarity Avenue (*Aleja Solidarności*) leads to the Administration buildings of the Tadeusz Sendzimir Steelworks. This road was used by the large numbers of steelworkers to make their way to and from work.

By the late 1970s, the Lenin Steelworks (HiL) employed 43,000 workers and was the largest state owned business in Poland, producing the highest volume of steel within Europe. Nowa Huta was completely dependent upon the steelworks which provided employment, social services and invested in housing and public buildings. Today, the

steelworks continues to play a key role in the city, funding social services such as medical care and welfare assistance, and supporting cultural, social and sports facilities. The continued existence of Nowa Huta remains dependent upon the survival of the steelworks. However, production levels at the steelworks have drastically decreased since the end of the Cold War. Former steelworkers have found alternative employment with Philip Morris Polska, at the large cement factory and in the retail sector. It is important that the city continues to diversify its social and economic structure as it transforms from a state driven enterprise to a free market economy.

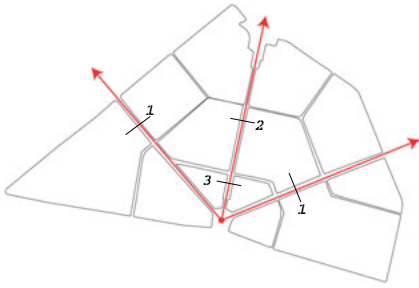
In comparison with modern zoning regulations, the steelworks are located in relatively close proximity to the city. With the prevailing easterly winds, the location of the steelworks reduces air pollution from being carried across the city. However, pollution has largely affected the waterways environment and buildings in the region and a number of projects have been initiated to address these problems.

Nowa Huta and the original settlements

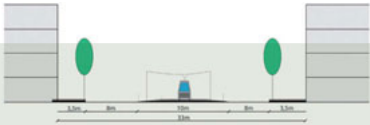
Nowa Huta and the Lenin Steelworks HiL were built adjacent to the historic villages Mogila and Pleszow. The land was predominantly rural and had been owned by local farmers before the state assumed control during communism. Today, some of the former landowners are still demanding compensation. Despite little regard for the geographical patterns, it is not difficult to find references to the past. There is a transition from the meandering village structure of Mogila in the south-east towards the orthogonal blocks of the Młodosci and Na Skarpie neighbourhoods. There is a gradual increase in building height and density from Mogila to the centre of Nowa Huta. Similar settlement patterns occur in the area north and north-east of Nowa Huta in Krzesławice. This village is comprised of predominantly single to double storey detached dwellings and is separated from Nowa Huta by a greenbelt. There is, however, a large difference between the scale and density of these buildings compared to Nowa Huta's housing blocks, clearly defining the border between 'old' Nowa Huta and settlements to the north and north-east.

The City Structure

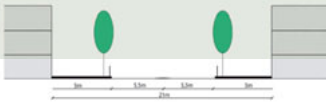
The axial composition employed in old Nowa Huta's urban plan (1949-1959) created a strong visual identity. This structure can be experienced from an aerial view as well as when moving through the city. The first axis and one of the most important is the Avenue of Roses. Often referred to as the Leisure axis, it runs in a north-south direction connecting Central Square (Plac Centralny) to various parks and facilities. The street profile changes from a pedestrian only precinct to a street providing limited vehicular access where green spaces and pedestrians are given priority. The Avenue of Roses was designed as a wide, paved boulevard and provided a place for Nowa Huta's residents to leisurely stroll through the city centre. The pedestrian square was named after Lenin until the fall of communism and includes a restaurant, a handful of shops and car parking towards the Central Square. The second axis is Solidarity Avenue (*Aleja Solidarności*), otherwise known as the axis of Labour. Formerly called Lenin Avenue (*Aleja Lenina*), this street contains a two way road and tramline connecting Central Square to the entrance of the Tadeusz Sendzimir Steelworks. This entrance is framed by the famous Administration Centre, originally designed as the Palaces of Labour. The third axis is called Andersa Avenue (*Aleja Andersa*). Pointing in a north-west direction, this road connects Nowa Huta's city centre with the former airport and the Biencyzka regional road. The street contains a two lane road, tramline and commercial hub with many shops located on the ground floor of residential buildings.



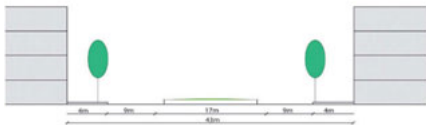
Three main axes for 'old' Nowa Huta.



1



2



3

[1] Generic street profile through Andersa Avenue (*Aleja Andersa*) and Solidarity Avenue (*Aleja Solidarności*).

Two street profiles through Roses Avenue (*Aleja Róż*): [2] Roses Avenue Square for pedestrian access and [3] Roses Avenue for vehicular access.

Neighbourhoods (Osiedle)

Nowa Huta's residential area is subdivided into smaller neighbourhoods (*osiedle*) also referred to as districts and housing estates. Many of these neighbourhoods were designed with perimeter block apartments that separated the main roads from the internal residential environments and formed a barrier to street noise and pollution. Within the courtyards, buildings of a smaller scale (including single houses and freestanding housing blocks) were situated, often in combination with public facilities such as a square, school, kindergarten, playground and green space. Narrow roads provide vehicular access for residents, restricting public access and resulting in a very peaceful and quiet atmosphere.

Neighbourhoods in the Nowa Huta urban plan (1949-1959) are numbered (A-D) and named after one of their defining characteristics:

Młodosci project A-25: Youth 1949

Na Skarpie project A-0: On the Slope 1949

Osiedle Wandy A-1 Pld: Wanda 1950

Osiedle Willowe A-1 Pln: Villa 1950

Osiedle Ogrodowe A-Zach: Garden 1950

Osiedle Sportowe B-2 Pln: Sports 1950

Osiedle Zielone B-2 Pld: Green 1950

Osiedle Krakowiaków C-2 Pln: Krakovian 1950

Osiedle Górali C-2 Pld: Highlander 1950

Osiedle Szkolne A-11: School 1951-52

Osiedle Teatralne C-1: Theatre 1950-55

Osiedle Centrum B-31: Centre B 1953

Osiedle Centrum C-31: Centre C 1953

Osiedle Stalowe A-11: Steel 1953

Osiedle Centrum A-31: 1953-54

Osiedle Hutnicze A-33: Metallurgical 1954

Osiedle Uroczce C-33: Charming 1954-55

Osiedle Zgody C-32: Harmony 1954-55

Osiedle Słoneczne B-33: Sunny 1955

Osiedle Szklane Domy B-32: Glasshouse 1955

Osiedle Centrum D-31: Centre D 1956-60

Osiedle Handlowe D-3: Shopping 1956-60

Osiedle Kolorowe D-2: Colourful 1956-60

Osiedle Spółdzielcze D-1: Cooperative 1956-60

City expansion (outside the old Nowa Huta boundary): 1959-65

Osiedle Przy Arce: Near the Ark 1959-65

Osiedle Kazimierzowskie 1959-65

Osiedle Niepodległości: Independence 1959-65

Osiedle Albertyegłość 1959-65

Osiedle Centrum E: Centre E 1980



The neighborhoods of Nowa Huta.

Public space

Another strong element in Nowa Huta's city plan is the green structure, which helps characterise the city and provides an important public amenity. Green elements dominate public space, in particular the neighbourhood courtyards. One of the reasons for this is said to originate from the Cold War period as trees were thought to block radiation from nuclear weapons. For a city with a large amount of green space, there are few large parks in Nowa Huta. Park Ratuszowy, the main city park, did not form part of the original plan and was only established because the original Town Hall project was never built. (See Route 5: Unrealised projects)

In Nowa Huta, the vast majority of open space is accessible and could be defined as public space. There are areas of the city, such as the neighbourhood block interiors, where public space has a semi-public/collective character. Access routes are smaller and less obvious and public services such as local schools and laundry facilities are focused on the needs of neighbourhood residents. In the later, modernist



Courtyard view within a closed perimeter block.



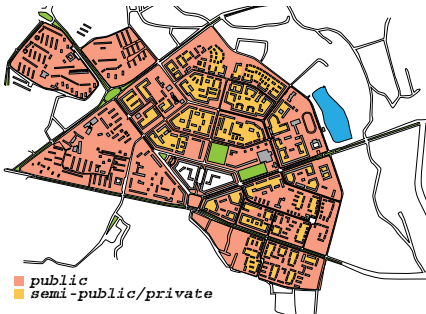
Narrow roads for vehicular access lead to apartment blocks located within a closed perimeter block.



Central play facilities in a green space within a closed perimeter block.



Green space in Nowa Huta.

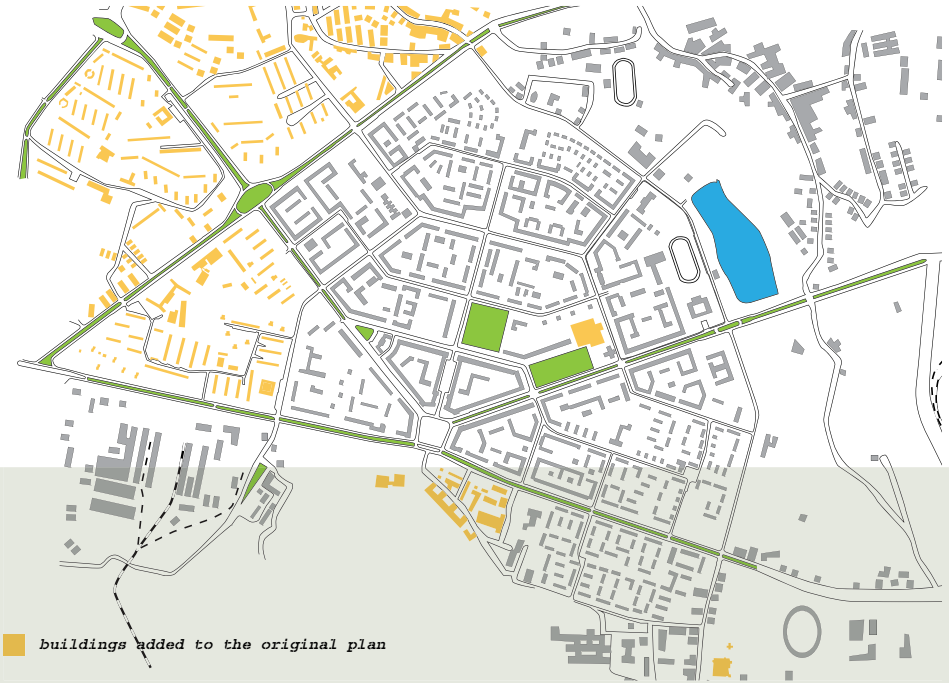


Public and semi-public/private space in Nowa Huta.

residential areas, these variations were replaced by continuous open space. This resulted in an exposed public realm lacking in human scale. It is important to visit both areas to understand these different approaches to public space.

Changes to the urban plan

The construction of Nowa Huta has essentially followed the original plan, however changes have occurred. Some of these changes will be discussed in other chapters including the design for the Central Square with the Obelisk and House of Culture and Theatre, as well as the Town Hall with two government administration buildings on Roses Avenue. The Obelisk was deemed too expensive and removed from the city plan; the Cultural Centre was redesigned and relocated; and the Town Hall was no longer required when Nowa Huta was absorbed into the City of Krakow in 1951. The Town Hall project was eventually replaced with Park Ratuszowy and an apartment building. In addition to these unrealised projects, a monument to Lenin was installed on Roses Avenue near Friendship Avenue (*Aleja Przyjaźni*) but later removed by the authorities due to anti-communist sentiment. All of these projects were situated along the north-south axis, the Avenue of Roses. Both the Town Hall and the Cultural



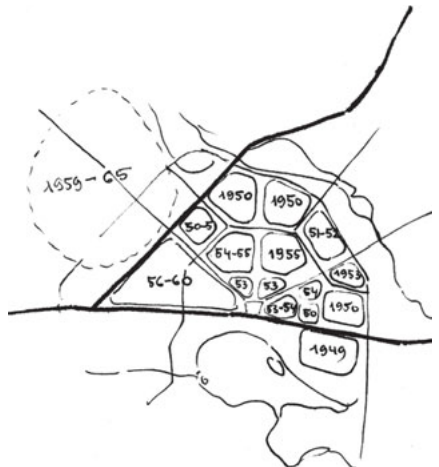
Changes to Nowa Huta's city plan.

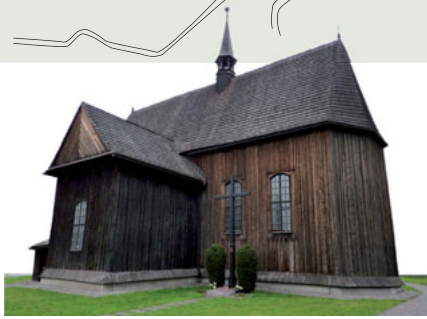
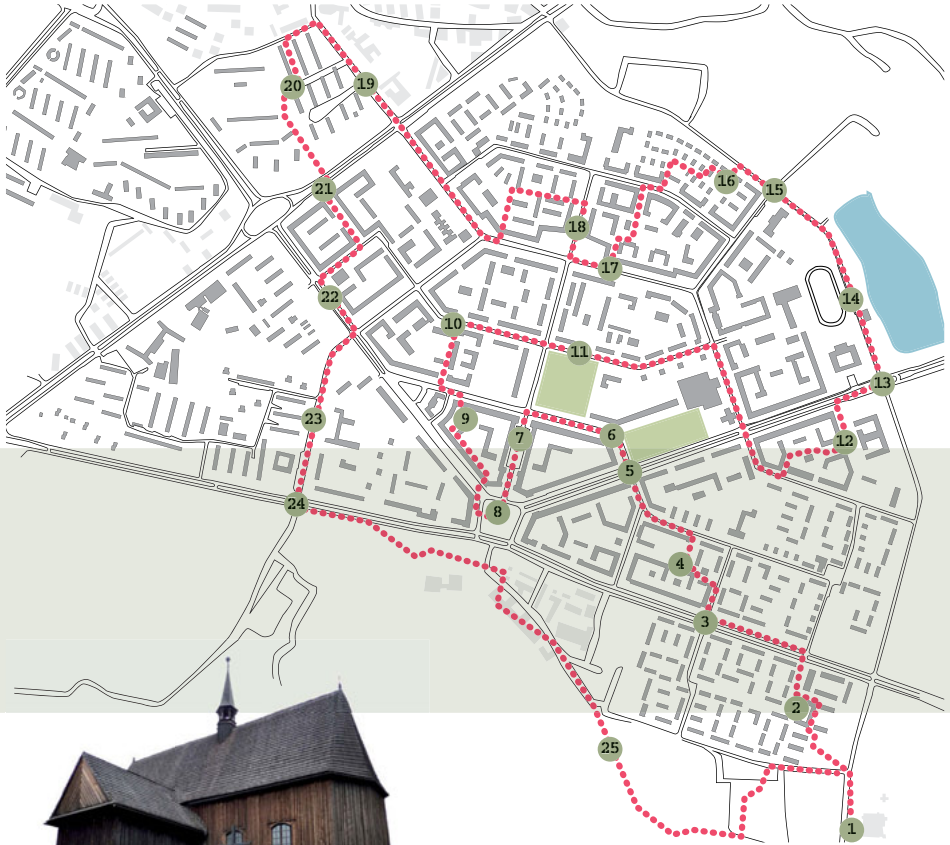
Centre were to provide termination points for the axis. Early physical models of the scheme clearly express the grand, monumental nature of this gesture, designed to impress, in accordance with socialist realist principles. Other changes to the original plan include the addition of churches. Initially hidden from the communist authorities, religious sites did eventually emerge in the public realm. (See Route 5: Unrealised projects)



The Lord's Ark (Arka Pana).

- Construction sequence of neighbourhoods:*
- The first neighbourhoods are situated in the south-east adjacent to Mogila.
 - Building work commenced in 1949 and progressed to the north.
 - In 1951, a tramline was built connecting Nowa Huta to Krakow; Nowa Huta is absorbed in the City of Krakow.
 - In 1954 the Lenin Steelworks HiL began production.
 - In 1956, the architecture and planning principles of socialist realism were replaced by modernism. The Swedish House is the first realised modernist building.
 - After 1959, the city expands towards the north-east using modernist principles.
 - From 1980, the first post-modernist neighbourhood is built, Osiedle Centrum E.





St Bartholomew Church (Kosciol Sw. Bartlomieja), Mogila.

A Tour of Nowa Huta through Time

The *Nowa Huta Through Time Tour* highlights different aspects of the urban plan and includes important places in the city's development. The tour is designed for pedestrians and cyclists.

1 Mogila village and the Cistercian religious complex

This tour commences in Mogila, a village associated with the Cistercian monks since 1222 and one of the most important places in the historic Malopolska Region of southern Poland. Nowa Huta was first established adjacent to this village and nearby Pleszow. The steelworks were built north of Pleszow and the first residential housing blocks adjacent to Mogila. The Cistercian Monastery, Church and Abbey, and Church of St Bartholomew are also situated here. The monastery dates back to 1222 when the Bishop of Krakow gave the town to the Cistercian monks. (For more information on the Cistercian complex, see chapter: Attractions)



Church of the Assumption of Our Lady and St Wenceslas (Kosciol Najswietszej Marii Panny Wniebowzietej i Sw. Wacława), Mogila.



Narrow road within the neighborhood of Młodosci A-25; vehicular access is not prioritized inside residential areas.

2 Osiedle Młodosci A-25

Osiedle Młodosci or the Neighbourhood for Youth, was built in 1949 and is one of Nowa Huta's first neighbourhoods. Not all Polish cities or towns have *osiedles* of the type found in Nowa Huta. Addresses in Nowa Huta often refer to the *osiedle* rather than the street name.

The settlement pattern for this neighbourhood strongly refers to the *Siedlungen* housing typology, the German version of the English garden city model, which came to fruition in Ernst May's *Das Neue Frankfurt* of the 1920s.



Semi public/private space between housing blocks often provides pathways within green environments, as seen here in Młodosci A-25.

3 John Paul II Avenue (*Aleja Jana Pawła II*)

John Paul II Avenue is the name given to the axis forming the southern arterial road in Nowa Huta connecting Krakow and Pleszow to Central Square. Wanda's Mound, the pre-historic burial mound is situated approximately 2.3km in the easterly direction towards Pleszow, at the base of the Tadeusz Sendzimir Steelworks.



The Wanda Mound

4 Residential courtyard, *Osiedle Ogodowe* A-Zach

Inner courtyards are set within the perimeter housing blocks. The blocks facing onto busy roads



View from Central Square looking along Solidarity Avenue towards the steelworks.



View of Solidarity Avenue approaching the Tadeusz Sendzimir Steelworks.



Swedish House.



The Avenue of Roses.

such as John Paul II Avenue have fewer openings and access is provided via arched gateways. The higher level of architectural detailing on the building façades and street profiles is characteristic of the earlier neighbourhoods.

5 Solidarity Avenue (*Aleja Solidarności*), Axis of Labour

Solidarity Avenue is one of the five axes connecting Central Square to the Tadeusz Sendzimir Steelworks, also referred to as the Axis of Labour. Every morning and evening tens of thousands of steel workers would make their way between the city centre and the steel plant.

6 Swedish House (*blok Szwedzki*)

The Swedish House was designed by architects Janusz and Marta Ingarden and built 1956-1959. It was the first modernist building in Nowa Huta and came out of research from abroad, particularly Sweden, into new building types. The block has a faint kink in its floorplan to optimise space for the adjoining area now occupied by Park Szwedzki.

7 Avenue of Roses (*Aleja Róż*), Axis of Leisure

The Avenue of Roses is a wide boulevard connecting public amenities within the centre of Nowa Huta. A monument to Lenin was placed near the intersection with Friendship Avenue (*Aleja Przyjaźni*). In 1973, however, public opposition to communist statues led to its removal in 1989.



Central Square.

The statue was installed primarily for visits by communist government leaders touring the 'model communist city' of Nowa Huta. As you continue towards Central Square, you will see two towers framing the entrance to the square.

8 Central Square (*Plac Centralny*)

Built between 1952 and 1956 as the focal point of the urban plan, Central Square provides services and facilities for the city. It also functions as an infrastructure hub. The original plan by Tadeusz Ptaszycski and Janusz Ingarden included a Cultural Centre on the south side and an obelisk in the square. This obelisk was intended to provide an 'end' to the vista along the Avenue of Roses. The Cultural Centre project was replaced by the Nowa Huta Culture Centre (*Nowohuckie Centrum Kultury*) situated on the south-west side of the square. The façades of Central Square are neo-renaissance and neo-baroque in architectural style, particularly the arcades, balconies and loggias.

9 Residential courtyard, *Osiedle Centre C-31*

Neighbourhood Centre C was built in 1953 and is a typical example of a closed perimeter housing block with an inner courtyard. The courtyard is accessed via arched gateways and includes apartment entrances and other facilities for residents.



The Avenue of Roses boulevard looking towards Central Square.



A tower framing the entrance to the Central Square.



Residential courtyard, Osiedle Centre C-31.

One of the Palaces of Labour, Tadeusz Sendzimir Steelworks.



10 Edwarda Rydza-Smigłego Street

There is a significant contrast between the inner courtyard and the external public realm. The street profile is more formal and there is a larger emphasis on public space. This street profile is 45 m wide with a 9 m wide road. The large remaining space is divided between paved areas and green buffer zones for pedestrians.

11 Park Ratuszowy

Previous plans for the park included a Town Hall with two administrative buildings, designed in the renaissance style. The Town Hall Square was to be the location of the central market. Today, Park Ratuszowy occupies one of the sites previously allocated to an administration building.

12 Converted apartment building, Osiedle Stalowe 16

This building originally contained apartments, but has been converted into an office combined with public facilities.

13 Solidarity Avenue (*Aleja Solidarności*), Axis of Labour

From this point there is a good view of the Steelworks Administration buildings. These

monumental buildings terminate the Axis of Labour and were thought of as palaces for the workers.

14 Clubhouse and Angler's Association

(*Dom Wędkarza*)

This clubhouse is situated next to an artificial lake and is used for recreational activities. The steelworks played an important role in the social life of the communist citizen, providing various leisure activities for the workers. This building is used by the Angler's Association and hosts various social events.



Clubhouse.

15 Parking garages

Behind the school you will find a garage in the shape of a circle. Neighbourhoods included garages but few people actually owned a car.

16 Osiedle Sportowe B-2Pln

Osiedle Sportowe is comprised of free-standing apartment buildings surrounded by green space. Residents have taken over parts of the public space for vegetable gardens.

17 New Retail, *Osiedle Zielone 22*

During communism, retail facilities were owned by the state. With the arrival of the free market economy, many people established small retail shops. These are often located on the ground floor of apartment buildings. Large shopping



Above ground garage, now servicing a hotel.



Residential area, *Osiedle Zielone*.



Northern end of the Avenue of Roses.



centres have also emerged, however these are typically situated in peripheral areas of the city.

1.8 **The Avenue of Roses**, Axis of Leisure

Earlier in this tour we visited the Avenue of Roses and the nearby Central Square. Now at the northern end, we can see how the design of this boulevard responds to a predominantly residential area.



Informal market area near the Lord's Ark, *Osiedle Przy Arce*.

19 Market, *Osiedle Przy Arce*

After the fall of communism, informal markets emerged adjacent to the Lord's Ark (*Arka Pana*), resulting in this area becoming the unofficial shopping centre.

20 Plattenbau style 1980s, *Osiedle Przy Arce*

This neighborhood was built in the early 1980s. Thirteen storey towers are typical of *Plattenbau* buildings found in almost any former communist country. The distance between housing blocks is 30 m to 35 m with cul-de-sacs servicing the neighbourhoods.



Shopping centre at the market, *Osiedle Przy Arce*.

Plattenbau tower blocks, *Osiedle Przy Arce*.





High-rise modernist residential blocks, *Osiedle Handlowe*.



Continuous open space, *Osiedle Handlowe*.



Philip Morris Polska building, John Paul II Avenue.



Parkland area.

21 Border between 'old' (1949-1959) and 'new' (post 1960) Nowa Huta

Biencyzka road separates old Nowa Huta from the Biencyzce district. This arterial road includes a tramline and is home to a range of commercial premises including a large market, car sales yard, furniture and DIY stores.

22 Andersa Avenue (*Aleja Andersa*), Main axis

This axis was introduced to create symmetry in the urban plan and provides a transport link to the former airport and regional road.

23 Osiedle Handlowe D-3

This neighbourhood consists of high-rise modernist housing blocks and a school set within continuous open space. Following the end of communism, small private gardens appeared adjacent to the residential buildings.

24 Philip Morris Polska

Philip Morris Polska was founded in 2007, attracted by Poland's cheap labour and lower production costs. Following the end of communism and the introduction of the free market, the steel factory has struggled to maintain jobs. For this reason it has been critical for Nowa Huta to attract new businesses to ensure ongoing employment opportunities.

25 Park, Lake and Nowa Huta Meadows

A park and lake were originally planned south of Central Square but not realised. Situated in the vicinity of the House of Culture and Theatre and the Stefan Zeromski Hospital, the park was to provide access to leisure activities for the inhabitants of Nowa Huta. This area is called the Nowa Huta Meadows (*Łąki Nowohuckie*) and is the former river bed of the River Vistula (*Wisła*). One of the original park designers, Stanislaw Juchnowicz has been commissioned to produce a new design for the parkland area.

Introduction

Prior to World War II the area east of Nowa Huta was a fertile rural landscape, interspersed with small villages; their skylines dominated by church towers. Buildings were constructed according to traditional methods that had emerged from local economic and social factors. Following World War II and the introduction of socialism, the Lenin Steelworks HiL was constructed and the city of Nowa Huta was established to house the workers. To analyse the architecture of Nowa Huta requires delving into the history of the city's social, economic and political history. Different historical time periods reveal varying approaches to construction methods, organisation of programme, public and private space and infrastructure. This chapter is organised chronologically into nine time periods and concentrates on the communist period (1945-1990) and the changes resulting from its collapse. Particular attention will be paid to the organisation and articulation of the urban block, the provision of community facilities, public buildings and retail spaces. In addition, a general historical timeline has been included to provide a broader understanding of the city's architectural development in relation to key historical events.

Public Buildings

One characteristic of early socialist cities was the monumental placement and the neoclassical design of public buildings. In accordance with the *Sixteen Principles of Urban Development* prescribed by the GDR ministry of Reconstruction in 1950, prominent

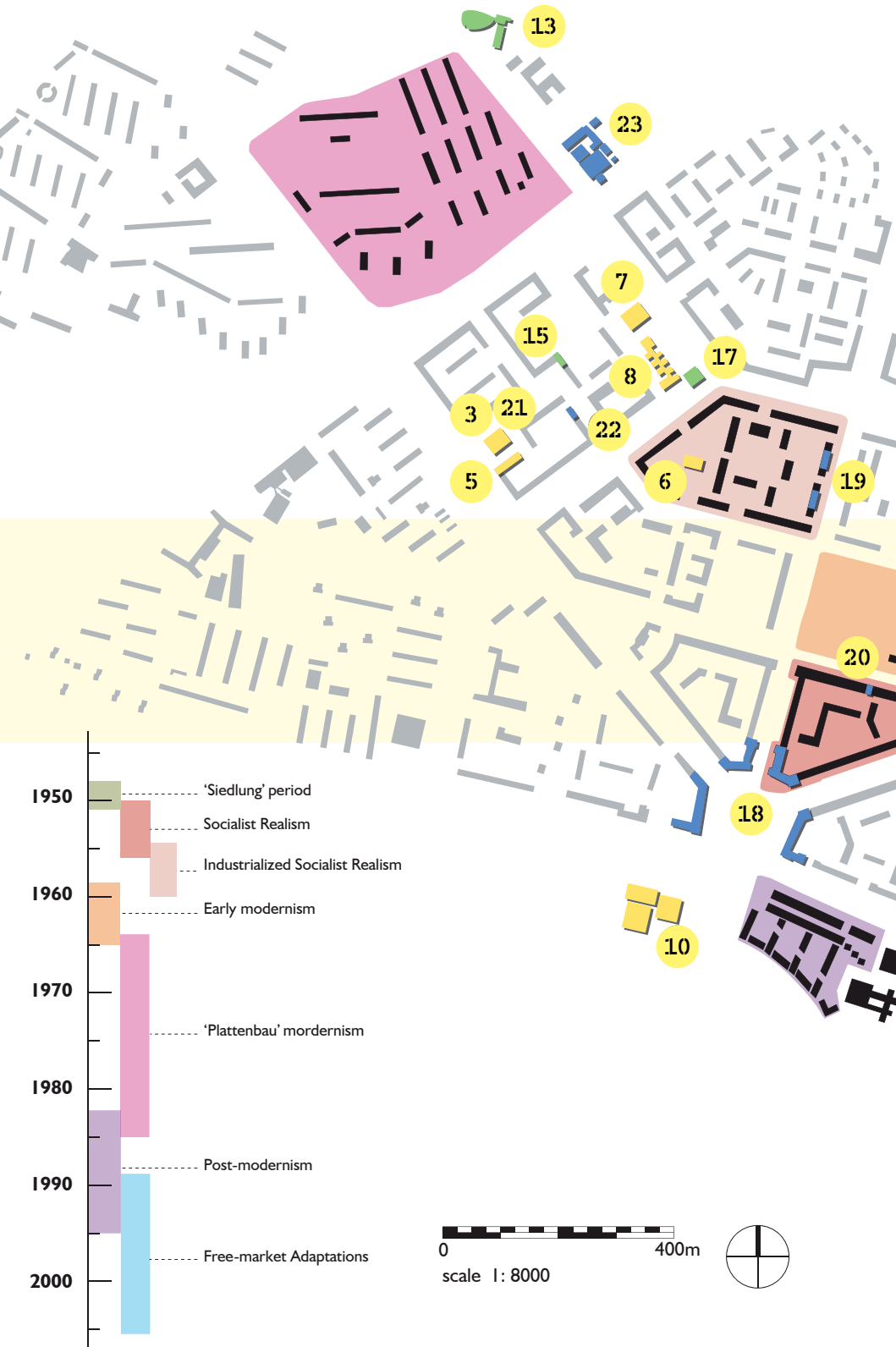
Chapter III: Evolving architecture in a socialist New Town

buildings were to be positioned at specific locations; for example, at the end of an axis. The planning of Nowa Huta also incorporated the concept of the neighbourhood unit whereby housing blocks were arranged around public services such as nurseries, schools, libraries and healthcare facilities.

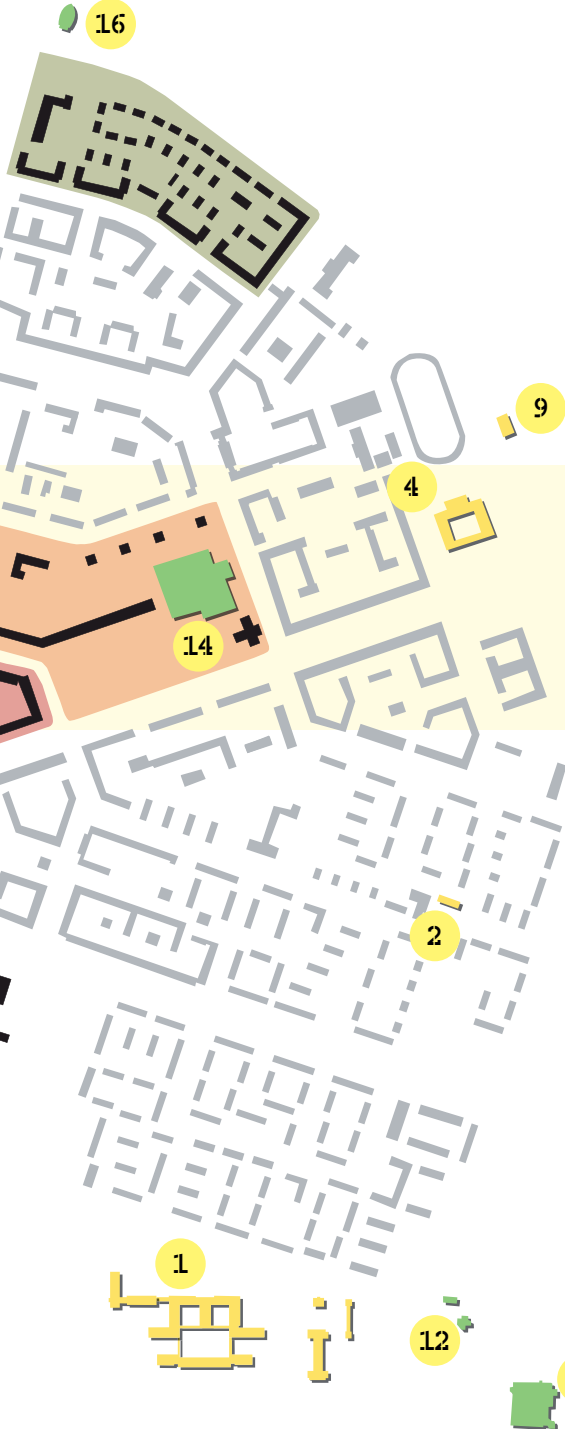
During the modernist period that followed the 1960s, public facilities were housed in rectilinear freestanding buildings related to vehicular traffic and public transport. The last prominent public building to be constructed in Nowa Huta was the Nowa Huta Culture Centre (*Nowohuckie Centrum Kultury*), adjacent to Central Square (*Plac Centralny*) which opened in 1983. After 1983, public buildings were no longer built and with the fall of communism public facilities were taken over by commercial operators.

Religious Buildings

Religious buildings play an important role in the history of Nowa Huta. Churches were excluded from the city's plans during the socialist period; however, defiant residents continued to frequent existing churches in the surrounding villages. Repeated state opposition to the establishment of any place of worship only strengthened the people's dedication to continue their fight for religious expression, culminating in the building of the first church, The Lord's Ark in 1967-1977. The sheer scale and expressive form of the church firmly established a presence on the outskirts of 'old' Nowa Huta in response to the religious secrecy imposed earlier. Built completely by hand over a



Nowa Huta Map of Time Line Objects



Public Buildings

- 1 Stefan Zeromski Hospital
- 2 Piotr Ozanski Square (*Plac Piotra Ożańskiego*)
- 3 Swit Cinema (*Kino Świt*)
- 4 School for mechanics
- 5 Restaurant Jubilatka and public square
- 6 Primary school
- 7 People's Theatre (*Teatr Ludowy*)
- 8 Primary school
- 9 Clubhouse and Angler's Association (*Dom Wędkarza*)
- 10 House of Culture and Theatre (*Nowohuckie Centrum Kultury*)

Religious Buildings

- 11 Church of the Assumption of Our Lady and St Wenceslas (*Kosciol Najswietszej Marii Panny Wniebowzietej i Sw. Wacława*)
- 12 Church of St Bartholomew St (*Kosciol Sw. Bartłomieja*)
- 13 The Lord's Ark, the Church of Our Lady Queen of Poland (*Arka Pana kościół Matki Bożej Królowej Polski*)
- 14 Church of Our Lady of Czestochowa and Blessed Wincenty Kadlubek (*kosciol Matki Boskiej Czestochowskiej i bl. Wincentego Kadlubka*)
- 15 Seventh Day Advent Church
- 16 New church
- 17 Church of Christ's Most Holy Heart (*kościół pw. Najświętszego Serca Jezusa*)

Retail

- 18 Central Square (*Plac Centralny*) shopping area
- 19 Retail in Osiedle Słoneczne
- 20 Portal transformed into shop
- 21 Świt Cinema adapted for retail use
- 22 Housing adapted to retail
- 23 Market shopping centre

ten year period, this building can be interpreted as an act of rebellion. In comparison, churches built after the Cold War are more modest in scale and ambition.

Retail Facilities

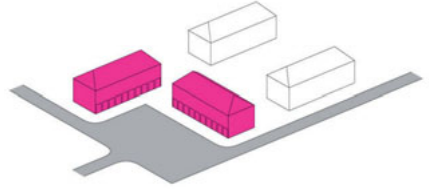
In the first plans for Nowa Huta state-organised retail functions were carefully integrated into apartment block ensembles. These acted not as commercial premises as we understand today, but as distribution points for goods. However, it did not take long before additional space was required to accommodate the circulation of small daily supplies. This led to the introduction of kiosks which were more flexible, and introduced a smaller scale to the streetscape. The heyday of commercial facilities came when the free market economy was installed in the 1990s. Large market clusters appeared on the periphery of Nowa Huta, many buildings (including public buildings and houses) inside the city were transformed into shopping centres or shops to capitalise on the influx of goods.



11 The Church of the Assumption of Our Lady and St Wenceslas shows the transition from Romanesque to Gothic style.

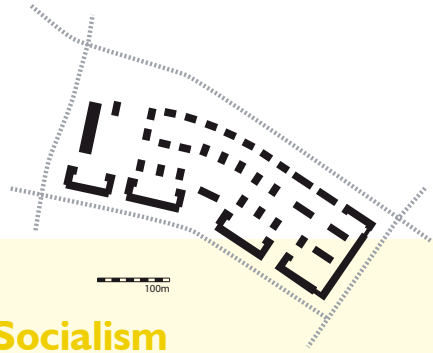


12 Church of St Bartholomew St (Kosciol Sw. Bartlomieja), Mogila built 1466 and renovated 1587, is one of Poland's most valuable monuments of medieval wooden architecture. Master carpenter Maciej Maczka.



In the *Siedlungen* period, retail and public facilities were separated from housing blocks and located in freestanding buildings. The façades responded to this change with the introduction of larger windows and entrances facing onto the public space.

Osiedle Sportowe B-2 Pln (Neighbourhood of sports).



Siedlungen 1949-1950

The first apartment blocks to be built in Nowa Huta were in the neighbourhoods *Na Skarpie*, *Wandy*, *Willowe*, *Młodości*, *Sportowe* and *Krakowiaków*. Based on pre-war designs by the Warsaw architect Franciszek Adamski, they provided simple and inexpensive housing

1945 Yalta Agreement; Western powers abandon Poland to make place for the reign of the Soviet Union.

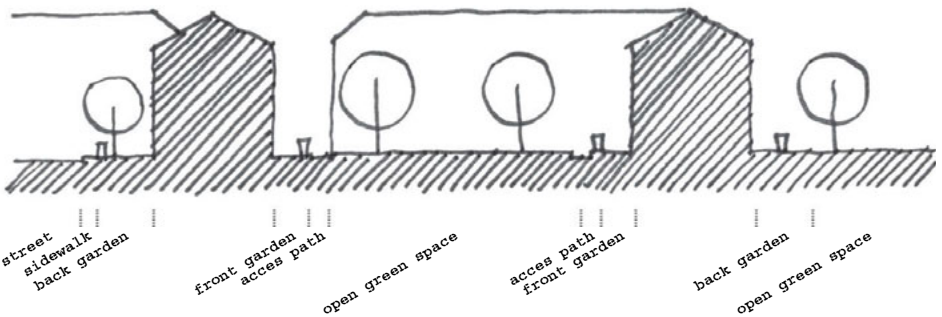
Reconstruction

without any public or retail facilities. Configured as open blocks, they are comprised of two storey freestanding buildings with pitched roofs surrounded by green space. These are typical of the *Siedlungen* housing typology built in Central Europe between the 1900s-1930s. The term *Siedlung* derives from a German word referring to a settlement, but came to represent housing with improved living conditions for workers and their families. This housing model combined the advantages of urban and rural living often characterised by streetscapes, low-rise buildings surrounded by semi-private space and a landscape with a village-like atmosphere.

Socialism



Housing entrance with public amenity, Neighbourhood Sportowe.





1 Stefan Zeromski hospital in neighbourhood Na Skarpie built between 1951-1954 by the architects Stefan Porebowicz and Henryk Skrzyzyn Zer.



A housing block comprised of four apartments with a shared garden, Neighbourhood Sportowe.



1947 Polish Communist leader Boleslaw Bierut becomes President of Poland; he plays leading role in the installation of a Stalinist regime.

1949 Formation of COMECON; the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance between Eastern Bloc countries and communist states that provided the finances to kick start the construction of Nowa Huta.

2 Post office and shopping centre with restaurant in the centre of neighbourhood Willowe.

Piotr Ozanski Square (*Plac Piotra Ożańskiego*) in neighbourhood Willowe was the first market square in Nowa Huta that accommodated a post office, department store, restaurant and the International Workers Club. The square was named after a labour hero to commemorate the record number of 34,728 bricks laid in one day.



'Man of Marble' (*Człowiek z marmuru*) is the title of a 1976 film directed by the famous Polish director Andrzej Wajda. The movie was largely shot in Nowa Huta and is based on actual facts of communist propaganda practice, in which workers were stimulated to work harder and better by organising competitions and prizes to celebrate the top achievers (by honoring them with a statue, e.g. 'man of marble'). In the movie, a Nowa Huta bricklayer, Mateusz Birkut, became this kind of heroic worker's symbol. Wajda clearly shows how Birkut becomes the victim of the corrupt regime. Censorship was the reason that the script (which he had been working on since 1962), could only be filmed 14 years later.



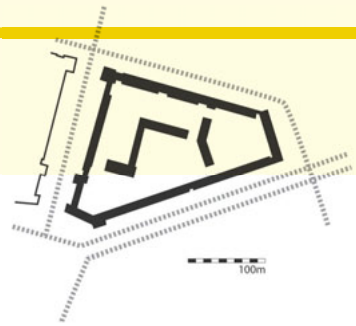
Avenue of Roses

Socialist realism 1950-1956

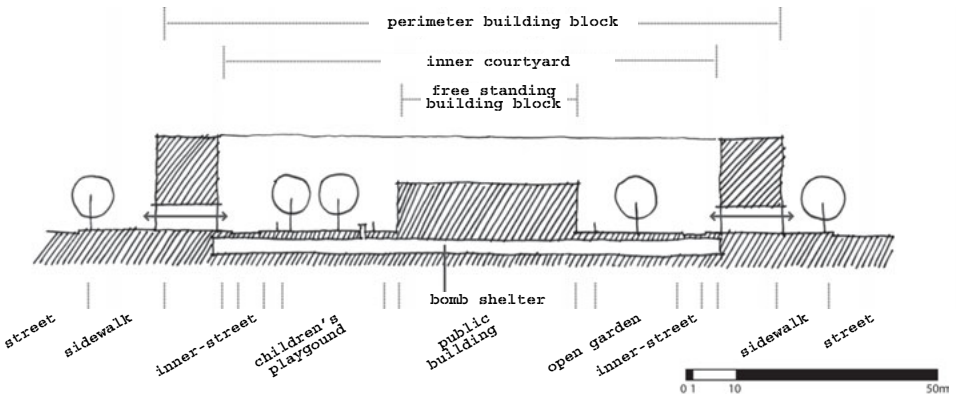
Architects of all Eastern Bloc countries were obliged to follow the doctrine of socialist realism between 1949

Stalinism

and 1956. Architecture served as a tool in establishing a new social order; monumentality, symmetry and neo-historical styles were intended to awaken the consciousness and municipal pride of the socialist citizen. Perimeter housing of five to seven floors with ground floor shops and services enclosed courtyards with community facilities such as nurseries, schools, playgrounds, service points, cinema and collective car park. Arched gateways connected the streetscape and provided access to the inner courtyards. This established a dichotomy between a representational space on the exterior and an intimate community atmosphere on the interior.



Osiedle Centre B-31 (Neighbourhood Centre B).

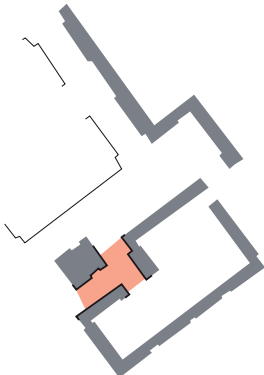




The strategic importance of the steelworks made the town a potential target in the event of war. The classical articulation of the urban blocks integrated defensive measures into the buildings' design. Broad street profiles (55m-100m wide) could accommodate tanks and combined with tree lines, they could prevent the spread of fire or catch exploding debris and muffle the sound of the explosion. Balustrades on rooftops could protect sniper nests and gateways could be sealed turning the perimeter block into a fortress. (That this could also serve another purpose became apparent during the Solidarnosc-riots, when workers and inhabitants turned against government troops.) Bomb shelters, storage space and garages were located below the inner courtyards. Entrances to the underground level were accessed from the apartment blocks.



5 Public space was carefully designed in socialist realist planning. This square between the former Swit Cinema and Restaurant Jubilatka is raised half a meter above street level and provides amenities for the community.



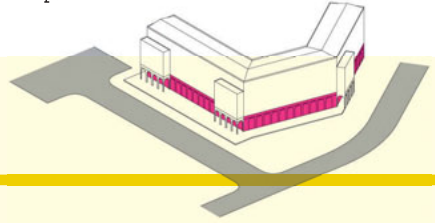
3 Swit Cinema (Kino Swit) built 1951-1953 by architect Andrzej Uniejewski.



4 School for Mechanics No. 3, built in 1953. Schools provided education for all and were regarded and designed as palaces of knowledge designed by architect Jan Suliga.

With only two types of standardised window frames available for all the buildings, considerable effort was dedicated to creating variety in floor plans and architectural details. A distinctive feature of Nowa Huta is the classically designed gateways articulating the transition between the public space of the street and the collective space of the courtyard.

Shops and public services occupying the ground floor of the Central Square (*Plac Centralny*) feature large arched display windows and are accessed by a raised footpath.



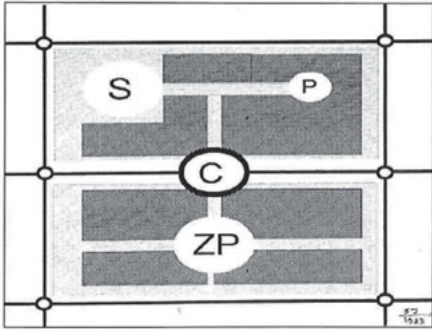
1953 Joseph Stalin dies and Nikita Khrushchev comes to power in the Soviet Union; a less repressive period begins otherwise referred to as de-Stalinisation.

Khrushchev Thaw

18 The design of Central Square (*Plac Centralny*) includes symmetrical perimeter blocks with accentuated corners. The three main axes Roses Avenue (*Aleja Róż*), Friendship Avenue (*Aleja Przyjazzi*) and Andersa Avenue (*Aleja Andersa*) create a powerful backdrop for public gatherings such as (protest) marches.

The façades oriented towards the public realm of Central Square (*Plac Centralny*) incorporate classical detailing and are given precedence over the apartment planning, while arcades on the ground floor accommodate retail.





Nowa Huta, osiedle B-2, neighbourhood unit ideogram by Stanislaw Juchnowicz.



Buildings with high plinths add a monumental character to the streetscape.



1956 Boleslaw Bierut dies, marking the end of the era of Stalinism in Poland

1956 Polish October Revolution or Gomułka Thaw marks an end to the era of Stalinisation in Poland. Władysław Gomułka takes power resulting in wider autonomy for the Polish government, liberalisation of life and a weakening of state opposition toward the Roman Catholic Church.

Although the collective courtyard is publicly accessible, the presence of balconies adds intimacy, creating semi-private spaces.

6 This primary school is typical of the public facilities located within the courtyard of perimeter blocks. The play area has a direct relationship with the school and also forms part of the collective garden.





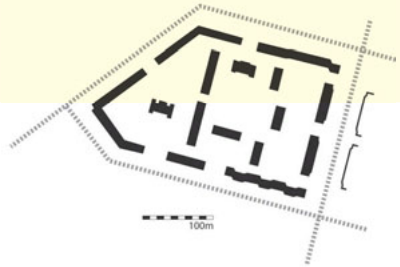
The castellated buildings create a monumental gateway into the steelworks; Tadeusz Sendzimir Steelworks Administration Centre built 1952-1955. Designed by architects Janusz Ingarden and J. Ballenstedt.

Industrialised socialist realism

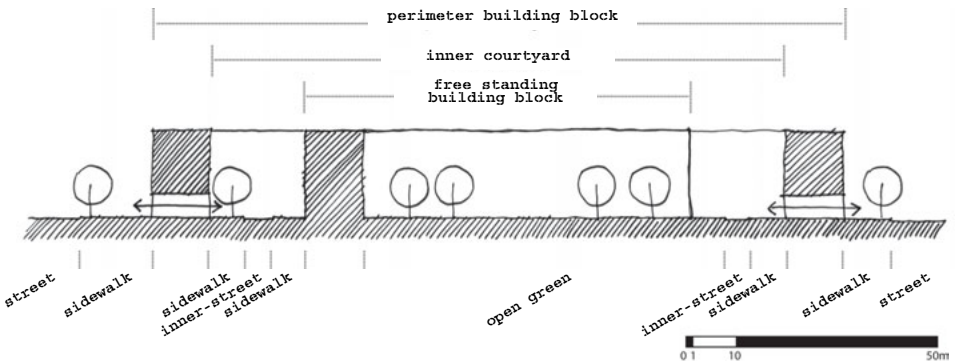
The socialist realist style continued until 1956, three years after the death of Joseph Stalin. To maintain the required levels of housing production nationwide,

1956 Nikita Khrushchev gives the "Secret Speech" at the 20th Party Congress denouncing Stalin's Personality Cult and Stalinist regime.

innovative industrial construction methods were developed and applied to the socialist realist block typologies. These technical developments compensated for the unsuccessful attempt to invent a bricklaying machine and the lack of brick supplies. In 1950, Nikita Khrushchev initiated a large-scale housing program in Moscow employing the use of prefabricated reinforced concrete that was later replicated in Nowa Huta. This technology significantly increased the speed of construction and altered the nature of residential buildings.



Osiedle Uroczysko C-33 (The charming neighbourhood).

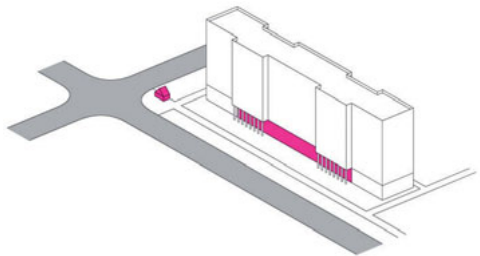




1960 Nowa Huta Uprising takes place; militia forces are sent in to remove the Nowa Huta Cross, resulting in riots after the attempted dispersion of religious protestors.

1964 Leonid Brezhnev comes to power in the Soviet Union, marking the beginning of economic stagnation and the Soviet Military expansion.

19 Balconies became common façade elements, concrete floor and wall panels were expressed on the façade, and slimmer columns could be constructed because of the increased strength of concrete.



Retail space and apartments shared the ground floor and kiosks appeared on street corners.

Kiosks altered the streetscape; erecting small, temporary structures on the wide footpaths was an expedient way to increase retail space.



7 The People's Theatre (*Teatr Ludowy*) built 1954-1955 by architects Jan Dabrowski and Janusz Ingarden.



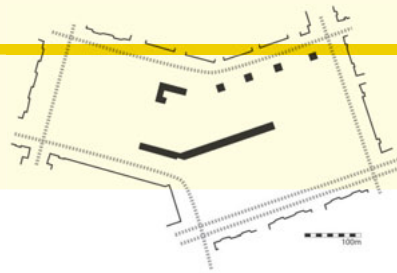
School for Electricians No. 2 in Szkolne neighbourhood.





Swedish House (*blok Szwedzki*) built 1956-1959, by architects Janusz and Marta Ingarden.

1968 Poland political crisis; students and intellectuals protest against the communist government of the People's Republic of Poland.

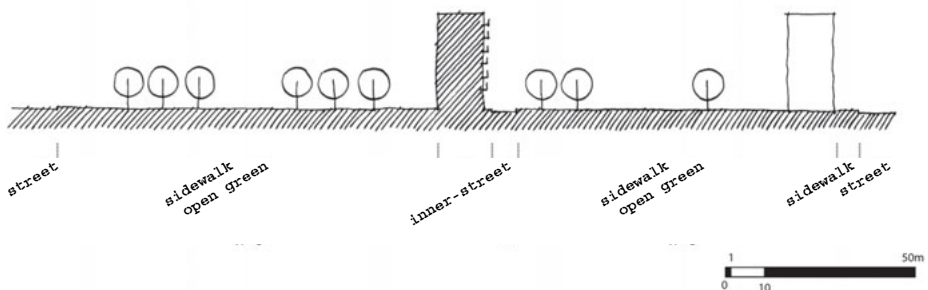


Osiedle Szklane Domy B-32
(Neighbourhood of glass houses).

Early Modernism 1956-1965

Following the Polish October Revolution in 1956, new liberal reforms relaxed controls over architects and urban planners, permitting travel to non-communist countries for research. During this time the Swedish New Town of Vällingby, built during the 1950s, acquired a reputation as a well-planned city and symbol of the welfare state. Solutions in urban

planning and architectural design from Vällingby were brought back to Nowa Huta and first employed at the Swedish House (built between 1956-1959). The previously intimate scale of the perimeter block was replaced with an open urban plan. The lack of differentiation between the treatment of the front and rear façades of the block resulted in a loss of spatial hierarchy. The former period's emphasis on articulating the corners of buildings was replaced with blank gable end façades. The International Style changed the socialist ideal of the iconic family as part of the collective into a pragmatic doctrine of housing for the masses.





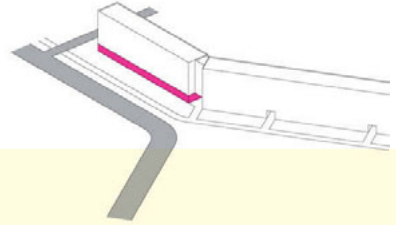
Front and rear façades of the Swedish House are treated equally.



1970 Polish protest against increasing food prices.

Economic Stagnation

Along Friendship Avenue (*Aleja Przyjazni*), the Swedish House has ground floor retail with residential above, while adjacent to the Swedish Park (*Park Szwedzki*) the programme is entirely residential. Openings along the park facade were designed to provide access to the rear of the building.



1970 Władysław Gomułka resigns. Edward Gierek takes power and improves living standards in Poland until the 1973 oil crisis.



An example of early modernist architecture in Nowa Huta.

9 Clubhouse and Angler's Association (*Dom Wędkarza*) adjacent to the artificial lake in northeast Nowa Huta.





8 Primary school in neighbourhood Teatralne built 1958-1962, by architect Józef Gołab.





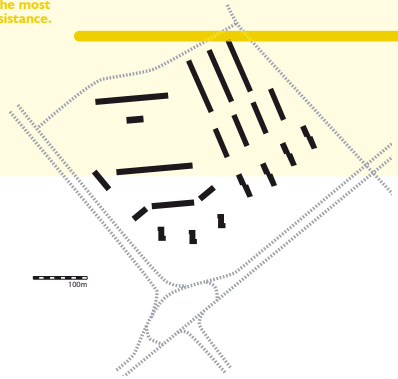
Apartment blocks in neighbourhood Przy Arce.

Plattenbau Modernism 1965-1985

In order to address the housing shortage the neighbourhood unit was modified to achieve higher

1980 Labour strikes in Poland follow increasing prices; Nowa Huta becomes one of the most important centres of anti-communist resistance.

densities through the use of *Plattenbau*. This German term refers to a prefabricated concrete panel building system used extensively in the construction of government housing. The advantages of this method were speed, flexibility (towers or apartments) and low cost. These factors had a direct influence on the external architectural language. Housing, retail and public facilities were now located in separate buildings surrounded by open space. This resulted in an ambiguous relationship between public and semi-private space with a loss of the collective space found in earlier block typologies.



Osiedle Przy Arce (Neighbourhood near the Arc).

Open space surrounds the apartment blocks in a reversal of the earlier perimeter block with central courtyard.



Open-air market in neighbourhood Przy Arce.





10 The Nowa Huta Culture Centre (*Nowohuckie Centrum Kultury*) was constructed over stages from 1976-2003 but opened in 1983. Situated southwest of Central Square, the Centre replaced an earlier proposal that was to close the square along the south and form an end to the Avenue of Roses axis. The modernist design was in keeping with the trend in new cultural centres built in Poland during the 1970s, by architect Zbigniew Pawelski.

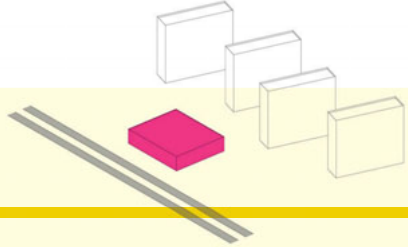


13 The Lord's Ark, the Church of Our Lady Queen of Poland (*Arka Pana kościół Matki Bożej Królowej Polski*) was built between 1967-1977. It was the first Catholic Church in Nowa Huta despite opposition from the communist party and difficulties encountered during construction. The symbolic shape recalls Le Corbusier's Ronchamp chapel, but also refers to Noah's Ark coming to shore on Mount Ararat. The pebble-façade was handmade by volunteers using locally available materials, by architect Wojciech Pietrzyk.



1980 Formation of *Solidarność* (Solidarity), the first non-Communist party central trade union in Poland.

Increased scale with retail programme separated from the housing blocks.





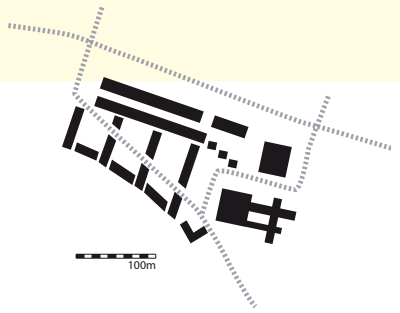
Post-modernism

Neighbourhood Centrum E was built during the 1980s in a post-modern style reflecting the historical

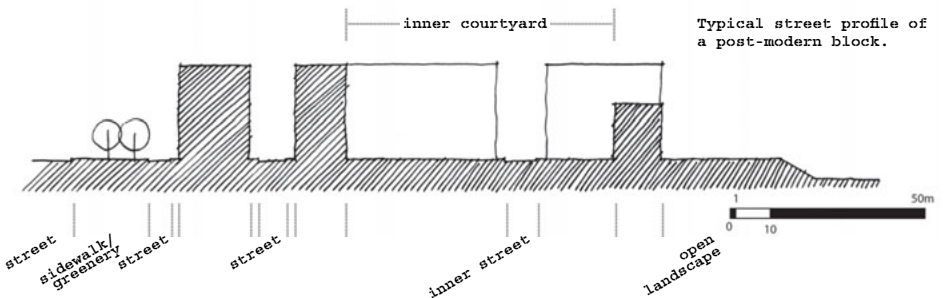
1981 Martial law imposed in Poland for a two year period and pro-democracy movements such as Solidarity (Solidarność) banned.

language of the adjacent socialist realist buildings. Perimeter blocks of five to seven storeys enclose inner courtyards. A unique feature of this block is the curved south-facing façade following the line of the nearby valley. Panoramic windows and balconies provide views over the meadows towards the River Vistula (*Wisła*).

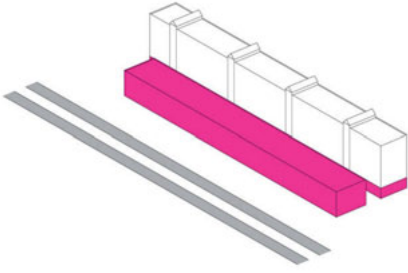
While previous use of the courtyard was dedicated to public facilities such as schools, Centre E provides car parking for residents. The courtyards are entered from a diagonal road and pedestrian access is provided through gaps between buildings. The architectural articulation of the buildings proportions, passages and courtyards lacks the refinement of the Stalin era buildings.



Osiedle Centrum E (neighbourhood Centre E).



Typical street profile of a post-modern block.



The post-modern neighbourhood signals a return to the use of hybrid programme in the block. The main housing block accommodates retail and apartment entrances at the ground floor. In addition, a two-storey block faces the street and provides retail space. A lane between the two buildings services both.



1989 Polish Round Table Talks (Rozmowy Okrągłego Stołu) discussions start between the communist government and the underground Solidarity movement under Lech Wałęsa's leadership. Introduction of bicameral legislature and president; Solidarity is recognised as a legitimate political party.

1985 Mikhail Gorbachev comes to power; implementation of Perestroika (economic reform policy) and Glasnost (policy of openness and transparency).

Perestroika

Unlike the earlier socialist realist housing blocks, the ground floor programme has no direct relationship with the internal courtyard.

The perimeter block encloses a courtyard recalling the socialist realist block typology. Meandering paths have been replaced with linear vistas and gateways with narrow openings between buildings. A diagonal street provides access to car parking, which has replaced public facilities typical of the socialist period.



14 Church of Our Lady of Czestochowa and Blessed Wincenty Kadlubek (*kościół Matki Boskiej Czestochowskiej i bł. Wincentego Kadłubka*) built 1982-1995 in neighbourhood Szklane Domy. Architects Andrzej Dyga and Andrzej Nasfeter. In 1977, local plans for a new church on this site were hindered by the authorities. Protests followed in the form of prayer and a Catholic mass. In 1979 steelworkers and the Solidarity Trade Union (MKZ) delivered a petition of 1200 signatures to the government. Permission for the church was granted in 1982. If you approach the church from the south you can see an uprooted tree in the façade, a symbol for Nowa Huta.



Architect Romuald Loegler's use of bright colours in Centre E.





22 An example of ground floor apartments transformed into shops.

Free Market Adaptions

In the 1990s Poland embraced consumer capitalism with great confidence. Numerous small businesses emerged offering new products and service. Their requirement for

Collapse USSR

1990 Lech Wałęsa is elected President of Poland. Poland becomes the first Eastern Bloc country to embrace capitalism implementing economic reforms.

1991 Collapse of the Soviet Union.

Free Market Economy

retail space would have consequences for the architecture of Nowa Huta. Ground floor apartments were turned into beauty salons, copy centres and gaming halls. Their windows and balconies became entrance doors and displays. Premises in public buildings were rented out to service providers to help finance the original functions. Buildings became inundated with uncontrolled advertising. However chaotic this mosaic may look, it confirms the high level of adaptability of the socialist city's buildings and open spaces to the capitalist way of life.

20 An existing gateway has been partly infilled by a paint shop.





"Privatisation" of communal gardens is occurring in a piecemeal way. Lawns and hedges are being replaced with different kinds of planting and border treatments.



23 Signs of commercialisation; advertisements appear at the market shopping centre in the neighbourhood Przy Arce.



17 Church of Christ's Most Holy Heart (*kościół pw. Najświętszego Serca Jezusa*) built 1998-2002 and consecrated 22 June 2001 at the Nowa Huta Cross, by architects Dr Krzysztof Ingarden, Dr Przemysław Gawor and Jacek Ewy.



16 An example of a new church featuring expressive curved walls built from a combination of brick and in situ concrete.

15 New religions have appeared in Nowa Huta since the end of the Cold War. This apartment building from the socialist realist era is now home to the Seventh Day Adventist Church.



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21 With the introduction of the free market economy, the demand for commercial space has increased. Fading government support for the popular Swit Cinema resulted in its lease as a commercial shopping centre.

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WIE**

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d Szkolnym
czo-socjalna
laktyka społeczna

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MACJI
CZNYCH

TYCZNA

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.pl



ŚWIAT
KRAJÓWKI
RĘKODZIEŁ

ZAPRASZA
10 - 18
KUCHNIA 10-11

← wejście ← wejście

Ważniejsza
niż lato

PROMOCJA

BEZPIECZNY
KRAJÓWKI





Nowa Huta Park and Lake, sketch 1954

Introduction

What public and private amenities exist in Nowa Huta and how are they used? While the city has a lot to offer, Nowa Huta has yet to be discovered by tourists and has a primarily residential character. Fascinating as it is, visitors to Nowa Huta should not anticipate the services typically found in cities with established tourist industries. However, this is what makes visiting Nowa Huta a more unique experience, and with a little effort this city reveals surprising places.

This chapter will begin with an overview of how and why the city was planned before expanding on the variety of public spaces in use today. The last section of the chapter will outline some proposals for the future and introduce a selection of potential development plans.

Chapter IV: Use & attractions in the New Town

Public Life in the Socialist City

“Most ..[new socialist cities].. were constructed around a sole workplace set at the end of long impressive avenues behind monumental entrances; street and district names too reflected the centrality of work and the worker; the workplace and other workers’ organisations, particularly trade unions played a defining role in the shape of the community and the patterns of everyday life.”³⁶

Nowa Huta fits well into this general description of the socialist New Town. Based on the socialist ideology, the city is designed for the workers of the steel plant. Nowa Huta’s inhabitants were to be transformed by life in the New Town and a ‘new man’ would be born to greet the new age. Top-down planning was applied to all aspects of the city. The steelworks were critical to the city’s survival, not only providing employment for the majority of citizens but also supporting a range of social and cultural facilities including

the construction of schools, a cultural centre, theatre, two cinemas and a stadium. These were for the use and benefit of all inhabitants. A surrounding greenbelt separated the city from Krakow and provided a range of public amenities.

Collective and public spaces were a central part of the city's plan. All open green spaces were accessible to the public, a theatre and several cinemas were provided for inhabitants, and schools were the centre of every neighbourhood unit. The establishment of churches, often a focal point for communities, was not permitted under the socialist ideology. Underlying Nowa Huta's planning was the belief that the urban environment could transform its citizens and assist in the development of a socialist society. In the beginning of Nowa Huta, these ambitions were not very successful. Although the workers behaved very well at the steel plant and completed their work on time, outside of work some workers were seen as troublemakers. Many of the inhabitants had migrated from rural areas and were not accustomed to city life. Former farmers placed livestock in their bathrooms, others started small fires in their living rooms, and there are also stories about tapping water from heating systems. More visible problems were drinking on the streets, fist fights and the presence of street gangs. This is why, in the mid-1950s, the government strongly invested in the New Town and put priority on building cultural facilities such as theatres and cinemas.

The city was very prosperous at the beginning of the 1970s with a strong sense of collective participation. Sport clubs had their highest rates of membership and cultural activities were regularly enjoyed by the workers.

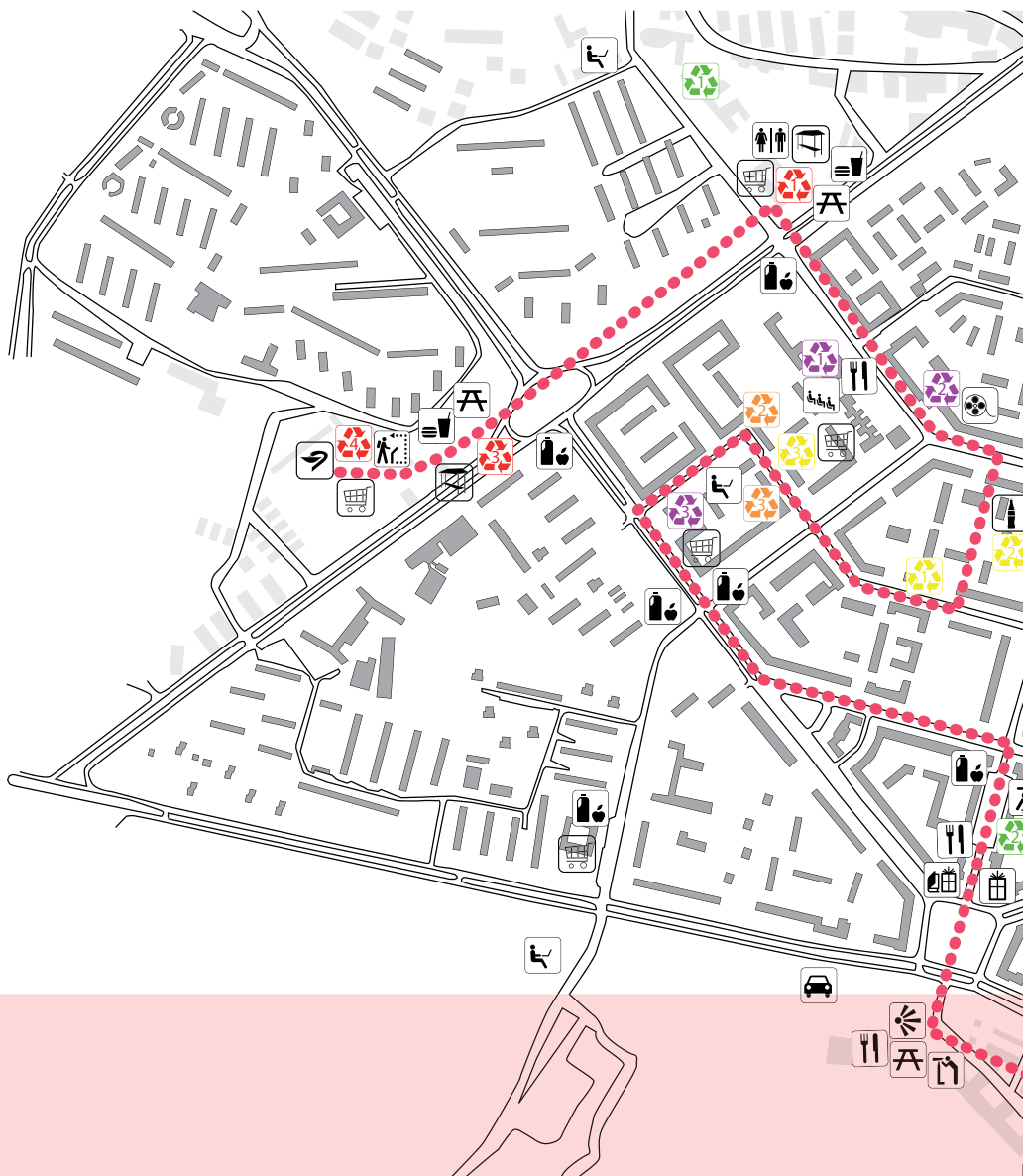


One of the playgrounds in 'new' Nowa Huta.



Park Ratuszowy. On the former Town Hall site you will find Park Ratuszowy, situated along Roses Avenue. In the park there are many benches and tables which can be used for picnics or relaxation. During the day older residents of Nowa Huta play board games such as chess and ludo, while after school the park is popular with children and teenagers.









Public space, green and recreation

-  Viewpoint
-  Wooden nature trail
-  Leisure area
-  Swimming pool
-  Fishing
-  Tennis
-  Fitness
-  Walk
-  Playground
-  Skating





Transformation highlights

-  Arc church
-  Park Ratuszowy
-  Central Square
-  Valley


Facilities and services

-  Terrace/ Biergarten
-  Shopping centre
-  Chainstores
-  Bookshop/ souvenirs
-  Souvenirs
-  Restaurant
-  Information
-  Bar
-  Snackbar
-  Market
-  Kiosk
-  Public toilet




Transformation highlights

-  Food market near Arc church
-  Market next to cemetery
-  Big market next to Carrefour
-  Carrefour

Work

-  Carpark/ Driving school
-  Offices




Transformation highlights

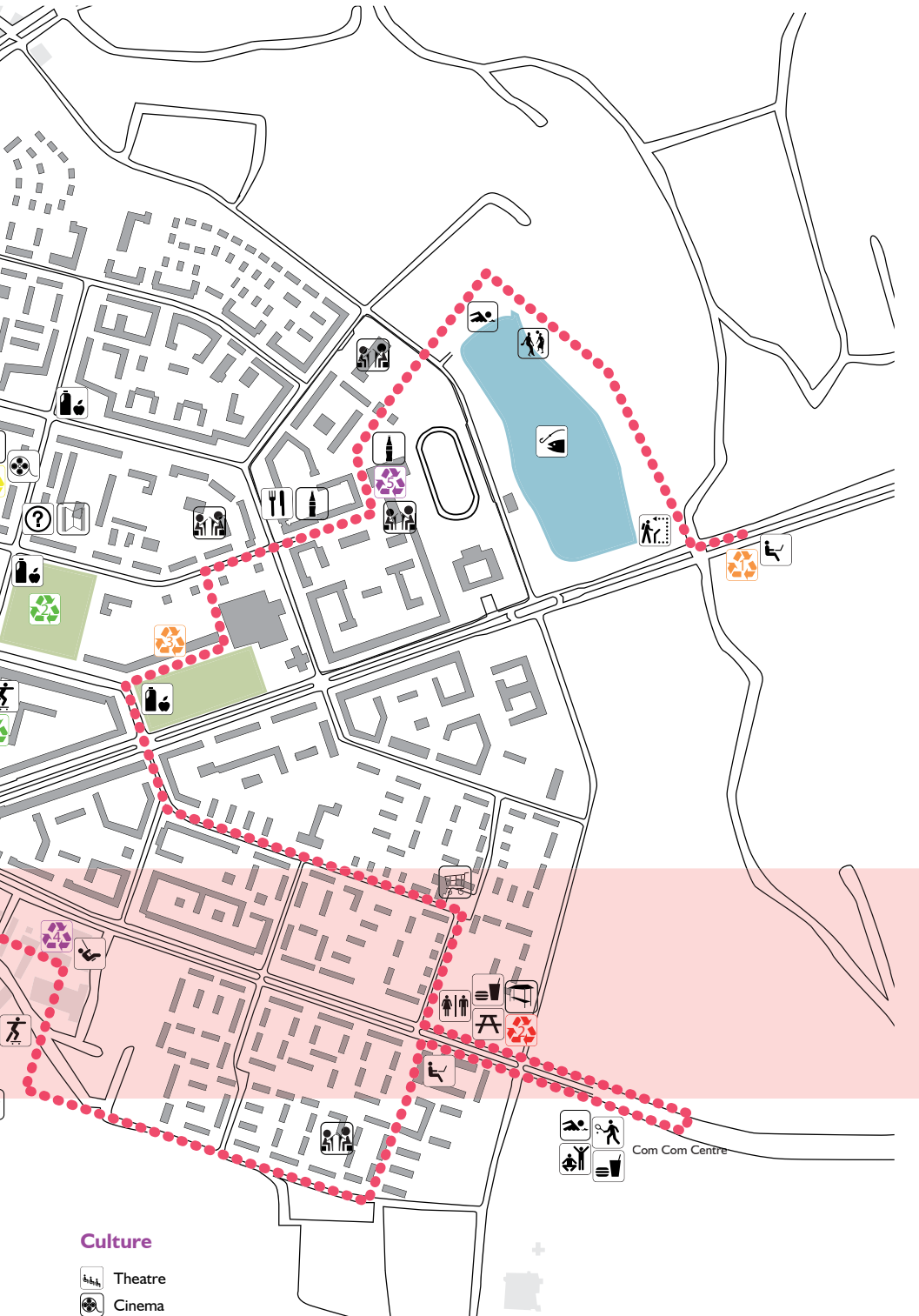
-  Entrance Steelplant
-  Offices in appartements
-  Shops in appartements

Education

-  School

Transformation highlights

-  Health centre in former school
-  Housing in former school
-  Shopping centre in former school



Culture

- Theatre
- Cinema
- Museum/ bookshop
- Cultural Centre

Transformation highlights

- Peoples Theatre
- Sfinks cinema
- Swit cinema
- Former cinema now museum of the revolution
- Kombinator club and theatre

Com Com Centre



An older man tends his kitchen garden.



Decorated windows.



Markets and shopping centre. Carrefour outside.



Inside Carrefour.

What goes on in contemporary Nowa Huta?

When approaching Nowa Huta from Krakow, it will become obvious when you have arrived at 'old' Nowa Huta. The medieval centre of Krakow differs greatly to the organised and planned city of Nowa Huta. Streets are wide and you will find a lot of green space that is well maintained. In contrast, the residential courtyards have a quieter atmosphere with narrow roads and abundant green space. Apartments are entered from the courtyards which are publicly accessible, yet have a residential character.

The residential courtyard spaces are an example of the collective ideals underlying the design of the city. Even though there is a lot of public green space, only a few houses have their own gardens. In 'new' Nowa Huta kitchen gardens are appearing. Almost every courtyard has a playground for children. These courtyards function as meeting places for inhabitants. In several of the courtyards, underground parking was built in the 1950s, followed by the construction of private garages from the late 1980s. Some inhabitants have changed the collective green along their apartments into private gardens, also indicative of changes in property ownership. Most of the apartment blocks are owned collectively, some have been renovated while others have not been maintained. Many residents decorate their windowsills, furnish their balconies and paint the façade recesses and surrounds.

Shopping & Commerce

A large cluster of commercial activities has emerged between Krakow and Nowa Huta including a Multiplex cinema, shopping centres, car dealers and a water park. This development has attracted most of the big brand names. In addition to the designated shopping areas along the main axes (including a commercial hub along Andersa Avenue) and at markets, shops can now be found in existing apartment buildings and even in the communal staircases.

Markets

There are three open-air markets in Nowa Huta, all located along important routes to popular facilities or directly adjacent to them. Each market has its own character. The market in the vicinity of the Lord's Ark is a small two-storey shopping centre with offices around an open courtyard. Here you will find vendors selling vegetables and

clothing with farmers selling potatoes directly from the backs of their vehicles.

Next to the old graveyard is a small and well established market. Placing these two facilities together is unexpected, however they both share certain amenities, including running water. The graveyard is quite beautiful and has older graves from the early years of Nowa Huta.

The last of Nowa Huta's markets is the biggest and is divided into different parts. Street sellers line the path leading to the entrance and prefabricated huts have been installed for the permanent vendors. Inside the market there are meat products and dumplings, farmers selling fresh produce, and an area with furniture and clothing. A large shopping centre with a huge supermarket and well known brand stores can be found across the vacant lot used for parking.

Culture

In the early days of Nowa Huta, cultural facilities did not exist. All building work was focused on the construction of housing and the steel plant. However, alongside this development, crime, squalor and alcoholism were becoming a part of everyday life. Following public criticism of life in the 'model communist city' of Nowa Huta, the authorities decided to act by approving the construction of a theatre and three cinemas. These types of cultural institutions have largely disappeared from Nowa Huta due to the arrival of commercial multiplexes in the area between Nowa Huta and Krakow. Only the People's Theatre and Sfinks Cinema are still in use today. The remaining two cinemas have been adapted to other uses. For example, the Swiatowid Cinema is now the Museum of Communism or Museum PRL-u, and the Swit Cinema has been turned into a shopping centre with informal shops and services including a hair salon, driving school and second hand furniture warehouse.

Work

Nowa Huta is primarily a residential area. Most of its inhabitants work in Krakow or at the steel plant which is now owned by the global European company ArcelorMittal. In 1998 a new technology park was established next to the steelworks. It is questionable whether many of Nowa Huta's inhabitants will actually find work there.

Most of the jobs that can be found in Nowa Huta are in shops or in the few bars and restaurants. A



Swit Cinema (*Kino Swit*) [top] and People's Theatre (*Teatr Ludowy*) [bottom]. When Nowa Huta was first established, living conditions in the city were very poor and there were few amenities for its residents. Before construction of the city could commence, housing had to be built for the workers. As the speed of construction could not meet this demand, 'worker-hotels' were constructed as a temporary solution. Only after these essential buildings and services were provided were cultural facilities including the Swit Cinema (1953) and People's Theatre (1955) built.



Nowa Huta Meadows (*Nowa Huta Łąki*). The artificial lake planned for the south of the city centre kept this area free of development and today it is one of Nowa Huta's greatest amenities. The meadow is an important ecological area and includes a boardwalk with information on the different plants and animals inhabiting the area.



Nowa Huta 'Greenways'. Nowa Huta Meadows is part of the Nowa Huta Greenways project. This project is aimed at promoting cycling and walking in Nowa Huta. The city has many good bicycle paths but few inhabitants use them. Bicycle routes can be found along the meadows, greenbelt and the River Vistula (Wisła). You can find more information about the Greenways Project on signs situated along the cycle paths. One can be found in front of the Nowa Huta Cultural Centre near Central Square.



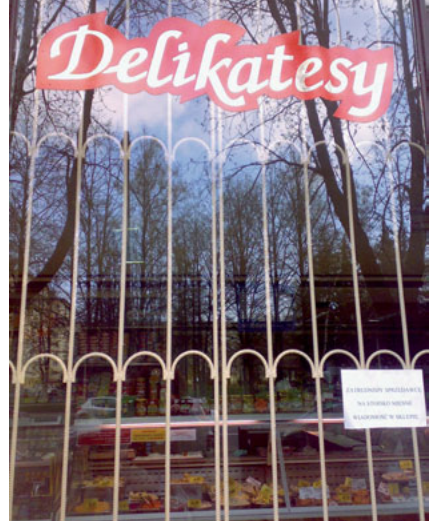
Lake and sports facilities. The greenbelt surrounding the city to the northeast includes a lake and sports facilities. Further south between Bulwarowa and River Dlubnia, one section of the greenbelt has been turned into private allotments. Some of these allotments include large, detached family houses rather than the temporary residences one might expect. Another part of the greenbelt has been developed with apartments, single family housing and a hotel.

Retail, shopping streets and squares. Retail facilities located at Central Square and Avenue Andersa fulfill resident's daily shopping requirements. Souvenirs can also be found in this shopping area including "I love Nowa Huta" t-shirts and the famous Polish vodka.





Kiosks. Kiosks can be found on almost every street corner, particularly at important crossroads, busy streets, public transport stops and supermarkets. They sell a diverse range of products including bread, pastries, fruit, fast food and clothing.



lot of people seem to have started their own home offices. Beauty parlors and fitness clubs are in vogue and pawnbrokers are doing good business. Old propaganda and information boards have been turned into advertisement boards.

Education

Schools played an important role in the development of the neighbourhood unit in Nowa Huta. Each neighbourhood was centered around a primary school and included other public facilities such as kindergartens and playgrounds for the children. In addition, high schools were located within reach of most households. Today, many of these schools have been adapted to other uses including offices, supermarkets, theaters and bars. Nowa Hutas' residents are very proud of their city and its heritage and do not like changes coming from outside of the community. Many of the public facilities designed for neighbourhoods are no longer in use and remain vacant. Residents have fought hard to protect these buildings. One such example is a school building bought by a private developer and investors who wanted to demolish the building and replace it with apartments. The inhabitants of the block protested, involved the media and wrote an open letter to politicians. They won their campaign and today the school building houses a company, a second hand clothes warehouse and a neighbourhood supermarket.

The Future: Nowa huta, the place to be?

There are people who think that Nowa Huta will become the new 'hip place to be' in Krakow. Even though the city retains a bad image associated with Hutnik hooligans and its past, there is a new group of younger inhabitants moving into the city. In particular, young intellectual and alternative people are attracted to the town.



This former school is now converted to housing units.

Empty buildings are utilised for art and cultural initiatives, while cheap and relatively large apartments situated in open green space attract young families. The original inhabitants, a fairly homogenous group who came to build Nowa Huta, work in its steelworks and raise families, are now well into their seventies. Their children leave the city to find work elsewhere. There are few children to be seen in the streets. There is a distinct difference between the older inhabitants and the minority of younger people who want to change things. This could be a great opportunity for the city. How will Nowa Huta be thirty years from now, when this younger generation will have more influence in shaping the city?

One of the original planners of Nowa Huta, Stanislaw Juchnowicz, is now involved with plans for the city's future. The steelworks have lost a lot of their importance and production. Large areas of the site are no longer needed. Some of the buildings are already used for theater, live music and special events. The municipality is preparing a list of buildings with cultural and historical value located in the steel mill area. The former slag deposit outside of the steelworks is slowly being cleaned up and turned into a post-industrial landscape. The area where gravel used to be excavated has been turned into a recreational lake. Following a proposal by Juchnowicz, the City of Krakow is considering establishing a "Solidarity Park", comparable to the Emscher Park in Germany and subsidised by the EU.

Milk bars (bar mleczny). Don't expect a stylish environment, designer furniture or haute cuisine, but if you're looking for a cheap Polish daily dish, this is the place to go.



Stanislaw Juchnowicz envisions that Krakow's growth should be connected to its industrial past.

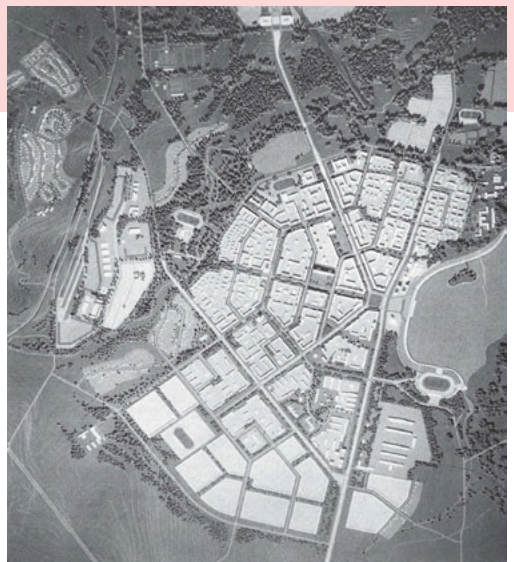
After 60 years, he has again made a proposal for a New Town, this time even a series of new settlements, to be situated along an existing railway line previously servicing the steelworks to the east of Nowa Huta. This city would then function as the service centre for these New Towns. The railway line would be used for public transport connecting the new housing areas with Nowa Huta and the centre of Krakow. Each town would house 10,000 inhabitants. An expressway could be built between the new settlements and the steelworks, completing the outer highway ring of Krakow. On the other hand, the municipality already has plans to build new housing west of the centre of Krakow, which would marginalise Nowa Huta. An potential expressway planned for Nowa Huta's greenbelt will destroy the historic relationship between Nowa Huta and the steelworks.



future developments. The plan to turn the green area between the steelworks and River Vistula (Wisla) into a big landscape park could be more successful. Unfortunately, there is not tight control over private developments as can be seen in the greenbelt area. The landscape is slowly being overtaken by housing and service buildings.

General plan of 1957 with a greenbelt. The most realistic plan to date is the development of the existing Nowa Huta Meadows into a natural landscape park. Stanislaw Juchnowicz has made a proposal to connect the meadows to the ecological corridor of the River Vistula.

Proposal for connection to river Vistula



Must Sees

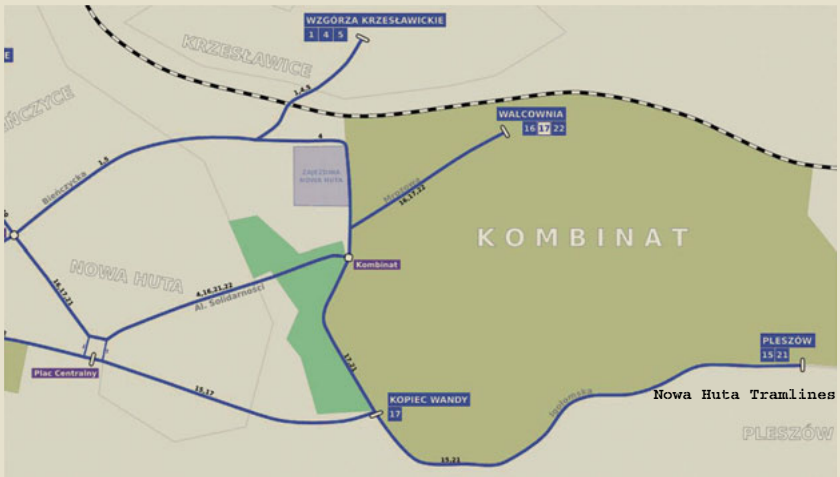
This chapter presents the Must Sees in Nowa Huta and is comprised of five walking routes:

- Culture,
- Resistance,
- Religion,
- Communist Entertainment and
- Unrealised Projects.

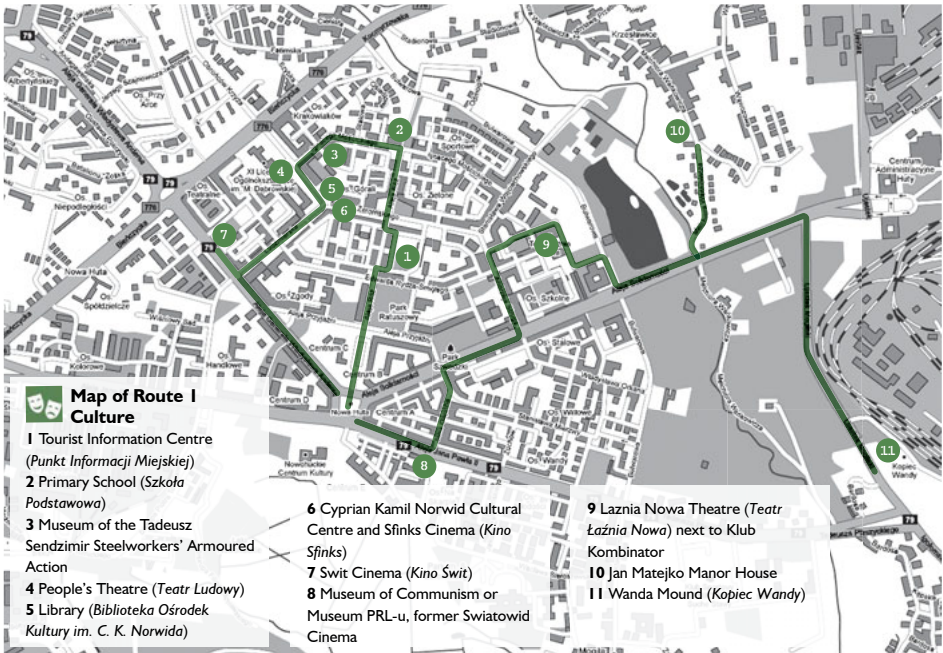
Each route is based on a theme that tells part of the story of Nowa Huta from communism until the present.

How to use these maps

A series of maps have been created to guide you through the tours, each with its own symbol. All routes begin at Nowa Huta's Central Square (*Plac Centralny*) and vary in length and duration. The numbers on each map correspond to a description in the following pages. You will note that some of these sites appear in more than one route as the stories overlap. If you would prefer to create your own route, we have also included a map with all of the Must Sees combined.



Chapter V: Walking routes through Nowa Huta



Route 1 Culture

Cultural life can take many forms as is evident on the streets of Nowa Huta. This tour will introduce you to some of the cultural highlights from the communist and pre-communist periods. Beginning in the town centre we will focus our attention on the cluster of cultural buildings in the northwest region of 'old' Nowa Huta, known as the Theatre neighbourhood (*Osiedle Teatralne*). The tour then continues to pre-communist sites situated in the east between old Nowa Huta and the steelworks. Both these sites are a longer walk from the centre, but well worth it.

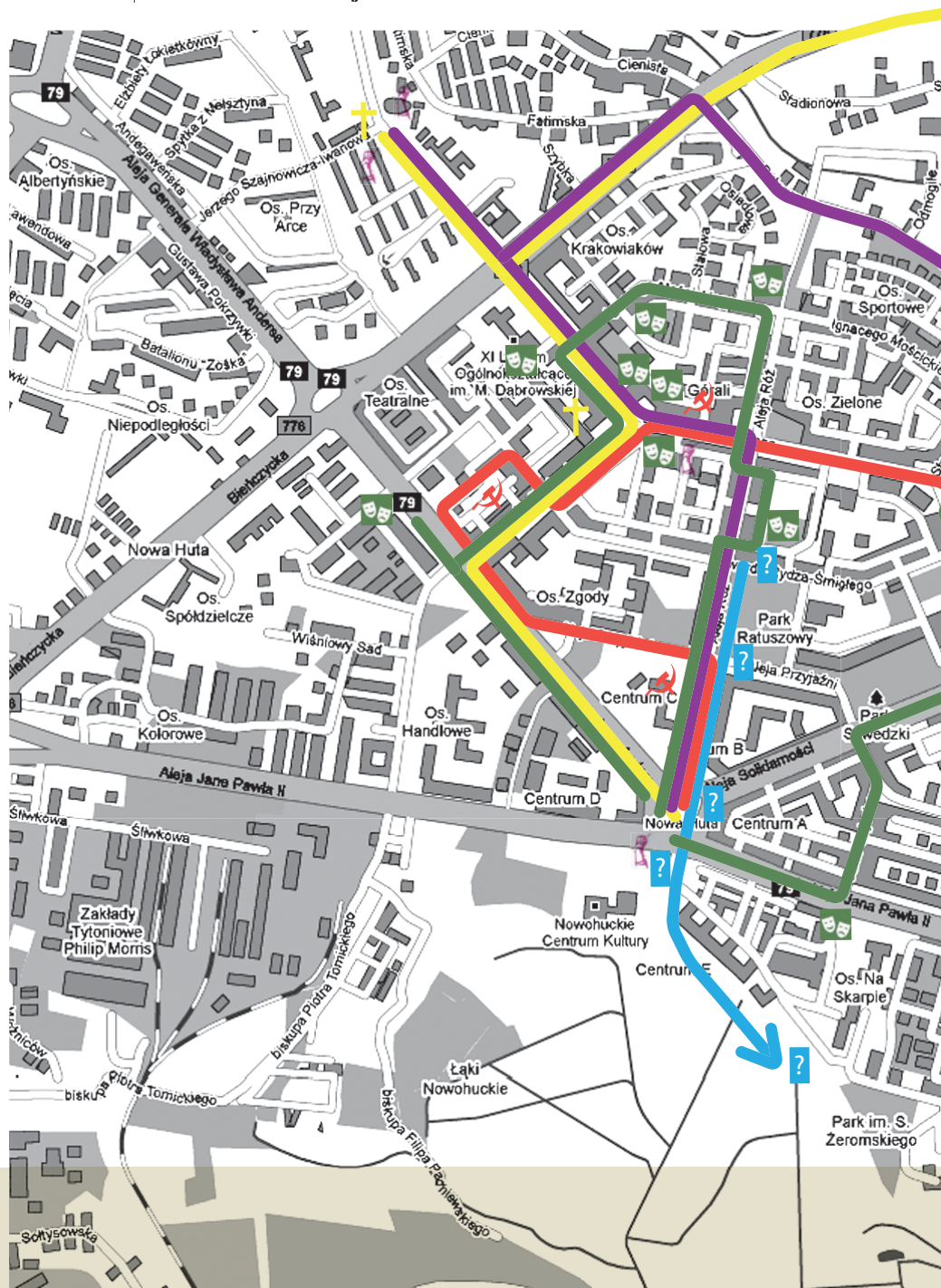
Background

Even though the main purpose of Nowa Huta was to provide housing for the steel workers at the Lenin Steelworks (HiL), cultural facilities played an important role in the evolution of the town. A library, theatres and cinemas were established, all with communist sanctioned books, plays and films.

The Nurt was the city's first theatre, established in 1952 by the writer Jan Kuczab in a (now demolished) barracks near the lake at Bulwarowa. Initially staging amateur productions, the Nurt developed into a professional theatre in 1953. The Nurt popularised theatre amongst the workers until it was replaced by The People's Theatre (*Teatr Ludowy*) in 1955.

Cultural facilities were an important part of the original plans for Nowa Huta, however the demand for housing always took precedence, diverting investment away from cultural activities (See Route 5: Unrealised Projects). It wasn't until Adam Wazyk, a poet and Party supporter, published his "Poem for Adults" (*Poemat dla dorosłych*) in 1955, that the authorities moved to establish a dedicated theatre in the Socialist Realist style, followed by shops and milk bars. Wazyk's poem was critical of communism, bemoaning the shortcomings of Nowa Huta and criticising its uncultured citizens.

".....
*Distrustful soul, torn out of the
 village soil,
 half-awakened and already half-
 mad,
 in words silent, but singing,
 singing songs,
 the huge mob, pushed suddenly
 out of medieval darkness: un-
 human Poland,
 howling with boredom on December
 nights*
"



Route 1 Culture

This tour provides an overview of cultural life in communist and pre-communist Nowa Huta including cinemas, museums and theatres.



Route 2 Resistance

Resistance in the 1980s was interwoven with religion; follow key sites of protest used by the workers in their fight against communism including the steelworks and religious sites.



✚ Route 3 Religion

Poland is a deeply Catholic country. Explore a number of important religious sites located in Nowa Huta and the surrounding villages of Mogila and Krzesławice.

🚩 Route 4 Communist Entertainment

Communism is gone, but continues to infuse local entertainment. Visit a selection of restaurants, bars and cafes with connections to the past.

? Route 5 Unrealised Projects

When in Nowa Huta it is not uncommon to hear about projects that did not come to fruition. This tour reveals the sites of key civic projects that were planned but not realised.

The route

1 Tourist Information Centre (*Punkt Informacji Miejskiej*)

The Historical Museum of the City of Krakow

The History of Nowa Huta Quarter branch

Osiedle Słoneczne 16

31-958 Krakow

W: www.mhk.pl/oddzialy_nhuta.php

For general enquiries including organised tours:

E: nowahuta@mhk.pl

T/F: +48 12 425 97 75

Opening hours:

May-October

Tuesday-Saturday and every 2nd Sunday of the month: 9:30-17:00

November-April

Tuesday, Thursday-Saturday and every 2nd Sunday of the month: 9:30-16:00

Wednesday: 10:00-17:00

Starting at Central Square (*Plac Centralny*), continue along Roses Avenue (*Aleja Róż*) towards Park Ratuszowy. The Tourist Information Centre is located in The History of Nowa Huta Quarter branch of the Historical Museum of the City of Krakow (HMK), which also houses the Nowa Huta Ecomuseum (NHE), which actually has nothing to do with ecology or nature, but is the official archive of Nowa Huta. The museum includes an exhibition on the history of the city and is a good starting point for this route. English language travel guides and tours are available. For more information contact the Tourist Information Centre.

Communist period

2 Primary School (*Szkoła Podstawowa*)

Osiedle Krakowiaków 47

Equipped with a better understanding of Nowa Huta, proceed along Roses Avenue and turn left at Ignacego Moscickiego. Fifty meters on your right is a building disguised as a Primary School where weapons were manufactured during the Cold War. The cellar also functioned as a bomb shelter and is one of many in Nowa Huta. To protect the building from enemy attack, the rooftops of the adjacent buildings were designed to hide snipers.



Defensive architecture; rooftops were designed for snipers.

3 Museum of the Tadeusz Sendzimir Steelworkers' Armoured Action

Osiedle Gorali 23

T +48 12 644 35 17 (Reservations required)

A little further on you will find an old army tank in front of the War Museum. The museum includes exhibits on the Cold War (information in Polish). For English language tours you can arrange an interpreter through the Tourist Information Centre.

4 People's Theatre (*Teatr Ludowy*)

Osiedle Teatralne 34
31-948 Krakow
W www.ludowy.pl
T +48 12 680 21 55

From the museum look toward the end of the street and you will see a yellow building called the People's Theatre (*Teatr Ludowy*). Built in 1954-1955 the theatre was designed by architects Jan Dabrowski and Janusz Ingarden (designer of the Central Square and Steelworks Administration Centre). Opening with Poland's first opera by Wojciech Boguslawski, dating from 1794 and based in Mogiła called *The Presumed Miracle, or the Krakovians and the Highlanders (Cud mniemany, czyli Krakowiaczy i Górale)*, the theatre attracted important actors and directors and featured many plays with political content. Two of the adjacent neighbourhoods were named after the opera, osiedle Krakowiakow and osiedle Goral. The repertoire included Polish and foreign classics, contemporary drama and experimental theatre.



Old tank in front of the Museum of the Tadeusz Sendzimir Steelworkers' Armoured Action.



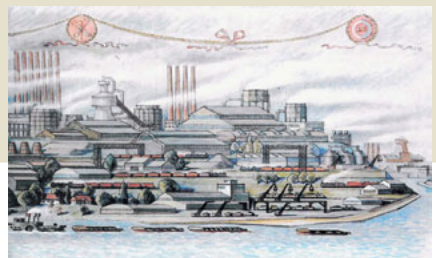
People's Theatre (Teatr Ludowy), Osiedle Teatralne

5 Library (*Biblioteka Ośrodek Kultury im. C. K.*

Norwida)

Osiedle Goral 5,
31-959 Krakow
W: www.okn.edu.pl/biblio.htm
E: biblioteka@okn.edu.pl
T/F +48 12 644 27 65

From the theatre turn left and proceed towards the Library situated on your left. The Library is a part of the Cyprian Kamil Norwid Cultural Centre and includes the Sfinks Cinema (See below). The interior remains intact from the communist period. Above the bookshelves is a framed triptych presenting an idealised image of Nowa Huta from the 1950s. Each panel gives an impression of the ideas behind the planning of the city, depicting the glory of the steelworks in its heyday with Krakow shown in the distance. The images also represent some of the unrealised projects covered in route 5.



W. Chomicz, Krakow-Nowa Huta in the 1950s (Kraków-Nowa Huta z lat 50), 1954 Part I 56x58cm, Part II 56x80cm and Part III 56x82cm, mixed media

6 Cyprian Kamil Norwid Cultural Centre and

Sfinks Cinema (*Kino Sfinks*)

Osiedle Goral 5
31-959 Krakow
W: www.okn.edu.pl/centre.htm
W: kinosfinks.pl
E: sfinks@okn.edu.pl
T: +48 12 644 27 65

From the library continue along Obroncow Krzyza. The Sfinks Cinema is part of the Cyprian Kamil Norwid Cultural Centre and is the last site from the communist period on this route. Home



Sfinks Cinema (Kino Sfinks), Osiedle Gorali.



Cyprian Kamil Norwid Cultural Centre, Osiedle Gorali.

to Nowa Huta's sole operating cinema, the Kamil Norwid Cultural Centre is free to enter and actively supports the revitalisation of Nowa Huta through various projects including exhibitions, dance projects, an Ecological Animation Department, and the Nowa Huta Newsreel (*Nowohucka Kronika Filmowa*) which documents local affairs. Behind the entry gallery is a recent aerial photograph of Nowa Huta and Krakow providing a good overview of the area.



Second hand furniture for sale in former Swit Cinema.



Inside former Swit Cinema.

7 Swit Cinema (*Kino Świt*)

Aleja Andersa 10
Osiedle Teatralne

Prior to the establishment of permanent cinemas, Nowa Huta had been frequented by travelling cinemas. The most famous of Nowa Huta's cinemas is the former Swit Cinema (*Kino Świt*) which operated between 1953 and 2002. Designed by Andrzej Uniejewski with Marian Sigmund and Irena Pac-Zalesna, the cinema opened with *Three Stories*, a film based on three novellas; one featuring the construction of Nowa Huta. The building no longer functions as a cinema and has been replaced with a commercial centre.

8 Museum of Communism or Museum PRL-u Osiedle Centrum E1 former Swiatowid Cinema (*Kino Światowid*).

31-934 Krakow
W: www.muzeuprl.pl
E: muzeumprl@muzeuprl.pl
T: + 48 12 686 61 65

Head back towards Central Square (*Plac Centralny*) until you reach the Museum of Communism on

Pope John Paul II Avenue (*Aleja Jana Pawła II*), the former Światowid Cinema (*Kino Światowid*). The first cinema to feature a panoramic screen, the building was designed by A. Uniejewski and opened in 1958. Located in the neighbourhood Centrum E, the building was acquired by the municipality with the aim of establishing the first Museum of Communism in Poland.



Former Światowid Cinema, now Museum of Communism.

9 **Laznia Nowa Theatre (*Teatr Łaznia Nowa*)** next to Klub Kombinator
 Osiedle Szkolne 25
 31-977 Krakow
 W: www.laznianowa.pl
 E: biuro@laznianowa.pl
 T: +48 12 425 03 20

Continue along Jana Gajocha turning right at Solidarity Avenue (*Aleja Solidarności*), left into Andrzeja Struga, before heading east into the Szkolne neighbourhood to the youngest theatre in Krakow. The Laznia Nowa theatre recently relocated from Krakow to Nowa Huta. Established in 2005 the young theatre is focussed on challenging the stereotype of Nowa Huta as the most dangerous part of Krakow.

Pre-communist period

This route includes two sites of cultural importance pre-dating communism. Both are situated outside of the city centre in the greenbelt to the east of old Nowa Huta.

10 **Jan Matejko Manor House**
 Melchiora Wankowicza 25
 Krzesławice
 Opening hours:
 Monday-Friday from 10.00-14.00

Make your way back towards Solidarity Avenue (*Aleja Solidarności*) turning left after the lake into Melchiora Wankowicza until you reach the Jan Matejko Manor House. The famous Polish painter Jan Matejko (1838-1893) purchased the house in 1876 from payment he received for the painting *Stefan Batory at Pskov* (*Batory pod Pskowem*). The



Jan Matejko Manor House, Krzesławice.



Jan Matejko porch.

studio served as a place to paint away from the city life of Krakow. The porch is the only realised architectural design attributed to the painter. The interior contains a selection of his paintings and objects connected to the artist. Following his death, Matejko's son sold the house and in 1960 it was donated to the Society of Friends of the Beaux Arts who turned it into a museum.

11 Wanda Mound (*Kopiec Wandy*)

Ujastek Mogilski, to the north of
Plaszycyckiego intersection

Opening hours:

Freely accessible site

We will now head south towards the Wanda Mound. Return to Solidarity Avenue (*Aleja Solidarności*) turning into Ujastek Mogilski. Matejko's interest in history would often lead him to the Wanda Mound, a site associated with the story of the Polish princess Wanda, daughter of Krakus, the mythical Polish prince and founder of Krakow. The first written record of the mound dates back to the 13th Century. According to legend, the princess threw herself into the River Vistula (*Wisła*) to escape marriage to a German monarch; thus protecting the city from the threat of German invasion. The man-made grass mound is said to mark the place her body was later discovered. Prior to acquiring the name Wanda Mound, the site was called Mogila which means grave or tomb. A monument of an eagle designed by Matejko was erected on the top of the mound. The site also offers a view of Nowa Huta and the steelworks.

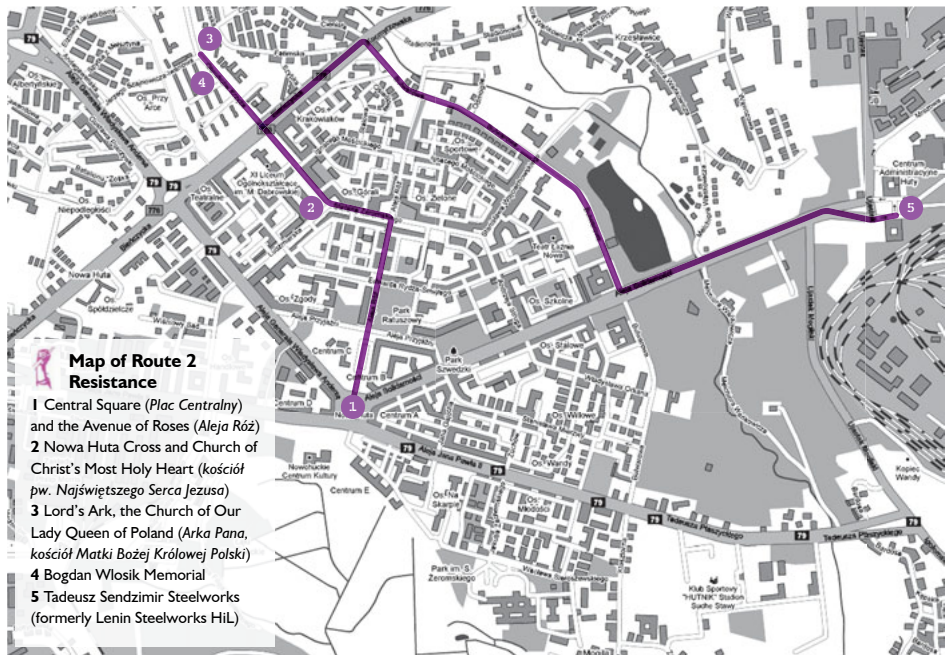
If you are interested in pre-historic mounds, another site called the Krakus Mound (*Kopiec Krakusa*) can be found in the south-east of Krakow near Podgorze. Both are considered to be some of the biggest prehistoric mounds in Poland. Tram 15 will return you to Central Square (*Plac Centralny*).



Wanda Mound, Monument of eagle, Jan Matejko



View of Nowa Huta from the Wanda Mound.



Demonstration routes ran between the Lenin Steelworks HiL gates and The Lord's Ark or from HiL and the Lord's Ark to Central Square.

Route 2 Resistance

This route provides an introduction to some of the key sites of protest that led to the downfall of communism. Despite the general optimism towards the post-war rebuilding of Poland, the people's strong belief in Roman Catholicism challenged the socialist ideology of the time, resulting in a union between resistance and religion. The resistance route will begin at the focal point of political demonstrations, Central Square (*Plac Centralny*) and Roses Avenue (*Aleja Róż*). It then visits two religious sites that played an important role in the people's fight against communism. The tour will end at a place that is intrinsic to the making of Nowa Huta and the dismantling of communism, the Tadeusz Sendzimir Steelworks (formerly Lenin Steelworks HiL).

Background

"In the Nowa Huta disturbances, residents of the Krakow suburb - set up in the 1950s as a model socialist industrial community - choked as the tear gas billowed through the streets. Police sealed off the streets around the steelworks, and the demonstrators escaped through back yards and alleys."³⁷

The earliest signs of resistance in Nowa Huta were embodied in the conflict between religion and socialism. As the majority of early inhabitants were traditional people from the countryside, they wanted a place within the city to continue their religious meetings despite the prevailing socialist ideology. Unlike the state, they did not see any inherent contradiction in the building of a socialist society alongside the continuing practice of their faith.

The inhabitants' struggles against the state for religious expression lead to political and social upheaval. During the late 1970s and 1980s the Catholic Church played an increasingly central role in the anti-communist movement, organising demonstrations that began as small acts of resistance, escalating into long street battles. The Nowa

Huta steel workers protested against the communist regime and, due to their sheer numbers, influenced political agendas nationwide throughout the 1980s. Ironically, Nowa Huta became one of the first cities where the events taking place would contribute to the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe.

The route

1 Central Square (*Plac Centralny*) and the Avenue of Roses (*Aleja Róż*)

One of the objectives of socialist realism was to reflect and reproduce the grandness of European urban centres. It was with this principle in mind that Central Square was designed as one of the most elaborate parts of the city. During the resistance, it became a meeting point for protesters to start or end their marches against the regime. During 1973-1989 a statue of Lenin in Roses Avenue became the focus of social and political change. In 1979 the first attempt was made to blow up the monument but it wasn't until December 1989 that the statue was finally removed by the Polish authorities. For more than two hours, thousands of residents gathered in cold weather to witness the dismantling of the statue. It was sold to a Swedish buyer and now forms part of the collection at the High Chaparral Museum in Hillerstorp, Sweden. Ironically, in 2004 the square was renamed in honour of the former US president Ronald Reagan (*im. Ronald Reagana*). Following mounting protests the traditional name of Central Square remains in use today.



Monument to Lenin under attack.



Skateboarders in Roses Avenue (*Aleja Róż*)

2 Nowa Huta Cross and Church of Christ's Most Holy Heart (*kościół pw.*

Najświętszego Serca Jezusa)

ul. Ludzmierska 2
osiedle Teatralne

Walk along the Avenue of Roses and turn left into Stefana Zeromskiego until you reach the Nowa Huta Cross monument at the intersection with Ludzmierska. In accordance



Nowa Huta Cross, Osiedle Teatralne

with the Socialist doctrine, the planning of Nowa Huta did not originally include churches or other sites of religious significance. However, it did not take long before residents erected the first cross in the centre of the city where people could gather for religious meetings.

Following the Polish Thaw of 1956, permission was finally granted to build a church. A site was found in the Theatre neighbourhood (osiedle Teatralne) and marked with a wooden cross in 1957. Building works commenced the following year. Due to a subsequent hardening of state policy there was mounting tension between the authorities and residents. Construction work was soon halted and special armed forces (national military) attempted to remove the cross. Beginning on the 27th of April 1960, a large crowd that had gathered in support of the cross, singing a combination of Catholic hymns and the *Internationale* (the anthem for International Socialism) were attacked by the militia forces (state police) in an event that came to be known as the “Nowa Huta Uprising”. Police failed in their attempts to remove the cross. The conflict linked

religion and the cross with opposition to the regime. A church was eventually built here between 1998-2002 called the Church of Christ's Most Holy Heart and marks a key site for the revolutionaries of Nowa Huta.

3 4 The Lord's Ark, the Church of Our Lady Queen of Poland (*Arka Pana, kościół Matki Bożej Królowej Polski*) and Bogdan Włosik Memorial
Obronców Krzyża 1
Osiedle Przy Arce

Continue along Obronców Krzyża until you reach The Lord's Ark (*Arka Pana*). Consecrated in May 1977, the church became a symbol of global unity during its construction. Churches around the world donated to this boat-shaped building designed by Wojciech Pietrzyk, who was inspired by Noah's Ark and Le Corbusier's Ronchamp Chapel. The perseverance of two people to overcome persistent obstacles made this church possible; Karol Wojtyła, the Archbishop of Krakow who later became Pope John Paul II, and Reverend Jozef Gorzelany, the parish priest of Bienczyce, who supervised the construction of the church. Built over a ten year period, the façade is made up of over 2 million river pebbles collected by the residents.

From 1981-1983 there was a period of martial law, where each month a mass was held in The Lord's Ark followed by large demonstrations. The site around the church became the scene of numerous confrontations between residents and military forces. On the 13th October 1982, a young steelworker Bogdan Włosik was shot in the chest at close range by a Security Service Agent during a protest against a new law on trade unions. His funeral attracted 20,000 people and is commemorated with other victims of martial law in a monument designed by Helena Lyzwa at the B. Włosik Square, opposite The Lord's Ark.



The Lord's Ark (*Arka Pana*), Osiedle Przy Arce
Organisation of Krakow's underground movement often took place in the basement of The Lord's Ark.

5 Tadeusz Sendzimir Steelworks (formerly Lenin Steelworks HiL)
Ujastek 1

Return to Bienczycka and walk to Bulwarowa. Follow this street until you reach Solidarity Avenue (*Aleja Solidarnosci*) and continue east towards the Tadeusz Sendzimir Steelworks (Lenin Steelworks HiL). The 1970s were a time of economic decline at the Lenin Steelworks HiL. By 1980 workers were given the right to form free trade unions known as the Solidarity trade union (*Solidarność*) which resulted in swift strike



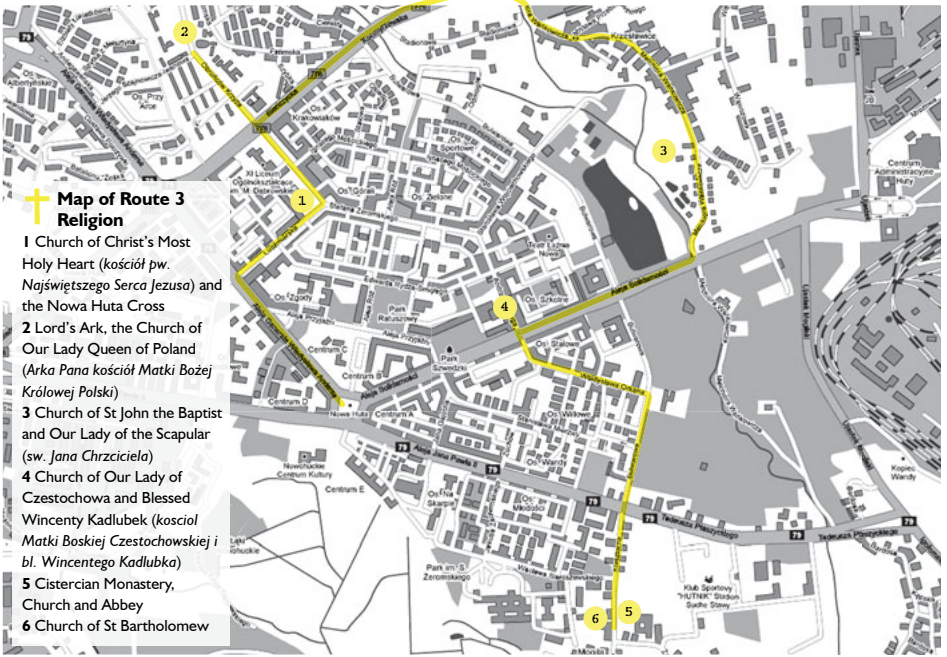
Entry to the Tadeusz Sendzimir Steelworks (formerly Lenin Steelworks HiL).

action. The central role played by the steelworks in Nowa Huta gave the trade union a strong base for community action which saw 97% of its workers join the HiL branch of Solidarity within two months of the strike. The introduction of martial law and military intervention at the steelworks drove the organisation underground, however, this only strengthened the Solidarity movement and increased its oppositional activities. By the late 1980s, an estimated 700,000 to 2 million members of Solidarity were also Communist Party members.

In response to price rises during 1988, HiL steelworkers demanded financial improvements. According to Alison Stenning, Professor of Social and Economic Geography, this included “wage hikes, indexation of wages to offset inflation, extra pay for hard work, the payback and the return of sacked Solidarity leaders.” These demands went on to set the national standard.

Set against renewed strike action and a ruinous Polish economy, the influence of Gorbachev in the Kremlin and the 1989 Round Table Agreement, communist rule in Poland effectively ended. Following the fall of communism in 1989, the steelworks underwent many changes. Originally named after Lenin to commemorate the 30th anniversary of his death in 1954, HiL was renamed Tadeusz Sendzimir in 1990 after the Polish American engineer and inventor. Sendzimir was famous for the development of steel galvanizing and mill technology, with 120 patents in mining and metallurgy.

Contact the Tourist Information Centre for tours of the steelworks. They are difficult to arrange and could take a few weeks. It is possible to catch a glimpse of the grounds from the Wanda Mound. (See *route 1 Culture*).



- Map of Route 3 Religion**
- 1 Church of Christ's Most Holy Heart (*kościół pw. Najświętszego Serca Jezusa*) and the Nowa Huta Cross
 - 2 Lord's Ark, the Church of Our Lady Queen of Poland (*Arka Pana kościół Matki Bożej Królowej Polski*)
 - 3 Church of St John the Baptist and Our Lady of the Scapular (*sw. Jana Chrzyciela*)
 - 4 Church of Our Lady of Czestochowa and Blessed Wincenty Kadlubek (*kościół Matki Boskiej Czestochowskiej i bl. Wincentego Kadłubka*)
 - 5 Cistercian Monastery, Church and Abbey
 - 6 Church of St Bartholomew

Route 3 Religion

In route 2, we explored how the first signs of resistance in Nowa Huta were connected to freedom of religious expression. To gain a better insight into the relationship between religion and resistance it is important to understand the role of religion in this region. This route will cover six of Nowa Huta's most important religious sites; three are of historical significance to the region, while the remaining sites are situated within Nowa Huta.

Background

Religious belief is a strong part of the national identity. Locally, Mogila is home to some of the most important religious buildings of the historic Malopolska Region in southern Poland, while Krakow's citizens and the first inhabitants of Nowa Huta were also known to have strong religious ties. Given this context, it was not surprising that Nowa Huta's residents were resistant to the socialist objective of developing an atheist society. With the state refusing to grant permission for the construction of religious buildings, many residents continued to visit existing churches in the surrounding villages of Pleszow and Mogila. Persistent protests from residents eventually resulted in the construction of Nowa Huta's first church in 1967.

The route

- 1 Church of Christ's Most Holy Heart (*kościół pw. Najświętszego Serca Jezusa*) and the Nowa Huta Cross

Church of Christ's Most Holy Heart, interior





Church of Christ's Most Holy Heart (*kościół pw. Najświętszego Serca Jezusa*) with the Nowa Huta Cross, Osiedle Teatralne.

Ludzmierska / Obroncow Krzyza
Osiedle Teatralne

Starting at Central Square walk along Andersa Avenue (*Aleja Andersa*) and turn right into Ludzmierska. At the intersection with Obroncow Krzyza is the Church of Christ's Most Holy Heart. The Polish Thaw of 1956 resulted in the easing of state control, with the authorities approving the construction of a church. A wooden cross was placed on the church grounds and consecrated on 17 March 1957. However, after building works had commenced, the permit to construct the church was revoked and the authorities planned to remove the cross. This started a widespread protest running over the course of several days, supported by Archbishop Eugeniusz Baziak, Archbishop Karol Wojtyła (who would later be appointed Pope John Paul II) and thousands of supporters prevented the authorities from acting. A school was then built in place of the church, which was finally erected after a forty year period. Designed by Dr Krzysztof Ingarden, Dr Przemysław Gawor and Jacek Ewy, the Church of Christ's Most Holy Heart was built between 1998-2002 and consecrated on 22 June 2001.

The Lord's Ark (*Arka Pana*), Osiedle Przy Arce.



2 Lord's Ark, the Church of Our Lady Queen of Poland (*Arka Pana kościół Matki Bożej Królowej Polski*)

Obroncow Krzyza 1
Osiedle Przy Arce

Turn left into Obroncow Krzyza and proceed along this street crossing Biencyzcka. Continue heading northwest until you arrive at The Lord's Ark. This church is a powerful symbol of Polish belief in Roman Catholicism. Built between 1967 and 1977, Nowa Huta's first house of worship was designed by Wojciech Pietrzyk and was pieced together stone by stone through the efforts of volunteer workers. The building was the recipient of donations from all over the world including a small rutile crystal which has been set into the churches tabernacle. This crystal was brought back from the moon by members of the Apollo 11 mission.

3 Church of St John the Baptist and Our Lady of the Scapular (*sw. Jana Chrzyciela*)

Melchiora Warikowicza / Stanisława Lempickiego Krzesławice

Return to Biencyzcka and take either tram 1 or 5 north to Melchiora Wankowicza. Follow this road until you reach the Church of St John the Baptist and Our Lady of the Scapular located next

to the Jan Matejko Manor House. Built 1633-1648 in Jawornik, the church is an example of Polish wooden architecture using log construction. Threatened with demolition in 1983 when a new church was proposed on its original site, an alternative home was sought for the church. Surprisingly, given state opposition to religion, local authorities approved the transfer to its current location in Krzeslawice, where it was to form part of an open-air museum. The museum was never realised, however in 1983 the church was reconstructed over a two year period including the addition of a new tower. Church services were eventually provided for residents following persistent requests. In *Krakow's Nowa Huta, Socialist in Form, Fascinating in Content* (2004), Miezián suggests that the open-air museum was in fact a ruse, and that the residents formed a museum committee as a way of bringing the church to Krzeslawice for church services.

4 Church of Our Lady of Czestochowa and Blessed Wincenty Kadlubek (*kosciol Matki Boskiej Czestochowskiej i bl. Wincentego Kadlubka*)
Szkłane Domy 7

Walk further south along Melchiora Wankowicza and turn right into Solidarity Avenue. After 800 metres you will see the Church of Our Lady of Czestochowa and Blessed Wincenty Kadlubek, located next to the Swedish House. Plans for this site included an assembly square for rallies supporting the party and an eighteen storey hotel.



Church of St John the Baptist and Our Lady of the Scapular, Krzeslawice.

Church of Our Lady of Czestochowa and Blessed Wincenty Kadlubek, Osiedle Szklane Domy.



Beginning in 1978, residents started praying on this site for a new church during special religious gatherings. The authorities granted permission for the churches construction in 1982.

Father Niward Karsznia, the parish priest and Cistercian monk from the religious complex in Mogiła, was responsible for supervising the construction. Built from 1984-1995, the architects Andrzej Dyga and Andrzej Nasfeter designed an iconic glazed roof structure reminiscent of the neighbourhood name it is situated in, szklane domy or glass houses. The Cistercian church and monastery is divided up into four parts; three parts are dedicated to the monastery and provide inner courtyards while the remaining part houses the church and chapel. The church actively supported steelworkers, initially by providing shelter from the authorities during demonstrations.

5 6 Cistercian Monastery, Church and Abbey and the Church of St Bartholomew
Klasztorna 11
Mogiła

Cross Solidarity Avenue and walk to the end of Wladyslawa Orkana through the old districts of Willowe and Wandy. Turn right into Bulwarowa and continue along this road until you reach the Cistercian religious complex. The first neighbourhoods to be built

Church of the Assumption of Our Lady and St Wenceslas, Cistercian religious complex, Mogiła.





Gothic Cloister, Cistercian religious complex, Mogila.

in Nowa Huta were located adjacent to Mogila, which has been home to Cistercian monks since 1222. Iwo Odrowaz, the Bishop of Krakow, brought the Cistercians here from Silesia and founded the complex and nearby Church of St Bartholomew. Mieziun (2004) suggests the Bishop brought the monks to Mogila as they were pioneers in mining and metallurgy in Poland.

This religious complex is one of the most significant and important of the historic Lesser Poland (*Malopolska*) Region in southern Poland and is home to the famous Cross of Mogila. The complex is comprised of the Gothic Romanesque Church of the Assumption of Our Lady and St Wenceslas (*Kosciol Najswietszej Marii Panny Wniebowzietej i Sw. Waclaw*) consecrated in 1266, a 13th Century Monastery with its Gothic Cloister, the 15th Century Abbots House and Palace (1569) and Square of John Paul II. A fire in 1743 resulted in the construction of a new façade for the church in 1780 and a Baroque interior dating from 1790. A chapel within the church houses the Cross of Mogila; it is the only object in the church to have survived a fire in 1447 and has resided here since 1588.

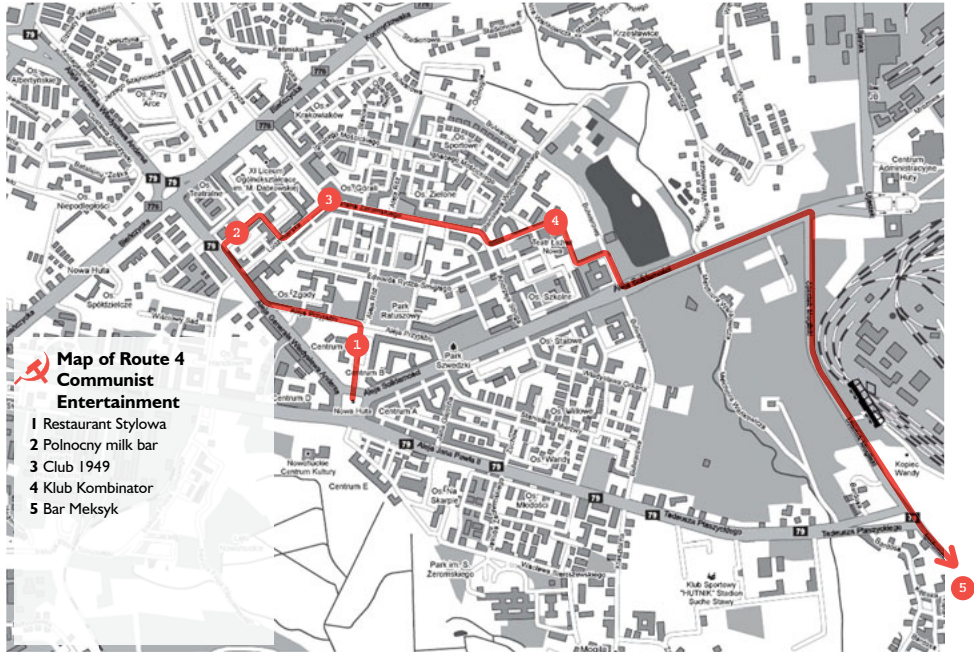
The Church of St Bartholomew (*Kosciol Sw. Bartlomieja*)

Klasztorna 11
Mogila

Across the road, a little further back toward Paul II Avenue (*Aleja Jana Pawla II*), you will see the second wooden church on this route. The Church of St Bartholomew (*Kosciol Sw. Bartlomieja*) with its gate and belfry (1752) comprise the second part of the Cistercian religious complex and the final site on our tour. The church was built for the parish as the Church of the Assumption of Our Lady and St Wenceslas only served the Cistercian monks. Originally built in 1466 by the master carpenter Maciej Męczyka and renovated in 1587, it is the first example of a crucifix plan with three aisles built in the style of Polish wooden architecture.

Church of St Bartholomew, Cistercian religious complex, Mogila.





Route 4 Communist Entertainment

Traces of life under communist rule still remain in Nowa Huta. The communist entertainment route will explore a selection of bars, restaurants and cafes that retain the atmosphere of this era. Commencing at the Avenue of Roses (*Aleja Róż*), the tour will begin by showing the contrasting faces of Nowa Huta's eateries, followed by the bars and cafes catering to a younger audience, before ending at a bar established during Stalin's reign.



Communist Tours crazyguides.com

Tours focused on communism are becoming a popular alternative to the standard tours available in Krakow. Crazy Tours offer two options for those wishing to take an organised tour. Both the 'Communism Tour of Nowa Huta district' and the 'Communism Deluxe Tour' provide transport in the form of a vintage eastern bloc vehicle and a personal guide. The Deluxe tour includes a visit to an unchanged communist apartment and the opportunity to talk to a resident of Nowa Huta. See the website for more detail. Other communist era tours can be arranged through the Nowa Huta Tourist Centre. (See route 1 Culture).



"During our in-depth guided tour, you will travel back in time in a genuine Trabant or Polski Fiat 125, to experience the wonders of this one-of-a-kind city. Not only will you discover how the average Pole lived, worked and played under Communism, but stories and anecdotes from your Crazy Guide will bring the "good ol' days" back to life! "

Background

At face value, Nowa Huta appears to have few bars, cafes and restaurants. What becomes obvious after visiting the town is that apart from the pizzerias which have appeared with the emergence of the free market, there are still quite a few eateries originating from the communist era. Milk bars (*bar mleczny*) in particular are government-subsidised cafeterias that grew out of the authorities' desire to make cheap food available to the proletariat. During the communist period these restaurants came under state control. Today in Nowa Huta there are few options for younger people due to an aging population resistant to change.



Restaurant Stylowa, Roses Avenue.

The route

- 1 Restaurant Stylowa
Roses Avenue (Aleja Róż)
Osiedle Centrum C 3

The Avenue of Roses (*Aleja Róż*) is home to one of the finest restaurants in Nowa Huta and one of few remaining milk bars. On your way to the first stop look for the Polish name *Bar Mleczny* on the arched window, situated at the entrance of Roses Avenue. We will be stopping at another milk bar further along the route but it is still worth having a look inside before continuing to the crossroad *Przjazni Avenue (Aleja Przjazni)* where you will find Restaurant Stylowa. Stylowa translates to stylish and, in keeping with the name, was the most exclusive restaurant in Nowa Huta when it opened in 1956. Originally decorated with crystal chandeliers, marble floors and pillars, the restaurant exercised a strict dress code catering to the elite and became the centre of high life, hosting important events and celebrations. Since this time the establishment has undergone many changes. In the 1960s Stylowa was turned into a cafe, retaining its high level of service before a reduction in the cost of alcohol during the 1970s resulted in the establishment of a workers cafe.

In 1973 a statue of Lenin was installed adjacent to the restaurant in the Avenue of Roses to much protest from residents. Frequent attempts to destroy the monument culminated in an attempted bombing, the explosion causing more destruction to the surrounding buildings, including Stylowa, than the statue itself. (See *route 2 Resistance*) Stylowa remained popular with workers until martial law was introduced in 1981. The



Polnocny milk bar, interior.

Former Club 1949, interior.



end of communism and privatisation heralded another change back to its original function as a restaurant which continues to serve good, well-priced Polish cuisine. A recent renovation has restored a 'communist era' interior in an attempt to renew the glory of the former days.

- 2 Polnocny milk bar
off Avenue Andersa
Osiedle Teatralne 11

At Przejazni Avenue head west, then turn right into Avenue Andersa (*Aleja Andersa*). Just before the former Swit Cinema (*Świt*) turn right at the square to find the Polnocny milk bar. Milk bars are no longer state owned but continue to be subsidised by the government. This enables these businesses to provide affordable, traditional Polish food such as pierogi dumplings and a variety of cabbage salads to an increasingly diverse customer base. Some of these people simply enjoy typical Polish cuisine whilst others see it as a better alternative to western fast food eateries. With the days of the shortage economy over, more meat options have appeared on the menus over the past ten years.

- 3 Club 1949
Former location and website: Roses Avenue
(*Aleja Róż*), Osiedle Uroczę 12
www.1949club.pl.
At time of publication, we had been notified of Club 1949's future relocation to the Cyprian Kamil Norwid Cultural Centre, Osiedle Goralii 5 (See route 1 Culture)

Return towards the Avenue of Roses where we will continue our tour at Club 1949. A recent addition to the entertainment scene at Nowa Huta, Club 1949 caters for a younger clientele and for an increasing number of tourists. The interior is made up of an eclectic selection of furniture contributing to a relaxed cafe environment. The club organises exhibitions for young artists and has a great collection of films on the history of Nowa Huta (shown by request) in the basement cinema. Club 1949 hosts film festivals and also sells souvenirs, magazines and comic books. Older folks living upstairs object to the club, not so much for noise, but because of the inappropriateness of the club's theme and the light way in which the communist heritage is dealt with in this retro-environment.



4 Klub Kombinator

www.klubkombinator.pl

Osiedle Szkolne 25

31-977 Krakow

E: [kombinator\[WYTNIJ_NAWIAS\]@](mailto:kombinator[WYTNIJ_NAWIAS]@klubkombinator.com)

klubkombinator.com

T: + 48 692 84 84 00/692 34 12 66

For more information on the New Laznia

Theatre see route 1 Culture.

Opening hours:

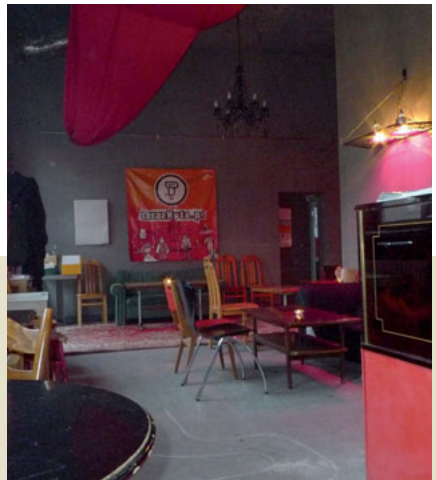
Monday-Thursday: 15:00-24:00

Friday-Saturday: 15:00-03:00

Sunday: 15:00-24:00

Continuing east, head towards The New Laznia Theatre (*Teatr Laznia Nowa*). Beside the theatre you will find Klub Kombinator. The venue operates as a nightclub and also services the theatre. The bar offers an extensive selection of Polish vodkas, cocktails and coffee and also provides free wi-fi, Playstation and board games.

The club hosts an interesting array of events, including international documentaries, fundraisers for NGO's, photographic exhibitions and live music. The organisers maintain a blog and facebook page keeping people up to date with events happening around Nowa Huta. The club owners are big supporters of the city and knowledgeable hosts open to new ideas for events. Klub Kombinator is a great place to find out more about Nowa Huta.



Klub Kombinator (Osiedle Szkolne).



Bar Meksyk, Pleszow.



Interior Bar Meksyk.

5 Bar Meksyk

Nadbrzezie 1a
31-983 Krakow
+48 12 644 55 88

Opening hours:

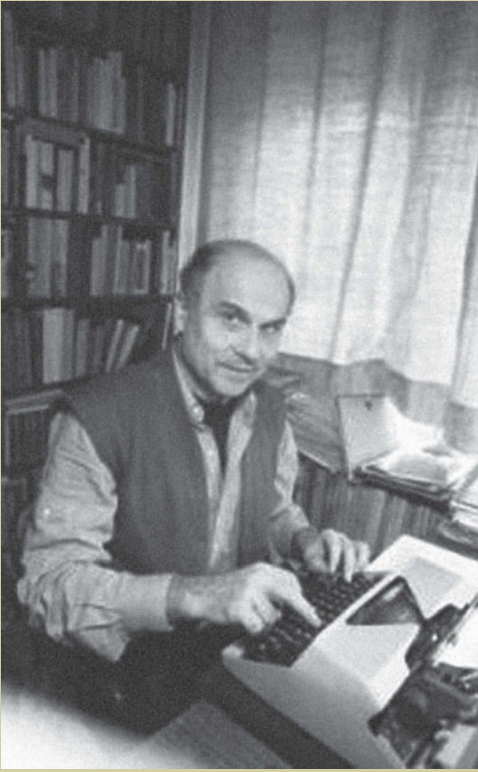
Monday-Saturday: 06:00-23:00

Sunday: 06:00-20:00

Head towards Solidarity Avenue (*Aleja Solidarności*). Take Tram 21 towards Pleszow and disembark at the crossroad Dymarek. The last stop on our communist entertainment route is Bar Meksyk, situated just south of the Lenin Steelworks. This bar was located within the grounds of the living quarters provided for

workers constructing the steelworks in the fifties. The name Meksyk (Mexico) came out of associations with the lawlessness of the Wild West and was seen to reflect the resident's delinquent behaviour, which has been partly attributed to poor living conditions. Both the famous journalist Ryszard Kapuscinski and the poet Adam Wazyk described the horrendous conditions in which the workers lived. Nowa Huta in the 1950s did not resemble the ideal socialist city at all; rather it was a town of alcoholism, violence and misery. Statistics for crime, violence and sexually-transmitted diseases were amongst the highest in the country.

Bar Meksyk now has a legendary status and is the sole surviving witness to this early period of Nowa Huta's construction. This enduring bad reputation is often exploited by today's media. The bar occupies a rather picturesque timber building; a contrasting image to the Wild West one might expect. The original interior has been replaced with a cafeteria and continues to serve vodka, primarily catering to steelworkers. To return to Central Square, take Tram 15.

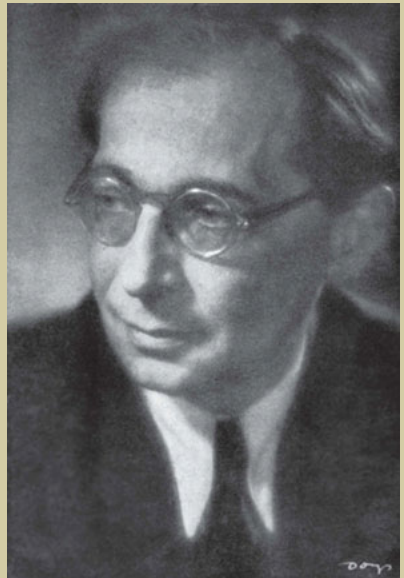


In 1955 the young Ryszard Kapuscinski (1932-2007), who would later become famous for his literary journalistic work on the emerging Third World, worked for a Polish youth paper, *Sztandar Mlodych*. He was sent to Nowa Huta to report on the flagship of Polish socialism. His article, titled 'Also this is the truth on Nowa Huta', was extremely critical about the living conditions of the steel workers, who spoke of poverty, alcoholism, dead babies buried in the foundations of buildings and other horrendous facts. The paper published the article, but was then forced to fire Kapuscinski. Later, a government report came to the same critical conclusions and he was given back his job. Probably just to be sure this wouldn't happen again, the newspaper sent Kapuscinski to India as foreign correspondent and this is how his career began.

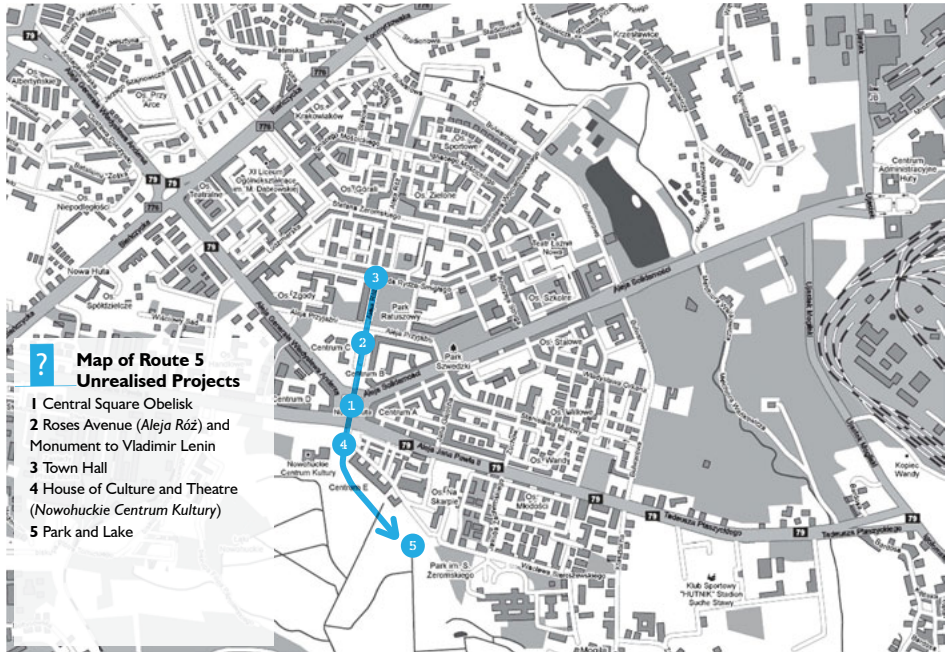
Portrait of Kapuscinski.

Adam Wazyk: *A Poem for Adults* (1955)

".....
 From villages and little towns, they come in carts
 to build a foundry and dream out a city,
 dig out of the earth a new Eldorado.
 With an army of pioneers, a gathered crowd,
 they jam in barns, barracks, and hostels,
 walk heavily and whistle loudly in the muddy streets:
 the great migration, the twisted ambition,
 with a string on their necks-the Czestochowa cross,
 three floors of swear-words, a feather pillow,
 a gallon of vodka, and the lust for girls.
 Distrustful soul, torn out of the village soil,
 half-awakened and already half-mad,
 in words silent, but singing, singing songs,
 the huge mob, pushed suddenly
 out of medieval darkness: un-human Poland,
 howling with boredom on December nights....
 In garbage baskets and on hanging ropes,
 boys fly like cats on night walls,
 girls' hostels, the secular nunneries,
 burst with rutting--And then the "Duchesses"
 ditch the foetus--the Vistula flows here....
 The great migration building industry,
 unknown to Poland, but known to history,
 fed with big empty words, and living
 wildly from day to day despite the preachers,
 in coal gas and in slow, continuous suffering,
 the working class is shaped out of it.
 There is a lot of refuse. So far, there are
 Frits.
"



The Polish poet, essayist and writer Adam Wazyk. Although Wazyk was initially a strong supporter of Stalinism, he eventually rejected it, and criticized the results of Stalinism in Poland, at the time of its impending disintegration.



Route 5 Unrealised Projects

This route will focus on the ‘heart’ of the urban plan for Nowa Huta and begins at Central Square (*Plac Centralny*). The tour continues north along Roses Avenue (*Aleja Róż*) to Park Ratuszowy, returns to Central Square and ends in the south at Nowa Huta Meadows (*Nowa Huta Łąki*). Along the way we will explore some of the original proposals for civic buildings and monuments, comparing these with the existing situation. In this way, we hope to illustrate some of the important ideas behind the design and history of one of the most recognised examples of a socialist realist New Town in Poland.

Background

The timeframe we are primarily concerned with is from 1949-1956. During this period of communist rule, the socialist realist doctrine was imposed upon all architects and urban planners. This doctrine had developed freely in the former USSR from the early 1930s. Following the death of Joseph Stalin in 1953, Nikita Khrushchev became president of the Soviet Union and urged the building industry to modernise its construction methods. In 1956 there was a loosening of state control called the Polish Thaw, resulting in greater freedom for architects and planners. Socialist realism had fallen out of favour in Poland and was replaced by Modernism, becoming increasingly popular amongst Poland’s architects and planners. Combined with the phasing of building construction at Nowa Huta, this shift had a major impact on the projects proposed for the north-south axis between the Nowa Huta Meadows and Park Ratuszowy. The era of monumental public buildings in neoclassical style was over and many of the showpieces of the original plan were not executed. It is this area that we will now focus our attention on as we begin the tour.

From 1949-56 architecture and urbanism in Poland was practiced under socialist realism. While Juchnowicz opposed this doctrine, he and other members of the team working on Nowa Huta also recognised the opportunity it presented – the planning

Biography of Stanislaw Juchnowicz

"Most of our group was negatively disposed towards the regime, but we were aware that, no matter how history proceeded, this city would outlive us and that we were building for future generations," says Stanislaw Juchnowicz, one of the few surviving planners of Nowa Huta.³⁸

Stanislaw Juchnowicz was born on the 10th of August 1923 in Lida, Belarus. He is an architect, urban planner and professor at Krakow's University of Technology. From 1950-59 Juchnowicz was a member of the team responsible for the planning and construction of Nowa Huta.

Juchnowicz began his education at the German Higher Technical School of Architecture in Lviv, Ukraine. Fearing arrest, he fled the country with his mother, before completing his studies in 1948 at the University of Technology in Gdansk, Poland. Juchnowicz received an education based on the western modernist tradition. Planning was an important part of his training, focusing on various urban scales along with studies of settlement patterns and the neighbourhood unit. Soviet theory was influential during this period, however was not taught within formal education.

Following graduation, he was offered the position of Head of Urban Planning for the reconstruction of the Old City in Gdansk, where he worked from 1948-50. Tadeusz Ptaszycski, who led the Nowa Huta design team, approached Juchnowicz to join the project. Recognising this unique opportunity, he accepted the offer and began work in 1950.



Stanislaw Juchnowicz and Tadeusz Ptaszycski (on the right).

and design of an entirely new city. They developed strategies which allowed them to implement their design ideas within the rigid framework of the socialist system. Ptaszycski, the team leader, was particularly adept at communication and able to meet both the needs of the Party while enabling the team to pursue their vision.

Nowa Huta was developed under immense time pressures and constraints. The team would produce initial concept plans for a district in 10 days, with builders often working from sketches. As the young designers were relatively inexperienced (ages 26-37), they worked with known housing typologies and relied heavily on their earlier education.

The plan of Nowa Huta as designed by the team that Juchnowicz joined remains incomplete. Many projects were never realised or completed in line with the original plan, including elements along the north-south axis such as the obelisk and city hall. Juchnowicz has remained active in the town's development and is currently involved in a number of projects addressing the future. As acting president of the Polish Ecological Club for over forty years, he is also involved with various environmental issues.



Sketches of Park Starorzeczka Wisły.



Nowa Huta's radial plan is evident from the air.

Pollution has resulted in major ecological problems for Nowa Huta and Krakow. The steelworks have contaminated soil in surrounding areas and adversely affected medieval settlements. Students of Juchnowicz have produced an inventory of agricultural land that can no longer be used due to contamination.

Juchnowicz was approached by the council to make a proposal for the area south of Central Square. Park Starorzeczka Wisły was completed in 2003, becoming an important ecological area that now has protected status. The park links the town's meadows and wetlands to the River Vistula, Poland's main ecological corridor. Park Starorzeczka Wisły is seen as an opportunity to change the former communist image of Nowa Huta.

Juchnowicz has also been involved with the expansion of the town's built environment. He proposed that former railway lines associated with steel production be converted into public transport, which would support the development of new residential areas.

The route

1 Obelisk

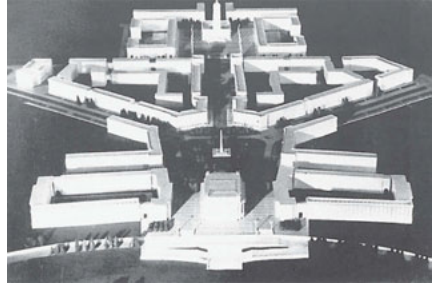
Central Square (Plac Centralny)

Urban plan

One of the original designers of Nowa Huta, Stanislaw Juchnowicz, describes the radial symmetry as the most visual characteristic of the urban plan. Viewed from above, this structure is comprised of five axes forming a semicircular shape and is influenced by Baroque urban planning. To the north are the three main axes of the city which terminate at Central Square. Roses Avenue, runs north-south and was planned as the civic spine of Nowa Huta, featuring the most important public buildings. The axis to the north-east, Solidarity Avenue (*Aleja Solidarności*), leads to the Tadeusz Sendzimir Steelworks and culminates in two formal administrative buildings framing the factory gate. Finally the north-west axis, Andersa Avenue (*Aleja Andersa*) has become the most active retail street connecting Nowa Huta to Krakow. The base of the radial structure extends east-west along Pope John Paul II Avenue (*Aleja Jana Pawła II*) and forms the main arterial link to the City of Krakow. The south side of this radial street pattern creates an edge to the city and aligns with the Nowa Huta Meadows extending to the River Vistula (*Wisła*).

Massing models

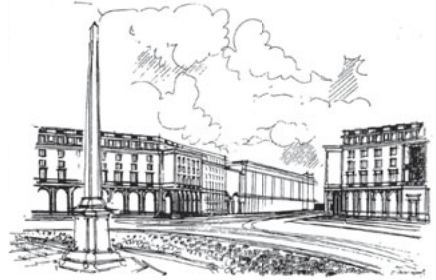
The original massing models clearly identify the core of Nowa Huta as an important part of the urban plan. At the northern end of Roses Avenue, the vista was to be terminated by the stately Town Hall; whilst to the south the square was to be enclosed by the House of Culture and Theatre. Despite being incomplete, Central Square is still recognised as the town centre and provides a commercial hub, a major transport interchange and backdrop to public events.



Nowa Huta Central Square (Plac Centralny), model 1951.

Obelisk

A tall obelisk was proposed for Central Square (Plac Centralny) at the meeting point of Roses, Andersa and Solidarity Avenues. Its purpose was to mark the central focal point of the three main axes of Nowa Huta. Different versions of the obelisk were drawn for the square but never built. The surrounding edge is currently occupied by planting and public seating which faces onto the empty centre. Turning towards Roses Avenue, we will continue this tour long the north-south axis.



Central Square Obelisk, sketch 1955.

2 Roses Avenue (Aleja Róż) and Monument to Vladimir Lenin (1973-1978, removed in 1989)

The Avenue of Roses was designed to be a promenade connecting Central Square to the Town Hall Square. It is a pedestrian area with formal gardens that has witnessed much turmoil throughout its short history. According to Stanislaw Juchnowicz, the promenade was originally planted with red roses. It is difficult to gauge how much of the original design was implemented. Once a



Nowa Huta Central Square (Plac Centralny), 1959.

Central Square 2010.

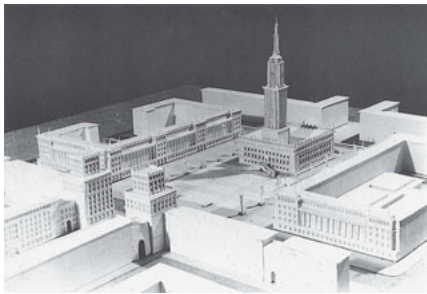




Monument to Lenin, Roses Avenue.



Park Ratuszowy aleja Roz and Przyjazni.



Nowa Huta Town Hall and Central Square, model 1951.

popular recreational area, the promenade soon became embroiled in political upheaval when a statue of Lenin was placed there in 1973. It was customary in communist countries for visiting communist leaders to place flowers at a statue of Lenin. As no such statue existed in Nowa Huta, officials sought to address this embarrassment by holding a competition. Designed by Marian Konieczny and funded by the steelworkers, Lenin was depicted walking in stride. Once installed, opposition to the monument was immediate and many unsuccessful attempts were made to deface and remove it, including a bombing attempt in 1979 that resulted in the death of one person and damage to surrounding buildings. The statue was finally removed and sold in 1989. Continue walking north along Roses Avenue, crossing Przyjazni Avenue to Park Ratuszowy.

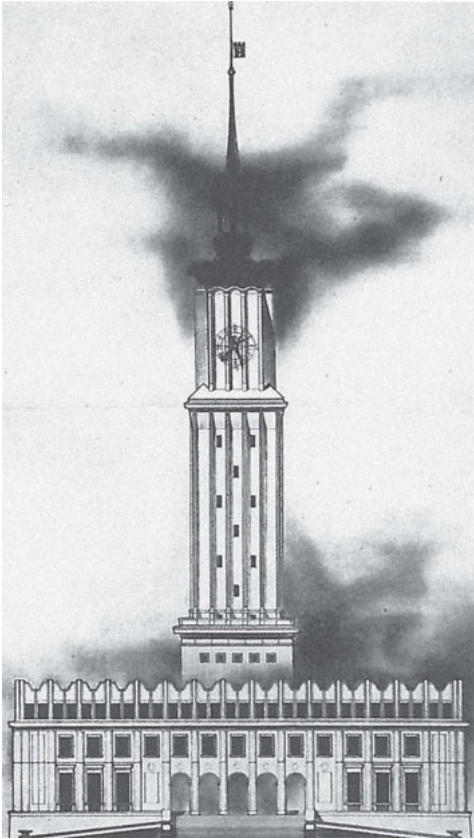
3 Town Hall

Roses Avenue (Aleja Róż)

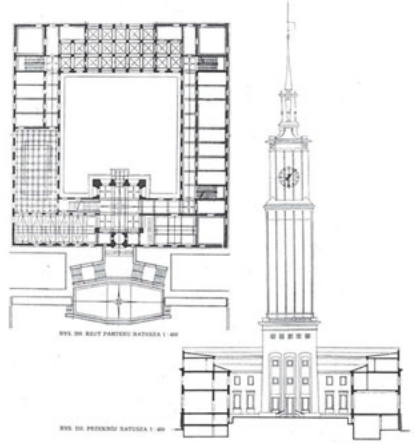
Of all the projects we will explore on this tour, the Town Hall would have been one of the most impressive, resulting in a fundamentally different centre compared to the current situation. A sketch by the architect Tadeusza Janowskiego dating from 1951, shows a building located in the centre of Roses Avenue with a grand square in the foreground, flanked by two administrative buildings on either side. The Town Hall Square was to provide the main market square for the city whilst the administrative buildings were to house important social and state offices. Influenced by the Renaissance Town Hall in Zamosc, the building created an end to the vista from Central Square.

Many reasons have been put forward as to why it was never built: in 1951 Nowa Huta became a district of Krakow, thus eliminating the need for the Town Hall; funding cuts to the budget meant that available resources were redirected towards housing; and finally, when time came to construct the building, the design which dated from the socialist realist period had fallen out of favour.

A park and a housing project with ground floor retail spaces replaced the Town Hall project. Confusingly the park has two names, Town Hall Park and Park Ratuszowy. As with other places we have encountered in Nowa Huta, a memory of the past (albeit unbuilt) has been retained in people's consciousness. Designed by Bronislaw Szulewski, the park functions as the central



Nowa Huta Town Hall, elevation 1951.



Nowa Huta Town Hall, plan 1951.



Men playing a board game, Park Ratuszowy 2010.

meeting place for mostly older residents. We will now return to our original starting point Central Square, and continue to the southern edge of the square.

4 House of Culture and Theatre (*Nowohuckie Centrum Kultury*)
Central Square (Plac Centralny)

Central Square

The Renaissance provided the inspiration for the façades which display a tripartite configuration at Central Square. Designed by the head architect Tadeusz Ptaszycycki, and Janusz Ingarden, construction took place between 1952 and 1956. Until the construction of modernist towers, these buildings were the city's highest. An arcaded passage was proposed for the entire square, but restricted to the corner buildings following a cost cutting exercise. Only two types of windows were used in all of the buildings and as a result much effort was made to create variation in the façades, including double height retail spaces on the corners. Some of the original interiors can be seen in the folk art and handcrafts shop *Cepelia*

Cepelia Handcrafts, original interior, Central Square.





Skarbnica bookstore, original interior, Central Square.

and Skarbnica, formerly called the Dom Książki bookstore.

For more information on Cepelia and Skarbnica see: cepelia.pl and skarbnica.krakow.pl

House of Culture and Theatre

Original massing model studies of Central Square reveal a closed square. However, this was never implemented and the Central Square remains open. Further attempts were made to close the square but none of these schemes were successful. The building was to be located on the highest topographical point overlooking the Nowa Huta Meadows with a monumental colonnade designed to face the square. In 1956 the project was removed from the investment plans. Unlike the Town Hall, the House of Culture was eventually built. Its location is slightly west of the original proposal at the end of Roses Avenue. This modernist building was completed in 1983 without consulting the original design team. The Nowa Huta Cultural Centre is Krakow's biggest community centre of culture and education. Continue the tour to the final destination, the Nowa Huta Meadows.

For more information on the Nowa Huta Cultural Centre see: www.nck.krakow.pl



House of Culture and Theatre, view from Nowa Huta Meadows, model 1951.



Nowa Huta, House of Culture and Theatre, model 1951.

5 Park and Lake

Central Square (Plac Centralny) adjacent Osiedle Centrum F

From this position, we can see a panoramic view of the Nowa Huta Meadows. The meadows were formerly the river bed of the Vistula River. In 1953 the architect Stanislaw Juchnowicz made a proposal for a park to the south of Central Square connected to the greenbelt surrounding the city.

Within the park was an artificial lake that was to fill the valley with water from the west. A cable car was to transport people down the embankment to the lower level. The plan was never implemented but the area became known as the place where the lake 'should have been'. A lake was eventually built in a recreational zone between Bulwarowa and Solidarity Avenue. Stanislaw Juchnowicz has expressed great interest in the development of the meadows. Acknowledging that the original design team's ecological consciousness had been limited, in hindsight he recognises the benefit of not realising the original park plan as the existing ecology would have been destroyed.

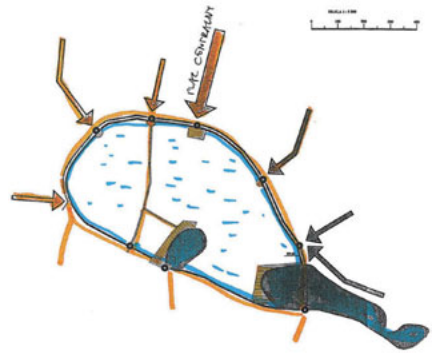
The meadows have been recognised for their diverse and rare plant and bird species. The 32km Nowa Huta 'Greenways' bicycle route takes cyclists through the meadows and forms part of the larger International Amber Trail from Budapest to Krakow along the River Vistula. (For more information refer to the guidebook *Krakow's Nowa Huta, Socialist in Form, Fascinating in Content*, Miezián 2004).

In 2003 Stanislaw Juchnowicz was approached to design a new plan for the park. An important part of the proposal was to maintain an ecological link between the meadow and the River Vistula which is the main ecological corridor of Poland.

During this tour we have explored many of the key ideas and projects underpinning the planning of Nowa Huta's civic functions. A number of important projects were not realised over the course of the city's history; some were abandoned whilst others manifested in different ways. Within the current city form it is interesting to see how much of the original design intention has been retained and how certain unrealised projects live on in the memory of the residents. Through the continuing involvement of Stanislaw Juchnowicz, the original urban plan maintains its relevance today.



Nowa Huta Park and Lake, sketch 1954.



Nowa Huta Meadows, sketch 2003.



Stanislaw Juchnowicz, 2010.





Imaginary cities

Joris van Casteren, recently nominated for the AKO Literature Prize for his book *Lelystad*, wrote a series of stories about New Towns across Europe. The series appeared as articles in the Dutch magazine *Hollands Diep*. In the fourth installment in the series from the summer issue of *Hollands Diep* Van Casteren explored this Polish New Town and the people.

The miracle of Nowa Huta

by Joris van Casteren
photos Hans van der Meer

These days, Nowa Huta in Poland, originally founded by Stalin as a socialist realistic model town, is inhabited by hooligans, unemployed and retired people. But even today the architect is proud of the symmetry in the town plan.

It's Sunday evening and I'm standing in Nowa Huta on Ronald Reagan Square, formerly Plac Centralny (Central Square). A man in a faded jacket starts to speak to me in Polish. I tell him in English that I don't understand him. 'Me no English,' he shouts. He takes my blocnote out of my hands and writes with an unstable hand 'Zdzisław Kepa'. 'Me Zdzislaw Kepa,' he says, and strikes himself on the chest. From the inside pocket of the faded jacket appears a small bottle of cherry vodka. He takes a draught, I decline politely.

Kepa continues talking in Polish. He pulls my arm and I follow him through a broad street. In front of a crowded tram stop he stumbles over a loose paving stone. We walk through a passageway beneath a building and arrive in a small street with apartment buildings. At one of the doors he stops and rings the bell. An angry voice of a woman sounds through the intercom. Kepa points at his wedding ring and makes a desperate gesture.

The next morning I'm introduced to my interpreter. His name is Robert Sochanski and he is a student from Krakow. 'I'm ashamed of Poland in general and of Nowa Huta in particular,' Sochanski says. He is 23 years old and smokes thin menthol cigarettes. In a cafe with a communist era interior I explain my plans to him. 'We are going to look for people who built Nowa Huta. And for young people, to get an impression of today's life.'

Sochanski asks how we're going to make contact with them. 'We talk with people on the street, or we ring a doorbell,' I say. 'That is not done in Poland,' Sochanski says. In his opinion, Poles are suspicious and impolite. 'That's why I want to emigrate to America.' He already applied for a scholarship at a university in New York.

I point to a place on the map where I want to go. 'That's where a female student was raped last month,' Sochanski says. The story goes that she was dragged out of the bus by skinheads, nobody intervening. When I point to another neighbourhood, Sochanski says that place is ruled by Hutniks, fanatic supporters of the local football club.

In 1949, ten kilometres east of Krakow farmers were driven off their lands. Buses arrived full of veterans, criminals and unemployed from all parts of Poland. While singing battle songs they built a city for two hundred thousand people, with a large steel plant next to it. The city was to be named Nowa Huta.

Stalin insisted on the building of Nowa Huta, because there was no proletariat in Poland. With Nowa Huta, this proletariat could be created. The steel plant would provide labourers, who would live comfortably in the brand new city.

Stalin gave a large bag of money to his subjects of the Polish People's party. Nowa Huta had to become an imposing new town, it had to become better than those casual new towns in the West, where you could never be sure if the citizens would put into practice the dreamt ideals.

Nowa Huta was to be realized close to Krakow. For Krakow was an awkward, mundane city full of intellectuals and students. First, Nowa Huta would proletarianize Krakow, followed by the rest of Poland.



The architects worked according to the bombastic and easy to understand principles of socialist realism. They drew five perpendicular lanes, starting from the central square and as a fan dispersing toward the edges of the town. Between those lanes stood severe residential blocs with classical ornaments. By the construction of streets intersecting the lanes they created quarters, which they marked A-0 till D-31. Many labourers came from the countryside. In their modern houses they continued their rural traditions. They kept pigs in the kitchen and made fires in the living room. Several groups clashed with each other. Women had to build too, there was no time to look after children. In a nearby river, as well as in some foundations, there were found remains of dead baby bodies.

The Polish author Ryszard Kapuściński (1932-2007) wrote his first report in Nowa Huta. 'A nightmare', he called it. 'A total hunger among the labourers, dirt and drunkenness.' Mid 1950s, by the time the city was finished and the steel plant was up and running, it became more peaceful in Nowa Huta. Every morning labourers marched from their house to the plant. There was no unemployment and crime was reduced. There were schools, day nurseries and shops. Everybody had the possibility to go on holiday once a year. Delegations from countries of the Warsaw pact arrived to see the miracle of Nowa Huta.

Together with Sochanski I walk past quarter B-31 to the Ratuszowy-park, the meeting point for Nowa Huta's retired. Three men are sitting on a bench. 'Ask them if they worked in the plant,' I say to Sochanski. When Sochanski tells them that I am a journalist, two of the old men rise and go.

The third, Zygmunt (81), is prepared to talk. His nose and mouth twist in a strange way. 'He thinks it's due to chemicals he breathed in when he worked at the plant,' Sochanski explains.

Zygmunt tells us he was set to work in Germany during the war. After liberation he returned to Poland penniless. Together with thousands of others he was sent to Nowa Huta in 1948. He had to dig ditches and lay bricks. When the town was finished he found a job in the plant. He had to put small metal objects into boxes.

Zygmunt got married to a woman who also worked in the plant. They moved into an apartment in one of the residential blocks. Inside, the apartments were all furnished identically, with goods that could be obtained from a central warehouse.

The architects placed the residential blocks in such a way that there was always a view to another block. 'This way everybody could keep an eye on everybody,' Zygmunt says.



He didn't plan to stay long in Nowa Huta. 'I wanted to save some money and buy a cottage in the country.' But there was not much to save, because the wages were low. In order to make more money you had to become a member of the People's Party, the only way to get promotion. Zygmunt didn't want that.

He had two children, a son and a daughter. Every month he put aside some money for their studies later on. When his son turned eighteen, Zygmunt wanted to forward his savings to the university of Krakow. 'They told us he wouldn't be accepted, because I was not a member of the Party.' His son became an electrician, his daughter a cook. Both still live in Nowa Huta, now each in their own flats.

Last year Zygmunt's wife died, leaving him behind in the apartment. If the weather is nice, he goes to the park. If the weather is bad, he repairs radios and TV's for other retired plant workers, who, like himself, have to make ends meet with less than two hundred euro a month.

Sochanski and I go to B-2, the quarter where the female student had been dragged out of the bus. Earlier I was told by the local historian Maciej Mieziań, that block 21 in B-2 is the oldest residential block of Nowa Huta. After searching for a while we find number 21, a rectangular complex with a brown-grey facade made of shotcrete.

'Let's ring the doorbell,' I say. 'I'm afraid,' Sochanski says. The central front door opens and a man with a pram appears. Hesitating, Sochanski addresses the man. 'I don't know anything about it,' the man says. He shouts something into the stairwell and his mother-in-law comes down.

The mother-in-law's hair is dyed red with a grey outgrow. 'This is certainly not the oldest block,' she says. 'Maciej Mieziań told me,' I say. 'Maciej Mieziań talks nonsense.' She recounts that he is regularly found standing in front of number 21 with his tour groups. 'He knows that the oldest block is in A-0. But he finds it too far to walk.'

In 1946 the mother-in-law was born in a small village in Silesia. The communist authorities sent her family in 1949 to Nowa Huta. Her father had to bake bricks. 'Horrible,' says Sochanski. 'Not at all,' the mother-in-law says. 'We received a house for free and a job for life.'

Back in those days, life in Nowa Huta was ideal. 'It was reigned by order and discipline, everybody knew his place.'

'Ask her if she was a member of the communist party,' I say to Sochanski. 'Are you mad?' Sochanski says. I have to insist a long time before he asks. The mother-in-law nods.

Her husband held a leading position in the plant. They lived in the prominent quarter



number C-32, exclusively inhabited by party members. After the free elections in August 1989, they lost their privileged position and were forced to move to the small flat in block 21. ‘Nowa Huta is impoverished, it is ruled by scoundrels.’

By the end of the 1960s, the citizens of Nowa Huta wished to build a church. But the communists were against religion and didn’t allow them. The people built a wooden cross and held open-air services. The military police intervened violently.

In the seventies, confidence in the authorities further declined. The permanent layer of thick smoke laid over the city by the 125 chimneys of the steel plant, they asserted, was not poisonous. But citizens died young of strange diseases, and many mutated babies were born.

By the start of the eighties, the steel labourers of Nowa Huta massively joined the actions of Lech Wałęsa’s illegal trade union Solidarity, which originated and spread from the city of Gdańsk. They organised protest marches from the plant to the city’s central square. Again, the riot police intervened with violence, and people were killed.

Nowhere in Poland the labourers fought against the communist regime as fearless as in Nowa Huta, the city that had to become an example for the rest of the country. The socialist-realistic residential blocks were ideal fortresses from where the rioters launched surprise attacks at the police.

After the 1989 revolution there were plans to destroy Nowa Huta completely. When eventually this didn’t happen, everybody who could afford it started leaving the city, which embodied an unhappy era. Low educated, unemployed and retired people stayed behind. Of the forty thousand labourers the plant employed in its heyday, four thousand remained.

The sun is setting when we ring the bell of Zdzisław Kepa’s apartment. I hear his voice through the intercom. At first, Kepa says he doesn’t know me. Then he tells us he has another appointment. Eventually he says he will come out with his dog after one hour. One hour later he appears as he said, with his dog. We walk to the cafe with the communist interior and Kepa ties the dog to a lamp pole. Inside he tells me that I am the very image of his childhood friend, who drank himself to death. ‘That’s why he wanted to take you home,’ Sochanski says. ‘His wife didn’t think it a good idea.’

Kepa (56) grew up in Nowa Huta. At school he had to learn the Russian language and history. The teachers told their pupils it was a privilege to be a resident of Nowa Huta. ‘I knew they were lies,’ Kepa says. In various ways the city tried to force an artificial identity upon him. Sometimes he and his classmates had to parade with a flag on the







Socialist model town

At the Yalta Conference in 1945, Stalin laid claim to Poland and installed the People's Republic of Poland. In order to lead Poland on to the socialist path, he ordered the building in 1949 of Nowa Huta ('New Steel Mill'), near Krakow, with an immense steel plant next to it. After the fall of the communist regime in 1989, Nowa Huta lost its identity as a socialist-realist model town. Parts of the steel plant were closed, 90 percent of the labourers became unemployed. In the 1990s, the city developed into the centre of the Polish skinhead movement. For the last few years efforts are undertaken to promote Nowa Huta as a tourist attraction. Because of the many parks and the large apartments, Nowa Huta, currently inhabited by 230,000 people, is gradually becoming more attractive for young families.

central square. 'On such occasions I used to hide in the wardrobe together with the flag.'

After school he started to work at a building company connected to the steel plant. Employees of this company could be set to work in other Warsaw Pact countries. 'That way I got a passport. I tried to travel as much as possible.'

He met his wife and got married. In the eighties he fought together with the rebels of Solidarity against the military police. Kepa thinks Nowa Huta should have been flattened by bulldozers after the revolution.

Nowadays Nowa Huta is the scene of the so-called 'communism tours', an idea of young entrepreneurs from Krakow. Tourists and party groups can have themselves transported through the socrealistic model town by a trabant or an authentic soviet tank. 'As a resident of Nowa Huta you are a pitiable background actor in an open air museum,' Kepa says.

He still works at the building company. But the company is almost bankrupt and orders have ceased to come. 'All day I sit inside with my wife.' In the evenings he escapes in order to empty a bottle of cherry vodka.

The next day I go with Sochanski to quarter number A-25 to look for the Hutniks. On the parking lot we find three. They have shaved heads, are wearing a bomber jack and they are drinking beer.

Sochanski approaches them. 'They will talk if you give them beer,' he says. Together we walk to the

football supporters' cafe next to the stadium of their club, Sportowy Hutniks, quarter no. A-25.

In the cafe Jakub (25), Marcin (21) and Rafa (29) tell that they drink beer from early morning till late at night. In the weekend they go to the stadium for a fight with the riot police and the hooligans of the enemy. 'We are degraded to division two, but that doesn't count for fighting,' Marcin says.

Marcin tells that they hate negroes, Jews and Arabs. 'Unfortunately there are no negroes, Jews or Arabs in Nowa Huta.' Now and then there are gypsies though. 'When we see them we chase them out of the city,' Jakub says.

Last year, Jakub was stabbed in his back on the street. In hospital they had to remove part of his lungs. He doesn't know who did it. 'I would like to meet him, I will kill him when I do.'

All three of them were born in Nowa Huta. Their grandparents moved to Nowa Huta from villages around Krakow. Their parents worked at the plant. All three of them had a technical education, but once they had their diplomas, there was no work. And still there is no work. Now and then they can do some construction work in Germany for a few months. 'After that we drink away our money,' Marcin sometimes knows a healthier period, when he visits the sport club.

Marcin and Jakub live with their parents, Rafa with his mother. 'My father is not alive anymore, he drank himself to death.' He himself has just been released from hospital, where he was treated for liver damage.

About Nowa Huta's history they don't know much. 'My parents have told me much about it, but I'm not interested,' Jakub says. 'My father used to fight with the police. I found that quite cool,' Marcin says. Rafa remembers vaguely how the statue of Lenin was removed from the central square. 'My parents always complain about me being lazy, and that it was so different in their days,' Jakub says. 'I can't stand that nagging,' Marcin says. Some of their classmates went to university. They never saw them back.

On the map of Nowa Huta they point out where the territory of the Hutniks ends, and where starts the territory of the hooligans of the other Krakow football clubs, Wisła Krakow and Cracovia. If they cross one of the boundary streets, their lives are at stake. 'I would like to have a cottage in the country,' Marcin says. I wouldn't like to bring up my children in Nowa Huta. Here people kill each other for no reason. Jakub and Rafa also wouldn't like to bring up their children in Nowa Huta. But for the present they have no children. And no girlfriend either. 'Women don't seem very interested in us,' Jakub says.

At an institute for architecture in Krakow I meet Stanisław Juchnowicz (84), one of the architects who designed Nowa Huta. 'I'm still proud of the symmetry of the town plan,' Juchnowicz says. The team of architects, he says, searched for maximal freedom within the limited possibilities offered by the socialist-realistic doctrine, in order to make life for the residents as pleasant as possible. 'I think the residents of Nowa Huta were happier than those of an average new town.'

Juchnowicz believes that the humane concept made the residents develop a humane view upon reality. For the same reason he thinks Solidarity had the chance to become as strong as it did in Nowa Huta.

There were colleagues who blamed him for offering his services to the regime. He had no doubts himself. 'I have only one life. In that one life you can only design one town.' Opponents accused him and other Nowa Huta architects of collaboration with the regime. 'As if we were going to design Auschwitz,' Juchnowicz cries out. 'If we hadn't designed Nowa Huta, it might have become much worse.'

Notes

- 1] Alison Stenning, 'Placing (Post-)Socialism: The Making and Remaking of Nowa Huta, Poland', *European Urban and Regional Studies* 7(2), 2000, p. 100.
- 2] *Ibidem*, p. 101.
- 3] *Ibidem*, p. 102.
- 4] Ingrid Apolinarski, Christoph Bernardt, 'Entwicklungslogiken sozialistischer Planstädte am Beispiel von Eisenhüttenstadt und Nova Huta', in: Holger Barth (ed.) *Grammatik sozialistischer Architekturen*, Berlin 2001, p. 52.
- 5] Åman, A., *Architecture and Ideology in Eastern Europe during the Stalin Era*, Cambridge: MIT Press, 1992.
- 6] Dingsdale, A., *Mapping Modernities: Geographies of Central and Eastern Europe, 1920-2000*, London: Routledge, 2002.
- 7] Stenning, op. cit. p. 100.
- 8] *Ibid.*
- 9] *Idem*, p. 103.
- 10] De Weydenthal, J., *The Communists of Poland: an Historical Outline*, Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1978. p. 60.
- 11] Ryder, A., "Growth Poles Policy in Poland and the Lenin Steelworks", *Geoforum* 21, 1990 (2): p. 233. See also: Regulska, 1987, p. 328 cited in Stenning, 2000, p. 100.
- 12] Carter, F., *Trade and Urban Development in Poland: an Economic Geography of Cracow from its Origins to 1795*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- 13] Hardy and Rainnie, 1996, p. 148 cited in Stenning, 2000 p. 100.
- 14] Stenning, op. cit. p. 100.
- 15] Stenning, op. cit. p. 101.
- 16] Gut, 1991, p. 25 cited in Stenning 2000, p. 102.
- 17] May, R. "Planned city Stalinstadt: a manifesto of the early German Democratic Republic.", in: *Planning Perspectives*, 2003.
- 18] May, op. cit. p. 53.
- 19] May, op. cit. pp. 54-55.
- 20] *Ibid.*; "The Sixteen Principles of Urban Planning" are printed in several German publications about urban planning in the GDR, one of which is *Baukunst voran! Architektur und Städtebau in der SBZ/DDR* (1995), of Jörn Düwel.
- 21] May, op. cit. p. 56.
- 22] Stenning, op. cit. p.101
- 23] Stenning, op. cit. p.102
- 24] Stenning, op. cit. p.101
- 25] Stenning, A., "Post-socialism and the changing geographies of the everyday in Poland.", in: *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 2005 30/1, p. 113-127.
- 26] *Ibid.*
- 27] Stenning, 2000, op. cit. p. 105.
- 28] *Ibid.*
- 29] Stenning, 2000, op. cit. p. 106.
- 30] *Ibid.*
- 31] Stenning, 2000, op. cit. pp. 106-107.
- 32] Stenning, 2000, op. cit. p. 107.
- 33] Stenning, 2000, op. cit. p. 101, 108.
- 34] Stenning, 2000, op. cit. p. 108.
- 35] See chpt 5, route 5: Unrealized projects.
- 36] Stenning, A., "Shaping the Economic Landscapes of Post-Socialism? Labour, Workplace and Community in Nowa Huta, Poland", in: *Antipode*, Vol. 35, Issue 4, September 2003. p. 761-780.
- 37] Stenning, A., "The Politics of Work, Workplace and Community in Nowa Huta, Poland", Paper presented to the Annual Conference of the Association of American Geographers, Pittsburgh, PA, 4th-8th April 2000. p.12
- 38] http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/e6d5d634-c50f-11df-b785-00144feab49a,dwp_uuid=05c2777c-38da-11df-9998-00144feabdc0.html

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