THE NEW PLANNING PARADIGM IN
THE LATEST YUGOSLAV STATE
ALLIANCE OF SERBIA AND MONTENEGRO

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In the waves of transition and recent changes to political system and planning regulatory mechanisms in most eastern and central European countries, the Yugoslav planning fabric is discovering new avenues and trying to develop new endeavours within the framework of economic, political and professional independence.

The main idea of this paper is to challenge the history and evolution of Yugoslav planning system, legislature, administration and education; planning techniques and the planning implementation. All these and other constitutive and important elements of a viable and flexible planning system need to be considerably improved, since the arrival of a new political authorities and powers.

The discussion should also enhance our knowledge about trans-national approaches and different planning ideas, concepts and practices applicable in the current Yugoslav planning environment. This could lead to a new planning paradigm based on global thinking and an interconnected world, flavoured with locally sustainable planning solutions that could bring the Yugoslav planning machinery on the board of the new century. At the same time, this approach would reflect how the Yugoslav planning community could improve its “own values” whilst looking forward to creating a modern and efficient planning mechanism.

INTRODUCTION TO DIFFICULT TASK

The process of transition on the territory of present and former Yugoslavia is not surprising novelty. Since the ancient times this region was spot where many people and cultures met and clashed. Known in literature as the Balkan Peninsula, it changed name several times, more than any other geographical area in Europe (Čvijić, 1918). From the anthropo-geographical and ethnographic viewpoint, north-western, central and south-eastern parts of the Balkan Peninsula were traditionally populated with South Slavs, starting all from the IV century A.D. This part of the large group of Slavic nations (e.g. Russians, Polish, Czechs, Slovaks, etc.) interacted and clashed with other neighbouring ethnicities (Hungarians, Bulgarians, Albanians, Greeks, Romans, Italians, Austrians, etc). At the same time, there were tensions and rivalry amongst tribes and people that formed the group of South Slavs such as Serbs, Croats, Slovenians, Bosnians, Montenegrins and Macedonians often based on religious and later on economic divisions.

Regulatory planning and city building at this “junction of nations” have reach and multi layered history. This heritage can be traced very far back to the “Code of Emperor Dusan” in 1349, and to Dubrovnik’s “Liber Statutorum Civitatis Ragusii” from 1296 (Krstić, 1982). Unfortunately, and sometime without any logical reason, the fine line that had for centuries linked urban dwellers from this part of the world, has now become even thinner. Positivism of different epochs was frequently affected by wars and political crises in which the destructive power of human beings was changing the physical, population, ethnic and religious image of many south Slavic cities and towns. Although more difficult by the day, in some, it is still possible to recognize the remains of exceptional architectural, urban design and planning work. The different indigenous and imported styles can be followed ranging from those of Roman times (classical planning), the Eastern Byzantine (medieval planning) and Ottoman Empire (Islamic planning), the Italian Peninsula and Venetian Republic (renaissance and baroque planning), and the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy (neo-renaissance, baroque and neo-gothic planning) leading up to the development of new architectural, urban design and planning forms as summarized in models such as: “City Beautiful”, “Garden City”, “Beaux Art” and the “Bauhaus”, modernism and post modernism, neo-romanticism, neo-empiricism, etc. described in works of numerous domestic authors (Radošević, 1933; Dobrović, 1946; Maksimović, 1962; Marinović-Uzelac, 1989; Stojkov, 1992)

However, all these artefacts are still not adequately elaborated in modern planning.
literature in general, and south-eastern European in particular. This is largely due to poor knowledge and the insufficient interest of foreign planners in this part of the world (this at least being one’s first impression). Furthermore, the absence of Yugoslav planners (except a few cases Budić-Nedović, Cavic, Bogunovic, Vujosevic, Milinkovic-Pichler, etc.) on the international publishing scene, before and after the civil war that swept across the country in the last decade of the 20th century, also contributed to the feeling of a non-affirmative "Balkan urban theatre". Due to the lack of systematic foreign research in combination with local scientific counterparts, conclusions pertaining to the development and planning of settlements in Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Monte Negro and Macedonia, are brought mostly on "ad hoc" basis, with a distinctively marked political connotation, and even sometime disqualification.

Describing this region as one in transition, or as a region of countries belonging to the former eastern block is an over-simplification. There appears to be an overlap between external and domestic knowledge of the characteristics of past, current and perspective urban development in different political and historical circumstances. Meanwhile, this simplification, which does not provide a basis for a serious professional and academic discussion, widely opens the doors for research opportunities into the theory and practice of the previous generations of planners who worked in different social, administrative and political environments (Vršer 1978, Perisic 1985, Piha 1986, Bakic 1989). Watson (1998, 1999) and Maier (1994) agree that circumstances in transitional societies offer a laboratory setting for tracking and evaluation the forms and concepts of planning over time.

There is a fact that urban history and planning systems in the countries of former Yugoslavia did not come to be or end at the time of "socialist and communist regimes". Yugoslavia is among many countries that have over the past several decades undergone significant changes in their planning and urban development practices (Nedovic-Budic, 2001). However, this fact is not strong enough in itself to test the general approach taken when researching urban topics, based primarily on values built by Anglo-Saxon planning scholars.

Its transient nature, a current unbalanced political and economical scales, as well as the 50-year long period behind the "iron curtain" (which was not always the case in practice when compared with other East European countries especially in Tito's era), represent the main constraints for members of the former Yugoslav community (with the exception of Slovenia), when joining the club of "countries of western democracy, globalisation and sustainable development". Clearly, just like any other new membership, this one also implies an adequate price. At this point in time, the entrance ticket price is Draconian and it is very uncertain whether there are available funds for it to be paid, especially after objectively looking at the consequences and enormity of the economic and human catastrophe that struck the area in the past ten years.

It is notable that two contrasting processes might occur within the formation of a new planning system and awareness today. The forces of the previous administrative and political apparatus continue to obstruct the transitional changes as powerfully as they can. Meanwhile, the newly formed administrative machinery continues to lack the human and financial resources essential for it to realise fast and efficient changes. The mental and socio-psychological displays of most of the participants in the changes are such that they require different tuning in order to move from what was declared to the sphere of real and pragmatic. In view of this, the statement made by Perisic and Bojovic (1997) that "the country is not in a process of transition but rather in a state of deep crisis", is still valid.

The promised international aid has failed to materialise since the country is one of high risk areas for investment into new economic programmes. The functioning of a legal and economic system, the substitution and replacement of out-dated technologies, revitalisation and redevelopment of areas devastated by war, the degradation of ecological values, the endangerment of spectacular natural beauties, the uncontrolled exploitation of natural resources, the establishment of smooth communication and other networks, the gaining membership in international organizations, and the establishment of an atmosphere of trust and dialogue within the framework of the international community (primarily neighbours) are also some of the burning issues that have to be dealt with and resolved at the beginning of the 21st century.

The ability to develop new avenues in the planning branch will depend on the entire societal resolution of these dilemmas and problems, but it will also be the responsibility of the planners themselves to raise the level of awareness and activity in accordance with recognisable international standards. This century is the century of new challenges for everyone, and planning is then well on the way to becoming one of the leading forces in the country devastated by dark evils. There is belief that the willingness and capacity of local planners must be strengthened by mutual enhancement with foreign counterparts, firstly from the neighbouring countries, in turn, it will show that such arrangement is progressive in widening local capacities building, developing moral, and stabilising communities of different, but co-operative contributors.

It is the contention of this analysis to support and promote such endorsements and ideas, which can shoulder a myriad of diversified urbanities. This approaches acknowledges the current mosaic of ideological foundations, which is still in transformation process. What the further investigations will highlight is the set of critical recommendations for faster recovery of local planning apparatus. In this regard the attitudes towards Yugoslav planning renaissance and establishment of new paradigm will reflect expected political and societal will. There would be also a symbolic element as well, which will highlight the usage of physical space in forthcoming negotiations and bargaining among different parties in critical conditions of expected power imbalances.

Furthermore, present examples of major contemporary projects and ideas will be examined and summarised around the common constructs which appear in this paper and might be used as the basis for establishing the guidelines in supporting new planning legitimacy along the line of appropriate harmonisation and co-ordination which is essential among numerous actors and key players in sophisticated planning game, as well as in the process of required public monitoring. These developments can help to establish participatory behaviour and moral in place making, facilitating a new grounding in the once "strange and no man's land".

In view of this, requests for political pluralism, democratisation, deregulation, privatisation and the development of market institutions and mechanisms, which have been presented as the objectives of this conference, require partnerships within which home agendas could be integrated into the dominant foreign trends.
THE NEW SYSTEM IS PROBABLY BORN

The events that took place in October 2000 marked the end of the ten year period of social and economic agony and injustice in which so many human and material values were vanished. The country has now entered a new phase of very uncertain development. The widely perceived phenomenon of "liberalisation and democratisation" has knocked on the country's door and has led many commentators to raise the question as to "what now?" Those who carried out the peaceful revolutionary changes are now being asked to make things happen. However, judging by how things stand now, they seem to be struggling with the delicate task of leading the remainder of the former country. Due to the limited managing, technical and administrative cadres, the neglected physical and social infrastructure, and the insufficient control of financial flows, there is a big gap between desired, declared and achieved developments.

This fictional vision that everything would go well once the old regime was replaced, has had a boomerang effect. Not even the numerous "head blows" suffered since, have managed to awaken most of the participants and take the extended crisis. The basic problems such as sense of extreme national importance, stubbornness, the belief that some are beyond reproach, feelings of false pride and the tendency to look down on the values of others nations still prevail among the masses. In an attempt to maintain the basic conditions for survival, the devastated intelligentsia in the country is often caught up in verbal accusations and non-productive clashes of opinion. There is also a tendency to avoid usage of the models already tested in other East European countries as they are considered to come from the centres of the new world order and their allies. On a daily basis people face the dilemma whether to align themselves with the European family and the leading countries of the world, or live a miserable existence in the miniature remainder of what is now known as New Yugoslavia, lead by the newly formed elite. There is no doubt that someone has to pay the price of defeat for the benefit of future generations. However, the sacrifice and price seem to be too high and nobody is still not showing a courage and readiness for it.

The current political environment also affects the existing planning system or its model. Caught in the vortex of uncontrolled changes, the planning system itself is aiming at a rebirth and reincarnation, looking for new ideas, concepts, practices and methods. The international town planning movement of Charles Mulford Robinson as stated by Sutcliffe (1981, p.229) might be still an utopian goal for the majority of existing governmental, parastatal and private planning agencies. Despite the common problem of major social inequalities, the current Yugoslav planning system operates under a mix of planning ideas - the old ones inherited from the communist and/or pre-communist past, and the new ones developed and applied in the present. The planners are trying to adopt, modify, and re-invent practices and approaches from their own past and from other countries, both near and afar, thereby moulding and creating a new planning system (Budic and Cavic, 2001, Sykora, 1999). The inherited segments of five legal families of European planning, i.e. the British, Scandinavian, Napoleonic, Germanic and East European systems (Newman and Thornley, 1996; Healey and R. Williams, 1993, M. J. Thomas, 1998) are still very influential in this Region. However, some other models are slowly but surely infiltrating the Yugoslav planning scene following the socio-economic and political collapse, evident after the NATO campaign. According to Ward (2000), these latest exports described as "borrowing" and "imposition", might be transitional opportunities for countries such as new Yugoslavia.

With transitional approaches gaining momentum in Europe (Pallagst, 2001) and worldwide, it is of outmost importance to enhance our knowledge about the characteristics of diffusion of planning systems (Budic, Cavic, 2001, p.3). Hohn (2001, p.2) for example, offers the post World War II history of planning in German democratic Republic (GDR) as an example of the fact that despite a simplified outside view, it was “not by any means a monolithic block characterised by the continuity of one view of urban development and one constellation of actors.” Bearing in mind the current situation in the country and the ability of the Yugoslav planning fraternity and society as a whole, it would be wise to react quickly and efficiently without wasting time on empty discussions about designing and modelling entirely new and fashionable system. Needless to say, a number of options should be considered paying special attention to the last two. This translation of original models through local contexts, interpretations, cultures, and institutions makes planning diffusion highly dynamic and highly variable rather than uniform process (Ward, ibid).

The suggestion is to perhaps select the "imposed" model in the initial phase in order to minimize the rigidity of the existing political and economical disparities. Once the current situation changes, in some 10-15 years according to the most optimistic predictions, the diversification of the system should aim at international diffusion, assuming that most of the current limitations will be a thing of the past. The framework presented in Figure 1 is an attempt to visually capture the relevant processes and factors, their relationships, and their contributions to the evolution of planning systems. It also includes the outcomes that are missing from other frameworks: resultant legal and institutional framework, characteristics of the planning process, and specifics of urban environment and quality of life as promoted by particular aspects of established adopted, evolved, transformed, matured planning system. (Budic, Cavic, 2001, p.33).

This decision, although very difficult and painful (some might even call it "imposition" as non-patriotic), identifies the 5-year review as an opportunity for the further implementation of good and sustainable practices. It would be an important milestone and would call for new and creative contributions for supporting the progress achieved in transitions towards sustainability and effective urban and environmental management. Focusing initially on two major models (imposed and borrowed), the initiative is motivated by the conviction that knowledge-driven strategies and new generations of planners should take their revisited role in advocating the interests of the public and all other stakeholders, in both, the local and international arena.

Finally, this section is only a small step toward a greater understanding of the diffusion and evolution of planning. Future research is needed to:
- Test, compare, and evaluate the frameworks against the empirical findings.
- Develop indicators of matching/fitting or discontinuity between the planning imports/export innovations and the local context; and
- Examine the transformation/adaptation/adjustment/re-invention of ideas, concepts, practices, and methods implemented to meet diverse local circumstances. (Budic, Cavic, 2001, p. 33).
Figure 1. Conceptual Framework

**External Influences**
- Political
- Economic
- Cultural
- Planning models
- Planning education
  "Big ideas"

**Internal Influences**
- History
- Culture/Attitudes
- Natural environment
- Government institutions
- Democratization
- Centralization of decision powers
- Social stratification
- Economic development
- Planning education & professional associations

**Outcomes/Measures:**
- Equitable allocation of resources
- Efficient/Effective spatial organization
  (e.g., access, mixed use, social aggregation)
- Quality of built environment
  (e.g., aesthetics, orientation, identity, scale)
- Environmental Quality

- Responsiveness of planning institutions and approaches to local circumstances
- Public participation in planning processes
- Efficient/Effective administration of urban development
- Systematic guidance and monitoring of urban systems and environments
LEGISLATION OR LEGITIMACY AND WHAT ELSE?

The hyper-production of laws and legal acts that are often largely disregarded or not abided represents a reality and a real limitation to the development of Yugoslav society and the planning system at all levels (state, republic, region, county, city/town). As for the types of plans that should deal with different spatial levels in a coordinated manner, there is a lot of confusion both in terms of terminology and meaning. In actual practice the rules and regulations deal with land issues, natural resources, urban and regional planning, environmental protection and development issues in a number of different ways. There is a lot of discord and a tendency towards looking at land and its components in a sectoral and somewhat specialized and limited form from the point of view of protecting the partial interests of agriculture, water resources, mining, energy, transport and other big land users.

According to Bojovic (1989), everyone is still trying to solve their own problems concerning space, largely disregarding others or paying only as much attention as is essential. Because of the difference in the economic status of private and sectorally organized interest, and the territorial and temporal difference in the impact they have on the land cover and use, those in charge of the spatial organization and utilisation are constantly in temporal and spatial collision (Bojovic, ibid, p.3).

The current social problems and those of the planning profession within frequently changeable legal conditions are well documented by Perisic and Bojovic (1997, p. 9-10) who say that "we can help society only to the extent society, i.e. its political factor on its behalf, understands the problems and wishes to solve them". They further claim that we are far away from a political consensus on the goals and strategies concerning the development of national territories and towns and cities, because everyone believes their interest is the most important and most legitimate. Consequently, the ruling elite does not consider the physical planning and urban manifestations of public interest as societal favourites.

A whole series of Urban and Regional Planning Acts were issued in the last 60 years, after the first and second world wars, as well as the latest Yugoslav civil war. These acts considered planning matters in practice very thoroughly from the conceptual and technical perspectives, and established a hierarchy of planning documents for all territorial units ranging from the level of the republic to the level of urban blocks (Krstic 1982, Marinovic-Uzelac 1989). Unfortunately, even though they were issued within the regular system of spatial/territorial management unites these acts had no executive powers in terms of coordinating different interests, influences and activities in an urban or rural area. The need to regard the preparation and implementation of plans as two interrelated components of an integrated professional and legal process of development rather than as two separate activities has not been emphasized in the Yugoslav political and socio-economic practice.

Urban and regional planners who are directly involved in the preparation of plans have hardly ever had the opportunity to influence the way they are implemented, and consequently also could not influence the implementation of laws. The majority of planning professionals are still marginalized in the social decision making system regarding spatial and urban development. This is largely due to the poor position of the planning lobby within the political and economic decision-making hierarchy, and the general lack of awareness of the importance of physical planning in modern society. Only too often when illegal spatial development should have been professionally sanctioned, planners were prevented from taking part in professional and public scrutiny. More often they were used as the extended arm of the authorities in situations where was necessary to protect the private and political interests of powerful individuals in numerous land speculations and corruption affairs.

The current Planning and Organisation of Territory and Settlements Act (1996) verifies the involvement of planners only in the preparation and implementation of regional, district and action-area plans. The category of urban development and comprehensive master plans (which was in existence for almost 50 years), has practically been replaced by so-called urban design projects, which are the exclusive responsibility of architects and civil engineers. Bojovic and Perisic (1997) argue that in practice, today's urban planning is almost totally missing as are the corresponding urban analyses and reports. Technical documentation (most often infrastructure general plans and design projects) is considered an adequate substitute for urban plans, and it enables the granting of building and planning permits by state and local authorities.

The use of planners only at the strategic level and not at the local level of planning and decision-making is unique in the world. Their participation in the control of illegal building development work, destruction, sale and transformation of agricultural land into building sites, and their attempts to protect the endangered environment have become very unpopular. The powerful local elite and members of the former and current ruling government are interested only in having absolute control. They do not want to see physical planners pointing out to them the consequences of unsustainable development and the need for social justice and equity. Priority has been given to the approach that promotes political/private interests only, which are often synonymous with those surrounding corrupt leaders and criminal groups. (Cavric, 2000).

The needs of the majority and of future generations have been marginalized and the attempts of certain planners to point out the adverse effects of unplanned development sometimes remind us of Don Quixote's struggle with windmills. Unfortunately in their daily battle to survive, some professional planners have found themselves inside the "Trojan horse" serving in the interests of the current policy, going against the basic rules and principles of the planning fraternity.

Having briefly reviewed the evolution and current legal framework of physical planning in the new Yugoslavia, it will be necessary to draw up some recommendations pertaining to the need for changes and to consider the implications of this for the future of planners in changing political and socio-economic circumstances. The most important step is to make sure that all the available legal instruments are in conformance with international laws in common areas, and in the planning field in particular. Gradually, the legal system bound by such requirements would have to be extended, starting from the state to the local level of operation. Firstly, it would need to consider the implementation of general and immediately after specific individual sectors, areas and projects, establishing the legal need and the legitimacy for integrated and interdisciplinary supervised spatial development.

The other stream of future activities around the legal framework, would generally need to be staffed by professionals capable of implementing the legal rules and controlling their implementation through the process of permanent monitoring and review using modern tools and techniques. A background in both the planning
and legal profession might help find a solution as to how to bridge the wild river and establish a balancing environment for different stakeholders involved in spatially oriented matters.

The activities included in this "legal rejuvenation and renaissance" need to be more practical and realistic, than narrative which is a typical behaviour practiced even by highest ranking officials in today's Yugoslavia government. This in turn will have an implication for the physical planning legislature and all those responsible in the Ministry of Planning and in other Ministries dealing with spatial and inter-related environmental issues. Eventually there would also be a demand and need for simplification of legal procedures to allow and invite more foreign financial, technological and other interests and aids, which could help ensure a better prospect and bring about a new climate of international recognition.

These activities require the expertise of domestic and international experts from many disciplines surrounding physical planning profession. All these experts would have particular roles to play carrying out numerous consultancies in the development of the new legal code and of individual slices of the revitalised legislature. There would be a need for series of workshops at the international, national, regional and local levels to facilitate the dissemination of legal review findings and contribute to awareness raising capacity building in all administrative and technical groups expected to improve new general and planning legal rules.

COMING OUT FROM THE ADMINISTRATIVE CAVE

It is a frequent observation that administration profile of society is one of the important elements for efficient organisation of public services. The central issue pertaining to the current administration machinery in Yugoslavia refers to its major service and proper maintenance. Before the political changes took place, administration wizards tailored things to meet their own needs and served the community in a very poor manner. For most users it was real Odyssey to get things done without having to go through the usual hassles which required extra funds, extra time and the ability to deal with psychologically stressful situations most often caused by arrogant, unpleasant and sometimes corrupt administrative officers at all levels. The magic question "do you have somebody who can do this for me at minimal cost" was very common for a long time during previous regimes. Hopefully this situation will change soon because of the process of democratisation regardless of how difficult administrative barriers can be.

In this respect the planning administration also need to return back to the public and citizenry. So we need to re-think and re-assess its role and objectives in the changing circumstances of the new societal practice. Physical planning is a multidisciplinary field, directly involving different individuals and institutions. In this regard the institutions may be at the local level, the regional/province/district level, or at the republics and central government, as well as in private organisation and parastatal bodies. In the past there was a big gap between planning administration at the republic and local level. Meanwhile, the same time planning administration at the level of federal state government was rather symbolic.

In the next five years, planning organisation structures should be constantly reviewed in order for them to be as efficient as possible within the framework of changes in planning system in general, as has been discussed above. Decisions on physical planning issues should be brought as close as possible to the people and the affected communities, and the organisational and administrative set up must be streamlined. Yet such activities appear merely to mediate against what seems to be an underlying force to "grow into" a more democratic and pluralistic society based on revised values and the continuous struggle for daily meaning and relevance. By analysing the recently changed relationships between Serbia and Montenegro – encompassing some common and individual functions and responsibilities, this paper spells out the need for nesting a similar approach and an atmosphere of productive dialog in the foreseeable future within the planning administrative apparatus.

The next five years would definitely be seen as a crossroads with numerous expected changes in the politics, economy, social composition and institutional framework. Most cities and other forms of territorial and administrative organisation would need to establish efficient planning services and units whose primarily role would be to serve the people and allow financially and environmentally sound and sustainable development projects. So "new inequalities" among cities and places would start to shrink and the territorial distribution and diffusion of positive effects would reach majority of people.

There is by now a considerable number of newly schooled planning professionals from the Department of Urban and Regional Planning, at the Faculty of Geography, University of Belgrade. These young professionals, in conjunction with other academics and in an interdisciplinary atmosphere and manner, are expected to raise the flag of our profession and have a positive impact on the restructing of all our communities along the line of social, environmental and economical sustainability. Some of them will be hard working victims, and other managing beneficiaries, or hard line survivors, in this new reality of the Balkan melting pot. The development of our own "professional image" as administrators, technical bureaucrats, facilitators, urban governors and managers, environmental revolutionaries will be necessary for effective self-sustainable destiny in this global world.

In the context of this discussion it can be said that two progresses and ideas should highlight challenges and pose conclusions for the future planning administrative setting. Firstly, capitalism as an envisaged production frame for the new Yugoslavia requires administrators able to understand controlled and taxable rules of profit making and private initiatives. However, for this first long jump into capitalism all existing criminal records and heritages of the "business oligarchy" from the previous regime and its inheritors should be dealt accordingly. Capital will definitely influence creation of new kinds of relationships both internally and externally, and consequently the new types of administrators expected to take over would have a sound knowledge of capitalistic processes and products.

In addition, the need for ecologically and socially aware, as well as technically skilled administrative players is another important prerequisite for successful transition. The shift from a typical "complicated and semi-skilled administrator prototype" that has been the delicatessen of Yugoslav communist cuisine for years, should aim towards professionals capable of understanding the "practice of place". In such situation, the horizon line of their engagement and productivity wouldn't be measured by paper work only. That is, the administrative horizon might then become a value constructed out of a number of implemented physical plans, policies, strategies, development and investment projects, which do not impose negative social, economic and environmental impacts. In such situation the critical role a modern administrator plays would become visible and
appreciated by the public and numerous stakeholders at different territorial and organizational levels.

**EDUCATING NEW PLANNING LEADERS**

Derived from architecture and city design, physical planning gradually extended its focus of interest to areas outside city limits, thereby including rural areas, wider regional territories, river valleys, wildlife and protected zones, and sometimes even the cross-border territories of two or more countries. It began as a discipline that focused on the design and beautification of cities, but its scope of work now includes finding solutions to numerous economic, social and environmental issues. In most developed countries nowadays, the planning agenda is focuses significantly on management, monitoring and decision making related to the functioning of complex spatial and environmental systems. Meanwhile, in developing countries urban planning still largely focuses on problems that were typical in developed countries at the beginning of and in the 20th century. This primarily refers to urban and population growth control, sustainable natural resource utilisation, environmental protection, services and employment provision, and poverty reduction (Cavic, 2000).

Bearing in mind the nature and content of planning as a subject, the logical question that arises is who are planners and what kind of education should they have. This question can be answered in two ways. The first and simpler answer is that anyone who is involved in planning can be regarded as a planner. However, this does not mean that all of them are professionally trained to do the work. The second answer would make it necessary to analyse the term "professional physical planner". It refers to an individual with a professional degree in urban and regional planning, involved in planning for the government, parastatal and private agencies or engaged in research work or pursuing an academic career.

Politicians, planners and the general public are not homogenous group. They do not have the same attitudes and interests. This adds the problems in decision making. Planners are often expected to play several roles. They are members of the civil service carrying out instructions given by politicians and working closely with administrators. Planners are themselves administrators advising and assisting politicians or developers and investors if they are working in private agencies. It is important that the planners realize that they will represent different interests in society and be aware of these difficulties. The planner’s ability to facilitate cooperation and conduct consultation is crucial. (Manda, 1997).

It is very important that other people – including politicians, administrators, and the general public – are also involved, and the main role of the professional planner is to act as a co-ordinator, collecting and analysing information and proposals for action provided by the others, rather than actually making all the decision himself (see Fig. 2). Moreover, it should also be recognized that planning can, in fact, take place without any professional planners, although their presence can enhance the planning process in many ways (Coneyers & Hills, 1990, p. 14).

The development of a professional planner largely depends on his/her university education and affiliations to planning institutes and associations. Nowadays there is a developed network of planning schools with accredited undergraduate, postgraduate and specialist studies and programmes all over the world. In addition to this, there are planning organizations such as the Royal Town Planning Institute, the American Planning Association, the Royal Australian Institute of Town Planners, the Canadian Institute of Planners, the South African Institute of Urban and Regional Planners and many others, whose basic aim is to protect, support and promote the interests and position of the planning profession both at the national and international level. According to Sutcliffe (1981, p. 173) there are four classes of planners: the fully cosmopolitan planner (Ward, 2001); the intermediate; the home-based planner with a willingness to look abroad; and the xenophobe.

Before the establishment of the first Yugoslav planning school in 1977, physical planners entering a professional practice have been recruited from different backgrounds (architecture, economy, engineering, geography, sociology, etc.) Today the situation is quite different as physical planners now get a formal undergraduate and post-graduate education in the Department of Urban and Regional Planning at the University of Belgrade. In the last 25 years a considerable number of professional planners have been awarded BSc degrees, postgraduate diplomas, masters degrees and PhD degrees. Most of them found employment in Serbia and Montenegro, or in former Yugoslav republics that are now new independent states, namely in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Slovenia. Also, while some have continued their careers overseas.

The first 1977/78 syllabus was based on the territorial integrity of what was at the time the territory of Yugoslavia. It dealt mostly with the local planning agenda, and its greatest advantage was its multidisciplinary approach. The first lecturers in the newly founded school were eminent experts in architecture and urban design, geography, economy, sociology, engi-

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**Figure 2. - Interrelationships of politicians, planners, administrators, and the public**

(Coneyers & Hills, 1990, p. 246)
neering and the environmental science. The fundamental issues and questions that were raised in this first educational programme referred to spontaneous urbanisation, environmental impacts, regional development, and the disparities between central settlements. Unfortunately, the issues of European integration, public participation, gender, etc. were neglected then just as in the most recent 1995/96 syllabus.

The numerous political, economic and territorial changes that have taken place within the former and the latest Yugoslav union, logically demand changes in the educational planning concepts and objectives. Formal planning is a relatively young profession and conditionally said "science", not only in Yugoslavia but in the developed world as well. Its future development, and especially the development of the educational foundation are not going to be problem free, without any obstacles or challenges. This issue must be dealt with on time and at the right place, giving valid arguments, both in terms of theory and the methodology implemented in actual planning practice (Deric, Milic and Babacic 1997).

Planning Academia and its programmes, as an independent part of society, might influence and give directions for new planning awareness. In view of this, our research is aimed at recommending improvements in the planning of educational programmes. These improvements might lead new generations of Yugoslav planners to influence changes and direct society towards globalisation. Furthermore, the new educational programme could help Yugoslav planners to make fruitful collaborations and compete internationally, and this could open the doors of the international employment arena.

Considering the current constraints limiting better performance and a stronger societal contribution, the following areas might be targeted as good starting points for any expected improvements and the revitalisation of the existing agenda of the Belgrade School of Planning:

- International recognition;
- Changes in the academic program;
- International cooperation and accreditation of the program;
- The establishment of a National Institute of Town and Regional Planners;
- Scientific research work and publications; and
- Improved public, community and university service debate

The suggestions clearly show that emphasis would be placed on international co-operation and initiatives, since they are seen as a possible way of joining the global family of planning schools and the only way out of the current isolation. In order to join the global family of planners, it is essential to first be part of the European branch of the family (e.g. Association of European Schools of Planning – AESOP).

APPLICATION OF MODERN PLANNING TECHNIQUES – WITH GIS IN MIND!

Most of the earlier generations of formally educated planners found jobs in architectural, urban planning and engineering companies, in governmental and parasatal agencies and in research institutes and academia. All these institutions lacked planning expertise and needed to take a different approach to the world that surrounds us. The new professionals were aware of the opportunity they were given and worked hard to justify their positions. They introduced a completely new approach to the solution of complex urban and regional development and management problems. What more, they exchanged information and experience with other professions that were part of interdisciplinary teams, thus enriching their methodologies. Public and professional debates, and information about experience abroad contributed to the social acceptance of the profession.

Although this new and vanguard profession has proved itself, it is still very difficult for planners to influence and help realise any faster changes in the present crisis. Nevertheless, the profession should try to help itself independently and prepare for the future that will inevitably come about. In this respect, the improvement of planning methods and techniques, international cooperation and the development of elite professionals must become a priority. It is especially important to educate a planning elite, as it is obvious that the "whole socialist project failed worldwide because of the systematic destruction of functional elites, while the planning functional elite will be respected and favoured in the future. " (D. Perisic, Ibid.)

In view of this, there is a clear suggestion for all young and prospective planning professionals to make sense of themselves through continuous education and rigorous technical training along the line of modern planning methods and techniques. Today, there are many technological opportunities for basic background improvements. For example, it is notable that spatial data processing by means of GIS (Geographic Information System), remote sensing and image processing, virtual reality and 3-D modelling, what if? analysis, spatial expert and decision systems, etc. might open wider avenues for young and highly motivated "planning yuppies". Bringing up a cadre of planners versed in applying various geo-spatial technologies and tools is the most effective way to secure their use in planning and decision making process (Budic, 2000).

Using GIS might be an excellent starting point due to its attractive, comprehensive and cross-disciplinary nature which can invite planning-related decision-making through a complex, often politically charged process. Ultimately, GIS applied in the field of urban and regional planning can advance the following general and specific planning goals:

- better quality of urban environments; (liveable, safe, and aesthetically pleasing)
- environmentally and socially sustainable communities;
- effective spatial organisation of urban activities (work, residence, commerce, and recreation);
- "smart growth" of urban areas;
- efficient communication between various urban functions;
- revitalization of deteriorated areas;
- variety of housing options;
- employment opportunities and economic development; and
- democratisation of the planning and policy making process (Budic, Ibid).

The all above goals are in the same time "burning issues" of Yugoslav society and contain a vitally important message about GIS as a problem solving technology. The efficient use of GIS might ensure the best possible results in situation when competition for resources (natural, human, financial) is intense. In such circumstances, GIS is the most desirable way to provide decision-makers with appropriate advice. A rational planning advocacy shouldered with GIS objectiveness can provide a firm foundation for the planning profession and its activity in the country burdened with so many constraints. GIS should be viewed as a possible framework for tackling problems through a logical sequence of activities and in a comprehensive manner, but not operating in isolation from other techniques and methods.

Unfortunately, it is very difficult to acquire official GIS hardware and software these days. Due to sanctions and financial limitations, pirating and the illegal use of different GIS packages (ArcView, ERDAS Imagine, GeoMedia, MapInfo) is very common practice even in
government planning offices. The latest arrangement with Microsoft and other IT companies might resolve this problem. Similarly to Bill Gates' efforts to express good will and eventually again open the door of Yugoslav market to Microsoft's range of products, there is no reason not to establish adequate cooperation with GIS vendors who operated within Serbia and Montenegro before the civil war (e.g. GISDATA Belgrade). An excellent example is the Environmental System Research Institute (ESRI), Redlands, California, a GIS leader known for helping former communist and countries in transition all over the world. There is no doubt that ESRI technical and managing experts would be willing to consider the revival of the Yugoslav GIS market if interested parties invited them to do so.

In conclusion, it is clear that the way forward to better GIS diffusion and implementation is not going to be easy. It is very important to highlight the possibility of potential problem situations that might arise. Namely, local IT forces might try to preserve their position by offering domestic GIS/CAD clones as a substitute for the world-wide recognised and standardised GIS solutions. Hopefully, such efforts will remain isolated and without any support from those in a position to make decisions about the current and future GIS needs in the country.

IMPLEMENTATION IS PART OF PLANNING AFTERMATH

The question of proper implementation of planning proposals and policies is one of the fundamental agendas in professional planning practice and theory today. The failure to implement the proposal and policies given in any single standalone planning document or "blue print" is widely to be one of the major weaknesses of physical planning in former and present day Yugoslavia, as well. There a number of reasons why plans sometimes get no further than the paper phase, often collecting dust on a shelf in an administrator's office. Some of the problems can be avoided or remedied by planners; but others are beyond their influence and control. There is still a common belief that the role of a planner ends with the approval of the plan. The absence of planners in the plan implementation phase was a common practice in Yugoslavia in the past and there do not seem to have been any major changes.

In addition, there is a big discrepancy between the number of plans and resources available for their implementation. Even for realistic plans in terms of capacity and resources there are numerous obstacles in the form of powerful political figures and their allies who are unwilling to accept and follow planning guidance. The general tendency to improvise and the absolute control by those who do so is a 'much better alternative', especially at the local community level where we still have feudal and tribal authorities superseding state and republic influence. In such situation professional planners could be even "sacrificed" as a holy animals in the mystical processes of local political rituals and ritualist stealing.

However, it should be noted that the design, construction, utilisation and maintenance of physical infrastructure and buildings or the provision of any other technical, environmental and social services related to the physical plan are the responsibilities not only of the functional, technical and administrative personnel (architects, engineers, surveyors, economists, builders, real estate managers, developers, investors, etc.), but also of physical planners. The coordination of participation and communication after reporting and plan approval is vital for successful planning and plan implementation, including all vertical and horizontal axes between different parties included.

The role of the planner is thus concerned with mobilising, organizing and managing the resources needed to undertake the actions embodied in plans, by stimulating dialogues of cooperation and interdisciplinary relationships, applying mixture of "bottom up" and "top down" approaches, until the entire political and economical system is stable enough to receive more local community inputs. It is practically necessary to involve planners from the stage of drawing layouts and writing reports, until the completion of the infrastructure and superstructure on the ground, and even further during its maintenance and utilisation process. In this regard politicians and government authorities are expected to allow planners to be more involved in the following tasks:

- Implementation management systems;
- Development of specific plan implementation techniques and tools;
- Guiding architectural, urban and engineering design;
- Supporting legally framed tendering and contracting procedures;
- Organising monitoring and control based on integrated GIS technologies and regular data collection and processing; and
- Pursuing thorough plan evaluation and necessary annual and/or 3-5 year reviews.

The main advantage of this approach will become evident in reality very soon if all parties concerned apply the language of understanding, mutual appreciations and respect. If this is not the case the destiny of plans and planning can be unpredictable. We see a high potential of cooperation if democratisation process continues and if community sensitisation and awareness are raised and coupled with international encouragements and investment synergies. We look forward for greater collaboration with the all networks of leaders and recognised professionals; and we remain at disposal to explore critical paths and positive partnerships that could result in satisfying citizen's interests and needs.

Conyers and Hills (1996) argue that whatever efforts made to improve plan implementation by any of the means suggested here, it will never be possible to remove all obstacles to the implementation process because some of the factors are beyond the control of either the planner or others involved in the preparation and implementation of plans. Thus, to give just a few examples, plan implementation is frequently hampered by unexpected weather or other natural disasters, international economic problems resulting from, for example, shortages of foreign exchange required to purchase essential equipment, sudden political changes and personality problems among the various individuals involved. Nevertheless, such problems should not prevent the planner from seeking to improve - even if not to perfect - the implementation process (Conyers, and Hills, ibid).

SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

From a developing and transitional country's perspective and in the face of complexities described in this paper, it is important to trace the way forward and to identify entry points and milestones for the whole governmental and planning machinery. The following short paragraphs relating to the previous sections aim to give a summary of challenges, issues and dilemmas highlighted by author. Effort to link all of them in strong chain of recommended steps might influence a critical mass needed for decision - making in which planning fraternity can find itself in better position than it was before and it is still far a way from the position of fellow colleagues abroad.

Planning System

One of the biggest upcoming issues is how the physical planning system will fit into the entire political and socio-economic system that is
currently undergoing a major face-lift. The strategy of establishing different partnerships and collaborative ties under the umbrella of the new system should be one of the major goals. The implementation of internationally recognised planning models would be a positive step forward for efficient physical planning system building. This paper encourages a more holistic approach to this issue suggesting acceptance of “imposed models” in the initial stage of the development of the new planning system. At the same time this will help maintain community awareness in terms of theoretical and practical planning approaches previously rooted around different international and domestic planning models. It will also be a very useful exercise in gap fillings until a stable system structure is in place. Thus, the major challenges now are how to bring together experienced and young planners back into a particular planning system forum and use their expertise and knowledge to create permanent system structures and establish various protocols for system activity.

Planning Legislature

It is also important to demonstrate how new willingness in the every day changing political and economical scene can save resources at the local, regional, and national levels. Yugoslavia cannot be recognised fully unless standardised and internationally recognised legal choices start to dominate public domain. It appears that there has been insufficient encouragement so far for developing the new legal platforms in order to avoid mistakes caused by legislative confusion and miss-matching amongst numerous law acts dealing with land, planning, environmental and development issues. It is also visible that in the forest of legal documents one faces difficulties finding a single tree of justice. One of the crucial question is how to simplify and at the same time come up with more comprehensive planning law, which could satisfy not only planners, but other professional bodies dealing with spatial resources including planning, utilisation and management of complex underground, ground, and above-ground land surface spheres. Through legally bound decision-making planners must advice politicians, managers, developers and investors to look at the totality of spatial dimensions and at the effects of illegal actions, which are usually damaging to spatial contents. When new planning laws are being prepared, it would be necessary to review the links with other spatially oriented legal documents in order to avoid points of non-conformance, overlaps and non-consistency.

Planning Administration

The efficiency of a political and planning system largely depends on the efficiency and flexibility of its administration. In Yugoslavia, this is definitely not the case. The administrative system has suffered devastating blows through the years and especially so in the last ten years of misery. Administrative institutions are expected to be the building blocks of the Yugoslav transition to sustainable pathways to development. Consequently, a serious effort should be made to start with new capacity building and revisions at all levels of the administrative machinery. An entry point for solutions must be sought within capitalist models with strong social components which are still necessary here to help bridge the transitional canyon.

It would be beneficial to implement the criteria for the “user/citizen centred” approach immediately, primarily so to satisfy the ordinary people and public, working together with leaders. Once such a solution has been applied, the issues that arise from daily administrative practices and procedures and the implementation of different strategies and policies, can be handled with a brighter prospectus. For example, any administrative outcomes and decisions relating to physical planning matters should contain provisions to bring in and involve technically skilled planners and interested communities together. Other individual and usually “corrupt practices” must be punishable accordingly. It is important to emphasize the need for physical planning offices (units), at all levels of the new government (state, republic, provincial, regional, county and settlement levels).

Planning Academia

The current planning school should be used as a platform for extended professional and public dialogue and the synthesis of policy-making and academic realms. By co-ordinating and gluing the activities of different stakeholders and securing the scientific approval of new initiatives, the school could have an extended role. Namely, both students and practising planners could work together in problem solving situations. It is important for a school to develop the ability to anticipate events, which in turn could help communities, political leaders and managers to prepare for challenges brought about by technological innovations used in practice on a daily basis. However, the institutional and organisational design of the school needs to be more diversified and flexible than is the case now. Being the first and still the only indigenous physical planning school in former and present day Yugoslavia is an advantage which has not been utilised enough to influence the opening of wider avenues towards co-operating with numerous domestic and foreign partners. A revision and modernization of the current programmes, and the establishment of research and technical ties with other academies, the activation of publishing, consultancy, conference, advisory, and distance-learning as well as short summer/winter courses, and different part-time training activities would be an essential adjustment strategy for this fabric of planning knowledge. When the University of Belgrade and various ministries negotiate new agreements, the above propositions should draw the attention of all those responsible for the school and its future.

Planning Techniques

In piloting the efficient application of various promising planning techniques, tools and technologies that exist today, it is important to first offer them to young and prospective professionals from our planning society. The need and demand for GIS and similar spatially oriented technologies require serious consideration, because GIS is about to establish a new paradigm in the planning profession. It is important that we understand this fact as soon as possible, although we have already had almost 15 to do so. Successful experiments in this context should be forgotten. We do not need only experiments and demo presentations. What we do need is a real operating GIS world which will include data, HW, SW and most importantly an adequate human and organisational GIS framework. GIS as a promising planning technique will only continue to progress with improved human and management understanding and support.

In turn GIS will help avoid the duplication of efforts and will enable more effective information processing, communication and streamlined decision-making by personnel in charge. GIS should function as a virtual organization, helping decision-making and information flows based on spatially and multidisciplinary embodied data sets. Recognising this as a National GIS Strategy should be the purpose and goal that will facilitate faster development and political changes based on spatially accurate information.
Planning Implementation

It is the mission of the planning profession to support the implementation of planning proposals, policies and strategies. There is no doubt that planners must be recognised as key players once physical plans have been prepared for different communities and spatial levels. This involvement should focus on the numerous activities elaborated in this paper. The practice of avoiding planners and their influence once development projects were ready to be implemented was a major weakness and one of the biggest obstacles to progress in sustainable development.

Our platform of formulating the integration of planners in the implementation stage will help others to better understand the complex issues and potential impacts of the development planning and design proposals given in technical documentation. In this regard, the implementation portfolio will have a more realistic prospect for success. The attainment of this objective will improve an infrastructure which will be able to provide environmentally sound and sustainable turn-key solutions that will satisfy professional and public rigour. As we look to the foreseeable future, this action could change the entire professional planning arena. The actors who played small roles might become stars in premiere development and environmental movies.

CONCLUSION

Despite sometime very critical language, the main intention of this article was to give a positive flavour to the current societal changes in the latest Yugoslav union of Serbia and Montenegro, from the physical planner’s point of view. All the suggestions and recommendations given in this analysis are not exclusive. They only represent the personal point of view of a planner with (considerably long practical, research, management, administrative and GIS experience in the country and abroad. Similar to other professional contributions in debates on the country’s destiny and prospect, the aim of the views expressed in the paper was to activate hidden and oppressed intellectual potential within the visionary profession of physical planners. In this regard, the attempt was to sensitise and galvanise the energy of professional planners working in different agencies.

To paraphrase the words of David Eversley (1973), planners cannot abdicate under political and other pressures. They have to find a way to by-pass problems through mutual dialogues with politicians, administrators and the public. They cannot leave the future of cities and wider territories to the legions of community action, self-help and resistance groups, to anarchy and the threat of civil war. Nor, lastly, can they withdraw in favour of the total chaos which existed when privilege and wealth were the only determinants shaping cities, as these forces operated after the collapse and disintegration of former Yugoslavia. Planners themselves are the creation of a new order of society which had its modest beginning a hundred and eighty years ago. The question is not whether they should turn their backs on this process, but how they may best, and most speedily, guide it towards an admittedly very distant goal of equality, peace and well being (Eversley, ibid, p.222).

In other words, the potential and honesty of our physical planners and other professional cadres should erupt at all levels, burning and destroying fortifications of the administrative rule of the latest “lord of the rings” who tailored our destinies in the last decade of the 20th century. With this vision in mind, planners will play an important role in moving towards sustainable development for all, not only for privileged members of society. The lost middle class of techno-bureaucrats, which is always the engine of societal successes and/or failures, should be re-born with the aim of meeting society’s needs in an environmentally, economically and politically sound way. This is not something impossible. It is reality and has been achieved in numerous countries worldwide. They have become the front-runners in the global race. Examples of former communist countries with a high human development index (HDI 0.800 and above in 1999), like Slovenia (0.874), the Czech Republic (0.844) Slovakia (0.831), Estonia (0.612), Lithuania and Croatia (0.803), can serve as a leading guidance for the intensification of our redevelopment efforts (UNDP, 2001).

The current obsession that changes will come overnight cannot be realistically justified. High realism will have high costs and any miracle expected by naive followers of the former regime and those trying to disrupt the current one after years of decline, is not possible. Patience and hard work are the answers to those living in leisure and spreading defeatism. The facts given in the State Report on the Environment (1996) one year before the NATO bombardment speak for themselves and we need to recognise them, like it or not. These facts clearly spell out that if realistic growth rates were applied, the GNP from 1990 could be achieved only in 2011. While the per capita GNP in countries that are members of the OECD increased from US$ 11,000 in 1980 to US$ 14,000 in 1994, Yugoslavia had, applying the same methodology a per capita GNP of US$ 2,600 in 1980, and only US$ 1,400 in 1994. This represented a reduction of the GNP by 71% and 64% respectively, compared to Greece and Portugal (Radulovic, Bulatovic, Radicevic, Kecskarevic, and Kunic-Lazic, 1996). Although Yugoslavia was considered as one of the most serious candidates for European Union membership before the civil war, it is still at the very beginning of transforming the economy, compared to other countries in transition that have been restructuring the economy for the last ten and more years.

In a similar manner, the Government’s Habitat Report from 1995 (Brkić-Bajčić, 1996), used rough estimates of the unemployment rate of 23.1% and an annual GNP of 1,200 US$ per inhabitant. According to unconfirmed statistical values of the Human Development Index (HDI), unofficial reports rank Yugoslavia as belonging to the group of countries with a medium and low HDI. The data from the Central European Annual Business Report (1997), places Yugoslavia in the 16th place, within the group of 27 countries in transition, with a GNP of US$ 1,510 per inhabitant (Janic, 1997). Compared to the former Yugoslav republics, the FRY was ranked as third, following Slovenia (US$ 9,352) and Croatia (US$ 3,492), and better ranked than the Former Yugoslav Republics of Macedonia (US$ 700) and Bosnia and Herzegovina (US$ 524).

As far as the system of planning is concerned, there is no more social planning which used to be the dominant form of planning. If we consider urban and regional planning, it is expected that the legal shortcomings and deficiencies that neglected its importance when compared with sectoral planning (e.g. agriculture, infrastructure systems, water affairs planning) will be removed. It is also believed that physical planning implementation and the establishment of a more diversified planning administration will experience their renaissance.

The assumption is that the shift from solely economic and physical planning relations, and introduction of environmental impact assessments, feasibility studies, as well as GIS, social cost and benefits analysis, will initiate qualitative changes of the existing planning system. With further urbanisation and settlement growth, it is natural to expect that planning will trigger an improvement in the
living standards and quality of human life. Unfortunately, realistically speaking, the economic and social recession that affected Yugoslavia in the last decade will definitely require a long-term process of painful healing and recovery.

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