

‘HOTEL NAȚIONAL’

Arriving back home

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*CLACĂ, clăci, - word used in the Republic of Moldova initially for the tradition of mutual aid when building houses or churches, today describing collective practices of mutual aid in a variety of fields.

INTRODUCTION

When I told my parents that I want to do the thesis about 'Hotel Național', my father directly asked whether I wanted to go into politics.



Let 'Hotel Național' welcome you back home, 2021 (source: Olga Cobușcean)

My thesis takes me back to the Republic of Moldova, the country where I was born and raised, where my family still lives, and that I left when I was 19 in order to pursue my studies. It is about the capital city, Chișinău, where I went to school and made friends and that I still very much care about. And it is about 'Hotel Național', the building that welcomes me back every time I arrive in the city, and that is neither a hotel nor does it belong to the state anymore. Some say it is Moldova's monument for corruption and ignorance. While this may seem exaggerated the history of the building has indeed close ties and resemblances to the history of the country, shaped by the shock of the 90s, the transition to the free market that transformed the economy

into a wild form of capitalism, lead to a disaster for the citizens, privatization, criminals coming to power, destruction of the social infrastructure as well as public space, large waves of emigration and brain drain. So one could say 'Hotel Național' is only a symptom of the general disease.

During the last weeks I tried to reconstruct the history of the building. I did it based on few and scarce literature, lots of local news articles, hundreds of Facebook posts and commentaries, hundreds of images both historic and amateur ones found over internet, YouTube videos and discussions with several people from Chișinău. Some results of this research can be found in the following chapter.

What I discovered during my research is that there is one way the history of the hotel can be told and that is the one based on individuals struggling for money and power, as a result of which the building is in the state it is today - abandoned and emptied up to the load bearing structure since almost fifteen years. But there is also another way to tell the story of the hotel and this is the story of resistance, of all the efforts that have been done to protect the building and the practices of mutual aid that from time to time take care that the square in front of the hotel is being cleaned up.



Take the train to Basel -> the bus to Basel Mulhouse Freiburg Airport -> the airplane to Chișinău International Airport (source: Olga Cobușcean)

Sit in fathers car -> drive along empty fields -> through the 'city gates' -> along socialist high-rise housing buildings -> along new developed mall and business/hotel centre -> follow the curve of the road -> you're almost there (source: Google Earth)



This history connects me much more to my childhood and to the practices of mutual aid that I grew up with, that shaped the way I see the world around me today. It also reminded me of the term 'clacă', which initially described the mutual aid for building one's own home and became today a term to describe all kinds of voluntary practices done for a common goal in Moldova. Cleaning up the square in front of the hotel is just one example of the extension of the term. The chapter on 'clacă' goes a bit more deeply into this topic.

Last but not least, I tried to place the hotel in the context of the country, the city and the topics dealing with preservation, with soviet modernism and with the typology of the hotel.

Based on all the gathered knowledge and the one I am still going to gather I want to explore the question of a possible alternative future for the hotel instead of the one that is being speculated on today, which does nothing else than

reproducing the practices that have already been destroying the city, its heritage and the collective spaces and infrastructures since independence onwards.

Picking up the 'clacă', extending the term, and imagining new possible meanings and practices for it is what I would like to do to address the hotel ensemble. I am interested in scenarios for a future use for the building going beyond commercial interests, one that could give something back to the people.

Imagining another possible future for the hotel means imagining a possible future for the country, one that cares for its people and where people themselves understand their power.

The free diploma is just one station in my engagement with the architectural development of Chişinău and my home country, that I have been doing for years and which will most probably not end with the diploma but continue further.



Drive straight away and stare at the huge building in front of you -> in a moment you will have to turn either to the left or to the right (source: Google Earth)



Hotel Intourist in the 1980s (source: postcard, author unknown)



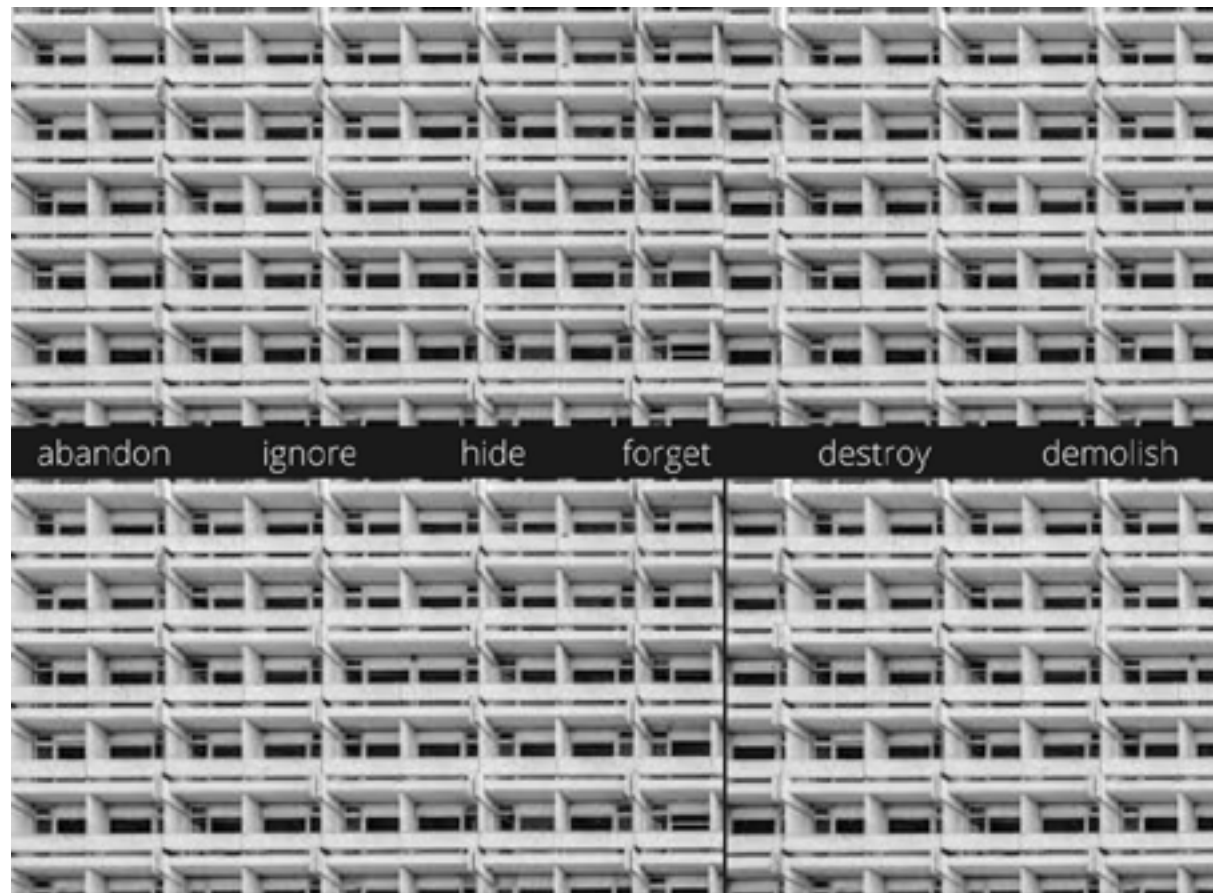
'Hotel Național' in 2021 (source: Olga Cobuşcean)



'Hotel Național' in 2021 (source: Olga Cobuşcean)

'HOTEL NAȚIONAL'

The history of the building is a mix of politics, corruption, influence peddling, greed and ignorance toward the city, its citizens and its architectural heritage. It is nothing more than the history of the country itself from its independence onwards.



Detail of a collage realised as reaction to the news on the demolition of the hotel, 2020 (source: Ana Popapa)

Glimpse of today

Facing the Square of United Nations, a 16-story structure, accompanied by a 2-story building form the ensemble of the former Hotel Intourist. The text on the building says "Hotel Național." It is the name under which everybody knows the building today. And yet the structure is neither a hotel nor does it belong to the state anymore. It has also never belonged

to the country's citizens, but it was a hotel at some point, before it was privatized in 2006 and closed in 2009.

Many say the building is the city's monument of corruption and ignorance. While one may see this as an exaggeration, the history of the place has many similarities to the history of

Image of the hotel ensemble today, 23rd April 2022 (source: BACU)



Bird view over the hotel and its surrounding area. One can well recognize the traces of both past and current development of the city, June 2021 (source: still image from the video Chișinău, Moldova on the youtube channel TRAVELDRON MD)





Image of the restaurant building, 23rd April 2022 (source: BACU)

the country, marked by the transition from being part of the Soviet Union to becoming an independent state in 1991.

The position of the building brings the idea of it being a monument to an ironic level, as it is the building towards which one drives when following the street that leads to the city from the airport. This way, the hotel's facade is what one stares at for a couple of minutes before turning to the right or to left in front of the building.

Over the last several weeks the role of this gesture has shown itself more than ever. Being empty and having an owner that doesn't really care what happens with the building as their dream is to simply demolish it, it allows anybody to enter the building and to appropriate the facade in order to transmit political messages to the public.

Today the building is known as the place one tries to avoid at night, especially as a woman. Actually, even during the day. It is the place people know as attracting homeless people and especially orphans looking for a shelter, accompanied mainly by drug issues. It is the place the city hall ignores in terms of maintenance of territory, even though the ground still belongs to the city, or at least belonged till recently. It is a place people try to ignore as it disgusts them, even though

they might have had a different attitude years ago when they celebrated their wedding in the restaurant hotel or visited the bar on the 14th floor.

One can speak today of the destruction of the building, a deliberate and planned one, caused by corruption and ignorance. The hotel is empty up to its raw construction and left to decay. Since two years the building is part of ongoing public debates because of new intentions to demolish it. While people argue, the building waits for its fate, welcoming those driving along.



Image of a regular floor of the hotel building, 2020 (source: Frank Brueck)

Story of interests

'After destruction, what gets built? A variety of ideologies are waiting at the door. Preservationists will call for a re-created historic city; speculators will champion a new Dubai; traffic planners will want to solve traffic congestions once and for all. Tabula rasa is an incredible opportunity, but also a threat.'

Volume 40: Architecture of Peace Reloaded, Archis 2014



Visualization of the Design for the hotel, around 1970, architects A. Gorbuntov, V. Shalaginov (source: А.В. Колотовкин, С. М. Шойхет, И. С. Эльман, *Архитектура Советской Молдавии*, Moscow 1973)

Site plan of one of the initial versions of the hotel ensemble and the area's development. The implemented design differs slightly from this plan. (source: unknown)



Beginning in 1964, the height of the buildings in the city of Chişinău started to rise. With new construction techniques in reinforced concrete, structures would have nine or more floors. There also arose an idea of erecting a new hotel that would be a marker in the cityscape, marking the entrance to the city center when one comes from the main train station along the newly traced Negruzzi boulevard. The 16-story hotel was planned as part of the network of Intourist - the Soviet central establishment for tourism. It was to be the best-equipped hotel in the republic and provide the best possible service for the visitors of the city. It was also to become a visiting card for Chişinău.

The hotel was planned by the architects A. Gorbuntov and V. Shalaginov. The building was supposed to step back from the street and create a square in front, allowing distance to view the building and, at the same time, providing a public space for the city. Two fountains, trees and flower beds would cover the place. The public space was supposed to continue on the opposite side of the square in the form of a wide green area accompanying Ciuflea street. Between the hotel and the restaurant building, the existing road was to be preserved, while the one- to two-story buildings that existed on the plot of the ensemble and around it were to be demolished. The hotel was thought together with the long housing building on the left of the hotel, so that the ground floor turns around the corner to create a face towards the public space, planned to be filled with commerce units.

The ensemble was under construction up until 1978. Before the hotel opened that year, the restaurant was already working for four years and providing space for people to eat, meet, and celebrate their weddings as well as other family feasts.

The role of the hotel as an important institution for tourism and a visiting card for the city held up until the fall of the Soviet Union. Together with the declaration of independence of the Republic of Moldova in 1991, many streets and institutions in the city were directly renamed to mark the country's new identity. Hotel Intourist became 'Hotel Național', which was now not managed anymore by Intourist but by a newly formed state institution for tourism called Moldova-Tur.

The idea of constructing a new identity did not stop with the new name of the building. In an interview given in 1991, Vladimir Dobreă, the director of the National Department for Tourism already spoke about plans to modernize the building by adding a couple more floors, extending the existing restaurants, adding swimming pools and other 'innovations.' Many more hotels were to be built in the city, developing the tourist infrastructure. But this plan did not become a reality because of the economic and political disaster that followed.

The building continued to function till 2007, one year after it was privatized, without ever being refurbished or substantially repaired. In the meantime, ideas of modernization and extension continued to be produced. One such project, produced at the beginning of the 2000s, shows the wish to transform 'Hotel Național' into a Radisson Blue hotel. The existing structure of the hotel was supposed to be converted and extended, giving it a new face. At the same time, a new high-rise unit was supposed to be built in place of the current restaurant. The public space was intended to be replaced and transformed into the entrance area of the complex.



Such projects of converting existing Soviet hotels have been implemented by Radisson in other countries (see the chapter *Hotel as transitorial being* for more information). The project in Chișinău was (luckily) never realized.

Visualization of the concept for the conversion of the hotel by Radisson, beginning of the 2000s (source: Ion Ștefăniță)

When the hotel was privatized in 2006, the state, which gave up the ownership of the building, put forward the condition of the building to be refurbished during a timeframe of two years. No demolition was allowed.



Plan of the concept for the conversion of the hotel by Radisson, beginning of the 2000s (source: Ion Ștefăniță)



Proposal for the conversion of the ensemble, year unknown, most probably before 2019 (source: unknown)

Two years have passed, the hotel closed but no refurbishment was done. The company claimed ownership of the building even though it didn't respect the conditions of the contract and, without any permit or clear project in sight, started preparing the building for demolition. The city hall sued the company. The company sued the city hall. The legal procedures are still running today, 15 years later, with no clear end in sight. The building, cleared up inside down to its load-bearing structure, has been standing empty since then.

Despite all the legal procedures, the dreams of a new landmark for the city have never stopped. Different projects have been elaborated over the last years. One project, dating a couple of years ago, takes up the Radisson approach, merely proposing a slightly different shape and expression.

In 2019, architects residing in Chișinău met with the candidates for the mayoral position. Dumitru Țira has supposedly proposed to build a new Guggenheim Museum in the place of the current hotel. The idea of a new landmark being built for Chișinău shines here in its most evident form. The area seems to be an attraction point for ideas seeking new starchitecture, which is very understandable regarding its prominent position and the wish for a new identity for the city.

The new mayor seems to have taken the idea seriously, as one year later, he announced that the demolition of the hotel can start before the end of 2020, even though there is no clear project for a new building yet.

Image depicting the dream of Dumitru Țira that he expressed at the meeting with the candidates for the mayor position in 2019 (source: diez.md, article from 03.01.2022, accessed on 28.04.2022)



It was march 2021, a public debate was announced on the future of the hotel. Instead of being a real debate, the actual meeting was about choosing one of three proposals for a project, done by the same architect.

During the public debate members of cities intitutions argued that it is not possible to refurbish the current structure. They named various imaginary reasons, such as the height of the ceiling, that they said to be only 2.10 meters. This is simply is not true. It was very obvious that most people participating in the debate had an interest in the demolishing of the building. The discussion achieved its apogee of absurdity the moment it was argued that the new building should as much as possible resemble the old one, and the square in front of the building should, if possible, be reconstructed the same way it is today. Why demolish it in the first place?

In the summer of 2021, the approval of demolition came out. A lot of discussions circulated over Facebook and at least two petitions were opened in order to protect the building. Different organizations



Visualization for one of the three proposals for the replacement of the hotel, 2021 (source: Vigro Proiect)



Visualization for one of the three proposals for the replacement of the hotel, 2021 (source: Vigro Proiect)

wrote an open letter to the mayor and the prime minister. It was not clear what would be built in place of the hotel. It still isn't clear today. The process stopped because of new legal procedures and while the mayor seems to want to get the process done as fast as possible, the building may still be standing for a while.



Visualization for one of the three proposals for the replacement of the hotel, 2021. This was the preferred project during the public debate as it has the most resemblances to the current ensemble (source: Vigro Proiect)

Story of lived reality



The site of the hotel before its construction, with the existing one- to two-story houses that were demolished in the process (source: Agenția Națională a Arhivelor)

The construction site of the square in front of the hotel, with the two symmetrical fountains, around 1977 (source: Agenția Națională a Arhivelor)



Image of the construction process of the hotel, the last floors being erected. The restaurant building on the right is already finished and functioning. The small houses in front on the left side will get demolished the moment the construction works for the square start, around 1974 (source: Agenția Națională a Arhivelor)



To build the hotel ensemble, numerous one- to two-story buildings were demolished. These were mainly private houses. The hotel's construction process was done in several phases, as such the buildings were also demolished one after the other.

The first part to be erected was the restaurant building, which opened four years before the hotel was finished. Even while the hotel itself was built, several old buildings were still standing in front of it, where the square with the fountains is today. While it was being built, people would still buy bread or a drink in the small shop in front of the hotel. At some point, the time came to build the square; alas the building was also demolished.

While it may seem like a tragedy, some people that have previously lived on the place where the hotel stands today are proudly telling their memories of the functioning hotel and restaurant. History was rewritten and people got to be friends with the new.

Numerous memories of the place are to be found on Facebook, in comments under posts about the building. People recall their weddings, graduation ceremonies or birthdays celebrated in the hotel restaurant. They recall the live music that was played by local artists from time to time. They recall the coffee one could drink in the bar on the 14th floor, as well as the bar itself. Some even recall the tasty schnitzel they ate at the restaurant, saying it was one of the best in the city at that time. Some proudly tell how they worked for years either in the hotel, the restaurant or one of the bars. Some recall how they worked for 10 to 12 hours a day on the project of the building for it to become reality. Some tell stories about them exchanging money with internationals in the hotel lift and making profit through it. Some tell stories of how the square in front of the hotel was the place to be if you wanted to get chewing gums, as they could not be bought locally. Children would spend time on the square and ask internationals for chewing gums, which they would then most likely get.

Most memories of the building ensemble have to do with the uses that were open to local citizens. Being a hotel, most parts of the building were only available



The interior of a luxury room, beginning of 1980s (source: M. Hazin, Kischinjow: Reiseführer, Moskau 1984)

The interior of the restaurant Intourist (today Național), beginning of 1980s (source: M. Hazin, Kischinjow: Reiseführer, Moskau 1984)



The square in front of the hotel in the 1980s (source: unknown)



The hotel ensemble with the neighbouring housing building in the 1980s. (source: unknown)

to internationals or people coming from other republics of the Soviet Union. Of course, there are people that despise the memory of the hotel, describing it as a place filled with KGB agents and linking it with luxury and ‘prostitution’.

Regardless of the kind of memories of the building, many agree on how it was a visiting card for the city that they were proud of. It is still not surprising that many of the same people have quite the opposite attitude towards the building since it was emptied and abandoned.

Already during the time the ensemble was functioning, it was not accessible to many. Especially after the 1990s, it was not a destination for the locals anymore. It became more of a structure in the center of the city that one has

The hotel facade seen from the Ciufle street, that got widened in 1998, by this getting a new perspective on the building when driving through the city. Beginning of the 2000s (source: unknown)



no connection to and no reason to go there, as there was also a more extensive offer of restaurants and bars in the city. As the fountains were shut down, the square in front was not as attractive anymore. With time the ensemble got more and more exclusive. Right after the privatization in 2006, the restaurant was suddenly accompanied by a casino. This dramatically reduced the audience of the place. Soon it became a 24/7 casino. The hotel itself wasn't so well visited after 1991. The number of tourists dramatically fell after the independence because of the disappearance of organized tourism. The hotel has not been refurbished since it was built, which, over time, made it a less and less appealing destination. Starting at the end of the 1990s, hotel rooms were rented as office spaces and long-term accommodation in order to earn some income. 2007 was the year the hotel closed, one year after it was privatized. The building was completely closed in 2009. The restaurant building remained used until 2018, with breaks in between, but it was not a place for gathering anymore, merely a private place meant for acquaintances of the building's owner, a Moldavian oligarch.

The distance between the citizens and the building ensemble grew over time. The fact that the building was not looked after made it worse, as the once visiting card of the city lost its charm of looking fresh and new. The spectacle was over.

Around 1998 the street running towards the hotel was widened and more or less centered on the hotel's facade. From there on, one would always drive towards the building when following the main axis entering the city through the ‘City gates’. Along with it, one would witness the building looking emptier over time. Whether one wanted it or not, one would stare at the large facade and follow its decay over the years.

The situation worsened once the building was emptied and prepared for demolition in 2009. It stopped being rigorously

guarded. Now, everyone could simply walk in, as the glazing on the ground floor was already broken after a short period of time. There was nothing valuable inside anymore to look after.

The deconstruction of the hotel's interior happened illegally, unsupervised and unnoticed, even though there seems to have been a lot of labor involved in the process. Aside from the furniture, most of the wall finishings, floors and non-loadbearing walls have been removed from all 16 floors. It is being speculated that several persons from the vicinity of Chişinău were promised a lot of money for the interior's deconstruction. The same several persons have gotten almost nothing after the work was done.

After being emptied, the hotel became a place of attraction for those looking for a rooftop view of the city, as it was not accessible before. Still being in school and looking for adventures, my friends and I also belonged to this category. It was also a place for graffiti fans to spray, as the last floor provided nice big wall surfaces. But the building also became a place where people who didn't want to be seen would hide in miserable conditions. It became a place for drug addicts, houseless and especially orphans. In 2015, several



children's rights organizations called on the local authorities to take measures as the situation was only worsening. In 2016, the ground floor was closed with fence elements, so one cannot easily enter anymore. Since then, the building has been less accessible but still not completely sealed. People continue to get inside from time to time.

Main entrance to the hotel, 2014
(source: BACU)



Regular floor of the hotel, 2014
(source: BACU)



Graffiti art painted on the facade in 2016 as part of an international movement
(source: THEBIRDS/THEBIRDS)

Facade as contested territory

The large facade of the hotel, with its massive parapets and the street running right towards it, make it a good projection surface. After the building was closed, the owners started to rent the main facade as one huge surface for advertisement banners. This not only makes a profit but also obscures the abandoned structure behind it. If it is hidden, people don't question it so

much. Over the last ten years, one would have different kinds of advertisements temporarily covering the building: insurance companies, sports and spa studios, private clubs, and recently Kaufland.

There are also long periods of time when the facade is to be seen as it is. During one such period in 2016, an international group of graffiti artists decided to appropriate the facade and painted an abstract outline of a bird as big as the whole surface of the building. The owners did not object, and the black paint has remained on the facade since then, fading with time and sometimes covered by advertisement banners.

The current war has brought a whole new level to the idea of the facade as a projection surface - it has become a contested territory. Two days after the war started, the night between the 26th and 27th of February, the facade was painted in the colors of the Ukrainian flag. The owners again did not intervene, and the facade remained that way. Two months later, on the 21st of April, the Moldovan government forbade any signs of war, including the orange and black Saint George's ribbon, a typical ribbon to be seen each year on the 9th of May,

Advertisement banner of an insurance company on the facade of the hotel, 2013
(source: Serghei Carpovici)



the so-called Victory Day. The night after this decision was made official, the blue part of the Ukrainian flag had been overpainted in the Saint George's ribbon's colors. The police intervened and got in contact with the owner of the building. The orange stripes were immediately painted over. However the owner has said nothing against the action per se.

With its political symbols layered on top of one another, the facade has become a caricature of the Moldovan society's identity struggle. Piling onto the collage, on the 28th of April, a group of people hung a textile depicting the colors of the Moldovan and the Romanian flag between some of the balconies.

The hotel building does not only stand to represent the corrupt and ignorant system that has dominated the city and the country over the last 30 years. It now made its identity struggles visible, representing the divided society that has yet to find common ground after the fall of the Soviet Union.

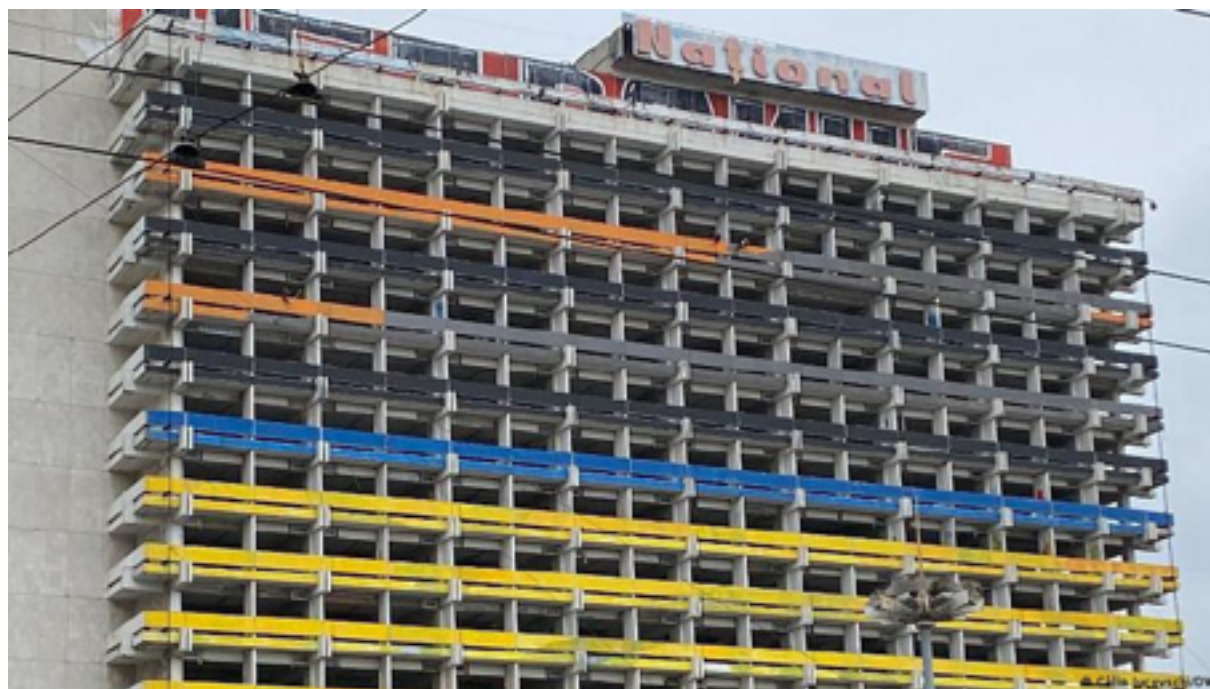
What remains clear is the potential of the facade as a projection surface for political messages. It also seems that this potential was already recognized during the 1980s.



During that time, the facade was painted for the parade of the 1st of May, even though one wouldn't have the street running towards the building yet.

Facade of the hotel painted for the 1st of May Parade, 1980s (source: E. Kiblika)

Facade of the hotel being painted over for the third time in the last two months, 22.04.2022 (source: Călin Jucovschi / Deutsche Welle)



Story of resistance



Riot in front of the Moldovan Parliament, 7 April 2009 (source: Wikipedia Commons)

For more than ten years, one has heard about plans to demolish the hotel. Nevertheless, it still stands today. This is not a simple coincidence but a result of continuous resistance from a small group of people that is mostly overlooked. Here I would like to tell the story of the hotel from this often neglected perspective. It is about people in positions of power, but also about simple citizens who care about their city and want to make it a better place.

2009 was a year full of events in Chişinău, marked by a lot of unrest, violent protests and riots, damaging the presidency and the parliament building. It marked the long-awaited change of the governing party. This change was to deceive people again five years later,

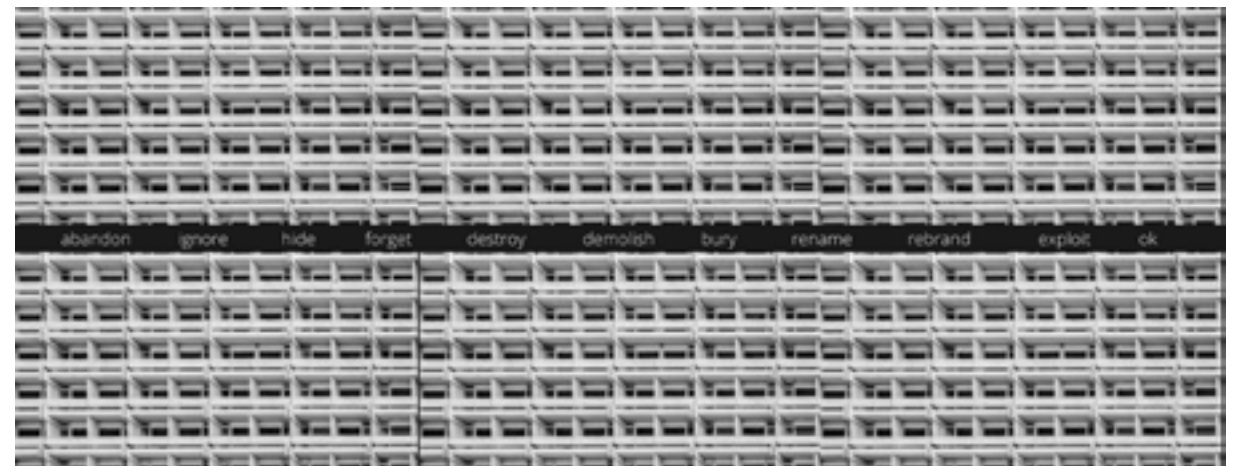
followed by a new wave of protests in 2015 and 2016.

Taking into account this turbulent context, it is not surprising that the hotel building was emptied in 2009 without objection by the public. People were too occupied with politics at that point. There were more important topics to be addressed and fought for.

Despite the distraction of the general public, a few persons working in the city hall and involved in politics made legal steps to prevent the hotel's owner from demolishing it. Legal procedures were started and continued since then. This is the main reason why the building still stands. A few persons did everything they could to push the matter. Recently, when I talked to one of them, they didn't seem so hopeful about the future, as the actual decision-makers do not share their interests.

Besides the people involved in the city hall, there was another person fighting for the building. They fought not only for it to remain but also to get it protection status. This person is Dumitru Rusu, the founder of BACU and the platform 'socialist modernism', who starting in 2016 has made five requests to the City Hall and the Ministry of Culture to put the building under protection. He sent

Collage realized as a reaction to the news on the demolition of the hotel, 2020 (source: Ana Popapa)



dossiers in 2016, 2019, 2020 and 2021. Unfortunately, none of the decision-makers were interested in starting a debate. The topic has only once managed to reach the institution's agenda. Even then, the case got postponed without discussion. It was never put on the agenda again. In 2021 the mayor of Chişinău announced that the hotel's owner got permission for demolition. Dumitru again made a considerable effort in writing open letters to the decision-makers, this time also involving ICOMOS SC20. As was expected, no answer ever came back.

Aside from the apparent failure to get a protection status for the building, Dumitru has managed to put the building on the map of socialist modernist architecture, including it in publications, on the webpage of socialistmodernism and writing articles. The hotel is one of only four buildings Dumitru has actively advocated for to get a protection status as soon as possible.

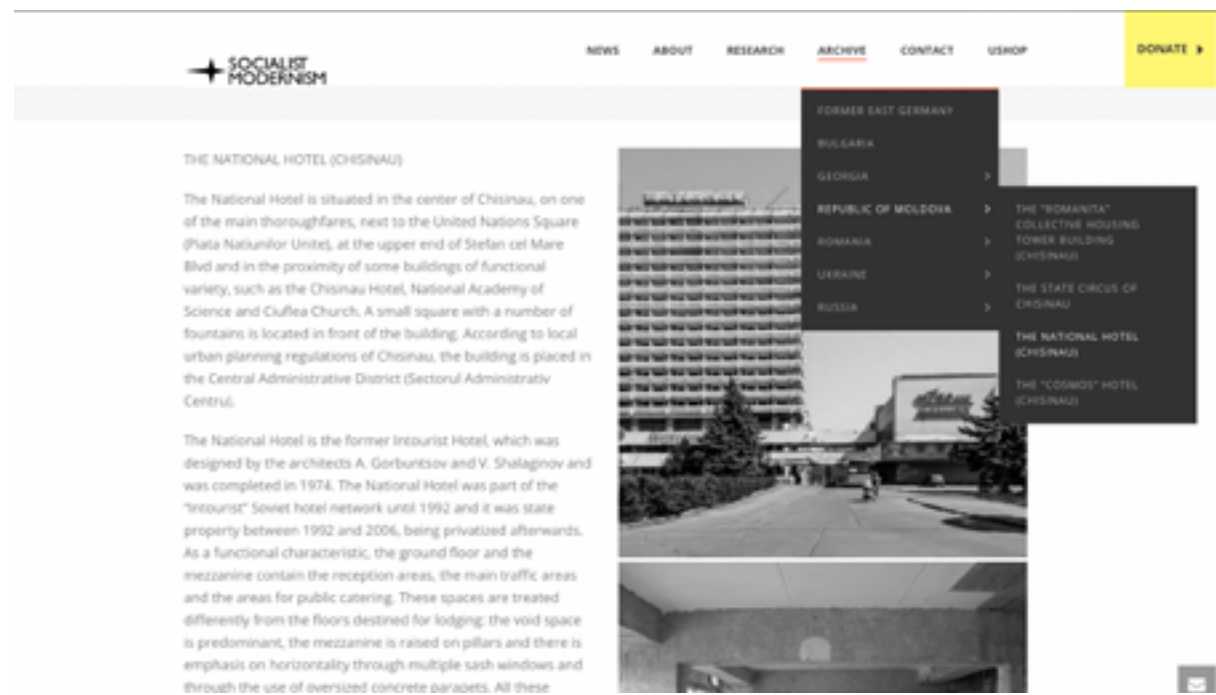
My absolute heroes in terms of resistance and engagement are the regular citizens of the city. Starting in 2015, when the situation of the hotel and the area started becoming an issue for the city and its



Open letter addressed to the prime minister and the mayor of Chişinău, by ICOMOS SC20, on 11.10.2021, after the news of the demolition permit being issued came out (source: BACU)

citizens, different individuals made open calls for action. Together, they cleaned the square in front of the hotel and its two fountains. The city, even though the territory still belongs to it, doesn't take care of the area. Such actions have taken place regularly over the years, up to today, organized by different individuals and groups. They did so without coordination between each other. Any time somebody was unhappy with the dirt that gathered,

Website of socialistmodernism co-founded by Dumitru Rusu with 'Hotel Național' as one of the four documented buildings in Chişinău



Facebook post on one of the cleaning actions that took place in 2019 (source: Facebook)

Facebook threads with discussions around the hotel from the last 12 months (source: Facebook)



they would make an open call over Facebook. Random people would gather and help. Some of these actions would get into the news; some would remain unnoticed but persistent.

Starting in 2020, a new wave of civic engagement came when the new mayor of Chişinău announced that the building would be demolished soon. While before, the hotel was never at the center of public debates, its future suddenly became a public issue.

I would like to believe it is also related to the election of the new president Maia Sandu in 2020 and the growing popularity of her party, which received the majority of votes in 2021. The Party of Action and Solidarity advocated for changing the political class and a new start for the country, guiding it toward a better future. There was a huge wave of hope among the Moldovan population that the country could finally get on a good path. As there were no reasons for protests or unrest, the engagement for the protection of the hotel had a good environment to develop.

In the summer of 2021, after the permit for demolition was issued, petitions were started in order to stop the process. Huge threads of discussions erupted on Facebook. The vice-mayor of Chişinău, an advocate for the protection of the building, got fired after he opposed the demolition permit. This led to even more publicity for the hotel. Because of public pressure, the mayor announced the process would be stopped until all the legal procedures are clarified. These procedures are still running today.

Could one imagine the civic engagements combining forces and going one step further by taking the initiative over the future of the hotel?

'CLACĂ'

While I was growing up, I would sometimes hear the story of my great-grandparent's house, where my parents live today. It was built by the whole village. Men, women and children of all ages came together. Clay bricks were made by mixing clay, water and hay. Everybody contributed as they could. It was the normal thing to do. Eating and celebrating together was an integral part of the working process.



The house of my great-grandparents (source: Cobuşcean family archive)

Forgotten to be remembered

CLĂCĂ, clăci, s. f. 1. Muncă prestată de țăranii șerbi și liberi, fără pământ, în beneficiul stăpânilor de moșie. 2. Muncă colectivă benevolă prestată de țărani pentru a se ajuta unii pe alții și care adesea este însoțită ori urmată de o mică petrecere, de glume, povestiri etc.

DEX '09 (2009)

Translation:

1. *Work performed by serf and free peasants, without land, for the benefit of landlords.* 2. *Voluntary collective work performed by peasants to help each other, often accompanied or followed by a small party, jokes, stories, etc.*



Film still depicting a 'clacă' from 'Moldova Sovietică' nr. 5, realised by 'Moldova Film' Studio, 1969 (source: Agenția Națională a Arhivelor, DGAN)

The term 'clacă' was introduced in the middle ages to the former territory comprising the current Republic of Moldova, defining unpaid forced labor that had to be done by peasants on the lord's terrain for a definite number of days per year.

Today the term is known to mean quite the opposite. After the abolition of feudalism, 'clacă' started to be used as a term to define voluntary collective work performed by peasants in the form of mutual aid, accompanied by rituals of celebration.

The National Register of Intangible

Cultural Heritage of Moldova lists 'clacă' in Chapter V: Celebrations, Customs and Rites, under Community feasts. There it is described as an activity solely characteristic of mutual aid during the process of building houses and churches. Other mutual aid practices are not officially attributed to the term.

It is not possible for me to trace back the moment the term 'clacă' started to be used for the description of mutual aid in the context of building one's own house, but it is the way I was familiarized with the term while growing up. It may also be that the extended term of 'clacă' is characteristic for Romania.

Maybe it has always had a different meaning in Moldova. Regardless of what the truth is, it may seem like I am addressing an outdated practice forgotten today. Indeed it is not so. 'Clacă' were performed on the current Moldovan territory up until the 1990s, after the declaration of independence.

My mother has participated in several 'clacă'. She told me one would announce the date when the work would be done; on that day between, 50 and 100 villagers would gather to help. They would bring tools and organize the site. Many young people would come to help, as they knew that at some point they would need to help to build their own house.

Several experienced persons would explain the tasks and coordinate the process. The clay would be mixed with hay and water to form bricks that dry in the sun. Those bricks would be used to form the house. At last, a wooden construction would cover the roof. There was no age restriction. Both adults and children joined the 'clacă'. Eating and drinking together as a form of celebration of the work was an indispensable part of the process. It was basically the host's only responsibility - provide food and drinks, and everybody else would do the work.



Film stills depicting a 'clacă' from 'Moldova Sovietică' nr. 5, realized by 'Moldova Film' Studio, 1969 (source: Agenția Națională a Arhivelor, DGAN)



Foto from a 'clacă' reenacted in the summer of 2021 in the village Seremet. The traditional dance 'hora' as a moment of celebration of the work. (source: A.O. Bastina - Seremet)

In the 90s, the tradition disappeared, caused by the transition to the free market and the shock that came with it. Many people lost their jobs and had to leave the country in order to earn money. Especially the so-called 'experts' left, as well as young adults, in the search for a better life. Living in the countryside was no longer attractive as there were no jobs to find. As such, several deciding factors

for 'clacă' disappeared, but people did not forget it.

In recent years 'clacă' are being reenacted from time to time as an act of remembrance. While sometimes people try to perform the 'clacă' as close as possible to its original tradition, other times, it only constitutes of some of its characteristics. But every time, it occurs in the countryside, where 'clacă' originates. This is understandable as it is very much based on a community of trust and interdependence. I am wondering whether something similar could be imagined in a different form inside the city. Could a new form of 'clacă' be the way one starts caring about the ignored and abandoned built heritage?



Fotos from a 'clacă' reenacted in the summer of 2021 in the village Seremet. On the right - the production of bricks, down - the common lunch. (source: A.O. Bastina - Seremet)



Mutual aid as tradition

‘unde-s mulți puterea crește’
romanian proverb

In his book ‘Mutual Aid: A Factor of Evolution’, published in 1902, Peter Kropotkin describes how mutual aid has been an essential factor in the evolution and progress of both the animal world and humankind. He writes that ‘History, such as it has hitherto been written, is almost entirely a description of the ways and means by which theocracy, military power, autocracy, and, later on, the richer classes’ rule have been promoted, established and maintained. The struggles between these forces, make in fact, the substance of history.’¹ Following this, he draws attention to the fact that the mutual aid factor has been simply denied by ‘the writers of the present and past generation’² in the writing of the history. More than 100 years later, it seems more actual than ever before.

Based on ideas promoted by figures like Ayn Rand and Margaret Thatcher, the struggle of individuals seems not to be anymore the problem of the oneness of history writing but the whole essence of the neoliberal system that has spread in the US and Europe since the end of the 1970s, achieving the global scale over the last 30 years, and marking the global extension of European and US imperialism.³

The fall of the Soviet Union has given neoliberalism a chance to infiltrate different forms of postsocialist governance in former soviet countries under the pretense of democratization. Widespread privatization, erosion of the welfare system, rising inequality, commercialization and destruction of public space are just a few outcomes of this process which still continues today.

Translation:
where there are many the power grows

In his book ‘Zone des Übergangs: Vom Ende des Postkommunismus’ Boris Buden writes how the fall of the Soviet Union has brought hope of a new socialist system based on human rights for the independent countries. However, the ruling elites have quickly changed their strategies, following the examples of their western colleagues. The countries of eastern Europe became the ‘New Europe’, adopting a form of capitalism that is more capitalist than its western variant, one that is wilder, more flexible and ruthless.⁴

This phenomenon has occurred in a context where the fall of the Soviet Union marked the loss of common ground that held the former soviet societies together. No new fundament has been built yet. Even my mother, who is by no means nostalgic about the soviet past, has told me that the moment Moldova became independent, at the beginning of the 1990s, has marked the dissolution of the former collective feeling. She said, ‘since then, people have become evil.’

This newfound independence of Moldova, as well as the fall of the Soviet Union, have hurt the country’s spirit of collectivity. It is a product of politics, increased criminal activity, lack of workplaces and massive emigration that directly resulted in the country’s terrible situation. It is no wonder that, in this context, many see the abandoned hotel building as a monument for this development.

While the country’s transition brings up many issues that could be of interest for further research, I would like to

1 Kropotkin, Peter, *Mutual Aid: A Factor of Evolution*, London 1987 (First published 1902), 231

2 Kropotkin, 231

3 see Duggan, Lisa, *Mean Girl: Ayn Rand and the Culture of Greed*, California 2019

4 see Buden, Boris, *Zone des Übergangs: Vom Ende des Postkommunismus*, Frankfurt am Main 2009, 71



Family dinner, 2014
(source: Olga Cobușcean)

focus on the mostly overlooked topic of mutual aid that has a long tradition in the country’s history. It goes much further back than the time when Moldova was part of the Soviet Union. While one could say that mutual aid practices have been severely compromised during the time of transition and remained merely peripheral, I argue for the fact that this

Planting corn, 2015
(source: Olga Cobușcean)



whole time, they still loomed in the background. Today one could sense a revival of these practices in different forms than their initial ones. My project aims to analyze the ‘lost’ practices, as well as the reoccurring ones. Let us imagine a future where these practices will resurface and shape how we develop our cities together.

While I grew up, it was self-evident that one would help their family with agricultural work in the garden and fields. The amount of labor the earth needs is rarely manageable alone. One is basically dependent on mutual aid. Due to low wages and pensions the garden is an important source of self-subsistence. Even in the city, especially older people, would have small gardens for self-subsistence.

The agricultural part of mutual aid remains mostly a matter of the countryside, whereas in the city, the



atmosphere differs because of its size and anonymity.

Over the years, other forms of mutual aid have emerged in the city. They are mostly the result of discontent with the city's situation rather than personal needs. Campaigns for cleaning city parks or public spaces are widespread in Chişinău. The city does not succeed in keeping its territories and public spaces clean all year round. Usually, in spring and autumn, one would be invited to help clean these spaces. The invitation would sometimes come from NGOs, sometimes from the city hall itself. These events last several hours. Everybody interested can make a contribution. But apart from these events, such practices are also widespread. It is common for citizens to clean the space around the housing block they live in. This happens especially in the older blocks that don't have a good functioning administration. Even in school, we used to be invited as pupils, once in spring and once in autumn, to prepare the area around the school for the coming season. Such practices used to be known as 'subbotniks'. The term is derived from the Russian word for Saturday,

as they usually take place on weekends and resemble practices established in the Soviet Union, which were more obligatory than voluntary.

Today more and more people started to call such events - 'clacă's. In 2021 the new president of Moldova, Maia Sandu, made an open call for a big campaign of planting over 5 million trees to fight deforestation. On a chosen day, everybody could participate voluntarily in the planting of trees. The campaign took place in all cities and villages around the country. Since then several such activities took place and a lot of people have shown interest in helping. One could call this campaign a country-wide 'clacă'.

The meaning of the term 'clacă' seems to extend, bringing up new questions about further applications of mutual aid practices inside our cities.

The newly formed coalition of the independent cultural sector in Chişinău have themselves invited people to a 'clacă'. This was done to clean up the territory of the 'open apartment'. Afterwards

'Plant your future' campaign, started in 2021 (source: Ministry of Environment of the Republic of Moldova)

Clasa lucrătorilor culturii / Субботник культурных работников / Subbotnik of culture workers, 16.04.2022, 16:00-21:00

By Maurice Grosbusch 12/04/2022 activism, proiectie



--- scroll down for English ---

RO

Announcement for the 'clacă' of cultural workers, April 2022 (source: Oberliht)

they watched movies together. In the English translation, they called the event 'subbotnik', as 'clacă' is largely unknown outside the Romanian-speaking world, whereas 'subbotnik' is a well-known term among former soviet countries.

A very particular extension of the term 'clacă' has been formed over the last two months in the context of the war in Ukraine and the resulting refugee crisis that Moldova deals with.

The working group 'Moldova for Peace' that formed on the 24th of February, the

day the war started, has made a weekly open call for people to help prepare packages with goods for refugees on Saturdays. At some point, they started calling these events 'clacă's. One week ago an Easter 'clacă' was organized where enough people came together to prepare more than 3000 bags of goods.

It is clear that the solidarity present in society today directly correlates to a situation of crisis. However, I want to argue that there has already been growing solidarity over the last several years. One can not expect solidarity to become permanent in the intense form it has today, though I would like to question whether new forms of practices based on the same principles of solidarity could emerge. Practices that would be more long-term and contribute to a new, shared image of the country's development and the way one lives in and cares about the city.



Easter 'clacă' organised by Moldova for Peace on 21.04.2022 (source: Moldova for Peace)

Keeping the memory of home

COLÉT, colete, s. n. Pachet relativ mic, expedit de obicei prin poștă. – Din fr. colis (după pachet).

DEX '09 (2009)

While I was growing up, twice a year, we would get a parcel from a relative of ours who lives in Italy. She would send us Italian food, coffee and drinks. My parents would send her back self-made food, wine, sweets and liquor. We would stay connected by the parcels we sent each other. Now that I am abroad, I also get parcels from my parents. They are filled with sweets, canned tomatoes, self-made jam and wine that I would share with my friends and colleagues.

The parcels are an essential method of staying in touch with the people and the place one misses. This is especially the

Translation:

Relatively small parcel, usually shipped by post.

case for Moldova, where 35% to 50% of the population lives temporarily or permanently abroad.

The parcels are not sent by post. There is a widespread informal infrastructure transporting these parcels, spanning Europe.

Small private companies take the place of the post workers. They have a bus and a route that they specialize in. Often, you have the names of the person you send the parcels with on their visiting cards. Personal contact is an integral part of this infrastructure as it gives one the trust

The bus that drives the parcels from my parents to me in Switzerland
(source: Lilian Turcanu)



one needs when sending goods one wants to be sure will arrive at the destination.

One pays per kg. If it fits in the planned trajectory and timetable, the parcels are being brought to your door. Sometimes you have to pick them up.

Lilian, the guy who usually brings the parcels from my parents to Switzerland, gathers them in Chișinău on Tuesdays and Wednesdays. He arrives in Switzerland either on Friday evening or Saturday morning. Saturday evening, he drives back with the parcels he gathers in Switzerland, bringing them to Moldova. He does this every week. It is his route.

He also transports passengers if one wants to drive with the bus. Although it is on the brink of legality, it is a common practice. Actually, I don't really understand how it is a legal practice, as one can send goods one would never send per post. Of course there are things one is

not allowed to send, but anyway.

The reason why I mention this parcel infrastructure in the context of the 'clacă' is not because it is somehow part of the same type of practice. Although similarities exist. It is a practice established by individual persons in order to address the needs of the citizens uncovered by state institutions. It is part of a parallel economy, but could one still call it a form of mutual aid?

I would like to think about it as a form of 'clacă' as it helps me extend the range of practices one could imagine under this term. It is a form of mutual aid between the people that went abroad and the ones that remained in the country. What could one gain from it when thinking about a possible future for the hotel?

Parcel network
(source: Olga Cobușcean)



CIRCUMSTANCES

Story of the country

‘Moldova lacks much of what would make it obviously attractive to tourists. It has no high mountains for skiing or trekking. Despite its warm summer temperatures, it has no sea coast for beach resorts. It has no historic urban centres of European cultural significance. [...] Being overwhelmingly rural, Moldova abounds with picturesque, if impoverished, villages complete with gaily painted wells for drawing water, gaggles of geese and flocks of other domestic animals. Such traditional scenes are now mostly absent in the rural environments of former communist countries further west...’

Haynes, Rebecca, Moldova: A History, (London: I.B. TAURIS, 2020), p. 1-2

The climate of the Republic of Moldova is moderate-continental. It is characterized by long hot summers with low precipitation and short mild winters. The landscape is dominated by low-lying rolling hills, cut by numerous streams and shaped by agricultural land. It is overwhelmingly rural.

Moldova is slightly bigger in size than Belgium. Its shape, we used to say with

some imagination, resembles the shape of a grape. By coincidence, or not, Moldova has a very long tradition of wine production. The country has the largest density of vineyards in the world (almost 4% of its territory) and houses the two biggest underground wineries. One of them is a 250 km long network of streets cut into limestone.

To this day, the country is mainly an agricultural one.

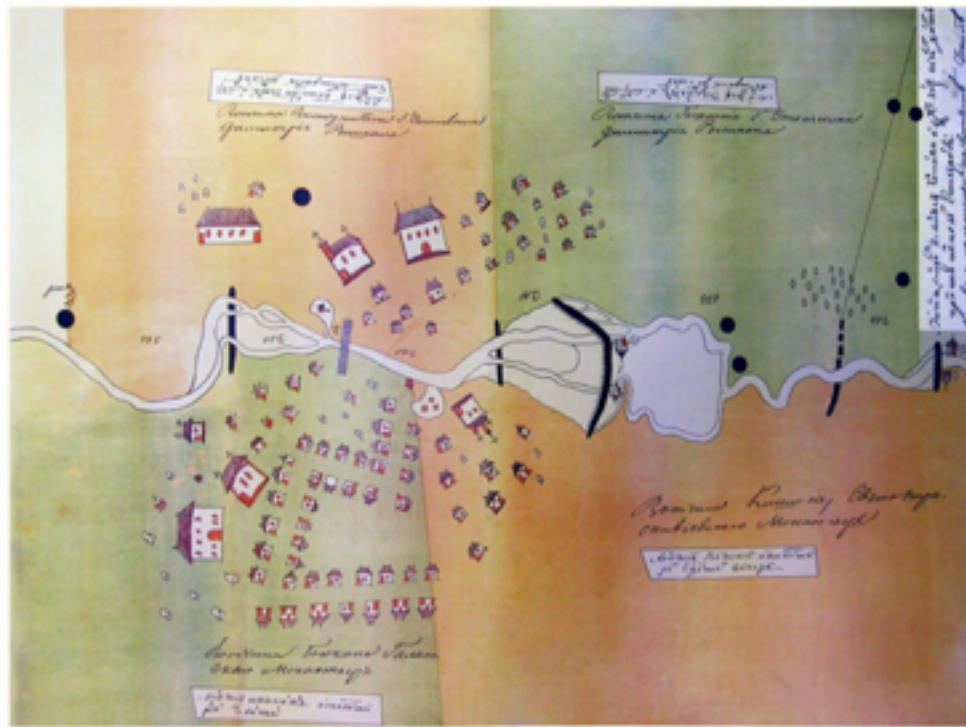
Landscape near Ursoaia village, 2014
(source: Olga Cobușcean)



Story of the city

‘To talk about the architecture of Moldova is, above all, to talk about the architecture of the Moldovan capital, Kishinev. The distinctive feature of the architectural styles of Kishinev has in all periods been their lack of conspicuous traditions. In other words, the multi-ethnic population and the fact that there has been considerable positive migration from other countries have produced the situation that we have today.’

Gordeev, Anatolie, The Lack of Tradition as Tradition, in Architekturzentrum Wien, Soviet Modernism 1955-1990: Unknown History, (Zürich: Park Books, 2012)



Map of Chişinău from 1800

Beginnings to 1812

The current territory of Chişinău has shown traces of human settlements dating back to prehistoric times. The first mention of Chişinău as a settlement dates back to 1436, when it was described as a village situated on the Bâc river. The area was a dense network of villages that have been integrated into the city we know today over time. Up to the 17th century, the village was characterized by clay and wooden houses and watermills placed along the river. Supposedly there has also been at least a wooden church in the village, but did not remain until today.

During the 17th century, the village grew considerably and turned into a small market town, being declared a small city towards the end of the century. Despite the temporary Ottoman occupation that led to impediments in the development of settlements, Chişinău became an important centre of commerce in the surrounding area towards the end of the 17th and beginning of the 18th century. Till 1812 it was still a small town, the moment the current Moldovan territory was annexed by the Russian Empire.



Photo of Chişinău in 1889 (source: Види Кишинёва и его окрестностей, 1889)

Map of Chişinău from 1834, with the old city on the right side and the new grid extension of the city on the left (source: monument.sit.md)

1812 to 1918

After the annexation of Bessarabia by the Russian Empire, Chişinău was officially declared a city in 1817 and a regional center. Alexei Sciusev drew a plan for the extension of the city. This extension was supposed to be a grid on the southwestern part of the old town center.

During the period of the Russian occupation, the city grew constantly. Another center was formed in the new part of the city. There was a new marketplace, public gardens, institutions for the administration, theatres and other cultural institutions.

1889 the first route of horse-drawn trams was opened in Chişinău.





Chişinău at the end of the XIXth Century



Chişinău at the end of the XIXth Century

Chişinău at the end of the XIXth Century



Photo of Chişinău in 1944 (source: unknown)

Map of Chişinău from 1941, with the old city on the right side and the new grid extension of the city on the left (source: monument.sit.md)

1918 to 1940

The moment the Romania was re-unified, Chişinău became the second largest city on Romanian territory at that time. The city did undergo only minor changes during this period of time. Some new schools were opened. The city marginally grew further than its previous limits.

1940 to 1991

1940 Moldova came under Soviet rule. Chişinău was almost completely destroyed during the Second World War. Directly after 1945, new plans for the city were drawn. The city grew very fast up to 1991. Completely new districts arised. The main street was marked by new buildings done in the style of soviet architecture. The Hotel was build during that period of time.





Plan for the extension of the city from 1947

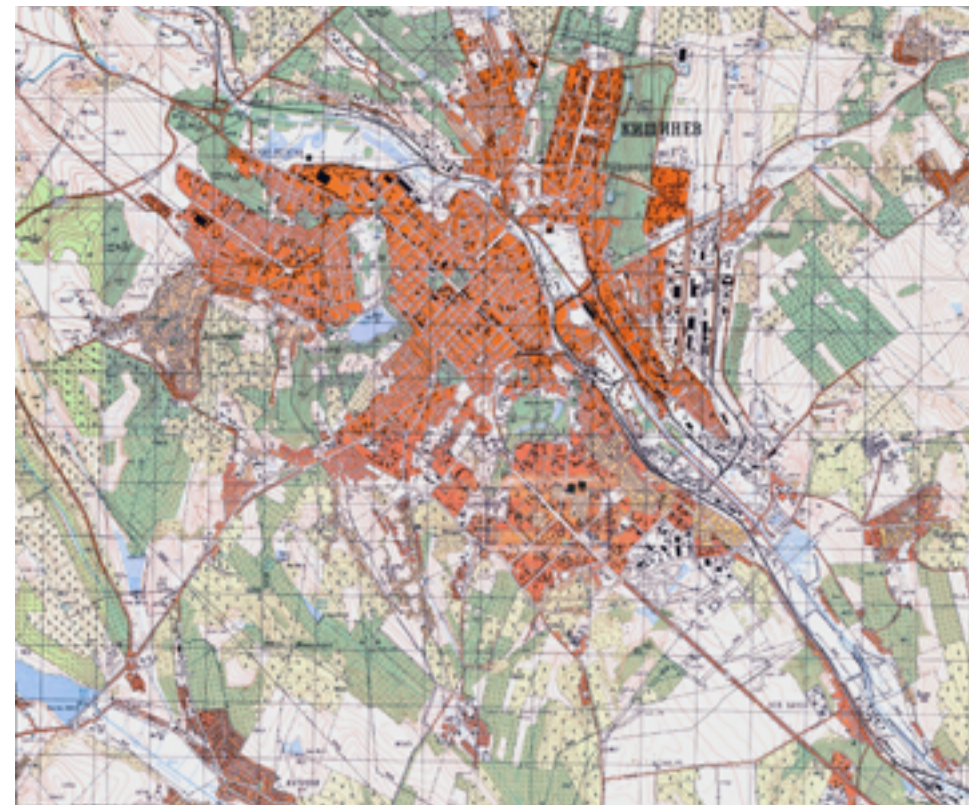
The new main train station built in the 1950s



Academy of Science, built in 1955



The view on the city gates and the new district Botanica, 1980s



Plan of Chişinău in 1982

1991 to today

After the fall of the Soviet Union, the city developed very wildly. Till today there is no clear image of how the city should develop, and corruption has led to terrible developments.

The current tendency is building as many huge housing complexes, malls, business centers and office buildings as possible. Either that or one-family villas. Parallely, a whole range of informal architecture emerged due to a lack of regulations.



Images of developments in Chişinău, 2015
(source: Olga Cobuşcean)



Image of developments in Chişinău's centre, 2021
(source: Olga Cobuşcean)

Problem child - soviet modernism

Arnold Bartetzky, Christian Dietz, Jorg Haspel, *From Rejection to Appropriation? The Architectural Heritage of Socialism in Central and Eastern Europe*, (Köln: Böhlau, 2014), p. 16-17, 23-24

'Due to the political change of 1989-1991 the architectural and urban post-war heritage in the former socialist countries of Central and Eastern Europe seems to have become useless almost over night. At that time, apart from a few exceptions the architecture of socialism was as unpopular as the overcome system. The population treated the majority of the building stock with disrespect or rejection; buildings particularly contaminated politically often led to open aggressions. At the same time, in the course of the political and economic transformation countless buildings lost their users, others had to be adapted to new functions or profitability requirements. Entire squares or streets were completely altered in the name of commercialisation and traffic modernisation.

Since the political change a considerable part of the built heritage from the decades before 1989 has been demolished or altered beyond recognition. Even faster than the buildings many political monuments of socialism have disappeared. Their destruction or removal from public space was often considered a means of making the political and moral new start as well as the break with an undemocratic past believable. Occasionally, it was also an easily feasible symbolic substitute act instead of coping with the real difficulties in the reform and democratisation process.[...]

By destroying political monuments and works of art in public spaces in a knee-jerk manner, post-socialist societies robbed themselves of meaningful testimonies to the propagandistic exploitation of urban spaces by an overcome regime. By means of adequate annotations, in the long run such testimonies could have had high educational potential. After more than two decades this decimation and alteration process continues. Nevertheless, the scientific evaluation and the perception by society have become more differentiated. Since the 1990s there has been a growing acceptance of the decorative, monumental Neo-Historicism of the Stalin era, labelled as architecture of Socialist Realism or of

national traditions. [...] The heritage of socialist modernism from the 1960s to 1980s is in a much tougher position. But even there one can no longer speak of a general rejection or disregard. Demolitions still occur regularly. However, while until a few years ago the public largely accepted them without protest, today they often cause lively debates and opposition from experts, citizens' initiatives, the media and sometimes politicians. Similar to the development in the West, where the architecture of post-war modernism, for a long time epitomising the inhospitality of the cities, is experiencing a new appreciation, young creative milieus are showing a strong affinity to Eastern modernism. Sometimes, this has fashionable traits. In the same way that individual buildings and ensembles find favour with a large public, investors are also discovering their market potential.[...]

At the beginning of the new millennium, the preservation of 20th century heritage remains one of the most difficult and contradictory problems the conservation community has to face. This has been discussed intensively and internationally since the late 1970s; however, an overwhelming abundance of structures built throughout this period, selection problems and inevitably new criteria, technological difficulties and functional misuse as well as low public response, still cause considerable preservation challenges and open defiance to the concept of sustainability in conservation.

[...] In most countries of Central and Eastern Europe, 'Socialist' architectural heritage still has a low protection status (if at all), an unclear form of ownership, is in degraded condition with minimal restoration experience for 20th century heritage, and is governed by a lack of state will and order for preserving these heritage strata. However, the negation or further devaluation of these heritage strata, and the direct and extreme politicisation simplify and impoverish European and world culture.'

INTENTION

Till the end of this semester, I would like to continue the research on the building and map it as detailed as I can in order to gain more knowledge about the material substance, the spatial structure and its possibilities. At the same time I will continue my research on 'clacă' and mutual aid practices in order to formulate a more precise programme for a future use of the building.

For the second semester, I imagine my work happening on several levels parallelly. On one hand, I would like to develop a scenario for future life in and around the building, a scenario that comprises community building and mutual aid practices. This would also be the scenario that would most probably be basically definition of how I imagine the living together would develop in the future of the country. A living together where the community would take initiative and appropriate the building.

On the other hand, I would like to search for ways of adapting the currently built structures to new possible uses, as a hotel seems rather obsolete right now, by keeping its most important architectural elements in terms of expression. Can a structure that was solely planned to be a hotel or a restaurant be as suitable for other uses? How much architectural intervention does it need?

I imagine adapting the building ensemble to the needs of a social and cultural infrastructure that is meant to serve the community, providing an alternative to the commercialization of public space and institutions.

Additionally to these bigger-scale interventions and ideas, I would like to develop a small-scale strategy for the maintenance and repair of the building ensemble. This would comprise of techniques that could be implemented with simple tools and realized by unskilled workers, picking up the initial idea of the 'clacă' and bringing it to the city context.

Some questions I pose myself in the process are: Can one learn to value a building through caring for, and repairing it? Can the practice of maintenance and repair help one care more for oneself, the community and the environment?

Possible references to my ideas could be an extended concept of the Volkshaus in terms of use, and an approach similar to one by Communitism in Athens in terms of process, where they get to use buildings for free in exchange for repairing them and creating infrastructures for the community.

RESSOURCES

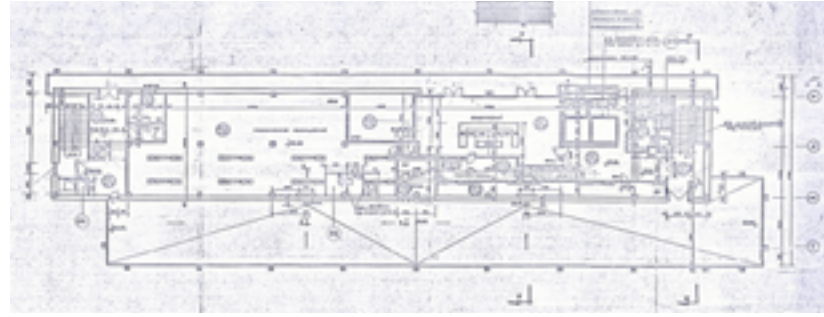
Discussions

Past and ongoing

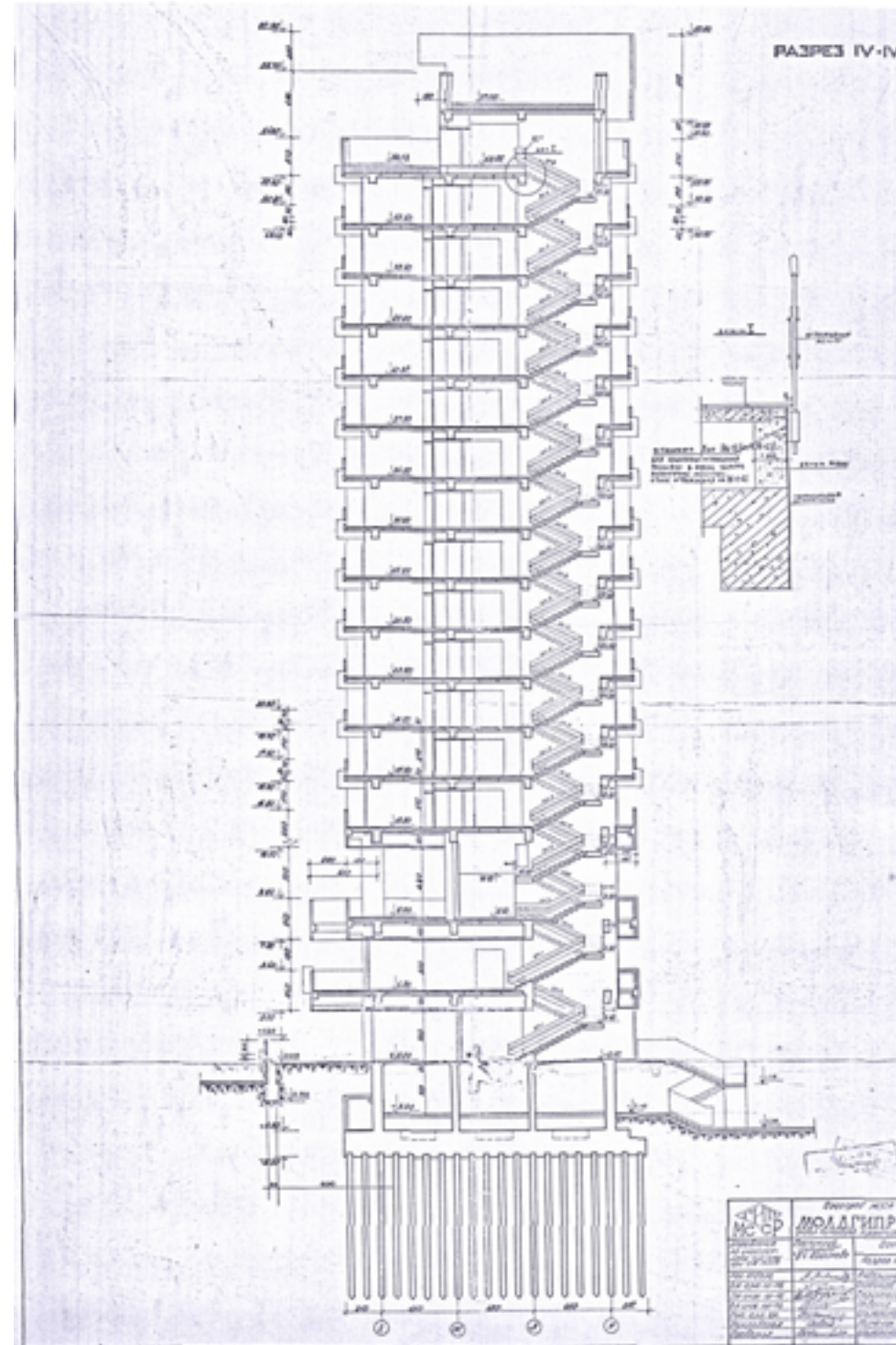
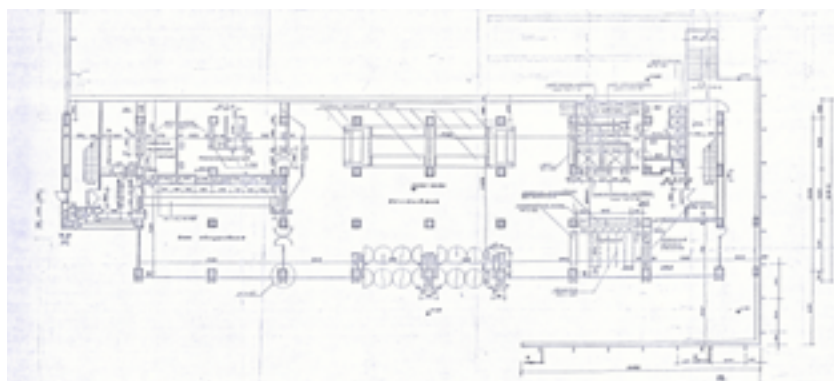
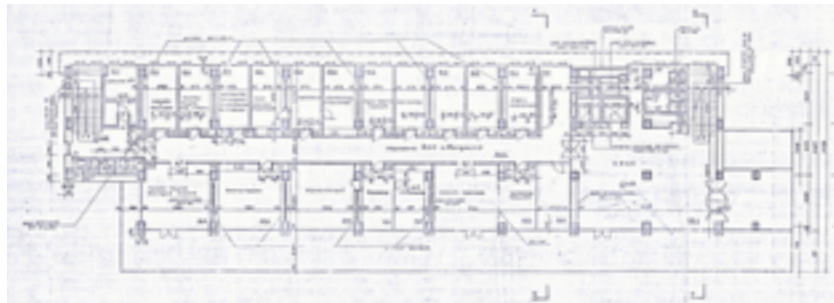
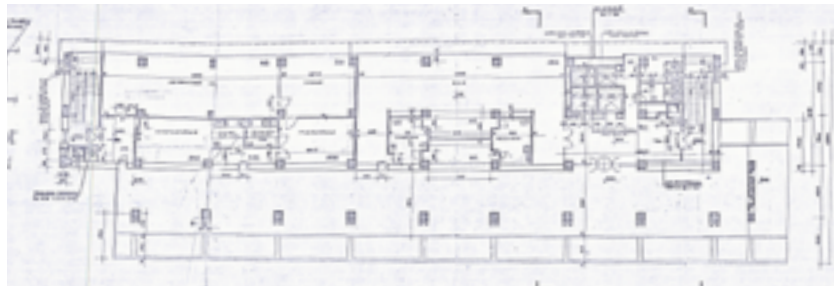
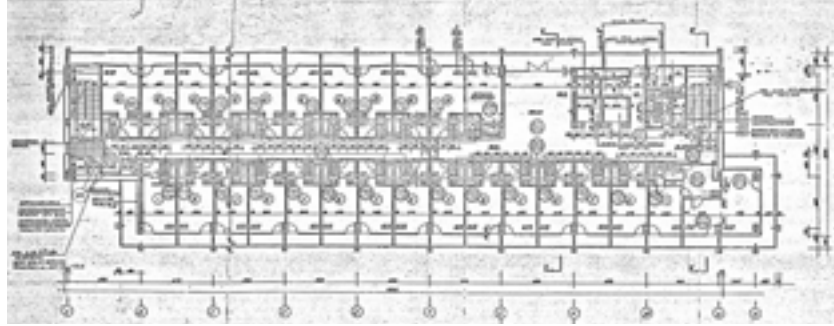
- Andrei Vatamaniuc, architect in Chişinău
- Constanța Dohotaru, urbanist and activist in Chişinău
- Ștefan Rusu, artist and curator from Moldova, specialised on soviet modernism
- Lilia Cobușcean, my mother, source of oral stories about ‘clacă’ and the past
- Monica Tușinean, architect and doctoral student in the field of heritage research

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Original floor plans of the hotel building, Top-down: 16th floor, 3-15th floor, 2nd floor, 1st floor and ground floor (source: Archive of Urbanproject)



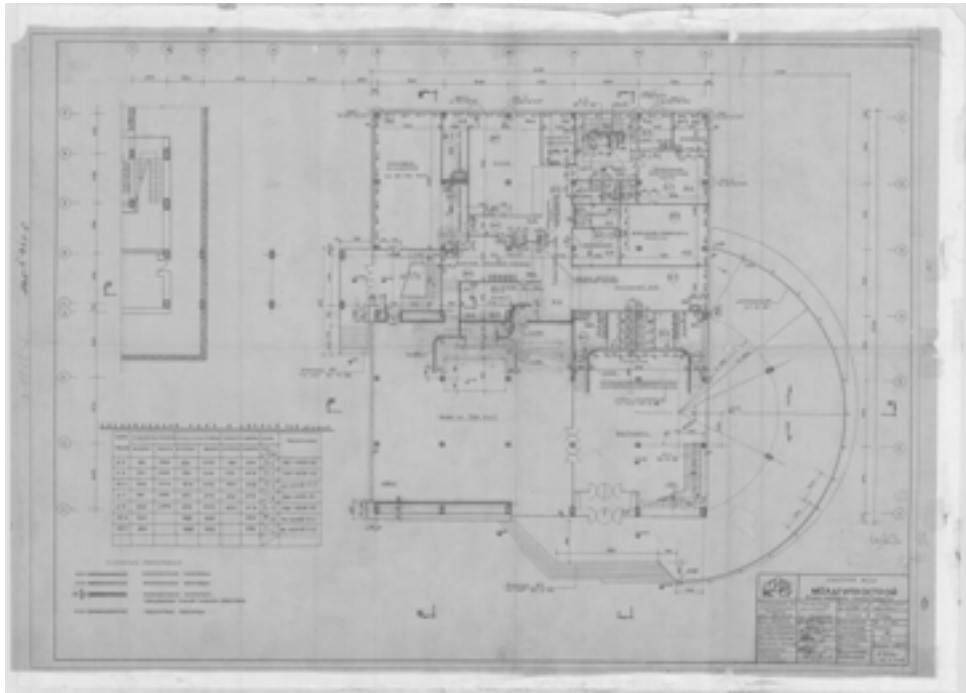
Original cross section of the hotel building (source: Archive of Urbanproject)



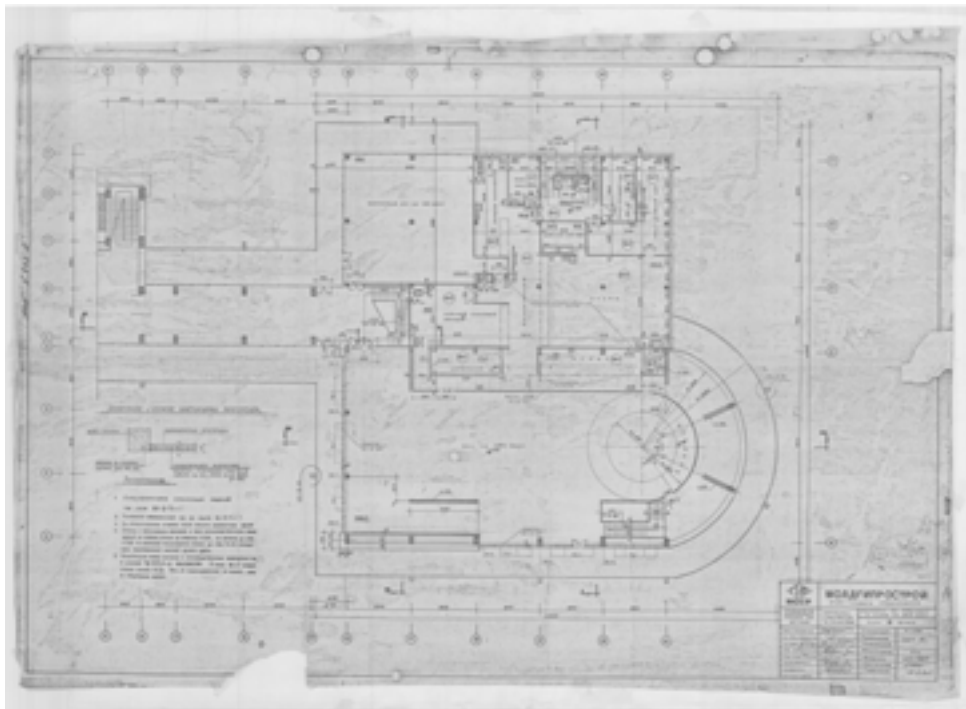




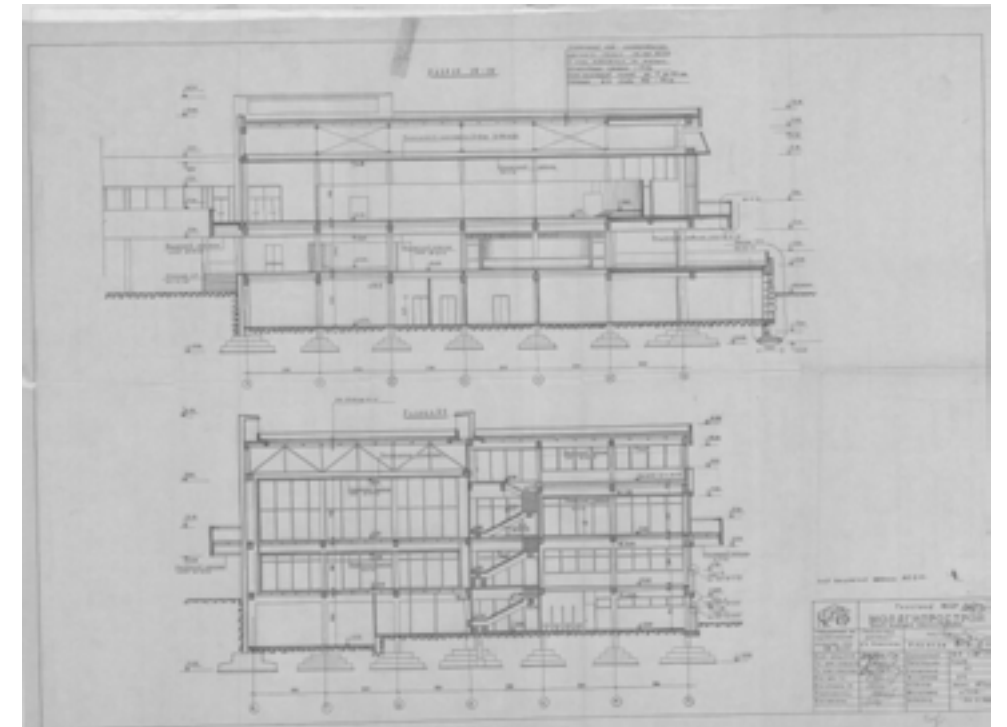
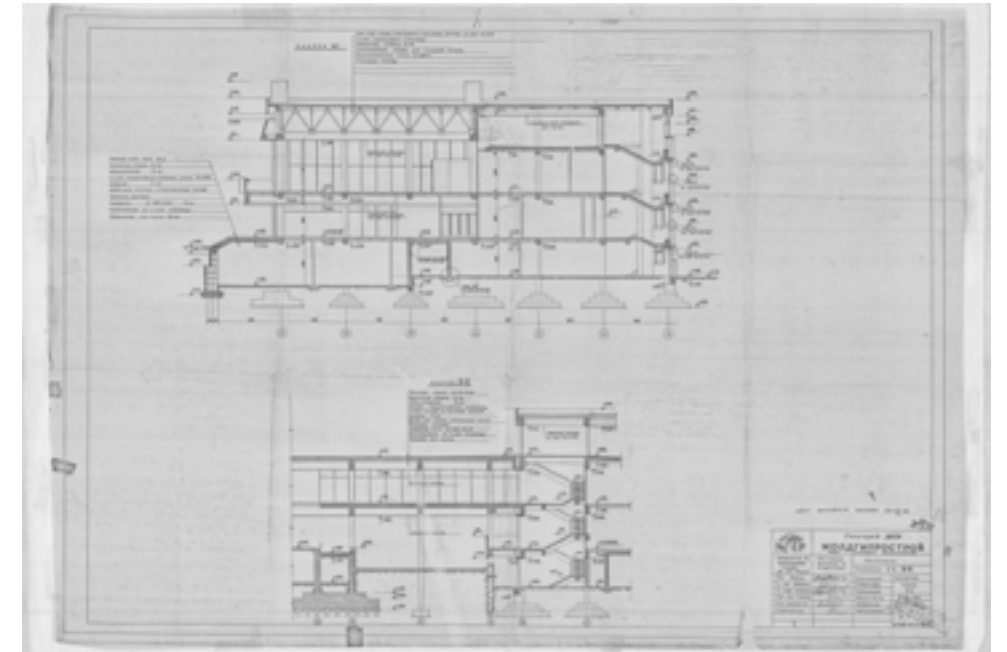
RESSOURCES (ADDED ON 16.12.2022)

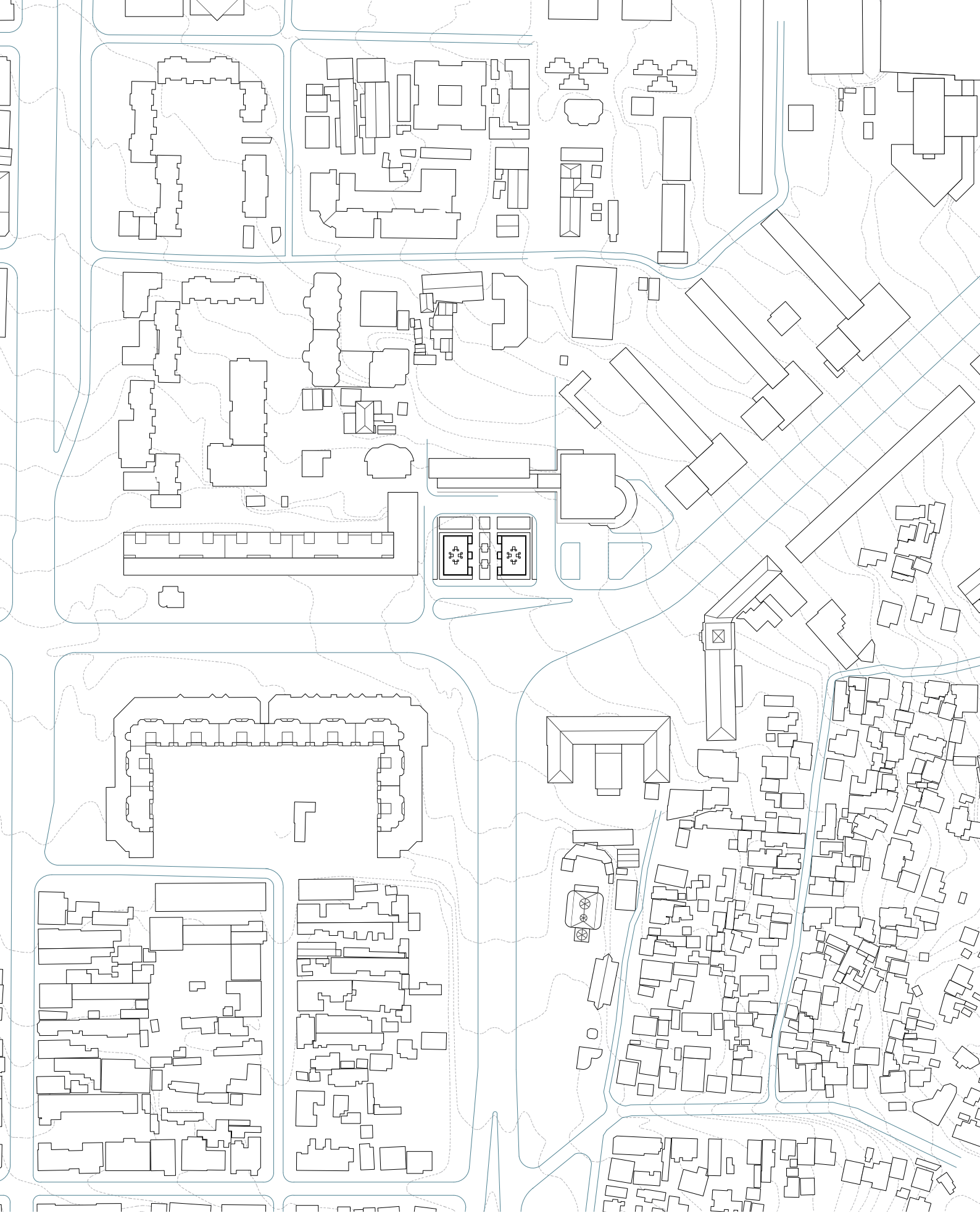


Original floor plans of the restaurant building. Above - Groundfloor, Below - first floor. (source: Archive of Urbanproiect)

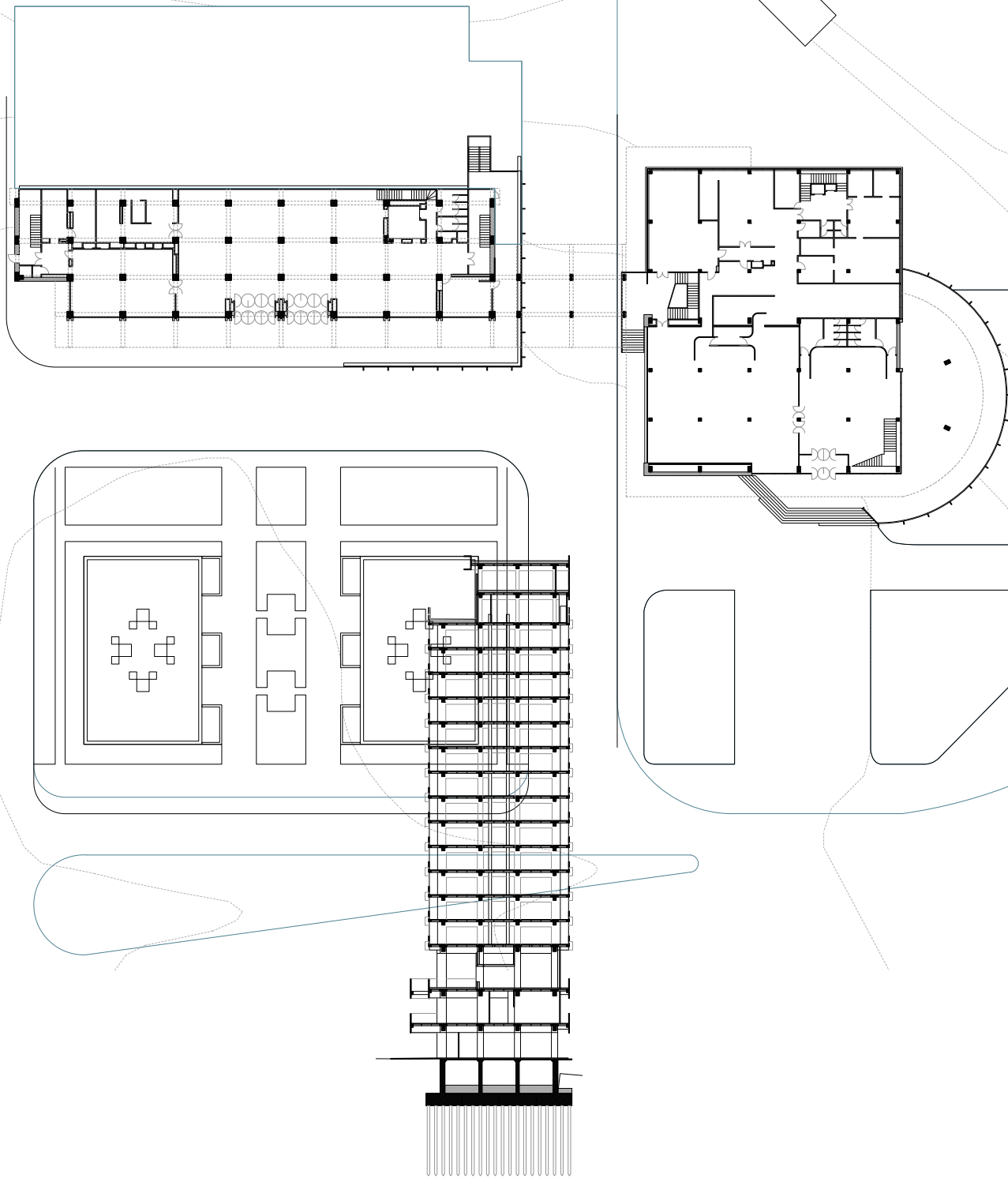


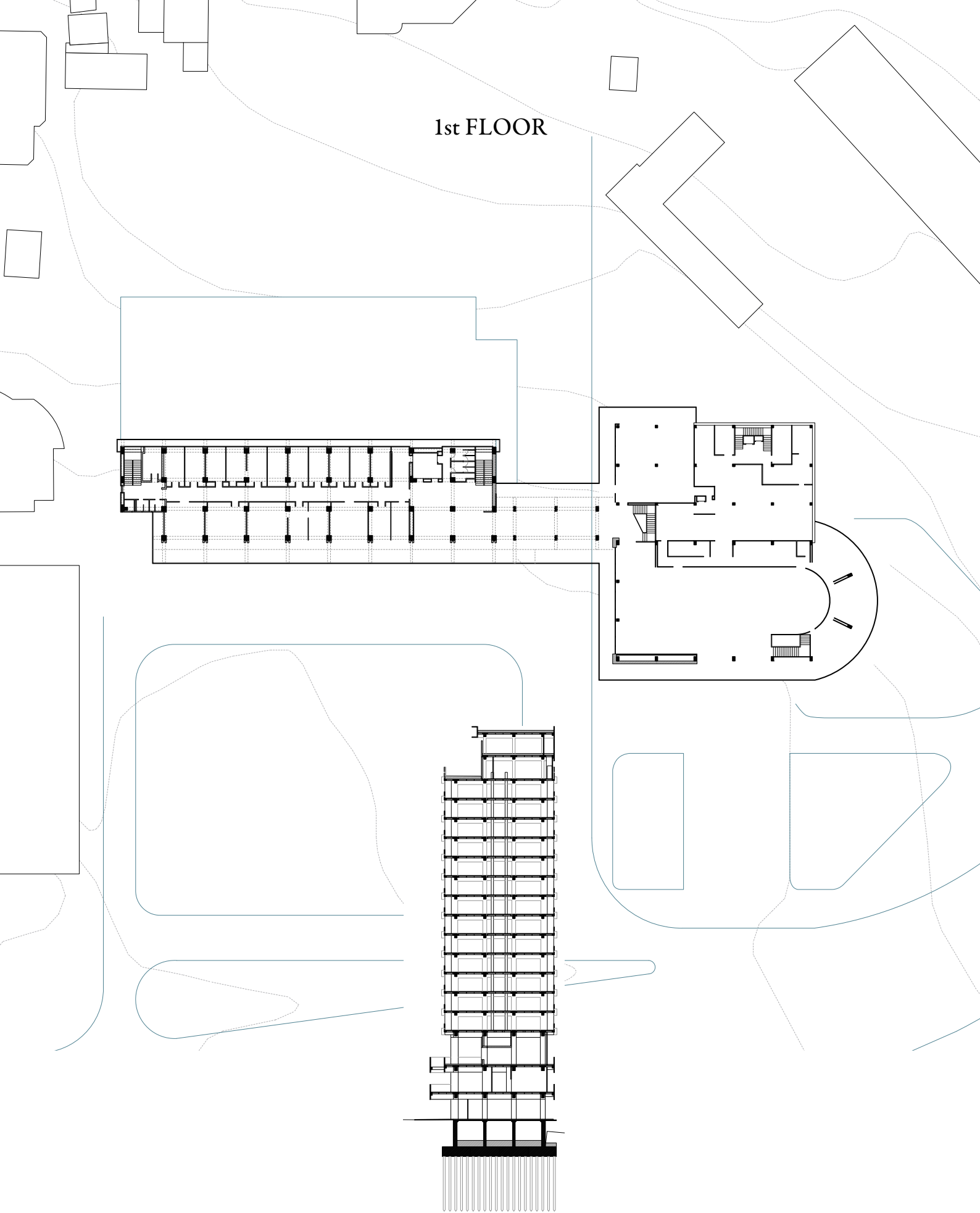
Original sections of the restaurant building. (source: Archive of Urbanproiect)

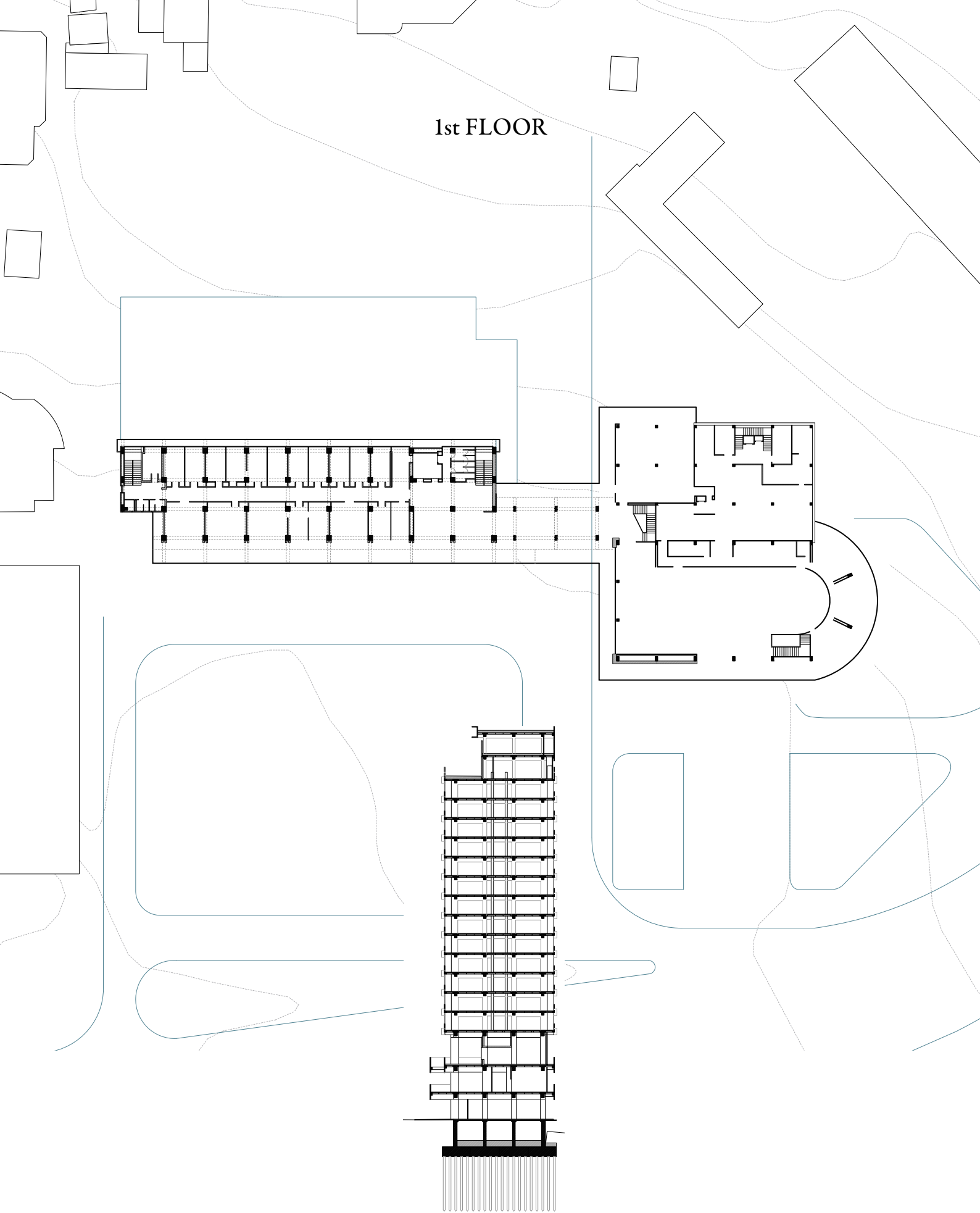


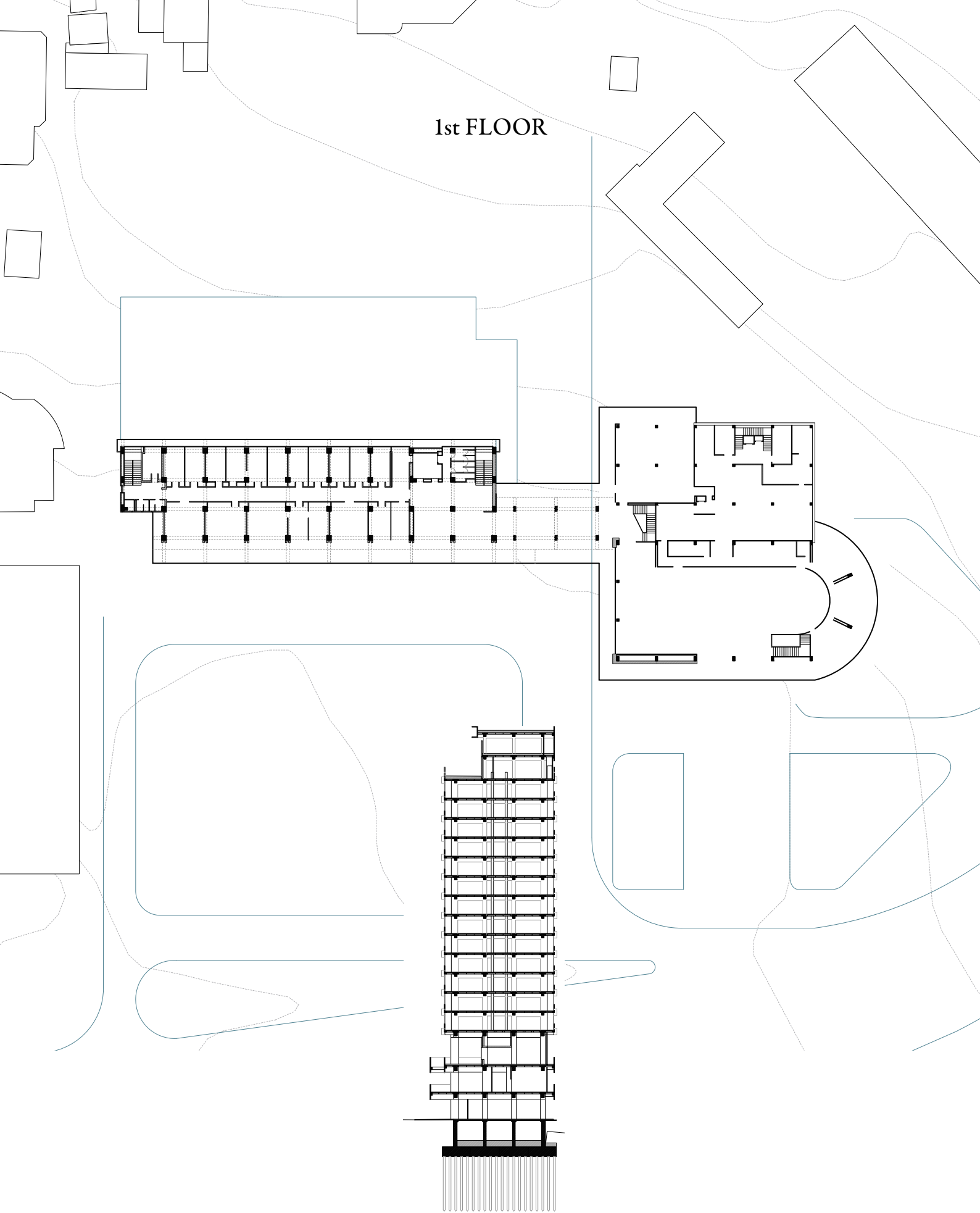


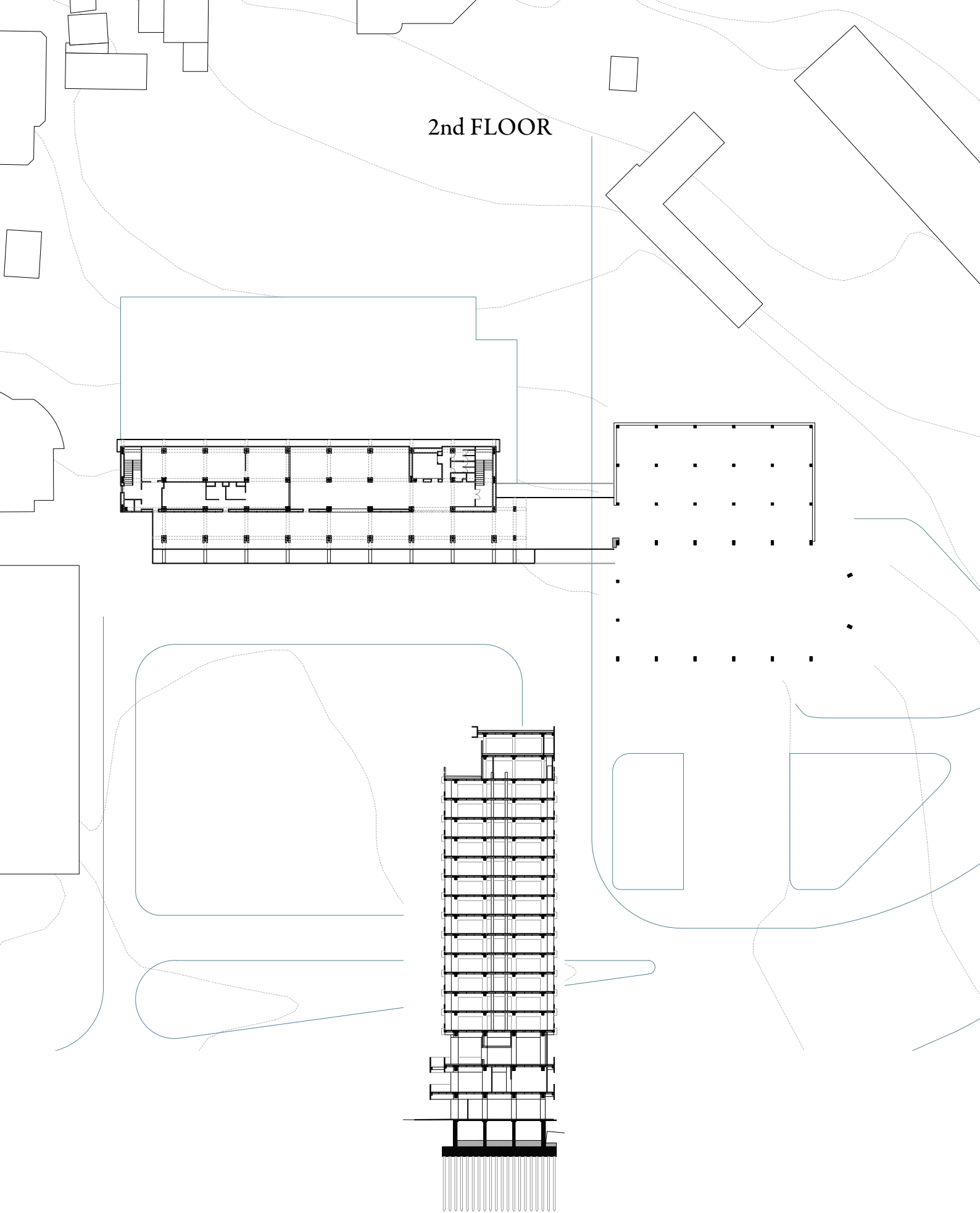
GROUND FLOOR

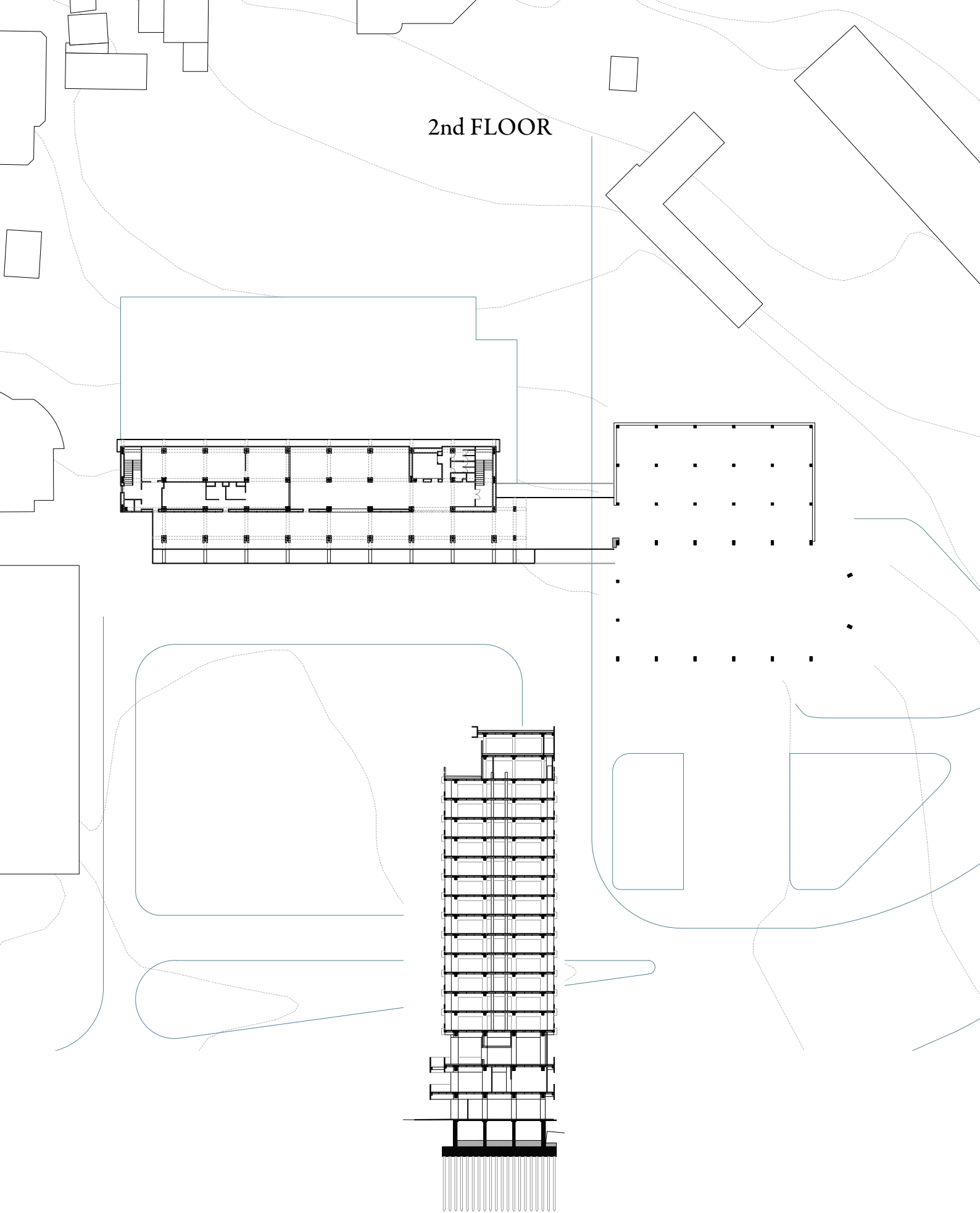


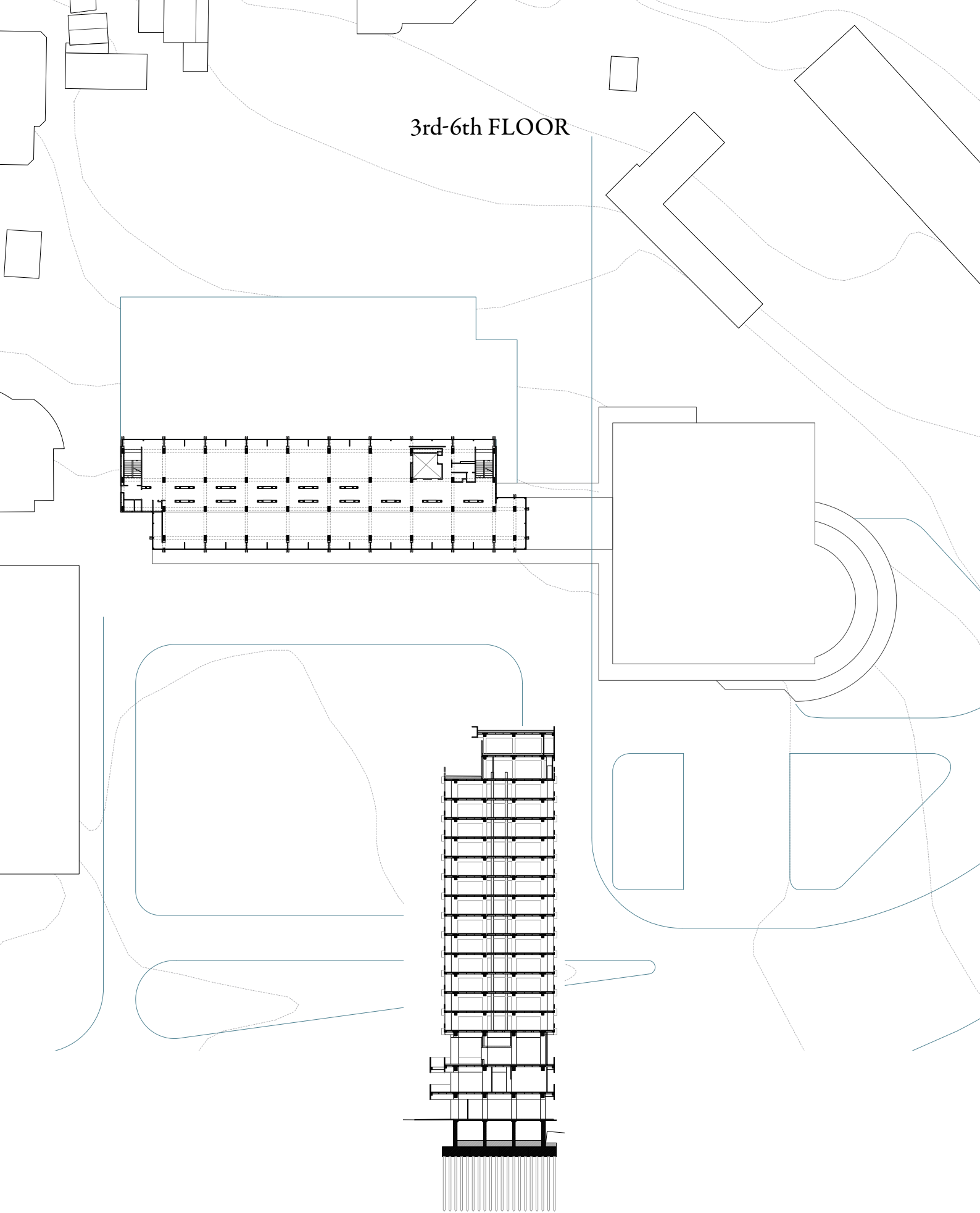


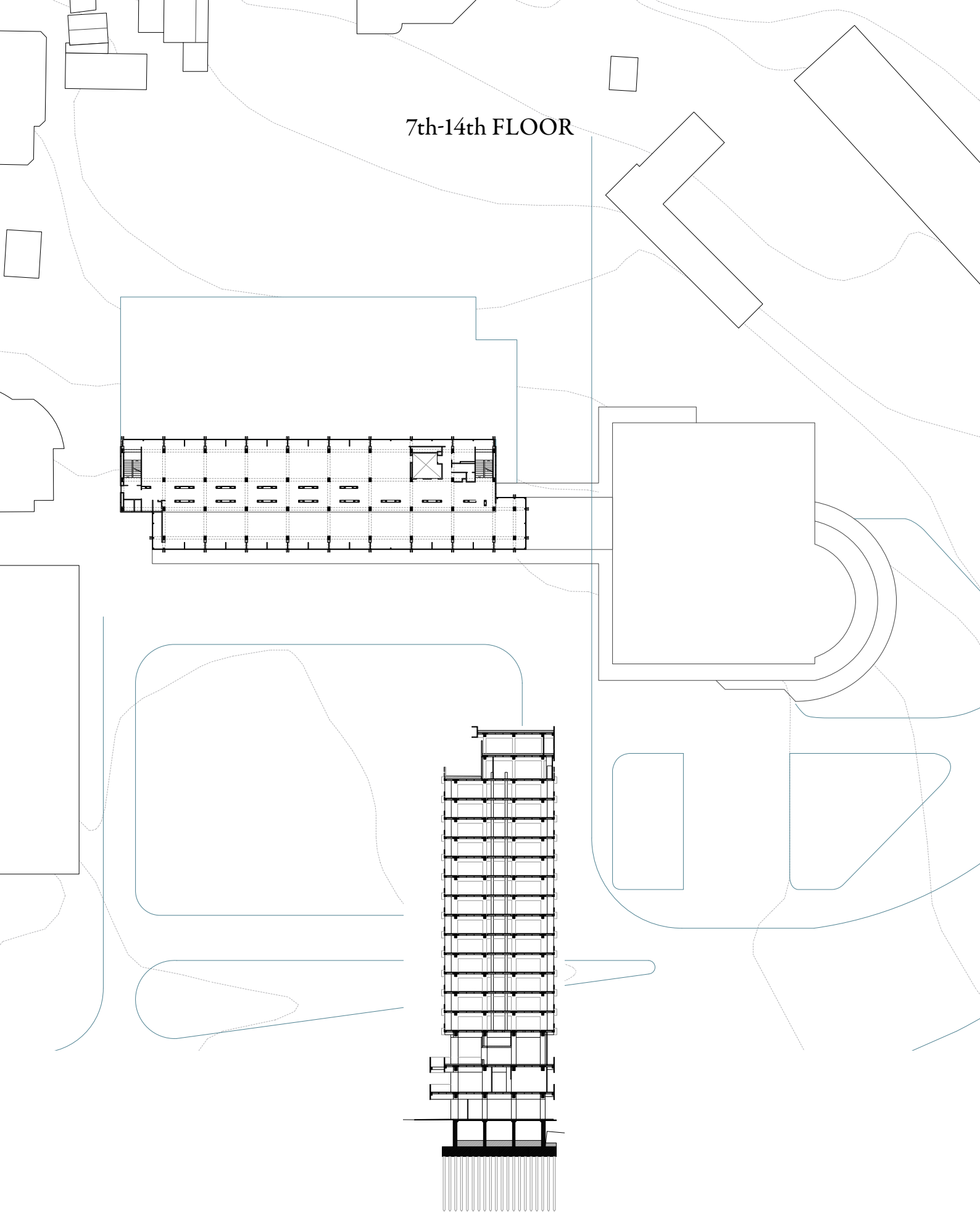


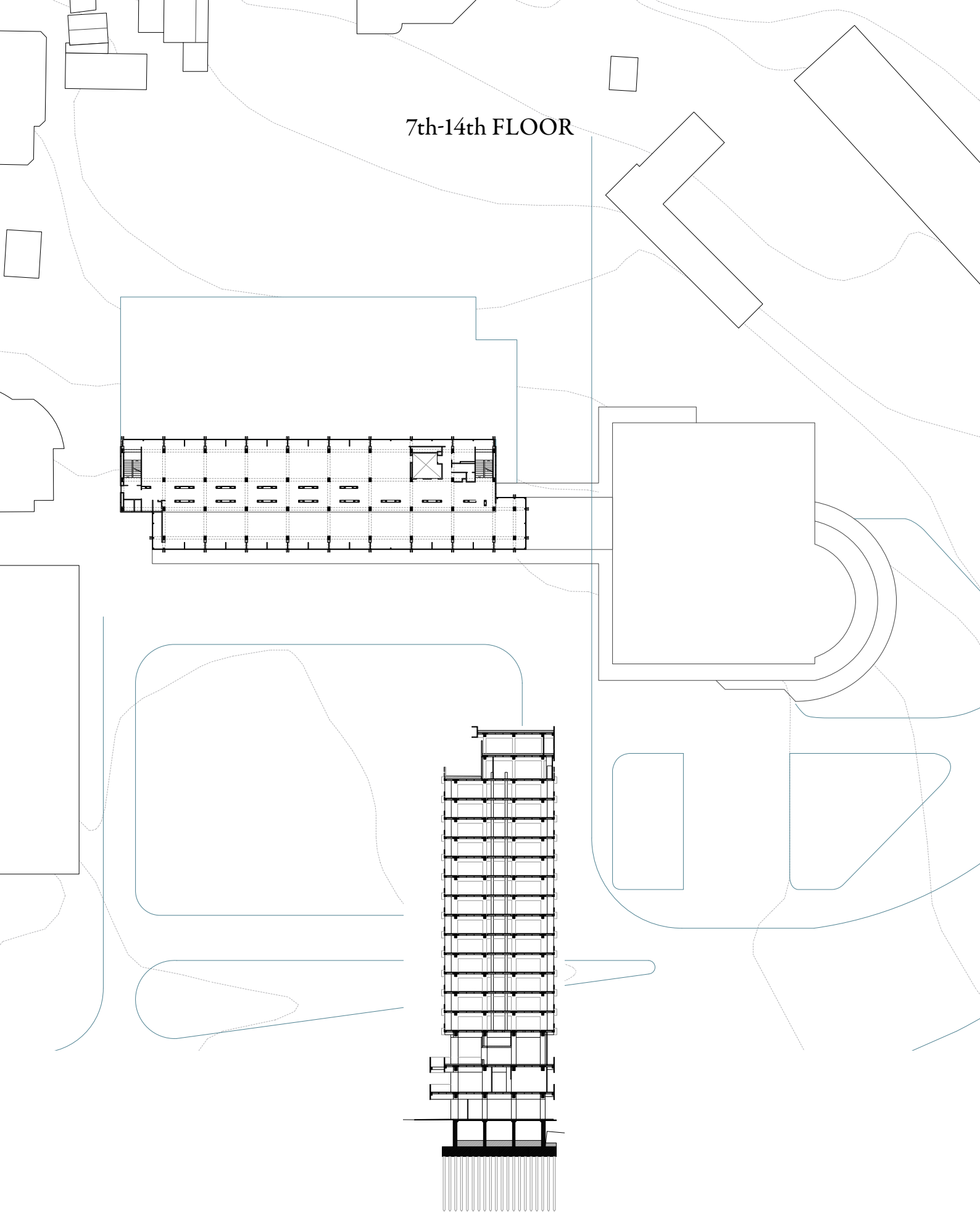


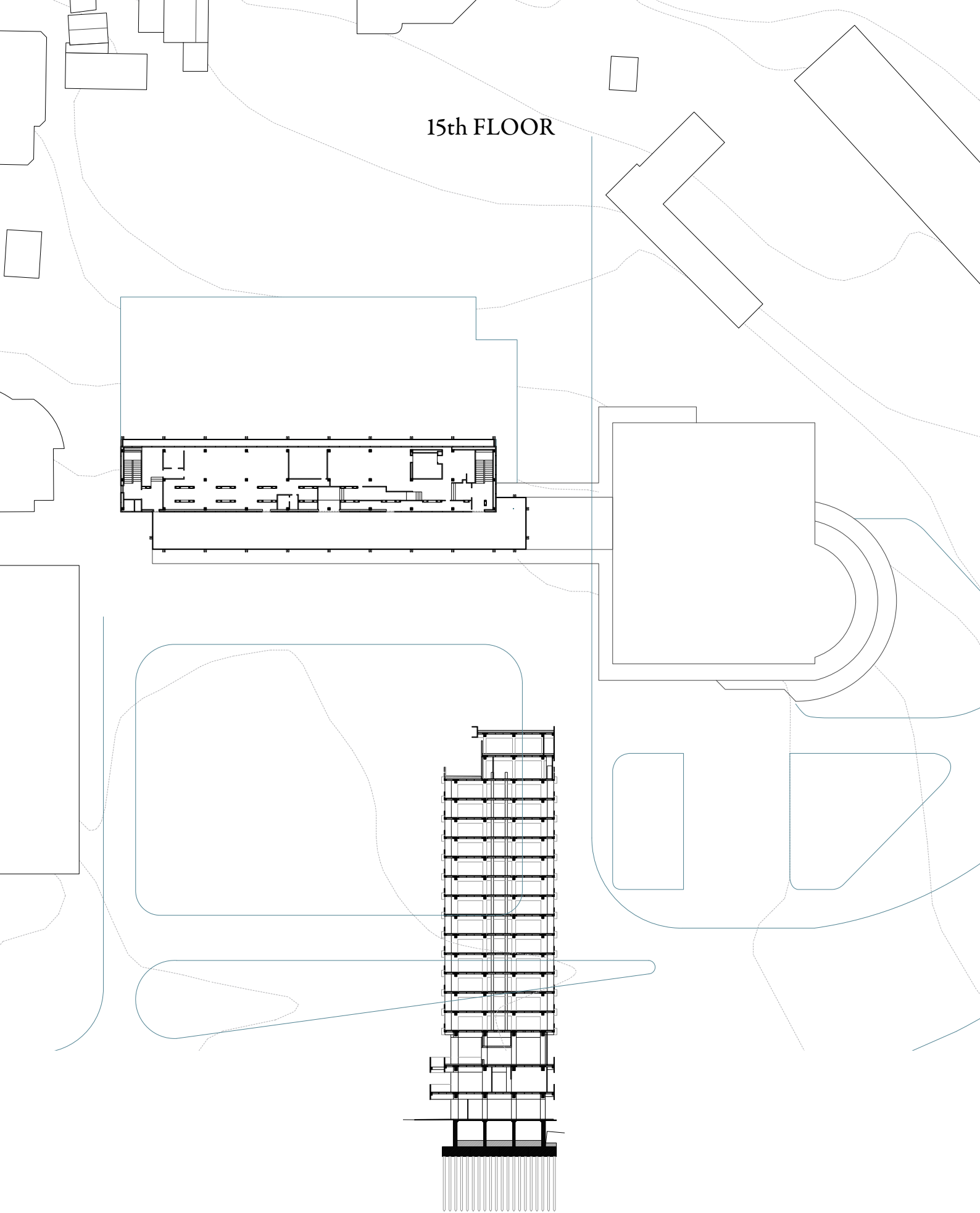




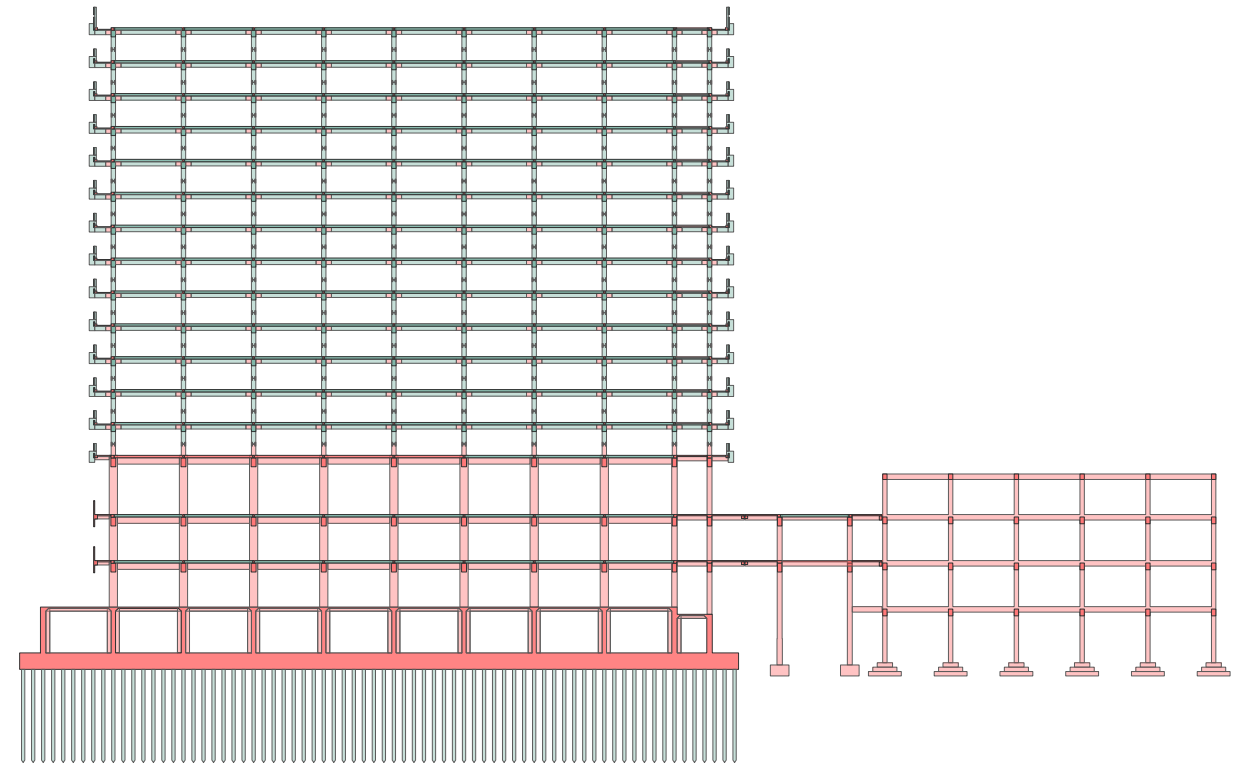
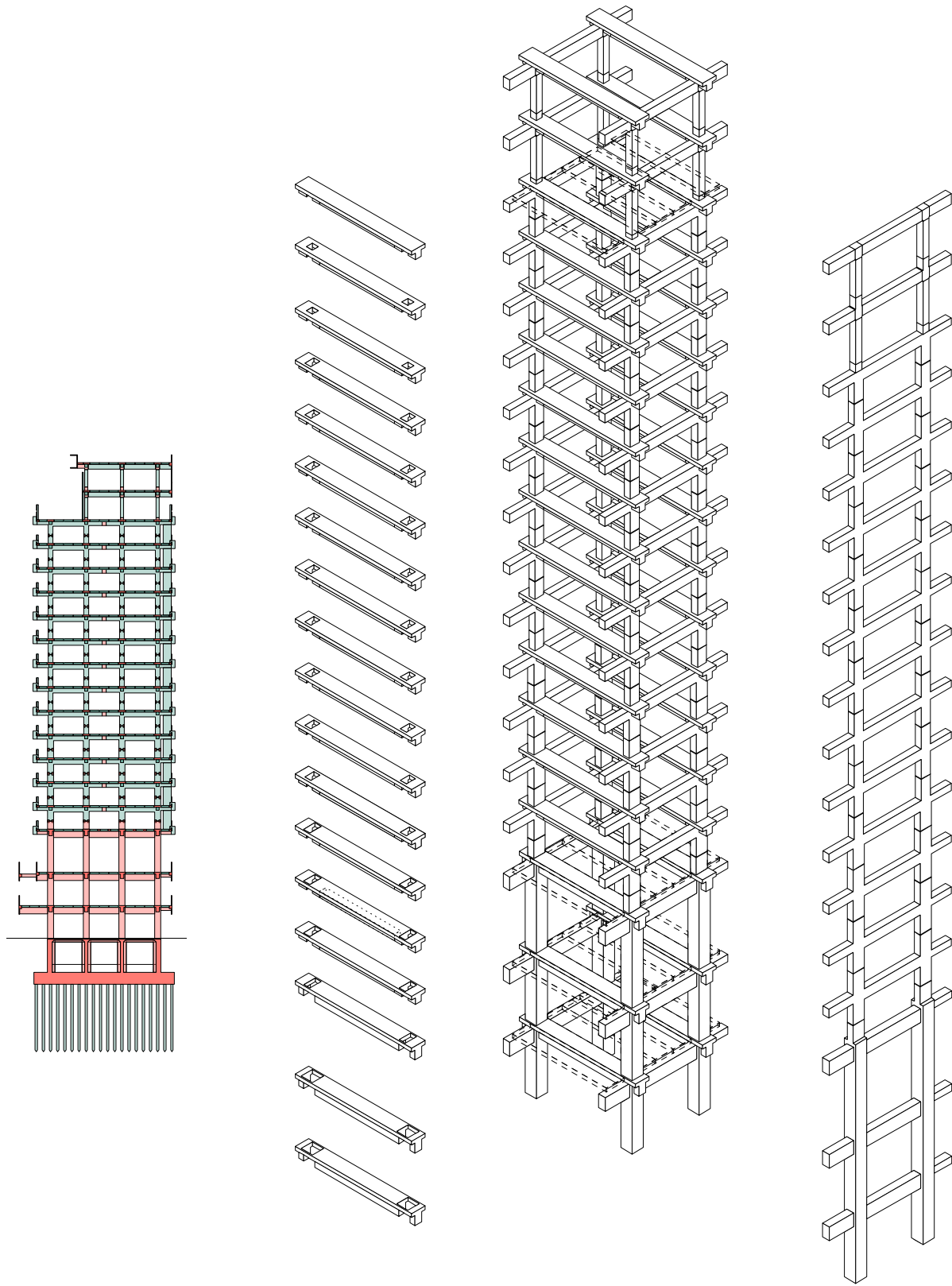








Schemes of the load-bearing structure. In green - pre-fabricated elements. In red - cast-in-place concrete.



Floorplan of the regular floor of the former hotel. Above - the original planning. Below - today's situation.

