

BARCELONA: A QUARTER OF A CENTURY OF TOWN PLANNING

Lluís Domènech

DRAFT VERSION

Aula Barcelona

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This book is dedicated to Barcelona, to the city, to the inhabitants who make it alive, to its streets, squares and monuments which I have walked around to understand it, and in some of them I had the chance to be involved in as an architect.

This book was written during the summer and the spring of 2005, and later, was useful as the base for a conference that took place in Aula Barcelona-Fundació CIDOB in April 2006.

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Contents

Barcelona Balance 1979-2004

Margin notes
Reconsidering the city
Method Questions
Second Margin notes
The city dimension
When discontinuity is the structure

Barcelona's palimpsest

The two *invisible* dynamics
The palimpsest hard nucleus
"Le traçé d'une ville est oeuvre du temps"
The plans of the palimpsest

Ariadna's thread

From 1979 till 2004. Chronicle of the stages

Penelope's fabric

Bibliography

Barcelona Balance 1979-2004

Margin notes

Balance (review) is a term with a common etymological root in most languages (bilancio, balance, bilan), which also accepts the semantic ambiguity of this word: to pay, to weigh, and even to settle, but also to doubt, to redress. In an intermediate level one could find: to examine, to consider.

There is no need to say that this title keeps to the intention of this work.

It is a question of compress conceptually the long series of events that provide criteria for Barcelona's urban development from the first democratic local elections (1979) till the last and known jerks that have always been present in the history of the city, in this case the Universal Forum of Cultures (2004).

The period of 25 years seems enough for this perspective to show us the dimension, the change quality, the reason for these changes, its origin and development, the superimpositions and contradictions occurred during this period.

The list of events, the plans, the designs, the participation, the design of a physical framework in which the negative heritage of Franco's regime comes replaced with a redressed city, with capacity to be valued by its inhabitants, not only is clear enough but it has, singularly, an extensive information that testifies the processes, the discussions and doubts, the changes occurred on the political, technical and administrative structures and the people involved, that have made possible these urban actions. (1)

(1) The bibliography at the end of this book is voluntarily basic and focuses on the architectural terms, the urban morphology and structure, and it deals, in a limited way, with financial, sociological and geographical subjects, etc.

Among the bibliography that comes at the end of this book, should be emphasized the series of *Llibres quadrats* published by the city council, because of its information capacity and the possibility to establish the evolution of local plans.

This series have been published under the wise graphics knowledge of Enric Satué, that comes along from 1980 till 2003. A series sadly broken by "modern" *Barcelona in progress* (2004) that in addition to lose the format coherence it also loses the demanding informative and critical line that its predecessors had.

From this series, the ones that provide guidelines, with great continuity, to the temporal thread that we want to study and reflect the changes in the thoughts and the people are the following ten:

Plans and Projects in Barcelona. 1981-82 (1983).

Barcelona roads (1984)

Study of the Eixample (1984)

Areas of New Centrality (1987)

Town Planning in Barcelona. Plans towards 1992 (1987)

Barcelona, the city and the year 1992 (1989-91)

Barcelona, the second renovation (1996)

Town Planning in Barcelona 1999 (1999)

The Ciutat Vella of Barcelona. A past with a future (2003)

Barcelona in progress (2004)

The ideological and technical line of these books has a thread that joins the thesis of O. Bohigas, J. Busquets, J. A. Acebillo, A. Puidgdomènech, R. Fayos, Borja Carreras, J. Esteban, and other authors, all of them held technical responsible positions in the different socialist governments in Barcelona from 1979 till 2005.

In addition to this sort of local Decalogue, there are a series of basic texts, written in a non institutional view, some of them written by the same authors of *Llibres quadrats*. In a chronological sense the most important of them are:

- Numbers 2, 5 and 6 from the *Revista UR* (1985-88) with articles by M. Solá-Morales and J. Busquets.

- *The reconstruction of Barcelona* by O. Bohigas in which the thesis already explained in *Plans and Projects* is included. Both in the introduction of *Plans and Projects* and in this book it is shown that Narcís Serra found the perfect person to lead the start of the reconstruction of Barcelona: Bohigas has a wide historical knowledge to *dissect* the city; he is a moral authority among his colleagues, he has a great generosity, a *savoir faire* in dealing with all technical staff involved and a presence in the media thanks to the ability to combine controversy and pragmatic effectiveness.

- *Barcelones* by M. Vazquez Montalbán (1987) in which he tries to think about, in sociological terms, what Barcelona is.

- *Barcelona. Urban evolution of a compact capital*, by Joan Busquets. 1992. This edition, corrected and increased in the book of the same title published in 2004, represents a critic historiography effort to reason about the evolution of the City of the Counts (Ciutat Comtal) during 2000 years. His thesis will be of great importance in this book.

- *The forms of urban growth* by Manuel de Solá-Morales. Town Planning Laboratory of the ETSAB¹. 1993 edition, is an abstract of the works done at the laboratory since 1969-70. These texts need to be understood as the highest theoretical approach to Barcelona's growth in the context of other cities and the discussion on the dichotomy *Plan versus project*. In 1991, at the introduction, Manuel Solá reintroduces the discourse of the late years and, as the most important theorist exponent of the Catalan town planning, he establishes that "the strict obligation to discuss the growth of the city in its different forms, in a context where the influence of the social and economic contents is important but not exhaustive. The reading of urban elements (streets, houses, pieces of land, services, centers, etc.) will be the fundamental subject of the theory". With this *option* Barcelona was on the forefront of the view of the city.

¹ NT: School of Architecture of Barcelona (Escola Tècnica Superior d'Arquitectura de Barcelona)

- *El vol de la fletxa* by Pep Subirós, with other contributions, is an exciting report about the everyday events that end up with the Olympic Games event.
- *Barcelona Transfer. S. Andreu and La Sagrera*. 1994. It is an interesting book that explains the different suggestions about this area of Barcelona by M. Arenas, X. Basiana, M. Gausa and M. Ruano.
- *The Urban Public Spaces of Barcelona*. 1981-87. Oppuscule for the Award Prince of Wales 1990. Articles by Peter G. Rowe and others.
- *Close Europe*. Presentations in the course given by Pasqual Maragall in 1997-98 in Rome.
- *1856-1999. Contemporary Barcelona*. It is the catalogue of the Exhibition held at the Centre de Cultura Contemporània de Barcelona (CCCB) during the Congress of the UIA. 96-97, under the organization of J. LL. Mateo with a large list of contributions.
- *Barcelona's territory, towards an economy of the knowledge*. J. Trullén. In 2001 the metropolitan alternatives in financial terms are already considered.
- *The urban project*. Juli Esteban. 1999. It is a predecessor text which is now presented and it already offers a vision of the metropolitan future of the city.
- *Barcelona 1979/2004. From development to the city of quality*. Catalogue of the exhibition organized by Josep M^a. Montaner with the collaboration of the usual people involved in the urban transformation. Montaner will have a critical collaboration in *El País* till the late events examined.
- *Against urban incontinence*. O. Bohigas. 2004. Bohigas sets out a series of nowadays architectural questions, some of them related to the late urban stages.
- *The public space: City and citizenship*. J. Borja and Z. Muxí. Borja explains his long experience on formulating the city in districts on the basis of "cities are the people".
- *The major topics of the Strategical Plan*. 2000-2002. The Strategic Plan (Pla estratègic) is an early tool that has not always had the demanding virtuality.
- *2004. The scene of the new millennium*. Catalogue of the exhibition: *Barcelona (S) 2004, els futurs de la ciutat*, which took place at the Forum 2004.

Reconsidering the city

The analogy of the city, compared with an alive and complex organism, establishes the metabolic nature of the city development, in the sense that the agents involved (politicians, technicians, property agents, etc.) are not only involved in the dimensional development but in reconsidering the already existing city. The history of these late 25 years has its highest interest just in this constant reconsidering, in the production, sometimes slightly regulated, of a palimpsest which can either be seen as a final model, the result of the accumulation by transparent superimposition of different plans and designs, or as a succession of pages of a history, which allows the analysis of the differences between these pages and the rhythm of its writing. Now then, the palimpsest produced is nothing else than

to stop for a certain moment, the current moment. Those who want to understand that the review result proposed in this publication is that of the *frozen model* of Barcelona or either does not admit the idea of the city as a place of changing meetings and conflicts; or is either thinking of an image of Barcelona focused on media and publicity; as an ideal city for tourism and safe property investment business; this is a partial view, necessary, but uncompleted with regard to what the inhabitants would like their city to be.

During the first years of the democratical and determined local action (1979), a hard balance is attained between the aspects that define the action of public bodies: financial effectiveness of the city; citizens involvement in a self-esteem process in reference with the improvement of the urban environment; social unity to prevent *ghettos*; social segregation and social exclusion; and finally, a cultural common sense that takes for granted a sustainable *avant la lettre*, to proceed in already built-up areas to prevent suburban expansion.

The fact that the first two democratical mayors, Serra and Margall, are economists, the second one with a great deal of experience at the Local Organization Department; that the third mayor, Clos, a doctor, wasted his initial energies in a long fight against marginalization of the Ciutat Vella; that the residents association, structured and strong enough during the opposition to Franco's regime, are the *natural* combative interlocutor of politicians and, afterwards, of the District Council; that the architects start to lead, both at an urban administration and specific design level, the recovery of the city from a culture and integration perspective of the *urban project*. All together allow the urban start of the first ten years of socialist administration of the City Council to have special qualities that are acknowledged at the specialized urban world (2) so that people talk about the *Barcelona model*, and the critic Dietmar Steiner, can even say: "On the contrary, Barcelona is the great exception of the last decade. Here, wonderful executions far from the new architecture are adapted, in a "general new perspective" of the city, to a real urban dimension. The new areas are created both by the public design of new squares and through the private new bars. The big effort to turn upside down the entire city, physically and psychically, is achieved both with the new facilities near the sea and also getting through the barrier of the mountains for a new Barcelona. And everywhere, in between all the constructions carried out under these great urban measures some excellent architectural constructions are notable. Regardless of the dimensions and the functional meaning, these are the *monuments* that according to Aldo Rossi form a new stay of the city. All has been possible because an effective collaboration between architecture and politics has taken place in Barcelona.

(2) "Prince of Wales Prize". Harvard University Graduate School of Design. 1990.

"The Royal Gold Medal 1999. RIBA. London 1999.

From another perspective, it also seems that this urban policy has been given the support of the media and broad groups of population.” (3)

In the last years (2004 and 2005), certain critical voices have raised the alarm regarding this evolution, in the sense that, as the efforts to act locally increasingly needed to count on the participation of private agents, the focus of attention of this activity has excessively centred on the financial profitability of urban business, on the tendency to *partnership*, timidly started at the beginning of the 90s.

But, at the same time, it is true that no matter how perverse the idea of a *model* can be as a final image of the city, as an institutional comforting with which the citizen -visitor of the Forum 2004 exhibition- will continue feeling linked to the old idea of patriotical pride of Barcelona, the reality of the city does not fit either with this frozen image and the sample of an unfinished city, in the nicest sense of the word. For instance, the Parc Central in Nou Barris, an open system of exchange, of equipments and structure of integration of spaces in a difficult area. For example, back to the Rambla, where, despite all the contradictions, the city lives multiform and mixed. Or finally, taking an encouraging look at the hard integration done in La Mina neighbourhood.

(3) Dietmar Steiner “Política o poder”. Catalogue of the Exhibition “1856-1999” Contemporary Barcelona. Centre de cultura Contemporània de Barcelona. 1996

It is also true that the mentioned criticism stresses three different approaches of difficult objection:

- a) The tourism increase phenomenon, initially not considered as a priority objective but as the result of the Olympic Games success, has a tendency to turn the city into a *theme park*, with not much compensations (except for the financial ones for this sector) opposite to the weakening (dirt, noise, etc.) that everyday life erodes.

When this book will be at the press a new local bylaw would have been approved. This bylaw is aimed to correct the excess of bad behaviour on the public space. Whoever it is, tourists or locals, the variety and the difficulty of law dealing with the outrage made, to the need of revising something more general (education, family, society).

- b) The *media* consumption possibly have invaded the late urban actions, trusting, in most cases, in *star* architects who, sometimes, act without having a deep knowledge of the city, without having a previous frame of serious approach and with a *brilliant idea* that recognizes the politician’s action in front of the audience.
- c) The built-up of most of the territory, basically aimed to satisfy financial expectations, possibly has broken the delicate balance in which, at the first time, with some exceptions, the local authority tried to preserve the common good above all logical private desires.

In the course of these 25 years, it is of interest to follow the changing relations between the three main actors of the urban actions: Politicians, technicians and operators (these in a broad sense are: from the residents associations and users to property developers).

The loss of protagonism of some of these actors creates anomalous situations which would not happen if each was aware of its specific role: (Politicians that design; architects that surpass the strict technical criteria and become politicians; neighbours who let themselves be capitalized on by the media pressure or by other interests; operators who convert their absenteeism and lack of enthusiasm during the first city transformation stages into an exceeding desire, nowadays, for the profit that can come from it, etc.).

It is in this football field, open to the critic but also sensitive to the positive big changes that have occurred, where the analysis of this publication will develop, stressing what has been the main feature of the urban evolution of our city: Reconsidering Barcelona.

Method Questions

Reconsidering Barcelona, evaluating, it can be done basically in two ways: firstly, the most usual one, proceeding according to the chronological series of stages, classifying the types of actions which have undertaken the different technical teams relieved, or either examining the evolution of the relations between the political and institutional frame with the operators, throughout the years.

Secondly, another way which is not focused on the variable *time*, that is, in the exam of the action's superimposition over the same point, according to the palimpsest image already mentioned, making a distinction between the significant areas, or even better, which morphological structure will be that of the changing city, on the basis of the aimed objectives, the balance or imbalance made, to how these accelerations or failures on certain actions have influenced, and therefore, the socioeconomic consequences that arise.

It is about reading the formal and symbolic city, according to the superimposition idea, and see which pages with reference to economy, to sociology, to politics and to history, are also contained in this thickness of levels that represent the culture of the cities.

The formal reading of the city is nevertheless made up by a superimposition of ingredients: the topography, the division, the monuments, road lining, large properties, urban functions, the graphic signs invading it, and that give grounds for the notion we have of the modern city as a phenomenon of discontinuity, fragmentation and superimposition, which has its social correlative in the idea of positive confrontation, of contrast of ideas, of dialogue, even though this is difficult and controversial, by nature.

When we prevail the analysis focused on the physical framework, seeing its evolution along the years, and not the contrary, that is, the analysis of the different stages or waves of actions in the city, a first problem arises: which parts of the city will we analyze? This

problem would have been less problematical in the second model of analysis mentioned, as the framework was more unitary and of reference.

If we are convinced of the idea of discontinuity in the modern city, if we check at the books published by the City Council that it is possible to analyze and to design the different parts of the city, it is also true that, depending on the kind of analysis, we will have no choice to understand the city as a whole, either as unitary fact vertebrated by some infrastructure that make it alive, or as a symbolic hierarchy between the different pieces of the metropolis, that make, for instance, that Ciutat Vella still plays the role of door, historical summary and core place for interclass and multicultural meeting, which other districts don't do.

In this sense, the discussion about the model of *districts* is not the aim of this publication, but obviously it has an important influence, not only for the meaning of the need of redistribution of services for the citizens of the territory, but for the supply itself of the idea of subsidiarity that informs the ideology of the design of the districts.

Leaving aside that, initially, there was a *political* need to cut Barcelona into 10 districts or small cities to obtain a more balanced relation with the rest of the Catalan cities, which did not have any virtuality for political reasons, the existence of local districts, an ideal place to bring people closer to all the procedures, complaints, informations and aids, which take up the modern citizen, and especially the basic services of education, health, accommodation and leisure; it shows the difficulty of the coordination, action or unitary view that all city needs when planning, designing or investing financially as regards facilities or other contents of a mega urban type or metropolitan field. A general problem of weakening of central technical fields of local decision, inclusive at the field of theoretical reflection of reconsidering the city as a complex organism but unitary would be wrong to make a note of. Another question to think about would be if, despite recognizing the positive aspects of the *neighbourhood spirit* as a unity factor, there is, the other way around, a perverse effect on the creation of self-satisfaction ghettos which, with its town councillor and the district design, don't feel interested in the involvement of the rest of the city.

In brief, this book will try to develop the two ways of reading, the spatial and the chronological one, summing up the second one since it has been widely detailed in the local *Llibres quadrats*. We will follow the outline called *Aridana's thread* and we will spend more time on the former with the title *Barcelona's palimpsest*.

Second Margin Notes

Before starting the analysis promised, we better insist in a more accurate level of margin notes that have something to do with the problems that the size of this book involves.

The first margin note, of a quantitative type, entails questioning if actually there has been as much urban actions and basic changings of the city as sometimes one believes because of the media and its pressure on the politic propaganda or the classifying desire of some writers.

Certainly, the answer is ambiguous because if we take a look at the local *ten books* chosen as basic bibliography one can see that a long list of design projects can be made. In general, these are good designs created by good architects. But this only will give us a catalogue of good architecture, a conclusion which is not trivial and that has been recognised around the world (the good health of Catalan architecture in the 80s till the Olympic Games was highlighted at the UIA Conference (1996) and at the nomination by the ETSAB as the best of Europe). (4)

However, this verification shows the good education of a professional class that during the last years of the dictatorship did not practice, but *exploited* when Institutions, politicians and urban operators of the new Democracy trusted them. Among other merits needs recognising Oriol Bohigas for its vision, followed by J. Busquets and J. A. Acebillo, for creating, from their posts of responsibility, a wide group of professionals, most of them liberal independents, some of them in local structures specially created (5) (Lápices de oro), who, without not much experience on the urban field, on urban design, nor on public architecture, achieved, specially in the years before 1992, a production of large medium quality in which, without abandoning individual creativity, prevailed a characteristic cultural line, far away from the media phenomenon that soon would bring about an architecture more *vedettistic* and rootless from the cultural and even morphological context of Barcelona city.

(4) The Congress of the U.I.A. in 1996 drew more that 10.000 people, most of them architect students that combined attendance to the conferences with *living the city intensely*; with this Barcelona has confirmed as the favourite destination of the Erasmus programme.

(5) The hired architects by Bohigas and Acebillo, some of them still at the City Council, were: Ignasi de Lecea, Lluís Mestras (engineer), Luisa aguado, Andreu Arriola, Pedro Barragan, Rosa M^a clotet, Jordi Farrando, Carme Fiol, Beth Gali, Jaume Graells, Jordi Henrich, Josep M^a Julià, Ramon Marqués, Enric Pericas, Màrius Quintana, Carme Ribas, Bernardo de Solà, Olga Farrassó, Pepita Teixidor.

But the ambiguity mentioned on the previous paragraph lies on the fact that when one makes an effort to conceptualize, to understand, structurally speaking, or in the form of big groups of urban designs and architectures that define the parts of the city, in brief, when one tries to see what has really happened to Barcelona in these 25 years, the aim of this book, how has substantially changed and which are the basic strategies that have made it develop, then, the actions take shape in concrete and particular options. This without meaning thinking little of this rush of projects. On the contrary, since these are the actions, sometimes on a small scale, sometimes groups interweaved by neighbour actions, with this wise policy announced by J. Busquets in 1985 that an urban project is recommended not when it resolves a problem but when it does with three or four different problems, these are, I repeat, the combination of these particular actions, the ones that gave personality, global structure to one part of the city. (An effect as a result of induction more than of deduction). Therefore, the interest of this book is to emphasize the events the most

structural ones, those which could have meant a qualitative change for the city or those which theoretically being so, have remained only intentions. Which policies were behind and how these qualitative changes have taken root or have failed in the social fabric of the city.

All this leads us to a parallel question, or if wanted pseudo-academic, which is to refer to what has been called *Barcelona Model*, not only in the media but also in specialized magazines.

As one can easily deduce from the previous ideas, the existence of this model can not be proved. It does not exist as such a theoretical model. It has not been thought or written in advance nor was conceived as an initial idea in the beginning, but the Barcelona of the 25 years that we analyse here owes its existence, as Julis Esteban says "to a sequence of ideas and partial designs, with the participation of different actors and with different context references and particular targets along the years". (6)

This multidisciplinary vision, fragmentary but organised, with a great level of pragmatism and a large group of professional teams, with a close relation and a clear distribution of duties among the politicians, operators, designers and executors, seems to form this image, maybe excessively idyllic, but that has oftenly been taken as a reference model during the years that precede the Olympic city.

The complicity between the actors mentioned was very high: the exchange of ideas between town planners and architects, the honest pragmatic attitude aiming to remove bureaucratic barriers even though sometimes it seemed that regulations or laws itself prevented it, the collaboration between technicians and builders who, basically, saw how an horizon of new designs in Barcelona was open. Everything fitted with a brilliant starting point, generous and effective.

Before moving forward in the analysis, as objective as possible, of the series of circumstances that allowed the level of originality and efficiency in the town planning and architecture of Barcelona's city, I would like to mention two anecdotes which are symptomatic of something isolated from the technical level, but that show the character of the people of a city when it deals with measuring a question as difficult as the level of adherence to some policies or to the people who represent them.

(6) Juli Esteban. "El projecte Urbanístic Valorar la perifèria i recuperar el centre" Aula Barcelona. 1999.

The same day as Narcís Serra was appointed first mayor of democracy in Barcelona in 1979, his wife and him went to the concert at the Palau de la Música, something which is very common. Mixed among the audience, when entering the foyer at the Palau, not yet restored, some people recognised him and a spontaneous applause came out and it spread along the audience. Certainly, this action was not awarding Serra himself, since he had not shown his undeniable value yet, but the audience at the Palau, which in these days had already started the uncontrollable diversification in age and social class, awarded himself,

let's say, because of their good choice in voting a normal and cultivated person that lived everyday life of civilian society. I do not think that the social understanding agreement sealed in that moment was excessively endogamic, even though accepting the anecdotal tone of its meaning. But it was indicative of the feeling of a city. We were at the end of 1979 and Serra, who had been Minister of the Territorial Policy at the provisional Government of Tarradellas, was preparing to reorganise the organisation chart of the Local Town Planning.

At the end of the summer 2004, while the last acts of the Universal Forum of Cultures were taken place, a pseudo-squadron landed at the artificial beaches, part of the latest sophisticated town planning of Barcelona, and started a noisy act in protest that degenerated into a few violent acts. At the head of the demonstration, among several antisystem groups, there was the anthropologist Manuel Delgado, an example, in the recent late years, of the fruitful interdisciplinarity that had invaded the discussion about the urban fact, in publications and conferences. Something has been broken.

Even though Delgado had always been critical with regard to the real possibilities of urban freedom in the street, opposite to the domestication that, according to him, the local socialism carried out, now, we had reached a certain incoherence limit. This was not only in relation to the Forum programme but at an urban level, the concept of urban premises, of its pretentious architecture, of the excessive cost that could possibly be channelled towards other interests, of the ridiculous claim on the sustainability of the overall when the large concrete tons and the sea invasion contradicted the arguments. Some of these reasons used in the protest were shared by people that so far supported globally the local town planning administration and some texts and writings were released at the end of 2004. (7). Apart from the radicalism stated in this criticism, certain reconsideration was demanded.

(7) Joaquim Roglan: "Que estem fent amb Barcelona?" Ara Llibres, S.L. 2005

Unió Temporal d'Escribes (UTE). "Barcelona marca Registrada", Virus Editorial. 2004

Manuel Delgado. "Elogi del viannant". Del "model Barcelona a la Barcelona real". Edicions de 1984. BCN 2005

The city dimension

Even though the *Barcelona model* does not exist, there are some remarkable features that describe and can explain the town planning carried out since the 80s, turning it into a rather peculiar fact different from other urban actions.

Firstly, there is a question of dimension, of scale, of physical frame where the Barcelona phenomenon takes place. In a purely dimensional sense, the measurements of the municipal area of Barcelona are limited (the known 100 Km²), but if we add a psychological dimension, the fact that the city is closed between the sea and Collserola still emphasizes more the idea of the limited size. (Especially if we compare it with the classical parameter of

Madrid). But, in addition, the town planning of Barcelona, since the 80s, has been affected by the fact that in the Generalitat (the autonomous government of Catalonia) governed, during these same 25 years, by a party contrary to the local one, which limited the city capacity of action in its metropolitan scope. This situation also affected the big "neighbours of Barcelona", the Hospitalet and Badalona, which have also increased its protagonism in a moment when everybody knew that the urban subject was the key for the financial future of the cities.

Actually, the old Catalan saying "plou sobre mullat" (it never rains but it pours), could be applied in this case since there is no doubt that the stubbornness of the CiU party government of denying resources to Barcelona -while they turn rhetorically to a historical ruralism, carpeting it with lined small houses and dispersed housing areas-, was a wonderful coverage for the neighbour cities, particularly the Hospitalet, to forget the metropolitan concepts and duties, and for each to develop his autonomous urban game.

Nobody spoke again about the qualitative specialization distributed in the urban area. Each city council repeated the same standard equipments, but, definitely, signed by an architect star.

Nowadays, whoever takes the route Airport-Barcelona will witness this question and maybe will think about the Gatpac ideas regarding the urban use of the south territory of Barcelona.

However, back to the idea of the dimension problem of Barcelona, all this has consolidated, over the years, in a culture of working more in the improvement than in the ex-novo growth dispersion. Paradoxically, it has also promoted the conviction, in the property investment field, that "there are no more pieces of land in Barcelona" (From 2000 they do not think in this way anymore); and in the technical field it has brought about the knowledge of the city history and geography, the rules of the urban game in the typological and morphological fields, the spatial relations of basic urban elements, the square and the street, that is, the public space.

This area of reflexion even reached the ironic and paradoxal formulation of "Recovering the centre, making the periphery monumental". With this formulation the historical periphery districts, those of the *boom* of the sixties, were described as a *centre* and were reconsidered in the new frame of urban quality. From the concrete PERI² and the punctual monument, was created from a favorable environment that was growing in the Schools and magazines of architecture: The Town Planning Laboratory of the School of Architecture of Barcelona, under the supervision of Manuel Solá-Morales and its organ of expression, the magazine *Revista UR* had finished the critical review of the orthodox town planning of the *zoning* and of the *standard* ("A urban standard is not a content of approach") and had brought the abstract laws of the approach closer to the architectural ones, drawing arguments about the *urban project, urban piece, the intermediate scale, and discontinuous city*.

² NT: Special Plan of Internal Improvement (Pla Especial de Reforma Interior).

The magazine *Arquitecturas-bis* where Bohigas and Solá-Morales agreed in a wide ploy of disciplinar and critical opening-up, provided a place for the studies that saw the city beyond the pure optimization of the traffic, the embellishment of the parterre gardening, of the denial of equipments in the periphery, and especially the considering of the districts as dormitory town of a high density.

Above all, the dissolving of the false controversy between Design and Plan was very useful; at the beginning was published on the media because it quickly found a common work field. Insisting in the questions of *size*, there is another field of *reduction* especially related to the first period of the local town planning, since most of the protagonists of the different levels (political, technical, residents association representatives, etc.) have been united for the fight against Franco's regime and have worked together in particular tasks (Congress of Catalan Culture, Assembly of Catalonia, etc.). Naturally, they knew each other personally and very well.

Narcís Serra, and afterwards Pascual Maragall, got on quickly with the ideas of the city that architects considered and the level of confidence between the mayor and the different heads of Barcelona's town planning was absolute. Initially, the classical controversy between architects and engineers came out, in which the seconds came off of the situation apparently worst; but, soon, it was shown that as far as big matters as infrastructure and designs were concerned (Olympic Vila, Ring roads, new junctions and bridge-street, etc.) their presence and competence was essential and valuable.

Therefore, it seems that the consideration about the different sense of *size* have something to do with the principles and methods of Barcelona's town planning.

In short, and with no reductionist intention, one can say that "we have been lucky" avoiding the problems that could have meant certain urban actions, both private and public, if an increase of unlimited soil would have been available.

Someone could have put forward if the case of the Forum 2004, always at a urban level, was not the typical case of action in a pure soil, with the subsequent loose of the urban scale. But behind this question lies a false problem, because in reality, in urban terms, the answer is that it is not a pure soil as there is a urban structure, maybe remote, but of a great capacity (the 22@ in Poblenou, an area of renewal tertiary residence of the Sagrera district, and the recovery of the Besos district margins, the actions at the sea front until Diagonal Mar area) and a frame of tension and, therefore, a clear urban objective as it is the Mina neighbourhood. But the appearance of the solution given by the Forum is deceptive, and therefore the answer can be that the problem is maybe not the size of the area of action but the structure proposed for this event. So, if accepting that the scale of the classical city can possibly not correspond with today's needs and circumstances, on the contrary it does today's urban phenomenon, with its complexity, it can claim another type of structure, references and hierarchies, a new order and rhythm, with degrees of considerable openness, but always pervading the aesthetic pure contemplation of the *terrain vague*.

The *complex structural nature* of modern urban realities opposite to the *spatial* themes that prevailed on the classical city, just made possible the methodological step, that from 1985 took place in the local town planning, in the period in which the technical responsibility fell on Joan Busquets, that means taking into consideration the open structure of the city, in space and time, with the proposal of the Areas of new centrality (ANC).

As in the following lines there will be large references to the ANC, I would like to point out that neither in this insistence nor in the initial value of the powerful and imaginative starting point of O. Bohigas, there is no nostalgic feeling of old times nor an ignorance that certain areas and interventions were partially frustrated in its execution; it is of interest to highlight that apart from ideas and institutions, and also beyond the pragmatic capacity shown in its administration, the *disciplinary* fact of finding a general structure of explanation of the city in that particular moment, and to expose it *formally* in the corresponding documents, in my opinion, takes an important value. Without this it would be impossible to talk about Barcelona's palimpsest.

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With this five chapters developed so far, we can conclude the introductory part of this book. According to the sense of the word "balance" given, this introduction is made up of: the explanation of the different doubts, margin notes and data about the development of Barcelona, also including the critical positions that have obviously emerged.

When discontinuity is the structure of the city

The period from 1980 till 1985 is essential in the drawing up of the urban future of Barcelona. In this period some obvious coincidences lead to a series of positive tensions, of accelerations, of the maturing of decisions that will not only have an immediate impact face to the Olympic Games in 1992, but will represent a guideline that will continue till today.

The providential talk between Narcís Serra and Samaranch; the pragmatic request made by the mayor to the King for the allocation of the Games; the replacement on the mayoralty with the resulting *media strengthening* of the *two* mayors of Barcelona; the decision taken by Maragall to combine the popular idealism of participation with the business view of being surrounded with sponsors and business men; the friendly and perfectly implemented relief of O. Bohigas to Joan Busquets in the urban leadership with the supplementary methodological alternatives that it implied; the quick management of law tools and societies which run and administrated the process of Olympic nomination in spite of the danger of the poor administration or the corruption, a phenomenon that, amazingly in our country, did not occur at any level of action, despite administering the known half billion of pesetas. (8) The moment when, at a technical level but with obvious political connotations, the location of the Olympic areas started to be considered, some people had a more *metropolitan* view and others saw the concentration in Barcelona as something more positive.

(8) A great estimable person who made an enormous effort in this work was ex-rector of the Univeritat de Santander, and the HOLSA president during the years before the Games.

(8 bis) For a better concretion of the *obvious coincidences* that from 1980 lead to Barcelona's Olympic nomination eve, the book *El vol de la fletxa* is to be read, written in a journalistic way, enjoyable and by Pep Subiròs, Margalls' advisor and ex-town councillor in the cultural area. The role of Samarandi, Leopoldo Rodès, Duran Farell and other outstanding men, that constitute the *public relations* of Maragall with the business world and abroad, it is well explained as well as the bizarre administration of the COOB.

At a more operating level, "the Cuyas ' report", the first physical and urban draft for the young, is from 1982. The years 1984 and 1985, provide setting for the Olympic intervention at the *Road Plan* and at *Areas of New Centrality*. In 1989 the technical and administrative structures will be settled to administrate the infrastructure of the Games: AOMSA, VOSA and IMPU (to the Anella and Villa Olímpica and the Ring Road system and coordinated in the entity HOLSA)

In this period of time (it is difficult to precise the moment of getting the idea and the one of expressing it formally), takes place, in parallel, the discussion about the *roads of Barcelona*, the creation of the *Areas of New Centrality* and the location of the four Olympic areas strictly speaking, integrated in the last group. (Initially, the *ANC* were ten, together with the Vila Olímpica and the Vall d'Hebron; afterwards Diagonal and Montjuïc were added).

The study of roads and areas, at the same time, allowed a modern conception of action in the city, because, on the one hand, it stressed the idea of discontinuity -the areas- while the road system assured the existence of a structure of continuity.

The complex phenomena of space discontinuity (the city made of pieces) but of continuity in time (the conditions of mobility and accessibility to the Ring Roads) were clearly set. (9)

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(9) (Josep M^a Montaner has dealt with this question in subjects of urban morphology in his article "La forma d'una ciutat: Àrees, línies, nusos i punts". Barcelona la ciutat i el 92. Ajuntament BCN. 1989).

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The *Road Plan* is the result of a seminar given in May 1984 in which technicians from the School Town Planning Laboratory, from the City Council and the Corporació Metropolitana discussed initially certain proposals that lately were adopted by politicians. This exemplary intervention tried to go beyond daily statistical data brought by the local technicians that showed an excessive traffic activity in the Eixample district, which meant that crossing this district was a loose of time and an erosion of the urban life, while the periphery districts did not have a full road structure yet.

Going beyond the capillary model of the Eixample district was the idea, and to establish two ring roads, parallel to the sea and Collserola, which would not be used as an urban motorway but that will have link points and changing sections to serve the districts that this roads go through, so that these districts would achieve a condition of centrality.

The two *horizontal* stretches remained linked by two others that followed the direction of the two rivers and, in addition, served to connect with the access to Barcelona North (Nus de la Trinitat) and South (Pota Sud).

The relieve that the Ring Rodes have meant for the traffic, that bore down the Diagonal, Aragon street, the Ronda del Mig, etc., is an irrefutable proof of its efficacy and, even the initial controversy in the stretch of Ronda Litoral has eased when improving the traffic of goods at the motorway outside the city. But, in addition, the Ring Roads have turned into streets of linkage inside each district and also into support of facilities and accommodation areas built in the expropriation land left over.

This is not the technical text to extend in any depth of what the Ring Rodes meant for the city. The driving force and the creator of it was J. A. Acebillo, who already did it widely. But in this *book-balance* the road infrastructure is to be noted as one of the most successful urban intervention in the city, both by the delicate layout and the functional dimension, and by the effectiveness of its implementation, just on time for 1992. (10)

There is no need to say that any criticism to this infrastructure, that could be done including the efficient *Nus de la Trinitat*, should be done taking into account, in a wide context, the disproportionate growth of the motor park, the stupid promotion of speed even in the case of urban cars, and energy consumption and the lack of sustainability of a deficient transport public system.

(10) It was of great importance the involvement of the professor Manuel Ribas Piera, an architect in the layout of the Ronda de Dalt, the later participation in the design by Pedro Barragán and Bernardo de Sola, architects, Antonio Monclús, engineer, and also of the engineers Ramón de Clascá and Javier Rui Wamba in la Ronda Litoral.

Before dealing in the next chapter about areas of new centrality, a dialectical complement to the *Road Plan*, it would be interesting to introduce a digression that affects two urban interventions.

This digression is based on the acceptance of the historical-environmental pressure that has been practiced and still today does on the citizens of Barcelona, including politicians and technicians, the historical facts that affect two areas, Montjuïc and La Ciutadella. Negative facts of military repression and unfair deaths that in a certain way have created taboos difficult to get over, even in the more pragmatic fields of operation in the city.

The case of Montjuïc is paradigmatic as for the possibility of a total use of the mountain while the castle still exists as such, a place certainly anachronistic but, curiously, this does not explain other lack that confirm the negative image of Montjuïc in the collective imaginary. The local inability, from the transition years till today, to assure a good daily access, a connection with the real city, is a distinctive feature. There is no need to list the media that have thought and published from the equipments for the *Pla integral* by Antoni Bonet at the end of the 60s, up to the great number of trams, escalators, funicular, lightweight trains and the subway, on which a curse has been done in the form of political misunderstandings. Besides, now there are no excuses about the power of the equipments

(La Ciutat del Teatre, Caixa Fòrum, L'Estadi, the Palau Sant Jordi and Les Piscines, The Museu d'Art de Catalunya, etc.).

Many European cities work the model of *park and equipment* perfectly with a good transport infrastructure. But in Montjuïc, in addition, the indecision about how works the Fira de Mostres, the silence about the so called *Pla de Cims* and the general lack of security and cleaning by the City Council, still generate a constant urban frustration on the mountain.

In the case of La Ciutadella, the shadow of the old walls still has an influence, with the ridiculous survival of the Zoo and the awful situation of the França Station, as for the use, or with the constant indecision regarding the location of the provincial Library, initially frustrated by the obstinacy of combining it with the archaeological enclosure, of great singularity, in the Born building.

The obvious sensible decision of locating the Universitat Pompeu Fabra at the heart of la Rambla and the Wellington street, requires the courage of the horizontal linkage of these installations, as well as the application of the *Pla de la Ciutadella* requires the quick relation with the pleasant but unknown *Parc de la Barceloneta* and the Sea. The members of the Catalan parliament have a concrete duty with the city which is to watch over an environment that has provided a place of work so comfortable and plenty of historical memories.

This digression has no other sense than of opening an uncertain question about the weight of the historical past in the memory of the cities; insisting further would mean being frivolous about certain zones of Barcelona, those of Ciutat Vella, which, on the other hand, have objectified the problems that maintain them in a difficult marginality: the immigration and massive occupation of old houses, with the subsequent creation of ghettos, the property mob that throw local people out, the drugs, the dirt, the lack of public spirit behaviour and the tourism that plays with the permissiveness of the authority. A recent masterly article by the journalist Josep Martí Gómez and others published during the days this book is being written hit a raw nerve and calls upon the City Council about the priority of action. (11)

In another context, Barcelona does not feel comfortable either when preservation or recuperation of the industrial architectural patrimony is considered. In general, the idea of replacement of the obsolete urban fabric is so radical and optimum, it offers an alternative so easy to handle in order to set off the new property park, that practically there is no time to create mechanisms of analysis and possibilities of recovering even though it is not literal or total. The conflict is set out immediately and radically, between the fundamentalist of both sides and the ideological adjectival use replaces the possibility of working technically together.

(11) José Martí Gómez. "Paseo por el Raval del desencanto" "El País" 14th august 2005.

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The idea of launching the *Areas of new centrality*, by Busquets, is to be classified as excellent because it is a way of fighting the tertiary process that threatened the Eixample in the economical recovery of the 80s. Also because in acting precisely in the *interstices* between existing districts prevent the difficult and massive intervention in the heart of these districts and, on the other hand, balance them again in relation to their use, because it takes advantage of city areas where it is possible a change in the use (old stations, factories, abattoirs, etc.) and creates urban expectations in providing them with infrastructures. With the knowledge of the *Pla General Metropolità* it exploits the areas included in it, some of them already acquired by J. A. Solans, without the need of any trauma or difficult bureaucracy.

The areas of new centrality were spaces where a certain concentration of tertiary use and equipments were helped in order to constitute themselves as the new referent in the geography of the central areas of the city.

These areas completed the new identity of the neighbourhoods and historical villages, recently recognised with the creation of the districts. In this role of balancing again and of relation with the totality of the city, takes place the overcoming of the experimental model in which were based these areas, the known directional centres which spread through Europe, especially in Italy, as maximalist interventions of tertiary centres placed outside the centre of the cities.

Apart from being in empty strategy interstices, the areas are placed against important traffic routes, either coming from the *Road Plan* or from the diagonal system from Pla Cerdà, opposite to the orthogonal layout (Diagonal, Paral·lel, carretera Sants – Collblanc, Meridiana, Clot and Sagrera, etc.)

Basically conceived as strategy areas, the areas of new centrality have the virtue of creating *hard nucleus* apart from the classical (Ciutat Vella, Eixample, Gràcia, etc.), that is, a new morphological shape of the city, beyond the *historicist* view of the rhythm changes focused on an important event (Exposicions Universals). As showed, each ANC had its rhythm, some of them have run its own capacity out, others follow its way to the future reinforcing in the new interventions that the city designs.

The areas of new centrality represent, not going that far, an important quality change similar to what the Eixample Cerdà meant as for the creation of a structure of great temporary development, able to produce consecutive growth plans, alterations or reinterpreting. In the case of the areas of new centrality, it is in this way that the irrevocable decision to make Barcelona *grow* over the the East triangle is to be interpreted; the second change, based on the ANC of the Sagrera, Glòries and Diagonal Mar (New interventions at the 22@, Fòrum, etc.)

The position strategy of the areas is: locating two in the two consolidated centres (Ciutat Vella and Eixample-Diagonal), two more where the P.G.M planned the replacement of the railway areas (Renfe-Meridiana) or industrial (Diagonal Mar), two on the basis of a voluntary decision about the Olympic equipments (Vila Olímpica, Valle d'Hebrón), two in areas of great power of road connection (Glòries and P. Cerdà) and the last two in areas of future railway connection (Tarragona and Sagrera).

The time has sanctioned the goodness or not of the development in each of these areas, some of them very difficult, like the Port Vell, Glòries or Diagonal Mar; but what it is obvious is that from its description the nature of the *central* Barcelona had changed.

The next quality change is the consideration of Barcelona in the metropolitan context, in relation with the system of big European conurbation and in the basis of the system of linked and specialized cities that already function in Catalonia. Here we could talk about the big infrastructures of the Nou Port, Airport and Zona Logística or about the huge *bag* of expectations on the side of the Hospitalet municipality (Fira 2, extension of the Zona Franca, Ciutat de la Justícia, accommodation Marina Franca, etc.). Expectations that would not have sense if this municipality was not coordinated, in terms of town planning, with Barcelona, because, at a structural, functional and formal level, they are the same city.

It will be in this next quality change that Barcelona will have to reinvent itself, because the questions will be new, even though each of them, as a logical part of the urban event complexity, will have its rhythm: rhythm of infrastructures, rhythm for the lack of new changing typology accommodation; rhythm, this one intensive, to save the old town from today's extreme situation; rhythm, more and more slow, to build new equipments and, on the other hand, to achieve a good running and maintenance of the ones already existing; rhythm to adapt the media pressure to a situation that makes the city more balanced, fair and sustainable, socially speaking. That is, that the city has a sense. Because, as an old friend of mine from Barcelona, Richard Sennet, says: "The sense never comes as an immediate fulfillment but as a process in time".

Barcelona's palimpsest

Palimpsest is a concept related with the repeated use of a support that refers both the changing act by superimposition, rebuilding the city, and the fabric continuance, consolidated by the superimposition, that as it has not changed, guarantees the daily urban running.

The 25 years studied allow us to see city areas in which the changes are outstanding, even of a round trip, and also to point out constant elements that go beyond the consecutive episodes and act as joint mechanisms of the new options.

The distinction between these two categories is not easy since both can coexist in the same area: the structure of streets and corners of the Eixample Cerdà, obviously, is a permanent element of the city; whereas the interior treatment of the blocks that encircle the form and use of constructions and green spaces that make it up, is a changing fabric that has its historical sense in each moment, leaving signs of previous forms according to a phenomenon that could be qualified as *pentimento* better than palimpsest.

The analysis of the changing shape of Barcelona, with the socioeconomic consequences derived from it, is an exercise from which we can deduce the obvious logic of certain actions, the intelligent but uncertain opening of certain future bets, and also the initial contradictions that are sensed in some of the decisions taken. This X-ray is useful to explain the reasons and the changing mechanisms, and it should also be to show the urban future of the city.

The two *invisible* dynamics

In the aimed analysis there are two types of dynamics which slip away from our field of vision although we know of its existence. One by *invisibility* and the other by establishing *outside the field of vision* that we analyse.

The first one is a dynamic, already in course, which will probably speed up greatly in the years coming. It is about internal changes of a legal, social, financial and functional type, which will inexorably take place in Ciutat Vella, without much change of the physical frame, to solve the series of problems related with the dirt, noise, drugs, prostitution, vandal behaviour, ghettos existence by immigrant accumulation, etc. Changes in which the morphology does not have an important role but complex acts as education, tolerance and solidarity mixed together with the firm accomplishment of the minimum rules of coexistence, without these aiming either to impose repression and uniformity or to diminish any form of *difference*, a basic quality of our old district. We know about the difficult moments that cities go through. Richard Sennet has explained those from New York and the hopes pinned on the modern culture of civilization. One of the ten books from our bibliography, the one on *Ciutat Vella. 2003*, a deep and detailed diagnostic of reality, by J.

Busquets' team, represents a base that helps to take measures, that can be neither radical nor unitary but very sensitive as for the groups concerned; they can neither be *catastrophic* in the face of the possibility to sensibly quantify the practical measures with efficacy in a medium-term.

It is evident that this dynamic is *invisible* if we deal with the important morphological features of the city, but its stimulation is essential so that this morphology, which has brought about the atmosphere of warm city that Barcelona has, remains there in our palimpsest.

Many periphery neighbourhoods that 25 years ago had problems of social fragmentation and some lacks in its environment, are now areas in which, despite the constant deficiency, have increased the unity, the awareness of managing a possible civic coexistence and of material improvement by themselves. The centre of our city could not watch properly the rush of tourists of the new *European theme park* that travel agencies advertise, neither the phenomenon of property *mob* and human build-up in apartments, as a result of the immigration arrived in recent years. And Ciutat Vella needs to act as the *heart* of the city where events acquire the highest quality of exchange and representation.

The other dynamic involved in the process and that in most cases is *outside the plan* of the city is the inexorable change of relations that will have to happen between Barcelona and the metropolitan area. This, in a wide sense, more than affecting the morphology of the city, it has to do with the communication infrastructures and the financial growth models.

Barcelona has never been a financial capital nor a big financial centre (recent events in the basis of the reluctances of the *friend government* confirm it. When this book is about to be published have increased the number of examples of these reluctances, that, initially, the Tripartite government was right on the refusal by the *staff* of the National Committee of the Stock Market (Comissió Nacional del Mercado de Valores) to settle in Barcelona. Now, because of the disgraceful show played by Aena and Iberia in the conflict about the Airport of Barcelona (28th of July 2006) analysts have placed the origin of the problem, beyond reluctance between PSOE and PSC, pointing out the factual power of the *establishment* National civil service deeply rooted to Madrid. Its future will continue having a crucial economic motor in the industry. Despite the fact that the tertiary activity has reached the 60-65% of occupation, manufacturing activities that are, more and more, mixed up in location and in size with the tertiary ones, are the key for the historical development model, and they can either locate in the city or in the metropolitan crown. (The industry and biomedical research, the derivative of ecological agricultural products tied to the gastronomic industry, etc., will be activities for which the metropolitan area is well prepared).

This making good use of the business world that works in medium or small units. In addition, this future is tied to the globalization process as regards the foreign market.

Therefore, a possible positive future is that Barcelona with the constellation of close industrial cities forms a very flexible structure based in the integration within a framework of common proposals, concrete actions in a project scale, together with big actions of infrastructures and local economic development policies at a small scale. It goes from a conception of a hierarchical city system to a notion of urban networks and spatial interaction. (12)

For years the current President of Catalonia is trying to establish international relations with Barcelona, to introduce the city in the globalized economy of European cities that surround it (Ciutats c6), to promote the interform and looking for a critical mass.

The most concrete result of these concepts already stated will be the realization, beyond political quarrels, of the idea of Barcelona as a logistic platform of South Europe. Extension of the Port and the Airport; optimization of the Baix Llobregat motorway; sustainable use of the Llobregat bed; railway communication with the port and the airport, ZAL, etc.

(12) Joan Trullén. "Barcelona ciutat flexible". Catàleg Barcelona Contemporània 1856-1999. Centre de Cultura Contemporània de Barcelona. 1996.

(12 bis) The years P. Maragall lived in Rome, after being the Mayor of Barcelona, coincide with the highest impetus of the Europe of the Regions, and the presentations from the 199-98 course testify it.

The serious crisis derived from the negative approval of the European Constitution, the weakening of the most charismatic leaders, the massive entrance of new countries in the European Union and the immigration problem, have dissolved the basic argument about the subsidiarity of the cities in the European structure. Maragall, with the tripartite experience finished (2006), announces his wish to work again in this field.

This concentrated structure would be related with the new station of La Sagrera (TGV) and with the so called *Quart Cinturó*, in charge of linking Barcelona with the crown of cities: Vilanova, Vilafranca, Martorell, Terrassa, Sabadell, Granollers and Mataró.

Coming back to the approach of the palimpsest of Barcelona in a scale of the city itself, all this would mean that we need to have the image of the type of growth drawn for the city from 2005. We have been repeating the strategy that we want to be *in the map* for years (as if being in the map meant competing with London, Paris, Frankfurt... or Madrid). We entrust this strategy of the *quality of life* to the City of the Counts to attract firms that will locate in the city and we embellish the image with a great number of buildings designed by international architects, those who build in Madrid. Already in 2005 we know the consequences involved in the easy tourist success and the excessive willingness or obsession to please possible investors in locating them at the 22@.

Would it be possible that the unidirectional reasoning that places up media concepts as: *big events* (1888 – 1929 -1992 – 2004), *play in the first division of cities, occupy the fifth place as a European city to locate a firm, build the city from Llobregat to Besòs, compete with Madrid* and so many other slogans, have brought us to a self-satisfaction that prevent us from appreciating our real importance as a city? Would it be possible, then, to introduce self-criticism criteria, technical and operational, of an immediate internal revolution of local priorities regarding the regeneration of Ciutat Vella, as a great cultural, social and economic

intervention, not only in terms of solving the *inside* problems of Ciutat Vella, but in the basis of the exponential irradiator power that Ciutat Vella has as an *anchor* of Poble Sec and Poble Nou, Montjuïc and Ciutadella, Eixample and the Sea, from the Gran via – Plaça Espanya, up to Diagonal Mar and the Fòrum? Would it be also possible, taking advantage from the political circumstances, theoretically favourable, to reconsider the urban future of Barcelona, not only in terms of a pseudo-capital of a hypothetical State, but as a motor of a system of cities?

Before going deep into the balance of the late 25 years, in order to identify the changing form of our city, it won't be a wrong method to introduce two *invisible* variables: the first, an internal implosion; the second, the intervention of productive mechanisms and the network development in the big metropolitan area. In these two actions, it is possible that clear options would derive from the city development itself, on the basis of the preservation of the environment and the urban quality.

The palimpsest hard nucleus

During the first decade (79-89) there is a tireless work of reorganization of the city. From the strong and encouraged start by Oriol Bohigas, always supported by the local political structure and by technicians of different areas, this reorganization polarizes in a positive and efficient way, between a reliable analytical base

–focused on the urban history episodes, extended as a theoretical proposal in the *Road Plan* and the *Areas of New Centrality*– and a machine of efficient projection and management, in which the presence of Josep A. Acebillo is crucial; this machine, with the major initiative of public operators that draw certain private actions, comes with an efficient political activation between the central decision organs and the districts.

The power and rigor of the initial hypothesis and the continuance of the management mechanism make the city being *reorganized* even though not finished, for an immediate future. The palimpsest works refutably. Further on, we will study the development, of each area, and it will be shown the persistence to act using the initial ANC pivots, those actions that J. Busquets, using the historical *zoom*, deduced from the wise remarks made by Pau Vila, the geographer.

But in the 1999 book it is already reflected a series of changes in the organization of the technical areas, the emergency of *singular* people that try to be present at all decision levels, the difficult negotiation with private operators, more and more powerful and globalized. We also perceive the natural tiredness of 20 years of socialist political initiative, but strangely the opposition also shows a certain lag. The fortunate circumstances that made possible the *Barcelona model* have already lost its validity and it seems that the resort, again, to the *singular* event of the Forum 2004, it has not been an appropriate arrangement.

The scene searching new initiatives, some of them as interesting as the planning of the station of La Sagrera and its surroundings, and the ambitious action to qualify again the 22@ area, are actions that will change the city morphology because they will displace the camera lens up to the limits placed by Cerdà, near the Besòs; even though, they constitute actions that can be read as extensions, as the expansion of the nucleus of the Meridiana, Glòries or Diagonal-Prim, proposed at the *Areas of New Centrality*.

Once the initial hypothesis about the palimpsest structure has been announced, we better explain the process in detail.

Two basic texts give us the clues to guess about this process. These clues can also be visualized in two *atlas* representing the graphic version of the texts. These are the essential: *Barcelona i la seva rodalia al llarg del temps* (1974), by the geographers Pau Vila and Lluís Cassasas, and the mentioned Barcelona, *La construcció urbanística de una ciutat compacta* (2004), by Joan Busquets. The two atlas are *Atlas de Barcelona* by Montserrat Galera, Francesc Roca and Salvador Tarragó, published by the Col·legi d'Arquitectes (1972), and the book from the local *Quadrats* series: *Inicis de la urbanística municipal de Barcelona*, coordinated by M. Torres Capell (1985).

These documents introduce us indirectly, but in a way, to the two initial stages of the democratic town planning, those from 1979-1983 and 1983-1987; complementary stages but different in the approach done to the problems and the methods used.

At the first stage, when difficult moments during the transfer of the previous City Council *of transition* were over, the Mayor Narcís Serra appointed Oriol Bohigas Town Planning Representative in 1980. He took over from J. Antoni Solans, who applying the decisions from the PGM in 1976, had made an efficient work as regards soil reserve aimed for green areas and for equipment.

The action by Bohigas, explained in a very detailed way in his book *Reconstrucció de Barcelona*, starts from two concepts: The urgency to act, to set upright actions done during Franco's regime (singular buildings, Pla de la Ribera, Túnel del Tibidabo, etc.) and the double strategy of "rebuilding the centre, making the periphery monumental". This fortunate slogan hides different meanings: the first one, is the idea that singular actions (squares, streets and parks) made in the Centre clearly have a content of city history restoration, so that the citizen, apart from functionally enjoying the improvements, recognizes himself from Barcelona.

It is evident that this reference to history is present in the long series of singular designs (Moll de la Fusta de Salvat-Papasseit, Plaça Reial, Plaça de la Mercè, Carrer Montcada, Fossar de les Moreres, Born, Avinguda Gaudí, del Liceu al Seminari, etc.) and widely developed in the chapter referring to the square, the street and the monuments, in the book written by Bohigas.

The second one, referred to the "making the periphery monumental" implies this one being considered no more, no less as a Centre. That is, in the basis of the monumental slogan,

the periphery will recover the standards of services and equipments as well as the *category* of city centre. (In this sense, remember the symbolism of the monument in Plaça Lluçmajor). This action in the periphery is subject to the criterion of equal distribution among neighbourhoods, even though the 10 final districts were not defined yet.

There is also an echo of historical chance (Nta. Sra. De Port, Carmel) combined with giving a use to restored areas (Escorxador, Espanya Industrial, Parc del Clot, Pegasso, Renfe-Meridiana, etc.). The Bohigas period, at a general approach level, finishes when his MBM professional team and him start working on the most attractive design project of those showing the opportunity of the Games: La Vila Olímpica in Poble Nou. In the stage above described, very well managed at an informative level, take place: the accumulation of hopes and the concrete actions to refloat the *Titanic* of Azua; the first discussions on the location of the possible Olympic areas (17); the vital organism *Urban Project Services* is created, under the supervision of J. A. Acebillo, who will introduce an efficient management and design line in which is combined the work done by internal members of the Service with the contributions of liberal professionals.

The *historical* and *singular* view of O. Bohigas comes supplemented, without any trauma or continuity solution, by the *structural* reconsideration by Joan Busquets and by the substructure action by Acebillo. To understand the origins of Busquets' thinking it is necessary to remember certain historical phenomena that have deeply marked the urban History and that had been of interest for the members of the Town Planning Laboratory:

To understand the primitive network of torrents, from Collserola to the Sea, as a system that links the future road network, the limit between neighbourhoods or the situation of the areas of the first textile industrial stage (the water mills, spindles and looms).

To understand the military settlement (basically Montjuïc and La Ciutadella), not only for its immediate meaning of being *not city* but also for the compulsory protection areas that create around it and that explain the gaps as regards or between the periphery towns of Barcelona.

(17) We must say that what we know as "informe Cuyàs" dates from 1982 and the first discussions about the possible "Olympic grown" and about the liberation of the railways in Poble Nou date from 1983-1984.

(17 bis) Busquets left his position before the Olympic Games. Josep M^a Llop, an urban architect, succeeded him as the Urban Coordinator. He was the responsible for the approach at the City Council in Lleida, where he came back after the local elections in 1995. Nowadays he is town councillor of the local in Lleida.

To show how the anarchic layout of the first railway lines, many of them unified or removed in different periods, still set the structure of the neighbourhoods or the difficulty to make it evident or, even worst, cutting off areas of the consolidated city (Poble Nou).

To point out the areas topographically more precipitous (Montjuïc itself and above all the hills of the precoastal crest line, Carmel, La Peira, Guinardó, Trinitat, Torre Baró), as an inevitable place of spontaneous accumulation of accommodation construction for the

massive immigration of the 50s and 60s. The rest of immigrants will settle around industrial areas (S. Martí, Hostalfrancs, etc.), because of the low soil value.

To state what has already been said on the other part of this book regarding the role as strict *limit* that represent the two rivers, the sea and the mountain range of Collserola. (This last one acts so much as a limit that citizens don't know about its use as a natural park (40 Km².), 10 minutes away from the city centre by public or private transport; on the other hand, this paradoxically allows its preservation).

To assume, as a difficulty to understand the development of Barcelona, the complicated demarcation of the township, especially at the river outfall which has influenced the contact areas with the Hospitalet and S. Adrià. In this last case, the proposal made by Cerdà to create the *Great Forest* was not considered because half of it was in S. Adrià's area.

To value Cerdà's sensitivity, in 1859, to draw up the diagonals of Barcelona, both those of new creation, the Diagonal par excellence, and the ones that take in old roads, trains and torrents (Paral·lel join with Sants street-Collblanc, Pere IV and Clot-Sagrera). These diagonals, in some cases emphasized and increased in Jaussely (1905) design projects, structure main axis or significant crossroads that will have a future importance.

To see how the well-known decanting of the city towards the West takes place, from the time of the Pla Cerdà till nowadays. This happens thanks to the promotion of the Diagonal and the loss of power of Plaça de les Glòries (absorbed by the railway mess), opposite to the promotion and creation of the Plaça d'Espanya, as a consequence of the political decision to locate the Exposició (1907-1929) in Montjuïc, and the logical decision of the crossroad Gran Via with Paral·lel-Creu Coberta. This last decision will inevitably mark the evolution of Barcelona till nowadays.

Busquet's knowledge of the episodes of Barcelona's urban history, those summarized before and others, give him an important background to draw up the crossing structure of the *Areas of new centrality* and the *New roads*.

The idea of the *Areas of new centrality* complemented by the *New roads* is of an impeccable draw up since the Eixample can be released of the tertiary pressure because there are new focuses of centrality, easily accessible and with a reasonable soil price (those of Tarragona street and Plaça Cerdà will be immediately in use). These focus being in empty areas between the crown of traditional neighbourhoods will force these ones having changing alternatives and will create a self-esteem and encouragement current of the local people.

The stimulating element of the new activities will be the new road system suggested. This system besides realising the Centre will link the neighbourhoods and will favour the city connections with the approaches from roads and motorways.

It is obvious that a balance can not only be done on theory and we will need to guess if the different *Areas of new centrality* had the same luck in its practical development; even though, the bright theory set different forms and timings for each area. (We will see how some of them still have not been developed according to its real capacities; we will try to explain the reasons why). However, the system of *New roads*, based on the vertebral crown

of the Ring Roads, as it was developed as a design and in time in an unitarian way, taking profit of the Olympic Games investment, it admits little criticism. The brilliant management directed by J. A. Acebillo, from the IMPU, created a series of interdisciplinary technical teams. From these teams we don't know what is most valuable: if the logical traffic modulation with the creation of the appropriate sections in each point; or the subtle design strategy in drawing up superior roads that semi covered the fast inferior flow; or the proposal of junctions and interconnections, the most spectacular being the Nus de la Trinitat.

The drawing up of the Ring Roads as an strategic road that allows crossing the city but also interconnect neighbourhoods and function as a support for the different equipments, is something that has proved being efficient. Once the excessive speed of the first years was corrected; once the heavy traffic *across* was diverted because of the gradual disappearance of the logistic activities of the Poble Nou, this system has proved being efficient as regards its theoretical hypothesis here announced.

The future development of the Llobregat and Besos areas will tend to optimize a system that from the Olympic Games is showing its approach success.

Caption of the plan of *Areas of new Centrality*

In the plan of the *Areas of new centrality* the fact that the blocks and the built parts are highlighted in white gives a clear idea of the dimension, the structure and the shape of each area.

1. Diagonal Sarrià
2. Carrer Tarragona
3. RENFE – Meridiana
4. Plaça Cerdà
5. Carles I - Av. Icària
6. Port Vell
7. Plaça de les Glòries
8. Vall d'Hebron
9. Sagrera
10. Diagonal – Prim
11. Diagonal – Zona Universitària*
12. Montjuïc*

Le tracé d'une ville est oeuvre du temps

"Le tracé d'une ville es oeuvre du temps plutot que d'architecte" (Leon Reynaud). Motto for the design project by Rovira i Trías for the Eixample competition.

The suggestive motto chosen by Rovira i Trías in his proposal of the Eixample -paradoxically him who distinguishes the option *architect* opposite to the *engineer* one by Cerdà- introduces us in the right context to deal in detail aspects of the palimpsest, the morphological features that, eventually, consolidate in the *Areas of new centrality*. In this stage, the working documents have been the selection of the ten general plans of Barcelona that sum up each one of the six local periods that coincide with the six electoral periods (with the replacement of politicians and technicians). These plans are reproduced in the ten reference books. (The books which actually draw up these six periods are: *Plans and projects* (80-83), *Plans towards 1992* (83-87), *The city and the year 1992* (87-91), *The second renovation* (91-95), *Town planning in Barcelona 99* (95-99), and *Barcelona in progress* (99-2004). The ten plans that sum up which are analysed are the following:

1. 1983. The plan summarizes the actions described in the book *Plans and projects*. In this plan we can observe the duality between concrete actions and the PERI; a duality that is strengthened biunivocally. The *equitative* distribution is felt in the actions in the different neighbourhoods, as a result of never-ending walks by Oriol Bohigas and the city councillor Josep Miquel Abad. It does not exist a general restructuring supported on the road.
2. 1984. *Road Plan*: A typical plan of the *Busquets' factory* as the power of the road project comes relaxed and reasoned when drawing the topographic incidents or the great *monuments* of the city. A perfect balance between the Ring Roads and Diagonal system.
3. 1987. *Areas of new centrality*: is an interesting drawing because is not the classical *on paper* but the other way around: Buildings are drawn in white (the uses, the management types, the urban shape planning) over the *reserve*, in black, of the streets.
4. 1987. Approach sum up: is a plan where the action fields are reflected, without expressing the form and searching the effects induced between actions, the hinges, the limits, and the reinforcement in certain points.
5. 1992. Plan of actions in the road general system of the Olympic Games. Barcelona's area expands: the South and North *foot* appear; the reference to the river, mountain and sea borders; the intersection of junctions with roads and neighbourhoods. But this system is perfectly connected with the interior *big axis*: Diagonal, Gran Via, Meridiana-Clot-Sagrera, Hostafrancs-Sants-Collblanc, carretera de Ribes, Pere IV.
6. 1996. Actions in the East: the weight of the plan moves using the Plaça de les Glòries as an *anchor* to the city previously reorganized. The plan shows by means of the marks the increasing importance of the private initiative in relation to the public one.

7. 1999. Plan of the strategic actions for accommodation promotion. It is the beginning of a process started both by objective needs and by industrial qualified land restructuring, now seen as *residential packages*.
8. 2004. Actions in the big road axis. An image where the balance between the road and the *full* built up is established, raising the hope of the *finished city*. In the plan of previous stages it was possible to recognize the technical footprint of the critical discussion, of the rigorous detail, of the concrete criterion; in the plan of 2004, as well as in the big model mentioned at the beginning of this book, and in the volume *Barcelona in progress (2004)* itself, the rhetorical aspect of great concepts takes priority; a too synthetic image that gives the impression that the discussion about the future of the city is over.
9. 2003-2004. Sum up plan of the actions in Ciutat Vella. A great document that combines the realism of the representation, the interaction of uses, the structural role of monuments and the consolidated neutral areas, or of a future renovation. It seems to be claiming that now it is important to care about people because the stone city is already designed
10. 2004. Plan of the Eixample, perfectly defined by the classical ring roads and the traditional neighbourhoods, basic matrix of the modern Barcelona, released by the recovery of the back yards

On the other hand, the actions of each period have overlapped in the basis of the partial areas of the city that correspond to the 12 *Areas of new centrality*. From this analysis we can deduce the ability to structure by these *ANC*, from 1985-87 up to nowadays, according to the detailed analysis that will be explained. Even, when the so-called second *renovation* where actions are concentrated in the N-W, changing the viewpoint of Barcelona in a certain way, it is possible to clearly recognise that the so-called by R. Fayos, a stroke on **Z** in the wonderful plan draw by Mercè Berenguer, that defines this second renovation, has its *roots* in the areas of new centrality of S. Andreu-Sagrera, Glòries, Prim and Carles I. Also the evolution of the areas of Montjuïc and Plaça Cerdà, run on the Sants-Tarragona and Plaça Espanya axis, produce the sought effect, caused above all by the decision made to locate the Fira II in Pedrosa, to go beyond the municipality area and to start the actions (maybe we could say the third renovation) being developed in Hospitalet and Zona Franca.

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Looking at the overlapping actions in the first Area of Centrality (Diagonal – Sarrià) gives us different results according to the Diagonal side considered:

It is obvious that this area takes advantage of the Diagonal big attraction, but above all sets a final link with the *city*, making good use of the big action of Illa Diagonal, by linking the concept of *rue corridor* of the classical Diagonal with the dense fabric of Les Corts and the big areas of block distribution of the West limit of this road till the Zona Universitària. The

good management system of the soil of the old S. Joan de Deu Hospital, by an invitation competition and excellent architectural interpretation of the activity ideas and urban interconnection by M. Solá-Morales and R. Moneo, have had the luck to fit with the different equipments (hotels, shopping centres and offices) that end in Plaça de Maria Cristina.

The same can not be said for the Diagonal North side, where the management of big places as *Swimming pools and Sports* and the old Espanyol pitch, show the difficulties to combine public and private interests and, apart from architectural judgments, provide a weak urban interpretation of what could have been the joint system of small gardens (Hahnemann, Sacharoff, Can Batllori, Blanca Selva, etc.) incorporated and connected with big size spaces that should have been created as a result of the two actions mentioned, carried out during the eighties and nineties.

Still stands the question on whether the City Council could not have planned in their own field, a transfer result, and actions for affordable accommodation in this privileged area. In brief, the first *Area of new centrality* made the basic steep to redefine the Diagonal and link with Les Corts.

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The second Area (Tarragona street) was another fundamental area when structuring the activity of the new station and the group of new parks of the Espanya Industrial, of Estació de Sants and the Escorxador, as well as the possibility to become connected with Hostalfrancs area in the West, with the advantage of the great vitality of the Creu Coberta-Carrer de Sants axis. We can not say that initially the action was successful, as regards the urban management and the doubts arisen in relation with how the architecture of the singular buildings should be defined. The dubious negation of Rubió i Tudurí's sketches, for the Plaça, not so much for the logical overcoming of the epidermal language but for the *closure* of the *deep form* indicated, instigates serious doubts that spread on what we know about the future end actions of a Plaça that enjoys having one of the more fascinating urban elements of Barcelona, that is the fountain Jujol. (13)(Thesis by P. Casajoana).

The change of the PGM to arrange an area of Hostalfrancs, done later, in 1996, promotes the first action and establishes sufficient links with the Sants area and the back of the Gran Via: the end of Diputació street, the use of the old road of La Bordeta and Creu Coberta, the promotion of the Moianès street that links the Gran Via with the actions done in Sants' centre, the equipped axis of Joan Güell. All this connected with the vitality of the classical streets of Sants district, has restructured the zone around Sants station in a new centre of Barcelona, despite the initial *vice* to think that the station had created a gap instead of a structure connected with the neighbourhood. The tertiary capacity of Tarragona street, Sants' shopping offer, workshops, the equipments and the parks have created a powerful and unified neighbourhood. But still, at a district level, has to solve the continuity with the other two areas that make it up: Montjuïc and Zona Franca. In brief, the Area of new

centrality of Tarragona street is a key area of the growth system towards the S.O., in relation with Plaça Cerdà and the total continuity towards Poble Sec – Montjuïc – Zona Franca.

(13) The fountain in Plaça d'Espanya by Josep M^a Pujol was the doctoral thesis theme by Pere Casajoana, architect. Barcelona. 1980.

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The third Area, Renfe – Meridiana. The recovery of the old Renfe's piece of land, tangential to the urban motorway of Meridiana, gave rise to this new area that aims linking S. Andreu and Nou Barris districts by calming this road and creating a wide sports and green area. It is the prototype model suggested by Busquets as to find out the interstices that create a new centrality in the existing neighbourhoods, providing them with new tertiary and leisure activities. The rationalization of the layout and the gradients of Meridiana, between to basal axis as P. Fabra i Puig and the Pont del Dragó, not only functions for the urban linkage proposed, but also, the city gains a *door*, the North-East one, with a good landscape influence and the opening of the regional bus station.

The rebuilding of S. Andreu's torrent together with Passeig Fabra i Puig and the Pont de Valldaura contributes to create the cross structure relation between the two neighbourhoods by relating the old centre of S. Andreu, the Plaça Orfila, with the Plaça Soller, one of the most emblematic relations of the first period.

Briefly, a good connector structure and a question as regards the creation of new activities

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The fourth Area of Plaça Cerdà has a long history, paradigmatic for the palimpsest theory. Symbol of the entrance from the airport to the city, in the fifties. With the presence of the SEAT and Phillips buildings, and the brief view of the monument to the brilliant urbanist, was combined with the growing promotion of the Avinguda de la Zona Franca, as that area, with the big factory of the first Catalan industry, was consolidating. With this, the intersection only had a road entity without an urban setting that justified its name.

The arrival of the Ronda del Mig turned the Plaça Cerdà into a focus of Barcelona's growth, another *interstice* placed between Montjuïc, Sants and the Zona Franca. In the eighties new housing actions took place to replace degradation areas as Can Tunis and others, that formed small colonies where the phenomenon of renting out again occurred, due to workers' unsteadiness. It also took place the actions of the Parcs de Can Sabaté and the Mediterrània gardens, as well as different equipments.

It is already in the nineties, when the Plaça Cerdà surrounded itself with blocks of flats and offices, when the architect Bernardo de Sola also designs the pedestrian ring that gives the final nature to this urban place. Before, the important decision to relocate the Fira at the Pedrosa area was made, even though, the relation with the *classical* Montjuïc site was not

solved yet and being on the borderline of the political controversy to extend the subway lines.

Even so, the choice of the Plaça Cerdà as an urban *pivot* for sure will be successful, although the uncertain future of the actions proved, already in the middle of the local area of Hospitalet, of the new Ciutat Judicial, of the Plaça d'Europa and the different office centres that, sheltered by Fira II, will be building up, gives grounds for certain suspicions.

If initially an urban scheme hypothesis was studied, that by crossing the Gran Via gave the continuity and balance to the neighbourhoods located on both sides of this street, the idea was abandoned and the quick approval of the focus of Plaça d'Europa has taken place; a kind of an important presence of big buildings, above the crossing of La Gran Via with the, already famous by estate agents, Amanda Torner street. The usual appeal to go beyond the ideas about the design of classical spaces in the cities can not hide the doubts on the results of a virtual (!) square of unfinished dimensions and of a problematic urbanization.

In 2004 the different design projects located in Gran Via's South were on display to the public; these are designed by the usual architects internationally well-known. Projects that, without denying its intrinsic quality, have been designed without having a planning global idea and what is worst, in an area not provided with communication, access and parking infrastructures.

It is obvious that in the huge investment operation that is behind all this, big nearby actions carry weigh, for instance: the extension of the Port, of the ZAL and the new airport. But also, in a *macro* scale, the unknown about these big infrastructures, particularly the TGV and Subway, allow us to prove how the methods and rhythms have undergone changes, not exactly positive ones, from the initial years of the Olympic Barcelona.

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The fifth Area of new centrality, the so-called Carles I – Avda. Icària, from its origins had a more continuous rhythm of execution, despite the difficult work on the infrastructures. The decision made to act in the sea front, as a general theory of city recovery, linking the streets of the Cerdà weft crossed by the train tracks, cleaning up kilometres of beach till S. Adrià, was part of the Ribera's counter plan author's old dream. But already in 1983-84, once the mayoralty by P. Maragall was renewed, this zone is presented as the best area to locate the Vila Olímpica of the athletes, in the case Barcelona achieves the Games, and later on, at the end of the Games, to become a new residential area that will start the recovery of the areas at the back. These areas are suffering a change of use since the transport industries and firms are moving to the first metropolitan crown.

An initial discussion on whether to locate the Olympic areas in the metropolitan city-zone was quickly solved and already in the plan of the 1987 book the first scheme of the Vila Olímpica was published, from the Ciutadella, ideally communicated with the Barceloneta Park and the Sea, till Diagonal on the side of Bogatell.

In this scheme the Eixample Cerdà is consolidated. The coast road-park is set up and a coast shape with several towers is suggested (which was relieved by the corresponding Ministry). And the Port Olímpic with a redundant curved stroke that encircles the Palau de Congressos, that later on was eliminated, to avoid the error of the Port Vell when examining the problematic access conditions and as regards the view of the sea.

There was another general urban discussion, the one about the growth of the city rhythms, the overcoming of the Ciutadella barrier, between Ciutat Vella and Nova Vila. A discussion that was tempered by the location of the Universitat Pompeu Fabra and the initial biomedical complex around the Hospital del Mar. But with the Zoo survival, the public activity deadlock around the Parliament, that is the impossibility to connect the monument to Prim with the Wellington Street, was left unresolved. Even so, when the big pre-Olympic exhibition takes place, in the marvellous building of the deposit of Fontseré at the Ciutadella, *The city and the year 1992*, the weld of the well-done design Parc de Carles I, and the promotion of the housing blocks located at the Avda. Bogatell limit, are already planned and the efficient intervention in the dismantle of the railways, the Rondal Litoral implementation, the building of an important urban use gallery network, solving the continuous floods of this area, make that in 1992 this big area of new centrality starts working with a big quantity of resources that support its urban quality. The capacity of combined management of the societies VOSA, NISA and IMPU allows an efficient reality, becomes obscured by a promotion that discriminates low wages and a bad construction in some promotions.

The settlement of the new residents that, from 1992, live in the Vila, took place despite the minimum shopping infrastructures and the poor quality of the Shopping Centre done.

What is interesting is to record that this area, recently promoted by the execution of Torre del Gas and the Centre d'Investigacions biomèdiques, has functioned as a new centrality, specially, thanks to the urban continuity of the Passeig Marítim as regards Barcelona and the irrefutable continuity of the Eixample weft. The Carles I – Avda. Icària Area has enough power to allow the progression on the conquest and occupation of the coast till Diagonal Mar.

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The Port Vell of Barcelona was also an Area of new centrality, the sixth one, but probably not in the sense in which we see it today. The Moll de la Fusta, the renovation of the Barceloneta, the recovery of the buildings Magatzems del Moll del Dipòsit as today's Palau de Mar and the urbanization of the Moll de la Barceloneta itself, encircled a big dock in which the Moll d'Espanya turn into a *island* where the Clubs Nàutic and Marítim defined the sports character of the area, whereas the Moll de Barcelona remained consigned to the Balearic Islands ferry service and the Moll de Pescadors kept its particular atmosphere.

The Port, with the different docks and quays, was seen as a big system that joint basic parts of the city as Barceloneta, the *Elizabethan* façade of the Passeig de Colom, La Rambla, Paral·lel avenue, Montjuïc and the Zona Franca. This structural junction, distributor of activities, should have been compatible with the *door* role of Barcelona and with the view relation of the city with the sea. The State and the Self-governing Port intervention, taking as a model the American and Canadian sea fronts, pressed to locate in this area, by an Improvement Plan, a great number of ludic uses, without thinking on landscape, accessibility and possible marginality problems that this action could made possible. In 1999, more than 300 architects signed the manifest against this intervention. Some years later, the Maremagnum failure, certain sad episodes of discotheque and the the mass volume of the World Trade Centre, remind us how a good idea, that of the area of new centrality and an excellent place, can degenerate into unsuccessful results. Juli Esteban admits that the criticism to the Port Vell can be conceptual and serious: *A port is essentially an empty space; crowded spaces are the city and have to be around empty ones, which are the protagonists; the implementation of certain uses make a rather singular space trivial.* (14)

Fortunately that the Barcelona's port is a magical place in which the Aeri towers with the Moll cranes, fishermen with dockers, waiters, yacht owners and cruise tourists, are combined, which allows its constant and never-ending transformation.

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The seventh Area is the Plaça de les Glòries, could not be less important since Ildefons Cerdà projected it as the central place of the Eixample, a big directional centre in which was suggested to locate the new City Council and other institutional buildings. Everybody knows how the initial railway layout and the later promotion of the traffic in the crossing of Diagonal, Gran Via and Meridiana gave rise to the well-known *scalextric* of undulatory forms, an image of a modernity of the sixties, of an antipedestrian scale and of a weak design as far as green areas treatment is concerned, which favoured the spontaneous location, in the place, of one of the more marginalized urban functions: The Mercat dels *encants*.

(14) Juli Esteban. Op. Cit. 27p.

With the years, that desideratum of Cerdà became an *interior periphery* of a great magnitude, helped by the *physical cut* or existing difference between that of Barcelona's consolidated Eixample and Barcelona's Poble Nou of the train and industries.

When Joan Busquets and his team design the first plan of Glories reform (1987), a part from pointing out the inevitability of the road junction, they emphasize the interstitial and ambiguous character of the big green space extended along the Meridiana up to the disappeared Estació del Nord, where the park with the *land-sculpture* by Beverly Pepper

started, and also trying the continuity with the Ciutadella. If this gave any signal, this was the clear will to appease Meridiana's traffic, since the park did not exist anyway, and its strong continuity towards the North had already gone through this appeasement

On the other hand, in 1987, in a risky process, is decided to locate the Auditori in the old piece of land of lines, as a final round off of Ausias Marc street (!), to go together with the Teatre Nacional de Catalunya, which allows establishing a hypothesis of unitary consideration and of green continuity between Glòries and Ciutadella, supported on the good design of the green area of Fort Pienc and on the *permeability* occurred when passing by the Eixample streets, particularly Sardenya street with the new bridge. The project of the Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó included a suggestion that reinforced this green continuity.

But time disproved this intuition: without time to write a plan as a whole, during the nineties the Glories junction is redone transforming it into something more powerful in the form since the *blurred* of some of the important lines that converge proves being difficult since its location underground will be in conflict with the railways and the metro, about which any decision had been taken in that moment. In any case, instead of continuing with the green fluency started in the Estació del Nord, the park, the bus station, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, sports facilities, and other equipments, the two big buildings, that is the Auditori and the Teatre show themselves as excellent isolated pieces without creating the place that, on the other hand, has a name: the Plaça de les Arts.

Therefore, it seems strange that the repeated reurbanization, along the years, of the Meridiana's section takes place in terms of vehicular traffic without giving any priority to the Eixample's section. On the contrary, as a result of the competition, the fashion architect Zaha Hadid, did not have any other idea than suggesting a *modern version* of sculptural flyover, a metaphor of the uncontrolled flows that converge in the nonexistent square, where even that a rhetorical architecture is not needed to establish a traditional square, but it was necessary to make clear where are the bus and metro stop, the parking access, taxis, bicycle parking, disabled access, etc.; that is, all the services that one expects to find at the Auditori or at the Teatre and that we are now missing. Definitely, at least at this moment, the Plaça de les Arts is not a place.

With all this, the Plaça de les Glòries that has achieved good equipments in the North area (La farinera), is getting ready for another stage in relation with the Diagonal development. In the book from 1999 a new central crown idea is developed, once seen the marginal character that this interior space presents.

While this book is being finished there has taken place the Torre Agbar opening, and the experienced journalist Rosario Fontova publishes in the *El Periódico* the series of small skyscrapers that will keep Jean Nouvel company, with his anger. (15)

From three years ago the controversy of a Design museum is being dragged. Incredibly, in the time when the virtues of fragmentation of museums as neighbourhood equipments is promoted and justified; in the time when information by Internet has become the most

powerful tool of *transversality*, claims the concentration of the collections currently spread all over the city.

(15) Rosario Fontova. *La Barcelona del futur*. El Periódico. August the 11th 2005.

The constant lack of urban initiative about Glòries gave rise to several controversy until finally (in 2004-2005) the City Council announced a serious study of the junction as an intermodal station of the lines that meet on the subsoil, also rationalizing the cleaning up network, which would hypothetically allow burying the Gran Via and Diagonal, and work with the wide green space as a diffuse area of the Eixample where the housing would play an important role.

Cautiously, in one of the last stages of its history, the plan of the book *Barcelona in progress* (2004) and the model of the exhibition dismantle the crown and go back to a sensible weft of orthogonal streets, as if the time didn't flow and what was feasible in the eighties was now possible, an Area of new centrality deeply studied by an interdisciplinary team in which nobody feels as the *star*. Also here, the contemplation of Barcelona's palimpsest has shown being interesting.

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The eighth Area. Vall d'Hebrón: As Ignasi Solá-Morales said in *El País* in 1984, when the Railway Plan and the ANC were being drawn: "A second idea, less powerful and clear than the recovering of the maritime facade, and more affected by temporary availabilities, seems being that of reinforcing a park an sport facilities system along an interior line that will generically adjust to the unfinished second beltway"...

Effectively, the thought about this area in 1984 tries to give sense to wide farming areas (with country houses and charitable foundations) tangent to the future Ronda de Dalt, which stands in its North side a cramped sequence of health and residential equipments, while the so-called agricultural *river basin* connects, in the South area, with the overflowing accumulation of people rooted in the buttress of the *hills* (Carmel, Rovira and especially Teixonera). Therefore, it is about a road weft that will link all these areas, connected in the South vertex with the new Rambla del Carmel that leads to the Rovira tunnels, recently started. With this, the city achieves an efficient North-South short cut that connects with the Eixample and bounds dense neighbourhoods which do not have good access conditions. In the plans of 1987, the connecting structure and the big free space reserve resulting was already sensed.

In the book from 1992 the geometry of the streets is carefully drawn and indicative sections are set out in order to define the descending platforms to locate equipment buildings as *retaining walls*. Enric Miralles built one of his most poetic buildings that, unfortunately, is

currently, in a poor condition, in this difficult management that non usual equipments have, as the sports facilities (the Velòdrom included) or the reconstructed República building. There is no need to say that the anchor that this Area of new centrality represents, comes together with the PERI of the surrounding areas, started before 1987 and that had limited effects in zones of difficult topography, poor building constructive quality and poor quality of the land in which are built. As it has been shown in the recent Carmel disaster, luckily without any dead.

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With the ninth Area, the Sagrera, together with the tenth one, Diagonal Prim, we arrive at a zone where Barcelona's palimpsest has undergone more trails in the last years. In 1987, the Area of new centrality of Sagrera was planned according to the possible new station that together with Sants station represented the ideal scheme for the city. In that moment was still believed that França station would stop being operative for long distance lines.

The 1987 plan locates the hypothetically station above the Pont del Treball that would connect the Eixample of S. Martí with Garcilaso and Meridiana streets, complementing the other streets that cross Felip II street (Calatrava's bridge) and the end of Rambla Prim.

In this way, the recovery of big free spaces as Parc de S. Martí and La Pegasso was also consolidated. Another thing was the arrival to Rambla Prim's North, still not resolved, that would be so further on. Until the Olympic Games were not finished, this zone is not mentioned any more as the immediate priorities were others.

But, precisely, during the impasse in which the great Olympic event takes place and on the borderline of the international impact that Barcelona had, there is a proposal, called *Rec Comtal*, technically directed by Norman Foster, that causes an impact due to several reasons: the first one is the intervention scale used, a big diagonal axis of the city, of 6 km long, linking the Plaça de les Glòries with the Nus de la Trinitat, the biggest joint intervention in Barcelona whose author relates with the great international urban actions.

The second one is that the proposal is managed from the private sector and this forces the City Council also to take part at this scale; therefore, two parallel plans are drawn that are perfectly explained in the book *Barcelona Transfer*, mentioned at the beginning of this book.

The third one is the formal idea, very powerful, of the design project that supports the proposal of the idea of a lake that would link the Besòs till Glòries, with the presence of skyscraper that would give the right scale.

Despite its reductionism as regards the particular treatment of the city that crosses; despite the insufficient financial grounds and private management; despite the excessive formal redundancy of the Project, Foster's idea manage to change the way of looking at a part of the city, going beyond the structural view of the ANC

We must understand that, in the middle of the nineties, this view has already been accepted and La Sagrera will not develop any more as a punctual project, but as a structural axis of the new development of the city towards the North-East.

The plan develops and in the plan of 1996 two areas of action already emerged along the railway corridor Clot-S. Andreu-Sagrera: an area located more in the North, settled above the new footbridge that crosses the lines till the old centre of S. Andreu and that rearranges the land in La Maquinista with a big Shopping Centre (an appropriate design for Barcelona's Mediterranean context) and a housing block that pivot above the Parc de la Maquinista in S. Andreu, in which we can make use of pre-existing plant species of a great value. This consolidated action is complementary with the two projected areas on both sides of the old line surface, singularly known as a Colorants-Renfe sector that will bring the new city till the limit of Nus de la Trinitat.

The other area is that of the station itself, which in the last years was the object of intensive project stages. In the book of 1996 the station moves to the North of the Pont del Treball, very much linked to the new PERI Prim distribution sector. But in the final plan of 2004, when the society that will manage the big station action was made up, the station is divided into two big organisms: one at the South of the Pont del Treball, which is the real station for passengers and another station under the ground where the maintenance and Catering will be carried out. This extension of the main nucleus allows the connection with the big triangles, to reorganize the railway lines, over and under, that go from Felip II up to the so-called *railway triangle*, where, continuing with the *star* policy, Frank Gehry has received the assignment to project a vast urban milestone, still without having a well-defined use and not much explanations on the local side.

In fact, apart from the controversy on how the TGV will cross the Eixample and the agreed silence about the arrival at the airport, the Sagrera station is technically being projected with the rigor needed by its unquestionable and essential condition of intermodality. With a part of the under ground station and another that emerging from the ground, in a way that it promotes a subtle relation with the neighbourhood, develops into a series of blocks giving it a non *singular* appearance, with tertiary functions..

Obviously, the big challenge is that of the old dream of the Areas of new centrality, to act in the big *interstice*, between the villages of S. Martí de Provençals and S. Andreu del Palomar. Those areas that, at the beginning of the XIX century, were country housing according to Segarra's memories, and that the train had deeply changed. At last, the *urban centre* will arrive to the areas that used to be marginated by its old use.

Towards 1995 the *second renovation* stage ends and the mentioned plan will be published in the book with the same title. A brilliant plan with the **Z** that connects Trinitat-Glòries and Diagonal-Mar, closing the Sea front.

This structural scheme of the East area is the support for the other big renovation action started in Barcelona: The 22@. The 22@ Plan tries to go beyond the singularity of the industrial use of this area of stores and old industries, assigned by the PGM. Tries to balance the uses on the basis of the complexity that will give urban quality and

socioeconomic criticism. Non-polluting small industries, new technology uses, accommodation and small shops, private and public offices, hotels and facilities connected both to the lucrative system and the culture. It is a question of developing location economies according to the compact city model. (The role of Research and University in technology transfer to the productive sector is reinforced).

All together will take place in an area of obvious centrality, thanks to the intensive exploitation of Cerdà's network connectivity, once the streets have been connected; the Diagonal developed till the sea and the reinforcement of the roads that link strategic points from the mountain to the sea. (See the scheme of the basic road network).

The 22@ represents a positive view of the city, since after the excessive repetition of concrete architectural actions, represents a long-term action, slow and of an apparent urban neutrality, in which old restored buildings are mixed up with new architectures integrated in the context of each block. This can lead to a varied fabric of a high urban content.

Obviously, the problems can come if management requires a quick political profitability and then, the administration will lose the *tempo* in front of the difficulties to finance the *city of the knowledge* and will give in to the temptations of easy business developers. After the complexity of the conflict management in Ciutat Vella, it seems that those of the 22@ are the following as regards complexity and patience to deal with. Therefore, it seems necessary its development by a series of Special Plans.

In this area, Barcelona risks its future and it would be desirable to come back to the old multiprofessional exercise of working together but, at the same time, study the detail of each block. The Architecture for the 22@ has the *difficulty* that can not be resolved with an ideal gesture but it requires the patience that the good architecture, both international from Aalto to Siza, and Catalan from Coderch to Llinàs, has cultivated. In that sense, we need to insist in the number of occasions that we will have to act on the industrial patrimony of the zone, that, as has already been said, it does not seem to interest politicians and architects' sensitivity.

I would dare suggesting that we also find a terrible and flagrant historic subconscious here, that of the assumption of anarchism of its origin, development and repression, which almost all citizens of Barcelona prefer forgetting and therefore not to take into account any phenomenon that reminds us of the subject.

Taking this into consideration, we need to go back to the structural view proposed in this book and connect what has already been said so far with the tenth Area of centrality, the so-called Diagonal-Prim.

Before focusing on this Area, we need to mention the actions made at the Sea front which, in two stages, have connected the Vila Olímpica with the Forum 2004 area.

In the first stage, six blocks at the front are reorganized in a mixed action in which the administration decides the reorganization criteria (by consulting different architect teams)

and the private promotion is developed in the frame of this criteria. This stage means the continuity of Cerdà's network, with the peculiarity that, as in the Vila Olímpica, it arrives to the sea, with a volumetric criteria that dates back to a tradition of the modern architecture of the 50s and sixties (Escorial street block).

In the second stage, known as Diagonal-Mar, after a complex process, the project develops a macro-block with an urban and reorganization criteria designed by architects who are hired by the developer company (340.000 m². of soil, 2.000 apartments). We have already mentioned the possible controversy between a *condominium*, considered from the American view, and the public space derived from the *partnership* action. One possible negative effect of this controversy can be the weakening of the role of Taulat Street, one of the structural diagonals in connection with the old fabric of Poble Nou and the area of the Fòrum.

The different changes in the organization of Diagonal Mar area, superposing with the Fòrum equipments and the dubious conception of the Shopping Centre of this area, make the city arrival to a crucial point, the coast triangle Diagonal-Prim-Ronda, with not much sedimentation and an overacting gesture that will have a decisive influence in the Forum conception.

The Fòrum.

The aim to act on the two border rivers of Barcelona was already planned in the eighties. After the Games, a pluridisciplinary team moved forward in the improvement of the Besòs mouth, from the Nus de la Trinitat up to the sea, using the most advanced techniques of natural regeneration and sustainable treatments. They ended the work with the suppression of the towers of high voltage. But the worst obstacle still existed and prevented the desire to recover the beaches till Badalona: the sewage treatment plant, the crematorium and the different areas of the Besòs Power station. The endless will of J. A. Acebillo at the different positions held as Head of Urbanism and Mayor's advisor, takes profit of the *political* idea to create a new *Event* that revitalizes the city, to set out the need to act in this area to suppress these infrastructures. This action would allow finishing a good *action* from the Diagonal to the sea. (The Zoo relocation controversy was also there).

Around 1999 the technical bases have settled: on how to *absorb* these infrastructures and how to put the Ronda Litoral through to close the big curve, avoiding the Besòs and connecting with the Nus de la Trinitat.

Then starts the drawing of the Fòrum buildings, the discussion of the general reorganization and its morphological aspects. That is: in the first case, in the basis of the tight timing till 2004 they choose to abandon any long-term housing program and they focus on short-term construction of equipments and green areas. In the second case, a small group of architects led by Enric Miralles, draw the first reorganization proposal, without making clear the

coordination with the teams that project the Ring Road and the ones projecting the infrastructures.

The rhythm speeds up and during the year 2000 a competition is announced in which each area of the future Forum is divided according to the general idea, very much influenced by Miralles. The result of this competition provoked, on the one hand, certain suspicions about the awarding criteria and, on the other hand, immediately establishes the order of priority given the short time left and the financial restriction.

The Fòrum executive scheme, where apart from Miralles, J. LL. Mateo and E. Brú are also involved, starts from one premise: the morphology of the new part of the city can not be dealt according to the classical schemes of street and block. The Pla Cerdà has finished in Diagonal Mar, with the expressionist lake by Miralles. Now, the big scale will set out its methods to combine open areas, under ground motorways, marina and beaches, emblematic buildings and particularities in the town planning. A model about this *parti-pris* is presented. This model is focused on a typical gesture of Miralles: the modern evocation of an end of the Diagonal, in which any classical milestone of final perspective is denied and the fragmented space comes sculpted by a group of *topographic* constructions, a reference to traffic forms and two bold blowing-up that mark guidelines and modulate the arrival sequence to the open area. (Some of these motifs have been used in the more punctual themes of the Torre del Gas, a brilliant building continued by Benedetta Tagliabue after Miralles' death). There are other subtle suggestions in Miralles' proposal: the *architecture front* defined by the Conference Centre and the University Campus; the tangent to the curve of the Ring Road that defines the line of the quay of the new port and that in bending means the last zigzag of the way out of the Diagonal to the sea; the line of the Passeig Marítim that flying over the end of Prim continues with the photovoltaic pergola up to the port; the reaffirmation of Taulat street as a civic axis that will go beyond the Besòs, reinforced by Lull street, etc.

Obviously, this proposal, based on the powerful and suggestive intuitions of Miralles, needed to be worked out and suffer the logical evolution to make it compatible with the great number of existing infrastructure determining factors. But there was no time and, unfortunately, Enric Miralles died. His death together with Ignasi Solà-Morales' one, on the criticism and historiographical field, represent a misfortune that, apart from the personal tragedy, affects the Catalan architecture group in an irreparable way. (16)

Two other factors were added, in a negative way, to the Fòrum urban process: the first one, the need to *divide* the project into pieces to be able to charge professionals at the same time. The second one, following the other, the inevitable *failure* of certain pieces due to well-known reasons (the Zoo, the university campus, the hotels, the offices and the slowing down of the housing constructions in Taulat street, the intervention of a highest social content since it represents an alternative to the Mina).

From this moment, events happen very quickly: the under ground sewage treatment plant represents a worse mortgage than what was thought for the above open area. The coast

line changes slightly without considering the subtle connection of the Passeig Marítim with the line of *piers*, and instead of having a sensible attitude as regards sustainability, it is decided to bring to the limit the invasion of the sea.

(16) To mention the deaths of Albert Puigdomènech and Ignasi de Lecea, who relevantly worked for the improvement of the public space, in different stages described in this book.

On the other hand, after a bizarre change on the initial project, De Meuron and Herzog design a solid Fòrum building, in front of the open area, instead of the *non-building* thought by Miralles, which was more a *symbolic place*.

The Swiss, brilliant architects, known for their minimalist subtlety and artistic technology, might not feel comfortable in this context since it is difficult to explain that they suggest a theoretical building-square, meeting point of the Fòrum, by a porch with a decreasing height and many barriers. All together generates all kind of reactions except covering, and even more, all this served by a festive materialization.

The other big change on the initial idea has been the exaggeration of the *fingers* of the open area that go into the sea. The disproportionately investment in concrete that ends up with a spectacular and sculptural pergola by Torres i Lapeña, subconscious debtor of the monument *to the discoveries* in Lisbon, but far from the smooth and tight vitreous surface of the initial idea by Miralles. It is disconcerting thinking that one of the powerful ideas of the Fòrum was the sustainability.

To go back to more general thought is needed: the lack of continuity of the seafront side (avenue – pedestrian pavement) and to give credit to the urban activity in the centre of hotels and Congress building, that measure its efficiency in terms of the time used to come from the airport or the cruises at the port, creates doubts about the *urban life* of this new centre, even though recently has been used as a large urban area for events. (Feria d’Abril, the Mercè 2005).

It is possible that deadlines for the celebration of the Fòrum 2004 have been the reason for many problems but, at the same time, have been useful to remind that the city needs its own rhythms, more connected to daily life efforts, with the constant exercise of the dialectics between the private and the public profit, more than the money and project investment on a concrete event. Different groups of people have exposed the need of a model change, from the Fòrum 2004, and this is not the right place to insist but it can be the place to dream about the Fòrum full of streets and accommodation, with the shops and offices that make a city and with the rejection of the project to create a new *attraction* with a new Zoo. On the other hand, it would not be fair to be unaware of the tirelessly effort to act in the heart of *La Mina* that tries to turn upside down an unresolved subject of the city. The same as when the Area of new centrality of Diagona-Prim tried to solve suggesting a new interstice fabric.

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The last Area of new centrality (no. 12), added to the first ten areas, (no. 11 is the Diagonal already explained), was the location of the Anella Olímpica in Montjuïc.

Obviously, it was important to rediscover the lost tradition of 1936 when a celebration of a popular Olympics was interrupted and moved to Berlin, under Adolf Hitler's influence. Barcelona agreed in restoring the old stadium that, naturally, had been used for the big athletics affections of Catalonia.

The most significant urban expression, already drawn in the Railway Plan, is the alternative opening of the mountain towards the West by the Foc street, that will balance the other two access by Plaça d'Espanya and by Morrot. These two have worked during many years as the only access circuit, leaving deserted half part of the mountain, under the ominous shade of the Castle. Now, the communication with Zona Franca makes possible a traffic *across* between Ciutat Vella and the exit towards the airport. Therefore, Montjuïc won't be an insuperable obstacle any more.

The other good decision was to create a big built-up platform, following the same guideline as in the project of Puig i Cadafalch from 1917, having the four big sports buildings. This platform pivots above the stadium which is placed in the main axis of Plaça d'Espanya, and therefore colonizes a great part of the mountain. This main axis was provided with escalators that make the access very easy from Plaça Espanya station, and it has stops at the middle at the Magical Fountain and the Catalanian Art Museum.

This tie between the classical structure of 1929, definitely improved with the fountain and garden restoration, has been promoted by the restoration of the Mies van der Rohe building (some people think is the best modern building in the city), with the restoration of La Fira and the Plaça de l'Univers and, lately, with the opening of the Caixafòrum at the factory Casarramona by Puig i Cadafalch. On the other hand, the Ciutat del Teatre and the Museums working at full capacity (MNAC, MAC, Etnologia and Fundació Miró) finish one of the best equipped parks of the world. Then, what is missing in Montjuïc? Something that looks easy from other places in Europe but for our city seems impossible: a better system of access and inside traffic and institution coordination in the events planning (daytime and night time) so that Montjuïc becomes part of the daily life running of the city.

An inside public transport system (the neighbourhood bus) with a high mean frequency, running around the superior crown that surrounds the Olympic area combined with a link with the three access: Plaça d'Espanya (Underground), Montjuïc (Renewal of the access from Poble Sec), Foc street. It is expected that the future underground line (L2) will transversely cross Montjuïc with stops at eh MNAC and Zona Franca Avenue.

Montjuïc is a *piece* of city of a special nature and its uses qualify the mountain. As in other similar areas not only the activities should be coordinated (Joint programme of events,

complement, advertisements, etc.) but its own signs, the security service and cleaning staff would have their own identification and organization. Without suggesting any change in the District organization, Montjuïc is an autonomous reality, a motor that speeds up the future pulse of Barcelona.

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The first condition of the architect and the town planner is to understand the structure and the rhythm of their city. Listen to it carefully. Reinvent it. Measure the needs of its citizens, speeding up, when necessary, a change of direction; deleting the excessive signs of the *design* when the city has lately found its *cruise likewise speed*; when it has shown its own style along the history; when its inhabitants feel proud of belonging to Barcelona.

The plans of the palimpsest

Barcelona Regional, from its foundation in 1994 and as the heir of the I.M.P.U.¹ (1987), has patiently recorded, on the digitalized plan of Barcelona, the different actions that have taken place from 1980 till 2005. The change of the city is clearly noticeable.

To make this change more understandable, focused on the superimposition idea (including corrections), four plans of consecutive periods are published separately; in each of them the previous period content is accumulated.

The periods are:

1980-1987. Urban Acupuncture

1988-1992. Olympic Barcelona

1993-2004. From the post-Olympic movement to the Forum

2004-2010. Future projects

As a criterion has been considered that each plan showed the finish building work of the period, which does not really reflect the projected reality since, for instance, in the first period (1980-87) some actions reflected on the second plan had already been thought, drawn and started to manage, and so on, so that on the last plan, presented as future projects, we find actions already started or even nearly finished.

El Fil d'Ariadna

Year	Concepts	Executions
1979	The Mayor Narcís Serra (the first democratical City Council) had been Minister at the temporary Local Policy Government of the Generalitat (1977-79). The Town Planning Representative of the City Council, J. A. Solans has already started the equipment actions in the neighbourhoods (schools, Cap, etc.) as result of the protest work of the residents association. In 1980, Solans becomes the General Town Planning Director of the Generalitat.	
1979-1989	500 Local General Plans in Catalonia are revised.	
1980	Appointment of O. Bohigas (80-84) as the Town Planning Representative; A. Puigdomènech as the Town Planning Services Director; J. A. Acebillo as the Urban Projects Services Director. The City Council hires 20 young architects to design urban projects.	Change of purpose in Via Garcia Morato. <i>From the Liceu to the Seminar</i>
1983	Housing restoration workshop. ITEC <i>Plans and projects for Barcelona.</i> Sum up of punctual actions and PERI in the 1 st stage. - Urban Project vs. Abstract Planning. - Establishment of the concrete actions according to urgencies and equal distribution in the districts. -Relativize the <i>standards</i> according to concrete projects and design needs. - The change from the small scale to the biggest one as a realistic methodology. - Controversy around the <i>hard squares</i> and the <i>emptied of blocks</i> in Ciutat Vella. - Sum up strategy: "Recovering the centre, making the periphery monumental". - The PERI as a tool to personalize a neighbourhood in front of the generalization of the PGM. Particular demands of the neighbours (schools, parks, etc.) and road change of purpose suggested by the PGM. - The PERI as identity image of the neighbourhoods with a difficult finance given the big number of PERI.	The Moll de la Fusta The Museums in Montcada street Sants garage. The squares and the Peri of Gràcia Plaça dels Països Catalans The Parc de la E. Industrial and the Parc de l'Escorxador. Plaça Soller i P.Llucmajor PERI of St. Andreu PERI East Sector S. Caterina – El Born – P. Picasso – Fossar de les Moreres. L'Estudi de l'Eixample. Túnel de la Rovira and Carmel. Plaça Reial. Torre Baró – Montjuïc
1983	"Building outside the existent city is not needed". The city, Landscape shelter: Parks:	Creueta del Coll, El Clot, Pegaso, St. Martí
1983	Study of the Eixample. The blocks recovery.	
1984	Formalization of the 10 districts. - <u>Central Axis: Ciutat Vella, Eixample, Gràcia</u>	

	<p>- <u>Traditional neighbourhoods (towns): Sants (Montjuïc) – Les Corts – Sarrià S. Gervasi – S. Andreu – S. Martí.</u></p> <p>- <u>Residential neighbourhood</u></p> <p>- <u>Guinardó – Nou Barris</u></p> <p>“The main streets of the neighbourhoods as the basic structure”. Main Street (Gràcia, Sarrià, S. Andreu, Ramblas de Poble Nou, Rambla del Carmel).</p>	
1985.	<p>- Suppression of the Corporació Metropolitana de Barcelona</p>	<p>- Equipped Axis.</p> <p>- Avda. Gaudí.</p> <p>- Via Júlia.</p> <p>- C. Prim.</p>
1985	<p>- J. Busquets, Town Planning coordinator replaces Bohigas.</p> <p>- Persistence on the urban requalifying “Reconsider the city itself, with its difficulties and qualities”</p> <p>- The shape of the city as a synthetic element able to integrate the urban process and the social agents.</p> <p>- Open spaces: J. A. Acebillo and Urban Projects (1980-88) → R. Càceres.</p> <p>- The city understood <i>by pieces</i> (Neighbourhoods)</p> <p>- The PERIS Public Intervention + private concert (Differential elements) - Complexes = Square + Building + parking + equipment = Action Unit (easy management)</p>	<p>- Big Parks.</p> <p>- Montjuïc.</p> <p>- Sea Front.</p> <p>- Vall d’Hebrón.</p> <p>- Diagonal</p>
1984-85	<p>- The road reorganization: The primary network of the Ring Roads (Rondes): Combined study between traffic technicians and designers of the sections and the connections.</p> <p>A good insertion as a main objective.</p> <p>The exchange junctions as <i>doors</i> of the city.</p> <p>The solution of the basic <i>bottleneck</i> (example of Pont de Bac de Roda). Relation of the main road with the secondary roads.</p>	
1985.	<p>The Areas of New Centrality</p> <p>The recognition of the traditional neighbourhoods as a consolidated and diversified structure (See the market arrangement).</p> <p>- The research of the <i>interstice</i> to reinforce the structure of existing neighbourhoods (Additional Service)</p>	<p>- Nus de la Trinitat.</p> <p>- Bac de Roda.</p>
1986	<p>1. <u>Diagonal – Sarrià</u>: Optimization of a fabric with big business options.</p> <p>Structuring role of the Illa competition.</p> <p>The old football field of the Espanyol.</p> <p>Intensive pressure of private operator.</p> <p>Professionals’ resistance.</p> <p>(Discussion sessions in Hotel Calderón).</p> <p>2. <u>C. Tarragona</u>: Natural action according to its capacity to structure the surroundings (Estació de Sants, Fira, Escorxador, Espanya Industrial).</p> <p>Ideal location of offices and hotels.</p>	<p>- L’Illa Diagonal.</p> <p>- Hotel Plaza.</p>

	Excessive composition formalism and not much management study as regards the addition of neighbour blocks of Hostalfranchs.	
	<u>3. R. Meridiana:</u> Creation of a distribution <i>door</i> of the roads coming from the North. Balance again the limit neighbourhoods with Green Zone. Intervention of private action: Ludic or Shopping centre. The reorganization of P. Fabra i Puig. The Pont del Dragó: North-South Ring Road. (Discussion about the Shopping Centres)	- Sports Equipments.
	<u>4. Plaça Cerdà:</u> New centrality of the Crossing Gran Via (Plaça Espanya), Ronda del Mig (Primer Cinturó), Passeig Zona Franca, Carretera Aeroport. Tertiary Area with the architectural model of the Seat building. Domestication of the <i>Scalextric</i> and several designed projects of a <i>place</i> for pedestrian. Controversy of the crowded gradients.	- Urbanization Plaça - New accommodation nucleus - The three office towers.
	<u>5. Carles I. Avda. Icària.</u> Part of the project to relieve the Sea Front and suppress the railway lines. The option to locate the Vila Olímpica conditions and speeds the action.	
	<u>6. Port Vell:</u> The planning of the sector from the idea of the Moll de la Fusta. Changing the Moll d'Espanya into a block. Traffic relieving in the Coastal Ring Road. Evolution of the project when acting. The autonomous Port. Densification of the uses. Over dimension of the Ring Road. Controversy around the new buildings. World Trade Centre. Maremàgnum. The use marginality. (American Port stereotype)	- Moll de la Fusta - Port Warehouses (Museu d'Història de Catalunya) - Town Planning - Aquarium - Maremàgnum Cinema
	<u>7. Plaça de les Glòries:</u> Effect of the railway lines and lack of a clear road determination at the place. Big green reserve zone. The Estació del Nord becomes a bus station.	- Park of the Estació del Nord - New Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó
	<u>8. Vall d'Hebrón:</u> The location of great heath and university equipments and the division of the <i>spontaneous</i> neighbourhoods. Due to the immigration the roads are reorganized and it is planned to design a big green zone.	- The Velòdrom.
	<u>9. Sagrera:</u> First approach to a possible location of the new railway. Study of the South-West triangle till Prim street. (connection with S. Andreu).	- Pont Felip II Bridge (Calatrava).
	<u>10. Diagonal – Mar:</u> the arrival of Diagonal to the Sea is suggested for the first time. (The intersections leap). The continuity of the Coastal Ring Road and the connection with the ambiguous Prim. Margination overcoming.	
1984-1986.	Management of the ARI of Ciutat Vella. Managing Committee in charge of the execution especially in terms of accommodation, of the PERI decisions. Actions. Soil acquisition. Evictions, Free spaces development, Parking, New Accommodations, Restoration, Equipments.	- Redesign of Casa Caritat. - St. Pau Church and surroundings. - Public Accomodation (St.Oleguer – St. Ramon) - Urbanization of Av. Catedral. - Convent dels Àngels. - Accomodation Rec Comtal.
1984-1986.	PERI of Gràcia. Change of purpose of the O.	- Vapor Vell Sants.

	<p>Road. Design and processing of the PERI of the classical neighbourhoods: Hostafranchs and Vapor Vell. St. Andreu, Baró de Viver, Bon Pastor, Carmel, Poble Sec, Clot de la Mel, Zona Franca, Horta i Prosperitat. Maximum capacity of work of the planning of intermediate scale: Collaboration between the Planning Service and external autonomous Technicians. The Eixample. Restoration and improvement bylaw. Reequipments Blocks.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Redesign of the Hospital Clínic. - Escola Industrial. - New Gran Comissaria de Policia. - Redesign of the Hospital de St. Pau. - Museu de la Ciència. - Centre Cívic Catex. - Hispano Olivetti <p>Controversy at the Swimming Pools and Sports.</p>
	<p>Olympic Areas planning: <u>Montjuïc</u>: Olympic Area, Castle, Museums, Parks, Fira, Cemetery Actions, Olympic Ring, Miramar Hotel. <u>Vila Olímpica</u>: Decision about the Sea Front. The continuity with the Eixample. The beaches and the Coastal Ring Road. <u>Suppression of the railway barrier</u>: the controversy of the towers. (1984-86) <u>Vall d'Hebrón</u>: Design of a road structure that links with the projected Ronda and the Túnel de la Rovira. Design of green areas, sports equipments and accommodation concentration. <u>Diagonal</u>: Reorganization of the existing sports facilities. Controversy of Torre Melina.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Torre Melina Hotel.
1988.	<p>The Hotel Plan. The last intervention of planning realism by J. Busquets in face of the Olympic Games. Controversy for the operators' conservatism who don't see the future needs of the sector and the poor local opposition. The Busquets period ends: Impetus to the comprehension and metabolization of the city. Public intervention basically. Starts the <i>partnership</i> with the private one.</p>	
1989	<p>Design of AOMSA, VOSA and IMPU → HOLSA (Montjuïc) (Vila Olímpica) (Infrastructures) <u>Verification about Barcelona's situation</u>: The geometric and conceptual centre by Cerdà, the Plaça de les Glòries, is an undecided place. The port and its surroundings must represent a new functional centre (lost opportunity of the Maremàgnum). The limits between the industry and the tertiary sector have been defined. (→ Towards the 22@). In the Areas of new centrality we need to have planning strategies and different rhythms. The situation of Ciutat Vella, is a <i>bottomless pit</i> (More money and more efforts, more problems). (The drug addiction, the immigration) The basic objective of the extension of the Diagonal should be the new accommodation (big bag) → See FÒRUM.</p>	
1990	<p>Tarragona – Diagonal – Numància – P.Cerdà. The actions defined in three Areas of</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> (Illa Diagonal). - Parc Numancia. (Plaça Països Catalans)

	centrality are being done and linked.	(Parc E.Industrial) (Carrer Tarragona)
	Plaça de les Glòries. Plaça de les Arts. Auditori. Teatre. Parc estació del Nord.	- Parc Escorxador (Miró Sculpture)
	The Special Plan Nord – Glòries Sector is settled, but eccentric to Glòries. New ring and central space in Glòries. Lack of definition of Plaça de les Arts. Ciutat Vella. Raval. Centre de Cultura Contemporània. Pati Manning. Convent dels Àngels. Accommodation. Containers in the Historical City. Plaça Reial. Pati de les Aigües.	- Nús de la Plaça Cerdà - Teatre - Auditori - Parc (Beverly Pepper) - Museu d'Art Contemporani. - Casa Caritat improvement. - Liceu improvement. - Palau de la Música - Fundació Tàpies. - Museu Picasso. - Museu Drassanes.
1990	<u>Les infrastructures</u> (J. A. Acebillo) The systems: the mobility and the infrastructures. The coastal belt and the 2 nd belt. The definition of the changing sections type. The facade to the sea: Moll de la Fusta. Coastal Belt. El port Vell. Villa Olímpica: Coast defence building works. Collectors. Coastal Belt Tunel. Under ground train. North-West road system. Extension Diagonal – Mar (PERI) Renfe – Meridiana – Urbanization. North-West Public spaces. Vall d'Hebrón. Túnel de la Rovira. Ronda del Mig. Second Belt junctions. Nus de Collserola. Nus de Vallvidrera. The airport. The communication towers. The Olympic areas: Montjuïc.	- Maremàgnum. - Word Trade Centre. - Cristòfol de Moura Bridge. - Trams Nou Barris. - Nus de la Trinitat. - Felip II Bridge. - Prim street. - Via Júlia. - Pavelló Renfe –Meridiana. - Plaça G. Moragues. - Parc de la Pegasso. - Plaça de la Palmera. - Plaça Soler: F. Layret, A. Pestaña - Via Parc. Rambla del Carmel. - Túnel de la Rovira. - The urbanization. - The Palau S, Jordi. - The Stadium. - Palau INEF. - Piscines Picornell. - P. Nacional redesign. - Museu de Geologia. - Mercat de les Flors. (M.Barceló) - F. Miró extension. - Mies v. der Rohe restoration. - Fira de Barcelona.
	Vila Olímpica Vall d'Hebron: Park with sports equipments.	- Velòdrom 1984. - Buildings.
	Confused sports programme →Transformations Containment and Platform system according to a decided weft. Equipments hidden in the walls.	
Big Sectors: 1992-1995	<u>Railway Corridor Clot – St. Andreu – Sagrera.</u> Linear Park Idea	- Torre Melina Hotel.

(see Forster's design project with water)
 5 Km. From Glòries to Trinitat.
Diagonal – Poble Nou. Diagonal extension.
 Team consultation.
 Action unities decision. Increase of
 development potential for the social
 accommodation prediction.
Plaça de les Glòries.
 Only analyzing the existent. The junctions
 stay the same way.
Sea Front: From Villa Olímpica to Prim
 street.
 Directional centre Diagonal – Mar.
 Sea front La catalana – Macosa. Consulting
 seven teams.

Accommodation and neighbourhood improvements

<p>Barri de Porta (Behind Renfe – Meridiana) La Clota (Behind Vall d'Hebrón) → Teixonera, Carmel. Hospital Militar – Farigola Trinitat Vella (By the Nus de la Trinitat): Prison. Torre Baró – Vallbona – Ciutat Meridiana: the narrow pass of the Besos. El Polvorí (Montjuïc West slope) Via Trajana. La Verneda Seat accommodation. Turó de la Peira – Karl Marx – Institut Mental). Accommodation Governador: Verdum. Prim and Barri al llarg. Eduard Aunós. Avinguda Cambó. Ciutat Vella. Pla del Raval. Rambla del raval. Illa de S. Ramon. Carme street accommodation. (Llinás) Maritime Facade Barceloneta. New park (Gas) Barceloneta North Sector (J. Pascual accommodation). Management actions in the neighbourhoods. Expropriation / compensation cooperation. In all neighbourhoods. Particularly Diagonal Mar - D. Poble Nou Redefinition of the Road fronts. Primer Cinturó / Hostafranchs / Vores Rondes / Via Augusta. Eixample Bylaw Raval North Sector: Universitat Barcelona. La Ciutadella: New Universitat Pompeu Fabra. Campus Nord UPC. Fòrum Nord. Hospital de St. Pau. New reorganization P. Cerdà. (Caixa Building). Glòries shopping centre → Local offices.</p>	<p>Nou Barris. Horta Guinardó Gràcia St. Andreu. Nou Barris. Sants-Montjuïc St. Martí. Sants Montjuïc Nou Barris. Nou Barris. St. Martí. Sants-Montjuïc. PERI (Miralles).</p>
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Sum up: In the actions sum up plan we see how the activity goes to **N-E**

1995-1999 Green space → 1.000 ha. (the double in 20 years)
 Recognition that today's realities correspond to yesterday's plans. (20 years)
 New Potential Accommodation: 17.000 ha.
 Priorities: ZAL / Airport /Port /TCV/Underground / Fira.
 17 urban renovation projects

Plaça de les Glòries. The green areas increase and new groups of accommodation are managed but the junction layout is not questioned yet.

The Ronda de Dalt sides → Private uses.

Can Batlló: Long-term prediction of industrial reversion.

Colonia Castells → Fulfilment of the Illa process.

Peri Prim:

Triangle above the Sagrera Linear Park.

Accommodation on elevation as the starting point of Prim street.

Trinitat Nova Plan.

Sector Colorants: Between S. Andreu and the Sagrera Linear park.

Peri Santa Coloma – Ronda de Dalt

Diagonal Mar: Residential Houses on elevation. Private-Public Park (Miralles' layout)

Avinguda Zona Franca (Phillips)

Espanyol football field transformation.

Residential La Maquinista.

Peri Ramon Turró: Poble Nou.

Illa Diagonal – Poble Nou

Poble Nou: activity district (22@)

Opportunity, viability and opening of the urban renovation processes. Juli Esteban.

Structural changes form 1992

1st) Difficulty to maintain investment levels. City Council indebtedness. New investments in the Port, Underground, TGV, etc.

2nd) Barcelona's prestige attracts private investment. Kepro and Travelstread failure.

Opportunities of the private action:

St. Andreu –Sagrera → Forster

La Maquinista.

Coast line from the Vila Olímpica.

Can Batlló – Seat - Zona Franca.

Diagonal Mar

(Discussion about moving the directional centre to the Fòrum).

Viability of the planning proposals.

Critics to non-developed areas of the project → Option of leaving empty areas. (Terrain vague)

Problems:

Ciutat Vella.

Diagonal – Poble Nou –Diagonal Opening.

Glòries surroundings.

The options of urban process opening: Typical case: Poble Nou → 22@

Sequence of the renovation.

Building shapes.

Uses opening.

Local cautions.

Ten urban projects of equipment:

1-Santa Caterina → Miralles

2-La Ciutat del Teatre → (Poor connection with Poble Sec)

3-La Boqueria

4-Geography Faculties

5-Leisure centre of Can Dragó.

6-Centre Investigacions Mediambientals.

7-Museu de la Ciència.

8-The Born library → No library. The ruins

	are powered with the space. 9- Casaramona: Caixa Fòrum: Montjuïc strengthening. 10 - Pla Barça The Eixample:	Preferent restoration → New accommodation in Passeig Gràcia.
	Ciutat Vella. Strategical action to promote accommodation. Interest for the Metropolitan Barcelona. Metropolitan territorial plan of Barcelona.	
2004	Zona Franca	Fira 2000 (Toyo Ito) Porta Firal (Cantallops) City Metropolitana: Jean Nouvel - Ribas.
	Llobregat	District 38: A. Zaera. Plaça Europa. City of Justice: D. Chipperfield - F. Vazquez
	Glòries	General Plan. Suppression of the tambor. Agbar - Museu del Disseny - Laminar local Tower - Plaça de les Arts Station
	Sant Andreu - Sagrera	Museu de la mobilitat?
	Fòrum	Buildings + Parks + Leisure Besòs River → Regeneration
	22@	The old industrial fabric - The city of the knowledge (Residence - tertiary - Productives (knowledge) Equipments.
	Ciudadella - Vila Olímpica	- Parc Recerca Biomèdica Navarro Baldeweg buildings → UPF - Torre del Gas Plan of the Ciudadella Mountain equipments Parc Central de Nou Barris.
	Top of Montjuïc Equipments: Fort Pienc Axis: Ronda del Mig. The Mina plan and other accommodation actions Ciutat Vella. The ciutat Vella of Barcelona, a history with a future. From the PERI to 2000. Preliminary suggestions:	- The patrimonial value of the typological systems and the public spaces. - The structural elements of the urban shape. - Changes, architectural mechanisms and opportunities of the urban structure.

Penelope's fabric

The influence of the syncopated rhythm of the local electoral periods on the city projects has been widely proved. The warm periods of the pre-electoral openings have rotated with those of reflection and remaking in the intermediate *valleys*.

While this book is being written, at the same time as one of this *valley* periods, some news happen, sometimes not confirmed, about the eternal reconsidering of the city: to the new instructions, at the end of 2004, about the future of the Plaça de les Glòries, have followed those linked to the opening of the Agbar building by Jean Nouvel, almost always connected with the great number of high buildings that will go with it.

The latest new, eagerly awaited but also a surprise has been disapproval of the Plaça de les Arts project by Zaha Hadid. At the last moment, the polarization about Can Ricart revives the old good habit of discussing between residents associations and the City Council.

There is no need to extend on this urban *gossip* to verify that, lately, a reconsidering period has started: the endless Penelope's fabric, that is, the city, goes into an interesting stage. The content of this book wants to focus on these do and undo methods. Even though, at the busy scene of today's politics, it is difficult to make out which are the big coordination lines between the planning at a metropolitan territorial scale and the urban development of Barcelona, the duty that La Sagrera and the 22@ have to develop as a centre is what will give rise to justified expectations on how the *palimpsest* of Barcelona will make its last positive change.

However, this book will not fulfil its objective if, once the intended analysis of the last 25 years have been done, did not look towards the future. Obviously, this view, in a technical aspect, requires reliability, interdisciplinarity and tools that are not within reach of this book. This book can only try to bring interest of those who can think about this future in a qualified, organized way and with enough time, as did those who met in Sarria in 1984 to give birth to the Road Plan.

The only thing missing to stimulate this possibility is to set out several questions directly deduced, with the common sense help, from the previous analysis. These questions are the following:

- Could it be said that the conceptual line of highest intensity, in the future, that of a most dialectical capacity, is the one that conceptually connects Ciutat Vella and the Metropolitan City (this last one in the widest physical sense)? Since we can say that in both, the problems are no longer *neighbourhood* or *town* ones, but a social and economic involvement derived from that affect the global structure of Catalonia. This paradoxical union between the oldest and the newest part, could not have its possible synthesis, in a philosophical sense, in the biunivocal relation, in the mutual strengthening, in the round trip

that gives it a sense, in the accommodation, in the culture, in the industrial production, in the communication, in the balance and complementarity?

Sometimes the structures, even having an identity like one, have a changeable geometry and, in this case, has anyone thought where does Ciutat Vella really end and where does the metropolitan city start?

When this duality is underlined we try to suggest another paradigm, one of the many paradigms that the urban history has, from E. Howard to O. Bohigas: it is obvious that Ciutat Vella suggests the paradox of apparently being the part of the city most backward whereas is the part that registers the most strong phenomena of inter-racial and religious coexistence, of new ways of living, of working, of amusing, and therefore, also paradoxically, the area of maximum freedom.

The other situation, that of the metropolitan areas including the most remote ones, more related with an initial agricultural culture, suggests the possibility that, without losing its own territorial character, are the pulse of a wide modernity, given the features, based on its own possible offers (research centres, directional centres, nucleus of relation of leisure activities, study, fashion and shops) in the basis of the exploitation of the new information and communication world.

- Would it be possible to think, already in Barcelona's local sphere, that the latest urban actions tend to concentrate and give priority to the problems and discussions, on an *horizontal* pressure line, that having as guideline the Gran Via and as a coordinate origin Ciutat Vella-Port, extends towards the North-West to the Ciutadella and the Sea Front, until the Fòrum area, and towards the South-East to Montjuïc-Zona Franca until the Airport?

And would not be this power line, so many times mentioned, from Pla Macià till Antoni Bonet by Montjuïc, would not be, I said, a reason for meditation and synthesis for new integration ideas of the many punctual and dispersed projects?

At least, would not this line be, going back to Pla Macià, the simple formulation of the equipments and activities flow that serve and complement our *outdoor Mediterranean*, that is, Barcelona from Sitges to Mataró?

- And, isn't it consequent with the last section that the pressure of this horizontal axis has, and had along the different theoretical formulations about Barcelona, symmetric diagonal vectors, the West Diagonal and the Clot-Sagrera-S. Andreu axis in the North, that made the city *wider*, connected with the rest of Catalonia and supported the urban actions that define the immediate future of Barcelona, from the new University-Shopping-Tertiary centre of Diagonal till the new railway, accommodation and new industry axis of La Sagrera, daringly suggested by Forster at a moment?

And this does not set out, on the rebound, the problem of Plaça de les Glòries? Not so much for the folk discussion about skyscrapers and museums, but for the importance of the organization into hierarchy and the treatment of the roads and other infrastructures of the place.

- The last question. Should we disregard olympically the consideration almost *paranormal* of the survival of a curse about the two historical *dark points* of the city: Montjuïc and Ciutadella? When, as we have shown in this book, the mountain still does not work completely, even though it has the most important cultural and sports equipments of Catalonia, and the Park still drags the endless problem of Estació de França, the Zoo, and the Provincial Library.

It is remarkable how the evolution itself of Barcelona's palimpsest makes the scale of our current problems bigger than the one we had till 1992, half of the period we analyse here. This is good if the big scale *fragments* observed here continue structuring the city in the same way as did the small squares, the monuments, the road sections, the gardens and the equipments, before the Games.

The naively provocative form of these questions oozes the desire that the Penelope's fabric follows its tireless adventure, and also hides the love for the city of the one writing here.

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