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## HOMES OF UN-WILL

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### DOMY NIE-WOLI

#### Abstract

The export of attractive ideas, including the innumerable conceptions of the city, home and place of residence, seems to be a “field” which is in no danger of experiencing the crises that appear to afflict Western civilization. Political upheavals, economic stagnation, confusion in the sphere of axiology and identity as well as a loss of faith in one’s own potential – do not concern architecture which is created for the needs of the rising powers. And although western thinkers no longer openly support the “modernist” belief that architecture is capable of transforming almost every aspect of human life, yet a conviction as to its momentous role is to justify the moral compromises associated with working under the patronage of an authoritative power. The processes of globalization, which are apparently beyond our control, the free market economy and post-modern pluralism in the shaping of homes and cities – are to guarantee a gradual weakening of every form of undemocratic rule. Unfortunately these hopes turn out to be quite illusory.

*Keywords: contemporary architecture, authoritative power, China*

#### Streszczenie

Eksport atrakcyjnych idei – w tym niezliczonych koncepcji miasta, domu i zamieszkiwania, wydaje się „branżą”, której nie zagrażają kryzysowe procesy nękające zachodnią cywilizację. Polityczne wstrząsy, gospodarcza stagnacja, zamęt w sferze aksjologii i tożsamości oraz utrata wiary we własne siły – nie dotyczą architektury tworzonej dla potrzeb wschodzących potęg. Zachodni twórcy nie głoszą już wprawdzie otwarcie „modernistycznej” wiary w zdolność do przekształcania niemal wszystkich aspektów ludzkiego życia przez architekturę. Jednak przeświadczenie o jej doniosłej roli usprawiedliwiać ma moralne kompromisy związane z pracą pod patronatem autorytarnej władzy. Rzekomo niepoddające się kontroli procesy globalizacji, wolnorynkowa ekonomia i ponowoczesny pluralizm w kształtowaniu domów i miast – gwarantować mają stopniowe osłabienie każdej formy niedemokratycznych rządów. Nadzieje te okazują się niestety złudne.

*Słowa kluczowe: architektura współczesna, autorytarna władza, Chiny*

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

Sławomir Gzell draws attention to the continually increasing need to become acquainted with the widest possible spectrum of problems and opinions. “It is worth pursuing not only the academic research papers, but also the current journalistic commentaries. As it is these latter that record the day-to-day changes and speak about the future with more freedom than the more academic publications. (...)” he remarks<sup>1</sup>. One should also add that in the age of global civilization, access to certain types of knowledge is paradoxically more difficult. The inconvenient truths are concealed by a multitude of half-truths, the language of political correctness, a tendency towards optimistic prognoses and finally – the dateless tendency to dissemble and gloss things over.

The strengthening in the “East” of an absolute *modus operandi* and *modus vivendi*, which is fundamentally divergent from that which is approved of by Western standards, belongs to the category of facts which find their way to the public awareness but with difficulty. This set of worrying phenomena tends to elude evaluating assessments, as it does not aspire openly to the appellation of a cohesive civilization project. It lacks the ideological foundation characteristic of the former Eastern Bloc and its expansionist rhetoric. Contrary to the 20<sup>th</sup>-century totalitarianisms, it proves its effectiveness in everyday practice and not on the battlefield. What is more, it hides very effectively behind the mask of a copy of a western civilization which in many instances turns out to be “more perfect than the original”. It officially declares its admiration for the latter, scrupulously imitating the well-proved solutions and eagerly serving as a training ground for the western innovators. The problem is that by copying various forms and concepts (particularly architectural ones), it effectively deprives them of their authentic content or else endows them with alien or even sinister sense. Despite its numerous self-contradictions, this well-functioning “system deprived of rules”, arouses admiration due to its facade of superficial polish, the pace of its development and the cult of instant success which is often attained at the cost of the past and the future. The best example of the flourishing of the above trends is of course China<sup>2</sup>.

## 2. BRIGHT FUTURE?

Numerous indications seem to confirm the correctness of the hypothesis that building the world (in the broad sense) in accordance with the western fashion still does not have any serious alternative. Richard Pipes does not perceive a threat to the multi-aspect supremacy of the United States and even Europe, which is nevertheless a little tired of “writing history for over twenty centuries”. Contrary to the 20<sup>th</sup> century, which belonged to western civilization, the 21<sup>st</sup> century will be a century of the West and China – yet, it is worth drawing attention to the

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<sup>1</sup> S. Gzell, *Wykłady o współczesnej urbanistyce /Lectures on Contemporary Urban Design/*, Warsaw University of Technology Press, Warsaw 2015, 86.

<sup>2</sup> P. Setkowicz, *Metropolie przyszłości – rozwój zrównoważony versus rozpasana konsumpcja / The Metropolises of the Future – Sustainable Development Versus Unbridled Consumption/*, [in:] Gyurkovich J., Kantarek A.A., Gyurkovich M., Wójcik A., (ed.) *Przyszłość miast – miasta przyszłości /The Future of Cities – Cities of the Future/*, MONOGRAFIA 454, Cracow University of Technology Press, Cracow, 2014, 149–164.

fact that Pipes mentions these two superpowers in precisely this order<sup>3</sup>. The West looks for the sources of its confidence in innovativeness and its economic might. And although Patrick Hosking perceives, not without a certain dose of anxiety that “Manhattan has at least its two ends, while Shanghai seems to go on forever,” yet he instantly quotes more reassuring data. According to the information provided by PricewaterhouseCoopers consulting, China is to become the biggest economy in the world “only” in the year 2020<sup>4</sup>.

In turn Jerzy Kopania does not seem to hesitate in prophesying an end to European civilization. According to him, a summary result of the demographic and axiological crises as well as of the unchecked development of technology, may only be its downfall. The legacy of the West will be taken over by another civilization (or civilizations) – Chinese, Indian or Muslim. A condition ensuring the success of the abovementioned take-over is to be the ability to accept the chief distinguishing feature of our civilization – namely, its scientific character<sup>5</sup>. It is worth noting that a similar process took place in the not so distant past. Andrzej Chwalba, the author of a book on World War I, chose a very apt title for his publication, namely “Europe’s Suicide”. In it, he presents not only the cruel conflict between the world powers, but at the same time, sheds light on the disappearance of the old customs and colonial empires and the gradual process of their substitution by the United States which were just entering the world arena<sup>6</sup>. At that time, no one cared to remember that America had already provided numerous examples of its growing might and growing aspirations some time before! Yet then, similarly as today in the case of China, it seemed that nothing can possibly eclipse the splendour of France, Germany or the British Empire – the latter successfully managing to “transform the world into England”, with the considerable help of imperial architecture. Yet, it turned out that what Rem Koolhaas later defined as the “manic machine production”, characteristic of the New World, was a force capable of changing the face of the Earth. Already at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the “stunning, dream-like electric cities, more beautiful (?) than anything that mankind had known so far”, were getting ready to replace the civilization which had taken thousands of years to form”. The approaching changes had not been stalled by the complaints and regrets expressed by leftist moralizers such as Maxim Gorky who after paying a visit to Coney Island’s Dreamland in 1906, wrote with horror about people who “feed their souls with abominable, disgusting things which they take for beauty” – only to return to their shabby and banal abodes referred to as homes. The changes had not been stalled either by the contempt of the European aestheticians who regarded the skyscrapers as the products of the perverted taste of the “commercialized America” that the civilized world would no doubt remain immune to. Yet, in spite of a lack of “manifesto, an architectural debate, doc-

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<sup>3</sup> A. Koziński, *Imperialne ambicje to cecha rosyjskiej duszy, ale Putin przegra. Wywiad z prof. Richardem Pipesem* /Imperial Ambitions are a Feature of the Russian Soul, but Putin will Lose the Battle. Interview with Prof. Richard Pipes/, *Dziennik Polski Daily* of 24 October 2014.

<sup>4</sup> P. Hosking, *Chiny się zatrząsły, ale to wcale nie powód by świat wpadał w panikę* /China Trembled but It’s No Reason for the World to Panic/, *The Times Magazine. Dziennik Polski Daily* of 29–30 August 2015.

<sup>5</sup> A. Sawczenko, *Czekają nas czasy zamętu, z którego coś się wyłoni. Rozmowa z prof. Jerzym Kopanią* /We are facing a time of turmoil from which something will emerge. Interview with Prof. Jerzy Kopania/, *Dziennik Polski Daily* of 24 February 2016.

<sup>6</sup> A. Chwalba, *Samobójstwo Europy. Wielka Wojna 1914–1918* /The Suicide of Europe. The Great War 1914–1918/, Wydawnictwo Literackie Publishing House, Cracow 2014.

trine, law, planning and ideology”<sup>7</sup>, the tacky amusement parks and monumental skyscrapers ultimately triumphed, both in space and in the sphere of the spirit. According to Russel Kirk, “the transplanted British culture was one of mankind’s most successful experiments”. Yet the models that had been reimported from the New World, which had changed, among others, architecture, proved to be surprisingly alien even to the British, despite the common language, literature, legal system and the representative form of government...”If I were to be born again, I would like to be born in the United States. Your country is the future of the world” – Winston Churchill is reported to have said in 1946 when he finally understood that victory in the two world wars would not ensure permanence to the Empire which is indebted to America. For it is the United States that ultimately granted a “cottage by the sea to proud Britain, so that it could peacefully live out its days”<sup>8</sup>.

### 3. CHINA

In 2006 Kent Martinussen prognosticated that in the course of the next 20 years as many as 400 million Chinese would move to the cities. That is why, according to him “there was an urgent need to create a possibility of a worthy life in a healthy housing environment for the growing population”. This idealistic scenario was to be realized, among others, thanks to the cooperation with the Danish architects who were “known for their ecological awareness and practice”. Whereas architects belonging to the select group of “Starchitects” confessed to less idealistic motives. “Europe is finished. Whereas here in China, there is freedom to build,” declared Meinhard von Gerkan<sup>9</sup> with enthusiasm, without asking troublesome questions about the social costs of his creative “independence”, its changeable nature and authentic boundaries. In turn, Rem Koolhaas was ready to prove the supremacy of Asia over America which according to him was submerged in “stagnation and intellectual bankruptcy”. He refused to take part in designing the New York Ground Zero, arguing that the main goal of the reconstruction was the “creation of a monument to self-pity on a truly Stalinist scale”. At the same time, he did everything that was humanely possible to obtain orders from the Middle Kingdom. “What I like about China is that here there still exists a strong state; a state that is capable of undertaking an initiative of such nature and character and on such a scale that no other state organism existing today can afford to even dream of,” he declared. Similar declarations had been made by Albert Speer Junior, whose realizations in Peking surpassed in their scale and breadth even those that aimed at transforming Berlin into Nazi Germania. “I am always trying to find a politician who will take my drawings in his hand, look at them and say: ‘That’s exactly what I had in mind’. Then I am successful,” he declared<sup>10</sup>. Was it an act

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<sup>7</sup> R. Koolhaas, *Deliryczny Nowy Jork. Retroaktywny manifest dla Manhattanu*, /Delirious New York. Retroactive Manifesto for Manhattan/ KARAKTER, Cracow 2013, 31, 73, 76, 100.

<sup>8</sup> P.J. Buchanan, *Churchill, Hitler i niepotrzebna wojna. Jak Wielka Brytania straciła swoje Imperium a zachód stracił świat*, /Churchill, Hitler and the Unnecessary War. How Great Britain Lost its Empire and the West Lost the World/, Czerwone i Czarne Publishing House, Warsaw 2013, 23, 420, 427.

<sup>9</sup> A. Krenz, *Wielki smok pożera własny ogon* /The Great Dragon is Devouring Its Own Tail/, *Architektura&Biznes* no 12/2006, 60, 63.

<sup>10</sup> D. Sudjic, *Kompleks Gmachu. Architektura władzy* /The Edifice Complex. The Architecture of Power/, Centrum Architektury Foundation, Warsaw 2015, 148–150, 157.

of collaboration or a Trojan horse type of trick? Was it an attempt to impose Le Corbusier's "existential modernism" which has become compromised in the Western world, or maybe a wish to construct user-friendly concrete homes for millions of citizens in need of housing? Was it an act of ruthless destruction of the last remnants of traditional housing, or else an attempt to introduce postmodern pluralism in thinking about architecture?

"The development of cities in China was always closely associated with the policy of the state". Ever since the time of the historical dynasties up until the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, it was the traditional urban models that prevailed here. The principles of Feng Shui harmony also extended to the layout of the home<sup>11</sup>. The western models of housing, imposed by foreigners, were more often associated with the weakness of the state, rather than with the idea of necessary modernization. Following his seizure of Peking, Mao Zedong focused on the legitimization of his rule through the take-over of the traditions of the old capital – while at the same time destroying the priceless relics of imperial magnificence. The New China also turned its back on the western art of space shaping. While discussing the Maoist architecture of the era of the Great Leap Forward, Dejan Sudjic concluded that it "slavishly imitated the achievements of Stalin". But he instantly rectified this simplification, pointing to the determination of the Chinese regime to create a "society that would differ from the hostile, western populations – both capitalist and communist ones"<sup>12</sup>. At the same time, in the effect of the anti-Confucius campaign, China abandoned the traditional principles of urban and architectural design, as they were regarded as symptoms of inadmissible domination of nature over man<sup>13</sup>. Yet Mao's ideologues had never actually presented a unified front with regard to the issue of their attitude towards the past. This proved to be quite convenient as certain features of traditional courtyard architecture and a rigorous division of cities into neighbourhoods within which the life of ordinary people would normally go on, facilitated the process of atomization of the society and made it possible for the authorities to isolate potential troublemakers. The communication between the newly-created, self-sufficient industrial zones and the cities was also purposefully impeded. As late as at the threshold of the 1990's, Peking, which was "deprived of a democratic urban tradition in the western sense of this term," still created the impression of an abandoned city, particularly in the evening<sup>14</sup>.

Very cautious attempts to make the system more efficient while retaining the entirety of power by the Communist Party of China, were undertaken shortly after the death of Chairman Mao. The main testing ground of these attempts was the Special Economic Zone, created in the year 1980 in the Pearl River Delta which bordered with the colonial Hong Kong and Macau. The success of the experiment which combined communism with capitalism had surpassed all expectations. The development of the city of Shenzhen, situated in the Zone, which kept filling out with the soulless and chaotic version of western-type corporate architecture and housing, turned out to be unstoppable. What is more, the slogan that "getting rich is praiseworthy", proclaimed by the new Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping, triggered off a wave of entrepreneurship without arousing any more serious (i.e. such that could effectively be quashed) strivings towards democratization of life. The Chinese society treated totalitarian rule as one more element of business risk. The assertion that scientific research and innova-

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<sup>11</sup> K. Częczek, *Szara rzeczywistość /Grim Reality/*, Architektura&Biznes No 5/2012, 74.

<sup>12</sup> Sudjic D., *Kompleks Gmachu*. ... *op.cit.*, 135, 136, 139.

<sup>13</sup> K. Częczek, *Szara rzeczywistość* ... *op.cit.*, 74.

<sup>14</sup> D. Sudjic, *Kompleks Gmachu*. ... *op.cit.*, 141–143.

tiveness can flourish exclusively in the climate of freedom, also turned out to be no more than a western myth. “Practice is the only criterion of truth,” declared Deng. The wave of changes could thus safely extend to the entire territory of the Middle Kingdom<sup>15</sup>. The pluralist models of housing became yet another sociotechnical tool in the hands of the authoritarian government. A sense of rootlessness and alienation in modern heavily mortgaged apartments have effectively replaced the introvert type of lifestyle in the hutongs which was tolerated up until not so long ago. “Many new neighbourhoods are built in such a way that outside activities do not constitute a priority in space,”<sup>16</sup> writes Jan Gehl in connection with the new housing developments in Peking. Dejan Sudjic perceives a dark side to the Chinese experiment but he regards it as an inevitable phase on the way to positive changes. We are, as it were, witnesses of a “titanic struggle between a totalitarian political system and a liberalization which constitutes an inevitable effect of economic transformation”.

Western architects consider themselves to be at the forefront of such transformations. “I am here so as to facilitate the birth of architecture that would be independent of all extra-architectural influences,” stated Charles Jencks. When attacked in connection with his design project of the CCTV headquarters, “an organ which tells a billion people what they are to think”, Rem Koolhaas adopted the same tactics. He explained that the system is changing at such a pace that before the building is even completed, “television will become privatized and China will abandon repressions as an instrument of power-wielding”<sup>17</sup>.

#### 4. DŻONGŁO

“Dżongło” is the title of a book by Adam Chałupski, a young Polish architect who went on a long-distance bicycle tour of the countries of the East, lasting many years – in search of both personal and professional experiences. Apparently, the odd-looking word constitutes only the Polish phonetic transcription of the Chinese equivalent *Zhong Guo*, which in Mandarin denotes nothing else but the Middle Kingdom – yet this term turns out to be more capacious here. Deprived of prejudices, Chałupski manages to reach out a little closer to the universal truth than the architectural celebrities. Already the first contact with the border guards who “operate thoughtlessly and unreflectively like bottle capping automata,” arouses in him certain associations with fascism. Yet his subsequent experiences – although they do not ultimately contradict his first intuition – reveal a much more complex nature of the Chinese reality. Under the influence of the processes of globalization, the Chinese syndrome not only does not grow weak, but appears to intensify. It inspires or frightens the countries in the region, colonizes the African continent and finds followers in Latin America... “With small imperceptible steps” it grows and expands in such a way that “we ourselves become soaked in by it, without even realizing it”. Dżongło is an “alternative form of life” which has germinated on the basis of the Chinese civilization. It is a form of existence which “makes use of other lands, states or even civilizations, so as to draw upon their ideas, while at the same time fighting for its own survival”. “In China there is no sustainable development whatsoever,” concludes Chałupski, who spent months

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<sup>15</sup> K. Częczek, *Szara rzeczywistość ... op.cit.*, 74–75.

<sup>16</sup> J. Gehl, *Miasta dla ludzi (Cities for People)*, RAM, Cracow 2014, 217.

<sup>17</sup> D. Sudjic, *Kompleks Gmachu. ... op.cit.*, 143, 148.



working in the Peking Central Business District, seeing no more than the dust concealing the neighbouring skyscrapers beyond the windows of his design studio<sup>18</sup>. Whereas the idea of eco-development may at the same time enjoy its propaganda triumphs. For example, the world public opinion is to be shaped by the design project of the sky-high Phoenix Towers which are being planned on an island on the polluted lake in Wuhan. The towers, designed by the London design office Cheetwoods Architects, exceeding by as much as 150 m (!) the Burj Khalifa skyscraper in Dubai, are not only to prove self-sufficient in terms of energy, but are not to emit any pollution and besides, they are to “disinterestedly” purify the air and water<sup>19</sup>! The slim chances of realization of the investment, whose estimated cost is at around 2 billion dollars, and its real impact on the condition of the natural environment, are of no significance whatsoever. Chałupski remains painfully aware of the absolute lack of subjectivity of the atomized Chinese “society” in the course of the process of designing a new reality, on whose shape he himself as an architect will also have no influence whatsoever. His initial reaction to the proposition of cooperation in investment plans requiring “mass gentrification” (signifying thousands of evictions and ruthless house demolitions) – was the decision to flee and change jobs. Yet he also describes with honesty the gradual evolution of his own views. “If they want a new housing estate on the territory of a village which will eventually be ploughed through by bulldozers, I do not ask any questions, but only draw. If they want an artificial river in the desert – they will get it”<sup>20</sup>.

## 5. SUMMING-UP

“The fallen civilizations had suffered in the effect of their growing pride,” concludes William Ophuls<sup>21</sup>. Numerous architects, who were shaped by the crisis-stricken western civilization, are looking for professional challenges in countries whose governments openly or clandestinely trample upon the rights of individuals and communities – including the right to decent living conditions. Yet, the western architects want to believe that their activity will ultimately serve not the authoritarian authorities, but the local communities, and that indirectly it will even lead to democratic changes. The naïve faith and skilful sophistry of the architects has not as yet found any reflection in facts. Just as at one time the language of forms worked out in the sphere of the Modern Movement turned out to be the best expression of the ideology of Italian fascism, and the Roman EUR neighbourhood “had left a strong foretaste of an authoritarian city in the modernist style,”<sup>22</sup> the post-modern pluralism in shaping homes and cities may easily become a trademark of contemporary undemocratic powers. Chałupski compares the Chinese society to water which is ready to adopt the shape of any vessel, but at the same time, retain all of its remaining features. “The

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<sup>18</sup> A.W. Chałupski, *Dżonglo*, Helion Publishing House, Gliwice 2015, 15, 31, 26; R. Półtorak, *Wycisną z was wszystkie soki. Rozmowa z Adamem W. Chałupskim* /They Will Tighten the Screw on Us. Interview with Adam W. Chałupski/, *Dziennik Polski* Daily of 12 June 2015.

<sup>19</sup> [www.chip.pl/news/wydarzenia/trendy/2014/06/phoenix-towers-najwyzszy-budynek-swiata-stanie-w-chinach](http://www.chip.pl/news/wydarzenia/trendy/2014/06/phoenix-towers-najwyzszy-budynek-swiata-stanie-w-chinach)

<sup>20</sup> A.W. Chałupski, *Dżonglo*, ... *op.cit.*, 150, 27.

<sup>21</sup> Ophuls W., *Immoderate Greatness: Why Civilisations Fail*, Create Space, North Charleston 2012.

<sup>22</sup> D. Sudjic, *Kompleks Gmachu*. ... *op.cit.*, 104.

Chinese are like water which cannot be set on fire. They are aware that sometimes they live under oppression, but they also know that thanks to it they have come to the forefront of the world economy”<sup>23</sup>. According to them, this is due to knowledge and not faith or ideology! Indeed, it seems that for Chinese authorities nothing is impossible. The cult of Chairman Mao continues, for according to the official data “his achievements surpassed his crimes in the proportion of seven to three” (sic!). Every piece of information which is accessible on the web is subject to control or else is blocked thanks to a filter which is ironically referred to as The Great Firewall, whereas censorship of the internet brings tangible profits to the government! This principle seems to extend even to time, as all of China has been subjected to a single time zone...<sup>24</sup>. In this context, ascribing to buildings erected in accordance with the western style the role of a potential catalyst of democratic changes seems to be deprived of any grounds. “Architecture gives form to politics, but it is not the architect who marks out the framework of politics,” remarks Sudjic, particularly in the system which has “adopted the principles of a free market, but in which an architect has very little say”. Ultimately doubts seem to beset Rem Koolhaas himself. “Participation in the process of modernization of China does not guarantee anything. The future of China is a fascinating unknown which will exert an impact on us all”<sup>25</sup>.

## 6. CONCLUSIONS

“It sometimes happens that a home is a monument of identity. (...) Homes are filled with privacy which they guard with absolute ruthlessness,” – such is one of the underlying assumptions of the conference. It turns out to be an inconvenient truth. An attitude associated with such an understanding of housing has been the subject of criticism within western civilization for quite some time now. It stands in stark contradiction to the categorical imperative of innovativeness and mobility. Severing the bond with the place is presented as a natural and profitable element of developmental processes. In turn, the authoritarian systems treat mandatory “rootlessness” as a universal method ensuring the preservation of their own rule. Substituting a home and place with a temporary, anonymous dwelling-place, is conducive to having full control over the individual and the collective, which no longer deserves to be referred to as a community.

Today, these two tendencies appear to merge with one other. “I don’t have a home of my own. The company takes care of everything, including a home. What do I need a family for?” declares an anonymous Chinese man with enthusiasm<sup>26</sup>. Konrad Kucza-Kuczyński draws attention to the qualities which are associated with the concept of a home – “a permanent place of habitation and custom”, which are present in the etymology of the word “ethics”<sup>27</sup>. This is particularly important in the situation when “western architects come to China in search of

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<sup>23</sup> R. Póltorak, *Wycisną z was... op.cit.*,

<sup>24</sup> A.W. Chałupski, *Dżongło, ... op.cit.*, 67, 161, 21.

<sup>25</sup> D. Sudjic, *Kompleks Gmachu. ... op.cit.*, 153, 151.

<sup>26</sup> A.W. Chałupski, *Dżongło, ... op.cit.*, 179.

<sup>27</sup> K. Kucza-Kuczyński, *Zawód – architekt. O etyce zawodowej i moralności architektury* /Architectural Profession. On Architecture’s Professional Ethics and Morality/, Warsaw University of Technology Press, Warsaw 2015, 41.



new commissions, or else to gaze with fascination into the abyss of monstrous cities engulfed by unstoppable growth”<sup>28</sup>. For, as Nietzsche used to say, “when you gaze long into an abyss, the abyss begins to gaze into you”.

We should bear in mind that by erecting attractive “homes of un-will” for others, we may one day wake up in them.

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<sup>28</sup> D. Sudjic, *Kompleks Gmachu*. ... op.cit., 158.

- [15] Setkowicz P., *Metropolie przyszłości – rozwój zrównoważony versus rozpasana konsumpcja* /The Metropolises of the Future – Sustainable Development Versus Unbridled Consumption/, [in:] Gyurkovich J., Kantarek A.A., Gyurkovich M., Wójcik A., (ed.) *Przyszłość miast – miasta przyszłości* /The Future of Cities – Cities of the Future/, MONOGRAFIA 454, Cracow University of Technology Press, Cracow, 2014.
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